

ple by a writing given by the false prophet *Mahomet* to the *Sinaite* monks, had enjoyed that exemption†) alledging this privilege of *Mahomet* to be spuri- † See Part I. ous, or if genuine, it declares the *Sinaites* only, and not all the monks in general, free from tribute. Besides lest the subjects might suffer by an unequal exaction of the tribute, he divides the *Haraj* into three parts; enjoining the richer fort to pay ten Leonines a year, those of a middle rank six, and the poor only three dolars. All the mony which the superstitious devotion of their ancestors had chose to leave for posterity to the treasuries of the *Jami*, he brings into the publick treasury, and answers the *Muteveli*, who call it sacrilege, that wealth designed for religious uses, ought to be employed in religious wars, and it is more conducive to the Musulman interest, to maintain with it the defenders of the holy edifices, than enemies and robbers. He restores to their former integrity the judicial proceedings, which till then had been almost entirely venal, punishes the judges convicted of corruption with great severity, rescues those who are oppressed by false accusations without respect of persons, and prevents every one from being injured. He orders, that corn and other provisions should not violently be demanded from the subjects (20), but purchased with ready mony at such a price, as they should think proper.

XLV. By

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lowance of so many Aspers, out of every schedule he circulates. In these schedules is set down, not only the name of the person to which each is given, but also his religion, stature, shape, hair, eyes, marks of his body, age &c. that no more than one person may make use of the same schedule, and so by imposing upon the *Haraj* gatherers, cheat the treasury. Here it will be proper to mention the remarkable way they have to find out when persons are of ripe age. For if any one pretends to be under age, and upon that account exempt from paying tribute, they immediately measure his neck with a thread, and apply that measure to his face; and if it does not reach from the chin to the top of the head, the person is dismissed as under age; but if it answers exactly, or exceeds, they oblige him to pay.

(20) from the subjects] Such was the justice of *Kioprili Mustapha Pascha*, which recommended him both to the *Turks*, and to all the *Christians* subject to the *Ottoman* Empire. And indeed, almost all his actions, as well as his judicial sentences, are evident testimonies of his equity to all persons without any regard to their religion, and of his political wisdom; one or two instances of which it will not be improper to relate. In his first expedition, when he took *Belgrade*, being encamped near *Yagodin*, a large village of *Bulgaria*, and observing it to be almost all desolate, and without inhabitants, he sends for two of the oldest of the countrymen, and asks them the reason why their village was thus destroyed. They assign two causes of it; first, that their temple being burnt, and liberty denied them of building another, most of the inhabitants had withdrawn to other places; secondly, that the *Ottoman*

troops had so often passed through the village several years together, that they had hindered them from reaping their corn, which had brought a famine, and forced the rest to retire. Upon this the *Vizir* turning to the *Reis effendi*: "As, says he, a Musulman can not live where he has not a *Jami*, so neither can a *Christian* be obliged to dwell any where without a temple." And immediately gives permission to the inhabitants to build as large a Church as they pleased; and by another *Ferman* denounces all those guilty of death, who should, either go out of the road, even a hand's breadth, into the countrymen's fields; or take from them an egg, or a hen. And to try, how much profit that regulation would bring to the state, he orders each inhabitant to give him a hen, for the licence of building a temple; and by that means collects fifty three. In his return from his expedition, he orders them to bring him the same present, and finds one hundred and twenty five: from whence he takes occasion to represent to the rest of the *Vizirs*, what an increase to the Musulmans treasury might be expected from good regulations. At his return to *Constantinople*, application is made to him for leave to repair the old temple there, or to build a new one; he readily grants the petitioners their request; from whence some country people took an opportunity of humbly desiring him to grant them permission to repair the temple of their village, which was in a ruinous condition. He setting his hand to the usual form, orders the *Buyurildi Teskireji* to confirm this grant to them by a particular mandate. And when the officer expressed the *Ferman* in the old form used in that case; namely, that they should repair their temple with the same wood, stones, and lime;

The Vizir
marches his
army towards
Belgrade.

H. 1101.

A. C. 1689.

The Tartars
defeat several
thousand Ger-
mans.

The Vizir or-
ders prayers to
be made in the
cities, and the
boys to be re-
moved out of
the camp.

XLV. By these measures having raised himself a great reputation for prudence, justice, and sanctity, he prepares with great application for the campaign, and lest during his absence a sedition might be occasioned against the Sultan by so many alterations in affairs, he persuades him to go to *Adrianople* in the spring. From thence about the beginning of the month *Sheval*, of the year 1101, he marches towards *Belgrade* with his whole army, full of the hopes of victory. As he passes over mount *Hæmus*, called by the *Turks* *Kyz derbent* (21), he is informed by the scouts, that several thousand *Germans* were coming from *Belgrade* to strengthen the garrison at *Nissa*.

XLVI. To prevent their entering that city, he sends *Selim Gierdi* Chan of the *Tartars* with part of the *Turkish* army, who falling suddenly upon the *Germans* now within sight of *Nissa*, after a short battle puts them to flight. The news of this victory being carried to the *Turkish* camp gives them almost inexpressible joy, and revives the hopes of the *Othmans*, and shews them that a heed of deer fight more bravely under the conduct of a lion, than a troop of lions under the command of a timorous deer.

XLVII. The Vizir himself to thank God for the prosperous opening of the campaign, and to render for the future the supreme arbiter of all events propitious to the *Othman* arms, orders prayers to be made without intermission day and night at *Constantinople*, *Adrianople*, and in the camp; and finding there was in the army a great number of boys unfit for arms, brought by profligate persons for detestable uses, he commands publick proclamation to be made, that whoever had any boys attending upon him under any pretence, should send them back, and if any such boy should be discovered with any person for the future, he should be put to death without further examination; since that sin above all others deprives those polluted with it of the divine blessing, nor can the most pure God favour with his presence that camp, where such an impurity is practised.

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lime; *Kiopriili* severely reproves him for it, and calls him stupid and senseless. The *Teskieraji* surprized, and trembling for fear, appeals to the ancient form, according to which he had drawn up the mandate. The Vizir provoked the more, replies, they were fools that first made use of that form, and they are no wiser who have followed them. For how can wood, after it is rotten, be restored to its former strength, so as to be able to support what is ready to fall; or Lime, after it has been worn out by time, be so tempered as to be sufficient not only to raise a new building, but also to secure the crevices against the injuries of the weather. Therefore if we grant our subjects liberty to repair their temples, we must permit them to do it in the way in which reason shews it is possible to be done. Let them have orders then, to repair their temple as well as they can; and if it is so ruinous as that it cannot be repaired, let them build a new one: Only, let care be taken, that they do not build it with the *Musulman's* money, but their own; and that they regularly pay the tribute imposed on them. On this account, it is at this day a common saying among the *Greeks*, that *Kiopriili* only built more Churches, than *Justinian*.

(21) *Kyz derbent*] that is, the *Passage of the Virgin*. There are two passages over the long ridges of mount *Hæmus* towards *Belgrade*; *Kyz derbent*, the *Virgin's passage*, which, the *Turks* say, was discovered by a certain virgin, a King's daughter, who was wandring by chance in those mountains; and *Capuly derbent*, the *Passage of the Gate*. In the eastern entrance of this passage are still to be seen the ruins of a very ancient and beautiful gate, which many take to have been the work of *Trajan*, being eight hours journey from *Tatar Pazajik*, and twelve from *Philippopolis*. On the west, those narrow passes are bounded by the village *Dragoman Kioi*, the last that was conquered by the Emperor *Leopold's* victorious arms. But, whilst he was otherwise employed, some of his troops attempting to pass on the other side, the inhabitants, who, upon the approach of the *German* forces, had left their habitations and fled into the mountains, rolled down, from the high rocks, wherewith that road is lined on both sides, huge stones, which killed many, and obliged the rest to retire. And for this service to the infidels, they were declared free from all tribute; which privilege they enjoy to this day.

XLVIII. These

XLVIII. These affairs being settled, he marches into *Servia*, and first assaults *Shebirkioi*, a little city better fortified by nature than art. The garrison consisting but of five hundred men, and these *Haiduks*, seeing no succours appear, on the fourth day of the siege erect the flag of peace on their walls, and promise to surrender the castle on condition of being suffered to depart. The Vizir, though displeased that so small a number had detained his army four whole days, to prevent any further delay to the intended progress of his victories, grants their demands, and is admitted into the town by the *Haiduks*. The Janizaries endeavour to plunder the *Haiduks* at their departure, but are restrained by the Vizir, who commands them, under a severe penalty, to suffer the garrison to depart without any injury, alledging it is neither honourable nor advantageous to take away the arms of the *Giaurs*, since they cannot injure the *Musulmans* with them. He then admonishes the *Haiduks* not to go to *Nissa*, but to retire to some other fortress, because he intended to besiege that city, and if any one of them should be found there when the town was taken, he must not expect to escape death. The *Haiduks* however, as soon as they are gone from the *Turks*, enter *Nissa*.

Shebirkioi surrendered to him.

XLIX. The Vizir immediately following them, lays close siege to *Nissa*, which was defended by Count *Starenberg* with three thousand *German* foot and fourteen hundred horse. Though *Starenberg* made a brave defence, rather with a view to protract the time, and give the Imperialists an opportunity to secure *Belgrade*, than with any hopes of saving the place from the *Turks*, yet they prosecute the siege with such vigour, that on the twenty-fifth day the garrison promise to surrender on condition of having their lives and arms. These terms being obtained, as they are leaving the city, the Janizaries discover some of the *Haiduks* of *Shebirkioi*, though disguised, and by torture force them to confess that all their companions were mixed with the rest of the *German* troops. Upon this the Vizir commands the *German* general to deliver up to him all the *Shebirkioi Haiduks*, and in the sight of the garrison hangs part of them, and condemns the rest to the galleys; and withal, orders *Starenberg* not to go to *Belgrade*, since he was about to besiege that city, and therefore would not have the garrison reinforced; assuring him, if he disobeyed his orders, he and his men should suffer the same fate with the *Haiduks*, when *Belgrade* should be taken. The *German* garrisons at *Semendria* and *Widdin*, astonished at these successes of the *Turks*, without waiting the approach of the Vizir, abandon the cities which they were appointed to guard, and fly to *Belgrade*. These two cities are immediately seized by a party sent by *Kioprili Mustapha Pasha*, and again subjected to the *Othman* dominion.

Nissa being taken, the garrisons abandon *Widdin* and *Semendria*.

L. Having thus secured all the country in his rear, he marches his hitherto victorious forces to *Belgrade*, and lays close siege to it in the month *Zylcade*. Having pitched his tents on every side, he calls a council of the other *Basha's*, and orders them to declare their opinion, whether the city should be immediately assaulted with their whole force, or invested by their strong camp, and obliged by want of provisions to surrender. All the *Basha's* advise the latter, alledging, that the city being well fortified by nature and art, and wonderfully (22) strengthened with new works, besides the old walls, and defended by a garrison of eight thousand *Germans*, and as many regiments of *Bulgarians* and *Servians*, could not be subdued.

The Vizir besieges *Belgrade*, and takes it by an unexpected accident.

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(22) wonderfully strengthened] This was done by *Andreas Cornaro*, a native of *Crete*, and a *Greek* by birth and religion, whom some authors, and among the rest *Pietro Garzoni*, a senator of *Venice*, have charged with betraying *Belgrade*, perhaps because he was afterwards in the service of the *Turks*. But it was not willingly that he engaged in the service of the infidels; for, after the loss of *Belgrade*, being sent by the general of the *German* army to fortify *Peterwaradin*.
No. XVII.

din, if I mistake not, he and his wife were taken in the road thither by the *Tartars*, and brought to *Kioprili Mustapha Pasha*; by whom being examined, he at first pretended to be a captain in a regiment of foot, but afterwards being discovered by his mathematical instruments, and some plans, to which he had set his name, he was compelled to new-fortify *Belgrade* and *Temiswar*: which he certainly performed with so much art and dexterity, that, had

subdued within the time still remaining for warlike expeditions, nor besieged without great loss to the *Othman* army. That if the *Germans* should make a vigorous resistance, and, as it frequently happens in such sieges, repulse the besiegers, the whole army would immediately lose the courage they had hardly recovered by their present successes. But if the Vizir, leaving *Belgrade* behind him, would with his army pass the *Save*, or at least strongly fortify the banks, to prevent the enemies from passing, the garrison would that summer, or at least the winter following, be obliged by famine to surrender. But nothing was to be feared from the Imperial army, since the greatest part of it was employed in the war against *France*, and the rest being abandoned by the *Hungarians*, would from the smallness of their number, be more solicitous to defend their own camp, than attack the *Othman*. The Vizir, though he was far from being of this mind, yet, that he might not seem to oppose the opinion of the whole army, and if any misfortune should happen, it might not be imputed to him, gives way to the majority, and determines to follow the advice of the *Bashas*. Having therefore surrounded the walls of the city for several days, he is informed that the Imperialists were advancing with great expedition to the relief of the city. Alarmed with the news, he discovers his error in complying unseasonably with his officers, and instantly opens the siege with half of his army, appointing the rest to hinder the Imperialists from passing the *Save*. But he would probably have failed in his design, if, upon the eighth day of the siege, the tower had not been blown up by means of a bomb, or by treachery, and by its ruins demolished a great part of the walls: whereupon the *Turks* crying out, it is an evident demonstration of God's miraculous assistance, rush into the breaches, before the *Germans* could prevent them. The garrison oppose their whole strength in this extreme danger, and for almost an hour bravely resist the fierce assault of the *Turks*; but at last, overpowered with numbers, they are forced to retreat. Great part of them fall, though not unrevenge, by the *Turkish* sword; a few, with their general *de la Croy*, escape in boats to the other side of the *Danube*.

He relieves
Temiswar,
which labour-
ed under ex-
treme want of
provision.

LI. Having thus reduced a city, the bulwark of all *Hungary*, sooner than he expected, *Kioprihi Mustapha Pasha* sends to the relief of *Temiswar* five hundred *Spahis*, to each of whom he had given two horses, and as many bushels of meal, to be conveyed thither. For the *Germans* had now invested that city three years, and at first had endeavoured to take it by assault, but afterward, finding it impracticable, on account of the difficulty of its situation, cut off all manner of supplies. They had hitherto been opposed by the valour of *Coja Jaser Pasha* (23), whose authority was so great with the soldiers, that tho' many pe-

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1st God blasted the designs of the infidels, the taking of those towns by force would have been almost impossible. How well skilled besides he was in the mathematics, he plainly showed by turning the river *Becs* through the middle of *Temiswar*; a work which, as necessary as it was in a place that suffered extremely every summer for want of water, had yet been thought very difficult, and hardly possible to any before him. For this important piece of service, he was allowed by the Sultan a yearly pension of eight purses, which was continued to him after the conclusion of the war, and even to the day of his death.

(23) *Coja Jaser*] He was surnamed *Coja*, or old, by way of distinction from another *Jaser Pasha*, commonly called *Kiuchik**, of whom I shall hereafter give an

account. This man was very famous among the *Turks* for his knowledge in the art of war, his prudence and integrity, and for his many battles fought with the *Germans*. Having bravely defended *Temiswar*, he was rewarded with the government of *Belgrade*, which place he held with great resolution when besieged the second time by the *Germans*. And by this he acquired so great a reputation, that Sultan *Mustapha* would hardly do any thing in his last expedition without consulting him: nay, he very often preferred his advice to that of the Vizir *Elmas Mehemmed Pasha*, whom he otherwise loved; and he would undoubtedly have succeeded him in the Vizirship, had they not been both cut off at the battle of *Zenta* by a troop of rebellious *Janizaries*.

rished by famine, yet the rest refused to feed upon the cats and dogs, which are esteemed impure animals by the *Turks*. They were now reduced to such a necessity, that when the *Spahis* arrived with the provisions, the Janizaries seized upon the sacks of meal like ravenous wolves, and could not be restrained by the entreaties or threats of the *Spahis* from plundering what was brought. This occasioned a contest between the two parties, and afterwards a sharp and bloody conflict. A great number of Janizaries, and as many *Spahis* are killed upon the sacks; and the rest with their Pasha are forced by the fury of the Janizaries to take to speedy flight.

LII. The Vizir in the mean time having allowed the soldiers a few days repose, and repaired the ruins of *Belgrade*, passes the *Danube*, and taking *Lippa*, drives the German garrison from *Orsova*. He then assaults *Essek*, a city situated at the conflux of the *Drave* and *Danube*, in hopes, that if he subdued it, he should not only secure his acquisitions from the enemy's incursions, but likewise reduce again all *Sclavonia* under the *Turkish* dominion. But he was forced to abandon this design by the approach of winter, and the resolution of the garrison, and especially by the alteration of affairs in *Transylvania*.

LIII. For about the beginning of this year, *Michael Apaffi* (24) Prince of *Transylvania* died without issue, and left all his dominions to the Emperor of *Germany*. On the other hand the *Turks* had appointed *Tekeli* Prince of *Transylvania*, and sent to his assistance the Seraskier with ten thousand *Turks*, the Chan of *Tartary*, and *Constantine Brancovan* (25) Prince of *Walachia*. The confederate

The Vizir having passed the *Danube*, takes *Lippa*.

The *Turks* defeat the Imperialists in *Transylvania*, and *Tekeli* upon the death of *Apaffi* is appointed Prince.

EPILOGUE.

(24) *Michael Apaffi*] He was of no great family in *Transylvania*, son of the chief magistrate of *Cibinina*; who, in the troubles raised by *Ragotzki* in the year 1661, when the Emperor of *Germany* had, after the death of *Ragotzki*, created *Kemeny Tamos* Prince of *Transylvania*, was set up by the *Turks* in opposition to him, and promoted to the same dignity. He was afterwards confirmed in it, as well by the Emperor as the *Turks*, upon the conclusion of a peace between them, when it was stipulated, that *Transylvania* should obey and be tributary to both Emperors; which *Apaffi* putting a different construction upon, as he saw fortune inclining to either side, lent assistance accordingly sometimes to one, and sometimes to the other: and though, in the beginning of this great and memorable war, he joined *Tekeli* by order of the *Othman* court, and sent him forces; yet afterwards, when all *Hungary* had submitted to the Emperor of *Germany*, he sided with him, and refused obedience to the *Turkish* court.

(25) *Brancovan*] He was known in *Europe* by the three names of *Cantacuzenus*, *Brancovan*, and *Bassaraba*, all which he pretended belonged to his family: but that this may be the better understood, it is necessary to trace back the order and succession of his family. I know indeed that a whole volume, containing his life and genealogy, was, by his command, penned by some learned men, whom he kept in pay at a great expence: but as it is uncertain whether that was not stolen by the *Barbarians*, among the rest of his effects, or whether

it is preserved any where, I think it would be doing an injury to the reader to conceal from him what, as being a neighbour, I had an opportunity of knowing concerning *Brancovan's* pedigree. There is no certain account of his ancestors beyond his great grandfather *David*. Though he did not inherit any large possessions from his father, (which is the chief and almost the only mark of Nobility among the *Walachians*;) though he was not eminent for any virtues, nor had any considerable post at court; yet Prince *Matthew* thought fit to make an alliance with him, by giving his sister's granddaughter, with a large portion, in marriage to his son *Preda*, whom he raised to the office of chief *Vornic*, one of the five first places in *Walachia*. But after *Matthew's* decease, he was unjustly put to death, and, as some say, hanged by Prince *Miebn*, because he would not join with him in his revolt against the *Turks*. *Preda* left one son, *Matthew*, surnamed *Papa*, who, though he had no place at court, yet was very much respected for his father's sake, for his riches, and especially because he married *Helena* daughter of *Constantine Cantacuzenus*, the chief *Posselnic*. By her, whilst he was at the court of *Baron Serban Cantacuzenus*, he had *Constantine*, who took the surname of *Brancovan*, from the village of *Brancovanius*, given to his grandfather *Preda* by Prince *Matthew*, as part of his wife's portion; and always joined it to his name in all his subscriptions. I am sensible that another reason has been assigned by some parasites for this appellation; and that they derive

confederate forces under his conduct penetrate through the mountains of *Walachia* into *Transylvania*, and at the foot of these mountains unexpectedly in-
close

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derive his pedigree from the ancient *Bulgarian* family of *Brancoviz*. But not to mention, that though this pedigree were right, yet it cannot be grounded upon any probable foundation, because, till the time of *Serban Cantacuzenus*, *Walachia* had neither historians, nor genealogical monuments, and, as I have said, had no other marks of Nobility but a paternal inheritance; it is sufficient, for the confutation of that fiction, to have showed the true origin of the name. *Constantine* being raised to the Principality by the forementioned arts of *Constantine Cantacuzenus Stolnicus*, to show himself the more noble, he used the name of *Cantacuzenus* in the subscriptions to his letters to foreign Kings and Princes. There lived then at *Vienna*, *George* brother of the late Prince *Serban Cantacuzenus*, who had been sent by him to the Emperor *Leopold* about some business: to him the courtiers, or the Emperor himself, show the letters sent to them under the name of *Constantine Cantacuzenus*, and ask him, who that new Prince of *Walachia* was, that stiled himself *Cantacuzenus*? *George*, either vexed that his Nobility should serve as a cover to another man's ambition, or being unwilling to disguise the truth, ingenuously confesses, that he falsely assumed the name of *Cantacuzenus*, and was only descended from that family by his mother. Not satisfied with having exposed him at *Vienna*, he sent word to his own brothers, *Constantine Stolnicus* and *Michael*, who were in *Walachia*, that the Prince's new name had given occasion to several jests at the court of *Vienna*, and many of the courtiers had asked him, whether it was the custom in *Walachia* for a man to assume the name of what noble family he thought fit, or it could be transmitted by the mother? The *Cantacuzeni*, who had raised the Prince to that dignity for no other end, but to govern the Principality under his name, and engross to themselves all the riches of the Province, upon the receipt of that letter, severely rebuke the Prince for bringing so great a dishonour upon them and the whole family of the *Cantacuzeni*, and for pretending to persons who had from histories an account of almost all the families in the world, to be, what they knew he really was not. The Prince excusing himself, and endeavouring to ground his new name upon his mother's noble extraction, the *Cantacuzeni* replied with greater vehemence, and threatened, if he did not desist from his attempt, that they would have him deposed by the *Turkish* court, and would warn all foreign

Princes by letters, to beware of him as an impostor, who falsely assumed the name of a royal family: that he might derive his paternal ancestors from what family he pleased, provided he did not meddle with the *Cantacuzan* name. *Constantine Stolnicus* put him moreover in mind of the *Turkish* fable, namely, that a mule being asked, who was his father? replied, his mother was a mare. The Prince, beaten from this name, and ashamed to resume that of *Brancovan*, which he had quitted, called himself *Bassaraba*, which was the name of a very ancient and noble family in *Walachia*, but long since extinct in the male-line. And this he also did without foundation. For *Barbul*, the first known by that appellation, upon the *Turks* invading *Bassarabia*, fled out of that country into *Servia*, and thence into *Walachia* to Prince *Heglul*, who kindly received him, and raised him by degrees to the office of *Bani*, the highest in that Province. His son, *Laiota*, obtained the Principality after the death of *Heglul*, and was the first that adorned his paternal name with the princely dignity. He left one son, named *Niagoe*, who also governed *Walachia*; but it is uncertain, whether it was immediately after his father, or whether there was another between them. He was succeeded by his son *Sherban Bassaraba*, surnamed the Great, but he also died without male-issue, leaving only two daughters, *Ancuza* and *Ilinca*. *Ancuza* had been given in marriage by *Sherban* himself to *Petrasco*, son of *Michai*: who, seizing the government, and attempting to shake off the *Turkish* yoke, was defeated, and forced to fly into *Transylvania*, where he was treacherously murdered in his own tent by *George Basta*, the *Transylvanian* general. *Petrasco*, the son of *Michai*, goes to *Vienna* with his wife and his sister *Ilinca*, to revenge the unjust death of his father, and, having spent almost all his fortune, dies there before the affair was brought to a conclusion. After his death, his widow and sister came to so great poverty, that they were forced to earn their livelihood by embroidering. While they were in that miserable condition, *Matthew* is created Prince of *Walachia*; who had formerly been chamberlain to *Sherban Bassaraba*, and was afterwards raised by him to the dignity of a Baron. This Prince, not unmindful of the favours he had received from his master, takes his name, styling himself *Matthew Bassaraba*; and as soon as he is informed of the poverty of his daughters, he has them brought out of *Germany* into *Walachia*. *Ancuza* not liking to marry a

close *Heusler* general of the *German* troops appointed for the defence of *Transylvania*. *Heusler* finding himself drawn into this danger by the treachery of *Brancovan*, endeavours to open a passage with his sword, and bravely supports the first onset of the enemy. But in the heat of the battle, the *Hungarians*, who had engaged their faith to the *Germans*, revolt from them, and attack the Imperialists in flank, who terrified at this desertion, endeavour to escape by flight, but being inclosed on every side by the enemy are almost all either slain or taken prisoners, and among the latter *Heusler* himself. *Tekeli* after this victory marches further, and is received by all the inhabitants of the province with great acclamations.

