

who then happened to be at *Bickie*, 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-Beglerbeg*, he not only quelled the seditions 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 *Sophia*, 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 *Pashalic*, and all his riches and employments, and banished to *Bickie*, a little town in *Bosnia*. I happened about that time to go into the *Kiebaia'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 yourself 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 *Basha*. "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 *Bickie*, 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 *Save*, 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 *Bosra*, made incursions into *Mesopotamia*, *Daltaban* was chosen by the Vizir *Amucje Ogli Husein Pasha*, 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 *Bosra*, 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 *Pashalic* of *Bagdad* to its antient 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 *Chatisherif*, to dispatch him out of the way. When he comes to *Daltaban* in his camp near *Bosra*, 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 *Othman* aga'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 Pascha* 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 displeased with *Hussein Pascha*, in order to execute his designs, persuades the Sultan to bring *Daltaban* nearer the court, by making him *Pascha* of *Kiutabia*: When he heard of his being there, he prevails upon the Sultan to depose *Hussein Pascha*, and to send *Battal Othman* aga 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 *Hussein Pascha* 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 *Maurocordatus*, 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*, *Cameniec*, 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 which had been

LXX. The *Russians* that summer fortify *Azac* and *Lutich* with new works, and prepare for a fresh campaign, though the enemies give them no opportunity of a battle.

The *Russians* fortify *Azac*.
Frederick,
Electors of
Saxony chosen
King of Po-
land.

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yielded to the enemies, and such as still obeyed the *Othman* laws; and finds nothing any where that could please him. He publicly 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 *Maurocordatus*, 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 Maurocordatus*; 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. *Maurocordatus* 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 Pascha*. 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 Pascha*. 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 publicly, he would purge the honour of the *Othman* name from all internal and external *Giaurs*. 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 Mehemed 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 publicly 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*, when they were negotiating a peace, being bribed by the *Giaurs* 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 *Federic 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 ac-
 “ quaint the Vizir, in my name, that I
 “ will not be influenced by the misrepre-
 “ sentations 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 *Mehemed Aga*’s mouth, he visits the
 Mufti in the night, and pretends to dis-
 cover his whole mind to him, as to his
 patron and benefactor. The Mufti, with
 feigned applause, extols the Vizir’s de-
 signs, and promises to use his utmost endea-
 vours to bring them to perfection, and that
Rami, Maurocordatus, and their accomplices,
 be brought to justice. *Daltaban*, encour-
 aged by these promises, returns home with
 a cheerful countenance, and sending for the
Kiebaia Topal Ibrahim-Aga (who was after-
 wards made governor of *Thessalonica*) gives
 him a particular account of what had pas-
 sed between the Mufti and him ; and adds,
 at the same time, he acknowledges the
 Mufti for his patron, being indebted to
 him for the Vizirship ; yet he cannot bear,
 he should have so much credit with the Sul-
 tan, as to make and unmake Vizirs at plea-
 sure : for as he had bestowed the seal of
 the Empire upon him, after having de-
 posed *Huseim 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 Sul-
 tan, 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 pro-
 poses 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 Janiza-
 ries, and cause them to raise a commotion,
 acquainting the Sultan at the same time,
 that they insisted upon having the Mufti’s
 life, and were demanding the heads of *Ra-
 mi, Maurocordatus*, and some others. The
 treacherous *Kiebaia* approves of the Vizir’s
 project to his face, and commends his de-
 sign ; but at night he changes his dress, and
 going to the Mufti, tells him his danger.
 The Mufti, 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 *Dal-
 taban* to death, that he might not raise fresh
 commotions in the Empire, and promises
 to give a *Fetvab* 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 Mufti, 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
Talkbischbi * to desire him to come to him,
 because he had things of importance to im-
 part to him. Upon the receipt of this mes-
 sage, the Vizir goes thither with all speed,
 thinking a snare was now laid for his ene-
 mies. When he comes, “ Thank God,
 “ says the Mufti, the Sultan has granted
 “ all my requests, and promised that he
 “ will put *Rami Reis Effendi* to death, pro-
 “ vided 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 rea-
 “ son 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 *Othman* 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, decei-
 ved by these specious falsehoods of the Mufti,
 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
 Mufti, 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 pre-
 tensions to desire the dignity of Vizir : be-
 sides, he was unskilled in the art of govern-
 ing provinces, and could show his industry
 and faithfulness no where but in the chan-
 cery. *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 people's 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 *Iskierletogly*, was but a tool to other people's 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 *Othman* 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 surer, he sends for the forementioned *Cara Mehemed 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 Mehemed*, 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 *Casababshi's* treachery, could not, upon hearing this, forbear uttering these words: "You shall see, my dear *Mehemed*, 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 *Mahomet*, a *Moldavian* by birth, an old and faithful servant, whom, for his approved fidelity, he had not only raised to the office of *Bashchobadar**, 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 *Sbeikbogly*, 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 *Sbeikbogly* 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 *Talkibschib** 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 *Talkibschib** 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 *Mezda*, 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 *Thursday*. 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 obeysance, he was bid to sit on the *icbraz*, 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 ob- " serving that the negligence and drunken- " ness of *Huseim Pascha* rendered him unfit " to govern the state, I earnestly recom- " mended 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 art- " fully he had till then concealed the wicked- " edness of his heart under a specious out- " side, and shewed himself a professed ene- " my to as many as he thought would ob- " struct 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, in- " viting with the same view the Chan of " *Tartary* into this city ; publicly con- " demning the peace made with the ene- " mies, calling the makers of it infidels ; " breaking treaties that have been confirm- " ed with an oath ; and leaving no stone " unturned, at his entrance upon the ho- " nours 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 *Feizullah 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*, *Babadaghy* 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 further

