Additions and Corrections to Part I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ibid. p. viii. b. l. 3, and 4. *Vilurmiſin* read *Billiurmiſin.*

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

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

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

ibid.

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

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

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

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

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

Page 1. l. 4. *Alothman*, Let it be obſerv'd once for all, that this word wherever it occurs, muſt be read *AliOthmân*. So likewiſe *Alijenghiz*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ibid.

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

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

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

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

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

p. 15. l. 16, &c. read *Tengiſhehri.*

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

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

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

p. 28. l. 22. read *Ayaſolonia.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ibid. l. 14. read *Meninskius.*

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

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

p. 47. n. b. l. 6. read *Beſſarabia.*

p. 48. l. 17, &c. read *Jaſſij.*

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

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

One

One of their Puniſhments is the Sight of the *Bleſſed*, and earneſt Deſire to be with them, which cannot be till the day of Judgment, when proſtrating themſelves before the Face of their Creator, that act of Adoration ſhall cauſe their good works to outweigh their bad, and then it ſhall be ſaid to them, " Enter into " Paradiſe, where your fears and cares ſhall be at an end." *Saadi* ſays of the *Arâf*, that it appears a *Hell* to the *Bleſſed*, and a *Paradiſe* to the *Damn'd*.

p. 119. n. b. l. 4. read *uſtun*, the *Turkiſh* name of the vowel *e* or *a*.

p. 127. n. 34. dele *ſo*.

p. 130. l. 28. *Myrza*, ſays *D'Herbelot*, is a contraction of *Emir Zadeh*, which in *Perſian* ſignifies, Son of a Prince, and was particularly us'd by the Family and Poſterity of *Tamerlane*, and very common at preſent among the *Tartars*.

p. 133. n. l. 6. dele *the*.

p. 135. l. 6. *Iſmail*] He was Son of *Sheik Haidar*, whoſe Mother was Daughter of *Uzuncaſſan* firſt Sultan of the Dynaſty of the *Turcomans*, call'd *Baïandurien's* or *White Sheep*. *Haidar* is one of the Titles of *Ali*, and ſignifies *Lion*. Hence the Family of *Sheik Haidar* pretends to derive their Origin from *Ali* by his ſecond Son *Huſſain*. *Haidar* being ſlain in battle by the King of *Shirvan*, his Family, which was very numerous, was almoſt wholly deſtroyed. However *Iſmail* one of his Sons eſcaped, and afterwards founded the preſent Dynaſty, which now reigns in *Perſia*, with the Sirname of *Sophi*. The *Perſians* ſay *Haidar* was the firſt Inventor of a red covering for the Head with twelve Folds round a Cap, and caus'd all his people to wear it. It is call'd in *Perſian*, *Haidar's Tag* or *Crown*. Hence it is that the *Turks* call the *Perſians*, *Kizylbaſh* or *Redheads*.

p. 138. n. l. 5. *Souk*, read *Sovuk*.

p. 139. n. b. l. 1, and 2. dele *and which*.

p. 156. l. 35. ſeiz'd all *Egypt*] These *Circaſſians* reign'd in *Egypt* about two hundred and eighty years in fourteen ſucceſſions, and were what we commonly call the *Mamalucs*, from *Mamluk* the Plural of *Memalik*, which in *Arabic* ſignifies a *Slave*.

p. 165. l. 12. read *Gaza*.

p. 167. l. 21. *Sherif of Mecca*] *D'Herbelot* ſays the *Arabian* word *Sherif* ſignifies in general *Noble*, or High in *Birth* or *Dignity*, and is a Title given particularly to the Deſcendents of *Mahomet* by *Ali* his Son-in-law and his Daughter *Fathima*. They are alſo called *Emir* and *Seid*, i. e. *Prince* and *Lord*, and diſtinguiſhed by green Turbans. There have been ſeveral Dynaſties of theſe *Sherifs* in *Africa*. The *Edriſſites* were *Sherifs*, and the Race which now reigns at *Fez* and *Morocco* bear the name of *Sherif*. The Sherifs of *Mecca* and *Medina* are ſtill left by the *Turks* with a ſort of Sovereign Power.

p. 175. l. 12. read *Maſtaba.*

p. 178. l. 17. read *from a Tyrant.*

p. 183. n.ª b. l. 22. dele Comma after (is.)

p. 198. l. 20. *Giurjiſtan,* that is, the Country of the *Georgians,* for *ſtan* or *iſtan* ſignifies Country, ſo *Kurdiſtan,* the Country of the *Kurdi,* &c.

p. 202. n. l. 3. *Arabic,* read *Arabia.*

p. 202. n. l. 32. *the,* read *that.*

p. 214. n. l. 3. *Jizair*] This name according to *D'Herbelot* is writ in *Arabic, Gezair* or *Keſſair,* which he makes to be a corruption of the *Latin, Cæſarea,* and *Algiers* to be the antient *Julia Cæſarea,* Capital of that part of *Mauritania,* call'd by the *Romans, Cæſarienſis,* to diſtinguiſh it from the two other *Mauritanian* Provinces, namely, *Tingitana* and *Sitifenſis.*

p. 226. l. 13. *Minarè* or Towers much like the Monument in *London.*

p. 227. l. 9. read *Chalkulvadi.*

p. 230 n. l. 17. *Jemiji* read *Giemiji.*

ibid. l. 21. read *Chingiane**.

ibid. l. 35. read *Peinirji.*

p. 233. l. 23. *Var,* read *Van.*

p. 244. n. l. 3. *or,* read *and.*

p. 247. n. b. l. 36. read *Sijili.*

p. 256. in the Margin, read *Ragotski.*

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

OTHMAN EMPIRE.

PART II.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Decay of the *OTHMAN EMPIRE*,

FROM THE

Reign of *MAHOMET* IV.

TO THE

Reign of *AHMED* III.

BEING THE

Hiſtory of the AUTHOR's own Times.

Written Originally in LATIN,

By DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR, late Prince of *Moldavia*.

Tranſlated into ENGLISH, from the Author's own Manuſcript,

By N. TINDAL, M. A. Vicar of *Great Waltham* in *Eſſex*.

Adorn'd with the HEADS

Of the TURKISH EMPERORS, Ingraven from Copies taken from ORIGINALS in the Grand SEIGNOR's Palace, by the late SULTAN's Painter.

LONDON:

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

THE HISTORY OF THE Decay of the *OTHMAN EMPIRE.*

PART II.

The REIGN of *MAHOMET* IV. Nineteenth EMPEROR of the *TURKS.*

BOOK IV. CHAP. I.

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

Sultan *Mahomet* returns victorious to *Adrianople*

† *Buczacz*

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

The States of *Poland* eject the peace made by King with the Sultan

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

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

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

Annotations.

(1) to the *Koran*] The Reader will not perhaps wonder, that a regard to the *Koran* ſhould be aſſigned among the cauſes of making the peace of *Buchach**, when he is informed that the *Turks* are excited to a perpetual enmity with the *Chriſtians*, by no other ground of their Superſtition ſo much as by that maſs of Blaſphemy. But though they are commanded by the precepts of the *Koran* to make war upon the *Chriſtians*, even when there is no other cauſe for it but the propagation of *Mahometiſm*, yet that law determines the manner in which peace may and ought to be made. For firſt it permits to make a truce, if the enemy be ſtronger than the Muſulmans, that theſe may have time to augment their forces, and to heal their wounds, if they have received any. And it commands, that a firm and laſting peace be made, when the enemy embraces *Mahometiſm*, the enlargement whereof is the ſole end of a juſt war, or promiſes to pay an annual tribute. For in ſuch a caſe, he cannot be compelled further to *Mahometiſm*, nor be hurt any way unleſs he revolts. And if any one commits hoſtilities upon ſuch a tributary, he ſhall be puniſhed as ſeverely as if he had attacked a Muſulman's houſe or lands. For the *Fetvah* anſwers upon that point: *Adamin mali bizum mali muz gibi jane jan, gioze gioz*, &c. Such a man's ſubſtance and riches, are as our ſubſtance, his ſoul as our ſoul, his eye as our eye, *&c.*

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

† This name is variouſly written by the Author, as *Doroſkenko*, *Doroſhenſko*, and *Doroſchenſki*, which laſt ſeems trueſt.

if

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

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

The Sultan marches his forces into *Poland*

The King ſends his army under the command of *Sobieſki* to the borders

H. 1084

A. C. 1673

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

A fierce battle at *Chotin*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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penſation from the Pope to marry another wife. This pleaſing the Emperor, he gives *Gregory* not only a ſafe-conduct, but alſo a recommendation to the Pope. With theſe he comes to *Rome*, kiſſes the Pope's toe, tells him, that though he had a wife alive in confinement among the *Turks*, yet he could not conquer the luſts of the fleſh, and therefore was obliged to marry a ſecond wife whilſt his firſt was alive, and deſires a diſpenſation for that purpoſe: but promiſes at the ſame time, that if his requeſt was granted, he would publickly profeſs himſelf a member of the *Roman* Church. The Pope demurred at firſt, and conſulted the Cardinals, what was moſt expedient for the Church to do; either ſtrictly to obſerve the rigid law of the Goſpel, which forbids Polygamy; or by this indulgence to bring a Schiſmatical, but otherwiſe an illuſtrious, Prince, into the boſom of the Church. After long deliberation, the laſt opinion was preferred to the firſt, and a licence for marrying a ſecond wife was given to *Gregory*, who thereupon made publick profeſſion of the Catholick Faith. *Gregory* having thus gained credit, pretends to have received a letter from *Venice*, wherein he was informed, that there was in that place a young Lady of the noble family of the *Juſtiniani*, who would not diſdain to marry him. Upon ſhowing this letter, he received a recommendation from the Pope to the republic of *Venice*, and departed for that place. There he ſpent ſome months, under pretence of making preparations for his wedding, and tranſacting other affairs, but at laſt changing his dreſs, he went on board a Cypriot ſhip, and ſet ſail for *Conſtantinople*. Having thus deceived both the Emperor and the Pope, he lay concealed for ſome time at *Conſtantinople*, in his friend *Panagiotes*'s houſe, till he had obtained from the Sultan a full pardon, and an oblivion of all that was paſt. After which he made a publick entry into *Conſtantinople*, and obtained not only the enlargement of his wife and children, and the reſtitution of all his goods but alſo a promiſe of being reſtored to his principality within three months. But he died forty days after, either of the piles, or of poiſon given as he confeſſed on his death-bed by *Timon* a Phyſician, ſaid to have been bribed by the *Cantacuzeni*.

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

V. After

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

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

X. The

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(6) *Serden Giechdi**] This name, as to its Etymology, ſignifies, one that does not value his head, or that has devoted his life and head to the Sultan's ſervice. This kind of militia is not perpetual, but is raiſed, and disbanded, at the Sultan's pleaſure. For when there is any great expedition in hand, or a fortified place to be beſieged, the Sultan orders ſo many thouſand of *Serden Giechdi** to be raiſed, with the pay of about ten Aſpers a day. When this order is notified, as many of the Janizaries as prefer a zeal for religion to their life, are liſted among the *Serden Giechdi**, till the number appointed by the Sultan is made up. And thus if a new Janizary, whoſe pay is about three Aſpers a day, liſts himſelf among the *Serden Giechdi**, he will receive afterwards thirteen Aſpers as long as he lives. Their buſineſs is, to be the firſt either in attacking an enemy's camp, or ſcaling the walls of a town, without complaining of the danger and difficulty of the place, or thinking any thing too hard. Their aſſaults are certainly very fierce, becauſe they run into the fire, and againſt the enemy's ſwords, not like men, but like wild beaſts void of underſtanding, and do not deſiſt from their attacks, till they are either recalled or killed. For this reaſon, when the expedition is over, very few, out of the whole number, come ſafe home; but ſuch as eſcape return to the *Oda* or *Chamber*, out of which they had been choſen, and cannot be compelled to ſerve in the ſame manner a ſecond time. But if they chuſe to be *Serden Giechdi** another year, they have an addition to their thirteen Aſpers a day of ten more, which they enjoy all their lives. If ſuch a *Serden Giechdi** is either grievouſly wounded, or loſes a hand or leg in battle, ſo as to be diſabled from going to war, he has an allowance of ten Aſpers a day, and ſometimes more or leſs according to the Sultan's pleaſure, and with that is ſent home under the name of *Oturak* or Sedentary, enjoying that penſion to his death. Not only the *Oturak* or wounded perſons, but alſo the veteran Janizaries, who have ſerved twenty or thirty years, and are unfit any longer to bear arms, have leave to return home as the *Oturak*, and are gratified with the ſame allowance. If theſe ſtay at *Conſtantinople*, they are ſometimes conſulted upon important affairs, and their opinion is delivered to the Sultan by the *Aga* of the Janizaries. Very often they follow the camp of their own accord, and are not obliged to fight, but only, if a ſiege or ſome expedition is propoſed, they are deſired to deliver their opinion about it. There are Horſe-*Serden Giechdi** choſen from among the *Spahi*, in the ſame manner, and are diſmiſſed as the *Oturak*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

H 1085. A. C 1674

The *Poles* being ſtruck with terror, abandon the ſiege.

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

The Sultan recovers *Chotin*, and takes *Human*

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

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

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

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

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

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

XV. This highly exaſperated *Doroſhensko*, and proved afterwards very detrimental to the *Othman* affairs. For there was no other cauſe of the *Coſſaks* revolting ſome years after from the *Turkiſh* obedience, and ſubmitting to the *Czars* of *Ruſſia*, as will be more amply related in its proper place. *Doroſhenſk* Duke of *Coſſaks* up thi repul offers to t render hi ple to the Czar of *ſia*

XVI. But the Emperor ſeeing he could not be ſecure of the poſſeſſion of *Cameniec*, whilſt inhabited by *Chriſtians*, ſince they might not only inform the enemies of every thing done there, but likewiſe put them in a way to take the city, commands all the inhabitants of the territory of *Cameniec* to be removed beyond the *Danube*, and mount *Hæmus* into the province of *Kyrk ekkleſie* (10), and lands to be aſſigned them. But he divides their country among two thouſand *Spahi's*, who were before ſeated in the territories of *Bender*, *Akkierman*, and *Kili*. The ſeaſon appointed for warlike expeditions being ſpent in theſe affairs, the Emperor leaves *Shiſhman Ibrahim Paſha* (11) with a ſtrong garriſon at *Cameniec*, and returns himſelf with the main army to *Adrianople* in the beginning of the winter. The Sult tranſplant *Poliſh* col into *Thra* He marc his force to *Adrian*

XVII. There deſpiſing now the enemy, of whom he had before been a little afraid, he devotes all the next year to his pleaſures, having commanded *Shiſhman Ibrahim Paſha*, governor of *Cameniec*, to obſerve the motions of the *Poles* with ſome regiments of Janizaries. In the mean while he ſolemnizes with great pomp the circumciſion of his two ſons, *Muſtapha* and *Ahmed*, and the nuptials of his daughter, upon which occaſion he amaſſes a greater treaſure (12), than the half of the revenue of the whole Empire would amount to. At *Adri* he ſolem the circu ſion of h two ſons the marr of his da ter

XVIII. On the other hand the *Poles*, who had prepared rather to repell the enemy, than come to a battle, imagining the long ſilence of the *Turks* to be only a ſtratagem, were cautious of making any attempt, ſo that except ſome The Kin *Poland* w war again the *Turks*

Annotations.

(10) *Kyrk ekkleſie*] A province and town formerly called τεσσεράκοντα ἐκκλησίαι, the *Forty Churches*, becauſe there were formerly in it ſo many *Chriſtian* Churches. It is diſtant eight and thirty hours from *Conſtantinople*, and twelve from *Adrianople*: At preſent it has neither walls nor churches, and but very few *Chriſtian* inhabitants. For it is almoſt entirely poſſeſſed by *Jews*, tranſplanted thither from *Podolia* by Sultan *Mahomet*, by whom the ſame corrupt *German* is ſtill ſpoken as in *Poland*. Their chief produce is butter and cheeſe, which is ſent to the *Jews* living at *Conſtantinople*, after it has been marked with the *Chacham*'s ſeal, to denote that it is clean and made by *Jewiſh* hands.

(11) *Shiſhman* &c.] A brave *Turkiſh* General againſt the *Poles*, and renowned for many actions, but ſo thick and fat, that he was ſirnamed *Shiſhman*, i. e. *the Fat*. It is ſaid of him, that he kept a *French* Surgeon, who opened his belly, and took out the fat, every year, in the months of *June* and *July*, when he could hardly breathe, and was in danger of his life. But, at laſt, his fat increaſing to ſuch a degree, that it could no longer be taken out, he burſt like another *Judas*, ſo that his bowels guſhed out. Whether this be true, or only a ſtory invented by the *Turks*, I cannot ſay; but this I know, that it is conſtantly affirmed by the *Turks* that were about him.

(12) treaſure] Whenever the Sultans ſolemniſe the circumciſion of their ſons, they diſpatch orders to all the *Vizirs*, *Baſhas*, *Begs*, *Sanjaks*, *Wewodes*, and others that have any office within their dominions, and even to their courtiers, to ſend them large preſents. From this no one can be excuſed; and even thoſe that are appointed to guard the borders of the Empire, tho' they cannot come themſelves to the ſolemnity, are forced to ſend preſents by their ſervants. If the port is at peace with the Emperor of *Germany*, and the King of *Perſia*, the ambaſſadors of thoſe courts are alſo invited, and they cannot appear without large preſents. That I am not miſtaken in ſaying, that the Sultan amaſſed then as much treaſure, as half the yearly tribute of his whole Empire would amount to, the reader may judge by this one inſtance. Out of the ſingle principality of *Moldavia*, there were ſent him as preſents, twenty thouſand dolars, two ſable-skins, and two ounce-skins, one hundred cubits of gold and ſilver-cloth, called by the *Turks*, *Shahmeran*, two gold crowns ſet with diamonds, each of which coſt fifteen thouſand rix-dolars, beſides other things of leſs value.

light skirmiſhes between the ſcouts on both ſides, there was nothing worth no-
H. 1087. tice done this whole year. But in 1087, as if the deſtinies demanded a debt due
A. C 1676. to them, torrents of human blood are ſhed with greater profuſion. The King of *Poland*, diſcovering the true reaſon of the inactivity of the *Turks*, reſolves to turn their negligence to his advantage. He liſts therefore new ſoldiers, rather by the hopes of the ſpoils of the *Turks* and *Moldavians*, than by any juſt and uſual pay, and paſſing by *Cameniec*, which upon the deceaſe of *Shiſhman Ibrahim Paſha*, was without a governor, penetrates directly into *Moldavia*, in order, as he declared, to attack the *Turks* within their own territories. Sultan *Mahomet*, who charmed with the pleaſures and diverſions of the preceding year, had laid aſide all thoughts of war, and reſigned himſelf wholly to luxury and hunting, upon the death of *Shiſhman Ibrahim Paſha*, ſends *Shaitan Ibrahim Paſha* (13), inveſted with the dignity of *Seraskier* (14), with an army againſt the *Poles*, who at his coming offer him battle. But he, as he was a man of great policy, and well skilled in military affairs, at firſt amuſes the King with pretences of peace, renders the enemy more negligent, and then after breaking off the treaty upon ſome ſlight cauſe, circumvents the *Poliſh* army by a thouſand artifices, and renders all their efforts ineffectual, and at laſt on a ſudden inveſts the King ſo cloſely in his camp, that he could neither ſend a meſſenger into his kingdom, nor receive any from thence.

He offers peace to the *Turks*

XIX. The King with his whole army would undoubtedly have periſhed, ſince he laboured under an extreme want of proviſion, if divine providence had not permitted the *Turks* to be deceived by the ſame artifices, they themſelves had uſed. For affairs being reduced to the moſt deſperate ſituation, the King of *Poland* ſends ſome perſons into the *Turkiſh* camp, to try whether the former treaty of peace might be renewed. *Ibrahim Paſha* would ſcarce have conſented to their deſires, if he had not diſcovered, that there was a mutiny juſt breaking out in his own camp. The Janizaries, who were uneaſy at the quick marches, they had made to reduce the King to thoſe ſtraits, threw out ſeditious expreſſions not only againſt their General, but alſo againſt the Emperor himſelf, and publickly declared it great injuſtice to be obliged to contend with the enemies and ſeaſons, whilſt the Sultan diverted himſelf with hunting wild beaſts (15), and

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(13) *Shaitan &c.*] A very famous man among the *Turks*, called *Shaitan*, i. e. *Devil*, by his ſoldiers, on account of his cunning, and skill in military affairs. After he had defeated the *Poles* at *Zorauna*, and made a peace with them, he was at his return to *Conſtantinople*, named *Melek*, i. e. *Angel* by Sultan *Mahomet* IV. but he ſtill retained in the army the old name of *Shaitan*. The Vizir *Cara Ibrahim Paſha* made him, after the defeat of the *Turks* at *Vienna*, *Seraſkier* (or General) againſt the *Germans*, in which command, he put in great danger the *German* army, that was then beſieging *Vivarium*, but having been defeated at *Strigonium*, and being accuſed of careleſsneſs and bribery, he was put to death.

(14) *Seraskier*] vulgarly, *Baſhbog*, the Head or General of the whole army. A *Seraskier* may be choſen from among the Baſhas of two or three *Horſe-Tails*. But if one of two *Tug*, or *Horſe-Tails*, is *Seraſkier*, there can be no Baſha in the ſame army privileged with three; and if any ſuch comes, he muſt either be *Seraſkier*, or the Vizir muſt ſend a third *Tug* to the firſt perſon. Any Baſha that is once made *Seraſkier* muſt indeed communicate his deſigns to the reſt of his companions, but he hath the ſupreme authority in the execution, and can command or forbid whatever he pleaſes in the camp. If the chief Vizir is appointed *Seraſkier*, he can alter all deſigns and undertakings, though contrary to the opinion of the reſt of the Baſhas, and arbitrarily command, what is, or is not, to be done. When an expedition is at an end, the name and power of *Seraſkier* ceaſes, till another expedition. But this title the Baſha of *Siliſtria* always bears, whoſe buſineſs it is to defend *Babadagy* and the frontiers of *Poland*.

