THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

HISTORY

OF

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE,

FROM ITS ESTABLISHMENT,

TILL THE YEAR

1828.

BY

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Publishers consider it altogether unnecessary to preface the following History with an elaborate Introduction. At this moment, the eyes of the whole civilized world are directed towards Turkey, as the theatre of a conflict which may terminate in the subversion of the Ottoman Empire, and a fitter time could not possibly present itself for offering to the British Public a succinct and authentic History of the origin and conquests of the warlike people who won that Empire, and whose descendants are now struggling so bravely to preserve it. Few histories present such a marvellous succession of triumphs, and no one, at the present crisis, is entitled to a more attentive perusal. The able manner in which

the author has arranged his materials, and the great mass of interesting information which he has compressed into his pages, authorise the Publishers to anticipate that its reception will not only be favourable, but that it will form what is so much required—a standard History of the Turkish Empire, from its establishment to the present time.

May, 1829.

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CHAPTER I.

LIFE OF MUHAMMED—CHARACTER—DOCTRINE.

History is, of all our studies, the one most attractive, and best qualified to reward our research, as it developes the springs and motives of human actions, and displays the consequence of those circumstances which operate most powerfully on the destinies of the human race. Its investigation also acquaints us with points of character of the highest moment; for the good and evil of life are so blended and combined in the connexion of causes and events, that the happiness or misery of millions may often be clearly referred to the daring act of an individual, and a permanent impression

be thereby made for ages upon the moral and intellectual character of mankind.

The events which, beyond all comparison, have marked most powerfully their influence upon the communities of civilized nations, are the rise and the downfall of the Roman empire; out of which great dismemberment arose the chief kingdoms of Europe: and the rise and growth of Islamism, which took forcible occupation, and still keeps possession, of the splendid provinces of the Roman empire in the East. Other revolutions have done little more than effect a mere change of dynasties, leaving the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian thrones to exhibit the same character of absolute power and external pomp, without producing any ameliorating tie between the people and their ruler: even the short but brilliant epoch of Greece, and the conquest of Alexander, had produced no permanent advantages to the Eastern nations; for the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ were as despotic and voluptuous as Darius or Xerxes: But the two important events already cited, have led to effects which are in full operation to the present day.

To change entirely the stream of empire, and to transfer the sceptre from the east to the west, was reserved for the Romans, who, founding their renowned capital on the banks of the Tyber, grew rapidly to be a martial people, fitted for empire, and displaying, from the infancy of their state, that unquenchable thirst for conquest, and that persevering valour, which finally accomplished the subjugation of the world.

From this moment it is, that history acquires a tenfold value; for the history of Rome is in fact the patrimony of the whole human race. Her firm and vigorous arm crushed the party distinctions

between the different provinces; her legislation brought them all under the operation of one uniform system of civil polity; her power effaced and swept away the feeble barriers and distinctions of the minor states of her vast circumference; and as far as her dominion spread, from Asia Minor to distant Britain, it melted down all the jarring elements of strife, and concocted the mass into one vast system of national greatness.

The declension of this great empire exhibits also some of the most striking lessons for the historian. Outward enemies shook its provinces with alarms and war; internal discord and civil dissension wasted the armies of Rome, and broke down her strength; the seditious spirit of the Prætorian guards of the palace drove the emperors from the Eternal City, whilst the richness of the Eastern provinces, and a magnificent and commercial position, established the rule of the East on the Byzantine promontory. Here a new capital was founded by Constantine, which grew to be the rival and supplanter of Rome;—its throne was occupied by the Cæsars from A. D. 330 to 1453. The whole of the long period subsequent to the year 570, presents a mournful series of struggles and vicissitudes, which our pages will detail historically.

The year 570 of the Christian era is pre-eminently remarkable for the birth of Muhammed, the founder of the faith of the Koran; an event which produced a revolution, the effects of which are felt at this day from the Pyrenean mountains and the Danube, to the furthest parts of the East.

To trace the rise and growth of the Muhammedan power under the Prophet, and his immediate successors the Kalifs, (although the nature of our

work must limit it to a mere sketch,) is the first requisite for imparting a just knowledge of the history of the Turks; who, increasing step by step from very inconsiderable beginnings, gradually at length absorbed the whole energies of the Moslem empire, and became the chief bulwark of Islamism.

Arabia was the natal country of Muhammed. This celebrated region, divided by the Red Sea from Africa; by the river Euphrates from Kurdistan; bounded on the north-east by the Persian gulf, and on the south-east by the Indian ocean, may be termed a peninsula. Its boundary would be completely maritime, if no isthmus intervened between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Its extent, from the extreme northern point of the Euphrates to the straits of Babelmandel, is estimated at fifteen hundred miles; and the character of its surface and produce are sufficiently delineated, even at the present period, by the Greek divisions into the Stony, the Sandy, and the Happy Arabia:—in this range the Arabic language and letters have been immemorially current.

The Arabs have never been effectually subdued, nor does history record any permanent impression made on them, except on their borders; where, indeed, the Phœnicians, Persians, Ethiopians, Egyptians, and, in modern * times, the Turks, have

* The most important step ever made in this respect, is the conventional agreement established by Muhammed Ali, the viceroy of Egypt, with the tribes of the desert, the Bedouins, who, being accustomed to frequent the borders of the Nile for pasturage, have always practised their predatory onsets at other periods of the year, plundering, indiscriminately, the unfortunate hamlets and population of the soil. By the vigour and policy of the Pasha, these tribes are now attached permanently to certain districts and portions of the

severally acquired settlements; but, with these exceptions, the nations of Hejaz and Yemen have preserved, for ages, the sole dominion of their deserts and pastures, their mountains and fertile valleys, their primitive manners and language,* features, and character.

It is generally asserted, that the old religion of the Arabs was entirely Sabean; but this at least seems certain, that the people of Yemen very soon fell into the common and fatal error of adoring the sun and the firmament. Other tribes worshipped the planets and the fixed stars; but the religion of the poets, at least, seems to have been pure Theism. While the noble and learned Arabs were Theists, a stupid idolatry prevailed among the lower orders of the people; and their system of morals, generous and enlarged as it seems to have

borders, whereon, at the season of drought, they may freely domesticate and sustain themselves, their families, and camels, under his protection; while this munificence and amity are amply requited by a cessation on their part from all hostility, and a frequent aid to his armies from their tribes.

* The Arabic language abhors the composition of words, and invariably expresses very complex ideas by circumlocution. It is the genius of the Sanscrit, and other languages of the same stock, that the roots of verbs should be almost universally biliteral, so that five-and-twenty hundred such roots might be formed by the composition of the fifty Indian letters; but the Arabic roots are universally triliteral, so that the composition of the 28 Arabic letters would give nearly two-and-twenty thousand elements of the same language; and this will demonstrate the amazing extent of it, so that we may easily believe with the Arabs, that no man, uninspired, was ever a complete master of Arabic; and we are told that the great author of the Kamus learned by accident, from the mouth of a child, in a village of Arabia, the meaning of three words, which he had long sought for in vain from grammarians and from books, of the highest reputation.—As. Res. Sir W. Jones, vol. ii. p. 6.

been in the minds of an illustrious few, was on the whole miserably depraved, for a century at least, before Muhammed. The Arabic poems, entitled Almoallakat,* which have appeared in our own language, exhibit an exact view of their virtues and their vices, their wisdom and their folly; and show, what may be constantly expected from men of open hearts and boiling passions, with no law to control, and little religion to restrain them.

Few monuments of antiquity are preserved in Arabia; but the evident testimony to be drawn from their poetry and arts would clearly prove that the people of Arabia, both in desert plains and in cities, were eminently civilized for many ages before the appearance of their celebrated lawgiver and prophet. So great, on the whole, was the strength of parts or capacity, either natural or acquired, for which the Arabs were ever distinguished, that we cannot be surprised when we see that blaze of genius, which they displayed, as far as their arms extended, when they burst through their ancient limits, and spread like an inundation over the East.

The famous founder of Islamism† was born at

* The Moalaket are seven of the most excellent of the Arabic poems, which *were suspended* on the temple of Mecca. These may be seen in the fourth volume of Sir W. Jones's works, with an elegant English prose translation. Their authors are Amroolkais, Tarafa, Zohair, Lebeed, Antara, Amroo, and Hareth.—Clarke's Biblio. Dict. Suppl. 306.

† It will be useful to bear in mind the following words most common in Muhammedan history.

The word, Islamism, comes from the Arabic root, Islam or Eslam, and signifies simply, "consecration," or "dedication to God." It is usually appropriated to the Muhammedan world, and its professors are called Mussulmans, from the Arabic, Meslemoun, "consecrated."—Hale, 303. Mill's

Mecca, in the 881 year of the era of Alexander, or Seleucus; 881—B. C. 312—A. D. 569; and 53 years before the era of the Hejira, A. D. 622. (Vid. Abulfeda, page 2. 50.) His father, Abdallah, died about the time he was born, or shortly before, and left him in his grandfather's care, Abdal Motalleb, a prince of the Koreishites, the most noble tribe among the Arabs, and high priest of the Caaba or temple of Mecca. On the seventh day after his birth, his grandfather named him Muhammed, (signifying celebrated or glorious); and when his assembled friends observed that no one of his family was called by that name, "I wish," said the old man, "that God may glorify him in heaven, whom he hath created upon earth."

When Muhammed was eight years old, he lost his grandfather—who, dying, consigned him to the care of Abu Taleb, his eldest son; by whom he was bred up as a merchant, being taken by him at twelve or thirteen years of age into Syria, on a commercial journey to Bosra. This journey introduced the youthful Muhammed to the knowledge of Sergius, a Nestorian monk, by whom they were entertained, and who ventured strongly to affirm to Abu Taleb that his nephew would prove a very extraordinary person.

At the age of 25, Muhammed espoused Khadijah, a rich and noble widow, who had been twice

Hist. Muhammedanism, page 26. Islam or Islamism, means the total dedication of the soul to God; it also means the Muhammedan world; it is therefore of the same acceptation among the Muhammedans, as the words Christianity and Christendom among Christians. Moslem, or Muselman, is a derivative from Islem, and is the common name of Muhammedans, without distinction of sect or opinion. Moslem, and Muselman, is the singular; Moslems, and Muselmans, the plural.

married, and was of his own tribe; he had for some time been employed as her factor, to conduct her mercantile concerns, whereby he had considerably augmented her fortune. This match greatly benefited his circumstances.*

Muhammed was passionately fond of her, and they had eight children, nor did he take any other wife during her lifetime. The supposition of her more advanced age, and probably being past child-bearing, is clearly unfounded; the account of Maracci is more probable, that she died, twenty-four years after, in her 49th year, and therefore was only twenty-five at her marriage, the same age as Muhammed.

The long chasm in Muhammed's history, of twelve years from this marriage until he began, in the year 606 A. D., to fabricate his imposture, in a cave of Mount Hara, about three miles from Mecca, to which he usually retired during the month of Ramadan, may consistently be filled up by the pursuit of mercantile concerns, and his successive journeys to Syria, and the informing himself in the Jewish and Christian tenets, and also of the sects and heresies that then divided the eastern and western world. At length, A. D. 609, when he was full forty years old, he disclosed his prophetic mission, at first only to his

* As long as the generous Khadijah lived, the conjugal fidelity of Muhammed is expressly declared; he afterwards married Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker, with whom he received a large fortune; and subsequently a still larger one with the widow Hafsa, daughter of Omar. When the warm aspect of fortune shone upon him, licentious passions overcame his self-control; and he was not ashamed to confess that women and perfumes were his chief delight.

own wife Khadijah; he told her that the Angel Gabriel, or the Holy Spirit, had appeared to him in glory, and declared that God had missioned him as an apostle to reform the world; *that he then delivered to him the Koran for a divine law,** which should complete all antecedent revelations. The night of this revelation, near the end of Ramadan, was called Al Kadi, "the divine decree," and is celebrated in the Koran, c. 97.

Although the Koran is thus manifestly supposed to have been shown or given whole and entire to Muhammed on this night, he, either from necessity or artfully, communicated it by piecemeal to his followers, occasionally, and as best suited his purposes. *Before this night* Muhammed *pretended to be illiterate,* and answered to Gabriel's injunction, on the delivery of the

* The Koran was first written in the character called the Kufic, and without vowels or points. A fragment of it, written on vellum, was brought from Egypt by Mr Greaves, which is still preserved at Oxford in the Bodleian Library. The several suras or chapters of which it consists were written originally on palm leaves, or pieces of parchment, as they were pretended to be revealed. After Muhammed's death, they were collected into a volume by his successor Abubeker, but without any attention to the order of time in which they came out, or to their subjects. The longest chapters were placed at the head of the volume and the shortest at the end, although the shortest were usually the first written and the longest the last. Thus the first chapter actually published by Muhammed was the cited invitation of Gabriel to "read," though now made to be the 96th chapter, near the end of the Koran. The present 5th chapter was written after his farewell pilgrimage to Mecca, the year before his death, and the last chapter he published was the ninth.—Hale, iii. 307.

Koran, " to read," by the avowal, " I know not how." Gabriel replied, " Read in the name of God the Creator" (chap. 96.) But Muhammed, although frequently styled the illiterate prophet, never himself pretended to be so after this night; evidence, indeed, can be supplied by reasonable probabilities that he was highly gifted, and such most clearly it would require him to be, to indite the pages of the Koran. Several parts of the Koran prove his meaning solely to be that he was ignorant, previously to that night, whereby he attached the sacred weight of miracle to his natural genius and talents. He frequently disputed with the Jews on the law of Moses and the religion of Abraham, and confounded them from the Hebrew Scriptures.

Khadijah gained for her husband an important proselyte in her uncle Waraka, a Christian, who was well read in the Old and New Testament. He pronounced Muhammed to be " *the great Prophet foretold by Moses the son of Amram.*" Waraka was a far more probable assistant to Muhammed in composing of his Koran than Sergius the monk, or any other person, in a matter of such trust and delicacy.

The effort of a first step had now been made. Arabia, overspread with idolatrous rites and sunk in the grossest depravities, split into more feuds than tribes, and languishing under the weight of her polytheistic superstitions, in the short space of ten years became stimulated by the doctrine and energies of Muhammed to put forth the most impetuous and gigantic efforts, and commenced that career of arms and arts which changed the face of the East. The next proselyte was Abubeker, a rich and respectable inhabitant of Mecca;

whose example being followed by many others, Muhammed ventured on a bolder demonstration of his mission. At a numerous assemblage of the Koreishites at his public entertainment, he demanded who would become his vizier or prime minister, annexing the joys of this world and the happiness of heaven to his followers. The guests remained silent in surprise, when the youthful Ali, a boy about thirteen or fourteen years of age, started up enthusiastically, and said, "I will be thy vizier, O prophet of God. I will break the teeth, pluck out the eyes, rip up the belly, cut off the legs of thy enemies." The joy and approval testified by Muhammed to the zeal of his youthful disciple was an apt and early specimen what manner of spirit he and his deputy were of. The hostile proceedings and denunciations of the Prophet against their idolatry at length aroused the enmity of the Koreishites; but their threats were despised by him, and in reply to the prudent remonstrances of his uncle Abu Taleb, he exclaimed, "Though the Koreishites should arm against me the sun and the moon, the one on my right hand and the other on my left, I would not be shaken from my resolution."* He, however, retired for a while to a castle in Mount Safa, and his followers were banished from the city of Mecca.† After this persecution had sub-

* In this taunt Muhammed thus energetically expresses himself, that if the Koreishites were even assisted by the planets they so ignorantly worshipped, yet he would not shrink from his doctrine of the unity of the Divine Being, as opposed to their idolatrous divinities.

† Here he gained two remarkable converts in Hamza, another of his uncles, and the ferocious Omar, who went with a resolution to kill him, but was converted by

sisted for five years, in the tenth year of his mission (A. D. 618) he sustained a serious loss to his party by the death of his uncle, when an enemy succeeded to the office of chief pontiff of the Caaba. Abu Taleb also died unconverted; he was followed by the faithful and generous Khadijah. Instead of sinking under these great misfortunes, upon being violently urged by the Koreishites, who derided his pretensions, to exhibit some miracle, Muhammed ventured, in the 12th year of his mission, to publish the revelation of his night visit or journey to the seven heavens.*

This event formed a striking epoch in his mission, and displayed in the strongest manner the dexterity as well as boldness of his measures: the question so forcibly put to him of establishing his mission by miracles, is therein artfully parried, and replied to, by an appeal to the wonders wrought by Moses, which did not work the reformation of Pharaoh, and to those of Jesus, which failed with

reading a chapter of the Koran, shown him by his sister, who had embraced the doctrine of Muhammed.

* When he argued from the excellency of the doctrine of the Koran to its divinity, and dwelt on the inimitable beauty of the language of the Koran, the people called aloud for miracles. His reply was, "they were useless, for that Moses and Jesus had proved their missions by miracles, yet that the world was lost in unbelief." "Let the angel Gabriel make delicious gardens for us in the midst of the desert," said his taunting enemies. The Prophet had too much policy to endanger his cause by affecting to command the powers of nature, yet presuming on his reputation for veracity, he solemnly assured his disciples that the veil between him and the Almighty had been withdrawn, and that he had been transported to the heaven of heavens.—Life of Muhammed, Mills, 15.

the Jews; he also incidentally remarked, that miracles were designed rather to strike terror and to punish than to convince. The following are a few particulars, extracted from Abulfeda's account of this journey:—

"While I was in the Kaaba, reclining on the sacred stone, Gabriel came to me; he opened my breast, and took out my heart, and washed it in a golden basin full of the water of *faith*, and then restored it to its place. Afterwards a white beast was brought to me, less than a mule and larger than an ass, called Al Barak (the lightning), so swift that he finished his course in the twinkling of an eye." In the first heaven Muhammed declares that he met and discoursed with Adam; in the second, with John Baptist and Jesus (Isa); in the third, with the patriarch Joseph; in the fourth, with Edris or Enoch; in the fifth, with Aaron; in the sixth, with Moses; in the seventh, with Abraham. Thence he was carried up to Sedrat,* the lotus tree, whence were the sources of the four rivers of Paradise. At last he came to the throne of God. In the conclusion of this extraordinary fabrication he skilfully adds, that when he was enjoined to repeat fifty prayers each day, he entreated for his nation, and they were finally reduced at his intercession to five. To finish the wonder, he was returned back to the Kaaba† ere the crier called him to prayers; and

* It is curious to trace how the idea of a tree of life intermixes itself with every scheme of doctrine in the East. Thus, in the Budhist books, each of the heavens enjoys its own sacred tree, which bestows a variety of gifts, and flourishes through the whole kalpe, or mundane period.

† Kaaba. This quadrangular edifice at Mecca is in-

" thus," concluded Muhammed, " did I bring with me the prescribed number of prayers,* and lessened the burden for my nation."

It may be easily supposed that this vision was not readily or universally accepted; but at a public meeting, Muhammed appealed to his father-in-law Abubeker for the authenticity of the story, who at once declaring that " he believed the whole," the people were thereby either silenced or convinced. In this memorable year twelve citizens of Medina swore allegiance and obedience to the prophet, whence they were styled Al Ansar, " the defenders;" and the year A. D. 620 was styled " the accepted year." On Mount Akaba seventy-three more proselytes were soon added to their number, and " *swore to defend the Prophet from all insult, as they defended their own wives and children.* If," said they to the apostle of God, " we be slain in thy cause, what shall be our reward ?" He answered, " *Paradise.*" Then said they, " Stretch forth thy right hand,"

disputably so ancient its original use and the name of its builder are lost in a cloud of idle traditions. Some ascribe it to Abraham, others, with more probability, to Ishmael, or one of his immediate descendants. Whether it was built as a place of divine worship, as a fortress, as a sepulchre, or as a monument of the treaty between the old possessors of Arabia and the sons of Kedar, antiquaries may dispute, but no mortal can determine.—Sir W. Jones, ii. 11. The Kaaba was supposed to have been first built by Ishmael, 2793 years before the Hejira.—Abulfeda.

* The public prayers are said before sunrising and after sunset. Two others may be said apart, at noon and before sunset, and a third in the night before the first watch.

and he did so; then they took the oath of obedience, promising rather to die than be perjured. He now established twelve apostles of Islamism, himself being the prime instructor and chief of all the true believers; and he then sent away the auxiliaries, his followers, and his family, to Medina for security, and remained behind at Mecca, attended only by Abubeker and his son-in-law Ali.

By the protection which his uncle Abu Taleb had hitherto extended to Muhammed, he had been preserved thus far from his enemies; but the charge and dignity of the priest and guardian of the Kaaba having now become the post of a member of the family of Ommyiah, a declared enemy to the family of Haschem, the Koreishites, irritated and alarmed at the progress making by the new doctrine at Medina, resolved to destroy its author and chief support. This design, however, became known; and Muhammed and Abubeker withdrew from the fate which otherwise inevitably awaited them. Their safety was chiefly owing to the generous devotion of Ali, who, clad in the green mantle of the Prophet, and reclining on the same bed, magnanimously courted the death intended by foes for his master; yet even the hatred of enemies respected the elevation of mind evidenced by Ali. On ascertaining the flight of their purposed victim, they followed swiftly his traces to Medina.

In the recesses of a cave near Mecca, Muhammed and Abubeker eluded for three days the pursuit of their enemies. "There are only two of us," said the apprehensive disciple when he expected the pursuer to penetrate their retreat,—

" There is a third, even God himself," said his intrepid chief; " he will defend us."*

After a perilous journey, Muhammed entered Medina in triumph, being enthusiastically received by the Ansars, who disputed for the honour of entertaining the Prophet, and took hold of the bridle of his camel: Muhammed then desired them to let her take her own way, for she was a stubborn beast; which she took accordingly, and stopped at the stable of two rich orphans, Sahali and Sohaili, where the Prophet dismounted. This spot the Prophet purchased from the orphans, after refusing their offer to bestow it upon him, and Abubeker paid the money. He erected thereon a mosque † and a habitation for himself, on which he laboured with his own hands.

To prevent schism between the two parties of his followers, the Ansarians, or auxiliaries from Medina, and the Mohagrians, or refugees from Mecca, he instituted a fraternity in arms, a vowed brotherhood, which should indissolubly unite both parties in the prosecution of his wars. He chose Ali as his own brother in warfare; Abubeker he coupled with Hareja; Omar with Otban, &c. He cemented this military association

* According to traditions, Muhammed afterwards asserted that a miracle was wrought in his behalf; for that his enemies, approaching the cave, found that it was covered by spiders' webs hanging from the trees at its entrance, which convinced them that no person had entered it for a long time.

† Mosques in Arabia are called " El Djummaa," or Places of Assembly; but the Kaaba at Mecca, and the Mosque at Jerusalem, are named " El Haram," a place peculiarly sacred by the presence of God.

by a verse from the Koran (chap. iii.) In this year he appointed the anniversary fast in the seventh month, Ramadan, signifying "burning;" because, in the fixed solar year, which the Arabs anciently used, it is the hottest month of the year.

The Mussulmans date the commencement of Muhammed's sway from the first year of the Hejira* (A. D. 622.)

It was from this period that Muhammed, having fully ascertained the hate of his enemies, and the extent of his own power, proceeded to lay aside the arts of persuasion and patient endurance, whereby he had hitherto sought to propagate his tenets; and, elated by the devotion of his disciples and his reception at Medina, he framed, henceforth, the revelations of the Koran, in a tone which proclaimed him a persecutor, and empowered his followers to make war against all opposers. Assuming both the sacerdotal and regal character, he prayed daily in the mosque which he had built, and expounded his doctrine; and it was observed by the deputies from Mecca, when they were received in his camp without the walls, that the disciples of the Prophet already paid him profounder homage than Cæsar of Constantinople, or Khousrou of Persia, could command. Soon did the storm arise which called forth the energies of his character; and the celebrated battle of Bider, fought on the 17th of Ra-

* The generality of writers place this epoch on Friday the 16th of July 622. It is this event which has rendered Friday the solemn day of the week for his followers: this choice also agreeing with the customs of the Arabians, who held their assemblies usually on the Friday.

madan, in the first year of the Hejira, enabled him to lay open the resources of his mind, for preparing the instruments of his future greatness. He attacked a caravan of a thousand camels, richly laden, from Syria, and escorted by a thousand Koreishites. Muhammed captured the whole, having with him in the battle only the inferior force of three hundred and thirteen foot, two horse, and seventy camels. This important victory was achieved with the loss of only fourteen soldiers, who were at once declared martyrs.

He made known those doctrines which have rendered the arms of the Mussulmans so formidable, namely, "That no one can escape his destiny, inasmuch as the man whose days are not complete, will escape unhurt from a shower of arrows; when he, whose fatal term has arrived, cannot escape death by any precaution whatsoever." The second incitative is that which the present occasion furnished him with:—"The sword," exclaimed the Prophet, "is the key of heaven and of hell; *a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent under arms,* is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer. Whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven: at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion, and odoriferous as musk; the loss of his limbs shall be replaced by the wings of angels and of cherubim." (Koran, chap. iii., viii.) The gaining of the battle of Bider was, however, wholly attributable to the extraordinary stratagem of Muhammed, by his expedient, at the critical moment, of scattering a handful of dust against his enemies, with the exclamation of, "Let their faces be confounded!" which action so invigorated his fainting followers, that they

charged and overthrew their foes. The wealth of his capture enabled the Prophet to incite them to further efforts, by every allurement of which the predatory habits of Arabians are mainly susceptible, namely, plunder and sensuality. One-fifth of the spoil was decreed to the altar; the remainder was faithfully distributed among the troops, allotting to the horsemen (the sinews of his strength in arms) a double portion of the reward, while all were inflamed by the promise of the possession of the female captives, and their religious ardour was sustained by the meed of the crown of martyrdom and of Paradise. In the opposite scale of his policy, Muhammed, to intimidate his foes, treated his captives with great severity; he remained encamped on the field for three days, allotting the punishments and the rewards.

This battle, and the consequences resulting therefrom, may be regarded as a great developement of the designs of Muhammed: such were the springs of influence, such the ferocity of character, whereby he perfected his enlarged scheme of conquest.

Watchful to aggrandize himself, he attacked and subdued several neighbouring tribes, both Jewish and Pagan. He was not, however, always successful: he was defeated by the Koreishites at the battle of Ahad, and wounded in the face. Wounded in the mouth, with his teeth broken, and his uncle Hamza slain, he maintained his firmness and his assumed character; asserting at once a revelation from the angel Gabriel given to him on the spot, that Hamza the Martyr was inscribed in the seventh heaven, as "the lion of God and of his Prophet." He next fortified

Medina,* to resist a combined but fruitless confederacy of the surrounding tribes to arrest his progress; and having at length subdued the chief part of the Pagan tribes, and by his relentless severity exterminated the Jewish classes who dwelt peacefully in Arabia, in the seventh year of the Hejira, A. D. 628, he assumed the state of a sovereign, and sent embassies to the neighbouring monarchs, exhorting them to embrace Islamism. The royal Persian, Khosrou Parviz, treated his message with disdain; Heraclius, the Greek emperor, with silent respect; but Nacshi Ashama, emperor of Abyssinia, answered it by apostatizing from Christianity, and professing the creed of the impostor; an event little less extraordinary than was the letter of Muhammed which caused it. A mission in the succeeding year to the Sultan of Bosra, afforded him the desirable pretext, which he had long coveted, for the invasion of the rich province of Syria; and opened the series of struggles and of wars which lasted for nearly eight hundred years, until the capture of Constantinople by the Turks.

Amru, governor of Mouta, a small town on

* It is recorded that he wrought at the ditch, to incite order; and having struck fire three times with his hammer against a rock, being asked what those sparks portended? "The first," said he, "that God will reduce, by my arms, Arabia Felix; the second, Syria and the West; the third, the East." (Abulfeda, p. 76.) So early had this daring character calculated on the energies of Arabia, when united into one powerful state, having her sons actuated by his views and his unbounded desire of dominion. It is the remark of Ibn Khaldoun, grounded on an intimate knowledge of the origin of the Eastern dynasties, "that the greatest empires have been founded by prophets, and are Theocracies."

the river Jordan, serving under the Emperor Heraclius, having assassinated the ambassador who was proceeding from Muhammed to Bosra, the prophet instantly dispatched an army of 3000 men, to require the inhabitants to profess Islamism, or to exterminate them with fire and sword. This little band were opposed by a Greek army of 100,000 men, who were entirely defeated by the impetuous valour and the fierceness of the Arabian warriors. The three generals named by Muhammed were successively slain. They counted not less than fifty wounds of the sword or lance on the body of Jafar, the second of these commanders, which were all received in front; the heroism of Khaled, the fourth leader, who broke no less than nine swords in the engagement, finally won the day. Such were the seeds of that fanatic and resistless enthusiasm, which poured forth the sons of Arabia, and made them alike regardless of wounds and of death.

A quarrel, real or feigned, for the cause of his allies the Choraites, against the Meccans, gave Muhammed at length the opportunity of possessing himself of Mecca, and of the sacred Kaaba. Muhammed appearing suddenly at their gate with 10,000 men, before the troops of Mecca had even been apprized of his departure from Medina, they had no choice but an immediate surrender, or instant destruction. Thus pressed and menaced with instant death, the Koreishites submitted to the superior ascendant of Muhammed. Their final submission to his power, and their acceptance of his faith, were ratified subsequently on the hill Elsafa. Having visited the sacred building of the Kaaba, and broken in pieces the idols wherewith it was encircled, Muhammed went in pro-

cession seven times round the building, and touched respectfully the black stone; then entering the edifice, he repeated the formulary—"*God is great*," and addressed his prayer. Afterwards he went to the well Zemzem, drank there of the holy water, and performed the required ablution. Artfully blending attention to exterior observances with zeal, and pursuing a mixed system of mercy and vigour, he subdued the hearts of his high-minded countrymen, and soon superadded to his claims of power the more imposing and indissoluble bonds of superstitious reverence and awe. The capture of Mecca, and submission of this powerful race, was soon followed by the conversion to Islamism of most of the remoter pagan tribes, until all Arabia bowed her neck beneath his yoke.

Muhammed, having become master of Arabia, made great preparations for the conquest of Syria: but that vast enterprise was reserved for his successors. He gradually, however, paved the way for their successes, and brought the celebrated region of Arabia into one compact and powerful union. He established the law, which still obtains in all the Mussulman states, of imposing a personal tax on such subjects as do not embrace Islamism. By this custom, still subsisting among all the sovereigns who acknowledge the Koran, every reputed infidel pays a kharatjh, or capitation, over and above the imposts, which he supports equally with the rest of the subjects. He absolutely prohibited all idolators from making the pilgrimage to Mecca, or any foreigner from entering the Kaaba, under pain of death. These were strokes of profound policy. He retained the pilgrimage to Mecca, which had been of ancient standing, among the descendants

of Abraham and Ishmael; though he destroyed their images at Mecca as objects of idolatrous worship, he carefully retained the holy relics of the black stone,* and impression of Abraham's foot.

These practices no less forwarded the progress of Islamism, than did his sword. Every where the petty Arabian princes overthrew their idols, and submitted themselves to the new faith.

In the 10th year of the Hejira, A. D. 631, Muhammed set forth on a solemn and pompous embassy to Mecca, accompanied by all his wives, and, according to the lowest computation, by ninety thousand pilgrims. He sacrificed with his own hands 63 victims, and liberated 63 slaves, in thanksgiving for each year of his life; he shaved his head, and scattered his hair among the multitude, who eagerly seized its portions as sacred relics. He closed the solemnity with the following apostrophe, which, as if pronounced from heaven, concludes the Koran. "Henceforth, wretched and miserable shall they be who deny your religion. Fear not them, but fear me: this day I have perfected your religion, and completed my grace toward you. I have willed that Islamism be your religion." (Chap. v. ver. 4.) He established the lunar movable year still in use; and finally, as supreme Pontiff, or Imaum, dismissed the people with a farewell,† the last, as he de-

* The black stone had been immemorially venerated there; the angels, it was said, had brought it *white* to that edifice, and the sins of mankind had transformed it to *black*. Hence, in allusion to this stone, the Orientals use the compliment: May God whiten thy face; may the Shah make thy face white, &c.

† Amid the traits by which this remarkable man was

clared, that he should give them; whence this pilgrimage derived its name of the Farewell.

Muhammed drew near the close of his extraordinary and fortunate career. His health had been for three years on the decline; but he had neither relaxed his duties nor his labours. Tainaf, a Jewess, appears to have been the instrument to work this great event; a retributive retaliation which he had richly merited, by the base and savage cruelty with which he persecuted the Jewish race, scattered peacefully amid the plains of Arabia, their refuge and resort. He had early sought to allure them to adopt his tenets; but finding them inflexibly bound to their law, he sought their destruction. The poisoned mutton which he tasted in the castle of Khaibar, although he instantly spat forth the tainted morsel, imparted its mortiferous principle to the vitals of the Prophet, and laid the foundation of his mortal malady, and of three years of protracted sufferings. Of this disease, the last stage was a bilious fever, which lasted for fourteen days. At times it deprived him of the use of his reason;

distinguished, may clearly be discriminated a vein of personal kindness, nay, even of tenderness, to his own peculiar associates. To Ali, Abubeker, and his other earliest adherents, this might be easily admitted. The following also is one, among such: Appointing his intimate friend, Moadh, to represent him at Jaad, Muhammed, on his departure, helped him to mount his mule, and attended him a considerable way on foot. Moadh wished to alight, but Muhammed prevented him. "Think not that I degrade my dignity; I accomplish the decree of Heaven, and gratify myself. Alas, said he, sighing, this is the last time that I shall converse with you! we shall meet no more till the day of the resurrection." The friends shed tears at parting, and for the last time.

but as Muhammed kept up the claims of his mission throughout the visitation of sickness and declining health, which he had experienced for three years previously, so did he maintain the imposition through the more trying and appalling period of his approaching dissolution. Amid his agonies he planned an expedition into Syria. Entering the Mosque, leaning on the arms of Fadl and of Ali, he then made public protestations, after prayer, of his innocence to the people. "Have I scourged any one? I submit my own back to the scourge;—have I aspersed the reputation of a Mussulman? let him proclaim my fault;—has any one been despoiled of his goods? the little that I possess shall compensate for the principal and interest." A spectator exclaimed: "You are indebted to me three drachms of silver." Muhammed heard, and satisfied him, thanking at the same time his creditor, for accusing him in this world, rather than at the day of judgment.

The Ansars of Medina received his last injunctions. "Expel the idolators from Arabia; permit proselytes to enjoy the same privileges as yourselves; be constant in prayer." To these three final commands, he added a curse against the Jews, recorded by Ayesha: "God curse the Jews; for they converted the sepulchres of their prophets into temples."* Ayesha added: If he had not prohibited it under a curse, his own tomb would have scarcely escaped from being likewise so converted into a temple. (Abulfeda, p. 136.)

* The Wahabites attained their extraordinary success by resisting the pilgrimages made to Medina and Mecca, as contrary to the will of the Prophet, and as having become idolatrous; in fact, they were modern reformers of the law of Muhammed.

He went regularly to the Mosque to public prayers during his illness, until the last three days; then he directed that Abubeker should officiate as Imaum, and recite the prayers to the people.

At his express desire, he was removed to the dwelling of Ayesha, his favourite wife. To his companions he still described the visits of the angel Gabriel as continued to him, asserting, as his especial prerogative, that the angel of death was not permitted to take his soul, until he had respectfully solicited his permission. That request was granted, and Muhammed instantly fell into the agony of dissolution; his head was reclined on the lap of Ayesha; he fainted with the violence of his pain; recovering a little from his exhaustion, and raising his eyes towards the roof of the house, with a steadfast look, but faltering voice, he uttered the last broken though articulate words. "O God, pardon my sins. Ah, my companion, I attend thee to the realms above;" and peacefully expired on the floor.

To Ayesha he frequently complained, during his last illness, of the effects of the poison administered to him at Khaibar; and perhaps it may be fairly imputed to the acuteness of his pain, that he felt such inveteracy towards the Jewish race in his last moments.

The news of his death was discredited by those of his followers who considered their Prophet exempt from the penalty of mortality; among others, the ferocious Omar: he, drawing forth his scimitar, threatened to decapitate whoever spoke of the apostle's death. Symptoms of putrefaction, however, soon put it beyond a doubt, and Al Abbas, his uncle, announced: "By the only God,

Muhammed, the apostle of God, has most certainly tasted of death." He was then embalmed, and buried underneath the same roof, at his own request, and a mosque arose over his remains. Thus Medina became sanctified by his death, and his tomb; and the Mussulman pilgrims to the holy city of Mecca, turn aside with deep devotion, to honour the simple burial-place of their prophet and teacher.

Thus lived, and thus died, the most extraordinary and consummate impostor that ever appeared on the stage of the world; who acted his part throughout, uniformly and consistently, from first to last, steady to his principles; and though he lived not the life of the righteous, seemed *to die the death of the righteous*, in the serenity and composure with which he resigned his existence.

The extraordinary influence which the founder of Islamism produced upon the destinies of the East, makes it essential to contemplate his character and doctrines in a light equally removed from the partialities of the Muhammedan, and the prejudices of the early Christian writers.

The time and the season were particularly suited for the introduction of new doctrines; and the country and public feeling peculiarly favourable for their propagation. Muhammed united all the qualifications which the arduous enterprise required. Gifted by nature with a fine person, an insinuating address, and with a commanding eloquence, he joined a perfect knowledge of the most polished language of the Arabic tongue, with extensive information from his travels and studies. To an ambition which knew no bounds, he united a boldness and promptness of decision, equal to the most daring attempts,

accompanied by a steadiness and perseverance which no danger or difficulty could baffle or overcome. He possessed a deep insight into the springs of action of the human heart, and a power of acting upon the fickle and fiery passions of his countrymen, in a manner the most potent and extraordinary, whereby he humoured their passions, and moulded them implicitly and devotedly to his will; acquiring, by his pretensions, as well as his extravagant revelations, the most unbounded ascendency over their minds.

Other ambitious characters before Muhammed, and after him, have attempted the same course, and claimed to be prophets sent from God; but we in vain seek for any career of parallel importance among any of the reformers of the East. Zoroaster, Mani, Mazdek, and others, have flourished, and even converted millions of their race; but their doctrines are known chiefly in books, and the age of their existence even is become doubtful. Muhammed had sufficient policy and judgment to examine and blend together the principles of each sect, whereby he might render his doctrines palatable to his disciples, and might fasten his yoke upon the willing minds of his followers. Seeing the corruptions which had crept into the Mosaical and Christian dispensations, while he professed to reverence both, he avowedly professed to restore the primitive religion of Abraham; rightly judging, that the simplicity and attractive colouring of the patriarchal faith was eminently calculated to gain over, and unite in bonds of attraction, the fiery race of Arabia—as much from its pastoral character, as from the opportunities which it gave to the predatory and lawless habits of the sons of the desert. Un-

tainted by luxury, and hardy by their habits, the tribes of Arabia were now in that early stage of progressive civilisation when they are most fitted for conquest; they were, moreover, divided into a variety of sects and religions, but each of them imperfect and corrupted. The Magian, or Sabæan faith, had become a monstrous mass of idolatrous impurities; the Jewish tribes had alike apostatized from Moses and from the Talmud; the Christian church had also corrupted its doctrines and practices by the heresies of their different classes, which fled alike into Arabia, as to a refuge from the persecutions of the Greek and Persian emperors.

The natural effect of such a divided state of the country, both in government and religion, became greatly contributive to the success of Muhammed. Arabia could not have subsisted any long time as she was circumstanced at the period of his appearance; and therefore the success of his stupendous imposture is the more to be deplored, as, without such a baneful interposition, it may be clearly apprehended, that the benign light of Christianity would have at length worked that regenerative change, which, by divine power, might have fixed the East in the true worship of God. That the times were ripe for a change at this period, is apparent from the simultaneous attempts made by three individuals who also set up for prophets: Al Aswad, Moisailama, and Tulika. These persons gave the Meccan prophet great uneasiness, and were not indeed overcome finally, until the reign of Omar the second Kalif.

If Arabia, thus rife in daring spirits, and en-

feebled by divisions, presented a most propitious state of things for the realization of the views of Muhammed; no sooner had he succeeded in his politic and sagacious plan of consolidating this peninsula into one formidable power, than it was clear that there did not exist in the East any check to the progress and conquests which the enthusiastic myriads of Arabia so rapidly achieved. The Persian and Roman empires had, for centuries, been engaged in a series of fatal contests, which by degrees had wasted their internal strength, had drained and alienated their population, and left them panting and defenceless, an easy prey to the swords of Khaled, Omar, and the other Saracen commanders: thus they overran the East with a portentous rapidity, and framed a system of faith, at present comprising a large portion of the world. The whole range of profane history, therefore, does not record so important a change as that wrought in the East by Muhammed. If the moral state of Arabia be considered, it is evidenced, that the change given to the public mind by the false glare of the successes of Islamism, combined with the spurious and tempting allurements of the doctrines of the Koran, unitedly obtained, through their effects on the habits and propensities of the East, a most pernicious and permanent influence.

Indulging the sensuality of his countrymen, Muhammed licensed polygamy and concubinage in the Koran. He limited his followers to four wives; but as soon as he had established his mission, and had been acknowledged at Mecca and Medina, he threw off the restraints which he had hitherto imposed on his passions, and indulged

in the most unbridled lust ;* even promulgating revelations from Heaven, to sanction his private excesses and sensualities. In the dexterous adaptation of the tenets of the Koran to the existing state of the religion and morals of the East when it was first propagated ; and to the powerful hold which, by its seeming simplicity, it acquired over its followers ; and to the seductive allurements of its indulgences, may be attributed the local success of Islamism over Christianity : chiefly, also, because the truth and light of the original gospel had indeed been corrupted by an admixture of idolatrous rites, and supplanted by spurious gospels, traditions, and legends, which no subsequent reformation, either by doctrine or teachers, could be brought to correct or sustain. The sublimity of most of the finest parts of the Koran, may be traced to the language itself of the Holy Scriptures ; and its doctrines are a compound of Judaism and Christianity, of selections from Talmudic legends, apocryphal gospels, and fragments of Oriental traditions and doctrines ;† these were clothed in the purest Arabic dialect, and embued with an unrivalled excellence of composition, disclaiming all mysteries in religion, and

* Not satisfied with claiming, in the 33d chapter of the Koran, an unlimited indulgence for himself, he persuaded his freedman and adopted son, Zaid, to repudiate his wife, the beautiful Zienab, whom Muhammed took to his bed : a step which was looked on as incestuous, and gave great offence to many of his followers.

† Muhammed published no new tenets ; but only adorned and exhibited, in form adapted to the ideas, prejudices, and inclinations of the Orientals, that doctrine which is as ancient as the human race.—Muller's Universal Hist. 11—43.

maintaining the simple unity of God, and divine mission of Muhammed,* as the last of the prophets, sent to close and perfect all foregoing revelations.

The future reward which Muhammed held forth to his followers, was a paradise of sensual indulgences; wherein (after a limited purgation) they shall be admitted by the mercy of God, and where, at the intercession of Muhammed, they shall be baptized in the river of life, which shall wash them whiter than pearls;

"They shall recline on couches adorned with gold and jewels;

"Beside them shall be the Houris, with fine black eyes;

"The lustre of their complexion shall equal that of pearls;

"They shall be served by youths in perpetual bloom;

"Who shall present to them delicious wine in cups of various kinds:

* Though Muhammed acknowledged the miraculous incarnation of Christ as *the word of Oracle*, yet he denied his atonement, and assumed his functions himself, as the apostle of God, and the *advocate of man with God:* he claimed the testimony of Moses to himself, as *the prophet like Moses.*—Deut. xviii. 15—18. And the following testimony of Christ:—

I am the Apostle of God, said Jesus, the son of Mary, to the Jews. I came to confirm the truth of the Pentateuch, which was before me, to announce unto you the propitious coming of a prophet, who shall follow me:—Ahmed is his name.—Chap. lxi. This spurious prophecy seems taken from the Apocryphal gospel of Barrabas, a work originally forged by some heretical Christians. Ahmed signifies "celebrated;" its superlative, Muhammed, "most celebrated," is the prophet's title.—Hale, 3d—241.

" A wish shall supply the fruits they desire," &c.

While the Muhammedan tenet thus pandered to the prejudices and reigning vices of the world, by its sensual rewards and indulgences; while it wielded the sword of persecution in its right hand; it could not excite wonder, that Christianity should wither as a plant in a dry soil, and that Islamism should flourish as a noxious weed in a rank and luxuriant garden. So blinded by pride and intolerance are the Mussulman race, that nothing short of a miracle can be expected to introduce pure religion and sound morals into those beautiful regions of the East, where the bright and morning Star once arose with healing in his wings: nothing can be so adverse to the benign and mild character of Christianity as the tone of the Koran.

Its doctrines and its rewards are alike suited to a sensual people. While its intolerance engenders a spirit of pride and of unbending hostility against all the rest of mankind, whether Pagans, Jews, or Christians; while its precepts breathe an arbitrary and despotic sway over the lives and property of man; it also fosters ignorance by discrediting whatever is not contained in its revelations: thus shutting out every chance of improvement, towards which it, moreover, creates an apathy by its chilling tenet of fatalism. This may seem a prejudiced statement, until we seek for its confirmation or refutation in the consequences resulting to the provinces which have fallen under its yoke. What can more strikingly evidence the withering desolation of Islamism, and its effects on the happiness of the human race, than to consider its results in the deserts

of the once fertile and populous regions of Asia Minor, and those solitudes which erewhile teemed with plenty? Who can repress a sigh, as he reflects on the sad destiny of Jerusalem, of Ephesus, of Athens, and a countless number of illustrious cities, once the glory of the East, but now become a wasted prey, their population a scanty band, and their greatness a dream that is past!

CHAPTER II.

MUHAMMED'S IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS.

ABUBEKER, the father of Ayesha the favourite wife of Muhammed, stepped into the vacant Kalifate, H. 11, (A. D. 632,) to the exclusion of Ali,* the son-in-law of the Prophet, who had the preferable claim. Thus early began the disunion between the Sunnites, or followers of the four first Kalifs, and the Shiites, who curse their memory, and extol the ill-used and ill-fated Ali, as the true successor to the Kalifate. Scarcely

* It is very remarkable, that all the extraordinary zeal and affection evidenced by Ali to the prophet, did not influence him to declare him his successor, especially as he was his son-in-law, and, having been his companion and disciple from the first, had approved his zeal so powerfully.

Whether it was the determination of Muhammed to show himself above the desire of aggrandizing his family, or that he deemed it detrimental to personally designate his successor, he clearly restricted himself to bearing public testimony to Ali, and to giving him opportunities of recommending himself to the faithful. As Ali did not follow the Prophet in his expedition against the Greeks in the ninth year of the Hejira, it was rumoured that he was in disgrace. Ali being disquieted, set out for the army. Surprised by his appearance, Muhammed observed, "I left you at Medina, because that I could confide to no other person but you only, my affairs in that city in my absence. Re-

forty days intervened between the death of Muhammed and that of his only daughter Fatima, the wife of Ali; which loss, and the bias of the people in favour of "the Faithful Witness," influenced Ali to acquiesce in the election of Abubeker.

His task was a difficult one, for the Koran had not yet taken such deep root but that the Arabians would willingly have dissolved the tie, and freed themselves from the rites, and ceremonies, and imposts of Islamism; but the courage, the ferocity of Khaled, recalled or exterminated the apostates, and vanquished the false prophets, reducing Yemen and Behrien to obedience without much trouble. So great was the change wrought in the posture of affairs, and so different was the state of things, that Muhammed, who fled from the Koreish, a single tribe of Mecca, in fear for his life and the failure of his doctrine, had already created an empire which, in so short a time as twelve or thirteen years, made his successor a terror to all his neighbours. The Saracens* being not only in a capacity to

turn thither; you are to me what Aaron was to the legislator of the Israelites."

Two months after, Abubeker conducted the caravan of pilgrims to Mecca. Scarcely had he set forth ere Ali arrived with an order to publish some couplets newly revealed. Offended at this incident, the Emir of the pilgrims demanded of Muhammed, whether he had received any dispatch from Heaven, that he, Abubeker, was unable to fulfil the functions which he had conferred on Ali? "Certainly not," replied the Prophet; "but when the question is of heavenly revelations, no person is qualified to make them known to the people but myself, or a male of my house."

* The word Saracen seems early applied to designate the nomadic habit of the Arabs to prefer the tent and flocks to cities; it means, simply, a pastoral people.

retain the peninsula of Arabia, but also to extend their arms over larger territories than were subject to the Romans themselves; accordingly, they poured in upon the Eastern Greek Empire like a torrent, and drove all before them.

In A.D. 633, Khaled invaded Irak or Babylonia, the southern region of Mesopotamia, and subdued it; compelling the inhabitants to pay a tribute of 70,000 pieces of money, which was the first foreign tribute brought to the Kalif's treasury at Medina. (Eutychius, Annal. xi. p. 259.) Yezid also made an irruption into Syria, where, being joined by Khaled, in 634, they defeated the Emperor Heraclius in a pitched battle, and captured Damascus, "the garden of the East," after six months' siege. Khaled's letter announcing his success breathes the entire tone and spirit of fatalism. (Ockley's Saracens, i. 63.)

Abubeker died of a fever the very day that Damascus was taken, after fifteen days' illness, contracted by bathing in cold weather. By his will he appointed Omar, who had officiated for him as Imaum during his illness, to succeed him in the Kalifate; thus manifesting a decided enmity to Ali. He was a most zealous and credulous Mussulman. During his short reign, he collected the several chapters of the Koran into their present order, and left them in the charge of Kafsa, Omar's daughter, and wife of Muhammed. He so disregarded money, that at his decease his effects were valued at no more than five dirhems. When Omar heard this, he said, "*God have mercy on the soul of Abubeker; but he has left his successor a difficult pattern to follow.*"

Two remarkable sayings are attributed to Abu-

beker, of a highly moral tendency. "*Good actions are a guard against the blows of adversity.*" "*Death is the easiest of all things after it, and the hardest of all things before it.*"—Ockley, i. 110.

Notwithstanding the claims of Ali, the official duty of the Imanat, and the will of Abubeker, led to the vacant throne, and Omar succeeded to the Kalifate, H. 13 (634.) The first act of the reign of Omar was to deprive the ferocious Khaled of the command of the army in Syria, and to bestow it on Abu Obeidah. There existed a rancorous hatred betwixt the Kalif and his victorious commander, which might have deprived the Saracens of that scourge of the Christian world; but so profound was the awe felt by Khaled for the spiritual power of the vicegerent of Muhammed, that though swearing he detested Omar, he obeyed with reverence the successor of the prophet.

The Persian empire soon attracted the arms of "these locusts," as the swarms of hungry Saracens were not unaptly called. Detesting the Magian rites, they desolated the fairest provinces of Irak, destroyed the noblest monuments of her literature, and waged an unrelenting warfare against the religion, laws, customs, and even language, of the Persians. After various struggles, the decisive defeat of Hadesia ended finally the Sassanian line of the Persian monarchy, with the slaughter of 50,000 of their followers.

Among the unfortunate captives exposed for sale at Medina, was the Princess Sheria Bana, daughter of Yezdegird. But the magnanimous Ali loudly condemned this ungenerous instance of barbarism, and redeeming her, he married her to his grandson Hussain. It is to this humane and

honourable step Ali is doubtless in part indebted for the veneration in which his name and memory are still held in Persia. The bloody and decisive victory of Yermouk soon followed, in which it is computed 150,000 of the troops of Heraclius, the Greek emperor, were slaughtered. This great victory, in 636, transferred the possession and riches of Syria to these enthusiastic and furious invaders. Omar founded Bussourah at the mouth of the Tigris, to secure the commerce with the East Indies; also in 637, Jerusalem, the Holy City, which had somewhat regained her consideration and stately rank since the time of Adrian, fell under the Moslem sway; thus this revered capital (with the exception of the short period of about ninety years consequent on the Crusades) has continued to this day under a heavier yoke than it had ever borne. The terms * imposed by Omar on its inhabitants, were the model of all future agreements of the Muhammedan princes

* The capitulation made by the inhabitants of Jerusalem with the Kalif, Omar:—

1st, That the Christians shall build no new churches, and that Moslems shall be admitted into them at all times.

2d, They shall not prevent their children or friends from professing of Islamism, or read the Korán themselves.

3d, They shall erect no crosses on their churches, and only toll, not ring, their bells.

4th, They shall not wear the Arab dress, ride upon saddles, &c.

5th, They shall pay the highest deference to the Mussulmans, and entertain all travellers for three days gratis.

6th, They shall not sell wine, or any intoxicating liquor.

7th, They shall pay a capitation tax of two dinars each, submit to an annual tribute, and become subjects of the Kalif.

with their Christian subjects, and are artfully framed for the degradation and gradual extirpation of Christianity. The inhabitants having submitted to his propositions, Omar issued the following writing under his own hand,—a model of perspicuous brevity:—

"In the name of the most merciful God,

"From Omar Ebno'l Alchitâb, to the inhabitants of Ælia. They shall be protected and secured, both in their laws and fortunes; and their churches shall neither be pulled down or made use of by any but themselves."

After a while, he built a stately mosque,* which

* The temple at Jerusalem is minutely and probably most faithfully described by Bahia the Spaniard, under the fictitious title of Ali Bey. It is called El Haram, or the Temple, which word also signifies a place consecrated by the peculiar presence of the divinity; it also is called Beit el Mokddese Scherif, or the principal holy house in Jerusalem. The Moslem faith acknowledges but two temples, that of Mecca and that of Jerusalem; both are named El Harem, and both are equally prohibited by the law to all Christians. No governor dare permit an infidel to pass into the territory of Mecca, or into the temple at Jerusalem; a permission of this nature, if given, would be regarded as a sacrilege, and would not be respected. The length of the buildings is about 1560 French feet, by a breadth of 940; it consists, in fact, of two magnificent buildings, with a group of other structures; the entrance into it is by nine principal gates, and it unites into an harmonious whole. The name of one of the temples is called El Aksa, and the other is called El Sâhhara. El Aksa is composed of seven naves supported by pillars, with a fine cupola, and surrounded with a portico; this may be deemed the work of Omar, and in this part of the edifice the Iman directs the Friday prayers.

El Sâhhara was the work of the sixth Kalif of the Ommiade race, who, reigning at Damascus, and finding his authority resisted at Medina, forthwith substituted pil-

has been considered the finest in the East, on the noble site of Solomon's temple, and consecrated it; thus honouring Jerusalem, which is esteemed sacred by the Mussulmans, as the country of the prophets, and the Holy Land; and especially as, according to their traditions, it is the place whither all mankind will be summoned at the resurrection.

Having divided Syria into two portions, committing all that lies between the Hauran and Aleppo to Abu Obeidah, and having given Yezid the charge of Palestine, and the sea shore, Amru Ebno'l Aâs was sent against Egypt. Khaled, "the sword of God," who so often had led the Saracens to victory, had sunk under the severities of Omar's hatred, which, producing exhaustion, sickness, and wounded pride, thus at length terminated the existence of the bravest son

grimages to Jerusalem for the usual visits to the tomb of Muhammed at Medina; justly dreading the political tendency which such pilgrimages exerted on his Syrian subjects. In order to give every attraction and sanctity to the edifice, he built this pile to enclose Jacob's stone,—a piece of rock which is highly revered, and stands in the centre of the edifice. In this point he imitated the schism introduced in the regal period of the Jews by Jeroboam.

El Sâhhara is situated on a platform, or parallelogrammic plane of about 460 N. to S. and 400 E. to W.; elevated 16 feet above the general plane of El Harem. The harmony of this structure is so well preserved, that it seems only a part of one imposing edifice in conjunction with the El Harem. The Moslems consider that the prayers of men are most acceptable to the divinity from hence, as well as from the El Kaaba of Mecca, and that all the prophets, since the creation, have come hither to pray; and that even now, the prophets and angels come thither, in invisible groups, for this purpose. Muhammed, in his celebrated night journey, came hither and sat on the stone.

of Arabia. Falsely accused of appropriating to himself the public treasure, and examined, with his turban fastened round his neck, in the ignominious grasp of the common crier; this noble Saracen yet bore every indignity with exemplary moderation. On his decease, his horse, and armour, and one slave, were found to constitute all his wealth; and even Omar deigned to weep, at Emesa, over the tomb of the injured conqueror of Syria.

Amru, equal as a soldier, and a better politician than Khaled, was one of the earliest proselytes of the Prophet. The rich prize of Egypt was the next object of the Saracenic arms and ambition, and in despite of the patriotism of the Egyptians, the impetuous valour of Amru reduced Pelusium after six months' siege. He reduced also Memphis to obedience, and finally triumphed in Alexandria, the capital of the Ptolemies. The details of the size and splendour of Alexandria seem to be almost incredible. The conqueror thus expresses himself in his communication to the Kalif:—"I have taken the great city of the West. It is impossible for me to enumerate the variety of its riches and beauty. It contains 4000 palaces, 4000 baths, 400 theatres or places of amusement, 12,000 shops for the sale of vegetables, and 40,000 tributary Jews."

The superb Alexandrian Library formed the subject of a query as to its disposal. Omar replied, that "if the books found in the library were agreeable to the Koran, they were superfluous; if contrary thereto, they were pernicious: and therefore, in either case, should be destroyed." Accordingly, Amru distributed the books,*

* It is needless to apprize the reader of the variety of

amounting to half a million at least, among the four thousand warm baths of the city, which they supplied with fuel for six months. Thus was wantonly and ignorantly destroyed the most precious monument of the learning and wisdom of the ancients,—the grand repository of the thoughts and discoveries of the whole human race. Were there no other evil to charge upon the furious and intolerant character of the Moslem faith, the incalculable mischief of this one fatal blow must stamp it with the title of the Enemy of Mankind. The abundance of Egypt supplied a welcome resource to Arabia, then suffering from famine. A train of camels, extending from the banks of the Nile to Medina, transported the bounties of this celebrated river into the granaries of that city. Amru completed the conquest of Cyrenaica, and the whole coast of Libya, as far as Tripoli. The Kalif, justly estimating the extraordinary valour of his general, desired to see the sword which had performed such wonders, but discerning nothing uncommon in it, he returned the weapon with an air of contempt, saying, "It is good for nothing." "You say true," said Amru; "for you only desired to see the sword, and not the arm that wielded it; while that was wanting, the sword was no better than the sword of Pherazdacus." This was a poet more remarkable for his fine description of a sword than for his personal prowess.

controversy regarding this fact, some persons disputing the existence of any great collection; but the testimony of antiquity, joined to the passionate desire of the Lagidæ to accumulate manuscripts, and their vast wealth and influence, render the fact a very probable one. Vide Orosius, who wrote A. D. 417, who names the library of Ptolemy Philadelphus, lib. vi. c. 15.

Omar, during the short time of his Kalifate, increased the extent and strength of the empire;* he subdued by his generals, Azerbijan, Armenia, Khorassan, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, and the western part of Libya, as far as Tripoli. Thus the Muhammedan crescent shed its influence upon as large and considerable dominions as had ever been flown across by the Roman eagles. About two years afterwards, Omar was assassinated. Firouz, a Persian slave, enraged by an imposition made on him of two pieces of silver daily, made his complaint to the Kalif, who rejected his suit; the denial infused a resolve of vengeance into the mind of Firouz, and, watching an opportunity, he stabbed the Kalif thrice with a dagger, as he was pronouncing the public prayers in the mosque. Thus died, in the 23d year of the Hejira, after a reign of ten years and six months, the Kalif Omar. He was of a dark complexion, very tall, and had a bald head. His abstinence, piety, and gravity of behaviour, procured him more reverence than his great successors could command; he went nine times on the pilgrimage to Mecca, and was unchanged in exterior simplicity, notwithstanding his greatness, which was too weighty for an ordinary man to maintain, but which had no effect on this Kalif. Nor did the vast increase of his riches ever appear by his expenses; he made a weekly division of his treasure unto the people,

* According to Khondemir, his generals took 36,000 towns, fortresses, and castles; destroyed 4000 temples and churches of the idolaters, Magians, and Christians; and built 1400 mosques for the Moslem worship. Alexander the Great did not meddle with the faith of his conquered subjects. In this respect the Saracen Kalif greatly surpassed him.

according to their wants, for which he assigned this excellent reason:—"The good things of this life were given by God for the relief of our necessities, and not for the reward of virtue, because the proper reward of that belongs to another world."

He passed by his own son in the naming of a successor, and delegated the office to a committee of six of the companions of Muhammed, who again overlooked the deserving and amiable Ali, and made choice of Othman, Hejira 23, (644.)

Under this Kalif also the Saracens extended their conquests northwards, in Al Jebal and in Khorassan; and southwards in Nubia. But Othman soon disgusted his subjects by the partiality which he manifested to his relatives, and the choice which he made of unworthy servants. By the impolitic and ungrateful recall of the conqueror Amru, he had nearly lost the fine province of Egypt; and the removal of Saad from his prefecture caused great uneasiness. Moreover, he had the presumption to sit in Muhammed's seat, whereas Abubeker always sat one step lower, and Omar sat two steps lower. He also indiscreetly declared from the pulpit, that the sacred treasure was wholly at his own control, and he cursed any who blamed his conduct. Thus hated at home, Mervan, his perfidious secretary of state, on whom he had lavished about half a million of dinars, completed his destruction by forging letters of proscription, under his seal and signature, dooming to death some of the principal governors. The whole of the provinces revolted, and demanding loudly his deposition, they sent troops to Medina, who besieged Othman in his dwelling-house for nearly six weeks. He was languidly de-

fended by Houssain and Hassan, the sons of Ali; but at length Muhammed, the son of Abubeker, and many others, forced an entrance, and murdered Othman whilst sitting in his chair, with the Koran in his lap. Stabbed in numerous places, he lay unburied for three days; at last he was removed, covered with gore, and was buried in the same clothes he had been slain in, without so much as having been washed, or the least funeral solemnity.

Thus perished Othman, at the age of eighty-two, after a reign of twelve years; a striking example of the vanity of human greatness, and the uncertainty of all worldly felicity.

On the death of Othman, twenty-two years after the decease of Muhammed, the empire of Arabia, Persia, Syria, and Egypt, was confided to the amiable Ali, the son-in-law and earliest disciple of the Prophet, H. 35 (656.) The advantages of birth, and of marriage into the family of the Prophet, had been rendered fruitless to Ali, by the active malice of Ayesha, the favourite wife of Muhammed; and the chief cause was as follows:—Ayesha had been faithless to his bed; and the discovery thereof being clearly proved by Ali, he had severely satirized Muhammed for his wilful incredulity of her shame. She never forgave the insult, nor suffered her revenge to sleep. Although a party to the death of Othman, she insidiously fastened the accusation on Ali; and Telha and Zobeir, who possessed great influence in the councils of the Arabs, displeased by the alienation of Ali's favour, were at length induced to revolt, and the Mother of the Faithful, as the Prophet's widow was honourably denominated, scrupled not to

quit her retirement at Medina, and to expose her person to the chance and toils of war. The rapidity and skill wherewith Ali conducted his cause triumphed over her faction. Telha and Zobeir fell in the conflict; and Ayesha, having pressed her sacred camel into the heat of the fight, and evidenced a courage bordering on rashness, was taken a prisoner, and led into the presence of Ali, from whom she received only a gentle rebuke, and by him was replaced in her honourable retirement at Medina.

Reposing himself at Cufa, Ali now considered the rebellion over, and his reign confirmed; but a more powerful foe was ready to prolong the dangerous struggle. Moawiyah, the Kalif's lieutenant at Damascus, was the son of Abu Sophian, the uncle and bitterest enemy of the Prophet; he had been taken into favour, and intrusted with the government of Damascus. To the wealth and power of Syria, he also now added the friendship of the politic and warlike Amru, who disliked the promotion of Ali. Torrents of blood were shed in ninety skirmishes or battles. The cause of the Kalif waned under the arts and pertinacity of his powerful enemies; and after three years of uninterrupted dissensions, the enlightened and magnanimous Ali lost his life and empire, by a conspiracy of the Cheragites, or sectaries, whose fanaticism was not regulated by the Koran. Defeated in the field, three of the fugitives swore to plunge their daggers into the hearts of the three competitors for the Kalifate. Each of the confederates chose his victim, and poisoned his dagger; the blow was struck against the three, but Ali alone expired under the hand of his assassin. Moawiyah was severely wounded, but afterwards

recovered; Amru was preserved by an indisposition which kept him from the mosque, and his secretary, who officiated in his stead, was slain in mistake for him. Ali received the fatal blow while preaching in the mosque at Kufa, and expired on the spot, in his sixty-third year, exhorting his son not to aggravate the sufferings of his murderer by any needless torture.

On the death of Ali, his eldest son Hassan was saluted Kalif by the Kufites, H. 40 (661); but overwhelmed by the power of Moawiyah, the amiable and unambitious Hassan retired to a life of piety and ease at Medina, where the suspicion and hate of Moawiyah, the new lord of the Moslem world, soon closed the career of Hassan by poison. The schism which has divided the Muhammedan states, from the death of Ali to this day, being the result of the events which so clouded his existence, and that of his two amiable sons, we must here anticipate a few years, by recording the mournful catastrophe of the only remaining son of Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet.

The weakness of Yezid, the second Kalif of the house of Moawiyah, suggested to the inhabitants of Arabia the desire of electing Houssain to the throne, and he was prevailed upon to cross the Desert to join the native Kufites; but Obeidollah, the governor of Kufa, quickly quelled the insurrection in his province, and in the plain of Kerbela, the beloved grandson of the Prophet was surrounded by the cavalry of the enemy. Resolved on his destruction, the appeals of Houssain for a safe conduct, and private seclusion at Medina, or in a frontier garrison against the Turks, were both rejected. He calmly and tranquilly prepared for death: the night was passed in

prayer, and early in the morning, mounting his horse, he appeared before his seventy-two associates, who anxiously expected the joys of Paradise from the swords of their enemies. With the Koran in his hand, Houssain declared that God was his confidence in every trouble, and his hope in all adversity. The enemy advanced with reluctance; and Harro, one of their chiefs, deserted, with thirty of his followers, to the faithful band, exhorting the faithless Kufites to follow him. In every single combat the valour of the Fatimites was invincible; but they were galled by a cloud of arrows from a distance, and man and horse, one by one, successively fell. The base treachery of the Kufites merited the supplicatory expression of Houssain:—"Let not the dews of heaven distil upon them, and withhold thou from them the blessings of the earth; for they first invited me, and then deceived me." A truce on both sides was allowed for the hour of prayer, and the battle at length ceased by the death of the last of the devoted followers of Houssain. Alone, weary, and wounded, he seated himself at the door of his tent. As he drank some water, he was wounded in the mouth by an arrow, and his son and nephew, two beautiful youths, were slain in his arms. He lifted his hands to heaven—they were full of blood—and he uttered his last prayer for the living and the dead. In an agony of grief, his sister rushed from the tent, adjuring the commander of the Kufites that he would not suffer Houssain to be murdered before their eyes. Even the hardened heart of their leader relented; but upon the remorseless Shamar (a name detested in Persia) reviling them for cowardice, the grandson of Muhammed fell, pierced by thirty-three strokes

of lances and swords. After they had trampled on his body, they cut off his head, and presented it to the sight of Obeidollah, who inhumanly struck the mouth with a cane. "Alas!" exclaimed an aged Mussulman, "upon those lips have I seen the lips of the apostle of God." The sisters and children of Houssain were borne in chains before the throne of the Kalif at Damascus, and Yezid was advised to extirpate a race whom he had injured beyond all hope of reconciliation; but he preferred the milder path, and dismissed them to an honourable retirement at Medina.

The memory of Houssain is held in the highest veneration by the Persians, who still lament and weep as they celebrate Yaum Houssain, the day of Houssain's death, by an anniversary mourning; and the memory of Yezid is held in such abhorrence, that to the mention of his name they usually add, "*The curse of God be upon him!*" The consequences of these events yet divide the Moslem world, and caused the most sanguinary wars between the Turks and the Persians.

Ali, who retained his reverence for Muhammed, and also for his doctrine, with the most scrupulous integrity, submitted, as has been shown, to his successors, although he felt their elevation to prejudice his superior claim. Ali abhorred schism, and yet he became the founder of a fatal division, which has subsisted for nearly 1200 years. His followers are called Shiites, or Sectaries, and the others, Sunnites, or Traditionists. The chief points on which they differ are, 1st, The Shiites prefer Ali to Muhammed, or at least esteem both equally; but the Sunnites admit neither Ali nor any other to be equal to the Prophet. 2d, The Shiites charge the Sunnites with cor-

rupting the Koran; and the Sunnites retort the charge. 3dly, The Sunnites receive the *Sunna*, or traditions of the Prophet, as of canonical authority; the Shiites reject them as apocryphal, and unworthy of credit. To these causes we may ascribe the inextinguishable hatred which divides these rival sects, of which the Arabians and Turks are chiefly Sunnites, while the Persian empire, with its dependencies, and the Oriental Muhammedans, are for the most part Shiites.

The various collections made of the sayings and acts of Ali testify to the excellency and lustre of his character; two only are here selected, for their illustration of the deep tone of his feelings on the first of duties—the parental tie, and reverence for the Supreme. Houssain, when a boy, asked his father Ali, "Do you love me?"—"Yes, tenderly," said Ali. "Do you love God?"—"Surely."—"But two loves can never meet in one heart?" This remark moved Ali even to tears. Seeing this, to comfort his father, Houssain proceeded: "Which would you consider the greater evil,—my death, or the sin of infidelity?" Ali replied, "I would rather resign you than abandon my faith." Then said Houssain, "It is clear that you love God better than me. You have natural tenderness towards me, but true love towards God."

Hassan, his eldest son, when pronouncing his father's character from the pulpit, used the following remarkable words:—"*Ye have killed Ali the same night in which the Koran came down from heaven, in which Isa (Jesus) ascended into heaven, and in which Joshua, the son of Nun, was slain. None of his predecessors excelled him, nor will any of his successors equal him.*"

The descendants of Ali, though excluded from

the Kalifate, have ever enjoyed the highest honours and veneration of the faithful. In Arabia, they are called Scherifs or Seids;* in Syria and Turkey, Emirs; in Africa, Persia, and India, Seids. The descendants of the Prophet have filled every gradation of rank, from the throne to the beggar; and as the claimants on either the father or mother's side are admitted to this title, it is no wonder that the descendants of Muhammed are numerous in every quarter of the Moslem world. Whole villages in Arabia are full of them, and in Turkey they constitute a thirtieth part of the nation.

The lives of the five Kalifs, companions of Muhammed, comprising the eventful period of twenty-three years, affords matter of the greatest interest in history, as it embraced the developement of that extraordinary energy which in so short a time brought Arabia, Persia, Syria, Egypt, and Libya under their vigorous government; thus exhibiting an extent of power unequalled but by the Roman empire.

The supreme control, upon the death of Ali, centred entirely in the hands of Moawiyah, H. 41, (661,) a man of great subtlety, unbounded ambition, and remorseless character. The son of Abu Sofian, the uncle of Muhammed, he proved the bitterest enemy to his race. He founded the dynasty of the Ommiade Kalifs, who retained the power for ninety-two years, until their cruelties on the immediate descendants of the Prophet

* In Arabia, the name of Scherif is applied to those of the descendants of Muhammed who devote themselves to war; the name of Seid to those who follow commerce. The word Scherif sometimes means the descendants of Houssain, and Seid the descendants of Hassan.

were revisited on themselves by Abul Abbas. The following are the chief events which mark the period of their rule. In the 43d year of the Hejira, Amru, the conqueror of Egypt, died; he was equally distinguished for literature as for arms. Ziyad, half-brother of Moawiyah, a man of great severity and distinguished talents, effected by terror the subjection and tranquillity of the eastern provinces, enlarged by the conquests of Segestan and India. By his deputy at Basra he put to death eight thousand persons in half a year. In acknowledging him for his brother, Moawiyah set the first example of violating the Koran in a judicial process. A. H. 48, he sent his son Yezid with a powerful army, which formed the first siege of the capital of the Cæsars. They had a tradition to encourage them, of Muhammed having pronounced, that "*the sins of the first army that took the city of Cæsar should be forgiven*;" so early was the demonstration of his boundless ambition. In this siege, Abul Ayub, the companion of the Prophet, was slain. His tomb, on a lofty eminence, presents the most majestic view of the city, and is still so venerated, that even to this day the Ottoman Sultans go thither to have their swords girt on, upon their accession to the throne.* Moawiyah, who resided at Damascus, made an endeavour, in the year 54, to remove thither the pulpit of the Prophet from the mosque at Medina. At the moment of the attempt, there came on a

* This act, which forms in fact their investiture, is similarly paralleled by our ancient laws and mode of investiture for the peerage, which usually took place by girding on the sword, which ceremony also is still practised upon the election of the knights of the counties or shires to serve in Parliament at the present time.

total eclipse of the sun, so that the stars appeared; which event so terrified them, that neither the Kalif or his successors ever renewed the project. In the year 53, the cruel Ziyad died; and it is worthy of notice, that this tyrant exhibited the same fears and horror for his own fate which has ever, by a divine law, followed the shedder of blood. It is said that he had no less than one hundred and fifty physicians near him; and the exclamation of a friend on his decease was, "Go thy way; this world did not stay with thee, neither hast thou attained to the other." A. H. 58, died Ayesha, the widow of Muhammed; and in A. H. 60, Moawiyah expired, after a reign of nineteen years. Nothing can more demonstrate his skill and great influence than his having the power of changing the elective government into an hereditary one. Considering the nature of the Imanship, and the great love borne to the family of Ali, it must be deemed an incontrovertible testimony of his eminent abilities. Yezid his son succeeded, H. 60 (680), and reigned only four years, marked chiefly by the murder of the sons of Ali, and the consequent detestation of a large portion of the Moslem world. Moawiyah II., feeling himself unequal to the burden of the Kalifate, voluntarily abdicated, nor could he be prevailed upon to resume it by any entreaties; he chose for his motto on his seal, "The world is a cheat," repeating the axiom of the celebrated Feridoun of Persia.

Arabia was now divided into two factions, which soon disappeared, and Mervan was inaugurated as Kalif, H. 64 (684.) He died by poison, after a seven months' reign, and was succeeded in the sovereign power over Syria and Egypt by his son Abdalmalek,

H. 65 (684.) As his authority was resisted at Medina, this Kalif substituted pilgrimages to Jerusalem instead of that to Mecca, enlarging the temple so as to enclose Jacob's stone.* In his reign, the dinars, or gold coins, and dirhems, or silver coins, were first coined at the Kalif's mint, in the Kufic character. This Kalif also extended his rule over a large portion of India, and carried his arms westward even into Spain. His son Walid, H. 86 (705), his successor, conquered Bokhara and Samarcand. His governor in Persia and Babylonia was Hejai, who built Wasset upon the Tigris. Horrific in cruelty, he is recorded to have put 120,000 men to death, and to have left 50,000 men and 30,000 women to perish in prison. Walid was the first who founded hospitals for the sick, and caravanserais for travellers. The second siege of Constantinople was undertaken by his son and successor, Solyman, who succeeded to the throne H. 96 (714.) With a prodigious fleet and army he commenced the siege in A. H. 98 (716); but after two years, according to Abulfaragi, the Saracens were compelled to retreat, with incredible loss, by the use of the Greek fire. The descendants of Moawiyah continued to maintain themselves in their rule, by tyranny and bloodshed, until the time of Mervan II., A. H. 126 (743), when the White and the Black factions, or the followers of Ali and his enemies, had convulsed the whole Moslem world with the horrors of civil war.

In A. H. 132 (749), Abul Abbas vanquished Mervan in a general engagement, and amply re-

* See the account given of the Sacred Mosque of Jerusalem for this object, in the life of Kalif Omar.

venged the sufferings of Ali and his sons upon their enemies of the family of Moawiyah, by a promiscuous slaughter of the Ommiade race. One feeble youth alone was preserved, and eventually conveyed to Spain, where he founded the splendid dynasty of the Western Kalifs, who reigned with such glory at Seville and Cordova.

When Abul Abbas al Suffah, by his successes, had thus replaced the family of Muhammed in the Kalifate, H. 132 (749), the Saracen empire extended over Azerbijan, Armenia, and Mesopotamia; Mosul, Hijaz, and Basra; Persia, Khorassan, Sindi, and India; Syria, Arabia, and Egypt, exclusive of Africa and Spain; but the greatness of this enormous fabric crumbled away almost as rapidly as it arose. Abderahman, the prince of the Ommiades who escaped the general massacre of his family, soon wrested Spain from his rivals, and began the dynasty of Spanish Kalifs; other pretenders likewise usurped the thrones of Egypt and of Africa. Thus the Kalifate became divided into three branches; first, Spain; second, Egypt and Africa; third, Bagdad. The reign of the four companions of Muhammed, Abubeker, Omar, Othman, and Ali, is termed the perfect Kalifate, as that of their successors is termed the imperfect Kalifate. The Ommiades are usually called the Kalifs of Damascus, as they made it their great capital; but the Abbassides, their conquerors, fixed their court at Kufa, and eventually at the new city which they founded on the river Tigris. This soon became a magnificent city, and was named by the founder Bagdad and Dar el Salen, or the abode of peace. Here Harûn al Reschid, so familiarly and intimately known to us by the beautiful colloquial narratives of the

Arabian Nights, began to reign, H. 170 (786), and became the distinguished patron of arts and of letters, exalting the fame of Arabia to as high a pitch of glory in the sciences as she already had rendered herself by her extensive conquests. The life of Harûn is a desideratum in literature, connected as it is with the developement of the arts, and forming the point or centre of greatness of the Kalifate. It is rich also in events, and every material incident is almost endeared to us by the intimate acquaintance which our minds appear to have made with this prince. In a certain chivalric tone, in the love of magnificence and of the arts, in imperiousness of carriage and innate cruelty, Harûn may well be compared with one of our own princes of the Tudor race; for no act of Henry VIII. ever excelled in barbarity or in caprice, the tyrannical and odious injunction which formed the pretext for the sacrifice of the high-minded Giaffar, and the illustrious Barmecide race, as well also as of his amiable sister Abassah. The aberration of mind of Harûn, and the particulars of his death at Tûs, supply the moral of this eventful history. To the reign of Harûn may also be traced those secret associations of the Ismaelians, Karmathians, and others, which, under the name of "the Battanee and the Fedavee, the concealed and the chosen," formed a community the most surprising that is exhibited in the page of history; and as this sect are so prominent in the Crusades and other parts of history, and the seeds of its doctrine, even to this day, are rife in Arabia and Turkey, it may deserve a short notice.

Muhammed, as we have seen, appointed no successor, and Ali, his son-in-law and natural heir, came to the sceptre late in life, only to ex-

perience ingratitude, revolt, and a violent death; but the unbounded reverence of the Moslem world for the memory of Ali survived himself, and throughout all the eastern provinces the name of Ali served for a rallying point for all the discontented and for all the turbulent who desired changes and revolutions; and the sayings of Ali and his sons are equally venerated with those of Muhammed himself by most of the Moslem writers.

As early as the Kalifate of Omar, began the schism, and a refined and esoteric spirit of initiation was established, subtle, secret, and deeply rooted, which spread over the East. Ebn Saba, the prime instigator of the seditious movements, which cost the Kalif Omar his throne and life, taught that the Imaumship devolved by right on Ali; that on him rested a ray of divinity; that he was not dead, but had only withdrawn himself for a time from the eyes of men; that he would one day reappear on the earth, and render it as celebrated for justice as it had become infamous for iniquity. This mysterious dogma * is still believed by the Shiites; and they teach that the last of the twelve Imans, who succeeded by natural descent to the revered Ali, is not dead, but concealed, and one day will reappear to revive the purity of religion. They also endeavour to show, that the whole twelve Imans are no more than one and the same being, successively disappearing and assuming a fresh body. The sectarians who dark-

* The philosophy of this tenet is well known to the reader of Eastern doctrine, it being no other than an appropriation of the great doctrine of the Budha; also of Pythagoras and others, and known to the ancient Egyptians in the metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls.

ly agitated so dangerous a political mystery, were known chiefly by the terms of Ismaélians and Karmates; their devastations and sacrileges affrighted the Moslem world. About the third age of the Hejira, was perfected the most monstrous doctrine and initiatory subjection ever exhibited by a body of devoted followers to an ambitious chief. The Fatimites, who reigned more than three centuries in Africa and in Egypt, and the race of the Assassins, with their chief, so well known through Europe by his part in the Crusades, under his title of Shiek el Djibel, are branches of this common root. The Mahdi, or prophet of the Ismaélians, is yet expected to appear by the remains of this sect, who still linger amid the Druses of Lebanon, and the Shammar mountains of Arabia.* It also ranks among one of the most curious similitudes and parallels of history, that this extraordinary combination, which, as a parasitical plant, crept up around the wide-spreading umbrage of the Palm of Haschemya, should strengthen in great power, and withstand every effort of the Abassidæ to root it out. It thus continued to exercise its atrocities and cruelties throughout the whole duration of the Kalifate, and yielded at

* During the invasion of Syria, Bonaparte describes a most singular scene, which caused the revolt of the province of Bahreh. An adventurer from the centre of Africa disembarked at Dernah, and announcing himself as the angel Mahdi, reunited the Arabs. He elevated their enthusiasm to the highest pitch, pretending that, by casting a little dust before the cannon, he caused the balls to fall harmless. This was no other than an attempt to imitate the action of Muhammed in the battle of Beder. The modern charlatan and his followers of course perished in the first encounter.

length only to the sword of Hulaku, the Mogul conqueror, who at the same epoch extinguished the existence of the Kalifs and of this odious race.

The decline of the great fabric of Saracenic power presents a melancholy picture. For five centuries, the family of Abbas reigned with various degrees of authority over the Moslem world; but foreign wars and domestic revolts gradually dissolved the empire, until Radhi, in A.D. 933; who was the last Kalif that history exhibits to us as invested with any considerable spiritual or temporal power. For the next three centuries, the Kalifs were chiefly restricted in their authority to the bounds of Bagdad, and oftentimes, confined to their palaces, became even in want of resources for corporeal subsistence. About the middle of the seventh age of the Hejira (1258), as already stated, Hulaku, the Mogul, (whose empire of the Mogul and Tartar races now comes under our notice,) put an end to the Kalifate by the death of the Kalif Motassem, the thirty-seventh prince of his dynasty.