furtive 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 *Babadaghy*; but that it was necessary he should desire the same by a *Talchysb* 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 *Giaurs*. When he had sent this to *Daltaban*, he acquaints, by a *Deskere*, 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 Pasha*. The scene is carried on as the Mufti directs. *Daltaban* sends a *Talchysb* to the Sultan, and the Sultan confirms it, by writing over it the usual form (let it be done,) and orders him, by *Baltajilar Kiebaiafi*, 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 Kiebaiafi* 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 *Sirikmeidan*. 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 Kiebaiafi* 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 *Kyzilbash*'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 ha-

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 pyrate-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 presages 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 entreaties 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 *Daltaban*, 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 *Phocensian* pirate, very expert in his business. The name of *Kiel* was given him for having a bald and scuffy head. By the *Grecian* sailors he was called *Lacida*.

a peace

a peace with the *Turks*. The Vizir urges, it was not credible the Emperor, flushed 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 mean time, 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. *Feriole* (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, *Sheikh Saadi*; especially in that passage in his *Giulistan*, 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) *Feriole*] While Monsieur de Chateaufort was ambassador from France to Con-

stantinople, this *Feriol* 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, alledging, 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. *Maurorcordato*, 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 *Feriole* orders to take off his sword, and if he refused, commands he should be thrust out of doors. The *Capuji bashi* execute this order, and rudely push back *Feriole* 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 *Feriole*, as in his predecessor, *Chateaufneuf*; 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. *Feriole*, upon reading of them, asked *Chateaufneuf*, 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 *Chateaufneuf* came to be known, *Feriole* 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 *Deriyâ 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 *Feriole*, 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, *Feriole* 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. *Feriole*, 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. *Feriole* 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-

However the Sultan dispatches the Vizir with an army.

H. 1109.

A. C. 1698.

But the *Turkish* and confederate armies, in hopes of peace, continue inactive.

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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 *Feriole* 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, *Feriole'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 *Feriole* 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, *Feriole* 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 Pasha*, with large presents, to banish me to *Cbios*. Having been informed of it by my good friend, *Firari Hasan Pasha*, the *Testadar*, three days before the *Bostanji bashi*, who

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 *Feriole*. The Vizir hearing I was hid there, sent one of his Aga's to the ambassador, to desire him to deliver me up: but *Feriole* told him, "I have no *Bogdanbegzade* 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* *Capukiebaia*, 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 Vizirs, 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 *Feriole* 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.

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 ambassadors 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 ambassadors appointed by all the princes engaged in the war. The *Turks* chose *Rami Mehemed Reis Effendi*, and *Alexander Maurocordatus*, honoured with the title of *Beg* and *Mabremi Esrar* (34); the Emperor, Count *Pettingen* and Count *Schick*, his privy-counsellors; the Czar of *Russia*, *Procopius Bogdanowicz*, *Woznicini*; the *Poles*, *Stanislaus Michelowski*, Weywode of *Posnania*; 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 precedence.

