

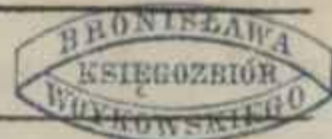
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
GROWTH *and* DECAY
OF THE
OTHMAN EMPIRE.

PART I.



CONTAINING THE
Growth of the **OTHMAN EMPIRE**,
FROM THE
Reign of **OTHMAN** the Founder,
TO THE
Reign of **MAHOMET IV.**
THAT IS,
From the Year 1300, to the Siege of *Vienna*, in 1683.

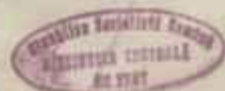
Written Originally in **LATIN**,
By **DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR**, late Prince of *Moldavia*.

Translated into **ENGLISH**, from the Author's own Manuscript,
By **N. TINDAL**, M. A. Vicar of *Great Waltham* in *Essex*.

Adorn'd with the **HEADS**
Of the **TURKISH EMPERORS**, Ingraven from Copies taken from
ORIGINALS in the Grand **SEIGNOR'S** Palace, by the late
SULTAN'S Painter.

LONDON:

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
GROWTH and DECAY
OF THE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE

PART I

CONTAINING THE
Growth of the Ottoman Empire
FROM THE
Reign of OTTHMAN the Founder
TO THE
Reign of MAHOMET IV.

From the Year 1299, to the Siege of Vienna, in 1683.

Written Originally in LATIN
By DENISEUS CANTEMIR, late Prince of Moldavia.

Translated into English
By M. TINDAL, M. A. late of Great Walsingham in Norfolk.

As the Turkish Manuscripts, taken from Copies taken from
ORIGINALS in the Grand Signor's Palace, by the late
SIR JOHN CHANTRELL.

LONDON:
Printed by JOHN and PAUL KNEAULTON, in the Strand,
in the Shop of the late Mr. BARNARD.

THE
TRANSLATOR
TO THE
READER.

IT will be necessary for the more easy pronouncing the uncommon names in this History to premise a few observations concerning the Turkish Orthography. In the first place, A and E are often used for one another, as are also O and U, hence Soliman or Suliman, Allah or Ellah.

2. Ch is always to be pronounc'd like our K, except when it stands for the Turkish Chim (which read as the first syllable in the English word Chimney,) and then it must be sound as our Ch in the word Church. Wherefore to avoid confusion, the words wherein Ch is to be thus pronounc'd, are always markt with an Asterisk as Chocta*. Our Author expresses Chim by Cz (as Czoru) which 'tis to be supposed is the nearest sound to it in his language. Sch when it stands for Shin or Schin, is pronounc'd like our Sh, as Shah or Schah. Our Author, probably for the foremention'd reason, expresses also Shin by Sz, as Szah instead of Shah. When th belong not to one Syllable, they will be printed thus, sh as Ashad, read As-had.

3. J consonant, standing for the Turkish Gim, may be pronounc'd in the beginning of a syllable, as in English; for example, Jenghiz. But at the end of a syllable like ge, in the word Age, as Yelvaj, as if it was Yelvage. So Hejra, as if it was Hedgri. If this be not exact, 'tis however the nearest sound we have to it. Our Author always expresses Gim by Dz, as Dzenghiz, instead of Jenghiz, and generally uses the J consonant for the Turkish Ye (which answers to our Y) because 'tis likely in his language, as in Italian, J is pronounc'd like Y. But this would breed confusion to an English Reader.

4. D and T are often used promiscuously, for instance, Erdogru is sometimes Ertogrul. So Dugra and Tugra.

5. Words, or Names, that have been frequently, tho' corruptly used by us, are preserv'd in the Translation; such as Bajazet, instead of Bayazid; Mahomet, instead of Mohammed; Tamerlan, instead of Timurleng; and a few others, but then the difference is always noted.

As there will be annex'd a short Account of the Author and his History, there is no occasion to say any thing more here, than that the Author's Latin Manuscript History was communicated to the Translator by his Son, Prince Antiochus Cantemir, Minister Plenipotentiary from the Czarina, to his present Majesty King GEORGE.

At the same time were communicated also painted Copies of the Heads of all the Turkish Emperors, taken from Originals in the Grand Signor's Palace, and with great difficulty procur'd by the Author, as is related in his Annotations. These Copies are small, and will be engraven just as they are.

Some few Additional Notes are distinguish'd from the Author's Annotations, by being inclos'd between two Crotchets [].

THE

P R E F A C E.

BEfore the Reader proceeds to the following History of the *Othman Empire*, it will be requisite to explain some Particulars, concerning which the *Christian* Historians seem to have been frequently and grossly mistaken. The principal of these are,

- I. The reduction of the year of the *Hejira*, to the *Christian Era*.
- II. The Name and Nation of the *Turks*.
- III. The Origin of the *Othman Race*, which now fills the *Turkish* Throne.

I. The *Hejira* compar'd with the *Christian Era*.

Many Historians, and those of no little Credit, have, as I find, refer'd several material Occurrences to different years, for want of an accurate knowledge of the *Mahometan Era*, by the *Turks* call'd *Hajret*, and by us *Hejira*. Of this, I shall produce a remarkable instance. Nothing certainly, since the removal of the Imperial Seat to *Constantinople*, has happen'd more memorable than the taking of that City by the *Turks*, whereby all Christendom was in danger. And yet, the year of that fatal period of the *Greek Empire* is so far from being known, that very learned Writers differ about it, some placing it in the year 1452, others in 1453. Hence it may be infer'd how many errors have been committed in other points of the *Turkish* History, as the days of the Birth, and Death of the Sultans, and the like. To remove these mistakes, I have thought fit to inquire a little more accurately into this computation, especially as I have made use of it in my History. I shall not stay to examine the Name, or whether it begins from *Mahomet's* flight from *Mecca* to *Medina*, or from his death, as some *Mahometans* assert. It suffices for my purpose, to show how to reduce the years of the *Turkish Era*, to the year of our Lord, by some instances taken from *Christian* Writings.

Ricciolus very rightly places the beginning of the *Hejira*, in the year of our Lord, 622, whose words, (since Authors differ chiefly about the day) I shall here quote.

* The dispute (says he) is concerning the

day. For the Astronomers, with *Alfraganus*, *Albutegnius*, and *Jordanus*, astronomically compute the years of the *Ismaelites* and *Turks* from Thursday the 15th of July, because on that day happen'd the true New-Moon. But the *Arabians* themselves, and the *Turks*, and with them the Chronologers, *Seabiger* and *Petavius*, politically compute from Friday the 16th of July, join'd with the foregoing night, because in the night following the 15th day, *Mahomet* fled from *Mecca*, and the same night, first appear'd the New-Moon, and therefore the *Arabians* begin their New-Moon on the sixth day of the Week or Friday, which with them is now reckon'd Holy. *A. Ricciolus* has here mention'd two several ways of computing, without assigning the reason, it may not be amiss to inform the Reader, that *Mahomet* when he introduc'd his Religion into the World, gave this general Rule for the beginning of the New-Moon, to the People ignorant of Astronomy: *When you see the Moon, begin the Fast: When you see the Moon, celebrate the Bairam*. Now as the Moon is never seen on the first day but sometimes on the second, and sometimes (if the New-Moon happens at Sun-set) not till the third; 'tis no wonder, *Mahomet* himself, being illiterate, or the Nations infected with his Superstition, who believe their Law-giver is to be trusted more than their reason, should take the second day of the Moon for the New-Moon itself, and by that rule appoint the Months, Fasts, and Festivals. It is also very probable that *Mahomet* began the computation of the *Hejira* from his flight from *Mecca*. His Successors, not to derogate from the Law, or out of negligence, or ignorance, have fix'd the beginning of the *Era*, not from the Astronomical New-Moon, (which by the Testimony of all the Mathematicians, happen'd on Thursday the 15th of July) but from the Political, which fell out on Friday the next day, and so appointed that day to be the first of the Month *Muharrem*. What has been said is confirm'd by their present manner of computing, of which I have been an eye-witness. For tho' now, not only the day and hour, but also

also the minute of the New-Moon may be pretty exactly known by their *Ephemerides*, by them call'd *Ruznamche*, yet they never begin either the *Ramazán* or *Bairam*, till some have testified that they have seen the New-Moon. For this reason, every year about that time, certain Persons are sent by the Sultan to a high mountain (nam'd *Ibrajadaghy*, about twelve hours distant from *Constantinople* towards the *Euxine Sea*) to observe the moment in which the New-Moon appears to their sight. When they see it, three of them instantly repair to the *Istanbul Effendi* or Judge of *Constantinople*, one of whom declares, he has seen the New-Moon, and the other two attest his declaration. The New-Moon being thus prov'd by three Witnesses, (for without that number, the Grand Seigneur himself will not be credited in this case) the *Istanbul Effendi* immediately sends Cryers, at whatever hour it happens, to proclaim thro' the whole City, the *Ramazán* or *Bairam*. By which means, I have seen the *Mahometans* whilst they have been eating and drinking, spit out what they have had in their mouths at the voice of the Cryer, and begin the Fast. If a cloudy Sky hinders the Moon from being seen, or the Messengers are detain'd by the way, after waiting the first and second day, the People are commanded to abstain on the third from meat and drink, whether the Witnesses are come or not. In like manner, the Fast is not ended till the same Persons witness the appearance of the New-Moon of the Month *Shevvel*.

Tho' this be sufficient to remove the Reader's doubt of the truth of *Ricciolus's* computation, it may not be improper to confirm the same by some farther instances. To this purpose, serve the two memorable conquests of *Constantinople* and *Rhodes*. The former is said, by the *Constantinopolitan Patriarch* to happen on Tuesday the 29th of May, 1453, and the more accurate *Turk-*

ish Historians, on the 20th day of the month *Jemaziul ewvel*, in the year of the *Hejira* 857. The *Christians* say *Rhodes* was taken the 25th day of December 1522, the *Turks*, the 3d day of the month *Safer*, in the year of the *Hejira*, 929, and add, that the siege lasted five months, beginning in the month *Ramazán*, of the year 928, and continuing the other three months of the same year; namely, *Shevvel*, *Zilcade*, and *Zilbije*, with the two first months of the next year, 729, *Muharrem* and *Safer*, on the 3d of which it was surrender'd. To these, I may add a famous instance in the diploma of Sultan *Murad III.* to the Emperor *Rudolphus II.* in which, both the year of our Lord, and of the *Hejira*, are expressly set down in the following words: "On the first day of January, Anno Domini Jesu, (on whom be the divine favour and aid) 1584, which will be the 27th day of the month *Zilbije* in the 991st year of the transmigration of our Great Prophet." But according to *Ricciolus's* Table, the year of the *Hejira*, 991, begins on Tuesday the 15th of January, 1583, and ends on Friday the 3d of January, 1584; so the 4th of January begins the year of the *Hejira*, 992. Since then the month *Zilbije* is the last of the *Hejira* year, and consists of twenty nine days, it is evident that the 27th of *Zilbije*, is the first of January, 1584. By means of these examples it will be easy for the curious Reader to compare the years of the two *Era's* together, with the assistance of a parallel astronomical Table, which I shall annex to this Preface.

Before I proceed to the 2d point, I shall endeavour for the sake of the Curious, to clear a doubt into which some famous Historians have fallen.

The first year of *Othman I.* Emperor of the *Turks*, is by some, as *Leunclavius*, refer'd to the year of Christ, 1300; and

* The *ch* in all words mark'd with an Asterisk is to be pronounced as in the *English* words, cheap, rich.
 † *Ramazán*, or as the *Arabians* write it, *Ramadán*, is the ninth month of the *Turkish* year, during which the *Turks* fast every day from meat, drink, and women, from Sun-rising till night. But upon the appearance of the next New-Moon, the *Bairam* begins, which is a time of feasting and jollity. In short, the *Ramazán* answers to the *Christian* Lent, and the *Bairam* to the *Popish* Carnival.

Our Author seems here to reproach the *Turks* for reckoning the New-Moon from the second day, which after all, serves the purpose very well, and was a custom us'd also by the *Jews*. But I would fain know, what a learned *Turk* would think of our *Ecclesiastical* or *imaginary* Full-Moon by which we regulate all our *Moveable Feasts*. And for our *Old Style*, would he not think it ridiculous to hear us call that the first day of a month, which is really the eleventh? In a word, we knowingly and therefore absurdly stick to an error committed by the *Nicene Fathers* thro' ignorance, and therefore in them the more excusable. Sure a time will come when we shall be willing to reform at least such obvious and palpable errors.

‡ The *Turks* reckon the distance of Places by Hours, which are supposed to be each about three of our miles.

§ Our Author has annex'd no such Table in his Manuscript.



by others, as *Calvisius*, from *Zacubi*, to 1303. In order to clear this matter it must be observ'd, that by the consent of all the *Turkish* Chronologers, *Orchan* Son and Successor of *Othman*, took *Prusa* the Metropolis of *Bitynia*, in the year of the *Hejira* 726, and was then sent for by his dying father. That the same year on the 10th of *Ramazan*, *Othman* dying, *Orchan* succeeded him in the Throne. But *Ramazan* is the ninth month from *Mubarrem*, the first month of the *Hejira* year. Now the 10th of *Ramazan* fell that year, (as appears by the Chronological Table) on the 8th of *August*. Moreover it is affirm'd by the *Turkish* Writers of the greatest credit, that *Othman* reign'd twenty six years, three months, and ten days, (tho' *Leunclavius*, by what authority I know not, ascribes to him, twenty nine Lunar or twenty eight solar years) and was succeeded by *Orchan*, the 10th of *Ramazan*, in the year of the *Hejira*, 726. Wherefore counting backwards from the 10th of *Ramazan*, to the year of the *Hejira*, 700, and to the 10th of the same month *Ramazan*, we shall reckon twenty six compleat years. In like manner, counting back three months, namely, *Shaban*, *Rejeb*, and *Jemaziul acbir*, with the ten days of *Ramazan*, it will appear that the first year of *Othman's* reign was the 700th of the *Hejira*, and begun the 1st of the month *Jemaziul acbir*: answering to the 11th of *February*, 1301. as appears in the following Table.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE of the year of the *Hejira*, 700, answering to the year of our Lord, 1300.

H. 700.	A. C. 1300.
LUNAR MONTHS.	SOLAR MONTHS.
30 <i>Mubarrem</i> . 1.	Sept. 16.
29 <i>Safar</i> .	Oct. 16.
30 <i>Rebiul ewel</i> .	Nov. 14.
29 <i>Rabiul acbir</i> .	Dec. 14.
30 <i>Jemaziul ewel</i> .	Jan. 13. A. 1301.
29 <i>Jemaziul acbir</i> .	Feb. 11.
30 <i>Rejeb</i> .	Mar. 12.
29 <i>Shaban</i> .	April 11.
30 <i>Ramazan</i> .	May 10.
29 <i>Sbeawal</i> .	June 9.
30 <i>Zilcade</i> .	Jul. 8.
29 <i>Zilbije</i> .	Aug. 7.

Observe the Year of Christ, 1301, falls in this Year of the *Hejira* on the month

Jemaziul ewel, whose first day answers to the 12th of *January*. But it was before shown, that *Othman* began to reign in the year of the *Hejira* 700, the first day of *Jemaziul acbir*, which is the 11th of *February* 1301, tho' in the Table, the year of the *Hejira*, 700, answers to the year of Christ, 1300; therefore what was said of the beginning of *Othman's* reign is rightly infer'd. Hence, in my opinion, proceeded the mistakes of *Leunclavius* and others in their way of computing.

In the same manner the *Hejira* may in any other years be easily reduc'd to the *Christian Era*, by only seeing in the astronomical Table on what day and year the beginning of any year of the *Hejira* falls. For instance, the beginning of the year of the *Hejira* 699, which preceded *Othman's* reign falls on *Monday* the 28th of *September*, 1299, which therefore is the first day of *Mubarrem*.

Having thus sufficiently prov'd the first year, month, and day of *Othman's* reign, by the same method may be found out the year, month, and day of the death of *Erdogrul*, *Othman's* Father, who according to *Saadi*, died in the year of the *Hejira* 680, (which begins on *Tuesday* the 22d of *April*, 1281) and therefore from the first year of *Othman's* reign to *Erdogrul's* death, there were inclusively nineteen years, seven months, which being trac'd as before in *Othman's* case, it will appear that he died the last day of *Sbeawal* of the year 680, which answers to the 10th of *February*, 1281. So likewise may be found the time of *Erdogrul's* reign and *Soliman's* being drown'd in the *Euphrates*, which is unanimously ascrib'd to the year of the *Hejira* 616, that is, sixty four years inclusively from 680, the time of *Erdogrul's* death, which being trac'd as before, it is manifest that *Soliman* was drown'd and *Erdogrul* began his reign on the first day of *Zilbije* in the year 616, which answers to the 6th of *February* 1220.

Thus likewise the year of *Soliman's* irruption may be found out, which according to *Nisrin*, happen'd in the year of the *Hejira*, 611, and consequently four years and eleven months before his death, or on the last day of *Mubarrem*, in the year 611, which answers to the 10th of *June* 1214.

As *Jenghizchan's* irruption is mention'd by the *Turkish* Writers about the same time with

with *Soliman's*, and as *Christian* Authors differ in that point, I shall endeavour to fix the time. *Nicephorus Gregoras* (who is rather a Rhetorician than Historian) says (Lib. II.) that *Jenghizchan* in the year of Christ, 1222, and of the *Hejira* 619, first came down towards the *Caspian* Sea. *Lanzerus* will have it to be in A. C. 1202. H. 599. *Calvisius* in A. C. 1220. H. 611. *Ricciolus* in A. C. 1212. H. 609. But with the most learned *Saadi effendi* of *Lavissa*, in his elaborate *Synopsis Historiarum* (publish'd in 1696, and dedicated to Sultan *Mustapha*, Brother and Predecessor of the present Sultan *Achmet*) collected from the most celebrated Historians, *Mevlana Idris*, *Nisrin* and *Saadi Tajuttevarieh*, and *Pechevi* and *Hezarfen*, I firmly hold that *Soliman Shab*, Father of *Erdogrul*, first departed from the City *Nera*, bordering on the *Caspian* Sea, in the year of the *Hejira*, 611, which answers to the year of Christ, 1214, and coming into *Asia minor*, with his *Oguzians*, *Jenghizchan's* irruption happen'd either the same, or the next year (which of the two is uncertain) and *Soliman* thereupon remov'd towards *Media*. Hence therefore, on the authority of these Historians it appears that *Jenghizchan's* invasion was one or two years after *Soliman*, in the year of the *Hejira*, 612 or 613, that is, of Christ, 1215 or 1216; in the 6th year of the reign of the Emperor *Theodorus Lascaris*.

II. Concerning the Name and Nation of the Turks.

Among the many Swarms that came from the cold regions of *Scythia*, the *Turks* were not the least noted, as the *Persian* Annalists abundantly testify, as well as the famous Author of the *Othman Annals Tajuttevarieh*, *Saadi effendi*, and what seems to be infer'd from him in the *Lexicon-Persico-Turcicum* *Nimetullab* to explain the word *Turk*, where it is said, "By this name are call'd the Inhabitants of *Chata* or *Chuten* (*Kitabia* or Great *Tartary*) who inhabit the *Copebas* Plains. And because all of them have fair faces and black eyes and eye brows, therefore the *Persian* Poets call Lovers and Gallants, by comparison, *Turks*." But this name of *Copebas* peculiar to a Tribe of the *Tartars* was after *Jenghizchan's* expedition given by the *Persians* to the whole

nation of *Scythians*, their Conquerors, as appears by the testimonies of the *Persian* Writers. Thus the Poet *Saich Saadi*, in the Preface of his *Gulistan* or *Rosary*, declares the cause of his leaving his country *Chorasan* to this effect: "Are you ignorant, my Friend, why I sojourn'd for a time in foreign Climates? I departed because of the iniquities of the *Turks*." Describing their manners, he says, in another place, "They are all the Sons of Men, but are like bloody Wolves. At home they are adorn'd with good manners like angels, but abroad are an army of Lions." That he speaks of the *Scythian* nation of the *Turks* who follow'd *Jenghizchan*, is plain from the time in which he compos'd this *Rosary*, namely, (as he says himself) in the year of the *Hejira*, 656, in the reign of *Ehubecker*, Son of *Saadi*, that is, forty four years before *Othman*, and forty eight after *Jenghizchan's* Expedition. *Nicephorus*, mentions by the name of *Turki*, the People who in his time were subject to *Azadinus* (so he corruptly calls *Aladin*) Sultan of *Iconium*. "To the Emperor (*Theodorus Lascaris* the younger, in 1255) thus employ'd were brought (says he) Letters from *Niccia*, signifying *Palatologus's* flight to the *Turks*." That *Michael* fled to this *Aladin* Sultan of *Iconium*, shall hereafter be shown by the unanimous testimony of the Historians. Since therefore it is manifest, the Name of the *Turks* was known to all *Asia* long before *Othman*, and chiefly attributed to the *Scythian* Tribes that follow'd *Jenghizchan*, and were dispers'd over *Persia* and *Asia minor*, it remains to show how this name came to be appropriated to the *Othmanida*. *Soliman*, Father of the *Othman* Race, Prince of *Nera*, treading in the steps of the great *Jenghizchan*, came forth from his Country with fifty thousand Followers, the flower of the *Scythian* youth, and overran not only the neighbouring regions, but all *Azerbejan* and *Syria*, as far as *Aleppo*. When the news of these Conquests was brought to the *Persian* Court, immediately the name *Turk*, common to the *Jenghizchan* *Scythians*, was given also to this Army. Another reason of this appellation, besides that before mention'd out of *Tajuttevarieh* and *Nimetullab*, is alledg'd by the best *Persian* Writers, namely, the ugliness of the *Scythians* if compar'd with the *Persians*, on which account *Turk*, the name formerly of the beautiful

beautiful nation of *Coptobas*, was by the Poets ironically given to them. After *Soliman's* death these Forces being dispers'd, when upon *Jenghizcan's* Invasion, many *Persian Satrapæ* or Governors, (who preceded over *Syria*, *Armenia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Cilicia*, *Mejopotamia*, *Pbœnicia*, *Pbrygia*, and the rest of the *Asiatick* Kingdoms lying between *Pontus Euxinus*, the *Caspian Sea*, and the *Euphrates*) had taken the opportunity to shake off the *Persian* yoke, *Aladin* Sultan of *Iconium*, the most powerful of these Princes, resolv'd also to destroy the remains of the *Jenghizcan* Forces, who continually infested his dominions. But being by them conquer'd and expell'd his Kingdom, he fled to his Friend *Michael Palæologus* the *Greek* Emperor, and desir'd his assistance. As he died in this exile, his Son *Melekshah* (corruptly call'd by *Nicephorus*, *Moloko*) who afterwards assum'd the name of *Aladin II.* finding he was only amus'd by *Palæologus*, and having in vain desir'd leave to depart, privately retir'd by the help of his People, into his Country; where being join'd by the Great Men of his Father's Kingdom, he not only freed them and himself by his valour from the *Seylbian* yoke, but recover'd his paternal dominions, and forc'd many of his Enemies to submit to his Empire. These he deprives of their Arms, and to stifle their martial Spirit, mixes them with the Country Peasants to exercise agriculture, and calls them by the common name of *Turks*, whence it came to pass that he who before was call'd *Satrapæ* of the *Persians*, or Sultan of *Iconium* was now stil'd Sultan of the *Turks*. About this time, *Soliman*, Grandfather of *Othman*, being drown'd in attempting to swim the *Euphrates*, *Aladin* appoints his Son *Erdogrud*, famous for his warlike Virtues and Exploits, and after his death, his Grandson, young *Othman*, General of his Armies. *Aladin* dying, (as the *Turkish* Annals relate) without Heirs, *Othman* is unanimously proclaim'd Sultan. Whereupon to banish from his People the ignominious and odious name *Turk*, he order'd it to be confin'd to the Peasants, and the rest to be call'd *Othmanli* or *Othmans*. Then removing his Seat from *Iconium* to *Neapolis*, (call'd by them *Emisberi*) he order'd himself to be stil'd Emperor of the *Othmans*, and not of the *Turks*. On these accounts the *Othman* Port, will not at this day be call'd the *Turkish* Court, nor does it suffer

that word to be us'd but in reference to the language, as *Turkiye Vidurmisin*? Do you understand *Turkish*? *Othmaniye Vidurmisin* being improper. For *Othmaniye* denotes politeness of manners, as on the contrary, *Turkiye* signifies rude and unciviliz'd. Hence the common saying, *Turk Muddeti um rinde: A Turk thro' the whole course of his life: that is, he will always be a clown, and never learn the politeness of the Othmans.*

Very probably to a Reader, vers'd in History, a doubt will here arise, since he finds that *Turkistan*, a Country lying between the *Chagataian* Tartars and the *Chinese*, is assign'd by most of the antient and modern Geographers for the Seat of the *Turks* or *Turcomans*. But as by a very gross error, the *Turks* and *Turcomans* are confounded, so by a no less mistake is *Turkistan* made the Seat of Both. This is refuted by the most accurate Historian *Saadi*, when he expressly affirms, that the Princes who from the *Chinese* Provinces join'd *Tamerlan*, came from *Turkistan*. His words are: "Of the Kings of *Turkistan*, twenty famous Princes join'd their forces with *Timur*, and pitch'd their Tents in his camp." But that the *Turks* are descended from the *Oguzian* Tartars I shall demonstrate when I come to speak of the origin of the *Othman* Race. As for the *Turcomans*, to whom the Grand Signor now gives a Prince, and removes him at pleasure, they have no fixed habitations, but live in Tents, (call'd *Obu*) and wander up and down as far as *Erzer*, thro' part of *Armenia major* (formerly *Assyria*) which even now is by some *Christian* Writers, call'd *Turcomania*, a name unknown to the *Turkish* Annals. For all the antient *Turkish* Historians and Geographers call *Armenia major* by a synonymous name with ours, *Ermeniyei Kubra*, and *Armenia minor* they are us'd to call *Ermeniyei Sagra*, which perhaps is a good argument that they are not originally Natives of that Country. They all profess the *Mohometan* Religion, but for want of Houses, neglect many Precepts of the *Koran*, particularly, praying five times a day. Some of these People, were by Sultan *Murad IV.* forced to remove into *Europe*, and were put in possession of the Plains between the mountains of *Hemus*, (call'd at this day *Chenghe* by the *Turks*) from *Aetos*, (a noted Town at the foot of *Hemus*) to *Philippolis*, where after the custom of their Nation, they live in Tents, and cultivate their

their lands, but however, are much more civiliz'd than those of *Asia*. But that the modern *Turks* should derive their original from this Nation, I don't find it so much as conjectur'd even by the Historians of these People. Only indeed they are the same, who were first subject to *Aladin*, and afterwards to *Othman* the first Sultan of the *Othmanide*, of which more largely under the following Head. Hence we justly infer, that the contrary common opinion is founded more on the ignorance of the *Europeans* in the Eastern languages, and on the sound of the Words, than on the Truth of the Thing.

III. Origin of the Othman Race.*

It seems peculiar to the most illustrious Races in the World, to have either a doubtful or fabulous Origin. If we view the beginnings of the most noble *Grecian*, *Persian*, or *Roman* Families, what do we meet with but Fables and ridiculous Fictions of the Poets, concerning their Origin. If this was the case among the most polite Nations of the World, what is to be expected from *Barbarians*, strangers to learning? Tho' soon after the foundation of this Empire several *Turkish* Writers, compos'd fabulous Histories, for instance, That call'd *Tevarichî Akthman*, (from whence some *Christian* Authors seem to borrow their Chronology of the *Othmans*) they are not approved by the *Turks*, and are bitterly inveigh'd against, in *Tajut-tevarich*. Thus we read that some derive the Rise of the *Turkish* Empire from the downfall of the *Tartarian* Dominion, and others, from a Band of Robbers, and find but very few have discover'd the true Origin of the Race which now reigns.

I. As for those who begin the Growth of the *Turkish* from the downfall of the *Tartarian* Empire, least they should seem to assert it without grounds, they frame a long series of *Tartarian* Chans, but agree neither in their accounts of the years, nor in Facts. *Nicephorus Gregoras* says *Jenghizcan* (whom he calls *Sitzicban*) appear'd about the year 1222 (more rightly in 1216 as we have shown) in the reign of *Johannes Ducas*. *Jenghizcan* dying, leaves two Sons, *Chalaos* and *Telepugas*. *Chalaos* leaving the *Caspian* Sea, and the river *Lacartes* to the North, descended thro' lower

Asia, but *Telepugas*, having settled his Empire, pass'd, towards the South, over the Mountains of *Caucasus* and the *Caspian* Sea, and march'd thro' the Territories of the *Sauromata* and *Messageta*, subduing not only them, but all the Nations inhabiting about the *Palus Maotis* and *Tonais*. *Lanicurus*, who places *Jenghizcan's* expedition in 1202, relates, that having overtur'd the Kingdom of the *Indians*, he founded the Empire of *Great Tartary*, and reign'd twelve years in *Asia*. He was succeeded (says he) by his Son *Hocatan*, and he by *Majuzeban* who took *Antioch* from the *Christians* in 1260. *Majuzeban* dying, *Helio*, and after him, in 1280, *Aousaga*, reign'd. This last was succeeded by *Tandogorus*, who embracing Christianity, was call'd *Nicolas*, but returning afterwards to his old Superstition, took (says he) the name of *Mahomed*. *Battus* was his Successor, but dethron'd by *Casan* Son of *Arzo*, who about the year 1310, overran all *Syria*. After *Casan*, came *Carbadagrus*, under whom the Empire of the *Tartars* in *Asia* falling to decay, that of *Othman* was erected. In this series of *Tartar* Kings, *Lanicurus* reckons one hundred and eight years, and others ninety eight. But to pass by all the forementioned Names, entirely unknown and foreign to the *Turkish* Language and History, it is agreed by all who have left written Histories of the Eastern Nations, that the *Tartarian* Princes, Successors of *Jenghizcan*, were in the year of the *Hejira* 656, and of *Christ* 1258, (forty-four years before *Othman*) subdued by *Eubekir*, Son of *Saadi*, King of *Persia*, and their Provinces restor'd to the *Persian* Monarchy, except those which were held by some of the *Satrapæ*, who in the expedition of the *Tartars*, took (as I have said) the opportunity to set up for themselves, among whom were *Aladin*, Sultan of *Iconium*, and *Soliman*, Grandfather of *Othman*. Hence it is evident that the *Tartarian* Kingdoms in *Asia* were overturned by the *Persians* long before the beginning of the *Othman* Empire, which therefore could not derive its Origin from thence.

II. There are also other *Christian* Historians, who, perhaps out of envy, say that *Othman* first Emperor of the *Turks*, was a Man of mean Estate, who gathering together a Band of Robbers and Murderers, fell upon his Neighbours, and by force or policy oppress'd all, both of his own and other Nations.

means *Ezerbejan*] from thence penetrating into *Romania*, came to *Anafia*, [entirely contrary to Historical Truth.] Then altering his course, he goes to *Chaleppus*, and when he incamped at the City *Faber*, on the banks of the *Euphrates*, and first attempted to swim the River on horseback, is drown'd. *Soliman* had three Sons, whose names were *Sungargensis*, *Giudogdis*, and *Erucales* Father of *Othman*, Founder of the *Othman* Empire.

VIII. Having thus given the Opinions of other Historians in this Affair, it remains now to show as clearly as I can, the true Origin of this illustrious Race. *Soliman* Prince of *Nera*, is by all the Historians of his Nation, and also by the more accurate *Christian* Writers, affirm'd to be Fore-father of the *Turkish* Emperors, the Glory of whose Ancestors, as it is but darkly set forth by the *Turkish* Historians, I think it in vain to seek for a clearer account in other Writers. Nevertheless it is so far agreed by all, that *Soliman* was of the noblest *Oguzian* Family among the *Scythians*, and Head of a *Horde* or Tribe of *Tartars* near the *Caspian* Sea, whom they vulgarly call *Conar Cocber** *Tatar tayfeli*, that is, *staying and going*, as much as to say, without fix'd Habitations. I am inclin'd to believe they dwelt between the *Caspian* Sea, and the Lake now called by the Inhabitants *Carabogaz*, where at this day the *Scythians* who are now called *Caracalpak*, lead a wandering life, and speak the *Turkish* Language, though the *Turks* greatly differ from them in their manners and way of living. By these, as well as by the neighbouring People, *Soliman* was proclaimed by the name of *Sbab*. (By the way, *Sbab* in the *Persian* Tongue is more honorable than *Chan*, and signifies a Prince to whom the *Chans* are subject, hence the King of *Persia* affects the title of *Sbab*. But *Chan* is the same as a Governor of a Province, and much like a *Vizir* or *Basha*, who has the privilege of three Horse-Tails.) Whether *Soliman* receiv'd this dignity from his Ancestors, by Hereditary Right, or acquir'd it by his own Worth, since no Historian but *Chalcocondylas*, clearly mentions it, I shall not take upon me to determine.

IX. Before I proceed, it will be proper to enlarge a little on what has been just mention'd, namely, that after *Jenghizchan's* expedition, and the destruction of the *Persian*

an Monarchy, most of the *Satrapæ*, or Governors of the *Persian* Provinces between the *Euphrates* and *Mediterranean*, made themselves independent, and rul'd in their own names. This seems to be hinted by *Nicephorus* in his seventh Book. "But" (says he) the *Turks* [note that he calls all the *Satrapæ* that revolted from the *Persian* King, *Turks*] "by agreement divided" among them by lot all the Provinces of "the *Roman* jurisdiction." Then he adds the names of the *Satrapæ*, but so corruptly, that without the aid of History they could not be thought the same with the forementioned *Satrapæ*, whose true names thus occur in the *Turkish* Annals. *Churzem Sbab* (King of *Caspia*, for *Churzem* among the *Turks*, signifies the *Caspian* Sea, whose name tho' they do not mention, yet they say he was subdued by *Jenghizchan*) *Caramanogli*, *Azerbejan*, *Germanogli*, *Hamidogli*, *Kutrum Bayezid*, *Isfudarbeg*, *Abmedbolamir*, *Tekkebeg*, *Zunleadirbeg*, and the chief of all, *Aladin* Sultan of *Iconium*, who alone enjoy'd the name of *Sultan*. I shall dwell no longer on these matters, each of which the Reader will find in its proper place, in my Annotations.

X. When these things had thus happen'd, in the third year, (as I have shown) after *Jenghizchan's* Expedition, our *Soliman*, Prince of *Nera*, and of a Tribe of *Oguzians* with fifty thousand select *Scythians*, pass'd the Mountains of *Caucasus*, and at once overran all *Azerbejan* (or *Media*) to the borders of *Syria*. But I imagine it will not be unworthy the Reader's Curiosity to look back a little to the manner, occasion, and time of the coming forth of the Patriarch of a race at present so illustrious.

XI. *Saadi* *Essendi* Author of the *Annals*, so approv'd by the *Othmans*, thus describes the manner and occasion of *Soliman's* irruption. Antient Writers, (says he) who have faithfully transmitted the Knowledge of things to posterity, relate, that when *Alsaljuk*, (i. e. the *Sejukian* Tribe) removed from *Maverennubar* (a Country beyond the *Oxus* towards the *Caspian* Sea, known also to our modern Geographers) to the Land of *Iran* (a Country below the *Oxus*, reaching to the *Persian* Sea, and on the West to the *Tigris*) with them also *Kiya Chan* (Father of *Soliman Sbab*) Prince of the *Oguzians*, departed with his Tribe from *Merv* *Sabjan*, and possess'd himself of the City *Ma-*
chan.

chan. But after *Jenghizchan's* Irruption, *Soliman Sbab* Son of *Kiya*, or as some write it, *Kiya aleh Chan*, whose Dominions now reached to *Ablad* (Part of *Armenia* major) when he saw the rage and cruelty of the *Jenghizchan-Tartars* to be intolerable, was forc'd to relinquish his Possessions, and with his people to move in quest of new Habitations towards *Rum* (so part of *Anatolia* or *Asia* minor was call'd by the antient *Turkish* Writers.) Thus far *Saadi* *Essendi*, concerning *Soliman's* leaving his Country, after which he relates the Expeditions of *Soliman* and his Sons, which the Reader will see in their proper place.

XII. *Hefori*, a much older Historian than *Saadi*, says, the *Oguzians* (who according to *Chalcocondylas*, chose *Soliman's* Father for their Prince) possess'd the Country of *Ablad* 170 years before *Soliman*, and in 611 of the *Hejira* made their first expedition, under *Soliman*, towards the Regions of *Asia* minor. But the *Jenghizchan-Tartars* having left nothing undestroy'd, *Soliman* with his followers deserting *Asia* minor, remov'd back to *Azerbejan*, and there for some time lead a Country or unsettled life. At last in the year of the *Hejira* 616, press'd with want of necessities in those uncultivated Parts, he advances a second time with 50000 select Men, towards *Rum* to recover his former possessions. When he was come attended with success as far as the *Euphrates*, he attempts to swim the River on horseback and is drown'd.

XIII. *Soliman* left four Sons, *Sungurtekin*, *Jundogdi*, *Erdogrud gafi*, and *Dindar* or *Dumdar*. Of these the two first returning to their antient Seats are entirely pass'd over in silence by the *Turkish* Writers. *Erdogrud* and *Dumdar* with their part of the Forces, first pitch'd their Tents in a place call'd *Symalucbukur**. *Dumdar* dying here in a few days, *Erdogrud* moving towards *Asia* minor subdued several *Asiatick* Provinces, and from his compelling the vanquish'd to pay tribute or embrace his Religion, obtain'd the name of *Zeletis*, a name famous in those parts. *Erdogrud*, setting the most moderate bounds to his good fortune, lest he should seem tyrannically to desire the possessions of others, sends in humble manner his eldest Son *Saruyati* (afterwards celebrated by the Epithet *Savuchbeg**) to *Aladin* Sultan of *Iconium*, desiring a Habitation somewhere in

his Kingdom for himself and followers. *Aladin* readily grants his request, prudently thinking it better to make this powerful, though new, Neighbour, his Friend than his Enemy. Wherefore he honorably sends back *Saruyati* with Ambassadors to *Erdogrud*, and promises, if by his valour the remains of the *Jenghizchan-Tartars* are driven out of his Dominions, not only to place him at the Head of his Armies, but associate him in his Empire. For this aged Prince did not so much want Soldiers, Courage, Riches, and Strength, as a good General against such troublesome Enemies.

XIV. Neither was *Aladin* deceiv'd in his expectations of *Erdogrud*. For having assign'd him *Karajedagy* for his Habitation, and according to his promise, entrusted him with part of his Forces, *Erdogrud*, by his conduct and wisdom, soon vanquish'd the *Tartars*, and not only freed his afflicted Kingdom from all its imminent dangers, but also subdu'd other Countries, subject to the *Romans*, and annex'd them to his Empire. *Aladin*, mindful of his promises, royally rewards *Erdogrud*, and commits to his rule the whole Province of *Ancyra*. At last, worn out with wars and old age, *Erdogrud* dies in the year of the *Hejira* 680, says *Saadi*, but according to *Nisfirin*, in 687, whose Sepulchre in the Town of *Sugubick** is at this day honorably visited by the *Mahometans*.

XV. *Erdogrud* departing this life in the midst of his happiness, *Aladin*, to show his gratitude to so great a man, causes his Son *Othman* (who for his youth, 'tis said, was wont to be call'd *Othmanjik* or *little Othman*) to succeed his Father, and to be the Chief of all the *Tocaddum* or *Satrapæ*. Moreover he allow'd him in all the Towns and Provinces subdu'd by his Father, or to be subdued by himself, to use the Title of *Sultan*, and coin money with the inscription of his own name.

XVI. After this, *Aladin* the younger, (whose proper name was *Kichobrev*) in the year of the *Hejira* 699, (which begins the 28th of September 1299) being driven into *Europe* by the *Gazanensian* *Tartars*, his *Satrapæ*, divide all his Dominions among them. But *Othman*, being the most powerful of them, oblig'd the rest (in the year of the *Hejira* 700,) to seek his Protection and Favour. From hence some Historians
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torians date the first year of *Othman's* Reign, though *Saadi*, not without strong reason, contends his Reign began, when after the taking of the City *Carajebisar*, he appointed a *Cadi* or Judge, and a *Charyb* or Deacon (who might pray for him by name as Sultan) and coined new money with the inscription of his own name, which was in the year of the *Hejira* 688, and of *Christ* 1289. Thus with the consent of the Great Men and the Army, *Othman* is chosen King, and joining his own with *Aladin's* Dominions, changes the name of *Oguzians* or of *Turks* (as they were commonly call'd under both *Aladins*) into that of *Othmans*, and lays the first Foundation of the *Othman* Empire, which is now so terrible to the World. The Actions of whose Successors will be more accurately related in the following History.

Genealogy of the *Othman* Family.

XVII. *Saadi* the *Turkish* Writer so often commended by me, one not more zealous for the *Othman* Glory, than for Historical Truth, willingly points at the burthen of so weighty and obscure an affair on other Men's shoulders. Since it is not manifest to him, he says in general, there are Historians, who carry the line of this race from *Othman* to *Japhet* Son of *Noah*. As he has inserted the names in the Preface of his History, I shall transcribe them, that the Reader may not peruse them corruptly, as I have seen them, in some *Christian* Writers.

Othman Son of *Erdogrul*, Son of *Soliman*, Son of *Kiyaaleb*, Son of *Kyzylboga*, Son of *Baytemur*, Son of *Aykylgg*, Son of *Tugra*, Son of *Karaniv*, Son of *Sacur*, Son of *Bulgar*, Son of *Suncur*, Son of *Toltemur*, Son of *Tafak*, Son of *Chemeder**, Son of *Kutluk*, Son of *Tarak*, Son of *Karachan*, Son of *Tajar*, Son of *Yelvaj†*, Son of *Baybeg*, Son of *Tugra*, Son of *Tegmysh*, Son of *Cujbeg†*, Son of *Ortuk*, Son of *Kumari*, Son of *Cbektemur**, Son of *Turaj†*, Son of *Kyzylboga*, Son of *Yamak*, Son of *Bashboga*, Son of *Hormir*, Son of *Bayjui*, Son of *Sun†*, Son of *Boga*, Son of *Kurtulmysh*, Son of *Korchard*, Son of *Balchyk**, Son of *Camajb*, Son of *Caraglan*, Son of *Soliman Shah*, Son of *Corchlu*, Son of *Bulgar*, Son

of *Baytemur*, Son of *Turmysh*, Son of *Cokaleb*, Son of *Oguzeban*, Son of *Karachan*, Son of *Kaychan*, Son of *Ulizeban*, Son of *Takva*, of the House of *Japhet*.

XVIII. Before I conclude this Inquiry, it will not be amiss to observe, it is the common opinion of the *Turks*, that there are two principal Branches deriv'd from the *Oguzian* Tribe, the *Othmanida*, and *Aljengbizians*, which last branch has given *Cbans*, in an uninterrupted Succession, to the *Crim Tartars*. A strong proof of this opinion is the law establish'd by the *Othman Sultans*, whereby in case of failure of Heirs in the *Othman* Race, the Emperor is to be chosen out of the *Aljengbizian* Family, as being both manifestly deriv'd from the same Stock. Hence the *Crim Tartars* have conceiv'd great hopes, that one day, the *Othman* race being extinct, they shall mount the Throne. And that this law is not abolish'd, appears from a Sedition in my time, rais'd against Sultan *Mustapha* (which will be largely related in the second Part of my History.) At that time it was consulted in the *Hippodrom*, by the Soldiers, Citizens, and Ecclesiastical Order, for several days, about dethroning *Mustapha*, and chusing another Emperor. But since *Mustapha* detain'd, according to custom, in safe custody with him at *Adriano-ple*, his relations, *Ibrahim* Sultan *Abmed*, his Uncle with his two Sons, and also his Brother Sultan *Abmed*, who now reigns, they were afraid, when their proceedings should be known, he would put them to death, and by destroying the lawful Heirs of the Empire, oblige the People, whether willing or not, to honour him as Emperor. Whilst they were perplex'd with this fear, the new-elected *Musti*, with the rest of the Learned in the Law, stood up and said, "Indeed to confer the Empire upon any not join'd in blood to the *Othman* Race, is contrary to the Laws both human and divine. But since the *Crim-Tartars* have Heirs of the same blood with the *Othmans*, who may lawfully govern the *Othmanic* Commonwealth, the People's fears of Anarchy are vain. For should Sultan *Mustapha* kill all his Relations, he ought to be punish'd for parricide and disturbing the publick peace, and a Successor chosen from among the Sons of the *Crim-Tartars*, as being of the same

† This j is to be pronounced like ge in the *English* Word *age*, and by the Author is usually express'd by *de*.

" Family

" Family with the *Othman*." Nay so great is the force of this Law, that it excludes from the Throne, even the Men born of the Female Line. For when at the same time, it was said by some, that an Heir of the Empire was at hand, namely, the only Son of *Saphia*, Daughter of Sultan *Ma-*

rad, living in the Suburbs call'd *Befistikah*, all the rest oppos'd it, publicly declaring, " the *Othman* Empire never falls to the *Spindle*, nor do they acknowledge other Heirs than those of the Male-line, and " on their failure, the *Aljengbizians*, as " being undoubtedly of the same blood."





AS the Parallel Chronological Table mentioned by the Author in his Preface is not to be found in his Latin Manuscript, the Translator instead of it has inserted the following Method of reducing the Hejira to the Christian Æra, and the contrary.

The Beginning of the Hejira being fix'd to the Year of our Lord 622, July 16th, if the 621 pass'd years of the Christian Æra be subtracted from any given Year of our Lord, the remainder will be the Hejira in Solar years, which being reduc'd to Lunar, will be the correspondent year of the Turkish Æra. On the contrary, if any given year of the Hejira be reduc'd to Solar years and added to 621, the Sum will be the Tear of our Lord. N. B. 521 Solar are equal to 537 Lunar or Turkish years.

For Example,

What is the present Year 1734, according to the Hejira? From ——— 1734 Subtract ——— 621 <hr/> Hejira in Solar years 1113 <hr/> 521 : 537 :: 1113 : 1147 The present year of the Hej. 1147	What is the Year of the Hejira 1000 according to the Chri- stian Æra? 537 : 521 :: 1000 : 970 <hr/> Hejira in Solar years ——— 970 To which add ——— 621 <hr/> The Year of our Lord 1591
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N. B. The minute Parts of Days and Hours are here omitted, which, by reason of the different beginnings of the several years, must be observ'd in strictness of Calculation.

L I S T

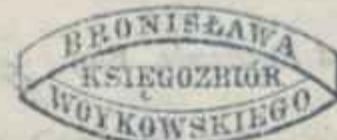
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Mr. Thomas Baker.

C.

The Right Honourable the Lord High Chancellor.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Coventry.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Chesterfield.
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The Right Honourable the Lord Cadogan.
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 Mrs. Willis.
 The Reverend Mr. J. Wyat of Felfed.

Z.

Mr. Zambony, Resident from Hesse Darmflatt.

The TRANS-



A PLAN OF CONSTANTINOPLE

- | | | | |
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| <p>1. Seraglio or the Chief Palace of Grand Signor
2. The Old Church, now the new Mint
3. The Grand Signor's Apartments
4. The Great Church of S. Sophia
5. Lane of Sultan Achmet
6. Hippodrome, a riding place they make the Gold Ware
7. The Grand Vizier's palace
8. Lane of Lane
9. The Egyptian market place
10. The Bazaar
11. The little Church of S. Sophia
12. Lane of Ibrahim Khan
13. Sultan's Market place
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15. House for foreign Merchants
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B. C. S. C. 2



BRONISŁAWA KSIĘGOZEMSKA WYKONAWCZEGO

THE
HISTORY
 Of the GROWTH of the
 Othman * or Alothman †
EMPIRE.

In Three BOOKS

BOOK I. CHAP. I.

The Time of the Eruption of the Tartars under Soliman Shah. His Conquests and Death.

SO great a diversity of Opinions, remarked by Us in the Preface, and such a mixture of Fable by Foreign Writers, occur to curious Inquirers into the Origin of the Alothman Race, now on the Turkish Throne, that like Travellers on a divided Road, they can't without great difficulty distinguish between

Cause of the various Opinions concerning the Othman Race.

ANNOTATIONS.

BEfore we proceed, it may not be amiss to prefix to our Annotations some of the most usual Titles of the Othman Court. For that Court, like the rest of the Eastern Courts, both assumes and expects the proudest and most pompous Titles. Hence in the Imperial Edicts call'd *Ferman*, there frequently occur; *Bibi bumayun*, The sublime Port. *Bibi adalât*, The Port of Justice. *Bibi sadet*, The Port of Majesty. *Bibi* or *Diri deulet*, The Port of Felicity, from whence the Othman Empire has been wont to be call'd *Deulâti Othmanî*, The Othman Majesty, or Felicity. If the Reader desires more of these Titles, he will find them collected by *Meninskius*, in his *Turkish Dictionary*.

* *Othman*] This Name, given to the Turkish Nation from the Emperor *Othman* their Founder, is generally writ perversely by the Christian Historians, some inserting (o) in the second Syllable, as *Othoman*, others omitting the (h) and doubling the (t) as *Ottoman*. Both very fallcely. For the Arabic *U* or (th) called by the Turks, *Tsoi Arabi*, exactly

Mr. Zambony, Resident from Hesse Darmstadt.

The TRANS-

The Othman History. Part I.

2

tween what is true and what false. Some have wander'd from the Truth for want of Oriental Learning and History, whilst a Tradition, envious perhaps of the felicity of this Race, has impos'd upon others. From these troubled Streams our Christian Historians, ignorant, as we observ'd, of the Turkish Learning, have been forc'd to draw what should have been taken from the Fountain-Head. But we (without vanity be it said) justly preferring the Testimony of the domestick Writers to the Assertions of all others, have from Historians deem'd by the Turks the most faithful and accurate, collected our Materials.

Time of the
Eruption of
Soliman
Shah.

There we learn, that about the Time when the renowned Prince Jengbiz (1) Chan (2) had not only laid waste the greatest part of Asia subject to the Persian dominion, raz'd the City of Balch the most opulent of the Province of Chorasan, expell'd from his Kingdom and slain Cburzem (3) Shab (4), but also, by means of continual In-

ANNOTATIONS.

exactly answering to the Greek *The-
ta* Θ [or the Saxon *D*] ought
doubtless to be pronounced in La-
tin [or English] as in Greek, *Θσπας*,
Othman. [It must be observ'd the
Turks pronounce the Arabic *Tje*, al-
most like our *f*. Hence Othman
is by them call'd *Oman*.]

+ *Alotbman*] This word is com-
pounded of *Al* and *Othman*, that is,
The Sons or Posterity of Othman, and
ascribed not only to the Imperial
race descending from Othman, but to
the whole Turkish Nation in general.
Hence, *Tevaisi Alotbman*, the *A-
lotbman* Hords or Tribes. But the
Emperors are wont to be call'd *A-
lotbman Padishahi*, that is, Emperors
of the Sons of Othman. For this rea-
son, we have thought proper to
style our Lucubrations, *The Alotb-
man History*.

(1) *Jengbiz*] He was, according to
the Turkish Annals, Prince of the
Oguzian Tartars, whose Actions and
Fortunes are largely related in the
Preface, to which the Reader is re-
ferr'd. [This name is pronounced
by the Persians and Turks, as if it
were writ in English, *Chingbiz*, or in
Italian, *Cingbiz*. He is call'd by
the Latin Historians, *Cangius*. *Jeng-
bizchan* signifies in the Mogul lan-
guage, King of Kings.]

(2) *Chan*] This word perhaps pass'd
from the Arabian, into the Persian,
Language, and signifies Lord or
Prince, answering to the Arabic
Word *Sultan* and the Turkish, *Ulu
beg*, that is, Great Prince. *Chan*,
tho' ever us'd by the Turkish Empe-
rors, as *Murad Chan*, *Selim Chan*, &c.
was however chiefly ascribed by the
Othman Court to the King of *Crim*
or *Little Tartary*. Hence he is
usually styl'd *Kirim Chan*, The
Prince of *Crim*, or *Chani Alissan*,
The Sublime Chan. [Chan seems ra-
ther to come from the Persian into
the Arabic. The Reader must ob-
serve once for all that *Ch* is to be
pronounced like our *K* or the Italian
Ch, except in words where it is to be
read like the English *Ch* in *cheap*,
rich, for then it stands for the Turkish
Chim, which to avoid confusion shall
always be noted.]

(3) *Cburzem*] This word properly
signifies the Caspian or Hyrcanian Sea,
and from thence is applied to the
Regions bordering on that Sea, whose
Sovereign is call'd *Cburzem Shab*,
that is, King or Lord of the Coun-
tries situate on the Caspian Sea. It
is sometimes call'd, even by the Turks
themselves, *Cburzem*, from the like-
ness of the two Letters, *Ry* and *Ze*
without the distinguishing point, fre-
quently

Book I. Soliman Shah.

3

curious and their civil Dissentions, had weakened or dispersed the Princes of all those Regions, (then it was that) Soliman (5) Shab Son of *Kiya Chan* Prince of the City of *Nere* (6) and of the *Oguzian* (7) Tartars, Lord also of the Region of *Meeushahjan*, ex-

ANNOTATIONS.

quently omitted in their writings by the more learned Turks. The Nubian Geographer (Part 7. Clim. 5.) pre- tends this word is derived from *Cbo-
sar*, Son of *Togarma* who first peo-
pled the neighbouring Regions, which
opinion seems to be owing rather to a
likeness of name than to a reality
of fact. *Meninskius* says it was also
call'd *Kulzum Dengiz* but upon what
Foundation is uncertain, that name
being chiefly appropriated by the
Turks to the Red-Sea. It is however,
from the City *Baku* standing on the
Coast, by the Christians, usually cal-
led, the Sea of *Baku*. [It must not
be understood as if all the Countries
bordering on the Caspian Sea are
subject to one Sovereign, or that
the whole Caspian Sea, is call'd *Cbur-
zem*, but only that part which wa-
shes the borders of the Kingdom
of *Cburzem*; extending as is said,
to the mouth of the *Oxus*, which
runs into the Caspian Sea. This
Kingdom is now subject to the *U-
bek Tartars*, who took it from the
Posterity of *Tamerlan*, by whom the
Successors of *Jengbiz Chan* were ex-
pell'd. *Cburzem Shab*, here men-
tion'd by our Author, was the Title
of one Race of its Kings, the most
powerful in Asia; which *Jengbiz
Chan* put an end to, in the Person
of *Mahommed Cburzem Shab*. *Cbo-
rasma* is mention'd by *Herodotus*;
so ancient is this Kingdom.]

(4) *Shab*] or *Shab* is a Persian word
answering to the Arabic, *Sultan*.
Hence the Turkish Emperor is styl'd,
Shahi Alam Penah, the Emperor Re-
fuge of the World. It must however
be observ'd, that *Padishab* is com-
monly esteem'd a more honorable Title
than *Shab* in the Othman Court,
the latter being given absolutely to
the Persian Kings, the former never.
The reason of this will hereafter be

shown when the word *Padishab* comes
to be explained.

(5) *Soliman*] He was Father of
Ertogrul and Grandfather of *Othman*,
descended from the noblest *Oguzian*
Family among the *Scythians*. *Lani-
cerus*'s mistake in making him King
of *Nice* was remembered in the Pre-
face. [It must here be observ'd that
in the Turkish and Arabic Tongues,
the same Mark stands for (s) and (c),
and the same for (e) and (u). Hence
the various ways of writing the same
word in our Historians, as *Shab*, or
Shab, *Soliman*, or *Suliman*. &c.]

(6) *Prince of Nere*] A City ac-
cording to the Turks, near the *Cas-
pian* Sea. The Name of this City is
in vain look'd for in the Maps of the
Christians, unless we understand by it
the City of *Herat*, Metropolis of the
antient *Arta* or *Nurketzur* in *Masan-
deran*, in the Province of *Gbilan*.
The Turkish Annals mention the ta-
king and demolishing this City by the
Jengbiz-Chan Tartars in their return
from the destruction of the Royal Ci-
ty of *Balch*. Our Opinion is con-
firmed by the Persian Historians, who
mention seven distinct Kings govern-
ing the Province of *Gbilan* at that
time, one of whom was, probably,
our *Soliman*.

(7) *Oguzian*] That this Tribe un-
der their Leader *Jengbiz Chan* came
forth from *Great Tartary*, the Foun-
tain of numberless Swarms of *Scythi-
ans*, is the common and constant opi-
nion of the Turks. Nor do we know
of any Christian Writer who ascribes
any other Country to *Jengbiz*. This
our Opinion is supported by an evi-
dent Passage in *Nicophorus Gregoras* in
the fourth Chapter of his second
Book, where he thus speaks of the
Irruption of these Tartars. "Many
ages after, flowing out of the first
" *Scythia*, as from an inexhaustible
" Fountain,

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H. 611.
A. C. 1214.

calling all the Princes of his Nation in Nobleness of Birth, Glory of Ancestors and his own Virtues, in the Year of the *Hegira* according to *Nisbrin's* Chronology, 611, [and of the *Cristian Æra*, 1214.] with about fifty thousand select *Tartars* of the *Oguzian* Tribe, encouraged by the Example and Fortune of *Jengbiz-ghan*, forsook his old, and advanced towards *Europe* (8) in quest of new, Habitations.

His Conquests

In this manner *Soliman Shah* with equal speed and success entering *Azerbejan* (9), a Province bordering on *Syria*, by the force

ANNOTATIONS.

" Fountain, they divided into two Bodies, one whereof penetrated as far as the *Caspian* Sea, and forgetting their Native Appellation were called by the Names of, the *Sarmatae*, *Messagetæ*, *Melanoblani*, *Amazones*, &c. The others bending their Course towards *Europe* over-ran all the Sea-Coasts, &c." Again, in the 1st Section of the 5th Chapter, he says, "*John Ducat* being now Emperor, a numerous Swarm of *Scythians*, composed of many Myriads of Men, forsaking the Northern Regions came down to the *Caspian* Sea. Mean while, their Leader *Sitzischan* (by which Name we have shown in the Preface, *Gregoras* meant *Jengbiz-ghan*) being dead, the Command of the Armies was divided between his two Sons, *Ghauras* and *Telepugas*." Thus far *Gregoras*, on whose words it will not be foreign to our purpose to remark, that the *Scythians* or first *Scythia*, as it is called by him, is the same with what is now called *Great Tartary*, and tho' Historians have given Names to its Inhabitants, these Names are rather asciticious and foreign than proper and peculiar to them, whilst they remained in their old Habitations. So that when, in the Preface to this History, the Reader finds the Princes of the *Oguzian* Family to be divided into two Branches, the *Alotbman* and *Aljengbiz*, let him not imagine that this distinction prevailed during the Lives of the Founders of these Branches. For as it is absurd, that the *Alotbman* under *Soliman's* Command, should receive a Name from

his Grandson, who reigned not till a hundred Years after, so with no less falsehood are the Princes of the *Crim-Tartars* vulgarly said to have retained the Appellation of *Aljengbiz* from *Jengbiz-ghan* himself. For neither were they wont to be called by this Name till after they were subdued by the *Othman* Arms, nor do their *Chans* derive their Origin from *Jengbiz-ghan* but from his Grandson *Gherai*, who first conquered those Parts. And these Princes seem in later times, in imitation of the western Emperors, (who from the Founders of the Empire, used to call themselves *Cesar* and *Augustus*) to have taken and transmitted to their Posterity the Names of their Heroic Ancestors, the *Turks* That of *Othman*, and the *Tartars* That of *Gherai*. From whence at this day the *Chans* of *Tartary* to their proper Names always add *Gherai*, as *Selim Gherai*, *Kaplan Gherai*, &c. but of these things more in another Place.

(8) *Europe*] or the *European* Parts, *Rumi-li* or simply *Europe*, *Rum*, is bounded with *Syria* by the *Arabians*, so that they who at this day go to *Aleppo* the Metropolis of *Syria*, are said to enter into the *European* Parts. But the *Turks* own the same Bounds to *Europe* as we do, namely, the *Bosphorus* of *Torace*, *Tanais*, and the *Nile*.

(9) *Azerbejan*] or *Skirvan*, or *Biladul-gebel*, the greater *Media*, but not with the same Bounds as anciently. For the *Tartars* (who scrupled not to extend the old Limits, and change the Names of their Conquests) have added to it the greatest Part of Northern *Asyria*,

force of his Arms or the fame of his Exploits, possesses himself of every thing in his way to *Ablad*, a Province and City of *Armenia major*. But the *Jengbizian* *Tartars* with unheard of fury and cruelty ravaging all before them, and advancing to *Azerbejan*, *Soliman Shah*, either giving way to the stronger, or reserving his Followers for a more prosperous fortune, was forc'd to assemble his People and from *Asia minor* to retire into the inmost Parts of *Azerbejan*. But a Nation born to war and rapine, being impatient of the indigence of an unactive Country-life, and the want of even necessaries in those Deserts, he departed in the year of the *Hegira* 616, from *Azerbejan*, and led his victorious Forces a second time towards the Regions of *Lower Asia*. Being crown'd with unexpected success, he subdued many Cities and Towns of those Regions, and pushing his Conquests to the *Euphrates*, wou'd, led on by inconstant Fortune, first attempt to pass the River on Horse-back, but being carried away by the violence of the stream, was drown'd in the foremention'd year. His Body being afterwards taken out of the Water, was buried by his Sons under the Walls of *Jaber* (1), not far from *Aleppo* (2). An anonymous Poet of that Age sung his Epitaph in the following Distich.

H. 616.
A. C. 1219.

and Death.

See

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Syria, the rest of which goes at this day by the Name of *Kurdistan* (with some *Gordianæ*) and joins it on the West. *Azerbejan* is compounded of *Azer*, *Fire*, and *jan*, *Soul*, with the Conjunction *be*, *in*, so that it may be properly rendered, *Fire in or with the Soul*. [This Word is writ by *D'Herbelot*, and others *Erzengian*.]

(1) *Jaber* or *Baber*] formerly a City near *Aleppo*, at present a *Tekkî* or Convent of *Turkish* Monks called *Sbeg Ebu bekir*, which in late Maps is, perhaps, corruptly writ *Bir*, and *El-bir*. This place of his Interment is visited by the *Turks* with great Devotion, which, besides its Antiquity, is become more venerable by a Monument or *Turbè* erected there by Sultan *Selim* the Conqueror of *Egypt*. It is said to have been raised to the Memory both of *Soliman* and *Ebubekir*, one of the four Expounders of the *Koran* and *Mahomet's* immediate Successor, who is believed to be buried here. [*D'Herbelot* calls this Place *Khaibar*, and says the Sepulchre of *Soliman Shah* is according to *Saadi* the famous *Turkish* Historian, nam'd at

this day, *Mezar Turk*, the *Turk's* Grave.]

(2) The Reader may, perhaps, think that we have been more concise in relating the Actions of *Soliman* than the dignity of the Subject, and the Memory of the Founder of so great a Race, seems to require. But we who have made truth our sole aim, chuse rather to deliver a few well attested Facts, than impose upon the Reader with a long recital full of Fables, Barbarisms, and Anachronisms. With such things as these, we have often observed *Christian* Historians in their accounts of the *Turkish* Affairs, to have loaded their Works, and have wondered that Men of Learning, and in other respects of great Penetration, could be ever induced to credit the indigested and absurd Narrations of *Abulfarago*, who among the *Turks* scarce merits the Name of Historian. There are indeed among the *Turks* themselves fabulous Books *Alotbman Tevaricbi*, and others which give us pompous Lists of *Othman's* Ancestors, but are in no more esteem with the more learned *Turks* than the

C

Arabian



The Othman History. Part I.

Seu mezidi cbu * nebri faili ol,
Nebri Saille buldi mest ana yol.

That is,
Since he the river Sail did not love,
He in that very river met his death.

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Arabian Nights Entertainments, lately published in Europe in French, nor do they scruple to own, that every thing in the Othman History before Soliman favours of Fables.

* Cbu is here to be pronounced as in the English Word Chuse.
[It may not be amiss to add at the end of each Reign, a Catalogue of

the Cotemporary Princes reigning in Europe, whereby the Reader will be enabled at one view to represent to himself what was transacting at the same time in those two Parts of the World. From the Time therefore of the Eruption of Soliman Shab in 1214 to his Death in 1219 there reiga'd in Europe as follows:

At Constantinople, { HENRY Earl of Flanders, 1206 -16.
 { PETER de Courtenay, 1216 -22.

In the West, { OTHO IV. King of the Romans, 1208 -18.
 { FREDERIC II. 1218 -45.

In England, { JOHN, 1199 to 1216.
 { HENRY III. 1216 -72.

In France, PHILIP the August, 1180 to 1223.]



THE



EXAMINATIO
LORDER GAMMAMMHEO
XVI. Long paper Path
XVII. Of the Ceram or Sacred to the Christians





OTHMAN I.
 FOUNDER of the OTHMAN EMPIRE.
 in the Year 1300.
 From an Original Picture in the Seraglio.



The REIGN of
 OTHMAN or OSMAN I.
 FOUNDER of the
Alotbman EMPIRE.

BOOK I. CHAP. II.

- I. Soliman Shah's four Sons divide their Father's Forces among them. II. Ertogrul goes to Aladin. III. Falls upon, and vanquishes the Tartars, whilst they are engag'd with the Turks. IV. Is made General of his Army by Aladin. V. After many prosperous Actions, dies; and, VI. is succeeded in his Dignity by his Son Othman. VII. Who suppresses the Rebels and conquers many Cities upon the Grecians. VIII. Othman is dignified with more Honours. IX. He repels Fraud by Fraud, and Arms by Arms. X. Aladin deserted by his People flies to the Emperor Michael. XI. Othman by the Suffrages of all the Princes is declared Sultan. XII. Sets his Sons over the Provinces. XIII. Removes the Seat of his Empire to Jenghisleri. XIV. Attempts in vain to take Nicomedia. XV. Defeats the Grecians in a Battle, and takes Cotaia. XVI. Long besieges Prusa. XVII. Offers the Coran or Sword to the Christians, and by

by Both subdues many. XVIII. He adds many Cities to his Empire. XIX. Conquers a nation of the Tartars, and compells them to Mahometism. XX. Conquests of Orchan Son of Othman. XXI. He takes Prusa. XXII. and by his dying father is left Heir to his Empire.

Soliman's Sons divide among them his Forces.

Soliman *Shah* being thus taken out of the World, his four Sons *Ertogrul* or *Togrul* (1), *Sunkur Tekin* (2), *Jundogdi* (3) and *Dindar* or *Dumdar* (4), divided between them their Father's Riches and Forces. *Sunkur* and *Jundogdi* returning to their ancient habitations, must be there left to their unknown Fortunes. *Ertogrul* and *Dumdar* with their part of the Forces, first pitch'd their Tents in a Place call'd *Syrmalyzukur*, where *Dumdar* within a few days, departing this life, *Ertogrul* assembled his own and his Brother's Forces; and subdued by arms or policy, all the Countries between *Aleppo* and *Cesarea*, with their Castles and Towns, introducing every where (5), the *Mahometan* Religion which he himself profess'd.

Ertogrul goes to Aladin.

II. His Fame thus increasing, *Aladin* (6), Sultan of *Iconium* thought it

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(1) *Togrul* or *Ertogrul*] These Names signify in English, a Man born, or, a just Man. *Ertogrul* was Son of *Soliman* and Father of *Othman* I.

(2) *Sunkur Tekin*] *Sunkur* according to its Etymology signifies a kind of white Falcon, the most rapacious of all the feather'd Tribe, and found no where but in the Country of the *Usbec Tartars*, and by their Ambassadors brought to the *Turkish* Emperors for a Present. It is but rarely taken and highly esteemed by the *Turks*.

(3) *Jundogdi*] Etymologically, the Sun is risen, or, the Morning has appeared. For *Jun* with the *Turks* signifies, Day or the Sun, *Dogdi* is the Preterperfect Tense from *Dogarim*, signifying, to be born or to come into the Light.

(4) *Dumdar*] According to the Etymology this Name signifies, Sonorous or endued with the power of Sound, for *Dum* is the noise of the Drum call'd *Kios*. *Dar*, in the *Per-*

sian Language signifies keeping or being endued with. Whence the Words *Vifadar*, keeping Faith, *Namidar*, endued with a good Name or Reputation, *Alindar*, holding the Standard or Standard-bearer, &c.

(5) Introducing every where] The *Turks* ascribe the fortunate Successes of the Empire, not so much to human Prudence, Policy and Valour, as that their first Emperors wag'd war not through Ambition and a Desire of Dominion, but through the Zeal of propagating the *Mahometan* Religion, and by that means they procured the divine Assistance to their Undertakings.

(6) *Aladin*] Lord or Sultan of *Iconium*. He is always call'd the Second by the *Turkish* Historians. Hence though they mention not a first, yet it seems most agreeable to Truth, that the first *Aladin* was the *Azatines* spoken of by *Nicephorus Gregoras* B. IV. Ch. 1. Sect. 6. who (says he) taking occasion from the Expedition of the *Tartars*, shook off the *Perfsian* Yoke, subdued

it more adviseable to allure to him so brave and indefatigable a Warrior, and set him at the head of his Army, than to cope with him as an enemy. Whilst he was thinking of these things, he was unexpectedly prevented by an Embassy from *Ertogrul*, with his Son *Sarujat* at the Head of it, who in his Father's Name was to ask of *Aladin* some Place in his Dominions where himself and his People might live in peace and amity. *Aladin* receiving the Embassy, and seeing, as the Proverb expresses it, that what he expected from Heaven, was come to him on earth, readily grants *Ertogrul's* desires; and with Ambassadors from himself, honourably dismisses *Sarujat* to his Father, desiring him to repair immediately to his Court, where he should meet with a reception worthy so famous a Leader. Induc'd by these promises, *Ertogrul* hastens to *Aladin* with the Ambassadors; is receiv'd with great distinction, and obtains *Carajedagy*, in the region of *Ancyra* for his first Habitation.

III. *Aladin* had been long infested, and often brought to the last extremity by dispers'd Bodies of the *Tartars*, who surviv'd the great *Jenghis Chan's* expedition. About this very time a numerous Body of these *Tartars* happening, without opposition, to invade the region of *Ancyra*, *Aladin*, to check their fury, leads against them such Forces as cou'd be most speedily assembled. But the *Tartars* superior in number and arms, at the first Onset, put the *Sultan's* Army into disorder. *Ertogrul* hearing of the battle, comes opportunely in the heat of the Fight, with five thousand select Men. His Soldiers seeing *Aladin's* Forces dispers'd, and flying before their victorious Enemies, persuade their General to join with the Conquerors. But *Ertogrul* answers, "It is not the part of a steady man to violate his faith, or of a brave warrior to draw his Sword upon the prostrate, but rather to assist and relieve the desperate and weak." By these words dissuading his Soldiers, eager to fall upon the spoils of the Run-aways, from their base purpose; he bravely charges the victorious *Tartars*, and quickly putting them to flight, unexpectedly recovers the day to the vanquish'd *Aladin*.

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subdued several Asiatick Provinces, belonging to the Eastern Emperors, and with his Son *Melek Shah* was obliged to retire to *Michael Palaeologus* after having been routed by the *Tartars*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 661, and of *Christ* 1261. For, it being

certain that his Son *Melek Shah* after the Recovery of his Father's Dominions took the Name of *Aladin* II, who can be (especially in so short a space as the Empire of *Iconium* lasted) the first *Aladin*, but the fore-mentioned *Azatines* of *Gregoras*?

BCS
22

Aladin makes him General of his Armies.

IV. Sultan Aladin now an Eye-witness of Ertogrul's Valour, which before had only reach'd him by fame, perceiv'd that he stood in less need of Forces than of wise Counsels and a good General. Wherefore pronouncing Ertogrul most worthy in both these respects, he commits to his care the whole region of Ancyra, and appoints him Generalissimo of his Armies.

Ertogrul's Actions and Death.

V. Ertogrul therefore joining his Forces with the Sultan's, not only puts a stop to the incursions of the Tartars, but every where defeating and slaying them, compells them to retire from the Borders of the Kingdom. Thus he not only preserves, but also enlarges, the Sultan's Dominions. In the year of the Hegira 680, (according to the accurate Historian Saadi) he crown'd his Victories with the Conquest of the famous City of Kutabi, upon the Greeks, and would have done greater things, had not death, unjust to the Glory of Heroes, taken him out of the World. For, worn out with old age, and the Toils of his Victories, he ended his life the same year, with great fame indeed to himself and his nation, but to the greater grief of Aladin and the whole Kingdom. His Sepulcher at the Castle of Suguchick* is still religiously visited by the Admirers of the Othman Family.

H. 680.
A. C. 1281.

Othman succeeds to his Father's dignity.

VI. But however, the Fortune of his Race did not expire with Ertogrul. For there remain'd three Sons, Othman, Junduz, and Sarviz. Othman (7) tho' the eldest, yet being a young man, receiv'd in Aladin's Family the diminutive appellation of Othmanjik or little Othman. His deceas'd Father had indeed left him by Will the Inheritance obtained of Sultan Aladin; but the Sultan in a grateful acknowledgment of Ertogrul's Services, sends him the military Ensigns, Tabl Alem (8); that is, the Drums, Standards, and the other Ornaments

ANNOTATIONS.

* Cb is to be pronounced here like Cb in the English word Cbick.

(7) Othman] Ertogrul's only Son according to the Turkish Historians, who (say they) on account of the Heroic Virtues of his Father succeeded to the Generalship of Aladin's Army whilst a Youth, and from thence was called Othmanulus, or little Othman.

(8) Tabl Alem] All the Governours of Provinces are called Tabl Alem sabibi, such as Viziers, Basba's, Begs and the like. Alem is a large broad Standard, which instead of a Spear-head has a Silver Plate, in the middle, bor'd in the shape of a Cres-

cent or Half-Moon. Tabl is a Drum, from whence the whole military Accoutrements with which the Turkish Emperors adorn the Great men, are called Tabulcanâ. The Tabulcanâ of a Vizier consists of nine Drums, nine Zurnezên or Players on the Zurnader or Fife, seven Borazên or Trumpeters, four Zillerzân or Players on the Zil (or Brass Basins which being struck against one another make a loud and clear sound) three Horse-Tails very artificially pleated, called Tug, one Alem, one Sanjak, (or Standard, distinguished only by the Colour from the Standard of Mabomet, Mabomet's being red and this

ments of a General; with full power over his whole Army. Moreover, he permitted him not only to coin money (9), impress'd with his own name, but also in the Cities and Towns conquer'd by his Father, and in those he should himself conquer, to have the Chutbe (1), that is, to be mention'd by name in the publick Prayers. Some Historians have from hence dated the beginning of the Othman Empire; but, as will hereafter be clearly shown, they are mistaken in their computation.

VII. Othman, invested with so many Honours, seem'd to want nothing of the royal dignity, but the Title of Sultan (2), which however

Othman suppresses the Rebels, and conquers many Cities upon the Greeks.

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this green) to these are added two other very large Standards called Bairak. Other Basba's who are not honoured with the name of Vizier and who are not inferior to them, the Princes of Moldavia and Wallachia have the privilege of at least two Horse-Tails, with the other Standards and Ornaments of the Viziers. A Beg with the Standards has but one Horse-Tail. There are moreover others of a much inferior order to Begs, who have no Horse-Tail, and but one Sanjak allowed them by the Emperor, and these are called Sanjakbegs, whose Office at the beginning of the Othman Empire, was the most honorable, That of Basba being of later appointment.

(9) Money] No Turk is allowed to coin Money or to be mentioned in the publick Prayers, but the Emperor alone. For though Cairo in Egypt coins money by the Emperor's license, it is done not in its own, but the Sultan's, Name. The Turkish Money has no Effigies stamp'd on it, but only the Sultan's Name in most elegant Characters. Thus on the Money of Sultan Ahmet who now sways the Turkish Scepter, are these Inscriptions.

Sultan Ahmet ibn Sultan Mabomet el Sultan ibn el Sultan. That is, Sultan Ahmet Son of Sultan Mabomet, himself Sultan and Son of a Sultan.

On the reverse,

Sultan alherin rebacanulbabrin sarî, fî Constantânî. That is, Emperor and Conqueror of the World, Lord of

the Seat; stamp'd at Constantinople, or fî Edne, at Adrianople, or fî Misr, at Cairo, or fî Imvr, at Smyrna. For no other Cities enjoy the privilege of Coining. But if the Emperor himself is in the Field with his Army, he carries a Tabor with him, and the Inscription is thus, fî ordut bumayun, that is, in the Tent of the most Sublime. The Chan of Crime-Tartary, is permitted however to coin Money with his own Name inscrib'd on it.

(1) Chutbe] By this is meant an Acclamation or Petition in the publick Prayers for the Health and sacred Majesty of the Emperor, and for Victory over his Enemies, particularly the Christians.

(2) The Title of Sultan] It was observ'd that the Arabic Word Sultan answers to the Persian [or rather Mogul] Word Chan. It is supposed by some to be derived from Selatat, that is, Conqueror or Potent. It must however be remark'd that this word in common Discourse is applied with a Pronoun to any Person, as Sultanum, my Lord, just as in French they use the Word Monsieur without any distinction. But if Sultan be used absolutely without a Pronoun, or with the Article el (the) it signifies only the Emperor, though, as I have before observ'd, the Title Padishab is accounted more excellent. The Sons of the Chans of Crime-Tartary are allowed the Title of Sultan, as Caplan Ghenai Sultan &c. [Ricaud says when the Sultan writes to the Chan he uses this Style. To the Government where it flourishes the Mass and Original of Regency.

however he did not think proper to assume during *Aladin's* life (3) He believ'd it more adviseable to wait that Prince's death, than, by an unseasonable thirst of dominion, to hazard both his Kingdom and Himself, nor was he disappointed by this resolution. For preserving inviolable the Allegiance, he had sworn to *Aladin*, he arm'd in his defence; and leading his victorious Troops against the Princes who had revolted from the Empire, reduc'd them to obedience. Then he turn'd his Arms against the *Greeks*, and in the year of the *Hegira* 687, taking the Town of *Culze*, the First-fruits of his following Victories, added it to *Aladin's* Empire. The same year he fought with the Captain of *Carasberi* or *the Black City*, and defeating him in a sharp Battle, takes his Brother *Calanos* or *Callinicus* prisoner, whom he causes to be flea'd, and afterwards buried. Then he orders the whole Army to piss on his Grave; from whence the Field, call'd before *Tomalidz*, retains, to this day, the name of, *It ishim* or *Dog's Piss*. Nor was this a bloodless Victory to *Othman*, for besides the Loss of many of his Men, his Brother *Junduz* was slain valiantly fighting. His Body was by *Othman's* order laid in his Father *Erto-grul's* Sepulcher near *Sugubick* *. Immediately after this Victory he took also the city *Carachisar* and annex'd it to the *Seljukian* Dominion.

H. 687.
A. C. 1288.

He is invest'd
with more
Honours by
Aladin.
H. 688.
A. C. 1289.

VIII. *Aladin* the second, being inform'd of *Othman's* Victories, invests him with the Government of *Eskishebr*, or *the Old City*. The next year 688, he expells the *Mogul-Tartars*, and suppressing on all sides the incursions of the Enemies, signalized himself by many Victories. At last, having assembled Inhabitants from all Parts and enlarged *Carachisar* with new Buildings and Walls, he made it the splendid Seat of his Residence.

There seems to be some difference in the Computation of years in the *Seljukian* Historians. For they fix *Othman's* Victory over the *Mogul-Tartars* to the year of the *Hegira* 698; namely, ten years later, which we therefore believe truest, because *Saadi*, in the following Actions of *Othman*, uses also the same Computation.

IX. In

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Regency, on which Fortune depends, and by which Felicity is obtain'd. Possessor of excellent Power and establish'd Glory, elected by the favour of that King from whom Succours are to be demanded. The King of Crim, Gian, Beg, Ghirai, Chav, whose Heigbt he for ever maintained. After respect had to those Blessings which are freighted with Amber, and Salutations perfum'd with Narcissus proceeding from the Imperial Grace, Be it known unto you, &c.]

(3) During *Aladin's* Life] The prudent *Othman* refus'd whilst *Aladin* lived to accept the offer'd Title of Sultan, perceiving he could not fail of it after his Death. He chose rather to be call'd *Seraskir* or *General of the Army*, that he might not be suspected of aspiring to the Throne. But after *Aladin's* Death, he threw off the Fox's and put on the Lion's Skin.

* Pronounced like the English *Ch*.

IX. In the year of the *Hegira* 698, *Michael* surnam'd *Kosid*, that is, *Goat's-Beard*, Prince of the City *Bilejiki*, being to celebrate the Nuptials of his Daughter, invites *Othman* as his Friend and Patron, to the Marriage. Whereupon the other *Grecian* Princes privately concert measures to seize *Othman*. But this Treachery being discovered to *Othman* by trusty Messengers from the faithful *Michael*, he feigns ignorance of the design, and using stratagem for stratagem, orders some hundreds of Soldiers to conceal themselves near the Place, whilst forty well armed young Men, dress'd like Women, were to enter in the Evening, the Castle of *Jarbifar*, and in the Night set fire to the Houses about it. In the mean time he himself repairs to the Guests with a slender Retinue to *Chakyrbanar*, a Place so call'd in the Suburbs where the Nuptial Feast was to be. The forty disguis'd Soldiers, (who, as we said, had entered the Town then without garrison) set it on fire, and in the Combustion, seize the Gates and Fortifications. *Othman* perceiving by the Flames that his stratagem had succeeded, gives the signal for the Soldiers in ambush to take their Arms with a Shout, and charge the Enemies buried in Wine. The Signal is no sooner given than executed, and all, except *Michael*, *Othman's* faithful Friend, are taken or slain, without distinction of Sex. Among the Captive Ladies was the Bride *Holophira*, of a noble Descent, whom *Othman* afterwards married to his Son *Orchan*, by whom she had *Soliman* and *Murad*, which last was *Orchan's* Successor in the Empire (1).

Othman repels Fraud with Fraud, and Arms with Arms.
H. 698.
A. C. 1298.

Presently

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(1) [This Story by reason of some mistakes or omissions is render'd very imperfect and obscure, and therefore it will not be improper to insert it here as related by the Christian Historians. *Michael Cossi* Governor of *Hirmen Kata*, Great Friend of *Othman*, invites him with the Christian Governors of the neighbouring Castles to his daughter's marriage. *Othman* by his noble Presents to the Bride and Bridegroom, (usual on those occasions) raising both the envy and jealousy of these Governors, they combine to destroy him by treachery. To that end, the Governor of *Bilejiki*, the most powerful of them, being shortly to marry the Captain of *Jarbifar's* daughter, requests *Othman* to grace the marriage with his Presence, and acquainting *Cossi* with their design, sends him at the time appointed to conduct *Othman* to the Wedding. *Cossi* found

Othman very ready to go; but grieving that so brave a man should perish by treachery, discovers to him the whole Plot. *Othman* resolving to be reveng'd, bids *Cossi* tell the Governor, he would certainly come, but being at wars with a neighbouring Prince, and fearing a surprize in his absence; that he desires the liberty to send to his Castle of *Bilejiki*, his Mother-in-law and Wife with their Attendants, and some of the best of his Goods. This is readily granted, and *Othman* disguising forty young-men like women, with some others, pack'd up in carriages as goods, he comes to the place where the marriage was to be solemniz'd the next day, being an open Field, for the conveniency of room, at some distance from the Castle. After his compliments to the Governor, he obtains his order that the pretended Ladies and Goods may be received into

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into

Presently after this Victory, he takes the Town of *Ainegiol*, and also subjects many other Castles and Towns with their Territories to *Aladin's* Dominion.

Aladin deserted by his People flies to the *Gracian* Emperor.

H. 699.
A. C. 1299.

X. In the year of the *Hegira* 699, a Swarm of the *Gazanensian Tartars* invading *Aladin's* Kingdom, his Princes and Great-Men, who obey'd him more out of Fear than Affection, deeming his Misfortune their Happiness, revolt a second time. By this Defection *Aladin's* Affairs growing desperate, he is forced to abandon his Dominions, and privately fly for his Life to *Michael Palaeologus* the *Gracian* Emperor. But when the Thread of the Destinies is spun, fruitless and vain are the Efforts of human Policy. For when he hoped to find a Sanctuary and Assistance from the *Greeks*, he is most inhumanly thrown by them into perpetual Imprisonment. From whence though he is said by *Nicephorus Gregoras* to be afterwards delivered by his Subjects, yet it appears by the unanimous Testimony of the Historians that he died in the year of the *Hegira* 703, and of *Christ* 1303.

Othman by the Suffrage of all is chosen Sultan.

H. 700.
A. C. 1307.
Feb. 11.

XI. Mean while *Othman* far superior to the rest of the Princes under *Aladin's* Dominion, in Valour, Reputation, Soldiers and Wealth, prevailed with them all, partly by great Presents and Assurances of greater, partly by the Favour of his Protection and a Communication of Power, and partly by threats, to obey and acknowledge him for Sovereign of the whole Empire. Wherefore by the unanimous Consent of all the Great-Men he is, in the beginning of the next year, that is of the *Hegira* 700, declared *Sultan*, and in the City *Carachisar* first assumes the Title of Emperor of the *Othmans*. From hence some Historians date the beginning of *Othman's* Reign, though *Saadi Effendi* strongly contends, that the first year of his Reign was when having conquered upon the *Greeks* the City *Carachisar*, he appointed there in *Aladin's* life-time, and with his Consent, a *Cadi* or Judge, and a *Chatib* or Deacon to mention his Name in the publick Prayers, and also coin'd Money impress'd with the Title of *Sultan*, namely in the year before-mentioned 687. But we following the common Opinion fix the

ANNOTATIONS.

into *Bilejiki*. The moment they are enter'd the Castle, the Soldiers leaping out of the Packs with the help of their disguis'd Fellows, with some difficulty seize the Castle. *Othman*, as soon as the Governor was retir'd to his Bed-chamber, supposing by this time the Castle was secur'd by his Men, immediately takes horse with his Followers and Friend *Cassi*, and rides full speed to *Bilejiki*. The Governor, inform'd of his sudden de-

parture, pursues and overtakes him, but his attendants, being for the most part, drunk, he is slain by *Othman* in the conflict, and the rest put to flight. Having thus taken *Bilejiki*, *Othman* with great diligence surprizes also in the morning the Castle of *Jarbyfar*, where he took prisoner the Captain, and his beautiful daughter the Bride, who were preparing to go to the Wedding.]

the first year of his Reign to the beginning of the year 700 [and of *Christ* 1300,] as the clearer, in our Opinion, and more accurate Chronological Computation, as we have demonstrated in the Preface to the Reader.

XII. *Othman* being thus possess'd of an Empire which he had rather long expected than sought, and having fix'd the Imperial Seat in *Carachisar*, sets his Sons over the Provinces and Cities to govern and protect them. The *Sanjak* of *Carajedagy*, a City afterwards very famous by the Name of *Sultan Ongbi*, was given to *Orchan*, of *Eskishe-bri* to *Junduz Aleb*, of *Ain Ongbi* to *Aigud Aleb*, of *Jarbyfar* to *Husan Aleb*, of *Ainegiol* to *Dorgud Aleb*, but *Aladin* his youngest Son with the Government of the City *Bilejiki*, was committed to the care of his Mother and Father-in-law *Baliad* (2).

Othman places his Sons over the Provinces.

XIII. These Governments being thus fill'd, and the City of *Kupri-bisar* taken the same year, he removes the Imperial Seat from *Carachisar* to *Jenghishe-bri*, which he adorns with Royal Palaces, Bagnios, and other stately Buildings, enlarges with new Walls, and strengthens with various kinds of Fortifications.

He removes the Seat of the Empire to *Jenghishe-bri*.

XIV. In order to the more firm Establishment of his new Empire and Seat, he peaceably spent some time in regulating his Domestick Affairs. Having ordered these according to his pleasure, his next concern was to prevent the Soldiers from being corrupted with Luxury and Ease. To this end he leads his Army against the City of *Iconium* (or *Nicodemia*), which though he annoy'd with a long Siege, he is unsuccessfully repuls'd by the Garrison. Wherefore raising the Siege, he builds over against it on a very high Mountain towards *Jenghishe-bri*, a strong Castle, which being well garrison'd and stor'd he commits to the Custody of the famous *Targan*. After that, he retires with the rest of the Army to Winter Quarters at his Royal Seat at *Jenghishe-bri*. It must be observ'd that the Chronicle of *Meulan Idris* makes this Castle (call'd *Targan* from its Captain) to be built not by *Othman* but his Son *Orchan*.

He attempts in vain to take *Nicodemia*.

XV. About this time the Governours of the *Greek* Provinces, among whom *Ornus* or *Honorius* Governor of *Prusa* was the Chief, observing

He detects the *Greeks* and takes *Kusabi*.

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) *Baliad*] [It is plain from hence, that *Michael Kasi* was not Governor of *Bilejiki*, since it is not probable, *Othman* wou'd deprive of his Government, so faithful a Friend, that had lately sav'd his Life. Consequently

there must be some mistake in (SECT. IX.) where our Author makes him Captain of *Bilejiki*. And therefore most likely to be, as related in the foregoing note.]

observing the daily Progress of *Othman's* Arms, and that Victory always attended him, privately agreed to meet with their forces under the Walls of *Coinbyfar* in order to march and surprisè him. But *Othman's* watchful Fortune discovers to him by scouts their Designs. Wherefore silently leading his Army into the Field, he unexpectedly attacks, vanquishes and routs his Enemies. The Prince of the City *Kostel*, with many others fell in the Battle. *Ornus* Lord of *Prusa*, and the Governor of *Kutabi* (whose Name is not mention'd) save themselves by flight. *Othman* pursuing them, the Captain of the Castle of *Ulubad*, warn'd by the Example of his Allies, and fearing also to be expos'd to the Fury of the *Othmans*, on certain conditions opens a way to his Pursuit. But *Othman*, unable to overtake the flying Enemies, besieges *Kutabi* (lately recovered from the *Turks* by the *Grecians*) and takes it. But the Conquest of that Place was attended with a notable Loss to *Othman*. For passing his Army under the Walls of the Town, over a Timber-Bridge, his Grandson *Dogris* with some Soldiers were drown'd, the Bridge breaking under them. His Body being found, was, by *Othman's* Command, buried in the Suburbs of *Coinbyfar*.

He besieges
Prusa, but
raises the
Siege.
H. 717.
A. C. 1318.

XVI. Most of the Cities of *Bitbynia* being conquered, and his Empire now firmly established, *Othman* at last in the year of the *Hegira* 717 besieges *Prusa* (1) the Metropolis of *Bitbynia*. But the City being strongly fortified and defended by a numerous Garrison, it was very difficult if not impossible to take it, and therefore *Othman* to prevent any fresh Supplies of Men or Provisions, from being thrown in, builds over against the City two Castles, of which he commits one to the Custody of his Nephew *Artimur*, and in the other places the famous Captain *Balanjik*, with strict orders not to molest or injure the Inhabitants. By this means all the Subjects of the *Prussian* Territory, flying for safety and life to these Castles as to a Sanctuary, voluntarily submitted to *Othman's* Dominion.

XVII. It

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Prusa*] [This City is of great Antiquity, and was the Seat of the Kings of *Bitbynia*. It lies at the foot of Mount *Olympus*, and is said to be built by a King of that Name in the time of *Craesus*. It had been in the hands of the *Greek* Emperors since the year of *Christ*, 947. It is now call'd by the *Turks*, *Bursab*, or *Burussab*, in *Natolia*. This City is famous for its Baths of Mineral Waters, which draw thither a vast Con-

course of People from all parts of *Turkey*. A *Turkish* Poet has made an Inscription in verse for the Baths of *Bursab*, to this effect: *It must not be wondered that the great number of naked Persons in these Baths very aptly represents the general Resurrection, since the Springs of the Water wherein they bathe, flow from the Fountains of Paradise*. When *Prusa* was taken by *Orcban*, he made it the Seat of his Empire, as will hereafter be seen.]

XVII. It was *Othman's* Custom after the Conquest of a certain Number of Cities, to check the rapid Course of his Victories, and repose himself and his Army some time in composing the Affairs of his late conquered Provinces, and restoring Peace and Tranquillity to the Inhabitants. Having spent some years at home to this purpose, his Soldiers, accusom'd to Victory and Spoil, and impatient of Ease and Rest, humbly petition'd to be led to new Conquests upon the *Greek* Empire. The prudent, and, in the Administration of the publick Affairs, the most politick, *Othman*, readily promises to grant their Request, but however, says he, the Propagation of the *Mabometan* Religion is not to be neglected, and puts them in mind that the Precepts of the *Koran* are to be preferr'd to Riches and Empire. Wherefore he proves to them by the Law of the *Koran*, that the *Christian* Princes ought first to be peaceably invited to the *Mabometan* Religion, and in case they refused to obey, were then, by the Divine Law, to be declar'd Enemies of God and the Truth, and for their Obstinacy to be subdued and chastised with Fire and Sword. Accordingly, an Edict is sent by the *Chaufes* * (2), signifying to all the Princes of *Asia Minor*, that they must either embrace *Mabometism*, or pay tribute, or be subdued by the Sword. The News of this thundering Edict reaching the Ears of all, *Michael Kose*, Lord of *Bilejik*, was the first that submitted to the *Mabometan* Superstition, which afterwards procur'd him and his Posterity for many ages great Honour and Credit with the *Othman* Emperors. His Example was follow'd by the Prince of the City *Liblebiji*, who, tho' he refused to turn *Mabometan*, became Vassal to *Othman* and delivered his Son to him in Bondage. The Lords also of *Lefka* and *Chadarly* * Many Cities are added to his Empire. subjected their Dominions to the payment of a yearly Tribute.

Chr. 717

XVIII. About the same time the Cities *Mortuni*, *Goinik*, *Tarakly*, *Enguiesi*, *Kayabisar*, *Hejeji*, *Akbyfar*, *Karacbyn* *, *Tekkurbanari*, and some others, whose Princes had contemn'd both the Religion and Do-

ANNOTATIONS.

* The Reader is to take notice for the future, that the Letters *Ch* in all the Words mark'd with an Asterisk are to be pronounc'd like the *English* *Ch*, otherwise like *K*.

(2) By the *Chaufes* * [These are (according to *Ricaut*) a sort of Messengers who attend at the Prime Vizer's Palace, to carry Letters and Commands to any part of the Empire. There are now between five and six hundred who have from twelve to Forty *Aspers* (about our Half-penny) a day. Their chief Officer is call'd *Chaus* * *Bashee* to whose Custody Prisoners of Quality

are committed. *Christian* Renegades for their Incouragement and Subsistence, are commonly admitted into this Rank, because, understanding other Languages, are most serviceable on Messages into foreign Countries, and sometimes are sent with the Title of Ambassador, as one was once into *France*, *England*, and *Holland*. They serve likewise as a sort of Apparitors or Serjeants to call the guilty Person to Justice. Their Arms are a Scymiter, a Bow, and Arrows, and a Truncheon with a Knob at the End, call'd *Topus*.]

F

minion

minion of *Othman*, being weaken'd by the frequent Incurfions of *Chau-shibeg* *, formerly *Ertogrul's* fervant, he at laft takes them all, and annexes them to the *Othmanic* Empire.

Othman obliges the *Tartars* call'd *Chaudar* to embrace his religion. † *Phrygia*.

XIX. Whilst *Othman* was employ'd in thefe Conquests, a nation of *Tartars* call'd *Chaudar* * coming from the Kingdom of *Kermian* †, unexpectedly invade his Dominions, and destroy all with Fire and Sword, to the very Walls of *Carachyfar*. *Othman*, then refiding at *Jenghisberi*, when he heard the unfortunate news, immediately leads his Army into the field. At *Oinasb* (a Town then in ruins near *Carachyfar*), he bravely attacks and routs the ravaging *Tartars*, killing great numbers, and taking more Prifoners. Thefe upon their embracing the *Mahometan* Religion, were afterwards reftor'd to liberty, and remain'd for ever within the jurifdiction of *Carachyfar* (3).

The Conquests of *Orchan* Son of *Othman*.

XX. Among the Sons of *Othman*, *Orchan* (his Succelfor in the Empire) excelled in Virtue and Bravery. With part of his Father's Army he conquer'd the Cities *Carachebefh* * *Alebsui*, *Pirgos*, *Tekinbifari*. Then he returns to his father, leaving the Command of his forces to *Cognuzalben*, who ftorms and takes the Castles of *Akari*, and *Tuzbazari*, and difpatching the famous Captain *Akije Coja*, lays wafte the Province of *Iznigmid* to the very Walls of the City. The Governor of *Iznigmid* complaining to the Emperor at *Constantinople* of the Fury of the *Othmanidæ*, and informing him of the imminent danger the City was in, the Emperor fent fome thoufands of well-armed Forces to his relief. But *Abdulrahman* another of *Othman's* Captains, having intelligence of their coming, fuddenly meets them in the Field of *Yailazova*. The *Greeks*, when they could no longer withftand the Fury of the *Othmanidæ*, turn'd their backs to the Conquerors, but being purfu'd, many were flain, great numbers taken, and but very few escap'd by an early flight, to carry the unfortunate news to their Emperor.

Othman being feiz'd with the Gout, *Orchan* overran *Bithynia*, and takes *Prufa* the Metropolis.

XXI and XXII. Tho' *Othman*, exhausted with labours, continual Expeditions and old Age, had been feiz'd with the tormenting diftemper of the Gout, yet preferving the vigour of his mind, and perceiving a moft

ANNOTATIONS.

(3) *Othmanic* Empire] Some *Chriftian* Writers afcribe many more Victories to *Othman*, particularly the Taking of *Nice* in *Bithynia*, *Neapolis* in *Itracce*, *Ancyra* in *Phrygia* and other Cities of *Natolia*. But fince the *Turkifh* Annals exprefly mention in what year and by whom thefe Cities were taken, namely *Nice* in the year

of the *Hegira* 726, by *Orchan*, *Ancyra* in 761, by *Murad* I, and relate as it were with the fame Pen, that *Orchan* firft attempted to pafs into *Europe*, we cannot be blam'd if we doubt of the Faithfulnefs of thefe Narrations, till they are confirm'd by the ftronger Teftimony of the *Turkifh* *Historians*.

moft prosperous fuccels attended his Arms, he fends his Son *Orchan* with numerous Forces, to fubdue the Province of *Bythynia* govern'd, as we obferv'd, by *Ornus*, and if poffible to take *Prufa* the Metropolis of the Kingdom. *Ornus*, unable to meet *Orchan* in the Field, is oblig'd to remain within the Walls of his Capital, a City otherwife very ftrong, and ftor'd with eight years Provisions. *Orchan* clofely befieging the City, and annoying it with continual attacks, met with a gallant refiftance from *Ornus* and his Garrifon. But, (to ufe the language of the *Pfalmit*) *except the Lord keep the City, the Watchman wakes in vain*. For *Michael*, who had lately abjur'd the *Chriftian* Religion, and was now chief Counfellor to *Orchan*, artfully perfwaded *Ornus*, after a long and obftinate Siege, to furrender at laft upon Capitulation. So, on payment of thirty thoufand Gold Crowns, the lives of the Inhabitants were spar'd, and the famous City of *Prufa*, without the effufion of one drop of *Turkifh* Blood, was delivered to *Orchan* in the year of the *Hegira* 726 (4).

H. 726.
A. C. 1326.

XXIII. As human happinefs is feldom pure and unmixt, *Orchan*, in the midft of his triumph and joy for the taking of this renowned City, receives the melancholy news that his Father was dying, and had therefore commanded him to repair to him with all poffible diligence. *Orchan*, obedient to his Father's command, leaves a ftrong Garrifon in *Prufa*, and with few attendants returns to *Jenghisberi*, where he found his Father almoft expiring. *Othman* giving him his paternal Benediction, and bequeathing to him his Empire, the fame year *Prufa* was taken, in the month *Ramazan*, resign'd his laft breath, in the 69th year of his age, after a reign of twenty fix years, three months and ten days (5).

Othman dies, and bequeaths his Kingdom to his fon *Orchan*.

OTHMAN'S

ANNOTATIONS.

(4) [As the *Chriftian* *Historians* for the moft part fay, this City was taken by old Sultan *Othman* himfelf, fo they pretend it was effected in the following manner. The Sultan after taking the Town, perceiving the Caftle to hold out, ordered it to be reported that he was dead and had juft before his Death, defir'd to be buried in the *Greek* Convent in the Caftle, with about forty Perfons to attend his Funeral, and if this Request was granted, his Army was to retire. The credulous Monks very readily complied, and a Coffin full of Arms with *Othman* himfelf in difguife and thirty nine others being admitted, they feiz'd the Gate, let in more

Troops, and took the Caftle. *M. Lucas* gives this Account in his Travels to the *Levant*, wherein he defcribes the Place with its Monuments of Antiquity, numerous Baths, Sepulchres of the *Turkifh*, Sultans, and the Ruins of ancient Palaces, &c. by which it appears to have been a very confiderable Place. The Reader will fee prefently a probable Conjecture of our Author how the *Chriftian* Writers came to think this City was taken by *Othman*.]

(5) [ten days] *Philippus Lonicerus*, and other *Chriftian* Writers afcribe to him a Reign of twenty eight years, but we think the *Turkifh* *Historians*, as better informed and more accu- rate

OTHMAN'S last Words to his Son ORCHAN as ex-
tant in the Historian Saadi.

WHEN these two Princes beheld one another, with Hearts in-
flam'd with affection, *Orehan* lamented and said, "Oh! *Oth-*
"man! Thou Fountain of Emperors, Lords of the World! Thou
"Conqueror and Subduer of Nations!" The excellent King casting
his dying Eyes on him, in a languishing voice, express'd himself
thus: "Lament not, O my Soul's delight! for this my last Conflict is
"the Lot of all Human Kind, common to young and old, who e-
"qually breath the same Air of this malignant World. Whilst I now
"pass to Immortality, live thou Glorious, Prosperous, and Happy.
"Since I leave thee for Successor, I have no cause to grieve at my de-
"parture. I will give thee my last Instructions, to which be attentive.
"Bury the cares of this Life in oblivion. I conjure thee, crown'd
"with Felicity, lean not to Tyranny, nor so much as look towards
"Cruelty. On the contrary, cultivate Justice, and therewith embel-
"lish the Earth. Rejoice my departed Soul, with a beautiful series
"of Victories, and when thou art become Conqueror of the World,
"propagate Religion by thy Arms, and exercise a just Friendship to-
"wards the *Rumean* Kingdoms (6). Promote the Learned to Honors.

" So

ANNOTATIONS.

rate, are to be followed, who unani-
mously allow him but twenty six Lu-
nar Years, three Months and ten
Days, that is, about twenty five So-
lar Years, five Months, and seven-
teen days. [When *Othman's* Coffers
came to be open'd, no Treasure or
Jewels were found there, he having
liberally bestow'd his Money upon his
Warriours, so that the Wealth he
left his Sons was, his Example to
imitate, large Dominions, many
Horses and much Armor fit for Ser-
vice, and especially great Herds of
Cattle and Flocks of Sheep. Of
these last it is remarkable, that there
are at this day in the Pastures near
Prusa, Sheep belonging to the Grand
Seignor which are said to come from
those of *Othman*. He lies buried at
Bursab, where his Tomb is still to be
seen in a certain Chappel of an old
Monastery in the Castle. But whe-
ther this be so or no, it is certain the
Tombs of the Sultans that were after-
wards buried there, resemble Chap-

pels, and are lin'd with Marble and
Jasper, and their Domes painted with
Azure and fine Ornaments in Gold
and Red, their Floors are covered
with Tapestry, on which lie the Cof-
fins of the Sultans with their Tur-
bans and Arms about them.]

(6) *Rumean* Kingdoms] [*Regna*
Rumacorum. D'Herbelot observes, that
Rum was a name given by the *Arabi-*
ans and other Eastern Nations to the
Countries, which the *Romans* first, and
afterwards the *Greeks* and *Turks*, re-
duced to their Obedience. But more
particularly, according to *Ebn Aluar-*
di in his Geography, the Country
call'd *Rum* begins at the Western
Ocean and contains *Galaleca*, *Galli-*
cia; *Andaluz*, Spain; *Afranja*,
France; *Rumiab*, Italy; *Nemsiab*,
Germany; *Leb* and *Cheb**, Poland
and Bohemia; *Inkitar*, England;
Majar, Hungary; to *Constantinople*
and the *Euxine-Sea*, where he joins the
Country of the *Secalebab* or *Slaves*, and
Sclavonians bordering upon the *Rus-*
sians,

"So the Divine Law shall be establish'd, and in what Place soever
"thou hearest a Learned Man, let Honour, Magnificence, and Cle-
"mency attend him. Glory not in thy Armies, nor pride thy self
"in thy Riches. Keep near thy Person the Learned in the Law, and
"as Justice is the Support of Kingdoms, turn from every thing re-
"pugnant thereto. The Divine Law is our sole Aim, and our Pro-
"gress is only in the Paths of the Lord. Imbark not in vain Under-
"takings or fruitless Contentions. For it is not our Ambition to en-
"joy the Empire of the World, but the Propagation of the Faith was
"my peculiar desire, which therefore it becomes thee to accomplish.
"Study to be impartially gracious to All, and take care to discharge
"the publick Duties of thy Office; for a King not distinguished by Good-
"ness and Bounty, belies the Name of a King. Let the Protection of thy
"Subjects be thy constant Study; so shalt thou find Favour and Pro-
"tection from God." *Othman*, Refuge of the Faithful, having finish-
ed these Instructions, his Soul departed to the Regions of Eternity.

ANNOTATIONS.

sians. And lastly, the Country still
more properly call'd *Rum*, viz. *Ro-*
mania and *Rumilia*, that is *Thrace* and
modern *Greece*. The Author of the
Masabat alarab, or, *Extent of the*
Earth says, that *Rum*, in which he
includes Part of *Asia Minor*, is
bounded on the West, by the Canal
of the *Black-Sea*, on the South, by *Belad*
Sham and *Belad Jezzirab*, *Syria* and
Mesopotamia, and *Arminiab*, *Arme-*
nia, on the East and North by *Belad*
Kurg, *Georgia*, and *Babr Bontos*, the
Euxine-Sea, and that in the Middle
of this Country of *Rum*, is, *Gebel*
Carman, (the Mountain of *Carumania*
or *Mount Taurus*, where inhabit ma-
ny *Turkish* and *Turcoman* Families)
the ridge of which Mountain extends
from *Tbarsus* in *Cilicia* to the *Hellef-*

pent. And in this Country of *Rum*
properly so call'd, reign'd the Dy-
nasty of the *Seljukian* Sultans, call'd
by the *Arabians*, *Selajekab Rum*, or, the
Seljuicide of *Rum*, from whom the
Othmanide or present *Turks* deriv'd
their Original, which is the reason
that the *Persians* and *Moguls* still call
the *Turks* to this day, *Rumi*. From
Ebn Aluardi's Description of *Rum* it
appears that by the *Regna Rumacorum*,
the Kingdoms of the *Rumi*, here menti-
on'd by *Othman*, are to be understood
the *Christians* of *Europe*, and by, ex-
ercising just Friendship towards them,
he doubtless meant, obliging them to
embrace *Mahometism*, which in the
opinion of the *Turks*, is the greatest
Kindness or Friendship that can be
shown *Christians*.]

From the Death of *Soliman Shab* in 1219 to the Death of *Osman I.* in
1326, there reigned in *Europe*, as follows.

At *Constantinople*, { ROBERT (Son or Brother of PETER de Courte-
nay) 1222-29.
BALDWIN II. 1229-62.
MICHAEL PALEOLOGUS 1262-82.
ANDRONICUS PAL. the Elder 1282-1325.

The Othman History. Part I.

From the Death of **FREDERIC II.** 1250 to 1273, was a Sort of *Interregnum*, in which time were elected **HENRY** of *Thuringia*, **WILLIAM** of *Holland*, **RICHARD** Duke of *Cornwal* Son of King **JOHN** of *England*, **ALPHONSUS** the *Wise*. During these twenty three years, were extinguish'd the great Families of *Suabia*, *Austria* and *Thuringia*.

RODOLPHUS of *Habsburgh*, 1273-91.
ADOLPHUS of *Nassau*, 1291-98.
ALBERTUS Son of **RODOLPHUS**, 1298-1308.
HENRY of *Luxemburg*, 1308-13.
LEWIS of *Bavaria*, 1313-46.

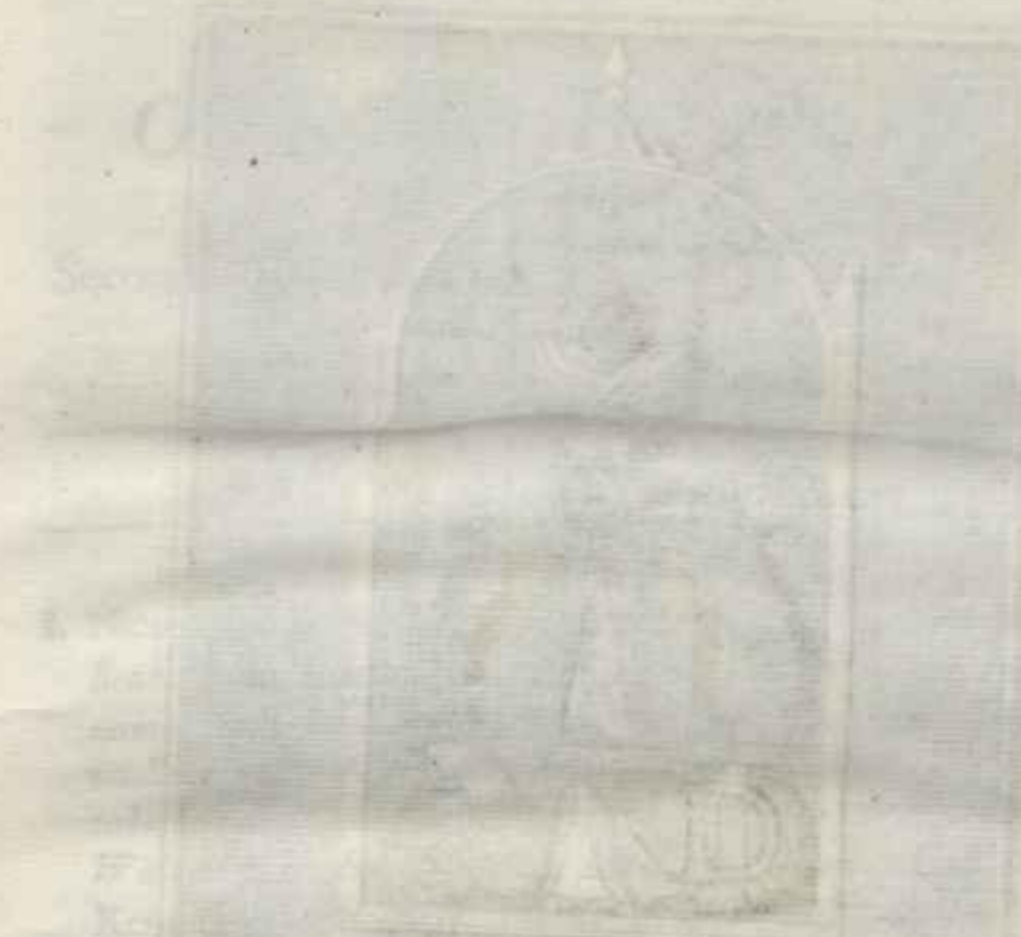
In *England*. } **EDWARD I.** 1272-1307.
 } **EDWARD II.** 1307-27.

In *France*. } **LEWIS VIII.** 1223-26.
 } **LEWIS IX.** 1226-70.
 } **PHILIP the Hardy.** 1270-86.
 } **PHILIP the Fair.** 1286-1313.
 } **LEWIS X.** 1313-15.
 } **PHILIP the Long.** 1315-21.
 } **CHARLES the Fair.** 1321-27.

The End of the Reign of OTHMAN I.



THE

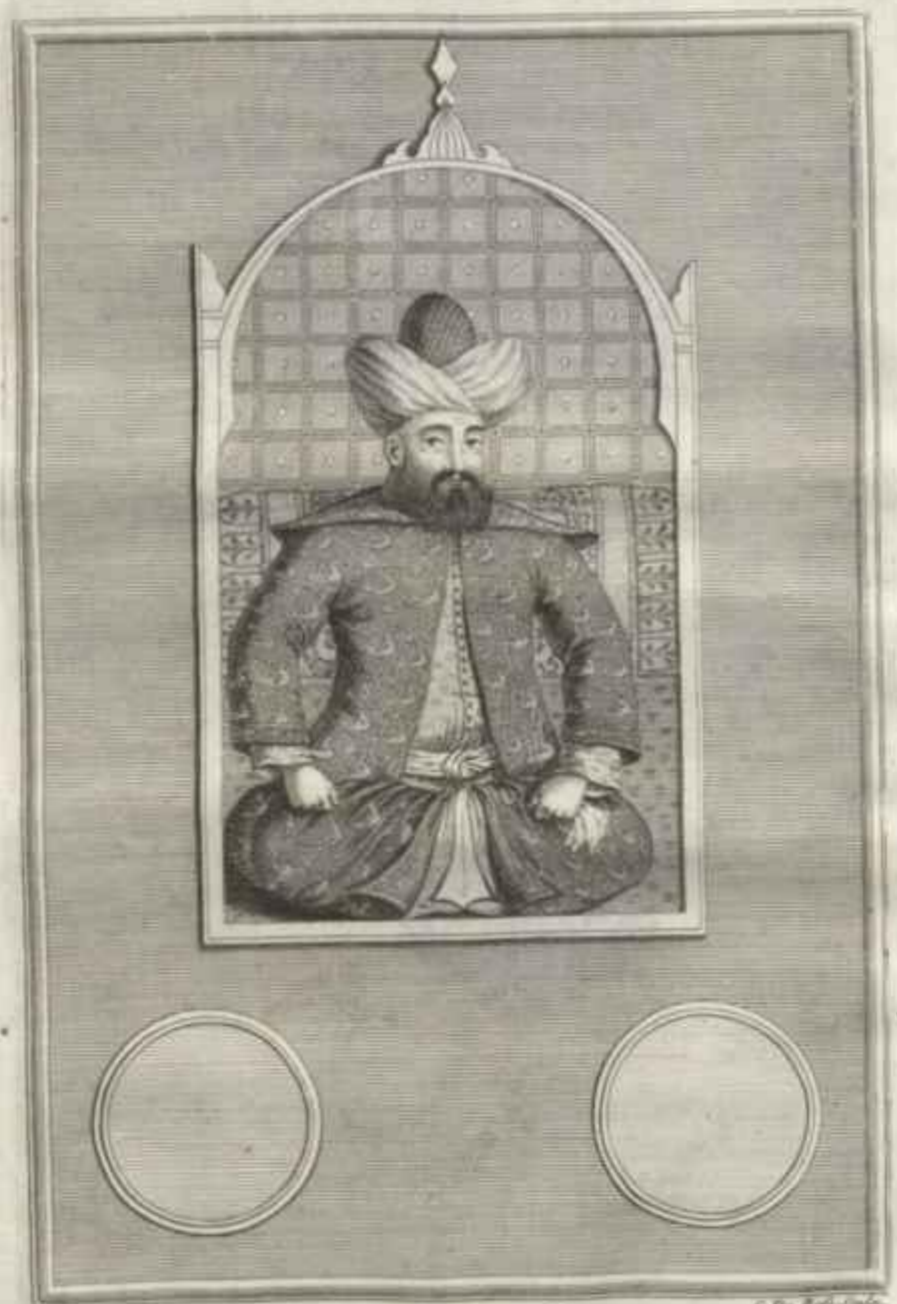


THE
 OTHMAN HISTORY
 PART I.



B.C.S.

The Ottoman Empire Part I.



ORCHAN Son of OTHMAN.
SECOND EMPEROR of the TURKS.
in the Year 1326.
From an Original Picture in the Seraglio.



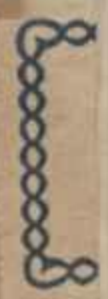
The REIGN of

ORCHAN

Second EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK I. CHAP. III.

- I. Nicomedia surrenders to Orchan. II. He removes the Seat of his Empire to Bursah, coins money in his own name, and models the Army. III. He puts his Army under regular Pay, and propagates his Religion. IV. He takes Nice after a long Siege, and marries the Grecian Widows to his Soldiers. V. He takes the strong Castle of Kemluk, and first founds Schools and Academies. VI. Having weaken'd the Grecians in Asia, he politickly gains the Musulman Princes to his Dominion. VII. He unites to his Empire the maritime Towns. VIII. He first sends his Son Soliman into Europe, who with his fleet takes two European Ports. IX. Callipolis surrenders to Soliman. X. Orchan sends his other Son Murad with a new Army into Europe, where, besides others, he takes the strong City Chorlu*. XI. Soliman, Son of Orchan, is kill'd by a fall from his Horse. XII. Ache-beg* takes the



the City of Dydomothychon, which is restored to the Inhabitants by Orchan. XIII. Orchan's Death and Character.

OTHMAN being dead, his Son Orchan (1) in the thirty fifth year of his age, and of the *Hegira* 726, on the 10th day of the Month of *Ramazan*, was immediately saluted Emperor of the *Othmanidae*. Orchan having in his Father's Life-time (as 'tis said) taken *Prusa* (2), and subdued the Territory of that City to his dominion, spends the first year of his Reign in settling the affairs of *Asia*, and establishing his new Empire. But the next year, he at once overruns the whole Province of *Semendura*, extending from the City of *Aitas* to *Iznigid* or *Nicomedia*. Then he leads his Army against *Iznigid*, which tho' difficult to be taken, he closely besieges and conquers. *Calojanes* the Governour, who rather deserted than defended the City committed to his care, when he saw Orchan's Army approach, flies away in the night to the Castle of *Coinubisar*. Orchan hearing of his flight by some Captives, sends part of his Army to invest that Castle also, which being easily taken, and *Calojanes* slain with an arrow, he causes his head to be fixed on a Pole, and shown in terror, to the *Nicomediensians*. They seeing the head of their Governor and General, send Ambassadors to agree with Orchan upon Articles of Surrender, and so obtaining liberty to retire with their lives and goods to *Constantinople*, they deliver up the City to Orchan.

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) Orchan] *Nicephorus Gregoras* Book XV. Chap. 5. Sect. 2. calls him *Hyrcanus* or *Orchanes*, and says, he married *Maria*, (or according to *Cantacuzenus*, Book III. Ch. 92. *Theodora*) Daughter of *Johannes Cantacuzenus*. Of this, tho' the *Turkish* Historians are entirely silent concerning it, we are unwilling to doubt, because it is hardly credible that a *Christian* Writer, and Father of this *Maria*, should relate a Falstiy which could be attended with nothing but disgrace, both to the *Christian* Religion and the Emperor himself; or should propose from thence any praise to himself. But whether he had any Children by this marriage or not, since no Historian, that we have seen, has informed us, we chuse also to pass it over in silence. [*Johannes Cantacuzenus* Guardian to the Emperor *Andronicus*'s two Sons, usurp'd the Throne in 1338, but be-

ing dethron'd, he retired to a Monastery on Mount *Athos*, where he wrote the History of his own Reign, which is reckoned the Master-piece of the modern *Greeks*.]

(2) Having taken *Prusa*] The *Christian* Writers refer the taking of *Prusa* to the times of *Othman*, who they tell us, died the following year. This mistake seems to arise from the Loss of *Prusa*, (which was a very great calamity) being known to *Greece* before the news of *Othman*'s death could arrive there. For it is usual in the *Othman* Court to conceal with great care the death of the Emperor, especially from their Enemies. Now the great exactness observ'd by the *Turkish* Writers in marking the days of the deaths of their Emperors, will scarce permit us to doubt of the truth of this Narration.

II. In

II. In the year 728, he took by Capitulation under the conduct of *Alibeg*, the City of *Herkie* (call'd afterwards *Karamuske*) Capital of the Province of *Semendura*. Orchan, when he had subdu'd all the fortified places of *Bitynia*, except *Nicea*; the same year removes his Imperial Seat from *Jengbisher* to *Prusa*, and by the advice of his Brother *Aladin*, abolishing the *Seljukian* money, makes a new Coin, inscrib'd with his own name. He orders the Inhabitants of Cities to be distinguish'd from those of Villages by different Habits; and also was pleas'd that the military Men should be distinct, who before differ'd in nothing from the *Christian* Soldiers. He inroll'd a new Militia of Foot, (of which there had yet been none among the *Othmans*) and taught them to make Engines, for taking of Towns, (which before they were entirely ignorant of) and made his Brother *Aladin* General of his Armies, and set him over the Publick Affairs with the new Title, of *Prime Vizir*.

III. In the year 729, Orchan first assign'd the Soldiers (who before were all Volunteers) regular Pay, namely a *Nikra* a day, (so his new Coin was call'd, being in value about the fourth part of a silver Drachma.) However, when they were not upon duty, he appointed them to live peaceably on their own possessions, free from all contributions. But this Infantry, being taken from the dregs of the Peasants, a rough and unciviliz'd generation, very frequently rais'd, or endeavour'd to raise, mutinies. Orchan observing this, abolishes that Body, and puts in their room as many *Christian* youths as can possibly be procur'd; whom he first causes to be instructed in the *Mabometan* Faith, and then to be inroll'd. So, in a short time he not only got a numerous Army, but also greatly enlarged the *Mabometan* Superstition. If any of the *Turkish* Peasants, contented with his own possessions, was willing to be inroll'd, they were permitted to serve among the Horse, under the *Sanjakbegs* and *Balukbasbis*, by the name of *Musellem*, that is, the Free.

IV. The military Orders, and a new Soldiery being thus re-establish'd, and the number of Forces greatly increased; Orchan this same year besieges *Iznik* or *Nicea*, which almost wholly destroy'd by a two years continual Siege, Famine, and Pestilence, is compell'd to surrender at the mercy of Orchan; who, when the Inhabitants by their Deputies beg their lives with leave to retire to *Constantinople*, very generously permits them to take also what riches they can carry with them. Whereupon, the *Niceans* seeing Orchan's clemency, voluntarily become Tributaries to the *Othmanic* Empire, and remain'd free in their possessions and houses. Orchan in the year 730, enters the City, and when the Wives of the *Greeks*, kill'd by famine and war, bewail their Widowhood in his presence, commands the *Othmanic* Courtiers and Nobles

H

Nobles

H. 728.

A. C. 1328.
Orchan re-
moves his Seat
to Prusa, and
models the
Army.

H. 729.

A. C. 1329.
He first gives
the Soldiers
Pay, and pro-
pagates his Re-
ligion.

H. 730.

A. C. 1330.
He takes Ni-
cea after a
long Siege,
and marries
the Grecian
Widows to his
Soldiers.

H. 730.

A. C. 1330.

H. 730.

A. C. 1330.

Nobles to marry them, and treat them as honourably as *Musulman* Women. By this means, many Women of noble birth, and also of inferior condition, received at once Husbands, and the *Mabometan* Faith. After the taking of *Nicaea*, the Fame of *Orchan's* humanity to his Subjects flying over the neighbouring Regions; not only the *Nicaeans*, of whom great Multitudes had by flight avoided the Siege, but also numberless Inhabitants of other Cities and Towns, not yet subdued by the *Othmanic* Arms, flock to *Nicaea*. By which means, in the space of one year, *Nicaea* so abounded with Inhabitants, that it seem'd to rival even the City of *Constantinople*.

H. 734. V. In the year 734, *Orchan* takes by capitulation the Castle of *Kemluk*, fortified by Nature and Art, after a whole year's close Siege. This Castle had been often, tho' in vain, attempted by *Othman*. In the year 736, *Orchan* adorns the City of *Prusa* with a new *Mosch*, Academy, and Hospital, Structures truly royal. But especially the Academy, which was founded in a Monastery, became so famous, and illustrious for Professors of the liberal Arts, that out of *Arabia* and *Persia*, which before were looked upon as the Preceptors of the World, very many to pursue their studies, flocking thither, disdain'd not to be the disciples of the *Othmanide*.

Having weak-
on'd the Gre-
cians of Asia,
Orchan poli-
tically gainst
the
Musulman
Princes to his
dominion.

VI. *Orchan*, after he had by his Arms subdued upon the *Greeks*, the forementioned Cities and Territories, by his Policy and Art of Government, for which he was famous; contrives how to unite to his dominion the rest of the *Asiatick* Provinces, which were in subjection to some *Musulman* Princes, the remains of the *Seljukian* Empire. He begins with the dominions of *Ajilanbeg*, who dying and leaving a young Son call'd *Casimbeg*, *Orchan* under pretense of being his Foster-father and Protector, places him near his Person, and seizes his whole Province. *Turfonbeg*, another young Prince, imitating his example, dedicates to the *Othmanic* Scepter the Cities of *Aidynjik*, *Minas*, *Balykesre*, *Bergame*, and *Ermid*. Near to these, *Ulubad*, *Kubliur*, and *Eblius*, which as yet acknowledged the Empire of the *Greeks*, were reduced by the force of his Arms. *Michalche*, * the Son of *Keramastoria* a noble Matron, taking warning by their misfortune, delivers up his paternal possessions (which from his name are at this day call'd by the *Turks*, *Muchalich* *) to be held of *Orchan* in Vassalage. Mean while a contention arises between *Turfonbeg* and his Brother *Hajelbeg*; the former offers to *Orchan*, the Principality which he had before promis'd him, but the latter refuses to consent to it. A War from thence being kindled, they had recourse to Arms, *Hajelbeg* being the weaker, quitted the Field, and betook himself to the City of *Bergame*. *Orchan* taking occasion from this quarrel of the Brothers to seize the Province; with a cunning Hypocrisy, says he, "it is not just nor allowable by the *Mabometan* Religion, that by reason of

"the rage kindled between the Brothers, even one drop of *Musulman* Blood shou'd be spilt; yea rather it is a sin to contend with Arms about what may be decided by Law." Wherefore he orders the Brothers to meet under the Walls of *Bergame*; and according to the prescription of the Law, to make an equal division of the Possessions. Both agreed to the Sentence of the Judge. But at their first meeting, *Turfonbeg*, stabb'd with a dart by his Brother, (who pretended to embrace him) falls down dead before *Orchan's* Mediators. *Hajelbeg*, like another *Gain*, being seiz'd with horror after the deed, and dreading both his own People, and the *Othmanide*; endeavours to shut the Gates of the City, and oppose *Orchan* with Arms, but in vain, for the Citizens abhorring the murder and justly fearing *Orchan's* power, deliver up to him both their City and Prince; who, after languishing two years in prison, died at *Bursab*. The same fate attended the Prince of *Ulubad*, who being falsely accused of a revolt, is put to death. Whereupon the whole Province of *Carafus* with *Ulubad*, acknowledge the Sovereignty of *Orchan*. These things were transacted about the end of the year 737, and of the *Christian* Era 1337.

VII. In the beginning of the year 738, the maritime Towns *Anachor* and *Emrud*, (which yet remain'd under the deplorable rule of the *Christians*) hearing *Orchan* was preparing an Army against them, chuse rather to surrender themselves to his clemency, than by their resistance to experience his fury; whose example being followed by some other Towns and Castles, they were united to the *Othmanic* Empire.

VIII. *Orchan's* Ambition seem'd rather to be inflam'd than satisfied, with the course of his *Asiatick* Victories. Wherefore having conquer'd all *Bitynia*, in the year 738, he sends his Son *Soliman* to attempt a passage into *Europe*, joining with him the most famous Captains of his time, *Achebeg* *, *Gazifazyl*, and *Ornusbeg*, (or as other Writers are pleas'd to say) *Gazifaryl*, *Yacubjeg* and *Michalbeg* (3). Wherefore

ANNOTATIONS.

(3) *Michalbeg*] The *Christian* Writers have left nothing certain (as far as I find) concerning either his Birth or Fortune. But the *Turkish* Historians tell us, he was descended from the Emperors of *Trabizond*, (perhaps of the *Comnenian* race) and abjuring the *Christian*, embrac'd the *Mabometan* Faith, and was so belov'd (as they say) by *Orchan*, that he would do nothing without his advice. At this day there remains a very beautiful Stone-bridge at *Adrianople*, built over the river *Arta*, a famous Monument of his Son, who after his Father was call'd *Michal*. This Bridge still retains the name of its Builder, being call'd, *Michalogli Koprifi*; that is, the Bridge of *Michal's* Son. But whether he was of royal race I dare not venture to affirm, tho' the name of *Michael*

H. 738.
A. C. 1338.
He unites to
his Empire the
maritime
Towns.

H. 738.
A. C. 1338.
Soliman Son
of Orchan is
sent into Eu-
rope and takes
two Ports.

Soliman taking with him eighty chosen men, under pretense of hunting, descends into the region of *Aidinjik*, and surveys the *Asiatic* Shores. But as it was death by an Edict published by the Emperor of *Constantinople*, and confirmed by the rest of the *Christian* Princes, for any one even in a little boat to go over on the *Asiatic* side, or for an *Othman* to sail over into *Europe*; necessity whetting his invention, *Soliman* lays two Rafts on Ox-bladders tied together by the necks, on one of which he gets first himself, and in the night, the moon being at full, passes over more happily than he expected, from a village in *Asia* to the Castle of *Hamni* in *Europe*. *Soliman* having thus waded over his followers, they first seize a Country-man, who thro' an underground passage showing them an easy entrance into the Town, destitute of Guards, they suddenly surprize the People oppressed with sleep, and little expecting such an invasion. Wherefore *Soliman* taking the men prisoners, and judging it more prudent to deal gently with them than roughly, treats his captives very civilly, swearing to give them their liberty with ample Presents, if any of them understanding Sea-affairs, wou'd conduct into *Asia*, the Ships which lay in the Harbours of *Balair* and *Akchiliman*. The Captives, allur'd by *Orchan's* clemency and promises, transport into *Europe* from *Asia* in a few hours, about three thousand *Othmans*. On the morrow he suddenly took the Castle of *Hysobonia*, and supplying it with Provisions and a Garrison, gave it in custody to *Achebeg*; from whose name that Territory is at this day call'd *Achevvasi*.

Callipolis surrenders to Soliman.

IX. *Gelibolij* or *Callipolis*, put indeed a stop to his progress. The Governor, (who is mentioned by the *Turkish* Writers by the name of *Callaconias*) assembling as many of the neighbouring Youth as he could, endeavours to make head against *Soliman*. The fight was long and doubtful; but the *Othmans*, superior both in courage and number, are at last victorious, and force the *Greeks* to fly within the Walls of their City. *Soliman* considering that he could not take the Town by assault, without the loss of his men, resolves to humble his enemies by a long Siege and Famine. Wherefore drawing the Garrisons out of the Castles already taken, and preventing all relief and provisions from entering, he closely besieges the Town. Tho' the Governor and Garrison bravely defended the place committed to their care; yet tir'd at length with a long Siege, and weaken'd with frequent assaults, and moreover destitute of provisions,

ANNOTATIONS.

Michael will hardly suffer us to doubt of his former Religion; for to the best of our remembrance that name is ascribed to none but him and the Archangel by the

Turks. In the *Koran* or *Alcoran*, this name is written *Mikail*, but in speaking or writing to *Christians*, they are wont to say *Michal*.

they

they deliver up by capitulation in the year of the *Hegira* 760, *Callipolis* with the whole Province of *Chaireboli* or *Charipolis* (4). The *Grecian* Emperor, when he heard of the taking of *Callipolis*, which was justly call'd not only the Key of *Constantinople* but also the Bulwark of *Europe*, is reported to say, the *Turks* had only taken a Hogsty and a Pottle of Wine (5).

H. 760. A. C. 1359.

X. The next year Sultan *Orchan* sends a second Army into *Europe*, under the Conduct of his other Son *Murad*. The two Brothers uniting their Forces, *Soliman* subdues *Malgara* and *Ihsalam*, and *Murad* takes the Castle of *Epibatos*, about ten hours journey from *Constantinople*, after which he lays siege to the strong City of *Chorlu* * (or *Tyriolos*) situated between *Constantinople* and *Adrianople*. The Inhabitants relying on the strength of their City by nature and art, despise the Army of the *Othmans*, and not only refuse to surrender upon the honourable terms offered them by *Murad*; but also in vigorous Sallies kill several thousands of their enemies; and often beat them from their Walls, till overpower'd with numbers, rather than vanquish'd, they were all slain to a man. In revenge of this slaughter, *Murad* having taken the Town, order'd it to be entirely demolish'd, and levell'd with the ground, so that now there scarce remain any signs of it. By this act of Cruelty the Inhabitants of *Pirgos*, (a Town between *Adrianople* and *Chorlu* *) were frighted from their habitations, and left their empty Town a prey to the Enemy. After these Conquests, *Murad* joyfully returns with his Army into *Asia*, whilst *Soliman* remains with his Forces in *Europe*.

H. 761. A. C. 1360. Orchan sends his Son Murad with an Army into Europe, who takes Chorlu.

XI. This year, however fortunate it was to the *Othman* Empire, prov'd as fatal to Sultan *Orchan*. For *Soliman* (6), when under the colour of hunting, he was reviewing his Forces in the Field, and exercising, according to the *Othman* custom, his Cavalry in darting their Spears, and shooting their Arrows, was by an unruly Horse run away

Soliman is kill'd by a fall from his Horse.

ANNOTATIONS.

(4) *Chaireboli*] It seems to be *Christopolis*, in which place *Gregoras* (Lib. VII. c. 6. Sect. III.) says that the Emperor *Andronicus* built a Wall extending from the Sea to the Top of a neighbouring Mountain, (call'd by the *Turks* *Despot yalasi*.) in order to obstruct the way into *Macedonia*. I wonder from whence *Johannes Duns.* should have it, that *Christopolis* is called by the *Turks*, *Yanboli*. For *Yanboli* is in *Thrace*, about seventy miles from *Philippopolis*.

lis under Mount *Hemus*, situated on the Banks of the River *Tunje*.

(5) [Alluding it seems, to the name of a Castle taken by the *Turks*, which signified *Hogsty*.]

(6) *Soliman*] *Gregoras* seems to call him by the name of a *Trojan* Leader, whilst he tells us (Lib. XIV. c. 11. Sect. II.) that he married the Daughter of *Johannes Batatzes*, and first pass'd over from *Asia* into *Europe*. For the *Turks* make no mention of any man's passing into *Europe* before this *Soliman*.

I

with

B.C.S.

with, and breaking his leg against a Tree, fell to the ground with such violence that he instantly expir'd.

*Achebeg** takes *Dydomothycon*, which is restor'd to the Inhabitants by *Orchan*.

XII. *Orchan*, hearing of the unexpected death of his beloved Son, was so overwhelmed with grief, that he was seized with an incurable Illness, which shortly after laid him in his grave. However, least his Son's death and his own sickness should seem to stifle all warlike thoughts, he sends an Army under the conduct of *Achebeg*,* to conquer *Dydomothycon*. This General approaching the City before he was expected, accidentally takes the Governour in the Neighbourhood of the Place, where he had walk'd for his pleasure. The Governour, who was of the race of the *Greek* Emperors, impatient of a hard Captivity, purchases his freedom with the surrender of the City. *Orchan* however, mov'd at that time with the intreaties of the *Grecian* Prince his Friend, (this was *Johannes Cantacuzenus*, who had married his daughter to *Orchan* before his accession to the Throne) restores the City to its former possessors.

Orchan's Death and Character.

XIII. The illness contracted by the death of his Son, continually preying upon *Orchan's* old Age, and daily increasing, he died the same year, two months after his Son's misfortune, and was buried in *Manastyr* or the Monastery of *Prusa* (7). He left his Kingdom to his

Son

ANNOTATIONS.

(7) *Manastyr*] There was at *Prusa* or *Bursab*, a large monastery, (now turn'd into a *Jami* or Temple, retaining its antient name) in which, it is reported, there were in the time of the *Christian* Emperors five thousand Monks. Strange stories are told of these Monks by the *Turks*, in a Book call'd *Tacobiin Madian*. Among the rest, one Story is, that those Monks from the top of *Mount Olympus* (call'd by the *Turks*, *Keshib dagy*, or the *Mountain of the Monks*) flew thro' the air over the *Propontis* to the Church of *Sancta Sophia* at *Constantinople*, and that they eat only every seventh day one Olive or Fig. If any *Christian* questions the Truth of this Story, a *Turk* thinks it sufficiently prov'd, if he shows it to be written in his Book. For the illiterate among them, believe nothing false can possibly be recorded in their Books. I don't think it foreign to the purpose to relate here, as an in-

stance of this credulity a pleasant Story which happen'd at *Constantinople* in my time. In the reign of Sultan *Mustapha* the present Emperor *Achmet's* Brother, the Patriarch was one *Callinicus*, who was tolerably vers'd in the *Greek* learning, and of unblameable morals. He was continually dunn'd by the Proctors or *Meteveli* of the Empress *Valida's* Temple, for the interest of money due to them from the Church. The Patriarch, having no money to discharge the debt, desires they would grant him a delay till the *Monday* of the following Week. This term being expired, the Proctors are with him again, and more urgent for their money. The Patriarch intreating for another Week's respite, is thus taken up by the senior Proctor. "To what purpose (says he) O Patriarch, are these lies? Our Books tell us, and we certainly believe it, that your Monks heretofore, " not

Son *Murad* having lived seventy (8), and reign'd thirty-five years, according to *Saadi's* Computation. The *Turks* greatly extol this Sultan's Clemency, Valour, Justice and Liberality to the Poor; and affirm, that it was his constant practice to converse with the Learned; nor would he undertake any thing of moment without asking their advice; that he was the first of their Emperors that founded *Moschs*, *Jami* (9), *Medrese* (10), or Schools, and *Imaret*

ANNOTATIONS.

" not only were far from being
" guilty of lying, or any ill action,
" but also had attain'd to that de-
" gree of Virtue, that being taken
" up into the Air, they flew from
" Mount *Olympus* [meaning *Olympus*
" in *Bythinia* different from that in
" Greece] " to *Sancta Sophia*, and re-
" turn'd the same way; and were
" famous for other miracles exceed-
" ing all human power." The Pa-
" triarch, as he was very facetious,
" replies, " not the antient Monks on-
" ly did This, but we also daily
" do the same wonders. I myself
" frequently take a flight from hence
" (he was then at the Patriarchal Seat
" at *Pbanarium*) " to *Pera*. Indeed I
" chuse to fly after Sun-set, and not
" very high, in order to avoid the
" eyes of the multitude, and the
" imputation of Imposture or Ma-
" gick." To this the *Turks* only an-
" swered, " did not we tell you, our
" Books, wherein we believe no-
" thing untrue is contained, say as
" much?" It must however be con-
" fess'd, that in so great a Nation,
" there are many of the learned *Turks*
" who do not implicitly believe all that
" is said in the *Koran*; tho' they dare
" not openly express their Sentiments.
" So on the contrary, the most learned
" Turk, *Saadi Effendi* (to whom alone
" I am indebted for my *Turkish* learn-
" ing) being one day asked by me,
" how he, being a great *Mathematician*
" and vers'd in the *Democratean* Philo-
" sophy, could believe, that *Mabomet*
" broke the Star of the Moon, and caught
" half of it falling from heaven, in his
" sleeve. He replied, " that indeed in
" the course of nature it could not
" be done, nay was contrary to it,
" but as this miracle is in the *Koran*

" affirmed to be wrought; he resign'd
" his reason and embrac'd the Mira-
" cle. For, added he, God can do
" whatever he pleases."

(8) Seventy] From the years of his
" life, we gather the years of *Orchan's*
" reign. For if he succeeded his father
" *Oibman* in the thirty-fifth year of his
" age, and died in his seventieth, it is
" evident he must have reign'd thirty-
" five years. Hence we think those
" mistaken who ascribe to him but
" twenty-two years reign. Historians
" also differ in the manner of his death:
" Some say he was kill'd with an ar-
" row at the siege of *Prusa*, and others,
" that he fell in a battle with the *Tar-
" tars*. But without insisting that the
" *Turkish* Historians are to be most
" credited in these domestick affairs,
" it is agreed by all, that *Prusa* was
" taken in the first year of *Orchan's*
" reign; and consequently it would
" be ridiculous, to seek his death
" where he begun his reign. No Hi-
" storian mentions his war with the
" *Scythians* or *Tartars*, and therefore I
" think this to have no better founda-
" tion than the other opinion.

(9) *Jami* This is a *Turkish* Temple,
" priviledg'd for the *Friday's* devotions,
" call'd *Jumanamazi*; which it is
" not lawful to perform in the lesser
" *Moschids* or *Moschs*. If a *Jami* is
" built by the Sultan, it is call'd, *Sela-
" tyn* or *Royal*.

(10) *Medrese*] These are *Acade-
" mics* or greater Schools, and gene-
" rally, if not in the Court of the *Jami*,
" they are always very near it. The
" lesser Schools where Children are in-
" structed in the first rudiments of
" learning are commonly call'd *Mek-
" teb*. The Persons set over these *A-
" cademies* are call'd *Muderis*; that is,
" School-

rebuilt, and because there was no woods in those parts, he gives them the timber of a bridge he had run over the *Danube*.

Chairuddin
defeats two
Christian
fleets.

XXXVII. Mean while, *Chairuddin*, in his return from the Kingdom of *Temen*, unexpectedly meets near *Crete*, the enemy's fleet consisting of three hundred ships, and after a fierce and obstinate battle, gives them a memorable overthrow, takes many of their ships and sinks most of the rest. Next day, he finds another fleet of the enemies consisting of several Nations under the conduct of *Andrevirius* (73) in the port of *Prevesa*, and courageously attacks them. The enemies aided by the advantage of the place, behave with great bravery, and render the victory long doubtful, but at last the *Christians*, perceiving themselves overpower'd, make off in the night, but are forc'd to leave some of their ships to the *Turkish* Admiral as a reward of his pains. Whilst he is returning after these victories to *Constantinople* in a too great security, *Andrevirius*, now out of danger, besieges *Nova*, and taking it, puts all the *Mahometan* inhabitants to the sword to appease the discontents caus'd by his late defeat. But *Andrevirius's* conquest was short liv'd, for *Chairuddin* the next year attacks *Nova* with a fresh fleet, and recovering the lost Town, kills in revenge of his countrymen all the *Christians* there, without distinction of age or sex.

H. 946.

A. C. 1539.

The Germans
are repuls'd at
Buda.

H. 947.

A. C. 1540.
† *Stephanus*.

XXXVIII. In the year 947, war is rekindled in *Hungary*. *John de zapol* King of *Hungary*, who had under *Soliman's* protection manag'd his affairs with good success, departing this life, left an infant son call'd *Istifan* † Heir of the Kingdom. The King of *Germany* (74), thinking it easy to dethrone a child with an army of eight thousand chosen men, besieges *Buda*. King *John's* widow instantly acquaints *Soliman*, who was made the young Prince's Guardian, with this unexpected invasion, and implores his assistance. Whereupon *Soliman* sends before his Vizir *Sofi* (75) *Mehemed Pasha* with a good army

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alone ships must pass into the *Euxine Sea*, not far from *Akkerman*. Both these Towns belong'd formerly to *Moldavia*, but now to *Bujak*, call'd *Bessarabia* by the *Moldavians*.

(73) *Andrevirius*] This seems to be the name of some *Christian* General corrupted by the *Turks*: But who he was I have not been able to find.

(74) King of *Germany*] Not *Charles V.* who was then Emperor of *Germany*, but his Brother *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans* and *Bohemians*, who by reason of his affinity (for he married *Ann* Daughter of *Vladislaus VI.* Sister of *Lewis II.* who was

kill'd in the battle of *Mobach**) thought he had a Title to the Kingdom of *Hungary*. But when he saw he could do nothing by force, agreed with *Jobannes de Zapol*, that he should hold the Kingdom during his life, and after his death yield it to *Ferdinand*.

(75) *Sofi*] *Sofi* among the *Turks* signifies the more strict observers of the Laws, but those that carry their observance to excess are call'd *Zabid*, that is, *Hypocrites*. However the word seems to come from the *Greek* *εἰσφορ*, hence *φειδωρος*; is with them pronounc'd, *feilusuf*.

* Whom our Author here calls *Andrevirius*, was the famous *Andreas Doris* (call'd by *Jovius*, *Andreas*), a *Genoese*, and at the time here mention'd, in the service of the Emperor of *Germany*.

and

and in a letter to the Queen encourages her with a promise of coming in person with all his forces to her aid. *Mehemed Pasha*, in pursuance of his orders, marches with all speed to *Buda*. Though he found the enemies strongly intrench'd, yet not discouraged by that obstacle, he commands his men to attack them. The *German* King finding by his scouts that the *Turks* were not very numerous, divides his army into two bodies, and with one carries on the siege, with the other opposes the assaults of the *Othmans*. So about the end of the year for thirty days there were continual skirmishes, with such doubtful success, that neither side could boast of the advantage. But *Soliman* perceiving the town would not by this means be reliev'd, but was rather in danger of being taken, as the *Germans* had now destroy'd the fortifications, comes in person with the rest of his forces in the spring to his Vizir's assistance. The *Germans* hearing of *Soliman's* approach within four days march of their camp, raise the siege without hazarding a battle, and leaving their great ordnance, retire in the night. *Mehemed Pasha* deeming it a dishonour to suffer the enemies to depart without slaughter, vigorously pursues them, and getting before to the place where they were to embark, takes some, and kills others, as they were negligently approaching. Some few throwing away their arms, sav'd themselves by flight. The enemies being thus dispers'd, *Soliman* enters *Buda*, sends into *Transylvania*, *Stephanus* the heir of the kingdom with his mother, because he believed them incapable (the one for his youth, and the other for her sex) of defending the kingdom (76), and assigns them a *Sanjak* for their subsistence. After this, he places a strong garrison of *Janizaries* in *Buda*, under the command of a governor of his own name, *Soliman Pasha*, and converting the Churches into *Jami*, and appointing a *Cady*, returns with glory to *Constantinople*.

H. 948.

A. C. 1541.

XXXIX. This rapid course of victories, not only inspir'd his subjects with reverence, and his enemies with terror, but also induc'd the *Christian* Princes to implore *Soliman's* aid against the unjust oppressions of their neighbours. To this end *Firanche Padishabi* (77) in the

Soliman makes
an alliance
with the
French.

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(76) the kingdom] What I took notice of in a former note, that the *Othmans* say well, but do ill, is here verified by *Soliman*. When he had under the appearance of virtue acquir'd the good-will of all the *Hungarian* Nobility, having now got an opportunity, he shows his cloven foot, and like an insatiable monster, swallows up the Kingdom belonging to an Orphan. The *Christians* may learn by this instance, what is to be got by the protection of the *Othmans*. I with *Charles XII.* of *Sweden*, (in No. 30.

other respects one of the Heroes of his age,) had duly weigh'd this before he committed himself to the faith of the ever perfidious *Othman* Court. Certainly, the event has sufficiently demonstrated how prejudicial his proceeding has been to his Kingdom and all *Christendom*, and it is to be fear'd will still prove more detrimental.

(77) *Firanche Padishabi*] The *Othman* Court gives the title of *Padishab* to no *Christian* Prince but the King of *France*. The occasion and

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H. 949
A. C. 1542
the year 949, when he could no longer withstand the Spaniards, sends an Ambassador extraordinary to Soliman, with a letter, setting forth the injuries he had receiv'd from the Spaniards, and humbly intreating the Sultan to free him from the power of his enemies. Soliman admits the ambassador, makes an alliance with Firanche^e Padi-shahi, and to gain credit to his promises, sends Chairuddin Pasha with a numerous fleet to Spain, whilst he purs his army into winter-quarters about Adrianople, in order to an early invasion of Germany.

Taken some
Town in
Hungary.

XL. The French being thus assisted, annoy the Germans on one hand, whilst on the other, Soliman enters Hungary with a great army, and immediately takes Liposa, Beezovi, and Shoklovass, which had been two years before recover'd by the Germans. Then penetrating farther into Hungary, he becomes master of Usturgum Beligrad (78), Tatarhysari (79), and Ustuni Beligrad (80), converts the best churches into Jami, and fortifying the towns with strong garrisons, marches back to Constantinople in order to triumph. But when he approach'd the City, and had now commanded the Alay (81) to be prepar'd, he receives

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rise of this title is very remarkable, as reported by the Turks. They say a Grand-Daughter of the King of France having vow'd a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, was taken near Cyprus by Turkish Pyrates, and presented to Soliman. On account of her birth and beauty she was plac'd among the most beloved Concubines, and so attracted the Sultan's affection by her French airs, dancings, and love-verses, that she had an absolute influence over him, and manag'd all affairs. Not long after there arriv'd ambassadors from France, who seeing it impracticable to get her out of the Seraglio, made a virtue of necessity, and told the Emperor, "the King of France esteems it the greatest happiness, that providence has destin'd his Daughter (for so they say he call'd her, not Grand-Daughter) for the bed of so potent an Emperor, and hopes the bond of perpetual alliance and amity between the two greatest Monarchs of the World will be confirm'd by this union of blood." So by the instigation of this Sultana, Soliman not only granted all the French King's requests, but also gave him the Title of Padi-shah, and order'd that the French Ambassador should have access to his person before all others. This indeed

seems to be a fable, especially since I do not find it mention'd in any Christian Historian or Genealogist. However the French do not scruple to boast at Constantinople their King's affinity with the Othman race, and on that account claim the precedence of all Christians. For this reason the Emperor of Germany has never an Ambassador extraordinary at the Othman Port, but only a Resident; and if affairs of greater moment happen, as the confirmation of a peace, or prolongation of a truce, a Plenipotentiary (Murachas) is sent, who takes place of all.

(78) Usturgum Beligrad] Strigonium, or Gran.

(79) Tatarhysari] i. e. Castle of the Tartars. At the same time seems to be taken the City of five Churches, in German, Fünf Kirchen.

(80) Ustuni Beligrad] Alba regalis, call'd by the Germans, Stulweiffenburg.

(81) Alay] Alay is not so much a triumph as the marshalling of the soldiers in a certain manner, which is always done when the Emperor either departs from or returns to the City. But a triumph after a victory is call'd Donanma bumayun, a majestick triumph. In a battle, when the soldiers are drawn up, the Alay is also said to be made, which as I shall have no

occafio_n

receives the melancholy news of the sudden death of his son Mabomet, which so affects Soliman's otherwise invincible mind, that laying aside all triumphal pomp, he enters the City mournfully like one that was vanquish'd. In remembrance of his son and for his soul's health, Soliman afterwards built at Constantinople, in the way leading to the gate Engi Capu (82), a large Jami, and adorn'd it with a College and Hospital, which to this day is call'd Shehzade Jami.

XLII. In the year 954, Elkasib Mirza being greatly injur'd (83) by the Persians, flies to the Sultan, and shows him how he may easily subdue all Persia. He offers to be Guide and General to his forces, and represents matters so plausibly, that Soliman, perswaded by his discourses, supplies him with a large sum of money to raise an army and recover his dominions (84). Early in the spring the Sultan himself moves towards Persia with numerous forces. In this march the Emperor is met by his sons Bajazet Governor of Iconium, and Mustafa Governor of Amasia, who having kiss'd their father's hand, are sent back to their governments (85).

Marches against the Persians.

H. 954.

A. C. 1547.

H. 955.

A. C. 1548.

XLII. After

ANNOTATIONS.

occasion to mention elsewhere, I shall describe in this place. The whole army is divided into five parts, namely, Sagkol the right hand, Solkol the left hand, Dib alai the main body of the army, Charcafi^e the forerunners (or vanguard,) and Dondar the bringers back (or rear,) who are commanded to force those that run away or give ground to renew the battle. In the front are the Serden gjechdi^e, who are follow'd by the Janizaries led by their Aga. After these are drawn the great guns guarded by the Topczy^e and Tebeji, or Keepers of the Artillery. Then comes the Prime Vizir with his Court and Sepahi. On his right hand stand the Asiatic horse, on his left the European. After the Vizir comes the Emperor, if he is present, surrounded with his Courtiers and Bostanji. On his right hand are the Spahi of the red Standard, and on his left, the Spahi of the yellow, who are call'd also Sibladari. After the Emperor are carried the money-coffers, with innumerable waggons and camels laden with provisions and other necessaries. Last of all are the above-mention'd Dondar. Much the same order is observ'd in the heat of a battle. The Serden gjechdi^e charge first, then the Janizaries and the rest

of the foot. Mean while the horse endeavour to attack the enemy in flank, and when repuls'd are seconded by the Spahi of both wings. Then succeeds the Vizir with his horse. The Aga of the Janizaries takes notice of the weak part of the foot, and supports them with new supplies. The Emperor at a little distance from the battle with his men, has an eye to the whole army, and if any part is press'd by the enemy, sends aid from his own and other Regiments. The Egyptian foot give place to the Asiatic, and the Albanian to the European. But of these things more largely in another place. Besides these, the company of Merchants and Artificers are by the Turks call'd Urui alai, who by the imperial mandate follow the camp, that nothing may be wanting there, of what is found in a City.

(82) Engi Capu] One of the twenty eight principal gates of Constantinople looking towards Sylveri, of which elsewhere.

(83) injur'd] They say his wife was ravish'd by the King of Persia.

(84) dominions] The name of which is not mention'd by the Turks, nor can I find it elsewhere.

(85) sent back &c.] Some of the Turkish Chronographers say, Soliman was

was

Recovers Van,
and routs the
Persians.

XLII. After this, he enters the borders of *Azerbejan*, in order to carry war into the *Persian* Provinces. Whilst he remain'd here a few days, Sultan *Burban* (86), descended from the ancient Sultans of *Sbirvan*, comes to the camp, and surrenders himself and territories to the Emperor. Presently after, he commits the custody of *Tibris* to *Elkasib Mirza*, the author of this expedition; but he seeing himself neither safe from the attacks of the *Persians*, nor able to effect any thing for the *Othman* advantage, demolishes the Palaces of the *Shah*, and leads back his forces to the imperial camp, which was now before *Van*. *Soliman*, with this addition of strength, makes a vigorous assault, which so terrified the besieged, that they offer'd to surrender on condition of having their lives. The Emperor, to prevent the effusion of blood, agrees to it, and on the 19th of the month *Rejeb*, is again master of so strong and noble a City. Having taken possession, he leads his forces to *Amze*, where he surprises and routs part of the *Persian* army, and then sends his victorious troops into winter-quarters about *Aleppo*.

Seizes the
Shah's treas-
ures, and
subdues the
Georgians.

XLIII. Mean while, he is inform'd by his spies, that the *Shah's* immense treasures lay weakly guarded in the towns of *Ispahan*, *Kieshan*, and *Camid* (87). Whereupon, allur'd by the hope of spoil, he sends *Elkasib Mirza* with some light armed troops to seize the riches. *Mirza* by known ways penetrates into these inner parts of *Persia*, and routing the guards before they knew any thing of his coming, gets possession of the treasures, and destroying the adjacent country with fire and sword, returns to the Emperor laden with spoil. *Elkasib* privately offers part of the prey to the Vizir *Azyzalla* to be made associate to the Governor of *Babylon*, and easily obtains his desire of the covetous Vizir. When he comes to *Babylon* with the imperial mandate, he repents of having deserted the *Persians*, sends private letters to the King, begging pardon, and promising to be for the future faithful to him even amongst his enemies, and a diligent spy upon the motions of the *Turks*. His Colleague *Mehemed Pasha*, who carefully watch'd all his actions, quickly accuses him of this treachery,

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was told that his sons were come with intent to dethrone him. And therefore, since on account of his reputation, he did not care to imbrue his hands with his own blood, he commanded them to return to their homes; but afterwards, upon a fuller discovery, put *Mustafa* to death, as will hereafter be related.

(86) Sultan *Burban*] *Burban* is the same with what the *Greeks* call *αποδεικτικος*, and the *Latins*, *Demonstrativum*; hence the *Turks* were wont to

call a *demonstrative Syllogism*, *Dibili burban*: but turn'd into a proper name, it denotes something strong, and as it were invincible; such kind of names were once frequent among the *Turks*, but now are almost us'd.

(87) *Ispahan*, &c.] Formerly the Metropolis of the Province of *Arak*, but now of all *Persia*. *Kieshan*, is corruptly call'd in the Maps *Casian*, and *Camid*, it may be, in modern descriptions is call'd *Com*.

and receives the Emperor's order, to send him in irons to the Port. But before the order came to *Babylon* he was inform'd by some of his friends (whom he had gain'd with *Persian* money) of what was transacting, and as there was no other way to escape, flies into *Giurjistan*. This retreat brings to *Soliman's* remembrance the late treachery of the *Georgians*, who about a year since surpris'd the Governor of those parts, *Mustapha Pasha*, when little expecting such perfidiousness, he had incamp'd in a narrow place, and cut his whole army in pieces. Wherefore *Mehemed Pasha*, to revenge this deed, is instantly sent with a good army, who entering *Giurjistan*, after several battles fought with various success, at last entirely routs all their forces. After the victory, he takes seven of their strongest castles, and razes them to the ground, and then as the season of the year would not suffer him to make farther progress, he winters his troops in *Diarbekir*. Early in the spring he re-enters *Giurjistan*, and meeting no opposition, reduces above twenty towns to the *Othman* dominion; and when he had confirm'd the Province in the Emperor's obedience, and plac'd garrisons in the fortresses, he goes to *Constantinople* to give an account of his proceedings.

XLIV. His Empire being thus establish'd in the East, *Soliman* thinks of enlarging his dominion to the West. To this end, he sends *Mehemed Pasha*, Beglerbeg of *Rumeli*, with the *European* army to take *Temiswar* † the strongest City of all *Hungary*. Accordingly *Mehemed* having made himself master of the neighboring towns, *Bachi**, *Buchgergi**, *Ratzu*, and *Cbenad** (88), he lays close siege to *Temiswar*. Mean time an army comes to the relief of the town, which when *Mehemed Pasha* perceiv'd was superior to his own, he acquaints the Emperor by letter with his danger, desiring a speedy supply of forces. Whereupon *Soliman* without delay sends his Prime Vizir *Mahmud Pasha* with the rest of the army to join *Mehemed*. Thus strengthen'd, he routs the enemies, and then takes the City by storm, and annexes the whole territory of *Temiswar*, which was almost as large as a *Beglerbeglic*, to the *Othman* Empire, and leaves the custody of it to *Casim Pasha* (89) with a good garrison.

XLV. Whilst the *Othman* dominion is thus extended in *Europe*, after the departure of the *Musulman* army out of his borders, the countries subject to the *Othmans*, and suddenly takes *Erdish* and *Aglash* (90), and miserably puts to the sword all the *Turks* he could

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(88) *Bachi** &c.] Cities, as it seems, lying between the *Danube* and *Savus*, which country is by the *Turks* call'd *Bacha** *ovasi*.

(89) *Casim*] A famous *Turkish* General, afterwards advanc'd to the Vizirship. He founded or enlarg'd

N^o. 10.

the new colony at *Galata*, where are now the Magazines, and therefore call'd it after his name.

(90) *Erdish* &c.] Towns on the borders of *Sbirvan*, in Maps corruptly call'd *Ergish* and *Elata*.

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find

H. 956.

A. C. 1549.

He takes Te-

meswar.

H. 957.

A. C. 1552.

† Temiswar.

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find in these towns. *Iskender Pasha* is sent into the field with good part of the *Asiatic* army to repress this boldness. *Shah Ismail* bravely meets him, and joining battle, routs him with the slaughter of the best part of his army. Thus fortune smil'd on the *Persians* in lesser battles, in order to show them her sting in greater. For inrag'd at this ill news, *Soliman* severely reprimanding *Iskender Pasha* for his dishonorable flight, resolves with a more numerous army to humble the *Persians* flush'd with this victory. But as the season of the year was too far advanc'd to carry war into those parts, he sends before the Prime Vizir *Mehemed Pasha*, and commands him to winter with what army he had ready about *Tokad* (91), and in the year 960, in the month *Ramazan*, near a place call'd *Erkile*, he himself joins the Vizir's camp with the rest of his forces. Here he receives certain information, that his son *Mustapha* (92) (whom on the same suspicion he had last year put under strong custody) was in a plot against his life, and had many complices. Whereupon after finding the thing to be true, he orders his son to be strangled. After this, when he was come to *Aleppo*, *Iibangir* (93) another of his sons departed this life, and the Emperor commands his eldest son *Selim* to winter with the forces in *Marash*.

H. 960.

A. C. 1553.

*Soliman takes
Revan, and
lays waste
Persia.*

H. 961.

A. C. 1553.

XLVI. Assembling his whole army in the year 961, he enters *Shirvan*, and sends an Herald to the *Shah* (94), to tell him he is ready

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(91) *Tokad*] A City of *Natolia* not far from *Amasia*, according to some, the ancient *Eudocia*.

(92) *Mustapha*] Fourth Son of *Soliman*, who was said to excite all his Brothers against their Father. The *Turks* say, *Soliman* with great policy suffer'd their attempts to go unpunish'd above a year, in hopes of leading them to repentance, and afterwards perceiving their obstinacy, caus'd only *Mustapha* to be strangled as Author of the rebellion. *Iibangir* also by some is thought not to die a natural death, but to be poison'd by his Father's command. After these rebellions of his sons, *Soliman* made a law, that the Sons of the Emperors should not for the future have any Governments, but be detain'd in the royal City; and tho' some, since this law are reported to have had *Sanjaks*, 'tis never so now.

(93) *Iibangir*] He is said to have been crook'd-back, so that a Globe seem'd to be plac'd on his back, and for that reason to be call'd by *Soliman*,

Iibangir, as much as to say, *Atlas* or *Bearer of the World*. See the preceding note.

(94) *Shah*] The *Turks* are forbid by their law, to wage war without acquainting the enemy of their coming. This is done, (they say,) both that the *Othman* bravery may not be eclips'd by subduing their adversaries with fraud and stratagem, and that the enemy may be call'd to the precepts of the *Koran* and *Mahometan* Faith. Upon a refusal, they think themselves not only innocent of the effusion of blood, but if they die, believe they become in God's fight, Martyrs, and if they conquer, *Gazi*. However, they do not always so strictly observe this custom, but often interpret the law according to urgent emergencies, nor proclaim war before they have sheath'd the sword in the Bowels of the enemies, as I perceiv'd was lately the case of the *Venetians*, from whom in four months *Sultan Ahmed*, by his General *Ali Pasha*, wrested all *Peloponnesus*. But it is

wrong

for battle, and challenges him to meet him in the field, if he dar'd trust his fortune to the valour of his men. But the *Persian*, answering his challenge with neither words nor deeds, he besieges *Revan* (95) the seat of the *Persian* King, in the month *Shaban*, takes it in a few days, and destroying the royal gardens, palaces, country-houses, sets fire also to the City, the glory of *Persia*. Then he leads his forces towards *Nebjivan* (96), and by the conduct of *Sultan Hussein* (97) lays waste all the country between *Tybris* and *Meragye* (98), utterly destroying the cities, towns, and villages with fire and sword. Having taken this severe revenge of the *Persians*, at the approach of winter he sends his forces into quarters about *Amasia*.

XLVII. The next Spring, before *Soliman* led forth his army, *Shah Kuly* (99) *Sultan* comes to him near *Arzurum* (100), imploring his clemency, and delivering himself to his protection. From thence going to *Bagdad*, he receives ambassadors from the *Persian* King, humbly suing for peace, which after several conferences is at last concluded, and by it the cities *Fan*, *Merash* (101), and *Musul* (102) are made the boundaries of the *Othman* Empire.

XLVIII. Whilst the Emperor was thus employ'd in *Asia*, a certain Impostor appear'd in *Dobruje* (103) under the name of *Sultan Mustapha*.

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wrong to blame the *Turks* for what is the common practice of all Mortals.

(95) *Revan*] A famous City of *Persia*, corruptly written in modern Maps *Erwan*.

(96) *Nebjivan*] corruptly in Maps *Nab Sebnan*.

(97) *Hussein*] He seems to be one of those *Persian* fugitives, who frequently at that time submitted to the *Othman* dominion. For *Amadia*, which is a Province of *Shirvan* or *Azerbejan*, is at present in subjection to *Persia*. Hence seems to be taken the *Hebrew* *Madian*, and *Greek*, *Midian*.

(98) *Meragye*] corruptly in Maps, *Maraga*.

(99) *Shah Kuly*] One of the *Persian* *Chans*, who revolted to *Soliman*, famous only for Music. There are still extant most elegant airs of his, compos'd for instruments, of which there are two said by the *Turkish* and *Persian* Musicians to be inimitable, namely, *Shah Kuli Sakili* in 1022 *Huseini*, and *Kiophare* in 1022 *Hysar*, in metre call'd *Divick*.

(100) *Arzurum*] Etymologically,

Græcian or *European* Land. For the *Turks* are wont to call whatever lies west of *Arzurum*, with all *Asia* minor or *Anadol*, parts of *Europe*. But *Arzurum* is the Metropolis of that *Armenia* major, which obeys the *Turks*, not far from the borders of *Media*, six days journey from *Trapezond* on the *Euxine-Sea* to the South. This is one of the principal *Pashalicks* of the *Othman* Empire, and is given only to *Bashas* of three horse-tails.

(101) *Merash*] A City of *Asia* on the River *Murassus* near the *Euphrates* between *Aleppo* and *Malatia*.

(102) *Musul*] According to some, the *Nineveh* of the Antients.

(103) *Dobruje*] A Country on this side *Mount Hæmus*, extending along the *Danube* from *Drissa* in *Wallachia* to the Mouths of that River. A *Champaign* Country, neither water'd with rivers, nor distinguish'd with woods: though at the extremity near *Drissa* there is a wood, call'd by the *Turks*, *Delu seman*, the foolish wood. The Inhabitants are originally *Turks*, and remov'd hither out of *Asia*, but now are call'd *Cbilaki*, famous for their singular hospitality. If a Traveller

Makes peace
with the
Persians.

Routs a coun-
terfeit Mus-
tapha.

pha, who getting together about forty dissolute men, had not only cruelly laid waste this, but also all the neighboring provinces. But before the impossor, by reason of the distance, could be restrain'd by the Emperor, *Bajazet*, the Sultan's sixth son, having by an admirable stratagem, drawn him into a snare, takes and sends him in chains to his father, by which means he eases him of great care, being now about to dispatch *Mehemed Pasha* with an army to oppose the counterfeit *Mustapha*.

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veller passes through a village, let him be of whatever Nation or Religion, all the House-keepers appear at their doors, and very kindly invite him to come in, and accept of such a dinner as God has sent them (for that is their expression.) So the Person, whose invitation the Traveller accepts, entertains him and his horses, if he has not above three, without any reward, for three days with such civility and hospitality according to his abilities, that the like is hardly to be found. He sets before him, Honey, Eggs, with which the country abounds, and Bread bak'd under ashes, but very fine. They prepare a little Houle design'd for the reception of Strangers with Couches in the middle round the fire-place, which the Travellers use as they please. Because they have no wood, they burn the dung of Cattle dried in the Sun. They build stone Cottages, but without lime or mortar, so that the walls seem to be rather a heap of Stones. However to keep out the cold, they dawb the outside of the walls with dung. They have Wells, by reason of the dryness of the soil, above a hundred fathom † deep. The country produces bred-horses of great swiftness, which are reckon'd by the *Turks* next to the *Moldavian*. I have often pass'd through this region, because it is in the way from *Moldavia* to *Constantinople*, and shall relate what happen'd to me once in my journey. I us'd to be entertain'd by a certain Inhabitant of the Village *Alibeglio*, a Person of great note and riches among them. Coming to this man's houie the 22d of July, *St. Phocas's* day, and seeing all his Labourers,

(of whom he had hir'd above a hundred of the *Christians* by the year) standing idle, I ask'd him, why his people were not at work. He reply'd, though he was a *Mahometian*, he never suffer'd any work to be done on that day. My wonder being more rais'd by these words, I ask'd him the reason of this solemnity; He answers with a smile, "I admire, that you, who are a *Christian*, do not know this to be *St. Phocas's* day." What, say I, have you to do with *St. Phocas*? My Friend, replies he, say not so. That Saint has sufficiently shown his virtues among us by Miracles. For it is transmitted to us by our Fore-fathers, that our people, ignorant of *St. Phocas's* sanctity, sent their *Christian* Labourers on this day to gather in the Harvest, and upon their urging it to be *St. Phocas's* day, forc'd them with blows to do as they were order'd. Accordingly they obey, though unwillingly, and load the Carts with Corn. But as they are returning home, there appears to them a Man, venerable for his age, with a burning Torch in his hand, who severely threatens the Labourers for profaning his Festival, and at the same time fires the Corn in the Carts with his Torch, the flames of which, like lightning, running through the country, consum'd not only the Corn yet standing, but what was already hous'd. Our Fathers, instructed by this loss, resolv'd to keep this Saint's day as religiously as the *Christians*, and abstain from all Labour. Which resolution being observ'd, we don't remember the like fire has since happen'd to us.

XLIX. About

XLIX. About this time, a war was kindled again between the Kings of *Spain* and *France*, in which the *French King* (104) being unsuccessful, and press'd by his enemies, desires the Emperor to send a second fleet to his assistance. *Soliman*, not thinking any request of his ally should be denied, sends *Carly Elibeg* (105) with a strong fleet against *Spain*. *Elibeg* finding no opposition at sea, ravages the coasts of *Spain* with some Islands, and setting fire to what he could not bring away, carries off the inhabitants in bonds. He caus'd by these proceedings the *Spaniards*, dreading his farther progress, to recall their troops and send them against him, by which means the *French* army, commanded by *Corbon* (106), obtain'd a compleat victory, forty thousand *Spaniards* being, as it is said, slain on the spot.

L. *Soliman*, encourag'd by this success, sends another fleet under the conduct of *Peri Reis* to *Hurmiuz* (107), to ravage the Coasts: who succeeding at first, plunder'd all the maritime provinces of that Kingdom, and laden with spoils returns towards *Constantinople*; but whilst he was sailing with too great security in the *Egyptian* sea, he is pursu'd by the enemy's fleet, his scatter'd ships are attack'd, and partly sunk, partly taken, especially such as were incumber'd with the spoils. Some few of the lightest escape, in one of which was *Seid ali Kapudan*, who assembling the dispers'd ships that had not been in the battle, or had sav'd themselves by flight, re-attacks the enemy's fleet sailing back in disorder, and by a strange turn of fortune, gets the advantage, and sinks several ships. Thus *Soliman* was attended with good success on sea and land, and

ANNOTATIONS.

(104) *French King*] *Francis I*, who by his continual wars with the Emperor *Charles V*, afforded *Soliman* ample room to seize the Kingdom of *Hungary*.

(105) *Carly Elibeg*] He seems to have been an old Admiral, but not the *Capudan Pasha* himself. It may be conjectur'd from the name *Carly*, that he was some Renegado *Christian*.

(106) *Corbon*] He seems to be *Charles Duke of Bourbon*, General of the Emperor *Charles's* army, who revolted to him from the *French*. The *Turks* often use to confound the names of the *Christian* Generals. But as neither the *German* nor *French* Annals mention this battle, I take it to be a fiction of the *French* to induce *Soliman* the more readily to assist them. An Artifice I have known them in my time to use at *Constantinople*.

(107) *Hurmiuz*] This name is by the *Turks* given to two Countries and Seas, *Portugal* and the Island *Ormuz*, (the *opuka* of *Ptolemy*) and also to the Sea of *Portugal*, and the *Persian* Gulph, because Pearls are found in both, call'd by the *Turks*, *Hurmiuz*. As it is well known, that the *Turks* had a great fleet for a long time in the *Red-Sea*, call'd by them *Babil Kulzum*, or more usually *Savid Dengisi*, and also that *Selim* endeavour'd to unite the *Red-Sea* to the *Mediterranean*, from which purpose he desisted not, till the Channel he had almost perfected was over-whelm'd with sand. (on these accounts I say) I should think the *Persian* Gulph was here meant, if it was not said the fleet return'd towards *Constantinople*, which could not be done, but by sailing all round *Africa*, a thing never yet perform'd by the *Turks*.

Nº. 10. I i i very

very often an inconsiderable loss was the forerunner of a great victory. For at the same time *Toigun Pasha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, with his forces took three towns (108) from the *Christians*, and carried away numberless captives. On the other hand, the Governor of *Jizair* (109), *Salib Pasha*, subdu'd *Bijane* (110) and three other castles in *Spain*.

Sends another fleet to aid the French.

H. 963.

A. C. 1555.

LI. In the year 963, a fresh occasion of acquiring glory occurs. *Francha Padisbabi*, when he did not succeed against the *Spaniards* according to his wish, desires a third fleet to be sent to his assistance. *Soliman* rejoicing that he could break one egg with another, without hurting his own hands, readily grants his request, and sends *Capudan Piale Pasha* (111) with a great fleet into the *Spanish Sea*, to join the *French*. *Piale* diligently executes his orders, and in conjunction with the *French* forces takes *Misine* (112), *Rije* (113), with *Marioeca* (114), and three lesser neighboring Islands (115), and laying waste all the coasts of *Apulia*, about autumn returns to *Constantinople* with rich spoils.

Makes new regulations in the State.

LII. His Empire being thus establish'd and strengthen'd on every side, *Soliman* gives his army some respite, and spends almost ten years in better regulating his civil affairs. His first care was to finish the *Jami* founded by him three years before, which he does in so beautiful a manner that next to *Sancta Sophia*, there is not, it is thought, the like in the whole world, and calls it by his own name *Suleimaniè* (116).

After

ANNOTATIONS.

(108) three towns] I cannot learn their names.

+ the

(109) *Jizair*] or with the article *El Jizair*, call'd in *Maps Algiers*. It is subject to the *Turks*, but uses its own laws, like *Tunis*. However in time of war they are oblig'd to send the Sultan six or eight men of war.

If the Sultan is at peace with the *Venetians* and other *Christian States*, they are free from all obligations to him, and may always pursue the exercise of *Piracy*, like the *Knights of Malta* among the *Christians*. A *Pasha* is given them by the Sultan, but he can do nothing arbitrarily as in other places. As for *Necessaries*, *Victuals*, and *Cloaths*, he is largely supplied by the *Inhabitants*, but besides this, he has no right, nor power of commanding any thing in the Emperor's name. Very often they depose him by their own authority, but to save the honour of the *Othman Court*, accuse him to the Sultan of misdemeanours, and petition for a better. The Court rather connives

at, than allows these proceedings, but for fear of an open revolt, always condemns the *Basha*, and declares the *Inhabitants of Jizair* to be just.

(110) *Bijane*] Perhaps *Nizza*, a Castle in *Piedmont*, which the *French* aided by the *Turkish* forces took about that time.

(111) *Piale Pasha*] A famous *Turkish High-Admiral*, whose *Market-place* and *Jami* are to be seen at *Constantinople*.

(112) *Misine*] *Messina* in *Sicily*.

(113) *Rije*] *Regium Julium* in *Calabria*. This, and *Messina* by a common mistake of the *Turks* are plac'd in *Spain*.

(114) *Marioeca*] The Island *Majoria*, the principal of the *Balearides*.

(115) three lesser] perhaps *Minorca*, *Yvoa*, and *Formentero*, but this is only conjecture.

(116) *Suleimaniè*] This Temple is on a high hill looking towards the Harbour, and built with so much art and elegance, that no structure deserves to be compar'd with it. This I have

After this, perceiving many things to be perform'd irregularly in the Court and Kingdom, and the confus'd degrees of offices to beget contention and strife among his officers, makes new regulations both civil and military, enjoins them as laws to the whole *Musulman Nation*, and assigns to every one his rank at Court, in the City, and in the Army. Thus the arms but not the mind of *Soliman* is at rest, who like a butting goat, retires only to strike his enemies with the greater force. For he had discover'd by his former expeditions, that the *German Empire* was too powerful to be overthrown with the bare hoofs of horses, and greater preparations and longer time requisite to break down the barriers by which it was defended. Wherefore during these ten years, he makes the greatest warlike provisions, replenishes his exhausted treasures, assembles troops from all parts, and now endeavours to execute the design, in which only *Mahomet Fatih* had gone before him, and which he himself had already attempted in vain.

LIII. To this end, in the year 974, he goes with a mighty army from *Constantinople* to *Adrianople*, and dispatching some troops under the command of the Prime *Vizir Pertev Pasha* to seize *Giule* (117), follows more slowly with the rest. But though nothing was wanting to this expedition, yet he wanted youth, and old age refus'd to execute his purposes. Worn out with years, when he comes to *Segetwar* (118), his body, fatigu'd with so many labours, is first seiz'd with a slow fever, which increasing by degrees, turns to a malignant one. Though the Emperor was grievously tortur'd by it, and there was scarce any hope of recovery, yet invincible, and as it were immortal in his mind, he orders the City to be besieg'd and assaulted. But when, upon the Governor's making a braver defense than was expected, his grief was more increas'd, *Soliman* oppress'd with publick cares, frequently repeats this sentence: "The City, whose hearth (119) was to be extinguish'd, is not yet taken!" Afterwards when he perceives death's approach, he lifts up his hands to Heaven, and thus prays: "O God of all the worlds (120), O Sovereign and Lord of all creatures, I humbly be-

Dies at the siege of Segetwar.
H. 974.
A. C. 1566.

ANNOTATIONS.

I have heard affirm'd, not only by *Turks*, but by *Foreigners* of several Nations. Nor is it any wonder, that the Building should be so elegant, since it contains not only what the common *Marble Quarries*, and the Ruins of *Troas* afforded, but also every thing precious or rare that was found in the antient works of the *Greeks*, by which they foolishly imagin'd to acquire an immortal name to themselves. Four Towers adorn this Church, two with three *Sberife* or *Galleries*, from whence the *Ezan* is sung, and the others with two.

The President of the adjoining Academy takes place of all others, and from that office rises to the dignity of *Mola*.

(117) *Giule*] So call'd at this day in the *Maps*.

(118) *Segetwar*] by the *Christians* call'd *Sigeth*.

(119) hearth] A *Turkish* Phrase denoting utter desolation and destruction. For where the fire is not lighted, there men dwell not.

(120) worlds] The *Turks* say, that God has created seventeen thousand worlds, but that this will be the last. There

"seech thy most sacred Majesty to have pity upon the Host of the faithful, and vouchsafe to grant they may instantly conquer this City." Whilst he was pouring out this prayer he dies, on the 13th day of *Sefer*, in the year above-mention'd.

Segetwar is taken, and his death conceal'd.

LIV. The Prime Vizir immediately informs *Selim*, who was then at *Magnesia*, of his father's death, and intreats him to hasten to the army, but conceals the Emperor's decease from all besides, and in his name exhorting the soldiers to take the City, so manages, that the Sultan's death could not be suspected. On the 18th of that month, he orders a general assault, which promoted by an accidental fire (121) in the City, so prosperously succeeds, that though the Garrison made a gallant resistance, they were within few hours subdued by the valour of the *Othman* soldiery. This day famous for the conquest of this strong fortress, was render'd more illustrious by the news of the taking also of *Giule* at the same time.

Selim is saluted Emperor.

LV. Mean while, *Selim*, on receipt of the Vizir's letter, hastens with all speed to the camp, where at his arrival, *Soliman's* death being declar'd, he is unanimously proclaim'd Emperor. After which, to pay the last duties to his father's remains, he lays his body in a gilt chariot, and attended with the whole army, conducts it to *Constantinople*. When they come near the City, all the *Ulema*, *Eshrefi* (122), and Great-men, with a crowd of people, meet the funeral, and accompanying it with the invocation of God's name, *Zikr* and *Teshbib*, and with singing into the City, deposite the body in the Court of the *Jami* built by *Soliman*, and call'd by his name, and perform the *Namaz* according to the rules of *Imam Shafi*†, to which the Emperor himself was not only very much addicted, but always carried with him *Imam* (123) *Nakybul Eshref* one of the sect. The solemnities being over, the body is committed to the earth, and all the Ecclesiasticks and other re-

ANNOTATIONS.

There was once a great dispute about this expression among the learned *Turks*. Some denied it to be Orthodox, to say God of all the Worlds, when properly he is only God of the Musulmans, and said the name of Governor of the Good and Bad, suits not with his Holiness. Others asserted the contrary, and producing a passage of the *Koran*, where God is called Lord of all the Worlds, their opinion was approv'd by the rest.

(121) fire] The *Turks* ascribe this entirely to *Soliman's* prayers, by means of which, the City was taken, not

by force of arms, but by a remarkable accident, whereby God was pleas'd to glorify the prayers of his Servant.

(122) *Eshrefi*] Men of holier lives, or conspicuous for some ecclesiastical dignity, from *Sherif*, Holy. Hence *Kudsherif*, *Jerusalem*, *Kabeisherif*, *Mecca*, &c.

(123) *Imam*] An *Ἐπιμύθεος* Priest, who daily says publick Prayers. He who attends on the Sultan, is in great Honour, and distinguish'd with the Title of *Imam Effendi*.

† See Note on Paragraph XXVII. of this Chapter. [Imam azem.]

ligious

ligious that were at *Constantinople*, are order'd to finish the *Telaveti Koran* (124) forty times a day for forty days, and by these prayers to obtain the peace of his soul. Moreover his son causes to be erected before the *Jami*, a *Mibrab* (125), and over his grave a large marble *Turbe*, which is at this day religiously visited by the Musulmans. For they are persuad'd that he was a great favorite of Heaven, because he not only lost his life at the siege of *Segetwar*, and so became *Shehid*, but was also *Gazi* †, two Cities being taken under the conduct of † Conqueror. his relists, and annex'd to the *Othman* Empire.

Soliman's character.

LVI. Thus liv'd and reign'd *Soliman* a Prince of an heroic and invincible mind, of great valour and wisdom, and so patient of the hardships which usually attend warlike expeditions, that he almost seem'd to be nourish'd by them. Besides the *Turkish* language, he spoke also *Persian* and *Arabic*, and in that kind of poetry, by the *Persians* call'd *Nazm* (126), he excell'd all in elegance and wit. His *Persian*, *Hungarian*, and naval victories gain'd him a great name, but his reformation of the Courts of Justice, and his excellent laws, by which the *Othman* Empire still flourishes, acquir'd him a greater. On this account the name of *Canuni* was ascrib'd to him by the *Turks*. He govern'd the *Othman* Empire one and forty years, and liv'd seventy four. He had seven sons, *Murad*, *Abdulla*, *Mehemed*, *Mustapha*, *Selim*, *Bajazet*, and *Jihangir*, who all but *Selim* his successor, died contrary to the order of nature before their father.

ANNOTATIONS.

(124) *Telaveti Koran*] The Reading of the whole *Koran*, which is usually done over the Grave of the deceased, as with us the *Plalter* and *New Testament* are wont to be read.

(125) *Mibrab*] Signifies both an Altar and the Southern part of a *Jami*. Concerning this word the *Turks* have the following story. A certain Poet being banter'd by his Acquaintance for still loving a Mistress, now grown pale, bearded, and old, without any abatement of his former passion, excuses himself with this Distich. *Gier Mesjid* ikyläye, nola Mibrabierinde*, that is, Though the *Mesjid* (or Temple) is destroy'd, the *Mibrab*

(or Altar) still remains unhurt. His Enemies upon hearing this Distich immediately carry the Poet before the Judge, and accuse him of Blasphemy, by explaining the Verses so, as if he had compar'd the wither'd face of his Mistress to a Church; and that part of her Body, which had been the object of his youthful Passion, to an Altar. At which the Judge is so mov'd, that he sentences the Poet to lose his Head.

(126) *Nazm*] A Poetical Metre often occurring, particularly in the *Koran*, and for that reason is accounted more elegant than the rest.

Contemporary with SOLIMAN I. reign'd in Europe.
In Germany, CHARLES V. 1519-58.
FERDINAND. 1558-63.
EDWARD VI. 1546-53.
In England, MARY. 1553-68.
ELIZABETH. 1558-1602.
FRANCIS I. 1525-47.
HENRY II. 1547-59.
FRANCIS II. 1559-60.
CHARLES IX. 1560-74.
In France, The End of the Reign of SOLIMAN I.



The REIGN of

SELIM II. Sirnam'd MEST (1).

Eleventh EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK III. CHAP. V.

Selim saluted
Emperor,
H. 974
A. C. 1566.
† *Mars.*

I. **SOLIMAN** being dead, *Selim* only remained, on whom the Empire could devolve, and was then at *Amasia* as has been said. Departing from thence in the year 974, on the 9th of the month *Rebiul ewvel*, the Planet *Merich* † ruling that day, he enters *Constantinople*, and mounts his father's throne. Next day all the Great men of the Empire, according to custom, appear in mourning (2) at Court, adore the new Emperor, and comfort him on his father's death with excellent speeches.

and receiv'd
by the army.

II. Three days after, with a few attendants he departs from *Constantinople* towards *Segetwar*. But in the mean time, the Vizir *Mehmed Pascha*, having taken the City and guarded it with a strong garrison, had sent the army into winter quarters, and was now come as far as *Belgrade*, the Emperor's death being still a secret to all (3). Wherefore

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Mest*] i. e. *Drunk*, so call'd from his being addicted to Wine and Drunkenness, which was his greatest delight. However, though he was extremely given to this vice, he is said never to omit the usual daily Prayers. There are other Historians, who that such a stain might not be cast on so famous an Emperor, deny he us'd to be drunk, but pretend he was seiz'd with a sort of divine Enthusiasm, which, lest the people should suspect to be Hypocrisy, he

himself declar'd to be drunkness, and so chose rather to be accounted a Drunkard than an Hypocrite. But such Colourings for the Vulgar.

(2) mourning] Formerly they us'd the greatest solemnities, and choice of colours at the *Turkish* Emperor's death, but at present they only mourn three days in red Habits, and that not very strictly, after which they put on again their usual dress.

(3) secret] Both *Christians* and *Turks* unanimously affirm, *Selim's* death



Selim II. Eleventh EMPEROR
of the Turks, in the Year 1568.
From an Original in the Seraglio.

Wherefore the soldiers are troubled at *Selim's* sudden and unexpected arrival, and fearing he might, after the example of his Grandfather of the same name, do some injury to his father, run to their arms. But when they were certain of *Soliman's* death, they all receive *Selim* as lawful successor, and pay obeysance to him as to their Sovereign.

III. As soon as all things necessary for his father's funeral were ready, he returns to the royal City, and after the ceremonies are over, is again confirm'd in the throne by all orders and degrees, and celebrates his father's victories with a splendid triumph. Then he distributes to the Janizaries and *Spahi* the usual *Bakhsish* (4) or donative, but presents the *Ulema* and rest of the Ecclesiasticks, who officiated at his father's funeral with silk robes and money.

IV. Mean while, *Beni omer* (5) *Ulian ogli* the *Arabian*, hearing of *Soliman's* decease, not only dares to throw off the *Othman* yoke, but also perswading his neighbours to join in the rebellion, invades the territories of *Bagdad*, which he cruelly lays waste. However he did

He buries his
Father in a
splendid man-
ner.

He vanquishes
the rebellious
Arabs.

H. 975.
A. C. 1567.

ANNOTATIONS.

death was conceal'd by the Vizir for forty one days, till *Selim* came to *Belgrade*. This, a Reader, ignorant of the *Turkish* Customs, will be apt to deem impossible to be done among so many thousands of soldiers, but those that know the more than *Pythagoric* silence of the *Othman* inner Court, will not call it in question. No man speaks there unless order'd, no talking to one another, neither doth any person dare so much as to sneeze or cough, whatever occasion he may have. If they have any thing to communicate to one another, 'tis done in the language of the Mutes, by signs. They wear no shoes, and walk only on the tips of their toes, and withal so softly and carefully, that you can hardly perceive the found of their steps when they are running. For the least noise is attended with a severe correction.

(4) *Bakhsish* or Largeis, usually given to the soldiery, on the election of a new Emperor. Each Janizary, (and there are forty thousand) receives twenty Dollars, and each of fifteen thousand *Spahi*, twenty five. Sometimes also at the Sultan's pleasure their daily pay is increas'd with an *Affer*, which however is seldom done, but when the Sultan wants to ingratiate himself with the army.

(5) *Beni omer*] The sons or posterity of *Omer* are a Tribe of *Arabians* wandering in the deserts of *Babylon*, without fix'd habitations. Sometimes they are subject to the *Othman* Empire, and out of the produce of their Dates, which are the sole fountain of their riches, pay a good yearly sum of money to the Governor of *Babylon*. But they frequently rebel and ravage the very Suburbs of *Basra*. In Sultan *Mustapha's* reign, they suddenly surpriz'd the City of *Basra* itself, and continued masters of it near two years. But afterwards, *Daltaban Mustapha Pasha* Governor of *Babylon*, expell'd them from thence, and crush'd the whole tribe, by killing thirty thousand of them, whose heads he produc'd before *Capuzi bashi Batdal Ismail*, sent by the Emperor for that purpose. This victory acquir'd him so great a reputation, that he was a few days after advanc'd to the dignity of Vizir, but to his destruction, for within three months he was accus'd by the Mufti of rebellion, and though innocent, punish'd with the loss of his head. This cruelty shortly after gave birth to a conspiracy, which dethron'd *Mustapha*, and killing the Mufti, a thing seldom practis'd among the *Turks*, deliver'd the imperial Diadem to *Abmet* his brother, the present Sultan.

not long go unpunish'd. For Selim, inform'd of these proceedings, instantly orders the Governors of Bagdad, Basre (6), and Shebreful (7), to join a good body of Janizaries with the forces of those Parts, and go in quest of these plunderers. His commands are speedily executed, and the wandering Arabs in the deserts of Basre, are attack'd, dispers'd, and routed, and the country restor'd to its former tranquillity. The same year Selim finishes a bridge (8), begun five years before by his father, not far from Constantinople.

He attempts in vain to join the Tanais and Volga.

V. Mean time, a new war was to be thought of, least the Othman valour should be blunted with idleness. A peace had been but very lately concluded with the Emperor of Germany, nor was there any cause for a rupture. The Persian was the only Prince, against whom the Othman arms could be turn'd, as he seem'd by his continual incursions to give just occasion for a war. But Selim was deterr'd from this by the difficulty of the places, as well as by the warlike stores and provisions to be carried thither, for want of which, he had perceiv'd that numerous armies of his Ancestors had miscarried. To remove this

A. C. 1568

† Caffa, at Thracia. † Volga, at Rha. † Tanais.

obstacle, he sends a body of soldiers over the Euxine Sea to Kiese †, and orders the Chan of Crimea to hire labourers out of all the Tartarian Tribes, and pitch his tents near the river Ezel †, in that place, where it is but six Italian miles from the Teri †, and by a Canal to join the two rivers. He hop'd if this design took effect, to penetrate with ease out of Pontus, through Maille (9), Teri, and Ezel, into the

Caspian

ANNOTATIONS.

(6) Basre] Balsora, formerly Bosra, in Maps it is commonly plac'd at the Mouth of the Euphrates, but erroneously. For it lies six days journey up that river. Curma is situated at the Mouth of the Euphrates, the most noted Mart of the East, unknown to all the Geographers I have yet met with.

(7) Shebreful] An Asiatic City and Territory well known. It has a Pashalic with the honour of three Horse-Tails, but of so little account among the Turks, that if a Basha be removed from another Pashalic to the Government of Shebreful, he is look'd upon as sent into banishment.

(8) bridge] This bridge is over the Lake Buzuk Cbekmeje, where it runs into the Propontis at a village of the same name, about two hours distance from Constantinople. It is all built of square stones, and two thousand paces long, a truly imperial work. Hudai, a famous Poet of that time, adorn'd the marble inscription

to the Sultan with some elegant Verses, which, if I rightly remember, are as follows:

Hasnadi be jisi omikian remim, Kysh azmi fsi jermat olaim. Gosh xyl hakk Shah Sultan Selim, Ind ictmol, old be jir azim. Dift tunkhin Huduhi ozeman Yapidi ib vesp bu jisi Shah Selim.

i. e. He began this Bridge, but before he finish'd, he took a Journey to the Paths of Paradise by the help of the most merciful (God.) SHAH SULTAN SELIM, God's Shadow, succeeded, finish'd and completed this large Bridge. HUDAI, at that time told the year, in which SHAH SELIM built this Bridge over the Water. From the last Distich, by a computation call'd by them Ehded, the sum of 974 years is counted.

(9) Maille] So the Palus Maotis was once call'd by the Turks, as I gather from these words of the Historian, perhaps a corruption of Maotii. But at present the Turks give this name

Caspian-Sea, and as the Persians had no fleet there, to transport an army into Shirvan, and so without much difficulty subdue all Persia. And this work would have entirely succeeded according to his wish, if the supreme Governour of the world had suffer'd the bounds he had set these rivers to be changed. But the Crimean Chan, who on receipt of the Sultan's mandate had instantly repair'd through Aizerchan (10) to the place appointed, had scarce finish'd a third part of the channel, when the labourers are so infested with constant rains, cold storms, and want of provisions, that many perishing with sickness and hunger, they are forc'd to desist from their enterprize. However with these mischiefs, this expedition was attended with one advantage, namely, thirty thousand Nigaiian Tartars (11), who had hitherto been under the Russian Empire, turn'd to the Othmans, and departed with their families to habitations assign'd them in Crimea. But Chan Kyrin not succeeding in his undertaking, the Turks return to Constantinople.

VI. About the same time, Muttahir, Sherif of the Kingdom of Yemen, with some Arabians gain'd to his party, suddenly attacks Murad Pasha, Beglerbeg of Yemen, slays him with his whole army, and so frees Yemen from the Turkish yoke. But Selim on news of this rebellion, burning with indignation to be thus serv'd by one of no account, commands Sinan Pasha (12) Governor of Egypt to join his forces with those of Ozdemir Ogli (13), and revenge their slain bro-

He quells a rebellion in Yemen. H. 977. A. C. 1569.

ANNOTATIONS.

name to that Gulph of the Black-Sea, which washes Ochacovia*, the Olbiopolis of the Antients. The Maotis is now call'd Azak deniai, the Sea of Azof, and its Bosphorus, formerly, Cimmerius, Giercb* Tamas Bogasi. It was shut up by two Fortresses (after the taking of Azof by the Russians) by Osman Pasha the Turkish High-Admiral. These, if I guess right, were formerly call'd by the Greeks, Nymphæum Cimmericum and Tauricum.

(10) Aizerchan] A well known Tartarian Kingdom, now subject to the Russians, commonly call'd Astracan. This word in the Persian Tongue, signifies, the Habitation of Dragons, or the Lord of Dragons, which name was given to the inhabitants for their fierce and wild nature. But at present they are so accusom'd to subjection, that they are not said to attempt, even when they have an opportunity, the recovery of their former liberty. Thus what the Arms of Alexander the Great could not, the Knuta and Batogi of the Russians have effected, and perfectly tam'd the fierceness of the Nation. But what

will not fear join'd with love produce in the minds of men.

(11) Nigaiian] These had Habitations assign'd them with the Bajak Tartars in Bessarabia, among whom even at this day are reckon'd above eighteen thousand of the Cazanensian Tartars so call'd. I have seen their Brethren in the Russian Empire with no difference of language, looks, and manners. So deeply has nature imprinted on every Nation its peculiar marks, that they cannot be alter'd much less entirely defac'd by the distance of places and change of Climate.

(12) Sinan] Care must be taken not to confound him with Sinan Pasha, who was Prime Vizir to Selim I, and slain in the battle with the Cbercassians*.

(13) Ozdemir] According to the Etymology, rebelly of Iron. He was a very famous Champion, of so great strength, that the Turks believe he never had, nor never will have, his fellow. He was the Turkish Sampson. Whether he was Governor of any place before this expedition, I dare not determine.

thren. These Generals act so diligently in conjunction, that they surprise, rout, and disperse the rebels, and reduce again the whole country to the Othman obedience. But the next year, the joy for this happy success is interrupted by a sudden fire breaking out at Constantinople, which rag'd with such violence seven days, that the whole City was almost laid in ashes.

He promises
aid to the Sa-
racens in
Spain.
H. 978.
A. C. 1570.

VII. In the year 978, the remains of the Spanish Saracens, who had hitherto been ill treated under the dominion of the Christians, rise in arms, seize Garbie (14), and make Mansur, of the race of Beni Achmer (15), King. They moreover vigorously attack the Spaniards, and vanquish them with great slaughter. But perceiving themselves too weak to resist their power, they send ambassadors to Selim, imploring his assistance against the Spaniards, the common enemy of the Musulmans. Selim, whose thoughts were turn'd to Cyprus, promises aid, but not till Cyprus was taken: exhorts them in the mean time to keep as close together as possible, and only stand on the defensive: and dismisses the ambassadors with noble presents.