The rise of the Mogul empire was the result of the splendid talents of Tamujin, a Tartar prince, who afterwards assumed the title of Genghis Khan, "King of kings." He extended his conquests eastward to China, and westward to the Caspian Sea, during a reign of twenty-five years. He died in the 624th year of the Hejira, and was succeeded by Oktai, the third and wisest of his sons. His forces penetrated into China; they also overran the districts of Arbela and Nineveh, spreading almost to the gates of Bagdad. Oktai Khan died A.H. 643 (1245), and in 651 Mangu Khan, who had succeeded him, sent his second brother Hulaku with a great army against

Bagdad. He first attacked the Ismaélians, or Assassins, took their castles, and extirpated that wicked race, A. H. 655 (1257). The treachery of the Vizier Alkami, and the folly and infatuation of the Kalif Motassem, rendered Bagdad an easy prey to the fierce invaders. The city was taken by assault at the end of four days, and the Kalif was cruelly put to death. Such was the end of the Kalifate, and downfall of this house. Its sagacious founder, Ali Abbas, is said to have foretold this catastrophe in these words: "The dignity of the Kalifate will continue in my family until a conqueror shall come from Khorassan." The Tartars slew a multitude of the inhabitants, and pillaged Bagdad for seven days. The treasures they seized upon were immense, it being then the richest city in the universe.

Though the sovereignty and dignity of the Kalifate was lost by this fatal event, yet the sacerdotal authority was recognised in the spiritual jurisdiction permitted to be exercised for nearly three centuries longer, by eighteen descendants of Mostansar Billah, son of the Kalif Dahar. These were denominated the second dynasty of the Abbassides, and were the spiritual chiefs of the Muhammedan world, but without the slightest vestige of temporal authority. When Selim, the Sultan of the Turks, conquered Egypt, and destroyed the power of the Mamelukes, he carried the Kalif, whom he found there, to Constantinople, and accepted from him, for himself and successors, a renunciation of his ecclesiastical supremacy;* and, on the death of this shadow

* This title, transmitted to the present Sultan, does not prove a barren prerogative. In the war against Tippoo Sutan in the Mysore, evidence has appeared of letters

of the Kalifs, the family of the Abbassides, once so illustrious, and who had borne the title of Kalif for almost 800 years, sunk with him from obscurity into oblivion.

At this period of time we begin to trace the rise and progress of the Turkish, which succeeded the Saracen empire, and exceeded it in power; therefore, this is the proper period for a pause, ere we begin the annals of that energetic and warlike race of sovereigns, whose valour and ambition, by the most memorable siege on historical record, took forcible possession of the capital of the Cæsars, and seated the Ottoman dynasty on their throne.

[The following Table exhibits an unbroken series of the Kalifs in succession, from the decease of Muhammed, Hejira 11 (632), to Hejira 640 (1242.) This numerous Chronological List has the dates verified, as far as is attainable, from known and indisputably genuine Kufic coins, as illustrated by Mr Marsden :—

Muhammed, or Mahomet, died in the 11th year of the Hejira, 632.

	A.H.	A.D.
1. Abubeker, ...	11	632
2. Omar, ...	13	634

to the Ottoman Porte, claiming the aid of the Sultan as "the Head of the Moslem world;" and Mahmoud appears fully sensible of the hold which this rank invests him with over his most powerful vassals, and endeavours, by every effort, to revive the tone of enthusiasm which, in their first outset, rendered the Moslem arms so terrible.—1828.

		A.H.	A.D.
3.	Othman,	23	644
4.	Ali,	35	656
5.	Hasan ben Ali,	40	661

Kalifs of the race of Ommiah.

1.	Muawiah,	41	661
2.	Yezid ben Muawiah,	60	680
3.	Muawiah II. ben Yezid,	64	684
4.	Abd-allah ben Zobeir,	64	684
5.	Merwan ben Hakem,	64	684
6.	Abd-al-malek ben Merwan,	65	684
7.	Walid ben Abd-al-malek,	86	705
8.	Soleiman ben Abd-al-malek,	96	714
9.	Omar ben Abd-al-aziz,	99	717
10.	Yezid II. ben Abd-al-malek,	101	720
11.	Hesham ben Abd-al-malek,	105	724
12.	Walid II. ben Yezid,	125	743
13.	Yezid III. ben Walid,	126	744
14.	Ibrahim ben Walid,	126	744
15.	Merwan II. ben Muhammed,	127	744

Kalifs of the race of Ab-Abbas.

1.	Abul Abbas Al-Suffah,	132	750
2.	Al-Mansur,	136	754
3.	Al-Mahdi ben Mansur,	158	775
4.	Al-Hadi ben Mahdi,	169	785
5.	Harun Al-Rashid ben Mahdi,	170	786
6.	Al-Amin ben Rashid,	193	809
7.	Al-Mamun ben Rashid,	198	813
	Ibrahim ben Mahdi (competitor.) 202—817, to 203—818.		
8.	Al-Motasim-billah ben Rashid,	218	833
9.	Al-Wathek-billah ben Motasem,	227	842
10.	Al-Motawakkel ala'llah ben Motasem,	232	847
11.	Al-Mostanser billah ben Motawakkel,	247	861
12.	Al-Mostain billah ben Muhammed ben Motasem,	248	862
13.	Al-Motaz billah ben Motawakkel,	252	866
14.	Al-Mohtadi billah ben Wathek,	255	869
15.	Al-Motamed ala'llah ben Motawakkel,	256	870

	Muwaffek billah ben Motawakkel, (his coadjator,) from 258—871, to 278—891.		
16.	Al-Motadhed billah ben Muwaffek,	279	892
17.	Al-Moktafi billah ben Motahed, .	289	902
18.	Al-Moktader billah ben Motadhed,	295	908
19.	Al-Kaher billah ben Motadhed, .	320	932
20.	Al-Radhi billah ben Moktader, .	322	934
21.	Al-Motaki billah ben Moktader, .	329	940
22.	Al-Mostakfi lillah ben Motaki, .	333	944
23.	Al-Moti lillah ben Moktader, .	334	946
24.	Al-Tai billah ben Moti, . .	363	974
25.	Al-Kader billah ben Ishak ben Moktader, ...	381	991
26.	Al-Kaim beamrillah Abu Jafar Abd-allah ben Kader, . . .	422	1031
27.	Al-Moktadi billah Abul Kasem Abd-allah ben Muhammed ben Kaim,	467	1075
28.	Al-Mostadher billah ben Moktadi,	487	1094
29.	Al-Mostarshed billah ben Mostadher,	512	1118
30.	Al-Rashid billah ben Mostarshed,	529	1135
31.	Al-Moktafi beamrillah ben Mostadher,	530	1136
32.	Al-Mostanjed billah ben Moktafi, .	555	1160
33.	Al-Mostadhi beamrillah ben Mostanjed,	566	1170
34.	Al-Naser ledinillah ben Mostadhi, .	575	1180
35.	Al-Dhaher beamrillah Muhammed ben Naser, ...	622	1225
36.	Al-Mostanser billah Abu Jafar Al-Mansur ben Dhaher, . . .	623	1226
37.	Al-Mostasem billah Abu Ahmed Abdallah ben Mostanser, . .	640	1242

In the year 656—1258, Bagdad was besieged and taken by the Mogul chief Hulagu, grandson of Jengiz-Khan, and the Kalif Mostasem put to death.

As an example of the earliest declaration made by the Kalifs of the Moslem faith, is highly valuable from its unquestionable veracity and accuracy; it deserves particularization, that a dinar, as early as the year 77 of the Hejira, that is, within 45 years only after the decease of Muhammed,

exists in the Museum at Milan, and forms part of a small collection deposited there, which formerly were the property of M. Millingen. A dirhem of the year 85 of the Hejira, is also preserved in the cabinet of the Royal Academy of Stockholm. The other very early specimens, existing in Great Britain, are one of H. 86, in the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow; of the year 88, formerly belonging to a cabinet at Oxford; of 89, 90, and 111, preserved in the British Museum. In all respect the dirhem of 85, is highly interesting, from the following inscriptions:—

Silver, 85. *Ann.*—Abd-al-Malek Ben Mervân, sixth Kalif of the Ommiah race.

Inscription—I. Area.—Non est deus nisi Deus Unicus, cui non est socius.—(First Arabic symbol.)

Margin.—In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in (urbe) Wâset, anno Hej. 85.

II. Area.—Deus est unus, Deus est æternus, non generavit neque generatus fuit, neque ullus ipsi similis uno.—(Symbol peculiar to the coinage of the Ommiah dynasty.)

Margin.—Muhammed est legatus Dei quem misit cum directione et religione vera, ut eam extolleret super religiones omnes, si vel lædentur associantes.—(Second symbol.)

Weight 1 dw. 20 gr.

The short sentence found in the central space or aera I. insists emphatically upon the unity of the godhead, and may be termed the first Muhammedan symbol, or formulary profession of faith; this, as will be seen, was subsequently modified. This passage was evidently a rebuke of

the idolatry of the Arabs. The sentence in the area No. II. is a verse from the Koran, in which the eternity and the incorporeal nature are in like manner asserted, and from the expressions employed, is meant to impugn the Christian faith. It is remarkable that no instance has occurred of the phrase "Deus (est) æternus," being found in the coinage of any other dynasty. The sentence in the margin of No. II. may be regarded as the second Muhammedan symbol. In later times, it became the practice to abbreviate these sentences, and joining together the commencements of the first and the second, to form the third, or most common and best known symbol, which maintains the unity of the Divine nature, together with the sacred mission of the prophet; and this is generally employed in the more modern coinages, as well as in the invocations to prayer, from the minarets of the Mosque.

Third symbol composed from the initial words of the 1st and 2nd:—Non est deus nisi Deus. Muhammed est legatus Dei.

Common, short symbol, being the latter part of the 3d:—Muhammed est legatus Dei.

To these may be added, though not frequently occurring, a sentence from Surah, xxx. v. 4, 5, of the Koran:—Deo est imperium, antehac et in futuram, et tunc lætabantur Fideles in auxilio divino.

And also, the Shîah, or Fatimite symbol:—Non est deus nisi Deus. Muhammed est legatus Dei. Ali est amicus Dei.—See Marsden's Numismata Oriental. Intro. xviii. xix. and page 1—5, and throughout, for most important dates.]

CHAPTER III.

MUHAMMED'S SUCCESSORS—OTHMAN I. FIRST REIGN—ORCAN I. SECOND REIGN.

WHILE the power and sacred character of the Pontiffs occupying the throne of Bagdad naturally pointed them out as the chiefs of the Moslem world, the weakness of their rule led to the usual consequences of transferring their power to other hands. The two great states which arose on their imbecility, and which merit a brief notice, are the Samanian and the Seljukian dynasties, who finally were merged in the Ottoman line.

The Kalif Wotamed bestowed the government of Bokhara on Nasr ben Ahmed, the great-grandson of Saman, a distinguished leader of robbers, from whom the whole family was named. He was, however, dispossessed of it by his younger brother Ismail, who governed the provinces of Samarcand and Khorassan, the reward of his services against the enemies of his feudal superior. He soon added a considerable portion of Persia to his dominions, and founded a very powerful dynasty, which arose on the decline of the influence of the Kalifs of Bagdad. The Sama-

nian power continued in eight descents from Ismail, comprising the interval from A. H. 261 (874), to A. H. 389 (998), when it was reduced to subjection by the Ghaznavide Sultans. If these powerful and warlike princes extinguished the Samanian line, there soon arose in the East a dynasty of superior power and influence, known by their patronymic title of Seljukian Sultans.

Togrul Beg, a soldier of fortune, the grandson of Seljûk, a Turk of the tribe of Khozar or of Ghuz, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, had served under Mahmud of Ghazna; and, in reward for his services, was promoted by him to the government of Khorassan. Prosperous by the disturbances of this period, he soon became formidable to his master, and about the year H. 428 (1036), successfully resisted Masaud, the feeble successor of Mahmud; and in 429, the Khotbah* was pronounced in the name of Togrul, who assumed the title of Sultan. Togrul had so well consolidated his power, that he received his investiture from the Kalif, and the intestine dissensions of the court of Bagdad paved the way to his further greatness. Espousing the cause of Al Kaim beamrillah, the 26th Kalif of the race of Abbas, he replaced him on his throne, reserving for himself the title of Emir el Omrah, and exercising through its rights the whole power of the state. He subsequently compelled the reluctant Kalif to bestow on him his daughter in marriage; but the match was never consummated,

* The Khotbah, means the petition said in the public prayers by the Khatib or deacon, for the health and welfare of the sovereign, and for victory over his enemies.

as Togrul expired suddenly, at Rey, before the arrival of the princess. He had established his capital at Rey, (Rhages,*) in Media, and at Hamadan, (Ecbatana), in Persia, keeping a lieutenant to direct the public affairs of the Kalifate, which never indeed recovered any foreign consideration after this period. Under his nephew, Alp Arslan, and Malek Shah, the son of the latter, (better known by his surname of Jelal-eddin, and by the era thence called, which he instituted,) this empire acquired a great extent of power. Whilst the elder branch reigned at Rye and Hamadan, another part of this family was settled at Kerman, the most southern province of Persia, and a third established itself on the dismembered portions of the Eastern Greek empire, in Anatolia, or Asia Minor, in that part emphatically called Rûm by the Orientals, whilst, more generally, that title is applied to the whole Greek empire.

The first Turkish Sultan of Rûm was Soliman ben Kotlumish, the great grandson of Seljuk,† to whom his kinsman and sovereign, Malek Shah of Rey, as supreme feudatory of his house,

* The ruins of Rey, the ancient Rhages, attest its splendour and power. Its position so near the celebrated Caspian gates, or pass of Demawend, rendered it of immense importance in former ages, when the tide of migration flowed constantly from east to west through these defiles. To watch, therefore, these great national movements, became the first duty of the Persian sovereigns; and even to the present day, the settled residence of the present Shah of Persia at Teheran, in their immediate vicinity, marks the value of the pass.

† Although the Seljuk chieftains and their nomadic tribes, were clearly of Turki, or genuine Turkish origin, and their descendants adhere to this day to their pasto-

conceded the right of conquering for himself all the territories which he could wrest from the Greek empire, to the westward of Antioch. Having, in consequence, entered the eastern dominions of the Cæsars of Constantinople, Solieman immediately conquered from them the Bithynian city of Nicæa, and fixed the seat of his government there, compelling the Emperor Alexis Comnenus, to acknowledge him as master of the greatest part of Asia Minor. By his successors, however, Kuniyah or Iconium, of Lycaonia, and Siwas or Sebastia, of Cappadocia, were considered as their capital cities.

The Seljuk dynasty of Rûm or Anatolia, numbered 15 descents from Solieman to Masaud, the last of their race, comprising the period of time from A. H. 470 (1071), to 582 (1183), at which time the approach of the Mogul conqueror put a termination to their power. The Seljukian dynasty from Khorassan had broken to pieces and destroyed the political power of the Kalifs, rising to importance and eminence on their degradation. They were soon after doomed to experience together the same fate from the fierce Tartars, who, rolling onward as a resistless torrent, overthrew in one common ruin the thrones of the principal dynasties of the East. For a century the best part of Asia had been harassed by these amazing migrations; myriads of the Tartar race carried the terror of the Moghul arms from the vast deserts of Scythia throughout Asia Minor, Persia, the borders of the Ganges, and China.

ral habits, they have usually received from the early historians the appellation of Turcomans, which is not applied by them to the Turks proper, or the inhabitants of that grand portion of western Tartary called Turkistan.

The Kalifate of Bagdad and its Seljukian vassal sunk amid the general wreck, and the empire of Muhammed, cemented by so much blood, and so many victories, yielded to forces more sanguinary. The foe, however, retired from these distant conquests as an overswoln river recedes within its banks, leaving imprest on all the regions which it had overpast, the sad ravages of its progress.

The flourishing provinces of Bithynia, Iconium, &c., shared the common fate; but some soldiers of fortune sought their safety in the inaccessible mountains, and returned to the towns which were abandoned by the haughty Moguls, to establish their rule over the relics of the Greek empire.

The most distinguished of these warriors was Solyman, the head of a Turkish clan of the Oguzian tribe of Scythians, driven westward from Persia, where he had first settled. He had established himself at Erzerum in Armenia; whence he was called to combat the swarms of invading Tartars, and was drowned in the passage of a river near Halib, as he was attempting to escape from their victorious bands. This accident dispersed the majority of his troops; a considerable part, however, accompanied his son Ortogrul into Asia Minor, where they were gladly welcomed by the Seljukian Sultan, Aladdin, who attempted, in conjunction with Ortogrul, to turn the torrent of the Mongolian invaders. Twenty-five thousand auxiliaries, (the extent of the aid under Ortogrul,) co-operating with the Seljukian army, formed unitedly but a feeble barrier against the advance of five hundred thousand Mongols, by whom he was defeated, and his

territory overrun. The dissensions of Rockneddin and Azzedin, together with the feebleness of Masaud, consummated the overthrow of the power of the Sultans of Iconium, and the race of Seljuk ceased to exercise any influence, or thereafter to rank among the sovereigns of the East. The borders of the Black Sea, and the provinces of their empire, became the patrimony of their respective governors, who erected separate and independent sovereignties, until the rapid growth of the Ottoman power, after it had possessed itself of the fragments of the Greek empire in Asia, and carried its arms to the Sea of Marmora, extinguished finally the relics of the eastern states which had erected themselves on the ruins of the Seljukian dynasty. The Mogul power having thus effected the overthrow of the Sultan, as if disdaining so mean a prize, retired to fresher and fairer fields of conquest; and thus, every circumstance tended to smooth the road, whereby a bold and warlike leader might secure and consolidate the dominion of the fairest provinces of the East.

OTHMAN I.—FIRST REIGN.

Ortogrul, spent with infirmity, having attained the advanced age of ninety-three, and governed the Oguzian horde for fifty-two years of that lengthened period, died, greatly lamented by his tribe and kindred, A. D. 1289. At his decease, a general assembly of the Oguzian Turki for a considerable time deliberated between the choice of Othman the son, or of Dunder the brother, of Ortogrul, until at length their suffrages fell on the

latter person. He, setting forthwith an example of public patriotism, declined the proffered elevation, and was himself the first to salute his nephew, Othman, as their lord or bey.

The accession of Othman laid the foundation of the Turkish power; being strongly posted amid the mountains of Bithynia, he gradually acquired the chief places of the plains, fortifying them with active and powerful garrisons, and increasing his bands of followers on every defeat of his enemies. Kharahissar, with a great portion of Phrygia, soon became subject to his arms; and an attempt insidiously to betray him and obtain possession of his person, supplied to the vigilance and courage of Othman an opportunity, not merely of revenge, but of possessing himself of the strongholds of his foes. Invited to partake of a bridal feast, which was meant as a snare to entrap him, he, under the pretext of depositing his wives and children, during his absence, out of the reach of his enemies, adopted the well-known stratagem of introducing the boldest and bravest of his band, carefully clothed and shut up in the close conveyances appropriated for females; while he met the perfidious governor, to enjoy his hospitality, in the plain before the castle. The signal of flames arising from the distant fortress had no sooner attracted the attention of its owners, than, charging them at every advantage, amid their confusion, Othman not merely cut in pieces his treacherous host and his companions, but pursuing his advantages, he seized the castle of Belejiki, and also of Jarissar, together with the bride, whom he forthwith bestowed on his son Orcan; thus the young captive entered the bed of the murderer of her father and of her lover, and became the mother of the Sultan

Amurath. The conquest of Nice, a populous city, and the capital of Bithynia, celebrated for the Christian council which the emperor Constantine had called there to proceed against Arius, procured for Othman the proffered honours of being saluted as sultan, and of being publicly prayed for in the mosques; distinctions which he, however, declined to claim during the life of the Sultan Aladdin. His decease, in 1300, removed this restraint; and it is to this period that the commencement of the empire of the Turks is generally ascribed. Othman took every means to excite the enthusiasm of his followers, by assuring them of the rewards of the faithful, if they should fall in the battles which he prepared to engage in: he called himself the envoy of God to render Islamism triumphant. He failed in his first siege of Prusa, while he overran all the adjacent countries to the borders of the Euxine. Othman knew well how to seize on the advantages of his situation, thus placed amid numerous districts disorganized by perpetual wars, and the fall of their supreme lord; he therefore proceeded to enlist their bands into his ranks, proffering them lands, liberty, and promotion, if they would embrace his cause and his faith. Thus, connecting the Koran with his progress, Othman founded a nation of soldiers; putting his followers into the occupancy of lands, which were the grants of conquest only, and they holding their lives and liberty entirely at his will, he laid the foundation of a military government, perfectly despotic in its operation. Othman justified this bold and important step, which so greatly innovated upon the elective privileges of the Tartar tribes of the steppes, by appealing to the Koran, and by the example of the Supreme,

of whom sovereigns are the image. As the supreme God is uncircumscribed in his decrees, so, he declared, ought to be the power of his representative on earth; in this he copied only the example of Muhammed.

It was the good fortune, or the skill, of Othman, so strongly to infuse these principles into the minds of his followers, so thoroughly to establish the dogma, that a devotion for the life and blood of their master is an essential part of the service due to the Supreme, that the persons of the descendants of Othman have ever been held sacred, and their orders regarded as emanations of the Deity, and the perpetuity of their line esteemed as involving the destinies of the Turkish empire. This blind obedience, moreover, communicated itself step by step; and, by its imputed sanctity, has rendered the authority of the lowest officers of the empire as absolute as that of the sultan. Othman, yielding to his infirmities, devolved the conduct of his warlike projects on Orcan. The son was not less valiant than his sire; and renewing the contest for the capital of Bithynia, after a long siege he succeeded in acquiring possession of the strong city of Prusa, which became for a time the royal seat of the Ottoman sultans. Othman did not survive the acquisition of this capital, made by the valour of his son, above a year. Death ended his career as he was preparing to remove to his new residence, in the 69th year of his age, A. D. 1326. He was wise, valiant, and politic; highly ambitious, but carrying on his measures with a tempered and sagacious prudence; a good calculator of events, and a steady and resolute prosecutor of whatever enterprise he undertook; his success was materially forwarded by his great liberality and

bounty to his followers, as well as to the poor, whom he oftentimes fed with his own hands;—in fine, of a poor timar, or lordship, he left a great kingdom, having subdued the principal part of Asia Minor; and, moreover, having laid so strongly the power of his state, that his successor was thereby enabled to carry on and improve his system. So highly has his memory ever been cherished by his descendants and subjects, that they glory in his name, and pride themselves in denominating themselves by it; and the appellative of the Ottoman Porte has ever ranked among the most illustrious titles of Europe.

ORCAN I.—SECOND REIGN.

On the decease of Othman, a general assembly of the great officers and leaders of the Turks was convened, to choose a successor to the deceased prince, who had left two sons, Orcan and Aladdin. It was highly to the honour of Othman's memory, that his bounties had left neither jewels nor gold in his treasury, but only well-organized forces, and store of armour and horses for service. The judgment and patriotism of Aladdin also produced the same useful surrender of any competition with his brother, as his uncle had formerly evinced. According to Knolles, the Turkish annalist, the same moderation influenced him to decline the extraordinary honours which Orcan proffered, retiring to the peaceful enjoyment of privacy and leisure in the neighbourhood of Prusa.

The great improvement made by Orcan on his accession was, in the providing a regular pay for his infantry. He also formed a corps of young

Christian renegades, who, torn in infancy from their parents, and made to suffer hardship and fatigue, being placed under severe masters, upon seeing a certain advancement in reward for their docility and courage, were soon trained to service, and became the flower of the Turkish horsemen. Such was the origin of the martial corps of Spahis, which still subsists.

Andronicus, the Greek emperor, justly alarmed at the progress of the Turkish arms, passed the sea to oppose their incursions, and also to relieve the important city of Nice, which had revolted. After a long and well-disputed battle, he was totally defeated, himself wounded in the fight, and his army entirely dispersed. Orcan pursuing his advantages with an unceasing rapidity, the whole province of Pergamus, or Phrygia, became subject to the Ottoman power. He then reduced the western regions of Karamania, including Lydia, Mysia, Troas, and Phrygia Minor. The city of Nice, which long withstood his fruitless toil and efforts, and ill-served machines of war, he at length succeeded in capturing, by the following artful stratagem:—Learning that it was reported in the city that they might shortly hope for succours from Constantinople, he sent forward a body of 800 Turkish horse, dressed in the Grecian costume, towards the Hellespont, who, making a considerable circuit and progress, returned towards the city of Nice, as if they were the expected aid. Having previously dispersed 300 of his Turkish forces on a foraging expedition around the walls of Nice, these were furiously attacked, and, after a mock resistance, took flight, leaving the way open to the walls, from whence the whole transaction had been witnessed by the citizens, who, eagerly opening

their gates to their supposed friends, were, by the sudden onset and slaughter of all who opposed them, speedily overthrown, and the city captured, 1330. Nice has ever since remained in the hands of the Turks. Nicomedia, once the capital of the Cæsars, and the residence of Diocle-sian and Galerius, whence, A. D. 302, they issued their furious edict against the Christians, became the next step towards the Hellespont, where Orcan soon surprised the castle of Abydos, through the treachery of the daughter of the governor, who, falling in love with a young Turk, was induced to surrender to him the castle and herself.

Having thus conquered to the shores of the celebrated Hellespont, whence, from their Asiatic border, they freely contemplated those spots so soon destined to become their favoured haunts of retreat and pleasure; the possession of the territory and city of Nicomedia rendered Orcan master of the Greek provinces in Asia, and left him free to consider the policy of suppressing the smaller Moslem principalities, which, having arisen out of the relaxed state of affairs upon the retreat of the Moguls, had subsisted solely upon the ruins of the Seljukian monarchy. Both Orcan and Othman had affected to fight only for the general cause of Islamism, to revive and to restore the true faith, declaring that Mussulmans ought not to shed the blood of each other, nor should the sword of a true believer be dipped but in the blood of an infidel. These sentiments of Orcan, however, soon gave way to the tempting opportunity of increasing his dominions, by the weakness and feuds of the chief emirs of Anatolia.

What fraud could not obtain, the sword was

ready to wrest from them by force; and Orcan was so elevated beyond every competitor, that the few remaining emirs, who were possessed of small districts, soon found it their best policy to interest his benevolence to continue to them, as his vassals, the principalities which they no longer could protect by force of arms. Among other states which he thus wrested from their possessors, the celebrated plains and hills of Troy were taken by force; and Agilbeg, the refractory prince, was consigned to a severe captivity, in which he ended his days.

Orcan, thus master of Anatolia and of the celebrated shores which spread to the Hellespont, contemplated with greedy eyes the rich and fertile fields which were divided from them only by a narrow strait, not more than an Italian mile; but this space was a barrier which might have long kept out the Turkish arms, as they had not even fishing-boats wherein they might attempt to cross the watery element. In the recital of the bold exploit, which introduced an enemy into Europe who has kept fierce possession of its conquest unto the present day, it is impossible to say which is more to be wondered at—the supineness and cowardice of the Greeks, or the presumption and hardihood of the Turks.

Solyman, the son of Orcan, a prince of distinguished policy and courage, inflamed by the example and incitements of his father, resolved upon the daring project of crossing the Hellespont on an open raft, under cover of the night; and he was followed in the determination by two resolute men of valour, named Ezes-beg and Fazil-beg, who, with eighty resolute followers, were all of them landed safely on the European side of

the strait. Not far off from the castle of Sestos was a small fort called Koiridocastron, or the Hog's Castle, of which Solyman and his followers made themselves easily masters; for, it being harvest time, most of the people were in their vineyards, or treading out their corn all night, as the use of these countries is; and so actively did the Turkish prince avail himself of the interval afforded to him by the imbecility of the Greeks, that he soon passed over a body of 8000 of his veteran soldiers. The wolf was indeed within the fold, as the care and diligence exerted in the fortifying of the small fort, and that of Madytus adjoining to it, might have sufficiently evinced that there was no intention of relinquishing the footing thus acquired; but the pride of the Cæsarean throne blinded its master to the lamentable consequences, and the exigency was only recorded by a silly jest, "that there was but a hog-sty lost;" alluding to the name of the castle.

Solyman's strength daily increasing by the coming over of the Turks, and being left to pursue his progress unmolested, he proceeded to reduce the Chersonesus, and to menace Gallipoli. The governor, endeavouring to avert the danger, was overthrown and driven within the walls; and the same judicial blindness guiding the Greek councils, this important place was left to its fate, and Solyman, in the year 1358, captured Gallipoli, the key of the Hellespont.

This national loss, which brought the invader to the sea of Marmora, and almost within the range of view of the imperial city, excited no other sensation in the capital of the Cæsars than the jest,

that "the Turks had now taken from them a pottle of wine."

The hog-sty and the pottle of wine so strengthened the power of Solyman, that he made great progress in the conquest of Thrace; and, by advice of his father Orcan, began the plan of transplanting vast numbers of the Greek families across the straits into the depopulated districts of Asia Minor, while he crowded Thrace with his hardy and warlike Turkish soldiery. It is the observation of Knolles, that these new-comers, contrasting their rude habits with the refined luxury and riches of the Greeks, found themselves in a new world; and, inflamed by the spirit of the Koran and their natural desire of conquest, the Turks were ready and eager to undertake any enterprise, and to endure any toil, that could advance their empire. Contrasting this spirit with the apathy, imbecility, and dissensions of the Greeks, it cannot be wondered at that all things prospered with the Turks, and became more and more straitened and dangerous with the Christians. Thus, in one year, did the principal part of the Chersonesus fall into the power of the Turks, and was apportioned out by Solyman amongst his followers and soldiers, "as appears," Knolles observes, "by the graves* and

* It is singularly striking, that even in the hour of conquest an impression arose, that the Christian power would again make Europe her own, and on her utmost borders once more bury her dead. Hence the predilection which even the Turks of Europe evince for being buried in Asia. The sombre and striking appearance of the vast cemeteries of Scutari, with its waving forests of cypresses, is depicted in the third volume of "Anastasius" in a graphic sketch of singular beauty and impressive description.

tombs of Ezes-beg and Fazil-beg, the two who first came over into Europe, and which are there well known."

When Solyman had thus secured his conquests, and was meditating yet greater projects, a fall from his horse in hawking put a period to his existence; and age and grief terminated the life of Orcan, his parent, soon after; it occurring within less than two months after Solyman's decease, in the year 1359.

Orcan was wise, courteous, and bountiful; and, being engaged in frequent sieges, he contributed to improve materially the Turkish tactics. Having in view the establishment of a great empire, he cultivated learning, and began the practice of building the medressahs, or colleges. He erected a vast building for that purpose at Nicomedia, which still bears the name of Orcan. He was careful to select the Moollahs who were well acquainted with the Koran, of which he was a zealous disciple; he also endeavoured to introduce a system of justice into the courts of his dominions. He greatly enlarged his dominions, and was successful in the attempt of penetrating into Europe, to which he incited his followers as the fulfilment of the Prophet's orders, he being a mortal enemy to the Christians, as much from policy as from conviction.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.			Years reigned.
Emperors. The East, or Greek.	Andronicus Palæologus the Younger	1325	29
	John Palæologus - -	1354	30
The West.	Lewis IV. of Bavaria - -	1314	32
	Charles IV., son to John, King of Bohemia - - - -	1346	10
Kings. Of England,	Edward III. -	1327	50
Of France,	Philip of Valois -	1328	22
	John - -	1350	14
Of Scotland,	Robert Bruce -	1306	24
	David - -	1341	
Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	John XXII. - - -	1317	18
	Benedict XII. - - -	1335	7
	Clement VI. - - -	1342	12
	Innocent VI. - - -	1354	10

[On the subject of the Turkish coinage, it is observed by Mr Marsden, in his list of their coins, that there is strong reason for concluding that Othman did not exercise this right of sovereignty. No coins of his are extant in any European collection, as far as our knowledge goes; and this negative evidence is supported by the assertion of the Turkish historians, that Orcan, his son and successor, discontinued the use of the Seljukian money, then current throughout Asia Minor, and established in lieu of it a coinage of his own.*]

* "Orchan," says Cantemir, "ayant rangé sous son obéissance toute la Bithynie, à l'exception de Nicée, transféra, l'an 728 de l'Hégira, son siège imperial d'Yenghischeri à Pruse, autrement dite Burse. Il abolit aussi, de l'avis de son frère Aladin, la monnoye Seljukienne, et en fit battre une nouvelle à son coin, portant l'empreinte de son nom."—Hist. de l'Emp. Othm. tom. i, p. 67. Edit. 1743.

CHAPTER IV.

AMURATH I.—THIRD REIGN.

MORAD, or Amurath, ascended the throne in the forty-first year of his age. Although only the second in descent from the great founder of the Ottoman line, it appears, from his accession, that the hereditary claim had already been firmly established in their race. His father had, with great policy, begun an example of establishing mosques, madressah or colleges, and imarets or hospitals, thus constituting himself the supreme head of the faith. The fierce Amurath, treading in the same policy, on his accession assumed the title of "Khoda Vendikar," or God's labourer; a cognomen not hastily assumed or sparingly upheld, as the torrents of Christian blood which were spilt in his incessant ravages and wars can testify. The power of the Greek emperors was confined merely to the imperial city and some important portions of Bulgaria and Thrace. The first exploit of Amurath was the reduction of the strong city of Angora, and to crush a confederacy of the petty despots of Asia Minor, who had vainly hoped, on

the opening of a new reign, to set some limits to the constant encroachments of the Turks. The power of Amurath soon broke in pieces the feeble union, and more strongly fastened the bands of servitude upon these provinces. The vast plain of Thrace, wherein is seated the important city of Adrianople, became the prime object of the Sultan's ambition, who, dispatching his Vizir, Atabey Shahin Lalla,* with a corps of his favourite horse, the Dehlis, Amurath prepared to follow with a powerful army, the fear of whose approach, according to Knolles, influenced the governor to flee from the city by night; and the citizens, perceiving themselves forsaken, surrendered their city, 1362. Inflamed by the importance of his conquest, Amurath issued his orders for the Vizir to avail himself of the panic which the Greeks had shown, and to pursue his conquests in Greece, while he appointed Haji Ormes Bey to be the Begler-bey † of Roum-ili, comprising all his European conquests.

* The title of Lalla was first given to this vizir. It signifies preceptor, or foster-father, and belongs particularly to the Aga of Janizaries and the Bostanghi Bâshâ, because it is their duty to watch over the lives of the junior princes of the sacred lineage of Othman, by preserving them from the cruelty of their fathers and brothers. Hence the young princes usually saluted the aga by the title of Lalla, or father, and regarded him with great affection; but what an extraordinary fierceness of moral character must subsist in a race which could, for centuries, render such an office in the state indispensably requisite for the preservation of their own offspring or brothers! It remains without a parallel among national institutions.

† The military governors of provinces, who are subordinate only to the Grand Vizir, are styled Begler-beys, and the district under their command Begler-beyliks.

Taking possession of his new acquisition of Adrianople, Amurath embellished it with a palace, part of which still remains. He also built a spacious jami, still styled Merûdiyeh, or Morad's Mosque. On an occasion of a lawsuit, Amurath appeared before the mufti as he was discharging his office of judge, to give in his evidence, by whom he was rejected, as not worthy of credit. The Sultan, wondering at this strange proceeding, and demanding the reason, the mufti answered, "That he regarded his testimony as true and unexceptionable, as being imperial; but of no validity in judicial matters, because he never joined in common prayers with the rest of the Mussulmans." The judicial bench which could boast of such an occupant, deserves to be cited in terms of the highest respect; nevertheless, however pure the fountain of Turkish justice might have been rendered by the care of Othman, it is declared, by their native writers, to have soon become venal and oppressive; but Amurath had sufficient magnanimity to profit by the awakening warning; and as a test of reforming his future example, he built a splendid jami, or mosque, for the Friday service.

The Begler-bey Ormes, pursuing his successes in Thrace, and acquiring a vast spoil in captives, excited the spleen or jocularity of the Grand Vizir Kara Ali, from which trifling circumstance arose the suggestion which led to the formation of the Janizaries, the first permanently established body of foot soldiers maintained in constant pay by any European sovereign. To the Vizir's proposal, that some of the Sultan's slaves should watch at the passes of the Hellespont, and seize every fifth captive for the imperial share, which were brought thi-

ther to be transported into Asia, a ready assent was accorded; and Amurath accordingly made it a state rule, by edict, that the fifth part of the slaves taken from the enemy (for the Turks call their prisoners of war* by no other name) should belong to the Sultan; and that these unbelievers, having embraced Islamism,† should form a corps of infantry, whom Amurath fixed at the number of ten thousand; which number, as we shall shortly have occasion to notice, was afterwards greatly

* It is impossible to instance any point of comparison which is more impartial as to the relative effects of Christianity and of Islamism, than by considering their operation, by wars, on society, if their respective tenets were conscientiously acted upon by their respective followers. The first principle uniformly discountenances wars, which are so much in the teeth of its practice, that in proportion as its practice is purer, and moré worthy of its divine author, so wars and bloodshed must disappear and cease from the earth. From the time of the Roman empire, it has operated to soften the horrors of war, and has converted its practice, savage and bad as it still is, into comparatively a civilized, generous system, compared at least with the practice of the Romans, the Greeks, and other ancient nations, for it lightens the bonds of the captive, and softens the prejudices of national hatred. Islamism lives in the elements of war; its doctrines breathe the very flame of enmity against Pagan, Jew, Christian; in short, every thing living that is not of its creed. It recognises no alternative between slavery, death, or conversion.

† By the customs of Turkey, whoever professes Islamism becomes *instanter* a subject. His former faith creates no kind of impediment to his pursuit and attainment of the highest ranks, provided that his conduct be free from suspicion. There is no rank in the empire but that of employment; and a slave who has professed Muhammedism, and been brought up from youth to military rank, either in the seraglio or in some oda, is most likely to succeed to high employs.

augmented. He divided them into odas, or chambers, at the head of which he appointed their particular officers, subjecting the whole corps to a chief called an Aga, who soon became, by virtue of the great military engine which he regulated, one of the first officers of the empire.

Desirous of infusing the influence of religious enthusiasm into his newly-created forces, Amurath sent their corps to Haji Bektash, a dervise distinguished for his miracles and prophecies, desiring him to give them a banner, to pray for their success, and to give them a name. As soon as these soldiers were prostrate before him, the dervise, affecting a prophetic tone, and placing the sleeve of his garment on the head of the first of them, "Let them be called Yenghi cheri,"* he said; "let their countenance be ever bright, their hand victorious, and their sword keen. Let their spear always hang over the heads of their enemies; and wherever they go, may they return *with a white face.*" From A. D. 1362 to the present, they were distinguished on dress days by bonnets, with long tassels hanging down behind, to resemble the sleeve of Haji Bektash. It is finely remarked by Knolles, on observing how materially these troops contributed, in after times, to weaken the executive government by their insubordination and mutinies, that "the finger of the Highest oftentimes turns even those helps, which were by man's wisdom provided for the establishing of kingdoms, to their more speedy destruction." It becomes an illustration of very singular interest and striking application, that the sanguinary massacre

* Compounded of Enghi, new, and Cheri, soldiers; by us called Janizaries.

and destruction of these very troops, in 1823,* was accelerated, if not primarily caused, by a follower of this very dervise, and of the name of their original patron, Haji Bektash, possessing also much of his influence.†

As the military regulations of Amurath have been the spring of Turkish rule until the present remarkable epoch, it becomes desirable to give here a sketch of their character. The first point to be noticed is, that all vanquished enemies are,

* There can be no question but that the reduction, and even the annihilation, of the corps of janizaries had, for a length of time, been an object of desire with the sovereign and executive government, who were exposed to their outrages and caprice, which constantly cost the lives of agas, vizirs, and sultans. Nevertheless, the great importance of their military services during such a crisis as the present, would most probably have warded off the catastrophe, and the importance of taking the chance of future changes might have kept it off altogether, but for the officious interference of Haji Bektash on the part of the janizaries, by requiring the exile or death of Halet Effendi, the favourite of the Sultan Mahmoud, the effect of which was the secret execution of Bektash, and the consequent mutiny and destruction of the janizaries.

† It is as yet impossible to reckon, or presume to estimate, the consequences of thus annihilating thirty thousand of the best infantry of the Turkish armies, and disbanding and dreading the secret disaffection and hatred of nearly twenty thousand more, dispersed over the Turkish empire; especially as, at the exact moment of its occurrence, Turkey became involved in a perilous and bloody war for its national existence, with its potent enemy the Russian emperor. But we are anticipating events which will arise naturally when the existing struggle comes under our review. In their commencement, and for many ages, the janizaries were the very flower of the Turkish infantry, and the bulwark of their empire.

in fact, subject to the forfeiture of life, and are therefore held to be slaves, and their possessions at the will of the conqueror. All the divisions, therefore, of the empire are purely military, and such as were parcelled out in the spirit of original conquest. Acting upon the very principle of the Gothic feudal system, (which association of character holds good, as it will be hereafter seen, in the original legislation and government of the horde,) all lands in Turkey are held on the condition of military service for a limited term; these feudatories are the holders of a zaim or a timar (sabres), and their duty is to answer to the summons of the Sanjak-bey, by appearance at the place of military assemblage, with their regulated number of followers, to perform their military service. The time of this service is limited, (as was usual in the construction of the English forces in the time of the Saxon, Norman, and Plantagenet race,) and is computed from the 23d of April to the 26th of October, at which period the judge of the camp cannot refuse his certificate of service to a soldier, or hinder his departure. The spahis, or horsemen, are more ancient than the janizaries, and have larger pay. These ought, according to the regulations of Amurath, to retain their fiefs by hereditary succession; but the timars, and other military tenures, have long been in the hands of the sovereign, so that the whole property is as subject to his will or caprice, as if it were a daily pay. The extraordinary bravery of the janizaries, and the superiority of their usefulness in war, from their permanent services, soon made them so protected, that their enrolment amounted, at one period, to more than an hundred thousand individuals, numerous persons joining the

ortas throughout the provinces solely to reckon upon their protection. Of this body, the usual proportion remaining in barracks at the capital consisted of about twenty thousand. The Sanjak-beys,* in time of war, assemble the janizaries, spahis, zaims, and timariots, in readiness for the commands of the Pasha, a personal title generally given to governors holding one or more important sanjakats. The command of the Ottoman armies, when it is not headed by the Grand Vizir, is usually confided to the Begler-bey, or military governor of Roum-ili or of Anadhouly, the ancient Thrace and Macedon, and the latter Anatolia, the most extensive and important of the provinces of the Porte in Asia and Europe. The spahis, or horsemen, are supplied from the timars of Asia, and frequently are held by rich Turks, who supply deputies for military service, which substitution is not objected to. From this slight sketch it will be apparent, that the machinery of a Turkish army is precisely what would be the practice of a warlike Asiatic race, who had not availed themselves of the great resources which skill and science have brought in aid of the military art.†

* Sanjak means standard, from the military custom of bearing a standard of one or more horses' tails before their military leaders, according to their rank. A bey has one horse tail; a pasha, not honoured with the title of Vizir, has the right of bearing two horse tails; a vizir, as governor of a province, claims to bear three. The very emblem itself is a strong testimony of the Tartar origin of the Ottomans.

† The customs of Turkey, as of other Eastern countries, being founded on immutable rules, it may be worth notice to illustrate the march of a Turkish army, from an authentic document preserved by Count Marsigli. The advanced guard, consisting of Tartars and irregulars, are

The folly or weakness of the Emperor Andronicus Palæologus called in the aid of Amurath, to help him in his contest with the King of Bulgaria. The Sultan accordingly dispatched thither a powerful army, under the command of the Grand Vizir; and availing himself of those lamentable dissensions, he vigorously pursued his career of conquest through Bulgaria, Servia, and Albania, the principal portions of which were reduced by his arms, and a tribute imposed. Such being the fate of the strong cities of Nyssa and Apollonica, the humiliation of the Greek emperor was not bounded by his loss of territory, but he was tried in a more tender point. Andronicus and Contusses, the former son of Palæologus, and the latter of Amurath, being at the head of their armies, and successful against the confederate nations of the Drave and the Danube, availed themselves of their important trust to form a mutual compact, in view of dethroning their respective parents; and the league was instantly published with their names as sovereigns, placed in the public

followed and supported by the Pashas of Roum-ili and Anadhouly, under whose command they are placed. The Seraskier, or Lieutenant of the Grand Vizir, followed with the troops of the Pashas of Erzerum and of Bosnia. Immediately after, followed the Janizar Aga, at the head of all the odas of the janizaries. Then the Topgee Bashee with the artillery, and the Gebegis with the ammunition, the militia of the provinces, the military vassals of the sanjaks, and timars of Europe and Asia, not included in the grand military divisions, escorting the provision waggons. The provincial cavalry were followed by the spahis of the red and yellow standards; and the whole closed by the Grand Vizir, with the officers of court and the ministers of state who accompany him in his military expedition.

acts. The Turkish Sultan, assembling hastily his forces, approached the camp of the rebel princes, who were entrenched in the vicinity of Constantinople. A moonlight night, and a few moments' converse with the advanced guards of the seditious troops, were so skilfully improved by Amurath, that in less than an hour, three-fourths of their number deserted to the Sultan's camp; the two princes, terrified, fled to Didimotica, to obtain, by their petitions, better terms from the conqueror; but they were unable to resist the attacks of the army led by such a commander, and after much blood was spilt, the two princes fell into the hands of an inexorable vanquisher. Amurath imperiously made Palæologus the medium of the punishment of his son; while he cruelly caused the eyes of his own son to be put out in his presence; and by his orders, the soldiers of the garrison were precipitated from the towers of Didimotica into the river Hebrus, which flowed beneath its walls. A trait of the cruelty of Amurath is recorded, which was truly revolting, although meant as an example to the abject Palæologus. Several of the young citizens who had presumed to bear arms against him, he commanded to be slain by their own parents in his presence, and the fathers who refused to execute this barbarous order were instantly massacred, together with their sons. The humiliating supplications of the Greek Emperor could not satisfy the demands of the Sultan for vengeance, and Andronicus and his son, a child of five years of age, were condemned to have their eyes put out. The art of the executioner inflicted only a partial injury; Andronicus had only one eye actually put out, and the child recovered some time after.

Immediately after the execution, Palæologus

associated his second son, Manuel, with him on the imperial throne, who, fixing his residence at Thessalonica, became animated with the desire of regaining some of the important places lost by his father to their powerful foe. Amurath, keeping up the most accurate intelligence of every step taken, was no sooner aware of the disposition of the young prince, than he sent Karatine, the most experienced of his generals, to besiege Thessalonica; and the townsmen, dismayed at the fate of Didimotica, prepared to deliver Manuel into the hands of his enemies. It was in vain that the young emperor implored succours from his father; so deeply had the ferocity of Amurath impressed Palæologus with terror, that he intimated to his son, that if he repaired to him for refuge, he should even find the gates of Constantinople shut against him. In this desperate exigency, the young prince made his peace with Amurath by the surrender of Thessalonica, who willingly pardoned him for the opportunity which had been thereby given of making so important an acquisition.

As a contrast to the sagacious and triumphant progress of the Turkish sovereign, the Greek emperor, justly terrified at the rapid diminution of his resources, leaving the government for a time to his sons, now hastened to bear his complaints and his entreaties to the sovereigns of the West. No question existed on the paramount importance of their seeking his alliance; but Charles V. was too much occupied by his schemes of universal empire to listen to the dangers of others, and the French monarch had too much need of his forces to spare any portion of his strength for another object foreign to his own interests. The Vene-

tians, who, above all, should have foreseen how closely their own destiny was interwoven with the security of the Greek dominions, replied to the emperor's demand for resources, by arresting him for some petty personal debts. Thus discountenanced and degraded, the successor of the Cæsars, and Emperor of Greece, returned to the imperial city, bringing with him, as the sole fruit of his journey, the Pope's benediction, and the liberty of having mass said by a Romish priest, on a portable altar which the Sovereign Pontiff had given him.

The extensive provinces of Asia equally called for the prudence and warlike power of Amurath. He succeeded in attaching to his interest, and rendering feudatory to his power, the race of Gherman Oglou, and of Hamid Oglou. These emirs, who possessed a large portion of the provinces of Kermian, Karaman, and Aidin, might unitedly have opposed a powerful resistance to his arms; but the sagacity of Amurath was no less formidable than his power; and entering into bonds of alliance and compact with these truly formidable emirs, the last relics of the Seljukian empire, he married his son Bajazet to the daughter of Gherman Oglou, by which alliance he gained peaceable possession of Kutahia, and the most important of his fortresses: an example also followed by Hamid Oglou. Such great advantages enabled him to make head against a formidable confederacy of the principal Mussulman princes, headed by his own son-in-law, Aladdin the Second, the Sultan of Karamania, who, notwithstanding that he led a numerous army into the field, became so apprehensive of the consequences of his rebellion, from the vast resources

and plans of Amurath, that he made repeated but fruitless offers of submission upon terms of reconciliation. Amurath, too politic to suffer the welcome opportunity of completing the subjection of these states to escape him, resolved to set the issue on the event of a battle, wherein Aladdin and the confederates were defeated with great slaughter. He then besieged his son-in-law, who had taken refuge in the capital, Iconium; but having completed his political views, he relaxed from inflicting any personal vengeance on Aladdin, at the earnest entreaties of his favourite daughter, the wife of that prince. This great victory, as Knolles judiciously observes, was the true beginning of the Ottoman greatness in Asia; for the other Mussulman princes of the Seljukian tribe were so discouraged, that they were obliged to submit themselves to the yoke. It is striking to notice the particular events whereby the fate of the most distinguished individuals is frequently deducible from the tenor of their actions, wherein we often are permitted to guess at the retributive operation of secondary causes—as chastisements—and to see the divine agency which thus levels the pride of power and intoxication of success. In few cases is this more apparent than in the last scene of the existence of the Sultan Amurath. Among the numerous aids transported into Asia to assist in carrying on the great struggle with the Sultan of Karamania, was a small and select band of Servians, the subjects of Lazarus the despot of Servia, sent, by virtue of a late convention, whereby he had acknowledged the supremacy of Amurath, and disarmed his hostility. These troops being desperadoes and lawless, upon the occasion of the Turk-

ish successes in Karamania, had indulged themselves in many excesses, which the Turkish sovereign most severely punished; so much so, that on the return of the band, an officer in the confidence of Lazarus took an opportunity of complaining of the excessive cruelty wherewith they had been treated, and of reproaching the despot with placing his subjects under the command of such a tyrant; thereby adding to his power, instead of bravely endeavouring to free himself and his neighbours from so disgraceful a yoke; observing, "that his force, assisted by the neighbouring states, would be more than equal to resist the Turkish power, which had been much overrated; in proof of which, the great success in Asia was entirely attributable to the superior courage of the Servians, whom Amurath had so cruelly treated." By these continued remonstrances, Lazarus was at length influenced to try the event of arms; and he accordingly effected a league among the formidable Sclavonian tribes, which had hitherto preserved their independency. The confederacy comprised Hungary, Wallachia, Dalmatia, Servia, Croatia, and Albania; and the army thus supplied has been swollen to the estimate of five hundred thousand men, for it was, indeed, the grand struggle of Christendom, many warriors having joined their forces even from Italy. Amurath repassed the Hellespont, and placing himself at the head of his army, he met this immense body in the plains of Cassovia, and voluntarily accepted the battle, which they boldly offered him. The conflict was terrible on both sides. The janizaries, fighting with equal courage and discipline, the spahis also, using their long lances adorned with streamers, made a great slaughter of the

Hungarian cavalry, who had no corslets or defensive armour to oppose their fatal onset. The battle became so fierce that the left wing of the Turkish army was put to flight, and the confederates already thought the victory to be won, when Bajazet, breaking in upon the Sclavonic line of battle with his characteristic fury, entirely turned the fortune of the day. Lazarus was slain in the fight, and the flower of the Christian forces was destroyed.

Amurath, being assured that the contest was over and the battle gained, alighted from his horse, and walked over the field. It was covered with vast mounds of the dead and dying. He remarked, with astonishment, that most of the dead bodies of the enemy were young men without beards. The Vizir replied to him in a manner calculated to please his prince, when the latter, continuing his discourse, said, "It is still more strange how I could be deceived by a vision last night in my sleep; for methought I saw myself slain by the hand of an enemy." At that instant an Albanian, who lay biting the ground in the agony of death, being concealed among the dead, perceiving by the richness of his dress and the great respect paid to him by his followers, that he was the Sultan, animated by the thoughts of revenging his country, suddenly started up, and plunged his dagger into the victor's belly.*

* The account of this event by Knolles is so graphically given, that it deserves being recorded in our pages:— "A Christian soldier, sore wounded and all bloody, seeing Amurath, in a staggering manner arose (as if it had been from death) out of a heap of slain men, and making towards him, for want of strength fell down divers times

The Albanian was instantly cut into minute pieces in the presence of Bajazet; and Amurath, dying, was borne to his couch, where he survived but two hours.

No sooner had Amurath expired, than Bajazet was conducted to his tent, preceded by the imperial standard, as the successor to his father's throne. The remorseless character of the new sovereign immediately displayed itself in the perpetration of another tragedy, by the death of his brother; a bloody example, which has since been dreadfully copied in the Ottoman annals. Fratricide, also the murder of parent and child, and the disruption of every family tie, have, from the era of Bajazet, stained the history of the Turkish Sultans. The younger brother of Bajazet, surnamed Zelibi, yet ignorant of what had happened, being sent for as from his father, upon coming into his father's tent, was there strangled by the command of Bajazet. Thus was begun the cruel and inhuman practice of cutting off all their near-

by the way as he came, as if he had been a drunken man. At length drawing nigh to him, when they would have stayed him, he was by Amurath himself commanded to come nearer, supposing that he would have craved his life of him. Thus the half-dead Christian, pressing near to him as if he would for honour's sake have kissed his feet, suddenly stabbed him with a short dagger which he had under his soldier's coat, of which wound that great king and conqueror presently died. The soldier's name, worthy of eternal memory, was Miles Cobelitz."—Knolles, i. 139.

From this catastrophe, it has ever since been the usage of the Ottoman Porte, on the presentation of an ambassador, or any other stranger, that, on his approach towards the Sultan, he is, as it were for honour's sake, led by the arms into his presence, between two officers of rank.

est kinsmen, to remove every competitor from the throne.

Amurath was highly zealous, and from the moment of the rebuke of the Mufti, he had evinced himself an upright administrator of the laws, and a lover of justice. He was brave, warlike, and successful; a man of great sagacity and deep designs. He acquired as much dominion by policy as by the sword; and, availing himself of the disunion of the Greek princes, he acquired the greatest part of Thrace, as well as Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria; leaving to the Greek emperor merely the shadow of empire, cooped up within, and bounded by, the walls of Constantinople. He was greatly beloved by his people as well as feared, as he was severe and relentless as to punishments. This trait of the leader of a warlike horde, rather than the monarch of a great empire, has clung successively to the monarchs of this race. He was a lover of learning, as is witnessed by his building and endowing numerous madressahs, or colleges, throughout his dominions. He supplied them usually with a library. He was sixty-eight years old when he was slain, A.D. 1390, whereof he had reigned with signal success for thirty-one years. He was, by the commands of Bajazet, embalmed and buried with regal pomp in the city of Prusa. Upon his tomb was spread his soldier's cloak and a little Turkish cap, near to which were placed three lances with three horses' tails, which were his successful standards.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

				Years reigned.
Emperors.	Of the East,	John Palæologus,	1354	30
		Andronicus, .	1384	3
		Emanuel, .	1387	30
	Of the West,	Charles IV. .	1346	32
		Winceslaus, son to Charles, King of Bohemia,	1378	22
Kings.	Of England,	Edward III. .	1327	50
		Richard II. .	1377	23
	Of France,	John Valois . .	1350	14
		Charles V. . .	1364	16
		Charles VI. . .	1381	42
	Of Scotland,	David Bruce, .	1341	29
		Robert Stewart,	1370	
Popes of Rome.		Innocent VI. .	1354	10
		Urban V. . .	1364	8
		Gregory II. . .	1372	7
		Urban VI. . .	1378	11

[The only coin which is quoted of this prince is a double silver parah, bearing the legend Murad ben Orcan; on the reverse, Perpetuum sit. Hegira, 761. The corruption of Murad to Amurath, which is the title given to this prince, arises from prefixing the article, as if he were styled Al-Murâd; and from the Turkish pronunciation of the *d* as *t*, *Numismata Orientalia*, page 377.]

CHAPTER V.

BAJAZET, OR BAJAZID I.—FOURTH REIGN.

A.D. 1389 to 1401—H. 791 to 804.

THIS prince began his reign inauspiciously, by the murder of his brother. From the rapidity and energy of his plans, he was called Ilderim, or "the lightning;" a sublime title, derived, as Gibbon observes, from the principle of terror. It was, indeed, a portentous omen of his career, which darkened the Eastern world with a storm of bloodshed and war, more awfully destructive to the welfare and lives of mankind than any consequences of the strife of elements, or of the lightning's rage. The silver mines of Servia exciting his cupidity, Bajazet, in the very first year of his rule, besieged Cracova, and cruelly violated the capitulation which he had granted to the terrified inhabitants. They were all slain by his command after they had given up their city. Continuing his career of violence, he was exhorted by the ambassadors of Sigismond, then King of Hungary, (a young prince of great hope, and brother to Winceslaus, Emperor of the West,)

to abstain, as a just prince, from such violence on the dominions of his unoffending neighbours. Bajazet detained the ambassadors until he had overrun and subdued the chief part of Servia; then calling the said ambassadors into his presence in one of the reduced towns, which he completely filled with his soldiers, he told them that they might there see his right to all the cities which he had taken, inasmuch as the very walls acknowledged him; which reply Sigismond justly interpreted as demonstrative of the intention of Bajazet to maintain by force whatever his power could seize. In the next year he penetrated to the river Danube, and established the Turkish power in these regions, by the capture of the strong city of Widdin. The year 1390 witnessed, for the first time, the passage of this great river by the Turks, and from that period to the present, its stream has been polluted by the most sanguinary contests. The spoiling of Wallachia and of Bosnia completed the campaign, and Bajazet passed his winter at Adrianople, receiving the homage of his great commanders and pachas, and reviewing the abundance of captives and spoils which his wars had produced. The spring of 1391 saw the light of Christianity finally extinguished in Asia by the capture of Philadelphia, the strongest city of Lydia, and the only fortress still holden by the Greek emperor in Lesser Asia. The ruins of this once beautiful city, consisting only of a thick wall of men's bones, confusedly cemented together with the masonry, which still exist, about a mile and a half in distance on the south of the city, attest the savage barbarity wherewith its citizens were treated by the victor. It is curious to trace the same hand erecting at Prusa,

which is held in the highest veneration by the Ottoman princes, a mosque, a madressah, and an imamanet, as deeds of piety. Determining to crush all future hostility in his Asiatic dominions, Bajazet drove out, with great cruelty, the Emirs of Ionia and Caria, and greatly oppressed his nephew, the son of Aladdin, the Sultan of Karamania. He was, however, induced to leave Asia, by the determined resistance of the Moldavians.

Stephen, sovereign of Moldavia, a warlike prince, had several times beaten the Turkish forces. Bajazet, who resolved upon revenge, had a bridge thrown across the Danube, and entering Moldavia, he encamped on the borders of the river Siretus, at a village called Rasboé. Stephen did not long delay the battle, which proved adverse to the Moldavians, and they were entirely overthrown. Their prince fled, the last of his discomfited force. He repaired to the gates of Nols, a fortified city, in which he had left his mother and children. This princess came upon the ramparts, and refused to let her son, as a fugitive, enter the town. "Return," said she to him, "repair your shame, and perish in arms, rather than live under this infamy." Stung by the reproach, Stephen hastened towards his broken forces: by prayers and cries, he reassembled twelve thousand soldiers. With this insignificant troop, the remnant of his army, he returned toward the enemy, and found them scattered over the country to gather booty. The Turks, truly formidable at the onset, yet know not either how to keep their ranks, or to adhere around their colours, when they think themselves certain of a victory. Stephen being thus enabled to sweep the country of the dispersed plunderers, he rapidly collected such a force, that his subjects,

growing emboldened by this success, soon enabled him to make head against the enemy.

It was at the instant of this defeat that the Sultan of Karamania thought fit to struggle, by another effort, to regain his independency. Bajazet repassed almost immediately into Asia, with an army of fresh levies, and a celerity well suited to his surname of Ilderim. Appearing suddenly before the forces of Karaman Oglu, which were engaged in the siege of Kataia, (fully believing Bajazet to be vanquished, and hardly pressed in Moldavia;) the forces of Karaman became so dispirited and alarmed by his sudden appearance, that they were defeated in the first battle; Karaman was taken, conducted to the feet of Bajazet, and by his command was put to death; the two sons of this unfortunate prince were also condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and their dominions for ever swallowed up in the Ottoman empire. The Turks, greedy of spoil, and warlike, now joined in crowds the ensigns of a conqueror, whose high spirit was not to be brought down by the reverses of war, and who paid for services by sharing his conquests with the soldiers to whom he was indebted for them;—no Turkish sovereign ever gave away more timars than Bajazet, or more generously distributed the booty to his soldiery. Henceforth he pursued his career of annexation in Asia, as if it were his own patrimony. He rapidly acquired Amasia, and the independent part of Cappadocia; then the remaining fortresses on the Euxine, the relics of the once potent kingdom of Pontus. The princes of these dominions, assuming various disguises, wandered from place to place, in search of aid and support, and in constant dread of Bajazet, whose formidable power and character had impressed all the

neighbouring kings and princes with great fear of him. A signal instance, however, of the mutability of human affairs was preparing for this mighty monarch; and the inciting cause was chiefly owing to the pity and commiseration which was felt towards so many fugitives as were thus wandering from refuge to refuge, bearing their complaints and their woes over the entire East.

Repassing the straits, Bajazet, after a short repose at Adrianople, advanced against Wallachia. His enmity being disarmed by the submission of the Waiwode, he proceeded against Thessaly, carrying his arms into Epirus, and conquering Joannina, since so distinguished as the capital of the celebrated Ali Pasha, and latterly by the sublime poetry of Lord Byron. The next spring beheld the indefatigable Sultan hastening towards the invasion of Hungary; tracing out, however, or imagining, some conspiracy among the Christian princes, headed by the Greek emperor, he suddenly returned on his steps, and forthwith invested the imperial metropolis of Constantinople. He hemmed the capital in on all sides with immense armaments by land and sea, so that the fall of the city appeared certain,—when the advance of Sigismond, King of Hungary, with a vast army of his warlike subjects, and volunteers from every part of Europe, afforded a most timely succour to the throne of the Cæsars. Elated by their numerical strength, of above one hundred thousand men, the Hungarians proudly boasted, "That if the sky should fall, they would prop it up with their spears; need they, therefore, to fear the Turks?" The Sultan had scarcely eighty thousand men; but they were tried soldiers, and the flower of the Turkish forces. He attacked the Christians with

his accustomed audacity on the very day that he came up with them; and the janizaries and spahis, who had orders to give no quarter, made so terrible a slaughter, that in less than three hours, the flight of the confederate army was general. A small band of French nobles and knights, (headed by the Count de Nevers, a near relation of the King of France,) who had begun the contest, were also the most obstinate in continuing the resistance. The feeble remnant of this adventurous soldiery, who survived the slaughter, being brought before Bajazet, were beheaded in his presence, with the exception of the Count de Nevers, and a few of the chief nobles, who were respited for ransom.* Sigismond himself escaped, with the greatest difficulty, by night, in a little boat across the Danube; the Hungarian king, thus sorely chastised for his presumption, was afraid of meeting his subjects after so dreadful a loss; he fled into Constantinople, and from thence sailed to Rhodes, whence, crossing the Egean sea, he landed in Dalmatia; at length, after wandering from place to place, and being tossed by many harassing fortunes, he, after eighteen months of long and painful travel, finally reached Hungary. He was thus far fortunate, that he appeared at the very instant that his competitor and rival, Ladislaus, was preparing to take possession of the vacant throne.

For a long time previously, the Eastern empire, reduced almost to the city of Constantinople, seemed wholly dependent on the will of the Ottoman sovereign. The successor of the Cæsars,

* After much delay, the result of the haughty forms of the Ottoman court, Bajazet accepted a ransom of 200,000 ducats. The Marshal Boucicault was of the fortunate number thus rescued.

trembling on the fragments of his throne, was constrained to obey the mandates of these barbarians. Palæologus had been commanded by Amurath to inflict blindness on his son and grandson; the consequence of which was also exclusion from the throne. Andronicus being dead, Manuel, who consequently occupied the imperial seat, did it to the prejudice of his nephew, the son of Andronicus, who now resided at Selivria under the protection of the Sultan. Thus Manuel beheld a powerful enemy ready to crush him, and a competitor for his throne. No sooner had Bajazet achieved his great victory over Sigismond, than he resolved on the downfall of Constantinople; and John, the son of Andronicus, soliciting his aid against his uncle Manuel, engaged to deliver up to him the possession of the capital, provided he was given what the Greeks still possessed in the Morea, with the rights of sovereignty. Determining to let the Greeks destroy each other, Bajazet indulged in the luxuries and enjoyment of Adrianople and Bursa, while he placed ten thousand of his troops under the command of John, to overthrow the throne of his uncle, by cutting off the supplies, and starving the population, of Constantinople.* Manuel, seeing the impossibility of provisioning his capital, and weary of an authority which had nothing real in it; and, moreover, con-

* It is particularly noticeable, that the project of the Emperor Nicholas against the Turkish capital, in 1828, proceeds precisely upon this principle of Bajazet's; and there can be no question, but that it is the most serious cause of alarm which threatens the undaunted Sultan. Ever so slight an interruption of the importation of grain, or possession of the bends or great reservoirs of waters of Belgrade, would cause a revolution.

vinced that the Greek reign was nearly at an end, chose rather to see the throne sink under another than himself. Of his own free will, he negotiated with, and surrendered his capital to, the son of Andronicus, upon the sole condition of a free departure with his treasures and galleys. He then remitted to John the vain title of Emperor of the East, with the keys of a city full of enemies and foreign masters, while he departed to lead a wandering life in the different courts of Europe, less wretched therein, than to remain a sovereign, equally the contempt of his subjects and of his enemies.

John, when once possessed of the capital, was little disposed to fulfil his engagement with Bajazet, against which he was indeed vehemently dissuaded by the citizens, who preferred a present death with their children, to living under the yoke of Bajazet. The Sultan, enraged at the disappointment, commenced straiter and more hostile measures against Constantinople, and the efforts of the Greeks evidently could not much longer have protracted their fall; already his hand was stretched forth to seize the prize, and he was on the point of taking possession of the imperial city, when he was unexpectedly arrested by another yet stronger than himself, whereby the fall of Constantinople was delayed for the space of about fifty years.

Demir, or Timour, in the Turkish language, signifies "iron," and beg, "a lord or prince." From Timour's lameness, he is usually called Timour lenk; hence, by corruption of lenk for lame, his usual appellation of Tamerlane.

This mighty conqueror was the fourth in descent from Genghiz Khan, the founder of the Mogul empire, who was succeeded by his second

son, Oktai, Oktai also by Zain Chaw, or Og, the father of Tamerlane. A different genealogy is given by Herbelot from Mirkhond; while others reckon that he was a peasant, and allied to the royal line. But the testimony of Abulghazi Khan, to the nobility of his birth, is decisive. Even his enemy, Arabshah, owns, that he was connected with Genghiz, at least by the female line.

He was born in the year of the Hejira 736, or A. D. 1335, and died A. H. 807, or A. D. 1404, aged seventy-one lunar, or sixty-nine calendar years. (Herbelot, 878, 881.) This prince aspired to the dominion of the world; and, before his death, placed on his head twenty-seven crowns, which he had won in the course of thirty-five campaigns; from the first crown of Tagatai Tartars, which he put on in A. H. 771, A. D. 1369, when he was acknowledged sovereign by the Kuriltai, or general diet of the Tartar tribes. To his patrimony of Tagatai, Timour first united the dependent provinces of Kharism and Khandahar, and next he reduced Iran, from the sources to the mouths of the Tigris and the Euphrates. He afterwards reduced Kipzak, or the Western Tartary; and sacked Azoph, at the mouth of the river Tanais, or Don. He burnt Astrakhan, and then advanced even to the northern latitude of Moscow.

He, moreover, turned his victorious arms towards India. When he first proposed this invasion to his emirs, he was answered by a general murmur of discontent at its probable dangers, all exclaiming with one voice against the rivers, the mountains, the deserts, the soldiers clad in armour, and the elephants,* destroyers of men!

* It was in these incursions that the Mogul Khans

But the great Khan's displeasure was more dreadful than such vain terrors, which were easily removed by his superior understanding and generalship. He followed the route of Alexander as far as the river Hyphasis, where the Macedonia nhero reluctantly halted and returned; but Timour crossed the desert beyond it, defeated the Sultan Mahmoud, and stormed Delhi, the capital of India, which he gave up to pillage and massacre.

From the banks of the Ganges, Timour was recalled to quell the disturbances that had arisen on the confines of Georgia and Anatolia, by the ambitious views and violence of the Turkish Sultan, Bajazet. He finished, therefore, his Indian campaign in the second year, A. H. 801, or A. D. 1398; and, after reposing some months in his capital of Samarcande, he proclaimed a new expedition into Western Asia for seven years,—being possessed of unabated vigour of body and mind, although in his grand climacteric.

The supremacy of the Great Khan had been recognised in the person of Genghiz over the whole of Asia; and, notwithstanding that the mighty torrent of Mogul greatness vanished with its myriads as they returned again into their steppes and plains, yet the sense of superiority over the vassal thrones of the West became predominant in the supreme monarch of the great empire of Turkistan. It was hither, then, as to the refuge of the

first learned from the Indians the use of the elephant for purposes of war, and henceforth introduced them into their armies. The chief tax levied upon the Gangetic and ultra-Gangetic states consisted of a yearly tribute of elephants, for the use of the armies.

destitute, that the dethroned and miserable Emirs of Anatolia and Karamania, as well as the supplications of the Emperor of the West, were addressed against the oppressions of Bajazet. If the fugitive vassals of the Turkish Sultan were thus harboured under the protection of Timour, the princes of Bagdad and Egypt, whose territories were devastated by the myriads of Moguls, fled for shelter to the court of Bajazet. Of these two most ambitious potentates, Timour could brook no equal, Bajazet knew no superior. The first epistle of the Mogul emperor to Bajazet was far from conciliatory. After claiming for himself and his countrymen, the Tartars, the honourable appellation of Turks,* and ascribing to Bajazet and his followers the less honourable title of Turkomans, he thus proceeds: "Dost thou not know, that the greatest part of Asia is subject to our arms and our laws? that our invincible forces stretch from sea to sea? that the potentates of the earth form a line before our gate? and that we have compelled fortune herself to watch over the

* The name of Turk is held in great contempt in the East; nor will the Ottoman Porte suffer itself to be styled the Turkish court; for it does not suffer the word to be used but in reference to the language. The Turkish of Constantinople is so copious, that, according to Sir William Jones, whoever shall know it perfectly, will easily understand the dialects of Tartary. The language is probably derived from the lost tongue of some cultivated branch of the great Asiatic races of Turkistan. The modern name of Turk, when applied to a people, characterises the nomadic tribes of Tartary, and imports rude or uncivilized; while the term of "Osmanli," or "Ottoman," implies cultivation of manners. Hence the common saying,—A Turk will always be a clown, and never learn the politeness of the Ottoman.

prosperity of our empire? What is the foundation of thy insolence and thy folly? Thou hast fought some battles in the woods of Anatolia; contemptible trophies! Thou hast obtained some victories over the Christians of Europe. Thy sword was blessed by the Prophet of God; and thy obedience to the precept of the Koran, in waging war against the infidels, is the sole consideration that prevents us from destroying thy country, the frontier and bulwark of the Mussulman world. Be wise in time; reflect, repent; and avert the thunder of our vengeance, which is yet suspended over thy head. Thou art no more than a pismire; why wilt thou seek to provoke the elephants? Alas! they will trample thee under their feet!"

Bajazet, stung with such unusual contempt, retorted the basest reproaches on the thief and rebel of the desert, as he termed Timour, who had never triumphed, unless by his own perfidy and the cowardice of his foes. "What are the arrows of the flying Tartar against the scimitars and battle-axes of my firm and invincible janizaries? I will guard the princes who have implored my protection (Ahmed and Kara Josef.) Seek them in my tents. The cities of Arzingan and Erzeroum are mine; and unless the tribute be duly paid, I will demand the same under the walls of Tauris and Sultania. If I forsake my arms, may my wives be thrice divorced from my bed; but if thou darest not face me in the field, mayest thou again receive thy wives, after they have thrice endured the embraces of a stranger." This last was the most heinous affront that a Turk could offer or receive. Of course, the quarrel was irreconcilable.

In preparing themselves for the final struggle, symptoms of reluctancy, and somewhat of delay, unusual to these violent and imperious spirits, mark the distrust which each entertained of his foe. Timour, while he wisely resolved to carry on the combat within his rival's territories, acted as one who judged the event of battles to be always doubtful. The impressions made on the mind of the imperious Bajazet may be inferred from the following characteristic incident. The Sultan, in a sudden paroxysm of rage, sent for certain of his chief officers, being so enraged for some slight offence, as to intend to put them all to death. These officers, brought into his presence, each fixed his eyes on the ground in deep silence, no one daring to intercede in their favour; when an Ethiopian jester, a licensed favourite of the Sultan's, suddenly stepped forward, urging Bajazet instantly to execute them all, as so many traitors and villains,—talking as if he knew of some great crime concerning them. Bajazet, supposing therefore the same, demanded of the jester for what reason he thus condemned them. "Reason!" replied the jester; "because the knaves be good for nothing; and report says that Timour, with a great army, is coming against us; now, if you will but take up the alem* in your hand, and I go before you with a drum, I will strike up such a terrible march, and you make such a dreadful show, that we shall need none of these bad fellows, or their soldiers, in the field to get the victory over our enemies." This conceit struck such a melancholy imagination into the mind of Baja-

* The alem is a large broad standard, the staff of which, instead of a spear head, is surmounted with a silver plate, in the form of a crescent.

zet, that he stood musing for a time, as if motionless; and perceiving the drift of his jester, unexpectedly pardoned them all, apprehending that he should soon have full occasion for their assistance against so formidable a foe.

In his first expedition, Timour was satisfied with the siege and destruction of Sievas, or Sebasti, a strong fortress on the borders of Anatolia and Pontus; and in his wrath, buried alive a garrison of four thousand Armenians, for the brave and faithful discharge of their duty. It was the custom of Timour to endeavour, by these dreadful examples, to strike a terror into all the surrounding states. As a Mussulman, he still seemed to respect the wars of Bajazet against the Christians, and therefore he turned aside to the devastating of Syria and Egypt, which occupied his arms for three campaigns, and where he tracked his course by desolation and blood. As usual, Aleppo and Damascus were depopulated, and a pyramid of ninety thousand heads, a horrid trophy erected by him on the ruins of Bagdad, attested his triumph over the fallen capital of the Kalifs. Although of all the scourges of mankind, Timour seems to have shed the most blood, yet he entertained little or no compunction on that score. Witness his observation to the Kadi of Aleppo, during the sack and carnage of that ill-fated city: —"You see me here a poor, lame, decrepit mortal; yet by my arms has the Almighty been pleased to subdue the kingdoms of Iran, of Turan, and of Hindostan. *I am not a man of blood;* and God is my witness, that in all my wars I have never been the aggressor, and that mine enemies have always been the authors of their own calamity." In the year A. H. 804 (A. D. 1401), Ti-

mour bent his steps towards the dominions of Bajazet, with a prodigious army of eight hundred thousand horse and foot, according to Arab Shah, while Bajazet undauntedly came to oppose him with four hundred thousand horse and foot,* according to Timour's Institutes.

The Latin historians say, that Bajazet, as he was hastening with his vast army to the encounter, was reflecting on the loss of Sievas, or Sebasti, and the death therein of his eldest son, Ortogrul, when he heard by the way a country shepherd merrily amusing himself with his homely pipe, as he sat upon the side of a mountain feeding his poor flock. Standing still a great while, listening to him, at last, fetching a deep sigh, to the wonder of all, the Sultan ejaculated these words:—"O happy shepherd! who hast neither Ortogrul nor Sebasti to lose."

Never did two such numerous and efficient armies take the field against each other. The palm of genius and warlike talent is clearly due

* It is singular to read, in this monument of the political sagacity of Timour, the brevity with which the conqueror notes such great events. "It became my duty that I should chastise Kunan Jusof," (his rebellious vassal, who had fled to Bajazet,) "and awaken Keesar," (Bajazet being so called, as Emperor of Roum, from a corruption of Kaisar, or Cæsar;) "and I sent an army before me to ravage the kingdom of Roum, and I sent another army to examine the stages, and the water, and the forage; and I went by the way of Angora; and Keesar, with 400,000 men, horsemen and footmen, advanced with speed to oppose and to expel me. And I assaulted him, and obtained the victory; and my soldiers seized upon Keesar, and brought him into my presence; and after a war of seven years, I returned victorious and triumphant to Samarcand."—Timour's Institutes, 4to, p. 153.

to Timour, for no man ever understood better the art of manœuvring and marshalling * immense masses of men. Understanding, from his light troops, that Bajazet had transported his forces into Asia, and was approaching towards him, Timour rejoiced thereat, as rather fearing that Bajazet might retire into Europe, and protract the war, to weary him out by want. He deliberately reflected upon the valour and experience of the Turkish soldiers, so as to guard against the consequences which often carry away the victory from a confused multitude. Making a march forward from Angora, which he was preparing to besiege, the Tartarian Emperor entrenched himself in his camp, leaving before him a dry plain, in which he hoped to hem in Bajazet, if he came to take possession of it, either by superiority of number, or by guarding several small passes, which he had carefully observed. Bajazet, accustomed to conquer, and only eager to engage his foe, made long marches, and took possession of the plain, which

* The tactics of Napoleon bear the strongest conformity to those of the Tartar conqueror. The whole campaign against the Turkish Sultan appears to have been combined with a deep knowledge of the military art, and strongly to resemble the manœuvres of the French Emperor. Like him, the Tartar turned the position of the Sultan at Angora, and forced him to fight upon a disadvantageous plain. He also employed the means on which Napoleon so tenaciously relied at Waterloo, namely, the system of fatiguing and wearying out, and breaking down the physical powers of his adversary by repeated and violent attacks, keeping behind a powerful corps of reserve, whereby to break in upon and destroy the line of battle whenever the critical moment arrived. The order of battle seems also strongly to parallel the usual tactics of the modern Tartar.

the Tartar seemed to have designed for him. The night which followed was passed by the two armies in preparations for the ensuing eventful day. It was partly devoted by Timour to walking through his camp, where he rejoiced to mark the confidence of his troops as to the obtaining of the victory. Retiring, for the purpose of taking a short slumber, his great captains and commanders were summoned shortly to his pavilion, with whom he discussed and arranged the order of battle; then, mounting his horse, he ordered all things to be in readiness. The scouts soon bringing intelligence that the enemy were marching to take their line of battle, Timour resolved to see their line of march, that so he might regulate his own. Causing three thousand cavalry to advance and begin a skirmish, while he followed; he then perceived that the janizaries marched in a square in the midst, having upon the two fronts thirty thousand horse, covered by another large division of horse in front: he highly admired their position, and considered it a very difficult one to be forced. It is at this point of time that the genius of Timour seems to have risen with the emergency; for, altering his intention of fighting on foot and meeting the janizaries with his whole line, whereby his army might have been defeated, he marshalled his army in distinct squadrons of horse, supported by successive columns of foot, which composed the great vanguard, and charged the enemy by eighteen or twenty attacks. Upon these proving fruitless, Timour himself led on the main body in person, supported on the flanks and in the rear by the bravest squadrons of the reserve, commanded by his sons and grandsons. The janizaries, as Timour had foreseen, destroyed all the first

lines who were opposed to them ; but, in the very heat of the battle, the Turkish army were disheartened and discomfited by the defection of the troops serving in their ranks, who had been the subjects of the banished Emirs of Anatolia; these deserted to the Tartar army, having been corrupted by the emissaries and letters of Timour. Thus, broken and thinned in numbers, and exhausted by the constant repetition of the charges, the Tartar horse at length broke the Turkish cavalry which formed the wings, and pressed upon the centre of the enemy, where Bajazet led on his brave and highly disciplined, but now completely exhausted janizaries and European troops. These, wearied and overpowered by a succession of fresh attacks, were consumed in useless efforts.* Having seen his eldest son Mustapha perish, and his army defeated and dispersed ; despairing of the power of renewing the struggle, and bereaved of hope, Bajazet commanded the vizir, Ali, to make the best of his way to Brusa with Solyman, his second son, in order to preserve some remains of the Ottoman blood. In vain he then sought for death, by continuing the fiercest resistance. He was at length taken prisoner, by main force, by the Zagatai Khan, and conducted, bound, to the tent of Timour. This celebrated battle lasted from daybreak to nightfall. The victory was complete ; about two hundred thousand Turks were slain, and nearly as many Tartars. The splendid result was clearly owing, not less to the

* Who would not believe that he was perusing the details of the tremendous conflicts of Leipzig or Waterloo, excepting that Bajazet awaited to the last extremity the cast of the die ?

superiority of numbers, than to the manifest skill and tactics of the Tartarian conqueror.