(15) wild beaſts] When the Sultans are too much addicted to hunting, they always incur the hatred of their people and ſoldiers. For the *Turks* believe, that a mind too intent upon taking birds and wild beaſts, can neither govern itſelf nor the commonwealth, nor hearken to ſound advice. This opinion is grounded upon a common *Turkiſh* ſaying, *Kuſhbazi Cumarbazi ulduren olur cazi, He that kills a lover of birds* (which name

and rowled in other pleaſures; that they, who had been the chief inſtruments of founding and extending the Empire, were now put under the command of a *Seraskier*, and treated as if unworthy to fight under the conduct of the Emperor, or Vizir, according to the antient and uſual cuſtom. On the other hand the Chan (16) of *Crim Tartary*, perceiving he loſt more than he gained by this war, did not ceaſe to perſwade the *Seraskier* to peace, repreſenting that the conditions, which would now be offered by the King of *Poland*, were not to be ſlighted, for he did not doubt, the *Poles*, to reſcue themſelves from imminent danger, would conſent to whatever ſhould be demanded, but it was to be feared, if they were longer preſſed, deſpair would inflame their courage, and cauſe them to make an irruption, by which if they did not entirely defeat the *Othman* army, they would at leaſt revenge their own deaths with the ſlaughter of thouſands of their enemies: he added, that the winter was now approaching, and the *Othman* ſoldiers, unaccuſtomed to that ſeaſon, would afford an eaſy victory to the enemy. *Shaitan Ibrahim Paſha* being moved by theſe and other remonſtrances, approves the advice, and demands of the King of *Poland* ſeveral nobles to be ſent as hoſtages to his camp. The King ſends to the *Seraskier* ſix under the title of ambaſſadors, and receives the ſame number from the *Turks*. Immediately the report of peace was ſpread through both camps; upon which the *Turkiſh* Soldiers imagining, there was nothing to fear, and being pleaſed with ſeeing at laſt an end of their labours, grow remiſs, and careleſsly guard the paſſes.

XX. When the King of *Poland* ſees this, he takes with him a ſelect body of his army, leaving the weakeſt part to guard the camp, privately retires, and unexpectedly attacking ſome thouſands of *Tartars*, who had encamped under *Mohilow* (17), eaſily puts them to flight. An account of this misfortune is immediately brought to *Ibrahim Paſha*, who was then at dinner talking with the ambaſſadors. Struck with the news, he ſeverely reproaches the ambaſſadors for their treachery and breach of the law of nations, and immediately ſends his cavalry to the aſſiſtance of the *Tartars*. Theſe troops, on the 19th of *Rejeb* in 1087, find the *Poles* under *Zorauna*, and full of reſentment and revenge ruſh upon them. The battle was long doubtful, with great ſlaughter on both ſides; and would have laſted ſtill longer, if night had not put a ſtop to their ardour. For the evening coming on, when the *Turks* perceive nothing could be done on account of the darkneſs, they retire to their camp, which is readily permitted them by the weary *Poles*, who alſo ſtrongly entrenched their own camp againſt the irruptions of the *Tartars*, fear ſupplying them with ſtrength.

The King eſcapes danger, and defeats the *Tartars*.

H. 1087. A. C. 1676.

XXI. The two camps being placed oppoſite to each other, ſkirmiſh for ſeventeen days without intermiſſion, ſometimes the *Poles*, ſometimes the *Turks*,

A peace concluded.

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name comprehends alſo one that is too fond of hunting,) *and a player at dice, is to be reckoned a Hero* This was the occaſion of all the calamities that befel *Mahomet*, and his ſon *Muſtapha* II. in our times, and the chief reaſon of their being depoſed. For when, notwithſtanding the repeated admonitions that were given them, they would not refrain from hunting, the people did not ceaſe to hate and deſpiſe them, till they had wreſted the ſcepter from their hands. But ſuch Emperors as do but ſeldom and moderately uſe that recreation, have never been cenſured for it by their ſubjects.

(16) Chan] Though the Chan of *Crim-Tartary* be ſubject to the *Turkiſh* Empire, and has hitherto continued faithful, yet, for his own advantage, he does not deſire that all *Poland* ſhould be under the *Turkiſh* yoke. Not to mention the many preſents he privately receives, almoſt every year, out of *Poland*, that kingdom may not improperly be called the ſtore-houſe of the *Tartars*, in which they can make continual incurſions, and draw very large ſums from thence, for the redemption of the great numbers of captives they carry away. But if *Poland* was tributary, or entirely ſubject, to the *Turks*, the *Tartars* would be debarred from exerciſing their uſual robberies, and therefore they endeavour to hinder it all the ways they can.

(17) *Mobilow*] A town of the *Poliſh Ukrania*, lying on the eaſtern ſide of the *Tyras*, twelve hours diſtant from *Soroca*, and about the ſame from *Camenic*.

being

being worſted. At laſt, after many labours, peace is concluded in the midſt of arms; and ſigned the 6th of *Shaban* by ambaſſadors of both parties. The inſtruments of peace being exchanged, the *Poliſh* ambaſſadors, preſented by the *Seraskier* with bred horſes, are diſmiſſed; and the *Turkiſh* hoſtages alſo return to the *Othman* camp. The *Poles*, when they come home, ſummoning an aſſembly of the States on the 19th of *Ziulcade* the ſame year, and notwithſtanding the endeavours of the Emperor of *Germany* to the contrary, ratify the conditions of the peace, and ſend to *Conſtantinople* the Palatine of *Culm* as ambaſſador extraordinary to the Port. But how prejudicial an unſeaſonable pride is in the management of publick affairs, appeared in the following inſtance.

The abſurd demand of the *Poliſh* ambaſſador.

XXII. The ambaſſador, before he entered the city, demanded by a letter what had never been done, that the Vizir ſhould meet him at the gate of *Conſtantinople*. This being refuſed, he would not enter the city (18), and retired towards the weſt to *Daud Paſha* (19), a village about an *Italian* mile from *Conſtantinople*. By theſe and the like delays, the negotiation is protracted from the

H 1088. 26th of *Rejeb* 1688, to the 16th of *Sefer* the next year, when the peace

A C 1677 at laſt confirmed in *Daud Paſha*; and on the firſt day of the month *Rebiul evvel*, in a publick council the inſtruments of it were delivered to the ambaſſador, drawn up in ſuch a manner as the Vizir thought proper (20). By theſe articles

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(18) the city] This obſtinacy and pride in the ambaſſador would have put an end to all hopes of peace, had not the Vizir, who was now meditating the *Vienna*-expedition, endeavoured by all means to keep every thing quiet on that ſide, and for that reaſon yielded a little to the ambaſſador, and permitted the *Reis Effendi* to conclude the peace at *Daud Paſha*. For, otherwiſe, the *Turks* are more ſcrupulouſly exact than any other Nation in obſerving the rites and ceremonies uſed of old by their Court, and they had rather ſee the whole world turned upſide down, than that the leaſt point of honour due to them ſhould be omitted.

(19) *Daud Paſha*] A place on the weſt-ſide of the City, and not above an *Italian* mile from the walls. There are to be ſeen ſtately palaces belonging to the Sultan, ſome houſes for the courtiers, and ſtables built of ſtone, all which are very handſom edifices. Beſides theſe, there are no other houſes, nor any inhabitants, except the *Boſtandji*, who take care of the adjoining garden. The name of it ſeems to be derived either from the founder, or from the over-ſeer of the ſtructure. Whenever the Sultan travels from *Conſtantinople* to *Adrianople*, he takes up his firſt quarters there. This *Daud Paſha* muſt be diſtinguiſhed from another *Daud Paſha Mekiemeſi*, built in the middle of *Conſtantinople* by *Ildirim Bajazet*, whilſt the *Greek* Emperors were yet maſters of that City.

(20) thought proper] Becauſe it is of great importance to know the particulars of this treaty, it will not be amiſs to ſet them down here as they are extant in the Hiſtory of the war between the *Poles* and *Turks*, by *Monſieur De la Croix*. They are to this effect.

Being deſired by the ambaſſador of *Poland*, to inſert ſome articles among the *bleſſed* capitulations which we have with that kingdom, we have granted, and will, that the contents of them be obſerved and made publick.

1. If the *Lipkenſian Tartars*, who live in *Poland*, are willing to retire into the provinces that are ſubject to us, they ſhall have a whole year allowed them to do it; nor ſhall the *Poles* in any wiſe hinder them from moving their children and effects where they pleaſe.

2. Whereas all *Podolia*, according to its antient bounds, is ſubject to our imperial Majeſty, we will, that the *Poliſh* garriſons, which have hitherto poſſeſſed *Buar* and *Mejibos* evacuate thoſe places, leaving behind them all the cannon, that was found there when they were taken. But if any have been brought thither, ſince that time, out of *Poland*, they may be carried away. The inhabitants of thoſe places, ſhall either remain there, or depart elſewhere, without any moleſtation.

3. The bounds of *Podolia* ſhall be ſettled by old inhabitants of that province, who are men of approved integrity, and known experience; and the limits they ſhall appoint, ſhall for the future be the true and certain bounds of *Podolia*.

4. When the bounds are thus ſettled, all the *Poliſh* Noblemen, who have long poſſeſſed villages in *Podolia*, and are willing to ſtay there, ſhall pay to the *Othman* port, tribute, tenths, and other cuſtoms impoſed upon goods. A part of thoſe villages ſhall be left to them for their maintenance, and they and their poſterity ſhall enjoy it for ever, being confirmed by our privilege

articles, the *Poles* not only renounced all claim to *Cameniec*, which had been taken by the *Turks* in the former war, but likewiſe engaged to give up all authority

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privilege in their dignities, and exempted from the tribute on children, provided they attempt no hoſtilities.

5. The Churches that are not yet converted into *Moſchs*, ſhall remain in their poſſeſſion, and they may, without interruption, perform divine ſervice after their own way.

6. We will that *Ukrania* according to its old bounds be yielded to the *Coſſaks* that are ſubject to us, except the towns of *Bialocerkiew* and *Pauolocz*, which, out of our ſpecial grace, we have granted, with their territory, to the *Poles*. Further than this let them not extend themſelves ſo much as one inch, nor any way moleſt our ſubjects the *Coſſaks*.

7. We ſhall ſend commiſſioners to determine the bounds of theſe towns, as hath been already ordered with relation to *Podolia*.

8. We confirm the religious, who dwell at *Jeruſalem* in time of peace, in their poſſeſſions there, which they have enjoyed for a long time; and we charge all perſons not to dare to diſturb them.

9. We command our armies of *Crim* and *Bujak Tartars*, *Coſſaks*, and *Tranſylvanians*, from this day forwards for ever not to enter *Poland* without our orders, not to plunder it, nor exerciſe any hoſtilities therein: and if it can be proved, that ſuch a breach of peace hath been committed, thoſe that have received any damage ſhall have reſtitution for the ſame.

10. At the requeſt of the moſt ſublime Chan of *Crim-Tartary*, we remit to the *Poles* the tribute of twenty two thouſand dolars, which they have paid us for a long time. Beſides this remiſſion, and the towns of *Bialocerkiew* and *Pauolocz*, which we have freely granted them, we will, that the *Buſſ d* capitulations of *Bujak* be inviolably obſerved.

11. The Judges appointed on the borders, ſhall paſs ſentence, not only upon the immoveable goods of our ſubjects, but alſo upon other affairs of leſs moment.

12. The inhabitants of *Cameniec*, who were expelled after the taking of that fortreſs, ſhall be at liberty to return into their own country, and of living in *Podolia* if they chuſe it.

13. And becauſe the inhabitants of *Cameniec* have forſaken their country, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they have no Churches; one Church ſhall be reſtored to thoſe who have remained there, or are willing to return: in like manner we grant one Church to the *Chriſtians* of the *Latin Communion* in the fortreſs of *Buar*, and if it is deſtroyed, it may be rebuilt.

14. The ſame thing ſhall alſo be obſerved in *Yaſſovez* and *Mejibos*, after we have choſen ſuch as are to be converted into *Moſchs*.

15. The priſoners that have been taken during the war, ſhall be exchanged on both ſides. There ſhall be but one Baſha in *Podolia*, and the other officers ſhall not be choſen from among the *Lipkenſian* or any other *Tartars*.

16. The *Lipkenſian Tartars*, that are near the frontiers, ſhall be obliged to remove their habitation further from the borders.

17. If there are in antient treaties any articles contrary to theſe, we annul them, but confirm the reſt; and promiſe, that as long as the King of *Poland*, with the great men and officers of his kingdom, make no attempt againſt the fortreſſes, neighboring cities, towns, villages, and territories under our government; they ſhall no way be moleſted or injured by our victorious armies, Baſhas and officers, whether *Moldavians*, *Tartars* of *Dobruje*, *Alkierman*, *Daben*, and of the *Boriſthenes*.

18. The *Poles* ſhall pay the uſual tribute to the Chan of *Crim-Tartary*: And if it is paid according to antient cuſtom, he ſhall be obliged on his part to maintain peace, friendſhip, and correſpondence with them, and not to ſuffer them to receive any damage or injury. The ſame ſhall be obſerved by Sultan *Galga*, and other *Tartarian* officers

19. If any enemy declares war againſt the King of *Poland*, the Chan of *Tartary* ſhall be obliged to come to his aſſiſtance with an army. We will moreover, that in caſe we want any *Tartars* for our ſervice, they paſs no other way through *Poland*, than what they have hitherto uſed.

20. All priſoners that ſhall be brought out of *Poland*, by the *Tartars* or *Moldavians*, after the concluſion of this *bleſſed* treaty, we declare to be unjuſtly taken, and we forbid the ſelling them within our dominions: requiring that the ſame be obſerved in *Poland* with regard to our ſubjects.

21. If we happen to have war with any infidel King, and our imperial Majeſty is pleaſed to go in perſon, or to ſend a *Seraſkier* with our armies, or the Princes of *Tranſylvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Walachia*, the King of *Poland*, by reaſon of the ſincere friendſhip, and ſtrict union and correſpondence he has with us, ſhall give our enemy no aſſiſtance, nor furniſh him with men, or money; neither ſhall he ſuffer our enemies to raiſe ſoldiers in his dominions, nor publickly

authority over the *Coſſaks* of *Podolia* as ſubjects, and reſign it to the *Othman* port; to the *Lipkenſian Tartars* (21), who had till then been ſubject to *Poland*, they gave leave to depart; in ſhort, the whole treaty was ſo worded, as if it was not a king treating with a king, but a lord with his vaſſal. However, even this did not cure the pride of the *Poliſh* ambaſſador. For that he might not ſeem to have brought ſo magnificent a retinue with him to no purpoſe, when the peace was confirm'd, and he had received the writings on the emperor's part, he deſires and obtains leave of the vizir to make his publick entry.

His oſtentation, and the Vizir's flyings upon it.

XXXIII. In this entry, beſides other marks of magnificence, he orders his horſes to be ſhod with ſilver, and the ſhoes to be faſtened with only two nails, that they

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publickly or privately, give leave to any Palatine or colonel to raiſe any.

22. The princes or governors of *Tranſylvania*, who are alſo kings of *Hungary*, being ſubject to us, and living under our government, becauſe that province has deſcended to us by hereditary right from our anceſtors; we will that the king of *Poland* live in a friendly manner with them, on account of their loyalty.

23. But if they ſhould rebell againſt us, the king of *Poland* ſhall, neither directly nor indirectly, give them any aſſiſtance. And if any Palatine of *Tranſylvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Walachia*, or any other rebellious prince ſhould fly into *Poland*, the king ſhall be obliged to detain him, and ſend him to the auſpicious Port. So ſhall he be an enemy to our enemies, and a friend to our friends.

24. If the king of *Poland* ſhall continue in amity with our *Port of Felicity*, we command thoſe princes to obſerve the ſame correſpondence with *Poland*, as they have hitherto done.

25. We order, the priſoners taken during the war, and ſince the treaty of peace has been on foot, to be releaſed without ranſom.

26. We order alſo, that ſuch priſoners as have been formerly taken, in caſe they have not embraced the *Mahometan* Religion, be releaſed, upon repaying the money they were ſold for, which their maſter ſhall be obliged to declare upon oath.

27. Merchants on both ſides ſhall be freely allowed to traffick by ſea and land, and to come into all our harbours, and elſewhere, only upon paying the cuſtoms appointed in each place.

28. They ſhall no way be moleſted or injured: and if any of them dies within our dominions, his goods ſhall faithfully be delivered to the maſter of the *caravan*, in order to be conveyed to the relations of the deceaſed; and we will, that the ſame be obſerved with reſpect to our ſubjects in *Poland*.

29. The Ambaſſadors, with their retinues, that ſhall come to preſerve a correſpondence with us, ſhall have free paſſage through our dominions, and ſhall have the neceſſary attendants allowed them; and we deſire that the ſame regard be paid to thoſe we ſhall ſend into *Poland*.

30. If *Armenian*, or other infidel merchants, are willing to paſs through *Moldavia*, in order to trade in our *happy* dominions, they ſhall be obliged to travel through the publick roads, and not through by-ways: and if they are ill-uſed in the publick roads, we will, that the offender be found out and puniſhed.

31. We will and command, that all the articles contained in this treaty of peace be punctually, exactly, and faithfully obſerved; may their duration be equal to that of our empire, which is to laſt as long as the world; to the end this peace and mutual correſpondence may be eternal.

32. We promiſe upon our imperial oath, and proteſt before God the creator of heaven and earth, and by the miracles of *Mahomet Muſtapha*, the great prophet, the ſun of two ages, on whom reſt the peace of the divine majeſty, that we ſhall tranſgreſs none of theſe articles, nor clog them with any difficulties, but that the peace and union now made and confirmed, ſhall laſt as long as our glorious empire; provided the king of *Poland*, his palatines, generals, and other ſubjects, do nothing contrary to the ſaid peace and union, and honour and value the right of peace and friendſhip. Therefore we command, that credit be given to this noble ſignature of ours; and do notify to the whole world, that we will have this treaty to be firm and indiſſoluble, according to the tenor. May all the inhabitants and ſubjects of *Poland* enjoy profound peace under the ſhadow of our protection. At *Daud Paſha* the 16th of the moon *Sefer*, 1089.

(21) *Lipkenſian Tartars.*] *Lipka* is the *Turkiſh* Name for *Lithuania*, from whence the *Tartars* that live in *Lithuania* are called *Lipca-Tartars*. They all profeſs the *Mahometan* religion, and tho' they pretend to be derived from the ſame ſtock as the *Crim-Tartars*, yet they are naturally weaker and more infirm than they.

might the eaſier fall off in the ſtreets, which were paved, and ſtrike the *Turks* with admiration at the riches of *Poland*. But what he had deſigned for his honour, turned to his diſgrace. For the vizir, when one of theſe ſhoes was brought to him, is reported to have ſaid, that the infidel had indeed ſhoes of ſilver, but a head of braſs; ſince it was incredible, that any perſon in his ſenſes could be guilty of ſuch a ridiculous extravagance as to ſhoe his horſes with ſilver. The ſame vizir, when inform'd by the *Seraskier*, that the ambaſſador of *Poland* was coming with ſeven hundred attendants, and deſired proviſion for ſo large a retinue, he is ſaid to have ſent word to the *Seraskier*, to tell the ambaſſador, that if he meant to uſe ſo numerous a band to take *Conſtantinople*, his followers were very few; but if he intended to ſalute the lofty threſhold of the ſublime port, he had brought too many with him, and was afraid it would be polluted by the kiſſes of the *Poles*, however, that it was not more difficult for the ſultan to entertain as gueſts, ſeven hundred *Poles*, than to maintain ſeven thouſand peaſants of that nation, condemned to the imperial gallies. But to return from this digreſſion.

A war with *Ruſſia* H 1090 A C 1679

XXXIV. Peace being now ſettled and confirmed with the *Poles*, in the ſame year 1090, a freſh war broke out between the *Othman* port and the *Ruſſians*. *Doroſhenko*, *Hetman* of *Sari Camyſh Cazagy*, (22) as I have obſerved, had voluntarily ſubmitted, with all his people, to the *Othman* Port; but afterwards, when he deſired to be a partner in the *Poliſh* expedition, meeting with a repulſe, he reſolved to revenge this affront by a revolt. But he found, that unleſs he called in the aſſiſtance of ſome more powerful ally, he ſhould be incapable of executing his deſigns, and that his efforts for the delivery of his country, would rather involve it deeper in oppreſſion. Having well weighed theſe affairs, he ſends, by private letters, for the officers of the *Coſſaks*, and others, whom he knew to have the greateſt influence over the people, and repreſents to them what he had hitherto done for the preſervation of their quiet and liberty, and by what methods he had endeavoured to aſſert and ſecure it. "I imagined (ſays he) that, oppreſſed and contemptuouſly treated by the *Poles*, we might find a ſure refuge "under the protection of the *Turks*. They were ſo remote from our borders, "that there ſeemed no reaſon to fear them; and their name ſo formidable to "their enemies, that a ſhip under their colours ſeemed to be as ſafe as in the "very harbour. To theſe conſiderations were added the promiſes made to us, "ſuch as we could ſcarce have asked for; namely the enjoyment of our civil "and religious liberties, freedom from tribute, and a large ſhare of the booty "which we ſhould gain in their ſervice. That they would perform theſe promiſes "I was inclined to believe, chiefly becauſe they ſeemed the more deſirous of "our friendſhip, as they had more than once found us formidable enemies. But how little ſincerity is to be expected among infidels, is ſufficiently evident from what we have ſeen with our own eyes. When, to demonſtrate "my fidelity, I marched in the *Poliſh* war to their aſſiſtance with a good part of "the army; I was not only not received with due honour, but even treated with "contempt, and, like a traytor, commanded to return home. They were jealous "of our being eye-witneſſes of their conduct, and apprehenſive leſs the ſight of "our churches, turned into moſchs, contrary to the moſt ſolemn engagements, "and the tranſplanting the inhabitants into barren lands, ſhould open our eyes, "and teach us what we were to expect. When a peace was concluded with the "*Poles*, they freed us indeed from the yoke of that nation; but ſo freed us, "that they have laid a heavier on our necks. Hence they voluntarily reſigned "to the *Poles* the chief bulwarks of our country, *Bialocerkiew* and *Pawolocz*. "Hence they, who at other times upon the ſlighteſt injury breathe nothing but "fire and ſword, paſs over in ſtrange ſilence, the prohibition of commerce, and

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(22) *Sari Camyſh Cazagi.*] The *Coſſaks* of the yellow reed: which of them are ſo called, has been ſhown in a former note.