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*.

Which is very prudently adjusted by *Maurocordatus*.

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

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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 ὁ ἐκκαρπύριον; and long endeavoured to prevail upon the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, to give him the title of ὁ ἐκκαρπύριον, most illustrious, in their letters, instead of the epithet ὁ ἐκκαρπύριον, or most excellent, 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 ὁ ἐκκαρπύριον.

(35) *Venetians*] It will not be improper to insert in this place the famous saying of *Rami Reis Effendi*. For, finding the *Venetian* ambassador spoke something boastingly, and proved harder and more difficult than the rest in agreeing upon the articles of peace, he turned to him, and said, "*Elcibeg* *, you ought not to be so unreasonable, nor so full of your boasts, especially before such an assembly of wise ambassadors as this, who all know how to make a comparison between the condition 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 order to contend with more strength, pull off their clothes, and enter the lists naked. While they were engaged, a *Yankiesji*, (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 custom, given each other the kiss of peace, they turned to their clothes, and perceiving they were stolen by a *Yankiesji*, were forced to get other garments to cover their nakedness. Not long after, one of them found the thief dressed in a wrestler's habit, walking in the marketplace, and pretending to be a wrestler, for fear the other should discover his crime to the people; but the true wrestler 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 fly 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 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 ambassadors 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 concerning 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 ambassadors.

The wished-for peace at last concluded. † Jan. 15, H. 1110.

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. *Temeşvare* 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*, *Sigov*, *Herconisia*, *Bech**, *Bechkerek**, and *Sabbia*, 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 *Bossut*, 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 *Belgrade* and *Peterwaradin* should be erected or fortified any where within these boundaries.

A. C. 1799. The articles of the peace between the Sultan and the Emperor.

LXXXVII. The *Russian* ambassador made a truce only for two years, upon the terms of each party possessing what they had taken.

And the Czar.

LXXXVIII. The *Poles* made the same truce as the Emperor, upon these conditions; that they should have *Caminiec*, *Podolia*, and *Ukrania*, in the same extent as that kingdom had possessed before Sultan *Mahomet's* first expedition into *Poland*, restored to them; and, on the other hand, resign *Soczava*, *Nemoz*, 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 adjacent islands. The yearly tribute which the several islands in the *Archipelago* 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*, *Cyklut*, *Verlica*, *Duare*, and *Vergoraz*, were to be left to the *Venetians*, and fixed as the boundaries of the dominions of their Republic. 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 Venetians.

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 ambassadors return to Adrianople.

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.

The restless
nation of the
Turks murmur
against the
Sultan.

H. 1111.

A. C. 1699

H

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 their 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 then 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.

The Sultan
removes to
Adrianople to
avoid the re-
proaches 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.

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 confidant 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 *Aliothman* 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 *Chorlo** 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 convenience 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 *Voronezh* 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 *Camen-zaton*, 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 *Chersonesus*, and were perpetually annoyed by the incursions of the *Cosaks*; with many other particulars of the like nature, which were true; and withal, seemed to demonstrate the disinclination of the *Russians* to peace.

The Sultan sends a person to observe the designs of the Czar.

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*.

The Vizir, by false representations, endeavours to avoid a war with *Russia*.

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 falsities to his majesty; but thought that *Kybleli Ogli*, bribed by the enemy, had

The Chan being accused of a falsity, clears himself to the Sultan.

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(38) *Kybleli Ogli*] He was sister's son to the Vizir *Amurte Ogli Hussein Pasha*, who loved him so entirely, that, though he was young, he never ceased to importune the Sultan till

he had made him *Buyuk imrabor*. I have already given a larger account of him in the body of the history.

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 Ogli* would not deny what he had seen, if he should be more strictly and severely examined.

Kybleli Ogli's fraud being detected, he is put to death, and the Vizir deprived of his post.