The Tartar monarch at first received his royal captive courteously, and treated him kindly; but at last was provoked, by his haughty and unbending spirit, to retaliate the treatment Bajazet had intended for Timour, if he had proved victorious, which was, to confine him, and to carry him about as a public spectacle. In this frightful captivity, the fallen Bajazet died about nine months afterwards, either of an apoplexy, at Antioch, in Pisidia, or by an act of desperation, by beating out his brains against the bars of his cage.*

* The popular opinion has ever been, that Bajazet ended his days in an iron cage, wherein he was enclosed by the orders of Timour. This fact is not stated in his Institutes, written by himself; or by the Persian historians, Sherefeddin, Ali, Khondemir, &c., whence it has been rejected as a fiction by Voltaire, and other modern writers. Dr Hales considers the case established by the following writers:—1. Marshal Boucicault's Memoirs relate "the imprisonment, and severe death of Bajazet" only seven years after. 2. The Italian, Poggius, in a splendid encomium on Timour, published twenty-eight years after the victory of Angora, reports it from the eye-witnesses. 3. Two Italian Chronicles, of 1430, or an earlier date, both report the same. 4. Arab Shah, the contemporary of Poggius, who composed, at Damascus, a history of Timour, agrees in the fact of the iron cage. 5. George Phranza, who was born a year before the battle of Angora, and was sent ambassador, by the Emperor, to Amurath II. twenty-two years after the battle, mentions it positively. 6, and to crown all,—The Turkish annals, consulted or transcribed by Leunclavius, Pococke, and Khondemir, unanimously deplore the captivity of the iron cage. Notwithstanding this strong evidence, the acumen of M. Hammer has done much to disprove this point from a Turkish writer, and denies the fact of Bajazet being thus ignominiously treated, he being shut up in a close litter

Timour restored to their dominions all the Mussulman princes whom Bajazet had dispossessed. He permitted Musa to reign over the remnant of his father's dominions in Asia, and

(grilled), such as is appropriated for the females of the haram, and for princes restricted to the court. The following are the curious particulars, which, as affecting the character of Timour, clearly appertain to history, and are given in M. Hammer's words:—"After having consulted all the sources of Ottoman history, excepting the ancient annals of Aaschik Pasha, which exist nowhere in Europe but in the Vatican library, I was agreeably pleased to find in this collection, among the Turkish MSS. belonging to the Queen Christina (marked No. 30), a passage in the original, and translation, which confirmed the view which I had given of this fact in the Othman annals; namely, that this pretended cage of iron was no other than a grilled close litter, such as encloses or confines the females and the princes confined in the seraglio; and this tale had no other foundation than in the double sense of the word Kafèr, which signifies, indeed, a cage, but also refers to the grilled apartments and conveyances of the females and princes, as every one knows who has visited Constantinople."

The particulars given of Bajazet, are as follows:—"The grandson of Aaschik Pasha, who lived under Bajazet II., reports the fact, from an eye-witness who had related the event to an old commander at Brusa, from whose mouth the historian gained this information.

"*Question.* Tell me, Dervish, on what authority you state this matter, as you was not at this war?

"*Answer.* There was a Naib of Brusa, who had been one of the guard of the Sultan Bajazet. He was about the Sultan after he was made prisoner, and I demanded of him how Timour confined the Khan Bajazet? He said to me, In a latticed or grilled litter, similar to a cage, and borne by two horses. When he was on the march, Timour was preceded by this litter; and when they halted, the litter was placed in the front of his tent. This old Naib, who lived under Muhammed I., had received from

gave Solyman a red patent to hold the kingdom of Roum-ili, (the European conquests,) which he already held by the sword. He exacted from the Greek Emperor the same tribute as he had consented to pay to Bajazet, and an oath of allegiance, which was binding no longer than the Tartarian conqueror remained in Anatolia; who, after he had thoroughly subdued Georgia, returned at length, from a campaign of five years and five months, to Samarcand,* the place of his

that Sultan the command of the fortress of Amasia; and in his old age was removed by Amurath II. to Brusa, where I heard from his mouth this account."

* Ere we finally close the chapter of the Tartar Emperor, it may be worth while to add to such a distinguished triad as Bajazet, Timour, and Napoleon, another conqueror, who is linked with the name of Timour by the interesting memoirs of his invasion and conquest of Hindustan, in the memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkereem, a Kashmirian of distinction, who accompanied the Persian Shah in that successful expedition.

"Nadir Shah having heard that the tombstone of Timour was a great curiosity, some pretending it to be a Bezoar, he ordered his nephew to have it transported to Meshed, along with the brazen gates of the madressah, or college, adjoining to the tomb. Luft Ali employed the Uzbecks, who also brought along with them to Meshed the tombstone and gates; but in digging up the stone, it was broken into four pieces. As I was acquainted with the person who had the management of this business, I obtained a piece of the stone, which I brought with me into Hindustan, to show my friends. How wonderful are the vicissitudes of human affairs, which the Almighty causes to happen for the instruction of mankind! There was a time when Ameer Timour governed with absolute sway, and, in order to intimidate and humiliate the Emperor of Roum, (Bajazet) sent him the following threat:—'I will give up Roum to the plunder of the Turks, and will transport the soil of this kingdom to Turan.' And accord-

birth, laden with the spoils of the Western world, A. H. 807 (1404.)

The invasions of the Tartars, however formidable and successful they rank as military exploits, were merely inroads of havoc and blood, producing unmixed evil, and apparently conducted without a desire of preserving the flourishing countries inundated by their squadrons. Thus, Delhi, Ispahan, Kharisme, Baghdad, Brusa, Smyrna, Aleppo, Damascus, &c., were reduced to desolate heaps, and their restless enemy, after having broken down their ancient governments, left them, without rulers or troops, a prey to all the evils of anarchy.

Although Timour was a man of letters, fond of conversing with the learned on topics of history and of science,* and composed memoirs of his life,

ingly, after the conquest of Roum, forty camels were loaded with the earth of Constantinople, which was carried to Samarcand. When death bereft him of his worldly enjoyments, a slab of stone was sufficient to cover him, and even this was broken into dust.

'The eye which seeketh for instruction, why looketh it into th palaces of kings
To behold what they have suffered from the ravages of time?
The spider is become the chamberlain at the door of Khusrou;
The owl keepeth watch in the tower of Afrasiah.'"

—Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulk, p. 51.

* Timour was fond of the game of chess, and could bear to be beaten by a subject. The old game not being sufficiently elaborate for him, he enlarged it from 32 pieces and 64 squares, to 56 pieces and 110 or 130 squares; but his new system expired with him. The Latin historians record, that "Timour retired at the decline of day to his tent. The victory being completed, he was playing at chess with one of his sons, when he knew by the acclamations, what captive they were bringing him. But neither the arrival of Bajazet, nor the eagerness of the chiefs, disturbed Timour: the prisoner was obliged to

and the institutions of his government; notwithstanding, he also liberally rewarded learned men, yet this was but a feeble compensation for the havoc produced by his destructive and wide-wasting ambition, by which most of the great depositories of learning in the East, and also many scientific and distinguished individuals, were entirely swept away. The progress of this History will show, that the Ottoman Sultans, and the cruel race of Sefi, completed this desolation, and plunged Asia (the fairest portion of the globe, and the cradle of the sciences,) into her present state of ignorance and of despotism.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.			Years reigned.
Emperors.	Of the East,—John Palæologus,	1387	30
	Of the West, Wenceslaus, son to Charles, King of Bohemia,	1378	22
	Of the West, Rupert, Duke of Bavaria,	1400	10
Kings.	Of England, Richard II.	1377	23
	Of England, Henry IV.	1399	12
	Of France,—Charles VI.	1381	42
	Of Scotland, John Stewart, called Robert the IIId.	1390	16
Popes.	Urban VI.	1380	11
	Boniface XI.	1390	14

wait at the entrance of the pavilion till the Tartarian prince had finished his play; he then advanced to Bajazet, untied his hands, and presented him with a royal vest."

CHAPTER VI.

INTERREGNUM, FROM 1405 to1415— MUHAMMED I.—FIFTH REIGN.

THE Turkish empire, thus lost by the temerity and pride of Bajazet, was in great peril of being dissolved, and the whole of Asia Minor in danger of becoming the portion of the great Tartar commanders, who received from Timour the investiture of the various sovereignties, which the ascendency of the Turks had formed into one energetic state. The conqueror considered the relics of the Ottoman power as unworthy of his personal notice, and directed his attention and arms against Egypt and Georgia. Of the princes of the race of Othman, the eldest had perished in the battle; Solyman obtained the European dominions; and Muhammed, the youngest of the sons of Bajazet, held Cappadocia, having been appointed governor of Amasia by his father, when he was only fifteen years of age. This prince appears to have conducted himself with extraordinary prudence and sagacity, in the very difficult crisis wherein he

found himself involved, collecting around him such of his father's and grandfather's commanders as survived the wars. He carefully abstained from drawing down on himself the combined vengeance and attention of the Tartars, by carrying on assaults, or making any demonstration of strength, beyond the preservation of his government, while he, nevertheless, carefully assembled together the remnants of his father's mighty armies. With the help of these forces, he destroyed successively those great Tartar lords who expected to take possession of his provinces. His talents did not escape the discerning eye of Timour, who would probably have spared the time to crush the rising enemy, but that he was strongly moved by his restless feelings to return into Tartary, loaded with glory and spoils; and his actual views, already fastened on the conquest of the distant and vast empire of China, would not brook confinement to the narrow limits of Anatolia. Having failed in an attempt to possess himself of his person, the departure of the Tartarian monarch for Samarcand left Muhammed free; and he availed himself of the event to take possession of Brusa, and to expel, from the royal seat of his ancestors, his brother Isa. The fugitive prince repaired to Adrianople to Solyman, and inciting him to aspire after the possession of his late father's territories in Asia, he was by Solyman shortly put at the head of a powerful army to attack Muhammed. It was without success, as he was entirely routed in the battle, and driven to take refuge in Karamania, where he lived and died in obscurity, fearing to return to Solyman after so severe a loss, or to submit to Muhammed. To repair this disaster, Solyman in per-

son passed the Hellespont, and entering into Anatolia, acquired the capital of Brusa, by forging an order from Muhammed to the governor to give up the castle into his possession. He likewise overcame Muhammed in a general battle, and seemed likely to overthrow his power; but thereupon Muhammed dispatched his brother Musa* into Europe, to invade Solyman's dominions, who speedily made such progress, owing to the aid and alliance of the Waiwode of Wallachia, that he was generally acknowledged throughout the European provinces, and saluted as Sultan in the capital, Adrianople. This sudden revolution, so common in Asiatic governments, where the caprice of the despot is the only rule of right, speedily accomplished the views of Muhammed, by inducing Solyman to quit Asia, and endeavour to regain the kingdom which he had lost. This prince, indeed, manifested talents and valour; but his good qualities were rendered abortive by excess, and a love of pleasure. Given up to the enjoyment of a splendid banquet, he derided the news of the approach of Musa, who hastened to encounter him in arms ere he had gathered strength. Solyman was so infatuated as to chastise the faithful followers who sought to warn him of his danger, adding a gross insult to one of his principal officers; who, in revenge, revolted from the infatuated prince, and was quickly followed by numerous soldiers. Solyman was then too late awakened to a sense of his error; he was abandoned and taken prisoner, and, ere the feeling of

* Musa had been taken prisoner with Bajazet, but being released by Timour, he was then in the camp of Muhammed.

pity for such a striking instance of the mutability of fortune could excite any re-action in his favour, the fatal bowstring put an end, by the order of Musa, to the power and existence of Solyman. He seems to have been fond of literature, and to have possessed shining parts; there is mention made of a celebrated history of the exploits of Alexander, written by a learned Mollah, at the desire and in consequence of the liberality of Solyman; and could he have governed his passions, he might have adorned the Ottoman annals. The body of the dethroned prince was embalmed, and conveyed to Brusa, to repose with the remains of his grandfather, the renowned Amurath.

Musa having thus established himself at Adrianople, was so rash as to embroil his affairs by demanding the usual tributes from the surrounding princes, while he possessed but a slender portion of his father's throne, and was open to the hostilities of Muhammed. Had there been union or patriotism among the Christian powers, the fairest opportunity now presented itself for driving the Turks out of Europe, and setting limits to their power,—the exhaustion which followed the Tartar invasion, and the disorder of their provinces from the family dissensions, affording such a propitious opportunity. But the acrimonious disputes between the Greek and Latin churches made them hate the Turks less than they did each other; and the disturbances of Italy and of Germany prevented their salutary union against the common enemy of the Christian faith.

The Greek Emperor was necessitated, therefore, to content himself with the acquisition of that scanty portion of his former rich possessions

which would secure the approaches to the imperial city; for which purpose, he assented to a treaty which ratified to him the possession of the forts about the Euxine Sea, and the Propontis; with those of Thessaly; that is, the places from Vanima to the entrance of the Bosphorus, called the Sacred Entrance, and the forts on the borders of the Black Sea as far as Varna.* Muhammed willingly agreed to, and confirmed, an arrangement which freed him from hostilities which might have been dangerous, by concessions which he could resume at will. The Emperor thus forgetting his danger, without a thought of futurity, Muhammed was left at liberty to pursue his schemes of reuniting all the parts of the mighty empire of his father. A contest now begun was favourable for Musa; for Muhammed, giving way to his ardour, and chasing his flying enemies too far, was himself overpowered by the janizaries, and defeated with great loss, in the well-contested battle of Intzag. Muhammed fled to Constantinople, (the Greek Emperor making common cause with him against Musa,) and hence returned to his own dominions. Successfully re-

* This line of defence becomes a mark of peculiar interest in the existing struggle between the Russian and Turkish emperors, as it comprises the great natural boundaries of Constantinople, and forms the outworks which Mahmoud is so bravely defending; in fact, the course of time has completely brought round similar positions, with their accessary circumstances. The attempt of the Russians to distress Constantinople by the blockade of the Dardanelles, and stopping her supplies of corn, is exactly paralleled by the act of Bajazet; and the gradual contraction of her limits towards the Euxine and the Pruth, by the Turkish aggressions of the 14th and 15th centuries.

newing the war in 1411, he at length besieged Musa in Adrianople; who, being deserted by his allies, and taken captive, was reproached with his former cruelty to his brother Solyman, and then strangled with the bowstring, by the order of Muhammed.

From this time the historians date the accession of Muhammed; who, having consolidated and restored his authority throughout the European and Asiatic territories of his ancestors, may be justly accounted the second founder of the Turkish empire.

MUHAMMED THE FIRST.—FIFTH REIGN.

A. D. 1413 to 1416—H. 816 to 819.

KARAMAN OGLOU, encouraged by the absence of the Sultan in Europe, took advantage of the dissensions of the brothers to shake off his allegiance by taking the city of Brusa, and spoiling the provinces. The castle, however, resisted his force, although strongly attacked by Karaman, who gave many great assaults for the space of thirty days. It chanced at this time that the body of Musa was proceeding to the tomb of his ancestors, being honourably conveyed along by a great multitude of his late followers; the unusual concourse thus assembled being espied by Karaman Oglou, without any intimation to him of the true cause, he suddenly raised the siege of the citadel, and fled, supposing that it had been the approach of Muhammed. The Turks long jested at the flight of a warrior from the dead body of an Ottoman prince; but the incident, how-

ever, strongly marks the dread entertained of the power and talents of Muhammed.

It might have been supposed that such executions had satiated the suspicions of the Sultan towards the unhappy partakers of his lineage; but another victim remained—the youthful Orcan, son of Solyman, who had resided at Constantinople under the protection of the Greek Emperor. Fearing the consequences of the good understanding betwixt the Sultan and Emperor, he fled towards Wallachia; but was treacherously betrayed to his uncle by his tutor, Zaganos. Muhammed had his eyes put out, and so sent him to Brusa, where he allotted for his support a splendid provision for the rest of his days.

Having established a league with the Christian princes, at the head of whom was the Greek Emperor, with whom he renewed the treaty of cession of the districts around Constantinople; Muhammed applied his efforts and power to reduce into order the various refractory vassals and cities which had taken advantage of the troubles, commencing with the King of Karamania. These, either voluntarily, or by compulsion, were brought into subjection, excepting the Pasha of Ephesus and Smyrna, who attempted to make a resistance. Sineis was, however, compelled to surrender Smyrna; and Muhammed demolished the fortifications. contenting himself with depriving the rebel of his government—a lenity which caused great troubles during his own reign, and also in that of his successor. It was the policy of this prince to leave few fortified towns in the interior of his dominions, justly considering that they only tended to invite and foster revolts.

From this period may be dated the commencement

of the strife and warfare between the Turks and the republic of Venice, which for many ages bore the brunt of the hostilities of the Turkish empire, and, by the costly sacrifices of her treasures and blood, courageously shielded Europe from the Ottoman arms. The republic of Venice was at this time very powerful. Its possessions extended from Cape Istria to Constantinople; and the Venetians transacted on the Rialto, the richest portion of the commerce of Europe. The Turks, who never cultivated the maritime arts, nor the great prospects of commercial gain which so many natural advantages present to them, were filled with envy as they beheld the merchantmen returning from Trebisond and the ports of the Black Sea. Lying, therefore, in wait for them, they attacked them when badly defended; and Muhammed, judging that every act of hostility against the enemies of the Koran was justifiable and right, refused to put a stop to these piracies, or to make restitution. The republic of Venice was little inclined to take the law from a power, devoid alike of maritime strength or experience; and, after offering to the choice of the Sultan the alternative of either peace or war, the Venetians prepared to defend their rights. The Venetian admiral, Loredano, steered speedily to the Hellespont with fifteen well-appointed galleys, and anchored opposite to the town of Gallipoli, whence he was fiercely attacked by thirty Turkish vessels, commanded by the Turkish Capitan. The Venetian knew well how to meet his foes with his inferior force. By skilful manœuvres he gained the wind, and so disposed his attack, that the sun shone full in the dazzled faces of the enemy. Clouds of arrows killed numbers of those against whom they were

directed; whilst the Turks, on their side, could not see how to direct their aim, but discharged their arrows at random. The boarding was as favourable as the distant combat had been. After the death of the Turkish Capitan and a vast number of his men, half the Turkish fleet were captured, and the remainder were sunk, or re-entered the port in a shattered condition. Contented with their victory, the Venetians pursued their commerce without further injury or molestation.

The attention of the Sultan was wholly drawn off from any consideration of his naval loss, by the rise of one of those fanatics, whose dangerous and mysterious tenets have been hinted at, in the epoch of the Kalifs. The Sheik Bedreddin, retiring into a deep forest, and claiming the sanctity and honour of the El Mahdi, or expected prophet, speedily spread his doctrine and proselytes over the whole provinces of Lydia and Ionia. The Turkish Sultan appears to have seen the importance of not trifling with the fanatic impostor. The two Pashas had already been defeated by the followers of Bedreddin. Without further delay, then, Muhammed dispatched an army of sixty thousand men against this sect, which was headed by his son Amurath, not yet twelve years old, who had for his adviser and lieutenant, the Grand Vizir. Though the war was short, it was excessively bloody. The soldiers everywhere found these fanatics prepared to die. The entrances to the mountains and difficult passes were so well defended, that the guards stood to be killed to a man, never fleeing, nor giving nor receiving quarter; they had been promised the rewards of Paradise by their leader, and they braved, with extraordinary firmness, both torments and death.

Nor was Bedreddin less an enthusiast than his disciples. After vast bloodshed and resistance, being in the power of his enemies, no tortures could influence him to retract a syllable of his doctrine or declarations; he declared himself always the messenger of God, and the organ of truth; that is, the El Mahdi and the teacher, as is detailed in the accounts of the Ismaelian sect.

He was at last nailed on a cross, where he expired, declaring always that he should not die, but that he should propagate his doctrine throughout the world. Such deep impression did his remarkable firmness and repeated declarations make on the public mind, that it was reported he was not dead, but had reappeared in Greece. Encouraged by this revolt, the Pasha Sineis, whom Muhammed had again promoted to the government of Nicopolis, meditated a deeper plot; for, having found among the dregs of the people a man perfectly resembling Mustapha, the elder brother of Muhammed, (which prince was slain at the battle of Angora, while combating by the side of Bajazet,) he resolved to set up this impostor against the real Sultan.

Sineis, having instructed his apt pupil, was the first to acknowledge him as his sovereign, in his district of Nicopolis; publishing that the throne belonged to him, as the eldest of the house of Othman.

Muhammed was reposing at Brusa, when he heard of the great progress making by this new claimant in Thessaly, and other parts of his dominions. Passing the Hellespont with an army of 60,000 men, he soon rendered the enterprise of the traitor Sineis abortive, dispersing with ease the rabble which had followed the false Mus-

tapha. But the rebel, with his tutor Sineis, evaded the arms of the Sultan, and refuged themselves in the Greek dominions. In vain Muhammed demanded to have them delivered up to justice; the Greek Emperor, Manuel, either from policy or some other unknown cause, notwithstanding the friendship subsisting between himself and the Sultan, persisted in the injurious supposition that he was the injured prince Mustapha, his brother. Thus far, however, Manuel conceded to the remonstrances and threats of Muhammed, that the pretended prince, and the traitor Sineis, should be confined strictly to the island of Lemnos; which agreement Manuel ratified by an oath. The conduct of the Greek Emperor was unjust and treacherous; but the weakness of the Byzantine Court, and its crooked politics, made the path of circumvention, and the occupation of fomenting troubles and civil discord, the favourite modes by which it tried to stifle the prosperity of the house of Othman.

Muhammed, however he might deem it prudent to pass over the conduct of Manuel, prepared to avenge himself on the Waiwode of Wallachia, for the countenance which he had lent to the false Mustapha. He ravaged the country, reduced many of the towns, and, as the terms of a cessation of hostilities, he demanded an increased tribute. While engaged in these projects, he was overtaken by death, and expired at Adrianople ere he could recall his eldest son Amurath (whom he appointed by will his successor) from the government of Amasia. Having himself experienced such conflicts in the struggles for the throne with his brothers, he was so anxious to secure the peaceable accession of Amurath, that he enjoined

his great officers of state to conceal his death until the arrival of the prince. The secret was faithfully kept for the space of forty-one days, until, by the arrival of Amurath, the Turkish empire became acquainted with the death of the Sultan, and the accession of his son to the throne.

Notwithstanding that the death of Musa stains the character of Muhammed, he is, nevertheless, considered by the Latin historians as one of the mildest and least sanguinary of the Turkish sovereigns. Perhaps his experience of the evils of adversity might have corrected the natural bias of the race of Othman to exercise their great authority with severity. He was, undoubtedly, a prince of great abilities, for he repaired the mischiefs of the Tartar invasion, he reunited the dislocated members of the Turkish empire, and transmitted the noble inheritance, strengthened and entire, to his son.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.				Years reigned.
Emperors	Of the East,	Manuel Palæologus, . . .	1387	30
	Of the West,	Duke of Bavaria,	1400	10
		Sigismund, King of Hungary,	1411	28
Kings of	England,	Henry IV. . .	1399	13
		Henry V. . .	1413	9
	France,	Charles VI. . .	1387	42
	Scotland,	Robert, . . .	1390	16
		James I. . . .	1424	13

Popes of Rome.	Boniface IX. .	1391	14
	Innocent VIII.	1405	2
	Gregory XII. .	1407	2
	Alexander V. .	1410	1
	John XXIII. .	1411	5
	Martin V. . .	1417	13

["That Solyman, the eldest of the sons of Bajazet, exercised the rights of royalty, is clear from coins existing Hej. 806 (1403.) The names of the four companions and successors of the Prophet are in the margin, namely, Abubeker, Omar, Othman, Ali; these give a clear indication of the religious tenets of the Turks, who zealously adhere to the doctrine of the Sunni; as the Persians, to this day, do to that of Shiâh, or the sect of Ali. The Turks always appear as the offset of the Seljuks, who invariably acknowledged the Kalifs of Bagdad as their paramount lords, and were, consequently, strictly orthodox." —Numismata Orient. i. 379.

A small coin extant of Muhammed, Hej. 813 (1410-11), proves that he dated the commencement of his reign, not from the defeat of his brother Musa in 816, but from the death of their elder brother Solyman, which event occurred in 813.]

CHAPTER VII.

AMURATH THE SECOND.—SIXTH REIGN.

A. H. 825—A. D. 1422.

AMURATH was scarcely seated on the throne, ere the Greek Emperor made a formal demand of having his two younger brothers delivered into his charge, in order to their being educated at his court, conformably to the will of Muhammed. This the Grand Vizir refused, alleging as a reason, that it would be a crime in a Mussulman sovereign to confide the education of the princes of his house to infidels.

Amurath, according to Dukas, ascended the throne in the beginning of winter. He made great preparations, in the spring following, to besiege Constantinople; a measure probably resulting from the conduct of the Greek Emperor in the case of Mustapha. Hereupon, John Palæologus (to whom, for a long time, Manuel, on account of his great age, had left the management of public affairs) sought to avert the anger of the Sultan, by laying the fault on the refusal of the vizir to put the two young princes into the Em-

peror's hands, pursuant to their father's will. But the Sultan detained these ambassadors until all things were ready for the siege, and then dismissed them, with the ominous warning, "Assure your master that I shall be with him presently." In short, not many days after, he invested Constantinople with 200,000 men.*

The career of Manuel was near its close; his old age and infirmity had likewise the weight of anxiety to contend with, resulting from the dangers of his threatened capital. He therefore resolved on calling into action the false Mustapha, which expedient was completely successful; for Amurath, who had hitherto only amused himself with preparing machines and making slight skirmishes before Constantinople, no sooner had intelligence of the events contemplated in Asia, than he broke up the siege, and prepared to encounter the impostor who might endanger his throne.

The Greek Emperor, in pursuance of his expedient, forthwith dispatched ten galleys to the Isle of Lemnos, fetching thence the impostor Mustapha, and the artful but sagacious Sineis; and to secure for his tottering throne any probable advantages that might flow from a propitious course of events, he framed an agreement with his willing guest. The adventurer, of course, easily agreed to a treaty to resign to the Greeks

* The investment of Constantinople, in 1422, is stated, by the writers of the Universal History, on the authority probably of Cantemir, to be unnoticed by the Turkish historians; but M. Hammer, who condemns strongly the account given by Cantemir, states the fact of the siege having taken place, from the Turkish authors; they refer to an historic detail given of the siege itself, by John Canano, a Byzantine writer.

the countries bordering on the Euxine Sea as far as Wallachia, with all the towns of Thessaly as far as Mount Athos, should he succeed, by the help of Manuel, in ascending the Ottoman throne. Immediately after the signature of the treaty, a fleet of galleys conveyed Mustapha, and his adviser, to the important town of Gallipoli.

The perfect resemblance of the pretender to the prince whom he personated, his noble air and captivating manners, procured for him a gleam of success. The town of Gallipoli opened its gates, the citadel was stormed by Sineis, sword in hand, and the impostor's title was acknowledged in the Hexamilian,* or Isthmus of Gallipoli, as well as throughout the province. This news greatly embarrassed the youthful Sultan, who was still in his Asiatic provinces; but being advised thereto by those around him who hated the pride of Bajazet, instead of hastening himself to the scene of the revolt, that vizir was ordered to lead an army against Mustapha and his accomplices. Bajazet having hasted to Adrianople, he soon collected a well-disciplined force of thirty thousand troops, with which, drawing near to the camp and army of Mustapha, they met near Gallipoli. The usurper had well fortified his camp against an assault; and, advancing every day with a feeble escort, and conversing familiarly with the commanders or soldiers of Bajazet's troops on the opposite banks, he so skilfully excited the recollections of those who had seen Mustapha, and were struck with the resem-

* The isthmus which joins it to the continent is but six miles broad. The Isthmus of Corinth had a wall, which bore the same name.

blance, " he calling on God to witness to the justice of his cause, and how equitably he would govern the empire which he was obliged to conquer,"—that by these artful speeches, ere the vizir was sensible of his danger, the impostor had corrupted and won the hearts of the majority of his troops. The first signal of the change was such an absolute desertion and abandonment, that Bajazet had no means of preserving his life, but by following the stream, and casting himself at the feet of the pretended prince. Mustapha would willingly have conceded to him his pardon, but Sineis, who owed the vizir a mortal grudge, had him torn from the tent, notwithstanding the promised protection, and beheaded immediately in his presence. The result of such a sudden and propitious event as the defection of the troops of Bajazet, placed the pretended Mustapha in possession of the royal city of Adrianople ; and he was generally recognised as Sultan, and the chief of the sacred Ottoman lineage, throughout the European provinces. The difficulties of the enterprise were, however, but beginning; for as soon as Demetrius Lascaris, who had conveyed him from Lemnos to Gallipoli, and who was, moreover, a party to the treaty with Manuel, his master, was willing to profit of the same, by taking possession of the promised cessions, both Mustapha and Sineis, who well knew that such steps would lose for them the confidence of the true believers, at once broke off all treaty, by declaring that they neither could, nor would mangle the Ottoman empire,—thus manifesting his ingratitude to the Greek Emperor. Manuel, confounded and enraged by such perfidy, resolved upon revenge ; but being too weak to accomplish it by force, his only

remedy was, to offer his feeble succours to the Sultan Amurath, whom he had so deeply injured. The Turkish sovereign dissembled his resentment, and favourably received the Byzantine envoys; but he would never promise either to trust his two brothers to the care of the Greeks, or to give up Gallipoli as Manuel demanded. Amurath, considering his extreme youth, seems to have exercised great sagacity in his public conduct throughout this rebellion. In the present instance, having had such a signal lesson by the revolt and desertion of his whole army, when led by his Vizir Bajazet, he wisely resolved to strengthen his power through the influence of the body of the Ulema; he therefore published everywhere, that it was the sins of Moslems which drew on them the anger of Allah. When he learned the total loss of his army, he exclaimed, in the open divan, "What can a created being do, when the Creator is against him?" This maxim is yet retained by the Turks; and they repeat it often in Amurath's own words. He next visited Shiek Bekhar,* a dervise, who possessed great reputation for sanc-

* This personage appears to be the Shiek of the order of Dervises, called Bektash, and whose chief, having conferred the title of Janizaries on that formidable body at their first formation, as already detailed, has a very important character and influence with them, to their recent extinction by the present Sultan, Mahmoud the Second. Bekhar is represented, on this occasion, to have been caught up to heaven, and to have seen the immediate spirit of the Prophet, Muhammed, whom, after thrice kissing the dust of his feet, he beseeches to obtain victory for Amurath. To this petition the Prophet answers, "That, for his sake, Allah has heard and granted Amurath's prayers, and will give him the victory." From hence it appears that the Turks believe, that Muhammed's soul, by a peculiar privilege, hears and conveys the prayers of believers to the throne of God.

tity throughout all Asia, and who abode in a forest in the vicinity of Brusa. The answers of the holy man were such as might be supposed,—promising, in fact, by the authority of the Prophet, (whom the Shiek in a vision had seen and interceded with,) that the Sultan should obtain a complete victory over his foes.

There can be no question but that these professions of zeal contributed to strengthen the power of Amurath; but the object against whom they were chiefly levelled had done far more to ruin himself, by the round of luxury and debauchery in which he indulged amid the pleasures of Adrianople. Sineis (hearing, however, that the Sultan had engaged the galleys of Adorno the Genoese, to transport his forces into Europe, and that he was in close treaty with the Greek Emperor) so warmly reproached Mustapha with the impending consequences of his sloth, that, by the instigations of that experienced leader, he immediately crossed the Hellespont, with the forces which he had on foot, to fight with Amurath. Knowing Sineis to be an able general and a traitor, the Sultan preferred to corrupt rather than to fight him; and Sineis was too watchful of consequences not to perceive, that the usurper began to be despised by his own partisans, and was altogether incapable of sustaining his dangerous part. The governments at Ephesus and Smyrna were the price of his defection from Mustapha, whose forces dispersed in every direction, upon the news of the event. Amurath had foreseen and prepared for this circumstance, by causing bridges to be constructed, and avenues prepared, for the fugitives to resort to his camp; which they did in such considerable numbers, that the abandoned

and forlorn Mustapha fled to Lampsacus, followed by only four servants. Here it was with difficulty that he even found a bark to carry him over to Europe; while the galleys of the mercenary Genoese were ready to land Amurath and his select forces, in the sight of Mustapha, at Gallipoli. So shamefully did these Latins betray the common cause of Christendom, for which, well were they eventually rewarded. How often would the position of a fleet of galleys in the Straits, to blockade the Hellespont, have defeated the progress and growth of the Turkish empire, and saved torrents of Christian blood! The temptation which thus bribed the Genoese to assist the Sultan, was merely the sordid object of the remission of a yearly impost, which, as Podestate of Phocæ, Adorno was obliged to pay to the territorial lord of the alum mines in its vicinity. This tribute, which had formerly gone to the coffers of the Greek Emperor, had been seized by the Sultans by right of conquest; and its paltry equivalent decided Adorno to assist Amurath with his galleys in the point wherein he was weakest. The unhappy Mustapha, betrayed and abandoned, in vain endeavoured to escape with the imperial treasures into Wallachia; he was overtaken, loaded with chains, brought back, and, after every indignity was exhausted, hanged in the great square of Adrianople. Amurath had meantime not forgotten, that he owed all the risk and trouble of this rebellion to the perfidy of the Greek Emperor. He had retained his ambassador, being unwilling that they should report his preparations; but as soon as these were ready, he ordered them to return, and tell Manuel that he should see him soon after them. Amurath kept his word; and in the spring,

deluged Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, with which he also menaced to lay siege to Constantinople. Manuel, unable to oppose the Sultan in the field, had again recourse to artifice and fraud. He incited the governor of one of the brothers of Amurath to place the eldest of them on the throne; and, as he was but a child, to reign in his name. Perilous as the enterprise was, the effect of Greek gold was all-powerful. The governor conducted the young Mustapha (who was incontestably of the Ottoman blood) to the important city of Nice, which, being influenced by the governor, declared in his favour. The news of the troubles thus threatening Asia, put a stop to the designs and progress of Amurath in Europe, and procured that respite for the Greeks which was the design of Manuel. In this interval, the Greek prince died at Constantinople, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, leaving to John Palæologus, his brother, the broken remains of the Greek empire, and his hatred of the Ottoman race.

The appearance merely of Amurath in Asia extinguished the rebellion; the Sultan's name instantly opened the gates of Nice; the guards and all the followers of Mustapha were put to death; and the youthful pretender and his brother, though too young to be really culpable, (for the eldest was but nine years old,) were strangled in the presence of Amurath, who sent their bodies to be interred in the royal sepulchre at Brusa. Having thus secured his throne, the Sultan resolved on the punishment of the chief delinquent and traitor, Sineis; who, neglecting to furnish the stipulated imposts from Smyrna and Ephesus, thereby supplied to his enemies the coveted pretext. Amu-

rath sent against him Kalil, (the brother-in-law and friend of the Grand Vizir Bajazet, who had been beheaded by Sineis,) with an army of fifty thousand men. Sineis was now defeated, and obliged to flee. In vain he sought to rekindle the love of independency among the neighbouring princes; all of them were equally impatient of the Turkish yoke, and all would have gladly freed themselves from it; but the risk was too great, and the perfidy of Sineis too well known. After preserving, therefore, a fugitive existence for a short space, he was at length taken, and suffered death. Besides Ephesus and Smyrna, Amurath added, this year, two provinces to his empire; that of Sinope in Anatolia, and of Ipsala in Europe. Jerman, the governor of the latter, yielded himself voluntarily to be a vassal of the Sultan, who rewarded him by magnificent presents, and the appointment of Sanjak for life.

No sooner were the affairs of Asia arranged, than the cause of bitter enmity existing in the mind of Amurath against the Greek Emperor incited him to renew hostilities, and to turn his arms against the strong places of Macedonia. He soon took Dercos, Sattrenion, and Mesembria, always ravaging and impoverishing the country. John Palæologus, unable to protect his dismembered empire, consented at length to abandon to Amurath all the places which he had captured, as well as Thessalonica, which was still in his possession; to dismantle the strong wall across the entrance to the isthmus of the Haxamilian; and (as if it was not sufficiently disgraceful to thus surrender the keys of his states) he agreed also to pay an annual tribute of three hundred thousand aspers: these conditions were accepted: a

rebellion on the part of the Thessalonians drawing on them the vengeance of Amurath, and exciting the Turkish court to take up arms against Venice. The case was as follows. Either by real or feigned resistance against their governor, Andronicus, the brother of the Emperor John, the citizens became possessed of the city; when, refusing to be a party to the peace, they offered the protection of their city to the republic of Venice, if they would undertake to provide for its defence. The Venetians, who ardently wished for the possession of a town so advantageously situated for commerce, accepted it without hesitation; they sent a governor thither instantly, and, to secure their possession of it, they transported the greatest portion of the Greek population forthwith to the islands of Eubœa and Candia, filling the city with tried and veteran troops. Amurath was at Sares, in Macedonia, when he received the news of the event; and, being unwilling to check his designs, he sent an embassy to Venice, to represent to the republic that he was not at war with them, and they ought not to shut against him the gates of a city which was his own by treaty. Receiving an unsatisfactory reply, Amurath prepared to reduce Thessalonica by force. Dispatching thither the Vizir, with a large force, the Turks surrounded the city with a numerous army. The siege was tedious and bloody; the walls were too strong to be assaulted successfully by the war machines; and though the use of cannon was already known in almost every part of Europe, the Turks did not know how to manage them. The attempt to corrupt the defenders of the place having failed, and the siege drawing to an unexpected length, Amurath himself

hastened to the camp. As soon as he arrived, he caused it to be proclaimed throughout the army, that he gave to the soldiers the whole of the riches and population of Thessalonica, reserving to himself only the buildings. This declaration (which was subsequently imitated, with equal success, against the residence of the Cæsars, by his successors) so incited the soldiers, that they demanded a general assault; and, after a bloody resistance, a small party cut their way to the gates, through all opposition, and opened them to the Turkish army. Thus, as Knolles feelingly expresses himself, the beautiful city of Thessalonica, sometime one of the most glorious ornaments of Greece, became their spoil. The Sultan ransomed a portion of the old inhabitants to repeople his desolate city, and converted all the churches into mosques, excepting one building only, which he left for the use of the Christians; the spoil of the place, both in silver and gold, and slaves, was immense. Amurath followed up his successes, by availing himself of the pretext of the union of the Latin Christians with the Greeks, to pursue his conquests in Etolia and Achaia, until the Venetians, anxious to secure their trade, were at length compelled to sue for peace. But previously, the Turkish Sultan profited by the disunion and dissensions among the Christians, to subdue all Phocis, Bœotia, and Attica, even to the Isthmus of Corinth; the beautiful city of Pericles sustained great injury in its siege from the ruthless conquerors; nor could any contrast be exhibited more striking, than the ancient glory of these important and interesting countries, compared with the degeneracy of their possessors at the period of the Turkish invasion of 1432, when they were finally

subjected to the barbarous slavery under which they have been coerced for the period of four centuries.

Amurath was not less distinguished by his love of pleasure, than by the qualities of mind wherewith he rendered himself so celebrated among the race of Othman. His haram possessed three rival princesses, his legitimate wives, all daughters or sisters of his vassals, who had been given him by them, in order to purchase his protection. Helen, daughter of Lazarus Oglou, Prince of Servia; Fatima, daughter of Isfendar-bey, the Prince of Sinope, in Asia; and Mary, the sister of George, the successor of Lazarus Oglou in the principality of Servia, with many beautiful slaves, formed a portion of his voluptuous haram. The narration of Brocquiere, who travelled to his court, and was an eye-witness, at Brusa, of its splendour, presents us with a vivid and striking portrait of the dark crimes and excesses which stained the personal character of Amurath, vices which have cleaved to the race of Othman in general; and the dread of the power and vengeance of the Turkish arms could in no particular be more strongly exemplified, than in the cruel sacrifice thus made of their dearest female connexions, by Christian princes, to the pleasures of the Turkish sovereign. It was in this reign that people saw, for the first time, the black eunuchs, the guardians and confidants of the women, surround the monarch, treat with the foreign ministers, and prepare peace or war. It does not, however, appear that the policy of Amurath was directed by his passions; for the conquest of Servia, undertaken and completed under the pretext, real or feigned, of the Despot entertaining intelligence with the Hungarians, dispossessed the

brother of his favourite sultana of his principality; and the Despot George fled to the King of Hungary, after placing Belgrade, his most important place, under his possession and care.

Albert, Duke of Austria, of the house of Hapsburg, who had espoused the daughter of the late Emperor Sigismond, succeeded his father-in-law in the empire, as well as to the kingdom of Hungary; he perceiving the growth of the Turkish state, had prepared to place limits to its progress, when he was carried off by a sudden distemper, leaving his widow great with child. The memory of Sigismond, in peaceable times, might have preserved the throne to his daughter; for in 1400, (as in the striking example of Maria Theresa in more modern times,) the Hungarians cherished the memory of their former sovereign; but the necessity of the state influenced them to elect Uladislaus, the youthful King of Poland; and he instantly provided for the defence of Belgrade, by intrusting it to Hunniades, the celebrated Waiwode of Transylvania, one of the greatest generals of the period.

The siege and defence of Belgrade are celebrated in the events of those times, by it being the first period that the Turks experienced the effect of cannon, which greatly surprised and affrighted them. Amurath was forced to raise the siege, and retreat with great loss, chiefly owing to the skill and valour of Hunniades. A great victory which he gained over Isa-bey, a favourite and skilful commander of the Turks in Servia, induced the Sultan, in revenge, to lay waste the principality of Transylvania with fire and sword. The irruption of the great army, led on by Misites Pasha, was so sudden, that Hunniades, taken by

surprise, could with much difficulty at first preserve himself; but collecting at length a few scattered forces, he so judiciously chose his plan of attack, that the whole army of the Turks were nearly destroyed, including their leader, the Pasha Misites, and his son, who were numbered with the slain. This signal defeat was instantly followed by the revolt of the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia; to punish these insurrections, the Sultan now employed the most experienced of his commanders, Skia-bedin Pasha, with an army of eighty thousand men, and also a band of four thousand chosen janizaries, which pursued their accustomed work of despoiling the principalities. The celebrated Hunniades engaged this great force at Waschape, in Transylvania, with such success, as to cut off above half of their numbers; the remainder, making a hasty retreat across the Danube, abandoned to the conquerors the whole of their camp, ensigns, and spoils. It was the greatest victory, Knolles says, that ever any Christian prince before that time obtained against the Turks, the fields in the vicinity of the battle being so covered with their slain, that the air became infected, and the inhabitants were obliged for a time to leave their habitations. The splendid successes of Hunniades encouraged the Despot of Servia to join him with his army; and after clearing the country of the Turkish forces, they together approached the wooded Balkan range, the celebrated strait of the Hæmus, forming always the bulwark of the Turkish empire; "a great and rough mountain," to use the characteristic and accurate language of Knolles, "reaching even to the Euxine Sea, dividing Macedonia and Thrace from Bulgaria and Servia, and mating almost the sky." The

utmost skill and efforts of Hunniades were unable to force this difficult passage; the Begler-bey of Roum-ili (Macedonia and Thrace), Karaman-bey, the brother-in-law and favourite of Amurath, was intrusted with the defence of these important passes, with the express charge, upon no occasion whatsoever, not even the prospect of assured victory, to engage the enemy, but to limit himself to the preservation of Thrace. Forgetful of these commands, Karaman gave way to the desire of revenge, and, in the pursuit of the retiring Transylvanians, was himself entangled in a bog, and became their prisoner, he being conducted in great pomp, as their captive, to Buda, to the presence of Uladislaus, King of Hungary.

The great successes of Hunniades proved also the principal cause of the revolt of George Castriot, Prince of Epirus, in Albania, commonly called Scanderbeg by the Turks, or Prince Alexander. He had been educated and trained in the court of Amurath, to whom he proved, for the rest of his life, the greatest annoyance, harassing him by a desultory warfare, in co-operation with Hunniades; so that they were the chief bulwarks raised up by Providence, by a series of battles the most brilliant, though not decisive, to prop the declining Christian cause, and check the overwhelming power of the Ottoman.

The exploits of Scanderbeg equal the wildest fictions of romance, and can here be only incidentally named. Flying from his court, by the dint of extraordinary speed, he escaped the snares and pursuit of Amurath, and by forged letters possessed himself of Croya, the capital of Epirus. Henceforth never relaxing a moment from action, ere his enemies could provide means to meet the exi-

gency, he, by the most incredible efforts, succeeded in recovering the whole of Epirus, out of every fastness of which (excepting one city) he drove the Turks in the space of little more than one month; during all this time, it is related, that he never slept above two hours in a night, and that he always fought against the Turks with his arm bare, and that with such fierceness, that the blood oftentimes burst from his lips. Castriot's revolt, successfully maintained for many years against the numerous armies sent to crush him, deeply wounded the pride of the Turkish Sultan; and these multiplied losses at length compelled the haughty Amurath to conclude a peace for ten years with Uladislaus, King of Hungary and Poland, upon the conditions of restoring Servia to the Despot, of relinquishing Bulgaria and Moldavia, and of paying forty thousand ducats for the ransom of Karaman-bey, his brother-in-law, who had been made prisoner by Hunniades. This was the most honourable peace hitherto made by any Christian prince with the Turks; and it was ratified by the most solemn oaths on both sides, the Christian plenipotentiaries swearing on the Holy Evangelists, and the Ottomans on the Koran, A. D. 1444.

This peace, however, enabled Amurath to punish his refractory and often pardoned vassal, the Sultan of Karamania, for his repeated breaches of good faith; being besieged by the Turks in Iconium, his capital, Karaman Oglou was compelled to sue for pardon, which was granted on his wife's entreaty, who was Amurath's sister, and on condition of his paying double tribute. During this war, Amurath, to his great grief, lost Aladdin, his eldest son, who met his death by a fall from his horse as he was hunting. These mis-

fortunes, to which were added a strong bias for religious seclusion, led the mind of Amurath to a very extraordinary and unusual resolve for an Eastern despot. The fanatical and bloody rebellions of the time of Muhammed his father, as well as the recourse had by Amurath, on his accession to the throne, to the assistance and sanctity of the prayers of the Shiek Bektar, warrant the supposition, that either the empire, or the mind of Amurath, were under some strong religious excitement; a supposition made more probable, by the resolve now formed by the monarch, of abdicating his throne in favour of his son, the youthful Muhammed, then only fifteen years of age; which design he accomplished, after having appointed Khalil Pasha, and Khusroes, a learned Mussulman doctor, to be his counsellors and directors. He then privately retired to Magnesia, where he began an ascetic life with some devout dervishes.

The Turkish writer, Saad-uddin Effendi, enables us to supply this portion of history from their own annals; and the narrative merits preservation, from the clew to his feelings, which can be gathered from no other source. "The victorious Sultan, having given peace and tranquillity to the Ottoman provinces, conceived the design of renouncing the affairs of the creatures, for the service of the Creator—to exchange the uneasiness of the throne for the sweets of a private station, —to labour henceforth only to become worthy of eternal happiness; and he thus confided his thoughts to his minister, Khalil Pasha. 'For a long time,' said he to him, 'the foot continually in the stirrup, the sword always out of the scabbard, I have not ceased to combat for the good of Islamism; it is time that I quit the em-

pire, and that I go into retirement, to converse with the All-powerful. Yes, I am resolved to consecrate to repentance the moments which remain for me, and to place my feet on the cushion of repose. What have I to do with the crown, the throne, or my armies? I would no longer think but to wash out my sins in the tears of compunction; I would end my days in the bosom of peace; there I would read, without ceasing, the Koran; there, without ceasing, I would praise the Eternal. I desire to withdraw my grasp from this perishable kingdom, and to sow in the soil of my heart, the seed of the love of God; I would be ardently alive to the sublime fruits of immutable truth; I would overcome my passions, and fold up the tent of my desires. Let my august heir, Muhammed, take my station; may his reign be glorious and prosperous; through its duration may he be free from misfortune, and may he have no cause to sigh.'

"Khalil Pasha, and the principal officers of the state, in vain opposed this determination. Amurath persisted in his design; he placed his son on the throne, and retired to Magnesia, H. 847 (1443.)

"The neighbouring princes having learned this abdication, imagined, in their wicked designs, that the retreat of the Sultan *arose from a derangement in his brain,* and resolved to attack altogether the Ottoman empire. The mover of this impious league, Karaman Oglou, wrote to the Infidel, (Uladislaus, King of Hungary,) 'that Amurath *was bereft of his reason,* and wasted his life in his pleasures with the companions of his debauchery. That a youth had been placed at the head of the state—a feeble plant, which might

be easily rooted up. He had never seen a battle, or guided his courser to victory,' &c. These falsities being believed among the infidels, they assembled from all parts, and shortly made a numerous army, composed of Hungarians, Germans, Bosnians, Albanians, Moldavians, Wallachians, French, and other Christians. The Despot, Lazarus Oglou, joined, with 8000 soldiers, armed with iron cuirasses. Their audacious cohorts directed themselves as a dark and threatening storm upon the Mussulman countries. They left Belgrade, and ravaged all the country to Nicopolis,* which they passed by, as it was the desire of the ill-fated King of Hungary to proceed by Varna to Constantinople, to espouse the daughter of the Greek Emperor, and then to possess himself of Ardrianople.†

"The governors of the frontiers having learned the route of this innumerable army, dispatched the tidings to the Ottoman court; and its wisest

* The governor of Nicopolis greatly harassed the Hungarian army in their march, cutting off and making prisoners large bodies of the troops, and the mixed population who followed them. Prisoners were so plenty then, that Saad-eddin says, "a very personable Christian female slave might be bought for a pair of boots."

† It appears that the Greek Emperor and the Pope Eugenius were very angry at the late peace, when, as they conceived, the power of the Turks might have been put down; they therefore unceasingly urged Uladislaus to break it off; and Julian, the Pope's legate, to remove all scruples, gave a formal absolution for the breach of their oaths, to King Uladislaus, the Despot of Servia, and Hunniades, the principal parties to the treaty. This Romish salvo of conscience did not, however, preclude their receiving a severe and merited chastisement for their perjury.

counsellors having resolved on the necessary steps, they intimated to their youthful sovereign, that in this juncture, the presence of the victorious Amurath was necessary. The consent of Muhammed being obtained, the intelligence of their affairs, and the need of his presence, was communicated to Amurath. Twice he refused to return to the throne; but the precepts of the Koran being transmitted to him, wherein the war against the infidels is enjoined as a passport to Paradise, and the Mussulman doctors joining the requisition, Amurath hastened with a chosen band to Gallipoli. The Hellespont, however, was preoccupied by sixty-five Christian galleys. Enlightened by a celestial warning, he then marched to Akchi Hissar. The Supreme had impressed on the will of Khalil-bey, the resolution which had suggested itself to Amurath, in confirmation of the Prophet's doctrine, that kings are sacredly inspired. Khalil, therefore, was posted with cannons and vessels ready to receive the favoured monarch; and as the measures which prudence had taken *were predestinated*, Amurath safely passed the strait, and marched to propagate the true faith, and to exterminate the infidels.

"The armies of Amurath and of Muhammed made a junction in the plains of Adrianople; and the former, leaving Muhammed in that city, marched forward to meet the enemy, who, having already passed through Wallachia, was arrived at Varna, when at length the two armies came before each other; and the next day the battle began. The infidel troops being innumerable, the Ottoman forces gave way, and Karaja-bey, the Begler-bey of Anatolia, being slain, his wing was put to flight. Amurath, who perceived the rout and dis-

persion of a portion of the bravest of his forces, remained undismayed in the centre of the battle; he was surrounded by his oldest captains and the officers of his court. Being sore pressed by the Wallachian and Transylvanian horse, when he saw the crucifix displayed on their standards, he drew forth from his bosom the copy of the late treaty, and holding it with uplifted hands and eyes to heaven, he suddenly broke out into the following invocation:—'Behold, thou crucified Christ, the treaty which thy Christians have made in thy name, and broken without any provocation! If thou be a God, avenge thy wrongs and mine: punish thy perjured people!'

"Amurath thus demanded help, and his prayer was heard. At this moment, Uladislaus, led away by arrogance and vainglory, and by the counsels of Hunniades, rushed forward to the spot where Amurath was posted with his faithful janizaries, brandishing his naked sword, and advancing in front of his troops to reach the glorious Sultan. That redoubtable prince, unmoved at his folly, thus called out to his guards: 'When that madman, as a boar pierced by a fatal dart, seeks to cast himself upon your array, open to him a free passage—then surround him, and put him instantly to death.' At this instant, the rash King of Hungary spurred his courser towards the imperial banner, and in an instant the order of Amurath was executed; the phalanx opened its ranks, and enveloped the presumptuous Christian dog and his followers; and a valiant janizary, named Koja Khizir, throwing himself on Uladislaus, cut off his head, and bore it away to Amurath—while his followers sunk under the swords of the janizaries, as the trembling deer of the forest from the

hunter's shaft. At this moment, the drums and trumpets sounding a fierce charge, the imperial standard was carried into the fight, preceded by the head of Uladislaus borne on a spear; and the Turkish forces made a fierce attack upon the Christian army, which began to break and fly in general disorder. The unhappy Hunniades endeavoured to restore the day by riding through the ranks, and exclaiming, 'We are not fighting for the King of Hungary, but for the Christian faith!' The impetuosity of the Turks overcame every obstacle, and the pursuit was continued for two days and nights unto the very banks of the Danube. Above ten thousand Christians perished in this disastrous battle, as well as Julian the Pope's legate, the author of the war, and the Hungarian king; Hunniades escaped with the greatest difficulty. Above two hundred and fifty chariots laden with gold and precious effects became the prey of the victors. The head of the unhappy Uladislaus, being embalmed in honey, was borne as a trophy to Brusa, the capital of the Sultan's Asiatic territories, and there displayed on a spear amid the acclamations of all the inhabitants of the royal city."

This fatal battle was fought on the 10th of November, 1444. Amurath raised a pyramid on the field of battle; and having established the glory of the empire, he again resigned the throne, and retired to Magnesia, contented with his trophies, and with having punished perjurers. Muhammed fixed his residence at Adrianople; but the janizaries, accustomed to fear Amurath, soon took advantage of the youth and inexperience of his son. These fierce soldiers required a severe discipline; several riots at Adrianople cost

the inhabitants, and even the janizaries, much blood. The managers of the public treasury also took advantage to misapply the money and oppress the people. In less than four months, the aspect of public affairs was totally changed, so that Khalil and the most experienced advisers of the state saw that the empire would soon run to ruin if it were not sustained by more powerful hands.

In this exigency, Amurath was again obliged to renounce his plan of retirement. As the young Sultan might have rendered the change of authority a dangerous measure, advantage was taken of the absence of Muhammed on a hunting excursion of some days. During this interval, Amurath arrived at Adrianople, where he was received with great joy; for the appearance of their revered Sultan instantly restored good order and submission. Proceeding immediately to a divan, he severely punished all the malcontents; and, by the mere expression of his will, and the vigorous measures which he adopted, the Odas of the janizaries hastened at once to return to their duty.

Muhammed, on his return to his capital, after an absence of seven days, found his father again settled on his throne. He was ordered to go to Magnesia to wait until age should have taught him to command; and this ambitious prince obeyed without a murmur, while Amurath soon rectified all the mistakes of his son.

After his reprehensible breach of faith, victory frequently deserted the heretofore invincible Hunniades; indeed, he was rather a valiant partisan, than a consummate general, and his military life is checquered with a series of romantic exploits and escapes, as the Chevalier Blanco, or "White Knight of Wallachia," under which title he is

celebrated by Philip de Comines. In the great battle of Cassora, (which was fought in 1448, on the same spot where Amurath I. had conquered, and fell by the blow of a soldier as he traversed the field of battle,) Hunniades sustained another signal defeat; after a resistance of three days, he was overwhelmed by the assaults of fresh Turkish squadrons, adopting the irresistible tactics of Timour. The flower of the Hungarian nobility, and above seventeen thousand Christians, fell in the action.

The arms of Amurath were also successfully employed against the Greeks. Cannon were now, we find, introduced into the Turkish army; and the recitals of the times more than hint that they were instructed in this great advance in the art of war by the Christians themselves. The Hexamilian was thrown open by Turkish cannon, the fortresses of Patras and Sicyon were taken by assault, and the whole Peloponnesus subjugated, in the year 1445. So completely was the terror of the Turkish arms impressed on the Byzantine Court, that Constantine Dracozas, the brother and successor of John Palæologus,* would not venture to ascend the throne of Constantinople, until he had asked permission of Amurath; but the successes of the Sultan, however important, could not console him for the mortification inflicted on his proud and imperious mind, by the successful revolt of Scanderbeg, the Epirote prince. By his prowess, vigilance, and activity, he constantly defeated the Turkish Pashas who were sent against

* Ducas, the historian, counts John Palæologus to be in reality the last Greek Emperor, without doubt, because he did not consider as such, a prince who had not dared to reign without the permission of his enemy.

him; opening his defiles to their innumerable bands, he led them on until they were fairly enveloped among the mountains, when they were assaulted on all sides by an unseen enemy, as invincible as they were dexterous and fertile in stratagems. Army after army melted away, without the smallest advantage being obtained over him; and at length Amurath himself, who had penetrated with sixty thousand men to Croia, the capital of Albania, sustained such a series of disasters, that, worn out with vexation, age, and grief to see himself defeated by such a youthful warrior, with not one-eighth part of his forces, he so took it to heart, that he died, after a few months' illness, of grief and vexation, rather than of age and sickness, leaving as his dying advice to his son Muhammed, "Never to despise an enemy, be he ever so weak."

It is only rendering justice to Amurath to say, that he was a religious, just, and valiant prince, a good sovereign, and great general, being wonderfully beloved by his subjects, and lamented at his death. He was far more observant of his promises than the Christian princes who were opposed to him; he effaced the disorders and mischiefs of the Tartar invasion, established his seat of empire at Adrianople, and greatly enlarged his dominions in Asia; he broke down the barrier of the Hexamilian, and completed the conquest of Greece; he slew the King of Hungary, and repeatedly defeated the great general Hunniades. Whenever he subdued any country, his custom was to build mosques and caravanserais, hospitals and colleges. Every year he gave a thousand pieces of gold to the family of the Prophet, and two thousand five hundred to the religious at Mecca,

Medina, and Jerusalem. He experienced great trouble from the premature death of many promising sons; he also became peevish and choleric, being by nature melancholy and sad. The most striking feature of his character is the double abdication of the throne. Amurath, after trial both of empire and of retirement, in the full liberty of choice, preferred the latter; a rare instance of moderation in a crowned head.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.				Years reigned.
Emperors	Of the East.	John Palæologus,	1421	24
		Constantine Palæologus,	1444	8
	Of the West.	Sigismund, King of Hungary,	1411	28
		Albert II.	1438	2
		Frederic III.	1440	54
Kings	Of England.	Henry V.	1413	9
		Henry VI.	1422	39
	Of France.	Charles VI.	1381	42
		Charles VII.	1423	38
	Of Scotland.	James I.	1424	13
		James II.	1436	29
Popes of Rome.		Martin V.	1417	13
		Eugenius IV.	1431	16
		Nicholas V.	1447	8

["The silver coins of this sovereign, named in the Numismata Orientalia, are three specimens dated H. 825, one of which was struck at Adranah, Edrene, or Adrianople, at that period the European seat of government; and two at Tabriz, the

capital of the province of Adzerbigian, the present capital of Mirza Abbas, heir to the Persian throne, and usually subject to Persia, which serves to mark the extent of the Ottoman empire. These coins exhibit the first unequivocal instance of the title of Khan being applied to the deceased father of the reigning Sultan."]

CHAPTER VIII.

MUHAMMED THE SECOND, SURNAMED FATIH,* OR THE GREAT.—SEVENTH REIGN.

MUHAMMED learned the death of his father at Magnesia in Lydia, whither he had been sent as governor. The young prince had but just arrived in his province, when the Vizirs dispatched a message for him to come and take possession of the throne. The love for Amurath, and funeral honours to his memory, which mingled with the welcome of the new monarch, is touchingly described in Cantemir.

On his arrival near Adrianople, Muhammed was met by all the persons of any distinction, at a mile from that city; who then dismounting, they walked on foot, the Sultan and his attendants marching in the middle. When they had advanced half way, they stopped, closing their lips to preserve the greater silence; then set up a loud cry, mixed with tears. On this, Muhammed and his train alighted, and after the example of the rest,

* Fatih, in Arabic, signifies the opener, or vanquisher; a title given him on account of his taking Constantinople. The Christian historians denominate him, The Great.

filled the air with groans and sighs. The grandees saluted him by kissing his hand, then mounted on horseback, and, having conducted him to the gate of his palace, retired to their houses.

The first act of Muhammed, after he ascended the throne, in pursuance of the fierce and sanguinary policy of his race, was to send the Aga of the janizaries to strangle his brother, an infant but eight months old, whom his father had by the princess of Sinopé; he also obliged her to marry Ishak,* or Isaac, her father's slave, to whom she had an aversion; and afterwards, as if to disclaim these violences, he put to death the Aga who had been the instrument of his cruelty.

After this, at the instance of George, the Despot of Servia, he renewed the peace with him, and sent him back his daughter, who had been married to Amurath, assigning to her lands on the frontier of that country, as an appanage. The Greek Emperor's ambassadors were likewise received as friends. Muhammed seems to have improved in policy, by the lesson which retirement taught him, as he prepared in silence the attempts which he now meditated; he renewed the alliance with all his tributaries, swearing to them a constant peace, by the Prophet whose name he bore. Every one was particularly interested to live on good terms with this dangerous enemy. Muhammed also granted a pension of 300,000 aspers yearly, in the necessitous state the Greek empire then laboured under, for Orcan's subsistence.

Having thus established peace with the Christian princes, he prepared to take vengeance on

* Khal Kondylas says, that he made Ishak governor of Asia.

the still troublesome Karaman Oglou, who, presuming on the death of Amurath, had hastened to repass his frontiers. Muhammed crossed the Hellespont with his army, and Karaman perceiving that he must, singlehanded, meet the storm, hastened to appease the wrath of the Sultan by timely submission, and by paying the whole expense of his armament. Muhammed was meditating greater designs, and therefore forbore to detain himself with the affairs of a state which he could seize at his will. He commenced his preparations by enticing and liberally rewarding the renegade and fugitive engineers who resorted to him, and who preferred his employ to the badly paid services of the Greeks. Bent on one object, the reduction of Constantinople, he retrenched the superfluous expenses of his court, discharging the excessive* number of falconers and huntsmen employed by his ancestors; he displaced and punished several public peculators; he also curbed the insolence, and improved the discipline, of the janizaries; and, by his unrelenting severity and cruelty, he made himself alike terrible to his friends and his enemies.

The first aggression of this formidable opponent, was to build a strong fortress on the European side of the Bosphorus, about five miles from Constantinople, directly opposite to the castle which his grandfather had built on the Asiatic side; he wished to have a formidable artillery, and to es-

* The immoderate delight which Bajazet the first, and also his father Amurath, had taken in the sports of the field, had increased the falconers to 4000, and as many huntsmen. Muhammed commanded that provision should be made for 500 falconers, and 100 huntsmen; the remainder he incorporated with his troops.

tablish batteries on both sides of the strait, that he might become absolute master of the important passage. This act greatly alarmed the Greek Emperor, who saw that the Sultan meditated to take Constantinople by famine, since no vessel could any longer enter its harbour without passing under the cannon of these two forts.

Constantine now sent an embassy to Muhammed, to complain of what he termed an infraction of treaty. The Turk answered haughtily, that he would construct what edifice he pleased, without any of his allies having a right to complain; and that providing for his own safety was not an infraction of treaty. Constantine, distrustful of this answer, sent a new embassy to insist on his request being complied with. Muhammed, thus urged, pulled off the mask. "Return to your master," he fiercely replied to the ambassadors. "Tell him that the present Sultan differs widely from his predecessors; his resolutions surpass their wishes; and his performance surpasses their resolutions. Return now in safety: the next who dares to come with remonstrances shall be flayed alive." Having thus resolved on hostilities, when the three towers of the castle were completed, he began to levy a tribute on the vessels of every nation that passed the strait. A Venetian vessel, refusing obedience to the new lords of the Bosphorus, was sunk with a shot from their cannon, the master was impaled, and the crew beheaded; and the historian Ducas beheld their bodies exposed to the wild beasts! Constantine, incapable of putting a stop to these dangerous fortifications, whereby the entry to the port of Constantinople was entirely at the will of the Sultan, to obviate the risk of famine, now sent to

beg as a favour, that the harvest might not be destroyed. But Muhammed (whose resolution to obtain possession of the city was irrevocably taken) answered the request by giving leave to those who carried materials to the fort, to feed their cattle on the Roman pastures. The people of the fort of Epibata, wishing to put a stop to the destruction of their corn, and interposing for that purpose, a disturbance ensued wherein many were slain on both sides. The Sultan, on being informed of this, ordered a detachment of troops to put the inhabitants of Epibata to the sword; thus exhibiting to the environs of Constantinople, the fate which threatened its immense population. After this, Muhammed, who had himsel. overlooked the work of building the towers, returned with all his court to Adrianople.

While he was building the fort, a famous engineer* arrived, and offered him his services. He came from Hungary to Constantinople; but the pension assigned to him by the Emperor's council was so small, and so ill paid, that he could not subsist on it, which caused his defection to the Sultan. This person cast him a very large cannon, which carried a huge stone ball† a mile.

* Khalkondylas calls him Urban of Wallakia. Thus the Christians themselves supplied the ordnance which so powerfully contributed to the fall of Constantinople.

† Khalkondylas says they were black stones, extremely hard, which were brought from the Euxine Sea. A Turkish cannon still more enormous, guards the entrance of the Dardanelles at present. If we believe Baron de Tott, with 330lbs. of gunpowder, it discharged a stone of eleven hundred pounds weight, which, at the distance of 600 yards, shivered into three fragments, traversed the strait, leaving the water in a foam, rose again, and rebounded from the opposite hill.—Gibbon, vol. iii. page 85—89.

The Emperor of the Greeks, too well aware of the destination of these and other immense preparations, endeavoured to collect succours against the storm. He fortified the city, and tried every means for reinforcing the regular garrison, and providing supplies of corn; but to oppose the vast forces of the Turkish Sultan, he had only about six thousand Greeks, and three thousand Venetians and Genoese, with a few galleys and ships of war. He sent to Rome to demand succours of the Pope, and to offer the union of the two churches; but Nicholas V. contented himself with sending the Cardinal Isidore to complete the union; and the inhabitants of the imperial city, torn with discord and intestine feuds, were more inveterate against each other than their common enemy. The Grand Duke was heard to declare, that he would rather see the turban of Muhammed in Constantinople, than the tiara of the Pope; *and he had his wish.*

The monks and nuns bitterly reproached those who had appeared to favour the union. "Drive the enemy from our walls," replied the dissembling nobles, "and you shall soon see if we support the Azimites more than you." This was the name that the Greeks gave the Latins, because one of the differences between the two rites consists in the Greeks making use of leavened bread for the service of mass, and the Latins of azimed, or unleavened bread. Their expressions and the public outcry reached the ears of the legate, who wrote off all the testimonies of hatred with which he was loaded, to Rome, and Nicholas V. took care how he employed his own means, or applied to others in behalf of such impolitic enemies. Constantine was thus left alone, by the listlessness

and apathy of the powers of Christendom, to maintain the unequal contest; the western states of France, Spain, and England, were involved in their endless * wars and domestic quarrels; and when the Pope was roused by a sense of the common danger to call forth and employ the resources of Italy, it was too late.

Even in his own capital, the entreaties and tears of the Emperor could not prevail on the Byzantine nobility and rich citizens to contribute their aid, or their money, to the defence of the walls, the payment of the garrison, the supply of provisions, and repairs of the fortifications; only four thousand nine hundred and seventy citizens enrolled their names for the defence of their city, out of the population of one hundred thousand souls! The list was taken by Phranza, the Emperor's secretary.

They folded their arms as if resistance was useless; they shut their purses, and hid their treasures to preserve them for the enemy; and the two factions, for and against the union with the church of Rome, were hotly disputing the point—one party attributing their calamities to their uniting, and the other to their not uniting—when the Turks broke in, and settled the controversy.

The next spring, when his immense prepara-

* The precise period of the fall of Constantinople was coincident with the disputes between Charles VII. of France, and his ungrateful heir, Louis, which so afflicted Charles, that from grief or fear he eventually starved himself to death. In England, the supreme power was the object of the crimes and treachery of the factions of York and Lancaster. Spain had not yet arisen to rank, by the consolidation of her monarchy through the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella.

tions of every kind were in readiness, Muhammed invested Constantinople, on the 6th of April, A.D. 1453, with a formidable army of three hundred thousand, partly Europeans and Asiatics.* The Turkish armament comprised their prodigious artillery first employed in this siege, carrying stone balls, some of an hundred pounds, and one even of six hundred pounds weight; their innumerable army filled the whole space without the walls from sea to sea—from the Bosphorus to the sea of Marmora.

The city of Constantinople is built on a triangular promontory, projecting into the sea of Marmora; two sides are washed by the sea, and the third is that which connects the triangle with the mainland, and may be called its base. They were all well fortified with walls, and in circuit about twelve miles: the side washed by the harbour, three miles; that washed by the sea of Marmora, more than four; and the base† nearly five, extending from sea to sea, and terminating in the seven towers. The defence consisted of a double wall, and a double fosse, which commenced at the Egri Kapousi, or crooked gate, adjoining the Bosphorus, and extended to the seven towers. Towards the port, the walls were not very good; but, from the harbour to the Egri Kapousi gate, where the double wall commenced, its appearance was, and still is, very striking, towering above the plain be-

* It is stated that many soldiers of fortune, from Hungary, Bohemia, and Germany, joined the standard of Muhammed against the imperial city, being allured by the hopes of plunder.

† Phranza says six miles; Gibbon disputes this measurement, and would reduce the distance to only four. —Note, vol. viii. p. 290.

low like the perpendicular face of a mountain, and its base framed of vast masses of rock, constructed in the style termed Cyclopean, still sometimes met with in the mural masonry of the old fortresses of Greece. As the city is built on seven hills, the foundation of the walls partakes of the inequality of the surface; which rises and falls so considerably, that part of the ground on the outside commands a view over the wall of the inside of the city. Khalkondylas says, that the double wall was fortified with ramparts, defended by a great fosse, two hundred feet wide, lined on both sides with stone, which admitted the sea; and that the inner wall was very high, and was admirably built. The appearance of this city from the harbour fills the beholder with wonder and surprise; its situation is the most agreeable and most advantageous of the whole universe. Its stately mosques and minarets shining in the sun, together with the adjoining suburbs of Pera, Chalcedon, and Scutari, form a prospect of unrivalled grandeur; and combining these in one view, Constantinople is assuredly one of the largest cities of Europe.

Thus the site of Constantinople, as we have seen, forms an acute angle, the point of which, towards the east, advances into the sea, and faces the Bosphorus of Thrace; the side of the angle facing the south is watered by the sea of Marmora, or the Propontis, and was rendered inaccessible to the besiegers by the sea washing the base of its well-constructed fortifications and towers; the side of the angle to the north is also washed by another arm of the sea, which enters the land, and forms a noble, spacious basin, between the ramparts of Constantinople, and the opposite neck

of land on which Galata is built; this is called the harbour, or Perami, and the walls of this part were not very strong; the entrance, which is about six hundred paces broad, was at that time shut by a staccado, the middle of which was defended by two iron chains, and by the vessels in the harbour; along the shores of which, the city and suburbs present the most splendid and magnificent port in the world. The base of the triangle, or the land side, was fortified, as we have already described, from the Bosphorus to the sea of Marmora or the seven towers, by the double walls and fosse. The suburb of Galata, chiefly inhabited by Genoese, was strongly fortified towards the land, and on the side of the sea, it was secured by the staccado and chain.

The character and march of the immense army of Muhammed to their enterprise, is so strikingly described by the Turkish historian, Saad-uddin Effendi, that it merits an insertion. "The necessary preparations being made, the Padishah (a title of the Sultan) began his march, having implored the protection of God. Cannons, the discharge of which could overthrow a fortress and shatter its ramparts, were transported in the train of the formidable army. The commander of the Ottoman world passed his numerous bands in review, where might be seen the officers of state, his ornaments of greatness, and the vizirs, as prudent as Asaph. He was charmed with their bold bearing, and the splendour of the golden balls of their standards and banners, and praised the Creator. He then addressed those terrible lions, athirst for blood—those ferocious tigers, who breathed only vengeance—and said to them:—'The Koran declares, that to combat for the service

of God is a universal commandment, which all must obey.' He then opened to them the importance of those divine precepts of the sacred book, which touch on war against the infidels; and he then made them comprehend, that the acquirement of the city of Constantinople to the dominion of the Unitarians, could alone secure peace and the Islam faith. He added, that the Prophet had promised, according to the tenor of ancient traditions, 'that his followers should acquire this spacious city—this strongly fortified place—and that it should become the residence of his people.' And having thus inspired his warriors with a thirst for the honour of martyrdom, Muhammed directed the reins of his courser towards Constantinople. Agreeably to ancient custom, the Ulemas, the Shieks, and the descendants of the Prophet, followed the victorious Khusroes, praying for the success of his arms. A crowd of holy persons accompanied these warlike troops. It was early in the morning, as the bright luminary arose, that the advance guard of the Padishah arrived under the walls of Constantinople; soon the imperial army, resembling an ocean without a shore, or a devastating torrent, flowed onward in their footsteps, and formed the siege of the city along the whole extent of the land."

The few places still possessed by the Greeks on the Black sea, having been reduced to submission at the first appearance of the Turkish army, on the approach of Muhammed himself, as Gibbon eloquently paints it, all was silent and prostrate. He first halted at the distance of five miles, and from thence advancing in battle array, planted before the gate of St Romanus the imperial standard (the standard of the Prophet), and

on the 6th of April was established the memorable siege of Constantinople. His camp ranged from sea to sea, as the forces of Asia and Europe extended on the right and left, from the sea of Marmora to the harbour. In the centre, Muhammed took his post, the janizaries being stationed in front of the Sultan's pavilion. It is now called Top Kapousi, the gate of the cannon, because the Turks have set over it some of the balls of granite, (such as they used in their immense pieces of ordnance,) in commemoration of the gate where Muhammed entered the captured city. At some distance from the gate is an artificial mound, called Maltepe; the summit commands a magnificent view of the city, the sea of Marmora, and the country for a great extent around it. Here it was that Muhammed displayed the standard of the Prophet, and directed the attack against the city. The Vizir Togan was posted above Galata to watch the Genoese. The sea of Marmora was covered with three hundred and twenty sail of Turkish vessels, but of these no more than eighteen could be rated as galleys of war; the far greater part were merely store ships or transports. This magnificent city, and its beautiful environs, were all that remained of the great Roman empire, which, during so many ages, had governed the world.

It was from the position of the Sultan that the Turks directed their principal attack; near thereto they established the batteries of their stupendous cannon. Their first effect was more alarming than effective. All the efforts of the engineer, and the impetuosity of Muhammed, could only cause these vast pieces to be discharged seven times in one day. Although fourteen Turkish

batteries were directed against the walls, they caused very little damage, until the ambassador of Hunniades, who resided in the Turkish camp, (a pledge for the promise of his master not to assist the Emperor,) taught their engineers how to level their aim against the two opposite sides of the salient angles of a bastion. The Emperor Constantine, whose character and conduct throughout the siege were heroic and affecting, and worthy of the best times of Rome, after distributing the service of the defence, and giving command of the most perilous stations to officers of merit and fidelity, undertook the defence of the external wall. Under his direction, the besieged kept within their ramparts, content with self-defence, as the life of one Christian was of more value than that of twenty Turks. The Turkish trenches and approaches were unintermittingly overwhelmed, and covered with ruins; each day added to the science of the Christians, and their efforts. At length, however, the weight and repetition of the Turkish fire made some impression on the walls; and the Ottomans, forcing their way to the edge of the fosse, attempted to fill the enormous chasm, and to build on a road to the assault; fascines, hogsheads, and trunks of trees, were heaped on each other; and such was the fury of the throng, impelled onward by the Sultan, that the foremost and weakest were pushed headlong into the fosse, and instantly engulfed. The Christians effectually defeated every approach of the foe, hurling them into the ditch; while they ardently exerted every nerve to repair, throughout the night, the ravages of the day. The Sultan found the walls and their defences so strong, that he resolved on the process of mining. The soil was rocky; at every foot he

was stopped; and his engineers were occasionally undermined by the Christians; for the art had not been yet invented, as Gibbon says, of replenishing these subterranean passages with gunpowder, and blowing whole towns and cities into the air. The circumstance that characterises this siege, is the reunion of the ancient and modern artillery. Wooden towers, balistæ to project rocks and stones, mechanical engines to project stones and darts, the terrible naptha, or liquid Greek fire, were all used in the attack and defence. Disappointed in the effect of the mines, Muhammed directed his batteries against the tower of Romanus, which at length fell, and filled the fosse. A wooden turret of the largest size, furnished with loop-holes, a platform, and scaling ladders, to form a bridge to the ramparts, were pushed forward to the walls. The besieged fought with the resolute valour of men who were content to die, although they despaired of victory; and were animated by their magnanimous Emperor, who was always foremost in the defence of the wall. After a severe and bloody struggle, the Turks gave their first assault, and were repulsed by the Christian courage, and by the darkness. The Emperor and Justiniani improved the pause of action so promptly, by pouring forth torrents of the naptha and boiling oil, that at the dawn of day, the impatient Sultan beheld, with grief and amazement, his wooden turret reduced to a heap of ashes, the fosse restored and cleared, and the tower of Romanus repaired, and made again strong and entire.

At this period of the contest, a slender succour, which would have sailed in the beginning of April from the harbour of Chios had not the wind

blown obstinately from the north, endeavoured to approach the city: as the Turkish annalist emphatically expresses himself, "Several stately vessels, whose towering masts reached to the heavens, arrived from the Francs, full of subtilty, and meriting the fires of hell, to convey succours to the Greeks." The language of Gibbon on this circumstance is particularly striking and eloquent. These vessels were laden with necessaries, and above all, with soldiers and mariners, for the service of the capital. On the second day, a strong gale from the south carried them through the Hellespont and the Propontis. But the city was already invested by sea and land; and the Turkish fleet, at the entrance of the Bosphorus, was stretched from shore to shore, in the form of a crescent, to intercept, or at least repel, these bold auxiliaries. The reader, who has present to his mind the geographical picture of Constantinople, will admire the greatness of the spectacle. The five Christian ships continued to advance with joyful shouts and a press both of sails and oars, against an hostile fleet of three hundred vessels. The rampart, the camp, the coasts of Europe and Asia, were lined with innumerable spectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this opportune succour. At the first view, that event could not appear doubtful; the superiority of the Moslems was beyond all measure or account. But their imperfect navy had been created, not by the genius of the people, but by the will of the Sultan. In the height of their prosperity, the Turks have acknowledged, that if God had given them the earth, he had left the sea to

the infidels: and a series of defeats has attested the truth of their modest* confession.

The Turkish force consisted mostly of open boats, except eighteen galleys of some force; but all were awkwardly managed and crowded with troops. The five stout and lofty Christian ships scattered all the obstacles that impeded their passage; their artillery swept the waters; their liquid fire was poured on the heads of their adversaries, who attempted to board them. The imperial vessel was at one time nearly overpowered, but she was rescued by the Genoese, and the Turks repulsed with immense loss. Muhammed himself sat on horseback on the breach, encouraging their valour by his voiee and actions. The gestures of his body, and even the passions of his soul, seemed to imitate the actions of the combatants; and, as if he had been the lord of nature, he spurred his horse with a fearless, yet impotent effort, into the sea. His loud reproaches, and the clamours of the camp, urged the Turks to a third and more bloody attack. Having been once more repulsed, they fled in disorder to the shores of Europe and Asia; while the Christian squadron, unhurt and triumphant, steered along the Bosphorus, and securely anchored within the chain of the harbour.

It may be doubted whether the exploit, which the Roman historian has described with such scenic effect, may not be deemed a disadvantageous event for the besieged, since it appears to have called forth that bold and decisive measure of Mu-

* To the instances adduced by Gibbon in the note, vol. viii., page 295, may be cited the triumphant result of the naval combat of Navarino.

hammed, which greatly influenced the issue of this memorable siege. Its result so discouraged Muhammed, that he had nearly resolved upon relinquishing the contest; but the Vizir Zaytous, who decidedly opposed Khalil Pasha, more out of enmity than policy, aroused the Sultan to perseverance. Saad-uddin thus narrates the facts:— "Several of the commanders, and chiefly Khalil Pasha, spoke to the victorious monarch of the impossibility of reducing Constantinople, and of the necessity to make a peace, and retire. But this hero, who had a natural aversion to the counsels of the timid and wavering, disdained the perfidious advice of those who foretold evils. The Doctor Ahmed Kousani, the Sheik Ac-Schems-eddin, the Ulemas, and the Vizir Zaytous-pasha, who partook of the feelings of the Sultan, opposed the counsel of peace and conciliation; reminding the troops of the Prophet's promise, that Greece should be their conquest; and that the greatest contest would be that under the walls of Constantinople. Assembling again his chiefs in his tent, Muhammed thus expressed himself: "This part of the city is guarded by a deep fosse, and by every means of defence. We cannot, without vast labour, pass this fosse; and no exertion of thought can pierce through these solid ramparts. The walls encircle the city on three sides; if we only attempt it by one of these parts, we shall not succeed without vast loss; we must then find the way of attacking it by sea." That night, the Sultan struck on the expedient* of conveying his fleet from the sea of

* Knolles (whose attention to facts renders his history very important as a corrective to the more brilliant but often inaccurate statements of Gibbon) states, that the

Marmora, where they floated, across the peninsula of Pera. Dr Walsh has given a clear and most interesting illustration of this celebrated exploit:—"In a single night, eighty galleys were carried up one of the numerous valleys which open on the Bosphorus, and so across the hills which separate the two waters; and, to the terror and astonishment of the Greeks, were found the next morning floating under their walls, in that part of the city now called the Fanal. The Turkish historian says, that the vessels arrived at the harbour by a route at the back of Galata; and Dr Walsh,* justly refuting a sarcasm made by Gibbon, observes that the place where the vessels were drawn over is at Dolma Bactche, where a deep valley runs up to join that of the harbour, and they were only separated by a ridge of a few hundred yards in breadth. This valley is in the immediate vicinity, and at the back, of Galata; and the Genoese sailors of that town are known to have materially assisted the Turks in this transportation, the whole distance of which was not more than two miles, and might easily be performed within the time stated by the historians.

The Turkish annalist recites a prophecy, as at this time rife in the imperial city, wherein the

Christian that discovered this device to the Sultan, is supposed to have learned it of the Venetians, who not long before had done the like at the Lake of Benacus. I. 233. folio.

* Dr Walsh's Narrative of a Tour from Constantinople to England is a work replete with new and interesting details of the recent events of the counsels and projects of Muhammed, as well as the most instructive remarks on the character of the Turks, and the present views of their government.

monks exhorted their defenders not to despond, "The fall of Constantinople is impossible," they said; "for our astrological books foretold, that our city shall not be conquered until a sovereign makes his vessels to float over the earth, with expanded sails." Chalcondylas describes the passage of the Turkish vessels as follows:—"That every galley had a pilot at her prow, and another at her poop, with the rudder in hand; one moved the sails, while the fourth beat a drum, and sang a sailor's song."—U. H. 145. The Turkish history, therefore, explains the cause of this singular display, and very probably the clew from whence Muhammed acquired the hint for his daring and successful enterprise; and thus, as often has occurred, the prophecy helped on its own fulfilment, and unquestionably hastened the downfall of the imperial city.