"other

" other *Poliſh* arts, by which we are daily exhauſted, and the beſt part of our blood
" ſucked out, that weakened and deprived of our ſtrength, we may be rendered
" incapable of making any reſiſtance, whenever they ſhall think proper to im-
" poſe their tyranny upon us. Theſe were the artifices of the *Othman* Princes,
" by which they founded, and immenſely enlarged their Empire; to overcome
" *Chriſtians* by *Chriſtians*, to ſubdue both, when exhauſted by a long war, and
" when ſubdued, to treat them at firſt with lenity, and afterwards by degrees
" to lay ſo heavy a yoke on them, that the weight of it may at laſt ſtupify the
" bearers. If any ſhould doubt of this, or imagine I ſpeak out of envy to the
" *Turks*, he will have a convincing proof in the Princes of *Moldavia*, who were
" not ſubdued by the *Turks* with arms, but allured by mild ſpeeches and pro-
" miſes of liberty to a voluntary ſubmiſſion, and yet are now oppreſſed with the
" ſame ſervitude as the reſt of the *Chriſtians*, under the *Othman* dominion.
" Taught by theſe examples, I too late lament our error; however it is not ſo
" late, but a remedy may be applied to the wound, if you will ſhow your ſelves
" worthy your name and anceſtors. But reſolution alone is not ſufficient;
" ſtrength is required, in order to defend our religion and country, and to reſcue
" our ſelves from unjuſt ſervitude; ſtrength, I ſay, without which reſolution is
" nothing but a head without a body. Since we are not equal to the burthen
" of bearing both the *Turkiſh* and *Poliſh* war, it is neceſſary for us to deſire the
" aſſiſtance of our neighbours, but of whom, it is our buſineſs to conſider. We
" have already made ſufficient trial of the *Poles*, and I imagine, none of you will
" ever think of putting yourſelves again under their yoke. The *Hungarians*
" and *Germans* are more ſollicitous about their own, than the affairs of their
" neighbours. In ſhort, there remains only the *Czar* of *Ruſſia*, to whoſe father
" my predeceſſor *Bogdan Kiemielniski* (23), many years ſince promiſed fidelity;
" but we were afterwards obliged by force of arms to abandon our engage-
" ments. If the word ſubjection appears diſagreeable to any perſon, let him

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(23) *Bogdanus Kiemielniſki*] *Hetman* of the *Coſſaks*, who was a terror not only to the *Poles*, but alſo to the *Turks* and *Tartars*. The *Turks* call him *Chmil*, and have not yet forgot the ravages he committed on the coaſts of the *Euxine-Sea*. He was ſlain in a battle with the *Poles*, in which he diſputed the victory with them, to his laſt breath. He had two ſons; *George*, of whom we ſhall give an account in the following note; and *Timuſh* who married *Roxana*, daughter of *Baſilius* Prince of *Moldavia*. This *Baſilius* having been driven out of his principality by *Stephen* ſirnamed *Burduze*, retired to his Father-in-law *Kiemielniſki*, who lent him fourteen thouſand *Coſſaks*, under the command of *Timuſh*, to recover *Moldavia* and *Soczava*. (in which place he had left his wife, ſon, and treaſures with a good garriſon.) But three days before he came to *Soczava*, that town had been, through the governor's treachery, delivered to *Stephen*; who had ſeized *Baſilius*'s treaſures, and ſent his wife and ſon priſoners to *Jaſſij*. *Baſilius* with his *Coſſaks* prepares to beſiege the place, but were unſucceſsful. For *Timuſh*, in contempt of the enemy, pitches his tents under the very walls of the town, and begins drinking wine and millet-ale very plentifully, as if he had been already maſter of the place. This being obſerved by a *Germa*n gunner who was in the garriſon, he levels a cannon at the careleſs general, and ſhoots off his leg. *Timuſh* dying a few hours after of the wound, the *Coſſaks* are ſtruck with ſuch a panic, that they raiſe the ſiege, and take to open flight. But few of them eſcaped into their country. For the *Moldavians*, who favoured *Stephen*, perceiving the flight of the *Coſſaks*, purſue them, kill many, and drive more into the *Tyras*. This *Bogdanus* is reported to have been ſo much addicted to drunkenneſs, that when *Baſilius* came to him, he could not for ſeven days meet with an opportunity of ſpeaking to him, by reaſon of his being perpetually drunk. At laſt on the eighth day, ſending for *Kiemielniski*, when he was going to give him an account of his misfortunes, he gave him a large cup full of wine, and told him: Drink this medicine, which cures all the ſorrows of the heart, and makes a man forget all his misfortunes. Upon which *Baſilius* turning to his attendants is reported to have ſaid: I once thought, that the *Coſſaks* were men, and begotten of men. but now I ſee that our common ſaying is true: The *Coſſaks* have been either turned from bears into men, or bears have been turned from *Coſſaks* into beaſts.

" conſider that liberty once loſt, if it cannot be reſtored to its former luſtre, will " inquire, not where it may be freed from all, but where it may enjoy the eaſieſt conditions. We have nothing to fear as to our churches from a Prince " of the ſame religion with ourſelves, nothing as to our fortunes from a King, " who poſſeſſes much more by right, than he can take from us with injuſtice. " He is at preſent maſter of the beſt part of our country, and having amaſſed a " vaſt treaſure during a long peace, he can eaſily defend us againſt any enemy " whatſoever. That we ſhould fly to his protection, we are obliged by juſtice, " and the fidelity promiſed him by our fathers; and induced by the neceſſity of " our affairs, and the remembrance of his former gentle dominion over us. " Nor is there the leaſt doubt, but he will both receive us with open arms as " loſt ſons, and defend us as the bulwark of his kingdom againſt our enemies."

The *Coſſaks* ſubmit to the *Czar*

XXV. This ſpeech had ſo great an effect upon the whole aſſembly, that they declared their abhorrence of the treaty made with the *Turks*, and unanimouſly determined to ſubmit themſelves and their fortunes to the *Czar* of *Ruſſia*. Upon this *Doroſhenko* immediately diſpatched a truſty perſon, *Theodorus Alexias*, into *Muſcovy* with letters to the *Czar*, in which he aſſures him, that himſelf and countrymen are ſorry, that without any regard to their obligations, they had diſhonorably ſubjected their province to the *Turks*, but now they repent of their conduct, and intreat his Majeſty to receive them again under his protection, and defend them againſt the enemy; and in return they will readily venture their lives and fortunes in the defence of him and the kingdom of *Ruſſia*. Nothing could happen more agreeable to the *Czar*, ſince he found, that by this means not only *Ukrania*, which was always liable to the incurſions of the *Coſſaks*, was ſecured, but likewiſe his territories extended beyond the *Boryſthenes*, and his army increaſed with above ſixty thouſand men of approved valour. He returns therefore immediately an anſwer to *Doroſhenko* full of civility, in which he commends his deſign and fidelity to him, pardons the former revolt, exhorts him for the future to atone for the treachery of his countrymen by a firm and conſtant attachment to the Princes of *Ruſſia*, and on his part promiſes aſſiſtance againſt all their enemies, whenever there ſhould be occaſion.

The *Turks* appoint *George Kiemielniſki* Hetman of the *Coſſaks*.

XXVI. This news being brought to *Conſtantinople*, not only haſtens the peace with *Poland*, but ſtrangely diſturbs the deſigns of the *Othman* court. The Emperor ſaw, that unleſs he would ſuffer his own and the *Othman* Empire's honour to be trampled upon, he could not avoid revenging this breach of faith, and proclaiming war againſt both the *Coſſaks* and the *Czar* of *Ruſſia*, under whoſe protection they had put themſelves. On the other hand he foreſaw, that the war would prove very difficult, not on account of the *Czar's* power, (for at that time the *Ruſſians* were deſpiſed by the *Turks*) but becauſe he found, that his army would ſuffer more from the narrowneſs of the paſſes, and hunger, and cold, than from the enemy. To avoid therefore the war, if poſſible, and by policy recover the *Coſſaks* to his obedience, he releaſes *George Kiemielniſki* (24), ſon of *Bogdan*, formerly Hetman of the *Coſſaks*, who had been kept cloſe

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(24) *George Kiemielniſki*] The eldeſt ſon of the foreſaid *Bogdan*, who being ſlain by the *Poles*, *George* was advanced by the *Coſſaks* to the poſt of *Hetman*, in which he behaved with great reputation for three years, though in wars all the time with the *Poles*. At the end of theſe three years, *George* perceiving that the *Coſſak* forces were daily diminiſhed by their ſkirmiſhes with the *Poles*, and being afraid of falling like his father, a ſacrifice to the enemy, he reſolved to quit his dignity, and embrace a monaſtic life. For that purpoſe he changed his name and dreſs, and travelled through the deſerts of *Ukrania*, without acquainting any one with his deſign, towards a Monaſtery in that province dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*. In his journey, whilſt he was endeavouring to conceal himſelf from his countrymen, he fell among ſome parties of wandring *Poles*, by whom he was ſtripped, and miſerably beaten. Out of their hands he was reſcued by a body of *Tartars*, who not treating him more kindly, carried him into *Crim-Tartary*, and gave him to the Chan. The Chan gueſſing by his countenance, that he was not a perſon of ſo mean a condition as he pretended,

cloſe priſoner in the Seven Towers, and appoints him Hetman in the room of *Doroſhenko*, hoping, that the *Coſſaks*, as well out of affection to the family of the *Kiemielniſki*'s, as the remembrance of *Bogdan*'s merits, would readily ſubmit to his ſon.

He in vain ſollicits the *Coſſaks* to a revolt.

XXVII. *George* by the Vizir's command immediately ſends his friend *Stamatellus* to his countrymen, and informs them by letters, that the *Othman* port hearing of *Doroſhenko*'s revolt, had made him Hetman of the *Coſſaks*, in hopes that they, who had been drawn off by that traytor from their due obedience to the *Othman* Empire, when they ſaw their lawful General and Hetman would return to their duty, and repent of their proceedings, in which caſe the Emperor would forgive what was paſt, and confer new favours upon them. But the *Coſſaks*, who had found the *Turkiſh* yoke too heavy to be willing to ſubmit to it again, reſolutely rejected the Sultan's offers, accuſe *Stamatellus* of impoſture, alledging, that their lawful Hetman *George* had been long dead in *Tartary*, and give out that a ſtratagem was contriving againſt them under the name of their deceaſed Hetman.

The Sultan proclaims war againſt the *Coſſaks* and *Ruſſians*.

XXVIII. The Emperor ſeeing the *Coſſaks* unmoved with words, thinks it neceſſary to uſe force, and accordingly ſends *Shaitan Ibrahim Paſha, Seraskier* of *Siliſtria* (25), with his whole army to re-inſtate *George* in the country of the *Coſſaks*,

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endeavoured by all means to prevail upon him to embrace the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition. But neither promiſes nor threats being able to make him renounce the *Chriſtian* faith, he came to be known by a *Coſſak*, who had formerly ſerved his father, but who being taken by the *Tartars*, had abjured Chriſtianity, and was raiſed to conſiderable honours in the Chan's court. *Nicolaus* or *Ali* (for that was the renegado's name) fearing, leaſt the favour which the Chan ſhowed to his priſoner, ſhould turn to his own diſadvantage, made known *George*'s condition to the Chan. Whereupon the Chan ſent *George* to *Conſtantinople* to the *Othman* port, where he was immediately after his arrival thrown into the priſon of the Seven Towers, and very narrowly watched. After a few years, ſome *French* ſhips happened to anchor under the very walls of the priſon. When they were preparing for their return, *George* having an intimation of it, endeavoured to eſcape. Having found a bar of iron in the inner yard of the priſon, he forced open the grate of his window. But the place being ſo high, that he could not leap down without danger, he cut in long pieces the carpet, which ſerved him inſtead of a bed, and tying them together like a rope, let himſelf down; but not having exactly gueſſed at the height of the place, the noiſe he made in falling down, awaked one of the *Boſtanji*, and alarmed the priſon. *George* in the mean time, knowing he ſhould be purſued, takes courage, climbs up to the top of the outward wall, and from thence throws himſelf headlong into the ſea. But having hurted his head very much in his fall, and loſing his way in the dark through his fear, he hid himſelf between two rocks, which ſtood above water. There he was found the next morning half dead, by perſons ſent after him by the keeper of the priſon. And after he had been cruelly beat, he was more cloſely confined, tyed neck and heels, fettered, and manacled. In this confinement he remained from the year 1670 till 1677, and ſo accuſtomed was he to bear misfortunes, that he could then hardly be prevailed upon by perſons ſent to him for that purpoſe, to exchange his fetters for the office of Hetman of the *Coſſaks*, which was offered him. After having accepted the Hetmanſhip, he uſed all means imaginable to engage the *Coſſaks* to his ſide; but in vain: for moſt of them ſaid he was only a pretended ſon of *Bogdan*, and not their own General. Three years after, being ſent into *Ukrania*, to cover workmen that were going to build a fort at the mouth of the *Nieper*, he was ſlain in a battle by *Circo* a captain of ſome troops of *Coſſaks*.

(25) *Seraſkier* of *Siliſtria*] All the Baſhas who are entruſted with the defence of the northern provinces of the *Othman* Empire againſt the *Poles*, are indeed named Baſhas of *Siliſtria*, but they have their reſidence at *Babadagy*. *Siliſtria* is a City on the ſouth ſide of the *Danube*, oppoſite to *Walachia*, well known in our modern maps. It is even to this day called in *Greek*, Δρύςρα, and hath a *Greek* Metropolitan. It contains a few *Turkiſh* inhabitants, great numbers of *Chriſtians* chiefly Slaves, *Bulgarians*, and *Walachians*. But *Babadagy* lies nearer the *Euxine* Sea, about twenty hours from the *Danube*, directly below *Baltzen*, called by the ancients *Obluniza*. That both theſe places are very antient, we may gueſs by the

Coſſaks, with particular orders to endeavour to make himſelf maſter of *Chehrin* *, the metropolis of the province, and the ſeat of the Hetman. *Ibrahim* immediately obeys the orders; and paſſing the *Danube* on the 6th of *June*, in the year of Chriſt 16[illegible], by long marches goes through *Moldavia* and *Podolia*.

XXIX. When he comes to *Chehrin* *, he finds ſixty thouſand *Ruſſians* and *Coſſaks* ſtrongly intrenched; is ſurprized at the unexpected ſight, (becauſe by the Czar's command all the merchants or others, who were preparing to go into *Turky*, had been detained at *Niſna*;) (26) and perceiving, that by reaſon of the fewneſs of his troops, (for he had ſcarce forty thouſand men) he could not poſſibly attack the enemies thus fortified, reſolves to wait for the *Tartars*, who were three days march from his camp. But by the vigilance of the *Ruſſians*, he was diſappointed; for hearing of the approach of the *Tartars* to join the *Turks*, the *Ruſſians* plant themſelves in an advantagious poſt between both, and attack the *Tartars* as they draw near with ſuch vigour, that in a few hours the field of battle is covered with the blood of the enemy. There fell in the action, beſides the Chan's ſon, eight *Mirza's*, and above ten thouſand common ſoldiers; the reſt are either taken priſoners, or diſperſed. The *Turks*, when they ſee ſuch a ſlaughter of their confederates, throw away their arms, with their courage, and in the fear that the *Ruſſians*, elated with their victory, would alſo fall upon them, fly with ſuch precipitation, that they ſtop not till they have paſſed the river *Bog* (27.)

The *Ruſſians* defeat the *Tartars*

The *Turks* fly

XXX. This ill ſucceſs rendered the emperor ſtill more deſirous of peace. However, to prevent any blemiſh upon his honour, he ſends an ambaſſador to *Ruſſia*, not in his own, but in the Chan of *Tartary*'s name, amicably to perſuade the Czar to make peace with the Sultan, to reſtore *Chehrin* *, which undeniably belongs to the *Turks*, and to abandon the *Coſſaks* to their own evil genius: for he certainly knows the Sultan would rather wage a twenty years war, whatever ſhould be the ſucceſs, than loſe one foot of land to which he has a right.

The Sultan deſires peace of the Czar

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the ſtructure of the walls, which ſeems to be *Roman*, and not *Turkiſh*; whence it is probable, thoſe cities were built by the *Romans*, to ſtop the irruptions of the *Barbarians* and *Scythians*. Beyond the mountains *Chenge*, * in the way from *Moldavia* to *Adrianople*, there appear the ruins of ſuch another antient city, about four *Italian* miles in compaſs. This laſt is named by the *Turks Roſokieſre*, which is a corruption from the *Greek* word Ῥωσόκαστρον. No hiſtorian, as far as I find, mentions it, but the *Greeks* at *Conſtantinople* have a ſtory about the origin of it, which, whether it be true or falſe, I dare not determine. They ſay, after the irruption of the *Bulgarians*, an army of *Ruſſians*, or perhaps of *Pacinacæ*- or rather a band of *Pechengi*, * paſſed ſed the *Danube*, and made frequent incurſions into the provinces ſubject to the *Grecian* Empire: but being conquered by the *Grecians*, and penned up between the mountains, they laid down their arms; and, embracing the Chriſtian religion, had not only their lives granted them, but alſo obtained a place to build a town. At laſt thoſe *Ruſſians* rebelling againſt the Emperor, their town was taken by the *Grecians*, after a bloody fight, and all without exception put to the ſword.

(26) *Niſna*] A mart in that part of *Ukrania* ſubject to the Hetman of the *Cozacs*, ſituated in a very large plain, and near the river *Wuſtrow*, defended by no deſpicable caſtle. None but *Ruſſian* ſoldiers are permitted to live in the caſtle, but the town is inhabited by merchants of divers nations, *Ruſſians*, *Cozaks*, and *Moldavians*. The beſt part however conſiſts of *Greeks*, to whom the former Emperors of *Ruſſia* have granted many privileges, in order to encourage trade. They have not only built there two churches, in which divine ſervice is performed in their mother tongue; but have alſo founded a *Greek* ſchool, and a fraternity or ſociety, into which ſome *Ruſſian* Princes have not thought it beneath them to be admitted. All the *brothers* are obliged, by the laws of this ſociety, to protect thoſe that have once been incorporated into it; to promote their advantage; to aſſiſt one another in neceſſity; and eſpecially, if any one dies, to take care that his goods deſcend to his right heirs.

(27) *Bog*] or *Bub*, formerly called *Hypanis*, a river well-known, between the *Tyras* and the *Boriſthenes*, near the town *Uzi*, vulgarly *Oczakow*, named by the *Greeks* *Olbiopolis*, diſcharges its ſelf into the *Euxine Sea*. It abounds in *Cataracts*, and is for that reaſon unnavigable; tho' it is ſo deep as not to be fordable in any place. This river muſt not be confounded with another *Bog*, a river of *Podolia*, which riſeth not far from *Leopolis*, or *Lemburg*, and diſcharges it ſelf into the *Viſtula* near *Warſaw*.

The Czar ſends an effectual letter to the Sultan

XXXI. But the Czar of *Ruſſia*, who was not ignorant by whom the ambaſſador was really commiſſioned, ſends one of his court under the title of *Chauſh** at leaſt to *Conſtantinople*, with letters to the Emperor and Vizir, in which he adviſed them not to flatter themſelves that he could be impoſed upon by the ſame artifices as the *Poles*; ſince their example had made him more cautious, and taught him how to deal with them. They ſhould deſiſt from force from an unjuſt war, and leave *Ukrania* undiſturbed, to which he had acquired an undoubted right by *Bogdan Kiemielniski*'s reſignation, confirmed lately by *Doroſhenko*. But if they determine to proſecute the war, they might be aſſured, he would not agree to a peace till he had recovered the reſt of *Ukrania*, unjuſtly taken from his anceſtors, as far as the *Tyras*, and *Aſovia*.

The Turks again declare war againſt the *Ruſſians*

XXXII. Having read this letter, the Vizir ſends for the *Mufti*, the *Caimacan* the *Kadiuleskers*, and *Aga* of the Janizaries, and enquires what the law and reaſon preſcribed to be done. Moſt declare for peace, ſince there was little hope that any thing of advantage to the *Othman* intereſt could be done in theſe difficult and remote parts. The Vizir *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, (28) alone oppoſed theſe pacifick advices, declaring ſo great a ſlaughter, which the *Ruſſians* had made of the *Tartars*, ought not to paſs unrevenged. The reſt aſſenting out of complaiſance to the Vizir, it is determined to renew the war with the utmoſt vigour, and to raiſe a more powerful army. Accordingly the *Ruſſian* ambaſſador receives an anſwer, breathing nothing but fire and ſword.

The Vizir marches with the army H. 1089

XXXIII. When the time appointed for the refreſhment of the ſoldiers was expired, about the end of the month *Rebiul evvel* of the year 1089, the Emperor, attended with the Vizir, marches with his army to *Tatar Pazarjik*, (29) from whence he orders the Vizir, inveſted with a full command of the armies, to proceed. The Vizir, without any delay, paſſes through *Moldavia* by long marches, and in the following month reaches the *Bog*, where he ſpends ſome days in reviewing his army, and expects to be joined by the *Tartars* and *Coſſaks*, whom *George Kiemielniski* had drawn to his party.

He beſieges *Chehrin*

XXXIV. After their arrival, he marches with eighty thouſand of his own ſoldiers, thirty thouſand *Tartars*, and four thouſand *Coſſaks*, towards *Chehrin*,* and on the eighth of the month *Jemaziul evvel* comes in ſight of the city. The *Ruſſians* and *Coſſaks*, who were in garriſon at that time, were employed in building a new fort without the city; and perceiving the unexpected approach of the *Turkiſh* army, retire in confuſion into the city, and inform their companions of

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(28) *Cara Muſtapha.*] The ſame who afterwards became ſo famous for beſieging *Vienna*. He was deſcended from an obſcure family in *Caramania*, but being brought up in the court of the two *Kioprili's*, father and ſon, and having ſerved both, he was firſt made Baſha of *Siliſtria* and *Damaſcus*, then admiral, afterwards *Caimacan*; and at laſt, upon the death of *Kioprili Ahmed Paſha*, advanced to the dignity of Prime Vizir. He was the moſt covetous of all the Vizirs that ever were in the *Othman* Empire, and that failing rendered ſeveral of his deſigns unſucceſsful, which otherwiſe would have been crowned with a good end. He was a man of great capacity, no leſs valiant than wiſe, warlike, ambitious, and daily invented a thouſand artifices to raiſe new wars againſt his neighbours. No other reaſon can be aſſigned of his fall, but that being too much blinded with his riches and power, he would have erected a new Empire in the weſt. After his death, above three thouſand purſes were found in the foundation of his domeſtick bath; the builders whereof (who were ſome *Albanian* Chriſtians, ſupervifors of the works for bringing water into the city) he cauſed to be all put to death, as ſoon as the work was finiſhed. He left one only ſon, *Ibrahim*, who led a miſerable life, till his relation *Amucjeogli Huſein Paſha* came to be raiſed to the dignity of Vizir; who remembring the favours he had received from *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, did not only ſend *Ibrahim* with three *Tugs* to *Aleppo*, but reſtored to him all he had loſt, and built him, at his own charge, a magnificent palace at *Conſtantinople*.