H. 1113.

A. C. 1731.

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 Ogli*, 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 Ogli* of his post, and banishes him from *Constantinople*; but soon after sending *Hafeki Aga* with a *Chatisherif*, orders him to be put to death. At the same time he removes *Husein Pasha* from the office of Vizir, and banished him to a village near *Syllebria*, reducing him to a private station, though without meddling with his estate.

The Vizirship vacant.

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, *Silahdar Husein Pasha*, under the title of *Vakil*, had the administration of affairs.

Daltaban Mustapha Pasha made Vizir.

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*.

He is extremely incensed against the ambassadors who made the peace.

CI. Finding by this list, that a great many towns beyond the *Save*, 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 *Cameniec*, 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.

He designs to make war upon the *Poles*.

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.

He seeks an occasion of breaking the peace.

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.

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.

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;

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 *Kiehaia*, *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.

His design being discovered, the Mufti escapes the danger.

CVII. When the Vizir was gone, the Mufti sends for the *Reis Effendi*, *Rami Mehemed Pascha* (43), and *Maurocordatus*, and acquaints them with the Vizir's

The Mufti accuses the Vizir to the Sultan design of rebellion.

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(39) *Ibrahim Aga*] After this treachery his master, and his death, he was, through the Mufti's application, made *Pasha* of *Thessalonica*; and, on account of his lameness, named *Topal Ibrahim Pascha*, i. e. *Ibrahim Pascha 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 sound 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 Pascha*, 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 *Talkbysbi**, 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 *Talkbysbchi** 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 *Cbaush** *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 mean time, 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*, *Selamun 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 musick, he got a pretty good livelihood there, considering his condition. He was removed from this way of life by the famous poet, *Nabi 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 Pascha* made him *Mukabeleji*, and *Husein Pascha* 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 Mufti 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 lifted a very numerous army, made his dependants officers in it, and ordered them to excite the soldiers to demand publickly the rupture 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* advanced in his room. The Vizir's death the occasion of a dreadful rebellion.

CVIII. The Sultan readily believing what the Mufti, 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 Kiehajasi*, 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 Mufti, 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, that 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 *Maurocordatus*, 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 skillfully discharged his commission. When *Daltaban* endeavoured to put him to death, he not only secured himself by his own and the Mufti'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 send 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 *Chalisherif* 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 *Maurocordatus*, by whose secret persuasion and advice he did many things; which *Maurocordatus*, 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 *Maurocordatus's* discernment and capacity could have invented.

many

many *Othman* heroes; that to disgrace the city of *Constantinople* the more, there was appointed for *Caimacan*, *Kiopri* *Abdullah Pasba* (44), a youth of eighteen years, who, except the glory of his father, had nothing to recommend him but his marriage with the *Mufti's* daughter; as if no bounds could be fixed to the *Mufti'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 *Mollahships* 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 publicly 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*, *Kiopri* *Abdullah Pasba* himself.

CX. For when he, about the end of the month *Muharem*, of the year 1114, with the *Testerdar* 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 *Testerdar*, 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 *Arzuhal*, 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 *Muhzuri* (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 *Muhzurs* 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, [*yoldaş yokmidur*? are no companions at hand?] call out for assistance.

CXI. The *Jebeji*, at this cry, flock together from all parts; rescue their fellows from the *Muhzurs*, 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.

ANNOTATIONS.

(44) *Kiopri* *Abdullah*] The son of *Kiopri* *Mustapha Pasba*, who was slain at the battle of *Salancamen* in 1691. Having married the *Mufti'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) *Muhzur*] 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 *Chorbaji** is raised to *Muhzur agalyk*, the regiment he commands does the office of the *Muhzuri*: 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 *Muhzuri*, who, from the *Falanga*, or instrument they use in beheading, are called *Falangaji*.

The sedition, long concealed, at last breaks out into open rebellion.
H. 1114.

A. C. 1702.

The *Jebeji* first raised the sedition.

Carakash, at the head of the rebels, attacks the *Caimacan*.

CXII. Their report is confirmed by *Carakash 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, Mufti, and other oppressors of the people, confirming their resolution by an oath.

Hasan Pasba made *Caimacan* by the conspirators, who declare their own Mufti and Vizir.