This fleet, arrived as by miracle in the port, disquieted the Greeks more than all the other efforts of the besiegers. But as soon as they recovered from their amazement, the Emperor's vessels attempted to attack it. Muhammed had lost not a moment, however, in establishing powerful batteries for its protection; and after losing two of their ships, the Christians were obliged to retire, and relinquish the hope of destroying this new and formidable enemy.

A brave Venetian undertook to burn the fleet of Muhammed—an exploit which might have saved the city; but a cowardly Genoese betrayed the secret to the Sultan, and he, permitting the attempt to be made, thus ensured the destruction of the distinguished youths engaged in the enterprise. The forty brave persons who manned the barks were preserved from the flames and the sea,

to be decapitated the next day in sight of the city, and the consequences were highly discouraging to the besieged.

Notaras the Grand Duke, nearly allied to the throne, and the first officer of the empire, was jealous of Justiniani the Genoese, who commanded next to the Emperor, and possessed all his confidence. Notaras and the Venetians, bitterly reproached the Genoese for the perfidy of their countryman; and these intestine divisions increased to such a degree, that the parties were like to slaughter one another within the walls. Constantine strove to avert the misfortune by mixing authority with prayers, and by conjuring his subjects and defenders not to do him more mischief than his greatest enemies. It is impossible to contemplate the trials of this distinguished Emperor, for the five eventful and calamitous years of his reign, without the deepest sympathy and admiration, together with the impression that in him resided the last shadow of that imperial power which had swayed the destinies of the world. He was surrounded by myriads of fierce barbarians, who had issued but a short period before from the wilds of Tartary, equally merciless and illiterate; while, within the wide circuit of the capital of the Cæsars, he had scarcely eight thousand defenders remaining of all the numerous legions of the imperial throne, and even this remnant of strength was impaired by discord and violence.

Having thus occupied the upper harbour with a fleet and army, Muhammed constructed, in the narrowest part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth, and one hundred in length. It was formed of casks and hogsheads, joined with rafters, linked with iron, and covered with a solid floor.

On this vast platform his largest cannon were placed; and the combined force of his vast artillery, his galleys and bravest troops, were now directed towards the impaired and accessible portion of the walls from the harbour, which had formerly been stormed by the Latin conquerors.

Constantine neglected no resource of defence which his exhausted means and more pressing dangers required. The Genoese of Galata showed the greatest attachment to the Greeks in their sufferings; obliged by day to supply the Turks with provisions, at night they stole into the city, and fought against them. The Venetians ventured their lives for the place: and Justiniani astonished the besiegers by the promptitude of his operations, always presenting new fortifications to impede them. The wild-fire and streams of oil were poured from the ramparts; and the Grand Duke, followed by a guard of five hundred men, went every day the round of the city, to strengthen the weak, and encourage the wavering. During forty days, the besieged had scarcely an hour's rest, the day and night being employed in repairing the breaches, in countermining, or fighting. But the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted. Constantine had kept off for some weeks the blow which he was unable to prevent, by corrupting the enemy. Khalil Pasha, the Grand Vizir, the person who recommended in council that the siege should be raised, had doubtless traversed the operations of the siege, and the confidence reposed in him by his master enabled him for a time to defeat his designs; but now the breaches were open on every side, and, by the continual battering of the cannon, the Tower of Romanus, and the walls on both sides, were demo-

lished in such a manner, that the besiegers and besieged could see each other.

The Emperor, aware that the city could not be much longer defended, made a final effort to avert its fate, by proposing to pay whatever tribute the Sultan should demand if he would retire; but Muhammed replied, that "there was no longer a possibility of his retiring; he must take the city, or the city must bury him." Conformably, however, to the tenets of Islamism, that God will not prosper their assaults unless they offer to their enemies certain terms of surrender, how unreasonable soever they may be, he consequently offered to Constantine a portion of the Morea, if he would give up the city. The Emperor, in his last message to Muhammed, thus expressed the resignation and the fortitude of a Christian soldier:

"Since neither oaths, nor treaty, nor submission, can secure peace, pursue your impious warfare! My trust is in God alone: if it should please him to soften your heart, I shall rejoice in the happy change. If he delivers the city into your hand, I submit without a murmur to his holy will. But, until the Judge of the Earth shall decide between us, it is my duty to live and die in the defence of my people."

This was what Muhammed expected. And a rumour being raised in his camp of a great aid coming out of Italy by sea, and out of Hungary by land, he determined to attempt to storm the city, causing a proclamation forthwith to be made throughout his camp, that he would freely give all the spoil of the capital to his soldiers for three days, if they would win the place; swearing to his exulting troops, by the immortal God—by the five hundred prophets—by his fa-

ther's soul—by his own children, and by his imperial scimitar, that he would faithfully accomplish his vow. The news was received with joyful shouts. The Turkish army kept their preparatory fast, spending the night which followed in the greatest cheer and joy, their tents (according to custom) being illuminated. In the evening, Muhammed ordered fires to be made throughout the camp. This was a spectacle quite new; and it struck every one with surprise, thus to see an infinite number of lights spread over the land and over the sea, over the ships and over the houses, over Constantinople and over Galata, which shone, as in the splendour of the sun: the surface of the sea glittered as if it had been covered with mirrors. The citizens beholding the camp, as if on fire, ran to the walls, whence they heard those exulting shouts, the forerunners of a general assault.

Far different was the state of the Christians. Gibbon thus beautifully sums up the last hours of the last of the Cæsars:—

"The noblest of the Greeks, and the bravest of the allies, were summoned to the palace on the evening of the 28th, to prepare them for the duties and the dangers of the general assault. The last speech of Palæologus was the funeral oration of the Roman empire. He promised, he conjured, and vainly attempted to infuse the hope which was extinguished in his own mind. The pathetic scene is thus described by the feelings of the historian Phranza, who was himself present at this mournful assembly:—They wept, they embraced: regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives; and each commander, departing to his station, maintained all

night a vigilant and anxious watch on the ramparts. The Emperor and some faithful attendants entered the dome of St Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a mosque, and devoutly received, with tears and sighs, the sacrament of the holy communion. He reposed some moments in the palace, which resounded with cries and lamentations:* he solicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured, and mounted on horseback to visit the guards, and explore the motions of the enemy. The distress and fall of the last Constantine are more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Cæsars."

Muhammed began the attack on Sunday the 29th of May, which was the feast of All Saints. He gave the Greeks no rest all the previous night. His troops extended from the Bosphorus to the Propontis; his vessels, with scaling ladders and other engines, assaulted the walls from the sea.

The exulting Sultan, armed with an iron mace,

* There are some thoughts so exquisitely beautiful in the fine drama of Constantine Palæologus, by Joanna Baillie, that the reader will thank us for their insertion. Muhammed is represented in his tent, when a mixture of confused distant sounds is heard from the city.

"*Muhammed.* What sounds are these?
Osmir. Hast thou forgot we are so near the city?
It is the murmuring night-sound of her streets,
Which the soft breeze wafts to thine ear.
Muha. (*Eagerly.*)—And let me listen too! I love the sound!
Like the last whispers of a dying enemy,
It comes to my pleased ear!—(*Listening.*)
Spent art Thou, proud imperial Queen of nations,
And thy last accents are upon the wind.
Thou hast but one voice more to utter; one
Loud, frantic, terrible, and then art thou
Amongst the nations heard no more. List! list!
I like it well! The lion hears afar
The approaching prey, and shakes his bristling mane,
And lashes with his tail his tawny sides,—
And so hear I this city's nightly sound."

fought on horseback at the breach—it was near the mound which commands the view of the city, opposite to the Top Kapousi gate. He was surrounded by ten thousand janizaries, and supported by more than a hundred thousand cavalry on each side and behind him. In the low ground, from the port to the Golden gate, were more than a hundred thousand infantry; and above fifty thousand from the place where the Sultan stood to the palace of Constantine. There was, besides, an infinite number of soldiers in the vessels, and on the wooden bridge.

To meet this tremendous array, historians only particularize, that the Emperor and Justiniani were posted at the bridge with three thousand Latins; and the Grand Duke was in the palace with five hundred men. There were likewise upwards of five hundred men, armed with darts and spears, to defend the fortifications towards the sea, from the Golden to the Fair gate.

At daybreak, without drum or trump, or clash of arms, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land; and the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack.

Muhammed distributed at the breach his worst troops, the refuse of the host. Constrained by the janizaries, these poor wretches were forced to place ladders, and mount the first to the assault. Not one of them reached the walls; they were destroyed, overturned, or beaten down, and their dead bodies served to fill the ditches. The Sanjaks then led on the troops of Asia and of Europe, who fought with the energy of despair, impelled by the more and more redoubtable threats of their fierce leader. To those whom he saw furi-

ous, he promised golden mountains; to the cowardly, he denounced instant death; and executioners were at hand to enforce his vengeance. For two hours and more the Christians withstood every effort of the enemy, and the voice of the Emperor was heard encouraging his followers to achieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of their city. Adopting the example of his race to fatigue and wear out his foes, at this fearful instant, Muhammed, wielding his mace, and commanding his drums and warlike instruments to sound, impelled onward, by act and gesture, his janizaries, fresh, vigorous, and invincible. Similar to lions in chase of their prey, the Turkish writers describe, they ascended the breach, regardless of the storm of arrows, stones, balls, and musket bullets, showered on them. The dust of the combat darkened the heavens, and as a heavy veil filled the azure sky, the cannon thundered on the walls, and the fall of the queen of nations evidently drew on. The immediate loss of Constantinople, however, as Gibbon judiciously states, may be ascribed to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani. The sight of his blood, and his exquisite pain, appalled the courage of the chief, whose arms and counsels were the firmest rampart of the city. As he withdrew from his station in search of a surgeon, his flight was perceived and stopped by the indefatigable Emperor. "Your wound," exclaimed Palæologus, "is slight! the danger is pressing! your presence is necessary! and whither will you retire?"—"I will retire," said the trembling Genoese, "by the same road which God has opened to the Turks;" and at these words, he hastily passed through one of the breaches of the inner

wall. By this pusillanimous act, he stained the honours of a military life; and the few days which he survived at Chios, were embittered by his own and the public reproach. His example was followed by most of the auxiliaries—the defence slackened, and the assault was pressed with tenfold vigour; the adverse balance vibrated so strongly, if the besiegers could penetrate by a single spot, the city was irretrievably lost. That fatal spot, at length, was the very palace* of Constantine. While the Emperor guarded the breach, thus left exposed by the retreat of Justiniani, the Turks, perceiving a door of the palace open, by which the Greeks made their sallies with security, (it being under ground,) fifty janizaries rushed in, and mounting the walls, cut those who defended them in pieces; after which the enemy found no difficulty.

Hassan, a janizary of huge stature, was the first who ascended the walls amid the confusion of this fatal event; he was followed by all the assailants, and the Greeks were driven from them, or buried under overwhelming multitudes. Amid these multitudes the Emperor, who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, standing in the breach, with his sword and buckler in his hand, was heard to utter these mournful words: —"Is there no Christian left alive, to strike off my head?" To prevent his falling alive into the

* The palace of Constantine, Tehir Serai, observes Dr Walsh, appears coeval with the wall, and its state of dilapidation corresponds. It is a most conspicuous and picturesque object from below, and commands a splendid prospect from above. The wall is here surprisingly perfect; the only injury is from the hand of time, and this is compensated by the vast masses of ivy which cover it.

hands of his enemies, he laid aside his gilded arms, and fell* amid the tumult, unknown and unnoticed, his body being buried under a mountain of the slain.

Dr Walsh, who has already been quoted, when viewing the spot, observes: "The breaches which remain in the wall for a considerable extent, near this gate, and which the Turks have never since repaired, attest the vigorous resistance made, and the utter hopelessness of any further effort to stop the torrent of barbarians that poured in through them." The body of Constantine was found in one of them, where he had placed himself as the last, but ineffectual barrier; and a magnificent tree (the Cyprus turpentine) is now growing out of it, to mark, as Clarke says, "the sacred spot where the last of the Palæologi fell."†

* The various accounts which follow, of the fall of the Emperor, are such as give much credibility to the fact of the Turks first entering the city by the private sallyport of the palace. Its brave defenders were few, and worn out by their efforts; and as they became thinned in numbers, their vigilance would slacken. The important avenue once perceived and taken possession of, it is clear that the combatants on the walls would seek their safety in flight, for the enemy would attack them from the rear. Accordingly, Chalcondylas says that Constantine was wounded, and then trampled to death in the gate. The Turkish historians state, that the Emperor was killed near his palace by a wounded Mussulman soldier, whom he was about to slay. The writers in the Universal History accord with Ducas; the one stating that he was wounded in the face by one Turk, and slain by a second; the other, that he fell by two blows from Turkish soldiers. His friend and chamberlain, Phranza, is perfectly silent as to the particulars of this striking event.

† It forms an apposite conclusion to the line of this distinguished race, that their descendants, when reduced

Whilst the defenders of the city thus met death on the breaches, the citizens ran in crowds to St Sophia, to await the event of a pretended prophecy that the Turks, when they had penetrated thus far, would be overthrown by a miracle from heaven; they were loudly addressing their prayers to heaven when the shouts of victory, and the sounds of axes breaking open the doors, announced to them death or captivity. Their numbers, and their being unarmed, awakened the avarice of the soldiers, who bound them together, two and two, for slaves.

The Grand Duke, more unfortunate than his sovereign, and betrayed by the splendour of his arms, was conducted alive to Muhammed. The conqueror haughtily demanded of him, "Why the Greeks had persisted in defending Constantinople?' Notaras having no longer any thing to

to the level of subjects, seem, by the following interesting record, to have resorted to this land of true liberty, where their ashes might repose among the free and the brave. The following inscription is on a brass plate in the parish church of Landulph, * in Cornwall, near Plymouth:—

"Here lyeth ye body of Theodore Paleologus, of Pesaro in Italy, descended from the Imperial lyne of ye last Christian Emperours of Greece; being ye sonne of Camillo, ye sonne of Prosper, ye sonne of Thomas, second brother to Constantine Paleologus, ye 8th of that name, and last of that lyne yt rayned in Constantinople until subdewed by ye Turks, who married with Mary, ye daughter of William Balls, of Hadyle, in Suffolke, gent. and had issue and children Thodore John Fernando, Maria, and Dorothy, and departed this life at Clifton† ye 21st of January, 1636.

* Landulph is situated at a little distance from the banks of the Tamar, about two or three miles from Saltash.

† Clifton is situated between Cargreen and Pentilly Castle.

ose, replied, "Your first officers encouraged us to hold out, averring that you could never reduce us." This reply awakened the memory of Muhammed to the advice given during the siege by his Vizir, Khalil, and he eventually was strangled, in consequence of the Sultan's suspicions. The final assault had been given in the evening, and the city was pillaged in the depth of the night, by torch light. Notwithstanding the calamities of Constantinople, there still remained the magnificence and splendour of the empire. Rich clothes, magnificent furniture, gold and precious stones, offered themselves everywhere to be the prey of the soldiers, and in the space of a few hours, all were bending under the weight of their booty.

The assault of Constantinople was perhaps the least bloody recorded in history. About two thousand soldiers perished in the first irruption. The residue of the Christians, amounting to more than sixty thousand, were sold, exchanged, or dispersed as captives among the provinces of the Turkish empire. Cardinal Isidore, the Pope's legate, was taken prisoner like the rest, but was so fortunate as to conceal his name and dignity. The Cardinal deceived the Turks, by taking the clothes from a dead body, and leaving it the marks of his dignity, the moment that he saw the city was on the point of being taken. In this disguise, he was sold for a trifle to a merchant, and in the sequel, he found the means to escape from his captivity, and return to Rome, where he ended his days.*

* The following interesting list of the sieges of Constantinople, is chiefly extracted from Dr Walsh.

The first siege on record was by the Saracens, in 668. This fierce and pertinacious race continued their assaults

Constantinople was taken by the Turks on the 29th of May, A. D. 1453, H. 857, two thousand and five years after the foundation of Rome, and

for a period of nearly six years; but the solidity of the walls defied all their efforts. This siege greatly reduced their strength. It was during its continuance that Abu Ayoub was slain, whose tomb was erected, as if to signalize his conquest, by the politic as well as sanguinary conqueror, Muhammed II. About 1720, the Saracens and Persians formed a siege with 120,000 troops. Leo Isaurus defended his capital with great bravery; and after a siege of thirteen months, a severe winter nearly destroyed the assailing army. The next attack was from the Muscovites who navigate the Black Sea, in canoes formed of a single hollow tree. Entering the Bosphorus by surprise, they took possession of the harbour, about 865, when a storm so suddenly came on, as to disperse or sink the principal part of their fleet. A second expedition was made by them in about 40 years, when, finding the Bosphorus so strongly guarded by a barrier of boats, that they could not enter, they adopted the same expedient which Muhammed used so successfully; they drew their boats overland, and launched them within the hostile line. The events of this expedition are not recorded. A third expedition, in 941, by the Muscovite race, was defeated by the Greek fire, which destroyed their whole armament.

It appears that the Russians were as persevering in their attempts on this devoted city in ancient as in modern times; for, in the next spring, they ventured on a fourth expedition, which was alike unsuccessful.

The Muscovites again determined to make a great effort, under a fierce and formidable leader, Swatislas. He appears to have been another Souvaroff. He sailed from Kherson with his fleet of hollow trees, and eventually landed 60,000 men at the mouth of the Danube. He occupied Adrianople, and threw the Greek Emperor into the greatest consternation. He, however, was eventually defeated, and few of his followers returned to their own homes. The most important of events resulted, however, from this expedition, which was, the conversion of the

eleven hundred and twenty-three after Constantine had removed the seat of the empire from Rome to Byzantium, and had given his name to that celebrated city, destined to become the capital of another great empire. Thus ended the last shadow of Roman greatness, which had spread itself over half the world, and decayed nearly in the same space of time that it had taken to raise itself so prominently above every other power.

Such are the striking facts of the most memorable siege and political event of modern history. Time has again brought its important record, and the Turkish Sultans experience now in Constantinople, the same terrors as their predecessors caused to the Cæsars. The eloquent pages of Gibbon should be consulted for the affecting incidents which followed the storm, as well as for the motives which led to the horrors and crimes of Muhammed. He made his public entry about the eighth hour, that is, about two in the afternoon of the 30th, when the streets resounded with the acclamations of his soldiery; but not a single Greek remained. The Sultan alighted at St So-

Muscovites to Christianity. Olgu, the mother of Swatislas, had been baptized at Constantinople some years before, by the name of Helen. The seeds of Christianity were thus sown, and the barbarians, when they afterwards entered the Christian territory, readily adopted the religion of the country. Those who escaped brought it back with them to Russia, which from that time became a member of the Greek church, and so continues.

The Latin Crusaders took the imperial city by storm in 1203. It was recovered possession of by Michael Palæologus in 1261.

The first attack of the Turks was by Sultan Amurath, in 1422, the precursor of the final and fatal siege we have sketched.

phia, and commanding it to be converted into a mosque, he performed therein his namaz of prayer. Thence he entered the august mansion of the Cæsars; and the often quoted, but ever beautiful and feeling distich of Hafiz flowed from his lips:

"The spider has wove his web in the imperial palace;
And the owl hath sung her watch-song on the towers of Afrasiab."

The fate of Constantine was here announced to him, the body being recognised by the golden eagles embroidered on the shoes; and the Grand Duke acknowledged, with tears, the head of the Emperor.

The Byzantine libraries are a loss all must deplore; one hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts were scattered abroad or destroyed. They are mourned by Phranza the historian, the chamberlain and first secretary to the Emperor, who was also made a prisoner. His family was involved in the common lot of slavery, and his children fell victims to the cruelty of Muhammed, as he pathetically laments, after he had recovered his freedom.

The Grand Duke Notaras and his two sons, although at first treated with humanity, were, after the most odious outrages, within a few days cruelly put to death, and the Hippodrome streamed daily with the blood of the noblest captives.

The city and its incomparable buildings thus became the portion of the Sultan; but they were silent and desolate, and without inhabitants. To repeople, therefore, in some degree, his new conquest, Muhammed repurchased a number of the Greek captives from his janizaries, and allotted

the Fanar for their quarter of residence; which has continued their abode until the present eventful period, which seems bringing round the course of retributive events upon the conquerors and the conquered. Five thousand families were also chosen out of his Asiatic dominions, and commanded, under pain of death, to settle in the imperial city by the end of September. The suburbs were immediately taken possession of by the Turkish troops, and the Genoese of Galata became reckoned among the subjects of Muhammed; their walls and fortifications were destroyed, while those of Constantinople were ordered to be repaired and strengthened.

The last scene of Muhammed's important transactions, previously to his triumphant return to Adrianople, was a religious one, namely, the discovery where Abu Ayub Ansari was buried, who, as already noticed in our sketch of the Khalifs, lost his life at the siege of Constantinople in the H. 96. It was specially revealed by an angel to the Shiek Schems-eddin. The Shiek conducted Muhammed, with great pomp, to the beautiful rising ground beyond the palace of Constantine, from whence a glorious prospect is obtained over the waters and site of the city. The ground being dug, a great stone was found, with an inscription on it commemorative of Ayub. Muhammed ordered a jami to be erected over the tomb, and the suburb has been henceforth called from Ayub.* To this

* By the rule of the empire, the Sultan, after having unfurled the standard of the Prophet, and left Constantinople, cannot again re-enter its walls, until he returns gazi, or victorious; and thus Mahmoud, who has planted himself with his forces at Kutchuk, although he cannot re-enter the city, repairs each Friday to the mosque of

mosque or jami, the Sultans ever since have always resorted, to have their swords girded on, which designates their accession to the imperial throne.

At Adrianople occurred, according to the historian's narrative, the romantic episode of the fair Irene and her imperial lover—of his devotion to her charms, and luxurious indolence. The murmurs and turbulent disquiet of his troops called forth the interference of his Vizirs to awaken him from his sloth; and the scene with his divan followed, wherein, after displaying Irene, and dazzling his counsellors by her matchless charms, he severed at one blow her head from her body, exclaiming, "Judge now from this, whether your Emperor is able to bridle his affections or not!"

To employ his licentious soldiery, and indeed to occupy his own more turbulent spirit, Muhammed resolved on rooting out the last remnant of the Greeks. The dissensions of the two brothers of Constantine, Demetrius and Thomas, the despots of the Morea, soon supplied him with the means of wresting their remaining possessions from both. The mere list of names of places, sacred to history, which then fell under the deadly slumber of Turkish despotism, will awaken a pang, the pain of which is now solaced by the consoling truth, that at length they are released from their yoke. Achaia, Messenia, Laconia, Argolis, and Arcadia, were subdued; to which may be added Athens, finally wrested from the Acciavoli family, the ruler being treacherously executed. Of the princes, Demetrius, with his wife and

Ayub, it being without the walls, and thence watches over the tranquillity of his capital.

daughter, and many noble families, were carried away into captivity to Adrianople; and the daughter was subsequently taken into the seraglio of Muhammed. To the father, he allotted the custom arising from the salt of Enon, for a pension. Thus, by a curious coincidence, the vile dross which had tempted the Genoese Loredano to assist Amurath the I. in the recovery of his empire, became the alimony of a prince of the Cæsarean family. Thomas resisted the arms of Muhammed to the last; and when he completed the conquest of the Morea, the conqueror bore this testimony to his valour, "that he had found many slaves in Greece, but never a man but him." Thomas retired to Italy, was honourably received by the Pope, and laid his ashes among those of freemen, in England's soil.

It was about the year 1460 that the whole of the Morea was thus subjected; and the spirit and state of Christendom, at this woful period, was admirably described by an able statesman and orator, Æneas Sylvius, afterwards raised to the Papacy, then secretary to the Emperor. "It is a body without a head, a republic without laws or magistrates. The Pope and the Emperor may shine as lofty titles, or as splendid images; but they are unable to command, and none are willing to obey. Every state has a separate prince, and every prince has a separate interest. What mortal could reconcile England with France, Genoa with Arragon, the Germans with the natives of Hungary and Bohemia? If a small number enlisted in the Holy War, they must be overthrown by the Infidels; if many, by their own weight and confusion." What would this statesman, afterwards Pope Pius II., say at the present period, when

England and France conjoin to erect a Greek principality of the very Morea which Muhammed had then just subdued, and the representative of the German, Hungarian, and Bohemian crowns (now united in one head, and themselves devoted subjects of the same sceptre) join, although perhaps reluctantly, in enforcing the same measure? It seems indeed one of the most useful and important lessons of history, when we thus clearly trace how strikingly the mutations of time bring round the most improbable events.

The return of the Sultan to Adrianople was a march of triumph, and was marked by innumerable multitudes of slaves, and the vast spoils of the captive city. While on the route, the aged and unhappy princess, the consort of the Grand Duke, died. The fall of Constantinople struck a terror throughout Christendom. It had been the distinguished head of grandeur, authority, and literature; and the harassed wanderers of her classic schools, who fled from the victorious barbarians, to carry their beautiful language and brilliant letters to the slumbering academies of Europe, did not fail to paint, with faithful exactness, the horrors from which they had escaped.

Amid all the Christian princes, whose fears of the aggressions of Muhammed were well founded, none stood in equal peril with the Despot of Servia. He, foreseeing, from the temper of the Sultan, the storm that would soon assail him, fortified with speed the strongest places, and sought to strengthen himself by foreign alliances; but a long and chequered life, now drawing to the verge of ninety years, had been passed in trimming his course by temporary interests, rather than by honour; and now, in the day of peril, none would

share his danger. He was therefore left to his fate—the usual lot of the feeble and the treacherous; and was returning home, full of indignation, when he was wounded in a skirmish in which he got involved with Michael Zilugo, the governor of Belgrade, (whose brother he had some time before treacherously murdered,) which wound caused his death; thus far fortunate that he escaped the miseries which must have ensued. The Servians, weary of being incessantly harassed by the Turks, and alarmed at the power and cruelty of Muhammed, set aside the family of their last Despot, voluntarily submitted to become his subjects, and were united to his empire. The conduct of Hunniades of Transylvania, both in the abandonment of the Servian leader, as well as at the siege of Constantinople, is perfectly inexplicable; but the conduct of states and individuals at this period, as Sylvius remarks, was neither regulated by good sense, harmony, or wise policy. Hunniades had now to combat for his own possessions, from the resolve of the Sultan to reduce Belgrade, and to subjugate Hungary. These perils called forth again the energies of this extraordinary commander, to wreath once more his temples with the chaplet of victory, and to preserve, by his glorious defence and death, that bulwark of Christendom.

The preparations for the reduction of Belgrade were worthy of the conqueror of Constantinople. One hundred and fifty thousand of his best troops, with a fleet of two hundred galleys, ascended the Danube from Widdin, to form the siege. The ordnance employed was of the enormous dimensions which had caused such destruction on the walls of the Eastern capital; and strong as were

the ramparts of Belgrade, they probably would have sunk under the fierce attacks of the Turks, but for the presence and talents of Hunniades. He broke through the hostile fleet, and completely effected its destruction. Every assault that was given terminated in the entire discomfiture of the Mussulman soldiers. Karaza Pasha, Begler-bey of Europe, was slain, and many of his best captains captured. The exultation of the Christians was so great at this success, that Hunniades, having the command of the waters of the Danube, and having allured to the war a force of nearly forty thousand volunteers, out of Germany, Bohemia, &c. now crossed the river, and placing himself at their head, became the assailant of the Turkish trenches. The battle was fierce and well contested; for Muhammed, disdaining to keep within his camp, marched forth to the contest. He discharged all the duties of a courageous general and leader, until he received a dangerous wound, and was borne out of the field by his janizaries, to his pavilion. The victory, however, was doubtful, and Hunniades, also wounded, retired at length with his followers into Belgrade. The result of the battle, however, left no alternative to Muhammed, but to relinquish the siege, and retreat into Servia, after the loss of forty thousand of his best troops, and his large ordnance. This great victory proved, for the time, the preservation of Italy and the empire from invasion. Hunniades, who had the glory of gaining it, survived but a few days. He, however, experienced the delight of a successful warrior, in beholding his redoubtable enemy fly before him. The Sultan quitted his camp secretly, and at night, to escape molestation. So deeply did Muhammed brood

over the reverse, that ever after, if he mentioned the siege, he would sigh, and wish that he had never seen the city which had done him such dishonour. This memorable victory was obtained on August 6th, 1456. The discomfiture of Belgrade only spurred on Muhammed to efface his disgrace by efforts in other quarters, and to prepare a formidable armament against the islands of the Egean sea. As his armaments apparently menaced Asia, Urzum Khan, the Shah of Persia, sent an embassy, observing that a true follower of the Prophet ought not to war against the faithful, whilst there were infidels to conquer; intimating also to Muhammed, that the sovereignty of Trebisond, after the death of the existing prince, was, by right of descent, as well as of position, a fief of the Persian throne. The city of Trebisond,* si-

* The removal of the illustrious family of the Comneni, and their settlement on the Asiatic coast of the Black sea, in the ancient Colchis, took rise in the atrocious design of the Emperor Andronicus to put to death all the nobles of his empire in a body, which led to tumults and revolutions; in consequence of which, the Comneni took refuge in Asia, and founded the throne of Trebisond. The Greek families who followed the Comneni, were the descendants of the soldiers of the palace, or of the guard of the Greek Emperors. These were distinguished by the appellation of Scholaria. The Scholarian faction made and unmade emperors. The nobles persecuted one another in their strong castles, and ravaged the lands of their enemies, precisely as was done in Europe during the existence of the feudal system. Jealousies constantly existed between the rich native families and the new comers under the Comneni, and the commonalty were entirely devoid of courage or energy.

Trebisond would soon have fallen a prey to the Turcoman princes of Asia, had it not been protected by nature. To penetrate into it, it was necessary to pass nar-

tuated on the eastern extremity of the Black sea, is considerable, by a fine port and its commerce. It also became distinguished as the retreat of the Comneni, when driven from Constantinople in 1204. They had saved, from the Latin invaders, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and some smaller districts, and they dignified their petty monarchy with the vain title of the empire of Trebisond. The arms of Muhammed now proceeded to destroy also this remnant of Grecian greatness, after it had been maintained by the Comneni for 250 years.

Muhammed, impatient at the message from Urzum Khan, had dismissed the ambassadors with this short answer: "That he would ere long be in Asia, and show Urzum Khan what to request of a greater than himself." His troops followed upon his message with celerity, and invested Trebisond. David Comnenus, himself an usurper, was incapable of defending the city; he therefore surrendered his capital and all his empire, upon a vague promise of indemnity. The Turkish Sultan thus entered Trebisond in triumph, and placed garrisons in all the towns; he then returned, in great pomp, to Constantinople, having added a most important province to his empire. The

row defiles, and pierce through forests, and master hill-forts; but the fierce and politic Muhammed II. soon broke through the mountain barrier, and swept away the last vestige of the Greek empire. The empire was computed to possess two millions of souls, and could bring into the field twenty-five thousand troops. From the period of its conquest, the government of Trebisond was usually bestowed on a prince of the Ottoman line, until the practice was adopted of bringing up these state victims within the precincts of the seraglio.

unfortunate David Comnenus, shortly after his arrival, became an object of suspicion to the savage mind of Muhammed; and, according to his usual faithless policy, was put to death, with eight of his sons. His daughter was placed in the seraglio.

In the succeeding year, 1462, the Ottoman Emperor completed the subjugation of Wallachia by his armies; and, by a powerful fleet, he reduced Mitylene and the fine island of Lebos. The conquest was facilitated by the baseness and treachery of L. Gattilusio, a cousin of the prince of Lebos. They experienced the fate of all who trusted to the Sultan's promises, both of them being strangled by his orders shortly after they had been conveyed to Constantinople.

Muhammed beheld his imperial city daily growing rich and splendid; and having declared his intention of making it the seat of empire, by commencing the building of a spacious palace, he soon attracted to the capital a numerous population. The Greek Christians had returned in considerable numbers. They now besought the Sultan to give them a religious head; and Muhammed, seated on his throne, delivered into the hands of Gennadius the crosier, or pastoral staff, the symbol of his ecclesiastical office. In the election and investiture of the patriarch, the ceremonial of the Byzantine court was imitated; the Vizirs and Pashas conducted him, mounted on a horse richly caparisoned, to the palace allotted for his residence. This act of the Sultan has been renewed by his successors, without any change, from 1460 until 1821, when the existing war infused such a suspicion of the Greeks into the minds of their imperious masters, as led to the

ignominious death of their patriarch and their princes, and the reversal of all their recognised privileges.

The extensive province of Bosnia, or ancient Mysia, was the next theatre of war. The strong fortress of Dorobitza, also the chief city, Jaica, were taken by storm by Muhammed; and the family and nobles of Stephen, the ruler of Bosnia, becoming his captives, were sent to Constantinople. Stephen himself, seeking for an asylum in the strong city of Clyssa, was so closely pressed by the Turkish forces, that he surrendered upon a sealed attestation of safety to his person,—a promise no less treacherously than cruelly violated by Muhammed, who ordered him to be flayed alive. He then reduced Bosnia to the state by which it is governed at present, and bore its spoils to his growing capital.

The name of Scanderbeg awakens the interest of romance to his exploits. But for the hinderance which was providentially given by this prince and Hunniades to the progress of the Turks while under the fierce impulse of Muhammed, most probably he might have conquered, as was his ardent wish, the western capital of the Roman empire, as he had already done the eastern. The ungrateful states of Europe, especially the Venetians, saw, when it was too late, the fatal error which they had committed, by not supporting those brave and illustrious commanders in their unequal contest. Our limits only allow us to furnish the heads of Scanderbeg's achievements: their true development would be an accession to history. Muhammed, early in his reign, made offers of reconciliation to the Epirote prince, upon his paying to him the usual tribute. Scanderbeg, aware

perhaps of the Sultan's perfidy, refused all compromise, and ravaged the Turkish states. Muhammed's first attack on Epirus was by a strong body of twelve thousand veteran horse, led by Amesa, one of his chief commanders. They were, as usual, permitted to entangle themselves in the mountains, and were then cut off to a man, or made prisoners. The succeeding year, a second army, of fourteen thousand horse, under Debreas, renewed the incursion. In a battle which soon ensued, this army was also overthrown, and Debreas himself slain. Unable to reduce him by force, the Sultan now employed the wiles of treachery; and Scanderbeg, advancing beyond the confines of Epirus to form the siege of a frontier place, received a signal defeat, and had nearly perished. The traitor who had occasioned this untoward result, having revolted to the Turks, shortly led a third army against Epirus, which, although a considerable force, after various conflicts, was at length destroyed by the indefatigable attacks of Scanderbeg. An attempt to place on the throne of Epirus a relation of the prince, and thus to sow dissension in the provinces, was obviated by the prudential measures taken by the bold and crafty Epirote, and by a signal victory gained by Scanderbeg over the immense army destined to place his rival on the throne. Muhammed, at length wearied with these repeated losses, and anxious to pursue his conquests of the Greek islands, contracted a truce with Scanderbeg.

It was during this period that he completed the subjugation of Mitylene, which so alarmed the Italian powers, that Pope Pius II., joining the Venetians, preached a general crusade against the enemy of Christendom. Scanderbeg also, on

his part, again took up arms; the Venetians now applied for aid to Mathias Corvinus, the younger son of the valiant Hunniades, chosen (out of reverence for the character of their deliverer) by the Hungarians for their king. This great league was dissolved by the sudden death of the Pope; and Muhammed determined to avail himself of the pause, finally to reduce Epirus to subjection.

The historian narrates at least three armies in succession, led by Balabanus, a mortal enemy of Scanderbeg, which were severally overthrown by that intrepid warrior, and chased from Epirus. At length, in a skirmish, the Epirote prince lost some of his best officers, who were sent prisoners to Constantinople, to glut the revenge of the Sultan, where, by his orders, they were flayed alive. The enraged Sultan at length hired two assassins to destroy Scanderbeg; but they were traced, detected, and executed. The Sultan, hearkening only to the dictates of his mortal hatred of this contemptuous opponent, finally resolved on advancing in person against Croya, his capital; and accordingly, deluging Epirus with an army of 200,000 men, in the year 1465, he invested that city. Scanderbeg, lying in the woods and mountains with his small army, by the aid of his resolute and adventurous followers, so incessantly harassed the Turkish forces, that Muhammed, alarmed at the rapid diminution of his forces, left the siege to the care of Balabanus, returning himself to Constantinople. In his route homeward, he obtained the surrender of Khidna, and put the garrison to the sword, contrary to the articles of capitulation.

Scanderbeg, from the very superior forces of

the Turks, being unable to relieve Croya, was necessitated to implore the aid of the Italian princes; being joined at length, in this exigency, by an auxiliary force, he again sought to relieve his distressed capital; but Balabanus, an Epirote by birth, and a worthy antagonist of Scanderbeg, made unremitting efforts to take Croya. Balabanus received, at this critical moment, a wound, of which he died; and the Turks, discomfited by his death, forced their way, sword in hand, through the passes, relinquishing the disastrous siege. Balabanus had signalized himself by mounting the walls among the first, at the assault of Constantinople.

The spring following, 1466, the indomitable Sultan again entered Epirus with an immense army; and although he altogether failed in the siege which he formed of Croya, yet these immense efforts clearly caused the overthrow of the valiant and illustrious Epirote, who, finally taking refuge at Lyssa, in the Venetian states, died there in 1466, after a glorious career; and with the arm of Scanderbeg sunk the strength of Epirus, which immediately after dwindled into a Turkish province. The valour of its noble leader, however, deserves the highest meed of praise; for by his prowess keeping the forces of the Turks so long at check, and destroying so many armies, Italy was probably preserved from being overrun.

During the contest with Scanderbeg, the Sultan had in some degree indemnified himself for his great losses, by the rapid and easy acquirement of the important dominion of Karamania. Karaman Oglou had recently died, and his child-

ren quarrelling, Muhammed settled their disputes, by annexing their patrimony to his sceptre.

The important island of Eubœa was his next step in conquest, and in which he succeeded, partly by the parental love, or rather weakness, of the noble Venetian Canalis. The governor defended Chalcis with courage, until, overwhelmed by numbers, he surrendered to Muhammed, who answered for the heads of the Venetians by his own; but he had no sooner entered Chalcis, than he had the brave commander and his followers sawn through the middle, between two planks, edging his cruelty by a sorry jest. Having thus overcome the chief obstacles to his arms, and conceiving that no power could resist his will, Muhammed contemplated no less than the subjugation of Rome, when he learned the tidings of a confederacy formed against him by the King of Hungary, the Venetians, and the Pope, to which also the Persian Shah, from dread of his power, had become a party. The contest between these Mussulman princes lasted but a short period; it was toilsome for the Turks, as all their contests with Persia have proved. Nothing, perhaps, has contributed to preserve these powerful neighbours from subjugating each other so much as the violent enmity of their followers, the Turks being the followers of the first Kalifs, and the Persians the disciples of Ali. Muhammed, leaving his second son Zizim in the capital, advanced, in the spring of 1470, into Persia; here Prince Mustapha, his eldest son, acquired glory under the eyes of his father, who, after gaining two bloody battles, chiefly through the valour of his son, brought back one part of his army to Constantinople, leaving the other under the command

of Achmet, or Acomat, who, during the rest of the campaign, reduced the important province of Pisidia under subjection to the Ottoman empire.

The next year, this celebrated commander took Kaffa, the strongest place in the Chersonesus of Taurica, from the Genoese. Menglu Gauray, descended from the ancient princes of Kopchak, joined the Sultan against his brother, who fell in battle, and the peninsula of the Taurica was held henceforth by a Khan of this house, appointed by the Turkish Sultan, as the feudal lord, his name being used in the Khotba or prayers.

Muhammed having, by his perseverance, now conquered the chief part of Albania, in pursuance of his ambitious views, he made several incursions into Istria, Carniola, and Dalmatia; part of his forces also appeared on the river Sontium, near the fens of Aquilea, spoiling all the country of Friuli. Having thus invaded the Venetian dominions, he resolved on besieging Scodra, the key of their Dalmatian territory; and led thither his army under the Begler-beys of Europe and of Asia. It was on the second of July, in 1478, before the rising of the sun, that the Sultan, with a powerful force, entered the camp; where, after he had well viewed the lofty situation of Scodra, he is reported to have said, "What a fair and stately place hath the eagle chosen out for herself to build her nest, and to hatch her young ones in!" The strength of its position baffled every effort of Muhammed to obtain possession of it; and weary of the siege, he confided its blockade to the able Vizir Achmet. The Venetians, at length perceiving the mighty power of Muhammed, availed themselves of his return to Constantinople to solicit a peace, and permission to carry on their lu-

crative trade with the Euxine, for which privilege they agreed to surrender Scodra, and also the island of Lemnos, with some places in the Morea, which, by their maritime power, they still held; and to pay a yearly tribute.

Having thus succeeded against the state of Venice, he now resolved to make an attempt on the island of Rhodes, through the suggestions of a traitorous knight, who agreed to conduct the Turkish forces; and, most singular to narrate, they were also encouraged to this attack by the Pasha Mischa Palæologus, a Greek renegade of the family of the last Emperor of Constantinople. The efforts made by this apostate marked his hatred of the Christian faith, which he had abjured. He led thither an army of one hundred thousand men, the major part of whom perished in the incessant attacks and efforts made to gain possession of the place. The defence of the knights, led on by D'Aubusson, was most glorious and successful; and Palæologus, after having continued the siege for three months, retired with the broken remains of his fleet and army, to his implacable master.

Having, however, acquired possession of Cephalonia and Zante, even during the siege of Rhodes, the haughty Sultan dispatched his most able general, Achmet Pasha, to open a way into Italy, who, crossing the Adriatic to Apulia, easily reduced the strong city of Otranto, which was weakly garrisoned, and more weakly defended. The capture and sack of this city, the key of Italy, spread a universal consternation, and Sixtus IV. was so alarmed, that he was preparing to forsake Rome, and fly beyond the Alps. Critically, at this juncture, when Achmet had resolved to follow up

his blow, and all Italy stood trembling and aghast, he was suddenly recalled by his master to Asia, in order to oppose a conspiracy of the Sultan of Karamania, the Shah of Persia, and the Soldan of Egypt, who had defeated Bajazet, the eldest son of Muhammed, with great loss. When the Turkish Sultan had, with great expedition, levied an army, and was marching to attack these powerful confederates, he was cut off by a complaint in his bowels, not without suspicion of poison, on his route through Bithynia, near the city of Nice, in the 51st year of his age, and 31st of his reign, A. D. 1481.

The sudden death of this most artful, most courageous, and most persevering conqueror, in the full vigour of life, and the full tide of victory, was most seasonable and providential for the preservation of the liberties and religion of the west of Europe. Had he not heard a rumour of war in the east, and returned into his own land, recalling his victorious and veteran troops from Otranto, Italy would (humanly speaking) have been reduced in one campaign,—the standard of Muhammed would have been unfurled in the capital of Rome, and probably before the walls of Vienna.

Muhammed was in all respects a very extraordinary man, whether we consider his qualifications as a general, or his acquirements as a man of letters. He was low of stature, square-set, and strong of limb, not inferior, indeed, for strength, to any one of his father's court, Scanderbeg only excepted. He had the Tartar cast of countenance, and was sallow and melancholy, as were all his ancestors of the line of Othman. His look and countenance stern, his eyes piercing, hollow, and a

little sunk in his head, and his nose high, and so much hooked, that it almost touched his upper lip, gave his features the expression of those powerful and fierce passions, whereby he became not less the terror of his friends than of his enemies. He possessed a sharp and apprehensive wit, and was deeply read in the literature of Asia, the poets of Arabia and Persia being familiar to him, and, as appears in his life, frequently quoted and applied by the potent monarch. He could also speak the Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Persian languages.

He delighted especially in the perusal of history, and particularly dwelt on the actions of Alexander and of Julius Cæsar, whom he desired to copy, at least in the glaring and ambitious portion of their characters. He was certainly of an undaunted courage, and immovable of purpose, as he manifested in his contests with Scanderbeg, whereby he at length succeeded in conquering, or rather overwhelming, that brave patriot. It is manifest that Muhammed formed, very early in his reign, the gigantic plan of carrying the Turkish power to the limits of the Ionian sea. The devoted bravery of Hunniades and of Scanderbeg were the great bulwarks of Christendom, as their resistance served to clog and retard his impetuous course of victory, and in some degree warned the Christian powers of their danger. It appears manifest, however, that the preservation of Italy, and especially of Rome, (the great prize which the Ottoman Emperor had designed to make his own,) grew out of his improvidence in waging war with the independent sovereignties of Asia Minor, before he had completed his designs on Europe; whereby he excited such a jealousy of

his power, among the great monarchies of Persia and Egypt, as well as in his hereditary foe, the Prince of Karamania, as drew off his attention from Europe, and diverted his vast means to an Eastern campaign, in the prosecution of which death put an end to his great designs. The consequences of the events, which this impolitic and violent conduct of Muhammed II. towards the Eastern princes of the same faith with himself was the chief cause of producing, may be traced long after the too ambitious Sultan had ceased to exist; and, by laying the foundation of the subsequent bloody wars between the rival houses of Othman and the Sefi race, they in a great measure became contributive to the conservation of Europe. Muhammed was altogether regardless of his word or of oaths, whenever they interfered with his ambition or his revenge. His cruelties were as revolting as they were often perfidious, and brand him as a monster and profuse shedder of blood. Throughout his life, he was a scourge to the human race, causing the deaths, as is stated by his historians, of above eight hundred thousand men. How much soever he despised, in his own conduct, the laws of good faith and of justice, he was a strict enforcer of them upon all who were in office, or concerned in the administration of justice to his subjects, punishing any false judge with the severest torments; he also enforced the laws so strictly, that thieving became almost unknown in his dominions.

He greatly favoured the advancement of knowledge, and of the fine arts, liberally rewarding Gentil Bellino, a painter of Venice, who came purposely to Constantinople to draw his portrait. The glory of his conquests covered his faults in

the eyes of his subjects; and the Turkish historians say, that he was the greatest of emperors. His thirst of blood, and his horrid debaucheries, form a strange contrast to his taste for painting, and his desire of learning and of studying great characters; pursuits which had no beneficial operation whatever on his disposition or habits, which are thus pointedly summed up by Knolles.

"Craft, covetousness, and dissimulation, were in him counted for tolerable faults, in comparison of his greater vices. In his love was no assurance, and his least displeasure was death; so that he lived feared of all men, and died lamented of none."

He had issue three sons: his eldest, Mustapha, was put to death by his command, probably from jealousy of his promising character; Bajazet, who was his successor; and Zisimes, who aspired likewise to the throne.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.				Years reigned.
Emperors.	Of the East.	Constantine Palæologus, the last Christian Emperor of Constantinople	1444	8
	Of the West,—Frederick III. Archduke of Austria		1440	54
Kings.	Of England.	Henry VI.	1422	39
		Edward IV.	1460	22
	Of France.	Charles VII.	1423	38
		Louis XI.	1461	22
	Of Scotland.	James II.	1436	29
		James III.	1460	29
Popes of Rome.		Nicholas V.	1437	18
		Calixtus III.	1455	3
		Pius II.	1458	6
		Paul II.	1464	37
		Sextus IV.	1471	13

[A coin of this prince is named by Mr Marsden, in the Numismata, with the legend on the area and margin: Muhammed ben Murad-Khan. Præclara sit victoria sua! Manifestum sit auxilium ejus! 855 (1451). Area: Perpetuum sit regnum suum! Cuditur in Tabris.]

CHAPTER IX.

BAJAZET II.—EIGHTH REIGN.

THE events which mark the commencement of the reign of this prince, have been the cause of much disagreement among various historians.

Bajazet and Djem, or Zisimes, the sons of Muhammed, received the news of their parent's decease at their respective governments of Amasia and of Iconium. According to the compilers of the Universal History, and to the excellent Chronology of M. de la Croix, Bajazet is described as resolved upon undertaking the hadje, or pilgrimage to Mecca, which he fulfilled, notwithstanding the dangers threatening his throne from the ambitious views of his brother Zisimes; views which Bajazet resisted and persecuted throughout his reign, never feeling an allay to his jealous hatred towards his brother, until he had steeped his hands in his blood. The incident of the Meccan journey is, however, taken altogether from the pages of Cantemir, who made the mistake of ascribing it to Bajazet, whereas it was performed by the unfortunate Zisimes.

Bajazet hastened from Amasia to take possession of the vacant throne, where he arrived within nine days after the account of his father's death had reached Amasia. The troubles which arose from the ambition of Zisimes, and the change which was soon felt throughout the empire, from the different views and character of the imbecile successor of the energetic Muhammed, operated most opportunely upon the progress of the Ottoman armies; for the respite which was given to Christendom by the change thus wrought, and the inevitable abandonment of the proposed plans of Muhammed, under such a different line of government, became the eventual safeguard of Italy.

The experienced soldier, Achmet, had indeed no sooner acquired the strong fortress of Otranto, than he had caused it to be fortified, as meaning to secure thereby a sure footing for the prosecution of the conquest of Italy; he also provided ample supplies for eighteen months, and garrisoned it with eight thousand of his choice troops; he then returned to Constantinople, to learn his great master's farther pleasure, himself fully purposing, with the first of the spring, to have returned to his important conquest, and to have prosecuted his victory.

The decease of Muhammed, and the unwarlike propensities of Bajazet, soon rendered Achmet, not less from his talents than his office, a person of the highest influence in the conduct of the affairs of the Ottoman empire. The multiplicity of objects, however, arising for intrigue and watchfulness, drew off his attention from prosecuting his views in Italy, or of further regarding the possession of Otranto; and the King of Naples, justly alarmed at the danger of such a neighbour,

so strenuously assisted his son Alphonsus, the Duke of Calabria, that he pressed the siege of the city with the greatest vigour; and for once there appears to have existed some unity of design among the Christian princes, he being powerfully aided by auxiliaries from Hungary, sent by the valiant Mathias Corvinus, king of that country; also from Spain and Portugal. The garrison defended themselves with the pertinacious bravery wherewith the Turkish soldiers have ever defended their strongholds; and Otranto would probably have proved inexpugnable in their hands, but that the besieged, on hearing of the death of their great Emperor, no longer expected the return of Achmet their general, and being pressed by a strait siege, they hastily yielded the city to the Duke of Calabria, upon an honourable capitulation.

Prince Djem, or Zisimes,* who governed Karamania, was urged on to claim a participation with his brother in the inheritance; and, without pausing to consider that Bajazet had been acknowledged for Sultan by the Pashas and by the people, he levied an army, and advanced to the city of Brusa, of which he made himself master, and thence advanced with his troops towards the Bosphorus.

Zisimes claimed the throne, asserting that the will of Muhammed was forged, also that it was a dishonour that the empire should be governed

* The name of Zisimes appears to have taken rise in the title of Djemdjah, that is, Majestic as Djemshid, a title of the Sultan Bajazet. Saad-eddin gives it to him always in contradistinction to that of Djem-shah, or Prince Djem.

by the issue of a private man, instead of the Emperor's son, because Bajazet was born before Muhammed had become the Sultan. The talents of Zisimes appear to have rendered him a formidable rival, and the struggle would have been a very doubtful one, had not Bajazet possessed in Achmet Pasha a general of the highest tact and prudence, directed by whom, he passed into Asia with great speed, and met his brother's forces at Neapolis, a city of Anatolia, near which the army of Zisimes was encamped. At this period of his march, and well knowing his importance to his sovereign's cause, Achmet thought fit to remind the Sultan of an event which had occurred in the reign of his father, and the effects of which the Pasha still dreaded might be visited on him. The circumstance was as follows: During the contest carried on by Muhammed against Uzrum Khan, the Persian Shah, Bajazet then having the charge of leading the right wing of his father's army, he was observed by that warlike monarch not to have marshalled it in good order for the field, whereat he dispatched Achmet to remedy the defective arrangement; which commission being performed by Achmet, the interference was so highly resented by the prince, that he threatened the Pasha to find a time when he would be revenged upon him. Achmet being a man of high spirit, and one who durst both say and do much, perceiving his threat, not merely defied him, but placing his hand on his scimitar, he vowed that when he came to be Emperor, he would never wear sword in his cause. This vow he now chose to recall, by appearing before Bajazet unarmed, his sword hanging at his saddle-bow, and himself in a kneeling posture; on being ques-

tioned by his sovereign for an explanation, he then adverted to the circumstance, adding, "that he was now ready to serve him with his sword, or to suffer what he chose to inflict." The services of Achmet were too important to allow of any pause in the resolves of Bajazet, who, touching him with his scimitar, and addressing him by the familiar term of Lalla, my father, directed him to gird on his sword, and not remember a matter which he had long both forgotten and forgiven. Then, in full testimony of his confidence and perfect reconciliation, Bajazet constituted him generalissimo of his army.

This brave and veteran commander, being the favourite of the janizaries, was received by them with transport, as their leader to certain victory. Achmet justified the choice of the artful Bajazet. Instantly ordering the camp to be pitched close to that of Zisimes, he employed his troops for ten days in constant skirmishes, until at length, provoking the enemy to a pitched battle, he completely overthrew the hopes of the rebel prince, by a signal and complete defeat. Zisimes with great difficulty escaped from the field, after witnessing the dispersion of all his army; and those of his adherents who fell into the hands of Achmet, were without mercy put to the sword. The fugitive prince, seeing that his only safety was in flight, took refuge at first within the walls of Aleppo, and then proceeded to Cairo, to solicit the aid of the Soldan of Egypt; but Kaite-bey, who saw in Zisimes only a prince of ruined hopes, advised him to lay aside the project of war with his brother, and to make the pilgrimage to Mecca;* moreover,

* It was this journey of Zisimes, who had hoped that

if events were more promising on his return, he engaged to assist him to the utmost of his power. Disappointed in his prospects of immediate aid from Egypt, Zisimes adopted the recommendation of Kaitc-bey, visiting the cities of Mecca and Medina, whence he returned to Cairo in 1482. Here he received overtures from numerous emirs, who, with promises of support, invited him to re-enter Asia. The Soldan of Egypt also counselled him to march where glory called him, and furnished him with troops. With this aid, and the levies of the emirs, he hastened to besiege Cogni; here his forces were again routed and put to flight by the regular troops of Bajazet; and Zisimes, proscribed and a fugitive, wandered from cavern to cavern, as he sought to escape from the messengers of death.

The prince had contrived to solicit the help of the Grand Master of Rhodes, whereby, while the Turkish detachments were searching the woods and forests of Bulgaria, Caria, and of Lycia, the Christian galleys were coasting along the shores to convey him to a safe asylum, and making their signals to direct his flight. The pursuit was so vigorously conducted by Achmet, from motives of personal dislike, that Zisimes, as he gained the shore, was perceived by a Turkish band in search of him, on the opposite bank of a small stream. The hunted fugitive had scarcely time to throw himself into a fisherman's skiff, and push off from the shore, when the hostile soldiers thronged the beach. Fastening a billet, hastily dictated, to an arrow which he shot towards his pursuers, Zisimes

the sacred character of his undertaking might work on his brother's mind, which has made Cantemir fall into the error of ascribing it to Bajazet.

energetically reproaches his brother for chasing him from the land and the tombs of his ancestors, "invoking the retributive justice of Heaven to reward his cruelty to his brother, by similar trouble in his own family." It is said that the Sultan was deeply affected at perusing the words of his brother, and certain it is, that the course of events brought on him the vengeance thus invoked.

Zisimes was received with distinguished honours by D'Aubusson, the Grand Master, and the knights seem to have neglected nothing which could soften his misfortunes. His person and character are thus particularly described:—"Zisimes, when he arrived at Rhodes, was about 28 years of age, of stature tall, but somewhat corpulent, and well-limbed; grey-eyed, but somewhat asquint; hook-nosed; brown complexion; spare of speech, and by nature choleric; a great eater, so that he seemed rather to devour his meat than eat it; much delighted in swimming, and to lie abroad in the night; pensive and melancholy, save in the society of D'Aubusson; a strict observer of the faith, attached to literature, and a scholar, having written a history of his father's reign and great exploits." Such is the portrait given of this prince, whom Bajazet, when he was informed of his arrival at Rhodes, immediately laid plans to have destroyed, employing various emissaries for that purpose, whom he attached to a solemn embassy sent at this time, avowedly to treat for peace, to Rhodes, but in reality to effect the death of Zisimes, or the delivery of him into the power of the Sultan, at any price.*

* It is asserted that D'Aubusson treacherously confined the prince, whether for the purpose of softening the

D'Aubusson did not deem it prudent to prolong a bloody and hazardous war against such a potent enemy unnecessarily, nor yet could he consent to violate the rites of hospitality, by delivering up his guest to the Sultan. He therefore removed the unfortunate prince to the neighbouring shore of Italy, recommending him to the kind offices of the Pope, and to the other Christian princes. The Court of Rome well knew how to make the most of this favourable incident, and Pope Innocent VIII. entered into a regular traffic with the Turkish monarch, to keep Zisimes in safe custody, for the consideration of a large yearly stipend.

Having thus secured his throne from domestic enemies, Bajazet demanded of the King of Naples the fulfilment of the capitulation entered into, a long time previously, by the Turkish garrison of Otranto, with his son the Duke of Calabria. This prince, perfidiously violating the agreement, had condemned the garrison to the galleys, and seized on the booty. The Sultan now required a full and entire restitution thereof, and Ferdinand waited not for a repetition of the demand. Instantly collecting together all the captives, he embarked them for Constantinople, along with whatever had been made prize of at Otranto. The Sultan now renewed an advantageous truce with the Venetians, and making a progress into the Morea, Bajazet fortified the isthmus with two strong castles, which are still its bulwark and defence. At the next spring he ordered a jami, or mosque, a

displeasure of Bajazet, and deceiving his envoy during his stay at Rhodes, or of extorting money from the friends of the prince, is not evident.

madressah, or college, imaret, and public baths, to be built at Adrianople, on the river Tennjeh.

These splendid erections are instances of the zealous adherence of the princes of the Ottoman race to the precepts of the Koran: thus Zisimes, while in his honourable captivity at Rhodes, for such it might be termed, finished Telaveti Koran, or reading of the whole Koran every week; and Bajazet, as well as other Sultans of his race, manifested in his habits a strange medley of devotional attention to the highest tests of Muhammedan piety, intermixed with touches of worldly ambition. No two beings can be more widely different than Bajazet defending his throne, with the most vehement earnestness, the enemy and persecutor of his brother, and aiming at his life with inveterate rancour, compared with the same Bajazet attempting to retire to private life, or rather to become a contemplative dervise, among the shades of some favourite city of Asia Minor. As these abdications occur so frequently in the Ottoman annals, and are so opposed to the insatiate thirst of power displayed in all other points by these fierce sovereigns, there seems to have been some interesting and highly attractive object of personal indulgency connected with the nature and character of the retirements to which these monarchs were wont to betake themselves, on the resignation of their power.

Bajazet was always successful while guided by the wise counsels of the experienced Achmet: he invaded Moldavia, overrunning and laying waste the whole country, and taking possession of its two maritime keys, the strong fortress of Akerman on the Euxine sea, and Kilia on the Danube; having thereby acquired virtually the control of

the principality; he then consented to a temporary truce, on a tribute being paid. From this scene of warfare, the Sultan prepared to carry his arms into Cilicia. The mountain passes of this very important district have at all times been the object of attention to the possessors of Asia Minor; and the Karamanian prince, when despoiled of his extensive dominions, had taken refuge in these strong and powerful recesses of the ridge of Taurus. The maritime part of Cilicia is narrow, and has little or no level country, and the part which the Taurus overhangs is very thinly inhabited. Into this wild and broken region, Bajazet led a powerful army, and was valiantly opposed by the Karamanian commander. This Mussulman prince seems always to have maintained a good understanding with Persia and Egypt, and to have long withstood the power of the Turkish Sultans; and he was in this extremity assisted by the Soldan of Egypt. Aided by his Mamluk auxiliaries, he boldly advanced to the relief of the important city of Tarsus. An obstinate battle took place in the plain, which was contested throughout the day with great losses on both sides; but on the day declining, and the strength of his followers being exhausted by the Turkish attacks, Ahmed of Karamania, perceiving that a very critical exigency had arrived, and instigated by a generous despair, rushed boldly forward into the midst of the Turks, to support his troops. He was assailed by the janizaries on every side, and was speedily dismounted and slain; his discomfited army fell into utter rout on the death of their leader, and fell by the sword, or were made captives. Thus this entire province, forming the key of Syria, be-

came annexed to the Turkish dominions. To fill up the measure of the Turkish Sultan's good fortune, the prince of Trachea, on the line of sea-coast, dreading the fate of the Karamanian prince, voluntarily resigned his important district to the power of Bajazet, receiving a sanjak in Asia Minor as an establishment; and thereby the Turkish rule became at length pre-eminent over the whole sea-coast, from the Bosphorus to the coast of Syria.

A dark story of ingratitude and treachery, on the part of Bajazet towards Achmet, the firmest prop of his throne, follows upon these scenes of triumph. The janizaries were already giving proofs of that turbulence, and restless spirit of revolt, which has often made the throne of Stamboul a very precarious possession. On the death of Muhammed, they at once threw off the galling curb wherewith he had constrained their fiery spirits; they openly rebelled, and put to death many of the chief persons of the deceased monarch's councils, who had sought to support his will. The return and boundless influence of Achmet, and the appointment of Kerkud, stopped the further progress of the tumults, and secured the throne.

The appointment of Achmet, under the walls of Brusa, to be generalissimo at the battle against Zisimes, revealed to Bajazet the enthusiastic devotion of this fierce and powerful soldiery to his person, and rendered the Sultan accessible to fears of the interference and dictation of the Ortas of janizaries; so dangerous in all ages has been the system of ruling by the sword, and the maintenance of a great military force, to the body politic. Bajazet, alarmed at the seditious character

of these troops, felt the necessity of curtailing their power by some measure of reform. It is worthy of notice, henceforth to trace the operation of this military institution, which began so early to weaken the Turkish power, and to observe the influence of these military bands, who braved the severe curb and hate of the Ottoman Sultans for a period of nearly five centuries.

The Turkish Sultan was under the influence of a vice, which, of all others, is a decided foe to close and prudent counsels; namely, a taste for excess in wine; and in the gay hours of the banquet, among the partners of his revels, he had incautiously revealed and spoken of his design of reducing the numbers and curtailing the privileges of the janizaries. These dangerous declarations were soon conveyed to the ears of a jealous and unbridled soldiery, with the information that Achmet, who was present at the feast, had dared to reply to the Sultan's declaration in terms of admonition and reproof. A banquet soon followed, in which Bajazet, already suspicious of his too powerful subject, and excited by the influence of wine, determined on Achmet's destruction; after having drank plentifully, he ordered caftans of honour to be given to his guests, that for Achmet was of black velvet, who recognised therein the signal of death. The guests, penetrated with terror at the scene, instantly retired, and Achmet soon beheld the ministers of his fate approach. At this moment of horror, Achmet appears to have lost nothing of the energy of his character, for he boldly rebuked the Sultan for his vices, and reproached him "for leading him to a breach of the Prophet's law by intemperance, while he meditated to put him to death." The fearless ge-

neral having been stripped of his robe and thrown upon the ground, the executioners were about to perform their office, when a eunuch besought the Emperor to respite the so much dreaded Achmet, until the ensuing morning should show how the janizaries would act on the imagined fall of their favourite leader; in which advice Bajazet acquiesced. The morning evidenced the value of the delay, for the son of Achmet, rushing into the Ortas of the janizaries, excited them to revenge the death of his father; and these formidable bands collecting from every quarter, brandishing their arms, surrounded the seraglio, calling for Bajazet. The terrified Sultan was compelled to appear at a grated window, and to hear the insolent reproaches and scoffs of this armed host, threatening every species of violence; they demanded the release of Achmet, or vowed revenge, calling the Sultan by the most opprobrious terms, amongst which was heard, by way of derision, "Bachelor," or "Schdar." Trembling at the fury which was thus excited, the imprisoned Achmet was withdrawn, by the orders of Bajazet, from his dungeon, and presented to the view of the impatient soldiery, who, when they beheld the object of their veneration, stripped and in an ignominious attire, prepared for death, were almost as eager to revenge the indignity thus offered to his person, as they had been his supposed destruction. The calmness and magnanimity of Achmet appeased the storm; he prevailed on the surrounding multitude to resume their obedience due to the throne, and to retire, and by his persuasion soon restored the janizaries to order and submission.

Bajazet, taught to be in some degree more cautious by the lesson which he had received, retired

to Adrianople, while he forthwith resolved to employ the dangerous troops whom he could no longer control, against his foreign foes; and as he considered himself to be removed from any present danger, not at all softened by the noble forbearance of Achmet, he executed his long meditated revenge against the most powerful and best of his subjects, who perished within the enclosure of the palace, a victim to the ingratitude of his sovereign. Bajazet had reason, at a subsequent period, to lament the perfidy which had left him without a curb for the unbridled passions of his soldiers.

In 1483—H. 888, the Venetians retook Zante and Cephalonia, through the means of the brother of the Despot of Larta, their rightful possessor; but Bajazet reclaimed those islands in so imperious a tone, that the republic, dreading to be involved in a serious contest, waived their right, and restored these important possessions to the Sultan.

The progress of the Turkish arms now brought into germination the seeds of a fresh war, which had long been springing up between the Ottomans and the Mamluks of Egypt, the result of which, after numberless battles and great bloodshed, ended in the ruin of the latter. Throughout the various reigns of Muhammed and Amurath, the Mamluk sovereigns constantly became the auxiliaries of every foe to the Ottoman house; and the late assistance given by Kaite-bey to his brother had in a particular manner excited the resentment of Bajazet. Both parties, however, were unwilling to enter on a war of so serious a nature, and hitherto neither had dared to attack the other. The Ottoman was superior in extent of dominion

and the amount of his armies; the Egyptian was strengthened annually by the accession of Circassian troops, the most warlike of all nations.

The origin of the formidable mercenary army of Egypt took its rise under Noureddin, surnamed Salek, one of the descendants of the great Saladin, who, having purchased of the Tartars, under the great leader Timour, a vast assemblage of slaves, the natives of Armenia and of Circassia, brought them up to arms under his own eyes, and after constituting them his body-guard, he called them Mamluks. They were chosen for being robust, hardy, well-made men, and a considerable army was soon formed from the number of captives brought annually into Egypt for sale. Touran Shah, the son of Salek, was indebted to their valour for his victory over the French forces at Damietta in 1249, in which hard-fought field, Louis IX. and his army were made prisoners. Touran eventually fell a victim to his ferocious and rebellious troops, being murdered by his Mamluks, who chose for Sultan another of the descendants of Saladin; and thus at length perceiving the extent of their power, from the impunity with which they had made such changes, they set aside altogether the reigning dynasty, and substituted for their leader one of their own class. During more than three centuries, the Mamluks possessed the supreme power in Egypt, of which they retained possession until it became swallowed up in the vortex of the Turkish empire.

Alai-dulet, a petty prince of some provinces in Asia, gave the first occasion for calling the enmity of Bajazet against the Mamluk rule into active operation. He had attempted to take some places from the Circassians; but these tribes attacked

him with a great superiority of force, and drove him from their frontiers. Finding himself to be unable to withstand the Circassian troops, Alai-dulet therefore threw himself on the protection of Bajazet, offering, as an equivalent for the aid which he implored, to hold his dominions as a fief of the Turkish empire. The opportunity appeared too favourable to be rejected, and an alliance was formed between the applicant and the Turkish Sultan, whereby Alai-dulet (being assisted by Turkish troops) renewed hostilities against his foes with great success, and captured many of their cities.

Whatever might be the personal rancour felt by the respective sovereigns of Egypt and Turkey against each other, their followers respectively had much evident repugnance to the shedding of the Mussulmans blood. The Egyptian Soldan, therefore, merely entered into the war by setting up a neighbouring powerful vassal against Alai-dulet. Thus these petty princes being thus respectively supported, their dominions became the theatre of several obstinate but indecisive battles. The war at length became more personal between the Ottoman empire and Egypt, and Bajazet at length led an army in person, intending to penetrate into Syria; but the Mamluks opposed their formidable enemy, and came up with the Turkish forces in the neighbourhood of mount Amanus, where Alexander defeated Darius in the battle of Arbela. The Turks, fatigued and harassed by a long march, were occupied in pitching their tents, when they were attacked and overthrown by the Mamluk cavalry. The janizaries, although surprised, made a most vigorous resistance, whereby Bajazet, after having fallen back several leagues,

was enabled to rally his forces in an intrenched camp. At the break of day, however, the Mamluks crossed the river and renewed the battle. The presence of the Sultan sustained the courage of the Turks, but the troops of Bajazet, having been so recently defeated, and now perhaps missing their ancient leader Achmet, the Mamluks again triumphed, whereby Bajazet was forced to a retreat, with the total loss of his baggage and cannon, and an immense number of his men. Sheltering himself, however, in the strong defiles, he retired without precipitation, and always facing his enemy, who sharply pursued his retreat, and every day greatly weakened his army. The Turks certainly had not received a greater check since their defeat by Timour; but nevertheless, so powerful was their empire, that notwithstanding the disaster of a storm, whereby the Turkish fleet was wrecked at the mouth of the Orontes, the peace concluded betwixt these belligerents, merely stipulated the restoration of the conquests made in Cilicia. Abdallah, son of Bajazet, and Prince of Iconium, died this year.

In the year 1485, John Castriot, a son of Scanderbeg, regained a great portion of his paternal dominion; but Bajazet, when relieved from the war carrying on in the east, sent a strong fleet with numerous troops, which, landing in Albania, compelled the revolters to agree to the payment of the regulated tribute. While the events of war revolved in the east, the great cause of Bajazet's hatred and fear, his brother Zisimes, had finished his earthly career, in the land of his exile.* The

* The unfortunate Zisimes dragged along a wearisome and painful existence during his exile in Europe. M. Hammer gives a very interesting detail of the various

crime of dispatching him by poison is ascribed to the infamous Alexander VI., and is said to have been perpetrated as follows:—Charles VIII., King of France, having decided upon attempting the conquest of Naples, after taking possession of Rome, and the chief part of Italy, in his advance, as if they had been his own territories, among other demands which he made of the Pope, then completely in his power, was the charge of the person of the Ottoman prince. Alexander durst not refuse the demand, but took care that he should previously take a slow poison, and Zisimes, soon after his change of masters, expired of the potion given him by the infamous arts of the Pope; the whole scheme is ascribed to the suggestion of emissaries maintained at Rome by the Sultan, and to have been the cause of great gratification to the Turkish Emperor, who profusely rewarded the Roman pontiff.

To console himself for the loss of Adena, Tar-

stops and residences which this prince made in France, during his stay in that kingdom. He landed at Nice from the Isle of Rhodes, on 14th October 1482, as he was constrained to remain there in spite of his strenuous remonstrances. As Zisimes was a poet, he composed a Turkish couplet on Nice; the chief merit of which, in the Turkish critics' opinion, M. Hammer observes, consists in the rhyme of the second line, which forms its rhythm, by contraction, with the name of the city, Nice. The following is the French version of this couplet, as given by Hammer:—

Ah! quelle ville admirable que Nice!
On y demeure en depit du capriee.

Nice appears to be the only city of Europe which has been the subject of verse by a Turkish poet, by a son of Muhammed II., who was himself a poet as well as a conqueror.

sus, and the strong passes which the late successes of the Mamluks had compelled the Turkish Sultan to restore to them, he now invaded Wallachia with his recruited army, perpetrating the most destructive ravages, and levying contributions throughout the country. The Waiwode Stephen hastened to avert the Sultan's anger, by a renewal of his yearly tribute, and Bajazet received a serious lesson while in Wallachia, on the insecurity of his power to protect his person against acts of revenge. Proceeding on horseback one morning towards Adrianople, the Sultan was stopped on his route by a dervise, who besought him for alms; as the Emperor, habitually charitable, was searching for his purse, the perfidious devotee quickly drew a short scimitar from beneath his garment, and stabbed him. Bajazet was only slightly wounded, in consequence of his horse starting aside, and receiving the full force of the blow; the determined assassin would have repeated his stroke, but the attendants who surrounded the Sultan hacked the cowardly dervise in pieces;* and this incident had such a powerful effect on the mind of Bajazet, that he henceforth proscribed this order, and banished them from his dominions.

Freed of all apprehensions from Zisimes, the Sultan now fully resolved on turning his arms against the Venetians. The difficulties of commerce always arising betwixt these two powers were the pretext for arming; and the Venetians, who esteemed themselves superior to the Turks

* This incident, according to Knolles, happened in Albania. The Turkish writers and the Universal History are silent on the fact of Bajazet personally leading his army into that country.

in maritime strength, did not decline the contest. Forty-six galleys, equipped with great care, fifty large vessels, and forty transports, composed the Christian fleet, and Antony Grimani, who commanded, cast anchor at Modon to watch the motions of the enemy. Having news that the Turkish fleet were at Sapienza, a small island in the Archipelago, he immediately set sail, and as soon as in sight, prepared to attack the Turkish armament. The battle raged with great fury, and several vessels were sunk; the struggle was most bloody chiefly where Loredano, the governor of Cyprus, commanded, but the fall of this distinguished commander struck a panic into his followers; the Turks also skilfully seized the moment to discharge a shower of inflamed arrows against the sails of a crowded mass of vessels, whereby several Venetian galleys were set on fire; and Grimani, seeing that the battle was irretrievably lost, set sail, and fled with the relics of his fleet. The Venetians, ashamed of their defeat, and having reassembled their scattered ships, importuned the admiral a few days after to again seek his enemies, and try the chance of another battle; but Grimani preferred to retire to Venice, where he was put in chains, and brought to answer for his conduct before the Grand Council, by whose sentence he was stripped of his dignities, and banished for life to the isle of Cluso, while Trevisano succeeded the unfortunate Grimani as admiral of the Venetian fleet.

The Turks, profiting by their victory, besieged and took the fortress of Lepanto; and, elated at their success on an element which they consider unpropitious to them, they laid siege to Modon. Here they were assailed by the Venetians, led on

by Trevisano; and after several bloody combats, four vessels succeeded in carrying succours to the besieged. But their success proved the cause of the capture of Modon, for its brave defenders and citizens, hurrying to the fort, left the ramparts for a moment unguarded, and the watchful Ottomans saw and seized the instant to storm the walls; then throwing open the gates, they spread pillage and death throughout the place. The fire destroyed what remained of this unfortunate town, and the dreadful cruelties exercised on the inhabitants struck such terror into Coron, that it surrendered without a siege.

To complete the misfortunes of the republic, ten thousand Tartars, in the pay of Bajazet, invaded and ravaged Friuli, passing the Iconzo, and indulging in the greatest excesses; and the immense number of captives made by them retarding their rapid retreat, a general massacre was made among them by these merciless barbarians; and the noble Trevisano, sickening at the view of the appalling calamities which he could not avert, died of grief. At this moment of alarm, Gonsalvo, the Spanish captain, the famous Cid, who had just achieved the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, revived the courage of the Venetians by coming to their aid with thirty galleys, and under his auspices the scale of victory turned for the Venetians; they captured the island of Cephalonia, and chasing the Turkish armament thence to the Hellespont, he destroyed several of their galleys. On the continent, the Turks however possessed themselves of Durazzo; and Venice, exhausted by so many losses, and the unequal weight of such a war, opened conferences for a treaty. While the Turks hesitated on the terms, the loss of the island

of Santa Maure showed them the risk of continuing the war, with a leader of such unexampled good fortune as the great commander; and the peace was signed at length by the restoration of Santa Maure, while Cephalonia was retained as a bulwark to the Adriatic.

This maritime war is marked as being the first contest upon the seas, wherein the Turks successfully combated the Christian fleets upon equal terms.

In 1486, the Mussulmans of Grenada being reduced to great extremity by the power and talents of the King of Castile, implored succour from Bajazet, and this prince, having equipped a fleet for their assistance, Ali Pasha, the Turkish admiral, ravaged the coast of Andalusia, capturing a number of Spanish vessels, and enslaving the crews; after having spread alarm along the shores of the Mediterranean, and making a descent on the island of Malta, Ali returned to Constantinople. Thus early do we find that the Turkish princes were esteemed to be the head of the Mussulman faith, and to form the centre of union to all the widely spread followers of Islamism.

Bajazet had experienced throughout his reign the sinister interference and hostility of the two great rivals of his power, the Persian and Egyptian kingdoms, but at this period, he succeeded in paralyzing the strength of Persia by involving her ruler in a series of intestine troubles. Ahmed, a Persian prince, had formerly espoused a daughter of the Sultan; he now departed secretly from Constantinople, and rapidly proceeded to Azerbigian, of which he made himself king, by defeating his predecessor, Rostam-bey, the fifth Sultan of the white sheep race. The confusion of

the provinces adjoining afforded a fair opportunity for attacking the resources of the Mamluk power in the most vulnerable point, by the conquest of Circassia, from whence they derived the annual supply for their armies. It is one of the singularities of the climate or habits of Egypt, or of both causes united, that no foreign conquerors or settlers have ever established themselves, in modern times, on the Nile as a colonizing race; all the children of the Mamluks, and of Christians born in Egypt, usually die in their infancy, and hence the conquerors of this fine country, (which has been held in subjection for so many centuries,) have always depended for the recruit of their armies upon the importation of slaves. Circassia being the native country of the Mamluks, supplied the finest and bravest of these warlike tribes for the Egyptian state; it was, therefore, the surest mode of weakening their power, when Bajazet, seizing the period of Persia being occupied with her own internal feuds, now marched an army from Armenia into the Circassian territories. Historians record few of the events connected with this war, which occupied the Turkish arms for nearly seven years. At length the provinces of the Caucasus, and the neighbourhood of Ararat, were depopulated, the Circassians reduced, and the Turkish frontiers established in great strength towards these regions by their acquisition of and annexation to the Turkish empire, and a line of fortified posts which closed all the passes from Erzeroum to Derbend.* Nothing

* Kaite-bey, the Mamluk sovereign of Egypt, is said to have died of grief and mortification upon receiving the tidings, as clearly therefrom foreseeing the downfall of

can evidence the powerful impetus and warlike spirit of the Ottoman troops more strongly, than the consideration that so many advantages were gained under a prince decidedly averse to war, and remarkably deficient of the talents necessary to conduct it successfully. The sagacity of Muhammed, who had perceived and rebuked the incapacity of Bajazet as a leader in his first Persian campaign, was amply justified by his after conduct, when, in many instances, as Emperor, he personally directed the military proceedings of his army. But notwithstanding the serious defeats which they then sustained, he still beheld his empire enlarged on every side,—Persia reduced in power,—the sources of the Egyptian strength, for their army, dried up by the conquest of Circassia,—the Grecian islands almost all subdued,—and Venice, the great maritime obstacle to the Turkish arms, humbled, and desirous of peace. After so many troubles, Bajazet at length tasted the tranquillity so much to his wishes, by a general pacification, and henceforth he indulged in the natural indolence of his disposition, and the developement of his bias for the cultivation of the religious and philosophical literature of Islamism. He especially paid a rigid attention to the ordinances of the Koran, and regulated the mode of observance of the Fast of the Ramadan, on which point he made an especial ordinance. If, as a natural consequence of his zeal, he proscribed and persecuted the religions of all other persuasions, he was not wanting in endeavours to increase the followers of the

the Mamluk power, now that they were deprived of recruits from their native country.

Sunni, or traditional sect of the Prophet's disciples. He instituted in 1505—H. 911, a new order of dervises, called, from the name of their founder, Ebebuharis. Ebebuhar displayed the usual qualifications for a reputed leader, for he lived in great abstemiousness, refrained from all personal indulgence, practised long and severe fasts, and professed to receive illuminations, and to work miracles. Bajazet built a mosque in his honour at Constantinople, and his followers are, at the present period, among the most regular and consistent of the religious professions in Turkey. Their tenets appear grounded on the points of abstraction and absorption, which are the primary Oriental doctrines, whence they pass their lives in meditation, and in reasoning on the future life; they view the pilgrimage to Mecca as unnecessary, declaring that they are present, by the action of their internal spirits, in the El Haram, or holy temple of Mecca, even while they never quit their cells. It was not solely on this religious sect that Bajazet poured forth the streams of his bounty. Turkish writers speak of the Beltasses, and the Herevis, the Mevelevis, Nimetulahis, Kadris, Kalendars, and Edhemis, (privileged bodies,) to all of whom Bajazet showed the greatest favour, and loaded them with gifts. While, however, he was thus indulging the natural bias of his constitutional feelings, the dislike and contempt of the fierce spirits of his army, who were wont to riot upon the spoil and havoc of war, were daily gaining strength, and hastening on his ruin. The repose of Bajazet was broken in upon by the appearance in Anatolia of one of the sect of the Ismaelians, who have been described in the reign of the Kalif Haruu al Ras-

chid, and it was a storm which not merely shook his empire, but became the means of converting the existing political jealousy of the Persian sovereigns into a sentiment of such intense hate, as laid the foundation of the bloody wars which raged between Turkey and Persia for more than two centuries.

Scheitan Kuli most probably was a dervise of the same order as attempted the assassination of Bajazet, and was therefore the object of this persecution. He began his mission by retirement into a cavern, which he made his abode, and the scene of his influence was the vicinity of Olympus, within the confines of Phrygia, near the town of Beibazar. The austerities of his life, and the character of sanctity which he had gained, soon reached the ears of Bajazet, who, ignorant of the fanatic's profession, allotted an annual stipend of 7000 aspers for his support; at length, after several years applied to the dissemination of his peculiar tenets, perceiving his followers inflamed with zeal for his cause, Scheitan Kuli put himself at the head of the soldiers, weary of indolence, and easily acted upon by such enthusiasts, and proceeded to revolutionize the east; and so rapid was his progress, that he speedily acquired possession of Kutaia, the capital of the province.

Kerkud, the worthy son of Bajazet, whose residence was Magnesia, awakened to the danger, led his forces against the rebellious insurgents; but he was soon overpowered by their impetuous assaults, and saved himself only by flight. Scheitan now had a numerous army at his command, and the crisis required, but could not arouse, Bajazet to the dangers of his situation. At length the Vi-

zir-azem led the best disciplined of the Ottoman forces against the rebels; and the appearance of this force put an end to the contest. Scheitan Kuli had the ambition, but not the talents, of the Meccan Prophet; his tumultuous followers were defeated in a pitched battle by the Vizir, and the impostor renouncing the character of a conqueror, and concealing his retreat even from his dearest disciples, in the issue safely escaped to the Shah of Persia for protection and support.