LIV. But before he could establish himself in his principality, the Prince of *Baden*, who had intended to relieve *Belgrade*, hearing that city was lost, marches his forces into *Transylvania*, and having taken several cities, endeavours to subdue the rebellious Prince: who upon the news of his approach, diffident of his strength, abandons *Cibinium*, and retires again into *Turky*, whence he never afterwards ventured to return or to recover the dominions he had lost. Teheli driven out of Transylvania.

LV. In the eleventh month of this year, the king of *Poland* at last brings all his forces into the field, and passing the *Tyras*, enters *Moldavia*. But *Cante-mir*, Prince of that country, taught by former expeditions how troublesome guests the *Poles* used to be, under a severe penalty prohibits the inhabitants to sell or carry any corn to them. Hence famine, that cruel enemy of the negligent, distresses the army, and obliges the king, who had already passed the *Hierasus* at *Stephanasti*, to send back some of his troops, to try to procure provisions from other parts. These forces suddenly assaulting *Soroka*, a city on the *Tyras*, and finding it destitute of defence, but full of stores, take it without opposition, and leaving a strong garrison, return with the provisions to the King's camp. The King of Poland entering Moldavia, takes Soroka.

LVI. The King relieved by these supplies, marches with his army to *Jacoben*, a village five miles from *Jassii*, but hearing the Seraskier *Bayukli Mustapha* Prevented by the Turks and Tartars from proceeding farther, and obliged to return.

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second time, he allows her a sufficient maintenance; but *Ilinca*, who was still a virgin, he endows with all her father's lands and villages, and gives her in marriage to *Constantine Cantacuzenus*, who was then his chamberlain, and from these two is descended the whole family of the *Cantacuzeni* now remaining in *Walachia*. Besides these daughters, *Serban* had, by a Priest's wife, a natural son named *Constantine*, and, after the Priest's death, who passed for his father, he had him brought up and educated at court. This son, *Matthew* kept as his own, during the twenty years he remained possessed of the principality, and appointed him his successor by will. Having obtained that dignity, he called himself *Constantine Bassaraba* after the example of his predecessor; but being shortly after expelled by the *Turks*, he fled into *Poland*, where he died without issue. Thus ended in *Serban* the true family of *Bassaraba*, the adititious in *Matthew*, and the spurious in *Constantine*; the only memory thereof being preserved in the female line of the *Cantacuzeni*, descended from *Ilinca* daughter of *Serban*. *Brancovan* therefore chose to adorn himself with the spoils of that family above all others; because there was no one left that could call him to an account for usurping

that name; and also because he had a good pretence for so doing; namely, his grandfather's marrying *Prince Matthew's* sister's grand-daughter, which *Prince* had now taken the name of *Bassaraba*, out of a good, though not so prudent a zeal for preserving his master's memory. What he did and what he suffered, under that name, is too long to have a place here, and too well known to the *Europeans* to need being mentioned. He had four sons; *Constantine*, *Stephen*, *Raducanul*, and *Matthew*, who were all destroyed with their father by the tyrant's sword: And seven daughters: *Stanca*, who married *Radul*, son of *Elias* Prince of *Moldavia*; *Mary*, wife of *Constantine* son of *Ducas* Prince of *Moldavia*; *Ilinca*, wife of *Scarlato*, son of *Alexander Maurocordatus*; *Safia*, wife of *Creczulescul*, a *Walachian* nobleman; *Ancuza*, wife of *Nicolas* son of *George Rosset*, master of the wardrobe to my father; *Balassa*, wife of *Manuel* son of *Andronicus* a *Grecian* nobleman; and *Zmaragda*, married to the son of *Balan* a nobleman of *Walachia*. I have heard, there is one of his male-line alive, namely his grandson *Matthew*, son of *Constantine*, whom that *Prince* left heir to the great riches, he had dispersed in the banks of *Vienna*, *Venice*, *Holland*, and *England*.

Pasba with *Nuradin Sultan* were advancing against him, he resolves to return to *Poland*. But the provisions brought from *Soroka* being spent, he is again obliged to pass through the mountainous part of the country. In their retreat they are closely followed by the *Tartars*, who kill a great number of them, as they are gathering fruit in the woods, and take many prisoners. At last the King of *Poland*, after losing many of his men both by famine and sickness, returns with the rest of the army into *Poland*. His return would have been very difficult, if the Prince of *Moldavia*, who was desirous indeed to drive the *Poles* out of his country, but not entirely to destroy them, had not diverted the *Seraskier* from a pursuit, by telling him, that the *Poles* were now returning, and were not far from their borders; and since it was a maxim of military prudence to build a bridge of gold for a flying enemy, he would advise him not to fatigue the *Othman* troops to no purpose, especially when the *Poles* could do no damage to the inhabitants, who were all fled to the mountains. It is certain, that the *Seraskier* had advanced with his army, scarce a *Pole* could have escaped. For their camp was so greatly distressed by famine, that the horse voluntarily submitted to the *Tartars* (26), declaring they had rather be captives, than expire with hunger. The prince after the departure of the *Tartars* found several *Polish* noblemen dispersed in the woods in search of food, and having supplied them, dismissed them to their own country.

The *Venetians* take *Monembasia*.

LVII. Amidst all these misfortunes of the *Christians*, the *Venetians* alone meet with success. *Monembasia*, which for so many years had solely opposed the *Venetians*, who were masters of the *Morée* having been blocked up for two summers, and cut off from all supplies, in the beginning of the campaign is besieged, and soon after obliged by famine to surrender to them.

The various successes of the *Venetians*.

LVIII. At sea the *Venetian* Admiral *Daniel Delphinus* attacks *Capudan Pasba* near *Mitylene*, defeats him, and having sunk and taken several of his ships, obliges him to fly. After this victory *Cornaro* takes *Canina* and *Vallona* from the *Turks*, and subjects them to the *Venetians*. In *Dalmatia*, *Jin Ali Pasba* (27)

Governor

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(26) submitted to the *Tartars*] There is hardly an example in history, of an army that was ever so dispersed without fighting, and reduced to so much misery, as the *Polish* army then was; though the historians of that nation conceal it with much care, and extol their king's triumphs. I myself saw some *Tartars*, who went out to pillage, bringing back each of them seven *Poles* fettered: and being asked, how they could master and bind such fierce enemies? they answered me smiling: That it was no greater wonder, than to see in *Bujak* one *Ainus* leading and guiding seven camels: For the *Poles* quite enervated with hunger, were now no fiercer than camels, and chose rather to live among the *Tartars* upon gruel, than to be destroyed either with hunger or the sword. The *Tartars* not having wherewith to feed all that were brought, sold them almost all for three *Yocabimics* a-piece; among these was a *Moldavian* seventy years old, named *Tamasbauski*, who fifty years before, went with my father to *Casimir* King of *Poland*, and had spent almost all his life in the wars. This man being put in mind by my father of his former bravery, when he accompanied him into *Poland*; and asked, Why he so shamefully laid down his arms, and suffered himself to be bound by

the *Tartars*? answered, "You know, most gracious Prince, how I behaved under *Tborunius*, and was not afraid then to meet five *Swedes* at once. From that time I have lived always in a camp, and have often fought with an enemy, but never with hunger. This misfortune having happened to me now for the first time in this expedition, and easily conquered me as one not used to it, I left the camp, and communicating my design to some others, we retired into the woods, where we expected to find fruit enough to appease our hunger, and to be safe from the *Tartars*: but we were disappointed. For as we were sitting each on a separate tree, and appeasing our hunger with apples and plumbs, we unexpectedly saw some *Tartars* brandishing their darts, and aiming at us with their bows; whereupon being defenceless, and despairing to escape, we came down, and suffered our selves to be bound by them." This man was afterwards redeemed from the *Tartars* by my father, and sent into *Poland*, because he was naturalized, and had a village given him in that kingdom, where he had left also a wife and several children.

(27) *Jin Ali Pasba*] *Jin* among the *Turks* is the name of certain Devils, formed of a groller

Governor of *Hercegovina*, and assaults *Nisichos* and *Cuzzos*, but is defeated by the *Venetian* army, himself taken prisoner, and his forces dispersed.

LIX. In the mean time the Vizir returns with his victorious army to *Adrianople*, and is received with great applause not only by the Sultan, but also the whole people, who publickly extolled him as their deliverer; but the Sultan labouring under a dropfy, and the physicians declaring, the air of *Adrianople* did not agree with him, the Vizir departs with him to *Constantinople*, and enters that city with great solemnity and in a triumphant manner. For three days, there were feasts and games, which were given with no less expence, than the rest by the *French* Ambassador, by which he showed the *Turks* how acceptable the news of the defeat of the *Christians* was to the most *Christian* King. The Vizir applies himself to the raising of a new and more powerful army, which he promised to command himself, and to prosecute the *Hungarian* war.

The Vizir returns to *Constantinople* in triumph.

LX. He appoints *Mustapha Pascha* Seraskier against the *Poles*, and *Caplan Ali Pascha* against the *Venetians*, who encamping at the river *Celidnus* restrains the *Albanians* just ready to revolt, and recovers *Canina* and *Vallona*, taken by the *Venetians* the last year, and now deserted by them.

The Seraskiers appointed against the enemy.

LXI. In the mean time, he is detained from the *Hungarian* expedition by *Soliman's* indisposition, because he was unwilling the Sultan should die in his absence, fearing lest one of *Mahomet's* sons might succeed, and deprive him of the Vizirship, or his command of the army. At last, *Soliman*, exhausted by an inveterate dropfy, dies at *Constantinople* the twenty sixth of the month *Ramazan* †, of the year 1102, having lived fifty two, and reigned three years and nine months.

Sultan *Soliman* dies of a dropfy.

† June 11.
H. 1102.
A. C. 1691.

LXII. *Soliman* was all along from his childhood a Valetudinarian, of a gross body, low stature, a pale and bloated face, with eyes like those of an ox, a black oblong beard, with a mixture of grey hairs, of a heavy understanding, and easily moved by the whispers of his chamberlains and of the *Coltuk Vizirleri* (28).

His character.

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grosser substance than *Shaitan* (*Satan*), which they believe to be male and female, and to beget children like men. Hence, by a metaphor, very subtle and sharp persons are called *Jin*, and when they would denote a man that makes an ill use of his parts to the prejudice of another, they are wont to call him *Jin a kylli dur*, one that has the mind and wit of Devils.

(28) *Coltuk Vizirleri*] So are the chief courtiers of the Sultan called, (who have a prospect of being raised on the next vacancy to the post of Vizir or *Basha*) because they alone have the privilege of touching the Sultan, when he walks, or gets on horse-back, or of supporting him under the arm. For *Coltuk* among the *Turks* signifies the arm-pit. Among those, are the six chief officers of the court. The *Silabdaraga*, or *Sword-bearer*, who bears the Sultan's sword on publick occasions, and carves for him at table. He has the management of the Sultan's whole court, and has so much authority not only there, but also throughout the whole *Ottoman* Empire, that even the greatest persons never speak to him without the utmost reverence, and in their letters to him give him the title of *Musabih*, or *Privy-Counsellor*, though he is not so called in publick instruments. Sometimes, if the *Silabdar* is

a man of parts, he gets such an ascendant over the Sultan, that he neither does nor undertakes any thing without his knowledge or advice; and the Vizirs and other chief officers, receive the *Silabdar's* letters (though by way of request) just as they do the Sultan's orders, and can hardly refuse them any thing they are pleased to ask. The next in order, is the *Chobadar**, who keeps the Sultan's cloak, and pulls off his boots in the *Seraglio*. Though he is inferior in degree to the *Silabdar*, yet he sometimes surpasses him in power, and governs the Sultan at pleasure. The third great officer, is the *Rekiabdaraga*, who holds the Sultan's stirrup when he mounts his horse. The fourth, is the chief *Diulbendaga*, (for there are three others under him) who puts the Sultan's Turban on. The fifth, is the *Imbrikdaraga*, whose business it is to bring the Sultan water, when, according to the custom of the *Mahometans*, he has a mind to wash his hands and head before the usual *Namaz*. The sixth and last, is the *Berber bashi* or the Sultan's chief Barber, of whom I have already given an account in (Part I.) Besides these six chief courtiers, the Aga of the Janizaries is also ranked among the *Coltuk Vefirleri*, because on *Fridays*, when the Sultan goes into the *Jami*, he helps him off his horse, and helps him on again: and also

But none among the *Turkish* Sultans was more eminent for sanctity, devotion, and observance of the law (29).

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also the *Bostanji Basbi*, who has the honour of holding the Sultan under the arm, when he thinks fit to go into his barge: and the *Buzuk Emirabor*, and *Chuk* Emirabor*, the first and second grooms of the stables, who are allowed to help the Sultan on horseback when he has a mind to ride; and the *Capujilar Kiebaia*, or commander of the *Capuji Basbi's*. Whenever any of these leave the court, unless they happen to be banished or put to death, they must be sent as *Baschas* into the provinces with three *Tugs*; and upon that account they are called *Vezirleri* by way of anticipation. The *Kyslar Aga* formerly enjoyed that privilege, but it was afterwards taken from him, because it seemed unbecoming, that one who wanted the marks of manhood should command men. When these great officers quit the court, though they have as much power in their respective *Bashalics* as others, and are often raised to the dignity of chief *Vizir*, yet they are generally despised by the *Agavat* (those who have raised themselves by other means, namely, by their courage and virtues to the like dignity,) and are by them called *Cheleb**, which properly signifies, in the *Turkish* language, a herdsman, or a driver of cattle; but when applied to the courtiers, it seems to denote, that those men being destitute of experience in civil and military affairs, are fit for nothing but to drive their soldiers before them like cattle, as they are persuaded and directed by others. And so common is that figurative expression grown, that the word seems to have lost its proper signification; nor can even a Prime *Vizir*, who has from a courtier been raised to that dignity, take it as an affront, or punish any one for asking, in his hearing, whether he is a *Cheleb**, or one of the *Agavat*? For, it being almost impossible to root out an old custom among that people, the great men in *Turky* bear the affronts and reproaches of their fellow-citizens with much patience; so that it is a common thing to hear people in boats, just come out of the *Vizir's Divan*, railing at and abusing the *Vizir*, and sometimes the Sultan himself, in the most opprobrious manner, without being called to an account.

(29) observance of the law.] These were the qualifications that raised this Sultan to his brother's throne: for he had nothing else to recommend him to the *Turks*. He had acquired this habit of superstitious zeal for his law, and fame for holiness, by applying himself closely to his studies, which he had entirely minded during his brother's reign; *Mahomet* being well pleased with as hoping that it would take from him a desire of reigning, and that a mind intent upon learning, would contrive no devices to raise himself to the throne. And indeed the *Turks* have had no Sultan, whose holiness they so much extol as this man's. They also ascribe some miracles to him. Among the rest, that as soon as he was placed on the throne, he immediately leaped from thence as from an impure place, and wanted to take the *Abdest*. For that purpose, he went to a cistern prepared to receive water, but which then had none, (for, by the ill contrivance of the first builders of aqueducts at *Constantinople*, though all the palaces in the city are well furnished with water brought thither from the mountains, yet the *Seraglio* being a high place, they have not been able to convey any thither to this day;) whereupon the *Silabdar* perceiving the Sultan's design, ordered water immediately to be brought, and withal, told *Soliman* there was no water in the cistern: but the Sultan not regarding what he said, pronounced the word *Bismillabi*, In the name of the merciful God, and by that brought water out of the dry marble, which, as soon as he had taken the *Abdest*, he commanded to disappear, and return again into the marble. But in all other affairs *Soliman* was so ignorant and stupid, that he knew not even the most common occurrences of life. One day there were brought to his table, among other dishes, some round fishes roasted, called by the *Turks*, *Pisfi*, which he eat, taking them for cakes. The next day, not finding the like at his table, he asked, why they had not brought him the same cakes he had the day before? which question he still repeated till the cooks brought him again, by chance, the same mess of fish, and then they knew the way to satisfy the unexperienced Prince.

The End of the Reign of SOLIMAN II.



C. Duv. Dole. sculp.

AHMET. II.

Twenty First EMPEROR of y TURKS

in the Year 1691.

From an Original in the Seraglio.



The REIGN of

AHMED II, Son of IBRAHIM

Twenty-first EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK IV. CHAP. III.

I. THE death of *Soliman*, though long expected and wished for, yet filled the *Othman* court with new and secret commotions. The Nobles, with almost all the People, were for placing on the throne *Mustapha* or *Ahmed*, sons of *Mahomet*, the deposed Sultan; and some few were even for *Mahomet* himself, whom they had deprived of the crown. The choice of any of these was dangerous to the Vizir. For if *Mahomet* was restored, he was apprehensive of his life, since he was thought to be no inconsiderable manager of the sedition which had deposed him; if either of his sons were chosen, he was afraid lest these youths, having been liberally educated in the palace, contrary to the custom of the rest of the *Shehzade*, and being already instructed in the administration of the government, might divest him of the Vizirship and absolute command of the army.

The contests of the people concerning the choice of a Sultan.

II. In order therefore to exclude them both from the throne, he resolves to advance *Ahmed*, younger brother of *Soliman*, and not superior to him in abilities. Accordingly, by the authority he had gained among all the people by his successes the last year, he procured *Ahmed* to be universally saluted Sultan the second day after his brother *Soliman*'s death.

Ahmed, the son of *Ibrahim*, and brother of *Soliman*, chosen Sultan.

III. But lest the malecontents should take occasion from the Sultan's stupidity to raise a sedition, in the beginning of the month *Shewel* he departs with him to *Adrianople*, appointing *Amukje Ogli Huseim Pasha* (1) *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*;

The new Sultan goes to *Adrianople*.

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(1) *Amukje Ogli Huseim*] A man very famous both among the *Turks* and *Christians* for the peace of *Carlowitz*, that happened in his time. *Koprili Ahmed Pasha* had given him the name of *Amukje Ogly*, because his father was his uncle. Being first raised by *Koprili*, he passed through the several offices of *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, of *High-Admiral*, or *Capudan Pasha*, and of governor of *Belgrade*, to the dignity of chief Vizir; which he obtained upon its becoming vacant by the death of *Elmas Mehmed Pasha*, who was slain at *Zenta*, with the rest of the officers of the *Turkish* army. He was a just, and honest man, but not of

a very quick understanding; however, not so stupid or obstinate, as not to suffer himself to be directed and advised by others, particularly by *Rami*, *Reis Effendi*, and *Alexander Maurocordatus*; which was the reason why his dullness brought no considerable detriment to the state. During his whole administration, he earnestly applied himself to put an end, some way or other, to the long and unhappy war which the *Othman* Empire was afflicted with, and most religiously to observe the peace he made, in order to gain a breathing-time for himself and the provinces subject to the *Turks*: and his endeavors herein proved the cause

Constantinople; and afterwards advancing him to the post of *Capudan Pasha*, prefers *Arabaji Ali* (2) *Pasha* to his place. At *Adrianople* he applies himself entirely to preparations for war, which he had been prevented from doing before by the indisposition of the Sultan.

The wonderful dexterity of the Vizir in raising an army.

IV. But the methods used by former Vizirs to increase the army, he, by a rare example among the *Turks*, is forced to employ for the lessening of it. For the *Musulmans*, encouraged with the success of the *Belgrade*-expedition, voluntarily come from all parts in such numbers, that there never was before seen so numerous an army in the *Othman* camp. The Vizir perceiving this, orders the *Bashas* not to bring more forces into the field than had been appointed, since the *Musulmans* being to fight against the *Giaurs*, had no occasion for a great army; and on the other hand, it was justly to be feared, lest before they reached *Buda*, as they were to pass through a long tract of the enemy's country, they might suffer some inconvenience for want of provision, if their troops should be too much increased.

The soldiers enlist themselves of their own accord. The Vizir exposed to the envy of the court.

V. But the soldiers, regardless of this order, flock together in still greater numbers, declaring they would not eat of the Sultan's bread, nor were engaged by the hope of pay, but out of zeal for the *Mahometan* law to enter into the service, and therefore would be content with their waller, and place their whole happiness in either becoming *Gazi* (3) under so successful a *Musulman* general, or being crowned with *Shehadet*. The Vizir's fame thus greatly increasing, envy, the perpetual attendant upon merit, could not but cast her darts at him from the court, her favourite residence. *Kyslar Agasi*, and other officers of the inner palace, were uneasy that the favour and interest they used to enjoy with the Sultan and people, were transferred from them to *Kioprili Oglu*, and that they were despised by the populace, who had before highly revered them, and considered as persons entirely useless and insignificant. They all conspire therefore the Vizir's destruction, and abusing the stupidity of their master, fill his mind with suspicions against *Kioprili*.

The Vizir accused falsely to the Sultan.

VI. *Kyslar Agasi* particularly pretending the utmost fidelity, informs the Sultan that the Vizir was contriving to depose him, and had drawn the Janizaries so far into his interests, that they had promised, as soon as he should decamp from

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of his disgrace, of which having given a large account in the history, it would be needless to repeat it here. He was so great a lover of a spiritous liquor (*Crematum*) that he could not live without it; and where he got that habit, I know not. It was extracted from wine by a Christian of *Aleppo*, whom he kept in his house as a physician; and was so strong, that one drop would burn a man's throat. That he might be the more at liberty to drink it, he had made the Sultan believe he was lame in his feet, and therefore was obliged to take physick every night; for which reason he had obtained leave, whatever business happened, not to be sent for to court after the ninth hour of the day, and by that means was at liberty to indulge himself till midnight, if he pleased. After he was deprived of the dignity of Vizir, being stung with the remorse of a *Musulman's* conscience, he resolved to undergo that kind of penance which is called *Teube*, and to abstain from that liquor; but, a few days after he had begun to do so, he felt a very sharp pain about his lungs, and his whole body swel-

led as if he had a tympany. The physicians promised to cure him, if he would but make use again of his old liquor, but he chose rather to die, than, after penance, to return to his former course; and so he died at his country-house near *Chorlo**, thirty five days after he was deposed from his office of Vizir, and was buried in a *Turbe* at *Constantinople*, which he had made in his life-time for his burial.