CXIV. In this assembly, *Firari Hasan Pasba* offers to be their leader, and upon the removal of *Kiopri Abdullah Pasba*, is appointed *Caimacan* by the conspirators. The *Nakib Kiazibi Mehemed Effendi* (47), assumes the office of Mufti, and under that title gives the *Fetvab*. Another person of no note, *Dor Jan Ahmed Pasba*, who having been recalled from his Pashalic, lived privately at *Constantinople*, is made Vizir by the rebels. *Kulkiebaia Chalyk* * *Ahmed Aga*, is appointed *Janizar Aga*, and *Diw Ali Aga* (48), who had been deprived of the post of *Kulkiebaia*, 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 *Adriatople*. But their outrage, and his own fears, had so taken away his senses

ANNOTATIONS:

(46) *Atmeidan*] The Hippodrome, built by the Emperor *Justinian*, near St. *Sophia*, and running along the court of the *Jami 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 Mufti. The name of *Kiazibi*, that is, *Liar*, 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 *Sadik Mehemed Effendi*, i. e. *Mehemed Effendi the just*, who was raised in his old age by the present Sultan to the dignity of Mufti,

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 *Kulkiebaia*; 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 *Jenairi*, (the *Algiers* of the Europeans;) so that he could never be found.

(49) *Mustapha Effendi*] He was at first, under *Amucje Oglu Husein Pasba*, the *Kiuchuk* * *Tefskiereji*, and afterwards the *Buyuk Tefskiereji*. 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 tryal 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 repell 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 *Osman* 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 *Chausi**, 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 Mufti, *Feizullah Effendi* (50), by his *Fetvab*, declares the seditions

The Sultan marches with his troops against the rebels.

ANNOTATIONS.

(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 *Muderis*, or master of the *Suleimanié-school*, he was appointed *Shebzade 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 *Mufti*, in which he continued seven years; a thing undear of among the *Turks*. He was a man of no great learning, and more crafty than wise. He had such an ascendant 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 *Kyzyl 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 *Mollabships*; 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 *Arzmahtar* 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;

tious *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 *Chatisherif* 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, *Amucje Ogti Husein 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 *Chatisherif* to put him to death. The Vizir refuted 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 *Chatisherif*, 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 villainies 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 *Araijizade*, 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 *Solakcheshmefi* * (51), and from thence send messenger to the Sultan to demand the Vizir, the Mufti, with his sons, and *Maurecordatus*.

The rebels demand of the Sultan two Musulmans 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.

CXXIV. The rebels, as soon as they had him in their power, put him to the most exquisite torture; fix 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.

The rebels put him to a cruel death.

CXXV. The Sultan perceiving from these circumstances, that the people were more exasperated against him than he had imagined, sends to *Dorojan, Ahmed Pascha* (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 *Maurecordatus* 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, *ther*.

They send for Ahmed, the Sultan's brother.

ANNOTATIONS.

(51) *Solakcheshmefi* *] 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 *Mollah*, 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; *ordure be 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 Pascha*, because he had married the sister of the Vizir, *Amucje Oglu Husein Pascha*, and granddaughter of *Kioprili Mustapha Pascha*, 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 *Dorosbensko*, Hetman of the *Cosacs*, whose history I have related: for that Hetman was commonly named *Dorosban* by the *Turks*. Under the Vizirship of *Husein Pascha*, he was governor of *Ainebachit*, 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 advised 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.

Ahmed 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 avaritious in collecting and distributing the publick money; 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 *Ahmed*, whom he always carried with him, and was said to design for his successor, in case he died without issue.

ANNOTATIONS.

(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 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 Pasha*, the *Caimacan*, *Firari Hasan Pasha*, 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*, Mutti; 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 *Abmed* 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 *Bachshish* 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 Pasha* (2), his sister's husband, whom, upon the advancement

He concert measures for punishing them.

ANNOTATIONS.