The arts of this impostor, whereby he seduced the judgment of Ishmael, the sovereign of Persia, and persuaded that people of the sacred character of his doctrine, are foreign to our history, further than that, as the natural result, they established a rooted hatred betwixt the two countries, a feeling which Scheitan laboured to perpetuate. His pretended miracles procured for him the title of Sophi, or Soph, and so established his influence over the mind of Ishmael, that henceforth he may be said to have regulated his conduct by his spiritual guide; and the name of Sophi, or Sofi, became so respected, that all the successors of the illustrious race of Ishmael assumed it as their most distinguished title.

While time was silently innovating the state of things in Persia, the Turkish monarch, debilitated by gout and infirmities, resolved to abdicate the throne, and seek in retirement for the indulgence and repose so necessary for him. In this last step of his life he manifested the same indiscretion as he had shown in his former hostile speeches against the janizaries; for having determined on the appointment of Achmet as his successor, he sent for that prince from Iconium, without having previously sounded the minds, or

secured the acquiescence of his ministers; and the Vizirs and Pashas resented that they were not made acquainted with the change. The janizaries, who would gladly have hailed the termination of the reign of Bajazet, were hence resolved to choose themselves from the imperial race their future leader. Achmet, moreover, had the imprudence to disgust these ferocious soldiers on the very first days of his arrival; when, being called upon by the Ortas for the usual donatives, this prince denied the boon, alleging as a motive, that it was unnecessary, as they were not about to undertake any foreign war. Their indignation and contempt were excited by the supposition of having a leader less warlike even than his father, and these sentiments decided the destiny of Achmet and his race. The result of their feelings was a secret embassy to Selim, the third son of Bajazet, then governor of Trebisond, to sound his wishes. His warlike habits better suited the turbulent soldiery, and his acquiescence was easily gained. Selim immediately assembled twenty thousand men, whom he had retained in pay, and passing the Bosphorus, he approached towards the capital, colouring his march under the specious pretext of visiting his father, a duty, in the doctrine of the Koran, only inferior to the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Bajazet evidenced in this dilemma a portion of the promptitude wherewith he had formerly guarded his throne; for, leading out from the city the Ortas on whom he relied for fidelity, he totally defeated the forces of his rebellious son. The battle was fought under the walls of Schumla, and Selim, spurring his courser from the field, never rested until he had reached Varna, where,

casting himself into a skiff, he traversed the Black sea, and sought for refuge in the port of Kaffa, in the Crimea. Bajazet, too indulgent, forbade his followers from pursuing the fugitive prince, but highly irritated against Selim, he persisted in his original intention of placing his eldest born Achmet on his throne.

This prince, of as pacific a temper as his father, returned for answer that the great members of the state and the janizaries desired to have Selim for their chief; and while the Sultan was thus kept in agitation between two sons, one of whom refused the empire, while the other took up arms to wrest it from him, the imbecile mind of the parent could only rest on the expedient of continuing his rule. In this resolve even he was also met by a difficulty, for the Ottoman Sultans being deemed inspired, their public acts are immutable, and cannot be retracted by themselves; but while he was seeking for expedients to reconcile these perplexities, the janizaries cut the knot by renewing their application to Prince Selim, and promising to range themselves immediately under his standard. This active prince had changed his abode for Roumili, to be at hand on any emergency, and his tents were soon pitched in the meadow of Jeni Batchi, near the gate of Adrianople. Here the janizaries tumultuously fulfilled their promise to him, and the resort of the troops to Selim announced that the reign of Bajazet was at an end. In consequence of these events, a deputation of the Ortas were admitted to the Sultan's presence; they rudely represented, "that as his infirmities disabled him from leading them against the infidels, it was reasonable that he should resign his station to Selim, who, being a

courageous prince, would fulfil the Mussulman duty of marching against their enemies." They added to this speech the imperious threat, that, "while they did not mean to touch his life, that in case of resistance, they would drag him by his robes, on the points of their javelins, from his throne." Too tardy in all his resolves, Bajazet had at length summoned the princely Kerkud to his aid, but he arrived only to meet and witness the triumph of Selim.

Bajazet, alarmed by the menacing harangue of the janizaries, sent the next morning the coffers of state to Selim, commanding the Pashas to salute him as Emperor, and demanding only an interval of five days, wherein he might prepare for his retreat, and relinquish the seraglio to his son. Selim paid a visit of respect to his father, and thence repairing to his camp, the oath of fidelity was taken to him by all the troops; and Kerkud, having witnessed these events, embarked again, and returned to his government of Magnesia. Nothing now opposed the projects of Selim. At length he made his entry into Constantinople, which Bajazet soon quitted to retire to Demotica, his native air; but he had scarcely, however, advanced a day's travel on his route, when a sudden death put a period to his journey and his life.

This important event was the barbarous act of Selim; and the infirmities and pacific temper of Bajazet rendered him little regretted by his subjects, yet he well merited to be so by the successes of the first years of his reign, as well as by many shining qualities. He was a lover of justice, and administered it with equity; by a superiority of intelligence and knowledge beyond his contemporaries, he gained the suffrages of the learned. He was

so superstitiously observant of the Koran, that he carefully collected all the dust which gathered on his habits during his wars against the Christians, and having tempered it so as to form it into a brick, he preserved it to be placed in his coffin. The true origin of this act grew out of a pretended saying of the Prophet, "That all who cover themselves with the dust of the ground in the way of Allah, are exempted from the fires of hell." This phrase, "the way of Allah," signifies strictly the waging of a perpetual war against the infidels. Bajazet inherited from nature a benevolent disposition, but his faith rendered him even profuse. Alms to man is one of the most strictly enjoined precepts of Muhammed, but he extended it to dogs and cats, and other dumb animals, for whom he established asylums and hospitals; demonstrating thereby how much the scheme of the metempsychosis, the doctrine of the East, is interwoven with the spirit of the Koran.

It is easily to be apprehended how highly the pilgrimage to Mecca became popular among the Turks, from the character of Bajazet; and however his soldiery might contemn his pacific disposition, his subjects deeply regarded his zeal for, and knowledge of, the Mussulman law. From hence the number of pilgrims to the tomb of the Prophet became greatly augmented. It was not considered right for the Sultans to perform that duty in person, wherefore they contented themselves with sending thither some pasha of rank as their representative.

Bajazet had held the supreme power thirty years, when he was thus dethroned and put to death by his unnatural son Selim. The contemporaries of his reign were as follows:—

			Years reigned.
Emperors of Germany.	Frederic III. Archduke of Austria,	1440	54
	Maximilian III. .	1494	25
Kings of England.	Edward IV. . .	1460	22
	Edward V. . . .		
	Richard III. . .	1483	3
	Henry VII. . .	1485	24
	Henry VIII. . .	1509	38
Of France.	Louis XI. . . .	1461	22
	Charles VIII. . .	1483	14
	Louis XII. . . .	1567	17
Of Scotland.	James III. . . .	1460	29
	James IV. . . .	1489	25
Popes of Rome.	Sixtus IV. . . .	1471	13
	Innocent VIII. .	1484	8
	Alexander VI. . .	1492	11
	Pius III. . . .	56 days.	
	Julius II. . . .	1503	9

[The character of Bajazet, and his taste for literature, it is probable, excited a desire of learning among his people. Lacroix specifies a work on the Mussulman Law, by Abu Ahmed ben Cassim; and an abridged history of the Prophets, Kalifs, and Mussulman Kings, by Magdedin Hassan; also Khedar, or Khogiah Pasha, the author of the Lives of the Mussulman Saints. Persia was so fortunate as to possess Khondemir, distinguished throughout the East for his history. This highly celebrated work is composed of two portions, commencing at the creation, and ending at the year 1471. Khondemir was a native of Herat, the capital of Khorassan.]

CHAPTER X.

SELIM I., SURNAMED YAVUZ.—NINTH REIGN.

CRIME never retrogrades. Selim ascended the imperial throne polluted with his father's blood, and his first step was to add to his crimes the death of his brothers. Achmet, affrighted and alarmed by the hostile preparations of his brother, and the sudden death of his father, took up arms to defend his life, while Selim rapidly passed into Asia, and marched against him. The forces of the government of Amasia were very inadequate to resist the strength of the Ottoman empire. Meantime the two brothers met in the plains of Enishahr, and fought in the foremost ranks; the brave Achmet more than once rallied his broken wings, but at last his army, being overpowered by numbers, was entirely put to the rout, with great slaughter. Achmet fought on horseback, his charger received a mortal wound, and his corpulence hindered his disengaging himself, and the delay was fatal to him. He fell into the power of his enemies, and was dragged, covered

with wounds, into the presence of his brother, when the relentless Selim, determined to free himself from every cause of fear, summoned the ministers of death, and Achmet was instantly strangled in his presence. Thus adding crime to crime, the victorious Selim directed his progress towards Magnesia, the spot where Kerkud had passed the thirty years since he virtuously renounced the throne, in the sweets of private life. How striking the contrast in the life of these brothers!—Kerkud cultivating the virtue of filial obedience, and renouncing the proffer of his father's throne, Selim plunging into guilt of the most barbarous description, to dethrone an aged parent, and destroy his kindred race. Kerkud, apprized of his danger by the fate of Achmet, collected together his forces, and arrayed them against the murderer of his race; but they were overthrown and routed at the first charge. Kerkud fled from the field of battle, and seeking an asylum amid the rocks and mountain recesses of his own province, he endeavoured to copy the example of his uncle Zisimes, and escape to the Christians; but the implacable hatred of Selim soon tracked out his gloomy lair, and dragged him from his solitary asylum, to make him experience the fatal doom of Achmet.

To the murder of his brothers, Selim also added that of five of his nephews, the sons of Achmet, their inexpiable crime being that of their drawing their blood and lineage from Othman; and with these children were also involved all those who were attached to them. So many bloody executions caused not even a murmur; for the great, the populace, and the soldiery, all trembled already under the yoke they had courted. At ease

as to any competitor, Selim now determined to fulfil the claims of the impatient janizaries. Elevated to the throne by the suffrages of an army, restless and inimical to repose, he possessed the characteristics which such bodies are awed by; and the very day that he displayed the horse tails, and gave the signal for war, he demonstrated to the Ottomans the sort of master whom they hereafter would serve. His Vizir-azem demanded of him in what quarter he would wish that his tents should be erected, and for an answer, Selim caused him to be instantly strangled. The successor of the Vizir, repeating the same query, experienced the same destiny; but the third, warned by these examples, made the tents be pitched towards the four points of the universe; and when Selim demanded where his camp was fixed: "Everywhere," replied the subtle Vizir; "thy soldiers will follow thee whithersoever thou wilt lead them."—"Behold," said this terrible tyrant, "how the death of two Vizirs has saved the life of the third, and procured me a capable Vizir." He then announced that it was Persia against which he should turn his arms.

Ishmael had already assumed the surname of Soph, or Sophi, and had established throughout Persia the reforms of the visionary Schietan. Excited by his councils, he had destroyed, throughout his states, the mosques of the Sunnites—the sect which the Turks esteemed as holding the true doctrine—and had demolished the tombs of their saints; thus, to the incentives of plunder, and attractions of spoil, were now added the bitter edge of religious hate. Selim nourished also a personal cause of suspicion and revenge, as Ishmael had received, with peculiar graciousness,

Solyman, a son of the ill-fated Achmet, who had fled from Amasia to the court of Tauris. The Shah Ishmael was no despicable enemy even for the sovereign of the Ottoman empire; his dominions comprised the provinces of Media, Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Further Armenia.

Conforming to the letter of the doctrine of Muhammed, the Sultan dispatched a menacing overture to the Persian monarch, and its style is curiously illustrative of the pretensions of these formidable rulers. The glorious Sultan Selim Khan compares himself "to Feridoun, for power"—"to Iskander, for majesty and glory"—"to Kosroes, for clemency and equity;" he terms himself "the terror of the Pharaohs and tyrants of the age." The Persian Shah is styled contemptuously the Emir; while the following splendid historic titles follow, as appurtenances of the Persian throne: "the Dahak of the East"—"the Afrasiab of the age"—"the Dara of our times." After a variety of threatening expressions, it concludes by the following characteristic turn: "With the assistance of the Most High, we will verify against thee the proverb, which declares, 'that they who sow thorns, shall reap therefrom afflictions and tears: for the rest, safety to him who treads the path of safety.'"

The Persian demonstrations of enmity were exhibited in the reply, which, on the part of the Shah Ishmael, consisted of a copy of the new doctrine of Schietan, accompanied by the symbolical present of a lion. The Sultan, that he might significantly acknowledge the threat, dispatched to Tauris the Koran and the Sunna, (the Turkish book of doctrine, which the Persians do not acknowledge,) and the gift of two enormous mas-

tiffs, with the remark, that his dogs would master the fiercest lion; having thus mutually called forth the bitter feelings of religious discussion, they prepared, each on his part, to rush against his foe with the tremendous powers of destruction, couched under their animal symbols. The contest was between the two greatest powers of the East, and the leaders were each of them men of distinguished qualities. If the Ottomans overbalanced their adversaries in numbers, discipline, and artillery, Ishmael, however, had a hundred thousand horsemen, aided by the aridity of the immense deserts which must be traversed ere they could be assailed.

The consideration of the highly exasperated and bloody struggles between Turkey and Persia, which continued throughout the reigns of the two most powerful and enlightened Emperors of the Ottoman race, will be very useful for supplying a criterion of the true weight and natural strength of Persia, which cannot be more seriously impaired than by any ill-directed designs of modelling it upon a system of European warfare, and of encumbering the descendants of the Parthians with the system and ordnance of disciplined armies; such ill-directed views end by throwing away those* natural advantages which were

* Nothing is so likely to tend to the entire subjugation of Persia by the Russian autocrat, as her ill-timed adoption of European discipline, the imperfect acquirement of which only lays her forces more completely at the mercy of the Russian armies. Aga Muhammed, the uncle and predecessor of the present Shah Futteh Ali, better knew the genius of the two people. By aid of a constant system of harassing warfare, (such as we shall see was adopted in the wars of Ishmael,) he succeeded in keeping them out of

available against the cohorts of Rome, and the janizaries of Turkey, and which are the real bulwarks of Persia.

The Persian boundaries on the west, which are now defined by the river Tigris, extended in the reign of Ishmael to the river Euphrates, comprehending the Pashaliks of Orfa, Moussul, and, indeed, the whole of Diarbekr, or Mesopotamia, with the Himmareene hills, and the country of the Kourds; but on the east, the power of Persia is not so easily defined, as it reached frequently to the Caspian Sea, comprising the mountainous ridges of the Caucasus. No spot, east of Constantinople, can be better calculated for assembling a large force than the plain of Erzeroum,*

Georgia. When once pressed by a favourite commander to attack the Russian troops, then labouring under a seeming disadvantage; "What!" he exclaimed, "would you dash my skirmishers against an iron wall? I know better; but I will take care that they shall not have rest for the soles of their feet."

* Arz-roum is the capital of Great Armenia. In the Armenian language it is called Garen, the name of its founder, an Armenian prince; it is also called Theodosiopolis, because Anatolius, a commander of the Emperor Theodosius, embellished and fortified it with a double wall, bastions, and fosse. It is situated at the foot of a high mountain, called Egarli-dagh, and is surrounded by numerous and populous villages. An extensive plain spreads on the west, which is watered by several rivulets; the climate is very cold in winter, owing to the great elevation of this region; and the summer heats are tempered by breezes from the sea.

Arz-roum contains about five thousand houses, the inhabitants of which are two-thirds Turks, and one-third Armenians. The Greek population are very few. There are twelve mosques and two Armenian churches; the mosques and baths are its principal buildings. The functionaries resident are a pasha, a mufti, a cadi, and an aga of janizaries.

it abounding in every requisite for the supply of an army; while the mountainous chain of Taurus presented the strongest obstacles to the advance of the Turkish forces. A large tract of this country was commanded by the Emir Ali Adulet, who had been the ally of Bajazet; he had now proffered the same assistance to Selim, who, ardently pressing forward with his army, was soon taught the error of trusting to such promises.

The Turkish Emperor, who led to the encounter an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men, appears to have entertained the plan of following the upper branch of the Phrat, or Euphrates, to Bayajid, and from thence, crossing the mountainous ranges of Ararat, to enter Persia from the lake of Ouramia. The tracts of these mountains were composed of vast sandy deserts, amid which they were entirely neglected by the Armenian prince, who strictly limited his aid to a free and unmolested passage. A few days' exposure to these impracticable regions, and their sterility, reduced the immense army of Selim to extreme suffering. Obliged to keep along the Euphrates for fear of wanting water, while famine and the climate were daily breaking down the physical strength of his army, their sufferings were doubtless extreme ere they could emerge from the towering masses of mountains which protect the plains of Tauris. At this period of difficulty, when the Turkish army were ready for revolt, the tidings were spread of the advance of the Persian forces, and the welcome news restored the ascendant of Selim; for the Persian horsemen, shining with gold and precious stones, and attended by a multitude of camels and abundant supplies, offered to the eager and famished Ottomans a most inviting prey.

Precipitating his marches towards the foe, it was in the plain of Khalderoon that the first battle between these rival monarchs took place. Selim, regardless of human blood, practised the prevailing tactics of his race. The refuse of his army were sacrificed in the beginning of the action without mercy; while his spahis, janizaries, and artillery, were reserved for the period when the Persians should be fatigued or broken. His dispositions of battle finally succeeded. Forty thousand Ottomans, who perished under the arrows or scimitars of the Persians, could not assure the success of Ishmael Shah; his squadrons spread themselves on every side to chase the fugitives; already they concluded the battle to be won; but the advance of Sinan Pasha with the cannon and spahis, and the charge of the janizaries led on by Selim, changed the aspect of the day. Mowed down by the cannon, the Persian troops could no longer keep their ground. Their left wing had suffered greatly in the engagement; their right was overthrown and nearly destroyed by Sinan; and the ferocity and efforts of Selim and the janizaries completed the rout. Ishmael Shah hastened from the field with the relics of his force, leaving Tauris to the mercy of the conqueror; but the Turks, who saw how dearly they had bought the victory, called it "the Day of Judgment."

Notwithstanding the immense booty which the Turks found in the Persian camp, as well as the spoils of Tauris, the imperious Selim found his troops deaf to his voice, when he commanded their advance in pursuit of Ishmael. The dread of similar sufferings to what the sultry deserts had already made them experience, predominated over their fear of the Sultan; and so rapidly spread

the dissatisfaction (amidst which the name of Solyman, the eldest son of Selim, was heard,) that the Sultan, becoming alarmed, at length submitted to the necessity, and gave the signal for retreat. Its expediency was soon apparent, for Ishmael, although vanquished in battle, had already drawn forces from Khorassan. His Georgian horsemen gained the Euphrates before the retreating Ottomans had passed; an alarm pervaded the troops at their appearance; two thousand perished in the waters of that celebrated river, several pieces of cannon and much baggage were abandoned, and Selim had reason for congratulation, that he could regain Amasia with the relics of his great army.

The first campaign was thus balanced between these great competitors. The second, however, was undertaken with more prudence, and its results were decidedly favourable to the Turkish arms. Considering that he had been perfidiously betrayed by the Armenian prince Ali Adulet, Selim had resolved on revenge; he, however, dissembled, until, collecting together his forces from the Asiatic provinces, he prepared to lead his army in the early spring against Persia. When, detaching twenty thousand spahis and twenty thousand janizaries against the Armenian Emir, they took him totally unprepared for so rapid an invasion. His line of dominions comprised the double range of mountains, with their immediate ravines and valleys, which swept east and westward from Ararat towards the eastern parts of Karamania. The ill-fated prince made a vigorous resistance, though taken at such great disadvantages; but the valour and perseverance of the Ottoman troops overcame his feeble resistance.

His brave Armenians were hunted from rock to rock as savage beasts. To increase his difficulties, a traitor, who had fled to the Sultan, was desirous to make his treason more acceptable by the seizure of Ali Adulet. The helpless prince, flying to hide himself amid the recesses of his rocky fastnesses, was at length taken prisoner, with all his family, and conveyed into the presence of Selim. He was in a few days decapitated, with his unhappy race, by command of the Sultan; and his dominions, in the short space of six weeks, reduced into a province, and annexed to his empire. It is agreed by all writers, that the Sultan returned, after this valuable acquisition, to his capital. The troops had not yet forgot their last year's sufferings; and the Hungarians, availing themselves of the wars in the east, had broken their truce with the Ottomans, and were besieging Semendria. They were, however, defeated, and the authority of Selim was upheld.

The next year presented to his ambition a prize of much greater value. The inhabitants of Diarbekr having long resolved to throw off the Persian yoke, they resolved, as a sure means of success, to solicit the aid of Selim; and, contriving to entice the Persian governor, Kara Khan, to leave the city of Kara Amid, (the ancient Amida,) the citizens shut the gates, and put the garrison to the sword; they then sent an embassy to the Sultan proffering their allegiance, with the request of having their countryman, Muhammed-bey, for their governor.

The Sultan promptly detached a large force to the succour of Muhammed, who overcame Kara Khan, and taking him prisoner, put him to death. The victorious army advanced to Mecdin, which

they succeeded in taking, by famine and pestilence, after a tedious and dangerous siege. Moussul was carried by assault; and soon the course of the Euphrates saw only the voluntary vassals of the Ottoman empire; Kourdistan rapidly followed the same impulse; and ere the Persian Shah could interpose to prevent or avert the evil, the line of mountainous country, from the frontiers of the province of Van, with the vast territories composing the peninsula of Mesopotamia, comprised between the rivers Euphrates (the Phrat) and Tigris (the Shat,) were permanently annexed to the Turkish empire.

The acquisition of these important and beautiful regions was of the most auspicious nature for the designs of the Turkish emperor. They flanked the dominions of Ishmael in their most accessible frontier, and they afforded most abundantly the resources of men, and supplies for the meditated war, comprising a region once the garden of the world. In the time of Selim, it contained the remains of the most celebrated cities of history; but these, with their population, and every trace of prosperity, have gradually withered away under the yoke which the Mussulmans of these regions were so eager to court.

Elevated by these splendid successes, Selim appears to have determined upon the conquest of Persia; but the close connexion between the Shah and the Soldan gave him inquietude, and probably suggested the prudence of turning his arms, in the next instance, against Egypt; after he had vainly tried to dissolve the alliance with Persia, by sending an embassy to Kansu Gauri, the Mamluk sovereign.

In a fit of zeal arising from the success of his

arms in Diarbekr, for which Selim believed himself indebted to his zealous principles as a Sunnite, the Sultan sent for the Mufti, soon after his return to his capital, and demanded to have a fetsa issued against the Christian population of Constantinople, he having resolved upon resuming their churches granted by Muhammed, and of giving them only a limited time to choose between assuming the turban and death. Such would have been the inevitable fate of all the Greeks who preferred the keeping of their faith to personal safety, but for the discretion of the Vizir and the Mufti. In consequence of the Emperor having repaired for a short stay at Adrianople, the execution of his rigorous orders was confided to the Kaimakan; but the patriarch, incited by the secret advice of the Vizir and Mufti, appealed to the Emperor in person, and the appeal was supported by the Mufti, who observed that Selim was bound to give a hearing. The patriarch being summoned to a divan, and instructed to pay those external acts of submission most likely to conciliate the imperious Selim, pleaded solely the passage of the Koran, which inhibits the forced conversion of all persons above the age of thirteen years, who regularly pay their capitation tax; a quotation which the Mufti declared to be the Prophet's law, and which interpretation (such was the influence of the Ulema) even the imperious Selim reluctantly acquiesced in. Their title to their churches, from the regular occupation of which they already had been expelled, was sustained, upon the parole evidence of several janizaries above a hundred years old, which proved them to be substantially the property of the Greek clergy, these janizaries having witnessed the fact

of Muhammed's partition of the sacred edifices, after he in part repeopled his new capital. But Selim, already repenting his unwonted clemency, rejected with scorn the idea of the Greeks re-acquiring their possession, and with difficulty was brought to allow of the Greek population building the same number of churches of wood; and thus was averted a proscription which would have deprived the state of her most active traders and skilful artisans, as well as useful citizens.

Selim having intimidated Persia by his rapid conquests, and subdued Armenia, in the year of the H. 923, he left Constantinople, and advanced towards Syria, encamping in the plains of Aleppo. The Mamluk Sultan, Kansu Gauri, although preparing to resist, had in fact committed no act of violence that could have justified the war; and however eagerly Selim desired to find a pretext, yet the guilt of shedding the blood of such zealous Sunnites as were the Mamluks, required the formality of a cause. A large detachment of troops under Sinan Pasha were dispatched towards Karamania, which, meeting a band of Circassians, were either the attacked, or themselves gave the first aggression; the collision alone sufficed to supply a motive to the ambitious Selim; and the obsequious Mufti then published a fetsa, expressing "that it was lawful to cut off that evil thorn;" upon which figurative threat, the war was considered as legalized and commendable; and Selim, having formed a junction with the detachment of Sinan Pasha, now beheld himself at the head of an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men, which at least three times outnumbered the army led by the Sultan Kansu Gauri.

Notwithstanding, however, the inferiority of

numbers, the bravery of the Egyptian Soldan could have balanced the deficiency by taking advantage of a country intersected by rivulets and dikes, which the horses of the Mamluks leaped easily; and the most experienced of Gauri's generals advised him to draw the numerous army of Selim, by continual retreats, into the pestilential deserts environing Egypt, where they would have been insensibly destroyed by fatigue, famine, and miasma. But the gold, and the penetration of Selim, had already secured for him partisans among the chosen servants of the Mamluk warrior. Khayer-bey, the governor of Damascus, and Gazel, Bey of Damascus, bore a mortal enmity to their sovereign, or rather, they bartered their fidelity for the perpetuity of their present governments; they, therefore, persuaded him, that the address and agility of his horsemen would easily destroy such heavy troops, crowded upon one another; and Gauri, inconsiderately believing their advice, drew up his army in Burij Vaik, the tower adjoining to Aleppo. The Turkish Sultan joyfully accepted the combat. The contest proves the Mamluks to have been then the same expert and terrible horsemen which all writers have since described them to be. Approaching at a slow pace within bow-shot, they with a great cry rushed on the Turks, furiously charging them; and, notwithstanding their stubborn valour, the Mamluks forced them to give ground. These skilful horsemen, by the agility of their bodies, eluded the strokes of their enemies, while the spahis, although equally brave, were neither so active or well trained with the formidable scimitar. While one wing of the Mamluk force charged and broke the spahis, and then wheeled round to

their rear, Sibes, the Egyptian commander in the other wing, forbearing to charge in front, entered athwart the enemy's ranks, where his Mamluks made a terrible slaughter of the Asian horse, and penetrated even to their very centre; so that having broken in two the right wing of the enemy, and penetrated between the front and rear, they caused the greatest alarm to the centre or main body; and Selim, by this bold and unexpected manœuvre, being at once cut off from his foot, on whom he chiefly relied, was in the greatest danger, and the rather as his janizaries were at the same time furiously charged by the Mamluks, who now rushed upon the front of the battle; while the Asian horse, broken and cut to pieces, found no means of rallying to renew the fight. At this critical moment, when in fact the battle was already gained, and the Egyptian Soldan would have achieved a glorious victory, the traitor Khayer-bey deserted to the enemy; and Selim, seizing the respite afforded by this timely treason, opening his columns, commanded the artillery to play upon the Mamluk squares. Sinan Pasha, coming up also at this juncture to the charge, the janizaries, alarmed at the danger of the Sultan, successfully rallied.

Selim commanded that their fire should be directed chiefly at the Mamluk horses; so that these brave warriors were dismounted, and the fortune of the day was at once changed. But Kansu Gauri, resolved to retrieve the battle, or perish, now rushed forward against the Turkish forces, and so vehement was the shock, that even in their reduced condition from such combined misfortunes, but for the treachery of Khayer, the Egyptian cavalry yet might have triumphed.

Kansu Gauri, manifesting the most surprising valour, rode through the field, calling aloud for the Ottoman Emperor; on every side he dealt mortal blows to his opponents, but he saw the fortune of war adverse to his devoted followers; and it was all in vain that he made the most gigantic efforts. The Turkish historians admit that he slew forty combatants with his own hands; at length, overwhelmed by lassitude and rage, and the corpulence from which he suffered, he sunk from his horse, and actually expired without a wound. The Turkish cannon completed the victory; but the Mamluks, neither losing their courage or conduct, by closing together in a body, broke through the enemy, and preserving their order, retreated to their camp. This famous battle was fought August 17, 1516, the same day on which, two years before, Selim had overthrown Sofi Ishmael, in the Khalderoon plains. The Egyptians, besides their Sultan, lost ten thousand of their bravest Mamluks. This victory prostrated all Syria at the feet of the Emperor, and the inhabitants of Aleppo presented the keys of their city to the conqueror on the ensuing morn; when Selim, who inherited the zealous bigotry of his house, endeavoured to expiate the guilt of shedding so much blood of the Prophet's followers, by the clemency and devotional exercises which he exhibited. The citizens who formed the deputation were received in the most distinguished manner, and were each presented with caftans, and on the Friday, the Sultan attended the public prayers at the jami, where he heard his name read in the Kotbah. Already the unhappy Gauri seemed to be forgotten in the glory of his conqueror, as the adulatory Imaum, whilst yet in the pulpit,

was clothed in a vesture of gold; large sums of money were also distributed in alms. By these acts of clemency, added to the terror of his arms, Selim became in a short time master of all Syria. The important cities of Damascus, Tripoli, Berout, Sidon, and Antioch, sent deputies to conciliate his favour, and acknowledge his authority.

Selim received the representatives of Damascus with peculiar affability. That paradise of the East, so long the residence of the Kalifs, was a prize of great lustre, even for the supreme head of the Islam faith to acquire. He therefore, on the day of his entrance, ordered the prayers to be recited, and the Kotbah made in his name, in the jami of Bani Ommiyah. The next act seems one connected with some tradition of the Surna, or traditional doctrine, and perhaps made a feature of his pretension to divine illumination, as the Prophet's vicar and Khalif. Performing the same part at Damascus, which the conqueror Muhammed had exhibited when he pretended to have found the tomb of Ayub on the mount which overlooked Constantinople, Selim likewise sought and found the grave and inscription of the Shiek Muhammed Ebu-arabi, the conqueror of Spain. This discovery was similarly distinguished by the erection of a jami and hospital, with a kobbat or arch over the grave, where alms are daily distributed, exempting the whole from taxes, and confirming these appointments by a Hati-sheriff, —pious acts more than sufficient to expiate, in the eyes of his Turkish historians, for parricide, fratricide, and an immense destruction of the human race. He then led his numerous forces, confident of victory, against the remains of the brave Mam-

luk race, having already had the prudence, by the means of Sinan Pasha, who had been dispatched thither with an overwhelming force, to secure the possession of Gaza, and the passes necessary for his march into Egypt.

The progress of Selim through Palestine resembled the march of a native prince, so strongly was the dread of his power impressed on this celebrated region. "The Holy Land," so long the object of contest between the Christian world and the followers of Muhammed's law, was now irrevocably added to the Ottoman empire. How striking the reflection which presses on the mind, as memory runs over the mere catalogue of names, pregnant with wonders, which the iron yoke of Turkey has ground down to desolation and ruin! Where are Jerusalem, Athens, with the splendid cities of Asia Minor, Alexandria, and many others which arise in every page of history?

At Ramla, Selim exhibited a trait of ferocity quite in unison with his natural temper. Talking freely with his officers, Husein Pasha, one of his vizirs, with more boldness than prudence, enquired, "Most auspicious Emperor, when shall we enter Kuthuir Kais?" (a suburb of Cairo.) Selim, taking fire at the question, as if betokening too much familiarity, fiercely replied, "We shall enter indeed when God pleases; but for thee, it is my pleasure that thou stay here," and immediately ordered his head to be struck off.

The desert which intervenes between Syria and Egypt is usually burning and suffocating; but abundant rains had preceded the march of the Ottoman troops, so that, except the slight annoyance merely of some clouds of marauding Arabs, whom a few discharges of musketry always dis-

persed, the progress of the Sultan was not met by any serious obstacle. The success of the experienced commander Sinan had opened to him the gates of Egypt; and Selim, amply rewarding his troops for the success which they had gained, the earnest of his future victories over the Mamluks, proceeded to march across the country, and encamped at Matarea, about six miles from Cairo, where the Egyptian forces were strongly posted. The Ottoman Emperor appears to have neglected no means of penetrating into the designs and power of his enemies, and he was already well advised of the Mamluk counsels. Retreating from the disastrous fields of Aleppo, these brave troops, after repairing to Cairo, had elected Toman-bey for their leader, who, enlisting the Ethiopian slaves, and as many adherents as he could collect together, was, at the head of forty thousand men, prepared for another decisive battle. The Mamluks were also strengthened by the arrival of some artillery, supplied by the Grand Master of Rhodes, whose watchful mind recognised and aided as a friend whoever became an opponent of the Ottoman race. On the part, therefore, of the Mamluks, was bravery and despair; on the Turkish side was a vast superiority of numbers, the confidence resulting from their successes, and the desire of acquiring the splendour and spoils of such a signal conquest. Selim, who well understood the designs of his enemies, after alarming them by feigned attacks for several days, made a part of his army turn the flank of the Mamluk forces by the mount of the Mokattam, and surrounding their position on every side, he prepared to attack at one and the same moment the whole of their line.

The battle was most bloody and obstinate, and the charges of the various squadrons, in the sandy plains of Matarea, soon caused such clouds of dust to fill the air, as obscured the light of day. An historian of the battle, who was an eye-witness of the struggle, affirms that the troops were altogether blinded, and that the soldiery no longer knew the calls of their leaders, nor could even recognise each other. Selim and Toman-bey were each in the heat of the battle, the former amidst his janizaries; while the Mamluk, whose enormous bulk and strength rendered him most formidable, was successful against the European troops, which at length took to flight; they were rallied, however, by Sinan Pasha, who hastened to their support. While engaged in this critical effort, a charge of the Mamluks cut in pieces Sinan, (the bravest of Selim's commanders,) with all his followers; but on the left wing the Mamluks were, in the absence of Toman-bey, overthrown by the Asiatic horse. Selim, following the tactics which were become invariably the Ottoman practice, after witnessing the charge and recoil of the devoted thousands of his troops which were sacrificed to break down the physical power of the brave Egyptian warriors, at the close of the day, himself leading on a most desperate charge of his janizaries, completely routed and overthrew the weakened and scattered troops of the Egyptians, and fixed the fortunes of the fight. Toman-bey, seeing that all was lost, fled into Cairo with the relics of his army, leaving his camp and the artillery a prey to the victorious Ottomans.

Thus was gained the battle of Matarea, which decided the destiny of Egypt; while Selim was so furious at the death of Sinan, in whom he prin-

cipally confided, that he decapitated all the Mamluk prisoners, not even sparing the wounded and dying, exclaiming, in allusion to the death of Sinan, "Egypt has lost another Yusuff; but without Jussuf, what avails it to have conquered Egypt."

Toman-bey had no longer any resources; still he armed as many as he could collect of the population of the immense city of Cairo, wherewith he guarded the castle, the hill of Mokattam, and the chief streets. Selim, however, forced his entrance by blowing open the Bab Zuil, the chief gate of Cairo, by his cannon. The contest lasted from street to street, and house to house, until the entrance of Mustapha Pasha with his troops, on the opposite side of the city, whereby he seized the horses of the Mamluks, ready bridled in their rear, to retreat to the desert if defeated. This news so discouraged the Mamluks that they fled in all directions, leaving the great Cairo to the victorious Sultan.

Upon which, Selim, displaying the white standard, entered to the sound of the kettle-drums, and all the pomp of martial triumph, and took possession of the Mamluk Sultan's palace. Toman-bey, who had fled in disguise, prolonged an anxious existence but for a few days, and was betrayed by an Arab, upon which the cruel and remorseless Selim immediately ordered him to be hanged at the Bab Zuil gate; also having diligently collected together as many as he could find of the fugitive Mamluks, he caused them to be decapitated, and their bodies cast into the Nile. Thus miserably and ignominiously perished the last of the Mamluk Soldans; and thus ended the rule of these distinguished soldiers, who had held Egypt in

their subjection for three centuries. Victorious over the capital, the armies, and the sovereign of Egypt, Selim became the undisputed master of the whole kingdom. Alexandria opened her gates; the fleet, also, which Kansu Gauri had equipped at Suez, under the command of Rais Solyman, came voluntarily into port, and paid allegiance to Selim. While at Cairo, Selim also acquired a distinction which ensured to the Ottoman race the veneration of all the faithful Mussulmans who profess to admit the Sunna. One of the same blood as the Kalifs of Bagdad, upon the ruin of their capital by the Moguls, had fled to Egypt, and being the last of the sacred race, his descendants were treated with the respect which the successor of the successors of the Prophet demanded. This phantom of the illustrious Abbassides was conducted to Constantinople, where he was maintained by the Sultan, who acquired thereby possession of his person, and the reversion of the Kalifat title upon his demise. His descendants eventually sunk into the level of subjects, and were forgotten; but the spiritual influence and supremacy derived by this sagacious step, is by no means a barren privilege in the hands of Mahmoud, the present occupier of the Ottoman throne.

Selim having reviewed his new fleet, and removed to Constantinople five hundred of the best families of Egypt, besides the treasures of the country, prepared to return to his capital, having, conformably to his oath, confided Egypt to the administration of Khayer-bey, and Damascus, with Syria and Palestine, to Gazel-bey.

Within the space of one short year, Selim added more territories to the Ottoman empire, than

any of his predecessors had been able to subdue in their whole reign. Even the Scheriff of Mecca brought the keys of his sacred city to Selim, and openly acknowledged his sovereignty, and by his authority the wandering tribes of Arabs were induced voluntarily to submit to him, and to deliver hostages for their fidelity; it is, therefore, from this period that may be traced the duty which, as commander of the Faithful, has been annually performed, of the Haj, or leading the zealous Mussulmans safely to and from their pilgrimage to the sacred territory of Mecca and Medina—a privilege which henceforth the Sultans attached to the Pashalik of Damascus. Thus, by a union of policy and military talents, Selim collected into his powerful grasp the scattered links of influence and greatness which had formed the lustre of the Kalif's throne. He was lord of the celebrated Misr, of the luxurious Antioch, of the far-famed Damascus, and of holy Jerusalem. The Arab tribes paid him homage as to their suzerain governor; the Scheriff or prince of the sacred territory of Mecca acknowledged him, and his successors the Turkish emperors, for the guardians and protectors of the Mussulman affairs; and, to crown his glory, the lineal descendant of the Kalifs, and the spiritual head and fount of Islam's faith, devolved on him his affluence of divine authority and jurisdiction over all the disciples of the Prophet. Can we wonder, then, that such a flow of prosperity should intoxicate the proud possessor of the Ottoman throne? One only step was still wanting to fill up every desire, and it might be supposed to have been supplied by the submissive embassy and ascriptive titles of supreme dignity bestowed on him by his an-

cient rival and enemy, Shah Ishmael. This prince, becoming justly alarmed at the vast increase of power which the Turkish empire had gained, now endeavoured, by timely concessions and respectful adulation, to soothe and concilitate the Emperor. Having arrived at Aleppo, in Ramazan 925, Selim was met there by a Persian ambassador, bearing magnificent presents, who saluted him, by the Shah's command, as "Shah in Shah-alem," or the Emperor of Emperors.

It cannot, therefore, be matter of surprise, that Selim's pride was so swollen by these great victories and his unexampled success, that after having made his triumphant entry into Constantinople, he made a public vow, or oath, "not to recede a step until he had utterly subverted the Persian empire, and had extinguished a race odious to God and man."—So arrogantly did this vainglorious conqueror challenge success, as if the fortune of war was henceforth at his own disposal.

Vast preparations were, indeed, by his command, made throughout his empire for the designs which he formed; as, beside his Persian warfare, they embraced a fierce attack on the Knights of Rhodes and the Christian world; but happily for Christendom, his great projects were retarded by the want of funds, the finances of the state, both private and public, being completely drained by his foreign wars. Two hundred galleys were at length equipped, and the accumulation of troops proclaimed the designs of Selim unaltered; whilst he saw with regret, that the season for hostilities against Persia was past for that year. At the commencement of winter, to divert his mind, he repaired to Adrianople, and there he visited the

tombs of his ancestors; but he had scarcely reached "Suasht di" river in Thrace, a memorable spot in the life of his father Bajazet, when he was seized with a slight fever; the next day an imposthume appeared in his thigh; the obstinate ulcer infected his whole body, so that he became a most loathsome spectacle; and, after forty days of exquisite torture rather than sickness, the splendour of the Ottoman world expired, on Sunday the ninth day of Shawal, about sunset. In his last moments, he is said to have reproached himself with the blood which he had so wantonly and profusely shed; and, as if the scene should mark his punishment, Selim made his last halt at Tchourlou in Thrace, on the very spot where he first met his father in battle. Ferhad Pasha, who alone had staid with the Emperor, concealing his death from all the other Vizirs, for fear of commotion, dispatched the account to Solyman, the eldest son of Selim, then residing at Trebisond. That prince, hastening to Constantinople, was received by all the ministers of his father, clothed in mourning, who saluted him Emperor. The same day at noon, he went, attended by all his court, to meet his father's funeral, and conducted the body with great state to the jami built by Muhammed II., where it was deposited, with this inscription on the tomb:— "This year, Sultan Selim departed to an everlasting kingdom, leaving the empire of the world to Soliman."

The sirname of Yavuz, or ferocious, which the Turks gave to this prince, denote fully the violence and sanguinary disposition of the destroyer of his father and brothers. He governed his empire despotically; but nine years of cruelties

cannot deprive the son of Bajazet of the great qualities which distinguish him as a sovereign. Never did any one better understand public affairs. He possessed, says Herbelot, all the sciences valued by the Mussulmans. He was greatly skilled in the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages; there are fine verses existing, in the latter tongue, of his own composition. The sagacity and penetration of Selim were surprising, and many apt sayings testify the impression which existed of his accurate knowledge of all that passed; he was the first of the Turkish Emperors who mixed in disguise among his subjects, to learn their sentiments, and watch events. As to his military talents, they are beyond praise; and so well did he arrange his expeditions, that his presence was felt at every point, so that not the slightest seditious movement occurred in his reign. The most trifling matters often mark the greatest consequences, and thus Selim was the first Ottoman prince who cut his beard after his accession to the throne; but this innovation, which would probably have cost an ordinary prince the empire, drew forth only a pleasantry from the Mufti, "that he did not wear his beard as his predecessors, to prevent his Vizirs from leading him by it." Woe to the Vizir who sported with his ferocious master, for neither fidelity, nor services, nor valour, ever screened him from his wrath. The continental wars in which Selim was engaged, did not interfere with his plans of embellishing his principal cities with magnificent buildings. He caused a mosque or temple to be built at Adrianople, which the Turks consider as a most perfect model of architectural excellence. The portico is ornamented with columns of por-

phyry; but the most vaunted feature of the structure is its nine hundred and ninety-nine windows. Selim had commanded that it should hold a thousand lights, and on the discovery of the deficiency, he, with his usual severity, commanded the architect to be hanged; the artist, thereupon, prostrating himself at the Sultan's feet, observed, "that he would willingly submit to death, if in the empire there could be found an architect who could add one window to the edifice without a violation of the rules of architecture. Moreover," he said, "one thousand was a number less likely to seize on the vulgar appreciation of the marvellous, than that of nine hundred and ninety-nine, and he had therefore purposely omitted one in his plan." Selim was so charmed with the defence of the architect, that he not only pardoned him, but loaded him with benefits.

Selim caused the arsenal at Pera to be built for the construction of vessels, so that the Turks may be said to owe their marine to this prince. This establishment he made entirely subject to the Capitan Pasha, or High Admiral.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.				Years reigned.
Emperors of Germany.		Maximilian I.	1494	25
		Charles V.	1519	39
Kings	Of England,	Henry VIII.	1509	38
	Of France.	Lewis XII.	1497	17
		Francis I.	1514	32
	Of Scotland.	James IV.	1489	25
		James V.	1513	32
Popes of Rome.		Julius II.	1503	9
		Leo X.	1513	8

[Achmed-ben Sunbul Shaik wrote a history of the conquest of Egypt by Selim, and Al-Hadi composed an Ottoman history in Turkish verse to the reign of Solyman.

Lacroix says, that Selim conveyed a capital musician from Persia, to improve the art of music, who, after the victory of Selim at Khalderoon, attached himself to that monarch, and charmed Constantinople by his songs and poetry. Gulam, his pupil, was in equal esteem with his master.

A copper coin of the date of Hej. 918 (1512), struck at Constantinople, and inscribed with "Selim ben Bayazid," is the only coin that is noticed, in the Numismata, of this prince's reign.]

CHAPTER XI.

SOLYMAN I. SURNAMED KANUNI.*— TENTH REIGN.

If Selim was the pride as well as the terror of the Ottoman empire, Solyman may be termed its glory. Under his rule, the character of its court became changed from the stern and secret abode of the Hankier,† or Manslayer, to the palace of a magnificent and enlightened prince, assimilated in its character to the cultivated habits and patronising bounty of the court of Bagdad under the Caliph Haroun, who lives in the enchanting tales of Arabia. It is a truly refreshing relief

* Kanuni means, Institutor of Rules: for Solyman instituted the written laws which now regulate the Ottoman court and state, where affairs, before his reign, were ruled on custom, or by the will of the Sultan. From the circumstance of his framing the written laws, he is painted with a book in his hand.

† Among all the titles assumed by the Ottoman Sultan, that of Manslayer is generally given to him by his followers, because the law invests him with absolute power over the lives of his subjects.

from the usual blood-stained annals of the Ottoman princes, to consider the great actions, and still greater designs, of one of their race, who filled the throne, for nearly half a century, with such distinguished lustre. The most favourable presages ushered in the new reign, for it was remarked as an auspicious circumstance, that he was born in the year 900 of the Hejira, and that he was the tenth Sultan of his race. The Ottomans are deeply attached to perfect numbers, while the Prophet himself, following the practice of paganism, rather inclined to the imperfect quantities of three, seven, or nine, as most agreeable to heaven: it is a coincidence that also deserves to be named, that he began his reign in the same year that Charles V. was crowned as Emperor. His first ordinance was an act full of honour and nobleness of character, by causing it to be proclaimed throughout the empire, that whoever had been unjustly aggrieved, either by the Sultan his father, or by his ministers, should be indemnified out of the imperial treasury. He kept his word; and the action is the more honourable, as, in the Turkish estimation, whatever has been put into the Sultan's treasury is as precious as if offered to God.

The news of the overthrow of the Soldan's throne was felt throughout Europe; for it announced the dangers threatening Christendom from the rapid and portentous growth of the Ottoman power. The exploits of Selim appeared to have left nothing in Asia to attract the attention of his successor, but simply to preserve and consolidate the vast empire which he had acquired. Europe, therefore, was threatened with dangers the more imminent and pressing.

The great enterprises which had occupied the mind of Selim, were the subversion of the Persian state, and the ruin of Christendom, commencing with the expulsion of the Knights of Rhodes. Until now the Mussulman princes had observed, in some degree, the law of Muhammed towards each other's possessions, and however they might quarrel regarding their frontiers, they always considered the war against infidels as the only legitimate call to arms.

The early Ottoman princes, after exacting from their vassals the assigned quota of aids, had bent the whole strength of their armies against the Christian states; but happily for Europe, with the growth of her power had sprung up, in the Ottoman princes, new views of policy and of revenge. No feeling is so bitter as that of religious enmity, growing out of a difference of opinion, among parties of the same faith; and Schietan, the insignificant dervise of Anatolia, who, as we have seen, in the reign of Bajazet, the grandfather of Solyman, infused his hatred of the Turks and his heretical doctrines into the princes of the Sefi race, became thereby the instrument of producing a new scene of politics and of wars in the East, which fortunately occupied the armies and drained the resources of Turkey, at the critical moment that her power, and the energy of her rulers, furnished the most favourable and adequate means for overpowering the Christian states, or at least of overruning Italy and Germany. At present, however, the submission of the Persian Shah, and the peace of Asia, rendered it optional with Solyman to select the east or the west for the scene of his exploits. The reign of Solyman began, as usual, with a

revolt. Gazel Pasha, the traitor who received Damascus and the government of Syria for his treason, was desirous of an alliance with Khayer-beg, the Governor of Egypt, and of their asserting their independency. The attempt appears an act of infatuation; and Ferhad-bey, who was deputed to the task, fiercely attacking his camp, exterminated the whole rebel army, and slew their leader.

The situation of the Christian world was at this juncture most favourable for the views of Solyman. The Pope was fully occupied by the rising opinions of Luther; the hatred and ambitious views of Charles V. and Francis I. rendered them indifferent to what was passing in the East. The glorious reign of Mathias Corvinus had formed a powerful kingdom, comprising Hungary, Bohemia, Transylvania, Esclavonia, Bosnia, Wallachia, and the southern part of Poland. This was the meridian of Hungarian greatness; and the resources of such a state, taking into the account its local advantages, and the warlike spirit of its population, could have resisted even the power of the Ottoman empire. It languished under the feeble Uladislaus, the unworthy successor of Corvinus, and his court was the scene of domestic discord. After ten years ingloriously passed, he died, leaving his important dominions to Louis II., a minor of ten years of age, and a council of ministers, who only sought their own advantage. One act of Uladislaus, however, marks a very important point of history, by the marriage of Anne, his daughter, with the Archduke Ferdinand, whereby the house of Austria inherited the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, as well as their other important east-

ern possessions. The Ottoman princes and their troops could not remain in peace; and the ministers of Louis were so imprudent as to supply to the passions of Solyman the precise motive which determined his enterprises. The ambassadors sent by Solyman to announce his accession to the throne were insulted by the Hungarians, and the weak counsels of that country hesitated to disavow or punish the act. The ambitious Sultan seized eagerly on the pretext, and the war was begun by the siege of Belgrade. Seated on the point of junction of the Drave and the Danube, the walls are protected by their united streams. The siege was formed with vigour; while the troops, animated by the presence and example of their young Sultan, made incredible efforts to reduce the place. The batteries were incessantly playing on the works, and the treachery of two individuals communicating the point of weakness, every effort was directed to the side of the walls on the stream of the Drave. By the aid of mines, a practicable breach was soon made. The genius of Hunniades no longer watched over its ramparts, and, in less than a month, this key of Hungary, which had so long resisted the most warlike of his race, became the possession of Solyman.

The acquisition of this important fortress opened to the arms of the Sultan the road to Buda; but he meditated for the next year a more distinguished conquest, and forbore, for the present, to penetrate farther into Hungary. After fortifying anew his great acquisition, the victorious Solyman returned to Constantinople. Keeping in view his father's design of humbling the Persian empire, he took advantage of a real or pretended conspiracy

of Ali-bey, Prince of Armenia, whom Selim had intrusted with the region of Tauris, the key to the Persian states; thither Ferhad Pasha was deputed to accomplish the will of the Sultan; who having invited Ali to a conference, that prince repaired without suspicion to his presence, and, coming to his tent, was with his two sons put to death; whereby the important province was placed thenceforth securely in the hands of an Ottoman governor.

It was in 928 Hej. that Solyman, having made all his preparations complete, embarked an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, conveyed by a fleet of four hundred sail, against the Knights of Rhodes. This celebrated order, which was first instituted for the defence of the Holy Sepulchre, had, since the loss of Jerusalem, found, in 1309, an asylum and abode in the bosom of the Greek empire; but, since the capture of Constantinople, and the subjugation of Greece, they stood alone in the Egean sea, to become the perpetual maritime enemy and assailant of the Ottoman power. No truce could allay the spirit of rancour and hate existing in both parties, nor were causes of war ever wanting to either state who sought to attack the other. The order had recently chosen Philip de Villiers Lisle-Adam to be her Grand Master, who found, at the most, only five or six thousand men able to bear arms in the city; added to whom were six hundred knights and five hundred Candiots. Such were the means of defence which this brave man had to oppose to the mighty preparations of Solyman. The signal of the Turkish Emperor's summons was announced to the Rhodians by large fires at night, as beacons, in the opposite forests of Lycia; and a galley being

at length dispatched to know the cause, the summons of Solyman was thrown on board, which required the submission of the order, and the surrender of the island to his arms.

The city of Rhodes stands on the north side of the island, by the sea side, where it has two ports; one for galleys, to the north; the other for ships, to the east. It was enclosed with a very strong double wall, which had several handsome gates, and was defended by five great bulwarks, thirteen fine towers, and very deep ditches. After having invested the city, and directed their batteries against the bastions of England and of Provence, the besiegers opened their trenches; but the knights, by their frequent sallies, ruining their works, and cutting to pieces their defenders, gave a presage to the Turks of the almost insurmountable difficulties. Yet the loss of the knights, incomparably small as it was, outweighed the success, as they had no power of increasing the number of their defenders. In this siege were employed all the resources of the military art known at that time; and both parties fought as if the dispute had been for the empire of the East, rather than the possession of a single city. The Turks, however, being constantly repulsed, murmured at length against their commander; and, so often driven from the breach, they absolutely refused any more to be led to the assault. Mustapha, finding that neither prayers nor menaces could inspire them with the proper spirit, after acquainting the Sultan with the state of his affairs, recommended him to revive the courage of his forces by his presence. Solyman instantly set out, and arrived at the camp on the 24th of August. The acclamations of the troops, and the

discharges of the artillery, announced his arrival. Appearances soon assumed a more exhilarating complexion; intrepidity, courage, and perseverance succeeded to murmurs and revolt. The janizaries signalized themselves by prodigious efforts, and performed a number of surprising exploits. At length the 24th of September was fixed on for the general assault; and this immense mass of troops being put in motion, they rushed simultaneously to the breaches. They were received with the most settled and desperate courage. Never was there a more sanguinary combat: The Turks were repulsed, and slaughtered by thousands; and notwithstanding the menaces and exertions of Mustapha, they were finally driven into the ditches, and put to flight after a loss of nearly twenty thousand men. Solyman, enraged at the ill success of the siege, deprived Mustapha of the Viziriat and of the command of the army, and deposed the Capitan Pasha. The care of the siege was now confided to Peri Pasha, who resolved to proceed henceforth by famine and by mining. The liberality of the Sultan had attracted to the service the prime engineers of the age, and the art of carrying on the mines, hitherto so little known, was prosecuted with great vigour; but the besieged had a powerful auxiliary in the celebrated engineer called Gabriel Martiningo, who came to their aid from Candia. He is said to have countermined no less than fifty-five mines during this siege. At length despair itself could no longer protract the defence; for the bulwarks of Rhodes were reduced to heaps of rubbish, which merely hid, but could not protect, her defenders, so that the hour of her inevitable fate approached. As a closing scene, the Grand

Master had to perform a painful act of justice on a treacherous knight, the Chancellor d'Amaral, who had maintained a treasonable correspondence with the Turks. He was consigned to the executioner, and Solyman spared thereby the infliction of deserved punishment, when L'Isle-Adam, yielding to the extremity to which Rhodes was reduced, consented to capitulate.

Thus, after a period of two hundred and twenty years, the sovereignty of this fine island was taken from its brave defenders, who throughout that period had rendered such signal service to Christendom.

The Sultan entered the city in triumph on Christmas day, and as he would fain enter the palace of the Grand Master, L'Isle-Adam went forth to meet his conqueror. Solyman accosted him in an affable manner, and exhorted him to support his misfortune with courage; assuring him that he might peaceably embark every thing belonging to the order, as well as the Rhodians who might wish to follow him; adding, "that if the time allotted was not sufficient, it should be prolonged." He gave the Grand Master the most solemn assurances of a faithful performance of the treaty; then, turning to Achmet, he uttered the feeling remark which did his heart such honour:—"It is not without some pain that I oblige this Christian, at his age, to go so heavily out of his house." The Grand Master hasted to sail from Rhodes, previously to the Sultan's departure, conveying in his fleet about four thousand of the Rhodians, (mourning for the loss of their homes,) and the shattered relics of the order; while the conqueror repaired to Constantinople with his diminished army, having

lost, by this famous siege, a fourth part of its original numbers.

The events of the siege had withdrawn from Mustapha, the Vizir-azem, the command of the army and the Viziriat; but the generous Solyman softened his disgrace, by confiding to his charge the kingdom of Egypt, which the death of Khayer Pasha had plunged into disorder and revolt.

Mustapha, at first, so well justified the confidence of his master, that he speedily reduced the refractory Egyptians, and established tranquillity and submission. The Sultan then proceeded to exercise his discernment, by appointing one Ibrahim to be the Grand Vizir. This fortunate individual was only a common janizary; but his daring valour had been noticed and appreciated by Solyman. The elevation of Ibrahim caused a universal surprise, but in Mustapha it excited mortal resentment; and, as Solyman had placed all the power of Egypt in his keeping, (only reserving to his throne the supremacy of his name in the coinage and the daily prayers,) so Mustapha resolved on turning the means he possessed against his benefactor. He was, however, speedily and properly punished; for Mehemet, the Tekier-effendi, or secretary for letters, having acquired a knowledge of the intended treason, without any loss of time denounced Mustapha to the soldiery and populace, by whom he was chased from Cairo. Solyman, upon receiving the account thereof, appointed Mehemet to succeed to the vacant post, with the title of Governor; and Mehemet, forthwith putting himself at the head of the janizaries sent to his assistance, and seeking out Mustapha, who had procured

some Arab troops in the neighbourhood to espouse his party, challenged him to single combat, in which having become master of his person, he speedily struck off his head.

The great talents which Ibrahim eventually displayed, fully justified the choice of Solyman, who loaded his favourite with honours and greatness, and at length bestowed his own sister on him in marriage, honouring, by his presence, the magnificent fetes given on the occasion. Since this period, the Ottoman princes often adopted the practice and example set by Solyman, of giving their sisters in marriage to the Pashas; but instead of its being (as was the case with Ibrahim) a pledge of regard, they are usually made the instruments of extorting from the Pashas their enormous wealth.

Notwithstanding the death of Mustapha, the troubles of Egypt increased. Several fugitive Mamluks, who had escaped the overthrow of their sovereign, Toman-bey, returned thither at the invitation of Mustapha, and fomented revolt; so that Solyman, judging the evil to have become serious, sent thither the new Vizir with a confident army. The vigour and military talents which this great man evinced were fully successful; the rebels were defeated in every battle, the revolted towns were taken, and, having punished the authors of the revolt, and confided the administration of Egypt to Solyman, the admiral to whom the Sultan Selim was indebted for the fleet of the Mamluks, Ibrahim returned in triumph to receive the thanks of his gracious master.

Hitherto, Solyman had appeared only as a warrior; he now commenced a career of glory as legislator and reformer. The finances and the ad-

ministration of justice were established on bases of order and of equity; and the domestic, national, and military regulations, were so judiciously adapted to the Turkish character, that they have remained the permanent constitutions of the Ottoman empire to the present day. It was under this prince that the celebrated grated window was opened into the divan, whence the regard of the Sultan can survey, and, unseen, can also listen to, whatever passes in that assembly. A remarkable anecdote is given of an heretical member of the Ulema being condemned for publicly stating, that Christ was a prophet superior to Muhammed; Solyman, however, who had heard the sentence, unseen by the divan, instantly, by a chaiou, admonished them to forbear from executing their sentence, ordering the cause to be brought before the Mufti, and that the offender should have time given him to retract. In the end, the abjurer of Islamism was beheaded, and this punishment was decreed henceforth against every Mussulman who should, even as a point of argument, endeavour to prove the mission of Jesus of higher dignity than that of the Meccan Prophet.

The sagacity of Solyman could not be blinded to the arrogance and influence of the janizaries; he therefore sought to diminish their strength by increasing the numbers and titles of the spahis. The custody of the seraglio was also withdrawn from their corps, and confided to a new race of guards, who, to allay the jealousy of the military, were designated simply as Bostangis, or Gardeners. These new-comers were, however, selected from martial classes, and were soon taught that their duty was to watch over the safety of

the prince, rather than the care of the gardens. It will be seen in the sequel of these pages, how remarkably the foresight of Solyman had provided the remedy, * and suitably adapted it to the danger. The janizaries, who had in silence nourished resentment for the loss of the plunder of Rhodes, now gave vent to their seditious spirit, strengthened by two years of idleness; they broke open the Defterdar's palace, and pillaged the treasury, and even proceeded to violate a mosque. During this act of outrage, the knowledge of the revolt reached the ears of the Sultan, who presented himself to the rebels. The majesty of Solyman rebuked at once the spirits of the most violent; and the Emperor, (clement, as well as politic,) having punished four of the ringleaders with death, on the spot, accepted the humble submissions of the silenced crowd, and dismissed them to their Odas. The scene that had passed admonished the Sultan, that inactivity is a state of civil peril. A state of peace is an anomaly in the barbaric tone of the Turkish character, which requires a state of excited passion, fed by the thirst of spoils and of plunder, of warlike expeditions and stimulated exertions, and of military exploits. Devoid of these calls, the Turk sinks into a listless and

* It cannot fail to strike the reader as a singular coincidence of dates, that in 1824, the present Sultan Mahmoud should employ the bostangis to effect the work planned for them in 1524. He evidently harboured, from his accession, the determined resolve to exterminate the dangerous janizaries, and he began his measures by silently increasing the bostangis to the number of twenty-four thousand; by which means he was enabled to break the strength of the janizaries, and massacre the whole body of them resident in the capital, before they could be assisted from the provinces.

sombre apathy, from which he awakens to display his hard and ruthless passions, if acted upon by any call of public or private interest. The contest with Hungary had been suspended, not finished, by either party; the lists were yet open, as not even a truce had been made, so improvidently had the ministers of Louis managed the breathing time afforded them by the attack on Rhodes, and the subsequent forbearance of Solyman; and as he now broke in upon that kingdom with an overwhelming army of two hundred thousand men, the historians of that period almost charge it as a crime on the Sultan, that the folly or blindness of the Hungarians had no suspicion of his design. The same fatality, which had thus brought to the brink of ruin the splendid dominions of Corvinus, continued to prevail; and although twenty-five thousand horse were all the troops that could be thus hastily drawn together, yet the generality of the soldiers, and Tomoreus, the Archbishop of Colossa, courageous, but rash and imprudent, insisted upon engaging with the enemy; also, as if they sought to perfect his ruin, nothing but the presence of the young king would satisfy the soldiers. The fatal field of Mohatz was the scene of their overthrow. The Turkish cavalry having surrounded the Hungarian forces, and straitened them for want of water, they prepared to break into their lines. Tomoreus made no bad disposal of his little means; he drew up his horse in two lines, and barricaded his camp by double rows of waggons; but while the janizaries destroyed the body-guards, the spahis broke into the camp; the battle soon became a mere rout; the youthful king fled from the field, and was drowned in a filthy ditch, into which

his horse had plunged him. The Archbishop, and most of the Hungarian nobles as well as soldiers, were slain in the pursuit. When the head of the unfortunate Louis, with those of the bishops, was exhibited to the Sultan, he compassionated the fate of the young king, saying, that "he came not to take the kingdom from him, but to revenge his former injuries on the Hungarians."

The next day, the Sultan took the road to Buda, which, with the whole kingdom, was defenceless and open to his attacks. That capital in fact, was entered almost without opposition;*

* Mathias Corvinus for thirty years spared no expense in the acquisition of a library, which placed him on the footing of the most illustrious of the Medica race. At the capture of Buda, this library, with all its exquisite appurtenances, became a prey to the rapacity of the Turkish soldiers. The bindings, torn from the invaluable treasures which they protected, were stripped of their ornaments. The manuscripts were either burnt or trampled to atoms, and what had survived the ignorant barbarism of Turkish plunder, were crammed into a subterraneous vault, to moulder or perish. Of thirty-four thousand volumes, scarcely three hundred are now known to exist in the imperial library at Vienna.—(Dibdin's Bibliographical Tour.) Dr Walsh states that Cardinal Rosmani offered 200,000 ducats for the books; but these crusaders against the lights of Europe refused the money, and destroyed the books. Dr Walsh found Buda flourishing, and the Athens of the provinces; whereby it is proved, that knowledge will survive many deadly blows against its existence. There is an innate vigour in the faculties of man, when once they are called forth by intellectual improvement, which no calamity can quell, or privation subvert. The library of Corvinus perished, and his fine classics, the fruits of thirty amanuenses, employed by his liberality, were scattered to the winds; but the seed they had sown maintained a germ of vitality, which shot up and fructified to the benefit of future generations—so

and Pest, which crowns the opposite banks of the Danube, and was strongly fortified, opened her gates to the conqueror. There was, in truth, no spot that seemed to present an obstacle to the Ottoman forces, but a difficult pass in the mountains, near the Raab, where the Hungarians had sent the richest of their effects with their wives and children, as to a safe asylum. Even here nothing could be long sheltered from the swords of the Turks, for this last barrier was also forced, and the janizaries were amply recompensed for the restraint which they had submitted to at Rhodes, by an unbounded license to plunder and destroy. Having ravaged the whole country with fire and sword, and incapacitated it for any resistance, Solyman brought back his troops to the plains of Adrianople on the approach of winter, bending under a weight of booty, but without his having placed a single garrison in any Hungarian town.

It is difficult to trace what could be the policy of Solyman at this juncture; whether he reckoned upon the Hungarians becoming an easier prey

great is the benefit of royal encouragement to the diffusion of knowledge. "The University is now very thriving. It is endowed with Professors in natural history and botany, besides those of other sciences. It contains some fine instruments of natural philosophy, mechanical models, and a museum, which is esteemed one of the best in Europe. It is singular that this era seems to have been marked by a taste for music both among the Turks and the Hungarians; the latter are indebted for this refined pleasure, which they still particularly cultivate, to the illustrious Corvinus. It was brought to such perfection in his reign, that the Italians who visited Buda, declared that the music of his chapel exceeded any thing that they heard in their own country."—Walsh's Tour, p. 401.

to his arms at another season, by reason of their multiplied miseries; or intended to renew his attack, and penetrate to Vienna, in the next spring: whatever it might be, the golden opportunity presented to his reach by this splendid victory never returned. Unforeseen dangers arose in the east, which occupied for a time the whole of his attention, and the flower of his army; and when he would have remedied the oversight, and have gathered up the fruits of his success, the propitious moment was past. Had he followed up instantly the panic which the death of their king had produced on the people of Hungary, and proposed to them the same liberal terms as his predecessors had granted to the two principalities, his success would probably have been the same. But the abject fortunes of this desolated kingdom were eventually the cause of its preservation as a Christian state, whence, by uniting at length its fortunes to the propitious destiny of the Austrian race, after much of suffering, it finally established its national character and political existence; and the Sultans soon became sensible, that henceforth the battle for dominion must not be fought in the Hungarian plains, but under the walls of Vienna.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.



HISTORY

OF

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE,

FROM ITS ESTABLISHMENT,

TILL THE YEAR

1828.

BY

EDWARD UPHAM, Esq. M.R.A.S.

AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF BUDHISM," &c.

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HISTORY

OF

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

HISTORY

OF

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

SOLYMAN I.—CONTINUED.

THE revolution in Asia, which, at this critical juncture, arose to divert the power and attention of the Sultan from completing his conquest of Hungary, was founded on a singular report of his death, which flew with the rapidity of lightning throughout the provinces: whether it was invented by malice, or arose from the singular and striking mutation of worldly events; the result of this intelligence was a spirit of disorganization, that spread immediate anarchy and revolt. This opportunity was either prepared or taken hold of by a Calendar, the son of the Bektash Dervise,*

* The Bektash Dervises have a large college at Kenia, and the leader has been always attached to the Odas of the janizaries, and in consequence of their influence,

who announced that the time was arrived for shaking off the yoke of the Ottoman race. He particularly inveighed against the rapine of the Pashas and their servants, promising their riches to his followers. He commenced his career of public preaching at Adana, in Natolia; and in less than two months, partly by the desire of change, and partly owing to the powerful influence of the class of Dervises, he had assembled more than fifty thousand fighting men. The regular forces of Asia had been called away to accompany Solyman into Hungary, and Peri Pasha endeavoured in vain to oppose those proceedings with what Asaps, or soldiers armed with arrows, he had ready as his guards. The insurgents triumphed everywhere, putting to death the Cadis and Imaums, the ministers of justice and religion. The progress which the innovator made, in consequence of the weakened state of the military force, became at length so considerable as to threaten the existence of the Ottoman rule, and to flatter the Calendar with a prospect of reigning over Anatolia. No remedy existed in the state adequate to put down this rebellion, but in the opposing its further progress by means of the troops which Solyman had brought back from Hungary. The powerful Vizir Ibrahim, therefore, crossed into Asia with a numerous and victorious army, and everywhere, as he advanced, restored

takes often upon himself to advise the Sultans and their ministers. It was an officious interference of this description, in which the Bektash of 1822 ventured to address Halet Effendi, the favourite of Sultan Mahmoud, that drew on him the anger of that sovereign, and caused his secret destruction, whereby also the janizaries, indignant and suspicious at his disappearance, held those meetings which terminated in their revolt and annihilation.

the ancient order of things. At length he joined battle with the Calendar in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea, and after a bloody conflict, defeated him, and slew about 30,000 of his followers. The Calendar himself was soon seized, and expired under the most exquisite tortures. The danger became thus averted by the able conduct of Ibrahim; but the Turkish writers express, that at one period the Ottoman affairs were brought to such extremities, that the empire seemed at the verge of destruction: all Turkey in Asia being ready to acknowledge the Calendar for sovereign.

No sooner had this danger passed away, than the Sultan resumed his designs upon Hungary. The interval of his retreat had led to most important consequences, and a new state of things had opened there, as fresh actors had entered on the scene. John Zapoli, the Waiwode of Transylvania, who had hastened to the assistance of the late King Lewis with thirty thousand troops, being too late to aid his arms, retired in haste from a contest with Solyman. After the retreat of that sovereign, perceiving the deranged state of affairs in Hungary, he resolved to secure the vacant throne for himself; and having many partisans, he caused himself to be crowned at Alba Royal, in opposition to the protestations of Stephen Battori, the primate of the kingdom. This was an act of usurpation upon the recognised rights of the Archduke Ferdinand, the husband of the sister of King Lewis, already saluted as King of Bohemia. The Archduke, therefore, marching against his rival, drove him from Alba; and being supported by the magnates and the widowed queen, Ferdinand was crowned on the 28th of October, by the primate. John Zapoli, finding himself too weak to resist the

Archduke, fled to his brother-in-law, the King of Poland. A civil contest thus commenced; and Zapoli, totally defeated at Tokay, determined to carry his pretensions and claims before Solyman; not blushing to call in the aid of the greatest enemy of Christendom to pull down his competitor from a rightful throne. The Turkish Emperor commanded his troops to enter Hungary, but the season of action was past; the winter rains and inundations necessitated the delay of all military operations until the spring.

Ferdinand, having cognizance of the appeal made to the Turkish Emperor, was willing to avert his formidable hostility by any reasonable compromise, and dispatched also an ambassador to Constantinople. But while the Christian prince used the tone of a King of Hungary, his competitor had basely consented to hold his sceptre as a tributary and vassal to the Ottoman crown. Zapoli was therefore invited to the Turkish camp, and was received and treated as a crowned head; while Ferdinand's ambassador was charged to bear to his master the threat, that he should soon be punished for having usurped the property of another, and that the quarrel should be decided on the field of battle. This resolve was the signal for entering upon a new arena, wherein, for nearly two centuries, the house of Austria had to struggle with the race of Othman. The advancement of that powerful family to the throne of Hungary became the safeguard of Europe, and presented a dike over which the Turkish power could never pass.

It was in 935 Hej. (March, 1529) that Sultan Solyman reviewed, under the walls of Belgrade, two hundred thousand men—janizaries, spahis,

dehlis, and bostangis. Such a vast force was irresistible; and he reached Buda without opposition. Remembering their cruel ravages in 1526, the wretched inhabitants fled to the mountains, at the sound of their approach. Nadasti, a Pole, had prepared to defend Buda; but his garrison, terrified at the numbers of the enemy, bound their commander, and delivered him, together with the fortress, into the power of the Sultan. Solyman, however, gave evidence of a princely honour, and of just sentiments on the occasion; for he put the traitors to the sword, but, freeing Nadasti, he sent him back to serve his master Ferdinand. No obstacle stopt the progress of Solyman, who followed the course of the Danube, and was bent upon the capture of Vienna. The overflowing of that river preserved the capital of Austria, by giving Ferdinand the opportunity of strengthening it with twenty thousand troops inured to war, who had fought at the battle of Pavia, and in the Italian campaigns of Charles V. They were commanded by Philip, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and the Count of Salm.

It was on the 13th of September that Solyman formed the siege of Vienna, during which he fixed his residence in the castle of Ebersdorf, on the banks of the Danube. His army covered a space of six miles with their tents; and their lines extended nearly to Lintz. This town was the refuge of Ferdinand, who anxiously waited within its walls for the German aids. A portion of the Turkish fleet ascended the Danube, and blockaded the city towards the stream; but providentially for the safety of Vienna, the Turkish heavy ordnance, which was conveying in large vessels on the Danube, were all destroyed, and the cannon sunk, by the

bold exertions of Wolfgang Hoder, the governor of Presburgh. Thus the siege was necessarily carried on by light field-pieces and by mines.

The Turks spared no efforts to storm the place, and assaulted at a breach they had effected at the gate of Carinthia. For three successive days they renewed their determined attack, and under the eye of Solyman, but without success. A series of twenty failures, and the approach of the season of rains and inundation, dispirited the Turks, and induced the Sultan to listen to overtures, which were purposely intended to delay, and to gain time. At length the expedient of a final and simultaneous assault, in which the best troops of his army were sacrificed, warned Solyman of the danger of further pushing the siege. It was with mingled mortification and rage, that, on the 15th of October, after nearly thirty days had been passed in constant attack, Solyman gave the signal of retreat from the disastrous walls of Vienna, having lost in the siege eighty thousand of his soldiers. It is said, in the Turkish histories, that Solyman, taking to heart this misfortune to his arms, pronounced the heaviest imprecations on any of his successors who should ever attempt the siege of the imperial city. Retiring to Buda, he placed the crown of St Stephen on the head of Zapoli with his own hands, and leaving him a succour of janizaries, he hastened to Constantinople.

At Sophia, welcome incense was offered to the Emperor by the Prince Bogdan, who attended there to proffer to him the voluntary submission of the principality of Moldavia. Naturally disposed to generosity, and softened by his adverse fortune, Solyman received the prince with graciousness, and loaded him with favours. At his

command the requests of the province were inscribed on a treaty, which was graciously accepted by him: its tenor has from that day to the present period been the rule for the government of Moldavia. The prince had given to him a magnificent aigrette of heron's plume, with other testimonials of the Sultan's bounty; and Bogdan accompanied the Sultan to Constantinople, to partake of the festivities, wherein he sought to bury all remembrance of his disgrace.

Within a few days of his return, Solyman celebrated the circumcision of his three sons, Mustapha, Muhammed, and Selim, at which were present not only the Vizirs and Pashas, but the Persian ambassador and Christian princes. It was followed by a splendid entertainment.* At the Sultan's right hand sat the Mufti and Kazirliskar, at the second table were the Vizirs, at a third the Pashas, and at a fourth the Ulema; a separate table was set out for the ambassadors.

Solyman disdained not to mingle with his subjects and vassals, and in his reign he exhibited a taste for splendour and magnificence unknown in the annals of his race. Much has been ascribed to the ascendency of Roxalana, the favourite Sultana, of Russian, or, as some say, of Italian birth. This piquant beauty of his seraglio so completely won on the affection of Solyman, by her gaiety and charms, as to exercise a predominant influence

* The feast was followed by jousts, and combats by wild beasts, a great innovation on the usual solemnity and reserved state of the Ottoman Court. It is stated, that a boar beat a lion in such a terrible manner, that the king of animals was obliged to flee, which the Turks considered a bad omen, as the boar is their emblem for the Christians, and the lion is their own.

on her imperial lover, who, actuated by her wishes, introduced at his court the most splendid entertainments and games.

Amid these festivities, the mind of the Emperor was irritated by the tidings that John Zaploya was besieged in Buda by the Archduke. Exasperated at the result of the late campaign, he commanded the Pasha of Belgrade to succour Buda, while he prepared an army so overwhelming in numbers, as to warrant the hope of not merely conquering Vienna, but of overrunning Germany; for, as Knolles quaintly, but justly observes, "The proud tyrant would frequently say, that whatsoever belonged to the empire of Rome was his of right, as he was rightfully possessed of the imperial seat and sceptre of Constantine the Great, commander of the world."*

It would furnish a curious and instructive lesson, if a skilful writer were to exhibit, seriatim, a list of the great threatenings and mighty armaments of ancient and modern times, faithfully detailing their issue. The result, it is presumed, would establish the fact, that the greatest number of conquests and splendid victories have grown out of sudden and slender inroads, and fortuitous combinations; while the pompous preparations of the most powerful monarchs have usually suffered defeat and disgrace. Solyman entered Hungary in

* To the present day, the very same pretension has been set forth in common conversation, by the Turks, whensoever the question of the Greek cause has been discussed, by Turks or Egyptians, in the author's company; the title of a legitimate occupancy of that country being argued for by the Turks, upon the claim that they are heirs of the soil and of the Roman people, while the Greeks are (as they phrase it) nobody.

1531, with a force of 400,000 men. This host was detained for a period of twenty-eight days before the small but strongly fortified town of Gunz, which contained a garrison of merely 800 men. It was not at last actually conquered; but at length an expedient was devised to save the honour of the Sultan, who was obliged to raise the siege. He was not more fortunate in that of Strigonia; and having avoided Vienna, he advanced towards Gratz, in Stiria, everywhere devastating and laying waste the country, whilst Hassan Pasha, with 15,000 horse, plundered the country to the very walls of Lintz.

The peril which threatened his German dominions at length decided Charles the Fifth to take the field, and his armament was calculated to intimidate even his great rival Solyman. Two hundred and sixty thousand veteran troops passed in review at Vienna, the flower and strength of Germany. Called together from countries included between the Vistula and the Rhine, the Ocean and the Alps, they were led by a body of native Princes, in arms to uphold the safety and honour of Germany. The right wing was commanded by the Emperor, the left wing by King Ferdinand. They undauntedly awaited in the vicinity of Vienna the approach of the Ottoman army. Solyman, obtaining exact intelligence of the force of his enemy, not only declined the rencontre, but throwing bridges over the Drave, hastily repassed that river, and drawing together his troops, retreated without delay to Belgrade, and from thence repaired to Constantinople. The abashed invader obtained no other fruits of his great expedition, than a train of thirty thousand miserable captives, who were torn by his troops from their native soil.

Charles the Fifth, having thus shown his power,

although pressed by his brother to use his vastly preponderating force to expel his rival Zaploya from Hungary, could not be dissuaded from hastening into Italy with his Germans, leaving some Italian forces under Ferdinand.

Although no positive action was fought, nor any exploit performed, the consequences of the campaign produced arrangements of more permanent influence than usually accompany the result of the most glorious battles. In the first place, the terror struck into all Christendom by the Sultan's alarming preparations and progress to Vienna, inspired Charles the Fifth with the project of getting his brother Ferdinand chosen his colleague and successor to the empire, in being elected King of the Romans. It was indispensable that some part of his family should watch over Germany, whereby Charles might be left free to prosecute his schemes in Italy; therefore he consented, at this moment of peril, to associate his brother in the empire, and Ferdinand was accordingly elected at Ratisbon King of the Romans; this appointment Charles, in the latter part of his life, sought in vain to revoke in favour of his own son Philip. Ferdinand, however, already proceeding to create the elements of the strength and power of the imperial branch of Austria, secured for his heirs, eventually, the hereditary possessions and crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, with Transylvania, adding them to his native Archduchy, securing also the elective diadem of the Cæsars; thus the German branch became the most powerful one of the illustrious Austrian stem. Ferdinand, and even John Zaploya, who was penetrated with the affecting miseries of the country which he had aspired to govern, were both disposed to yield somewhat of

their separate pretensions, and to free their territories from the Turks, by forming a compact of amity with each other. The basis established left to each party the title of king; Transylvania was to remain an appanage to the heirs of Zaploya, and the succession to the crown of Hungary to be the inheritance of Ferdinand at his demise.

As striking a circumstance as any that took place among the diversified events of the reign of Solyman, was the establishment of the piratical powers of Barbary, upon a basis of that system of constant aggression and warfare, which they have pursued for the last three hundred years. The majesty of the Ottoman Emperor could very ill brook the insults and annoyances to which his empire was exposed by the maritime superiority of the Venetians and other Christian powers, and, above all, of the Knights Hospitallers, an order established for the avowed purpose of waging a perpetual war against the infidels. They pillaged the merchant ships, and annoyed the maritime parts of Turkey without cessation. This infused such a deep-rooted hatred in the minds of the Ottoman princes, that the expulsion of the order from the isles of the Archipelago formed the first object with the Turkish Sultans. Driven by the power of Solyman from Rhodes, they had merely transferred their hostile establishment to the finely situated island of Malta, and were enabled to continue their hostilities. The Turks have no genius for the adoption of maritime habits. At this moment appeared the celebrated Barbarossa; and from the want which Turkey felt of creating a remedy against their indefatigable enemies, the Christian knights, they established the maritime piratical states of Barbary, the rulers of which

adopted, and have ever since been guided by, the same interminable and indiscriminate hostility against all Christian states. The operation of the principle of the public law of nations was alike superseded in both cases. The pirates of Algiers were a barbarous and cruel race; but their more polished and elegant opponents were not therefore the less their bold rivals in—

> The simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can.

The fleets of Charles the Fifth were commanded by the celebrated Doria, and their exertions were directed to divert the attention of Solyman to his own dominions. Sailing to the Morea, they invested and took Coron; Patras also fell into their power. Emboldened by this success, they advanced to the celebrated Straits, and took possession of the Castles of the Dardanelles.