(2) *Arabaji Ali*] He was shortly after honoured with the dignity of Prime Vizir, but neither before nor after did any thing memorable, and within a few months was turned out. The *Turks* surnamed him *Arabaji*, either because he or his father had been a waggon-maker, or driver of the merchants waggons (those sort of people being called *Arabaji* by the *Constantinopolitans*) or because of his stupidity, and understanding, fitter for an *Arabaji*, than a prime minister.

(3) *Gazi*] The *Turks* have this notion, that every *Musulman*, killed in battle by an enemy, has all his sins forgiven him: but this I have already explained in (Part I.)

Adrianople,

Adrianople, to salute *Mustapha*, son of *Mahomet*, Sultan. That he had discovered this by means of his Secretary (4), who had an intimate friendship with some of the officers of the Janizaries; and that he thought himself obliged to give this information to the Sultan, since the danger, though concealed, appeared to be very great and imminent. The Sultan, persuaded by this speech, asks him, what he thought was to be done? The accuser taking this opportunity, says, "If you would establish your self in the throne, and remove the cause of the seditious, send *Baltajilar Kiehaiafi* (5) to the Vizir, and command him to come to you, as if you wanted to ask him some question. When he is in your palace, you may treat him as you think proper."

VII. While *Kyslar agasi* is speciously suggesting these things to the Sultan, *Mahomet aga* a mute (6), holds the curtain of the door, and discovering by the motions of their lips and hands, that they are concerting to depose the Vizir, hastens immediately from the Sultan's chamber to the Vizir, and gives him by signs an exact account of the whole affair. Before he had concluded his story, *Baltajilar Kiehaiafi* comes to the Vizir in haste, and tells him the Sultan would have him come instantly to the palace.

The Vizir informed of this by a mute.

VIII. The Vizir finding the mute's account true, immediately orders a horse to be ready for him, and *Baltajilar Kiehaiafi* to go before, telling him, he would presently follow. When he is gone, the Vizir privately sends for the *Janizar-Aga*, and some other *Ojak Agalari*, whom he knew to be his friends, and addresses himself to them in this manner. "Be not surprized, Brethren, that I have sent for you at an unusual time and in such haste. The importance of the affair required this expedition, since it threatens destruction not only to you

The Vizir defers going to the Sultan, and makes a speech to the officers of the Janizaries.

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(4) Secretary] Namely *Sari yaziji* Secretary to *Kyslar aga*, *Karakullak aga*, a very ingenious man, and privy to all his master's affairs, mortal enemy to *Kiopri*, though he was a person of no great dignity, was yet highly honoured by all the great men in the *Othman* Empire, on account of *Kyslar agasi*'s credit at court, through which he could do many things. This officer's business is, to keep an account of the revenues of the *Jami* built by the Sultans; to pay the *Baltaji*, the maid-servants in the Seraglio, and the other officers under *Kyslar agasi*, their wages; and to transmit to the Sultan, by the *Kyslar aga*, lists of them, written with his own hand; out of all which things he gets as great an income as the *Janizar Effendi*. Whenever he comes into the presence of the Sultan or Vizir, he must always have his ink-pot hanging at his girdle, and cannot appear without it; which the *Janizar Effendi* is obliged also to wear.

(5) *Baltajilar Kiehaiafi*] The chief officer of the Regiment of the *Baltaji*. He is subject in other respects to *Kyslar agasi*, and, in the absence of *Kapijilar Kiehaiafi*, (whenever the Vizir is to be sent for to court, he is dispatched by *Kyslar agasi* to that purpose. But if he is otherwise employed, the Vizir must be sent for by the *Hassaki aga* the second officer of the *Baltaji*, or by the *Koshbekchi** the third officer in the same Regiment.

(6) a mute] There are many dumb and deaf persons kept in the Sultan's palace, whose only business is to hold up the curtain before the door of the room, where the Sultan is talking in private with the Vizir, *Kyslar aga*, or any other of his great men, and to take care that no body comes nigh. I find, that most of the *Europeans*, who give an account of the *Othman* court, affirm, that these persons are often employed to put those privately to death, whom the Sultan has a mind to dispatch; but I cannot so much as guess what has occasioned this mistake. For it never was heard in *Constantinople*, that *Mutes*, *Dwarfs*, and *Buffoons*, who are all upon the same foot in the palace, were ever employed about any serious business, or sent any where, but out of a jest. Nature having denied these persons the use of speech and of hearing, has, to supply that defect, endowed them with so quick an apprehension, that they can, by the motion of the lips and gestures of persons speaking, understand what they are saying. Besides, they have invented a way of talking by signs, which agreeing with that more than *Pythagorean* silence in the Sultan's court, there is, for that reason, hardly any courtier but what understands it: The Sultan himself must know it too, because he can use no other when he has any orders to give to his mutes, or has a mind to talk with them for diversion.

" and

" and me, but even to the whole Empire. You know, Brethen, yourselves, what
 " labours I have hitherto sustained, not for the preservation only, but the reesta-
 " blishment of the *Othman* Empire, and how faithful my services have been.
 " The commendation of them belongs to others, and not to my self. You
 " have been eye-witnesses of the great danger we were exposed to at that time,
 " when I, though unwilling, took upon me the post of Vizir. The *European*
 " provinces, which for two ages had not seen any enemy, were subdued by the
 " *Germans*; and the *Giaurs* flushed with their successes in their second campaign
 " resolved to attack *Adrianople*, and even *Constantinople* itself. The streights of
 " the *Hemus*, the bulwark of those cities, were possessed by them as far as
 " *Dragoman Kioi*, *Sophia* the capital of *Bulgaria* was burnt, and all parts as far as
 " *Tatarbazarjik* through the negligence of my predecessor laid open to the ra-
 " vage and devastation of the *Germans*. We suffered still greater calamities
 " within our own walls. The treasury was filled with paper, not money; the
 " subjects reduced to extreme poverty by the exactions of the *Testerdars*; all
 " the people struck with dread of the enemy; the magazines and store-houses
 " every where empty; in short, all was full of confusion and madness. But un-
 " der my conduct, and through the assistance of Almighty God, in one cam-
 " paign the *Othman* forces have driven the haughty *Germans*, who imprudently
 " rejected the terms of peace offered more imprudently by my predecessors, be-
 " yond the *Danube*; recovered *Belgrade*, *Nissa*, *Semendria*, *Widdin*, and many
 " other places sanctified by the prayers of the *Mahometans*; restored them to
 " their former splendor; subjected all *Ardal* to its former prince; defeated *Heuf-*
 " *ler* a general of known valour, with his whole army, and to compleat the
 " victory, taken him prisoner; in short, have so weakened the enemy, that we may
 " infallibly promise our selves this year the conquest of *Buda*, the capital of *Hungary*.
 " For we have God, the author of victory, now appeased and propitious to our
 " arms, who was averse to our predecessors, and whose assistance last year we expe-
 " rienced in a miraculous manner. We have a numerous army, ready to execute
 " our commands, and what is of the greatest moment, full of the hopes of con-
 " quest. While our foreign enemies are unable to contend with this army, do-
 " mestic enemies arise within our walls, and actuated either by a spirit of envy
 " common to courtiers, or led by an evil genius to interrupt the progress of
 " the *Othman* victories, endeavour to betray us and the whole strength of the
 " Empire to the enemy. For this purpose they labour above all things to
 " remove us from the army, perswading the Sultan, that the Vizir and Janiza-
 " ries are plotting to depose him. By these artifices they have induced the Sul-
 " tan, a Prince of great goodness, but unskilled in the administration of the
 " Empire, and who knows not how to return any other answer to what is pro-
 " posed to him, but *Khosh, Khosh*, to resolve not only to deprive me of my
 " post, but likewise to punish you all with the utmost severity. To acquaint
 " you with this, and exhort you to take proper measures in this dangerous exi-
 " gence for the good of the state, I have called the present council. I am not
 " indeed so vain as to imagine no person besides my self capable of supporting
 " the *Othman* Empire in its distress; nor do I regret diminution of my honour,
 " as being ready to expose my life it self for the advantage of the publick. But
 " as I foresee, that upon my removal, one of our haughty courtiers will succeed
 " me, and am apprehensive he will disturb the successful progress of the *Othman*
 " affairs, and reduce them to a worse situation than ever, I was willing to re-
 " mind you, that after my removal or death, which I wish for, that I may not
 " see the approaching ruin of the Empire, you will take upon you the care of
 " the state, which the Emperor is incapable of, and secure it from injury. For
 " I scruple to make any resistance to my Sultan's commands; and therefore have
 " determined to morrow with your consent to resign to him the seal of the Em-
 " pire, and desire leave to go to *Mecca*. May God direct you by his spirit to
 " the right way, and protect you in your battles against the *Giaurs* with his all-
 " powerful right hand."

IX. The *Janizar-aga* and the rest of the officers, upon hearing the Vizir's speech, shew the utmost resentment, call the Sultan stupid, imprudent, simple, and cry out, he is swayed by his courtiers like boughs shaken by the wind; adding, if the Sultan should persist in his design, they had rather depose him than *Kiopriliogli*, the defender of the law, the restorer of the *Othman* Empire, and the invincible general; they promise to shed their blood in defence even of a single Hair of his head, binding themselves by oath, never to suffer any other general during his life, and to execute his commands with the utmost alacrity.

The officers of the Janizaries promise with an oath fidelity to the Vizir.

X. The Vizir, who had sent for the officers with no other view, than to discover how they were affected towards him, finding he might trust to their fidelity, sends an answer the same day by a *Talchysb* (7), that he had intended to come to the palace according to his Majesty's command, but while he was mounting his horse, he was informed that the soldiers having received some injury from the courtiers were raising a sedition, upon which he thought that danger of such importance, that he imagined he might safely defer his obedience to the Sultan's command, in order to put a stop to it. To this end he had sent for the officers of the army, and what course should be taken for appeasing the commotion, he would acquaint his Majesty with on the morrow.

The Vizir politely excuses his not appearing when sent for.

XI. Next day he informs the Sultan by another *Talchysb*, that he had used his utmost efforts to extinguish the latent flame among the soldiers; but found them so inflexible and presumptuous as to refuse to return to their duty, till *Kyslar agasi* is dismissed, and his Secretary delivered up to a tryal. He intreats therefore his Majesty, that now when the army was ready for the expedition, and himself full of hopes of success, he would not by an unseasonable indulgence to his officers stop the progress of victory, and expose himself to great danger. This letter being brought to the Sultan, *Kyslar agasi*, who now perceived his designs were betrayed to the Vizir, desires the Sultan to sacrifice him, though a faithful servant, to the good of the Empire. But the Sultan refusing, as being too fond of the cunning deceiver, the Vizir sends a third *Talchysb*, and obliges the Sultan, for fear of worse consequences, to do as he had desired, and banish *Kyslar agasi* into *Egypt*; the Vizir orders the Secretary, when brought to him, to be immediately hanged in his habit, with a silver ink-pot at his girdle.

By two letters he prevails upon the Sultan to banish the *Kyslar agasi*, who had falsely accused him, and to order his Secretary to be hanged.

XII. Being thus confirmed in his post, to cut off all opportunity from the other officers of making the like attempts against him, on the third day he removes the army out of *Adrianople*, and encamping near the city, prepares every thing necessary for the campaign.

Kioprili being confirmed in his post of Vizir, leads the troops out of the city.

XIII. Here an ambassador from King *William III.* of *England* comes to him, and offers his master as a mediator for settling a peace. The Vizir receives him

He receives with great civility the *English* ambassador, who proposes peace; but marches with his forces immediately to *Belgrade*.

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(7) *Talchysb*] A word properly signifying a relation or account. This is the name given in the *Othman* court to the letters, sent by the Vizir to the Sultan about any publick affairs. The Sultan seldom rejects them; and if he doth not comply with the Vizir's desires therein contained, the honour and dignity of the Vizir are reckoned to be in great danger. The *Talchysb* must be written by the *Reis effendi* or High Chancellor, and then wrapped up in a very thin cloth called *Tulbend*, and tied up with a fine filken thread, sealed with the Sultan's seal, which the Vizir carries with him as a badge of his dignity. Being thus prepared, it is delivered to the *Talkbysbchi**, an officer of very great consideration at court, answering to the *περὲνδάριος* under

the *Grecian* Emperors. When the *Talkbysbchi** has got the letters, he doth not hide them in his bosom or elsewhere, unless it is to keep them from the wet, but holds them in his hand, and carries them thus to the palace as fast as he can; where when he comes, he delivers them to the *Kyslar aga*, by whom they are carried to the Sultan. The *Talkbysbchi** waits in the outer court, till the *Chatisberif* or the Sultan's answer to the Vizir's letters is brought him by the *Kyslar aga*, which he carries to the Vizir, in the same manner as the *Talchysb*. But very often the Sultan sends the *Chatisberif* to the Vizir by *Baltajilar Kiebaiafi*, *Hassaki aga*, or *Rosbvekchi**, whom I have before described.

with great honour, and declares himself ready to agree to a peace upon honorable terms; but in reality intended only to amuse the *Germans*, and in the mean time make himself master of *Buda*.

The Vizir calling a general council, determines to pass the *Sava* against the enemy.

XIV. To this end having reached *Belgrade* with his army, he is informed that the Imperialists, under the command of *Lewis* Prince of *Baden*, had taken the field, and were already advanced to *Peterwaradin*. Upon this he immediately calls a council of his officers, and requiring their several opinions, with the consent of the rest, determines to march against the *Germans*, and attack them wherever they should be found, and if they refused to fight, to follow them to *Buda*. He instantly commands his soldiers to decamp, and passing the *Sava*, advances near *Peterwaradin*. The general of the Imperial army hearing of the Vizir's approach, pitches his camp near *Islankamen* on the banks of the *Danube*, and strongly fortifies it.

He comes to *Islankamen* within sight of the enemy, and cuts off several of the *German* troops.

XV. The Vizir soon after comes up, and places his troops to the right of the Imperial camp, in order to intercept their return. At the same time five thousand Imperialists, which the Prince of *Baden* had sent for to his assistance, happen to be marching with full speed towards his camp; but are intercepted by the Vizir, who incloses them, and by numbers overpowers them, though they fought with great bravery, in the sight of the Imperial army, killing some, and taking the rest prisoners, so that not one of the whole party escaped.

The Imperialists troubled at this, engage the *Turks* in a battle.

XVI. This loss exhibits to the rest of the *German* army a dreadful image of their imminent danger, and takes away their former resolution of attacking the enemy. The general himself likewise too late perceives his error in suffering himself to be shut up in so narrow a space, where he could not open his troops, nor defend them from the enemy's cannon. There being no other way therefore of extricating himself out of this dangerous situation, he resolves to force a passage with the sword. While he was meditating this design, the *Turks* flushed by their late victory, with fury rather than ardour rush upon the *German* camp, as if they would destroy the whole army at one effort. The battle continues six hours doubtful, with equal courage, but unequal strength.

The success of the battle for a long time doubtful.

XVII. The *Germans* now turning despair into resolution, pass the *Turkish* trenches; and the *Turks* out of shame for the loss of the victory snatch'd out of their hands, drive the *Germans* back into their works, which they likewise penetrate, both sides being in their turns conquerors and conquered.

At last, upon the death of the Vizir the enemy gains the victory.

XVIII. At last, when the victory seems to incline to the *Turks*, the Vizir, to confound by his presence those, who still resisted, with his own troop attacks the right wing of the *Germans*, where he saw the greatest opposition. But in the heat of the battle being wounded in the temples by a musket-ball, he falls from his horse, and by his death transfers the victory already obtained to the *Germans*. For his chamberlains confounded at the unexpected fall of their master, as soon as they see him prostrate on the ground, call their companions and the other officers present to take up his corpse, during which the *Tubulchana* (8) ceases to sound. This occasions great confusion among the *Turkish* troops now victorious. The horse seized with a panic, and abandoning the foot, fly first, and are soon followed by the *Janizaries*.

The Imperialists open a passage for the enemy, who fly, and take their camp.

XIX. The *Germans*, who were fighting not with the hopes of victory, but that they might not die unrevenged, seeing the unexpected flight of the enemies, advances though slowly, that the *Janizaries* might have time and opportunity to retreat, and not be forced by being pressed to return to the battle, which, their

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(8) *Tabulchana*] Warlike musick, of which an account has already been given in (Part I.) This musick in a battle is always to be near the Vizir, and to continue playing, in order to inspire the com-

batants with courage. And if it happens to cease, the *Janizaries* will immediately think it an omen of defeat, and be hardly restrained from flight.

strength

strength being spent (9), they could not have sustained. The rest of the foot perceiving the Janizaries to fly, leave their cannon and camp, and follow them with the utmost precipitation. The *Germans* having made themselves masters of their booty, seek nothing more, and allow their soldiers some days to refresh themselves. There fell in the battle twenty-eight thousand *Turks*, and of the *Germans* (besides the forementioned five regiments, inclosed and cut off by the *Turks*) not above three thousand.

XX. However, when *Leopold* was informed of the victory, he is reported to say, that he should be unwilling to conquer often upon such terms, since he could scarce recover the loss of eight regiments of *Germans* in three years; whereas the *Turks* could supply even the loss of eighty thousand men in eighty days.

The saying of the Emperor *Leopold*.

XXI. After this victory, the Prince of *Baden* recovers *Lippa*, taken by the *Turks* the last year, and closely besieges *Waradin*. The *Turkish* army, on the other hand, stop their flight at *Belgrade*, and make *Hali Pasha* their Seraskier.

The Prince of *Baden* takes *Lippa*, and besieges *Peterwaradin*.

XXII. During these transactions at the *Save*, the *Poles* in the last month of this year pass the *Tyras*, and pretend an expedition into *Bassarabia*; but pressed with want of provisions, at the rumour of the approach of *Buiukli Mustapha Pasha*, the Seraskier, they retire, and without any remarkable exploit return home.

The *Poles* pretend rather than perform an expedition into *Bassarabia*.

XXIII. The war between the *Venetians* and *Turks* is carried on by artifice rather than arms. The latter became masters of *Garbusa*, a castle in *Candia*, almost impregnable, by the treachery of a *Spanish* officer (10), who was in the garrison.

A *Spanish* officer betrays *Garbusa* to the *Turks*.

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(9) being spent] I saw my self a Janizary at *Constantinople* after this battle, whose turban, folded round with damask silk, falling from his head in the flight, was found by a *German* soldier. The *German*, upon his endeavouring to recover it, freely gives it him, saying in the *Turkish* language, "My life, here is your turban; as you are a soldier, if I am so too, we are brethren." The Janizary was so well pleased with the *German's* civility, that, upon receiving his turban, he made him a present of a musket, saying, "there would be no further occasion for it among brethren."

(10) *Spanish* officer] *Aloysius* by name. He said that his wife had been ravished by the governor of *Grabusa*, and as he could not be revenged for that injury any other way, he and his ensign *Joseph* formed the pernicious design of delivering up the castle to the *Turks*, which they soon found an opportunity of putting in execution. In recompense, the *Turks* gave him the license of selling what he would at *Constantinople*, and allowed him and the ensign a daily salary; and to twenty-five soldiers who were concerned in the treachery, they promised two *Leouines* a-day. The *Turks* stood indeed to their agreement at first, and not only granted them their stipulated salaries, but also many other honours and privileges; perhaps with a view of alluring other garrisons to imitate their example. But when they saw the bait did not take, they reduced their salary at first to ten crowns, then to two, and at last quite took it away; so that they were forced to keep an eating-

house for their livelihood. *Aloysius* had often promised the *Othman* court, that if they would trust him with one ship of war, he would burn the whole *Venetian* fleet with an artificial fire. But being desired to make a trial of his skill at *Constantinople*, he refused to discover his secret before the time; however, he showed privately some irons and other instruments, whereby he maintained he could dart the fire at such a distance. But the *Turks* not being satisfied with it, and thinking some treachery lay under it, would never believe him, nor trust him with the command of a ship. At last, the year before the peace of *Carlowitz*, he went, through the persuasion of the *French* ambassador, to *Adrianople*, where the Sultan then resided, to make there a trial of that fire; but being rejected by the Vizir *Amukje Oglu Huseim*, as a mad-man, he returned to *Constantinople* without success. At last, being accused before the Vizir, by the *Jews* of *Ortakioi*, of many murders daily committed in his house, and being convicted of the same, he was banished to *Trebisond*, where he died. His ensign *Joseph* fell soon after into a very grievous distemper, so that he was given over by all the physicians; for his body was covered with horrible running sores, extremely painful; and which increased every day. While he lay in that miserable condition, there came to him the Abbot of a monastery in *Mauromolium*, and promises him he should be cured by the miraculous assistance of the *Virgin Mary*, if he would but forsake the *Papish* schism, and declare himself a member of the *Orthodox* Church.

garrison. They attempt the same at *Suda* and *Spinalonga*; but the *Venetians*, alarmed by their late misfortune, watch these fortresses more narrowly, and punish the conspirators with death.

Ali Pascha succeeds in the post of Vizir.

XXIV. In the mean time, Sultan *Ahmed* being informed of the death of *Kioprili Mustapha Pascha*, promotes to the Vizirship *Arabaji Ali Pascha*, *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, a man inferior to many in abilities, but to none in wickedness.

Peace mentioned, but diverted by the French ambassador.

XXV. As soon as he is appointed Vizir, he revives the talk of peace at *Constantinople*, and lends a favorable ear to the ambassadors of the foreign Christian Princes, especially *Paget* (11), the *English*, and *Colliere* (12), the *Dutch* ambassador, who were sent for that purpose to the *Othman* Port. But these hopes are soon disturbed by the management of the *French* ambassador, who, by large presents of gold and silver, persuades the Vizir and other great men, that war was more conducive to the *Othman* interest than peace. This negotiation receives still more weight from the letters of *Maurocordatus*, in which he informs the Vizir, that *Germany* was so distressed and exhausted of men and money, that very probably the Emperor could not support the burden of the war above a year or two longer.

The Vizir is deprived of his post on account of his avarice and cruelty.

XXVI. The Vizir, moved by these considerations, immediately cuts off all hopes of peace, and applies himself wholly to renew the war, pursuing such measures, as that he might at once supply the exigencies of the treasury, and remove men of superior parts to himself, who were suspected by him. Accordingly he puts to death many eminent persons of the first rank by the hands of the executioner, under various pretences, and confiscates their estates. Not content with this, he orders the Janizaries and common soldiers, distinguished for their bravery, to be thrown privately by night into the sea, that there might be no person living who should be esteemed more worthy of the Vizirship than himself. This cruelty being frequently complained of to the court, and those persons whose lives were spared by accident, or the Vizir's ignorance, representing to the Sultan, that by this means all the defenders of the *Othman* Empire would be destroyed, *Ahmed* at last, after six months, removes him from his post; and having stripped him of his wealth unjustly acquired, advances *Tarposchi* * *Ali Pascha* (13), governor of *Damascus*, in his room.

Ali Pascha, the new Vizir, thinks of peace; but his good intentions are diverted by the ambassadors, who returned from *Vienna*.

XXVII. The new Vizir having concerted measures for settling a peace with the Christians, the ambassadors who had been sent four years before to *Vienna*,

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Church. The sick man accepting of the condition, causes himself to be carried in his bed to the *Mauromolensian* monastery, and prayers being said over him night and day, he was restored to his health in twenty-four hours; whereupon, publickly abjuring, in the great church at *Constantinople*, the errors of *Papery*, he became a member of the *Greek* Church.