(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 *Kulkiebaiafi*; but being afterwards turned out, he lived in a private manner at *Constantinople*. Upon the breaking out of the rebellion, being chosen Janizar-agafi 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 so bold, but to keep in their shops, and to transact 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

ment of *Firari Hasan Pasha* to the post of *Tefterdar*, he had made *Caim* my
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 pre-
tences, 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, *Carak Sh 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 sought 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*, *Silabdar 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 *Kuliebaia*, 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 *Sopha* 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 Capu-
dan 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 *Mabomet's* reign, was at length made *Silabdar*, which title he afterwards retained. Being dismissed from that office with three *Tugs*, after the death of *Musabib 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 Caimacanship*, 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 *Mabomet IV*, and from thence rising through the several degrees to the dignity of *Silabdar*, 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 *Chercoassians**, and, next to these, the most honorable among the *Turks*. Upon that account, *Cherkies * 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 used on those who were born and bred where he was.

commanding him to sail with the whole fleet to the *Palus Mæotis*, 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 Pascha*, in the tenth month of his Vizirship, is removed on account of the people's complaints, and September 14 succeeded by *Calaily Ahmed Pascha* (4) a man remarkable for nothing but his luxury and cruelty to the Christian subjects of the *Othman* Empire.

Hasan Pascha being removed, is succeeded by *Calaily Ahmed*.

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and that he ought to take nothing but *Pasta*, which is a very wholesome food made by the *Abaza* with pounded miller, cleared of the husks.

(4) *Calaily Ahmed Pascha*] He was born at *Cæsarea* 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 Kiebaiafi*, 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 Pascha*, 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 fastened to one of their arms, that by the sound of them the *Musulmans* might be distinguished from the *Giaurs*; and some other the like things. But this proving very detrimental to the *Jami's*, whose *Vast* most of the baths are, because, on account of this ignominious distinction, none of the Christians would wash publicly, complaints were immediately carried to the Sultan; by which indeed was obtained the removal of *Calaily Ahmed Pascha*, 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 should be no reformation unless *Calaily* 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 Pascha* without any cause, under pretence that his *Kiebaia 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 handsomeness of the garment, he resolves to go to the *Galibe 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 *Cbaush** *basbi*, 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

He being likewise deprived of his post, Baltaji Mehemed is appointed Vizir.

VII. The Sultan having endured his ill conduct three months, and shown my people the real character of the man whom they had so earnestly desired for Vizir, he removes and banishes him to the isle of *Coos*, advancing *Baltaji Mehemed Pascha* (5) at the end of the year to that post. But sixteen months after, by the arts

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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* * *basbi*'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 *Tefterdar*, 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 *Chiftilyk* *, (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 *Basbba-kikulu* (which is a place of no great consideration in the *Tefterdar*'s court.) The Sultan took then no notice of the man's silliness, but when he was gone out of the room to give directions about the feast, turning to *Kyslar agasi*, "Have you, *Ismael*" 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 Pascha*, (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 Pascha*, or admiral, had taken in the *Euxine Sea*, and condemned to the gallies, a *Raguzean* merchant, who, after having turned bankrupt, had engaged in the service of the Emperor of *Russia*, and was hiring some *Grecian* sailors, whom he intended to conduct to *Azac*. *Calaily*, 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 Kiebaia* answered, that he was taken by *Othman Pascha*, with some sailors, whom he had assembled for the service of the *Russians*, and condemned as a spy to the gallies. *Calaily* 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 gallies, 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 *Istankoi*, (which I have before observed to be the *Coos* 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 Pascha*] He was in his youth inrolled among the *Baltaji*, and, for the sweetness of his voice, was surnamed *Muezin*, or the Sweet-singer. Afterwa

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*.

VIII. He

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in the reign of Sultan *Mustapha II*, being arrived to the degree of *Bichakchi* * *Baltaji*, or senior *Baltaji*, he was made page to the Sultan's brother, *Abmed*, 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 *Abmed*, had for her *Cutuji*, or treasurer, a *Circassian* virgin of singular beauty, and of an excellent wit. As *Abmed* 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 *Cutuji*, 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 *Shebzade 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. *Abmed* 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* *Cutuji* 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 *Cutuji* is sent from the *Seraglio* to the bridegroom's house with her portion. The *Valide Sultana's* *Bash aga*, whom he observed before to have been a *Slave*, as soon as he saw the preparations for her dismissal, runs to *Abmed*, tells him

that the *Cbercassian* * was going to be sent away, but he knew not whither. *Abmed*, full of concern, orders his *Baltaji* *Mebemed 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 *Abmed* 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 *Grecian* 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 *Nikiab*, 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: *Shebzade 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 *Abmed*, could have any knowledge of it. Some days after the wedding, the bridegroom was appointed *Mollab* of *Smyrna*; whereupon the wives of the *Vizir* and other *Bashas* came to wish his wife joy.