(29) *Tatar Pazarjik*] A pretty large town of *Thrace*, lying at the bottom of the mountains *Chenge*,* towards the north. It was built by colonies of *Aſiatick Turks*, called at preſent *Chitak*,* and planted by order of the *Othman* court, round the mountains of *Hamus*.

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the impending danger. The Vizir obſerving their diſorder, inſtantly commands a body of men, under the conduct of his *Kiehaia*, (30) to attack the city, hoping by that means, the garriſon would be ſtruck with terror, and obliged to ſurrender. But though they fought for four hours with great bravery, they are forced to retire from the walls with diſhonour, and the loſs of their commander and two thouſand Janizaries. *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, taught by this misfortune, that all attempts againſt ſo ſtrong a fortreſs are in vain, unleſs it were inveſted in form, orders, before his ſoldiers had pitched their tents, the city to be ſurrounded, trenches to be dug, ramparts thrown up, and batteries to be planted. But when even this did not ſucceed, by reaſon of the ſandy ſoil, by the advice of a *Pole* he cauſes bridges to be made on the other ſide, where the town was defended by a Moraſs, and commits the care of that work to *Kiorbaſſan Paſha*. But this alſo failed of the deſired ſucceſs.

XXXV. About the ſame time the *Ruſſian* army, under the command of *Romodanowski*, was approaching, and had paſſed the *Boryſthenes* before the Vizir could have any intelligence. To obviate their deſigns, the Vizir had ſent *Cara Mehemed Paſha*, Governor of *Aleppo*, with great part of his army, and given him leave to fight if an opportunity offered. But as he could not draw the *Ruſſians*, though ſuperior in number, to a battle, the Vizir ſuſpecting the matter, that the enemy deſigned to deſtroy the *Othman* army by delay, or to reinforce the garriſon of *Chehrin**, commands *Caplan Paſha* (31) to encamp with the reſt of the army between the city and the enemy. The *Ruſſians* perceiving all communication with the town was cut off on the 22d of the month *Jemaziul achyr*, they attack *Caplan Paſha*'s troops with ſuch vigour, that the foremoſt ranks being broken at the firſt onſet, the reſt fly for ſafety through the midſt of the moraſs. *Caplan Paſha*, when he finds that neither intreaties nor threats have any effect upon his terrified ſoldiers, and that affairs are deſperate, ſets fire to the bridges over the moraſs, to prevent the enemy from purſuing and deſtroying the whole *Othman* army. The *Ruſſ* defeat pa the *Turki* army.

XXXVI. At laſt, the Vizir, perceiving winter was now coming on, in order either to conquer or retire, cauſes three mines to be made under the walls of the caſtle, and ſpringing them on the 21ſt of that month, commands his men to ſurround the city, and to enter the breaches. The garriſon finding, there was no hope of defending the city, ſince the walls were demoliſhed, fly out of the *Chehrin* taken b *Turks.*

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(30) *Kiehaia*] or more elegantly, *Ketchudabeg* the Vizir's deputy. His office is the moſt conſiderable in the *Othman* Empire, and his authority very great. For nothing can be done, or ordered, but it muſt paſs through his hands, and be confirmed by his letters. And if a *Ferman* is ſent to any Baſha without his letter, it is immediately looked upon as counterfeit. For which reaſon, though he has not ſo much as one *Tug*, and is with the *Chauſhbaſhi** to lead up under the arms to the Vizir ſuch Baſhas as are to be adorned with three *Tugs*, yet it is commonly ſaid of him, the *Kiehaia* is a Vizir to me, the Vizir a Sultan, and the Sultan as one of the Muſulmans. The Vizir cannot make a *Kiehaia* without the Sultan's conſent, and whenever he is turned out, he muſt be appomted Baſha of ſome place with three *Tugs*, but if he is diſmiſſed with two, is looked upon as baniſhed. Beſides this *Kiehaia*, the Vizir and Baſhas have another, who only takes care of their Court; and he muſt not be confounded with *Ketchudabeg*, whom they properly call *Ewkietchudaſi*.

(31) *Caplan Paſha*] A general of the *Turkiſh* army, celebrated for his bravery in the *Poliſh* wars, and of ſo great authority among the *Turks*, that the Vizir, though his mortal enemy, could never deſtroy him. The name of *Caplan* ſeems to have been given him for his courage: for it properly ſignifies a Tyger. And though the *Turks* generally chuſe to be called only after the names of the prophets, yet they do not reject the names of the two fierceſt creatures, *Arſlan*, Lion, and *Caplan*, Tyger; nay the Sultana-mother calls her ſon, notwithſtanding he is Emperor, no otherwiſe than *Arſlanum*, my Lion. For it is an affront from any one but the Sultan's father, to call him by his proper name. On the other hand, the name of *Padiſhah*, which is given him by all others, ſeeming to derogate from a mother's authority over her ſon, a middle way has been found out, and allowed only to his mother, namely to call him Lion.

gate, towards the *Boryſthenes*, and leave to the *Turks* rather the ruins, than the walls of the caſtle. However they had before laid a train under the magazine of gun-powder, by which means ſeveral thouſand of the common ſoldiers, who had flocked together for plunder, were blown up.

Both armies return home.

XXXVII. The next day the Vizir, with the officers of the army, views the city, which had coſt ſo much labour and blood; and as it appeared very difficult to repair, as well as to defend it, he commands the walls and houſes to be levelled with the ground. Then giving his ſoldiers ſome days of refreſhment, he endeavours to provoke the *Ruſſians* to a battle; but they being unwilling to quit their trenches, and preparing for their return, he orders *Caplan-Paſha* with ſome light-armed troops to follow, and attack them in their march, or from the narrow paſſes. But neither does this avail any thing, becauſe the *Ruſſians* retiring with cloſe ranks, and defended by a chain of waggons, vigorouſly repel the attacks of the *Turks*. The Vizir himſelf therefore is obliged for want of proviſions to return, and in his march loſes, beſides almoſt all his baggage and larger cannon, a greater number of men, than had been deſtroyed at *Chehrin** by the ſword or fire of the enemy, ſo at his return to *Adrianople* in the beginning of the month *Ramazan*, the army appeared rather to have been defeated, than victorious.

The complaints of the ſoldiers on account of this fruitleſs expedition.

XXXVIII. And indeed the victory at *Chehrin** was ſo far from inſpiring the ſoldiers with courage, that they rather conſidered thoſe who mentioned the renewing the war in *Ukrania* not only as enemies, but even as betrayers: and the remembrance of the death of thirty thouſand of their companions, and the fatigues, they had ſuſtained in their march, was too deeply fixed in their minds, to receive any ſatisfaction from having taken the ruins of *Chehrin**, and ſeen ſome hundreds of their enemy's heads placed round the Vizir's tent. The Vizir himſelf finding by experience, how difficult it was to carry on a war in places unknown, barren, and every where full of moraſſes and rivers, with little booty, and great danger, repented too late, that he oppoſed the motion for peace, and occaſioned the loſs of ſo many thouſand men without any advantage.

The Vizir attempts to build a new caſtle.

XXXIX. He would have deſiſted from the war, if the perpetual incurſions of the *Coſſaks*, who laid waſte all the country on the *Euxine*-ſea with impunity, had not prevented his pacific deſigns. He reſolves therefore to build a town and caſtle at the mouth of the *Boryſthenes* not far from *Oczacow*, hoping by that means the ſhips of the *Coſſaks* might eaſily be hindered from entring the *Euxine* ſea, and the *Zaporovian Coſſaks* be obliged by the want of ſalt to ſubmit to the *Othman* Empire. He commits this affair to *Mimar aga* (32) for whoſe defence, till

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(32) *Mimar aga*] The chief Architect. His principal buſineſs is to overſee all the new buildings in *Conſtantinople* and the Suburbs, and take care that they do not exceed the height allowed. He hath the inſpection of all common builders, uſually called *Calfa* or *Chalife*; and can puniſh or fine them, if they bring out any building but a finger's breadth further than they ſhould into the ſtreet, if they make an oblique angle, or build too ſlightly, even though the owner ſhould not complain. It often happens that the *Mimar aga* knows not ſo much as what a cubit is, nor underſtands the leaſt thing of architecture; for being a place of profit, it is given not to the beſt architect, but to him that is moſt in favour with the Vizir. A man cannot build what he pleaſes, unleſs he has firſt bribed the *Mimar aga* with preſents. For, though the meaſure of all buildings be ſettled by orders from the Sultan, ſo that a *Chriſtian*'s houſe is to be thirteen, and a *Turk*'s fifteen yard's high, yet as *Conſtantinople* is moſtly built upon hills, the *Mimar aga* may, if he is well bribed, permit a building to riſe to a very conſiderable height; namely, by taking the dimenſion from the brow of the hill; by which means, a houſe that will be on the back part according to the ſtated meaſure, may, on the forepart riſe to thirty yards, and more. The ſame method is uſed, when the *Chriſtians* have a mind to rebuild their old Churches. For this being allowed them, but under ſuch ſevere reſtrictions, that they can neither add a new ſtone nor piece of timber to the old materials, the *Mimar aga* is bribed with a good ſum to reckon more ſtones and pieces of timber than there really

all the work was finiſhed, he ſends *Caplan Paſha* with ſix regiments of Janizaries.

XL. But this politick deſign of the Vizir is ruined by a ſudden and unexpected accident. For when the firſt foundations were ſcarce laid, *Circo*, General of the *Zaporovian Coſſaks*, returning from an expedition into *Tartary* with fifteen thouſand men, by chance paſſes by the neighboring parts, and hearing that a new fort was building, and not knowing by whom, approaches to view it. Whereſt he finds them to be *Turks*, he ſurrounds them, and though they defend themſelves with great reſolution, kills all the workmen and their guards with *Kiemielniski*, who had been made Hetman of the *Coſſaks* by the *Turks*, and pitching his camp upon the ſpot, immediately ſends a meſſenger to inform the Vizir of what had been done, who diſpatches orders to *Dolhoruki*, ſucceſſor of *Romadonowski* in the command of the army, to join all his forces as ſoon as poſſible with *Circo's*, oppoſe all attempts of the *Turks* with their united ſtrength and counſels. It is demoliſhed by the *Coſſaks*, and the workmen killed.

XLI. The Vizir being at laſt convinced by theſe things, that it was in vain to exhauſt the ſtrength of the *Othman* Empire in thoſe countries, which might be employed in other parts to much greater advantage, agrees to a peace with the *Ruſſians*, which was extremely deſired by both parties. Thus was concluded a war, for the carrying on of which the *Othman* Emperor wanted neither inclination nor ſtrength, but only an army inured to cold, hunger, and other hardſhips too ſevere for mortals. Beſides fortune ſeemed now inclinable to abandon the *Othman* arms. The *Turks* being weary of the war, deſire peace.

XLII. But all this could not have diverted the *Othman* court from proſecuting their firſt deſign, if new commotions in *Hungary*, had not induced them to turn their arms that way, where they thought the war might be carried on with leſs difficulty, and more advantage. *Emeric Tekeli* (33) had about this time revolted from the Emperor of *Germany*, and in a few months engaged in his rebellion almoſt all the people in that part of *Hungary*, which ſtill remained to the Emperor. But when he found himſelf unable to withſtand the imperial *Tekeli* breaks the peace between the Turks and Emperor of *Germany*.

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ally are, and ſo they make up his number by adding new ones. But when they have any conſiderable edifice to build, as a *Jami* or a palace, they make uſe of *Greek* or *Armenian* Architects. For theſe laſt are excellent workmen; whereas the *Turks* can ſeldom or never arrive at any perfection. Which is not owing to their natural ſtupidity: for, by their skill in the Mathematicks and other ſciences, they plainly ſhow, that they are, if not ſuperior, yet at leaſt no way inferior in underſtanding, to other nations; but the reaſon is, becauſe the more noble *Turks*, or ſuch as have been ennobled on account of their learning and courage, (for nobility is derived among them, not from anceſtors, but from good and virtuous actions, as have been obſerved) though they apply themſelves to the Mathematicks, yet abhor all handy-crafts, as mean, and unbecoming their nobility.

(33) *Tekeli*] This Prince's actions are ſo well known to the *Europæans*, that I need not relate them here. After having loſt his eſtate in *Hungary*, he had a daily penſion of eighty Leonines from the *Turks*; and being releaſed from his impriſonment by *Aineji Soliman Paſha*, he was held in great honour among the *Turks* all the time they were engaged in war. Whenever Sultan *Muſtapha* was in the camp, he took him along with him for his companion, and generally made uſe of his counſel. After the concluſion of the peace of *Carlowitz*, in which it was ſtipulated, that ſuch perſons as were inclined to raiſe commotions, ſhould be hearkened to by neither party, he was ſent away by the ſame Sultan to *Nicomedia*, where he was preſented with a country-houſe; and being very much afflicted with the gout, he died ſoon after in that place. He ordered himſelf to be buried in the ſuburbs of *Pera*, without the *Greek*'s Churchyard; where the *Chriſtian* ambaſſadors and their domeſticks are uſually buried. Whilſt I was at *Conſtantinople*, I frequently uſed to converſe with him, and have often heard him ſay: What can we do, my Brother? It has pleaſed God to make us ſubject to a maſter, who, by his actions, does very well anſwer his ſhield, that is the creſcent. I have found their falſe prophet miſtaken in almoſt every point, yet in this I believe he ſpoke with a prophetic ſpirit, when he gave his followers a creſcent for their arms; for that very well denotes their inconſtancy.

arms, without foreign aſſiſtance, (becauſe the Emperor having made peace with the *French*, had aſſembled all his forces to extinguiſh this flame) he calls in the *Turks* to his aid, promiſing to pay them forty thouſand rix-dollars a year by way of tribute, and to aſſiſt them with thirty thouſand *Hungarians*, whenever there ſhould be occaſion.

XLIII. The *Othman* court long deliberated, whether the aſſiſtance demanded ſhould now be publickly granted to *Tekeli*, or deferred till the twenty years had made by *Kioprili Ahmed Paſha* in 1075 be expired; and till then, the rebell his only ſupported in a private manner. The latter opinion was approved by all the *Ulema*, (34) with the Sultana-Mother, declaring it to be unjuſt to wage war with a prince, who had given no cauſe of complaint, but had hitherto ſtrictly observed the conditions of the truce. The Sultan and the Vizir were inclined to the former opinion, alledging, the iron ought to be ſtruck whilſt it was hot, nor would there happen again ſo fair an opportunity of propagating the *Mahometan* faith. *Hungary*, hitherto the ſtrongeſt bulwark of the Chriſtians, voluntarily offers ſubjection; *Germany*, exhauſted with the *French* and *Swediſh* wars, is ſcarce able to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock of the *Othman* army; that country being ſubdued, nothing can prevent the reſt of the nations, formerly ſubject to the *Roman* Empire, from being reduced to the obedience of the *Othman* power. The Sultan, that the war might not ſeem too heavy a burden upon his ſubjects, declares, he has ready for this deſign ſeventy thouſand purſes in his treaſury, a compleat army, and all other neceſſaries for ſeveral expeditions, and promiſes willingly to employ them all in bringing over the *Chriſtians* to the *Muſulman* religion, in extending the bounds of the Empire, and defending thoſe who had put themſelves under his protection. The Janizaries, inſtructed by the Vizir, (35) and their officers of his party, demand a war, and publickly declare they had rather die, than ſuffer the Emperor of *Germany* to oppreſs with impunity the ſubjects of the *Othman* Empire. The Sultana-Mother, (36) (who had been of a contrary opinion, is gained by the Vizir, with

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(34) *Ulema*] This is the name uſed to denote all thoſe who are diſtinguiſhed with any eccleſiaſtical degree. What theſe degrees are, we have ſhewed in a former note, *Part.* I. They have a very great authority with the people, becauſe it is believed they do nothing but what has been approved beforehand by the *Fetva*. And therefore if you ſee them join with the army in oppoſing any thing, you may aſſure your ſelf it will never be done.

(35) by the Vizir] They who are beſt acquainted with the counſels of the *Othman* court at that time, affirm, that none but the Sultan and the Viſir *Cara Muſtapha Paſha* deſired a war with the Emperor of *Germany*: but when the Sultan perceived, his mother and all the *Ulema* were againſt it, he ordered the Vizir to bring over the Aga of the Janizaries, and the reſt of the *Ojak Agalari*, by promiſes and other arts, to his opinion. For this maxim, *Cul ſefer iſter*, *The ſoldiers are for war*, is a ſufficient reaſon for declaring a new war. For though the power of the Sultan and Vizir be very great in all affairs, yet if the Janizaries and *Ulema* join in oppoſing the Sultan's deſigns; it behoves him to yield to them, and if he perſiſts in his reſolution, a ſedition immediately enſues. But if the Janizaries without the *Ulema* approve of the Sultan's deſign, or the *Ulema* without the Janizaries, the Sultan eaſily obtains his deſires. So very powerful is the union of the Janizaries and *Ulema*, that they can even depoſe the Sultan, and cut off the Vizir, or any other great man, as plainly appeared in the depoſing of Sultan *Mahomet*.

(36) Sultana-Mother] *Valide Sultana*. This name is appropriated to the mother of the reigning Sultan, and ſhe cannot be ſo called before her ſon is arrived to the imperial dignity, or after his depoſition: becauſe none but *Mahomet Fatih* and *Selim yauvuz* have happened to mount the throne in their father's life-time. The Sultans have always treated their mothers with great reſpect, in compliance with the divine precepts and thoſe of the *Koran*. They can, not only introduce and change many things at pleaſure in the *Seraglio*, but alſo the Sultan is forbid by the laws, to lye with any of the women kept there, without his mother's conſent. Every day during the feaſt of *Bairam*, the Sultana-mother preſents a beautiful Virgin, well educated, richly dreſſed, and adorned with precious ſtones, for her ſon's uſe; and though the Vizir and the reſt of the Baſha's ſend, among other things, young Virgins for preſents to the Emperor, yet he touches none of them but what is brought him by his mother. If the Sultan has a mind to

chuſe

with the hopes, that out of the conqueſts her *Paſhmaklyk* (37) would be increaſed to three hundred purſes. After her conſent, the Mufti alſo, who had long concealed his ſentiments upon this affair, approves of the Emperor's deſigns by a *Fetvah*. However, the oppoſite party are not moved by his authority, but publickly defend their opinion, and diſperſe anonymous libels upon the *Divan*, exhorting the people not to conſent to an unjuſt war, undertaken not only contrary to the peace confirmed by oath, but alſo to the anathema of Sultan *Soliman* (38).

XLIV. Notwithſtanding this, the Vizir confiding in the diſpoſition of his ſoldiers and the conſent of the Sultan, and being blinded with too great a conceit of his own power, perſiſts in his deſign, and determines upon war with the Emperor of *Germany*. However, ſome pretences ſeemed requiſite, that the ſoldiers, ſatisfied of the juſtice of the *Othman* arms, might engage in the expedition with the greater alacrity. The War is at laſt determined upon againſt the Emperor of *Germany*.

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chuſe a concubine unknown to his mother, he may indeed do it without oppoſition, but he is reckoned to have acted contrary to the rules of the *Seraglio*, and againſt his mother's honour. Very often the Sultan communicates to his mother the affairs of ſtate, as Sultan *Mahomet* is known to have done: and ſometimes ſhe has conferences with the Vizir and Mufti, under a veil, that ſhe may not be ſeen, and recommends to them faithfulneſs to her ſon. Whenever ſhe is ſick, the *Hekim-effendi*, or chief phyſician, is brought into her bed-chamber, but he ſpeaks to her through a veil hung round her bed; and if he muſt feel her pulſe, it is through a piece of fine linnen caſt over her arm; for it is reckoned as unlawful for any man to ſee the Sultana ſick, as in health. Her revenues conſiſt in above a thouſand purſes, raiſed out of the provinces of the Empire; and for the collecting of them there is an officer appointed, named *Kiethudai Valide-Sultan*, which is a place of great honour. She does what ſhe pleaſes with her money; ſometimes, in a caſe of neceſſity, ſhe lends money to the treaſury; and at other times raiſes ſoldiers for the publick ſervice, as the mother of the preſent *Ahmed* III. is reported to have done, during his war with the *Muſcovites*. Of the Sultan's concubines, ſome are no more than concubines, and others are *Haſeki*. Any one that has but once had the honour of lying with the Sultan, is immediately ſet apart from the reſt of the young women, and has ſervants and eunuchs allowed her; but ſhe cannot have acceſs to the Sultan, unleſs ſent for. But if the Sultan loves any of thoſe women more than the reſt, he can ſet the crown upon her head, and ſhe is thenceforward called *Chaſeki Sultana*. After having received the crown, ſhe may go in to the Sultan whenever ſhe will, without being ſent for. A *Kiehaia* is alſo appointed for her, and a regiment of *Baltaji*, with their leader, who are to execute the orders given them by the *Kiehaia*. They have moreover revenues aſſigned them, according to the Sultan's diſcretion; but it muſt not be under five hundred purſes. For which reaſon, though a Sultan may crown five *Chaſeki Sultana's*, yet many Emperors, as the preſent *Ahmed* III. and his brother *Muſtapha* II. for inſtance, have, upon account of that expence, and of the wars they were engaged in, made no *Chaſeki* at all, but been ſatisfied with concubines. As to the Sultan's concubines, if they have only daughters, they may be diſpoſed of in marriage by his ſucceſſor; but do not thereby acquire more honour than thoſe that are barren. If a ſon is born to them, though he ſhould die as ſoon as he comes into the world, the mother is removed into *Eſki Serai*, that is, the old palace, from whence ſhe is never to depart. But thoſe that have a ſon living, are greatly reſpected by all, both courtiers and foreigners, becauſe they may come one day to be *Valide-Sultana*.