Invasions Cy-
prus.
† Cyprus.

VIII. Before these were return'd, he had now sent numerous forces under the Prime Vizir Mustapha Pasha, and Capudan Ali Pasha, to take Kybris †, with orders to the latter to guard the seas, that the invasion might not be interrupted, and to the other, to land the army, and closely besiege all the fortresses. Mustapha begins with the siege of Nicosia (16), and vigorously assaults it. But the situation of the place, and obstinacy of the garrison, baffle the Othman valour that year, and oblige the Vizir to turn the siege into a blockade, and put his soldiers into winter-quarters.

and subdues it.
H. 979.
A. C. 1571.

IX. But the following year 979, Capudan Ali Pasha with a fresh supply of ships, stores, and forces, under the command of Pertev Pasha, sails from Constantinople, arrives at Cyprus, renews the siege undertaken in vain the last year, and after battering and undermining the walls, carries the City by assault, notwithstanding the obstinate defense of the besieged. The downfall of Nicosia draws after it the whole Island, which seeing itself destitute of relief, Magusa † first, and then the rest of the towns strive to gain the Conqueror's clemency by a surrender. About the same time, Kylij Ali Pasha (17) Governor of Jizair takes

† Famagusta.

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(14) Garbie] or with the article El] Garbie, a noted Kingdom, now subject to the Kings of Portugal, and by the Christians call'd Algarva. It seems to have receiv'd its name from its situation to the western Ocean. For Garbie, with the Arabians, is the Western Coast.

(15) Beni Achmer] One of the Race of the ancient Kings of the Saracens, whom Ferdinandus Catholicus

drove out of Spain, of whose fortunes I find nothing either in the Turkish or Lusitanian Histories.

(16) Nicosia] with the Turks, Kybris, to which they seem to have given the name of the whole Island, because this was the first City they subdu'd there.

(17) Kylij] Ali Pasha, surnam'd, Sword, who in the Suburbs of Constantinople, call'd Topchane, (Arsenal)

takes Tunis † from the Arabians, and annexes it to the Othman Empire. † al. Tremisla

X. Whilst the bounds of the Othman Empire are thus extended to the South, in the North the arms of the Tartars are no less successful. Deulet Gierai Chan their Prince, assembling all the Scythian Hords under his dominion, enters Russia, and meeting no opposition, penetrates to the Metropolis (18), ravages the country, carries away, or kills such of the inhabitants as had not sav'd themselves by flight; and thus laden with spoil returns to Crimea. The Tartars ravage Russia.

XI. These victories were follow'd by the greatest blow the Othmans ever receiv'd since the defeat of Ildirim Bajazet, by which fortune show'd, that no Empire, though ever so extensive and firmly establish'd, is out of her reach. Ali Pasha the Admiral having taken Cyprus, had left the flower of the army to garrison the towns, dismiss'd the European soldiers fatigu'd with twelve months toil in raising ramparts and other works, and he himself was now returning to Constantinople with the fleet and rest of the forces. Thus sailing in the Mediterranean, he is suddenly attack'd by the enemy's fleet, strengthen'd, as some say, by the assistance of the Germans and Spaniards. Capudan Pasha, though by reason of the fewness (19) of his men he could scarce

The defeat of
the Turks at
Lepanto.

ANNOTATIONS.

on the banks of the Bosphorus built a large Jami. The Turks pretend, he laid the foundations of this Jami, without any man's privity, in one night, and run up the walls as high as the lower Windows. Next day, People passing by, and seeing so spacious a Building, for which they had not before perceiv'd any preparations, the thing was reported to the Sultan as a miracle. The Builder being ask'd by the Emperor how he could possibly raise such a structure in one night, answer'd, it was not his, but the Emperor's work, because his Galley-Slaves built the whole, and his intention was to demonstrate his own skill and the power of the Othman Empire. For if a private man with the help only of those that were condemn'd to row in the Gallies, could effect such a work, what might be expected from the united efforts of the Othmans against their enemies? By these words he is said to gain Sultan Selim's favour to such a degree that he advanc'd him with the honour of three Horse-tails, to be Admiral of the whole Sea, and Governor of Africa. However this be, he is re-

coned among the Turks next to Chairuddin in Sea-Affairs. For when at Lepanto the Turks lost their whole fleet, he in one year render'd their navy both stronger and more numerous.

(18) Metropolis] The Turks plainly seem to mean Mosco. But the Russian Annals say, the Tartars did not then penetrate so far, but only to Tula, (one hundred and ninety Italian miles from Mosco) which from its multitude of Farriers might justly be call'd Vulcanopolis. Moreover they relate, that the Tartars by their sudden irruption, surpris'd indeed and kill'd many of the Inhabitants, but presently after near Curfca were overtaken by the Russian army, who put them almost all to the sword, and recover'd the spoils they had gotten.

(19) fewness] The Turks impute this defeat solely to their fleet's being weakly mann'd, and consequently, that the multitude of ships without soldiers was rather an incumbrance than an advantage. But perhaps I am not mistaken in thinking this to be an invention of the Turkish Historians,

scarce have any hopes of victory, yet thinking death preferable to flight, bravely engages with what forces he had, and by his valour, renders the success of the battle many hours doubtful. At last, after repelling the enemy several times, he is slain whilst he is discharging sometimes the part of a General, sometimes of a common soldier, and by his death causes victory to incline to his enemies. For the Musulman ships immediately take to flight, and for want of a leader are dispers'd, whereas the enemies, inflam'd with more courage, furiously come on, break the disorder'd wings, and sink and take almost the whole fleet (20).

Selim in his affliction finds comfort in the Koran.

XII. If any man in his most flourishing state has met with fortune's frowns, he may judge of *Soliman's* grief in this unexpected calamity. He had just receiv'd news of the conquest of *Cyprus*, and whilst he is waiting the return of his victorious fleet, and preparing a triumph, the few that escap'd, arrive and inform him of the destruction of his whole army. The Emperor, otherwise of an invincible mind, was so struck with the news, that for three days (21), he neither eat nor drank, nor suffer'd any one to approach him, praying night and day the God and Protector of the Musulmans to have compassion on his people, and remove the dishonour brought on them by this defeat. At last on

ANNOTATIONS.

rians, as it is, to my knowledge their usual way, when things have not been crown'd with success, to ascribe it not to the enemy's bravery or their own inactiveness, but to some accident, or the General's imprudence. For it is not credible, that the *European* part of the *Turkish* army, when the *Christian* fleet had the dominion of the sea, should venture to cross so wide a sea, as that between *Cyprus* and *Greece*, either in ships for carriage or in small vessels.

(20) whole fleet.] Both *Turks* and *Christians* vary in their accounts of the number of the *Turkish* ships. Some say they had two hundred and seventy, others at least one hundred and seventy, but all agree, that no more than twenty eight escap'd. After this battle, the *Venetian* Ambassador detain'd at *Constantinople*, hearing of this victory, desir'd, it is said, and obtain'd an audience of the *Vizir*, by whom at his coming with the greatest parade he was thus accosted: "I am sensible, *Elebibeg*", (Prince Ambassador) you have desir'd this audience with no other intention than

"to show the *Sodulluk* (ostentation) natural to your countrymen, and to see our depression of mind by the loss we have suffer'd, but before you give a publick testimony of your folly, I advise you as a friend to lay aside those vain airs, and consider that though you have indeed shav'd us pretty close, we have saw'd off your arms. And as the beard, when shav'd, grows again, and even thicker than before in three or four months, so our fleet, unless our woods fall us, will in a short space become larger and more numerous, whilst you can't so much as think of recovering your arms, for so I call the spacious and famous Kingdom of *Cyprus*."

(21) three days.] After his example, *Abmed III.* the present Emperor of the *Turks*, when he sent his *Vizir* *Abmed Pasha* against the *Russians* into *Moldavia*, pray'd, as I hear, forty days and nights, and eat nothing till sunset, neither did he leave fasting, till news came of his good success.

the

the fourth day, he takes up the *Koran*, and accidentally opens (22) to this passage: *In the name (of God) merciful, compassionate. I grieve for the victory of the Europeans over the Inhabitants of the Earth: Gladness shall not be given them any more for victory hereafter.* *Selim* admonish'd by this Oracle, that this defeat had not happen'd to the *Othman* Empire without the finger of God, return'd him thanks for his fatherly correction, and recover'd his Spirits almost quite sunk with sorrow. This calamity seem'd to be foretold by the fall of the wooden roof (23) of the Temple at *Mecca*, according to the interpretation of the Wise-men, which, that it might be a more firm Emblem of the Empire, *Selim* order'd it to be rebuilt with brick.

XIII. The next year, *Kyliz Ali Pasha*, who had succeeded *Ali Pasha*, as High-Admiral, a man of great valour and an excellent sea-man, repairs the fleet with such expedition, that the following summer he had two hundred and fifty gallees ready. With these he sails from *Constantinople*, and infests the coasts of the *Christians* wherever he could arrive. The enemy's fleet appears near *Evarin* (24), which the *Capudan Pasha*, desirous to wipe out the late disgrace, vigorously attacks, but the approach of night parting the combatants, after having fought some time with doubtful fortune, and no great loss on either side, he retires. Four days after, the *Christian* Admirals consult how to surprize the Musulman fleet, which they hope to effect the more easily, because the high rocks, surrounding the port of *Coron*, hinder'd a free prospect, and afforded an opportunity of concealing the fleet. But *Kyliz Ali Pasha*, being inform'd by his scouts of the enemy's intention, sails out of the harbour and draws up his fleet. When the enemies come, they are surpris'd to see the *Turks*, (whom they suppos'd at anchor) on the open sea, and prepar'd to receive them. However they advance, as if they intended to execute their design, but perceiving they were like to meet with a rough reception, tack about, and suffer the fleet loaden with spoil to return to *Constantinople*.

He repairs his fleet, and invades the *Christians*.
H. 980.
A. C. 1572.

ANNOTATIONS.

(22) opens.] The *Turks* believe the *Koran* divination to be infallible. Wherefore, when they are oppress'd with grief, or doubtful how to manage an affair, they read a *Vulg. Surah* or two of the *Koran*, then they open the Book, as chance directs, and read the first line of the first page. If the words correspond with their thoughts, they become a little merry, and prepare to execute their designs. On the contrary, if the passage they open to is nothing to their purpose, they not only grow melancholy, but frequently desist from their undertaking, and alter their mind.

No. XI.

(23) roof.] I have before observ'd, that the Temple of *Mecca*, believ'd by the *Turks* to be *Abraham's* Oratory, is without roof: however there is a sort of roof with an opening in the middle, running upwards from the angles of the walls, which, being of timber before, Sultan *Selim* order'd to be rebuilt with stone.

(24) *Evarin*.] This must be *Navarinum*, because there is no other Port in the *Mores* which may be denoted by that name. But I have elsewhere observ'd the negligence of the *Turks* in marking the names of Places and Generals.

M m m

XIV. This

Nova is re-
liev'd.

XIV. This year the *Othman* arms were crown'd with the same success on land. For the *Germans*, imagining all the forces of that Empire to be destroy'd in the last year's defeat at sea, and that they might without obstacle recover what they had lost, lay siege to *Nova* a City of *Bosnia*. To the relief of this place, the Governors of *Bosnia* and the adjacent countries hasten with united forces, surprize the enemies, intent on the siege, put them to rout, and in token of victory, send three hundred captives to *Constantinople*.

Selim repairs
Sancta Sophia.

XV. Thus the damages sustain'd by the late defeat being amply repair'd, *Selim* to show his piety and grateful sense of so many divine favours, takes upon him the care of adorning the sacred buildings. In pursuance of this design, he begins this year with repairing the injuries time had done to the Temple of *Sancta Sophia*, raises four *Minare* or Towers of different shapes (25) at the four corners, and demolishing some private houses near it, founds two *Medrese* of excellent workmanship.

Sends a fleet
to *Spain*.

XVI. Whilst *Selim* is intent upon these works, he remembers his promise to the ambassadors of the Musulmans in *Spain*, before his *Cyprian* expedition, of assisting them against the *Christians*. Wherefore that he might not seem to break his word, and withal might curb the boldness of the *Spaniards*, by taking his revenge for the blow given him by the *Spanish* fleet at *Lepanto*, sends his Vizir *Piale Pasha* (26) and High-Admiral with a fleet against the *Spaniards*. When they arrive at *Messina*, with intention to besiege it, they destroy the adjacent country with fire and sword. The City would doubtless have been taken, as no army appear'd to relieve it, if nature herself had not resisted the Musulman efforts. For when they were in great hopes of success, the sea on a sudden grew so tempestuous, that unless they would hazard all, the *Othman* forces were oblig'd to retire.

Tunis is taken
by the *Spaniards*,
and recover'd
by the
Turks.

XVII. The fleet returning home in this manner, the King of *Spain* with the forces he had design'd for the relief of *Messina*, sails to *Africa*, and surprizes *Tunis*, kills and makes prisoners all the Musulmans, then fortifies the City with stronger works, and garrisons it with his own soldiers. The chief blame of this loss seem'd to fall on *Piale*

ANNOTATIONS.

(25) different shapes] All the *Minare* of the *Turkish* *Jami*, if two or four, are of the same form. If six, four are the same, and adorn'd with three *Sherife*, and two which are erected in the Angles of the outer *Charem*, are lower, with but two *Sherife*. Only *Sancta Sophia* has four Towers of different forms. When the *Turks* are ask'd the reason, their usual answer is, the Temple of *Sancta Sophia* being a structure of inimitable Workmanship, the Emperor was

pleas'd it should have different *Minare*, that it might not in any respect be like other *Jami*.

(26) *Piale*] There was another of this name under Sultan *Soliman*, but whether of the same family, or call'd so by chance, I can't say. The latter seems to me most probable, because, except the royal race, few or no families are preserv'd by the *Turks*, besides those of *Ibrahim egli* and *Kio-prulio gli*.

Pasha,

Pasha, because he had return'd too securely with the whole fleet, and left no part of it to guard the *African* coasts. Wherefore he is dismiss'd, and *Sinan Pasha* † the former Vizir put in his room, who in the year 982, is sent by the Emperor with the whole fleet to recover *Tunis*. *Sinan Pasha* having landed his troops, instantly orders the City, and a neighboring fortress, call'd *Chalkulvadi* (27), to be attack'd, both which after several assaults, he takes, and sacrifices the garrisons to the Ghosts of the Musulmans, slain by the *Christians* in *Tunis* the last year. Then he razes *Chalkulvadi* to the ground, and repairing the walls of *Tunis*, leaves there a sufficient garrison.

† See Note
p. 221.
H. 982.
A. C. 1574.

XVIII. About the same time, fifteen hundred *Hungarians* come together and consult how to surprize *Segetwar* †. *Japher Pasha*, Governor of *Giula*, being inform'd of it, lies in ambush for them, with at least five hundred Janizaries, and attacking them as they were carelessly marching along, routs them and sends the best of the captives to *Constantinople*.

Some *Hungarians*
kill'd at
Segetwar.
† *Sigerb*.

XIX. About the end of this year, *Selim* builds a large and most elegant Bath (28), in that part of the palace, which looks to the East. Whilst the Mortar yet exhal'd virulent steams, the Emperor first enters the Bath, and if some writers are to be credited, drinks a large dose of wine to expel the noxious vapours; this is follow'd with a light headache, then a giddiness, and at length a sort of Apoplexy, which, on the eleventh day of his distemper, and the 28th of the month *Saban*, carries him out of the world. His son *Murad* comes to *Constantinople* the beginning of *Ramazan*, and is immediately saluted Emperor by all the Great-men, who testify their grief for the death of his father in elegant orations. Sultan *Selim*, after the usual solemnities, is buried in a *Turbe* near *Sancta Sophia*.

Selim's death.

XX. Sultan *Selim* liv'd fifty two, and reign'd eight years five months and nineteen days. He was a Prince of great valour, but not always so fortunate as to have his designs crown'd with success; of an invincible mind in all circumstances, in counsels ready and secret (29), a lover of justice and a good name, liberal, so merciful, that nature seem'd to have indu'd him with a gentler disposition than his predecessors; familiar and facetious in his talk with his domesticks; extreme fond of the learned as well as of mimicks, very constant in his daily

ANNOTATIONS.

(27) *Chalkulvadi*] It seems to be the strong Castle of *Goleta* at the entrance into the Bay of *Tunis*.

(28) Bath] This is a very noble structure, divided into forty rooms, all of marble within, and without of square stone. It stands in the middle between the apartments in the *Seraglio* design'd for the men, and those for the women, so that it immediately

strikes the eye of all that pass the *Bosphorus*.

(29) secret] A rare quality in a man given to drunkenness. But I should rather chuse to ascribe this secrecy to the custom of the Court, whose profound silence I have elsewhere observ'd, than to the natural temper of this Emperor.

and nightly devotions. However some Historians, who either had a better opportunity of knowing what pass'd in the inner Seraglio, or sought to please their readers with the novelty of things, say, that under pretence of devotion, he gave himself up entirely to wine and lust in the secret apartments of his palace. It is certain, he put on a great show of Religion in publick, and if at any time his actions seem'd to swerve from the paths of reason, it was ascrib'd rather to divine inspiration than the vice of drunkenness.

Cotemporary with *SELIM II.* reign'd in *Europe.*

In *Germany,* MAXIMILIAN. 1565-78.

In *England,* ELIZABETH. 1558-1602.

In *France,* CHARLES IX. 1560-74.

The End of the Reign of *SELIM II.*



The



The REIGN of

MURAD III.

Twelfth EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK III. CHAP. VI.

I. *SELIM* being remov'd out of this world, his son *Murad*, the third of that name, succeeds to the Empire, in the 31st year of his age, and of the *Hejira* 983, and spends the three first summers in the arts of peace, settling the publick affairs, and making warlike preparations.

II. Things being thus ready, he resolves in the year 986, to wage war with the *Persians*. He appoints for General *Mustapha Pasba*, a brave warrior, whose conduct had been chiefly signaliz'd in the *Cyprian* expedition, and gives him the forces of *Arzirum* and *Diarbekir*. *Mustapha*, not to disappoint his Sovereign's expectation, repairs first the castles on the borders, fortifies the City *Kars*, almost demolish'd by several sieges, and builds store-houses there, to the end, want of corn, which had ever obstructed former expeditions, might not occasion new mischiefs. After this, he goes and closely besieges *Chaldiran*, a strong town of *Persia*, which after several assaults he at length takes.

III. Presently after, he hears that *Tokmak chan* (1), General of the *Persians*, was coming with a considerable army to relieve the town, against

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Tokmak*] This name signifies originally a *Mallet* or *Pestle* or *Rammer*, with which stakes are fix'd into the ground, but figuratively is ascrib'd to a man, who presses some affair immoderately or insolently. Hence the common saying: *Balshimuze tokmak gielidi, the Mallet comes upon our head*, that is, the man is incessantly urging us. And indeed this does not seem to be the name of a family, because no *Persian* race was ever so call'd, but to be given by the *Turks*. For it is usual with them, to call not only the Generals of their enemies, but also whole Nations, by names, though not very honorable, yet however in some respect analogous. Thus

N^o. 11.

N n n

Augustus

against whom he sends the Balha's of *Arzirum* and *Diarbekir* with part of his forces. These Generals surprizing the enemies, vanquish and put them to flight. The reward of this victory was *Tiflis*, a noted town of *Armenia*, which is taken immediately after the battle and destroy'd with fire and sword. Moreover *Mustapha Pasha* leads his victorious troops towards *Shemahie*, but the rains preventing all expeditions, he leaves *Ozdemir ogli* (2) *Othman Pasha* and the Beglerbeg of *Erzenurruni* (3) to guard the towns he had taken, and returns himself into *Europe*.

Munevjebir revolts to the *Turks*.

IV. Mean while, after *Tokmak's* defeat, when *Mustapha* was still about *Tiflis*, *Munevjebir* (4), a *Christian* of noble extraction, who had hitherto been subject to the *Persians*, comes and delivers him the keys of the towns under his command, and promises future obe-

ANNOTATIONS.

Augustus the present King of *Poland*, when he was yet but Elector of *Saxony*, and General of the Imperialists in *Hungary*, was commonly nam'd, *Nal Kyran*, Horse-shoe breaker. They use to call the *Jews*, *Cbisud**, Dogs: the *Persians*, *Kyzilbasb*, Red-heads: the *Armenians*, *Bokbebi**, Turd-eaters: the *Georgians*, *Bityerji*, Lice-eaters: the *Scythians*, *Liasb zeyji*, Carrion-eaters: the *Indians*, *Dilenji*, Physicians: the *Arabians*, *Akylfiz*, Mad: those that are subject to them, especially the *Greeks*, *Bo-nuz siz coyan*, Sheep without Horns: those that live on the Continent, *Arabahji*, Waggoners: Islanders, *Jemji*, Mariners: the *Albanians*, *Jigjerji*, Sellers of Lungs: the *Moldavians*, *Bozdani nadan*, inhuman *Bogdani*: the *Walachians*, *Cbingiarie**: the *Bulgarians* and *Sirbians*, *Haidud*, Robbers: the *Dobrujans*, *Cbitak**: the *Cyngari*, *Firauni*, Pharaonites: the *Raguzians*, *Cbasus**, Spies, Betrayers: the *Bosnians*, *Potur*, Destroyers, Inlanders: the *Russians*, *Rusi menkius*, Perverse: the *Polanders*, *Fidul Gaur*, boasting, arrogant Insidels: the *German*, *Gurur Kiafir*, proud Blasphemers: the *Venetians*, *Balykji*, Fishers: the *Italians* and all the *Franki*, *siroz Hezar reng*, of a thousand colours, that is, deceitful: the *French*, *Aineji*, crafty: the *Dutch*, *Peinirebi**, Cheese-mongers: the *English*, *Cbokaj**, Clothiers: the *Spaniards*, *Tembel*, idle: and in this manner they give Nick-

names to almost every Nation that comes to their knowledge.

(2) *Ozdemir ogli*] Etymologically, all of iron. There was, (as I have related) a famous Champion of this name among the *Turks*, of whom no less things are said than of *Hamze*, that is *Sampson*. But *Ozdemir ogli* here was so call'd from the fortitude of mind he was endu'd with.

(3) *Erzenurruni*] I can't certainly tell what City or Province is meant by this name; but it seems to be recover'd from the *Turks*, since there is no such Pashalic now in the whole *Turkish* Empire.

(4) *Munevjebir*] He seems to have been one of the *Georgian* Governors, for there was at that time no *Christian* Prince, Lord of several and those fortified Towns. *Christian* Writers mention him in the life of *Murad II.* and say *Mehemed Pasha*, a Relation of *Mustapha*, to whom after his death the command of the army was committed, under colour of friendship, invited *Munevjebir* to come to him, with intention to have sent him in chains to *Constantinople*. But he knowing *Mehemed's* design, took with him fifty trusty Companions, and when he came to *Mehemed Pasha*, order'd his Attendants on pretense of curiosity to go with him to the Audience, by whose assistance he cut off the heads of the first that would have seiz'd him, and escap'd from the rest, after giving *Mehemed Pasha* himself several wounds.

dience

dience to the *Othman* Empire. He is kindly receiv'd by *Mustapha Pasha*, and after some time turns *Mahometan*, for which he is rewarded with the Sanjak of *Achisca* (5), and made Beglerbeg of *Tiflis* lately taken.

V. After *Mustapha's* departure, the Winter became so severe that the *Othman* Soldiers not us'd to the cold, daily perish'd in their Camp. As the whole army was in danger, *Ozdemir Ogli Othman Pasha*, sends his forces into Winter-quarters at some distance from one another, because there was no City in those desert and ravag'd Parts capable of receiving the whole army. *Euris Chan* the *Persian* General, having intelligence of this, unexpectedly falls upon the *Othmans* thus dispers'd, and makes a great slaughter.

VI. *Othman Pasha*, otherwise an able General, was not a little troubled at this misfortune, in the fear it wou'd be imputed to his negligence. Wherefore with intention to be reveng'd, or wipe out the disgrace by an honorable death, he assembles his army in the midst of winter, and with doubtful fortune fights the *Persians* above twenty times in several places. At last, the enemies to the number of thirty thousand, encourag'd by their late victory, furiously attack *Othman* under the conduct of *Imameuli*. The Battle lasted four days, but in the end the *Persians*, repuls'd by the valour of the *Othmans*, are almost all slain. *Ozdemir ogli*, seeing his army weaken'd with so many engagements, repairs the walls of *Shemahie*, and leaves there *Japher Pasha*, with good part of the army, whilst with the rest he retires into *Europe* to give an account of what he had done.

VII. The best part of the *Turkish* army being thus detain'd in *Persia*, the Chan of the *Crim Tartars* attempts to throw off the *Othman* yoke. Whereupon *Murad* orders *Mustapha Pasha* to go and extinguish the flame in its birth. *Mustapha* readily obeys the imperial order, and marching over mount *Caucasus* by the streights of *Demur Capi*, passes the *Tanais* in boats, surprizes the Chan not fearing any danger from a quarter never yet travers'd by man, and cutting off his head, sends it to the Port.

VIII. The domestick enemies being thus suppress'd, the Prime Vizir is sent in the year 988 with a great army against the *Persians*, who seeing their whole nation threaten'd with destruction, lay aside their warlike ardor, sue for peace, and for that purpose send an ambassador *Ibrahim Chan*, a man of great subtilty. He so moves the Vizir (who had now enter'd the *Persian* borders) both by his speeches and presents, that the army was immediately ordered to march back, and the ambassador sent with commendatory letters to the Port.

IX. But *Murad* was not of the same mind with the Vizir. He thought it too early, the enemy not being yet quite exhausted, to

ANNOTATIONS.

(5) *Achisca*] A Sanjak of *Asia minor*.

2

grant

Othman Pasha defeated by the *Persians*.

Who are afterwards routed.

Mustapha quells a rebellion in *Crim Tartary*.

The *Persians* sue for peace. H. 988. A. C. 1580.

But is repuls'd.

grant peace, and dishonorable for an army, prepar'd at so great expence, to be induc'd by deceitful speeches of peace to waste the time idly. Wherefore he dismisses the ambassador with a refusal of his petition, and deprives *Sinan Pascha* of the honour and office of Vizir, for taking upon him without his privity so weighty an affair, and advances *Ferhad Pascha* in his room.

Ferhad's fruitless expedition into Persia.
H. 991.

A. C. 1583.

X. The new Vizir, in the year 991, with numerous forces enters the *Persian* borders, and repairs the walls of *Revan* which had been some time in ruins, but either out of cowardice, or being bribed by the enemies, he did nothing else worthy of memory: what is more, he lost *Tybris*, and after some defeats, returns in the beginning of winter with his army to *Constantinople*. *Murad*, thus disappointed in his expectations of this general, deprives him also of the vizirship, and confers it on *Ozdemiroglu Othman Pascha*, whose heroic valour and military prudence had before been display'd in the same war, and sends him, adorned with the ensigns of vizir and generalissimo, to the army.

Othman Pascha retakes Tybris.
H. 993.

A. C. 1585.

XI. *Othman Pascha*, that he might the sooner meet the *Persians*, winters his forces in *Castamoni*, and early in the spring of the year 993, recovers *Tybris*, taken by the *Persians* when *Ferhad* had the command. As he found this city was entirely commanded by a neighbouring hill, he builds there a castle (6) with such expedition, that on the thirtieth day, the walls were in a condition to withstand the assaults of the enemies.

and kills all the inhabitants.

XII. Whilst he was employ'd in storing and fortifying this castle, some of the inhabitants of *Tybris* affront the Janizaries plac'd there in garrison, in which dispute, when they fall from words to blows, some of the soldiers are wounded, and others killed. *Othman Pascha*, intrag'd at this accident, and fearing a mutiny, orders all the inhabitants, except the women and children, to be put to the sword, and their goods to be distributed to the soldiers. After which, peopling the town with new colonies, he places *Japher Pascha* over it with the title of Vizir.

In his return, vanquishes the *Persians*, and dies.

XIII. The affairs of those parts being settled, he resolves to return into *Europe* with the best part of the forces. But in his march, he is met at *Sofian* (7) by *Hamze Mirza* (8), the bravest general the *Persians* then had, with a great army. Both sides fight obstinately from sun-rising till midnight for their country. *Hamze Mirza* ran up and down the army; one while he charged in the front, another

ANNOTATIONS.

(6) Castle] I cannot meet with the name, either in the *Turkish* or *Christian* Historians.

(7) *Sofian*] A well-known province of *Persia*. This word originally signifies *Wiseman*, being a corruption of the Greek *σοφός*. There is also a metre in musick call'd *Sofian*.

(8) *Hamze Mirza*] He seems to be of *Tartarian* extraction, and by some accident to come into *Persia*. For *Mirza*, as I have observed, is with the *Tartars* the same as *Beg* with the *Turks*, *Chan* with the *Persians*, and with us, *Prince*.

while rally'd his disorder'd troops in the rear, and exhorting his men to behave valiantly, performed the duty of a good General both in words and actions. On the contrary, *Othman Pascha*, by reason of sickness gotten in his march, not being able to manage a horie, rid on a mule, and because he could not, through his indisposition, encourage his men by his deeds, desires them with his voice not to sully the glory of the *Othman* arms. At length the *Persians* are forc'd to give ground to the *Turks*. The night after the victory, *Othman*, not so much exhausted by his distemper, as by the labour of the foregoing day, breathed his last, and so crown'd with martyrdom a life he had render'd illustrious by his exploits.

XIV. By his death the army being destitute of a leader, and seeing themselves surrounded with enemies, chuse *Sinan Pascha* (9) for general, and pursue their intended march. But *Hamze Mirza* follows them very close, and since he dur'd not, by reason of his late loss attack the *Othmans* in the field, harras'es them with continual skirmishes, lays in ambush at narrow passes, and does them more damage than a defeat. Having thus weaken'd their army and assembled more forces, he attacks them at last at *Selmas* (10), and furiously assaults their camp. Here, whilst he is leading on his men, and encouraging them by his example, he falls among the foremost, and by his death, frees the *Othmans* from great danger. For the *Persians*, struck with their General's misfortune, instantly retire, and give the *Musulmans* an open passage to *Var*.

XV. When the *Othman* forces, by reason of the smallness of their number, were thus obliged to quit their conquests, the *Persians* re-assemble their army, and in the year 994 besiege *Tybris*, where *Japher Pascha* commanded. To his relief, *Ferhad Pascha* (11) is sent with numerous forces, who compels the *Persians* to raise the siege, builds a new castle betwixt *Tybris* and *Revan*, and between these, as strong bulwarks, keeps his army four whole years. In the summer, he fights with the enemies, and that he might be nearer their borders, passes the winter in *Erzurum*. At length he penetrates into *Giurjistan*, and subduing the castles of that province, builds two towns, *Luri* and *Ginje*. After this, he joins battle with *Carebagy* (12) *Mehemed Chan* Ge-

Sinan Pascha repels the *Persians*.

Ferhad Pascha fights the *Persians* with advantage.

H. 994.

A. C. 1586.

ANNOTATIONS.

(9) *Sinan*] The same, who for his negligence in *Persia*, was (as I have said) dismissed from his office. For it is not unusual with the *Turks*, to restore their discarded generals to their former, or even higher posts. Hence, while in banishment, they have presents sent them even by their enemies, in the fear they should, in case of being restor'd, do them an injury.

(10) *Selmas*] A city unknown to me

as well as to the Maps, but seems however to be in the province of *Sopbian*, since the *Turkish* army, surround-ed and continually harras'd by the *Persians*, could not probably have march'd very far.

(11) *Ferhad Pascha*] A famous *Turkish* General, who acquir'd great reputation in this war.

(12) *Carebagy*] Seems to be the native country of this General.

neral of the *Persians*, puts him to flight, and so disperses the whole *Persian* army, that the forces of the *Red-heads* dar'd not from that time appear, or try the chance of war.

Peace is made with the *Persians*.

XVI. After so many defeats, the *Persian*, taugth by the loss of the provinces of *Revan*, *Giunje*, and *Carebeg*, that the *Othmans* were not to be resisted, begins to think in earnest of suing for peace. *Murad* not seeming very forward to grant it, he promises to relinquish all the countries subdued by the *Othmans*, and send his brother *Haidarjan* to the invincible Port, as a pledge that no *Persian* army should ever enter the *Othman* dominions, or make any private or open attempt against that empire. On these conditions sworn on both sides, a peace is at last concluded, and an end put to so long and bloody a war.

H. 995.

A. C. 1587.

A mutiny at Constantinople. H. 997.

A. C. 1589.

XVII. But the troops who had hitherto enlarg'd the bounds of the empire, begin, after the peace, to rage against their own bowels. The *Defterdar* or High-Treasurer was accused by the Janizaries of having debas'd the coin, and paid them with it. Wherefore being stirred up by his enemies, they flock together, and threaten to kill him in his palace. The *Defterdar* being informed by his friends of his imminent danger, flies to the Imperial Palace, and humbly begs *Murad's* protection against the fury of the soldiers. The rebels hearing this, surround the palace, and insolently require the Treasurer to be delivered to them. On the Emperor's refusal, they are more urgent, guard all the avenues, and threaten destruction and death to the Sultan, no less than to all the great men.

The Janizaries are quell'd and pardon'd.

XVIII. In this distress, *Murad* thinking it proper to proceed to extremities, least the imperial majesty should fall into contempt, arms all his chamberlains and *Baltaji* (13), and orders the gates to be opened, and the Janizaries to be attacked as infidels and disobedient; His commands are vigorously executed, and preferring the Emperor's life to their own, they rush like lions on the disorderly Janizaries. One hundred and seventeen rebels are kill'd at the first onset, before they could come together, and of the rest, some are dispersed, and some fly to their homes. At last, *Sinan Pasha*, the Prime Vizir intercedes, and by his speeches pacifies the Emperor's indignation, representing that all were not to be equally punish'd; that the first authors of the mutiny ought indeed to be made examples of, but to punish in the same manner those that were only carried away with the torrent, would be both unfit and disadvantageous to the State. *Murad*, mov'd by these representations, pardons the rest, and commands only the ring-leaders to be thrown into the sea. The sedition being thus suppress'd, the soldiers humbly return to their obedience.

ANNOTATIONS.

(13) *Baltaji*] For this service, they Palace, *Chasfuller*, pure and faithful are called to this day in the Imperial Servants.

XIX. To

XIX. To remove all occasions of future disturbances of this kind, *Murad* sends the Vizir *Sinan Pasha* in the year 1002, with a great army into *Hungary*, and by him takes some towns. At the approach of winter, he orders the troops to be quarter'd in *Rumelia*, and in the spring, *Tanik* (14) to be invested. This city is also, after a siege of eighteen days, added to the *Othman* dominion, and then the Vizir settling the affairs of those parts, returns to *Constantinople*.

Sinan Pasha moves into *Hungary*.

H. 1002.

A. C. 1524.

H. 1003.

A. C. 1595.

XX. After having thus vanquished both rebels and enemies, *Murad* the same year left his earthly for a heavenly Kingdom. He lived fifty, and reign'd twenty years, eight months. He had as many sons as he reign'd years, who being all strangled by the command of the eldest, followed their father to immortality (15). All the *Turkish* Historians I have seen, strangely pass over in silence, the character and manners of this Emperor, contrary to their constant custom.

Murad's death.

ANNOTATIONS.

(14) *Tanik*] *Tavarinum*, or *Taurinum*, with the Germans, *Raab*, which the *Christian* Historians say, was surrender'd to the *Turks* by the treachery of the Count *de Hardek*.

(15) immortality] The *Turks* account all their Emperors *Holy*, and

therefore mention their *avansaynes* (decease) in the most honourable terms, as, "This year the existence of his Majesty, with the consent of his own desire, departed from the Port of *Pride*, (world) to everlasting Possessions."

Cotemporary with MURAD III. reign'd in Europe.

In Germany, RODOLPHUS. 1575-1611.

In England, ELIZABETH. 1558-1602.

In France, HENRY IV. 1589-1610.

The End of the Reign of MURAD III.



The



The REIGN of

MAHOMET III.

Thirteenth EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK III. CHAP. VII.

Mahomet succeeds Murad.
H. 1003.
A. C. 1594.

Takes Egre.

H. 1004.
A. C. 1595.

I. **MURAD** dying in the year 1003, on *Friday* the 6th day of *Jemaziul' evvel*, his Son *Mahomet* succeeds as well to the *Hungarian* was, as to the Empire, and, (as I have said) stains the beginning of his reign with the blood of his nineteen brothers (1).

II. By this means having established his Kingdom, he turns his thoughts to finish the war in *Hungary* begun by his father, that he might afterwards give himself up entirely to repose, of which he was very fond, and quietly taste the pleasures (2) of a crown (3). To induce the enemies the more readily to a peace without any disparagement to the *Othman* Majesty, he marches the next year with a great army into *Hungary*, besieges *Egre*, fruitlessly attempted by his Predecessors, and so harrasses the Garrison with his frequent assaults, that at length, despairing of relief, they surrender the Town.

III. After

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) Brothers] The *Christian* Writers say, he kill'd twenty two brothers, and threw ten of his Father's concubines, that were with child, into the sea. But I chuse to follow here the *Turkish* Historians.
(2) pleasures] Foreign Historians agree in this, and say he was more

delighted with sensual pleasures than fame and glory.
(3) crown] This is to be understood of the Emperor himself, and not of the Empire. For as long as he liv'd, tho' a peace was once made, the *Turks* had constant skirmishes with the *Germans* with various success.

III. After the taking of *Egre*, when by reason of the approach of winter, he could make no farther progress, he thinks of returning to *Constantinople*. Whilst he is on his march, an army of *Christians* suddenly appear, and so furiously attack the camp of the *Othmans*, that the *Musulmans*, unable to sustain the shock, are forc'd to give ground. The enemies press forward, and penetrate as far as the tents where the royal treasures were kept. But here the *Germans* breaking open the coffers, and surpris'd at the immense riches, betray the victory for money. For the Sultan, perceiving them intent on the spoil, attacks them first with only his courtiers, and slays upon the very treasures those who now imagin'd the *Othmans* entirely routed. The rest of the army also admonish'd by the Emperor's example, rally again, and so bravely charge their enemies, that not a man of those that had enter'd the camp escap'd to tell the news.

IV. After this victory, he comes to *Constantinople* in triumph, and content with what he had acquir'd, makes peace with the *Christians*, in order to enjoy, what he was naturally inclin'd to, ease and pleasure. So he lives in profound repose till the year 1012, when desirous of an everlasting Kingdom, and weary of the allurements of this world, he departs to an eternal palace. He reign'd nine years and two months; but how long he liv'd is not mention'd in history, only it is certain, he died in the vigour of his age. He perform'd but one memorable action, namely, his expedition into *Hungary*, in which he took *Egre*, and routed the *Christians*, from whence he acquir'd the name of *Egre*.

Vanquishes the Christians.

Dies.

H. 1012.
A. C. 1603.

The End of the Reign of MAHOMET III.





The REIGN of

A H M E D I.

Fourteenth EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK III. CHAP. VIII.

*Abmed suc-
ceeds.
H. 1012.
A. C. 1603.*

I. THE throne being vacant by the death of *Mahomet Egre*, is fill'd by his son *Abmed* on the 9th of the month *Rejeb*, in the year 1012, when he was yet scarce fifteen years old, and thus what had never before been done, the reins of the Government were committed to a youth, which gave occasion to the following verse of a certain Poet: "To him alone of all the sons of *Othman*, it was granted to enjoy the Empire before he had been possess'd of a Standard (1).

*He is disturb'd
by two Rava-
gers.*

II. But he demonstrates in the first years of his Reign, that the scepter was not unworthily put into the hands of a youth. His deceas'd father's love of ease had render'd the *Asiatic* soldiery, whom the *Persian* wars had always kept employ'd, so insolent, that they imagin'd it allowable to set upon and spoil not only Travellers but whole provinces and towns. Complaints had in his father's time been frequently brought to Court, and Generals also sent to suppress the rebels, but either allur'd with the hope of prey themselves, or negligent of their duty, they were so far from putting a stop to these proceedings, that the number of plunderers increasing, all *Anatolia* was miserably ravag'd. Among these the two chief were *Calenderogli* and *Ta-*

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) Standard] that is, before he Standard, the Ensign of Power, to was of mature age. For till then, any Person. the *Turks* never deliver a *Sanjak* or

... who made the great and well known conquests over the
Greece, Persia, and India, and was the founder of the Ottoman Empire.

III. Sultan Ahmed thinking it would be well to have the
Empire divided into three parts, and each part given to a
son, he died in the year 1012, and was succeeded by his son
Ahmed I. who was then only fifteen years old.



A H M E D I.
Fourteenth Emperor of the *Turks*
in the Year 1603.
From an Original in the Seraglio.

vil (2), who made the greatest and most bloody incursions into the *Othman* dominions, and dar'd even to attack the troops.

III. Sultan *Ahmed* thinking, if these were quell'd, the whole sedition would be easily extinguish'd, and peace restor'd in the east, sends about winter the Prime Vizir *Coja Murad Pasha*, adorn'd with the imperial Signet, to *Aleppo* with his guards, with orders to quarter his forces there, and in the spring to lead them, in conjunction with such of the *Asiatics* as remain'd faithful, against the ravagers. *Murad Pasha* executes the Emperor's commands with no less bravery than success, vanquishes *Calenderogli* (3) at last after several bloody conflicts near *Marasb* in the mountains *Kioikiesen*, disperses his whole army, kills all the common soldiers, and drives him alone without any followers into *Arak* a province of *Persia*. Then he turns his arms against *Tavil* the other ravager, who was coming to the assistance of his companions. But *Tavil*, without staying for the *Muulmans*, marches with his forces towards them, and gives them battle, but by the valour of the *Janizaries* is defeated, and forc'd to fly into *Persia*.

IV. There he finds *Calenderogli*, and with him enters into measures, detrimental both to friends and foes. By their instigations the peace between the *Othmans* and *Persians*, hitherto inviolable on both sides, is disturb'd, and the *Persians*, mov'd by the speeches of the rebels, refuse to deliver them up when requir'd. *Ahmed* consider'd this as an indignity, and done in contempt of his government, and therefore resolves to be severely reveng'd.

V. To this end, he sends *Murad Pasha* the Vizir, (whose conduct he had before tried in quelling the rebels) with a numerous army from *Constantinople* towards the *Persian* borders, but not with the success he had expected. For as the expedition had been undertaken something late, and the march render'd more tedious by the difficulty of the ways, it was near winter when the Vizir came to *Tybris*, and therefore impossible to effect any thing with his wearied troops in so advanc'd a season. Whereupon he orders part of the forces to winter in *Diarbekir*.

VI. Early in the spring, resolving to repair by his speed what he had lost by his slowness the last summer, he assembles his army, and prepares to invade the *Persian* provinces, but just as he is ready to

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) *Tavil*] Tall, it is a surname, such as is frequently given by the *Turks* to their Generals on account of their endowments of body or mind, as, *Sajid Ahmed Pasha*, *Ahmed Pasha the Learned*, (the same that took *Candia*.) *Sbifshman Ibrabim Pasha*, *Ibrabim Pasha the Fat*, *Shaitan Ibrabim Pasha*, *Ibrabim Pasha the Devil*, *Seraskier* in the last war with the *Ger-*

mans, *Elmaz Mehemed Pasha*, *Me- hemed Pasha the Adamant*, who fell in the battle of *Zenta*.

(4) *Calenderogli*] Son of *Calender* a famous robber, whose exploits are still celebrated in songs call'd *Sharky*. He must not be confounded with one of the same name, who under *Mahomet I.* almost reduc'd the *Othman* Empire to the last extremity.

march,

They are
vanquish'd.

They em-
broil the peace
with the *Per-
sians*.

Murad Pasha
marches a-
gainst the *Per-
sians*.

Dies, and his
post is given
to *Nafah Pa-
sha*.

H. 1013.

A. C. 1604.

His office is conferr'd on *Nasub Pasha* (4), who after a year's stay there to as little purpose, leads back the army much weaken'd by sickness and fatigue to *Constantinople*.

VII. At his arrival, he is accus'd to the Emperor of sloth and negligence, and on conviction beheaded. *Mehmed Pasha* is made Prime Vizir in his room, and commanded to prosecute the *Persian* war with more vigour, and that he might be in greater readiness, to winter at *Aleppo*. From hence he departs in the year 1015 with a very numerous army, and entering the *Persian* borders, lays close siege to *Revan*, and furiously assaults it forty days: but repuls'd by the bravery of the garrison, he is forc'd at last to raise the siege with great loss.

VIII. *Mehmed Pasha*, in his return from this expedition, when he comes to *Erzurum*, and intends to send his forces into winter quarters, is in pursuance of the imperial mandate strangled by *Capuji bashi*. His post is conferr'd on *Halil Pasha*, a brave and prudent General, who warn'd by the examples of his predecessors, spends the whole winter in providing warlike stores, that he might the next spring act against the enemy without any impediment.

IX. Thus whilst there was great hope of humbling the pride of *Persia*, it is blasted by a sudden fever, which, the same year *Persia* was threaten'd with destruction, namely in 1026, seizes the Emperor. It is at first disregarded as not seeming dangerous, but afterwards so increases every day, that *Ahmed*, glutted with human affairs, leaves the toils of Empire, and flies to Paradisiacal pleasures.

X. He liv'd twenty nine, and reign'd fourteen years, his three sons *Othman*, *Murad*, and *Ibrahim*, were all seen by posterity on the *Turkish* throne. Not to mention his other virtues, he excell'd all his predecessors in liberality and magnificence, so that he has been charg'd by some with profuseness. He was very fond of building, witness the *Jami* (5), Rival, and Neighbour of *Sancta Sophia* in the *Hyppodrome*, built with so great care and expense, that to finish it, the treasures of the whole Empire, collected during his father's long repose, scarce suffic'd. Whilst this work was in hand, the Sultan is said to visit it every week, and pay the workmen their wages himself.

ANNOTATIONS.

(4) *Nasub Pasha*] In the *Koran*, *Benjamin*, *Joseph's* brother is call'd *Nasub*, and from that time this name began to be common with the *Mahometans*.

(5) *Jami*] This Building in magnificence, though not in largeness, excels *Sancta Sophia*. Besides the numberless ornaments on the outside of the walls, there are above two hundred gold tables hung up on the inside, on which are engraven the names of the Prophets, with sentences out of the *Koran*, every one whereof it is said, cost fifty thousand dollars, being set each with sixty one Diamonds. It is certain, so much money was expended on this structure, that after it was finish'd, upon an exact calculation, every dram of stone or mortar was found to cost three Aspers.

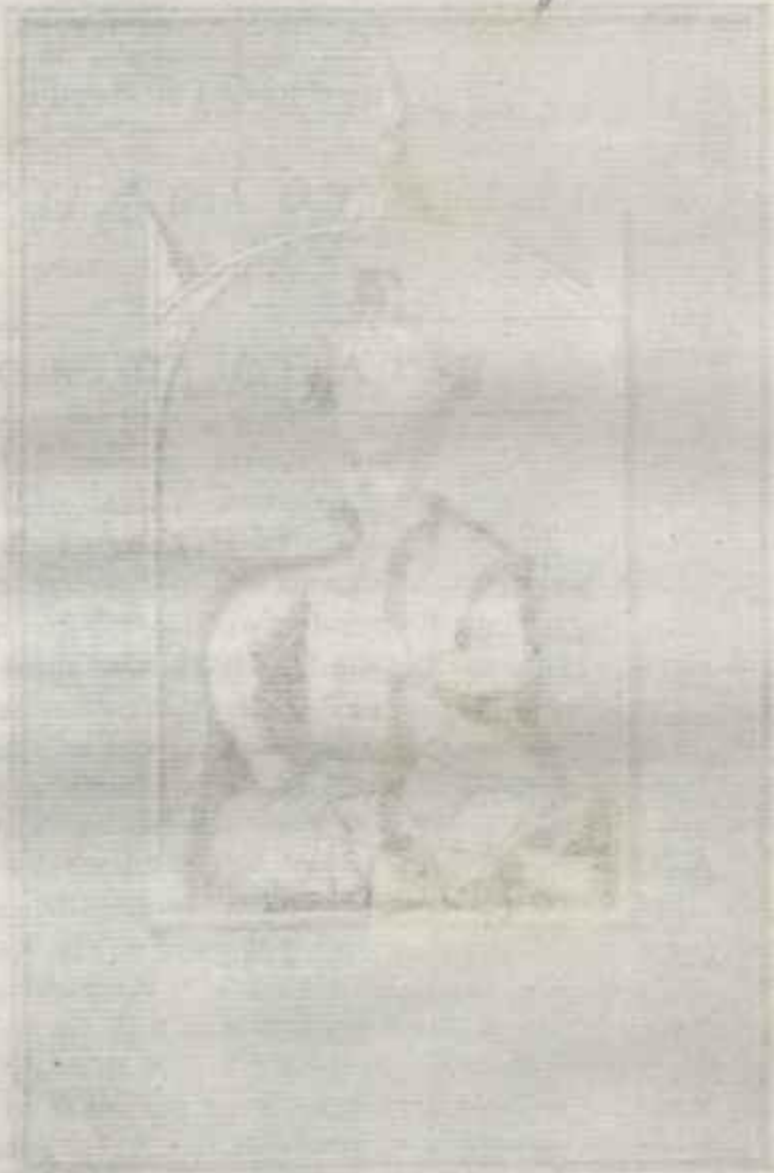
The End of the Reign of AHMED I.

The



C. De. B. fecit.
MUSTAPHA
 Fifteenth Emperor of the Turks.
 in the Year 1638.
 From an Original in the Seraglio

MUSTAPHA



MUSTAPHA

HO

CA

The first thing that I saw when I came to Constantinople was the great mosque of Sultan Ahmed, which was built by the Emperor in the year 1609. It is a very magnificent building, and is one of the most famous in the city. The Emperor himself was very fond of architecture, and he built many other great buildings in Constantinople. He also was a very good soldier, and he fought many battles against the Persians and the Russians. He died in the year 1640, and he was succeeded by his son, Ibrahim.

THE

(1) Mustafa I



Othman II,
Sixteenth EMPEROR of TURKS
in the Year 1618.
From an Original in the Seraglio.



The REIGNS of

MUSTAPHA and OTHMAN II.

BOOK III. CHAP. IX.

I. **AHMED** being dead, is succeeded in the beginning of the year 1627, by his younger brother *Mustapha* (1). But as he govern'd the *Othman* state with little or no care of the publick affairs, and gave himself up entirely to his lusts, he was in the fourth month of his reign, by the unanimous consent of all the Great-men, remov'd from the throne to the prison of the seven Towers,

II. *Mustapha* being thus depos'd, Sultan *Othman*, son of *Ahmed*, ascended the throne in the eighth year of his age, whom, on account of his youth, they had before thought unfit to wield the scepter, and therefore had pass'd by, though he had more right to the Empire than *Mustapha*, who was chosen as a contemplative and inoffensive man.

III. In this reign appear'd at *Constantinople* a strange sight, such as had there never been, nor perhaps ever will be, seen. In the year 1629, on the 28th of the month *Rebiul ewvel*, was beheld in the heavens a crooked sword five times as long as a spear, and three foot broad. It extended from East to West, and for a whole month shone with great brightness after sun-set. The astrologers and those that pretended to foretell things to come being consulted, declare it to be a sign of victory and increase of Empire to the *Othmans*. The same astrologers interpret as a bad omen the frost which happen'd about the same time the next year, and was so great, that the inhabitants of *Constantinople* safely went to and from *Iskiuder* on foot.

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Mustapha*] The *Turks* ascribe the greatest things to all their Emperors, except this *Mustapha*, whom they represent as exceeding all the rest in vice, as much as his ancestors

did him in virtue. He might be call'd the *Sardanapalus* of the *Othmans*, if he had shown the like magnanimity in his death with that Prince.

Mustapha succeeded.
H. 1627.
A. C. 1618.

A fight in the Heavens.
H. 1629.
A. C. 1620.

Othman
marches into
Poland.

IV. *Othman* in contempt of this prediction undertakes, in the summer after the hard winter, an expedition against the *Poles*, recovers *Cbotin* (2), which they had taken by assault, sends the Chan of *Tartary* with the *Tartarian* and *Turkish* forces to ravage the inmost part of *Poland*, and he himself so surrounds and presses the enemies troops with his own, that they were at last compell'd to sue for peace. The Emperor grants their request, and making a peace on his own conditions, returns about winter laden with spoil and captives to *Constantinople*.

He is depos'd,
and *Mustapha*
restor'd.

V. But the soldiery unus'd to youthful Government, whilst they live idly at *Constantinople*, being stirr'd up by *Mustapha's* party, raise the next year a furious sedition, most barbarously kill, without any regard to the blood from whence he was sprung, the Emperor, a young man of great hopes, in the fourth year of his reign, and the twelfth of his age, and bury him near his father in the *Jami*, which he had built. Then they release *Mustapha*, whom they had before depos'd and shut up in the prison of the seven Towers, and re-establish him on the Throne.

Who for his
vices is again
dethron'd and
strangled.

VI. But neither was his reign very long. He had conceal'd, whilst in prison, not corrected, the vices of his perverse nature, and thereby put the soldiers in hopes, that having tasted of the cup of affliction, he would become better, and alter his course of life and government. In this expectation, when they had replac'd him on the throne, thinking himself out of fortune's power, he returns to his old vices, plays the tyrant, seeks to destroy his deposers, manifestly neglects the administration of affairs, and acts nothing in words or deeds worthy of memory. When he had thus tyranniz'd, rather than reign'd, fifteen months, he is again dethron'd by the Great-men, rejecting the dominion of a fool, and with the greatest ignominy put on an ass, and carried amidst the scoffs and insults of the mob to the prison of the seven Towers, where soon after by the command of his successor *Murad IV.* he is strangled.

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(2) *Cbotin*] A City of *Moldavia* on the *Tyras* over-against *Caminee*, fortified both by nature and art. The walls in my time were repair'd by the *Turks* after the battle of *Hierafut*, with the addition of some modern

works, so that it may now justly be counted the Bulwark of the whole Empire against the *Russians* and *Poles*. But of this more largely in my account of antient and modern *Moldavia*.

The End of the Reigns of OTHMAN II. and MUSTAPHA.

The



The REIGN of
MURAD IV. Sirnam'd GAZI,
Seventeenth EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK III. CHAP. X.

I. **S**ultan *Murad*, whose brave exploits acquir'd him the name of *Gazi* or the *Valiant*, was born in 1018, and upon the deposing of *Mustapha*, succeeded to the *Othman* Empire the 4th of *Ziulcade*, in the year of the *Hejira* 1032.

Murad suc-
ceeds.
H. 1032.
A. C. 1622.

II. In the very beginning of his reign he show'd, how much better it was for the *Othmans* to obey an active young man than a sluggard. *Abaza*, *Basha* of *Erzurum* in *Mustapha's* time, had dar'd to ravage the *Asiatic* provinces, and openly oppos'd his sovereign, and hop'd to proceed with impunity, as long as *Murad* a youth held the reins of the government. But the Emperor, to curb this man's insolence and hinder the flame from increasing, in the second year of his reign, sends the Prime Vizir *Cberkies** *Mehemed Pasha* (1) against the rebels with an ar-

He vanquishes
Abaza the re-
bel.

H. 1033.
A. C. 1623.

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Cberkies**] The only Prime Vizir of *Cberkassian** extraction, tho' several of that Nation have enjoy'd the highest offices in the *Turkish* Court. He was a General of the greatest reputation among the *Turks*, and married *Murad's* sister *Hatijem*, of whom he was very fond. The Brother of this man, in the village call'd *Ortakioi*, built an elegant Palace, adorn'd with Gardens and Aqueducts. In process of time, when the *Turks* in *Abmed II's* reign saw all *Hungary*, *Belgrade*, and *Nissa*, subdu'd by the arms of the Emperor *Leo-*

gold, and expected *Constantinople* or at least *Adrianople* would be taken, and many, under colour of a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, had retir'd with what effects they could carry with them, to the remote provinces of *Asia*. I bought this Palace for twenty five thousand *Dolars* of *Yusuf Effendi* son of *Tersane Emini*, Inspector of the Navy, and have left it enlarg'd with several buildings and ornaments. I hear it is possess'd now by the present Emperor's daughter, wife of *Ali Pasha* the Prime Vizir †.

† See the Plan
of *Constantinople*
my pl.

my into *Asia*, who bravely attacks *Abaza Pasha* (2) near *Caisairie*, and defeating him after a very bloody and fierce battle, forces him to fly to *Erzurum*. Perhaps he would have entirely quell'd the rebellion, if he had not after his victory died the same year at *Tokad*.

He in vain attempts Bagdad by Ali Pasha.

III. *Murad* despising *Abaza*, (whose forces he now imagin'd entirely suppress'd) turns his thoughts to greater undertakings, and sends again a great army into *Asia* under *Chaphyz Ali Pasha*, Governor of *Diarbekir*, with orders to join the *Asiatic* troops, and instantly attack *Bagdad*. He executes his commission; but after five months siege is repuls'd by the bravery of the besieg'd with great loss, and forc'd to avoid the injuries of the weather by a speedy return.

Halil Pasha made Vizir, besieges Abaza.

IV. For this reason, *Chaphyz Ali Pasha* (3), when he comes to *Aleppo*, is depriv'd of his dignity, and the imperial signet committed to *Halil Pasha*. But neither does this Vizir answer the Emperor's expectations. For being order'd to march against the *Persians*, when he comes in the neighbourhood of *Erzurum*, *Abaza Pasha* the rebel, who lurk'd about that place, suspects, that under the colour of a *Persian* expedition, an army was leading against him, and returns into *Erzurum*, which he some time since had made the seat of arms, and stor'd with provisions and other warlike stores. *Halil Pasha* taking this for a flight, that he might entirely crush the dispirited, as he thought, enemies, leaves the *Persian* expedition, marches to *Erzurum*, and closely besieges the city.

but is defeated by him.

V. But whilst he hopes to acquire fame with little labour, he procures disgrace with infinite trouble. For the City is bravely defended by *Abaza*, who of all mortals was then unanimously esteem'd the best soldier and wisest General. Not content with repulsing the enemies, he unexpectedly assaults, with a small but chosen band, the *Othman* camp, instantly kills the guards, and strikes the whole army with such terror, that a defeat easily follow'd. Thus numerous forces are vanquish'd by a handful of men, multitudes are slain, and many taken alive, the Vizir himself, after throwing away his arms, hardly escaping with a few attendants.

Chofreu Pasha takes Abaza and Erzurum.

VI. When this defeat is brought to *Murad*, he is doubly afflicted, and perceives his own, as well as his Vizir's error; his own, in unseasonably despising *Abaza*, and his Vizir's, in relinquishing the more weighty affairs, and turning the arms of the Empire to things of less moment. To remedy both, he displaces *Halil Pasha*, and appointing

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(2) *Abaza*] So call'd from his country *Abaza*, the inhabitants whereof in manners or language are very like the *Cbercassians*. Hence Captives from *Abaza* are valued next to those from *Cbercassia*. *Abaza Pasha* himself was a General of the greatest re-

pute with the *Turks*, and after his rebellion an example of fidelity.

(3) *Chaphyz*] Is a surname, usually given by way of honour to those who can say the whole *Koran* by heart, and is deriv'd from the *Arabic* word *Chyly*, Memory, Custody.

Chofreu

Chofreu Pasha his Vizir and General, sends him with supplies to the army wintering in *Diarbekir*, with orders to extinguish the flame, by attacking *Abaza* early in the spring. *Chofreu Pasha*, whom the unfortunate example of his Predecessor had render'd more cautious, executes his commission with greater care, assembles all the forces, prepares the largest cannon, and with them so shakes the walls of *Erzurum*, that the frighted inhabitants deliver up their City, with the rebel, the fifth day of the siege.

VII. The town being taken, *Chofreu Pasha* sends the rebels in chains to the Port. But *Murad* having before heard of his heroical exploits, and moreover seeing the man to be of an invincible courage and mind, who had been betray'd into his hands by his own people, thinks it unfit to remove him out of the world, and though he deserv'd a thousand deaths, deprive the *Othman* Empire of so great an ornament. Wherefore severely reprimanding him for his rebellion, he promises to forgive him (3), on condition he will wipe out his former crimes by his future actions, and draw that sword against the enemies of the *Othmans*, which he had hitherto us'd against the Empire. *Abaza* readily consenting to these unexpected terms, is not only receiv'd by *Murad* into favour, but also made Beglerbeg of *Bosnia*, as a proper person to curb the enemies by his valour, in case they should invade the Empire on that side whilst employ'd in the *Persian* war.

Murad pardons him.

VIII. The civil disturbances being thus appeas'd, in the year 1039, *Chofreu Pasha* is sent with a fresh army against *Bagdad*. The Vizir to remove the obstacles his predecessors had met with, immediately goes into *Asia*, and makes great preparations the whole winter at *Musul*. In the spring, to cut off all relief from *Bagdad*, he enters the province of *Arak*, govern'd under the *Persian* King by *Zemel chan*, takes the castles, destroys what he can't keep, and entirely quelling the rebellion, closely besieges *Bagdad*. But fortune did not permit the glory destin'd for the Emperors alone to fall on the General. For the Vizir, though he bravely assaulted the City one and forty days, yet finding he could not prevail, is forc'd to raise the siege with great loss.

Chofreu besieges Bagdad in vain.

H. 1039.

A. C. 1627.

IX. The good success of this expedition was hinder'd chiefly by a fresh rebellion rais'd on the borders of *Persia*. For *Iliar Pasha*, whom *Murad* had made Beglerbeg of *Erzurum* in *Abaza's* room, as if he had succeeded not only in his office, but also in his desire and

Iliar Pasha rebelling, is taken and punish'd.

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(4) forgive] This pardon is ascrib'd to him as an unparallell'd instance of clemency by the *Turkish* Historians, who study to put the best construction on their Emperor's actions. But there are others who say *Abaza* surrender'd himself to *Chofreu Pasha*, on condition he should depart out of the

City with his life and honour safe, and therefore could not be put to death by *Murad*. For the *Turkish* Emperors seldom break the faith given to *Mahometans*, and besides the signal qualities of the rebel seem'd to require mercy.

Nº. 11.

R r r

thirst

thirst of dominion, when he finds both the soldiers and inhabitants ready to favour him, refuses obedience to the Emperor, hoping to avoid with ease the snares *Abaza* had fallen into. But fortune was not alike to both, and what had turn'd to an increase of honour to *Abaza*, brings infamy and punishment on the other. For he was taken in the year 1041 by *Kiuchuk** (5) *Mehmed Pasha*, and sent to the Port, where in the publick market place he is order'd to lay down his aspiring thoughts with his head.

H. 1041.
A. C. 1631.

Van besieg'd
by the *Persians*, is re-
liev'd.

X. The Musulman army being weaken'd by these civil wars, *Raf-tem Chan*, General of the *Persians*, invades the *Othman* dominions, and ravaging the adjacent country, lays close siege to *Van*. As the *Asiatic* army was unable to withstand him, and the City in the utmost distress, *Murad*, on news of the danger, sends the Beglerbeg of *Rumelia* with his *European* forces to its relief, who routs the *Persians*, and delivers the City now on the point of surrendering.

Murad sends
an army a-
gainst the
Poles, and
grants them
peace.

XI. The *Persians* being defeated, he resolves to turn his victorious arms against the *Poles*, and assembling his forces at *Adrianople*, orders *Murtaza Pasha*, in conjunction with *Jambolad zade* (6), whom he had made General of the *Rumelian* horse, to invade *Poland*. These Generals pass the *Danube* near *Girgiow* (7), a town of *Walachia*, and incamp on the banks. Whilst they remain here, expecting the Emperor's orders, *Polish* ambassadors arrive, and humbly sue to *Murtaza* for peace. *Murtaza*, not daring to transact so weighty an affair without his Sovereign's privity, sends the ambassadors to the Port, by whose intreaties *Murad* is mov'd to grant a peace on his own terms.

Wine permit-
ted.
H. 1043.
A. C. 1633.

XII. In the year 1043, a new and hitherto unheard of edict is publish'd by the Emperor, by which not only the sellers of wine are permitted to exercise their trade, but also every one allow'd to drink it freely contrary to the *Mahometan* Law. On the other hand, the Coffee-houses are forbid to be open'd under severe penalties.

Murad goes
against the
Persians, and
takes *Revan*.

XIII. Mean while, the care of the *Persian* war gave him continual uneasiness, because he perceiv'd it impracticable either to establish, or as he intended, to enlarge the Empire, whilst *Bagdad*, the noblest City of *Asia* and Bulwark of the *Othman* dominions, was in the hands of the *Persians*. Wherefore as he found, he had gain'd no advantage to the *Othman* state by his Generals, he resolves to take upon himself the office of General, and surmount by the imperial Majesty the obstacles which had stop'd the progress of so many Vizirs. To this purpose, in the year 1044, he passes into *Asia* from his Metropolis with

H. 1044.
A. C. 1634.

ANNOTATIONS.

(5) *Kiuchuk**] A name usually given by the *Turks* to persons of low stature.

(6) *Jambolad zade*] Son of *Jambolad*. He seems to have been of *Tartarian* extraction, for this name is pe-

culiar to the *Tartars*; as *Polad Mirza*, &c.

(7) *Girgiow*] An ancient City of *Walachia* between *Silistria* and *Nicopolis*.

a numerous

a numerous army, and leads his forces full of hopes towards *Bagdad*. In his march he besieges *Revan* lately recover'd by the *Persians*, and presses it so closely, that the garrison, unable to withstand his assaults, on the eighth day surrender themselves and City to his mercy. Whereupon the Governor alone, *Emirgiun ogli* (8), is detain'd and sent to *Constantinople*. But the next year, after he had staid some time about *Tybris*, repair'd the adjacent castles, and strengthen'd them with garrisons, he leads back, about *Cassim Giuni*† (9), his victorious army to *Constantinople*.

H. 1045.
A. C. 1635.
† *Os. 26.*

ANNOTATIONS.

(8) *Emirgiun ogli*] Son of *Emirgiun*, a *Persian* Chan. He was brought a Captive to *Constantinople*, but by his skill in musick soon gain'd *Murad's* favour to such a degree, that he was made one of his Privy Counsellors, and when the Emperor indulg'd himself in wine, he was delighted with only him and *Bevri Mustapha*. Very often in his palace, which is still to be seen on the *Bosphorus*, and from him call'd *Imirgiun ogli yalisi* (for *Yali* is any palace situated near the sea) *Murad* met him and made himself merry with wine. Once when the Emperor was there drinking wine, a certain noble *Greek* happen'd to pass by in a boat, and not knowing the Sultan to be in that place, sung with great skill and sweetness a *Persian* song. *Emirgiun* opening the window, the *Greek* immediately left off. But *Emirgiun* desires him in God's name and for Christ's sake to go on with his song, and bids the rowers stop the boat. When the song was ended, he goes down to the *Greek*, asks him, who he was, that was so perfectly skill'd both in the *Persian* language and the art of musick. Being told he was a *Greek* and *Murad's* subject, he kisses his hand three times, and dismisses him with a good present. Then returning to the Emperor, the *Greek*, says he, who now obey your scepter, were once our Lords, and I have this day found they justly enjoy'd that honour. I had indeed heard of their fame in our Historians, but never happen'd to meet with any one of that Nation worthy the character formerly given them. But it has been my fortune to day to know a *Greek*, whom if

the rest are like, that race was truly deserving as well of our Empire as of your service. For though I am second to none among our countrymen in musick, I am scarce worthy to be call'd the scholar of this *Greek*.

(9) *Cassim Giuni*] By this name the *Turks* denote St. *Demetrius*, whom as well as St. *George* (by them call'd *Hydyrlez*) they fabulously assert to have been a Musulman. They celebrate with the eastern *Christians* the Festivals of both, namely the 23d of *April* and the 26th of *October*. By these two days, as by anniversary *Poles*, the *Turks* regulate their expeditions: after the 23d of *April* they take the field, and the 26th of *October* they return from their expedition. After St. *George's* day, whatever soldier is not at the place of Rendezvous, he is depriv'd of his pay and present, or must undergo some other punishment, though there can't be a worse punishment than to be dismiss'd from the army with disgrace. When they have spent these months in an expedition, the moment St. *Demetrius's* day appears, no soldier is forc'd to obey the General or the Sultan himself, unless they voluntarily bind themselves to farther duty for the publick safety. For whoever after St. *Demetrius's* day comes to *Ordicalisi*, or the Judge of the camp, and demands *Cassim sigili*, that is, a Certificate of having faithfully serv'd that year to St. *Demetrius's* day, which cannot be refus'd, he may safely leave the army without being liable to pain or penalty. For no *Turkish* soldier, tho' all receive pay throughout the year, is oblig'd to duty above six months.

XIV. But

The Persians
take Van.
H. 1046.
A. C. 1636.

XIV. But the *Persians*, who had hitherto skulk'd for fear of the *Othman* sword, when they hear of *Murad's* departure, suddenly rush forth with numerous forces and besiege *Van*, of which *Abaza Pasha* had been made Governor. The Musulmans make a gallant resistance, so that for four months the *Persians* could gain no advantage, though they frequently repeated their assaults, and perhaps the City would have been freed from the danger, if the Governor *Abaza Pasha*, on whom the strength and safety of the place seem'd to depend, had not been snatch'd out of the world. For dispirited by this accident, the *Othmans* more faintly defend themselves, whilst the *Persians*, grown more courageous, furiously renew their assaults, take the City by storm, and sacrifice all the Musulmans to the Ghosts of their countrymen slain by *Murad*.

Murad
marches a-
gainst the Per-
sians.

XV. When the news of this slaughter is brought to *Constantinople*, *Murad*, not expecting any such thing after his last year's happy expedition, is fill'd with rage and indignation. The effects whereof are first felt by the Vizir *Mehemed Pasha*, who for neglecting to fortify the borders, is instantly turn'd out, and his office given to *Bairam Pasha* with terrible threats against the *Persians*. That these menaces might not be in vain, he sends the same year the Vizir before, with some light-armed troops, and following in person with a greater army into *Asia*, marches directly to *Bagdad*.

H. 1047.
A. C. 1637.

takes Bagdad.

XVI. When he comes there, spur'd on, not so much by his heretical valour, as by the desire of revenge, attacks the City so vigorously, that for thirty days it seem'd to be rather a continual slaughter and butchery than a fight. Fire, sword, and cannons cease not one moment the whole time, to destroy the soldiers on both sides. The assaults are daily renew'd, the Emperor with his scymiter, compels the retiring men to re-charge, and with his own hand kills the Vizir himself for appearing too negligent. At length, by the bravery of the *Othmans* and steadiness of the Emperor, the City is taken, and above thirty thousand *Persians* (10), who had deliver'd themselves up to the Sultan's

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(10) thirty thousand] The *Persians* still mourn with everlasting tears this cruelty of Sultan *Murad*. For he resolv'd to spare no Captive, noble or ignoble, but commanded all to be slain to a man. As his order was executing, a certain Musician desires the officers to defer his punishment, and permit him to speak one word at least to the Emperor. Being brought to him, and ask'd what he had to say, suffer not, (says he) most gracious Emperor, that with me *Shabculi*, the Emperor's Servant, (by which name he was afterwards

call'd) the whole art of Musick to perish. For life is not desirable to me as a man, but as a student of Musick, whose hidden depths I have not yet entirely fathom'd, I beg a longer time to perfect myself in that divine art, which if I can accomplish, I would not exchange it for your Empire. Being order'd to give a Specimen of his skill, he takes up a *Sesphidar*, (call'd in *Arabic*, *Zabur*, in *Greek*, *Psalterion*;) and with so sweet a voice and so much art sings the Tragedy of the taking of *Bagdad* and *Murad's* praises, that he drew tears from

Sultan's power, are slaughter'd in his presence. Thus fell the famous City, to defend which, the *Shah* of *Persia* had assembled the flower of his army, and almost his whole nobility, and to take which, *Murad* had applied the strength of the *Othman* Empire. This was the last overthrow of the *Persians*, since which they have not dar'd to be reveng'd, or to lift up their head against the *Othman* power.

XVII. *Bagdad* being subdu'd, *Murad* spends some days in repairing the breaches, and settling the affairs of the province of *Arak*; then leaving the new Vizir *Mustapha Pasha* to finish what he had begun, winters in *Diarbekir*, and the next spring returns to *Constantinople* with his guards. Whilst he is there meditating an expedition against the *Christians*, he is suddenly seiz'd with a distemper, which after fifteen days transported him to the regions of eternity in the year 1049, on the 15th of the month *Sheval*, after he had liv'd thirty one, and reign'd seventeen years.

XVIII. The *Turks* relate the manners and domestick affairs of this Emperor in so many Volumes, that perhaps they justly seem sometimes to intermix fables. I shall briefly insert such things only as are deliver'd by *Murad's* more accurate historians. By these he is chiefly observ'd to commit some things contrary both to the imperial honour and the order of nature. They say he us'd to resort with particular friends to certain pleasant places and gardens without the City, and in a manner unbecoming an Emperor, converse with them, light fires, dress victuals, buy wine from a tavern, and drink it familiarly with his companions. Moreover he married old women of eighty to young men of fifteen or five and twenty, and join'd in matrimony old men and girls in the flower of their youth, with a thousand such like pranks.

XIX. It may be said in his excuse, that he intended by these things to search more accurately into the nature and inclinations of man, and taste the pleasures of a private and rural life. But he is much more remarkable for his drunkenness, in which he exceeded all his predecessors that were given to that vice. Led to it by *Becri Mustapha* (11), he was not content to drink wine in private,

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from *Murad* himself, who could not refrain till the Musician had done singing. For his sake *Murad* order'd what captives were yet alive, not only not to be kill'd, but to be set at liberty. Afterwards *Murad* carried with him this Musician to *Constantinople*, and greatly esteem'd him. And indeed his *Persian* musical works, which in *Persia* seem'd to be buried in the ruins of *Bagdad*, were reviv'd in *Turky*. This musical instrument is much like a harp with six strings each way, (from whence the name *Sesphidar* or *ezuppidar*;) and is accounted the chief of musical instruments, invented as 'tis thought by *David*, though few at this day know how to play on it well.

(11) *Becri Mustapha*] The *Turks* unanimously agree, that this man gave *Murad* the first occasion of making himself drunk. How this was done is thus related. As *Murad* was once going about the marketplace in disguise, he accidentally lights upon this *Becri Mustapha* wallowing in the dirt almost dead drunk. Wondering at the novelty of the thing, he asks his people, what was the matter with him, for to him he seem'd lunatick. Being told he

N^o. XII.

was drunk with wine, he wants to know what sort of liquor that was, of whose effects he was yet ignorant. Mean while, *Mustapha* gets up, and with opprobrious words bids the Emperor stand off. Astonish'd at the man's boldness, *Rasnal*, says he, dost thou bid me, who am Sultan *Murad*, be gone? And I (answers *Mustapha*) am *Becri Mustapha*, and if thou wilt sell me this City, I will buy it, and then I shall be Sultan *Murad*, and thou *Becri Mustapha*. *Murad* demanding where he would get the money to purchase such a City, *Mustapha* replies, Don't trouble thyself about that, for what is more, I will buy too the son of a bond-woman [for the Emperors are all born of captives.] *Murad* agrees to it, and orders *Mustapha* to be taken out of the dirt and carried to the Palace. After a few hours, the fumes of the wine being dispers'd, *Mustapha* comes to his senses, sees himself lying in a gilded and elegant room, asks those that attended him, what is the meaning of this, am I in a dream, or do I taste Paradisiacal pleasures? The By-standers tell him what had pass'd, and his bargain with the Emperor. The man falls into a terrible

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ble

but compell'd even the *Mufti's* and *Cadilaskers* to drink with him, and also by a publick edict, mention'd before, allow'd wine to be sold and drunk by men of all orders and degrees. As he was an immoderate lover of wine, so he was a mortal enemy to opium and tobacco, forbid both on pain of death, and with his own hand kill'd several, whom he found either eating opium, or smoaking or selling tobacco. However one *Tiriaki* a smoaker escap'd punishment by his wit. For as he could not help smoaking, he caus'd a deep pit to be dug under his tent, and cover'd with green turf to prevent a discovery. When he was one day in this pit smoaking, the Emperor comes, and inquiring for the man, he is betray'd by his people, and expos'd to the Emperor's view with a pipe in his mouth, who instantly drew his sword in order to kill him. *Tiriaki* seeing his danger, humourously cries out, Go to, thou son of a bond-woman! Thy edict extends above not under the earth. By this saying he not only sav'd his life, but obtain'd new honours, with the sole license of smoaking tobacco. He is also reported to say to his people by way of advice, If you will be merry, drink wine, and not eat t—rd.

His cruelty.

XX. From this vice sprung another, no less destructive to Governors than to the state, cruelty. He thirsted after innocent blood, breath'd nothing but slaughter, and seem'd as it were to be nourish'd by it. Very often at midnight he stole out of the women's apartments through the private gates of the palace with his drawn sword, and running through the streets barefooted with only a loose gown about him, like a madman, kill'd whoever came in his way. Frequently from the windows of the higher rooms, where he us'd to drink and divert himself, he shot with arrows such as accidentally pass'd by. In the day time he ran up and down in disguise, and did not return till he had kill'd some unfortunate wretches for little or no cause. So great terror did he strike into the whole City, that no man dar'd even mention his name within his walls. Many weak persons, especially such as us'd to eat opium, fell into a swoon if they did but hear the name of *Murad*. For such he never spar'd, but either kill'd them all, or forc'd them to drink wine instead of opium. By these means he is said, during the seventeen years of his reign, to kill above fourteen thousand men, many of whom were generals of the highest rank.

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ble fright, as knowing *Murad's* fierce disposition, but necessity whetting his invention, he feigns himself dying, unless he could have some wine to revive his languishing spirits. The Keepers, that the man might not die before he is brought into the Emperor's presence, give him a pot full of wine, which he hides in his bosom. Presently after being sent for by the Emperor, he is commanded to pay so many millions as the price of the City. But he taking the pot out of his bosom, says, This, O Emperor, is what yesterday would have purchas'd *Constantinople*. And were you likewise possess'd of these riches, you would think them preferable to the Monarchy of the Universe. *Murad* asking how that could be? By drinking (says he) this divine liquor. The Emperor being perswaded, takes a large draught, which, as he was unus'd to wine, immediately makes him so drunk, that he fancies the whole world not able to hold him, conceives mighty projects, and is fill'd with such joy and gladness, that he imagines the charms of a crown are scarce comparable

to it. Afterwards growing giddy, he is seiz'd with sleep, and in a few hours waking with the head-ach, sends for *Mustapha* in a great passion. *Mustapha* instantly appears, and perceiving the case, Here (says he) is your remedy, and offers him a cup of wine, by which his head-ach is presently remov'd, and his former gladness restor'd. When he had done this two or three times, he was by degrees so addicted to wine, that he was drunk almost every day. *Beeri Mustapha* his Tutor was admitted among the *Musabib* or Privy Counsellors, and always near the Emperor. At his death the Sultan order'd the whole Court to go into mourning, but caus'd his body to be buried with great pomp in a tavern among the hogheads. After his decease the Emperor declar'd he never enjoy'd one merry day, and whenever *Mustapha* chanc'd to be mention'd, was often seen to burst out into tears, and to sigh from the bottom of his heart. In a word, I have not read of so great favour gain'd by the precepts of virtue, as *Mustapha* acquir'd by the dictates of vice.

XXI. Besides

XXI. Besides these vices, he was adorn'd with great endowments of body and mind, so that he seem'd to be form'd by nature as an instance of a man excelling as well in vices as virtues. All bodily exercises requisite to a soldier were found in him. In the art of shooting with the bow, he had not his equal in the whole *Turkish* nation, except the famous champion *Taxcoparan*. There are now two marble pillars standing fifteen hundred cubits asunder, over which he is said to shoot an arrow. He was of all the *Othmans* the most expert horseman, and threw the *Jirid* with such dexterity, that no *Tartarian* arrow could go so far or with such exactness. He is reported to have been so swift of foot, that the swiftest *Arabian* horse could hardly outrun him. Nor did he want singular endowments of mind. In the first place he was steady in the conduct of affairs, and desisted not from an undertaking till it was accomplish'd or frustrated. He was unshaken in all circumstances, so that if his years had been answerable to his greatness of mind, he would without much difficulty have acquir'd the monarchy of the universe. But the wounds with which the sword threaten'd others, were given him by drunkenness, and remov'd him out of the world, of which he was the terror.

Endowment of body and mind.

The End of the Reign of MURAD IV.



The



The REIGN of
I B R A H I M,
 Eighteenth EMPEROR of the *TURKS.*

BOOK III. CHAP. XI.

Ibrahim proclaim'd Emperor.
 H. 1049.
 A. C. 1639.
Asak taken from the *Cossaks*.

The *Mahesi* take a Turkish ship, and carry her into *Crem*.

I. **S**ultan *Ibrahim* was born in the year of the *Hejira* 1026, and three and twenty years after, his brother *Murad* being dead, and no other heir remaining of the *Othman* race, was with unanimous consent proclaim'd Emperor.
 II. His first care after his accession to the throne, was to clear the *Black Sea* of the *Cossak* Pyrates, and render the passage safe and open for ships sailing to *Constantinople*. He perceiv'd this could not be done without great trouble and charge, whilst *Asak*, situated at the mouth of the *Tanais*, was in their hands, because he saw that City was convenient for exercising piracy, and in case of a defeat would afford them a retreat. Wherefore he sends a numerous army to besiege it, and taking it after many assaults, puts all the garrison to the sword.
 III. The *Pontus Euxinus* being thus clear'd, he resolves to do the same in the *White Sea*. All the Islands therein were now taken by the *Othman* valour, except *Crete* (1), which contemn'd the imperial power, and afforded a harbour to pyrates,

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Crete* I shall insert here the History of this Island as deliver'd by the *Turkish* writers, if it were only to show their care in transmitting the actions of their countrymen. *Kritos*, which by a change of some of the letters, is by others corruptly call'd *Gerid*, is the chief of the Islands in the *Mediterranean*, and extended from east to west in length two hundred, and in breadth sixty miles. It seems by nature herself to be created for the delight of man. The soil is every where fertile, and abounding with all sorts of grain. The fragrant fields are full of herbs, good as well for the food of beasts and birds, as for physical uses; among the last, particularly is the herb *Isimium*, whose wonderful virtues have been celebrated by the antient Physicians. No wild beasts hurtful to man or animals, as wolves, foxes, serpents, are ever bred here, nor if brought from elsewhere can they

live. The first inhabitants of this Island instructed the rest of the world in an elegant way of life. It was the constant opinion of the worshippers of graven images, that the Prince of the Heathen idols was born at *Crete*. From the same fountain flow'd musick and other arts tending to the delight and polishing of mankind. It had formerly many and very famous Cities, numberless villages and inhabitants, the softness of the air and temperature of the climate inviting new colonies from all parts. It was many years subject to the *Greeks*, afterwards it was conquer'd by the arms of the *Musulmans* of *Spain*. For in the year of the *Hejira* 204, when *Hakim*, son of *Hessam* of the family of *Umie* rul'd at *Corduba* in *Spain*, an insurrection is rais'd against him, which increas'd so suddenly, that a crowd of conspirators surrounded *Hakim's* palace and attempted his life.

Book III. Ibrahim
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I B R A H I M.
 Eighteenth Emperor of the *Turks*
 in the Year 1640.
 From an Original in the *Seraglio*.

pyrates, who plunder'd the *Turkish* ships. The frequent complaints brought by his subjects against the *Venetians* had before induc'd him to conquer this Island, and a late injury offer'd those that were going to *Mecca*, and *Egypt*, afforded him an occasion. *Kislar Agasi Sumbul aga*, being depriv'd of his office, receives a certificate of his freedom (2), and sails towards *Egypt* in company with the *Cadi* of *Mecca* and the *Molla* of *Prusa*, *Mehemed Effendi*. When they come near *Crete*, they are suddenly attack'd by six *Maltese* galleys. The *Turks* make a brave defense, the *Kislar aga*, *Cadi*, and commander of the ship fall in the battle, and the rest overpower'd with numbers are taken with their riches by the enemies. The *Maltese* with their prize immediately go into a harbour of

ANNOTATIONS.

life. The King bravely resists, and after a bloody conflict disperses the rebels, kills many of them, and pardons the rest, on condition they would depart and seek new habitations. The *Musulmans* being thus expell'd their ancient seats with thirty ships sail towards *Egypt*, and arrive near *Alexandria*. Whereupon *Abdallah* son of *Tabir*, who then govern'd *Egypt* under the *Persian*, goes from *Cairo* with a great army, unexpectedly surpriseth and surrounds them. However pitying their condition, he sends them away, with a command to depart out of *Egypt* and never return again. Being unable to resist, they obey his orders, and going on board their ships steer directly to *Crete*. Allur'd by the fruitfulness and pleasantness of the Island, they resolve to fix there, and consult how to seize it. To effect this with the greater alacrity, they burn their ships, that all hopes of retreat might be cut off in case they suffer'd themselves to be beaten. Then they invade the Island, and quickly subduing it, fortify the castles with new works, and store them with warlike provisions. The *Greek* Emperor *Michael*, hearing *Crete* was taken by the *Musulmans* (or *Saracens*), sends a great fleet against them. The *Musulmans* are worsted in the first conflict, but soon after assembling all their forces, attack the camp of the *Greeks* with such vigour, that not a man escapes to carry the news into *Greece*. The *Musulmans* acquaint the Emperor with what had happen'd, and withal offer peace, to which the Emperor, when he saw he could not prevail by force, readily consents. The treaty being settled, *Umur* Prince of the *Musulmans* and his posterity quietly govern the Island eighty years. Afterwards in the year 1284, the *Greek* Emperor sends his General *Nicophorus Pissas* to *Crete* with a numerous army, to dislodge the *Musulmans*. *Pissas* having landed his troops, attacks and vanquishes the *Musulmans*, takes all their towns and fortresses, and forces those he does not kill to submit to the *Greek* Emperor, who in process of time partly die and partly turn *Christians*, so that in some years there ap-

pear'd no foot-steps of the *Musulmans*. Some time after, *Alexius* his younger brother circumvents and seizes *Isaac* Emperor of *Constantinople*, and murdering him by putting out his eyes, mounts the throne. Not content with one fratricide, he endeavours to dispatch *Isaac's* son of his own name, that he might have no rival. But the young Prince, warn'd of his imminent danger a few hours before the deed was to be executed, makes his escape and flies to the *Venetians*. There he stirs up almost all the west to his assistance, obtains a fleet of the *Venetians*, an army of the *French*, and thus prepar'd, sails towards *Constantinople*, in company with the Princes of *France* and *Spain*, with whom the *Venetians* were in friendship. With these he penetrates into the *Propontis*, and anchors over-against the City near a village call'd at present *Cadikim*. The Emperor *Alexius*, perceiving himself surpris'd, and unable to raise an army time enough to resist, privately withdraws from *Constantinople* in the fear of being serv'd as he had us'd *Isaac*. So *Alexius*, *Isaac's* son, seizes the City destitute of a defender, and being confirm'd in the throne, gives the Prince of *Spain* for his services the Island of *Crete* for ever. In the year of the *Hijra* 546, the *Venetians* bought it of his successors with a large sum of money, and held it till *Ibrahim's* time.

(2) freedom]. *Kislar Agasi* (that is the Chief Eunuch,) whilst he bears that office over the women in the Seraglio, though great honour is paid him by all, is reckon'd and call'd a slave. But when he is dismiss'd from his post, he receives a certificate of his freedom, which he would never desire, unless forc'd, for his authority is very great in the *Ottoman* Court. They are all, when displac'd, sent into *Egypt*, where they receive from the Emperor as a pension eight thousand *Para* a day, each of which is three *Aspers*. Several, whilst they are in their office, purchase estates in *Egypt*, on which they afterwards live very splendidly. This the Court freely allows, because their effects at their death fall to the Emperor.

Crete, and giving the Governour some share, are suffer'd to retire with all their captives and booty.

for which
Ibrahim makes
war on the
Venetians.

H. 1054.
A. C. 1644.

IV. To let this injury go unpunish'd, seem'd the same thing as to expose the power of the Othman Empire to the contempt of its enemies; on the contrary, to revenge it, afforded a fair opportunity of subduing the so long desir'd Island. Wherefore Ibrahim, encourag'd by the advice of his counsellors, breaks the peace with the Venetians, and declares war against them as robbers and protectors of pyrates. To wage this war the more successfully, he prepares an army under the command of *Musah Pasha* and *Murad Aga*, *Kulkiethudasi* or Lieutenant General of the Janizaries, and a fleet under the conduct of *Capudan Yusuf Pasha*, whose valour he had tried, whilst he discharg'd the office of sword-bearer.

He takes Chania.

H. 1055.
A. C. 1645.

V. The forces thus headed, in the year 1055, on the 4th of the month *Rebiul ewvel*, sail from *Constantinople*, and the 20th of the following month arrive at *Crete*. The next day the soldiers being landed, *Chania* is order'd to be closely besieg'd, which after a resistance of fifty four days surrenders to the Musulman army. The walls are immediately repair'd, and part of the army being left in garrison, the rest with the fleet adorn'd with laurels return to *Constantinople*. Shortly after, *Husein Pasha* is sent with fresh forces, and after several battles in this and the following year, subdues the whole Island, except only *Candia*.

Ibrahim's
death and
issue.

H. 1058.
A. C. 1648.

VI. Whilst Ibrahim is making fresh and great preparations for the conquest of this City, he is on the 18th of *Rejeb*, in the year 1058, remov'd out of the world, and crown'd with martyrdom. He left nine sons, *Selim* and *Othman* born 1054, *Mahomet*, *Ahmed*, *Soliman*, *Murad*, *Ishangir*, born 1056, *Bajazet* and *Orchan* born 1058. Of these, *Mahomet*, *Soliman*, and *Ahmed* came to the throne, the rest were excluded by an untimely death.

His character.

VII. The manners of this Emperor, as well as those of his predecessor *Murad*, though at the peril of their heads, are fully describ'd by the *Turks*. As *Murad* was wholly addicted to wine, so was *Ibrahim* to lust. They say, he spent all his time in sensual pleasures, and when nature was exhausted with the frequent repetition of venereal delights, he endeavour'd to restore it with potions and art. Every *Friday*, which is the *Turkish Sabbath*, he dedicated to *Venus*, and commanded a beautiful Virgin richly habited to be brought to him by his Mother, Prime Vizir, or some other Great man. He cover'd the walls of his chamber with looking glass, that his love-battles might seem to be acted in several places at once. He order'd his pillows to be stuffed with rich furs, that the bed destin'd for the imperial pleasure might be the more pretious. Nay he put whole sable skins under him, in a notion that his lust would be inflam'd, if his love-toil were render'd more difficult by the glowing of his knees. In the palace garden call'd *Chas*, he frequently assembled all the virgins, made them strip themselves, and himself naked, neighing like a stallion, ran among them, and as it were ravish'd one or other kicking and struggling by his order. Happening once to see by chance the privy parts of a wild heifer, he sent the shape of them in gold all over the Empire, with orders to make enquiry, whether a woman made just in that manner could be found for his lust. At last, they say, such a one was found and receiv'd into the women's apartment. He made a collection of great and voluminous books of pictures, expressing the various ways of coition, whereby he ever invented some new and before unknown posture. Thus the publick treasury, diminish'd by *Murad's* drunkenness, was quite exhausted by *Ibrahim's* luxury and lust, and the sinews of the Empire, which were applied by his ancestors to repulse their enemies and enlarge their dominion, were by him us'd to the destruction of his body.

The End of the Reign of IBRAHIM.

The



MAHOMET IV
Nineteenth EMPEROR of the Turks.
in the Year 1650.
From an Original in the Seraglio.



The REIGN of
M A H O M E T IV.

Nineteenth EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK III. CHAP. XII.

I. **I** BRAHIM being crown'd with martyrdom, the Janizaries, in the year 1058, on the 8th of the month *Rejeb*, proclaim his son *Mabomet* (1), then but seven years old, and place him on the throne.

II. In this tender age he gave very sensible proofs of his future greatness, and of the hopes the *Othmans* ought to conceive of him. The treasury, exhausted by his father's luxury, being replenish'd by the management of *Kioprili Mehemed Pasha* (2), and all intestine commotions appeas'd, he strangles his Grand-mother

Mahomet succeeds.
H. 1059.

A. C. 1649.
Transitions
during his
younger years

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Mabomet*] His mother was the daughter of a *Greek Priest* under Sultan *Murad*, (before the law by which the children of *Christians* were collected by way of tribute was abolish'd) brought from the *Morea*, and on account of her beauty receiv'd into the imperial *Seraglio*. When she came to be *Valide Sultana*, she caus'd her mother to be inquir'd after, and being found to live with her in the palace, she remain'd there many years, and could not by any offers be induc'd to turn *Mahometan*. At last, dying in the profession of the *Orthodox faith*, to which she had always adher'd, her Grandson Sultan *Mabomet* order'd her to be carried out of the palace, and buried after the manner of the *Greek Church* by the Patriarch attended with his whole Clergy.

(2) *Kioprili*] The founder of the present most noble family, among the *Turks*, of *Kioprili agli*. In the beginning of *Mabomet's* reign, by reason of his poverty he liv'd a private and stoical life at *Constantinople*, in expectation of some even the smallest *Bashalic*. Indeed he enjoy'd the name and honour of a *Basha*, but as he had not wherewithal to support his family according to his rank, he seldom appear'd in publick. About that time a *Persian*

ambassador comes to *Constantinople* to congratulate *Mabomet* on his accession to the throne. The Sultan gives him a splendid entertainment, and orders every *Basha* to do the same. Accordingly he was so magnificently feasted by the *Vizir* and other *Bashas*, that it cost them each at least a hundred *Purfes*. When it came to *Kioprili's* turn, a certain *Jew*, who had often supplied his necessities, promises to find him money, and on the day appointed, prepares a splendid feast with *Comedians* and other diversions customary with the *Turks*. The next day, the *Players* come for their reward, and as they had made no bargain beforehand, are paid only two hundred *Dollars*, though they had been presented with four or five hundred by all the *Pashas*. Whereupon *Lascarret*, Head of the Company, a *Greek*, throws the money on the ground, declaring he would take nothing of such an *Oppositor Pasha*, which in *Spanish-Hebrew*, signifies a vile pitiful fellow. The *Jew* gathers up the money, and tells *Mehemed Pasha* what had pass'd, who replies, since I am become so wretched as to be thus grievously affronted by an *Infidel*, without having it in my power to be reveng'd, I shall within few days either be happy or lose my head. The event answer'd the prediction.

Shortly

"I need not say. Wherefore, Thou who art our Primé Vizir, *Lala Ahmed Pasha*, show thy self the worthy offspring of thy father, take courage, assemble the troops, and make the necessary preparations for the siege of *Candia*: down with that shelter of league-breakers, blunt the edge of the infidel sword, and surmounting the walls by the divine aid and thy own valour, vanquish the robbers, and expel them the Island. If thou proceedest with due diligence, doubtless by our most holy Prophet's intercession, the enemies will quickly be routed, and their den demolish'd. And be assured, thou shalt not only be highly honour'd by me, but also amply rewarded by God as the publisher of our law." All that were present, mov'd with the Emperor's speech, unanimously approve his advice, and promise to advance the design to the utmost of their power.

The Vizir
lands his
forces in
Crete:

H. 1066.

A. C. 1655.

VI. The Vizir himself, without delay, takes a view that winter of the ports and magazines, builds store-houses at proper places, fills them with provisions, and with great care prepares every thing requisite for a long siege. In the spring of the year 1066, he assembles all the forces, and on the 5th day of *Sheval* departs from *Constantinople*. The Emperor himself accompanies him to *Adriano-ple*, and there after reviewing the army, sends him upon the expedition. *Ahmed Pasha* halts at *Stife* to give the soldiers time to refresh themselves after their march, and prepare for their sea-voyage. Then he embarks his forces at *Termes* (5), and arriving in the port of *Chanie*, lands his army, places them in winter-quarters, and carefully makes what warlike preparations were still wanting.

Besieges Can-
dia:

VII. When he thought all things necessary for a long siege were ready, the next year on the 18th day of *Zilcade*, he sails from *Chanie*, and arriving near *Candia*, lands his men without opposition at the village *Caulochor*, and marks out the place to incamp. On the morrow, the army being drawn up with very great pomp and inconceivable gallantry, he views the places about the City, as well to know where he might best make his assaults, as to terrify the enemies with a show of his forces. On the third day, he assembles all the officers and others, who had long been experienc'd in warlike affairs, and bids them every one give his opinion of the manner of besieging and assaulting the City. At last it was decreed to undermine the *Red Tower*, batter the walls, and make the first attempt upon the City on that side.

Storms it, and
forces it to
surrender.

VIII. Wherefore the same year, in the latter end of the month *Zylhije*, the ramparts are thrown up, the City invested, and a siege begun, the like whereof had not been, nor perhaps ever will be, seen. The strength of the whole *Othman* Empire is applied, many years preparations are employ'd, fresh troops supply the place of the slain, the soldiers declining the danger, are compell'd by threats and blows to renew the charge. For the besieged there fought the difficulty of the place, and all the brave men of the nations believing in the *Messiah*, who were assembled with a resolution to conquer or die. Thus they fought incessantly twenty nine months, being frequently reliev'd with fresh supplies by the *French* and *Venetians*. Every inch of ground is gain'd on both sides with the blood of many heroes; when the walls are batter'd down and mounted, new walls are instantly rais'd by the besieg'd, and by that means the *Othmans*, who in mounting the breaches, imagin'd to find the reward of their toil, suddenly beholding new obstacles, are almost reduc'd to despair. At last, the enemy's valour is forc'd to give way to the *Othman* power and fortune, and what could hardly be effected by arms, the *Othmans* being now tir'd and spiritless, is brought about by *Panaiot* (6) the *Terjiman*† of the Court, who by an artful speech

† Interpreter.

ANNOTATIONS.

(5) *Termes*] A poor town in *Thessaly*, on the coast of the *Archipelago*, call'd by the *Greeks* *Θέρμας*. It was also call'd *Θέρμα* by the ancients, and gave name to the *Sinus Thermaicus*.

(6) *Panaiot*] *Παναγιώτης*. Though the

thing is not related in this manner by any *Christian* Historian, it will however be worth the while to insert here the account of the taking of *Candia*, as I had it from those, who were at that time in the secret of affairs. The Sultan perceiving the ob-

stacles

stacles that would occur in the siege of *Candia*, had order'd the whole army to be told, that not a man of them should appear in his presence alive, unless the City was taken. But this, instead of encouraging the soldiers, (as it was intended,) had like to have prov'd the destruction of the whole Empire. For the troops, fatigu'd with so many labours, with the summer heats and winter colds, when they saw they had made little progress after twenty nine months continual toil, began to murmur, affirming it to be unjust, that the strength of the whole Empire should be wast-ed in the siege of an impregnable City, undertaken seemingly for no other reason, but the entire destruction of the *Janizaries*. As the Vizir could not, by reason of the Emperor's order, comply with the intreaties of the soldiers, and raise the siege, he oblig'd them to their duty, sometimes with threats, sometimes with presents, promises, but chiefly he appeas'd the seditious minds of the soldiery by his eloquence, (in which he excell'd all the *Turks* of his age) and inspir'd the rest with courage by his words and example. Whilst he was thus furiously assaulting the City, news is brought that the *French* were coming with a fleet and army to the relief of *Candia*, and were now above half way. Whereupon the Vizir entirely despairs, for he had plac'd his sole hope of success in famine and the want of necessaries to defend the City, from which he not only saw himself fallen, but had also to fear a fresh mutiny of the *Janizaries*, with a thousand other almost unsurmountable difficulties. Whilst he was musing on these things in his tent, and could not think of any means to remove so great obstacles, *Panaiot* the Court-Interpreter comes in, and paying him the usual obeisance, asks, (as he was in great favour with him) the reason of the sadness he saw in his face. Being told, "Lay aside," says he, "the care that disturbs you, and show your self chearful to the soldiers." For this melancholy becomes not your noble and invincible mind, nor have we cause to despair of taking the City. "Nay the stars declare it to be at hand, provided their influence be assisted by human policy. If therefore you will give me leave to act without making any person privy to our designs, I dare promise the surrender of the City in a few days. But hear the means I propose. The coming of the *French* fleet, unless reveal'd from heaven, cannot yet be known to the besieged. For the City, invested on every side, is so strictly watch'd, that a mouse cannot enter without our knowledge. And it is my design to deceive them by the very thing, whereby they would free themselves

from danger. For I have projected to invite *Moresini* the Governor to a private parley, and admonish him as a friend, not to trust to the *French* fleet, because their designs are worse than those of the *Turks*. I shall easily gain credit, as well by my known profession of the *Christian* Religion, as by my feign'd zeal for the welfare of *Christendom*, and hope to inspire him with the purpose of surrendering the City." The Vizir gives his consent, and commits the affair entirely to the Interpreter's faithfulness and management. *Panaiot* sends his trusty slave *Maxud* (an *Arabian* name signifying desire, such as is generally given to their slaves by the *Christians*, who have any thing to do in the *Othman* Court, because the *Turks* seldom use the names of *Christians*, without the epithet, *Gaur*, and *Kiafer*, *Infidel*, *Blasphemous*) with a letter to *Moresini* the Governor, and feigns a strong desire, out of his *Christian* zeal, to have an opportunity of acquainting him by word of mouth with some things of the utmost consequence to the *Christian* affairs. *Moresini*, a man of great policy, imagining a snake in the grass, hesitates some time whether he should give him a meeting; at last, after maturely debating the matter with the *Greeks* and *Venetians* in the City, he resolves to hear what he had to say, and accordingly dismisses the messenger with the appointment of time and place of meeting. *Panaiot* the next evening, as if he was going to view the centries and guards, which he had us'd to do by the Vizir's order, approaches one of the gates of the City. *Moresini* in disguise quickly comes too. For so it was agreed, that the garrison might not be privy to what should be transacted. When *Panaiot* comes into his presence, "I am sorry, (says he) and greatly grieve to see the daily decay of *Christians*, especially of those both of my Nation and Religion, and on the other hand, the continual growth of the *Turks*, whose infidelity and tyranny threaten'd to the whole world, justly raise our indignation. No doubt this is inflicted on *Christendom* by God's judgment for our own and the sins of our fathers; but since we know it to be usual with God to chastise his children, and afterwards destroy the instruments of his vengeance, we hope, through the divine goodness, that will shortly be the case. Mean while, we must quietly bear the misfortunes sent us by heaven, yield to the times, and not resist the divine pleasure." When by these words he thought he had gain'd credit, in order to deceive the Governor more effectually, he binds him by oath not to reveal what he was going to communicate. For he pretended

tended to fear, that some one accidentally taken prisoner by the *Turks*, might be compell'd by torture to divulge what he through a divine zeal was about to tell him, and so his good intentions to the *Christians* might be turn'd to his destruction. *Morosini's* mind being thus prepar'd, "You must know, (says he) there was a letter of the *French* Admiral given me yesterday to be interpreted, which ran thus: By the command of the most *Christian* King my master, I am sailing towards *Crete* with a good fleet and army. But since I think it dangerous to both sides to acquaint you by letter with the design of this expedition, I have order'd the bearer my Secretary, to inform you of all matters. The Secretary being brought into the Vizir's *Oba* or inner Tent, spoke thus in his master's name, no man being present but my self. We have now learn'd by long experience, that the *Venetians* are the old and mortal enemies of *France*. Whenever our dominions have been invaded, they have always assist'd our enemies with counsel, money, and arms, and threaten'd us with many evils, tho' the event has never answer'd their purposes. On the other hand, when they have found themselves oppress'd, they have constantly had recourse to fraud and deceit, and pretending and boasting their friendship, implor'd our aid. Thus at this very time, when they saw the arms of the *Othman* Empire heavy upon them, they sent ambassadors to our King, and by the Pope's intercession begg'd to be freed from danger, and to move our King the more easily offer'd, 1. If only *Candia* should be deliver'd from the siege of the *Turks*, it should remain hereafter in our King's possession: for they should willingly and gladly yield it to a *Christian* King rather than see it in the hands of the *Turks*. 2. But if the *Turks* should be driven by their united forces out of all *Crete*, half of the Island with the Metropolis should remain to the *French*, and half to the *Venetians*. Our King in appearance agreed to these terms, but deeming it unjust to weaken his amity with the *Othman* Court, and shake the deep foundations of their friendship, besides having got an opportunity of chastizing the audaciousness of deceitful and inconstant men, order'd a fleet to be equip'd, and commanded the Admiral, when he should enter *Candia*, to send all the *Venetians* prisoners to *France*, and surrender the City to the Vizir. For our King holding so spacious and flourishing a Realm, does not want a foreign and so remote a Kingdom, which

would be a perpetual bone of contention. Wherefore the Vizir has nothing to fear about the arrival of our fleet. For the Admiral if he enter'd the City, which he hopes would be the next day, will show the King of *France's* orders under his hand and seal, and declare the whole affair. Thus far the Secretary. But I, desirous the thing should happen otherwise, and to the advantage of *Christianity* and my religion, have rack'd my invention, and can find no way to avert the danger which threatens all *Christians*. If you exclude the *French* from the City, they will in conjunction with the *Turks* act against you as contemners of their aid, and as publick enemies, and so you will not only lose the City, but also, since you have no proofs of their treachery, be branded with eternal infamy among *Christians*. On the other hand, if you admit the enemies coming under the colour of friendship, what calamities may befall you and your whole commonwealth, may, without my rehearsing them, easily be conjectured. In this City is assembled not only the flower of the *Venetian* Nobility, but the best part of the army, and should they be destroy'd or taken prisoners, it will not be difficult for *France* to overrun all the *Venetian* dominions. Besides seeing the *French* do not account it dishonest to impose upon and deceive others, I really believe they will prove treacherous as well to the *Turks* as you, and expelling both from the Island, seize this so ample and renown'd Kingdom, which, when once they are masters of it, I deem it impracticable ever to recover out of their hands. Since then the City can hold out no longer, but must necessarily fall into the power either of the *French* or *Turks*, I leave you to judge which is most eligible, to be deliver'd up to *French* bondage, and with the City lose perhaps the whole commonwealth, or to surrender *Candia* to the *Turks* upon honorable terms, from whom, when they shall hereafter be involv'd in other wars, you may very easily wrest it again? My zeal for the *Christian* Religion, and the safety of my countrymen, has induc'd me to discover these things to you at the hazard of my life, and the no small honour I now enjoy in the *Othman* Court. It is your business to see what may or ought to be done for the good of your country." Upon saying these words, *Panaioi* retir'd into the camp. But *Morosini*, though he had sworn not to reveal what had been told him, that very night however assembles the general officers and other chief men, in whom he most confid-

ded, and laying before them *Panaioi's* informations, asks what was to be done. They after maturely weighing the thing, unanimously resolve to surrender the City to the *Turks*, if they could procure honorable terms, and declare it preferable to a long and tedious captivity. *Panaioi* goes the next morning to the Vizir, tells him what he had said to *Morosini*, and to take all courage from the already dishearten'd garrison, persuades him to send out of the port that evening with all possible silence, twelve of the largest ships with orders to steer towards *Cyprus*, but after twenty leagues sailing, to return again under *French* Colours. The Vizir approving this device, orders the ships to sail out in the night with a fair wind, to meet which, when they are returning, as many more are sent out, and as soon as they come in sight, salute each other according to custom, which done, the Squadron under *French* colours, with the other under *Turkish*, come again into the port. The centinels plac'd in the Watch-Towers, when they see *French* colours at a distance, believing the *French* fleet to be come to their relief, tell the news to the City, and fill the inhabitants with joy. When they behold a *Turkish* Squadron going out to meet them, they imagine their entrance into the Port would be disputed, and therefore anxiously wait the issue of the battle. Presently after perceiving both fleets to approach without any hostilities and with mutual salutes, they are all astonish'd, not knowing on what design the *French* acted so friendly with their enemies. But *Morosini* and the rest to whom he had communicated what was said by *Panaioi*, throwing off all doubt, publickly divulge what they had heard; and since there was no other way to preserve life and liberty, persuade the soldiers and people to surrender, affirming it safer to trust enemies than faithless allies. So *Morosini* dispatches that very day two men in a little boat with white wands to the Vizir, desiring him to send to a certain place between the City and camp some of his principal officers to meet some of his, who should offer the terms of surrendering the City. The Vizir consents to his request, and instantly appoints *Ibrahim* Basha of *Aleppo*, *Kaiki* budaji *Zualficar* Aga, and Basha *Teikereji* first scribe, *Ibak* Effendi, with Interpreter *Panaioi* to settle the affair. They meet the *Venetian* ambassadors in tents under the White Tower, who after a long debate promise a surrender on condition that every person, whether soldier, citizen, *Greek*, or *Frank*, with his whole family should have liberty to retire to his own country with all his effects. When the Vizir had ratified this in the beginning of the month *Jemaziul* *revol.* in the year 1080, (of *Christ* 1669,) *Morosini* departed and

left the City, not only destitute of soldiers but of citizens, to the Vizir. If these things are very differently related by *Christian* writers, I dare not contradict them; but yet do not see why this account should be absolutely rejected. He that considers the usual industry of the *Venetians* to conceal their designs, and especially the affairs which have prov'd unfortunate, will not wonder, that though they knew the truth, they did not care to divulge it, to the disparagement of their so much boasted prudence. The report of the coming of a *French* fleet, though it was not so much as prepar'd, was sufficient to deceive both *Turks* and *Venetians*. For the latter, closely invested, could know nothing of what was transacted elsewhere; and the former, as they have no accounts of foreign transactions, but what come from their ambassadors, a rumour, though false, might very easily deceive them. As for me, I have a very credible voucher, namely *Masud* himself, *Panaioi's* messenger, who perform'd faithful service twenty four years in the Court of my Father *Constantine* *Cautemur*, and Brother *Antiochus*, and at length arriv'd to the dignity of *Postolnic* or *Mas*ter of the Court. I imagin'd it would not be unacceptable to the lovers of History, to insert what I heard from his mouth. As for *Panaioi*, he was of so great credit in the *Turkish* Court, that no *Christian* before him ever did, or ever will, it is believ'd, enjoy the like. In giving counsels, and removing obstacles upon any great emergencies, he was to the Vizir what *Achittophel* was to the *Hebrews*, or *Ulysses* to the *Greeks*. For whether he gave his opinion of what was to be done or judg'd of the success of affairs, he was observ'd never to be mistaken. What a twenty four years fierce war, what the effusion of so many torrents of blood, and even the strength of the whole *Othman* Empire could not effect, was by his subtle advice and stratagem brought to pass, namely, the conquest of *Candia*, and *Morosini* both the bravest and wisest General, (whose conduct sufficiently shone in the last war between the *Venetians* and *Turks*) persuaded to surrender the City. By these means he acquir'd such favour with the *Turks*, that he even ventur'd to dispute about the law by the imperial mandate before the Prime Vizir *Kloprili* *Abmed* *Pasba*, with *Vanli* *Effendi* the most learned of the *Turks*, and no less skill'd in the *Christian* than *Turkish* Law, formerly Tutor to Sultan *Mahomet*. Since the time of *Soliman* I, when, as I have related, the preference was given to the *Christian* Law before the *Turkish* in a publick disputation by a learned *Turk*, no man had been permitted to do this, but on the contrary it was made capital and forbid

H. 1080.
A. C. 1669.

speech persuades the Governor (7) of the City to surrender on certain conditions the last but strongest fortrefs, to which the garrison had retir'd. The Vizir, in the beginning of the month *Jemaziul ewvel*, in the year 1080, takes possession of *Candia* deserted by the *Venetians*, erects on the walls the *Turkish* Standards, and converting the churches into *Jami*, orders *Ezan* and *Namaz* to be perform'd. By this means a City, renown'd for many ages, the eighth wonder of the world, which nature itself seem'd to have fortified against all assaults, after a war of twenty four years (8), wherein, according to the best and still living *Turkish* historians, above two hundred thousand *Othmans* were kill'd, is annex'd to the *Othmanic* Empire.

IX. Whilst

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bid by a publick edict. *Vanli Effendi*, confuted and intrag'd, accuses *Panagiotis* to the Sultan as a Blasphemer, and sues for his life: but is said to receive this answer from *Mahomet*: "Did not I tell thee, thou couldst not dispute with this infidel? for the future let him alone, for he is necessary to our Majesty." I think it needless to repeat here the whole dispute, since it is publickly sold printed at *Venice*, and may be read in *de la Croix's* Commentaries on the eastern Church. Besides this, he is still famous among the *Turks* for his skill in astrology, and knowledge of futurities. When the Vizir was yet employ'd in the siege of *Candia*, *Panagiotis* comes running to him one day, and begs him to leave his tent immediately, for his life would be in imminent danger, if he staid in that place. The Vizir obeys, and leaving his cloak on the cushions which he was sitting upon, goes, though it rain'd very hard, to another tent. He was hardly got there, when a cannon-ball shot from the garrison passes through the Vizir's tent, strikes the place where he fate, pierces the cloak and cushions, and so gains credit to *Panagiotis's* prediction. In the expedition to *Camenice* he foretold the taking of the City on the 10th day, which all that knew the situation of the place, thought absurd. But it was verified by the event. As his life, so was his death, remarkable. For when the Vizir *Kioprili Ahmed Pasha* lay encamp'd in *Sakche*, he merrily asks him, why since all his predictions were answer'd by the event, and none had prov'd false, he could neither foreknow nor foretell any thing of himself? *Panagiotis* replies: "If the Vizir would vouchsafe to come to his tent, at the sixth hour of the night, he should behold a strange thing, though not without sorrow and grief." The Vizir wondering what it should be, goes about midnight to *Panagiotis's* tent. In the very entrance he hears the cries and lamentations of the servants, and coming nearer, finds his beloved *Ulysses* breathing his last. One of the servants says, he was enjoin'd by *Panagiotis* before his death, to desire the Vizir, for all his services to the *Othman*

Court, to grant him the favour to carry his body and bury it at *Constantinople*, (an honour granted to the Sultans alone, and denied to every man else, even to the Prime Vizir himself) to which the Vizir is said to answer: "I grieve for *Panagiotis* in one respect only, because, having minded the *Othman* affairs more faithfully than could be requir'd of a *Christian*, and also excell'd all the *Musulmans* in fidelity and policy, he could not be brought at his death to a due obedience to God and the Prophet; otherwise he would have deserv'd to have had his Coffin carried a whole mile on my own Shoulders. Wherefore, though perhaps for his infidelity he will be shut out of *Paradise*, I think it just, in order to his having some reward of his services, to grant his last request, and not deprive him of his desired burial." He bids therefore his servants convey the body to *Constantinople*, and gives them a *Chatisberis* to the *Kaiman*, to order the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch to bury with great pomp the deceased in the place he had appointed in his will. Accordingly all the *Greeks* and *Foreigners* residing at *Constantinople* being assembled, the body is carried to an Island in the *Propontis*, and buried in the Monastery of the *Holy Trinity*, which had been repair'd by him.

(7) Governor] This was *Francisco Morosini*, more known by the last *Venetian* war with the *Turks*, than to need much to be said of him here. After he had subdued the *Morea*, he was created *Doge* of *Venice*.

(8) twenty four years] Had this war happen'd in the time of the ancient Poets, it would doubtless have been render'd much more famous than the *Trojan*. For whoever weighs both in a just balance, will easily perceive the *Cretan* battles to be more bloody than the *Trojan*. Certainly all the time it lasted, there were continual battles, never-ceasing torrents of human blood, not only in *Crete*, but also in the whole *Archipelago*, and in all the borders of the *Turkish* and *Venetian* dominions. Besides the *Turks* themselves, who carefully conceal

IX. Whilst the *Othman* army was yet employ'd in the siege, Sultan *Mahomet*, under the pretense of hunting, departed from *Adrianople* to *Tenishebir* (9), that by being near he might both encourage his soldiers and better provide against any emergencies. Here ambassadors from the *Sari Camysh Cossaks* (10) come and humbly offer in the name of their countrymen, themselves and province to the Emperor. Among these was the *Hetman* himself, *Dorosbenko*, whom the Sultan graciously receives, presents with a robe, and dismisses adorn'd with a *Tug* (11), and *Alem Sanjak* in token of dominion, with a command to put an end to the robberies committed sometimes by the *Cossaks*, even in the suburbs of *Constantinople*, to remain faithful to the *Othman* Empire, and turn their arms, hitherto very often pernicious to the *Musulmans*, against their enemies. On the other hand, he promises, in case of a war between them and the *Poles* or *Muscovites*, to assist them with all his forces, and protect them from all hostilities.

X. When these things were declar'd at his return by *Dorosbenko* to his people, it fill'd them with joy, but their neighbours with terror. The *Cossaks* had hitherto been of service both to *Poland* and *Russia*, as well by their daily ravaging the *Othman* borders, as because their country, abounding with streights and morasses, was accounted the bulwark of both kingdoms, which being remov'd, they had cause to fear they should suffer from them no less damage than the *Musulman* provinces had formerly done. Wherefore the King of *Poland*, to whom they were before subject, in order to eradicate their due obedience to the *Othman* Empire, before it could be deeply rooted, first sends a great army against them, and by the assistance of those that still favour'd him, enters their country, and makes great devastations.

XI. These things seem'd to be a sufficient motive to proclaim war against the *Polish* King, had not the equity of the Sultan thought it requisite to admonish first the peace-breaker. To this end, he sends by a *Chausse*, a letter to the King to this effect, "We hear that thou first breakest the peace settled between thy kingdom and our Majesty, and hitherto religiously observ'd on both sides, by invading the *Cossaks*, whom thou knowest to have taken refuge under the shadow of our wings. We might indeed by the precept of our holy law, in-

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ceal their other losses, confess that in *Crete* alone were lost above two hundred thousand of their men, in which computation those are omitted, who are not included in the list of the soldiers, of whom perhaps a no less number was slain. How many *Christians* these drew with them to the shades below, may be easily judg'd. The *Venetians* own this war cost them above a hundred millions of gold Crowns.

(9) *Tenishebir*] So *Larissa*, a noted town of *Thessaly*, at present the Metropolis, is call'd by the *Turks*.

(10) *Sari Camysh Cazagy*] *Cossaks* of the yellow reed. So are call'd those that dwell between the *Borysthenes* and the *Tyras*, formerly subject to *Poland*, now vassals partly of the *Poles*, partly of the *Russians*. They have several times chang'd their names among the *Turks*. For after *Dorosbenko's* submission, they were by their *Hetman*, *Dorosbenko*, call'd *Cazagy*, and when he revolted to the *Russians*, *Sirke Cazagy* from *Sirca* also their leader. After the first peace with *John Sobieski* King of *Poland*, by which they remain'd under the dominion of the

Turks, Sultan *Mahomet* annex'd them to the principality of *Moldavia*, and order'd *Duca*, then Prince of *Moldavia*, to be call'd also *Hetman* of *Ukrania*, the town of *Nemirov* being appointed for his seat. But after the *Vienna* defeat, when *Duca* was taken by the *Poles*, the *Turks* restor'd, by the peace of *Carlowitz*, to the *Poles* all that region with *Camenice*. I have often heard the *Turks* saying, they have heard *Cloutbe* and *Ezan* in those places, and therefore God cannot be pleas'd to suffer that country to remain in the power of the *Christians*, for which reason it ought to be recover'd the very first opportunity.

(11) *Tug*] Horse-tail. This was afterwards, when the country was granted to *Duca*, taken away, because the Vizir, as he said himself, would not adorn an infidel with three *Tug*, (though *Hieremias Megila* Prince of *Moldavia* formerly obtain'd that privilege) and so make him equal to himself. However the *Sanjak* or Standard still remain'd with him as the ensign of his dominion.

Mahomet takes the *Cossaks* into protection:

Which the King of *Poland* resenting,

is first amicably admonish'd by *Mahomet*,

"stantly

"stantly declare thee an enemy, and make thee see what it is to dally with the
"appeas'd lion, but pitying thy weakness, we think proper first to admonish
"thee to withdraw thy unjust hand from the *Cossaks*, recall thy troops from
"their borders, and beg our pardon. If thou refuse to do this, and hast any
"thoughts of defending thy iniquity by arms, know that our law denounces a-
"gainst thee, death, against thy kingdom, devastation, against thy people, bonds:
"and the whole world will impute the cause of these calamities entirely to thy
"perverse and obstinate mind."

and then inva-
ded by him.

XII. But the *Polish* King relying on his own strength and the deceitful pro-
mises of the *Germans*, desists not from his undertaking, and dares to give farther
provocation to the *Othmans*. The Sultan perceiving that a light correction was
of no force with an obstinate man, resolves to be reveng'd with fire and sword, and
therefore publicly declares war against the treacherous *Poles*, assembles his
forces, and makes all the necessary preparations, with orders also to the *Tartars*
to attend him in the expedition.

Mohamet
marches to-
wards Poland.
H. 1083.

A. C. 1672.

XIII. Wherefore on the 8th day of *Sefer*, in the year 1083, the Emperor
himself with a great army goes from *Adrianople* against the *Poles*, runs a bridge
over the *Danube* at *Sakebe** (12), passes his forces, and with long marches, going
through *Moldavia*, incamps on the banks of the *Tyras* near *Chotin*. Then he
orders a strong party to pass over in boats, who in the first assault take *Zwani-
ecz*. Being now join'd by the *Tartars*, headed by their Chan *Selim Gierai* (13),
he orders a spacious bridge to be built over the *Tyras*.

The Prince of
Moldavia de-
pos'd.

XIV. In this work *Duca* (14) Prince of *Moldavia*, behaving remissly, and retard-
ing it some time by retusing timber, causes the Emperor greatly to suspect him.
Upon examination, he is discover'd privately to favour the *Poles*, and to be
brib'd by them to delay the building of the bridge. Wherefore he is depos'd,
pardon'd as to life, but strip of all his treasures. In his place a Prince call'd
Peter is chosen by the *Moldavian* nobility.

Camenee be-
sieg'd.

XV. At last all obstacles being surmounted, he passes the *Tyras*, and on the
3d day of *Rebitul achyr*, appears with his army before *Camenee*. This City
lies three hours from the *Tyras*, strongly fortified both by nature and art, and very
difficult to be assaulted. It is surrounded by the rapid torrent *Smotricz*, the
banks whereof every where full of scraggy rocks, afford a strong bulwark to
the City. Besides these, a castle stands in the middle of the town, environ'd
with walls of a great height, and not to be shaken. The *Poles* depending on
these fortifications, and hoping to blunt the first fury of the *Othmans* with this
siege, appear'd not in the field, only plac'd a strong garrison in the castle, with
every thing necessary for a long siege. But the Sultan being incamp'd, calls a
Council of all the experienc'd officers, and by their joint opinion orders the
City to be invest'd, trenches to be dug, and assaults to be made from all parts:
He commits one side to the Vizir *Ahmed Pasha*, and the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*

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(12) *Sakebe*] Formerly *Oblucicza*, a town on the South bank of the *Danube*, not far from *Galacz* in *Moldavia*. The very old buildings, found here, demonstrate its antiquity. But by whom built, there appears no sign either on the walls or foundations. However it seems to be the work of the *Roman* Colonies in *Dacia*, or perhaps of the *Daci* themselves, as are *Fulcza*, *Babadagy*, *Carafa*, and other very ancient towns of that region.

(13) *Selim Gierai*] The most famous Chan of the *Tartars* of the present age, a Prince of equal prudence and bravery.

(14) *Duca*] He was by nation a *Greek*, of a province of *Rumelia*, at first the ser-

vant of a Merchant at *Jassij*, afterwards made one of his Chamberlains by Prince *Basilus*, then rais'd to a Baron by his son *Stephanus*, and married to the daughter of *Eustathius* Prince of *Dabiza*, lastly by money and friends he obtain'd the principality. He was illiterate, but in managing affairs, of great prudence, and reckon'd among the most excellent of his age. He was thrice Prince of *Moldavia*, and once of *Walachia*. At length, in his latter days, inclining more to tyranny than a just government, he is deliver'd up by the Barons to *Polish* captivity, and ended his life at *Warsaw*.

with

with the *European* forces and *Janizaries*; another to the second Vizir *Musabib Mustapha Pasha*, with the *Asiatic* forces, and a third to the *Caimacam Cara Mustapha Pasha*, with the *Caramanians* and the rest of the troops.

XVI. The generals thus dispos'd, emulously carry on the siege, and so vigorously batter the walls, that in ten days, strong as they were, they are by the violence of the balls thrown down, and the breaches every where mounted. The garrison seeing themselves unable to sustain the assault, relinquish the outer walls, and retire into the inner castle. But finding themselves unsafe even there, offer to surrender on condition of life and liberty, which being granted, they depart with their *Hetman* into *Poland*, with the melancholy news of their loss. *Mehemed*, on the 3d of the month *Jemaziul ewel*, taking possession of the City, turns the larger Churches into *Jami*, and the lesser into *Moschs*, and repairing the walls, leaves there *Halil Pasha* with a strong garrison.

and see'd to
surrender.

XVII. The consternation *Poland* was under for this loss is inex-
pressible. A fortress, thought capable of holding out many years, was
taken in ten days, and less time seem'd to be requir'd to ravage the
whole kingdom. To confound the enemies the more, the Sultan sends
Caplan Mehemed Pasha Governor of *Aleppo*, and the Chan of *Crim-
Tartary*, with the light-armed forces to take *Leopolis*, whilst he him-
self intending to follow with the main body of the army, incamps
near *Buchach**. *Caplan* with his men marches to *Leopolis*, ravaging
the country as he passes, closely besieges the City, and makes several
assaults.

Troops are
sent against
Leopolis.

XVIII. In this distress, when the town was now reduc'd to extre-
mities, the *Poles* repenting of their proceeding, send ambassadors to
the Chan of the *Tartars* in his camp, who in the name of the King
and Kingdom implore his intercession for them to the Sultan, to in-
cline him to peace, for which they were willing to deliver up forty
eight towns and villages in the territory of *Camenee*, pay an annual
tribute (15) of twenty thousand *Rix Dollars*, account as friends the
Cossaks under *Doroshenko*, and never more quarrel with them.

The Poles sit
for peace.

XIX. *Selim Gierai Chan*, having heard the offers of the ambassadors, which is con-
cluded.
instantly sends them to the Emperor, who duly weighing the state of
affairs, grants a peace on the terms propos'd, and confirms the same
with new writings according to the ancient form of treaties between
the *Poles* and *Othmans*. These being exchange'd, he disbands the ar-
my the beginning of the winter, and in the month *Shaban* in the
year 1083 returns victorious to *Adrianople*.

This was the last victory from the year of the *Hejira* 611 to 1083, H. 1083.
by which any advantage accrud to the *Othman* state, or any City or Province was annex'd to the ancient bounds of the Empire. There
A. C. 1672.
have ensued especially under the reign of *Leopold* Emperor of *Ger-
many*, terrible slaughters, such as posterity would hardly believe, were

ANNOTATIONS.

(15) tribute] The *Poles* them- process of time was abolish'd by the
selves do not deny this was promis'd, peace made at *Zuranno*.
but was never paid, and besides in

N°. 11.

Y y y

they

they not warranted by publick authority, and the strength of the *Othmans* has been weaken'd by the destruction of several Kingdoms and Provinces; the loss of whole armies, and intestine wars and dissensions. All these things which have happen'd to so ample an Empire even in our times, shall with the same faithfulness as the former transactions, be related in the Second Part, in the words of the *Turkish* Historians.

The END of the HISTORY of the GROWTH of the
OTHMAN Empire.



Additions



Additions and Corrections to Part I.

N. B. (n) stands for Annotations and (b) for the right hand Column where the Page is divided into Columns.

PREFACE, p. v. l. 3. *Ruznamche* read *Ruznameh*, *Nameh* signifies (according to *D'Herbelot*) in the *Persian* Language, *Book*, *Letter*, and is the Title to many *Persian* and *Turkish* Writings, as *Carman Nameh*, *Kiar Nameh*, *Eskender Nameh*, &c.

ibid. l. 9. *Istrajadaghy* read *Istranjadaghy*.

ibid. l. 14, and l. 21. dele, *the*, it being expressed by the Article *si* at the End of *Effendisi*, which is the same as, *the Effendi*.

ibid. p. vii. l. 17. *Tajnttevarich*. This word is in *Arabic* spelt *Tag' altavarikh*, i. e. *the Crown of Histories* or *Chronicles*: being the Title of the *Othman* History written in elegant *Turkish*, by *Saad eddin Mohammed Hassan*, who died *Musti* at *Constantinople* in the year of the *Hejira* 1008. This History begins with *Othman* and ends with *Selim* I. *Tag'* is a *Persian* word signifying in general a *Cap*, and particularly a *Crown*.

ibid. l. 44. *Nimetullah*, or a large *Persian* Dictionary explain'd in *Turkish*, drawn up by *Khalil Sofi*, commonly call'd *Baba Nimetullah*. The word *Namat allah* signifies *the Grace of God*.

ibid. l. 3. b. *Shieb Saadi* read *Sheikh Saadi*, a *Persian* Poet, commonly called *Sheikh Mosebedin Saadi AlShirazi*, being born in the City *Shiraz* Capital of *Persia*, properly so called in the year of the *Hejira* 571. He was taken prisoner by the *Christians* in the *Holy Land*, and redeem'd by a Merchant of *Aleppo* for ten Gold Crowns, who gave him his Daughter in marriage with an hundred more. But this woman was so great a plague to him, that he could not help discovering it in his Works, especially his *Gulistan*, which word signifies in the *Persian* Language, a *Garden of Flowers*.

ibid. p. viii. b. l. 3, and 4. *Vilurmifin* read *Billiumifin*.

ibid. l. 36. *Erzer* read *Erzerum* on the *Euphrates*, about sixty miles from *Trebisond*, a great thorough-fare for the Eastern Caravans.

ibid. l. 57. *Philippolis* read *Philippopolis*. So p. 33. l. 7, &c.

ibid. p. ix. l. 30. *Alothman* read *AliOthman*. And so in other places.

ibid.

ibid. p. xi. b. l. ult. *Erzinga*] The Author has explain'd this name by *Ezerbejan*, but it seems rather to be a corruption of *Erzengian*, a City in *Anatolia* not far from the *Euphrates*, where *Soliman Shab* made his first stay after leaving *Machan*.

ibid. p. xii. l. 47. b. *Alsujuk* read *AliSujuk*.

ibid. p. xiii. l. 37. *Jundogdi* read *Giundogdi*.

ibid. p. xiii. b. l. *Suguchick* read *Suguchik*.*

ibid. p. xiv. b. l. 10, &c. *Aljenghizians* read *Alijenghizians*.

Page i. l. 4. *Alotman*, Let it be observ'd once for all, that this word wherever it occurs, must be read *AliOthmân*. So likewise *Alijenghiz*.

p. 2. n. b. l. 2. Instead of (from the *Arabian* into the *Persian*) read (from the *Persian* into the *Arabian*) the first reading being a mistake in the Manuscript.

p. 2. n. b. l. 13. *Alissan* read *Ali Shân*.

p. 3. n. b. l. 6. read *Lonicerus*, a German Professor at *Marpurgh*, born 1499.

p. 3. n. l. 40. *Shab*] This word also signifies the King, at *Chafs*, a Game we have received from the *Persians*, who probably had it from the *Indians*. Hence *Shab mat*, which we express by *Check mate*, and the *Italians* by *Scatto Matto*.

p. 4. n. b. l. 11. read here and elsewhere, *Gierai*, note *g* is to be pronounced before *e* or *i* as in the *English* words *give*, *eager*.

p. 4. n. b. l. 34. read, and the Mouths of the *Nile*.

p. 4. n. b. l. 35. *Azerbejan*, *Shirvan*, and *Biladuljehal*, are three distinct Provinces of *Persia*. *Azerbejan*, where it is said the first Dynasty of the *Persian* Kings was establish'd, and the fire-worship instituted by *Zoroaster*, contains part of *Media*, *Syria*, *Armenia major*, and its principal Cities are, *Tauris*, *Ardebal*, *Selmas*, *Nakhshivan*, *Merend*, &c. The Province of *Shirvan*, part also of *Media* lies along the western Shore of the *Caspian* Sea, and is parted from *Azerbejan* and *Daghestan* by the Rivers *Aras* and *Cur*, that is, the *Araxes* and *Cyrus*. The chief Cities are *Baku* in the latitude of 39. 30. *Shamakbid* the Capital, both on the *Caspian* Sea, and *Berâab* on the *Cur*.

p. 5. n. l. 9. *Erzengian*, read *Adberbigian*, for so is *Azerbejan* called by *D'Herbelot*, and not, as by mistake is here said, *Erzengian*.

p. 5. n. l. 13. *Sheg* read *Sheikh*. *Ricant* uses *Sheg* instead of *Sheikh*.

ibid. n. l. 14. *Bir* or *Elbir* is a different place from *Jaber*, and lies higher up on the *Euphrates*.

ibid. n. l. 22. *Ebubekir* Successor of *Mahomet* lies buried at *Medina*, the *Ebubekir* buried here was Founder of the *Tekkie* or Convent, and only a *Sheikh*.

ibid.

ibid. n. b. l. 22. read *Abulfaragius*. He was Son of a *Christian* Physician, Native of *Melitene* in *Asia minor*, Author of an universal History, intitled, *Mokhtassar al dual*. He lived in the thirteenth Century. *Pocock* has publish'd the *Arabic* Text with a *Lat. n* Translation.

p. 8. l. 8. *Jundogdi*, read, here and elsewhere, *Giundogdi*.

ibid. n. l. 18. *Jun* read *Giun*.

p. 9. l. 4, &c. read *Saruyat*.

p. 10. l. 22. *Junguz* read *Giunduz*. So p. 15. l. 11, &c.

p. 15. l. 16, &c. read *Tengisbehi*.

ibid. l. 24. read *Nicomedia*, a City of *Bithynia*.

p. 17. l. 29. read *Engijesi*, and *Hekeji*.

p. 24. l. 11. *Iznimid*] it is by *D'Herbelot* writ *Iznimid*.

p. 28. l. 22. read *Ayasolonia*.

p. 30. n. b. l. 10. Empress *Valida*, read *Valide-Empress*. *Valide Sultana*, is the Mother of the reigning Emperor, or as we say, the Queen-Mother, of whose Prerogatives, see the Author's Note in the second Part of this History.

p. 34. n. b. l. 40. dele *the*, and in every place where it stands before a word with the Article (*si*) annex'd to it.

p. 35. n. l. 18. *Sham Beglerbegi*, when an (*i*) is thus added to the End of a word, it shows that the foregoing word answers to our Genitive Case, as *Churzem Shahi*, that is, the *Shah* of *Churzem*. So here *Sham Beglerbegi*, *Beglerbeg* of *Sham* or *Damascus*.

p. 36. n. l. 20. *Shich* read *Sheik*.

p. 38. n. l. 29. read *Silabdar*.

p. 38. n. b. l. 32. one hundred, read, a thousand and one.

p. 39. l. 2. *Dervises*. This word is writ *Dervishes*, and signifies in general both in *Persian* and *Turkish*, a *Poor Man*, like *Fakir* in *Arabic*. But in particular these two Words mean a Religious, or Monk.

p. 39. n. b. l. 49. *Kupruli* read *Kioprili*, and so in other places. Note, the (*i*) after the (*k*) in these and the like words, makes but one Syllable with the following Vowel, and is therefore often omitted.

p. 40. l. 3. *Shich*, this word wherever it occurs must be read *Sheikh*.

p. 41. l. 22, &c. *Germian*, read *Giermian*.

p. 42. l. 15. *Arnaud*, by this name the *Turks* call *Macedonia* and *Albania*. *D'Herbelot* writes it *Arnauth*.

p. 42. n. l. 12. read *Lafvilaieti*. *Vilaieti* signifies a Country.

ibid. l. 14. read *Meninskius*.

p. 44. n. l. 15. *Hall*, read *Court*.

p. 47. l. 13. read *Sarasker*.

p. 47. n. b. l. 6. read *Bessarabia*.

p. 48. l. 17, &c. read *Jassij*.

p. 48. n. b. l. 2. dele Semicolon after (*him*).

Nº. 12.

Z z z

P. 50.

- p. 50. n. l. 16. read *Tunani*.
- p. 52. n. b. l. 3. *Myrs* read *Myfr*.
- ibid. l. 15. *Mehemed* read *Mahmud*.
- p. 54. n. l. 18. read *Kush caladfi*.
- p. 60. n. b. l. 35. read *Governors*.
- p. 66. l. 5, &c. read *Kiorfbah Muliuk*.
- p. 68. n. l. 20. *Saracen*. This Word is by some derived from *Shark*, which in *Arabic*, signifies *the East*.
- p. 71. l. 5. read *Ali Pasba*. It must be observ'd that the *Turkish* Letter *Be* with three points under it, is pronounced like our *P*, for which reason the word which we usually write *Basba*, is always read in *Turkish*, *Pasba*.
- p. 71. l. 12. read *succeeding*.
- p. 73. l. 21. read *Severin*.
- p. 75. n. l. 24. *mans* read *Romans*.
- p. 76. n. b. l. 20, 42. read *Selamun aleikium*.
- ibid. l. 21. read *Aleikium esseliam*.
- ibid. l. 24, &c. read *Gieldiniuz*.
- p. 81. n. b. l. 15. after *Sword* read *by*.
- p. 85. n. l. 26. read *Beglerbeglics*.
- ibid. n. b. l. 9. *propose*, read *publish*.
- p. 88. l. 21. *rout* read *root*.
- p. 90. n. l. 24. after *Side* read *of*.
- p. 102. n. b. l. 7. read *Mihinned*.
- p. 106. n. b. l. 26. instead of (commit the care and attendance of the women) read (send the orders of the women to be executed.)
- p. 107. *Trebisond*] In the year 1204, the *Greek* Empire was subdivided into three parts. At *Constantinople* reign'd, *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*; at *Adrianople*, *Theodorus Lascaris*; and at *Trebisond*, *Alexis Comnenus*, who had under him *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Pontus*, with some other Provinces. After eight Successions, *David* the last Emperor of *Trebisond* or of *Nice*, as some call him, was subdued by *Mahomet* II. as well as *Theodorus* and his Brother *John*, at *Adrianople*. See *Atlas Hist.*
- p. 109. n. l. 26. *Hall* read *Court*.
- p. 112. n. b. l. 21. *Lotherius*, read *Lothomus*.
- p. 113. n. l. 19. read *Gierai*.
- ibid. n. b. l. 43. *Galga Sultan* and *Murraddin*. These offices are explained by the Author in Cap. I. of his Second Part.
- p. 115. n. l. 3. read *Palaeologus*.
- p. 117. n. b. l. 18. Purgatory, call'd *Aruf*, the Plural of the *Arabic* word *Orf*, and both signify a place between the *Mahometan* Heaven and Hell. The *Musulmans* are not agreed about the quality of the persons in this place. But generally they place there such *Musulmans*, whose good and bad actions are so equal as that they deserve not to enter *Paradise* nor be cast into Hell.

Onc

- One of their Punishments is the Sight of the *Blessed*, and earnest Desire to be with them, which cannot be till the day of Judgment, when prostrating themselves before the Face of their Creator, that act of Adoration shall cause their good works to outweigh their bad, and then it shall be said to them, "Enter into *Paradise*, where your fears and cares shall be at an end." *Saadi* says of the *Aruf*, that it appears a *Hell* to the *Blessed*, and a *Paradise* to the *Damn'd*.
- p. 119. n. b. l. 4. read *ustun*, the *Turkish* name of the vowel *e* or *a*.
- p. 127. n. 34. dele *so*.
- p. 130. l. 28. *Myrza*, says *D'Herbelot*, is a contraction of *Emir Zadeh*, which in *Persian* signifies, Son of a Prince, and was particularly us'd by the Family and Posterity of *Tamerlane*, and very common at present among the *Tartars*.
- p. 133. n. l. 6. dele *the*.
- p. 135. l. 6. *Ismail*] He was Son of *Sheik Haidar*, whose Mother was Daughter of *Uzuncassan* first Sultan of the Dynasty of the *Turcomans*, call'd *Baianduriens* or *White Sheep*. *Haidar* is one of the Titles of *Ali*, and signifies *Lion*. Hence the Family of *Sheik Haidar* pretends to derive their Origin from *Ali* by his second Son *Hussain*. *Haidar* being slain in battle by the King of *Shirvan*, his Family, which was very numerous, was almost wholly destroyed. However *Ismail* one of his Sons escaped, and afterwards founded the present Dynasty, which now reigns in *Persia*, with the Surname of *Sophi*. The *Persians* say *Haidar* was the first Inventor of a red covering for the Head with twelve Folds round a Cap, and caus'd all his people to wear it. It is call'd in *Persian*, *Haidar's Tag* or *Crown*. Hence it is that the *Turks* call the *Persians*, *Kizylbasb* or *Redheads*.
- p. 138. n. l. 5. *Sonb*, read *Sovuk*.
- p. 139. n. b. l. 1, and 2. dele *and which*.
- p. 156. l. 35. seiz'd all *Egypt*] These *Circassians* reign'd in *Egypt* about two hundred and eighty years in fourteen successions, and were what we corruptly call the *Mamelucs*, from *Mamluk* the Plural of *Memalik*, which in *Arabic* signifies a *Slave*.
- p. 165. l. 12. read *Gaza*.
- p. 167. l. 21. *Sherif of Mecca*] *D'Herbelot* says the *Arabian* word *Sherif* signifies in general *Noble*, or High in *Birth* or *Dignity*, and is a Title given particularly to the Descendants of *Mahomet* by *Ali* his Son-in-law and his Daughter *Fathima*. They are also called *Emir* and *Seid*, i. e. *Prince* and *Lord*, and distinguished by green *Turbans*. There have been several Dynasties of these *Sherifs* in *Africa*. The *Edrissites* were *Sherifs*, and the Race which now reigns at *Fez* and *Morocco* bear the name of *Sherif*. The *Sherifs* of *Mecca* and *Medina* are still left by the *Turks* with a sort of Sovereign Power.

P. 175.

- p. 175. l. 12. read *Mastaba*.
 p. 178. l. 17. read *from a Tyrant*.
 p. 183. n. b. l. 22. dele Comma after (is).
 p. 198. l. 20. *Giurjistan*, that is, the Country of the *Georgians*, for *stan* or *istan* signifies Country, so *Kurdistan*, the Country of the *Kurdi*, &c.
 p. 202. n. l. 3. *Arabic*, read *Arabia*.
 p. 202. n. l. 32. *the*, read *that*.
 p. 214. n. l. 3. *Jizair*] This name according to *D'Herbelot* is writ in *Arabic*, *Gezair* or *Kessair*, which he makes to be a corruption of the *Latin*, *Cæsarea*, and *Algiers* to be the ancient *Julia Cæsarea*, Capital of that part of *Mauritania*, call'd by the *Romans*, *Cæsariensis*, to distinguish it from the two other *Mauritanian* Provinces, namely, *Tingitana* and *Sitifensis*.
 p. 226. l. 13. *Minarè* or Towers much like the Monument in *London*.
 p. 227. l. 9. read *Chalkulvadi*.
 p. 230. n. l. 17. *Jemiji* read *Giemiji*.
 ibid. l. 21. read *Chingiane*.
 ibid. l. 35. read *Peimirji*.
 p. 233. l. 23. *Var*, read *Van*.
 p. 244. n. l. 3. *or*, read *and*.
 p. 247. n. b. l. 36. read *Sijili*.
 p. 256. in the Margin, read *Ragotski*.



THE
H I S T O R Y
 OF THE
OTHTMAN EMPIRE.

PART II.

THE
H I S T O R Y
 OF THE
 Decay of the *OTHTMAN EMPIRE*,
 FROM THE
 Reign of *MAHOMET IV.*
 TO THE
 Reign of *AHMED III.*
 BEING THE
 History of the *AUTHOR'S* own Times.

Written Originally in *LATIN*,
 By *DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR*, late Prince of *Moldavia*.

Translated into *ENGLISH*, from the Author's own Manuscript,
 By *N. TINDAL*, M. A. Vicar of *Great Waltham* in *Essex*.

Adorn'd with the *HEADS*
 Of the *TURKISH EMPERORS*, Ingraven from Copies taken from *ORIGINALS* in the Grand *SEIGNOR'S* Palace, by the late *SULTAN'S* Painter.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *JAMES, JOHN, and PAUL KNAPTON*, at the *Crown* in
Ludgate Street. MDCCLXXXV.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
O T H M A N E M P I R E

P A R T H
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
D e c a y o f t h e O T H M A N E M P I R E

F R O M T H E
R e i g n o f M A H O M E T I V
T O T H E
R e i g n o f A H M E D I I I
B E I N G T H E
H i s t o r y o f t h e A u t h o r s o w n T i m e s

W r i t t e n o r i g i n a l l y i n L A T I N
B y D E M E T R I U S C A R T E M I U S, l a t e P r i n c e o f M o l d o v i a

T r a n s l a t e d i n t o E N G L I S H, f r o m t h e l a t e s t o n e S e n s i b l e
B y M. T I N D A L, M. A. V i c e o f G r e a t W a l t h a m i n B l o c k

A l s o w i t h t h e H E A D S
O f t h e T U R K I S H E M P E R O R S, i n t r a n s l a t e d f r o m O R I G I N A L S i n t h e G r e a t S e r e n a d e s P a l a c e, b y t h e l a t e S U L T A N S P a i n t

L O N D O N
P r i n t e d b y J A M E S J O H N, a n d P A U L B E N T O N, a t t h e C l o s e i n
L a b e r s S t r e e t, M I D D L E S E X



T H E
H I S T O R Y

O F T H E
D e c a y o f t h e O T H M A N E M P I R E

P A R T I I
T h e R E I G N o f
M A H O M E T I V

N i n e t e e n t h E M P E R O R o f t h e T U R K S

B O O K I V. C H A P. I

I. **T**HE War in Poland had succeeded to Mahomet's wish. In one and the same Campaign the strongest Bulwark of that country had been taken, the forces of the enemy vanquished, Podolia laid waste, Leopoldis reduced to the utmost extremity, and the very heart of the kingdom struck with such terror, that the inhabitants thought it not only prudent but even necessary to compound for their lives and fortunes with the loss of their honour, and were obliged to acknowledge the Tartars for their Deliverers, whom they had always found to be their capital enemies. For the Emperor being prevailed upon by the entreaties of the Chan of Crim-Tartary, had granted them peace, while he lay encamped before Buchach, and imagined that the remembrance of the overthrows, they had suffered, and their own weakness, would restrain them from violating their engagements, or making any attempt contrary to the conditions of the peace he had granted them. In this belief, in the month *Shaban*, as I before observed, he returns to *Adrianople*, and disbands his army, which had been fatigued with so many labours and marches.

II. While amidst the rejoycings and applauses of his people, he is expecting the Polish Ambassadors, who were to bring the promised tribute of twenty thousand Rix-Dollars, and to ratify the conditions of peace in the name of the whole kingdom,

Sultan Mahomet returns victorious to Adrianople.

Buczar.

The States of Poland reject the peace made by their King with the Sultan.

kingdom, he is informed, that *Dorosbenko* † General of the *Cossaks* had revolted, and with a large body of men, was laying waste the borders of the *Othman* Empire, and that his party daily increased. There appeared no great difficulty to extinguish this flame, while things were quiet in *Poland*, when fresh advice is brought, that the *Poles* began to repent of the peace, and animated by the promises of the Emperor of *Germany* and the Pope, were preparing again for war. This report was not long after confirmed by Letters from the High Chancellor of the kingdom to the Vizir *Kioprili Ahmed Pascha*, in which he signified, that the States of *Poland* considered as null and invalid the conditions of peace, to which the King had submitted without their consent, and would rather suffer death, than the infamy of being said to pay a farthing by way of tribute.

The Vizir presses the Ambassador of Poland with threats to stand to their promises.

III. The Emperor hearing this, saw himself deceived by the *Poles*, and extremely regretted, that he had suffered himself to be prevailed upon by an unseasonable regard to the *Koran* (1) and the promise of tribute (2), to abandon the war, and order his forces to return, since they would have undergone less hardship in their winter-quarters in *Podolia* and *Moldavia*, than in their march home. However being actuated by a spirit of resentment more than fear, he determines to take a severe and memorable revenge for the injury offered him. The Vizir answers the letters of the States of *Poland* with terrible threats, reproaches them for their perfidiousness, in refusing to observe the conditions of peace, by which the Emperor had been so gracious to save them from immediate destruction, and for daring to declare it to the most powerful Monarch, and by that means incur his indignation. He added, it was in vain for them to pretend the dissent of the kingdom, since what had been done by the King and the Senators of the first rank, must necessarily be agreed to by the rest. Lastly, he advised them immediately to perform what they had promised, and to divert the Emperor's resentments from themselves by a speedy and just submission; which

VI T A M O H A M
ANNOTATIONS.

(1) to the *Koran*] The Reader will not perhaps wonder, that a regard to the *Koran* should be assigned among the causes of making the peace of *Buchach**, when he is informed that the *Turks* are excited to a perpetual enmity with the *Christians*, by no other ground of their Superstition so much as by that mass of Blasphemy. But though they are commanded by the precepts of the *Koran* to make war upon the *Christians*, even when there is no other cause for it but the propagation of *Mahometism*, yet that law determines the manner in which peace may and ought to be made. For first it permits to make a truce, if the enemy be stronger than the *Musulmans*, that these may have time to augment their forces, and to heal their wounds, if they have received any. And it commands, that a firm and lasting peace be made, when the enemy embraces *Mahometism*, the enlargement whereof is the sole end of a just war, or promises to pay an annual tribute. For in such a case, he cannot be compelled further to *Mahometism*, nor be hurt any way unless he revolts. And if any one commits hostilities upon such a tributary, he shall

be punished as severely as if he had attacked a *Musulman's* house or lands. For the *Koran* answers upon that point: *Anderrun mali bizum mali muz gibi jane jan, gioze gioze, &c.* Such a man's substance and riches, are as our substance, his soul as our soul, his eye as our eye, &c.

(2) promise of tribute] I justly assign as another cause of the conclusion of the first *Polish* war, the promise made by the King of *Poland* of paying tribute. For the *Turks* aim at nothing more, than to have an enemy bound to pay them a small sum of money, which they may easily call a tribute. That once obtained, they do not want contrivances to increase that sum daily, and reduce it to a real tribute; and so make countries, that intended only to put themselves under their Protection, entirely subject to their dominion. Instances of such frauds, are not only the *Christian* Princes of *Moldavia* and *Wallachia*; but also the Chan of *Crim-Tartary*, who is himself a *Mahometan*, and of the same religion, whose ancestors enjoyed much larger privileges when they submitted to the *Turks*, than their Descendants do at present.

† This name is variously written by the Author, as *Dorosbenko*, *Dorosbenko*, and *Dorosbenki*, which last seems truest.

if they refus'd to do, he threatens them with a war more fierce than the former, and with the total destruction of their kingdom.

IV. But when these remonstrances had no effect upon the *Poles*, the Emperor orders all the forces possible to be raised in the Empire, and an Army not inferior to the former, meet at *Adrianople* early in the spring. All things being ready in the month *Rebiul achr* of the year 1084, he marches out of the City with great pomp, against the *Poles*, flattering himself with the hopes of being able by one effort to subdue them, weakened as they were by the last year's ill success, and to annex *Poland*, now destitute of defence, to his Empire. But the *Poles* had turned even their misfortune to their advantage, and composed their domestick dissensions, which had opened the way to the *Turkish* victories the foregoing year; they assemble all their forces; and before the Emperor could reach them with his army, pass the *Tyras* at *Chotin* under the conduct of *John Sobieski*; thinking it more advisable to invade their enemies, than to drive them from their own walls.

V. A few days after, the Emperor likewise advances with his army, and finds the place, where he designed to pass over, seiz'd by the enemy. He is surprized at the boldness of a people lately vanquished, and imagining that they, led by their evil genius to destruction, had shut themselves up between the *Tyras* and *Danube*, reminds his own army of their former victories, and the glory of the *Othman* name, and commands them bravely to attack the enemy. The *Poles* resolving to wipe out the disgrace they had incurred the last year, draw up their troops, animated by the speeches and example of their General. The two armies engage, and the battle proves fierce and bloody, lasting with doubtful success till the evening.

VI. While both sides fight with great ardor, *Petreczeicus* (3) Prince of *Moldavia*, and *Gregory* (4) the Son of *Gika* (5) Prince of *Wallachia*, desert from

The Sultan marches his forces into *Poland*. The King sends his army under the command of *Sobieski* to the borders.
H. 1084.
A. C. 1673.

A fierce battle at *Chotin*.

The Prince of *Moldavia* and *Wallachia* go over to the *Poles*, who obtain the victory.

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(3) *Petreczeicus*] A *Moldavian* by birth, and of a noble, though not famous, family, in that province. He was raised to the highest honours by *Eustratius Daviza* Prince of *Moldavia*; six months after whose death, *Ducas* being deposed, he obtained the principality. At *Chotin* he revolted from the *Turks* to the *Poles*, as has been mentioned in this History, which was the cause of the defeat of the *Turks*. After the victory, not being able with the assistance of the *Poles* to preserve his principality, he retired with them into *Poland*, where he continued till his death, which happened in 1684. Not long after the defeat of the *Turks* at *Vienna*, he returned into *Moldavia*, and with the assistance of his Relation *Hainki*, took Prince *Ducas*; but upon an irruption of the *Tartars* was forced to withdraw a second time into *Poland*, and not without loss. But the King of *Poland* granted him the town of *Jasloweex* with some villages, and a yearly pension of one hundred thousand *Zolots*; this he enjoyed till his death, and dying without heirs, the same favour was granted to his widow, till her second marriage with a *Polander*.

(4) *Gregory*] Prince of *Wallachia*, son of *George Gika*, Despot of that country. A man truly great, and adorned with many virtues, had he not sullied them by his treachery to his father. Twice he revolted
N^o. 13.

from the *Turks*, and twice was received into favour. The first time was to the *Germans*, at the battle of *St. Gallard*, under the Vizir *Kioprili Ahmed Pascha*; and the second, to the *Poles* at the battle of *Chotin*. In his last revolt, the *Turks* endeavoured to secure him to their obedience by detaining his Wife and Children as hostages; but, notwithstanding that, he showed a *Christian* courage in the very heat of the battle, despising all his goods and riches. After the battle, he retired through *Poland* to the Emperor of *Germany*, by whom he was created Prince of the Empire; but not receiving there so handsome an allowance as the Emperor's Ministers had made him expect, he resolved to return to *Constantinople*. To that end he writes a letter to his old friend *Panagiotis Nicusius*, a person then in very great credit at the *Othman* Court, wherein he gives an account of his ill fate, and entreats him to obtain his pardon from the Sultan. *Panagiotis* writes him an answer, and assures him, he could easily have him restored to the Sultan's favour, if he would but come himself and implore his clemency. Upon the receipt of this letter, *Gregory* desires the Emperor's leave to return, which not being able to obtain, he pretends a design to spend the remainder of his days in *Germany*, and embrace the *Romish* Religion, if he could but have a dis-

the *Turks* to the *Poles*; upon which the left wing commanded by *Ibrahim Pasha*, crying out they were betrayed, quit their ranks, and refuse to obey the orders of their leader. The right wing likewise is soon broken by the valour of the *Poles*, and at first indeed retreat gradually, but the enemy's troops pressing upon them with vigor, they quickly take to flight, and abandon not only the field of battle, but also their cannon, with all their warlike provisions. The Emperor, (who had remained behind about four hours march,) when he sees his soldiers flying in disorder, full of indignation, at first endeavours to re-animate them by his speeches, and to lead them back to the battle, then uses threats, kills some of the foremost run-aways, calls upon the rest, to reflect upon the law which they professed, and choose rather to die valiantly fighting, than by the hands of the executioner, and by that means lose the promised crown of martyrdom. At last when he finds, that neither his words nor sword have any effect, he is forced to save himself also by flight from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The death of the King of Poland prevents the further progress of the General.

VII. The *Othman* army being thus defeated, there appeared nothing to prevent the *Poles* from not only recovering what they had lost, but even extending the limits of their kingdom. *Cameniec*, which they found to be a check to their progress, was pressed with a severe famine, which would probably soon force the garrison to abandon that fortress. But all these hopes were suddenly destroyed by the death of *Michael King of Poland*, which happened shortly after, and which occasioned the Nobles to prosecute their affairs more remissly, being drawn off from the care of the war to the election of a new King.

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penfation from the Pope to marry another wife. This pleasing the Emperor, he gives *Gregory* not only a safe-conduct, but also a recommendation to the Pope. With these he comes to *Rome*, kisses the Pope's toe, tells him, that though he had a wife alive in confinement among the *Turks*, yet he could not conquer the lusts of the flesh, and therefore was obliged to marry a second wife whilst his first was alive, and desires a dispensation for that purpose: but promises at the same time, that if his request was granted, he would publicly profess himself a member of the *Roman* Church. The Pope demurred at first, and consulted the Cardinals, what was most expedient for the Church to do; either strictly to observe the rigid law of the Gospel, which forbids Polygamy; or by this indulgence to bring a Schismatical, but otherwise an illustrious Prince, into the bosom of the Church. After long deliberation, the last opinion was preferred to the first, and a licence for marrying a second wife was given to *Gregory*, who thereupon made publick profession of the Catholick Faith. *Gregory* having thus gained credit, pretends to have received a letter from *Venice*, wherein he was informed, that there was in that place a young Lady of the noble family of the *Justiniani*, who would not disdain to marry him. Upon showing this letter, he received a recommendation from the Pope to the republic of *Venice*, and departed for that place. There he spent some months, under pretence of making preparations for

his wedding, and transacting other affairs, but at last changing his dress, he went on board a Cypriot ship, and set sail for *Constantinople*. Having thus deceived both the Emperor and the Pope, he lay concealed for some time at *Constantinople*, in his friend *Pannogioti's* house, till he had obtained from the Sultan a full pardon, and an oblivion of all that was past. After which he made a publick entry into *Constantinople*, and obtained not only the enlargement of his wife and children, and the restitution of all his goods, but also a promise of being restored to his principality within three months. But he died forty days after, either of the piles, or of poison given as he confessed on his death-bed by *Timon* a Physician, said to have been bribed by the *Cantacuzeni*.

(5) *Gika*] He was an *Albanian*, born in the village *Kioprili*, from whence originally came the famous family of the *Kiopriliogli*. In the time of *Stephen*, surnamed *Burdaze*, i. e. the Fat, Prince of *Moldavia*, he was *Capu Klebaia*, or Resident at the *Othman* Port, but, upon *Stephen's* rebellion, he was appointed his successor. Three years after, he was translated from *Moldavia* to *Walachia*, but was afterwards deprived of that dignity by the indirect practices of his son *Gregory*, of whom I have already spoken. For when *Gregory* resided at *Constantinople*, he told the *Vizir*, that his father was old, and sometimes had not the use of his senses; by which means he got him turned out, and was appointed Prince of *Walachia* in his room.

V. After

VIII. After long deliberation the crown is conferred upon *John Sobieski*, great Marshal of the Kingdom, who besides the nobleness of his Family, and his own personal merits, by his late victory against the *Turks*, had procured the votes of the States of the kingdom.

John Sobieski is chosen King of Poland.

IX. This choice was by no means agreeable to the *Othman* Court, since he, who, when General of a subdued nation, had defeated their victorious army, being now King of Conquerors, seemed to threaten the vanquished with some greater calamity. The Emperor therefore prepares a very powerful army to oppose him; and besides the remains of the former slaughter, which he had placed in winter-quarters in *Moldavia* and *Dobruja*, he raises new forces in *Asia* and *Europe*, and to the usual number of *Janizaries* adds twelve thousand *Serden Giechbi's* (6), appointing each eleven *Aspers* a day. In order likewise to enlarge and strengthen his army, he sent his commands to *Selim Gierai* (7) Chan of *Tartary*, and directed him to bring with him two men out of every *Cazan* (8) of the *Bujac* and *Crim Tartars*.

The Sultan makes greater preparations for war against the *Poles*.

X. The

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(6) *Serden Giechbi's*] This name, as to its Etymology, signifies, one that does not value his head, or that has devoted his life and head to the Sultan's service. This kind of militia is not perpetual, but is raised, and disbanded, at the Sultan's pleasure. For when there is any great expedition in hand, or a fortified place to be besieged, the Sultan orders so many thousand of *Serden Giechbi's* to be raised, with the pay of about ten *Aspers* a day. When this order is notified, as many of the *Janizaries* as prefer a zeal for religion to their life, are listed among the *Serden Giechbi's*, till the number appointed by the Sultan is made up. And thus if a new *Janizary*, whose pay is about three *Aspers* a day, lists himself among the *Serden Giechbi's*, he will receive afterwards thirteen *Aspers* as long as he lives. Their business is, to be the first either in attacking an enemy's camp, or scaling the walls of a town, without complaining of the danger and difficulty of the place, or thinking any thing too hard. Their assaults are certainly very fierce, because they run into the fire, and against the enemy's swords, not like men, but like wild beasts void of understanding, and do not desist from their attacks, till they are either recalled or killed. For this reason, when the expedition is over, very few, out of the whole number, come safe home; but such as escape return to the *Oda* or *Chamber*, out of which they had been chosen, and cannot be compelled to serve in the same manner a second time. But if they chuse to be *Serden Giechbi's* another year, they have an addition to their thirteen *Aspers* a day of ten more, which they enjoy all their lives. If such a *Serden Giechbi's* is either grievously wounded, or loses a hand or leg in battle, so as to be disabled from going to war, he has an allowance of ten *Aspers* a day, and sometimes more or less according to the Sultan's pleasure,

and with that is sent home under the name of *Oturak* or *Sedentary*, enjoying that pension to his death. Not only the *Oturak* or wounded persons, but also the veteran *Janizaries*, who have served twenty or thirty years, and are unfit any longer to bear arms, have leave to return home as the *Oturak*, and are gratified with the same allowance. If these stay at *Constantinople*, they are sometimes consulted upon important affairs, and their opinion is delivered to the Sultan by the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*. Very often they follow the camp of their own accord, and are not obliged to fight, but only, if a siege or some expedition is proposed, they are desired to deliver their opinion about it. There are *Horse-Serden Giechbi's* chosen from among the *Spahi*, in the same manner, and are dismissed as the *Oturak*.

(7) *Selim Gierai*] Chan of *Crim Tartary*, a man very famous both in war and peace, a most excellent historian, in the knowledge of military affairs superior to most, and hardly second to any. The *Turks* themselves own, that every time they despised or neglected his advice, they ran into shameful errors. Three years before the taking of *Cameniec*, he was made Chan; twice he was deposed, and as often restored; at last under Sultan *Mustafa* II. he abdicated the throne, and went in pilgrimage to *Mecca*. He died at his country-house near *Constantinople*, and his sons now succeed one another in the office of Chan. As for the dispute between the families of *Choban Gierai* and *Selim Gierai*, I have given a full account of it in a former note.

(8) *Cazan*] Or more elegantly *Cazzan*; as to its Etymology, it signifies a *Caldron*, or large *Kettle*, in which several Companies may boyl their victuals together. From whence the families of the *Crim* and *Bujac Tartars* are named *Cazan*, each of which may contain about ten souls, more or less.

The

The republic of Poland benefits on account of the vigorous proceedings of their King.

X. The King of Poland suspecting what was really the case, that he was to engage with an enemy stronger and better prepared, applies himself to his affairs with no less attention, raises troops from all parts, and admonishes the states of his kingdom to assemble all their forces, and confirm the victory, they had gained in the last expedition. But they were deaf to his advice. Flushed with their late victory, they contemn the enemy, and give out that the Othman power, broken by the loss they had sustained, could scarce recover itself in many years, that the forces already raised were sufficient, and that the treasures of the kingdom ought not to be fruitlessly consumed. These were the publick pretences of the Nobles, but the true reason was, their fear lest the King, whose boldness and heroicall virtues were well known, when he found the whole kingdom united under his command, should oppress them, exhausted and weakened with a long war, and make the crown, which had been conferred on him by election, hereditary in his family. Besides they were very loth to obey a person, who but a few days before had been their equal.

The Poles besiege Cameniec. The Turks hasten to its relief.

H. 1087.
A. C. 1674.

The Poles being struck with terror, abandon the siege.

The Sultan recovers Chotin, and takes Human.

The rebellious Cossaks offer the Turks assistance, but are rejected.

XI. However the King, to perform the duty of a father of his country, and to overcome the enemy by art, since he could not by force, through the envy of his countrymen, had sent what soldiers he had ready, to block up Cameniec, and reduced that City to such straits, that the garrison had scarce provisions enough for a few weeks. But the Emperor being informed of their distress, assembles his forces with greater speed than before, and about the end of the month *Rebiul ewwel*, in the year 1085, passes the Danube at *Sakie*, and marches with such diligence, that ten days after the foremost of his troops appeared about *Chotin*.

XII. The Poles, who had scarce expected the Turks within a month or two, being surprized with the news of the Sultan's approach, and imagining that a body of light-armed men were sent before, dispatch certain persons (9) skilled in the Turkish language to the Othman camp, to observe more exactly the number and strength of the enemy. When these report that the Emperor and Vizir were incamped with a powerful army not far from *Chotin*, the Poles, seized with a panic, fly away, and abandon the siege.

XIII. The Sultan, who had determined to pass the *Tyras*, being informed that the siege of *Cameniec* was raised, turns his arms to *Chotin*, and recovers that city in a short time. After this, passing the *Tyras*, he encamps under the walls of *Cameniec*, and supplies the city with provisions and ammunition, which began now to be wanted, and waits some days for the enemy. When he finds no enemy approaching, he takes *Human*, a town of *Podolia*, and applies himself to settle the affairs of the province, which he had subdued, thinking it necessary to confirm his present acquisitions, before he made farther progress.

XIV. While, intent on these things, he remains in those parts, *Dorosbenko*, Hetman of the *Cossaks*, with four thousand of his countrymen, comes uncalled to the assistance of the Sultan, and offers him his whole army. But *Mahomet*, either thinking it needless to march so great forces against so inconsiderable an enemy, or suspecting *Dorosbenko's* integrity, commands him to return home with

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The *Mirza's* count their Subjects by *Cazan*, and when they are to go upon any expedition, the Chan tells them how many soldiers they are to bring with them out of each *Cazan*. There are said to be about seventy thousand of them in *Crim-Tartary*. But this number is not always the same, being sometimes more, sometimes less. For if the master of one *Cazan* marries the heir of another *Cazan*, both the *Cazans* are contracted into one. And, on the other

hand, if a Father has more sons than can conveniently live in one house, they part, and each make a *Cazan*.

(9) certain persons] It is said that one of these spies was taken and brought to the Sultan; to whom ingenuously confessing the cause of his coming, he was ordered to be carried about the camp, and then sent away with a present of twenty gold crowns.

his

his men, alledging for reason, that he had no occasion for the assistance of the *Cossaks* against the *Poles*.

XV. This highly exasperated *Dorosbenko*, and proved afterwards very detrimental to the Othman affairs. For there was no other cause of the *Cossaks* revolting some years after from the Turkish obedience, and submitting to the *Czars* of *Russia*, as will be more amply related in its proper place.

XVI. But the Emperor seeing he could not be secure of the possession of *Cameniec*, whilst inhabited by *Christians*, since they might not only inform the enemies of every thing done there, but likewise put them in a way to take the city, commands all the inhabitants of the territory of *Cameniec* to be removed beyond the *Danube*, and mount *Hæmus* into the province of *Kyrk ekklesie* (10), and lands to be assigned them. But he divides their country among two thousand *Spahis*, who were before seated in the territories of *Bender*, *Akkierman*, and *Kili*. The season appointed for warlike expeditions being spent in these affairs, the Emperor leaves *Shishman Ibrahim Pasha* (11) with a strong garrison at *Cameniec*, and returns himself with the main army to *Adrianople* in the beginning of the winter.

XVII. There despising now the enemy, of whom he had before been a little afraid, he devotes all the next year to his pleasures, having commanded *Shishman Ibrahim Pasha*, governor of *Cameniec*, to observe the motions of the *Poles* with some regiments of *Janizaries*. In the mean while he solemnizes with great pomp the circumcision of his two sons, *Mustapha* and *Abmed*, and the nuptials of his daughter, upon which occasion he amasses a greater treasure (12), than the half of the revenue of the whole Empire would amount to.

XVIII. On the other hand the *Poles*, who had prepared rather to repel the enemy, than come to a battle, imagining the long silence of the *Turks* to be only a stratagem, were cautious of making any attempt, so that except some

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(10) *Kyrk ekklesie*] A province and town formerly called *τεσσαράκοντα εκκλησιαι*, the *Forty Churches*, because there were formerly in it so many *Christian Churches*. It is distant eight and thirty hours from *Constantinople*, and twelve from *Adrianople*: At present it has neither walls nor churches, and but very few *Christian* inhabitants. For it is almost entirely possessed by *Jews*, transplanted thither from *Podolia* by Sultan *Mahomet*, by whom the same corrupt *German* is still spoken as in *Poland*. Their chief produce is butter and cheese, which is sent to the *Jews* living at *Constantinople*, after it has been marked with the *Chacham's* seal, to denote that it is clean and made by *Jewish* hands.

(11) *Shishman Sec.*] A brave Turkish General against the *Poles*, and renowned for many actions, but so thick and fat, that he was surnamed *Shishman*, i. e. the *Fat*. It is said of him, that he kept a *French Surgeon*, who opened his belly, and took out the fat, every year, in the months of *June* and *July*, when he could hardly breathe, and was in danger of his life. But, at last, his fat increasing to such a degree, that it could no longer be taken out, he burst like another *Judas*, so that his bowels gushed out. Whether this be true, or only a story invented by the *Turks*, I cannot

say; but this I know, that it is constantly affirmed by the *Turks* that were about him.

(12) treasure] Whenever the Sultans solemnize the circumcision of their sons, they dispatch orders to all the *Vizirs*, *Bashas*, *Begs*, *Sanjaks*, *Wewodes*, and others that have any office within their dominions, and even to their courtiers, to send them large presents. From this no one can be excused; and even those that are appointed to guard the borders of the Empire, tho' they cannot come themselves to the solemnity, are forced to send presents by their servants. If the port is at peace with the Emperor of *Germany*, and the King of *Persia*, the ambassadors of those courts are also invited, and they cannot appear without large presents. That I am not mistaken in saying, that the Sultan amassed then as much treasure, as half the yearly tribute of his whole Empire would amount to, the reader may judge by this one instance. Out of the single principality of *Moldavia*, there were sent him as presents, twenty thousand dollars, two sable-skins, and two ounce-skins, one hundred cubits of gold and silver-cloth, called by the *Turks*, *Sheh meran*, two gold crowns set with diamonds, each of which cost fifteen thousand rix-dollars, besides other things of less value.

H. 1087.
A. C. 1676.

light skirmishes between the scouts on both sides, there was nothing worth notice done this whole year. But in 1087, as if the destinies demanded a debt due to them, torrents of human blood are shed with greater profusion. The King of Poland, discovering the true reason of the inactivity of the *Turks*, resolves to turn their negligence to his advantage. He lifts therefore new soldiers, rather by the hopes of the spoils of the *Turks* and *Moldavians*, than by any just and usual pay, and passing by *Cameniec*, which upon the decease of *Shishman Ibrahim Pasha*, was without a governor, penetrates directly into *Moldavia*, in order, as he declared, to attack the *Turks* within their own territories. Sultan *Mahomet*, who charmed with the pleasures and diversions of the preceding year, had laid aside all thoughts of war, and resigned himself wholly to luxury and hunting, upon the death of *Shishman Ibrahim Pasha*, sends *Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha* (13), invested with the dignity of *Seraskier* (14), with an army against the *Poles*, who at his coming offer him battle. But he, as he was a man of great policy, and well skilled in military affairs, at first amuses the King with pretences of peace, renders the enemy more negligent, and then after breaking off the treaty upon some slight cause, circumvents the *Polish* army by a thousand artifices, and renders all their efforts ineffectual, and at last on a sudden invests the King so closely in his camp, that he could neither send a messenger into his kingdom, nor receive any from thence.

He offers
peace to the
Turks.

XIX. The King with his whole army would undoubtedly have perished, since he laboured under an extreme want of provision, if divine providence had not permitted the *Turks* to be deceived by the same artifices, they themselves had used. For affairs being reduced to the most desperate situation, the King of *Poland* sends some persons into the *Turkish* camp, to try whether the former treaty of peace might be renewed. *Ibrahim Pasha* would scarce have consented to their desires, if he had not discovered, that there was a mutiny just breaking out in his own camp. The *Janizaries*, who were uneasy at the quick marches, they had made to reduce the King to those straits, threw out seditious expressions not only against their General, but also against the Emperor himself, and publicly declared it great injustice to be obliged to contend with the enemies and seasons, whilst the Sultan diverted himself with hunting wild beasts (15), and

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(13) *Shaitan* Sec.] A very famous man among the *Turks*, called *Shaitan*, i. e. Devil, by his soldiers, on account of his cunning, and skill in military affairs. After he had defeated the *Poles* at *Zoranna*, and made a peace with them, he was at his return to *Constantinople*, named *Melek*, i. e. Angel by Sultan *Mahomet* IV. but he still retained in the army the old name of *Shaitan*. The *Vizir Cara Ibrahim Pasha* made him, after the defeat of the *Turks* at *Vienna*, *Seraskier* (or General) against the *Germans*, in which command, he put in great danger the *German* army, that was then besieging *Kivarium*, but having been defeated at *Strigonium*, and being accused of carelessness and bribery, he was put to death.

(14) *Seraskier*] vulgarly, *Bashog*, the Head or General of the whole army. A *Seraskier* may be chosen from among the *Bashas* of two or three *Horse-Tails*. But if one of two *Tug*, or *Horse-Tails*, is *Seraskier*, there can be no *Basha* in the same army privileged with three; and if any such comes, he must either be *Seraskier*, or the *Vizir* must send a third *Tug* to the first

person. Any *Basha* that is once made *Seraskier* must indeed communicate his designs to the rest of his companions, but he hath the supreme authority in the execution, and can command or forbid whatever he pleases in the camp. If the chief *Vizir* is appointed *Seraskier*, he can alter all designs and undertakings, though contrary to the opinion of the rest of the *Bashas*, and arbitrarily command, what is, or is not, to be done. When an expedition is at an end, the name and power of *Seraskier* ceases, till another expedition. But this title the *Basha* of *Silistria* always bears, whose business it is to defend *Babadoy* and the frontiers of *Poland*.

(15) wild beasts] When the *Sultans* are too much addicted to hunting, they always incur the hatred of their people and soldiers. For the *Turks* believe, that a mind too intent upon taking birds and wild beasts, can neither govern itself nor the commonwealth, nor hearken to sound advice. This opinion is grounded upon a common *Turkish* saying, *Kishbazi Cimardazi ulduren olur cazi*, He that kills a lover of birds (which name

and rowled in other pleasures; that they, who had been the chief instruments of founding and extending the Empire, were now put under the command of a *Seraskier*, and treated as if unworthy to fight under the conduct of the Emperor, or *Vizir*, according to the ancient and usual custom. On the other hand the *Chan* (16) of *Crim Tartary*, perceiving he lost more than he gained by this war, did not cease to persuade the *Seraskier* to peace, representing that the conditions, which would now be offered by the King of *Poland*, were not to be slighted, for he did not doubt, the *Poles*, to rescue themselves from imminent danger, would consent to whatever should be demanded, but it was to be feared, if they were longer pressed, despair would inflame their courage, and cause them to make an irruption, by which if they did not entirely defeat the *Othman* army, they would at least revenge their own deaths with the slaughter of thousands of their enemies, he added, that the winter was now approaching, and the *Othman* soldiers, unaccustomed to that season, would afford an easy victory to the enemy. *Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha* being moved by these and other remonstrances, approves the advice, and demands of the King of *Poland* several nobles to be sent as hostages to his camp. The King sends to the *Seraskier* six under the title of ambassadors, and receives the same number from the *Turks*. Immediately the report of peace was spread through both camps; upon which the *Turkish* Soldiers imagining, there was nothing to fear, and being pleased with seeing at last an end of their labours, grow remiss, and carelessly guard the passes.

XX. When the King of *Poland* sees this, he takes with him a select body of his army, leaving the weakest part to guard the camp, privately retires, and unexpectedly attacking some thousands of *Tartars*, who had encamped under *Mobilow* (17), easily puts them to flight. An account of this misfortune is immediately brought to *Ibrahim Pasha*, who was then at dinner talking with the ambassadors. Struck with the news, he severely reproaches the ambassadors for their treachery and breach of the law of nations, and immediately sends his cavalry to the assistance of the *Tartars*. These troops, on the 19th of *Rejab* in 1087, find the *Poles* under *Zoranna*, and full of resentment and revenge rush upon them. The battle was long doubtful, with great slaughter on both sides, and would have lasted still longer, if night had not put a stop to their ardour. For the evening coming on, when the *Turks* perceive nothing could be done on account of the darkness, they retire to their camp, which is readily permitted them by the weary *Poles*, who also strongly entrenched their own camp against the irruptions of the *Tartars*, fear supplying them with strength.

XXI. The two camps being placed opposite to each other, skirmish for seventeen days without intermission, sometimes the *Poles*, sometimes the *Turks*,

The King
escapes out of
danger, and
attacks the
Tartars.

H. 1087.
A. C. 1676.

A peace is
concluded.

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name comprehends also one that is too fond of hunting, and a player at dice, is to be reckoned a *Hera*. This was the occasion of all the calamities that befel *Mahomet*, and his son *Mustapha* II. in our times, and the chief reason of their being deposed. For when, notwithstanding the repeated admonitions that were given them, they would not refrain from hunting, the people did not cease to hate and despise them, till they had wrested the scepter from their hands. But such Emperors as do but seldom and moderately use that recreation, have never been censured for it by their subjects.

(16) *Chan*] Though the *Chan* of *Crim Tartary* be subject to the *Turkish* Empire, and has hitherto continued faithful, yet, for his own advantage, he does not desire that

all *Poland* should be under the *Turkish* yoke. Not to mention the many presents he privately receives, almost every year, out of *Poland*, that kingdom may not improperly be called the store-house of the *Tartars*, in which they can make continual incursions, and draw very large sums from thence, for the redemption of the great numbers of captives they carry away. But if *Poland* was tributary, or entirely subject, to the *Turks*, the *Tartars* would be debarred from exercising their usual robberies, and therefore they endeavour to hinder it all the ways they can.

(17) *Mobilow*] A town of the *Polish* *Ukraina*, lying on the eastern side of the *Tyras*, twelve hours distant from *Soroca*, and about the same from *Cameniec*.

being

authority over the *Cossaks* of *Podolia* as subjects, and resign it to the *Othman* port; to the *Lipkenian Tartars* (21), who had till then been subject to *Poland*, they gave leave to depart; in short, the whole treaty was so worded, as if it was not a king treating with a king, but a lord with his vassal. However, even this did not cure the pride of the *Polish* ambassador. For that he might not seem to have brought so magnificent a retinue with him to no purpose, when the peace was confirm'd, and he had received the writings on the emperor's part, he desires and obtains leave of the vizir to make his publick entry.

His ostentation, and the Vizir's sayings upon it.

XXXIII. In this entry, besides other marks of magnificence, he orders his horses to be shod with silver, and the shoes to be fastened with only two nails, that they

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publickly or privately, give leave to any Palatine or colonel to raise any.

22. The princes or governors of *Transylvania*, who are also kings of *Hungary*, being subject to us, and living under our government, because that province has descended to us by hereditary right from our ancestors; we will that the king of *Poland* live in a friendly manner with them, on account of their loyalty.

23. But if they should rebell against us, the king of *Poland* shall, neither directly nor indirectly, give them any assistance. And if any Palatine of *Transylvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Walachia*, or any other rebellious prince should fly into *Poland*, the king shall be obliged to detain him, and send him to the auspicious Port. So shall he be an enemy to our enemies, and a friend to our friends.

24. If the king of *Poland* shall continue in amity with our Port of *Felicity*, we command those princes to observe the same correspondence with *Poland*, as they have hitherto done.

25. We order, the prisoners taken during the war, and since the treaty of peace has been on foot, to be released without ransom.

26. We order also, that such prisoners as have been formerly taken, in case they have not embraced the *Mahometan* Religion, be released, upon repaying the money they were sold for, which their master shall be obliged to declare upon oath.

27. Merchants on both sides shall be freely allowed to traffick by sea and land, and to come into all our harbours, and elsewhere, only upon paying the customs appointed in each place.

28. They shall no way be molested or injured; and if any of them dies within our dominions, his goods shall faithfully be delivered to the master of the caravan, in order to be conveyed to the relations of the deceased; and we will, that the same be observed with respect to our subjects in *Poland*.

29. The Ambassadors, with their retinues, that shall come to preserve a correspondence with us, shall have free passage through our

dominions, and shall have the necessary attendants allowed them; and we desire that the same regard be paid to those we shall send into *Poland*.

30. If *Armenian*, or other infidel merchants, are willing to pass through *Moldavia*, in order to trade in our *best* dominions, they shall be obliged to travel through the publick roads, and not through by-ways: and if they are ill-used in the publick roads, we will, that the offender be found out and punished.

31. We will and command, that all the articles contained in this treaty of peace be punctually, exactly, and faithfully observed; may their duration be equal to that of our empire, which is to last as long as the world; to the end this peace and mutual correspondence may be eternal.

32. We promise upon our imperial oath, and protest before God the creator of heaven and earth, and by the miracles of *Mahomet Mustapha*, the great prophet, the sun of two ages, on whom rest the peace of the divine majesty, that we shall transgress none of these articles, nor clog them with any difficulties, but that the peace and union now made and confirmed, shall last as long as our glorious empire; provided the king of *Poland*, his palatines, generals, and other subjects, do nothing contrary to the said peace and union, and honour and value the right of peace and friendship. Therefore we command, that credit be given to this noble signature of ours; and do notify to the whole world, that we will have this treaty to be firm and indissoluble, according to the tenor. May all the inhabitants and subjects of *Poland* enjoy profound peace under the shadow of our protection. At *Daud Pascha* the 16th of the moon *Sefer*, 1089.

(21) *Lipkenian Tartars*.] *Lipka* is the *Turkish* Name for *Lithuania*, from whence the *Tartars* that live in *Lithuania* are called *Lipca-Tartars*. They all profess the *Mahometan* religion, and tho' they pretend to be derived from the same stock as the *Crim-Tartars*, yet they are naturally weaker and more infirm than they.

might

might the easier fall off in the streets, which were paved, and strike the *Turks* with admiration at the riches of *Poland*. But what he had designed for his honour, turned to his disgrace. For the vizir, when one of these shoes was brought to him, is reported to have said, that the infidel had indeed shoes of silver, but a head of brass; since it was incredible, that any person in his senses could be guilty of such a ridiculous extravagance as to shoe his horses with silver. The same vizir, when inform'd by the *Seraskier*, that the ambassador of *Poland* was coming with seven hundred attendants, and desired provision for so large a retinue, he is said to have sent word to the *Seraskier*, to tell the ambassador, that if he meant to use so numerous a band to take *Constantinople*, his followers were very few; but if he intended to salute the lofty threshold of the sublime port, he had brought too many with him, and was afraid it would be polluted by the kisses of the *Poles*, however, that it was not more difficult for the sultan to entertain as guests, seven hundred *Poles*, than to maintain seven thousand peasants of that nation, condemned to the imperial galleys. But to return from this digression.

XXXIV. Peace being now settled and confirmed with the *Poles*, in the same year 1090, a fresh war broke out between the *Othman* port and the *Russians*. *Dorosbenko*, *Hetman* of *Sari Camysh Cazagy*, (22) as I have observed, had voluntarily submitted, with all his people, to the *Othman* Port; but afterwards, when he desired to be a partner in the *Polish* expedition, meeting with a repulse, he resolved to revenge this affront by a revolt. But he found, that unless he called in the assistance of some more powerful ally, he should be incapable of executing his designs, and that his efforts for the delivery of his country, would rather involve it deeper in oppression. Having well weighed these affairs, he sends, by private letters, for the officers of the *Cossaks*, and others, whom he knew to have the greatest influence over the people, and represents to them what he had hitherto done for the preservation of their quiet and liberty, and by what methods he had endeavoured to assert and secure it. "I imagined (says he) that, oppressed and contemptuously treated by the *Poles*, we might find a sure refuge under the protection of the *Turks*. They were so remote from our borders, that there seemed no reason to fear them; and their name so formidable to their enemies, that a ship under their colours seemed to be as safe as in the very harbour. To these considerations were added the promises made to us, such as we could scarce have asked for; namely the enjoyment of our civil and religious liberties, freedom from tribute, and a large share of the booty which we should gain in their service. That they would perform these promises I was inclined to believe, chiefly because they seemed the more desirous of our friendship, as they had more than once found us formidable enemies. But how little sincerity is to be expected among infidels, is sufficiently evident from what we have seen with our own eyes. When, to demonstrate my fidelity, I marched in the *Polish* war to their assistance with a good part of the army; I was not only not received with due honour, but even treated with contempt, and, like a traitor, commanded to return home. They were jealous of our being eye-witnesses of their conduct, and apprehensive lest the sight of our churches, turned into moschs, contrary to the most solemn engagements, and the transplanting the inhabitants into barren lands, should open our eyes, and teach us what we were to expect. When a peace was concluded with the *Poles*, they freed us indeed from the yoke of that nation; but so freed us, that they have laid a heavier on our necks. Hence they voluntarily resigned to the *Poles* the chief bulwarks of our country, *Bialocerkiw* and *Pawolocz*. Hence they, who at other times upon the slightest injury breathe nothing but fire and sword, pass over in strange silence, the prohibition of commerce, and

A war with
Russia.
H. 1090.
A. C. 1679.

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(22) *Sari Camysh Cazagi*.] The *Cossaks* of the yellow reed: which of them are so called, has been shown in a former note.

other

“ other *Polish* arts, by which we are daily exhausted, and the best part of our blood sucked out, that weakened and deprived of our strength, we may be rendered incapable of making any resistance, whenever they shall think proper to impose their tyranny upon us. These were the artifices of the *Othman* Princes, by which they founded, and immensely enlarged their Empire; to overcome *Christians* by *Christians*, to subdue both, when exhausted by a long war, and when subdued, to treat them at first with lenity, and afterwards by degrees to lay so heavy a yoke on them, that the weight of it may at last stupify the bearers. If any should doubt of this, or imagine I speak out of envy to the *Turks*, he will have a convincing proof in the Princes of *Moldavia*, who were not subdued by the *Turks* with arms, but allured by mild speeches and promises of liberty to a voluntary submission, and yet are now oppressed with the same servitude as the rest of the *Christians*, under the *Othman* dominion. Taught by these examples, I too late lament our error; however it is not so late, but a remedy may be applied to the wound, if you will show yourselves worthy your name and ancestors. But resolution alone is not sufficient; strength is required, in order to defend our religion and country, and to rescue our selves from unjust servitude; strength, I say, without which resolution is nothing but a head without a body. Since we are not equal to the burthen of bearing both the *Turkish* and *Polish* war, it is necessary for us to desire the assistance of our neighbours, but of whom, it is our business to consider. We have already made sufficient trial of the *Poles*, and I imagine, none of you will ever think of putting yourselves again under their yoke. The *Hungarians* and *Germans* are more solicitous about their own, than the affairs of their neighbours. In short, there remains only the *Czar* of *Russia*, to whose father my predecessor *Bogdan Kiemielniski* (23), many years since promised fidelity, but we were afterwards obliged by force of arms to abandon our engagements. If the word subjection appears disagreeable to any person, let him

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(23) *Bogdanus Kiemielniski*] *Hetman* of the *Cossaks*, who was a terror not only to the *Poles*, but also to the *Turks* and *Tartars*. The *Turks* call him *Comil*, and have not yet forgot the ravages he committed on the coasts of the *Euxine-Sea*. He was slain in a battle with the *Poles*, in which he disputed the victory with them, to his last breath. He had two sons; *George*, of whom we shall give an account in the following note; and *Timusb* who married *Roxana*, daughter of *Basilus* Prince of *Moldavia*. This *Basilus* having been driven out of his principality by *Stephen* surnamed *Burdaze*, retired to his Father-in-law *Kiemielniski*, who lent him fourteen thousand *Cossaks*, under the command of *Timusb*, to recover *Moldavia* and *Soczava*. (in which place he had left his wife, son, and treasures with a good garrison.) But three days before he came to *Soczava*, that town had been, through the governor's treachery, delivered to *Stephen*; who had seized *Basilus*'s treasures, and sent his wife and son prisoners to *Jassy*. *Basilus* with his *Cossaks* prepares to besiege the place, but were unsuccessful. For *Timusb*, in contempt of the enemy, pitches his tents under the very walls of the town, and begins drinking wine and millet-ale very plentifully, as if he had been already master of the place.

“ consider that liberty once lost, if it cannot be restored to its former lustre, will inquire, not where it may be freed from all, but where it may enjoy the easiest conditions. We have nothing to fear as to our churches from a Prince of the same religion with ourselves, nothing as to our fortunes from a King, who possesses much more by right, than he can take from us with injustice. He is at present master of the best part of our country, and having amassed a vast treasure during a long peace, he can easily defend us against any enemy whatsoever. That we should fly to his protection, we are obliged by justice, and the fidelity promised him by our fathers; and induced by the necessity of our affairs, and the remembrance of his former gentle dominion over us. Nor is there the least doubt, but he will both receive us with open arms as lost sons, and defend us as the bulwark of his kingdom against our enemies.”

XXV. This speech had so great an effect upon the whole assembly, that they declared their abhorrence of the treaty made with the *Turks*, and unanimously determined to submit themselves and their fortunes to the *Czar* of *Russia*. Upon this *Dorosbenko* immediately dispatched a trusty person, *Theodorus Alexias*, into *Muscovy* with letters to the *Czar*, in which he assures him, that himself and countrymen are sorry, that without any regard to their obligations, they had dishonorably subjected their province to the *Turks*, but now they repent of their conduct, and intreat his Majesty to receive them again under his protection, and defend them against the enemy; and in return they will readily venture their lives and fortunes in the defence of him and the kingdom of *Russia*. Nothing could happen more agreeable to the *Czar*, since he found, that by this means not only *Ukrania*, which was always liable to the incursions of the *Cossaks*, was secured, but likewise his territories extended beyond the *Borysthene*s, and his army increased with above sixty thousand men of approved valour. He returns therefore immediately an answer to *Dorosbenko* full of civility, in which he commends his design and fidelity to him, pardons the former revolt, exhorts him for the future to atone for the treachery of his countrymen by a firm and constant attachment to the Princes of *Russia*, and on his part promises assistance against all their enemies, whenever there should be occasion.

XXVI. This news being brought to *Constantinople*, not only hinders the peace with *Poland*, but strangely disturbs the designs of the *Othman* court. The Emperor saw, that unless he would suffer his own and the *Othman* Empire's honour to be trampled upon, he could not avoid revenging this breach of faith, and proclaiming war against both the *Cossaks* and the *Czar* of *Russia*, under whose protection they had put themselves. On the other hand he foresaw, that the war would prove very difficult, not on account of the *Czar*'s power, (for at that time the *Russians* were despised by the *Turks*) but because he found, that his army would suffer more from the narrowness of the passes, and hunger, and cold, than from the enemy. To avoid therefore the war, if possible, and by policy recover the *Cossaks* to his obedience, he releases *George Kiemielniski* (24), son of *Bogdan*, formerly *Hetman* of the *Cossaks*, who had been kept

The *Cossaks* submit to the *Czar*.

The *Turks* appoint *George Kiemielniski* *Hetman* of the *Cossaks*.

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(24) *George Kiemielniski*] The eldest son of the forelaid *Bogdan*, who being slain by the *Poles*, *George* was advanced by the *Cossaks* to the post of *Hetman*, in which he behaved with great reputation for three years, though in wars all the time with the *Poles*. At the end of these three years, *George* perceiving that the *Cossak* forces were daily diminished by their skirmishes with the *Poles*, and being afraid of falling like his father, a sacrifice to the enemy, he resolved to quit his dignity, and embrace a monastic life. For that purpose he changed his name and dress, and travelled

through the deserts of *Ukrania*, without acquainting any one with his design, towards a Monastery in that province dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*. In his journey, whilst he was endeavouring to conceal himself from his countrymen, he fell among some parties of wandering *Poles*, by whom he was stripped, and miserably beaten. Out of their hands he was rescued by a body of *Tartars*, who not treating him more kindly, carried him into *Crim-Tartary*, and gave him to the *Chan*. The *Chan* guessing by his countenance, that he was not a person of so mean a condition as he pretended, endeavoured

close prisoner in the Seven Towers, and appoints him Hetman in the room of *Dorosbenko*, hoping, that the *Cossaks*, as well out of affection to the family of the *Kiemielniski's*, as the remembrance of *Bogdan's* merits, would readily submit to his son.

XXVII. *George* by the Vizir's command immediately sends his friend *Stamatellus* to his countrymen, and informs them by letters, that the *Othman* port hearing of *Dorosbenko's* revolt, had made him Hetman of the *Cossaks*, in hopes, that they, who had been drawn off by that traitor from their due obedience to the *Othman* Empire, when they saw their lawful General and Hetman would return to their duty, and repent of their proceedings, in which case the Emperor would forgive what was past, and confer new favours upon them. But the *Cossaks*, who had found the *Turkish* yoke too heavy to be willing to submit to it again, resolutely reject the Sultan's offers, accuse *Stamatellus* of imposture, alledging, that their lawful Hetman *George* had been long dead in *Tartary*, and give out that a stratagem was contriving against them under the name of their deceased Hetman.

XXVIII. The Emperor seeing the *Cossaks* unmoved with words, thinks it necessary to use force, and accordingly sends *Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha*, *Seraskier* of *Silistria* (25), with his whole army to re-estate *George* in the country of the *Cossaks*,

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endeavoured by all means to prevail upon him to embrace the *Mabometan* superstition. But neither promises nor threats being able to make him renounce the *Christian* faith, he came to be known by a *Cossak*, who had formerly served his father, but who being taken by the *Tartars*, had abjured *Christianity*, and was raised to considerable honours in the Chan's court. *Nicolaus* or *Ali* (for that was the renegado's name) fearing, least the favour which the Chan showed to his prisoner, should turn to his own disadvantage, made known *George's* condition to the Chan. Whereupon the Chan sent *George* to *Constantinople* to the *Othman* port, where he was immediately after his arrival thrown into the prison of the Seven Towers, and very narrowly watched. After a few years, some *French* ships happened to anchor under the very walls of the prison. *George* having an intimation of it, endeavoured to escape. Having found a bar of iron in the inner yard of the prison, he forced open the grate of his window. But the place being so high, that he could not leap down without danger, he cut in long pieces the carpet, which served him instead of a bed, and tying them together like a rope, let himself down; but not having exactly guessed at the height of the place, the noise he made in falling down, awaked one of the *Bostanji*, and alarmed the prison. *George* in the mean time, knowing he should be pursued, takes courage, climbs up to the top of the outward wall, and from thence throws himself headlong into the sea. But having hurted his head very much in his fall, and losing his way in the dark through his fear, he hid him-

self between two rocks, which stood above water. There he was found the next morning half dead, by persons sent after him by the keeper of the prison. And after he had been cruelly beat, he was more closely confined, tyed neck and heels, fettered, and manacled. In this confinement he remained from the year 1670 till 1677, and so accustomed was he to bear misfortunes, that he could then hardly be prevailed upon by persons sent to him for that purpose, to exchange his fetters for the office of Hetman of the *Cossaks*, which was offered him. After having accepted the Hetmanship, he used all means imaginable to engage the *Cossaks* to his side; but in vain: for most of them said he was only a pretended son of *Bogdan*, and not their own General. Three years after, being sent into *Ukrania*, to cover workmen that were going to build a fort at the mouth of the *Neper*, he was slain in a battle by *Circos* a captain of some troops of *Cossaks*.