(11) *Paget*] of a noble family in *England*, and ambassador from that Kingdom to the *Othman* Port. He left a very good name behind him among the *Turks*; for he was not only very learned, and well skilled in the *Greek* and *Turkish* languages, and other sciences, but was also a very prudent man, and perfectly understood the way of obtaining any thing from the *Turks*.

(12) *Colliere*] being born at *Smyrna*, where his father was consul, he not only learned in his youth the functions of an ambassador, but also made himself perfect master of the *Greek* and *Turkish* languages: for which rea-

son, he is reckoned the wisest and most civil of all the ambassadors among the *Turks*; and as he freely entertains at his house the courtiers, that are extremely greedy of wine, there is nothing so secret in the Vizir's court, but what he can sift from them by that means. The *Staurodrome*, where he dwelt at first, being burnt down, he bought the palace of the famous Vizir *Aineji Soliman Pascha*, on the *Bosphorus*, in the village *Kurikiesmen*; but he received orders from *Choruly* * *Ali Pascha*, not to live there, who alledged it was unbecoming that a *Musulman's*, nay, a Vizir's palace, should be possessed by *Giaurs*, and a place sanctified by so many *Namaz* and prayers, be polluted with wine and swine's flesh.

(13) *Tarposchi* * *Ali*.] *Tarpus* is a sort of cap worn by the *Turkish* women. This Vizir seems to have been a maker of such caps in his youth, and from thence to have received his name.

return home; and being bribed, it is said, by the ambassador of his most Christian Majesty, put an end to all his pacifick intentions, and excite the *Turks* to continue the war with the Emperor. For they relate, that *Germany* being distressed and exhausted of all its strength, longed for peace; that the Emperor was obliged to send the greatest part of his army against the *French*, and could not raise new supplies, not only for want of money, the sinews of war, but because he was above an hundred millions in debt. That besides these misfortunes, God had sent a dearth upon *Hungary* and *Germany*, which had reduced both those Kingdoms to such distress, that the principal Bulwarks of *Hungary*, through which they had passed, namely, *Buda* and *Essék*, much more the lesser castles, wanted both men and provisions. These representations were not so false, as agreeable to the court.

XXVIII. The Vizir therefore laying aside all pacifick measures, applies himself wholly to renew the war; enrolls new Janizaries, whose number had been extremely lessened by the sword of the *Germans*, and the cruelty of *Arabaji Ali Pasha*; and orders, under a severe penalty, the other Pashas to be ready at a certain time with their troops.

XXIX. But as the soldiers, terrified by the late defeat, could not be assembled with such expedition, he sends the Seraskier with what forces were ready towards the borders of *Hungary*, with orders to avoid a battle with the *Germans*, and only to guard the boundaries of the Empire from the incursions of the enemy, and relieve the cities of *Hungary* still in the hands of the *Turks*, if they should be attacked. The Seraskier kept indeed the *German* troops at a distance from *Belgrade* and the *Save*, the latter, sensible of their weakness, not being very desirous of an engagement; but he could not prevent *Heusler*, who had been lately set at liberty, from obliging *Waradin*, blocked up the last year, to surrender for want of provisions on the twenty-first† of the month *Ramazan*, of the year 1103.

XXX. About the same time the Seraskier of *Babadagy*, *Daltaban Mustapha Pasha*, in conjunction with *Arap Pasha*, governor of *Trebizond*, marches into *Moldavia*, and passing the *Danube* about the end of the month *Zylcade*, proceeds directly to *Orheyus*. Having sent for the Prince of *Moldavia*, and about twenty thousand *Tartars*, under the command of *Shebbaz Gierai* Sultan, proceeds against *Soroka*; but in the march near *Orheyus*, a town of *Moldavia*, being seized with a bloody-flux, which held him several days, he gives the *Poles* time to fortify the city, which was to be besieged, and to reinforce the garrison. The enemy also, who was before negligent, takes this opportunity to strengthen *Soroka* with a rampart and new works, and send four hundred *Cossacks* to its relief. The Seraskier, though he perceived the siege by this delay to be more difficult, as soon as he is recovered, that he might not perform so long a march to no purpose, prosecutes his design, and on the fourth day appears before the city. The garrison are at first terrified at his approach; but afterwards, seeing their walls could not be demolished by the enemy's cannon, who had brought but seven small pieces and two mortars, resume their courage, and, not content with defending themselves within their walls, frequently sally out, attacking the trenches of the *Turks* by night, and destroying great numbers of them. The Seraskier, finding this method unsuccessful, endeavours to undermine the walls; but in vain, they being built upon a rock. At last the winter approaches, and having lost near three thousand men, after thirty days siege, he is obliged to retire.

XXXI. At the end of the campaign the Chan of *Crim Tartary*, *Kior Sefa Gierai* (14), by the advice of the Seraskier, sends *Dervish Shaban Aga*, one of his

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(14) *Kior Sefa Gierai*] This was the only one of the family of *Ghoban* * *Gierai*, (mentioned in Part I. B. 2.) that arrived to the dignity of Chan of *Tartary*, which he

Nº. 17.

did not enjoy above a year. After his being deposed, the Empire of *Tartary* returned again to the legitimate *Gierai*'s, who have possessed it to this time.

5 F

officers

The reason of making new preparations for the war.

He sends the Seraskier before, and orders him to maintain a defensive war: But *Waradin* is surrendered to *Heusler*.

† May 25.
H. 1103.

A. C. 1692.
The *Turks* besiege *Soroka* in *Moldavia* without success.

The Chan of *Tartary* attempts to divide the Kingdom of *Poland* from the Confederates, but without success.

officers to the King of *Poland*, to persuade him to make peace with the *Othman* court, offering, that if he would abandon his alliance with the Emperor, to restore to him *Caminiec*, with all *Podolia* and *Ukrania*. But the *Poles*, who had conceived new hopes from the ill success of the *Turks* against *Soroka*, of subduing all *Moldavia*, pay no regard to the Chan's advice, and dismiss the messenger.

The *Venetians* besiege *Canea* in *Candia*, but obliged to retire with loss.

XXXII. The same year the *Venetians* having entirely subdued the *Morea*, resolve to turn their arms against *Candia*, and, transporting their whole army to that island, besiege *Canea* with great vigour; but the *Turks*, informed of their design by a *French* ship, had put so strong a garrison into that city, that the *Venetians*, who thought to surprize it, are not only repulsed with great slaughter, but, after a siege of fifty days, obliged to retire with the loss of many of their men, and to confess the *Turks* conquerors, who had been saved by the favour of the most Christian King.

The different success of the *Turks* and *Venetians* upon the Continent.

XXXIII. With equal success *Soliman Pascha*, governor of *Arnaud*, attacks and defeats the *Montenegrini* meditating a rebellion, and recovering *Zuffa* and *Panduriza*, reduces them to submission. The Seraskier of the *Morea*, flushed with these successes, makes several incursions upon the *Venetians*; but attempting to seize *Naupactum*, is repulsed with great loss. In *Dalmatia*, the *Pasha* of *Hercegovina* endeavours, by *Alibeg*, to recover *Gracovum*, but in vain. For the *Turks* engaged in the siege, are suddenly attacked by the *Venetians*, who defeat and put them to flight, and take the general prisoner.

Twin-sons born to the Sultan.

H. 1104.

A. C. 1693.

XXXIV. The campaign being ended, in the year 1104 the Sultan, at *Constantinople*, has twins born to him, namely, *Selim* and *Ibrahim*. As this had never happened to any Sultan before, the *Turks*, considering it as a presage of their future success, devote eight whole days throughout the Empire to rejoicings, every where both day and night celebrating the *Donanma*, and other sports usual upon such occasions.

The Vizir *Ali* is removed, and succeeded by *Mustapha Pascha*.

XXXV. Amidst these rejoicings of the people, the Vizir, *Tarposhchi* * *Ali Pascha*, endeavours to renew the negotiations of peace, which had been interrupted; but being reprehended by the *Mufti*, the Sultan declaring it done without his command or knowledge, he is deprived of his dignity, as a betrayer of the law and the Empire.

The new Vizir puts a stop to a sedition just ready to break out.

XXXVI. His successor, *Buiukli Mustapha*, endeavouring to put a stop to the depredations of several Nobles, which the negligence of the former Vizirs had suffered to pass with impunity, occasioned some of the offenders to form a secret conspiracy against him, and others to murmur openly. But the assemblies of the seditious being disturbed by *Junizar Agasi*, the Vizir's friend, and the leaders being partly put to death, and partly banished, the city is restored to its former tranquillity, and the Vizir applies himself to make preparations for the campaign.

The wonderful conduct of *Misri Effendi*.

XXXVII. While he is thus employed, and had now encamped without the city, the *Sheik* of *Prusa*, *Misri Effendi* (16), erects his standard at *Prusa*, and lifts

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(15) *Donanma*] So the *Turks* call their public rejoicings for having gained a victory, or taken a fortified place from the enemy. Whenever these are enjoined, the merchants are commanded to keep their shops open night and day, and to adorn them with their most valuable goods. Upon such occasions, no kind of plays or diversions are forbidden; nay, people are allowed to drink wine publicly, and those that get drunk, and are at other times punishable by the *Janizar-Aga*, can neither be punished now, nor called afterwards to an account. Guards in the mean time keep patrolling

about the city, but their business is only to take care to prevent quarrels, riots, murders, and thefts; for they cannot meddle or interfere with any thing that tends only to mirth and diversion.

(16) *Misri Effendi*] A man in great renown among the *Turks* for his sanctity: though many think he was too great a favourer of the *Christian* Religion. This suspicion is confirmed by several divine Poems, which he published, and ordered to be sung in the *Jami*; some parts of which, supposed by many to relate to the mystery of the incarnation, I have translated

lifts above three thousand Musulman volunteers under the title of *Dervises* without pay or allowance of provision, merely in the name of God, and in confidence

A N N O T A T I O N S.

translated word for word from the *Turkish* language, and thought it worth while to insert them here.

"I am he, that am acquainted with the secrets of human learning,

I reckon up the treasures of justice, and am the life of the World.

"Within me is included every hidden thing, and the mystery of hidden things,

"With me is the mystery intrusted, and I am the rich possessor thereof.

"I have seen the divine beauty much more plainly than others,

"Wherefore when I see that spectacle, I am ravished with joy.

"Whatever is in Earth and in Heaven, is subject to me,

"I am the most excellent seal of things visible and invisible.

"I have given my only substance for all creatures,

"I am always with *Jesus*, and with him do always agree.

"I am that *Misri*," [this word signifies *Cairo* the Metropolis of *Egypt*, as also the whole province of *Egypt* itself, from whence the author took his surname,] "who have been King of my body to *Mysrus* or *Egypt*.

"My oracle, though profound, yet in its secret interpretation contains an eternal mystery."

He seems to have alluded to the same in the following Epigram.

"In divine names I have an infinite knowledge.

"At every breath I travel to the heavenly sciences. [that is, am wholly taken up with heavenly sciences.]

"In the Heaven of my heart there is no number of the stars. [that is, there is no numbring of them.]

"In each *Zodiac*." [that is, in each sign of the *Zodiac*, for the *Turkish* word *Buri* denotes both,] "I reckon a thousand Suns, and a thousand Moons.

"In comparison of these, the knowledge of the Empyrean [Heaven] and of the other Orbs, is despicable.

"Since I have also on earth lasting essences, I am ashamed to be master of the Alphabet in the Worlds.

"But yet I highly value that Alphabet, which is little esteemed,

"For in it is joined the agreement of *Jesus* and *Mysri*.

"Therefore my will neither has nor wants any thing. [that is, I desire nothing earnestly, and yet want nothing that I can desire.]

Besides the evident testimonies of *Jesus*, contained in these verses, what I learned concerning the same *Mysri Effendi* from the mouth of the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, *Callinicus* of blessed memory, is also worth mentioning. When he was Metropolitan of *Prusa*, *Mysri Effendi*, who then possessed the dignity of *Mollab* in the same city, had contracted a close friendship with him, and used frequently to visit him. Coming one day to the Metropolitan, he saw a *Greek Book* lying upon a Table. And enquiring what book it was, he was told it was the Gospel. Whereupon he said, "O Metropolitan, what you have once obtained by the grace of God, That keep as long as you live. For the Gospel, and Christ himself is the word of God." And though all this was whispered about among the *Turks*, yet it could no way hurt his reputation. Nay, when the forementioned verses were presented to the *Mufti*, that he might declare, whether they were orthodox, or contrary to the doctrine of the *Koran*; he suspended his judgment, and pronounced the following *setvab*, or sentence, "The interpretation of the meaning of them is known to none but God and *Mysri*." Which sentence, though pronounced by an infidel, I acknowledge to be true, thinking it extremely difficult to give a full explanation of that man's profound learning. However, after this declaration of the *Mufti*, *Mysri Effendi's* Poems were made publick, and came to be received by all the *Turks* as Orthodox. But the reading of them is not allowed without some caution, and to the copies that are sold, the following advertisement is prefixed.

"These Poems and Maxims are composed by *Mysri Effendi* of blessed memory, in which though some sayings and expressions are found different from the Musulman Faith, and offend Orthodox ears, yet these are to be ascribed to his Enthusiasm. By these errors of his Enthusiasm he has drawn away some Musulmans from the right Faith: which coming to the knowledge of the sublime Port, it has ordered the *Mufti* to collect his Sayings and Poems into one Volume, and to examine them. The *Mufti*, after having read them, has committed them to the flames, and hath passed

"this

dence of the divine assistance, and transports them by sea to *Rhodostus*, and afterwards by land to *Adrianople*. When he is come to the city, he marches with his followers directly to *Selim's* temple, where finding the people intent upon their *Namaz* at noon, he first performs the prayers with great appearance of devotion and zeal, and afterwards makes a speech to the people. He tells them, that hearing a new army was raising against the *Germans*, he had long considered what he could do for the service of the *Othman* interest agreeably to the precepts of the *Koran*, and had tacitly examined with himself what were the causes of the many and great losses sustained by the *Othman* armies from the *Christians*. That amidst these reflections it was revealed to him from Heaven, that the cause of it was not the valour of the *Germans*, nor the sins of the whole nation, but the ill conduct of seventeen great men and governors of the Empire, who being influenced by a *Giauric* mind, faith, and manners, are ignorant, that there is no occasion of a numerous army against the infidels, but of faith in God, purity in heart and works, and justice towards the subjects. And that the people might know to whom they ought to impute the ruin of the Empire, there had been named to him by the divine revelation those *Giaurs*, who were proudly vested with the Musulman turban and habit; the Vizir, the *Janizar-aga*, the *Caimacan* (17), the *Testerdar* (18), the *Reis Effendi*, and other great officers of state, whom he particularly mentioned. Unless these are put to death, no advantage can be hoped against the *Germans*, but still greater calamities, and even the destruction of the whole Empire are to be expected. He has by the command of God collected a body of Musulman soldiers, few indeed in number, and destitute of arms, but animated by a divine-power, strengthened by the precepts of the *Koran*, untainted with sin, white and pure; with whom he would venture not only to stop an innumerable host of infidels, but likewise to drive them from the borders of the Empire. Upon the report of this affair, not only the common people fond of novelties, but the Janizaries, *Spahis*, and other military officers flock thither in great numbers; and as the *Jami*, though very large, could not contain all the hearers, the outward porches are also filled, upon the sight of which, the orator animated by a spirit of zeal, continues his speech four hours. The Vizir, informed of the affair, dreads a sedition, to obviate which in time, he sends the *Caimacan* to the *Sheik*, to desire him to come to him. The *Caimacan*, after a respectful compliment, having delivered the message, *Misri Effendi* answers, "I am the servant of God, and sent to the servants of God, to acquaint them with what has been revealed to me from heaven. But I know not what *Giaur* thy Vizir is, and see no reason to abandon my call in obedience to him." The *Caimacan* perceiving on account of the crowd of people, who stood round and heard him with great attention, he could use no compulsion, returns to the Vizir, and tells him what he had heard and seen, advising him to endeavour immediately to prevent the danger, and disperse the concourse of people; since the *Sheik's* whole discourse tended only to sedition against the nobles, and probably the Sultan himself. The Vizir sends for *Janizar aga* and the other officers stigmatized by the *Sheik* with the name of infidels, representing to them the common danger, and asking what measures they

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"this *setvab* or sentence, whoever speaks
"and believes as *Mysri Effendi*, ought to
"be burnt, except *Mysri Effendi* alone:
"for no *setvab* can be passed upon those
"that are possessed of Enthusiasm."

And this disgrace is thought to have moved him to raise those commotions, which I have related in the course of the history.

(17) *Caimacan*] Namely, *Othman Pascha*,

a *Grecian*, born in *Crete*, who being taken at the siege of *Candia* by *Kiopri Abmed Pascha*, and perswaded to embrace *Mahometism*, was raised by several degrees to that dignity. He was a very artful man, and knew how to adapt himself to the times.

(18) *Testerdar*] This dignity I have elsewhere described. He that enjoyed it now, was *Kirli Ismail Effendi*, whom the *Turks* commend to this day for his great skill and experience in affairs.

think are to be taken in this exigence. Having considered the several opinions, they unanimously resolve to attempt nothing without the Sultan's consent, but to use all methods to induce him to oblige the *Sheikh* to leave the city. They immediately inform the Sultan by a *Talchysb*, that a certain *Sheikh* is come to the city attended with a considerable body of soldiers disguised like *Dervises*, who is haranguing the people in *Selimié*, and exciting the inconstant multitude to sedition. For this purpose he is casting out many reproaches against the great officers of state, giving odious appellations to the Sultan himself, charging the Vizir and other Nobles as infidels, and publicly declaring, that the *German Othmans* are carrying on war against the *German Imperialists*, and therefore the divine blessing cannot be expected upon the *Othman* court. By these and the like false representations, the Sultan is so enraged, that he commands the rebel to be seized, and since he could not, as wearing the *Tiara* †, be put to death, to be banished with his followers to *Prusa*. The Vizir rejoicing to have it in his power under the Sultan's name to execute his desire, sends again the *Caimacan*, but attended with *Janizar-agasi* and a good band of soldiers to *Misri Effendi* in the *Yami*. The *Caimacan* and *Janizar-agasi*, leaving the Janizaries in the street, enter the temple, and in the Sultan's name salute the *Sheik*, who is still speaking and inform him, that the Sultan hearing of his sanctity and reputation, wishes to enjoy his conversation, and therefore desires him to come instantly to the palace. The *Sheik* either informed of their designs, or guessing some snake lay concealed in the grass, answers; "You seem to me from the intent, with which you are come, to be sent by *Sheitan*, and not by the Sultan (19). But I, like a champion for God, who ought to be indifferent whether he be applauded or exposed to contempt, will go wherever you will lead me, so that I give no offence to this assembly of Musulmans, or appear unwilling to obey the Sultan's command. However that you may be convinced, I have spoken not of myself, or out of any perverse ends, but by divine inspiration, I declare to you beforehand, that within a few hours after I am gone, you will receive tokens of divine evidence." Having said this, he leaves the *Yami*, and mounting the Sultan's chariot, which was brought for him, attended with the guards, he passes with great honour through the people flocking from all parts. As soon as he is at some distance from the populace, he is put into a covered waggon, and immediately conveyed first to *Rhodoftus*, and afterwards to *Prusa*.

XXXVIII. His superstitious prediction was attended with the event. For two days after, about noon a great whirlwind and storm arises, and throws down the tents of almost all the soldiers and principal officers. There happened at that time to be a fire in several tents for dressing of dinner, which seizing the tents when overthrown, and suddenly communicating itself to the rest, within the space of an hour consumes above a thousand tents, with the pavilions of the chief officers. The people stand unmoved at this sight, and crying out, God showed his vengeance for the unjust banishment of his servant and witness of truth, refuse to give any assistance. At last, the soldiers with great difficulty save the rest of the camp from the flames. The Sultan himself struck with terror, sends a respectful letter to the *Sheik*, and intreats his pardon, confessing himself deceived by the treachery of his ministers, and desiring him to return to *Adrianople*, and give his benediction to the army. *Misri Effendi* answers, he had discovered at first, that he was banished through the fault of the great men, and not of the Sultan himself, and therefore had long since obliterated the remembrance of it, and wholly forgiven the crime, but could not return to *Adrianople*, be-

† Green Turban.

The prodigies which follow *Misri's* departure.

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(19) by the Sultan] *Sultanden*, *Sheitan*. This saying of his was afterwards interpreted two ways; literally, That the Sultan was stirred up by a diabolical spirit to put to death a man, who reproved him

for his vices: And metaphorically, as if *Misri Effendi* had said, They who came to call him were not sent by the Sultan, but directed by the Devil, and tempted by him to commit that crime.

cause the same spirit, which had prompted him to the first journey, would not permit a second.

The Vizir about to pass through *Walachia* into *Transylvania*. The Imperialists besiege *Belgrade*.

XXXIX. In the mean time the Vizir, *Buiukli Mustapha Pasha*, having assembled his whole army, marches from *Adrianople* to the *Danube*, from whence he designs to pursue the former rout of *Tekeli*, and penetrate through *Walachia* into *Transylvania*. But before he had passed the *Danube*, the *Germans*, having taken *Gena* and *Gosbvar*, under the command of *De la Croy*, besiege *Belgrade*. Upon this the Vizir alters his intention and march, and returns from *Disfra*, where he had encamped, towards *Chenge* * *Daghlary*, and with great danger and difficulty conducts his whole army through the straits of those mountains, scarce wide enough for an unarmed man to pass through. The *German* general being informed by his scouts, that the Vizir is attempting to make himself master of *Transylvania*, he views the outer walls of the city besieged for twenty days, rather like a traveller than a soldier, because either he intended to reduce it by famine, or imagined the Vizir would be prevented by the narrow passes from relieving it in time. But finding the Vizir approaching, and now passed the mountains, he prosecutes the siege with greater vigour, and in eight days not only demolishes the outer walls by his cannon and mines, but also shakes the inner in such a manner, that he seemed ready to take the city, though defended by sixteen thousand *Othmans*, if the Vizir, leaving behind him his baggage and larger cannon, had not on the eighth day advanced to its relief.

The Vizir raises the siege of *Belgrade*.

XL. For the *Germans* perceiving, from the smallness of their number, they could not at the same time carry on the siege, and make a stand against the Vizir, who was about to attack their camp, that they might not instead of victory receive a defeat, raise the siege, and pass the *Save* with their whole army. The Vizir, though he had done them no other damage in their retreat, than the taking several waggons and four small cannon, imagining their retreat to be a flight, informs the Sultan that he had gained a victory over the enemy.

The *Tartars* attempting to lay waste *Hungary*, are inclosed and defeated by the *Germans*.

XLI. But not daring to pursue them, or pass the *Save* to attack their camp, he sends *Selim Gierai*, Chan of the *Tartars*, with his troops into *Hungary*, with orders to ravage the neighbouring provinces, and cut off the *Germans* from all opportunity of procuring provisions. The Chan roving about incautiously, is surrounded at *Chonad* by the Imperialists appointed to guard those parts, under the command of *Hofkirchen*, and shut up in such a narrow space, that he could not make use of his horse, or find any means of escape. In this situation, the *Tartars* must have necessarily submitted to the enemy, or perished with hunger, if the invincible resolution of *Selim* had not surmounted all obstacles, and engaged the *Tartars* in an attempt not only unusual to the *Scythian* hords, but never heard of before since the *Scythian* name had been celebrated in the world. For there being no room for the cavalry to fight, by his command they all kill their horses, fall upon the enemy with their swords, and rush boldly into the thickest ranks of the *Germans*. So unexpected an attack at first confounds the *Germans*, but resuming their courage, they inclose them again, now almost escaped, and make such a slaughter, that except a few attendants of the Chan, scarce a man was saved.