(37) *Paſhmaklyk*] This is the uſual revenue aſſigned to the *Valide-Sultana*, and the other *Chaſeki*. The name is derived from *Paſhmak*, a *ſandal*, becauſe thoſe revenues are ſaid to be granted to buy ſandals. In all towns taken by the *Turks*, ſome ſtreet is aſſigned for the *Paſhmaklyk*; as in *Conſtantinople*, *Pera*. Hence it comes, that the *Valide-Sultana* has a very large *Paſhmaklyk* almoſt throughout the *Turkiſh* Empire.

(38) of Sultan *Soliman*] The *Turks* in general firmly believe, that Sultan *Soliman*, after raiſing the ſiege of *Vienna*, bound all ſucceſſors with a *Lanet*, never to lay ſiege again to that city, or enter its territories in a hoſtile manner. And for that reaſon, after the defeat of *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, they all cried out with one voice, that by a cauſeleſs breaking of the truce, and ſlighting the curſes of *Soliman*, the divine wrath had been drawn down upon the *Muſulmans*, and provoked to deſtroy their Empire.

The *Turks* pretend a juſt ground for the war.

XLV. The peace with *Poland* having indeed been diſturbed by the Emperor, afforded a plauſible ground of breaking the truce; but becauſe this had been done underhand, and not by open hoſtilities, the Vizir found it neceſſary to urge ſome other reaſon more obvious to the publick. That the occaſion might appear to be given by the Emperor, and not by the Sultan, letters are ſent, in the Sultan's name, by a ſ[illegible]rier, tothe Emperor, declaring that *Tekeli*, and the other Nobles of *Hungary*, h[illegible] forced by his oppreſſion to ſubject their country to the *Othman* Empire, d[illegible] promiſed to pay tribute; for which reaſon the Emperor was required to re[illegible] troops ſent againſt them, and reſtore what he had taken from them, unleſs he would be conſidered as guilty of an infraction of the peace, and draw upon himſelf the puniſhment due to his raſhneſs.

The Emperor of *Germany* ſends an ambaſſador to the Port to confirm the peace.

XLVI. The Emperor ſuſpecting the caſe, that the *Turks* were only ſeeking an occaſion of war, ſends Count *Albert Caprara* as ambaſſador extraordinary to *Conſtantinople*, and orders him to ſpare neither perſuaſions nor bribes that the truce may be continued, and the war diverted, which *Leopold* found himſelf incapable of ſupporting.

Tekeli, by the aſſiſtance of the *Turks*, takes ſeveral caſtles.

H. 1093.

A. C. 1682.

XLVII. But the Vizir, without waiting the ambaſſador's arrival, in the ſame year 1093, ſends *Ibrahim Paſha* (39) *Beglerbeg* of *Buda* with ſix thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of *Tekeli*, and ordered *Apaffi*, Prince of *Tranſylvania*, to join his forces with the *Hungarians*. *Tekeli*, ſtrengthned with theſe ſupplies, the ſame ſummer takes *Caſſovia*, *Eperies*, *Leutſch*, *Levent*, *Lipſchet*, and *Tillek*, the *German* garriſons retiring with deſign to reſerve themſelves for a more favourable opportunity, rather than by a difficult and fruitleſs oppoſition expoſe themſelves to captivity.

The Sultan declares *Tekeli* King of *Hungary*.

XLVIII. The *Turks* imagining, from theſe beginnings, the expedition would prove ſortunate, keep no farther meaſures, but, by the Baſha of *Buda*, declare *Tekeli* King of *Hungary*; exhort all the Nobles of that Kingdom, who ſtill continue faithful to the Emperor of *Germany*, to ſubmit to their new Sovereign; and attack the iſland of *Sehutt*, though not with the deſired ſucceſs. Mean while, the Vizir amuſes the Imperial ambaſſador with falſe hopes of peace, in order to retard the enemies preparations for reſiſtance.

The *Turks* offer impoſſible conditions of peace.

XLIX. At laſt, when he was informed of the ſucceſs of *Tekeli*'s arms, he ſends for *Caprara*, and acquaints him, that the Sultan would grant the Emperor peace on no other conditions, than the reſtoration of *Hungary* to the ſtate in which it was in 1067, the payment of an annual tribute of five hundred thouſand florins to the *Othman* port; the demolition of *Leopoldopolis* and *Gutta*; the reſignation of *Neutraſchinta* and *Ekolt*, with the iſland of *Sehutt*, and the fortreſs of *Muran*, to *Tekeli*; a general amneſty to the *Hungarians*, with the

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(39) *Ibrahim Paſha*, &c.] A man ſo very eminent among the *Turks* both in war and peace, that he is to be reckoned among the greateſt men of his age. The firſt proof he gave of his virtues, was in the office of *Kiehaia*, which he diſcharged under the Vizir *Kioprili Mehemmed Paſha*. From hence being appointed Baſha of *Aleppo*, under *Kioprili Ahmed Paſha*, he was with him at the ſiege of *Candia*, and was of great ſervice to that Vizir in ſettling the articles for the ſurrender of the caſtle. When that expedition was over, the *Egyptians* rebel, and he being ſent to quell them, not only reſtores, in a ſhort time, that whole Kingdom to the *Othman* Empire, and to its former tranquillity, without any blood-ſhed, but alſo raiſed their annual tribute to one hundred and fifty purſes; and ſo artfully did he manage the reſtleſs tempers of the great men of *Egypt*, that whereas formerly a Baſha could hardly get out of their hands without the loſs of his honour, the governors can live there now with more ſafety. By theſe actions he acquired ſo great reputation and eſteem, that he was promoted to the beſt government in the whole *Othman* Empire, namely the *Beglerbeglic* of *Buda*. And here what he would have done (had not *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, blinded with too great an opinion of his own power, rejected good advice) did ſufficiently appear from his counſels and deſigns, compared with the event. His life hath been very elegantly penned by a *Turkiſh* hiſtorian, in which he appears throughout a moſt perfect and excellent pattern of all virtues.

reſtitution

reſtitution of their eſtates and privileges. When he found theſe terms were diſliked by the Emperor, he immediately proclaims war againſt him, and orders the horſe-tails to be publickly ſet up before the palace in the month *Shevvel*, of the year 1093. H. 1093. A. C. 1682.

L. A few days after the Vizir departs with great pomp from *Conſtantinople*, attended with the Mufti, *Cadileskiers*, and all the other great men, and goes to *Adrianople*, where he had determined to paſs the winter, and prepare for the *German* expedition. He pitches his camp firſt about a mile from *Conſtantinople*, in a place called *Chirpiji**, *Chairi** (40), in order to give ſome refreſhment to his retinue, that they might the better prepare themſelves for the journey. The Vizir marches from *Conſtantinople* with an army.

LI. The ſame night there happens a violent ſtorm, and ſuch a whirlwind, mixed with rain and hail, that ſcarce a man in the whole camp would venture to ſtir; and beſides the tents of the other Baſhas, the pavilions of the Sultan, the Prime Vizir, and the Mufti, were overthrown. Five days after this, when they encamped near *Syllebria*, under an hill, upon the ſea-ſhore, another ſtorm ariſes, and ſo great a torrent of waters ruſhes from the mountains, that not only the tents, but likewiſe the baggage, horſes, cattle, and the very ſoldiers themſelves, are overwhelmed, or carried away with the ſtream into the ſea. Theſe two accidents, almoſt under the walls of *Conſtantinople*, ſtruck no ſmall terror into the ſuperſtitious *Turks*, accuſtomed to form a judgment of their future ſucceſs from the beginnings. The unhappy omens to the *Turks*.

LII. Thoſe who had before ſecretly oppoſed the war, and declared this expedition unjuſt, interpreted publickly theſe calamities to be marks of the divine vengeance, and God's diſpleaſure againſt the *Muſulman* arms. This occaſions new complaints among the ſoldiers.

LIII. But the Sultan deſpiſes theſe as vulgar remarks, and unworthy a great mind; and having repaired the loſſes occaſioned by the wind and waters, purſues his intended march, and comes to *Adrianople* about the end of the year 1093; and having, during the winter, ſupplied what was wanting to his warlike preparations, on the 27th of the month *Rebiulâchyr*, in 1094, marches from thence with his whole army towards *Belgrade*; but on the way alters his reſolution, and ſtops at *Heſarjic* (41), a town about eight hours from *Adrianople*. The Sultan accompanies the Vizir towards *Belgrade*. H. 1094. A. C. 1683.

LIV. Here, after a ſecond review of his forces, he delivers the command of his army to the Prime Vizir, *Cara Muſtapha Baſha*, with *Mahomet*'s ſtandard (42); exhorts The Sultan having appointed the Vizir his general, returns from *Belgrade* to *Conſtantinople*.

Annotations.

(40) *Chirpiji**, *Chairi**] A very large meadow without the walls of *Conſtantinople*, near *Daud Paſha*. It is ſo called, becauſe the *Ruſſian* old women are wont to waſh their webs of cloth in the ſtream that runs through the midſt of it, and afterwards dry them on the graſs.

(41) *Heſarjic*] A town on the road to *Belgrade* from *Adrianople*, from which laſt place it lies about eight hours; remarkable for nothing but this ſtay of Sultan *Mahomet* at the time of the *Vienna* expedition.

(42) *Mahomet*'s ſtandard] It is a ſtandard of green ſilk, long and large, after the form whereof all ſtandards called *Sanjak* are made. The Chriſtians thought they had taken it at *Vienna*, but they were miſtaken. For that ſtandard was never known to fall into the enemies hands, though thoſe about it have ſometimes been almoſt all killed. Whenever the Sultan or Vizir command in perſon, this ſtandard is carried into the camp, but never brought out in a battle; being carefully kept in the camp by *Nakybul Eſſhret*, who, if he ſees the victory inclining to the enemies ſide, ought firſt to run away. However, at *Vienna*, *Cara Muſtapha Paſha* himſelf took this ſtandard, and would not part with it till quite out of danger. Whether it be *Mahomet*'s own ſtandard, or another made in the ſame form, I cannot ſay: however this be, that which the *Turks* have is very antient, and much torn in many places. For which reaſon it is never all diſplayed, for fear the wind ſhould tear it in pieces, but being rolled round a ſpear till the army is marching out of the city, it is carried to the Sultan with the uſual ceremony; when they come to their firſt quarters, the ſtandard is laid up in a gilt cheſt, in which is alſo the *Koran* and *Mahomet*'s robe, and being ſet on a camel, is carried before the Sultan or Vizir. As for inſcriptions and marks, it has none, except *Alem*, which appears at the top of the ſpear. 'Tis ſaid there was formerly written upon it, in black letters, the *Salavat*, or confeſſion of the *Mahometan* faith; but theſe letters have been long effaced by time.

his

exhorts him to fight valiantly againſt the enemies of the *Koran*, and gain, by his actions in this world, immortal honours, and glory, and paradiſe in the next. Having thus ſettled affairs, he returns to *Conſtantinople*, hunting all the way.

The Vizir calls a general council.

LV. After the Sultan's departure, the Vizir paſſing the *Save* at *Belgrade*, leads the army under his command to *Eſſek*, when *Emeric Tekeli*, lately made King of *Hungary* by the *Turks*, comes with about three hundred *Hungarian* Nobles to the *Turkiſh* camp, and is received with great reſpect by the Vizir, and honoured with conſiderable preſents. A few days after, is held a council of the chief officers of the army, ſummoned by the Prime Vizir, though he had received, by the Sultan's *Chatiſherif*, full power of acting as he pleaſed. But his view in this proceeding was, that if any thing ſhould happen unexpected, and contrary to his mind, it might not be imputed to him, but to the authors of the advice; and that he might, by this condeſcenſion and modeſty, gain the affections of his Baſhas, and inſpire them with a greater readineſs to execute his commands.

Tekeli declares his opinion in the council.

LVI. *Tekeli* is alſo called to this council, and as he was ſuppoſed to have a more perfect knowledge of the ſtate of *Germany*, is ordered to deliver his opinion firſt (43), and to declare what part of it ought principally to be attacked, and whether the ſiege of *Vienna* ſhould be undertaken this year, or delayed till the next: Whereupon he made the following ſpeech. "To thoſe who engage in great undertakings, moſt invincible Vizir, three things are abſolutely neceſſary for the execution, money, men, and, above all, prudence, the directreſs of all actions. With the firſt, the ſoldiers are to be encouraged, and foreigners bribed; with the ſecond, the enemy is to be routed, and all obſtacles removed; and by the laſt, the too great ardor incident to heroic minds is to be moderated. With-

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(43) his opinion] well know, moſt Chriſtian writers aſcribe the ſiege of *Vienna* to *Tekeli*'s counſels; and uſe ſuch arguments, as may eaſily induce the reader to give their aſſent. For where is the improbability, that a rebel, bent upon freeing his country from a foreign yoke, ſhould uſe any means which he thought tended to the growth of his faction, and the ruin of the lawful Prince; and give his aſſociates counſels ſuitable to his deſigns. But the authority of many conſiderable men, whom I knew, and was intimately acquainted with in the *Turkiſh* court, hinders me from being of that opinion. Beſides *Aineji Soliman Paſha*, who, when Vizir, publickly and evidently demonſtrated *Tekeli*'s innocence; the principal are *Haznader Ibrahim Paſha*, at firſt treaſurer to *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, then *Beg* of one of the gallies, afterwards ambaſſador extraordinary from the *Othman* court to the Emperor of *Germany*, and at laſt governor of *Belgrade*, with three horſe-tails. He was preſent at all the conſultations of thoſe times, and if any ſecret reſolution was taken, it was diſcovered to him by the Vizir, who had a great eſteem for him, on account of his quick parts and readineſs in giving advice. Whilſt I lived at *Conſtantinople*, I uſed often to invite him to my houſe, and did ſo gain his goodwill by treating him with wine, of which he was, though privately, an inſatiable lover, that he would open his whole mind to me. I happened once, upon ſuch an occaſion, to talk familiarly with him about the fall and death of *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*; and declared, I could not ſufficiently wonder how ſo great a man, who had for ſeven years diſcharged the office of Vizir with praiſe, ſhould ſo eaſily hearken to *Tekeli*, a rebel, who did not favour one Kingdom more than another; ſince probably he aimed at nothing more, than, under pretence of friendſhip and ſervice, to impoſe upon the *Othman* court, and incite them againſt the *Germans*; on purpoſe, that, after they had both exhauſted their ſtrength, he might render himſelf abſolute maſter of *Hungary*. To whom *Ibrahim Paſha* replied with a common *Turkiſh* ſaying, ; *Eger dinumuz airi iſe Allahumuz bir dur*; i. e. "Though we have a different law, we have "but one and the ſame God, and therefore muſt ſpeak the truth. They who "ſay that *Tekeli* was the adviſer of that undertaking, accuſe him falſly. For my part, "I know, he not only was againſt the ſiege "of *Vienna*, but adviſed very different things "(thoſe mentioned by me in the text;) "which, if my maſter had followed, he would "not have brought ſo great a diſhonour upon the *Othman* Empire, nor been deprived "of his dignity and life." The ſame was told me afterwards by *Tekeli* himſelf, who complained, the calumny was invented by *Maurocordatus*, and the Vizir *Cara Ibrahim Paſha* provoked by the ſame perſon to impriſon him.

" out prudence, the greateſt treaſures and forces have often proved unſucceſsful; and " with it, ſmall armies have frequently overthrown extenſive kingdoms, as ſufficient- " ly appears in the *Aliothman* Empire: and in our preſent debate we want that " alone, ſince the *Othman* Empire has raiſed ſo great treaſure and forces, that they " ſeem to ſurpaſs even fame; which, upon this occaſion, forgetful of herſelf, " may juſtly be credited. There are two expeditions propoſed to the *Othman* " ſoldiery, both equally glorious, but not equally practicable and advantagious " to the Empire, namely, the ſiege of *Vienna*, and the conqueſt of the whole " Kingdom of *Hungary*. If I ſhould reject the former, or rather declare it great- " ly detrimental to the *Othman* intereſt, I ſhall perhaps to the generallity ſeem ab- " ſurd, but not to thoſe who thoroughly underſtand the ſituation of the *European* " affairs, much leſs to this auguſt and wiſe council, before whom I now deliver " my ſentiments, in obedience to the moſt invincible Vizir's command. *Vienna* " is too remote from the borders of your Empire; and though it may not be ſo " ſtrong, as to be impenetrable to the *Othman* valour, yet it will be in vain to expect " to take it at the firſt aſſault. Before you reach it, you muſt paſs through the ene- " mies country, in many places defended with conſiderable caſtles, the garriſons " of which will never ceaſe to annoy you, and, whilſt they dare not face your " army, will ſtill intercept parties, till they are entirely ſubdued. If by the " bravery of the garriſon of *Vienna*, which I preſume will not be weak, the ſiege " ſhall be prolonged, the *Othman* Empire will be expoſed to greater danger, than " any ſince the taking of *Conſtantinople*, and the eſtabliſhment of its dominion " in the weſt. The proviſions for ſuch an army for ſeveral months cannot poſſi- " bly be brought at one time; and conſequently will be intercepted by the " enemy, who will alſo plunder your baggage, and, by their ſudden incurſions, " ſo weary the army, and reduce it to ſuch extremities, that it muſt either periſh " with hunger, or abandon the ſiege with great loſs and diſhonour. But if this " expedition ſhould be attended with better ſucceſs, and *Vienna* ſurrender to " your arms, unleſs you ſhall think proper to abandon it of your own accord, " (which I hardly believe you will do) it appears to me, that your Empire will be " involved in a more dangerous war: for that city is reckoned the bulwark of " Chriſtendom, and the Chriſtian faith would be thought entirely ruined, if *Vienna* " remained in your hands. To reſcue it therefore from deſtruction, all the princes " profeſſing Chriſtianity will, at the firſt rumour of the ſiege, undoubtedly unite; " and, forgetting their private quarrels, take the moſt proper meaſures to ſtop " the progreſs of your victories. The King of *France* is your ally, but not ſo " far, as to ſuffer the Chriſtian religion to be utterly extirpated. He permits the " Emperor of *Germany* to be preſſed, but it is with no other view than to en- " large his own dominions, and prevent that prince from having it in his power " to hurt him. He is very far from deſiring to have you, who are more power- " ful and opulent, in his neighbourhood. The *German* princes frequently re- " fuſe their Emperor aid, or contribute not ſo much as they can, leſt the Emper- " or ſhould receive too great an acceſſion of power, and make an attempt upon " their liberty. But if they ſhall ſee their own dominions expoſed to the utmoſt " danger, they will unite all their forces in their defence, and oppoſe your deſigns. " Beſides, if they ſhall find there is no other hope of ſafety, and their diſtreſſed " country cannot be otherwiſe protected, they will voluntarily ſubmit to the King of " *France*, and declare him Emperor; and if he join even the remains of the *Ger-* " *mans* to his own army, I am afraid he will become more formidable than you " imagine. You ought therefore to be cautious, leſt, while you endeavour to " ſuppreſs a weak enemy, you raiſe up againſt you another much more powerful, " and furniſh him with arms, without being ſenſible of it. If you conſider theſe " things, moſt invincible Vizir, and weigh them in the balance of your pru- " dence, known to the whole world, you will clearly perceive how difficult and " dangerous this expedition is, and will turn your thoughts to ſome other ſcene " of action, in which the *Othman* valour may exert it ſelf with leſs hazard and " more advantage. That ſcene is *Hungary*, a large and fertile Kingdom, which, " after frequently repelling your arms, and, what no other province has done,

" obſtructing for two ages your victories, now voluntarily ſubmits to your laws,
" and even earneſtly ſues for your aſſiſtance. The ſtates of this kingdom, for
" the moſt part, follow my banner; the reſt, who are ſtill ſubject to the Emperor of
" *Germany*'s tyranny, wait only for an opportunity to ſhew how weary they are
" of the *German* yoke; which opportunity if you grant them, I do not ſee what
" method you can take more advantageous to the *Othman* Empire. For when
" all *Hungary* is once ſubdued and ſettled, there will be no obſtacle to your re-
" duction not only of *Vienna*, but of all *Germany* in one campain. That King-
" dom will ſupply you with plenty of proviſions, which may be ſafely conveyed
" when the enemies garriſons are deſtroyed; and will prove a perpetual and ſure
" magazine for expeditions to any quarter. If therefore I may be allowed free-
" ly to declare my opinion, I think that nothing can be more beneficial to the
" *Othman* affairs, than to employ this whole year in ſubduing aud ſettling the
" Kingdom of *Hungary*, taking the caſtles, ſtill poſſeſſed by the *Germans*, forti-
" fying them, and furniſhing them with garriſons and ſtores for two or three
" years, ſo that they may be ſecure from the enemy and famine; and, withal, in
" gaining the affection of the *Hungarians*, and confirming them in their obe-
" dience. If theſe meaſures be taken, I am in hopes that next winter I ſhall
" have above eighty thouſand of my countrymen in my camp. But becauſe it
" would be needleſs that ſo great an army ſhould be fatigued in marches and
" ſieges, it is my advice, that the Vizir himſelf, if he thinks proper, encamp about
" *Buda* or *Belgrade* with the greater part of the army, and by his preſence reſtrain
" the rebels, or thoſe who endeavour to throw off their ſubjection; march a-
" gainſt the enemy, if their troops ſhould appear, and defeat them; if they re-
" tire into the cities and caſtles, ſend the *Tartars* and other light-armed troops
" into the neighbouring provinces of *Germany*, *Auſtria*, *Moravia*, *Bohemia*,
" and *Sileſia*, with orders to lay waſte theſe countries; to deſtroy the ſtanding
" corn every where; to carry away, or if that cannot be done, to burn all that
" is laid up. By this means the enemy's army will be diſperſed without difficulty
" or danger, and will not be able to ſubſiſt either this or the next year for want
" of corn. If this be done, I dare enage, not only *Vienna*, but likewiſe the
" whole *German* Empire will be the reward of a ſingle campain."

The opinion of the principal Baſhas.