This success, however, was transient; an army dispatched into the Morea regained for the Turk the lost fortresses, and the Dardanelles were cleared of the presumptuous invader. A fleet, hastily equipped by Solyman and Moro, two celebrated corsairs, watched the seas. Moro, sailing towards the coast of Africa, was met by a Venetian squadron, which, in defiance of treaties, sunk his vessel, and dispersed or captured his fleet. This enterprise caused the republic eventually a severe retribution. Solyman, hearing of the fame of Hayradin, surnamed Barbarossa, who had succeeded his brother on the throne of Algiers, invited him to his court. Hayrudek and Hayradin were two celebrated corsairs of Mytilenè, who, stealing a small galliot, took to the seas and to piracy; and,

connecting themselves with Sinan, a Jew, and other individuals, they became so powerful, that, after assisting Selim, King of Algiers, they at length slew him, and usurped the kingdom. Hayrudek was slain in a hostile attack, and was succeeded by Hayradin, now exercising the rule and government of Algiers. The sagacity of Solyman soon distinguished the daring spirit and abilities of the corsair, better known by the appellation of Barbarossa. The Sultan, countenancing his desire, and ambitious views, of converting the coast of Africa into a powerful maritime state, in vassalage to the supreme Ottoman Porte, accordingly created Barbarossa his Captain Pasha, defining his jurisdiction, and placing all the seas and islands under his supreme and absolute control, and constituting him the third chief officer of the empire, the waters being under his command as absolutely as the Grand Vizir has the land.

Barbarossa, supplied with vessels and men, proceeded to invade Africa, and, by a stratagem, made himself master of the city and sovereignty of Tunis, expelling from thence the reigning prince, Muley Hascem; having in his progress alarmed and ravaged the coasts of Italy, debarking at and capturing Terracina, and at Fondi having nearly succeeded in capturing the celebrated beauty, Julia Gonzaga, whom he had destined to the harem of Solyman. The acquisition of such a leader as Barbarossa soon elevated the Turkish marine into importance. At this period, when the Hungarian war had proved distasteful and unpropitious to Solyman, he was influenced by the persuasions of his favourite Vizir, Ibrahim, whose power was unbounded, to commence a new warfare, and to resume those hostile designs against Persia which

had hitherto been suspended; and, as if the flames of war thus excited in two continents, Africa and Asia, were not sufficient for the ambition of Solyman, an attack was also directed against India by a powerful flotilla, conveying a body of troops, which sailed from the ports of the Red Sea to attack the establishments of the Portuguese at Goa, and other parts of the Malabar coast. The scope, and extensive projects of this expedition, may have arisen from the desire of Solyman to secure to his states the rich traffic of the East, and to prevent the consequences of the great commercial revolution recently effected by the important discovery of the new route to India in doubling the Cape of Good Hope. The cessation of this lucrative trade, which had from time immemorial passed over-land through Egypt and Syria, has been instanced by modern writers, as a serious diminution of the power and resources of Turkey, and as a cause of her decline; consequently, it does great honour to the judgment and promptitude of Solyman, to have thus early sought for a remedy, although the expedition eventually returned to the harbour of Suez without accomplishing this important purpose.

The vast power of Solyman was clearly, at this period, wholly directed against the Persian state, influenced chiefly by his favourite Ibrahim, who dreaded the hatred of Roxalana and the intrigues of the seraglio; also in consequence of the traitorous offers and allurements of a Persian fugitive prince. The whole incidents of the campaign are highly interesting, and furnish a key to the true strength and real means of Persia against an invading force.

Solyman had dispatched, early in the spring, the fugitive Persian with a strong force into Cor-

duene, to prepare the way for his approach. He, finding the country unfurnished with defenders, and that Shah Thamas was absent in Khorassan, pushed on as far as Tauris, of which city he took possession; but he was speedily put in great alarm by the rapid approach of the Persian Shah. Solyman, who had taken the route of Upper Armenia, had arrived at Artaxata; on receipt of the welcome intelligence, he hastened his march, and joined his troops at Tauris. The capture of this city, and the powerful army led by the Sultan, threatened total ruin to the Persian monarchy, which could, indeed, have been saved by no other means than the defensive system, developed with such skill and with such firmness, by the Shah immediately retiring with his fine army of horsemen unbroken to Sultania. This prince prepared to devastate the country on all sides, and to trust to the operation of a burning sun, and the necessities of the enemy, for his own eventual security. The distance from Tauris to Sultania is about 180 miles, forming altogether a mountainous and rugged country, and the road passing over the Kooh Kafilan, a lofty range. Here there is a terrific pass, through which flows the Kizziloozen river, thence bending its course towards the Caspian sea. Solyman, quitting Tauris, followed the track of the Persians, eagerly desirous to bring them to battle; but the Shah had retired into the mountains, and cut off every intelligence of his route from the enemy. The peaks of the chains of Elburz and Dermwend, the passes of the Caspian strait, approach to the neighbourhood of Sultania. Solyman, unwilling to venture his host amid such difficult defiles, halted in the plains beneath. While he lay thus encamped, a tremendous storm

of wind burst from this lofty range with such impetuous violence, as completely to overturn the Turkish camp, and at the same time brought down such vast quantities of snow from the peaks of the mountains, as buried the Turkish troops beneath the avalanches: Solyman himself fared little better than his troops, the imperial tent being overthrown; and numbers of his soldiers perished with the extreme cold. This unexpected visitation struck such a damp into the army, from most of their fires being put out, (which is accounted by the Turks to be an unfavourable omen,) that the Emperor, wishing to refresh his troops, retired from this inauspicious neighbourhood, and, influenced by the advice of the Persian prince, directed his march towards Assyria.

Fortune, which had denied to Solyman to triumph over the Persian arms, presented him, in this instance, with a far more valuable prize, in the acquisition of the celebrated and opulent city of Bagdad. The governor of the province had esteemed the Turkish forces fully occupied in the pursuit of Shah Thamas; the sudden appearance of the Turks, together with the circumstance of the city being totally unprovided to withstand so mighty an enemy, excited such a spirit of disaffection among the citizens, that the Pasha fled secretly from the place, and the inhabitants of Bagdad immediately opened their gates and welcomed the Sultan. The glory of having thus seated himself in the capital of the once powerful Kalifs, made Solyman resolve to winter there. Receiving from the head of the Ulema the ornaments and ensigns of authority of the Assyrian kings, he won the hearts of the people by his great bounties and magnificence, and he soon became master of the whole country; the

cities of Amida, Orfa, Mardin, and Arzinga, were occupied by Turkish garrisons.

The fame of this splendid acquisition attracted to Bagdad an embassy from the King of Ormuz; and Solyman passed the winter of 1534 in great triumph. He apportioned out the country into sanjaks, and appointed a Begler-bey for these rich and important provinces, which have been the bulwark of Turkey eastward, to the present day. The disasters of the past campaign had not cured Solyman of his desire to meet and to vanquish the Shah; having, therefore, recruited his army from Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, so as to nearly equal its former numbers, he again committed them to the deserts of Persia. The Shah had employed the time in which the Sultan had feasted at Bagdad, by laying waste more and more all the plains near Tauris. The Turkish sovereign, therefore, no longer finding either enemies or provisions—always combating the elements,—returned to Tauris to revenge his ill success upon that unfortunate city. But so cruel a measure only added fresh evils to his situation, and retreat was inevitable. Shah Thamas, who watched with keen observance every step of his formidable foe, had sent a strong corps to wait for the Turks at the foot of the Taurian mountains. The Turks, believing themselves secure, and at a loss for provisions, were spread over the country pillaging, when they were at midnight attacked by the Persian cavalry;—to increase their disorder, the camp was set on fire, which gave light to complete the carnage: thus the sack of Tauris and the fall of Bagdad were amply avenged, and the Persians retired before break of day, with their spoil and their captives. The broken remains of his army were led back by Soly-

man with feelings of anger and disappointment, having in the two years lost nearly two hundred thousand of his troops.

So firmly was he seated in the love of his people, that the reception of Solyman, on his return to Constantinople, was most gratifying: the populace ran out in crowds to meet him, and the city was illuminated for several days; but whatever illusive eclat these rejoicings displayed, they could not reverse the feelings which assailed the heart of the Sultan, at his late reverse of fortune in Persia: meantime, the wise conduct of Shah Thamas preserved his empire against the most formidable invasion which had threatened it in modern times. A striking result of the impression made by these events on the mind of Solyman was the downfall of the highly favoured Ibrahim, who, for so many years, had possessed almost supreme power throughout the Ottoman state. Solyman had acted as if he could not exist without his presence, for Ibrahim had even apartments allotted for his residence within the sacred limits of the seraglio; he had been almost associated to the imperial rank by the new and hitherto unknown title of Seraskier Sultan; and he had a solemn promise from the Emperor, that his favour should never be withdrawn from him during life.

Ibrahim's story is merely an illustration of the folly of trusting to such vain securities. Solyman became distrustful of his favourite, through a letter written by a delinquent whom Ibrahim had subsequently put to death for false accounts, wherein he warned the Sultan against this great officer; he was also likely to receive unfavourable impressions from the imparted sentiments of his favourite Sultana, and the Valide Sultaness; who both of them

condemned the war with Persia as criminal, for being carried on against the Faithful, whilst its calamities were contrasted with the eclat of the European campaigns. These various causes, working on the mind of the Emperor, conjoined to the disquietude of his disgrace in the late Persian campaigns, completed the ruin of Ibrahim. The promise, however, made by Solyman, for a time suspended his vengeance, which slumbered in his own breast; but the Mufti, when consulted upon the scruple, gave the subtle and welcome arret, "that sleep being the counterfeit of death, Ibrahim might be made amenable in that state to his justice, without a violation of his pledge." Ibrahim, consequently, was strangled in his sleep, a sacrifice to the malice of women, and the fickleness of Solyman.

From the East the views of the Emperor were directed to restore the lustre of his arms by punishing the Venetians. The indefatigable Barbarossa had made a descent upon Apulia; he was pressing the siege of Otranto, when he was summoned to transport the Turkish forces to Corfou. The science of war had not advanced to the perfection necessary for the reduction of such fortifications as Corfou possessed. The fierce assaults of the Turks were easily repulsed; but the honour of the Sultan was in some measure saved, by a violent storm of hail and wind, which was adroitly construed to be the signal from Heaven that the siege should be abandoned. The failure against the capital of the Ionian Isles was amply compensated by the conquests made by the terrible Barbarossa, who reduced fourteen islands of the Cyclades to the rule of his master. The beautiful island of Scio, rich in mastic, gums, and the

finest wines; the sacred island of Patmos, the refuge of the Apostle of the Apocalypse; Nio, the site of the tomb of Homer; Stampalia, vaunted for its breed of horses; Paros, for its precious marbles; also Tino, formed part of the illustrious group of islands severed from the Venetian domination.

In the ensuing summer, the daring Barbarossa continued his successes, sailing early from the sea of Marmora. He rendered himself master of the isle of Scyros, whose city, placed on the mountain side, must have recalled to the corsair the position of his capital of Algiers; bending his course to Candia, he took possession of Cunéa and of Retinos, with the northern portion of the island, loading his vessels with captives and booty. The Venetians on Terra Firma were rather more fortunate. They succeeded in relieving Napoli, a strong port of the Morea; and in Dalmatia, they took Scardona.

In 1539 the Venetians, aided by the papal galleys, had formed the siege of Prevesa, a town on the mainland, opposite to Corfou, alike distinguished in modern times by its misfortunes, and by a spark of Grecian heroism. Scarcely had the Venetian troops commenced the siege, when the Turkish garrisons of Lepanto and other towns, joining together, attacked the besiegers, and drove them, with great loss, to their vessels. Barbarossa entered with his fleet into the gulf, just as the Christians issued from it; the latter squadron, being joined by Doria, the generalissimo of Charles V., and by the Venetian galleys, re-entered the gulf in quest of the Turkish fleet. Barbarossa did not hesitate to offer battle, although his equipments were in all respects inferior to those of the Christian fleet; but to the surprise of all Europe, the challenge

was declined by the illustrious Doria, who steered to the coasts of Dalmatia. Here the Christians made a successful, but transient conquest, of the fortress of Castle Nuova, at the Bocca di Cattaro. Thoroughly weary of the expenses of war, the Venetians now sent an envoy to sue for peace from the Porte; the reply of Solyman was, by an imperative order to Barbarossa to retake Castle Nuova. The valiant corsair instantly obeyed; and such were the vigour of his attacks, and the terror of his name, that after an enormous loss of lives, he carried the place by storm, massacring four thousand Spaniards who composed the garrison. The Porte then granted peace to the republic, exacting as its price, not only all the islands which Barbarossa had wrested from its rule, but also the cession of Napoli in the Morea, and the small isle of Malvoisie, formerly so celebrated for its costly wines; upon which terms a peace was finally signed.*

In Hungary, a new scene of things had taken place. Ferdinand, commencing hostilities without any declaration of war, had experienced a severe defeat from Muhammed, the warlike governor of Belgrade, precisely when the death of his late rival took place. John Zaploya had married, in his old age, a sister of King Sigismond of Poland, by

* Upon this occasion, the Venetian envoy, using a portion of Italian refinement, declined to sanction the cession of Napoli and other places, offering a large sum of money in lieu thereof; but Solyman, who had secret information, confounded the ambassador, by repeating to him his private instructions; and then sharply threatening him, he wrung from him the required humiliating concessions. From this epoch, the Turks always delay the Christian ambassadors, in order to know their utmost instructions, always believing that they have full powers to act.

whom he left an heir; foreseeing the dangers to his race from the former agreement with Ferdinand, entailing the Hungarian crown on him, and reserving for his son only the principality of Transylvania, John Zaploya had bequeathed his infant child to the tutelage of Solyman. Ferdinand had no sooner received intelligence of these events, than, collecting forces, he pressed forward to seize on Buda, and demand the kingdom of the widow of John Zaploya.

Solyman, who seems at this period to have attained the highest point of his glory, was little likely to bear what he deemed an insult to his power. Recently, he had employed his arms with success in Arabia the Happy, and had acquired possession of the kingdom of Yemen. From the isthmus of Suez to Aden, all the coast of the Red Sea acknowledged the power of the Emperor; and the Pasha of Egypt, with the aid of Barbarossa, had expedited from thence the armament that should conquer the Guzerat, and thus add an Indian empire to his rule. Towards Persia, the warlike provinces of Imerettia and Georgia were subjected by the Pasha of Erzeroum; and Teflis, the capital, opened her gates to the troops of Solyman. So many triumphs inspired him with the hope of carrying his arms as far into the west, as he now triumphantly had succeeded in doing towards the east; and having chastised Moldavia, and received the tribute and submission of that principality, in the spring of 1541, on the Sultan's entering Hungary, he joined his Grand Vizir, without finding an enemy to combat, Ferdinand having already been driven from the walls of Buda with disgrace, by the Turkish advanced guard, and the efforts of the queen's partisans. The Turkish Emperor made

his triumphant entry into Buda, where the queen received him as protector of her infant son, who had been recently crowned by the name of Stephen. The opportunity was too inviting to be neglected by Solyman; a Turkish garrison was accordingly placed in Buda, as well as in the chief places of Hungary, and the queen and her infant were transferred to Transylvania, of which province he was constituted the sanjak, by the Sultan's firman. The present misfortune may solely be attributed to the ambition of Charles V., who, at this period, had led his army and fleet to attack the kingdom of Barbarossa. The siege of Algiers terminated in the discomfiture and disgrace of the arms of Charles, who was obliged, by the elements and the enemy, to raise the siege, and his unfortunate fleet was partly engulfed in the seas, so that he led back into Europe only the broken relics of his armament; but what Charles forfeited in glory, he amply regained by a bright display of the great qualities of unshaken fortitude, constant cheerfulness, and distinguished humanity,—traits which sustained the spirits of his admiring troops.

The attack of Charles V. on Algiers lost apparently the kingdom of Hungary; it also was followed by a memorable event,—the first treaty of alliance betwixt the Turkish sovereigns and a Christian king. Francis I., King of France, courted the Sultan to aid him against the power of Charles V.; and a treaty of alliance and commerce was signed,* which remained in vigour to

* Francis greatly scandalized all Christendom by this act, as the Christian princes justly regarded the Turkish power as their greatest foe, and menacing them all with the most imminent peril; it, therefore, manifested an apostacy

the present era. By this treaty, Barbarossa was charged with the affair of besieging Nice, and retaliating on Charles the attack made on Algiers. This daring corsair, notwithstanding his great age, spread the terror of his name everywhere. Elba, Ischia, Gigio, and the island of Lipari, were ravaged and plundered, and their wretched inhabitants dragged into captivity. A trait of feeling marked this destructive expedition which ought to be rescued from oblivion, as manifesting the power of Nature in reclaiming her rights over the most savage hearts. Sinan, the Jew, had been the earliest friend of Barbarossa, and, being intrepid and skilful, had joined him in all his enterprises. Barbarossa, sailing to Elba, demanded of the governor, Appiano, the son of Sinan, who was kept there as a prisoner. The governor answered, "That the young man having professed the Christain faith, he could by no means comply; but that he should be treated as his own son." Barbarossa instantly landed his forces, and wasting the island, he compelled thereby the governor to restore the captive; but the liberation of the son proved the father's death; for, overcome with joy at the unexpected sight of him, Sinan fainted away in embracing his son, and expired. Barbarossa was most graciously and honourably received by Solyman; and, spending the remnant of his days on the beauteous shores of the Bosphorus, he

from the faith, for which the Crusades had shed so much Christian blood. Solyman, in his public letters to Francis, bestowed on him the title of Padishah or Emperor, which honour was conferred by the Porte on no other Christian monarch. Francis reaped no advantage from this step, which indeed he scarcely survived five years.

performed no other expedition. His death taking place within four years, in 1547, he was buried at his residence at Urchek-Tache, about five miles from Pera, and a mosque erected for prayers and alms.

The contest carried on by Solyman for the fragments of Hungary, torn and bleeding at every pore, were usually to the advantage and honour of the Turkish sovereign, who had ample resources, and a vast military force, to combat an enemy straitened in money and in troops: it is only wonderful how a country, so constantly the scene of war, and so exhausted, could furnish the means of supplying any strong military force. Solyman, intent upon the conquest of the country, led a powerful army into the field; and Alba Regis, or Weissemburg, was added to his conquests, while everywhere justice was administered in his name, and the churches were converted into mosques. At length, in 1547, Charles V., who saw himself on the eve of a war with the French king, Henry II., the son of his old enemy, concluded a truce for five years, (wherein King Ferdinand was included,) to the great satisfaction of both parties.

The mind of the Turkish Emperor was again incited to enter the lists with Persia, partly caused by resentment for the revolt of Georgia, where the Turkish garrisons had been expelled or massacred; and partly from the persuasions of Alkasib Mirza, King of Shirwan, who fled to his court from motives of revenge.

The campaign of 1548 was the most propitious of any that Solyman saw. The King of Shirwan, who preceded Solyman, and entered Persia by Azinga, made himself master of Tauris; while the main army, led by the Emperor, passing by Ar-

menia, penetrated to the city of Van, which, after a vigorous siege, was obliged to capitulate. The air of this city is pure, and its environs delightful. The adjoining lake is about 168 miles in circumference. This important place is twelve days' journey from Erzeroum, five from Betlis, and about five from Khoi; here he soon after surprised and routed a part of the Shah's army. While encamped near this spot, a singular exploit was undertaken and performed by Alkasib. Solyman being informed by his spies that the Shah's immense treasures lay weakly guarded in Ispahan, Kashan, and Koom, he sent the Mirza with light-armed troops to seize them. Alkasib so perfectly executed the commission, that, coming by surprise on the different places, the guards little suspecting any aggression, they were everywhere routed, and the treasures actually seized and carried off. Having returned laden with booty, he bribed the Vizir to be made an associate with the Pasha of Bagdad, and, repenting of his desertion from the Shah, he endeavoured to use part of the wealth to be reconciled and restored to his favour; but the watchful eye of his colleague detected the intrigue, and Alkasib fled for safety to the insurgent Georgians. Solyman having detached a large force into Georgia, retired with his army into Anatolia, thence repairing to Constantinople.

The Shah, Ismail II., who had succeeded his father Thamas, on the retirement of the Turkish forces, speedily regained Shirwan, and routed, with great loss, the detached portions of the Ottoman army. His successes at length aroused the anger of Solyman; who, joining the Vizir, where he lay encamped at Tokât, he again entered Shirwan, challenging the Shah to meet him in the

field. As Ismail displayed no disposition to risk his kingdom against such superior forces, the views of Solyman were sagaciously directed to strengthen his frontier by the acquisition of Armenia; he therefore besieged, and in a few days took, Erivan; and afterwards occupied the strong and mountainous province of Nakshivan, together with the whole extent of country between Tauris and Maragha; and having thus gloriously concluded the campaign, the Sultan retired to Amasia.

Ismail Shah, dangerously placed between the treason of his subjects and the mighty power of the Ottoman empire, was very desirous of conciliating Solyman; who, now advancing in years, and oppressed by domestic misfortunes, accepted joyfully the offers which left him undisturbed in the possession of an important tract of country. By the treaty* now made, the cities of Van, of Maragha, and Mousul, became the boundaries of the Ottoman empire.

The splendour which surrounded the Ottoman throne could not shelter its possessor from the shafts of domestic sorrow. The heart of Solyman was swayed by his passion for Roxalana; but Mustapha, the heir to his throne, and idol of the army, was by another wife. The Sultan had also three other sons: Geangir, by the same mother as

* The Turkish empire was therefore, at this period, in possession of much of the same line of frontier towards Persia, which, in recent times, we have seen seized upon by the Russian Emperor. Like him, the Turks possessed Imerettia, Georgia, and Armenia, to which it also seems they added the vast district and Lake of Ouramia, which of itself is nearly 300 miles in circumference; the city of Maragha is about 68 miles from Tauris, the modern Tabriz.

Mustapha; and Bajazet and Selim, by Roxalana. The artful Sultaness, who saw with envy the succession taken from Bajazet, her younger son and favourite, had resolved to work on her consort, by instilling into his suspicious and fiery soul the seeds of distrust of Mustapha, being aware of the fruitful soil which the passions of Solyman supplied for her work of malignant destruction. Rustan, the Vizir-azem, was gained over to aid her views, by a marriage with one of her daughters; and the steps whereby they alienated his father's affections, and infused the feelings of jealous hate, were chiefly by loading the character of the young prince with adulatory praise, and by spreading before the Sultan's eyes proofs of the love of the soldiery for his son. The mere prospect of his own fame being eclipsed by his son's future virtues, filled Solyman with melancholy. To farther irritate the fears and pride of the Emperor, an eunuch, placed about the person of Mustapha, invented the calumny of his corresponding with his great enemy, the Shah of Persia. The steps from suspicion to death are very short in Turkey; and Mustapha, boldly entering the tent of his father, although warned of his danger, was seized upon by the ministers of death. The narration proceeds to describe that the young prince, strengthened by despair, was like to overpower his executioners, when the Sultan, who witnessed this horrid sight from behind a curtain, drawing it aside, appalled his unhappy son, who in an instant lay strangled at his feet; and the tragedy being completed, the awnings of the imperial tent were thrown open, and the dead body exposed to the general view of the army.

Geangir came like the rest to the affecting sight;

when, seeing the brother whom he affectionately loved thus cruelly murdered, after uttering the bitterest reproaches against the authors of the deed, he plunged* a dagger into his own heart, and expired on Mustapha's lifeless remains. The sad spectacle excited a revolt among the janizaries, which would probably have cost any prince, less revered than Solyman, his throne and life; they were, however, eventually appeased, and order restored.

Bajazet and Selim alone remained; and these princes now commenced a career of mutual hatred and rivalry. A rumour soon arose that Mustapha was yet alive, and Bajazet, to forward his sinister views, permitted the impostor to levy troops in his government; the whole empire was menaced with a terrible revolution, until Solyman, issuing the severest orders to seize the rebels, the impostor was made prisoner, who, in despair, avowed the part taken by Bajazet. The tears and influence of Roxalana for the present preserved him from his implacable father; but passions and feelings, such as existed between this father and son, were not likely to wear away or be forgotten. Bajazet, although pardoned, was an object of suspicion, and his ambitious mother, Roxalana, now appeared secretly to incline to her younger son Selim. Impelled by these impressions, Bajazet retired to his government of Iconium; and having levied a body of troops, he prepared to attack his brother Selim in his government of Amasia. Proscribed, at length, by Solyman, and in fear of his own adherents, the

* Some historians assert, that he was also put to death by his father; while others say, that he died, suffocated from grief and rage.

unfortunate prince proceeded to throw himself under the protection of Ismail Sofi; the subtile Persian too well knew that he held in his hands the means of extorting even unreasonable terms from the impatient and irritated Sultan. No event of his reign seems to have excited greater rage and excitement in the mind of Solyman, than that his rebel son should have fled to the Persians; and his preparations for a new war were most menacing. His troops, however, were so disheartened with their former hardships, that they refused to march; and Solyman, or rather Roxalana, having bribed the ministers of the Sophi, the life of the unhappy prince was made the price of a strict union between the two states. An ambassador extraordinary, on the part of the Sultan, presented to the Shah magnificent presents, and also six hundred thousand crowns of gold, which was the stipulated sum for the part he had promised to act. Hassan, who was the envoy of his cruel father, found Bajazet so pale and wan, and his hair and beard so overgrown, that although brought up with him from a child, he could not recognise the once lively Bajazet until he was shaved and trimmed; when he was eventually compelled to strangle the wretched prince with his own hands, to satisfy the jealous Solyman that he was destroyed. His four sons were involved in his destiny; and the sepulchre of the Ottoman race thus again was opened to receive the murdered victims of an entire descent. Selim was declared the Prince of Amasia, a title attached henceforth to the presumptive heir of the Ottoman throne.

The pause which followed these events was marked by a pacific character, unknown to any other portion of the lengthened and brilliant reign

of Solyman. Although his incessant labour and his increasing years might seem to demand repose, it was in this season of peace that he displayed those great qualities of justice and wisdom, that enabled him to frame a system of jurisprudence and laws, which have ever since regulated the domestic polity of the state. He devoted his attention greatly, also, to the completion of the superb mosque which bears his name, and which equals for grandeur the celebrated St Sophia. Although thus cultivating the arts of peace, and displaying traits of wisdom and bounty which endeared him day by day to his admiring people, the anecdotes of which are still the theme of their admiration, Solyman neglected not the proper attention to arrange and improve his finances, as well also as to complete the numbers of his army. The precaution was not needless, for an incident, more personal than national, excited the flames of a new war.

It was in the year 1558 that Europe witnessed the unusual and impressive spectacle of the Emperor Charles V. resigning his extensive dominions, who, after having filled the world with his renown, retired to pass his future remnant of time in preparing for eternity. Ferdinand, his brother, succeeded him in the empire. Solyman had fostered, by his bounty and protection, the maritime states of Barbary, which now constituted a portion of his empire, and from whence he drew his most experienced officers. Dragut had succeeded to the honours and daring of Barbarossa; his enterprises had excited a Christian league to extinguish his power, and a Spanish force was landed on the coast of Tripoli. The intrepid Dragut was nearly overpowered, when, the Turkish fleet appearing, a sudden panic seized the Christian fleet, although

led by the gallant Doria, and a general confusion prevailed, whereby a splendid victory was obtained by the Turks; while the Christian army on shore, unable to re-embark or to defend themselves, were necessitated to surrender themselves captives. Busbequius describes, in terms of lively eulogy, the dignified composure of Solyman, as he proceeded to the mosque to return thanks for this triumph, after witnessing, from the garden kiosk of the seraglio, the triumphant entry into port of his fleet, with the captives. This attempt of the Christian powers, among whom were chiefly enumerated the Knights of Malta, caused the Sultan to resolve on crushing them altogether, and on putting an end thereby to the constant losses which they caused to his people.

The Turkish fleet destined for this enterprise, conveyed an army of above thirty thousand men, commanded by Mustapha Pasha; the naval armament amounted to about 200 sail. The siege of Malta was carried on for five months, with that obstinacy of attack and determined fury which characterises Turkish warfare. The defence, conducted by La Valette, covered the knights with honour; nevertheless, the assaults of the enemy were so constant and ferocious, that it appears likely they would ultimately have succeeded in storming the walls, had not the Viceroy of Sicily, after great delays, brought a succour of ten thousand men, which obliged the Turkish forces to retire with the greatest precipitation, after having lost twenty-four thousand men, and among them, Dragut the corsair, who was deeply regretted by the Sultan. Maximilian the Second succeeded his father in the empire, as well as to the crowns which he inherited and claimed; for Ferdinand had

also received from Isabella, the widow of John Zaploya, the cession of Transylvania, which she could not defend against the Turkish aggressions, receiving, in lieu of her pretensions to that province, and to the crown of Hungary, a yearly pension of 100,000 ducats, with which she retired into Poland, her native country. The unfortunate land of Hungary was thus rent in pieces by three conflicting parties—the officers of Solyman and of the Emperor Maximilian, and the pretensions of Stephen, son of Isabella, the Waiwode of Transylvania, the latter prince applying to Solyman for aid against the superior strength of the Emperor. The Turkish sovereign, who perceived that he could never succeed in the designs he had cherished, unless he overcame the Emperor, resolved, notwithstanding his advanced age, to proceed again in person against the enemy. Meantime the Pasha of Buda was commanded to aid the Waiwode's cause, by carrying on the siege of Zigith; but the imperial commander, Count Salm, compelled the Turkish forces to retire.

Solyman, although seventy-six years old, neither felt his ambition nor courage abated; having collected, in the plains of Adrianople, an army of two hundred thousand men, he poured this large force as a torrent upon the devastated provinces of Hungary. Never had an army of so splendid a character been displayed to the world. The Mufti published a fetsa for all who volunteered for this war. The janizaries, bostangis, and spahis, amounted to fifty thousand; the Timariots, or Asaps, exceeded a hundred thousand, followed by numberless volunteers. The most imposing pomp encircled the Sultan as he quitted Constantinople. Amid all this splendour, the pallidness of his coun-

tenance and his age announced that he marched to his last triumph. On his entry into Hungary, he received on his throne the homage of the Waiwode Stephen; his next act was to command the Pasha of Buda to be strangled, for suffering a defeat. The city of Zigith, which had resisted his troops, was the object of his wrath, when he surrounded its walls with all his army; its bulwarks were defended by Count Nicholas de Serino, and the brave garrison had resolved to perish, or save the city.

Zigith, situated on the confines of Hungary, Esclavonia, and Styria, was built in a vast morass; the causeway which joined the land, was defended by solid bastions. A hundred pieces of ordnance and 150,000 men united their efforts to attack the place, which was defended inch by inch with incredible bravery. Driven, at length, within the second citadel, with only 600 men, the indomitable spirit of the governor still resisted the attacks and promises of Solyman, (he having endeavoured to bribe Serino to the surrender, by an offer of the principality of Croatia.) At length the Sultan, enraged at the delay thus occasioned to his whole force by such an inconsiderable fortress, commanded a general attack, threatening to cast the heads of his generals into the ditch of Zigith, if they did not take the place. The 29th of August, the anniversary of the victory of Mohatz, was chosen for the assault. It had the same result as the preceding; and the Sultan, after having seen his janizaries thrown down headlong from a steep breach, crushed under pieces of rock, burned by torrents of boiling oil, and other preparatives, which the besieged were continually throwing down, returned to his tent, filled with so much despair, and

under such great vexation of mind, that an apoplectic fit terminated his life in a few short minutes.

The Vizir Mehemet thought proper to conceal the deplored event, while he sent to Iconium for Selim, to come and take possession of the throne. He also pressed on the siege in the name of Solyman; in spite of every effort, the castle held out four days longer, when a magazine, which took fire, obliged the remaining two hundred defenders, for the sake of escaping from the flames, to leave the ruinous heaps which they had so long and so gloriously defended. In this extremity, Count de Serino exhorted his men to die manfully—dressed himself in his richest clothes, taking some pieces of gold to pay, as he said, the person who should give him interment—then, throwing open the gates, he rushed with his two hundred devoted followers upon the astonished janizaries. Faithful to their promise of not receiving quarter, they caused a great slaughter of their opponents, until the janizaries closing around them, they perished all together. Two only of the whole number were afterwards recovered of their wounds by care, and ended their lives in slavery.

The reign of Solyman is the most glorious of the Ottoman annals. Contemporary with the most illustrious princes of Europe, he was surpassed by none of them; his noble sentiments, valour, sagacity, and knowledge of mankind, place him indeed in the highest rank of monarchs.

His ministers, all created by his voice, were generally worthy of him: witness his vizirs, Ibrahim, Loufti Pasha, and Rustan, whom Busbiquis eulogizes for his extraordinary talents and knowledge. He created a marine, and called forth the exploits

of Barbarossa and Dragut, the rivals of Doria. His generals also were of distinguished merit. But it is not the illustrious Solyman's choice of ministers which makes his renown, so much as his laws, institutions, and systematic improvements which he adopted in every branch of the Turkish civil polity. Before his era, the will of the sovereign was the only source of internal regulation, which fluctuated, therefore, according to the temper and feelings of the monarch. Solyman settled the limits of the different functionaries; he regulated the hierarchy, and defined the rights of the meanest of his subjects. He enforced the impartial distribution of justice, and punished so rigorously any Cadis who prostituted their legal functions, that throughout his reign, no unjust judge heard, without trembling, an injured suitor exclaim, "I shall light the fire."*

Solyman carried the same reform into the finances, and the regulation of the taxes. We cannot but admire the unwearied labour wherewith he supplied written codes of laws for customs derived only from traditions, and supplying a fixed system of government, which has justly caused him to be regarded as the legislator of the Ottoman state.

In the commencement of the Turkish power, her princes of the imperial blood commanded ar-

* On Fridays, when the Grand Signior goes in grand procession to the mosque, every one, Mussulman, Jew, or Christian, may present his petition. Those who have a serious complaint to make, take their station near the seraglio gate, having on their head a piece of dry rush lighted and smoking; at the sight of the smoke the Sultan usually stops his horse, and orders one of those around him to take the petition for his private examination.

mies, ruled Sanjaks, and often took advantage of their power to rebel, or to combat each other. Solyman, who had experienced the bitterness of domestic strife, ordained, and sanctioned it by a fetsa, that these princes should no longer govern the provinces, or appear with the armies. He contemplated the effectual check to rebellion, by withdrawing these princes from the sight and notice of the turbulent janizaries; but its only effect was to enervate and degrade his successors, by consigning them to luxurious indolence and obscurity.

History places Solyman, with just reason, in the rank of the greatest monarch of the Ottoman race; for the principles of real distinction illustrate and immortalize his reign.

The Turkish empire arrived at its zenith under his rule, but has gradually since declined. The causes are admirably traced by Knolles, in the preface to his History.

1st. He ascribes its rapid growth to the abilities and long reigns of the ten first Sultans, from A. D. 1300 to 1566, giving 26 years and a half apiece. All these Sultans were men of great talents, ambitious, and generally temperate. They were trained to war and business by the command of provinces, and had able counsellors and commanders.

2d. The admirable discipline and constitution of their regular paid troops, which, kept always on foot, were then a decided overmatch for the occasional levies of the Christian powers.

3d. Their formidable artillery and fire-arms, which, under Muhammed II., and for some years from the liberal gratuities given, procured for their armies the most skilful engineers of Europe, and greatly benefited their progress.

4th. The character of the Turkish despotism, which gave them a prodigious advantage, by the application of their mighty resources, with such secrecy and dispatch, against their enemies. Also the extraordinary stimulus to their officers, whose lives, honours, and fortunes, from the highest to the lowest, depended on their master's nod.

Such, among many other observations, are the chief causes of the rapid success of the Turkish power. Much of the requisite acting principle could be found only in the personal qualities of the Sultan, uniting in himself so much of the vital energies of the monarchy. When, therefore, these monarchs ceased to be soldiers, through the tutelage of the seraglio, ordained by the regulations of Solyman,—no longer enabled to judge from their own convictions, or use their own experience,—the natural consequence would result of a race of enervated, imbecile princes, who would henceforth occupy the place of the early and warlike successors of Othman; and we cannot, therefore, wonder at the consequent change which our history will have to trace in the wars and external grandeur of the Ottoman empire.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Germany.	Charles V. . . .	1558
	Ferdinand, . . .	1564
	Maximilian II. . .	1576
England.	Henry VIII. . .	1547
	Edward V. . . .	1553
	Mary, ...	1558
	Elizabeth, . . .	1603

Scotland.	James V. . . .	1542
	Mary Stuart, . .	1547
France.	Francis I. . . .	1547
	Henry II. . . .	1559
	Francis II. . . .	1560
	Charles IX. . .	1574

As the papal see ceased, from the Reformation, to exercise any prominent part in the political world, similar to the functions of the earlier popes, as the Guardians of Christendom, so we shall refrain from the recapitulation of a mere barren catalogue of names. Unto the era of Solyman, the faith of Christ saw itself menaced by the fierce zeal and persecuting spirit of Islamism; against which the pope, as the head of Christianity, took the lead in calling forth the slumbering zeal of the Christian warriors. The events which followed the era of Solyman quieted for ever any apprehensions of the conquest of Europe by the Mussulmans; and it also brought forward, in the Christian world, new formularies of doctrine, which soon drew off from the see of Rome a large proportion of her most powerful votaries, and totally detached it from acting in any way upon Turkish politics.

[The reign of Solyman presented a new era in the coinage of the empire, when, instead of meagre names on rude bits of silver and copper, we find gold pieces resembling in size and weight the sequins of Venice, and adorned with pompous sentences, calculated to convey an idea of the widely-extended dominion of Solyman, the son of Selim, the most distinguished for his eminent qualities of all the Turkish Sultans. These gold coins usually weigh about 54 grains. Their coinage is not

confined to the capital; impressions are given in the Numismata, of specimens struck at Semendriah, the capital of Servia, at Kratowa, in Servia, Brusa, &c.]

CHAPTER II.

SELIM II.—ELEVENTH REIGN.

H. 974—A. D. 1566.

THE Ottoman empire had cause to lament the change of its supreme lord,—confusion and profligacy succeeding to strict rules and to civil order; the laws ceased to be respected, and military discipline lost all its vigour. It was universally known that Selim was addicted to wine and convivial pleasures, and the great as well as the populace followed the same course. Drunkenness, a crime so odious in a moral view, and condemned by the laws of the Prophet, showed itself openly. Sent for from his government of Amasia on the sudden death of his father, Selim rapidly reached the Bosphorus opposite to the seraglio of his fathers. They announced, at the same moment, the death of Solyman, and the accession of his son The people remarked, that the Sultan drank off two large glasses of wine when he landed, without taking any pains to conceal it. This action, which, sixteen years before, had cost Solyman the son of Bajazet his life and throne, was now witnessed with joy by the spec-

tators; such was the change in the habits of the capital.

Meantime the Grand Vizir, justly dreading the mutinous character of the janizaries, kept the death of Solyman cautiously concealed; the usual state was observed in the imperial household, and the horse litter, covered with cloth of gold, conveyed the Emperor (suffering, as was supposed, from a fit of the gout) in his usual manner of travelling. Mehemet led the Turkish army, after its severe sufferings, as if by the Sultan's order, towards Constantinople; and it was in the plains of Belgrade that Selim met the army and the remains of his father. The news of the death of the Emperor was received by the soldiers, especially the janizaries, with profound grief; their next feeling was that of revolt. Selim accompanied the remains of his father to the magnificent mosque which he had erected, which, after its founder, bears the title of Solimania. Hither the Ulema were commanded to recite the Koran forty times a-day, for forty days. A tube, or monument, was placed by Selim over the grave, whither the Turks still make a pilgrimage or visit, as much from admiration of his splendid qualities, as that they esteem him to have been a peculiar favourite of heaven,—a Shâhid, or martyr, as having lost his life at the siege of Zigith,—and also gazi, or conqueror, two cities having been taken from the infidels under the conduct of his relics.

Selim had no sooner completed the funeral of his father, than he resolved to show himself to his subjects with the splendour of his predecessor. The appearance and equipments of the janizaries had become faded by the labours of war; and Selim, to render the procession more imposing, was guard-

ed by several bands of bostangis, and the chief officers of the seraglio, who had the charge of his sacred person, to the exclusion of the janizaries. This mutinous body, already very dissatisfied at having lost the usual donation on the accession of an emperor, resolved to regain their lost advantage. As soon, therefore, as the Sultan and his followers had left the palace, they assembled in great numbers, and barricaded it against his return; nor could the sovereign re-enter this imperial residence but by a compliance with their extravagant demands.

Selim had a propensity for excess, and a personal indolence very different from the martial and energetic princes, whose actions we have recorded. He was not, however, ignorant, that if he loved repose, it must be acquired by the occupation of his vast forces; and the empire, gained by war, must go on spreading wider and wider its circle, or it must of itself drop into a course of contraction. Constructed only for conquest, the system of Turkish government is purely military, and has not a particle of any renovating plan of conservation, or of improvement, in its framework; provinces are gained, which are parcelled out to Timars, or military vassals, and the accession of new subjects creates causes for new war. Selim was, of all men, the most unfit to lead or to curb a multitude of ferocious troops impatient for plunder, and with difficulty kept under by the vigorous hand of Solyman or of Selim I. He had, however, in Mehemet, the Grand Vizir of his father, a minister capable of supplying, in a great measure, his own defects, and who exercised the supreme authority under him throughout his short reign.

The bakhshih, or donation, having been bestow-

ed, and the janizaries having returned to their duty and allegiance, the Vizir employed a portion of them to repress a rebellion among the powerful Arab tribe of Bani Omer, inhabiting the deserts towards Bagdad. It also appeared that the inroad was fostered by Ismail, the second son of Shah Thamas, who had ever nourished an implacable hatred against the Turks. The rebellion was, however, crushed; and the old Sophi, to appease the resentment of Selim, had his son apprehended, and put under confinement in a castle for several years. These demonstrations of hostilities on the part of the Persian sectarians, made the Turkish government anxious to conclude peace with the Emperor Maximilian, that it might direct thither its undivided forces. The house of Austria, profiting by the great and unexpected relief to its distressed provinces, from the retreat of the Turkish army, had succeeded in making many conquests; and acting upon an enlightened policy with the Waiwode of Transylvania, a mutual treaty was signed, whereby he was confirmed in all his personal possessions and titles, the province being guaranteed to Austria at his decease,—an event which very shortly happened; and by virtue of which agreement, Austria now holds that important and flourishing province. After a train of studied delays, the fruits of Turkish arrogance, a peace was signed, upon the condition of each party retaining what it had; that a yearly tribute should be paid for Hungary; and that the Waiwode of Transylvania should be included in the treaty.

The hatred so long nourished between the Turks and the Persians was carried on much more by the impulse of the Turkish nation, than by the desire of the sovereign, or the pacific and indolent Selim

would scarcely have commenced a war which the genius and courage of his father could not bring to a successful issue. The Vizir, considering the fatal barrier of sandy deserts which, by the system of the Persian warfare, was its chief defence against the Turkish armies, therefore resolved to open that passage for his master's fleets which was denied to his armies, and to attack the north of Persia by the Caspian sea.

The two great rivers of the north of Europe the Don and the Wolga, after having watered the provinces of Poland and of Russia, appear on the point of a junction, when the Don takes a turn to the right to bathe the walls of Azof, and to lose itself in the vast marshes of the Palus Mæotis. The Volga inclines to the left, to pour its mighty mass of waters, by sixty-five mouths, into the Caspian sea, after receiving the tribute of 48 rivers, and running a course of 1300 leagues.

Selim formed the noble design of cutting a navigable canal through the space of thirty miles, which separated these two streams, and of forming a navigable route and line of junction from the Bosphorus to the Caspian sea, and thus to attack the Persian empire in Shirwan. Being master of Azof, he sent up the Don a fleet, conveying five thousand janizaries, and three thousand workmen; an army of eighty thousand men were destined to follow their steps. The janizaries, impatient for war, even aided the labourers, and a large body of troops were detached to take possession of the city of Astrachan, situated at the principal mouth of the Wolga, and adjoining to Czaritzin, where the canal would reach. But Astrachan belonged to a race of men capable of keeping their possession; —a people whose name had not yet reached the

knowledge of their invaders, but from this moment never to be separated in history. Such was the first collision betwixt the Russians and the Turks.

In the ninth century, Hurik arrived from the shores of the Baltic, at the head of an unknown horde, and soon imposed his yoke on the scattered race of Novogerod, who implored his aid against the Tartars.

The Ottomans did not yet exist, when Hurik's fourth descendant, Wolodimir, was baptized with all his people, having espoused a daughter of the Greek Emperor. In the thirteenth century they were conquered by the Tartars; and it was only in the fifteenth century, that Iwan Wassilowitch had emancipated Russia from the Tartar yoke. Iwan II., the contemporary of Selim, had distinguished his reign by the conquest of the kingdoms of Casan and of Astrachan, and it was this redoubtable foe whom Selim unwittingly proceeded to provoke. The canal of junction was making great progress, notwithstanding the natural obstacles, when five thousand Russians unexpectedly attacked those engaged in its works; the janizaries and workmen, taken by surprise, were slaughtered without resistance, and an unexpected cause contributed to put an end for ever to this splendid enterprise.

The Mussulman faith requires that the Ottomans offer a certain prayer in the third portion of the night, and the law grants no exemption; but in those regions, a very short interval in summer interposes between the setting and rising of this luminary, which induces the commonalty to believe that the regions of the north are absolutely interdicted to true Mussulmans.

Denleth Gaury Khan dreaded lest the accom-

plishment of the canal should render the service and alliance of the Tartar Khans less necessary to the Sultans, which might draw on the forfeiture of their privileges, and the Crimea itself become an Ottoman Pashalik. His emissaries artfully spread the rumour of the sufferings of all troops in these forlorn climates, and of their being exposed to be surprised by the Russians, habituated to act in these regions under the greatest exposure of frosts, snow, and hard fare.

To complete the alarm, the Tartars lamented the lot of their companions in the same faith, called to labour in climates where the shortness of the night, and the quick appearance of the orb of light above the horizon, after midnight had passed, left to the Mussulman, during the months of summer, no midnight period for his stipulated prayers. The discontents at this report grew too strong to be repressed any longer; menaces and promises were equally in vain; the soldiers and labourers deserted in crowds; while some repaired to the Crimea, the residue fled to the eastern shores of the Caspian sea, and this grand project of linking the east to the west finally was lost. The design of uniting Europe to Asia, the Caspian with the Bosphorus, had been conceived many ages before the time of Selim; Seleucus Nicator had planned, ages before, the junction of the Euxine with the Cimmerian Bosphorus. When the Turkish government, therefore, attempted the measure, it was become a point of the greatest importance to that empire, by the course which already the rich commerce of the East had taken, through the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. What a change might have taken place in the world, had a powerful, commercial, and industrious na-

tion, (one not enslaved by a tax of nocturnal prayers,) secured the rich commerce of India, and provided a free and reasonable route to Europe, by the shortest, the most direct, and most profitable course—one which approximated the Ganges to the Thames, by the Oxus, the Caspian sea, the Euxine, the Dardanelles, the Straits of Gibraltar, and the short passage of the Atlantic! This noble and useful project was conceived by Cassim Pasha, the same individual who constructed, by his liberality, the quarter of Constantinople which bears his name. To Turkey, only one advantage marked this ill-fated enterprise; a horde of thirty thousand Nogais Tartars abjured the Russian sceptre, and came to tenant the banks of the Don.

A more successful undertaking effaced from the indolent mind of Selim the slight vexation which he would feel from a failure, ascribed in part to the intervention of superhuman causes: he now meditated the wresting of the strong and opulent island of Cyprus from the Venetian republic. It is true, that the Ottoman Porte and the Venetians were at peace; but these were often truces, merely considered as treaties of conveniency, to be dispensed with by a fetsa of the Mufti; Selim decided upon the attack of Cyprus, in direct opposition to his Grand Vizir, and the war was consecrated by the fetsa.

Opposite to the coast of Syria, and enjoying a delicious climate, Cyprus has been eulogized, alike by fable and by history, for the enjoyment and rare reunion of the prodigal bounties of nature. Paphos, the shrine of the goddess of Love, Idalia, and Amathonte, combine in their very names the tones of voluptuousness. Thirty cities had embellished

ancient Cyprus, but in 1570, they were to be chiefly traced by their ruins; yet the island even then nourished a numerous population, attested by a list of 1500 villages. Of the cities, Constanza was built on the relics of Salamine, while Baffo recalls, in its name, the celebrated Paphos; Limisso can be very imperfectly retraced in Amathnite; and Idalia is only to be known from a few obscure ruins under the name of Dalin. Nicosia and Famagousta, the two principal modern cities of the island, are the representatives of the ancient Lêdra, and of Arsinoï. Nicosia occupies the centre of the island, while Famagousta stands on the shores opposite to the coast of Syria.

The celebrated Piali, the successor of Barbarossa and Dragut, commanded the fleet; the army was led by Mustapha Pasha, the adviser of the war, and rival of the Vizir-azem. Piali advised the immediate attack of Famagousta, the fortifications of which were in a dilapidated state; but Mustapha obstinately resolved upon besieging Nicosia, the capital of the kingdom, and the illustrious abode of the kings of Cyprus; here once resided our Richard, the illustrious Cœur de Lion, when contracted with the fair Berengarius. The riches of Nicosia were the lure held out to the greedy and ferocious janizaries, and the siege lasted but fourteen days; after several assaults, always repulsed and always renewed, the obstinacy of the Ottomans triumphed. The city was carried by force, and experienced the unrestrained horrors of barbarian cruelty. Twenty thousand Christians of both sexes perished; and the interesting and illustrious residence of so many kings sunk into the dull routine of a Turkish Pasha.

The siege of Famagousta was a more arduous and bloody undertaking; Bragandino had thrown

himself into the place, and the short interval had been most usefully employed for its defence. The same system of assault and bloodshed followed; but the bravery of the besieged protracted their defence from April to June, and every effort of Mustapha proved unavailing to overcome the energy of the defence. Had there been any public honour or spirit in Europe, the republic would never have been thus exposed to such an unequal war, wherein a small maritime state, consisting principally of one city, had to maintain a struggle against the whole Ottoman empire, which had even menaced the overthrow of Europe. The Christian states, more intent upon their private wars and dissensions, suffered the bulwarks of this illustrious state to be gradually torn from it. A promise of succours kept on the defence of Famagousta for a considerable time after every means of sustenance had disappeared. Dogs, rats, the most disgusting matters, were seized on for food; and every slender hope of succour having failed, Bragandino capitulated upon the pledge of safety and liberty to depart. This solemn stipulation was speedily broken by the perfidious Mustapha; and the valiant Bragandino, after the most cruel insults, was inhumanly flayed alive. The remainder of the island soon surrendered, and the whole of Cyprus became annexed from thenceforth to the Turkish empire.

The Christian states became seriously alarmed by the fall of Cyprus; and, forgetting their jealousies for a moment, a league was formed between the Roman Pontiff, King Philip II. and the Venetian republic, for their mutual safety.

The Ottoman Porte was occupied in planning the recovery of Tunis, when the approach of the Christian fleet was reported, which, coming in con-

tact with the Turkish forces, its admiral achieved the most splendid naval victory of this period, in a roadstead the most distinguished in Roman annals, being the scene of the celebrated naval action of Actium, between Augustus and Mark Antony, which decided the destiny of the Roman world. The Turkish fleet having imprudently entered the Gulf of Lepanto, they were there exposed to the attacks of the confederates; exasperated by the great scandal which their inactivity and the consequent loss of Cyprus brought upon Christendom, their delays had caused such misfortunes to Venice as made her despair of benefiting by the league. As if, however, to recompense them by one grand reward for past miseries, the whole Turkish fleet lay open to their attacks, and Don John of Austria, brother of Philip II., King of Spain, prepared to seize on the propitious opportunity. The sea was covered with vessels. The Turkish fleet consisted of two hundred galleys, and sixty-six frigates or brigantines. Ali, the Capitan, had arranged them in three divisions; himself, with Pertau, a celebrated corsair, occupied the centre; the squadron of the right was commanded by Siroc, and the left division by the King of Algiers. The line of the Christian fleet consisted of nearly the same number of vessels, and they were drawn up in a similar manner. Don John took the centre; Doria led the right division; a noble Venetian commanded the left. Don John, surrounded by the flower of Italy,* of Spain, and by the Knights

* Among the combatants at Lepanto we read the immortal name of Cervantes, who lost an arm in the action by a shot of an arquebuss; also Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, the Prince of Urbino, and one of the Ursini.

of Malta, led the attack. The combat began with great fury, by shouts and acclamations on both sides, at seven in the morning. Barbarigo the Venetian, inflicted the first blow, by sinking the galley of Siroc. The death of their leader greatly dismayed the surrounding Turkish vessels; and the Spaniards, excited to outdo the Venetian exploit, commenced a terrible fire on the Capitan Pasha. A cannon ball at this instant destroyed Ali; and the Spaniards who witnessed it, attacking the admiral's vessel with loud shouts, boarded her instantly, and massacred the Turkish crew, pulling down the crescent, and elevating instead the standard of the cross. A universal exclamation of victory at this glorious sight burst from the Christian fleet; and the Turks, as if thunderstruck, suffered themselves to be overthrown, and massacred almost without resistance. A horrible carnage ensued; the galleys of the King of Algiers alone escaped from the general destruction. They were opposed to Doria, who declined a close engagement, sailing away with his division, while Occhiali pursued him, and was engaging the vessels of the left wing, when the cries of victory and the closing in of the centre on his division, warned him of his danger; he passed on with undaunted courage, followed by his thirty galleys, through the whole centre of the Christian fleet, and gained, unhurt, the open sea. His division was the sole relic of the Turkish navy; never had they received so signal a defeat since the overthrow of Bajazet. The Christians took 161 galleys and 12 frigates, and were occupied a fortnight in dividing the spoil; for which they were often on the point of turning their arms against each other. Never was so glorious an opportunity of humbling the Ottoman empire per-

mitted to pass away. The consequences which might have followed the immediate appearance of the confederates before the walls of Constantinople might have caused the most important results; but Philip II., the most gloomy and jealous of sovereigns, had no wish to strengthen the Venetian state; and the splendid results of a victory which might then have fixed the maritime superiority of Europe, was suffered to evaporate in merely taking possession of one or two insignificant islands, which closed, for that year, the naval campaign.

Nevertheless, the glory of such a victory spread terror through the Ottoman states, while it animated Christendom. Selim, sunk in the deepest grief, instantly forwarded fifteen thousand pioneers to strengthen the Dardanelles, and redoubts were formed on the ruins of the tomb of Hecuba, opposite to the Cape of Ajax, on the Sigean promontory. Meantime, the alarmed populace watched for the hostile fleet to cover the waters of the Propontis. It was at this crisis of excitement, that the brave Occhiali brought back to the port his small division of their armament; and the undaunted valour of the corsair king was worth more than a fleet to the Turkish cause. He revived the spirits of the Emperor, by undertaking to defend the capital, and the grateful sovereign made him Capitan Pasha on the spot. This energetic individual knew better how to repair disasters than the confederates did to improve their success. The Ulema contributed their treasures; workmen, sailors, and soldiers, were brought from different parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe; the abundant forests of the Black Sea supplied timber in profusion, a multitude of shipwrights in the port of Constantinople worked at the same time upon the hulls, the rigging, the

sails, and the masts of the vessels, and in less than six months two hundred galleys, well equipped, covered the port of Constantinople.

The Grand Vizir exhibited to the Venetian minister the dignified self-possession wherewith the Turkish government ever officially treats the most serious disasters. This minister having demanded an audience of Mehemet, he could not suppress the lurking indications of rejoicing which such a victory had afforded him. "Learn," said the haughty and quick-sighted Ottoman to the envoy, "that the loss of a fleet to my master, the Sultan, is as the beard of a man, which grows the thicker for the shaving; but the loss of Cyprus to Venice, is as an arm cut off from the body politic, which no art can replace."

Occhiali was without doubt the preserver of the empire. This extraordinary man was the pupil of Barbarossa, from whose service he passed to that of the Sultan, in which his talents and valour elevated him to the highest rank. Upon his elevation, he took the title of Kilig, or the sword. Constantinople is indebted to him for the beautiful mosque of Top-hana, which he is said to have finished with surprising expedition; it is even asserted that the first story was completed in the space of one night. All the capital rang with the wonder, which reaching the ears of Selim, he questioned Kilig on its truth. "It is the work of your highness," Kilig replied; "this building is erected solely by the hands of the slaves of your galleys; what, therefore, may you not expect from our united efforts, when by your will they are directed against your enemies?" Kilig annexed an imaret and madressah to his magnificent Jami.

The daring Kilig sailed with his fleet in the

spring to the island of Malvoisie, to convince the Christians of the regeneration of his master's maritime strength. He wisely calculated on the dissensions and tardiness of the confederates; and while he apparently braved their forces, he wisely left them to quarrel with each other, while himself remained master of the sea. The Venetians, who hoped at least to have regained the rich island of Cyprus, as the fruit of such a victory, disgusted with their confederates, and exhausted by their losses, resolved at length to make their separate peace with the Turks; and the Grand Vizir, who was uneasy lest some accident should renew the misfortune of Lepanto, being conscious of the unskilfulness of his raw recruits, began to listen to the overtures from the Venetians, who by treaty re-established the ancient limits in Dalmatia, and consented to the payment of a sum of money.

Stephen Battori, the new Waiwode of Transylvania, offered his tribute to the Porte, and the Sultan returned him, by a chioax, the mace-of-arms and the sword, as marks of his sovereignty, forbidding him to hold any treaty with a Christian power without the assent of his lord paramount. During these events, Moldavia was become unexpectedly the scene of discord and war, from the rebellion of Iwan the Waiwode, who, educated at Constantinople, had professed Islamism; but finding that his new faith alienated from him the affection of his Christian subjects, he first abjured the law of Muhammed, and next he rebelled against the orders of the Porte, which required his tribute. The contest was short, but bloody, and ended in the submission of Iwan, and his cruel massacre by Achmet, the Begler-bey of Roumili; also the wanton devastation and plunder of the

principality; after which the investiture was granted to Peter, the brother of the Waiwode of Wallachia, who had assisted to betray Iwan into the power of the Turks. The supremacy of the Ottoman Porte was admitted, without dispute, over the kingdoms of Algiers and Tripoli, when a new occasion took place, whereby the courage of Occhiali, and the sagacity of Mehemet, acquired Tunis also for the Porte.

Amida, the son of Muley Hascem, had been set upon the throne by Charles V., who left a Spanish garrison in the strong fort of Goletta; but so unpopular were both the Spaniards and Amida become, that Occhiali had landed a force which drove Amida from the throne. Philip of Spain commanded his half brother, John of Austria, to recover Tunis from the king appointed by Occhiali, and to replace Amida; but Don John, who found no difficulty whatever in retaking Goletta, was convinced of the insuperable hatred entertained against Amida, and therefore placed a youth of twelve years of age, a younger brother of Amida, on the throne. The Tunisians, many of them Moors who had been driven out by the Spaniards from their beautiful kingdom of Grenada, remembered with detestation what they and their fathers had suffered from them; they now therefore solicited aid from Constantinople, and the Grand Vizir (having ascertained, with the greatest dexterity, that he might reckon upon the neutrality of Venice) dispatched an army of forty thousand men under Sinan Pasha, who were soon conveyed by Occhiali, on board a hundred galleys, to the attack of Goletta. The victory was complete. The young king fled from Africa, and the Spanish troops were all either slain or made captives; and,

as an extraordinary conclusion to this event, the conqueror, Sinan Pasha, observing that a free constitution was so desirable for the people whom he had subdued, although existing in the very centre of despotism, established the foundation of a free state, which should regulate and govern itself, and which subsists to this day; and to complete this extraordinary arrangement, the democratical laws of Tunis were approved of, without any opposition, by the divan, and signed by Selim.

Inflamed by such instances of success, the Emperor was meditating an attack on the strong island of Malta, to revenge their junction with his enemies, when death interposed to put an end to his reign and life. A prey to superstitious fears, his death was hastened by an inauspicious fire, which, breaking out in the offices of the seraglio, consumed the buildings to ashes, with some vases of great value. The omen affrighted the Emperor, who remembered that a similar disaster had preceded the death of his grandfather. A profound melancholy took possession of his mind; and in this dejected frame of feeling, while visiting the handsome baths which he had constructed within the seraglio, his foot slipped on the marble pavement, he stumbled, and fell; now, being convinced that his horoscope was accomplished, a rapid fever consumed his strength, and, after six weeks of suffering, (aggravated by his unfortunate prepossessions,) Selim expired.

Although the dominions of the Ottoman sovereigns enlarged their limits under the eight years' reign of the Emperor, yet the indications of national greatness were clearly on the wane. The most influential change in the Turkish warfare, and which paralysed their whole system, was the retirement of the Sultan from the personal command of

the army; the troops thereby became more turbulent and lawless; for, to the imperious curb which the fierce passions of the princes of the Ottoman race had usually fastened on their followers, was also superadded the personal reverence and respect which became associated with their sacred and prescriptive exercise of the Kalifate. The glory of Selim's reign, (for it was marked by distinguished success,) was owing to the military school of Solyman; the generals whom his genius had formed had not yet forgot to conquer, and the Turkish soldiery still maintained the superiority of discipline which had grown up from forty years of triumph. Selim left to his son Amurath an empire improved by the accession of the beautiful island of Cyprus, which he had wrested from the Venetians; in Africa, the Pillars of Hercules marked its boundary; Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers having voluntarily ranged themselves under the shadow of the Ottoman throne. In Europe, on the side of Moldavia, the frontier stretched to Podolia; and, in Dalmatia, the empire was limited by Zara, Spalatro, and Sibenico, the Othman frontier embracing the strong chain of mountains which closes up these important places. Such was the powerful empire which fell by inheritance into the possession of Amurath the Third.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperor of Germany . .	Maximilian II.	1576
Queen of England, . . .	Elizabeth . .	1603
Queen of Scotland, . . .	Mary Stuart, .	1587
King of France, ...	Charles IX. .	1574

[A coin of this monarch, from the mint of Halib (Aleppo,) struck H. 974—1567, exhibits the following legend: "Sultanus Selim Shah, filius Sultani Solyman Khan."]

CHAPTER III.

AMURATH III.—TWELFTH REIGN.

H. 982—A. D. 1574.

AMURATH was thirty-one years of age when he ascended the throne. The Grand Vizir Mehemet concealed his father's death, as he had done that of Solyman, in order to give Amurath time to arrive from Amasia, where he resided. His accession was marked by traits peculiarly striking to such a race as the Ottomans, and not unworthy to be noticed by history. Hastening to take possession of the vacant throne, he crossed the Propontis at night, in a stormy and tempestuous hour, and demanded admittance at the secret door of the seraglio, which he found closed against him. Here he rested under a tree, while the Grand Vizir was informed of his arrival. To record the singular fact, Amurath ordered a fountain to be formed at the spot. The Vizir, having arrived thither, received the prince with profound respect; and taking him by the hand, he led him to the apartment of the Sultana Valide, without uttering a single word. Mehemet had never seen Amu-

rath. Entering first, he presented him to the Sultana, with the question, whether she admitted him to be her son. Upon her assent, he fell on his face, and paid his profound reverence to his lord, offering vows for his prosperity. The resident officers of the palace were then admitted to pay their homage; and esteeming their Sultan as sacred, they eagerly watch for the first words which he shall utter after his elevation, as prognostics of the future prosperity or misfortunes of his people during his reign. The surrounding train awaited with anxiety the words of Amurath. When he exclaimed, "I am hungry; give me to eat," terror fell on all present, for no doubt remained but that the empire was menaced by famine; and it ranks among the singular coincidences which not unfrequently furnish the result, that a desolating famine raged this year at Constantinople, and in many of the provinces.

At the rising of the sun, the death of Selim and the accession of Amurath were announced together. The next step was the execution of the five brothers of the Sultan, who, being conducted to his throne, were strangled in his presence. By a refinement in cruelty, their mothers were called on to witness their fate, to be thereby assured of their demise. The mother of Solyman, one of the ill-fated youths, becoming frantic at the sight, struck a poniard to her heart, and joined her breathless remains to his. The five sons of Selim were borne into the chamber of death where their father lay; and the same funeral pomp conveyed, with the exception of Amurath, the male race of Othman to the tomb near Sancta Sophia.

The insubordination of the janizaries was the first test of Amurath's want of firmness; they suc-

cessfully demanded, not only an augmentation of their pay, but the enrolment of their children in the corps at the age of twenty years. Such encroachments on authority, made with impunity, were indicative of the evils of a reign which began thus timidly. Astrological reveries were constantly the rule of action for Amurath; and the weakness of the Sultan in this respect became also the habit of his people. A dream at Amasia had terrified his mind, and he required of a female of his harem to expound its consequences. In deep perplexity how to proceed, she fixed upon an individual called Schudgea, who, having been successively dervise, janizary, mason, and gardener, was now a vine-dresser at Magnesia: a man who, to attract notice, affected a peculiarly strict austerity of life and manners, to which he added the art of divination. Schudgea interpreted the dream in the most propitious colours, concluding by a bold assurance, that the prince would in four days ascend the throne of his fathers. In fact, the event did occur within the seven-and-twentieth day; and the delighted Amurath loaded Schudgea with favours; he admitted him to the closest intimacy, calling him his Shiek and Lord.

The feud, which had first begun in the reign of Selim, with the Muscovites, was perpetuated by the irruption of the Krim Tartars, in union with Peter of Wallachia, who committed great ravages in Podolia. An important question at this moment attracted the attention of Europe. The Emperor Maximilian had established a permanent authority in the empire, and also had much improved his affairs in Hungary. The propitious arrangement with the widow of King Lewis had settled on him the important province of Transylvania: a rich inhe-

ritance, which the house of Austria never lost sight of, and eventually acquired at this period. Henry of Valois, elective King of Poland, having succeeded to the throne of France on the death of his execrable brother, Charles IX., had secretly retired from the throne of Poland, and taken possession of his native kingdom. The Poles were therefore to choose a new defender, and Maximilian now powerfully urged his claim to their choice. In this state of things, the Sultan Amurath, or his ministers, exercised a sagacity and activity which did them honour. Amurath, by letter, recommended to their choice Stephen Battori, the Waiwode of Transylvania. To this the Polish states paid such respect, that they elected the Princess Ann, of the Jagellan line, to be their queen, upon the condition that she should marry the Waiwode, which was accordingly done; and Stephen, grateful for the benefit, made a league with the Sultan, which secured him on the side of Hungary, during the bloody wars which he waged for twelve years with the Persian power.

The troubles of Persia, added to the natural hatred subsisting between the two countries, laid the foundation of a war, which acquired additional interest to Amurath, forasmuch as an Imaun had declared, that he saw written in characters of flame, over the entrance of the divan, "Amurath, conqueror of Persia." Shah Thamas had died, declaring Muhammed Khadabonde, his eldest son, to be his heir; but this prince declined the throne, and the Persians therefore released Ismail from his prison, and placed the royal fillet on his brow. Ismail, naturally severe, was deeply exasperated by a long and tedious confinement, and began his reign by the death of his youngest brother, Kha-

dar, also by many impolitic acts of cruelty, which drove several Khans of his court to fly for safety to the Turks. Violently irritated against the Ottoman race, he prepared eagerly for war; and Amurath's ministers deemed the Persian monarch an enemy demanding all their attention. The Grand Vizir would willingly have kept at peace with a people, whose enmity and whose country had proved so destructive to the Ottoman forces; but the Sultan in this respect was absolute, and confided the conduct of the war to Mustapha Pasha, the conqueror of Cyprus.

This war presents precisely the same vicissitudes, with the same events and results, as the preceding ones. The plan of attack was indeed varied. To secure the aid of the Tartars, the Ottomans advanced, supporting their left on Georgia, and thus they invaded the province of Shirwan; but although the intestine divisions of Persia favoured the Turks, and although the Persians had only light and undisciplined troops to oppose to the columns and disciplined regulars of their powerful enemy, yet, aided by the natural advantages of their native soil, and the union of their people, they succeeded always in regaining, at the conclusion of the season whatever they had been obliged for a time to resign. Amid these conflicts, the Khan of Krim Tartary, an important leader of the Turkish armament, was made prisoner by the Shah, and sent to Kasbin, his ordinary residence. The design of the Persian monarch had been to attach his Tartar visitor to his cause; but the imprudence of the Khan yielded to the charms and attractions of the favourite Sultana. The affront was discovered by the Shah, who had the culpable offender put to death. Persian ambassadors

at length were sent to Constantinople to seek a peace; but Amurath, resentful of the murder of his chief vassal, refused to consent to a pacification, and the two empires were mutually ravaging and exhausting their strength, in consequence of the merited punishment of two criminals. Mustapha, possessed of the chief portion of Shirwan, had dispersed his forces, upon the approach of the rigours of winter, among the places which he had fortified in the elevated regions, and Georgia. The Persians, taking this able leader by surprise, attacked and overcame the Turkish troops in detail, menacing the garrisons, and eventually regaining possession of Shirwan. Famine and pestilence swept away the relics of Mustapha's army; and the campaign closed, which had cost the Turks 70,000 men.

Amurath, attributing these misfortunes to the imprudency of Mustapha, recalled him to Constantinople, and reduced this redoubted leader to a mazul, or private station, on his arrival at the capital; thus stripping him of all his honours and riches. Mustapha would probably also have lost his head, but that the Vizir Mehemet, his enemy, was no more. This powerful Vizir, who had nearly monopolized the sovereign authority, perished in a full divan. It chanced that Amurath, unseen, was regarding their deliberations from the secret window of the divan, when a spahi, furious at the Vizir's rejecting his petition without deigning an answer, instantly drew forth his ataghan, and plunged it in the heart of Mehemet. Twenty scimitars were ready to punish the assassin, when the voice of the Sultan was heard, which forbade the punishment until the criminal had been questioned. In fact, the Vizir had com-

mitted a gross injustice, by depriving him of his timar, the fruit of his services, and by thrice rejecting his petition unheard. The Sultan, therefore, hearing the cause, after reprehending him for the action, absolved him of the death of Mehemet, and restored to him his timar: A dangerous precedent in any other state than in Turkey.

Amurath appointed Sinan to the vacant command; but the war still proved unfavourable to his hopes—his troops were defeated in Georgia—every effort made by this experienced general was frustrated—and Sinan, after blaming severely the scheme of reducing the country by forts, ventured imprudently to hint, that the chief cause was the withdrawing of the Sultan's auspicious presence from his troops, and that if the Sultan expected a good issue to the war, he should march in person. Amurath was so offended by this remark, that he disgraced and banished Sinan, appointing Shasis Pasha, his own brother-in-law, to be the Vizir. Ferhad, a man of great courage and experience, he constituted the commander. His rise was of that romantic character which Eastern habits alone present. Amurath was walking incognito in the streets of his capital, when he met a man loudly cursing the Kiaia, or Grand Vizir's lieutenant, whose important office it is to provision the city; the Emperor interesting himself in the complainant's case, he fully unburdened his grievance. "You are not able to lessen my evils," he said, "or prevent my having to-day fifty bastinadoes on the soles of my feet, which I certainly have not merited. I am the cook of an Oda of janizaries, and I came here this morning to buy what is necessary for my division; but though thus early, every thing almost is gone, and what re-

mains is too dear. The rascally Kiaia puts on such an impost, that not half the provisions are brought for sale—a scarcity arises—the rich increase their wealth, whilst we starve and are bastinadoed." The sequel proved that Constantinople was inadequately supplied, and that the cook was a man of great natural abilities. Ferhad was astonished to be called before the Emperor, but still more, when he lifted up his eyes, and saw on the throne the man who so kindly had listened to him hardly two hours before. The abuses were instantly put a stop to, the Kiaia dismissed, and Ferhad taken into the service of the seraglio, whence he soon was promoted to govern the empire.

Ferhad conducted the war with vigour and great bravery, but with similar ill success. Whilst he was pacifying Georgia, the active Persians retook Tauris; and when he would have conquered Nakshivan, a very strong and powerful province, the janizaries, wearied out and disheartened, mutinied, and obliged him to retreat to Erzeroum. The Sultan, displeased with the ill success of the campaign, employed his usual expedient of altering the commander; want of success with him implied every crime; he therefore recalled Ferhad, and appointed Osman Pasha, a man of iron nerves, already in Shirwan: and who joined to the courage of a lion the swiftness of the eagle.

Osman had scarcely distinguished himself by the recapture of Tauris, which he cruelly depopulated, ere he discovered a plot of the Tartar Khan to throw off the Turkish yoke. Having traversed the Caucasus by the defiles of Demir Capi, whose fastnesses no hostile invader had ever before trod, Osman descended the Don in boats, surprised the

rebel prince, beheaded him on the spot, and sent his head a trophy to Constantinople. Amurath, rejoicing in the promptitude which had thus stifled a dangerous revolt in its birth, received his victorious general with distinguished honours, and gave him an especial audience, on his return to the capital, in the pavilion called the Yali-kiosk, which looks on the Bosphorus. In this interview, Amurath fastened, with his own hands, to the turban of Osman, his diamond aigrette, and his diamond-handled ataghan to his side. On retiring, he found a caparisoned charger in the first court of the palace, which was given to him by the Sultan; the stirrups were of massy gold, and on each side of the saddle were attached a scimitar and candjhar, enriched with precious stones. Thus mounted, Osman was escorted to his palace by the state guards of the Sultan, proclaiming aloud his honours. These imperial favours will strikingly remind the reader of the times of Ahasuerus and Mordecai.

The seventh year of Amurath's reign was marked by a ceremony recorded as among the most pompous of the Ottoman annals: it was on the occasion of the circumcision of his eldest son Muhammed, a prince of great promise, but of furious temper. Among other entertainments, Occhiali delighted the capital with a singular and costly spectacle of the capture of Cyprus, representing, as in a tournament, the island besieged, wherein the mines, assaults, and details of war, were faithfully exhibited.

It is at this period that an English ambassador made his first appearance at Constantinople. Hitherto, England had carried on a precarious commerce with the Levant, under the flag of France

or Venice; but the spirited Elizabeth chose to exercise her own rights, of having her representative at the Ottoman Porte. The two powers opposed their privileges to the claims of the English queen; but the Vizir, evidencing that the Turkish government had their eyes open to the commercial advantages of a free intercourse, shortly replied in the Sultan's name, that "the Ottoman Porte was free to all friendly nations, and that it would therefore be unjust to close it against the English."

Osman Pasha, in the spring, resumed the Persian war, which was now conducted with signal success against the Turks by Mirza Hamzah, a Persian prince. Notwithstanding the Turks were 180,000 strong, he harassed their army, and took their convoys, while he could not impede their progress to, and occupation of Tauris. A massacre of many Persian citizens so enraged Mirza Hamzah, that with 20,000 men he attacked the Turks, and slew a vast number. In the blood-stained plains of Khalderan, he also engaged, at the head of only 10,000 men, the whole army of the Turks, and slew 7000 men, Osman Pasha, exhausted by incessant fatigues, being seriously ill.

Flushed with such repeated successes, Hamzah recruited his forces, and again led them on to a fierce battle; herein he singled out the Pasha of Kars, and engaged him single-handed, striking off his head, and placing it on the top of his lance. On this occasion the Turks lost more than 20,000 men, together with the Pasha of Trebisond, and five other Pashas.

Osman Pasha, sick and dispirited, retreated to Sahalan, where he was broke in upon by Hamzah with a fury which amazed even the Turks. The onset was so violent, that the Persians would have

penetrated to the pavilion of the expiring general but for the cannon, which, firing on the crowds, killed as many of the Turks as of the Persians. Osman, fainting and supported on a mule, rode through the ranks to encourage his troops, until, after an immense loss, the Persians retired. Osman Pasha of the iron nerves died in a few days afterwards, worn out by fatigue and sickness.

The army having thus lost their brave leader, they chose for their commander Sinan Pasha, whom the active Hamzah furiously assaulted in the Turkish camp at Salmas, near the lake of Ouarmia. Here, whilst bravely leading on his men, Hamzah fell among the foremost ranks, and by his death, released the Turkish army from their terrible foe. Short as was Hamzah's career, it was bright and splendid; and so instantly did his death change the scene, that the Persians, struck with grief, thereupon retreated, opening to the Turkish forces the road to Van. Arrived at this city, Sinan reviewed their forces, and found their losses amount to 85,000 men; here they were disbanded, having first sent succours to Teflis; while, the Ottoman forces being thus weakened, the Persian army, in 1586, again besieged the city of Tauris.

Ferhad had now, for the second time, the command. Leading on strong reinforcements, he defeated the Persians, and relieved Tauris; then, constructing a strong chain of forts unto Erivan, he protected the Karabagh as a bulwark, and thus kept his army together for two years: in the summer, they fought the Persians, and in the winter, they retired to their forts, and he resided at Arzeroum. The Shah, at length exhausted by such pertinacious efforts, and discouraged by the loss of Erivan, Kars, and the Karabagh, bethought of suing.

for peace. Amurath with reluctancy yielded to pacific counsels; but at length consented, upon a solemn renunciation of the three conquered provinces to the Ottoman sceptre—and thus an end was put to a long and bloody war.

The contest with Persia, the fluctuation of Vizirs, with depredations of all classes, the consequence of a weak government, had concurred to exhaust the public treasures, and the Sultan, for a remedy, had recourse to the most arbitrary efforts. The tributary princes of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania, were enormously taxed; he even ventured on the dangerous expedient of altering the value of the coinage; he also issued a firman, declaring the Sultans sole inheritors of the Pashas and all public officers, to the exclusion of their children and relatives. By these measures, the personal treasury became replenished with the spoils of the ministers and generals; and the incredible wealth of Mustapha, Sinan, and Ferhad, flowed into the private coffers of Amurath, while the pay of the turbulent janizaries had been kept for many months in arrears.

The conclusion of the Persian war led to the return of the troops; and their pay, which had been promised, being still undischarged, they broke out into open rebellion. The sacrifice of the Defterdar, who had only fulfilled his master's orders, and the trembling compliance of Amurath, together with the re-appointment of Sinan to the Viziriat, (after he had been made a mazul* for the third time,) tended to restore a temporary tranquillity; but the vigour of sovereign rule had been sadly outraged, and the pernicious and de-

* "Mazul" means the being stripped of honours and of wealth, and being reduced to a private station of life.

structive project of incendiary fires was now resorted to, for the first time, as a serious warning to the Emperor's vigilance. The conflagration of 1589 laid in ashes, in the course of a few hours, seven mosques, five great hans or magazines of store, and 5000 dwellings; and this disastrous, but successful atrocity, was thenceforth adopted as the signal of discontent and revolt.

The Emperor Rodolph, the son and successor of Maximilian, had been preparing silently and effectually for a contest with the hereditary foe of his house; and the conclusion of the deadly warfare in the sandy deserts of Persia was but the prelude to a similar waste of blood amid the marshes and morasses of Hungary. Sinan sought to turn aside the rebellious feelings of the janizaries, by an appeal to their fanaticism, and the display of the standard of Muhammed. The Sanjak Sheriff, the sacred Oriflamme, under which the pilgrimage was made to Mecca, was brought to Constantinople, in the charge of 1000 janizaries, drawn from the garrisons of Syria; and the Grand Vizir unfurled it to the sound of warlike instruments, with a declaration of the Hungarian war; at this sacred signal, the contumacious cries of the soldiery changed to their primitive fiery enthusiasm, and Sinan led forth from the troubled capital these lawless soldiers, thirsting for slaughter and greedy of spoil.

Tueffemback, Serin, Hardeck, Palfy, and a crowd of Hungarian nobles, had grown up to aid the imperial arms; they now laid siege to Weissembourg, while the Archduke Mathias had recently assumed the command. Mathias had taken Novogerod, but he was repulsed from the walls of Gran, and had been repulsed at Comorra. Sinan, elated at these successes, attacked Dotis, which he carried by as-

sault in three days, on which he ventured to invest the important city of Raab, only fifty miles from Vienna.

The fortifications of Raab were strong, and it had a garrison of 5000 men. Sinan furiously attacking the Archduke, who was encamped at Schut, by a series of bloody actions, and having compelled him to take refuge with his forces on the confines of Croatia, Raab fell, after a siege of only eighteen days, attributed to the treachery of Count Hardeck, who was beheaded by order of the Archduke. The utmost effort of the imperialists could not now protect the Austrian borders from Turkish plunderers; the Tartars and spahis swept the country to Minersdorff; and the Grand Vizir, after a triumphant campaign, led his troops into winter quarters.

Such were the events of the year 1594; but Sinan Pasha, justly distrusting the temper of the tributary princes, still urged the effeminate Sultan, by a strong effort, to head his enthusiastic troops, and crush all resistance, or, at least, to send to the army his son Muhammed. The latter hint alarmed and roused the monarch, already suspicious of his son, so that he declared his resolve to put his foot in the stirrup of war, in the coming spring.

The exploits of Amurath were, however, circumscribed within the confines of Adrianople. A violent tempest, mixed with hail, such as had not occurred within the remembrance of man, struck a deadly terror into his wavering mind; which, presenting only images of danger and of death, caused him to retire again within the walls of the seraglio.

The victim of morbid melancholy, Amurath here soon realized his gloomy fears, as a dream, the mere reflex of his disordered thoughts, and which

combined his august predecessor, Solyman, with the loss of his Hungarian provinces, was interpreted in an unpropitious manner to his excited mind. Having sacrificed fifty-two sheep to avert the dreaded omen, a singular, yet trifling incident, in the following manner, soon after fulfilled his fears, and put an end to his days.

He was reclining one day in the kiosk of Sinan, pensively contemplating the moving picture of the Bosphorus, when he heard the musicians singing the melancholy strain which he had formerly composed, to these words: "I am overwhelmed with the burden of my woes; O death, this night will be thy triumph." At this instant, two vessels, entering the port from Alexandria, saluted the Sublime Porte on passing the point of the seraglio; the report of the cannon broke the crystal windows of the kiosk, and the shivered fragments were scattered over his sofa and person. Amurath, turning pale, declared that his fears were realized, and that these signs announced his end; he then retired into the interior of his palace, the victim of his own imagination, his death taking place within four days after the circumstance, leaving his throne to his heir, Muhammed.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Germany.	Maximilian II.	1576
	Rodolph II.	1612
England.	Elizabeth	1603
Scotland.	Mary Stuart	1587
	James VI.	1625
Persia.	Shah Abbas the Great . .	1629

[The following Numismatic inscription establishes the fact of this prince having ascended the throne in 982, A. D. 1574; chronological tables of the House of Othman by La Croix, notwithstanding their usual accuracy, stating it to be a year later: —" Sultanus Murad Shah ben Selim Khan, Constantinopolis, 982—1574." This legend of his accession appears on a coin from the mint of Kanjah, in Georgia; in one from Bagdad; and also from Sâkarah, a place unknown. On three coins of this prince, from the mint of Cairo, a remarkable change in the legend may be noticed, which has been continued, with few exceptions, to the present day. He is thereon styled, Prince of the two continents —Europe and Asia, and lord of the two seas—Mediterranean and Euxine.]