The *Poles* continue quiet at home. The *Venetians* do nothing in *Greece*, and make but little progress in *Dalmatia*.

XLII. Thus the *Germans* take a bloody revenge upon the *Tartars*, for the *Polish* armies so often defeated by them, while *Poland* itself continues unactive, and either amused with hopes of peace, offered again by the ambassadors of *Selim Gierai*, or deterred by former misfortunes, dares not bring an army into the field. The *Venetian* arms are likewise quiet in *Greece*. However, in *Dalmatia*, under the command of *Erizzo*, governor of *Catarris*, they attempt the siege of *Clobuchi*, but are repulsed with considerable loss by the Pasha of *Hercegovina*; who, notwithstanding, is soon after defeated by *Canegotti*.

The Vizir *Mustapha* removed from his post, and succeeded by

XLIII. The Vizir, *Buiukli Mustapha Pasha*, returning to *Adrianople*, while he expects to be rewarded for raising the siege of *Belgrade*, and forcing the enemy to abandon the borders of the Empire, is deprived of his dignity by the Sultan upon a slight occasion. For, going out of the city one day to relax his mind from cares, and divert himself with hawking, *Coltuk Vezirleri*, who had

long been his enemies, immediately inform the Sultan of it, representing that the Vizir, laying aside business and the important affairs of the state, minded nothing but his pleasures; and by these calumnies make such an impression upon the easy and credulous Sultan, that he instantly takes away the seal of the Empire from the Vizir, and delivers it to *Sham Tarabolus Ali Pasba* (20). But that he might not seem ungrateful for his services done to the Empire, nor raise a sedition among the people, he does not keep him in custody, nor deprive him of his estate, but makes him governor of *Damascus*, a very rare instance among the *Turks*.

XLIV. *Ali Pasba*, seeing the distressed state of the Empire, and despairing of victory, as soon as he is advanced to the Vizirship, endeavours to make a peace with the *Germans* and *Poles*; but as he resolved to exclude the *Venetians*, and afterwards turn his whole force against them, he does not succeed. For, on the one hand, the Emperor would not abandon the confederates, and expose them to danger, and obstinately refused all terms of peace, how plausible soever, if they were not included; and on the other, the most Christian King's ambassador, by presents and great promises, had gained both the Nobles and *Ulema* so firmly to his party, that they unanimously opposed all pacifick measures, and broke the Vizir's designs.

XLV. The Vizir, seeing himself by this means disappointed, in the latter end of the year 1105 sends the Seraskier into *Hungary*, who assaulting *Titul*, is repulsed with great loss by *Caprara*, general of the Imperialists. But this victory of the *Germans* caused no great detriment to the *Turkish* Empire; for the Emperor of *Germany*, intent upon the war with *France*, had left but a small army in *Hungary*, which was obliged to be rather upon the defence, than to make further progress. The *Polish* and *Russian* forces likewise continue to guard their own borders, neither attempting nor performing any thing memorable.

XLVI. The *Venetians* alone this year push the *Turks* with vigour, and make an attempt which would have gained them the dominion of the sea, if they had known how to execute their undertaking with prudence and moderation. Early in the spring they send out a fleet, which, upon the invitation of the inhabitants of *Chios*, devoted to the *Roman-Catholic* religion (21), attacks that Island with great

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(20) *Sham Tarabolus*] *Tripoli* of *Damascus*, a city in *Palestine*, so called by way of distinction from *Tripoli* in *Africa*, a noted nest of *Moorish* pirates.

(21) to the Catholic Religion] A considerable part of *Chios* was formerly inhabited by people of the *Romish* Church, whose ancestors had many ages before the island came under the power of the *Turks*, transplanted themselves thither from *Venice*, and other provinces of *Italy*; and having brought the religion of their country with them, transmitted it down to their latest posterity. They enjoyed not only the free exercise of their religion, and the same privileges with the rest of the inhabitants, but also had built more Churches, and by the assistance and authority of the ambassadors of *France*, and of Princes devoted to the *See of Rome*, had obtained from the *Ottoman* court more immunities and prerogatives than the rest of the subjects of the same Empire. Afterwards a war arising between the *Turks* and *Venetians*, after the *Vienna*-defeat, the people I am speaking of performed the office of spies to the Republick of *Venice*, and

whatever was done about the *Turkish* fleet, either at *Constantinople* or in the *Isles*, an account of it was industriously sent by them to the admiral of the enemy's fleet. At last, their spirits were raised upon the conquest of all the *Morea* by the *Venetians*; and they began to think of putting also their Island under *St. Mark's* banners. The better to accomplish their designs, though they were already possessed of best part of the Island, they thought it adviseable to sound the inclinations of the *Greeks*, that they might not receive from them an unexpected obstacle to their designs. But not daring openly to disclose their intentions, they do, in private discourse, undervalue the strength of the *Turks*, and magnify that of the *Venetians*; saying, there was reason to fear, that after the sea was cleared of the *Turkish* fleet, that Republick would make her self mistress of all the Islands in the *Archipelago*. Therefore it would be adviseable, before summer, to ingratiate themselves with the *Venetians*, by sending a letter to their admiral, to entreat him to protect a people of the same religion with him against foreigners;

The Vizir *Ali Pasba* endeavours to make peace with the *Christians*.

The peace being prevented by the French ambassador, the Vizir sends a Seraskier into *Hungary*.

H. 1105.

A. C. 1694

Chios surrendered to the *Venetians*.

great vigour. *Silabdar Hasan Pascha* was then governor, who hearing of the approach of the *Venetians*, had resolved to make a brave defence; but after he found

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reigners; and, (if it could be) that a Christian should appear to the assistance of Christians. This advice was not relished by the *Greeks*, both because they suspected the faith of the *Venetians*, and also believed that they could receive but little protection from the *Venetians*, who were at so great a distance, against the present power of the *Turks*. But foreseeing that the *Latins* would, without their concurrence, attempt something in favour of the *Venetians*, they sent word to *Huseim Pascha*, who was at that time admiral of the *Turks*, that they would remain faithful to the *Othman* court, even to death; but they had many *Latins* among them, united with the *Venetians* by consanguinity and religion, for whose fidelity they could not answer. They had in this a double view, namely, if their town was taken by the *Venetians*, and recovered by the *Turks*, they might have the excuse ready at hand, that they gave the admiral notice of it; and withal, might not destroy their fellow-citizens, who, if the thing should come to be known by the *Turks*, would be exposed to the most cruel torments. But before this letter could reach *Huseim Pascha*, the *Latins*, having information of the matter, and thinking there was no time to lose, dispatched a swift frigate to the *Venetian* admiral, and entreated him by all that was sacred, to come as soon as possible to their assistance; that their designs being now discovered, they were utterly undone, if he made the least delay: and he had no occasion to fear any thing, for the town was quite defenceless, without soldiers, without ammunition, or provisions, and rent by factions, wanted nothing to make it surrender but the sight of an enemy's fleet. Upon the receipt of this message, the *Venetian* admiral sails to *Chios* with all expedition, and finds the town, as the *Latins* had represented, destitute of all things necessary for sustaining a siege, attacks it, and obliges it in a few days to surrender. At that time *Damad*, or *Silabdar Hassan Pascha* lived there, not as governor, but as a private person, having been sent thither by the Sultan to get a maintenance out of the revenues of the Island, till he could be provided with a *Bathalic*. This man, finding the general in want of all things made the defence of the place impracticable, asked the *Mufti*, who lived there as an exile, whether a *Musulman* could, with a safe conscience, deliver up to the Christians a place that had no soldiers to defend it, in order to preserve the *Mahometan* inhabitants? And receiving the *Fetvab*, that the good thereby done to

so many *Musulmans*, would blot out the evil committed against the law of the *Koran*, by the delivery of the place, he surrenders the town to the *Venetians* upon certain conditions on the fourth day of the siege. After the taking of the place, the *Venetians*, grown more insolent, equally exercise cruelties upon the *Greeks* and *Turks*; and knowing of the message sent by the former to *Huseim Pascha*, they shut up all their Churches, confiscate the goods of many, forbid the *Grecian* priests the exercise of their function and the administration of the sacraments, and will suffer none but *Latins* to confess dying *Greeks*, or to baptize infants. The *Grecians* use entreaties, tears, and even presents; and desire only the free use of their churches, and of their religious worship; but all in vain, they can obtain nothing, and are ordered to frequent the *Romish* churches, unless they had a mind to pass for rebels, and despisers of the divine worship. But this insolence of the *Latins* did not long remain unpunished. For, the next year the *Venetians* being driven out of the Island by *Medzomorto*, the *Latins* earnestly desired to be re-admitted into that fraternity from whence they had excluded the *Greeks*; but, far from obtaining their request, they could hardly avoid the most severe punishments. It is a law in the *Othman* Empire, that every country that has been but three hours in the enemies possession, is taken away from the antient owners, and confiscated to the Sultan's treasury, like a new-conquered country, unless the inhabitants redeem it at a set price. In conformity to this custom, a fine of fifteen hundred purses being set upon the whole Island, the *Greeks*, who were quite oppressed with so great a burden, send a petition to the Sultan, representing, that before *Damascus* was conquered by the *Musulman* arms, they paid tribute to the governors of the Empire; and from that time had never refused to pay it, nor attempted any thing to the prejudice of the state; that they were not the authors of the late calamity, but the *Latins*, who were united with the *Venetians* in blood and religion, had betrayed their town to the enemies. Lastly, they pray, that in consideration of their perpetual fidelity to the *Othman* Empire, the sum laid upon them may be lessened; and, to the end they may live with greater safety in the Island, that the *Latins* may be deprived of the privilege of citizens; or, if that could not be, that the Sultan would grant them some desert Island, where, leaving their country, they would willingly go and settle with their wives and children;

found the Christian inhabitants had deserted him, and were endeavouring to deliver up the city without his consent, as he had but few *Turkish* soldiers in the garrison, that he might not be made prisoner himself, surrenders the city to the *Venetians*; who, to oblige the Pope, shut up the *Greek* churches; prohibit divine service in the *Greek* tongue, and other rites used in the Eastern church; induce the inhabitants partly by force, and partly by artifice, to conform to the *Roman* church; and act in many other things contrary to justice, and the terms of the surrender.

XLVII. Having settled at pleasure the affairs of the city, they resolve to besiege *Smyrna*. But the *French*, *English*, and *Dutch* consuls, meet the *Venetians* in their march, and intercede for the city, urging, among other reasons against the siege, that almost all the Warehouses at *Smyrna* were full of the merchandize of their respective nations, which, if they should be lost in the siege by fire, or plundered by the soldiers, would be required by their masters with interest of the *Venetians*. Upon this the *Venetians*, fearing the resentments of the other Christian Princes, desist from their design, and return home with their fleet.

They would likewise have taken *Smyrna*, if they had not been dissuaded by the Christian consuls from besieging it.

XLVIII. In *Dalmatia* the *Venetians* under the command of *Delfini* besiege and take *Ciclut*, and subdue *Clobuch*, in vain attempted the last year. The Seraskier, *Soliman Pascha*, governor of *Albania*, twice assaults *Ciclut*, in order to recover that city, but is as often repulsed. For which reason being accused of negligence to the Sultan, he is deprived of his post, and succeeded by *Elmas Mehemmed Pascha*, governor of *Bosnia*, lately sent from the Seraglio.

The success of the *Venetian* arms in *Dalmatia*.

XLIX. While the *Othman* arms are thus unsuccessful in all parts of *Europe*, a new sedition breaks out in *Asia*. *Emir Mahomet*, one of the Princes of the *Arabs*, with several thousands of his countrymen, attacks, plunders, and despoils the caravan going in pilgrimage to *Mecca* (22); and afterwards increasing his

The *Arabs* revolt from the Sultan, and attempt to seize *Mecca*.

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children; for they chose rather to live poorly and quietly, than to be in perpetual fears of losing their lives and estates. Finally, they add, that it was impossible for them to be safe in the Island as long as they remained mixed with the *Latin* inhabitants, who had lately betrayed the town to the *Venetians*, and would again assist them to recover the same. In the mean time, *Huseim Pascha*, who was admiral when *Chios* was taken by the *Venetians*, had been raised to the dignity of prime Vizir; and he being asked by the Sultan, declared that what the *Greeks* alledged was true, and mentioned at the same time the information they had formerly given him. The Sultan, hearing the truth of the case, reduces the fine upon the Island to five hundred purses; but condemns all the *Latins* to the galleys, and orders all their effects to be distributed among the *Greeks*. And this rigorous sentence, justly due to their unheard-of cruelty, would have actually been put in execution, had it not been for the *French* ambassador; who partly by his credit, and partly by money, got them exempted from the galleys; which yet he could obtain upon no other condition, but that they should publickly renounce the *Romish* religion, and declare themselves members of the *Greek* church: by which means, there is not at present the least sign of a papist in *Chios*.

(22) to *Mecca*] Because the wandering *Arabs*, who dwell in the deserts between *Damascus*, *Bagdad*, and *Mecca*, used to infest chiefly the road to *Mecca* with their robberies, and to render it dangerous to the superstitious pilgrims who went to visit *Mahomet's* tomb, the *Othman* Emperors, after *Selim I.* conqueror of *Egypt*, resolved to pay them out of the treasury of the women's Seraglio forty thousand crowns of gold, by way of bounty, under the title of *Surre*; on pretence as if it was paid them for securing the roads and the fountains, but in reality because they could not otherwise remove such troublesome enemies from the *Haji's*. But the money not being sent for some years on account of the *Hungarian* war, *Sheik Emir Mehemmed*, with his tribe, inclosed the pilgrims in a narrow place, and forced them to surrender for want of water. There was then taken among them the most illustrious Chan of *Tartary*, *Selim Gierai*, whom they obliged, by the *Arabian Rai*, to carry their complaints to the Sultan, and procure the continuance of the usual bounty; and so they dismissed him upon his parole. He stood to his engagement, and never ceased to importune the *Othman* court, till the arrears of the *Surre* were sent to the *Arabs*; which done, they remained quiet.

number, besieges *Mecca* it self; but, touched with reverence of the place, and the dread of sacrilege, retires from the city. *Shambeglerbeg*, attended with the other *Bashas* of those parts, is sent against him; but the *Sheikh* defeated them all by a stratagem, and puts them to flight.

Sultan *Ahmed*
dies.

† Jan. 27.
H. 1106.

A. C. 1695.
His character.

L. The Empire being surrounded with so many enemies, and almost entirely ruined, Sultan *Ahmed* in the year 1106 leaves it, and resigns his soul to *Mahomet*, having lived fifty years, and reigned four.

LI. In his temper and disposition, he entirely resembled his brother *Soliman*, but of a little more lively, though not acute genius. He listened to the calumnies of his domestic officers, and upon their instigation, for slight causes often changed the most important affairs. He affected to appear a lover of justice, though by reason of his stupidity, he could not perfectly discharge the function of a judge, and believed every thing which his friends, bribed by the contending parties, represented to him.

His person.

LII. He had large black eyes, a pale complexion, a round beard, inclining to red, with a mixture of black, a straight and long nose, a middle stature, a prominent belly, occasioned by the dropsy rather than fat. With respect to devotion and zeal for *Mahomet's* law, he is said to have been a little inferior to his brother *Soliman*.

The End of the Reign of AHMED II.





Mustapha II.
Twenty Second EMPEROR of TURKS.
in the Year 1696.
From an Original in the Seraglio.



The REIGN of

M U S T A P H A II,

Twenty-second EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK IV. CHAP. IV.

I. **T**HE same thing which had been attempted upon the death of Sultan *Soliman* by *Kioprii Mustapha Pascha*, namely, to deprive *Mustapha*, the son of *Mahomet IV.* of the throne, is attempted, though not with the like success, after *Ahmed's* death, by the Vizir, *Sham Tarabolus Ali Pascha*. To gain this point, he calls a council of the principal officers of state, and persuades them to place *Ibrahim*, son of the deceased *Ahmed*, a Prince of three years old, on the throne, alledging, it was unjust to deprive the son of a Sultan, who had died in the imperial honour of the crown due to him, and confer it upon the son of his brother, who, though a Sultan, had been deposed. These were his publick pretences, but in reality his only reason for defrauding *Mustapha* of the throne was, that he feared to lose the absolute power he had enjoyed under *Ahmed* over the state and army, if a Prince of vigour, and versed in affairs, as *Mustapha* was, should obtain the crown; and had rather have an infant Sultan for his pupil, in whose name he might do what he pleased, than under an Emperor of ripe age be exposed to perpetual danger. But before he could gain the great men to his opinion, *Nezir Aga* (1), the *Haznadar bashi*, informs *Mustapha* of the death of his brother, and releasing him from his confinement, calls upon him to assume the *Othman* sceptre. *Mustapha* readily agrees to such grateful advice, and while the Vizir is consulting with the Nobles concerning the election of a Sultan, ascends the throne without his knowledge, and is first saluted Emperor by *Chalyk * Ahmed Aga* (2), and *Cherkies * Mahomet Aga* (3).

Sultan *Mustapha*, son of Sultan *Mahomet*, chosen Emperor.

II. They

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(1) *Nezir Aga*] At that time the *Haznadar bashi*, or keeper of the treasure deposited in the women's Seraglio. He was, shortly after raised to the dignity of *Kyslar Aga*, and had so much interest with the Sultan, that the Vizirs were more afraid of him, than he of the Vizirs, and the Sultan himself would do nothing of publick concern without consulting him. This authority he retained by his great skill the whole reign of Sultan *Mustapha*; but after this Prince was deposed, he was in no small danger, because the rebels laid upon him the blame of all that had been done amiss by Sultan *Mustapha*. He had however his

life granted him by Sultan *Ahmed*, and being dismissed the court, was sent into Egypt.

(2) *Chalyk * Ahmed Aga*] a native of *Red Russia*, who being taken in the *Caminiac*-expedition, and turning *Mahometan*, was admitted into the Sultan's palace, where, in the reign of Sultan *Mahomet IV.* he was *Chobadar** to *Mustapha*, then a child. When this Prince ascended the throne, he was made, first *Kiuchiuk**, then *Buiuk, Imrabor*; and being discharged from this office, because he would not accept of a *Pasbalic*, he is even now held in great esteem; and, though but a private person, lives in a splendid manner

The Vizir, who designed to procure the election of *Ibrahim*, desists from his purpose.

The Sultan taking no notice of the Vizir's attempts, confirms him in his post. He declares that he will command the army himself, and administers the affairs of state alone.

II. They having informed the rest of the courtiers of the election of the new Sultan, all meet to pay their obeysance to the Emperor, who was extremely acceptable to them. The Vizir also, finding his designs prevented by the domestic officers, with joy in his countenance hastens with *Janizar-Agasi*, and other great men, to kiss the Sultan's robe.

III. *Mustapha* taking no notice of the Vizir's attempts against him, and deferring his revenge till another time, confirms him in his post, and presenting him with a robe lined with fables, orders him to take a particular care of the affairs of the war and state.

IV. On the third day after his advancement, the Sultan publishes his intention to command the army himself against the *Germans*; and, not content with the name of Emperor, endeavours to discharge all the duties of a good general. He examines, orders, and disposes every thing; appoints new and large cannon to be cast; procures, and distributes the warlike provisions and military pay; convenes his father's ministers and officers, dispersed in distant countries, and rewards them with new posts, in which they might distinguish themselves to more advantage; sends for *Elmas Mahomet Pasba* (4), his father's most beloved chamberlain, out of *Bosnia*, appointing him first *Nishanji Pasba* (5), afterwards *Re-*

kiub

ANNOTATIONS.

manner at *Constantinople*. The name of *Cbalyk** was given him, because he had the scar of a wound in his face; for that is the appellation given to those that have been maimed or wounded, as *cbalyk** *Cbolak**, who had lost a hand or some fingers. But it is to be observed, that this man must not be confounded with another of the same name, who, in the beginning of the reign of *Ahmed III*, was made *Janizar-Aga* by the rebels; concerning whom, see more hereafter.

(3) *Cherkies** *Mahomet Aga*] He was brought away in his youth from *Cbercassia** to *Constantinople*, among other captives, and educated in the palace. When *Cbalyk** *Ahmed Aga* was dismissed from his office, he was made *Buiuk Imrahor* in his room; and thence sent with three *Tugs*, first to the government of *Aleppo*, then to that of *Jerusalem*, and afterwards to some others. Upon the recovery of the *Morea* by the *Turks*, he was made *Seraskier* of that Kingdom, as he is at present, and is in great reputation at the *Othman* court for his justice and courage.

(4) *Elmas Mahomet Pasba*] an *Asiatick*, or, as some say, a *Bosnian* by birth, who was in his youth taken into the palace by Sultan *Mahomet IV*. for his great beauty, and surnamed by him *Elmas*, *The Diamond*. There was a report, that he served the Sultan a great while in his detestable lusts; but many, as well *Turks* as *Christians*, believe, that there was no other proof of *Mahomet's* being addicted to that vice, than his giving particular names to the handsomest of his chamberlains. After the death of Sultan *Mahomet*, he had several places at court, and at last was sent by Sultan *Ahmed II*. with three *Tugs* to the *Pashalic* of *Bosnia*. Being raised by Sultan *Mus-*

tapha II. to the dignity of Vizir, he seemed to have the better of the *German* army in two battles; first, when he obliged *Veteran* to retreat; and next, when he rendered fruitless the designs of *Frederic Augustus*, Elector of *Saxony*, against the camp. At last, at the battle of *Zenta*, where the *Turks* were defeated by Prince *Eugene*, being too eager to engage the *Germans*, contrary to the opinion of the rest of the wisest of the *Bashas*, he was slain by the seditious *Janizaries* as the army was preparing for battle. An ingenious *Turkish* poet has expressed the time of his death by the following chronostick; *Nemche** *curshunile fildi elmasi*, i. e. *The German bath cleaned the diamond with lead*: in which saying, allusion is made both to the common opinion, that lead corrodes diamonds; and also to this other notion, that a diamond cannot be brought to its lustre except it is polished in lead. He was, after all, a discreet, sober, and prudent man, free from covetousness (a rare instance among the *Turkish* Nobility,) a great lover of justice, except when reason of state caused him to supplant or dispatch out of the way rivals, though innocent. He had not indeed so much experience in military affairs as other old *Bashas*, because he had been brought up in the palace; but what he wanted in education, was supplied by good natural parts, by a wonderful readiness in counsels, and great quickness in executing affairs; so that by common consent, he passed for no ill general of an army.

(5) *Nishanji Pasba*] He that sets the mark or character of the Sultan's name to all the orders that are made. This is reckoned a very honourable place in the *Othman* court, especially if it be held by a *Basha* with three *Tugs*, who is upon that occasion ranked among the *Cubbe-Vizirs*, and in the *Galib Divan*.

Rekiab Caimacan (6), and sending him to conduct the *Valide Sultana* from *Constantinople* to *Adrianople*, makes *Hassan Pasha*, his kinsman, governor of *Diarbekir*, and confers various honours upon those who had served the Empire under his father. By this means he gains such a reputation, that not only all the *Musulman* common people revered him as a sun rising from behind a thick cloud, and promised themselves more auspicious times, but also the soldiers voluntarily came in great numbers, and offered themselves to serve in the campaign under so prudent an Emperor.