LVII. *Tekeli* ſpoke in this manner, and indeed with more freedom than was agreeable to the Vizir, who, too confident of his own power, and meditating greater deſigns, could not hearken now to wholſome advice. However, fearing if he ſhould openly diſcover his opinion, he might alienate from him the minds of the *Hungarians*, not yet ſufficiently confirmed; and, by that means, become ſuſpected by the *Turks*, he conceals his diſlike, and commands the other Baſhas to declare their opinions. There were then preſent among the other Baſhas two very eminent for their warlike conduct and prudence, and of great authority in the *Othman* camp, *Ibrahim Paſha* of *Buda*, and *Ahmed Paſha* (44), who was *Teſkerdar*, or high-treaſurer. Theſe partly gueſſing the Vizir's opinion, and knowing he would prove an enemy to thoſe who ſhould be againſt the intended ſiege of *Vienna*; on the other hand, being convinced, by *Tekeli*'s repreſentation, of the danger to which the *Othman* Empire would be expoſed by that expedition, gave ambiguous anſwers. It ought (ſay they) to be left to the well-known wiſdom of the Vizir, whether the war is to be carried into *Hungary* or *Germany*. If the eſtabliſhment of *Hungary* is thought to deſerve a whole year's employment of the army, the Vizir ſhould march no further than *Buda*, and encamp in the neigbourhood of that city. There the army may be divided into three parts, one to guard the camp, and the other two to ravage the adjacent provinces of the enemy; to take the caſtles of *Hungary*, and when taken, fortify them with garriſons and works. There is no danger to be apprehended from the ſeparation of the army, it being hardly credible, that the ene-

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(44) *Ahmed Paſha*] He was bred up under the *Kioprilioglı*, who had filled almoſt all the Baſhalics of the Empire with their *chadari**, and officers.

mies, both unprepared, and a few years ſince exhauſted by a *French* war, could raiſe any forces; and if they could, they would be unable to reſiſt even a fourth part of the *Othman* army. But if the ſiege of *Vienna* is thought of greater importance, it would be prudent not to waſte the time in beſieging other places, leſt ſo great an army, like Sultan *Soliman's*, be obliged by the approach of winter to abandon the ſiege without ſucceſs. In a word, the ſoldiers ought to be led thither inſtantly, while they are warm and burn with a deſire of battle.

LVIII. *Cara Muſtapha Paſha* perceiving even theſe two Baſhas were not enof his mind, the better to conceal his deſigns both from friends and enemies, pretends to approve of *Tekeli's* advice, and orders his army to march to *Yavarin*, and ſends the Imperial ambaſſador, whom he had hitherto detained and amuſed with hopes of peace, to *Buda*, that he might not be a witneſs and obſerver of proceedings. The Vizir's deſign concealed.

LIX. At the ſame time *Selim Gierai*, Chan of the *Tartars*, comes to the *Othman* camp with his troops, and is received by the Vizir with great and unuſual honours, and preſented with an ermin veſt, a breaſt-plate and ſword ſet with diamonds and other precious ſtones. The Tartars join the *Turks*.

LX. Having thus aſſembled all the forces he expected, he marches towards *Yavarin*, and in the latter end of the month *jemaziul achyr*, paſſes the *Raab* after the *Hungarian* ſoldiers, who were left to guard the ford, had ſhamefully abandoned their poſt (45); and encamps under the very walls of *Yavarin*. But he had ſcarce begun to open his trenches, and batter the walls, when he is informed by his ſcouts that the Emperor *Leopold* was fled from *Vienna* to *Lincia*; that every thing there was in confuſion, the walls were in a ruinous condition, the garriſon weak and ſeized with terror, the magazines empty of ammunition, the ſtore-houſes of proviſion, and the inhabitants almoſt dead with fear of the *Turks*. The Vizir, encouraged by this account to proſecute his deſigns, forms another ſcheme to extort the conſent of the other generals. He tries firſt to gain the Janizaries by various arts, and, by certain perſons, promiſes them, if they would readily undertake or inſiſt upon this expedition, not only greater honours and larger pay, but likewiſe the plunder of all the treaſures of *Germany*, which were ſuppoſed to be laid up at *Vienna*. Beſides this, he engages the *Aga* of the Janizaries in his party by many plauſible pretences, and promiſes of mountains of gold, by whoſe means the *Kulkiehaia* (46), and the reſt of the *Ojak Agalari* (47), are prevailed upon; ſo that the Janizaries openly complain, the ſtrength of the *Othman* Empire is conſumed to no purpoſe in the ſiege of an inconſiderable place, and the time waſted, in which the rival of *Conſtantinople*, and the metropolis of *Germany*, and of all the *Giaurs*, might be ſubdued. The Vizir, having gained this point, ſends again for the chief Baſhas, and informs them of what was ſaid among the Janizaries, and bids them declare their opinion, whether it be proper to gratify their deſires, or to defer that important work to a future expedition. The Vizir perſuades the Janizaries to agree to the ſiege of *Vienna*.

LXI. The Baſhas perceiving the Vizir to be wavering, reſolutely and unanimouſly adviſe againſt the ſiege of *Vienna*, a city (ſay they) muſt not be left in the hands of the enemy, which is not only eaſy to be taken, but likewiſe will The Baſhas and *Tekeli* endeavour to diſſuade him from it.

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(45) their poſt] Some ſay, that Count *Buddan* treacherouſly gave the *Turks* a free paſſage; but becauſe his crime was never clearly proved, I rather chuſe to leave the matter doubtful, than determine any thing about it without foundation.

(46) *Kulkiehaia*] The lieutenant of the whole militia, next to the *Aga* of the Janizaries, and above him in the Imperial *Divan*. He hath the liſts of the Janizaries, and of all the *Turkiſh* foot, and when any regiment of Janizaries is to be put into garriſons, he is to ſend them. He imparts all the affairs of the Janizaries to their *Aga*, and manages them; and therefore has very great power in that body.

(47) *Ojak Agalari*] This general name denotes both thoſe who have the command of the whole militia of the Janizaries, as the *Kulkiehaia*, *Zagarji baſhi*, *Samſonji baſhi*, and alſo the reſt of the *Buluk Agalari*, who have at leaſt one regiment under them.

open

open a door to the conqueſt of all *Germany*; nor is that to be attempted, from which little advantage, but great danger ought to be expected. *Tekeli* above all oppoſed it, becauſe he ſaw, if the Vizir ſhould beſiege *Vienna*, all his hopes of the kingdom of *Hungary* would be deſtroyed; and told the Vizir, he would highly prejudice the *Othman* intereſt, by perſiſting in his deſign, and neglecting *Hungary*, the people whereof at the laſt paſſage over the *Kaab*, had ſufficiently ſhown their averſion to the *German* yoke, and their inclination to ſubmit to the *Othman* conqueror.

The Baſhas ſubmit to the Vizir's authority, and march towards *Vienna*.

LXII. At laſt the Vizir, when he finds he cannot prevail by his ſpeeches, impatient of delay, produces the Sultan's *Chatiſherif*, by which he was made arbiter of peace or war, and the command of the whole army committed to him with full power. The Baſhas, upon the ſight of this, are ſilent, and by an implicit obedience, rather than the real judgment of their minds, promiſe to execute the commands of their dictator. The council breaking up, the army decamps, and only a ſmall body of troops are left under the command of *Kior Huſſein Paſha* (48) to block up *Javarin*; the reſt of the forces move with the utmoſt expedition towards *Vienna*. In their march they ſeize the baggage of ſeveral imperial officers, which had been detained by the difficulty of the roads, kill the troops that convoyed them, and entering the enemy's country, take a great number of priſoners, with whom they appear before *Vienna* the 14th day of *Jemaziul achyr*.

Vienna beſieged and attacked.

LXIII. The tents being pitched, the trenches opened, and other things neceſſary for the ſiege prepared, the Vizir ſoon after makes himſelf maſter of the outer-works, beats down the walls with his cannon and mines, and aſſaults the city itſelf with ſuch vigour, that though the garriſon, aſſiſted by the citizens, bravely fought for their religion and country, and diſputed every inch of ground, yet very probably, the city would have been ſoon taken, if the Vizir had continued the ſiege as vigorouſly as he begun it. But the ſupreme arbiter of fortune pitying the ſtate of Chriſtendom, unexpectedly intervenes to the aſſiſtance of diſtreſſed *Germany*, and to ſhow, he can produce happineſs even out of misfortune, fills the mind of the Vizir, who otherwiſe was a man of great prudence and experience, with ſuch abſurd deſigns, that he imagines it for his intereſt to prolong the ſiege of the city. The outer-works, as I ſaid, being eaſily taken, he was fully perſwaded, he ſhould ſoon be maſter of the city, and accordingly writ to the Sultan, that in a ſhort time he would ſend him the keys.

The treachery of the Vizir towards the Sultan. He is ambitious of the Empire of the weſt.

LXIV. Theſe hopes excited his ambition, and being blinded with too great a conceit of his own power, he falls into ſuch ſtrange notions, as to imagine himſelf able to throw off the *Othman* dominion, and ſeizing the metropolis of *Germany*, found a Muſulman Empire in the weſt, which ſhould rival that in the eaſt, and putting on the *Sorguj* (49), aſſume the title of Sultan of *Vienna*, and

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(48) *Kior Huſſein*] A man very famous among the *Turks* for his courage and experience. So called, becauſe he was one-eyed, or had a blemiſh in one of his eyes. For *Kior*, in the *Perſian* and *Turkiſh* languages, ſignifies one that is blind, or has but one eye.

(49) *Sorguj*] A Creſt made of curious feathers, and adorned with precious ſtones. It is faſtned to the Turban, either in token of royal power, or to ſhow that he who wears it, is an officer of the Sultan's *Divan*. Upon this laſt account, all the *Chauſhi** and *Gieduk agalari* are adorned with the *Sorguj*, but of a plainer ſort. As a ſign of royal power it is worn by the Sultan, and by the three Baſhas of *Egypt*, *Babylon*, and formerly of *Buda*. The Sultans heretofore uſed, on account of the three larger kingdoms under their dominion, namely of *Greece*, *Egypt*, and *Hungary*, to wear three *Sorguj*, one on the right ſide of their Turban, another on the left, and a third in the fore-part, faſtened with little chains: but after having loſt *Hungary*, they continued to wear the ſame *Sorguj* for the kingdom of *Babylon*. The three Baſhas above-mentioned have but one *Sorguj* on the left-ſide of the Turban; the Baſha of *Egypt* is, beſides, honoured by the inhabitants (but not at court) with the name of Sultan, becauſe in the *Arabic* language, which is moſtly uſed in *Egypt*, the word Sultan ſignifies Lord or Prince. [*Sorguj* is to be pronounced, as if writ in *Engliſh*, *Sorguge*.]

Germany

Germany. He thought he had nothing to fear from the Sultan, ſince all the diſciplined troops of the whole *Othman* Empire were under his command, and it would be difficult for Sultan *Mahomet* to bring an army equal in number, not to ſay in valour, againſt him. The Emperor of *Germany* ſeemed leſs formidable to him, whoſe capitol he hoped to have in his power before the troops expected from *Poland* could join his forces, which he perſwaded himſelf would be too late from the known ſlowneſs of the *Poliſh* proceedings. He had brought with him a great treaſure, as well his own as the Sultan's, and reſolved to increaſe it with the addition of the riches of the *German* Princes, which he ſuppoſed to be repoſited in the city beſieged. He knew, the Paſhas and other governors of the caſtles in *Hungary*, (moſt of whom were his creatures, and appointed by him during his ſeven year's Vizirſhip,) were attached to his intereſt, and imagined would prove no obſtacle to his advancement. Nothing remained but to gain *Ibrahim Paſha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, a man of great authority, not only in *Hungary*, but alſo with the whole army, and the principal officers of the Janizaries and *Spahis*. For this purpoſe by large preſents he prevailed upon all thoſe, whom he knew to have any influence in the army; he promiſed *Ibrahim Paſha* the kingdom of *Hungary* for ever (*Ebedi*) (50), to divide all the provinces belonging to it among the *Spahis* by way of *Timar* (51), and to ſettle the whole army in the cities and lands of *Hungary* as new colonies, after driving out or inſlaving the old poſſeſſors. But he reſerved for himſelf under the title of Sultan, all *Germany* as far as the borders of *France*, *Tranſylvania*, and *Poland*, which he reſolved the next year either to ſubdue or make tributary.

LXV. Let us leave the Vizir, full of theſe thoughts and deſigns, in the camp before *Vienna*, and ſee what meaſures were taken by the *Chriſtians* to repell

The Emperor of *Germany* deſires the aſſiſtance of the *Poles*.

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(50) *Ebedi*] *i. e.* properly for ever, or for a man's whole life. Whence thoſe privileges are denoted by that name, with which the Sultan inveſts for ever any Vizir, Baſha, or Prince: and they who are thus diſtinguiſhed are named *Teebiten*. Such was that *Chatiſherif*, which, according to the *Chriſtian* writers, was granted to *Cara Muſtapha Paſha* by Sultan *Mahomet* IV, whereby he was declared not liable to be puniſhed with death. But they do not know, that ſuch a *Chatiſherif* is granted by the Sultan to all, even to thoſe who are put to death three days after their promotion to the office of Vizir; with this condition however, *Eger her chydmetimuze ſadacat ve iſticametde olurſe*, "If thou art faithful and obedient to us in all and every ſervice." Whence it comes to paſs, that they are no more ſecure as to their honour, goods, or life than others. For the Vizirs are never put to death, but for a real or pretended want of fidelity or obedience due to the Emperor. Such a kind of *Chatiſherif* was given to *Conſtantine Brancovan*, of bleſſed memory, Prince of *Walachia*; who after having been advanced to that principality by the contrivance of the *Cantacuzeni*, did not only leſſen their power, but alſo obtained, by means of large ſums of money, and other arts, that inſtrument from Sultan *Ahmed*. But of how little ſervice it was to him, appeared by what happened at *Conſtantinople* in my time. For he was not only deprived of his principality, but alſo ſtrangled publickly in the market-place, with his four ſons: and for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had accepted of the dignity of Prince of the Empire from the Emperor of *Germany*, and the order of St. *Andrew* from the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, and kept a correſpondence with them by letters about the affairs of ſtate. For, that the affection he pretended to have for the *Chriſtians*, was not real, he plainly manifeſted in two expeditions: The firſt in the year 1690, when he ſhowed the *Turks* a way over the mountains of *Walachia* into *Tranſylvania*, which had been till then unknown; and by that means was the cauſe of *Heiſler*'s being cut in pieces, who relying upon his friendſhip, had with four thouſand *Germans* encamped at the foot of thoſe mountains, where he thought himſelf ſafe: The other was in the year 1711, when after having drawn, by his fair promiſes, *Peter*, *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, into *Moldavia*, he openly refuſed him proviſions and aſſiſtance.

(51) *Timar*] *Timar Spahi* are the Nobles, or the old *Spahi*, who have, for their ſtipend, villages aſſigned them in the provinces ſubject to the Empire. And they are obliged, in proportion to the revenues, to carry three ſlaves at leaſt, with them to the wars.

the enemy. While Count *Caprara* was in vain waiting at *Conſtantinople* for the confirmation of the peace, the Emperor of *Germany*'s ambaſſador in *Poland* had much better ſucceſs in his negotiations. The ſtates of that kingdom were excited either by the common danger, or the Pope's exhortations and promiſes, and united ſo firmly, that having ſuſpended or compoſed their inteſtine diviſions, they unanimouſly determined to raiſe an army, and oppoſe the enemy of the Croſs, before he ſhould be able to compleat the ruin of *Germany* and *Poland*. An alliance therefore is eaſily made between the Emperor *Leopold* and King *John Sobieski*, and one of the principal articles was, that if the capital of either nation ſhould be beſieged by the enemy, both Princes ſhould march in perſon with their whole army to its relief.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, the general of the imperial army, beſieges *Wywar*, without ſucceſs.

LXVI. The Emperor being ſtrengthened on that ſide, declares the next year *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain* General of his army; and as ſoon as he heard the *Turks* had proclaimed war againſt him in the uſual manner at *Conſtantinople*, he orders him to march with what forces he had ready into *Hungary*, and before the *Turks* could arrive, make himſelf maſter of ſome caſtle in that country, which might ſerve as a bulwark to *Germany*. The Duke, to diſcharge the duties of a prudent and valiant general, firſt endeavours to ſeize *Gran* †, the garriſon of which he had been aſſured was very weak; but finding that ſeveral thouſand of the *Turks* of *Wywar* had entered the city, he ſets fire to the bridge, by which there was a communication between the two cities, and on the 7th day of the month *Jemaziul achyr*, inveſts *Wywar* on every ſide. They fight for eight days with equal bravery, but not with equal ſucceſs. For the Duke of *Lorrain* being informed, that the Vizir was marching with a powerful army from *Belgrade* againſt him, though he had great hopes of taking the city in a ſhort time, on the 14th of the ſame month abandons the ſiege, reinforces the garriſon of *Vienna* with ſeveral regiments, and ſo encamps with the reſt of his army near the city on the confines of *Hungary* and *Auſtria*, that he might provide for the exigencies of both countries, and ſafely wait for the forces of *Poland* and the other Princes.

† *Strigonium.*

The Emperor of *Germany* departs from *Vienna* to *Lincium*.

LXVII. *Leopold* hearing that *Hungary* was abandoned by his troops, and the *Turks* were preparing for the ſiege of *Vienna*, and thinking himſelf not ſecure within the walls, commits the defence of it to Count *Staremberg*, a man of approved integrity, valour, and prudence, himſelf retires to *Lincium* upon the *Danube* above *Vienna*, and from thence ſends letters to all the neighboring Princes to deſire their aſſiſtance.

The avarice of the Vizir occaſions the ruin of the whole army.

LXVIII. Mean while the Vizir continues the ſiege of *Vienna*, but not in ſuch a manner, as prudence and the art of war, but as his vain imaginations had ſuggeſted to him. For being perſwaded, that the city could not eſcape falling into his hands, he would not ſuffer it to be cloſely blocked up on all ſides, and the *Turkiſh* ſoldiers to attack the breaches every where with equal vigour, but orders them daily to aſſault in ſmall parties only, that the garriſon, being exhauſted with continual watching and loſs of their men, might be obliged to ſurrender the caſtle. When the Janizaries, ignorant of the Vizir's deſigns, began publickly to complain of theſe proceedings, and repreſented, that through the imprudence of their general, more thouſands of the *Othman* ſoldiers were deſtroyed by theſe skirmiſhes, than by a general aſſault of the whole army at once; the Vizir himſelf unwarily diſcovers part of his projects, and tells thoſe, who acquainted him with what was ſaid, that he could not now ſatisfy the deſires of the ſoldiers, becauſe he certainly knew, there were great treaſures in that city, which it would be improper and contrary to the Sultan's command to give up for plunder. Beſides leſt the ſoldiers ſhould by chance enter the city, and in the firſt heat ſeize upon theſe treaſures, he orders proclamation to be made in the camp, that if any *Othman* troops ſhould paſs the walls, they ſhould ſtop there, and ſecure themſelves with a trench, and not preſume to advance or enter any houſe, before he ſhould come and give them freſh orders. Laſtly, that he might guard againſt all inconveniences, fearing leſt after the taking of the city, the want of corn ſhould oblige him to change or defer his deſigns, he diſtributes to the ſoldiers very ſparingly

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the proviſions he had brought with him in great plenty, alledging, that good part of it was to be reſerved for the troops to be left in garriſon when the city ſhould be taken. Mean while, all the proviſions expected from *Hungary* were intercepted by the garriſons of *Poſonium*, *Tavarin*, and *Comorra*, as *Tekeli* had foretold to the Vizir; upon which account the ſiege of *Vienna* being retarded much longer than was expected, ſo great a ſcarcity ariſes, that, a thing before unknown in the *Turkiſh* camp (52), ten drams of bread, and even that without ſalt, were ſold for one *rhub* (53), and other eatables and liquors roſe in their price in proportion to the bread.

LXIX. The Vizir, to remedy this misfortune, before the famine cauſed a ſedition in the army, ſends a Baſha with twenty thouſand men to *Tekeli*'s aid, with orders to attack *Poſonium*, becauſe that city was leſs able than the other fortreſſes of *Hungary* to make reſiſtance; and take care that the proviſions and warlike ſtores collected at *Buda* might be ſafely brought to the *Othman* camp. But even this deſign, either becauſe it was not prudently concerted, or unſeaſonably diſcovered, failed of ſucceſs. For *Charles* duke of *Lorrain* being informed of the Vizir's intentions, ſends ſeveral regiments under the command of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, to oppoſe the attempt of the *Turks* againſt *Poſonium*. They firſt meet with *Tekeli*, and quickly diſperſe his *Hungarian* troops, and afterwards attack the *Turks*, who are ſtruck with ſuch terror at the defeat of the *Hungarians*, that, beſides a thouſand killed, and many taken, they leave a thouſand waggons loaded with proviſions and warlike engines as a booty to the conquerors.

The *Turks*, who were ſent out to forage, are defeated by the Imperial troops.

LXX. This defeat was not only a preſage, but alſo no ſmall cauſe of a greater calamity, which was ready to fall upon the *Othman* army. For the Janizaries,

This occaſions ſeditious complaints in the camp.

ANNOTATIONS.

(52) camp] The *Turks* take a moſt particular care to have their ſoldiers furniſhed with a ſufficient quantity of proviſions. For the Janizaries, before they enter the enemies territories, will have freſh bread every day, and will not vouchſafe, before that time, to touch any that has been twice baked, or baked the day before. And if they ſhould miſs having it, or their daily allowance of meat, butter and rice, their leaders can hardly keep them from a mutiny. They provide againſt a ſcarcity in the following manner: They chuſe a man of approved honeſty, and cloathing him with a *Caftan*, appoint him *Mubaeji*, or ſteward of the victualling. Him they tell how much proviſions are wanted, for how many men, and ſo many months; and then, ſix months before the proviſions are to be laid up in the ſtore-houſes, they iſſue out of the treaſury a ſum of money to buy the victuals, in proportion to the price fixed by the Sultan's order, according to the plenty or ſcarcity of the year. After that, the *Caſab baſhi*, or chief butcher, is ſent for, and ordered to provide ſo many ſheep and oxen againſt the enſuing expedition, and the price of them is immediately paid out of the treaſury. Theſe two, upon receipt of the money, ſend Men into *Moldavia*, *Walachia*, *Dobruja*, *Bujak*, *Crim Tartary*, and the other provinces of *Rumelia*, to buy up cattle and proviſions, which they lay up in the ſtore-houſes prepared for that purpoſe; but if they are not there by the time appointed, the perſons whoſe buſineſs it was to ſee it done, are to be put to death. When the expedition is begun, the Sultan diſpatches orders for aſſembling horſes, oxen and camels out of the provinces, to carry the victuals. On the enemy's borders, where there can be no ſtore-houſes, the *Mubaeji* is commanded to bring proviſions into the camp, for ſo many months as there ſhall be occaſion. Beſides theſe proviſions that are gathered by the *Mubaeji*, the Emperor has alſo a yearly contribution, named *Uszur*, and raiſed out of the tenths of the whole Empire. The remoteſt provinces pay it in money, but the neareſt ſend wheat and barley into the camp: for the *Turks* will not receive or eat any other ſort of corn. Theſe proviſions here mentioned are for the Janizaries. But the Baſhas and Spahi are obliged to find their own proviſions, and the Sultan furniſhes them with nothing but a few carts. For this reaſon, they either ſend men to buy wheat, or if they and the *Mubaeji* are friends, they deſire him by letter to get them the quantity they want; and they pay him for it by their *Capukiehaia*, which each of them is obliged to have at *Conſtantinople*, at the price fixed by the Sultan. By this means, every one providing himſelf with victuals, there can hardly happen a ſcarcity in the *Turkiſh* camp.