CHAPTER IV.

MUHAMMED III.—THIRTEENTH REIGN.

H. 1001—A. D. 1595.

A PRINCE so enervated as Amurath was unlikely to form an illustrious successor. Muhammed had given the impression of a ferocity of character, mingled with traits of ambition and courage, all of which were marked characteristics of the Ottoman race, such as, called forth into action, might abase the enemies of Islamism, and add to the glory of its arms; but these qualities were the dread of Amurath, and he accordingly restricted his son to the retirements of Magnesia; his death would most likely have followed, to appease the jealous fears of his father, if the Sultaness, the mother of Muhammed, had not counselled her son to lay aside his prominence of character, and to feign a love of pleasure. This young prince became, therefore, from policy, a voluptuary; but the dangerous and seductive trial proved the bane of all that was promising in his qualities; the siren's charm had worked its change, for seldom do the followers of Circe escape her snares; and he mounted the Ottoman throne enervated and voluptuous. The first day of his

reign evinced that ferocity was the only primitive trait which was unchanged in his character. The death of nineteen of his brothers, and the drowning of the odalisks, or female slaves of the imperial harem, who were suspected to be pregnant, were part of the atrocities of the first twenty-four hours of his reign.

The war in Hungary had assumed a new form, the result of the rising importance of the house of Austria; and the Emperor of the West now began to give the signal of attack, instead of watching with dismay and fear for the movements of the Ottoman Sultan. Rodolph had assembled a veteran army of eighty thousand troops, and the able and experienced Count of Mansfeldt threatened the Hungarian conquered places. At length the storm fell on Gran, which was invested by the imperialists.

The Pasha of Buda, disturbed at the danger, advanced to its relief with twenty thousand men; but the Hungarian cavalry turned the Turkish forces, and after scarcely half an hour of combat, the Ottoman troops gave way with the loss of fourteen thousand men and twenty-seven standards; and Count Mansfeldt, after the battle, again resumed the siege of the city of Gran. The defence was most obstinate; the brave Mansfeldt also fell a victim to disease; he just survived to learn that Gran was taken, if its name could be applied to heaps of burning ruins, the fragments of a town blown into the air by the desperation of its defenders; the Austrians willingly accorded to the garrison, which had retired into the citadel, an honourable capitulation, to avert a similar ruin. The fall of Vicegrade, Fagiat, and Lippa, followed the conquest of Gran.

While these events passed in Hungary, the Pasha of Bosnia had entered Croatia with twenty thousand men, but was defeated and totally routed, and the siege and capture of Petrina followed; at the same period, to heighten the embarrassments of the Turks, part of the population of Transylvania, throwing off the Ottoman yoke, placed themselves under the protection of Sigismond of Poland. This young and valorous prince, at the head of eighty thousand troops, marched against Sinan Pasha, who had crossed the Danube near Tergowitz, in Wallachia. Disaster still followed the Turkish arms. Struck with a panic at the appearance merely of Sigismond, they precipitately abandoned their tents and baggage, and retired in disorder on Bucharest; they did not even find there a rallying point. Sigismond flew onward as to a certain victory, and Bucharest was surrendered without resistance, while the Turkish troops retired in terror, as Sigismond advanced; at length, the Hungarian cavalry overtook the fugitives on the banks of the Danube; sixteen thousand of the enemy perished, and liberty was restored to five thousand Christian captives. The victory appeared more glorious and decisive by the sight of an eagle, which, after floating through the air, perched on the triumphant standard of the Transylvanian conqueror.

The grandeur of the Ottomans seemed seriously menaced by all these sinister events, when a portion of the Poles, jealous of the aggrandizement of Sigismond, entered into Moldavia, under the conduct of Zamolski, the chamberlain, and having driven out the Waiwode, the ally of the Transylvanians, they entered into a treaty for the passage of the Krapjak defiles, to aid the vanquished Ot-

tomans; thus, by one of those remarkable turns, which seem more marked and critical in the destinies of Turkey than in those of any other great monarchy, the Turkish empire, although tottering in the midst of violent reverses, did not experience any permanently fatal calamity.

So many disasters alarmed the fears of Muhammed. Guided by the counsels of the Sultana Valide, he replaced the aged but still active Sinan in the responsible elevation of Viziriat, and the hoary warrior hastened to join the immense army at Belgrade, impatient at eighty years of age to resume the toils of war, and to strike an important blow; here the excitement of his mind, perhaps, wore out the frame; death surprised him; and his vast wealth, exceeding 600,000 sequins, was conveyed in thirty-six coffers to the seraglio treasury. The solitary act of Sinan was the decapitation of the Pasha of Buda, in revenge for his ill success; Sinan also earnestly recommended to the Sultan the renegado Cicala for his successor, a choice which evidenced his penetration; but Muhammed, guided by his mother, preferred Ibrahim to the vacant post. The death of Sinan threw the reins of power wholly into the hands of the Sultana, and her influence became so apparent, that the ambassador of the Sophi, on intimating this singular occurrence to his master, observed, "At the Ottoman Porte, the hen crows as loud as the cock."

The murmurs and discontent of his subjects awoke Muhammed for a time from his dream of pleasure, when he resolved to shake off his sloth, and announced his resolve to head his troops; and the declaration alone sufficed to restore to the armies their original energy. The camp spread over a vast plain adjacent to the walls of Constantinople;

thither the Sultan proceeded to the clangour of martial music, surrounded by his Pashas, the bostangis, chiaux, janizaries, and golden standards, to join his troops, the ambassadors of France and England attending in the procession.

The campaign had already commenced, and the confederates were eager to follow up their successes. The Waiwode of Transylvania was, however, repulsed from the walls of Temeswaer, while the Count of Palfy engaged himself in pressing the siege of Sambuk, an important castle, between Wiessemburg and Buda. The Archduke Maximilian, with sixty thousand men, had suddenly invested Hatevan, a town on the right of the road leading from Buda to Agria, which is strengthened by a castle of great importance. The garrison, taken by surprise, demanded the same terms as the city of Gran; they were sternly required to surrender at discretion; and on their refusal, an assault was given on several points, the place carried by storm, and the most atrocious cruelties and rage exercised upon the unoffending citizens, who were all, including even women. and infants, promiscuously massacred.

Such was the state of Hungary when Muhammed reached Buda, at the head of two hundred thousand men. The Archduke, afraid to retain his conquest, withdrew his garrison from Hatevan, and burnt the city. The terror inspired by the Turks soon spread to Vienna, where the Emperor armed the citizens, and restored the fortifications—there was even a question of destroying the Fauxbourgs. The Christian army, entrenched under the walls of Wihitz, awaited with inquietude on what quarter the storm would roll. It at length burst on Agria, a place highly important by its position, and which

had the glory of resisting Solyman. The defence was most obstinate, for the garrison consisted of the bravest of the Archduke's army, and their minds were sustained by the prospect of relief. The Turks also, under the eye of the Sultan, rivalled their best days, and, with their dogged obstinacy, pressing on assault after assault, they carried the town, and soon rendered the citadel a heap of ruins. The relief so needed was near, but it came too late; the remainder of the garrison, deaf to the entreaties of their commander, surrendered on conditions, dreading that they should experience the fate so recently inflicted on Hatevan. Two thousand men only issued forth from Agria; but they were scarcely out of the place ere the janizaries and Tartars fell upon them, and hewed them in pieces, in a retaliating spirit of revenge for the late massacre. The crescent and horse-tail standards had floated some days on the ramparts of Agria, when the Archduke, having formed a junction with Sigismond, Palfy, and the partisan Hungarian bands, arrived to save it.

Too late for that purpose, he offered battle to the Ottomans. A small river separated the two armies, the passage of which was guarded by Giaffar, at the head of twenty thousand Tartars and janizaries. They rashly crossed the stream to attack the imperialists; ten thousand men, consisting of infantry and cavalry intermingled, had advanced with their usual imprudency, and landed, when the Archduke led on the charge, before they had time to form, and the Ottomans, broken in all parts, repassed the river in disorder; being hotly pursued, they communicated their panic to the whole of the army which had advanced to support them. The imperialists, carried away by too much ardour at

their first success, rushed into the Ottoman camp with cries of victory; hereon becoming too impatient to seize on the immense booty, the soldiers broke their ranks, regardless of the commands of their officers, and the advantage was lost. A corps of cuirassiers had penetrated even to the Sultan's tent, where the bostangis bravely defended the military chest; this body-guard firmly resisted the foe, and the few precious moments whereby they held the action suspended, sufficed to change the whole course of events. Cicala was watching over the retreat with forty thousand men, as the only chance of preserving the whole army from destruction; he saw instantly the disorder of the imperialists, and the advantage offered. Rushing upon their scattered forces with his unbroken columns, the confederates were in an instant overthrown, dispersed, and overpowered by the cumbersomeness of the very booty they had fought for, while those who survived were trampled down by their own cavalry, which sought their safety by a precipitate flight, the Ottomans being precluded from any pursuit by the approach of night.

Muhammed, in the first confusion following the Archduke's attack, had fled with the spahis of his guard into Agria, and commanded the drawbridges to be drawn up. A mutual panic had, in point of fact, seized both armies, for Truffembeck, Palfy, and the other imperial generals, (far from profiting by the panic of the Turks,) alarmed for themselves, consulted only how to withdraw the remainder of their troops and the artillery; they at length even set fire to the tents, and abandoned their cannon, Sigismond having fled to Tokay, on the frontier of Transylvania, and the Archduke retired to Cassovia; thus no one was pursued, as each deem-

ed himself to be the vanquished party; but the honour of the day was justly due to the bravery, prudence, and presence of mind of Cicala.

The battle of Agria established his fame, and the gratitude of Muhammed gave him the Viziriat; but the war languished during the remainder of the campaign, after which both parties, worn out and exhausted, observed for many years a sullen and unsettled neutrality. The state of Hungary was, indeed, similar to that of the Ottoman and Greek empires under the first Sultans: No large armies were set on foot, the partisan chiefs were always in arms, and the cities always closed, and exposed to constant insults. The imperialists attacked Raab and Temeswaer, but were repulsed; the Ottomans, on their part, marched on Waradin, but without success. Raab at length was surprised by Palfy and Schwartzemberg; the massacre which followed was in a degree provoked by the ridiculous bravado of the Turks, who had fixed over the Danube gate a weathercock taken from a Christian church, with an inscription: "When this cock shall crow, the Germans may retake Raab." This incident recalls to the memory a similar trait of the Flemings, in 1304, at Mons en Puelle; and thus the follies of the human race are much the same everywhere, under similar circumstances.

The capture of Canisa, the capital of Croatia, and ordinary residence of the Archdukes, gilded with a ray of triumph the Ottoman arms. As the brave Duke of Mercœur, who had abandoned the camp of the league, overpowered by the genius of Henry IV., on leaving France, had proffered his talents to the house of Austria, he was baffled and repulsed in every endeavour to relieve Canisa, which, on his retreat, opened her gates to

the besiegers; Weissemburg was lost and regained by the Turks; but the imperialists succeeded in the capture of Pest, which menaced Buda, and of which they kept possession. Whilst the Hungarian war thus degenerated into a mere affair of posts, and became a theatre of nearly equally balanced reverse and success, a revolt in the Asiatic provinces shook the Turkish empire to its centre.

Kusahin, the Pasha of Karamania, pretended that he was a branch of the stem of the Kalifs, and that the Prophet had in a vision intrusted to him the mission of reforming the abuses, purifying the faith, and freeing the Karamanians from the Turkish yoke. The impostor was followed by multitudes, and soon acquired the most unbounded influence. He assumed the title of Shah, formed a court, and constituted Vizirs, issuing his fetsas with his monograme, as the Ottoman princes. Possessed of immense resources, he might have accomplished great changes, but Mehemet Pasha, son of Sinan, who was opposed to him, achieved by art and corruption what was very doubtful as the result of arms. Scrivano, a confidential officer of Kusakin, hoped to occupy his pashalik, and, for the sake of this bribe, he contrived to betray Kusakin into the hands of his enemies, by whom he was led to Constantinople, and put to death with exquisite torments.

Scrivano, perceiving a reluctancy to fulfil the engagement, forcibly possessed himself of the pashalik. He was, however, defeated, and forced to retire into Persia, now become always an asylum to the enemies of the Ottoman empire. Assisted by the wild bands of the mountains, Scrivano regained the strong chain of the Tauris passes, and appeared in Diarbekr; soon the opulent and im-

portant city of Bagdad declared for his cause; and from Brusa almost to the Bosphorus, the rich districts of Anatolia offered their immense resources to the rebels. Instructed in the arts of corruption, Scrivano tried this mollifying expedient with Mehemet Pasha and the Valide Sultana. Death, however, seized him in the midst of his expectancies; but the revolt did not expire with him. Hassan-bey, his brother, succeeded to his projects and power, with increased audacity, and put under a contribution of 300,000 ducats the city and territory of Angora. At this news, the vast population of the metropolis displayed the ferment which betokens a formidable revolt; it was amid these menacing signs the rebels even dared to forage along the Bosphorus, and to carry off the beautiful stud of horses of the Emperor, which, in the spring, are conveyed, for exercise and health, to the verdant meadows of Kiathana, in the immediate vicinity of Constantinople. The feeble Muhammed could adopt no better expedient than that of compounding with his rebellious subjects, and granting all their demands; upon these conditions they returned to their duty, and Zel-Ali, one of the most distinguished of the rebels, was elevated to the pashalik of Bosnia.

The public mind, greatly irritated, at length broke out into revolt. The Grand Vizir Hassan was just returned in triumph from the capture of Raab, when the discontented crowds surrounded the seraglio, demanding the death of all the advisers of the base concessions to the Asiatic rebels. Hassan, to save his head, openly accused the Capi Aga and the Sultana mother; and it was with difficulty the Sultan preserved the life of his mother, by the sacrifice of his favourite.

The janizaries soon meditated other attempts, and even contemplated the dethronement of the Emperor in favour of his son Muhammed; but the jealous fears of the voluptuous Sultan had anticipated the danger, by the execution of that prince. A revolution, it seems, had been planned; it was discovered, and the prince's mother, who was in the plot, was enclosed in a sack, and thrown into the Bosphorus; the Shiek Shudgea, also, (whom we have long lost sight of since the death of Amurath,) was charged as an accomplice, and suffered; a knowledge of the stars not sufficing to enlighten him as to the danger of intermeddling with the destinies of princes.

In Hungary, the balance of success was nearly equalised. In Bosnia, the adroit and skilful Zel-Ali had contrived to drive out the former Pasha, and to seize on the supreme power; but this being contrary to the design of the Porte, which had contemplated his destruction, every means was employed to entice him to Constantinople, with offers of higher advancement. The wary rebel artfully replied, that he was already amply rewarded. He even intimated, that if he were molested, he should take part with the imperialists; and thus he prepared for the powerful satraps of the Ottoman empire the example of a great subject compounding, with impunity, with his suzerain,—a line of conduct which has become of universal adoption among them to the present day.

Such was the state of the Ottoman empire, when Muhammed expired suddenly, after a reign of only nine years. Throughout its short period, he had forfeited every promise of his youth.* Plea-

* It is curious to trace the discrepancies between historians of a later period, and contemporaries, upon the

sure and voluptuousness were his chief objects, in opposition to labour and glory; ever feeble-minded, he gave way to the menaces of rebels, crushing

character of princes. One of the most celebrated of the Turkish treatises on Government, written by Rizwan-ben-Ac-hissari, is inscribed to Muhammed III. It contains remarks on the three heads of "manner of governing the people; the mode of directing public affairs; and of counsel to kings on government," which might be beneficial to the governors of any state; and is dedicated to the victorious Muhammed III., the shadow of God upon earth, the sovereign of Greece, of Arabia, and of Persia. It serves also to show us, that Turkish writers are not devoid of sound ideas of government, whatever may be their practice.

Among many admirable remarks, he observes: That country is in a flourishing state, where justice is impartially administered, and there is a good police. "It is the duty of a sovereign," says the Prophet, "to govern equitably." His interest requires it, for justice is the support of the empire.

The choice of proper persons for public offices is fully treated, and, as usual, introduced by a couplet from the Koran: "God prescribes that those persons only should be invested with dignities, who show themselves worthy of them." Concluding with an excellent saying: "A thousand friends are too few, and one enemy is too many."

"A sovereign will not only honour and respect the doctors of the law, but he will aid his undertakings by their prayers, and enlighten himself by their counsels, for they are the heirs of the prophets."

Again: "A sovereign will be very mindful not to lavish his marks of bounty on any exclusive class; for all, in a degree, have an equal claim on his solicitude." Men, it is said, are the captives of benefits. Do good to beings of free rank, says the Imaum Chafi, and they will of themselves become your slaves. Thus Alexander of Macedon, replied to one who enquired where he had stored up his riches: That he had no other wealth than his soldiers, nor

none but the weak and defenceless; and when he appeared at the head of his armies, it was only to be the first that took to flight in the hour of danger.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

France, . .	Henry IV. . .	1610
Germany, .	Rodolph II. . .	1612
England, . .	Elizabeth, . . .	1603
Scotland, . .	James VI. . .	1625

[There is no subject of remark connected with the coinage under this sovereign.]

other treasure than his army. And again he quotes the following remarkable saying: "A single hour employed by a sovereign in the administration of justice, says a Persian poet, acquires a higher distinction for him, than one hundred years of religious exercises."

CHAPTER V.

ACHMET I.—FOURTEENTH REIGN.

H. 1012—A. D. 1603.

ACHMET offered an example of the caprice of fortune. He was destined, by the common lot of his birth, as a minor of the imperial house, to perish, and not to reign; but the death of his brother, Mahmoud, opened a path to the throne; and Achmet testified his sense of the preservation, by suffering his younger brother, Mustapha, to exist, after his own advancement.

It was in 1603 that he commenced his reign. He was the first prince of the race of Othman who came to the supreme power in such early youth. To him only, of the Othman family, had the exemption been accorded, of possessing the empire before he had received the investiture of a Sanjak; for the symbol of power is never conferred, among the Mussulmans, prior to the age of adolescence.

Achmet was only fifteen when the Mufti had to announce to him the sudden decease of his father. He was immediately seated on his throne

in the seraglio; and on the morrow, the people learned that they had a new master, by seeing the young Sultan give audience to the ambassador of the King of Persia, wearing on his brow the imperial aigrette, and having his father's remains deposited at his feet.

Achmet's choice of a Vizir was a testimony of great promise. He selected Murad, the Pasha of Cairo, who, amid the relaxed and stormy reign of his father, had preserved the African provinces in tranquillity, had levied the imposts without vexing the subject, and governed without amassing riches for himself. His next step was to drive from his palace, into the retirement of the discarded odalisks, his grandmother, the Sultana, who became divested of the injurious authority which she had so long abused; and thus the injuries of the empire were avenged by the firmness of a child.

The reign of Achmet filled fourteen years of disgraceful struggles, the same dangers, the same enemies without, and intestine dissensions within, the same weakness in the sovereign, and the same vices in the government. The rebels of Anatolia, encouraged by the extreme youth of Achmet, pillaged entire provinces. The generals, who severally were appointed to disperse the wandering parties of Scrivano and of Hassan-bey, partook in the crimes of the culpable, that they might share in the plunder; thus Anatolia fell a prey to desolation and rapine. Watchful and active to promote these disorders, Persia always opened an asylum to these depredators; and the Ottoman empire never reckoned among its enemies a prince more distinguished by talents, valour, and profound plans of policy, than the enemy now raised up against

her in the person of Shah Abbas the Great. Vanquisher of the Uzbegs and Turcomans, possessed of Georgia, and controlling the important province of Armenia, Shah Abbas thirsted to reunite to his sceptre whatever had been torn from his empire by the Ottoman Sultans. He had already regained Tauris and the surrounding districts, when Achmet appointed Cicala, the son of the conqueror of Agria, to lead his armies to the deserts and provinces which had been the grave of such myriads of the Ottoman race. In less than a month, Cicala sustained three defeats; but notwithstanding these losses, the Ottomans kept the field, encouraged by a fetsa, in which the Ulemas declared, that the death of a Persian Shiite was more precious in the sight of God than that of sixty-six Christians. This decree enraged Shah Abbas to such a degree, that he inflicted the most exquisite torments on every member of the Ulema who fell into his hands.

Cicala, having lost nine Begler-beys, thirty Sanjaks, thirty thousand troops,—his camp, artillery, and baggage, the prey of the Persians,—was forced to fly from Shah Abbas; and the alarm being spread through the empire by these losses, cost him his head. Before Achmet could find a general of ability to cope with such a leader as the Persians now had, he had stripped the Ottomans of all their conquests; Irak and Bagdad had again become the property of Persia; and if the Shah did not push his conquests into Syria, it resulted only from the devastated state of his provinces, which, amid the splendour of his victories, made the Sophi sigh for peace.

The Ottomans had far greater need of respite from war than Persia; but Achmet would not feel

or succumb to the lesson of moderation; and, far from asking for the peace so necessary to his empire, he would not deign to accept of it when offered. The obstinate perseverance of Turkey in adhering to its possessions, under every change and reverse, and of never being discouraged by present misfortunes, is worthy of our particular notice, as it has, in the long course of the Ottoman annals, worked wonders for their empire, and has so far balanced the imbecility of their government, as in a great measure to retard its fall.

Shah Abbas, who could appreciate a perseverance thus always ready to seize upon the changes and vicissitudes of war, (although victorious in every quarter,) deigned to solicit peace of the Ottoman Porte, suggesting, as an expedient to flatter the pride of the Ottoman race, that if the Sultan would renounce those countries, they should be held by a prince of Persia, as a feudatory of the Sultan's, with a yearly tribute of silks. The Persian envoy, in case of failure, was commissioned to defy the Sultan to a single combat with the Sophi, who professed his sincere desire to spare any farther effusion of blood; but the offer was too chivalric for the character of the Ottoman court. The Sultan scorned alike the challenge and the proposal, and rejected the peace with disdain.

To the want of resources to carry on for a longer period such exhausting wars as raged in the east and the west,—wars which consumed the flower of the Turkish race in the swamps of Hungary or the arid sands of Persia,—were now added the desolation of the rich provinces of Anatolia. These once flourishing provinces were turned into deserts; troops of wild beasts infested the roads,

which were almost solitary, and assailed the travellers who were without escort or protection.

In vain the Mufti, pressed by the Sultan, issued his fetsas for the disposal of the sacred funds of the mosques and wacoufs for the Persian war; the troops refused to advance to the frontiers of their eternal enemies, whom they deemed to be invincible. The Sophi, with equal prudence and generosity, forbore to press on the harassed foe; he even offered to denominate the conquered provinces the Pashalik of Tauris, and that justice should be administered by a Cadi sent from Constantinople; he also engaged to pay a yearly tribute of two hundred bales of silks. Anxious to propitiate the Sultan, Abbas forwarded the most splendid presents to the seraglio; and shortly afterwards a peace was signed, which terminated a war of one hundred and fifty years' duration,—a period marked by the most sanguinary character,—ending, at length, by restoring the limits of the two empires to their original boundary.

In Hungary, the character of the Ottoman arms was more advantageously displayed. A numerous Turkish army ascended the Danube to the city of Pest, which was abandoned, by the treachery or pusillanimity of its governor, to the enemy. Neustadt opened her gates; and the tide of success was distinguished by the capture of Vachia and Vicegrade.

The divisions which rent the German empire, paralysed the exertions of the Emperor Rodolph, who had imprudently excited the enmity of the Lutheran princes. Hungary and Transylvania were in open rebellion; and Bethlem Gabor and Bostkai, supported by the Pasha of Buda, led against the Emperor the alienated subjects of these Christian

provinces, under their united standards. Neuhaussel was captured; and the strong city of Gran, invested on all its sides, after sustaining three assaults, was carried by a host of Mussulmans and of Hungarians, who overwhelmed the imperialists by their numbers, and together entered the place. So many serious losses warned the Emperor to treat with Bostkai; and, under the auspices of the rebellious Waiwode, the treaty of Comorra was negotiated between Achmet and Rodolph.

Two other treaties marked the epoch of 1606: the first being a renewal and liberal enlargement of the first compact with France, which accorded the most liberal facilities of approaching the sacred sepulchre, and the consecrated spots of Christian veneration; the second was a treaty of commerce, entered into with the states of Holland, granting the same privileges as the most favoured of the Christian states enjoyed. These provinces had arisen to the first rank among the maritime powers of Europe; and the liberal policy of Turkey was repaid by a boon, which history is pleased to record as a test of the comforts which are reaped by a dissemination of the bounties of nature among the human race. The Dutch ambassador conveyed, for the first time, to Constantinople, the tobacco leaf, which has since become such a favourite indulgence with the silent and monotonous Ottoman race.

The reign of the Sultan Achmet is a blank in the annals of his empire. A slave to the soft luxury of his harem, he enlarged the number of his females beyond all precedent; pleasures and the chase occupied every hour, and Anatolia and Greece were overspread by falcons and their keepers, while the

troops were without pay, and the provinces in disorder and rebellion.

An exhausted treasury, and arrears unliquidated, were nearly exciting a dangerous revolt, when a desolating plague swept away a vast proportion of the population of Constantinople. The fear of the plague had caused the Sultan to retire to a neighbouring kiosk, where a dervise of the Bektash tribe had nearly effected his destruction by a vast stone, which he hurled from the roof, and which grazed his shoulder. No tortures could extort from the fanatic the motives of his crime; suspicion glanced at the Sultana Valide, in revenge for the execution of the late Prime Vizir Nassuk, whose ambition and avarice rendered his fall every way an object of desire to such a capricious government.

Achmet's wound healed; and, the plague having ceased, he returned to the seraglio. As it was feared that the contagion might break out afresh, the physicians who were consulted had declared, that all the dogs which, roaming through the streets, might convey the infection, must be removed from the city. The Emperor, who was desirous of having them all killed, luckily, however, consulted the Mufti on the important point; when the chief of the law replied, that each dog had a soul, and therefore it was not lawful to take their lives. They were therefore all collected together, and transported to a desert island near to Scutari.

The name of Facardin first appears at this period, as the chief of the Druzes, a race which still subsists in the mountainous parts of Lebanon, and on the confines of Sidon and the maritime provinces. A quarrel between the victorious emir and the Pasha of Tripoli was decided by the Sultan

in favour of the former; for Achmet again had to encounter the chances of a Persian war, and was willing to conciliate this particular class of his vassals. Shah Abbas, displeased at the concessions made, or having regained the strength which so many years of bloodshed had broken down, after several temporising demonstrations, prepared to carry the war into the Turkish dominions. The Pasha of Damascus attempted to impede his progress in the vicinity of Bussorah; but the impetuosity of Abbas so inspirited his army, that he entirely defeated the Turkish forces, although twice as numerous as his own. Determined to carry on the war with the utmost vigour, the Shah removed his court to Bagdad, and every appearance demonstrated the dangerous designs of the Persian monarch. Achmet learned, with the greatest chagrin, the disasters of his armies; and was at length aroused to take the field himself, when he was attacked with a violent illness, which put an end to his life on the 17th of November, 1617, after an inglorious reign of fourteen years.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Germany.	Rodolph II. . . .	1612
	Mathias, ...	1619
England and Scotland.—James I.		1625
France.	Henry IV.	1610
	Louis XIII.	1643

[A specimen coin of the demi-piastre of this prince's reign is of fine workmanship,—the inscription correct; the words well disposed. Coins from Tunis, Algiers, &c., attest that the coinage of the Barbary maritime states was always struck with the titles of the Sultans of the Ottoman race.]

CHAPTER VI.

MUSTAPHA.—FIFTEENTH REIGN.

H. 1026—A.D. 1617.

OTHMAN II.—SIXTEENTH REIGN.

H. 1027—A. D. 1618.

THE existence of Mustapha was indeed a moral phenomenon in the politics and conduct of the Ottoman court. That the policy of Achmet might have spared the life of his brother, when as yet he was childless, and they two alone remained of the stock of Othman, may be conceived; but that he continued to be thus merciful, when the birth of three sons had assured the continuance of his own imperial line, would have been demonstrative of his humanity, had not the few last months of his reign been marked by fears and suspicions of his brother, the certain foreboders of Mustapha's death. The sudden illness of Achmet, however, inspired other thoughts; and, for the first time in the annals of the imperial house, the strict line of descent was deviated from, in consideration of the extreme youth of the issue of Achmet. He summoned his brother to his dying couch, and declared, with

his own voice, Mustapha to be his successor. The fatalism of the Turks might in his case found prognostics upon the horoscope of a man preserved from such peril at two separate periods of his life, and finally exalted to a throne; but these expounders of the stars were put at fault by the incapacity and aberrations of Mustapha.

His acts were clearly those of declared imbecility and incompetency of intellect. He nominated, at one and the same time, to be Pashas of Cairo and of Damascus,—two posts of the highest rank,—two ichoglans, or pages of his seraglio, scarcely out of their infancy; he deprived a spahi of his timar, to bestow it on a peasant who chanced to present him, when hunting, with a cup of water; insensible to the law of nations, he incarcerated the French ambassador in the prison of the Seven Towers, upon the most improbable pretexts. Every act was that of an unsound mind; and the divan, the Mufti and the Ulema, the Sultana Valide, the Kislar-aga, and the interior court of the seraglio, all united to compel this phantom of power to resign his throne. The Persians had commenced hostilities, to profit by the disorders of the Ottoman empire; and Mehemet, the Grand Vizir, was on his route to oppose the enemy, but retraced his steps to assist in the approaching political change.

Mustapha was easily persuaded to take the diversion of five days of hunting, in the vicinity of the capital. He found, on his return, that his nephew, Prince Othman, only twelve years of age, was seated on his throne. The weakness of his parts saved his life; for the Mussulmans regard, even with a species of respect, the peculiar malady of the unfortunate prince; and he was conducted to a tower in the seraglio, where he vegetated more innocu-

ously than on the throne. His reign had been only a dream of five months, and on the morrow, Mustapha was forgotten. His short reign presents no change in the several reigning princes of Europe.

OTHMAN II.—SIXTEENTH REIGN.

H. 1027—A. D. 1618.

The care of Othman was confided to the Grand Vizir Mehemet, and to the Capitan Pasha Khalil, but the minority lasted a much shorter time than had been provided for. The young prince was inflamed with an ardent desire to rule alone; he discoursed, without ceasing, of preserving the conquests, of treading in the steps of, and even of surpassing, the actions of Selim and of Solyman; and as he was not yet endowed with his full bodily strength, he sought to copy their vigilance. He pervaded every part of his capital in disguise; the mosques, coffee-houses, bazars, and markets, were his resort; and every infraction of the law was punished with a rigour that was highly imprudent. Thus, in the young Othman, severity, ambition, and pride, developed too early their premature fruit, and being sustained by absolute power, they engendered the rash obstinacy which eventually became his ruin.

The counsel which his confidential adviser, an obscure officer of his household, instilled principally into his youthful mind, was a dread and hatred of the janizaries. Their revolts during the reigns of his predecessors, and the very movement which placed him on the throne, were indeed substantial proofs of their power; ten times had they rebelled during the stormy reign of Achmet, and

each time they had been rewarded, instead of receiving their merited punishment. Blending, therefore, his secret desire of destroying these formidable guards, with a craving for glory, he meditated against what enemies he should direct the courage of the insolent soldiery whom he sought to sacrifice.

The fears of the divan were divided. On the one hand, the Cossacks of the Borysthenes, subjects of the crown of Poland, who infested the borders of the Black sea, were carrying on reprisals for incursions perpetrated by the Tartars of the Crimea. The Cossacks had recently engaged the forces sent against them under Memin Pasha, and having dispersed the Ottoman galleys with their light barks, they piratically harassed and alarmed even the vicinage of the imperial residence; personal resentment, therefore, inclined the Sultan to the war with Poland, but the state of the Germanic empire presented the long-contested prize of the kingdom of Hungary to his grasp.

The Emperor Mathias expired on the 20th of March 1619, and Ferdinand was chosen for his successor; but the states of Bohemia, alarmed at his bigoted attachment to the Roman church, refused to receive him as their sovereign. They voluntarily elected Frederic, the Elector Palatine, the son-in-law of James I. of England; and the war was already begun, which would open a vast field for Ottoman ambition, while the fiery spirits of Europe tore each other in pieces. Bethlem Gabor, whose life forms a picture of the times, reinforced by the Pasha of Buda, was already in arms, and aspired to nothing less than to hold the kingdom of Hungary as a fief of the Ottoman throne. He proposed to the Emperor to open a

sure and safe road for the Turkish forces to Vienna; the Grand Vizir supported the proposition, and instanced, with firmness, the great advantages which it presented. His experienced warnings upon the chivalric spirit of Poland, the country they were going to rouse to arms, and the formidable character of their superb cavalry, were regarded by Othman as proofs of treason; he even menaced the faithful Vizir with death; on this the tumultuary divan was adjourned, and the war with Poland declared. A natural death spared Othman the crime of punishing his Vizir, and his immense riches were borne to the seraglio. Well does the record of confiscation, and the different modes by which these enormous peculations again return into the imperial treasury, justify the Turkish figure of speech, "That the coin of the prince is never lost; if it be cast into the sea, it re-appears on the surface of its waters."

A year was passed in preparing for the Polish war, ere the impatient Othman, burning with ardour to lead his troops to battle, effected the passage of the Danube with a prodigious army, which has been computed at four hundred thousand men. Sigismond, King of Poland, and his son Uladislaus, had called forth all their resources to meet the storm. Eighty thousand troops, commanded by the Palatine of Wilna, encamped at Cottino, a village on the other side of the Dnieper. The Polish forces had scarcely entrenched themselves, ere the Ottoman army inundated the country around like a torrent, and began to attack the camp. The Sultan, eager to fight, gave the signal, on the succeeding day, for an assault.

Five thousand Tartars, advancing to encounter the Christians, were circumvented by an ambus-

cade, and their leader was made prisoner; but Othman, not doubting that his enormous force would overwhelm his foes, invested at once the whole quarter of the Cossacks. The Ottomans were repulsed, with a fresh loss of five thousand men; and the spirits of their enemies were further revived, by the arrival of Uladislaus at the head of the flower of the Polish nobles.

The Ottomans were not dismayed at their early discomfitures; but, after experiencing four several defeats, by the disastrous issue of so many obstinately contested and bloody battles, their ardour evaporated, and their courage became broken. Othman was too inexperienced to gain their confidence, and too cruel to acquire their regard; in fact, his rage at the disappointment of his hopes turned itself against his own generals and advisers, and thus he increased the discontent brooding among his harassed and discomfited soldiery. With impolitic cruelty, he put to death an hundred janizaries, as an example to the camp; thus menacing a body which hitherto had been only courted and flattered. The troops now revolted from their standards, accusing the young Sultan of injustice and inexperience. "Selim and Solyman," they exclaimed, "made themselves felt by bounties, not by cruelties; but Othman is able to shed the blood of his soldiers more freely than that of his foes." Notwithstanding their universal murmurs and discontent, the generals influenced their troops to again repeat the attempt to carry the Polish camp; but the effort was again repulsed with great loss. At length, after a seventh combat, the most protracted and terrible of all that had occurred, having left twenty thousand of their bravest companions dead on the field of battle,

the janizaries, repulsed and beaten back, covered with wounds and with blood, spontaneously began their retreat without awaiting for the signal; they execrated the authors of so fatal an expedition, and swore the destruction of every one who would force them to renew the combat.

Insubordination, revolt, and famine, reigned in the camp, when Othman, a prey to violent passions, was compelled to relinquish his chimerical dreams of glory, and to listen to propositions of peace. The Poles were so prudent as to content themselves with conditions which should save their country from the slavery which had threatened it; and, on the morrow, the Mussulmans began the retreat.

In the centre of the army Othman appeared, his heart gloomy, as his visage was dark; bitterness and reproaches flowed from his lips, as he taxed his followers with cowardice, insubordination, and riot. They murmured in silence their curses on his obstinacy, his inexperience, and his avarice. Thus the shattered remains of his once brilliant army returned to Constantinople, nearly naked and covered with wounds; the Sultan constantly reproaching his troops, and his troops murmuring always against his faults.

A character like Othman's, endowed with the germs of fine qualities, but exasperated and obscured by his passions, was not likely to slumber over his revenge. Ascribing the disastrous issue of the Polish war solely to his rebellious troops, the Emperor conceived the project of exterminating the dangerous body of the janizaries altogether; and, to accomplish his views, he resolved to employ the Egyptian troops, and secretly instructed the Pasha to assemble them. Meanwhile,

that he might safely quit his capital to put himself at their head, Othman announced a design of making the pilgrimage to Mecca. To give it an appearance of reality, the preparations were carried on with activity; but distrust can see with as keen an eye as revenge, and a dark rumour spread over the capital, that the young Sultan did not mean to visit the sacred city, but to destroy the pillars of the Ottoman throne, and to transfer to Cairo or Damascus the seat of the empire. These suspicions were fomented by many of the Sultan's servants, so that the people and soldiery became filled with fears, when they acquired an auxiliary, of all others the most fitted to help them to overturn the throne.

The Sultan, misled by bad advisers, had, early in his reign, deprived the Mufti of his sacred prerogative, restricting him solely to the primitive function of his office of issuing the fetsas. He had exalted Viner-effendi above the Ulema and Mufti; and he added to these provocations, the private wrong of affiancing himself (contrary to the usage of his house) to the Mufti's daughter Aphendine—of causing the ceremony to be observed with the most profuse magnificence—to practise the caprice of repudiating her the very next day, on some frivolous pretext. Such was the implacable enemy whom he had armed with the power of working his destruction. A fetsa of the Pontiff merely declared "the intended pilgrimage of the Sultan to be a violation of the doctrinal law," and this formidable paper sufficed to set Constantinople in a flame. The insurrection began by the janizaries assembling before the seraglio gates with their white wands; the portals were open, and the most profound silence reigned in

the first court; the demands of the revolters were for the heads of the Vizir and Viner-effendi, but not an officer appeared, so that the janizaries, being unarmed, and dreading some snare, deferred their plans to the approaching morn. The Sultan appears to have been possessed by a blind impression of some dream, that he should resist immovably, and he would put down the revolt; therefore, although for two hours their cries and menaces were unceasing, yet Othman deigned not to answer their demands. At length a voice in the crowd cried out, "We will have the Sultan Mustapha, the uncle of Othman the Second, for our Emperor!" The effect was decisive; forty thousand voices joined in the cry, "We will have the Sultan Mustapha!" The janizaries, now viewing their work of revolt as the will of heaven, instantly broke open the gates, and traversed the courts of the seraglio; then, seizing some of the trembling officers, they compelled them to guide them to the prison of the imbecile Mustapha. This prince became so affrighted at the sight of the multitude, that, persuaded it was his life that was sought for, he could not be made to apprehend the change, but presented his neck for the fatal cord. Exhausted by famine, (having been forgotten and neglected during the last three days of tumult,) he sunk into the arms of those around him, imploring of his subjects, who were now prostrating themselves, the boon of a cup of cold water.

Othman soon learned the terrible change, and, become aware of his danger, he eagerly tried to regain the soldiery, by promising to grant all that they demanded;—but the hour was past; every faithful servant who sought to appease the maddened soldiers was massacred; every violent act was re-

membered against him; and, flying from the palace, without knowing where to direct his steps, he took refuge in the abode of the Aga of the very janizaries who had dethroned him. The commander could not but pity his terrible reverse, although the mere expression of it cost him his life, so highly excited were all the troops. Following the hapless Othman to his asylum, they dragged him thence to the mosque of the Sultan Achmet. Here, also, was the stupid Mustapha, vainly essaying to rally his senses, and as doubtful of his existence as of the chance of a throne. In fact, at the sight of Othman, he sunk at his feet, demanding favour of his nephew. "Behold the master whom you prefer to me!" was the exclamation of Othman, with a bitter smile, as he regarded the prostrate Mustapha. Even yet he might have changed the state of his affairs, had not Daoud Pacha, the brother-in-law and Vizir of the new Sultan, broke in on the dangerous exhibition, and commanded that Sultan Othman should be taken to the castle of the Seven Towers.

Throughout the long and suffering period of thus traversing the space from the mosque of Achmet to the distant quarter of the Seven Towers, Othman was overwhelmed with insults and abuse. Exhausted by suffering, and unable to proceed, they mounted him on a wretched steed, scarcely able to bear him. His youth and fine features excited no pity in their fierce minds, which had by a violent effort shaken off their reverence. His turban had fallen off, and one trait of compassion alone gilded his mournful way, and that was the spontaneous act of an obscure Turk, who, rushing forward, covered his head with his own turban, bidding him to be of good courage.

A prison, to dethroned princes, is usually but the portal to the tomb; such indeed it was to Othman. The very next day, those janizaries who had conveyed their prince to the Seven Towers, gathered themselves from every quarter, as if suspicious that he might have perished, demanding, "Where is Othman? where is Othman?" The unfortunate prince appeared at the barred lattice of his prison, perhaps cherishing the hope of a favourable deliverance, when, as if satisfied by the sight, they dispersed, exclaiming, "Othman must not be Emperor! but he shall live." The ferocious Daoud had decided otherwise; and, being absolute master of the government under the name of Mustapha, he announced, in a few hours' time, to Othman, the decree of his death. Scarcely yet in his eighteenth year, he struggled for life with his executioners, until, overpowered by numbers, he sunk under the fatal bowstring; Daoud then severed an ear from the corpse, and dispatched it in a box to Mustapha, with this improvident remark: "A present for the sublime Sultan, whom his faithful slave has served against his will!" Thus miserably perished the unfortunate Othman, a victim to rashness and presumption: his lot was a hard one, and his sufferings and reverses far outmeasured his faults. His fate deserves also our notice, as the first instance wherein the Turks broke through the restraints imposed by the sacred character of the Ottoman race, and stained their hands with the blood of their sovereign.

[The coinage of this prince, dated 1027—1618, differs from any other of this dynasty, only in having the legend disposed, in a double circle, round the name of the reigning Sultan in the centre.]

MUSTAPHA RESTORED.

H. 1032—A.D. 1622.

This phantom of authority was again replaced on the throne, for the Sultana Valide and the ambitious Daoud to exercise, without control, the unlimited power of the Ottoman sceptre; but the past scenes were calculated to let loose the discordant elements of insubordination and violence. Three revolts broke out at once in Asia. The Pasha of Bagdad declared himself independent; and the Sophi, recalling his ambassador, prepared to avail himself of the distracted state of his rival and foe. Chiefly, an alarm was spread over the capital by the denunciations of Abasa, the powerful Pasha of Erzerum, who, declaring himself the avenger of Othman, denounced the janizaries as the murderers of their lawful lord, and consigned them to infamy and punishment. Proclaiming everywhere his resolve to exterminate this seditious soldiery, he spread desolation wherever he marched, cutting in pieces all the janizaries who fell into his power, and even involving in the same fate their wives and children. Lastly, the janizaries themselves began to regret their victim, and to remember his courage, his fine mien and bold character. Daoud, who had accurate intelligence of all that passed, had neither resources nor ability to meet the storm; and the occupier of the throne could lend him no aid, for every day manifested some fresh extravagancy and folly. Luckily for Mustapha, his worst aberrations were ascribed to a sacred impulse, and his wildest actions sheltered under a notion of their being inspired. Amid all these convulsions, Da-

oud maintained a precarious existence for a few months, the object of universal hate, until, finally involved in ruin, by a species of retributive justice, he was taken along the same road as he had been instrumental in dragging the unhappy Othman, and, when pressed by extreme thirst, it was noticed that he drank of the same fountain at which the ill-fated prince had moistened his lips; he also entered the same chamber, to perish by a similar death.

The state of the empire was not altered by the death of Daoud. The Pasha of Erzerum drew near to the straits which separate the capital from Asia, and filled it with affright; and so alarming were public matters, that the great seal of the empire was offered vainly to the hands of four of the chief governors of the divan, after some weeks of general alarm and confusion; the reins of the empire being ostensibly held by an old white eunuch of the seraglio, who accepted the post of Grand Vizir. The Mufti, the Ulema, and janizaries, becoming at length impatient of the incapacity of Mustapha, and alarmed at the menaces of Abasa, a new revolution was the easy work of a few hours; the imbecile Mustapha, while indulging himself in the kiosk of the late Daoud, was informed that his reign was over, and that he must re-enter his palace no more.

The unruly elephant, in an excess of fury, crushes his mohat under his feet, while, the instant afterwards, he lifts up with his trunk the feeble child of his ill-fated conductor, places him gently on his neck, hearkens submissively to his voice, and adopts him for his master;—such is a faithful emblem of the Ottoman: by turns furious and docile, each step of his career is often marked

by crime and by remorse; thus the janizaries, who so daringly had assailed the majesty of their two last sovereigns, now entered eagerly into the seraglio, to prostrate themselves submissively at the feet of their new master, scarcely twelve years of age.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Germany,	.	Ferdinand II.	1637.
England,	.	James I.	1625.
France,	.	Louis XIII.	1643.
Sweden,	.	Gustavus Adolphus, . . .	1632.
Persia,		Shah Abbas the Great, . .	1629.

CHAPTER VII.

AMURATH IV.—SEVENTEENTH REIGN.

H. 1033—A. D. 1623.

THE vigour and energy of the stem of Othman, which had grown feeble and degenerate for the two last reigns, was again seen to flourish in the new occupant of the imperial throne. It was in 1623 that Amurath commenced his rule over subjects who had adopted the system of commanding their sovereigns. It soon became apparent that he was endowed with vices and qualities calculated to render him both feared and obeyed. He soon excelled in all bodily exercises, and was the best horseman of his empire: he darted the dgerid with firmer hand than the most expert Tartar, and no one could equal him at drawing the strongest bow, or directing the arrow to its mark. Two columns, now standing in the Atmeidan, at fifteen hundred feet apart, are still cited as proofs of the distance to which this prince could direct his arrow. Such a prince could not long be kept in tutelage, or be negligently obeyed; he commenced his reign by deposing the Vizir, and confiscating his vast

wealth to replenish an empty kazna, and many other guilty Pashas were involved in the same lot. Abasa of Erzerum, the most guilty, had accomplished his vow of immolating sixty thousand janizaries to the manes of the murdered Othman, while by its performance he had laid Anatolia in ashes, and depopulated Asia. Acquainted with the elevation of Amurath, he retired to his Pashalik, where he was soon besieged in his city of Erzerum, and obliged to surrender to Khalil the Vizir-azem. His death was demanded by the janizaries with violent outcries, but Khalil presented him in triumph at the feet of Amurath, who, appreciating his valour, and the need which his empire had of such defenders, not only vouchsafed him life, but made him Pasha of Bosnia. Removed from the field of his former actions, he there testified, by his bravery and devotedness, his sense of Amurath's discernment.

Always restless and greedy, the janizaries renewed a demand for the customary present on the accession of the Sultan, although, by the rapid changes, they had been bought three times within the space of as many years. The Kaimakan, whose only crime was the refusal of suffering them to pillage the public treasure, became eventually their victim; and the prince, though highly irritated, dared not yet to put forth his authority to punish such an outrage. But his anger only slumbered, for from henceforth he adopted the maxim, which he never lost sight of, that "Vengeance may be postponed, but it never grows old."

Instead of immuring himself in the seraglio with odalisks and eunuchs, Amurath made a practice of frequenting the Atmeidan, of challenging the spahis to trials of dexterity, in shooting the ar-

row, and hurling the lance; and these ferocious soldiers, seeing that he excelled them in their own exercises, became gradually subdued under a mind superior to their own, and submitted to the yoke of one worthy to be their master.

Amurath having thus fixed the fear and dread of his character on their minds, soon proceeded to develope his plans. He caused, by degrees, the most seditious of the janizaries to be arrested, who were immediately privately executed, or cast into the Bosphorus. Several of the leaders of the spahis were beheaded; he spared not even the common soldiers, but severely exacted revenge for their tumultuary conduct, until he deemed that their desire of revolt had been quenched by blood. The mainspring of the internal policy of Amurath was guided by his resolve to bring every order of the state, and especially the soldiery, under the yoke of his will, and he governed with a rigour that appalled those who would have taken advantage of his youth. Death was the award of the slightest disobedience, and he not only witnessed its infliction, but often put his sentence in force with his own hands. To prevent revolts, he forbade, by a proclamation, every cause of the populace assembling together, so that a barber could only admit of three customers at one time; the inhabitants of the capital were also ordered to retire within their dwellings at an early hour, and not to exhibit lamps or fire. Patrols of bostangis, frequently headed by Amurath in person, watched over the observance of these orders. He forbade, by an edict, his subjects from smoking in public, and interdicted the use of opium; yet, strange to add, while Amurath thus set at nought the pleasurable indulgences of his people, he sanctioned, by an imperial edict, in 1633,

the use of wine, although expressly condemned by the Koran.

The empire had been shaken in every part, but its most serious losses were on the side of Persia. Shah Abbas, the greatest monarch whom modern times exhibits as ruling over that interesting country, had repossessed himself of Diarbekr, Bagdad, and the district of the Euphrates, with Kourdistan; and on the north, he had not only regained the Armenian districts, but had extended his progress into Anatolia, as far as Trebisond. The death of this great man relieved the Turkish empire from its most formidable foe, and Amurath prepared to regain his lost provinces from the grasp of Persia. The war had for three campaigns been continued, without any decisive success, in the east; but it gave an opportunity to the Sultan to pursue his favourite scheme of destroying the obnoxious soldiery. They had excited his hatred recently by a revolt and incendiary fire; and having succeeded at length, by sending detachments to the army, and other expedients, to reduce their formidable numbers, so that they were not an object of fear to the capital, Amurath issued an order of proscription, of the most bloody character, against the different Odas. The chief leaders of the two corps were summoned to the seraglio, and there instantly strangled by the Azamoglans; and the very same night which followed this execution, he surrounded their quarters, and had above six hundred janizaries put to death in their chambers. On the morrow, a fetsa was issued by the Mufti, enjoining the people of Constantinople to take up arms, and to slay every janizary who might appear in the streets; thus, numbers of them perished from the animosity of the citizens, who were justly ir-

ritated against troops accustomed to inflict such a scourge by their incendiary practices. Many more attempted to hide themselves in cellars and private dwellings, but Amurath, passing through all the streets at the head of the bostangis, directed a most diligent search, and destroyed all those who were discovered. Similar steps were taken at Adrianople and the other principal cities, nor was the massacre stopped until the janizaries were completely broken and reduced to a state of impotence. The events of this period run so parallel to the position of the empire under Mahmoud II., that we appear to be perusing the history of the present times.

Amurath, thus delivered from fears of intestine sedition, directed at length his personal efforts to the Persian war. The Ottoman empire was at this period embroiled on every part, being engaged in active hostilities with Poland, with Germany, and with the maritime powers of the Mediterranean. Their ebb and flow of success scarcely merit the historian's pen, as the energies of Amurath exalted in a few years the Ottoman greatness to nearly its pristine splendour. On the coast of Syria, Facardin was again involved in a revolt, which eventually cost him his life, being betrayed by the Pasha, on whose promise he had relied for safety;—so common an event, that it excites a wonder that any one ever could trust to the deceitful compact.

It was in the spring of 1635 that Amurath left his capital to conduct the Persian war. Passing at once from his habits of excess, he displayed the qualities of an indefatigable warrior and sober general; he marched on foot, under the burning sun, partook of the same fare as the meanest soldier, and often made his couch of the bare ground.

Such an example riveted the obedience and regard of his troops. His constant practice, as he passed through Asia, was to acquaint himself with the conduct of the governors, and to severely punish the guilty; one of whom, Khalil, the Pasha of Erzerum, forfeited his life to the rigorous justice of the Sultan. Having here passed his army in review, he found himself at the head of 200,000 men. Armenia, which in fact is the key to the Persian provinces, was the point of his attack, and he immediately formed the siege of Erivan. It was furiously contended for by both parties; but at the end of nine days, the fortress was surrendered to the impetuosity of Amurath by its governor, Emir Ghium-Ogli, whom the Turkish annals name the more prominently, as showing that "the favourite sin will find favour with its own practitioner."

Amurath's excesses surpassed those of any of his predecessors, and Ghium-Ogli was a notorious violator of the law of Muhammed. Amurath having dismantled Tauris, and ravaged the neighbouring provinces, in the winter he returned in triumph, carrying with him to Constantinople the late governor of Erivan, already one of the chief companions of his excesses. For several years the affairs of Europe precluded the Emperor from again repairing to the scene of his triumphs in the east. The Khan of Tartary threw off his subjection, and a sudden irruption of Polish serfs, flying from the Ukraine, appeared on the shores of the Caspian; joining there a body of Muscovites, they attacked, unexpectedly, the important fortress of Azoph, of which they soon became masters. The vicinity of the Crimea to the shores of the Bosphorus, has always rendered the Ottoman Porte peculiarly watchful

over these districts, and the loss of Azoph was a source of deep vexation to Amurath. Ragotski had succeeded Bethlem Gabor in the possession of Transylvania; who, far from keeping up his dependency on the Porte, had already united his forces with the Emperor of Germany and the King of Poland. The Venetians also had taken advantage of the absence of Amurath to molest the states of Barbary. Thus the arm of aggression appeared to be lifted up on every side against the pretensions of the Ottoman Porte; but in those times, as in the present day, the favourite politics of Turkey seem to have been to attend to the most pressing evils, and permit the ordinary necessities to cure themselves, or to find their level; and usually, time itself has done for them all that they anticipated.

The war of thirty years, which lasted until the peace of Westphalia, now broke out in Europe, and released Amurath from any further solicitude on the part of the Christian powers. Venice trembled at the menaces of the Ottomans, who determined to sustain their chief maritime auxiliaries, the piratical states of Barbary. "You threaten us with a Christian league!" fiercely exclaimed the Kaimakan of the Porte to the Venetian Baillie; "Christendom is now only an empty sound. I have been Pasha of Buda, and I know that the German Emperor has no treasure; scarcely can he make head against the French and the Swedes, united to attack him. The French too well know their own interests to attack us. The Spaniards have too many quarrels of their own to meddle with their neighbours. The Pope and Italians would injure the Sublime Porte, but they have no stings. Reckon ye the English or Dutch as your allies and our enemies? Declare your war, and

they will see you taken in your own nets with joy. Their flag will succeed yours in all the posts of his highness; and our seas, closed to your ships, will be open to theirs." Such was indeed the faithful, yet melancholy, portraiture of the European commonwealth, sketched by a Turkish minister in 1637.

The views, thoughts, and stern resentments of Amurath, were exclusively directed against Persia. He had sworn the destruction of Bagdad; and, to accomplish his purpose, half a million of the human race were engaged in the horrible work of mutual destruction. The camp at Scutari shone in all the resplendence of Asiatic pomp. Bulgaria supplied twenty thousand pioneers; the train of sappers and of artillery were numerous. The Sultan embarked, in the auspicious moment designated by his astrologers, on board of the Capitan Pasha's galley, who laid an offering of thirty-two purses of gold at the feet of his dread lord. Amurath's station was in the centre of his formidable force; he divided the route into 120 stages, and gave the signal to advance.

This immense multitude, increasing as it proceeded, by the Asiatic and Egyptian quotas, resembled a mighty river, augmenting its course by tributary streams, until at length it pours a resistless volume of waters into the capacious ocean. The inflexible severity of Amurath preserved the most perfect order and discipline. Nothing escaped his vigilance or justice; he seemed changed into the most temperate of mortals, and displayed an example of patience and courage, while three hundred thousand brave combatants drew on towards Bagdad, the bravest of whom was Amurath himself. The city was defended by three deep

ditches, the walls were fortified by towers as bastions, while a garrison of twenty thousand men appeared to set the storm of war at defiance. The Sophi was necessitated to leave Bagdad to her own strength, as he was fully occupied in the northern frontier of his dominions, put in danger by a threatened invasion from the Indian provinces, under the auspices of Shah Jehan, the father of Aurengzebe.

Bagdad was invested on the 19th of October 1637. The immense camp of the Ottomans whitened all the extensive plain surrounding the city of the Kalifs, on the left bank of the Tigris. The attack was decided in a grand council, wherein the Vizir-azem was charged with that on the ac-kapæ, or the white gate; the Pasha of Diarbekr ranged against kara-kapæ, or the black gate; the Begler-bey of Anatolia had the Persian gate assigned to his division; and the Kislar-aga had his strength arrayed against the Bird-bastion; and these arrangements being made, the trenches were opened, and the first cannon directed against the walls was fired by the Sultan's own hand. Two hundred pieces seconded the fire, and ceased not to play on the fortifications.

The Persians and Ottomans had almost daily encounters, during one of which, Amurath engaged hand to hand a Persian of enormous stature and strength, who had defied the whole Turkish army to meet him single-handed; but the brave and chivalric Sultan, after a severe conflict, cut him down by a stroke of his scimitar. Such traits inflamed his troops to efforts almost superhuman; whole forests of palms were hewn down to fill the ditches, which, after a perilous process of twenty days, presented a causeway to six great towers,

now nearly torn to fragments by the artillery: here, as on an arduous stage, the Turks and Persians met, and contested with the scimitar and dagger. Amurath, ever present, pressed on assault after assault, sustaining the weary and exhausted combatants with fresh aids, and frequently urging the loiterer to the breach, and inflicting death with his own hand, on the slightest sign of cowardice. One of these terrible assaults lasted three days and nights, with unexampled and unintermitted fury, wherein the Grand Vizir was slain in the breach, under the eye of the Sultan.

The efforts were renewed with increased fury by the new Grand Vizir; and Becri Mustapha, whose bravery obliterates the record of his vices, was the first to mount the breach which had been made near the Persian gate on the eastern side. In the midst of a crowd which had pressed on from the dawn of day, Mustapha Becri beheld at length that he was left with a few followers only. Preferring death to retreat, he seized a standard, and forced his way to the ramparts at the top of the wall, just two hours before the setting of the sun. At this signal, the Turks precipitated themselves onward with increased rage; the Persians merely shrunk back for a moment, and Bagdad was lost. A capitulation, which was languidly treated for amid the bustling struggle, had relaxed the resistance of the brave Persians; meantime the janizaries broke into the place, and citizens and soldiers were involved in one promiscuous slaughter; nothing was spared. Twenty-five thousand men sought their safety by the black gate, which opens on the Tigris, but not a single man escaped the sword. The cellars and vaults were piled up with the victims who had fled to their re-

cesses for security; the horrible massacre lasted through the night, and, on the break of day, Amurath made his triumphant entry into Bagdad, over the bodies of thirty thousand Persians, recently massacred. The ferocious shouts of the enraged army, now exulting over the fallen Queen of the East, served to drown the sobs and cries of fifteen thousand women, children, and old men, the relics of what once was Bagdad; the city being abandoned to the pillage and fury of the whole Ottoman army.

Thus fell this illustrious city,* never more to regain her lost splendour. Although the bloody conquest had cost the Sultan the entire flower of his forces, Amurath commanded public thanksgivings in the mosques; and the tidings of the triumph over Bagdad was announced by the artillery from the Bosphorus to Buda, that the Christian powers might learn the shock which the Persian colossus had received.

The fall of this famous city, and the terrible fate which annihilated so great a portion of his army, struck such dismay into the councils of the Sophi, that this dreadful siege put an end to any present struggles between the race of Sofi and the Ottoman

* The cruel massacre was just accomplished, when Shah Cali, the Orpheus of Persia, presented himself before the excited Sultan, and sung to the Scheschader the downfall of Bagdad, and the triumph of the conqueror. His enthusiasm, worked up by grief, became so touching and intense, that even Amurath was melted to tears of compassion, and the slaughter was stopped; thus the relics of the population of Bagdad owed their preservation to the song of the musician. Amurath carried him to Constantinople, with six other eminent musicians; and they were the chief means of introducing the love and cultivation of music among the Turks.—(Todorini.)

Emperors; and this catastrophe has always been ranked, in the Persian annals, as an anniversary of mourning and of mischance.

Amurath announced his intention of entering Constantinople in triumph; and, while the glory of his actions and name followed his steps through the provinces, the proof of his cruelty had preceded him; the orders for the murder of his brother Bajazet were privately sent from the encampment on the Tigris, and a few days before the entry of the Sultan, the appearance of Bezir-aga, the confident of the private orders of Amurath, spread consternation among the Pashas and great men of the empire: the ill-omened Moor, indeed, resembled the dark minister of fate; but the bolt fell on the stupid and useless Mustapha, the late Sultan, long estranged from the remembrance of the public, yet never forgotten by the jealous contempt of Amurath. The Sultan entered, the day after the execution, by the Adrianople gate; he rode on a superb charger, clad in a leopard's skin, attached to the shoulder by a clasp of diamonds, which set off his martial and majestic carriage; twenty of the noblest Persians, the chief remains of the population of Bagdad, walked on foot before the Sultan, wearing chains of gold; his soldiers and guards followed, bending under their booty; and the wondering capital beheld, for the first time, a Turkish army returning from Persia with a remunerating plunder.

This brilliant achievement was the last act of the reign of this highly-gifted prince, as the abuse of wine and of spirituous liquors consigned Amurath to an early tomb, at the age of 31. Before he closed his eyes, he meditated the dreadful crime of exterminating the imperial race by the

death of Ibrahim, his brother, and the last male existing of the Othman line; the only delay which had ever been ventured against his announced will, demonstrated to the dying Sultan that his last hour was at hand.

Amurath reigned seventeen years; and posterity, when weighing the unfavourable circumstances under which he mounted the throne, will see abundant reason to rank him in the number of the greatest princes of the Othman dynasty.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Germany,	Ferdinand II.	1637.
	——— III.	1657.
England,	Charles I.	1649.
France,	Louis XIII.	1643.

CHAPTER VIII.

IBRAHIM.—EIGHTEENTH REIGN.

H. 1049—A. D. 1639.

AMURATH IV. had ceased to exist, but the effects of his energetic rule still continued to be felt; and the soldiery, trained to obedience, permitted the change of their sovereign to occur without interrupting the public tranquillity, or insisting upon the largest measure of gratuity to which the profusion of former reigns had accustomed them. For some years, Ibrahim had preserved a precarious existence, immured in the privacy of the seraglio; accustomed to contemplate the danger of his situation, the tumult which announced that the great officers of the state drew near with their congratulations, was apprehended by him to be the precursor of death. The arrival of the Sultana Valide, and the sight of the dead body of Amurath, could scarcely dissipate his alarms.

The appearance of Ibrahim, marked by timidity, and with his eyes half closed and cast on the ground, was strikingly contrasted to that of the fierce and imperious Amurath, when, a few months previously, he entered his capital, clothed with a

leopard's skin, and surrounded by vanquished Persians. It was perfectly indicative of the difference in their character; for Ibrahim wholly gave himself up to his pleasures, and the scope of all his views was bounded by the walls of the seraglio.

The Vizir-azem Mustapha continued to govern the empire as he had done under Amurath. He was a warrior by disposition, and his probity and frankness of character equalled his valour. Indifferent to the acquisition of riches, he restrained the cupidity of the Pashas; while he kept the soldiers in their obedience by severe discipline, and proved himself the prop and bulwark of the Ottoman throne. While Mustapha governed the empire abroad, the Sultana Valide, the imperious Kiosem, the widow of Achmet I., enjoyed an unlimited influence within the walls of the seraglio. The mother of three Sultans, Othman, Amurath, and Ibrahim, she derived therefrom a sacred respect in the estimation of the public, which she sustained by her talents and character.

The late Sultan had prepared the means for the recovery of the important fortress of Azoph from the Cossacks; and the warlike impulse given to the Turkish empire by the genius of Amurath, prolonged the glory of her arms.

Twenty thousand janizaries, as many of the spahis, with fifteen thousand Tartars and Circassians, were embarked under the orders of the Pasha of Silistria; and, towards the end of July, the siege of Azoph was formed by sea and land. The Cossacks lost not their courage, although left to their own resources; while on every side they had sought for support, every state alike dreaded to encounter the formidable and persevering enmity of the Ottoman Porte. They threw up intrench-

ments, and pertinaciously defended the surrounding country. Driven at length within the walls, they displayed a valour which repulsed every assault; the breaches were rapidly repaired, the mines counterworked, and the attacks counteracted by the vigilance of the besieged; and, in the month of October, the storms which periodically visit the Black sea obliged the Turkish flotilla to retire within the shelter of the adjacent ports. The Grand Vizir ascribed the failure to the incapacity of the Capitan Pasha, whom he deposed, and whose wealth he confiscated, and Piali was appointed to command the naval force, without the rank of his predecessor. Ghium Ogli, the Persian Emir, who had attached himself to the court of Amurath, and become a favourite with his sovereign, having been suspected of a correspondence with the Shah of Persia, Mustapha caused him to be strangled in his palace; he even ventured to break with the Ulema, and commanded a Cadi of Constantinople to be hanged for malversation in his post. There wanted nothing but the name of Sultan to invest the Vizir with the amplitude of the imperial power; and, while he thus awed the refractory by his severity, he successfully occupied the idleness of Ibrahim with the luxuries of the harem.

The following spring, the Ottomans again approached the walls of Azoph, which had been rendered more formidable than before; but their efforts and assaults were doubled, while the brave Cossacks became gradually weakened by their success, having sustained a siege of unexampled severity. They at length quitted the smoking ruins of the bulwarks, which they had blown into the air, and, forcing their way through the ranks of the in-

exorable foe, they sought their safety amid the marshes of the Caspian shores. The conquest of Azoph was a source of triumph for the Ottoman arms; but at this time a chance spark lighted up a conflagration of the most terrible nature, which, after a series of bloody combats by sea and land for the space of twenty-four years, terminated at length in the extinction of the Venetian power in the Egean sea;—a memorable catastrophe, equally disastrous to the vanquishers as to the vanquished, whom it alike enfeebled.

Six Maltese galleys had met accidentally with an Ottoman vessel of war. According to some writers, it was destined to convey a Sultana to the city of Mecca; by other writers, it is said to have had in charge the Cadi of Mecca and Kislar-aga of the seraglio. The combat was obstinate and bloody, but the Turkish ship was at length overpowered and captured; her freight was of the most costly and valuable description, which the captors conveyed to the isle of Candia, and the Venetian governor had the imprudence to admit the Maltese into his port.

An infraction of the peace, with such a personal insult, aroused even the enervated Ibrahim, who, amid the relaxation of self-indulgence, had not wholly lost his pride, and the order of Malta was the foe upon which he resolved, in his first impulse, to direct his numerous troops, and pour out the vengeance of the Ottoman empire. The sound of the immense preparations making in the Turkish ports was heard throughout Europe, and from every state and kingdom the knights, anticipating their destiny, hastened to their isle; but the sage and experienced counsellors of the divan, justly apprehensive of the impregnable character of the

Maltese intrenchments, and still recalling to mind the fatal tarnish which had befallen the arms of the Great Solyman, selected, with equal sagacity and promptitude, the important and powerful island of Candia as the point of their enterprise. Some writers brand the Ottomans with the charge of bad faith towards Venice in this transaction; if, however, the sale of the captured vessels was openly permitted, the Venetians could reasonably anticipate no other result. After a year of temporizing with the Venetian republic, the Turkish fleet set sail for Candia, conveying an army of seventy thousand men, including seven thousand janizaries, all of whom disembarked on the island, in the month of May, 1645.

This important island, the ancient Crete, rises pre-eminently above all the multitude of isles which are spread in the Egean. The snowy points of Mount Ida are seen distinctly at sea from thirty leagues' distance. The city of Candia, on the southern shores of the island; the city of Canea, on the north-western side, which faces the Archipelago; and Retimo, to the east of Canea, are the principal, indeed the only places, of this celebrated and once flourishing island which are deserving the name of cities;—a melancholy contrast to the hundred cities which once flourished in Crete, and of which, at the present day, we cannot discover even the traces, so total has been the destruction brought on Crete by war and by barbarians.

Having easily effected a landing, the Ottoman forces promptly invested Canea, the second place for importance on the island, which stands on the ruins of Sidonia. During a siege of fifty-four days, the inhabitants resisted, with the most des-

perate valour, every effort of their enemies, exerted in six tremendous assaults. Previously, however, to the seventh, which, with their dogged obstinacy, the inflamed Turks were preparing, seeing the place entirely open, and themselves wanting even ammunition, the garrison demanded to capitulate; this the enemy granted, and thereby acquired possession of the place. The strong city of Retimo fell, after a protracted and sanguinary resistance, in the following year; and at length, by degrees driven from post to post, the Venetians possessed solely the port and capital of Candia. It was the last relic of all their important positions in the Egean sea, which had stood as so many bulwarks against the tide of Ottoman aggression.

The defence of Candia immortalizes the annals of Venice; and its duration and events would alone fill a volume. The struggle which she maintained against the overwhelming superiority of the Turkish enemy, gilds the declining fortunes of the Queen of the Adriatic. During these events in the isle of Crete, the Venetian fleet, under Morosini, had been supplied and equipped in a manner worthy the best days of the republic; they ravaged the coasts of the Morea, and took and burned the city of Patras; they even proceeded to blockade the Dardanelles, possessing themselves, for that purpose, of the isles of Tenedos and Lemnos. The Ottomans, immovable in their plans, prepared a fleet to convey a large reinforcement to their army destined to conquer Crete, and treated with contempt the obstructions to their commerce and capital; the Venetians, too weak to cope with the new armament, retired to their harbours. Upon the continent, however, the republic was more successful, as her forces took several places on

the borders of the Dalmatian province; and they had formed the siege of Clissa, an important fortress, when the Pasha of Anatolia arrived to the succour of those possessions with a superior army, which obliged Pisani, the Venetian governor, to limit his efforts to surprises and stratagem. His troops were defeated in two serious encounters; and the Ottomans, deluging the country, menaced both Zara and Spalatro. The name of the latter place recalls to mind the era of Diocletian, who retired hither upon his abdication of the government of the Roman world. History rectifies the error of misconception, and shows the actions of men in their true light: thus the abdication of Diocletian has been used to be cited as an act of self-denial, ranking with the similar recorded events of illustrious monarchs; but the traveller who beholds the lengthened façade, and lofty porticoes and temples, of the palatial residence of the retired Emperor, will form a different estimate from the usual one adopted respecting this act. Diocletian forsook the world, because health and vigour of mind had forsaken him; new rivals had grown up, who, his sagacity foresaw, would seize the reins of power by force or by concession; he therefore wisely chose the moment which fate had preserved for him, of withdrawing to a retreat of Cæsarean dignity, surrounded with the splendour and riches of the imperial throne. Spalatro, distinguished still by the erections of Diocletian's magnificence, was an object of the ambition of the Ottoman Porte, who would thereby have stretched her power on the continent to the Adriatic; but the Turks failed in their enterprise, and were also repulsed from before the important fortress of Sibenico. Although, therefore, driven from the open field, yet the Ve-

netians preserved the keys of their Dalmatian possessions.

Hungary and the Germanic empire were left in the ruined state of petty inroads and disturbances already noticed, without any distinguished effort on the part of the Ottoman Porte; and Persia and Turkey alike concurred to give a breathing time to their mutual frontiers, which a century and a half of fatal wars had desolated.

While such were the external relations of the empire, the weak and luxurious Ibrahim, in his capital, gave way to his voluptuous sensuality, and admitted many beautiful females to his harem. The birth of a son to the Sultan, in 1644, was the astonishment of Turkey, he being paralytic, and the slave of debauchery. In eighteen months, it appears that seven male children were born of different Sultanas. The fact is necessary to be recorded, as their birth was the cause of a revolution in Krim Tartary. The Khan Mehemet, reckoning upon the failure of the direct Ottoman line, of which he formed a collateral branch, had already commenced his prospective intrigues with the most influential of the Pashas, to secure to himself the throne, upon the demise of Ibrahim. The vigilance of the ministers of the Sultan had detected these plans; and the question of probabilities being answered by the increased numbers of the sacred line, Mehemet was unceremoniously deposed, and Islam Kherai appointed to succeed him in that important province.

Pursuing his career of indulgence, Ibrahim ventured to take the daughter of the Mufti from the baths, and a few days afterwards, he imprudently sent her back to her parents with scorn; such an affront transported the Mufti with rage, and the down-

fall of the profligate Sultan was the result. An insurrection of the janizaries was planned and fomented by the chief of the religion, whereby they surrounded the seraglio gates; the death of the Grand Vizir Achmet, and other concessions, only led to further demands, these being merely the preliminary steps to the revenge meditated by the chief instigator. Applied to by the insurgent soldiery for a fetsa against the Sultan, the Mufti pronounced the anathema, "That whoever obeyed not the law of God, (that is, the dictum of the Koran,) was not a believer, and, if he was the Emperor, he should be degraded from the empire." The result of this fatal *arrét* was, that the janizaries rushed to the seraglio, bursting open the gates, and seizing Ibrahim, who became, too late, convinced of his temerity. They immured him in his ancient prison, and a few days afterwards he was strangled,—the full measure of the revenge of the Mufti being solely satisfied with the death of the deposed Sultan.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Germany, .	Ferdinand III. .	1657
France, . .	Louis XIV. . .	1715
England, . .	Charles I. . .	1649

CHAPTER IX.

MUHAMMED IV.—NINETEENTH REIGN.

H. 1058—A.D. 1648.

THE infant son of Ibrahim was scarcely seven years old, when he became the master of the Ottoman throne. His tender age left necessarily the reins of government to others; and, for the first time in the annals of his race, they were firmly grasped by a female hand. Kiosem, the Sultana Valide, the mother of the three last Emperors, held the first station, not less by her rank, than by her vigour of mind. The year in which Ibrahim perished, was notable for similar sanguinary and striking events, both in Asia and Europe, such as prove the instability of human power, by the reverses which overtake the great of the earth. The East furnished one of these examples, in the calamitous fortune which overwhelmed the splendid Mogul Shah Jehan, whom his son Aurengzebe dethroned. That successful prince severally vanquished his brothers in rotation, and put them to death; one of whom, Dara Sheko, romantic and brave, reminds us, by his misfortunes, of the unhappy Zisimes. England exhibited the extraordi-

nary spectacle of the trial and execution of her sovereign, Charles I.

For some time the ascendency of the Sultana Kiosem was acquiesced in, and the course of events passed on smoothly; but at length, suspicion was excited in the breast of the mother of Muhammed, that some sinister project was designed by the Sultana Valide against her son. Finding that the regent Kiosem had won over Bectas, the Aga of the janizaries, the Sultana, in the name of her son, sought a counterpoise in the adverse class of the spahis. Bectas had, at that time, overawed the spahis, when he at once gave an advantage to his foes, by deposing the Vizir Mehemet, a firm friend of the janizaries, and by placing Siaus Pasha in the Viziriat, who secretly favoured the spahis.

The Aga had already decided upon the dethronement of Muhammed, and the elevation of Solyman, a younger brother, who had no longer a mother; which motive influenced Kiosem, as it would confirm her rights as the Sultana Valide, without a rival. The place of meeting (as was usually the custom of the rebellious Ortas) was held at the Orta Djami, whither Bectas had the presumption to summon the Grand Vizir Siaus Pasha. The presence of mind of this minister equalled his courage and firmness. Although it was against the etiquette of the Ottoman court for so high an officer to receive commands, yet he obeyed the mandate, and found the Aga, surrounded by the Ulema and all the members of the empire, who dreaded the enmity of the janizaries; the Vizir readily swore adherence to the views and plans of the Aga, and left his assembly, to immediately prepare the means of counteracting them. Hasten-

ing to the seraglio, he was surprised to find, that, although it was night, the gates were open, and the courts unguarded; a treacherous negligence, directed by Kiosem, to give immediate access to the rebel troops. The Vizir proceeded to the Sultan's chamber, and the Kislar-aga, or chief of the seraglio guard, being summoned, the bostangis, or gardeners, the beltagis, or wood-cutters, the ichoglans, or pages, and all the swarm of the seraglio domestics, hastily armed, gathered by the light of flambeaux; and, by their shouts, assured the weeping child who represented the majesty of the Ottoman house, of his safety.

The first step of the energetic Vizir was to secure the person of their great enemy, the Sultana Valide Kiosem, who, residing in the seraglio, fell at once into their power. Secluded in her apartment, and anticipating the successful developement of her schemes, a few hours only changed her prospects to an ignominious death. Fortified by a fetsa of the Mufti, who espoused the part of the Vizir, Kiosem was condemned and strangled by the ichoglans in the palace gardens; the black eunuchs then took up her body, and bore it with great respect to the royal mosque. Having thus provided against sudden attack on the person or residence of the sovereign, Siaus proceeded to prepare for the inevitable conflict with the formidable janizaries. For this end, he caused the standard of the Prophet to be raised as a rallying point for his soldiers. The sensation resulting from this measure shook the firmness of the followers of Bectas; as any true believer who refuses to follow this banner when displayed, incurs the penalty of being deemed a giaour. The rebel Bectas still wavering, a spahi, proceeding at full speed

to the temporary encampment of the janizaries, proclaimed a firman of the Porte, which made Bectas Pasha of Bosnia, and Karu Hassan Aga of the janizaries, enjoining every one to repair to their Ortas on pain of death. The change made by the new appointment, operated as swiftly as shifting the scene in a play; for the janizaries, without a murmur, accepted their new Aga; and Bectas, stripped of his power, and trembling at the appalling consequences, was, on the following day, conducted to the seraglio, and strangled by command of the Grand Signior. The new Aga of the janizaries evidenced his obedience by secretly executing all the most obnoxious individuals; so that the soldiers, who perceived the dangers which followed their seditions, were for a long time kept within the bounds of duty.

But tranquillity was never long the privilege of the capital; for the spahis, who had fully relied upon the extinction of their hated rivals the janizaries, became exasperated to the highest pitch against Siaus and the other powerful Pashas, for having, in some measure, torn their prey from their grasp. Residing in great numbers in the capital, they simultaneously assembled, and assailing the detached parties of janizaries whom they met with, they cut them in pieces. Emboldened by this act of violence, they assaulted the palaces of the Grand Vizir and chief Pashas, involving all in destruction who had unfortunately caused them any umbrage. Amid these dangers and revolts, the public affairs were directed by the chief of the black eunuchs and the Selictar-aga, who, becoming alarmed for their own safety, and desirous of selecting a Vizir whom they might safely control, they mutually cast their eyes upon an individual to fulfil

the eminent duties of the Viziriat, who had been overlooked by the spahis in their revolt on account of his insignificance; but so little are the qualities of men understood by superficial observers, that the person thus promoted proved eventually the most eminent Vizir of the Turkish annals, and the founder of an illustrious house. He was the son of a renegade, by name Kiuperli, and supposed to be of French extraction. His talents enabled him to effectually disperse the spahis among the Sanjaks of Asia, and to re-establish internally the due administration of the laws, as well as to pursue the war in Candia; in short, he soon shone out with a brilliancy of genius which has ever rendered him an object of admiration with the Osmanlis.

The Grand Vizir Kiuperli had most truly a dangerous task to execute during the first years of his advancement, while he laboured to bring the capital into a state of tranquillity. Meantime the siege of Candia languished, and became a tedious blockade; but in 1653, the Venetian fleet, commanded by Moncenigo, gained a complete victory over the Turks, who were too weak, for a considerable time, to keep the seas; in 1654-5, also, the Turks again experienced a naval loss, when the Capitan Pasha, with only five or six galleys, escaped into the Bosphorus, so that the capital was filled with consternation; but the firmness and prudence of Kiuperli not only banished all fear, but promptly displayed such extraordinary exertions, as to equip, in an incredibly short period, a powerful armament. The Venetians, availing themselves of their present superiority, again possessed themselves of the islands of Lemnos and Tenedos, to harass their enemies by the blockade of the Dardanelles.

Mehemet Kiuperli, with a view of employing the dangerous soldiery of the capital, availed himself of the pretext of the rebellion of Ragotski, the Waiwode of Transylvania, to light up anew the flames of war in Hungary. The Sultan, whose mind had never lost the impression of the terrible scenes of his infancy, willingly adopted the wishes of his Vizir, and left a capital polluted with blood, and agitated by constant revolts, to follow the chase, of which he was passionately fond, amid the fine plains and scenery around Adrianople; while, during his absence, the aged Vizir coerced the capital with a rod of iron, and was actively preparing to lead an army into Hungary, where the Pasha of Buda had acquired possession of Peterwaradin by assault: the weight of eighty-six years had not quenched his physical ardour, when death closed the career of the most enlightened and most regretted of the Ottoman statesmen. His master, properly conscious of his value, and sensible of his impending loss, visited the dying Kiuperli, and desired, as a last token of his duty, to have his counsel for his successor; the minister designated his own son Achmet, who emulated and soon equalled the fame of his illustrious parent.

Achmet Kiuperli bent his whole energies to the war in Hungary; the contest in Candia consequently lingered on, while the Turkish fleet, issuing from the straits, repossessed themselves again of Tenedos and Lemnos, rendering the threatened blockade nugatory, and a mere idle threat.

Ragotski had drawn down the displeasure of the Ottoman Porte, by connecting himself in alliance with the Swedes against the Polish nation—an act of disobedience to the Sultan, to whom his

vassals are pledged not to enter on any unauthorized intercourse with the Christian powers. Ragotski signalized himself in various combats, until he ventured, in 1662, to engage a very superior force, which he signally defeated, but was himself so severely wounded, that he soon after died. Leopold, who justly dreaded the dangers likely to arise to his Hungarian states, should a partisan to the Turks be chosen, appointed Kemini to be the Waiwode, while the Ottoman Porte invested Michael Abaffi with the ensigns of authority; the real title of the successful competitor could only be established on the plains of Hungary.

Kiuperli entered Hungary in the spring of 1662, and soon possessed himself of the strong fortress of Neuhassel, whence he proceeded to ravage Moravia. The Emperor, meantime, in vain sought for succours from the tardy acts of the diet; while a gallant band of six thousand French, led by the distinguished Montecuculi, arrested the progress of Achmet Kiuperli.