V. All things being thus ready, and the hearts as well as hands of the soldiers prepared to renew the war, early in the spring he commands the Vizir to encamp without *Adrianople*. Three days after, disguising himself, he mixes among the soldiers, impatient to know what was publicly said of himself, the Vizir, and the rest of the great men. And finding from thence, that himself, though superior in many points to his uncles and predecessors, is supposed still to be subject to the Vizir, and the latter to dispose of every thing at pleasure, without his knowledge or consent, he is more incensed against the Vizir, and resolves to punish him as he deserved. For this purpose, he carefully examines all the warlike stores, and perceiving the carriages of the larger cannon not to be sufficiently strengthened with iron, at first sharply reprimands the Vizir, who endeavouring to clear himself, and cast the blame upon *Topchi* bashi* (7), this last is sent for, and being ordered to declare the reason of it, answers, he had desired of the Vizir as much iron as was wanted; but meeting with a repulse, had appointed the carriages to be made as the Vizir thought proper. The Vizir not being able to deny this, the Sultan immediately commands him to be put to death, and his body to be exposed for three days in *Sirik Meidan*, under pretence indeed that he had been negligent in executing the Sultan's orders, but in reality, because he had endeavoured to raise young *Ibrahim* to the throne, to the exclusion of *Mustapha*.

He views the camp unknown, and puts the Vizir to death.

VI. He is succeeded by *Elmas Mehemed Pasha*, who had been before made *Caimacan*, a person of a most acute genius, and worthy of the dignity he possessed; but not without the murmurs of the old *Basbas*, who resented that they should be commanded by a youth unexperienced in affairs.

Elmas Mehemed Pasha made Vizir.

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Divan sits with them, by the side of the chief Vizir, under the place where the Sultan sits to hear whatever affair is in agitation: but if this office is possessed by *Ekitugly*, or one having two *Tugs*, or by an *Effendi*, it is not then in so much esteem. All the Sultan's *Ferman's*, that are sent from the Vizir's chancery into the provinces, and those that are issued out of the *Testerdar's* offices concerning *Maliè* and *Beglyk*, must be read to him by *Nisbanji Kassedar Effendi*, and then he confirms them, by setting down on the top the *Tura*, or character of the Sultan's name; and lays up copies of them in particular chests. But when any orders are made that do not reach beyond the walls of *Constantinople*, they need not have the *Nisbanji Pasha's* confirmation, but it is sufficient if the Vizir's name is set to them. The *Nisbanji Pasha* must be always near the Sultan's person; nor can he go from thence, or be sent any where, unless he is turned out: but when the Vizir goes upon any expedition without the Sultan, he gives him a *Nisbanji Effendi* in his room to accompany him.

(6) *Rekiab Caimacan*] When the Vizir is engaged in warlike expeditions, the Sultan always appoints one of the *Cubbè Vizirs*, or *Pasha's* that have three Horse-Tails, *Rekiab Caimacan*, which signifies a *deputy stirrup-holder*; whose business it is to dispatch all such affairs relating to the Sultan, as properly belong to the Vizir to decide, and with the same authority as the Vizir himself; except that he cannot create new *Basbas*, nor turn out the old, nor put any of them to death: but upon the Vizir's return, his authority ceases. There is another *Caimacan*, namely, that of *Constantinople*, who is usually appointed when the Sultan and the Vizir are absent; and of him I have given an account in (Part I.)

(7) *Topchi* bashi*] overseer of the cannon and soldiers thereto belonging, with the *Kombaraji's*, or gunners. And over these alone his authority reaches; but the gun-powder, balls, and the rest of the artillery, are under the jurisdiction and care of the *Jebeji bashi*.

The Sultan commanding the army, takes *Lippa*, and cuts off general *Veterani* with seven thousand Imperialists.

VII. However, regardless of these murmurs, Sultan *Mustapha* passes with his army the *Danube* near *Belgrade*, attacks and takes *Lippa* and *Titul*, and demolishes their walls. While he is thus engaged, he is informed by the parties of *Tartars* sent before, that *Veterani*, with seven thousand *Germans*, had marched out of *Transylvania*, and was eight hours distant from the Imperial army, commanded by *Frederic Augustus* (8), Elector of *Saxony*. To intercept this body, he sends *Mahmud Beg Ogli*, Beglerbeg of *Rumelia* with the light-armed forces, and immediately follows with the rest of the army. With great speed he comes the second day in sight of the *Germans*, whom, I justly doubt, whether I should not call the stoutest and most courageous troops which *Germany* ever produced; for without any sign of fear, and as if their bodies were invulnerable, they halt, and in a manner challenge to battle the *Turks* pouring upon them in prodigious numbers. *Mahmud Beg Ogli*, though much superior to the Imperialists in strength, not thinking proper to venture an engagement before the Sultan was advanced, orders his troops only to annoy the enemy in slight skirmishes, and prevent their escape. In the mean time, the Sultan comes up with the *Janizaries* and the rest of the army, and commands the *Germans* to be fiercely attacked on all sides. On the other hand, the Imperial general having left two regiments to guard the camp, had drawn out but five thousand men into the field, who sustain the shock of the *Turks* with such bravery, that the latter, after a short opposition, are obliged to retire. The Sultan, who saw the battle at a distance, perceiving so unexpected a slaughter of his men, is enraged, and advancing, kills several of the run-aways with his own hand, and urges the rest to renew the fight. The *Turks*, excited by the shame of their repulse, passing by the left wing of the *Germans*, attack the carriages with which the enemy's camp was surrounded, and penetrate it, though with a considerable loss. Upon this *Veterani* leads back his troops towards the camp, falls upon the plundering enemies, and makes a greater slaughter than before. The *Turks* again fly without stopping, till met by the Sultan, who first seeing *Shahyn Mahomet Pascha*, reproaches him in these terms: "He was guilty of a great error, who first called thee *Shahyn*, that is, the *Falcon*, since thou dost not, like a *Falcon* with rapacious talons, strike at thy enemy's head; but, like a *Crane*, draw after thee a company of fugitives." *Shahyn Mahomet Pascha*, touched with these reproaches, joins with *Mahmud Beg Ogli* in rallying the flying troops, and with a resolution to conquer or die for their superstition, they make a third attack upon the *Germans*. The *Janiziar Aga*, on his part, attempts the same, who being also severely reprimanded by the *Vizir*, assembles the dispersed *Janizaries*, and leads them back into the field. Thus both sides meet the third time with equal resolution, and fight several hours with great ardour, excited the one side by the hopes of victory, the other by despair. But the *Germans* would probably have withstood all these shocks, if *Veterani*, their general, in the heat of the battle, had not been obliged by a wound to quit his horse, and go into a waggon. For upon sight of this the Imperialists, destitute of a commander, retire, though in such order, that it was doubtful whether they could be said to fly or retreat. The Sultan, seeing it difficult and dangerous to pursue and drive them to despair, privately orders the *Mufti*, by some means, to keep the *Othman* army in the camp. He, in obedience to his sovereign's command, declares by a *Fetvab*, that it is contrary to the precepts of the *Koran* to pursue too closely a flying enemy; and that he would lose the crown of martyrdom, who should perish in such a case.

The bloody victory of the *Turks* over the *Germans*.

VIII. And indeed the Sultan had many important reasons for restraining his soldiers from any further engagement. A thousand horse and fifteen hundred

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(8) *Frederic Augustus*] This Prince is called to this day by the *Turks* *Naal-Kyran*, the horse-shoe-breaker, on account of his great and wonderful strength in his youth:

for, that it is usual among the *Turks* to give particular names not only to generals, but also to whole nations, is what I have observed in (Part I.)

foot, slain on the enemy's part, had been revenged by the slaughter of the chief officers of the army, *Mahmud Beg Oglu*, *Beglerbeg* of *Rumelia*, *Shahyn Mehemed Pascha*, *Ibrahim Pascha*, brother of *Coja Jaser Pascha*, and others of the first rank, with about ten thousand *Turkish* common soldiers: the victory itself too would have seemed very doubtful, if on one hand, the presence and resolution of the Sultan had not brought back the *Turks* from their flight; and on the other, the misfortune of *Veterani* disheartened the *Germans*; and a much greater loss was to be feared, if the remains of the Christian forces, being too closely pressed, should be reduced to despair, and obliged to exert their whole strength in this extreme danger. Content therefore with repulsing this body of *Germans*, and thereby gaining the reputation of a victory, he neglects the rest of their army, and leads back his forces towards the *Danube*.

IX. In this march, he takes *Logush* and *Caransebes*, places destitute of defence, and demolishing them, returns triumphant through *Walachia* to *Constantinople*.

X. *Frederic Augustus* does likewise the same, though without any trophies; and having rather shown his troops to the enemy, than led them to battle, sends them into winter-quarters.

XI. The *Poles*, either on account of the King's indisposition, or deterred by their former losses, do not venture to pass the *Tyras*, or re-enter *Moldavia*, imagining they had done enough in securing their conquests, and defending their borders from the perpetual incursions of the *Tartars*. For however the *Othoman* Empire was pressed in other parts, these scourges of Christendom never failed one year to lay waste *Podolia* and *Pocutia*, as far as *Leopolis*, and take the inhabitants prisoners, who confided too much in the *Polish* arms. The winter was hardly over, when the Chan of *Crim-Tartary*, *Caplan Gierai*, assaulted the very suburbs of *Leopolis*, carried off four small cannon from the gate of the city, was like to have seized general *Tablonowski* himself, and with above fourteen thousand prisoners returned safe to *Crim-Tartary*.

XII. *Peter* the first, Czar of *Russia*, in order to the entire destruction of this pest, in the beginning of the summer attacks *Azac*, the strongest bulwark of *Crim-Tartary*; but his soldiers not being yet used to sieges, and the garrison making a stout defence, he is forced to retire without success.

XIII. The war is much more fortunately carried on this year against the *Venetians*. For the *Venetians*, flushed with their conquest of *Chios*, having claimed the dominion of the sea, and the *Turkish* ships not daring to appear, frequent consultations were held at *Constantinople* for the restoration of their naval power. In these the name of *Medzomorto* (9), at that time only the commander

In his return he takes some towns.

The other Imperial general retires to winter-quarters.

The *Poles* being negligent, the *Tartars* shamefully ravage the kingdom.

The Czar of *Russia* besieges *Azac*, but retires without success.

Medzomorto defeats the *Venetian* fleet.

ANNOTATIONS.

(9) *Medzomorto*] an *African*, born of *Moorish* parents, who in his youth exercised piracy in the *Mediterranean* from the Port of *Tunis*, and by that rendered himself very famous. He was at last overpowered in an engagement with the *Spaniards*, and taken by them; when he received so grievous a wound, that his life was despaired of; and upon this occasion the name of *Medzomorto*, or half-dead, was given him, which he retained ever after. For he recovered from that wound, and, after a seventeen years imprisonment, being redeemed by his countrymen, returned to his old trade, and did great damage to the *Christians*. He was afterwards, for his good services at *Chios*, made captain of a galley, and at last commander of the whole *Turkish* fleet. Being brought to *Adrianople*, when the Sultan was going to confer upon him

the honour of admiral, and three *Tugs*, he particularly desired to have leave to instruct the sailors and marine forces in the art of fighting at sea, and bind them to some certain regulations; and, not to be obliged, on account of the honour of *Vizir* conferred upon him, to quit his sailor's habit: both which requests he obtained. The *Vizirs* often tried to prevail upon him to change his dress, telling him, that so mean a habit was unsuitable to his dignity: but he always remained immovable, and, when they pressed him, used to tell them, that he thought it much more unsuitable for the fleet of so great an Empire to be left a prey to a few fishermen; which disgrace was owing to nothing but this, that the latter minded arms, and the ministers of the other nothing but dress and finery; that, for his part, he made the honour of

Vizir,

of a single ship, made a figure, who being sent for to the council, not only dissuaded them from a defensive war, which seemed most advisable to the majority, but proposes the recovery of *Chios* as very practicable, promising, to regain it himself, provided four Sultana's were allowed him, with part of the galleys. *Amuje Oglı Huseim Pascha*, the admiral, treats him with contempt, as a presumptuous and rash man, and even mixes his reproaches with threats. But the Seraskier, *Myfirli (10) Oglı*, who had the chief command of the war against the *Venetians*, having maturely considered the affair, approves of the scheme, and delivers to *Medzomorto* the ships and eight galleys, which he wanted. With these *Medzomorto* sails towards *Chios*, followed soon after by the whole *Turkish* fleet, and not only bravely withstands the *Venetian* fleet appointed for the defence of the haven, but repulses them, and having taken two of their ships, obliges them to fly. The garrison seeing the *Turks* approach, at first, through confidence of their own strength, contemn them; but afterwards, perceiving their ships driven from the port with loss, their courage entirely fails them: for they had never imagined that the *Turkish* fleet, so often defeated, could be repaired so soon; or that there was any person among the enemy who could teach them the art of naval war: wherefore their care and business had been, not to fortify the city, but to shut up the *Greek* Churches, and commit other things in breach of their oath. Finding therefore that since their fleet was forced to quit the sea, their walls, exposed on all sides, could not be defended against so numerous an army, they turn their resentments from the *Turks* upon the *Greeks*, calling them perfidious traitors, and not only resolve to plunder and kill them, but even clearly discover their design. The *Greeks* seeing themselves in this dangerous situation, at first endeavour to mitigate the fury of their tyrants by persuasion, and incline them to mercy by strong demonstrations of their fidelity; but perceiving the calumnies of their Catholick countrymen to prevail above truth, for want of a better method, privately inform the Seraskier, that they are in great danger, and the *Venetians* have resolved their destruction, because, struck with a panic, they found none else to cast the blame of their approaching misfortune upon. But this very thing proved the occasion of safety to the *Venetians*. For the Seraskier imagining it to be a stratagem of theirs, in order to prevent an unexpected defeat, resolves to examine the affair, before he undertakes the siege, and so gives the *Venetians* time to imbarck their effects, and after plundering the inhabitants and churches, to escape by means of their ships that were in the harbour.

The *Turks* at last take the city of *Chios*, and oblige the *Roman* Catholics to conform to the *Greek* religion.

XIV. On the morrow, the Seraskier discovering the flight of the *Venetians*, takes the city, and dragging out from their lurking-places, such *Venetians*, as their ships could not contain, puts them to death. He obliges the *Chians*, who had professed the *Roman-Catholick* religion, either to conform to that of the *Greeks*, or submit to captivity; restores to the *Greeks* the churches taken from them, shutting up those of the *Roman-Catholicks*; and thus, not with a divine interposition, returns upon the *Venetians* all the acts of tyranny, they had exercised on the *Greeks*.

The *Venetians* gain a victory.

XV. This misfortune was a little alleviated by a victory gained by the *Venetians* near *Argos*, in which four hundred *Turks* are said to have been slain. But this was of no great detriment to the *Turks*, nor of much advantage to the *Venetians*.

ANNOTATIONS.

Vizir, bestowed upon him by the Sultan, to consist not in dress, but in bravery; and would show, how much the most slovenly men excel the best dressed ladies.

(10) *Myfirli oglı*] A very famous *Turkish* General, for bravery, next to *Coja Jaser Pascha*, mentioned above. He fell with the

rest of the *Turkish* officers, by the hands of the rebellious soldiers, when preparations were making for the battle of *Zenta*, to the Sultan's great grief. He was named *Myfirli oglı*, either because he was born of *Egyptian* parents, or of parents that lived in *Egypt*.

XVI. In

XVI. In *Arabia*, the rebel *Sheikh Emir Mahomet* is defeated by the Pilgrims guarded by *Arslan Pascha* Governor of *Tripoli*; with some troops, and his followers are put to flight; thus that intestine and dangerous wound of the *Othoman* empire is healed, though but for a time.

XVII. Sultan *Mustapha* considering these victories as fortunate omens of his reign, upon his return to *Adrianople*, solemnizes them with great pomp, and appoints *Medzomorto*, by whose conduct he had recovered *Chios*, Admiral, and rewards the rest, who had distinguished themselves in this campaign, by suitable honours and posts.

XVIII. Having afterwards issued out his commands through the whole empire for raising a more numerous army, the *Turks*, animated by their late successes, list themselves voluntarily in great numbers. But before he had made the necessary preparations for the campaign, *Frederic Augustus*, Elector of *Saxony*, at the end of the year 1107, with the Imperial army besieges *Temisware*. The Sultan hearing of this, immediately leads his army over the *Danube*, with a resolution either to relieve the city, or force the *Germans* to a battle.

XIX. The *Germans*, on the approach of the Sultan, abandon the siege, rather resolved upon, than begun, and encamp in a proper place, about eight hours distance from the city, where they are determined to wait for the *Turks*.

XX. The *Turkish* forces soon after come up, and pitch their tents in sight of the enemy, though beyond cannon-shot, and by the advice of *Tetiz*, who attended upon the Sultan, fortify their camp with strong ramparts, and wide and deep trenches, a method unusual with the *Turks*. The first day is spent within the camp in consultations, without, in skirmishes between the *Hungarian* light-armed troops, and the *Turkish* advanced guards. The night at last restraining the fury of both, and each party returning to their camp, the Imperial general resolves upon a bold attempt, which would have been very glorious, if crowned with success. There lay between the camps a place full of briars, surrounded with a marshy ground, scarce an *Italian* mile broad, but so thick, that a person unarmed could not pass through it. Here, he orders in the night, four and twenty different paths to be secretly cut, and at day-break, the army, with as many cannon, to pass through, and attack the *Turkish* ramparts. The soldiers execute these orders with great bravery, and having discharged their cannon three or four times, make a vigorous assault upon the Sultan's camp. But unfortunately for the *Christians*, they happened upon the strongest part of the camp, where the Janizaries and *Myfirlis* were placed. They penetrate indeed their trenches, where they kill a great number of the Janizaries and *Egyptians*, and by their first onset, strike such a terror into the whole army, that the Sultan himself left his tent, and retired to the farthest part of the camp; but soon after, they are overpowered by the *Turkish* troops, and repulsed with great loss.

XXI. This victory was chiefly gained by the bravery of the Vizir *Elmas Mahomet Pascha*. For when the army was thrown into the utmost confusion by the sudden irruption of the *Germans*, he first with his men stopped the foremost of the *Germans*; now pressing to the Sultan's pavilions, and by his example, encouraged the Janizaries; upon which, the *Germans*, finding themselves incapable of sustaining the fury of the *Turks*, were obliged to return to their own camp, with the loss of many of their men, and the twenty four cannon they had brought. When the *Germans* had begun to give way, they were entirely routed by three thousand *Bostanji* (11), who were advanced to the assistance

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(11) *Bostanji*] The first *Turkish* Emperors, who made it their chief study to have an army inured to labour, and accustomed to hardships, instituted this order, with this view chiefly, that while they exercised themselves in the culture of gardens, they

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might be accustomed to heat, and cold, and other injuries of the air, and so become fitter to bear the fatigues of war. From these *Bostanji* were chosen the *Azapli*, or the *furious*, who were the lowest kind of soldiery among the *Turks*, and out of them

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The rebellious *Arabs*, attacking the Caravan going to *Mecca*, are defeated.

The Sultan triumphs on account of his victories, and gives *Medzomorto* the command of the fleet.

Frederic the Emperor's general besieges *Temisware*. The Sultan marches to its relief.

H. 1107.

A. C. 1696. The Imperialists abandon the siege of *Temisware*.

Are repulsed with loss in their attack upon the *Turkish* camp.

The Vizir's bravery in this battle.

assistance of the Janizaries, and who, though designed only for the Sultan's guard, and never employed before in any other military service, yet were sent in this danger by *Mustapha*, and ordered to assist the rest of the army. However, the *Germans* did not fall unrevenge'd. For there were slain in this battle, besides *Mustapha Pasha*, Governor of *Temisware*, the Vizir's brother, and many other *Turkish* officers of the first rank, with several thousands of Janizaries and *Egyptians*. Of the *Germans*, those only were killed, whom the Janizaries had found within the trenches.

Both armies retire to their winter-quarters.

XXII. The rest of the Imperial army, that they might not publicly own themselves conquered, stand the whole day in order of battle, and immoveably wait the approach of the *Turks*. But the Sultan, who was particularly careful to animate his soldiers with the name of victory, not thinking proper to try again the hazard of a battle, orders the Mufti, by his *Fetvab*, to prohibit any farther engagement, and a few days after, marching his army towards the East, puts an end to the campaign. The *Germans*, though very near, would not venture to interrupt the retreat of the *Turks*, imagining they had done enough in guarding their own borders, since the *French* war, in which they were involved, would not suffer them to extend their conquests.

The death of John Sobieski King of Poland.

XXIII. The *Poles*, besides their usual slowness, have a new pretence for delaying their campaign this year, on account of the death of their king *John Sobieski*, who, being exhausted by a long indisposition, died on the 17th of the month *Zylcade* †, in the year 1107. For being employed in the cabals which always attend the election of a king of that nation, they had not leisure to think of raising an army, much less of making a campaign.

June 6.
H. 1107.

A. C. 1696.
The Czar of Russia takes Azac.

XXIV. While the *Poles* continue inactive, *Peter Czar* of *Russia*, having sent for persons skilled in the arts of war and gunnery, from *Germany*, marches again with a larger and better disciplined army to *Azac*, and assaults the walls with such vigour, that the garrison, of which the *Russian* sword had left but four hundred, on the 18th of the month *Zilbije* †, surrendered the castle. Their example is soon followed by the garrison of *Luttich*, opposite to *Azac*, who deliver up that castle to the Czar upon terms.

July 6.

The Venetians are obliged to abandon the siege of Dulcineum.

XXV. In the mean time the *Venetians* besiege *Dulcineum*, a port famous for being the receptacle of the *Turkish* pyrates; but though they had bravely repulsed *Omerbeg* Basha of *Arnaud* from their trenches, they are obliged by the valour of the garrison to raise the siege, and probably they would have received notable defeat, the *Seraskier* marching against them with his whole force, if *Liberaki*, who had been appointed by the *Turks* Prince of *Mania*, had not drawn his countrymen by a stratagem to a revolt from the *Othman* Port. For the *Seraskier* perceiving his forces by this means weakened, and the enemy strengthened, chose rather to retreat, than commit the safety of all *Greece* to the hazard of a battle. The *Venetians* on the other hand content with defending their former acquisitions, proceed no further, but apply themselves to repair *Hexamilon* in order to secure the *Morea*.

Medzomorto regulates the Turkish fleet.

XXVI. At sea *Medzomorto Capudan Pasha* regulates the fleet agreeably to the maxims of the naval science, in a manner before unknown to the *Turks*, avoids the battles, in which his predecessors used to engage without regard to the wind or situation; and perpetually watches the motions of the *Venetian* fleet. The *Venetians* do the same, and struck with admiration at the conduct of the *Ca-*

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the Janizaries, this being the direct step to that order: But now, when the militia of Janizaries is easily made up out of their own sons, and such as willingly enlist themselves, the antient manner of chusing them out of the *Bostanji* is laid aside; and they are put to no other employment, but to guard the Sultan's palace, to dress his gardens, and

to row his barge. They have a commander named *Bostanji bashi*, whose dignity and office I have before explained. It never happened but this once, under Sultan *Mustapha* II, that they were used as soldiers, to repel the assault of the *Germans*, when attacking the *Turkish* camp.

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pudan, dare not hazard an engagement; so that one observing the others designs, they perform nothing memorable the whole year.