Abmed

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 Mehemed 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 *Mehe-med'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 *Emirabor*. To which the Sultan replied, you consult indeed your conveniency, 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 *Alep-po*. 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 unseasonable, 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 *Hierus* 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 *Haseki 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 chess 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 *Janizar-aga* comes to him, and, after some excuses, discovers the Sultan's order: to which the Vizir submits, and only conjures *Haseki aga* to

VIII. He is succeeded April 3, 1705, by *Chorluly* * *Ali Pascha* (6), a man of mean birth, but most acute genius, and very solicitous to maintain peace. During

Mehmed being removed, is succeeded by *Chorluly* * *Ali Pascha*.
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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 Pascha*] born in *Chorlo* *, a town of *Thrace*, which is the *Tyrrhois* 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 Bairamogli*, a *Capuji basbi*, 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 *Ottomanly*, 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 basbi* to *Adrianople*. Being put to school by him, he made such great progress in a short time, that *Cara Bairamogli* thought it more adviseable 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 *Chica* * *Osman*, which is the second dignity in *Ottoman* 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 ascendent 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 *Ahmed*, 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 so 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 *Eyub*. 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 *Chatisherif* 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 *Mitylene*. 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 *Fetwa* 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 *Chatisherif* to order his head to be cut off, and publicly exposed in the market-place before *Babihumayun*, 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 *Mahometan* 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 *Monfieur 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 Giaur ya deli dur; ya az zemander songra deli olur*, 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 *Teskiereji*, 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 hearkened to others that were pleading before the *Kadiulaskier*, and delivering back the *Arzupal* 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* he

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 *Swedes* gained the advantage, and engaged the *Poles*, who were before inclined to a change, to depose their King *Augustus*, and chuse *Stanislaus*, *Wayod* of *Posnania*, 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 *Mazeppa*, 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 *Levend*, 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 them from the marine. The man denying, 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 *Arzubah* 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 *Jems*, 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 Pasha* 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 deposited 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 fearing 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.

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 *Mazeppa* 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.

Mazeppa, Hetman of the *Cossaks*, joins the *Swedes*.
H. 1121.

XII. *Mazeppa*, 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 *Poltowa*, and sustained an irreparable loss.

A. C. 1799.
The *Swedish* army routed at *Poltowa*, sustain an irrecoverable loss. The King takes sanctuary among the *Turks*.

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.

The *Turks* entertain the Kings with great civility, but retract their promises.

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.

The *Turks* confirm the peace with the Czar.

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 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.

Part 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 falsities, laying all the blame upon the treachery of the Chan, by which means he procures him to be deposed, and banished to *Yanopolis*.

The *Turks* determine to confirm the peace with *Russia*, and to oblige the Kings 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 mis-

conduct,

conduct above thirty thousand *Tartars* in the expedition against the *Che-
cassians**, but likewise occasioned the revolt of the *Cossaks* under *Mazeppa*,
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 en-
quires what letters had been sent to the Chan of *Tartary* concerning his as-
sisting 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 *Mazeppa*. *Caplan Gierai*, not think-
ing 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 be-
fore Infidels."

XX. He therefore deprives *Chorbily** *Ali Pascha* of the Vizirship, and ad-
vances in his room *Kioprili Oglu Nuuman Pascha* (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.

XXI. For the King of *Sweden*, upon the removal and banishment of his
enemy, *Ali Pascha*, opens more boldly by his ambassador, *Poniatowski*, his
designs to the *Othman* court, and perswades them to a war with *Russia*.
He alledges, the States of *Poland* were in league with him and *Stanislaus*,
and that the *Waywod* of *Kiow* was universally desired for general of the ar-
my; that forty thousand select men were raised by his officers in *Pomerania*,

*All therefore
being removed
from the post
of Vizir, is
succeeded by
Kioprili Nu-
man Pascha.*

*The King of
Sweden, by
surprising me-
thods, engages
the Sultan to
break the peace
with the Rus-
sians.*