(25) *Seraskier* of *Silistria*] All the *Balkas* who are entrusted with the defence of the northern provinces of the *Othman* Empire against the *Poles*, are indeed named *Balkas* of *Silistria*, but they have their residence at *Babadagy*. *Silistria* is a City on the south-side of the *Danube*, opposite to *Walachbia*, well known in our modern maps. It is even to this day called in *Greek*, *Σιλίστρια*, and hath a *Greek* Metropolitan. It contains a few *Turkish* inhabitants, great numbers of *Christians* chiefly *Slaves*, *Bulgarians*, and *Walachians*. But *Babadagy* lies nearer the *Euxine* Sea, about twenty hours from the *Danube*, directly below *Sakzen*, called by the ancients *Oblucsziza*. That both these places are very antient, we may guess by

Cossaks, with particular orders to endeavour to make himself master of *Chebrin**, the metropolis of the province, and the seat of the Hetman. *Ibrahim* immediately obeys the orders; and passing the *Danube* on the 6th of *June*, in the year of *Christ* 1678, by long marches goes through *Moldavia* and *Podolia*.

XXIX. When he comes to *Chebrin**, he finds sixty thousand *Russians* and *Cossaks* strongly intrenched; is surprized at the unexpected sight, (because by the *Czar's* command all the merchants or others, who were preparing to go into *Turkey*, had been detained at *Nisna*; (26) and perceiving, that by reason of the fewness of his troops, (for he had scarce forty thousand men) he could not possibly attack the enemies thus fortified, resolves to wait for the *Tartars*, who were three days march from his camp. But by the vigilance of the *Russians*, he was disappointed; for hearing of the approach of the *Tartars* to join the *Turks*, the *Russians* plant themselves in an advantageous post between both, and attack the *Tartars* as they draw near with such vigour, that in a few hours the field of battle is covered with the blood of the enemy. There fell in the action, besides the Chan's son, eight *Mirza's*, and above ten thousand common soldiers; the rest are either taken prisoners, or dispersed. The *Turks*, when they see such a slaughter of their confederates, throw away their arms, with their courage, and in the fear that the *Russians*, elated with their victory, would also fall upon them, fly with such precipitation, that they stop not till they have passed the river *Bog*. (27.)

XXX. This ill success rendered the emperor still more desirous of peace. However, to prevent any blemish upon his honour, he sends an ambassador to *Russia*, not in his own, but in the Chan of *Tartary's* name, amicably to persuade the *Czar* to make peace with the Sultan, to restore *Chebrin**, which undeniably belongs to the *Turks*, and to abandon the *Cossaks* to their own evil genius: for he certainly knows the Sultan would rather wage a twenty years war, whatever should be the success, than lose one foot of land to which he has a right.

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the structure of the walls, which seems to be *Roman*, and not *Turkish*; whence it is probable, those cities were built by the *Romans*, to stop the irruptions of the *Barbarians* and *Scythians*. Beyond the mountains *Cbrige**, in the way from *Moldavia* to *Adrianople*, there appear the ruins of such another ancient city, about four *Italian* miles in compass. This last is named by the *Turks* *Rhokioser*, which is a corruption from the *Greek* word *Ρωμανοσπολις*. No historian, as far as I find, mentions it; but the *Greeks* at *Constantinople* have a story about the origin of it, which, whether it be true or false, I dare not determine. They say, after the irruption of the *Bulgarians*, an army of *Russians*, or perhaps of *Pacinnacors* or rather a band of *Pechenegi*,* passed the *Danube*, and made frequent incursions into the provinces subject to the *Grecian* Empire: but being conquered by the *Grecians*, and penned up between the mountains, they laid down their arms; and, embracing the *Christian* religion, had not only their lives granted them, but also obtained a place to build a town. At last those *Russians* rebelling against the Emperor, their town was taken by the *Grecians*, after a bloody fight, and all without exception put to the sword.

(26) *Nisna*] A mart in that part of *Ukrania* subject to the Hetman of the *Cossaks*, situated in a very large plain, and near the river *Wuflrow*, defended by no

despicable castle. None but *Russian* soldiers are permitted to live in the castle, but the town is inhabited by merchants of divers nations, *Russians*, *Cossaks*, and *Moldavians*. The best part however consists of *Greeks*, to whom the former Emperors of *Russia* have granted many privileges, in order to encourage trade. They have not only built there two churches, in which divine service is performed in their mother-tongue; but have also founded a *Greek* school, and a fraternity or society, into which some *Russian* Princes have not thought it beneath them to be admitted. All the *brothers* are obliged, by the laws of this society, to protect those that have once been incorporated into it; to promote their advantage; to assist one another in necessity; and especially, if any one dies, to take care that his goods descend to his right heirs.

(27) *Bog*] or *Bub*, formerly called *Hypantus*, a river well-known, between the *Tyras* and the *Boristhenes*, near the town *Uzi*, vulgarly *Oczakow*, named by the *Greeks* *Olbopolis*, discharges its self into the *Euxine* Sea. It abounds in *Cataracts*, and is for that reason unnavigable; tho' it is so deep as not to be fordable in any place. This river must not be confounded with another *Bog*, a river of *Pocutia*, which riseth not far from *Leopolis*, or *Lemburg*, and discharges it self into the *Vistula* near *Warsaw*.

XXXI. But

He in vain
solicits the
Cossaks to a
revolt.

The Sultan
proclaims war
against the
Cossaks and
Russians.

The Russian
defeat the
Tartars.
The Turks fly.

The Sultan
desires peace
of the Czar.

The Czar
sends an effec-
tual letter
to the Sultan.

XXXI. But the Czar of *Russia*, who was not ignorant by whom the ambassador was really commissioned, sends one of his court under the title of *Chausb** at least to *Constantinople*, with letters to the Emperor and Vizir, in which he advised them not to flatter themselves that he could be imposed upon by the same artifices as the *Poles*; since their example had made him more cautious, and taught him how to deal with them. They should desist therefore from an unjust war, and leave *Ukrania* undisturbed, to which he had acquired an undoubted right by *Bogdan Kiemielniski's* resignation, confirmed lately by *Doroshenko*. But if they determine to prosecute the war, they might be assured, he would not agree to a peace till he had recovered the rest of *Ukrania*, unjustly taken from his ancestors, as far as the *Tyras*, and *Asovia*.

The Turks
again declare
war against
the Russians.

XXXII. Having read this letter, the Vizir sends for the *Mufti*, the *Caimacan*, the *Kadiuleskers*, and *Aga* of the Janizaries; and enquires what the law and reason prescribed to be done. Most declare for peace, since there was little hope that any thing of advantage to the *Othman* interest could be done in these difficult and remote parts. The Vizir *Cara Mustapha Pasba*, (28) alone opposed these pacifick advices, declaring so great a slaughter, which the *Russians* had made of the *Tartars*, ought not to pass unrevenge'd. The rest assenting out of complaisance to the Vizir, it is determined to renew the war with the utmost vigour, and to raise a more powerful army. Accordingly the *Russian* ambassador receives an answer, breathing nothing but fire and sword.

The Vizir
marches with
the army.
H. 1089.
A. C. 1678.

XXXIII. When the time appointed for the refreshment of the soldiers was expired, about the end of the month *Rebiul evvel* of the year 1089, the Emperor, attended with the Vizir, marches with his army to *Tatar Pazarjik*, (29) from whence he orders the Vizir, invested with a full command of the armies, to proceed. The Vizir, without any delay, passes through *Moldavia* by long marches, and in the following month reaches the *Bog*, where he spends some days in reviewing his army, and expects to be joined by the *Tartars* and *Cossaks*, whom *George Kiemielniski* had drawn to his party.

He besieges
Chebrin.

XXXIV. After their arrival, he marches with eighty thousand of his own soldiers, thirty thousand *Tartars*, and four thousand *Cossaks*, towards *Chebrin**, and on the eighth of the month *Jemazul evvel* comes in sight of the city. The *Russians* and *Cossaks*, who were in garrison at that time, were employed in building a new fort without the city; and perceiving the unexpected approach of the *Turkish* army, retire in confusion into the city, and inform their companions of

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(28) *Cara Mustapha*.] The same who afterwards became so famous for besieging *Vienna*. He was descended from an obscure family in *Caramania*, but being brought up in the court of the two *Kioprili's*, father and son, and having served both, he was first made *Basha* of *Silifria* and *Damascus*, then admiral, afterwards *Caimacan*; and at last, upon the death of *Kioprili Ahmed Pasba*, advanced to the dignity of Prime Vizir. He was the most covetous of all the Vizirs that ever were in the *Othman* Empire, and that failing rendered several of his designs unsuccessful, which otherwise would have been crowned with a good end. He was a man of great capacity, no less valiant than wise, warlike, ambitious, and daily invented a thousand artifices to raise new wars against his neighbours. No other reason can be assigned of his fall, but that being too much blinded with his riches and power, he would have erected a new Empire in the west. After his death, above

three thousand purses were found in the foundation of his domestick bath; the builders whereof (who were some *Albanian* Christians, supervisors of the works for bringing water into the city) he caused to be all put to death, as soon as the work was finished. He left one only son, *Ibrahim*, who led a miserable life, till his relation *Anatociogli Husin Pasba* came to be raised to the dignity of Vizir; who remembering the favours he had received from *Cara Mustapha Pasba*, did not only send *Ibrahim* with three *Tugs* to *Aleppo*, but restored to him all he had lost, and built him, at his own charge, a magnificent palace at *Constantinople*.

(29) *Tatar Pazarjik*.] A pretty large town of *Thrace*, lying at the bottom of the mountains *Cbenge**, towards the north. It was built by colonies of *Asiatick* *Turks*, called at present *Cbitak**, and planted by order of the *Othman* court, round the mountains of *Hamus*.

the impending danger. The Vizir observing their disorder, instantly commands a body of men, under the conduct of his *Kiebaia*, (30) to attack the city, hoping by that means, the garrison would be struck with terror, and obliged to surrender. But though they fought for four hours with great bravery, they are forced to retire from the walls with dishonour, and the loss of their commander and two thousand Janizaries. *Cara Mustapha Pasba*, taught by this misfortune, that all attempts against so strong a fortress are in vain, unless it were invested in form, orders, before his soldiers had pitched their tents, the city to be surrounded, trenches to be dug, ramparts thrown up, and batteries to be planted. But when even this did not succeed, by reason of the sandy soil, by the advice of a *Pole* he causes bridges to be made on the other side, where the town was defended by a *Moras*, and commits the care of that work to *Kiorbassan Pasba*. But this also failed of the desired success.

XXXV. About the same time the *Russian* army, under the command of *Romodanowski*, was approaching, and had passed the *Borysthenes* before the Vizir could have any intelligence. To obviate their designs, the Vizir had sent *Cara Mehmed Pasba*, Governor of *Aleppo*, with great part of his army, and given him leave to fight it an opportunity offered. But as he could not draw the *Russians*, though superior in number, to a battle, the Vizir suspecting the matter, that the enemy designed to destroy the *Othman* army by delay, or to reinforce the garrison of *Chebrin**, commands *Caplan Pasba* (31) to encamp with the rest of the army between the city and the enemy. The *Russians* perceiving all communication with the town was cut off on the 22d of the month *Jemazul ahyr*, they attack *Caplan Pasba's* troops with such vigour, that the foremost ranks being broken at the first onset, the rest fly for safety through the midst of the *Moras*. *Caplan Pasba*, when he finds that neither intreaties nor threats have any effect upon his terrified soldiers, and that affairs are desperate, sets fire to the bridges over the *Moras*, to prevent the enemy from pursuing and destroying the whole *Othman* army.

XXXVI. At last, the Vizir, perceiving winter was now coming on, in order either to conquer or retire, causes three mines to be made under the walls of the castle, and springing them on the 21st of that month, commands his men to surround the city, and to enter the breaches. The garrison finding, there was no hope of defending the city, since the walls were demolished, fly out of the

The Russian
defeat part of
the Turkish
army.

Chebrin* is
taken by the
Turks.

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(30) *Kiebaia*.] or more elegantly, *Ketebudabeg*, the Vizir's deputy. His office is the most considerable in the *Othman* Empire, and his authority very great. For nothing can be done, or ordered, but it must pass through his hands, and be confirmed by his letters. And if a *Ferman* is sent to any *Basha* without his letter, it is immediately looked upon as counterfeit. For which reason, though he has not so much as one *Tug*, and is with the *Chausb-bashi** to lead up under the arms to the Vizir such *Bashas* as are to be adorned with three *Tugs*, yet it is commonly said of him, the *Kiebaia* is a Vizir to me, the Vizir a Sultan, and the Sultan as one of the *Musulmans*. The Vizir cannot make a *Kiebaia* without the Sultan's consent, and whenever he is turned out, he must be appointed *Basha* of some place with three *Tugs*, but if he is dismissed with two, is looked upon as banished. Besides this *Kiebaia*, the Vizir and *Bashas* have another, who only takes care of their Court; and he must not be con-

founded with *Ketebudabeg*, whom they properly call *Ewkietbudasi*.

(31) *Caplan Pasba*.] A general of the *Turkish* army, celebrated for his bravery in the *Polish* wars, and of so great authority among the *Turks*, that the Vizir, though his mortal enemy, could never destroy him. The name of *Caplan* seems to have been given him for his courage: for it properly signifies a *Tyger*. And though the *Turks* generally chuse to be called only after the names of the prophets, yet they do not reject the names of the two fiercest creatures, *Arflan*, *Lion*, and *Caplan*, *Tyger*; nay the *Sultana*-mother calls her son, notwithstanding he is Emperor, no otherwise than *Arflanum*, my *Lion*. For it is affront from any one but the *Sultan's* father, to call him by his proper name. On the other hand, the name of *Padishah*, which is given him by all others, seeming to derogate from a mother's authority over her son, a middle way has been found out, and allowed only to his mother, namely to call him *Lion*.

gate, towards the *Borysthènes*, and leave to the *Turks* rather the ruins, than the walls of the castle. However they had before laid a train under the magazine of gun-powder, by which means several thousand of the common soldiers, who had flocked together for plunder, were blown up.

Both armies return home.

XXXVII. The next day the Vizir, with the officers of the army, views the city, which had cost so much labour and blood; and as it appeared very difficult to repair, as well as to defend it, he commands the walls and houses to be levelled with the ground. Then giving his soldiers some days of refreshment, he endeavours to provoke the *Russians* to a battle; but they being unwilling to quit their trenches, and preparing for their return, he orders *Caplan Pasha* with some light-armed troops to follow, and attack them in their march, or in the narrow passes. But neither does this avail any thing, because the *Russians* retiring with close ranks, and defended by a chain of waggons, vigorously repel the attacks of the *Turks*. The Vizir himself therefore is obliged for want of provisions to return, and in his march loses, besides almost all his baggage and larger cannon, a greater number of men, than had been destroyed at *Chebrin** by the sword or fire of the enemy, so at his return to *Adrianople* in the beginning of the month *Ramazan*, the army appeared rather to have been defeated, than victorious.

The complaints of the soldiers on account of this fruitless expedition.

XXXVIII. And indeed the victory at *Chebrin** was so far from inspiring the soldiers with courage, that they rather considered those who mentioned the renewing the war in *Ukrania* not only as enemies, but even as betrayers: and the remembrance of the death of thirty thousand of their companions, and the fatigues, they had sustained in their march, was too deeply fixed in their minds, to receive any satisfaction from having taken the ruins of *Chebrin**, and seen some hundreds of their enemy's heads placed round the Vizir's tent. The Vizir himself finding by experience, how difficult it was to carry on a war in places unknown, barren, and every where full of morasses and rivers, with little booty, and great danger, repented too late, that he opposed the motion for peace, and occasioned the loss of so many thousand men without any advantage.

The Vizir attempts to build a new castle.

XXXIX. He would have desisted from the war, if the perpetual incursions of the *Cossaks*, who laid waste all the country on the *Euxine*-sea with impunity, had not prevented his pacific designs. He resolves therefore to build a town and castle at the mouth of the *Borysthènes* not far from *Oezacow*, hoping by that means the ships of the *Cossaks* might easily be hindered from entering the *Euxine* sea, and the *Zaporovian Cossaks* be obliged by the want of salt to submit to the *Othman* Empire. He commits this affair to *Mimar aga* (32) for whose defence, till

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(32) *Mimar aga*] The chief Architect. His principal business is to oversee all the new buildings in *Constantinople* and the Suburbs, and take care that they do not exceed the height allowed. He hath the inspection of all common builders, usually called *Calfa* or *Cbalife*; and can punish or fine them, if they bring out any building but a finger's breadth further than they should into the street, if they make an oblique angle, or build too slightly, even though the owner should not complain. It often happens that the *Mimar aga* knows not so much as what a cubit is, nor understands the least thing of architecture; for being a place of profit, it is given not to the best architect, but to him that is most in favour with the Vizir. A man cannot build what he pleases, unless he has first bribed the *Mimar aga* with presents. For,

though the measure of all buildings be settled by orders from the Sultan, so that a *Christian's* house is to be thirteen, and a *Turk's* fifteen yard's high, yet as *Constantinople* is mostly built upon hills, the *Mimar aga* may, if he is well bribed, permit a building to rise to a very considerable height; namely, by taking the dimension from the brow of the hill; by which means, a house that will be on the back part according to the stated measure, may, on the fore-part rise to thirty yards, and more. The same method is used, when the *Christians* have a mind to rebuild their old Churches. For this being allowed them, but under such severe restrictions, that they can neither add a new stone nor piece of timber to the old materials, the *Mimar aga* is bribed with a good sum to reckon more stones and pieces of timber than there really

till the work was finished, he sends *Caplan Pasha* with six regiments of *Janizaries*.

XL. But this politick design of the Vizir is ruined by a sudden and unexpected accident. For when the first foundations were scarce laid, *Circo*, General of the *Zaporovian Cossaks*, returning from an expedition into *Tartary* with fifteen thousand men, by chance passes by the neighboring parts, and hearing that a new fort was building, and not knowing by whom, approaches to view it. When he finds them to be *Turks*, he surrounds them, and though they defended themselves with great resolution, kills all the workmen and their guards with *Kiemishiski*, who had been made *Hetman* of the *Cossaks* by the *Turks*, and pitching his camp upon the spot, immediately sends a messenger to inform the *Czar* of what had been done, who dispatches orders to *Dolhoruki*, successor of *Romadonowski* in the command of the army, to join all his forces as soon as possible with *Circo's*, oppose all attempts of the *Turks* with their united strength and counsels.

It is demolished by the *Cossaks*, and the workmen killed.

XLI. The Vizir being at last convinced by these things, that it was in vain to exhaust the strength of the *Othman* Empire in those countries, which might be employed in other parts to much greater advantage, agrees to a peace with the *Russians*, which was extremely desired by both parties. Thus was concluded a war, for the carrying on of which the *Othman* Emperor wanted neither inclination nor strength, but only an army inured to cold, hunger, and other hardships too severe for mortals. Besides fortune seemed now inclinable to abandon the *Othman* arms.

The *Turks* being weary of the war, desire peace.

XLII. But all this could not have diverted the *Othman* court from prosecuting their first design, if new commotions in *Hungary*, had not induced them to turn their arms that way, where they thought the war might be carried on with less difficulty, and more advantage. *Emerie Tekeli* (33) had about this time revolted from the Emperor of *Germany*, and in a few months engaged in his rebellion almost all the people in that part of *Hungary*, which still remained to the Emperor. But when he found himself unable to withstand the imperial

Tekeli breaks the peace between the *Turks* and the Emperor of *Germany*.

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ally are, and so they make up his number by adding new ones. But when they have any considerable edifice to build, as a *Jami* or a palace, they make use of *Greek* or *Armenian* Architects. For these last are excellent workmen; whereas the *Turks* can seldom or never arrive at any perfection. Which is not owing to their natural stupidity: for, by their skill in the *Mathematics* and other sciences, they plainly show, that they are, if not superior, yet at least no way inferior in understanding, to other nations; but the reason is, because the more noble *Turks*, or such as have been ennobled on account of their learning and courage, (for nobility is derived among them, not from ancestors, but from good and virtuous actions, as have been observed) though they apply themselves to the *Mathematics*, yet abhor all handy-crafts, as mean, and unbecoming their nobility.

(33) *Tekeli*] This Prince's actions are so well known to the *Europeans*, that I need not relate them here. After having lost his estate in *Hungary*, he had a daily pension of eighty *Leonines* from the *Turks*; and being released from his imprisonment by *Aineji Soliman Pasha*, he was held in great honour among the *Turks* all the time

they were engaged in war. Whenever Sultan *Mustapha* was in the camp, he took him along with him for his companion, and generally made use of his counsel. After the conclusion of the peace of *Carlowitz*, in which it was stipulated, that such persons as were inclined to raise commotions, should be hearkened to by neither party, he was sent away by the same Sultan to *Nicomedia*, where he was presented with a country-house; and being very much afflicted with the gout, he died soon after in that place. He ordered himself to be buried in the suburbs of *Pera*, without the *Greek's* Churchyard; where the *Christian* ambassadors and their domesticks are usually buried. Whilst I was at *Constantinople*, I frequently used to converse with him, and have often heard him say: What can we do, my Brother? It has pleased God to make us subject to a master, who, by his actions, does very well answer his shield, that is the crescent. I have found their false prophet mistaken in almost every point, yet in this I believe he spoke with a prophetic spirit, when he gave his followers a crescent for their arms; for that very well denotes their inconsistency.

arms, without foreign assistance, (because the Emperor having made peace with the *French*, had assembled all his forces to extinguish this flame) he calls in the *Turks* to his aid, promising to pay them forty thousand rix-dollars a year by way of tribute, and to assist them with thirty thousand *Hungarians*, whenever there should be occasion.

XLIII. The *Othman* court long deliberated, whether the assistance demanded should now be publickly granted to *Tekeli*, or deferred till the twenty years truce made by *Kioprili Ahmed Pasha* in 1075 be expired; and till then, the rebels be only supported in a private manner. The latter opinion was approved by all the *Ulema*, (34) with the Sultana-Mother, declaring it to be unjust to wage war with a prince, who had given no cause of complaint, but had hitherto strictly observed the conditions of the truce. The Sultan and the Vizir were inclined to the former opinion, alledging, the iron ought to be struck whilst it was hot, nor would there happen again so fair an opportunity of propagating the *Mahometan* faith. *Hungary*, hitherto the strongest bulwark of the Christians, voluntarily offers subjection; *Germany*, exhausted with the *French* and *Swedish* wars, is scarce able to sustain the first shock of the *Othman* army; that country being subdued, nothing can prevent the rest of the nations, formerly subject to the *Roman* Empire, from being reduced to the obedience of the *Othman* power. The Sultan, that the war might not seem too heavy a burden upon his subjects, declares, he has ready for this design seventy thousand purses in his treasury, a compleat army, and all other necessaries for several expeditions, and promises willingly to employ them all in bringing over the *Christians* to the *Musulman* religion, in extending the bounds of the Empire, and defending those who had put themselves under his protection. The Janizaries, instructed by the Vizir, (35) and their officers of his party, demand a war, and publickly declare they had rather die, than suffer the Emperor of *Germany* to oppress with impunity the subjects of the *Othman* Empire. The Sultana-Mother, (36) (who had been of a contrary opinion, is gained by the Vizir, with

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(34) *Ulema*] This is the name used to denote all those who are distinguished with any ecclesiastical degree. What these degrees are, we have shewed in a former note, *Part I*. They have a very great authority with the people, because it is believed they do nothing but what has been approved beforehand by the *Fetva*. And therefore if you see them join with the army in opposing any thing, you may assure your self it will never be done.

(35) by the Vizir] They who are best acquainted with the counsels of the *Othman* court at that time, affirm, that none but the Sultan and the Vizir *Cara Mustapha Pasha* desired a war with the Emperor of *Germany*: but when the Sultan perceived, his mother and all the *Ulema* were against it, he ordered the Vizir to bring over the Aga of the Janizaries, and the rest of the *Ojak Agalari*, by promises and other arts, to his opinion. For this maxim, *Cul sefer ister, The soldiers are for war*, is a sufficient reason for declaring a new war. For though the power of the Sultan and Vizir be very great in all affairs, yet if the Janizaries and *Ulema* join in opposing the Sultan's designs; it behoves him to yield to them, and if he persists in his resolution, a sedition immediately ensues. But if the Janizaries without the *Ulema* approve of the Sultan's de-

sign, or the *Ulema* without the Janizaries, the Sultan easily obtains his desires. So very powerful is the union of the Janizaries and *Ulema*, that they can even depose the Sultan, and cut off the Vizir, or any other great man, as plainly appeared in the deposing of Sultan *Mahomet*.

(36) Sultana-Mother] *Valide-Sultana*. This name is appropriated to the mother of the reigning Sultan, and she cannot be so called before her son is arrived to the imperial dignity, or after his deposition: because none but *Mahomet Fatih* and *Selim yavuz* have happened to mount the throne in their father's life-time. The Sultans have always treated their mothers with great respect, in compliance with the divine precepts and those of the *Koran*. They can, not only introduce and change many things at pleasure in the *Seraglio*, but also the Sultan is forbid by the laws, to lye with any of the women kept there, without his mother's consent. Every day during the feast of *Bairam*, the Sultana-mother presents a beautiful Virgin, well educated, richly dressed, and adorned with precious stones, for her son's use; and though the Vizir and the rest of the *Basha's* send, among other things, young Virgins for presents to the Emperor, yet he touches none of them but what is brought him by his mother. If the Sultan has a mind to

chuse

with the hopes, that out of the conquests her *Pashmaklyk* (37) would be increased to three hundred purses. After her consent, the Musti also, who had long concealed his sentiments upon this affair, approves of the Emperor's designs by a *Fetvab*. However, the opposite party are not moved by his authority, but publickly defend their opinion, and disperse anonymous libels upon the *Divan*, advising the people not to consent to an unjust war, undertaken not only contrary to a peace confirmed by oath, but also to the anathema of Sultan *Soliman* (38).

XLIV. Notwithstanding this, the Vizir confiding in the disposition of his soldiers and the consent of the Sultan, and being blinded with too great a conceit of his own power, persists in his design, and determines upon war with the Emperor of *Germany*. However, some pretences seemed requisite, that the soldiers, satisfied of the justice of the *Othman* arms, might engage in the expedition with the greater alacrity.

The War is at last determined upon against the Emperor of *Germany*.

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chuse a concubine unknown to his mother, he may indeed do it without opposition, but he is reckoned to have acted contrary to the rules of the *Seraglio*, and against his mother's honour. Very often the Sultan communicates to his mother the affairs of state, as Sultan *Mahomet* is known to have done: and sometimes she has conferences with the Vizir and Musti, under a veil, that she may not be seen, and recommends to them faithfulness to her son. Whenever she is sick, the *Hekim-effendi*, or chief physician, is brought into her bed-chamber, but he speaks to her through a veil hung round her bed; and if he must feel her pulse, it is through a piece of fine linnen cast over her arm; for it is reckoned as unlawful for any man to see the Sultana sick, as in health. Her revenues consist in above a thousand purses, raised out of the provinces of the Empire; and for the collecting of them there is an officer appointed, named *Kietbudai Valide-Sultan*, which is a place of great honour. She does what she pleases with her money; sometimes, in a case of necessity, she lends money to the treasury; and at other times raises soldiers for the publick service, as the mother of the present *Ahmed III*. is reported to have done, during his war with the *Muscovites*. Of the Sultan's concubines, some are no more than concubines, and others are *Hafeki*. Any one that has but once had the honour of lyeing with the Sultan, is immediately set apart from the rest of the young women, and has servants and eunuchs allowed her; but she cannot have access to the Sultan, unless sent for. But if the Sultan loves any of those women more than the rest, he can set the crown upon her head, and she is thenceforward called *Chafeki Sultana*. After having received the crown, she may go in to the Sultan whenever she will, without being sent for. A *Kiebaia* is also appointed for her, and a regiment of *Baltaji*, with their leader, who

are to execute the orders given them by the *Kiebaia*. They have moreover revenues assigned them, according to the Sultan's discretion; but it must not be under five hundred purses. For which reason, though a Sultan may crown five *Chafeki Sultanas*, yet many Emperors, as the present *Ahmed III*. and his brother *Mustapha II*. for instance, have, upon account of that expence, and of the wars they were engaged in, made no *Chafeki* at all, but been satisfied with concubines. As to the Sultan's concubines, if they have only daughters, they may be disposed of in marriage by his successor; but do not thereby acquire more honour than those that are barren. If a son is born to them, though he should die as soon as he comes into the world, the mother is removed into *Eski Serai*, that is, the old palace, from whence she is never to depart. But those that have a son living, are greatly respected by all, both courtiers and foreigners, because they may come one day to be *Valide-Sultana*.

(37) *Pashmaklyk*] This is the usual revenue assigned to the *Valide-Sultana*, and the other *Chafeki*. The name is derived from *Pashmak*, a sandal, because those revenues are said to be granted to buy sandals. In all towns taken by the *Turks*, some street is assigned for the *Pashmaklyk*; as in *Constantinople*, *Pira*. Hence it comes, that the *Valide-Sultana* has a very large *Pashmaklyk* almost throughout the *Turkish* Empire.

(38) of Sultan *Soliman*] The *Turks* in general firmly believe, that Sultan *Soliman*, after raising the siege of *Vienna*, bound all successors with a *Lanet*, never to lay siege again to that city, or enter its territories in a hostile manner. And for that reason, after the defeat of *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, they all cried out with one voice, that by a causeless breaking of the truce, and slighting the curses of *Soliman*, the divine wrath had been drawn down upon the *Musulmans*, and provoked to destroy their Empire.

The Turks pretend a just ground for the war.

XLV. The peace with Poland having indeed been disturbed by the Emperor, afforded a plausible ground of breaking the truce; but because this had been done underhand, and not by open hostilities, the Vizir found it necessary to urge some other reason more obvious to the publick. That the occasion might appear to be given by the Emperor, and not by the Sultan, letters are sent, in the Sultan's name, by a courier, to the Emperor, declaring that Tekeli, and the other Nobles of Hungary, had been forced by his oppression to subject their country to the Othman Empire, and had promised to pay tribute; for which reason the Emperor was required to recall his troops sent against them, and restore what he had taken from them, unless he would be considered as guilty of an infraction of the peace, and draw upon himself the punishment due to his rashness.

The Emperor of Germany sends an ambassador to the Port to confirm the peace.

XLVI. The Emperor suspecting the case, that the Turks were only seeking an occasion of war, sends Count Albert Caprara as ambassador extraordinary, to Constantinople, and orders him to spare neither persuasions nor bribes that the truce may be continued, and the war diverted, which Leopold found himself incapable of supporting.

Tekeli, by the assistance of the Turks, takes several castles.

H. 1093.

A. C. 1682.

XLVII. But the Vizir, without waiting the ambassador's arrival, in the same year 1093, sends Ibrahim Pascha (39) Beglerbeg of Buda with six thousand men to the assistance of Tekeli, and ordered Apassi, Prince of Transylvania, to join his forces with the Hungarians. Tekeli, strengthened with these supplies, the same summer takes Cassovia, Eperies, Leutsch, Levent, Lipschet, and Tillek, the German garrisons retiring with design to reserve themselves for a more favourable opportunity, rather than by a difficult and fruitless opposition expose themselves to captivity.

The Sultan declares Tekeli King of Hungary.

XLVIII. The Turks imagining, from these beginnings, the expedition would prove fortunate, keep no farther measures, but, by the Basha of Buda, declare Tekeli King of Hungary; exhort all the Nobles of that Kingdom, who still continue faithful to the Emperor of Germany, to submit to their new Sovereign; and attack the island of Sebutt, though not with the desired success. Mean while, the Vizir amuses the Imperial ambassador with false hopes of peace, in order to retard the enemies preparations for resistance.

The Turks offer impossible conditions of peace.

XLIX. At last, when he was informed of the success of Tekeli's arms, he sends for Caprara, and acquaints him, that the Sultan would grant the Emperor peace on no other conditions, than the restoration of Hungary to the state in which it was in 1067, the payment of an annual tribute of five hundred thousand florins to the Othman port; the demolition of Leopoldopolis and Gutta; the resignation of Neutraschinta and Ekolt, with the island of Sebutt, and the fortrefs of Muran, to Tekeli; a general amnesty to the Hungarians, with the

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(39) Ibrahim Pascha, &c.] A man so very eminent among the Turks both in war and peace, that he is to be reckoned among the greatest men of his age. The first proof he gave of his virtues, was in the office of Kiebaia, which he discharged under the Vizir Kioprili Mehmed Pascha. From hence being appointed Basha of Aleppo, under Kioprili Ahmed Pascha, he was with him at the siege of Candia, and was of great service to that Vizir in settling the articles for the surrender of the castle. When that expedition was over, the Egyptians rebel, and he being sent to quell them, not only restores, in a short time, that whole Kingdom to the Othman Empire, and to its former tranquillity, without any blood-shed, but also raised their annual tribute to one hundred and fifty purfes; and so artfully

did he manage the restless tempers of the great men of Egypt, that whereas formerly a Basha could hardly get out of their hands without the loss of his honour, the governors can live there now with more safety. By these actions he acquired so great reputation and esteem, that he was promoted to the best government in the whole Othman Empire, namely the Beglerbeglic of Buda. And here what he would have done (had not Cara Mustapha Pascha, blinded with too great an opinion of his own power, rejected good advice) did sufficiently appear from his counsels and designs, compared with the event. His life hath been very elegantly penned by a Turkish historian, in which he appears throughout a most perfect and excellent pattern of all virtues.

restitution

restitution of their estates and privileges. When he found these terms were disliked by the Emperor, he immediately proclaims war against him, and orders the horie-tails to be publickly set up before the palace in the month Shevvel, of the year 1093.

L. A few days after the Vizir departs with great pomp from Constantinople, attended with the Musti, Cadileskiers, and all the other great men, and goes to Adrianople, where he had determined to pass the winter, and prepare for the German expedition. He pitches his camp first about a mile from Constantinople, in a place called Chirpiji*, Chairi* (40), in order to give some refreshment to his retinue, that they might the better prepare themselves for the journey.

LI. The same night there happens a violent storm, and such a whirlwind, mixed with rain and hail, that scarce a man in the whole camp would venture to stir; and besides the tents of the other Bashes, the pavilions of the Sultan, the Prime Vizir, and the Musti, were overthrown. Five days after this, when they encamped near Syllebria, under an hill, upon the sea-shore, another storm arises, and so great a torrent of waters rushes from the mountains, that not only the tents, but likewise the baggage, horses, cattle, and the very soldiers themselves, are overwhelmed, or carried away with the stream into the sea. These two accidents, almost under the walls of Constantinople, struck no small terror into the superstitious Turks, accustomed to form a judgment of their future success from the beginnings.

LII. Those who had before secretly opposed the war, and declared this expedition unjust, interpreted publickly these calamities to be marks of the divine vengeance, and God's displeasure against the Musulman arms.

LIII. But the Sultan despises these as vulgar remarks, and unworthy a great mind; and having repaired the losses occasioned by the wind and waters, pursues his intended march, and comes to Adrianople about the end of the year 1093; and having, during the winter, supplied what was wanting to his warlike preparations, on the 27th of the month Rebiulachyr, in 1094, marches from thence with his whole army towards Belgrade; but on the way alters his resolution, and stops at Hesarjic (41), a town about eight hours from Adrianople.

LIV. Here, after a second review of his forces, he delivers the command of his army to the Prime Vizir, Cara Mustapha Pascha, with Mahomet's standard (42);

H. 1093.

A. C. 1682.

The Vizir marches from Constantinople with an army.

The unhappy omens to the Turks.

This occasions new complaints among the soldiers.

The Sultan accompanies the Vizir towards Belgrade.

H. 1094.

A. C. 1683.

The Sultan having appointed the Vizir his general, returns from Belgrade to Constantinople.

The Vizir exhorts

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(40) Chirpiji*, Chairi*] A very large meadow without the walls of Constantinople, near Daud Pascha. It is so called, because the Russian old women are wont to wash their webs of cloth in the stream that runs through the midst of it, and afterwards dry them on the grass.

(41) Hesarjic] A town on the road to Belgrade from Adrianople, from which last place it lies about eight hours; remarkable for nothing but this stay of Sultan Mahomet at the time of the Vienna expedition.

(42) Mahomet's standard] It is a standard of green silk, long and large, after the form whereof all standards called Sanjak are made. The Christians thought they had taken it at Vienna, but they were mistaken. For that standard was never known to fall into the enemies hands, though those about it have sometimes been almost all killed. Whenever the Sultan or Vizir command in person, this standard is carried into the camp, but never brought out in a battle; being carefully kept in the camp by Nakybul Esfret, who, if he

sees the victory inclining to the enemies side, ought first to run away. However, at Vienna, Cara Mustapha Pascha himself took this standard, and would not part with it till quite out of danger. Whether it be Mahomet's own standard, or another made in the same form, I cannot say: however this be, that which the Turks have is very ancient, and much torn in many places. For which reason it is never all displayed, for fear the wind should tear it in pieces, but being rolled round a spear till the army is marching out of the city, it is carried to the Sultan with the usual ceremony; when they come to their first quarters, the standard is laid up in a gilt chest, in which is also the Koran and Mahomet's robe, and being set on a camel, is carried before the Sultan or Vizir. As for inscriptions and marks, it has none, except *Alem*, which appears at the top of the spear. 'Tis said there was formerly written upon it, in black letters, the *Salavat*, or confession of the Mahometan faith; but these letters have been long effaced by time.

his

exhorts him to fight valiantly against the enemies of the *Koran*, and gain, by his actions in this world, immortal honours, and glory, and paradise in the next. Having thus settled affairs, he returns to *Constantinople*, hunting all the way.

The Vizir
calls a general
council.

LIV. After the Sultan's departure, the Vizir passing the *Sava* at *Belgrade*, leads the army under his command to *Essek*, when *Emeric Tekeli*, lately made King of *Hungary* by the *Turks*, comes with about three hundred *Hungarian* Nobles to the *Turkish* camp, and is received with great respect by the Vizir, and honoured with considerable presents. A few days after, is held a council of the chief officers of the army, summoned by the Prime Vizir, though he had received, by the Sultan's *Chatisherif*, full power of acting as he pleased. But his view in this proceeding was, that if any thing should happen unexpected, and contrary to his mind, it might not be imputed to him, but to the authors of the advice; and that he might, by this condescension and modesty, gain the affections of his *Basbas*, and inspire them with a greater readiness to execute his commands.

Tekeli declares
his opinion in
the council.

LVI. *Tekeli* is also called to this council, and as he was supposed to have a more perfect knowledge of the state of *Germany*, is ordered to deliver his opinion first (43), and to declare what part of it ought principally to be attacked, and whether the siege of *Vienna* should be undertaken this year, or delayed till the next: Whereupon he made the following speech. "To those who engage in great undertakings, most invincible Vizir, three things are absolutely necessary for the execution, money, men, and, above all, prudence, the directress of all actions. With the first, the soldiers are to be encouraged, and foreigners bribed; with the second, the enemy is to be routed, and all obstacles removed; and by the last the too great ardor incident to heroic minds is to be moderated. With-

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(43) his opinion] I well know, most Christian writers ascribe the siege of *Vienna* to *Tekeli's* counsels; and use such arguments, as may easily induce the reader to give their assent. For where is the improbability, that a rebel, bent upon freeing his country from a foreign yoke, should use any means which he thought tended to the growth of his faction, and the ruin of the lawful Prince; and give his associates counsels suitable to his designs. But the authority of many considerable men, whom I knew, and was intimately acquainted with in the *Turkish* court, hinders me from being of that opinion. Besides *Aineji Soliman Pascha*, who, when Vizir, publicly and evidently demonstrated *Tekeli's* innocence; the principal are *Haznader Ibrahim Pascha*, at first treasurer to *Cara Mustapha Pascha*, then *Beg* of one of the galleys, afterwards ambassador extraordinary from the *Othman* court to the Emperor of *Germany*, and at last governor of *Belgrade*, with three horse-tails. He was present at all the consultations of those times, and if any secret resolution was taken, it was discovered to him by the Vizir, who had a great esteem for him, on account of his quick parts and readiness in giving advice. Whilst I lived at *Constantinople*, I used often to invite him to my house, and did so gain his goodwill by treating him with wine, of which he was, though privately, an insatiable lover, that he would open his whole mind

to me. I happened once, upon such an occasion, to talk familiarly with him about the fall and death of *Cara Mustapha Pascha*; and declared, I could not sufficiently wonder how so great a man, who had for seven years discharged the office of Vizir with praise, should so easily hearken to *Tekeli*, a rebel, who did not favour one Kingdom more than another; since probably he aimed at nothing more, than, under pretence of friendship and service, to impose upon the *Othman* court, and incite them against the *Germans*; on purpose, that, after they had both exhausted their strength, he might render himself absolute master of *Hungary*. To whom *Ibrahim Pascha* replied with a common *Turkish* saying, *Eger dinumuz niri ise Allahumca bir dur; i. e.* "Though we have a different law, we have but one and the same God, and therefore must speak the truth. They who say that *Tekeli* was the adviser of that undertaking, accuse him falsely. For my part, I know, he not only was against the siege of *Vienna*, but advised very different things (those mentioned by me in the text); which, if my master had followed, he would not have brought so great a dishonour upon the *Othman* Empire, nor been deprived of his dignity and life." The same was told me afterwards by *Tekeli* himself, who complained, the calumny was invented by *Mau-rocardatus*, and the Vizir *Cara Ibrahim Pascha* provoked by the same person to imprison him.

"out-prudence, the greatest treasures and forces have often proved unsuccessful; and with it, small armies have frequently overthrown extensive kingdoms, as sufficiently appears in the *Othman* Empire: and in our present debate we want that alone, since the *Othman* Empire has raised so great treasure and forces, that they seem to surpass even fame; which, upon this occasion, forgetful of herself, may justly be credited. There are two expeditions proposed to the *Othman* soldiery, both equally glorious, but not equally practicable and advantageous to the Empire, namely, the siege of *Vienna*, and the conquest of the whole Kingdom of *Hungary*. If I should reject the former, or rather declare it greatly detrimental to the *Othman* interest, I shall perhaps to the generality seem absurd, but not to those who thoroughly understand the situation of the *European* affairs, much less to this august and wise council, before whom I now deliver my sentiments, in obedience to the most invincible Vizir's command. *Vienna* is too remote from the borders of your Empire; and though it may not be so strong, as to be impenetrable to the *Othman* valour, yet it will be in vain to expect to take it at the first assault. Before you reach it, you must pass through the enemies country, in many places defended with considerable castles, the garrisons of which will never cease to annoy you, and, whilst they dare not face your army, will still intercept parties, till they are entirely subdued. If by the bravery of the garrison of *Vienna*, which I presume will not be weak, the siege shall be prolonged, the *Othman* Empire will be exposed to greater danger, than any since the taking of *Constantinople*, and the establishment of its dominion in the west. The provisions for such an army for several months cannot possibly be brought at one time; and consequently will be intercepted by the enemy, who will also plunder your baggage, and, by their sudden incursions, so weary the army, and reduce it to such extremities, that it must either perish with hunger, or abandon the siege with great loss and dishonour. But if this expedition should be attended with better success, and *Vienna* surrender to your arms, unless you shall think proper to abandon it of your own accord, (which I hardly believe you will do) it appears to me, that your Empire will be involved in a more dangerous war: for that city is reckoned the bulwark of Christendom, and the Christian faith would be thought entirely ruined, if *Vienna* remained in your hands. To rescue it therefore from destruction, all the princes professing Christianity will, at the first rumour of the siege, undoubtedly unite; and, forgetting their private quarrels, take the most proper measures to stop the progress of your victories. The King of *France* is your ally, but not so far, as to suffer the Christian religion to be utterly extirpated. He permits the Emperor of *Germany* to be pressed, but it is with no other view than to enlarge his own dominions, and prevent that prince from having it in his power to hurt him. He is very far from desiring to have you, who are more powerful and opulent, in his neighbourhood. The *German* princes frequently refuse their Emperor aid, or contribute not so much as they can, lest the Emperor should receive too great an accession of power, and make an attempt upon their liberty. But if they shall see their own dominions exposed to the utmost danger, they will unite all their forces in their defence, and oppose your designs. Besides, if they shall find there is no other hope of safety, and their distressed country cannot be otherwise protected, they will voluntarily submit to the King of *France*, and declare him Emperor; and if he join even the remains of the *Germans* to his own army, I am afraid he will become more formidable than you imagine. You ought therefore to be cautious, lest, while you endeavour to suppress a weak enemy, you raise up against you another much more powerful, and furnish him with arms, without being sensible of it. If you consider these things, most invincible Vizir, and weigh them in the balance of your prudence, known to the whole world, you will clearly perceive how difficult and dangerous this expedition is, and will turn your thoughts to some other scene of action, in which the *Othman* valour may exert itself with less hazard and more advantage. That scene is *Hungary*, a large and fertile Kingdom, which, after frequently repelling your arms, and, what no other province has done,

"obstructing for two ages your victories, now voluntarily submits to your laws, and even earnestly sues for your assistance. The states of this kingdom, for the most part, follow my banner; the rest, who are still subject to the Emperor of Germany's tyranny, wait only for an opportunity to shew how weary they are of the German yoke; which opportunity if you grant them, I do not see what method you can take more advantageous to the Othman Empire. For when all Hungary is once subdued and settled, there will be no obstacle to your reduction not only of Vienna, but of all Germany in one campaign. That Kingdom will supply you with plenty of provisions, which may be safely conveyed, when the enemies garrisons are destroyed; and will prove a perpetual and sure magazine for expeditions to any quarter. If therefore I may be allowed freely to declare my opinion, I think that nothing can be more beneficial to the Othman affairs, than to employ this whole year in subduing and settling the Kingdom of Hungary, taking the castles, still possessed by the Germans, fortifying them, and furnishing them with garrisons and stores for two or three years, so that they may be secure from the enemy and famine; and, withal, in gaining the affection of the Hungarians, and confirming them in their obedience. If these measures be taken, I am in hopes that next winter I shall have above eighty thousand of my countrymen in my camp. But because it would be needless that so great an army should be fatigued in marches and sieges, it is my advice, that the Vizir himself, if he thinks proper, encamp about Buda or Belgrade with the greater part of the army, and by his presence restrain the rebels, or those who endeavour to throw off their subjection; march against the enemy, if their troops should appear, and defeat them; if they retire into the cities and castles, send the Tartars and other light-armed troops into the neighbouring provinces of Germany, Austria, Moravia, Bohemia, and Silesia, with orders to lay waste these countries; to destroy the standing corn every where; to carry away, or if that cannot be done, to burn all that is laid up. By this means the enemy's army will be dispersed without difficulty or danger, and will not be able to subsist either this or the next year for want of corn. If this be done, I dare engage, not only Vienna, but likewise the whole German Empire will be the reward of a single campaign."

The opinion of the principal Basha.

LVII. Tekeli spoke in this manner, and indeed with more freedom than was agreeable to the Vizir, who, too confident of his own power, and meditating greater designs, could not hearken now to wholesome advice. However, fearing if he should openly discover his opinion, he might alienate from him the minds of the Hungarians, not yet sufficiently confirmed; and, by that means, become suspected by the Turks, he conceals his dislike, and commands the other Bashes to declare their opinions. There were then present among the other Bashes two very eminent for their warlike conduct and prudence, and of great authority in the Othman camp, Ibrahim Pasha of Buda, and Ahmed Pasha (44), who was Teskerdar, or high-treasurer. These partly guessing the Vizir's opinion, and knowing he would prove an enemy to those who should be against the intended siege of Vienna; on the other hand, being convinced, by Tekeli's representation, of the danger to which the Othman Empire would be exposed by that expedition, gave ambiguous answers. It ought (say they) to be left to the well-known wisdom of the Vizir, whether the war is to be carried into Hungary or Germany. If the establishment of Hungary is thought to deserve a whole year's employment of the army, the Vizir should march no further than Buda, and encamp in the neighbourhood of that city. There the army may be divided into three parts, one to guard the camp, and the other two to ravage the adjacent provinces of the enemy; to take the castles of Hungary, and when taken, fortify them with garrisons and works. There is no danger to be apprehended from the separation of the army, it being hardly credible, that the ene-

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(44) Ahmed Pasha] He was bred up under the Kopriliogli, who had filled almost all the

mies, both unprepared, and a few years since exhausted by a French war, could raise any forces; and if they could, they would be unable to resist even a fourth part of the Othman army. But if the siege of Vienna is thought of greater importance, it would be prudent not to waste the time in besieging other places, lest so great an army, like Sultan Soliman's, be obliged by the approach of winter to abandon the siege without success. In a word, the soldiers ought to be led thither instantly, while they are warm and burn with a desire of battle.

LVIII. Cara Mustapha Pasha perceiving even these two Bashes were not entirely of his mind, the better to conceal his designs both from friends and enemies, pretends to approve of Tekeli's advice, and orders his army to march to Tavarin, and sends the Imperial ambassador, whom he had hitherto detained and amused with hopes of peace, to Buda, that he might not be a witness and observer of proceedings.

LIX. At the same time Selim Gierai, Chan of the Tartars, comes to the Othman camp with his troops, and is received by the Vizir with great and unusual honours, and presented with an ermin vest, a breast-plate and sword set with diamonds and other precious stones.

LX. Having thus assembled all the forces he expected, he marches towards Tavarin, and in the latter end of the month *Jemaziul uehyr*, passes the Raab after the Hungarian soldiers, who were left to guard the ford, had shamefully abandoned their post (45); and encamps under the very walls of Tavarin. But he had scarce begun to open his trenches, and batter the walls, when he is informed by his scouts that the Emperor Leopold was fled from Vienna to Lintia; that every thing there was in confusion, the walls were in a ruinous condition, the garrison weak and seized with terror, the magazines empty of ammunition, the store-houses of provision, and the inhabitants almost dead with fear of the Turks. The Vizir, encouraged by this account to prosecute his designs, forms another scheme to extort the consent of the other generals. He tries first to gain the Janizaries by various arts, and, by certain persons, promises them, if they would readily undertake or insist upon this expedition, not only greater honours and larger pay, but likewise the plunder of all the treasures of Germany, which were supposed to be laid up at Vienna. Besides this, he engages the Aga of the Janizaries in his party by many plausible pretences, and promises of mountains of gold, by whose means the Kulkiebaia (46), and the rest of the Ojak Agalari (47), are prevailed upon; so that the Janizaries openly complain, the strength of the Othman Empire is consumed to no purpose in the siege of an inconsiderable place, and the time wasted, in which the rival of Constantinople, and the metropolis of Germany, and of all the Giaurs, might be subdued. The Vizir, having gained this point, sends again for the chief Bashes, and informs them of what was said among the Janizaries, and bids them declare their opinion, whether it be proper to gratify their desires, or to defer that important work to a future expedition.

LXI. The Bashes perceiving the Vizir to be wavering, resolutely and unanimously advise against the siege of Vienna, a city (say they) must not be left in the hands of the enemy, which is not only easy to be taken, but likewise will

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(45) their post] Some say, that Count Buddan treacherously gave the Turks a free passage; but because his crime was never clearly proved, I rather chuse to leave the matter doubtful, than determine any thing about it without foundation.

(46) Kulkiebaia] The lieutenant of the whole militia, next to the Aga of the Janizaries, and above him in the Imperial Divan. He hath the lists of the Janizaries, and of all the Turkish foot, and when any regiment of Janizaries is to be

put into garrisons, he is to send them. He imparts all the affairs of the Janizaries to their Aga, and manages them; and therefore has very great power in that body.

(47) Ojak Agalari] This general name denotes both those who have the command of the whole militia of the Janizaries, as the Kulkiebaia, Zagarji bashi, Samsonji bashi, and also the rest of the Buluk Agalari, who have at least one regiment under them.

open a door to the conquest of all *Germany*; nor is that to be attempted, from which little advantage, but great danger ought to be expected. *Tekeli* above all opposed it, because he saw, if the Vizir should besiege *Vienna*, all his hopes of the kingdom of *Hungary* would be destroyed; and told the Vizir he would highly prejudice the *Othman* interest, by persisting in his design, and neglecting *Hungary*, the people whereof at the last passage over the *Raab*, had sufficiently shown their aversion to the *German* yoke, and their inclination to submit to the *Othman* conqueror.

The Bashas submit to the Vizir's authority, and march towards *Vienna*.

LXII. At last the Vizir, when he finds he cannot prevail by his speeches, impatient of delay, produces the Sultan's *Chatisherif*, by which he was made arbiter of peace or war, and the command of the whole army committed to him with full power. The Bashas, upon the sight of this, are silent, and by an implicit obedience, rather than the real judgment of their minds, promise to execute the commands of their dictator. The council breaking up, the army decamps, and only a small body of troops are left under the command of *Kior Hussein Pasha* (48) to block up *Tavarin*; the rest of the forces move with the utmost expedition towards *Vienna*. In their march they seize the baggage of several imperial officers, which had been detained by the difficulty of the roads kill the troops that convoyed them, and entering the enemy's country, take a great number of prisoners, with whom they appear before *Vienna* the 18th day of *Jemaziul achyr*.

Vienna besieged and attacked.

LXIII. The tents being pitched, the trenches opened, and other things necessary for the siege prepared, the Vizir soon after makes himself master of the outer-works, beats down the walls with his cannon and mines, and assaults the city itself with such vigour, that though the garrison, assisted by the citizens, bravely fought for their religion and country, and disputed every inch of ground, yet very probably, the city would have been soon taken, if the Vizir had continued the siege as vigorously as he begun it. But the supreme arbiter of fortune pitying the state of *Christendom*, unexpectedly intervenes to the assistance of distressed *Germany*, and to show, he can produce happiness even out of misfortune, fills the mind of the Vizir, who otherwise was a man of great prudence and experience, with such absurd designs, that he imagines it for his interest to prolong the siege of the city. The outer-works, as I said, being easily taken, he was fully persuaded, he should soon be master of the city, and accordingly writ to the Sultan, that in a short time he would send him the keys.

The treachery of the Vizir towards the Sultan. He is ambitious of the Empire of the west.

LXIV. These hopes excited his ambition, and being blinded with too great a conceit of his own power, he falls into such strange notions, as to imagine himself able to throw off the *Othman* dominion, and seizing the metropolis of *Germany*, found a Musulman Empire in the west, which should rival that in the east, and putting on the *Sorguj* (49), assume the title of Sultan of *Vienna*, and

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(48) *Kior Hussein*] A man very famous among the *Turks* for his courage and experience. So called, because he was one-eyed, or had a blemish in one of his eyes. For *Kior*, in the *Perjian* and *Turkish* languages, signifies one that is blind, or has but one eye.

(49) *Sorguj*] A Crest made of curious feathers, and adorned with precious stones. It is fastned to the Turban, either in token of royal power, or to show that he who wears it, is an officer of the Sultan's *Divan*. Upon this last account, all the *Chausbi** and *Gieduk agalari* are adorned with the *Sorguj*, but of a plainer sort. As a sign of royal power it is worn by the Sultan, and by the three Bashas of *Egypt*, *Babylon*, and formerly of *Buda*. The Sul-

tans heretofore used, on account of the three larger kingdoms under their dominion, namely of *Greece*, *Egypt*, and *Hungary*, to wear three *Sorguj*, one on the right side of their Turban, another on the left, and a third in the fore-part, fastened with little chains: but after having lost *Hungary*, they continued to wear the same *Sorguj* for the kingdom of *Babylon*. The three Bashas above-mentioned have but one *Sorguj* on the left-side of the Turban; the Bashas of *Egypt* is, besides, honoured by the inhabitants (but not at court) with the name of Sultan, because in the *Arabic* language, which is mostly used in *Egypt*, the word Sultan signifies Lord or Prince. [*Sorguj* is to be pronounced, as if writ in *English*, *Sorguge*.]

Germany.

Germany. He thought he had nothing to fear from the Sultan, since all the disciplined troops of the whole *Othman* Empire were under his command, and it would be difficult for Sultan *Mahomet* to bring an army equal in number, not to say in valour, against him. The Emperor of *Germany* seemed less formidable to him, whose capitol he hoped to have in his power before the troops expected from *Poland* could join his forces, which he persuaded himself would be too late from the known slowness of the *Polish* proceedings. He had brought with him a great treasure, as well his own as the Sultan's, and resolved to increase it with the addition of the riches of the *German* Princes, which he supposed to be repositied in the city besieged. He knew, the Pashas and other governors of the castles in *Hungary*, (most of whom were his creatures, and appointed by him during his seven year's Vizirship,) were attached to his interest, and imagined would prove no obstacle to his advancement. Nothing remained but to gain *Ibrahim Pasha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, a man of great authority, not only in *Hungary*, but also with the whole army, and the principal officers of the Janizaries and *Spahis*. For this purpose by large presents he prevailed upon all those, whom he knew to have any influence in the army; he promised *Ibrahim Pasha* the kingdom of *Hungary* for ever (*Ebedi*) (50), to divide all the provinces belonging to it among the *Spahis* by way of *Timar* (51), and to settle the whole army in the cities and lands of *Hungary* as new colonies, after driving out or enslaving the old possessors. But he reserved for himself under the title of Sultan, all *Germany* as far as the borders of *France*, *Transylvania*, and *Poland*, which he resolved the next year either to subdue or make tributary.

LXV. Let us leave the Vizir, full of these thoughts and designs, in the camp before *Vienna*, and see what measures were taken by the *Christians* to repel

The Emperor of *Germany* desires the assistance of the *Poles*.

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(50) *Ebedi*] i. e. properly for ever, or for a man's whole life. Whence those privileges are denoted by that name, with which the Sultan invests for ever any Vizir, Bashas, or Prince: and they who are thus distinguished are named *Teebitten*. Such was that *Chatisherif*, which, according to the *Christian* writers, was granted to *Cara Mustafa Pasha* by Sultan *Mahomet* IV, whereby he was declared not liable to be punished with death. But they do not know, that such a *Chatisherif* is granted by the Sultan to all, even to those who are put to death three days after their promotion to the office of Vizir; with this condition however, *Eger her cbydmetimucze sadacat ve isticamete olurse*, "If thou art faithful and obedient to us in all and every service." Whence it comes to pass, that they are no more secure as to their honour, goods, or life than others. For the Vizirs are never put to death, but for a real or pretended want of fidelity or obedience due to the Emperor. Such a kind of *Chatisherif* was given to *Constantine Brancovan*, of blessed memory, Prince of *Walachia*; who after having been advanced to that principality by the contrivance of the *Caniacuzeni*, did not only lessen their power, but also obtained, by means of large sums of money, and other arts, that instrument from Sultan *Ahmed*. But of how little service it was to him, appeared by what happened at *Constantinople* in N^o. 14.

my time. For he was not only deprived of his principality, but also strangled publicly in the market-place, with his four sons: and for no other reason, but because he had accepted of the dignity of Prince of the Empire from the Emperor of *Germany*, and the order of St. *Andrew* from the *Czar* of *Muscovy*, and kept a correspondence with them by letters about the affairs of state. For, that the affection he pretended to have for the *Christians*, was not real, he plainly manifested in two expeditions: The first in the year 1690, when he showed the *Turks* a way over the mountains of *Walachia* into *Transylvania*, which had been till then unknown; and by that means was the cause of *Heissler's* being cut in pieces, who relying upon his friendship, had with four thousand *Germans* encamped at the foot of those mountains, where he thought himself safe: The other was in the year 1711, when after having drawn, by his fair promises, *Peter*, *Czar* of *Muscovy*, into *Moldavia*, he openly refused him provisions and assistance.

(51) *Timar*] *Timar Spahi* are the Nobles, or the old *Spahi*, who have, for their stipend, villages assigned them in the provinces subject to the Empire. And they are obliged, in proportion to the revenues, to carry three slaves at least, with them to the wars.

4 I the

the enemy. While Count *Caprara* was in vain waiting at *Constantinople* for the confirmation of the peace, the Emperor of *Germany's* ambassador in *Poland* had much better success in his negotiations. The states of that kingdom were excited either by the common danger, or the Pope's exhortations and promises, and united so firmly, that having suspended or composed their intestine divisions, they unanimously determined to raise an army, and oppose the enemy of the Cross, before he should be able to complete the ruin of *Germany* and *Poland*. An alliance therefore is easily made between the Emperor *Leopold* and King *John Sobieski*, and one of the principal articles was, that if the capital of either nation should be besieged by the enemy, both Princes should march in person with their whole army to its relief.

The Duke of Lorraine, the general of the imperial army, besieges *Wywar*, without success.

† *Strigonia*.

LXVI. The Emperor being strengthened on that side, declares the next year *Charles Duke of Lorraine* General of his army; and as soon as he heard the *Turks* had proclaimed war against him in the usual manner at *Constantinople*, he orders him to march with what forces he had ready into *Hungary*, and before the *Turks* could arrive, make himself master of some castle in that country, which might serve as a bulwark to *Germany*. The Duke, to discharge the duties of a prudent and valiant general, first endeavours to seize *Gran*†, the garrison of which he had been assured was very weak; but finding that several thousand of the *Turks of Wywar* had entered the city, he sets fire to the bridge, by which there was a communication between the two cities, and on the 7th day of the month *Jemaziul ahyr*, invests *Wywar* on every side. They fight for eight days with equal bravery, but not with equal success. For the Duke of *Lorraine* being informed, that the *Vizir* was marching with a powerful army from *Belgrade* against him, though he had great hopes of taking the city in a short time, on the 14th of the same month abandons the siege, reinforces the garrison of *Vienna* with several regiments, and so encamps with the rest of his army near the city on the confines of *Hungary* and *Austria*, that he might provide for the exigencies of both countries, and safely wait for the forces of *Poland* and the other Princes.

The Emperor of Germany departs from *Vienna* to *Litium*.

The aversion of the *Vizir* occasions the ruin of the whole army.

LXVII. *Leopold* hearing that *Hungary* was abandoned by his troops, and the *Turks* were preparing for the siege of *Vienna*, and thinking himself not secure within the walls, commits the defence of it to Count *Staremberg*, a man of approved integrity, valour, and prudence, himself retires to *Linium* upon the *Danube* above *Vienna*, and from thence sends letters to all the neighboring Princes to desire their assistance.

LXVIII. Mean while the *Vizir* continues the siege of *Vienna*, but not in such a manner, as prudence and the art of war, but as his vain imaginations had suggested to him. For being persuaded, that the city could not escape falling into his hands, he would not suffer it to be closely blocked up on all sides, and the *Turkish* soldiers to attack the breaches every where with equal vigour, but orders them daily to assault in small parties only, that the garrison, being exhausted with continual watching and loss of their men, might be obliged to surrender the castle. When the *Janizaries*, ignorant of the *Vizir's* designs, began publickly to complain of these proceedings, and represented, that through the imprudence of their general, more thousands of the *Othman* soldiers were destroyed by these skirmishes, than by a general assault of the whole army at once; the *Vizir* himself unwarily discovers part of his projects, and tells those, who acquainted him with what was said, that he could not now satisfy the desires of the soldiers, because he certainly knew, there were great treasures in that city, which it would be improper and contrary to the Sultan's command to give up for plunder. Besides lest the soldiers should by chance enter the city, and in the first heat seize upon these treasures, he orders proclamation to be made in the camp, that if any *Othman* troops should pass the walls, they should stop there, and secure themselves with a trench, and not presume to advance or enter any house, before he should come and give them fresh orders. Lastly, that he might guard against all inconveniences, fearing lest after the taking of the city, the want of corn should oblige him to change or defer his designs, he distributes to the soldiers very sparingly the

the provisions he had brought with him in great plenty, alledging, that good part of it was to be reserved for the troops to be left in garrison when the city should be taken. Mean while, all the provisions expected from *Hungary* were intercepted by the garrisons of *Pofonium*, *Tavarn*, and *Comorra*, as *Tekeli* had foretold to the *Vizir*; upon which account the siege of *Vienna* being retarded much longer than was expected, so great a scarcity arises, that a thing before unknown in the *Turkish* camp (52), ten drams of bread, and even that without salt, were sold for one *rhub* (53), and other eatables and liquors rose in their price, in proportion to the bread.

LXIX. The *Vizir*, to remedy this misfortune, before the famine caused a sedition in the army, sends a *Basha* with twenty thousand men to *Tekeli's* aids, with orders to attack *Pofonium*, because that city was less able than the other fortresses of *Hungary* to make resistance; and take care that the provisions and warlike stores collected at *Buda* might be safely brought to the *Othman* camp. But even this design, either because it was not prudently concerted, or unseasonably discovered, failed of success. For *Charles* duke of *Lorraine* being informed of the *Vizir's* intentions, sends several regiments under the command of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, to oppose the attempt of the *Turks* against *Pofonium*. They first meet with *Tekeli*, and quickly disperse his *Hungarian* troops, and afterwards attack the *Turks*, who are struck with such terror at the defeat of the *Hungarians*, that, besides a thousand killed, and many taken, they leave a thousand waggons loaded with provisions and warlike engines as a booty to the conquerors.

LXX. This defeat was not only a preface, but also no small cause of a greater calamity, which was ready to fall upon the *Othman* army. For the *Janizaries*,

The *Turks*, who were sent out to forage, are defeated by the Imperial troops.

The defeat of the *Hungarians* occasions a sedition in the camp.

This occasion seditions complaints in the camp.

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(52) camp] The *Turks* take a most particular care to have their soldiers furnished with a sufficient quantity of provisions. For the *Janizaries*, before they enter the enemies territories, will have fresh bread every day, and will not vouchsafe, before that time, to touch any that has been twice baked, or baked the day before. And if they should miss having it, or their daily allowance of meat, butter and rice, their leaders can hardly keep them from a mutiny. They provide against a scarcity in the following manner: They chuse a man of approved honesty, and cloathing him with a *Caslan*, appoint him *Mubaeji*, or steward of the victualling. Him they tell how much provisions are wanted, for how many men, and so many months; and then, six months before the provisions are to be laid up in the store-houses, they issue out of the treasury a sum of money to buy the victuals, in proportion to the price fixed by the Sultan's order, according to the plenty or scarcity of the year. After that, the *Casab bashi*, or chief butcher, is sent for, and ordered to provide so many sheep and oxen against the ensuing expedition, and the price of them is immediately paid out of the treasury. These two, upon receipt of the money, send Men into *Moldavia*, *Wallachia*, *Dobruja*, *Bujak*, *Crim Tartary*, and the other provinces of *Rumelia*, to buy up cattle and provisions, which they lay up in the store-houses prepared for that purpose; but if they are not there by the time ap-

pointed, the persons whose business it was to see it done, are to be put to death. When the expedition is begun, the Sultan dispatches orders for assembling horses, oxen and camels out of the provinces, to carry the victuals. On the enemy's borders, where there can be no store-houses, the *Mubaeji* is commanded to bring provisions into the camp, for so many months as there shall be occasion. Besides these provisions that are gathered by the *Mubaeji*, the Emperor has also a yearly contribution, named *Uszur*, and raised out of the tenths of the whole Empire. The remotest provinces pay it in money, but the nearest send wheat and barley into the camp: for the *Turks* will not receive or eat any other sort of corn. These provisions here mentioned are for the *Janizaries*. But the *Bashas* and *Spahi* are obliged to find their own provisions, and the Sultan furnishes them with nothing but a few carts. For this reason, they either send men to buy wheat, or if they and the *Mubaeji* are friends, they desire him by letter to get them: the quantity they want; and they pay him for it by their *Capukubais*, which each of them is obliged to have at *Constantinople*, at the price fixed by the Sultan. By this means, every one providing himself with victuals, there can hardly happen a scarcity in the *Turkish* camp.

(53) *rhub*] It is the fourth part of a *Leonine*, as *Talt* is a third.

who

who had before so vigorously forced the enemy out of their fortifications, when they saw provisions were wanting, and the troops which were to convoy the waggons (so long and impatiently expected) routed and destroyed, begin publickly to exclaim, that they came to fight not against famine, but the enemy; and not content to express their wants in words only, grow negligent in the discharge of their duty, and allow the garrison, now reduced to the utmost extremity, time and opportunity to resume their courage, and repair their breaches. The obstinacy of the Vizir, and the difficulty of the siege, had before sunk the resolution of the officers and the Basnas; so that they no longer regarded what was most advantageous to their affairs, but executed, like mercenaries, the orders that were given them; and would have been surprized by the Imperial army, if one of the enemy's couriers, being taken, had not opened their eyes, and shown them to what danger they were exposed. But this indolence had now taken too deep root in the minds of the soldiers, for them to be roused by the prospect of a battle, on which the fortune of the whole *Othman* Empire depended. On the contrary, fatigued with making trenches and ramparts, they were heard frequently to say: "O infidel, if thou wilt not come thy self, at least show thy Cap; on the sight of which we shall fly hence in an hour."

The Turks are confounded at the approach of the Poles.

LXXI. One would have imagined, these expressions were not unusual among the soldiers, exasperated against their general, and have thought they would have discharged the rage, conceived in their camp and trenches, upon the heads of their enemies, if the event had not soon after shown them to be their real sentiments. For upon the approach of the *Polish* auxiliaries, though it was easy for the *Turks* to prevent the junction of the two armies, not a single man would stir to divert this imminent danger. Shortly after, when they were assured the enemy's forces were marching against them, the night before the battle almost a fourth part of the army dispersed themselves, and the rest, whose religion engaged them to remain, showed so little resolution and ardor, that they did not seem willing even to try the fortune of a battle.

The Vizir, immove with fear, consults with the Pashas.

LXXII. The Basnas themselves are struck with dread at the desertion of their soldiers; the Vizir alone, whom these things ought to have convinced of the vicissitude of human affairs, continues fearless, and imagines nothing insuperable by his power. However, he assembles the other officers, and asks them, what course they thought should be taken. *Ibrahim Pasha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, first declares his opinion, and advises the raising of the siege, the marching of the troops against the enemy, the cutting down of the neighbouring woods, and making a rampart with the trees, and fortifying it with cannon, in order to receive the first and warmest attack; and that afterwards the horse should fall upon the enemy in flank as they retire. This method, if rightly pursued, would, it was to be hoped, gain an easy and speedy victory. He added, the *Othman* army being already weakened by the toils of a long siege, could not be divided, nor part of it left in the works without great danger, much less should a passage be open to the enemy as far as the very camp, the extent of which would render the defence of it more difficult to the *Othman* forces, and the attack more easy to the assailants.

LXXIII. All the Pashas, except a few, approve this advice, and entreat the Vizir not to abuse his authority, nor be the occasion of the greatest detriment to the *Othman* Empire. The Vizir alone obstinately opposes the admonitions, and says, "I know not what fatal calamity threatens the *Othman* affairs, that so many persons of eminent prudence should almost all be hurried into perverse and unreasonable opinions. You advise the abandoning of *Vienna*, which we have besieged for three months, and now reduced to such extremities, that it can scarce hold out so many days. But if you voluntarily suffer it to escape out of your hands, what do you else but willfully resign, without a battle, the wished for victory to a small body of the enemy, which scarce deserve the name of an army, if compared with the innumerable and invincible forces of the *Othman* Empire? Will not the garrison, if they see our soldiers quitting their trenches and works, attack them as they retire, repair their walls,

" which we have demolished, recover what we have taken, destroy the ramparts raised against them, and render the siege more difficult to us when we return? Will not our own soldiers, if after so many labours in vain sustained, so many of their companions killed unrevenged, when they are just ready to seize the wished for prize, we should lead them farther from it, will they not (I say) sink in their courage, and fight with less vigour, and, as the proverb expresses it, do their business with only the ends of their fingers? Will not the enemy's army, when they find the siege raised by us, refuse to try the fortune of a battle, which in their present circumstances they cannot avoid, without hazarding their all; and victoriously retire without the loss of a man; and leave us thus deluded to engage with much more cruel enemies, for the autumnal rains are approaching, which formerly obliged *Soliman*, in other respects an invincible Emperor, to abandon the siege? But if it should happen otherwise, and the *German*s, pushed by their evil genius, be induced to fight, which of you will venture to promise, that the Janizaries, even after a victory, will return to the siege, and again enter those trenches, where they have hitherto sustained so many fatigues, and lost so many companions? You are sufficiently acquainted with their obstinacy by their seditious expressions, which deserve indeed to be punished, but that the present situation of affairs renders it necessary to oppose the rebels to the enemy, rather than the sword of the executioner. I do not deny, these turbulent men have greatly abated of their former ardor; but they will grow still more indolent, if you remove them out of their trenches, and tacitly command them to despair of taking the city. It may be easy to recover what the enemy shall seize during the battle; but consider, it is much easier to defend what we are already possessed of, than to recover it. The desire of revenge will animate the Janizaries to return to the siege; but take care, lest their fury, if the garrison should make a vigorous defence, be not turned against our heads. We are now in a situation, that we must either live or die. But to overcome, after we have abandoned a city besieged by us so many months, has the appearance rather of a defeat than a victory. The Sultan daily expects from us an account of our success, and has already made preparations for a triumph. If the event shall prove contrary, it is easy to imagine what danger hangs over your heads as well as mine. If you consider these things, and weigh them in the balance of prudence, you will perceive, it is in vain to lead the army into the field, in vain to fight for victory, unless the greatest part of the Janizaries be left to defend the works, and carry on the siege. It will terrify the enemies, if they find we are ready in our camp for battle, and at the same time prosecuting the siege as vigorously as before; it will conceal our weakness; prevent the garrison from attacking our rear; inspire our soldiers with courage; and in short, is the only method by which we can obtain not only an easy, but a compleat victory."

LXXIV. When the Vizir had ended his speech, the Basnas answer, "There is nothing to be feared from the garrison, who being equally, if not more exhausted by sickness and labours than the *Othman* soldiers, will be more solicitous about the defence of the fortifications still left them, than the recovery of what they have lost: besides, the trenches and other works are much stronger than the city, and if one or two regiments are left to defend them, it will be more difficult for the garrison of *Vienna* to seize them, than for the Janizaries to take the city. The other Janizaries now employed in the trenches, may be much more advantageously opposed to the enemy, whose army is not to be contemned, since it contains not only the forces of almost all *Germany*, but also a considerable body of auxiliaries from *Poland*. It is certain the Janizaries sometimes obstinately refuse to obey the commands of their generals, and even threaten their lives; but it is no less certain, they are easily softened by some little presents, and promises of increasing their pay; nor is it probable, that after so many fatigues, they will leave the reward of them to others, when they are just at the end of their labours. The dividing of the battle in two parts will be more inconvenient to the *Othman* army, than to the enemy; N^o. 13.

The Pashas insist upon their opinions.

"and there is reason to apprehend the terror, which this method is expected to strike into them, will render the *Germans* desperate, since the contest is not for one city, but for the safety of all Christendom; and so may bring destruction to the whole *Othman* army."

The Vizir gives the location of his authority to his opinion.

LXXV. But neither could these remonstrances divert the Vizir from his purpose, who alledged, the management of this expedition was committed to him by the Sultan; that an account of it would be expected from him; that if any misfortune happened, it would be imputed to him, and not to them; and he could not suffer it to be said, he had gone through so many hardships, and lost so many men, without any advantage.

Having put his prisoners to death, he draws out his forces into the field.

LXXVI. The *Christian* army therefore advancing on the 20th day of the month *Ramazan*, *Cara Mustapha* orders first all the captives, of whom the *Tartars* had collected almost thirty thousand, to be killed; then he divides his forces, which were not employed in the siege, into three parts. He gives the command of the left wing to *Ibrahim Pasha* of *Buda*, and of the right to *Cara Mehemed Pasha* (54) of *Diarbekir*. The body of the army, with the Aga of the *Janizaries* and *Spahis* he reserves for himself; and orders them at least to stand firm, and repel the first shock of the enemy. The rest of the *Janizaries* he leaves under the command of his *Kiebaia* in the trenches, to attack the city in the mean time. Though the officers of the army seemed to execute these orders with great vigour, the Vizir soon found what *Ibrahim Pasha* had told him was true, and now too late repented, that he had not followed his advice.

The Janizaries quit their trenches.

LXXVII. For upon the first charge of the *Germans*, those who were placed in both wings, quit their ranks, and refuse to obey the orders of their generals. The *Janizaries*, who were left in the works, observing what was done in the battle, of their own accord abandon the siege, and remove out of their trenches under pretence indeed of assisting their companions, who were in distress, but in reality to withdraw themselves from the danger, the *Polish* forces soon after coming up, and attacking the body of the army, which was entirely unsupported. The rest of the *Janizaries* and *Spahis* with their officers think less of fighting, than flying, and endeavoured to escape from the danger with the utmost precipitation.

The Turks are defeated, and put to flight.

LXXVIII. *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, when he sees his soldiers dispersed on every side, and the impossibility of renewing the battle, returns also himself to the camp, and finding no man in his tent, laments his ill fortune with a flood of tears, takes up alone the standard of *Mahomet*, and follows the remains of his army with all possible speed. Night coming on, the darkness covers the fugitives from the enemy's sword, but does not remove their fears, which had so deeply possessed them, that insensible of the fatigues of the way, they never stop, till they reach their companions, who had been left at the siege of *Tavarrin*, twenty five *German* miles from *Vienna*. Such was the more than panic terror, which the supreme arbiter of human affairs had filled their minds with, that they, who before were averse to the least labour, and cried out, they were brought, not to bear fatigues and hunger, but to fight, now in one day and a night travelled on foot, without meat or drink the space of fifty hours.

The Poles first attack the Turkish camp.

LXXIX. Mean time the *Christians*, finding the *Turks* after a short skirmish retreat to their camp, and not knowing what passed there, imagine the Vizir had laid an ambush for them, because they could not possibly believe, that such a numerous army of *Turks* would turn their backs upon so slight an attack; and therefore, the night increasing their apprehensions of danger, they resolve to stop, and to assault the camp the next morning. But when they were informed by their scouts, that the *Turks* were fled (55), and had relinquished their camp,

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(54) *Cara Mehemed*] A man of no great fame, but highly in favour with *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, and for no other reason, but because he never contradicted him, (for he could not bear contradiction) and yielded

a blind obedience to all the Vizir's orders: for which deserts, he was, after the death of *Ibrahim Pasha*, made Beglerbeg of *Buda*.

(55) were fled.] Happy is that *Christian* general, who sustains the first, second, and third

the *Poles*, chiefly induced by the hopes of plunder, enter the camp in the night, and find there, besides an hundred and eighty large cannon and other warlike provisions, a great booty, and victuals enough for several months. While the *Christian* camp resounds with joy, and not only *Germany*, but all *Europe* congratulate the conquerors upon the relief of *Vienna*, there appears a very different face of things among the *Turks*, who had escaped from the defeat.

LXXX. The Vizir, when he had reached the camp at *Tavarrin*, earnestly studies not to repair his loss, but to turn upon others the danger, to which according to the *Turkish* custom he was liable. But he perceived it was not possible to execute his purpose, unless he could remove *Ibrahim Beglerbeg* of *Buda*, and the rest, who were privy to his counsels, since they might by their authority add great weight to the charge, which would be preferred against him, and discover his designs against the *Othman* Empire; and because he thought, he had made them his enemies by his obstinacy. For this purpose he sends on some pretence for all those, who had strongly opposed him in the last consultation concerning the siege of *Vienna*, and commands the *Bashas*, when they come, to be strangled, and the other officers of the army to be put to death, giving out, that they, in conjunction with *Tekeli*, had first advised the siege of *Vienna*, and obliged him in a manner to undertake it, notwithstanding his reluctance; and afterwards were very slow in obeying his orders, and in the battle were the first that took to flight.

LXXXI. After this he puts a strong garrison into *Strigonium* and *Vywar*, and encamping with the rest of the army under the walls of *Buda*; makes *Cara Mehemed Pasha*, who had always implicitly followed his opinion, governor of that city.

He strengthens Strigonium and Vywar.

LXXXII. In the mean time, the *Christians* had refreshed themselves a little, and resolving to reap in *Hungary* some other fruits of their victory, besides the relief of *Vienna*, move towards the east. The *Poles* claimed the right of marching in the van, and having routed some troops of the flying *Turks* and *Tartars*, flushed both with the former victory, the greatest share of which they assumed to themselves, and with their fresh successes proceed unadvisedly, and wander about the country without any order, as if they had now subdued all the *Turkish* forces. In this manner, on the 16th day of the month *Shevval*, they happen to meet near *Strigonium* six thousand horse, and two thousand *Janizaries*, whom *Bostanji* (56) *Mustapha Pasha* and *Halil Pasha* had drawn together. The *Poles*

The Poles, in their pursuit of the Turks, are in danger.

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third onsets of the *Turks*. For at the third, or at most the fourth repulse, he will certainly see them turn their backs; and if he advances against them with a slow pace, which I have observed to be sometimes done by the *Germans*, he will perceive them, not only to abandon their camp and cannon, and take to open flight, but also put the whole army in disorder by the confused cry of, *Giaur gidi*, *The Infidel is coming*. Once indeed, namely in the year 1711, in a battle with the *Russians*, they renewed the attack seven times; but the reason was, that the generals of the *Russian* army, not being used to an open fight with them, durst not pursue them when they gave way. For otherwise the *Janizaries* are not obliged to make above three charges, and if they are repulsed, they abandon their camp, and think of nothing but flight, pulling the *Spahi* off their horses, and killing such as make any resistance, and so become the worst of enemies to the horse. For which reason, the *Turkish* horse,

in a flight, and whenever they see their foot giving way, never come near them, nay avoid them more carefully than the enemies themselves.

(56) *Bostanji Mustapha*] He was called, in the *Othman* Court, both *Bostanji* and *Cashebi* *Mustapha* having before his office of *Bostanji*, been *Cashebi* or Keeper of the Emperor's birds. He was taken by the *Poles* at the battle of *Strigonium*, and six years after redeemed by my father, for a good sum of money, by the Sultan's order, together with *Ali Pasha*: After which he was promoted to the office of *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, and *Ali Pasha* was made governor of *Tripoli* in *Syria*. But they did not long enjoy the Sultan's favour; for both died shortly after, *Mustapha Pasha* whilst he was *Caimacan* expressed his gratitude to my father by doing me several good offices. He left a son *Capuji Pasha* a man of learning, affability, and a good character at court.

boldly

boldly attacking this body, and endeavouring to rout them at the first onset, the *Turks*, who before had thought rather of flying than fighting, perceiving the *Poles* to be alone, and separated from the *Germans*, halt, and oblige them to retreat with greater speed than they came, and not content to have repulsed them, surround and oppress the unwary enemy on every side. The *Poles* seemed to be irrecoverably lost, if the *German* army had not very seasonably come in to their assistance, when they began to retreat; whereupon the *Turks* retired, the enemy not daring to pursue them, after they had killed about a thousand men, with the son of general *Yablonowski*, and taken several drums and standards.

The *Germans* in conjunction with the *Poles*, defeat the *Turks* a second time at the *Danube*.

LXXXIII. Next day, the *Polish* and *German* armies being united, attack the *Turks*, who had encamp'd about an hour's distance from *Barkan*, and, after a fierce and sharp battle, defeat them. Whilst they endeavour in their flight to pass the bridge over the *Danube*, which was not very firmly built, fear increasing their haste and confusion, their weight breaks it down, before a fourth part can get over; by which means they fall into the river, and are carried away with the rapid stream. The rest fly to *Barkan*, and, upon the approach of the *Germans*, immediately deliver up the town and their arms, with both their generals. There fell in the battle about three thousand *Turks*, the rest were almost all either drowned in the *Danube*, or taken prisoners; so that out of the whole army, but very few escaped to carry the news of the defeat to their companions.

The *Imperialists* take *Gran*.

LXXXIV. After this battle, the generals of the victorious army prepared to besiege *Strigonium*, but soon after changed their resolution, being informed that the *Vizir* had re-assembled an army of eighty thousand men, with intent, by a fresh battle, to wipe out the disgrace he received at *Vienna*. The falsity of this rumour being quickly discovered, on the second day of the month *ZyCADE*, they again attack that fortress with so much fury, that the *Turks* were seized with terror, and the governor *Bekir Basha*, though he had above four thousand men in the city, on the fourth day of the siege surrenders (57) upon capitulation; a place which had before resisted a much larger army as many months.

Petreczeicus, Prince of *Moldavia*, with the *Cossaks*, invades *Bessarabia*.

LXXXV. Whilst the castles of *Hungary* are thus reduced to the obedience of the Christians by the *Imperial* army; the like is attempted in another quarter, tho' not with equal success, by *Petreczeicus*, Prince of *Moldavia*, who, in the battle of *Chehrin*, had revolted from the *Turks* to the *Poles*. After the departure of the King of *Poland* for the relief of *Vienna*, he joins the *Moldavian* forces of his party with *Konicky* (58), general of the *Cossaks*, and, passing the *Tyras*, marches through *Moldavia* into *Bessarabia*.

He ravages that country with great cruelty.

LXXXVI. When he finds the country without any defence, the *Bujak* and *Crim Tartars* being almost all employed in the siege of *Vienna*, he leaves the *Cossaks* to guard his camp, and marches out with his *Moldavian* troops; destroys the country on all sides, with such cruelty, that he spared neither age nor sex; impaled alive, or dashed out the brains of the *Tartarian* children, whom it would have been better to have carried away, and educated in the Christian faith; he caused the virgins to be ravished, and then killed; the women with-child to be ripped up, and the old men to be put to the most dreadful tortures, to make them discover their riches; in a word, he omitted no method of cruelty and barbarity which had ever been invented in former ages.

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(57) surrenders] Hence one of the poets said in a kind of prophetic manner: *Cbik-dum stamum capusuden, salam ladum usturgumi, Beligradi, Buduni.* "I went out at the gate of *Damascus* (for the government of *Damascus* was the first preferment of *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, author of the *Othman* port's misfortune) and from thence bid

"farewel to *Strigonium*, *Belgrade*, and *Buda*."

(58) *Konicky*] He was Hetman of the *Cossaks* between the *Tyras* and the *Borysbenes*, who had not yet shaken off the *Polish* yoke. The *Poles* had appointed him, after the defection of *Doroshenko* and *Circo* to the *Turks* and *Muscovites*.

LXXXVII.

LXXXVII. While the *Moldavians* (59) are thus performing the part of executioners, rather than of soldiers, the *Tartars*, which had escaped from the battle of *Vienna*, come, and, finding themselves inferior to the enemy, at first concealed in the borders; where, being reinforced, they suddenly attack the *Moldavians*, dispersed over the country, and take a severe revenge for the slaughter of their companions; then they enclose the *Cossaks*, who remained in the camp, on every side. These, on account of their fewness, not daring to engage with the *Turks*, defend themselves with a chain of waggons, and proceed slowly to the river *Hierafus*, hoping they should thus secure themselves from the attacks of the *Tartars*, till they reached their own country. But their number daily decreasing, and provision failing, they are dispersed by famine and the snows, rather than by the sword of the enemy. In their flight, many are slain by the *Tartars*, and more taken prisoners, and of the whole army, but a few troops of *Cossaks*, with *Petreczeicus* and *Konicky*, escape with great danger into *Poland*; nor would they have escaped, if the horses of the *Tartars*, being quite spent, had not prevented them from continuing the pursuit.

He is afterwards defeated by the *Tartars*.

LXXXVIII. *Ducal*, Prince of *Moldavia*, underwent a much harder fate. At his return from the *Vienna* expedition, in which (as I said) he was engaged, when he sees the state of *Moldavia* in confusion, almost all the Nobles having either revolted to *Petreczeicus*, or fled for safety to the neighbouring countries, and finds *Jassy*, his capital, desolate, he retires with a few followers to *Domnestim*, a village in the territory of *Putna*, in expectation of better times. Here whilst he is intent upon settling the affairs of the province, he is suddenly attacked by *Bainski* (60), a *Moldavian*, related to *Petreczeicus*, and taken, and carried into *Poland*; where, being closely imprisoned, he not long after dies at *Warsaw*.

Ducal, Prince of *Moldavia*, taken by the *Poles*.

LXXXIX. In his room the *Turks* appoint *Demetrius Cantacuzenus* (61) a man indeed of very noble extraction, but weak, and more proper for times of peace than of war; for which reason he was soon after deprived of his dignity, as will be remembered in its place.

Demetrius Cantacuzenus is appointed in his room.

XC. Having thus given an account of what passed this year between the two armies in the field; the course of the history requires a narrative of what was transacted in the mean time at the *Othman* court. The *Sultan*, having sent the *Vizir* upon the expedition, ranged the plains of *Thrace* and *Greece*, and, confiding in the prudence and fortune of his *Vizir*, diverted himself with hunting about *Despot Tailas*, and knew nothing of what was doing in the army and state, but as informed by messengers from the *Vizir*. By him being assured that *Vienna*, now reduced to the last extremity, could hold out but a few days longer, and nothing was to

What passed at the *Pest* during the siege of *Vienna*.

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(59) the *Moldavians*] This was not the fault of all the *Moldavians*; for all the old and principal Barons, when they found themselves unable to resist *Petreczeicus*, had retired to the mountains, and into *Walachia*: but it was done by some of the younger, who, for want of experience, had been allured by the deceitful promises of *Petreczeicus* and the *Poles*, with which they had, though in vain, endeavoured to impose upon the rest.

(60) *Bainski*] A *Moldavian* by extraction, and a relation of *Petreczeicus*, after whose death he returned to *Moldavia*, and was appointed by my father *Serdar*, that is, general of the army beyond the *Pruth*.

(61) *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*] The son of *Michael Cantacuzenus*, of the *Constantinopolitan* family of the *Cantacuzeni*. In his youth he obtained the place of master of

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the wardrobe in *Walachia*, from whence being turned out, for what reason I know not, he was some years a jeweller at *Constantinople*: at last, having made a present to *Sultan Mahomet* at the circumcision of his sons, of a silver *Shadirvan*, or fountain, which kept running twenty-four hours together, he was advanced by him to the principality of *Moldavia*; and being deprived of it soon after, he was restored again to the same dignity, after the imprisonment of *Ducal*. At length, being deposed by *Aineji Soliman Pasha*, Seraskier of *Silistria*, for his unskillfulness in military affairs, and sent to *Constantinople*, he was at his arrival so roughly received by the *Caimacan*, that the fright brought a *Polypus* in his neck, of which he died within three days in prison. The *Moldavians* rank him among their cruel princes.

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be feared from the enemy, who were so terrified by the *Othman* arms, that they had not only abandoned the siege of *Kywar* before the *Musulman* army approached, but concealed their forces behind ramparts at a distance from the city; the Sultan moved nearer to *Constantinople*, and resolved to hunt in the country about that city, with design, if he should receive the welcome news of the taking the metropolis of *Germany*, he might be in the neighbourhood of his capital, and celebrate his triumph with the greater pomp and magnificence. But when he heard of the defeat of his army with so great a slaughter, he returned with reluctance to *Constantinople*, not to solemnize the triumph, with which he had till then flattered himself, but to assist the state in this distress by his presence, and restrain the seditious, by whom, he knew, the common people might easily be drawn into an insurrection on the present occasion.

The Vizir's excuse to the Sultan.

XCI. Not long after letters are brought to him from the Vizir, escaped to *Buda*, in which was a particular account of the transactions of the whole campaign. He represented the labours he had sustained to defend and enlarge the Empire, and with what vigour he had endeavoured to subdue so strong and obstinate a city; that the prosperous beginning of the siege had given him great hopes of taking the city, and made him confident, that in a short time he should be able to offer it to his Majesty, with the whole Empire of the West; but that afterwards he was deprived of those advantages, not by the enemy's arms, but by the artifices and treachery of his officers; and especially of *Ibrahim Pasha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, who was the first mover of the siege of *Vienna*; but afterwards changing his opinion, because he either perceived, if the city was taken, the Beglerbeg of *Buda* would not be so considerable as before, or aspired himself to the dignity of Prime Vizir, not only refused to obey his orders, and opposed all his counsels, but, by his example, encouraged the soldiers and officers to be negligent in their duty. That he had borne all these things, being averse to the death of a man illustrious on so many accounts in the *Othman* Empire; but that this unseasonable clemency had proved the occasion of the defeat. For, having given him the command of the left wing, at the first charge of the *Germans*, before the battle could be said to be begun, he ran away with his troops in disorder, and thereby gave the enemy an opportunity of flanking and defeating the rest of the army. That at last, being closely pressed in their retreat by the enemy, when he had found the Beglerbeg, who obstinately pursued his own as well as the Empire's ruin, could not otherwise be reclaimed, and was apprehensive he would afford the enemies a greater victory than the past, he was forced to devote him as a victim to the safety of the state, and thought it a signal service to the Sultan and Empire, to remove a man who had been the cause of so great a misfortune to both. That he had so firm a confidence in the Emperor's justice, that he could not imagine he would impute to his fault or negligence what had been done by means of the disobedience of others.

He desires pardon, and promises Vienna the next year.

XCII. He also desires the Sultan to give him again the command of his armies in the next campaign, and leave to recruit his forces, by which means if he did not subdue all *Germany*, with *Vienna*, he would voluntarily submit his head to the sword or the bow-string. With these letters he had sent very rich presents (62), not only to the *Valide-Sultana*, but likewise to all the officers of the court,

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(62) rich presents.] By these, as the strongest arguments of his innocence, *Cara Mustapha* would have cleared himself, and thrown the fault upon others; but in vain. It is said, upon this occasion, that a Jew, named *Connorio Anazaugly*, who was kept by *Cara Mustapha*, uttered a witty saying, very expressive of the panna the *Turks* were possessed with. For being asked by the Vizir at *Buda*, whether he had any thing of value to send as a present to the Sultan,

he answered, he had nothing at *Buda*, having left his most valuable effects at *Belgrade*. The Vizir offered him five hundred light-armed horse, called *Beshli*, to fetch them, and keep him from being plundered by the wandering bands of *Turks* or *Tartars*, the Jew replied, there is no occasion for so many, for three men are sufficient to secure me, because I have a *Sbapka*, or *German* Cap, the very sight of which is enough to fright the largest bands of plunderers out of

court, whom he knew to be in favour with the Emperor, by whose representations the Sultan was so fully persuaded of the Vizir's innocence, that he not only declared, *Ibrahim Pasha* and the rest, put to death near *Tavarin*, to be justly punished, but also confirmed *Cara Mustapha Pasha* in the Vizirship, and the command of his new army.

XCIII. The Vizir receiving these letters takes courage, and laying aside his fears, wholly applies himself to the augmenting of his forces, and making all the necessary preparations for an early campaign. Perhaps he would have freed himself from danger, wiped out the disgrace he had received, and recovered his former authority, if he had not, out of too great a confidence of his power, been too hasty to re-establish it. He had put to death, as I have observed, without the Sultan's knowledge, *Ibrahim Pasha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, with some others privy to his designs, and the Sultan had approved it by his letters. There still remained some, whom the Vizir had not ventured to punish with the rest, for fear the great number of executions should raise a suspicion in the Sultan. He afterwards allured them with promises to hinder their accusing him. However he did not think it prudent to suffer them to live, since he would always have reason to fear, they might be bribed by his enemies to discover what had passed between them. But some pretences were necessary to be alledged for putting them to death, because all those, who had been the occasion of the *Vienna*-defeat, had already been executed, and it seemed unjust to call again to account persons, who had been acquitted. As he could not find or invent any plausible excuses, he privately intimates to the Sultan by letters, that the Aga of the *Janizaries*, and other *Bashas*, whom he named, had again showed themselves disobedient to his orders, and made use of his clemency to them, in pardoning their ill conduct at the siege of *Vienna*, not to correct, but to confirm themselves in their obstinate resolution to ruin the Empire. His Majesty had indeed granted him the power of punishing whatever officers he found guilty; but he was unwilling to use that power, lest his enemies should take occasion from thence to accuse him wrongfully; and therefore desired to know his Majesty's pleasure about them.

The Vizir being confirmed by the Sultan's letters, attempts to put other *Pashas* to death.

XCIV. Though this representation was very plausible, it found the *Othman* court so much changed, that the Vizir, instead of obtaining his desire, was imprudently the occasion of his own ruin. For there was transmitted to the court by the other officers, who had been present at the siege of *Vienna*, a more faithful account of the transactions, whereby the artifices and designs of the Vizir were discovered. Neither had the contents of this last letter been so closely concealed, but that the patrons of the persons accused, were informed of the danger of their friends, and had an opportunity of using their endeavours to save them. Besides an unhappy messenger was arrived with the news of the taking of *Strigonium*†, and the defeat of the *Turkish* forces at *Barcan*, and acquainted both the Sultan and the great men, what fatal consequences were likely to attend that misfortune, affirming, the slaughter was much greater than was believed, or the Vizir desired they should know.

The treachery and false representations of the Vizir are detected.

XCv. The Sultan being thus disposed to the Vizir's destruction, is constantly besieged by his enemies; sometimes they relate the seditious expressions of the soldiers and people for delaying *Cara Mustapha's* punishment; sometimes represent the necessity of deposing him, though he were innocent, because the change of Vizirs usually proves of great service in times of misfortune; sometimes describe the Vizir's treachery and artifices in such lively colours, that at last the Sultan determines to send *Capujilar Kiehajasi*† with the *Chatisherif* into *Hungary*, to put *Cara Mustapha* to death.

The courtiers concert the ruin of the Vizir.

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of their wits, and make them take to their heels. Whereupon the Vizir is reported to say with a sigh. Our common saying is very true; "Those whom God has put to flight, fear even the Jews."

† i. e. The *Kisbaia* of the *Capaji*.

XCVI. The

He is at last put to death by the command of the Sultan, and another Vizir advanced in his room. H. 1097. A. C. 1684.

The occasion of the breach of the peace with the republic of Venice.

XCVI. The Kiebaia finds the Vizir at Belgrade intent upon recruiting his army, and advising with the Aga of the Janizaries, seizes him in his own house, and showing him the Sultan's mandate on the 6th day of Mubarrem, in the year 1095, orders him, who made no resistance, and affirmed he was crowned with martyrdom, to be strangled by four executioners, and carries his head to Constantinople. The Sultan appoints in his room Cara Ibrahim Pasba (63), who had before been Caimacan of Constantinople, and delivering the seal of the Empire, advises him, that warned by the fate of his predecessor, he should serve the Othman Empire with greater fidelity, and endeavour to take a severe revenge of the enemy for the disgrace it had suffered. But the imprudent conduct of Cara Mustapha Pasba had raised too many enemies for the Othman Empire now in its decline to contend with. He had conceived so great an opinion of the power of the Turks, that when he resolved upon the expedition to Vienna, he was so far from drawing off the rest of the Christian Princes from the enemy's interests to his own, that he offered them many injuries, as if he wanted to provoke them to declare war against the Othman Empire.

XCVII. Petro Ciurani, as the Venetian ambassador or Baili, was arrived at Constantinople with two men of war and three merchant-ships, and upon his landing had ordered the goods, which he had brought, to be carried to his house. Giumrukchi* (64) suspecting from the quantity, that the effects belonged to some merchants, and not to the ambassador, visits the ships, and upon examination, finding that a great part of the freight was assigned to merchants, who refused to pay the customs, confiscates them contrary to the rights of ambassadors, and orders them to be carried into the Sultan's warehouses. The Baili endeavours at first by persuasion to recover what was taken from him, showing from public records, that it was the privilege not only of his predecessors, but of all foreign ambassadors, to bring to Constantinople custom-free whatever merchandise they pleased, as well on the merchant's account, as their own. But at last, when he perceives, words were of no effect, and the will of the Turks was a law, he promises the Giumrukchi* a large sum of money, and so redeems the ships, which had been seized. A few days after, a Venetian nobleman, who had been formerly taken prisoner at sea, makes his escape to the Venetian ships, which were sent to convoy home Morosini the former Baili. But these ships being detained some time on account of the Baili's indisposition, the master of the Venetian is informed, that his slave was on board with intent to escape. Whereupon he petitions the Vizir by an Arzubal (65), that he might be restored

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(63) Cara Ibrahim] This man was at first Kitchudabeg to Cara Mustapha Pasba, and afterwards, when he went upon the Obegrinian* expedition, was made Caimacan. In these posts he behaved in a haughty and turbulent manner, so that both Turks and Christians were displeas'd at his advancement. But after he was made Vizir, taught perhaps by his predecessor's sad fate, he affected, contrary to his former custom, to make himself popular, and to be very easy of access: And at court, he took particular care never to be far from the Sultan, and to remove from the courtiers all occasion of slandering him; by which means he would have long remained possess'd of his honour, had not fortune showed herself at that time an enemy to the Turkish affairs, and concealing his virtues, exhibited his faults to the Sultan, by means of Soliman Pasba.

(64) Giumrukchi*] or Giumruk Emini,

the receiver of the customs, of whom an account has been given in Part I. His name seems to be derived from the modern Greek word κομμωσιάρχης, which I take to be a corruption of the Italian word Commerciario.

(65) Arzubal] as much as to say, the opening of the cause. So those petitions are called, that are presented to the Vizir in the Divan about judiciary matters. They must be penned so concisely, though the cause be never so great or intricate, as not to fill up above half an octavo page, for the Vizir's resolution, and the consultations and sentence of the Judges must be writ on the other part of the page. For this reason it is not every Turk, though very learned in other respects, that can draw up an Arzubal; but there are Arzubalebi* appointed for that purpose, who keep their offices near the Vizir's court, and are always ready to be hired. Whoever has a cause

red to him. The Bostanji Pasba is sent to examine all the ships, and if the captive be found, to seize and restore him to his master. When the Bostanji Pasba comes, the captain of the ship denies he had any fugitive on board, and upon the Bostanji's insisting to search, opposes him by force; however numbers have the advantage of courage, the ship is searched, the captive found and carried away, and the sailors who had taken arms, are partly killed, and partly left under strict guard in the ship. The Sultan hearing a Venetian ship had presumed in the very port of Constantinople to use arms, detains both the ambassadors, Ciurani and Morosini, and refuses to discharge them, till they had paid several ransoms to redeem the sailors, and atone for their crime.

XCVIII. The republic of Venice being informed of what had happened at Constantinople, as Vienna was at that time besieged, and the event doubtful, take no notice of the affronts, but when they hear of the defeat of the Turks at Vienna, they boldly demand satisfaction; which being refused, they make an alliance with the Emperor of Germany and King of Poland, and proclaim war against the Othman Port. The Venetian ambassador delivers the solemn declaration to the Caimacan, and afterwards changing his habit flies from Constantinople.

XCIX. So great and unexpected a blow struck the Turks with almost inexpressible terror. Necessity required them to employ their whole strength against the Germans, and Poles, and they saw that no less forces would be able to oppose the Venetians. The Venetian army indeed could not be so great; but because it was doubtful what course they would take, it was requisite to fortify all the maritime places with such garrisons, as would be sufficient to form a powerful army. There was no fleet except six Sultanas, and those old and leaky; nor any hopes of procuring one soon, because the Hungarian expedition would employ all the money in the treasury.

C. For these reasons Cara Ibrahim Pasba uses all his endeavours to pacify the Venetians, declares the injuries complained of, were not done by the Sultan's order, but through the avarice of his predecessor; and promises to restore what had been seized, if they would desist from the war.

CI. But the Venetians were deaf to these flattering promises, and declared, they could not break their alliance with the Christian Princes; that they had hitherto suffered injuries enough, but now the time of revenging them was come. The Vizir seeing the storm which threaten'd the Othman Empire on every side, cannot be diverted, applies his whole care and abilities to support it in the best manner possible: He appoints Shaitan Ibrahim Pasba, a man of approved valour, Seraskier against the Germans, and Aineji (66) Soliman Pasba against Poland, and orders the high admiral to observe the motions of the Venetians. He himself continues at Constantinople under pretence of indisposition, and gives particular directions to the generals, that they should faithfully inform him of the progress of affairs, but acquaint the Sultan only with their good successes, and conceal the bad as carefully as they could.

CII. While these things are transacting at Constantinople, the imperial army under the command of the Duke of Lorraine in the month of Zemaziul achy of the year 1095, marched into Hungary, and about the end of that month be-

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cause to lay before the Vizir, applies to them; nay the very Reis Effendi, or High-Chancellor of the Empire, though a very good scribe, does not venture to write an Arzubal, but sends an account of his cause to one of the Arzubalebi* to have it drawn up. (70) Aineji Soliman] A Bosnian, born of Christian Parents, but educated in his youth in the Madometan Religion, and brought up in the court of the Kioprili's. He was successively Talbischi*, Kiebaia, Seraskier of Babalagy, and at last Prime Vizir. The N^o. 13.

name of Aineji or the Deceitful, was given him, upon account of the many artifices he used to deceive both friends and enemies, in the same manner as Ulysses was stiled by Homer, πολέτρωτος and πολυμήτις. He had an uncle, a Bosnian Archimandrite, a member of the Greek Church, who was in great esteem with John and Peter, Czars of Muscovy, because he had taken great pains to bring over many in Servia and Bulgaria to their party.

The Venetian ambassador escapes from Constantinople.

This renders the Turks extremely uneasy.

The new Vizir endeavours to lessen the resentments of the Venetians.

But in vain; for which reason the Turks prepare forces against all their enemies.

The Imperialists take Pitegrad and Passava, and repel the succours of the Turks. H. 1095. A. C. 1684.

sieged *Vitegrade*, which in a few days is taken; for the garrison despairing to preserve the city, had retired into the castle, where they defend themselves longer; but when the cannon begin to play, finding no succours appear, on the 4th of the month *Rafel*, they deliver up the castle on conditions to the Duke of *Lorraine*; as they are marching from thence to *Vacia*, they are met near that city by the Beglerbeg or *Buda* with his troops, who was sent before by the Seraskier *Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha*, to amuse the *Germans*, and retard, if possible, their further progress. As soon as he appeared, the imperial troops fall upon him with such fury, that he is obliged to retire with great loss, and leave the country open to their conquests. The enemy being routed, the imperialists besiege *Vacia*, and press the city with various engines and continual assaults. *Budan Pasha* marches to the assistance of the besieged, and being reinforced, twice attacks the imperial camp, is twice repulsed, and having lost fifteen thousand men, returns from whence he came. The governor of *Vacia* seeing those defeated from whom he expected relief, surrenders the city upon the same conditions, which had been granted to *Vitegrade*.

The Imperialists take *Pestum*, and besiege *Buda*, but without success.

III. These with the neighboring towns being subdued, the Duke of *Lorraine* marches with his army to *Buda*, and on the 1st of the month *Shaban* encamps under the very walls. The first attack is upon *Pestum*, a town opposite to *Buda* on the other side the *Danube*, which being taken in a few hours, the Capital of *Hungary* itself is closely besieged. Whilst the *Germans* are intent upon the siege, the Seraskier *Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha* advances with the whole *Ottoman* army, and endeavours to break through the lines, with which the imperialists had fortified their camp, and at the same time orders a body of *Janizaries* and *Spahis* to attack the enemy another way, and try whether they could penetrate through their camp, and throw supplies into the garrison. But being repulsed as often as they ventured to attack, he desists, and pitches his tents opposite to the enemy, commanding his men to annoy them with continual skirmishes and incursions, and especially to endeavour to throw in all the succours possible into the city. But all these efforts would not have relieved the city, since the *Germans* assaulted it with great bravery, and never suffered the enemy in their attacks to retire without loss, if the garrison had not, (whether through accident or treachery, is unknown,) discovered the mines; which were designed to demolish great part of their walls, just as the besiegers had determined to surround the city; and removed the gunpowder. For the generals of the imperial army, who had hoped to take the city before the Seraskier should be reinforced, perceiving, they must now begin their work again, call a council of the rest of the officers, and ask their opinion, whether it is proper to continue the siege or not. Almost all advise to raise it, because it seem'd too adventurous, at the same time to besiege the city, and contend with a superior army; and it appeared from the enemy's case at the siege of *Vienna*, how great loss the army may sustain by such counsels. Prudence thus moderating their ardor, and the *Turks* making no opposition, on the 23d of *Zylade*, after four months siege, the *Germans* being weakened, retire from the city with their baggage, having sent their larger cannon before; whereupon the *Turks*, who had been kept in suspense between hope and fear by that expedition, resume their courage, and enjoy a calm after the appearance of so great a storm.

The Imperialists gain two victories over the *Turks*.

CIV. In the mean-time Count *Lesley*, who was sent by the Duke of *Lorraine* with a party into *Sclavonia*, had besieged *Wirrowit*, a considerable fortress in that country, defeated the *Turkish* auxiliaries in two battles, and assaulted the walls with such fury, that the garrison was obliged to surrender the 23d of the month *Shaban*. About the same time *Tekeli* is routed by the Imperialists at *Eperies* in *Upper Hungary*, and his cabiner and baggage are taken by the conquerors.

The Seraskier settles the affairs in *Moldavia* and *Walachia*.

CV. While the Seraskier of *Hungary* is thus engaged with the *Germans* with doubtful fortune, and greater loss than advantage, *Ameji Soliman Pasha* with better

better success fights the *Poles* at *Babadagy* (67), where having assembled his army, he passes the *Danube* near *Sakeza*, and hearing the *Polish* troops did not yet appear, thinks it more proper to settle the affairs of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, than march any farther, since the present situation of things rendered it more necessary to defend than enlarge the borders of the Empire. These two provinces were at that time governed by the two *Cantacuzeni's*, *Moldavia* by *Demetrius*, and *Walachia* by *Serban* (68). The former being a weak man, and unskilled in warlike affairs, and not having sufficient authority to restrain his people in times of confusion, was thought unqualified for the administration of his principality; and the Seraskier was dissident of the latter, because he found he kept a correspondence by letters with the Emperor of *Germany*, and especially with the Czar of *Russia*.

CVI. He resolves therefore to divest them both of their authority; but being bribed by *Serban* with a large sum of money, conceals his treachery, and, imagining the danger from those parts was very remote, confirms him in his government. But he deprives *Demetrius* of his dignity, because the times required a Prince of greater experience; and, with the consent of all the Nobles, appoints *Constantine Cantemir* (73), Serdar (74) of the Province in his room. But left

He confirms *Serban* in the Principality of *Walachia*, and having deposed *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*, appoints *Constantine Cantemir* in his room.

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(67) *Babadagy*] It is the seat of the *Basha* of *Silistria*, who is appointed to defend the northern provinces of the Empire, and under whose jurisdiction are all the countries between *Mount Hamus*, the *Euxine* Sea, the *Danube*, and the *Tyras*. *Babadagy* signifies etymologically the *Father-Mountain*, because, opposite to the town, there is a mountain higher than the rest. There are found in the neighbourhood of this city, eagles called *Gisjigion* by the *Turks* and *Tartars*, which are larger than all other birds, and in so great plenty, that the bow-makers all over *Turkey* and *Tartary* are from thence furnished with feathers for their arrows, though there are not above twelve quills and those in their tails that are fit for that use, which are commonly sold for a *Leonine*. They are reckoned better for that purpose than all others, and a skilful archer does not care to use any other. If a man has several arrows in his quiver made with other feathers, and but one amongst them sledged with a quill of one of these eagles, that one remaining untouched, will eat all the rest to the wood. And it seems have been upon account of this strength, that the *Tartarian* name of *Gisjigion* was given to that kind of eagles.

(72) *Serban*,] a magnanimous Prince of the Imperial family of the *Cantacuzeni*, and full of Christian zeal. After his obtaining the Principality of *Walachia*, upon the translation of *Ducas* the *Rumelian* to *Moldavia*, he bent all his cares and endeavours to drive entirely out of *Europe* the *Turkish* tyranny, which was already brought very low by the *Germans*. To that end, he had not only sent to *Vienna* his own brother, *George Cantacuzenus*, as ambassador to *Leopold* Emperor of *Germany*; but also made a close alliance with *John* and *Peter*, Czars of *Muscovy*, by the *Bojnan Archimandrite*

uncle to the *Vizir Soliman Pasha*, and had obtained a promise from them, that after *Constantinople* was taken, he, as being descended from the Imperial family, should be declared Emperor of the *Greeks*. He had moreover made very great preparations, caused thirty-eight cannons to be cast, and hired an army of twenty-four thousand *Servians*, *Sclavonians*, and *Hirvatsi*, which he kept assembled in the woods and mountains. The *Turks* knew it perfectly well, but as they were sufficiently harassed by the *Gorman* armies, they dissembled their resentment, and durst not attack so powerful a man, till he had publicly declared against them. But that Christian zeal, which the fear of an enemy's power could not extinguish, became unservicable and destructive to its author. For *Constantine Stolicus*, the brother of *Serban*, and his sister's son, *Brancovan*, seeing they could not, by any persuasions, divert the Prince from his purpose, are thought, by an unheard of crime, to have poisoned him at a feast, that they might live peaceably, and without any disturbance in their own estates. He left one son, *Prince George*, who lives at present in *Transylvania*, under the protection of the Emperor of *Germany*; and four daughters, *Smaragda*, who died soon after her marriage; *Maria*, wife of *Matthew Balazon*, *Cassandra*, whom I married, and *Balassa*.

(73) *Constantine Cantemir*,] Surnamed the *Old*, Prince of *Moldavia* eight years. His father, *Theodorus Cantemir*, being killed by the *Bujak Tartars*, he retired in his youth into *Poland*, and served for seventeen years in the armies of *Uladislaus* and *Casimir*, Kings of *Poland*, where he gave no contemptible proofs of his courage, and was upon that account made a colonel by *Casimir*. After the conclusion of the war between *Sweden* and *Poland*, he went to *George*

he should be served in his battles with the *Poles*, as the Sultan was at *Chotin*, to secure *Cantemir's* fidelity, he sends his eldest son, *Antiochus*, and four of his principal Barons, as hostages to *Constantinople*.

The King of Poland takes *Quance*, and entering *Moldavia*, is put to flight by the *Turks*.

CVII. The Seraskier being detained by these affairs longer than he expected, *John III*, King of *Poland*, on the twelfth of the month *Ramazan*, assembles his forces at *Buchach*, and, before any such design was suspected, at the first assault, takes the castle of *Quance*, situated on the *Tyras*, opposite to *Chotin*, and about two hours distant from *Caminiec*. Then he attempts to build a bridge over the *Tyras*, to transport his troops, animated by this success, into *Moldavia*. But when the bridge was just finished, the Seraskier advances with his army, and not only prevents the intended irruption into *Moldavia*, but likewise passing the *Tyras*, surprizes the King, and shuts him up in his camp; orders the *Tartars* to set fire to the standing corn about them; and to cut off food from the cattle, while he with his forces daily harasses the *Poles*, and gives them no time to rest or draw up their army. The King, finding things desperate, escapes first out of the camp with a few attendants, and is soon after followed by the officers, who, having burnt their baggage, and thrown their warlike engines into a lake, lead home the remains of the army, not without great loss.

The success of the *Venetians* by sea and land.

CVIII. The *Venetians* had much better success against the enemies of the Cross in the *Adriatic* sea. They begin the war at *Morlacchi* in *Dalmatia*, subdue *Urania*, *Obrovazzo*, and *Scardona*, burn *Dernis*, and take the castle of *Duare* by stratagem. The *Venetian* fleet, commanded by *Maresini*, who surrendered *Candia* to the *Turks*, sails the twenty-sixth of the month *Jemaziul achr*, and arriving at *Leucas*, lays close siege to the city. *Bekiraga*, governor of the castle, after seventeen days defence, seeing no succours appear, delivers up the city to the *Venetians* the sixth of the month *Ramazan*, and passes over with his men into the Continent. The island being subdued, the *Venetians* send part

ANNOTATIONS.

George Gica, Prince of *Walachia*, and was by him promoted to the office of *Chausb* * *Spatarsk*. After *George's* first revolt to the *Germani*, being by good fortune parted from him, he retired to *Eustathius Dabiza*, Prince of *Moldavia*, who gave him his father's place, namely the government of *Kiziczenian Codri*, and shortly after appointed him *Vernic* of *Barlad*. The same places he enjoyed under Prince *Ducas*, who succeeded *Dabiza*, and having stifled the rebellion raised by the *Moldavians* against *Ducas*, he was, for his good services honoured with the dignity of *Great Kluczer*, or commissioner of the provisions, and appointed *Calauz*, or conductor of the *Moldavian* army, by Sultan *Mahomet IV*, in the expedition against *Caminiec*. After the deposition of *Ducas*, he possessed the same employment under *Petrozzenus*, and having freed the Sultan's concubines from the attempt made upon them by the *Poles*, he received great commendations for it from the chief eunuch, and obtained from the *Vizir* the promise of the principality. Upon the revolt of *Petrozzenus* to the *Poles* at *Chotin*, *Cantemir* was of great service to his successor, *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*, in securing the *Moldavians* to his interest, and was rewarded for it with the dignity of *Serdar*; which he also enjoyed under *Ducas*, after his restoration. But this Prince growing jealous

of him, and creating him a great deal of trouble and vexation, he retired into *Walachia* to *Serbanus Cantacuzenus*. When *Ducas* was taken by the *Poles*, *Cantemir* returned again into *Moldavia*, but though he had obtained a signal victory against the *Poles*, snares were laid privately and openly for him by the new Prince, *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*; nay the Seraskier also, *Soliman Pascha*, was bribed with thirty purses to take away his life for some feigned cause. Being informed of it by the Seraskier himself, he fled again into *Walachia*, and having demonstrated the falshood of *Demetrius's* accusations against him, he was appointed Prince of *Moldavia* by the Seraskier. He afterwards gave a fresh proof of his valour at the battle of *Boian*, and broke through the first ranks of the *Poles*, which brought him into great favour at the *Othman* court. Having enjoyed his Principality eight years wanting three months, he died *March 23*, 1693, and left two sons, *Antiochus* and *Demetrius*; and two daughters, *Roxana* and *Elizabetha*.

(74) *Serdar*,] the general, in *Moldavia*, of the forces appointed to defend, from the *Cosaks* and *Tartars*, the borders that lie between the rivers *Hierafus* and *Tyras*. He is next in degree to the *Hetman*, being almost the same as the *Hetman Polny* amongst the *Poles*.

of their forces, under the command of *Strafoldo*, into *Acarnania*, a province of *Epirus*, and oblige *Venizze* and *Seromero* to submit. As they are proceeding further, they are met by *Seffer Aga* with four thousand *Turks*, who endeavours to stop the progress of their arms; but he being defeated, the inhabitants of the country voluntarily submit to the conqueror, and promise to pay tribute. In the mean while, the rest of the army had passed into the *Morea*, and so fiercely assaulted *Perevesa*, that on the eighth day of the month *Ramazan*, *Mehemed Effendi*, who commanded the garrison, was obliged to deliver up the castle to the *Venetians*. Besides these successes, there came an account from *Tine*, an island in the *Archipelago*, that several *Turkish* galleys, sent to seize it, had been repulsed with great loss.

CIX. These misfortunes grieved not the *Othman* court so much, as the raising of the siege of *Buda*, and their success in *Poland*, gave them joy. For the power of the *Venetians* did not seem so great, but that it would be easy to recover their losses, when once the *German* and *Polish* armies were repulsed, and the borders of the Empire secured on that side. To this end, *Cara Ibrahim Pascha* appoints the generals, who had before been so successful, Seraskiers against the *Germani* and *Poles*; and sends only a small army, with a fleet, against the *Venetians*.

New expeditions of the *Turks* against the enemies.

CX. Mean time, the *Germani* had closely besieged *Vywar* during the whole winter, and so deprived it of provision, that the famine destroyed more of the garrison than the sword had done in a month's siege. The city, thus weakened, on the first day of *Shaban* in the year 1096, is assaulted in form, and the siege carried on with such vigour, that the garrison a few days after was obliged to abandon the outer works. Upon the report of this, the Seraskier *Sbeitan Ibrahim Pascha* hastens to the relief of the city, and finding it dangerous to attack an army so strongly intrenched, has recourse to his usual artifices, and besieges at once *Gran* and *Vicgrade*, hoping by this means to draw off the enemy's forces from *Vywar*. And the fortune of war seem'd indeed to favour him; for in a few days he not only recovered *Vicgrade*, but so distress'd *Gran*, nor yet sufficiently repaired since the last siege, that it seem'd in no less danger than *Vywar*.

The Imperialists besiege *Vywar*, and the *Turks* *Gran*. H. 1096. A. C. 1685.

CXI. But before the Seraskier could finish what he had begun, the Duke of *Lorraine* leaving sixteen thousand men to continue the siege of *Vywar*, marches with the rest of the army against him, and on the 2d of the month *Ramazan*, advances within sight of the *Turkish* camp. The Seraskier seeing the enemy's approach, and imagining he had gain'd his point, immediately abandons the siege of *Gran*, and draws up his army so advantageously, that the enemy could not surround, nor attack him in front or flank without great danger. The right wing was defended by the rapid waters of the *Danube*; the left by a ridge of mountains, which extended for several leagues. Behind his army was the road to *Buda*, which secured it from the want of provision; and the front was covered with wide and difficult morasses, which must be passed by those, who would attack the *Othman* army. The Seraskier thus situated continues four days without motion, either by delay to elude the attempts of the enemy, or to destroy them in their passage, if they should venture to attack him. But the Duke of *Lorraine* perceiving the Seraskier's design, and considering that his army could not without extreme danger to all Christendom, be exposed in such places, where they would have nature rather than men to contend with, counterfeits a flight, sounds a retreat, and in the night of the 14th day of the month *Ramazan* retires with his whole camp. The *Turks* imagining the *Germani* were flying in earnest, boldly follow them, and though often repulsed by the Imperialists, continue all night to attack them as they retreat. The Imperialists proceed farther, and leave a space for the enemy, both to pass the morasses, and open their front. At last, when they perceive more are passed over than can return without loss, they halt and so furiously attack the *Turks*, who follow them in confusion, that they, who before imagined they should utterly destroy the *Christian* forces, now retire to their camp with greater precipitation than they came. The Elector of *Bavaria*, who commanded one of the wings, in order to a more exact observation of

The Imperialists desert the *Turkish* army by stratagem.

the designs of the *Turks*, follows them with his troops in the path, they had made over the morasses; and the Duke of *Lorraine* takes the same course on the other side, though neither knew the other's intention. Upon this the *Turks* being seized with a panic, notwithstanding all the persuasions and threats of the *Seraskier*, before they engaged, take to flight in such confusion, that the *Janizaries* killed and unhorsed their own cavalry to fly with more speed, and a greater number of the *Othmans* were killed in the flight by their companions than by the enemy. The camp, baggage, treasure, provision, and a great quantity of warlike stores fell a prey to the conquerors.

The Imperialists take Vywar.

CXII. After the battle, the Imperialists return to the siege of *Vywar*, and on the 19th of the month *Ramazan*, assault on every side the breaches made by their cannon, and with the loss of a few men take the city. Several thousands of the garrison with the governor are slain, the rest made prisoners, or forced into the river; and the city affords a rich booty.

The Seraskier attempting peace meets with a repulse.

CXIII. The *Turks* are struck with such terror at the sudden taking of this fortress, that not only the garrisons of *Novigrade* and *Vicgrade* abandon those cities at the report of the *Germans* approach, but the *Seraskier* himself, though in other respects a man of invincible courage, and a veteran soldier, sent *Ahmed Chelebi*, one of his officers, twice to the Imperial general, to try whether any peace might be made with the Emperor. But as the present situation of affairs promised more and greater victories, and the *Seraskier* seemed to desire peace, in order to divert the danger which threatened him on account of his ill success at *Gran*, or to amuse the enemy, rather than with a sincere intention, the officer, after two denials, returned to the *Seraskier* without any thing done.

Various successes.

CXIV. While the duke of *Lorraine* was yet engaged in the siege of *Vywar*, Count *Lesly* with a small body of troops had laid waste all *Slavonia*, routed the Pasha of *Poshega*, and on the 12th of the month *Ramazan*, burnt great part of the bridge over the wide morasses of the *Drave*, and taken *Essac*; but not being able to subdue the castle, plundered the town, and abandoned it again. *Schulcius* had equal success in *Lower Hungary*; and on the 10th of the month *Ramazan* after a long siege obliged *Epiries*, a city of *Tekeli's* party, to surrender, and took *Tokai* with several other castles and towns, which were garrison'd by the rebels. *Merci* and *Heussler* joining their forces had subdued *Zolnok*, *Ibraini*, *Kalo*, little *Waradin*, *St Nicholas's* church, and *Saraisa*. *Tekeli's* party being every where routed, retire to *Cassovia*, and strongly fortifying that city, determine to wait there for the troops promised by the *Turks*; and to suffer the utmost extremities, rather than submit to the Emperor of *Germany*. *Caprara*, who commanded the troops of *Schult*, soon after, on the 3d of the month *Zylcade*, begins to assault the city, and having dug a trench round it, cannonades the walls.

Tekeli is taken by stratagem, and put in chains to be sent to Constantinople.

CXV. *Tekeli* seeing the danger of his troops, sends frequent messengers to the Pasha of *Waradin* for his assistance; which the Pasha promises, and desires *Tekeli* to come to him, and advise him, how the city might be best relieved. *Tekeli*, putting too great a confidence in him, comes to *Waradin* with seven thousand of his countrymen. Before he reached the city, he is met by the Pasha, who received him with great honour, and desires him to enter the city with his principal officers, and quarters his soldiers in the neighbourhood, where he provides for them. When *Tekeli* came into the town, he is invited to dinner by the Pasha, which being over, a *Turkish* officer, attended by several *Janizaries* enters the room, and shews the Sultan's mandate by which he was commanded to put *Tekeli* in chains, and send him to *Constantinople*. *Tekeli*, who was come as a guest, not being able, on account of the smallness of his retinue, to make any resistance, is instantly carried away, bound, and kept under a strong guard. His attendants, struck with the novelty and suddenness of the thing, stand motionless, and not knowing what may be their own fate, dare not ask the reason of it, or even open their mouths.

The command of the Hungarian rebels is given to Petrozzi.

CXVI. *Petrozzi*, the principal person among them, is sent for by the Pasha, after *Tekeli* was removed, and bid to lay aside his fears, and take upon him the

command of the *Hungarian* forces, till the Sultan's farther orders, and to shew a due fidelity to the *Turkish* empire, assuring himself, that he served a master, who cannot only punish the disobedient and treacherous but also amply reward the faithful.

CXVII. *Petrozzi* artfully conceals his resentment, and answers the Pasha, that tho' he knew not *Tekeli's* crime, and had believed him a faithful servant of the Sultan, yet he cannot doubt but the Sultan had a very important, though unknown reason, to treat him in that manner. However this affair would not shake the fidelity of himself or *Hungarians*, for though, ever since, they had committed themselves to the *Othman* protection, *Tekeli* had indeed been their commander, yet they have acknowledged no other sovereign in the world but the Emperor of the *Othmans*. These assurances he gave the Pasha of his fidelity; but, at his return to the camp with the rest of *Tekeli's* attendants, he persuaded the *Hungarians* to a very different conduct. He represented to the officers what had happened at *Waradin*, and how treacherously *Tekeli* was drawn into the snare. He adds, "It is in vain to expect the restoration of liberty to *Hungary* from men, who know not what liberty is, and have no other rule of their actions, but the arbitrary will of their governors. For this reason, God opposes their designs, and punishes, not only them, but their allies. For several years past, the whole army of the Emperor of *Germany*, though diverted by no other wars, had in vain used their utmost efforts in *Hungary*; but now, even a small body of *Germans*, while the rest are engaged with the *Turks* beyond the *Danube*, have, within two years, subdued almost all the kingdom except *Cassovia*. They should therefore consider what would be most for the interest of themselves and the kingdom, whether to continue in exile, and not only see the devastation of their country, but be perpetually in fear of prisons and chains; or implore the mercy of the Emperor of *Germany*, and embrace the amnesty offered them."

He persuades the Hungarians to solicit the Emperor of Germany's favour.

CXVIII. This advice being approved by them all, *Petrozzi* with the whole army, goes to *Caprara*, still engaged in the siege of *Cassovia*, and promising fidelity to the Emperor of *Germany* in his own and his countrymen's name, joins his forces to the Emperor's, and orders them to make incursions upon the enemy's country. The inhabitants of *Cassovia*, hearing this, the obstinacy of the garrison is so much abated, that they immediately send deputies to the Imperial camp, beg pardon for their crime, and promise future obedience to the Emperor. Their offers being accepted, the deputies return to the city, and represent to the inhabitants the Emperor's clemency. The garrison being informed of this on the 26th of the month *Zylcade*, open the gates of the city, take an oath of fidelity, and are placed among the other Imperial troops, and after all their labours, enjoy some repose.

Petrozzi goes to Caprara, and offers to surrender Cassovia to him.

CXIX. But the *Poles* meet with a very different fate in *Moldavia*. For the king, taught by the ill success of the last expedition, that nothing could be done for the advantage of *Poland* in those countries, unless he could engage the inhabitants in his interests; during the whole winter, he tries by various arts to gain *Constantine Cantemir*, Prince of *Moldavia*, and solicits him by frequent letters and messengers to revolt from the *Turks*. *Cantemir* answers the King, "he is not only obliged by the religion he professes; but even prompted by the strongest inclination, to venture his all in subduing the enemy of the cross, if he could but see, that by his revolt the least advantage would accrue to Christendom. But since the present situation of affairs is such, that probably his revolt will be rather prejudicial than serviceable to him, whose part he should take, he is forced to defer the execution of his intentions to a more favorable opportunity. For since, not only his own eldest son, but likewise the sons of the principal nobles are kept as hostages at *Constantinople*, he thinks, though himself should consent, the states of the province cannot be persuaded, to suffer the loss, not only of their estates, but, what is generally more grievous, of their children, to abandon their country, and to live in exile in a foreign land."

The King of the Poles unsuccessfully endeavours to draw over the Prince of Moldavia to his interests.

Cantemir gives excellent advice to the Poles.

CXX. *Sobieski* finding the Prince inflexible to his persuasions, the beginning of the summer, sends his forces under the command of *Potocky* and *Tablonowski* towards *Moldavia*. *Cantemir*, informed of this, again advises the generals by letter, "not to enter *Moldavia*, but to take *Cameniec*, before they attempted to pass the *Tyras*, since it would be of no advantage to them, if they were to lay waste *Moldavia* for ten years together, unless they first drew that thorn out of their side. If they should happen to be defeated by the *Turks*, they would entirely be cut off from any retreat, as they had sufficiently experienced the last year. And if they obtained any victories, they would not gain one foot of land more, while the *Turks* continued possessed of that castle. By this irruption into *Moldavia*, they would only expose the wretched inhabitants to captivity and torments from the *Tartars* and *Turks*. He himself, if they should pass the *Tyras*, could not oppose them, and was now obliged by threats of the severest punishment to repair immediately to the *Turkish* camp, and to defend his principality from the enemy to the utmost of his power."

It is highlyly rejected by the Polish generals.

CXXI. The generals despising the Prince's wholesome advice, answer, "they are commanded by their King to endeavour to subdue *Moldavia*, and therefore cannot change the course prescribed them. The siege of *Cameniec* is difficult and needless, because the garrison, after the country about them is reduced, cannot defend the walls without bread, upon the want of which they will abandon the town of their own accord. They fear no defeat from the *Turks*, for having so great and disciplin'd an army under their banners, they suppose themselves safe against the forces of the whole *Turkish* Empire. They therefore advise him again to lead his troops to the King's camp, and with united strength endeavour to drive the enemy of *Christ* and *Christians* out of his country. If he refused, they are commanded to turn their arms as against the *Turks*, so against him, as being their confederate, and to destroy the country with fire and sword."

The Poles pass over the river Tyras into Moldavia.

CXXII. Without waiting further answer, they run a bridge over the *Tyras*, and with their whole army pass into *Moldavia*. But they had not marched far, when they are met at a village called *Boyan* by *Aineji Soliman Pasha* with twenty five thousand *Turks*, and *Selim Gierai Chan* with fifty thousand *Tartars*, who were followed by the Prince of *Moldavia* with five thousand men. When both the armies come near each other, they stop, and fortify their camps.

Cantemir persuades the Seraskier to avoid a battle.

CXXIII. The *Seraskier* and *Chan* with the rest of the officers, seeing the *Poles* approach, immediately consult whether they shall attack the enemies, or wait till they either fall upon the *Othman* camp, or retreat. As they differ in their opinion, the Prince of *Moldavia*, desirous of turning every thing as far as possible to the advantage of the *Poles*, persuades the *Seraskier* to remain in his post, fortify his camp, and prevent the enemy from making any farther progress. For a battle is not rashly to be hazarded, when the enemy may be driven from the borders without danger; neither is it safe at present to engage with the *Poles*. Their army is numerous, and full of hopes of victory; whilst he himself has but twenty five thousand men, who can actually fight the enemy, since the *Tartars* will scarce stand the first fire. If any misfortune happened, all *Moldavia*, and perhaps *Bujak*, with the provinces about the *Danube*, will become a prey to the *Poles*, since the rest of the *Othman* forces employed in *Hungary*, cannot be recalled without the utmost danger to the Empire. These misfortunes may not only be avoided, but also the enemies subdued without the loss of a single man, if he would surround his camp with strong works, and weaken them by continual skirmishes. The *Seraskier* approves this advice, and strongly fortifies his camp, commanding the *Tartars* and other light-armed soldiers to move round about the *Polish* army, and prevent their foraging, and every where burn the herbage.

The Poles make their first attack upon the Moldavians.

CXXIV. *Cantemir* by a trusty person truly informs the *Poles* of all that passed in the council, and what was resolved. He tells them likewise his troops were seated on the western bank of the *Tyras*; that they might fear nothing from that quarter, but carefully guard the other parts of their army. The *Polish* generals

upon

upon this information, resolve first to rout the *Moldavians*, imagining they should afterwards meet with less opposition from the *Turks*. To this end, they immediately attack the *Moldavian* camp, which lay one hour's distance from the *Turks*. The Prince seeing them marching full speed towards him, wonders, and thinking them mistaken, imagines they intended to attack some other part of the army. He draws up therefore fifteen hundred of his men, not to engage the *Poles*, but by their ensigns, in which crosses and other marks of Christianity were embroidered, to show themselves to be brethren, and not enemies. When the *Poles* see the *Moldavians* standing in a peaceable posture without preparing for defence, regardless of their admonitions, they fall upon them as if they had been *Turks* and capital enemies.

CXXV. The Prince perceiving the treachery of the *Poles*, commands all his troops to take arms, and with force to repel force, though offered by *Christians*. Immediately the *Moldavians* are armed, and not only bravely oppose the first body of *Poles*, consisting of six thousand men, but also with such resolution attack the enemies, who retire after their first ardor is spent, that they at last put them to flight. The noise of arms and muskets soon alarms the *Turks*, who perceiving the *Moldavians* engaged, send several regiments to their assistance. The rest of the army unexpectedly attack the *Poles* in the rear with such fury, that within an hour six thousand of the *Poles* are killed, and five thousand *Cusfak* inclosed and obliged to surrender. The remaining troops of the *Poles*, seeing the victory incline to the enemy, endeavour to retreat to their camp, and secure themselves in their trenches. But before they can execute their design, the *Tartars* intercept their passage, upon which they take to flight, and leave their camp, and baggage, with all their warlike provisions, a prey to the conquerors.

CXXVI. This was the only good success, which happened that summer to the *Othman* Empire; from all other parts, where the war was carried on, there came nothing but melancholy accounts of the defeat of the *Turkish* forces, and the loss of cities and even whole provinces. *Seromero*, which the last year had submitted to the *Venetians*, is attacked early in the spring by the *Turks*, who as soon as they hear of the approach of the *Venetian* fleet, retire without success. Afterwards *Coron*, on the 23d of the month *Rejeb*, (the 15th of *June*) is closely besieged by the *Venetians*. The *Seraskier* of *Morea*, *Halil Pasha*, with the forces he had ready, instantly marches to the relief of the city, and suddenly takes one of the works, built by the *Venetians* on a hill for their defence, and from thence annoys the camp of the besiegers with his cannon. But the *Maltese*, who were appointed to guard that part, before the *Seraskier* could secure what he had gained, assault his camp with great bravery, and at last after a long and bloody conflict, being re-inforced by the other troops of the *Venetians*, force him from his post, and thereby free the besiegers from great danger. A few days after the *Seraskier* advances again with more troops; but finding the *Venetians* strongly fortified, and prepared to repel the assaults of the enemy, after some skirmishes retires. The *Venetians* perceiving there was no danger from the *Turkish* army, prosecute the siege with greater ardor, and having demolished the walls on the 10th of the month *Ramazan*, surround *Coron*, and after an obstinate defence of the garrison enter it by storm. The *Turks* seeing no possibility of saving the city, display the white banner, and promise to surrender, but as this was too late, after all the fortifications of the castle were taken, they find no mercy, but are all put to the sword.

CXXVII. This castle being subdued, the *Mainotta* (75) likewise take up arms against the *Turks*, and besiege *Zarnata*, the garrison of which hearing, the *Ve-*

ANNOTATIONS.

(75) *Mainotta*] The Descendants of the ancient *Lacedaemonians*, who are at this day the bravest People among all the *Greeks*. Though they are not reckoned to have above twelve thousand soldiers, they never were subdued, nor made tributary by the *Turks*; neither could the *Venetians* ever

give them law at pleasure. Their modern name is derived from *pavia Madefi*, because they rush in battle upon the enemies, as if they were mad. The country they inhabit, is on all sides surrounded with mountains, which are the chief defence of their province.

They are shamefully defeated by the *Turks*.

The *Venetians* take *Coron* in the *Morea*.

The particular success of the *Venetians* against the *Turks*.

netians were sending assistance to the besiegers, before the arrival of those supplies, deliver up the city. Shortly after the Venetians, under the command of Degenfeld, near Calamita rout the Turks with great slaughter. Whereupon the terrified Othmans abandon Calamita, Passava, and Chielasa, which towns are immediately seized and dismantled by the Venetians. The Venetian army crowned with so many conquests, in their return take from the Turks, Gommenizum, a town of Achaia opposite to Coreyra.

The various success of the war.

CXXVIII. Mean time Valier had closely besieged Zing in Dalmatia; but the Bassas of Bosnia and Ercegovina marching to its relief, he finds himself too weak, and after the loss of a great number of his men, retires from the city. The Turks flush'd with this success, immediately attack Duare, but a few days after are repulsed with greater loss by Valier, who had raised fresh forces.

The Vizir is more solicitous about himself, than the Othman interest.

CXXIX. When the account of these things was brought to Constantinople, it can hardly be told how it disturbed the minds and counsels of the Othman court, and especially the Prime Vizir Cara Ibrahim Pasha. He not only feared the common danger, for the principal forts of Hungary being subdued, and the Othman army defeated, there appeared very little to hinder the Germans from reducing the whole kingdom with the capital; but he also dreaded the fate, which threaten'd him, and which in publick calamities he well knew to be seldom very favorable to the Vizirs. He had retained, and even confirmed his authority by relieving of Buda, and the Sultan was not the least uneasy, that on account of a real or pretended indisposition he continued at home, while the Empire suffered no prejudice in other parts. But he saw that all these subterfuges would be unavailable, and he would be obliged to take upon him the command of the army, perhaps also on account of the ill success of this year be divested of his dignity. There remained but one method used by other Vizirs before him (76), which was to destroy all who were eminent in the Empire for their

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(76) before him] Some of the most eminent Vizirs have used this artifice, to put to death such persons as were most celebrated for their courage and virtues, namely, that after they were removed, there might be no person fit to supply their place. The most skilful in this way, was Kioprii Mehemed Pasha, who being raised from a mean fortune to the office of Vizir, did, within the seven years he possessed that dignity, put to death, under various pretences, almost all the old Pashas, that had been brought up under Sultan Murad IV. The chief of them were, Seidoglu the Defender of Hungary against the Germans; and Deli Husein Pasha governor of Dalmatia; two of the most excellent and invincible heroes that ever were in the Othman empire. After Mehemed Pasha had obtained of the Sultan a *Chastiserif* for putting the latter to death, he is reported to have sent for him, and to say with tears in his eyes: "See, my dear brother, what the Sultan has ordered me to do: I have indeed spared no pains to incline the Sultan to mercy, but have found him so incensed against you, that he would not hearken to my prayers and entreaties; wherefore, I think, this death is appointed for you by divine providence, which it becomes a Musulman rather humbly to adore than resist." But Husein Pasha is

said to make this reply, *Bire bei jazu tim sab gibi ademi bogarsin, anden songra aglar sin: O thou old Wizard, like a crocodile, thou first killest a man, and then weepest over his body: Then pulling a golden box out of his bosom, in which he kept twenty four pieces of bones that had been taken out of his wounds by the Surgeons, he flung them in his face, with these words: Ben bu Vezirate ve Sultaneli deuleti senum gibi fiberhaz lykile jadi lykile nail olmadum illa ain deulete sadacat ile ve canimun doktul meyle peida eiledum, bundan sangra senum gibi bir giauur bashimi dachba cast idup aia clarimi ananun amine sok. i. e. I was raised to the office of Vizir, and the happiness of dominion, not, like thee, by magick arts, but for my fidelity, and effusion of my blood. Cut therefore my head off, if thou wilt, like an infidel, but lay my feet in thy mother's pudenda.* Husein Pasha was formerly *Selabdar* to Murad IV, and so highly in favour with him, that he would neither do nor resolve any thing without asking his advice. Among his other conspicuous virtues, he was famous for his invincible resolution both in prosperity and adversity, his ready wit, eloquence, and quick repartees. Many excellent actions and sayings of his are recorded, of which I shall mention but a few, that these annotations may not be too prolix. Once, he was ordered in jest by Sultan Murad, to marry out of the

their warlike abilities, that in case the Sultan should resolve to deprive him of the imperial seal, there might be none, to whom it could with greater justice be committed.

CXXX. Necessity urging what cruelty suggested, he begins with *Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha*, who had been Seraskier against the Germans, and accusing him of negligence in the battle of Gran, and of keeping back the pay due to the soldiers, and converting it to his own use, puts him to death. The same fate befall others, who could justly or unjustly be charged with any crime. The only person, who seemed above the danger of an accusation, was *Aineji Soliman Pasha*, Seraskier against Poland, who had gained so great an authority in the Othman Empire by his victory in Moldavia, that it was not only dangerous to touch him, but he was likewise declared univerfally worthy of the Vizirship. The present Vizir therefore perceiving, he could not hurt him openly, resolves to destroy him by clandestine methods, and expose him to the German forces, by whose valour he hoped he would lose the glory obtained in the Polish war. Wherefore upon the death of *Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha*, a consultation being held concerning the war in Hungary, he persuades the Sultan to appoint *Aineji Soliman Pasha* general of the army against the Germans, representing, he was beloved by the soldiers, and had great authority with them on account of the last victory, and there could scarce a man be found in the Othman Empire equal, much less superior to him in prudence and valour.

The Vizir en deavours to establish himself in his post by the destruction of the other Pashas.

CXXXI. The Sultan being persuaded by the Vizir's representation, approves his advice, and orders that *Soliman Pasha* should immediately be recalled out of Moldavia, and the command of the army at present be committed to *Buickly Mustapha Pasha* (77). Mean time, *Tusuf Kizlar aga* (78), coming to know what

The Vizir preparing a snare for the Seraskier, falls into it himself.

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the palace an old woman of seventy years, with a strict injunction not to keep any concubine. He obeys the order, marries the old woman, and lives as well as he could some days without concubines. At the end of one or two weeks, changing his habit, he walks with the Sultan into the suburbs *Eynub ensari*, where the ice and snow are kept for the summer-season; and both going into the cellar, they begin to drink wine very plentifully. As they are drinking, the Sultan asks him, Whether there could possibly be a cooler place any where in July than that ice-cellar? *Husein Pasha* answers there could. Where, says the Sultan? The other replies, in that old woman's—I lately married by your order. Whereupon, the Sultan, laughing heartily, declares him free from that marriage. Another time, the Sultan being angry with him, upon some occasion, ordered him to be sent to the prison of the Seven Towers, and forgot him for three months: during which, he never shaved his head, which is contrary to the custom of the courtiers, because they must never appear before the Sultan, without having their heads and beards shaved. In the fourth month *Murad* remembering him, orders him to be brought to court. When he comes with his long hair and beard, What Devil, says the Sultan, has turned thee into a priest, that thou appearest before me with such a grisly head? To which he replied, I should desire to be called the most foolish of mor-

tals, if I had shaved or taken care of a head, of which I was uncertain whether it was mine, or another's? The Sultan answers, Perhaps the noysomness of the prison has so turned thy brains, that thou fanciest another man's head is upon thy shoulders. Not at all, says he, but finding you, who formerly were my friend and benefactor, so angry with me, I meditated on nothing but Paradise, and forgot I had a head. But if you will be pleased to forgive my offence, and restore me to favour, I shall be sure the head which stands upon my shoulders is my own, and will shave and take care of it, according to custom.

(77) *Buickly Mustapha*] That is, having long whiskers, *Mustapha Pasha* was so called, because his were long. He had been *Silabdar* to Sultan *Mahomet IV*, and from that office was advanced first to be *Capudan Pasha*, then Seraskier of *Silistria*, and at last, for his victory over the Poles, was raised to the dignity of Vizir; but in that Station did nothing answerable to the expectations conceived of him. He was dismissed by Sultan *Ahmed II* for a trifling cause, but without loss of honour, and sent to the government of *Damascus*, from whence he was recalled by Sultan *Mustapha II*, and made *Caimacan*, which office he enjoyed at the battle of *Zenta*. After that defeat, *Mustapha* offered him again the dignity of Vizir, but he refused to take upon him so hazardous an office, and

what the Vizir had proposed to the Sultan, instantly suspects, as he was a man of great policy and well-skilled in court-artifices, that some secret snares lay concealed under this plausible appearance, because he knew the Vizir to be mortal enemy of *Soliman*. He therefore informs *Soliman Pasha* by one of his friends, advising him to beware of the Vizir. *Soliman Pasha* having received the Sultan's mandate, immediately comes to *Constantinople*, and before he goes to the Sultan waits on the Vizir, as if he desired to receive his commands, and pretends so great a regard and veneration for him, that the Vizir imagining he had caught the fox, as a friend, acquaints him, that the Sultan for his known prudence and courage, had ordered him to be sent for to declare his opinion concerning the re-establishment of the Empire, and the election of a Seraskier of *Hungary*. When he comes afterwards to the palace, the Sultan highly commending him for his victory over the *Poles*, and his brave defence of the Empire on that side, offers him the post of Seraskier of *Hungary*, adding, he hopes, the remembrance of the victory obtained against the *Poles* will inspire the *Othman* soldiers with courage, and cause them to fight with greater gallantry and success under the conduct of a victorious Seraskier, than of any other commander. *Soliman Pasha* answers, he owes his life and fortune to the Sultan, and ought not to oppose his commands whatever they are: but he cannot help observing, that the disordered state of the publick affairs, and the terror still imprinted on the army by the *Vienna*-defeat, required the presence, if not of the Sultan himself, at least of the Prime Vizir, in the camp, nor is the authority of a Seraskier sufficient to oblige men to their duty, who seemed more inclined to fly or mutiny, than to fight. The Sultan moved with this speech, stands musing some time, which being observed by the *Kyzlar Aga*, who had long been the Vizir's enemy, and *Soliman's* friend, "Why (says he) O Emperor, do you hesitate? If you think the Seraskier's counsel just and prudent, what hinders you from immediately applying the remedy to this evil? Divest of his dignity *Cara Ibrahim Pasha*, under whose pretended or real indisposition the Empire languishes, and appoint this hero both Seraskier and Vizir." The suspicion which the Sultan had before entertained of the Vizir, is increased by these remonstrances of the *Kyzlar Aga*, and soon grew so great, that he firmly believes *Cara Ibrahim Pasha* had pretended sickness out of fear; and removing him from his post, gives it to *Soliman Pasha*.

Soliman being made Vizir banishes his predecessor, and restores *Tekeli*, who was acquitted of all crimes, to his former honours.

CXXXII. When *Soliman* finds he had not only escaped the snares of his enemy, but obtained the administration of the whole *Othman* empire, he immediately seized his predecessor, and finding him accused of many crimes, banishes him to *Rhodes*. Then he releases *Tekeli*, imprisoned by *Cara Ibrahim Pasha*, as I before observed, and by the evidence of *Ibrahim Aga*, chamberlain of *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, acquits him of the crime charged upon him. On the other hand, he exposes to the publick, all the villainies of *Cara Mustapha*, and his pernicious designs against the *Othman* empire; so that *Tekeli* is not only restored to his former honours, but all his furniture, which had been taken from him, and whatever had been plundered by the rapacious soldiers, are returned to him.

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and desired the Sultan not to place him a second time in that danger, from which he reckoned it one of the greatest felicities of his life, to have escaped.

(78) *Yusif Kiser Aga* At the taking of *Cambrice*, he was *Ushardar bashi*, or chief treasurer of the women's Seraglio, and that same year was advanced to the dignity of *Kyzlar aga*. He was in such esteem with Sultan *Mahomet*, that the Sultan would do nothing without his privity, and the Vizirs feared him more than he did the Vizirs; Ac-

cordingly, he was the chief and only cause of the deposition of *Cara Ibrahim Pasha*. No *Kyzlar aga*, either before or after him, amassed so great treasure, or had such influence over the Sultan. When he was turned out, there were found in his stables seven hundred *Arabian* bred horses. He had an outer court in the city, and whenever he went there, was surrounded with more officers than the Vizir himself. After all, he was a man of great prudence, and very serviceable to his master in many respects.

Affairs

Affairs being thus settled, the Vizir with great diligence raises an army, engaging a great number in the service by his persuasions and influence upon the soldiers; and compelling others who preferred ease to glory, by his *Cbauses**; and orders all his silver and gold vessels to be turned into money for the expence of the war.

CXXXIII. But before he could bring his forces into the field, the country being still covered with snow, part of the Imperial troops, under the command of *Caraffa*, on the 18th of the month *Rebiul ewvel* of the year 1097, had taken *St. Nicholas*; and another party, under *Merci*, had routed several *Turkish* regiments, which were conveying provision to *Aradum*, taken that town, and burnt the stores laid up there by the *Turks*. After several other conflicts, at last, on the 26th of the month *Rejeb* †, the whole Imperial army besiege *Buda*, which had in vain been attempted two years before, and on the 2d of the month *Shaban*, make themselves masters of the lower town, with less opposition from the garrison than was expected. This obstacle being surmounted, the walls of the city are assaulted, and the strongest of the forts being demolished by the cannon, on the 21st of the same month †, the breach is fiercely attacked with such success, that the besieged are obliged entirely to abandon it. But the workmen, who were to cover the conquerors with a rampart, not coming immediately, not only many of them are killed by the continual fire of the enemy, but the *Turks* have an opportunity of springing the mines before prepared, which force the Imperialists to retire with great loss.

CXXXIV. However, this misfortune did not discourage the *Christians*, but rather excited them to a revenge. Whereupon the fourth of the month *Ramazan* †, having demolished several paces of the wall, they renew the assault in the same place. The contest is long doubtful, and so fierce, that above three thousand Imperialists are either killed or wounded, before they could mount the breach, and it was with great difficulty, that after a conflict of several hours, they forced the besieged to abandon the first wall. This progress being made, the batteries are directed against the second wall.

CXXXV. When the greatest part of this wall is also demolished, the Vizir *Aineji Soliman Pasha* arrives with his troops, and finding it in vain to attack the Imperial camp, resolves, if possible, to strengthen the garrison, and amuse the enemy by delays, till he had an opportunity to assault them unexpectedly, when fatigued with the length of the siege. For this purpose, the 22d of the month *Ramazan* †, he sends four *Bashas* with eight thousand horse, and two thousand *Janizaries* towards the enemy's camp, with orders to try, whether they could pass between the stations of the Imperialists and *Bavarians*, and throw in part of the *Janizaries* at least to the relief of the besieged. But the Duke of *Lorraine* suspecting the intentions of the *Turks*, sends a body of horse against them, before they reached the camp, which attack the enemy's horse with such vigour, that after a short opposition, they fly, and leave the *Janizaries* to the mercy of the Imperialists.

CXXXVI. On the last day of the month *Ramazan* †, the Vizir makes another attempt, and sends again two thousand *Janizaries* with several troops of horse, to execute his former design. These advance with greater caution, and surprize the advanced guards of the Imperialists, and then fall upon the *Brandenburg* camp with such fury, that like wild beasts, not like men, they rushed through fire and sword, and at once passed the rampart raised against them. The *Brandenburg* troops being in this dangerous state, are seasonably relieved by *Caprara* and *Heusler*, who inclose the *Turks*, just ready to enter the city, and make such a slaughter of them, that scarce three hundred, and those almost all wounded, escape into the city.

CXXXVII. Two days after*, the Imperialists, to show the besieged, how little they dreaded the Vizir, assault the strongest part of the castle, and after a sharp conflict, having driven out or killed those who defended it, become masters of it. When they seemed by this means to be very near taking the city, the Vizir, on the 19th of the month *Shawal* †, for the third time obliges a thousand *Janizaries*, notwithstanding their reluctance, to attempt the relief of the city

Nº. 15.

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with

The Imperialists besiege *Buda*, and at first suffer a considerable loss.

H. 1097.

A. C. 1686.

† 7th of *June*.

† July 2d.

They bravely assault the city.

† July 15th.

The Vizir marching thither, attempts in vain to relieve the city.

† August 3d.

He again tries the fortune of a battle, but with the like success.

† August 9th.

The *Turks* endeavouring to relieve the city, are repulsed.

* August 11th.

† August 18th.

with a thousand *Spahis*, and fifteen hundred *Tartars*. But though they behave with the same bravery as the former, and even penetrated the trenches of the Imperialists, they are repulsed by the valour of the *Christians*, and forced to retire with great loss. The same fate is undergone by the garrison, who, to divide the enemy, and favour the entrance of their friends, had made a sally with their whole strength, but soon after seeing the misfortune of the rest, retire into the city with great speed and ill success. By these losses the *Turkish* army is entirely disheartened, and a report being spread, that when the Imperialists had taken the city, they would attack them in their camp, the best part of the soldiers, notwithstanding the Vizir's intreaties and persuasions, disperse themselves, and return home. The Imperialists being freed from the danger, which threatened them in their rear, on the 13th of the month *Sheval*†, make the last assault upon the city.

† August 22.

Buda taken by the Imperialists and the Vizir unwillingly retires.

CXXXVIII. *Abdi Pascha*, governor of the city, a man very famous at that time for his warlike abilities, with the remains of the garrison, makes his last effort in defence of the city, and with fire and sword for several hours bravely repels the *German* army. But he being killed by the Imperialists, the rest of the garrison begin to lose their courage, and resist the enemy with less vigour. At last, finding themselves unequal to the *Germans*, they display the white flag, and in the midst of the fight, promise to surrender the city, and desire quarter. But before the ardor of the *Germans* can be restrained, a great number of the besieged are killed upon the very walls, so that scarce two thousand are saved by the clemency of the Emperor's generals. *Buda* being subdued, the Vizir, who, during the assault, had with tears lamented his own and the Empire's fortune, with the rest of his army, flies, rather than retreats; and moreover the garrisons of *Hatman*, and the other adjacent castles, abandon their stations, and of their own accord, submit to the Emperor.

The Imperialists divided under the command of *Caraffa* and *Heussler* the Prince of *Baden*.

† September 15.

CXXXIX. The *Turks* upon this account seeming to avoid a battle, the Duke of *Lorraine* divides the imperial forces, and sends part under the command of the Prince of *Baden* into *Lower Hungary*, and part under the conduct of *Caraffa* and *Heussler* into *Upper Hungary*. The Prince of *Baden* with his forces, on the 8th of the month *Zylcade*, besieges *Simonthorn*, and in a few days obliges the *Turkish* garrison to surrender themselves and castle to his mercy. Then he attacks *Kapofwiwar*, and takes the city, which, because the castle seemed capable of sustaining a longer siege than the time would admit, he plunders and abandons. Having staid there some days, and receiving fresh supplies brought him by *Scherfenberg*, he marches towards *Five Churches*, and on the 28th of the month *Zylcade*†, with his foremost troops comes within sight of the city.

† October 5.

Whereupon the garrison, imagining the whole army to be advanced, set fire to the town, and retire into the castle. The Prince of *Baden*, as his foot was still at a distance, orders three hundred chosen horse to dismount, and extinguish the fire, which was done with such expedition by the soldiers greedy of plunder, that they rescued the greatest part of the city from the flames. The garrison perceiving that only a light-armed party was advanced, and not the body of the *Germans*, out of shame and regret for their loss, endeavour by a sally to recover the city, but were forced to retire with loss. However to remove the disgrace incurred by their flight, they resolve to make a brave defence, and sacrifice their lives rather than surrender the castle, and this they declare to the enemy by displaying one black and six red banners upon a turret of the castle. But after their strongest works were demolished by the cannon, the prospect of immediate death inspires them with gentler resolutions, so they not only take down their banners, but send deputies to the Prince of *Baden*, offering to deliver up the castle upon condition of having leave to depart with their lives and arms. But this being refused by the *Germans*, they are obliged to surrender at mercy, and redeem their lives with their liberty. So, the gates of the castle being opened on the 3d of the month *Zylhije*†, the *Pasha* himself with seven Peps, and the whole garrison are made prisoners, and sent to *Stiria*. The Prince of *Baden* having taken this city, sends part of his army under the command of *Scherfenberg* against *Sielos*, and with the rest marches towards *Darda*. *Scherfenberg* on

† October 10.

the

the 7th of the month *Zylhije*† comes to *Sielos*, and taking the city in the first assault, offers honorable conditions to the *Turks* for the surrender of the castle, into which they had retired. But on their refusal, he batters the walls, and in various assaults presses them with such vigour, that on the 12th of that month they display the white flag, and there being no other way to escape death, surrender themselves prisoners.

† October 14.

CXL. From thence *Scherfenberg* is recalled to *Darda* by the Prince of *Baden*, who hearing some *Turkish* troops were still about the *Drave*, had determined to attack and defeat them. But the *Turks*, upon the bare report of his approach, fly with such precipitation, that they not only leave *Essék* open to the *Germans*, but burn down great part of the bridge to prevent the enemy's pursuing them. The Prince of *Baden* finding they had escaped him, orders the remainder of the bridge, and the other bridges built by the *Turks* over the *Drave*, to be burnt. In his return he assaults with greater force *Kapofwiwar*, which had before been attempted in vain, and so presses the governor, terrified by the fate of the neighboring garrisons, that before the castle was reduced to extremities, on the 2d of *Zylhije*† it was surrendered to the *Germans* upon honorable terms.

The *Turks* fly at the report of the *German* approach. The Prince of *Baden* prosecutes his victory.

† October 20.

CXLI. Mean time the other part of the imperial army commanded by *Caraffa* and *Heussler*, had marched to *Segedin*, and closely besieged that city. While *Caraffa* is intent on the siege, he receives an account, that two thousand *Turks*, with a strong band of *Tartars*, had encamped near *Schinta*, a town six hours distant from *Segedin*, and were designed to reinforce the garrison of that city. Against these he sends *Veteran* with several regiments, who attacks and routs the *Tartars*, and takes their camp with above five thousand horses. Soon after the *Tartars* return to the battle, imagining the enemy was employed in plundering the camp, and consequently would afford them an easy victory; but being repulsed by the outmost guards, immediately retire.

Caraffa hinders the *Tartars* from relieving *Segedin*.

CXLII. After their defeat, the Vizir himself suddenly appears with his army, having joined to his forces the *Tartars*, he had intercepted in their flight. *Veteran*, though he has no certain information of the enemy's strength, thinks proper to continue in his station, lest he should by a retreat discourage his soldiers, and drawing them up, undauntedly expects the enemies. The *Turks* make the first attack, and fight with such fury, that for two hours it appeared doubtful to which side the victory would incline. But at last they are repulsed by the valour of the *Germans*, and retire to a hill, where they are covered by their cannon. *Veteran* immediately follows, and surmounting all obstacles, drives them also from that post, after they had lost in both battles above two thousand *Janizaries*, and as many *Tartars*. *Segedin* was the reward of this victory, for the garrison exhausted by continual fatigues, when they see the victorious army return to their camp, with so many heads of their friends, deliver up that fortress to the *Germans* on the 5th of the month *Zylhije*†.

Veteran defeats the Vizir himself. *Segedin* surrenders to him.

† October 22.

CXLIII. This was the state of affairs in *Hungary*. But in *Poland* most part of the year is spent in negotiations. For the Emperor of *Germany* had invited the Czars of *Russia*, *John* and *Peter*, into the alliance against the common enemy of *Christendom*; and while the rest were employed in *Hungary* and the southern parts of *Europe*, to invade *Crim Tartary*, and prevent the junction of the *Tartars* with the *Turks*. The Czars answered, they were ready to declare war against the enemy of the Cross, if any method could be taken to secure them from the fear of a rupture with *Poland*. For as they had only a truce, and not a firm peace with that Kingdom, they should be universally blamed, if, before they were safe from one enemy, they should create another.

The Emperor of *Germany* invites the Czars of *Russia* to engage against the common enemy.

CXLIV. Upon this account, the Emperor was extremely solicitous to procure a good understanding between these two nations, and engage them to discharge their mutual resentments upon the enemy; and at last after many endeavours, he obtained of the *Poles*, that they should renounce all claim to *Kiovia* and *Smolenski*, which had been for several ages the ground of sharp contentions between

A firm peace is concluded between the *Russians* and *Poles*.

* This bridge is said by Dr. *Brown* to be five miles long and seventeen paces broad, reaching from the *Drave* to *Darda*. The Emperor *Eliaz*'s name is still to be read in a Latin inscription on a gate. So ancient is this place.

† April 3.
H. 1097.

A. C. 1686.
The King of
Poland sends
an ambassador
to Cantemir
Prince of
Moldavia, to
engage him in
an alliance.

tween these nations, and sign the articles of peace on the 20th of the month *Jemaziul evvel*† of the year 1097.

CXLV. The King of Poland, *John Sobieski*, encouraged by this new assistance, resolves upon another expedition into *Moldavia*, and to attack that province, as the chief bulwark of the *Turkish* Empire against Poland. But before he took the field, he determines again to try to engage the *Moldavians* in a treaty against the *Turks*. For this purpose he sends privately his confessor in disguise, as ambassador to *Constantine Cantemir* Prince of *Moldavia*, to persuade him to join with the *Poles* against the *Turks*, and offer him liberty, and confirmation of his principality, and a perpetual alliance. When the ambassador comes to the Prince, he opens what he had in commission, and uses his utmost efforts to engage him in the treaty. "It is now (says he) the third year, since the King my master, heard with the utmost satisfaction that *Cantemir* was appointed Prince of *Moldavia* by the *Turks*, and has conceived the greatest hopes, that he will exert against the *Turks* the great abilities, of which he has formerly given proofs in Poland under King *Casimir* against the *Svedes*, and will assert the liberty of a people oppressed under the *Turkish* tyranny. For this reason his majesty imputes to his generals the misfortune, which happened last year to his army at the *Tyras*, and withal ascribes it to the Prince's prudence, that he had under the pretence of fidelity induced the *Turks* to a greater confidence in him, and not exposed himself and his subjects to *Turkish* bonds, when after the Imperialists were repulsed from *Buda*, it appeared uncertain, which side was most likely to be superior. But now the face of affairs is changed, and the *Turks* will be so oppressed by the number of their enemies, that they will scarce be able to think of *Moldavia*. For the *Czars* of *Russia* are ready to invade *Crim-Tartary* with five hundred thousand men, and keep the *Tartars* employed, the Imperialists also will pass the *Danube*, and joining the *Polish* forces at *Adrianople*, endeavour to subdue *Constantinople*. But since the King cannot in his passage leave *Moldavia* behind him in the hands of the enemy, he thinks it his duty to admonish a *Christian* Prince and his old friend, not to oppose the *Christian* arms any longer, but immediately join his forces to the *Polish* army, and command his subjects to receive the *Poles*, not as enemies, but as deliverers, and bring all sorts of provisions into their camp. The King on his part will promise, not to injure the inhabitants any way, but to purchase whatever is brought at a proper price, nor to suffer even a grain of barley to be taken from any man by force; and whoever shall be found to do the least injury to a *Moldavian*, shall be put to death without mercy."

CXLVI. The Prince, in answer, says to the ambassador; "His inclination to serve the interests of *Christianity* has appeared sufficiently to the king, both from what has passed between him and the King's generals the last year, and from his conversations with him. He has never omitted any thing he thought advantageous to the *Christians*, nor ever would for the future, whatever the consequences might be; but it was neither in his power, nor would be of any use to the *Poles* to join forces, or to make an open alliance with them this year. His eldest son, with those of some nobles, were kept at *Constantinople* as hostages, who would suffer the severest torments, if the *Turks* should entertain the least suspicion of his fidelity. He had in his camp but five thousand *Moldavians* who, if joined to the *Polish* army, would be no great accession of strength, nor render the *Turks* much weaker. But if he continued in the *Turkish* camp, it would be in his power, not only to prevent any dangerous resolution against the *Poles*, but likewise to inform the King every day or even every hour of the designs of the *Seraskier* and *Sultan* of the *Tartars*; which services would be of much more importance than so slight an assistance. Besides, though for fear of the *Turks*, he could not by writing, yet by word of mouth, he would command the inhabitants of *Moldavia* to bring all kinds of provision into the *Polish* camp, and do every thing else agreeable to the King's desire. But if God should grant success to that expedition, and the *Turks* and *Tartars* be defeated, he would use his utmost efforts to procure his

The Prince
of *Moldavia*
justly excuses
himself from
making an
alliance.

son's escape from *Constantinople*, or give a large ransom for him as a captive; and if this could not be done, he would sacrifice him to the interests of *Christianity* and the liberty of his country; and with his whole force invade the enemy of *Christ* and *Christians* in open war.

CXLVII. The King of Poland having received this answer, in the beginning of the month *Sbeval*, passes the *Tyras*, and with long marches advances to *Jassy*, where meeting with no opposition, and finding great store of corn and wine (because the Prince had left *Romandi Vernicus* at *Jassy* to get provision for the King's army) he spends fourteen days in feasting and entertainments, mean time the *Seraskier* *Bukly Mustapha Pasha* with five and twenty thousand horse, and eight thousand *Janizaries* had already passed the *Danube*, and sent for *Nurradin Sultan* (79), with thirty thousand *Tartars* to his camp. Here he is informed, the King was advanced to *Jassy*, and that *Cantemir* had not yet appeared in the *Turkish* camp, and deeming his absence a revolt, commands *Nurradin Sultan* with the *Tartars* to enter *Moldavia* as an enemy's country, to lay it waste with fire and sword, and make the inhabitants prisoners. *Moldavia* would undoubtedly have been involved in a most dreadful calamity, if *Beg Myrza*, one of the *Tartarian Mirzas* of the *Cantemir*-family (80), had not interposed, and diverted the *Seraskier* and *Sultan* from their purpose by promising to be surety for Prince *Cantemir*, that he should never act contrary to the fidelity due to the *Othman* empire, or revolt to the enemy; adding, he was assured, the Prince was departed from *Jassy*, and in three days would arrive at the camp. The event justified his words, for the Prince, on the third day before the King's arrival, had left *Jassy*, and being come to *Palezzy*, gives liberty to as many of his followers as thought proper to return to the King, and passing the *Hierajus*, about the end of the month *Sbeval* reaches the *Seraskier's* camp.

CXLVIII. During this interval, the King of Poland, tired with his feasting, advances farther, with intent to drive the *Turks* entirely out of *Moldavia*, but upon his second encampment, observes his soldiers begin to want provisions, because all their stores had been wasted, during their recess at *Jassy*, through the negligence of the commissaries; and nothing left but a great quantity of fruits for the *Poles* to eat. To

The King of
Poland
marches to
Jassy,
Cantemir, of
his own ac-
cord joining
the *Turkish*
army, delivers
the inhabitants
from the
danger of
captivity.

The King of
Poland having
passed the
Hierajus is at-
tacked by the
Turks.

ANNOTATIONS.

(79) *Nurradin Sultan*] There are two offices among the *Tartars*, that are never given to any but the Chan's sons, descended from the *Alijengizian* race, and not without the consent of the *Othman* court; namely, *Calga* and *Nurradin*. *Calga* is as it were the Chan's Lieutenant-general, who never moves out of *Crim-Tartary*, but with the whole army of the *Tartars*. *Nurradin* which in the *Tartarian* language signifies *Will*, is the next in degree, and is sent with a certain number of forces, as ten or twenty thousand *Tartars*, to the assistance of the *Turks*.

(80) *Cantemir*-family] This family was very eminent among the *Tartarian Mirzas* for nobility and riches. According to tradition, the *Cantemirs* derive their pedigree from *Temur leng* the great conqueror of *Asia*, which seems to be confirmed by the name, for *Can Temur* signifies the blood of *Temur*, or persons descended from the blood of *Temur*. One of the *Cantemirs* rebelled both against the Chan and the *Turkish* Emperor, and fought for many years with equal success against several *Seraskiers*, and probably would have obtained his wish'd for liberty, had he not been deceived

by a feigned treaty. For the *Turks* seeing, they could not prevail by arms, pretended to make a peace with him; and, complying with his terms, granted him *Bender* with the neighboring territory, under the title of *Beg*, with the privilege of two horse-tails: But having thus amused him, they shortly after put him to death. The brothers of the deceased submitted again to the Chan, and were placed in the provinces of *Akkerman* and *Kil*. His son *Shabbaz Cantemir* was also received into favour, but changed his name, and because his father had been *Beg*, took the surname of *Beg-Mirza*, which passed to his sons and posterity. Whilst my father was Prince of *Moldavia*, *Beg-Mirza*, mentioned in the History, used often to come with his five sons into *Moldavia*, and related the History of his ancestors as he had learned from tradition, the only preserver of the *Tartarian* genealogies. He moreover said, he had been informed by his ancestors, that at the time they were most closely pressed by the Chan, one of their family fled to the Prince of *Moldavia*, and embraced *Christianity*; and upon this account he affirmed my Father was his relation.

medy this inconvenience, he passes the *Hierafus* near *Czoczora*, imagining that before the *Turks* advanced, he should seize the richest store-houses of the *Bujak Tartars*, and refresh his hungry soldiers. The Seraskier being informed, the king had passed the *Hierafus*, immediately marches with his whole army against him, and when he was scarce two days distant from *Czoczora*, discovers him in an open plain, and surrounds him. The *Tartars* set fire to the grass, already dried up by the heat of the sun, continually infest the *Polish* camp in small parties, and either take the *Poles* prisoners as they are foraging, or oblige them to return with empty waggons. The king in despair offers battle to the Seraskier; but he either thinking it hazardous to fight with sixty thousand *Poles*, or desiring to draw them farther from the borders of *Poland*, avoids an engagement, and commands his soldiers only to annoy the enemy by continual skirmishes. But the *Polish* army felt a much more formidable enemy within their bowels, namely famine, which pressed them so dreadfully, that they could not stir from their camp, without leaving three or four hundred dead bodies behind.

CXLIX. The King thus distressed, endeavours to repass the *Hierafus* at a place, called by the inhabitants *Vale Strimba* (81). But scarce half the army are over, when the *Tartars* advance, and fall upon the rest in the rear, kill a great number, take many prisoners, and force still more into the torrent. The river being at last passed with great difficulty and loss, the King discharges upon the *Moldavians* the resentment which he could not upon the *Turks*, and gives his soldiers licence (82) to plunder the inhabitants of that province. He himself burns two monasteries at *Jassij*, seizes the sacred vessels, carries away the relicks of St. *John* of *Soczava* with many jewels, the monuments of the piety of former princes, and forces away as a prisoner the Metropolitan of *Moldavia*, who refused to deliver up the sacred things. He afterwards comes to the monastery of the *Three Hierarchies*, where the relicks of St. *Parasceua* (83) of *Epibati* are religiously pre-

The *Poles* are obliged to retire. The King by sacrilege and rapine disgraces the name of *Pious*.

ANNOTATIONS.

(81) *Vale Strimba*] A place upon the river *Hierafus* or *Praib*, unfortunate to the *Christians*, and very fortunate to the *Infidels*. *Konicky*, general of the *Cossaks*, had his trenches forced there by the *Tartars*, and was defeated with great slaughter. *John Sobieski* King of *Poland*, was forced twice to retire out of the same place, and not without a very considerable loss: And in my time *Peter*, Czar of *Muscovy*, tho' he fought very bravely for three days together, yet concluded there a peace with the *infidels* upon such conditions as he did not much like. There seems to be something unlucky in the very etymology of the word; for *Vale Strimba*, in the *Moldavian* language denotes a *perverse* or *unjust Valley*.

(82) licence] The King endeavoured indeed to clear himself of this infamy, and to throw the blame on the hungry soldiers, who had plundered the *Moldavians*, not only without his knowledge, but contrary to his express orders; and of this he endeavoured to persuade the Prince by letter: But his other violent proceedings in *Moldavia*, and the imprisonment of the Metropolitan, who refused to deliver to him the remains of St. *John* of *Soczava*, plainly show, that if the soldiers had not the King's orders or permission, yet they

were certainly encouraged by his example, to commit robberies and other crimes.

(83) *Parasceua*] *Parasceua*, as we learn from the ecclesiastical menologies, was mistress of the village of *Epibati*, which afterwards was possessed by the great *Aporcaus* general of the Emperor *Andronicus*. In the time of Sultan *Murad IV.* *Basilus* Prince of *Moldavia*, obtained permission to remove her bones out of the Patriarchal Church at *Constantinople*, on account of his great beneficence and services to the Church. For he had paid out of his income above two hundred and sixty purses, which she owed to *Turks* and *Christians*. But as it is unlawful among the *Turks*, to carry a dead body above three miles, unless it is that of a Sultan, he spent above three hundred purses in the *Othman* Court, to obtain leave to remove them, and to have an order from the Sultan for a *Capuji bashi* to convey them into *Moldavia*. The whole History of this Translation is painted on the South wall of the Church, in which her sacred remains are deposited; and among other things, the *Capuji bashi* and his officers are represented in procession before the holy relicks. So much power has money among the *Turks*, that for the sake of it, they not only permit, but also do things themselves contrary to their superstition.

served

served, and requires those relicks, with the treasure repositied there, to be delivered to him. But the *Archimandrite* having heard in what manner the Metropolitan had been treated, shuts the doors of the church, and answers those who were sent by the King, that he had rather be buried in the ruins of the church, than voluntarily deliver up to any mortal so sacred and valuable a treasure. The King, to terrify the obstinate monk, commands the cannon to be brought, and threatens to batter down the doors, and carry away the whole treasure, since he was refused part, when demanded in a friendly manner. But finding the *Archimandrite* inflexible, either touched with the shame of sacrilege, or prevented by his officers, he soon after departs without gaining his point.

CL. The soldiers, induced by hunger as well as the Kings example, plunder the cities and villages, not sparing any place, religious or prophane, in which they imagined they could find any thing to satisfy their appetite or lust.

CLI. But this sacrilege soon met its due punishment. For the inhabitants being dispersed by the cruelty of the *Poles* and *Cossaks*, when the troops which followed, found the houses empty, they were obliged to eat raw flesh without being salted; and this occasioned a flux among them, which encreased in a few days to such a degree in the King's camp, that scarce a night passed, but five hundred *Poles* or more died. The Prince likewise being informed of the heinous crimes and sacrileges committed by the *Poles*, sends his forces over all the province, surprizes them dispersed, and apprehensive of no such attempt, and takes above four thousand prisoners, of whom some he burns, others he impales or hangs, deservedly punishing them by different kinds of death.

CLII. When the King's army came to *Cotnar*, the *Tartars* poison with noxious herbs (84) the lake, which waters that city; by which means the men and cattle, who drink of it, are destroyed. The thing being discovered, the King, not to expose himself and his forces to greater danger, avoids the open country, and encamps on the *Siretus*, which is surrounded with mountains. The *Tartars* observing this, conclude, his design was to retire into *Poland*; and as the woods and mountains were difficult to pass by the horse, they return home, laden with plunder and prisoners.

CLIII. The King of *Poland*, freed from the *Tartars* (for the *Turks* had not passed the *Hierafus*) that he might not appear to have consumed the Pope's money to no purpose, in his return takes the castle of *Nemez* (85), deserted by its inhabitants, though not without difficulty; for there remained by chance in the castle, nineteen *Moldavian* hunters, who shutting the gates, and drawing up the bridges, denied the King entrance. The King not knowing how inconsiderable the garrison was, assaults it four days with cannon and bombs. The hunters defend themselves, and kill about fifty *Poles* with the master of the ordnance. At last, on the fifth day, when they see ten of their companions killed, they surrender the city upon condition, that the garrison should depart where they pleased. The king seeing only six hunters come out, carrying three others wounded upon their shoulders, is struck with admiration, resentment, and shame, and first orders them to be hanged; but being put in mind by *Yablonski* of his promise of liberty, dismisses them. He afterwards places two hundred chosen horse in the city, and marches to *Soczava*, the antient seat of the Princes of *Moldavia*, and finding it empty of both soldiers and inhabitants, takes and garrisons it.

ANNOTATIONS.

(84) noxious herbs] It is a wonderful thing, and incredible to those that have not been eye-witnesses of it, but I have seen it sometimes done by them. The *Tartars* have a secret among them, which not above three or four in all *Tartary* know by tradition, that is, an herb of so strong and poisonous a nature, that it can poison not only standing water, but even the rapid river *Hierafus*. They throw it into the ri-

ver, a good way above the enemy's camp, and till it is carried down with the stream, all men or beasts that drink of the water immediately die without remedy.

(85) *Nemez*] A very antient city of *Lower Moldavia*, situated upon a high mountain beyond *Siretus* near a river of the same name, concerning which see more in my description of *Moldavia*.

CLIV. By

The whole army follows the King's example.

God punishes the sacrilegious *Poles*.

The *Tartars* poison the waters with noxious herbs.

The King in his return takes the castle of *Nemez*, and afterwards *Soczava*.

The Tartars
returning,
greatly annoy
the Poles.

† Sept. 23.

CLIV. By these successes of the Poles, the Tartars, who had now carried home their former booty, are recalled, and like ravenous wolves run every where, and intercept the Poles, who are at any distance from the army. In these excursions on the 16th of the month Zylcade †, they are met by the high treasurer, whom the King had sent before with eight thousand Poles, and defeated with great loss. But neither this victory was of any advantage to the Poles. For when, by reason of the famine, the army was obliged to live on the fruits of trees, and for that purpose was dispersed more widely in the woods, than was proper, the Tartars frequently attacked them in this disorder, killing some, and taking others prisoners; and whoever strayed any distance from his troop, might be sure of never returning.

The King
privately
abandons the
camp, and
flies.

CLV. The King perceiving this danger, first abandons the camp, and under the guidance of Turkulesius, a Moldavian colonel, flies away privately in the night with a few attendants. The rest of the army, whom a more propitious fortune had preserved both from the famine and the enemy's sword, under the conduct of Jablonowski return to the King at Tavarovia about the end of the month Zylcade.

The successes
of the Venetians
against
the Turks.

CLVI. The Venetians had that year much better success. In the beginning of the spring, the Morlachians besiege Ottoch, a city situated between the two channels of the river Cettin; and taking it by storm, put the whole garrison to the sword. Capudan Pasha makes the same attempt upon Cbielasa; but on the approach of the Venetian fleet, is obliged to retire. Part of this fleet is sent to block up Constantinople on the side of the Archipelago towards the Dardanelles; the rest of the ships attack Old Navarinum; which city being surrendered by the governor the first day of the siege, New Navarinum is closely invested: The Seraskier of the Morea flies to its relief; but before he reached the Venetian works, he is attacked by Count Koningsmark and the Marquis of Carbon with eight thousand two hundred soldiers, and defeated. He soon after raises three thousand men more out of the neighbouring garrisons, and assembling those who had escaped the former battle, re-attempts to relieve the city, but is repulsed with great loss; upon which the inhabitants of Navarinum, destitute of all hopes, on the 26th of the month Rejeb †, surrender the city to the Venetians.

† June 7.
The Venetians
take Methone,
and defeat the
Turks in a
battle at Ca-
ron.

* June 26.

† July 20.

CLVII. Three days after Methone is besieged, and on the 15th of the month Shaban*, delivered up by the garrison, terrified by the late defeat of the Seraskier. The Venetians crown their Peloponnesian expedition with the taking of Neapolis of Romania. This city is besieged by Morosini on the 10th of the month Ramadan †, and though it was very strong both by nature and art, in a few days he demolishes the walls with his cannon. On the sixth day of the siege, the Seraskier of the Morea hastens with his troops to the relief of the city, but is met by Koningsmark, and after a short battle defeated. However not being discouraged with this misfortune, and knowing if this city should be subdued by the Venetians, he must answer it with his head, he raises a more numerous army, and on the 9th of the month Sheval* at break of day attacks the trenches of the Venetians, and before they can recover themselves, takes possession of a hill, from whence he could cannonade the greatest part of the camp. In this exigence Koningsmark with the troops under his command, comes to the assistance of the Venetians, and detained the enemy till Morosini advanced with the rest of the army. The Turks, though they perceive the Venetians to be superior, fight for seven hours with such bravery, as if the whole Othman empire had been at stake; but at last, by the repeated assaults of the Venetians, are put to flight. Mustapha, governor of the city, seeing the Christians returning to their trenches in triumph, and concluding the forces, from which he expected relief, were defeated, the very same day displays the signal of surrender, and upon the promise of leave to depart, on the 9th of the month Sheval †, delivers up the castle to the Venetians.

† August 19.
The Venetians
succeed in
Dalmatia.

† August 16.

CLVIII. In Dalmatia, the Basha of Bosnia early in the spring besieges Duare; but hearing of the approach of the Venetians, retreats with great loss. He makes several attempts upon the enemy in other places, but is repulsed with slaughter. The Venetians, elated with these successes, on the seventh of the month Sheval †, under the command of Cornaro attack Zing, which Vallier had in vain attempt-

ed

ed the last year, and having demolished the walls with their cannon, on the second day of the siege take it by storm, and put the whole garrison to the sword. With like success the Morlachians make an expedition towards Constantinople, and by a stratagem draw a thousand foot and five hundred horse out of the city, where they were garrison'd, then surrounding them, kill a great number at the first attack, and pursued the rest with such vigour, that they entered the city with them promiscuously, and having plundered it, set it on fire.

CLIX. These misfortunes alarming the Ulema and the people of Constantinople, they at first utter privately seditious expressions against Sultan Mahomet, but afterwards throw them out publicly. The Ulema especially represented to the common people, that the treasury being exhausted, myriads of Musulmans slain by the Christians, Hungary and the Morea lost, and the royal city itself threatened with immediate danger, it was too late now to advise the Sultan to leave hunting, and apply himself to the care of the empire, and endeavour to assist it in this distress. That this could not be imputed to weakness of mind; since Mahomet had some years since shown, he was not unqualified for the administration of affairs; but to the divine wrath against the Musulmans for the breach of the peace, made by the most wise Vizir Kioprii Ahmed Pasha, which had so infatuated the Sultan, as to imagine, that the bounds of the Othman empire, extended by the labours and blood of so many Musulmans, could be defended by dogs and falcons. That the indignation of the most high could not be appeased by any other method than removing the objects of it, namely, the Sultan, who was the first author of the unjust war, and all those, who by their advice or Fetva, approved of the violation of the peace.

The people of
Constantinople
are enraged
against the
Sultan, and
cry out that he
ought to be
deposed.

CLX. The Sultan informed of what was publicly said in the streets and assemblies, instantly repairs to Constantinople, divests the Musti of his dignity, employs several persons in his interests to represent to the people, that the Sultan was not the occasion of beginning the war, but the Vizir Gara Mustapha Pasha, and the deposed Musti, whose counsels he did not think proper to oppose, as well because they appeared reasonable, as out of regard to their authority. But that Gara Mustapha Pasha had been put to death, and the Musti deprived of his office, on that account.

The Sultan
endeavours in
vain to lay the
blame upon
others.

CLXI. To give the people a farther proof of his zeal for the interests of the empire, he sells the jewels repositied in the treasury, and with the money pays the soldiers, and this not being sufficient, he lays a tax upon the Yami Mosjehs and every house (86). By these arts, the sedition just ready to break out, is not only appeased that year, but the people also are excited to contribute more readily what was wanted for the publick service.

He lays a new
tax upon the
people for the
payment of
the soldiers.

CLXII. Mean time the Duke of Lorraine marched with the Imperial army towards Essek, and having passed the Drave, designed to attack the Vizir who had encamped about Essek. But while the Imperialists were retarded by the difficulty of the ways, Soliman Pasha posted his army so advantageously, that the Duke, instead of venturing to attack him, was obliged to fortify his camp for fear of being assaulted. The Turks and Imperialists being thus encamped near

The Imperi-
alists defeat the
Turks and take
their camp.

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(86) house.] The Christian European merchants that live in Constantinople, tho' they are very curious in other respects, could never compute how much this tribute brought into the treasury. For not any, either Turkish or Christian house, was exempted, but all paid according to their largeness, or the master's abilities, from ten to five hundred *Leonines*. Now there being in the city alone, without the suburbs of Pera, *Christopolis*, *Ejub*, *Bektasb*, and other adjoining villages, above four hundred thousand houses, besides the mar-

kets, inns, shops, and baths, any one may guess, how much money was raised: But when God is pleased to divide, man cannot possibly put together. For though that money was very carefully raised, and deposited in the treasury, yet, as if there had been some curse attending it, it came to nothing, and could afford no support to the Turkish affairs. So that it is a greater wonder, how such an immense sum was consumed without any advantage, than how it was collected.

each other, at first try the fortune of war in skirmishes, then contend with their cannon, which doing much greater execution on the part of the *Turks*, by reason of their situation, the *Germans* are forced to give way. The *Turks* taking it for a flight, immediately follow the enemy, who retreat towards the *Danube*, and resolve to give them battle. But while the *Vizir* proceeds more slowly by reason of his numbers, the *Germans* encamp at *Mobach*, where refreshing their troops, fatigued with a long march and want of provision, they determine to demolish the walls of *Zicli* and *Five Churches*, and attempt to subdue *Alba Regalis*. With this view they decamp, and on the 30th of the month *Ramazan* † of the year 1098, march towards *Zicli*. But they had scarce left their camp, when a great number of the enemy's horse appear, and attack them on all sides as they moved slowly, in order to detain the *Germans* till the *Vizir* should advance with his whole army. After three days skirmishing, the *Vizir* comes, and posting himself in a little wood, through which the *Imperialists* must pass, declares publicly to his army, he had received an order from the *Sultan* to engage the *Germans*, and promises great rewards to those, who should distinguish themselves by their valour and heroick actions. The next day, which was the 4th of the month *Shevat* † he draws up his army, and observing the front of the *Germans* to be too wide for the wings to assist each other, commands his troops to annoy the enemy's right wing with continual, but slight attacks, and on the other hand to rush with their whole strength upon the left wing. The *Turks* vigorously execute their general's orders, and fall upon the left wing of the *Imperialists* with such fury, that they would undoubtedly have routed it, if the cannon, placed amongst the soldiers, had not retarded the *Othmans* as they were incautiously moving forward, and killed a great number of them, and by that means extorted from them the victory, of which they almost seemed assured. However, not content to have once tried the fortune of a battle, they again with more fury, and a larger body attack those, by whom they had been repulsed, and though, by the resistances they met with, they sustain as great a loss as before, they retire to the wood, from whence they were come, in good order, and seemed to retreat, rather than fly. The Duke of *Bavaria*, who commanded that wing, seeing the *Turks* twice repulsed by him, and imagining their courage abated, resolves himself to attack the enemy in the wood, and leads his troops thither. But before he can execute his design, he observes the enemy advancing in a body against him; to repel whom, he orders the cannon to be placed in the front and loaded with small bullets and pieces of iron, which being discharged upon the *Turks*, did such execution, that they durst not engage the *Imperialists*, but retired faster than they advanced. The Duke of *Bavaria* immediately follows them; but he had scarce continued his pursuit an hour, when he is surprized to see the *Turkish* camp entire, and would have imagined it to be a vision, since it could scarce be conceived how an army routed, and more inclined to fly than fight, should in so short a time have been persuaded to fortify themselves with so strong a trench, if the cannon placed there had not been discovered by their noise, and warned the *Imperialists* not rashly to proceed any farther. But the *Turkish* trenches being demolished by the *German* cannon, the imperial horse, and afterwards the foot, penetrate into the camp itself, and put to the sword almost all the *Janizaries*, deserted by their horse. The *Vizir* perceiving things to be desperate, with a few escapes by flight, and leaves the whole camp, with a great booty, and all the warlike provisions, to the conquerors. The *Imperialists* immediately pursue him; but because the horse had retreated a great way before, while the *Janizaries* were yet engaged; they take only some hundreds of straglers, and put most of them to the sword, in revenge of the *Christians* slain in the battle.

† July 18.
H. 1098.
A. C. 1687.

† August 1.

CLXIII. The *Vizir* having escaped by flight, his first care was to defend *Essek* and *Peterwaradin*, which very probably the *Imperialists* would attack after this victory. For this purpose he softens the mutual resentment of the *Janizaries* and *Spacis*, reinforces the garrison of *Essek* with several regiments, and having left six thousand men to guard the bridge of *Peterwaradin*, retires to *Belgrade*.

CLXIV. The

CLXIV. The Duke of *Lorraine* seeing these places too well fortified to be taken in the two months, which still remained of the campaign, spreads a report, that he designed to besiege *Temiskwar*, upon which the *Vizir*, solicitous for the defence of that city, sends the greatest part of his army thither. The *Vizir* being deceived by this stratagem, and the *Turkish* army in *Sclavonia* weakened, the Duke of *Lorraine* orders *Dunewald* with a party to pass the *Drave*, and endeavour to drive the enemies of the *Cross* out of *Sclavonia*; and continues himself with the main army to observe the motions of the *Turks* in *Hungaria*. *Dunewald* having passed the *Drave*, lays siege to *Burzin* on the 2d of the month *Zylcade* †, and having demolished the walls, prepares to invest it; upon which the garrison on the sixth day of the siege surrender themselves and castle to the mercy of the conqueror. This city being taken, he assaults *Walpo*, which fortress was necessary to be subdued, before the siege of *Essek* could be undertaken.

CLXV. The governor of the city by a signal informs the garrison of *Essek*, that the *Germans* were come, and desires assistance against them. But the soldiers of *Essek*, terrified at the unexpected approach of the *Imperialists*, lay gun-powder under the fortifications of the castle, and prepare to fly with their baggage. *Dunewald* being informed of this, orders *Lodrone* with two thousand horse to observe more particularly what is doing at *Essek*. The garrison seeing him, imagine, the whole *German* army was advancing, and abandon the city with such precipitation, that they not only left behind them the greatest part of their baggage, but forgot to set fire to the mines they had made under the castle, and filled with gun-powder. Upon this the governor of *Walpo* thinks it more prudent to give way to the ill fortune of the *Othman* Empire, and by submission to soften the conquerors, than by a fruitless obstinacy to exasperate them; and therefore surrenders the city to the *Imperialists*, before it was assaulted.

CLXVI. With equal success *Dunewald* soon after takes *Poshega*, the capital of *Sclavonia*; and *Bellassin*, *Patrask*, *Sbirask*, *Telicham*, *Walkowar*, *Erdedi*, and several other castles of that country, which had been abandoned by the *Turks*, and restores all *Sclavonia* to the *Christian* subjection. The governor likewise of *Leopoldopolis* assaults *Arizaga*, *Ciakaku* and *Polota*, which are surrendered to him. At the same time *Agria* in *Upper Hungary* is invested by a small body of *Imperialists* drawn from the neighboring garrisons, and cut off from any supplies.

CLXVII. The campaign of this year is crowned by the Duke of *Lorraine* with the reduction of *Transylvania*. The Prince of that country, *Michael Apassi*, in the beginning of the summer had been solicited by the Emperor of *Germany* to abandon his alliance with the *Turks*, and admit the victorious standards of the *Christians* into his province, and he had shown himself ready to comply, on condition the danger from the *Turks* should be farther removed from the borders of *Transylvania*. But when about the end of this year the Duke of *Lorraine*, according to their agreement, was preparing to fix his winter-quarters in that province, *Apassi* denies him entrance, (being unwilling to submit to that burthen, or with an intention to persuade the *Turks* it was out of necessity, and not of his own accord, that he surrendered his principality,) and returns the Duke this answer, that his promise of granting winter-quarters was not extended to the whole army, but only to some regiments. But the Duke considering there was no occasion for words, where arms would prevail, enters *Transylvania* without the Prince's consent, and seizing the principal cities of the country, *Cibinium* and *Claudiopolis*, obliges him to submit to the Emperor, and places his soldiers in winter quarters.

CLXVIII. The *Russians* did not meet with the same success against the *Tartars*. For the *Czars* being incapable, on account of their youth, to command their army in person, had sent *Basilius* Prince of *Galliezin* with a numerous but confused army against the *Crim-Tartars*. This general after several days march without any opposition from the enemy through the deserts, which divide *Russia* from *Crim-Tartary*, is surrounded by *Nuradin Sultan*, and cut off from provision and water. This misfortune is soon followed by another still more severe, for a pestilence, occasioned either by the intense heat, or the want of wa-

The success of the Imperialists in Sclavonia.

† August 29.

Essek fallen - great trophies.

They subdue all Sclavonia with equal success. Agria in Hungary is besieged.

The Duke of Lorraine, notwithstanding the opposition of Apassi, takes several cities in Transylvania, where he likewise fixes his winter-quarters.

The Russians march against Crim-Tartary, but without success.

ter, destroys above forty thousand Russians in a short space. However Narradin Sultan fearing the Russian army, though weakened by this calamity, to oblige them to return immediately, pretends to march with his Tartars towards Kiev; upon which Galliczin, apprehensive of greater danger, led his forces to the relief of that province, and abandoned the deserts of Crim-Tartary. But this stratagem of the Sultan would not have diverted the Prince from entering Crim-Tartary, if he had not been recalled by the letters of Sophia (87), sister to the Czars, which informed him that the Russian Empire would be exposed to great hazard, unless he returned immediately to the capital.

The Poles besiege Camenice; but at the approach of the Turks retire. † August 2.

CLXIX. The Poles, under the command of James Sobieski the King's eldest son, about the beginning of the month Shevval; take the field, and on the 24th of the same month appear before Camenice, and threaten to besiege the city. But after they had twice or thrice discharged their cannon, and demolished some houses in the city by their bombs, on the fourth day being informed, the Turks with the Bujac-Tartars were advanced to Czuczora in order to relieve the city, they raise the siege. The garrison of Camenice attack them in the rear, as they retire, killing some, and taking others prisoners, with the loss of about fifty of their own party. Except this battle, the Polish and Turkish armies performed nothing remarkable this year.

The Venetians take several cities in the Morea.

CLXX. With much greater vigour the Venetians carry on the war against the enemies of the cross in the Morea. For landing their forces on the 23d of the month Ramazan at Patras, they march three days after under the command of Count Koningsmark against the Seraskier, who encourages his troops to fight by speeches and presents, and drawing them into the field, with his cavalry makes the first charge upon the left wing of the Venetians. But being repulsed with loss, he directs his whole force against the right wing with such fury, that the Janizaries endeavoured to remove with their swords the barricades which secured the front of the Venetians. But being every where bravely opposed, he is forced, after receiving a dangerous wound, and losing many of his men with the Pasha of Vallona, to fly with the remains of his army, about two thousand of which are partly slain and partly taken by the Christians, who pursued them, and the rest driven into the mountains. This victory not only confirmed the acquisitions of the Venetians in the Morea, but reduced what till then remained under the Turkish dominion. The garrison of Patras are the first after this victory, who abandon the castle with all their warlike stores and fly. Mehemed Pasha, who with six thousand men was commanded to defend the castle of Rumelia, having blown up the walls, soon follows the example of the garrison of Patras. The same is done by Mehemed governor of the castle of the Morea, when he saw the Venetian galleys approaching; and what is still more surprizing, the city Naupactus strongly fortified both by nature and art, sends deputies to the Venetian fleet which was sailing thither with offers of a surrender. After the affairs of the conquered cities were settled, Morosini, general of the Venetian army, assaults Castel-Fornese and Mistras, the governors of which, content with the liberty of departing, deliver up the castles with all the warlike provisions, without the least opposition.

Morosini takes Corinth.

CLXXI. The only city, which makes any long resistance, was Epidaurus Limeria (88), the garrison of which, confiding in the strength of the place, though extremely annoyed by bombs, defend it with great bravery. But Morosini passing by this place, sails with his fleet through the Corinthian bay directly to Corinth, hoping, when that city was subdued, the Turks would not only be cut off from any possibility of returning to the Morea, but it would also be much easier to re-

ANNOTATIONS.

(87) letters of Sophia] Many are of a different opinion, and blame Galliczin alone for the ill success of this expedition, but I have chosen to relate here, what I know to be true and unquestionable.

(88) Epidaurus Limeria] The same as is called by the modern Greeks *μυρμαίρα*, by the Turks *Menecabe*, and by the Italians *Napoli di Malvasia*. It is the strongest fortress in all the Morea.

duce the rest of the castles, still held by the Turks. The Seraskier hearing of Morosini's approach, and finding the four thousand men, he had with him, would not be able to contend with the Venetians, sets fire to the magazines in Corinth, and demolishing the greatest part of the walls, retreats with his soldiers into the mountains of Thebes, and kills very dishonorably all the Greeks he met in his way, alledging, they were the cause of his misfortune. But Morosini seeing the flames, and suspecting the case, sends some troops, and extinguishes the fire, before the magazines could be all consumed.