XXVII. The months proper for military expeditions being passed, *Mustapha* leads back his army to *Adrianople*, and disbanding his forces removes to *Constantinople*, where he enters with such pomp, that if you had considered the magnificence only, you would have imagined his victories had been much superior to those of the conquerors of *Constantinople*, *Hungary*, and *Egypt*. The greatest ornament of this triumph was, the twenty four cannon taken from the *Germans* this campaign, which led the way, and were followed by several noble captives taken in the former battle against *Veterani*.

The Sultan returns in triumph to *Constantinople*.

XXVIII. On the third day after this publick entry, the Sultan visits the monument of *Ebi Eyub ensari* with great appearance of devotion, and agreeably to the custom of the *Turkish* Sultans is girt with a sword by the *Sheik* of that *Fami*. These ceremonies being finished, he applies himself wholly to warlike preparations by land and sea with the utmost expedition, orders six and thirty large ships of war to be built, designing part of them against the *Venetians*, and part against the *Russians*, (who since the taking of *Azac* had begun to build a fleet in the *Euxine*-sea) with a great number of galleys and galliots; honours *Medzomorto* the admiral, habited in a mariner's dress, with three *Tugs*, and gives him the command of the whole sea and all the islands; and also confers handsome rewards upon the rest of the sea-officers, who had distinguished themselves in former expeditions. For the supply of his army he inrolls twelve thousand *Yamagy* Janizaries (12) and eight thousand *Levendi* (13); exercises both the soldiers and courtiers every day in *Kiagizchane* (14) in the use of muskets, cannon, mortar pieces, darts, jirids, and other arms common among the *Turks*; and having published a *Ferman*, orders the whole strength of the Empire to be assembled at *Adrianople* about *Hedrelez* †. Thus *Constantinople*, which under the preceding Sultans †St. George's day. regarded nothing but pleasure, and seemed in the midst of war to be dissolved in luxury, under *Mustapha's* administration resounds nothing but arms, and not only presages, but even promises itself future conquests from what were already gained.

The Sultan is girt with a sword, and orders great preparations of war to be made.

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(12) *Yamagy* Janizaries] This is the name given to those men that are newly lifted among the Janizaries, to make up their number; or that are taken into that order out of other cohorts: and it is most commonly done, when they are sent to garrison a town newly taken. For in that case, if there is occasion, for instance, for six thousand men, not above two or three *Oda's* from the *Ojak* are sent; and as they do not amount to above three thousand, the other three thousand taken from the *Jebeji's* or other new soldiers, under the title of *Yengicberi* imagy*.

(13) *Levendi*] This name, which is a corruption of some *Italian* word, denotes the marine-forces, consisting of very disorderly men, hardly obedient to their commanders. Formerly they were very unskilful, but having been brought under some regulation by *Medzomorto*, they seem to have lost some of their fierceness and barbarity. The usual number of them in time of peace is fourteen thousand: but in case of a war with the *Venetians*, or upon some other occasion, there are new ones

raised for six months; as many as the Sultan pleases, who have an allowance each of twenty five dollars for those six months. There are admitted among them *Greeks* and other *Christians*, which is not allowed in any other branch of the *Turkish* militia.

(14) *Kiagizchane*] The *Paper-shop*, or *hause*, a very pleasant place, not far from the suburbs *Eyub*, near a river of the same name, that runs into the inner port; so called, because there formerly stood paper-mills. But those being demolished, a foundary was built in their room, where are cast mortars, balls, and other kinds of ammunition. The river that waters that place, has in the bottom of it mud, very good to make bricks and tyles, and in such plenty, that it hath afforded materials for the many buildings that have been for so many ages erected in *Constantinople*. It is encompassed with very large and fine meadows, in which the Sultan's horses are turned out to graze in the spring, about *St. George's* day, which is also a holiday among the *Turks*, being called by them *Hedrelez*.

XXIX. The

The Sultan rejects the peace offered by the Emperor.

He marches his forces to Belgrade, and musters his army.

The Emperor orders Prince Eugene to act upon the defensive.

After a general council, the Sultan resolving to attack Transylvania, passes with his army over the Danube.

Mustapha by the advice of his Council marches his forces to Titul.

† Theyffe.

The Sultan returns to the Tibiscus with great loss.

XXIX. The Sultan relying on this confidence, though informed that the *French* had concluded the war with the Emperor, rejects the peace offered by the *Dutch* and *English* ambassadors, boasting he was alone, without the assistance of the *French*, able not only to repress, but subdue the Emperor.

XXX. At the approach therefore of that pleasant season, which usually invites the soldiers into the field, he departs from *Constantinople* with the same magnificence, with which he had entered it, and marches through *Adrianople* towards *Belgrade*. There he again musters his army, and finds, that besides the families and servants of the *Bashas*, (a very great number of which always attend a *Turkish* camp,) and a multitude of other useless persons, he had an hundred and thirty five thousand men in the military list.

XXXI. To this strong army the Emperor had only opposed forty six thousand *Germans* under the command of Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, with orders not to attack the *Turks*, or engage in a battle without compulsion, and only to guard *Peterwaradin* and the other fortresses of *Hungary* situated upon the *Danube*.

XXXII. The *Turks* having extorted the intelligence of this from the prisoners by torture, a private consultation is held first at *Belgrade* between the Vizir and principal *Bashas*, and afterwards a *Galibe Divan* in the presence of the Sultan. Here it is determined to leave the *Save* on the right, and to pass the *Danube* below *Belgrade*, and avoiding the *Germans*, who were encamped near *Segedin*, to penetrate with the army into *Transylvania*. This advice was suggested by *Tekeli*, who was present in the *Turkish* camp, and perswaded the Sultan and great officers, that it would be easy to reduce *Transylvania*, both because the *Hungarian* rebels, who were now assembled from several parts, to the number of fifty thousand, offered to join their troops, and because the Emperor's General had sent for most of the garrisons in *Transylvania* to reinforce his army, and left the cities almost empty, and destitute of defence.

XXXIII. The Sultan approving this advice, and passing the *Danube*, orders his army to move towards *Temisware*; but in his second day's march hearing the *Germans* were advanced to *Titul*, he again calls a *Galibe Divan*, and enquires whether it was proper to pursue the resolution of the former Council to invade *Transylvania*, and leave the enemy behind, or to march against the enemy, and engage them in open field, wherever they should be found. The former opinion seemed to the majority very hazardous in the present state of affairs, since there was reason to apprehend, that while the *Othman* forces were engaged in *Transylvania*, the *Germans* would besiege *Belgrade*, and take that city, though strongly fortified and garrisoned, if no relief could be brought. The Vizir urged this particularly, and observed, that the *Othman* troops could not without extreme danger make any attempt, till the enemy's army was defeated. On the other hand, if the *Germans* were once driven out of the field, all *Hungary* would lie open to the *Turkish* arms. This advice being recommended to the Sultan by the authority of the giver, they unanimously resolve to attack the enemy; for which purpose the Sultan not only marches his land-forces towards *Titul*, but orders his fleet in the *Danube* with his ships of burthen to sail as far as the *Tibiscus* †. In the mean time the *Germans* perceiving the approach of the *Turks* from the high mountain, on which *Titul* stands, though their army consisted of but six thousand horse, determine bravely to resist, and not sell the passage of the *Tibiscus* to the enemy without blood.

XXXIV. For this purpose the Imperialists fortify the banks of the *Tibiscus*, extending in a plain under the castle with ramparts and cannon, and resolutely show themselves to the enemy in the rear from an eminence. The Sultan soon after approaches, and seeing so small a body as it were provoking him to battle, orders several *Bashas* to pass the river in open boats, (which the *Turks* use to carry with them in waggons for the forming of a bridge,) and to animate his men, promises fifty gold crowns for every *German* taken alive, and twenty five for the head of every *Christian*. They obey with great alacrity, not knowing, the banks were fortified by the *Germans*, pass over without any order. The *Germans* are quiet at first, but when they see several thousand *Turks* had passed,

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and the enemy's number to increase, they discharge their cannon upon the thick-est of them, and mounting their ramparts, attack them sword in hand. The unexpected noise of the cannon had now struck the Janizaries with such terror, that forgetting they were soldiers, like women they thought of nothing but flight, by which however they could not prevent the slaughter of three thousand of their companions, nor would one have escaped, but that by good fortune the fleet came up just at the very time, and seized the island in the middle of the *Tibiscus*; by which means the Janizaries first pass over from the lower part of the river, and march in a body against the *German* ramparts. A second but lighter engagement ensues. For the *Germans* seeing the Janizaries continually increase, and that there was reason to fear, if they persisted to defend the place of battle, they might at last be overpowered with numbers, abandon their ramparts, and retire first to the city, and afterwards, mounting their horses, to *Cobila* (15). Some hundreds of the *Haiduks* make a little longer stay in the castle, but in the evening setting fire to it, follow their companions. After the *Germans* were gone, the Sultan with the rest of his forces passes the *Tibiscus*, and in his march the Vizir, to remove the remembrance of the defeat, exposes the dead bodies of about three hundred *Germans*, having before buried those of the *Turks*.

XXXV. Without staying long there, he marches the same way, where the *Germans* had joined each other, and finding in the plain of *Cobila* the bridge left intire by the *Germans*, (whether through design or haste is uncertain) he turns his army towards the *Danube*, and stops at the lower part of the island formed by the *Ister* opposite to *Peterwaradin*. Here is held a third consultation, in which it is determined immediately to run a bridge over the *Danube*, and besiege *Peterwaradin*, which might be done in two days, and before the Imperia-

The third consultation, in which the Sultan resolves to besiege *Waradin*.

XXXVI. The inhabitants of that city had indeed a bridge intire in the lower part of the island, but so strongly guarded, that the *Turkish* army could not come near, much less pass over it without great loss. Upon this account they vigorously begin a new bridge, and would have finished it the second day, if some of the garrison of *Peterwaradin*, who had concealed themselves in that island with four cannon, had not thrown an unexpected obstacle in their way. For when they saw the *Turks* near the bank, they discharge their cannon upon them, piercing several boats, upon which the bridge was founded, and though upon the coming of the *Turkish* fleet, they are soon obliged to abandon the island, yet they prevent the *Turks* from finishing their work till the third day, and by that means occasioned them to lose the victory, which seemed already to be in their hands.

Slight skirmishes during the building of the bridge

XXXVII. For on that day Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, who immediately on notice of the march of the *Turks*, had prepared for the relief of *Peterwaradin*, and left *Segedin*, with great expedition, arrived at sun-set, and passing by the camp of the enemy, hastens towards the head of the bridge. *Shahbaz Gierai* Sultan (16), son of *Selim Gierai* Chan of the *Tartars* (17), had attempted indeed

Prince *Eugene* with great hazard comes to the relief of *Peterwaradin*.

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(15) *Cobila*] So the *Turks* call that large plain, which reaches from the Town of *Titul*, between the *Danube* and the *Tibiscus* to *Segedin* and *Peterwaradin*.

(16) *Shahbaz Gierai*] He was afterwards, upon the death of his father, *Selim Gierai*, advanced to the dignity of Chan, under *Ab-med III.* Sultan of the *Turks*; but shortly after preparing to make war against the *Cheerassians*, he was surprized by them in an ambuscade and slain. Of which I have given an account in (Part I.)

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(17) of the *Tartars*] It will not be improper to relate here a remarkable instance of dexterity and nimbleness performed then by the *Tartars*. Both armies stood opposite to one another near *Peterwaradin*, and neither of them could be informed of the others number, nor had they been able to take any prisoner on either side. In this exigency, Sultan *Mustapha* writes a civil letter to *Shahbaz Gierai*, desiring him to take, some way or other, if it was but one *German* soldier, prisoner, by whom he might

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to stop his swift progress, and with twelve thousand *Tartars* had burnt up all the grass far and near; but these obstacles could not repress the ardor of the *Germans*, though they met with no lake, spring, river, or field for the space of nine hours.

The fourth
consultation
of the *Turks*.

XXXVIII. This unexpected arrival of the *German* army obliges the *Turkish* officers to consult again, whether it was proper to attack the *Germans* in such an open plain, before they had fortified their camp, or to wait till they should assault the *Othmans* in their trenches.

The advice of
the young Vi-
zir worthy a
man of years.

XXXIX. The Prime Vizir endeavours to the utmost of his power to persuade the Sultan to the former opinion, alledging, it was not for the honour of the *Othmans* to suffer the enemy, who was so near, to escape without trying the fortune of a battle, since the Musulman forces were not brought into the enemy's country, merely to shew themselves to their enemies, and then retire, but to gain the lawreels promised by the prophet, and recover the provinces unjustly seized by the infidels. That God, by inspiring the soldiers with an impatience for battle scarce to be restrained, sufficiently declared, that now was the time to defeat the enemy; and if this ardor should be repressed, and the army, eager to fight, be prevented, it was to be feared, this excessive caution would throw the whole army into a pernicious languor, or excite in them thoughts of sedition for want of other employment.

It is disap-
proved of by the
rest.

XL. This opinion of the Vizir is boldly opposed by *Coja Jafer Pasha*, a veteran soldier, who had been present in almost all the battles of the *Turks* with the *Germans*, from whence he had acquired a great experience in war. He vehemently contended, that the army might not be led into the field against the *Germans*, urging, he had observed, that the *Germans*, as often as they had fought in an open plain, in which they could at pleasure open their front, advance or retire, had always gained the victory. That they had never before brought so great an army into the field as at present, and formerly had defeated the *Othman* troops, though much superior in number, when opposing them in the manner prescribed by the Vizir. That they were now commanded by a prudent general of approved valour and conduct in war, who, as he imagined, would not provoke the *Turks* to a battle, unless he had placed his own troops to such advantage, as to be in a manner sure of victory. Almost all the *Bashas* inclining to this opinion, the Vizir, that *Jafer's* authority might not prevail over his, uses all his efforts to engage the Sultan on his side, styling *Jafer Pasha* an infidel and traitor, who gave such advice concerning the *Othman* affairs, as if he was bribed by the enemy to prevent all wholesome counsels, which should be suggested to the Sultan. *Jafer Pasha* seeing the Vizir's obstinacy could not be surmounted any other way, desires the Sultan to remove the curtain (18), and hear in person what he should speak for the advantage of the *Othman* interest. This being granted, *Jafer* says, "But if, Brother, you have gained such

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might be informed of the state of the enemy's army. This seemed indeed difficult, and almost impossible, because the *German* army stood then in order of battle; and to make any attempt against it, would have been running one's head against a wall of brass, and writing upon it a memorial of rashness in bloody characters. The *Tartarian* Prince however willing to comply with the Sultan's desire, calls a council, and orders four hundred chosen men, who willingly undertook to go round the *German* camp, and to bring away some of the enemies, either from among the baggage or the carriages. These dividing themselves into several bodies, attack the *German* army,

but not without losing many of their men, and would have been obliged to return without success, had not three brothers, who had desired to be of the party, though against their father's will, attacked the rear of the *German* wing, with so much dexterity, as to take a man from the midst of his companions, and carry him away bound.

(18) curtain] When, upon an expedition, a Council is called by the *Turks*, to which they give the name of *Galibe Divan*, the Sultan sits indeed in it, but in a particular place, with a *Perde*, that is a curtain drawn before him, where he can hear all that is said, without being seen.

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high favour with God, that he inspires you with counsels, and assures you of the events, you cannot blame me for not knowing or believing it. But if it shall please his Majesty, let him order me to be bound here, and kept in irons, and you to attack the enemy in the manner you think proper. If, within an hour or two, you do not betake yourselves to a shameful flight, I will submit to suffer as a stinking dog, whatever punishment his Majesty pleases to inflict upon me. But if (which God forbid) my prediction shall be fulfilled; may you give an account of your imprudence to God and the Sultan. But whatever shall happen to myself, I still adhere to my former opinion, and with due fidelity to the *Othman* empire, advise not to engage the enemy in open battle, but only to fortify our trenches, and sustain their attacks with our cannon and soldiers. By this means, though God should not favour us with victory, I can certainly promise, we shall not be defeated. But if, passing by us, they shall advance to the head of the bridge, I am of opinion, we ought not to march against them openly, but surround them with ramparts. For thus they will be obliged, by want of provisions, to leave their camp, and attack us in our works, or pass the *Danube*, and so give us an opportunity of falling upon them in their passage, without any hazard."

XLI. The Sultan, though he approved of *Jaser's* advice, yet adjourns the council till the next day, in order to further deliberation, but commands his men to keep in their trenches, and those, who of their own accord, had already taken the field, to be beaten back by the *Chausbis** (19). This not being sufficient to restrain the ardor of the soldiers, impatient for a battle, the Musti proclaims by a *Fetvah*, that whoever should fall in that battle, would not only lose the expected crown of *Shehadet*, but also eternally lament their unseasonable boldness in hell.

By the advice of *Jaser Pasha*, the council and battle are deferred till next day.

XLII. Mean while, Prince *Eugene* had advanced as far as the bridge, and having refreshed his soldiers, almost dead with thirst and heat, with the waters of the *Danube*, had drawn them up, in which posture remaining all night, the *Turkish* camp is seized with great terror, the soldiers, who were restrained from fighting, thinking it to proceed from their general's fear, and to be the worst of omens to the *Othman* affairs. The Vizir perceiving this, and having got a proper occasion of exposing *Jaser Pasha*, informs the Sultan of the speech and commotions of the soldiers, and makes use of them as an argument how prejudicial the Basha's too great caution had been to the *Othman* interest, and how fatal it would prove, unless immediately obviated. For that there was no hope, that the enemy could be deprived of forage and provisions, since they had the *Danube* open, and were masters of all the towns above them, from whence they might be plentifully supplied. That in the mean while, time was lost, so large an army languished in a fruitless idleness, the treasure was exhausted, and the enemy every day strengthened.

The Vizir endeavours by all means to persuade the Sultan to a battle,

XLIII. Since his Majesty therefore would not engage the enemy in the field, he advised to leave them behind, and march towards the *Tibiscus*, and besiege *Segedin*; since he certainly knew, that this city was not so strongly fortified nor garrisoned, as to be able to hold out against the *Othman* army ten days. That when this town was subdued or destroyed by fire, the whole country between the *Tibiscus* and the *Danube* would be reduced to the *Turkish* obedience, and the neighbouring countries of *Hungary* might be laid waste by the *Tartars* and

or to besiege *Segedin*, which is approved of by the Sultan.

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(19) by the *Chausbis**] There are two sorts of *Chausbis** among the *Turks*. Some, who, in time of peace are employed at *Constantinople* in the Vizir's Divan, to receive the petitions of the plaintiffs, to carry the Vizir's orders to the Judge, and to put his sentence in execution. The others, called *Alai Chausbis*, are made in time of war, and

their office is much the same as that of *Aides de Camp*, in regular troops. The business of these is to carry, in a battle, the Vizir's orders to the Basha's, to take care that the horse stand in a strait line, to give the signal of battle, to found the retreat, and the like; in which they are not half so dextrous as the regular *Aides de Camp*.

light-

light-armed soldiers. That the *German* army was heavy and so fatigued as not to be able to follow, much less pursue the *Turkish* troops; and he could not imagine, that if *Segedin* was once besieged, the *German* general would shut up his forces in such a place, where, if any accident should happen, they must perish for want of sustenance. That they might indeed besiege *Belgrade*, but there was a garrison of eighteen thousand men in that city, and a stock of provisions sufficient for three years. Besides, the *Othman* army and fleet were near, and if there should be any urgent occasion, though the enemy should cut off all other passages, supplies might be thrown in by the fleet. That nothing more was required for the security of that city, but the removal of the governor *Amucje ogli Hussein Pasha*, an infirm and weak man, and the placing in his room, *Coja Jaser Pasha*, whose abilities in the defence of cities, sufficiently appeared in the siege of *Temisware*. The Vizir suggested this change to the Sultan with this particular view, that he might recover his authority in the army, and remove *Jaser Pasha* from about the Sultan, and afterwards take occasion to put him to death, and by his example, warn the other *Bashas* not to oppose him too warmly for the future. But the Sultan suspecting the Vizir's design against *Jaser Pasha*, approves of his advice relating to the siege of *Segedin*, but orders *Jaser Pasha* to continue in the camp, since his counsels would be of more use in the army, than in the cities.

The Sultan
marches to-
wards *Segedin*.

XLIV. On the morrow therefore, which was the 5th of the month *Jemazi-ul evvel*, at day-break, he commands the drums and trumpets to give the signal, and marches the Janizaries and the rest of his forces the same way, by which the *Germans* had come, toward the *Tibiscus*, and on the first day, having performed nine hours march, pitches his camp near a lake, where the *Germans* had likewise encamped, but allows these troops, who were desirous of proceeding further, the liberty of doing so. On the second day, having left *Kiuchuk* Jaser Pasha* (20) at the bridge over the lake with five hundred chosen horse, he goes on before day to *Zenta*, a castle, little known before, on the banks of the *Tibiscus*, with such expedition, that he seemed to fly, rather than march.

Prince *Eugene*
follows the
Turks with
great resolu-
tion.

XLV. Prince *Eugene*, the *German* General, hearing the *Tubulchana*, and imagining the signal to be given, and the *Turkish* army drawn up, had, in the mean while marshalled his forces, and waited without motion for the enemy till noon; but being informed by the *Hungarian* scouts, that the *Turks* had decamped, and were marching to *Zenta*, taking this to be a flight, he orders the *Hungarian* horse to march before, and leaving behind, the heavier and weaker part of his army, with only sixteen thousand men, immediately follows the *Hungarians*, with more courage than prudence.

The *Hunga-
rian* light-
armed troops
take *Jaser
Pasha*.

XLVI. The *Hungarians* that night first lighting upon *Kiuchuk* Jaser*, left to guard the bridge over the lake, find the *Turks* sleeping, and expecting nothing less than the enemy, surround and cut them off, so that of the whole party, only the *Pasha's* chamberlain escaped by means of the darkness; who immediately flies to the *Turkish* camp, which had already reached *Zenta*, and informs the Vizir that the *German* army was very near, and had destroyed his master, with all the troops under his command.

The Vizir
makes a false
representation
to the Sultan.

XLVII. The Vizir, to prevent the report of this misfortune from raising new commotions in the camp, immediately beheads the person, who brought the news, and signifies to the Sultan, that the *Hungarian* horse in the Emperor's service had appeared in the rear, and surprised *Jaser Pasha*, but were afterwards defeated by the *Tartars* and other *Othman* forces. He had scarce told the Sultan this,

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(20) *Kiuchuk* Jaser*] A different person from the above-mentioned *Coja Jaser Pasha*, who was afterwards slain at the battle of *Zenta*. Being taken by the *Germans*, he sincerely gave them an account of the state of the whole *Othman* army, and for

that piece of treachery was set at liberty after the battle, without ransom. When he returned to the Sultan, he not only received no punishment for his treachery, but was restored to his former dignity. However, he died the next year.

when

several troops of *Tartars*, which had accidentally seen the *Hungarian* horse, come, and report in the camp, that the whole *German* army were pursuing the *Ottoman* forces with the utmost speed, and were now very near.

XLVIII. Whereupon the Sultan commands his men immediately to halt, and those, who were marched before towards *Segedin*, to return, and a bridge as soon as possible to be run over the *Tibiscus*; which was done in four hours, the boats brought in waggons, and by the *Turks* called *Dumbæ*, serving for the foundation. About noon, the Sultan passes over first himself on horseback, whose stirrup, when the Vizir came according to custom to kiss, he is refused by him with a stern countenance; and commanded to take care that the cannon and the whole camp be conveyed safely over, for if the enemy should take but a single waggon, he should for it suffer an infamous death.

The Sultan being informed by the *Tartars* that the enemy was pursuing him, passes the *Tibiscus* in great terror.