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(7) *Kioprili Nuuman*] A man very fa-
mous 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 com-
mended *Kioprili Mustapha Pascha*, had
brought up all his sons more to learn-
ing, 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 o-
ther violent death. In that state they
would also have continued, had it not
been for their relation, *Husein Pascha*, 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 Pascha* being grown up be-
fore *Husein Pascha* came to the Vizirship,
and having been initiated into the pro-
found 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 apply-
ing himself too closely to his lucubra-
tions, whilst he was at *Constantinople*, he
contracted such a ridiculous fancy, as to

imagine that there was always a fly sit-
ting 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 phy-
sician, 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 no-
thing in it; but when he was brought to
the sick man, and asked by him whe-
ther he saw the fly that was sitting up-
on his nose? he said he did; and by that
prudent dissimulation, induced the disor-
dered person to place the utmost confi-
dence in him. After which, he ordered
him several innocent juleps, under the
name of purging and opening medi-
cines; 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 Pascha*
immediately cried out, this is the very
fly which has so long plagued me: and
thus he was perfectly cured of that whim-
sical 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, *Kioprili Oglu Nuuman Pasha*, 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 Pasha* 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 lifted 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 Pasha*, his mistress's husband, sending *Nuuman Pasha* 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.

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 Mufti, 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 *Mazeppa* 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 *Basha's*, 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 *Mazeppa*.

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 *Nicholaus Maurocordato*, appoints *Cantemir*, Prince of *Walachia*, under the title of that of *Moldavia*, and, presenting him with a sable 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 *Pishkiesh* 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 *Pishkiesh* usually given

The promises made to *Cantemir* denied by the treacherous court.

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[*Osman Aga*] before the Vizirship of *Mehemed Pascha*, he was *Giumrukchi*, 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.

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. Q. 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.

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, *Borius 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 Evvel*, of the year 1123, encamps at the *Hierasus*, 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 *Yaceus*, 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 *Hierasus*, 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

ANNOTATIONS.

Russians, the Vizir sent him before to pacify the Sultan, who received him kindly, (lest 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 *Bosman* baski into *Kavak*, or the castle of the *phorus*, 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 *Tanus* 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*. *Cantemir* with his troops comes to his assistance.

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*. The Czar removes his camp on account of the disadvantageous situation of the place.

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. The enemy imagining them to fly, attacks them with great vigour.

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. The Vizir, surrounding the *Russian* camp, assaults it with great fury.

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. Great hopes of peace appear.

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. The King of *Sweden* endeavours in vain to disturb it.

XLVI. The conditions of peace being agreed upon, the Czar sends *Peter* Baron of *Shafirov*, vice-chancellor of the *Russian* Empire, and *Michael Borisovich Sheremetew*, captain of the guards, as ambassadors extraordinary to *Constantinople* for the confirmation of the peace. Ambassadors sent to confirm the articles of 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*. The Czar returns with his army.

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 *Curska* 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. The heroic saying of *Peter the Great*.

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ERRATA.

Page 360. Line 25. and 364. l. 33. for *Cbateau-nouveau*, read *Cbateau-neuf*. p. 276. dele the note at the bottom of the page. *Sko* is a diminutive in the *Tartarian* language. Thus *Doroshensko* is a diminutive of *Dorotheus*.

FINIS.



The L I F E of
DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR,
Prince of **M O L D A V I A.**

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**. 1673.

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. 1684.
1687.

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. 1691.

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. 1692.

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- 1693.

* *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.

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 chearful 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 purses 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 antient 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*, *Mazil*) are obliged to live at *Constantinople*.

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 viuals.

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 *Charcof* 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 *Prt*, 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.

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 stayed 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 *Trubezkoï*, 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 *Colomma*, a town ninety *verst* from *Moscow*, situated at the mouth of the *Moscu*, which runs into the *Occa*. Here he found his family, which followed him by water, and embarking, pursued his journey to 1721. *Astracan*, where he arrived the fourth of *July*.

He had but just left *Colomma*, when he begun 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*, hastened 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 account of the great distance, but also by the returns of his distemper. However, he arrived at last, in *March*, in pretty good health. He spent his time in the usual diversions of the country, in settling 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 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 sorrel. 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 cultivating

4. 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 antient 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 *Ottavo*.

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 antient *Greek, Sclavonian, and French*.

His principal study was History, though he made a good progress in Philosophy and the Mathematics, 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.