CLXXII. Then he sends Count Koningsmark with part of the army to Athens, who after a short siege obliges the city to surrender. In this siege, the Venetians by a bomb set fire to the gun-powder repository by the Turks in the celebrated temple antiently dedicated to the unknown God, by which means it was entirely blown up. And thus the Venetians, the most polite people of Italy, destroyed these monuments of antiquity in Constantinople and Athens, which the Barbarians had left untouched; and upon this account, deserved to be represented in the same picture with Herosstratus; though there is this difference, that what the latter did with design, the Venetians did by accident.

Koningsmark takes Athens.

CLXXIII. In Dalmatia the Turks begin the campaign, and under the command of Atlaglik Pasha governour of Bosnia, on the first day of the month Jemaziel evvel, besiege Zyng, which Cornaro had taken the year before, and assault it forty days with great vigour and resolution; but at last, after the loss of a great number of men, upon the approach of the Venetian army, on the 10th of the following month, are obliged to retire.

The Turks invade Dalmatia without success.

CLXXIV. Cornaro, on the other hand, with the assistance of the fleet of the Maltese and the Pope, lays close siege to the new castle of Dalmatia on the 25th of the month Shevval. The Basha of Bosnia hastens to the relief of that city, and having penetrated through the narrow passes, which were guarded by the Morlachians; on the 8th of the month Zylbije attacks the Venetian trenches with such fury, that he would have beaten the forces, which defended them, if Cornaro, with the rest of his army, and the Maltese auxiliaries had not seasonably supported them, when they began to give way. At his approach the scene is so changed, that the Turks just before conquerors, after a short and bloody fight having lost above eight hundred men, are obliged to fly. The garrison, though they saw their friends defeated, defend themselves with great bravery; but at last, after the Venetians, on the 21st of the month Zylbije, had taken the city by storm; on the third day, those, who had escaped into the castle, seeing themselves irrecoverably lost, if they made any longer resistance, surrender also the castle.

Cornaro defeats the Turks, and takes the new castle.

CLXXV. In the mean time there arises in the Turkish army from a slight cause, a very great sedition, which not only deprived the Sultan of the Imperial dignity, but proved an almost irreparable detriment to the whole Ottoman empire. While the Vizir continued at Peterwaradin, being informed, that Agria laboured under an extreme want of provision, and unless immediately relieved, would be forced to surrender, he commands a thousand Janizaries and several hundred Spahis to march with provision for the supply of that city. They both refuse to obey his orders, and alledge the Vizir's intention is to destroy the whole army, which had been through his fault defeated by the Imperialists. They show their scars and wounds, and horses quite spent, and scarce able to breathe; and when the Vizir renewed his commands in a more positive manner, they reply, they will not move a step from Peterwaradin without him. These beginnings of a sedition are soon after inflamed by a new incident, the Vizir having attempted the destruction of several Bashes, by accusing them to the Sultan of neglecting their duty in the last battle. The Bashes informed of their danger by their friends at court, exasperate the whole army against the Vizir. At the head of these disturbances appears Siavus Pasha (89), who was in the list of the accused sent by the Vizir to the Sultan, a man

The Turkish army raise a rebellion against the Vizir.

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(89) Siavus Pasha] A man distinguished neither by his birth nor by any sort of merit.

rit, and before this action, the mere sport of fortune. Three years before this expedition.

man of great courage and haughtiness, and by his persuasion the army demands of the Vizir the payment of two *Kyß* (90), due to them. The Vizir not having the money ready, endeavours to satisfy them with words, and tells them, the Sultan had already sent their pay, which would in a few days be brought to the camp. But they are deaf to these flattering speeches, for, being encouraged by *Sivvus Pascha*, they demand their due with still greater insolence, and command him either to pay them, or resign the Vizirship, since they had a person much more deserving of that dignity, who not only had promised them their pay, but would command the army with greater success and prudence, than *Soliman Pascha*.

The Vizir finding affairs desperate, escapes privately by night to Constantinople.

He is protected by the clemency of the Sultan.

The army under the influence of *Sivvus Pascha*, who was at the head of the rebellion, conspire against the Sultan.

In the name of the whole army he accuses the Vizir as a deserter.

CLXXVI. When the Vizir sees the army cannot by any methods be appeased, and is in fear of his life, he escapes privately out of the camp by night, and flies to Constantinople, bringing the first news of the rebellion to the Sultan. He lays the whole blame upon *Sivvus*, and accuses him, with some others, of corrupting the army, after having by treachery deprived him of the victory against the *Germans*, of which he was almost secure.

CLXXVII. Sultan *Mabomet*, who from the former actions of *Soliman Pascha* had conceived too high an opinion of his prudence and courage, easily credits his representation of affairs; and, lamenting with tears the misfortune, common to himself and the Vizir, orders him to conceal himself till he could receive a more certain account of the designs of the rebels. *Soliman Pascha*, by this instance, convinced of the Sultan's good-will towards him, retires to the house of a certain *Greek*, named *Manolaki* (91), near the palace, in the street *Curicheshme* (92), where he hides himself for seven and twenty days from the knowledge of every person, but the Sultan and his most faithful friend, the *Kislar Aga*.

CLXXVIII. But *Sivvus Pascha*, finding the Vizir fled, two days after calls a council of the chief conspirators at *Belgrade*, and engages them in a design to depose the Sultan, and put several of the great men to death. The rest of the army imagining the Vizir was fled on purpose, that they, being destitute of a general, might either be exposed to the enemy, or obliged humbly to sue for pardon from the Sultan, desire *Sivvus Pascha* to take upon him the office of Prime Vizier. He, in order to gain the Sultan's favour, refuses to accept of the honour, alledging, this dignity could not be conferred by any mortal, except the Sultan alone. That he had hitherto been their protector from the injuries of the Vizir, and would continue so till they should reach Constantinople, and have an opportunity of exhibiting their complaints to the Sultan. That he was not so impious, as to presume to attempt any thing against an innocent Sultan, whose singular virtues he had always revered; and therefore he would persuade the soldiers, before they moved a step further, to send a petition to the Sultan, and wait his answer.

CLXXIX. This advice being approved, *Sivvus Pascha*, in the name of the whole army, sends an *Arzumbaz* (93) to the Sultan, and informs him, that the

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dition he had been *Obecadar* to *Cara Kibais*; and afterwards being raised to the dignity of *Basha*, his ambition increased with his good-fortune, and he conspired against the Vizir his great benefactor.

(90) *Kyß*,] Three months pay, as *Navaka* is one day's, and *Ulufe* is a month's pay. The Janizaries yearly stipend is commonly divided into four *Kyß*, and distributed to them four times a year.

(91) *Manolaki*,] a very rich *Greek*, who though of mean extraction, and illiterate, was yet a great patron and encourager of learning. He built in *Pbanarium* a very large college, of which I have given an account in the first part of my History.

(92) *Curicheshme*,] that is, a dry spring. It is the name of a village near the *Troacian Bosphorus*, or *Sea of Marmora*, about six miles from Constantinople. The word is written *Curiklejme*, i. e. a dry Rock, because there is a craggy Rock hangs over the shore. Here is seen a very fine palace, formerly belonging to *Serban Cantacuzenus*, Prince of *Walachia*.

(93) *Arzumbaz*,] It is a petition presented in the name of a whole province or army to the Sultan or Vizir; for such as is presented by a single person, is called *Arzubah*, concerning which I have spoken in a former note.

forces of the *Aliotbman* Empire were determined to come to Constantinople under his command, not to raise a sedition against the Sultan, or attempt any thing against his sacred person, but because, after the Vizir's shameful treachery and desertion, they thought it necessary to demand justice of the Sultan against him, and to rescue themselves from the danger in which they were involved by the Vizir. The Sultan therefore need not fear; but if he be desirous immediately to appease these commotions, he should send to the camp the head of the Vizir, as a deserter and traitor, and the pay due to the army, by the *Tejterdar* and *Giumrukabi*, *Husein Aga* (94).

The Sultan in protecting the Vizir paves the way for his own ruin.

CLXXX. When this letter is brought to Constantinople, the Sultan is strangely perplexed. Several of his most intimate counsellors persuade him to satisfy the demands of the soldiers, by the death of the Vizir, whether guilty or innocent, in order to secure his own authority. They observe, there are several officers in the army superior perhaps in merit to *Soliman Pascha*, so there is no reason to fear that the death of one man will prove fatal to the whole *Othman* Empire. However, the Sultan's favour to the Vizir, and the opinion which he had conceived of his abilities, prevail with him above all other considerations. He determines therefore, at all events, to protect him, and returns no other answer to the *Arzumbaz* of the army, but that money was already sent to pay them, and would very soon be distributed. He takes no notice of the Vizir's misconduct, hoping the soldiers, softened by the sight of money, would lay aside their resentments, which the want of pay had seemed chiefly to have raised against the Vizir, and return to their duty. But the soldiers, not content with the money, exclaim, that the Sultan is equally culpable with the Vizir, who is therefore protected, and the just demands of the army refused; nor can other remedy be applied to the unfortunate state of the *Othman* affairs, than deposing the Sultan, and punishing his evil counsellors.

CLXXXI. When he hears the rebels, for this purpose, are marching with great speed to Constantinople, the Sultan, to turn their leader from this rebellion, sends to him, by *Silabdar Aga*, the seal of the Empire, and *Mabomet's* standard, flattering himself that *Sivvus Pascha*, having obtained what he wanted, would not be so importunate for *Soliman Pascha's* death, but would rather, by gentle persuasions, compose the tumults in the army. But *Sivvus*, considering the authority conferred upon him would not be lasting, while his enemy, who had so great share in the Sultan's affection, was alive, receives indeed the ensigns of the supreme power from *Silabdar Aga* with strong declarations of submission; but wistful informs the Sultan, it was not in his power to pacify the army, till those persons were executed, to whose negligence the calamities hitherto suffered, and the ruin of the most flourishing *Othman* Empire, were unanimously imputed by the soldiers; namely, the Vizir, *Tejterdar*, and *Giumrukabi* *Bashi*.

The Sultan confers the post of Vizir, on *Sivvus*, who demands the heads of *Soliman* and many others.

The Sultan orders the Vizir to be beheaded, and the rest imprisoned.

CLXXXII. Upon *Silabdar Aga's* return to Constantinople, the Sultan at last perceiving the design of this insurrection, and making a virtue of necessity, sacrifices *Soliman Pascha* to the resentment of the incensed army, and sends his head to them by a *Cbaush*, informing them that the others, whose deaths they had de-

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(94) *Giumrukabi*, *Husein Aga*,] What *Giumrukabi* is, I have before explained. This *Husein Aga* was one of the richest men among the *Turks*, and in great credit and favour with Sultan *Mabomet*. Scarce a week passed, but the Sultan dined at his house. He had a house in the suburb *Pera*, called *Fyudjeh's*, almost opposite to the Emperor's palace, and several rooms belonging to it were built over the *Bosphorus*, at a great expence. Out of the windows of these chambers the Sultan used some-

times to fish, and, in sign of favour, send presents of what he caught to his courtiers, by his chamberlains: if the present was sent by a chamberlain, then one purse was given him; but if it was brought by a *Silab*, or *Cbaush*, five purses was the least that used to be given by him who received the present. This palace is now possessed by the heirs of *Husein Aga*; but because an order was made that it should not be inhabited, the greatest part of it lies in ruins.

manded

manded, were kept in prison by the *Caimacan, Kioprili Mustapha Pascha* (95), in order to extort from them a confession of their accomplices, and where their treasures were concealed.

Siavus urges the Sultan to put the rest to death, which he obtains.

CLXXXIII. *Siavus Pascha* answers the messenger, that the army indeed returned the Sultan the highest thanks for inflicting a just punishment upon the Vizir; but required also the heads of all those who had been proscribed, and till then would not lay down their arms. He would therefore advise his majesty not to disturb the whole *Othman* Empire, and draw some fatal consequence upon himself by an unseasonable clemency. But if the Sultan would follow this faithful advice, he hoped in a short time to extinguish the whole rebellion, and lead back the army in peace to *Constantinople*. The Sultan granted this also to the soldiers; and though he had detained the accused persons in prison with the sole view to rescue them from an unjust death, and afterwards, upon a proper occasion, punish the rebels; yet, that he might not be charged with omitting any thing to appease the army, he orders, compelled by necessity, the heads of the *Tejterdar, Giumrukubi* Basbi*, and three others, to be struck off, and sending them to *Siavus Pascha*, commands the forces to stop at *Adrianople*.

The rebellious army inveighs warmly against *Siavus* himself.

CLXXXIV. *Siavus Pascha* finding, every thing, which the army had demanded of the Sultan, was complied with, sincerely endeavours on his part to perform his promises to the Sultan, and by various arts to detain the soldiers at *Adrianople*. But they, whose rebellion was more inflamed by the blood of the Vizir and other great men, cannot be diverted either by persuasions or threats from their purpose, but publicly call *Siavus Pascha* impious, perfidious, and treacherous, one, who had undertaken the protection of the army with no other view, than to seize the Vizirship by any methods right or wrong; and who now having gratified his ambition, was become of the Sultan's party, and ready to expose the soldiers to destruction. Not content with these reproaches, they force him in a manner to lead the troops to *Constantinople*, threatening, if he would not take upon him the command of the army, they would cut off his head, and choose another general, who would not only compleat their designs, but depose the Sultan himself, and advance in his room *Soliman*, a Prince eminent for piety and sanctity.

The rebellious Vizir is received with great honour by the Sultan, and excuses himself that he had the command of the army.

CLXXXV. The Sultan therefore receives with great honour the new Vizir, when he came with the army, and admitting him to a conference, shows him what great disturbances the sedition of the army had raised in the whole *Othman* empire, and made not only the citizens, but also the *Ulema* partakers of their crime, and admonishes him, that mindful of his promises, he would use his utmost efforts to appease the tumults, and restore the empire to its former tranquillity. If this were effected, he would not only entirely forget what the Vizir had done against him, but confer upon him greater favours, than he could presume to hope or demand. *Siavus Pascha* first excuses himself to the Sultan, for having taken upon him the command of the army without consulting him. He says the sedition was not raised by him; but the army was so highly exasperated by *Soliman's* misconduct and obstinacy, that they seemed resolved upon some desperate design against the Empire. When he saw this, he thought it would be very serviceable to the Sultan and the *Othman* Empire, to accept the offered command of the army, lest the inner provinces of the *Othmans* being destitute of defence should lie open to the *Germans*, and that those persons might be restrained, who endeavoured to plunder or injure their countrymen. He had since used his utmost endeavours to appease the

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(95) *Kioprili Mustapha Pascha*.] Son of the great *Abmed Pascha*, a man famous above all the rest of the *Turks*, for holiness of life, integrity, prudence, and courage. I think it unnecessary to give a particular account of his great actions, because they occur so often in the History. He left three sons, *Ab-*

dullah Pascha, who was *Caimacan* of *Constantinople* under Sultan *Mustapha*; *Nuuman Pascha*, who has been Vizir under the present Emperor *Abmed III.* and *Isaad Effendi*, who is an Ecclesiastick, and aspires to be a *Molab*.

commotions

commotions, and had reason to hope, if the Sultan had granted the first petition of the army, he should have been able to extinguish the flame without much difficulty. But he was disappointed in this expectation by the Sultan's fault, in delaying to satisfy the army's demands, till after the rebellion had taken too deep root in their minds. Indeed, when he had received the Sultan's command, he had tried all possible methods to prevent the soldiers from advancing to the royal city, but could not resist their unanimous resolution, which breathed nothing but fire and sword. However, he would use all means to restrain the sedition, and not value his own life, provided the Sultan remained on the throne happy and unshaken.

CLXXXVI. Having confirmed these promises by an oath, he is dismissed by the Sultan, and to gain credit to his words, as soon as he is returned to his court, he sends for the chief of the rebels, and represents to them, "the Sultan has now paid half their due, and would send the rest in a few days; he has, according to the army's desire, put to death the plunderers and betrayers of the empire, and omitted nothing to satisfy their demands. But now it is to be considered, how the soldiers, meditating a sedition, may be appeased, and induced to return due thanks to the best of Emperors. He is informed indeed, that some of the conspirators are plotting to depose the Sultan himself, but he cannot conceive how any man of sense could devise so flagrant an injury to a prince so pious and merciful, so illustrious for his victories, the father of his country and armies, in return for his late favours, not only to the soldiers, but to the whole *Othman* Empire. It is true, affairs for several years have been managed unsuccessfully against the *Germans* and *Venetians*, not through the ill conduct of the Sultan, but of the Vizir and the officers of the army and treasury; and the deity being justly incensed by the unreasonable exactions of these plunderers, could not but thus chastise both them and us. But supposing the Sultan himself to be the occasion of these misfortunes, and therefore to be deposed, there cannot be found any person of the *Aliothman* race worthy to succeed him. His sons are not of age, and unequal to the burden of the Empire in the present difficult times; Both his brothers, especially *Soliman*, are men accustomed to daily and nightly devotions, but not to the hearing of the complaints of the citizens; are well skilled in the laws, but not in arms; in a word, are saints, but not soldiers. Their holy prayers offered from their closets may avail more than thousands of soldiers; but the disorder'd state of the *Othman* affairs requires not a Monk, but a vigorous and warlike Emperor, such as the present Sultan must be allowed to be by all who reflect on his heroic actions, and his administration of the Empire forty years with the highest applause. They should therefore divert the soldiers under their influence from such designs, and not suffer the burden of so great an Empire to be laid on a person unqualified for it." The Vizir probably would have prevailed upon the conspirators, if they had not begun to suspect his fidelity, when he so earnestly endeavoured to detain the army at *Adrianople*.

CLXXXVII. Being confirmed in this suspicion by what the Vizir had proposed to them, they feign, whilst in his presence, a readiness to perform what was required of them; but as soon as they are out of his palace, they meet in *Orta Jami* (96), which stands in the ancient lodgings of the Janizaries, acquaint their companions with what they had heard from the Vizir; and publicly declaring he had broken his oath, and was secretly in the interest of *Mahomet*, advise the

Having sworn fidelity, he is dismissed by the Sultan, and endeavours to oppose the sedition.

The leaders of the rebellion declare the Vizir guilty of a breach of his oath.

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(96) *Orta Jami*.] a temple in the midst of the Janizaries *Chambers*, in which they meet to say their prayers; to consult about any matter, or when they are obliged to present any request to the Sultan: They often make use of the same place to excite one another to

sedition. And therefore when the Emperors are afraid of a rebellion, they chiefly observe what is doing in the *Orta Jami*, and if they perceive any commotions there, they endeavour to quell them in time.

rest to take care of themselves, and execute their designs, before they are circumvented by the artifices of the perfidious Vizir.

And break out into open rebellion.

CLXXXVIII. By this, like fire by oil, the flame of sedition is increased. The Janizaries and all the rest of the soldiery run armed in great bodies through the Streets, crying out, the Sultan, both unfortunate and indolent, ought to be deposed, and *Soliman* advanced in his room, who by his prayers would appease the divine indignation. They are soon after joined by the *Ulema*, partly of their own accord, and partly out of necessity; whom when the common people behold, every one thinking remissness at such a time to be criminal, snatch up what weapons are at hand, and repair to the church of *Santa Sophia*. There *Nakyb* (97) and *Sheikh* (98) offer themselves to the rest as leaders and directors of the intended consultation. But before any thing is proposed, they order, in the name of the whole *Musulman* Nation, the *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, *Kioprii Mustapha Pasha*, to be sent for.

The Sherif Sheikh of Sophia publickly persuades the Sultan's deposition.

CLXXXIX. When he, more out of fear of the seditious, than of his own accord, was come to the assembly, the *Sherif* of *Sophia* represents to them, in a long speech, how many calamities the *Othman* Empire had suffered; how many castles and flourishing provinces, subdued by their ancestors with so much labour and effusion of blood, were lost; and how many great misfortunes were still to be expected, if the *Othman* government should be continued in the hands of such an Emperor, who took no care of the army and state, but only of hawks and hounds, and suffered the treasures, *Beitulmalimusulman*, out of which the soldiers, who shed their blood for the propagation of the faith, and defence of the honour and bounds of the Empire, ought to be paid, to be devoured and wasted by robbers and eunuchs (99). After many other reproaches of this kind, directing his speech to the *Caimacan*, he puts him in mind of the great services done to the Empire by his ancestors, the two celebrated Vizirs *Muhammed* and *Ahmed*; and admonishes him, as a diligent imitator of their example, to assist, with his great abilities, the *Othman* Empire in this exigence, and avert the impending danger.

The Sultan attempts to destroy his brothers, who are preserved by *Bostanji Bashi*.

CXC. As he is going to urge more to this purpose, he is interrupted by a sudden tumult in the church, and a report that *Shehzade* are in danger. For the Sultan, when he was informed the conspirators were met in the church of *St. Sophia*, and having sent for the *Caimacan*, were consulting to depose him, seeing that, in this desperate case, no other remedy could be applied but the death of his brothers, had sent some of his chamberlains to dispatch them. But *Bostanji Bashi* being acquainted with this affair by some courtiers, bribed by the Sultan's enemies, had surrounded the apartments of *Soliman* and *Ahmed* with a regiment of *Bostanji's*, and having repulsed the Sultan's chamberlains, informed the assembly of the danger the Sultan's brothers were in: the rebels, fired with this news, again apply themselves to *Nakyb* and the *Sherif* of *Sophia*, and desire them instantly to proclaim the deposition of *Mahomet*, and declare *Soliman* Emperor; for there is no occasion for further consultation, since the Sultan's attempt upon the life of his

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(97) *Nakyb*,] Properly *Nakyb Esref*, the holy Overseer, the Keeper of *Sanjaki Sherif*, that is, of the Holy Standard, of which I have given an account. This Person is chosen by the Sultan from among the *Emirs*, or the descendants of *Mahomet's* sister, and is no way inferior in dignity to the *Mufti* himself. He alone hath power over all the *Emirs*, and, without his knowledge, even the Sultan cannot strike an *Emir*, or do him the least hurt. But, because it would be dangerous to entrust any one man long with so much power, the Sultan often

changes them; but when they are once appointed, he cannot take their salary from them, but is obliged to pay it them as long as they live.

(98) *Sheikh*] I have before said, that *Sheikh* is the prelate or head of a temple. Here it is only to be observed, that the *Sheikh* of *Santa Sophia* takes place of all other *Sheikhs*.

(99) eunuchs] He means the chief Eunuch *Yusuf aga*, who had so much authority at that time, that he alone seemed to govern the whole Empire.

brothers,

brothers, though other reasons were wanting, affords a sufficient ground for deposing him. On the other hand, it is to be feared, if the execution of the design be delayed; their guards may be bribed, and the *Musulman* nation, for want of lawful heirs, be obliged against their wills to acknowledge *Mahomet* Emperor.

CXCI. The inconsiderate multitude would perhaps by force have deposed the Sultan, and even attempted his life, if the prudence and authority of the *Caimacan*, *Kioprii Oglu Mustapha Pasha*, had not prevented it. For, perceiving what desperate resolutions the conspirators had taken, and that they could not by any means be diverted from their purpose, he too that he might not, by an unreasonable opposition, render himself suspected, pretends to approve of their opinion. Having thereby gained the favour of the people, he advises the assembly "not to proceed in a tumultuous manner, or do any rash thing, which might fix an indelible infamy even upon their posterity. The *Musulman* nation has great and just reasons of complaint against their Emperor, for which it must be owned he deserves to be deposed; but this ought to be done in such a manner, that both the honour of the *Othman* family may be preserved, and care taken that greater tumults may not arise, and utterly destroy the already tottering Empire. There is no occasion for haste, since nothing is generally more detrimental to publick officers, and there is no fear of the life of *Shehzade*, since they are carefully guarded by *Bostanji Bashi*; but it will be more agreeable to the *Othman* honour and custom, to send *Sheikh Sherif* and *Nakyb* to the Sultan, to declare him deposed in the name of the *Ulema*, soldiery, and the whole *Musulman* nation, and desire him, of his own accord, to leave the palace, and resign the Empire to his brother *Soliman*."

The excellent advice of *Kioprii Oglu Mustapha*.

CXCII. This advice being approved, the whole assembly send *Nakyb* and *Sheikh Sherif* with this fatal message to the Sultan. At first they refuse this office, but afterwards, for fear of the enraged multitude, they undertake it, and trembling, proceed to execute the commands of the people. When they come to the Sultan, they first humbly deliver their commission, then ask pardon for their boldness, because the incensed multitude had forced them, unwilling to take upon them this office, and advise him to submit to the demands of the confederated army and people.

They declare to the Sultan by their deputies that he was deposed.

CXCIII. Sultan *Mahomet* having heard the messengers with great tranquillity, says, "You tell me nothing new or unexpected; for I have long since found, that the common people are corrupted by the *Ulema*, desirous of a change, and engaged by them in their rebellion. I could indeed at the first, if not have extinguished the flame, at least have taken away the fuel of it, by banishing you; but, trusting in the consciousness of having acted rightly, I chose rather to commit the event to God, than to make my self the arbiter of it. For, from the seventh year of my age, through a course of fifty years, which I have governed this Empire, I do not remember I have done any thing unjust, or contrary to the precepts of the *Musulman* law, or omitted any thing which seemed conducive to the propagation of our law among infidels, or the enlarging the bounds of the Empire. How many intestine commotions from that time to this last war have I appeased? how many enemies both at home and abroad have I defeated? how many noble victories and triumphs over the infidels have I gained? how many Provinces and Kingdoms have I subjected to the *Othman* yoke by my indefatigable labours and industry; and how increased the number of *Pashalicks*? The most warlike inhabitants of *Poland*, *Transylvania*, and *Hungary*, whose valour has been often felt by our ancestors, not without loss, partly voluntarily, and partly by force, have submitted to our Empire under my conduct, and promised to become tributary. The *Venetians*, formerly lords of almost all the seas, under my administration have been expelled the *White-Sea*; and *Candia*, the largest, strongest, and most flourishing of islands, subdued. These cities, which seemed to reach almost to heaven, *Cameniec*, *Candia*, *Vyvar*, partly by my self, and partly by my generals, have I wrested from the Enemy, and with these bulwarks resolved to guard,

The heroic answer of the Sultan to the rebels.

“ guard, from all hostile attacks, those very persons, who since elated with their wealth gained during a long peace, are determined to dethrone me. By all these things, when I seem to merit not the curses of the people, but their applause and prayers for my welfare, I cannot even guess at any other pretence for your and their impious attempt, except the breach of the peace with the Emperor of Germany before the expiration of the truce, and the four years ill success of the war under my administration. But if I seem to you to deserve so grievous a punishment for that fault, you do not perhaps consider, that yourselves first persuaded me to the war, and the Musti, the head of your confederacy, by his *Fetvab*, pronounced our arms to be just. By what right therefore do you impute to me the ill success occasioned by the indolence of the soldiers, and the negligence of the generals, and whilst you are unwilling to acknowledge your misconduct to be the cause of our misfortunes, accuse your innocent Emperor. It is certain, they are not mine, but the peoples crimes, which have raised God's indignation against the *Musulmans*, destroyed so many forces, and delivered up so many cities and provinces to the enemy. When the divine wrath might have been appeased by fervent tears, frequent prayers, purity, and goodness, by your instigation, who ought to have been the teachers and guardians of the laws, the people contemning the divine precepts, the prophetic oracles, and the honour of the *Aliothman* name, presume to disturb my old age, to trample upon my reputation, and to bring destruction upon the whole Empire. To prevent this, what have I not done? what concessions have I not made to the soldiers? did they demand their pay? I sold all my jewels, and emptied my treasury, to pay them to a farthing. Did they require the heads of my ministers, who served me and the Empire faithfully? even these I sacrificed to their fury. Did they insist that *Siavus Pasha*, though the partner and head of their conspiracy, and the first author of the commotions, should be made Vizir? This also I granted, to cut off all pretence of complaint against me. Did they desire a man necessitous, and infamous for rapine, and other crimes, to be appointed Pasha, I submitted to it, though he was destitute of all virtues. What is the offence therefore by which I have raised the resentments of the people, the army, the *Ulema*, and all the other orders of the nation, so highly against me, that they should entirely forget the former services which I have done them, and endeavour to remove me, like a worthless man, from my father's throne. But though I know the people, by your authority, are too deeply engaged and confirmed in their wicked design, to be brought to repent and reform their conduct; yet I know the righteous God will prove my avenger, and severely punish the corrupted people for the injury now offered me.”

The insolent behaviour of Nakh.

CXCIV. *Nakyb*, unmoved with the Sultan's speech, uses still greater insolence towards him, and answers, without any sense of modesty, that he was not sent by the people to hear his apology, but to command him, in the name of the whole *Musulman* assembly, to quit the throne. If therefore he was desirous to preserve his honour and life, he should, of his own accord, resign the government to his brother *Soliman*; but if he opposed the will of the whole city, the assembly would notwithstanding execute their resolutions. *Mahomet*, hearing this, submits to necessity, and says to the messengers, “ since I see the divine indignation, raised by the sins of the *Musulmans*, discharged on my head, go and tell my brother, that God's decree is declared by the mouth of the people, and he is appointed governor of the *Aliothman* Empire.”

Sultan Mahomet is deposed. H. 1097. A. C. 1588.

CXCV. Sultan *Mahomet*, having said this on the third of the month *Mubarrem*, of the year 1099, resigns the imperial sceptre; and after this misfortune, for five years, a thing very uncommon, lives closely confined in his apartment, and at last, in the month *Jemaziul evvel*, of the year 1104, departs out of this world. He lived fifty-two, and reigned forty years, five months, and sixteen days. He left, by different wives, seven sons, two of whom, *Mustapha* and *Ahmed*, were advanced to the Empire: the rest died in their infancy.

CXCVI. He

CXCVI. He was a Prince eminent for justice and warlike abilities, of great clemency, and very happy, except the last four years. There was but one thing which his enemies could reproach him with, namely, his immoderate love of hunting in the latter years of his reign, to the neglect of the care of his Empire. He is reported by some to have been poisoned by his brother, Sultan *Ahmed*, at the instigation of the Vizir *Arabaji Ali Pasha*; who desired that certain great men should be put to death, and meeting, by *Mahomet's* advice, with a repulse from Sultan *Ahmed*, sought revenge, and suborned *Munejin Bashi* (100), to foretell, from the stars, that *Mahomet*, having deposed his brother, would re-ascend the throne; by which means he induced Sultan *Ahmed* to hasten his death by poison. But, besides that it is usual at *Constantinople*, upon the decease of all the Emperors, to spread among the vulgar a rumour of their being poisoned, it is universally known that *Mahomet*, before he was deposed, was continually troubled with the gout in his hands and feet; to which was added the hypochondriack distemper, occasioned by melancholy during his five years confinement, by which all his vital spirits were at last exhausted.

Mahomet's character and death.

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(100) *Munejin Bashi*,] the chief Astrologer. There are four officers in the inner *Othman* court, that are reckoned to be ecclesiastics, and if they leave the palace, are to be a *Caunlakker* or *Mollab* of *Constantinople*. Namely, 1. *Hojje*, or the Emperor's preceptor. 2. *Hekim Effendi*, the chief physician. 3. *Munejin Bashi*. 4. *Jerrab Bashi*, the chief surgeon.

The End of the Reign of MAHOMET IV.





The REIGN of
S O L I M A N II.
 Twentieth EMPEROR of the *TURKS.*

BOOK IV. CHAP. II.

Sultan Soliman is obliged to ascend the imperial throne.

I. **S**ULTAN *Mahomet* being deposed, *Bostanji Basbi* (1) first goes to *Soliman*, still confined in his chamber, and, prostrating himself to the ground, pays the obeysance due to the Emperor, and desires him to come forth and ascend the *Aliothman* throne, vacant by his brother's deposition, and offered him by the whole *Musulman* nation. *Soliman*, contrary to the expectation of all, is extremely grieved at this message, and says, "Why, in the name of the immortal God, do you endeavour to disturb my tranquillity? Suffer me, I entreat you, to pass in peace, in my cell, the few days I have to live, and let my brother rule the *Othman* Empire; for he was born to rule, but I to the study of eternal life." *Bostanji Basbi* at first is amazed at these words, but, recovering himself, continues to press the Prince, alledging, the Vizirs, *Ulema*, Nobles, and the whole People, declare him Emperor; and that their resolution could not be altered, nor Sultan *Mahomet* be restored, without the greatest detriment to the Empire. *Soliman*, still in suspense, says, he owed too great a reverence to his brother, to take possession of his throne, which he had undoubtedly left with reluctance.

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(1) *Bostanji Basbi* the chief of the *Bostanji*, and Keeper of the Emperor's palaces. There are two of this name in the *Othman* Empire; one at *Constantinople*, and the other at *Adrianople*, because the *Othman* Emperors have palaces in both those cities. And though since the time of Sultan *Mahomet Fatih*, the Emperors have chosen *Constantinople* for the royal seat of the whole Empire, yet they often honour with their presence the former metropolis of the growing *Othman* dominion. These two *Bostanji Basbi's* are equal in honour and rank, but not in jurisdiction and revenues. He at *Adrianople* has nothing entrusted to his care but the Emperor's palace at *Adrianople*, and the charge of the Sultan's Sons, whenever he resides in that place: but the other at *Constantinople* has moreover full jurisdic-

tion over all the sea-coasts, from the mouth of the *Danube* to *Mount Atlas*. Whenever the Emperor goes in his barge, his business is, either to go before the Sultan in his boat, and clear the way, or else to steer the Sultan's barge. He must know all the sea-coast, and the buildings standing thereon, and be able to answer any questions made him by the Sultan, concerning them or their owners; and as they are almost without number, nobody, but what has been a common *Bostanji*, is qualified to bear that office. When the Sultan comes into his barge, he holds him under the arm, and is for that reason ranked among the *Coltuk* Vizirs (of which I shall give an account below) and cannot be dismissed from his office but with three *Tuzi*.



Soliman, II.
 Twentieth EMPEROR of the *TURKS,*
 in the Year 1687.
 From an Original in the Seraglio.

" II. I would come forth (continues he) but am afraid of my brother." At last *Bostanji Baschi*, impatient of delay, says, " You must give way, most resplendent Emperor, to the entreaties and wishes of the *Musulman* people:" and with these words forces him, as it were, out of the chamber, and leads him to the throne. When he came to the room where the throne used to be placed, he first, not without signs of fear, desires *Bostanji Baschi* and the door-keepers to take care, lest his brother should be within, since he dreaded to appear in his presence. Being assured his brother was removed to another apartment, he at last mounts the throne, and is saluted Emperor by all the courtiers.

III. The ceremony being performed, he immediately leaps from the throne, as from an impure place, and demands *Abdest*, that is, water to cleanse his hands, head, and feet. This being brought, he deserts returning to the throne, and when the courtiers press him to it, he puts his finger to his mouth, and enjoins them silence (2). At last, notwithstanding his reluctance, he is again seated in the throne, and, according to custom, admits the *Ulema* and Nobles to kiss his robe.

IV. He confirms the Vizir, *Siavus Pascha*, in his post, and having presented him with an ermin vest, commands him to discharge the duties of his office faithfully, and to the utmost of his power compose the sedition of the army and people.

V. Upon *Siavus Pascha's* return to his palace, the *Buluk Agalari* (3) first reverence him as Vizir, but afterwards demand their pay, and a new *Bachschisch* (4),

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(2) silence] the *Turks* superstitiously observe what their new Sultans, when they first mount the throne, say, ask, or command; and even with what action they begin their reign, and from thence guess at the Sultan's inclination, future actions and government, and very often are right in their conjectures. Certainly, as they inferred from *Soliman's* putting his finger to his mouth, and enjoining silence, that he would perform nothing memorable, so it accordingly happened.

(3) *Buluk Agalari*,] the commanders of the regiments of the Janizaries, and the superior officers that are made from amongst them, as *Bashbuluk Baschi*, *Kiebaieri*, *Mabzar Aga*, *Sampsonji Baschi*, *Zagarji*, *Baschi*, and *Kulkiebasi*, are all called by one common name of *Buluk Agalari*. All the regiments also of the *Spahi's* are named *Buluk*, and their officers *Buluk Agalari*.

(4) *Bachschisch*.] This word denotes a gift bestowed out of mere kindness, but a customary gift, which cannot be reckoned alms. When, upon the death or deposition of their predecessor, the Sultans first mount the throne, they give a *Bachschisch* to all the chosen troops that are at that time at *Constantinople*, except those belonging to the *Pascha's*, and this is called *julus akcebsi**, the money of the new or of the renewed Empire. There are given to each Janizary twenty *Leonines*, and to every *Spahi* twenty-five; and if the payment is refused or deferred, they may demand them as a debt: nay, the soldiers have often given up to the Sultans, when they were in straits, one or two *Kyft*, or three months pay; but I never heard that they ever remitted the *julus Bachschisch*. This was

first introduced into the *Ottoman Empire* by *Soliman Canuni*, the author of all the regulations in that state. It seems indeed, at first sight, to be an injury to the Empire, because the hope of obtaining the *Bachschisch* is a perpetual cause of sedition in the greedy soldiers; and it has already been found by experience, that most of the rebellions and depositions of the Sultans, have been raised and carried on by nothing so much as this, that the Janizaries, eager for a change in the government, have been, allured by the expectation of this *Bachschisch*, to join in conspiracies with the Sultan's enemies. But whoever shall attentively consider the end of this law, and the legislator's design, will not be able sufficiently to admire his divine prudence, and consummate knowledge in politics. For being willing so to settle the Empire, as that it might not be exposed to any injuries from without, nor convulsions from within; and withal fearing lest his successors, blinded with the absolute power they had over their subjects, should, by pride, tyranny, and other vices, disperse what he had been gathering together; he bound them by such a law, as might induce them to preserve the imperial dignity, and at the same time deter them from evil, for fear of disturbances, if the love of virtue was not sufficient to engage them thereto. For he foresaw, that necessity would oblige them to take particular care, that nothing unjust or tyrannical should be committed within their dominions, in order to take off from the malecontents, allured by a reward to rebellion, the least occasion of finding fault with any of the Emperor's actions: and, by that means, the sagacious soldiers

which used to be given to the soldiers as a *julus*, or the beginning of a new reign. The Vizir seeing nothing remaining but catalogues either in the foreign or domestic treasury, amuses the officers for some time with words, and then endeavours to separate the chief authors of the disturbances from the rest of the conspirators, under the pretence of promoting them, and to send them to cities at a great distance. By this conduct, the hatred conceived by the soldiers against the Vizir, when he attempted to confirm Sultan *Mahomet* in the throne, is revived. And therefore assembling in the *Orta Jami*, they take arms, and in companies run through the streets, crying out, the Vizir ought to be put to death as an enemy of Sultan *Soliman*, a deserter, and a violator of his promises.

The rebels kill the Vizir in his palace.

VI. The Vizir, hearing of their assembling, and suspecting the case, retired with his officers to his palace, and, shutting the gates, resolved to die fighting. Soon after the seditious approach, surround the palace, and cry out for the gates to be opened, since they had something to impart to the Vizir. *Siavus Pascha*, being assured of their designs, denies them entrance, and, as they attempt to break open the gates, repels them with the arms he had found by chance in the palace, and kills about twenty Janizaries. The soldiers, more enraged by the death of their companions, rush with their whole force upon the gates, and, breaking them open, enter the palace. The Vizir shoots several with arrows from his chamber, which was opposite to the gate: his officers, about an hundred in number, with their arms prevent the rebels from ascending, and force them into the *Divanchane* (5); and when they wanted arrows, with drawn swords they stoutly

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keeping a watchful eye over the publick corruptions, out of a desire of gain, would give prudent governors to the state, who should be sensible, that, upon the least abuse of their power, they were liable to be deprived of the same.

(5) *Divanchane*,] the *House of Judgment*, or the place where the people's complaints are heard. There is upon the second floor of the Vizir's palace a very large space, which has walls on three sides of it; but the fourth side, where stands the stair-case, is supported by pillars; and it is so contrived, that the pleaders may be the better heard, and more light let in; and those who stand upon the stairs hear what is done above. In the middle of the wall, facing the entry, is an arch made, in the upper part whereof is written, in golden letters, the confession of the *Mahometan Faith*, which I have so often mentioned. Under it is a seat placed for the Vizir, in which he sits after the *European* manner, with his legs hanging down. On the south wall there is a lamp painted, which is a sign of a *Mibrab*, or altar, towards which the *Turks* are to turn their faces when they say their prayers. For the contending parties being often hindered from repairing to a *Jami*, to say the *Namaz* at the usual time, while they are waiting for the issue of their cause, that sign was invented for their conveniency, that nothing may hinder them, upon the cryer's notice, from saying their prayers, even in the midst of all the noise that is made in the place. Now the form of judicial proceedings among the *Turks*, is in this manner. Four times

every week, namely, on *Fridays*, *Saturdays*, *Mondays*, and *Wednesdays*, the Vizir is obliged to appear in the *Divan*, and administer justice to the people, unless he be hindered by very important affairs, which seldom happens. But if he is hindered, the *Cbausb* * *Bashi* supplies his place. *Sundays* and *Tuesdays* are set apart for the Sultan's *Divan*, or *Galibe Divan*. *Thursdays* are days of rest, from whence they are called *ditil Giuni*. The Vizir has for assistants, on *Fridays* both the *Kazivalaskiers*, the *Anatolian* on his left hand, and the *Rumelian* on his right; the former sitting only as hearer, and the latter as judge: on *Saturdays*, *Galata Mollasi*, or the judge of *Pera*: on *Mondays*, *Eiub Mollasi* and *Iskinder Mollasi*: on *Wednesdays*, *Iskambol Essendi*. Before they come, both the parties are placed by the *Cbausb* * *Bashi* in two rows, with a *Cbausb* * as a guard, and are ordered to wait for the Vizir's coming, holding their *Arzabal* before them. When the Vizir is come, and has commanded the gold cloth, called *Eisbir*, on which he writes, to be set; read, the first suitor on the left hand gives his petition to his *Cbausb* *: The *Cbausb* * presents it to the *Cbausb* * *Bashi*, or other of his officers, such as are *Cbausbolar* * *Katibi*, and *Cbausbolar* * *emini*, and this gives it to *Buiuk Teshkieresi*, who stands on the Vizir's left side. The *Teshkieresi* reads the *Arzabal* with a loud voice, after which both parties are publicly heard. The reasons being examined on both sides, the assessors, whoever they are, stand up, and briefly summing up the whole matter, declare what sentence

ought,

stoutly defend their master. A warm and bloody conflict ensues, above an hundred and fifty of the conspirators are killed upon the stairs, and as many wounded; but at last number overcomes valour, and many of the Vizir's party are slain, the rest fly to the top of the house, and from thence throw themselves into the street. His people being dispersed, the Vizir again retires to his chamber, and in the door, with his sword, kills twelve Janizaries; but at last, rather wearied with conquering, than conquered himself, he is beat down and killed by the soldiers, who cut his body in pieces, and throw them out of the windows into the street.

VII. After this, excited by a rage unheard of among the *Turks*, they break into the women's apartment, and, cutting the noses, hands and feet of the Vizir's wife (6) and sister, drag them naked through the streets, and commit other execrable crimes upon the slaves and female-servants. The Vizir's family being destroyed, they rove, like ravenous wolves, through the city, and kill and plunder all they meet, as if partners with the Vizir in his guilt. A dreadful face of things appears, and the whole city would have been ruined, if the *Ulema*, first authors of the tumult, had not composed it: for they, perceiving the danger, immediately assemble at the imperial palace, and there display *Mahomet's Sanjaki Sherif**, and, by the cryers, proclaim that all *Musulmans*, who would not be esteemed infidels, should meet under that standard. The citizens and inhabitants of *Constantinople* first hasten thither; and then the Janizaries, that they might not appear rebels, and regardless of the standard of their prophet, lay down their arms, and submit to it, crying out, they had armed, not against the Sultan, but his perfidious enemy, the Vizir, whom they had punished; and therefore were now ready to do whatever the Sultan should think proper, since they had given him power of life and death over them.

With unheard of cruelty they fall upon his women, and would have plundered the city, if they had not been prevented by the *Ulema*.

* Holy standard.

VIII. The tumult being thus appeased, *Coja Ismail Pascha* (7) is appointed Vizir, and the rebels return to their quarters. But this calm lasted not long; for a few days after the Sultan commands the Vizir to endeavour to seize privately the leaders of the rebellion, and put them to death. While the Vizir is attempting this with great earnestness, the Janizaries again take arms, and calling an assembly in *Orta Jami*, threaten destruction to both the Sultan and Vizir.

Coja Ismail Pascha made Vizir; but a sedition again breaking out, he is deprived of his post.

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ought, according to the divine judgment, to be passed; which, if the Vizir approves of, the *Teshkieresi* sets his hand in the upper vacant place of the *Arzabal*, and the Vizir confirms the sentence, by subscribing the word *Sab* (certain): But when the Vizir doubts of the justice of it, he hears the cause a second time, and if he finds that the assessor has wilfully given a wrong judgment, he orders the parties a *Hujjet*, or copy of the sentence, according to his own opinion. But in such a case, the assessors very earnestly maintain the justice of their opinion, as they not only may, but also are obliged to do; because if a judge among the *Turks* has once been found guilty of injustice, he can neither keep his place, nor ever expect to get another. While these things are doing on the left, the first man on the right-hand-row delivers his *Arzabal* by the fore-mentioned persons to the *Kincuk* * *Teshkieresi*, who first runs it over, that he may not be at a stand when he comes to read it; and as soon as the cause in hand is dispatched, then he reads it aloud. And thus they proceed till all the causes are heard:

No. 16.

nor can the *Divan* rise till night comes, or there are no more causes to hear. In the same place the *Spahi* also receive their pay in the Vizir's presence: but the Janizaries have their salary paid them in the *Galibe Divan*, or the Emperor's court, in purses; and these they carry to the *Kalkedonais*, who divides it among the troops, according to every one's allowance.

(6) Vizir's wife,] she was the daughter of the great and famous Vizir, *Kioprili Ahmed Pascha*, and sister of *Kioprili Mustafa Pascha*, who shortly after retook *Belgrade* from the *Germans*. The cruelty exercised on these by the enraged soldiers, turned more to their infamy than the rebellion it self, and the death of the innocent Vizir.

(7) *Coja Ismail Pascha*,] *Old Ismail Pascha*. He was at that time Aga of the Janizaries, and that the commotions might be the more easily appeased, and the Janizaries pacified with less trouble, he was made Vizir; but upon their second rebellion, he was, at the persuasion of *Kioprili Mustafa Pascha*, delivered up as a sacrifice to them, and banished to *Rhodes*.

4 X

The

The former, perceiving the storm would fall upon his head, by the advice of *Kiopri Mustafa Pasha*, throws the whole blame upon the Vizir (8) spreading a report that the Vizir, by his own authority, without the Sultan's knowledge or command, had made that attempt.

Tekkiurdagby
Mustapha
Pasha made
Vizir in his
room.

IX. And to gain credit to his words, he deprives him of his post, and banishes him to *Rhodes*, appointing *Tekkiurdagby Mustafa Pasha* Vizir in his room. These flames in the capital spread their fatal effects also into the rest of the provinces.

Egen Pasha
rebels in Ru-
melia: and
Giechuk Pasha
in Asia.

X. In *Rumelia*, *Egen Osman Pasha* (9), hearing *Mahomet* was deposed, and succeeded by *Soliman*, assembles a considerable body of *Spahis*, and engages them to send, with one consent, an *Arzabal* to the Vizir, and demand the *Bachschisti Julus* due to them. The Vizir pretending inability, and answering that the payment was to be delayed for some time, they raise what was due to them upon the inhabitants of *Rumelia*, and under that pretence plunder all *Bulgaria* as far as *Sophia*. In *Asia*, *Gieduk Pasha* inspires his troops with seditious designs, and being assisted with several thousand *Freebooters*, threatens to attack *Constantinople* itself. Not content with this, having plundered and subdued all the provinces of the *Anadol Beglerbeglic*, he marches his army to *Ismid Giechid** (10), and prepares to besiege *Chrysolis*, which he thought would be more easy to take, because the Janizaries seemed more sollicitous about their domestic than foreign enemies, and such as were equal to themselves in guilt.

The Janizaries
laying aside
their rebellious
designs, defeat
the rebel
Gieduk.

XI. But the Janizaries laying aside their rage, in the night before *Chrysolis* was to be attacked, pass over, and surround the city with trenches,

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(8) blame upon the Vizir] That supreme, and sometimes almost unlimited authority over the whole Empire, which the Sultans are wont to grant to the Vizirs, might indeed be attended with very dangerous consequences in other states; but it is the chief, if not the only support of the Othman Empire. For, besides that it is in the Sultan's power to cut off the Vizir whenever he pleases, unless his power has got too deep a root by long possession: what chiefly hinders the Vizirs from raising commotions is, that they are sensible they never will establish their fortune by the Sultan's deposition. And they can never place so sacred a diadem upon their own heads, by reason of the singular veneration the *Turks* have for the Othman race; nor promise to themselves the perpetual favor of the Sultan's successor, who never will place his confidence in a man that has been treacherous to his predecessor. When troubles arise, this is the only shield whereby the Sultans can defend themselves against the complaints and murmurs of the people, namely, by throwing the whole blame of the ill management of affairs upon the Vizir, and sacrificing him to the enraged multitude. That remedy has been seldom known to fail, nay, would never fail, did not the Sultans sometimes, out of too great a love for the Vizirs, neglect to punish them, and soften the discontented people by other proper lenitives. For many considerate persons think, the *Turks* would never have proceed-

ed so far as to depose Sultan *Mahomet* IV. a Prince famous for his long reign and many victories, had he not been too much bent to protect *Aineji Soliman Pasha*, (who had, according to the *Turkish* customs, forfeited his head, because the Imperialists had in 1686 taken *Buda*, whilst he was looking on, and defeated him near *Sieles*) and not put him to death till affairs were in a desperate condition: neither would *Mustapha* have been turned out, had he but delivered *Rami Mahomet Pasha* and the *Musli*, with their sons, into the rebels hands.

(9) *Egen Osman Pasha*] a man noted for his robberies in *Asia*. He was at first appointed *Basha* in the neighbourhood of *Cazdagby*, with two horse-tails; and when the Othman Empire was miserably distressed both within and without, he plundered all the adjacent provinces with the troops under his command, which were reckoned the stoutest in all *Asia*; nay, he threatened to destroy *Izkinder*, and even the royal city: but at last being reconciled to Sultan *Soliman*, and having obtained his pardon, he brought with him above a thousand *Freebooters* against the *Germans*; and yet he was put to death as soon as he came to *Constantinople*.

(10) *Ismid Giechid*] so is the gulph of *Nicomedia* called, that reaches from the *Propontis* to the *Euxine* Sea. The name of *Giechid**, that is, *Passage*, was given to it, because the way leading from *Asia* to *Constantinople* lies near that gulph.

upon

upon which *Gieduk Pasha* retires with his party, and is soon after defeated by the bravery of the Othman army.

XII. While the whole Othman Empire is thus shaken by intestine commotions, the imperial army subdues the most formidable bulwarks of *Hungary*. *Agria*, the strongest fortress of *Upper-Hungary*, after four months close siege, is obliged by famine, to surrender to the Imperialists on the 20th of the month *Muharrem* of the year 1099. The same fate befalls *Mongat*, a castle almost impregnable in *Upper Hungary*, which had been some years before not only fortified by *Tekeli* with a strong garrison and new works, but also made by him the repository of his wife, treasures, and records. He being seized as I have related, and *Cassovia* lost, his wife, the heroine of our age, had assembled there what forces she could, and stored the place with plenty of provision, in hopes to defend it till the war should be finished, or the *Turkish* army march to her relief.

Agria and
other cities of
Hungary sur-
rendered to
the Imperial-
ists.
H. 1099.
A. C. 1688.

XIII. After the *Turkish* forces were driven out of the neighbourhood, Count *Terci* in the year 1098, had attempted likewise to subdue their castle, and for several months assaulted it with cannon and bombs. But finding it ineffectual, on account of the heroic valour and singular firmness of that Lady, (who deserved commendation, if she had exerted her great qualities in defence of her country) he had blocked up the castle at a distance, and cut off all provision to such a degree, that *Tekeli's* Princess, conquered rather by famine than the enemy's sword, on the 14th of the month *Rebiul ewvel*, of the year 1099*, surrendered herself and the castle to the mercy of the Emperor.

The Imperial-
ists having
taken *Mongat*,
carry away
Tekeli's wife
prisoner.

* Jan. 6.
1688.

XIV. When the accounts of these misfortunes are brought to *Constantinople*, they again inspire the common people and soldiers with seditious purposes. They had been in hopes, that since Sultan *Mahomet*, author of the unjust war was deposed, and the government conferred upon *Soliman*, a Prince, as they imagined, of great sanctity, that the divine wrath would be appeased, and the enemies repelled, who seemed to threaten the inner provinces of the Empire. When they found themselves deceived in their expectation, they throw libels into the *Jami* and *Divan*, containing reproaches against the Sultan's negligence, and other devices both in prose and verse, by which not only the Vizir and Nobles, but the Sultan himself was sharply satyrized. The Vizir very carefully watches these things, orders a guard day and night to pass through the city, prevents nightly assemblies, in which he knew such weapons were generally contrived, and seizes some persons, who had unwarily uttered, in publick, satirical expressions, but not to add oyl to the flames, he dismissed them without punishment.

The restless
disposition of
the *Turks* at-
tempts a new
rebellion.

XV. At last, the Sultan's natural timorousness produces what courage could scarce have done, the best remedy for this evil. For *Soliman*, prompted by his fear, resolves to leave *Constantinople*, and withdraw from the authors of the sedition, which design being approved, under pretence of changing the air, he moves to *Adrianople* with his nobles and whole court. Indeed the people of *Constantinople* seemed to have cause to complain of the ill administration of affairs, though they did not impute it to the proper persons. For how much the treasury was exhausted, and to how great a necessity that opulent Empire was reduced, evidently appeared from what happened in that journey. For when the Sultan was just ready to depart, the master of the horse comes to him, and tells him, there are not in the stables so many horses, mules, and camels, as were necessary for the whole court. The Sultan, as he was of a mild temper, orders what was wanted to be hired, and the money to be paid by the *Tefterdar*. He being sent for, and declaring, there was not so much money in the treasury, *Soliman* commands the gold and silver vessels and jewels to be sold in the publick market, and with the money his necessities to be supplied. Thus with difficulty he departs from *Constantinople* upon hired horses and chariots, and by this means prevents the sedition just ready to break out.

The fearfulness
of the
Sultan ap-
pears the se-
dition, when
even fortitude
would scarce
have had that
effect.

XVI. When he is come to *Adrianople*, he pretends to apply himself wholly to the care of the war, but as the law of the *Koran* and superstitious devotions were much more agreeable to him, than arms and soldiers, he sends *Zuulficar Effendi*

He goes to
Adrianople,
from whence
he sends am-
bassadors to
the Emperor
to desire
peace.

Effendi (11), clerk of the Janizaries, and *Alexander Maurocordatos* (12) interpreter of the *Divan*, ambassadors to the Emperor of *Germany*, under pretence of

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(11) *Zuulficar Effendi*] A native of *Constantinople*, who was in great reputation at the *Othman* court on account of his learning. Besides his personal virtues, the place of *Tengichevi* *Effendi* or Clerk of the Janizaries, which he held, rendered him considerable at court. That officer's business is, to keep all the lists of the Janizaries, to give each of them a Testimonium subscribed with his own hand, to call them all by name to receive their pay, and in short to confirm whatever is transacted between the Janizaries, by setting his name thereto, by which means it is incredible what vast riches he can acquire by lawful and unlawful ways. For, besides his Salary, which is pretty large, he receives considerable presents from the Janizary-officers whenever they are promoted, and that oftener happens amongst them than any where else, partly by reason of the great number of officers in that body, and also from the frequent changes of the *Aga* of the Janizaries; for it is the custom every where in *Turkey*, not to appear before any Clerk without a present. Moreover, when the Janizaries receive their pay, he gives in the *Pajida* (or Note containing each Janizary's name, which all of them are obliged to have,) of many that are dead or absent, and by that means gets their pay for himself: Not to mention other ways of enriching himself, in which no people are equal to the *Turks* for invention. He left one son, *Osman aga*, who after the death of *Daltaban*, was, by the interest of *Maurocordatus*, promoted to the place of *Kiebaia*.

(12) *Maurocordatus*] A man so well known to all *Europe*, that there is no occasion to give a long history of his life: however for the sake of the curious I shall add something concerning his pedigree, of which there are only uncertain accounts. In the reign of *Murad IV.* famous for the taking of *Bagdad*, there lived at *Constantinople*, a very rich *Greek*, known by his registred name of *σκαρλάτος*, (*Scarlatos*) who was *Sorguj*, or purveyor to the court for sheep and oxen. That employment is commonly given to some *Greek*, because they can more easily buy from the *Christians*, the sheep and oxen that are to supply the Sultan's and the Janizaries kitchens. Having by that business raised a very large fortune, he began to be known, and to have some interest at court, as is very easy for rich people. There was at that time a great enmity between *Basilus* Prince of *Moldavia* and *Matthew* Prince of *Wallachia*,

each endeavouring to thrust the other out of his respective Principality; but because they were both rich and powerful at court, they hurt only their own treasures. *Scarlatos* was of *Basilus's* side, and making use of his credit with the *Vizir* and courtiers to *Matthew's* prejudice, raised him daily almost insuperable obstacles. *Matthew* attempted several ways to draw him into his party; but all in vain. At last, upon the death of his wife, he demands his only daughter *Loxandra* in marriage, hoping, that alliance in blood, would easily do, what money had not been able to effect. *Scarlatos* giving his consent, *Matthew* has the *Espousals* solemnized at *Constantinople*, by their *Capukiebaia* in a splendid manner, and sends some Barons and Baronesses to *Constantinople* with a grand retinue to fetch the bride. But, a few days after the *espousals*, *Loxandra* falls ill of the small-pox, which not only spoiled her beauty, but also destroyed one of her eyes. *Scarlatos* carefully conceals that blemish, and sends his daughter to her spouse with a large portion, bidding her keep herself veiled after the *Turkish* fashion during her journey, and not show her face to any person, till after the marriage-ceremony was over; hoping, that if that was once performed, the Prince would be obliged to keep her for his wife, whether he would or no. She veil'd herself in her journey without any suspicion; but arriving at *Targovistium*, where she was received into magnificent Lodgings, when she would permit none to come to her, except the maid-servants she had brought from home, the Prince suspecting something in that secrecy so unusual among *Christians*, asked leave first for himself alone, and then for some of the Baronesses to wait upon her; but he was refused both, the young Lady pretending, her father had laid a strict injunction upon her, and charged her with horrid imprecations, not to show her face to any person as long as she continued a virgin; which injunction included not only men but also women. The Prince, either out of good-nature, or for fear of her father's power, did not press her any further, but only intimated, that he guessed by her being so shy of showing herself, she had some imperfection or blemish in her body: To which she artfully replied, she had all that was requisite in a virgin, but if the Prince repented of his engagement, she was ready that very hour to return to her country; for that *Scarlatos's* daughter would never want a husband. The Prince

of informing him of his election, but in reality to settle a peace upon what terms they could procure.

XVII. The

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deceived by the young Lady's smart answer, immediately made very great preparations for his wedding. She is brought veiled from her lodgings to the palace, and from thence to the Church. When the Prince, after the marriage-ceremony, comes into his bed-chamber, and sees that his bride was very ugly, and had lost her right eye, he sends her immediately untouched, or as others say, two days after, from the palace to her old lodgings, and has her conveyed honorably to her father, with her whole dower, and the wedding presents, which were said to amount to an hundred and fifty purses. *Scarlatos* took this very heinously, and sought many ways to be revenged for the contempt of his daughter, but his death prevented his designs, for a few days after his daughter's return, he is stabbed by a Janizary, said to be bribed by *Basilus* Prince of *Moldavia*. After his death, *Loxandra*, who was both a virgin and a widow, remained many years unmarried, though she was very rich. For the *Greek* nobles then at *Constantinople*, did not seek for riches, but beauty, and cared not to purchase money at the price of so disagreeable a marriage; and those that were of mean extraction she slighted, as being the daughter of one of the most considerable men of his time, and a Prince's spouse. There came at that time to *Constantinople*, one *Pantelis Maurocordatus*, a *Chian*, commonly called *Panteli*, who was indeed noble by birth, but reduced to that poverty, that he was forced to sell in *Constantinople* *Chian* silks, called by the *Turks*, *Hetay*: He was otherwise a tall, handsome, and well-made young man, and born of no inconsiderable family in *Chia*. And he had a paternal inheritance in that island, but not large; for it is sufficient there to make a man noble, if he has a vineyard and a turret descended to him from his ancestors, because by reason of the smallness of the island, no one can enjoy large possessions. This man coming sometimes to *Loxandra's* house to sell goods, she fell in love with him, and without consulting any one, resolved to marry him; so sending for a parish-priest, she was married to him privately in her own house, according to the ceremonies of the Church. From this marriage were born two sons to *Panteli*, *Alexander* and *John*. *John* was hardly known to any European, both because he was naturally of a weak understanding, and therefore made no progress in the sciences; and because he had no employment at court, nor was engaged in any affairs, he led a private life; and died in the same, leaving

two sons *Scarlatos* and *Constantine*, not more famous than himself. As for *Alexander*, he was sent at twelve years of age to *Padua*, where he applied himself so closely to his studies for fourteen years, that he was not only created Doctor of Physick and Philosophy, but also was thought worthy, at his return to his own country, to fill the chair of professor of physick and philosophy in the patriarchal school. But this bringing him but a small income, he also began to practise physick among the *Turks*, and acquired so much fame, that he came in a short time to have most of the Great men for his patients. And to get to himself a greater name, the *Turks* not knowing his father, he called himself not the grandson, but the son of the famous *Saruj* *Scarlatos*, which the *Constantinopolitans*, who are little inquisitive in such matters; easily believed, and gave him the name of *Skierletogli*, that is, *Scarlatos's* son; from thence he took occasion to bear that name in *Europe*, as I have observed he does, in the Diploma of the Emperor *Leopold*, where he is called *Alexander* of the noble family of *Scarlatos*. In the mean time *Panagiotes Nicusius*, chief interpreter of the *Othman* court, dying, that office was bestowed by *Kioprili Ahmed Pasha* upon *Alexander*, on account of his great skill in the oriental languages, and he enjoyed it thirty years with some variety of fortune. For when his great patron *Cara Mustafa Pasha* was strangled, his successor *Cara Ibrahim Pasha* threatened him with death, because he was thought to have dissuaded *Cara Mustafa* from taking *Vienna* by force of arms; and so being turned out of his place, deprived of his goods, and thrown into prison, he was succeeded by one *Sefferaga*, a renegade *Christian*, who had embraced *Mahometism*. But *Cara Ibrahim* finding in a few months, that *Sefferaga* was unfit for the place, restored *Alexander* to his former honour, and gave him an opportunity of amassing more riches, and of growing more in favour at court than before. Under *Kioprili Mustafa Pasha*, he exposed himself to very great danger by his embassy to *Vienna*, and that would entirely have been the cause of his ruin, had he not by his many promises induced the court of *Vienna* to retain him, under divers pretences, till the death of *Kioprili*. When *Kioprili* was dead, he returned to *Constantinople* with *Zuulficar Effendi*, and his good success at the treaty of *Carlowitz* procured him so much esteem at the *Othman* court, that he was honoured with the new name and title of *Mubarremi Efrar*, that is,

The Vizir appoints a Seraskier against the enemy.

The Imperialists besiege Alba Regalis, and take it, with many other cities. † May 2. H. 1099.

A. C. 1688.

The Elector of Bavaria subdues Semendri and Belgrade.

† July 30.

XVII. The Vizir also, *Tekkiurdagby Mustapha Pascha* (13), either out of fear of the *Germans*, or apprehension lest the Sultan, during his absence, should be persuaded by his courtiers to put him to death, declines the command of the army, and appoints *Rejeb Pascha* (14) Seraskier of *Hungary*.

XVIII. But before the *Turkish* forces took the field, the Imperialists had blocked up *Alba Regalis* the whole winter, so that on the nineteenth of the month *Rejeb* †, of the year 1099, the garrison, compelled by famine, offered the keys to the conqueror. *Caraffa* had by stratagem assaulted *Lippa*, and taken the city by storm, and obliged the castle in a few days to surrender; and soon after wrested *Solmoz* and *Logosh* from the *Turks*. *Caraffa*, to whom the command of the whole army was committed during the Elector of *Bavaria's* absence, after having taken *Illok* and *Peterwaradin* from the *Turks*, had sent *Wallis* and *Heusler* with several regiments towards the *Tibiscus*, to seize *Tiral*, a castle upon that river, because, till that was taken, it would be difficult to besiege *Belgrade*. When they approach the castle, the garrison, prepared indeed for defence, but being vigorously pressed, on the twenty-eighth of the month *Ramazan*, surrender upon condition of having leave to depart.

XIX. The neighbouring country being thus settled, the Imperial army, commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*, turn their whole force against *Belgrade*; but in their way are opposed by the *Turks* at the isle of *Sabats*, who endeavour to prevent their passage over the *Save*, but are repulsed by the foremost troops with great loss. These obstacles being surmounted, the whole army march to *Belgrade*, in order to attack the *Turks*, who had pitched their camp round the city, and fortified it with a trench. But the Seraskier, without waiting the approach of the *Germans*, sets fire to his camp and the lower part of the city, and, reinforcing the garrison, retires with the rest of his army to *Semandria*. The *Germans* seizing what the *Turks* had left, on the thirteenth of the month *Sheval* †, lay siege to the city on all sides, and opening their trenches, prosecute it with the utmost vigour. Mean time, being informed that the *Turks* had abandoned *Semandria*, the capital of *Servia*, they send thither a thousand *Hungarians*, who with ease take the city, destitute of defence. At length the *Ger-*

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Keeper of Secrets, which he interpreted by the *Greek* word *ὑποψιστήν*, and required to be styled after *ὑποψιστῆς* by the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*; and other *Christians* subject to the *Othman Empire*. He received some disturbance in his old age from *Daltaban Mustapha Pascha*, who endeavoured to obstruct the peace of *Carlowitz*, and kill the authors of it, as if, contrary to their orders, they had made some concessions to the *Germans*, and especially to the *Poles*. *Daltaban* being slain by the *Musta's* contrivance, his favourers and adherents were so exasperated at it, that they rais'd a rebellion, and insisted upon having *Maurorodatus* delivered up to them: which Sultan *Mustapha* would have been forced to do, had not *Maurorodatus* retired to *Sozopolis* to his relations. But the conspirators being dispersed by the prudent management of Sultan *Abmed*, and the rebellion appeased, he returned with his son to *Constantinople* in a monk's habit; and being restored by the Sultan to all his honours and riches, lived till the year 1709, towards the end of which he departed this life. He left as heirs to his immense riches two sons, and two daughters,

Nicolas, John, Alexandra, and Helena. He had a third son, named *Scarlato*, who was chief cup-bearer of *Walachia*, and son-in-law to *Constantine Brancovan*, Prince of *Walachia*; but he died before his father, and without issue, being a very hopeful young man. *Nicolas*, upon his father's being sent to *Carlowitz* with the title of *Mubarremi efrar*, was appointed *Bashterjiman*, or chief interpreter to the court, and after his father's death was created Prince of *Moldavia*, and is now Despot of *Walachia*, being highly in favour at court. *John* was promoted after his brother to the place of chief interpreter, which he at present enjoys, and is the handsomest person of his time.

(13) *Tekkiurdagby Mustapha*, a native of *Rodos*, called by the *Turks*, *Tekkiurdagby*, raised from a *Janizary* to the dignity of *Vizir*; but he distinguished himself by no remarkable action.

(14) *Rejeb Pascha*, he belonged formerly to *Aineji Soliman*, and by him, whilst *Vizir*, was constituted *Chanshi Pascha*; and at last being sent to the *Hungarian* army with three *Tugs*, and the title of *Seraskier*, he lost both his army and his life by his excessive *Superstition*.

mans,

mans, having demolished the walls of *Belgrade*, on the eleventh of the month † *Ziulcade* surround the city, and after a sharp battle of six hours, force the *Turkish* soldiers from the walls, and penetrate into the city. The garrison, in despair, endeavour to retreat into the castle; but so uncautiously, that the *Germans* briskly pursuing and mixing with them, seize the gate. A fiercer battle ensues than the former, and at last the garrison, as 'tis said, consisting of nine thousand men, are all put to the sword by the *Germans*.

XX. When the city was taken, the *Turkish* Ambassadors come and declare they are sent both to acquaint the *Germans* with the election of Sultan *Soliman*, and to settle a peace, desiring some persons might be named by the Imperialists, to whom they might communicate what they had in commission. The Elector of *Bavaria* answers, he is general of the Emperor's army, and not his counsellor, and sent by him to subdue *Servia* and *Bulgaria*, and not to make peace: if they had any thing to propose to his Imperial Majesty, they must go to *Vienna*, and open their commission.

XXI. The Prince of *Baden* had no less success with another part of the Imperial army in *Bosnia*. As he attempted to pass the river *Unna*, he was opposed by a considerable body of *Turks*, which having vigorously attacked, he not only defeated, but pursued them so briskly, that they abandoned *Gradisca* and *Costoniza*. Proceeding further, he was met at the little city of *Brod*, on the tenth of the month *Ziulcade* *, by the *Pascha* of *Bosnia* with the whole army, who, the same day, was routed with such loss, that five thousand *Turks*, with their general, were slain.

XXII. Mean while, the *Venetians* carry on the war in other parts with doubtful success. In the *Morea*, the Seraskier is before them in the campaign, and obliges the garrison of *Athens* to abandon the city with great loss. The *Venetian* army soon after march to *Egriboz*, and, passing the narrow sea which divides the island from the Continent, lay close siege to the city; but, by the disagreement of the officers, and the bravery of the besieged, are obliged to retreat with loss. Upon which Count *Coringmark*, the general, eminent for his valour, who had been the instrument of almost all the victories gained by the *Venetians* in the *Morea*, fell sick and died.

XXIII. On the other hand, in *Dalmatia*, *Kain*, of which *Steaglik*, the deposed *Sopha* of *Bosnia*, was governor, with several thousand soldiers, is taken, and the castles of *Verlicca*, *Quonigrad*, and *Grassach* *, are subdued by the *Venetians*.

XXIV. In the mean time, the *Turkish* ambassadors *Zulficar Effendi* and *Maurorodatus* were come to *Vienna*, and being introduced to the Emperor in the name of the Sultan, without any mention of peace, presented the letters *Julus Name* (15), informing him of the election of *Soliman* to the *Othman* throne, hoping the Imperial court would first propose a peace, and so render the negotiation more easy to them. But when they find nothing mentioned on the Emperor's part with respect to that point, they offer to *Leopold* two sets of articles for peace, namely, if a short truce only were desired, all *Hungary* should continue in the hands of the *Germans*, *Transylvania* be tributary to both Empires, *Caminiec*, with its walls demolished, be restored to the *Poles*, and *Belgrade* to the *Turks*: but if a peace were more agreeable, some part of *Hungary*, besides *Belgrade*, should be restored to the *Othman Empire*.

XXV. The Emperor having consulted with the ambassadors of the rest of the confederated princes, returns this answer, that though from the present situation of affairs he had great hopes not only of recovering *Hungary*, but also of subduing the whole *Othman Empire*, yet he was ready to agree to a peace, provided

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(15) *Julus Name*, so are the Sultan's letters commonly called which he sends to the *Paschas*, and *Begs* dignified with the title of *Paschas*, and to the neighbouring Princes

with whom he is at peace, to notify his accession to the throne: they are properly called *Namei julusi humayun*, i. e. the letters of the most sublime new dominion.

† Aug. 26

The *Turkish* ambassadors come to the Elector of *Bavaria* at *Belgrade*.

The Duke of *Baden's* success in *Bosnia*.

* Aug. 25.

The various success of the *Venetians*.

The *Venetians* more successful in *Dalmatia*.

The *Turkish* ambassadors coming to *Vienna*, propose two sets of articles for peace.

The hard terms proposed by the Emperor.

the Kingdom of *Hungary*, with the provinces belonging thereto, *Sclavonia*, *Croatia*, *Bosnia*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Transylvania*, be resigned to him, *Moldavia* and *Walachia* remain free, the exercise of the *Roman-Catholic* religion be permitted in all parts of the *Turkish* Empire, and the *Franciscan* friars put in possession of the Holy Sepulchre at *Jerusalem*, and *Tekeli* be delivered up to him. The *Poles* demand, that the ancient boundaries of their kingdom be restored, and all *Crim-Tartary*, *Moldavia*, *Walachia*, and the whole country extending on both sides of the *Borysthenes* as far as the *Danube* resigned to them; and to show themselves greater friends to religion than the other confederates, they insist, that all the *Christians*, who lived under the *Turkish* government, be exempt from tribute. The *Venetians* besides the *Morea*, and the cities and isles in their possession demand the sea-coast of *Negropont* from *Coreyra* to *Corinth*, and part of *Dalmatia*, with the demolition of the havens of *Dulcigno* and *Antivari*.

XXVI. The ambassadors immediately inform *Soliman* by a courier of the answer of the *Christian* Princes, and desire to be directed in what manner to reply. And undoubtedly the peace would have been settled, if the most *Christian* Sun had not animated the waning Moon with his light, and prevented her from being totally darkened by the *German* arms. For the King of *France*, who had beheld with a jealous eye the delivery of *Germany*, and the victories of the *Christians* in *Hungary*, when he sees the imperial army had broken down all the fences with which *Constantinople* was defended, and was very near overturning the *Othman* Empire, is seized with envy, and though he has no just cause, proclaims war against the Emperor, and draws the *German* forces from the *Danube* to the *Rhine*. But that he might not turn the whole burthen of the war from the *Turks* upon himself, he advises the Sultan by *Chateau-Neuveau* his ambassador at *Constantinople*, not to make peace with the *Germans*, since the next year he would with a strong army penetrate into the heart of *Germany*, and endeavour, that both the *Padishah's* might in conjunction act against the *Germans*; and he had now four hundred thousand men ready for that expedition.

XXVII. He adds, if the event should answer his wishes, he would reserve to himself *Vienna* with all *Germany*, but restore *Hungary* to the Sultan. These promises revive the drooping *Turks*, and fill them with such hopes of success, that the Sultan neglecting the ambassadors, whom he had sent to desire peace, thought of nothing but war.

XXVIII. Wherefore he first applies himself to settle affairs at home, and as soon as he heard, the *Germans* were retired to winter-quarters, sends the greatest part of his army against the two rebels, *Egen Osman Pascha* and *Gieduk Pascha*, who had almost the whole year disturbed the *Othman* Empire. They bravely attack, defeat, and take the ravagers prisoners, and bringing them to *Constantinople*, deliver the *Othman* state from this intestine disorder.

XXIX. Moreover to avert the danger, which threatened *Greece* from the *Venetian* arms, and in some measure secure the southern provinces, he sets *Liberius GERALCHARI* (16) at liberty, who had been confined in the galleys, and appoints

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(16) *Liberius GERALCHARI*] He is better known to the *Europeans* by the name of *Liberalis*, which is a corruption of the word *Liberius*, according to the manner of the *Greeks*; he was a native of *Mania*, the *Laconia* of the ancients, from whence he went in his youth, and served in the *Venetian* fleet. Afterwards he fitted out a Pirate ship, and, under various colours, committed several robberies at sea for some years. Being at last taken by the *Turks*, he was sent to the galleys, where he lived miserably for seven years. At the end of which he persuaded the *Turks*, that if they

set a *Christian* Prince over the *Moracans*, they would all in a short time revolt from the *Venetians*, and return to the obedience of their former masters. For this advice he not only obtained his freedom, (the *Turks* distressed and harassed on all sides, being willing to try every thing for their preservation,) but, with the title of *Maniabeg*, was honoured with a *Sanjak* but no *Tog*, and sent into the *Morea*. But before he departed from *Constantinople*, he married *Anastasia* of the noble *Moldavian* family of *Buzjufij*, and widow of *Ducas* Prince of *Moldavia* (who died in his captivity in *Poland*).

The King of France dissuades the Sultan from this peace.

He promises to divide the Empire of Germany between himself and the Sultan.

All pretences of peace being laid aside, the war is renewed, and the rebels defeated in Asia.

The Turks continue *Liberius*, Prince of the *Mainots*.

points him Prince of *Mania* or the *Mainotte*, in imitation of the despots of *Walachia* and *Moldavia*, though with a lower degree of authority. He was induced to this as well by the success of his arms in *Moldavia*, which convinced him, that a *Christian* governor could much more easily keep the subjects of his own religion in obedience, as by the assurances of *Liberius*, who persuaded him, that all the people of the *Morea* were alienated from the *Venetians*, on account of their endeavouring to impose upon them the *Roman-Catholic* religion. If therefore a Prince of the eastern church was made governor of the *Morea*, they would soon be engaged to abandon the *Venetians*, and submit again to the *Othman* dominion.

XXX. These affairs being thus settled, *Soliman*, to terrify the enemy, and animate his own men, declares, he will command the army in person against the *Germans*, and having raised as many troops as possible, marches towards *Servia*, as if he meant to besiege *Belgrade*.

XXXI. But he was scarce come to *Sophia*, when he is informed, that *Seged-war*, a city famous for the martyrdom of *Soliman* I, had been obliged by famine to surrender to the Imperialists; and that the *German* army, which he had imagined was wholly employed against the *French*, was marching from *Belgrade* against him with great expedition. Whereupon in a fright, he remains at *Sophia*, and leaves the army to the conduct of the *Seraskier Rejeb Pascha*, with orders not rashly to hazard a battle, but only prevent the progress of the enemy.

XXXII. The *Seraskier*, when he is come to the river *Morava* within sight of the enemy, being deceived by his astrologer (17), who from his observation of

The Sultan promises to command the army himself.

Heating of the approach of the German army, he stops at Sophia.

The Seraskier being deluded by his astrologer, is twice defeated by the Germans.

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land) to the great dishonour of *Ducas's* posterity, by the following stratagem. *Liberius* having privately betrothed her, publicly demands *Anastasia* in marriage; but she refusing, and declaring that it was unbecoming a Prince's widow to marry a *Paisan* (for that is the name given to persons condemned to the galleys.) *Liberius* presents an *Arzabal* to the *Vizir*, desiring that the *Patriarch* should be obliged by a *ferman* to celebrate the marriage. She still pretending to be unwilling, begs of the *Patriarch*, with tears in her eyes, that he, and the chief of the *Greek* nobility, would intercede with the *Vizir*, to put a stop to the marriage. The *Patriarch* complies with her request, but when he comes, attended with almost all the *Greek* nobility, to her house; she plainly discovers her designs, saying, that having duly considered the matter, her modesty would not allow her to come before the *Vizir*, and therefore she chose rather to marry any husband, than expose her self to so much infamy; whereupon the company going away, she was immediately married by a *Priest* whom she had got ready in her house for that purpose. But she, soon after, expiated the disgrace she had brought upon her family; for when her new husband was gone to the *Venetians*, she put on the veil, and died in the same some years after.

(17) his astrologer] Though the *Turks* are forbid all sorcery, and other kinds of divination, by the Law of the *Koran*, which expressly declares, *Kullu munjimun* N^o. 16.

Kiezzabun, i. e. all astrologers are liars; yet they very easily give credit to their predictions. And to have some specious pretence for this superstition, they fancy, that the heavenly bodies are the instruments of divine providence, by which it not only performs every thing, but hath also expressed by their figures what ought to be done; and moreover, that in the forehead of all persons, the first moment of their conception in their mother's womb, are written, according to the harmony of the heavenly bodies, whatever is to befall them, in characters unknown to mankind. For the reading and explaining of these, they boast of wonderful and ridiculous arts, especially the calculation *Reml* (invented, say they, by *Pythagoras*, whom they call *Feijagares*) by which from the even or odd number of letters contained in the mother's and child's name, by *ebjed*, that is, the value of the number, they pretend to foretell things. The *Vizir's* courts are full of such prophets, who never dare to foretell any unhappy events, but in order to preserve the fame they have acquired by their lies, promise nothing but victories, greater honours, long life, and a lasting enjoyment of the *Vizirship*. *Coburlus Ali Pascha* alone held these people in the utmost contempt, and one of them, who was provoked at it, having foretold, that he would be deprived of his dignity of *Vizir* at the end of three months, he confined him in prison the three months and eleven days, and then sent him to the galleys. But under *Husein Pascha*, the promoter

the stars promised him certain victory, bravely attacks the *Germans*, but is obliged with great loss to retire with the remains of his army to *Nissa*. But even this misfortune could not open the Seraskier's eyes, nor convince him how absurd it is to trust to the fallacious conjunctures of the stars, and the pretended interpreters of them. For he had no sooner re-assembled his troops after their flight, and strengthened them with new supplies, but, induced again by the promises of the same astrologer, he takes the field, and engages the *Germans*; but being quickly defeated, and his whole army almost destroyed, he escapes with a few followers, perceiving too late the vanity of his superstition.

The Imperialists subdue almost all *Serbia*. The Sultan returns an answer to his ambassadors.

XXXIII. After this victory, the *Germans* over-run at once all *Serbia*, take *Widdin*, *Nissa*, *Shebirkieoi*, and destroy *Siopia*, a city of *Bulgaria*, by fire.

XXXIV. Upon the news of these misfortunes, *Soliman* immediately hastens from *Sophia* to *Adrianople*, and returns an answer, till then deferred, to his ambassadors at the *German* court. But he orders them to make no new offer, besides what they had before in commission; and admonishes them to settle the peace agreeably to the precepts of the *Koran*, which were more favorable to those who receive, than those who give. He directs them therefore to persuade the Emperor, without mentioning the rest of the provinces of *Hungary* which he had demanded, to restore *Belgrade* to the *Othman* Empire, after which they might treat of peace. *Maurocordatus*, having received the Sultan's answer, finding that such things could not possibly be proposed or demanded, conceals his orders, pretending the Sultan would not give up any thing, except what he had before mentioned; but being afterwards put in mind by his colleague, *Zaulficar Effendi*, that both their lives would be in danger, if they should be found to neglect the Sultan's commands, he communicates the real state of the affair to the Emperor, and receives such an answer as he expected. For though the Emperor, perceiving that while he was engaged with two enemies, he could not carry on the war against either with success, would gladly have made a truce upon any terms, yet he was obliged to put off the affair to another time, because the *Turkish* ambassadors had not full power of making peace, and he thought it dishonourable, after so many victories, to send ambassadors to *Constantinople*, as it were, to sue for peace, and withal expose himself to the artifices of the *Turks*, whom he knew to be very subtle in protracting negotiations.

XXXV. Mean time, the two armies in *Poland* are quiet, and only shew themselves to each other, being divided by the river *Tyras*. But the *Czars* of *Russia* raise numerous forces, and send them against the *Tartars*, under the conduct

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ter of the peace of *Carlowitz*, there was a famous prophet at *Constantinople*, in the court of *Mehammed*, *Reis Effendi*, who was commonly called *Nesi Ogly*, or the *Exile's son*, because his father had been banished by *Kioprili Ahmed Pasha* (for *Nesi* signifies an exile, or a banished person.) I was intimately acquainted with him before and after the death of *Rami Pasha*, and he certainly was the most learned man among the *Turks*, skilled not only in *Arabic*, and other parts of learning in use among the *Mahometans*; but he also understood *Latin*, which he had learned by means of *Meninskius's Turkish Grammar and Lexicon*, without the assistance of a master. And it was only by following his counsel, that *Rami Mehmed Pasha* acquired so great fame in the *Othman* court. For when any difficult matter occurred, it was customary for *Rami* to consult *Nesi Ogly*, and carry his opinion to the *Vizir* as his own. I know that most persons ascribe this to *Alexander Maurocordatus*, by reason

of the close friendship between him and the *Reis Effendi*; but that *Nesi Ogly's* alone was his adviser, hath been acknowledged by all who had an opportunity of being intimately acquainted with *Rami's* court. It was he also who persuaded *Rami Reis Effendi* to undertake an embassy, which he intended to decline, telling him, he would thence reap great honour and advantages, and put a happy conclusion to a very dangerous war. Adding, *Husein Pasha* would not long enjoy the *Vizirship* after that peace, and, after one successor, *Rami* himself would be advanced to that dignity: but he advised him not to accept of it, if he wished well to the Sultan, for the Sultan would be in very great peril under his administration. All which was afterwards observed to be as exactly fulfilled, as if it had been read out of the *Leub* (the book in which, according to the *Mahometan* fictions, are written by angels all the actions of mortals.)

of

of *Basilius Galliczin*. It is said, that three or four hundred thousand men, and fourteen hundred cannon, were designed for this expedition.

XXXVI. But all these preparations are rendered useless by the treachery of the *Russians*; for while the army was employed in besieging the city *Or*, commonly called *Precop*, the *Czar's* own regiment revolted, and, by drawing into their party many of the most considerable officers, occasion the whole army to return home without success. In their retreat they are attacked by the *Tartars*, and by the perfidiousness of their intestine enemies, suffer a great loss in their rear.

But a sedition arising, they are obliged to return, not without great loss.

XXXVII. But when the *Russians* are returned, *Peter Alexiowitz*, to whom alone the government of that large Empire was committed by the unanimous consent of the people, makes a strict enquiry after the seditious; shuts up his sister, who had been the principal occasion of the rebellion, in the monastery of *Novodievicz*; removes *Basilius Galliczin*, as privy to the attempts against the Empire, and, confiscating his whole estate, banishes him to *Archangle*; puts to death eight of the Nobles, who are authors of the sedition; kills, like wild beasts, twelve thousand *Strelets's* publicly in the market-places and streets; and having abolished this military order, forms a regular militia, after the manner of other Christian Princes.

Peter Alexiowitz punishes the seditious, and forms a regular militia.

XXXVIII. In the *Morea*, the *Venetians* closely besiege *Monembasia*, and cut off all provision. *Liberaki*, lately appointed *Prince of Mania*, endeavouring to relieve the city, is repulsed with loss.

The *Venetians* besiege *Monembasia*.

XXXIX. About the end of this campaign *Sultan Soliman*, labouring under a dropy, by the advice of his physicians, returns from *Adrianople* to *Constantinople*, where he puts to death the Seraskier of *Hungary*, *Rejeb Pasha*, for fighting with the *Germans* contrary to his orders.

The Sultan returns to *Constantinople*.

XL. Moreover, he removes the *Vizir Tekkiurdaghy Mustapha Pasha* from his post, as a man unqualified for war and the administration of the state, and confines him to a private life in *Malgara*, a little town near *Rodoslus*; advancing in his room *Kioprili Mustapha Pasha*, who, as I said, was *Caimacan* of *Constantinople* when *Sultan Mahomet* was deposed.

The *Vizir* being deposed, *Kioprili* is advanced in his room.

XLI. The new *Vizir*, immediately after his advancement, sends for the *Musti*, the *Cadiuleskers*, with the rest of the *Ulema*, and the generals of the army, and orders the interpreters of the law to give their opinion, whether it was proper to desire peace of the *Germans*, or recover by force what the confederates had unjustly seized. The *Musti* first declares, it was not contrary to the divine law to desire peace even of infidels in times of necessity. The same opinion is espoused by the *Rumeli Cadiulesker*; but the *Asiatic Cadiulesker*, either by the instigation of the *Vizir*, or because he saw his provinces out of danger, opposes this, and maintains it to be more eligible, that all the *Musulmans* should perish by the enemy's sword, than to make *Eiuallak* with the *Giaurs*; since no sin could be imagined more heinous than this, by which the honour of the prophet and the *Koran* would be wounded. The *Vizir* approves of the speech of *Anadol Cadiulesker*.

The *Vizir* calls a general council.

" And as often (says he) as I attentively consider our conduct for seven years
" against the Emperor of *Germany*, I cannot sufficiently wonder at the impru-
" dence of our generals, the blindness of our counsellors, and the fearful or per-
" verse minds of the interpreters of the law. The *Vizirs* and *Seraskiers*, who
" have been highly applauded for their wisdom, though they knew the war was
" to be carried on with the *Giaurs*, never thought of any thing, but raising as
" large armies as possible; the counsellors were only solicitous about filling the
" treasury by any means, and providing the soldiers with money and warlike stores,
" as if the *Musulmans* had no other hopes of victory but in their arms and trea-
" sure. The *Ulema*, whose office it was to advise them, and correct their mis-
" taken conduct, content with their stipends, preferred ease to labour, without
" any concern whether the *Othman* state was well administered, or not. On
" these accounts, as the Empire could not but be involved in the most dread-
" ful calamities, they never thought of removing the source of them, by re-
" forming the vices of the people, but immediately gave the sanction of their
" approbation to the proposal of peace, and almost forced it upon the true *Mu-
" sulmans*."

" *sulmans*. But when God was more provoked by this infidelity, and debarred them of peace upon honourable terms, they immediately return to their old customs, and cast the blame due to the subjects upon the Emperors. Having obtained their ends, at their departure they foretold the soldiers out of the law, that the *Giaurs* would be driven from our borders; not considering that the promise of our prophet, of undoubted success to the *Musulmans*, depends upon certain conditions. There are required, for instance, a sure confidence in God, the exercise of good works, purity of mind in the soldiers, who are to fight against the *Giaurs*, and justice in the rulers towards their subjects. These virtues being hitherto wanting, what wonder is it that God himself should refuse to assist the *Musulman* forces, and that their valour should be defeated by the art of the *Giaurs*. For my part, to demonstrate the truth of what I have said, I desire only twelve thousand true followers of the *Koran*, men pure in heart and mind. With these I trust not only to fight valiantly against the numerous forces of the *Giaurs*, but likewise, by God's assistance, humble them in such a manner, that they shall be obliged to restore all they have hitherto taken from us." To this speech the *Mufti* replies, that the Vizir had indeed with great sagacity traced out the causes of the corruptions, and of the subsequent misfortunes to the *Othman* Empire; but that they could hardly be corrected by the method he proposed, since the army wanted spirit, and the treasury money, the sinews of war. Besides, all people were in hopes of an approaching peace, raised by the letters lately sent from the ambassadors at *Vienna*. Upon this, the Vizir asks who were the ambassadors, and what peace they were sent to make? And being informed by the *Mufti* of the whole state of the affair, he is fired with indignation, and in a long speech shows how much the authors of that embassy, of whom he deemed his predecessor to be the principal, had acted against the good of the Empire. At last, with a loud voice, he cries out, " I count the ambassadors, and those that sent them, *Giaurs*, and as such do I think they will be treated in the divine judgment. For no true *Musulman*, skilled in the precepts of the *Koran*, could have thrown the Sultan, a prince of great mildness and simplicity, into so heinous and execrable a crime."

It is concluded to continue the war; and the Vizir denies that the Sultan had sent ambassadors to the Emperor.

XLII. The Vizir, thus disposed to war, is urged still more to pursue his designs by the French ambassador, Monsieur Chateau-Nouveau, who possesses him and the whole court with such a confidence in the arms of *France*, that a *Galibe Divan* (18) being called, they unanimously determined to prosecute the war with the

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(18) *Galibe Divan*,] so is the Emperor's Divan called, which is held every Sunday and Tuesday, under a *Cubbe* in the large hall of the outer court, named *babi humayun*, the sublime Port. The Prime Vizir presides in it, and has on his right hand *Rumeli*, on his left *Anadol*, *Kadulasker*, and the *Mufti*, if he is summoned by a particular order; as also the rest of the *Cubbe* Vizirs, and lower the *Testerdar*. The *Reis effendi*, and the other chiefs of the *Calemii*, stand by: but the military officers, as the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, *Spabilar agasi*, *Siludar agasi*, and the rest, sit without the Divan, at the gate *Babi humayun*. The Sultan hears, out of a window over the Prime Vizir's head, all that is done. When they first meet, they cause all the suits presented by the plaintiffs to be read aloud by the *Teskieveji*, and decide their causes: after which the Vizir declares to the great men, the *Ulema*, and the soldiery, what the Sultan pleases should be consulted, and requires their opinion about

it. Each having declared his opinion aloud, the Vizir waits upon the Sultan in *Arz odasi*, which is the first and the last room in court where strangers have admittance, and examines with him alone, (other persons being ordered to walk out) affairs that are of a private nature. After the Vizir, the rest of the assessors, the *Mufti*, *Cadiulaskers*, and the Vizirs, are admitted to the Sultan; and so may also the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, and the other *Ojak Agalari*. It is the custom for those that enter the *Galibe Divan*, to wear at that time a particular dress. The Prime Vizir, and the rest of the *Cubbe* Vizirs, wear a triangular turban, named *Calver*, above half a cubit high, folded all round with a very fine linnen cloth, which they call *Diulbend*, and adorned on the forehead with a gold border three fingers in breadth, and woven in the cloth in a circular form: the Vizir's robe is of white silk, not flowered, named *Uji Casfan*, lined with ermines, and having long sleeves hanging behind; that

the utmost vigour. And that they might not seem to break off the treaty begun at *Vienna*, without some reason, the Vizir informs the Emperor of *Germany's* council by letters, that he had heard some persons were come to *Vienna* under the title of ambassadors from the *Port*, and had proposed terms of peace in the Sultan's name: but that these were impostors, and had either forged the letters which they pretended to have from the Sultan, or procured them from the former Vizir, without the Sultan's knowledge. That they should beware therefore of trusting them, since such persons neither were nor could be sent by the *Othman* Emperor.

XLIII. These affairs being thus settled, he prepares for an early campaign, and applies his whole care to the raising an army, and providing warlike stores. But finding what the *Mufti* had said to be true, that the *Musulmans* were seized with such terror, that there was little hope of raising an army capable of opposing the *Germans*; that moreover the treasury was exhausted, and the people every where unwilling to perform their duty, he takes another method of levying forces, which he executes with wonderful art and success. For as the former Vizirs, in their mandates, had required all persons, whose duty it was, to attend the wars, he publishes a *Ferman*, in a very different strain. He says in it, that after he was made Vizir by the Sultan, upon mature consideration, he found it necessary to trust the command of the *Othman* army against the haughty *Germans* to none but himself; that he would not employ in this expedition any soldiers forced into the service, as well knowing the will is of more value with God than the deed; but that he would only put the followers of the *Mabometan* worship in mind of the precepts of God and his prophet, by which every *Musulman* is commanded, neither to avoid martyrdom, nor despair of success in the defence of the law, and the extirpation of infidels. That every *Musulman* therefore, who thought himself obliged by that law, and had resolution to suffer every thing for the faith, should come, and list himself in his army, but that he, who was doubtful or fearful of martyrdom, or detained by affairs, which he believed would excuse him before God from the service, should have the liberty of staying at home, and after purging himself from all criminal actions, intercede daily with God for the success of the army: Nay, though he should be of the military order, he should not only be exempt from punishment, but enjoy his pay during his absence. By this mandate, both the soldiers and the people of *Asia* are roused as it were from a profound sleep. For till then whenever they were called to the wars, the greatest part for fear of the punishment threatened to the unwilling, hid themselves, and evaded the enquiry of the *Baschas*, partly by gifts, and partly by artifice and false pretences. But when they find

The Vizir, with great dexterity, raises a vast army.

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that of the rest of the Vizirs is the same, only must be made of coloured silk. The *Cadiulaskiers* wear large Turbans, as big again as the common ones, called *Calavet*; and a brown garment made of *Sof*. The *Testerdar*, *Reis effendi*, and officers of the *Calemij*, have likewise on their heads large round Turbans, which they call *Mujeveze*, and wear also brown garments, lined with Ermines, and made of the same stuff as those of the other *Casfans*. The military officers and *Capnji bahi* use a *Mujeveji* Turban, and an *Uji Casfan* made of cloth of gold, and lined with Ermines. *Capji-lar Kiebaishi* wears a *Casfan*, and holding in his hand a silver-rod adorned with a ball of the same metal, carries the Sultan's orders to the Vizir. The *Chanse* bashi's* dress is the same, and his business is to bring the

Plaintiffs into the Divan. The Vizir's officers have on their heads, a *Mujeveze*, and wear an *erkian Kirku* or a Coat of Ermines, with wide Sleeves. The *Kalkiebaishi* an *Uji Casfan* lined with *Lynx-skins*, and on his head a *Cucca* adorned on the left side with a *Sorguj* of black feathers: which also the rest of the *Ojak Agalari* wear, only they have the *Sorguj* on the right side. But when the Sultan orders a general council to be held, to which are admitted all the great men, the officers of every degree, and the eldest soldiers, then it is called *Ajak Divani*, the *Divan of Feet*: because all the assembly stand, or because every one may fix his foot, or remain firm, in his opinion. The several opinions are taken and laid, by the Vizir and the rest of the counsellors before the Sultan, to be discussed.

themselves excited by the motive of religion to war against the infidels, and that the unwilling had liberty to remain at home, not only those who received the pay, but others, who had been dismissed the service, partly to avoid the imputation of cowardice, and partly for fear of being counted *Giaurs*, prepare for the campaign. Thus what the former Vizirs could not effect by the severest threats, by the *Bashas*, *Capuji-bashis*, and *Chauifes**, *Kioprii Mustapha Pasha* accomplishes without any difficulty by one word of the *Koran*, and raises more numerous forces than any Vizir had done since *Cara Mustapha Pasha*.

He clears the treasury of money unjustly raised.

XLIV. Having by this method assembled an army, he turns his thoughts to the purging of the treasury of money unjustly raised, and filling it by more honorable means. When he carefully examines the accounts, he finds the state of it no less confused than of other affairs. For the Vizirs and other great men in the time of peace had consumed a great part of it under various pretences, and for bribes had granted to some an exemption from tribute, and laid a greater burthen upon others than they could bear. And afterwards upon the breaking out of the war, the *Testerdars* had invented various schemes to fill their empty coffers, by which they had reduced the citizens to such necessity, that nothing was heard but the cries of the people calling for the vengeance of God upon their unjust oppressors. The Vizir with great application removes all those abuses restores to the treasury all the money, which his predecessors, the *Bashas*, and *Secretaries* had taken away, establishes new laws for raising tribute, and orders that no person of a different religion should be exempt from tribute, and subjects to the *Haraj* (19) the *Greek* monks, (who ever since the taking of *Constantinople*

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(19) *Haraj*] A set tribute, which all persons that are not *Mahometans* are obliged to pay to the *Turkish* Emperors. This imposition is grounded on the *Koran*, which enjoins, that every person of a different persuasion shall pay yearly, when come to a ripe age, thirteen drams of pure silver, if he has a mind to be a subject to the empire, and not be obliged to embrace the *Mahometan* religion. But, in process of time, this sum seeming too small to those blood-suckers, three *Rixdollars* were set upon each person's head, as a tribute, under the first Emperors of *Constantinople*, *Mahomet II*, *Bajazet II*, *Selim I*, and *Soliman I*: which sum was afterwards lessened, or increased at pleasure, by the following Sultans; till *Kioprii Mustapha Pasha* divided it into three standing payments, *Ala*, *Evjat*, and *Edaa*; ordering, that the rich should pay ten *Leonines*, persons of a middling fortune, six, and the poorer fort, three; and this appointment is observed to this day. And that they may not seem to their superstitious people to act, in those grievous exactions, contrary to the forementioned law of the *Koran*, the crafty *Musulmans* make use of a double pretence to reconcile the injunctions of the court with the precepts of their prophet. First, they have persuaded the people, that the price of all necessaries were much lower then, and the value of gold and silver much greater, than at present: and therefore the law of their prophet must be so interpreted, since it was ordained for the advantage of the *Othman* empire, that eve-

ry person which does not profess the *Mahometan* religion, should pay every year as much money, as is sufficient to buy what might have been purchased at that time for thirteen drams of pure silver. Moreover, to cut off all occasion of refusal, they have invented a distinction between *Sheran* and *Urjen*, that is, those things which the *Koran* has enjoined to be done according to the divine will, and prescribed as a rule to the judges; and such things as are left to the disposal of the sovereign power, to enact and command for the good of the state; and have taught, that the same obedience is due to both, and that they ought to be performed with the same readiness. For which reason, if a *Christian* or a *Jew* asks the *Mufti* by a *Fetuah*, how much tribute he is to pay yearly? he will be told, that, according to the law of the *Koran*, he is to pay but thirteen drams of pure silver. But, if relying upon this, he refuses to comply with the other impositions laid upon him, he will immediately be seized, and the same *Mufti* will condemn him to die by a *Fetuah*, for his disobedience to the Sultan's commands. As to the *Haraj*, it is not as formerly, brought directly into the Sultan's treasury, but is let every year to certain persons in the provinces, who for a discount buy up such a number of schedules called *Haraj Kiebadi*; and, whether they circulate them or no, must pay it into the treasury. But at *Constantinople*, and in the neighbouring places, as *Adrianople* &c. it is collected by a *Jizidar* or *Haraj bashi*, who, instead of a salary, has an allowance

ple by a writing given by the false prophet *Mahomet* to the *Sinaite* monks, had enjoyed that exemption †) alledging this privilege of *Mahomet* to be spurious, or if genuine, it declares the *Sinaites* only, and not all the monks in general, free from tribute. Besides lest the subjects might suffer by an unequal exaction of the tribute, he divides the *Haraj* into three parts; enjoining the richest to pay ten *Leonines* a year, those of a middle rank six, and the poor only three dollars. All the money which the superstitious devotion of their ancestors had chose to leave for posterity to the treasuries of the *Jami*, he brings into the publick treasury, and answers the *Muteveli*, who call it sacrilege, that wealth designed for religious uses, ought to be employed in religious wars, and it is more conducive to the *Musulman* interest, to maintain with it the defenders of the holy edifices, than enemies and robbers. He restores to their former integrity the judicial proceedings, which till then had been almost entirely venal, punishes the judges convicted of corruption with great severity, rescues those who are oppressed by false accusations without respect of persons, and prevents every one from being injured. He orders, that corn and other provisions should not violently be demanded from the subjects (20), but purchased with ready money at such a price, as they should think proper.

XLV. By

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lowance of so many *Aspers*, out of every schedule he circulates. In these schedules is set down, not only the name of the person to which each is given, but also his religion, stature, shape, hair, eyes, marks of his body, age &c. that no more than one person may make use of the same schedule, and so by imposing upon the *Haraj* gatherers, cheat the treasury. Here it will be proper to mention the remarkable way they have to find out when persons are of ripe age. For if any one pretends to be under age, and upon that account exempt from paying tribute, they immediately measure his neck with a thread, and apply that measure to his face; and if it does not reach from the chin to the top of the head, the person is dismissed as under age; but if it answers exactly, or exceeds, they oblige him to pay.

(20) from the subjects] Such was the justice of *Kioprii Mustapha Pasha*, which recommended him both to the *Turks*, and to all the *Christians* subject to the *Othman* Empire. And indeed, almost all his actions, as well as his judicial sentences, are evident testimonies of his equity to all persons without any regard to their religion, and of his political wisdom; one or two instances of which it will not be improper to relate. In his first expedition, when he took *Bilgrade*, being encamped near *Yagedin*, a large village of *Bulgaria*, and observing it to be almost all desolate, and without inhabitants, he sends for two of the oldest of the countrymen, and asks them the reason why their village was thus destroyed. They assign two causes of it; first, that their temple being burnt, and liberty denied them of building another, most of the inhabitants had withdrawn to other places; secondly, that the *Othman*

troops had so often passed through the village several years together, that they had hindered them from reaping their corn, which had brought a famine, and forced the rest to retire. Upon this the Vizir turning to the *Reis effendi*: "As, says he, a *Musulman* can not live where he has not a *Jami*, so neither can a *Christian* be obliged to dwell any where without a temple." And immediately gives permission to the inhabitants to build as large a Church as they pleased: and by another *Ferman* denounces all those guilty of death, who should, either go out of the road, even a hand's breadth, into the countrymen's fields; or take from them an egg, or a hen. And to try, how much profit that regulation would bring to the state, he orders each inhabitant to give him a hen, for the licence of building a temple; and by that means collects fifty three. In his return from his expedition, he orders them to bring him the same present, and finds one hundred and twenty five: from whence he takes occasion to represent to the rest of the Vizirs, what an increase to the *Musulmans* treasury might be expected from good regulations. At his return to *Constantinople*, application is made to him for leave to repair the old temple there, or to build a new one; he readily grants the petitioners their request; from whence some country people took an opportunity of humbly desiring him to grant them permission to repair the temple of their village, which was in a ruinous condition. He setting his hand to the usual form, orders the *Buyuriddi Teshiriji* to confirm this grant to them by a particular mandate. And when the officer expressed the *Ferman* in the old form used in that case; namely, that they should repair their temple with the same wood, stones, and lime;

The Vizir
marches his
army towards
Belgrade.

H. 1101.
A. C. 1689.

The Tartars
defeat several
thousand Ger-
mans.

The Vizir or-
ders prayers to
be made in the
cities, and the
boys to be re-
moved out of
the camp.

XLV. By these measures having raised himself a great reputation for prudence, justice, and sanctity, he prepares with great application for the campaign, and left during his absence a sedition might be occasioned against the Sultan by so many alterations in affairs, he persuades him to go to *Adrianople* in the spring. From thence about the beginning of the month *Sheval*, of the year 1101, he marches towards *Belgrade* with his whole army, full of the hopes of victory. As he passes over mount *Hemus*, called by the *Turks* *Kyz derbent* (21), he is informed by the scouts, that several thousand *Germans* were coming from *Belgrade* to strengthen the garrison at *Nissa*.

XLVI. To prevent their entering that city, he sends *Selim Gierai* Chan of the *Tartars* with part of the *Turkish* army, who falling suddenly upon the *Germans* now within sight of *Nissa*, after a short battle puts them to flight. The news of this victory being carried to the *Turkish* camp gives them almost inexpressible joy, and revives the hopes of the *Othmans*, and shews them that a herd of deer fight more bravely under the conduct of a lion, than a troop of lions under the command of a timorous deer.

XLVII. The Vizir himself to thank God for the prosperous opening of the campaign, and to render for the future the supreme arbiter of all events propitious to the *Othman* arms, orders prayers to be made without intermission day and night at *Constantinople*, *Adrianople*, and in the camp; and finding there was in the army a great number of boys unfit for arms, brought by profligate persons for detestable uses, he commands publick proclamation to be made, that whoever had any boys attending upon him under any pretence, should send them back, and if any such boy should be discovered with any person for the future, he should be put to death without further examination; since that sin above all others deprives those polluted with it of the divine blessing, nor can the most pure God favour with his presence that camp, where such an impurity is practised.

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lime; *Kioprii* severely reproves him for it, and calls him stupid and senseless. The *Teskierji* surprized, and trembling for fear, appeals to the ancient form, according to which he had drawn up the mandate. The Vizir provoked the more, replies, they were fools that first made use of that form, and they are no wiser who have followed them. For how can wood, after it is rotten, be restored to its former strength, so as to be able to support what is ready to fall; or Lime, after it has been worn out by time, be so tempered as to be sufficient not only to raise a new building, but also to secure the crevices against the injuries of the weather. Therefore if we grant our subjects liberty to repair their temples, we must permit them to do it in the way in which reason shews it is possible to be done. Let them have orders then, to repair their temple as well as they can; and if it is so ruinous as that it cannot be repaired, let them build a new one: Only, let care be taken, that they do not build it with the *Musulman's* money, but their own; and that they regularly pay the tribute imposed on them. On this account, it is at this day a common saying among the *Greeks*, that *Kioprii* only built more Churches, than *Justinian*.

(21) *Kyz derbent*] that is, the Passage of the *Virgin*. There are two passages over the long ridges of mount *Hemus* towards *Belgrade*; *Kyz derbent*, the *Virgin's* passage, which, the *Turks* say, was discovered by a certain virgin, a King's daughter, who was wandering by chance in those mountains, and *Capus derbent*, the Passage of the Gate. In the eastern entrance of this passage are still to be seen the ruins of a very ancient and beautiful gate, which many take to have been the work of *Trajan*, being eight hours journey from *Tatar Pazajik*, and twelve from *Philippopolis*. On the west, those narrow passes are bounded by the village *Dragoman Kivi*, the last that was conquered by the Emperor *Leopold's* victorious arms. But, whilst he was otherwise employed, some of his troops attempting to pass on the other side, the inhabitants, who, upon the approach of the *German* forces, had left their habitations and fled into the mountains, rolled down, from the high rocks, wherewith that road is lined on both sides, huge stones, which killed many, and obliged the rest to retire. And for this service to the infidels, they were declared free from all tribute; which privilege they enjoy to this day.

XLVIII. These

XLVIII. These affairs being settled, he marches into *Servia*, and first assaults *Shibirkiói*, a little city better fortified by nature than art. The garrison consisting but of five hundred men, and these *Haiduks*, seeing no succours appear, on the fourth day of the siege erect the flag of peace on their walls, and promise to surrender the castle on condition of being suffered to depart. The Vizir, though displeased that so small a number had detained his army four whole days, to prevent any further delay to the intended progress of his victories, grants their demands, and is admitted into the town by the *Haiduks*. The Janizaries endeavour to plunder the *Haiduks* at their departure, but are restrained by the Vizir, who commands them, under a severe penalty, to suffer the garrison to depart without any injury, alledging it is neither honourable nor advantageous to take away the arms of the *Giaurs*, since they cannot injure the *Musulmans* with them. He then admonishes the *Haiduks* not to go to *Nissa*, but to retire to some other fortress, because he intended to besiege that city, and if any one of them should be found there when the town was taken, he must not expect to escape death. The *Haiduks* however, as soon as they are gone from the *Turks*, enter *Nissa*.

Shibirkiói sur-
render'd to
him.

XLIX. The Vizir immediately following them, lays close siege to *Nissa*, which was defended by Count *Starenberg* with three thousand *German* foot and fourteen hundred horse. Though *Starenberg* made a brave defence, rather with a view to protract the time, and give the Imperialists an opportunity to secure *Belgrade*, than with any hopes of saving the place from the *Turks*, yet they prosecute the siege with such vigour, that on the twenty-fifth day the garrison promise to surrender on condition of having their lives and arms. These terms being obtained, as they are leaving the city, the Janizaries discover some of the *Haiduks* of *Shibirkiói*, though disguised, and by torture force them to confess that all their companions were mixed with the rest of the *German* troops. Upon this the Vizir commands the *German* general to deliver up to him all the *Shibirkiói* *Haiduks*, and in the sight of the garrison hangs part of them, and condemns the rest to the gallies; and withal, orders *Starenberg* not to go to *Belgrade*, since he was about to besiege that city, and therefore would not have the garrison reinforced; assuring him, if he disobeyed his orders, he and his men should suffer the same fate with the *Haiduks*, when *Belgrade* should be taken. The *German* garrisons at *Semendria* and *Widdin*, astonished at these successes of the *Turks*, without waiting the approach of the Vizir, abandon the cities which they were appointed to guard, and fly to *Belgrade*. These two cities are immediately seized by a party sent by *Kioprii Mustapha Pasha*, and again subjected to the *Othman* dominion.

Nissa being ta-
ken, the gar-
rison abandon
Widdin and
Semendria.

L. Having thus secured all the country in his rear, he marches his hitherto victorious forces to *Belgrade*, and lays close siege to it in the month *Zylcade*. Having pitched his tents on every side, he calls a council of the other Basha's, and orders them to declare their opinion, whether the city should be immediately assaulted with their whole force, or invested by their strong camp, and obliged by want of provisions to surrender. All the Basha's advise the latter, alledging, that the city being well fortified by nature and art, and wonderfully (22) strengthened with new works, besides the old walls, and defended by a garrison of eight thousand *Germans*, and as many regiments of *Bulgarians* and *Servians*, could not be subdued.

The Vizir
besieges *Bel-*
grade, and
takes it by an
unexpected
accident.

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(22) wonderfully strengthened] This was done by *Andreas Cornaro*, a native of *Crete*, and a *Greek* by birth and religion, whom some authors, and among the rest *Pietro Garzani*, a senator of *Venice*, have charged with betraying *Belgrade*, perhaps because he was afterwards in the service of the *Turks*. But it was not willingly that he engaged in the service of the infidels; for, after the loss of *Belgrade*, being sent by the general of the *German* army to fortify *Peterwara*—
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din, if I mistake not, he and his wife were taken in the road thither by the *Tartars*, and brought to *Kioprii Mustapha Pasha*, by whom being examined, he at first pretended to be a captain in a regiment of foot, but afterwards being discovered by his mathematical instruments, and some plans, to which he had set his name, he was compelled to new-fortify *Belgrade* and *Tenijwar*; which he certainly performed with so much art and dexterity, that, had not

subdued within the time still remaining for warlike expeditions, nor besieged without great loss to the Othman army. That if the Germans should make a vigorous resistance, and, as it frequently happens in such sieges, repulse the besiegers, the whole army would immediately lose the courage they had hardly recovered by their present successes. But if the Vizir, leaving Belgrade behind him, would with his army pass the Save, or at least strongly fortify the banks, to prevent the enemies from passing, the garrison would that summer, or at least the winter following, be obliged by famine to surrender. But nothing was to be feared from the Imperial army, since the greatest part of it was employed in the war against France, and the rest being abandoned by the Hungarians, would, from the smallness of their number, be more solicitous to defend their own camp, than attack the Othman. The Vizir, though he was far from being of this mind, yet, that he might not seem to oppose the opinion of the whole army, and if any misfortune should happen, it might not be imputed to him, gives way to the majority, and determines to follow the advice of the Basbas. Having therefore surrounded the walls of the city for several days, he is informed that the Imperialists were advancing with great expedition to the relief of the city. Alarmed with the news, he discovers his error in complying unreasonably with his officers, and instantly opens the siege with half of his army, appointing the rest to hinder the Imperialists from passing the Save. But he would probably have failed in his design, if, upon the eighth day of the siege, the tower had not been blown up by means of a bomb, or by treachery; and by its ruins demolished a great part of the walls: whereupon the Turks crying out, it is an evident demonstration of God's miraculous assistance, rush into the breaches, before the Germans could prevent them. The garrison oppose their whole strength in this extreme danger, and for almost an hour bravely resist the fierce assault of the Turks; but at last, overpowered with numbers, they are forced to retreat. Great part of them fall, though not unrevened, by the Turkish sword; a few, with their general de la Croix, escape in boats to the other side of the Danube.

LI. Having thus reduced a city, the bulwark of all Hungary, sooner than he expected, Kioprili Mustapha Pasba sends to the relief of Temiswar five hundred Spabis, to each of whom he had given two horses, and as many bushels of meal, to be conveyed thither. For the Germans had now invested that city three years, and at first had endeavoured to take it by assault, but afterward, finding it impracticable, on account of the difficulty of its situation, cut off all manner of supplies. They had hitherto been opposed by the valour of Coja Jaser Pasba (23), whose authority was so great with the soldiers, that tho' many pe-

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not God blasted the designs of the infidels, the taking of those towns by force would have been almost impossible. How well skilled besides he was in the mathematicks, he plainly showed by turning the river Beis through the middle of Temiswar; a work which, as necessary as it was in a place that suffered extremely every summer for want of water, had yet been thought very difficult, and hardly possible to any before him. For this important piece of service, he was allowed by the Sultan a yearly pension of eight purses, which was continued to him after the conclusion of the war, and even to the day of his death.

(23) Coja Jaser] He was surnamed Coja, or old, by way of distinction from another Jaser Pasba, commonly called Kischik, of whom I shall hereafter give an

He relieves Temiswar, which laboured under extreme want of provision.

rished by famine, yet the rest refused to feed upon the cats and dogs, which are esteemed impure animals by the Turks. They were now reduced to such a necessity, that when the Spabis arrived with the provisions, the Janizaries seized upon the sacks of meal like ravenous wolves, and could not be restrained by the entreaties or threats of the Spabis from plundering what was brought. This occasioned a contest between the two parties, and afterwards a sharp and bloody conflict. A great number of Janizaries, and as many Spabis are killed upon the sacks; and the rest with their Pasha are forced by the fury of the Janizaries to take to speedy flight.

LII. The Vizir in the mean time having allowed the soldiers a few days repose, and repaired the ruins of Belgrade, passes the Danube, and taking Lippa, drives the German garrison from Orsova. He then assaults Essek, a city situated at the conflux of the Drave and Danube, in hopes, that if he subdued it, he should not only secure his acquisitions from the enemy's incursions, but likewise reduce again all Sclavonia under the Turkish dominion. But he was forced to abandon this design by the approach of winter, and the resolution of the garrison, and especially by the alteration of affairs in Transylvania.

LIII. For about the beginning of this year, Michael Apassi (24) Prince of Transylvania died without issue, and left all his dominions to the Emperor of Germany. On the other hand the Turks had appointed Tekeli Prince of Transylvania, and sent to his assistance the Seraskier with ten thousand Turks, the Chan of Tartary, and Constantine Brancovan (25) Prince of Wallachia. The confederate

The Vizir having passed the Danube, takes Lippa.

The Turks defeat the Imperialists in Transylvania, and Tekeli upon the death of Apassi is appointed Prince

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(24) Michael Apassi] He was of no great family in Transylvania, son of the chief magistrate of Cibinina; who, in the troubles raised by Ragotzki in the year 1661, when the Emperor of Germany had, after the death of Ragotzki, created Kemyeny Janos Prince of Transylvania, was set up by the Turks in opposition to him, and promoted to the same dignity. He was afterwards confirmed in it, as well by the Emperor as the Turks, upon the conclusion of a peace between them, when it was stipulated, that Transylvania should obey and be tributary to both Emperors; which Apassi putting a different construction upon, as he saw fortune inclining to either side, lent assistance accordingly sometimes to one, and sometimes to the other: and though, in the beginning of this great and memorable war, he joined Tekeli by order of the Othman court, and sent him forces; yet afterwards, when all Hungary had submitted to the Emperor of Germany, he sided with him, and refused obedience to the Turkish court.

(25) Brancovan] He was known in Europe by the three names of Cantacuzenus, Brancovan, and Bassaraba, all which he pretended belonged to his family: but that this may be the better understood, it is necessary to trace back the order and succession of his family. I know indeed that a whole volume, containing his life and genealogy, was, by his command, penned by some learned men, whom he kept in pay at a great expence: but as it is uncertain whether that was not stolen by the Barbarians, among the rest of his effects, or whether

it is preserved any where, I think it would be doing an injury to the reader to conceal from him what, as being a neighbour, I had an opportunity of knowing concerning Brancovan's pedigree. There is no certain account of his ancestors beyond his great grandfather David. Though he did not inherit any large possessions from his father, (which is the chief and almost the only mark of Nobility among the Wallachians) though he was not eminent for any virtues, nor had any considerable post at court; yet Prince Matthew thought fit to make an alliance with him, by giving his sister's granddaughter, with a large portion, in marriage to his son Prida, whom he raised to the office of chief Vornic, one of the five first places in Wallachia. But after Matthew's decease, he was unjustly put to death, and, as some say, hanged by Prince Michna, because he would not join with him in his revolt against the Turks. Prida left one son, Matthew, surnamed Papa, who, though he had no place at court, yet was very much respected for his father's sake, for his riches, and especially because he married Helena daughter of Constantine Cantacuzenus, the chief Posselmic. By her, whilst he was at the court of Baron Serban Cantacuzenus, he had Constantine, who took the surname of Brancovan, from the village of Brancovenius, given to his grandfather Prida by Prince Matthew, as part of his wife's portion; and always joined it to his name in all his subscriptions. I am sensible that another reason has been assigned by some parasites for this appellation, and that they derive

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confederate forces under his conduct penetrate through the mountains of *Walachia* into *Transylvania*, and at the foot of these mountains unexpectedly in-
close

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derive his pedigree from the ancient *Bulgarian* family of *Brancoviz*. But not to mention, that though this pedigree were right, yet it cannot be grounded upon any probable foundation, because, till the time of *Serban Cantacuzenus*, *Walachia* had neither historians, nor genealogical monuments, and, as I have said, had no other marks of Nobility but a paternal inheritance: it is sufficient, for the confutation of that fiction, to have showed the true origin of the name. *Constantine* being raised to the Principality by the forementioned arts of *Constantine Cantacuzenus Stolnicus*, to show himself the more noble, he used the name of *Cantacuzenus* in the subscriptions to his letters to foreign Kings and Princes. There lived then at *Vienna*, *George* brother of the late Prince *Serban Cantacuzenus*, who had been sent by him to the Emperor *Leopold* about some business: to him the courtiers, or the Emperor himself, show the letters sent to them under the name of *Constantine Cantacuzenus*, and ask him, who that new Prince of *Walachia* was, that stiled himself *Cantacuzenus*? *George*, either vexed that his Nobility should serve as a cover to another man's ambition, or being unwilling to disguise the truth, ingenuously confesses, that he falsely assumed the name of *Cantacuzenus*, and was only descended from that family by his mother. Not satisfied with having exposed him at *Vienna*, he sent word to his own brothers, *Constantine Stolnicus* and *Michael*, who were in *Walachia*, that the Prince's new name had given occasion to several jests at the court of *Vienna*, and many of the courtiers had asked him, whether it was the custom in *Walachia* for a man to assume the name of what noble family he thought fit, or it could be transmitted by the mother? The *Cantacuzeni*, who had raised the Prince to that dignity for no other end, but to govern the Principality under his name, and engross to themselves all the riches of the Province, upon the receipt of that letter, severely rebuke the Prince for bringing so great a dishonour upon them and the whole family of the *Cantacuzeni*, and for pretending to persons who had from histories an account of almost all the families in the world, to be, what they knew he really was not. The Prince excusing himself, and endeavouring to ground his new name upon his mother's noble extraction, the *Cantacuzeni* replied with greater vehemence, and threatened, if he did not desist from his attempt, that they would have him deposed by the *Turkish* court, and would warn all foreign

Princes by letters, to beware of him as an impostor, who falsely assumed the name of a royal family: that he might derive his paternal ancestors from what family he pleased, provided he did not meddle with the *Cantacuzan* name. *Constantine Stolnicus* put him moreover in mind of the *Turkish* fable, namely, that a mule being asked, who was his father? replied, his mother was a mare. The Prince, beaten from this name, and ashamed to resume that of *Brancoviz*, which he had quitted, called himself *Bassaraba*, which was the name of a very ancient and noble family in *Walachia*, but long since extinct in the male-line. And this he also did without foundation. For *Barbul*, the first known by that appellation, upon the *Turks* invading *Bassarabia*, fled out of that country into *Serbia*, and thence into *Walachia* to Prince *Hogul*, who kindly received him, and raised him by degrees to the office of *Bani*, the highest in that Province. His son, *Laiota*, obtained the Principality after the death of *Hogul*, and was the first that adorned his paternal name with the princely dignity. He left one son, named *Niagee*, who also governed *Walachia*; but it is uncertain, whether it was immediately after his father, or whether there was another between them. He was succeeded by his son *Sherban Bassaraba*, surnamed the Great, but he also died without male-issue, leaving only two daughters, *Ancuza* and *Ilinca*. *Ancuza* had been given in marriage by *Sherban* himself to *Petrasco*, son of *Michai*: who, seizing the government, and attempting to shake off the *Turkish* yoke, was defeated, and forced to fly into *Transylvania*, where he was treacherously murdered in his own tent by *George Basta*, the *Transylvanian* general. *Petrasco*, the son of *Michai*, goes to *Vienna* with his wife and his sister *Ilinca*, to revenge the unjust death of his father, and, having spent almost all his fortune, dies there before the affair was brought to a conclusion. After his death, his widow and sister came to so great poverty, that they were forced to earn their livelihood by embroidery. While they were in that miserable condition, *Matthew* is created Prince of *Walachia*; who had formerly been chamberlain to *Sherban Bassaraba*, and was afterwards raised by him to the dignity of a Baron. This Prince, not unmindful of the favours he had received from his master, takes his name, styling himself *Matthew Bassaraba*; and as soon as he is informed of the poverty of his daughters, he has them brought out of *Germany* into *Walachia*. *Ancuza* not liking to marry a

second

close *Heusser* general of the *German* troops appointed for the defence of *Transylvania*. *Heusser* finding himself drawn into this danger by the treachery of *Brancoviz*, endeavours to open a passage with his sword, and bravely supports the first onset of the enemy. But in the heat of the battle, the *Hungarians*, who had engaged their faith to the *Germans*, revolt from them, and attack the *Imperialists* in flank, who terrified at this desertion, endeavour to escape by flight, but being inclosed on every side by the enemy are almost all either slain or taken prisoners, and among the latter *Heusser* himself. *Tekeli* after this victory marches further, and is received by all the inhabitants of the province with great acclamations.

LIV. But before he could establish himself in his principality, the Prince of *Baden*, who had intended to relieve *Belgrade*, hearing that city was lost, marches his forces into *Transylvania*, and having taken several cities, endeavours to subdue the rebellious Prince: who upon the news of his approach, diffident of his strength, abandons *Cibinium*, and retires again into *Turkey*, whence he never afterwards ventured to return or to recover the dominions he had lost.

LV. In the eleventh month of this year, the king of *Poland* at last brings also his forces into the field, and passing the *Tyras*, enters *Moldavia*. But *Cantemir*, Prince of that country, taught by former expeditions how troublesome guests the *Poles* used to be, under a severe penalty prohibits the inhabitants to sell or carry any corn to them. Hence famine, that cruel enemy of the negligent, distresses the army, and obliges the king, who had already passed the *Tyras* at *Stephanassi*, to send back some of his troops, to try to procure provisions from other parts. These forces suddenly assaulting *Soroka*, a city on the *Tyras*, and finding it destitute of defence, but full of stores, take it without opposition, and leaving a strong garrison, return with the provisions to the King's camp.

LVI. The King relieved by these supplies, marches with his army to *Jacoberny*, a village five miles from *Jassii*, but hearing the *Seraskier Bayukli Mustapha*

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second time, he allows her a sufficient maintenance; but *Ilinca*, who was still a virgin, he endows with all her father's lands and villages, and gives her in marriage to *Constantine Cantacuzenus*, who was then his chamberlain, and from these two is descended the whole family of the *Cantacuzeni* now remaining in *Walachia*. Besides these daughters, *Serban* had, by a Priest's wife, a natural son named *Constantine*, and, after the Priest's death, who passed for his father, he had him brought up and educated at court. This son, *Matthew* kept as his own, during the twenty years he remained possessed of the principality, and appointed him his successor by will. Having obtained that dignity, he called himself *Constantine Bassaraba* after the example of his predecessor; but being shortly after expelled by the *Turks*, he fled into *Poland*, where he died without issue. Thus ended in *Serban* the true family of *Bassaraba*, the adscitious in *Matthew*, and the spurious in *Constantine*; the only memory thereof being preserved in the female line of the *Cantacuzeni*, descended from *Ilinca* daughter of *Serban*. *Brancoviz* therefore chose to adorn himself with the spoils of that family above all others; because there was no one left that could call him to an account for usurping

that name; and also because he had a good pretence for so doing; namely, his grandfather's marrying Prince *Matthew*'s sister's grand-daughter, which Prince had now taken the name of *Bassaraba*, out of a good, though not so prudent a zeal for preserving his master's memory. What he did, and what he suffered, under that name, is too long to have a place here, and too well known to the *Europeans* to need being mentioned. He had four sons; *Constantine*, *Stephen*, *Raducanul*, and *Matthew*, who were all destroyed with their father by the tyrant's sword: And seven daughters: *Stanca*, who married *Radul*, son of *Elia* Prince of *Moldavia*; *Mary*, wife of *Constantine* son of *Ducas* Prince of *Moldavia*; *Ilinca*, wife of *Scarlato*, son of *Alexander Mauracordatuzi*; *Safia*, wife of *Crecelescu*, a *Walachian* nobleman; *Ancuza*, wife of *Nicolas* son of *George Roffet*, master of the wardrobe to my father; *Balassa*, wife of *Manuel* son of *Andronicus* a *Grecian* nobleman; and *Zmaragda*, married to the son of *Balan* a nobleman of *Walachia*. I have heard, there is one of his male-line alive, namely his grandson *Matthew*, son of *Constantine*, whom that Prince left heir to the great riches, he had dispersed in the banks of *Vienna*, *Venice*, *Holland*, and *England*.

No. 17.

5 C

Pofsa

Tekeli driven out of Transylvania.

The King of Poland entering Moldavia, takes Soroka.

Prevented by the Turk and Tartars from proceeding farther, and obliged to return.

Pasha with *Nuradin Sultan* were advancing against him, he resolves to return to *Poland*. But the provisions brought from *Soroka* being spent, he is again obliged to pass through the mountainous part of the country. In their retreat they are closely followed by the *Tartars*, who kill a great number of them, as they are gathering fruit in the woods, and take many prisoners. At last the King of *Poland*, after losing many of his men both by famine and sickness, returns with the rest of the army into *Poland*. His return would have been very difficult, if the Prince of *Moldavia*, who was desirous indeed to drive the *Poles* out of his country, but not entirely to destroy them, had not diverted the *Seraskier* from a pursuit, by telling him, that the *Poles* were now returning, and were not far from their borders; and since it was a maxim of military prudence to build a bridge of gold for a flying enemy, he would advise him not to fatigue the *Othman* troops to no purpose, especially when the *Poles* could do no damage to the inhabitants, who were all fled to the mountains. It is certain, if the *Seraskier* had advanced with his army, scarce a *Pole* could have escaped. For their camp was so greatly distressed by famine, that the horse voluntarily submitted to the *Tartars* (26), declaring they had rather be captives, than expire with hunger. The prince after the departure of the *Tartars* found several *Polish* noblemen dispersed in the woods in search of food, and having supplied them, dismissed them to their own country.

The Venetians
take Mantova
by sea.

LVII. Amidst all these misfortunes of the *Christians*, the *Venetians* alone meet with success. *Monembasia*, which for so many years had solely opposed the *Venetians*, who were masters of the *Morea*, having been blocked up for two summers, and cut off from all supplies, in the beginning of the campaign is besieged, and soon after obliged by famine to surrender to them.

The various
successes of
the Venetians.

LVIII. At sea the *Venetian* Admiral *Daniel Delphinus* attacks *Capudan Pasha* near *Mitylene*, defeats him, and having sunk and taken several of his ships, obliges him to fly. After this victory *Cornaro* takes *Canina* and *Vallona* from the *Turks*, and subjects them to the *Venetians*. In *Dalmatia*, *Jin Ali Pasha* (27) Governor

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(26) submitted to the *Tartars*] There is hardly an example in history, of an army that was ever so dispersed without fighting, and reduced to so much misery, as the *Polish* army then was; though the historians of that nation conceal it with much care, and extol their king's triumphs. I myself saw some *Tartars*, who went out to pillage, bringing back each of them seven *Poles* fettered: and being asked, how they could master and bind such fierce enemies? they answered me smiling: That it was no greater wonder, than to see in *Bujak* one *Ainus* leading and guiding seven camels: For the *Poles* quite encraved with hunger, were now no fiercer than camels, and chose rather to live among the *Tartars* upon gruel, than to be destroyed either with hunger or the sword. The *Tartars* not having wherewith to feed all that were brought, sold them almost all for three *Poachimias* a-piece; among these was a *Moldavian* seventy years old, named *Tumashauski*, who fifty years before, went with my father to *Casimir* King of *Poland*, and had spent almost all his life in the wars. This man being put in mind by my father of his former bravery, when he accompanied him into *Poland*; and asked, Why he so shamefully laid down his arms, and suffered himself to be bound by

the *Tartars*? answered, "You know, most gracious Prince, how I behaved under *Tvoranus*, and was not afraid then to meet five *Suedes* at once. From that time I have lived always in a camp, and have often fought with an enemy, but never with hunger. This misfortune having happened to me now for the first time in this expedition, and easily conquered me as one not used to it, I left the camp, and communicating my design to some others, we retired into the woods, where we expected to find fruit enough to appease our hunger, and to be safe from the *Tartars*: but we were disappointed. For as we were sitting each on a separate tree, and appeasing our hunger with apples and plumbs, we unexpectedly saw some *Tartars* brandishing their darts, and aiming at us with their bows; whereupon being defenceless, and despaired to escape, we came down, and suffered our selves to be bound by them." This man was afterwards redeemed from the *Tartars* by my father, and sent into *Poland*, because he was naturalized, and had a village given him in that kingdom, where he had left also a wife and several children.

(27) *Jin Ali Pasha*] *Jin* among the *Turks* is the name of certain Devils, formed of a

grosser

Governor of *Hertegovina*, and assaults *Nissibos* and *Cuzoor*, but is defeated by the *Venetian* army, himself taken prisoner, and his forces dispersed.

LIX. In the mean time the *Vizir* returns with his victorious army to *Adrianople*, and is received with great applause not only by the *Sultan*, but also the whole people, who publickly extolled him as their deliverer; but the *Sultan* labouring under a dropfy, and the physicians declaring, the air of *Adrianople* did not agree with him, the *Vizir* departs with him to *Constantinople*, and enters that city with great solemnity and in a triumphant manner. For three days, there were feasts and games, which were given with no less expence, than the rest by the *French* Ambassador, by which he showed the *Turks* how acceptable the news of the defeat of the *Christians* was to the most *Christian* King. The *Vizir* applies himself to the raising of a new and more powerful army, which he promised to command himself, and to prosecute the *Hungarian* war.

The Vizir returns to Constantinople in triumph.

LX. He appoints *Mustapha Pasha* *Seraskier* against the *Poles*, and *Caplan Ali Pasha* against the *Venetians*, who encamping at the river *Celidnus* restrains the *Albanians* just ready to revolt, and recovers *Canina* and *Vallona*, taken by the *Venetians* the last year, and now deserted by them.

The Seraskiers appointed against the enemy.

LXI. In the mean time, he is detained from the *Hungarian* expedition by *Soliman's* indisposition, because he was unwilling the *Sultan* should die in his absence, fearing lest one of *Mahomet's* sons might succeed, and deprive him of the *Vizirship*, or his command of the army. At last, *Soliman*, exhausted by an inveterate dropfy, dies at *Constantinople* the twenty sixth of the month *Ramazan*†, of the year 1102, having lived fifty two, and reigned three years and nine months.

Sultan Soliman dies of a dropfy.

† June 11.
H. 1102.
A. C. 1691.

LXII. *Soliman* was all along from his childhood a *Valetudinarian*, of a gross body, low stature, a pale and bloated face, with eyes like those of an ox, a black oblong beard, with a mixture of grey hairs, of a heavy understanding, and easily moved by the whispers of his chamberlains and of the *Coltuk Vizierleri* (28). But

His character.

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grosser substance than *Shaitan* (*Satan*), which they believe to be male and female, and to beget children like men. Hence, by a metaphor, very subtle and sharp persons are called *Jin*, and when they would denote a man that makes an ill use of his parts to the prejudice of another, they are wont to call him *Jin a kylli dar*, one that has the mind and wit of Devils.

(28) *Coltuk Vizierleri*] So are the chief courtiers of the *Sultan* called, (who have a prospect of being raised on the next vacancy to the post of *Vizir* or *Basha*) because they alone have the privilege of touching the *Sultan*, when he walks, or gets on horse-back, or of supporting him under the arm. For *Coltuk* among the *Turks* signifies the arm-pit. Among those, are the six chief officers of the court. The *Silabdaraga*, or *Sword-bearer*, who bears the *Sultan's* sword on publick occasions, and carves for him at table. He has the management of the *Sultan's* whole court, and has so much authority not only there, but also throughout the whole *Othman* Empire, that even the greatest persons never speak to him without the utmost reverence, and in their letters to him give him the title of *Musabib*, or *Privy Counsellor*, though he is not so called in publick instruments. Sometimes, if the *Silabdar* is

a man of parts, he gets such an ascendant over the *Sultan*, that he neither does nor undertakes any thing without his knowledge or advice; and the *Vizirs* and other chief officers, receive the *Silabdar's* letters (though by way of request) just as they do the *Sultan's* orders, and can hardly refuse them any thing they are pleased to ask. The next in order, is the *Chobadar**, who keeps the *Sultan's* cloak, and pulls off his boots in the *Seraglio*. Though he is inferior in degree to the *Silabdar*, yet he sometimes surpasses him in power, and governs the *Sultan* at pleasure. The third great officer, is the *Rektalabaraga*, who holds the *Sultan's* stirrup when he mounts his horse. The fourth, is the chief *Diubendaga*, (for there are three others under him) who puts the *Sultan's* Turban on. The fifth, is the *Imbrikdaraga*, whose business it is to bring the *Sultan* water, when, according to the custom of the *Mahometans*, he has a mind to wash his hands and head before the usual *Namaz*. The sixth and last, is the *Barber bashi* or the *Sultan's* chief Barber, of whom I have already given an account in (Part I.) Besides these six chief courtiers, the *Aga* of the *Janizaries* is also ranked among the *Coltuk Vizierleri*, because on *Fridays*, when the *Sultan* goes into the *Jami*, he helps him off his horic, and helps him on again: and

also

But none among the *Turkish* Sultans was more eminent for sanctity, devotion, and observance of the law (29).

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also the *Başanji Başbî*, who has the honour of holding the Sultan under the arm, when he thinks fit to go into his barge: and the *Başuk Emirabör*, and *Çbuk Emirabör*, the first and second grooms of the stables, who are allowed to help the Sultan on horseback when he has a mind to ride; and the *Çapujlar Kiebaia*, or commander of the *Çapuj Başbî's*. Whenever any of these leave the court, unless they happen to be banished or put to death, they must be sent as *Başas* into the provinces with three *Tuys*; and upon that account they are called *Ve-zirleri* by way of anticipation. The *Kyfar Aga* formerly enjoyed that privilege, but it was afterwards taken from him, because it seemed unbecoming, that one who wanted the marks of manhood should command men. When these great officers quit the court, though they have as much power in their respective *Başalics* as others, and are often raised to the dignity of chief *Vizir*, yet they are generally despised by the *Agavat* (those who have raised themselves by other means, namely, by their courage and virtues to the like dignity,) and are by them called *Çebelî**, which properly signifies, in the *Turkish* language, a herdsman, or a driver of cattle; but when applied to the courtiers, it seems to denote, that those men being destitute of experience in civil and military affairs, are fit for nothing but to drive their soldiers before them like cattle, as they are persuaded and directed by others. And so common is that figurative expression grown, that the word seems to have lost its proper signification; nor can even a Prime *Vizir*, who has from a courtier been raised to that dignity, take it as an affront, or punish any one for asking, in his hearing, whether he is a *Çebelî**, or one of the *Agavat*? For, it being almost impossible to root out an old custom among that people, the great men in *Turky* bear the affronts and reproaches of their fellow-citizens with much patience; so that it is a common thing to hear people in boats, just come out of the *Vizir's Divan*, railing at and abusing the *Vizir*, and sometimes the Sultan himself, in the most opprobrious manner, without being called to an account.

(29) observance of the law.] These were the qualifications that raised this Sultan to his brother's throne: for he had nothing else to recommend him to the *Turks*. He had acquired this habit of superstitious zeal for his law, and fame for holiness, by applying himself closely to his studies, which he had entirely minded during his brother's reign; *Mahomet* being well pleased with it, as hoping that it would take from him all desire of reigning, and that a mind intent upon learning, would contrive no devices to raise himself to the throne. And indeed the *Turks* have had no Sultan, whose holiness they so much extol as this man's. They also ascribe some miracles to him. Among the rest, that as soon as he was placed on the throne, he immediately leaped from thence as from an impure place, and wanted to take the *Abdaji*. For that purpose, he went to a cistern prepared to receive water, but which then had none, (for, by the ill contrivance of the first builders of aqueducts at *Constantinople*, though all the palaces in the city are well furnished with water brought thither from the mountains, yet the *Seraglio* being a high place, they have not been able to convey any thither to this day;) whereupon the *Silabdar* perceiving the Sultan's design, ordered water immediately to be brought, and withal, told *Soliman* there was no water in the cistern: but the Sultan not regarding what he said, pronounced the word *Bismillahi*, In the name of the merciful God, and by that brought water out of the dry marble, which, as soon as he had taken the *Abdaji*, he commanded to disappear, and return again into the marble. But in all other affairs *Soliman* was so ignorant and stupid, that he knew not even the most common occurrences of life. One day there were brought to his table, among other dishes, some round fishes roasted, called by the *Turks*, *Pfifi*, which he eat, taking them for cakes. The next day, not finding the like at his table, he asked, why they had not brought him the same cakes he had the day before? which question he still repeated till the cooks brought him again, by chance, the same meats of fish, and then they knew the way to satisfy the unexperienced Prince.

The End of the Reign of SOLIMAN II.



AHMED II.
Twenty First EMPEROR of the TURKS
in the Year 1691.
From an Original in the Seraglio.



The REIGN of
AHMED II, Son of IBRAHIM
 Twenty-first EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK IV. CHAP. III.

I. **T**HE death of *Soliman*, though long expected and wished for, yet filled the *Othman* court with new and secret commotions. The Nobles, with almost all the People, were for placing on the throne *Mustapha* or *Ahmed*, sons of *Mahomet*, the deposed Sultan; and some few were even for *Mahomet* himself, whom they had deprived of the crown. The choice of any of these was dangerous to the Vizir. For if *Mahomet* was restored, he was apprehensive of his life, since he was thought to be no inconsiderable manager of the sedition which had deposed him; if either of his sons were chosen, he was afraid lest these youths, having been liberally educated in the palace, contrary to the custom of the rest of the *Shehzade*, and being already instructed in the administration of the government, might divest him of the Vizirship and absolute command of the army.

The content of the people concerning the choice of a Sultan.

II. In order therefore to exclude them both from the throne, he resolves to advance *Ahmed*, younger brother of *Soliman*, and not superior to him in abilities. Accordingly, by the authority he had gained among all the people by his successes the last year, he procured *Ahmed* to be universally saluted Sultan the second day after his brother *Soliman's* death.

Ahmed, the son of Ibrahim, and brother of Soliman, chosen Sultan.

III. But lest the malecontents should take occasion from the Sultan's stupidity to raise a sedition, in the beginning of the month *Shevel* he departs with him to *Adrianople*, appointing *Amukje Oglu Hussem Pascha* (1) *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*.

The new Sultan goes to Adrianople.

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(1) *Amukje Oglu Hussem* A man very famous both among the *Turks* and *Christians* for the peace of *Carlowitz*, that happened in his time. *Kioprili Ahmed Pascha* had given him the name of *Amukje Oglu*, because his father was his uncle. Being first raised by *Kioprili*, he passed through the several offices of *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, of *High-Admiral*, or *Capudan Pascha*, and of *governor of Belgrade*, to the dignity of chief *Vizir*; which he obtained upon its becoming vacant by the death of *Elmas Memmed Pascha*, who was slain at *Zenta*, with the rest of the officers of the *Turkish* army. He was a just, and honest man, but not of

a very quick understanding; however, not so stupid or obstinate, as not to suffer himself to be directed and advised by others, particularly by *Rami*, *Reis Effendi*, and *Alexander Mauricordatus*; which was the reason why his dullness brought no considerable detriment to the state. During his whole administration, he earnestly applied himself to put an end, some way or other, to the long and unhappy war which the *Othman* Empire was afflicted with, and most religiously to observe the peace he made, in order to gain a breathing time for himself and the provinces subject to the *Turks*; and his endeavors herein proved the cause

Constantinople; and afterwards advancing him to the post of *Capudan Pascha*, prefers *Arabaji Ali* (2) *Pascha* to his place. At *Adrianople* he applies himself entirely to preparations for war, which he had been prevented from doing before by the indisposition of the Sultan.

The wonderful dexterity of the Vizir in raising an army.

IV. But the methods used by former Vizirs to increase the army, he, by a rare example among the *Turks*, is forced to employ for the lessening of it. For the *Musulmans*, encouraged with the success of the *Belgrade*-expedition, voluntarily come from all parts in such numbers, that there never was before seen so numerous an army in the *Othman* camp. The Vizir perceiving this, orders the *Baschas* not to bring more forces into the field than had been appointed, since the *Musulmans* being to fight against the *Giaurs*, had no occasion for a great army; and on the other hand, it was justly to be feared, lest before they reached *Buda*, as they were to pass through a long tract of the enemy's country, they might suffer some inconvenience for want of provision, if their troops should be too much increased.

The soldiers insist themselves of their own accord. The Vizir exposed to the envy of the court.

V. But the soldiers, regardless of this order, flock together in still greater numbers, declaring they would not eat of the Sultan's bread, nor were engaged by the hope of pay, but out of zeal for the *Mabometan* law to enter into the service, and therefore would be content with their wallet, and place their whole happiness in either becoming *Gazi* (3) under so successful a *Musulman* general, or being crowned with *Shahadet*. The Vizir's fame thus greatly increasing, envy, the perpetual attendant upon merit, could not but cast her darts at him from the court, her favourite residence. *Kyslar Agasi*, and other officers of the inner palace, were uneasy that the favour and interest they used to enjoy with the Sultan and people, were transferred from them to *Kioprili Oglu*, and that they were despised by the populace, who had before highly revered them, and considered as persons entirely useless and insignificant. They all conspire therefore the Vizir's destruction, and abusing the stupidity of their master, fill his mind with suspicions against *Kioprili*.

The Vizir accused falsely to the Sultan.

VI. *Kyslar Agasi* particularly pretending the utmost fidelity, informs the Sultan that the Vizir was contriving to depose him, and had drawn the *Janizaries* so far into his interests, that they had promised, as soon as he should decamp from

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of his disgrace, of which having given a large account in the history, it would be needless to repeat it here. He was so great a lover of a spiritous liquor (*Crematum*) that he could not live without it; and where he got that habit, I know not. It was extracted from wine by a Christian of *Aleppo*, whom he kept in his house as a physician; and was so strong, that one drop would burn a man's throat. That he might be the more at liberty to drink it, he had made the Sultan believe he was lame in his feet, and therefore was obliged to take physick every night; for which reason he had obtained leave, whatever business happened, not to be sent for to court after the ninth hour of the day, and by that means was at liberty to indulge himself till midnight, if he pleased. After he was deprived of the dignity of Vizir, being stung with the remorse of a *Musulman's* conscience, he resolved to undergo that kind of penance which is called *Taube*, and to abstain from that liquor; but, a few days after he had begun to do so, he felt a very sharp pain about his lungs, and his whole body swel-

led as if he had a tympany. The physicians promised to cure him, if he would but make use again of his old liquor, but he chose rather to die, than, after penance, to return to his former course; and so he died at his country-house near *Chorio*, thirty five days after he was deposed from his office of Vizir, and was buried in a *Turbe* at *Constantinople*, which he had made in his life-time for his burial.

(2) *Arabaji Ali*] He was shortly after honoured with the dignity of Prime Vizir, but neither before nor after did any thing memorable, and within a few months was turned out. The *Turks* surnamed him *Arabaji*, either because he or his father had been a waggon-maker, or driver of the merchants waggons (those sort of people being called *Arabaji* by the *Constantinopolitans*) or because of his stupidity, and understanding, fitter for an *Arabaji*, than a prime minister.

(3) *Gazi*] The *Turks* have this notion, that every *Musulman*, killed in battle by an enemy, has all his sins forgiven him; but this I have already explained in (Part I.)

Adrianople,

Adrianople, to salute *Mustapha*, son of *Mabomet*, Sultan. That he had discovered this by means of his Secretary (4), who had an intimate friendship with some of the officers of the *Janizaries*; and that he thought himself obliged to give this information to the Sultan, since the danger, though concealed, appeared to be very great and imminent. The Sultan, persuaded by this speech, asks him, what he thought was to be done? The accuser taking this opportunity, says, "If you would establish your self in the throne, and remove the cause of the seditious, send *Baltajilar Kiebaiafi* (5) to the Vizir, and command him to come to you, as if you wanted to ask him some question. When he is in your palace, you may treat him as you think proper."

VII. While *Kyslar agasi* is speciously suggesting these things to the Sultan, *Dilsiz Mabomet aga* a mute (6), holds the curtain of the door, and discovering by the motions of their lips and hands, that they are concerting to depose the Vizir, hastens immediately from the Sultan's chamber to the Vizir, and gives him by signs an exact account of the whole affair. Before he had concluded his story, *Baltajilar Kiebaiafi* comes to the Vizir in haste, and tells him the Sultan would have him come instantly to the palace.

The Vizir informed of this by a mute.

VIII. The Vizir finding the mute's account true, immediately orders a horse to be ready for him, and *Baltajilar Kiebaiafi* to go before, telling him, he would presently follow. When he is gone, the Vizir privately sends for the *Janizar-Aga*, and some other *Ojak Agalari*, whom he knew to be his friends, and addresses himself to them in this manner. "Be not surprized, Brethren, that I have sent for you at an unusual time and in such haste. The importance of the affair required this expedition, since it threatens destruction not only to you

The Vizir defers going to the Sultan, and makes a speech to the officers of the *Janizaries*.

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(4) Secretary] Namely *Sari yaziji* Secretary to *Kyslar aga*, *Karakullak aga*, a very ingenious man, and privy to all his master's affairs, mortal enemy to *Kioprili*, though he was a person of no great dignity, was yet highly honoured by all the great men in the *Othman* Empire, on account of *Kyslar agasi's* credit at court, through which he could do many things. This officer's business is, to keep an account of the revenues of the *Jami* built by the Sultans; to pay the *Baltaji*, the maid-servants in the *Seraglio*, and the other officers under *Kyslar agasi*, their wages; and to transmit to the Sultan, by the *Kyslar aga*, lists of them, written with his own hand; out of all which things he gets as great an income as the *Janizar Effendi*. Whenever he comes into the presence of the Sultan or Vizir, he must always have his ink-pot hanging at his girdle, and cannot appear without it; which the *Janizar Effendi* is obliged also to wear.

(6) a mute] There are many dumb and deaf persons kept in the Sultan's palace, whose only business is to hold up the curtain before the door of the room, where the Sultan is talking in private with the Vizir, *Kyslar aga*, or any other of his great men, and to take care that no body comes nigh. I find, that most of the *Europeans*, who give an account of the *Othman* court, affirm, that these persons are often employed to put those privately to death, whom the Sultan has a mind to dispatch; but I cannot so much as guess what has occasioned this mistake. For it never was heard in *Constantinople*, that *Mutes*, *Dwarfs*, and *Buffoons*, who are all upon the same foot in the palace, were ever employed about any serious business, or sent any where, but out of a jest. Nature having denied these persons the use of speech and of hearing, has, to supply that defect, endowed them with so quick an apprehension, that they can, by the motion of the lips and gestures of persons speaking, understand what they are saying. Besides, they have invented a way of talking by signs, which agreeing with that more than *Pythagorean* silence in the Sultan's court, there is, for that reason, hardly any courtier but what understands it: The Sultan himself must know it too, because he can use no other when he has any orders to give to his mutes, or has a mind to talk with them for diversion.

(5) *Baltajilar Kiebaiafi*] The chief officer of the Regiment of the *Baltaji*. He is subject in other respects to *Kyslar agasi*, and, in the absence of *Kapijilar Kiebaiafi*, whenever the Vizir is to be sent for to court, he is dispatched by *Kyslar agasi* to that purpose. But if he is otherwise employed, the Vizir must be sent for by the *Hasseli aga* the second officer of the *Baltaji*, or by the *Keshekci* the third officer in the same Regiment.

" and

“and me, but even to the whole Empire. You know, Brethren, yourselves, what labours I have hitherto sustained, not for the preservation only, but the reestablishment of the Othman Empire, and how faithful my services have been. The commendation of them belongs to others, and not to my self. You have been eye-witnesses of the great danger we were exposed to at that time, when I, though unwilling, took upon me the post of Vizir. The European provinces, which for two ages had not seen any enemy, were subdued by the Germans; and the Giaurs flushed with their successes in their second campaign resolved to attack Adrianople, and even Constantinople itself. The streights of the Helles, the bulwark of those cities, were possessed by them as far as Dragoman Kioi, Sophia the capital of Bulgaria was burnt, and all parts as far as Tatarbazarjik through the negligence of my predecessor laid open to the rage and devastation of the Germans. We suffered still greater calamities within our own walls. The treasury was filled with paper, not money; the subjects reduced to extreme poverty by the exactions of the *Testerdars*; all the people struck with dread of the enemy; the magazines and store-houses every where empty; in short, all was full of confusion and madness. But under my conduct, and through the assistance of Almighty God, in one campaign the Othman forces have driven the haughty Germans, who imprudently rejected the terms of peace offered more imprudently by my predecessors, beyond the Danube; recovered Belgrade, Nissa, Semendria, Widdin, and many other places sanctified by the prayers of the Mahometans; restored them to their former splendor; subjected all Ardal to its former prince; defeated *Hensler* a general of known valour, with his whole army, and to compleat the victory, taken him prisoner; in short, have so weakened the enemy, that we may infallibly promise our selves this year the conquest of Buda, the capital of Hungary. For we have God, the author of victory, now appeased and propitious to our arms, who was averse to our predecessors, and whose assistance last year we experienced in a miraculous manner. We have a numerous army, ready to execute our commands, and what is of the greatest moment, full of the hopes of conquest. While our foreign enemies are unable to contend with this army, domestic enemies arise within our walls, and actuated either by a spirit of envy common to courtiers, or led by an evil genius to interrupt the progress of the Othman victories, endeavour to betray us and the whole strength of the Empire to the enemy. For this purpose they labour above all things to remove us from the army, persuading the Sultan, that the Vizir and Janizaries are plotting to depose him. By these artifices they have induced the Sultan, a Prince of great goodness, but unskilled in the administration of the Empire, and who knows not how to return any other answer to what is proposed to him, but *Khosb, Khosb*, to resolve not only to deprive me of my post, but likewise to punish you all with the utmost severity. To acquaint you with this, and exhort you to take proper measures in this dangerous exigence for the good of the state, I have called the present council. I am not indeed so vain as to imagine no person besides my self capable of supporting the Othman Empire in its distress; nor do I regret diminution of my honour, as being ready to expose my life it self for the advantage of the publick. But as I foresee, that upon my removal, one of our haughty courtiers will succeed me, and am apprehensive he will disturb the successful progress of the Othman affairs, and reduce them to a worse situation than ever, I was willing to remind you, that after my removal or death, which I wish for, that I may not see the approaching ruin of the Empire, you will take upon you the care of the state, which the Emperor is incapable of, and secure it from injury. For I scruple to make any resistance to my Sultan's commands; and therefore have determined to morrow with your consent to resign to him the seal of the Empire, and desire leave to go to Mecca. May God direct you by his spirit to the right way, and protect you in your battles against the Giaurs with his all-powerful right hand.”

IX. The *Janiziar-aga* and the rest of the officers, upon hearing the Vizir's speech, shew the utmost resentment, call the Sultan stupid, imprudent, simple, and cry out, he is swayed by his courtiers like boughs shaken by the wind; adding, if the Sultan should persist in his design, they had rather depose him than *Kiopriogli*, the defender of the law, the restorer of the Othman Empire, and the invincible general; they promise to shed their blood in defence even of a single Hair of his head, binding themselves by oath, never to suffer any other general during his life, and to execute his commands with the utmost alacrity.

The officers of the Janizaries promise with an oath fidelity to the Vizir.

X. The Vizir, who had sent for the officers with no other view, than to discover how they were affected towards him, finding he might trust to their fidelity, sends an answer the same day by a *Talchysb* (7), that he had intended to come to the palace according to his Majesty's command, but while he was mounting his horse, he was informed that the soldiers having received some injury from the courtiers were raising a sedition, upon which he thought that danger of such importance, that he imagined he might safely defer his obedience to the Sultan's command, in order to put a stop to it. To this end he had sent for the officers of the army, and what course should be taken for appeasing the commotion, he would acquaint his Majesty with on the morrow.

The Vizir politely excuses his not appearing when sent for.

XI. Next day he informs the Sultan by another *Talchysb*, that he had used his utmost efforts to extinguish the latent flame among the soldiers; but found them so inflexible and presumptuous as to refuse to return to their duty, till *Kyslar agasi* is dismissed, and his Secretary delivered up to a trial. He intreats therefore his Majesty, that now when the army was ready for the expedition, and himself full of hopes of success, he would not by an unseasonable indulgence to his officers stop the progress of victory, and expose himself to great danger. This letter being brought to the Sultan, *Kyslar agasi*, who now perceived his designs were betrayed to the Vizir, desires the Sultan to sacrifice him, though a faithful servant, to the good of the Empire. But the Sultan refusing, as being too fond of the cunning deceiver, the Vizir sends a third *Talchysb*, and obliges the Sultan, for fear of worse consequences, to do as he had desired, and banish *Kyslar agasi* into Egypt; the Vizir orders the Secretary, when brought to him, to be immediately hanged in his habit, with a silver ink-pot at his girdle.

By two letters he prevails upon the Sultan to banish the *Kyslar agasi*, who had falsely accused him, and to order his Secretary to be hanged.

XII. Being thus confirmed in his post, to cut off all opportunity from the other officers of making the like attempts against him, on the third day he removes the army out of Adrianople, and encamping near the city, prepares every thing necessary for the campaign.

Kiopriogli being confirmed in his post of Vizir, leads the troops out of the city.

XIII. Here an ambassador from King *William III.* of England comes to him, and offers his master as a mediator for settling a peace. The Vizir receives him

He receives with great civility the English ambassador, who proposes peace; but marches with his forces immediately to Belgrade.

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(7) *Talchysb*] A word properly signifying a relation or account. This is the name given in the Othman court to the letters, sent by the Vizir to the Sultan about any publick affairs. The Sultan seldom rejects them; and if he doth not comply with the Vizir's desires therein contained, the honour and dignity of the Vizir are reckoned to be in great danger. The *Talchysb* must be written by the *Reis effendi*, or High Chancellor, and then wrapped up in a very thin cloth called *Talbend*, and tied up with a fine silken thread, sealed with the Sultan's seal, which the Vizir carries with him as a badge of his dignity. Being thus prepared, it is delivered to the *Talkchysbi*, an officer of very great consideration at court, answering to the *պարտաւոր* under

the Grecian Emperors. When the *Talkchysbi* has got the letters, he doth not hide them in his bosom or elsewhere, unless it is to keep them from the wet, but holds them in his hand, and carries them thus to the palace as fast as he can; where when he comes, he delivers them to the *Kyslar aga*, by whom they are carried to the Sultan. The *Talkchysbi* waits in the outer court, till the *Chatisherif* or the Sultan's answer to the Vizir's letters is brought him by the *Kyslar aga*, which he carries to the Vizir, in the same manner as the *Talchysb*. But very often the Sultan sends the *Chatisherif* to the Vizir by *Baltajilar Kiebaiafi*, *Hasski aga*, or *Rashukubi*, whom I have before described.

with great honour, and declares himself ready to agree to a peace upon honorable terms; but in reality intended only to amuse the *Germans*, and in the mean time make himself master of *Buda*.

The Vizir calling a general council, determines to pass the *Sava* against the enemy.

XIV. To this end having reached *Belgrade* with his army, he is informed that the Imperialists, under the command of *Lewis* Prince of *Baden*, had taken the field, and were already advanced to *Peterwaradin*. Upon this he immediately calls a council of his officers, and requiring their several opinions, with the consent of the rest, determines to march against the *Germans*, and attack them wherever they should be found, and if they refused to fight, to follow them to *Buda*. He instantly commands his soldiers to decamp, and passing the *Sava*, advances near *Peterwaradin*. The general of the imperial army hearing of the Vizir's approach, pitches his camp near *Issankamen* on the banks of the *Danube*, and strongly fortifies it.

He comes to *Issankamen* within sight of the enemy, and cuts off several of the *German* troops.

XV. The Vizir soon after comes up, and places his troops to the right of the Imperial camp, in order to intercept their return. At the same time five thousand Imperialists, which the Prince of *Baden* had sent for to his assistance, happen to be marching with full speed towards his camp; but are intercepted by the Vizir, who incloses them, and by numbers overpowers them, though they fought with great bravery, in the sight of the Imperial army, killing some, and taking the rest prisoners, so that not one of the whole party escaped.

The Imperialists troubled at this, engage the *Turks* in a battle.

XVI. This loss exhibits to the rest of the *German* army a dreadful image of their imminent danger, and takes away their former resolution of attacking the enemy. The general himself likewise too late perceives his error in suffering himself to be shut up in so narrow a space, where he could not open his troops, nor defend them from the enemy's cannon. There being no other way therefore of extricating himself out of this dangerous situation, he resolves to force a passage with the sword. While he was meditating this design, the *Turks* flushed by their late victory, with fury rather than ardour rush upon the *German* camp, as if they would destroy the whole army at one effort. The battle continues six hours doubtful, with equal courage, but unequal strength.

The success of the battle for a long time doubtful.

XVII. The *Germans* now turning despair into resolution, pass the *Turkish* trenches; and the *Turks* out of shame for the loss of the victory snatch'd out of their hands, drive the *Germans* back into their works, which they likewise penetrate, both sides being in their turns conquerors and conquered.

At last, upon the death of the Vizir the enemy gains the victory.

XVIII. At last, when the victory seems to incline to the *Turks*, the Vizir, to confound by his presence those, who still resisted, with his own troop attacks the right wing of the *Germans*, where he saw the greatest opposition. But in the heat of the battle being wounded in the temples by a musket-ball, he falls from his horse, and by his death transfers the victory already obtained to the *Germans*. For his chamberlains confounded at the unexpected fall of their master, as soon as they see him prostrate on the ground, call their companions and the other officers present to take up his corpse, during which the *Tubulchana* (8) ceases to sound. This occasions great confusion among the *Turkish* troops now victorious. The horse seized with a panic, and abandoning the foot, fly first, and are soon followed by the *Janizaries*.

The Imperialists open a passage for the enemy, who fly, and take their camp.

XIX. The *Germans*, who were fighting not with the hopes of victory, but that they might not die unrevenged, seeing the unexpected flight of the enemies, advances though slowly, that the *Janizaries* might have time and opportunity to retreat, and not be forced by being pressed to return to the battle, which, their

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(8) *Tubulchana*] Warlike musick, of which an account has already been given in (Part I.) This musick in a battle is always to be near the Vizir, and to continue playing, in order to inspire the combatants with courage. And if it happens to cease, the *Janizaries* will immediately think it an omen of defeat, and be hardly restrained from flight.

strength

strength being spent (9), they could not have sustained. The rest of the foot perceiving the *Janizaries* to fly, leave their cannon and camp, and follow them with the utmost precipitation. The *Germans* having made themselves masters of their booty, seek nothing more, and allow their soldiers some days to refresh themselves. There fell in the battle twenty-eight thousand *Turks*, and of the *Germans* (besides the formentioned five regiments, inclosed and cut off by the *Turks*) not above three thousand.

XX. However, when *Leopold* was informed of the victory, he is reported to say, that he should be unwilling to conquer often upon such terms, since he could scarce recover the loss of eight regiments of *Germans* in three years; whereas the *Turks* could supply even the loss of eighty thousand men in eighty days.

The saying of the Emperor *Leopold*.

XXI. After this victory, the Prince of *Baden* recovers *Lippa*, taken by the *Turks* the last year, and closely besieges *Waradin*. The *Turkish* army, on the other hand, stop their flight at *Belgrade*, and make *Hali Pascha* their *Seraskier*.

The Prince of *Baden* takes *Lippa*, and besieges *Peterwaradin*.

XXII. During these transactions at the *Sava*, the *Poles* in the last month of this year pass the *Tyras*, and pretend an expedition into *Bassarabia*; but pressed with want of provisions, at the rumour of the approach of *Buinkli Mustapha Pascha*, the *Seraskier*, they retire, and without any remarkable exploit return home.

The *Poles* pretend rather than perform an expedition into *Bassarabia*.

XXIII. The war between the *Venetians* and *Turks* is carried on by artifice rather than arms. The latter became masters of *Garbusa*, a castle in *Candia*, almost impregnable, by the treachery of a *Spanish* officer (10), who was in the garrison.

A *Spanish* officer betrays *Garbusa* to the *Turks*.

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(9) being spent] I saw my self a *Janizary* at *Constantinople* after this battle, whose turban, folded round with damask silk, falling from his head in the flight, was found by a *German* soldier. The *German*, upon his endeavouring to recover it, freely gives it him, saying in the *Turkish* language, "My life, here is your turban; as you are a soldier, if I am so too, we are brethren." The *Janizary* was so well pleased with the *German*'s civility, that, upon receiving his turban, he made him a present of a musket, saying, "there would be no further occasion for it among brethren."

(10) *Spanish* officer] *Aloysius* by name. He said that his wife had been ravished by the governor of *Garbusa*, and as he could not be revenged for that injury any other way, he and his ensign *Joseph* formed the pernicious design of delivering up the castle to the *Turks*, which they soon found an opportunity of putting in execution. In recompense, the *Turks* gave him the license of selling what he would at *Constantinople*, and allowed him and the ensign a daily salary; and to twenty-five soldiers who were concerned in the treachery, they promised two *Leuines* a-day. The *Turks* stood indeed to their agreement at first, and not only granted them their stipulated salaries, but also many other honours and privileges; perhaps with a view of alluring other garrisons to imitate their example. But when they saw the bait did not take, they reduced their salary at first to ten crowns, then to two, and at last quite took it away; so that they were forced to keep an eating-

house for their livelihood. *Aloysius* had often promised the *Othman* court, that if they would trust him with one ship of war, he would burn the whole *Venetian* fleet with an artificial fire. But being desired to make a trial of his skill at *Constantinople*, he refused to discover his secret before the time; however, he showed privately some irons and other instruments, whereby he maintained he could dart the fire at such a distance. But the *Turks* not being satisfied with it, and thinking some treachery lay under it, would never believe him, nor trust him with the command of a ship. At last, the year before the peace of *Carlowitz*, he went, through the persuasion of the *French* ambassador, to *Adriampole*, where the Sultan then resided, to make there a trial of that fire; but being rejected by the Vizir *Anakije Oglu Huseim*, as a mad-man, he returned to *Constantinople* without success. At last, being accused before the Vizir, by the Jews of *Ortakioi*, of many murders daily committed in his house, and being convicted of the same, he was banished to *Trebisond*, where he died. His ensign *Joseph* fell soon after into a very grievous distemper, so that he was given over by all the physicians; for his body was covered with horrible running sores, extremely painful; and which increased every day. While he lay in that miserable condition, there came to him the Abbot of a monastery in *Maurosolium*, and promises him he should be cured by the miraculous assistance of the *Virgin Mary*, if he would but forsake the *Papish* schism, and declare himself a member of the *Orthodox* Church.

garrison. They attempt the same at Suda and Spinalonga; but the Venetians, alarmed by their late misfortune, watch these fortresses more narrowly, and punish the conspirators with death.

Ali Pascha succeeds in the post of Vizir.

XXIV. In the mean time, Sultan Ahmed being informed of the death of Kioprii Mustapha Pascha, promotes to the Vizirship Arabaji Ali Pascha, Caimacan of Constantinople, a man inferior to many in abilities, but to none in wickedness.

Peace mentioned, but diverted by the French ambassador.

XXV. As soon as he is appointed Vizir, he revives the talk of peace at Constantinople, and lends a favorable ear to the ambassadors of the foreign Christian Princes, especially Paget (11), the English, and Colliere (12), the Dutch ambassador, who were sent for that purpose to the Othman Port. But these hopes are soon disturbed by the management of the French ambassador, who, by large presents of gold and silver, persuades the Vizir and other great men, that war was more conducive to the Othman interest than peace. This negotiation receives still more weight from the letters of Maurocordatus, in which he informs the Vizir, that Germany was so distressed and exhausted of men and money, that very probably the Emperor could not support the burden of the war above a year or two longer.

The Vizir is deprived of his post on account of his avarice and cruelty.

XXVI. The Vizir, moved by these considerations, immediately cuts off all hopes of peace, and applies himself wholly to renew the war, pursuing such measures, as that he might at once supply the exigencies of the treasury, and remove men of superior parts to himself, who were suspected by him. Accordingly he puts to death many eminent persons of the first rank by the hands of the executioner, under various pretences, and confiscates their estates. Not content with this, he orders the Janizaries and common soldiers, distinguished for their bravery, to be thrown privately by night into the sea, that there might be no person living who should be esteemed more worthy of the Vizirship than himself. This cruelty being frequently complained of to the court, and those persons whose lives were spared by accident, or the Vizir's ignorance, representing to the Sultan, that by this means all the defenders of the Othman Empire would be destroyed, Ahmed at last, after six months, removes him from his post; and having stripped him of his wealth unjustly acquired, advances Tarpshichi* Ali Pascha (13), governor of Damascus, in his room.

Ali Pascha, the new Vizir, thinks of peace; but his good intentions are diverted by the ambassadors, who returned from Vienna.

XXVII. The new Vizir having concerted measures for settling a peace with the Christians, the ambassadors who had been sent four years before to Vienna,

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Church. The sick man accepting of the condition, causes himself to be carried in his bed to the Mauronolensian monastery, and prayers being said over him night and day, he was restored to his health in twenty-four hours; whereupon, publickly abjuring, in the great church at Constantinople, the errors of Popery, he became a member of the Greek Church.

(11) Paget] of a noble family in England, and ambassador from that Kingdom to the Othman Port. He left a very good name behind him among the Turks; for he was not only very learned, and well skilled in the Greek and Turkish languages, and other sciences, but was also a very prudent man, and perfectly understood the way of obtaining any thing from the Turks.

(12) Colliere] being born at Smyrna, where his father was consul, he not only learned in his youth the functions of an ambassador, but also made himself perfect master of the Greek and Turkish languages: for which rea-

son, he is reckoned the wisest and most civil of all the ambassadors among the Turks; and as he freely entertains at his house the courtiers, that are extremely greedy of wine, there is nothing so secret in the Vizir's court, but what he can lift from them by that means. The Staurodrome, where he dwelt at first, being burnt down, he bought the palace of the famous Vizir Aneji Soliman Pascha, on the Bosphorus, in the village Kurikiosmen; but he received orders from Choruly* Ali Pascha, not to live there, who alledged it was unbecoming that a Musulman's, nay, a Vizir's palace, should be possessed by Giaurs, and a place sanctified by so many Namaz and prayers, be polluted with wine and swine's flesh.

(13) Tarpshichi* Ali.] Tarpus is a sort of cap worn by the Turkish women. This Vizir seems to have been a maker of such caps in his youth, and from thence to have received his name.

return

return home; and being bribed, it is said, by the ambassador of his most Christian Majesty, put an end to all his pacifick intentions, and excite the Turks to continue the war with the Emperor. For they relate, that Germany being distressed and exhausted of all its strength, longed for peace; that the Emperor was obliged to send the greatest part of his army against the French, and could not raise new supplies, not only for want of money, the sinews of war, but because he was above an hundred millions in debt. That besides these misfortunes, God had sent a dearth upon Hungary and Germany, which had reduced both those Kingdoms to such distress, that the principal Bulwarks of Hungary, through which they had passed, namely, Buda and Essek, much more the lesser castles, wanted both men and provisions. These representations were not so false, as agreeable to the court.

XXVIII. The Vizir therefore laying aside all pacifick measures, applies himself wholly to renew the war; enrolls new Janizaries, whose number had been extremely lessened by the sword of the Germans, and the cruelty of Arabaji Ali Pascha; and orders, under a severe penalty, the other Paschas to be ready at a certain time with their troops.

The reason of making new preparations for the war.

XXIX. But as the soldiers, terrified by the late defeat, could not be assembled with such expedition, he sends the Seraskier with what forces were ready towards the borders of Hungary, with orders to avoid a battle with the Germans, and only to guard the boundaries of the Empire from the incursions of the enemy, and relieve the cities of Hungary still in the hands of the Turks, if they should be attacked. The Seraskier kept indeed the German troops at a distance from Belgrade and the Save, the latter, sensible of their weakness, not being very desirous of an engagement; but he could not prevent Heusler, who had been lately let at liberty, from obliging Waradin, blocked up the last year, to surrender for want of provisions on the twenty-first of the month Ramazan, of the year 1103.

He sends the Seraskier before, and orders him to maintain a defensive war: But Waradin is surrendered to Heusler.

XXX. About the same time the Seraskier of Babadagy, Daltaban Mustapha Pascha, in conjunction with Arap Pascha, governor of Trebizond, marches into Moldavia, and passing the Danube about the end of the month Zylcade, proceeds directly to Orheyus. Having sent for the Prince of Moldavia, and about twenty thousand Tartars, under the command of Shebbaz Gierai Sultan, proceeds against Soroka; but in the march near Orheyus, a town of Moldavia, being seized with a bloody flux, which held him several days, he gives the Poles time to fortify the city, which was to be besieged, and to reinforce the garrison. The enemy also, who was before negligent, takes this opportunity to strengthen Soroka with a rampart and new works, and send four hundred Cossacks to its relief. The Seraskier, though he perceived the siege by this delay to be more difficult, as soon as he is recovered, that he might not perform so long a march to no purpose, prosecutes his design, and on the fourth day appears before the city. The garrison are at first terrified at his approach; but afterwards, seeing their walls could not be demolished by the enemy's cannon, who had brought but seven small pieces and two mortars, resume their courage, and not content with defending themselves within their walls, frequently sally out, attacking the trenches of the Turks by night, and destroying great numbers of them. The Seraskier, finding this method unsuccessful, endeavours to undermine the walls; but in vain, they being built upon a rock. At last the winter approaches, and having lost near three thousand men, after thirty days siege, he is obliged to retire.

† May 25, H. 1103.

A. C. 1692. The Turks besiege Soroka in Moldavia without success.

XXXI. At the end of the campaign the Chan of Crim Tartary, Kior Sefa Gierai (14), by the advice of the Seraskier, sends Dervish Shaban Aga, one of his

The Chan of Tartary attempts to divide the Kingdom of Poland from the Confederates, but without success.

The Chan of Tartary attempts to divide the Kingdom of Poland from the Confederates, but without success.

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(14) Kior Sefa Gierai] This was the only one of the family of Choban* Gierai, (mentioned in Part I. B. 2.) that arrived to the dignity of Chan of Tartary, which he No. 17.

did not enjoy above a year. After his being deposed, the Empire of Tartary returned again to the legitimate Gierai's, who have possessed it to this time.

The Chan of Tartary attempts to divide the Kingdom of Poland from the Confederates, but without success.

officers to the King of Poland, to persuade him to make peace with the Othman court, offering, that if he would abandon his alliance with the Emperor, to restore to him Caminiec, with all Podolia and Ukrania. But the Poles, who had conceived new hopes from the ill success of the Turks against Soroka, of subduing all Moldavia, pay no regard to the Chan's advice, and dismiss his messenger.

The Venetians besiege Canoe in Candy, but obliged to retire with loss.

XXXII. The same year the Venetians having entirely subdued the Morea, resolve to turn their arms against Candia, and, transporting their whole army to that island, besiege Canoe with great vigour; but the Turks, informed of their design by a French ship, had put so strong a garrison into that city, that the Venetians, who thought to surprize it, are not only repulsed with great slaughter, but, after a siege of fifty days, obliged to retire with the loss of many of their men, and to confess the Turks conquerors, who had been saved by the favour of the most Christian King.

The different success of the Turks and Venetians upon the Continent.

XXXIII. With equal success Soliman Pasha, governor of Arnaud, attacks and defeats the Montenegrini meditating a rebellion, and recovering Zuffa and Pandurizza, reduces them to submission. The Seraskier of the Morea, flushed with these successes, makes several incursions upon the Venetians; but attempting to seize Naupactum, is repulsed with great loss. In Dalmatia, the Pasha of Hercegovina endeavours, by Alibeg, to recover Gravoxum, but in vain. For the Turks engaged in the siege, are suddenly attacked by the Venetians, who defeat and put them to flight, and take the general prisoner.

Twin-sons born to the Sultan. H. 1104. A. C. 1693.

XXXIV. The campaign being ended, in the year 1104 the Sultan, at Constantinople, has twins born to him, namely, Selim and Ibrahim. As this had never happened to any Sultan before, the Turks, considering it as a presage of their future success, devote eight whole days throughout the Empire to rejoicings, every where both day and night celebrating the Donanma, and other sports usual upon such occasions.

The Vizir Ali is removed, and succeeded by Mustapha Pasha.

XXXV. Amidst these rejoicings of the people, the Vizir, Tarposchbi * Ali Pasha, endeavours to renew the negotiations of peace, which had been interrupted; but being reprehended by the Musli, the Sultan declaring it done without his command or knowledge, he is deprived of his dignity, as a betrayer of the law and the Empire.

The new Vizir puts a stop to a sedition just ready to break out.

XXXVI. His successor, Buinkli Mustapha, endeavouring to put a stop to the depredations of several Nobles, which the negligence of the former Vizirs had suffered to pass with impunity, occasioned some of the offenders to form a secret conspiracy against him, and others to murmur openly. But the assemblies of the seditious being disturbed by Junizar Agasi, the Vizir's friend, and the leaders being partly put to death, and partly banished, the city is restored to its former tranquillity, and the Vizir applies himself to make preparations for the campaign.

The wonderful conduct of Misri Effendi.

XXXVII. While he is thus employed, and had now encamped without the city, the Sheik of Prusa, Misri Effendi (16), erects his standard at Prusa, and

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(15) Donanma] So the Turks call their public rejoicings for having gained a victory, or taken a fortified place from the enemy. Whenever these are enjoined, the merchants are commanded to keep their shops open night and day, and to adorn them with their most valuable goods. Upon such occasions, no kind of plays or diversions are forbidden; nay, people are allowed to drink wine publicly, and those that get drunk, and are at other times punishable by the Janizar-Aga, can neither be punished now, nor called afterwards to an account. Guards in the mean time keep patrolling

about the city, but their business is only to take care to prevent quarrels, riots, murders, and thefts; for they cannot meddle or interfere with any thing that tends only to mirth and diversion.

(16) Misri Effendi] A man in great renown among the Turks for his sanctity: though many think he was too great a favourer of the Christian Religion. This suspicion is confirmed by several divine Poems, which he published, and ordered to be sung in the Jamis; some parts of which, supposed by many to relate to the mystery of the incarnation, I have translated

lists above three thousand Musulman volunteers under the title of Dervises without pay or allowance of provision, merely in the name of God, and in confidence

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translated word for word from the Turkish language, and thought it worth while to insert them here.

“ Therefore my will neither has nor wants any thing. [that is, I desire nothing earnestly, and yet want nothing that I can desire.]

“ I am he, that am acquainted with the secrets of human learning.
“ I reckon up the treasures of justice, and am the life of the World.
“ Within me is included every hidden thing, and the mystery of hidden things.
“ With me is the mystery intrusted, and I am the rich possessor thereof.
“ I have seen the divine beauty much more plainly than others,
“ Wherefore when I see that spectacle, I am ravished with joy.
“ Whatever is in Earth and in Heaven, is subject to me,
“ I am the most excellent seal of things visible and invisible.
“ I have given my only substance for all creatures,
“ I am always with Jesus, and with him do always agree.
“ I am that Misri,” [this word signifies Cairo the Metropolis of Egypt, as also the whole province of Egypt itself, from whence the author took his surname,] who have been King of my body to Misrus or Egypt.
“ My oracle, though profound, yet in its secret interpretation contains an eternal mystery.”

Besides the evident testimonies of Jesus contained in these verses, what I learned concerning the same Misri Effendi from the mouth of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Callinius of blessed memory, is also worth mentioning. When he was Metropolitan of Prusa, Misri Effendi, who then possessed the dignity of Mollab in the same city, had contracted a close friendship with him, and used frequently to visit him. Coming one day to the Metropolitan, he saw a Great Book lying upon a Table. And enquiring what book it was, he was told it was the Gospel. Whereupon he said, “ O Metropolitan, what you have once obtained by the grace of God, That keep as long as you live. For the Gospel, and Christ himself is the word of God.”

And though all this was whispered about among the Turks, yet it could no way hurt his reputation. Nay, when the fore-mentioned verses were presented to the Musti, that he might declare, whether they were orthodox, or contrary to the doctrine of the Koran; he suspended his judgment, and pronounced the following fetvah, or sentence, “ The interpretation of the meaning of them is known to none but God and Misri.” Which sentence, though pronounced by an infidel, I acknowledge to be true, thinking it extremely difficult to give a full explanation of that man's profound learning. However, after this declaration of the Musti, Misri Effendi's Poems were made publick, and came to be received by all the Turks as Orthodox. But the reading of them is not allowed without some caution, and to the copies that are sold, the following advertisement is prefixed,

He seems to have alluded to the same in the following Epigram.

“ These Poems and Maxims are composed by Misri Effendi of blessed memory, in which though some sayings and expressions are found different from the Musulman Faith, and offend Orthodox ears, yet these are to be ascribed to his Enthusiasm. By these errors of his Enthusiasm he has drawn away some Musulmans from the right Faith: which coming to the knowledge of the sublime Part, it has ordered the Musti to collect his Sayings and Poems into one Volume, and to examine them. The Musti, after having read them, has committed them to the flames, and hath passed

“ In divine names I have an infinite knowledge.
“ At every breath I travel to the heavenly sciences. [that is, am wholly taken up with heavenly sciences.]
“ In the Heaven of my heart there is no number of the stars. [that is, there is no numbring of them.]
“ In each Zodiac,” [that is, in each sign of the Zodiac, for the Turkish word Buri denotes both,] “ I reckon a thousand Suns, and a thousand Moons.
“ In comparison of these, the knowledge of the Emphyreal [Heaven] and of the other Orbs, is despicable.
“ Since I have also on earth lasting essences, I am ashamed to be master of the Alphabet in the Worlds.
“ But yet I highly value that Alphabet, which is little esteemed,
“ For in it is joined the agreement of Jesus and Misri.”

dence of the divine assistance, and transports them by sea to *Rhodos*, and afterwards by land to *Adrianople*. When he is come to the city, he marches with his followers directly to *Selin's* temple, where finding the people intent upon their *Namaz* at noon, he first performs the prayers with great appearance of devotion and zeal, and afterwards makes a speech to the people. He tells them, that hearing a new army was raising against the *Germans*, he had long considered what he could do for the service of the *Othman* interest agreeably to the precepts of the *Koran*, and had tacitly examined with himself what were the causes of the many and great losses sustained by the *Othman* armies from the *Christians*. That amidst these reflections it was revealed to him from Heaven, that the cause of it was not the valour of the *Germans*, nor the sins of the whole nation, but the ill conduct of seventeen great men and governors of the Empire, who being influenced by a *Giauric* mind, faith, and manners, are ignorant, that there is no occasion of a numerous army against the infidels, but of faith in God, purity in heart and works, and justice towards the subjects. And that the people might know to whom they ought to impute the ruin of the Empire, there had been named to him by the divine revelation those *Giaurs*, who were proudly vested with the *Musulman* turban and habit; the *Vizir*, the *Janizar-aga*, the *Caimacan* (17), the *Testerdar* (18), the *Reis Effendi*, and other great officers of state, whom he particularly mentioned. Unless these are put to death, no advantage can be hoped against the *Germans*, but still greater calamities, and even the destruction of the whole Empire are to be expected. He has by the command of God collected a body of *Musulman* soldiers, few indeed in number, and destitute of arms, but animated by a divine power, strengthened by the precepts of the *Koran*, untainted with sin, white and pure; with whom he would venture not only to stop an innumerable host of infidels, but likewise to drive them from the borders of the Empire. Upon the report of this affair, not only the common people fond of novelties, but the *Janizaries*, *Spahis*, and other military officers flock thither in great numbers; and as the *Jami*, though very large, could not contain all the hearers, the outward porches are also filled, upon the sight of which, the orator animated by a spirit of zeal, continues his speech four hours. The *Vizir*, informed of the affair, dreads a sedition, to obviate which in time, he sends the *Caimacan* to the *Sheik*, to desire him to come to him. The *Caimacan*, after a respectful compliment, having delivered the message, *Misri Effendi* answers, "I am the servant of God, and sent to the servants of God, to acquaint them with what has been revealed to me from heaven. But I know not what *Giaur* thy *Vizir* is, and see no reason to abandon my call in obedience to him." The *Caimacan* perceiving on account of the crowd of people, who stood round and heard him with great attention, he could use no compulsion, returns to the *Vizir*, and tells him what he had heard and seen, advising him to endeavour immediately to prevent the danger, and disperse the concourse of people; since the *Sheik's* whole discourse tended only to sedition against the nobles, and probably the Sultan himself. The *Vizir* sends for *Janizar-aga* and the other officers stigmatized by the *Sheik* with the name of infidels, representing to them the common danger, and asking what measures they

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" this *serwab* or sentence, whoever speaks and believes as *Misri Effendi*, ought to be burnt, except *Misri Effendi* alone! for no *serwab* can be passed upon those that are possessed of Enthusiasm."

And this disgrace is thought to have moved him to raise those commotions, which I have related in the course of the history.

(17) *Caimacan*.] Namely, *Othman Pascha*,

a *Grecian*, born in *Crete*, who being taken at the siege of *Candia* by *Kiopri Ahmed Pascha*, and persuaded to embrace *Mahometism*, was raised by several degrees to that dignity. He was a very artful man, and knew how to adapt himself to the times.

(18) *Testerdar*.] This dignity I have elsewhere described. He that enjoyed it now, was *Kirsi Ismail Effendi*, whom the *Turks* commend to this day for his great skill and experience in affairs.

think

think are to be taken in this exigence. Having considered the several opinions, they unanimously resolve to attempt nothing without the Sultan's consent, but to use all methods to induce him to oblige the *Sheik* to leave the city. They immediately inform the Sultan by a *Talchys*, that a certain *Sheik* is come to the city attended with a considerable body of soldiers disguised like *Dervisers* who is haranguing the people in *Selimid*, and exciting the inconstant multitude to sedition. For this purpose he is casting out many reproaches against the great officers of state, giving odious appellations to the Sultan himself, charging the *Vizir* and other Nobles as infidels, and publicly declaring, that the *German Othmans* are carrying on war against the *German Imperialists*, and therefore the divine blessing cannot be expected upon the *Othman* court. By these and the like false representations, the Sultan is so enraged, that he commands the rebel to be seized, and since he could not, as wearing the *Tiarat*, be put to death, to be banished with his followers to *Prusa*. The *Vizir* rejoicing to have it in his power under the Sultan's name to execute his desire, sends again the *Caimacan*, but attended with *Janizar-aga* and a good band of soldiers to *Misri Effendi* in the *Jami*. The *Caimacan* and *Janizar-aga*, leaving the *Janizaries* in the street, enter the temple, and in the Sultan's name salute the *Sheik*, who is still speaking and inform him, that the Sultan hearing of his sanctity and reputation, wishes to enjoy his conversation, and therefore desires him to come instantly to the palace. The *Sheik* either informed of their designs, or guessing some snake lay concealed in the grass, answers; "You seem to me from the intent, with which you are come, to be sent by *Sheitan*, and not by the Sultan (19). But I, like a champion for God, who ought to be indifferent whether he be applauded or exposed to contempt, will go wherever you will lead me, so that I give no offence to this assembly of *Musulmans*, or appear unwilling to obey the Sultan's command. However that you may be convinced, I have spoken not of myself, or out of any perverse ends, but by divine inspiration, I declare to you beforehand, that within a few hours after I am gone, you will receive tokens of divine evidence." Having said this, he leaves the *Jami*, and mounting the Sultan's chariot which was brought for him, attended with the guards, he passes with great honour through the people flocking from all parts. As soon as he is at some distance from the populace, he is put into a covered waggon, and immediately conveyed first to *Rhodos*, and afterwards to *Prusa*.

XXXVIII. His superstitious prediction was attended with the event. For two days after, about noon a great whirlwind and storm arises, and throws down the tents of almost all the soldiers and principal officers. There happened at that time to be a fire in several tents for dressing of dinner, which seizing the tents when overthrown, and suddenly communicating itself to the rest, within the space of an hour consumes above a thousand tents, with the pavilions of the chief officers. The people stand unmoved at this sight, and crying out, God showed his vengeance for the unjust banishment of his servant and witness of truth, refuse to give any assistance. At last, the soldiers with great difficulty save the rest of the camp from the flames. The Sultan himself struck with terror, sends a respectful letter to the *Sheik*, and intreats his pardon, confessing himself deceived by the treachery of his ministers, and desiring him to return to *Adrianople*, and give his benediction to the army. *Misri Effendi* answers, he had discovered at first, that he was banished through the fault of the great men, and not of the Sultan himself, and therefore had long since obliterated the remembrance of it, and wholly forgiven the crime, but could not return to *Adrianople*, be-

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(19) by the Sultan] *Sultanen*, *Sheitan*. for his vices: And metaphorically, as if *Misri Effendi* had said, They who came to call him were not sent by the Sultan, but directed by the Devil, and tempted by him to put to death a man, who reproved him to commit that crime.

N^o. 17.

5 G

Green Tur-
ban.

The prodigies
which follow
Misri's depar-
ture.

cause the same spirit, which had prompted him to the first journey, would not permit a second.

The Vizir about to pass through Wallachia into Transylvania. The Imperialists besiege Belgrade.

XXXIX. In the mean time the Vizir, Buinkli Mustapha Pasha, having assembled his whole army, marches from Adrianople to the Danube, from whence he designs to pursue the former rout of Tekeli, and penetrate through Walachia into Transylvania. But before he had passed the Danube, the Germans, having taken Gena and Villagosvar, under the command of De la Croix, besiege Belgrade. Upon this the Vizir alters his intencion and march, and returns from Distra, where he had encamped, towards Chenge * Dagblary, and with great danger and difficulty conducts his whole army through the straits of those mountains, scarce wide enough for an unarmed man to pass through. The German general being informed by his scouts, that the Vizir is attempting to make himself master of Transylvania, he views the outer walls of the city besieged for twenty days, rather like a traveller than a soldier, because either he intended to reduce it by famine, or imagined the Vizir would be prevented by the narrow passes from relieving it in time. But finding the Vizir approaching, and now passed the mountains, he prosecutes the siege with greater vigour, and in eight days not only demolishes the outer walls by his cannon and mines, but also shakes the inner in such a manner, that he seemed ready to take the city, though defended by sixteen thousand Othmans, if the Vizir, leaving behind him his baggage and larger cannon, had not on the eighth day advanced to its relief.

The Vizir raises the siege of Belgrade.

XL. For the Germans peceiving, from the smallness of their number, they could not at the same time carry on the siege, and make a stand against the Vizir, who was about to attack their camp, that they might not instead of victory receive a defeat, raise the siege, and pass the Save with their whole army. The Vizir, though he had done them no other damage in their retreat, than the taking several waggons and four small cannon, imagining their retreat to be a flight, informs the Sultan that he had gained a victory over the enemy.

The Tartars attempting to lay waste Hungary, are inclosed and defeated by the Germans.

XLI. But not daring to pursue them, or pass the Save to attack their camp, he sends Selim Gierai, Chan of the Tartars, with his troops into Hungary, with orders to ravage the neighbouring provinces, and cut off the Germans from all opportunity of procuring provisions. The Chan roving about incautiously, is surrounded at Chomad by the Imperialists appointed to guard those parts, under the command of Hofkirchen, and shut up in such a narrow space, that he could not make use of his horse, or find any means of escape. In this situation, the Tartars must have necessarily submitted to the enemy, or perished with hunger, if the invincible resolution of Selim had not surmounted all obstacles, and engaged the Tartars in an attempt not only unusual to the Scythian hords, but never heard of before since the Scythian name had been celebrated in the world. For there being no room for the cavalry to fight, by his command they all kill their horses, fall upon the enemy with their swords, and rush boldly into the thickest ranks of the Germans. So unexpected an attack at first confounds the Germans, but resuming their courage, they inclose them again, now almost escaped, and make such a slaughter, that except a few attendants of the Chan, scarce a man was saved.

The Poles continue quiet at home. The Venetians do nothing in Greece, and make but little progress in Dalmatia.

XLII. Thus the Germans take a bloody revenge upon the Tartars, for the Polish armies so often defeated by them, while Poland it self continues unactive, and either amused with hopes of peace, offered again by the ambassadors of Selim Gierai, or deterred by former misfortunes, dares not bring an army into the field. The Venetian arms are likewise quiet in Greece. However, in Dalmatia, under the command of Erizzo, governor of Cattari, they attempt the siege of Clobuchi, but are repulsed with considerable loss by the Pasha of Hercegovina; who, notwithstanding, is soon after defeated by Canegotti.

The Vizir Mustapha removed from his post, and succeeded by Ali.

XLIII. The Vizir, Buinkly Mustapha Pasha, returning to Adrianople, while he expects to be rewarded for raising the siege of Belgrade, and forcing the enemy to abandon the borders of the Empire, is deprived of his dignity by the Sultan upon a slight occasion. For, going out of the city one day to relax his mind from cares, and divert himself with hawking, Coltuk Vezirleri, who had

long been his enemies, immediately inform the Sultan of it, representing that the Vizir, laying aside business and the important affairs of the state, minded nothing but his pleasures; and by these calumnies make such an impression upon the easy and credulous Sultan, that he instantly takes away the seal of the Empire from the Vizir, and delivers it to Sham Tarabolus Ali Pasha (20). But that he might not seem ungrateful for his services done to the Empire, nor raise a sedition among the people, he does not keep him in custody, nor deprive him of his estate, but makes him governor of Damascus, a very rare instance among the Turks.

The Vizir Ali Pasha endeavours to make peace with the Christians.

XLIV. Ali Pasha, seeing the distressed state of the Empire, and despairing of victory, as soon as he is advanced to the Vizirship, endeavours to make a peace with the Germans and Poles; but as he resolved to exclude the Venetians, and afterwards turn his whole force against them, he does not succeed. For, on the one hand, the Emperor would not abandon the confederates, and expose them to danger, and obstinately refused all terms of peace, how plausible soever, if they were not included; and on the other, the most Christian King's ambassador, by presents and great promises, had gained both the Nobles and Ulema so firmly to his party, that they unanimously opposed all pacifick measures, and broke the Vizir's designs.

The peace being prevented by the French ambassador, the Vizir sends a Seraskier into Hungary. H. 1105.

XLV. The Vizir, seeing himself by this means disappointed, in the latter end of the year 1105 sends the Seraskier into Hungary, who assaulting Titul, is repulsed with great loss by Caprara, general of the Imperialists. But this victory of the Germans caused no great detriment to the Turkish Empire; for the Emperor of Germany, intent upon the war with France, had left but a small army in Hungary, which was obliged to be rather upon the defence, than to make further progress. The Polish and Russian forces likewise continue to guard their own borders, neither attempting nor performing any thing memorable.

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XLVI. The Venetians alone this year push the Turks with vigour, and make an attempt which would have gained them the dominion of the sea, if they had known how to execute their undertaking with prudence and moderation. Early in the spring they send out a fleet, which, upon the invitation of the inhabitants of Chios, devoted to the Roman-Catholic religion (21), attacks that Island with great

Chios surrenders to the Venetians.