XLIX. The Vizir knowing that every thing could scarce be conveyed over in two days, and perceiving his ruin inevitable, if he should ever appear before the Sultan, at first sends over eight cannon with their ammunition, that he might not seem openly to neglect the Sultan's command, but afterwards stops the rest, allowing the *Spahis* and *Bashas* troops to pass, alledging, that the cannon and best part of the army ought to be detained, in order to defend the camp, if the enemy should attack it in the rear. These therefore continue to pass all night and the next day till dinner-time.

The Vizir contrary to the Sultan's intention, consults about fighting the enemy.

L. About noon the Vizir is informed that the *Germans* were advancing, and but three hours distant from the camp; upon which, that he might not perish without his rivals, he sends for all the *Bashas*, who had already passed over with their troops, under pretence of consulting with them; they, being obliged to obey the Vizir's order, return on foot with only three *Chocadars**, the baggage on the bridge nor allowing a passage for the horse. The Vizir seeing them all assembled, except the *Caimacan*, *Buyukli Mustapha Pasha*, says to them, "The enemies, brethren, are advancing, and are now in fight. We who refused to fight when we had a convenient place and opportunity, shall now be forced to do it without those advantages. We have but one happiness left us, the profession of the *Mahometan* religion, which declares us *Gazi*, if we conquer; and *Shehid*, if we die valiantly fighting; privileges of inestimable value! Now as one of these waits for me this day, I thought it unreasonable to defraud you, my brethren and fellow-soldiers, of such a felicity. Behold therefore Paradise open before you, which I command you by the divine injunction to enter, and enjoy the delights promised by our prophet. But if you refuse to obey the law and my orders, my sword (which he shewed) shall deprive you both of the life, which you desire, and the Paradise, which you despise."

By an artful speech he sacrifices the other *Bashas* with himself to the *Germans*.

LI. All the *Bashas*, since they durst not in the middle of the camp oppose the Vizir, nor could find any method of escape, pretend consent and obedience, and retire to their stations in the trenches; where perceiving the circuit of them too extensive to be conveniently defended by the forces which remained, they begin to form a lesser trench within the greater, the soldiers indeed complaining and reproaching the Vizir to his face with their imminent danger, but obeying his orders, since their own safety was concerned. While they are thus employed, the *German* army appears, which the Sultan seeing approach, and cover the whole plain, is enraged, and sending frequent *Chatisherifs** to the Vizir, commands him instantly to send over the *Janizaries*, cannon, and ammunition, and not delay, though all the other carriages should be taken by the enemy. But the Vizir conceals these orders from the *Bashas*, and answers the bearer, he had rather die fighting valiantly, with his drawn sword, than be shamefully put to death by the Sultan, and stops the *Janizaries* from passing. The Vizir is assisted in this by the negligence of the herdsmen, who seeing the *Germans* advancing, drive at the same time all the cattle, appointed for drawing so many thousand waggons, into the river above the bridge, by which the waters being intercepted, force the cattle against the bridge, which the fearful animals endeavouring to mount, sink three of the boats, and thus overset the foundation, so that but one man, and that with difficulty, could pass upon planks laid across.

The *Bashas* and soldiers murmur, but obliged to obey.

The Imperia-
lists advan-
cing, fall di-
rectly upon
the *Turks*.

LII. The infantry of the Vizir being thus separated from the Sultan, the *German* forces arrive about three hours before night, and without viewing the fortifications of the *Turkish* camp, imagining it only guarded by the carriages, fall directly upon the *Turks*, but are repulsed with considerable loss. The *Germans* perceiving the camp, contrary to their expectation, fortified by a double trench, and two rows of waggons chained together, and that the *Turks* on this side the river were much superior to them in number, desist from their assault, and resolve to attack the enemy another way.

But this me-
thod being
found dange-
rous, they
try another.

LIII. The western banks of the *Tibiscus* are high and scraggy, the space between which, when the river is swollen by the autumnal or winter rains, is full of water, which in the summer subsides, and leave a sandy piece of ground of thirty paces. Prince *Eugene* orders a trench to be dug here a little below the *Turkish* camp, and several regiments to pass that way, and fall upon the *Turks* within, while he attacked them without. And lest the Sultan should repair the bridge, and send supplies to his army, he plants two cannon near the head of the bridge, and quickly demolishes it. The Sultan likewise places four of the eight cannon, which the Vizir had sent over before the battle, on the bank, and orders *Arnaud Abdi Kie kaya* (21) to fire upon the enemy, but with such confusion, that he had no trench to secure him, and imagined a place covered with reeds, which was before him, would sufficiently protect him from the enemy. But the *Germans* observing from whence the *Turks* fired, immediately plant their cannon against them, after the bridge was destroyed, kill several of the engineers, and wounding others, oblige the *Turks* after one discharge to remove their cannon.

The Janiza-
ries kill the
Vizir and the
rest of the Ba-
shas.

LIV. And indeed every thing seemed to conspire the destruction of the *Turks*; for the Janizaries themselves having repulsed the enemy from the outer trench, retire into the inner, which though not finished, they had carried in some measure from one bank to the other, and declare their resolution to defend it. The Vizir, with the rest of the *Bashas*, endeavoring to divert them from their purpose, first by entreaties, and afterwards by force, their despair turning into rage, they fall upon their own friends, and destroy all their officers, Vizirs, and *Bashas*, and spare none but their Aga, *Deli Balta ogli*.

The Imperia-
lists storm the
camp of the
Turks, and cut
them off to a
man.

LV. In the midst of these contests, part of the *German* army seize the outer trench, abandoned by the *Turks*, and feign to attack the inner, only with intent to draw the enemy from that side of the camp, which lay towards the river, and by disposing their own men on the bank, render the assault more easy. These appearing suddenly at the head of the bridge, the *Turkish* forces are struck with great terror, and employ their whole strength in that part, in order to prevent the *Germans* from entering. While both sides fight here with equal resolution, the party of *Germans*, which was come from the plain, seize the inner trench, which was negligently guarded, and fall in the rear upon the enemy, fighting at the river. The *Turks*, inclosed and pressed on all sides, fight bravely, though in confusion, and at last, having in vain attempted a passage for escaping, in the space of three hours, are all slain to a man.

The battle
bloody on
both sides.

LVI. However, they did not fall unrevenge; for six thousand of the *Germans* are said to have perished in that expedition: On the other hand, of the *Turks* were

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(21) *Arnaud abdî* This man was an *Albanian* by birth, and upon that account, had the name of *Arnaud* given him. He was inferior to none of the *Turks* in courage and political knowledge. From a *Chausb* bashi*, he was raised by *Elmas Mehemmed Pasha*, to the dignity of *Kie kaya*; and, after the battle of *Zenta*, that the remains of the army might not disperse themselves for want of a commander, and fall into the enemies hands, all the rest of the *Basha's* having been slain, he was honoured

by the Sultan himself with three *Tugs* near *Temisware*, and ordered to conduct the forces to *Belgrade*: and as the manner of having the honour conferred upon him, was such as had never happened before to any other *Basha* (for all the *Bashas* are created, not by the Sultan himself, but by the Vizir, from whom also they receive the badges of their authority) he obtained upon that account, the name of *Pasha chiragy**. I hear he is still alive, and enjoys the *Pashalic* of *Mysr* or *Egypt*.

slain,

slain, as appeared by the lists, fourteen thousand and seventy Janizaries, with their Aga, *Deli Balta ogli* (22), seventy three *Ojak* and *Baluk Agalari*, three thousand seven hundred *Topchi's** and *Jebeji's*, seven thousand *Arnaudi* (23), the Vizir *Elmas Mahomet Pasha* himself, fifteen *Bashas* honoured with three Horse-tails, the most eminent of whom were *Coja Jaser Pasha*, *Mysirli ogli*, famous for the taking of *Chios*, *Kiofe Halil Basha* of *Diarbekir*, *Fazli Pasha* of *Sbercu* (24), twenty seven *Bashas*, honoured with two or one Horse-tail, besides a great number of the usual attendants upon the *Turkish* camps, so that the whole number of slain may be justly computed (25) at above thirty thousand.

LVII. The

A N N O T A T I O N S.

(22) *Deli Balti ogli*] His father was *Janizar-aga*, and he arrived himself to the same dignity, after having passed through the several posts in the army: at last he was, for the sake of his virtues, honoured by the Sultan with three *Tugs*, though the Vizir, the common enemy of all good and great men, murmured at it. For the *Janizar-aga* has commonly but two horse tails, and if any one has three granted him, it is looked upon, as done in prejudice to the Vizir. The surname of *Deli*, or the *Mad*, was given him on account of his excessive boldness, because he rushed like a madman into all dangers.

(23) *Arnaudi*] Ever since the suppression of the rebellion of *Iskenderbeg* in *Albania*, when almost all the inhabitants of that country were compelled by Sultan *Murad II*, to embrace *Mahometism*, the Sultan have always kept some thousands of them in their camps. They are reckoned, and really are, the bravest and boldest of all men in war, and rush upon the enemies with no less resolution, and much more discretion than the Janizaries: and though they are under no regulation, yet have agreed upon some order among themselves, by which they are kept together, and not dispersed, or confounded with others, except when the whole army comes to be routed. They are particularly famous for their skill in shooting at a mark, in which they are so dextrous, that they make nothing of taking an egg or an apple, from off their mother's or wife's head, with a bullet, at two hundred paces distance.

(24) *Fazli Pasha*] A man famous among the *Turks* for his learning and other excellent qualities, whence he had the name of *Fazli*, i. e. *the Learned*. He was, for his fine way of writing, raised by *Elmas Mehemmed Pasha*, in the first year of his Vizirship, to the dignity of *Kiebaia*; and afterwards sent with three *Tugs* to *Shebrezulien Pasha*-lic. He left a very good name behind him.

(25) justly computed] The *Turks* were never known to have fought so stoutly and desperately as in this battle, for not one of them was taken alive. Hence appears the bravery of the conquering army. The victory however would have been very doubtful,

had not the Janizaries themselves slain, just before the battle, their commanders, men renowned for their valour; by whom if they had been headed, it is generally thought, that with their assistance, they might easily, either have defeated, or at least repulsed, the *Germans*, who were much inferior to them. And truly, it has sometimes been found by experience, that when the *Turks* are hemmed in, and see no way of escaping, they will fight much more fiercely for life than for victory, and if they have wise commanders upon such an occasion, they will not only fight beyond expectation, but even do such things as seem to exceed human strength. And here I think it may be of use to give some directions about the manner of fighting against the *Turks*, drawn from observations I have made in the expeditions where I have been present; though I well know, that *Busbequius* has given a large account of it, and others have written whole volumes about the same. A General then must consider, whether his forces are equal to those of the *Turks*, if not in number (for that is what the Christian's army can seldom be) yet at least in courage; and whether he has good ammunition, and necessary provisions. If he wants these, he must take care of coming even within sight of the *Turks*. For not only their courage increases, when they perceive the enemy is afraid, or draws back; but they also fight more bravely; and whenever they find, there is no one dares pursue them, even when they fly, they sometimes renew the fight. But if a General knows himself to be a match for them, and is furnished with every thing, let him boldly come and face them; however, let him not hazard an engagement the first day, but remain two or three days in the same place without motion. For almost all the *Turkish* soldiers are seized, at the first sight of the enemy, with an eager desire of coming to an engagement, so that they rush like lions to a battle, of their own accord, and can hardly be restrained by the *Chausbis**: but after the second or third day, this immoderate ardor abates, and if they are kept longer without fighting, it grows so cold, that they must be compelled to fight. It is safer

But one Basha
of the great
number es-
capes.

LVII. The only person who escaped, was *Mahmud ben ogli* (26), Pasha of the *Arnaudij*, and son of that Beglerbeg of *Rumelia*, who fell in the battle with *Vetèrani*: This *Mahmud* being twice wounded, was saved by the strength of his horse, which carried him over the river. I have heard him describing his escape in a very lively manner.

The Sultan
abandoning
his camp and
baggage, re-
tires to *Temis-
ware* in great
terror.

LVIII. After this misfortune, Sultan *Mustapha*, who was a melancholy, as well as idle spectator of the battle, being seized with a panic, though there was nothing to be feared from the *Germans*, who, fatigued with so much toil, could not repair the bridge in sight of so numerous an army as he had with him, at midnight, without any guide or light, abandons his camp, and directs his course towards *Temisware*.

He puts *Ca-
puji bashi*,
who gives
him better ad-
vice, to death.

LIX. *Capuji bashi*, a *Venetian* by birth, who had apostatized from the *Christian* faith, and assumed the name of *Shahin Mahomet*, endeavours to correct the error of the Sultan, and advises him not to leave his camp dishonourably; and by his flight, give the enemy, who had destroyed but a small part of his army, an entire victory. For there was no reason why he should retire with such precipitation, since the enemies were not only tired with so long a march and so many labours, but had no bridge, nor any other means of passing the river. But the Sultan was possessed by such dreadful apprehensions, that he rejected these wholesome advices, and immediately put the author to death, as a disguised *Christian*, bribed by the *Germans* to suggest pernicious counsels, and continued his flight with as much speed as before.

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fer to receive their first onset, than to attack them in their ranks. For when they are attacked, they fight in better order, and defend themselves with more care; besides, the cannon which they always place in their foremost ranks, make a great slaughter among those that dare to assault them. But if, on the contrary, you wait their attack, though it be very fierce, and mixed with hideous cries, yet as they are immediately in disorder, and cannot keep their ranks as they run, they are easily repulsed by the fire of the muskets. And these are the only instruments for gaining the victory, and for quelling the *Othman* fury. For if they come once to close fighting, they make a terrible slaughter among the *Christians*, whose swords are not equal to the sharp *Turkish* scimeters. When the *Christians* perceive them giving ground, and find their courage abate, they must not stand still, for that the enemies will take for a sign of fear, but they must advance slowly towards the enemies camp. And the retreating Janizaries seeing that, will make their whole camp resound with the confused cry of *Giaur gielly*, the Infidel is advanced; which disheartens the rest of the army, and is the first step to the enemies getting the victory. The Janizaries however do not immediately yield it, but are obliged by their officers to renew the fight. As they are coming on, the *Christians* must receive them with a continual fire, and drive them back, before they can approach: and if that succeeds, they are hardly brought to make a third onset. They being also repulsed the third time, you must

not stand still, but march cautiously towards their camp. And then this more horrible and louder outcry is heard throughout their camp, *Giaur bashi*, the infidel is come, or hath troden on our heels; after which, I have observed, they can never be brought again to renew the charge. For the moment the Janizaries hear it, they leave their trenches and cannon, and mind only to get a horse or a mule from any one that comes in their way, by which they may save themselves. And the cavalry, who are well acquainted with the Janizaries way, as if placed between two enemies, fly with all speed, and get as far as they can from the foot, for fear of being surrounded, as it generally happens, by the Janizaries, and thrown from their horses. But if a *Christian* General is over-cautious, and, for fear of an ambush, neglects to pursue them when they give way, the Janizaries immediately grow courageous, and, forgetting their defeat, as if they were victorious, the cry of *Giaur corcar*, the Infidel is afraid, is spread through their camp, by which means, their last attacks are much fiercer than the first, and they often gain a victory of which the *Christians* have thought themselves secure.

(26) *Mahmud ben ogli*] Beglerbeg of *Rumelia*, whose father, of the same name, was killed, three years before, in the battle with *Veterani*. That family has not only a great estate in *Rumelia*, but is also frequently promoted to Pashalics in that country, and very often, to the dignity of Beglerbeg of *Rumelia*.

LX. The *Turks* had another more grievous misfortune through the darkness of the night, which was so great, that no person could discern the path they were to take, by which means the whole retinue of the Sultan turning too much to the right towards the *Tibiscus*, fall into muddy and marshy ground, from which they were obliged to free themselves, by leaving their horses and baggage behind.

The *Turks*, out of fear, cast away the baggage which they had taken with them.

LXI. At last, at sun-rise, the Sultan comes to that place, where, the last year a battle had been fought with the *Germans*, and performing his morning-devotions, changes his horse and habit, and unknown to all, flies with the utmost speed to *Temisware*.

The Sultan also leaving the army, enters *Temisware* in disguise.

LXII. The army advancing about noon near the same place, and perceiving neither the Sultan, nor any of the great officers with them, are extremely surprised; and this terror is increased by a rumour, the author of which was unknown, spread at the same time through the whole army, that the Sultan was taken by the *Hungarians*, or betrayed by his own soldiers to the enemy. This report is readily received by those, whose minds were prepared by fear to believe any thing, and occasions them to disperse several ways, and every one anxious for his own safety to think only how to escape the *Germans*, whom they every moment imagined to be at their heels.

This occasion a dreadful scene of affairs among the *Turks*.

LXIII. Agitated with these imaginary fears, at last in the evening they reach *Temisware*, the governor of which shuts the gates against them. As they receive no certain account concerning the Sultan, the rumour of his being taken increases. For the governor of that city had been commanded by the Sultan to conceal his arrival by all possible methods, lest the *Germans* hearing of it should invest him there.

A rumour spread of the Sultan's being taken.

LXIV. Besides this apprehension, those, who had escaped, are attended with the perpetual companion of a defeat, want of provision; the corp had been left in their camp, they having been more solicitous to preserve themselves than their food. Some few had the good fortune to purchase bread at an excessive price. Their beasts of burthen likewise, as well as themselves were ready to die with thirst, and had no water to allay it. For the morass which surrounds *Temisware*, was almost dried up through the heat of the summer, and if there were any stinking puddles to be found, those who were strongest (27) seized them, and excluded the rest.

Which is attended with other misfortunes.

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(27) were strongest] Whenever I call to mind the miserable confusion at that time, I cannot help being seized with a secret horror. There was then no safety, either from friend or foe, but, on the contrary, the greatest confusion imaginable. The Sultan lay hid three days in the town, unknown to all but the Pasha, while various reports flew through the whole camp of his being taken and betrayed by his subjects. The troops that had escaped, wandered up and down without a commander, without a leader, without discipline, and for hunger, plundered every one they met. The great drought that happened that year, having dried up all the waters, the horses were forced, for thirst, to suck up the very mud; and if a man found by chance any standing water, he was obliged to kill or wound many, before he could come to wet his lips, much less to quench his thirst. Having escaped from the battle, I had brought away my tents and whole baggage, and was gone with the rest of the

forces, to *Temisware*, where I laid my furniture in a vineyard. Here I found by chance, the mouth of a well, covered with earth, over which, having pitched my tent, and got it cleaned to the bottom, it afforded me very fresh and pure water. After my family and horses had drank, I sent the next morning, about break of day, a servant, with a pitcher of water to the cook, but a soldier meeting him, takes the pitcher from him, drinks the water, and threatens to kill him, unless he would tell where he had found that water. The poor fellow, seeing a naked sword at his breast, is overcome with fear, and confesses that I had found a well under my tent. The soldier, the moment he had received the information, goes to his companions, tells them what he had heard, whereupon they all come, with a sword in one hand, and a bucket in the other, asking every one they met, where my tent was? So perceiving the thing discovered, and no longer to be concealed, I ordered my tent to be removed,

The Sultan at last discovers himself to the remains of his army.

LXV. At last, after the *Othman* army had for three days been like a ship in a stormy sea, without rudder or pilot, the Sultan, finding there was no danger from the *Germans*, with a guard of soldiers which he had received from the Pasha of *Temisware*, discovers himself to his army, and removes their fears: for all his forces testify their joy upon sight of him, as if he had returned in triumph, and cry out, they regard not their late misfortune, but would take a severe revenge upon the enemy, since they were assured of their Sultan's safety.

He appoints *Huseim Pasha*, governor of *Belgrade*, Vizir.

LXVI. The Sultan next day leads his troops, now recovered from their despair, towards *Belgrade*, and in his march coming to a place called *Alibunar* (28), is met by *Amucje Ogli Huseim Pasha*, governor of *Belgrade*, for whom he had sent by *Mirachor Cberkies* * *Mebemed Aga*, and as there were present no other *Bashas* honoured with three *Tugs*, confers on him the Vizirship.

The Sultan departs from *Belgrade* to *Constantinople*.
H. 1109.

LXVII. After a short stay at *Belgrade*, about the end of the month *Jemaziul ewvel*, of the year 1109, he returns with the remains of his army to *Adrianople*. This was the fate of the *Turkish* forces after their defeat. But the Imperialists, after their victory, had continued all night in the place of battle, apprehensive of some stratagem, usual among the *Turks*; but the next day passed the *Tibiscus*, and plundered what *Tekeli* (29) had left in the camp.

The Imperialists turn their arms against *Bosnia*, which they ravage in a dreadful manner.
The successful expeditions of *Daltaban Mustapha Pasha*.

LXVIII. After this, being discouraged from the siege of such strong cities as *Temisware* and *Belgrade*, by the season being too far advanced, they turned their arms against *Bosnia*, took *Dobe* and *Mogle*, set fire to *Serayo*, the capital of the country, and reduced almost the whole province.

LXIX. In this distress, the *Turkish* forces appointed to guard that country, not knowing what other method to take, go to *Daltaban Mustapha Pasha* (30),

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removed, and the well to be opened; and to excuse my self, told them, that having found there a dead man, I had hid the well, for fear some person pressed by thirst should, not knowing it, taste of the water before it was purged, and thereby pollute his soul. By this innocent lie, absolutely necessary at that time, I not only escaped the fury of the Barbarians, but received thanks for the good service I had done them.

(28) *Alibunar*] The *Fountain of Ali*, a place half way between *Temisware* and *Belgrade*, where the spies on both sides are wont to resort; for it is very high, and from thence you have a very good prospect of the whole country round.

(29) *Tekeli*] He had accompanied the Sultan in this expedition, and, after the defeat, seeing the bridge broken down, and knowing it could not be repaired by the *Germans* in so short a time, he staid all night in the *Turkish* camp, where he plundered all that was most valuable; and by that means he got greater riches for himself and his family, than he could have done from the Sultan's pension, which was hardly sufficient to maintain him.

(30) *Daltaban Mustapha*] A man very famous among the *Turks* for his warlike virtues. In his youth he was a Janizary, and brought up at the court of the great Vizir *Kioprii Ahmed Pasha*. His successor, *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, promoted him to the office of *Talkbisch-bi* *; but after his death, becoming the sport of fortune, he not only lost his place, but also could not come again into play, till

Arabaji Ali Pasha was made Vizir, by whom he was created *Janizar-Aga*. That post gave him the first opportunity of making his virtues known to the world; for he took a very great care of the publick tranquillity, severely chastised disorderly persons, and instead of riding on horseback, as his predecessors, he used to change his dress, and walk on foot night and day about the city (upon which account he had the name of *Daltaban*, that is, *unshod* or *barefooted*, given him,) which gave all sorts of men a very high opinion of him: so that when *Buyukly Mustapha* was raised to the dignity of Vizir, he thought no one so fit to succeed him in his office of *Babadaghy Seraskier* as *Daltaban*. Whilst he enjoyed this post, he applied himself wholly to clear *Moldavia* of the *Poles*, and for that purpose endeavoured to take *Soroka*, which was their magazine in that country, though he could not execute his design for want of a sufficient number of men, (for the greatest and best part of the *Othman* army was sent against the Emperor of Germany) yet he so bravely defended the borders of *Moldavia*, that the *Poles* could not make any farther progress, or do any considerable damage to the *Turkish* provinces. He held that employment about four years, in which time he contracted a close friendship with my father; which he not only retained as long as he lived, but also expressed it several ways, after my father's death, to his sons; a thing uncommon among Barbarians. When troubles arose in *Russia*, and the coun-