(53) *rhub*] It is the fourth part of a *Leonine*, as *Tult* is a third,

who

who had before ſo vigorouſly forced the enemy out of their fortifications, when they ſaw proviſions were wanting, and the troops which were to convoy the waggons (ſo long and impatiently expected) routed and deſtroyed, begin publickly to exclaim, that they came to fight not againſt famine, but the enemy; and not content to expreſs their wants in words only, grow negligent in the diſcharge of their duty, and allow the garriſon, now reduced to the utmoſt extremity, time and opportunity to reſume their courage, and repair their breaches. The obſtinacy of the Vizir, and the difficulty of the ſiege, had before ſunk the reſolution of the officers and the Baſhas; ſo that they no longer regarded what was moſt advantagious to their affairs, but executed, like mercenaries, the orders that were given them; and would have been ſurprized by the Imperial army, if one of the enemy's couriers, being taken, had not opened their eyes, and ſhown them to what danger they were expoſed. But this indolence had now taken too deep root in the minds of the ſoldiers, for them to be rouzed by the proſpect of a battle, on which the fortune of the whole *Othman* Empire depended. On the contrary, fatigued with making trenches and ramparts, they were heard frequently to ſay: "O infidel, if "thou wilt not come thy ſelf, at leaſt ſhow thy Cap; on the ſight of which we "ſhall fly hence in an hour."

The *Turks* are confounded at the approach of the *Poles*.

LXXI. One would have imagined, theſe expreſſions were not unuſual among the ſoldiers, exaſperated againſt their general, and have thought they would have diſcharged the rage, conceived in their camp and trenches, upon the heads of their enemies, if the event had not ſoon after ſhown them to be their real ſentiments. For upon the approach of the *Poliſh* auxiliaries, though it was eaſy for the *Turks* to prevent the junction of the two armies, not a ſingle man would ſtir to divert this imminent danger. Shortly after, when they were aſſured the enemy's forces were marching againſt them, the night before the battle almoſt a fourth part of the army diſperſed themſelves, and the reſt, whoſe religion engaged them to remain, ſhowed ſo little reſolution and ardor, that they did not ſeem willing even to try the fortune of a battle.

The Vizir, immoved with fear, conſults with the Paſhas.

LXXII. The Baſhas themſelves are ſtruck with dread at the deſertion of their ſoldiers; the Vizir alone, whom theſe things ought to have convinced of the viciſſitude of human affairs, continues fearleſs, and imagines nothing inſuperable by his power. However, he aſſembles the other officers, and asks them, what courſe they thought ſhould be taken. *Ibrahim Paſha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, firſt declares his opinion, and adviſes the raiſing of the ſiege, the marching of the troops againſt the enemy, the cutting down of the neighbouring woods, and making a rampart with the trees, and fortifying it with cannon, in order to receive the firſt and warmeſt attack; and that afterwards the horſe ſhould fall upon the enemy in flank as they retire. This method, if rightly purſued, would, it was to be hoped, gain an eaſy and ſpeedy victory. He added, the *Othman* army being already weakened by the toils of a long ſiege, could not be divided, nor part of it left in the works without great danger, much leſs ſhould a paſſage be open to the enemy as far as the very camp, the extent of which would render the defence of it more difficult to the *Othman* forces, and the attack more eaſy to the aſſailants.

LXXIII. All the Paſhas, except a few, approve this advice, and entreat the Vizir not to abuſe his authority, nor be the occaſion of the greateſt detriment to the *Othman* Empire. The Vizir alone obſtinately oppoſes the admonitions, and ſays, "I know not what fatal calamity threatens the *Othman* affairs, that ſo ma- "ny perſons of eminent prudence ſhould almoſt all be hurried into perverſe and un- "reaſonable opinions. You adviſe the abandoning of *Vienna*, which we have "beſieged for three months, and now reduced to ſuch extremities, that it can "ſcarce hold out ſo many days. But if you voluntarily ſuffer it to eſcape "out of your hands, what do you elſe but willfully reſign, without a battle, "the wiſhed for victory to a ſmall body of the enemy, which ſcarce deſerve "the name of an army, if compared with the innumerable and invincible forces "of the *Othman* Empire? Will not the garriſon, if they ſee our ſoldiers quit- "ting their trenches and works, attack them as they retire, repair their walls,

" which we have demoliſhed, recover what we have taken, deſtroy the ramparts " raiſed againſt them, and render the ſiege more difficult to us when we return? " Will not our own ſoldiers, if after ſo many labours in vain ſuſtained, ſo many of " their companions killed unrevenged, when they are juſt ready to ſeize the wiſhed " for prize, we ſhould lead them farther from it, will they not (I ſay) ſink in " their courage, and fight with leſs vigour, and, as the proverb expreſſes it, do " their buſineſs with only the ends of their fingers? Will not the enemy's army, " when they find the ſiege raiſed by us, refuſe to try the fortune of a battle, " which in their preſent circumſtances they cannot avoid, without hazarding their " all; and victoriouſly retire without the loſs of a man; and leave us thus de- " luded to engage with much more cruel enemies, for the autumnal rains are ap- " proaching, which formerly obliged *Soliman*, in other reſpects an invincible " Emperor, to abandon the ſiege? But if it ſhould happen otherwiſe, and the *Ger-* " *mans*, puſhed by their evil genius, be induced to fight, which of you will " venture to promiſe, that the Janizaries, even after a victory, will return to the " ſiege, and again enter thoſe trenches, where they have hitherto ſuſtained ſo " many fatigues, and loſt ſo many companions? You are ſufficiently acquainted " with their obſtinacy by their ſeditious expreſſions, which deſerve indeed to " be puniſhed, but that the preſent ſituation of affairs renders it neceſſary to op- " poſe the rebels to the enemy, rather than the ſword of the executioner. I do " not deny, theſe turbulent men have greatly abated of their former ardor; " but they will grow ſtill more indolent, if you remove them out of their " trenches, and tacitly command them to deſpair of taking the city. It may be " eaſy to recover what the enemy ſhall ſeize during the battle; but conſider, it " is much eaſier to defend what we are already poſſeſſed of, than to recover it. " The deſire of revenge will animate the Janizaries to return to the ſiege; but " take care, leſt their fury, if the garriſon ſhould make a vigorous defence, be " not turned againſt our heads. We are now in a ſituation, that we muſt either " live or die. But to overcome, after we have abandoned a city beſieged by us " ſo many months, has the appearance rather of a defeat than a victory. The " Sultan daily expects from us an account of our ſucceſs, and has already " made preparations for a triumph. If the event ſhall prove contrary, it is " eaſy to imagine what danger hangs over your heads as well as mine. If you " conſider theſe things, and weigh them in the balance of prudence, you will per- " ceive, it is in vain to lead the army into the field, in vain to fight for victory, " unleſs the greateſt part of the Janizaries be left to defend the works, and carry " on the ſiege. It will terrify the enemies, if they find we are ready in our " camp for battle, and at the ſame time proſecuting the ſiege as vigorouſly as " before; it will conceal our weakneſs; prevent the garriſon from attacking our " rear; inſpire our ſoldiers with courage; and in ſhort, is the only method by " which we can obtain not only an eaſy, but a compleat victory."

LXXIV. When the Vizir had ended his ſpeech, the Baſhas anſwer, " There is " nothing to be feared from the garriſon, who being equally, if not more ex- " hauſted by ſickneſs and labours than the *Othman* ſoldiers, will be more ſolli- " citous about the defence of the fortifications ſtill left them, than the recovery " of what they have loſt: beſides, the trenches and other works are much ſtronger " than the city, and if one or two regiments are left to defend them, it will be " more difficult for the garriſon of *Vienna* to ſeize them, than for the Janiza- " ries to take the city. The other Janizaries now employed in the trenches, " may be much more advantageouſly oppoſed to the enemy, whoſe army is not " to be contemned, ſince it contains not only the forces of almoſt all *Germany*, " but alſo a conſiderable body of auxiliaries from *Poland*. It is certain the Jani- " zaries ſometimes obſtinately refuſe to obey the commands of their generals, " and even threaten their lives; but it is no leſs certain, they are eaſily ſoftened " by ſome little preſents, and promiſes of increaſing their pay; nor is it probable, " that after ſo many fatigues, they will leave the reward of them to others, " when they are juſt at the end of their labours. The dividing of the battle in " two parts will be more inconvenient to the *Othman* army, than to the enemy; The Paſhas inſiſt upon their opinions.

" and there is reaſon to apprehend the terror, which this method is expected to ſtrike
" into them, will render the *Germans* deſperate, ſince the conteſt is not for one
" city, but for the ſafety of all Chriſtendom; and ſo may bring deſtruction to
" the whole *Othman* army."

The Vizir gives the ſanction of his authority to his opinion.

LXXV. But neither could theſe remonſtrances divert the Vizir from his purpoſe, who alledged, the management of this expedition was committed to him by the Sultan; that an account of it would be expected from him; that if any misfortune happened, it would be imputed to him, and not to them; and he could not ſuffer it to be ſaid, he had gone through ſo many hardſhips, and loſt ſo many men, without any advantage.

Having put his priſoners to death, he draws out his forces into the field.

LXXVI. The *Chriſtian* army therefore advancing on the 20th day of the month *Ramazan*, *Cara Muſtapha* orders firſt all the captives, of whom the *Tartars* had collected almoſt thirty thouſand, to be killed; then he divides his forces, which were not employed in the ſiege, into three parts. He gives the command of the left wing to *Ibrahim Paſha* of *Buda*, and of the right to *Cara Mehemed Paſha* (54) of *Diarbekir*. The body of the army, with the Aga of the Janizaries and *Spahis* he reſerves for himſelf; and orders them at leaſt to ſtand firm, and repell the firſt ſhock of the enemy. The reſt of the Janizaries he leaves under the command of his *Kiehaia* in the trenches, to attack the city in the mean time. Though the officers of the army ſeemed to execute theſe orders with great vigour, the Vizir ſoon found what *Ibrahim Paſha* had told him was true, and now too late repented, that he had not followed his advice.

The Janizaries quit their trenches.

LXXVII. For upon the firſt charge of the *Germans*, thoſe who were placed in both wings, quit their ranks, and refuſe to obey the orders of their generals. The Janizaries, who were left in the works, obſerving what was done in the battle, of their own accord abandon the ſiege, and remove out of their trenches under pretence indeed of aſſiſting their companions, who were in diſtreſs, but in reality to withdraw themſelves from the danger, the *Poliſh* forces ſoon after coming up, and attacking the body of the army, which was entirely unſupported. The reſt of the Janizaries and *Spahis* with their officers think leſs of fighting, than flying, and endeavoured to eſcape from the danger with the utmoſt precipitation.

The *Turks* are defeated, and and put to flight.

LXXVIII. *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, when he ſees his ſoldiers diſperſed on every ſide, and the impoſſibility of renewing the battle, returns alſo himſelf to the camp, and finding no man in his tent, laments his ill fortune with a flood of tears, takes up alone the ſtandard of *Mahomet*, and follows the remains of his army with all poſſible ſpeed. Night coming on, the darkneſs covers the fugitives from the enemy's ſword, but does not remove their fears, which had ſo deeply poſſeſſed them, that inſenſible of the fatigues of the way, they never ſtop, till they reach their companions, who had been left at the ſiege of *Javarin*, twenty five *German* miles from *Vienna*. Such was the more than panic terror, which the ſupreme arbiter of human affairs had filled their minds with, that they, who before were averſe to the leaſt labour, and cryed out, they were brought, not to bear fatigues and hunger, but to fight, now in one day and a night traverſed on foot, without meat or drink the ſpace of fifty hours.

The *Poles* firſt attack the *Turkiſh* camp.

LXXIX. Mean time the *Chriſtians*, finding the *Turks* after a ſhort skirmiſh retreat to their camp, and not knowing what paſſed there, imagine the Vizir had laid an ambuſh for them, becauſe they could not poſſibly believe, that ſuch a numerous army of *Turks* would turn their backs upon ſo ſlight an attack; and therefore, the night encreaſing their apprehenſions of danger, they reſolve to ſtop, and to aſſault the camp the next morning. But when they were informed by their ſcouts, that the *Turks* were fled (55), and had relinquiſhed their camp, the

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(54) *Cara Mehemed*] A man of no great fame, but highly in favour with *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, and for no other reaſon, but becauſe he never contradicted him, (for he could not bear contradiction) and yielded a blind obedience to all the Vizir's orders: for which deſerts, he was, after the death of *Ibrahim Paſha*, made Beglerbeg of *Buda*.

(55) were fled] Happy is that *Chriſtian* general, who ſuſtains the firſt, ſecond, and third

the *Poles*, chiefly induced by the hopes of plunder, enter the camp in the night, and find there, beſides an hundred and eighty large cannon and other warlike proviſions, a great booty, and victuals enough for ſeveral months. While the *Chriſtian* camp reſounds with joy, and not only *Germany*, but all *Europe* congratulate the conquerors upon the relief of *Vienna*, there appears a very different face of things among the *Turks*, who had eſcaped from the defeat.

LXXX. The Vizir, when he had reached the camp at *Javarin*, earneſtly ſtudies not to repair his loſs, but to turn upon others the danger, to which according to the *Turkiſh* cuſtom he was liable. But he perceived it was not poſſible to execute his purpoſe, unleſs he could remove *Ibrahim* Beglerbeg of *Buda*, and the reſt, who were privy to his counſels, ſince they might by their authority add great weight to the charge, which would be preferred againſt him, and diſcover his deſigns againſt the *Othman* Empire; and becauſe he thought, he had made them his enemies by his obſtinacy. For this purpoſe he ſends on ſome pretenſe for all thoſe, who had ſtrongly oppoſed him in the laſt conſultation concerning the ſiege of *Vienna*, and commands the Baſhas, when they come, to be ſtrangled, and the other officers of the army to be put to death, giving out, that they, in conjunction with *Tekeli*, had firſt adviſed the ſiege of *Vienna*, and obliged him in a manner to undertake it, notwithſtanding his reluctance; and afterwards were very ſlow in obeying his orders, and in the battle were the firſt that took to flight.

LXXXI. After this he puts a ſtrong garriſon into *Strigonium* and *Vywar*, and encamping with the reſt of the army under the walls of *Buda*, makes *Cara Mehemed Paſha*, who had always implicitly followed his opinion, governor of that city. He ſtrengthens *Strigonium* and *Vywar*.

LXXXII. In the mean time, the *Chriſtians* had refreſhed themſelves a little, and reſolving to reap in *Hungary* ſome other fruits of their victory, beſides the relief of *Vienna*, move towards the eaſt. The *Poles* claimed the right of marching in the van, and having routed ſome troops of the flying *Turks* and *Tartars*, flushed both with the former victory, the greateſt ſhare of which they aſſumed to themſelves, and with their freſh ſucceſſes proceed unadviſedly, and wander about the country without any order, as if they had now ſubdued all the *Turkiſh* forces. In this manner, on the 16th day of the month *Shevval*, they happen to meet near *Strigonium* ſix thouſand horſe, and two thouſand Janizaries, whom *Boſtanji* (56) *Muſtapha Paſha* and *Halil Paſha* had drawn together. The *Poles* The *Poles*, in their purſuit of the *Turks*, are in danger.

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third onſets of the *Turks*. For at the third, or at moſt the fourth repulſe, he will certainly ſee them turn their backs; and if he advances againſt them with a ſlow pace, which I have obſerved to be ſometimes done by the *Germans*, he will perceive them, not only to abandon their camp and cannon, and take to open flight, but alſo put the whole army in diſorder by the confuſed cry of, *Giaur gildi*, *The Infidel is coming*. Once indeed, namely in the year 1711, in a battle with the *Ruſſians*, they renewed the attack ſeven times; but the reaſon was, that the generals of the *Ruſſian* army, not being uſed to an open fight with them, durſt not purſue them when they gave way. For otherwiſe the Janizaries are not obliged to make above three charges, and if they are repulſed, they abandon their camp, and think of nothing but flight, pulling the *Spahi* off their horſes, and killing ſuch as make any reſiſtance, and ſo become the worſt of enemies to the horſe. For which reaſon, the *Turkiſh* horſe, in a flight, and whenever they ſee their foot giving way, never come near them, nay avoid them more carefully than the enemies themſelves.

(56) *Boſtanji Muſtapha*] He was called, in the *Othman* Court, both *Boſtanji* and *Cuſhchi* Muſtapha* having before his office of *Boſtanji*, been *Cuſhchi** or Keeper of the Emperor's birds. He was taken by the *Poles* at the battle of *Strigonium*, and ſix years after redeemed by my father, for a good ſum of money, by the Sultan's order, together with *Ali Paſha*: After which he was promoted to the office of *Caimacan* of *Conſtantinople*, and *Ali Paſha* was made governor of *Tripoli* in *Syria*. But they did not long enjoy the Sultan's favour; for both died ſhortly after, *Muſtapha Paſha* whilſt he was *Caimacan* expreſſed his gratitude to my father by doing me ſeveral good offices. He left a ſon *Capuji Paſha* a man of learning, affability, and a good character at court.

boldly attacking this body, and endeavouring to rout them at the firſt onſet, the *Turks*, who before had thought rather of flying than fighting, perceiving the *Poles* to be alone, and ſeparated from the *Germans*, halt, and oblige them to retreat with greater ſpeed than they came, and not content to have repulſed them, ſurround and oppreſs the unwary enemy on every ſide. The *Poles* ſeemed to be irrecoverably loſt, if the *German* army had not very ſeaſonably came in to their aſſiſtance, when they began to retreat; whereupon the *Turks* retired, the enemy not daring to purſue them, after they had killed about a thouſand men, with the ſon of general *Tablonowski*, and taken ſeveral drums and ſtandards.

The *Germans* in conjunction with the *Poles*, defeat the *Turks* a ſecond time at the *Danube*.

LXXXIII. Next day, the *Poliſh* and *German* armies being united, attack the *Turks*, who had encamp'd about an hour's diſtance from *Barkan*, and, after a fierce and ſharp battle, defeat them. Whilſt they endeavour in their flight to paſs the bridge over the *Danube*, which was not very firmly built, fear increaſing their haſte and confuſion, their weight breaks it down, before a fourth part can get over; by which means they fall into the river, and are carried away with the rapid ſtream. The reſt fly to *Barkan*, and, upon the approach of the *Germans*, immediately deliver up the town and their arms, with both their generals. There fell in the battle about three thouſand *Turks*, the reſt were almoſt all either drowned in the *Danube*, or taken priſoners; ſo that out of the whole army, but very few eſcaped to carry the news of the defeat to their companions.

The *Imperialiſts* take *Gran*.

LXXXIV. After this battle, the generals of the victorious army prepared to beſiege *Strigonium*, but ſoon after changed their reſolution, being informed that the Vizir had re-aſſembled an army of eighty thouſand men, with intent, by a freſh battle, to wipe out the diſgrace he received at *Vienna*. The falſity of this rumour being quickly diſcovered, on the ſecond day of the month *Zylcade*, they again attack that fortreſs with ſo much fury, that the *Turks* were ſeized with terror, and the governor *Bekir Baſha*, though he had above four thouſand men in the city, on the fourth day of the ſiege ſurrenders (57) upon capitulation; a place which had before reſiſted a much larger army as many months.

Petreczeicus, Prince of *Moldavia*, with the *Coſſaks*, invades *Baſſarabia*.

LXXXV. Whilſt the caſtles of *Hungary* are thus reduced to the obedience of the Chriſtians by the Imperial army; the like is attempted in another quarter, tho' not with equal ſucceſs, by *Petreczeicus*, Prince of *Moldavia*, who, in the battle of *Chehrin*, had revolted from the *Turks* to the *Poles*. After the departure of the King of *Poland* for the relief of *Vienna*, he joins the *Moldavian* forces of his party with *Konicky* (58), general of the *Coſſaks*, and, paſſing the *Tyras*, marches through *Moldavia* into *Beſſarabia*.

He ravages that country with great cruelty.

LXXXVI. When he finds the country without any defence, the *Bujak* and *Crim Tartars* being almoſt all employed in the ſiege of *Vienna*, he leaves the *Coſſaks* to guard his camp, and marches out with his *Moldavian* troops; deſtroys the country on all ſides, with ſuch cruelty, that he ſpared neither age nor ſex; impaled alive, or daſhed out the brains of the *Tartarian* children, whom it would have been better to have carried away, and educated in the Chriſtian faith; he cauſed the virgins to be raviſhed, and then killed; the women with-child to be ripped up, and the old men to be put to the moſt dreadful tortures, to make them diſcover their riches; in a word, he omitted no method of cruelty and barbarity which had ever been invented in former ages.

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(57) ſurrenders] Hence one of the poets ſaid in a kind of prophetical manner: *Chikdum ſhamum capuſinden, ſelam ladum uſtrguni, Beligradi, Buduni.* "I went out at the "gate of *Damaſcus* (for the government of "*Damaſcus* was the firſt preferment of *Cara* "*Muſtapha Paſha*, author of the *Othman* "port's misfortune) and from thence bid "farewel to *Strigonium*, *Belgrade*, and "*Buda*."

(58) *Konicky*] He was Hetman of the *Coſſaks* between the *Tyras* and the *Boryſthenes*, who had not yet ſhaken off the *Poliſh* yoke. The *Poles* had appointed him, after the defection of *Doroſhenko* and *Circo* to the *Turks* and *Muſcovites*.