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(20) Sham Tarabolus] Tripoli of Damascus, a city in Palestine, so called by way of distinction from Tripoli in Africa, a noted nest of Moorish pirates.

whatever was done about the Turkish fleet, either at Constantinople or in the Isles, an account of it was industriously sent by them to the admiral of the enemy's fleet. At last, their spirits were raised upon the conquest of all the Moravia by the Venetians; and they began to think of putting also their Island under St. Mark's banners. The better to accomplish their designs, though they were already possessed of best part of the Island, they thought it adviseable to sound the inclinations of the Greeks, that they might not receive from them an unexpected obstacle to their designs. But not daring openly to disclose their intentions, they do, in private discourse, undervalue the strength of the Turks, and magnify that of the Venetians; saying, there was reason to fear, that after the sea was cleared of the Turkish fleet, that Republick would make her self mistress of all the Islands in the Archipelago. Therefore it would be adviseable, before summer, to ingratiate themselves with the Venetians, by sending a letter to their admiral, to entreat him to protect a people of the same religion with him against foreigners;

(21) to the Catholic Religion] A considerable part of Chios was formerly inhabited by people of the Romish Church, whose ancestors had many ages before the island came under the power of the Turks, transplanted themselves thither from Venice, and other provinces of Italy; and having brought the religion of their country with them, transmitted it down to their latest posterity. They enjoyed not only the free exercise of their religion, and the same privileges with the rest of the inhabitants, but also had built more Churches, and by the assistance and authority of the ambassadors of France, and of Princes devoted to the See of Rome, had obtained from the Othman court more immunities and prerogatives than the rest of the subjects of the same Empire. Afterwards a war arising between the Turks and Venetians, after the Vienna-defeat, the people I am speaking of performed the office of spies to the Republick of Venice, and

great vigour. *Silabdar Hassan Pasha* was then governor, who hearing of the approach of the *Venetians*, had resolved to make a brave defence; but after he found

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reigners; and, (if it could be) that a Christian should appear to the assistance of Christians. This advice was not relished by the *Greeks*, both because they suspected the faith of the *Venetians*, and also believed that they could receive but little protection from the *Venetians*, who were at so great a distance, against the present power of the *Turks*. But foreseeing that the *Latins* would, without their concurrence, attempt something in favour of the *Venetians*, they sent word to *Husein Pasha*, who was at that time admiral of the *Turks*, that they would remain faithful to the *Othman* court, even to death; but they had many *Latins* among them, united with the *Venetians* by consanguinity and religion, for whose fidelity they could not answer. They had in this a double view, namely, if their town was taken by the *Venetians*, and recovered by the *Turks*, they might have the excuse ready at hand, that they gave the admiral notice of it; and withal, might not destroy their fellow-citizens, who, if the thing should come to be known by the *Turks*, would be exposed to the most cruel torments. But before this letter could reach *Husein Pasha*, the *Latins*, having information of the matter, and thinking there was no time to lose, dispatched a swift frigate to the *Venetian* admiral, and entreated him by all that was sacred, to come as soon as possible to their assistance; that their designs being now discovered, they were utterly undone, if he made the least delay: and he had no occasion to fear any thing, for the town was quite defenceless, without soldiers, without ammunition, or provisions, and rent by factions, wanted nothing to make it surrender but the sight of an enemy's fleet. Upon the receipt of this message, the *Venetian* admiral sails to *Chios* with all expedition, and finds the town, as the *Latins* had represented, destitute of all things necessary for sustaining a siege, attacks it, and obliges it in a few days to surrender. At that time *Damad*, or *Silabdar Hassan Pasha* lived there, not as governor, but as a private person, having been sent thither by the Sultan to get a maintenance out of the revenues of the Island, till he could be provided with a *Bathalic*. This man, finding the general in want of all things made the defence of the place impracticable, asked the *Mufti*, who lived there as an exile, whether a *Musulman* could, with a safe conscience, deliver up to the Christians a place that had no soldiers to defend it, in order to preserve the *Mahometan* inhabitants? And receiving the *Fetvab*, that the good thereby done to

so many *Musulmans*, would blot out the sin committed against the law of the *Koran*, by the delivery of the place, he surrenders the town to the *Venetians* upon certain conditions on the fourth day of the siege. After the taking of the place, the *Venetians*, grown more insolent, equally exercise cruelties upon the *Greeks* and *Turks*; and knowing of the message sent by the former to *Husein Pasha*, they shut up all their Churches, confiscate the goods of many, forbid the *Grecian* priests the exercise of their function and the administration of the sacraments, and will suffer none but *Latins* to confess dying *Greeks*, or to baptize infants. The *Grecians* use entreaties, tears, and even presents; and desire only the free use of their churches, and of their religious worship; but all in vain, they can obtain nothing, and are ordered to frequent the *Romish* churches, unless they had a mind to pass for rebels, and despisers of the divine worship. But this insolence of the *Latins* did not long remain unpunished. For, the next year the *Venetians* being driven out of the Island by *Medzamorzo*, the *Latins* earnestly desired to be re-admitted into that fraternity from whence they had excluded the *Greeks*; but, far from obtaining their request, they could hardly avoid the most severe punishments. It is a law in the *Othman* Empire, that every country that has been but three hours in the enemies possession, is taken away from the antient owners, and confiscated to the Sultan's treasury, like a new-conquered country, unless the inhabitants redeem it at a set price. In conformity to this custom, a fine of fifteen hundred purses being set upon the whole Island, the *Greeks*, who were quite oppressed with so great a burden, send a petition to the Sultan, representing, that before *Damascus* was conquered by the *Musulman* arms, they paid tribute to the governors of the Empire; and from that time had never refused to pay it, nor attempted any thing to the prejudice of the state; that they were not the authors of the late calamity, but the *Latins*, who were united with the *Venetians* in blood and religion, had betrayed their town to the enemies. Lastly, they pray, that in consideration of their perpetual fidelity to the *Othman* Empire, the sum laid upon them may be lessened; and, to the end they may live with greater safety in the Island, that the *Latins* may be deprived of the privilege of citizens; or, if that could not be, that the Sultan would grant them some desert Island, where, leaving their country, they would willingly go and settle with their wives and children;

found the Christian inhabitants had deserted him, and were endeavouring to deliver up the city without his consent, as he had but few *Turkish* soldiers in the garrison, that he might not be made prisoner himself, surrenders the city to the *Venetians*; who, to oblige the Pope, shut up the *Greek* churches; prohibit divine service in the *Greek* tongue, and other rites used in the Eastern church; induce the inhabitants partly by force, and partly by artifice, to conform to the *Roman* church; and act in many other things contrary to justice, and the terms of the surrender.

XLVII. Having settled at pleasure the affairs of the city, they resolve to besiege *Smyrna*. But the *French*, *English*, and *Dutch* consuls, meet the *Venetians* in their march, and intercede for the city, urging, among other reasons, against the siege, that almost all the Warehouses at *Smyrna* were full of the merchandize of their respective nations, which, if they should be lost in the siege by fire, or plundered by the soldiers, would be required by their masters with interest of the *Venetians*. Upon this the *Venetians*, fearing the resentments of the other Christian Princes, desist from their design, and return home with their fleet.

XLVIII. In *Dalmatia* the *Venetians* under the command of *Delfini* besiege and take *Cielut*, and subdue *Clobuch*, in vain attempted the last year. The *Seraskier*, *Soliman Pasha*, governor of *Albania*, twice assaults *Cielut*, in order to recover that city, but is as often repulsed. For which reason being accused of negligence to the Sultan, he is deprived of his post, and succeeded by *Elmas Mehemed Pasha*, governor of *Bosnia*, lately sent from the *Seraglio*.

XLIX. While the *Othman* arms are thus unsuccessful in all parts of *Europe*, a new sedition breaks out in *Asia*. *Emir Mahomet*, one of the Princes of the *Arabs*, with several thousands of his countrymen, attacks, plunders, and despoils the caravan going in pilgrimage to *Mecca* (22); and afterwards increasing his

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children; for they chose rather to live poorly and quietly, than to be in perpetual fears of losing their lives and estates. Finally, they add, that it was impossible for them to be safe in the Island as long as they remained mixed with the *Latin* inhabitants, who had lately betrayed the town to the *Venetians*, and would again assist them to recover the same. In the mean time, *Husein Pasha*, who was admiral when *Chios* was taken by the *Venetians*, had been raised to the dignity of prime *Vizir*; and he being asked by the Sultan, declared that what the *Greeks* alledged was true, and mentioned at the same time the information they had formerly given him. The Sultan, hearing the truth of the case, reduces the fine upon the Island to five hundred purses; but condemns all the *Latins* to the galleys, and orders all their effects to be distributed among the *Greeks*. And this rigorous sentence, justly due to their unheard-of cruelty, would have actually been put in execution, had it not been for the *French* ambassador; who partly by his credit, and partly by money, got them exempted from the galleys; which yet he could obtain upon no other condition, but that they should publicly renounce the *Romish* religion, and declare themselves members of the *Greek* church: by which means, there is not at present the least sign of a papist in *Chios*.

(22) to *Mecca*] Because the wandering *Arabs*, who dwell in the deserts between *Damascus*, *Bagdad*, and *Mecca*, used to infest chiefly the road to *Mecca* with their robberies, and to render it dangerous to the superstitious pilgrims who went to visit *Mahomet's* tomb, the *Othman* Emperors, after *Selim I.* conqueror of *Egypt*, resolved to pay them out of the treasury of the women's *Seraglio* forty thousand crowns of gold, by way of bounty, under the title of *Surre*; on pretence as if it was paid them for securing the roads and the fountains, but in reality because they could not otherwise remove such troublesome enemies from the *Hajj's*. But the money not being sent for some years on account of the *Hungarian* war, *Sheik Emir Mehemed*, with his tribe, inclosed the pilgrims in a narrow place, and forced them to surrender for want of water. There was then taken among them the most illustrious Chan of *Tartary*, *Selim Gierai*, whom they obliged, by the *Arabian* *Rai*, to carry their complaints to the Sultan, and procure the continuance of the usual bounty; and so they dismissed him upon his parole. He stood to his engagement, and never ceased to importune the *Othman* court, till the arrears of the *Surre* were sent to the *Arabs*; which done, they remained quiet.

They would likewise have taken *Smyrna*, if they had not been dissuaded by the Christian consuls from besieging it.

The success of the *Venetian* arms in *Dalmatia*.

The *Arabs* revolt from the Sultan, and attempt to seize *Mecca*.

number, besieges Mecca it self; but, touched with reverence of the place, and the dread of sacrilege, retires from the city. Shambeglerbeg, attended with the other Bashas of those parts, is sent against him; but the Sheikh defeated them all by a stratagem, and puts them to flight.

Sultan Ahmed dies. + 7th mo. 27. H. 1106.

L. The Empire being surrounded with so many enemies, and almost entirely ruined, Sultan Ahmed in the year 1106 leaves it, and resigns his soul to Mahomet, having lived fifty years, and reigned four.

A. C. 1695. His character.

LI. In his temper and disposition, he entirely resembled his brother Soliman, but of a little more lively, though not acute genius. He listened to the calumnies of his domestic officers, and upon their instigation, for slight causes often changed the most important affairs. He affected to appear a lover of justice, though by reason of his stupidity, he could not perfectly discharge the function of a judge, and believed every thing which his friends, bribed by the contending parties, represented to him.

His person.

LII. He had large black eyes, a pale complexion, a round beard, inclining to red, with a mixture of black, a strait and long nose, a middle stature, a prominent belly, occasioned by the dropsy rather than fat. With respect to devotion and zeal for Mahomet's law, he is said to have been a little inferior to his brother Soliman.

The End of the Reign of AHMED II.



The

1717



Mustapha II.
 Twenty Second EMPEROR of TURKS
 in the Year 1696.
 From an Original in the Seraglio.



The REIGN of
M U S T A P H A II,
 Twenty-second EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK IV. CHAP. IV.

I. THE same thing which had been attempted upon the death of Sultan *Soltan* by *Kioprili Mustapha Pasha*, namely, to deprive *Mustapha*, the son of *Mahomet IV.* of the throne, is attempted, though not with the like success, after *Ahmed's* death, by the Vizir, *Sham Tarabolus Ali Pasha*. To gain this point, he calls a council of the principal officers of state, and persuades them to place *Ibrahim*, son of the deceased *Ahmed*, a Prince of three years old, on the throne, alledging, it was unjust to deprive the son of a Sultan, who had died in the imperial honour of the crown due to him, and confer it upon the son of his brother, who, though a Sultan, had been deposed. These were his publick pretences, but in reality his only reason for defrauding *Mustapha* of the throne was, that he feared to lose the absolute power he had enjoyed under *Ahmed* over the state and army, if a Prince of vigour, and versed in affairs, as *Mustapha* was, should obtain the crown; and had rather have an infant Sultan for his pupil, in whose name he might do what he pleased, than under an Emperor of ripe age be exposed to perpetual danger. But before he could gain the great men to his opinion, *Nezir Aga* (1), the *Haznadar bashi*, informs *Mustapha* of the death of his brother, and releasing him from his confinement, calls upon him to assume the *Othman* sceptre. *Mustapha* readily agrees to such grateful advice, and while the Vizir is consulting with the Nobles concerning the election of a Sultan, ascends the throne without his knowledge, and is first saluted Emperor by *Chalyk * Ahmed Aga* (2), and *Cherkies * Mahomet Aga* (3).

Sultan Mustapha, son of Sultan Mahomet, chosen Emperor.

II. They

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(1) *Nezir Aga*] At that time the *Haznadar bashi*, or keeper of the treasure deposited in the women's Seraglio. He was, shortly after raised to the dignity of *Kyslar Aga*, and had so much interest with the Sultan, that the Vizirs were more afraid of him, than he of the Vizirs, and the Sultan himself would do nothing of publick concern without consulting him. This authority he retained by his great skill the whole reign of Sultan *Mustapha*; but after this Prince was deposed, he was in no small danger, because the rebels laid upon him the blame of all that had been done amiss by Sultan *Mustapha*. He had however his

life granted him by Sultan *Ahmed*, and being dismissed the court, was sent into *Egypt*.

(2) *Chalyk * Ahmed Aga*] a native of *Red Russia*, who being taken in the *Caminee*-expedition, and turning *Mahometan*, was admitted into the Sultan's palace, where, in the reign of Sultan *Mahomet IV.* he was *Cobadar* to *Mustapha*, then a child. When this Prince ascended the throne, he was made, first *Kinchiuk*, then *Buik*, *Inrabor*; and being discharged from this office, because he would not accept of a *Pashalic*, he is even now held in great esteem; and, though but a private person, lives in a splendid manner

The Vizir, who designed to procure the election of Ibrahim, desists from his purpose.

The Sultan taking no notice of the Vizir's attempts, confirms him in his post. He declares that he will command the army himself, and administers the affairs of state alone.

II. They having informed the rest of the courtiers of the election of the new Sultan, all meet to pay their obeysance to the Emperor, who was extremely acceptable to them. The Vizir also, finding his designs prevented by the domestic officers, with joy in his countenance hastens with *Janizar-Agasi*, and other great men, to kiss the Sultan's robe.

III. *Mustapha* taking no notice of the Vizir's attempts against him, and deferring his revenge till another time, confirms him in his post, and presenting him with a robe lined with fables, orders him to take a particular care of the affairs of the war and state.

IV. On the third day after his advancement, the Sultan publishes his intention to command the army himself against the *Germans*; and, not content with the name of Emperor, endeavours to discharge all the duties of a good general. He examines, orders, and disposes every thing; appoints new and large cannon to be cast; procures, and distributes the warlike provisions and military pay; conveys his father's ministers and officers, dispersed in distant countries, and rewards them with new posts, in which they might distinguish themselves to more advantage; sends for *Elmas Mabomet Pasha* (4), his father's most beloved chamberlain, out of *Bosnia*, appointing him first *Nisbanji Pasha* (5), afterwards *Rekiab*

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manner at *Constantinople*. The name of *Chalyk* was given him, because he had the scar of a wound in his face; for that is the appellation given to those that have been maimed or wounded, as *chalyk* *Cholak*, who had lost a hand or some fingers. But it is to be observed, that this man must not be confounded with another of the same name, who, in the beginning of the reign of *Abmed III*, was made *Janizar-Aga* by the rebels; concerning whom, see more hereafter.

(3) *Cherkies Mabomet Aga*] He was brought away in his youth from *Cbercassia* to *Constantinople*, among other captives, and educated in the palace. When *Chalyk* *Abmed Aga* was dismissed from his office, he was made *Bujuk Inrabor* in his room; and thence sent with three *Tugs*, first to the government of *Aleppo*, then to that of *Jerusalem*, and afterwards to some others. Upon the recovery of the *Mores* by the *Turks*, he was made *Seraskier* of that Kingdom, as he is at present, and is in great reputation at the *Othman* court for his justice and courage.

(4) *Elmas Mabomet Pasha*] an *Afiatick*, or, as some say, a *Bosnian* by birth, who was in his youth taken into the palace by Sultan *Mabomet IV*. for his great beauty, and surnamed by him *Elmas*, *The Diamond*. There was a report, that he served the Sultan a great while in his detestable lusts; but many, as well *Turks* as *Christians*, believe, that there was no other proof of *Mabomet's* being addicted to that vice, than his giving particular names to the hand-somest of his chamberlains. After the death of Sultan *Mabomet*, he had several places at court, and at last was sent by Sultan *Abmed II*. with three *Tugs* to the *Pashalic* of *Bosnia*. Being raised by Sultan *Mus-*

tapha II. to the dignity of *Vizir*, he seemed to have the better of the *German* army in two battles; first, when he obliged *Veteran* to retreat; and next, when he rendered fruitless the designs of *Frederic Augustus*, Elector of *Saxony*, against the camp. At last, at the battle of *Zenta*, where the *Turks* were defeated by *Prince Eugene*, being too eager to engage the *Germans*, contrary to the opinion of the rest of the wisest of the *Bashas*, he was slain by the seditious *Janizaries* as the army was preparing for battle. An ingenious *Turkish* poet has expressed the time of his death by the following chronostick; *Nemebe crsibunle sila einasi*, i. e. *The German bath cleaned the diamond with lead*: in which saying, allusion is made both to the common opinion, that lead corrodes diamonds; and also to this other notion, that a diamond cannot be brought to its lustre except it is polished in lead. He was, after all, a discreet, sober, and prudent man, free from covetousness (a rare instance among the *Turkish* Nobility,) a great lover of justice, except when reason of state caused him to supplant or dispatch out of the way rivals, though innocent. He had not indeed so much experience in military affairs as other old *Bashas*, because he had been brought up in the palace; but what he wanted in education, was supplied by good natural parts, by a wonderful readiness in counsels, and great quickness in executing affairs; so that by common consent, he passed for no ill general of an army.

(5) *Nisbanji Pasha*] He that sets the mark or character of the Sultan's name to all the orders that are made. This is reckoned a very honourable place in the *Othman* court, especially if it be held by a *Basha* with three *Tugs*, who is upon that occasion ranked among the *Cubbi-Vizirs*, and in the *Galibè Divan*

Rekiab Caimacan (6); and sending him to conduct the *Valide Sultana* from *Constantinople* to *Adrianople*, makes *Hassan Pasha*, his kinsman, governor of *Diarbekir*, and confers various honours upon those who had served the Empire under his father. By this means he gains such a reputation, that not only all the *Musulman* common people revered him as a sun rising from behind a thick cloud, and promised themselves more auspicious times, but also the soldiers voluntarily came in great numbers, and offered themselves to serve in the campaign under so prudent an Emperor.

V. All things being thus ready, and the hearts as well as hands of the soldiers prepared to renew the war, early in the spring he commands the *Vizir* to encamp without *Adrianople*. Three days after, disguising himself, he mixes among the soldiers, impatient to know what was publicly said of himself, the *Vizir*, and the rest of the great men. And finding from thence, that himself, though superior in many points to his uncles and predecessors, is supposed still to be subject to the *Vizir*, and the latter to dispose of every thing at pleasure, without his knowledge or consent, he is more incensed against the *Vizir*, and resolves to punish him as he deserved. For this purpose, he carefully examines all the warlike stores, and perceiving the carriages of the larger cannon not to be sufficiently strengthened with iron, at first sharply reprimands the *Vizir*, who endeavouring to clear himself, and cast the blame upon *Topchi-bashi* (7), this last is sent for, and being ordered to declare the reason of it, answers, he had desired of the *Vizir* as much iron as was wanted; but meeting with a repulse, had appointed the carriages to be made as the *Vizir* thought proper. The *Vizir* not being able to deny this, the Sultan immediately commands him to be put to death, and his body to be exposed for three days in *Sirik Meidan*, under pretence indeed that he had been negligent in executing the Sultan's orders, but in reality, because he had endeavoured to raise young *Ibrahim* to the throne, to the exclusion of *Mustapha*.

VI. He is succeeded by *Elmas Mebemet Pasha*, who had been before made *Caimacan*, a person of a most acute genius, and worthy of the dignity he possessed; but not without the murmurs of the old *Bashas*, who resented that they should be commanded by a youth unexperienced in affairs.

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Divan sits with them, by the side of the chief *Vizir*, under the place where the Sultan sits to hear whatever affair is in agitation: but if this office is possessed by *Ehiktugly*, or one having two *Tugs*, or by an *Effendi*, it is not then in so much esteem. All the Sultan's *Ferman's*, that are sent from the *Vizir's* chancery into the provinces, and those that are issued out of the *Testerdar's* offices concerning *Malic* and *Bezlyk*, must be read to him by *Nisbanji Kasseidar Effendi*, and then he confirms them, by setting down on the top the *Tara*, or character of the Sultan's name; and lays up copies of them in particular chests. But when any orders are made that do not reach beyond the walls of *Constantinople*, they need not have the *Nisbanji Pasha's* confirmation, but it is sufficient if the *Vizir's* name is set to them. The *Nisbanji Pasha* must be always near the Sultan's person; nor can he go from thence, or be sent any where, unless he is turned out: but when the *Vizir* goes upon any expedition without the Sultan, he gives him a *Nisbanji Effendi* in his room to accompany him.

(6) *Rekiab Caimacan*] When the *Vizir* is engaged in warlike expeditions, the Sultan always appoints one of the *Cubbi Vizirs*, or *Pasha's* that have three *Horse-Tails*, *Rekiab Caimacan*, which signifies a *deputy stirrup-holder*; whose business it is to dispatch all such affairs relating to the Sultan, as properly belong to the *Vizir* to decide, and with the same authority as the *Vizir* himself; except that he cannot create new *Bashas*, nor turn out the old, nor put any of them to death: but upon the *Vizir's* return, his authority ceases. There is another *Caimacan*, namely, that of *Constantinople*, who is usually appointed when the Sultan and the *Vizir* are absent; and of him I have given an account in (Part I.)

(7) *Topchi-bashi*] overseer of the cannon and soldiers thereto belonging, with the *Kombarajis*, or gunners. And over these alone his authority reaches; but the gun-powder, balls, and the rest of the artillery, are under the jurisdiction and care of the *Jebji-bashi*.

The Sultan commanding the army, takes Lippa, and cuts off general Veterani with seven thousand Imperialists.

VII. However, regardless of these murmurs, Sultan *Mustapha* passes with his army the *Danube* near *Belgrade*, attacks and takes *Lippa* and *Titul*, and demolishes their walls. While he is thus engaged, he is informed by the parties of *Tartars* sent before, that *Veterani*, with seven thousand *Germans*, had marched out of *Transylvania*, and was eight hours distant from the Imperial army, commanded by *Frederic Augustus* (8), Elector of *Saxony*. To intercept this body, he sends *Mahmud Beg Oglis*, Beglerbeg of *Rumelia* with the light-armed forces, and immediately follows with the rest of the army. With great speed he comes the second day in sight of the *Germans*, whom, I justly doubt, whether I should not call the stoutest and most courageous troops which *Germany* ever produced; for without any sign of fear, and as if their bodies were invulnerable, they halt, and in a manner challenge to battle the *Turks* pouring upon them in prodigious numbers. *Mahmud Beg Oglis*, though much superior to the Imperialists in strength, not thinking proper to venture an engagement before the Sultan was advanced, orders his troops only to annoy the enemy in slight skirmishes, and prevent their escape. In the mean time, the Sultan comes up with the *Janizaries* and the rest of the army, and commands the *Germans* to be fiercely attacked on all sides. On the other hand, the Imperial general having left two regiments to guard the camp, had drawn out but five thousand men into the field, who sustain the shock of the *Turks* with such bravery, that the latter, after a short opposition, are obliged to retire. The Sultan, who saw the battle at a distance, perceiving so unexpected a slaughter of his men, is enraged, and advancing, kills several of the run-aways with his own hand, and urges the rest to renew the fight. The *Turks*, excited by the shame of their repulse, passing by the left wing of the *Germans*, attack the carriages with which the enemy's camp was surrounded, and penetrate it, though with a considerable loss. Upon this *Veterani* leads back his troops towards the camp, falls upon the plundering enemies, and makes a greater slaughter than before. The *Turks* again fly without stopping, till met by the Sultan, who first seeing *Shahyn Mahomet Pasha*, reproaches him in these terms: "He was guilty of a great error, who first called thee *Shahyn*, that is, the *Falcon*, since thou dost not, like a *Falcon* with rapacious talons, strike at thy enemy's head; but, like a *Crane*, draw after thee a company of fugitives." *Shahyn Mahomet Pasha*, touched with these reproaches, joins with *Mahmud Beg Oglis* in rallying the flying troops, and with a resolution to conquer or die for their superstition, they make a third attack upon the *Germans*. The *Janissar Aga*, on his part, attempts the same, who being also severely reprimanded by the *Vizir*, assembles the dispersed *Janizaries*, and leads them back into the field. Thus both sides meet the third time with equal resolution, and fight several hours with great ardour, excited the one side by the hopes of victory, the other by despair. But the *Germans* would probably have withstood all these shocks, if *Veterani*, their general, in the heat of the battle, had not been obliged by a wound to quit his horse, and go into a waggon. For upon sight of this the Imperialists, destitute of a commander, retire, though in such order, that it was doubtful whether they could be said to fly or retreat. The Sultan, seeing it difficult and dangerous to pursue and drive them to despair, privately orders the *Mufti*, by some means, to keep the *Othman* army in the camp. He, in obedience to his sovereign's command, declares by a *Fetvab*, that it is contrary to the precepts of the *Koran* to pursue too closely a flying enemy; and that he would lose the crown of martyrdom, who should perish in such a case.

VIII. And indeed the Sultan had many important reasons for restraining his soldiers from any further engagement. A thousand horse and fifteen hundred

The bloody victory of the *Turks* over the *Germans*.

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(8) *Frederic Augustus*] This Prince is called to this day by the *Turks* *Naal-Kyran*, the horse-shoe-breaker, on account of his great and wonderful strength in his youth:

for, that it is usual among the *Turks* to give particular names not only to generals, but also to whole nations, is what I have observed in (Part I.)

foot,

foot, slain on the enemy's part, had been revenged by the slaughter of the chief officers of the army, *Mahmud Beg Oglis*, Beglerbeg of *Rumelia*, *Shahyn Mehemed Pasha*, *Ibrahim Pasha*, brother of *Coja Jafer Pasha*, and others of the first rank, with about ten thousand *Turkish* common soldiers: the victory itself too would have seemed very doubtful, if on one hand, the presence and resolution of the Sultan had not brought back the *Turks* from their flight; and on the other, the misfortune of *Veterani* disheartened the *Germans*; and a much greater loss was to be feared, if the remains of the Christian forces, being too closely pressed, should be reduced to despair, and obliged to exert their whole strength in this extreme danger. Content therefore with repulsing this body of *Germans*, and thereby gaining the reputation of a victory, he neglects the rest of their army, and leads back his forces towards the *Danube*.

IX. In this march, he takes *Logush* and *Caransebes*, places destitute of defence, and demolishing them, returns triumphant through *Walachia* to *Constantinople*.

In his return he takes some towns.

X. *Frederic Augustus* does likewise the same, though without any trophies; and having rather shown his troops to the enemy, than led them to battle, sends them into winter-quarters.

The other Imperial general retires to winter-quarters.

XI. The *Poles*, either on account of the King's indisposition, or deterred by their former losses, do not venture to pass the *Tyras*, or re-enter *Moldavia*, imagining they had done enough in securing their conquests, and defending their borders from the perpetual incursions of the *Tartars*. For however the *Othman* Empire was pressed in other parts, these scourges of Christendom never failed one year to lay waste *Podolia* and *Pocutia*, as far as *Leopolis*, and take the inhabitants prisoners, who confided too much in the *Polish* arms. The winter was hardly over, when the Chan of *Crim-Tartary*, *Caplan Gierai*, assaulted the very suburbs of *Leopolis*, carried off four small cannon from the gate of the city, was like to have seized general *Tablonowski* himself, and with above fourteen thousand prisoners returned safe to *Crim-Tartary*.

The *Poles* being negligent, the *Tartars* shamefully ravage the kingdom.

XII. *Peter* the first, *Czar* of *Russia*, in order to the entire destruction of this pest, in the beginning of the summer attacks *Azac*, the strongest bulwark of *Crim-Tartary*; but his soldiers not being yet used to sieges, and the garrison making a stout defence, he is forced to retire without success.

The *Czar* of *Russia* besieges *Azac*, but retires without success.

XIII. The war is much more fortunately carried on this year against the *Venetians*. For the *Venetians*, flushed with their conquest of *Chios*, having claimed the dominion of the sea, and the *Turkish* ships not daring to appear, frequent consultations were held at *Constantinople* for the restoration of their naval power. In these the name of *Medzomorto* (9), at that time only the commander

Medzomorto defeats the *Venetian* fleet.

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(9) *Medzomorto*] an *African*, born of *Moorish* parents, who in his youth exercised piracy in the *Mediterranean* from the Port of *Tunis*, and by that rendered himself very famous. He was at last overpowered in an engagement with the *Spaniards*, and taken by them; when he received so grievous a wound, that his life was despaired of; and upon this occasion the name of *Medzomorto*, or half-dead, was given him, which he retained ever after. For he recovered from that wound, and, after a seventeen years imprisonment, being redeemed by his countrymen, returned to his old trade, and did great damage to the *Christians*. He was afterwards, for his good services at *Chios*, made captain of a galley, and at last commander of the whole *Turkish* fleet. Being brought to *Adrianople*, when the Sultan was going to confer upon him

the honour of admiral, and three *Tags*, he particularly desired to have leave to instruct the sailors and marine forces in the art of fighting at sea, and bind them to some certain regulations; and, not to be obliged, on account of the honour of *Vizir* conferred upon him, to quit his sailor's habit: both which requests he obtained. The *Vizirs* often tried to prevail upon him to change his dress, telling him, that so mean a habit was unsuitable to his dignity: but he always remained immovable, and, when they pressed him, used to tell them, that he thought it much more unsuitable for the fleet of so great an Empire to be left a prey to a few fishermen; which disgrace was owing to nothing but this, that the latter minded arms, and the ministers of the other nothing but dress and finery; that, for his part, he made the honour of

Vizir,

of a single ship, made a figure, who being sent for to the council, not only dissuaded them from a defensive war, which seemed most advisable to the majority, but proposes the recovery of Chios as very practicable, promising, to regain it himself, provided four Sultana's were allowed him, with part of the galleys. Amije Oglu Huseim Pascha, the admiral, treats him with contempt, as a presumptuous and rash man, and even mixes his reproaches with threats. But the Seraskier, Mysirli (10) Oglu, who had the chief command of the war against the Venetians, having maturely considered the affair, approves of the scheme, and delivers to Medzomorto the ships and eight galleys, which he wanted. With these Medzomorto sails towards Chios, followed soon after by the whole Turkish fleet, and not only bravely withstands the Venetian fleet appointed for the defence of the haven, but repulses them, and having taken two of their ships, obliges them to fly. The garrison seeing the Turks approach, at first, through confidence of their own strength, condemn them; but afterwards, perceiving their ships driven from the port with loss, their courage entirely fails them: for they had never imagined that the Turkish fleet, so often defeated, could be repaired so soon; or that there was any person among the enemy who could teach them the art of naval war: wherefore their care and business had been, not to fortify the city, but to shut up the Greek Churches, and commit other things in breach of their faith. Finding therefore that since their fleet was forced to quit the sea, their walls, exposed on all sides, could not be defended against so numerous an army, they turn their resentments from the Turks upon the Greeks, calling them perfidious traitors, and not only resolve to plunder and kill them, but even clearly discovers their design. The Greeks seeing themselves in this dangerous situation, at first endeavour to mitigate the fury of their tyrants by persuasion, and incline them to mercy by strong demonstrations of their fidelity; but perceiving the calumnies of their Catholick countrymen to prevail above truth, for want of a better method, privately inform the Seraskier, that they are in great danger, and the Venetians have resolved their destruction, because, struck with a panic, they found none else to cast the blame of their approaching misfortune upon. But this very thing proved the occasion of safety to the Venetians. For the Seraskier imagining it to be a stratagem of theirs, in order to prevent an unexpected defeat, resolves to examine the affair, before he undertakes the siege, and so gives the Venetians time to embark their effects, and after plundering the inhabitants and churches, to escape by means of their ships that were in the harbour.

The Turks at last take the city of Chios, and oblige the Roman Catholicks to conform to the Greek religion.

XIV. On the morrow, the Seraskier discovering the flight of the Venetians, takes the city, and dragging out from their lurking-places, such Venetians, as their ships could not contain, puts them to death. He obliges the Chians, who had professed the Roman-Catholick religion, either to conform to that of the Greeks, or submit to captivity; restores to the Greeks the churches taken from them, shutting up those of the Roman-Catholicks; and thus, not with a divine interposition, returns upon the Venetians all the acts of tyranny, they had exercised on the Greeks.

The Venetians gain a victory.

XV. This misfortune was a little alleviated by a victory gained by the Venetians near Argos, in which four hundred Turks are said to have been slain. But this was of no great detriment to the Turks, nor of much advantage to the Venetians.

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Vizir, bestowed upon him by the Sultan, to consist not in dress, but in bravery; and would show, how much the most slovenly men excel the best dressed ladies.

(10) Mysirli ogli] A very famous Turkish General, for bravery, next to Coja Jaser Pascha, mentioned above. He fell with the

rest of the Turkish officers, by the hands of the rebellious soldiers, when preparations were making for the battle of Zenta, to the Sultan's great grief. He was named Mysirli ogli, either because he was born of Egyptian parents, or of parents that lived in Egypt.

XVI. In Arabia, the rebel Sheikh Emir Mahomet is defeated by the Pilgrims guarded by Arslan Pascha Governor of Tripoli, with some troops, and his followers are put to flight; thus that intestine and dangerous wound of the Ottoman empire is healed, though but for a time.

The rebellious Arabs, attacking the Caravan going to Mecca, are defeated.

XVII. Sultan Mustapha considering these victories as fortunate omens of his reign, upon his return to Adrianople, solemnizes them with great pomp, and appoints Medzomorto, by whose conduct he had recovered Chios, Admiral, and rewards the rest, who had distinguished themselves in this campaign, by suitable honours and posts.

The Sultan triumphs on account of his victories, and gives Medzomorto the command of the fleet.

XVIII. Having afterwards issued out his commands through the whole empire for raising a more numerous army, the Turks, animated by their late successes, list themselves voluntarily in great numbers. But before he had made the necessary preparations for the campaign, Frederic Augustus, Elector of Saxony, at the end of the year 1107, with the Imperial army besieges Temiswara. The Sultan hearing of this, immediately leads his army over the Danube, with a resolution either to relieve the city, or force the Germans to a battle.

Frederic the Emperor's general besieges Temiswara. The Sultan marches to its relief. H. 1107.

XIX. The Germans, on the approach of the Sultan, abandon the siege, rather resolved upon, than begun, and encamp in a proper place, about eight hours distance from the city, where they are determined to wait for the Turks.

A. C. 1106. The Imperialists abandon the siege of Temiswara. Are repulsed with loss in their attack upon the Turkish camp.

XX. The Turkish forces soon after come up, and pitch their tents in sight of the enemy, though beyond cannon-shot, and by the advice of Tekeli, who attended upon the Sultan, fortify their camp with strong ramparts, and wide and deep trenches, a method unusual with the Turks. The first day is spent within the camp in consultations, without, in skirmishes between the Hungarian light-armed troops, and the Turkish advanced guards. The night at last restraining the fury of both, and each party returning to their camp, the Imperial general resolves upon a bold attempt, which would have been very glorious, if crowned with success. There lay between the camps a place full of briars, surrounded with a marshy ground, scarce an Italian mile broad, but so thick, that a person unarmed could not pass through it. Here, he orders in the night, four and twenty different paths to be secretly cut, and at day-break, the army, with as many cannon, to pass through, and attack the Turkish ramparts. The soldiers execute these orders with great bravery, and having discharged their cannon three or four times, make a vigorous assault upon the Sultan's camp. But unfortunately for the Christians, they happened upon the strongest part of the camp, where the Janizaries and Mysirli were placed. They penetrate indeed their trenches, where they kill a great number of the Janizaries and Egyptians, and by their first onset, strike such a terror into the whole army, that the Sultan himself left his tent, and retired to the farthest part of the camp; but soon after, they are overpowered by the Turkish troops, and repulsed with great loss.

The Vizir's bravery in this battle.

XXI. This victory was chiefly gained by the bravery of the Vizir Elmas Mahomet Pascha. For when the army was thrown into the utmost confusion by the sudden irruption of the Germans, he first with his men stopped the foremost of the Germans; now pressing to the Sultan's pavilions, and by his example, encouraged the Janizaries; upon which, the Germans, finding themselves incapable of sustaining the fury of the Turks, were obliged to return to their own camp, with the loss of many of their men, and the twenty four cannon they had brought. When the Germans had begun to give way, they were entirely routed by three thousand Bostanji (11), who were advanced to the assistance

The Vizir's bravery in this battle.

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(11) Bostanji] The first Turkish Emperors, who made it their chief study to have an army inured to labour, and accustomed to hardships, instituted this order, with this view chiefly, that while they exercised themselves in the culture of gardens, they

might be accustomed to heat, and cold, and other injuries of the air, and so become fitter to bear the fatigues of war. From these Bostanji were chosen the Azapli, or the furious, who were the lowest kind of soldiery among the Turks, and out of them

assistance of the Janizaries, and who, though designed only for the Sultan's guard, and never employed before in any other military service, yet were sent in this danger by Mustapha, and ordered to assist the rest of the army. However, the Germans did not fall unrevenge'd. For there were slain in this battle, besides Mustapha Pascha, Governor of Temisware, the Vizir's brother, and many other Turkish officers of the first rank, with several thousands of Janizaries and Egyptians. Of the Germans, those only were killed, whom the Janizaries had found within the trenches.

XXII. The rest of the Imperial army, that they might not publickly own themselves conquered, stand the whole day in order of battle, and immoveably wait the approach of the Turks. But the Sultan, who was particularly careful to animate his soldiers with the name of victory, not thinking proper to try again the hazard of a battle, orders the Mufti, by his Fetwab, to prohibit any farther engagement, and a few days after, marching his army towards the East, puts an end to the campaign. The Germans, though very near, would not venture to interrupt the retreat of the Turks, imagining they had done enough in guarding their own borders, since the French war, in which they were involved, would not suffer them to extend their conquests.

XXIII. The Poles, besides their usual slowness, have a new pretence for delaying their campaign this year, on account of the death of their king John Sobieski, who being exhausted by a long indisposition, died on the 17th of the month Zylyade †, in the year 1107. For being employed in the cabals which always attend the election of a king of that nation, they had not leisure to think of raising an army, much less of making a campaign.

XXIV. While the Poles continue inactive, Peter Czar of Russia, having sent for persons skilled in the arts of war and gunnery, from Germany, marches again with a larger and better disciplined army to Azac, and assaults the walls with such vigour, that the garrison, of which the Russian sword had left but four hundred, on the 18th of the month Zilyze †, surrendered the castle. Their example is soon followed by the garrison of Luttich, opposite to Azac, who deliver up that castle to the Czar upon terms.

XXV. In the mean time the Venetians besiege Dulcineum, a port famous for being the receptacle of the Turkish pyrates; but though they had bravely repulsed Omerbeg Bascha of Arnaud from their trenches, they are obliged by the valour of the garrison to raise the siege, and probably they would have received a notable defeat, the Seraskier marching against them with his whole force, if Libberaki, who had been appointed by the Turks Prince of Mania, had not drawn his countrymen by a stratagem to a revolt from the Othman Port. For the Seraskier perceiving his forces by this means weakened, and the enemy strengthened, chose rather to retreat, than commit the safety of all Greece to the hazard of a battle. The Venetians on the other hand content with defending their former acquisitions, proceed no further, but apply themselves to repair Hexamilon in order to secure the Morea.

XXVI. At sea Medzomorto Capudan Pascha regulates the fleet agreeably to the maxims of the naval science, in a manner before unknown to the Turks, avoids the battles, in which his predecessors used to engage without regard to the wind or situation; and perpetually watches the motions of the Venetian fleet. The Venetians do the same, and struck with admiration at the conduct of the Ca-

Both armies retire to their winter-quarters.

The death of John Sobieski king of Poland.

† June 6. H. 1107.

A. C. 1696. The Czar of Russia takes Azac.

† July 6.

The Venetians are obliged to abandon the siege of Dulcineum.

Medzomorto regulates the Turkish fleet.

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the Janzaries, this being the direct step to that order: But now, when the militia of Janizaries is easily made up out of their own sons, and such as willingly enlist themselves, the antient manner of choosing them out of the Bostanji is laid aside; and they are put to no other employment, but to guard the Sultan's palace, to dress his gardens, and

to row his barge. They have a commander named Bostanji bashi, whose dignity and office I have before explained. It never happened but this once, under Sultan Mustapha II, that they were used as soldiers, to repel the assault of the Germans, when attacking the Turkish camp.

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pu dan, dare not hazard an engagement: so that one observing the others designs, they perform nothing memorable the whole year.

XXVII. The months proper for military expeditions being passed, Mustapha leads back his army to Adrianople, and disbanding his forces removes to Constantinople, where he enters with such pomp, that if you had considered the magnificence only, you would have imagined his victories had been much superior to those of the conquerors of Constantinople, Hungary, and Egypt. The greatest ornament of this triumph was, the twenty four cannon taken from the Germans this campaign, which led the way, and were followed by several noble captives taken in the former battle against Veterani.

XXVIII. On the third day after this publick entry, the Sultan visits the monument of Ebi Eyub ensari with great appearance of devotion, and agreeably to the custom of the Turkish Sultans is girt with a sword by the Sheik of that Jami. These ceremonies being finished, he applies himself wholly to warlike preparations by land and sea with the utmost expedition, orders six and thirty large ships of war to be built, designing part of them against the Venetians, and part against the Russians, (who since the taking of Azac had begun to build a fleet in the Euxine-sea) with a great number of galleys and galliots; honours Medzomorto the admiral, habited in a mariner's dress, with three Tugs, and gives him the command of the whole sea and all the islands; and also confers handsome rewards upon the rest of the sea-officers, who had distinguished themselves in former expeditions. For the supply of his army he enrolls twelve thousand Tamagy Janizaries (12) and eight thousand Levendi (13); exercises both the soldiers and courtiers every day in Kiagizebane (14) in the use of muskets, cannon, mortar pieces, darts, jirids, and other arms common among the Turks; and having published a Ferman, orders the whole strength of the Empire to be assembled at Adrianople about Hedrelez †. Thus Constantinople, which under the preceding Sultans regarded nothing but pleasure, and seemed in the midst of war to be dissolved in luxury, under Mustapha's administration rebounds nothing but arms, and not only prefaces, but even promises itself future conquests from what were already gained.

The Sultan returns in triumph to Constantinople.

The Sultan is girt with a sword, and orders great preparations of war to be made.

† St. George's day.

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(12) Tamagy Janizaries] This is the name given to those men that are newly lifted among the Janizaries, to make up their number; or that are taken into that order out of other cohorts: and it is most commonly done, when they are sent to garrison a town newly taken. For in that case, if there is occasion, for instance, for six thousand men, not above two or three Oda's from the Ojak are sent; and as they do not amount to above three thousand, the other three thousand taken from the Jibiji's or other new soldiers, under the title of Yenziberi's imagy.

(13) Levendi] This name, which is a corruption of some Italian word, denotes the marine forces, consisting of very disorderly men, hardly obedient to their commanders. Formerly they were very unskilful, but having been brought under some regulation by Medzomorto, they seem to have lost some of their fierceness and barbarity. The usual number of them in time of peace is fourteen thousand: but in case of a war with the Venetians, or upon some other occasion, there are new ones

raised for six months; as many as the Sultan pleases, who have an allowance each of twenty five dollars for those six months. There are admitted among them Greeks and other Christians, which is not allowed in any other branch of the Turkish militia.

(14) Kiagizebane] The Paper-shop, or houses, a very pleasant place, not far from the suburbs Eyub, near a river of the same name, that runs into the inner port; so called, because there formerly stood paper-mills. But those being demolished, a foundary was built in their room, where are cast mortars, balls, and other kinds of ammunition. The river that waters that place, has in the bottom of it mud, very good to make bricks and tiles, and in such plenty, that it hath afforded materials for the many buildings that have been for so many ages erected in Constantinople. It is encompassed with very large and fine meadows, in which the Sultan's horses are turned out to graze in the spring, about St. George's day, which is also a holiday among the Turks, being called by them Hedrelez.

XXIX. The

The Sultan rejects the peace offered by the Emperor.

He marches his forces to Belgrade, and musters his army.

The Emperor orders Prince Eugene to act upon the defensive.

After a general council, the Sultan resolving to attack Transylvania, passes with his army over the Danube.

Mustapha by the advice of his Council marches his forces to Titul.

† They.

The Sultan returns to the Tibiscus with great loss.

XXIX. The Sultan relying on this confidence, though informed that the *French* had concluded the war with the Emperor, rejects the peace offered by the *Dutch* and *English* ambassadors, boasting he was alone, without the assistance of the *French*, able not only to repulse, but subdue the Emperor.

XXX. At the approach therefore of that pleasant season, which usually invites the soldiers into the field, he departs from *Constantinople* with the same magnificence, with which he had entered it, and marches through *Adrianople* towards *Belgrade*. There he again musters his army, and finds, that besides the families and servants of the *Bashas*, (a very great number of which always attend a *Turkish* camp,) and a multitude of other useles persons, he had an hundred and thirty five thousand men in the military list.

XXXI. To this strong army the Emperor had only opposed forty six thousand *Germans* under the command of Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, with orders not to attack the *Turks*, or engage in a battle without compulsion, and only to guard *Peterwaradin* and the other fortresses of *Hungary* situated upon the *Danube*.

XXXII. The *Turks* having extorted the intelligence of this from the prisoners by torture, a private consultation is held first at *Belgrade* between the Vizir and principal *Bashas*, and afterwards a *Galibe Divan* in the presence of the Sultan. Here it is determined to leave the *Sava* on the right, and to pass the *Danube* below *Belgrade*, and avoiding the *Germans*, who were encamped near *Segedin*, to penetrate with the army into *Transylvania*. This advice was suggested by *Tekeli*, who was present in the *Turkish* camp, and persuaded the Sultan and great officers, that it would be easy to reduce *Transylvania*, both because the *Hungarian* rebels, who were now assembled from several parts, to the number of fifty thousand, offered to join their troops, and because the Emperor's General had sent for most of the garrisons in *Transylvania* to reinforce his army, and left the cities almost empty, and destitute of defence.

XXXIII. The Sultan approving this advice, and passing the *Danube*, orders his army to move towards *Temisware*; but in his second day's march hearing the *Germans* were advanced to *Titul*, he again calls a *Galibe Divan*, and enquires whether it was proper to pursue the resolution of the former Council to invade *Transylvania*, and leave the enemy behind, or to march against the enemy, and engage them in open field, wherever they should be found. The former opinion seemed to the majority very hazardous in the present state of affairs, since there was reason to apprehend, that while the *Othman* forces were engaged in *Transylvania*, the *Germans* would besiege *Belgrade*, and take that city, though strongly fortified and garrisoned, if no relief could be brought. The Vizir urged this particularly, and observed, that the *Othman* troops could not without extreme danger make any attempt, till the enemy's army was defeated. On the other hand, if the *Germans* were once driven out of the field, all *Hungary* would lie open to the *Turkish* arms. This advice being recommended to the Sultan by the authority of the giver, they unanimously resolve to attack the enemy; for which purpose the Sultan not only marches his land-forces towards *Titul*, but orders his fleet in the *Danube* with his ships of burthen to sail as far as the *Tibiscus* †. In the mean time the *Germans* perceiving the approach of the *Turks* from the high mountain, on which *Titul* stands, though their army consisted of but six thousand horse, determine bravely to resist, and not sell the passage of the *Tibiscus* to the enemy without blood.

XXXIV. For this purpose the Imperialists fortify the banks of the *Tibiscus*, extending in a plain under the castle with ramparts and cannon, and resolutely show themselves to the enemy in the rear from an eminence. The Sultan soon after approaches, and seeing so small a body as it were provoking him to battle, orders several *Bashas* to pass the river in open boats, (which the *Turks* use to carry with them in waggons for the forming of a bridge,) and to animate his men, promises fifty gold crowns for every *German* taken alive, and twenty five for the head of every *Christian*. They obey with great alacrity, not knowing, the banks were fortified by the *Germans*, pass over without any order. The *Germans* are quiet at first, but when they see several thousand *Turks* had passed, and

and the enemy's number to increase, they discharge their cannon upon the thickest of them, and mounting their ramparts, attack them sword in hand. The unexpected noise of the cannon had now struck the *Janizaries* with such terror, that forgetting they were soldiers, like women they thought of nothing but flight, by which however they could not prevent the slaughter of three thousand of their companions, nor would one have escaped, but that by good fortune the fleet came up just at the very time, and seized the island in the middle of the *Tibiscus*; by which means the *Janizaries* first pass over from the lower part of the river, and march in a body against the *German* ramparts. A second but lighter engagement ensues. For the *Germans* seeing the *Janizaries* continually increase, and that there was reason to fear, if they persisted to defend the place of battle, they might at last be overpowered with numbers, abandon their ramparts, and retire first to the city, and afterwards, mounting their horses, to *Cobila* (15). Some hundreds of the *Haiduks* make a little longer stay in the castle; but in the evening setting fire to it, follow their companions. After the *Germans* were gone, the Sultan with the rest of his forces passes the *Tibiscus*, and in his march the Vizir, to remove the remembrance of the defeat, exposes the dead bodies of about three hundred *Germans*, having before buried those of the *Turks*.

XXXV. Without staying long there, he marches the same way, where the *Germans* had joined each other, and finding in the plain of *Cobila* the bridge left intire by the *Germans*, (whether through design or haste is uncertain) he turns his army towards the *Danube*, and stops at the lower part of the island formed by the *Ister* opposite to *Peterwaradin*. Here is held a third consultation, in which it is determined immediately to run a bridge over the *Danube*, and besiege *Peterwaradin*, which might be done in two days, and before the Imperialists could march thither from *Segedin*.

XXXVI. The inhabitants of that city had indeed a bridge intire in the lower part of the island, but so strongly guarded, that the *Turkish* army could not come near, much less pass over it without great loss. Upon this account they vigorously begin a new bridge, and would have finished it the second day, if some of the garrison of *Peterwaradin*, who had concealed themselves in that island with four cannon, had not thrown an unexpected obstacle in their way. For when they saw the *Turks* near the bank, they discharge their cannon upon them, piercing several boats, upon which the bridge was founded, and though upon the coming of the *Turkish* fleet, they are soon obliged to abandon the island, yet they prevent the *Turks* from finishing their work till the third day, and by that means occasioned them to lose the victory, which seemed already to be in their hands.

XXXVII. For on that day Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, who immediately on notice of the march of the *Turks*, had prepared for the relief of *Peterwaradin*, and left *Segedin*, with great expedition, arrived at sun-set, and passing by the camp of the enemy, hastens towards the head of the bridge. *Shabbaz Gierai* Sultan (16), son of *Selim Gierai* Chan of the *Tartars* (17), had attempted indeed

The third consultation, in which the Sultan resolves to besiege Peterwaradin.

Slight skirmishes during the building of the bridge.

Prince Eugene with great hazard comes to the relief of Peterwaradin.

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(15) *Cobila*] So the *Turks* call that large plain, which reaches from the Town of *Titul*, between the *Danube* and the *Tibiscus* to *Segedin* and *Peterwaradin*.

(16) *Shabbaz Gierai*] He was afterwards, upon the death of his father, *Selim Gierai*, advanced to the dignity of Chan, under *Abmed III.* Sultan of the *Turks*; but shortly after preparing to make war against the *Chevcassians**, he was surprized by them in an ambuscade, and slain. Of which I have given an account in (Part I.)

(17) of the *Tartars*] It will not be improper to relate here a remarkable instance of dexterity and nimbleness performed then by the *Tartars*. Both armies stood opposite to one another near *Peterwaradin*, and neither of them could be informed of the others number, nor had they been able to take any prisoner on either side. In this exigency, Sultan *Mustapha* writes a civil letter to *Shabbaz Gierai*, desiring him to take, some way or other, if it was but one *German* soldier, prisoner, by whom he

to stop his swift progress, and with twelve thousand *Tartars* had burnt up all the grass far and near; but these obstacles could not repress the ardor of the *Germans*, though they met with no lake, spring, river, or field for the space of nine hours.

The fourth consultation of the *Turks*.

XXXVIII. This unexpected arrival of the *German* army obliges the *Turkish* officers to consult again, whether it was proper to attack the *Germans* in such an open plain, before they had fortified their camp, or to wait till they should assault the *Othmans* in their trenches.

The advice of the young Vizir worthy a man of years.

XXXIX. The Prime Vizir endeavours to the utmost of his power to persuade the Sultan to the former opinion, alledging, it was not for the honour of the *Othmans* to suffer the enemy, who was so near, to escape without trying the fortune of a battle, since the Musliman forces were not brought into the enemy's country, merely to shew themselves to their enemies, and then retire, but to gain the lawrelets promised by the prophet, and recover the provinces unjustly seized by the infidels. That God, by inspiring the soldiers with an impatience for battle scarce to be restrained, sufficiently declared, that now was the time to defeat the enemy; and if this ardor should be repressed, and the army, eager to fight, be prevented, it was to be feared, this excessive caution would throw the whole army into a pernicious languor, or excite in them thoughts of sedition for want of other employment.

It is disapproved of by the rest.

XL. This opinion of the Vizir is boldly opposed by *Coja Jaser Pasha*, a veteran soldier, who had been present in almost all the battles of the *Turks* with the *Germans*, from whence he had acquired a great experience in war. He vehemently contended, that the army might not be led into the field against the *Germans*, urging, he had observed, that the *Germans*, as often as they had fought in an open plain, in which they could at pleasure open their front, advance or retire, had always gained the victory. That they had never before brought so great an army into the field as at present, and formerly had defeated the *Othman* troops, though much superior in number, when opposing them in the manner prescribed by the Vizir. That they were now commanded by a prudent general of approved valour and conduct in war, who, as he imagined, would not provoke the *Turks* to a battle, unless he had placed his own troops to such advantage, as to be in a manner sure of victory. Almost all the Bashes inclining to this opinion, the Vizir, that *Jaser's* authority might not prevail over his, uses all his efforts to engage the Sultan on his side, styling *Jaser Pasha* an infidel and traitor, who gave such advice concerning the *Othman* affairs, as if he was bribed by the enemy to prevent all wholsom counsels, which should be suggested to the Sultan. *Jaser Pasha* seeing the Vizir's obstinacy could not be surmounted any other way, desires the Sultan to remove the curtain (18), and hear in person what he should speak for the advantage of the *Othman* interest. This being granted, *Jaser* says, "But if, Brother, you have gained such

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might be informed of the state of the enemy's army. This seemed indeed difficult, and almost impossible, because the *German* army stood then in order of battle; and to make any attempt against it, would have been running one's head against a wall of brass, and writing upon it a memorial of rashness in bloody characters. The *Tartarian* Prince however willing to comply with the Sultan's desire, calls a council, and orders four hundred chosen men, who willingly undertook to go round the *German* camp, and to bring away some of the enemies, either from among the baggage or the carriages. These dividing themselves into several bodies, attack the *German* army,

but not without losing many of their men, and would have been obliged to return without success, had not three brothers, who had desired to be of the party, though against their father's will, attacked the rear of the *German* wing, with so much dexterity, as to take a man from the midst of his companions, and carry him away bound.

(18) curtain] When, upon an expedition, a Council is called by the *Turks*, to which they give the name of *Galibe Divan*, the Sultan sits indeed in it, but in a particular place, with a *Perde*, that is a curtain drawn before him, where he can hear all that is said, without being seen.

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" high favour with God, that he inspires you with counsels, and assures you of the events, you cannot blame me for not knowing or believing it. But if it shall please his Majesty, let him order me to be bound here, and kept in irons, and you to attack the enemy in the manner you think proper. If, within an hour or two, you do not betake yourselves to a shameful flight, I will submit to suffer as a stinking dog, whatever punishment his Majesty pleases to inflict upon me. But if (which God forbid) my prediction shall be fulfilled, may you give an account of your imprudence to God and the Sultan. But whatever shall happen to myself, I still adhere to my former opinion, and with due fidelity to the *Othman* empire, advise not to engage the enemy in open battle, but only to fortify our trenches, and sustain their attacks with our cannon and soldiers. By this means, though God should not favour us with victory, I can certainly promise, we shall not be defeated. But if, passing by us, they shall advance to the head of the bridge, I am of opinion, we ought not to march against them openly, but surround them with ramparts. For thus they will be obliged, by want of provisions, to leave their camp, and attack us in our works, or pass the *Danube*, and so give us an opportunity of falling upon them in their passage, without any hazard."

XLI. The Sultan, though he approved of *Jaser's* advice, yet adjourns the council till the next day, in order to further deliberation, but commands his men to keep in their trenches, and those, who of their own accord, had already taken the field, to be beaten back by the *Chausbis** (19). This not being sufficient to restrain the ardor of the soldiers, impatient for a battle, the Musti proclaims by a *Fetvab*, that whoever should fall in that battle, would not only lose the expected crown of *Shehadet*, but also eternally lament their unseasonable boldness in hell.

By the advice of *Jaser Pasha*, the council and battle are deferred till next day.

XLII. Mean while, Prince *Eugene* had advanced as far as the bridge, and having refreshed his soldiers, almost dead with thirst and heat, with the waters of the *Danube*, had drawn them up, in which posture remaining all night, the *Turkish* camp is seized with great terror, the soldiers, who were restrained from fighting, thinking it to proceed from their general's fear, and to be the worst of omens to the *Othman* affairs. The Vizir perceiving this, and having got a proper occasion of exposing *Jaser Pasha*, informs the Sultan of the speech and commotions of the soldiers, and makes use of them as an argument how prejudicial the Basha's too great caution had been to the *Othman* interest, and how fatal it would prove, unless immediately obviated. For that there was no hope, that the enemy could be deprived of forage and provisions, since they had the *Danube* open, and were masters of all the towns above them, from whence they might be plentifully supplied. That in the mean while, time was lost, so large an army languished in a fruitless idleness, the treasure was exhausted, and the enemy every day strengthened.

The Vizir endeavours by all means to persuade the Sultan to a battle,

XLIII. Since his Majesty therefore would not engage the enemy in the field, he advised to leave them behind, and march towards the *Tibiscus*, and besiege *Segedin*; since he certainly knew, that this city was not so strongly fortified nor garrisoned, as to be able to hold out against the *Othman* army ten days. That when this town was subdued or destroyed by fire, the whole country between the *Tibiscus* and the *Danube* would be reduced to the *Turkish* obedience, and the neighbouring countries of *Hungary* might be laid waste by the *Tartars* and

or to besiege *Segedin*, which is approved of by the Sultan.

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(19) by the *Chausbis**] There are two sorts of *Chausbis** among the *Turks*. Some, who, in time of peace are employed at *Constantinople* in the Vizir's Divan, to receive the petitions of the plaintiffs, to carry the Vizir's orders to the Judge, and to put his sentence in execution. The others, called *Alai Chausbi*, are made in time of war, and

their office is much the same as that of *Aides de Camp*, in regular troops. The business of these is to carry, in a battle, the Vizir's orders to the Basha's, to take care that the horse stand in a strait line, to give the signal of battle, to sound the retreat, and the like; in which they are not half so dextrous as the regular *Aides de Camp*.

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fight-armed soldiers. That the German army was heavy and so fatigued as not to be able to follow, much less pursue the Turkish troops; and he could not imagine, that if Segedin was once besieged, the German general would shut up his forces in such a place, where, if any accident should happen, they must perish for want of sustenance. That they might indeed besiege Belgrade, but there was a garrison of eighteen thousand men in that city, and a stock of provisions sufficient for three years. Besides, the Othman army and fleet were near, and if there should be any urgent occasion, though the enemy should cut off all other passages, supplies might be thrown in by the fleet. That nothing more was required for the security of that city, but the removal of the governor Amuce ogli Hussein Pasha, an infirm and weak man, and the placing in his room, Coja Jaser Pasha, whose abilities in the defence of cities, sufficiently appeared in the siege of Temisware. The Vizir suggested this change to the Sultan with this particular view, that he might recover his authority in the army, and remove Jaser Pasha from about the Sultan, and afterwards take occasion to put him to death, and by his example, warn the other Bashas not to oppose him too warmly for the future. But the Sultan suspecting the Vizir's design against Jaser Pasha, approves of his advice relating to the siege of Segedin, but orders Jaser Pasha to continue in the camp, since his counsels would be of more use in the army, than in the cities.

The Sultan marches towards Segedin.

XLIV. On the morrow therefore, which was the 5th of the month Zemazi-ul-evvel, at day-break, he commands the drums and trumpets to give the signal, and marches the Janizaries and the rest of his forces the same way, by which the Germans had come, toward the Tibiscus, and on the first day, having performed nine hours march, pitches his camp near a lake, where the Germans had likewise encamped, but allows these troops, who were desirous of proceeding further, the liberty of doing so. On the second day, having left Kiuchuk* Jaser Pasha (20) at the bridge over the lake with five hundred chosen horse, he goes on before day to Zenta, a castle little known before, on the banks of the Tibiscus, with such expedition, that he seemed to fly, rather than march.

Prince Eugene follows the Turks with great resolution.

XLV. Prince Eugene, the German General, hearing the Tabulchana, and imagining the signal to be given, and the Turkish army drawn up, had, in the mean while marshalled his forces, and waited without motion for the enemy till noon; but being informed by the Hungarian scouts, that the Turks had decamped, and were marching to Zenta, taking this to be a flight, he orders the Hungarian horse to march before, and leaving behind, the heavier and weaker part of his army, with only sixteen thousand men, immediately follows the Hungarians, with more courage than prudence.

The Hungarian light-armed troops take Jaser Pasha.

XLVI. The Hungarians that night first lighting upon Kiuchuk* Jaser, left to guard the bridge over the lake, find the Turks sleeping, and expecting nothing less than the enemy, surround and cut them off, so that of the whole party, only the Pasha's chamberlain escaped by means of the darkness, who immediately flies to the Turkish camp, which had already reached Zenta, and informs the Vizir that the German army was very near, and had destroyed his master, with all the troops under his command.

The Vizir makes a false representation to the Sultan.

XLVII. The Vizir, to prevent the report of this misfortune from raising new commotions in the camp, immediately beheads the person, who brought the news, and signifies to the Sultan, that the Hungarian horse in the Emperor's service had appeared in the rear, and surprised Jaser Pasha, but were afterwards defeated by the Tartars and other Othman forces. He had scarce told the Sultan this,

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(20) Kiuchuk* Jaser] A different person from the above-mentioned Coja Jaser Pasha, who was afterwards slain at the battle of Zenta. Being taken by the Germans, he sincerely gave them an account of the state of the whole Othman army, and for

that piece of treachery was set at liberty after the battle, without ransom. When he returned to the Sultan, he not only received no punishment for his treachery, but was restored to his former dignity; However, he died the next year.

when several troops of Tartars, which had accidentally seen the Hungarian horse, come, and report in the camp, that the whole German army were pursuing the Othman forces with the utmost speed, and were now very near.

XLVIII. Whereupon the Sultan commands his men immediately to halt, and those, who were marched before towards Segedin, to return, and a bridge as soon as possible to be run over the Tibiscus; which was done in four hours, the boats brought in waggons, and by the Turks called Dumba, serving for the foundation. About noon, the Sultan passes over first himself on horseback, whose stirrup, when the Vizir came according to custom to kiss, he is refused by him with a stern countenance; and commanded to take care that the cannon and the whole camp be conveyed safely over, for if the enemy should take but a single waggon, he should for it suffer an infamous death.

The Sultan being informed by the Tartars that the enemy was pursuing him, passes the Tibiscus in great terror.

XLIX. The Vizir knowing that every thing could scarce be conveyed over in two days, and perceiving his ruin inevitable, if he should ever appear before the Sultan, at first sends over eight cannon with their ammunition, that he might not seem openly to neglect the Sultan's command, but afterwards stops the rest, allowing the Spahis and Bashas troops to pass, alledging, that the cannon and best part of the army ought to be detained, in order to defend the camp, if the enemy should attack it in the rear. These therefore continue to pass all night and the next day till dinner-time.

The Vizir contrary to the Sultan's intention, consults about fighting the enemy.

L. About noon the Vizir is informed that the Germans were advancing, and but three hours distant from the camp; upon which, that he might not perish without his rivals, he sends for all the Bashas, who had already passed over with their troops, under pretence of consulting with them; they, being obliged to obey the Vizir's order, return on foot with only three Chocadars*, the baggage on the bridge nor allowing a passage for the horse. The Vizir seeing them all assembled, except the Caimacan, Buyukli Mustapha Pasha, says to them, "The enemies, brethren, are advancing, and are now in sight. We who refused to fight when we had a convenient place and opportunity, shall now be forced to do it without those advantages. We have but one happiness left us, the profession of the Mahometan religion, which declares us Gazi, if we conquer, and Shebid, if we die valiantly fighting; privileges of inestimable value! Now as one of these waits for me this day, I thought it unreasonable to defraud you, my brethren and fellow-soldiers, of such a felicity. Behold therefore Paradise open before you, which I command you by the divine injunction to enter, and enjoy the delights promised by our prophet. But if you refuse to obey the law and my orders, my sword (which he shewed) shall deprive you both of the life, which you desire, and the Paradise, which you despise."

By an artful speech he convinces the other Bashas with himself to the Germans.

LI. All the Bashas, since they durst not in the middle of the camp oppose the Vizir, nor could find any method of escape, pretend consent and obedience, and retire to their stations in the trenches; where perceiving the circuit of them too extensive to be conveniently defended by the forces which remained, they begin to form a lesser trench within the greater, the soldiers indeed complaining and reproaching the Vizir to his face with their imminent danger, but obeying his orders, since their own safety was concerned. While they are thus employed, the German army appears, which the Sultan seeing approach, and cover the whole plain, is enraged, and sending frequent Chatisherifs* to the Vizir, commands him instantly to send over the Janizaries, cannon, and ammunition, and not delay, though all the other carriages should be taken by the enemy. But the Vizir conceals these orders from the Bashas, and answers the bearer, he had rather die fighting valiantly, with his drawn sword, than be shamefully put to death by the Sultan, and stops the Janizaries from passing. The Vizir is assisted in this by the negligence of the herdsmen, who seeing the Germans advancing, drive at the same time all the cattle, appointed for drawing so many thousand waggons, into the river above the bridge, by which the waters being intercepted, force the cattle against the bridge, which the fearful animals endeavouring to mount, sink three of the boats, and thus overlet the foundation, so that but one man, and that with difficulty, could pass upon planks laid across.

The Bashas and soldiers murmur, but are obliged to obey.

The Imperials advancing, fall directly upon the Turks.

LII. The infantry of the Vizir being thus separated from the Sultan, the German forces arrive about three hours before night, and without viewing the fortifications of the Turkish camp, imagining it only guarded by the carriages, fall directly upon the Turks, but are repulsed with considerable loss. The Germans perceiving the camp, contrary to their expectation, fortified by a double trench, and two rows of waggons chained together, and that the Turks on this side the river were much superior to them in number, desist from their assault, and resolve to attack the enemy another way.

But this method being found dangerous, they try another.

LIII. The western banks of the *Tibiscus* are high and scraggy, the space between which, when the river is swollen by the autumnal or winter rains, is full of water, which in the summer subsides, and leave a sandy piece of ground of thirty paces. Prince *Eugene* orders a trench to be dug here a little below the Turkish camp, and several regiments to pass that way, and fall upon the Turks within, while he attacked them without. And lest the Sultan should repair the bridge, and send supplies to his army, he plants two cannon near the head of the bridge, and quickly demolishes it. The Sultan likewise places four of the eight cannon, which the Vizir had sent over before the battle, on the bank, and orders *Arnaud Abdi Kiebaia* (21) to fire upon the enemy, but with such confusion, that he had no trench to secure him, and imagined a place covered with reeds, which was before him, would sufficiently protect him from the enemy. But the Germans observing from whence the Turks fired, immediately plant their cannon against them, after the bridge was destroyed, kill several of the engineers, and wounding others, oblige the Turks after one discharge to remove their cannon.

The Janizaries kill the Vizir and the rest of the Illustrious.

LIV. And indeed every thing seemed to conspire the destruction of the Turks; for the Janizaries themselves having repulsed the enemy from the outer trench, retire into the inner, which though not finished, they had carried in some measure from one bank to the other, and declare their resolution to defend it. The Vizir, with the rest of the Bashes, endeavoring to divert them from their purpose, first by entreaties, and afterwards by force, their despair turning into rage, they fall upon their own friends, and destroy all their officers, Vizirs, and Bashes, and spare none but their Aga, *Deli Balta agli*.

The Imperials flee from the camp of the Turks, and cut them off to a man.

LV. In the midst of these contests, part of the German army seize the outer trench, abandoned by the Turks, and feign to attack the inner, only with intent to draw the enemy from that side of the camp, which lay towards the river, and by disposing their own men on the bank, render the assault more easy. These appearing suddenly at the head of the bridge, the Turkish forces are struck with great terror, and employ their whole strength in that part, in order to prevent the Germans from entering. While both sides fight here with equal resolution, the party of Germans, which was come from the plain, seize the inner trench, which was negligently guarded, and fall in the rear upon the enemy, fighting at the river. The Turks, inclosed and pressed on all sides, fight bravely, though in confusion, and at last, having in vain attempted a passage for escaping, in the space of three hours, are all slain to a man.

The battle bloody on both sides.

LVI. However, they did not fall unrevenged; for six thousand of the Germans are said to have perished in that expedition: On the other hand, of the Turks were

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(21) *Arnaud abdi*] This man was an Albanian by birth, and upon that account, had the name of *Arnaud* given him. He was inferior to none of the Turks in courage and political knowledge. From a *Chausbi bashi*, he was raised by *Elmas Mehmed Pasha*, to the dignity of *Kiebaia*; and, after the battle of *Zenta*, that the remains of the army might not disperse themselves for want of a commander, and fall into the enemies hands, all the rest of the *Basha's* having been slain, he was honoured

by the Sultan himself with three *Tugs* near *Temisware*, and ordered to conduct the forces to *Boigrade*: and as the manner of having the honour conferred upon him, was such as had never happened before to any other *Basha* (for all the *Basha's* are created, not by the Sultan himself, but by the Vizir, from whom also they receive the badges of their authority) he obtained upon that account, the name of *Padijha ebragy*. I hear he is still alive, and enjoys the *Pasha* of *Myse* or *Egypt*.

slain, as appeared by the lists, fourteen thousand and seventy Janizaries, with their Aga, *Deli Balta agli* (22), seventy three *Ojak* and *Baluk Agalari*, three thousand seven hundred *Topchis* and *Yebejis*, seven thousand *Arnaudi* (23), the Vizir *Elmas Mahomet Pasha* himself, fifteen Bashes honoured with three Horse-tails, the most eminent of whom were *Coja Jaffer Pasha*, *Myhrli agli*, famous for the taking of *Cbios*, *Kiofe Halil Basha* of *Diarbekir*, *Fazli Pasha* of *Sbercuti* (24), twenty seven Bashes, honoured with two or one Horse-tail, besides a great number of the usual attendants upon the Turkish camps, so that the whole number of slain may be justly computed (25) at above thirty thousand.

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(22) *Deli Balta agli*] His father was *Janizar-aga*, and he arrived himself to the same dignity, after having passed through the several posts in the army: at last he was, for the sake of his virtues, honoured by the Sultan with three *Tugs*, though the Vizir, the common enemy of all good and great men, murmured at it. For the *Janizar-aga* has commonly but two horse tails, and if any one has three granted him, it is looked upon, as done in prejudice to the Vizir. The surname of *Deli*, or the Mad, was given him on account of his excessive boldness, because he rushed like a madman into all dangers.

(23) *Arnaudi*] Ever since the suppression of the rebellion of *Iskenderbeg* in *Albania*, when almost all the inhabitants of that country were compelled by Sultan *Murad II.*, to embrace *Mahometism*, the Sultan have always kept some thousands of them in their camps. They are reckoned, and really are, the bravest and boldest of all men in war, and rush upon the enemies with no less resolution, and much more discretion than the Janizaries: and though they are under no regulation, yet have agreed upon some order among themselves, by which they are kept together, and not dispersed, or confounded with others, except when the whole army comes to be routed. They are particularly famous for their skill in shooting at a mark, in which they are so dextrous, that they make nothing of taking an egg or an apple, from off their mother's or wife's head, with a bullet, at two hundred paces distance.

(24) *Fazli Pasha*] A man famous among the Turks for his learning and other excellent qualities, whence he had the name of *Fazli*, i. e. the Learned. He was, for his fine way of writing, raised by *Elmas Mehmed Pasha*, in the first year of his Vizirship, to the dignity of *Kiebaia*; and afterwards sent with three *Tugs* to *Sbebrazulien Pasha*. He left a very good name behind him.

(25) justly computed] The Turks were never known to have fought so stoutly and desperately as in this battle, for not one of them was taken alive. Hence appears the bravery of the conquering army. The victory however would have been very doubtful,

had not the Janizaries themselves slain, just before the battle, their commanders, men renowned for their valour; by whom if they had been headed, it is generally thought, that with their assistance, they might easily, either have defeated, or at least repulsed, the Germans, who were much inferior to them. And truly, it has sometimes been found by experience, that when the Turks are hemmed in, and see no way of escaping, they will fight much more fiercely for life than for victory, and if they have wise commanders upon such an occasion, they will not only fight beyond expectation, but even do such things as seem to exceed human strength. And here I think it may be of use to give some directions about the manner of fighting against the Turks, drawn from observations I have made in the expeditions where I have been present: though I well know, that *Bushbiquin* has given a large account of it, and others have written whole volumes about the same. A General then must consider, whether his forces are equal to those of the Turks, if not in number (for that is what the Christian's army can seldom be) yet at least in courage; and whether he has good ammunition, and necessary provisions. If he wants these, he must take care of coming even within sight of the Turks. For not only their courage increases, when they perceive the enemy is afraid, or draws back; but they also fight more bravely; and whenever they find, there is no one dares pursue them, even when they fly, they sometimes renew the fight. But if a General knows himself to be a match for them, and is furnished with every thing, let him boldly come and face them; however, let him not hazard an engagement the first day, but remain two or three days in the same place without motion. For almost all the Turkish soldiers are seized, at the first sight of the enemy, with an eager desire of coming to an engagement, so that they rush like lions to a battle, of their own accord, and can hardly be restrained by the *Chausbis*: but after the second or third day, this immoderate ardor abates, and if they are kept longer without fighting, it grows so cold, that they must be compelled to fight. It is fa-

But one Bashir of the great number escapes.

The Sultan abandoning his camp and baggage, retires to Temisware in great terror.

He puts Capuzi bashi, who gives him better advice, to death.

LVII. The only person who escaped, was Mahmud ben ogli (26), Pasha of the Arnaudij, and son of that Beglerbeg of Rumelia, who fell in the battle with Veterani: This Mahmud being twice wounded, was saved by the strength of his horse, which carried him over the river. I have heard him describing his escape in a very lively manner.

LVIII. After this misfortune, Sultan Mustapha, who was a melancholy, as well as idle spectator of the battle, being seized with a panic, though there was nothing to be feared from the Germans, who, fatigued with so much toil, could not repair the bridge in sight of so numerous an army as he had with him, at midnight, without any guide or light, abandons his camp, and directs his course towards Temisware.

LIX. Capuzi bashi, a Venetian by birth, who had apostatized from the Christian faith, and assumed the name of Sbabin Mabomet, endeavours to correct the error of the Sultan, and advises him not to leave his camp dishonourably, and by his flight, give the enemy, who had destroyed but a small part of his army, an entire victory. For there was no reason why he should retire with such precipitation, since the enemies were not only tired with so long a march and so many labours, but had no bridge, nor any other means of passing the river. But the Sultan was possessed by such dreadful apprehensions, that he rejected these wholesome advices, and immediately put the author to death, as a disguised Christian, bribed by the Germans to suggest pernicious counsels, and continued his flight with as much speed as before.

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fer to receive their first onset, than to attack them in their ranks. For when they are attacked, they fight in better order, and defend themselves with more care; besides, the cannon which they always place in their foremost ranks, make a great slaughter among those that dare to assault them. But if, on the contrary, you wait their attack, though it be very fierce, and mixed with hideous cries, yet as they are immediately in disorder, and cannot keep their ranks as they run, they are easily repulsed by the fire of the muskets. And these are the only instruments for gaining the victory, and for quelling the Ottoman fury. For if they come once to close fighting, they make a terrible slaughter among the Christians, whose swords are not equal to the sharp Turkish scimitars. But when the Christians perceive them giving ground, and find their courage abate, they must not stand still, for that the enemies will take for a sign of fear, but they must advance slowly towards the enemies camp. And the recreating Janizaries seeing that, will make their whole camp resound with the confused cry of *Giaur geldy*, the Infidel is advanced; which disheartens the rest of the army, and is the first step to the enemies getting the victory. The Janizaries however do not immediately yield it, but are obliged by their officers to renew the fight. As they are coming on, the Christians must receive them with a continual fire, and drive them back, before they can approach; and if that succeeds, they are hardly brought to make a third onset. They being also repulsed the third time, you must

not stand still, but march cautiously towards their camp. And then this more horrible and louder outcry is heard throughout their camp, *Giaur bashi*, the infidel is come, or hath trodden on our heels; after which, I have observed, they can never be brought again to renew the charge. For the moment the Janizaries hear it, they leave their trenches and cannon, and mind only to get a horse or a mule from any one that comes in their way, by which they may save themselves. And the cavalry, who are well acquainted with the Janizaries way, as if placed between two enemies, fly with all speed, and get as far as they can from the foot, for fear of being surrounded, as it generally happens, by the Janizaries, and thrown from their horses. But if a Christian General is over-cautious, and, for fear of an ambush, neglects to pursue them when they give way, the Janizaries immediately grow courageous, and, forgetting their defeat, as if they were victorious, the cry of *Giaur corcar*, the Infidel is afraid, is spread through their camp, by which means, their last attacks are much fiercer than the first, and they often gain a victory of which the Christians have thought themselves secure.

(26) Mahmud ben ogli] Beglerbeg of Rumelia, whose father, of the same name, was killed, three years before, in the battle with Veterani. That family has not only a great estate in Rumelia, but is also frequently promoted to Pashalics in that country, and very often, to the dignity of Beglerbeg of Rumelia.

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LX: The

LX. The Turks had another more grievous misfortune through the darkness of the night, which was so great, that no person could discern the path they were to take, by which means the whole retinue of the Sultan turning too much to the right towards the Tibiscus, fall into muddy and marshy ground, from which they were obliged to free themselves, by leaving their horses and baggage behind.

LXI. At last, at sun-rise, the Sultan comes to that place, where, the last year a battle had been fought with the Germans, and performing his morning-devotions, changes his horse and habit, and unknown to all, flies with the utmost speed to Temisware.

LXII. The army advancing about noon near the same place, and perceiving neither the Sultan, nor any of the great officers with them, are extremely surprised; and this terror is increased by a rumour, the author of which was unknown, spread at the same time through the whole army, that the Sultan was taken by the Hungarians, or betrayed by his own soldiers to the enemy. This report is readily received by those, whose minds were prepared by fear to believe any thing, and occasions them to disperse several ways, and every one anxious for his own safety to think only how to escape the Germans, whom they every moment imagined to be at their heels.

LXIII. Agitated with these imaginary fears, at last in the evening they reach Temisware, the governor of which shuts the gates against them. As they receive no certain account concerning the Sultan, the rumour of his being taken, encreases. For the governor of that city had been commanded by the Sultan to conceal his arrival by all possible methods, lest the Germans hearing of it should invest him there.

LXIV. Besides this apprehension, those, who had escaped, are attended with the perpetual companion of a defeat, want of provision; the corn had been left in their camp, they having been more solicitous to preserve themselves than their food. Some few had the good fortune to purchase bread at an excessive price. Their beasts of burthen likewise, as well as themselves were ready to die with thirst, and had no water to allay it. For the morass which surrounds Temisware, was almost dried up through the heat of the summer, and if there were any stinking puddles to be found, those who were strongest (27) seized them, and excluded the rest.

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(27) were strongest] Whenever I call to mind the miserable confusion at that time, I cannot help being seized with a secret horror. There was then no safety, either from friend or foe, but, on the contrary, the greatest confusion imaginable. The Sultan lay hid three days in the town, unknown to all but the Pasha, while various reports flew through the whole camp of his being taken and betrayed by his subjects. The troops that had escaped, wandered up and down without a commander, without a leader, without discipline, and for hunger, plundered every one they met. The great drought that happened that year, having dried up all the waters, the horses were forced, for thirst, to suck up the very mud; and if a man found by chance any standing water, he was obliged to kill or wound many, before he could come to wet his lips, much less to quench his thirst. Having escaped from the battle, I had brought away my tents and whole baggage, and was come with the rest of the

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forces, to Temisware, where I laid my furniture in a vineyard. Here I found by chance, the mouth of a well, covered with earth, over which, having pitched my tent, and got it cleaned to the bottom, it afforded me very fresh and pure water. After my family and horses had drank, I sent the next morning, about break of day, a servant, with a pitcher of water to the cook, but a soldier meeting him, takes the pitcher from him, drinks the water, and threatens to kill him, unless he would tell where he had found that water. The poor fellow, seeing a naked sword at his breast, is overcome with fear, and confesses that I had found a well under my tent. The soldier, the moment he had received the information, goes to his companions, tells them what he had heard, whereupon they all come, with a sword in one hand, and a bucket in the other, asking every one they met, where my tent was? So perceiving the thing discovered, and no longer to be concealed, I ordered my tent to be

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LXV. The

The Turks, out of fear, cast away the baggage which they had taken with them.

The Sultan also leaving the army, enters Temisware in disguise.

This occasioned a dreadful scene of affairs among the Turks.

A rumour spread of the Sultan's being taken.

Which is attended with other misfortunes.

The Sultan at last discovers himself to the remains of his army.

He appoints Hussein Pascha, governor of Belgrade, viz.

The Sultan departs from Belgrade to Constantinople. H. 1109.

A. C. 1698.

The Imperialists turn their arms against Bosnia, which they ravage in a dreadful manner. The successful expeditions of Daltaban Mustapha Pascha.

LXV. At last, after the *Othman* army had for three days been like a ship in a stormy sea, without rudder or pilot, the Sultan, finding there was no danger from the *Germans*, with a guard of soldiers which he had received from the *Pasha* of *Temisware*, discovers himself to his army, and removes their fears: for all his forces testify their joy upon sight of him, as if he had returned in triumph, and cry out, they regard not their late misfortune, but would take a severe revenge upon the enemy, since they were assured of their Sultan's safety.

LXVI. The Sultan next day leads his troops, now recovered from their despair, towards *Belgrade*, and in his march coming to a place called *Alibunar* (28), is met by *Amucje Oglu Hussein Pascha*, governor of *Belgrade*, for whom he had sent by *Mirachor Cberkies * Mebemed Aga*, and as there were present no other *Bastias* honoured with three *Tugs*, confers on him the *Vizirship*.

LXVII. After a short stay at *Belgrade*, about the end of the month *Jemazul-evvel*, of the year 1109, he returns with the remains of his army to *Adrianople*. This was the fate of the *Turkish* forces after their defeat. But the *Imperialists*, after their victory, had continued all night in the place of battle, apprehensive of some stratagem, usual among the *Turks*; but the next day passed the *Tibiscus*, and plundered what *Tekeli* (29) had left in the camp.

LXVIII. After this, being discouraged from the siege of such strong cities as *Temisware* and *Belgrade*, by the season being too far advanced, they turned their arms against *Bosnia*, took *Dobe* and *Magle*, set fire to *Serayo*, the capital of the country, and reduced almost the whole province.

LXIX. In this distress, the *Turkish* forces, appointed to guard that country, not knowing what other method to take, go to *Daltaban Mustapha Pascha* (30),

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removed, and the well to be opened; and to excuse my self, told them, that having found there a dead man, I had hid the well, for fear some person pressed by thirst should, not knowing it, taste of the water before it was purged, and thereby pollute his soul. By this innocent lie, absolutely necessary at that time, I not only escaped the fury of the Barbarians, but received thanks for the good service I had done them.

(28) *Alibunar*] The Fountain of *Ali*, a place half way between *Temisware* and *Belgrade*, where the spies on both sides are wont to resort; for it is very high, and from thence you have a very good prospect of the whole country round.

(29) *Tekeli*] He had accompanied the Sultan in this expedition, and, after the defeat, seeing the bridge broken down, and knowing it could not be repaired by the *Germans* in so short a time, he staid all night in the *Turkish* camp, where he plundered all that was most valuable; and by that means he got greater riches for himself and his family, than he could have done from the Sultan's pension, which was hardly sufficient to maintain him.

(30) *Daltaban Mustapha*] A man very famous among the *Turks* for his warlike virtues. In his youth he was a *Janizary*, and brought up at the court of the great *Vizir Kioprili Ahmed Pascha*. His successor, *Cara Mustapha Pascha*, promoted him to the office of *Talkhis-chi*; but after his death, becoming the sport of fortune, he not only lost his place, but also could not come again into play, till

Arabaji Ali Pascha was made *Vizir*, by whom he was created *Janiziar-Aga*. That post gave him the first opportunity of making his virtues known to the world; for he took a very great care of the publick tranquillity, severely chastised disorderly persons, and instead of riding on horseback, as his predecessors, he used to change his dress, and walk on foot night and day about the city (upon which account he had the name of *Daltaban*, that is, *unshod* or *barefooted*, given him,) which gave all sorts of men a very high opinion of him: so that when *Bayukly Mustapha* was raised to the dignity of *Vizir*, he thought no one so fit to succeed him in his office of *Babadaghy Seraskier* as *Daltaban*. Whilst he enjoyed this post, he applied himself wholly to clear *Moldavia* of the *Poles*, and for that purpose endeavoured to take *Soroka*, which was their magazine in that country, though he could not execute his design for want of a sufficient number of men, (for the greatest and best part of the *Othman* army was sent against the Emperor of *Germany*) yet he so bravely defended the borders of *Moldavia*, that the *Poles* could not make any farther progress, or do any considerable damage to the *Turkish* provinces. He held that employment about four years, in which time he contracted a close friendship with my father; which he not only retained as long as he lived, but also expressed it several ways, after my father's death, to his sons; a thing uncommon amongst *Barbarians*. When troubles arose in *Asia*, and the country

who then happened to be at *Bickkie*, a town of *Bosnia*, and offering him the command of the army, force him to take it upon him. Under his conduct the

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try began to be infested with robberies, no man appeared fitter to the *Vizir* to put a stop to them than *Daltaban*. Being sent therefore to *Kiutabia* with the dignity of *Anadol-Beylerbeg*, he not only quelled the seditious in a short time, and restored that province to its former tranquillity, but also revived amongst them military discipline, which had been entirely laid aside, and augmented very much the *Asiatic* forces. The envy of his enemies was the cause of his not perishing at the battle of *Zenta*; for being come that year to *Soppia*, the metropolis of *Bulgaria*, he was by the *Vizir* accused to the Sultan of having unjustly plundered many persons in *Asia*, and exacted a large sum of money upon the inhabitants of those countries, without and contrary to the Sultan's order, and of having converted it to his own use. To which *Daltaban* answered, that it was true, he had received a larger tribute from *Asia* than his predecessors, but he had not hoarded the money in his own coffers, but applied it in augmenting the forces; and for proof, appealed to all the *Asiatic* troops. Notwithstanding this, the *Vizir* being afraid, if that hero's noble qualities became more conspicuous in the expedition, he would supplant him in the *Vizirship*, he was, unheard, deprived of his *Pashatic*, and all his riches and employments, and banished to *Bickkie*, a little town in *Bosnia*. I happened about that time to go into the *Kirbaia's* chancery on some business of my own, where a clerk was ingrossing the mandate for *Daltaban's* banishment; and chancing to read it over by stealth, as he was an old friend of mine and my father's, I went privately to him, and faithfully told him what I had seen. At which, without any emotion, he says "I indeed thank you for your friendship, and commend you for being mindful of my services to your father. But you need not concern your self about me, for perhaps the divine Providence will deliver me by this means from that death and destruction which I foresee will overtake the *Vizir*, and the rest of my enemies." I shall here, for the sake of the curious, give the form of the mandate commonly made use of at the degrading of a *Bastia*. "Thou who art *Mustapha* (without any mention of his office or dignity) since thy crimes and offences are become notorious, thou art entirely guilty of, and condemned to, death; but by means of our mercy, thou art exempted from capital punishment: however, our sublime mandate is issued, that thou be deprived of the dig-

nity of *Vizir*, and banished to the town of *Bickkie*, in the country of *Bosnia*, &c. Now this very banishment proved the cause of *Daltaban's* advancement; for the *Imperialists* having, after the battle of *Zenta*, carried their arms into *Bosnia*, and conquered the greatest part of that province; such *Turks* as remained there, being without a general, and knowing not what to do, apply to *Daltaban*, and declare him *Seraskier*, much against his will, and without the Sultan's knowledge. Having, after he was invested with that office, taken four and twenty castles from the victorious *Germans* on both sides the *Savo*, he found it easy to obtain from the Sultan a confirmation of the dignity conferred upon him by the voice of the people. Soon after, when the *Arabians*, having revolted, and taken *Bohra*, made incursions into *Mesopotamia*, *Daltaban* was chosen by the *Vizir Amucje Oglu Hussein Pascha*, to suppress also this danger; and, besides the dignity of *Seraskier*, had also the government of *Bagdad* bestowed upon him. When he came thither, with no more than twelve regiments he attacks and defeats an hundred and twenty thousand *Arabs*; in which battle he is said to have killed with his own hand four hundred of the enemies. After this victory, he recovers *Bohra*, takes under his protection the *Arabian* troops who implored his clemency, lays a heavier tribute upon them than they used to pay; and so not only restored the *Pashatic* of *Bagdad* to its ancient bounds, but also enlarges them, and makes it richer than ever. Whilst he was thus employed, being slandered by *Rami reis effendi*, the *Vizir* accuses him to the Sultan as a rebel, and favouring the *Arabs*, and prevails with the Sultan to send *Battal Othman Aga*, formerly his master of horse, to *Bagdad* with a *Cobaltberij*, to dispatch him out of the way. When he comes to *Daltaban* in his camp near *Bohra*, elated with his late victory, and perceiving that, by reason of the soldiers great affection to him, he could not put the Sultan's orders in execution, he prudently conceals the reason of his coming, and pretends he was sent by the Sultan for no other end but to see whether *Daltaban's* actions were answerable to his fame. Upon that, *Daltaban* shewing him thirty-two thousand heads of *Arabs*, "Go, says he, and tell my master, the Sultan, faithfully what you have seen." *Othman Aga*, after having examined every thing, returns to *Constantinople*, and informs the Sultan, how he had found the man whom he had adjudged to death, in the

Turks resume their courage, and not only repress the victorious *Germans*, but oblige them to retreat beyond the *Save*, and take from them four and twenty castles, situated on both sides that river.

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the midst of a victorious army, and therefore could not perform his orders. Then he went on to declare what *Daltaban* had done for the good of the *Othman* state; how he had entirely subdued the *Arabs*, freed *Mesopotamia* from their incursions, and rendered all the adjacent provinces entirely safe. After *Othmanaga's* return, *Daltaban*, knowing the covetousness of the *Mufti*, *Feizullah Effendi*, as well as his great interest with the Sultan, sent him by some of his people a present of sixty thousand gold crowns. The *Mufti* guessing, that such a large sum of money, which came thus unexpectedly to him, was the interpreter or fore-runner of some very considerable request, sent a trusty messenger to *Daltaban*, to know his desires. If he aimed at the dignity of *Vizir*, that he could easily obtain it for him from the Sultan, because the present *Vizir Hussein Pasha* was very sickly, and had in a great measure lost his character, by reason of his drunkenness. To this *Daltaban* answers, That he thought indeed, the services he had done the *Othman* Empire deserved some recompence: and knowing he could not rise to the dignity that was offered him, without his protection and assistance, he therefore desired him to attach to himself a new and ever-faithful vassal by so important a favour: that he did not want means of making him amends for the same, and accordingly had prepared presents for him much larger than the former. Upon receiving this answer, the *Mufti*, who was already displeas'd with *Husein Pasha*, in order to execute his designs, persuades the Sultan to bring *Daltaban* nearer the court, by making him *Pasha* of *Kiutabia*: When he heard of his being there, he prevails upon the Sultan to depose *Husein Pasha*, and to send *Battal Othmanaga* to *Kiutabia* with the *Vizir's* seal to *Daltaban*: Who upon receiving it, comes without delay to *Constantinople*. Having staid till the evening without the walls in the powder-magazines, he receives advice, that *Husein Pasha* was departed this life, at his country house, about eight hours from *Constantinople*: So he goes thither, and assists at his funeral; and then comes the next day to *Adrianople*, where he receives the *Vizir's* robe from the Sultan. On the morrow, he sends for *Rami Reis Effendi* and *Maurocardatus*, and asks them, upon what terms they had made peace with the *Germans* and *Poles*? They give him a full account of every thing, what their instructions and or-

ders were; how far they had been able to go; and upon what conditions the Sultan had ordered them to put an end to the war. When *Daltaban* had heard their report, he says in a great passion. "You have indeed followed your instructions; but surely those instructions were fraudulently obtained. For the Sultan could never have given such orders, had he not been persuaded, the *Othman* affairs were in so desperate a condition, as that the Empire could not be established without a peace upon any terms. I suppose he did not know, what soldiers, what generals, what bulwarks, the *Othman* state had yet to oppose to the enemies: he doubtless had not been informed, how I, with a handful of men, had wrested four and twenty castles in *Bosnia* out of the enemy's hands, at the expence of my blood: and what would have been the consequence, if the managers of the *Turkish* affairs had acted as faithfully every where, may easily be guessed. For what did the *Othman* Empire want to enable it, not only to make head against so weak an enemy, but also to enlarge its bounds? was it soldiers? generals? or money? It was not surely the want of any of these, but either the want of brains in your heads, which to be stuffed with straw would have been better, or your treachery that induced you to make so scandalous a peace with a weak and exhausted enemy; and persuade a Sultan unacquainted with publick affairs, to ratify and confirm it by oath. I grant, the *Germans*, on account of our sins, and encouraged by the laziness and unskillfulness of the *Othman* generals, have gained some victories upon us, and have taken several towns that could not be recovered; but why have you surrendered to the *Poles*, *Camentec*, a place impregnable both by nature and art, and by that, have imprudently lost the best part of Sultan *Mahomet's* conquests? Is this what our law teaches us? Are these the precepts of our prophet? Is the honour of the *Aliothman* name preserved by such means? The divine vengeance will undoubtedly find, in its own time, those who have been so injurious to the *Musulman* affairs, and have without necessity, delivered to the *Infidels*, places sanctified by so many *Musulmans* prayers." So dismissing them, he demands lists, of the soldiers, of the treasure, and of the towns, both such as had been

LXX. The *Russians* that summer fortify *Azac* and *Lutlich* with new works, and prepare for a fresh campaign, though the enemies give them no opportunity of a battle.

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The Russian
fortify Azac.
Frederick,
Elector of
Saxony chosen
King of Po-
land.

yielded to the enemies, and such as still obeyed the *Othman* laws; and finds nothing any where that could please him. He publickly blames all the ministers, calls them traitors to the Empire, privately prepares for war, and designs at first to turn his arms against *Poland*, as the weakest part; and that he might have some colour of justice, resolves to put to death the authors of the peace, namely, *Rami Reis Effendi*, and *Maurocardatus*, as traytors, who had granted many things to the *Infidels*, contrary to the Sultan's orders. And the more to strengthen his party, he enquires by letter of the Chan, and great men of *Tartary*, whether they gave their consent to the peace made by *Iskierlet Ogly*, and to his companion, *Rami Reis Effendi*: he knew, he said, and was well satisfied that both, bribed by the *Infidels*, had acted treacherously, imposed upon the Sultan, and so betrayed rather than promoted the *Othman* affairs. None were more uneasy at these proceedings of *Daltaban*, than the two ambassadors above-mentioned, *Rami Reis Effendi*, and *Alexander Maurocardatus*; for they plainly saw, if *Daltaban* remained in his dignity, they could not avoid punishment; and they were also sensible, there was no hope of a change as long as the *Mufti* continued *Daltaban's* friend. After long considering this matter, as there appeared to them no other method of safety, they resolve to go and draw the *Mufti*, if possible, from *Daltaban's* party. *Maurocardatus* contrives how the matter should be managed, and instructs *Rami* in what he was to say, and what arguments to use to move the *Mufti*. *Rami* follows the politic *Skierletogly's* directions, and takes an opportunity of representing to the *Mufti*, how he was ordered by the Sultan to make peace with the *Germans* and *Poles*, and had, in compliance therewith, used his utmost endeavours to get terms as advantageous as he could for the *Othman* state; and had granted nothing to the *Infidels* without an order from the Sultan, and the consent of the *Mufti*, and of the *Vizir*, *Husein Pasha*. But when he thought he had, by these his endeavours, well deserved of the *Othman* state, he found, that he had drawn upon himself and his partner, *Iskierletogly*, the utmost indignation of the new *Vizir*, *Daltaban Mustapha Pasha*. He had not only treated them in the most abusive manner, though they were altogether blameless, but had also raised bitterly at all those who had contributed, either by their orders or consent, to the making of that peace: nay, he

had gone so far as to say publickly, he would purge the honour of the *Othman* name from all internal and external *Giars*. Moreover he had, by secret letters, stirred up the *Crim-Tartars*, and the other *Scythian Hords*, to a rebellion; and the more easily to excite them, had spread among them many lies concerning the ill administration of the state. Since these, and the like attempts of *Daltaban*, manifestly tended to the ruin and destruction of those who had spared no pains to restore tranquillity to the *Othman* Empire, and even to the deposition of the Sultan, they had thought it their duty to inform the *Mufti* of them, because he was the chief instrument of the peace; and to beg of him at the same time, not only to take care of himself, but also to vouchsafe to defend and preserve those who acknowledged him their only patron and protector, against that man's outrageousness. The *Mufti*, *Feizullah Effendi*, persuaded by this discourse of *Rami* that his own head was in danger, resolves not to wait the blow, but prevent the enemy, and take him in his own net. But the better to conceal the snares laid for him, he sends for *Cara Mehemad Aga*, the chief butcher, a very rich man, who had learned by long experience to hide the barbarity of his nature, and by that means had obtained the *Mufti's* daughter in marriage for his son. When he was come, "I have some things," (says he) to communicate to the *Vizir*, which I would desire you to go and tell him; for I know that there is a great friendship between you. *Rami Reis Effendi* and *Iskierletogly* have been with me, and have told me many sad things of the *Vizir*, as if he was contriving to depose the Sultan, and put me to death, and had for that reason publickly ranked me among the *Infidels*. Now because he was, upon your intercession, as you well know, raised to the dignity of *Vizir* through my interest, and therefore is my *Chirug*; or client, I would not have a flambeau of my own lighting so soon extinguished, and the life of a man taken away, whom a few days before I raised to the highest dignity the *Othman* Empire can give. Besides, I am satisfied that *Rami* and *Iskierlet Ogly*, which they were negotiating a peace, being bribed by the *Giars* with large sums of money, have, of their own heads, yielded many things to the *Germans* and *Poles*, that might have remained under the *Othman* dominion; and persuaded the Sultan and me, by their artful lies, that a peace

a battle. In Poland the new King *Frederic Augustus*, who was before Elector of Saxony, applies himself entirely to warlike preparations, and the gaining of the Nobles, and defers the campaign till the next year.

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“ could not possibly be made upon other terms. Wherefore I desire you to acquaint the Vizir, in my name, that I will not be influenced by the misrepresentations of those knaves, to cease to be his patron; but shall, whenever an opportunity offers, persuade the Sultan not only to confirm him in the dignity of Vizir, but also to put all his enemies to death.” When *Daltaban* hears this from *Mebemed Aga's* mouth, he visits the Musti in the night, and pretends to discover his whole mind to him, as to his patron and benefactor. The Musti, with feigned applause, extols the Vizir's designs, and promises to use his utmost endeavours to bring them to perfection, and that *Rami*, *Maurocardatus*, and their accomplices, be brought to justice. *Daltaban*, encouraged by these promises, returns home with a cheerful countenance, and sending for the *Kiebaia Topal Ibrahim-Aga* (who was afterwards made governor of *Thessalonica*) gives him a particular account of what had passed between the Musti and him; and adds, at the same time, he acknowledges the Musti for his patron, being indebted to him for the Vizirship; yet he cannot bear, he should have so much credit with the Sultan, as to make and unmake Vizirs at pleasure: for as he had bestowed the seal of the Empire upon him, after having deposed *Husein Pascha*, so it was in his power to turn him out, and raise another to that dignity. Therefore, as he could find no way to put him out of favour with the Sultan, who had a great veneration for him, there was a necessity of dispatching him out of the way, unknown to the Sultan; for it would be easier to struggle with a dead than a living man. Accordingly, he proposes this method to put him to death, namely, to invite him to a feast on a *Thursday*, when all the courts of justice and the other offices are shut, and to have him strangled at table with a bow-string, by some faithful persons provided for that purpose; then to send for the Janizaries, and cause them to raise a commotion, acquainting the Sultan at the same time, that they insisted upon having the Musti's life, and were demanding the heads of *Rami*, *Maurocardatus*, and some others. The treacherous *Kiebaia* approves of the Vizir's project to his face, and commends his design; but at night he changes his dress, and going to the Musti, tells him his danger. The Musti, dismissing the *Kiebaia* with very great promises, calls for his chariot at the

third hour of the night, goes to the Sultan, and makes known to him what he had learned from the *Kiebaia*; advises him to put *Daltaban* to death, that he might not raise fresh commotions in the Empire, and promises to give a *Fetwab* for that purpose; and says withal, that for fear too much haste in the affair should occasion a sedition among the people, he would find some specious pretence to have him dispatched out of the way without any noise. The Musti, at his return home, pretends to have the gout in his feet, that he might be hindered from going to the Vizir's house, and sends a *Talkbischibi* * to desire him to come to him, because he had things of importance to impart to him. Upon the receipt of this message, the Vizir goes thither with all speed, thinking a snare was now laid for his enemies. When he comes, “ Thank God, says the Musti, the Sultan has granted all my requests, and promised that he will put *Rami Reis Effendi* to death, provided there may be devised some cause of his punishment. If you will therefore follow my advice, you will easily find not only a pretence, but also a just reason for putting him to death. He must be removed at a distance from court, if we wish our designs to take effect. As this cannot be done any other way, you must offer him, as a reward for his services to the Ottoman Empire, a Vizirship, with three *Horse-Tails*, and a few days after give him some remote government; and then you will easily find some crime to render him odious to the Sultan, and to have him put to death. When he is once dispatched, you may kill *Skierletogly* with as much ease as you would a dog in the streets.” When he had said this, he made *Daltaban* swear not to discover it to any one, not even to his *Kiebaia*. The Vizir, deceived by these specious falshoods of the Musti, believed he was really his friend, and thought himself now very safe. Wherefore he asks *Rami Effendi*, at first, as it were in jest, whether he should not be glad to be raised higher, and enjoy a Pashalic. The other, as he had been instructed by the Musti, falls at the Vizir's feet; begs he may not be burdened with that honour; that it was enough for him to be a scribe; and his birth could not give him any pretensions to desire the dignity of Vizir: besides, he was unskilled in the art of governing provinces, and could show his industry and faithfulness no where but in the chancery. *Daltaban*, blaming him for saying these

these words, tells him at the same time, if he did not comply with the Sultan's order, he would lose all those rewards which he had hitherto deserved by his industry; and could not avoid the Sultan's indignation. *Rami Effendi* submitting at last, with a seeming unwillingness, *Daltaban* notifies to the Sultan by a *Talchysb*, that *Rami Reis Effendi* intreated the Sultan's clemency to dismiss him from the *Calem* with three *Tugs*, and prayed that his request might be granted. The Sultan, who was before-hand prepared by the Musti, easily consented; adding, that on account of his services, he not only gave him three *Tugs*, but also declared him *Caimacan*, and one of his counsellors, and required he should be always near the court. Though this was disagreeable to *Daltaban*, and seemed to defeat all his designs, yet he obeyed the Sultan's orders; and sending for *Rami*, invested him with the Vizir's robe, and gave him the name of *Cubbe nishin*, or *Counsellor*. This unusual and extraordinary promotion of *Rami*, raised the peoples admiration; for it was well known that *Daltaban* disliked the peace, and sought rather to punish with death, than to confer honours upon, the promoters of it: and therefore to such as were unacquainted with what had passed between the Musti and *Daltaban*, it seemed a mystery, that those for whom punishments were thought to have been preparing, should be exalted to the highest honours. This gave occasion to various, and generally disadvantageous reports concerning *Daltaban*; that he was undone; that his saddle, (a *Turkish* saying) was thrown upon the ground; that the Sultan, deluded by the Musti, and the arts of his creatures, *Rami* and *Skierletogly*, was but a tool to other peoples ambition; that *Rami* had no other merit for his rising in so strange manner from a scribe to a Vizir, but his having sold the honour of the Ottoman name to the Infidels; that finally, this was a certain sign that *Daltaban*, the most famous hero among the *Turks*, the brave defender of the Sultan's honour, was to be condemned to death, or at least to banishment, that there might remain no obstacle to their treacherous designs. When *Daltaban* perceived by these discourses, that the people were on his side, and disliked the Musti's proceedings, he was confirmed in his purpose, and resolved to kill the Musti first, then *Rami*, and if necessary, to depose even the Sultan. But that he might strike the furer, he sends for the fore-mentioned *Cara Mebemed Aga*, whom, as being an old friend, he took to be very faithful to him, and enquires of him what the people said of himself, of the Musti, and of *Rami*; and whether they approved or not what the Sultan had done for *Rami*? *Cara Mebemed*, the better to impose upon

the Vizir, and to discover his designs; tells him what the people said; how displeased they were at the honours conferred upon *Rami*; and generally believed that the Sultan, infatuated by the Musti, had only the name of Sultan, whilst the Musti was Sultan in reality, and disposed of all affairs at pleasure: and this was not only said by the common people, but also by *Erbabi deulet*, that is, the chief of the great men. *Daltaban*, ignorant of the *Casabachis's* treachery, could not, upon hearing this, forbear uttering these words: “ You shall see, my dear *Mebemed*, what will be acted one of these days on this stage;” which saying being carried by him to the Musti, not only confirmed the suspicions raised in him by the *Kiebaia's* discourse, but also served to hasten *Daltaban's* downfall. In the mean time, *Daltaban* makes preparations for the Musti's destruction. He had in his house a certain *Dervise*, called *Mabomet*, a *Moldavian* by birth, an old and faithful servant, whom, for his approved fidelity, he had not only raised to the office of *Basibobadar* *, but also had entrusted with most of his secrets. To him *Daltaban* communicates his designs, ordering him to get a cord rubbed with soap, and when the Musti should come to wash his hands, to be ready with the rest of the officers to put it round his neck, and strangle him. The man undertakes the business, and promises faithfully to perform his will; saying, he would not refuse even to die, could he but carry his enemies to hell along with him. Things being thus prepared, he sends *Sheikbogli*, who had succeeded *Rami* in the office of *Reis effendi*, to the Musti, to invite him the next day, which was *Thursday*, and consequently free from all public business, to a feast. The Musti sent answer, that he was then indeed very lame of the gout, but if his pain abated, he would certainly come the next day. This answer being brought back by *Sheikbogli* to the Vizir, he orders a splendid feast to be made, and bids his *Agalar* to withdraw to their apartments the moment the Musti came, because he had some private business with him. The next morning as soon as it was light he sends his *Kiebaia*, *Topal Ibrahim Aga*, to invite the Musti a second time, and to know certainly whether he would come. Accordingly he comes to the Musti, tells him his errand, but privately advises him to take care of himself, because there were persons appointed and ready to strangle him. Whereupon the Musti says to the *Kiebaia*, go and tell your master that I am much better to day than I was yesterday, and will certainly be with him about noon; but by God's help, I shall find means to avoid his snares. The treacherous *Kiebaia* comes and brings

brings his master, the Mufti's answer; at which the Vizir being highly pleased, and fancying he had already in his net the chief obstacle to his designs, prepares every thing for the tragedy. In the mean while, dinner-time was now come, and no Mufti appeared; so that the impatient *Daltaban* was sending the *Reis effendi* a second time to invite him, when the Mufti's *Talkibschibi** comes and tells *Daltaban*, that his master was got into his litter to come to him, when he was sent for by the Sultan; and as he could not excuse himself upon any pretence, was gone thither; but would send his eldest son, *Nakyb effendi*, in his room, and therefore desired him to put off his feast till the next week; and he hoped at that very time to find an opportunity of having him confirmed in the Vizirship, and to contrive a way for the destruction of his enemies. Scarce had the *Talkibschibi** brought his message to the Vizir, when *Nakyb effendi* himself arrives, and uses the same excuse for his father. Though *Daltaban* was heartily vexed that the Mufti should thus escape out of his snares, yet, for fear of unseasonably discovering his designs, he receives *Nakyb effendi* with great honour and magnificence, and, contrary to custom, meets him as far as the *Arzada*, saying, the son's presence was as acceptable to him as the father's; that the Sultan's orders were surely to be preferred to all private business; and the honour designed him was not lost, but delayed, since he had hopes of seeing the Mufti the next *Tourday*. In the mean time, whilst the son is feasting with *Daltaban*, the father goes to the Sultan with a mournful dress and face. After paying obeisance, he was bid to sit on the *ichram*, or carpet; and the Sultan speaking first, asked him what was the matter that he came with such a sorrowful countenance, and as if he had been frightened? The Mufti taking occasion to speak, "I have, says he, very great reason to be sorry, my most gracious lord and master. A danger hangs over all our heads, which, though secret, is yet very great, and hardly to be avoided, unless the threatening clouds are dispersed by the breath of your majesty, before the lightning falls. What lies heaviest upon my mind is, that I have undesignedly contributed to increase this storm. For hearing of the heroic actions of our present Vizir, while his absence or meanness caused his vices to remain undiscovered, I your servant thought none fitter than him to be entrusted with the administration of the *Othman* government: and therefore observing that the negligence and drunkenness of *Huseim Pascha* rendered him unfit to govern the state, I earnestly recommended this man to you, and did not

" cease to intreat you in his behalf till you had adorned him with the ensigns of the Vizirship. As soon as he was raised to that sublime post, he discovered how artfully he had till then concealed the wickedness of his heart under a specious outside, and shewed himself a professed enemy to as many as he thought would obstruct his turbulent projects. I could forgive him, if he had conspired only against me; I should be silent, even though he is, contrary to all divine and human laws, endeavouring to strangle me, if my death was to put an end to the calamities he is endeavouring to bring on the Empire. But I ought to speak, when I see that ungrateful man exciting the Janizaries to a rebellion, inviting with the same view the Chan of *Tartary* into this city; publicly condemning the peace made with the enemies, calling the makers of it infidels; breaking treaties that have been confirmed with an oath; and leaving no stone unturned, at his entrance upon the honours you have conferred upon him, to dethrone you, most gracious Emperor, and to fill your whole dominions with fresh troubles. Unless you quickly put a stop to these mischiefs, I am afraid you will too late repent of your ill-timed clemency."

The Sultan, upon hearing the crafty *Feyzullah Effendi's* speech, moved with anger and fear, asks him how this evil could be prevented? The Mufti answered, there was no other cure for it but to dispatch out of the way that villain, the author of all the troubles, and to put another Vizir in his room, who should be for maintaining the peace, and also more faithful and submissive to the Sultan; for the head being cut off, the rest of the members would soon be quiet, though in ever so great agitation: and finally, that *Rami Pascha*, of whose faithfulness and prudence he had sufficient experience, must be taken into the council. The Sultan readily complies with his late tutor's advice, and leaves the whole affair to his management. The Mufti, at his return home, sent word that very night to *Rami Pascha* to change his dress, and come to him, and concert measures with him about killing *Daltaban*. After some consultation, they resolve to surprize him in the following manner, namely, to persuade *Daltaban* to create *Rami Pascha*, *Babadagby Seraskier*, and the Mufti to advise the Sultan to subscribe in the *Talchysch**, which the Vizir would send him for that purpose; that he had been thinking of the same thing, because he saw the people and the Janizaries were very much dissatisfied to see a man raised from a scribe to a Vizir: and therefore he judged it necessary to remove him

farther from court, hoping thereby to put a stop to the murmurs of the people and soldiery. Pursuant to this resolution, the Mufti sends the next day his son *Nakyb Effendi* to the Vizir, with a second excuse for not having kept his promise, which was owing to the Sultan's sending for him; and to let him know, that he thought God had thrown, by a singular Providence, that obstacle in his way: for he had found an opportunity of persuading the Sultan to remove *Rami* from court, by making him *Seraskier of Babadagby*; but that it was necessary he should desire the same by a *Talchysch* of the Sultan, before he changed his mind, and, according to custom, make in it an honourable mention of *Rami*, that he might not suspect any fraud in the case; namely, that his faithful services to the Empire rendered him worthy of that dignity, and that he knew none fitter than him to maintain the peace, and watch the motions of the *Giaours*. When he had sent this to *Daltaban*, he acquaints, by a *Dekehr*, or note, the Sultan, that such a thing would be proposed by the Vizir, and desires he would not only give his consent, but also send for the Vizir, under pretence of consulting him about some instructions he wanted to give *Rami Pascha*. The scene is carried on as the Mufti directs. *Daltaban* sends a *Talchysch* to the Sultan, and the Sultan confirms it, by writing over it the usual form (let it be done,) and orders him, by *Baltajilar Kiebaishi*, to come to him. The Vizir obeys, ignorant of the snares laid for him, (which had he known, he could not only have easily avoided them, but have raised the same sedition as afterwards wrested the scepter from the Sultan,) and with the usual pomp goes to the Sultan. Whilst *Kyzlaragasi* is entering the room first, according to custom, there comes out to him *Baltajilar Kiebaishi* from the Sultan, and tells him that the Sultan demanded the seal he was intrusted with. *Daltaban* being a man of an invincible resolution and proof against all the various turns of fortune, refuses to surrender the badge of his dignity till he had spoken three words with the Sultan; with which if he did not mollify him, he would freely lose not only the seal, but even his head. What his design might be in desiring so earnestly to speak with the Sultan, was variously conjectured at that time. Some thought he intended to kill the Sultan with a dagger he wore under his clothes; others declared him innocent of so desperate a project, and imagined he had no other intention, than to represent to the Sultan the great danger he was in from the Mufti's and *Rami's* attempts, and to propose, what he had often said in private conversation, to recover to the *Othman* Empire in one or two campaigns all that was lost through those men's treache-

ry. But so infatuated was the Sultan, by the Mufti's artifices, that he not only refused to hear *Daltaban's* advice, but also being informed of his desire, he ordered him to be seized, stripped, bound as a thief, and immediately put to death at *Babi Humayun*, and his body thrown to the dogs in *Sirikmedan*. The officers about the Sultan immediately execute his orders, seize *Daltaban*, bind him, and lead him to the place of execution. When he was going to lose his head, *Baltajilar Kiebaishi* comes and asks him in the Sultan's name what he had to say to him, advising him withal to take the *Abdest*, and repent of his faults, that he may not perish both soul and body. *Daltaban* answers, that ever since he could remember, he had not once mounted his horse without having first purified himself with the *Abdest*, nor suffered so much as one hour to pass without repenting, therefore he did not despair of pardon with God and his prophet; nor would his soul perish, though his body seemed to do so to infidels. As for what he had to say to the Sultan, he could impart it to none but him; nor should he now behold without horror (such a Sultan's face, as put those to death that faithfully served him, and gave himself up wholly to *Kyzilbaschi's* and wizards; that there remained but one remedy for those corruptions, namely, the divine justice, which, he thought, would after his death teach the Sultan how much he was departed from a sound mind, and from the *Musulman* faith. When this was told the Sultan, it can hardly be expressed how it filled his mind with doubts. That it was a matter of great importance *Daltaban* desired to communicate to him, he guessed, by the undaunted manner in which he submitted to his punishment; but, on the other hand, his love to his old preceptor, the Mufti, and the confidence he reposed in him, hindered him from attending to those things. So, to have the more time to consider what to do, he reprieved him, and ordered him to be confined in *Caparasi*, or the court-prison. When his enemies, the Mufti, and *Rami*, whom the Sultan had already appointed Vizir, came to know this, they were seized with fresh fears, lest the Sultan should be conquered by *Daltaban's* firmness, and restore him to his former liberty. The next morning therefore early they both go to the Sultan, tell him, that the sparks of sedition spread by *Daltaban* were kindling into a flame; that confusion and trouble every where arose; and there was no way of preventing a rebellion, but by putting *Daltaban*, the author, to death. The Sultan, terrified at the imminent danger, ordered the prisoner to be put that very hour to death. When *Daltaban* heard his sentence, he called for the *Abdest*, and having

The Venetians have doubtful success against the Turks at sea.

LXXI. Not long after the *Venetians* send a fleet into the *Mediterranean*. *Kiel Mehemed Beg* (31), with his galleys, attempts *Tinos*; but being repulsed by *Bartolomeo Moro*, quits that island again. There are several other slight conflicts at sea, but with doubtful success. The *Turkish* fleet taking three pirate-ships, carry them to *Constantinople*. On the other hand, as the *Turks*, after a short dispute, twice seemed to avoid a battle, the *Venetians* challenge two victories.

LXXII. Such were the events of this campaign. The beginning of the next might be justly said to confirm the *Turkish* proverb, "an enemy does never perfectly know the state of his enemy." Sultan *Mustapha*, after his return to *Constantinople*, makes all possible preparations for war; but with a mind troubled, and foreboding ill success.

The ominous prefaces of the people.

LXXIII. The *Turks*, who had before entered voluntarily into the service, are now backward in obeying even the Sultan's command, and inflexible to treaties or threats. The Sultan, whilst he passes in disguise through the assemblies of the people, frequently hears these words from the citizens and soldiers: "for the *Othmans* to defeat the *Germans*, is a thing beyond our power. God has publicly testified, he is on the side of the *Giaurs*; he has signified his decree in that point by sufficient tokens. It is in vain therefore to shed such torrents of *Musulman* blood, while we are to contend as well against God as man."

Both Princes anxious for the event.

LXXIV. The Sultan also knew how necessary peace was to recover the exhausted state of the Empire, and it was the object of his earnest wishes; but he was prevented from proposing it by his superstition and fear lest the enemies should become more elated, and the honour of the *Othman* Empire diminished. The *German* Emperor likewise, on his part, was no less impatient for an end of the war; not that he despaired of victory against the *Turks*, but feared while he was engaged in that war, the King of *Spain* should die, and the disputes which would arise concerning his succession, put a stop to the successful progress of his arms: however, he thought it dishonourable to desire peace of a conquered enemy, and of his own accord to offer him the palm. The *Dutch* and *English* ambassadors were present to mediate a peace, but their offers having been so often rejected, they chose rather first to hear peace desired, than to propose it.

The sagacity of Alexander Maurocordato.

LXXV. The chief interpreter of the *Othman* court, *Alexander Maurocordato*, perceives the inclination of both parties; and as he was no less sagacious and fond of glory, than devoted to the *Othman* Empire, resolves to rescue it from destruction, and at the same time to raise himself a great reputation through the whole Empire.

He is the first instrument of settling peace.

LXXVI. His hopes of this were chiefly grounded on the Vizir *Husein Pascha's* mild and peaceable disposition. Accordingly, in a visit to him, turning the conversation upon the subject of peace, he tells him, that though he had not heard it from any of the ambassadors, yet, by considering the present situation of affairs in Christendom, he could certainly affirm, the Emperor was very desirous of

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ving repeated the usual prayers, said to the executioner: kill, O infidel *Musulmans*, him whom the infidel *Giaurs* could not kill. Nor would he suffer himself to be blinded, but with his eyes open, and with his usual steadiness, held out his neck, and received the fatal blow. Such was the end of *Dalaban*, the bravest soldier the *Othman* Empire ever produced; and, a man highly renowned both in war and peace. How much concerned the people were at his death, plainly appeared by the troubles that followed soon after. Satirical verses were immediately thrown into the *Eski* and other *Jami*; all which, as it would be too tedious to transcribe, I shall only mention what fol-

lows? "Come then, my pen, let us fly
" this dominion, for peace, honour, and
" the law of God, and respect of the *Othman*
" majesty, have already taken their flight."

(31) *Kiel Mehemed Beg*. There are in the islands many *Begs*, who have one galley at least, wherewith they trade in time of peace, and exercise piracy in time of war. The *Beg* here mentioned, was famous above all the rest, both because he was richer than ordinary, for he kept three galleys at his own charge, and also because he was a *Phoenician* pirate, very expert in his business. The name of *Kiel* was given him for having a bald and scurfy head. By the *Grecian* sailors he was called *Ξαλδός*.

a peace

a peace with the *Turks*. The Vizir urges, it was not credible the Emperor, flustered with his late victory, and full of hopes, would accept of peace, though offered, much less desire it. *Maurocordato* replies, it might seem so indeed, but if a week's space were allowed him to sound the ambassadors, he would assuredly promise to procure the Vizir not only the Emperor's consent, but even his request for a negotiation of peace.

LXXVII. Having easily obtained leave, *Maurocordato* waits upon the ambassadors of the Christian Princes, and represents to them, that he had already received so many favours from the Emperor of *Germany*, that he should deserve to be thought highly ungrateful if he did not endeavour to make some return; that he had often sought an occasion to show his readiness to serve the Emperor, and demonstrate the fidelity due from a Christian, but had never met with so ample an opportunity as now; that he knew the Emperor, from his apprehensions of a *French* war, was very desirous of a peace; but would not discover it to the *Turks*, lest he should make them suspect the true reason of it, and render them more haughty and assuming in their demands. But if they would confide in him, and grant a power to manage the affair as he thought proper, he would establish a peace upon such terms, as the Emperor might reasonably desire. In the meantime, it was necessary for them to swear upon the *Holy Gospel* to conceal what he should say to them; otherwise himself and his whole family would be exposed to the utmost danger, since the cruelty of the *Turks* to those who are suspected of the least unfaithfulness, was sufficiently known to the whole *Christian* world. The ambassadors reply, that the Emperor would not perhaps reject honorable conditions of peace, yet he would never ask it of the *Turks*. But if the interpreter, in his own name, would propose the affair, he would lay a great obligation upon the Emperor. *Maurocordato* returning to the Vizir, gives him a very different representation, and informs him, he had found by the ambassadors, that the Emperor was not only not averse to peace, but extremely desirous of it, and had requested them by any means to put an end to this destructive war. The Vizir seemed by this speech to be raised from the dead, and embracing the artful framer of lies (32), says to him, "If you execute this divine work, and restore the wish'd-for tranquillity to our Empire, you may be assured, you will highly oblige the Sultan, and for ever endear the memory of your services to the rulers of the *Othman* state."

His prudent method of proceeding with respect to the negotiation of peace.

LXXVIII. By these artifices of *Maurocordato*, both the *Turks* and *Christians* are induced to speak a little more openly concerning the affair of peace, and both parties think they may do it without the least impeachment of their master's honour, because each deceived by *Maurocordato*, imagines the first proposal came from the enemy.

The mediators of the peace speak of it in plainer terms.

LXXIX. *Feriale* (33), the *French* ambassador, hearing this affair publicly talked of, by various arts, bribes, and promises, endeavours to disturb the approaching

The French ambassador in vain attempts to break off the negotiation.

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(32) framer of lies] *Alexander*, as a man that had as perfect a knowledge of the eastern languages and poetry, as of the *Othman* court, seems herein to have followed the instructions of the famous *Persian* poet, *Shaykh Saadi*; especially in that passage in his *Ginulian*, where he says, "a lie, which does a [good] work, is better than truth, which breeds confusion." And indeed he could not have performed any service that would have more obliged both Empires, or procured him greater rewards; so that he may justly be said, to have killed two birds with one stone.

(33) *Feriale*] While Monsieur de *Chateaufort* was ambassador from France to *Con-*

stantinople, this *Ferial* followed the *Turkish* camp, in order to maintain a private correspondence between the *French* court and the *Vizir's*; and when *Chateaufort* was recalled, he was appointed to succeed him, on account of his being supposed to have acquired, by long use, a perfect knowledge of the manners and customs of the *Othman* court. But he behaved in this post quite otherwise than his friends had expected; for, either through his haughtiness and natural obstinacy, or by the treacherous advice of some whom he took for his friends, he not only opposed the *Port* in many respects, but also demanded several things that never used before to be granted to any ambassador,

proaching calm, and introduce a new scene of blood, alleging, that his master had only made a short truce under the name of a peace, and when it was expired, would

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ambassador, and were contrary to the usages of the Othman court. In the very beginning of his embassy, when he was, according to custom, to have his first audience of the Sultan, he came into the inner room with his sword by his side. *Mauricordato*, who assisted at that ceremony as chief interpreter of the court, friendly told him to take off his sword; for it was an old custom in the Othman court, not to suffer any one person armed to come to the Sultan: but he boldly answered, he had received his sword from his King, and would not take it off for any man. The Sultan having notice of it, sends *Feriale* orders to take off his sword, and if he refused, commands he should be thrust out of doors. The *Capugi bashi* execute this order, and rudely pull back *Feriale* as he is endeavouring to enter. The ambassador, thus repulsed, in a very great passion makes his interpreters pull off the *Castans*, which, according to custom, they had put on in the outer court, and, trampling upon them, goes out of the palace. When the Sultan heard of it, he ordered all the presents the ambassador had brought, (and which also he demanded, affirming they had not been sent by the King, his master, but were of his own purchasing) to be restored to him; and would never after give him admittance, especially as he constantly refused to come without a sword. This affair highly offended the court, and yet the fault was not so much in *Feriale*, as in his predecessor, *Chateaufort*; who having, at his first audience, worn a little dagger privately under his clothes, he set it down in the memoirs of his embassy, that he had audience of the Sultan with his sword by his side. When he was recalled, he received orders from his court to deliver up all his memorials and papers to his successor. *Feriale*, upon reading of them, asked *Chateaufort*, before his departure, whether that was true? and whether he must also appear himself before the Sultan with his sword? He told him, yes; perhaps because he bore him a grudge. When this deceitful trick of *Chateaufort* came to be known, *Feriale* might not only have recovered his reputation for prudence, but also have been reconciled to the *Port*, had he not soon after, by other as great outrages against the Sultan's authority, too openly discovered his wilful temper. The Sultan's barge has a tilt over it of purple silk, lined with cloth of gold, and supported with four gilt pillars, raised in the form of a throne, and adorned on the top with three gilt candlesticks placed in breadth

These ornaments no person is allowed to bear, except the *Capudan Pascha*, or admiral, and only when he goes to sea (for then he is reckoned as the *Desiyi Padishahi*, or Emperor of the sea;) and the Vizir himself is permitted to use but a green tilt, supported by ivory pillars, and without candlesticks. But *Feriale*, insisting upon I know not what privileges and liberties of ambassadors, got a barge made like the Sultan's; and when his friends represented to him, that the Sultan would never suffer it, he swore a great oath, and said, he would never come to *Constantinople* in any other barge. When it first appeared in the harbour at *Constantinople*, the *Bostanji bashi* followed it, thinking the Sultan had been somewhere, without his knowledge; when he came up to it, and found it was not the Sultan's, but the French ambassador's barge, he took the rowers out, and ordered the *Bostanji* to break it in pieces on the water. Notwithstanding this, *Feriale* stood to his word, and having a house at *Galata*, whenever any urgent business called him to *Constantinople*, he chose rather to take a long and tedious journey by land, than to cross over a much shorter way by water. The last disturbance he raised at *Constantinople*, was in the Vizirship of *Calaily Ahmed Pascha*. He had obtained leave from his predecessor, *Silabdar Hasan Pascha*, to make rejoicings for the birth of the King his master's grandson, by firing guns and making bonfires; and had accordingly got a sumptuous entertainment ready, and made all other preparations for that solemnity. But the very day the rejoicings were to begin, *Silabdar Hasan Pascha* was deposed, and *Calaily Ahmed Pascha* put in his room. *Feriale*, hearing of this change, sends immediately his chief interpreter to the Vizir's house, to procure a confirmation of the former *Ferman*; and not being able to obtain it, by reason of the great concourse of nobles about the new Vizir's door, and loth withal to have all his preparations come to nothing, he resolves to keep the solemnity by virtue of the old *Ferman*. At night, when *Calaily Ahmed Pascha* sees the light of the candles, surprized at such an unusual thing, done without his knowledge, he sends, in the first heat of his passion, and without enquiring into the matter, the *Bostanji bashi* to the ambassador, to command him to put out the candles. *Feriale* refusing to obey, the Vizir sends the same person to him a second time, to advise him in a friendly manner not to lose his honour and his life, through his unseasonable obstinacy; for he had

would in a few years invade *Germany* with a greater force than ever. But the *Othman* court having, by fatal experience, so often found the *French* promises of no effect, the ambassador's efforts prove in vain, and he is ordered to be quiet, and not disturb the negotiation of peace.

LXXX. But though the report of peace was very agreeable to the *Turks*, yet they omit nothing which could be devised in the present situation of affairs, to stop the progress of the enemy, and secure their borders. The Sultan, at the end of the month *Zylcade*, of the year 1109, removes from *Constantinople* to *Adrianople*, from whence, on the first of the next month, he orders the Vizir to march with the whole army to *Belgrade*, while he spends the summer in the village of *Akbunar*, near *Adrianople*, expecting the issue of the negotiation of peace.

LXXXI. In the mean time both armies, the Imperialists at *Peterwaradin*, and the *Turks* near *Belgrade*, in hopes of peace, continue without motion, and only guard their borders. The same is done by the *Russians* and *Poles*. The *Venetians* have a slight engagement with the *Turkish* fleet near *Mitylene*, and the latter is put to flight, though not without some loss. In *Dalmatia*, they at-

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had now a *Ferman* given him to quiet the troubles with his regiment, without further orders, and if the ambassador refused to obey, to extinguish the candles by force, and destroy all his preparations. To this *Feriale* replies, "If you will violently infringe the rights of the King, my master, and the privileges of ambassadors, I, who am bound to sacrifice my own life for my master's honour, will blow up this house with gun-powder, and in it my self and those that come to offer any violence; and will leave the King, my master, to demand satisfaction for the injury done me." During this disturbance, *Feriale*'s chief interpreter, one *La Fontaine*, a man well versed in the affairs of the *Othman* court, privately puts out the candles that were lighted abroad; not in the order in which they stood, but some here, and others there, so that they might seem to have been blown out by the wind; and the guests perceiving the danger they were in, withdrew by degrees; so that *Feriale* was forced to do, for want of company, what he would not do for the Sultan's order, that is, put an end to his rejoicings. But, to say the truth, bating this obstinacy, *Feriale* was a man endowed with many virtues, courageous, liberal, an agreeable companion, easy of access, a very strenuous assertor of the King, his master's honour, and above all sincere, and a most constant friend both in prosperity and adversity, of which I had a very singular proof while I lived at *Constantinople*. My perpetual and sworn enemy, *Constantine Brancovan*, late Prince of *Walachia*, had bribed the Vizir, *Damad Hasan Pascha*, with large presents, to banish me to *Cbioi*. Having been informed of it by my good friend, *Firari Hasan Pascha*, the *Tektadar*, three days before the *Bostanji bashi*, who

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had received orders for that purpose, was to surround my house with his *Bostanji* about the third watch of the night; I had fled for refuge into the French ambassador's house, and was very kindly received by *Feriale*. The Vizir hearing I was hid there, sent one of his Aga's to the ambassador, to desire him to deliver me up: but *Feriale* told him, "I have no *Bogdanbezade* in my house, and if I had, I would not give him up, neither would I stain the King, my master's honour, with so foul a crime." But he gave a much sharper answer to the Prince of *Walachia*'s *Capitane-haia*, that brought him *Brancovan*'s letter, in which he was required not to keep me, who was his enemy, in his house, and screen me from the Vizir's just sentence. He wondered (he said) with what face *Brancovan* could ask such a thing of him, when he knew that the house he lived in was not his own, but the King, his master's; who had so much kindness and compassion for the afflicted, especially for Christians, that he would make no scruple of concealing and protecting even him against the indignation of the Sultan and Vizir, if ever he should be turned out of his Principality; that therefore he acted very much against his own interest, in violating the rights and privileges of a house which might, one day, serve him for a sanctuary. A few years after *Feriale* fell into a phrenzy, and was sent to *France* chained; some, who pretend to be better acquainted with his secrets, affirm he was in his senses when he returned home, and that his madness was not real, but feigned, by a peculiar order from the *French* court, because they could find no better excuse for all the disturbance their ambassador caused at the *Othman Port*, than by saying he was mad: but I have many reasons for not believing that account.

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tempt to take *Stolaz* by stratagem, but are forced to retire without success. The Seraskier, on the other hand, endeavours to make himself master of *Cing*, in the same province; but upon the approach of the *Venetians*, raises the siege.

The ambassa-
dors of all the
Princes meet
at Carlovitz.

LXXXII. Having spoken enough of war, let us see what passed with regard to peace. Both sides being, as I have said, inclined to pacific measures, the preliminaries had now been settled at *Constantinople*; the place for the congress appointed, namely *Carlovitz*, between *Belgrade* and *Peterwaradin*; and ambassa-
dors appointed by all the princes engaged in the war. The *Turks* chose *Rami Mebemed Reis Effendi*, and *Alexander Maurocordatus*, honoured with the title of *Beg* and *Mabremi Esrar* (34); the Emperor, Count *Pettingen* and Count *Schlik*, his privy-councillors; the Czar of *Russia*, *Procopius Bogdanowicz*, *Woznicini*; the *Poles*, *Stanislaus Michelowski*, Weywode of *Poznania*; the *Venetians* (35), *Ruzini*; and *Paget* and *Collier*, the *English* and *Dutch* ambassadors, were to act as mediators of the peace. They all meet about the end of the year 1110 at *Carlovitz*, and pitch their tents on both sides the river *Carlovitz*.

H. 1110.

A. C. 1699.

At first there
is a dispute
about preced-
ency.

LXXXIII. At first there arises a dispute concerning the place of conference, the seats of the ambassadors, precedence, and the order in which they were to visit each other. The *Turks* insisted upon the first place, which was claimed by the Emperor's ambassadors, next to whom the *Polish* plenipotentiary demanded to sit, which was refused by the *Russian* and all the rest, except the *Venetian*, who claimed the next seat to the *English*.

LXXXIV. This dispute, though it seemed slight at first, grew so high, that all their labour and expence were like to be in vain, if *Maurocordatus's* prudence had not invented a remedy by which the ambassadors, now incensed against

Which is very
prudently ad-
justed by *Mauro-
cordatus*.

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(34) *Mabremi Esrar*] i. e. to whom secrets are discovered. *Maurocordatus* invented this new name for his office, which was never used before, nor has been since his death granted to any other. He rendered the same into *Greek*, and would fain have been called *ἱεραγερης*; and long endeavoured to prevail upon the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, to give him the title of *ἱεραγο-
ραρχης*, most illustrious, in their letters, in-
stead of the epithet *ἱεραδης*, or most excel-
lent, which used to be given him, as the chief interpreter of the court; and which, in the patriarchate, and in those princes courts, is not reckoned so honourable as *ἱεραγοραρχης*.

(35) *Venetians*] It will not be improper to insert in this place the famous saying of *Rami Reis Effendi*. For, finding the *Vene-
tian* ambassador spoke something boast-
ingly, and proved harder and more diffi-
cult than the rest in agreeing upon the ar-
ticles of peace, he turned to him, and said,
" *Elchibeg**, you ought not to be so unrea-
sonable, nor so full of your boasts, espe-
cially before such an assembly of wise am-
bassadors as this, who all know how to
make a comparison between the condi-
tion and strength of the Republick of
" *Venice*, and those of the *Othman* Empire.
" For you could never have stretched your
" fingers, (which nature has made very
" short) so far, had not the same thing
" happened, as one of our common stories
" says formerly befell two very stout and

" famous wrestlers. They meet, and in or-
" der to contend with more strength, pull
" off their clothes, and enter the lists
" naked. While they were engaged, a
" *Tankisiji*, (which is the name given to
" pickpockets, and such pilfering rogues)
" creeping along the ground like a serpent,
" steals away the champion's clothes. At
" last, when the wrestlers had exhausted
" their strength, and, according to cus-
" tom, given each other the kiss of peace,
" they turned to their clothes, and per-
" ceiving they were stolen by a *Tankisiji*,
" were forced to get other garments to co-
" ver their nakedness. Not long after,
" one of them found the thief dressed in a
" wrestler's habit, walking in the market-
" place, and pretending to be a wrestler,
" for fear the other should discover his
" crime to the people; but the true wrest-
" ler told him, the clothes thou hast on
" are not thine, but mine; for while I was
" engaged with a strong wrestler, thou didst
" come like a fox and steal them away,
" and hast not won them by wrestling.
" However, some time or other we two
" may find an opportunity of encountering
" one another, and then thou shalt find
" what difference there is between a lion
" and a fox, a wrestler and a thief; and I
" shall try whether thou hast learned as
" well to fight as to steal; but I am afraid,
" besides the clothes thou hast taken from
" me, thou wilt leave thy skin too.

each

each other above measure, were mutually reconciled. He proposes that a round building be run up for the place of conference, with as many doors as there are ambassadors, and each door look towards the country from whence the am-
bassadors severally came; that the tents be placed in the same manner round the
building, from whence, on the first day of the congress, each of them should
proceed with an equal pace, and enter the house at the same time, and, saluting
each other at the entrance, take the seat next to them.

LXXXV. This being approved by all, they hold frequent conferences con-
cerning the terms of peace; at last, after many disputes, the peace wished for
by the whole world, except the *French*, is concluded on the 26th of the
month *Rejeb* †, of the year 1110, and the instruments signed by all the am-
bassadors.

The wished-
for peace at
last concluded.
† Jan. 15.
H. 1110.

A. C. 1699.

The articles of
the peace be-
tween the Sul-
tan and the
Emperor.

LXXXVI. The Emperor made a truce for five and twenty years upon these
conditions: All *Transylvania* should be resigned to him, in the same extent in
which it had been held by the last Prince, *Michael Apaffi*, and his predecessors.
Temeswar was to be left to the Sultan; and lest that city should be blocked up
by the adjacent castles, and deprived of provisions, *Lippa*, *Chonad*, *Caransebes*,
Lugos, *Herconifia*, *Bech**, *Bechkerek**, and *Subbia*, were to have their walls
demolished, and neither party allowed to rebuild them; that the navigation of
the *Tibiscus* and *Maros* should be free to the subjects of both Empires, and the
country between the *Danube* and the *Tibiscus*, called *Bachkab**, remain in the
Emperor's hands; that the boundary of the eastern part of *Hungary*, belonging
to the Emperor, should be a right line drawn from the mouth of the *Maros*,
through the banks of the *Tibiscus* to the mouth of the *Bosut*, where it falls
into the *Save*; that towards the south the *Save* should part the *Turkish* from the
Imperial boundaries till it receives the *Unna*; that no new castles, besides *Bel-
grade* and *Peterwaradin* should be erected or fortified any where within these
boundaries.

LXXXVII. The *Russian* ambassador made a truce only for two years, upon the
terms of each party possessing what they had taken.

And the Cz-
sar.

LXXXVIII. The *Poles* made the same truce as the Emperor, upon these con-
ditions; that they should have *Camniec*, *Podolia*, and *Ukrania*, in the same ex-
tent as that kingdom had possessed before Sultan *Mahomet's* first expedition into
Poland, restored to them; and, on the other hand, resign *Soczawa*, *Nemosz*, and
Soroka, in *Moldavia*, to the *Turks*.

And the Poles.

LXXXIX. The *Venetians* obtained these conditions; that all the *Morea*, as
far as *Hexamilos*, should belong to them and the *Turkish* Terra Firma,
with *Naupactum*, *Prevesa*, and the castle of *Romania*, which had been
demolished, should be restored to the *Turks*; that the bay of *Corinth* should
be common to both, and the *Venetians* possess *Leucade*, with the ad-
jacent islands. The yearly tribute which the several islands in the *Ar-
chipelago* had hitherto paid to the *Venetians*, was to be abolished; and,
on the other hand, the *Turks* were to declare *Zacynth* free from tribute.
In *Dalmatia*, *Knin*, *Cing*, *Cyklat*, *Verlica*, *Duare*, and *Vergoraz*, were to be
left to the *Venetians*, and fixed as the boundaries of the dominions of their
Republick. The *Ragusians* were to continue free, and the *Venetians* were to
retain the castles of *Castelnuovo* and *Risano*, with what they possessed in the
neighbourhood. Both parties were to be allowed to fortify their borders with
new fortresses, or repair those which were decayed, except *Naupactum*, *Prevesa*,
and the castle of *Romania*.

And the Ven-
tians.

XC. These articles being unanimously agreed upon, the *Turkish* ambassadors
return to the Sultan at *Adrianople*, and, informing him of their proceedings, receive
royal rewards for their services. Having thus settled a peace with all his enemies,
the Sultan disbands his army, and that same summer departs from *Adrianople* to
Constantinople, in order to regulate the disordered state of the Empire, and by a
prudent administration, repair the losses it had sustained.

The articles
of peace being
agreed upon,
the ambassa-
dors return
to *Adrianople*.

XCI. From

Ambassadors extraordinary are sent by the Princes on both sides.

XCI. From thence he sends *Haznadar Ibrahim Pascha* (36), as ambassador extraordinary, with an *Abd Name* to the Emperor of Germany, and receives from him in return, by the hands of Count *Toening*, the ratifications of peace signed by him. Having dispatched these affairs, he commits the whole administration of the Empire to the Vizir, *Husein Pascha*, and to relax his mind, removes with his court to *Karystiran* (37), where he endeavours to divert, by hunting, his regret for the loss of so many provinces.

XCII. Upon this recess after so many toils, the people, and especially the soldiery, grew uneasy, and imagined that the peace, so earnestly wished for, was granted them for no other end, but to watch narrowly and censure the words and actions of their Sultan. Hence they blushed not to say, in their assemblies, that the Sultan was disposed to imitate his father in all things. For as his father, in the first years of his reign, applied himself to the administration of affairs, and neglected nothing which he thought would enlarge the bounds of the Empire; so *Mustapha*, in the first five years of his reign, had applied himself wholly to the state, and discharged all the duties of a father of his country, and in this respect imitated the virtues of the other; but that now he was resolved to imitate those vices of which his father, in his advanced age, and after extending the Empire, was guilty, namely, the love of hunting and dogs, though he was yet young, and not so conspicuous for his services to the *Othman* Empire. For he had not recovered any thing from the enemy, nor during the whole course of the war done any action to deserve the thanks of the publick, except in preventing the enemy from penetrating farther into the heart of the Empire. Since therefore his father, illustrious for so many victories, was deposed on account of his excessive fondness for hunting, it was to be feared that an equal, if not a worse fate, would attend his son, who was much inferior to him.

XCIII. To avoid these reproaches, the Sultan takes a method, often used with success by his predecessors, namely, to retire to *Adrianople*. For when he had sent for the Vizir and all the great officers of the Empire to that city, and thereby removed all subject of calumny from the spies upon his conduct, the people are silent, and cease from their usual satyr against their governors.

XCIV. During his stay at *Adrianople*, in the month *Rejeb* †, of the year 1111, the Sultan is informed by letters from the Chan of *Tartary*, that the Czar of *Russia* having changed the habit and religious ceremonies of his country, (one of which points was true, the other false) had introduced those of Germany, and raised a very large army out of his whole kingdom, disciplined after the *German* manner; and though he had made a truce at *Carlovitz* for two years,

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(36) *Haznadar Ibrahim*] He was at first treasurer and confident of the prime Vizir, *Cara Mustapha Pascha*, and was on account of that office named *Haznadar*. After *Cara's* death, having sincerely discovered his pernicious designs to *Aineji Soliman Pascha*, he came to be highly in favour with him, and was advanced to very considerable posts. At last, when a peace was concluded with the *Germans*, he was sent to *Vienna* with the character of ambassador extraordinary, to confirm it, and at his return from thence was appointed governor of *Belgrade*. He was a prudent man, of a sharp and quick wit, but full of moderation, and very fit to manage embassies, and other political affairs: undoubtedly he would have arrived to the highest posts in the *Othman* government, had he not been supposed to have

sullied the honour of the *Mahometan* law, and the *Aliidman* Empire, by his immoderate love of wine, which he learned at *Vienna* to addict himself to. For, upon this account, Sultan *Mustapha* would not suffer him to come to *Adrianople*, nor give him admittance, but ordered him to remain at his government of *Belgrade*; which sat so heavy upon his mind, that in a few months it brought him into a consumption, of which he died.

(37) *Karystiran*] a town between *Ciorlo* and *Burgaz*, near the road from *Constantinople* to *Adrianople*. There is still to be seen a very fine palace, built by Sultan *Mahomet* IV. for the conveniency of hunting; for the adjacent country is very pleasant, and fit for hunting, being full of hares, famous for their great swiftness.

was

was preparing a fleet with utmost expedition, and building new cities and castles upon the *Tanais*, *Borysthenes*, and other rivers; that these proceedings were no sign of peace, but it was rather to be feared, that the latent flame would shortly break out with great fury and danger; that the Sultan therefore ought to take care, that while he put an end to the war with the *Germans* in the west, a new *Nemche* * *Giaur* from the north did not distress the *Othman* Empire, and bring it into great danger, since nothing could prevent the *Russians* from over-running all *Crim-Tartary* in the first campaign, before the *Turks* could come to its relief. It was necessary therefore either to have a firm peace, or immediately to declare war, lest the enemy should have time and opportunity to strengthen themselves. If the Sultan should happen to doubt of the truth of this report, he should send a trusty officer, who might be an eye-witness of what was transacted, and might inform the Sultan of all particulars.

XCV. The Sultan, unknown to the Vizir, sends his master of horse, *Kybleli Ogli* (38), son to the Vizir's sister, into *Crim-Tartary*, with orders strictly to examine the conduct of the *Russians*, and immediately return, without informing any person of the occasion of his journey. *Kybleli Ogli*, having received this command, prepares for his journey; but before his departure, secretly goes to his uncle, and acquaints him with the Sultan's commission. The Vizir, lest this spark should become a greater flame than what had been extinguished, directs his kinsman, at his return, to come to him before he went to the Sultan, for instructions what to say. *Kybleli Ogli* observes his advice, and at his return, before he waits upon the Sultan, goes to the Vizir in disguise, and acquaints him, that the *Russians* had built a large fleet at two places, namely, at *Voronezhy* and *Azac*, and were every day increasing it; that they had fortified *Taganorok* in a surprizing manner, and that above twenty thousand workmen were perpetually employed in building new fortifications; that the works at *Camenzaton*, above the *Borysthenes*, were already finished, and the cataracts of that river opened, and made fit for navigation; that the *Tartars* [had nothing left secure beyond the *Cherfouensus*, and were perpetually annoyed by the incursions of the *Cossaks*; with many other particulars of the like nature, which were true; and withal, seemed to demonstrate the disinclination of the *Russians* to peace.

XCVI. The Vizir considering, that if these things were related to the Sultan, they would occasion a more dreadful war than the former, desires his kinsman to conceal them, and persuade the Sultan, that the Chan of *Crim-Tartary's* account was entirely groundless, and a mere fiction, aggravated according to the usual way of the *Tartars*; for they know they are never regarded by the *Othmans*, except in time of war, and are so accustomed to plunder, that they think they can hardly subsist without it; that the *Russians* had indeed, during the war, begun several castles; but had now discontinued their works, and were desirous of nothing so much as preserving the peace inviolate, and the commerce free between themselves and the *Turks*, for which purpose they would soon send an ambassador extraordinary to the resplendent *Port*.

XCVII. *Kybleli Ogli*, furnished with this fictitious story, the next day pretending to be just come from his journey, without having spoken to any person, goes directly to the Sultan, and tells him exactly what he had been taught. The Sultan, not suspecting his fidelity, is extremely incensed against the Chan, and in a letter severely reprimands him for his false and injurious account. The Chan, perceiving by this that the Sultan had been deceived by the artifice of *Kybleli Ogli*, answers by letter, that he never durst presume to offer falsties to his majesty; but thought that *Kybleli Ogli*, bribed by the enemy, had

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(38) *Kybleli Ogli*] He was sister's son to the Vizir *Anucje Ogli Husein Pascha*, who loved him so entirely, that, though he was young, he never ceased to importune the Sultan till

N^o. 19

he had made him *Buyuk inrabor*. I have already given a larger account of him in the body of the history.

5 R

not

The Sultan sends a person to observe the designs of the Czar.

The Vizir, by false representations, endeavours to avoid a war with Russia.

The Chan being accused of a falsity, clears himself to the Sultan.

The restless nation of the *Turks* murmur against the Sultan.

H. 1111.

A. C. 1699.

The Sultan removes to *Adrianople* to avoid the reproaches of the people.

The Chan of *Tartary* endeavours to disturb the peace between the *Turks* and the Czar of *Russia*.

† December.

H. 1111.

A. C. 1700.

not informed him of what he had seen and heard in *Crim-Tartary*, and perhaps had accused him of falshood, because he had not received such rich presents from him as he expected; for that the account which he had given his majesty in his former letters was as clear and evident as the light of the sun; that *Kybleli Oglu* would not deny what he had seen, if he should be more strictly and severely examined.

XCVIII. This answer of the Chan being delivered by unknown persons to the Sultan, as he was coming out of the *Jami*, he immediately sends for *Kybleli Oglu*, threatening him with death, if he did not frankly confess the truth. *Kybleli*, in this dangerous situation, acknowledges that every thing related by the Chan in his former letters was true; but that he had amused his majesty with a different story, by the persuasion of the Vizir, whose commands he could not refuse on account of the authority of his post, and his relation to him, and humbly begs pardon of his fault. The imposture of both being thus detected, the Sultan at first deprives *Kybleli Oglu* of his post, and banishes him from *Constantinople*; but soon after sending *Husein Aga* with a *Chatiberis*, orders him to be put to death. At the same time he removes *Husein Pasha* from the office of Vizir, and banishes him to a village near *Syllibria*, reducing him to a private station, though without meddling with his estate.

XCXIX. After his removal, the Vizirship, by a very rare example, was vacant forty days, till the arrival of *Daltaban Mustapha Pasha* governor of *Babylon*, whom the Sultan had resolved to advance to that office, on account of his subduing the *Arabs*. During this interval, *Silabdar Husein Pasha*, under the title of *Vekil*, had the administration of affairs.

C. When the new Vizir, *Daltaban Mustapha Pasha* was come, he takes upon him the post designed for him, and immediately demands a list of all the castles which the *Othman* Empire was possessed of before and after the last war with the *Germans*.

CI. Finding by this list, that a great many towns beyond the *Savo*, which he had taken from the *Germans* while he was *Basha* of *Bosnia*, were restored to them by the peace, he is extremely provoked, declaring those who had made the peace were no less *Giaurs* than the *Germans* themselves, since they had given up, without any necessity, so many places reduced to the *Othman* obedience by his own blood, and had given *Camenice*, a city designed by Sultan *Mahomet* for the bulwark of the whole Empire, and for a noble monument of the *Mahometan* religion by the erection of a magnificent *Jami*, in exchange for three towns of *Moldavia* filled with *Christians*.

CII. Not content with reproaching the peace-makers, he resolves to break it, and particularly to declare war against the *Poles*. He was in great hopes of better success than before, as well from the weakness of that kingdom, which he had sufficiently observed while *Seraskier* against them, as from the confused state of *Europe* upon the death of the King of *Spain*, on which account neither the Emperor nor any other of the *Christian* Princes could assist them.

CIII. But lest the superstitious people should think the truce violated by the *Othman* court, and for that reason fear the event, he carefully examines whether any thing had been done by the *Germans* which might give a colour to declare war.

CIV. But finding no pretence to accuse the enemy of a breach of the peace, he declares that the ambassadors of the *Othman* court had acted contrary to the *Koran* and the Sultan's command, and given more to the enemy than their orders would justify; and for that reason he resolves to put them to death.

CV. But perceiving the *Mufti's* authority would be a great obstacle in this affair, who had not only approved of the peace by his *Fetvab*, but likewise was a singular patron of the ambassadors, he determines to dispatch him privately, because he could not publicly do it out of reverence to his office. For this purpose, he pretends a strict friendship with him, often visiting him in a familiar manner, and discoursing with him concerning the state of the publick affairs;

Kybleli Oglu's fraud being detected, he is put to death, and the Vizir deprived of his post.

H. 1113.
A. C. 1731.

The Vizirship vacant.

Daltaban Mustapha Pasha made Vizir.

He is extremely incensed against the ambassadors who made the peace.

He designs to make war upon the *Poles*.

He seeks an occasion of breaking the peace.

He threatens the ambassadors, under pretence that the peace was contrary to the precept of the *Koran*. He resolves to put the *Mufti* to death.

at last he invites him to a splendid entertainment, secretly directing some of his chamberlains, that when the water was pouring out for the *Mufti* to wash his hands, they should of a sudden strangle him with a cord.

CVI. But the very thing which the *Vizir* had contrived for the destruction of the *Mufti*, by his imprudence, turns to his own ruin. For having discovered the secret to his *Kiebaia*, *Ibrahim Aga* (39), the latter, to ingratiate himself with the *Mufti*, immediately goes with the *Casab bashi* (40), *Cara Mehemed Aga* (41), and informs him of the danger to which he was exposed. Upon this the *Mufti* pretending sickness, throws himself upon his bed, and in a faint voice answers the *Vizir*, who was come (42) to invite him to the feast, that he was extremely sorry his sudden indisposition should prevent his coming; but he would send his son, *Nakyb Effendi*, to supply the place of his sick father.

CVII. When the *Vizir* was gone, the *Mufti* sends for the *Reis Effendi*, *Rami Mehemed Pasha* (43), and *Maurocordatus*, and acquaints them with the *Vizir's* design of rebellion.

His design being discovered, the *Mufti* escapes the danger.

The *Mufti* accuses the *Vizir* to the Sultan design of rebellion.

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(39) *Ibrahim Aga*] After this treachery to his master, and his death, he was, through the *Mufti's* application, made *Basha* of *Thessalonica*; and, on account of his lameness, named *Topal Ibrahim Pasha*, i. e. *Ibrahim Pasha the Lame*. But he did not long enjoy the reward of his perfidiousness; for, a few months after, he fell ill at *Thessalonica*, and, as 'tis said, in the midst of horrible torments, perpetually calling upon the name of his master, and bellowing like a bull, he dismissed his soul to the mansions prepared by *Mahomet*.

(40) *Casab bashi*] The chief butcher, whose business it is to take care that none but found and fresh meat be brought into the shops, and not be sold above the stated price. There is another of the same name employed in time of war to buy cattle for the army, of whom an account has been given in a former note.

(41) *Cara Mehemed Aga*] He was named *Cara* on account of the blackness of his complexion, which I have several times observed to be a name common among the *Turks*. He was the richest *Turk* in his time, so that he often could lend five hundred or a thousand purses, at three days notice, to *Constantine Brancovan*, whose great dependant he was whenever he had occasion. He met with the same end, as generally attends all those that have enriched themselves in the *Turks* service: for under *Damad Hasan Pasha*, being falsely accused, he was turned out of his place, thrown into prison, and stripped of all the riches and treasures he had amassed.

(42) was come] As the *Vizir* and *Mufti* both hold the highest degree in their respective orders, they never meet without great previous ceremonies; for the *Mufti*, before he goes to visit the *Vizir*, sends his *Talkbyshchi*, which he has peculiar to himself, as well as the *Vizir*, to enquire whether he is at home? and to let him know he intends to visit him. The *Vizir*, on the other hand, sends with his *Talkbyshchi* the *Reis Effendi*,

to meet the *Mufti* as far as his house, who going before, the *Mufti* follows in his chariot; (for he never rides on horseback in the city, and but seldom in the country.) When he arrives at the *Vizir's* palace, the *Kietchudabeg* and *Chanish bashi* meet him at the gate, and lead him under the arms as far as the stair-case. The *Vizir* himself meets him upon the first step, and after the usual salutations, they both go up stairs, the *Vizir* going first. The *Mufti*, in the meantime, with a grave countenance, and with both his hands upon his breast, blesses the people on both sides with the customary form used among the *Mahometans*, *Selamin aleikium*, i. e. *Peace be with you*; at which they bow the head. When they come into the room, they both sit down, the *Vizir* on the left hand, as the most honourable place, and the *Mufti* on the right, and conclude the visit with the same ceremonies.

(43) *Rami Mehemed*] He was born at *Constantinople*, in the suburbs of *Eyub*, of parents of mean condition, and there applying himself to learning and poetry, he had the name of *Rami* conferred upon him by the academy of poetry: for it is customary among the masters of that art, as soon as their scholars are able to make verses, to give them new names, which they retain to their death. When he had finished the course of his studies, fortune having denied him means of rising higher, he frequented taverns; and as he was very handsome, and had a harmonious voice, and besides understood *masick*, he got a pretty good livelihood there, considering his condition. He was removed from this way of life by the famous poet, *Naki Effendi*, secretary to the *Musabib Divan*, by whose good instructions he so improved, that though he had no place at court, because all his friends were dead, yet he passed among the great men for a good writer. At last, *Elmas Mehemed Pasha* made him *Mukabelesi*, and *Husein Pasha* appointed him *Reis Effendi*, in which office he displayed his abilities, while he had jointly

design against them. Having maturely considered the affair, this triumvirate resolve to go to the Sultan, and by a feigned or real accusation of the Vizir, procure him to be removed from his post, and, if possible, put to death. The Musti undertakes this province, and the next day waits upon the Sultan, informing him, that the Vizir was engaged in some new designs destructive to the whole Othman Empire; that he had secretly listed a very numerous army, made his dependants officers in it, and ordered them to excite the soldiers to demand publickly the rapture of the peace, and depose the Sultan, if he would not gratify the army's desires.

The credulous Sultan puts the Vizir to death without examining his cause: Rami Pascha advised in his room. The Vizir's death the occasion of a dreadful rebellion.

CVIII. The Sultan readily believing what the Musti, for whom he had a great esteem, had falsely charged upon the Vizir, and being extremely incensed against him, orders him to be sent for by *Baltajilar Kiebahajafi*, and severely reproaches him; and when he attempted to excuse himself, commands him to be put to death, advancing in his room *Rami Mehemed Pascha*, who, from *Reis Effendi*, a few days before, had been made *Cubbe Vizir*.

CIX. But from the Vizir's blood, as from a copious fountain, torrents of human blood flowed. The *Ulema*, citizens and soldiers at *Constantinople*, hearing what had happened at *Adrianople*, begin to complain openly as well as privately of the present administration, declaring that all things were now managed with confusion; that the new Vizir, the Musti, and other great officers, were traitors; and that their whole conduct tended to the ruin of the Empire; that for this purpose, they had persuaded the Sultan to put to death *Daltaban Mustapha Pascha*, one of the greatest heroes of the age, who, supposing he had been guilty of some misconduct, should rather have been banished, than he might on occasion, like a cooped lion, be let loose upon an enemy. But that they being jealous of this, would not suffer him to live, who had twice signalized his warlike abilities against the *Germans* and *Arabs*; and by their management, had raised *Rami Mehemed Pascha* to the Vizirship, a good scribe indeed, and a man of great learning, but unfit for that office; that this was the very reason of persuading the Sultan to leave his capital, the great bulwark of the Empire, reside at *Adrianople*, and wander in the woods; that *Constantinople* was drained, and *Adrianople* rendered famous; and whilst the inhabitants of the former, by the absence of the court and the tyranny of the governors, was reduced to the lowest poverty; the *Adrianopolitans*, now grown rich and haughty, looked with contempt upon the posterity of so

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jointly, with *Mauveordatus*, the management of the peace. At his return from that embassy, he came to be in great esteem with the Sultan, and had the commendation from him of having well and skilfully discharged his commission. When *Daltaban* endeavoured to put him to death, he not only secured himself by his own and the Musti's artifices, but also much bettered his condition with the spoils of his enemy. Being a second time sentenced to punishment by the rebels, he saved himself by running away, and lay concealed some time at *Constantinople* among the women. The rebellion being quelled, he appeared again in public under the Vizirship of *Hasan Pascha*, and was first made *Basha* of *Egypt*, the richest Pashalic in the whole Othman Empire, and from thence removed to the government of *Cyprus*, where those persons are commonly sent whom the court has a mind to fend out of the way without blood: but the goodness of his constitution being proof too long against the badness of the air, the *Capuji bashi* was sent with a *Chatifberis* to

put him to death. However, it was not his fate to die a violent death; for after he had taken the *Abdest*, he expired as he was repeating the prayers commonly said among the *Turks*, by persons condemned to death. The superstitious people, who were of his party, believe that an angel was sent from heaven to receive his soul, and had prevented the injustice of his enemies: but it seems more probable, that he was overpowered and suffocated with fear, and died of a palpitation of heart; for though he outdid all the *Turkish* writers in quickness of wit and elegance of expression, yet he was thought to be weak, fearful, and of an effeminate mind. It has been observed, that he was but a mere tool to *Mauveordatus*, by whose secret persuasion and advice he did many things; which *Mauveordatus*, as being a Christian, could not propose in publick; and therefore many things are falsely ascribed to his skill and penetration, which none but a man of *Mauveordatus's* discernment and capacity could have invented.

many Othman heroes; that to disgrace the city of *Constantinople* the more, there was appointed for *Caimacan*, *Kioprili Abdullah Pascha* (44), a youth of eighteen years, who, except the glory of his father, had nothing to recommend him but his marriage with the Musti's daughter, as if no bounds could be fixed to the Musti's will, who had already exceeded the limits of his office, and wanted but little of engrossing, with his family, the whole Othman Empire; that all the best and noblest *Mollabships* were filled by his young sons, or by those who could purchase them; for his house was become the office of avarice, where justice and ecclesiastical dignities were sold to the rich, and not disposed of to men of integrity and learning. These, and other things, they uttered publickly with great assurance, and gave sufficient marks of their readiness to revolt; but a leader and a proper occasion were wanting: the last is soon given them by the *Caimacan*, *Kioprili Abdullah Pascha* himself.

CX. For when he, about the end of the month *Maharem*, of the year 1114, with the *Tefterdar* of *Istambol*, distributed the pay to the *Janizaries*, the *Jebeji*, who are next in order to the *Janizaries*, go three or four times to the gates of the *Caimacan* and *Tefterdar*, desiring also to be paid; but the *Caimacan* putting them off from day to day, they send about forty of their companions to him, as he is hearing the complaints of the people in the *Divan*, and by an *Arzubah*, humbly beseech him to grant them their pay in their turn. Having read this petition, his youthful blood is fired, and reproaching the *Jebeji* in very severe and dishonourable terms, bids them wait, because there was no money in the treasury. They, provoked at this treatment, go out of the *Divan*; but upon the very stairs return the *Caimacan's* reproaches with greater sharpness, and so loud, that the by-standers could hear almost every word. The *Caimacan*, informed of this, commands the *Mubzuri* (45), immediately to follow and seize them, and carry them to their chief officer, that they might be put to death: for it is capital among the *Turks* to contradict or use reproachful terms to any judge, especially to the *Caimacan*, who is supposed to be the Sultan's vicegerent. The *Mubzurs* using force, are resisted by the *Jebeji*, who raise a tumult in the street, and finding themselves over-powered by numbers, in the usual phrase of the soldiers, [*yoldash yokmidur?* are no companions at hand?] call out for assistance.

The sedition, long concealed, at last breaks out into open rebellion.

H. 1114.

A. C. 1702.

CXI. The *Jebeji*, at this cry, flock together from all parts; rescue their fellows from the *Mubzurs*, drive away the officers of justice, and return triumphantly to their quarters. There they give a particular account to the rest of their body of what they had done, heard, said, and suffered; adding, it was in vain to wait for their pay, while the distribution was in the hands of a youth, whose brains were turned by his high and undeserved dignity.

The Jebeji first raised the sedition.

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(44) *Kioprili Abdullah*] The son of *Kioprili Mustapha Pascha*, who was slain at the battle of *Salancamen* in 1691. Having married the Musti's daughter, he was raised before the usual time to the office of *Cubbe Vizir*, and afterwards to that of *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, which, next to the Prime Vizir, is accounted one of the highest dignities in the Othman Empire: but, by his youthful rashness, he did many things amiss, and behaved haughtily, which proved the cause, or at least the occasion, of Sultan *Mustapha's* being deposed. But afterwards, growing wiser with age, he acted with more moderation, and thereby obtained not only pardon for his past faults, but also was promoted by the present Sultan to the Pashalic

of *Sebastia*, after having quelled a rebellion.

(45) *Mubzur*] Their name is derived from *ibzar*, to bring, because their business is to guard the Vizir's palace; to bring the guilty, and if any are to be confined, to keep them till the next *Divan*. No certain *Oda* of the *Janizaries* is set apart for that business, but if any *Coorbaji** is raised to *Mubzur agalyk*, the regiment he commands does the office of the *Mubzuri*: but if he is made *Caimacan* of *Constantinople* in the Sultan's absence, another *Oda* of *Janizaries* is chosen for that business. To put malefactors to death, there is a select body taken out of the *Mubzuri*, who, from the *Falanga*, or instrument they use in beheading, are called *Falangaji*.

Carahish, at the head of the rebels, attacks the Caimacan.

CXII. Their report is confirmed by *Carahish Mehemed*, a man of great boldness, and fond of changes in the government, and the whole assembly excited by him to revenge the injury upon the *Caimacan*. This is readily agreed to by the rest of the *Jebeji*, who immediately take arms, and run to the *Caimacan's* palace. The *Caimacan*, informed of this affair, escapes through a back-door, and so saves himself, but not the Sultan, nor the Empire, from the danger.

The *Jebeji* joined by the Janizaries and *Ulema*.

CXIII. For after his escape, the *Jebeji* running every where in parties, rouse the Janizaries and *Ulema* with the repetition of their former complaints of the ill administration of affairs. The city being filled with tumults, the next day the leaders of the sedition meet in the *Atmeidan* (46), and resolve either to perish, or destroy the Vizir, Musti, and other oppressors of the people, confirming their resolution by an oath.

Hasan Pasha made *Caimacan* by the conspirators, who declare their own Musti and Vizir.

CXIV. In this assembly, *Firari Hasan Pasha* offers to be their leader, and upon the removal of *Kioprili Abdullab Pasha*, is appointed *Caimacan* by the conspirators. The *Nakib Kiazibi Mehemed Effendi* (47), assumes the office of Musti, and under that title gives the *Fetvab*. Another person of no note, *Dorojan Ahmed Pasha*, who having been recalled from his Pashalic, lived privately at *Constantinople*, is made Vizir by the rebels. *Kulchiebaia Chalyk* Ahmed Aga*, is appointed *Janizar Agasi*, and *Diw Ali Aga* (48), who had been deprived of the post of *Kulchiebaia*, is restored to that office.

They order the gates of the city to be shut.

CXV. By their advice, the conspirators shut the gates of *Constantinople*, to prevent any person from informing the Sultan of their designs, suffer no man to go out of the city, unless sent by themselves; plunder the magazines of arms kept there, to be employed in war, and arm themselves against the Empire.

The Sultan sends an ambassador to the rebels.

CXVI. The Sultan hearing of this, sends *Mustapha Effendi* (49), the chief secretary, as ambassador to the people of *Constantinople*, to enquire the reason of so great a rebellion in the royal city, and to promise that the Sultan would grant all their desires.

He is ill treated by the rebels.

CXVII. But when he came to the city on the eighth day of the sedition, the guard at the gate force him from his horse, and carry him bound to the *Atmeidan*, where the chiefs of the rebels had pitched their tents. The people immediately cry out, he is come as a spy, and rushing upon him before their leaders could examine him, or restrain their violence, beat him almost to death, and endeavour, by torture, to oblige him to confess what the Sultan was doing at *Adrianople*. But their outrage, and his own fears, had so taken away his senses

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(46) *Atmeidan*] The Hippodrome, built by the Emperor *Justinian*, near *St. Sophia*, and running along the court of the *Janis Sultan Ahmed*. It is at this day put to its original use, that is, to air and exercise the Sultan's horses: but sometimes it serves for a rendezvous to rebels.

(47) *Kiazibi Mehemed Effendi*] He was of the race of the *Emirs*, and had formerly, under Sultan *Mahomet IV.* been raised to the dignity of Musti. The name of *Kiazibi*, that is, *Lyar*, was given him, because he was thought to be much given to lying; for it is usual among the learned in *Turkey*, (as they have no family-name, and many of them have frequently the same name) to distinguish one another by such epithets. Thus there was at the same time another *Salik Mehemed Effendi*, i. e. *Mehemed Effendi the just*, who was raised in his old age by the present Sultan to the dignity of Musti,

but was soon after deposed, because at the burial of the Sultan's son, instead of *Jennaaze Namazi*, or the burial-prayers, he had read *Beiram Namaz*.

(48) *Diw Ali Aga*] From a common Janizary, he passed through the several degrees to the dignity of *Kulchiebaia*; but being afterwards turned out, he lived a private life at *Constantinople*. When the sedition was appeased, Sultan *Ahmed* pursuing all the offenders, he was the only one that escaped, and fled, as was reported, to *Jezaire*, (the *Agiers* of the Europeans;) so that he could never be found.

(49) *Mustapha Effendi*] He was at first, under *Anuce Oglu Hussein Pasha*, the *Kiachink* Tesbkieresi*, and afterwards the *Buyuk Tesbkieresi*. After the rebellion was quelled, he was sent with *Taiacadin*, or the present Sultan's nurse, to *Mecca*; but perished by shipwreck before he arrived at *Alexandria*.

and

and speech, that he could not explain what he was commanded to discover; and being ready to expire, was obliged to be carried to a neighbouring house.

CXVIII. This incensing them more against the Sultan, they prepare an army with great eagerness, and assembling above fifty thousand soldiers on the nineteenth day, leave the city, and encamp first near *Daud Pasha*, resolving, if the *Musulmans* at *Adrianople* should dare to oppose them, utterly to destroy that city, as the rival of the capital. With this resolution, the sixth day after their departure from *Constantinople* they come to *Hapsa*, a town not far from *Adrianople*, and from thence inform the Sultan, that they had not conspired against him, but the evil ministers of the publick affairs, nor taken arms to fight against *Musulmans*, but merely to oblige those who, with an infidel mind, had sold the security of the Empire to the enemies, to submit to trial before the sacred and divine judgment of the *Koran*. But if the Sultan would use the sword in an affair which ought to be tried in a judicial way, they would repel force with force, and he would be accountable to God for the needless effusion of *Musulman* blood. They likewise privately warn the inhabitants of *Adrianople*, not to appear in arms, if they would save themselves from being plundered, since they were not come to fight with their brethren, but to judge the betrayers and oppressors of the *Othman Empire* according to the law of the *Koran*, and punish them according to their deserts.

The rebels march from *Constantinople* to *Adrianople*.

CXIX. The Sultan, informed of this by his *Chaushi**, assembles his *European* troops with the utmost expedition, and orders them to march under the conduct of the Vizir, *Rami Mehemed Pasha*, against the rebels. For their greater encouragement the Musti, *Feizullah Effendi* (50), by his *Fetvab*, declares the sedition

The Sultan marches with his troops against the rebels.

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(50) *Feizullah Effendi*] He was born at *Van*, on the confines of *Persia*, and descended of the *Emir* race. In the time of Sultan *Mahomet IV.* when *Maderis*, or master of the *Suleimani-school*, he was appointed *Shehzade Hoje*, or preceptor to *Mustapha* and *Ahmed*, the Sultan's sons; and after having often changed, contrary to custom, his ecclesiastical employments, was raised to the dignity of *Musti*, in which he continued seven years; a thing unheard-of among the *Turks*. He was a man of no great learning, and more crafty than wise. He had such an ascendancy over the Sultan, which some imputed to magic, that the Sultan would neither do nor undertake any thing without first consulting him, and could refuse him nothing. He used in his speech the *Persian* pronunciation, which made the people give him the name of *Kyzil bashi*. So covetous was he, that he not only took presents with both hands, and if none were given him, would ask for some; but also did, for money, give any *Fetvab* that was desired, right or wrong. He had four sons, who relying on their father's power, committed all kinds of disorders: the eldest, whom he had by the famous *Vanli Effendi's* daughter, he constituted *Nakyb*. On the other three, though they were but young, he conferred very honourable as well as profitable *Mollaships*; and, by his too great indulgence to them, drew upon himself the indignation not only of the *Ulema*, but also of the whole people. One of these, who was *Mollab* of *Kudisberif*, or

Jerusalem, did, by his arrogance, cause so much uneasiness to *Cberkies* Mehemed*, governor of that city, that he was forced to leave *Jerusalem*, and retire to *Gaza*. After his departure, the *Mollab* being disturbed in the night with the howling of dogs, and in the day with the buzzing of flies, he ordered the inhabitants to kill all their dogs, and to bring him daily a certain number of dead flies to the court. This being both disagreeable to the people, and also contrary to the law of the *Koran*, which forbids the killing of dogs, and other domestic creatures, except such as are fit for food, they privately sent a deputation to *Gaza* with an *Arzmaszar* to their *Pasha*, to let him know what burdens were imposed upon them. *Cberkies* Mehemed*, who certainly excelled all the Barbarians in justice and piety, (if any such thing can be said of *Mahometans*) not being able to believe that so great a crime should be committed by a *Mollab*, sends a trusty person to *Jerusalem* to see whether it was true. When the man came there, he found the whole city in an uproar, and all the inhabitants, having left their employments, were busy in catching flies, and stringing them on a long thread, that they might be told with more ease: so, going back, he gives his master a faithful account of what he had seen and heard. The thing therefore being unquestionably true, *Cberkies**, in order to try first to accommodate the matter in an amicable way, exhorts the *Mollab* by letter not to lay such heavy and useless burdens on the Sultan's subjects;

tionous Infidels and Giaurs, and promises those who should die fighting valiantly against them the crown of martyrdom.

The Sultan's troops seeing the *Koran*, join the rebels.

CXX. But when both armies were in sight, *Nakyb Effendi*, who acted as Mufti among the conspirators, holds up the great volume of the *Koran* to the Sultan's forces, and desires them to consider, "that they are brethren of the same religion, the same blood, and subjects of the same Empire; that the people of *Constantinople* have not taken arms to overturn the Empire, or attempt any thing contrary to the sacred law of the *Koran*, but to punish infidels and contemners of the law agreeably to its precepts. And if they endeavour to oppose so pious a design, they will draw upon themselves not only the indignation of God, but likewise the severest punishments." The ardor of the Sultan's troops is abated by this speech, which so affects them, that, abandoning the Vizir, they all join the rebels, and salute them as brethren.

The Vizir, abandoned by his troops, escapes in disguise.

CXXI. The Vizir, in this desperate state, flies with two servants in disguise to *Varna*, and from thence concealing himself, (as some say) among the wo-

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subjects; not to disgrace, by so great a crime, the prophet's laws, for the maintenance whereof he resided at *Jerusalem*; nor expose both his own and his father's honour to contempt; that he was afraid, if the complaints of the inhabitants came to the Sultan's ears, he would incur his utmost indignation. The *Mollab* answered, he might indeed alledge the law of the *Koran*, and lay down moral precepts whilst he lived at *Gaza*, where he was free from flies, and enjoyed profound quiet whenever he pleased; but if he was to live at *Jerusalem*, where the dogs would break his rest in the night, and the flies hinder him in the day, from hearing in court the complaints of the parties, he would be of another mind. *Cberkies* Mehemed Pasha*, upon the receipt of this answer, perceiving the man was incorrigible, and not daring, on account of his father's power, to oppose him, he sends the Mufti an account of the whole matter, with petitions from the inhabitants of *Jerusalem* and himself, and the *Mollab's* letters, and desires him, by his paternal authority, to restrain his son's outrageous proceedings. But the means by which he sought another's reformation, had like to prove his own ruin. For the Mufti, who, by reason of his unheard-of indulgence to his sons, may justly be called the *Turkish Eli*, as soon as he had received the letters, falls into a violent passion, not with his son, but with *Cberkies* Mehemed*, and going directly to the Sultan, loads the innocent governor of *Jerusalem* with so many calumnies, that the Sultan immediately dispatched a *Capuji bashi* with a *Cbatisherif* to bring his head. But the *Capuji bashi* being a prudent man, and a secret friend to the *Basha*, pretends to go, but returns privately to *Constantinople*, and going to the Vizir, namely, *Amuce Ogi Hussein Pasha*, communicates to him the order he had received, and asks him what he must do

Husein Pasha, who had already heard something of *Kudsheriff Mollab's* ill behaviour, easily guessed by whose contrivance that attempt was made upon the life of *Cberkies* Mehemed*, and so goes without delay to Sultan *Mustapha*, tells him he had heard of such an order against *Cberkies* Mehemed*, and that he wondered at it, because he knew him to be a very faithful and honest man. The Sultan thereupon lets the Vizir know what the Mufti had told him, and that, says he, is the reason why I have sent a *Cbatisherif* to put him to death. The Vizir refused all the Mufti's calumnies, and gave the Sultan a true account of his son's whole conduct at *Jerusalem*; whereupon the Sultan said he was sorry he had been drawn in by the misrepresentations of others, to order so good a man to be put to death without cause; but he saw no way of recalling the order, because he thought the *Capuji bashi* was now gone so far, that no messenger could overtake him. We must try some way or other, says the Vizir, lest through our negligence the guilt of innocent blood fall upon our heads; for I believe that Providence will stop the *Capuji bashi* in the way, and afford us an opportunity of recalling him. Having, by this discourse, obtained leave from the Sultan to recall the *Cbatisherif*, he returns home, and orders the *Capuji bashi* to pass over in the night-time into *Asia*, and begin his journey, that he might at least appear to have complied with the Sultan's command. The next day he dispatches another *Capuji bashi* with a *Ferman* to overtake the other, and bring him back. And thus the Vizir saved the man by a commendable subtilty, whom the Mufti by a horrible wickedness was resolved to destroy. Many other such villanies were committed by the Mufti's sons, which to relate would be tedious perhaps as well to the reader, as to my self.

men of a certain *Araijzade*, goes to *Constantinople*, and conceals himself for some time in the suburb of *Eyub*, where he had built himself an house.

CXXII. The rebels, on the other hand, having surmounted this obstacle, encamp under the city, at a place called *Solakchesbemesi** (51), and from thence send messengers to the Sultan to demand the Vizir, the Mufti, with his sons, and *Maurocordatus*.

The rebels demand of the Sultan two Mussulmans and one Christian to be put to death. The Sultan delivers up the Mufti.

CXXIII. The Sultan, who had foreseen this, had given the Mufti, for whom he had a great esteem, an opportunity two days before of escaping; but sent several *Bostanji's* to attend him, with design to stop his flight, if the danger increased. Finding therefore the rebels more obstinate in their demands, he immediately brings him back to *Adrianople* by means of the *Bostanji's*, and delivers him up with his two sons.

The rebels put him to a cruel death.

CXXIV. The rebels, as soon as they had him in their power, put him to the most exquisite torture; six nails into his knees, and, by other horrid cruelties, endeavour to make him discover the immense treasures he was reported to have amassed. Being a man of great spirit, he bears all with singular patience, and does not utter one word, except in desiring vengeance from God upon so impious and ungrateful a people. Exhausted with so many torments, he is at last put to death, and his body (52) thrown into the river, as if he had been an infidel, and unworthy of burial.

CXXV. The Sultan perceiving from these circumstances, that the people were more exasperated against him than he had imagined, sends to *Dorojan, Ahmed Pasha* (53), appointed Vizir by the rebels, the seal of the Vizirship, and confirms the other officers chosen by them in their posts, promising to grant all their demands. He informs them, that the Vizir and *Maurocordatus* were fled, and assures them he would deliver them up as soon as they were taken.

The Sultan confirms the rebel Vizir in his post.

CXXVI. But they growing more presumptuous by the Sultan's indulgence, concert measures to depose him; for which purpose they send a letter to Sultan *Ahmed*, brother of *Mustapha*, desiring him, if possible, to come to the army,

They send for Ahmed, the Sultan's brother.

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(51) *Solakchesbemesi** The fountain of *Solak*, in the middle of a field, an Italian mile from *Adrianople*, on the road to *Constantinople*; so called, either because the builder of it was of the order of the *Solaki*, or else because he had lost a hand.

(52) his body] As the laws of the *Koran*, and the constitutions of the *Othman* Empire, forbid the putting any *Mollab*, much less a Mufti, to death (for the highest punishment of the whole order of the *Ulema*, and of the *Cadi's*, is banishment) the rebels could never have excused the Mufti's death, but by declaring he was a *Giaur*, that is, an *Infidel*. And to render that pretence the more probable among the people, they would not suffer him to be buried with the rest of the *Musulmans*, after the *Mabometan* manner, but procured a *Greek* priest to put him into the ground. This man got some persons to drag him along, whilst himself walked before, singing, instead of the burial hymn, these words; *ενας εις το ποταμο ει, ονδρε ει upon thy soul*; and at last flung it into the river. But before he committed his body to the water, he is reported to have perfumed it with frankincense, repeating these two *Turkish* verses:

Ne Sizinder, ne bizinder,
Dostogru jehennem inder,
i. e.

Neither yours nor ours,
He is gone directly to hell.

Which saying so pleased the *Turks*, that they not only praised the man's ingenuity, but also rewarded him for it.

(53) *Dorojan Ahmed*] He was formerly called *Damad* (son-in-law) *Ahmed Pasha*, because he had married the sister of the Vizir, *Amuce Ogi Hussein Pasha*, and granddaughter of *Kioprili Mustapha Pasha*, the handsomest woman in her time, but so lascivious, that she always kept many gallants, especially *Franks*. But he was afterwards called *Dorojan* by the rebels, because he was like *Dorosbenko*, Hetman of the *Cosacs*, whose history I have related: for that Hetman was commonly named *Dorosban* by the *Turks*. Under the Vizirship of *Husein Pasha*, he was governor of *Ainchaht*, or *Naupactum*; but being turned out by *Daltaban*, he lived a private life at *Constantinople*. He was afterwards banished to *Naupactum*, where he died of grief in a few months. He left but one young son, who, as he was one day playing alone in his garden, fell into a well, and was drowned.

since the conspirators scrupled to enter the Imperial palace with an armed force; and if he could come out either with or without his brother's leave, the army would immediately proclaim him Emperor. Sultan *Mustapha* intercepting this message, continues long in suspense whether he should kill his brother, or voluntarily resign the throne to him. Many of his domestic officers advise the fratricide, alledging the conspirators would be obliged to confirm him in the throne, if there were no other heirs to the Empire: but the Sultan abhors such a deed, and resolves to commit himself to the divine Providence.

Abmed first saluted Sultan by his brother, an unusual instance.

CXXVII. He goes therefore to his brother, and, embracing him with great affection, informs him that he was universally desired to fill the throne, and first salutes him Sultan. At his departure, he speaks to him as follows: "Remember, brother, that while I was on the throne, you enjoyed the utmost liberty; I desire you will allow me the same. Moreover, think that you justly indeed ascend this throne, as having been possessed by your father and brother; but that the instruments of your advancement are treacherous rebels, whom, if you suffer to escape with impunity, they will quickly treat you as they do me at present."

Sultan Mustapha deposed.

CXXVIII. Having said this, he retires to the same chamber in which he had kept his brother, where, six months after his deposition, having contracted a distemper through melancholy, he departs to the eternal palaces prepared for him by *Mahomet*. He reigned eight years and some months.

His character and person.

CXXIX. He was a Sultan of great expectations in the beginning of his reign; but fortune afterwards blasted them. He was happier in the first years of his Empire than in the latter. He had greater advantages from nature than both his predecessors; for he was of a mature judgment, great application and sobriety; neither prodigal nor avaricious in collecting and distributing the publick monies; just, a good archer and horseman, and very devout in his religion. He gained great reputation by the peace of *Carlovitz*, which having been in vain wished and attempted by his father and uncles, he settled, by wonderfully reconciling all parties. He was of a moderate size, his face round, and beautified with red and white; his beard red, thin, and not long; his nose short, and a little turned up; his eyes blue, and his eye-brows thin and yellow. In the spring he used to have spots break out in his face, which disappeared again in the winter. He left no son alive, though he had been father of several. He was particularly fond of *Ibrahim* (54), son of his uncle *Abmed*, whom he always carried with him, and was said to design for his successor, in case he died without issue.

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(54) *Ibrahim*] He was a hopeful and good-natured Prince. After I left *Constantinople*, I heard he died there.

The End of the Reign of MUSTAPHA II.

The



The REIGN of

AHMED III, Son of MAHOMET IV.

Twenty-third EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK IV. CHAP. V.

I. SULTAN *Mustapha* being deposed, his brother *Abmed* ascends the throne, who confirms in their posts the *Vizir*, *Dorojan Ahmed Pascha*, the *Caimacan*, *Virari Hasan Pascha*, the *Janizar-Aga* (1) *Chalyk * Ahmed*, and the rest upon whom the seditious had conferred offices; appoints the *Nakyb*, whom the rebels had brought with them, *Kiazibi Mehemed Effendi*, *Mutiri*; and by this means causes the conspirators to lay aside all suspicion of him, and even to imagine, that by their rebellion they had gained great favour with the new Sultan.

Sultan Ahmed ascends the throne, and confirms the conspirators in their offices.

II. And that he might amuse them the more, and seem to do every thing agreeably to their will, after he had staid at *Adrianople* but twenty days, he returns in *September* to *Constantinople*, where he amply distributes the *Bachbesh* which is wont to be given to the soldiers in the beginning of a reign. Having thus appeased the fury of the rebels, he concert measures for punishing them with *Silabdar Hasan Pascha* (2), his sister's husband, whom, upon the advancement

He concert measures for punishing them.

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(1) *Chalyk * Ahmed*] From a common *Janizary* in the reign of Sultan *Mustapha*, he had passed through all the degrees of that military order, and had been made *Kalkibaisi*; but being afterwards turned out, he lived in a private manner at *Constantinople*. Upon the breaking out of the rebellion, being chosen *Janizar-agasi* by the conspirators, he took great care to provide for the safety of the inhabitants, by a laudable, or rather an admirable prudence. For during the nineteen days *Constantinople* was shut up, not one of the inhabitants received the least damage from so great a rabble of desperate and outrageous fellows. The third day after the beginning of the troubles, observing that the merchants and tradesmen, remembering the great losses they had suffered in former rebellions, kept within-doors, and durst not come into the market, he strictly commanded, upon severe penalties, that no one should be afraid, but all keep in their shops, and merchandize as before; and that he would

be answerable for it, that not a man should lose so much as the value of an egg. He punctually performed what he had promised, and preserved the inhabitants in such safety, that among so many furious soldiers, that breathed nothing but blood and slaughter, they walked about safely, as if the seditious had been in another, and not in their own city. He did also something much more wonderful in his march to *Adrianople*, for he kept the confused mob he headed under such a strict discipline, that no person could complain of having had even a fowl stolen, or taken by force, by any of the soldiers; and whether such a thing can easily be effected, even in a regular and well-disciplined army, let knowing persons judge. Upon these accounts, when he was, by the Sultan's order, thrown into the sea of *Marmora*, almost all *Constantinople* bewailed his sad fate.

(2) *Silabdar Hasan*] A native of *Morea*, who being in his youth taken into the Sultan's

nment of *Firari Hasan Pasha* to the post of *Testerdar*, he had made *Caimacan*. But because it appeared very hazardous to seize them all at once, now assembled at *Constantinople*, and so drag them to punishment, he resolves, upon various pretences, to disperse them into the several provinces of the Empire.

By various arts and pretences he at last puts them all to death.

III He therefore first dispatches the leader of the whole rebellion, *Carakash Mehemed*, to *Kiabe Sherif* with a *Castan* and sword, the usual presents of a new Sultan; but orders, that when he is come to *Aleppo*, he should be put to death by another *Capuji bashi*. He grants *Chalyk* Ahmed*, Aga of the Janizaries, the honour of three horse-tails, and on the third day after, under pretence of delivering him the seal of the Vizirship, sends for him in great pomp to the palace, from whence, being expected by all to return with the office of Vizir, he is conveyed through another gate towards the sea, put on board a galley, and ordered to be thrown into the *Propontis*. A few days after, he deprives the Vizir, *Dorajan Ahmed Pasha*, of his post; but it being universally known, that he had not fought that dignity, but been obliged by the rebels to take it upon him, his life is spared, and he is banished to *Enibacht*.

Hasan Pasha succeeds to the post of Vizir.

IV. He is succeeded about the end of *October* by the *Caimacan, Silahdar Hasan Pasha*, by whose command, within five months, above fourteen thousand private soldiers, who had been privy to and agents in the rebellion, besides *Bashas* and other officers of the army, are drowned by night in the *Bosphorus*. Only two persons have the good fortune to escape, *Diw Aliaga*, the *Kulkichaina*, and *Firari Hasan Pasha*. The former, foreseeing the danger, flies in disguise from *Constantinople*, and never after could be discovered, though carefully sought for. As to the latter, because from his interest with the people, some commotions might arise, if he should be treated with severity, the Sultan sends him out of the city, under the character of *Seraskier of Babadaghy*; but orders him, in his journey, to go to *Sophia* with the post of *Beglerbeg of Rumelia*; and some years after, when the seeds of sedition were extinguished, having drawn him to *Constantinople* in the Vizirship of *Choryli* Ali Pasha*, by the promise of conferring upon him that dignity, the Sultan commands him to be put on board a galley, and thrown into the *Propontis*.

Othman Capudan Pasha sent with a fleet into the Palus Maotis.

V. In the mean time *Hasan Pasha* prefers his clients to the places of those who had been put to death, and appoints *Abaza Osman Pasha (3)*, admiral, commanding

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Sultan's palace in Sultan *Mahomet's* reign, was at length made *Silahdar*, which title he afterwards retained. Being dismissed from that office with three *Tugs*, after the death of *Mujahid Pasha*, he married his widow, the famous *Chatije*, Sultan *Mustapha's* sister, who, through her interest with her brothers, Sultan *Mustapha* and Sultan *Ahmed*, obtained not only that he should continue almost always in the *Rekiab Caimacan*ship, or some other *Pashalic* near *Constantinople*, but also should be daily loaded with new favours. She had so much interest with her brothers, that when her husband was sent to *Nicomedia*, she got leave to accompany him thither, though it had never been known before, that a Sultan's daughter or sister went so much as half a mile along with her husband out of the city. When he was deprived of the dignity of Vizir, which was not for any crime but only occasioned by the clamours of the people, who required that *Calaily Ahmed Pasha* should be made Vizir, he was sent to the *Pashalic*

of *Egypt*, as the richest in the whole *Othman* Empire; from whence being some years after removed to the government of *Tripoli* in *Syria*, he died there.

(3) *Abaza Osman* a man of great learning and prudence among the *Turks*. Being taken into the palace in the reign of Sultan *Mahomet IV*, and from thence rising through the several degrees to the dignity of *Silahdar*, he was dismissed by Sultan *Ahmed III*, with three *Tugs*, and honoured first with the post of *Rekiab Caimacan*, and afterwards with other *Pashalics* and offices. Some say, in order to disparage him, he was born in *Georgia*; but they are mistaken: for he was of *Abaza*, a nation near the *Cberchians**, and, next to these, the most honorable among the *Turks*. Upon that account, *Cberkies* Ahmed Pasha*, so often mentioned, visiting him when he had a slight fever, and was complaining of the weakness of his stomach, and want of appetite, told him in a jest, that physick should be left to those who were born and bred where it is used,

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commanding him to sail with the whole fleet to the *Palus Maotis*, and fortify the streights with new castles *Gierch** and *Taman*. He executes the orders with the utmost diligence, but in his return lost nine galleys, and the rest, very much damaged, are brought back with great difficulty to *Constantinople*.

VI. At last *Silahdar Hasan Pasha*, in the tenth month of his Vizirship, is removed on account of the people's complaints, and *September 14* succeeded by *Calaily Ahmed Pasha (4)* a man remarkable for nothing but his luxury and cruelty to the Christian subjects of the *Othman* Empire.

Hasan Pasha being removed, is succeeded by Calaily Ahmed.

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and that he ought to take nothing but *Pasha*, which is a very wholesome food made by the *Abaza* with pounded millet, cleared of the husks.

(4) *Calaily Ahmed Pasha* He was born at *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*, of *Armenian* parents, who were Christians; but being in his youth brought to *Constantinople*, and abjuring the Christian Religion, he was admitted into the order of the *Baltaji*; where, concealing his natural vicious inclinations under a virtuous outside, he was made *Baltajilar Kiehaiasi*, and from that office was sent with two *Tugs* to the *Pashalic of Jita*, which is the last the *Turks* have on the *Red Sea*. After that, he obtained the dignity of *Capudan Pasha*, then was *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, and had other *Pashalics* in the *Othman* Empire. Though he so behaved in all these employments, as to pass with all wise men for a foolish and ridiculous person, yet because he pretended a mighty zeal against the Christians, and seemed besides to be an observer of justice and equity, he gained among the ignorant and superstitious mob the reputation of a true *Musulman*. To cause the Christians to be universally abhorred, he ordered, whilst *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, that they should all have their cloaths made of a very coarse black cloth; that in the baths they should not wear wooden shoes, as is customary to guard the feet against the heat of the marble; and that they should have little bells fastned to one of their arms, that by the sound of them the *Musulmans* might be distinguished from the *Gizars*; and some other the like things. But this proving very detrimental to the *Jami's*, whose *Vasi* most of the baths are, because, on account of this ignominious distinction, none of the Christians would wash publickly, complaints were immediately carried to the Sultan; by which indeed was obtained the removal of *Calaily Ahmed Pasha*, and a revocation of his orders, but they could not hinder the voice of the people, who desired to have him for Vizir. It happened shortly after, as the Sultan was walking in the market-place in disguise, he heard the repeated sighs of the people, lamenting the corruption of manners, and saying, there would be no reformation unless *Calaily Ahmed* were made Vizir. The Sultan, who

knew not the man, guessed, from the people's commendations, that he was a valuable person; and fearing the sedition which had broke out the year before, and was hardly yet extinguished, should from this spark be re-kindled into a flame, he resolved to yield to the people; and so turning out *Hasan Pasha* without any cause, under pretence that his *Kiehaiasi Ismail aga* had committed some fault, he sends for this *Calaily* out of *Crete*, where he was then *Basha*, and makes him Vizir. When he came to be placed in this exalted station, he could no longer conceal his failings which he had hitherto disguised with so much art, but suffered them to break out in a torrent. The first day of his Vizirship, when he came to his palace with the Vizir's seal, all persons waiting to know what he should first order, (for by that, as much as by the Sultan's first words, do the *Turks* judge of a Vizir's future administration) he sends for a taylor. When he comes, he bids him make him an under-garment, called *Enteri*, of cloth of gold, which is not only unusual among the *Turks*, but also, as I have elsewhere observed, contrary to the laws of the *Koran*. It being brought him the same day in the evening, he puts it on, and goes to show himself to his wives and concubines, viewing himself on every side, to see whether his new garment became him. The women, to please their husband and master, praising the handfomness of the garment, he resolves to go to the *Galih Divan*, and present himself in it before the Sultan. Moreover, that he might, by some new invention, increase the marks of honour used by the Vizirs, and render them more conspicuous, he invented some new ornaments about the *Tiara*, which, as I have before observed, the Vizirs are wont to wear, ordering the silk which is folded round it, and the golden plate, to be doubled, and drawn in the form of a cross. Thus, dressed like a buffoon, he calls the *Cbausli* bashi*, and asks him whether every thing requisite for the procession was ready. He replies, all is ready *without*; but many things are still wanting *within*: The Vizir asking him the reason of so unexpected an answer, he adds, your magnitude has dressed its self in so ridiculous a manner, that if it appears so before the Sultan, it will not only be deprived of its

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is appointed
Vizir.

VII. The Sultan having endured his ill conduct three months, and shown the people the real character of the man whom they had so earnestly desired for Vizir, he removes and banishes him to the isle of *Cos*, advancing *Baltaji Mehemed Pasha* (5) at the end of the year to that post. But sixteen months after, by the

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dignity, but also the honour of us all be in the utmost danger. For you know your self, without my saying it, what a hard matter it is to introduce new customs into the court, and how pernicious they generally prove to the authors: but I would have you know, that unless you change your clothes a little, I, nor the rest of your officers will wait upon you to the Sultan. The Vizir stands out a good while, and endeavours to defend the novelty by the authority of his office; but at last, being overcome by the *Chausb** *bashi's* firmness, he yields to sound advice, and so goes to the Sultan. The next week after he invites the Sultan to a feast, as is usual for the Vizirs. When the Sultan comes among the officers, standing in two rows according to custom to do him honour, he observes a one-eyed man near the *Tesferdar*, with a haughty look; and asks the Vizir who he was? What, says the Vizir with some surprize, doth not your majesty know this man? The Sultan answers, it is impossible for him to know every particular person. But, replies he, this is no Plebeian, but *Kior Ali aga*, who has a fine *Ubjitilyk**, (i. e. Farm) near *Constantinople*, which yields him so many geese, chickens and turkeys every year, that he has not only enough for his own table, but has as many to spare as may be sold for a great sum; as to his office, he is *Bashbakikulu* (which is a place of no great consideration in the *Tesferdar's* court.) The Sultan took then no notice of the man's filialness, but when he was gone out of the room to give directions about the feast, turning to *Kyftar agasi*, "Have you, *Ismail*" says he, heard what this monster has told me of this *Kior Ali aga*? For my part, I discovered his folly three days after I made him Vizir; but, that they who so earnestly desired his promotion to that dignity, may also be sensible of it, I will let him wear the badge of the Vizirship for some months, especially as every thing is now quiet, and he can by his imprudence do no considerable damage to the public affairs." He was an implacable enemy to the Christians, and not only renewed, after he was Vizir, the edict about their wearing of black clothes, which he had made whilst he was *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, but daily invented new ways of vexing them; and omitted no kind of cruelty towards such of them as were guilty of any crime: sometimes however he was kind to some one of

them, but it was only out of hatred to some other, or else it proceeded from his wonted fickleness. *Abaza Othman Pasha*, (whom he extremely hated, with all those that were wiser than himself, but could not hurt, because they were protected by the Sultan) being *Capudan Pasha*, or admiral, had taken in the *Euxine Sea*, and condemned to the galleys, a *Roguzaan* merchant, who, after having turned bankrupt, had engaged in the service of the Emperor of *Russia*, and was hiring some *Gracian* sailors, whom he intended to conduct to *Azac*, *Calally*, in the first days of his Vizirship, visiting, according to the Vizirs custom, the *Tersana*, or Admiralty, where the Sultan's *Paizans* are kept, when he came to this man, asked him what was the reason of his being condemned to that punishment? The *Tersana Kibala* answered, that he was taken by *Othman Pasha*, with some sailors, whom he had assembled for the service of the *Russians*, and condemned as a spy to the galleys. *Calally* hearing this; "Ah, (says he) how miserably have those inconsiderate rascals, that deserve imprisonment and the most shameful punishments, prostituted the honour of the *Othman* Empire. They have taken a poor wretched Greek for a spy, and sent him to the galleys, as if the safety of the whole Empire depended upon the informations such men can give the enemies. Take off his chains quickly, that with them may perish the remembrance of this infamy." Then turning to the galley-slave, "Go, says he to him, all over *Constantinople*, examine every thing, and give an account of it to whomsoever thou wilt." And so the poor wretch of a merchant obtained his liberty and life, which he would probably have ended in the *Tersana*, had he not met with a senseless master. At last, when the people began to perceive this Vizir's folly, and publicly to call him fool, he was deposed by the Sultan; and because his faults had not proceeded from malice, but want of understanding, his life was not touched, but he was banished to *Istanbul*, (which I have before observed to be the *Cos* of the ancients, and the native place of *Hippocrates*) with an allowance of three hundred *Aspers* a-day, and there he died of grief.

(5) *Baltaji Mehemed Pasha*] He was in his youth inrolled among the *Baltaji*, and, for the sweetness of his voice, was surnamed *Pakibe** *Muezin*, or the Sweet-singer. Afterwards,

arts of his wife, with whom the Sultan was said to be deeply in love, he is also removed; but sent however with honour to be *Basha* of *Aleppo*.

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in the reign of Sultan *Mustapha II*, being arrived to the degree of *Bichakibi** *Baltaji*, or senior *Baltaji*, he was made page to the Sultan's brother, *Ahmed*, who now sways the *Othman* scepter; and from that post was, by a notable accident, raised to the highest honours in the *Othman* Empire. The *Valide Sultana*, mother to *Mustapha* and *Ahmed*, had for her *Cutijs*, or treasurer, a *Circassian* virgin of singular beauty, and of an excellent wit. As *Ahmed* had liberty to walk about the palace, he happens to see her, and immediately falling in love with her, bribed his mother's *Bash aga*, and by letters gained her affection. The *Valide Sultana* discovering it, sends for the *Cutijs*, chides her severely, and threatens her with terrible punishments; she, on the other hand, excuses herself with great resolution, and without blushing denies she was in love with *Shehzade Effendi*, or that she had ever talked with him upon unlawful subjects: if he happened to love her, it was not her fault, but the Prince's; and if she was so ordered, she would avoid even the very sight of him. The *Valide Sultana*, thus repulsed, sends for her son, and advises him mildly to acknowledge his brother's goodness, in granting him his liberty contrary to the custom of his ancestors; and not to deprive himself of that privilege, by falling in love, contrary to the constitutions of the *Seraglio*, before he came to the throne: but if ever he should succeed his brother, she would give him not only that virgin, but also many others for his pleasure. *Ahmed* ingenuously owns his passion to his mother, but says, whatever might be the event, he could not conquer it. The mother, concerned for her son's safety, and perceiving him to be incorrigible, resolves to deprive his flame of its fuel, by marrying the virgin, and putting her out of the *Seraglio*. For that purpose, she sends for her chief physician, *Nub Effendi*, and after having discoursed with him about several things, at last tells him, that having experienced his faithfulness, she was determined, as a reward of his services, to give her treasurer in marriage to his son. *Nub Effendi* returns the *Sultana* thanks for so great a favour, (for the *Valide Sultana's* *Cutijs* are generally married to Vizirs with three *Horse tails*, or to persons of the like dignity) and upon his return home makes preparations for the wedding. At night the *Cutijs* is sent from the *Seraglio* to the bridegroom's house with her portion. The *Valide Sultana's* *Bash aga*, whom I observed before to have been a pimp, as soon as he saw the preparations for her disfinition, runs to *Ahmed*, tells him

that the *Cberesifian** was going to be sent away, but he knew not whither. *Ahmed*, full of concern, orders his *Baltaji Mehemed aga* to watch where she went. He punctually obeys the order, and perceiving she went into the chief physician's house, he comes running to his master, and tells him what he had seen. Upon that *Ahmed* writes a letter to *Nub Effendi*, to this purpose: "Know that the virgin which is come to your house has touched my heart. Keep her safe, and let none belonging to you meddle with her; if you do otherwise, you shall not escape the fatal destiny that will overtake you and your family in time." Upon the receipt of this letter *Nub Effendi* thought himself between the anvil and hammer. To disobey the *Valide Sultana's* orders, was to expose himself to certain ruin; if he complied with them, the Prince's letter threatened him with the utmost danger, though at a distance. To extricate himself out of both these perils, being of a *Greecian* extraction and wit, for he was a native of *Crete*, he invented this contrivance to please at once the *Sultana* and the Prince. Having assembled the guests that were invited to the wedding, he causes the *Niklath*, or marriage-ceremony, to be solemnly performed by the *Iman*. That being over, when the new-married couple were to be led into the nuptial-chamber, he spoke to his son to this purpose. "My son, we are in great danger, though unknown to all: *Shehzade Effendi* is in love with the virgin which the *Valide Sultana* has given you for wife, and how great is the violence of his passion you may guess by this letter. If therefore you desire your father's blessing, and the prosperity of our house, abstain from that forbidden fruit, and taste not of a dish which is reserved for a Prince's table. Fancy that you have a sister given you, and not a wife; kiss her in private as your sister, in publick call her your wife, but never use her as such. In case lust excites you to disregard my admonitions, know, that you will utterly ruin our family, and bring my curse upon yourself." The son promises to obey, and the bride giving also her consent, she was left in that room, and the bridegroom went and lay in another. All this was done so privately in the women's apartment, that neither the domesticks, much less *Ahmed*, could have any knowledge of it. Some days after the wedding, the bridegroom was appointed *Mollab* of *Suyrna*; whereupon the wives of the Vizir and other *Bashas* came to wish his wife joy.

Ahmed

Abmed is told of it, and thinking his mistress was now in another's arms, full of despair, he fell into a deep melancholy, and threatened to be severely revenged on the authors of that contrivance. Not long after the sedition related in the history, breaking out at Constantinople, Sultan Mustapha is deposed, and Abmed appointed his successor. Hardly was he on the throne, but he immediately sends for Nub Effendi, and orders him to be put to death, without allowing him time to make his defence. The chief physician guessing at the cause of the Sultan's anger, said he was ready to die, provided he might have leave to say one word to the Sultan in private concerning his defence. Having obtained leave, he is brought into the Sultan's inner chamber, and gives him an account of the whole matter; adding, he would not refuse to be put to death with his sons, if she was not as good a virgin as when she came out of the Seraglio. Sultan Abmed, overjoyed at so unexpected a thing, orders the matter to be immediately examined by some eunuchs, and finding her untouched, confers great honours upon the chief physician, and desires him to keep her in the same name, and with the same care as before, till further orders; for he was resolved to take her into the Seraglio, and use her as his wife. But his mother being very much against it, and advising him not to act, in the beginning of his reign, (while there still remained in several parts of the Empire many of his brother's adherents) contrary to the laws of the Seraglio, whereby it is expressly enjoined, that a virgin, once dismissed out of that place, be not re-admitted, he desisted from his resolution, and gave his mistress in marriage to this Baltaji Mehemmed aga, whom he had already created master of the horse: but, notwithstanding this, he very frequently went privately to her; and, what was very unusual, and never known before, had her often brought with great pomp into the Seraglio: and this woman was the cause of Mehemmed's whole fortune. For, shortly after, she desired the Sultan to honour her husband with three *Tugs*, and give him a place that should not require his being far from Constantinople; for it seemed unbecoming for her, that was the mistress of so great an Emperor, to be the wife of an *Emirador*. To which the Sultan replied, you consult indeed your convenience, but not mine: however, that I may act with you as a just judge, I will divide the year with him equally; and give him a place that will oblige him to be six months out of Constantinople, and six months in it, namely, the office of admiral, (for among the *Turks* both the Janizaries and sailors are obliged to serve but six months.) So within a few days he made him *Capudan Pasha*, and shortly after, up-

on the same woman's entreaties, raised him to the dignity of Prime Vizir: but being dismissed, he was, upon account of the Sultan's love for his wife, sent first to the Pashalic of *Erzerum*, and then to that of *Aleppe*. From this last he was recalled, to be invested a second time with the Vizirship, and was General of the *Turks* in the expedition against the *Russians*; when, perceiving he could not break into their camp, he made a peace with them upon terms very advantageous to the *Othman* Empire. But this very thing, by which he thought to have highly merited the Sultan's favour, proved the cause of his ruin. For the Sultan hearing what great want of provisions the *Russian* army laboured under, thought they might have been reduced to such straits, that the *Russian* Emperor himself, with his whole camp, might have been forced to surrender to the *Othman* troops; and therefore he imagined that the Vizir, by granting him an unreasonable, though advantageous peace, had been bribed by the enemy. The Vizir, on the other hand, being informed by his friends that his proceedings at the *Hieraps* were displeasing to the Sultan, he stayed with the army at *Adrianople*, putting off, under various pretences, his return to Constantinople, though the Sultan earnestly desired it, till the Sultan's anger might be in some measure appeased by the *Mufti's* *Silabdar*, *Ali Pasha*, the same who was afterwards Vizir, and in 1716 was slain in a battle near *Peterwaradin*: but this rather increased the Sultan's anger and suspicions against him. For he was afraid lest the Vizir, if he perceived he could not return to Constantinople without fear of punishment, might raise commotions, especially as he had the *Sanjak Sberif*, and the whole army's affections at command. For that reason, thinking there was no time to lose, in order to prevent all seditions, he privately dispatches *Hafeki aga* to the commander of the Janizaries, *Yusuf aga*, with a *Chatisberif*, wherein he was ordered to take with him the *Ojak* of the Janizaries, and beset the Vizir's house, and then go in and demand the imperial seal of him, and keep it till further orders; but to send, without a moment's delay, the Vizir to Constantinople. *Yusuf aga* having read this order, places the Janizaries round the house, but at such a convenient distance, as not to give room for suspicion: then he goes in himself, and finds the Vizir playing at chefs with *Effendi Omer*. The Vizir, turning to him, salutes him, and desires him to stay till the game is over, which is so difficult, that he must own he had never seen the like. When it is over, the Janizaries come to him, and, after some excuses, discovers to him the Sultan's order: to which the Vizir submits, and only conjures *Hafeki aga* to tell

VIII. He is succeeded April 3, 1705, by *Chorluly Ali Pasha* (6), a man of mean birth, but most acute genius, and very solicitous to maintain peace.

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the Sultan many things that tended to his justification. Thus the Vizir, deprived a second time of his dignity, was banished first to *Lemnos*, and then to *Rhodes*, where, as was commonly reported, he died a natural death. Many, however, say he was privately put to death there by the Sultan's order; and that the report of his dying a natural death was spread about for this reason, because he was extremely beloved by the people and soldiery for his great humanity.

(6) *Chorluly Ali Pasha* born in *Ghorlo**, a town of *Torace*, which is the *Tyrolis* of the ancients, and from thence named *Chorluly**. His parents being mean and poor, had bound him apprentice in his youth to a barber. *Cara Bairam ogli*, a *Capuji bashi*, happens about that time to go from Constantinople to *Adrianople*, (where Sultan *Mahomet IV* then resided) and lodges by the way at his father's house, as he generally used to do. Observing the good countenance of the young man, he asks him whether he would follow him, and become an *Othmanly*, i. e. a courtier? The young man embraces the offer, but his parents are against it, on account, as they pretended, of their poverty. However, *Ali* goes even against their will with the *Capuji bashi* to *Adrianople*. Being put to school by him, he made such great progress in a short time, that *Cara Bairam Ogli* thought it more advisable to bring him into the Sultan's palace, as a spacious theatre, in which his virtues might shine; and, by being his patron, enlarge one day his fortune, rather than keep him in his own house employed in servile offices. By this means being admitted into *Seffer Odasi*, he passed in few years through all the court-offices; so that when Sultan *Mustapha II* came to the throne, he was one of the inner chamberlains of that order which is called *Hafne Odasi*. At which time his parts, concealed under the former morose Sultans, or, to speak more properly, now come to maturity, began to display themselves at court. For, Sultan *Mustapha* observing his great dexterity and readiness above all others in giving answers, not only made him one of his chief favourites, but also imparted to him his secrets, and began to ask his advice: by which means passing through several posts, he was, in the space of two years, (a thing very uncommon) raised to the place of *Chocadaragalyk**, which is the second dignity in the *Othman* court. After he became possessed of this office, he so won the affection of the Sultan, by his prudent behaviour, that

whatever he asked was granted; and though he was inferior to the *Silabdar aga* in order and dignity, yet he was much superior to him in authority: but when he became *Silabdar aga*, he not only governed the court as he pleased, which is the proper business of the chief sword-bearer, but he had also such an ascendant over the Sultan, that, unless the *Mufti* interposed, he would do nothing without asking his opinion. At last he was dismissed from court by the Sultan with three *Tugs*, and constituted *Cubbe Vizir*, obtaining at the same time a promise of marriage with the Sultan's daughter that was three years old. He continued in the same degree of favour during the remainder of Sultan *Mustapha's* reign; but, after his being deposed, he came to Constantinople with Sultan *Abmed*, as an unknown person, and shortly after was sent to the Pashalic of *Tripoli of Damascus*. At the end of two years he is recalled to Constantinople, to celebrate his marriage with Sultan *Mustapha's* daughter, and by his fair speeches softens the Sultan, that, under various pretences, he put off his departure from day to day, though it was often desired. In this condition he so behaved, as to acquire among the great men the reputation of uncommon prudence, and among the people the commendation of being a just and uncorrupt judge. Indeed, to satisfy the Sultan's unbounded avarice, he was sometimes forced against his own inclination to oppress the people, and to lay very heavy burdens upon them; but he did even that with so much art, that neither he nor the Sultan were censured for it. He was desirous of enlarging the bounds of the Empire, but so however as not to expose the state to danger for an inconsiderable advantage. For the same reason he was averse to war, having sufficiently learned by former battles, of how little service fury and numbers are against a disciplined army of Christians. The *Russians* he did not love, nay, he had in times past, endeavoured to hurt them several ways; but he kept fair with them on purpose to divert the war which the King of Sweden was earnestly urging. At last, being accused by the King of Sweden of treachery, and deposed for the reasons mentioned in the history, he was at first permitted by the Sultan to live privately in a palace which he had in the suburbs *Eynub*. Being visited there by persons of the first rank, he reflected with too much boldness upon the Sultan, and, among other things, said he was not sorry for having been deprived of the Vizirship, which he really considered

During his administration, the Othman Empire received such guests as it had never yet seen, nor perhaps ever will see again, namely, *Charles XII*, King of Sweden,

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considered as a very heavy burthen; but was only sorry for having lost his soul for the Sultan's sake, and reduced many rich citizens to the utmost poverty, and yet could not content his insatiable avarice. These things the Sultan so interpreted, as if they had been spoken with design to excite a rebellion; and what inclined him the more to believe it, was, that during the five years of his Vizirship, he had entirely gained the affections not only of the soldiery, but also of the whole people. So, three days after, he sends a *Capuji bashi* with a *Cbatisherif* appointing him *Basha* of *Bender*; but when he was on his journey, he dispatches another *Capuji bashi*, *Nemebe Yusufaga*, to bring him back, and, after loading him with reproaches, orders him to be banished to *Misyene*. There he kept him almost a whole year, with design that if the war begun with the *Russians*, should prove unsuccessful, he might entrust him again with the government of affairs, and make use of his prudence to repair the losses he should suffer. But when the Sultan was sure of good success, he required a *Ferwa* of the *Mufti*, declaring that man worthy of punishment, who had deceived his master by false fears, and thereby hindered him from attacking the enemy, at a time when he had an opportunity of subduing their whole dominions. The *Mufti* pronouncing that such an offence deserved death, the Sultan sends a *Cbatisherif* to order his head to be cut off, and publicly exposed in the market-place before *Babuliansyan*, or the outer gates of the palace. But I have heard, he often repented afterwards of depriving the Othman Empire of so great a man, upon such a trifling account; for he was really endowed with such natural parts, that if I should say there was none like him in the Othman Empire, nay, even in the whole World in his time, I should not exceed the bounds of truth. Though he had not studied the liberal arts, yet no one could hear him speak without admiring his eloquence, and his exquisite judgment. Whatever he said, he immediately proved by just and regular arguments, which a perfect Logician would perhaps have been puzzled to find. Scarce could any thing be proposed even upon the common occurrences of life, but he would speak very pertinently about it; which readiness all *Constantinople* stood the more amazed at, because he had spent all his life in the palace, where the courtiers being as it were shut up, neither see nor learn any thing but ceremonies, and such like things,

which they are taught by the masters. If any point of law was proposed, though he did not understand *Arabic*, in which the niceties of the *Malometan* processes are recorded, yet he could answer so properly and ingeniously upon every subject, that the most learned *Mufti* must have been silent in his presence. In giving advice, in discovering the designs of any person, in foreseeing the Event of things, he was another *Ulysses*; and whenever his counsels were neglected, fatal errors ensued. The first time *Monsieur de Feriol*, the French ambassador, came to wait upon him, after the conference was over, and *Feriol* gone out, I heard the Vizir saying to those about him, *Bu Gjaur ya deli dur; ya az zemanden songra deli dur*, i. e. "This Infidel is mad, or else will be so within a few days, which, he said, he guessed by the frequent motion of his eyes, by the agitation of his body, the levity of his gesture, and his perpetual sighing." That his prediction was true, the event showed within a month or two; for he was seized with so violent a lunacy, that they were forced to bind him with chains; and the physicians having for several days endeavoured in vain to cure him, the French merchants come to the Vizir, and tell him, that their ambassador was out of order, and therefore they desired him to confirm a person of their own body, whom they should chuse to take care of their concerns. But he told them, that the cause of his illness could be nothing but madness; and that it was so, came soon after to be publicly known in *Constantinople*. He had a most excellent memory, so that, amidst great variety of business, he could, after three or four years, remember causes that came before him; and, what is more, give a very particular account of them. When he was sitting in the *Divan*, no one could behold him without admiration; for he was a person of so much quickness and dexterity, that he could attend to three things at once, as if he had divided himself into three parts. For the quicker dispatch of business, he ordered two petitions to be read at the same time by both the *Teskierji*, and understood each cause as perfectly as if he had heard it three or four times, giving thereupon a suitable sentence. In the mean time, he hearkned to others that were pleading before the *Kadiulakier*, and delivering back the *Arzubal* to him; told him what sentence he was to give. He was so great a lover of justice, that many affirm he never gave an unjust sentence. The Othman Empire

Sweden, and *Stanislaus*, who had been advanced, though unjustly, to the Crown of Poland.

IX. For a war arising between the Kings of Sweden and Poland, the Swede gained the advantage, and engaged the Poles, who were before inclined to a change, to depose their King *Augustus*, and chuse *Stanislaus*, *Waxwed of Pomerania*, in his room. And, not content with this, to destroy the source of the war, he entered Saxony, the King of Poland's native country, raised vast sums of money thence by unheard-of exactions, and by that means obliged *Augustus* to abdicate the Kingdom of Poland, and acknowledge *Stanislaus* for King.

The Kings of Sweden and Poland entertained by the Sultan.

X. This enemy being removed from his borders, he marches with his whole army against *Peter I. Czar of Russia*, who had been *Augustus's* ally, and threatening nothing less than to depose him, at first pretends to penetrate into *Russia*, near *Plescow*; but afterwards, induced by the promises of *Mazzeppa*, Hetman of

The Swedes make a bold irruption into Russia.

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pire had indeed in former times many not inferior to him for this virtue; but it has not hitherto produced any one equal to him in skilfulness at finding out truth: one instance of which will not, I hope, be tedious to the reader. A Turkish merchant at *Constantinople* went, according to custom, to a bath before morning-prayer, and at his return from thence, as he was going to the *Jami*, lost in the street his purse out of his bosom with two hundred pieces of gold, called *Turali*. At his coming out of the *Jami*, after prayers were over, finding his bosom lighter, and perceiving he had lost his money, he immediately goes to the cryer, and orders him to cry a purse with such and such marks, and so much money in it: the owner whereof intreated the person that had found it, for God's sake to return it to him, and he would freely give half the money for a reward. Fortune had happened to throw it in the way of a *Levendi*, or *Marine*, who, when he heard that the owner offered a reward of a hundred *Turali* was stung with a remorse of conscience, and chose rather to get honestly the half of what he had found, than to keep the whole under an appearance of theft: for if any person hears a thing cried that he has found, and keep it, if it comes to be known, he is, by the law of the *Koran* adjudged to be guilty of theft. So the man goes to the cryer, owns that he had found what was lost, and that he intended to keep a hundred *Turali*, according to the bargain, and to restore the other hundred to the right owner. The owner immediately comes, but when he saw that his money was entire, he attempts to recede from his promise; and perceiving he could not do so without some ground, he invents a lye, pretending there were in the same purse emerald ear-rings worth seven hundred crowns; and then he demands also from the marine. The man denying it, and calling God, the prophet, and all that was good and sacred, to witness, that he had found nothing but the two hundred

Turali, he is drawn before a *Cadi*, or inferior judge, and accused of theft. The judge, either out of negligence, or because he was bribed, absolved indeed the marine of theft, but ordered him to go away without a reward, for having lost a thing of that value by his carelessness. The Marine, not only disappointed of his expectation, but also undergoing the scandal of being a thief, represents the whole matter in an *Arzubal* to the Vizir, who summons the merchant with the money in dispute, and the cryer, to appear before him in judgment. Upon hearing the case, the Vizir first asks the cryer, what it was the merchant had ordered him to make an enquiry after? he ingenuously owned, that it was only the two hundred *Turali*. The merchant thereupon putting in a word, said, that he had caused no mention to be made of the emerald ear-rings, for fear that if the purse had fallen into the hands of an unskilful person, and who knew not the value of *Jemi*, when he should discover what a great treasure he had found, that might be a temptation to him to keep it all. The marine, on the other hand, making oath that he had found nothing in the bag but the money, *Ali Pascha* passed the following sentence: "Since the merchant, besides two hundred *Turali*, has lost also some emerald ear-rings in the same purse, and since the marine has deposed upon oath that he has found nothing but the money, it is plain that the purse and money which the marine has found were not lost by the merchant, but by somebody else. Let the merchant therefore have his things cried, till some persons tearing God, that has found them, restore them to him; and let the Marine keep that money by him for the space of forty days, and if no body comes and claims it within that time, then let it be his." Thus the covetous merchant lost his credit, and half his money; and the marine went away joyfully with both to his ship.

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the *Cossaks*, who had offered to surrender to him his province and forces, bends his march towards *Ukrania*.

Ali Pasha promises the King of Sweden and the rebel *Cossaks* assistance against the *Russians*.

XI. During this march, *Ali Pasha*, glad of an opportunity of depressing the Czar of *Russia*, the most inveterate enemy of the *Turks*, without any danger or disadvantage to the *Othman Empire*, orders *Caplan Gierai*, Chan of *Crim Tartary*, by letters, to confirm *Mazzeppa* in his design by all possible methods, and promise, that as soon as he heard of the *Swedes* having entered the country of the *Cossaks*, he would come to their assistance with a numerous army of *Turks* and *Tartars*, and with united forces destroy their common enemy, but fully restore the *Cossaks* to their former liberties.

Mazzeppa, Hetman of the *Cossaks*, joins the *Swedes*. H. 1121.

A. C. 1709.

The Swedish army routed at *Poltawa*, sustain an irrecoverable loss. The King takes sanctuary among the *Turks*.

The *Turks* entertain the King with great civility, but retract their promises.

XII. *Mazzeppa*, Hetman of the *Cossaks*, confiding in these promises of the Chan, sends an invitation to the King of *Sweden*: but the King was so long amused with the vain assurances of the Vizir and Chan, till on the fifth of the month *Jemaziul ewvel*, of the year 1121, he was defeated by the Czar at *Pultowa*, and sustained an irreparable loss.

XIII. After this defeat, the King of *Sweden* retires to *Bender* to the *Turks*, whom he thought to be his confederates. The next year *Stanislaus* flies to the same place with the *Waywod* of *Kiow*, and other *Polish Nobles* of his party, whom *Augustus's* return, upon the news of the King of *Sweden's* defeat, obliged to leave the Kingdom.

XIV. They are both received with very great honour, but when they desire the assistance promised them against their enemies, they are amused by the Vizir with ambiguous answers. For as soon as he heard that the *Russians* had not only driven the *Swedes* from their borders with a great slaughter, and taken most of their army prisoners, but likewise subdued *Livonia*, the strongest bulwark of *Sweden*, he determines to keep the peace inviolable with the *Russians*, and to preserve the *Othman Empire* from all danger.

XV. For this purpose, he confirms the former articles of peace at the request of *Tolstoi*, the *Russian* ambassador, notwithstanding the endeavours of the *Swedes*, *Stanislaus*, and the *French* to the contrary.

The *Turks* confirm the peace with the Czar.

The King of *Sweden* charges the Vizir with being a traitor.

XVI. At last the King of *Sweden*, finding the Vizir deaf to his petitions, by his ambassador, *Poniatowski*, presents privately a remonstrance to the Sultan himself, complaining that the Vizir was bribed by the enemy, and a traitor to the Empire, since he had excited him, by the Chan of *Tartary*, with many and great promises, to carry on the war, when the *Russians* were inclined to peace; but now shuts his ears to his petitions, and had made such a peace with the common enemy, as the *Russians* themselves could scarce have wished for.

But in the present situation of affairs can obtain nothing.

XVII. The Sultan, according to custom, sends these letters to the Vizir, and orders him to give an account of what had been hitherto done with the *Swedes*. The Vizir is extremely incensed with the Chan and the King of *Sweden*; but not being able to gratify his resentments against the latter, he discharges his whole fury upon the former. He gives the Sultan such an account as he thought proper, full of falsties, laying all the blame upon the treachery of the Chan, by which means he procures him to be deposed, and banished to *Tanopolis*.

The *Turks* determine to confirm the peace with *Russia*, and to oblige the King to depart.

XVIII. The Nobles again hold a private consultation, in which it is determined to maintain the peace with *Russia*, to grant the King leave to return home, and to take care that he might have a safe passage through *Germany*. On the other hand, the King receiving this answer, refuses to depart, declaring he would stay and see how affairs would go, since he was sure the next summer the *Turks* would be engaged in a war with the *Russians*, though they should endeavour to avoid it; and then the Sultan would perceive too late, he had not falsely charged the Vizir with being a traitor. But the Vizir despising these remonstrances, persists in his opinion, and sends the Chan, *Deulet Gierai*, into *Crim Tartary* with great honour, ordering him to endeavour by all means to maintain the peace with the *Russians*, and if they should make any attempt to the contrary, to send the *Othman court* information.

The fraud of the Vizir detected.

XIX. When the Chan came to the *Chersonesus*, that he might load his predecessor, *Caplan Gierai*, he informs the Sultan, that he had not only lost, by his misconduct,

conduct above thirty thousand *Tartars* in the expedition against the *Cherchians**, but likewise occasioned the revolt of the *Cossaks* under *Mazzeppa*, to whom he had promised liberty and assistance in the name of the *Othman court*. The Sultan having received this account, sends for the Vizir, and enquires what letters had been sent to the Chan of *Tartary* concerning his assisting the *Swedes*. The Vizir denies there had been any, and affirms it to be a fiction of the Chan. The Sultan suspecting what was really the case, sends a trusty messenger privately to *Caplan Gierai* at *Tanopolis*, to enquire whether he had writ such a letter to *Mazzeppa*. *Caplan Gierai*, not thinking the Vizir's resentments were to be feared, frankly acknowledges the truth, that he had made such promises to the *Hetman* of the *Cossaks*, but that it was by the command of the Vizir. The Sultan being informed of this, sends again for the Vizir, charging him with falshood, and, in a passion, says to him, "such letters ought not to have been sent during a truce; but when once sent, ought not to be retracted, nor the King of *Sweden* deceived, nor the honour of the *Othman Empire* and the *Musulman* faith prostituted before Infidels."

Ali therefore being removed from the post of Vizir, is succeeded by *Kioprii Nuuman Pasha*.

XX. He therefore deprives *Chorbily** *Ali Pasha* of the Vizirship, and advances in his room *Kioprii Oglu Nuuman Pasha* (7), a man more eminent for justice and learning, than for warlike abilities. These were only sparks and indications of that flame, which, from several other causes, soon after broke out.

The King of *Sweden*, by surprising methods, engages the Sultan to break the peace with the *Russians*.

XXI. For the King of *Sweden*, upon the removal and banishment of his enemy, *Ali Pasha*, opens more boldly by his ambassador, *Poniatowski*, his designs to the *Othman court*, and persuades them to a war with *Russia*. He alleges, the States of *Poland* were in league with him and *Stanislaus*, and that the *Waywod* of *Kiow* was universally desired for general of the army; that forty thousand select men were raised by his officers in *Pomerania*,

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(7) *Kioprii Nuuman* A man very famous among the *Turks* for his justice, learning, and piety; but of no experience either in political or military affairs: for his father, the great and so often commended *Kioprii Mustafa Pasha*, had brought up all his sons more to learning, than to the knowledge of state-affairs: to the end that they should slight court-honours and preferments, which he knew to be attended with great danger, and devoting themselves to an ecclesiastical life, might quietly spend their days free from the fear of the Ax, or other violent death. In that state they would also have continued, had it not been for their relation, *Husein Pasha*, who drew them out of it, and, though they were but young, raised them to the highest dignities in the *Othman court*. However, this *Nuuman Pasha* being grown up before *Husein Pasha* came to the Vizirship, and having been initiated into the profound learning of the *Arabians*, he always retained, even in the midst of his public employments, a love for reading, and the study of the laws; but, by applying himself too closely to his lucubrations whilst he was at *Constantinople*, he contracted such a ridiculous fancy, as to

imagine that there was always a fly sitting upon his nose, which indeed flew away when he scared it, but returned again immediately to the same place. All the physicians then in *Constantinople* were consulted upon that occasion, and, after they had long used in vain all their endeavours, one *Le Duc*, a *French* physician, found means to apply a suitable remedy to the distemper; for he did not go about, as the rest, to argue with him that it was all a fancy, and there was nothing in it; but when he was brought to the sick man, and asked by him whether he saw the fly that was sitting upon his nose? he said he did; and by that prudent dissimulation, induced the disordered person to place the utmost confidence in him. After which, he ordered him several innocent juleps, under the name of purging and opening medicines; at last, he drew a knife gently along his nose, as if he was going to cut off the fly, and then shewed him a dead fly which he had kept in his hand for that purpose: whereupon *Nuuman Pasha* immediately cried out, this is the very fly which has so long plagued me: and thus he was perfectly cured of that whimsical fancy.

who would without any difficulty enter Poland, as soon as the Turkish or Tartar light-armed troops should appear in the confines of Podolia; that the Danes, who were in alliance with the Russians, had been defeated by his general with such loss, that it was thought they could hardly bring an army again into the field for several years. He likewise sends the Sultan a picture of the Czar, engraved at Amsterdam, with this inscription:

PETRUS PRIMUS RUSSO-GRÆCORUM MONARCHA.

To these were added other accounts brought from the borders of the Empire, that the Russians had carried off a great number of Swedes from the villages of Moldavia; that the Czar was building a great fleet in the Tanais, and had already finished the port of Taganorus; in short, that every thing threatened war in those parts. These things strangely disturbed the mind of the Sultan, especially that the Russians, who had been before entirely ignorant of naval affairs, had now gained such knowledge therein, that they ventured to send their ambassadors to Constantinople in ships of war.

The Sultan's judgment of the Czar.

XXII. He sends therefore for the Vizir, Kiopri Oglu Nuuman Pasba, and is reported to have said to him: "This enemy (meaning the Czar) cannot correct his extravagant designs; for I easily guess, from his past actions, that he, like another Alexander the Great, aspires to the monarchy of the whole world. This infidel therefore must be chastised, before he be able to annoy us; otherwise, if no notice be taken of his attempts, it is to be feared when we are engaged in war with other nations, he will give us a troublesome diversion."

The Vizir's answer to the Sultan.

XXIII. To this Nuuman Pasba replies, some misfortune is to be dreaded from the growing greatness of the Czar; but since a peace is established, it ought not to be broke without a just cause. He would send for the Czar's ambassador, and enquire what were the intentions of his master. But if the Russians should unexpectedly attack the Turks before the expiration of the truce, God would assist the just cause of the Musulmans.

The Vizir's discourse with the ambassador.

XXIV. The Vizir upon his return, sending for the ambassador, enquires for what purpose the Czar had ordered so many ships and galleys to be built in the Tanais; that if he were desirous of a peace, there was no occasion for a fleet, since it was of no use against any other enemy, there being no passage for it into the Caspian sea, or the ocean. The Czar's ambassador answers, his master had built no new ships, but only thought proper to finish those which had been begun before the peace, lest they should rot; that he would be hostage, that the Czar should not use any hostilities before the truce was expired without urgent necessity.

The Sultan removes the Vizir from his post for opposing his opinion.

XXV. Notwithstanding this was told him by the Vizir, the Sultan resolves to make war upon the Czar, for which purpose he orders the Vizir to raise money, and lay heavier taxes than usual. The Vizir declares it impossible, and that nothing could be levied upon the subjects but what the law and the prophet himself prescribed; that an army was to be listed according to his directions, which, though inferior in number, yet being hired with that money, would be of much more service than a greater body of forces. But if this advice was disagreeable to the Sultan, he desired him to chuse another Vizir, who should be better skilled in the arts of oppressing the people.

Baltaji Mehemed again appointed Vizir.

XXVI. The Sultan grants his request, and, taking the seal of the Vizirship from him, delivers it again to Baltaji Mehemed Pasba, his mistress's husband, sending Nuuman Pasba to the government of Eubœa. Under the new Vizir, warlike preparations are made more openly, and with great application soldiers are raised, and every thing is ready for an early campaign.

XXVII. The

XXVII. The Venetians, terrified at this, and not knowing the design of these preparations, but imagining the Turks would attempt the Morea, make large presents to the Musti, and other great officers; but the Russian ambassador depending upon the peace lately made and confirmed, is more negligent in his conduct, thinking it unnecessary to seek that by bribes, which was settled by the articles of peace. The Vizir taking this for avarice, in the month Sheval†, of the year 1122, holds a council with the Chan of Crim-Tartary, whom he had sent for, and the rest of the Cubbe Vizirs, about a war with the Czar; a campaign is almost unanimously resolved, agreeably to the Sultan's inclination. Orders are immediately sent throughout the Empire to raise men for the ensuing expedition; the Czar's ambassador is confined in the Seven Towers; all his effects which could be found are confiscated, and sentence of death passed upon him as an impostor, which the Sultan would also have put in execution, if the Vizir had not interposed, and assured him, if he should violate the laws of nations in such a manner, he would fix an indelible mark of infamy upon his reign.

The Sultan having declared his intentions of war against the Russians, orders the ambassador of that country to be confined † November. H. 1122. A. C. 1710.

XXVIII. On the other hand, five hundred purses are immediately sent to the King of Sweden, under the pretence of a loan, who is likewise presented with six and thirty horses, part with, and part without furniture, and other royal gifts, and he is assured of the protection of the Othman court.

He honours the King of Sweden in a very singular manner.

XXIX. In the mean time, the Sultan is informed by Maseppa and others, that Constantine Brancovan, Prince of Walachia, held a secret correspondence with the Czar; was concerting a revolt from the Othman Empire; and had promised the Czar, if he could penetrate into Moldavia, thirty thousand men, with provisions for many years, and was already made a knight of St. Andrew in confirmation of his alliance. This being supported by the accounts of several other Pasbas, the Sultan, before he declared war, resolves to seize this domestic enemy, and cure the Othman Empire of this wound.

Brancovan charged with treachery by Maseppa.

XXX. But perceiving it to be very difficult to be executed, on account of that Prince's great power and authority, he orders the Chan of Crim-Tartary to consult with the Vizir about it, and inform him what he thought necessary for the interest of the Empire. The Chan persuades the Vizir not to attempt any thing against Brancovan, but to draw him into the snare by means of the neighbouring Prince of Moldavia. If the present Prince was improper for that purpose, he knew that Demetrius Cantemir would be more fit, whose fidelity the Sultan had experienced both in peace and war.

A consultation held for the deposing him.

XXXI. The Sultan approves of this advice, and having deposed Nicholas Maurocordato, appoints Cantemir, Prince of Walachia, under the title of that of Moldavia, and, presenting him with a fable vest in the month Sheval, of the year 1122 †, sends him into Moldavia, with orders to seize Brancovan under colour of friendship, alliance, or any other pretence which he thought proper, and send him alive or dead to Constantinople; and when he had possessed himself of the Principality of Walachia, to take upon him the government of it: but that he should appoint another Prince of Moldavia, and refer his choice to the approbation of the court. For the readier and better execution of this design, he ordered the Chan immediately to grant Cantemir as many thousand Tartars as he should require. On the other hand, the Sultan promised Cantemir, that the Principality should be Ebedi, and no tribute nor Pishkiefb demanded while he should continue in Moldavia.

Demetrius Cantemir appointed Prince of Walachia, under the title of that of Moldavia. † Nov. 1710.

XXXII. These promises being confirmed by a Chatisherif, Cantemir, with the Chan of Tartary, goes to Moldavia, about the end of November; but a few days after his arrival, he is directed by letters from the Prime Vizir's Kiehaia, Osman Aga (8) to send immediately to the Sultan and Vizir the Pishkiefb usually given

The promises made to Cantemir denied by the treacherous court.

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(8) Osman Aga before the Vizirship of Baltaji Mehemed Pasba, he was Giumrakibi*, or overseer of the customs, and was uni-

versally esteemed, because the Vizir was thought to have a particular regard for him. After the conclusion of the peace with the Russians,

given at a Prince's entrance into his government, to collect a great quantity of provisions for the Turkish army, finish the bridge with the utmost expedition, place the Swedes and Cossaks who were with the King of Sweden, in winter-quarters, and march himself with his forces about Hydgreez at Bender, with many other almost intolerable burthens.

XXXIII. From these first fruits, Cantemir perceiving how little faith was to be expected from the infidels, throws off his attachment to the Turkish interest, and esteeming it better to suffer with Christ, than wait for the deceitful treasures of Egypt, sends a trusty messenger to the Czar, with an offer of himself and his Principality.

XXXIV. Having mutually exchanged their faith, the Czar sends before out of Poland his general, Bori us Petrovicz Skeremetew, with part of his forces to seize the bridge over the Danube, himself following soon after with the rest of the regiments, and in the month Jemaziul Ervel, of the year 1123, encamps at the Hierafus, near Czuczora. Having joined the Moldavian troops, he marches with a few of his officers to Jassij, religiously visiting the churches and monasteries for three days, and waiting for the provisions promised by the Prince of Walachia.

XXXV. But having observed that his ambassador endeavoured only to amuse him with empty ceremonies, instead of discharging what had been promised, and being now assured of his treachery, he is in great doubt whether to proceed, stand his ground, or retire. For famine, a misfortune fatal to the Christians engaged in the war in Moldavia, had now begun to distress the Russian army, because the generals depending upon Brancovan's promises, had brought but twenty days provisions, and the locusts had destroyed all the grass in Moldavia.

XXXVI. Upon this account, the Czar sends General de Roenne and Count Thomas Cantacuzenus into the borders of Walachia with part of the army, to seize by force what Brancovan had refused to grant of his own accord, and therewith to refresh the soldiers. Those troops having passed the mountains of Moldavia, first assault Braila, and after four days siege, oblige the Turkish garrison to surrender. As they are marching further, in order to penetrate into Walachia, they are recalled by the Czar's letters, in which they are commanded to restore Braila to the Turks, and return.

XXXVII. For after their departure from the camp, the Czar with his whole army had marched to Czuczora, with design to seize the bridge over the Danube before the arrival of the Turks; but when he came to the hill of Rabie, he is informed the Vizir with his whole army, reported to be two hundred and twenty thousand men, had already passed the Danube, and were marching with great expedition towards Falczij.

XXXVIII. Upon this he sends Yaccus, the Russian general, with seven thousand of his own soldiers, five hundred Moldavians, and several hundred Cossaks, to Falczy, to prevent the Turks from passing the river.

XXXIX. But before he came to Falczij, near the village of Barsenij, on the eastern bank of the Hierafus, he sees the whole army of the Turks and Tartars, of which he sends an account to the Czar by a courier. While he is waiting for an answer, the Turkish forces pass the river a little lower in the night, without opposition, and surround his troops with their horse. In this

Upon this account he offers a faithful service to a faithful monarch.

The Czar marches with his army to Jassy, the capital of Moldavia. H. 1123, A. C. 1711

Brancovan, Prince of Walachia, breaks his solemn promise.

The Czar sends part of his army to forage in Walachia.

The Czar marches to seize the passage over the Danube.

He sends part of his army to prevent the Vizir from passing the river. Who being surrounded by the enemy, is in great danger.

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Russians, the Vizir sent him before to pacify the Sultan, who received him kindly, (left by unseasonably discovering his designs, he should give the Vizir an occasion of raising a sedition,) and made him chief governor of the court, which office he enjoyed as long as the Vizir continued in his dignity; but after the Vizir was deposed

and banished, there being no longer any danger of a rebellion in the army, Osman aga was treacherously drawn in by Bostanji bashi into Kavak, or the castle of the Bosphorus, and there beheaded by order of the Sultan: for it was thought, that he being bribed by the Russians, had been the chief adviser of the peace made by the Vizir.

distress

distress there comes a Moldavian, with orders from the Czar to retire to his camp; upon which Janus throwing his troops into a square, retreats slowly, and bravely resists the numberless forces of the enemy, whenever they attack him.

XL. When he was not far from the camp, and strongly pressed by the enemy, Cantemir, Prince of Moldavia, with his troops, marches to his assistance, and for three hours withstands sixty thousand Turkish and Tartarian horse, and repulsing them not without loss, returns to the camp at Stanilesti.

XLI. But the Czar finding himself in such a situation, that he could not open his ranks, nor march forward on account of the enemy's forces, and the want of provisions, changes his resolution; and about the second-hour of the night setting fire to the empty and superfluous carriages, because the whole camp could not be conveyed away by the soldiers, marches his army back toward the hill of Rabie.

XLII. The Turks, at day-break, seeing the Russian camp abandoned, and imagining them to fly, follow with the utmost speed, and endeavour to stop their march with their whole force. But this not succeeding, and perceiving that the Russians were advanced about noon to the place designed, they encamp likewise on both sides the river, and annoy the enemy that day with continual but slight skirmishes.

XLIII. The day after the Vizir, with the Janizaries and best part of the army, comes up, and with four hundred and seventy cannon fires upon the enemy's camp, after which the Janizaries make a vigorous assault upon the Russians, which they repeat seven times with great fury. The Russians, though they had but thirty cannon, and were extremely distressed for want of provisions, and especially forage, bravely repel the Janizaries, and oblige them to retire with great loss to their trenches.

XLIV. Having fought thus for three days with doubtful success, at last, on the fourth day, contrary to all hope and expectation, a sudden peace shines forth amidst the storms of war. This is more readily agreed to by the Turks, because their camp resounded with the complaints of the soldiery, and the Janizaries who had escaped, refused to return to an engagement, in which they had sustained so great loss, and had been in the most imminent danger.

XLV. These pacific measures are indeed opposed by the King of Sweden, who the day before came from Bender to the camp, and he uses his utmost efforts to prevent the peace, but meets with a repulse from the Vizir, who had a greater regard for the Othman interest than the King's.

XLVI. The conditions of peace being agreed upon, the Czar sends Peter Baron of Shafrow, vice-chancellor of the Russian Empire, and Michael Borisovicz Sheremetew, captain of the guards, as ambassadors extraordinary to Constantinople for the confirmation of the peace.

XLVII. These being sent to the Turkish camp, the next day the Czar marches his army towards Mohilow, and there passing the Tyras, returns through Poland to his capital of Petersburg.

XLVIII. In the close of this narration, it will not be improper to add a heroic saying of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia, worthy the imitation of all Christian Princes. For when he sent ambassadors to make peace with the Turks, the Vizir's first demand was, that Cantemir, the rebel Prince of Moldavia, should be delivered up to him. The ambassadors acquainting him with this demand, and many of the courtiers perswading him not to lose so numerous an army for the sake of one man, he answered with a truly royal spirit, "That he could resign all the country as far as Curiska to the Turks, since there was hope of recovering it again; but could by no means violate his faith, and deliver up a Prince, who had abandoned his Principality for his sake, because it was impossible to repair honour once forfeited." The Turks hearing this, desisted from their demand, and made peace upon other conditions, so well known, that we think it needless to insert them in this Volume.

Cantemir with his troops comes to his assistance.

The Czar removes his camp on account of the disadvantageous situation of the place.

The enemy imagining them to fly, attacks them with great fury.

The Vizir surrounds the Russian camp, assaults it with great fury.

Great hopes of peace appear.

The King of Sweden endeavours in vain to disturb it.

Ambassadors sent to confirm the articles of peace.

The Czar returns with his army.

The heroic saying of Peter the Great.



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ERRATA.

Page 360. Line 25. and 364. l. 33. for *Chateau-nouveau*, read *Chateau-neuf*. p. 276. dele the note at the bottom of the page. *Sko* is a diminutive in the *Tartarian* language. Thus *Dorofhenko* is a diminutive of *Dorofhen*.

F I N I S.



The LIFE of

DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR,
Prince of *MOLDAVIA*.

PRINCE Demetrius Cantemir was born October 26, 1673. His father, Constantine Cantemir, was then but Serdar, that is, governor and general of three districts of *Moldavia*.*

In the year 1684 his father was made Prince of *Moldavia*, and the *Port* demanding one of his sons in hostage, he sent his eldest son, Antiochus, attended with six young Nobles, to *Constantinople*. Three years after Demetrius Cantemir was ordered by his father to go and relieve his brother. At that time Constantine Brancovan, mortal enemy of the Cantemir family, was Prince of *Wallachia*. Brancovan, on the arrival of Demetrius at *Constantinople*, in order to destroy his father's credit with the *Port*, insinuates to the Prime Vizir that Demetrius was not Prince Cantemir's second son, but a youth procured by him to draw his true son, Antiochus, out of the hands of the *Turks*. Whereupon the Vizir, to examine the affair, sending for Demetrius, the moment he appeared, said, Brancovan has invented the blackest of calumnies; for old Cantemir is very visible in the person of young Demetrius. In a word, Demetrius shined in such a manner in this his first appearance before the prime minister of the *Othman* Empire, and afterwards gave so many proofs of a ripe understanding and a prudent conduct, that he rendered himself a son worthy of his father.

He remained at *Constantinople* till 1691, when, relieved by his brother Antiochus, he returned to his father. During his stay at *Constantinople*, he studied the *Turkish* language and *musick*, in which he afterwards excelled to such a degree, that he was the first introducer of *musical notes* among the *Turks*, and composed several pieces of *musick* which are sung to this day with great pleasure.

In the year 1692 *Daltaban*, the Seraskier, having besieged *Soroca*, he followed his father to the army, and received a great deal of respect from that *Turkish* general.

The next year his father died on the thirteenth of *March*. On his death-bed he sent for his son and nobles, and desired them, before he expired, to chuse a successor. The nobles unanimously declare Demetrius for their Prince. The dying father was delighted with this news, flattering himself that his son's election would be confirmed by the Sultan; but money was more prevalent at the *Port* than the father's services and the son's merit, so another was appoint-

* Constantine Cantemir had four wives, of which the third was mother of our author.

ed, and *Demetrius* was obliged to leave his country, and retire to his brother at *Constantinople**

1697.

IN After this he was, by the Prime Vizir's order, at the battle of *Zenta*. As he was only a volunteer, he was not in the battle, and, flying with the *Turks*, returned with the remains of the army to *Constantinople*.

Brancovan continuing his enmity to the family, persecuted the two brothers to the utmost of his power. *Demetrius*'s merit had inflamed his hatred, for he was in great esteem with all the ministers at court. He had not only made himself master of *Turkish*, but also of *Arabic* and *Persian*; and his affability and cheerful temper rendered him the delight of the best company in the metropolis. *Brancovan* therefore believing *Demetrius* was the only person whom he had to fear as a rival, spared no pains or money to cause him to be removed from the *Port*; and at last by a great sum obtained, though in vain, his enemy's banishment; for *Demetrius* having notice of it, concealed himself at the house of a *Basha*, who not only entertained him and his family with great civility forty days, but procured a revocation of the sentence, and the means of his appearing at court with more lustre than ever. This was a great mortification to *Brancovan*, who had some reason for his proceedings: for *Demetrius* so ardently wished for the Principality of *Walachia*, that he twice refused that of *Moldavia*, which however, by his recommendation, was both times given to his brother *Antiochus*.

1700.

When his brother went first to take possession of his Principality, *Demetrius* accompanied him, and at that time married *Cassandra*, daughter of *Serban Cantacuzenus*, who had been Prince of *Walachia*. By this marriage, *Demetrius* had a daughter in *Moldavia*, and shortly after was forced to quit that country, and return with his brother, who was deposed, to *Constantinople*, where he became the father of another daughter and four sons.

1710.

During this third residence at *Constantinople*, *Demetrius*, having nothing better to do, employed himself in building his house, and studying the customs and usages of the country. He had many years leisure; for he departed not from *Constantinople* till the year 1710, when *Peter the Great*, Czar of *Muscovy*, declared war with the Infidels. Upon this monarch's approach with his army towards the borders of *Moldavia*, the *Port* thought proper to appoint *Demetrius* Prince of that Province, because the present governor, *Nicolaus Maurocordatus*, though a learned man, and in great repute at the *Turkish* court, was not a fit person in a time of war, having neither courage nor skill in military affairs. *Demetrius* was forced to accept of this dignity both by the *Vizir* and the insinuations of the Chan of the *Tartars*, who had intimated to the *Port*, that he was the only Christian capable of doing signal service on this occasion. Hence it was that *Demetrius* was so far from making the usual presents to the Sultan and the *Turkish* ministers, that he was allowed by the *Port* twenty purfes towards his expence.

1710.

He was no sooner arrived at *Jassy*, metropolis of *Moldavia*, but he received orders from the *Port* to build a bridge over the *Danube* for the passage of the *Turkish* army; and withal, was commanded by the *Vizir* to send him the money due to him and the other officers for his advancement to that Principality. *Demetrius* was extremely incensed with the last order, and from that moment resolved to be revenged of the *Vizir*, and embrace the present opportunity of freeing his country from the *Turkish* yoke.

By good fortune, *Peter the Great* sent to him at this time a *Greek* physician, named *Policala*, with very advantageous proposals. Whereupon, as the service of a Christian Prince, and the happiness of his own people were concerned, he soon came to an agreement with that Monarch; by which, 1. *Moldavia*, restored to its ancient extent, was to be under the protection of *Russia*. 2. The Prince and his people were to swear fidelity to his Czarish Majesty as soon as the *Russian* army was entered *Moldavia*. 3. The Prince at the same time was to join his forces with the Czar, and act in concert against the *Turks*. 4. The Prince, as

* It must be observed, that the sons of the Prince of *Moldavia* and of *Walachia*, as well as the deposed Prince (called by the *Turks*, *Mavil*) are obliged to live at *Constantinople*.

well

well as his successors, were to enjoy for ever the sovereignty of *Moldavia* under the auspices of the *Russian* Monarchs. 5. No other person could be admitted to the Principality till the *Cantemir* family was entirely extinct. These, with some other conditions, were ratified by the Czar at *Lusk* in *Poland*, the thirteenth of *April* 1711, under the seal of the Empire, and sent by an express to the Prince. Pursuant to this agreement, *Demetrius* continued to give the Czar proper advices concerning the forces he was to bring with him, and the methods he was to take in the enterprize.

Mean while, he failed not to go on with the bridge over the *Danube*, the direction of which, at the charge of the *Turks*, *Moldavia* and *Walachia* finding timber, was wholly committed to him: so that he could easily retard the work, which he did to the utmost of his power, without incurring the least suspicion of corresponding with the *Russians*, and continually pressed the Czar to hasten his march before the finishing of the bridge. Unfortunately his advices, as of a man whose fidelity was not yet approved, were not readily followed; and the Czar, deceived by the hopes given him by *Brancovan*, Prince of *Walachia*, came too late to hinder the *Turks* passing the *Danube*. The Czar arrived at *Jassy* in *June* 1711, where the Nobles and People of *Moldavia* acknowledged him for sovereign, and, with their Prince, publicly swore fidelity to him. As this expedition is related at large in the history, it suffices to say that the Czar was, for want of necessaries, obliged to make a disadvantageous peace with the *Turks*; but, to his immortal honour, refused to deliver up Prince *Cantemir*, though himself, family, and army, were in the utmost distress. His minister was ordered to tell the *Turks* the Prince was not in his camp, he being, during the treaty, shut up in the Czarina's coach, which was known only to a servant who brought him his victuals.

The Prince, seeing he could not remain in *Moldavia*, obtained a patent from the Czar, by which the Czar promised him and the *Moldavian* Nobles amends for their losses, and a refuge in his dominions. By this instrument (dated at *Mogilof*, the first of *August* 1711) he created *Demetrius* and his Heirs Princes of the *Russian* Empire, with the title of most serene Highness, and gave him the privilege of being accountable only to the Czar himself, and the *Moldavians* that should retire into *Russia*, to him alone.

Upon this agreement, he removed his family and goods from *Jassy*, and followed the *Russian* camp, attended with above a thousand *Moldavian* Nobles and Officers, who abandoned their country for his sake.

The Prince with his followers retired to *Charcov* in *Ukrania*, which was appointed for the habitation of himself and people. He remained there with all his family till 1713, when he removed to *Moscow*. At his request, the Czar not only divided the lands he had given him in *Ukrania* among the *Moldavian* Nobles, but gave him also a thousand farm-houses belonging to the Crown. These lands had ever been in the possession of the Czars, and both for situation and number of inhabitants, are reckoned the best in the Empire. His majesty moreover allowed him a large annual pension, which was paid as long as the Prince lived.

Soon after *Demetrius*'s arrival at *Moscow*, his wife, *Cassandra*, continually grieving for the loss of her country and relations in *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, where her own and husband's effects were seized by the *Port*, fell sick of a fever, and, by the ignorance of the Apothecary, who gave her a too strong purging potion, was sent out of the world, after a few days illness, in the flower of her age, being but thirty years old. She was a woman of great prudence and sense, much given to reading, and withal very mindful of her family-affairs, and the education of her children. Her beauty, of which she had a good share, was her least ornament. She was buried at *Moscow* in a *Greek* cloyster, where the Prince, her husband, had contributed to the building of a fine Church.

The next year *Demetrius* came to *Petersburg* with his third son, *Serban*, but seven years old. The boy, on *Easter-Day*, made a speech in *Greek* before the Czar, for which the Czar gave him a handsome present, and listed him in his own regiment.

No. 20.

6 A

As

1711.

1711.

1713.

May 11, 1713.

1714.

As the Czar travelled the next year into foreign countries, *Demetrius* took the opportunity to visit his territories, where he staid till 1716. At that time he finished his History of the *Othman* Empire, begun at *Constantinople*.

1716. In 1716, *Demetrius* exercised the power given him by the Czar over the *Moldavian* Nobles, among whom the villages of *Ukrania* had been divided. These Lords frequently meeting at entertainments, happened one time to fall out in their cups, and, drawing their sabres, two of them were unfortunately killed, and several wounded. Whereupon complaints were brought to the Prince, who, citing the offenders to appear before him, after a trial, condemned three to death, and some other to the galleys: but afterwards changed the sentence of death into that of corporal punishment, which was executed, and the whole approved by the Czar. This perhaps is the only instance in the *Russian* History of a subject's exercising the power of life and death in his own name.

1717. In 1717, the Czar being called home by the troubles excited in his country, *Demetrius* returned also to *Moscow*, where he was often with his Majesty, and even received frequent visits from him. At the Czar's departure to *Petersburg*, he was ordered to attend him, but his family remained at *Moscow*, his second daughter, *Smaragda*, being seized with a phtisick.

1718. When he came to *Petersburg*, he happened to see, at a publick assembly of the Nobles held regularly every winter, the third daughter of Prince *Trubezkoi*, the present Field-Marshal of the *Russian* forces, the greatest beauty of her time, and, falling in love with her, demanded her in a few days of her father in marriage. He obtained his request, and married her the beginning of the winter. A little before the nuptials, he shaved his beard, and changed his *Moldavian* for the *French* habit. The Czar was pleased to come in person, and conduct him to the Church where the ceremony was to be performed, and led him back to his house, presenting him by the way with a rich sword.

After the nuptial-feast, which lasted three days, and at which his Majesty, with the Empress, Princesses of the blood, and all the Nobles at *Petersburg*, were present, he was made a privy-counsellor.

His children had now followed him to *Petersburg*, except his daughter *Smaragda*, who daily growing worse, died the fourth of *July*, in her seventeenth year. But her loss was supplied by a daughter which his second wife bore him the eighth of *November*, the same year, to whom the Czar and Czarina stood Godfather and Godmother, and named her also *Smaragda*.

1720. The next year he was ordered to follow the Czar into *Persia*, with Count *Tolstoi* and Admiral *Apraxin*. In this expedition *Apraxin* commanded the army, and *Tolstoi*, with *Demetrius*, had the direction of the civil affairs, these three composing his Majesty's council.

He accompanied the Czar to *Colonna*, a town ninety *verset* from *Moscow*, situated at the mouth of the *Moscua*, which runs into the *Occa*. Here he found his family, which followed him by water, and embarking, pursued his journey to *Astracan*, where he arrived the fourth of *July*.

1721. He had but just left *Colonna*, when he began to feel a pain in his reins, with a light fever, attended now and then with such a weakness, that he was forced to keep his bed three or four days. However, it did not prevent him from employing himself in setting up a *Turkish* press to print the Czar's declarations of war, which he had a mind to publish in *Persia* in that language. The flat vessels in which he sailed were very proper for this project: so that by the time the Czar arrived at *Astracan*, every thing was ready for printing the declarations. In *August*, *Demetrius* embarked at *Astracan* on board a frigate of twenty guns, to follow the Czar into *Persia*. The whole army crossed the sea with his Majesty, and in a few days safely arrived at the place where the fort of the *holy Cross* is since built.

As *Demetrius* was obliged to accompany the Czar by land to *Derbent*, he sent his frigate with his baggage and servants to wait for him there. But unhappily, this vessel was thrown by a storm on a sand-bank, and, excepting the crew, every thing was lost. Among other things, the Prince lost his cabinet with his papers, particularly a manuscript history from *Mahomet* the false Prophet, to *Othman* the

first *Turkish* Sultan; a work which had cost a great deal of pains, and deserved a better fate.

The Prince's illness daily increased, and neither himself nor the physicians could find out the cause. He continued his journey however to *Derbent*, and, in an interval of ease, visits the famous wall on the mountains of *Caucasus*; of which Professor *Bayer* has given a particular account in the second volume of the Acts of the Academy at *Petersburg*.

In his return from *Derbent*, *Demetrius's* distemper was found to be a *Diabetes*, which so weakened him, that he could not mount his horse. Believing himself near death, he made his will, which he delivered into the Czar's hands, whom he appointed his executor and guardian of his children. His three eldest sons were with him, but his wife, daughter, and youngest son, were left at *Astracan*. The Czar proceeding to that city, left *Policala*, the Empress's physician, to take care of him.

Demetrius came in *August* to *Astracan*, so wasted, that his friends hardly knew him. The beginning of *December* he was in such danger, that he believed it necessary to confess and communicate, expecting death every moment. Admiral *Apraxin*, Count *Tolstoi*, and Prince *George Trubezkoi*, hastned to take their last leave of him. His wife, children, and family, stood round him in tears, whilst he with uncommon resolution comforted them, recommending them to the three ministers, and exhorting them to mutual love and firm union after his death.

In this extremity, it was remembered that Mr. *Englert*, a physician in the army, had not been consulted. He was immediately sent for, and by his skill so far conquered the distemper, that *Demetrius* had strength to go to the Cathedral of *Astracan* on *Christmas-Day*. Finding himself daily grow stronger, he resolved to leave *Astracan*, and repair to his lands, for which he obtained the Czar's leave.

He began his journey in *January* 1723, which was very tedious, not only on Jan. 14, account of the great distance, but also by the returns of his distemper. How- 1723. ever, he arrived at last, in *March*, in pretty good health. He spent his time in the usual diversions of the country, in finishing his domestic affairs, and in building a Church, dedicated to St. *Demetrius*, when his health permitted him. At last, on the fifteenth of *August*, he was seized with a slow fever, and his *Diabetes* increased to such a degree, that he died the twenty-first of the same month, aged 1723. forty-nine years, seven months, and five days.

He had by his first wife six sons and two daughters, and by his second an only daughter. One of his daughters and two sons died in his life-time, and he left behind him two daughters, *Maria* and *Smaragda*; and four sons, *Matthew*, *Constantine*, *Serban*, and *Antiochus*, who are all alive. The last is now Minister Plenipotentiary from the Czarina to King *George*, and brought with him into *England* the *Latin* manuscript of his father's *Othman* History, from whence the *English* Translation was made.

Demetrius was of a middle-size, rather lean than fat. He had an agreeable countenance, and always spoke with affability, mildness and caution. His custom was to rise at five in the morning, and, smoking a pipe of tobacco over a dish of coffee after the *Turkish* manner, he retired to his study till dinner, which was constantly at noon. He generally dined upon one dish, his favourite dish being small chicken with forrel. At his meals he always drank water with his wine. Drunkenness was his mortal enemy, for, after once drinking too much, he was sick a fortnight. He slept a little after dinner, and the rest of the day was spent in his study till seven in the evening. Then he saw his family, and supping at ten, went to bed at twelve. He was obliged to alter his way of living after he had been made Privy-Counsellor by the Czar, and had married a young wife; for the affairs of state, and the charms of a beautiful young spouse, frequently took him off from his studies.

His father's death, when he was but a youth, his long stay at *Constantinople* without employ, and the short continuance of the government of his Principality, did not allow him to show his capacity in civil affairs, and his courage in military, though he wanted neither. His whole sedentary life was employed in culti- vating

vating his mind, the fruits of which appear in his works, the chief whereof are the following :

1. History of the growth and decay of the *Othman* Empire, in *Latin*, a manuscript.
2. System of the *Mahometan Religion*, written and printed in *Russian*, by the order of *Peter the Great*, to whom it is dedicated by the Author, in *Folio*.
3. *The World and the Soul*, printed in *Moldavia* in the *Greek* and *Moldavian* tongues: it is a book of morality in dialogues.
4. The ancient and modern history of *Dacia*, a large *Folio*, written in the *Moldavian* language, a manuscript. The same book in *Latin* was lost in the *Caspian Sea*.
5. Present State of *Moldavia*, in *Latin*, with a large map of the country. It is now printing in *Holland* in *Quarto*.
6. History of the Creation, with physical observations, in *Latin*. A manuscript in *Folio*, intitled, *Theologo-Physica*.
7. The History of the two houses of *Brancovan* and *Cantacuzenus*, in the *Moldavian Tongue*; a manuscript, in *Quarto*.
8. History of the *Mahometans*, from the time of the false Prophet *Mahomet*, to the first *Turkish* Emperor, lost in the *Caspian Sea*.
9. A book of *Turkish musical Airs*, in *Quarto*.
10. Introduction to the *Turkish* musick, in the *Moldavian* language, in *Octavo*.

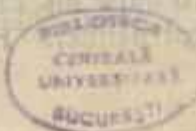
Besides his compleat works, he has penned several imperfect treatises, mostly upon morality and history, originals of which are preserved.

He spoke *Turkish*, *Persian*, *Arabic*, modern *Greek*, *Latin*, *Italian*, *Russian*, and *Moldavian*; and understood very well ancient *Greek*, *Slavonian*, and *French*.

His principal study was History, though he made a good progress in Philosophy and the Mathematicks, of which Architecture pleased him most. The Churches he built in three of his villages, are of his design and manner.

He was member of the Academy of *Berlin*, and at the same time the news of his death reached *Petersburg*, the Emperor of *Germany's* Resident received for the deceased a patent creating him *Prince of the Roman Empire*, which he sent back to his master.

F I N I S.



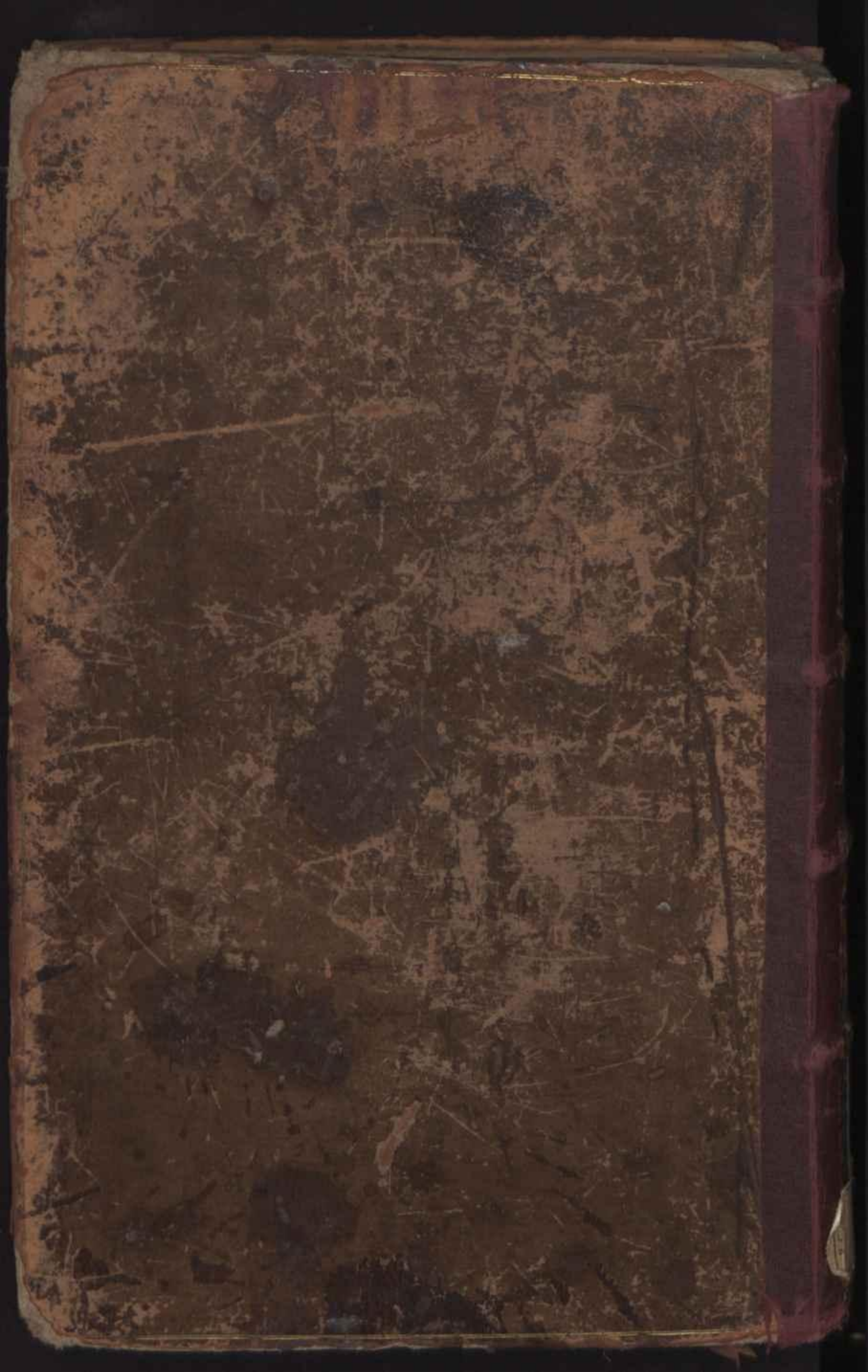
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91 (2) Cantemir
92 Cantemir
92-94 = 2





MURAD or AMURATH I.
 Son of Orchan, third Emperor of the Turks
 in the Year 1360.
 From an Original Picture in the Seraglio.



The REIGN of
MURAD or **AMURATH I.**
 Son of **ORCHAN**,
 AND
 Third **EMPEROR** of the **TURKS.**

BOOK I. CHAP. IV.

I. Murad takes Ancyra. II. Then Adrianople and Philippolis. III. Founds a Jami. IV. Institutes the military Order of Janizaries. V. Conquers Servia. VI. Marries his Son Bajazet, and receives by surrender the Dominions of Hamid. VII. Takes Bolina by his prayers. VIII. Invades Macedonia and Albania. IX. The Victory at Cossovia, the occasion of his death. X. Yacub *Chelebi is strangled, and Lazarus Duke of Servia beheaded. XI. Murad's Burial and Encomium.

I. **MURAD** (1), the first of that Name, in the forty-first year of his Age, not only inherited his Father's Empire but his Virtues also. In the very beginning of his Reign he assumes, in order to show his religious disposition, the name of

H. 761.

A. C. 1360.

Murad takes

Ancyra.

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(1) Murad] We should be in- with Amurius, the Lydian General, cfin'd to believe him to be the same and Friend of Cantacuzenus, so celebrated

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of *Chodarvendikar* (2), which in the *Persian* language signifies, *God's Labourer*, and gives an instance of his Bravery by subduing in the first year of his Reign, the strong City of *Ancyra*, with several Castles in the same Parts.

He takes also
Adrianople
and *Philippa*
St.

II. When he had thus establish'd his Empire in *Asia*, he turn'd his thoughts to his *European* affairs. And therefore the same year orders his Prime Vizir, *Etabeki Sbabyn Lala* (3), a General both valiant and

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brated by *Gregoras*, if the computation of years would allow it. But since he says *Amurius* died of a wound receiv'd by an Arrow in the year of Christ 1348, and of the *Hegira* 749, at the siege of a Castle built by the *Christians* for the defence of *Smyrna*, and as *Murad* was not known in *Europe* till eleven years after; namely, in 760, and the next year ascended the throne, on the death of his father *Orcban*; we conjecture that *Gregoras* meant some other *Persian* Prince in *Asia* of the same name with Sultan *Murad*, whose dominions (because they are not mention'd in the *Turkish Annals*) either fell to Another for want of Heirs, or were swallow'd up by some powerful neighbouring Prince. However, the more *Cantacuzenus's* folly is to be blam'd, for making use of an Infidel, not only to curb his Enemies, but to lay waste the *Christian* Territories, and thereby showing a way to the *Mahometans* into *Europe*; the more praise-worthy were the virtues of *Amurius*, and the uncommon generosity of the *Turks* towards those they call *Gaur* or *Infidels*. Certainly *Amurius's* inviolable Friendship for *Cantacuzenus*, which was the same in adversity, deserves no less encomiums than those bestow'd by the Antients on the Friendship of *Pylades* and *Orestes*. *Gregoras*, so frequently mention'd by us with honour, gives us singular instances of this friendship in his thirteenth Book; which, as his Works are not in every one's hands, it will not be improper to insert here. The Emperor *Cantacuzenus* being engag'd in the *Triballian* War, *Amurius*, when he saw he was not

attended with the desir'd success, crossed the *Hellepont* in the depth of Winter, and came to the Emperor's Assistance with a powerful Army. But being detain'd by the badness of the Weather, and the Ways near *Dydomythyon*, where the Empress *Irene* was left with a few Attendants, he pitched his Tents in the Fields; and would not enter the City, or embrace the opportunities given him by the Empress, neither would he, tho' desir'd, come into her presence; saying, it was no less absurd to visit his Friend's Wife in his absence, than unbecoming and repugnant to Friendship, to enjoy the pleasures of life, whilst his Friend in a foreign Country was struggling with his adverse fortune.

(2) *Chodarvendikar*] This is a *Persian* word, and signifies *God's Workman*, or *addicted to divine things*. Why Sultan *Murad* assum'd this Appellation, is uncertain, tho' he undoubtedly took this as well as several other Titles.

(3) *Lala*] This word signifies etymologically, *Tutor* or *Foster-father*, who is appointed to be Guardian and Instructor to the young Princes. This name was first given to the Prime Vizir of *Murad I.* From that time the *Turkish* Emperors, both in speaking and writing to them, have been wont to give the appellation of *Lala* as well to the Prime, as to all other Vizirs, as *Lalam Ali Pascha*, and *Mi Lala Ali Pascha*. Besides these, the *Agasi* or General of the Janizaries, and the *Bostranji Pascha* or the Chief of the Gardiners or Keepers of the Royal Palaces, have the same Title, tho' the last is of a

much

wife, with some light-armed Troops to cross the Straits of *Callipolis* and take *Adrianople*, whilst he himself follows with a more powerful Army. The Vizir at the first assault takes *Adrianople* before the Sultan's Arrival; at the news of which, *Murad*, thinking his presence would be unnecessary, returns with a few forces to *Prusa*. But lest a delay should be detrimental to his affairs, he appoints *Haji Ornusbeg* to be *Beglerbeg* (4) of *Rumeli* (5), or his *European* Conquests, after he had order'd the Prime Vizir to lead his most victorious Army into the inmost Parts of *Tbrace*. This was done with such speed, that not only *Felibe* but *Eshkizagena* and other neighbouring Places were taken from the *Greeks*, and added to the *Othmanic* Empire.

III. The next year *Murad* gave a singular instance of his Piety. Hitherto the Sultan had never been used to say the common Prayers, call'd *Namaz* (6), with the rest of the People. *Menla Fenari* the

H. 762.
A. C. 1361.
He erected a
Janisary
Musti

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much inferior degree. This name is given to the first, because it is his Business to guard the Sons of the Sultans from being kill'd by Fathers or Brothers; and to the other, because he has the care of the imperial Palace, especially in the Sultan's absence, which Office among the *Greeks* was call'd, *Curpalatis*.

(4) *Beglerbeg*] This word signifies *Prince of Princes*, (as *Sbabyn-shab*, *Emperor of Emperors*) which title, tho' all the Vizirs who have three Horsetails, do enjoy, yet three are more especially honoured with it; namely, *Rumeli Beglerbegi*, who resides at *Sophia*, *Anadoli Beglerbegi*, who keeps his residence at *Kutabia*, and *Sbam Beglerbegi*, who resides at *Damascus*; which City in *Arabic*, is *Demesbek*, tho' vulgarly call'd *Sbam*, and *Shami Sberif*, *Damascus the Holy*.

(5) *Rumeli*] By this name is understood among the *Turks*, both *Greece* and *Europe*, and also all the *European* Provinces under the *Turkish* dominion. Hence *Rumeli Beglerbegi*, that is, Prince of the Princes of *Greece*, or the *European* Regions. [See Note (6) p. 20.]

(6) *Namaz*] These are the common and daily prayers, which the *Turks* by their law, are commanded to repeat five times in the space of

twenty-four hours, and are thus distinguished: *Sabah Namazi*, or Morning-Prayers; *Oile Namazi*, or Noon-Prayers; *Ikindi-Namaz*, or Afternoon-Prayers; *Achsham Namazi*, or Evening-Prayers; *Tatzi Namazi*, or Night-Prayers. Of these, Three are fix'd, namely, the *Morning*, *Evening*, and *Night* Prayers; and two are moveable, namely, the *Oile* and *Ikindi*, according to the length or shortness of the day. For instance, at the Equinox, the Morning-Prayers are said before the twelfth hour of the night; that is, the hour before Sun-rising, [or between five and six of the clock in the morning.] Noon-Prayers at the sixth hour of the day, [or our twelve of the clock.] Afternoon-Prayers at the ninth hour, [or three of the clock.] Evening-Prayers at the twelfth hour, [or six of the clock.] Night-Prayers at the first hour and half of the night, [or half an hour past seven.] Moreover, in appointing the time of these Prayers, they are so superstitious, that after the prescrib'd hour they deem them vain and fruitless, and to be repeated hereafter in *Arâf* (or *Purgatory*.) Thus, to say Morning-Prayers after-Sun-rising, Noon-prayers at the ninth hour, *Ikindi* at the twelfth, Evening-Prayers in the night, and *Tatzi* at

day-

B.C.S.

Musti (7), who at that time discharg'd among the Turks the office of Judge.

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day-break, they neither think lawful nor acceptable to God. In the Field, before a Battle, they are obliged to perform their Namaz; but after the battle is begun, or if it continues beyond the hour, the Namaz may be omitted without sin, because they are of opinion that a more acceptable worship cannot possibly be paid to God, than to fight strenuously against the Christians. [Friday or the Turkish Sunday, is distinguished from other days, only by their going on that day six times to their Mosques, the additional Prayers being said between Sun-rising and noon, and are call'd Salah Namazi.]

(7) Musti] He is also call'd by the compounded name of, Musti-zeman, or, Shichulisham, or Sabibi setva, the Maker of Laws, the Giver of Judgments, the Prelate of Orthodoxy. He is the Chief of the Ecclesiastical Order, and of the greatest Authority in the Othman Empire; for even the Sultan himself, if he will preserve any appearance of religion, cannot without first hearing his opinion, put any person to death, or so much as inflict any corporal punishment. In all actions, and especially criminal ones, his opinion is required, by giving him a writing, wherein the state of the Case under feigned names, is given in the following manner; "Zaid, if it be prov'd by good evidences that Titus has acted contrary to the Sultan's commands, and has not obeyed, as he ought, nor submitted to his Mandates; Is he to be punished or no?" When he has read these Words, the Musti, according to the state of the Case, subscribes, Ollur, (he shall) or Olmaz, (he shall not). But if the Musti is to appoint the punishment, the Writing given him is to this effect: "If a man knew, his horse had lost his shoes, and had time and opportunity to have new ones set on, yet without any compassion for his beast, drove him thro'

rough and stony ways till the evening; What punishment shall be inflicted on so merciless a Master?" To which the Musti would subscribe, He ought to be bastinadoed: because that is the punishment appointed in their Law for such an offence; (for the Turks believe, that in the last Judgment, God will judge Man not only with Man, but also with Beasts, and Beasts with Beasts. Sentence being given, all Animals indeed are instantly to dye again, and return to dust; but that God will eternally punish Infidels, and reward Musulmans, if they have been conspicuous for Good Works, with everlasting happiness; or if they have polluted themselves with sin, punish them for a time according to their demerits in Arif or Purgatory, after which he will admit them into a state of Bliss.) After the same manner, in every Cause, Civil or Ecclesiastical, and especially in the making War or Peace, the Turks are bound by their law to consult the Musti. [Such outward Honour is paid the Musti, that the Grand Signor himself rises up to him, and advances seven steps towards him, when the Musti comes into his presence, who alone has the honour of kissing the Sultan's left shoulder, whilst the Prime Vizir with a profounder reverence, kisses only the hem of his garment, and is met with but three steps. Ricaut says, the Titles given by the Grand Signor to the Musti, are as follows: "To the Esad, who art the Wisest of the Wise, instructed in all Knowledge; the most Excellent of Excellent, abstaining from things unlawful; the Spring of Virtue and true Science; Heir of the Prophetic and Apostolic Doctrines; Resolver of the Problems of Faith; Revealer of the Orthodox Articles; Key of the Treasures of Truth; the Light to doubtful Allegories, strengthened with the Grace of the superze

Judge, not enduring this custom, took occasion when Murad once came before him to give in his evidence, to reject him as a Witness unworthy of Credit. The Sultan wondering at this strange Proceeding, and asking the reason, was answer'd by the Musti, that indeed he accounted his Testimony true and unexceptionable as imperial, but of no force in judgment, as coming from a Man who never us'd to be present at the common Prayers with the rest of the Musulmans (8). Whereupon Murad, grieving for what was past, orders as an Attonement for his fault a spacious Jami to be built at Adrianople, over against the royal Palace, which at this day retains the name of Muradie (9).

IV. The year 763 is memorable for the institution of the military order of the Janizaries. Ornus, the Beglerbeg, of Rumeli, had now taken Ipsala and Malgara, laid waste the neighbouring Territories with fire and sword, and from thence brought away a numberless multitude of Captives. Kara Halil Pascha (10), the Prime Vizir takes occasion

H. 763
A. C. 1362
Institution of the Janizaries.

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preme Assister and Legislator of Mankind. May the most High God perpetuate thy Virtues." Whatever inward reverence was once paid the Musti, it is now become very little more than form. If he interprets the law, or gives sentence contrary to the Sultan's pleasure he is immediately displac'd, and a more pliant Person put in his room. The Musti if convicted of Treason, and the like crimes, is put into a Mortar remaining for that purpose, in the prison of the Seven Towers at Constantinople, and pounded to death.]

(8) Musulmans] This word is a corruption of Mustiman, Mistiman, or Mustiman, as is also Musurman, from whence Buzurman. It signifies one of pure and untainted faith, or as we should say, Orthodox. From the word Imam came all the observers of the Mahometan Worship, who follow the rites and ceremonies appointed by those great Turkish Saints, Imam Asem, and Imam Sbasji. They who receive any new rites, or such as are different from these, are call'd Mezhibi, Ritushists, or Hereticks, Kafir, and Infidels as the Persians, and Rafazi, which name signifies something worse than Infidel. Hence the Musulman Turks say, that the divine clemency may be extended to other

Infidels, namely, Christians and Jews, but by no means to the Rafazi, and that their sin is seventy times more heinous in the sight of God than that of the others.

(9) Muradie] That is, Murad's Temple, as Sulamanie, Soliman's Temple, Mubamedie, Muhammed's Temple, &c. It is the Prerogative of the Emperor alone to call any royal Jami by his own name, the Prime Vizir himself, though he should build ever so large a Jami, not being allowed to call it by his name as Mustafie, Mustapha's Temple. However, there are some which retain to this day, the name of their Founders, as, Dand Pascha Jami, and Ali Pascha Jami. But in all these the word Jami ought to be added, which is commonly omitted in the Selatyn, or royal ones. Nor is it lawful for the Emperors to give their names to any other Buildings than those of the Jami. Hence it is that no Town, as far as I can remember, retains the name of its Founder, except That built by Othman, the first Emperor of the Turks, which is still call'd Othmanjik, and will be farther mention'd hereafter.

(10) Kara Halil Pascha] Halil is the proper name of this Pascha. Kara, signifies a black man. For generally

the Sultan sends his new Army, desiring him to give them a Banner (16), pray to God for their happy success, and appoint them a Name. The *Shich* (17), when they were come to him, puts the Sleeve (18) of his Gown upon one of their Heads, and says, let them be call'd *Janizaries* (19), let their countenance be ever bright, their

hand

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istan Religion, order'd them to be suppress'd. But after his death the Sect reviv'd, and is at present more numerous than ever, especially at *Constantinople*. The *Seyah* are Wanderers, and tho' they have their Monasteries, yet when once they depart from them they seldom return, but spend their whole life in travelling about. For their Superiors or Prelates impose upon them, when they are sent out, such a quantity of money or provision, forbidding them to come back till they have procur'd it, and sent it to the Monastery. Wherefore a *Seyah* when he comes into a Town, cries with a loud voice, standing in the Market-place, or the Hall of the *Jami*, *Ya Allah Senden best bin altin isherim*, O God, give me I pray five thousand Crowns, or a thousand measures of Rite, &c. And when he has received the Alms of the People, he removes to another Town, and so till he has collected the Sum impos'd upon him, he is forc'd to live in distant parts. Many *Indian* Monks are of this order, and wander over the whole *Mahometan* World, entertaining the People wherever they come with agreeable relations of all the curiosities they have seen or heard of in their Travels, that they may both instruct them in foreign matters, and excite them to be the more liberal. What a grievance these *Indian* Wanderers for this reason are to the *Othman* Empire, the Reader may perceive by what happen'd in my time at *Constantinople*, in the reign of *Soliman II.* There comes at that time, a certain *Indian* with the character rather of a Messenger than Ambassador, and being admitted to the prime *Vizir* *Kupruli Mustapha*, delivers him letters from the Great *Mogul*, or (as the *Turks* call him) *Padaishah* of *India*. Then he tells

him by word of mouth, that his master hearing the *Othman* Empire was in a declining condition, and that the Enemies of the *Mahometan* law daily grew stronger, had order'd him out of zeal for his Religion, to acquaint the *Vizir* in his name, that he was ready to assist him with either money or forces as there should be occasion. To this, the *Vizir* is reported to answer, that he thank'd the Great Emperor of *India* for his friendship to the *Othman*, and should endeavour to make a return for his Good will. But that at present the *Othman* Empire, having reviv'd the Glory of her Arms by the conquest of *Alba Graeca*, could be honour'd with no greater favour from his *Indian* Majesty, than his commanding his *Be-gars* (meaning the religious Mendicants I have been speaking of) not to enter the borders of the *Othman* Dominions.

(16) Banner] The *Janizaries* bear in their Banners a two-edg'd Sword, bent like a ray of lightning, opposite to a crescent: on their heads they wear a *Kiche*, or white covering, in form of a sleeve. In other respects, they are dress'd like the rest of the *Infantry*.

(17) *Shich*] or Prelate, like the *Archimandrita* in the *Greek* Monasteries, or the *Abbot* in *Abbies*. For, with the *Turks*, not only the Superiors of the great and royal *Jami*, but also the Heads of the *Tekke* of the *Dervises*, are call'd *Shich*. Hence even the *Mufti*, who is instead of a Patriarch, is wont to be call'd, *Shich-ulislam*, i. e. *Prelate of the Sav'd*, and *Higb-Priest*.

(18) Sleeve] The Hats of the *Janizaries* retain the same form to this day.

(19) *Janizaries*] or *Yengicberi*, the name of the Sultan's ordinary Militia,

hand victorious, their sword keen, let their spear always hang over the Heads of their Enemy, and wherever they go, may they return, with a white face (20). Hence it is, these Soldiers have ever since retain'd that Name and Covering for the Head.

V. This advice was answered by the Event. For by their means in the year of the *Hegira* 766, not only *Batba* in *Asia*, and in *Europe*, *Zagara* and *Gumurjina* are reduc'd to his Empire, but also the fame of the *Othman* Arms is render'd so great, that the next year *Andronicus Palæologus* the *Grecian* Emperor, desir'd *Murad's* aid against the Prince of *Bulgaria*. *Murad* consenting to his request, sends an Army under *Lala Shabyn* into *Europe*, who unexpectedly attacking the Enemy in a place call'd *Zermen*, easily puts them to flight. The same year in the street call'd *Capluje* at *Prusa*, he orders to be built at the royal Expence, a large *Jami* or Temple, a *Medrese* or College, with an *Imaret* or Hospital.

VI. *Murad* having hitherto given very notable proofs of his warlike virtues, now show'd he was no less vers'd in the arts of peace. Certain petty Princes of *Asia* had often infested the *Othman* state, and obstructed the course of its victories. In order to divide these Princes, and when divided, gain them to his interest, and so open a way hereafter to greater Undertakings, *Murad* in the year 783, marries his Son *Bajazet* to a Daughter of *Germian Oglu* (21), with whom he receives *Kutabia*, *Egrigoz* and *Tausbanlyk*. With the same prudence, he so manag'd that *Hamid Oglu* (22) offer'd of his own accord (as several others

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litia, compounded of *Engi*, new, and *Gberi*, Soldier. Their usual number is forty thousand, and they have precedence of all the other Soldierly in honour and dignity. To Each of the *Novices* of this order, are allow'd three aspers a day, two loaves, thirty of butter. These however are not given to the *Novice* himself, but are all at once delivered out of the storehouse of each *Oda* or *Chamber* [of which there are one hundred and sixty two at *Constantinople*, built in a stately manner by the Sultans, where the *Janizaries* live as in a College] to the chief Cook who dresses them, and at dinner time sets them before such as are present. In vain do the absent expect any thing after the time is elaps'd, according to *Soliman's* rule, *Let those who keep their Oda be fed.*

But of these things more largely hereafter.

(20) *White face*] The Terms *white* or *black face*, are common Terms of Praise, or Dispraise among the *Turks*. A Master commending his Servant, says, *Aferin Yuzun ac oljun*, well done, may thy face be white or shining, and blaming him, says, *Yuzun caru oljun*, may thy face be black. But neither of these expressions is to be us'd by an Inferior to his Superior. Hence, for example, if a Soldier has a mind to praise his Captain, he must only cry, *Aferin*, well done, or *Evcallah*.

(21) *Germian Oglu*] Prince of *Phrygia major*, one of the *Perfian* Governours who revolted from his Sovereign at the time of *Jenbizaban's* Expedition.

(22) *Hamid Oglu*] He was also one of the *Perfian* Governours who in the

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others had done) to hold as Fees of the Othman Empire, the following Cities, *Elvadz, Enisbebir, Arsherb, Karagais* and *Seidibebri*.

H. 784.
A. C. 1382.
Murad takes
Bolina by his
Prayers.

VII. The affairs of *Asia* being thus settled, the next year, 784, *Murad* assembles a great Army, and passes into *Europe* by the Straits of *Callipolis*, where he besieges the Castle of *Bolina* fortified by Nature and Art; which not succeeding to his Wish by reason of the difficulty of the place and bravery of the Garrison, he is said most humbly to implore the assistance of Heaven to take so strong a Castle. The same night, great part of the Wall is reported to fall down, and the Besiegers to enter thro' the Breach and put all the Garrison to the Sword. It is added that a great number of red Hats was found in the Magazine, which *Murad* distributed to his Soldiers, and caus'd others of the same colour to be made for his whole Army (23).

Macedonia and
Albania invaded.

H. 788.
A. C. 1386.

VIII. This year by the conduct of *Lala Isbahyn, Iskenderie, Darme*, and the strong Town of *Cavalla* with almost all *Arnaud*, is subjected to the Othman Empire. Moreover in the year 788, the Towns of *Zichne, Carapheria*, and *Monastyr* are taken. In a word,

H. 791.
A. C. 1389.
The Battle of
Coffova, the
occasion of
Murad's
Death.

IX. The Othman Power grew to that height under this Emperor, that its increase could not but be look'd upon with a jealous eye by its Neighbours. Wherefore in the year of the *Hegira* 791, a League, (of which *Lazarus* Prince of *Servia* was Head) is entered into by the *Wallacians, Hungarians, Dalmatians, Triballians*, with those of *Albania* that were not yet subdued, and with united forces, it is resolv'd to cut down this aspiring Tree before it takes too deep a root. *Murad* being

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ruins of that Monarchy, possess'd himself of part of *Asia minor*, and gave his name to the Province, which at this day is call'd *Hamida* in the Maps. But this does not seem to be the antient name of that Province, but to be given by the *Turks*, after they were possess'd of it. For it is customary with the *Turks*, to call the Possessions after the name of the Possessor. Thus *Servia* is call'd *Lafcolairi*, from *Lazarus* then Prince of *Servia*. (and not from *Uladislaus*, whom *Meniskusius* will have to be *Laz*) Thus *Moldavia* is call'd *Bogdan*, from a Prince of that Name who first made it Tributary to the *Turks*. In like manner *Hamid* comes from *Hamid Oghi*.

(23) Red Hats] *Iskuf* seems to have been formerly a military covering for

the Head, but is disus'd at present by the *Turks*. For they make use now neither of Helmet or Breastplate, or other Armor, in a belief that tho' a Man were made of Adamant he could not evade or escape the law of Fate. Every one, in their opinion, bears on his forehead in characters not legible indeed by Man, but inscrib'd by the finger of God, the appointed time of his death. Hence their common Sayings, *Beside yazilmisli olan Gelmek Vadizidur, what is written on the forehead must necessarily come to pass. Acajak can damarda durmaz, the blood that is to flow out, remains not in the artery* (that is, what God has preordain'd must be done in its time) *Tacdir tedbir bozar, Providence overrules all human purposes.*

prepared

prepared for this storm leads forth his Army, and on the fourth day of *Ramazan* meets the Enemies in a place call'd *Coffova* (24). Here a fierce and long doubtful battle is fought; but at last the Christians, tho' they bravely sustain'd the charge of the Othman Soldiers, are put to flight, *Lazarus* himself is taken, his Nobles are slain, and the Runaways long pursu'd by the light Horse. The Sultan as he was walking, after the Victory, over the Field of battle and viewing the Dead, turns to the Vizir, and says, "It is strange that among the Slain of the Enemy I do not see a single old Man, but all beardless Youths." To this the Vizir answers, "Hence came their misfortune, their being destitute of the Advice of the Aged was the very cause of their overthrow; for to oppose the invincible Sword of the Othmans favours not of the prudence of the Old, but the rashness of the Young." The Sultan continuing the Discourse, is reported to say, "It is still more strange how I shou'd be deceiv'd by a vision last night in my sleep, for methought I saw my self slain by the hand of an enemy." By chance a Christian Soldier that conceal'd himself among the dead, perceiving it was the Sultan that was talking, with thoughts of revenging his Country suddenly starts up and plunges a dagger in the Emperor's Belly (25). The *Triballian* is instantly cut in pieces, and the Sultan dying within two hours, his Body is carried by the Vizir and *Bashas* to the royal Tent, and embalm'd (26). After which, the Great Men

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(24) *Coffova*] is a Plain in *Servia*, where Sultan *Murad* was stabb'd by the hand of a *Triballian*.

(25) Most Christian Writers say, this man was a Servant of *Lazarus* Prince of *Servia*, and call him *Milosh Cahilevitz*. In *Chalcocondylas*, he is a *Triballian*. Now from the *Triballians* sprung those Nations which held *Bulgaria* and *Servia*. It has more the air of Romance than History, what is related by that disgrace to all Historians, *Orbinus Rogazaus*, that *Murad* was run thro' the Body in his own Tent by *Lazarus* Despot of *Servia*. For it can hardly be thought that the *Turks* should be so imprudent as to admit one who the day before was a capital Enemy, and as he says, on horseback, to the Tent of their Prince, or that the Chamberlains and other numberless Officers, who so religiously guard the Emperor's Person, should be so negligent as to make no resistance, if he intended any violence, nor give him any notice of his coming. To this

may be added, that *Orbinus* is so openly partial in favour of his Nation, that in honour of it he frequently and without scruple transgresses the bounds of Truth; particularly his asserting the *Scythians, Italians, Swedes, Germans, Grecians, Macedonians*, and *Alexander the Great* himself, to be all deriv'd from his *Scythians*, evidently discovers the Vanity of the Man, and demonstrates that our Turkish account of *Murad's* death, is much more probable than His.

(26) Embalm'd] The *Mahometan* Law strictly forbids every Person, besides the Emperor, to keep a dead Body in his House till the second day, or to remove them beyond the space of three Italian miles. So, should the prime Vizir die in a Journey, he is to be buried in the same place where he falls, or the next Town if within distance. But the Corpse of the Emperor, should he even die upon the utmost bounds of *India*, is by his Successor to be embalm'd, and with

Men assemble about the choice of a new Emperor, and *Ildirim Bajazet*, *Murad's* eldest Son, is unanimously declar'd Sultan.

*Yacub Cbelebi** is strangled, and *Lazarus* Prince of *Servia* is beheaded.

X. *Yacub Cbelebi** (27) the younger Brother not being pleas'd with this proceeding, privately endeavours to raise a Sedition against *Bajazet*; but the thing being seasonably discover'd, he is by the command of his Brother, and consent of the Chief Men strangled with the Bow-string (28). *Lazarus* also Prince of *Servia* being consider'd as the occasion of *Murad's* death, was by *Bajazet's* order brought before him and beheaded.

ANNOTATIONS.

with the greatest speed to be convey'd to its Sepulchre, in the *Jami*, built by himself, or for want of that, into some Sepulchre of his Ancestors. This is an indispensable Law amongst them. If a private Person dies in the City, he is first wash'd with warm water, after that, his Eyes, Ears, Mouth and Fundament being stopp'd with Cotton, he is plac'd on a Bier, and on the Shoulders of Men carry'd as quick as possible to the next *Jami*, in the yard of which he is immediately deposited, Prayers having been first said in the Hall of the Temple. Ask the *Turks* the reason of this haste, and they tell you that as soon as the Soul dislodges from the Body, it is remov'd by Angels to the place destin'd for the Sepulchre, and there detain'd by Them forty days in expectation of its body. That the Soul therefore may not long wait in vain, the Body is to be convey'd with all possible dispatch. For this reason all mourning is forbid, except to the Mother, who may thrice lament the loss of her Son, and to do more would be thought a great Sin.

27 *Cbelebi** Εὐγενής, Nobly descended. This was formerly the name of the Sultan's Sons before they came to the Empire, as *Yacub Cbelebi**, *Musa Cbelebi**. But this not seeming lofty enough, was at last chang'd into *Effendi*, from the *Greek*, Ἀσθενής, which at this day is given to the chief of the *Turkish* Youth, either with the Addition of their name or without it, as *Shahzade Effendi*, Son of the Emperor *Effendi*, and with

the notation of their Office it is given to Doctors and Judges, as *Istambol Effendi*, Judge of *Constantinople*, *Musii Effendi*, *Cadilaker Effendi*, &c. But now almost all Merchants and Citizens of *Constantinople* subjoin *Cbelebi* to their own names, as *Mehmed Cbelebi**, &c. This appellation is likewise given to Youths of promising hopes, whose generous disposition seems to discover the nobleness of the blood from whence they are sprung. For the *Turks* do not measure Nobility from a series of illustrious Ancestors, as well because all *Othmans* in their opinion are equally noble, as because they think Honours are to be conferr'd not on those who are nobly descended, but on Those who are prudent, and by long experience have acquired by the culture of Virtues, a nobleness of mind. The Offspring of the Emperor therefore excepted, no Man has any right to claim a precedence or a distinction on account of his Ancestors. *Ibrahim Chan ogli*, and especially *Kupruli ogli* are exceptions to this rule, of whose race four Vizirs, illustrious for their heroic Actions, and chiefly their extensive knowledge and uncorrupt justice, have acquir'd a high esteem with the *Vulgar*. I shall deliver their History at large in its proper place.

(28) Bow-string] This Death is esteem'd the most honorable with the *Turks*, and only indulg'd to the Great. But to have the Head struck off is infamous, and still more so, to be hang'd or impal'd, the ordinary punishment of Thieves.

XI. After

XI. After this Victory purchas'd thus with the Emperor's blood, *Bajazet* dismisses the Army, and sends away his Father's Body to be buried at *Prusa* in the Royal *Jami*, then following it himself consecrates to his memory a most elegant Marble *Kubbe* or Monument (29). The *Turks* greatly extoll this Emperor. They represent him as a mirror of justice, a Prince of invincible fortitude of Mind, ever regular in his devotions, and to love no conversation so much as that of the Learned. He is also prais'd for his remarkable abstinence, so that he was never seen clothed in any thing but *Soph* (30). He reigned thirty, and liv'd seventy one years.

ANNOTATIONS.

(29) *Kubbe*] This is a Tower and Monument beautifully built, and plac'd over the Graves of Vizirs, and other Great Men. People of a middle station have two stones always standing upright, one at the head, the other at the feet. One of these stones has the name of the deceas'd elegantly writ, sometimes in prose sometimes in verse, to which is added a prayer of this, or the like Form, at the direction of the Heir, *Dam Alla buteala rabmeti, May God show eternal mercy to him.* If a Man

is buried, upon the top of the stone is a *Turkish Turbant*, if a Woman, another sort of Ornament is plac'd there: The stone at the feet is the same in both.

(30) *Soph*] This is a fine Cloth made of Wool, as thin and light as can be. It is chiefly worn by Ecclesiastics, to whom their Law forbids the use of Silk, which is permitted only to the Emperor and his Chamberlains. Hence the Person that wears a Garment of *Soph*, is call'd *Sophi*.

During MURAD's Empire from 1360, to 1390, there reigned in Europe,

- At Constantinople. { ANDRONICUS PALEOLOGUS, 1384-87.
- { EMANUEL PALEOLOGUS, 1387-1417.
- In the West. { CHARLES IV. Son to John King of Bohemia, 1346-78.
- { WENCESLAUS, Son to Charles, 1378-99.
- In England. { EDWARD III. 1326-77.
- { RICHARD II. 1377-99.
- In France. { CHARLES the Wise, or V. 1364-80.
- { CHARLES the Well beloved, or VI. 1380-1422.

The End of the Reign of MURAD OR AMURATH I.

The



The REIGN of
ILDIRIM BAJAZET I. (1)
 Son of MURAD,

AND
 Fourth EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK I. CHAP. V.

- I. Bajazet's first Expeditions. II. Battle with the Moldavians. III. Victory of Caramanogli. IV. His further Progress in Asia and Europe. V. Victory at Nicopolis. VI. Bajazet fortifies the Straits of Nicomedia. VII. Is persuaded by his Vizir to desist from Constantinople. VIII. Sends Ambassadors to the Grecian Emperor. IX. And makes Peace on condition of a certain Tribute. X. Builds a Jami at Constantinople. XI. Tamerlane invading Asia. XII. Refuses the offer of Constantinople made by Palologus. XIII. Wages War with Bajazet, on the Grecian Emperor's account. XVI. Overcomes and takes him Prisoner. XV. Bajazet's Character, XVI. and Issue.

H. 792. I. **MURAD** being thus slain, is succeeded in the Empire by his Son *Bajazet*, who to show that his Father's Virtues were not remov'd out of the World but descended to him, the next year

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) [*Bajazet* is in Turkish spelt *Bayezid*.]

takes



BAJAZET I.
 Son of Murad, fourth Emperor of the Turks
 in the Year 1390.
 From an Original Picture in the Library

takes in *Europe*, *Caratova* and *Iffib*, and in *Asia*, *Aidin*, *Saricban*, *Kars*, and *Montesbe*, and annexes them to his Empire. After this, a dispute arising between him and his Father-in-law, *German ogli*, he thinks Princes ought to decide their quarrels rather by arms than words, and therefore attacks and vanquishes him, and then dispossessing him of his whole Kingdom, banishes him to *Ipsala*. The Prince of *Carmania* wou'd have shar'd the same fate (who had married *Bajazet's* Sister) if the *Moldavian* expedition had not induc'd the politick Emperor to turn his thoughts to weightier matters, and put off his design to a more convenient season.

II. But as he was deterr'd from attempting by his Generals so warlike a nation, by a defeat the *Moldavians* had two years before, given *Surasker Soliman Basha* at *Hierasus*, he resolves to trust none but himself with his Army, hoping that the obstacles which check'd the Progress of the Basha would give way to the royal Fortune. Wherefore having prepar'd all things necessary for the expedition, he transports his Forces into *Europe*, and making a bridge over the *Danube*, lays waste all *Moldavia*, and incamps at *Raxboe* a Village on the banks of the River *Siretus*. At the same place comes soon after with an Army *Istefan* (2), Prince of *Moldavia*. A fierce and doubtful Battle is fought,

Battle with
the Moldavi-
ans.

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) *Istefan* *Stephanus* Prince of *Moldavia*, the greatest Hero of his age. He overthrew the renown'd *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, and wrested from him the *Transylvanian Alps*, which at this day limit *Moldavia* to the West. He added by several Victories, *Poculia* and *Podolia* to his dominions, and in a pitch'd Battle with the *Poles* near *Cotnar*, famous for its generous Wines, he defeated their whole Army with great slaughter, and took fifteen thousand Prisoners. These he put into yokes, and oblig'd them to plough a Tract of Ground two miles long, and one broad, and to plant two Groves of Oaks, which for that reason are call'd at this day by the *Poles*, *Buzowina*, but by the Inhabitants *Dumbrava Rosie* or *Red Groves*, because planted and water'd with *Polish* Blood. He reduc'd all the Cities between *Leopolis* and *Moldavia*. He fought two Battles with *Bajazet Ildirim*; in the first he was Victor, and in the second he routed Him with a memorable slaughter, which seven vast piles of *Turkish* Bodies erected after the

Battle, witnessed, by the Confession of *Hezarfenn* himself, the faithful *Turkish* Historian. He subdued *Wallachia* as far as *Bucurestia*, and made *Vintilas* Governor of that Province. He held *Boscharabia*, now call'd *Bujak*, the City *Kili* in the mouth of the *Danube*, as also *Akerman*, *Alba Gracia*, or the *Oxia* of the Ancients, and renown'd for being the place of *Ovid's* banishment; and in short, he widely extended the Bounds of *Moldavia*, as shall be shewn more at large, if I live to finish my account of the ancient and present *Moldavia*. In this posture he left his affairs when he was call'd out of the World, after a reign of forty seven years, and five months. His Son *Bogdan* made *Moldavia* tributary to the *Turks*. Hence the *Moldavians* call'd formerly *Ak Iffac* or vulgarly *Ak vlab*, or the *white Walachians*, are now by the *Turks* call'd *Bogdani*. But the *Walachians* even to our days have retained the name of *Carai*, or vulgarly, *Carai vlab*, or the *black Walachians*.

but

but at length the *Moldavians* are vanquish'd and dispers'd. *Istefan* himself to save his life, flies to the City of *Nemz*, where he had plac'd his Mother with a strong Garrison, and arriving at break of day, commands the gates to be open'd. His Mother hearing of her Son's unexpected arrival, instantly repairs to the Walls, and denies him admittance, saying, "O Son! Since the time of thy birth I never saw thee return from battle without victory. As thou art therefore unmindful of thy former bravery, I had rather see thee perish by the hand of an Enemy, than be branded with the infamy of being say'd by a Woman. Fly hence then, and return either Conqueror or never." *Istefan* stung with his Mother's reproaches, departs from the City, more swiftly than he came. In his way he meets a Trumpet, and bidding him sound to Battle, draws together twelve thousand *Moldavians*, who by flight had escap'd the Enemy's Sword. These he conjures either to vanquish or die, and immediately falling upon the Enemies, dispers'd over the Field and intent upon the Spoil, defeats and puts them to flight. Then with the same fortune at *Vasbluy*, which is but twenty miles from *Jassis*, he takes the royal Tent, routs the *Turkish* Soldiers, and compels the Emperor, who before was the Terror of the World, frighted at so sudden a change, to fly with a few attendants to *Adrianople*.

Victory of
Caramanogli.

III. Whilst these things pass'd in *Europe*, they kindled a much greater flame in *Asia*. For *Caramanogli* hearing *Bajazet's* Army was destroy'd by the *Moldavians*, and believing he had a fair opportunity of crushing the *Othman* Power, assembles his forces, and in breach of his treaty with *Bajazet*, besieges *Kutabia*, and destroys with fire and sword the *Othman* dominions in *Asia*. *Bajazet* whom adverse fortune could not discourage, was inrag'd at the news. Wherefore raising with his Usual speed (3) an Army in *Europe*, he leads them into *Asia*, and before his Arrival was so much as suspected, meets the *Caramanian* forces divided into many Parties, attacks and overthrows them in the first charge. *Caramanogli*, after the defeat of his Army flying with his Sons to the Town of *Acjami*, is taken by the Pursuers, brought before the Sultan, and by his command, beheaded. By this means all *Caramania* fell under the power of *Bajazet*, who to destroy all the

ANNOTATIONS.

(3) Usual speed] The *Turkish* Historians so extoll this Prince's expedition in assembling his troops, in executing his designs, and in vanquishing his enemies, that when they talk of the natural speed of the *Tartars* in comparison with his wonderful marches, they call the first, the creeping of a *Snail*. When he was believed to be engaged in his *Asiatic* affairs

he was suddenly seen in *Europe*, if the *Asiatic* Princes provok'd him: whilst in *Europe*, he appear'd in *Asia* with his whole Army before his coming was heard of. He is said to communicate his Counsels to no Man, nor to execute any difficult affair by means of any Friends. Whence he is justly and deservedly call'd by the *Turks*, *Ildirim* or *Lighbning*.

Seeds

Seeds of rebellion condemns *Caraman's* two Sons to perpetual Imprisonment at *Prusa*.

IV. Not content with this Victory, *Bajazet* takes in *Europe*, *Nigebo-li*, *Silistre* and *Urushebyk*, Towns on the *Danube*, and the next year in *Asia* he compels to acknowledge his Sovereignty, *Amasia*, *Tokad*, *Nikfar*, *Samsun* and *Janik*, which were subject to Sultan *Abmet Burban-Elledin* (4). After this, turning his thoughts again to the *European* affairs, he had no sooner pass'd the Straits of *Callipolis* with a great Army, but he heard a new war was kindled in *Asia*. For *Kutrum* (5) *Bajazet* Prince of *Costamoni*, imagining the Emperor too deeply engag'd in his *European* designs, to be able to return into *Asia*, had invaded and laid waste the *Turkish* Provinces of *Asia minor*. *Bajazet* being inform'd of this, for fear he should lose his own, whilst he is seeking the possessions of others, leaves *Europe* to his Generals, and with the greatest part of his army, immediately comes into *Asia*. There before he tried the fortune of War, he is told that the flame is extinguish'd by the death of its author, *Kutrum Bajazet*, who died of a distemper. His Son *Isfindarbeg* instantly dispatches Ambassadors to meet him, who beg pardon for his Father's offence, and confess the Deceased had acted very rashly in turning his arms against the *Othmans*, and retarding the course of the Emperor's victories, promising in the Son's name that he would be the Emperor's future Vassal and Slave and confirm this promise with an oath. The present situation of the *Othmanic* affairs not admitting of severe Counsels, *Isfindarbeg* is received into Friendship, and Garrisons plac'd in his Towns of *Costamoni*, *Tarakliborli* and *Othmanjik* (6). After which he instantly leads back his forces into *Europe*, and in the same Campaign takes *Selanik* or *Tbessalonica*.

Bajazet's further Progress in *Asia* and *Europe*.

V. The expedition being ended, he returns to *Prusa* in order to refresh his weary Troops. Whilst he is indulging himself, he is re-

Victory at *Nicopolis*.

ANNOTATIONS.

(4) *Elledin*] He seems to have been one of these *Persian* Governors who in the time of *Jengbiz* shook off the *Persian* yoke. For it does not appear that there was then any other Empires or Kingdoms in *Asia* than those of the *Græcian* and *Persian*. His Principality was part of *Armenia major*.

(5) *Kutrum*] Perhaps one also of the *Persian* Governors before mention'd. His Name seems to intimate that he was troubled with some distemper in his feet or joints like the *Gout*. For *Kutrum* in the *Turkish*

language, signifies one maim'd, weaken'd in his Nerves or a Paralytic.

(6) *Othmanjik*] A City, according to *Busbequius*, in *Bithynia* beyond Mount *Olympus*, founded by *Othman* first Emperor of the *Turks*, and therefore very famous amongst them. Nor is there any other City in the whole *Turkish* Empire besides this, which retains the name of its Founder, tho' many were built by the order of the Sultans. But They give their names to the *Jami* only, as hath been observ'd.

O call'd

recall'd by frequent messages from *Europe*, that *Sigismund* King of *Hungary*, having made a league with other *Christian* Princes (7), and rais'd an army of a hundred thousand Men, had enter'd the borders of the *Turkish* Empire, and was now besieging *Nicopolis*. Whereupon *Bajazet* believing the least delay dangerous to his affairs, assembles with the utmost speed, his *Asiatic* and *European* Forces, and tho' he had not above sixty thousand Men, passes into *Europe*, where he attacks with such fury the Camp of the *Christians* that they were defeated at the first charge with great slaughter. *Sigismund's* Partners in the expedition were all taken or slain, only he himself escap'd first to *Constantinople* (8), and from thence by water into his own Kingdom: After the Victory *Bajazet* finds in the Enemy's Camp, many warlike engines, and a very great treasure, with which he builds both at *Adriano-ple* and *Prusa*, a noble *Jami* and *Madrese*, and moreover orders a large *Darush-shifa* (9) to be erected.

Bajazet fortifies the Straits of *Nicomedia*.

H. 797.
A. C. 1395.

VI. *Bajazet* having now nothing to fear from the *Western* Princes, turns all his forces against *Thrace*, where he takes a Castle situated on the *Euxine* Sea, about sixty miles from *Constantinople*, and to deprive the *Europeans* of the means to pass into *Asia*, builds a new city, in a place call'd *Bogaz Kesen*, fortifies it very strongly, and gives it the name of *Guzelhisar* (10).

He is persuaded by his Vizir to desert from *Constantinople*.

VII. Having thus secur'd his borders on every side, the same year he incamps with a great Army under the very Walls of *Constantinople* without any opposition (11). Preparations being made for an assault

ANNOTATIONS.

(7) *Christian* Princes] All *Christians* are nam'd *Issivi*, by the Historians and in Letters, by way of compliment, as the Prince of *Moldavia*, *Kydvetul merai ilil milletue Mesbie, um detul Kiuberai il tayfeil issivei*, i. e. "The most excellent of the Princes of the Sect of the *Messia*, the greatest of the Nations believing in '*Jesu*.' Otherwise the opprobrious name of *Gaur*, Infidel, is bestow'd on all *Christians*; and *Kiafir* or *Blasphemer*; and *Kisfer*, a blasphemous Nation; as likewise in the plural, *Kiuffar* blasphemous Men, and also *Nasrani*, *Nazaranes*, as *Janani* is given to the *Greeks*, and *Ibrani* to the *Jews* or *Hebrews*.

(8) *Constantinople*] It is the common tradition of all *Christian* Writers, but chiefly of *Philip Lonicer* a diligent Collector of the *Turkish* affairs,

that, after this shameful defeat, *Sigismund* retir'd to *Constantinople*, and after various turns in his affairs, got at last into his own Kingdom.

(9) *Darush-shifa*] The Port of Health, from *Dar*, a Gate, and *Shifa*, a Remedy. These are beautiful Hospitals erected near the *Jami*, built by the Emperors, who have officers over them, and stipends allowed for the care of the sick out of the revenues of the *Jami*.

(10) *Guzelhisar*] or the beautiful Castle. It is now call'd *Bogaziechid*, or the passage of the Straits between the Bay of the *Propontis*, and the *Nicean* Mountains, now call'd *Imid daglary*, from whence *Constantinople* is supply'd with materials for Building and Shipping.

(11) Without opposition] The *Christians*

fault, his *Prime Vizir*, dissuades him from the siege, representing in an elegant Speech, "that the *Othman* Empire, being now of so great an extent that it gives law not only to all *Asia*, but the best part of *Europe*, cannot without envy be look'd upon by any *Christian* Prince. So many Provinces are added to his dominion that the *Othmanide* need not dread the united forces of the whole World; but it is to be fear'd that the late conquered Cities, the minds of the Inhabitants not being yet settled, may upon the least occasion shake off their yoke to the irreparable detriment of the Empire. If to this shall be added the news of the siege of *Constantinople*, all the *Christian* Princes will undoubtedly join their forces and declaring war with the *Musulmans*, strenuously endeavour to preserve the *Greek* Empire, the downfall of which would seem to threaten the inevitable destruction of the rest of the States. For they are not so stupid but they will see, when once the Seat of the *Greek* Empire is taken, there will be no opposing the rapid course of the *Othmanic* Arms. Wherefore tho' he did not despair of taking the City, yet it was his opinion, it shou'd be deserr'd, least by grasping at too much, there would be danger of losing what had been hitherto acquired with so great labours. However that some advantage may be reap'd from the terror which the Inhabitants of *Constantinople* are under, Ambassadors are to be sent to the *Istambol Tekkuri* (12), to impose on him what terms *Bajazet* shall please, which instead of being rejected will, he supposes, be embrac'd as a blessing from heaven, since he can scarce conceive any hopes of escaping his present danger."

VIII. *Bajazet* approving this advice, sends Ambassadors into the City to the Emperor *Paleologus* with a letter to this effect: "By the divine clemency, Our Empire, to which God has set no bounds, hath reduc'd to its obedience, almost all *Asia*, with many and large Countries of *Europe*, excepting only thy City of *Constantinople*, for beyond the Walls thou hast nothing left. Hence, since thou thy

ANNOTATIONS.

Christians assign the raising of the Siege of *Constantinople* both to the Intreaties of *Emanuel Paleologus*, and to the approaching expedition of *Tamerlane*. But as that expedition fell not out till seven years after, and as it is absurd to imagine that the *Turkish* Emperor would be so easily diverted from his purpose by the intreaties of an Enemy, what we have related from the *Turkish* Annals seems nearest to the truth.

(12) *Istambol Tekkuri*] *Istambol* seems to be corrupted either from the

name of *Constantinople* it self, or from the vulgar phrase, *ic tan edis*. For the more learned *Turks*, and the Emperor himself in his Mandates, writes it *Constantanie Tekkar*, if we may offer our conjecture, is corrupted from *rod xupou*, but they sometimes write, *Caifar*, *Cesar*. Besides this, the name of *Tekkuri* is given to other *Christian* Governors by the *Turks*, as *Selantik Tekkuri*, the Governor of *Thessalonica*, *Geliboli Tekkuri*, the Governor of *Callipolis*.

self

"self mayest easily conclude that a Crown cannot be worn without a head, we amicably exhort, and admonish thee, (before thou triest the unhappy fortune of War, and art a sad Spectator of the slaughter of so many innocent men, and the inevitable destruction of the City, of which thy obstinacy and hard heart will be rightly judg'd the sole cause) to deliver up to us thy Capital on thy own terms. If thou refuse, we are sure thou wilt, when too late, fruitlessly repent the neglecting our admonitions." Thus much by letter, but he orders his Ambassadors, in case they should find the *Greeks* averse to the surrender of the City, to soften his demands, and conclude a peace for an Annual Tribute.

A Truce concluded for an Annual Tribute.

IX. The Ambassadors entering the City deliver the Letter to *Paleologus*, who more terrified than he ought, readily complies with *Bajazet's* demands for the sake of preserving the City and Empire. A Truce therefore is made for ten years on these terms. *Paleologus* is to pay yearly ten thousand *Filuri altun* (13) by way of tribute. The *Othmans* shall be allowed to build in *Constantinople* a *Jami* and *Mekkieme*, and appoint a *Cady*, whose jurisdiction shall be bounded in this manner: If a *Christian* at *Constantinople* has a dispute with a *Musulman*, it shall be decided by the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch; but if a *Mahometan* with a *Mahometan* it shall be tried by their own *Cady*. In like manner if contests arise between *Christians* at *Adrianople*, they shall be ended by the Metropolitan of that City, but if between a *Christian* and a *Musulman*, by the *Ederne-molasi* (14).

A Jami built at Constantinople.

X. The Truce being made on these conditions, the *Othmans* first erect a *Jami* call'd at this day *Daud Pasha* (15), and a *Mekkieme* (16), whilst the *Christians* yet reign at *Constantinople*.

ANNOTATIONS.

(13) *Filuri altun*] Is a peculiar appellation of the *Turkish* Rusps, or the *Venetian* Golden Crowns, in value three hundred aspers. But *filuri*, derives its name from the vulgar *Greek*, φλορι.

(14) *Ederne-molasi*] The Ecclesiastical Judge of *Adrianople*. For *Ederne* is *Adrianople*, *Mola* is an ecclesiastical Judge, next to the *Iflambol effendi* and the *Cadilaskers*, the *si*, has the power of the article *si*, as if you should say, *si malaks tze Adramou poulas, si ayas tze Ikonoladon*. The *Mollabs* have many places of residence, but he of *Constantinople* only has the title of *Effendi* in honour of

the City. Others have only the title of *Molla* without any addition, as *Myrs Mollas*, the *Mollab* of *Egypt*, *Birassa Mollasi*, the *Mollab* of *Prusa*, *Halep Mollasi*, the *Mollab* of *Aleppo*.

(15) *Daud*] The Hebrew name *David*, but us'd by the *Turks*.

(16) *Mekkieme*] The *Prætorium* or Hall of Judgment, where Causes are heard and determined, from *Mekhem*, strong and confirm'd, or from *Huikin*, the Sentence or Decree. There are more than twenty of these *Mekkieme* at *Constantinople*, of which the chief is That call'd *Mekkiemei Mehmed Pasha*, from its Founder, of the same name, and one of the prime *Vizirs*.

XI. The

XI. The Rites of the *Mahometan* Religion, and the Ensigns of the *Othman* Empire, being thus introduc'd into the very Capital of the *Greeks*, it seem'd as if the imperial line would soon be extinct, and all the Provinces in subjection to the *Greeks* be possess'd by *Bajazet* with their Metropolis. But whilst he was meditating these things, the same fortune that had rais'd him, began to pull him down. For when *Bajazet* had settled his affairs in *Europe* to his wish, and was now aspiring to the Empire of the World, *Tamerlane* (17) from a low rank being made King of the *Scythians*, assembled a numerous Army of eastern *Tartars*, and overran the *Asiatic* Provinces that were subject as well to the *Persians* as the *Turks*.

Tamerlane invades Asia.

XII. To *Tamerlane* Ambassadors had been sent by *Paleologus* in his distress, representing the injuries offer'd him by *Bajazet* and imploring his assistance for which he promis'd to hold his Empire of him (18) *Tamerlane* is reported to answer, that he would indeed protect and defend him from his enemies, but made it a point of conscience to defend another man's property. O unparallel'd generosity tho' in a *Barbarian*!

and rejects the offer of Constantinople.

XIII. Indeed this seems to be one of the reasons why *Tamerlane* turn'd his thoughts and arms against *Bajazet*. The *Turks* themselves relate that in the year of the *Hejira* 800, *Abmed Halamir*, (19) Chan of *Bagdad*, A. C. 1397.

makes war with Bajazet, and why? H. 800. A. C. 1397.

ANNOTATIONS.

(17) *Tamerlane*] He was born of the *Chagata* or *orda* or Tribe, and indeed by his birth, was a *Barbarian*, but his manners were polite and civiliz'd. *Temurleng* (corruptly *Tamerlane*) in the *Persian* language, signifies one lame in his thigh, which tradition says, was his case. A proof of this is a story told of him by the *Turks*. Amongst other *Persian* Prisoners (say they) a Painter being led to execution desir'd *Temurleng* that he would not suffer the whole art of painting to die with Him; for he could easily evince the excellency of that art to belong to himself. *Temurleng* having heard his request, order'd him to draw his picture: The Painter observing that Prince to be lame of his right thigh and blind of his left eye, drew him with his right leg bent or inclining, his left eye shut and a bow apply'd to the other, as if he had been shooting at game.

Temurleng admiring the ingenuity of the Painter pardon'd and set him at liberty.

(18) of him] Wonderful certainly was the Magnanimity of the *Barbarian*, and his answer worthy to be transmitted in letters of Gold. *Paleologus* offers his City and Empire; *Temurleng* takes both under his protection but refuses the Empire with this generous answer, "That it was not right to change so ancient an Empire, and to put a Family so eminently illustrious as to have reach'd the *Tartars* themselves by its fame, under the yoke of a foreign sway." It was this greatness of mind, which put him upon fighting such bloody Battles, and raising such a mighty army, which if compared to thole of *Darius* or *Xerxes* will be found to be equal if not superior.

(19) *Abmed Halamir*] He was one P of

Bagdad, who was under the Sultan of Egypt, revolts from him on account perhaps of some injuries received, and turns to Bajazet, who by his conduct wrests from the Egyptian, Ilbistan, Malatia, Diyurge and Nebbi, and annexes them to his Empire. In his return from this expedition he enters the Province of Azerbaijan (20) subject to Tabrinbeg (21), and vanquishing the Satrapas or Governor of that Province lays on him a heavy annual Tribute. However, Ildirim Bajazet either thro' clemency or on account of the Tribute, restores the Province to Tabrinbeg. Shortly after, Bajazet suspecting this Prince's fidelity, tho' he paid that year's Tribute, carries away to Prusa his Wife and two Sons in hostage, or as others (who are of less authority with the Turks) say that being enamour'd of the Woman takes her by force from her Husband's embraces. Tabrinbeg not bearing either the adultery or injury, immediately goes from Bajazet, and flying to his friend and protector Tamerlane, complains of the injury done him, and so raises a fierce war against Bajazet.

Vanquishes and takes him prisoner.
H. 804.
A. C. 1401.

XIV. Tamerlane therefore urged by the intreaties of this man or of Paleologus or of both, leads a strong Army of Scythians in the year 804, against Bajazet, by whom he is met near Prusa (22) a noble

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of the Persian Satrapæ so often mentioned before. The name Halamir imports in the Arabic language, as much as present or perpetual Lord. Both Persian and Turkish Historiographers agree that from his time the seat of the Persian Empire was remov'd from Babylon, to Revan, and from thence to Ispahan. The present Babylon (or Bagdad of the Turks) stands not on the Eastern bank of the Euphrates where so many ruins, besides the consent of Historians shew the seat of the old, but over against it, on the Western bank looking towards Europe. In the East Indies is yet to be seen a certain small Tower call'd by the Turks, Kuzubakish or the Tower of Birds.

(20) Azerbaijan See Note p. 4.

(21) Tabrinbeg He was one of the Persian Governours who shook off the yoke of the Persian Empire, weaken'd by the incursions of the Tartars.

(22) near Prusa Most Christian Writers tell us that this battle was fought upon the banks of the Euphrates. But the unanimous consent of all the Turkish Writers that Ta-

merlane immediately after the Battle enter'd Prusa the Metropolis of Bithynia, clearly proves it to have been fought in the plains of that place. But their distance from Mesopotamia is well known to Geographers. This opinion of ours is farther confirm'd by the same Historians saying, that before the engagement Tamerlane pitch'd his Tents near Jenisbebir the Neapolis of Asia minor, and there with the Turkish Æsop, Nasruddin Hoja spent three days, who so delighted him with his Fables that he left the City free and untouched. For the sake of the curious I shall by way of digression, extract some particulars of this Man from a Book written in the Turkish language. The Citizens of Jenisbebir (where liv'd Nasruddin) prepar'd to defend their City, when they heard Tamerlane was coming against it. Nasruddin earnestly dissuaded them, and offers to go himself Ambassador to Tamerlane. As he is leaving his house, he is in some suspence what Present would be most proper to appease an Enemy, and render him benevolent to himself and his Fe-

fruit

noble City of Bithynia. A fierce battle is fought with equal bravery but with unequal success. There fell on both sides above three hundred and forty thousand Men. At last after a long conflict the Turks are vanquish'd, Bajazet's eldest Son Mustapha, who had behav'd with great bravery, is slain, the Sultan himself is taken, and being shut up in an iron cage, as a notable instance of the sport of fortune, ends his days. The Conqueror Tamerlane presently after the victory enters Prusa, and forces the rest of the Asiatic Countries to submit to his yoke. Thus the Mighty who think themselves superior to fortune, are at once reduc'd by her to the most wretched estate.

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low-citizens. At last he resolv'd upon fruit, but says he, Advice is good in times of necessity; I will therefore consult my Wife. Accordingly, says he to her, "which will be most grateful to Tamerlane, figs or quinces? Quinces, replies she, as being larger, more beautiful; and therefore in my opinion likely to prove more acceptable. Whereupon says he, "how good soever advice may be in dubious affairs, a Woman's advice is never good, and therefore I will present figs and not quinces." Having gather'd the figs he hastens to Tamerlane who being told that the famous Nasruddin Hoja was arriv'd in his Camp, as Ambassador, orders him to be introduc'd, bare-headed, and observing his baldness, commands his figs to be thrown at his head. His servants punctually executing his order, Nasruddin at every blow, cries out, very composedly, God be praised. Tamerlane curious to know the reason of this expression, is answer'd by him, "I thank God that I followed not my Wife's counsel, for had I, as she advis'd, brought quinces instead of figs, my head must have been broken." The same Nasruddin growing afterwards more familiar with Tamerlane makes him a present of ten early and fresh gather'd cucumbers, for which he receives from him ten crowns in gold. Some days after, when cucumbers were more plenty by the advance of the season, he fills a cart with them, and drives it to Tamerlane. The Porter

refuses him admittance 'till he had a promise of going halves with him, remembering the former present for the ten cucumbers. Nasruddin being introduc'd to Tamerlane, is ask'd the reason of his coming, and telling him he had now brought a much larger present of cucumbers than before, Tamerlane orders him a bastinado for every cucumber. The number is found to be five hundred. Nasruddin receives half the bastinades very patiently, but then cries out he has his full share, and hop'd the King would do justice to his Porter. The King asking what he meant? I agreed, says he, with your porter, that he should receive half of my expected present for introducing me. The porter being call'd, and owning the agreement is forc'd to receive the remainder of the bastinades. Some time after Nasruddin being encouraged by Tamerlane to ask boldly what he would have of him, as assured of no denial, he only ask'd ten Golden Crowns to erect a building memorable to all posterity. The money being given him, he immediately erects a Stone gate in the middle of the field, and fasten'd it with locks and bolts. Being asked to what purpose so extraordinary a Gate, he answers, the same of this Gate shall be no less transmitted to latest posterity than Tamerlane's victories, and whilst the monument of Nasruddin's actions shall move the laughter of those that visit it, Tamerlane's exploits shall draw tears from the remotest regions.

XV. This

Bajazet's Character.

XV. This Sultan memorable for his good and bad fortune reign'd fourteen years, three months, and liv'd fifty eight. He was of an invincible mind, a politick observer of times and seasons. In expeditions, in raising of Armies and marching them to distant places, Bajazet never had his equal for dispatch. Hence he acquir'd the firname of *Ildirim* or *Lightning*. Prone to anger, the failing of great minds, but the first emotions being quickly appeas'd, mercy prevail'd. So great a lover of Architecture that *Moschs*, *Jami*, *Medrese* and *Imaret* are said to be erected by him every year of his reign. He is reported to have been very regardful of the studious and religious. He was the first of the *Othman* Emperors that wag'd naval wars, having built about three hundred long vessels for that purpose (23), and perhaps would have acquir'd the dominion of the Sea, if he had not unhappily, in open war, enter'd thelists with *Tamerlane*.

His Issue.

XVI. Concerning his Sons (24), under the corrupted names of *Erdogul*,

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(23) for that purpose] *Christian* Writers tell us that *Murad*, Father of *Bajazet* first introduc'd the use of Ships among the *Turks*. The *Turks* on the contrary, say it was *Bajazet*, and tell us that his Ancestors when they cross'd the Straits of *Callipolis* did it on rafts, or in hir'd Ships. I rather incline to believe them than foreign Writers.

(24) his Sons] *George Pbranza* Master of the wardrobe to the *Greek* Emperor has given us a still more confus'd account of the sons of *Bajazet*. He was indeed a contemporary Writer, but he may easily be allow'd to mistake in the *Turkish* affairs, who so frequently contradicts himself in the *Gracian*, that is, in those of his own country. Nor should we fasten this reproach upon him, did not he himself acquaint us in the conclusion of his History that he compos'd it now worn out with years, a banish'd man, and consequently from his own memory, and not from *Memoirs* or publick Records. Besides that his Books have been corrupted and interpolated by some more recent hand, is at least very suspicious to me, when I reflect that in B. I. Ch. 31. he mentions *Bogdania* as then a Province, and tributary to the *Turks* in the

time of *Mubammed*, when it is by all agreed, that Country (or *Moldavia* as it was then call'd) made a voluntary surrender to *Soliman I.*, and from that time was known first to the *Turks* by the name of *Bogdania* from its Prince *Bogdan*. Not without less reason are these accounts suspected of forgery which gives us the civil wars of the Sons of *Bajazet* with Circumstances equally unknown to *Turkish* and *Christian* Writers. He gives us five Sons of *Bajazet*, *Moses*, *Jusuph*, *Jesse*, *Musulman* and *Mebed*. The four last of these, he tells us, pass'd into *Europe*, *Moses* being taken in the battle fought with *Tamerlane*, *Jusuph* (continues he) became a *Christian*; *Jesse* was at first prosperous, and fell upon the *Hungarians* and *Servians*, but engaging with his brother *Musulman* [perhaps *Soliman*] in a battle in the fields of *Cappadocia*, he was defeated, and, being taken in his flight put to death by his brother. *Tamerlane* oppos'd *Musa* to his brother *Musulman*, which *Musa* passing into *Europe*, by the assistance of the despot of *Servia* subdued all the *European* Provinces in subjection to the *Othmans*. *Musulman* return'd by *Constantinople* into *Europe*, and engaging with his brother *Musa* was defeated, and put to death by him.

After

Book II. 4. Ildirim Bajazet I.

dogul, *Issa*, *Calepin*, *Cyriclebis* and *Cibelin* (25), many things are related by the *Christian* Writers, which both the course of the History and the testimony of the *Turkish* Authors demonstrate to be fictitious. For these unanimously ascribe to *Bajazet* four Sons, *Mustapha* (26), who fell in the battle with the *Tartars*, *Soliman*, *Musa*, and *Mabomet*. Tho' three of these, namely, *Soliman Cbelebi*, *Musa Cbelebi*, and *Mabomet* sway'd the *Turkish* Scepter, only *Mabomet* is reckoned among the *Othman* Emperors as will be shown at large in the sequel.

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After this, *Orchan* Son of *Musulman* was call'd into *Europe* by *Manuel Paleologus* Emperor of *Constantinople*; and put in Arms against *Musa*, but a little after betray'd by his Vizir *Sampan*, and depriv'd of his eyes. *Musa* brought a fleet against *Constantinople*, but being beaten at sea, he desisted from that war. *Mehmed* first skulk'd about and got his living by manual labours, but being afterwards aided by the Prince of *Cappadocia*, he proclaim'd war against his brother *Musa*, and defeated by him in two engagements, he again renew'd the war by the assistance of the Princes of *Servia* and *Bulgaria*, and corrupting the officers of *Musa* at last obtain'd the victory. *Moses* was taken in his flight, and kill'd by one of his own Generals. Such is the narrative given us by *George Pbranza*, all which successive actions he crowds into three years and two months, with an absurdity obvious to all who have any tincture of Chronology, without my exposing him any farther.

(26) *Calepin*, *Cyriclebis* and *Cibelin* seem all corruptions from the *Turkish* word *Cbelebi*, which, as I before took notice, the chief of the *Turkish* youths subscribed formerly to their own names, as *Soliman Cbelebi*, &c. The word *Cyriclebis* seems to be a corruption of the vulgar *Greek* word, *κυριος* (a diminutive of *κυριος* or *Lord*) since *Pbranza* gives *Mabomet I.* the appellation of *Cyritus*, B. I. Ch. 82.

(27) *Mustapha*] eldest son of *Bajazet*, and slain in the battle with *Tamerlane* by the confession of both *Christian* and *Turkish* Writers. His Body fought with the greatest care after the engagement, could no where be found, nor did he ever afterwards appear either amongst the prisoners or elsewhere. This procur'd him the epithet of *Nabidid* or the lost. Some *Christian* Writers call him *Erdogul*, for what reason I know not. Certain at least it is that only four sons of *Bajazet* are nam'd in the course of the History, but no *Erdogul*.

There reign'd in *Europe*, Cotemporary with BAJAZET.

At <i>Constantinople</i> .	{ JOHANNES PALEOLOGUS, 1341-88. { EMANUEL PALEOLOGUS, 1388-1418.
In the <i>West</i> .	{ WENCESLAUS, 1378-99. { ROBERTUS of <i>Bavaria</i> , 1399-1410.
In <i>England</i> .	{ RICHARD II. 1377-1399. { HENRY IV. 1399-1412.
In <i>France</i> .	CHARLES VI. 1380-1422.

The End of the Reign of BAJAZET.

Q

The



INTERREGNUM Under
SOLIMAN CHELEBI
 Son of ILDIRIM BAJAZET.

BOOK II. CHAP. I.

- I. Soliman saluted Emperor by the Europeans. II. affronts Tamerlane's Ambassadors. III. Tamerlane makes Musa Ckelebi^s Emperor of Asia, IV. who is expell'd by Soliman, V. and not receiv'd by Isfindarbeg. VI. Soliman disregards an Ambassy from his Brother Mahomet. VII. Musa Chelebi^s is again master of Adrianople. VIII. is put to flight by Soliman. IX. who gives himself up to his pleasures. X. He is at last betrayed by his friends and slain. XI. Soliman's life and manners.

Soliman is saluted Emperor.

THE great Bajazet being thus taken and inclos'd in a cage, and his eldest Son *Mustapha* kill'd in the battle with the *Tartars*, his second Son *Soliman Ckelebi*^s (1), who with his Father's prime Vizir *Ali Basba* had escap'd by flight, seeks refuge against his ill fortune at *Nicaea*. When he had recover'd himself, he crosses the *Propontis*

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(1) *Soliman Ckelebi*^s] The names of *Calepin*, *Cyrclebis* and *Cibelin*, given to this Prince by *Christian* Writers, are neither *Turkish* proper names, nor signify any thing etymologically, unless they are corruptions from the word *Chelebi*^s as was before shown. But that our *Soliman* is design'd by these names, is manifest from this, that *Calepin*, escaping out of the battle against *Tamerlane*, was saluted King by his Subjects at *Adrianople*, which can agree with none but him. But altho' *Soliman*

and his Brother rul'd the *Turkish* affairs eleven years, yet neither of them are rank'd amongst the Emperors, or distinguish'd with the title of *Padishah* the usual name of the Sultan. The reason of this is, that neither of them had the Empire entire to himself, but one govern'd in *Asia*, the other in *Europe*; and both falling by mutual slaughters and fratricide, *Mahomet* seized the whole Empire, and was call'd the fifth King or Emperor.

Book II. Interregnum under Soliman.

Propontis and with a few Courtiers comes to *Adrianople*, where he is saluted Emperor by the remains of the *European* Army.

II. Whereupon *Tamerlane* after the victory (2) entering *Prusa*, sends Ambassadors with a Letter to *Soliman*, telling him, " he is sorry for his father *Ildirim's* fortune, which was not only unexpected but scarce to be conceived. However these and the like things are by God destin'd for Men blinded with pride, and so elated that they deem just and lawful whatever is suggested by their Wills. He himself indeed has hitherto been so fortunate that it is hardly possible for the mind of man to imagine a greater prosperity than His; but now taught by his enemy's example, he is willing of his own accord to give a check to his good fortune before he is forc'd to set bounds to it. Wherefore (provided they wou'd only acknowledge the Conqueror's clemency,) he wou'd instead of an enemy be a friend, nay a father, to *Bajazet's* family. For he is satisfied with his Conquests, and will never rely on the allurements of inconstant fortune." However prevalent with others, the flattering promises of a Conqueror might be, they made no impression on *Soliman* who remember'd he was sprung from a Father more us'd to give than receive law. And therefore he unworthily treats the Ambassadors, and sending a proud answer (3) to *Tamerlane*, becomes by his unseasonable arrogance the occasion of his own calamity.

III. For *Tamerlane*, when he heard *Soliman's* answer, thinking favours were not to be forc'd upon the unwilling, sends for (4) his Brother *Musa Ckelebi*^s and generously conferring the Empire on him, " Receive, (says he) thy father's Inheritance, for 'tis not Kingdoms, but a Kingly Mind that I seek (5)". Thus *Musa Ckelebi*^s, when regardful of *Tamerlane's* promises he had departed the next day from the *Asiatic* forces, who were sav'd by fortune and the Conqueror's bounty, being created Sultan obtain'd the Empire of *Asia* (6).

IV. But

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(2) after the victory] This clearly proves that the Battle was fought not in *Mesopotamia* but *Bitbynia* as was before observ'd.

(3) a proud answer] The tenor of these letters is not given us by the *Turkish* Writers, but they own that *Tamerlane* was justly offended with *Soliman*.

(4) sends for] Some *Christian* Writers say that *Musa* taken with his Father in the battle against *Tamerlane*, was immediately set at liberty and advanc'd to the Empire. Which account we dare the less charge with falsity, because it is certain, the *Turkish* Writers carefully palliate,

and, if possible, bury in profound silence every circumstance which seems to cast any odious reflexion on the *Ottoman* Race.

(5) I seek] a Saying worthy of eternal praises, and tho' coming from the mouth of a *Barbarian*, yet no way barbarous. Nor since *Alexander the Great* who restor'd his kingdom to *Perus*, after he had vanquish'd him, do we any where meet with an instance of such uncommon generosity in giving away Kingdoms.

(6) Empire of *Asia*] The *Christian* Writers who mention *Musa* (as *Pbrauzza* B. I. Ch. 30.) make the Commencement of his reign, not in *Asia*

Affronts Tamerlane's Ambassadors.

Musa made Emperor of Asia by Tamerlane.

But expell'd
by Soliman.

IV. But his Brother's Ambition suffer'd him not to enjoy his Empire in peace. For *Soliman*, the moment he hears his Brother *Musa* was made Sultan in *Asia* by *Tamerlane*, assembles the *European* forces (who had not suffer'd so much by the late slaughter) passes into *Asia*, and marches directly to *Prusa*. *Musa Cbelebi** being much inferior in strength (for the *Asiatic* Army could not in so short a time be renew'd) is seiz'd with a panick fear, abandons his royal seat, and flying to *Caramanogli* (7), stays with him some time. But not thinking

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Asia but *Europe*, and give to *Musul* the *Asiatic* Empire. But as these Writers confound not only the Deeds but the Names of those Brothers inasmuch that it cannot be guess'd who is meant by *Musa*, *Isa*, *Jesse*, *Kasem*, *Ertucal*, *Calepin*, *Cibelin*, *Cyricelibi*, *Musulman*, *Jusuf* and *Mebemed*, no body will blame us if in such obscurity of Chronology and History, we prefer the accounts of the *Turks* to all others, as supported with greater perspicuity and probability.

(7) *Caramanogli* The King of *Caramania* a Country of *Asia minor* known by that name at this day. It contains the greater part of the old *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*. *Caraman*, the *Persian* Governor here before the Invasion of *Jenghischan*, gave his name to the Province and its Kings, and was the first who usurp'd an absolute sway over it, after the *Persian* Kingdom was subverted by the *Tartars*, and was the most powerful of the Allies next to *Aladin* Sultan of *Iconium*. On this occasion we cannot but take notice that *Nicephorus Gregoras*, *George Pbranza*, and other *Christian* Annalists very wrongfully refer the division of the *Persian* Provinces to the time of *Othman*, and give us tedious catalogues of these divisions, which it is by no means worth while to transcribe. The *Turks* themselves, who, assuredly, omit nothing which can be pick'd up, with the least shadow of probability, to do honour to the *Othman* Race, deny not that the *Caramanian* Kingdom is much more ancient than their own, and coeval with That of *Iconium*, out of whose ruins the *Othman* Empire arose. Moreover if (as they will have it) who place this division

in *Othman's* time) only that part of *Bithynia* which was subject to the *Persian* (a country certainly of no great extent) fell to his share, how could he in so short a time wrest from the *Greek* Emperors, then not so weaken'd, and engag'd in no foreign wars, *Nice*, *Nicomedia*, *Prusa* and other well fortified Cities of *Asia*, and at the same time carry on a war with his Neighbours and Collegues? But to say nothing of the other absurdities of this Scheme, the series of the *Oriental* History refutes all their Fables. In the time of *Jenghischan* there were no other Kingdoms between the *Aegean* Sea and the *Indies*, but Those of the *Romans* and *Persians*, and of the latter great part was swallowed up by his arms. The Seat therefore of the *Persian* Kingdom and these Provinces which extend eastward being overrun by the *Jenghischan* *Soybians*, the Provinces which lay westward must necessarily have submitted either to the *Jenghischan*, or the *Greek* Emperors, or been govern'd by their own Satrapæ. But since neither the one nor the other was done, nor indeed could be from the shortness of the time which the *Tartars* held *Persia*, we must necessarily come to the *Turkish* accounts, and believe that the Satrapæ or Governour of those Provinces, taking the advantage of these tumults and confusions, seiz'd every man his own Province, and assum'd the regal title. To pursue these things more largely is not within our design, who only desire to furnish Those with an Introduction, who shall at any time be desirous to deduce more accurately the *Oriental* History from its Fountain.

himself

himself safe, he resolves to go to *Isfindarbeg* (8), in expectation of escaping by that means falling into his brother's hands.

V. But even in this, *Musa* finds fortune averse to his endeavours, for *Isfindarbeg*, inform'd of *Musa's* coming and intention, sends Ambassadors to him on the Borders of his Dominions, desiring him not to enter his Territories, or if he has enter'd them, instantly to depart, for he is afraid, *Soliman* will thence take occasion to overrun his whole Kingdom. Upon this, *Musa Cbelebi** being in great anxiety and not knowing which way to turn, accidentally lights on a little boat near *Nicaea*, and in it passes thro' the *Propontis* into *Europe*. *Isfindarbeg* hearing of *Soliman's* approach, acquaints him by Ambassadors, that according to his order he had forbid *Musa* to enter his borders or to see his face, by which he hop'd he had merited a confirmation of their Treaty of Friendship and Peace. *Soliman* receiving the Ambassadors very graciously, confirms the Treaty, and dismissing them, returns to *Prusa*, where contemning his Brother's attempts, he gives himself up entirely to gluttony and drunkenness (9).

VI. Every thing succeeded to *Soliman's* wish. His Brother *Mabomet* (10) Prince of *Anafia*, the only Person he had to fear after *Musa's* flight, sends ambassadors to *Prusa* to salute him as Emperor in his name, and offer him noble Presents. *Soliman*, as he could not govern himself in prosperity, speaks very sharply to the Ambassadors and sends them

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(8) *Isfindarbeg*] The quality and condition of this Prince is much controverted, whether he was one of these *Persian* Satrapæ so often mention'd, or a *Christian* and *Toparch* of *Castamon*, and the neighbouring Places. His Father has the *Turkish* name given him of *Kutrum Bayezid*; but his own name has no meaning in either the *Turkish*, *Persian* or *Arabian* Tongues. For these People never join two consonants together in the beginning of a word, except in such words as are of foreign extraction, as *Istanbul*, *Constantinople*, and the like. I should believe him the Father or Grandfather of that *Sfentiar*, who, according to *George Pbranza*, lost *Sinopium* to *Mubammed II.* in the Year of Christ 1462, of the *Hegira* 866, especially since *Castamonium*, of which he was acknowledg'd Sovereign by the *Turks*, lies in the Neighbourhood of *Sinopium*, if the destruction of *Isfindarbeg's* dominion under *Mubammed I.* in the year of the

Hegira, 814, was not related by the *Turkish* Annals. What is to be determined in such an ambiguous affair, is left to the Reader's judgment.

(9) *Drunkenness*] The *Turks* only acknowledge three of their Emperors addicted to Wine and Drunkenness, this *Soliman* first, next Sultan *Selim*, who from thence obtained the name of *Mesli*, or *drunkard* and thirdly, Sultan *Murad* Conqueror of *Babylon*: They boast of the rest as perfectly sober and rigid observers of the Law, which is likewise taken notice of in the publick Monuments.

(10) *Mabomet*] The *Turks* say that *Soliman Cbelebi** and *Mubammed Cbelebi** were brothers by the same mother; but that *Musa Cbelebi** was indeed the Son of *Bajazet*, but by another Venter; *Mubammed* in revenge of his Brother *Soliman's* murder unjustly committed by *Musa* made war upon him, overcame and put him to death.

R

away

away without any answer, which alienated from him his Brother's affection and prov'd extremely prejudicial to him in his following Calamity.

Musa becomes
Master of A.
Adrianople.

VII. Mean while *Musa Cbelebi**, having after *Isfindarbeg's* refusing to admit him wander'd thro' several Countries of *Europe*, stops at last in *Walachia*. There assembling a great number of Soldiers of his Party and assisted with *Walachian* forces he re-enters the *Turkish* Empire and passing the *Danube* without opposition, becomes Master of the royal City of *Adrianople*.

He is put to
flight by Soli-
man.

H. 809.
A. C. 1406.

VIII. *Soliman* when he hears this, rousing himself as it were out of sleep, assembles in the Year 809 the *Asiatic* Army, and passes into *Europe*. Neither here does *Musa* dare to try the chance of War, but either out of a natural timorousness (11) or distrust of fortune, chuses rather to fly than stand a battle, and so returns to *Walachia*.

Soliman gives
himself up to
his pleasures.

IX. *Soliman* arrogantly ascribes these good Successes to his Bravery and Prudence, and not to the favour of Fortune. So thinking himself out of her reach, he drowns himself in Luxury and Drunkenness, adding the *European* to the *Asiatic* vices. Military discipline, by which the *Othman* Empire rose to such a height, is neglected, Honours are conferr'd on Wine-sellers and Panders, in a word, the Court has the appearance of a Brothel-House rather than a School of Virtues, which cou'd not but alienate from him the Minds of the Generals and Great Men.

He is betray'd
by his Friends
and slain.

X. *Musa Cbelebi**, who still remain'd among the *Walachians*, thinking he ought to turn his Brother's Intemperance to his advantage, privately sends messengers with letters to exasperate the Great Men, who, offended at *Soliman's* Actions, are easily perswaded to revolt, whilst he, buried in luxury knows nothing of it. Whereupon *Musa* re-assembles an Army and with long marches comes to *Adrianople*. There he finds his Brother unprepar'd and ignorant of what pass'd abroad, who when he could neither draw his forces together, nor any other way repel the unexpected enemy, resolves as the only course in his desperate state to save his life by flight, and implore the assistance of the *Greek* Emperor at *Constantinople*. Accordingly he almost seem'd to have escap'd the Enemy's sword and to be out of danger, having got twenty miles on his journey before he was pursued. But he whom fortune wou'd have sav'd, is betray'd by his favorite vice. For thoughtless of his affairs, when according to custom he made himself drunk at every house, and in his cups despis'd his Brother's power, he is taken in a Bath (in a certain Village (12) between *Constantinople* and *Adrianople*)

ANNOTATIONS.

(11) Timorousness] It is matter of astonishment to the *Turks* that *Soliman* immers'd in every vice was so successful in his affairs whilst *Musa*, endow'd with so many virtues, was very unfortunate in war, so that either

out of pusillanimity or caution, he never durst come to a pitch'd battle. (12) Village] Its name is not extant in any Annals. Nevertheless it seems to have been *Cborle** the *Tyrolis* of the Ancients, or some Village in the neighbour-

and slain by one of *Musa's* Soldiers (13). His Body is brought to his Brother, who tho' glad of his rival's death, orders it to be buried in the Sepulchre of his Grandfather *Murad*, call'd *Chodavendikar*.

XI. *Soliman* governed the *Turkish* Affairs seven Years and ten Months. He was a young Man far exceeding all the rest both in good and bad qualities, a valiant and most fortunate General, of an invincible mind, a Prince of great clemency and generosity, on the contrary, when he came to relax, and imagin'd he had nothing to fear, he degenerated into vice, and sunk into luxury, by which means, he was not only deserted by his constant companion Fortune, but forfeited the deep-rooted affection of his People and Great Men, and turn'd it to *Musa*. This was the cause that with his prosperity he quickly lost both his life and reputation, and sullied with his Vices (14) the *Othman* race which had been render'd illustrious by his Virtues.

His Character.

ANNOTATIONS.

neighbourhood of it, because that is twenty two miles from *Constantinople*, and equally distant from *Adrianople*.

(13) Soldiers] Some *Christian* Writers relate that *Soliman*, or, as they call him, *Cyriclebi*, intent upon an expedition against the *Despot* of *Serbia* departed this life. But they seem to confound him with his Brother *Musa*, who wag'd war against *Sigismund* King of *Hungary* and the *Serbian*. We therefore deem the *Turkish* account nearest the truth.

(14) Vices] The *Turks* only acknowledge five of their Emperors to

have been remarkably addicted to vice, namely, the three before-mentioned in this Chapter, with *Musa-pas* I. who unfit to govern, was twice advanc'd to the Throne, and twice depos'd, and *Ibrahim*, boundless in his lust, and for that reason after a short reign depos'd and strangled. Of all the rest, the *Turks* make honourable mention, and boast of their virtues as superior to all description: and even in those whom they speak reproachfully of, they say that it is the vices, not the Emperors, that they blame.

The End of the Interregnum under SOLIMAN.

INTER-



INTERREGNUM Under
MUSA CHELEBI*
 Son of SULTAN BAJAZET.

BOOK II. CHAP. II.

I. *Musa in Europe, II. and Mahomet in Asia created Emperors, III. divide the Empire between them. IV. Musa advances towards the Morea. V. Routs the Hungarians. VI. Mahomet turns his Arms against Musa, VII. and drives him into Servia. VIII. Musa assisted by the Servians takes Adrianople, IX. against whom Mahomet leads his Army. X. He is honourably receiv'd by the Greek Emperor, XI. and is saluted Emperor by the Europeans. XII. He conquers takes and kills his Brother. XIII. Why call'd an Interregnum?*

Musa is saluted Emperor in Europe.
 I. **MUSA CHELEBI*** after having undergone many hardships, thro' various Scenes of Fortune and Battles fought with great ardor arrives at a Crown, and on his brother *Soliman's* death is saluted Emperor at *Adrianople* by the whole *European* Army.

and Mahomet in Asia.
 II. Whilst these things are transacting in *Europe*, *Mahomet* Lord of *Amasia*, *Soliman's* uterine brother, but *Musa's* by another mother (1), hearing of *Soliman's* murder, assembles in order to revenge the fratricide, as many forces as he can, and seizes *Prusa*, where he is created

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) Another mother.] That he was Brother of *Soliman Chelebi** and Son of *Bajazet* by another Venter is out of all dispute. Here indeed is introduced by foreign Writers *Orban* Son of *Calepin* or *Soliman*, and said to be slain by his Uncle *Moses* [or *Musa Chelebi**] at the river *Hebrus* which washes *Adrianople*. But the falsity of

these Stories is sufficiently expos'd by the testimonies of the domestic Writers, who know nothing of any *Orban* Son of these Parents. They tell us that *Musa Chelebi** was taken Prisoner by a Soldier of *Mubammed's* of the regiment called *Seraje*, and put to death by the order of his brother, as will be seen hereafter.

Emperor

Emperor by his Army. But being taught by the example of his unfortunate brother, he applies himself to settle the *Asiatic* affairs before he published his resolution to dethrone *Musa*. For since *Tamerlane's* Expedition, *Asia* weaken'd by the *Tartars*, had been invaded by so many and such strong bands of robbers and infested with constant incursions, that her former wounds could by no means be heal'd. These plunderers *Mahomet Chelebi** vigorously attacks, routs, kills and takes, and so with great fame restores peace to *Asia*.

III. His Exploits reaching *Adrianople* struck such terror into *Musa Chelebi** that instead of claiming his father's whole Empire as he had resolv'd, he was now afraid of losing what he possessed, and durst not contend with his brother. Wherefore to divert *Mahomet* from any thoughts of revenging his brother's murder, he offers by Ambassadors to resign to him all *Asia* and promises to be contented with the *European* dominions.

IV. And that he might remove from his brother all suspicion, he turns in the year 814 his arms against the Christians, and finding the fortune of war, which he had ever dreaded, more favorable, takes in the *Morea* the Towns of *Peraverd* and *Matrone*, where having plac'd garrisons he sends his army into winter quarters.

V. *Musa*, exalted with the success of this year's expedition, attempts greater things the next year and assembling a stronger Army, marches against the *Hungarians* (2), govern'd at that time by King *Sigismund*. These near the City *Samandria* situated not far from the *Danube*, he attacks and defeats in such manner that scarce a man is left to carry news of the slaughter. It is said, nothing incumber'd the enemy so much as the immense riches they brought with them. For such a quantity of gold and silver is reported to be found in their tents after the victory, that the *Janizaries* measured the money in Bowls and Hats, and the rest of the spoils supplied the charge of building a large Temple (3) called *Jami Atyk*, the foundations whereof were laid the same year.

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) *Hungarians*] *Philip Lonicerus* (with almost all the *Christian* Writers) ascribes this expedition to *Cyricelebi* or *Soliman*, Tom. I. p. 28. He tells us that *Cyricelebi* rais'd forces sufficient to infect the neighbouring *Bulgarians*, *Servians* and *Macedonians*, in a tumultuous Incurision: That to check his attempts *Sigismund* King of *Hungary* assisted by the *Bulgarians* and *Bobemians*, led out a numerous Army against him, and engag'd him in a bloody battle at *Columbaciun*, a Town of the *Servians* near *Samandria*, not far from the *Ister*, in the year of *Christ* 1409. This

Battle the *Turks* assign to the year of their *Hegira* 815 or 1412 of *Christ*. But since the *Turkish* Annals expressly ascribe this expedition to *Musa Chelebi**, this error also seems to be owing to the confusion of Names.

(3) a large Temple] This likewise confirms our opinion. For an *Inscription* on the gate of this *Mosch*, call'd at this day *Jami Atyk*, or the *Old Jami*, testifies that it was begun by *Musa Chelebi** out of the spoils taken in that battle, and dedicated to God as a perpetual Monument of his Victory.

S

IV. Hitherto

Mahomet turns his Arms against Musa.

VI. Hitherto fortune had smil'd on Musa, but was soon going to frown on him. For to no other cause can be ascrib'd the calamity which befell Musa Cbelebi*, otherwise a Prince of an excellent disposition, great justice and moderation. About this time, his Prime Vizir Korbab Muluk (4) and the famous General Ornusbeg (5) without any provocation revolt to Mabomet and by private letters signify to him "that the Othman Empire something weaken'd by civil dissensions wou'd not bear to be govern'd by two Heads (6), and that the whole Army seeing Musa's timorous nature, were of opinion the Empire should be confer'd on him alone. If therefore he would hasten into Europe with his forces they promis'd to deliver to him not only the whole Army, but his father's Throne."

and drives him into Servia.

VII. Mabomet Cbelebi* at the receipt of these letters instantly prepares to pass into Rumelia. On the other hand, Musa encourag'd by his late successes, diligently assembles his Army, in order to secure the Straits of Callipolis before his brother's arrival. But finding his Generals only made a show of fighting, and that nothing was done as he desired, perceiving moreover the treachery of his Men, in the very heat of the battle, privately withdraws out of the field, and escapes into Lazvilaieti †. Mabomet, prevented by the Season from proceeding any farther and establishing his Empire, returns with his army to winter at Prusa.

† Or Servia.

Musa assisted by the Servians takes Adrianople.

VIII. Musa Cbelebi* assisted by his old friend the Prince of Servia (7)

ANNOTATIONS.

(4) Korbab Muluk] Muluk seems to be his proper name. Kor Shab in the Persian language signifies a blind or one-eyed Prince. Hence it may be concluded, that he was a Persian, tho' it is not certain.

(5) Ornusbeg] Or as others read, Evrenus †. Foreign Writers give a fabulous account of this name, which see in the Preface. It seems to be no Turkish name, but corrupted from the Latin Honorius, which it is known was the name of a Greek Emperor. If this were prov'd, we must believe that Ornus was once either himself a Christian, or born of Christian Parents, who abjuring his Religion, embrac'd the Mahometan Superstition. However this be, the Turkish Annals are full of his Heroic Actions.

(6) By two Heads] They had no good reason for their revolt from Musa Cbelebi*, a just and merciful

Prince. They pretended therefore a singular concern for the safety of the Othman Empire, whose ruin they, as good and faithful Counsellors, were to provide against, by electing the most worthy of the Brothers, and so putting an end to the Schism. But what Traytor will ever want a colour for his perfidy before he reduces it to action?

(7) Prince of Servia] The Turkish Writers seldom give us the names of Christian Princes in their Narrations, but commonly signify them by their Dominions, as, Major Kyrati King of Hungary. Nemche* Kyrati King of Germany. Rum Tekkuri Emperor of the Greeks, &c. But it is gathered from Christian Historians that this was George, Despot of Servia, whose two Sons Murad II, depriv'd afterwards of their Eyes, having married the Daughter before.

[† The English Reader may perhaps wonder how Ornus can be read Evrenus, but it must be observed that this word in Turkish begins with an Elif and Faw, which may express either e or ev, consequently by inserting an e after the r, Ornus becomes Evrenus.]

with

with warlike Stores and Forces, returns the same winter, into his Empire, and becomes master of Adrianople destitute of a garrison. There he finds Korbab and Ornusbeg, designedly left by Mabomet in Europe, and either because he saw they could not effect their intentions, or out of his merciful temper, pardons and receives them into favour.

IX. But what has establish'd the Kingdoms of other Princes, prov'd his destruction, whilst he unseasonably shows Mercy to the ungrateful, and Musa by a repeated example has demonstrated, that an enemy is sooner to be trusted than a newly reconcil'd friend. For these Generals, unmindful of the favours bestowed on them, and perhaps spur'd on by the fear of future punishments, invite Mabomet again to seize the Empire, who coming from Nicæa with a greater Army, passes the Bosphorus by the Greek Emperor's permission (8) under the very Walls of Constantinople (9).

against whom Mabomet leads his Army.

X. The same day he enters Constantinople, and is receiv'd by the Emperor in a very honorable manner, and presented with rich presents worthy the Giver and Receiver. After which, on the third day, he pursues his march to Adrianople.

He is honorably received by the Great Emperor.

XI. He had scarce been two days (10) from Constantinople, when he is met by Shab Muluk and Ornusbeg, who had withdrawn in the night from Adrianople. They immediately fall prostrate at his feet,

and saluted Emperor by the Europeans.

ANNOTATIONS.

(8) Emperour's permission] His name is not express'd by the Turks, who only call him Istambol Kaisari. But it may be infer'd from the time, that it was Manuel Palaeologus.

(9) Walls of Constantinople] The passage of this Mubammed Cbelebi* thro' Constantinople, and the honours pay'd him there are not mentioned by any Greek or Latin Writer, except George Phranza, who after his custom confounds this Mubammed Cbelebi* with Soliman. What credit the Turkish Historians deserve is left to the Reader to judge.

(10) Two days] It was either the Town of Epibate, twelve hours distant from Constantinople, and the Seat of the great General Apocaucus, the most implacable enemy of John Cantacuzenus, or Sylebria, about the same place, and two hours nearer to Constantinople, in which are seen at this day pompous ruins of Palaces, which Gregoras says belong'd to John Cantacuzenus. In these ruins, under a

great heap of Stones, I found on a piece of Porphyry a foot and a half square, engraven the Statue of a Woman sitting upon a Chariot drawn by four Horses, crown'd with Laurel, her hair flowing as if thrown back by the wind, a Palm in her right hand, and in her left the reins of the horses, with this Inscription, $\delta\upsilon\epsilon\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\omicron\lambda\upsilon\mu\alpha\ \xi\alpha$. The name is unhappily lost, either by age, or in the heap of the ruins, her nose and right ear are mutilated, all the other parts are entire. The Antiquity of the Stone was sufficiently manifested by the notation of the 64th Olympiad, or five hundred and twenty years before Christ. I preserved that Monument in my Palace in the Suburbs of Constantinople on the Bosphorus, built in a place the most agreeable that can be imagined. But I hear that since my departure, it fell with the whole Palace, and the other Monuments into the hands of the Daughter of Sultan Ahmed.

and

and kissing, according to custom, the ground (11), salute him Emperor in the name of the European Army.

He conquers and takes his Brothers.

XII. *Musa Cbelebi** deserted by his own people, and destitute of counsels and forces, thinks of repairing to his old Sanctuary *Servia*. But he is scarce out of the Suburbs with a few attendants, when he is surprized by *Mabomet*, who was come before with a select band of Soldiers. Despair rendering him valiant, since he finds he must conquer or die, he draws up his people and fights with great bravery, Valour however giving way to numbers, when he sees his attendants vanquish'd and dispers'd, he himself also takes to flight, with intent to prosecute his design. But not far from the City he is overtaken by a horseman of the Regiment call'd *Seraje* (12), and brought alive to his brother, who instantly puts him to death, he having administred the *Turkish* affairs in *Europe* three years and six months (13). *Mabomet*

ANNOTATIONS.

(11) Kissing the ground] No mortal is thought worthy to kiss the hand of the Emperor. So that if the Prime Vizir comes into his Presence, either going to or returning from an Expedition, thrice bending his right knee, he puts his right hand to the ground, and then applies it to his mouth and forehead. He does the same when he withdraws. It is likewise the custom to walk not with a slow, but with a swift pace in presence of the Emperor. For a slow pace shews something of Majesty, which is thought to have too much presumption in so sublime a Presence.

(12) *Seraje*] It was the first and oldest Regiment or Legion of Horse amongst the *Arabians* and *Turks*, from which the word *Saracen* seems to be corrupted. For of any *Arabian* Nation by that name there is no mention in their Annals, nor has *Saracen* either in the *Arabic*, *Persian* or *Turkish* Languages any meaning. Into the place of *Seraje* the *Spahi* have succeeded, as into that of the *Seghan*, or ancient Foot the *Janisaries*. To this day the Foot under the *Basha's* are call'd *Seghan*, the Horse *Seraje*. But this word is derived from the *Persian Seranjam*, i. e. oppos'd to danger, or over whose head danger hangs, compounded of *Ser*, the Head, and *enjam*, Danger, or any unfortunate accident. As *basime gelan Seranjam*, Danger, or some

unhappy event which hangs over my head. There is at this day another body of *Turkish* forces call'd *Serden Gecdi**, or the *forlorn Hope*, whose Institutions shall be spoke to hereafter. *Seghan* is likewise a *Persian* word, and signifies *Keeper of the Dogs*. For *Seg* in the *Persian* Language is a *Dog*, *ban*, a *Keeper*; as *Bagiban*, *Keeper of the Vines*, *Rubban*, *Keeper of good Ways*, by which name they denote the *Greek* Monks, as *Rubban Zabiduzabid perest*, a *superstitious* (or *abstemious*) *Monk*, and observer of *Superstition*.

(13) Six months] The number of the years assign'd by *Christian* Writers to these three Sons of *Bajazet* agrees not at all with the *Turkish* account. The *Christians* say that *Soliman* reign'd six years, *Orchan*, *Musa* the pretended Uncle of *Orchan*, and *Mabomet* fourteen together. But the *Turks* assign seven years and ten months to *Soliman*, three years six months to *Musa*, and to *Mabomet* alone, eight years ten months, which added together make twenty years two months. It is evident that the *Christians* relying on no authority, have given to *Mabomet* that time in which his brothers also reign'd. The computation of *Pbranza*, who assigns only three years to the civil dissensions of the brothers, has been already taken notice of.

amply

amply rewards (14) the Soldier's diligence, makes him one of his Counsellors, and at last advances him to the Prime Vizirship. This man became afterwards a famous General among the *Turks*, and erected a noble *Medrese* at *Callipolis*.

XIII. Before we proceed, it will be proper to observe that neither of these Princes whose Lives we have been relating, is acknowledged for Emperor by the *Turks*, but that whole space is called an *Interregnum*. The reason they alledge is, that neither *Soliman Cbelebi**, nor *Musa Cbelebi**, ever possess'd the whole *Othman* Empire, but whilst one rul'd in *Europe*, the other always reign'd in *Asia*. Wherefore neither do they reckon the three foregoing years, in which *Musa Cbelebi** was yet alive, to *Mabomet's* (15) reign, but fix the beginning of it to the year of the *Hegira* 816, in which *Musa Cbelebi** as we said, was put to death by his brother's command.

Why call'd an Interregnum?

H. 816. Ch. 1415.

ANNOTATIONS.

(14) Amply rewards] As a reward, they say, he was admitted amongst the privy counsellors call'd *Musabih*, and afterwards advanc'd to Prime Vizir. There is at this day at *Callipolis* in the Cittadel a fine building said to be from him, call'd *Bagazbisar*, as likewise a Market place at *Constantinople* call'd *Seraje Pasha*, which seems to have deriv'd its name from him or his Son: For there is no other emi-

nent *Basha* of that name amongst the *Turks*.

(15) *Mabomet*] It must be observ'd, that during the life of *Mabomet*, *Musa* took the appellation of *Cbelebi** only, but after his death he was call'd Sultan. The eleven years and four months in which his brothers held the Sceptre, are only an *Interregnum* with the *Turks*.

The End of the Interregnum under MUSA CHELEBI*.



T

The



The REIGN of
MAHOMET I.
 Son of BAJAZET,
 AND
 Fifth EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK II. CHAP. III.

I. Mahomet created Emperor of Asia. II. Clears his Dominions of Robbers. III. Musa being killed, he obtains the whole Empire. IV. Attacks Caramanogli. V. Makes Peace with him. VI. Attacks him again, guilty of breach of faith, and forgives him. VII. Subdues Ifindarbeg. VIII. Makes the Walachians tributary. IX. A false Mustapha appears in Asia, X. who is vanquish'd and hang'd. XI. Mahomet's death conceal'd by Ibrahim Chan. XII. His Character.

Mahomet created Emperor of Asia.

THOUGH we have related in the foregoing Chapter, Mahomet's (1) actions whilst his Brothers were alive, a recapitulation will be necessary for the better carrying on the thread of the History. The common saying, that *whilst two are contending for a thing a third comes and runs away with it*, was verified by this Emperor. For whilst his elder Brothers excited by ambition and an immoderate thirst of dominion, were fighting for the Kingdom, and by civil dissensions wasting their forces, with which, had they been friends, they might not only

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) Mahomet] The first Emperor of the Turks of this name. It is a doubt amongst some Christian Writers whether he was the Son of Bajazet, or his Grandson by Soliman; but since the Turkish Writers almost unanimously make him the Son of Bajazet, the thing seems to me out of all dispute. Of his first name *Mubammed Cbelebi* I have spoke in another place.

have

Book II. 5. Mahomet I.

have defended their borders but enlarged their Empire, he remain'd quiet in *Anafia* of which he was Prince, intent only upon clearing his Provinces of the plundering *Tartars*, and restoring peace and tranquillity to his People. For the sake of which, when he heard his eldest Brother *Soliman* was escap'd out of the battle by means of *Alipascha*, *Bajazet's* prime Vizir, and created Emperor at *Adrianople*, he sent Ambassadors to congratulate him and promise in his name all faithfulness and subjection. But afterwards being told that *Soliman* was taken by *Musa* and kill'd, he resolves to expiate fratricide with fratricide (2) and leaving the Arts of peace which he had hitherto exercis'd, seizes *Prusa*, where in 813 he is declar'd Emperor by his People.

II. Things succeeded thus prosperously, it was by many thought adviseable to carry war into *Europe*, but the politic *Mahomet* was of another opinion. For tho' by the good Success, he had hitherto been attended with, he knew his subjects to be well-affected to him, yet he easily saw, if he should now attack his brother *Musa*, it would both encourage the plundering *Tartars* not yet quite expell'd, and render the future war more difficult with an enemy prepar'd to receive him. On the other hand, if he conceal'd his intention, and deferr'd his designs till a more convenient season, he shou'd more easily subdue both his *Asiatic* and *European* Enemies. Wherefore the same year he obtain'd the Empire, he unexpectedly surprizes, takes and beheads *Cara deulet Shab* (3) the only surviving leader of the *Tamerlanian Tartars*, who relying on the Emperor's absence, was destroying with fire and sword the Countries about *Anafia*. The rest of the Plunderers are kill'd and dispers'd, so that in a short time, peace is restor'd to his dominions.

Clears his Dominions of Robbers.

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) Fratricide] Altho' the *Turks* allow that their Emperor may kill every day fourteen of his Subjects with impunity and without impeachment of Tyranny, because (say they) He does many things by divine impulse, the reason of which is not permitted them to know: Yet Fratricide and Parricide under whatever pretences committed have never been approved by them. And in the two first ages of the *Othman* Empire, they think the Brothers and Kinsmen of their Emperors were never justly put to death by them, unless for rebellions in their *Sanjacs*, or when it was done with the consent of their Nobles. But in the third age these *Sanjacs* were taken away by *Soliman*, memorable for his fruitless siege of *Vienna*, and it was or-

dained by law, that the Emperor's relations, should not be kill'd, but to prevent conspiracies, closely confin'd. Altho' after that law by the connivance of Fathers or Brothers some of the Sons of Sultans retain'd their *Sanjac*; yet now all that distribution of Appanages has entirely ceas'd, and the Sons of the Sultans, according to the humour of the Prince upon the Throne, are more strictly confin'd as *Soliman* II, and *Ahmed* II, or with less rigor as under *Mustapha*, the present Sultan *Ahmed* III. The place of their confinement is the imperial Palace.

(3) *Cara deulet Shab*] A name compounded of *cara*, black, and *deulet*, happy, (which at this day is us'd by the *Tartars* not the *Turks*;) and *Shab* King or Lord.

III. Asia

III. *Asia* being thus in tranquillity, at the instigation of his Great Men, he passes into *Europe* in the year 816, and having taken and put to death his brother *Musa*, is proclaim'd at *Adrianople* Emperor of all the *Alotbman* dominions, in the 39th year of his age. At the same time he orders the *Eskijami* founded in that City by *Musa*, to be finish'd.

IV. Whilst *Mabomet* is thus employ'd in *Europe*, an unexpected flame is kindled in *Asia*. For *Caramanogli* thinking himself able to crush the *Othman* Power (which he had always look'd upon with a jealous eye) whilst the Emperor is busied in his *European* wars, assembles his forces, and laying waste all *Bitynia*, encamps under *Prusa*, burns the Suburbs, and closely besieges the City itself one and thirty days. *Mabomet* hearing this, passes his army into *Asia* by the Straits of *Callipolis* to chastize his insolence, and to that end strengthens his forces with those of *Sabbeg* and *Germanogli*.

V. But the perfidious *Caramanogli* could hardly withstand the same, much less the sword of *Mabomet*. For being inform'd of his coming, he instantly departs from *Prusa*, and chusing to hazard his honor rather than his life, puts on the *Neckerchief* (4), and humbly entering the Emperor's Camp, confesses his fault on his knees and begs pardon. The Emperor's clemency suffer'd him not to refuse it, and therefore receiving him into favour on certain conditions, he returns to *Prusa*, where he the next year orders to be erected, a large *Jami*, *Imaret* and *Madrese*, with a very spacious *Chan* (or Exchange for the use of merchants) being resolv'd to enlarge by peace the Empire obtain'd by war.

VI. But *Caraman's* perfidiousness, did not yet suffer the Emperor to be quiet. For hearing that *Mabomet's* victorious forces were dismiss'd, he breaks the treaty without cause, and invades the *Othman* Empire. *Mabomet* full of Indignation, instantly meets him with a select Party, and attacking him, puts him to flight, tho' he fought with great bravery. *Caraman* with his Son are taken prisoners, and being

He kills *Musa*, and is sole Emperor.
H. 816.
A. C. 1413.

He is attack'd by *Caramanogli*.

who sues for peace,

which he breaks, and is vanquish'd and pardon'd.

ANNOTATIONS.

(4) *Neckerchief*] A *Turkish* Phrase signifying Surrender, or a Petition for grace and favour, called *Aman*, from whence the saying *bozazine Mabramas tallidi*, he put on the neckerchief, i. e. he declar'd himself his future Subject. The law exempts such from punishment according to the præscript of the sentence or *Fetua*, *Egizlan bash kifil mez*, let not the bended head be struck off, unless where the number of Prisoners is so large that danger may be feared from Them, or where the irruption of an enemy prevents their being carried off. In ci-

ther of these cases they may be kill'd with impunity to lessen the number of *Christians*. Thus if any *Musulman* has married a captive *Christian* Woman, he may not lie with her out of the limits of the Empire, as well because while he is on hostile ground, the event is yet uncertain, as because if by any accident she should make her escape before she is brought to bed, there is danger that the child will be brought up in the *Christian* Religion, which with them passes for a mortal Sin.

brought

brought before the Emperor, he is thus reproach'd by him for his breach of faith: "I, says he, no less just than victorious, will and command Thee, unjust and vanquish'd to be sav'd: for it is inconsistent with the imperial Honor to return like for like to wicked and profligate Men. It was thy part to commit the treachery suggested by thy mind, and it is mine to act agreeably to my Majesty and Magnanimity" (5). Thus reprimanded he dismisses him, and restores him his Provinces, only placing Garrisons in *Sivribisar*, *Nukteydak*, *Enishebri*, *Sedishebri*, *Numad*, *Saidul* and *Ain*.

VII. *Caraman* being thus kept in awe, *Mabomet* thinking it proper to chastize *Isfindarbeg* Prince of *Castamoni*, his Ally in the Conspiracy, turns his Arms against him, and takes the principal and best fortified Towns of the Countries of *Castamoni* and *Janik*. The next year with a greater Army, he subjects to his dominion *Buri*, *Jiga*, *Tofia*, *Bakyrkurefi* with *Changyri** where *Isfindarbeg* resided, and distributes that Prince's great Treasures among the Soldiers (6). At the same time he builds a stately Palace at *Amasia* (7).

VIII. After weakening all his Enemies in *Asia*, *Mabomet* assembles his *European* and *Asiatic* forces, and departs from *Prusa* to *Adrianople*. From thence he marches against the *Walachians*, routs their Army, lays waste great part of the Province, takes *Severia* (8), where is a bridge said to be built by *Trajan*, and the Castles *Sakche** and *Cale* (9),

Isfindarbeg vanquish'd and put to death.

Mabomet makes the *Walachians* tributary.
H. 820.
A. C. 1418.

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(5) *Magnanimity*] It will perhaps be astonishing to some to find so much clemency, and a mind so truly royal in a *Barbarian* Prince; but it has long pass'd into a Proverb, that Greece is no longer in Greece, and that as many *Barbarians* grecize, as *Greeks* barbarize. For I call not them *Greeks* who are born in Greece, but those who have transferred the *Grecian* Learning and Institutions to themselves. It is justly said by *Isoocrates* in one of his *Panegyrics*, I had rather call them *Græcians* who are Partakers of our Discipline, than those who only share with us the same common birth and nature.

(6) among the Soldiers.] It is customary with the *Turkish* Emperors to promise their Soldiers all the Goods of the Enemy unless the City is taken by surrender, the Walls only and the Government of it reserv'd to Themselves. It is not to be express'd what fire this gives to Men naturally greedy of Plunder and Rapine.

(7) at *Amasia*] He seems to have erected this Palace at *Amasia* not to

fix the Seat of his Empire There, but only for a place of retirement and diversion. The Seat of the Sultans never was there, it having been only an *Apennage* (as they call it) for younger Princes.

(8) *Severin*] A Tower now decay'd by time, and retaining its name perhaps from some *Roman* Prefect, or other Prince of the same name its Founder. In the place where it is now seen, *Trajan*, when he march'd against the *Scythians* threw a Stone Bridge over the *Danube* of admirable Workmanship, whose Foundations appear at this day in the bottom of the River. I shall enlarge more upon this in my description of *Moldavia*.

(9) *Cale*] No City of this name is now to be met with in these Regions. But as it is plac'd between *Sakche** and *Girgiow* Towns upon the *Danube*, the first bordering upon *Walachia*, the latter upon *Moldavia*, I imagine the Town *Taia* or the Castle *Tulche** to be intended by it.

U

situate

situate on the other side the Danube, and fortifies Girgiow with new Works and a good Garrison, so that the Walachians could not any more pass the Danube. Pent up in this manner, and press'd by the sword of the Enemy and the want of warlike Stores, despairing also to preserve their liberty, they purchase their safety with the promise of an annual tribute (10), for the performance whereof the Sons of the Prince and of three Great Men are given to the Emperor in hostage. After which he returns to Adrianople.

IX. The fruits of these victories obtain'd with so much blood and labour were like to be wrested from Mabomet, by the fraudulent hand of an Impostor (11). At this time were rais'd in Asia great tumults by a man of low fortune belonging to the family of a certain petty Prince, Peder Ulledyn (12). Mustapha, eldest Son of Bajazet fell, (as we have related) in the battle with Tamerlane; but it was said to be uncertain whether he was carried away captive, or slain with the sword of the Enemy. The Person above-mention'd falsely assum'd the name of Prince Mustapha, and being assisted by the advice of Peder Ulledyn, gather'd together a numerous band of profligate Men, with whom he laid waste Zagara (13), and the neighbouring Countries. The next Spring attempting greater things, he besieg'd Nicæa, and perswaded the Inhabitants to join in the Rebellion.

A false Mustapha appears in Asia.

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(10) annual tribute) It cannot be denied that the Walachians are subject to the Turks by right of Arms: and therefore the Salt-pits and Customs were not long ago used to be sold out of the Imperial Exchequer. But the annual Tribute being increased under Prince Matthew to 50000 Imperial Crowns, they were restor'd to the Principality. But the Moldavians who voluntarily put themselves under the Protection of the Turks, as low as the time of one Peter firnam'd Rares only made a Bairam Pishkieshi, or, as we should say, an Easter Offering of 4000 gold crowns, twenty falcons, and forty bred mares. In his time the Turks demanding rigorously the Jeziye or Haraj, or a great Sum of money in the name of a Tribute, Peter's answer was, that he cou'd indeed resign the Principality, but to change a Present into a Tribute, or make any addition to the money to be offered to the Emperor was out of his power. But when in the extremity of his affairs he had

retir'd into Transylvania, the Turks obtain'd their demands, and appointing a Successor to Him, so enlarg'd them by degrees that the unhappy Moldavians, besides 75000 Imperial crowns, are oblig'd to pay 50000 Leonines in lieu of the Jeziye Mali, or the Easter-Offering.

(11) Impostor] He is not the Impostor Mustapha, whom the Christian Writers make to have rebell'd in the time of Murad II, encourag'd by assistance from the Greek Emperor. For this made his appearance in Rumelia, otherwise call'd Romania, the other in Asia, being a Plebeian and subject of one of the Persian Reguli or petty Sovereigns.

(12) Peder Ulledyn] Seems to be one of the petty Sovereigns who revolted from the Persians in the time of Jenghiz-ban.

(13) Zagara] A Town of Asia minor different from that placed near Philippolis in Europe, and call'd the Eski Zagara or old Zagara.

X. This

X. This Sedition daily increasing, seem'd to threaten great mischief to the Othman Empire, especially as Peder Ulledyn, to deceive the rest, was seen to reverence his Servant as his Lord. Wherefore the Emperor thinking it of the utmost importance to the Othmans to stifle the rebellion in its birth, immediately leads his forces from Adrianople into Asia, and finds the Impostor still intent on the Siege of Nicæa. The Counterfeit Mustapha raising the Siege boldly marches with his Followers against Mabomet, but at the first Charge is vanquish'd by the Imperial Army, and put to flight. Part are slain, and part taken, among whom the Impostor with his Lord Semidine ogli (14), attones for his crime on the Gallows.

who is taken and hanged.

XI. The rebellion being thus quell'd, Mabomet in the year 824, takes Eski Geliboli (15), Tarkly, and Herge. Returning from this Expedition he is seiz'd with a flux, of which he died. He had appointed by Will his eldest Son Murad for Successor. But as Murad was then waging war with part of the Army in Rumelia (16), the prime

Mabomet's death is con- ccal'd. H. 824. Ch. 1471.

Vizir

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(14) Semidine ogli] a Patronymic of the foremention'd Peder Ulledyn, and is the same as Son of Semadine.

(15) Eski Geliboli] The ancient Gallipolis seems to have been a Fortres plac'd at the Hellespont, and now either destroyed or lost under a new and barbarous name.

(16) Rumelia] The meaning of this word amongst the Turks has been explain'd above in Ch. IV. Here it will not be improper to give a more exact account of this name. The Chalises of the Arabians (or as they are commonly call'd by Christians, of the Saracens) whilst they remain'd about the Euphrates, and had not extended their limits thro' Natolia, call'd all those Countries which belong'd to the Roman-Greek Empire Run-yli (i. e.) Part of the Romans, probably because the Greeks, the Possessors, call'd themselves *ρωμαίους* or *romans*, as their Successors do at this day. To this my opinion, besides the consent and testimony of domestic Writers, is added a corroborative Proof from the name of the City Erzurum, which City, (in Armenia major) as a Bulwark long withstood the sacrilegious Invaders, and diverted their rage from the rest of the Asiatic Provinces many years. For it is compounded of the Arabian Erz,

Land and Rum, Rome, as if you shou'd say, the Land or Territory of the Romans. But after They had (finding an opportunity from the Wars which the Greek Emperors wag'd with the Latins) reduc'd all Natolia to their obedience, with the diminution of the Roman Empire, the Apellation of it was likewise reduc'd, and at length confin'd to that part of Europe which is subject to the Empire of the Othmans. However with the Turkish Geographers it is customary to call all Europe by the name of Rum; for instance, *Rumden anadolije geybne*, i. e. to pass out of Europe into Asia. So on the contrary, *Anadoludan Rume*, out of Asia into Europe. From hence a fivefold signification of this word *Rum-yli*, or, as it is call'd, *Rumelia* has arose. With Geographers it is taken for all Europe. In the more ancient Arabian Historians it comprehends all those Provinces which lie from Erzurum westward, sometimes Europe so much of it as is subject to the Othman Empire, sometimes also Greece properly so call'd without Peloponnesus, but rarely Greece and Peloponnesus together. And that this is the meaning of it here, I am perswaded from the agreement of the Turkish and Christian Historians, that Murad (his Father yet

Vizir *Ibrahim Chan* (17) conceals the Emperor's death one and forty days, transacting affairs as if by his order. Afterwards at *Murad's* return, he delivers up to him the Army and Kingdom. Whereupon being saluted Emperor by All, he sends his father's body to *Prusa* to be buried in the *Jami* he had founded.

His Character.

XII. *Mahomet* lived forty seven, and reigned eight years and ten months (18), a Sultan, great in War and Peace, and fam'd for Justice and

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yet living) made an expedition into the *Morea*, tho' with what success both are silent.

(17) *Ibrahim Chan*] The *Turks* call him their *Ulysses*. Wherefore also Sultan *Murad II*, gave him the Appellation of *Chan*, never bestow'd on any but the Princes of *Persia* and *Tartary*, for his concealing the death of the Emperor forty one days in such manner that not one of the Lords of the Court had the least intimation of it, whilst himself directed every thing. The same name is given to his Descendants at this day, being call'd *Ibrahim chan ogli*, a Race the most illustrious, powerful and wealthy in the whole *Turkish* Empire. You will scarce find a City of any account in those Countries which obey'd the *Turkish* Empire in the days of *Ibrahim chan*, but what glories in him as the Founder of its *Jami*, and Revenues belonging thereto. And indeed so many and so magnificent are the Structures of this Race, that it is not easy to conceive where their Founders cou'd find money for so vast an expence. The Posterity of this *Ibrahim*, have no legitimate Wives, in the opinion that no blood is worthy of their own, and therefore like the Sultans, they chuse to themselves Concubines out of the Captives as well for Offspring as Pleasure. By the precept of their great Ancestor, they court no offices civil or military, nor enjoy any besides the *Tevliyet* or inspection of the *Jami* founded by themselves and Ancestors, on pretence indeed that it is unworthy of their descent, but in reality, because they fear lest being advanc'd to the degree of Vizir they should experience the fate so common to the Vizirs, and be depriv'd at once of their Wealth and Dignity. Nor can the Sultans themselves compel

them into any public Offices, from which They were exempted by the peculiar indulgence of Sultan *Murad II*, an Indulgence afterwards confirm'd by *Soliman Canuni* in honour of *Ibrahim Chan*, and in force to this day. But if any necessity of the empire calls upon them, they voluntarily send a supply of forces into the Camp, levy'd and arm'd at their own expence. They have the greatest honours paid them by the Sultan, who makes them two annual visits, eats with them at a costly entertainment, and allows them more frequent access to his Person than any others. When they enter, it is customary with the Sultan to rise a little from his Seat, and to their Salutation of *Selamunalykum* (peace be with thee) to answer, *Aykum es-selam* (peace be also with you.) Then, as they are standing with a submissive silence, the Sultan says to them, *Saffa geldiniz*, or *Chesh geldiniz*, you are welcome. Sometimes he bids them sit down, and talks with them of ordinary affairs which he does only with the Mufti, or, rarely, with the prime Vizir. Of this Race I knew one *Ibrahim beg* a man of few words, grave, and of a majestick carriage. Twice or thrice in the year I was visited by him in my Palace on the *Bosphorus*, and when he took leave of me, he always said, with a low voice, *Ezual! may you continue in health!* At his entrance, the Salutation was *Chair ola*, may it be well with you! for to give the Salutation of peace to *Christians* in the usual form of *Selamunalykum* is a crime with them. Hence *Christian* Princes may easily imagine how infirm is the Peace they can promise themselves from the *Turks*.

(18) ten months] This is to be remembered in order to settle the confus'd

Book II. 5. Mahomet I.

and Clemency. He is chiefly extoll'd for raising the *Othman* Empire from the low condition it was reduc'd to by the *Tamerlanian* slaughter, and the more destructive quarrel of his Brothers (19). Neither did he retrieve it only from ruin, but left it both enlarg'd and establish'd to his Son and Successor.

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fus'd calculation of the *Christian* Historians. See more concerning it, in the Note at the end of Book II. Ch. II.

(19) his Brothers] The *Christian* and *Turkish* Historians agree that, after the terrible blow given to *Bajazet* by *Tamerlane*, the *Turkish* Affairs were reduc'd to that low ebb, that, could

but their discord have united the *Christian* Princes, the *Othman* Power might have been, if not wholly destroyed, at least easily expelled out of *Europe*. But since the Judgments of God are beyond the fathom of our reason, we had better in silence adore, than bring them under our Censure.

During the INTERREGNUM and *Mahomet's* Empire, there reign'd in *Europe*,

At *Constantinople*, EMANUEL PALEOLOGUS, 1387-1421.

In the *West*, SIGISMUND King of *Hungary*. 1410-37.

In *England*, { HENRY IV. 1399-1412.
HENRY V. 1412-22.

In *France*, CHARLES VI. 1381-1422.

The End of the Reign of MAHOMET I.





The REIGN of

MURAD II.

Son of MAHOMET,

AND

Sixth EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK II. CHAP. IV.

H. 825.
A. C. 1422.
A false Mustapha appears.

Thessalonica.

I. MAHOMET, as I have said, dying in the year of the Hejira 825, was succeeded by a Son worthy of so great a Father, Murad II. in the eighteenth year of his age. In these his younger years he gave a no less signal than difficult proof of his Virtues. An obscure Person (different from the other Impostor) (1) impudently assumed the name of Mustapha Son of Bajazet, who perished by an unknown fate in the battle with Tamerlane. This Man first lurking about Selanik, soon gain'd so great a reputation by his name, that he persuaded not only the common People but the European Soldiers, with many Officers, that he was the very Person he pretended to be. So when he had allur'd to his Party almost all Rumelia, and assembled a considerable army, he pass'd thro' the Straits of Callipolis (with the connivance (2), as 'tis said of the Greek Emperor) into Asia, in order to seize Prusa the Seat of the Ottoman Empire.

II. Murad,

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(1) different from the other] This was an European, and made his first appearance in Thessaly, a distinct Person from that Asiatic mentioned before. The Christians pardonably take him for the true Mustapha, as they could at that time have no Intelligence of the Turkish Affairs but from

the Greeks, who to avert the last danger would probably have embraced even a Beggar for a King.

(2) with the connivance] I should take this for a Calumny of the Turks upon the Grecians for a pretence of War against them, did not Phranza (Book I. Ch. XXXIX. and XL.) tell us

II. Murad, taught by his Father's example, sends the prime Vizir Bajazet into Asia (3) with chosen Troops to stifle the flame in its birth. But the Vizir was not crown'd with the same success as had attended Mahomet. For the counterfeit Mustapha with his army bravely meets Bajazet, and joining battle, vanquishes and kills the Vizir, and routs his forces destitute of a General.

He defeats Murad's Vizir.

III. The sad news of this defeat being brought into Europe, Murad not at all discourag'd, says, "This misfortune has not befallen me by the virtue of these Impostors or by my Vizir's fault, (whom I have often experienc'd to be both a brave Soldier and excellent General) but by some just tho' unknown indignation of God against his People, which, if we would have our affairs to prosper, must first be appeas'd by true repentance, hearty prayers, and fervent tears (4); and then I shall think my self sure of Victory, and of being reveng'd" on

Murad appeases God by Seid Bechar.

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us that Mustapha (whom he supposes to have been the real Son of Bajazet) was brought by John Paleologus out of Peloponnesus to Callipolis, and set over the Western Parts of the Empire, tho' Murad earnestly desired the Greeks not to lend him any assistance.

Propagation of the Mahometan Religion: On the contrary, unjust Wars with them are such as are enter'd into for the enlarging the Bounds of their Empire, or the Royal Revenue. From whence it may be easily imagined that they can never want a just pretence for a War. Thus their Opinion was dextrously laid hold of by Kuprili Mustapha Basba, prime Vizir to Sultan Seliman II, Uncle of the present Emperor Ahmed. For when the Turkish Soldiers, struck with former disasters, refus'd the Service, he in a Council gave this Opinion; "That the Victories of the Germans, and their own Defeats, were owing not to the Valour of the Enemy, but to the Sins of the Musulmans; therefore the Gold and Silver Furniture of the Emperor was to be sold, and the Militia to receive their Pay out of the Money arising from the Sale; and by a Proclamation of the Emperor it was to be declared, that he undertook the War against the Germans for no other Cause but merely the Propagation of the Faith; and therefore they who were obedient to the Laws of the Coran ought to follow him, not as forc'd into the Service, but as Volunteers; for if he had only 12000 true Observers of the Coran, he assuredly promised himself a speedy recovery of whatever had been wrested from

(3) into Asia] Phranza in the place above mentioned gives us this Relation inverted. For he says, that the Battle fought by Mustapha with Bajazet, Murad's Vizir, (an expert, says he, and able Warrior) was near Adrianople, but that Mustapha after the Victory moved into Asia against Amuratib, by whom being defeated he returned into the West, and was pursued, overtaken, and killed by Murad, with the assistance of some Genoese Vessels. But as it is undeniable that Mubammed I. dy'd at Adrianople, and that Murad II his Son returning out of Rumelia, there first assum'd the Ensigns of the Empire, I had rather accuse Phranza, than the Turkish Writers, of an oversight in this Affair.

(4) tears] The Turks ascribe every Victory not to Multitude, Valour, or human Industry, but solely to divine Providence; and therefore they always seek a just Ground of War, that they may not seem to take Arms against the Will of God. But they call those Wars just, (and only those) which are undertaken for the

" the

"on our Enemies." He concluded with this common *Turkish* Saying, *Virminje Maabud ne eile sun Mahmud?* i. e. *When the Creator opposes, what can the Creature do?* (5) At that time flourish'd among the *Turks* for virtue and holiness *Seid Bechar*, who in the common opinion of the *Othmans* could obtain of God whatever he pray'd for. To this man, living in a Cell, far from the allurements of the World, *Murad* humbly directs his steps, and having declared the news of the defeat, he adds, "The increase and victories of our Enemies are a sufficient argument to me that our Nation by innumerable transgressions of the Law have incurred the wrath of the eternal and omnipotent God. My own sins hinder me from expiating their offences and begging pardon; for when I consider my own unworthiness, I readily confess, I neither can nor dare stand before the divine Majesty. Wherefore I see a necessity of thy mediation, by means of which I may approach the throne of mercy, appease the spirit of our most holy prophet, and render him propitious to my self and the whole army of *Muslimans*." *Seid Bechar* yielding to *Murad's* request, is by way of extasy (pardon the fable) snatch'd up the following night into heaven, where he sees the pure and immaculate spirit of *Mahomet* (6), and thrice

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"the Empire by the *German*." And accordingly in the first Expedition he retook *Sbebirkiot*, *Nissa*, *Semendria*, and *Alba Graca*, but in a second he lost near *Salankemen* almost the whole Army, with his Life and Reputation. *Maabud* is one of the 1001 Names of God (for so many the *Turks* give him) and signifies his having a Care of his Servants and Worshipers. *Mahmud* is a proper Name and has regard to *Maabud*, so that the Proverb may be literally render'd, *Maabud* not giving, what will *Mahmud* do?