LXXXVII. While the *Moldavians* (59) are thus performing the part of executioners, rather than of ſoldiers, the *Tartars*, which had eſcaped from the battle of *Vienna*, come, and, finding themſelves inferior to the enemy, at firſt lie concealed in the borders; where, being reinforced, they ſuddenly attack the *Moldavians*, diſperſed over the country, and take a ſevere revenge for the ſlaughter of their companions; then they encloſe the *Coſſaks*, who remained in the camp, on every ſide. Theſe, on account of their fewneſs, not daring to engage with the *Turks*, defend themſelves with a chain of waggons, and proceed ſlowly to the river *Hieraſus*, hoping they ſhould thus ſecure themſelves from the attacks of the *Tartars*, till they reached their own country. But their number daily decreaſing, and proviſion failing, they are diſperſed by famine and the ſnows, rather than by the ſword of the enemy. In their flight, many are ſlain by the *Tartars*, and more taken priſoners, and of the whole army, but a few troops of *Coſſaks*, with *Petreczeicus* and *Konicki*, eſcape with great danger into *Poland*; nor would they have eſcaped, if the horſes of the *Tartars*, being quite ſpent, had not prevented them from continuing the purſuit. *He is afterwards defeated by the Tartars.*

LXXXVIII. *Ducai*, Prince of *Moldavia*, underwent a much harder fate. At his return from the *Vienna* expedition, in which (as I ſaid) he was engaged, when he ſees the ſtate of *Moldavia* in confuſion, almoſt all the Nobles having either revolted to *Petreczeicus*, or fled for ſafety to the neighbouring countries, and finds *Jaſſy*, his capital, deſolate, he retires with a few followers to *Domneſtim*, a village in the territory of *Putna*, in expectation of better times. Here whilſt he is intent upon ſettling the affairs of the province, he is ſuddenly attacked by *Bainski* (60), a *Moldavian*, related to *Petreczeicus*, and taken, and carried into *Poland*; where, being cloſely impriſoned, he not long after dies at *Warſaw*. *Ducai*, Prince of *Moldavia*, taken by the *Poles.*

LXXXIX. In his room the *Turks* appoint *Demetrius Cantacuzenus* (61) a man indeed of very noble extraction, but weak, and more proper for times of peace than of war; for which reaſon he was ſoon after deprived of his dignity, as will be remembered in its place. *Demetrius Cantacuzenus* is appointed in his room.

XC. Having thus given an account of what paſſed this year between the two armies in the field; the courſe of the hiſtory requires a narrative of what was tranſacted in the mean time at the *Othman* court. The Sultan, having ſent the Vizir upon the expedition, ranged the plains of *Thrace* and *Greece*, and, confiding in the prudence and fortune of his Vizir, diverted himſelf with hunting about *Deſpot Tailaſi*, and knew nothing of what was doing in the army and ſtate, but as informed by meſſengers from the Vizir. By him being aſſured that *Vienna*, now reduced to the laſt extremity, could hold out but a few days longer, and nothing was to *What paſſed at the Port during the ſiege of Vienna.*

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(59) the *Moldavians*] This was not the fault of all the *Moldavians*; for all the old and principal Barons, when they found themſelves unable to reſiſt *Petreczeicus*, had retired to the mountains, and into *Walachia*: but it was done by ſome of the younger, who, for want of experience, had been allured by the deceitful promiſes of *Petreczeicus* and the *Poles*, with which they had, though in vain, endeavoured to impoſe upon the reſt.

(60) *Bainſki*,] A *Moldavian* by extraction, and a relation of *Petreczeicus*, after whoſe death he returned to *Moldavia*, and was appointed by my father *Serdar*, that is, general of the army beyond the *Pruth*.

(61) *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*,] The ſon of *Michael Cantacuzenus*, of the *Conſtantinopolitan* family of the *Cantacuzeni*. In his youth he obtained the place of maſter of the wardrobe in *Walachia*, from whence being turned out, for what reaſon I know not; he was ſome years a jeweller at *Conſtantinople*: at laſt, having made a preſent to Sultan *Mahomet* at the circumciſion of his ſons, of a ſilver *Sbadirvan*, or fountain, which kept running twenty-four hours together, he was advanced by him to the principality of *Moldavia*; and being deprived of it ſoon after, he was reſtored again to the ſame dignity, after the impriſonment of *Ducas*. At length, being depoſed by *Aineji Soliman Paſha*, Seraskier of *Siliſtria*, for his unskilfulneſs in military affairs, and ſent to *Conſtantinople*, he was at his arrival ſo roughly received by the *Caimacan*, that the fright brought a *Polypus* in his neck, of which he died within three days in priſon. The *Moldavians* rank him among their cruel princes.

be feared from the enemy, who were ſo terrified by the *Othman* arms, that they had not only abandoned the ſiege of *Vywar* before the *Muſulman* army approached, but concealed their forces behind ramparts at a diſtance from the city; the Sultan moved nearer to *Conſtantinople*, and reſolved to hunt in the country about that city, with deſign, if he ſhould receive the welcome news of the taking the metropolis of *Germany*, he might be in the neighbourhood of his capital, and celebrate his triumph with the greater pomp and magnificence. But when he heard of the defeat of his army with ſo great a ſlaughter, he returned with reluctance to *Conſtantinople*, not to ſolemnize the triumph, with which he had till then flattered himſelf, but to aſſiſt the ſtate in this diſtreſs by his preſence, and reſtrain the ſeditious, by whom, he knew, the common people might eaſily be drawn into an inſurrection on the preſent occaſion.

The Vizir's excuſe to the Sultan.

XCI. Not long after letters are brought to him from the Vizir, eſcaped to *Buda*, in which was a particular account of the tranſactions of the whole campain. He repreſented the labours he had ſuſtained to defend and enlarge the Empire, and with what vigour he had endeavoured to ſubdue ſo ſtrong and obſtinate a city; that the proſperous beginning of the ſiege had given him great hopes of taking the city, and made him confident, that in a ſhort time he ſhould be able to offer it to his Majeſty, with the whole Empire of the Weſt; but that afterwards he was deprived of thoſe advantages, not by the enemy's arms, but by the artifices and treachery of his officers; and eſpecially of *Ibrahim Paſha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, who was the firſt mover of the ſiege of *Vienna*; but afterwards changing his opinion, becauſe he either perceived, if the city was taken, the Beglerbeg of *Buda* would not be ſo conſiderable as before, or aſpired himſelf to the dignity of Prime Vizir, not only refuſed to obey his orders, and oppoſed all his counſels, but, by his example, encouraged the ſoldiers and officers to be negligent in their duty. That he had borne all theſe things, being averſe to the death of a man illuſtrious on ſo many accounts in the *Othman* Empire; but that this unſeaſonable clemency had proved the occaſion of the defeat. For, having given him the command of the left wing, at the firſt charge of the *Germans*, before the battle could be ſaid to be begun, he ran away with his troops in diſorder, and thereby gave the enemy an opportunity of flanking and defeating the reſt of the army. That at laſt, being cloſely preſſed in their retreat by the enemy, when he had found the Beglerbeg, who obſtinately purſued his own as well as the Empire's ruin, could not otherwiſe be reclaimed, and was apprehenſive he would afford the enemies a greater victory than the paſt, he was forced to devote him as a victim to the ſafety of the ſtate, and thought it a ſignal ſervice to the Sultan and Empire, to remove a man who had been the cauſe of ſo great a misfortune to both. That he had ſo firm a confidence in the Emperor's juſtice, that he could not imagine he would impute to his fault or negligence what had been done by means of the diſobedience of others.

He deſires pardon, and promiſes *Vienna* the next year.

XCII. He alſo deſires the Sultan to give him again the command of his armies in the next campain, and leave to recruit his forces, by which means if he did not ſubdue all *Germany*, with *Vienna*, he would voluntarily ſubmit his head to the ſword or the bow-ſtring. With theſe letters he had ſent very rich preſents (62), not only to the *Valide-Sultana*, but likewiſe to all the officers of the court,

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(62) rich preſents,] By theſe, as the ſtrongeſt arguments of his innocence, *Cara Muſtapha* would have cleared himſelf, and thrown the fault upon others; but in vain. It is ſaid, upon this occaſion, that a *Jew*, named *Connorto Anacauogly*, who was kept by *Cara Muſtapha*, uttered a witty ſaying, very expreſſive of the pannic the *Turks* were poſſeſſed with. For being asked by the Vizir at *Buda*, whether he had any thing of value to ſend as a preſent to the Sultan, he anſwered, he had nothing at *Buda*, having left his moſt valuable effects at *Belgrade*. The Vizir offered him five hundred light-armed horſe, called *Beſhli*, to fetch them, and keep him from being plundered by the wandering bands of *Turks* or *Tartars*, the *Jew* replied, there is no occaſion for ſo many, for three men are ſufficient to ſecure me, becauſe I have a *Shapka*, or *German* Cap, the very ſight of which is enough to fright the largeſt bands of plunderers out

of

court, whom he knew to be in favour with the Emperor, by whoſe repreſentations the Sultan was ſo fully perſwaded of the Vizir's innocence, that he not only declared, *Ibrahim Paſha* and the reſt, put to death near *Yavarin*, to be juſtly puniſhed, but alſo confirmed *Cara Muſtapha Paſha* in the Vizirſhip, and the command of his new army.

XCIII. The Vizir receiving theſe letters takes courage, and laying aſide his fears, wholly applies himſelf to the augmenting of his forces, and making all the neceſſary preparations for an early campain. Perhaps he would have freed himſelf from danger, wiped out the diſgrace he had received, and recovered his former authority, if he had not, out of too great a confidence of his power, been too haſty to re-eſtabliſh it. He had put to death, as I have obſerved, without the Sultan's knowledge, *Ibrahim Paſha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, with ſome others privy to his deſigns, and the Sultan had approved it by his letters. There ſtill remained ſome, whom the Vizir had not ventured to puniſh with the reſt, for fear the great number of executions ſhould raiſe a ſuſpicion in the Sultan. He afterwards allured them with promiſes to hinder their accuſing him. However he did not think it prudent to ſuffer them to live, ſince he would always have reaſon to fear, they might be bribed by his enemies to diſcover what had paſſed between them. But ſome pretenſes were neceſſary to be alledged for putting them to death, becauſe all thoſe, who had been the occaſion of the *Vienna*-defeat, had already been executed, and it ſeemed unjuſt to call again to account perſons, who had been acquitted. As he could not find or invent any plauſible excuſes, he privately intimates to the Sultan by letters, that the Aga of the Janizaries, and other Baſhas, whom he named, had again ſhowed themſelves diſobedient to his orders, and made uſe of his clemency to them, in pardoning their ill conduct at the ſiege of *Vienna*, not to correct, but to confirm themſelves in their obſtinate reſolution to ruin the Empire. His Majeſty had indeed granted him the power of puniſhing whatever officers he found guilty; but he was unwilling to uſe that power, leſt his enemies ſhould take occaſion from thence to accuſe him wrongfully; and therefore deſired to know his Majeſty's pleaſure about them.

The Vizir being confirmed by the Sultan's letters, attempts to put other Paſhas to death.

XCIV. Though this repreſentation was very plauſible, it found the *Othman* court ſo much changed, that the Vizir, inſtead of obtaining his deſire, was imprudently the occaſion of his own ruin. For there was tranſmitted to the court by the other officers, who had been preſent at the ſiege of *Vienna*, a more faithful account of the tranſactions, whereby the artifices and deſigns of the Vizir were diſcovered. Neither had the contents of this laſt letter been ſo cloſely concealed, but that the patrons of the perſons accuſed, were informed of the danger of their friends, and had an opportunity of uſing their endeavours to ſave them. Beſides an unhappy meſſenger was arrived with the news of the taking of *Strigonium*†, and the defeat of the *Turkiſh* forces at *Bartan*, and acquainted both the Sultan and the great men, what fatal conſequences were likely to attend that misfortune, affirming, the ſlaughter was much greater than was believed, or the Vizir deſired they ſhould know.

The treachery and falſe repreſentations of the Vizir are detected.

† *Gran.*

XCV. The Sultan being thus diſpoſed to the Vizir's deſtruction, is conſtantly beſieged by his enemies; ſometimes they relate the ſeditious expreſſions of the ſoldiers and people for delaying *Cara Muſtapha's* puniſhment; ſometimes repreſent the neceſſity of depoſing him, though he were innocent, becauſe the change of Vizirs uſually proves of great ſervice in times of misfortune; ſometimes deſcribe the Vizir's treachery and artifices in ſuch lively colours, that at laſt the Sultan determines to ſend *Capujilar Kiehajaſi*† with the *Chatiſherif* into *Hungary*, to put *Cara Muſtapha* to death.

The courtiers concert the ruin of the Vizir.

† *i. e.* The *Kiehaia* of the *Capuji*.

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of their wits, and make them take to their heels. Whereupon the Vizir is reported to ſay with a ſigh. Our common ſaying is very true; "Thoſe whom God has put "to flight, fear even the *Jews*."

XCVI. The

He is at laſt put to death by the command of the Sultan, and another Vizir advanced in his room.

H. 1095.

A. C. 1684.

XCVI. The *Kiehaia* finds the Vizir at *Belgrade* intent upon recruiting his army, and adviſing with the Aga of the Janizaries, ſeizes him in his own houſe, and ſhowing him the Sultan's mandate on the 6th day of *Muharrem*, in the year 1095, orders him, who made no reſiſtance, and affirmed he was crowned with martyrdom, to be ſtrangled by four executioners, and carries his head to *Conſtantinople*. The Sultan appoints in his room *Cara Ibrahim Paſha* (63), who had before been *Caimacan* of *Conſtantinople*, and delivering the ſeal of the Empire, adviſes him, that warned by the fate of his predeceſſor, he ſhould ſerve the *Othman* Empire with greater fidelity, and endeavour to take a ſevere revenge of the enemy for the diſgrace it had ſuffered. But the imprudent conduct of *Cara Muſtapha Paſha* had raiſed too many enemies for the *Othman* Empire now in its decline to contend with. He had conceived ſo great an opinion of the power of the *Turks*, that when he reſolved upon the expedition to *Vienna*, he was ſo far from drawing off the reſt of the *Chriſtian* Princes from the enemy's intereſts to his own, that he offered them many injuries, as if he wanted to provoke them to declare war againſt the *Othman* Empire.

The occaſion of the breach of the peace with the republic of *Venice*.

XCVII. *Petro Ciurani*, as the *Venetian* ambaſſador or *Baili*, was arrived at *Conſtantinople* with two men of war and three merchant-ſhips, and upon his landing had ordered the goods, which he had brought, to be carried to his houſe. *Giumrukchi** (64) ſuſpecting from the quantity, that the effects belonged to ſome merchants, and not to the ambaſſador, viſits the ſhips, and upon examination, finding that a great part of the freight was aſſigned to merchants, who refuſed to pay the cuſtoms, confiſcates them contrary to the rights of ambaſſadors, and orders them to be carried into the Sultan's warehouſes. The *Baili* endeavours at firſt by perſwaſion to recover what was taken from him, ſhowing from publick records, that it was the privilege not only of his predeceſſors, but of all foreign ambaſſadors, to bring to *Conſtantinople* cuſtom-free whatever merchandize they pleaſed, as well on the merchant's account, as their own. But at laſt, when he perceives, words were of no effect, and the will of the *Turks* was a law, he promiſes the *Giumrukchi** a large ſum of money, and ſo redeems the ſhips, which had been ſeized. A few days after, a *Venetian* nobleman, who had been formerly taken priſoner at ſea, makes his eſcape to the *Venetian* ſhips, which were ſent to convoy home *Moroſini* the former *Baili*. But theſe ſhips being detained ſome time on account of the *Baili's* indiſpoſition, the maſter of the *Venetian* is informed, that his ſlave was on board with intent to eſcape. Whereupon he petitions the Vizir by an *Arzuhal* (65), that he might be reſtored

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(63) *Cara Ibrahim*] This man was at firſt *Kietchudabeg* to *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, and afterwards, when he went upon the *Chegrinian** expedition, was made *Caimacan*. In theſe poſts he behaved in a haughty and turbulent manner, ſo that both *Turks* and *Chriſtians* were diſpleaſed at his advancement. But after he was made Vizir, taught perhaps by his predeceſſor's ſad fate, he affected, contrary to his former cuſtom, to make himſelf popular, and to be very eaſy of acceſs: And at court, he took particular care never to be far from the Sultan, and to remove from the courtiers all occaſion of ſlandering him; by which means he would have long remained poſſeſſed of his honour, had not fortune ſhowed herſelf at that time an enemy to the *Turkiſh* affairs, and concealing his virtues, exhibited his faults to the Sultan, by means of *Soliman Paſha*.

(64) *Giumrukchi**] or *Giumruk Emini*, the receiver of the cuſtoms, of whom an account has been given in Part I. His name ſeems to be derived from the modern *Greek* word κουμερκιάριος, which I take to be a corruption of the *Italian* word *Commerciario*.

(65) *Arzuhal*] as much as to ſay, the opening of the cauſe. So thoſe petitions are called, that are preſented to the Vizir in the *Divan* about judiciary matters. They muſt be penned ſo conciſely, though the cauſe be never ſo great or intricate, as not to fill up above half an octavo page, for the Vizir's reſolution, and the conſultations and ſentence of the Judges muſt be writ on the other part of the page. For this reaſon it is not every *Turk*, though very learned in other reſpects, that can draw up an *Arzuhal*; but there are *Arzuhalchi** appointed for that purpoſe, who keep their offices near the Vizir's court, and are always ready to be hired. Whoever has a

cauſe

red to him. The *Boſtanji Paſha* is ſent to examine all the ſhips, and if the captive be found, to ſeize and reſtore him to his maſter. When the *Boſtanji Paſha* comes, the captain of the ſhip denies he had any fugitive on board, and upon the *Boſtanji*'s inſiſting to ſearch, oppoſes him by force; however, numbers have the advantage of courage, the ſhip is ſearched, the captive found and carried away, and the ſailors who had taken arms, are partly killed, and partly left under ſtrict guard in the ſhip. The Sultan hearing a *Venetian* ſhip had preſumed in the very port of *Conſtantinople* to uſe arms, detains both the ambaſſadors, *Ciurani* and *Moroſini*, and refuſes to diſcharge them, till they had paid ſeveral purſes to redeem the ſailors, and atone for their crime.

XCVIII. The republic of *Venice* being informed of what had happened at *Conſtantinople*, as *Vienna* was at that time beſieged, and the event doubtful, take no notice of the affront, but when they hear of the defeat of the *Turks* at *Vienna*, they boldly demand ſatisfaction; which being refuſed, they make an alliance with the Emperor of *Germany* and King of *Poland*, and proclaim war againſt the *Othman* Port. The *Venetian* ambaſſador delivers the ſolemn declaration to the *Caimacan*, and afterwards changing his habit flies from *Conſtantinople*.

The *Venetian* ambaſſador eſcapes from *Conſtantinople*.

XCIX. So great and unexpected a blow ſtruck the *Turks* with almoſt inexpreſſible terror. Neceſſity required them to employ their whole ſtrength againſt the *Germans*, and *Poles*, and they ſaw that no leſs forces would be able to oppoſe the *Venetians*. The *Venetian* army indeed could not be ſo great; but becauſe it was doubtful what courſe they would take, it was requiſite to fortify all the maritime places with ſuch garriſons, as would be ſufficient to form a powerful army. There was no fleet except ſix Sultanas, and thoſe old and leaky; nor any hopes of procuring one ſoon, becauſe the *Hungarian* expedition would employ all the money in the treaſury.

This renders the *Turks* extremely uneaſy.

C. For theſe reaſons *Cara Ibrahim Paſha* uſes all his endeavours to pacify the *Venetians*, declares the injuries complained of, were not done by the Sultan's order, but through the avarice of his predeceſſor; and promiſes to reſtore what had been ſeized, if they would deſiſt from the war.

The new Vizir endeavours to ſoften the reſentments of the *Venetians*.

CI. But the *Venetians* were deaf to theſe flattering promiſes, and declared, they could not break their alliance with the *Chriſtian* Princes; that they had hitherto ſuffered injuries enough, but now the time of revenging them was come. The Vizir ſeeing the ſtorm which threatned the *Othman* Empire on every ſide, cannot be diverted, applies his whole care and abilities to ſupport it in the beſt manner poſſible: He appoints *Shaitan Ibrahim Paſha*, a man of approved valour, Seraskier againſt the *Germans*, and *Aineji* (66) *Soliman Paſha* againſt *Poland*, and orders the high admiral to obſerve the motions of the *Venetians*. He himſelf continues at *Conſtantinople* under pretence of indiſpoſition, and gives particular directions to the generals, that they ſhould faithfully inform him of the progreſs of affairs, but acquaint the Sultan only with their good ſucceſſes, and conceal the bad as carefully as they could.

But in vain; for which reaſon the *Turks* prepare forces againſt all their enemies.

CII. While theſe things are tranſacting at *Conſtantinople*, the imperial army under the command of the Duke of *Lorrain* in the month of *Jemaziul achyr* of the year 1095, marched into *Hungary*, and about the end of that month beſieged

The Imperialiſts take *Vicegrade* and *Vacia*, and repell the ſuccours of the *Turks*.

H. 1095.

A. C. 1684.

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cauſe to lay before the Vizir, applies to them; nay the very *Reis Effendi*, or High-Chancellor of the Empire, though a very good ſcribe, does not venture to write an *Arzuhal*, but ſends an account of his cauſe to one of the *Arzuhalchi** to have it drawn up.

(70) *Aineji Soliman*] A *Boſnian*, born of *Chriſtian* Parents, but educated in his youth in the *Mahometan* Religion, and brought up in the court of the *Kioprili*'s. He was ſucceſſively *Talbiſchi**, *Kiehaia*, Seraskier of *Babadagy*, and at laſt Prime Vizir. The name of *Aineji* or *the Deceitful*, was given him, upon account of the many artifices he uſed to deceive both friends and enemies, in the ſame manner as *Ulyſſes* was ſtyled by *Homer*, πολύτροπος and πολυμήτις. He had an uncle, a *Boſnian Archimandrite*, a member of the *Greek* Church, who was in great eſteem with *John* and *Peter*, Czars of *Muſcovy*, becauſe he had taken great pains to bring over many in *Servia* and *Bulgaria* to their party.

 ſieged