(6) spirit of *Mahomet*] Satan (who apes the divine Works and Mysteries) while by the *Mahometan* Religion he was desirous to overthrow the Doctrine of *Christ's* twofold Nature, invented something like it with regard to *Mahomet*, but so fabulous, that it seems a greater Paradox than that Doctrine even to human Reason which more easily fathoms other Fables than the Abyss of divine Mysteries. For who can without laughter hear what his Bio-

graphers say concerning the Spirit of this false Prophet, and which his Followers assert with no less Warmth than we do *Christ's* Divinity. They pretend that seventeen thousand years before God decreed the Creation of the World, he planted in the same place, where the World now is, Paradise, and in the middle of it a lofty Tree called *Tuba*, in whose Branches he lodg'd the *Taur* or *Peacock*, and put into its Heart the Spirit of *Mahomet*, to be there carefully preserved. At length, when he had determined to create this visible World (which according to them will be the last,) and to give it to Man for his Habitation, he took something out of the Spirit of *Mahomet*, and with it animated the first Man called *Adam*, and placing him in Paradise, caution'd him against eating of *Wheat*. *Adam*, when he rang'd the Garden at full Liberty, and unmindful of the divine Precept, fell to eating of *Wheat*, immediately perceived, he had swallow'd something deadly, but however felt the Spirit of *Mahomet* living within him, and knew it would prove the Cause of a future Resurrection. After this *Adam* dy'd, and was insensible

thrice kissing (7) the dust of his feet, humbly beseeches him to obtain of God by his powerful prayers, victory for *Murad* over his profligate enemies. To this petition repeated three times, *Mahomet* at length answers: "for my sake (says he) the divine Majesty has heard *Murad's* prayers, and therefore tell him, God will be with him and give him victory." Early the next morning, *Seid Bechar* in obedience to the Prophet's command, sends *Murad* word of the welcome message he had received, who transported with joy, pays a second visit to the Saint. Whereupon *Seid Bechar* with his own hands girds the Sultan with a sword (8), saying, "Go on and prosper, most august Emperor, for victory attends you."

IV. *Murad*, encourag'd by the words of the Saint, returns God thanks, and leads his army with great marches against the counterfeit *Mustapha*. Mean while the Impostor had assembled his forces near *Ulubad*, where having broke down the bridge, he undauntedly waited the coming of *Murad*. The Emperor arriving, encamps on the other side of the River, in expectation of the promised assistance from Heaven, and perhaps to extinguish by delay the first heat of sedition which is usually very great. This method succeeded to his wish. For when both Armies had remain'd six days without motion, and the Generals anxious of the event, had continued in their posts, on the seventh, the Impostor was seized with a violent bleeding at the nose which lasting three days, made him so weak that his life was almost despair'd of. This extraordinary and unexpected accident caused the enemy's army

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sible as well of his Birth as of the Death of his Posterity, till *Mahomet* was born, when the particle of *Mahomet's* Spirit leap'd within him, and as by Sympathy, declar'd to him and his Posterity eternal Salvation, and the blessing of a Resurrection. Whereupon *Adam* broke out into Thanksgiving, and said—After so many Ages my Posterity have at last brought forth my only true and genuine Son, who is that last Prophet for whom God created the World and me—After *Mahomet's* Death (or as the *Turks* say, his *Hejret* or Flight out of this World) his pure and immaculate Spirit was translated to Heaven, and there enjoys the beatific Vision of God.

(7) kissing] The *Turks*, tho' they are of Opinion that the Dead, even the very Saints, give no assistance to the Living (from whence the Hereticks of our Age have suck'd their Poison) yet grant that *Mahomet's*

Soul hears and conveys the Prayers of Men to the Throne of God, and believe this Privilege to be peculiar to him amongst all the Creatures; in this they seem to agree with the Orthodox.

(8) with a sword] From that time it is a sort of Law with the *Turks*, for the Emperor the second Day after his Advancement to the Throne, if he is at *Constantinople*, to visit with great Solemnity, the Monument *Eyubensari*, (of which more hereafter) standing in the Suburbs called *Eyub*, and there to be girded with a Sword *Sheikh Tekke*, or the Prelate of the Monastery, who concludes the Solemnity with these Words: *Zuri nufret Senudur*, Go, Victory is yours, only yours from God. But if the Emperor is at *Adrianople* or elsewhere, he is obliged to perform this Solemnity at his return to *Constantinople*, as if he was enjoin'd it by some divine Law.

to imagine God was come to blast the counterfeit *Mustapha's* designs. Accordingly the Impostor's followers dreading the divine wrath, desert him in the night and fly for their lives. He himself follows quickly after, but not with the same speed, by reason of his weakness caused by loss of blood. *Murad* hearing what had happen'd, immediately pursues the run-aways, and taking the counterfeit *Mustapha* extremely ill in the Town of *Cara Agadz*, commands him to be instantly be-headed.

Caraman ogli
Hain.
V. The Impostor being thus miraculously destroy'd, it remained to quench the sparks of this flame which were blown into the neighbouring countries. For when *Bajazet*, *Murad's* Vizir was vanquish'd by the counterfeit *Mustapha's* forces, *Caraman ogli Mehemed beg* thinking the *Othman* affairs in a desperate state, resolv'd to seize at least some part of *Murad's* dominions. Wherefore assembling as large an army as he could, he besieges *Andalia*, in hopes that being destitute of relief it would quickly surrender. But the garrison, whilst they are bravely defending their walls, accidentally kill *Mehemed beg* himself with a cannon-ball. The *Caramanians* terrified by this disaster, and despairing to take the town, chuse another General of the same name, and with great precipitation raise the Siege.

and his Ally
Othman beg.
VI. *Gamze beg* Governor of *Andalia*, seeing the enemies retiring in disorder, courageously sallies out to pursue them. *Othman beg* Sovereign of *Tekke* (9) was come, perhaps the evening before, to *Caraman's* assistance, but at the same time, was seized with an acute distemper (10) and deserted by his men. *Gamze beg* in taking the enemy's camp, finds this Prince breathing his last, and cutting off his head sends it to *Murad* in token of his victory, to compleat which he moreover adds all *Othman beg's* dominions to the *Othmannic* Empire.

Mustapha
rebels.
VII. To celebrate this noble victory obtain'd without hazard or toil, *Murad* returns in triumph to *Adrianople*. There whilst he is thinking to cultivate the arts of peace, and settle the state of the Empire, which the times had not yet suffer'd him to do, he is again disturb'd by civil dissention. For his younger brother *Mustapha* (11) a youth, allur'd

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(9) of *Tekke*] It is known that this Country belongs to *Asia Minor*, and lies not far from *Kutabia* (probably so called from some *Tekke* there) but its ancient Name does not occur. As to *Othman beg* he seems to be one of the Posterity of those *Persian* Satraps so often mentioned.

(10) with an acute distemper] The *Turks* will have this to be a Miracle in confirmation of the promise of their Lawgiver, and the Prediction of *Sheikh Seidi Bechar*. So strangely are

Men prepossessed with any prevailing Superstition.

(11) brother *Mustapha*] The same whom *Pbranza*, Book I. Chap. XL. calls *Mustaphopulus* Brother of *Amera*, and who, he says, came into *Constantinople* after the Siege was rais'd by *Murad*. But I cannot comprehend his meaning, when he there says, that the *Turks* which came out of *Asia*, full of admiration asserted that he was like the Founder of their Religion *Mabomet*, and might by his Looks

allur'd by the deceitful counsels of the *Greeks*, and perhaps incited by an unseasonable thirst of dominion, rebels in *Asia*, seizes *Nicæa* weakly garrison'd, and being amply supplied with all necessaries by the *Greeks*, strongly fortifies it as the seat of the future war.

VIII. *Murad* to stifle this rebellion in time, leads a great army into *Asia*. *Mustapha Cbelebi** as he did not dare to meet his brother in the field (for besides the *Greek* soldiers he was join'd only by a few plunderers) shuts himself up in *Nicæa*. But walls prove no safeguard to him. *Murad* assembling his forces closely besieges and valiantly assaults the town, and on the 25th day takes it with his brother, whom he immediately orders to be strangled in his presence.

IX. To repair the wound given by this execution to the *Alothman* race, *Murad* in the year 827 marries the daughter of *Laz ogli* (12) betrothed to him before, a Lady excelling all of her time in beauty, and the *Helena* of the *Servians*.

X. The next year 828 afforded *Murad* a singular occasion to display his virtue and enlarge his dominions. The growth of the *Othman* Empire had been long looked upon with an evil eye by *Isfindarbeg* Prince of *Siphah* (13), who fearing to be dethron'd, was meditating to weaken it by his utmost endeavours. That it would be in vain to attack so warlike a Nation, the unfortunate attempts of his Predecessors had convinc'd him, and whether it was to be destroy'd by policy, he had resolv'd to try. Wherefore he had not only made peace with *Murad*, but also a league, and to remove all cause of suspicion, given him his Son *Cassimbeg* in hostage. Nay, he had observed the agreement, whilst he knew a numberless army was ready upon the least motion. But hearing *Murad* had taken a Wife, disbanded his army, and laid aside all thoughts of war, he imagin'd he had a fair opportunity to effect his purposes, and therefore like a lurking Tyger, with forces he had long been preparing, he rushes forth and cruelly destroys with fire and sword the neighbouring Cities *Tarakly* and *Burni*, to compel the unwilling to obedience, and terrify perhaps the Inhabitants from making a Defence.

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Looks alone be known to be Emperor. For not to insist that such Expressions could hardly be spoken by the *Turks* who have no Picture of *Mabomet*, the Words themselves agree much better with the counterfeit *Mustapha*, whom they allow to have so exactly resembled the *Mustapha* whose Name he assumed, that they who had before been about him as well as his Guards, affirmed that he was the same. I am apt therefore to believe that *Pbranza* impair'd in

his Memory by age, cares, and calamities, when he began to write his History, ascrib'd what he had heard in his youth concerning the counterfeit *Mustapha*, to the other *Mustapha* Brother to *Murad*.

(12) *Laz ogli*] of the Family of *Lazarus*, Despot of *Servia*, from whom likewise all *Servia* has received the Name of *Lazogli Vilaieti*, or the Land of *Lazarus*.

(13) *Siphah*] A Country in *Asia Minor*.

XI. *Murad*

en his Sub-
mission is
pardon'd.

XI. *Murad* upon news of this rebellion, instantly assembles his forces and passes from *Europe* into *Asia*. When he came to *Bolova*, he is met by the Nobles of *Siphac*, detesting the daring and rash enterprize of their Prince, and humbly imploring him to depose *Isfindarbeg* and make his Son, whom he had in hostage, their Governor. When *Isfindarbeg* hears of this unforeseen proceeding, not knowing what to do, he also comes to *Murad*, begs pardon, and offers both his second Son in hostage and his only Daughter, of incomparable beauty, in marriage to the Emperor; with which the Sultan being pleas'd, promises to forgive his past offence.

Murad's ex-
peditions in
Asia and
Europe.

XII. In his return from this expedition, he takes the famous City of *Izmir*, a place of great trade at this day; and subdues not only that Town but the adjacent Countries *Montesbe* (14), *Aidin* (15), and *Saricban* (16), with all the dominions belonging to *Hamidogli* (17). The East being thus quieted, in the year 830 he turns his arms against the *Venetians*, lays waste the Island of *Janta* (18), takes the Castle of *Gio-gerjinlik* (19), and with great spoils collected from the adjacent Countries on the Continent, returns victorious to *Adrianople*. The same year, near *Ergene* (a marshy place half-way between *Constantine* and *Ederne*) he orders to be built at a vast expence a Bridge of square stone, with seventy-two arches, and on the West-side, a *Jami*, *Bath*, *Imaret* and *Chan*.

H. 830
A. C. 1426

Giermanogli
subjects his
dominions to
Murad.

H. 831
A. C. 1427

XIII. In the year 831, *Giermanogli* (so often mention'd) taught by the examples of his neighbours, whilst he reflected on his former narrow escape, thought it safer to calm the Lion's rage with a peaceable Cession than have to do with his Talons. Wherefore he comes with profound respect to *Murad's* Court, and voluntarily delivers to him the keys of all his Towns. *Murad* gives him a very honorable reception, loads him with royal Presents, and makes him perpetual Sanjack of *Ipsalam*.

Murad in-
vades *Greece*.

† *Athen*.

XIV. After this, in order to subdue what yet remain'd in *Greece*, under the dominion of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, he assembles both his *Asiatic* and *European* forces, and leads them into *Greece*. As he met with no opposition, he takes *Selanik*, *Atine* † and *Karline*, and with a great number of Captives and Cattle returns with his victorious army to *Ederne*.

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(14) *Montesbe*] A Country known to Geographers by this Name.

(15) *Aidin*] A Town of the Province of *Montesbe*.

(16) *Saricban*] Or *Citron-Inn*, a Town of the same Country, and the Country it self.

(17) *Hamidogli*] See Note, p. 41.

(18) *Janta*] An Isle of the *Adriatic* Sea subject to the *Venetians*, now called *Zante*, and formerly *Zacynthus*.

(19) *Giojerjinlik*] A Fort on the Borders of the *Morea* whose ancient Name is forgot. It signifies Etymologically a *Pigeon-House*.

XV. The

XV. The next year 832, *Greece* being subdu'd, he marries *Isfindarbeg's* daughter, betroth'd to him four years before, of whom after six years was born the great *Mabomet*, vanquisher of *Constantinople*, and scourge of *Christendom*.

XVI. At the time of this Hero's birth in the year of the *Hejira* 838, *Caramanogli* (20) rebels in *Asia*, as if with design to crush in his infancy the Conqueror of one half of the world. *Murad* immediately leads his forces into *Asia*, and at the first assault takes *Aksheberi* (21) and *Conia*. *Caramanogli Ibrahim beg* finding himself too weak to resist the Imperial Army, goes to *Menla Gamze* (22), a Monk of great fame for virtue and sanctity, and intreats him to make his peace with the Emperor. The Monk readily undertook the office, and by his piety, reverenc'd by all the *Musulmans*, or eloquence, (in which he is said to have excelled) so wrought on *Murad*, that forgetting the injuries done him, he freely pardon'd *Caramanogli* and restored him to his former state.

XVII. The *Asiatic* affairs being settled, in the year 839, a new enemy arises in *Europe*, *Morakrally* brother of the *Greek* Emperor (23). As this man was besieging *Giojerjinlik*, a Town on the borders of the *Morea*, *Cassim Basha*, *Beglerbeg* (24) of *Rumelia*, with a select band of

ANNOTATIONS.

(20) *Caramanogli*] The same Prince of *Caramania* who surrendered his Country to Sultan *Murad*, and married his eldest Sister. But how he came to fly out of *Rumelia* into *Asia* is not known.

(21) *Aksheberi*] Or *White-Town* in *Asia Minor*.

(22) *Menla*, or *Mola Gamze*] At that time the most celebrated Saint amongst the *Turks*, whose Cell even to this Day is in *Caramania*, religiously visited by them.

(23) *Morakrally*] He seems to have been the Despot *Demetrius*, who about that time, according to *Pbranza's* govern'd the greatest part of the *Morea*. He is called Brother of the *Grecian* Emperor from the affinity he had with him.

(24) *Beglerbeg*] What the Word signifies etimologically has already been shewn. But it must be observed, that tho' all *Bashas* where Governors are honour'd with three *Tugs*, are called *Beglerbegies*, yet by way of eminence only three *Bashas* have at this Day the Title of *Beglerbeg*, namely, of *Rumelia* who resides at *Sophia*, of *Anadol* who lives at *Kiutabis*, and of *Damascus*; formerly also

the *Basha* of *Buda*. The rest, tho' their Flatterers sometimes give them the Appellation of *Beglerbeg*, yet at Court have no higher Title than that of *Desdur-mukerrem*, i. e. *Plenipotentiaries*. That Word is derived from *Dura*, by which a Character expressing the Imperial Name is signified; to bear which and to propole in the Emperor's Name Mandates in their Jurisdictions is allowed to these alone next to the *Vizir*. Such is their Authority in the *Othman* Empire, that, as long as they bear that Name, if they go from the Metropolis into the Provinces allotted to them, or are sent from one Province into another, in their Journey (without the Walls of *Constantinople*, where alone they have no Jurisdiction) they have a Power over all their inferiors, of whatever Province, equal with that of the prime *Vizir*. They can at pleasure hang, behead, or punish with any other Death, the Guilty, nor can the *Basha* of the Place give them any Obstruction. His redress is only complaint to the Court against any abuse of Power in these *Plenipotentiaries*.

No 5.

Z

European

European soldiers unexpectedly attacked him and put him to flight. The Conqueror having taken and slain most of his enemies, return'd laden with the spoils of their Camp.

War with the Hungarians.

XVIII. Mean while, a fierce war breaks out with the King of Hungary. Battles are fought with doubtful and various fortune (25): sometimes the Hungarians, and more often the Turks, are defeated. At last the brave General of the war *Michal ogli Alibeg* (26), assembling a stronger army, like an inundation over-runs the richer Provinces of Hungary; carries away captive the Inhabitants, little expecting such an incursion; and with great booty and fame returns to *Adrianople*, in which City Sultan *Murad* orders to be built in the year 840, a stately *Jami* (27) and *Imaret*, Structures worthy an Emperor.

H. 840.
A. C. 1436.

Belgrade besieged in vain.

XIX. Whilst these things are transacting, the Hungarians taking *Ali beg's* departure for a flight, rush again into the Turkish dominions, destroying all with fire and sword. *Murad* to check their boldness and keep them more in awe, passes the *Danube* near *Vidin*, and lays waste the country wherever his forces could march. At length he besieges the great Bulwark of Hungary, *Belgrade* (28), in order to secure his own People from the inroads of the Hungarians and to weaken his enemies by continual incursions; but fortune did not favour his designs. For the brave defense of the besieged, and the approach of Winter force him to raise the Siege when he seemed to be very near taking the City. But in his return he subdues *Sophia* (29), with some other Towns of *Bulgaria*.

Valak ogli is dispossest'd.

XX. *Murad* was however vexed at his disappointment before *Belgrade*, and ascrib'd it not so much to the valour of the enemy as to treachery. *Valak ogli* was nearly allied to the Sultan in blood and friend-

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(25) various fortune] The Christian Annals ascribe glorious Victories in those Days to *John Huniades* General of the Hungarians.

(26) *Michal ogli*] Of this Family I have spoken in the Preface. His Irruption into Hungary, and the Calamities thence brought upon the Christians, are pass'd over in silence by Christian Writers.

(27) *Jami*] A large Mosque commonly known at this Day by the Name of *Eski Jami* or the old *Mosch*, it is the largest of all those of *Adrianople*, and stands near the Place where the *Vizir* holds his Court.

(28) *Belgrade*] *Alba Graea*, formerly *Taurunum*, universally known and now limiting the Turkish Empire on the side of Hungary. Whether the Turkish Losses in the Siege of this City

were so great as the Christians relate, may justly be doubted by him, who reflects that after the raising of the Siege, the Turks in their return assaulted and took *Sophia* and other Towns in the same Country, perhaps *Nissa*, *Scopia*, *Novomont*, or *Suebirkioi* by the Confession of the Christians themselves. They indeed say, that these Places were taken before the Siege of *Alba Graea*, but the Turks say afterwards.

(29) *Sophia*] The Metropolis of *Bulgaria*, and Residence of the *Beylerbeg* of *Rumeli*, a City without Walls. It seems to derive its Name from a Church built like *Santa Sophia* at *Constantinople*, tho' not of the same largeness, and now turned into a *Jami*.

ship

ship (30), and had always so behav'd that it would have seem'd a fit to question his fidelity. But upon a closer enquiry, it appear'd that he had not only discovered the Othman counsels to the King of Hungary, but also done his utmost to prevent the taking of *Belgrade*. Wherefore to punish so unexpected a treachery, the Emperor commands the eyes of his two Sons, whom he had in hostage, to be put out, marches himself with an army into *Servia*, takes the City of *Semendre* on the *Danube*, seizes the territory of *Zerin ogli* (31), and thus dispossesting the Prince, subjects all *Servia* to his dominion.

XXI. *Valak ogli* happy only in escaping by flight the due reward of his treachery, applies to the King of Hungary (32), excites him against the Turks, and breaks off a treaty of peace; by which means, as if fortune had conspir'd against all his places of refuge, he became the occasion not only of the following slaughters, but also of that King's death.

XXII. In the year 844, the Mosch called *Eski Jami* (33) begun at *Adrianople* by *Musa Cbelebi**, is finish'd. The next year *Caraman ogli Ibrahimbeg*, inveterate enemy of the Othman Empire, kindled a new war. For breaking the conditions of peace, he had lately confirm'd by oath, he enters with an army the Asiatic Provinces destitute of a defense, and miserably lays them waste. At the first notice of this affair *Murad* flies into *Asia*, assembles an army at *Prusa*, and that the state might not in the mean while suffer farther damage, sends before some chosen forces he had brought with him. These are met in their march by *Caraman's* wife the Emperor's elder sister (34) (given him formerly in marriage for the stricter band of their alliance,) who bids them halt and lay aside warlike thoughts, promising to be arbiter of peace, and to end the war to her brother's satisfaction. Accordingly she goes to her brother, sets forth in an elegant speech her husband's offence, begs pardon with tears, adding, her husband should bind himself by oath, never to act in the least against the Othman Empire, nor his soldiers on any account, just or unjust, ever set foot in the Emperor's dominions, and

and flies to the King of Hungary.

Caraman ogli rebels, but is pardon'd.
H. 845.
A. C. 1441.

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(30) blood and friendship] Christian Writers also relate, that *George*, Despot of *Servia*, gave his Daughter in Marriage to *Murad* for a Confirmation of the Peace. And as these are more accurate in giving the Names of Princes than the Turks, I see no reason for questioning it, especially since they add, that the Sons of *George*, after the rupture between their Father and *Murad*, were depriv'd of their Eyes, which is acknowledg'd also by the Turks.

(31) territory of *Zerin ogli*] With the Turks, the Country along the Ri-

ver *Sava* from its conflux with the *Danube* as far as *Peterwaradin*, is known by this Name.

(32) King of Hungary] This was *Ladislaus* King of Hungary and *Poland*, more known by the *Varnian* Slaughter than any other action.

(33) *Eski Jami*] Etymologically the old Mosch, of which, See Note above (27).

(34) elder sister] The time of this Marriage is not ascertain'd, but it seems to have been after the surrender of the *Caramanian* Prince, in the Year of the *Hijira* 831.

that

that she would be the pledge of those conditions. Her eloquence, and his brotherly affection entirely reconcile the angry Emperor. Wherefore on these terms *Murad* receives him into friendship, and confirming the former league by an *Abd-name* (35), returns into *Europe*.

Murad resigns the Empire. H. 847.

A. C. 1443.

Caraman excites the King of Hungary to league against *Murad*.

XXIII. The Empire being now in profound peace, its enemies reduc'd, and a treaty concluded with the *Hungarians* (36), *Murad* tired with cares and expeditions, voluntarily resigns, in the year 847, the Empire to his Son *Mahomet*, and retires to *Magnesia* (37) with design to lead a private life.

XXIV. When this was known, *Caraman ogli* who but the year before had by the intercession of *Murad's* sister, obtain'd his pardon, thinking it a proper time to be reveng'd, meditates again the destruction of the *Othman* Empire. So discovering the treachery which he had long harbour'd in his bosom, he privately sends a letter to the King of *Hungary*, saying, "*Murad*, that old destroyer of the world, has abdicated the Empire, and resign'd his scepter to his Son *Mahomet*, a youth unqualified by his age and understanding for the administration of civil or military affairs. Wherefore if you ever intend to revenge the injuries you have receiv'd, a fairer opportunity will never offer. For if I on the *Asiatic*, and you on the *European* side, invade at the same time the *Othman* dominions, we shall doubtless very quickly rout out the whole *Othman* race, and restore the injur'd and dispossest Princes to their former happiness."

Invasion of the Hungarians, &c.

XXV. The King of *Hungary*, who had lately, with his hand on the Gospels, sworn by the immortal body of *Christ* to observe the conditions of the peace, would not have readily listen'd to this advice, if he had not been perverted by the authority of the Pope of *Rum* (38). At his instigation therefore and absolution from his oath, he assembles an army

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(35) *Abd-name*] an Arabian Word compounded of *Abd*, a Covenant or Condition, and *Na'mi*, a Letter. By this Name the Letters are signified which foreign Ambassadors, after a Peace obtain'd, procure from the Sultan, to their respective Princes, containing the Terms of the Peace (which the *Arabians* call *Mevad*) and ratified with the *Dura*, or Character of the Imperial Name.

(36) with the *Hungarians*] Shamefully broke by *Ladislaus*, as shall be related in a following Note out of the *Turkish* Historians.

(37) *Magnesia*] No *Christian* Writer, whom I have seen, mentions this first Abdication of Sultan *Murad*. With the *Turks* it is clear, that the *Varnesian* War happen'd under *Ma-*

homet II, of which *Murad* was only General, not being then Emperor, and that he, the War being finish'd, retired a second Time to *Magnesia*, and *Mahomet* from the Year of the *Hejra* 847, reign'd to the Year 850, when *Murad* being recalled by the Nobility, *Mahomet* by reason of his Youth, was sent to *Magnesia* to live privately till the Death of his Father, which the Series of this History will more amply declare.

(38) of the Pope of *Rum*] The unseasonable Zeal of this Man has been sufficiently deplored by the *Christians*. But the common *Turks* (not the more learned) believe the Pope to be immortal, and in proof of their Opinion relate a Fable, That a Pope being wounded in the Face with a Sword by

army and being joined by the *Bobemian* †, *Polonian*, *Latin*, *Bulgarian* † *Christ* *Valak ogli's* auxiliaries, who had all conspir'd the destruction of the *Othman* Empire, he leads them into the *Musulman* dominions.

XXVI. So great armies consisting of such warlike nations, inspir'd the *Christians* with as much courage as they struck the *Musulmans* with terror. Their fear was increased by the youth and unexperience of their Emperor, and therefore they unanimously resolve in counsel to recall *Murad* to the Empire. Whereupon Ambassadors with *Mahomet's* consent are dispatch'd to *Murad*, beseeching him to resume the reins of the Government, and defend the State with his counsels and sword, so terrible to the enemies. *Murad* rejects this embassy, saying, "You have both an Empire and Emperor, do whatever you shall deem for your welfare and advantage: but envy me not the quiet and peaceable life which after so much toil endur'd for your sakes, I think, I have deserv'd." The Ambassadors returning a second time and urging him more vehemently, he at length consents, and with the utmost speed passes thro' *Callipolis* into *Europe*.

XXVII. At *Adrianople* having consulted with his Son and Great Men about the state of affairs, he takes upon him (tho' unwillingly and after many intreaties) the office of General. To discharge which the more happily, he leads out his army the third day, and with long marches proceeds towards *Varna* (39), where he was inform'd the *Hungarian* King

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by *Anavia* the Caliph, the Scar of the Wound has been observ'd by Captives in the Popes of the present Age. Thus a credulous Nation believes what is reported even to their own dishonour.

(39) *Varna*] It is a Tradition of the *Turks* that *Murad* calling a general Council at *Adrianople* before the Battle of *Varna*, spoke thus, "We (says he) believe the *Haziret* *Isa* (the Holy *Jesus*) to be, as indeed he is, the *Rub Ullab* (the Spirit of God) born of a Virgin Mother; a Prophet highly beloved of God, yet alive, but preserv'd from the malice and rage of the *Jews* and convey'd into the third Heaven, to reprove them for their treachery, and the *Nazrani* (the *Christians*) for having corrupted his Gospel, and for exhibiting him (whom we acknowledge to have been a very great Prophet, but mortal and appointed to die three Days before the End of the World) as the Son of God begotten from Eternity, and of the same Majesty N^o. 5.

"and Power with the World's Creator. Moreover, amongst their other Superstitions, they firmly believe some Mysteries as they call them, for instance, that *Isa Mejid* (*Jesus Christ*) has endued his Priests with a Power of converting as often as they please, Bread and Wine into his real Body. Upon this Mystery, and upon the *Injil Sherif* (the Holy Gospel) they lately swore a Peace with me; wherefore it is not to be doubted that God whose Gospel they have bely'd, whose Mysteries they have trampled upon, will certainly punish them." It is moreover related, that in the very Engagement *Murad* ordered the Writing which he had received from the King of *Hungary* in Confirmation of the Peace, to be hung from the Point of a Spear and carried through the Ranks by an unarm'd Person, crying out, "Let the *Gaurier* (*Infidels*) come on against their God and Sacraments; and if their belief of these Things be certain, let them, O just God,

King lay incamp'd. That his speed might not be retarded by the Foot, he goes before with the Horse, and in three days coming in sight of the Hungarian Camp, immediately falls upon the enemies, but not with the success he expected. For the right wing, destitute of Infantry, being unable to withstand the first shock are put in disorder and pursued above a mile. But this prov'd the safety of both the Sultan and his Empire. For the young King of Hungary excelling the rest in valour, whilst he is resolv'd to complete the Victory which he now thought his own, in the heat of the battle challenges *Murad* to single combat (40). *Murad* accidentally meeting him, pierces his Horse with a *Jirid* (41), whereupon the King falling to the ground, the Janizaries (who were now arriv'd) instantly cut off his head, and putting it on the

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"God, who causes thy Sun to rise up on the Good and the Bad, declare themselves their own Avengers, and the Punishers of their own Ignominy."

(40) single combat] Whether the *Turks* forg'd this in honour of their Emperor, or the *Christians* are silent concerning it in order to conceal the rashness of *Ladislaus*, is left to the determination of the Reader. I am however more inclined to believe the *Turks*, because our *Christians*, and particularly *Pbranza*, Book II. Ch. XIX. tell us, that the King penetrating as far as the Tent of *Amera*, fell there, his Horse being first wounded by a Janizary named *Cbamutza*.

(41) *Jirid*] A sort of light missile Javelin much used by the *Turks*. They who are expert in the use of it carry three of these Javelins in a Case hung from the right side their Horse, with which they hit the Mark with an exactness scarce to be match'd by the most skilful Gunners. Of this I shall give an Instance which had I not been an Eye-witness I should hardly have believed. In the last year of the former War before the Forces departed from *Zenta*, some of the Emperor's Chamberlains exercised this Sport before him on a Plain near *Philippolis*. The Javelins they used were not pointed but blunt at the End. One *Mebemed Aga* a *Circassian*, and Master of the Stables, (a Place of great Dignity with the *Turks*) was among them. One of the

Company hit him, unawares upon the Back with a *Jirid* sent with great force. *Mebemed* astonish'd, and perhaps surpris'd with the smart, gave the reins to his Horse of the *Egyptian* breed, and furiously pursued the flying Enemy, who sensible that if he rid directly on he could not escape his pursuer, turn'd his Horse to the right, when *Mebemed* with a Javelin sent after him, blunt as it was, pierc'd the Jaws of his Horse, and threw both Horse and Rider to the Ground. The Emperor seeing it, forbade *Mebemed* using that exercise. I saw the same Man in ostentation of his Strength strike an ordinary and pointless *Jirid* through the outer Gate of a Monastery in *Moldavia*, made of Planks three Inches thick. The *Turks* accustomed their Bodies to this exercise in the following manner. They begin with the Iron *Jirid* (or *Lobat* as 'tis call'd) weighing 12 *Ounces*, (an *Ounce* is four hundred Drams) They fix the Thumb of their left Hand in their Girdle, and with their Feet in a right Line, throw the Javelin at a Heap of Mud as long as their Strength lasts, and sometimes hold out even to seven hundred Throws; they afterwards take a wooden Javelin, twice as large as an ordinary one, and when they have fix'd it two thousand times in the Mud, they then come to the common Javelin, which in respect to the Iron one seems a Feather; and thus continual practice makes them able Darters.

point

point of a Spear, show it to the enemy, crying out, *Behold the head of your King!* At the same time they rally the scatter'd Horse, and the fight being renew'd, they break at the first charge, their enemies ranks and disperse them. The *Christians* make some stands, but night coming on (42) and wanting a Leader, they are entirely routed. Some few escape in the dark, and the rest are all slain, or made captives. *Murad* leads back to *Adrianople* his army not much lessen'd, and laden with the spoils of the enemies camp.

XXVIII. The glory acquir'd by this expedition would have been perhaps to others an inducement to greater undertakings, but to *Murad* it was an instance of the uncertainty of human power. He had seen the Hungarian King, surrounded with so many armies, reverenc'd by so many nations, when he thought himself sure of victory, fall by one stroke of fortune, and his victorious forces put to rout. From whence he infer'd what might possibly be his own fate, after having enjoy'd so long a prosperity. Wherefore pursuing his former purpose he again delivers the scepter to his Son, and resolves upon a private life at *Magnesia*.

XXIX. But neither there is he suffered to be quiet. In the year 850 the Janizaries, instruments formerly of many victories over their enemies, now of the ruin of their fellow citizens, raise a great sedition on some slight occasion. Hence it came to pass, (as it usually happens in civil dissensions,) the houses of the citizens as well as of foreigners are plunder'd, all persons that come in their way, without distinction of age or sex, are robb'd or murder'd, as if those who ought to defend the citizens had conspir'd to their destruction. Scarce any other cause of this rebellion could be assign'd but the Emperor's youth or too great clemency, on which relying these plunderers thought they might do what they pleas'd. Wherefore the great men to put a stop to this mischief send to *Murad*, intreating him by letter, "To take upon him again the Government, for his Son *Mubomet* is young and not of sufficient authority to appease these tumults, wherefore they hope he will have pity on the *Othman* State, and not suffer an Empire he had so well establish'd and enlarg'd to perish like a ship without a pilot, nor the riches of the citizens acquir'd with so much labour, to be seized by the rapacious hand of the Janizaries. In a word, so great is their reliance on his prudence and approv'd management, that they hope not only the peace of the Empire will be restor'd, but render'd much more illustrious under his conduct." *Murad* touch'd with the

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(42) but night coming] 'Tis related that those who thought to escape thro' unknown ways, and in the dark, fell unexpectedly upon Mount *Obengie* (the old *Hemus*) and there were taken by the Country People in Cou-

ples and Leashes like so many wild Beasts, but of the Princes and Generals of the Army, scarce *Hunniades* himself escap'd; concerning whom, See the large Accounts of the *Christian* Writers.

present

present danger, remounts the throne (43) at *Adrianople*, and sends his son to *Magnesia*,

He subdues
Greece and
Epirus, and
expells Scanderbeg.
H. 851.

A. C. 1447.

XXX. *Murad* being again at the helm, easily appeases the civil dissensions, and the next year turns his arms against the rebellious *Castriot*, *Iskenderbeg* (44), and not only drives him out of his kingdom and lays waste all *Greece* and *Arnaud* (45), but also takes by assault in the *Morea*, *Balibadri* and *Akcebehisar** (46). Moreover because *Iskenderbeg* had without reason deserted the *Mahometan* religion, and treacherously broken his faith, he converts all the Churches of *Arnaud* into *Jami* and *Moschs*, and orders all the *Epirots* either to be circumcis'd, or expiate his treachery with death*. By this means all *Arnaud* was in a short time initiated in the *Mahometan* faith.

Defeats the
Hungarians
at Cossova.

XXXI. Whilst these things pass in *Greece* a new war is kindled on the borders of *Hungary*. For the King of *Hungary* (48) to revenge

ANNOTATIONS.

(43) the throne] *Christian* Writers themselves tell us that *Murad*, after the Battle of *Varna*, retired to a monastic Life at *Prusa*. But his quitting this way of Life is by them ascrib'd to the Successes of *Hunniades* in *Hungary*, and the Rebellion of *Scanderbeg*, not to the Sedition of the *Janizaries*, or the Intreaties of the *Bashas*.

(44) *Iskenderbeg*] The famous *George Castriot* Son of *John*, Prince of *Epirus*, whose warlike exploits are the subject of Volumes of the *Christian* Writers. In his younger years his eminent Virtues procured him his Name from *Murad*, which is a corruption of the Greek Word *Alexander*, and, as I before observed, given to very few *Turks*. The *Turkish* Historians mention only two *Iskenders* (or *Alexanders*) besides this *Castriot*, *Iskender Rumi Imselikis*, or *Alexander the Macedonian* Son of *Philip* (whom they are in doubt, whether to place amongst *Propets* or believing Princes, He then they will not allow him to be) and *Iskenderi Zuul Carnein* or *Alexander Carniger*, otherwise by them called *Sabib Kiran Monarcha*. By this Name we may conjecture that *Hercules* is un-

derstood, because they write that he carried no other Arms but a Club, which with them is called *Giurz*. But this by the way.

(45) *Arnaud*] By this common Name are signified *Albania* and *Macedonia*.

(46) *Akcebehisar*]* The City *Alba*, whose ancient Name I know not.

(48) King of *Hungary*] I cannot determine who is here meant by the *Turks*. For the lawful Prince of *Hungary* at that time was *Ladislaus* surnam'd *Posthumus*, detain'd by *Frederic* Duke of *Austria*, and disown'd by the *Hungarians*. I therefore conjecture, that *John Hunniades*, General of the *Hungarian* Army, is the Person here spoken of. That he receiv'd some defeats from *Murad* is not denied by *Christian* Writers; they add indeed, that this was with such notable loss to the *Turks*, that *Murad* declared he should be unwilling to repeat his Conquests at so dear a price. The difference is, that the *Christian* Historians affirm these things happened before *Greece* was subdued, but the *Turkish* afterwards.

* *George Castriot* was Son of *John* King of *Epirus*, or *Lower Albania*, who was forced to put five of his Sons into *Murad's* Hands as Hostages. Of these the youngest was this *George*, whom *Murad* was so fond of that he carefully trained him up in the *Mahometan* Religion, and the *Turkish* Discipline, and gave him the Name of *Scanderbeg*, or *Lord Alexander*. But whilst *Murad* was engag'd in the *Hungarian* Wars, *Scanderbeg* took an opportunity to withdraw into *Epirus*, where he is said by the *Christian* Historians, to perform Wonders against the *Turks*. He died at *Lissa*, in the *Fenetic* Dominions, *Jan. 27. 1467.* being Sixty-three Years of Age.]

the

the death of his predecessor, in conjunction with other Princes (among whom was also the Prince of *Walachia* who had lately revolted from the Sultan) enters the *Othman* dominions. *Murad*, who was employed rather in sealing than subduing *Greece*, hearing of this invasion, goes to *Sophia* quicker than could be imagin'd, and from thence with his Veterans and other troops raised in *Rumelia*, marches against the enemy. But before the armies came in fight, the *Beigler*, certain *Musulmans*, whom *Murad* had order'd to come to his assistance, whilst they are marching to his Camp, meet the *Walachians* at a distance from the rest of the army, and attacking them, easily put them to rout. *Murad* interpreting this as an omen of Victory, leads on his forces to *Cossova* (48), a Plain near *Nigromonte*, chiefly famous for that here the valiant *Cledavendikar* after his victory over *Lazogli* was crown'd with *Sebadet* or *Martyrdom*. Immediately after his arrival at this place, he begins the battle, but not with the success he expected, because the enemies being covered with armour, are proof against the sword. The Sultan seeing this, draws back his forces, and orders them to lay aside their light arms, and strike at the enemies heads with pole-axes and clubs. The *Christians* being surrounded on every side, and perceiving they could not withstand the *Musulman's* fury in open field, hem themselves in with their carriages, and retreating with a slow pace, valiantly fight from thence with various fortune till Sun-set. At last, the King seeing his men discourag'd and scatter'd, assembles the bravest of his Horse, and exhorting the rest with a short speech to renew the fight, promises to go and fall upon the rear of the enemy, and by that means easily gain the Victory. Accordingly he withdraws from the battle; but more solicitous for his own than his people's safety, instead of attacking the enemy's rear, takes to flight. The Soldiers finding themselves deserted by their General, despair of Victory, and leaving their Camp, turn their backs and shift for themselves. The *Turks* pursue them with eagerness, kill great numbers, and take many prisoners. There fell in the battle, except the King himself, all the *German*, *Bobemian*, and *Polish* Generals, and about two thousand made captives.

XXXII. *Murad* having gained the Victory, returns with honour to *Adrianople*, and there marries the same year his Son *Mabomet* to the Daughter of *Soliman beg* Prince of *Elbistan* (49). After which, in the year 855, on Monday the seventh day of *Mubarrem*, when he had struggled some time with a light distemper, he departed this life.

Marries his
Son Mabomet,
and dies.

H. 855.
A. C. 1451.

ANNOTATIONS.

(48) *Cossova*] A Place near *Nigromonte*, famous for two mighty Battles: in the first of which *Murad I.* gain'd a Victory over the *Bulgarians* with the loss of his own Life, the second fought with the *Hungarians* by *Murad II.* This Battle is to be met N^o. 5.

with in the *Walachian* Annals, which describe it so fierce and bloody as to exceed all before it, and not likely to be equalled by any to come after it.

(49) *Elbistan*] A certain Country of *Asia Minor* mention'd before. Its ancient Name is not known.

B b XXXIII. Such

B. C. S.

His Character and Issue.

XXXIII. Sultan Murad lived forty-nine, and reign'd thirty years, six months, and eight days. He was a just and valiant Prince, of a great Soul, patient of labours, learned, merciful, religious, charitable, a lover and encourager of the studious, and of all who excell'd in any Art or Science, a good Emperor, and a great General. No man obtain'd more or greater Victories than he. Belgrade alone withstood his attacks. Under his reign the Soldier was ever victorious, the Citizen rich and secure. If he subdu'd any Country, his first care was to build, Jami, Mosques, Imaret, Medrese and Chan. Every year he gave a thousand Filuri to the Evladi resul allah (50), and sent two thousand five hundred to the Mahometan Monks at Mekie, Medini, and Kudj-berif (51). He had five Sons, Mabomet, Aladin, Hagan, Orchan and Ahmed.

ANNOTATIONS.

(50) Evladi resul Alla i. e. Sons of the Prophet of God, properly called Emir, that is, Lords; they derive their descent from Fatima, a Sister of Mabomet. In former times they were, like the Levites, destin'd to the Worship of God, and received a yearly stipend out of the Treasury. They are now dispers'd over the whole Empire, and are distinguish'd from the other Musulmans by wearing green Turbans instead of white. They may be tried before ordinary Judges, but are to receive their punishment from no Man, not even from the Emperor himself; but only from their own Head of the same Extraction called Nakib or Nakibul ehsref, Chief of the Saints, and of the same Race. A Circumstance hardly credible, but however true, is observed in this Family, that the Emirs before their fortieth Year are Men of the greatest Gravity, Learning and Wisdom; but after that, if they are not quite Fools, yet they discover some sign of levity and stupidity. Tho' this is interpreted by the Turks as a sort of divine impulse in token of their Birth and Sanctity, it is nevertheless a common Saying among them when they see any stupid Person, Emir Soidur, be is of the Race of the Emirs.

(51) Mekie Medini and Kudjberif] Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, are the three Places to which the Turks go in Pilgrimage. Mekie or Kaabe is a City of Arabia, where stands a large Mosch (in the Place where before stood a lesser) built by Sultan Selim

Conqueror of Egypt. The Turks have a Tradition, that in this Place Abraham pitched his Tents in such manner that no Traveller could pass by without being seen by him, and refresh'd with a draught of Water, and the third part of a Loaf. That Mabomet afterwards transported hither from the Celestial Paradise a square black Stone, and plac'd it as a Mibrab, i. e. Altar or Mark of the Place where God is to be worshipped. He that takes a Pilgrimage to Mecca, in the opinion of the Turks receives from God a full remission of even his greatest Sins. They likewise go on Pilgrimage to Medina, as to a Place made sacred by the burial of their Lawgiver. They believe his Body to be preserv'd there uncorrupted and entire, except one Tooth, which in a Fight was, they say, crown'd with Martyrdom. In the Book called Muhammedy, containing the Life of Mabomet, it is related, that the Archangel Gabriel never stood in so much fear of the divine Wrath, as when a club of the Enemy striking the Mouth of the Prophet, beat out a fore Tooth; that therefore to prevent its falling to the Ground, the Archangel immediately dropp'd from Heaven, received it in its fall, and restor'd it to the Prophet, but not to its former Situation. The Sultans have a human Tooth which they believe to have been Mabomet's, and preserve it amongst their choicest Treasures. They likewise with great care preserve a Robe of his in the Treasury, whose

Border

Ahmed. Of these only Mabomet ascended the throne, all the rest died in his life-time of distempers. Hagan and Orchan were buried at Adrianople. Ahmed met with death and a grave in Amasia (of which he was Lord) Aladin, who had succeeded Ahmed as Sanjak of Amasia, died also there but was buried at Prusa.

ANNOTATIONS.

Border the Musti three days before the Ramazan (or Month of Fasting) after some Prayers, dips in Water, which from thence is believed to become holy and exempted from corruption. The Water called Abi Hycal Sberif, or The Water of the holy Robe, is put into small Glasses seal'd with the Seal of the Treasury, and sent by the Emperor to the prime Vizir, and the other Grandees, as a Mark of his Favour. When the Turks first break their Fast after Sun-set, they pour a drop of it into a large Glas of Water, and after three sips, swallow the whole at a Draught. They think that Kudjberif (or Jerusalem) is a venerable Place, so that he who in his visit to Mecca, passes by Jerusalem, is, according to them, no perfect Haji or Pilgrim. Their chief Devotion there is pay'd to the Church built by Justinian, by them falsely supposed the Temple of Soliman. They pretend besides that there is a square Stone of three Cubits hanging in the Air, and miraculously suspended by Mabomet. For as he was ri-

ding on the Afs (called Burak in the Koran) he was ordered by Gabriel to ascend into Heaven, and immediately was taken up on high with his Afs, and the Stone whereon his Afs stood, which the Arch-angel observing, said, that his Command extended only to the Propbet, not the Stone; upon this Mabomet said to the Stone, Dur ya Mubarek, Stand, O happy Stone, and immediately the Stone rested in the place where it was. It is not permitted to Christians to enter into any of these three Places; and therefore when a Dutch Ambassador, by what means is not known, had obtained from the Emperor a Mandate to the Governor of Jerusalem for his entrance into the Mosch, the Governor refused to obey the order. The Ambassador asking him the Reason of his Disobedience, his answer was, That he would strictly comply with the Mandate, which indeed allowed him an Entrance, but not a Return; he was therefore at his liberty to go in, if he was willing never more to come out. This stop'd the Ambassador's Curiosity.

Cotemporary with MURAD II. in Europe.

- At Constantinople, { JOHN PALEOLOGUS, 1421-45.
- { CONSTANTINE PAEOL. 1445-53.
- In the West, { ALBERT of Austria. 1437-39.
- { FREDERICK III, of Austria. 1439-93.
- In England, HENRY VI. 1422-60.
- In France, CHARLES VII. 1422-61.

The End of the Reign of MURAD II.

The



The REIGN of
M A H O M E T II.
 Seventh EMPEROR of the **TURKS.**

BOOK III. CHAP. I.

Mahomet grants peace to Caramanogli.

WE are now come to Sultan *Mahomet Fatib* (1), than whom the *Ottoman* Empire, not to say the whole world, never saw a more illustrious or more fortunate Prince. What several had wished, and few had ventured to attempt, was accomplish'd by him, namely, the conquest of *Constantinople*; which City, fortified by Nature and Art, open to two Seas, and defended by a more numerous army than his, was by him taken and made the Seat of his kingdom, to the utter subversion of the ancient eastern Empire. But to return to our history. *Murad* being dead, *Mahomet* II, now in the twenty-first year of his age, is crown'd a second time (2) on the 10th of *Mubarrem* in the year 855. That very summer he leads out his forces against *Caramanogli*, who never missed an opportunity of raising disturbances, and infesting the adjacent Countries. *Caraman*, when he hears of the Emperor's approach, perceiving himself too weak to oppose him, has recourse to his usual artifices, and sues for peace on any terms. Tho' the Sultan knew the treacherous temper of the man, yet, not to be detain'd by so inconsiderable an enemy from greater undertakings, stifles his resentment, and grants the desir'd peace.

H. 855.
 A. C. 1451.

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Fatib* An Arabian Word signifying an *Opener* or *Vanquisher*. This Name was given to *Mahomet* for his assault and conquest of *Constantinople*.
 (2) a second time] Hence it is evi-

dent he had been crown'd during the Life of his Father, but had resigned to him when he re-assum'd the Scepter, of which we find no mention among the *Christian* Writers.

II. The



Mahomet II. Surnam'd Fatih
 SON of *MURAD*, seventh EMPEROR of *TURK*.
 in the Year 1451.
 From an Original in the *Scraglio*.

II. The next year he makes greater preparations, orders Cannon to be made, and assembles out of all his Provinces an army, with which he marches to besiege *Constantinople*. The *Greek* Emperor, terrified at so great danger, sends Ambassadors to the Sultan, and humbly begs peace on whatever conditions he should please to impose. *Mahomet* tells the Ambassadors, "That he pities the Emperor's case: and therefore cannot in conscience deny peace to the humble. But lest he should be blam'd by his own people, for having been at so great an expence, and for arming almost all *Asia*, without any advantage to the *Ottoman* affairs, he desires *Cæsar* to give him for ever a little spot of land on the *European* bank of *Bogaz* †, no bigger than an Ox-hide (3). † The *Bosphorus*. On this condition he would immediately withdraw his forces, and raise the Siege." The *Greeks* readily consent, thinking it great gain to redeem themselves from such danger with so small a matter. The terms therefore being confirm'd on both sides, he sends his army to *Adrianople*.

III. *Mahomet*, after raising the Siege, shows the *Grecian* Ambassadors a rocky place (4) on the bank of the *Bosphorus*, and demands the possession. Upon their consent he orders an Ox-hide to be cut into small thongs, and with them inclosing a piece of ground five hundred paces in circumference, seizes it to his use, the *Greeks* not daring to gainsay it. Here he builds in forty days a castle with thick walls, and fortified with five high Towers, representing the letters of *Mahomet's* name (5), and immediately after runs up another (6) to answer it on the *Asiatic* bank. Moreover he provides these Castles with great Guns, and other warlike Stores, and strengthens them with a good Garrison, ordering the Governors not to let the Vessels pass which daily brought provisions to *Constantinople* from the *Euxine* sea. This done, he returns under the appearance of peace to *Adrianople*, and on the third

ANNOTATIONS.

(3) Ox-hide.] *Mahomet* seems to have imitated *Eliza* Queen of *Carthage*, whose Fraud is to be seen in *Justin*, Book XVIII. Chap. V. For not only *Turks*, but *Lonicerus* himself (Tom. I. p. 37.) allow him to have been studious of Antiquity, and particularly delighted with reading the Expeditions of ancient Kings and Generals, as of *Alexander the Great*, of *Scipio Africanus*, of *Hannibal*, of *Julius Cæsar*, &c.

(4) rocky place] It is on the *European* side of the *Bosphorus*, about six Italian Miles from *Constantinople*.

(5) of *Mahomet's* name] This is a *Tetragrammaton* or Word of four Letters with the *Turks*, namely, *Mim*, *Hba*, *Min*, and *Dal*, which with the *Tebdid* over the latter *Mim* to show it

N^o. 5.

must be doubled, make five Characters in all. As so many Towers fortified the above-mention'd Castle, these Towers are said to have had by accident some resemblance of those Letters; from whence the Emperor drew a certain Presage, that he should take *Constantinople*, because the Castle built by himself had a fortuitous Inscription of his own Name. It is at this day called *Rumeli Hisari*, i. e. the *European* Castle.

(6) another] It stands on the *Asiatic* side over against that just mentioned, where the little River *Gioskis* (or blew Water) falls into the *Bosphorus*, and is at this Day called *Anadolbisari*, or the *Asiatic* Castle.

C c

day

day after his entrance, lays the foundations of that stately Palace, which is at this day called *Jiban Numa* (7).
 IV. In the third year of his reign, and of the *Hejira* 857, *Mahomet* at last discovers the designs which he had hitherto conceal'd in his breast. For raising as great an army as possible, he marches from *Adrianople* towards *Constantinople*, and closely besieges it. In this expedition, besides other Engines hitherto unheard of, that was particularly worthy of admiration, by which from the North-side some Vessels were brought over hills and declivities, into the inner Haven, and occasion'd the taking of the City (8). For doubtless, vain would have been the efforts of the land-army, which tho' they strongly assaulted *Ederne Capu* (9) and *Egri Capu*, could not prevail against the *Greeks*, render'd valiant by despair, had not the Sea-forces thro' the gate *Pbenar* (10)

Belieges Constantinople a second time. H. 857

A. C. 1453

ANNOTATIONS.

(7) *Jiban Numa* i. e. Watch-Tower of the World, because from the Women's Apartment built to a great height, there is a Prospect into all Parts.

(8) the City] The *Turks* say, that the Sultan observing that his Ships could not enter the Haven, which extends as far as *Blacberna*, and that it would be very difficult to assault and take the City from the Continent, he order'd some Vessels to be built on the Continent, and carried over Land the Space of several Italian Miles, from the Village *Beshiktash* to *Galata*, and sent into that part of the Haven now called *Casim Pasha*, from which being apply'd to the Wall, his Soldiers first took the Gate called *Pbenar*.

(9) *Ederne Capu*] 'Tis a Gate on the Continent opening towards *Adrianople*, and from thence called *Adrianople Gate*. To the North of it the next Gate is *Egri Capu* (Oblique Gate) memorable for the most ancient Palaces in *Constantinople*. These are reported by some to have been built by *Belisarius*, first the Avenger of *Italy*, and afterwards the Sport of Fortune; by others they are ascrib'd to *Constantine the Great*; but erroneously. For the present Palation (in the *Turkish* Language *Balat*) which Name the Region about them has retain'd, sufficiently evinces, that these stately Structures were Imperial, and built by later Emperors. In the Ruins of these, in the time of Sultan *Mahomet*, was found by a Boy, a Diamond, said to weigh 120 Scruples. A Spoon-

maker purchased it for twelve wooden Spoons, and ignorant of its value, shew'd it to a Jew. The crafty Jew, well knowing its worth, pretended it was only a Chrystal, and offered a golden Crown for it; and upon the Man's insisting upon three, very readily told out the Money. The Spoon-maker wondering the Jew offered so much Money for a Chrystal, changes his Mind, and demands ten Crowns. The Jew agrees to it, which made him think it a precious Stone, and therefore told him, he was only in jest, that the Stone was not his own, otherwife he would have sold it for a Crown. The Jew perceiving the Fellow knew the Stone was something more than a Chrystal, prefers a Petition to the Emperor, and discovers what he had seen. The Sultan without delay sends for the Spoon-maker and his Diamond. Amaz'd at the Lustre and Size of it, he handsomely rewarded the Jew and the Spoon-maker, and threw it amongst his Jewels. It was afterwards called *Kashikchi's Tashi*, the Spoon-maker's Stone, and is believed by the *Turks* not to have its fellow in the whole World. But that Palace is called by the *Turks*, *Tekkur Serai*, or the Palace of the *Græcian* Emperors.

(10) *Pbenar*] Vulgarly *Finer*, a Gate looking to the lower Haven of *Constantinople*, and particularly celebrated at this Day, because in the neighbourhood of it, the more noble and wealthy *Greeks* have their Residence.

Here

taken great part of the City, and compell'd the rest to surrender to *Mahomet*. These things happen'd on the fifty-first day of the Siege, the negligence

ANNOTATIONS.

Here stands also the Patriarchal Seat and Cathedral Church, famous, as for other Things, so for its containing the Sayings, Writings, and Acts of all the Patriarchs since *Constantinople* was taken by the *Turks*, accurately written. Not far from hence is an Academy built for the Instruction of Youth, by one *Manolaki* a *Greek*, who had nothing ignoble in him but his Blood. In this Academy are taught Philosophy in all its Branches, and the other Sciences in the old uncorrupted *Greek*. In my time there flourish'd here Prelates and Doctors of great Piety and Learning, namely, *Johannes Cariosphyllus* an excellent Divine and Philosopher, afterwards the celebrated Preacher of the Cathedral Church; *Balafus Scavopbylax*, *Antonius* and *Spandonius*, *Peripatetic* Philosophers; *Jacomius* an accurate Grammarian, from whom, during my Residence at *Constantinople*, I learned the Elements of Philosophy; *Sebastus*, sufficiently known by his Controversial Writings against the *Latins*, and his Ecclesiastical Calender; *Dionysius Hieromonachus*, and *Alexander Maurocordatus*, celebrated by the learned World on many accounts, Professor of Philosophy, Divinity, and Physic, afterwards Interpreter to the *Othman* Court. He writ, besides a Tract on the Circulation of the Blood, printed several times in *Italy*, a large History from the Foundation of the World to our Times, also Letters, and other little Works innumerable, which I now hear are published in *Moldavia*, by the care of his Son *Nicolaus Maurocordatus*, a Man well vers'd in the Oriental and Occidental Learning. For we are not to imagine, with the generality of *Christians*, that *Greece* is so far sunk in Barbarism, as not in these latter Ages to have produc'd Men little inferior to the most learned of her ancient Sages. To say nothing of Times more remote from us, even our Days have seen three Patriarchs of eminent Reputation for Learning, one of *Con-*

stantinople, and two of *Jerusalem*. He of *Constantinople* was *Callinicus*, a very eloquent Orator, who, which seldom happens, died in his Patriarchate. Those of *Jerusalem* were, *Dositheus*, and his Kinsman and Successor *Chrysanthus*, yet, as I hear, alive. From the first, besides other Monuments of his Learning, we have three printed Volumes of Controversial Writings against the *Latins*. Besides these, there flourish'd at *Constantinople*, *Miltius* Archbishop first of *Asia*, and afterwards of *Athens*, a Man skilled in all Parts of Learning, but chiefly studious of the *Helmontian* Principles (or rather those of *Thales*) which he also explain'd to me for the space of eight Months; *Elias Maniati Hieromonachus*, a most acute Philosopher, and eminent for his Knowledge of both dogmatic and scholastic Divinity, afterwards Bishop of *Messene* in *Peloponnesus*; *Marcus Larissius* an excellent Grammarian; *Metrophanes Hierodiatonus*, chiefly studious of Poetry, and a happy Imitator of the Ancients; *Lecinius* born at *Menembasia* or *Malvasia*, Philosopher and Physician, and both ways eminent. He was chief Physician of our Court. His Skill and Experience in the Medical Art, procured him both Esteem and Authority amongst the *Turks*. He afterwards left *Constantinople*, and in his own Country was honoured with the Title of a Count by the Republic of *Venice*. About a year after he was taken in *Menembasia* by the *Turks*, and, as I am inform'd, publickly hanged in *Constantinople* for a Literary Commerce which he had before held with the *Venetians*. *Constantine* Son of *Ducas*, Prince of *Moldavia*, superior to most in the ancient *Greek*, and in Philosophy, a Scholar of *Spandonius*; *Andronicus* of the noble Race of the *Rhangovi*, justly praised for his Knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue in its purity, and for his reading the Fathers. To these I might justly add *Jeremias Cacavela*, a *Cretan* by birth, *Hieromonachus*, and Preacher of the

Great

negligence or treachery of the Vizir (11) (who was said to be corrupted by the *Christians*) preventing the City from being sooner taken. But I shall relate the particulars of this affair more largely from the *Turkish* Historians.

The City taken by assault next the sea.

V. The *Christians* after fifty days Siege, tir'd with continual labours and watchings, when they see but few, tho' brave, defenders remain, their Walls full of Breaches, their Batteries destroy'd, in a word, the City block'd up by sea and land, and destitute of all assistance, believe, upon mature deliberation, that there is no safety but in a surrender, being perswaded that the Vizir, whom they knew to be corrupted by them, would be very serviceable in the affair. The Emperor himself approves of the advice, and sends Ambassadors to *Mabomet* to make his own terms. As they are coming out of the City with white Streamers in their hands, the tokens of peace, they are civilly receiv'd by the Sultan, who promises to give the Inhabitants their lives and goods, with liberty to remove wherever they pleas'd. The Ambassadors offer the surrender of the City on these conditions, and are sent back to give their master an account of their proceedings. But before they reach'd the walls, Sultan *Mabomet*, having something to communicate to them, orders them to be recalled. The Messengers accordingly pursue the Ambassadors (who were now some way before them) with full speed. The haste of this *Turkish* band caused the Centinels on the Ramparts to suspect that *Mabomet* would fraudulently attempt to enter the City with the Ambassadors. Wherefore they fire upon the unwary *Turks*, to hinder their nearer approach. The *Turks*, when they unexpectedly see some of their companions grievously wounded, sound a retreat, and coming to the Sultan, declare what had happen'd. *Mabomet* imagines the *Greeks* had repented of their agreement, and treacherously wounded his people. Wherefore, full of indignation, he orders his army to be ready, and by their bravery to destroy the remains of the perfidious enemy. On the other hand, the *Greek* Emperor being told by the Centinels,

ANNOTATIONS.

Great Church at *Constantinople*, from whom I drew the first Precepts of Philosophy; *Anastafius Condoidi*, a *Corcyran* by birth, Preceptor to my Sons; as likewise *Anastafius Nausis* a *Macedonian*, a Man whose eminent Knowledge in *Greek* render'd him sufficiently known both in *England* and *Germany*.

(11) of the Vizir. He seems to be *Hasil Pascha*, whom *Pbranza*, Book III. Chap. XIII. names as chief of the Council, and the most approv'd of all, and says he advised *Mabomet* to desist from this War, not only before the Siege, but even repeated and con-

firm'd his Advice afterwards, when Things succeeded not to his wish; but his Opinion being rejected, he privately betray'd the Resolutions of the Council to the *Greek* Emperor, for which reason he was, a few Days after the City was taken, put to Death. We are not to expect such Discoveries from the graver *Turkish* Historians, who tho' they are not ignorant of the Treachery of their own Ministers, yet never clearly express it, as well not to pay so much regard to the Memory of Traytors, as to spare the Honour of that eminent Degree in which they are plac'd.

that

that the *Turkish* army attempted to take the City by fraud, and were now approaching the walls, commands his people to arm and exert their utmost in this extreme necessity. The *Greeks* are animated by their present danger, and seeing despair to be their only refuge, are resolutely bent to defend the City. Whereupon there ensues a fierce and bloody conflict, one side fighting for religion, liberty, and life, and the other for Victory and Empire. But whilst the *Greeks* valiantly fight on the side of the Continent, those that defended the City from the Haven, being beaten from the walls by the enemy's darts, give the *Turkish* forces an opportunity to enter the Town.

VI. In this assault the Emperor himself falls whilst he is bravely acting the part sometimes of a General, sometimes of a Soldier, and in the greatest dangers animating his men by his presence. By his fall, the whole glory of the *Greek* Empire is laid in the dust. His headless body was found on that of an Ensign-bearer, from whence the place to this day has acquir'd the name of *Sanjakdar Yokusbi* (12).

The Emperor himself is killed.

VII. When these things were known to those who yet bravely repelled the attacks of the *Turkish* land-forces, they resolve to seek their last hopes of safety in the surrender already agreed on. Wherefore erecting on the walls the signal of peace, they cry aloud from the Ramparts, "Why do you without the fear of God, causelessly, and for no fault of ours break your promise? The agreement for the surrender of the City is now made and order'd by both Emperors to be ratified. Desist therefore from fighting, nor assault those who have promised to be your future subjects." *Mabomet* hearing these words, and ignorant perhaps of what had passed in the Haven, commands the battle to cease, promises to stand to the former conditions, and so receives the other part of the City by surrender.

The other part of the City surrenders.

VIII. Next day, *Mabomet* enters by the gate called *Topkapu*, and to the *Greeks*, anxious about their religion and lives, makes the following determination: "I promised you in our agreement, that if you chose to remain here, all the Churches and Monasteries should be untouched, and your religion suffer no damage. But since I have receiv'd half the City by force of arms, and half by surrender, I think it just, and accordingly order, that the religious Houses and Churches which stand in that part I have conquer'd, be converted into *Jami*, and the rest left entire to the *Christians*." So from *Akserai* (13) to *Sancta Sophia*, all the Churches were turn'd into *Jami*, but

Mabomet explains the Conditions of the surrender.

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(12) *Sanjakdar Yokusbi* i. e. *Affcents* or *Hills* with Ensigns upon them. It is a high Mount, on whose Top a Temple is erected, not far from the Cathedral Church, in honour of the *Virgin Mary*, the only ancient Church N^o. 5.

which the *Turks* have left to the *Christians*.

(13) *Akserai* White Palace, so is the Street called by the *Turks* which looks to the *Propontis*, where now are seen beautiful Chambers of the

D d Janizaries

but from the Temple *Suly Monastyr* (14) to *Ederne Capu*, all remain'd to the *Greeks*.

He goes in
Procession to
Sancta Sophia

IX. After this, the land and sea-forces being assembled in the market-place *Akserai*, he goes in a triumphal procession to *Sancta Sophia*, and there orders the *Ezan* (15) to be sung, and *Namaz* to be perform'd. After prayers he goes to the Imperial Palace, and as he is entering, being addicted to Poetry, he is reported to say an extempore Distich in the *Persian Language* (16). The taking of *Constantinople* (17) happen'd in

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Janizaries called by the *Turks* *Tengio-dalar*, or the *New Mansions*; thro' this Street it is not permitted even to the Women of the Janizaries to pass. For whatever injuries they receive from them here go unpunish'd. But if any Whore voluntarily comes into it for the embraces of a Man, it is customary to hang her Turban on a knife, stuck in the Wall at the entrance of the Street, on sight of which all passing that way turn off to another Street.

(14) *Suly Monastyr*] The watry Monastery. It was in the times of the *Christians*, a Church of the *Arminians*, who took up all that quarter of the City. It is now a *Jami*, and owes its Name to the Springs which flow from the Foundations of the Church.

(15) *Ezan*] A Hymn containing the Profession of the *Mubammedan* Faith, repeated five times a day to call the People to Prayers, from the highest Tower of the *Jami* called *Minare*, by the Chanter *Muezzin*. On Friday is added a sixth *Ezan* called *Sella*, two hours before the Noon *Namaz*, which is followed by no Prayers, as neither does the *Temjid* which is sung before the Morning Prayers, immediately precede these Prayers; for it is as it were a Doxology to God, the Giver of Light, and Sanctifier of the sacred Day. There are but two Heads of Confession, namely, *There is no God but God*, and *Mubammed is his Prophet*. To the *Ezan* is usually added, "God is the most high, there is no God but God, and *Mubammed* is his Prophet; (which is twice repeated) come to the Place of "Tranquillity or Integrity (meaning *Mecca*) come to the *Afylum* "or Salvation." As the *Christians*

when they take a City sing their *Te Deum*; so the *Turks* for the like Success thunder out their *Ezan* in the Churches, which they immediately convert into *Jami*.

(16) *Persian Language*] The Distich was, *Perde dari mikunad ber Eysr Caifar ankehut Bumi nehubet mizmedber kimbeti Efrasiyab*, that is, "The Spider has wove her Web in the Imperial Palace, the Owl has sung her watch Song upon the Towers, of *Efrasiyab*," (a Palace of the King of *Persia*, celebrated in the *Turkish Fables*.) This Oracle seems to intimate the downfall of the proud Majesty of the *Grecian* Emperors. For as we see Spiders throw their Webs over ruinous and deserted Houses; in like manner, the *Grecian* Empire, subverted and wrested from its ancient Possessors, is likely to become as the Palaces of *Efrasiyab*, in which, instead of Guards, Owls make their Nests, and scream out their direful Notes. A true Prediction, and fulfilled in every Circumstance! For at this day, as I before observ'd, the Palace of the *Grecian* Emperors is become the Residence of Owls and Bats, a lively Emblem of the destroy'd Empire.

(17) of *Constantinople*] I am not ignorant that almost all the *Christian* Historians, both *Greek* and *Latin*, give a different Account of the taking of this City, and make the whole to be acquir'd by Arms. But many Considerations (by which the Truth of what is here related is evidently supported) hinder me from being mov'd by their Authority. First, the condirrent Testimony of all even the gravest Historians amongst the *Turks*. Of them both ancient and modern,

in the year of the *Hejira* 857, on the 20th day of the month *Jomazul* evvel.

X. The

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modern, however disagreeing in their Narrations of other Facts of their Emperors, when they come to this head, with one Mouth as it were declare, that half of the City (and indeed the greatest part of it) was surrendered to *Mubammed* on covenanted Terms, which they have also transmitted to us. Now as it is customary with most Oriental Writers, not the *Turks* alone, to magnify their own Affairs, and as much to depress and sink those of others, I can hardly believe they would assert a Lye to their own dishonour. For to take a City by force of Arms, is by all Nations, which have any sense of military Prowess, esteem'd much more honourable, than to receive it by surrender. A second, and still more strong Argument is, the *Greeks* were quiet Possessors of their Churches in the surrendered part of the City under three Emperors, *Mabomet II*, *Bajazet II*, and part of the Reign of *Selim I*, who indeed afterwards took them away. The Acts of these Churches during those times are to this day preserv'd in the Records of the Patriarchal Church. How they came to be taken away, I shall relate from a grave and co-temporary Historian of the *Turks*, *Ali Effendi*, a Native of *Philippopolis*, who held the Office of *Chazan* *Kutibi*, or Secretary of the Treasury under the celebrated *Ferhad Pascha* *Tosterdar*, or Treasurer to Sultan *Selim I*. This account will serve to confirm my Opinion concerning the surrender of the City. *Selim I*, on a Time zealous for the Propagation of his Faith, sent for the *Mufti*, and talking familiarly with him on indifferent Matters, at last artfully turn'd the Discourse, and seriously asked him which he thought would be most pleasing to God, and most redound to his Honour, to subdue the whole World to the *Othman* Empire, and make the Followers of *Issvi* (*Jesus*) and *Musavi* (*Moses*) tributary to himself, and so bring into the Treasury of *Beitmal* *Muslimin*, of the *Musulman*

State, the Wealth of so many Kingdoms, or, despising so great a Treasure, convert all Nations to the *Mubammedan* Faith? The *Mufti*, not comprehending his meaning, answered, that one lost Soul (and such was that of every *Christian* and *Jew*) recovered to the true Faith, was of infinitely more value in the sight of God, than the Riches of the whole Earth. The Emperor by this *Fetva* being confirm'd in his Opinion, a few Days after sent for the Prime Vizir, and ordered him to convert all the Churches of the *Christians* into *Jami*, to forbid them the publick Profession and Worship of their Religion, and by all means use his endeavours to reconcile them to the Profession of *Mubammedism*, with even capital Punishment of such as disobeyed the Imperial Mandate. The Vizir, thunder-struck with this Innovation, and the Command of an attempt so contrary not only to the *Mabometan* Law, but to the good of the Empire it self, knew not what to reply; but hearing that the *Mufti* had confirm'd the Emperor in this by his *Fetva*, he immediately leaves the Court, and going to him, sharply reproves him for the Counsel he had given. The *Mufti* owns himself over-reached by the Emperor, but with an Oath promises his Endeavours to repair his Mistake, and recover the Emperor to a better Mind. They then consult together, and privately dispatch a Person to the *Greek* Patriarch, to furnish him with an answer to the Imperial Mandate when there should be occasion. Next they opened the Mandate to the *Caimacan*, ordering him to convert all the Churches of the *Christians* into *Jami*, and compel all the Inhabitants of *Constantinople* of another Faith by all means to embrace *Mabometism*. He receiving the Mandate, summons the Patriarch and all his Clergy to the Palace, and reads to them his Instructions. The Patriarch, as taught before by the Vizir and *Mufti*, answers, that he would

Eyub Ensari's Monument is discover'd.

X. The City being thus settled the third day after it was taken, the Sultan is told, that a certain *Mabometan General Ebu Eyub Ensari*

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would try the Matter with the Emperor, and plead his Cause before the Musti, and others learned in the Law, and whatever the Sentence of God should determine according to the Law of the *Coran*, by that he would abide. But should he be denied this Justice, he would require the Souls and Sins of himself and all his People, in another World, and before another Tribunal. The *Caimacan* sent the Patriarch's answer to the Vizir, inclosed in a Letter according to order, and with it the humble Petition of the *Christians*. These being received and read, the Musti with the Vizir goes to the Emperor, tells him that the Patriarch of *Constantinople* refused Obedience to his Mandate, and gave for a reason of his Disobedience, a Trial which must first be had between himself and the Emperor. But, added the Musti, as at the Voice of *Emrisberiyu*, let the Will of Righteousness be performed, flowing Waters ought to stop; so I think it but just that your Majesty should hear his Complaints, and vouchsafe them an Answer. The Emperor, sensible that he could do nothing by force, contrary to the Opinion of the Musti, replied, let it be so, and ordered the Patriarch, the Metropolitans, and some others of the Seniors to attend him at *Adrianople*. When they stood in the Divan, they complained that the Emperor's Mandate was not only injurious to themselves, but rashly violated and trampled upon the Covenant entered into with his Ancestors, and confirm'd by an Oath. The Emperor's *Testerdar Effendi* (for he always pleads the Sultan's Cause) asking them what Covenant it was that they talk'd of? The Patriarch answer'd, "Be it known to your Majesty, that our Ancestors voluntarily surrendered one half of *Constantinople* to *Mahammed Fatib*, on Condition, 1. That the Churches of the *Christians* should not be turned into *Jami*. 2. That Marriages, Funerals, and other Rites of the

Christian Worship, should be solemniz'd as usual, without Lett or Molestation. 3. That the Feast of *Easter* should be kept with full Liberty, and for that purpose the Gate *Pbenar* left three days open for the *Christians* to come from the Suburbs, and join in the nocturnal Devotions of the Patriarchal Church. On these Conditions (I say) did we surrender the City to your Majesty's Grandfather, with the tender of the Keys in golden Bowls, and by his Sentence were confirm'd in the possession of our Churches to this day, and religiously protected by two of your Ancestors from all Violence; which Rights your Majesty is now wresting from us, with what Injustice to us I need not say. To the other head of your Majesty's Mandate which orders us to quit *Christianity*, and embrace *Mahometism*, besides what is before alledged, I have to say, that it contradicts the Law of the *Coran*, which expressly says, No Person who from his entrance into *Manhood*, to his twentieth Year, annually pays thirteen Drams of pure Silver in the name of a Tribute, shall be forc'd into *Mahometism*." To the Musti confirming by his Testimony that such a Law was owned by Commentators on the *Coran*, and even to be found in the Text itself, and ought to stand inviolable, the Imperial Advocate answered, That it was a doubt with no Man, that what the Patriarch had produc'd out of the sacred *Coran*, and the Musti confirm'd, was true and highly venerable; but his Account of the surrender of *Constantinople* appeared neither true nor probable. The Patriarch being asked by the Musti, whether he could produce the Instrument of this Covenant, was answer'd by him, that it perish'd in a Fire, but that he had three Eye-witnesses amongst the *Janizaries* themselves, on whose Faith he durst rely for the Confirmation of what

fari (18) had long since foretold that he should be crowned with Martyrdom under *Constantine*, but that an Emperor of the *Muslimans* who should take the City, would by revelation discover his Monument. The Sultan, desirous of fulfilling the prediction, asks *Scheich Akshems-iddyn*, who

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what he advanc'd. The three *Janizaries*, each almost 100 years old, were produc'd, and before the Musti, owned that they were present at the taking of *Constantinople*, and with their own Eyes saw the *Greek* Nobles come out of the City, and present the Sultan, yet in a Tent without the Walls, the Keys in golden Bowls, and require and obtain the Grant of the three mentioned Conditions. Here the Emperor interpos'd—Notwithstanding, says he, these Conditions were granted to the *Christians* by our Grandfather, yet since neither Justice, nor our Law, allows such beautiful Buildings destin'd to divine Worship, to become *Butchane*, Houses of Idols, we cannot confirm the Conditions. Wherefore, according to the Precept of the holy *Koran*, we give all *Christians* leave to make a publick Profession of their Religion; but it is our Will and Pleasure, that all Churches built of Stone, and hitherto possess'd by *Christians*, be entirely turn'd into *Jami*; with liberty nevertheless to build wooden ones in their room, or repair any such as are worn out with time. According to which Mandate the Patriarchal Church called *Pannacarißos*, (which on the West looked to the Palace of *Moldavia*, called *Bogdan Serai*, on the East to the *Walachian* Palace called *Cara Islak*, corruptly *Ulab Serai*) was then converted into a *Jami* by the Name of *Fetbiye*, and shortly after all the rest. I thought it proper to produce these things out of the before-mentioned *Turkish* Historian, which deserve the more regard, as no other *Turkish* Writer delivers the *Christian* Affairs with greater Care and Modesty. I found the Book at the House of a *Greek* at *Philippopolis*, nor did I ever happen to see any other Copy of it. After my departure it remained at *Constantinople*, and came, as I hear, into the Hands of *John Mauracorda*. N^o. VI.

tus, who is now Interpreter to the *Othman* Court, with other Collections of mine concerning the Affairs and Manners of the *Turks*. And of all the Churches which for almost a whole Century the *Christians* were in Possession of after the calamitous Conquest of *Constantinople*, only one was left them by *Selim*, and that in favour of a certain *Greek* Architect, who had built for *Selim* at *Adrianople*, a large and elegant Temple. He was Nephew of another Architect, whom Sultan *Mahomet* II, intrusted with the care of a *Jami* which he built at *Constantinople*, and for his faithful execution of the Design, presented him with the Church above mention'd, together with the whole Street in which it stands; of which Grant an authentic Record is to this day preserv'd in the Treasury of that Church. Near that quarter, when I was at *Constantinople*, I raised a Palace on a high Hill called *Sanjaklar Yukusbi*; the Building was elegant, and afforded a Prospect over almost the whole City and Suburbs. Under Sultan *Mahomet* IV, my Father-in-law *Serhan Cantacuzenus*, Prince of *Walachia*, having raised from the Valley Walls of 25 Cubits high, levelled the Ground for a Garden, and had now raised the first Wall of his House at an expence of 35000 Imperial Crowns, when he received an order to proceed no farther, because he could already look into the Imperial Palace called *Terfane Serai*. At length, by the Intercession of the prime Vizir *Ali Pascha*, I obtain'd leave of the Emperor to carry on the Building of my Palace on the old Foundations, which I had hardly finish'd, when I was, as it were, thrust into the Principality of *Moldavia*.

(18) *Ebu Eyub Ensari* A Suburb so called from the Monument *Eyub Ensari*, situated at the head of the inner Haven, where the River *Kiagyzbant* discharges it self. Near this Place

who by a divine impulse, (as 'tis pretended) always accompanied the Emperor, to prevail with God by his prayers, to reveal to him the Monument of *Eyub Ensari*, that so great a testimony of the divine original of the *Mahometan* law might not be lost. *Sheich* being told the place in a vision, carries the Sultan into the Suburbs, which from that General's name is at this day called *Eyub*, and in a certain spot orders the ground to be dug up; by which means a great stone is found with this Inscription, *Heza Cabri Sabibi Reful-allah, Abi Eyubi Cbalidin Zidul-ensari*, which may be thus render'd: "This is the Sepulcher of the lasting friend, or counsellor, and of the never dying Apostle of God, *Eyub*, whose aid be increas'd and prevail." *Mahomet* gives God thanks for this discovery, and commands a *Turbè* (19), *Jami*, and School to be erected over the Tomb.

Mahomet's
farther Pro-
gress.

H. 858.

Ch. 1453.

H. 860.

A. C. 1455.

XI. About the same time, just as the downfall of an old spreading Oak crushes all the neighbouring Trees, the adjacent Towns, particularly *Syllivri* (20) and *Burgaz*, offer their keys to the Sultan, chusing rather to make him their gracious Sovereign than Conqueror. The next year the Emperor builds in the center of *Constantinople* the great Palace called at this day *Eski Serai* (21). In the year 860 he goes with

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Place stood formerly the Monastery of the *Blackerna*, dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, and famous for many Miracles, now given by the Sultan for an Habitation to the *Cingari*. Nothing remains of the Church besides a Fountain, which bubbles out with salutary Water to the Faithful, and now in possession of a certain Turk, who for Money allows the *Christians* to draw out of it.

(19) *Turbè*] Is a Turret commonly placed over Sepulchres, of which I have spoken elsewhere. They are usually built open at the Top, after the form of the *Kiabhè*, or Monument at *Mecca*. This is done to let the Rain come at the Flowers and other odoriferous Trees there planted; the Top is guarded by a brazen Net, to hinder Birds from getting in.

(20) *Syllivri*] *Syllebria* a City on the *Propontic* Shore, between *Constantinople* and *Adrianople*, ten hours distant from the latter. It is a Metropolitane See, and has a most beautiful Church built in the time of the *Christian* Emperors. Here are preserv'd the intire Remains of *St. Euphymia*, visited by the *Turks* out of Curiosity, and called by them *Cadid*. Here like-

wise are seen the ruins of a large Palace, built by *John Cantacuzenus*, concerning which see *Nicephorus Gregoras*, Tom. II.

(21) *Eski Serai*] The Old Palace. A vast Building surrounded with high Walls, and separated into several Apartments. It is the usual Residence as well of the Mistresses of the deceas'd Sultan, whom the Eyes of a Successor (if a Son or Brother of the deceas'd) cannot behold without impiety, as of the Sultanessees who have had Children, with their Courtiers and little ones, and likewise of old Virgins who have no longer any Charms, and are maintain'd rather out of the Sultan's Clemency, than for any Merit of their own. The Walls built in a Square, are in compass about an *Italian* Mile. Of four Gates, two are always shut, the other two are guarded Night and Day by five hundred *Baltaji*. The Doors of the inner Palace are kept by white Eunuchs, to whom the black ones, as the more noble, commit the Care and Attendance of the Women. Their head Officer is called *Eski serai Agahi*, or the Governor of the Old Palace.

a great

a great army against the King of *Hungary* (22), defeats and puts the *Christians* to rout. In the battle, the King himself receives a wound, of which he is said to die shortly after.

XII. Having obtain'd this Victory, by which his enemies were more easily restrain'd, he besieges *Belgrade*, the great Bulwark of *Hungary*. But he meets with no better success than his Father. For the Siege being prolong'd beyond expectation, he is obliged to raise it by the approach of winter, and the loss of his men. The same year he circumcises his Sons *Bajazet* and *Murad*, and makes sumptuous feasts on that occasion.

XIII. In the year 861 he subdues the rest of the *Morea*, and the next spring attacks and routs the *Greeks*, who were endeavouring to recover what they had lost, and repair *Altymil*, whose Walls he demolishes, and lest they should make any future disturbances, he places strong garrisons in *Akkerne* and *Beldex*, and lays waste the Island *Korfes* (23).

XIV. In the year 863 he assaults and takes *Semendee*, of which the *Christians* had some years before made themselves master. In a word, within two years after the Conquest of *Constantinople*, he reduces by arms or capitulations above forty Cities (24) to his obedience.

XV. In the year 864, in *Asia* he seizes the dominions of *Kyzil Ahmed* (25), by means of his brother and betrayer *Ismael beg*. *Abmed* being thus disposse's'd, flies to *Uzunbasan* (26); but instead of finding there an end to his miseries, he proves the cause of many mischiefs to his defender. For *Mahomet* hearing his enemy was received and protected by *Uzunbasan*, passes into *Asia* with a great army, and routing *Uzunbasan's* forces, takes *Synope*, a town on the *Pontus Euxinus*. From hence leading his victorious army towards *Trapezond*, he receives in the way *Coumlubisar* by surrender from *Husein beg*, who had married the King of *Trapezond's* daughter. Then closely besieging *Trapezond*, *David Comnenus* the King, by the persuasions of his Mother-in-law *Sarechan*, delivers up himself and whole Kingdom to *Mahomet*, by whom he is honorably receiv'd, and sent with all his family to

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(22) King of *Hungary*] This was *Ladislau Posthumus*, Son of *Albert* Emperor of *Germany*, whose death *Christian* Writers place the 21st of November 1458, of the *Hejira* 863.

(23) *Korfes*] The name of the *Adriatic* Sea, commonly called *Golfo di Venetia*, in appearance the Isle of *Corfu*, the *Coreyra* of the Ancients.

(24) forty Cities] This is only to be understood of the two years after the taking of *Constantinople*. For that *Mahomet* in his whole Life subdu'd

twelve Kingdoms and two hundred Cities, is confessed by the *Christian* Writers themselves.

(25) *Kyzil Ahmed*] *Abmed Rufus*, who first gave occasion to the War between *Uzunbasan* and *Mahomet*. He seems to have been a *Perjian* Satrapas.

(26) *Uzunbasan*] i. e. *Hasan the Tall*, King of *Cappadocia*, and famous in the *Turkish* Wars. The Series of this History will more amply describe him.

Constantinople.

Belgrade is
besieg'd in
vain.

The *Morea*
is entirely
subdu'd.

Mahomet sub-
dues above
forty Cities in
two years.

Kyzil Ahmed
is depriv'd of
his domi-
nions.
H. 864.
A. C. 1459.

Trapezond
is taken by
the *Turks*.

Constantinople. Soon after the victorious Sultan himself returns into Europe.

Mitylene is taken, and the Walachians defeated.

XVI. The countries which had been subject to the *Greeks*, having all since the conquest of the Imperial City submitted to, or been subdued by *Mahomet*, the Islands alone, which thought themselves sufficiently defended by nature from the *Othman* power, seem'd to assert their liberty. Wherefore to conquer their obstinacy, the Sultan in the year 865 prepares a great fleet, and for the first tryal of his fortune by sea, attacks *Mitylene*, and tho' bravely defended by the Islanders, takes it by the valour of his Men, and annexes it to his Empire. The rest of the Islands of the *Archipelago* would have shar'd the same fate, if about this time *Cazyklu Voda* (27) Prince of *Walachia* had not attempted to shake off the *Turkish* yoke, and denied the tribute he had been us'd to pay every year. *Mahomet* thinking the nearest danger first to be averred, instantly turns his arms against *Walachia*, and expelling the rebellious Prince, makes his younger brother Governor of the Province.

Mahomet restrains the rebellious Greeks.
H. 867.
A. C. 1462.

XVII. In the year 867 the Sultan orders *Catirga Ilmani* (28) or *the three-oar'd Port*, to be made towards the South within the walls of the City, that a magazine for naval expeditions, and a safe harbour for his Ships against all events, might not be wanting. Whilst he was employ'd in this work, the *Greeks*, in conjunction with the *Venetians*, raise commotions in the *Morea*, take *Gingerjinlik*, *Sada*, *Giuzelje hisar*, *Duraj* (29) and *Ezornik*, and try to expel the *Turks* out of all *Peloponessus*. *Mahomet* being inform'd of these things, immediately sends *Mehammed Pascha* with a good army to chastise the rebels, who not expecting his coming, desert their Camp, by which means they give *Mehammed* an opportunity not only to recover the lost Cities, but to subdue the country of *Koje bersjek* (30).

builds a Jami in Constantinople.

XVIII. *Mahomet*, to return God thanks for the great Victories he had hitherto obtain'd, and to leave a Monument of his piety to posterity, orders this year in the month *Jemaziul Achyr*, the Church of the

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(27) *Cazyklu Voda*] He was Prince of *Walachia*, and a bloody Tyrant. He employ'd six thousand Men for a trifling occasion, and from thence procur'd amongst his *Walachians* the nick-name of *Capalush*, or *Pale-Maker*. From whence the *Turks* interpreting the Etymology, seem to have taken their *Cazykly*, or *rich in Pale*. By the *Christians* he is call'd *Dracula*, but why I know not, because that name is plainly foreign to the *Moldavian* Language. *Dragefs* indeed is said to be the first Prince of *Moldavia*, but *Dracula* was long before him; but of these things elsewhere.

(28) *Catirga Ilmani*] *The three-oar'd Port*, situate between the Gates *Chat-ladi** and *Cumcapu*, in the Southern Quarter towards the *Propontis*. It is now filled up with Earth, and made a Kitchen-Garden call'd *Planga*, in which grow the choicest Cucumbers.

(29) *Duraj*] Formerly *Dyrrachium*, the most celebrated Mart of all *Rumelia*, situated on the Shore of the *Adriatic* Sea, and in the Confines of *Dalmatia* and *Albania*.

(30) *Koje bersjek*] The ancient *Illyria*, for *Koje* is *Old*, and *bersjek* *Illyria*.

holy

holy Apostles (31) to be demolish'd, and a large *Jami* to be built in its room, which call'd after his own name, *Mubamedie*, he adorns with eight schools, and as many hospitals. This work, scarce to be parallel'd by the wonders of Antiquity, was finish'd in the month *Rejeb* of the year 876.

H. 876.
A. C. 1471.
Subdues *Bosnia*.
H. 868.
A. C. 1463.

XIX. In the year 868, assembling a great army, he moves towards the East, to reduce the Provinces of those parts which refus'd to submit. His design was crown'd with success. For having vanquish'd and slain the Prince of *Bosnia* (32), he places strong garrisons in the castles, and in his return from this expedition, strengthens the borders between *Bosnia* and *Albania*, by erecting fortresses in the narrow passages of the Mountains.

XX. The next year, *Caraman ogli Ibrahim beg*, inveterate enemy of the *Othman* race, dies, and leaves behind him six Sons: Of these *Isbak beg*, having expell'd his brothers by force and policy, seizes alone his Father's dominions; which the rest not enduring, fly to *Mahomet*, beseeching him to forget the injuries done him by their Father, take pity on Princes oppress'd and expelled by a tyrannical brother, and declare another Prince whom he pleas'd, for to his pleasure they commit themselves and their fortunes. *Mahomet* readily grants their re-

Mahomet Caraman ogli's Son King.

ANNOTATIONS.

(31) of the holy Apostles] It was a Church built by the Empress of *Justinian the Great*. It is now a Place or Mount lying in the middle of the City, but nearer to the inner Haven than to the Continent. It is higher than the six others, where a *Jami* built by *Mahomet Fatih* of 120 Cubits square, is thought to be the largest Temple next to *Santa Sophia*. The Architect was, they say, a *Greek Christian* named *Christodulus*, who in reward of this vast and wonderful Work, was presented with a whole Street, and other Imperial Gifts. They add, that being asked, whether he could build another *Jami* larger and more elegant, he answer'd, he could if Materials were plentifully supplied. This being told to the Emperor, he order'd him to be impal'd, that his Successors might want an Architect capable to raise a nobler *Jami* than his own. That to this purpose an Iron Pale was fix'd to the Gate of the outer Hall of the *Jami* which looks to the North, and by a little Tower thrown round it, not to be seen by those without, excepting the Point of it, which to this day appears. How-

N^o 6.

ever, that the *Mubamedie* is the Work of *Christodulus*, and that he receiv'd in recompence the Street before mentioned, I am induc'd to believe from the Writing given by *Mahomet* to *Christodulus* on this occasion, which I my self read, and afterwards lodg'd in the Treasury of the Church of the blessed Virgin *Mary* at *Muglotissa*. For when under the present Emperor *Ahmed III.* the *Turks* commenc'd a Suit against the *Christians* of that Street, with intention to take away from them both the Street and the Church, I undertook their defense, and amongst other *Hujet*, or Testimonials which they had of their being legal Proprietors of their Houses, I shew'd this Writing to the Prime Vizir *Cosunly* Ali Pascha*, which after he had carefully read, three times kiss'd, and as often rubb'd his Face with, he gave it back into my Hands, and order'd the *Turks* to give the *Christians* no farther Molestation.

(32) Prince of *Bosnia*] From *Christian* Writers I gather, it must have been *Stephanus*, whose Seat was *Yazyga*.

F f

quest,

quest, names *Abmed beg*, one of the brothers (with the consent of the others) for Prince of *Caramania*, and sends him with a good army to take possession of his father's inheritance. The rest of the brothers he keeps with him, promotes them to great honours, and orders them noble salaries to be paid yearly out of the Treasury. Mean while, *Abmed beg* marches with his army into *Caramania*, vanquishes his brother *Ibak beg*, and forces him to fly to *Uzunbasan*. Being thus possessed of the *Caramanian* Kingdom, and having appeas'd the intestine dissensions, he honourably sends back to *Mabomet* the imperial forces laden with presents.

Takes some towns of *Albania*.

H. 870.
A. C. 1465.

XXI. In the year 870, *Albania* gave fresh occasion to warlike expeditions. His father *Murad* had before vanquish'd *Scander beg* the rebellious Prince of this country, and subdued most of the fortresses. But as *Murad* by death, and *Mabomet* by other expeditions, had been prevented from conquering the whole, the garrisons of the rebels had infested the neighbouring countries with frequent inroads. Whereupon the Sultan invades *Arnaud*, takes all the towns of the rebels, some of which he demolishes, and to prevent any future commotions, commands a new and strong City to be built at the entrance into the Province.

Makes his Son *Mustapha* King of *Caramania*.

H. 872.
A. C. 1467.

XXII. The Sultan having now subdued almost all his intestine enemies in *Europe*, turn'd his thoughts towards his *Asiatic* affairs. *Caramania* had frequently obstructed the attempts of the *Othman* Empire, and more than once stopp'd the victorious progress of the *Turkish* forces. *Mabomet*, mindful of this treachery, resolves to extirpate that race, that the Kingdom might be more peaceably deliver'd to a Successor. Wherefore in the year 872 he invades *Caramania* with a great army, subdues the whole Kingdom, and expelling the Prince with his brothers, makes his eldest son *Mustapha* King of *Caramania*. The next year he again marches into that Kingdom, and conquering the towns which refus'd to submit, or tried to shake off their yoke, places strong garrisons in *Aksrai* (33) and *Giulluk* (34), and returns to *Constantinople*.

Takes *Egriboz*.
H. 874.
A. C. 1469.

XXIII. *Caramania* being subdued, the only place in *Europe* that seem'd formidable to him was *Egriboz* (35). To draw this thorn out of his side, *Mabomet* in the year 874 goes in person with a strong army and fleet into *Greece*, and takes in the space of a month the strongest City of that age. The *Venetians* indeed came with a considerable fleet, and promis'd to assist the besieged; but as if they had sail'd so far, not for the sake of fighting, but only to be spectators of the Sultan's Vic-

ANNOTATIONS.

(33) *Aksrai*] i. e. *White Palace*, a Town of *Caramania*.

(34) *Giulluk*] *Rosetum* a Town of the same Province.

(35) *Egriboz*] The Isle *Negropont* in the *Archipelago*, anciently *Lubna*, whose Metropolis *Cbalcis* is by the *Turks* likewise called *Egriboz*.

tory,

tory, they retir'd, to their great dishonour, without firing a gun. *Mabomet* after taking the City stays a few days to repair the ruins, and then leads back his victorious army to *Constantinople*.

XXIV. By these conquests *Mabomet* caus'd not only the hostile Cities which had not yet felt his sword, to submit themselves to his mercy, but also in the year 876 the Lord of *Alae* (36), *Kyzul Arslan beg* voluntarily surrenders his dominions to the Sultan; who admiring his faithfulness and obedience, gives him a very honourable reception, with the Province of *Giumuljina* (37) for ever.

Kyzul Arslan beg surrenders his territories to *Mabomet*.
H. 876.
A. C. 1471.

XXV. About the same time, *Uzunbasan's* General *Yusufche beg*, in conjunction with a great army of *Tartars*, enters the *Othman* dominions, burns *Tokad*, and threatens destruction to the adjacent Country. Attempting the same things in *Caramania*, he is met by *Mustapha*, *Mabomet's* son, with what forces he could assemble, and by him, after a long and bloody battle, defeated, taken and sent in chains to the Sultan his father in token of Victory.

Uzunbasan's General is defeated and taken.

XXVI. To revenge this blow, *Uzunbasan* himself the next year with a powerful army invades *Mabomet's* *European* dominions. The Sultan had foreseen this, and for that reason, lest he should be surprized unprepar'd, had so placed his army in winter-quarters, that they could easily be assembled by sound of trumpet. Being therefore inform'd of *Uzunbasan's* proceedings, he immediately passes into *Asia*, and meeting the *Persians* at *Payas* (38), orders them to be attack'd. The battle is fought with various and doubtful fortune, both sides contending for Glory and Empire, and encourag'd by the examples of their Generals. At length *Mustapha*, the Sultan's eldest Son, in the left wing, which he commanded, meets *Zeinuldin*, *Uzunbasan's* Son (who led the enemy's right wing.) Immediately the two Princes fiercely engage, and at last *Zeinuldin* is by *Mustapha* thrown off his horse, and before he can recover himself, or be rescu'd by his men, run thro' the body (39). His fall seem'd to draw after it the destruction of the whole army. For when the *Othmans* saw the right wing of the *Persians* flying in disorder, they all furiously attack the left, which still bravely resisted the charges of the *Musulmans*, compel them first to give ground, and at last take to open flight. Many are slain, and not fewer made prisoners. Thus *Mabomet* with the spoil of the Camp obtains a glorious Victory. *Uzunbasan*, when he saw the battle was lost, escapes with a few attendants by often changing his horses.

Uzunbasan is himself routed by *Mabomet*.
H. 875.
A. C. 1470.

ANNOTATIONS.

(36) *Alae*] A Province of a petty Prince, called *Kyzul Arslan beg* (red Lion,) its ancient Name unknown, but of some part of *Asia Minor*, as may be seen from the tenour of the History. Perhaps the *Philadelphia* of the Ancients.

(37) *Giumuljina*] The *Turkish* Name

of a Province and Town in *Rumelia*, near *Larissa*.

(38) *Payas*] A City and noble Mart of *Paphlagonia*.

(39) the body] The *Christian* Writers say that he was killed by a *Musket-ball*. Which are we to believe?

XXVII. The

and several
Cities taken
from him.

XXVII. The difficulty of the Country would not suffer the flying enemy to be pursued, and it did not seem to be for the *Othman* interest to waste the time idly; so giving his Troops but two days to breath, he besieges on the third *Karà bisür Sharky* (40), takes it in a short space, and destroys the neighbouring Country with fire and sword. After this he returns in triumph with part of the army to *Constantinople*, leaving the rest under the command of his *Vizir Giedyk Ahmed Pasha* (41), by whom not only *Ermenak* and *Ziliske* are taken, but the whole Province of *Varsak* (42) is subjected to the *Othman* Empire.

Kieff and
Crimea are
taken.

H. 876.

A. C. 1471.

XXVIII. The next year, under the conduct of the same *Giedyk Ahmed Pasha* he wrests *Kieffe*, the strongest place of *Crimea* from the *Genoese*, and by that means reduces to his obedience all *Taurica-Cberfonesus*. Here he found *Mengily Gierai*, descended from the race of the *Copcbak** Princes (43), who after a long war with his brother was vanquish'd and forc'd to fly to the *Genoese*. This Prince the Sultan not only appoints *Chan* of *Crimea* on certain conditions, but sends with an army to recover his Country. *Mengily Gierai* (44) entering his King-

ANNOTATIONS.

(40) *Carà bisür Sharky*] A noted City of *Papblagonia* near *Payas*, perhaps the *Arseiza* of the Ancients.

(41) *Giedyk Ahmed Pasha*] A famous General, and afterwards Prime *Vizir* to Sultan *Mahomet*. He was called *Giedyk*, because he had lost a fore Tooth, which whoever wants, or has a Hair-Lip, is always by the *Turks* called *Giedyk*. But properly *Giedyk* signifies a *Cbink* or *Cleft*, and metaphorically any Military Order, as *Giedyk Sabibi*, inroll'd in some Military Order, and *Giedyk lerinden airil-madiler*, They have not deserted their Ranks, or have left no void in them. There is likewise in *Constantinople* a certain quarter called *Giedyk Pasha*, which took its Name from this *Basha*, either from his building a Market-Place, or having a Palace there.

(42) *Varsak*] It seems to be *Papblagonia*.

(43) *Copcbak**) A *Scythian* Nation near *Uzbek* in the Confines of the *Chogataun** *Tartars*, beyond the *Caspian* Sea Eastward, from whence the *Turks* and *Tartars* deduce their Origin. It is perhaps that Country which in the present Map is called the Kingdom of *Tibet*, or *Turcbestan*.

(44) *Mengily Gierai*] The first who committed *Crim Tartary*, under certain stipulations, to the Protection of

the *Aliotoman* Empire, which he had before wrested out of the hands of his Brother. According to both *Turkish* and *Christian* Historians, he was descended from the Race of the *Alijengbizians*. But the latter intermix so many Fables, that a Man who has the least Tincture of the History of that People, cannot forbear laughing at their Accounts, which nevertheless are pretended by them to be given after the strictest Enquiry and Examination. Above all the rest *Michalo Lituanus* deserves my notice and censure, who when in his *Tartary*, p. 296, he owns the first Prince of the *Crim* to have descended from the *Alijengbizian* (or as he corruptly calls it the *Cyngisan*) Race, yet, from what Authority no Man knows, names him *Lothberius*, and p. 193, removes his Descendants into *Lithuania*, and deduces a long Succession of *Lithuanian* *Cesars* or *Chans*, from the same Race. The last of these, according to that Historian, was *Achkerai** (perhaps *Haji Gierai*) who was born at *Troki*, and sent by *St. Witberode* to seize *Taurica-Cberfonesus*. To him, after he was in possession of that Principality, was born *Mengilikierai* (*Mengily Gierai*). This last was father to *Mebedmed Kierai*, *Sadet Kierai* (*Sadet Gierai*) *Chas Kierai* (perhaps *Shah Gierai*).

dom of *Copcbak** by the help of the *Turks* easily overcomes and kills his brother, and then takes possession of his dominions. This was the first *Chan* of *Tartary* appointed by the *Turks*, and the first who in *Crimea* order'd the *Cbuté* in the name of the *Othman* Emperor to be used in the prayers.

XXIX. Whilst these things passed in *Cberfonesus*, *Soliman Pasha* *Turks* defeated by the *Moldavians* leads a considerable army into *Moldavia*. *Stephanus*, *Tekkiur* of *Mol-*

ANNOTATIONS.

rai) and to *Sapkierai* (perhaps *Sefai-gierai*) the youngest of all, who succeeded in the Kingdom, and at the same time was Prince of the *Tartari*. For thus all the following race, being Princes, also enjoy now the noble appellation receiv'd from their Ancestor, namely *Achkerai**. The Falsity of this Narration requires, I think, no long deduction to prove it, since it contains such evident Contradictions, that it is at first sight obvious that it has no support from any Monuments or Testimonies of the *Tartars*, but merely from the Conjecture of the Historian. For to say nothing that the united consent of the *Turkish* Historians makes not *Lothberius*, but *Giera* first Conqueror of *Crim Tartary*, and that he transmitted his Name to the Princes descended from him; it is certain that the *Lithuanian* *Tartars* were neither *Crimaans* nor *Oguzians* (the Root of the *Alijengbizian* Family) but *Cberemiffi**, from whence our Countrymen at this day call them *Cbirimulh**, though with the *Turks* they are known by the Name of *Lipka Tartari*, the first Word being corrupted from *Litva*. Moreover the Race of the present *Chans* of the *Crim* did not begin to reign there, or assume the Name of *Gierai* under *Murad II.* where this Historian places *Achkerai**, but, as is infer'd from *Turkish* Histories, and the constant Tradition of the *Tartars*, was prior to the *Othman* Empire, as is largely prov'd in the Preface. But it may not be foreign to our purpose to take notice here, that amongst the *Tartars* themselves there is a dispute who are the genuine and who the spurious Offspring of *Gierai*. For besides the Race which at this day rules the *Crim-Tartari*, N^o. 6.

and by way of eminence is called *Gierai*, there is another commonly known by the Name of *Choban** *Gierai*, or *Gierai the Shepherd*. For they relate, that the Wife of a certain *Chan*, whose Name I have forgot, had an unlawful Commerce with a Shepherd, that from thence a Son was born (the Mother after the Birth being convicted of Adultery and put to death) who was delivered to one of the King's Servants, with orders to kill him; that the Servant put a Trick upon his Master, convey'd the Child into *Cberkassia**, and there had him privately educated. From him they derive the latter Family, and make his Posterity falsely assume to themselves the Glory of so illustrious an Ancestor. The *Choban** *Gierai* retort the same Calumnies upon the other *Gierai*, and then leave it very difficult to determine which side is genuine or legitimate, and which not, since neither have any thing to appeal to besides Tradition. The *Turks*, altho' they think the present Race of the *Chans* to be legitimate, yet deny not the Appellation of *Gierai* to the other, and allow them to live at *Janpols* (formerly *Janopoli*) the destin'd Seat of the *Tartarian* Princes. One of these, by the Name of *Kior-gierai*, was after the Battle of *Vienna*, advanc'd to the Dignity of *Chan* by the *Turks*, distrusting the Faith of *Selim Gierai*, but after a few Months depos'd, and the ancient Race of *Gierai* replac'd on the Throne. Nor is it thought that the *Choban** *Gierai* will ever again rise to the same Honour, tho' they may enjoy the Offices of *Galga Sultan*, *Nurradin* and the like, which are in the Power of their Relations.

G g

davia

davia (45), meets him near Falchy* (46), on the banks of the Prut. They long fight with great courage and doubtful fortune. At last, by the negligence of their General, the Musulmans are overthrown, the General himself falls in the battle, many are slain, some are made Captives, and the rest escape by flight over the Danube.

Moldavia laid waste by the Turks. H. 877. A. C. 1472.

XXX. At the news of this defeat, Mabomet full of indignation, marches in person the next year into Moldavia with all his forces, and when the enemy, unable to withstand such an army, did not appear, he lays waste all but the mountainous parts, and carries away an infinite number of Cattle and Captives.

Mabomet's expeditions in Asia. H. 882. A. C. 1477.

XXXI. In the year 882 he takes Skanderun, and the next builds a new Palace, which is now the Emperor's Court. In 884 Aladin beg who had implor'd his assistance against his father Baddak beg (47), prepares an army, by whose help he vanquishes his father, and compels him to fly to Cberkassus* King of Mysr.

A. C. 1479. He defeats the Venetians, and lays waste Apulia.

XXXII. The following year having vanquish'd the Venetians (48) at the River Sontium, he equips a great fleet under Giedyk Ahmed Pasba, to lay waste Apulia, and if possible all Italy. This General having ravag'd Apulia, and taken some fortresses, is in the midst of his progress recalled on account of the motions of the Persians, and new attempts of Uzunbasan, which seem'd to require the presence both of the General and Army. He is soon followed by a Venetian Ambassador (49) humbly suing for peace, which the Sultan, incumbred with other affairs, readily grants.

ANNOTATIONS.

(45) Tekkur of Moldavia] i. e. King of Moldavia. This is Stephanus firmam'd the Great, of whom I have spoken in a former Note. Moldavia it self is frequently called Bogdan by the Turks, from Bogdan Son of this Stephanus, of whom more largely in another Place.

(46) Falchy*] A City and Country of Moldavia, upon the River Prut, distant from Hussi (where Peter Emperor of Russia after four days Engagement made Peace with the Turks in the year 1711) ten Miles Southward from the Banks of the Ister. Upon recollection that I had some years ago read in Herodotus of the warlike Nation, and large City, of the Taipbali beyond the Danube, I out of Curiosity dispatch'd some Persons thither to search whether they could discover beyond the River any remains of Buildings. At their return they brought me word, they had discovered near this Town of Falchy*,

in the thick Woods, the ruins of Walls, and Foundations of Houses, in a right Line. From hence I doubt not but the Town Falchy*, was built in room of the ancient City of the Taipbali; on which I shall more enlarge in my particular account of the ancient and present Moldavia.

(47) Badaak beg.] It seems to be the Province of Sims, or the name or surname of some King of those times, unknown to us.

(48) Venetians] The Christian Historians mention a defeat received by the Venetians at the River Sontium, but, in the room of Giedik Ahmed Pasba, they substitute one Alabecibus or Marbecibus; by what Authority I know not, for the Names have nothing of a Turkish Sound in them.

(49) Venetian Ambassador] This was Benedikt Trevisano, a Man of great Wisdom and Authority amongst the Venetians.

XXXIII. But

XXXIII. But it was neither firm nor lasting. For in the year 886 Mefib Pasba (50) is sent by Mabomet with a great fleet to take Rhodes. The General having landed his forces, closely besieges the City, but by the vigilance and bravery of the enemies he is repuls'd, and at last forc'd to raise the siege with great loss, dishonour, and danger of his life.

He is repuls'd at Rhodes: H. 886. A. C. 1481.

XXXIV. That summer he assembles all the forces of the Othman Empire, not only to curb the insolence of Uzunbasan, but also to acquire the dominion of all Asia. Wherefore passing the Bosphorus near Tuskindar, he pitches his tents under Maltepe (51), and already thought himself master of the furthestmost bounds of India. Perhaps this immoderate transport of mind threw him into a fit of the Gout (52), which being attended with other symptoms, after short, but sharp pains, carried him off the fifth day of Jemaziul ewvel. He left the Empire to his son Bajazet †.

He dies at Maltepe.

XXXV. Mabomet liv'd fifty-one years (53), and reign'd thirty, and three months, exclusive of the time he rul'd in his father's life. Besides his warlike virtues, of which he gave great proofs, he was famous for learning, languages, desire of knowing things curious, wisdom, and patience in labours. He was also very religious, in short, an accomplish'd Prince, if he had made a conscience of breaking his word for the good of the State.

His Character.

ANNOTATIONS.

(50) Mefib Pasba] The Christians make him a Grecian, and descended from the Race of the Palaeologi: The Turks are silent as to his Race, but Mefib seems to come from the Hebrew Mesijab, from whence Jesus Christ is called Issa Mefib.

say, he was seized with the Cholick three days after he had begun his Expedition, which agrees with the Turks, who allow more causes of his death than the Gout.

(51) Maltepe] A rich Mountain, or Mountain of Riches. It is a very high Mountain not far from Nicua, at whose Root a Treasure once found gave it the Name. Ships in the Euxine Sea when they come within eighty Miles of the Bosphorus, first discover and direct their Course by this Mountain, tho' it is nearer the Propontis than the Euxine Sea.

(53) fifty-one years] This must be understood of Lunar years, which reduc'd to a solar Computation, make about forty-nine years, seven months, and seven days. Here the Turks and Christians disagree. The latter ascribing to him fifty-one years of Life, and thirty of Reign; the former make him live fifty-three years, and reign thirty-two. The disagreement I think may proceed from this, that the Christians include the three years of his Reign during his Father's Life.

† Mustapha his eldest is said to have been strangled by his Father's command for ravishing Ahmed Pasba's Wife.

Cotemporary with MAHOMET II. reign'd,

At Constantinople,	CONSTANTINUS PALÆOLOGUS, last Christian Emperor of Constantinople. 1444-53.
In the West,	FREDERIC III. 1440-93.
In England,	HENRY VI. 1422-60. EDWARD IV. 1460-83.
In France,	CHARLES VII. 1423-61. LEWIS XI. 1461-83.

The End of the Reign of MAHOMET II.

The



The REIGN of

B A J A Z E T II.

Eighth EMPEROR of the **TURKS.**

BOOK III. CHAP. II.

*Bajazet
thinks of a
Pilgrimage
to Mecca.*

I. AS the *Ottoman* affairs about this time were in a flourishing condition, *Mabomet* had set his sons *Bajazet* and *Jem* over Provinces, the former being made *Sanjak* (1) of *Anafia*, the latter of *Iconium*, that they might not only have wherewithal to maintain a Court, but also give instances of their prudence, and art of governing in their younger years. *Bajazet* was now at *Anafia*, and was thinking of *Haj* (2) or a Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, when an unexpected message came to him from the *Vizir*, that his father was dead, and had appointed him his successor. He receiv'd also a letter sign'd by the *Vizir*, and the rest of the great men, exhorting him to come and take possession of the throne, and leave his intended Pilgrimage to men of lower birth and more leisure, it being much more for the advantage of the *Mabometan*

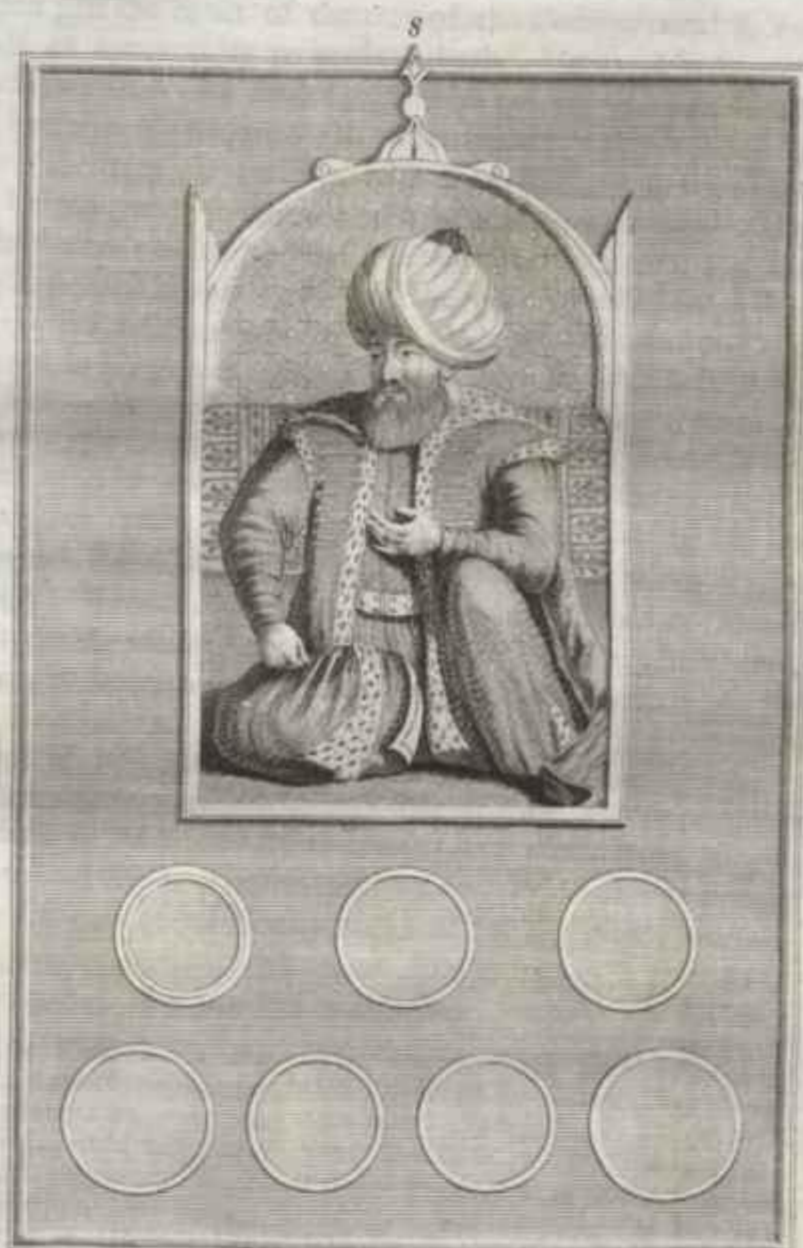
ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Sanjak*] Before *Pashas* and *Beglerbegs* were instituted, all Governours of Provinces went by this Name, which is at present peculiar to those who are set over Provinces without the Distinction of *Tug* or *Horses Tails*. So a *Sanjak* is under a *Beg*, a *Beg* under a *Pasha*, a *Pasha* under a *Beglerbeg*.

(2) *Haj*] Is a Pilgrimage to the Holy Places *Mecca*, *Medina* and *Jerusalem*; he who performs this Pilgrimage is called *Haji*, or *Pilgrim*. Every *Turk* once in his Life, is ob-

lig'd by his Law to undertake this Journey, and that at a time when his Substance is such, that half of it will suffice for the expences of the Pilgrimage; the other half is to be left behind for an honest Subsistence at his return. But for a safe and commodious passage to the Pilgrims thro' those desert and dry Places, the Sultan commonly orders the *Basha* of *Damascus* to attend them with Soldiers and Water-bearers, and to take care that their Numbers never fall short of fourteen thousand.

religion,



BAJAZET II.
Eighth Emperor of the **Turks.**
in the Year 1581
From an Original in the *Scraglio*.

religion, to prevent, by his valour and counsels, his enemies from recovering their courage and strength.

II. Doubtful and surpris'd at this message, *Bajazet* remains uncertain what he should first do in this case. Piety called upon him to perform his Vow; and it seem'd dangerous to leave the throne so long vacant. At last Religion gets the better of the care of the Commonwealth, and fortune affords an opportunity to preserve both. He had a Son nam'd *Corcud*, of such sweetness and modesty, that he not only excell'd all of his own age, but also his seniors. His Grandfather *Mahomet* had two years since sent for him to celebrate the *Sunnét* (3), and from that time, allur'd by his good qualities, never suffered him to depart. At the time of the Sultan's death he was in the army. This Son, *Bajazet* purposes should supply his place, hoping the prudence of Counsellors would make up the defects of his youth. Wherefore he answers the Vizir, "It is not in his power to lay aside his more than blessed Pilgrimage, and had rather forfeit the Empire of the whole world than leave his Vow unperform'd; but lest the *Othman* State might suffer any detriment, it is his advice, that they reverence as Sovereign his son *Corcud* till his return." Presently after, without staying for an answer, he sets out for *Mecca*, to seek from God an auspicious beginning of his reign. Whereupon the Great Men invest his son *Corcud* with the Government, which for nine months he happily administers, causing his name to be mention'd in the prayers, and stamp'd on the Coin.

delivers the Empire to his son Corcud

III. At the end of which space, *Bajazet* returns from his Pilgrimage, and sends letters to his Son and the Great Men, desiring him to keep the Empire, and them to obey, and suffer him to live privately at *Nicara*. It can hardly be determin'd, whether *Bajazet* was led to this contempt of a Crown by a stretch of religion, and a zeal for the divine worship,

The Vizir calls the Sultan at his return to the Empire.

ANNOTATIONS.

(3) *Sunnét*] The *Turki* make the Precepts of their Law of two kinds, *Sunnét*, where observance may on some occasions be dispens'd with, and *Fars*, which are absolutely necessary to Salvation. To *Fars* belong, say they, *Salavat*, i. e. Confession of Faith, which is never neglected or omitted by a Man who has the use of Speech, without forfeiting Salvation it self; *Zekkiat*, or bestowing yearly the fiftieth part of their Goods upon the Poor, and the like. But *Sunnét* they call Circumcision, and the *Sunnét Diuguni*, the Solemnities of Circumcision, and other Ecclesiastical Rites, which to omit is a Sin indeed, but venial. The omission of these

upon any pressing Necessity they think to be no Sin at all. They therefore never circumcise till the seventh year, and think a Child dying uncircumcised before that time, may nevertheless be receiv'd into Paradise. Thus if for the five Prostrations in the Noon Prayers, three only are perform'd, which are the *Fars*, or immediate Command of God, and the other two, which are only Institutions of the Prophet, and authoriz'd by Ecclesiastical Practice, are omitted, the omission is a Sin indeed, but not mortal. But he that does neither of these is to expiate his Crime in suffering for many years the Torments of Purgatory.

kindled at Mecca, or fearing his son's power, ambition, and popularity, chose by hidden arts to undermine his son at Nicæa, rather than by an unseasonable demand of the Kingdom, hazard both his Empire and Life. But the prime Vizir reading the letter, assembles the rest of the Great Men, asks their opinion, and after some debate, decrees, with their consent, that Mahomet's appointment should be firmly adher'd to, and Bajazet alone acknowledg'd and proclaim'd Emperor.

Corcud agrees to it.

IV. But to effect this openly, the same obstacles occur'd to them as to the father, violent counsels not seeming safer than decrees. Wherefore they resolve, first to sound Corcud; and the prime Vizir Ali Pascha having obtain'd an audience, says to him, "Your Majesty's resplendent father, by the divine aid, is return'd in safety from Mecca, and we hear, is arriv'd at Aleppo, which we thought it our duty to tell your Majesty, in order to know your pleasure concerning him, and his arrival." Corcud upon this information replies, "The services you have done the Empire ought justly to be so many testimonies of your fidelity; but whilst by so artful a speech you endeavour to strike mine, I can scarce refrain from taxing you with treachery. For you know my father did not absolutely, and for ever resign the Crown to me, but only commanded me to rule in his stead, till his return from a Pilgrimage undertaken for his own and the publick advantage. This have I done because I would not disobey a father's commands: Let him, being return'd, receive his own Empire, and I resigning the Scepter, will eternally profess myself both his Son and Vassal."

and resigns the throne to his father.

V. A few days after, hearing of his father's approach, he passes the Bosphorus, attended with all his Vizirs, and the rest of the civil and military officers, and meets him near Nicæa. He immediately pays him obeysance, and commands the rest to follow his example, and the Mimber (4) to be rais'd. Which done, Corcud himself taking his father by the hand, leads him to the throne, and turning to the spectators says: "This is indeed my Father and Lord, but the Governor and Emperor of the Othmans. I have hitherto been his shadow, now the light is come, the shadow vanishes. To him alone therefore pay obedience and reverence." Having said these words, he waits on his father to Constantinople, where arriving on the 29th day of Jemaziul Achyr in the year 886, Bajazet is invested with the Imperial Crown. Next day Corcud, with an allowance fit for an Emperor, departs to Magnesia.

H. 886.

A. C. 881.
Jem rebels.

VI. But this seem'd very hard to Jem (5), who from Corcud's age, had entertain'd great hopes of seizing the Empire, but upon Bajazet's mounting

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(4) Mimber] A Chair much like a Bishop's Throne, on which rais'd with three Steps, both the Imperial Throne, and in great Churches Vaidz, the Preacher's Pulpit is erected.

(5) to Jem] Jem in common Language signifies a kind of Grapes, more delicious than all others, but with the Arabic Tefsid added, Jemmagically signifies the fabulous name of

mounting the throne, thought his expectations entirely frustrated. He pretended the Crown belonged to him, because Bajazet was born to Mahomet before he was Sultan, and declared it a dishonour that the Empire should be given to the Son of a private man, in prejudice of the imperial Offspring. He charged his Father's Will with falsehood, as not being written, but only coming from the mouth of a treacherous Vizir. By these discourses he perswaded not only several Cities, but also most of the Asiatic forces, that he was the true Heir, and caus'd himself to be proclaim'd Emperor at Prusa. Presently after, assist'd with money by the Citizens of Prusa, and others who were in his interest, he rais'd a considerable army.

VII. But his dominion was neither firm nor lasting. For Bajazet hearing of his brother's proceedings, instantly passes into Asia with a great army, and meeting him near Prusa, after a fierce and bloody battle, puts him and his followers to rout. Jem escaping with a few attendants, flies first to Aleppo, then to Sultan Caitebai (6) King of Misr, sets forth his brother's tyranny, in not only seizing the Empire due to him, but in taking and unjustly putting his children to death, and earnestly implor's his assistance. Caitebai on the contrary gives him more wholesome advice, bids him lay aside all enmity to his brother, because civil wars can never be wag'd without detriment to their holy Religion, which will be wonderfully promoted by brotherly love and agreement. So, that the heat of his indignation might in that time be allay'd, he perswades Jem to go in pilgrimage to Mecca, and by such a blessed journey, convert the image of his misfortune into a true happiness. For the present state of affairs would not admit of any attempt against Bajazet, who had great armies at command: but if at his return, the face of things were alter'd, he would to the utmost of his power endeavour to restore him to his right.

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of Solomon, or Alexander the Great, as Chateai Jem, the Seal or signal Ring of Solomon, Jami Jem, the Looking-Glass of Solomon, or Alexander, which in another Greekish Fable is attributed to Leo the Wise, Son of Basilus the Macedonian, and Emperor of Greece. From which of these Significations this Sultan drew his Name I cannot say. However, I have neither read nor heard of any other Turk distinguish'd by it. The Christian Writers without doubt drew from it their Zemes and Zizim Words, which etymologically have no meaning.

(6) Caitebai] Not Caiteban, or Caitebbeg, as the Western Writers give it. For it is no Turkish Name, nor

to be derived from Caith and Beg, a Prince but merely Tartarian, compounded of Cait and Bai added to avoid the ill sound of listus, which commonly has the power of our vowel e. Cait in the Tartarian Language signifies Conversion, and bai rich. The more honorable Tartars are accus'd to add this monosyllable to their Names, as Fumanbai, Mambelbai, (for Muhammed bai, Muhammed in the Tartarian Language being pronounc'd Mambet) as the chief Pathas of the Turkish Militia, the Agas, and all of noble Race have the Appellation of Cbelebi. But our Caitebai was a Chercassian by Nation, and came to the Sovereignty by Election; he was the Hannibal of the Turkish Empire.

VIII. With

From thence
to Varsak.

VIII. With such speeches as these *Caitebai* strove to appease *Jem*, but he had other designs. *Jem* had long since contracted a strict friendship with some of the great men of *Varsak* (7) and *Turgad*, which had been confirm'd by so many proofs, that he did not question they would do what they could for him. To these he writes from *Myra*, complaining of *Bajazet's* injuries to him and his children, and intreating their aid. In answer, they detest *Bajazet's* impiety, and unanimously promise to stand by their Lord and *Sbebzade* (8) with their lives and fortunes. Flush'd with these promises, and eas'd of his care, whilst he sees *Caitebai's* assistance doubtful and remote, *Jem* feigns to approve his advice, and desires him to supply him with necessaries for his pilgrimage. *Caitebai* gladly and plentifully furnishes him with every thing, and at his departure gives him an attendance suitable to his quality. But it was not devotion, but a kingdom *Jem* was seeking. Wherefore he desists the first opportunity from his pilgrimage, and leaving his attendants, flies with a few followers to his friends. There assembling the forces of those Countries, with some *Gionulli* (9) tumultuously raised, he tries a second time the fortune of war.

Being again
defeated, he
flies to the
Christians.

IX. But he meets with no better success. For *Bajazet* being informed of his brother's fresh Motions, sends an army against him, which easily vanquishes and routs his undisciplin'd troops. *Jem* after his defeat, for some time wanders in disguise without servant or companion about the maritime places, and at length gets a ship bound for *Italy*. He first sails to *Rhodes* (10), and afterwards in company with some *Rhodians* visits the Pope (11), by whose recommendation he is very ho-

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(7) *Varsak* and *Turgad*] I have before said, in the last Chapter, that *Varsak* is thought to be *Paphlagonia*, *Turgad* seems to have been a neighbouring Province to it.

(8) *Sbebzade*] Son of the Emperor from the *Perfian* *Sheb* by *Syncope* from *Sbab*, Emperor, and *Zade*, Son. But the Sons of the Emperor are so called, when out of respect their proper Names are supposed.

(9) *Gionulli*] They were formerly Volunteers, and followed the Camp at their own expence. At this day, they are an Order of Horse under the Vizirs, who in publick Solemnities precede the *Agavat*, or Military Officers of the Court, and wear the *Hungarian* or *Bosnian* Habit. Their Colonel is called *Gionulli Agasi*. Something like these is another Cohort of Horse called *Deliler*, i. e. the *Fools* or *Madmen*. These formerly were un-

der no Discipline, but blindly rush'd on, and fell upon the Enemy from every quarter. Afterwards they were reduc'd to order, and by that lost their ancient Valour, with reserve of only the Name. Nor have I heard of any thing memorable perform'd by them of late times, or seen in any Battle where I was present.

(10) to *Rhodes*] The *Christian* Writers tell us, that he was there well receiv'd by the Great Master, who, furnishing him with a good Retinue, sent him to Pope *Innocent* VIII, and that he was afterwards surrendered to *Charles* VIII King of *France*, then preparing for the *Neapolitan* Expedition. Whereupon *Alexander* VI, (say the same Writers) poison'd him in the fear that *Charles* delivering him to *Bajazet* might merit too highly of him.

(11) the Pope] This was *Innocent* VIII, mentioned in the last Note. His

nourably received by the King of *Naples* (12). Here in an elegant and polite speech, he declares the causes of his flight, imploring the assistance of the *Christian* Princes to recover his paternal inheritance, and promising with an oath, that in case he obtained the Empire by their help, the *Othmans* should never set foot in any *Christian* dominions, and that he would religiously observe the treaty of peace between them and his deceased father. The *Christian* Princes (13) who had been struck with great terror at the *Othman* arms, bid him be of good courage, assuring him they would exert their utmost, and omit no opportunity to restore him. The King of *Naples* also, as a farther instance of his good-will, gives him an honorable pension.

X. But neither here did *Bajazet* suffer him to remain in safety, for fear he should give the *Christians* counsels destructive of his dominion and the *Othman* affairs. One day as he was familiarly talking of these things, there happen'd to be present a certain *Italian* Captive who had been initiated into the *Mahometan* religion by the name of *Mustapha*, and for his notable skill in shaving, promoted to the office of *Berber bashi* (14). This man being full of craft, hearing what the Emperor said, falls at his feet, and says, "If your Majesty will vouchsafe to commit so weighty an affair to my management, I will free your mind from all care, and dispatch your brother, tho' he lurk'd in the most secret corners of *Italy*." *Bajazet* not only readily gives him power to commit this deed, but swears by the holy Souls of his Ancestors (15) to advance *Mustapha* to the dignity of Prime Vizir, if he accomplish'd an undertaking so divine (16) and advantageous to the whole *Othman* Empire.

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His Successor was *Alexander* VI, innocent of the Crime with which the *Christians* impeach him.

(12) King of *Naples*] Here the *Turks* are mistaken. For he was not delivered to the King of *Naples*, but to the *French* King *Charles* VIII, then preparing for the *Neapolitan* Expedition.

(13) *Christian* Princes] All *Christian* Princes in general are usually still'd by the *Turks*, *Umerai Milletull Messihî*, Princes of the Nation of the *Messiah*, *Kiuberai Taifetull Issevî*, Sovereigns of the People of *Jesus*.

(14) *Berber bashi*] Chief Barber, the sixth great domestic Officer, of whom the Reader will find an account in another Place.

(15) Ancestors] The Emperors never bind themselves by any other Oath than this, *Ejadadum eruah sherifleri ichun*, by the blessed or holy Souls of my Parents, or in the singular, *Je-N^o. 6.*

dum rubi ichun, by the Soul of my Grandfather. But in all their Covenants with the *Christians* they use to add, *By the Name of the most high God, Koran baki ichun*, by the Truth of the *Koran*, *Praigamberin Pak rubi ichun*, By the pure Spirit of the Prophet, &c.

(16) divine] The Emperor's Orders, of whatever kind, are received by the *Turks* as coming from the Hand of God, and to disobey them is reckon'd the highest Impiety. Wherefore, if ever the prime Vizir is to be put to death, the Emperor commits the Execution of his Sentence to none but the Vizir himself, which he does in a Writing to this effect: "Whereas for such or such Facts thou deservest to die, it is our Pleasure that, after having perform'd the *Abdest*, i. e. the washing of Head, Hands, and Feet, and made the accustom'd *Namaz*,

pire. *Mustapha* encourag'd by these promises, throws off his *Turkish* habit, and as a fugitive goes to the *Franks* (17) dwelling at *Peru*, where with feign'd tears he laments his having abjur'd his religion, and conjures them to protect and assist him to make his escape into his own country. He adds, he had rather live in the utmost misery among *Christians*, than enjoy, with the hazard of his Soul, the highest honours of the *Turkish* Court. The *Franks* readily believe him, and pitying his condition, get him on board a ship bound to *Italy*, in which he arrives in a few days at *Naples*. *Jem*, who happen'd to be there, hearing an excellent Barber was come from *Turky*, and curious perhaps of knowing what passed at *Constantinople*, orders the man to be sent for. When he comes, being ask'd about the present state of the *Turkish* affairs, he answers, he had followed for some years at *Constantinople* the business of a Barber in the publick shops, and never troubled himself about any thing but the improvement of his art, and how to procure his liberty, which after long waiting he had obtain'd by the help of some good men, so that now he could freely enjoy his country, and profess the *Christian* religion. To this *Jem* replies, concerning your way of worship and religious profession, I am not solicitous. For God has given every man a free-will (18). But as I live in a land where

Barbers

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(17) (or Prayers,) thou deliver thy Head to this our Messenger *Capuchin* *Bashi*. And tho' the Vizir might have it in his Power to resist, yet he pays a ready obedience for fear of being accounted (as a transgressor of the Imperial Mandate) an Infidel, and cut off from the *Jemaat*, or *Ummeti* *Muhammed*, in *Christian* Language, the Church. This happen'd in my time to some great Men who refus'd their Obedience to the Emperor's Mandate, and tho' by flight or arms they rescu'd themselves from the danger, had ever afterwards the nickname of *Firari*, or *Fugitives*, as, *firari* *Hasan* *Pasha*, and *firari* *Ismail* *Pasha*. Nay, the Infamy is derived upon their Sons, who for an eternal Ignominy, as it were, are called *Firari* *Ogullari*, Sons of Fugitives.

(18) *Franks*] It is customary with the *Turks* to call almost all *Christian* Nations (the *Poles*, *Hungarians*, and others excepted, who wear long Habits) and especially the *Italians*, by the name of *Frans*, vulgarly *Fireng*. But to each Nation they likewise appropriate particular Names, as to the *Germans*, *Nemce*, to the *French*,

Firansiz, to the *Spaniards*, *Ispaniol*, to the *English*, *Ingilis*, to the *Dutch* or *Flemings*, *Nidrilanda*, or *Filemeng*, to the *Saxons*, *Saks*, to the *Suedes*, *Isved*, to the *Polanders*, *Leb*, or *Leib*, to the *Hungarians*, *Majar*, to the *Russians*, *Moskov*, to the *Cossaks*, *Cazak*, and so to the rest.

(18) free-will] *Iradei* *Juzy*, or *Juzy* *Ilyiar*. Altho' the *Turks* from the *Koran* believe, that nothing either good or evil can happen contrary to the divine Decree, according to that saying, *Cbairusheru min allah*, Good and Evil are from God. Yet they allow a free-will in Man for this reason, that *Kiaffar* (Infidels, namely, *Christians* and all *Mahometans*, not *Musulmans*) may not at the last Judgment excuse their not embracing the *Mahometan* Doctrine from a Plea of their wanting free-will. I asked some of the most learned Expounders of the *Koran*, called by the *Turks*, *Yefferi* *Koran*, whether a Man could speak or act any thing contrary to the Divine Will, or not? But I could never obtain a direct answer from them; they used to say, *Jennet* *hac*, *Jibennem* *hac*; *Paradise* is certain, and *Hell* is certain,

Barbers seem to me very unskilful, I only wish you to be my Barber. For since you have sojourned some time among my countrymen, who, you know, shave with so light and pleasant a hand, that a man can scarce forbear sleeping under the operation, I hope you have acquir'd some share of their art. *Mustapha*, the better to deceive *Jem*, at first declines the office, but being ask'd again, consents at last, pretending he could not in conscience refuse the honour of serving so great a Prince, and shaving the head of one whose face all good men desired to see at *Constantinople*. Whereupon he is receiv'd among his Chamberlains to shave him on the usual days, according to the custom of the *Turks*. When he had discharg'd this office some time with great appearance of fidelity, *Jem* happens one day to fall asleep as he is shaving, and thereby gives *Mustapha* an opportunity of executing his premeditated design. For perceiving none of the servants in the room, he cuts the Prince's Wind-pipe with a sharp Razor (19), and to prevent the wound from bleeding, binds it very hard with a handkerchief. Then he goes out of the chamber, and tells the servants in waiting, that their Lord was asleep, bidding them to be quiet and not disturb him. This done, he posts to a ship, which lay ready to receive him, and sails first to *Crete*, and from thence to *Constantinople*.

XI. At his arrival, he instantly repairs to *Bajazet*, and acquaints him with his brother's death and the manner of it. The incredulous Sultan is convinc'd by a report spread shortly after, that *Jem* by the treachery of some *Christians* was murder'd (20). Whereupon *Bajazet* mindful of his promise, promotes Barber *Mustapha* to the dignity of Prime Vizir. After this, he sends to *Naples* for his brother's body. The Ambassadors are honorably receiv'd, and the body is deliver'd to them, which by *Bajazet's* order is buried at *Prusa*, near the Tomb of *Murad*, among the sons of the royal *Othman* race.

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(19) Razor] The *Turks* here acquit God in vain, but to some use, if to some end, that end could be no other than the punishment of those who are destin'd to it. If again they are asked, how their Opinion of free-will is reconcilable with this Reason, they beg the Question, by saying, that all may be saved who will, but that no Man is saved whom God has not destin'd to Salvation. They conclude with this Axiom, *Tadur Tedbiri bozar*, i. e. *Divine Providence destroys human Appointments or Purposes*. From this Contrariety of Sentiments it is that free-will is highly valued by some, and as little esteem'd by others.

(20) murder'd] This contrary Report helps to confirm the *Turkish* account of *Jem's* death. The Place is disputed. *Christians* say he was poison'd in his march to *Naples* with *Charles VIII.* at *Teracina*; the *Turks* that he died at *Naples* by the Razor of Barber *Ibrahim*. Which is true, the Reader is left to judge.

XII. This

Jem's Character.

XII. This was the end of *Jem*, a Prince of great hopes and good dispositions. Nothing was wanting in him that could be called virtue, prudence, magnanimity, fortitude and wisdom. He had no equal of the same age. He is chiefly praised for eloquence (21) and rhetoric, because he gain'd men to his interest more by his speeches, than by money or pensions. To say all in a word, he would have been (according to the *Turks*) a most accomplish'd Prince, and worthy of so illustrious a birth, if he had not eclips'd the light of his virtues by his shameful flight to the *Christians*. But even there he was most observant of the *Mahometan* rites, and not only said the due prayers five times a day, but finish'd *Telaveti Koran* (22) every week.

Bajazet strengthens Greece with Castles.

H. 887.
A. C. 1482.

XIII. The rival of his Empire being thus removed by fratricide, and the State settled, *Bajazet's* martial spirit, which had hitherto laid dormant, excites him to enlarge his dominions with the spoils of the *Christian* Princes. But to strengthen, before he increased the Commonwealth, he goes into the *Morea* in the year 887, and fortifies the Isthmus with two strong Castles towards the *Corinthian* Bay, built with materials design'd for other uses by the *Christians*. These he provides with good garrisons and all manner of warlike stores, that the enemies when from that side they invaded, as they frequently did, the *Othman* dominions, might be restrained, and time given him to come to their assistance.

Takes two Cities in Moldavia.

XIV. The next Spring he orders to be built in a pleasant situation on the river *Tunje* at *Adrianople*, a *Jami*, *Medrese*, *Darulshya*, *Imaret*, and publick Bath. Then he moves with all his forces towards *Moldavia* (23), govern'd at that time by *Stephanus*, and takes the Bulwarks of the

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(21) eloquence] *Ilmikieliam*, the Science of Speech, or the Art of speaking well, as *Ilmi Mantyk*, the Art of Reasoning, *Ilmi Sarf*, the Science of Grammar, as *Ilmi Nabum*, the Knowledge of Syntax, *Ilmi Hikmet*, the Knowledge of secret Things, or of Philosophy, *Ilmi Illabi*, Divine Knowledge or Theology, *Ilmi Fikyb*, Knowledge of the Law, the noblest of all others with them, as turning to another's Advantage, *Ilmi Niyum*, the Knowledge of the Stars, or Astronomy, *Ilmibendeft*, the Knowledge of Measuring, or Mathematics, *Ilmi Icoyrafte*, Geography, *Ilmi Resam*, Arithmetic, *Ilmi Sbir*, Poetry, &c.

(22) *Telaveti Koran*] The reading of the whole *Koran*. This is perform'd at the Funeral, and the Tomb for forty Days, as in so many Days with us the *Pfalter* is reading over the dead. The *Turks* believe that the

Soul of the deceas'd hovers about the Grave for forty Days, and that the reading of the *Koran* is very assisting to the Archangel *Gabriel*, that he may guard it from the Devils, and quickly convey it to Paradise. They moreover assert, that the sinful Soul is much advantag'd by the Prayers of the Living. But they invoke no Saints or Prophets besides *Mahomet*. To all others they deny any Compassion for human Miseries, as thinking it would be a hindrance to the perfect Felicity to which they are arrived.

(23) *Moldavia*] I could never sufficiently admire, as often as I look'd into Maps of *Hungary*, whence it was that the Limits of *Walachia* and *Moldavia* are so absurdly and erroneously mark'd in them. Nor have I seen one ancient or modern Map which does not abound with gross Mistakes. So the Towns *Kili* and *Akkierman*, vulgarly

the whole country, the strong cities of *Kili* (24) on the *Danube* and *Akkierman* (25) near it on the *Euxine* sea. By this means he not only prevents the *Moldavians* from exercising piracy on that sea, but gets an opportunity of annoying, with frequent incursions, a Province often attempted in vain.

XV. The same year, under the conduct of the *Beglerbeg* of *Asia*, Some Cities of Asia are taken by Bajazet. His Enmity to Caitebai. are taken the famous cities of *Tarsus* (26), *Kursunly* (27), and *Kosunly*. At *Adrianople* the great General *Giedyk Ahmed Pasba* is accused of treason, and put to death (28). About the same time, are sown between *Bajazet* and *Caitebai* King of *Myfr* the seeds of war, which after numberless battles, ended at last in the Subversion of *Caitebai's* Kingdom. They had long beheld one another with a jealous eye, but neither had dar'd to attack the other, believing both Empires so firmly establish'd as to be hardly conquerable by human counsels or strength. The *Othman* was superior in extent and number of armies, the *Egyptian* was strengthen'd by the yearly accession of *Cbercaffian** Troops, the most warlike of all Nations. *Bajazet* indeed had a plausible pretence for a war, because *Caitebai* had not only receiv'd his brother *Jem*, but also supplied him privately with money (29) to enable him to raise new commotions. But as this did not seem a sufficient reason to engage his Empire in a war, he thought proper to hide his intentions,

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garly plac'd in *Walachia*, are distant more than three hundred miles from the *Walachian* Borders, nor ever belonged to *Walachia*, but to *Moldavia*. I shall explain this more at large in another Place.

(24) *Kili*] *Cilia* by the *Moldavians*, the ancient *Lycostomus*, a City situate at the Northern Mouth of the *Danube*, larger and deeper than the other four. It is distant from *Galach**, a considerable Mart of *Moldavia*, on the banks of the *Danube*, thirty eight leagues, or hours.

(25) *Akkierman*] Formerly *Moncaffer*, the *Ole* of *Herodotus*, now call'd by the *Moldavians*, *Czetzate alba* or *White Town*, which is likewise the meaning of its *Turkish* Name. It is a most antient City, and famous for the Exile of *Ovid*, from whom also a Lake near it, call'd *Ovid's* Lake, seems to have receiv'd its name from the later *Moldavians*. But of this I shall discourse more largely in another place.

(26) *Tarsus*] *Tarsus* of *Cilicia*, the Country as is believ'd of *St. Paul*.

N^o. 6.

(27) *Kursunly*] Or *leadens*, but the following name *Kosunly* neither has any Etymological meaning, nor know I any thing either of the Town or its Situation. But there is another *Kursunly* in the *Crim*, call'd *Qsuvn* by *Herodotus*, or, as others will have it, *Cberfonesus*, from which the whole Peninsula derives its name.

(28) death] *Giedyk Ahmed Pasba* was accus'd as is reported of a design to dethrone the Emperor, to make great alterations in the State, and of soliciting *Bajazet's* eldest Son *Ahmed* to rebel against his Father; but that his Innocence appear'd clear to the Sultan after his death, who often lamented that he had so rashly put to death, an innocent Man, an able Counsellor, and a famous General. Thus the *Crocodile* sheds his tears over the Victim slain by him.

(29) money] This seems to signify that Money which the Sultan of *Egypt* furnish'd him with for his Expences to *Mecca*.

K k

till a more favorable opportunity presented itself. This was shortly after offered him by fortune, and in a manner beyond his expectation. *Alaideulet* (30), a petty Prince of some Provinces in *Asia*, led by an unseasonable desire of increasing his dominion, endeavours to wrest certain Cities in *Asia* from the *Cbercaffians** (31). By these being shamefully

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(30) *Alaideulet*] One perhaps of the *Persian* Princes of whom the *Turkish* Annals say nothing farther, though he left his name to his Territory, which some Maps corruptly ascribe to *Aladuli*. It is a Country shut in with the *Taurus* and *Antitaurus*, or *Cappadocia*.

(31) *Cbercaffians**] The most noble of all the *Seythian* People, inhabiting a mountainous and rugged Country between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* Seas. They are by the *Russians* call'd *Czerkieffi Petigoric*, and by that name distinguish'd from the *Cozac Cbercaffians**. For all the *Ukrain Cozacs* are in the *Russian* Tongue call'd *Cbercaffians**, but chiefly those who dwell upon the Banks of the River *Donetz*, and live in *Slobods* or *Colonies*. But of these *Cbercaffians** thus distributed into Colonies there are five Provinces, whose chief Cities are *Izium*, *Cbarconia*, *Ochirca*, *Ribinska*, and *Summy*. To these is added the most antient *Russian* City call'd *Czubulow*, once the Fortress of the *Russian* Empire against the *Tartars*, when that Empire was contain'd within narrower Bounds. It stands upon the *Donetz*. The *Petigoric Cbercaffians** acknowledge no Deity, have no Worship, no Religion. They have a thick Grove lying in a Plain surrounded with high Mountains. It is well water'd, and has a large Ditch thrown round it. Hither the whole Nation repairs about the End of *August*, as if to the *Olympic* Games, and institute a Traffic amongst themselves, by an exchange of their respective Commodities. Thus assembled, in compliance with a Tradition of uncertain Origin even amongst themselves, they consecrate and hang upon some Tree of that Grove the best of their arms. These they cleanse at their return the next year, and kissing them, restore them to their former place. Here without

any guard these Arms remain 'till they are eaten up by Rust or Time. Many Historians of these Nations have left it upon record that they were once converted to the *Christian* faith by the *Genoese*, then Lords of *Cassa*, but that after the taking of the *Crim* by the *Turks*, being depriv'd of their Priests, they relaps'd to their former Ignorance. In proof of this opinion it is alledg'd, that before the *Cabartai* were infested with *Mabometanism*, the Name of one *Peter* was highly reverenc'd amongst them, and that it was permitted to them to eat Swine's Flesh, from which some at this day abstain. They are under obedience to no Laws, have no Judges, assur'd that the Conscience of the guilty Person is a full and adequate Punishment. Formerly they were without all Learning, but not long ago some of them embracing *Mabometism*, were initiated in the *Arabian* Literature. The rest continuing in their old Gentilism, retain to this day their former Savage Manners. The whole Region is distributed into three Principalities, of which *Cabarta* is the head. They yearly remit to the *Chan* of *Crim-Tartary* two hundred young Men and a hundred Virgins by way of Tribute. These are not chosen at pleasure, but by Lot. Those of them who are even born amongst the *Tartars* have neither the face nor make of that People, and should a Man call them the most beautiful of all the *Oriental* People, he would not much transgress the truth. They are always devising something new in their Habits and Arms, in which they are so passionately follow'd by the *Tartars*, that they may well be call'd the *French* of the *Tartars*. Their Country is the School of Education for the *Tartars*, every Man of whom, who has not learn'd War and Behaviour, in this School, is reputed

for

fully repuls'd and seeing himself unable to withstand them, sues to *Bajazet* for assistance, promises to stamp his name on his coin, and have him

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for a *Tentek*, a worthless insignificant Fellow. The Sons of the *Chans* of the *Crim*, the moment they see the light, are sent to the *Cbercaffians** for their Nourishment and Education. The Infant being brought into *Cbercaffia**, he who finds a Nurse for it, is call'd *Ata*, or the Sultan's Tutor, and ever afterwards he with his whole Race has an exemption from Taxes, because he has a sort of Fraternity with the Sultan. Wherefore it is earnestly sought by all the *Cbercaffians**, that a Wife or a Sister may once at least give the breast to the *Chan's* Son, and thereby purchase a freedom from Tribute. This is often attended with violence. A Man who is stronger privately or forcibly entering the house where the young Sultan is nurs'd, and having seiz'd his Person immediately carries him to his own House, and delivers him to a Wife or a Sister to suckle him. The two years in which he is at Nurse affords more than one instance of this kind. The Prince when he is grown up is carefully taught to ride, shoot with arrows, to bear arms, together with the whole Science and Equipage of War, and then sent home. Women are here esteem'd noble from their having small Fingers and short Feet. But a Virgin who is so corpulent, and has unsizeable Feet or Fingers, be her Birth ever so illustrious, is reputed ignoble, nor without a very large Fortune, has any chance for a Husband. Wherefore a Girl of seven years of age is brac'd in with an Iron Girdle of four or five Fingers breadth, her feet are cramp'd with wooden Shoes, both which Engines she is oblig'd to wear till she is full grown. So that what is effected by the *French* Women with Whalebone and other Arts with no small pain, is here acquir'd without any trouble in a tender age, and enjoy'd with ease the rest of their Lives. Neither the Boys nor Girls ever lie on a bed, but on Planks or Pavements cover'd with Hay or Straw, to prevent their grow-

ing fat, or effeminate, which they not imprudently conclude, is attended with sloth and cowardice. The People are so valiant and strong, that by the confession of the *Tartars* themselves, as ten *Crim*s are more than a match for fifteen *Bujakians*, so five *Cbercaffians** are more than equal to ten *Crim*s. Of this Fortitude I shall give my Reader only one instance which happen'd about six years ago, and is not much unlike those exploits for which the old *Grecians* were so renown'd. When the annual Tribute due to *Solim Gierai* then *Chan* of the *Crim* (a Person of great wisdom and valour, an old Soldier,) was not paid, he the following year sent his Son *Shabbaz Gierai* Sultan to demand the Captives for both the years. He was honourably receiv'd, as coming with no formidable Retinue, and had the Tribute immediately put into his hands by the Seniors, as due. But he had by chance seen a most beautiful Daughter of a *Cbercaffian**, whom, not appearing in the List of the Captives, he forcibly seizes contrary to custom, and carries off to his own House. Her Brothers, two very brave Youths, dissembling at first the sorrow occasioned by this accident, comfort their Father, and assuage his grief with the flattering Prospect of her one day rising to the honour of the Sultan's bed. But waiting their opportunity, they at last unexpectedly break in upon the Prince, secure and alone with the ravish'd Virgin, his Guards being partly dismiss'd and partly drunk, stab both him and their Sister, and kill the Guards to a Man. The Sultan's Father hearing of the Fact, suppresses his resentment, and declares that the *Cbercaffians** had done well in punishing a Man, who had thus attempted a rape upon a Virgin seiz'd contrary to custom. To him being dead succeeded his eldest Son *Deulet Gierai*, a little after dethron'd by the Grand Seignior, and sent into Banishment. But *Caplan Gierai*

him mention'd in the publick prayers, and thus subjects his territories to him as a fief. On these conditions, *Alaideulet* obtaining some auxiliary

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Gierai his successor and younger Brother, by leave from the *Othman* Court, marches against the *Cbercaffians** at the head of eighty thousand *Tartars*, threatening them with entire destruction. Having cross'd the *Tanais* he was joyn'd by fifteen thousand *Cubanensians*. Prince *Cabarta* receiving the news of this expedition, retires with seven thousand foot and three hundred horse to the top of a high Mountain adorn'd with the Ruins of a very large and ancient City, and fortifies the Clefs of the Walls with trees and ramparts of Earth. *Caplan Gierai*, sensible of the difficult attack of this Mountain (which had but one avenue) sends a trusty Messenger to the Prince to tell him that the Sultan had undertaken an expedition against the *Uibeks*, and desir'd three thousand of his *Cbercaffians**, that besides, himself wanted a personal Conference with him, and therefore desir'd him to come down from the Mountain. *Cabarta* perceiving the deceit of the Enemy, answers the Messenger, that he was now confin'd with a severe Fit of the Gout, but that within three days he would either on horseback or in a Litter (they have those with two Wheels) attend the Sultan. The Messenger being gone, *Cabarta* calls the *Cbercaffians** together, and thus addresses them.—“What is your opinion, Country-men, concerning the present posture of our affairs? Do you think it best for us to deliver our selves in chains to the Sultan, to be slaughter'd by him, our Wives and Children to be carried into perpetual Slavery, or like our selves, to conquer or die? If we die, we shall prevent the detestable sight of a Tyrant raging over us; if we overcome, the consequence will be the delivery of our selves by one stroke from the insupportable cruelty of the *Tartars*.”—Their Answer was unanimous, that it was better to die than to put themselves into the hands of the Enemy; upon this he obliges them

to their Resolution by the accustomed oath taken by their Swords and Arms. Things being thus settled, *Cabarta* in the evening sends one of his Men to the *Chan* to tell him that his Gout was now easier, and that the next day he would attend him as a suppliant with the Seniors of his army. *Caplan Gierai*, transported with this Message, order'd his Horses to be turn'd to pasture, and resolves to dedicate the whole Night to Rest. The *Cbercaffians**, acquainted with what pass'd in the Hords of the *Tartars*, bind the Bark of Trees into little Bundles well pitch'd, and tying them to the Tails of their Horses drive them down with great silence to the *Kesh* or Tents of the *Tartars*, and there put fire to the Bundles. The Horses, terrified at once with the flame and the pain, run with the utmost precipitation, and in a very dark night, throw themselves like Lightning among infinite numbers of *Tartarian* Horses, who likewise terrify'd, break their fetters, and with great noise disperse themselves every where. The *Tartars* awak'd by this noise, neither see nor hear any thing but the Flames flying over the Plain, (for either the darkness or their fears prevented them from seeing the Horses) and thinking fire was come from Heaven, the Foot like men out of their senses run about in disorder. The *Cbercaffians** seeing this, quit all Arms besides their Swords, and kill every Man they meet, so that till the morning appear'd it was rather a Butchery than an Engagement. When it was day the *Cbercaffians*, gathering together almost a 100000 Horses of the Enemy, with the Loss of scarce five Men, return back in triumph. The *Cubanensian Tartars* fall on the other dispers'd *Tartars*, and put them to the Sword the two following days. For they had follow'd the Sultan by compulsion, having always before liv'd in strict friendship with the *Cbercaffians**. *Caplan Gierai* escapes with a handful of his

liary forces re-attacks the *Cbercaffians**, and after several battles fought with various success, takes from them *Giullek* (32), *Sues*, *Adana*, *Kaisarie*, and *Antab*. *Caitehai* perceiving *Bajazet's* policy in designing to weaken his forces by the sword of another without hazard to himself, thinks he should use the same method, and opposes *Kiorshab* his neighbour to *Alaideulet*. These two petty Princes, supported by the aid of both Sultans, contend for some time with such doubtful fortune, that it was hard to determine which had the advantage. Whence it happen'd that these Countries were subject sometimes to the *Cbercaffians**, sometimes to the *Othmans*.

XIII. Taught by these events, *Bajazet* finds the dominion of the *Cbercaffians** in *Egypt* could not be subverted by arms, nor so flourishing an Empire weaken'd, unless their Country was destroy'd, and the way shut up by which they were wont to convey into *Egypt* so many forces every year. Wherefore pretending to make peace with the Sultan of *Egypt*, he recalls his troops, and in the year 889, in the month of *Jamaziul acbyr*, unexpectedly invades *Cbercaffia**, overruns the Country, and carrying off a great number of Captives, shuts up the

His Expedition into *Cbercaffia*.*H. 889.
A. C. 1484.

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his Men into the *Crim*, leaving behind him forty thousand slain, and the rest all dispers'd. Accus'd to the Court of *Constantinople* of Rashness and Imprudence, he is depos'd from his dignity, and sent in banishment to *Tanapolis* a Town of *Myfia*. *Deulet Gierai*, an exile in *China*, who commanded the *Tartarian* Cohorts in the last engagement with the *Russians*, was appointed his Successor. But of what esteem the *Cbercaffians** are with the *Turks*, may be guess'd from the Price which the Sellers put upon their Captives. They value them in the first place, because their Virgins are more beautiful than all others, better proportion'd in their Bodies, capable of Instruction, and of great modesty, and their young Men, as they think, more sharp in their Wit, and capable of making the best artificers. The next in their esteem are the *Polanders*, then the *Abazs*, then the *Russians* for the hardness of their Bodies and their enduring of Labour, which considerations often send them to row in the Grand Signior's Gallies, then the *Cossacks*, then the *Georgians*, and last of all the *Mengrelians*. The *Germans*, *Venetians*, and *Hungarians* (whom they are wont to call by the same name of

Jfrenk) are by them thought incapable of all drudgery, by reason of the softness of their Bodies, and the Women of giving pleasure proper to their Sex from the hardness of theirs. So that were Slaves produc'd in the Market out of all these Nations of the same age, strength, or beauty, a *Cbercaffian** Man or Woman, would be sold for 1000 Imperial Crowns, a *Polander* for 600, an *Abazs* for 500, a *Russ* or a *Cozac* for 400, a *Georgian* for 300, a *Mengrelian* for 250, a *German* or *Jfrenk* for still less. But in *Egypt*, *Cbercaffians** and the *Abazs* are sold at double value, because there they alone succeed to the Rights and Properties of their Masters, even in prejudice of the legitimate Sons. This indeed is against the precepts of the *Koran*, but is nevertheless allow'd from a singular and superstitious belief of *Joseph's* praying to God whilst he was a slave in *Egypt*, that that Nation might be in perpetual subjection to Slaves, which by the secret judgment of God afterwards came to pass. (32) *Giullek*] This and the rest that follow, are Cities of *Syria*, unknown to no *European* Travellers into the East, except *Giullek*.

entrances of the Mountains (33), by which it is surrounded, with Castles, and entirely hinders the Inhabitants from coming out. The nursery of soldiers being thus obstructed, *Caitebai* seeing his own daily diminish, and his Enemy's forces increase, is said to fall sick with grief, and shortly after he dies.

Other Expeditions.
H. 890.
A. C. 1485.

XVII. The same year, *Abdullah*, *Bajazet's* son, Prince of *Iconium*, departed this life. In 890 he sends an army into *Moldavia* to the great slaughter of the Inhabitants, and the next year subdues again the rebellious country of *Varjak*.

He assails the Moors in Spain.

XVIII. Whilst the *Othman* affairs thus flourish'd in the East, the *Mahometan* Religion receives a grievous check in the Kingdom of *Endelos* (34). After several defeats, the *Musulmans* are every where expell'd, put to the torture, and compell'd to abjure their religion. In this distress they send ambassadors to *Bajazet* to set forth the rage and cruelty of the *Spaniards*, and from him, as head of the *Mahometan* commonwealth, to desire assistance. *Bajazet* readily grants their request; and to perform his promise, sends the next summer a great fleet into the *Mediterranean*, under *Kiemal Ali Pascha*, who defeats the fleet of the *Christians*, lays waste the Island of *Malta*, and plundering the maritime countries of *Spain* and *Italy*, returns laden with spoil.

H. 891.
A. C. 1486.

Subdues Bosnia and Croatia.
H. 894.
A. C. 1489.

XIX. Flush'd with this success, he resolves to try his fortune again with the *Christians*. Wherefore in the year 894, he sends General *Yacub* with an army into *Croatia* and *Bosnia*, to subdue there what still oppos'd the *Othman* dominion. After he had taken several castles and march'd triumphantly over the whole region, he meets the *Christians* in arms, and defeating them with a memorable slaughter, sends many noble prisoners with their leader *Jeneral yami* (35) to the Emperor. The same year *Bajazet* marries his daughter to *Abmed Myrza* (36) *Ogyregli* (37).

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(33) of the Mountains] At this day the Mountains of *Azizum*, *Demurcapu*, and *Derbent*, that is, the *Iran Gate* or *Guard* in which *Tomyris* Queen of *Scythia* intangled *Cyrus* King of *Persia*, and, as it is said, cut him off with his whole army.

(34) *Endelos*] *Aulalusia*. By this name is all *Spain* call'd by the ancient *Turks*, which fell under the dominion of the *Moors*, probably from the first Province, they seiz'd. But at this day the *Turks*, as well as we, distinguish *Spain* into two parts, *Spain* and *Lusitania*, call'd by them also *Portugal*.

(35) *Jeneral yami*] This is the most famous Count *John Torquatius*, whose

fate is so differently related by *Christian* and *Turkish* Writers. The first say that he dy'd in this engagement amongst the thickest of the Enemy, not vanquish'd, but tir'd with victory; the latter make him to be taken alive, nor know we which to believe.

(36) *Abmed Myrza*] That he was either a Relation of the King of *Tibris*, or illustriously descended, is plain from the Surname *Myrza*. For although the Etymology of this word is unknown (unless you should derive it from *Myr* a Prince, and *Zad* to denote a Race, born as it were of the Essence of the Forefathers, or *Zad* a Son) it is nevertheless certain and confess'd, that this name never is, or can

XX. In the year 895, the King of *Azerbejan* Sultan *Yacub* dies, whose death proves the destruction of many others, by being the occasion of

Expeditions into Asia.
H. 895.
terrible A. C. 1490.

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can be, given by the *Tartars* to any Person who has not receiv'd an immemorial Nobility and some Hord from his Ancestors by hereditary Right. The Reader will perhaps wonder how the memory of a Nobility can be preserv'd among a People so barbarous, and strangers equally to politeness and learning, especially since it is confess'd that no part of History lies in greater confusion and disorder than Genealogy. But it is a thing clear and beyond all controversy, that no Nation in the World more accurately enumerates their Nobility and the Series of their Ancestors than the *Scythians*. For it is a Law with them sacred and inviolable, that no *Tartar*, who is not descended from the first races of the Nobility, can obtain the appellation of *Myrza* or *Noble*, though he should alone retrieve the whole Nation from destruction, or recover a lost battle, or perform any the like actions exceeding human power; nor can a *Cazan* or *Cesh* (so they call ignoble families) by gift or purchase acquire a Title. So that the Races which have stood from the beginning distinguish'd with nobility, enjoy it long and for ever. Of these you will hardly find a hundred in all *Scythia*: *Crimly*, *Orakogly*, and *Orumbetogly*, are the three great Branches. Of the two last I shall speak hereafter. The *Crim* are subdivided into two Branches, the *Skirini* and *Myrza*. The first, though they are of the same stock with the latter, are accounted more noble, because to their suffrage the Election of a *Chan* is committed, as that of the Emperor of *Germany* to the Electoral Princes. As their Race is widely dispers'd over the *Crim*, the *Chan* deposes four Seniors with authority over the rest. These only have power of electing and confirming the *Chan*, of deciding Causes, and governing the Commonwealth; and this power is so great, that without their Voices neither can the *Chan* when he is elected be received, or do any act of Royalty. His

only power in such case is to depose the disagreeing and obstinate *Skirini*, and substitute others in their room, who nevertheless seldom contradict the Acts of their Predecessors, as they are of the same Race and Family. Formerly, while they retain'd their freedom, upon the death or expulsion of a *Chan*, they elected at pleasure one of his Sons or Brothers (but still with regard to the *Jengizian* race) and confirm'd him with peculiar ceremonies. But being now subjected to the *Turks*, they are oblig'd either to obtain a confirmation of the *Chan* elected by them from the *Othman* Court, or receive one sent from thence. The Ceremonies of their confirmation are very singular. They have an ancient and square piece of Tapestry, destin'd, they believe, to this use by *Jengizchan*, and now almost eaten up with time and rottenness. In the middle of it they order the new elected *Chan* to sit down, whilst all bare-headed cry as loud as they can, *Cop yashu*, or, in our way of speaking, *long live the Chan*. After this, the four senior *Skirini* take the Tapestry by the four corners, and raising the *Chan* upon it, proclaim him *Chan* of all the *Tartars*. The other *Myrza* likewise had formerly large Possessions, but are now, except a few, all extinct. For in the Reign of *Selim II.* Emperor of the *Turks*, all the *Myrza* (the *Skirini* excepted) rebell'd against their *Chan*, *Mengily Gierai*, and dethron'd him; but at the intercession of the *Skirini* they again receiv'd, and saluted him *Chan*. He, to revenge this injury and prevent any future rebellion, at first suppress'd his resentment, and publish'd an Amnesty. Two years after he made a great entertainment, and invited all the *Myrza* to it. He regal'd them with great magnificence, and protracted the Banquet till Midnight, when all of them, made drunk with sweet Wine and *Boza* (a kind of liquor amongst the *Tartars* made of Millet-seed,) were by his orders put into

terrible dissensions in that Kingdom. *Bajazet*, as well as the King of *Egypt*, *Caitebai's* Successor, are concern'd, every one striving to seize the Provinces destitute of a Governour. So the Armies, though the Trumpet silently sounds to battle, engage, and the victorious *Turk* for six years roams into almost every corner of *Asia*. At last, after many conflicts in the year 901, all those countries, for which *Bajazet* and the *Cbercaffians** had hitherto contended, are annex'd to the *Othman* Empire. In the year 902 the *Rhodians* are defeated with great slaughter by the *Turkish* General *Nasubeg*. At the same time *Ahmed Myrza*, whose fidelity *Bajazet* had purchas'd seven years before with

H. 901
A. C. 1496.
H. 902.
A. C. 1497.

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into Waggon to convey them home, but in the way they were murder'd by Soldiers plac'd for the purpose, whilst they lay wallowing in their intemperance. This Tragedy has quite destroy'd the Race of the *Mirza* within the *Crim*, and reduc'd it to a few who were then abroad. But the other Nations of *Scythia* have their *Myrza* still, chiefly in *Bujak*, the *Bessarabia*, of the Ancients. The Daughters of these *Myrza* marry to none but a *Myrza*, but the Sons have the privilege of marrying Slaves, and their Children are as legitimate as if they were born of a female *Myrza*. The Betrothing and Nuptials are attended with peculiar rites. When both Parents are agreed upon the marriage of their Children, the Bride's Father orders a little house to be built, with the door opening into his own bed-chamber, and with a window so small that it will scarcely receive the head of a Man. Through this it is permitted to the Bridegroom to kiss his Bride in the night, and to concert measures with her concerning her escape. The Parents and Brothers are careful spies upon the Bride, whilst the Bridegroom endeavours to convey her off either by stealth or force. It often comes to a skirmish, but only with Fists and Whips call'd *Camchi**, and the Bridegroom, if taken, is not dismiss'd without a ransom. But if in the scuffle the Bridegroom can come at the Bride, he boldly enters, carries her off, strips her little Lodging, and retains whatever he finds in it for a Dowry. Her Brothers pursue her thus taken away at-

tended by their Relations, and if they can lay hold of her before she arrives at the Bridegroom's Pavilion, he is either to redeem, or accept, her without a Portion. But the moment she reaches his Tent, the War ends in a Marriage. Things are told of the Daughters of these *Myrza* equally memorable and worthy of admiration. When they become Women, and have their monthly fluxes, let them have been ever so strong and healthful before, they are immediately seiz'd with a sort of Lunacy. This gives great joy to the Parents, who congratulate each other upon it as an evident token of Nobility, and an acquittance of the Mother from Adultery, of which she would stand accus'd should her Daughter miss of this indisposition. An entertainment is immediately provided, to which all the Daughters of the *Myrza* are invited. This Ceremony being over, the Lunatic Virgin, is oblig'd to dance three days and so many nights to the sound of a Monochord (taken notice of by *Pliny*) without any refreshment from eating, drinking, or sleeping, till she falls down as one dead. The third day they set before her Meat and unseason'd Broth made of Horse flesh, with which when she is refresh'd she is again call'd to the Dance. This exercise being thrice repeated, her Malady immediately goes off, and troubles her no more during her life.

(37) *Ogyrogli*] i. e. Son of a happy Omen, from *Ogyr*, happy Omen, and *Ogul* Son. It signifies also, Son of a Thief.

the marriage of his daughter, on pretence of hunting, goes out of *Constantinople* and flies to *Tybris* (38), where he is chosen King.

XXI. The next year *Bajazet* lays at *Constantinople* near *Eski Serai* the foundations of a *Jami*, Hospital, *Taalimbane*, and School, which are finish'd in eight years. In 905 he moves with great forces into *Greece*, and in the first assault takes *Ainebacht*, and the next summer on the 4th day of *Mubarrem* becomes master of *Mothone* by storm, and *Coroni* by surrender. In 907, the *Isrenji* with a great fleet besiege *Mitilin* (39), but fifty Gallies coming to the relief of the besieged, they retire. About the same time, *Bajazet* having made peace with all his neighbours (40), orders the soldiers, tir'd with so many expeditions, to rest and exchange their martial toils for the pleasures of the city.

XXII. But how dangerous to this Empire is repose, the transactions about this time in *Asia* plainly demonstrate. *Sheitan Culy* (41), a Magician

Wars with the Venetians in Greece, and makes peace with his Neighbours.

H. 907.
A. C. 1501.

Sheitan Culy infects the Persians with his Heresy.

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(38) *Tybris*] By the moderns call'd *Tauris*, once Metropolis of the *Persian* Empire, and now to be numbred amongst the chief Cities of *Persia*.

(39) *Mitilin*] *Christian* Writers relate that the *Mitylene* was besieg'd by a *French* fleet. This I easily believe, since the *Turks* call all the Western *Europeans* *Isrenj*.

(40) with all his neighbours] The Peace made between the *Turks* and *Venetians* by the assistance of one *Andrea Grittius*, then a Slave in the Court of *Bajazet*, by which *Leucas* and *Neritus* were restor'd to the *Turks*, and *Cephalonia* to the *Venetians*.

(41) *Sheitan Culy*] i. e. Servant or Slave of Satan, the first Hæresiarth amongst the *Mabometans*. The *Turks* gave him this name from a belief that he was a Magician and Conjurer. The *Persians* on the contrary affirm him to be a most learned Man, and full of a divine Spirit, who not only corrected the *Koran*, but prov'd his Doctrine by Miracles, and from thence he has obtain'd from them the name of *Sofi* or *Sophus* (i. e. wise.) The *Persians* and *Turks*, with no leis disagreement, relate the story of the propagation of his doctrine. For the *Persians* say, that *Sofi* being expell'd the *Othman* Dominions by *Bajazet*, retir'd to *Ismail* King of *Persia*, and there whilst he exercis'd the function of Preceptor to his Children, especially in *Mathematicks*, finish'd the Correction and genuine Interpretation

of the *Koran*, and drew the King and the Nobles to his Sentiments. But as neither his Preaching nor Exhortation could gain the common People, he obtain'd a Mandate from the King signifying, that whoever resist his Doctrine, if rich, should forfeit his Wealth and Honour, if of inferior condition, his Life. *Persia*, mov'd with the terror of this Edict, saw her Sons in multitudes running into the neighbouring Kingdoms, with the loss of their Riches and Estates, as in the last Century the *Huguenots* fled out of *France*. The King, struck with this flight of his Subjects, call'd the *Sofi* to him, and told him, that as for himself he was perswaded of the truth of his Doctrine, but could not on its account suffer his Kingdom to be depriv'd of its Inhabitants. The *Sofi's* answer was, that in this necessity where the Truth of Doctrine clash'd with the safety of the Publick, the proper recourse was to Miracles: that he had such confidence in God and the Prophet, that a Miracle would be granted to confirm and establish his Doctrine in the minds of the ignorant. Upon this the most learned Interpreters of the *Koran* were conven'd out of the whole Kingdom, when the *Sofi* deliver'd to them a Book, fair and unwritten, and said—“ If ye have yet any doubt of my Doctrine, God will confirm the truth by a Miracle, such as was never

gician, and a man full of diabolical arts, had now lurk'd some time near the Town of *Beg Basar*; and finding the people after a ten year's peace greedy

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"seen or heard of before." He then lodg'd in an old hollow Tree the Blank Book, and another of the *Koran* as formerly receiv'd. The Mouth of the Hole, through which the Books were convey'd, was secur'd with Iron hoops, which had three Seals put to them, of which the King kept one, and the adverse party the two others. He offer'd under the Tree publick prayers every day, and on the fortieth order'd the Seals to be broke open, and the Books to be drawn out. The unwritten Book was found fill'd up from beginning to end, and entirely agreeing with the copy revis'd by himself: the old Copy was every where defac'd in the Writing, and only the Margin left untouched. On sight of this all the whole Company cry'd out, *Allab, Allab, God, God*, and immediately embracing the Doctrine deliver'd by the *Sofi* as true and free from all suspicion, sought every where for the ancient Copies of the *Koran* and committing them to the Flames, transcrib'd new ones from this miraculous Book. They moreover chang'd the Character; for whereas the older Copies of the *Koran* were written in *Nischi* (retain'd by the *Turks* to this day) it was his order that all the *Korans* from that day should be transcrib'd in *Taalik*, to distinguish the genuine from the spurious copies. Thus the *Persians* tell the story, whilst the *Turks* give it quite another turn. For they say, that *Sheitan Culy*, whilst he was Preceptor to the Sons of *Ismail* King of *Persia*, led the youngest Son (whose name I have forgot, for I am oblig'd to rely on my memory for several things transcrib'd from the mouths of the learned *Turks* and other Monuments, now sacrific'd to the Malice of Fortune) frequently into a Wood, and shew'd him an old Plane Tree, with command, that if at any time his Father should bid him name a Tree to him it should be that. In this Tree he had lodg'd a year before the Book of the *Koran*, as reform'd by himself, writ in an unknown but elegant Cha-

rafter, and another transcrib'd from the receiv'd copies, but all foully blotted. The Hole of the Tree was so stop'd up by Nature and magical Arts, that no traces of it appear'd. The *Sofi* being afterwards severely chid by *Ismail* for the sedition rais'd by him, had recourse to his premeditated fraud, and offer'd to confirm his Doctrine by a Miracle. The King upon this offer call'd Multitudes together to witness the Miracle. The Conditions were, that if the Truth had the confirmation of a Miracle, all without exception should be oblig'd to receive it, if not, Death should be the portion of *Sheitan Culy* as an Impostor. All, as ignorant of the Fraud, consenting, the King went out to the Grove attended by numbers of learned Men and of the common People. The Impostor addressing himself to the King, that all suspicion of fraud, says he, may be remov'd, order your little Son to show you any Tree he shall please. This being approv'd by both King and People, show me, said the King to his Son, some Tree in this Grove. The Boy, as he had been instructed, pointed to the old Plane Tree, and immediately the stoppage being remov'd from the cavity of the Tree, *Sheitan* convey'd the unwritten Book and the old *Koran*, as is before said, into the Tree, and after the mockery of hypocritical Prayers, left them both there, the Hole being secur'd by Iron Plates and Seals. On the fortieth day, the People again came to the Tree, when the Impostor (with bare hands and previous Prayers to remove all suspicion) went to the Hole, and taking out, not the Books last put in, but two others plac'd below them. He then held them up to the People, and ask'd whether they were not the same put in by him in their sight. The Binding and Shape being exactly correspondent, the People answer'd, they were the same, and upon the delivery of them into their hands, found the Impostor's unwritten Book fill'd with

greedy of novelties, in the year 916 vends his long meditated heresy in the *Koran*, supports it with miracles, and therewith so bewitches the credulous vulgar, that in a short time he is able to bring an army of followers into the field. Whereupon *Bajazet* instantly sends *Ali Pascha* with forces to disperse these riotous assemblies; who vanquishing the Impostor in battle, forces him to fly to *Ismail Shab* (42), where

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with fair Characters, and comparing it with the new *Koran*, discover'd every where a perfect agreement. *Azis allab*, or glorious God, was now the Cry; and when the old *Koran* was found foully stain'd with Ink, they again cry'd out, *Hak allab, Subban allab, just God, merciful God*. To suppress for ever all suspicion of his fraud, the *Turks* say the *Sofi* so bewitch'd *Ismail* by his Incantations, that he order'd the Tree to be immediately burnt, on pretence of hindring any superstitious Adoration of it by the People. Thus, say the *Turks*, the Impostor propagated his Religion amongst the *Persians*. From that time the *Turks* and *Persians* have fiercely disputed about Religion. The Summ of the Controversy lies in this, that the *Persians* pursue with the most direful imprecations three of *Mahomet's* Successors, *Ehubeikir, Omer*, and *Othman*, and call them Impostors, Falsifiers, and Robbers, and acknowledge only *Ali* as true Successor of the Prophet, who they pretend was murder'd in a *Jami* by the treachery of his Collegues. The *Turks* acknowledge all four as the Prophet's true Successors, and pay an equal respect and reverence to their Memories. Another Cause of quarrel between the two Nations is, that the *Turks* as soon as they rise out of their Bed, before they perform their *Sabab Namaz*, are oblig'd by their Law to wash their Feet with water, and after they have put on their *Mest* or Shoes, to rub them with their hands. The *Persians* on the contrary think it sufficient only to rub the foot with the bare hand, at their rising, and that any other washing is needless. This Controversy, trilling as it may seem, is thought

of consequence enough to set the two Nations at enmity, and engage them in the blackest reproaches and injuries against each other. The *Turks* call the *Persians*, Blasphemers, Impious, Infidels, *Kyzil bash*, or Red-heads, and say they are worse than the *Christians*. The *Persians* in their turn retort the same opprobrious names upon the *Turks*. And to such height is this enmity carried between the two Nations, that whereas the *Turks* firmly believe that for every Enemy of a different Religion (Subjects being put upon another foot) slain by them, God will amply reward the Service: in this computation they make one *Persian* slain equal to seventy *Christians*. Hither we are to refer the manner us'd by both Nations in sending Ambassadors. The King of *Persia*, when he sends one to the *Turk*, amongst other Presents, first offers him the *Koran*, as well to boast the Truth of his Law, as to engage the *Turk* to the reception of it by this, as it were, silent Preaching. The Sultan after he has receiv'd the Ambassador, and heard a Recital of the Presents read to him by the *Reisful Kiutab* (vulgarly the *Reis Efendi* or first Chancellor) when the name of the *Koran* is mention'd he kisses his own, plac'd by him on a Cushion, then reverently returns it to its former place, by this ceremony silently asserting the Truth of his own *Koran*, and the Falsity of the *Persian*.

(42) *Ismail Shab* King of *Persia*, Cotemporary with *Bajazet*, the fierce and everlasting Enemy of the *Othman* Race. His superior Knowledge has plac'd him amongst the most learned Princes, and probably procur'd him the Surname of *Sofi*, or the wise. †

† He was Founder of the present Royal Family of *Persia*, and from him they have retain'd the name of the *Great Sofy* to this day. But of this, and other the like observations, more largely in the additional Notes.

meeting

meeting with more liberty to spread his poison, he turns the King with the whole Nation from the true paths of the *Koran*.

Bajazet designs to deliver up the Empire to his Son Ahmed.

XXIII. About the same time, whilst *Bajazet* in the midst of peace, was rolling in pleasures, the inconveniences of approaching old age, and the sharp pains of the Gout in his hands (43), contracted by luxury, inspir'd him with a resolution of imitating the example of his Grandfather, and voluntarily resigning the Empire. To this end, he sends for his eldest Son *Ahmed*, whom he had set over *Cony*, declares him Heir of the Empire, and chuses to lead a private life at *Magnesia*, the place of his Grandfather's retirement.

Selim resenting it, is dejected by his Father.

XXIV. But having discover'd his intention before he had gain'd the great men to *Ahmed's* interest, it does not succeed to his wish, and what he designs to be for his advantage, turns to his detriment. For *Selim*, who was Governor of *Trapezond*, hearing of these transactions, with the forces of his Province, crosses the *Pontus*, marches to *Adrianople*, and that he might not alienate the Minds of his People by the name of rebellion, pretends he is come to pay his duty to his Father (44). From hence with twenty thousand men he goes directly to *Constantinople*, hoping the Janizaries, whom he knew to be in his interest, would join with him. *Bajazet* perceiving his Son's designs, assembles what forces happen'd to be at *Constantinople*, and bravely meets *Selim*, in the month *Jemaziul ewel* of the year 917, near *Chorlo** at a Village call'd *Ogrifs*. The battle is long doubtful, but at last *Selim* is vanquish'd and forc'd to fly. *Bajazet* forbids all pursuit, hoping, as he said, his son would lay aside his fierceness, return to a sound mind, and be convinc'd by this fatherly correction, that God approves not the rebellion of children against their Parents. But if he would not even now repent, he should be left to the divine wrath, which never suffers rebellious Sons to go unpunish'd. Thus *Selim*, escaping by the goodness of a father, comes to *Varna* (45), and from thence sails to *Kassa*, a maritime Town of *Crim-Tartary*.

H. 917.
A. C. 1511.

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(43) Gout in his hands] The *Christians* say it was in the feet that *Bajazet* was troubled with the Gout. Both perhaps right, since this distemper generally visits both hands and feet.

(44) To his Father] The *Turks* are enjoyn'd by their Law to visit their Country and Parents, if in their power, after a long absence from them. And to neglect this is with them acting against a divine precept. From hence the Proverb, "To visit Country and Parents in due time, is not of less moment than a reli-

gious Pilgrimage to *Mecca*." For this reason, if any Servant asks leave from his Master to visit his Country, the Master cannot deny him; or if he does, is chargeable with the Sin, and not the Servant. This was *Selim's* pretence when he had only in view the dethroning of his Father. For since *Bajazet* had ascended the Throne, *Selim* had not once seen him.

(45) *Varna*] A City of *Pentus*, memorable by the defeat and slaughter of *Uladislaus*, King of *Hungary* and *Poland*.

XXV. Freed

XXV. Freed from this danger, *Bajazet*, who reflected not that Crowns are given by God and not by man (46), thinks of meeting of no farther obstacles to his conferring the Empire on whom he had intended. Wherefore he again sends to *Ahmed*, telling him, his Enemy and Rival was conquer'd and expell'd the bounds of the Kingdom, and therefore he should come, and with universal consent take the crown with his father's benediction. *Ahmed*, more cautiously considering the offer, answers, that his father in vain attempted to confer this favour on him, since he knew not only the Janizaries, but all the great Men were inclin'd to *Selim*, and wish'd him alone Emperor, and therefore it was not a rival brother, but his adherents the soldiers, that he fear'd.

Who again offers the crown to his Son *Ahmed*.

XXVI. *Bajazet* seeing *Ahmed* dislike'd his intention, and desiring to debar *Selim* from the Throne for his insolence and immoderate thirst of dominion, thinks of taking another course, and of deferring his purpose at present, in hopes of easily finding an opportunity to effect it. But it seem'd difficult to revoke his declar'd resolution of resigning, because whatever is said or done by the Sultans, is believed to be so firm (47), as not to be retracted on any human account. Wherefore he

Bajazet is not suffer'd by the Janizaries to retain the Empire.

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(46) not by man] Although the *Turks* affirm, that nothing, either of good or evil can happen without the will of God, yet it is their belief, that God can refuse nothing to a *Musliman*, seriously petitioning him according to the Oracle of the *Koran*, "O ye Angels, my Servant has touch'd me with Shame," or, "I am asham'd that I have not fulfill'd his Petition. Two things however are, according to them, never to be obtain'd by Prayers, Prophecy, and Empire. For these God will never grant to any other, since they are already limited by his Decree, Prophecy to *Mahomet*, and to none after him, and Empire to the *Othman* Race alone, which seems to be insinuated by many expounders of the *Koran*. Thus the subtle Impostor pronounc'd himself the last of all the Prophets, and destroy'd in all others the ambition of Empire. So that should a Man only hypothetically say, If God would grant me Empire or Prophecy, I would do this or that, he would be immediately thought to have deny'd God, and communicated with Infidels, which Sin is only to be abolish'd by the *Tejdid Iman*, or the renewal of his N^o. 7.

faith, by which, as a new Convert, he is to appear before the *Imam* or Priest, and in the presence of two or three Witnesses declare the Profession of his Faith.

(47) to be so firm] Amongst the Sultan's most haughty Titles, that of *Zillullah*, or *Shadow of God*, holds the first Place, as it commands an obedience to his Edicts, as if they were divine, and never to be resisted. In proof of this opinion, I shall produce a particular which happen'd in my Father's time. As *Mahomet IV.* was marching his Army in *May* thro' *Moldavia* to the Siege of *Camnic*, recollecting that it was the Season for ripe Cherries at *Constantinople*, he ask'd the prime Vizir, why Cherries were not brought to his Table. The Vizir immediately dispatch'd a *Capuji basha* to the Prince of *Moldavia*, with command that he should instantly provide Cherries for the Emperor's Table. The Prince excusing himself, by saying, that no Cherries could then be had, nor hardly in *June*, the *Capuji basha* reply'd, "O Prince, when the Emperor commands, there is no saying a thing is not, or cannot be done." Wherefore the Prince, to make himself believ'd, N n sent

he privately endeavours to induce the Great Men to petition him to alter his mind. But these, on the contrary, encourage the Janizaries (to whom quiet, and a ten years pacific (48) Emperor, was ungrateful) to favour Selim, and easily lead, where they please, the soldiers thirsting, after so long a peace, for nothing but intestine wars and commotions.

Who call home Selim, and bring him to Constantinople.

XXVII. The Great Men privately send Letters to Selim, acquainting him that they have all unanimously resolv'd, to salute him Emperor, and not suffer Bajazet to depart from his declaration of resigning the Crown. Terrified perhaps by his former danger, Selim at first refuses his consent, and tells the Conspirators, that indeed he is so far from despising the Throne offer'd by them, that he is ready to shed his blood for any, even the meanest soldier; but is unwilling to do any, the least thing contrary, to his father's pleasure, especially since he had been taught by late experience, that the hand of God is against him. The Janizaries receiving this answer, repeat their instances to Selim by Zemberekchi Pasha (49), affirming they would all bind themselves by oath, not to desert, till they see him rais'd to the Throne, even against his father's will. Perswaded at last by these promises, Selim departs from Kassa with a few attendants, and under the former pretence, goes to Constantinople. On news of his arrival, the Janizaries flock together in Companies in the streets, and joyfully meet him at the Gate Top Kapu (50). Selim surrounded with a band of these, enters the City, and goes into

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sent by the Capuzi heretics, some Branches of Cherry Trees yet in the blossom; on sight of which, Mahomet is said to have cry'd out, Gaur bilatti saub imybi, "the Regions of the Infidels are cold," which admits of two interpretations, either of the natural coldness, or of any thing execrable and contrary to the Mahometan Religion.

(48) ten years pacific] That Peace and Quiet are not for the Interest of this Nation, has been prov'd by constant experience. Wherefore if they have no foreign Enemy upon their hands, they turn their rage against the Emperor, and like Crabs devour one another. To this purpose, they have a saying, alberekitul herekiet, Motion is Happiness, that is, every Alteration brings with it some Happiness. For besides their natural propensity to commotions, which prevents their having almost any peace amongst themselves, they are by their Law commanded to keep no long

peace with the Christian, or any other Nation not believing in Mahomet's. This would at once hinder the propagation of their Religion, and give occasion for everlasting civil dissensions. The Turks here say only Halizeman, i. e. some time, but I compute it at ten years. Christian Writers agree with them, whilst they assert that Bajazet lay some time quiet under the confinement of the Gout.

(49) Zemberekchi Pasha] He was formerly Superintendent of the Battering Rams, and other military Machines, from Zemberek, an Engine to throw Stones, and Basbi, one that presides. This Office is now grown into disuse.

(50) Top Kapu] Etymologically the Gate of the warlike Engines. It is in the western part of the City, in the high road between Ederne Capuzi, the Adrianople Gate, and Syllitari Capuzi, the Sylebrian Gate. In that Row are large Towers, where the Turks lodge their Gun-powder to be distributed out to necessary uses.

the

the Mead Embagebe (51), where the Janizaries had prepared Tents for him.

XXVIII. Bajazet is troubled at the news of this unexpected affair, and perceiving nothing could be done by force, studies to soften his son by gentle expressions. Wherefore on the eighth day, when he thought the violence of his ardor abated, he sends for his Prime Vizir, Coja Mustapha Pasha (52), and bids him in his name tell his son: "If my son desires to visit me, and obtain my benediction, why does he delay? But if, under these proceedings he only conceals his impiety, why does he vainly spend the time?" The Vizir executes his commission, and with due adoration delivers the Sultan's commands. Selim perceives Bajazet's policy, and returns a no less ambiguous and acute answer, "Tell my Father, (says he to the Vizir) I will not in the least disobey his orders, and am ready to go wherever he shall send me, if he will but please to satisfy some doubts I have entertained concerning the present administration of affairs. Sofi ogli (53), a man of no account is risen up in the East, and with a sudden and swift progress, has laid waste the Ottoman Empire, carrying his arms as far as Casarea, whilst you instead of defending the Provinces, are an idle spectator of his victories. On the other hand, a Chercassian (54), of obscure birth and name, who ought to be prostrate under the sword of the Ottomans, has made himself master not only of Egypt, but of many other countries in Syria, formerly subject to our dominion, and holds them even to this day, as if they were his lawful inheritance. To such contempt, the Majesty of the Empire, rever'd under our Ancestors, is fallen, and they, who formerly under the name of Bajazet, were fear'd as invincible Heroes by the neighbouring Nations, are now under the same name, as men unactive and effeminate, scorn'd and provok'd. Where is now the honour of the Aliothman Scepter! Where the military Discipline! Where the zeal of propagating the Law! Where the arts of Government! Is it thus, the Empire is enlarg'd? Is it thus, we deal with our enemies? Is it thus, the ardor of our hitherto invincible soldiery is preserv'd? Certainly by such methods our glorious Ancestors neither establish'd the Throne, nor extended the bounds of the Empire. These things duly weigh'd, let my father himself judge, whether they, who by their consent (55),

Selim's acute answer to his Father's Ambassador.

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(51) Embagebe] Etymologically New Garden. It is a space of almost a mile in compass, but at present a Meadow where Horses go to pasture, and call'd by them Coate.

(52) Coja Mustapha Pasha] of Old Mustapha. A large Stone Exchange for the convenience of Merchants,

(53) Sofi Ogli] Ismail King of Persia.

(54) The Chercassian] The King of Egypt.

built by him at Constantinople, and which still retains his name.

(55) By their consent] The perfidious San is seeking excuses for de-throning his Father, and putting him to death.

or

"or permission, or negligence, have been the cause of these mismanagements, can escape punishment? For unless a timely remedy be applied to these corruptions, we shall be oblig'd to ascribe the approaching and almost unavoidable ruin of our Empire to our sloth, and not to the bravery of our enemies."

Bajazet resigns to Selim, and retires to Dymotica.

XXIX. The Vizir returning to the Sultan, and reporting his son's answer, *Bajazet*, is said to reply: "I too plainly see, my son's business is not to visit his father, but right or wrong to seize the Empire. However that it is design'd for him by heaven, I am convinc'd by my dreaming (56) last night, that my Crown was by the soldiers plac'd on *Selim's* head. Wherefore since I deem it impious either to attempt, or act any thing contrary to God's will, in an humble resignation to divine providence, I lay down the Ensigns of Government, and will and command *Selim* to be by all saluted Emperor." Accordingly he instantly acquaints *Selim* with his resolution, and desires his permission to live privately at *Dymotica*. *Selim* intreats his father to remain in the new Palace, for that he will be contented with the Empire in the old one. *Bajazet* still urges his request, alledging, one scabbard can never hold two swords (57). So prevailing at last, and taking with him the most precious things out of the Treasury, he departs from *Constantinople*, in company with *Yunus Pascha* (58) and a few friends, the 18th day of the month *Sefer* in the year 918.

H. 918.

A. C. 1512.
Selim is crown'd.

XXX. *Selim* with the Great Men attends his father to *Kucbuk* Cbekmeje** (59) two hours distant from *Constantinople*, talks to him about establishing the State, and as if he had a mind to expiate by his present obsequiousness his past disobedience, desires his Blessing. After which, he bids his father farewell, and returning to the Palace, receives the imperial diadem with the usual solemnities.

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(56) dreaming] The Turks are very superstitious about Dreams, and think, that the pure Soul of a Musulman foresees, and is admonish'd of some things in a Dream. They have a Book call'd *Kakaa namé*, or the Interpreter of Dreams, to which they apply on these occasions. But they say, *Diusk giorendé degil dur yoran dedur*, That is, the Event of the dream depends not on the Seer but the Interpreter. For this reason, as soon as any one says, I have had a Dream this Night, all the Company cry out, *Cbair ola*, by which they think, that though the Interpretation of the Dream is of bad portent, yet it is now averted.

(57) Two Swords] He seems to have alluded to the saying of *Alexander*

the Great, "That the World could not be govern'd by two Suns, nor with safety to its State be subject to two Emperors."

(58) *Yunus Pascha*] From the Hebrew, *Jochanan* or *John*. So *John* the Prophet is by them call'd *Yunus Peigamber*.

(59) *Kucbuk* Cbekmeje**] A little Draw-Bridge, afterwards turn'd into one entire Bridge, but still retaining the name of *Little*, to distinguish it from a Greater. *Kucbuk* Cbekmeje** is the Town formerly known by the name of *Atbyra* in the high road which leads to *Adrianople*, distant from *Constantinople* two hours, and from *Bujuk Cbekmeje** (Great Bridge) six.

XXXI. Mean

XXXI. Mean while, *Bajazet* pursues his intended journey, but so slowly, that he halted, on pretence of indisposition, in almost every village, and thereby bred a suspicion in his son, that he hop'd to be recall'd to the Government, (which he had unwillingly resign'd) by some popular commotion. Perhaps this was the cause, that when he was scarce forty miles from the City, he ended his days by an unexpected Martyrdom (60). *Selim* having notice of his death, orders the Vizir and Great Men to remove his body to *Constantinople*. He himself in a mourning habit meets them on foot in their return without the City, and with great pomp, like a triumph, introducing the funeral into the town, commands the body to be buried in the *Jami* founded by *Bajazet*.

and crown'd his Father with Martyrdom.

XXXII. *Bajazet* liv'd sixty two, and reign'd thirty two, years. He had five sons, *Abmed*, *Selim*, *Sbehinsbab*, *Alemshab*, and *Cercud*, whose fortunes will be related hereafter. He was a Prince of the Turkish Historians are to be credited, valiant, active, of an invincible mind, even in adversity, and had by exercise acquir'd such strength, that few could equal, and none excell him. A punctual observer of the law, and a great patron of the learned, to each of whom he not only gave every year ten thousand *Akche** (61), but also bountifully supplied them with *Sofia* † and provisions according to their respective conditions. He was himself so well vers'd in all parts of literature, that he was esteem'd by his people, as well the Prince of learning as of the Empire. By his conduct or good fortune, the *Othman* Empire, was not only not impair'd, but grievous wars wag'd with great honour, and large Kingdoms subdu'd. He expended great part of his revenue in buildings rais'd to the Glory of God (62). He repair'd the walls of the City demolish'd in many places by an Earthquake, and in the *Brasier's Market* (63) built a stately *Jami* of admirable workmanship, with another at *Adnasia* not indeed so large, but equally beautiful and elegant. I say nothing of the many *Medrese*, and *Imaret* erected by him in several places. Besides these structures destin'd for the divine service, he built near *Osmansky*, over the river *Kyzyl irmak* (64) a marble bridge of nineteen arches, and

Bajazet's Illness and Character.

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(60) Martyrdom] From hence may be infer'd that what *Philip Lonicer* relates of his death out of *Anthony Muretin*, is not a fiction. In Tom. I. Part v. c. 22. He tells us that *Bajazet* was murder'd on his journey by the hands of a Jewish Physician, tho' the Turks do not avowedly confess the deed.

(61) *Akche**] *White*, interpreted from the Greek word *ασπρον*. It is a piece of money less in weight and value than all others (the brass half-

penny's called *Mangyr*, excepted) 120 of this Coin make a *Leone*, 300 a *Venetian Crown*.

(62) Glory of God] Whatever is dedicated to God, is vulgarly said to be built to the Glory of God, *Hakk yoluna*, or in the Arabic, *filbil ullah*, or *fi tazyk ullah*, in the way of God.

(63) *Brasier's Market*] Not far from the old Palace, call'd anciently

κωνσταντινουπολις.
(64) *Kyzyl Irmak*] Red Stream.

† Cloths made of *Sof*. See Note p. 44.

in the Province of *Sarichan* over the river *Giozfi* (65), another of square stone with the same number of arches.

A singular instance of piety.

XXXIII. But before I proceed, I shall relate a singular instance of piety much praised by the *Turks*. He is said through the whole course of his life, to have carefully preserv'd the dust, which in his expeditions, stuck to his Cloaths, and in his last hours conjur'd the By-standers with direful imprecations to make a large brick of it, and place it in his monument under his right arm instead of a cushion, adding he had always regarded the *Hadis* (66), or saying: *Igburetu Caddemaba sebilul-lab baram aleibi ennare*: that is, "If any man's feet have been sprinkled with the dust in the path of the Lord, him will God preserve from Hell-fire."

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(65) *Giozfi*] Water of the Eye or Eyes, metaphorically Tears, as *Gioz yafsi*, the humour or spring of the Eyes.

(66) *Hadis*] Is properly the Oracle of a false Prophet, pronounc'd according to the opinion of the *Turks* with a prophetic Spirit. For they distinguish the Prophecies of the *Koran* into divine, or dictated by the Archangel to *Mabomet*, which they call *Hadisi Kudus*, and into Prophetic, which *Mabomet* pronounc'd by a divine Spirit, and these they call *Hadisunnebevi*.

Cotemporary with *BAJAZET II.* reign'd in *Europe*.

In *Germany*, { *FREDERIC IV.* of *Austria*. 1439-93.
 { *MAXIMILIAN III.* 1493-1518.

In *England*, { *EDWARD V.* 1483.
 { *RICHARD III.* 1483-5.
 { *HENRY VII.* 1485-1509.
 { *HENRY VIII.* 1509-46.

In *France*, { *CHARLES VIII.* 1483-98.
 { *LEWIS XII.* 1498-1515.

The End of the Reign of *BAJAZET II.*

The



The REIGN of

S E L I M I.

Ninth EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK III CHAP. III.

SELIM, firnam'd *Yavuz* (1), was born in the year 872, in his Grandfather's life-time, whilst *Bajazet* was Lord of *Amasia*, and in 918 on the 19th of the Month *Sefer* in the 46th year of his age, A. C. 1512.

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(1) *Yavuz*] This word properly signifies fierce or savage, and from thence passionate. This name ('tis said) was apply'd to *Selim* for his rage and tyranny, with which he pursued not only the Criminals, but also the innocent, even his Father and Brothers, as if they were Enemies. They report of him, that once ordering his Prime Vizir to erect the Horse-Tails before his Gate as the signal of an expedition, and to pitch the Tents in a proper place, the Vizir only asking him to what quarter he would have the Tents pitch'd, he was, without any answer to his question, put to death by him: that a Successor met with the same fate the same day, but that the third, made wiser by the examples of the other two, pitch'd the Tents to the four quarters of the World, and took care to have every thing ready that was necessary to the expedition. He being afterwards ask'd by the Sultan, whether and to what quarter the expedition was prepar'd, answer'd him that every thing was in a readiness

let him move which way he thought fit, to which the Sultan's reply was, "The death of the two first has sav'd the life of the third, and procur'd me a good Vizir." He alone of so many *Turkish* Emperors shav'd his Beard after he ascended the Throne, contrary to the Precepts of the *Koran* and the receiv'd custom. For the Sons of the Emperors are order'd by the Law to shave their Beards before they come to the Empire, but afterwards to let them grow. *Selim* being on this account one day gently and facetiously reprovd by the *Mufti*, answer'd that he did it to prevent his Vizir's having any thing to lead him by. The *Turks* relate of him, that he had always by him, or in his hands, a Club call'd *Yepuz*, of which they say this was the occasion. In the time of his Father some Provinces bordering on *Persia* paid yearly to that Empire for peace sake by way of Tribute a certain number of Carpets call'd *Cbul*. His Father being dead, the Governours of these Provinces, sent to *Selim*

age is appointed Emperor of the *Othmans*, after the expulsion of his father. His brothers, either because of his interest with the soldiery, or in order to appease his fierce temper, did not dare to contradict it. Only *Abmed*, who was perfectly acquainted with his Brother's disposition, and certainly knew he should no where be safe whilst he was on the Throne, resolves through despair, either to remove his brother, or die in the attempt. Wherefore allur'd by a false expectation, that some Great Men, who favour'd *Selim* only in appearance, would espouse his cause, he raises all the forces of *Anafia*, and thinking it best to enter his brother's dominions, prepares to pass into *Europe*.

and is defeated
and strangled.

II. *Abmed* had scarce taken this resolution, when it was discover'd to *Selim* by his spies, whom he every where encourag'd. In order therefore to extinguish this flame, and surprize his brother before his whole army was assembled, he leads his forces over the *Bosphorus* into *Asia*. *Abmed*, though he perceiv'd his design was too early discover'd, yet when he saw he must either conquer or die, bravely meets his brother at *Enistebir* with what troops he had. Moreover, he valiantly fights in the foremost ranks, so that he more than once rallied the broken wings. At last his army, overpower'd with numbers, after a great slaughter is entirely routed. Most chuse to cover the place, where they stood, with their Bodies, few endeavouring to escape by flight. Among these, *Abmed* being taken alive, is immediately strangled, and buried at *Prusa*.

Corcud is put
to death with-
out cause.

III. Having refresh'd his men, a few days after this victory, he leads them against his brother *Corcud*, whom his father had set over *Maguesia*. *Corcud*, though he had hitherto chosen to reverence his brother, and see what fortune would allot him, rather than imbrue his hands with fratricide, yet when he finds his submission disregarded, and his blood thirsted after, meets *Selim* with what troops were under his command, that he might not at least die unreveng'd. But *Selim*, with his disciplin'd and more numerous army, easily vanquishes and disperses his brother's forces rais'd in haste. In this desperate state, *Corcud* escapes by flight, but deserted by his people, without servant or companion, he wanders alone in the night through by-ways and deserts,

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lim to know whether this light Tribute was to be continued or not. His answer was, "Tell the Infidel Red-head, that the Father of the Carpets is gone, and the Father of the Clubs come in his room." This Phrase, *Father of the Clubs*, has by the *Turks* been borrow'd from *Hebrew* and *Arabic*, and signifies a Man abounding with any thing, as *Ebul Iman*, Father of Faith, or endu'd with Faith, *Ebul Suleb*, Father of Peace, or abounding with peace, quiet, *Altun*

babasi, the Father of Gold, that is, abounding with money, *Denlet babasi*, Father of Happiness, or old in Honours. So *Selim* calls his Father *Bajazet*, *Chulje babasi*, the Father of Carpets, because he gave Carpets to the *Persians*, and himself Father of Clubs, because instead of Carpets, he design'd them arms and clubs. The *Turks* are full of such stories of their *Selim*, which for brevity are omitted by us.

and

and by day conceals himself in dark and horrible caves. He was said to do this, that he might after the example of *Jem* (2), fly to the *Christians* and be protected by them from his brother's power. Whereupon *Selim*, fearing he might give them advices detrimental to the *Othman* affairs, commands him to be more diligently search'd after. At length, such was his fate, he is found by a soldier, drawn from his shelter, and brought to *Selim*, who without giving him an opportunity to speak for himself, though he earnestly desir'd it, delivers him to the executioner to be strangled.

IV. *Selim* having thus destroyed the Rivals of his Empire, as well as some domestick Enemies (3), turns his thoughts to foreign conquests. Amongst his enemies abroad, the chief was doubtless Sultan *Gauri*, King of *Egypt*, with whom, after many disputes, *Bajazet* had made a peace. But to attack him before *Kyzilbasb Shabi* (4) was vanquish'd, seem'd neither safe nor adviseable. This last had sufficiently discover'd his enmity, and therefore it was to be fear'd, the *Persians* would come upon the *Othmans* intent upon the *Egyptian* affairs. The breach was widen'd by the late heretical alterations of the *Koran* by *Sbeitan Culy*, which with the King's approbation had infected all *Persia*, and render'd her an enemy to the true followers of the *Koran*. Upon these considerations, *Selim* resolves to humble the *Persians* before he proceeds to other undertakings. So in the year 920, he leads a numerous army into *Asia*, and at *Tybris* (5) one of the principal Cities of *Persia* on a plain call'd *Chaldiran** (6) he finds the enemy's army not inferior to his own. Whereupon he instantly assembles the *Vizirs* and the rest of his friends, to consult what was to be done. All agree, things were not to be hurried, lest the soldiers fatigu'd with their march, might afford the enemy an easy victory, that the battle therefore was to be defer'd till next day, and time given the troops to recover themselves. This advice being unanimously approv'd of, *Selim* alone is against it, and says, "the counsel you have given is no less advantageous to the enemies than to us, for are not they equally fatigu'd with

Selim invades
Persia, and
consults with
his *Vizirs* be-
fore the battle.

H. 920.
A. C. 1514.

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(2) of *Jem*] This I take to be rather ironically spoken by the *Turks*, who well know that *Jem* was murder'd amongst the *Christians*.

(3) domestick Enemies] Namely some great Courtiers, who privately favour'd *Bajazet*, and were all put to death by *Selim*.

(4) *Kyzilbasb Shabi*] King of the *Redheads*. This was *Ismael Soff* the wisest and most learned of all the *Persian* Kings. He was deem'd a Saint by his Subjects, because in his time happen'd the Reformation of the

Koran, as has been related in a former note.

(5) *Tybris*] This City was shortly after recover'd by the *Persians*, and is in their possession to this day.

(6) *Chaldiran**] According to the opinion of many it is a spacious Plain under the Walls of *Tybris*, and still retains this name. Others think it a small Town not far from *Tybris*. Etymologically it signifies a Man who exposes any thing to Theft, from the verb *Chalarum**, to steal, from whence *Chaldirum* to cause to steal. And also causing him to knock.

Nº. 7.

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" their

" their march? Wherefore I do not see why we should allow them time to resist and prepare the better for battle. And indeed I now perceive our error in not attacking them at first sight, and in consulting before, not after the battle, about refreshing our men."

He approves of Piri Pascha's advice.

V. Having said these words, he dismisses the Council with orders to prepare for battle, and immediately sending for his *Defterdar* (7), *Piri Pascha*,

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(7) *Defterdar*] A word deriv'd from the *Persian Defter*, Accompts or Book of Accompts, and *Dar*, keeping, or if you had rather from the *Greek Δεφτερος*, the Skin or Vellum, on which they wrote. It is a very high Office in the *Othman Court*, and the Person invest'd with it, has the management of the whole external Revenue. But if a Secretary or *Effendi* enjoys this office, he can do nothing without the consent of the *Vizir*. But if manag'd by a *Pascha* with three *Tug*, he draws the *Tura* along with him, even without the privacy of the *Vizir*, and in his own name publishes the *Ferman*. This seldom happens but when the *Vizir* being stupid or ignorant, the Emperor is pleas'd to commit this Trust to a Man of greater authority. The *Defterdar* has under him twelve Chancelleries call'd *Calem*, in which the whole Income, Tributes, and Customs of the Empire are collected, and the military stipends distributed, but under different superintendents. The *Defterdar* holds the first, out of which are issued all Mandates, as well to the other Chancelleries, as through the whole Empire for levying the Tribute and Customs. Over the second is the *Reis Effendi*, High Chancellor of the Empire; the third is under the *Defter Emini*, who inspects the Books and Accompts of all the Revenues. The *Beglikobu** is over the fourth, who issues out Mandates to the *Paschas*, and the letters of the *Paschaliks*, Principalities, and other Offices: The *Rusnameji* has the fifth, and audits all the diurnal Stipends throughout the whole Empire. The *Basli Mubasebeji* is over the sixth; he is Accountant General, and in his Office all Accompts are made up: The seventh is under the direction of the *Anadoli Mubasebeji*, who is at the

head of the *Asiatic Revenues*: Over the eighth is the *Haraj Mubasebeji*, to whom is committed the care of levying the Tributes rais'd upon the *Jews and Christians*: The ninth is held by the *Mevkufat*, who has under his direction the Moneys expended for pious uses: The *Mahie Deskiereji* holds the tenth, to whom belongs the Chamber of Possessions and other Revenues: Over the eleventh, is the *Mucabeleji*, as if you should say, the *Counter-scribe*, he manages the Lists of the Soldiery; shows who is dead or superannuated, so that the pay may not exceed or fall short of the number of soldiers: and has two Deputies, the *Taya Mucabeleji*, who takes account of the Infantry through the whole Empire, and the *Atly Mucabeleji*, who looks after the *Spahi* and the other Cavalry, or *Stipendiaries* dispers'd in the *Tymar zamet*. Over the last the *Teshrifatschi**, whom we should call Master of the Ceremonies. In all these Chancelleries the Mandates indeed are writ in the *Turkish Language*, but all the Accompts in the *Persian*, and in the Character *Kyrma*, i. e. broken, (not legible by any Person who is not us'd to it) with such conciseness, that the Revenues and yearly expences of the Empire are laid before the Emperor in twenty four Pages. The Director of every Chancellery has his *Kalfa* vulgarly *Cbalife*, under him, or, as we should say; his Secretary. The chief of these are the *Maden Kalfa*, who has under his inspection all the Revenues from which any certain and limited Sum arises, as from Mines, Provinces with an annual settled Tribute &c. and the *Achir Kalfa*, who takes an account of the Emperor's Stable. Besides these Chancelleries there are other Offices, the *Emanet*, as if one should say the Concreditory, because their

Pascha, who was not at the Council, bids him give his opinion in the case. Though he did not know the Emperor's mind, yet his advice was agreeable to his will, " The reputation (says he) of the *Othman arms* " is not so to be expos'd, that the eyes of our enemies accusom'd to " the sight of us, may learn first to bear and then to contemn our va- " lour. It is a good Omen (8) to attack the enemies at first sight, " and fall upon them before they can open their eyes. Besides, if a " battle be not hasten'd, it is to be fear'd, a delay may breed a sedi- " dition in the army. For since many, who serve under the *Turkish* " Banners, have long contracted friendship and affinity with the *Per- " sians*, very possibly, if time be given for mutual discourse, they may " be corrupted, and the unstable vulgar be induc'd, if not openly to " revolt, yet certainly to fight with a double heart, and (as the Proverb " says) with the tips of their fingers only (9)." *Selim*, when he had

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their Accompts cannot be given in with accuracy, but must, for the most part, be left to the honesty of the Officers. The *Defterdar* can issue out no Mandates to these in his own name, though they are oblig'd to make up their Accompts in his Chancellery. These are, 1. The *Terjana Emini*, who has the care of building and repairing the Ships, and whatever relates to the Navy. 2. The *Giamruk Emini* or Master of the Customs. 3. The *Zarbchane Emini*, or Master of the Mint. He does not like the rest give an account of the Receipts and Disbursements, but farms the Bullion at the rate of delivering so many purses daily into the Treasury, after which he has the power of coining as much Money as he can for his own advantage. 4. The *Matpach Emini*, or chief of the Grand Seigneur's Kitchen. 5. The *Topchana Nazryi*, Super-intendent of the Ordnance and other warlike Engines. 6. The *Arya Emini*, who lays in the Provision of Barley for the Royal Stables, and Officers belonging to them. 7. The *Mubacji* or general Purveyor. 8. The *Shebir Emini* whose business it is to see that the Walls and Fortresses be kept in sufficient repair. 9. The *Giumish Chane Emini*, who surveys the Metal Mines, and either collects the Profits arising from them, or lets them out to farm at a yearly Rent. To conclude, next to the Prime Vizir the only Officer in the outer Court superior

to the *Defterdar*, is *Kiutchula beg*, or, *Kieboya*, Lieutenant of the Prime Vizir, who is next in rank to the Vizir. Of all the money brought into the Imperial Treasury, the *Defterdar* has the twentieth part, from whence, I know for certain and by experience, there accrues to him at least two hundred thousand Imperials, of which he delivers fifty thousand to *Kiutchula beg*. But the Prime Vizir may justly get every year six hundred thousand Imperials, not to mention the Presents and other Arts us'd by the Vizirs to satiate their Avarice. This may seem incredible to such as have not seen the *Othman Court*, but those who know better, will think otherwise. Of these things more largely elsewhere.

(8) good Omen] *Ogur*. The *Turks* are persuaded, if they make the first onset, the Victory will be theirs. Hence the Proverb, " He that strikes first is a good and perfect Archer." But in the last war with the *Germans*, the better and more prudent *Turkish* Generals were entirely of another opinion.

(9) tips of their fingers] It is a *Turkish* Phrase, " To take a thing with the extremity of the Hand" instead of saying, " To go about an affair unwillingly." Thus they say, *Harbe uji ile Virmek*, to give with the extremity or point of a Spear, speaking of Borderers relying on the assistance of another.

heard

heard this speech, cries out, "Lo! in my whole army with much difficulty have I found one prudent and well-advis'd Man, whose opinion shall be of more weight with me, than the Heads, Hands, and Arms of so many thousands. Assuredly to my own and the Empire's great detriment has this man, I think, been hitherto uninvested with the Prime Vizirship."

Defeats the
Persians with
great Slaugh-
ter.

VI. *Selim* thus approving of his advice, instantly commands the Enemies and City, which was surrounded with their forces, to be invested, and the *Persian* army rather pompous than well array'd, to be attack'd. The battle begins with the great guns, which are discharg'd by the *European* Troops in the left wing, so unhappily station'd, that an opposite Hillock either receiv'd the Balls or sent them without execution over the *Persian* Camp. But the *Asiatick* forces, under the command of *Sinan Pascha* (10), move towards the *Persians* with close ranks, and draw their field pieces after them. *Sinan*, when he comes within Cannon-shot, orders the foremost ranks to open to the right and left, and give room for the great guns behind them, which being discharg'd make such a slaughter among the enemies, that the *Persian* troops, who before were like a wall, seem'd now to resemble streets and lanes (11). The enemies ranks being thus broken, the signal is given to charge them hand to hand with swords and javelins, by which means, one half of the enemies left wing is slain, and the rest forc'd to fly. *Shah*, when he sees the left wing of the *Persians* in danger, leaves the right, and with his best Regiments coming to their relief, bravely repulses the *Turks* now intent upon the utter destruction of the remains of it. *Selim*, on the other hand, perceiving his right wing to be press'd with multitudes, places thirteen thousand Janizaries on their flank, with orders, first to charge the enemies at distance with ball, then attack them sword in hand, and by bearing the brunt of the battle, give the others time to rally. His orders are diligently executed, and the *Persians* so fiercely attack'd that they slowly give ground, and at last take to open flight. The *Persian* right wing, which still bravely sustain'd the charges of the *Turks*, perceiving this, and despairing of victory, fly also for their lives. Thus every where vanquish'd, and shamefully put to flight, the *Persians* are by the *Turkish* soldiers slain, taken, and branded with eternal dishonour. *Shah* himself hardly escapes by the swiftness of his horse, which would not have snatch'd him

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(10) *Sinan Pascha*] A very famous General among the *Turks*. At *Constantinople* a stately building of his stands on fifty marble octangular Pillars, in the entrance of the inner Port over against *Pera*. In this edifice *Bostanji Pascha* is wont to reside in the Spring. For near it, is a Gate

leading to the Imperial Court, destin'd for the habitation of the *Bostanji*, where is also another Stove call'd *Yala Koshki*.

(11) Streets and Lanes] *Socak* be *Socak*, Street by Street. It is a *Turkish* Phrase, signifying confus'd heaps here and there.

from

from the danger, if the night coming on had not put an end to the pursuit. The *Persians* lost in the battle, besides many thousands of slain (12), the leaders of both wings, *Mehemed Chan* and *Tekielichan* the bravest and stoutest Generals at that time in *Persia*.

VII. This victory would have been much greater and more compleat, had not *Selim* thought it dangerous to pursue in the night, through difficult and narrow places, the enemies not so broken but they might still venture to make a fresh attempt. Wherefore sounding a retreat, he plunders the Camp, where he finds the immense treasure and rich furniture of *Ismael Shah*. After which, he declares *Piri Pascha*, (the adviser of the battle) *Vizir*, and orders it to be proclaim'd, that no *Nisa* and *Sabian* Captive should be detain'd, but all dismiss'd, adding, "it is unjust to make Captives of men, who are *Sunni* (13), and

dismisses the
Musulman
Captives.

forc'd

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(12) Thousands of slain] Tho' this was a fierce and bloody Battle, the number of slain on either side is not mention'd by the *Turkish* Historians.

(13) *Sunni*] So the *Turks* call themselves and the rest of the *Musulmans* in respect of the *Persians* and other Hereticks. They think it unlawful to detain like Slaves the *Sunni*, tho' taken in war, but if they are Rebels, they are to be punish'd with death, if not, to be releas'd. This is indeed an inviolable Law with the *Turks*, but with the *Tartars*, though they are *Mahometans*, it is not observ'd. To this purpose, I shall relate a story, which plainly shows the disposition of the *Tartars* to the *Turks*, and of which I was my self an eye-witness. When my Father *Constantinus Cantemirius* govern'd *Moldavia*, the *Seraskier* or General of the *Turkish* Army, *Aineji Solyman Pascha* (afterwards Prime *Vizir*) staid at *Babadagy* a Town of *Myfia* sixty miles beyond the *Danube*, whilst he was assembling the *European* forces and preparing to store *Cameniec*, where a Famine rag'd, with Provisions. In order to be inform'd of the condition of the Castle and the Camp of *John III.* King of *Poland*, he sends a Letter to my Father by *Ismael aga* (one of his Officers call'd *Agaler*), in which he order'd the Bearer to be safely guarded to *Cameniec* and convey'd to *Cabraman Pascha*, who commanded the Garrison of that Castle.

Nº. 7.

My Father giving him a Guard, he happily enters the Castle, and dismisses our Men, intending to return with some Soldiers of *Cameniec*. Having inform'd himself of what he was order'd, he departs with ten *Turkish* Soldiers. When they come to *Stepbanesti* a Town of *Moldavia* on the Banks of the *Hyerasus*, he meets a Hord of *Tartars* going to ravage *Poland*. Having ask'd them, who was their Leader, he wishes them a prosperous expedition and proceeds in his journey. But presently after he sees himself pursued full speed by about fifty *Tartars*, as if they had forgot to make some inquiry. The *Turks* being under no fear of the *Tartars* their Allies, unfortunately halt and wait their coming. The moment the *Tartars* overtake them, they draw their Swords, and bid them dismount. In vain do the *Turks* ask them, what they meant, they are immediately bound with thongs, stript to their shirts, and threaten'd with death, unless they did what they were order'd. Terrified at this unexpected and present danger, they promise to do whatever is enjoin'd them. In the first place therefore, the *Tartars* unmercifully scourge their Captives, then shave their Beards and *Mustachios*, and teach them to answer in the *Russian* Language to the question what Countrymen are ye? *Nexnain, ys Rusak*. "I know not, I am a *Russian*." Having thus instructed them, they bring the *Turks* a few days

Q 9

after

"fore'd into arms; the victory is sufficient and the vanquish'd are rather to be treated with clemency than cruelty. And as for *Shab* he may

ANNOTATIONS. *Shab* was a name given to the Russian soldiers.

after, with their hands tied behind them, to *Ismael* a Town in *Bujak* on the *Danube*, and there cruelly use them all night, that they may not discover themselves to be *Turks*. Which when they had sworn to conceal, they expose them next day to Sale. The Purchasers of Captives (for there are many in that place who transmit to their partners at *Constantinople* Slaves bought of the *Turks*) asking what Countrymen they are, the *Tartars* immediately shake their Whips at their Captives, that mindful of the Lashes they had receiv'd, they may speak *Russian*. So selling them for ten Imperials a Head (for they did not desire a great price for such vile wares) the *Tartars* instantly return home. The Captives within two or three hours speaking in the pure *Turkish* Language beg for God's sake some Victuals and Drink. The Merchants surpris'd at hearing the pure *Turkish* Dialect, (which is extremely difficult to be pronounc'd by the *Russians*) ask how they that were born in *Russia*, came to speak *Turkish* so elegantly? The *Turks* showing the marks of their stripes, these say they, with the *Tartarian* cunning, converted us from *Turks* into *Russians*. At last, the Merchants finding they had bought *Turks* instead of *Russians*, and so lost their money, give them their liberty. But *Ismael aga* the Officer, a man of wit and humour, desires his Purchaser to carry him as a Slave to *Babadag* (where the *Seraskier* waited his return) and expose him in the Market to sale, and that he would there pretend to run away. The Merchant being taught his lesson, leads the Officer disguis'd by his stripes and loss of beard, through the midst of the Camp, (for the army was in the field in Tents) mean while, the Officer takes to his heels, and runs directly to the General's Tent. The Merchant bawls out, stop him, stop him for God's sake, my Captive is fled, the Infidel *Russian* has escap'd out of

my hands. Whereupon a great noise is made in the Market and Camp, all running up and down after the Fugitive. The Officer when he comes to the Entrance of the great Tent, which is call'd *Divanbana*, confesses (in broken *Turkish*, that he might seem by length of time to have forgot his native Tongue) that he was indeed the Merchant's Captive, but a *Turk* and *Musulman* lately escap'd from *Poland*, and therefore unjustly expos'd to sale. Adding he had many discoveries to make to the General, as he was come but fifteen days from *Leopold*, and therefore perfectly acquainted with the state of the *Polish* affairs. When the *Seraskier* hears this, he orders the Captive to be brought into the *Ova* or inner Tent. Being come there, he pays his obedience to the General, and *Cabraman* the *Cameric-Pasha*, says he, salute you my Lord. The General knowing indeed the voice, but seeing a strange face, who art thou, says he, and how knowest thou these things? Don't you know (answers he) your Officer *Ismael aga*, whom you lately sent to *Cabraman Pasha*, *Nezuech* *pruwku*, don't you understand *Russ*? The General says to him, "What Rascal has thus maim'd thee?" He replies, Our *Tartars* made me a *Russian*, and at *Ismael* sold me to a Merchant, from whose hands I have escap'd to my Lord. When he had afterwards related the Particulars of what he had suffer'd from that rapacious and treacherous race, the *Seraskier* could not sufficiently wonder at the Cunning of those Plunderers, especially when the same things are told him by *Ismael aga's* Companions who arriv'd the next day. The General indeed order'd the *Tartars* to be diligently search'd after, but among so many Hords they could never be discover'd. He promoted however the Officer, after his Beard was grown, to the dignity of his Master of Horse, and loaded him with presents. In like manner the

Tartars

"may learn by this Prelude of Victories, as by an experiment, what success the *Othman* arms will hereafter be crown'd with."

VIII. The next day, the Inhabitants of *Tybris* finding themselves deserted by their King, and despairing of relief, try to purchase the Conqueror's mercy, by the offer of the Keys of their City. *Selim* grants their request, enters the Town, and refreshing his soldiers a few days, orders, according to custom, the divine service to be perform'd on *Friday* in the Temple, and Prayers to be said for himself and whole army. His farther progress is obstructed by the great scarcity of Corn, occasion'd by the enemies laying waste the neighbouring countries, in order to deprive the *Turkish* army of subsistence. Wherefore seeing he could not remain in that place without great inconvenience, the Conqueror leaves a strong Garrison at *Tybris* and returns to *Anafia*. The forces are sent into as narrow winter-quarters as possible, that they might be more ready for the ensuing expedition. From hence he sends to *Constantinople*, as a token of his Victory, *Husein* (14) Son of *Bicarar*, born of the noblest *Perfian* family, with many other Captives famous above the rest for Birth, or Learning.

IX. Selim

ANNOTATIONS. *Husein* was a noble Greek of Constantinople.

Tartars frequently steal *Turkish* Children, and afterwards sell them for *Russians*. For in point of Perfidiousness and Cunning, that Nation is not to be parallel'd in the World. (14) *Husein* The *Macedon* of the Oriental Musicians. He had the greatest regard for *Hoje Musicar*, the *Orpheus* of the *Perfians*, and his Scholar *Gulam* the *Arabian*. All *Turky* and *Perfia* were delighted with their Melody and Songs till the time of Sultan *Mahomet*, in whose Reign the Art of Musick almost forgot, not only reviv'd, but was also render'd more perfect by *Osman Effendi* a noble *Constantinopolitan*. He left many Scholars, among whom for the voice were famous, *Chafiz* *Sirnam'd* *Kiomar* (Coal) *Baburji ogli*, *Memish Aga*, *Kinebuk* *Muezin*, and *Desfitchi* *Emir*, but for Instruments two *Greeks* excell'd, *Kirman* *Abmed*, a Renegade, and *Angeli* *Orthodox*, (both my Teachers for fifteen years,) and also *Chelebi* a Jew, with the *Turks*, *Dervish* *Othman*, *Curfiumji ogli*, his Scholar, *Tafsch* *ogli* *Sinek* *Mehmed*, and *Bardakebi* *Mehmed* *Chelebi*, which two last, when they had been taught by one *Camboso* *Mehmed* *Aga*, were afterwards with *Ralaki* *Enpragiate* a noble *Greek* of *Constanti-*

nople, instructed by me in some parts of Musick, particularly in the Theory, and a new method of my own invention of expressing the Songs by Notes, unknown before to the *Turks*. I had also for Scholars in the Theory and Practice of Musick, *Daul* *Ismael Effendi*, first Treasurer of the Empire, and *Latif* *Chelebi* his *Haznadar*. By their request, I compos'd a little Book of the Art of Musick in *Turkish*, and dedicated it to the present Emperor *Abmed* II, the Precepts whereof are, they say, follow'd to this day by all the Students in Musick. It will perhaps seem strange to the *European* Reader to see the study of so noble an art prais'd by me in a Nation accounted barbarous by all *Christendom*. Such indeed it was in the Infancy of the *Othman* Empire, when the Sultans were wholly employ'd in extending the bounds of their dominion, but in process of time, when a cessation of war allow'd the Arts of Peace, to be cultivated, they so far departed from their former fierceness, and became so civiliz'd, that scarce any signs of their ancient Barbarousness now appear. I may certainly venture to say, that the *Turkish* Musick for metre and proportion of words is more perfect than any *European*, but withal so hard

He takes some
Cities with the
Territories of
Alaideulet.

H. 921.
A. C. 1515.

IX. *Selim* had learnt by this year's experience, that nothing could be effected in those cold and mountainous regions, by which the *Persian* dominions were bounded, unless by early expeditions. Wherefore in the year 921, he leads his army in the beginning of the Spring out of *Amasia*, and suddenly takes *Giumab* and *Baiburud* from the *Persians*, by whom the *Turks*, were not yet unexpected. When he finds no resistance, he thinks it fruitless to employ so great an army in such a vile Place, and therefore sends part of his forces, under *Ferhad Pasha*, against *Alaideulet* Son of *Zuulcadir*, because he was believ'd to favour the *Persians*. *Ferhad* surprises this Prince unawares, routs his forces, and cuts off his head. Whereupon *Selim* gives his dominions to *Ali beg* (15) Son of *Shah Suvar*, who had faithfully serv'd him at Court, on condition his name should be mention'd in the publick prayers. Thus *Selim* no less magnanimous than victorious, returns about the end of the year to *Constantinople*.

The *Diarbekirians* expel the *Persians*, and offer themselves to *Selim*.

X. The next year, a fresh opportunity offers of enlarging his Empire. The Nation *Kare-Emid* (16), inhabiting the Province call'd at this day *Diarbekir* (17), and govern'd by *Karacban* Deputy of the King of *Persia*, were by reason of some civil dissensions male-content, and had long been endeavouring to throw off his yoke. What they perceive could not be effected by force, they resolve to attempt by stratagem. To this end, they so manage that a counterfeit Letter from the King of *Persia* is brought to him, by a Messenger, containing the following order. "Thou who art (18) *Karacban*, the moment our "Mandate shall reach thee, know, that we have resolv'd to send thee

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hard to be understood, that in the spacious City of *Constantinople*, where resides the greatest Court in the World, among so many Musicians and Lovers of Musick, you will scarce find above three or four, who thoroughly understand the grounds of this Art. The scarcity of complete Musicians is owing to the difficulty of comprehending all the parts of the sounds call'd by the *Arabians*, *Terkib*, which *Hoje Musicar*, after *Ptolemaus*, affirms to be infinite by this Axiom: *Emma ki Terkibate nibayet yok*, i. e. "But because there "is no end of composing parts." To enlarge on these things is foreign to my present purpose, but if God grant me life and leisure, I will explain in a separate Treatise the whole Art according to the opinion of the Eastern World.

(15) *Ali beg*] One of the noble *Persian*

Refugees to Sultan *Selim*, an instance of fidelity among the *Turks*.

(16) *Kare-Emid*] The black *Midi*, who inhabit the country between *Uruba* and *Van* in *Asia*.

(17) *Diarbekir*] Etymologically, the Province of *Bekir*. It is a country on the borders of *Kurdistan*, whose name appears in almost all the Geographical Maps. It contains at present all *Mesopotamia* to the Confinnes of *Musul*, the *Nineveh* of the *Antients*.

(18) Thou who art] This is the usual form of the *Turkish* and *Persian* Letters. For having premis'd the honorable Titles they give the *Vizirs*, they close the Letter, with the Phrase, *Thou who art*. As *Ahmed Pasha Lalam sen sinki*: i. e. *My Lala, Thou who art Ahmed Pasha*. So, *Sen ki Kirym cbani olan caplan Gierai*, i. e. *Thou who art Chan of Crim, Caplan Gierai &c.*

"with

"with thy whole army against the enemies who are about to invade these parts. Wherefore with as great preparations as possible, march out of the City within five days, and pitch thy Tents in a place call'd *Kavakilder*, in order to be ready on our second notice, to go where occasion requires, or to come to us instantly." *Karacban*, ignorant of the treachery, thinking it unlawful to disobey his Prince's command, departs from the City with all his forces and whole family, and incamps at the place appointed. The Citizens, when they imagine their Jailor to be too far off to assist the few he had left behind, shut the Gates, and putting the Garrison to the Sword, send a letter to *Selim*, declaring what was done, and promising to surrender their City, with a request that he would appoint for their Prince *Mehammed beg* Son of *Byikly ogli* (19) their Countryman, who was then in *Selim's* Court.

XI. This proposal was very agreeable to *Selim*; but as he was acquainted with the deceitfulness of that Nation, he suspected some fraud. So chusing to lose them rather than hazard his troops by too great a credulity, he defers sending an answer a whole year. Mean while, there are daily and fierce skirmishes between *Karacban* and the Citizens, with which when they were tired, *Cbemsid beg*, a rich Nobleman of the country, possessor of above three hundred villages, after several messages to *Selim*, gains credit at last for his Nation, and obtains what was desir'd.

XII. The conditions of the treaty being ratified on both sides, *Selim* creates *Mehammed beg* Son of *Byikly*, *Beglerbeg* of *Diarbekir*, with Sovereign authority, and gives him *Malikiane* (20) the whole Kingdom, allowing him moreover out of the imperial Treasury an annual pension of forty *Yuk* (21), on the sole condition of being faithful.

After

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(19) *Byikly ogli*] Of the Family of some Prince of the *Kurdi*. *Byikly* is a name given to such as have prominent Whiskers.

(20) *Malikiane*] This word properly signifies *possessively*, by which name are called those lands that are not *Vakuf*, i. e. dedicated to *Jami*. This manner of possessing Lands had now been disus'd for some ages, but when about fifteen years since, the Revenues of the exhausted Treasury were to be increas'd, Sultan *Mustapha II*, who then reign'd, commanded the antient Tenure *Malikiane* to be reviv'd under certain conditions. There are however some free Regions or Cantons, which in the month of N°. VIII.

March are wont to pay an yearly Tribute call'd *Mukataa*. This Tribute by the name of a Possession was publickly sold in the Marketplace call'd *Mezad*, so that the best Offerer held it for life, but on his death it return'd to the Treasury. It was moreover granted in favour of the Sons of the Purchaser, that the Tribute should not be sold to a Stranger after the Father's death, if they were willing to pay three fourths of the money offer'd by a Stranger. By this means there accrued to the Treasury above 1200 Purles every year.

(21) *Yuk*] Is a certain sum of money us'd in the Accounts of the publick

R r

who suspects them:

But at last grants their request, and makes *Mehammed beg* King.

After which, *Mehemmed beg* goes with speed to *Diarbedir*, and with the consent of all orders and degrees annexes the City and Kingdom to the *Othman Empire*.

Karachan is defeated and killed.

H. 922

A. C. 1516

XIII. But as the Emperor easily imagin'd that *Karachan's* ardor would not be extinguish'd by *Mehemmed's* presence alone, sends in the year 922 a good body of troops to his assistance, and that *Mehemmed* might be the more excited to behave valiantly, orders an expostulating letter to be deliver'd to him, upbraiding his backwardness in the following manner: "When I made thee Prince of *Diarbekir*, I expected " much greater matters from thee than have yet appear'd. Why stand- " est thou idle? Wherefore is *Karachan's* insolence unchastis'd? Why " does thou not discover thy latent bravery by deeds worthy a generous " mind, to my joy, to thy enemies sorrow, and to thy own glory. If " thou exert thy self in this manner, thou wilt undoubtedly gain my " highest favour, confound thy enemies with fear, and be invested " with due honours." *Mehemmed* was stung with this reprimand, and thought it a grievous thing to be accus'd of indolence by him to whom he ow'd his life and fortune. Wherefore without staying for the Imperial forces, he joins his Courtiers to the army he had rais'd in that Province, and pitches his Tents against *Karachan*. Whilst he is thus employ'd, the enemies suddenly appear in sight; whereupon he orders his men to be drawn up, though he is yet uncertain whether he should instantly attack them, or stay till the morrow. On the other hand, the *Rafazi* (22), perhaps in the same uncertainty, remain, after the exam- ple

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lick Treasury, consisting generally of a hundred thousand *Aspers* †.

(22) *Rafazi*] This Appellation is commonly given by the *Turks* to the *Persians*, because (say the *Turks*) there are indeed among them Persons who in name are *Mahometans*, but in reality Professors of horrible Doctrines. Thus there are (say they) who deslower their own Daughters before marriage, pretending a divine Law for it, namely, The Planter ought to taste first the Fruit of his own Trees. To confirm this their opinion, they report that a certain Person deliver'd to *Ali* (*Mahomet's* Successor) a *Fesva* penn'd in this manner: "If a Man gathers the " Fruit of a Tree planted by himself, " and joyfully eats it with Thank-

giving, is he to be accounted a " Transgressor of the Laws of God " and the *Koran*?" To which *Ali* replied, "By no means." Something of this Kind are the *Mum soi anduren*, who at a stated time meet together for forty days, and putting out the Candles, promiscuously lie with one another, neither do they think Incest a Sin at that time. But the forty days being past, they live in so chaste a manner, that whoever is caught with a Woman, is punish'd with death. This Heresy has many Followers in the Mountains *Kazdagy*. There are who worship Fire, *Atebe perest*, vulgarly call'd, *Atebe tapan*, the Remains of the old *Persians*. There are also *Kielb perest*, Dog-worshippers, and *Giau perest*, Bull-worshippers,

† Four *Mangys* and as many *Ghediks* make an *Aper*. Three *Apers* make a *Para*. Five, a *Resik*. Ten, an *Olik*. Twenty four, a *Salata* (or *Florin*.) Two hundred and sixty, a *Serif* of *Hungary*. A *Purie* is five hundred *Rivdalars*, which are receiv'd by the Port at eighty *Apers* each, and paid away at one hundred and twenty. But of this more largely in the Appendix.

ple of the *Turkish* army, without motion in battle-array. Mean while, a great cloud of butterflies appear in the air, and flying over the space between the armies, divide themselves in two parties, the white going to the *Turks*, and the red to the *Persians*. Presently, the white charge the red, and after a fierce conflict vanquish and rout them. The sword could hardly have effected what these insects produc'd in the minds of both sides. The *Turks* inspir'd with courage by the good omen, bravely fall on the *Persians* fill'd with terror, and easily slay and rout an army entirely dispirited by superstition. Among the Captives is found *Karachan* himself, whose head is instantly struck off by *Mehemmed beg's* order.

XIV. This great and unexpected Victory was to *Mehemmed beg* an argument of the divine aid and protection. Accordingly having by his speeches encourag'd his soldiers to greater undertakings, he closely besieges the strong City *Mardun* (23). This place would have been almost impregnable both by situation and the valour of the inhabitants, had they not been forc'd by pestilence and famine to purchase the Conqueror's mercy with a surrender of themselves and their City. A few days after, he besieges *Musul* (24), and taking it in the first assault, subdues it with fire and sword. These two Bulwarks of the whole country being conquer'd, the lesser towns easily follow'd, namely, *Anne*, *Hadije* (25), *Hegeti*, *Sujari*, *Hafinkesfi*, *Jemishberg*, *Amadie*, *Sudek*, *Jeidjeon*, *Baldyr*, *Ham*, *Zerbak*, and *Chazian*, and within a short space the whole Kingdom of *Kiurdi* (26) and *Jezire* (27) is annex'd to the *Othman Empire*.

XV. *Mehemmed* thought the reproach cast on him by *Selim*, might be easily wip'd off by so many exploits, and liberty more readily given him to remain quiet. To this end he dispatches his brother *Uveis Pasha* with a letter to *Selim*, setting forth his performances. *Selim* rejoicing at the good news, highly extolls, in the presence of his Vizirs,

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shippers, and others, who by the *Turks* are call'd by the common name of *Rafazi*, *Giebr*, or *Tersa*, in the *Persian* Language. But these Heresies are slanderously ascrib'd to the *Persians* by the *Turks*, on account that the Knowledge of them first came from *Persia*.

(23) *Mardun*] Vulgarly *Mardin*. A very noted City of *Mesopotamia*.

(24) *Musul*] A famous City in almost every Map, and suppos'd to be the *Nineveh* of the Antients.

(25) *Anne* and *Hadije*] Towns in the Neighbourhood of *Musul*.

(26) *Kiurdi*] This Kingdom (if I

rightly remember) extends from the Confines of *Syria* to the Cities *Shebruzul* and *Van* on the borders of *Persia*. The Inhabitants are call'd *Kiurdi*, and speak broken *Persian*.

(27) *Jezire*] Etymologically an Island, it is *Mesopotamia*, lying between the Rivers *Frat*, *Murad*, and *Sbat*. *Frat* is the *Euphrates*, *Murad* a Branch of the *Euphrates*, and *Sbat* the *Tigris*. Both the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* are by the Inhabitants commonly call'd *Firat*, and the *Euphrates* also by another name, *Nebr Effelam*, the pacific river.

Mehemmed's

Mehemmed's bravery, and dismisses *Uveis Pascha* laden with honours and presents to his brother.

Selim moving towards the *Perfians*, suddenly alters his mind and attacks the *Egyptians*: H. 923. A. C. 1516.

XVI. The rapid course of his victories inspires *Selim* with the project of subverting the whole *Persian* Empire, or, if that could not be done, of entirely weakening it. Wherefore in the year 923 he departs from *Constantinople* to execute his designs with a more numerous army than before, and incamps near *Aleppo* (28). Not far from the same place, the *Cbercaffian** King of the *Egyptians*, Sultan *Gauri* (29) meets him with

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(28) *Aleppo*] The most noted Mart of *Syria* and almost all *Asia*, well peopled not only with Inhabitants, but also foreigners. Here reside the *French*, *Dutch*, and *English*, Consuls. Many *Europeans* purchase here Houses and Country Seats, and marrying Wives are in a manner accounted as Natives. Here is also the Seat of the Patriarch of *Antioch*. For at *Antioch*, whose Inhabitants were first call'd *Christians*, the name of *Christ* is not so much as heard.

(29) *Sultan Gauri*] Sprung from the *Cbercaffians**, the noblest race of the *Scythians*, among whom none are counted ignoble. Their Customs and Manners I have shown in a former Note (p. 126.) *Palestine* being taken by the *Crusade*-expeditions, *Saladin*, Sultan of *Egypt*, much spoken of in the *Christian* Annals, about the year of the *Hejira* 583, and of *Christ* 1187, that he might have a better disciplin'd army than he found could be rais'd among the effeminate *Egyptians*, bought *Cbercaffian** Slaves, and instructing them in the Art of war, by their valour quickly subdued the *Holy Land*. But after his death, these very Soldiers rebell'd against his Successors, and in the year of the *Hejira* 642, dethroning *Elmutan* the lawful Heir of the Kingdom, not only seiz'd all *Egypt*, but in process of time greatly enlarg'd the bounds of their dominion, which by introducing every year Soldiers of their own Nation from the utmost corners of *Asia*, they defended with wonderful bravery till *Selim's* Reign. An ancient Superstition, though deriv'd from the fountain of Truth, possesses the *Egyptians*, that it is decreed by fate, that Captives shall reign, and

the Natives be subject to them. That this was caus'd by the benediction of the Patriarch *Joseph*, both *Turks* and *Arabians* understand, and though it be contrary to the Law of the *Koran*, strictly observe it to this day. For although *Egypt* be subject to the *Othman* Empire, and a *Basha* given to it or remov'd at the pleasure of the Port, yet all the state-affairs are administr'd by twenty four *Begs* or Princes, none of whom, unless they have been Slaves, can inherit or come to the Empire. These publickly indeed profess to obey the *Othman* Mandate, but in reality are guided by their own Counsels. Very often a *Basha* given them by the Sultan is depos'd by their Authority, shut up in a Tower call'd *Kioski Yusuf*, *Joseph's* Palace, stript of his Effects, and sent out poor and naked; however, that the Majesty of the *Othman* Empire may be preserv'd, they afterwards send to the Port for another *Basha*. Sometimes when depos'd, they call him to an account, and for the greater contempt, send to him the *Saraf Bashi* a Jew, Master of the Mint, who with a previous *Salam*, (salute) says, "The Lords the Princes order you to refund so much money, which you have unjustly heap'd up contrary to law." The *Basha* refusing or making some excuse, the Jew formerly repeated his demand with more insolence, "You shall refund indeed, most auspicious *Basha*." This was their way heretofore of dealing with the *Basha*, which they so constantly practis'd, that scarce one *Basha* in Ten escap'd out of their hands with honour. But now since in the memory of our Fathers, the *Egyptian* Princes were

with equal forces, and sending him ambassadors, offers friendship with a promise of assistance against the *Persians*. Whilst both armies remain without motion in their Tents, it happens that some *Cbercaffians**, either with their Sovereign's connivance, or through the usual insolence of the Soldiers, intercepted some laden camels going to *Selim's* camp and plunder'd them. *Selim* was provok'd at this, and construed it as done in contempt of him. So he instantly resolves to pour the indignation he had conceiv'd against the *Persians*, on the heads of the *Egyptians*, and declaring war with the *Cbercaffians** for affronting him without cause, is bent to subdue all *Egypt*.

XVII. *Selim* thus relinquishing the *Persian* invasion for that of *Egypt*, receives letters from *Chairbeg* Governor of *Damascus* (30), and *Gazelibeg* of *Aleppo*, (between whom and Sultan *Gauri* there was mortal though private enmity,) wherein they set forth their services to *Gauri* and his tyranny, ingratitude, avarice and jealousy, which prompt-ed him to a design against their lives: they promise to desert the *Cbercaffians** in the heat of the battle, and be his Subjects for the future: they require no other reward than that one of them should have for life the government of *Egypt*, the other of *Damascus*. To allure these

whom he vanquishes by the treachery of their Generals.

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were humbled by the Management of *Ibrahim Pascha*, the *Basha's* live there a little more safely, though not without fear. The manner of inheriting in *Egypt* is as follows. The dying Person excludes from the inheritance all his Sons, and makes some Slave or Captive of approv'd Virtue and Probity sole Heir, who immediately after his Master's death, enjoys all his Effects, and makes the Deceased's Sons his *Seix* or Grooms, with which condition they are forc'd to be content, and obey their father's Slave all their lives. This is vulgarly ascrib'd to *Joseph's* Benediction on Slaves in force to this day, neither can it be alter'd without great detriment to the Commonwealth, because the Native *Egyptians* are naturally so unapt for civil Government. Many *Egyptian* Princes have frequently tried to polish the unciviliz'd Manners of their Sons, but perceived their labour was in vain. Since the inheritance thus descends not to the Children but to the Slaves endued with Virtue, the *Turks* take care not to commit the Office of *Basha* to a Captive, especially to a *Cbercaffian**, but to some *Turk* or other free Person converted

to *Mahometism*. For they think it is decreed by fate, that the Kingdom of *Egypt* cannot be wrested from them, unless when rul'd by a Slave.

(30) *Governor of Damascus*] Or as he is now call'd *Sham Beglerbegi**, * See Note 4: which name, though by flattery given to all *Basha's* who have the privilege of three Horse-tails, yet properly belongs only to four, *Sham Beglerbeg*, *Beglerbeg* of *Kutabia*, who presides over *Natalia*, and *Beglerbeg* of *Sophia*, who governs the *European* Provinces, and *Budun Beglerbeg*, Governor of *Buda*, whom in our days the Emperor *Leopold* eraz'd out of the list. The *Turks* reckon *Damascus* among their Holy Places, because *Mahomet*, after his being snatch'd up into the ninth Heaven from *Jerusalem*, and receiving the *Koran* from God, descended there. Moreover they believe the general Judgment will be at *Damascus*, and that City the Metropolis of the everlasting Kingdom, which will there have its beginning. These and the like particulars are more largely handled in a *Turkish* Book call'd *Mubammedi*.

Generals to his side, was so much for *Selim's* advantage, that he could not think of denying them any request. Wherefore he not only confirms the conditions with an oath and the subscription of his name, but also instructs the traitors how they might best execute their purposes. They take his advice, and with various reasons, egg on Sultan *Gauri* to a battle. They expose the effeminacy of the *Turks*, magnify the valour of the *Cbercaffians**, and beg the *Cbercaffian** name may not be dishonour'd by suffering the *Turks* to dare to incamp long unpunish'd in their sight. *Gauri* ignorant of the treachery of his Generals, thinks what they say the dictates of their bravery, and therefore draws up his forces immediately in a place call'd *Burj Vaik* (31) and marches against the *Turks*. *Selim* hearing what had happen'd, so places his men near *Aleppo*, that they might bravely receive the enemies from what part soever they come. The *Cbercaffians** with a slow pace approach within bow-shot, then rushing with a great cry, on the *Turks*, furiously charge them, and notwithstanding their gallant resistance, force them to give ground. But whilst they are in the greatest hopes of obtaining the victory, *Chairbeg* in the right, and *Gazelibeg* in the left wing, unexpectedly revolt, and joining their forces with the *Turks*, strike the *Cbercaffians** with the utmost terror. However chusing rather to die than be vanquish'd, they renew the battle, and so fiercely press their enemies, that notwithstanding the numbers against them, victory seem'd inclin'd to their side. Whereupon *Selim* perceiving the *Cbercaffians** by their nimbleness and agility of body to avoid the strokes of swords, spears, and darts, orders the horse to halt, and placing the Janizaries in the front, commands them to fire on the enemies. His orders are so well executed, that the *Cbercaffians** astonish'd at the sudden slaughter of their men, fall back to close their ranks. The *Turks* seeing this, give them no time to renew the fight, but rushing on them like a deluge, easily rout the broken troops. Sultan *Gauri* finding all hopes of victory vanish'd, resolves to lose his life with his Empire. So running into the thickest of his enemies, he overthrows all he meets, and flies through their ranks, as if they were so many sheep. He looks and calls for *Selim*, challenges him to single combat, in order to give or receive Death and Empire. Fortune not throwing him in his way, he returns as he came, and imagining he slew *Selim* in every *Turk*, makes a horrible slaughter. At length, not wounded amidst so many swords, (which is wonderful,) but tir'd with wounding, and his breath failing through heat, he falls down dead among his slaughter'd foes.

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(31) *Burj Vaik*] A place near *Aleppo*, according to the Etymology, the Tower or Fortrefs of *Vaik*. For the *Turks* use to give the name of *Burj* or *Zodiack* metaphorically to

the Turrets of their Fortresses, because as the *Zodiack* surrounds the Sphere, so do these the City, for instance, *Burji Calaa* the *Zodiacks* or Bulwarks surrounding the City.

XVIII. After

XVIII. After the victory, the inhabitants of *Aleppo* humbly meet *Selim* with their keys, who receives them very honorably, and presents a *Cbylaat* (32) to each of the principal Citizens. The next *Friday*, going to the *Jami*, he hears his name mention'd in the Prayers, and commands the Reader, whilst yet in the Pulpit to be cloath'd with a vesture wrought in gold, and alms to be distributed liberally to not only the Ecclesiasticks but Persons of all conditions. This clemency caus'd not only the lesser Towns in that region to offer themselves to the Conqueror, but also the inhabitants of *Damascus* on *Selim's* approach, to send their Elders to meet him and implore his mercy and goodness. These he receives not only with a pleasant countenance, but after twice reading their petition, promises to do every thing they desire.

XIX. After so many instances of clemency, *Selim* thought proper to gain the hearts of the superstitious people by some testimonies of his piety. Wherefore the first day of his entrance into *Damascus*, he orders divine service to be perform'd in the *Jami* call'd *Beni Ummie* (33), and prayers offer'd for his welfare. In the next place he religiously visits the Monument of the famous *Mubyddin* (34) without the walls of

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(32) *Cbylaat*] A Robe of various Colours, distinguish'd with a gold or silver border, and usually given by the Sultan, as a token of honour, to the Vizirs, Bashes, and Great Men or others at their entrance into their Office, or for some notable service or good news. There are three sorts of *Cbylaats*, the first is *Cbylaat sabire*, given only to Vizirs and Pashas of three *Tugs*. However it is sometimes bestow'd on the Roman Emperor's Ambassador extraordinary, as to Count *Oettingen*, after the peace of *Carloviitz*. After which, Monsieur *de Feriol* Ambassador extraordinary from the King of *France*, that his Master might not seem inferior to the Emperor, spar'd no pains or cost to be honour'd with the *Cbylaat*, but could never prevail. The Czar's Ambassador *Peter Tolstoi*, though otherwise a great Favorite of the Prime Vizir *Chortuly** *Ali Pasha*, met with the like repulie. This honour, though unsought, was for particular reasons not to be dival'd, confer'd on me, when I was put in possession of the Principality of *Moldavia* by Sultan *Ahmed*. The second fort is the *Ala*, commonly given to Pashas, *Turkish* and *Christian* Princes, and Ambassadors extraordinary from

Christian Potentates. The third sort, which is sometimes call'd *Evsaltb* (middle,) sometimes *Edna* (meaner,) is given to Persons of inferior rank. *Cbylaat* is also commonly call'd *Caf-tan*.

(33) *Beni Ummie*] This is commonly said to be the name of the *Saracens* General, who first took *Damascus* from the *Christians*, and turn'd the famous Church there into a *Jami*, though the *Christians* ascribe that Expedition to *Omer*, *Mahomet's* second Successor.

(34) *Mubyddin*] *Chalife* of the *Saracens*, who first possess'd *Spain* and is undoubtedly the same whom the *Christian* Writers call *Musa* and say that by his General *Tarich* in the year of the *Hejira* 92, he first carried the arms of the *Saracens* into *Spain*. For the *Chronology* agrees, since the *Arabic* Historians say *Mubyddin* yet reign'd in the year of the *Hejira* 99, (which coincides with the year of *Christ* 718,) in which year *Vasæus* relates that *Moses*, Emir of the *Saracens* suffer'd a great slaughter from *Pelagius* King of the *Asturias*. But where they had this name I cannot conjecture. It cannot be a surname, both because it is propheticall which the *Mahometans* use to add to the

the City. The old men could hardly remember to have heard their fathers mention the burial of this Hero, and the monument itself was not only laid in a vile place, but so cover'd with filth by such as were ignorant of the precious Relicks it contain'd, that it look'd more like a Dunghill than a religious place. *Selim* having express'd a due abhorrence of the impiety of the inhabitants, orders the place to be instantly cleans'd and finds a Marble-stone, with an inscription to this effect: *This is the Monument of Sheikh Mohammed beni Arabi Conqueror of Spain.* The Emperor being satisfied by this inscription that the Hero's body lay there, erects over the Monument a large *Kabbe*, and near it a *Jami* with an Hospital, where he orders the poor to be daily supplied with a sufficient quantity of meat and drink. He moreover exempts the charges from taxes, and confirms these constitutions with a *Chatisherif* (35). These pious works were, the *Turks* believe

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the first name, and because according to the nature of the language, *Mubyddin* is more like a surname than *Musa* (*Moses*.) And I can hardly believe it his proper name, since he is call'd in the Epitaph *Mohammed ben Arabi*. *Mohammed*, Successor of *Abdallah* Sultan of the *Saracens*, is also to be distinguish'd from him, in whose reign the *Saracens* defeated the fleet of the *Christians*, laid waste *Dalmatia*, burnt *Ancona*, but at last being about to take *Rome*, they were vanquish'd with great slaughter by the *Roman* Citizens at *Ostium* in the year of *Christ* 849.

(35) *Chatisherif*] *Holy Character*, under which appellation is properly compriz'd the Sultan's name, confirming any Mandate or Letter, and from thence the whole imperial Letter. Formerly such Mandates were wont to be penn'd by the Sultans themselves, and that in vulgar Schedules with the common Character, an instance whereof is the *Chatisherif* of Sultan *Mahomet II.* still extant in the Church of the *Virgin Mary*, *Maguliotisa*. But afterwards when the Luxury and Pride of the Emperors increas'd with the Bounds of the Empire, they deem'd it beneath the Imperial Majesty, that the Sultan should either write or sign a Mandate. Wherefore they appointed the *Nishanji Pascha*, who takes care of the Confirmation of the Imperial Mandates and inscribes the character of the Sultan's

name artificially made, and commonly call'd *Turk*; not at the bottom as is customary to other Nations, but at the beginning over the first line of the Mandate. But if the Emperor intends a more than ordinary Confirmation over the *Turk* he uses to write with his own hand, *Mujibinje amel oluna*, that is, "According to the underwritten be it done." Such a *Chatisherif* (usually call'd also *Chati humayun*, i. e. the sublime Character) is held in so great Veneration, not only during the Emperor's life, but even after his death, that no *Turk* dares to touch it before he has religiously kiss'd it with his Mouth and Forehead, and wip'd off the dust of it with both Cheeks, which I observ'd the Prime Vizir *Chorluly Agha Pascha* to do when I deliver'd him the *Chatisherif* of Sultan *Mahomet II.* It will not be improper to insert here for the sake of the curious the whole Mandate at large, which ran thus: "O thou who art allied to Honour, *Subalbi* of *Constantinople*, since We out of our sublime clemency have granted to *Christodulus* the Architect, as a reward for his perfect work, the Street call'd *Kiucuk Jaser*. Thou going to the Temple *Maguliotisa*, describe and mark it out with the adjacent void places, and put the said *Christodulus* in possession, giving credit to this our sacred Mandate." From this writing, it may also be remark'd

believe (36) amply made up to *Selim*, since they ascribe to the virtues of this *Sbeikk* and his favour with God the victories obtain'd in so large and powerful a Kingdom.

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remark'd, that under Sultan *Mahomet Fatib* the manner us'd by the *Turks* in governing Cities was very different from what is now practis'd. For at that time one Imperial Mandate to the *Subalbi* (an Officer now of the lowest order and little authority) was sufficient for what in our days cannot be effected without several Mandates, and the interposition of Persons of other orders. For if but a single House be granted to any man by the Sultan, it is notified by a *Chatisherif* to the Prime Vizir, who, if the House is in the middle of the City, sends a Mandate to the *Mimar Aga* or chief Architect, by which he is order'd to go and measure the House, and describe the Rooms and Court-yard in a particular manner. But if the House be near the Walls of the City, the Mandate is directed to the *Sbebremeni* or Inspector of the Walls and Streets. And whether the *Mimar Aga* or the *Sbebremeni* execute the orders, he sends for the *Naib* or Deputy of the Judge of *Constantinople* or *Pera* (if the House be in that City) and by him sends the description and delineation of the House to *Ishambol Effendisi* or supreme Judge of *Constantinople*. Lastly, A Copy of the Mandate and the Architect's description are laid up in the Archives, call'd by the *Turks*, *Sijyl*, and thus the possession of the House is confirm'd to the Person, to whom it was granted by the Sultan.

(36) *Turks* believe] Though it is the common opinion of the *Turks* that the Souls of the Deceased can give no assistance to the Living, yet we read in the best *Mahometian* Divines, that the Dead appear'd by the Prayers of the Living, interceed with God to grant their Petitions. They likewise own it to be meritorious and decent to reverence departed Saints, and religiously visit their Monuments. But they are chiefly commanded by their Law to invoke the names of

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Mahomet and his Successors, as *Ta + Mubammed! Ya Ebubekir! Ya Oher! Ya Othman! Ya Ali!* and write them on boards in very neat Characters, which they hang up in the *Jami* and other Buildings, and also describe them in large letters against the walls in the following manner. In the middle of the board they describe *Mahomet*, namely, that he had a ruddy Countenance, long Visage, straight Nose, blewish Eyes, black Beard eight inches long, broad Chest, slender Waste, round Hands, long Fingers, streight Legs, broad Feet, with longish Toes, &c. Though *Mahomet's* picture might easily be drawn by this description, it is unlawful to paint any thing but his hands and feet, to draw any other part is reckon'd a sin. But the *Persians* are not so superstitious, they paint whole Pictures, and commonly insert them in their Historical Writings. Of this I saw an instance in a *Persian* Book which I had at *Constantinople*, containing the History of the *Persians* from the Creation to *Sbab Ismail*, wherein the Portraits of all the Prophets and Emperors were drawn, though not with great symmetry, yet with great elegance. Among the *Turkish* Emperors, only *Murad IV.* who conquer'd *Babylon* and was given to wine, order'd the walls of his bed-chambers in the Palace to be adorn'd with painted pictures, but even these were eras'd by his successors. There is a single house on the *Bosphorus* near the village call'd *Beicozi*, in which still remain some Pictures drawn by that Emperor's command, namely, of men hunting and shooting at wolves, stags, and also eating and drinking and the like. But the *Turks* firmly believe that Angels can enter no house where are dogs or portraits of men. Wherefore they preserve no face-paintings, unless of the Emperors, whose Pictures for many ages have been carefully kept in the

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Sultanic

He beholds
Huisan Pasha.

XX. When he had thus spent some days in civil and sacred affairs, he leads his forces big with the hopes of victory towards *Cairo*. In this march

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Sultanic Library, from whence with good presents, by means of my friends at Court, I got them to be copied by the Sultan's *Museoir* or chief Painter *Leuni Cobelevi*, and have them still by me †. Whilst I am writing these things, a discourse I once had with a learned *Turk* concerning Pictures occurs to my memory. He objected to us that even at this day we worship Idols and Images and Pictures the works of men's hands. When I told him there was no difference between a *Musulman* and a *Christian* as to the worship of images, he wonder'd and declared his abhorrence of image worship. To which I replied, I would prove my assertion if he would listen to me. "Don't you, (said I) on your Tables describe in gold Letters the make and shape of your Prophet? Don't you paint in lively colours his hands and feet with the Rose which you say sprung from *Mabomet's* sweat as it was dropping to the ground? Don't you inscribe on Tables of wood or gold the names of the *Ashabi* (that is of *Mabomet's* four successors) and hang them up on the walls of your *Tami* and Houses towards *Kyble* (the region looking towards *Mecca* between the East and South) and when you rise in the morning, don't you, after saying your prayers, devoutly kiss them and wipe off the dust with your face? Now when you do this in honour to them whose names are mention'd in the Tables, do you pay this reverence or worship to the Colours, Lines, or Tables? Not at all, says he." Whereupon I replied, "But if any *Turk* or *Christian* should spit upon or otherwise show his contempt of these Tables, does not your law pronounce such a person worthy of death? Without doubt answered he." Then said I, "It is the same with us *Christians* in

"respect of the worship of Images. For we worship neither the image nor the wood nor any work of man's hand, but reverence the person represented by the Image. If so, replies he, it is certainly wrong to call *Christians* *Put perest* or Idol-worshippers. Admiring the candidness of the *Turk*, I ventur'd to add, "Is not your Prophet's Tooth preserv'd in the Royal Treasury, which you deem inestimable, and the Sultan himself with great reverence, every year before the first day of *Ramazan*, offers to be kiss'd by the Great men after publick prayers on the occasion? Do you not religiously keep *Mabomet's* *Sanjak* or Standard and *Hircal* *Sherif* or Holy Robe, the border of which you dip every year at the same time in water, and think that water to be hallow'd and incorruptible, calling it *Abi bircal* *Sherif*, the water of the Holy Robe, and distributing it to the Great-men that on fast days at Sun-set, they may infuse one drop of it into a large draught of water, with which after thrice tasting they quench their thirst, by drinking it at once? Don't you reverence, preserve, and worship the Tooth of your Prophet though dead? since these things are openly done by you, tell me I pray, whether you honour an inanimate thing, as a Tooth, or Water for its own sake, or in reference to your Prophet's immaculate Spirit (which you talk off) and his Trust in God?" "Certainly, says he, all these things refer to him, for whose sake they are accounted Holy and sanctifying." Wherefore I concluded with saying, "Much less can *Christians* be charg'd with idolatry, since they refer the honour paid to the Images and Relics of Saints primarily to God himself, and but secondarily

† The same that are published with this Translation.

march when he was come to a certain place call'd by the Inhabitants *Chani yunus* (37), and there talk'd familiarly with his officers, *Huisan Pasha*, one of his Vizirs, with more boldness than prudence, asks him, "Most auspicious Emperor when shall we enter *Cutbuur Cais* (38)?" The Emperor perceiving his too great familiarity with his friends bred contempt, replies, "We shall enter indeed when God pleases, but for thee it is my pleasure that thou stay here." And upon these words, orders his head to be instantly struck off.

XXI. From thence he marches to *Gaza*, where hearing *Kudsherif* † was not far off, he was extremely desirous to see a City, the fountain of so many Prophets, and the scene of so many miracles. Accordingly he goes thither with a few Attendants, and in three days performing what Religion requir'd, he returns to his army at *Gaza*. Then he pursues his march directly to *Elkair* (39), and by the way takes *Sifdubabr* (40) and *Chanuljuni*. But he did not think it advisable to place there any Garrisons, because these towns would not shake off his yoke if Conqueror, and if vanquish'd, would not be a safe retreat. Wherefore leaving only such as were disabled by wounds or the length of the march, he goes on. When the people of *Gaza* see this, and imagining the Emperor would never return but be cut off with his whole army by the sword of the *Chercaffians**, they kill the sick and their Physicians committed to their trust.

XXII. The fresh efforts of the *Chercaffians** for the defense of the Kingdom had perhaps prompted the Inhabitants of *Gaza* to rebellion. For those who had escap'd out of the former battle when they come to *Cairo* call a Council, and creating *Tumanbai* King, sprung from their noblest family, style him in the inauguration *Muluk Eshref* (41), and swear either to defend the Empire from *Selim's* unjust tyranny or die valiantly fighting, and sell their lives and extensive dominion as dear

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"secondarily to the Prototype or Person represented. For they do not worship Saints, as Saints, or Holy Men, but as God's Servants or as they may be call'd, God's Saints." This plain and intelligible explication of our Doctrine pleas'd the *Turk* but could not reclaim him from his Error. (37) *Chani yunus*] *John's* Inn. I can't say, whether they believe this to be the House of *John* the Prophet. (38) *Cutbuur Cais*] A village or suburbs of *Cairo*, and seems to have been some narrow and difficult place, but in what quarter I can't find. (39) *Elkair*] It is commonly by our Countrymen falsely writ *Alkair*, so *Alkoran* instead of *Elkuran*. This

is the chief City of *Egypt*, and universally known, call'd also by the name of *Mysr*. I purposely omit the *Turkish* Fables concerning this City and *Joseph* *πατριάρχης*, since they are largely set forth in many books publish'd of the *Egyptian* affairs.

(40) *Sifdubabr* &c.] Properly signifies *White-Sea*. These are two Cities whose antient names are to me unknown. For I have not yet been able to discover all the old appellations of the eastern Cities, which for so many ages have been conceal'd under the modern barbarous names.

(41) *Muluk Eshref*] that is, Most Holy, or Most Auspicious.

He visits *Kudsherif* and takes some Cities. † *Jerusalem*.

Vanquishes the *Chercaffians*.*

as possible. Under this General, they assemble all the remains of the *Cbercaffians** with some auxiliary troops of wandering *Arabs*, prepare great guns and other warlike Engines, and with a select army of about forty thousand men incamp in a place call'd *Ridanie*, fortifying themselves with various stratagems, in expectation that *Selim*, flush'd with his former success, would instantly attack their camp, and by being taken in their coils afford them an easy victory. But *Selim*, inform'd of their snares by his spies, as he was superior in number, orders part of his forces to march round the enemies camp near Mount *Jebeli Maktab* (42) and at a given signal to fall on their rear. So in the first days (43) of the month *Jemaziul evvel* in the year 923 was fought such a bloody and obstinate battle, the *Cbercaffians** being surrounded on all sides, as can hardly be describ'd. The *Cbercaffians** are frequently overpower'd by numbers, sometimes repell'd, and as often renew the charge, the King himself fighting always in the front and animating his soldiers by his example. The battle is continued some time with broken ranks, when at last *Tumanbai* sees part of his men taken, part slain, and victory no way to be gain'd, with a select band as a body-guard, he opens a passage with his sword through the thickest of his enemies, and flies to *Sheikh Arab* Son of *Becaar* (44). Thus the *Turks*, though not with-

H. 923.
A. C. 1517.

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(42) *Jebeli Maktab*] I think it should be *Machtab*, not *Maktab*, which signifies a Hill or Mount, on which the Monuments of the Antients and the famous Pyramids are plac'd.

(43) first days &c.] The *Turks* are wont in letters and especially in imperial mandates to set down sometimes the days of the whole month, sometimes to divide the month into three decads, and if any thing is dated in the first ten-days, they say *Evvailinde* (in the first days,) if in the second decad, *Evasitynde* (in the middle days,) if in the third decad, *Evaachirinde* (in the last days) of the month. Thus *Jemaziul evvel evvailinde*, in the first days of the month *Jemaziul evvel*, that is, on some day of that month between the first and the tenth. And so of the rest.

(44) *Sheikh Arab* &c.] He seems to have been one of the *Arabian* *Sheikhs* or *Prelates*, who are more concern'd in the ecclesiastical than civil form of Government, and pretend to be the lawful successors of *Mahomet*. Of these there are seven races chiefly celebrated among the *Turks*, whose names I have forgot. For I live in a

Climate destitute not only of *Arabian*, but all polite learning, where the name of a compleat Library, much less the thing itself is not to be found. But however it may from hence be infer'd that these *Sheikhs* are highly reverenc'd by the Emperor himself, because their head, (who resides at *Mecca*, and though he is confirm'd by the Sultan, yet transmits his dignity to his Children) whenever he writes to the Sultan after the enumeration of his other proud Titles, calls him the Prophet's and his *Vekilimuz* (or Vicar) in the Empire of the World. He is said to use the same form in his letters to the Emperor of *India*. I saw one of these *Sheikhs* when he came to Sultan *Mustapha* Brother of the present Emperor (who was then in a Tent in a village call'd *Akbunar* near *Adrianople*) sit all the while and familiarly converse with him. He was lodg'd with *Cberkiei** *Mehemed Aga* Master of the imperial Stables, an intimate friend of mine, who told me that this *Sheikh* whenever he talk'd of the Sultan, us'd to call him his *Bixum vekil*, Vicegerent or Lieutenant.

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out the slaughter of their men, obtain a complete victory. On the *Turkish* side fell the chief Hero of his age, the renowned General *Sinan Pasha*, whose death was so grievous to *Selim*, that he is said long after the taking of *Cairo* to lament in this manner: *Mysri aldyk emma yusufi aldyrdyk, Yusuf siz, Mysr-den ne olur!* "Egypt have I taken, but *Joseph* have I lost, without *Joseph* what signifies *Egypt*?"

XXIII. Thus so fertile a Province seem'd to be subjected to the *Othman* Empire, but King *Tumanbai*, who was still alive and ready in the neighbourhood for any commotion, inspir'd a fear of losing it. He was known to be fled to the *Arabians*, and there to wait *Selim's* departure out of *Egypt* in order to attempt a change. Wherefore to prevent the danger threaten'd from that quarter, he sends ambassadors with noble Presents to *Sheikh Arab* Son of *Becaar*, desiring him to deliver up his fugitive enemy, and advising him rather to gain his friendship by good offices than incur his indignation by fruitless obstinacy. *Sheikh* either fearing *Selim's* power or gain'd by his Presents, shamefully delivers up *Tumanbai*, whom he had taken into protection, contrary to the law of Nations, and particularly against the *Arabic Rai* (45). But the bravery which could not affect the mind of a base friend, appear'd the wrath of a generous enemy. For *Selim*, when the King was brought bound into his presence and his fortitude plainly seen, could not refrain

He first uses *Tumanbai* honorably, and afterwards hangs him.

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(45) *Arabic Rai*] *Rai Arabi*, with the *Turks*, *Emam*, vulgarly *amam*, but the *Arabic* word is most us'd. With the *Italians* it is *Parola*, (with the *English* and *French*, *Parole*) the given word of security, peace, covenant, protection, as *Berai* of the *Arabians*, which with the *Turks* is, *El emam uzre*, Securely! Mercy! Quarter! But the *Arabians* boast themselves to be of all Mortals the strictest observers of their *Parole*, and perhaps, very justly. For if any one even in the heat of a battle kills a man to whom the *Rai* was given, he is by the Laws of the *Arabians* punishable with death. If they have taken an enemy (for they are continually at variance amongst themselves) they give him the *Rai*, and draw a circle round him, with a command not to stir out of it, which he dares not do, though he should perish with hunger or thirst. But the Conquerors acquaint the Enemies that such a one is taken and in such a place included within the *Rai* circle, wherefore if they will release him they must

pay the ransom promis'd by him. Which being done, some one of the Tribe which had taken the Prisoner, goes to him and crazes the circle with his foot, whereupon he is free. But being once within the circle he cannot purchase his liberty but by paying the ransom. For though his Fellow-soldiers afterwards rout the enemies and have it in their power to free the Captive from the circle, yet if he dare go out of the circle without the consent of the person to whom he had given the *Rai*, he will be accounted all his life, both by friends and foes, a man of no honour, neither will he be able ever after to regain his credit by any action. But if he has dar'd to go out of the circle himself and run away, he is by his own countrymen sent back bound to his Enemies, to be sentenc'd either to death or perpetual slavery as they shall think fit, nor can he be redem'd at any rate. For, say they, a man, who values life more than *Rai*, is unworthy of liberty, neither is he to be call'd a man, much less an *Arab*.

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giving him liberty, and bidding him daily eat at his table. Thus *Tumanbai* having purchas'd his freedom with his virtue, convers'd publicly and privately with *Selim*, and inform'd him of the state of the *Egyptian* affairs, with the laws, genius, and manners of the people. But the miserable *Tumanbai* shortly after demonstrated by his sad example how fortune sports in human affairs. *Selim* could not but admire his heroical virtues, singular fortitude, sound counsels, and grave manners. He thought it base to put such a man to death, and as he seem'd to free him from all danger, he had resolv'd to take him into his friendship and set him over the Kingdom of *Egypt*. Whilst he was thinking on these things, it was talk'd among the people that *Tumanbai* had found great favour with the Emperor and obtain'd the Government of *Egypt*, and therefore it was hop'd that with the remains of the *Cbercaffians** and *Arabians*, he would, soon after *Selim's* departure, expell his garrisons and restore the *Cbercaffian** dominion. These discourses could not be conceal'd from *Selim*, a watchful observer not only of what was done, but of what was said: he was unwilling however to give credit to the reports, as thinking them rais'd by enemies. At last, when by the continuance of the rumour he suspected some treachery, he order'd the son of *Sbeikh Suvar Alibeg*, whose father had been lately fasten'd to an iron hook by the *Cbercaffians**, to hang up the miserable King in the gate of *Cairo*, call'd *Zavil*, with these words: "How great my mercy was, is already declar'd, but what the malignant speeches of the vulgar though on his side can effect, let the wretch himself experience." The order is gladly executed by *Alibeg* as it gave him an opportunity to revenge the murder of his father, and the unfortunate *Tumanbai* hang'd on the 10th of *Rebiul ewel* in the year before mentioned, in the Gate *Zavil*. The terror infus'd into the *Egyptians* by this unexpected death of their King, is inexpressible. They who before with conceal'd indignation bore his unjust dominion, now run all in a suppliant manner to *Selim*, intreat his clemency and promise perpetual and faithful service to the *Othman* race. The Emperor pardons them on the condition that if they know of any lurking *Cbercaffian** they would instantly produce him in bonds. He had scarce made this declaration, when the common people, greedy of novelty, in expectation of obtaining pardon, search every where for the *Cbercaffians** their former Lords, and drag them bound to *Selim* to be butcher'd. The next day, *Selim* orders a Theater with a Throne on it to be erected without the City on the bank of the *Nile*, and all the Prisoners to be beheaded in his presence, and their bodies thrown into the river. Their number is said to exceed thirty thousand. The second day after, in order to humble entirely the minds of the vanquish'd by a demonstration of his power, he makes a triumphant entry into *Cairo*, but after a few hours stay departs the same day, and pitching his tents in a place near the *Nile* call'd *Ruxa*, allows his forces some time for refreshment. A

certain witty *Arabic* poet has mark'd the Epocha of this butchery in the following line:

Hui shevi Sultan Selim!

Alas! this is Sultan Selim!

XXIV. The same year, on the seventh day of *Yemaziul ewel*, he marches to attack *Ishenderie* (46), which avoiding the Conqueror's indignation by a surrender, he settles the affairs of that city, and returns to the inland parts of *Egypt*, from whence, having made *Chairbeg* Governor of the Kingdom, he begins his march in the month *Shaban* towards *Constantinople*. In his way, to revenge the perfidiousness of the inhabitants of *Gozza*, he put them all to the sword without distinction of age or sex, and raz'd their City to the ground. Afterwards going to *Damascus* he delivers that City with the other adjacent towns in *Palestine* and *Syria* to be govern'd by *Gazelibeg* according to agreement. In short, within the space of one year, and in the same expedition, *Selim* added more territories to his Empire than any of his Predecessors had been able to subdue in their whole reign. For he not only conquered all the dominions of the *Cbercaffians** in *Asia* and *Egypt*, but also reduc'd to his obedience as it were by the by, other strong and famous Cities of *Asia*, *Malatye*, *Dierbegi*, *Derende*, *Bektisi*, *Kierkieb*, *Kiachte*, *Berejik*, *Antab*, *Antakie* (47). Besides these even the Sherif of *Mecca* (48) brought the Keys of his City to *Selim* whilst he was about *Cairo*, and openly acknowledg'd his Sovereignty. Whereupon he was honorably receiv'd by *Selim*, who appointed his son, famous for virtue, piety, and learning, his successor in the principality. By this man the tribes of the wild *Arabians*, (*Beni Ibrahim* (49), *Beni Seva-*

He takes Alexandria, and subjects the Arabians.

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(46) *Ishenderie*] *Alexandria*, a most noted Mart of *Egypt*, much frequented by foreign Ships, built by *Alexander the Great*, and given for an Habitation to the *Greeks*.

(47) *Malatye*, &c.] Of these Cities *Malatye*, *Derende*, *Berejik*, *Antab*, and *Antakie* or *Antioch*, are indeed pretty large, but the rest are rather Towns than Cities.

(48) Sherif of *Mecca*] He was before *Selim*, a Sovereign Prince, and govern'd *Mecca* and some other *Arabian* Cities with absolute power. But from *Selim's* time he has acknowledg'd the *Turkish* Emperors for Guardians and Protectors of the *Musulman* affairs.

(49) *Beni Ibrahim*] There are above seventy Nations or Tribes sprung from different Branches, which however all boast their extraction from

Abraham, and range the spacious Deserts of *Arabia* with unsettled habitations. All speak *Arabic*, but in so different a dialect, that they can hardly understand one another. Hence the *Arabic* Tongue is justly call'd the most copious and almost boundless. For the same word signifies a hundred things of a very different Nature, and the same thing is express'd by as many words which have not the least analogy to each other. Moreover there is scarce any quality of a thing but what procures its subject a peculiar appellation. *Menninskius's* *Tesaurus* of the oriental Languages affords numberless instances, which to copy is foreign to my purpose. Of the Flowers of all these Dialects the *Koran* is compos'd, and from thence it was believ'd by its followers

lem, Beni Ata, Beni Affie, and Beni Saad, with many others (50), to whose very names I am a stranger, who inhabit the Desarts between Mecca

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followers to be penn'd in a divine not human Language. For neither can any of these Tribes understand the whole, nor will any the most learned of the Arabians pretend to explain all the words. They add a pleasant story on this subject, which is firmly believed by them. They say, that in Mabomet's time the Arabic Tongue was arriv'd to the greatest perfection, and very elegant poets flourish'd, who, as in the Olympic Games, when any one produc'd a witty distich, affix'd it to a Pillar in the Forum erected for that purpose. To answer this with an opposite distich Nazyré, three months space was allow'd to some other Poet. On the appointed day all the Poets assembled and examining each performance, gave the pre-eminence to him whose distich was most approv'd of, and call'd him Prince of Poets, honoring him also with a new *Machlase* or surname. Mabomet taking the opportunity of this custom, fix'd up also on the Pillar one of the *Nazuri's* or Verses of the *Koran*, which all the Poets labour'd for nine months to answer; but the victory was unanimously assign'd to Mabomet, his verse declar'd divinely inspir'd, and his Doctrine from thenceforward embrac'd.

(56) Many others] Among the rest were the Monks inhabiting Mount Sinai. Of these something very particular is related, which, since I don't think it mention'd any where but in a fabulous treatise of a *Sinaitish* Monk, I shall here insert. They say, though fabuloufly, that Mabomet being of mean birth, us'd to drive in his youth hir'd Camels from place to place. In these journies, as he one day approach'd Mount Sinai, the Abbot saw a cloud hovering over Mabomet's head as he lay asleep in the open field, and descending it as it were from the Sun-beams. The Abbot thence conjecturing there was something more in the Youth than was promis'd by his outward appearance, because so singular an omen, in

his opinion, could only happen to the future Lord of those Regions, and therefore he went and saluted him very civilly, inviting him into his room and bidding him take his rest quietly. When he thought he had gain'd his good-will by all kind of civilities, he ask'd him, if ever he should become Sovereign of those parts what his pleasure would be concerning the Monks? Mabomet answer'd, "He would free them as *Rubban*, (Keepers of Life or Course) dispers'd through the World from all Tribute, and hold them in great honour." He gave him this promise in an Arabic writing, and confirm'd it, for want of a Seal, with the Palm of his hand dipt in ink and impress'd on the Paper. Long after, when Sultan Selim was in Egypt, the Abbot of Mount Sinai humbly came to him with Mabomet's true or forged Instrument, which the Emperor purchased of the Monks for four thousand Gold Crowns, with a declaration of their being free from all Tribute, and a confirmation by his *Chatisberif* of this and their other privileges. Selim's Charter as translated out of Arabic into Turkish I read at *Adrianople*, and remember it to be as follows: "Since the Monks of Mount Sinai are come to our sublime *Divan*, and have humbly represented, that Mubammed el Mustapba, God's Holy Prophet, (on whom be Peace and Health) being heretofore by their Monastery hospitably receiv'd in his travails, and according to their slender abilities ador'd with all kind of honour and reverence, graciously exempted this community of *Nazaraan* Monks from their annual Tribute, and in confirmation of it was pleas'd to give an Holy writing signed with his own hand, after his Example We also out of our great clemency do ordain that the foremention'd Monks be free from the yearly Tribute paid by the rest, and be suffer'd without molestation

Mecca, Cairo, and Damascus) were induc'd to subject themselves voluntarily to Selim, and deliver him a writing for a testimony of their fidelity, with some of their principal countrymen in hostage.

XXV. Whilst he was returning from this expedition, and was now arriv'd at Aleppo, in the month *Ramazan* of the year 925, he is met by a Persian Ambassador sent under the pretence of friendship to deceive the Sultan, and by a feigned submission divert the storm which threaten'd the Kingdom of Persia. To gain his ends the more easily, besides noble presents worthy both Emperors, he tries to sooth the ambitious Selim with the addition of new titles, and flatteringly styles him, *Shebin Shabi Alem, ve Sabib Kyranî benî Adem* (51), that is, "The Emperor of Emperors, and sole Conqueror (or Autocrat) of the sons of Adam."

XXVI. So many and great victories, such flattering congratulations, not only from the vanquish'd Nations, but also from the neighbouring Princes, swell'd Selim with such Pride, that as if he was now Sovereign of the whole World, he look'd with disdain on earthly Kingdoms, and even imagin'd that celestial ones, if they could be reach'd, were to yield to his sword. Wherefore, after his triumphant entrance into Constantinople amidst the people's acclamations, he publickly binds himself the next year (as if the unconstant fortune of war had been at his command) by an oath (52) not to recede till he had entirely sub-

Receives an Ambassador from the Persian King. H. 925. A. C. 1519

Selim's Pride and Death.

H. 926. A. C. 1520.

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"Molestation to enjoy their Churches and Rites according to their obsolete Law. To this end, we have graciously order'd them an authentic copy of the Instrument of God's Holy Prophet, confirm'd by our Inscription. We therefore enjoin every Person exercising dominion or jurisdiction throughout our whole Kingdom, not to burden then the said Monks of the Tribe of Jesus with Tribute or other Political contributions. And whoever shall act contrary to our *Chatisberif* and Mandate, know that he shall be certainly punish'd and chastis'd. Given at *Cairi*, &c." 'Tis certain the exemption of these Monks from Tribute remain'd in force through all the Turkish dominions till the time of Soliman II. Great-Uncle of the present Emperor, when the Turks began to collect the *Haraj* upon them, and that by means of *Kioprili egli Mustafa Pascha*, who made no scruple to charge the whole Diploma with forgery. To prevent this, some of the Monks of Mount Sinai

were sent to *Adrianople* with the instrument of Exemption, in whose hands I both read and transcrib'd it. They indeed preserv'd by their petitions to themselves and Society, a freedom from Tribute, but could not prevail for the rest of the Monasteries.

(51) *Shebin Sec.*] Though all the Turkish Emperor's Titles are very lofty, yet *Zitullab, God's Shadow*, is accounted higher than the rest, because given, as I have observ'd, by the King of Persia. However at Court, when mention is made of the Sultan, these are never us'd, but the common appellations are, *Padisshabi Alem penab*, Emperor, Refuge, or Protector of the World, and *Aliotbman Padisshabi*, Emperor of the Sons of Othman. For by this means they pretend to show, that the whole race of Turks acknowledge no other fountain of Nobility, than their first Emperor Othman.

(52) Oath] The Turks believe, their Emperor can say or think nothing, unless by divine instinct, and therefore

verted the rival Empire of the *Persians*, and utterly extinguish'd a Nation perfidious to God and hateful to man, in a belief that he should afterwards subdue also, without obstacle, the *Christian* Princes. But how deceitful are man's designs without God, and how frail is a clod of Earth when swoln with pride, the supreme Governor of the universe demonstrated for a warning to others by the following Instance. Want of money, both the external and internal Treasuries (53) being exhausted in the *Egyptian* expedition, obliges *Selim* to defer the first year his intended war, and turn his thoughts to raising new supplies upon the conquer'd dominions. As this proceeded also the next year more slowly than he wish'd, and as by the approach of winter he sees the time for warlike expeditions to be over, he resolves to visit the monuments of his Ancestors at *Adrianople*. To this end, he sends all his Great men before, except *Ferhad Pascha* his sister's husband, who was *Caimecam Pascha* (54), and departs from *Constantinople*. In this journey,

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therefore what he confirms with an Oath, ought and may be done; but how false these notions are, experience has often demonstrated.

(53) External &c.] The *Turks* have two Treasuries and two Coffers, in which the publick Money is kept. The *Defterdar* or High-Treasurer (mention'd in a former note) presides over the external, call'd *Dishbazine*. This money is call'd *beitulmali Muslimin*, or the publick money of the Musulmans, of which the Emperor himself without the utmost necessity cannot expend any part at his pleasure, nor put to his private use without danger. For whenever he does so, the people always murmur, and sometimes openly rebel. *Ieb' chazine*, or the internal, is also call'd the Imperial Treasure, which the Sultan may use as he pleases without the least murmur or obstacle. Over this presides the *Hajnadar bashi*, who in the women's Apartment is next in degree to *Kyzlar Agasi*. For he is also an Eunuch, and usually succeeds upon a vacancy to the Place of the *Kyzlar Aga*. In my time there were yearly brought into the two Treasuries twenty seven thousand Purfes, each containing five hundred Rixdollars.

(54) *Caimecam Pascha*] He is the Prime Vizir's Lieutenant, and created by the Sultan out of the Vizirs enjoying the privilege of three Horse-tails. When the Emperor is at *Constantino-*

ple or *Adrianople*, the *Caimecam* has no Authority, nor, like the rest of the Vizirs, has he any thing to do in publick affairs, except to advise. But if the Sultan be only eight hours absent from the City, his Authority is almost the same with the Prime Vizir's. Moreover when the Emperor undertakes any expedition, tho' the Vizir be present, a *Caimecam* is appointed, who, on the Vizir's departing from the Emperor eight hour's space, has full power to act, ordain, alter, any thing except that he can't derogate from the Vizir's Mandate, nor depose or behead the old Pascha's. I observ'd there was never a good understanding between the Prime Vizir and the *Caimecam*. For Agreement between Rivals in power is rare. Besides this, there is another *Caimecam*, to whom the Emperor, when he goes to *Adrianople* or on some expedition, commits the care of the Royal City. He is indeed next to a Vizir in degree, but in authority on the same foot with a Pascha in his Government, except however, that in what relates to administering justice and civil affairs, he can do nothing without the Prime-Vizir's Mandate. He has for assistants, though of an inferior degree, *Bostanji bashi* or Superintendent of the Royal Serai + Palace, and Gardens, with the Sub-urbs without the walls, and *Seghan bashi*

journey, he had scarce reach'd the village *Saashidy* (55), when he perceives his blood to be in a ferment, and himself seiz'd with a light fever. Next day there appears in his thigh a mortal imposthume, which so tormented and weaken'd him, that all the sinews of his body and feet (56) were contracted and dried. The Imposthume was indeed open'd by a skilful Surgeon, and remedies applied to remove the malignity of the distemper, but his death was perceiv'd to be inevitable; for the obstinate ulcer baffled the care of the Physicians, and so infected his whole body with a pestilential poison, that after forty days of torture rather than of sickness, the splendor of the *Othman* Empire expir'd on Sunday the ninth day of *Shevval* about Sun-set.

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basbi the next to *Yenigiber* Agasi*, or *Aga* of the Janizaries, and General of the Foot, to whom the custody of the City, and command of its Garrison is committed. By these three persons the whole civil government of the city is manag'd. But the ecclesiastical is under the care of *Shambol Effendisi*, Judge of the Clergy, and next in degree to the two *Cadilaskers*, one of whom (as I have said) is universal Judge of ecclesiastical affairs in *Europe*, the other in *Asia*.

(55) *Saashidy*] i. e. He has swam over the river. The name of a Village on the road (tho' not the great one) from *Constantinople* to *Adrianople*. They say this name happen'd to the Village on the following occasion. A little river runs by the Village, which swells in such manner by the melted snows and Autumnal rains, that it overflows all the adjacent fields, and renders it very difficult for Travellers to pass. A certain inferior tho' very rich Pascha, to remedy this inconvenience, builds a very handsome stone-bridge over the River. When *Bajazet* II, *Selim's* Father, came with his whole army to this place, he wonders to see a stately Bridge, and desires to know the Builder. When he was in his presence, *Bajazet* desires him to receive the money he had expended, and grant him the reward to be expected in the next world for so great a benefit to Mortals. (It must be observ'd according to the Law of the *Koran*, a *Turk* may either give or sell to another all his good Works, Charities,

Buildings erected to the Glory of God or Benefit of Mankind, so as the reward which he merits of God in the life to come, passes to the Purchaser.) The Builder affirms he can't do it, because he had no other work to qualify him to appear before the divine Majesty. For, says he, I did not build this Bridge to gain the applause of Man, but for the publick advantage and the salvation of my Soul. The Sultan thrice renewing his intreaties, is as often denied by the Pascha. Inrag'd at this refusal, *Bajazet* puts the Pascha to death, rushes with his Guards on horseback into the rapid Torrent, and with great danger of his life swims over, ordering the rest of the army to stay till the Waters were abated, and at the same time pronouncing this *Beit* or Distich:

Minet ile Kokma zuli al Eline Sufani.
Giechme namerd Kioprisini Ko aparjun*
ju seni.

That is,

It is better to carry Pepperwort than smell to a Rose got by intreaties, Pass not over the Bridge of a fordid discourteous man: it is better to be swallow'd up by the Waters.

(56) Feet] The *Turks* seem here to reflect on *Selim's* oath, that he would not draw back his foot till he had subdued the whole *Persian* Empire. And that therefore the divine vengeance first punish'd his feet by the contraction of the Sinews, as well to humble the Pride of the Man as to demonstrate its Justice.

XXVII. When

Conceal'd by
the Vizirs.

XXVII. When *Selim* had thus render'd famous by his death a village before little known, *Ferhad Pascha*, who alone had staid with him, conceals the Emperor's decease from the people, but tells what had happen'd to the rest of the Vizirs, who were anxiously waiting his coming to *Adrianople*, intreating them to feign him alive, and transact affairs in his name, lest any commotion should arise before the successor's arrival. Moreover he acquaints *Soliman*, *Selim's* son, who then resided at *Trapezond*, with his father's death, and advises him to come with speed and assume the reins of the Government. *Soliman* upon the receipt of the letter hastens to *Constantinople*: Which being known, the Vizirs openly declare the Emperor's death, dismiss the army, and all except *Mustapha Pascha*, who is left alone to guard the Treasury, go with the whole imperial Court to the royal City to adore their new Sovereign.

Soliman is saluted Emperor.

H. 926.

A. C. 1520

XXVIII. Thus all the Vizirs, cloath'd in mourning, salute *Soliman* Emperor at his arrival at *Constantinople* in the last days (57) of *Shewal* in the year 926, and express their grief for his father's untimely death. *Soliman* himself the same day in the afternoon goes out to meet his father's funeral with all his Courtiers, and conducts the body in great pomp to the *Jami* built by *Mahomet* Conqueror of the City, and there orders it to be interr'd. The following Epitaph is inscrib'd on his Tomb,

Beka Miulkine azm idup Sefer kылды budir Tarich Koiup Sultan Selim baky jiban Miulkin Sulimane. "This year Sultan *Selim* departed to an everlasting Kingdom, leaving the Empire of the World to "*Soliman*."

Selim's Character.

XXIX. Thus fell *Selim*, the Defender of the *Othman* Empire, after he had reigned nine years and eight months, and liv'd fifty four. The years of his Reign indeed were few, but such whose acts are hardly to be parallell'd. For by his diligence and valour, not only the *Asiatic* Provinces were freed from all incursions of the Enemies, but ample room given to his successors by the establishment of the East, to increase their dominion to the West. He had all the qualifications of a Hero, with an able head, strong arm, and great contrivance; he was indefatigable where the safety of the state was concern'd, very fit to manage affairs, and extremely quick-sighted in discovering hidden factions and other practices. He frequently walk'd in disguise about the forum, streets, camp, night and day, and whatever he perceiv'd contrary to the publick good or his laws, he punish'd severely. Where he could not go in person, he sent his spies, eminent for their cunning, who mixing with all companies, daily reported to the Sultan what they

ANNOTATIONS.

(57) last days] That is, some day of computing the day of the month, between the 20th and 30th of the month *Shewal*. Concerning this way

had

had heard or seen. By this means he was so fully acquainted with every thing that pass'd, that it became a common saying in his time: "The Emperor will know to morrow what passes in the chamber between man and wife." However this proceeding was of such service to the Empire, that in so remote expeditions, which in his time were undertaken, there was no rebellion but what was stifled in the very birth. By these things he would have merited everlasting praise, if he had not by his proness to anger and cruelty sullied the lustre of his virtues and caus'd himself to be distinguish'd from the Emperor's of the same name by the appellation of *Yavuz* (58). It will not be improper before I close this larger account of his actions, to relate a single instance to this purpose. Two years before *Selim's* death, there appear'd in *Turcomania* a certain Free-booter who infested not only that and the neighbouring countries with his robberies, but having gathered together a considerable band of companions, he attempted to become master of those Provinces. To extinguish this flame *Selim* sent *Ferhad Pascha* with good part of his forces, who when he came to *Amasia*, hears the the whole band with their Ring-leader were routed by *Ilhistanbeg Mehmed*, Son of *Sheikk Savur*. So being unwilling to fatigue his army in vain with so long a march, and not daring to return without the Emperor's order, he incamps about *Amasia*, expecting an answer to a message he had sent the Sultan. Mean while, a malicious slanderer comes to him, pretends he could not forbear, out of due fidelity to the Emperor, to discover a projected rebellion of the inhabitants: for, says he, there lurks among the Citizens of *Amasia* a certain counterfeit *Murad*, who boasting himself to be the Son of Sultan *Ahmed*, has drawn the whole City to his side, with above seven hundred Robbers. *Ferhad Pascha*, without examining the truth, acquaints the Emperor with what he had heard, and desires his orders in this imminent danger. *Selim* trusting perhaps to his General's prudence, commands without any inquiry that all the chief men of the country should be impal'd. *Ferhad* executes the orders, and impales above six hundred innocent Persons of note, others he beheads, and the rest drags through the streets at horses tails.

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(58) *Yavuz*] Concerning this name less grave than studious of Truth and See Note p. 143. There is extant a void of Flattery. This Book is very most elegant Book about four Sultans, *Mahomet* II, *Bajazet* II, *Selim*, scarce among the *Turks*, from which and *Soliman*, written by *Ali Effendi* I have transcrib'd some things relating to my subject. so often prais'd by me, an Author no

Cotemporary with *SELIM* in Europe.

In Germany, } *MAXIMILIAN* I. 1493-1518.

} *CHARLES* V. 1518-58.

In England, } *HENRY* VIII. 1509-46.

In France, } *LEWIS* XII. 1498-1525.

} *FRANCIS* I. 1525-47.

The End of the Reign of *SELIM* I.

Nº. 8.

Y y

The



The REIGN of
SOLIMAN I. Sirmam'd *Canuni*,
 Tenth EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK III. CHAP. IV.

Gazelibeg rebelling is slain.

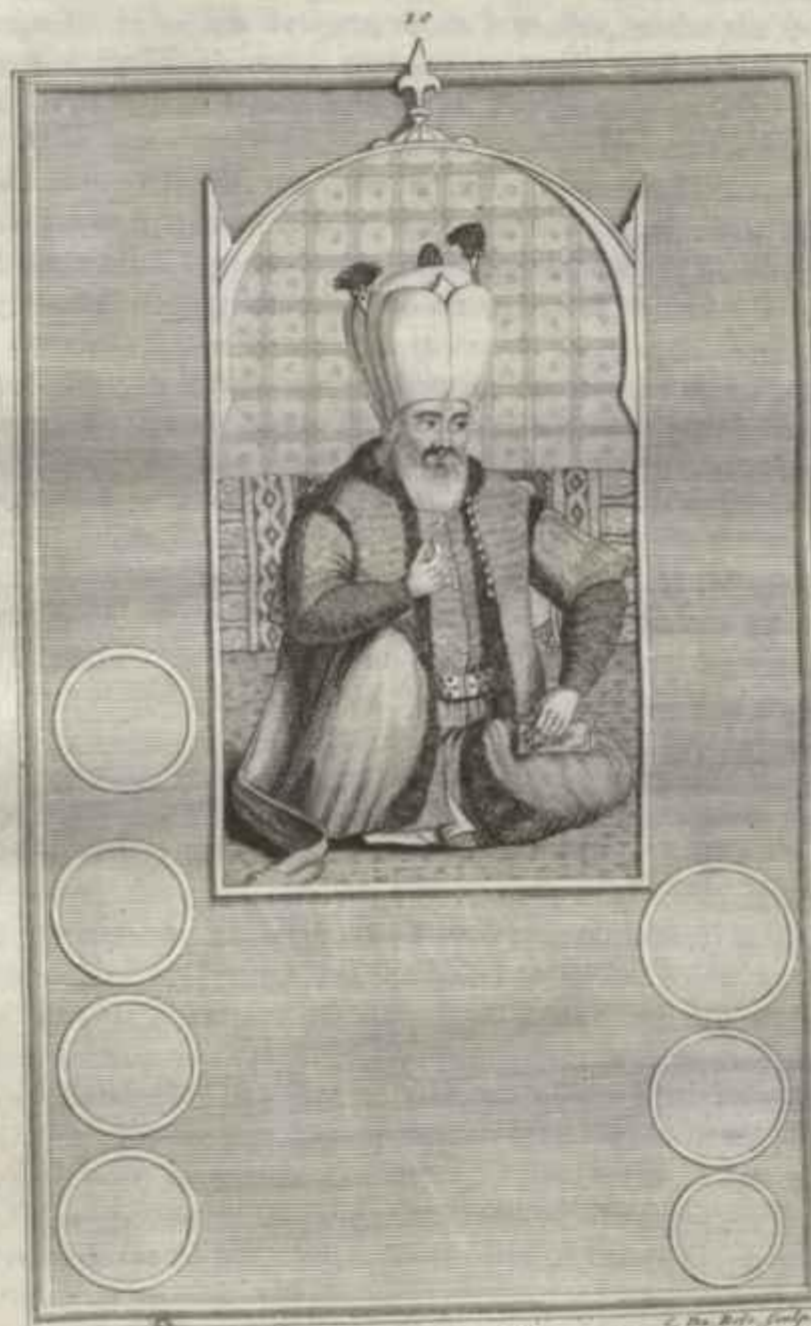
I. **SOLIMAN** *Canuni* (1) had scarce mounted his father's throne when a great rebellion broke out in *Asia*. *Gazelibeg*, *Beglerbeg* of *Damascus* (by whose Treachery *Selim* obtain'd his victory over the *Chevcassians**) when he is inform'd of *Selim's* death, imagining all the virtues and fortune of the *Othman* Empire to be buried with him, revolts from his sworn fidelity, with a resolution to assume to himself the full Sovereignty of the countries of which he was Governor. To this

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(1) *Canuni*] From the *Greek Canonista*, Institutor of Rules. For tho' the *Othman* Empire before *Soliman* was not govern'd without certain Constitutions, they were founded rather on custom than written law, or to say more rightly, the will of the Prince was instead of law. But *Soliman* first distinguish'd the civil and military offices, assign'd to each its degree of dignity, establish'd the Laws of the Court, Palace, Forum, and Army, and instituted what body of Laws there now is in the *Othman* Court and Common-wealth. His successors are so strictly oblig'd to observe these laws, that whenever any doubt occurs, they think recourse must be had to *Soliman's* Canons, call'd *Teshrifat*. Thus for instance, in a consultation about war, regard is had before all things

to these Canons. If they believe they see a just cause of war express'd there, they decree it to be proclaim'd, if not, to be avoided. If a peace is to be made with some *Christian* Prince, the same Canons are consulted, least any thing be done contrary to the Law of the *Koran* or the *Othman* Empire. But his Canons order, that a peace is not to be made at *Constantinople* or other Royal City, but in the Confines, in the Field, under Arms, that the Peace may seem, not to be made out of fear, but granted to the Enemies by the Emperor's clemency and his care for the quiet of his People. And by reason of these Constitutions, he is seen in the imperial Library, among the rest of the Sultans, painted with a Book in his hand, from which Picture his Effigies prefix'd to his life was copied by my care.

end,



SOLIMAN I. Tenth EMPEROR
 of the *TURKS*. in the Year 1520.
 From an Original in the *Seraglio*.

end, he assembles his forces, and so suddenly and unexpectedly besieges *Aleppo*, that a messenger sent to the *Othman* Court with news of this rebellion could hardly escape. However the Town, defended by *Coja Mustapha Pasha* (2), made a brave resistance, and gave *Soliman* time to extinguish the flame before it spread any farther. *Soliman* not to deceive the expectation of his Subjects, sends into *Asia*, under the conduct of *Ferhad Pasha* (3), what forces were ready, and also orders them to be joined in their march by *Asiatick* Troops rais'd on every side. *Gawelibeg*, whose ardor was cool'd by the unexpected bravery of the besieged, when he sees himself too weak to meet in open field the army marching against him, raises the siege, and goes and incamps near *Damascus* in a place call'd by the inhabitants *Mustaba*, which he fortifies with strong works, hoping the imperial army would be forc'd by the scarcity of corn and season of the year to march back, and afford him another opportunity to invade the neighboring Provinces. But *Ferhad Pasha*, though he found *Aleppo* free from the rebel, yet mindful of the Emperor's order, he bravely follows him, and at last, contrary to the opinion of all, on the 27th of *Sefer* in the year 927, attacks him in his fortified camp. A fierce and doubtful battle is fought for ten hours, the *Turks* being obstructed more by the situation of the place than the sword of the enemy. At length, the difficulties of the place being surmounted by the valour of the *Turkish* soldiers, the whole rebel army with their leader are slain. The Conqueror *Ferhad Pasha* enters *Damascus*, appoints *Aias Pasha Beglerbeg* of the City, and settling the affairs of those parts, returns with his forces to *Constantinople*.

II. *Asia* being in peace, *Soliman* resolves to turn his arms against *Europe*, in order to extend his dominion as far to the west of *Constantinople* as it reach'd to the east. To this end, that he might not, in the midst of his progress, be disturb'd by commotions elsewhere, as had often been the case of his predecessors, he leaves to *Ferhad Pasha*, with good part of his army, the care of *Asia*, sends a fleet into the *Archipelagus*, orders another for the *Black-sea*, consisting of fifty ships of war, with four hundred of Burthen to take care of the provisions for the *Hungarian* expedition. He himself departs from *Constantinople* by land with a great army to subdue all *Hungary*. But before he sets out he sends to *Yabiabeg*, Son of *Balybeg*, Governor of *Semendra*, to besiege, with what forces he had, *Belgrade* on a sudden before his arrival,

H. 927.
A. C. 1520.

Soliman takes
Belgrade.

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(2) *Coja Mustapha*] Old *Mustapha*. *Coja* also figuratively signifies a Person of Gravity and Wisdom, as *bir Coja adem*, an experienc'd, grave, prudent Man. So also *bir baba adem*, denotes, a benevolent Man, because as a *baba* (or father) he is a well-wisher to All.

(3) *Ferhad Pasha*] A very famous *Turkish* General, of great valour, fortitude, and wisdom, by whose conduct *Soliman* did great things in *Asia*, and took many Provinces from the *Persians*. He is call'd *Farates* by *Lonicerus* and other *European* Writers.

and

and hinder provisions or a stronger garrison from being thrown in. Whilst *Yahiabeg* closely besieges the City, *Soliman* arrives in person, and incamping in the field call'd *Zemin*, sends his Vizir *Mustapha Pasha* and *Abmed Pascha* (4) Beglerbeg of *Rumeli*, with part of his forces to *Yahiabeg's* assistance. These two Generals, the more to gain *Soliman's* favour, to whom they knew the taking of the City as soon as possible would be very grateful, that he might have the way open to *Buda* the Metropolis of the Kingdom, by battery and undermining destroy the walls, renew their assaults every hour, and so weary the besieged, who make a brave resistance, that at length they are forc'd to yield to the fury of the *Turks*, and surrender (such was God's pleasure) on the 5th day of *Ramazan*, the bulwark of *Hungary*, which had often been attack'd but never subdu'd. Mean while *Soliman*, not to be idle, with the rest of the army takes partly by assault, partly by capitulation, *Burgaz* †, *Barij*, *Tiruje*, and *Bingurdlen*, and overrunning the adjacent country, firmly lays the seat of the future war beyond the ancient bounds of the *Othman* Empire.

† formerly *Pyrus*.

Orders *Sueb* swear to be kill'd.

III. After these conquests, in the month of *Ziulcade*, returning to *Constantinople*, he is inform'd that *Sueb Suvar agli* Prince of *Marash* (5) was raising disturbances in *Asia* in order to shake off his yoke, but deferr'd the execution of his purpose, because things were not yet ripe for rebellion. Wherefore he instantly sends orders to *Ferhad Pascha*, who had the custody of *Asia*, to behead the treacherous Prince. To attempt this openly seem'd dangerous to *Ferhad*, and therefore thinking it best to effect it by stratagem, sends him a friendly letter, telling him, he was by the Sulcan appointed his assistant, and desiring him to come and consult with him about the publick affairs. The Prince ignorant of what was transacted, falls into the snare, and coming to *Ferhad's* tent, is with his two sons, by soldiers planted for the purpose, put to death.

He takes *Rhodes*.

H. 928.

A. C. 1521.

IV. This rebellion being stifled in the birth in the year 928, *Soliman* having prepar'd a great fleet, sends the Vizir *Mustapha Pasha* before to take *Rhodes* (6), whilst himself goes by land to *Tebesaly*, from whence taking ship at *Marmaros*, he sails over to *Rhodes* on the 4th day of *Ramazan*. At his arrival, he closely presses the City, and sur-

ANNOTATIONS.

(4) *Mustapha Pasha*] whom I before mention'd left by the rest of the Vizirs at *Adrianople* to guard the Treasures at *Selim's* death. See p. 172.

(5) Prince of *Marash*] *Marash* is a City set down in the modern Mapps by the same name. But the Family of *Sueb Suvar agli*, though of no great account at Court, boasts even at this day the antiquity of its nobility among the *Asiaticks*.

(6) *Rhodes*] The Metropolis of the Island of *Rhodes* was thus call'd also by the Antients. The *Turkish* name is *Rodos*. Out of her Ruins arose *Malta*, an instance of the divine love to *Christians* not being yet extinct, and hateful to the *Othman* Power, which daily threatens it with destruction, by reason of the deplorable discord of *Christian* Princes.

rounds

rounds it with strong works. In this siege are us'd, all the arts of assaulting and defending, hitherto invented by the wit of man. The *Turks* bravely attack, and the *Christians* no less gallantly repel their assaults. Thus they fought five whole months with such fury, that the dispute seem'd to be for the Empire of the World, and not for a single City. At length, the *Christians*, exhausted with continual slaughters and watchings, are forc'd on the 3d day of *Sefer* the next year, to surrender to *Soliman* that renowned City, famous under the *Grecian* and *Roman* Empires, fruitlessly attempted by his Great Grandfather *Mabomet*. The taking of *Rhodes* was follow'd by the voluntary surrender of the lesser neighbouring Islands *Iskankioy* (7) and *Butrum*.

H. 929.
A. C. 1522.

V. During the siege of *Rhodes*, *Chairbeg* (8) Governor of *Egypt* happen'd to die and leave an immense treasure behind him. On news of his death, as if the great support of the *Othman* dominion was remov'd, *Jumun-Kiasbus* (9) stirs up the *Egyptians*, tells them an opportunity presented itself to recover their former liberty, and shake off their servile yoke, and by his speeches and presents, perswades the whole Nation unanimously to resolve upon an attempt to free themselves from slavery. But *Soliman* hearing of these transactions, sends his Vizir *Mustapha Pasha* with five ships into *Egypt*, to stifle this flame before it broke out. *Mustapha Pasha* with a fair wind arrives in a few days at *Eskenderie* †, surprises the rebels unprepar'd, who did not think their designs so much as known to the Sultan, and entirely routing and dispersing them, restores the *Othman* dominion in *Egypt* to its former lustre. But as it took him up some time to collect *Chairbeg's* riches and settle the *Egyptian* affairs, *Soliman*, to whom the whole administration of the Government, seem'd too great a burden, made *Ibrahim Aga*, from a common Janizary of the ninth Company (10), Prime Vizir.

He sends *Mustapha* into *Egypt*, and creates *Ibrahim* Vizir.

† *Alexandria*.

VI. The news of this promotion, could not but grieve *Mustapha*, who imagin'd his late victory deserv'd rather an addition of honour

Mustapha rebels in *Egypt*, and is vanquish'd.

ANNOTATIONS.

(7) *Iskankioy*] The Island *Ka*, corruptly by the *Greeks* εις την *Ka*, as *Istanbul* from εις την *πολιν*. Indeed *Nich. Langius* does not like those derivations, who seems to follow such as are more strange than true, deriving for instance *Istanbul* from *Istadi-bol*, i. e. a City abounding with Artificers. But I should advise him not to mix with what he calls the *Græco-barbarous* Idiom, more *Barbarisms*, whilst he gives Etymologies in a Tongue unknown to him. For such a proceeding plainly discovers his ignorance in both the *Turkish* and *Grecian* Learning which he boasts of.

N. IX.

(8) *Chairbeg*] A *Persian* by extraction, Governor of *Damascus* under Sultan *Gauri*, whose revolt to *Selim* has been related.

(9) *Jumun-Kiasbus*] An *Arabian* Sheikk, who in *Selim's* time submitted to the *Othman* Empire.

(10) Ninth Company] There are reckon'd one hundred and eleven Companies of Janizaries, call'd by the *Turks*, *Oda*, (or Chambers.) The eleventh *Oda* has the precedence, the first *Oda* holds the second rank, and the one hundred and eleventh *Oda* the third, the rest follow in order.

Z z I sht or colluc stand vithan

than such an affront. But reflecting that he was servant to a Prince whose will was a law, he craftily conceals in his breast the wound he had receiv'd, and as if he was entirely ignorant of what had pass'd at *Rhodes*, sends the Emperor an account of his proceedings, requesting him to give him as a reward for all his past services the Government of *Egypt*. *Soliman* readily grants his petition, telling him, he reserv'd nothing in the whole *Egyptian* Kingdom but the royal name and coin: every thing else he most willingly gave him. *Mustapha* being invested with this power, and enrich'd with *Cbairbeg's* treasures and the effects of those he had conquer'd or proscrib'd, aspires to sovereignty, and resolves to subject all *Egypt* to his dominion. But the old axiom, nothing violent is lasting, was verified by his example. For whilst he was meditating on these things, he imparted his design to *Mehemmed Effendi* scribe of the *Divan* (11), and created him Vizir, as thinking him a man of sense and his particular friend. *Mehemmed*, either out of conscience or detesting his Lord's wicked purpose, resolves to revenge treachery with treachery, and free *Egypt* from a tyranny, and the Sultan from a rebel. To this end, he endeavours with some accomplices to kill *Mustapha* as he was bathing. But *Mustapha* being inform'd of the danger by a faithful servant, escapes out of their hands through a back door, and flies with a few attendants to the *Sheikh* of the *Arabians* (12). There, by means of great promises, he easily assembles a numerous band of *Arabs*, and wages war with the scribe, whom for his unexperience he despises. Mean while the scribe had acquainted *Soliman* with what was done, and for a reward of his service obtain'd the government of *Egypt*. Wherefore to show his fidelity to the Emperor, he encourages the soldiers with a large distribution of money, and leading them against his former Lord and the Sultan's enemy, vanquishes him after a bloody battle, and cuts off his head.

Ibrahim marries Soliman's Sister.

VII. *Mustapha's* treachery, and *Ibrahim's* virtues, caus'd *Soliman* not to repent of committing the highest office in the *Othman* Empire to a man of so mean a condition. Wherefore to render him the more

ANNOTATIONS.

(11) Scribe of the *Divan*] *Divan Kiatibi*. Such an Officer belongs to every Pasha, and his business is to receive with a clear voice the complaints deliver'd in writing to the Pasha's *Divan*. They have now a more honorable name, *Divan Effendi*. For *Effendi* is an appellation of the learned. The Prime Vizir has two, who are not call'd *Kiatib*, Scribes, but *Teskierji Effendi*, that is, Secretaries. *Teskierji* *evvel*, vulgarly, *buzuk Teskierji*, the first or great Secretary, and *Teskierji Jani* or *Kucuk Teskierji*, the second or minor Secretary. When the Vizir hears causes in the *Divan*,

the first stands at his right hand, the second at his left, and read with a loud voice by turns the Petitions or *Arzubat* receiv'd from the *Chauso Bashi*. The same also is done by them in the *Galibe Divan* before the Sultan. If the Sultan orders any thing to be done, they write it in a little book, which is afterwards confirm'd by the Vizir's hand, who usually does it with the word *Sab*. But the Sultan's confirmation is by a *Chatsberif*, or the Holy Character, of which I have before spoken.

(12) *Sheikh of the Arabians*] His Name is not extant.

faithful,

faithful, he gives him, in the year 930, his sister (13) in marriage, and whilst he is gracing the nuptials with his presence, the joy is doubled by the Sultana being deliver'd of a son, who was nam'd *Selim* (14).

VIII. Shortly after *Ibrahim Pasha*, with some galleys, departs to settle the *Egyptian* affairs; but being beat back by tempestuous weather he anchors in the *Propontis* under the Island *Kyzyl Ada* (15), about seventeen miles from *Constantinople*. Whereupon *Soliman* in his royal barge, instantly goes to the Vizir, views the fleet, and advising with him about the publick affairs, returns to *Constantinople*. *Ibrahim* having got a fair wind, sails out of the *Hellepont*, but in the *Archipelagus* meets with a second storm, which forces him into *Rhodes* with the loss of some galleys. Finding the sea not propitious to him, he leaves there his ships, and goes by land to *Aleppo*, and from thence to *Cairo*. At his arrival, he composes the troubled state of the Kingdom, disperses by his authority the rebels, and taking the Ring-leaders, the sons of *Omer* and *Becaar* (16), orders them to be hang'd, and their estates confiscated. As among their effects was found a great quantity of Gold, he coins Ducats like those of *Venice*, but of less value by thirty *Aspers*, which to this day have retain'd the name of *Ibrahim* (17). After this, he delivers

H. 930.
A. C. 1523.

He is first into
Egypt, where
he coins these
Ducats.

ANNOTATIONS.

(13) His sister] The *Turkish* Sultana are wont to marry their Sisters and Daughters to the Pashas and Vizirs, though not of a fit age, nay sometimes whilst in their Cradles, of whom as Husbands they are to take care, and be at the charge of their Education; nor can they espouse another wife, before their marriage with the Sultana be consummated. When the Sultana is of mature age, she is conducted with great pomp and magnificence from the *Serai*, with her portion to her Husband's Palace. But if, in the mean time, her Husband happens to die, or lose his head by the Sultan's command, she is instantly betroth'd to another Pasha, who succeeds to the right and charges of the former. *Murad IV's* Sister had four Husbands in one year, and not one of the Marriages appears to have been consummated. For as soon as the Nuptials were celebrated according to custom, they were accus'd of some crime, and put to death by the Emperor, and their Riches with all their effects assign'd indeed to the Sultana as his lawful Wife, but in reality brought into the royal Treasury.

(14) *Selim*] This is he who succeeded his Father *Soliman* in the Empire, famous for the memorable defeat of his fleet by the *Christians* near *Naupactus*, and for his drunkenness.
(15) *Kyzyl Ada*] Red Island, so call'd from a Red Stone which is found there. It lies in the *Propontis* seventeen Italian Miles from *Constantinople*. This is the greatest of three Islands which lie together, and are by the *Turks* call'd by the same name *Kyzil adalar*. Here are three Monasteries, viz. of the Holy Trinity, the *Virgin Mary*, and *St. George*, fill'd with *Greek* Monks. The least of these Islands breeds such quantities of Hares spotted with various colours, which they call *Moskoltici*, that when they come out of their holes to feed, they fill the whole Island like sheep. 'Tis said, there were great numbers of them in the time of the *Christian* Emperors. To hunt them is prohibited.

(16) of *Omer* and *Becaar*] They seem to have been of the *Egyptian* Race of *Cbercasiani*, who, after Sultan *Gauri*, had escap'd *Solim's* cruelty.

(17) *Ibrahim*] It is a coin resembling the *Venetian* Gold Ducats, but

+ *Lepanto*.

It is a plural termination.

H. 931. delivers up the Government to *Soliman Pasha*, and in the year 931, on the 30th of *Sheban*, arrives at *Constantinople*.

IX. The next year, *Soliman* resumes the war he had hitherto deserr'd, against the *Hungarians*, and with a great army, on the 30th day of *Rejeb*, comes to *Belgrade*. He orders a bridge to be thrown over the *Savus*, and leads his forces over it into the plain of *Serem*. From hence he moves towards *Buda*, and in his march takes *Sulink* and *Osek*, under the conduct of *Balybeg*, and commands the bridge to be demolish'd, which afforded near *Osek* a passage over the *Dravus*. Soon after, the *Hungarians* with the same design come thither; but when they see the bridge already destroy'd, they first wonder, and then are seiz'd with fear, because it was a demonstration to them, that the *Turks* had pass'd the river, with a resolution to conquer or die. *Ladofsb* (18) himself, King of *Hungary*, to prevent the devastation of his country, marches with incredible speed, and incamps in sight of the *Turkish* army in a place call'd *Mobaj*. The next day, being the 22d of *Ziulcade*, both armies ingage, and so fiercely contend the whole day, that it was long difficult to perceive, to which side victory would incline. At length, about Sun-set, the *Hungarians* take to flight, the King himself falls in battle, and the rest with the whole camp become a prey to the *Othmans*.

X. After this victory, *Soliman* marches directly to *Buda*, Metropolis of *Hungary*, which, dispirited by the late slaughter, is easily taken the 3d of *Ziulbijs*, and the next day *Pestbe* opposite to *Buda* on the other side of the *Danube*, voluntarily surrenders to the Conqueror. Whilst *Soliman* is thus employ'd, some *Hungarians*, who had escap'd out of the late battle, set upon and kill some *Turks* dispers'd over the fields in quest of prey. Upon this, *Soliman* immediately runs a bridge over the *Danube*, and orders his troops, divided into parties, to go in search of these *Hungarians*. His commands are so diligently executed, that some are slain, and others brought prisoners to *Soliman*, who by that means clear'd the country of these enemies. Winter approaching, he leads back his army, and by the way takes by assault *Baj* on the *Danube*, with *Sogedin* and *Titeli* on the *Tisa*. Having thus laid waste the neighbouring

and takes
Buda.

ANNOTATIONS.

by the confession of the *Turks* themselves lighter by thirty Aspers. So great a quantity was coin'd at *Cairo*, as would suffice to pay two years tribute of *Egypt*. They are still to be met with at *Constantinople* and other Places, though most of them have

been melted down by the Emperor's order.

(18) *Ladofsb*] This is *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary*, whom the *Christian* Writers do not deny to have receiv'd at *Mobatur* a great overthrow from the *Turks*, and to have perish'd in the battle. †

† Our Author is mistaken in the name of this Prince, for *Lewis II.* was then King of *Hungary*. But of this more largely in the additional Notes.

regions,

2

regions, he enters *Constantinople* in triumph, the 3d of *Mubarrem*, in the year 933, with his victorious army laden with captives and spoils.

XI. Whilst these things pass'd in *Europe*, a false report of his death is spread in the farthest parts of *Asia*. Whereupon many free-booters in the country of *Zuulcadir* (19) miserably harras all the neighbouring Provinces with clandestine depredations and open incursions. *Piri Pasha* indeed, Governor of *Adana*, bravely resists, kills many, and punishes all he takes with death, but for want of a sufficient force cannot quell the rebellion which had taken so deep root. *Calenderbeg* (20) Son of *Haji Beftasb* the Arch Rebel, rejected all offers, nor would be perswaded to submit. To conquer his obstinacy, *Soliman* sends the *Vizir Ibrahim Pasha* with a good army into *Asia*, who finds *Calenderbeg* near *Kaisarie* (for so far had he penetrated) and bravely attacking him, after a bloody conflict, the plunderers valiantly fighting for their lives, defeats him, and kills above thirty thousand of his men.

XII. The next year is begun with religious disturbances. For there appears at *Constantinople* one *Cabyzi Ajem*, a man of great learning among the *Turks*, and well vers'd in the law and several sciences, who not only privately in schools, but publickly in his discourses in the *Jami*, endeavours to perswade the people, that the *Christian* doctrine stands upon a firmer foundation than the *Mabometan*. This so unexpected an opinion of a man of his wisdom could not but offend the ears as well of his brethren as of the common people. Wherefore when they find he is not to be brought by private admonitions to a recantation, they seize and carry him before the *Mufti*. There he not only openly and freely repeats what he had inculcated on the people, but strives to demonstrate, by a comparison with the *Koran* and other strong arguments, the excellency of the *Christian* law and precepts of the Gospel. He is again admonish'd to forsake his opinions, and not fully by a foul defection from the law, a life hitherto adorn'd with

H. 933.

A. C. 1526.
Suppresses the
rebellious Aff-
airs.

H. 934.
A. C. 1527.

A Turk for
maintaining
the Gospel is
put to death.
H. 934.

A. C. 1527.

ANNOTATIONS.

(19) *Zuulcadir*] It is falsely writ by the *Christians* *Dulcadir*, by the change of the *Turkish* letter *Zal* into *Dal*, [the first being distinguish'd from the last by only having a point over it.] It is also call'd by another name among the *Turks*, *Alaideulet Memleketi*, the Province of *Alaideulet*. This country is bounded on one side by the *Cappadocian* Mountains, and people, call'd by *Cedrenus*, *Manzures*: towards *Syria* by *Aleppo* anti-ently *Berwa* (with a single *Bopoin* to distinguish it from *Boppain* in *Macedonia*) towards *Persia* by *Armenia Major*, towards the *Othman* Dominions at that time by *Amasia*, towards

Nº 9.

Caramania by *Adana*, which some think to be the ancient *Tbarfus*, tho' at present *Tersus* and *Adana* are distinguish'd by the *Turks*.

(20) *Calenderbeg*] Who *Haji Beftasb* was, is unknown. But his son *Calenderus*, the *Turks* own, brought the *Othman* affairs to such extremities, that the Empire seem'd to be on the brink of destruction. For all *Turky* in *Asia* as far as *Cesaria* being subdu'd at once by him, acknowledg'd him for Sovereign. But the blind fortune of the *Othmans* was able to reduce to nothing even the most sharp-sighted Warriors. Wonderful are the secret works of Providence!

A a a

sanctity.

sanctity. But disregarding both exhortations and threats, he is at last by the Emperor's command punish'd with the loss of his head, and an edict publish'd, that whoever should, even by way of dispute, prefer the Doctrine of *Christ* before *Mabomet's*, should undergo the same penalty.

All the Albanians at Constantinople put to death.

XIII. About the same time, some thieves at *Constantinople* break into a *Christian* Merchant's house near *Selim's Temple* (21), murder the Merchant, and not only carry away his money, but also his goods.

ANNOTATIONS.

(21) *Selim's Temple*] It stands on the Mount which hangs over the Gate *Pbenar*. Elegance and Art so shines in the whole Structure, that to describe its proportions would be acceptable to the sons of *Dadalus*. It is square, and built with square Stones, the length of the side being fifty, and the height seventy, Cubits. The Roof contains the same space with the Floor. No Arches are drawn from the Angles, but the roundness of the Roof rises from the walls themselves, so that from the point of the Angles is drawn the Arch of a Circle almost Horizontal. In this whole spacious building, (which is wonderful) there is not they say any iron to be found. The Architect was a *Greek* of *Constantinople*, who besides this built another and more stately Temple at *Adrianople*, in which are nine hundred and ninety nine Windows. The Sultan indeed had order'd a thousand, but the Architect designedly left out one Window. Wherefore when the Windows were counted at the finishing of the building, and found to be one less than the imperial Mandate, the Sultan in a passion commanded the Architect to be hang'd. He petitions for leave to plead his cause, affirming he would readily undergo his sentence, if the Sultan after hearing his reasons should think fit to condemn him. His request being granted, "If (says he) O Emperor, there can be found in the whole World an Architect, who, without infringing the Rules of Architecture, can open another window in this building, let me be put to death, but if not, then am I worthy your royal clemency. Besides

"there was also another reason why I left out the thousandth window, because a thousand may appear to the illiterate vulgar to be of less value than nine hundred ninety nine." The Architect was not deceiv'd in his expectation, for he was not only pardon'd his omission, but royally rewarded. In this magnificent building, among other remarkable things are four Towers, where the *Ezan* is cried, seemingly too small for their height, of which two only can be seen at a distance from the four great roads: but by very high winds they were observ'd by their shadow to be moved. Two very lofty and thick *Porphyry*-Pillars adorn the larger Portico before the Gate, in both which is seen a white line from the top to the bottom, as if drawn with a Pencil. How this should happen is scarce to be conceiv'd, unless both Pillars are suppos'd to be cut out of the same piece of *Porphyry*, and so the white line which lay conceal'd in the middle appear'd on both Superficies. There were also other Pillars in this Portico plac'd opposite to one another, which agree in variety of colours. They were brought from *Troas*, whose Ruins afforded large Materials for other *Turkish* Buildings. The *Jami* I am speaking of, is a square of seventy Cubits. For that is the figure the *Turks* are fond of in their Structures. But the Porticoes are generally *Quadrangular*. When the work was finish'd, the Architect being ask'd by the Sultan, in which Building he had shown most ingenuity and art, is said to reply, that he had employ'd on that of *Adrianople*, most expence, but most skill on that of *Constantinople*.

Next morning complaint is brought to the Emperor's *Divan*, and upon a strict enquiry it appears, that the fact was committed by some *Albanians*. Whereupon the Sultan, since the names of the actors were not discover'd, and the circumstances of the thing show'd many more guilty, orders that the *Albanians*, whether inhabitants of *Constantinople*, or sojourners only on account of trade, should be all search'd after to a man, and put to death for this single murder (22).

XIV. At the same time this butchery was acting at *Constantinople*, a great quarrel arose at *Aleppo* between the ecclesiastical Judges, *Molla* and *Kaziler* †, which the Citizens despairing to see an end of, enter into a conspiracy, and kill them in the very *Jami* at the morning

Inhabitants of Aleppo punish'd for killing the Judges. † See Note P. 31.

ANNOTATIONS.

(22) single murder] The Sultan seems here to have acted more than tyrannically, though not against the laws. For it is ordain'd among the *Turks*, that if one thousand and one men tumultuously kill any person, and refuse to confess who gave the first blow, all the thousand and one are to die. I saw an instance of this in my time. At *Constantinople* under *Caimcam* *Mustapha Pasha* (who being taken near *Gran* by the *Poles*, was after seven years releas'd by my Father's intercession) a *Greek* Countryman coming from *Kiuchuk* *Chekmeje**, a Town about two hours distant from *Constantinople* in the road to *Adrianople*, meets eleven *Janizaries*, who first reprimand him for slowly alighting from his horse, and then stab him to death with knives. Other *Turks* accidentally riding that way, (for the *Janizaries* had been on foot to drink wine) when they see what they are about, civilly admonish them not to commit such an heinous and illegal deed upon a subject of the Emperor. The *Janizaries* also give them abusive language, who, when they come to *Constantinople* inform the *Caimcam* of what they had seen. For the *Turks* believe, that as God will reward them hereafter for giving a voluntary evidence, so he that refuses his evidence against his conscience will be in the same state with the guilty person himself. The wife also of the murder'd man exhibited a Petition, imploring Justice of the Judge with a torrent of tears. Wherefore the *Janizaries* are sought for and taken drunk in the village.

Next morning, when they are come to themselves, and understand they had kill'd a man, and many witnesses had appear'd against them, ignorant of the laws, they resolve, when the Judge should ask which of them kill'd the *Raya* or Subject, to answer they did it all together, not imagining it possible, that for one man, especially a *Christian*, eleven *Musulmans* and *Janizaries* would be put to death. Being therefore brought into the *Divan*, they confess they all kill'd the man, and when ask'd which of them stab'd him first, reply, they know not, but remember that they all at once struck at him with their knives. Upon hearing the cause, the Judge states the case in this manner to the *Mufti*: "If eleven *Musulmans* without just cause kill a *Gauri*], that is, a Subject of the Emperor and pays tribute, what is to be done?" The *Mufti* subscribes with his own hand, "Though the *Musulmans* should be one thousand and one, let them all die." The Judge reading the *Mufti's* sentence, and pitying so many *Janizaries*, asks the woman whether she would accept of a price (call'd *Dier*) for the blood of her Husband, and offers two thousand Crowns for the life of the eleven *Janizaries*. The poor woman answers, that by the Sultan's auspicious Government and clemency she wants not mooney, but justice, and with wonderful firmness refuses the offer. So when she could not be perswaded to accept the ransom, the eleven *Janizaries* were put to death.

prayers.

prayers. *Soliman* being inform'd of this deed, instantly orders some *Pathas* to lead thither an army, and put all the inhabitants guilty and not guilty to death. But *Ibrahim Pasha* the *Vizir* interceded, and by his great interest with the Emperor, obtain'd that the chief men and heads of the conspiracy only, should be punish'd with various kinds of death, and the common people, as being rather led on by the conspirators than guilty of the crime, banish'd to *Rhodes*.

Soliman's expedition into *Hungary* prevented by rains.

H. 935.
A. C. 1528.

XV. Whilst *Soliman* is thus employ'd in domestick affairs, about the end of the year, *Alaman Kiraly* (23) takes *Buda* from *John King of Hungary* (24), and strengthens it with new works and a *German* garrison. Whereupon *Soliman*, to revenge the injury done to a King under his protection, in the year 935 marches from *Constantinople* with a great army, and near *Filibe* on a spacious plain incamps with design to assemble his *European* forces. In this place the *Mufti*, without just reason, incurs his displeasure, and with reproaches is depriv'd of his office: but the innocence of the holy man, which the Emperor could not see, is made appear by heaven itself! For God displeas'd (25) at this

ANNOTATIONS.

(23) *Alaman Kiraly*] The name formerly given by the *Turks* to the Emperor of *Germany*. But now he is honour'd in their letters with the appellation of *Nemce Kiraly*, King of the *Germans*, and *Cbasar*, *Casar*, and also *Ruma imperaduri*.

(24) King of *Hungary*] How treacherously *Soliman* executed the Guardianship committed to him, and how banishing the Queen with her Son *Lebessus* or *Logob Sanjac*, he quickly seiz'd the Kingdom of *Hungary*, is too well known to be much enlarg'd upon. However it will not be improper for understanding the heinousness of this treachery, to insert the following narrative as related by the *Turks* themselves. For when *Soliman* was invited after King *John's* death to deliver *Buda* from the *Germans*, the young King with the Noblemen of *Hungary*, came in a submissive manner to meet him in his camp. The Sultan ordering an entertainment to be prepar'd, bid the *Vizir* invite the Nobles, and his Son *Solim* to invite the young King to dinner, saying, "Remember, Son, I am thy natural and his *Achreti*, (i. e. of the other World or) Spiritual Father. And if I die, do you cherish him as your Brother, and readily take care of him and his

"Kingdom." The entertainment being ended, the *Vizir* says to the Sultan, "Behold! most potent Emperor, it is this day in thy power to subject the whole Kingdom of *Hungary* by one stroke of the "Sword." The Sultan was highly offended with this Speech of the *Vizir's*, or at least pretended to be so, and said, "Certainly the *Othman* Empire is not to be enlarg'd, by treachery, deceit, perfidiousness, nor by the unjust slaughter of Princes suing for Protection, but by arms and open war; but that *Hungary* will one day be subject to the *Othman* dominion, what is now transacting, sufficiently presages." The *Turks* are naturally so fruitful of fine sayings, but withal so barren of good actions, that it is a common saying among them, *Othmanly eye soiler, fena ybler*, the *Othmans* say well, but do ill.

(25) Displeas'd] Of all the Nations in the World, the *Turks* are the most given to superstition. Neither is there any where greater veneration paid to Ecclesiasticks than among the *Turks*. The Emperor may indeed banish but not put them to death, and of all the Sultans, *Murad IV.* alone commanded a *Mufti* to be pounded to death in a marble Mortar,

this proceeding, sends that very day as a punishment for it, such terrible and lasting rains, that they not only swept away like a deluge, *Coffers* (26) full of treasure, but even endanger'd the lives of the Sultan and his whole army †.

XVI. All the warlike provisions being thus destroy'd by the violence of the torrents, he is forc'd to defer his intended expedition. However he appoints his troops to winter in the neighboring provinces, that the army might be the readier in the Spring. Mean while, he makes new collections of money and fresh preparations, greater than what were destroy'd. Every thing being ready, he marches the next year with speed through *Hungary* to *Buda*, and incamping under the very walls, closely besieges the City. Having fortified his camp, he batters the walls with his Engines, and by continual assaults so weakens the garrison, which made a brave defense, that they promis'd to surrender on condition of having their arms and lives. *Soliman* accepts of the terms, and assures them of safety, provided they deliver up the Town: but whilst they are going out, they are revil'd by the *Turks*, and especially by the *Janizaries*, for their cowardice. A certain *German* soldier not bearing these affronts, "I do not command (says he) but am "commanded," and with that, draws his sword and stabs the *Janizary* who was reproaching him. The rest cry out, the articles are violated and against the Sultan's order, (say the *Turks* in excuse of their countrymen) suddenly fall upon the *Germans*, and before the tumult could be appeas'd, put them all to the sword (27). Thus whilst for the

He retreats
Buda from the
Germans.

H. 936.
A. C. 1529.

ANNOTATIONS.

Mortar, saying, "The Heads, whose dignity exempts them from the Sword, ought to be struck with the Pestle." An instance of this superstition happen'd in the last *Turkish* war with the Emperor of *Germany* under *Abmed II.* which I saw with my own eyes, and have related in the second part of my History.

(26) *Coffers*] The *Turks* usually place the money carried with them in an expedition, in the Tents of the Sultan and *Vizir* in the middle of the camp, and guard it with *Spabiler* or *Horse*, who relieve one another. The *Coffers* are often empty, but however they are always expos'd, cover'd with Arras, to the view of the soldiers, lest they should think the Emperor without money, and so behave the

more remissly in a battle. This in my opinion is certainly a great means to inspire the soldiers with courage. Besides the *Turks* say, that the *Enemies*, in the Reign of *Egre Sultan Mehmed*, penetrating into the camp as far as the Treasure, the *Othman* soldiers flew thither to its assistance, and from vanquish'd became victors.

(27) to the sword] We frequently read in History, the *Turks* upon a surrender either kill'd or made Prisoners the Garrisons contrary to the Capitulations confirm'd by oath, as happen'd to the Garrisons of *Constantinople*, *Buda*, *Babylon*. The *Turks*, since they can't deny it, because they are convicted of it by living proofs, yet that they may not seem to have been guilty of breach of Faith, affirm nothing was ever done by them

† It must be observ'd, that in this and many other places where mention is made of any miraculous Interposition of Heaven, the Author gives it in the words of the *Turkish* Historians, whom he faithfully copies.

fake of preserving their liberty and effects they surrender so strong a City to the *Turks*, they lose both with their lives.

Moldavia
made a fief of
the Empire.

XVII. Whilst *Soliman* after the taking of the City, staid in the neighbourhood some days to refresh his army, *Teutuk Lagobeta* (28) is sent in ambassy by *Bogdan* (29) Prince of *Moldavia* to the *Turkish* camp. Having

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contrary to Agreements without just cause. For this people, most subtle in devising excuses, presently recur to the *Koran*, where they easily find a hundred passages to their purpose. Thus, for instance, suppose a Garrison surrenders on condition of being dismiss'd without arms, if but a knife or ax be found upon any one soldier, they cry out the articles are violated by the *Christians*, and use them as they depart with great severity. And if it be agreed, that the Garrison shall march out with their arms, cannon, and baggage, and they happen to do it a little beyond the appointed hour, or give a rough answer, or afford any the least frivolous pretence, the *Turks* make no conscience to break the capitulation, and violate their oath. Hence it is more advisable and better for *Christians* to perish within their walls by famine, fire, and sword, than experience the treachery and barbarousness of the *Turks*.

(28) *Lagobeta*] He was of the noblest *Moldavian* race, from which even at this day five hundred families derived their original, though many of them are so fallen from their former splendor, that they look more like Husbandmen than Nobles. He understood the *Greek*, *Latin*, *Polish*, and other neighbouring Tongues to perfection, was well skill'd in politics, and of great wisdom. Being sent ambassador to the *Othman* Court, and admitted to the Prime Vizir, he is said to bid his servant bring his shoes with him into the audience-room; whereupon the Vizir asking him whether he was afraid they would be stole, he replies, from those who desire all things, every thing must be kept; and when the Vizir tells him he need not fear, for the *Turks* were now friends not enemies: I wish, (says he) they were as well friends to the head as to the feet!

He built at *Constantinople* a Palace call'd at this day *Bogdan Serai*, the *Moldavian* Palace, in which is a Church dedicated to St. *Nicolas*.

(29) *Bogdan*] This is a *Sclavonic* name taken from the *Greek* *Βοδανος*. The *Moldavians* gave him the surname of *Negrul* or *Black*. The *Moldavian* annals say, that *Stephanus the Great*, after a Reign of forty seven years, five months, after so many exploits, and famous victories obtain'd over the *Turks*, *Hungarians*, *Polanders*, *Walachians*, and *Tartars*, when his body, not mind, was now impair'd, and death approach'd, sent for his only son and heir of the Kingdom with his Nobles, and spoke to them in the following manner: "O *Bogdan* my son, and you my fellow soldiers, witnesses and partakers of so many and great triumphs! See, I have now finish'd the course of my frail nature, and have before my eyes the setting of my life like the evening shadows. I shall not return through the Paths, which as a mortal, as a worm I have trod; Death is at hand, but that is not the object of my fear, (for I know I have been hastening to the Grave from my birth) the danger which hangs over this Kingdom from that fierce and roaring lion, *Soliman*, who so greedily thirsts after *Christian* Blood, is what disturbs my thoughts, and creates my dread. He has already swallow'd up by stratagem and craft, almost the whole Kingdom of *Hungary*, subdu'd by his arms and bound to him by the *Mahometan* superstition *Crima* and the hitherto unconquer'd Tribes of the *Tartars*, overrun our *Bessarabia*, impos'd his yoke on the *Walachians*, who, though our enemies, are however *Christians*; in short, he holds in

Having obtain'd an audience, he declares his mission from the *Moldavian* Prince and People, to offer the Sultan both *Moldavia's* (30) upon honorable

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"subjection the noblest part of *Europe* and *Asia* with the imperial Seat; nor content with this, he extends his threatening arms on every side, sets no bounds to his power, and thirst of dominion. Since things are thus, can it be thought that after the surmounting of so many obstacles, he will withhold his hands from *Moldavia* surrounded with his Provinces? It is rather to be fear'd, that when *Hungary* is entirely subdued, his whole forces will be turn'd against us. For he is prompted to a mortal hatred of the *Christians*, not only by his deprav'd nature, but by the laws of the *Koran*. If I look round on my neighbours, I am forc'd to deplore the wretched state of our affairs: The *Polanders* I know to be inconstant, and unequal to the *Turkish* fury. The *Hungarians* already groan under his yoke. The *Germans*, it is my opinion, are so embroil'd at home, that they will not or cannot, look abroad. Since this is the melancholy situation of all around us, I think it advisable, of so many evils to chuse the least. For to spread the sails against storms and tempests, is the part of a mad, not prudent pilot. Our forces are inferior, assistance uncertain and remote, the danger certain and nigh. Wherefore I judge it better to soften this raging wild Beast than rouze him by the noise of arms. For I do not see our calamitous state can be any other way reliev'd, than by moderating the unquenchable flame of his fury with the dew of submission. And therefore in these my last hours I exhort you, as a Father and Brother, if with the preservation of your civil and ecclesiastical laws, you can obtain peace on honorable conditions in the name of a fief, that you chuse rather to try his clemency than his sword. But if he prescribes other conditions, it

"will be better for all to perish by the hand of the enemy, than be idle spectators of the profanation of your Religion, and calamity of your Country. But the God of your Fathers, who alone performs wonders, will one day pour upon you his inexhausted Grace, and mov'd by the tears of his servants, raise up one who will restore you or your posterity to their former power and liberty." *Bogdan*, in obedience to his Father's last will, sends in the seventh year of his Reign Ambassadors to *Soliman*, and first subjects to him *Moldavia* by the name of a fief; but now alas! there is no man of letters, I believe, who is a stranger to the miserable tyranny *Moldavia* groans under.

(30) Both *Moldavia's*] *Moldavia* is divided into *Upper* and *Lower*. *Lower Moldavia* extends from *Jassy*, the present seat of the Prince eastward to *Bender* by the *Moldavians* call'd *Tyria*. On the South it is bounded by *Galatium* on the *Danube*, on the West, by *Walachia* and the *Transylvanian* Mountains, which run along the road call'd *Tyras*, and belong to the *Moldavians*, and not to the *Transylvanians*. *Upper Moldavia* begins at *Jassy*, and has the same eastern bounds with the *Lower*, but on the west is bounded by the *Transylvanian* or *Carpathian Alps* to *Snyatin* a Town of *Podolia*. To *Lower Moldavia* belong'd formerly all *Bessarabia*, call'd by the *Tartars* *Bujak*, where lie the two famous Cities *Akkerman*, (by *Herodotus* nam'd *Ozla*, by the *Moldavians*, *Czerate Alba*, by the *Romans*, *Julia Alba*, noted for *Ovid's* banishment, near which at this day is seen a Lake call'd by the *Moldavians*, *Lacul Ovidului*, *Ovid's Lake*) and *Kilia*, antiently *Licostomon*, near the mouth of the *Danube*, where it falls into the *Black Sea*. Besides these in *Lower Moldavia*, which is now subject to the *Moldavian* Prince, were the fortified Towns, *Tyria* on the Banks of the *Tyras* [or *Niefter*] (shamefully surrender'd

able terms, particularly that their Religion should be preserv'd entire, and the country be subject as a fief to the Empire. Nothing could be more grateful to *Soliman*, whose more weighty affairs hinder'd him from turning his arms that way, and yet the defeats receiv'd from the *Moldavians*, oblig'd him to have always an eye to their motions. Wherefore readily accepting the offer'd terms, he confirms them with his own hand, and delivers him the instruments to be carried to his Prince at *Soczava* (31). Afterwards in his return from that year's expedition he is met near *Sophia* a City of *Servia* by *Begdan* with some of his Barons, and presented by him with four thousand gold Crowns (32), forty bred Mares, and twenty four Falcons, with a promise

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surrender'd to the *Turks* by *Hero* a certain *Moldavian* Prince, and by them call'd *Bender* (*Giergins* on the *Siretus* near *Galatinum*, in whose Ruins were found some ancient coins. That it was built by the Emperor *Trajan*, appears from a marble-stone dug up in my time, with this inscription. *Imp. Casari, Div. filio Nervæ Trajano, Augusto, Ger. Ducio, Pont. Max. Fel. B. Æt. XVI. Imp. VI. Conf. VII. PP. Calpurnio, Publio, Marco, C. Aurelio Ruso.* There was also on the river *Milkoto*, which parts *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, another Town commonly call'd *Craezana*, with the *Taiphalia* of *Herodotus* on the river *Prut* not far from *Falazy*, whose largeness is demonstrated by the ruins discover'd in my time: *Soroca*, formerly *Olechnia*, on the *Tyras*, surrounded with a flint-wall, and *Jassy* on the river *Bablu* four miles from *Hierafus*. Upper *Moldavia* contains the strong Towns of *Soczava*, formerly the Metropolis, *Nemza*, *Romanus*, and *Cbotinus*. The inhabitants of Upper *Moldavia* are noted for their riches, of Lower, for their warlike bravery, and both after all their losses for their hospitality. But these things, if God grant me life and leisure, will be more largely explain'd in a separate Treatise.

(31) *Soczava*] Before the *Turks* turn'd their arms against *Europe*, this was the Metropolis of the principality and seat of the Prince, but after the taking of *Constantinople*, the *Moldavian* Despots, that they might be nearer the *Turkish* borders, removed

their Throne to *Jassy*. It is indeed no large City, but very strong by nature and art, and still remarkable for the ruins of the Palace. Besides other things worthy of note, whereas there has not been found in any Town of *Moldavia*, any inscription or mark, by which the names of the founders or antiquity of the place can be discover'd, in the walls of this alone appear engrav'd on a very large stone seven Towers cover'd with an Imperial Crown upheld by two Lions. Moreover in the foundations of the Towers is an Area on which are seen two scaly fishes with their heads plac'd across downwards, and their tails in the same manner upwards, and under them the head of a wild Bull holding between his horns a star of six rays. This is also a sign that these things were not plac'd here by the first founder, because the head of a wild Bull began long after to be us'd in the arms of the Province. But of this more fully elsewhere.

(32) Crowns] The *Turks* themselves dare not deny that *Moldavia* was subjected to them by the name of a fief. The instruments of the Sultans, by which they ratified the conditions, were formerly kept among the publick records of *Moldavia*, but in my time by the command or permission of *John Sobiesky* King of *Poland*, in his invasion of *Moldavia* in the year 1686, they were taken, and I know not whether very wisely, burnt publickly at *Jassy*, with this Declaration to the crowds of people, "Behold!

" his

mise to send yearly to *Constantinople* the like present in token of his feudal subjection. The Emperor admits the Prince to his presence, and again ratifies the conditions made with the Ambassador, gives him a larger *Cucca* (33) adorn'd with jewels, with a *Chylaat fabire* †, and a horse with all the imperial trappings. Moreover he orders four of his guard (34) to attend him, which custom is still observ'd whenever the Prince of *Moldavia* comes to the *Othman* Court.

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" his royal Majesty thus frees you from the *Turkish* yoke." Among other numberless privileges granted them according to the times, the chief was that wherein it was expressly said, that *Moldavia* voluntarily and without compulsion offer'd her obedience to the *Turkish* Empire, and therefore it is the Sultan's will that all her Churches, religious Rites, and Laws be untouched, and nothing more requir'd of the Prince, but that he send every year by faithful *Bojars* to the resplendent Port four thousand gold Crowns, forty bred Mares, twenty four Falcons, in the name of *Piskiesh*, a present or gift. The *Turks* punctually kept their agreement to the time of *Peter Rares*, in whose administration, they requir'd both an *Haraj* or greater sum in the name of a Tribute, and that he should once at least in three years salute the Threshold of the sublime Port. *Peter* boldly refus'd this; and that the seeds of future calamities might not be sown in his name, he resign'd the Diadem and retir'd to *Cziczen*, a City of *Transylvania*, where he purchas'd no inconsiderable estate with his money. But *Stephanus Junior*, chosen in his room, either out of ambition, or with the consent of the Senate, promis'd to pay annually twelve thousand Crowns; and in time, out of too great thirst of rule, his successors so increas'd the sum, that tho' at present there are paid in to the imperial Treasury sixty thousand Crowns by way of Tribute, and twenty four thousand as an *Easter* Offering, many more are exacted by these insatiable Blood-suckers. For as there is no law against avarice, so there is no end of the *Turkish* demands and extortions. All depends on the will of the Prime Vizir, and to make any

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remonstrance against his pleasure is deem'd Capital.

(33) *Cucca*] It is a Crest or ornament of the head made of *Ostrich* Feathers, with which are adorn'd only the *Bulukagulari* (or *Tribunus*) the *Seghan bashi* or chief officer of the *Seghan*, who is next to the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, and the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*. A lesser *Cucca* is worn by the *Solaki*. The *Cucca* is set on the heads of the new Princes of *Moldavia* or *Walachia* by *Mubzir Aga*, (who is about the *Vizir*, Keeper of his Court, and his Deputy over the whole Militia of *Janizaries*,) after which a robe is put on them by the *Vizir* himself, because they may be said to belong to the *Ojæ* or Regiments of *Janizaries*.

(34) of his guard] Neither *Pasha's* nor *Vizirs* in general are created with so much pomp as the Princes of *Moldavia*. For *Pasha's* as soon as the Prime *Vizir* has put on their robe, immediately go home, and next day receive the Patents of their *Pashalate*, with the Standard call'd *Saujak*. But the Prince of *Moldavia*, after receiving the robe from the Prime *Vizir* in token of his power, is conducted with the whole *Divan* and with the acclamations of the *Ghausis** to the Patriarchal Church, where the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch, attended with all the Clergy and *Greek* Nobles, waits to consecrate the Prince. When the Prince comes into the Court of the Church, he alights from his horse on a square stone plac'd there for that purpose, all the *Chausis** repeating with a loud voice the Prayer usual on these occasions. "May the most high God grant a life of many years to our Emperor and our Prince *Effendi* (a corruption of the

C c c

* *Greek*

Beliege *Vien-*
na. 1529. XVIII. About the end of the year, *Soliman* securing the Cities he had taken, goes with all his forces to *Vienna*, and lays close siege to the

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“Greek *αδελφους*”) and may he long “live in prosperity.” Then the Prince’s whole company honorably wait in the Court and Street his coming out. Mean while, the Singing-men, the moment the Prince treads the Threshold of the Church, sing *εξου εστιν*, a Hymn compos’d in honour of the *Virgin Mary*; which ended, the Prince ascends a Throne appointed for the Princes of *Moldavia*. The Deacon in reciting *τας ετιμους* mentions the new Prince in this manner: “We pray also for our most pious, most serene, and most excellent Lord *N. N.* may he be crown’d with strength, victory, stability, health and security, and may the Lord our God farther co-operate with him, guide him in all things, and put all his adversaries under his feet.” After this, the Patriarch in his sacred vestments, with four or more Metropolitans goes up to the Altar. The Prince also approaches the royal entrance to the Altar, where, being sign’d by the Patriarch with both hands in the face with the sign of the Cross, he lays his head on the Holy Table, which the Patriarch covers with an *Homopfer*, and reciting the Prayers that were us’d at the inauguration of the Orthodox Emperors, anoints his forehead with the holy oil. After these ceremonies the Prince returns to his Throne, the singers chanting this *Polychronion*: “Grant, O Lord God, long life to our most pious, most serene, and most excellent Lord *N. N.* Lord of all *Moldovlachia*, preserve him, O Lord, many years.” Then the Patriarch also goes from the Altar to his Throne, and commanding silence, preaches a short Sermon to the Prince, which is follow’d by the foregoing *Polychronion*, pronounc’d by the Patriarch. At last, when all is over, the Patriarch and Prince, accompanied with all the People, go together out of the Church. In the Porch, the Prince after kissing the Patriarch’s right-

hand, and being confirm’d by him with hand and voice and the sign of the Cross, he mounts his horse, and with the same Parade as he came, returns home, and dismisses his attendants with presents. After some days *Mir alem Aga*, the Emperor’s Standard-bearer, brings the larger Standard call’d *Sanjak*, with the imperial Musick, *Tublebane*, from the Palace to the Prince’s house, and is met in the Porch by the Prince. There he takes the Standard, and kissing it, according to custom, with his mouth and forehead, delivers it into the Prince’s hands. The Prince upon receiving it, kisses it in the same manner, and gives it to his Standard-bearer to keep, saying, “May the blessed and great God grant the most potent, most gracious, and most just Emperor long life, and multiply his days.” Then the Prince gives the *Mir alem Aga*, a robe, and dismisses him with the usual present. After spending a few days in dispatching his affairs with the Court, he is conducted to the great *Divan*, where the Prime Vizir with the rest of *Kubbe Vizirleri* and the two *Cadiuleskiers* stand at the Emperor’s right-hand. *Capuebilar* *Kiebudasi* or chief Porter, arrays the Prince with a Robe in the Porch of *Arzodasi* or Audience-room, *Mubzur Aga* bids him put the *Cucca* on his head, and cloaths all the Prince’s Barons, which are usually twenty eight, with new Robes. Thus adorn’d and supported on each side with two *Capujbaschi*, with the chief Porter before and the Court-Interpreter behind, (who is commonly a *Christian Greek*) he enters the Audience-room with four of his Barons. At the entrance he bows his head to the ground three times, and stands upright when he comes to the middle of the room, which is not extraordinary large. Then the Emperor from the Throne (*Tacht*) turning to the Vizir, bids him tell him, “Since his faithfulness and sincerity has reach’d the ears of my Majesty,

“I gra-

the City. He assaults it forty days with various engines, blows up part of the walls with mines, and commands his men to enter the breaches.

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“I graciously confer on him as a reward the Principality of *Moldavia*. It is also his duty not to fail in his fidelity and services for the future. Let him protest and defend the Provinces under his subjection, and dread to commit any thing against or beyond my Mandate.” To this the Prince replies, “I vow on my life and head to lay out my whole endeavours in the service of my most just and gracious Emperor, so long as he does not withdraw the aspect of his clemency and Majesty from the Nothingness of his Servant.” (i. e. from his unprofitable Servant.) Upon these words the Prince goes out of the room, accompanied as when he enter’d, and mounting an imperial horse at the inner Gate of the Court, salutes the prime and other Vizirs as they depart, who answer with a nod; after which, the Barons and his whole Company leading the way, he returns home. When he is about to go to his Principality, whether the Sultan be at *Constantinople* or *Adrianople*, one of the Court-officers as *Sylabdar aga*, *Checadar* *aga*, *Miriachoraga*, *Capujlar Kiebaiaji*, or one of the Senior *Capujbaschi*, is order’d to set him on the Throne. There are also two *Peiki* or imperial Guards, equip’d with their Gold and Silver ornaments, and two *Aknullabla*, (so call’d from the white Hat they usually wear,) and also as many *Capuji* and *Chauschi* as the Prince pleases. The office of these is, when the Prince mounts or alights from his horse, to make the usual acclamation *alkysb*, and in the towns and villages to take care of necessaries for the Prince’s Court. The *Chauschi* go a little before him on foot, when he enters and leaves any town, and the *Capuji* hold his stirrup when he mounts or dismounts. In this manner he is attended till he arrives to the place of his residence, where all the great men both civil and military to the number of two thousand come to meet him. To all these the

Prince gives his hand on horseback to be kiss’d, and having inquir’d of their health bids them all remount. Then the Barons attending him on each side according to their rank, and the military officers going before, he enters the City with a slow pace for the greater pomp, and first unlights in the Court of the Cathedral Church dedicated to *St. Nicolas*. The Metropolitan, accompanied with three Bishops (for *Moldavia* counts so many Sees, whereas *Walachia* has but two) and the rest of the Clergy, offers the Cross and Holy Gospels to the Prince to kiss, the imperial Musick being silent during this ceremony. When the Prince comes into the Church, after the *αδου εστ* is sung, and *τας ετιμους* read, he approaches the Altar, and when Prayers are over, is anointed by the Metropolitan with the Holy Chrysm, unless he has been inaugurated by the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch, which happens when he is promoted to his dignity at *Adrianople*, or the Patriarch of *Constantinople* is absent. For he is, and is call’d, God’s anointed. When all is over and the *Polychronion* shouted, he repairs with the sound of Trumpets and Drums and other Musick to his Palace, and alighting at the *Divan*, stands before the Throne plac’d there, whilst the Barons who came with him take their places. Then the Officer appointed by the Emperor to attend him, gives the *Chauscherif* or imperial Mandate to *Divan Effendisi* or the scribe of the Court, who is a *Turk*, to be read. He rehearses the Mandate with a loud voice, sentence by sentence, which the great *Pojednik* interprets to the rest in their native Tongue. After that, the imperial officer arrays the Prince with the robe he had brought with him, and helps him with his right hand into the Throne, at which moment the guns are fir’d, and the *Chauschi* make the usual acclamation. The Prince in his turn gives the officer a Robe lin’d with *Ermin*, but to the scribe only a plain *Cassan*. Thus establish’d

breaches. But as often as they attempt it, they are repuls'd by the valour of the garrison, though not without loss. The *Christians* would at last have been forc'd to yield to the conquering sword of the *Turks*, if they had not by fraudulent promises (35) deceiv'd the politick *Soliman* himself. For by an ambassador they send the salutation *Eywallah* to the Emperor, own themselves exhausted, and promise to be his subjects and vassals. On this account they desire a truce, and prolong, under various pretences, the confirmation of the articles of the treaty; by which means they not only gain time to recover their strength, but also encourage the drooping garrison with hopes of the autumnal rains. Neither were they disappointed. For whilst they are yet busied in treating, the rains at the usual season suddenly fall in such abundance, that the besieg'd are inspir'd with hopes of preserving the City, and the *Turks* so annoy'd, that they despair of success, and are even in danger of their lives. Many of them perish'd with cold and moisture, and more whilst they faintly assault, are destroy'd by the sword and fire of the enemy.

He raises the
siege.

XIX. These continual calamities and daily slaughters, induce *Soliman* to raise the siege (36). But there was need of no less wisdom

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establish'd in his Throne, the Prince admits the Nobles to kiss his hand, and after saluting them, retires to his inner room. Then follows a splendid entertainment for the imperial officer, who is conducted to it by some of the Prince's Courtiers. This suffices to show the manner of confirming the Princes of *Moldavia*; they who desire a larger account may consult my History of *Moldavia*, which, I hope, will shortly be publish'd.

(35) promises] The *Turks* say that the *Christian* Garrison of *Vienna* perceiving the City could be no longer defended, sent to the Sultan to desire a ten days cessation of arms, in which space they could inform their Sovereign of their circumstances: for they were bound by their military oath not to open their Gates to Strangers without his privity: but if in that time they should receive no answer, they were freed from their oath, and would even against his will surrender the City to the Sultan, in-treating moreover that he would not any more batter *St. Stephen's* Tower, nor destroy so famous and beautiful a structure to no purpose. The Sul-

tan yielded to their intreaties; and to give his own men also some respite, granted a Truce both for the City and Tower, on condition that they would instead of the Cross, place a Crescent on the top of it. This indeed the besieg'd did do, but deserv'd the promis'd surrender.

(36) raise the siege] The more fabulous *Turkish* Historians say, When *Soliman* was still intent on the siege, but doubtful of the good success, *Mahomet* appear'd to him in a dream, and told him, unless he pleas'd the angry Deity with the sacrifice of forty thousand rams, he would not escape the danger. *Soliman* interpreting the dream in a literal sense, sent to the Vizir to get forty thousand rams. The Vizir said it was impossible, for in so long a siege all the provisions were very near consum'd, and the remainder would hardly suffice to satisfy the hunger of the soldiers. Besides the neighbouring country was so ravag'd by the incursions of the *Tartars*, that there was no hope left of collecting a new stock of provisions. Whereupon *Soliman* assembled all his officers and told them his dream. They answer'd, the Letter of this

divine

to lead back his army with safety. The enemy's forces were at hand, to whom after so great losses in the siege he saw himself inferior. On the other hand, his army was incumber'd with great numbers of captives of both sexes, which the *Tartars* and other light horse had taken as far as the bridge of *Iskender* (37). To keep these seem'd dangerous, to send them away, imprudent. Wherefore, to be freed from this apprehension, he orders all the captives without distinction of age or sex to be kill'd in his presence. After which he unexpectedly commands the Tents to be unpitch'd, and so before his retreat was known to the enemies, he leads the remains of his forces to *Buda*. There he allows the army some days of refreshment, and receiving of the *Vayvod* (38) of *Transylvania* (whom they call *Ban*) the tenths of the tribute he had rais'd in *Hungary*, confirms him in his principality.

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divine revelation was not to be consider'd, but the internal sense, namely, the forty thousand rams signified forty thousand Musulmans, who under the walls of the City should suffer Martyrdom for their faith. When the Sultan came to *Buda*, he review'd his army, and found just that number missing, and for that reason bound his successors by the strictest curse (*Lanet*,) never to besiege *Vienna* for the future. This story, though it wants the testimony of their more accurate Historians, is so firmly believed by all, that they do not scruple publicly to affirm, that their defeat at *Vienna* in my time was entirely owing to their treading the ground forbidden them by *Soliman's* curse, and thereby raising God's indignation against them, who is the avenger of broken vows.

(37) *Iskender*] This is certainly the bridge of *Rattibon*, which for its famousness and the elegance of the building, the *Tartars* seem to denote by the name of *Alexander*. I can't forbear here to say something of the Geographical studies of the *Tartars*. It seems a paradox, but however is founded on truth and experience, that no nation in the world has so good a knowledge of all places as the *Tartarian* Lords. Geographical Books or Maps they have none, but by tradition alone have an exact knowledge of all narrow Passages, Mountains, Valleys, Towns, Villages, Rivers, Bridges, Fords, Lakes, and talk of them to one another so often, though

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they never saw them, till they are firmly implanted in their memories. Hence very justly the *Turks* have made it a proverb: *Tataran kylavune ybtiaji yokdur*: The *Tartars* never want a guide, and yet never lose their way. Where they have once been, they know the way as perfectly as if they were natives of the place, and hand it down so exactly to their posterity, that even they, after several ages, will readily find it. In this they employ their whole study, as in a point, without which they could never successfully perform their daily incursions. But to all places they give particular names according to their fancy, so that Strangers, though ever so well acquainted with the countries, cannot without great difficulty understand what they mean by their imaginary names.

(38) *Vayvod*] This is a *Slavonic* word, signifying the General of an army, but by the *Poles* given to Governors of Provinces. As *Vayvod Kisowsky*, *Pofniansky*, &c. The *Turks* are wont to call by this name the *Christian* Princes of *Moldavia*, *Wallachia* and *Transylvania*, who are Tributary to them, especially in the imperial Mandates and Letters of the Prime Vizir, as *Bogdan Vayvodessi*, *Jflak* or *Erdel Vayvodessi*, though formerly the Princes of *Moldavia* were, as appears in Historians, call'd *Tekkur* or Kings. Sometimes this Title is given to Governors of large Cities, which are not *Bashas*, as *Pera Vayvodessi*, *Galata Vayvodessi*, &c.

D d d

XX. Front

He circumcises his three Sons.

XX. From thence returning to *Constantinople*, he celebrates with great pomp in the month *Rebiul ewvel* the circumcision of his three sons, *Mustafa*, *Mahomet*, and *Selim*. At this solemnity are present not only all the Vizirs and *Bashas* of the Empire, but also the Ambassadors of the *Christian* Princes, and of *Persia*, with great and valuable presents, so that almost the whole world seem'd to be got together to congratulate the Sultan. The ceremony being over, a very splendid entertainment is made for all that are present. The Emperor bids *Musti Kiemal Pascha zade* and *Cazinlasker Kadri Cbelebi* fit (39) on his right hand, and on his left, his *Hoje*† and *Mubi isledin Cbelebi**. A second table is prepar'd for the Vizirs, a third for the *Bashas*, a fourth for *Ulema* or the learned in the law. The rest of the civil and military officers were order'd to place themselves according to their rank; a separate table is provided for foreign ambassadors, among whom at that time the *Persian* and *German* had the precedence (40).

† Preceptor.
* Buda besieg'd by *Firindos*: † *Bohemians*.

XXI. Whilst *Soliman* was thus employ'd, a sudden message from *Hungary* disturb'd his mirth. For *Firindos* (41) King of the † *Chekki**, thinking the Emperor taken up with these affairs, unexpectedly besieges *Buda*, and for twenty seven days attacks it with all his forces. But the *Janizaries*, who were left there in garrison, bravely repulse the assaults of the enemies, and give *Mehemed beg*, son of *Yabia Pascha*, Governor of *Semendria*, time to come to their relief with the forces of his *Sanjak*. But as he found himself too weak, he endeavour'd to elude the enemies strength by stratagem. To this end, he spreads a report among the captives taken from the bordering countries, that he was *Ibrahim Pascha* the Prime Vizir, and that the Emperor was coming in three or four days with the rest of the army; and with this information, he suffers them to make their escape. Whereupon they instantly repair to the Camp of the *Christians*, acquaint them with what they had been told, and by their report strike them with

ANNOTATIONS.

(39) fit] This Custom began to be disus'd under *Soliman*, and at present the Emperors suffer no man to sit with them at table.

(40) Precedency] A Letter of a certain learned person to *Dav. Cbytraus*, inserted by *Lonicerus* in his *Turkish* History, largely describes the diversions us'd on this occasion, particularly the conflict between a Lion and a Hog, which I shall relate in his words. "Wild beasts (says he) also fought. Among the rest, a Hog brought from the *German* Ambassador's house so battled it with three lions one after another, that he not only withstood their

" attacks in a notable manner, but
" if he had not been tied by one leg,
" would perhaps have got the better
" and put them to flight. Most
" certainly he receiv'd the last in
" such a manner with his snout, that
" he tumbled him over and over, and
" made him shamefully run away, to
" the great confusion of the *Turks*,
" who compar'd themselves to Lions,
" and the *Christians*, especially the
" *Germans*, to Hogs."

(41) *Firindos*] *Ferdinand* at that time King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*. But the *Turks*, as I think, have heedlessly put the Emperor's name for that of one of his Generals.

such

such terror, that leaving their great ordnance and other warlike provisions, they raise the siege, and think themselves very happy in being able to avoid the danger by a seasonable retreat (42).

XXII. Thus *Buda* was reliev'd, but that the King of the *Chekki** should retire without loss was grievous to *Soliman*. Wherefore to be reveng'd for this affront, in the year 938, he invades his Kingdom with a great army, and where-ever his scouts could penetrate, destroys all with fire and sword. On news of this invasion, *Firindos* speedily comes with no inconsiderable army, gives him battle, and for some time bravely maintains the fight. But at last he yields to the *Othman* valour, his army is routed and forc'd to fly for refuge from their pursuers to *Gradisca* his seat (43). This victory not only added to the *Turkish* Empire above twenty Cities and Towns, but so terrified the petty Princes of the *Sclavi* and *Hirvati* (44), that they voluntarily submitted to *Soliman*.

XXIII. Mean while, before this victory had restor'd peace to the *Othman* borders, the *Italians* (45), assisted by other Princes, with a great fleet, invade the *Morea*, take the City *Coron*, and miserably lay waste the whole Province. *Soliman* being inform'd of it, made *Mehemed beg* Governor of *Semendria*, Son of *Yabia Pascha*, (who had lately given him a great instance of his prudence and bravery in relieving *Buda*) *Beglerbeg* of the *Morea*, and giving him good part of the army, bids him go and wrest the City out of the enemy's hands, and with *Musulman* resolution (46) attack and be reveng'd of them.

Who is defeated by *Soliman*.

H. 938.

A. C. 1531.

The *Italians* are driven out of the *Morea*.

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(42) retreat] Some *Turkish* Historians, but of little authority, say the City was reliev'd in another manner. For the *Turks* being beat from one of the Bulwarks, a *Jewish* woman, when she sees the *Germans* crowding through one of the Gates, tears off the sleeve of her shift, and lighting it, fires off a great gun, call'd by the *Turks*, *Baliemez*, which made such a slaughter, that the *Turks* had time to recover themselves, repulse the enemies, astonish'd with this unexpected blow, and renew their defense. The Gun was afterwards by *Soliman* bound with a silver-circle like a Crown, and the *Jewish* woman with her whole family declar'd free from tribute.

(43) his seat] *Gradisca*, is a noted Town of *Sclavonia*, which is erroneously, I think, said by the *Turks* to be *Ferdinand's* Seat, since no *Christian* Writer mentions *Ferdinand's* residing there any time.

(44) *Sclavi* and *Hirvati*] These are one and the same Nation. However the *Turks* call them *Hirvati*, who are under the dominion of the *Christians*, as on the other hand, those who have embrac'd *Mahometism* or obey the *Othman* power, are commonly nam'd *Serbally*, that is, *Of the Borders*.

(45) *Italians*] In *Turkish*, *Ifrenj*, by which name are generally call'd the people of any part of *Italy*.

(46) *Musulman* resolution] that is, resolve to conquer or die. Both which they deem pleasing to God, for they believe the dead person to be crown'd with Martyrdom, and the Conqueror to be rewarded for his labour in the next World. Hence this saying is often in their mouth, when they are going upon an expedition, *ya tacbt, ya batebt*, either a Throne or Happiness. *Ya Sbebid, ya Gazi*, a Martyr or Conqueror.

Mehemed

Mehemed beg spur'd on by thirst of glory and the words of his Prince, swiftly marches to the place where he was sent, besieges the City on a sudden, and presses it so closely, that at length the *Italians*, despairing of relief, surrender their City on condition of having their lives, and are forc'd to march out of the *Morea*.

Olame stir up
Soliman a-
gainst the *Per-
sians*.
H. 940.
A. C. 1533.

XXIV. Two years after, *Olame* Prince of *Azerbejan*, hitherto subject to the *Persian*, flies for refuge to *Soliman*, puts himself under his protection, and suggests the means of taking *Babylon*. Perswaded by his reasons, *Soliman* sends *Ibrahim Pasha* with forces into *Asia*, with orders to winter about *Aleppo*, and execute his designs the next spring. *Ibrahim* did as he was commanded, but finding more obstacles in taking *Babylon* than he expected, turns to *Van* (47), which he takes in the first assault.

Chairuddin is
made *Soli-
man's* Admi-
ral.

4 *Aziers*.

XXV. Mean time *Chairuddin Pasha*, who had hitherto exercis'd piracy in the *White-Sea*, offers his service to *Soliman*, and petitions to be Admiral of a fleet, that he might subject to the *Othman* dominion the Kingdoms of *Tunex* and *Yezair* †. The Emperor bids him repair to *Aleppo*, and consult with *Ibrahim Pasha* (48), for that he had committed the affair to his direction. Whereupon *Chairuddin* departs, and having perswaded the Vizir that the conquest of these Kingdoms was both easy and advantagious to the *Othman* power, is made Admiral of the fleet.

Some *Persian*
Princes turn
to *Soliman*.
H. 941.
A. C. 1534.

XXVI. The next year, *Soliman* marches with the rest of the army to the assistance of his Vizir *Ibrahim Pasha*, who was still about *Van*. Departing from thence, when he was come to *Tigris* (49), Sultan *Muzaffer* King of *Gilan* (50) with ten thousand men, and *Mehemed chan*, join with him against *Persia*, and promise to be his future Vassals. *Soliman* encouraging them with the promise of his favour, leads his army to *Sultania*, and after a short refreshment, marches towards *Bagdad* about the beginning of winter.

He takes *Bag-
dad*, and
hangs his *Def-
terdar*.

XXVII. *Tekkielu Mehemed chan* (51) Governor of *Bagdad* under

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(47) *Van*] a City belonging to the *Turks* on the borders of *Persia*, too well known to be describ'd.

(48) with *Ibrahim*] The *Turkish* Sultans, if they have granted the Prime Vizir full power to administer the affairs of the Empire, especially when he is sent into any expedition, are wont to transact nothing without his privity, and if they do, his authority is immediately believ'd to be sinking. Hence if the Emperor orders any thing which should be commanded by the Vizir, that common saying is instantly heard at Court, *Semeri yere urdi*, The Trappings are

thrown to the Ground, that is, he is fallen from his honour and dignity.

(49) *Tigris*] formerly *Tauris*, or as others say *Persopolis*, the ancient residence of the *Persian* Kings, and Metropolis of the Kingdom.

(50) *Gilan*] formerly *Hircania*.

(51) *Tekkielu Mehemed*] A famous *Persian* General, and Governor of *Bagdad*, by whose management *Soliman's* Vizir and *Defterdar* are said to be corrupted: which danger he escap'd merely by the favour of blind fortune.

the King of *Persia*, being inform'd of this march, and finding himself too weak to withstand the *Othman* forces, abandons the City, leaves the country to the mercy of *Soliman*, and retires with his men farther into *Persia*. Thus *Soliman* without opposition enters the City, and whilst he is spending some days in viewing the monuments of the antient Heroes, he takes notice of a place dedicated to *Iman azem* (52), from whence not only the City could be defended from the assaults of the enemies, but also the inhabitants easily restrain'd, should they endeavour a change. This place he immediately orders to be strongly fortified, well stor'd, and garrison'd with Janizaries. After this, having leisure, he carefully examines the *Defterdar's* † accounts, and finding he had not only converted to his own use several bags of money, but prompted by avarice, had also betray'd his designs to the *Persians*, orders him, accus'd of High-Treason, to be hang'd. The *Defterdar* being brought to the gallows (53), asks for pen, ink, and paper, saying he had some matters to impart to the Emperor before he died. Pen and paper being brought him, he writes a letter to *Soliman*, acquainting him, that *Ibrahim Pasha* the Prime Vizir was also guilty, and brib'd by the *Persians* to make an attempt upon the Emperor's life. This letter, though at first it was suppress'd (54) by the Sultan, was the cause of that famous and prudent Vizir's losing, shortly after, his life.

XXVIII. Whilst he thus staid at *Babylon*, frequent messages come from the borders, that the *Shah* of *Persia* was marching with a great army to besiege *Van*. Whereupon he returns without delay to *Tybris*, and entering into the great *Jani* built at the immense charge of Sultan *Hassan*, hears the mention of the names of *Mahomet's* four successors (55) with his own by the *Chatyb* (56). Next day he goes and

He deters the
Persians from
the siege of
Van.

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(52) *Iman azem*] It is suppos'd to be the burial-place of that founder of the ceremonies of the *Musulman* Sect, whom they commonly praise under this name. His successor was *Imam Shafi*, who though not rejected, yet is not so much follow'd as the other by the *Turks*.

(53) to the gallows] The Testimonies of dying persons find great credit with the *Turks*. For they believe whatever is confess'd in his last moments by a man going to die a natural or violent death, to be so true, as not only to exceed the evidence of forty witnesses, but even to remove all doubt, though the whole World should be of a contrary opinion. Hence it is no wonder, *Soliman* should credit this testimony, and

though other proofs are wanting, put his Vizir to death.

(54) suppress'd] It is universally known how artfully the *Othmans* can dissemble, especially in cases of treason, or where their enemies are concern'd. Hence it is a common saying among them, *Kisfilmin El, upi- ulmek gierek*, We should kiss the hand we can't cut off.

(55) successors] See their names p. 135. Of these the three first are denied by the *Persians*, and only *Ali* acknowledg'd.

(56) *Chatyb*] A Reader, as in our Churches the Deacon, also a Preacher, who from the Pulpit makes mention of the Emperor's name in the prayers.

incamps at *Dergezine*, to be more ready to oppose any attempts of the enemies. By this means, he not only deters the *Shah* from the intended siege, but strikes him with such terror, that he instantly sends ambassadors to the Emperor to sue for peace. *Soliman* calmly hears them, but dismisses them without an answer.

Leads home his forces, and puts *Ibrahim Pasha* to death.
H. 942.
A. C. 1535.

XXX. In the year 942, when he sees nothing more to be fear'd from the *Persians*, in the month *Sefer* he leads his victorious troops through *Charvit* towards *Derjishe*. Here the Chan of *Bytlis* (57) comes to the Emperor's camp, and obtaining an audience, not only promises future subjection to the *Othman* Empire, but humbly offers the Keys of all the towns in his jurisdiction, and in return is highly honour'd by *Soliman*. After his departure, the Sultan pursues his march through *Amze* towards *Aleppo*, and at length in the month *Rejeb* enters *Constantinople* in triumph, but on the third day, orders his formerly belov'd and brave General *Ibrahim Pasha* to be put to death.

Takes *Giurjistan* by *Mehemed chan*.
H. 943.
A. C. 1536.

XXX. The next year seem'd to require a fresh expedition into *Perfia*, to prevent the loss of his late conquests. But the length and fatigue of the march discouraging the Emperor himself, he sends *Mehemed chan*, who had lately submitted to his dominion, with a good army into *Giurjistan* (58). *Mehemed*, to demonstrate his fidelity and diligence

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(57) *Bytlis*] A noted town of *Perfia* on the borders of *Georgia*, on a river of the same name. This river abounds with a sort of fish call'd *Moruna* the largest of the river-kind, which are no where else to be found, except in the *Danube* and *Volga*. They never winter in this river, but in the spring they go into the sea, and in autumn return into the *Volga*, nor is there one to be found in winter in the *Caspian-Sea*. The *Russians*, who are possess'd of the mouth of the *Volga*, knowing this, stop up the passages with fences made of reeds, in which they catch innumerable quantities of these fishes as they are going into the sea early in the spring. But the Inhabitants of *Bytlis*, when they saw their yearly prey to be thus kept from them, agreed with the *Russians*, that on the day before *Palm-Sunday*, for the sake of the *Christians* of *Bytlis*, one fence at least should be open'd, and left so for three days. By which means even on the second day great plenty of *Morunas* are taken in the river *Bytlis*. If these things be true (as they were told me by an eye witness a *Turk*, inhabitant of *Tiflis*) the

swiftness of this fish is very wonderful, since it can swim over the whole *Caspian-Sea* within twenty four hours. (58) *Giurjistan*] A famous nation inhabiting between *Pontus* and the *Caspian-Sea*, antiently call'd *Issus*, now the *Georgians*. Some believe this name to be given them by their Patron *St. George* after their embracing the *Christian* faith: but the fallaciousness of this opinion is from hence evident, that long before the times of *St. George*, mention is made of the *Georgians* by *Pliny* and *Mela*. They profess the *Greek* and *Orthodox* Religion; but except the art of hunting, throwing the dart, and stealing, you will hardly find any other art or science among them. But about three years since they are reported to have brought *Greek* Types from *Holland*, printed a Book, containing the praises of the *Virgin Mary*, and to apply themselves now to *Greek* Learning. Their *Chan* or Prince also professes *Christianity*, yet cannot without a previous profession of *Mahometism* ascend the throne: but afterwards obtains the King of *Perfia's* licence to say prayers either in a *Jami* or *Christian*

diligence to the Emperor, instantly leads the forces where he is order'd, enters *Georgia*, and by many bloody battles so humbles the inhabitants, that ambassadors are sent to the Emperor, and the whole country put in subjection to him on certain conditions.

XXXI. About the same time, a great number of *Moldavians*, *Poles*, *Bohemians*, *Germans*, and *Spaniards*, voluntarily assemble, and invading *Bosnia*, besiege *Sulien*. These *Hasrud beg* the brave Governor of *Bosnia*, without staying for the Emperor's assistance, suddenly attacks, though with a small force, and strikes with such terror, that raising the siege, they only think of saving themselves by flight. But *Hasrud beg*, not satisfied with relieving the City, briskly pursues the Runaways, and overtaking them near *Kilis*, vigorously attacks and puts them to rout. After the victory he besieges *Kilas*, takes it in a few days, and by that means adds to the Empire a whole *Sanjak*, of which he sends the joyful news to *Constantinople*.

Hasrud beg defeats the *Christians* in *Bosnia*.

XXXII. Whilst the Empire is thus enlarg'd in *Asia*, it is no less augmented in the West. For *Chairuddin Pasha* (59) (who as I have said, was by *Soliman* made from a Pyrate, High-Admiral) lays waste all the *African* Coasts in the *Mediterranean*, takes the towns which refuse to submit, and destroys the countries with fire and sword. Having thus subdu'd all the strong places of those parts, in his return, he arrives in *Apulia*, takes the town of *Caslube*, and overrunning the adjacent country, carries away a great number of captives.

Chairuddin lays waste *Apulia*.

XXXIII. About the end of the year, the Emperor equips another fleet, and sends it into the *Adriatic* sea under the command of *Lufsi*

Kiofsi attempted in vain.

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Christian Church. From whence he may justly be said to be amphibious as to his Religion. One of these *Chans* was forc'd on some account to fly the last century into *Russia*, whose son, being master of the ordnance in the army of *Peter the Great*, was taken by the *Sweeds* and died at *Stockholm*. When I came to *Mosco* in 1712, I found him there, and receiv'd from him, translated into *Greek*, the Genealogy of the *Chans* of *Georgia*, intermix'd with strange fables. In this Genealogy *David* King of the *Jews* is made the founder of the race, one of whose Grandsons by *Solomon* went from *Judea* to *Georgia*, and there establish'd a Kingdom, and at last, I know not how, was baptiz'd by his father in the name of the *Holy Trinity*. Perswaded of these idle stories, he boldly affirm'd himself to be related in blood to our

Lord *Jesus Christ* as man. Hence the Reader will easily infer the ignorance of this people.

(59) *Chairuddin*] Etymologically, the *Goodness* and *Grace* of *Faith*: a famous Pyrate, and afterwards High-Admiral of the *Othman* Empire, the terror of the *Christians*, by whom he is commonly call'd *Barbarossa*. After him the *Turks* had another famous *Capudan Pasha* under Sultan *Mustapha*, *Mezomortus*, to whom the *Turkish* Navy owes all its reputation. Though, as *Capudan Pasha*, he enjoy'd three horse tails, with the honour of a *Vizir*, he never laid aside his Sea-habit, saying, the *Turkish* dress did not suit with sailors, and fine cloaths were the greatest reproach to a Mariner. So from his time, all the Admirals and Captains of ships have been us'd to wear only the sea-habit.

Pasha,

† Corfu. at
Corcyra.

Pasha, (*Ibrahim's* successor in the Vizirship) and *Chairuddin Capudan Pasha*, to take *Kiofes*† from the *Venetians*. He himself accompanied with his Sons *Mustapha* and *Mahomet* leads the land forces through *Avlonia* (60), in order to chastise in the way the *Arnaudi*

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(60) *Avlonia*] A Country and City of *Albania*, which with *Epirus* is call'd by the *Turks* *Arnaud*. The Inhabitants of this Country are oblig'd to follow the *Turkish* camp with eight thousand men. Their soldiers are very warlike and stout, and excel in shooting with the Musket. Formerly they were Orthodox, but now so sunk in *Mahometism*, that they exceed the *Turks* themselves in superstition. No sort of literature is cultivated among them, but such of them as apply themselves to any art, are found to make good progress in it. Among the arts, they excel chiefly in two, *Aqueducts*, and the cure of ruptures. As for the first, their skill will not be questioned by any that have seen the *Aqueducts* of *Constantinople*. And yet without any *Mathematical Learning*, *Precepts*, or *Instruments*, they make these *Aqueducts*, measure the height of *Mountains*, distance of places, more exactly than a *Geometrician* can, and judge very well of the quality and quantity of water. When they are ask'd of the grounds of this art, they know not what you mean, nor can explain themselves. They perfectly cure by a method as rough as successful, ruptures in persons of any age. When I was at *Constantinople*, in order to see their method more exactly, I caus'd my Secretary, now in years, to be cur'd of this distemper in my Palace. Accordingly the price of the cure being agreed upon, they bound the Patient to a pretty broad board with swathing bands from his breast to his feet; then with a sort of razor they open'd the *Hypodermium* under the belly, and drawing out the inner coat a hand's breadth, thrust up in their place the intestines that were fallen down into the *Cods*. After this, they sow'd up the *Hypodermium* with a coarse thread, and when they had made a knot in the

thread that it might not slip out, they cut off with the same razor the part of the *Hypodermium* which hung over the stitches, and anointing it with *Hog's grease*, burnt it with a hot iron. After the burning they left the wound in the belly still open, and lifting up the legs of the Patient almost dead, pour'd the whites of nine new-laid eggs into the wound. This as it bubbled up or work'd in an hour or two, they took for a good sign of a cure. For if after the third hour no ebullition or working appears, they deem it mortal, because from thence the Patient's weakness is apparently so great, that he can't possibly receive any benefit from the *Medicine*: though scarce one or two in a hundred happen to die; and this they ascribe rather to weakness or age than the insufficiency of their art. On the second and third day they repeated the infusion, the Patient being kept all the while on his back, so depriv'd of his senses, that he seem'd really dead. Neither did they allow him any thing to eat or drink, supposing it sufficient, if his tongue was frequently moisten'd with a drop of water. On the fourth day they laid the patient bound to the board on the floor, where he soon recover'd his senses, and complain'd of his pains with a weak voice. They refresh'd him with a moderate draught of warm water, and the three next days gave him a little broth made of any thing, only taking care not to overload his stomach with meat. The seventh day the bands were loos'd, and the Patient gently laid in a bed. But that he might not draw up his legs or move himself, two of them stood by him continually, and repeated the infusion of whites of eggs every day. From the ninth to the twelfth day the wound receiv'd only six whites, which as soon as infus'd, seem'd to bubble up more than before. The fifteenth

Arnaudi, who had rais'd disturbances. But they would have render'd *Soliman's* passage very difficult, if they had not, by the persuasions of their countryman *Aias Pasha*, submitted to the Emperor. *Arnaud*† being thus subdu'd without blood-shed, he stay'd almost a month to settle the affairs of the country, after which he passes into the Island of which he was now master. When his forces were landed, he commands all the towns and villages to be burnt, and closely besieges the City. At length after many conflicts and mutual slaughters, the City is reliev'd by the approach of winter, and the Sultan forc'd, the sea growing tempestuous, to retreat and sail back to *Constantinople*.

XXXIV. In the year 944, an army of twenty thousand men of different Nations under one *Cobhan* (61), enters through *Serem* (62), the *Othman* borders with design to besiege *Semendria*. But before they got thither, they are met by *Mehemed beg*, the Governor of the City, who suddenly attacking them, disperses the whole army. Having thus clear'd his territories of the enemies, he sends his son *Arslan beg* to acquaint the Sultan with what had happen'd, who rewards him for his news with a *Sanjak* (63).

XXXV. These victories, obtain'd by his Generals, lead the Sultan to greater undertakings. Wherefore the next year he sends his Admiral *Chairuddin* and *Soliman Pasha* General of the foot, with a considerable army into *India* (64), where they diligently execute his orders, and annex the whole Kingdom of *Yemen* (65) with the adjacent Provinces to the *Othman* Empire.

XXXVI. Whilst

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fifteenth day the wound scarce held the white of one egg, yet they repeated the infusion as long as they perceiv'd any to go into the wound and bubble up. When this ceas'd, they laid to the wound a plaister of pitch, oil, and other mixtures, and suffer'd the Patient to move his feet, and lie on his side. Mean while, they constantly in the morning before the Patient swallow'd any thing gently drew the end of the thread which hung out, to try whether the band might be broken. After the twentieth, thirtieth, or fortieth day, according to the age or strength of the Patient, they drew out the thread, and with another plaister made a perfect cure. By this rough method, of which I was an eye witness, these illiterate people are us'd to cure so difficult a distemper.

(61) *Cobhan*] Who he is can hardly be trac'd. That the *Turks* gave

the name of *Spaniards* to the *German*, was occasion'd, I believe, from the Emperor *Charles V.* being also King of *Spain*.

(62) *Serem*] By this name came to the *Turks* the large Plain, which beyond the *Savus*, lies between *Alba Græca* and *Peterwaradin*, whose inhabitants are also commonly call'd *Serimogli*.

(63) *Sanjak*] This was formerly the most honorable office among the *Turks*, but since *Soliman's* civil and military regulations, it is the lowest sort of Governments, because they that are invest'd with it, have no *Tug* or *Horse-tail*, but only a *Standard* which is call'd *Sanjak*.

(64) *India*] The borders of *Aravia Felix*. For I have not read that a *Turkish* army was ever in *India*.

(65) *Yemen*] A large Kingdom widely extending between the *Persian Gulph* and *Red-Sea*, which both ancient

and lays waste
Moldavia.

XXXVI. Whilst these things were performing by his Generals, he himself with numerous forces, as a friend (66), enters *Moldavia*, but contrary to the expectation of the inhabitants, from the *Danube* to *Soczava*, then the Metropolis, destroys all with fire and sword. Moreover pitching his tents near the City, he demands the yearly tribute. The *Moldavians* seeing no way to withstand so great a storm, humbly sue to him for peace, and promise the payment of the annual tribute, only they petition that the choice of a Prince may remain in the state (67), and that he may, as before, be invested with regal authority

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cient and modern Geographers make part of *Arabia*, and have usually call'd it *Arabie Eddisiana* or *Fulix*. But no *Turkish* or *Arabia* Historian ever reckon'd the Inhabitants of *Yemenia* among the *Arabians*; from whence I may conjecture, that the opinion of the *European* Geographers, though confirm'd by so many ages, does not rest upon firm grounds. For the better understanding of this matter, it must be observ'd all the inhabitants of *Asia* and *Africa* are divided by the *Arabians* into three Tribes, *Tartars*, *Persians* and *Zengi*. Under the name of *Tartars* they include all the Nations between the northern Ocean and the Mountains of *Caucasus*, viz. *Tartars*, *Calmuks*, *Siberians*, *Chinese*, &c. By *Persians* they mean the present inhabitants of *Persia*. By the common name of *Zengi*, they call whoever have fix'd their habitations about *Persia* from the very borders of *China* to the western Ocean, in *Asia* and *Africa*, the *Indians*, *Arabs*, *Egyptians*, *Abyssinians*, *Ethiopians*, Inhabitants of *Morocco*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, and *Fez*, the *Moors*, with the *Negroes*, and whatever other barbarous Nations possess that Tract of land, and derive the name from the short curl'd Hair, with which all these Tribes, and these alone are distinguish'd by nature; from whence also such Hair was wont to be call'd *Muiz zengi* by the *Persians* who have long Hair, (as for *Asia Minor*, I have shown in a former note, that they commonly reckon'd it part of *Europe* or the *Roman Empire*.) But the name of *Arabians* is ascrib'd only to those Tribes, which wander in the desert plains between *Aleppo*,

Damascus, *Mecca* and *Bagdad*, the same that in the modern Maps are call'd *Arabia Deserta* and *Petrea*. If therefore in the former sense, the *European* Geographers understand by the name of *Arabians*, all the *Zengi*, they must describe *Arabia* larger than has been usually done in Maps and Commentaries. But if in the latter sense, they call those only *Arabians*, who call themselves by that name, it is evident, that what they term *Arabia Felix* is beyond the bounds of *Arabia*. For their very name *Saribindi*, *yellow Indians*, which is given them over all the East, abundantly shows the *Yemenians* not to be of *Arabian* but *Indian* extraction. The *Turks* assign a twofold reason of this appellation. Some think them call'd *Yellow*, on account that their Emperor is wont to wear only yellow garments, which are forbid to private persons, as the green colour must not be worn among the *Turks* by Foreigners. Others imagine, their natural yellow complexion, which appears whitish in respect of the *Ethiopians* gave birth to this name: in which dispute to know what is nearest the truth, is, I think, of no great moment, since it suffices that these are unanimously call'd *Indians*, and not *Arabians*, and therefore that *Yemen* also is not properly part of *Arabia* but of *India*.

(66) friend] The *Moldavian Annals* say, that the *Turks*, on pretense of a *Polish* expedition, only desir'd a passage of the *Moldavians*, and afterwards turn'd their arms against them, and miserably laid waste all *Moldavia*.

(67) in the state] The *Turks* for almost a whole Century permitted according

authority (68). *Soliman* grants their requests, confirms the Prince (69) chosen by them, and restoring the captives, assembles the Nobles next day, and severely reprimands them, saying, that unmindful of the favours receiv'd from the *Musulman* Emperors, they had dar'd to draw the sword against so powerful an Empire, and not only burnt the Town of *Kili*, but slain many *Musulmans*. Though for this proceeding all by the *Mahometan* Law were guilty of death, he as a demonstration of his clemency, was ready to give them life and liberty, on condition they would deliver up the Treasures of their late Prince (70). As the wretched *Moldavians* could refuse nothing, the *Destendar* with a company of *Janizaries* comes into the town, and plunders both the publick and the Prince's private Treasury (71), where are found besides great quantity of money, the diadems of the Princes, scepters, crosses, and holy images adorn'd with precious jewels, which *Soliman* abusing as he pleas'd, leads back his forces to *Constantinople*. In his return, he orders *Kili* (72), destroy'd by the *Moldavians*, to be rebuilt,

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according to agreement the *Moldavians* to chuse their Prince, but in process of time, they began to appoint them Princes themselves, and usually out of the Sons of the Princes whom they detain'd as hostages at *Constantinople*. At length they granted this dignity to some *Constantinopolitan Greeks*, as forty years ago to *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*, thirty years since to *Antonius Rosseta*, and in my time to *Ducas Ramelista*, and *Nicolaus Maurocordatus*, Son of the famous *Alexander Maurocordatus* first Interpreter of the *Othman Port*, and Colleague of *Rami Mehmed, Reis Effendi* at the peace of *Carlowitz*. But of these things more largely in the Description of *Moldavia*, which I intend shortly to publish to the World.

(68) regal authority] This remain'd hitherto inviolate to the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*. They fill at pleasure all the great offices, make new laws, and have full power of life and death over all. For after the Prince is authoriz'd, no complaints of the death of any Person, Baron or other, though ever so innocent, are heard at the *Othman Court*. But if he has exacted any thing tyrannically and illegally from his Subjects, he is accountable for it.

(69) Prince] The *Moldavian* Historians call him *Stephanus junior*, natural son of *Bogdan*.

(70) late Prince] It is the way of the *Turks* always to fix crimes upon those they intend to punish. That the *Moldavians* had burnt *Kili*, 'tis certain, but not with the consent of the state, but through the revenge of some private persons, neither were these so much to blame as the *Bujak Tartars*. For a dispute about selling woods arising between those *Tartars*, in conjunction with other new colonies of *Turks* and the Inhabitants of *Kiegeczy*, these last drove the *Turks* out of the woods, and upon their making a second attempt, put them to flight, and pursuing them to *Kili*, set the town on fire. Thus the *Moldavians* formerly contended for their privileges, but now the Tyranny of the *Turks* forces them to submit not only their Timber, but also their Heads to the Ax. How long, O Lord, shall Wickedness reign!

(71) Treasury] *Hezar sunn*, an accurate *Turkish* Historian, says, great riches were found in this Treasury, and among the rest he mentions a gold cross adorn'd with so many precious Stones, that no man could pretend to value it. I am told it is still preserved entire in the imperial Treasury.

(72) *Kili*] By the *Moldavians* call'd *Cilia*, formerly *Lycostomon*; it is situated on the largest Mouth of the *Danube* on the north, through which