Two years had passed in the petty warfare of posts and of strong places, until, in 1664, Montecuculi posted his army on the borders of the Raab, whereby he protected the circle of Austria and Styria, when the Grand Vizir, impatient to view his career thus arrested, gave the command to his soldiers to pass the river. Montecuculi having permitted a portion of the Turkish force, of about fifteen thousand men, to cross, he then successfully charged them, and succeeded in entirely cutting them to pieces, or in driving them into the stream, while a sudden inundation of the Raab precluded their companions on the opposite shore from coming to their assistance. The janizaries and spahis, however, emulating their ancient bravery, and

throwing themselves into the flood, continued to struggle to arrive on the hostile banks; thus the combat was protracted from nine in the morning until four in the afternoon, so that the total loss on the part of the Turkish army amounted to nearly thirty thousand men. The consequences of this victory, aided by the talents of the imperial commander, might have led to the most decisive advantages, had not Leopold (either under a false terror from the Turkish arms, or influenced by some other train of opposing politics, which so often arose amid the perplexing positions of the Austrian Emperors) signed the peace of Temeswaer, and consented to receive the terms, when he might have dictated them. The advantages were all concluded on the part of the Ottomans, for their vassal, Michael Abaffi, was confirmed in the possession of Transylvania, and Great Waradin and Neuhaussel were ceded to them; while the interests and misfortunes of Hungary being passed over in silence, occasioned a discontent which soon engendered fresh combats.

Kiuperli, now at the height of his glory, returned in triumph to Adrianople, and was graciously received by his master in that city, which he still made his chief residence. He then prepared to direct the Ottoman power on the long-protracted siege of Candia, when a new danger menaced the empire. An impostor, named Sabatei Sevi, a Jewish doctor, announced his mission to his countrymen, of being their long-expected Messiah. It was in 1666, (and the mystic number of the year was made use of in his addresses and preaching,) while Sabatei drew together crowds of followers at Gaza, that another fanatic, the accomplice of Sabatei Sevi, gave himself out at Jerusalem for the pro-

phet Elias, appearing to testify to the pretended Messiah. The progress of these artful impostors became so serious, that they ventured to denounce the payment of any further imposts to the government, affirming, that ere another year had made its circle, Muhammed IV. would be dethroned. Kiuperli, who had disdained to turn aside for the pretensions of obscure fanatics, now judged it proper to repress these disorders, which he effected with admirable sagacity, and without bloodshed; by employing the skilful weapons of flattery, he persuaded the infatuated Sabatei that the Emperor only awaited his preaching to become a convert to his doctrine, and invited him to repair to the imperial city.

It appears surprising how Sabatei could become so rash; but he who begins by imposing on others, not unfrequently ends by imposing on himself. Sabatei, however, embarked with twenty-one of his disciples; he was no sooner on board than his destination was altered from Constantinople to Adrianople, where the Sultan then was. The progress of Sabatei, day by day, resembled a triumph; crowds hastened to prostrate themselves as he passed, and to strew his steps with garlands and flowers.

The triumph and elevation of Sabatei were of short duration. Being conducted into the presence of the Emperor, the impostor felt his confidence forsake him before the majesty of the Ottoman throne. Having, of course, avowed his divine mission and title, he was challenged by Muhammed to establish his claim by a miracle; the test chosen was one which he dared not to refuse, while it stripped bare his imposture. Taken to a plain, in which the whole population of Adrianople were assem-

bled to witness the transaction, Sabatei was stripped, and tied to a column, while the ichoglans, with their bows bent, were prepared at the signal of their master to direct their arrows to his heart. Sabatei had laid claim to invulnerability, but the dreadful preparation pulled off the flimsy mask of his pretensions; and the impostor, humiliated, terrified, and melting into tears, made a public avowal of having abused the credulity of the people.

Muhammed gave him the usual option of conversion to the law of the Koran, or to be impaled for an impostor. The weakness of Sabatei made him accept the former, and the sect became of course extinguished; yet so difficult, however, does it become to eradicate from the human mind a tendency to be deceived, that the mission of Sabatei (absurd as his conduct and claims appear to have been) was recognised, for many years after his decease, among his countrymen the Jews, and traces of it are still said to be lurking among the Jews of Salonica.

Having allayed the excitement of fanaticism, Achmet Kiuperli now pressed forward his immense preparations to terminate the siege of Candia, which had surpassed in duration the celebrated war of Troy. It was in the spring of 1667, that he passed into Candia with a chosen army of a hundred thousand combatants. He disembarked at Paleo Kastro, and without delay straitly surrounded Candia. The fosse of the city was deep and wide, and the ramparts were strengthened by seven bastions, and the whole circuit protected by the citadel of Demitri. The Grand Vizir took his post before the bastion of Panigra, while the Aga of the janizaries, and the several pashas, had each a point of attack assigned to them.

The mere recital of the memorable incidents of this siege would fill a volume. On the one side, we see the entire power of the Ottoman empire collected to take a single town; on the other, all the resources of art and valour displayed to avert its fall, during a space of nearly three years. The Turks, continually reinforced, often sacrificed a hundred of their soldiers to succeed in slaughtering one Christian; but their courage, perseverance, and fanaticism, sustained them in the protracted conflict, although they had never heretofore struggled with such difficulties. The fortifications appeared day by day to arise from their ruins, notwithstanding that the artillery of the besieged caused a terrible havoc; bombs, petards, and mines, were put in use for the defence; frequently the besiegers, throwing down their arms in despair, refused to advance any more to the fatal breach, although urged by promises, menaces, and wounds. The natural situation of the place was particularly strong, and, during the twenty-nine months of active siege, a perpetual concourse of French and Italian volunteers had succeeded each other; for the Christian soldier, emulous of glory, hasted to the glorious contest of Candia; and so obstinate was the attack and the defence, that it may be truly said there was not one foot of ground which was not moistened with the blood of the combatants. If a wall fell by the fire of the batteries, another wall was seen forthwith to grow up within side of its ruins; indeed, so many obstacles and losses would have deterred the besiegers, but that they were led by Kiuperli, and possessed the physical stubborn obstinacy which marks their national character.

Notwithstanding, however, every effort, Can-

dia drew near her fall, when a gallant corps of French warriors, commanded by the Duke de Beaufort, suspended for a time its fate. It was the 22d of June 1669 that they cast anchor in the port, on the eve of an expected and final assault; but the Turks, confounded by the new enemy which thus appeared, remained passive. The boiling courage of the French, however, could not rest satisfied without the rash experiment of a night sortie against the hostile camp, and for a time every thing succeeded most propitiously. The Ottoman army were thrown into extreme confusion; their loss was very serious; and had the French retired, contented with their first success, a great moral advantage would have been obtained. Continuing most injudiciously to pursue the attack until the morning light revealed their inferiority of numbers, they were rapidly enveloped on all sides by the Turks, who rallied fiercely to the charge. At this period a magazine of powder, which exploded, added to the loss and confusion of the French; the Duke de Beaufort disappeared at this critical moment, probably buried under the ruins of the magazine; and the shattered remnant of the Christian forces escaped with difficulty into the fortress.

Intoxicated by their unhoped-for success, the Turks erected a pillar, in which they inserted the heads of the slain; while the French, disconcerted by their repulse, and the loss of their leader, set sail from the disastrous shore: thus Candia was abandoned when her breaches were open on all sides, and scarcely four thousand men remained to resist the foe. So severely, however, had the Ottomans suffered, that either the fear or the gene-

rosity of Kiuperli (anxious to terminate so fatal a siege, which Christian succours might yet effectually relieve) condescended to grant a liberal capitulation. The Venetians were still to retain on the island two or three harbours, incapable of defence, but useful for their commerce; and the Dalmatian town of Clissa was assigned as a refuge to all the Candiotes who chose to leave their native homes. On Wednesday, the 27th of September, the keys were presented to Kiuperli in a silver basin, and in eight days he made his entry into Candia, which was deserted by its inhabitants, save only a few old and indigent Greeks, and three Jews. Thus, after a space of twenty-five years, ended one of the most memorable sieges of modern history, wherein the Venetians lost above thirty thousand men, and the Turks more than a hundred and twenty thousand; the ill-fated city sustained fifty-six assaults, and the havoc of four hundred and sixty mines, to which must be added, the countermines and sorties of the besieged.

The glory of the Venetian state was augmented by its disasters, while the Ottoman empire, having bought its success too tardily and too dearly, lost its formidable character. This war also ruined the Ottoman marine, which never again regained its ascendency. Another subject deserving our notice, especially as it manifests the Ottoman policy, was the silence which the Porte observed regarding the infraction of the ancient treaty of alliance and defence, caused by the succours openly afforded to the Venetians under the French flag. In an interview with Kiuperli, the observation was pressed by the Marquis de Nointel, that "The French are the real friends of Turkey."—"*The*

French are our friends," replied the Vizir, smiling, "*but we always find them with our enemies.*"

The season of this siege was the period when, by a fortuitous change, which they had skill and tact to seize upon, the Greeks succeeded to intermix themselves with the most important matters of the policy and intercourse of Turkey with foreign nations, or rather with the Christian powers. The sagacity of Kiuperli felt, that the hour was past by when the haughty Lord of the Bosphorus could dictate the law to Europe; and hence the necessity of managing the interests of her policy with more of amenity, and of the refinements of diplomacy, than the fierceness of the Turkish character had hitherto adopted; and the Greeks, supple and presuming by nature, plumed themselves upon this source of intrigues, as ardently as if it were a renewal of their native lustre. It had been exclusively the province of the modern Greeks, bowed under the Ottoman yoke for more than two hundred years, to devote themselves to commerce and the mechanical arts, when the Grand Vizir Achmet Kiuperli bestowed on the Greek Panajotti the part of interpreter, or dragoman, of the Ottoman Porte, as a reward for the services which this adroit agent had rendered him at the capitulation of Candia.

This unexpected piece of good fortune awakened among the Greeks the natural spirit of intrigue and ambition which has marked them at every period of their history; and hence arose a race of adroit, ambitious, and intellectual men, who impressed the necessity of employing their talents upon the divan. Their great aim was to monopolize the confidence of the Turkish government by a perse-

vering system of skilful arrangements and submissive compliances, whereby they might henceforth succeed the renegades in the functions of confidential or diplomatic agents; and, unquestionably, this portion of the Turkish government became henceforth more enlightened, and more ably administered for the true interests of the state.

The conquest of Candia shed a lustre on the reign of Muhammed, and the terror of his arms might have attached fresh and important tribes to the shadow of his sceptre, had the rigour, or caprice rather, of the Ottoman policy known, at that time, how to value their new accession of vassal subjects. The Zaporagian Cossacks, weary of the Polish yoke, threw themselves under the protection of Turkey; their Hetman presented his homage at the footstep of the Ottoman throne, and claimed, as a voluntary vassal of Muhammed IV., the investiture of the horse-tails and robe. Consequently the Poles, who regarded themselves as the natural lords of this active race, resented their fickleness as a political crime, and ravaged their country, which is in the vast peninsula created by the rivers Dniester and Dnieper, intersected throughout by marshes and defiles, and presenting a most important barrier for either Poland or Turkey.

The Ottomans eagerly endeavoured to secure for themselves these new frontiers; and Achmet Kiuperli prepared to attack Podolia with an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, while the Sultan headed his forces in person, to demonstrate that, although he had been named by his people, Avadghi, or the Hunter, yet that he knew also how to employ his courage on nobler quarry than the ferocious animals of Roumili or of Macedonia.

Muhammed passed the Danube near Galacz, in Moldavia, and formed the siege of Kaminiek. Notwithstanding the striking advantages of its position, after about nine days of open trenches, the bulwark of Poland surrendered; while a German officer, furious at its base capitulation, secretly set fire to the powder magazine, and blew up the citadel, together with four thousand janizaries.

The fall of Kaminiek spread consternation throughout Poland. The Turks advanced to Leopold, or Lembek, of which they also possessed themselves in fifteen days; indeed, so rapid was the progress of the Turkish arms, that, within the short space of six weeks, the whole of Podolia submitted. The Tartars, having free license, ravaged the entire country, collecting a vast spoil, and above eighty thousand inhabitants for slaves; but John Sobieski, Grand Marshal of the crown, waylaid their retreat, attacked and defeated them, and recovered a great part of their booty. Notwithstanding this advantage, the King of Poland hastened to sign an ignominious peace, whereby he relinquished the important districts of the Ukraine to the Cossacks, and Podolia to the Turks, consenting also to pay a yearly tribute of twenty-two thousand crowns.

The Poles, justly enraged at the baseness of the treaty, were resolute to endure every extremity rather than to submit to its conditions. In consequence, the senate called out a levy of the entire force of the kingdom, and confided its army to Sobieski; whereby Muhammed learned, to his rage and disappointment, that he had only acquired the useless signature of a disgraced king. Hastily reassembling his forces, which had already in part disbanded, he crossed the Danube, and, taxing the

Poles with perfidy, he prepared to avenge the broken treaty. The two armies, mutually exasperated, met between the Dniester and the Danube, where the combat was fierce and bloody; already it had lasted for the space of eight hours, when suddenly the Waiwodes of Moldavia and of Wallachia passed over, at the head of their divisions, from the left wing of the Turkish line to the right of the Polish army, and gave a turn to the battle, so that the Ottoman troops, betrayed and confounded, took to flight on all sides, and sustained a signal defeat. Chockzim, and many places in Moldavia, opened their gates to the victors; but the death of the King of Poland arrested the plans of Sobieski, the support and leader of the Poles, and called for the presence of himself and his army at the approaching election for the Polish crown at Warsaw. Meantime Muhammed, assisted by the counsels of Kiuperli, profited by the absence of Sobieski, so as to recover the greatest part of Podolia. That he might secure his new acquisition against revolts, he forcibly transported the chief portion of the inhabitants beyond the Danube, and replaced them by two thousand families of spahis, from the vicinity of Bender.

An event, little noticed at the time, but the importance of which is felt to the present hour, was the transfer of the allegiance of the Ukraine Cossacks to the Russian Czar, which now took place; and the cause was as follows: Soon after the success of the campaign, the Hetman Dorozenki presented himself, with four thousand followers, at the Sultan's camp at Kaminiek, to offer his allegiance and services, when Muhammed, enraged at the defection of his vassals the Waiwodes, and

distrusting the proffers of Christian auxiliaries, not only rejected their aid, but treated the Hetman with contempt; whence the proud and fickle Zaporagians resolved at once to abjure the Turkish service. To revenge himself for the slight, the Hetman applied to the Czar Michaelowitz, who gladly welcomed their suit; and the Cossacks became henceforth tributaries to the Muscovite empire. Modern times have beheld these uncultivated natives of the Boristhenes overrunning the finest portions of Europe, and performing the most important services to their feudal suzerain.

After protracted debates, John Sobieski (happily for Europe) united the suffrages of the electors, and the crown of Poland was placed on his brow. He was unable, in the first years of his reign, to struggle against the numerical superiority of the Turks. The war lasted until nearly the end of 1676, producing no decisive alteration, although attended by a prodigious effusion of blood; when Sobieski, anxious to restore the internal order and government of his states, was finally constrained to sign a peace, which left Podolia in the possession of the Turks, as well as the Ukraine.

In this year, the Ottoman empire lost their great support, by the death of Achmet Kiuperli, who had held the seals of office for seventeen years. His sagacity, knowledge, prudence, and firmness, gained universal respect; his eloquence was superior to that of his contemporaries, and his perseverance unwearied, as was demonstrated by the capture of Candia,—a success entirely owing to his judicious measures. The Turks lavish on his memory the most elaborate eulogies: "He is the light and splendour of the nations; the conserver and guardian of good laws; the vicar of the shadow of

God; the thrice learned, and all-accomplished." Certainly he was the most distinguished of all the prime ministers of the Ottoman Porte, and was the first instance ever seen in Turkey, of a son succeeding his father in the possession of the Viziriat.

The Emperor, in gratitude for the services of his minister, offered the seals to his brother Mustapha, as if the Viziriat was hereditarily attached to the illustrious name. The moderation of Mustapha declined the dangerous distinction, which was then bestowed on his brother-in-law, Cara Mustapha, formerly Kaimakan, and whose sentiments were formed by the example of the family who had adopted him. Unhappily, his great qualities were tarnished by an inordinate ambition and a thirst of riches, which drew him aside from the cultivation of Achmet's vigour and deliberation.

The neglect and contempt shown to the Hetman had been partly the fault of Cara Mustapha, whereby the Czar acquired, without a blow, the city of Tchiriquin for a frontier, and also enlarged the limits of the Muscovite empire to the Dniester. Awakened to a sense of its importance, the new Vizir withdrew from the prison of the Seven Towers a son of Bogdan, the former Hetman, and endeavoured, by his means, to recall the Cossacks to the Turkish interests: but it is not an easy endeavour to repair an affront given to a whole people; his overtures were rejected, the great part of his forces found a grave before the inauspicious walls of Tchiriquin, and Cara Mustapha led back the dispirited remnants of his troops to Constantinople. He was actively preparing a powerful army to renew the war, when more important interests allured the Ottoman arms to other fields; and sel-

dom had fortune promised more brilliant success, or set before them so vast a prize.

Hungary, neglected in the pacification of 1669, was filled with plots and proscriptions, and her magnates altogether alienated from their allegiance to the Emperor. Ferdinand, attempting to terrify them by the execution of the Counts de Serin, Nadasti, Frangipani, and Trattemback, the flame of discontent at length broke out into open revolt, and Count Emeni Tekeli was called to be the head of their state. Tekeli, already in arms, was in correspondence with Abaffi of Transylvania; and he likewise sought for the friendship of the Ottomans, proffering to hold the kingdom of Hungary as a fief of the Sultan, to pay an annual tribute, and to assist him in his wars against Ferdinand, with a body of thirty thousand men.

A most extraordinary combination of circumstances concurred to dazzle the members of the divan, as they weighed the important question of war, or of maintaining their treaties. The temptations to war were most alluring. While Hungary voluntarily sought the yoke, Germany, exhausted by the Thirty Years' War, lay open, without defence or strength, to their invasion; and should it yield to the assault of Ottoman power, the west of Europe, from the borders of the Black sea to the farthest point of Italy, or even to the columns of Hercules, might be added to their empire; and the vast regions formerly subject to the Roman eagle, would range under the standard of Muhammed. Dazzled by such prospects, the janizaries became clamorous for the war, and the Mufti gave it an enthusiastic character by his fetsa.

Leopold, disquieted and alarmed, sought, by the mission of Count Caprara to Constantinople, to

preserve the truce, until Ibrahim, the Pasha of Buda, in junction with the Waiwode of Transylvania, poured their forces upon Hungary, and the die was cast for war. A general panic, however, pervaded every part; the fortified places were easily yielded, and on all sides the imperial troops retired. Meanwhile, Cara Mustapha, leading a prodigious army of Ottomans, had passed the Danube, and the Grand Signior confiding to his hands the sanjak sherif, or banner of the Prophet, himself retired to pursue his favourite pastimes in the woods and forests of Roumili. The Vizir was soon joined by Count Tekeli, with three hundred Hungarian nobles, when a grand council was held upon the proposition of immediately advancing to the walls of Vienna, the route to which capital lay open. The Vizir, impenetrable in his designs, turned aside with his army to lay siege to Javarin, while forty thousand Tartars were let loose to ravage and desolate the frontiers of Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia. Meanwhile the heavy ordnance followed closely on the rear of these troops; at the mere rumour of their approach, the Emperor, with his court, the two Empresses, and the Archduchesses of the imperial blood, followed by nearly sixty thousand of the inhabitants, hastily retired from Vienna.

Mustapha having thus artfully veiled his plans, and knowing the weakness of Vienna, he at once broke up the siege of Javarin, which had been only a feint, and having summoned a council, and displayed to the Begler-beys and Pashas the hatsheriff which conferred on him plenary powers to conduct the war, the pashas, having kissed in silent respect the imperial order, received from

the lips of the Vizir the command to press on to Vienna.

Mustapha presented himself before the walls of the Austrian capital, at the head of a hundred and eighty thousand men, in the month of July, 1683. Charles Duke of Lorrain, the brother-in-law of the Emperor, had scarcely time to throw a garrison into the city of eight thousand men, commanded by Count Stahremberg; while the Duke, having only thirty six thousand German troops under him, avoided uselessly to compromise his forces; crossing, therefore, the Danube, and breaking down the bridges, he stationed himself in anxious watchfulness on the left bank of the stream, and awaited the auxiliaries of the circles; and the allies, now pressing forward to save the capital, Leopold had happily concluded a treaty of alliance with Sobieski,—and the hopes of Austria rested on this illustrious hero, while the eyes of all were intently fixed upon this famous siege, which formed a crisis in the destiny of Europe.

The Grand Vizir opened the batteries, and pressed the siege with the utmost contempt of the waste of human life. His principal efforts were directed against the bastion of the court on one side, and the bastion of Lobau on the other. Soon the mines and incessant firing levelled whole squares of the walls, and the body of the fortification was laid open. Courageous as was the defence, Vienna evidently tottered on the brink of destruction. "There is no time to be lost," was the short and emphatic dispatch of Stahremberg to the Duke of Lorrain, as a general assault could not fail to be decisive; when lo! to the amazement of Europe, as each moment of time became thus signally critical, the Vizir relaxed strangely in his operations; and

the opportunity neglected, a few important days prepared a reverse, which withdrew the prize altogether from his grasp, and overwhelmed the Ottoman empire with a series of disasters from which it has never recovered to its pristine lustre. Whether the ambition of Mustapha was too inflamed by his good fortune, or his avarice was awakened at the prospect of the treasures contained in the imperial city, that he was loth to leave so rich a prey to the plunder of his followers,—by whatever motive he was actuated, he merely, day by day, attacked the city breaches with inefficient detachments, which, instead of forcing their way into the place, cost a useless effusion of blood, and became highly injurious to the boiling enthusiasm of his troops; in vain the janizaries murmured, the obstinacy of Mustapha persisted in these delays, until the spirit of his followers had evaporated, and their indignation was followed by a general discouragement.

The Duke of Lorrain, who knew precisely all that was passing in the Ottoman camp, at this critical moment dispatched the Prince of Baden with a large force to surprise Tekeli, who was engaged in observing the garrison of Presburg, and in protecting the convoys of supplies for the main army; whereby the unexpected and alarming defeat of this commander became the prelude to the reverses which so rapidly followed. Famine and disease visited the Turkish camp, and added to the discontent, while the besieged took courage, again repaired their walls, and, by their revived spirit, ensured the present safety of Vienna. The mistakes of Mustapha increased every hour the disadvantages of his position; for, as if alike regardless of danger as of glory, he made no effort to retard the junction

of the imperialists with the Polish army led on by Sobieski; he even neglected or disdained to break down the bridge of Tuln, by which the combined army crossed the Danube to attack his forces, and nothing could persuade his rash spirit that the Christians would come to seek and to combat him.

He still obstinately protracted the siege, when three blazing fires, which appeared at night on the Calembourg, announced to the inhabitants of Vienna that their deliverers were at hand; soon sixty-five thousand combatants, among whom the superb Polish cavalry were distinguishable, led on by three sovereigns and twenty-three German princes, descended from the mountains under the orders of the King of Poland. The scene which followed even now astonishes the historian to trace, and most strikingly illustrates the points of the Turkish martial character, which, if led on while excited and filled with the hope of plunder, and under the spell of their predestinarian notions, is fierce as the instinct of the tiger, and equally dangerous; but let this state of violent delirium be checked, or impelled by disasters to exercise its fatalism upon the probability of a destined reverse, the discouragement at once becomes universal, and their ruin is completed. Mustapha, indeed, drew out his forces to meet his opponents, but dismay and dislike already proved their state of mind. The janizaries in their trenches were commanded to hold the garrison in check during the battle; but a battle it never was; for a few discharges of the cannon dragged by the imperialists over the mountains, threw the clouds of Tartars and spahis into disorder; and the Duke of Lorrain no sooner charged the right wing, than the jani-

zaries refused to obey the command of their leader, and broke their ranks; the troops which were to guard the trenches flew from them under the pretext of succouring their comrades; the centre alone, where the Grand Vizir was, opposed for a short period only an ineffectual resistance to Sobieski, until at once the whole army, deaf to Mustapha's outcries and prayers, turned their backs and fled. The Vizir, seeing the battle lost without resource, traversed hastily his forsaken camp, when, rushing into his splendid tent, unguarded and silent he seized the sacred banner of the Prophet, and, with tears of rage, hastened his flight after the scattered remnants of his once powerful army.* Sobieski, amazed at his sudden success, even suspected some snare, and would not venture on a pursuit, but encamped on the field of battle; but the next morning confirmed the truth of the total rout of the Ottoman forces. The conquerors took possession of their camp, the spoil whereof was immense.

The joyful citizens poured out of their city, with with Count Stahremberg at their head, to behold their deliverer. The overjoyed Emperor returned to his capital; and Europe hailed with rapture the day, and the distinguished character which had become the instrument of such a glorious event. The fortunate house of Austria may date its consolidated greatness from this hour, as the kingdom of Hungary, entire in all its provinces, teeming with a noble and martial population, became, together

* Cara Mustapha had with him at the siege two camels of the highly esteemed breed which can go twenty leagues in a day without drink or food, and, by means of these animals, he saved from capture the Koran and standard of the Prophet.—(Marsigli, page 63.)

with Transylvania, henceforth hereditarily annexed to its vast possessions.

The remainder of the unfortunate existence of Mustapha was marked by the most extraordinary reverses, and he beheld the Ottoman empire stripped within a few weeks of the acquisitions which, during a century and half, had cost such torrents of blood; for the panic-struck troops, consisting of janizaries, spahis, Tartars, horse and foot, fled pell-mell, and halted not until they had reached the banks of the Raab river, a distance of twenty-seven German miles,—thus continuing the flight for fifty hours, without receiving nourishment. Here they paused; and the Grand Vizir, sombre, disquieted, and severe, sought to turn the dangers of his position on his followers, by the execution of several of the Pashas whom he dreaded. Defeat, however, followed upon defeat, as the imperialists continued their great success, until scarcely a Turkish detachment could be made to stand to arms.

It was at Belgrade that the imprudent successor of the estimable Achmet received the *arrêt* of death; and, although still at the head of eighty thousand men, Cara Mustapha thrice pressed the paper to his forehead, and, having said a short prayer, he at once submitted, even without a murmur, putting the bowstring round his neck with his own hand. It is impossible not to regard with astonishment the contrast exhibited in the life and death of this ambitious Mussulman, or the singular and respectful obedience testified to the sanguinary and hasty mandate. All the enemies of the Ottoman Porte now reunited to profit by her adversity. The Venetians at once declared war, affirming that the time was arrived to revenge their past injuries;

they soon gained a signal success in Dalmatia, the Ionian Islands, and the Morea; Morosini, the brave defender of Candia, took possession of Santa Maura; while Coron, Navarino, Nauplia, Corinth, and Athens, were reduced by the troops of the republic. It would be a matter of regret not to enter more fully into the Venetian warfare in Greece, associated as it becomes with names which are sacred to feeling and science; and the observations of Colonel Leake, in his introduction to the Topography of Athens, supply us with the following interesting particulars.

Athens emerged from the dark ages nearly in the state in which we now find it. Deprived of the adventitious circumstances which caused its ancient splendour, and even of the maritime commerce, which is necessary to raise it above a small provincial town, Athens was reduced to its present population of eight or ten thousand; and the antipathy which must always prevail between the Mussulmans and Christians, its distance from the sea-shore, and barbarous modern designation of Settines, threw a veil over its interesting site; thus, notwithstanding the cultivation of Greek literature, Athens was hardly known to exist as an inhabited place, still less was it suspected to retain any remains of its ancient magnificence.

Twice only since the Turkish conquest has Athens been awakened by the events of war from her lethargic repose; once in 1464, when the Venetians landed, surprised the city, and carried off their captives to Eubœa; and again, after the lapse of two centuries, at the appearance of Morosini before her walls. Finding the season too late to undertake the reduction of Eubœa, the Venetian commander determined, by the reduction of Athens, to

secure a convenient winter station in the Piræus. The Turks, being taken by surprise, retired into the Acropolis, and sent to the Seraskier at Thebes for relief, while eight thousand troops, under the command of Count Konigsmarke, a Swede, disembarked, marched to Athens, and besieged the Acropolis. A battery was erected on the hill of the Pnyx, and two mortars near the Latin convent, where stands the exquisitely modelled Cheragic monument of Lysicrates; their fire was opened, and principally directed against the Propylæa. To the explosion of a Turkish magazine, which soon took place, we may probably attribute the destruction of the beautiful little temple of Victory without Wings, the frieze of which is now in the British Museum, for from Spon and Wheler it is known to have been complete before the siege, and used as a powder magazine.

The Parthenon, being so conspicuous an object, and occupying so large a portion of the citadel, could not long escape injury; but this might have been comparatively insignificant, had not the Turks unfortunately collected in the Temple, together with their most valuable property, a large quantity of combustible ammunition. A shell falling upon the centre of the building, inflamed the magazine, and the explosion reduced all the middle of the Temple to a heap of ruins; and having also occurred nearer to the eastern than to the western end, it threw down all the wall at that extremity, and precipitated to the ground all the statues of the eastern pediment, while the western front received little injury. The fire spread to the houses of the citadel, and the Pasha and his son being killed by another shell, the Turks capitulated on the 29th of September. The plague soon broke out,

whence Morosini, anxious to achieve the conquest of Eubœa, dismantled the Acropolis, and abandoned his conquest in March 1688. The occupation of Athens contributed in no measure to benefit the Venetian expedition, and in three days the works of Pericles received more injury than had been caused by many centuries of the grossest barbarism.

A few years before the siege, when Wheler and Spon, and De Nointel, (the French ambassador already noticed,) visited Athens, the Propylæa still preserved its pediment; the temple of Victory without Wings was complete; the Parthenon was perfect, with very slight exceptions; the Erechtheium was scarcely injured; and there were still some remains of statues and buildings on the south side of the Acropolis. If the result of the siege did not leave the edifices of the Acropolis quite in the deplorable state in which we now see them, the injury which they received on that occasion was the cause of all the dilapidation which they have since suffered, and indeed has rendered the transportation of the fallen fragments of sculpture out of Turkey their best preservative from total demolition.*

The removal of the statues of the western pe-

* It is pleasing to trace how Time sets right the mystifications of passion, prejudice, and calumny. The nobleman who secured for Europe the rich prize of these wonders of the age of Pericles, (broken and mutilated as they are,) has conferred the greatest obligation upon the age, notwithstanding all that his vilifiers, eminent for talent and station, have said and written regarding the removal of these immortal sculptures.] Upon the point of the paramount importance of removing them, the remarks of Colonel Leake are decisively convincing.

diment of the Parthenon, which even the explosion had been unable to displace, was begun by Morosini himself, who thought that the car of Victory, with its horses of the natural size, and of such admirable workmanship as to strike the Venetians themselves, when they came to examine them, with astonishment and regret, would be a noble monument of his conquest of Athens. By the awkwardness of the Venetian engineers, however, the whole group was thrown down in the act of lowering it; and, according to the testimony of an eyewitness, broken to atoms. The destruction of these horses was so complete, that no remains of them have been discovered among the other fragments found at the foot of the western pediment, and conveyed to England by Lord Elgin.

The important acquisitions which Francisco Morosini made for the Republic in the Corinthian gulf and the Morea, gave to the Venetians the possession of the peninsula for eight and twenty years. In Hungary, the disastrous combat of Barchan led to the loss of the strongly fortified city of Gran (which had cost the Ottomans a siege of four months, and now capitulated in four days); Neuhaussel, Little Waradin, and Tokay, opened their gates, and the Count Caprara besieged Tekeli in Cassovia. An order of Kara Ibrahim, the new Grand Vizir, had attracted Tekeli to Great Waradin, where he was instantly put in chains, and transported as a criminal to Constantinople; a useless perfidy, which instantly threw all his followers into the interest of the imperialists. Such an uninterrupted flow of ill-fortune could not fail to alarm and disturb Sultan Muhammed, who might now regret the misuse of that hardihood and bodily exercise which had been wasted in the diver-

sions of the forest, instead of following the example of the illustrious Sultans of his race, and leading his armies to the field. He sought to meet the exigencies of the times by changing his Vizir, but it was not in the power of his servants to stem the tide of adverse circumstances pressing upon the Turkish state.

Solyman, the new Vizir, was alarmed by the siege of Buda, invested by the Duke of Lorrain in 1686, for the second time. Aware of the vast importance of this splendid acquisition of the Great Solyman, the Vizir vainly made the strongest efforts to succour the city; as, upon beholding ten thousand of their bravest companions routed and cut to pieces in making a bold experiment to get into the lines of Buda, his soldiery became so entirely dispirited, that they absolutely refused to engage their enemies, and remained tame spectators of the siege; while the imperialists, throwing off all fear of a foe which had thus sunk in moral firmness and reputation, boldly gave the grand assault under the eyes of the Ottoman army. Abi Pasha, the governor of Buda, was slain in the breach, and his disheartened and reduced garrison, to the amount of scarcely two thousand men, immediately capitulated. Thus the capital of Hungary passed finally under the sceptre of the Austrian family, on the 22d of August, 1686, after having been held by the Turks for a century and a quarter.

The Grand Vizir, struck with consternation, rapidly retreated, while the Duke of Lorrain proceeded to strip the Ottomans of their few remaining strong places. Kapeswaer was taken, Siklos was carried by the first assault, Esseck was abandoned, and the fall of Sregedin closed the pros-

perous campaign. A triple alliance, now formed between the Emperor, the Polish King, and the Czar of Muscovy, added Peter the Great to the list of enemies, and menaced the Porte with the most serious misfortunes; a gleam of success, however, gilded the Ottoman arms, as a victory was gained over Sobieski, who, having invaded Moldavia, was compelled to repass the Pruth. The Seraskier Mustapha attacked the Polish rear-guard at Vallestrimba, (in that district which, from its sinister list of overthrows, has been justly termed the Unfortunate Valley—a title which the reverses of modern times have fully verified,) and succeeded in utterly destroying it, cutting in pieces all who were not forced into the stream; but isolated traits of bravery, or of partial success, could not prop up an empire which was threatened on all points by such dangers.

The people of Constantinople dissembled not their alarms or their dissatisfaction with the Sultan's conduct; and the Ulema, always prone to side against their rulers, disseminated rumours of rebellion, and issued an ominous fetsa. The imprecations of the Great Solyman against any of his successors who should undertake the siege of Vienna, furnished ample materials to charge all the misfortunes, and loss of their armies and provinces, upon the unfortunate Sultan.

That prince, constantly obscured in the leafy forest, or ascending the steeps of rugged mountains, had idly gratified his love of the chase, and followed his dogs and hawks from daybreak to sunset, without a thought of enemies or of empire. Affrighted at the growing discontent of his people, the Grand Signior now hastened to his capital, and, calling to his secret councils the Kaimacan

Kiuperli, son of Achmet, he boldly deposed the ill-affected Mufti, and dispersed everywhere throughout the city, emissaries, who loaded the memory of Cara Mustapha with all the guilt of breaking the truce and of beginning the war. The sacrifice of all his jewels and treasures to the public exigencies preserved, for a short interval, Muhammed's life and throne; and Kiuperli had rescued him from the pressing dangers of the instant, but he could not call back events, or poise the destinies of a whole empire; without which, or some smile of fortune intervening, it was clear that the popular discontent of the people (weary of the long reign and field-habits of their sovereign) would be renewed.

Muhammed IV., submitting to necessity, solicited a peace of Leopold, who required, as its price, the payment of six millions of gold for the expenses of the war, the surrender of all Hungary, and full satisfaction to his allies. Such demands were to the Ottoman pride as absolute insults, and the Grand Vizir Solyman, without making even a reply, opened the campaign by becoming the assailant. The imperialists had repassed the Drave, whom the Ottomans followed; and it was on the plain of Mohatz, the scene of the defeat and death of King Louis II., that the destinies of Hungary were again decided. Six thousand janizaries, supported by eight thousand spahis and dehlis, attacked the left wing of the army under the Duke of Lorrain. The janizaries and spahis thrice renewed the charge; the imperialists sustained the shock unbroken; the fire of their artillery was so tremendous, that the Turkish foot were overwhelmed, and, giving way, they at length took to flight in the greatest disorder. The vanquishers

and vanquished entered the Ottoman camp together, while the Turks abandoned tents, cannon, baggage, stores, every thing, to ensure a safe retreat to the Danube; and the Grand Vizir scarcely could rally his army at Belgrade. The victory of Mohatz was followed by the conquest of Esclavonia of Transylvania, the homage for which province was voluntarily transferred by Michael Abaffi to Leopold; and finally, the states of Hungary, convoked at Presburg, partly by persuasion and partly through force, declared their crown to be hereditary in the house of Austria.

Thus all the vast conquests of the Ottoman Sultans westward of the Danube, were lost in the short space of four years, with the solitary exception of the fortified city of Agria; and the Vizir Solyman having commanded a detachment of janizaries and spahis to convey provisions and supplies thither, they refused. He reiterated the order—they became more furious; first they demanded a gratuity, then the dismission of the Vizir, and at length the deposition of the Sultan. Notwithstanding his martial character, Solyman was affrighted at popular clamours, and, seeing the revolters menace his life, he fled from his army in disguise, left them without a leader, thus hastening, as a courier, to bear to his ill-fated master the heavy tidings of the rebellion of his troops.

Siaus Pasha had fomented the revolt, to ruin the Grand Vizir: He now, by acclamation of the forces, took the command of the abandoned army, and the result might be easily foreseen. Siaus proceeding to Constantinople, the terrified Sultan sought to pacify the insurgents by the death of Solyman and other faithful servants, whose heads were

presented, according to Turkish custom, to the rebels. The reign of the unhappy Muhammed was, however, already at an end, for the janizaries assembled in the usual focus of rebellion, the Ortajami, whence they issued in parties to excite the vast crowds of the city. In an interview with the chiefs, Muhammed, braving death, deigned to expostulate with his rebellious subjects, and exhibited much firmness; but the die was cast, and his death inevitable, had not Kiuperli again interposed; and, although he could not sustain his master on his throne, he prevailed so far as to have his life spared by the malcontents,* who always

* It is justly said, the law of the Turks is but an extension of their religion—their whole code is founded on the Koran; and this guide has ever made them strictly observant of treaties. The most important deviation was in the reign of Muhammed IV.: The divan long consulted whether they should grant the supplies asked for by Tekeli, or whether they should forbear entering upon war until the twenty years' truce was expired. The Ulema and the Sultana Valide declared it unjust to wage war with a prince who had strictly observed the conditions of the truce. The opportunity was too tempting —war was resolved on; but the opinion so given never was forgotten by the Turkish populace, who attributed to the perjury the ill success of the expedition against Vienna, and afterwards dethroned the Sultan for having broken the peace before the expiration of the truce. A stronger proof of the adherence of Turkey to her treaties cannot be given than in the case of Ragusa. The first ally of the Ottomans was the little republic of Ragusa, and it speaks well for the good faith of the Turks, that it has remained so to the present day. The Ragusans sent an embassy to Orcan, in Anatolia, ere the Turks possessed any territory in Europe, and requested to be ranked as his tributaries, and to claim his protection. The tribute, or rather acknowledgment of vassal

alleged, as the chief accusation against their sovereign, the breaking of the treaty with the imperialists. Conducted to a solitary part of the seraglio, Muhammed dragged on four years of grief and confinement. The bird which flutters away its life in useless efforts to pass its bars, is an apt symbol of the languor and weariness which must have corroded the mind of this unhappy prince, restricted henceforth, for the rest of his days, to the limits of a gloomy and solitary apartment, after being accustomed to roam the forest, to exercise his body, and recruit his animal spirits, with the toils of the chase; and however reprehensible it may be deemed, that he should thereby have neglected the duties of his exalted station, every mind must consider his misfortunes as most disproportioned and severe.

The fall of Vienna, even if it had become the prey of Cara Mustapha, could in no degree have drawn after it the consequences that must have followed such an event in the reigns of either Muhammed II. or of Solyman the Great. The Tartars and janizaries would, no doubt, have spread terror and desolation over Bohemia, Moravia, and the countries which they traversed; but the warlike population of Germany, the natural advantages of its mountains and passes, would have rendered an advance highly dangerous, if not impracticable. The events, however, which did take place, broke for ever the spell of Turkish ascendency, and, on the contrary, taught the Ottoman

age, was fixed at 500 sequins, which is paid yearly, and has never been varied. The immunities and privileges granted by Orcan, who was highly gratified by the embassy, have never been infringed or altered.

Porte the humiliating lesson of concession and submission.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Germany.	Ferdinand III. . .	1657.
	Leopold	1705.
England.	Charles II. . . .	1685.
	James II. . . .	1688.
France.	Louis XIV. . . .	1715.

[The coinage of this prince corrects also an error in La Croix and Cantemir, who date his accession to the throne, 1059, whereas the gold coins of Constantinople exhibit 1058—1648.]

CHAPTER X.

SOLYMAN II.—TWENTIETH REIGN.

H. 1099—A. D. 1687.

We have seen, under Amurath III., the Ottomans watching, with anxious solicitude, the first word or gesture of their new sovereign, in which to found an augury for the future reign; and the national proneness to the vanities of astrological science, as well as the imminent dangers, and disastrous reverses of fortune which had visited their arms, attached the strongest importance to the present experiment. It certainly did not offer any favourable augury for the future, breathing only the tones of timidity and religious seclusion. Such, indeed, was the character of Solyman, who had hitherto escaped the jealousy of Muhammed, by his conceiving that no danger could arise from a prince who passed his entire life in meditations on the Koran. In conformity to this feeling, the first impression of Solyman was to reject the imperial scimitar, which was presented to him by the suffrages of the people. "Why do you come to trouble my repose? Nature has bestowed on my

brother the right to govern; but I am not so formed; my duty is to penetrate into eternal truths." The Ulema intimated that the Koran directed compliance with the public voice; and thus Solyman was rather constrained than ambitious to ascend the imperial seat; his conduct, while occupying the throne, betrayed the habits of a dervise under the robe of a Sultan.

Siaus Pasha, the leader of the revolt which had effected the change, was imprudent enough to deny to the janizaries the customary gratuity upon the commencement of a new reign; and ere he could provide against the effects of their discontent, a sudden revolt took place. The agitators forced his palace, hacked the Vizir in pieces, who with his scimitar bravely defended the passage to the harem; and so ferocious were the seditious in the moment of excitement, that they proceeded to violences scarcely ever known to Mussulmans, by forcing open the female apartments, and exercising their brutality on the family of the unfortunate Vizir; and from the palace of Siaus, they proceeded to plunder the houses of the great of the Ulema, and to massacre whomsoever they met.

The dangers which menaced themselves, as well as the state, aroused the powerful class of the Ulema, who, taking the sacred standard of the Prophet to the seraglio, called on all the citizens to rally around it, and to punish the revolters. A change of the most striking nature was instantly produced by this measure; the rebels quickly laid down their arms, and swore obedience to Solyman: thus Constantinople, in the course of one day, presented the appearance of tranquillity and peace. Ismail Cogia, who was appointed to the Viziriat, had also the duty of punishing the authors of so

many horrors; he therefore resorted to the usual expedient of destroying them at night, and by secret opportunities. But the janizaries, alive to circumstances, and alarmed at their peril, again revolted, besieging the seraglio with furious menaces against the Sultan, who, alarmed at the tumult, made Ismail the victim, by deposing and exiling him to Rhodes. Mustapha, his successor in the Viziriat, calmed the discontent by prudent largesses; and the alarming tidings of the revolt of the spahis in Anatolia also contributed to bring them to reason. These revolters were making a rapid progress towards Constantinople, to enforce the payment of the same gratuities to their corps as had been bestowed on the janizaries; thus the latter willingly obeyed the mandate which sent them into Asia to combat their ancient rivals, whom they soon compelled to desist from their demands. While intestine divisions thus preyed on the vitals of the state, the war grew more alarmingly disastrous with every passing month. The strong fortress of Agria, in Hungary, was taken by the imperialists; and Montgatz, which enclosed the wife and treasures of Count Tekeli, was also obliged to capitulate; Wessemburg also, and Peterwaradin, with many inferior places, followed; and, to crown the campaign, the Elector of Bavaria, who, on the 30th of September, opened the trenches before the important fortress of Belgrade, after a siege of one month, gave a general assault; nine thousand Turks were slain upon the ramparts, and Belgrade fell into the hands of the imperialists. Also in Croatia and Esclavonia, the same success followed the imperial standards. The Venetians were unable to retain Athens, or to subdue Eubœa; but in Dalmatia and Morlachia they obtained several im-

portant fortresses—Verlicca, Konigrad, and Grassutch. The Poles alone were foiled of all the allied powers: the city of Kaminiek withstood their arms; and the Czar of the Muscovites bounded his efforts to repressing the incursions of the Tartars. Thus ended the campaign of 1688.

The Sultan, pressed upon every side by such a powerful confederacy, was compelled to sue for peace. The demands of Leopold astonished the Ottoman envoys. Zulficar-effendi, who was entrusted with the important negotiation, was accompanied to Vienna by the Greek dragoman, Mavrocordato. They offered, in the name of Solyman, to cede the territory of Hungary, and to give up the city of Kaminiek to the King of Poland; but the demands of Austria comprised Esclavonia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Servia, together with the payment of a large sum of money for the expenses of the war. The Poles and Venetians were equally exorbitant in their demands. Dissembling their resentment, the Turkish ministers pleaded inadequate powers to assent to such unlooked-for demands. They therefore dispatched the details to the capital; and Leopold, intoxicated with success, committed Zulficar and his colleague to the fortress of Puttendorf, observing, however, the attentions due to their public character:—and their talents, combined with the change of circumstances, soon enabled them to render their country the most important service from the spot of their confinement.

No sooner had the news of the ill success of their negotiations arrived at Constantinople, than Solyman, absorbed in religious exercises, enjoined public prayers in the Atmeidan; rigorous fasts, and the disuse of wine, were enforced by hat-sheriffs;

the imperial alms were increased; and Solyman, watching over his commands, and visiting the streets incognito, testified at least his zeal and anxiety for the welfare of his empire. The Turks, always easily aroused to the calls of their faith, felt assured that the protection of the Prophet would descend on the piety of the Sultan; and insensibly their courage and ancient spirit revived, especially as Solyman, in conformity with the doctrine of the Koran to fight the infidels, announced his resolve to head his army in person.

The political state of Europe had furnished Solyman with a most important and unlooked-for auxiliary in Louis XIV., who announced to the Porte, by his ambassador, that he was about to employ 400,000 men against the Emperor Leopold. The war of 1688 had begun, which recalled the Duke of Lorrain to his own states; the Elector of Bavaria fell ill; and the Prince of Baden was left in command. Solyman, anticipating an easy conquest from such favourable results, proceeded with his army as far as Sophia; but he had scarcely reached that city, ere he learned, to his astonishment, that the imperialists had assumed the offensive, and had taken Sigeth by storm. Disquieted by the news, he rested in Sophia, and deputed the command on the Seraskier Ragib Pasha.

The orders given to Ragib were imperative, to avoid all general actions, and to limit his efforts to the carefully watching the motions of his adversary. But Ragib outdid his master in the religious bigotry, or rather the superstition, of his character. Persuaded that all events are ruled by the stars, he placed all his confidence in a favourite astrologer who accompanied him, and whose counsels he

esteemed as far more enlightened than his instructions. Without regarding any other advice, Ragib awaited the approach of the Prince of Baden on the banks of the river Morawa, near Passarowitz, in the most unfavourable position. The Ottomans were discouraged before the battle began; a total rout followed, and, chased off the field, they never rallied until under the cannon of Nissa. Pouring into Bulgaria, the conquerors pursued their advantages, where the astrologer still so confidently promised victory, that Ragib again tempted the chances of a battle, and saw the last remains of his army destroyed. Ten thousand Turks fell in the field of Nissa; the remainder fled, and Bulgaria was left without barriers or defenders. The strong city of Nissa opened her gates, and the conquerors advancing within four leagues of Sophia, the Sultan issued thence in haste, having dispatched envoys to Leopold to sue for peace, and his chiaux to bring the head of his unfortunate general. The Venetians made no progress in Greece; for, needlessly infringing on the privileges of the Mainiotes, they shook off the Venetian yoke in disgust, and preferred to send an embassy to the Porte, to appoint them a Waiwode. Thus ended the memorable year of 1689. So glorious was its results for the imperialists, that, notwithstanding the impolitic demand of Leopold for a payment of two millions of crowns, the necessity of the empire would have compelled the Sultan to sign the degrading treaty; but Zulficar and Mavrocordato had not been so strictly immured in the Austrian fortress, as to fail of acquiring intelligence of the Emperor's counsels and position. In this exigency, the news which the envoys were enabled to convey were of a nature not only to revive the

hopes of Solyman, but to induce him (under the influence of his new Vizir) to retract even his original offers, and to resolve on continuing the war.

The court of Vienna had indeed neglected a most propitious moment for its best interests; for the war of France demanded its whole resources, the strong places of Hungary were without stores or provisions, and even Buda was altogether unprovided. The appointment of a Kiuperli to the Viziriat, at this juncture, gave a confidence and tone to the whole state, as if he had already manifested the brilliant talents of his race; and the new Vizir enjoyed the singular distinction of entering on his high office with the full confidence of the Sultan, the Ulema, and the people. His wise arrangements restored regularity to the finances; his judicious firmness demanded the aid of volunteers only to fill his ranks; and, so rapidly did the bias of the public mind change, and his levies prepare for the field, that Kiuperli confidently promised victory to those who, a few weeks before, had sued for peace;—of such vast importance often, in the affairs of nations, is the life of a single individual.

The talents and good fortune of this able statesman fully justified the expectation of his country. In the beginning of the spring of 1690, he marched on Hungary with an army of eighty thousand men. The first place attacked was Nissa, situated on the route from Belgrade to Sophia. This city is the only barrier beyond the river Morawa which can impede the advance of an enemy into the heart of the Turkish European provinces. The Count de Stahremberg defended it with six thousand men; but Kiuperli reduced the place after twenty-six days of siege. Important as its acquisition was, it was only preparatory to a far

greater enterprise—the recovery of Belgrade. The imperialists had employed their time and the resources of art to strengthen its fortifications; and a garrison of eight thousand imperialists, added to the Bulgarians and Servians, betokened a protracted siege. Scarcely had the Grand Vizir surrounded the place, ere he was called on to calculate the chances of the approach of the Prince of Baden, who led an army to its assistance. The plan of Kiuperli embraced the scheme of resisting the passage of the river Save with part of his forces, while the remaining part were occupied before Belgrade. A splendid triumph, however, most unexpectedly crowned his plans; for a chance bomb, cast at hazard, fell on the chief magazine, which in a moment exploding into the air, destroyed a vast number of the troops, and levelled with the earth a long line of the walls. Kiuperli, profiting by the event, brought up his troops (enthusiastic at what they deemed a manifest interposition of the Prophet in their favour) to the assault, while the besieged, in hopeless consternation and disorder, thought only of flight; the breaches were large enough for whole squadrons to enter, and those of the garrison who survived after the terrible explosion, fled from the ramparts and the city, casting themselves into the numerous boats on the river, and placing the Danube betwixt themselves and the enemy, so that the Ottomans found no combatants, but only mutilated carcasses buried amid the ruins. Never had Belgrade menaced such powerful resistance; never had such a conquest cost so little pains or bloodshed. The Vizir, become master of the place, employed immediately his vast forces, thus disengaged, to relieve and revictual Temeswaer, which had been defended by

the brave Coja Giaffar Pasha, with the admirable patience and rare sobriety which mark the Ottomans in the defence of their fortified towns. Famine had long preyed upon the troops and citizens, from which Kiuperli now hastened to relieve them; and the reduction of Lippa and of Orsowa, although deemed impregnable, crowned him with laurels.

The Turks experienced a serious check in the siege of the strong town of Esseck, under Houssain Pasha; and the celebrated partisan Count Tekeli, upon whom Solyman had bestowed the title of King of Hungary, after conquering and taking prisoner the imperial commander Heusler, was himself in turn driven from the whole province of Transylvania, and obliged to fly for safety into Wallachia. Notwithstanding the reverses before Esseck and in Transylvania, the glory of the campaign of 1691 was clearly the meed of Kiuperli, who, returning to Adrianople, was triumphantly welcomed by his master Solyman, as the wise and skilful minister, who, after ten years of disaster and misfortune, had restored success and splendour to the Ottoman arms.

A lingering dropsy was bringing Solyman to the grave, and the great of the empire were inclined to look to the infant son of Muhammed IV. to fill the throne; but Kiuperli had decided that Achmet, the eldest brother of his master, should succeed him. The public peace required that the Grand Vizir should watch these events, and hence the imperialists had an interval to profit by his absence. Solyman expired in the spring of 1691, at the period when the campaign should have opened; he reigned only three years and nine months, a sovereign without any talents of mind

or body to render him respectable; but the good intentions which he possessed stood in stead of capacity; and his choice of Kiuperli procured a support to his throne of the most honourable and distinguished minister of the empire of Othman. Solyman was austere, sober, religious, and devoted to his studies of the Koran; Kiuperli thought for him, acted for him, and, in fact, reigned in his name; and as thereby wisdom dictated the orders of the sovereign, the short reign of Solyman was far from being the least glorious of his race.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Germany, . .	Leopold, . .	1705
England, . . .	James II. .	1688
	William III. .	1702
France, . . .	Louis XIV. .	1715

[The coinage of this prince presents the first specimen of the silver coins being adulterated with a large proportion of tin or zinc. Yet Mr Marsden observes, the workmanship is admirable; and it is matter of surprise how much the pieces of all descriptions resemble each other, in point of execution, from this down to the most modern period.]

CHAPTER XI.

ACHMET II.—TWENTY-FIRST REIGN.

H. 1102—A. D. 1690.

It was in 1690 that the younger brother of Muhammed, conformably to the direction of Mustapha Kiuperli, ascended the throne, under the name of Achmet II. The same incapacity, ignorance, and credulity, characterized the present Sultan as they did his predecessor Solyman; but the resources of the empire were administered by Kiuperli. He had renovated the powers of the state, and revived the courage of the empire; and thus the standard of the Prophet attracted more followers to the army than the prudence of the Vizir chose to retain. Instead of having to compel reluctant levies to follow his footsteps, they crowded to take their posts under the banners of their successful and brilliant commander.

The army, assembled under the walls of Adrianople, became so numerous, that Kiuperli, by mandate, forbade the Asiatic Pashas from forwarding any more levies. "The route to Buda," he says, "is far distant, and I would not need provisions until I arrive there." He was now the idol of

the soldiers, but the courtiers of Achmet were jealous of his power; and, while the interests of the Ottoman empire depended on him, an intrigue near the throne spread a fatal snare for the life of this brave defender of his country. The Kislar-aga, eunuchs, and other officers of the seraglio, combined together to prejudice the mind of the weak and credulous Achmet; and calumny coloured their base insinuations, by urging, as a crime, the attachment of the troops to their brave leader, whom they gravely accused of intending to proclaim as Sultan, Mustapha, a son of Muhammed, as soon as the camp at Adrianople should be broken up. The weak mind of Achmet was incapable of discerning the absurdity of the report; and his stupidity sanctioned, with brutish indifference, the order for summoning the Grand Vizir to attend at the palace, where the mutes were prepared to subject him to the bowstring, instantly as he passed the fatal doors.

It chanced, for the safety of Turkey, that, when the Kislar-aga was employing all his subtlety to stimulate his master to direct the treacherous act, a mute, named Dilrig, was in attendance on the Emperor, whose office it was to lift up the curtains of the presence chamber. This mute, during their earnest conference, had the curiosity to lift up the draperies concealing the antechamber, when he beheld the mutes of death; and, by the quickness of apprehension wherewith these unhappy beings are endowed, he instantly apprehended, from their gestures and lips, that they waited the signal to inflict the penalty of death on the Vizir-azem. Whether actuated by pity, interest, or gratitude, is not recorded; but the alarmed mute ran off at full speed to the palace

of the Vizir, and succeeded in conveying to him, by signs, the intimation of his danger, and the authors of it. Scarcely had he made this important revelation to Kiuperli, ere the Kiaia of the Bostangi Bashi appeared to summon him to the seraglio. The Grand Vizir calmly and collectedly ordered, in sight of the officer, his horses to be prepared, and, without manifesting the slightest discomposure, directed the Kiaia to announce his speedy obedience; but no sooner had the seraglio officer left his presence, than he summoned thither the aga of the janizaries, and the commanders of their odas, all of whom were wholly devoted to him. A few words sufficed to explain the peril of his situation; it was already in sight; and Kiuperli declared his determination, by the break of day, to leave the state in its present danger, to remit the seal to the Emperor, and instantly to go on the sacred hadj, conjuring the officers to defend the country until death against the Giaours. Such an address could not fail to arouse to violence a class of troops prone to revolt, and rarely furnished with so excusable a pretext. All of them swore to shed their blood in his defence; and the instantaneous excitement which pervaded the capital, assured the Vizir of his influence and his safety.

Kiuperli, dignified and sagacious, limited his resentment to instructing the Sultan by a message, that as he had mounted his horse, an insurrectionary movement of the soldiers had broke out, which detained him, as their anger was directed against some abject enemies about his person. On the morrow, a second message announced to the Sultan, that the army were not to be appeased without the banishment of the Kislar-aga, and

the death of his secretary. The Kislar-aga, who instantly comprehended that his plot was discovered, hastened to lay hold on the opening to escape, which the prudence and forbearance of Kiuperli had left open to him; he besought the Sultan to dismiss him forthwith to Cairo, whither he retired instantly with his treasures, while the unfortunate secretary, dragged to the camp, was hung summarily with his cord of office; and the Vizir, more firmly seated in his post than ever, broke up the camp at Adrianople, and proceeded to open the campaign of 1691. Kiuperli reached Belgrade at the head of an hundred thousand men, who, under his command, believed themselves to be invincible. Prince Louis of Baden lay at Peterwaradin, with sixty-six thousand. The Grand Vizir marched on his line, resolved to give battle, or to drive him back on Buda. It was midway at Salenkemen, in Esclavonia, a ruined castle on the banks of the Danube, near the embrochure of the Theiss, that the important conflict took place, on the 19th of August. The Vizir had intrenched himself at Semlin, but construing the retreat of the Prince of Baden into fear, he pursued his army to Salenkemen. The morrow betokened a general battle, but the Ottomans, under favour of the night, gained a march on the imperialists, by crossing their line of army at the distance of half a league, and cutting them off at one blow from all their magazines; they then fortified their position by cannon and redoubts. This skilful and rapid manœuvre was far above the general tactics of the Ottomans, and was probably prompted by some European officers, but the consequences were truly disastrous to the imperial army. A convoy of two hundred and fifty chariots, dispatched from Peterwaradin

to the old position of the army, were intercepted; and a reinforcement of five thousand men were descried as they were issuing forth from the forest, without any order or suspicion of danger; the whole corps, charged on all sides, had not even the power of forming, and were all killed or taken prisoners. This signal success no less encouraged the Ottomans than it dismayed the imperialists, who were made spectators of the massacre of so many of their fellow comrades, without the power of helping or of revenging them; their communication with Peterwaradin was cut off, and they were without magazines; their only resource or means of safety, lay, therefore, in breaking the lines of a powerful army, intrenched behind a deep fosse, and sustained in the rear and left flank by the Danube. The valour of the Germans, and their confidence in their leader, inspired them with a noble despair; they marched up to the intrenchments, the Prince of Baden leading the right wing, and the Count de Dunewald the left. The artillery mowed down their ranks as they pressed onward to the works; the janizaries kept up so heavy a fire as several times repulsed them; the assault was renewed for four hours until the night drew on, and most of the general officers were either killed or wounded; but the left wing was more successful. The Ottomans, leaving the cover of their intrenchments to pursue, endeavoured to take them in flank; this dangerous manœuvre laid them open to the Prince of Baden, who hastened to revive the courage of his troops; they at length forced their way to the heights of the Turkish position, where the cannon were placed. This success opened the road to the right wing, who carried, upon their side, the so long contested in-

trenchment; and the soldiers of Kiuperli, in their turn, straitened by the Danube, began to give way. In this moment, the Grand Vizir, indignant to see a victory already gained, thus escape from him, advanced at the head of his reserve, charging the enemy, and exposing his person as the commonest janizary; he had regained the aspect of the day, when a musket ball struck the heroic Ottoman, and he expired without a sigh. Instantly the warlike music of the Tabul Khani, which always precedes the Vizir, and continues to be heard amid the most furious attacks, ceased to beat: its silence proved to both armies the death of Kiuperli. The imperialists redoubled their efforts, and multiplied their attacks; a sudden terror seized the Turkish forces, who, abandoning their ranks, the rout became so general, that none thought but of flight, and twenty-five thousand men, amongst whom were six thousand janizaries, were slain or drowned in the Danube.

A hundred and fifty pieces of ordnance, ten thousand tents, and, superior to all, the splendid pavilion of the Vizir, with the treasures and stores of the whole Ottoman army, became the prey of the victors; the glory of the prince of Baden was carried to the highest pitch, and the magnificent trophies are still exhibited, with pride and exultation, in the palace of Carlsruhe.

Notwithstanding the glory of the action, the immense loss sustained by the imperialists precluded any further progress than the siege of Peterwaradin; and Leopold exclaimed, "Heaven preserve me from being often conqueror at such a cost!" The death of Kiuperli was more irreparable to the Sultan than the loss of his troops. This illustrious Grand Vizir blended the abilities

of his grandfather, Mehemet, with the courage and generosity of Achmet, his father. While all the people reposed under his justice, humanity, and moderation; the soldiers truly admired his intrepidity, his warlike talent and success; and a death of glory crowned a life of honour.

The Prince of Baden being recalled to the Rhine by the dangers of the imperialists, the war languished in Hungary, and the allies, the Poles and Venetians, as usual, performed no great action.

Arabaji Kaimacan, the successor of Kiuperli, was ignorant, presumptuous, avaricious, and cruel to excess. His barbarous executions and misconduct, in less than six months, united every class of subjects against his power; so that Achmet, despoiling his ill-chosen Vizir of his treasures and honours, banished him to an island, bestowing the Viziriat on Tarpostchi Ali, Pasha of Damascus.

A danger of the most alarming nature threatened the empire from the east, which was skilfully, however, dispersed without harm, or causing any injurious consequences. Misri-effendi, the Mollah of Brusa, was filled with hatred of the Sultan's weakness, of the faults of his ministers, and the luxury of the people, and he enlisted, on his own authority, some thousand dervise followers. These enthusiasts, counting on the protection of Heaven, and pillaging every place as they proceeded, embarked on the Bosphorus. The southern gales bore the mixed multitude to Rodosto, a crowd quite as dangerous and fanatic as the followers of Peter the Hermit. It was in the midst of this tumultuous rabble that the Mollah entered into Adrianople. No sooner had the intelligence of the holy man's approach circulated, than vast crowds joined the procession, while the

janizaries, spahis, and their officers, filled the mosques, and the fanatic Misri continued for hours his predictions.

The Vizir, alarmed at these symptoms, sent for the Mollah, who rejected the summons with indignation; and the Vizir, in terror, then resorted to the Sultan for his aid. Achmet, furious at this disobedience, spoke of inflicting death, but the Vizir, more prudent, invited the Mollah to repair to the imperial presence; thither a strong party of janizaries escorted him, as if to do him honour, but in reality to secure his person. The Mollah, who beheld his followers separated from him, became awakened to his danger, and received with joy an invitation to return to Brusa; a krabas, or chariot, being prepared, he was conducted, as if in triumph, to Rodosto, whence he was transferred to Brusa. Fortune, however, assisted the views of Misri by a frightful tempest, which occurred upon the second day only after his departure; the terrifying storm levelled nearly the whole camp; a fire added its ravages to the devastation, and more than a thousand tents were consumed in less than an hour. The Emperor Achmet, terrified at the omen, ascribed, with his superstitious subjects, its occurrence to the power of the Effendi, whereupon writing an apologetic rescript, the Sultan besought his return to Adrianople; but Misri, instructed by the past, wisely refused to renew the dangerous honour; assuring the Sultan of his respect, he observed, that the same divine voice which had ordered his first visit, now forbade his undertaking a second voyage.

The mystic poesies of Misri are chanted in the East, and the amity of Callinica, the Greek Patriarch, marks a strong suspicion of the ortho-

doxy of his character. It is reported, that one day seeing a testament before him, Misri exclaimed, "Patriarch! preserve as sacredly as thy life this book, which you hold by the grace of God, for the Gospel and Jesus Christ came forth from God." The Mufti, who was consulted to know if the true believers might regard the poesies of Misri-effendi as orthodox, or as contrary to the law of the Prophet, wisely contented himself to reply: "The sense of his poesies are known only to God and to Misri himself;" adding, "Whosoever speaks and believes as Misri-effendi, deserves to be condemned to the fire; but Misri-effendi may be spared, for it is not proper to issue fetsas against those possessed with a sacred enthusiasm."

On both sides, Hungary was torn in pieces by petty skirmishes and combats, without any result. The Ottoman empire had again changed its Vizir, without the army or enemy perceiving its operation. The Prince of Baden had invested Belgrade, and Buyukli Pasha hastened to its relief. The imperialists were unable to withstand his superiority of force, and the important fortress was relieved. His very success rendered him obnoxious to the seraglio; and Buyukli was deposed, and succeeded by Tarabolus Ali Pasha.

The interests of Turkey and of Vienna equally needed the repose of peace, yet the politics of France succeeded in perpetuating the war. The campaign of 1694 was unattended by any result; but the republic of Venice acquired a rich and powerful island, which might have secured their ascendency in the Archipelago. Chio, distinguished for its extent, position, and rich products, voluntarily called to its defence the Venetian

forces; and the Lion of St Mark was planted on the ramparts, which for above a century had been ruled by the Ottoman Crescent.

Amid the mischances which, in the year 1696, afflicted the Ottoman empire, may be considered the revolt of the Arab tribes. The government had forces enough to sustain its dignity; while nothing was foreseen or provided for, they marched to repel, not to prevent aggressions; and the empire was alarmed and disquieted by the Arabs affronting and impeding the progress of the hadj, or sacred caravan of pilgrims to Mecca; even the Khan of the Tartars, who had undertaken the pious journey, became himself their prisoner. The Arabs contented themselves by transmitting through the prince, whom they set at liberty, their requisition of the surreh, or forty thousand piastres, promised to be distributed yearly among their tribes; and Achmet, unable to conquer, was glad to compound with the Great Sheik of the Desert. Achmet died soon after the commencement of the year, which had commenced with this inauspicious omen.

Cantemir describes him to have been a prince of ordinary stature, with a great belly, bloated by a dropsical habit, rather than corpulent; of a pale complexion, with large black eyes, his nose long and straight. His character appears in his reign; born without any talents, he never acquired any, and became throughout his rule the dupe of his eunuchs and of the Ulema.

CHAPTER XII.

MUSTAPHA II.—TWENTY-SECOND REIGN.

H. 1106—A. D. 1695.

THE Grand Vizir Tarabolus Ali presumed to conceive that, because he filled, at the same crisis, the same post as Mustapha Kiuperli, he also could follow his steps, by placing on the throne a prince of his own choice. Tarabolus, therefore, assembling the Mufti, the Mollahs, several Pashas, and the commanders of the Odas, proposed to them for their sovereign, Ibrahim, the son of Achmet II., an infant of three years old.

During the pause which ensued in their deliberations, while they waited for the Mufti's sentiments, the Selictar of the seraglio and chiaoux entering into the assembly, announced that Mustapha II. was already proclaimed.

This young prince being informed, by a black eunuch, the treasurer of the harem, that his uncle was no more, had instantly commanded the bostangis and the ichoglans to open the first court of the seraglio, which was already filled by the janizaries and the populace; instantly the warlike

instruments and shouts of joy announced the accession of the new Sultan, while the Grand Vizir and the Mufti dissolved the assembly, and hastened to the hazoda, to prostrate themselves before the imperial throne of the sovereign whom they could no longer neglect to acknowledge.

Mustapha, the second brother of Achmet II., was thirty years of age in 1695, the year in which he was elevated to the throne. He was known by the soldiers whom, in his youth, he had beheld in the camp with his father Muhammed IV. Ever since the deposition of that unhappy prince, the young Mustapha had remained shut up in the seraglio; but in that interval his character had become powerful and vigorous. Nature had improved all his personal graces; and when, on the second day after his accession, he was seen environed with imperial pomp, traversing the streets of Adrianople, proceeding to the mosque of Selim II., the janizaries, ranked in double files, could not cease to admire his striking gait, the fire of his eye, the majesty and dignity expressed in his visage, and the grace with which he saluted the spectators as he passed, by pressing his hand on his heart, thus creating the most lively enthusiasm: they hailed his announced intention of continuing the war, and of leading them to battle, consequently, it was even heard without murmurs that the usual gratuity would be withheld: "My treasury is empty," said Mustapha; "I have need of gold; and I shall employ it to defend my empire, and to repulse my enemies!"

His first measures of reform were marked by intelligence, sagacity, and perseverance. Not less skilled in concealing his intentions than in action, he accepted the homage of the Grand Vizir and

of the Mufti as if he had not known aught of their intrigue, and he for the present reinstated them in their functions, but Mustapha had resolved to see all things with his own eyes; he therefore traversed the streets incognito. Soon he satisfied himself of the avarice and cruelty of the Grand Vizir, of the abuse of authority by the Mufti, and the connivance of the Kislar-aga with the two chiefs of the state and with the Sultana Fatima, the favourite of Achmet, under whose government even the pashalics were put to sale. Mustapha deposed on the moment the Mufti and the Kislar-aga; the Sultana Fatima had the alternative of preserving her forfeited life at the expense of her ill-acquired riches; and the three guilty culprits were condemned to exile, obscurity, and indigence. Twenty millions in gold and precious stones were thereby restored to the treasury: for it is thus that restitution proceeds in the Ottoman state,—the oppressed recover nothing by the retributive spoliation of the oppressor.

Mustapha now elevated to the rank of Mufti his cogia or preceptor, Fezzula-effendi, a man destined to produce the same ill-fortune to his master, as Viner-effendi had caused to Othman II. The exiled Kislar-aga was succeeded by the black eunuch who had communicated the opportune intelligence of the death of his uncle.

The Grand Vizir Tarabolus Ali, the richest and most culpable of the three, did not long go unpunished. The active Sultan, visiting one day unexpectedly the park of artillery, took occasion to detect the malversations of the Grand Vizir, and to make his vengeance wear the character of justice. The entrance of the seraglio was for him the portal of death; and the ready mutes

scarcely allowed him the few moments required by the law for his abdest, ere he breathed his last under the fatal bowstring.

The discernment of Mustapha equalled his activity and energy. He recalled the able and aged Pashas, victims to the incapacity of Achmet; the Viziriat was confided to Muhammed Pasha; and the Pashalik of Bosnia was bestowed on the favourite of his father, surnamed Elwas, or the Diamond, from the beauty of his person, and whose moral qualities equalled his personal endowments.

The Ottomans, with much reason, drew the most auspicious presages for the future from these brilliant indications of their Sultan's energy. The views of Mustapha embraced, at the same time, the north and the south of his empire; all the hopes of the Turkish people concentered around the standard of the Prophet, displayed on the plains of Adrianople; and the good fortune of the Sultan drew forth, at this time, also, one of those extraordinary characters marked by distinguished talent, who conducted, during his brilliant career, the naval strength of the Ottoman empire to victory. A pirate of Tunis, Mezzomorto, had offered to the divan to destroy the Venetian fleet at the island of Chio, if they would confide to him only twelve vessels of war. The members of the divan were hesitating on the bold proffer, when Mustapha, invisibly witnessing their discussion from behind the latticed window, lifted up the lattice to command that the required assistance should be instantly given to the Tunisian.

The confidence of Mustapha was amply repaid. Mezzomorto conducted his armament with equal skill and success. Taking the Venetian forces by surprise, after safely landing his troops, he so art-

fully availed himself of the existing dissensions between the Greeks and the Latins, (combined with the disquietude of the Venetians, who were only anxious to preserve their plunder,) that he had only to wink at the flight of the soldiers of St Mark, which left the fine island of Chio an easy conquest to his small armament; after which the squadron of the Sultan returned triumphant, and the pirate of Tunis re-entered Constantinople as Capitan Pasha. Mustapha II. did not delay to open the campaign of 1695. He passed the Danube at the head of fifty thousand men, and carried Lippa by assault. The celebrated Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony, so distinguished by his military talents, and his prodigious strength of body, commanded the imperialists; while Veterani, one of the bravest and best officers of the Emperor, commanded the advanced guard, at the head of seven thousand men, the choice of the army. Mustapha, informed that he was separated from the other Austrian divisions, dispatched the Begler-bey of Roumelia to cut off the corps of Veterani, while he followed with the residue of his forces. The Begler-bey awaited the approach of the Sultan to attack the imperialists, who had left two thousand to guard the camp. The assaults and attacks of the janizaries and the spahis were urged on personally by the Sultan, waving, with a menacing air, his drawn scimitar, wherewith he inflicted death on several fugitives. The contest was most bloody; and, although the gallant corps of seven thousand men was combating against fifty thousand Turks, the imperialists became the assailants, and doubtless would have gained the victory, had not a wound, which disabled their brave leader Veterani, turned the fortune of the day.

The imperialists, alarmed at the accident, retired, while the Sultan dared not to pursue them. The dear-bought advantage had cost him ten thousand soldiers, and a crowd of his best officers, amongst whom were numbered Mahmoud-Ben-Ogli and Shahin Pasha. To disguise the appearance of weakness, the Mufti was instructed to issue a fetsa, declaring, that "it is contrary to the Koran to pursue a vanquished enemy." Chagrined at his losses, Mustapha led back his troops to the Danube, taking in his route the open cities of Luyosh and Kararsebe; and entering the province of Wallachia by the defiles of Statina, he repassed the river, to winter in Adrianople.

The Russians, overlooked hitherto among the great powers, began at this time to demonstrate their enormous strength; and Peter Alexiowitz, the true founder of its colossal power, already gave proofs of the genius which distinguished his enlarged mind. He began already to excite alarms in an entirely new quarter—the Euxine, or Black Sea—and commenced by the siege of Azoph; the ravages and efforts of the Tartars, however, compelled him to raise the siege.

In Arabia, the Sultan triumphed through the good conduct of Arslan, the Pasha of Tripoli, and Emir Hadj. He defeated the Arabs, who would have plundered the pilgrims, and upheld the authority of the Sultan, as protector of the sacred territory.

Mustapha hoped to signalize himself in the campaign of 1696; but the Elector of Saxony anticipated his movements, and opened the field by the siege of Temeswaer. The Sultan hastened to its assistance; and the imperialists, greatly outnumbered, intrenched themselves, and broke up the

siege; where they awaited the onset of the Ottomans, who, instead of attacking their camp, formed a similar fortified position, which they strengthened by deep and broad trenches. Tekeli, who accompanied the Sultan, had counselled and directed this defensive system, hitherto unpractised in the Ottoman tactics. Notwithstanding that the intermediate space betwixt the two camps was thorny and intricate, Frederic Augustus, choosing the boldest counsels, caused twenty-four routes to be opened through the thickets during the night; and by the break of day the imperial army, with all its artillery, advanced to the assault of the Ottoman camp. The part at which the assault was given, was not only the strongest of the position, but it was defended by the janizaries, and the Egyptian troops, the flower of Mustapha's army; nevertheless, after a fierce resistance, the intrenchments were carried, and the assailants penetrated even to the Sultan's tent. Mustapha, astonished and furious, had hastened to a different quarter, to bring up a reinforcement of the bostangis. Meanwhile the imperialists, seeing the richness of the spoil, began to plunder, and to disperse among the tents, when the opportune appearance of the Turkish troops inspiriting the janizaries to rally, they commenced a renewed attack on their foe. The imperialists, confused and bewildered amid the cordage and network of the pavilions, which presented a labyrinth of passages, were repulsed and driven out of the camp, and the night terminated the contest. The Turks lost more than eight thousand men; but the imperialists were so weakened, that they retreated with the loss of all their cannon, and reckoned their old and distinguished general, Heusler, with several illustrious

names, amongst their dead. The Emperor, whose forces were occupied on the Rhine too seriously to spare men unnecessarily in Hungary, enjoined the Elector solely to observe the defensive; and Frederic Augustus, hearing at this juncture of the death of John Sobieski, hastened from an inactive army to claim the diadem of the Jagellons.

Mustapha also, leaving sufficient troops to watch the imperialists, retired to Adrianople, and eventually resolved upon visiting his capital as a conqueror, which city had not yet possessed her new sovereign. He entered Constantinople with superior splendour even than the triumphal state of Muhammed, or Selim, or Solyman; for success was become more rare, and excited stronger sensations, than when the Ottoman Sultans had menaced the safety of Europe. The populace beheld the cannon dragged along which were the trophies of the victory of Olach; and they beheld the captive Germans, who preceded the superb charger of the Sultan. They became intoxicated with their success, as they contemplated the brilliant figure of their warlike monarch; and Mustapha, neglectful of no form that could consolidate his authority, proceeded with striking pomp to the mosque of Ayoub, to have the imperial scimitar girded on his waist by the Shiek of the tomb.

The treaty of Ryswick, which had been signed between Leopold and Louis XIV., released the Emperor from his formidable enemy on the Rhine; and the ministers of England and Holland had not failed to urge the Sultan to consolidate his success by a peace. Vaunting himself of being in a state to repulse all the German armies, Mustapha seemed resolved to risk another campaign.

He therefore left Belgrade in the spring of 1697,

at the head of a hundred and thirty thousand combatants, which soon found themselves before their enemies, who amounted scarcely to half their number, but they were headed by Prince Eugene. Tekeli accompanied the Ottoman Emperor, decorated with the empty title of the King of Hungary. Worn out with sufferings, he had retired to the baths of Brusa, the victim of gout and paralysis, when an imperial rescript directed him to join the camp at Belgrade; and the chiaux, less concerned about the sufferings of the King of Hungary, than the obedience due to his sublime Emperor, hastened him into the chariot prepared for his conveyance. Tekeli counselled Mustapha to proceed into Transylvania, which had been stripped of its garrisons, where fifty thousand malcontents would directly join his standard. The Turks had scarcely proceeded two days' march, ere the Sultan became apprehensive of an attack on Belgrade, and they retraced their steps to the Danube. The Sultan hoped to have surprised Peterwaradin, and lost two days in the useless attempt, at the end of which time the Ottoman army, after many marches and countermarches, directed its movements on Sregedin; during which, Prince Eugene, leaving the Tabul Kane, anticipated that it was the signal of attack; but soon understanding that the Sultan was marching on Zenta, an old castle on the borders of the Thiess, he followed the retreat, which he mistook for a flight. Eugene hastening on with his choicest troops, commenced the attack by the Hungarian hussars, who soon cut in pieces the Turkish advanced posts, when the Vizir Elmas Pasha, taken completely by surprise, put the sinister messenger to death who reported the advance of the enemy: He resolved to dare the

extremity, and prepared, by hastily throwing a bridge of planks across the Thiess, to favour the passage of his imperial master. Mustapha, enraged at the fluctuations of all these movements, crossed the river on the feeble structure, which only permitted the passage of four men abreast; only eight cannons, escorted by spahis, had crossed the stream, (it would have needed forty-eight hours more of leisure to have enabled the whole army to pass,) when Prince Eugene hastened to profit by the disorders and dismay of his enemy. The Sultan, who beheld the imperialists developing their forces in the plain, dispatched order after order to the Grand Vizir to sacrifice the baggage, and immediately to pass with the janizaries over the stream; but Elmas Pasha, aware that he was destined to die, whatever turn events might take, resolved that it should be sword in hand; he therefore suppressed every command, and, retaining all the forces, prepared to receive his enemy. Meantime the passage of certain portions of the army still continued, until the frail bridge, so much overloaded, became nearly useless, and only a single man could pass at a time.

In the midst of all this confusion and panic, the imperialists made their front attack, while one of their columns, turning the camp unperceived, entered the intrenchments, and placed the Ottomans between two fires. Experience has shown that a divided army is always a scene of danger and distrust. The janizaries, instantly turning their courage into despair, furiously attacked their own officers, and massacring them on the spot, together with the Vizir and his followers, became thereby bereaved of all their leaders; the tumult thus became horrific, and after three hours of carnage and tumult,

the whole army took to flight, or were destroyed. The Pasha of the Arnauts alone, notwithstanding his wounds, plunged into the stream, and, through the vigour of his courser, reached in safety the opposite shore.

The bloody battle of Zenta cost the Ottomans above thirty thousand men; also the Grand Vizir, and fifteen Pashas of the highest rank, were slain. The Sultan, terrified at beholding so dreadful a scene, to which he could give no succour, after exchanging his robes of state for a disguise, fled in dismay to Temeswaer, the gates of which were immediately closed, to conceal his arrival from every eye, while the wretched remnant of his troops, who had early in the action found their way to the opposite banks, soon discovered, to their inexpressible dismay, that they had no leader. They retired, also, in confusion upon Temeswaer, leaving to Prince Eugene the immense riches contained in the camp, with their artillery and stores. It was two days ere Mustapha had sufficiently recovered from the shock of the dreadful battle of the Zenta, to exhibit himself to the mournful relics of his once brilliant army, when he led them on their mournful retreat towards Adrianople. Alarmed at the discontent universally manifested, which threatened the most unpropitious prognostics for the future, and certain that the unhappy catastrophe of the Zenta had become a death-blow to the confidence and respect of which he had hitherto been the object, with a heart nearly broken by concealed rage, grief, and humiliation, Mustapha resolved to solicit a peace.

Circumstances were very favourable for his purpose, as Leopold already beheld the germs of a new war in the rich succession of the King of Spain. Af-

ter two months of protracted dissensions, the peace of Carlowitz put an end to this lengthened and destructive war. Leopold acquired Hungary, Transylvania, and Esclavonia; Peter I. retained Azoph; the Poles had Podolia, the Ukraine, and Kaminiek guaranteed to them; the Venetians retained the Morea with a strong frontier in Dalmatia. The Count Tekeli was not even named in the treaty, and this peace closed the eventful and brilliant career, by which he had acquired so much fame. For thirty years he had sustained with equanimity the change and reverse of his hopes and fortunes; and now, by the tacit acquiescence of the chief European powers, he retired to an obscure exile in the Ottoman dominions, where he finished his days, disappointed of the throne, and its vain and illusory greatness, which had mocked his grasp. When visited by Prince Cantemir at Nicomedia: "Ah, my brother!" he exclaimed, "to what a master are we subjected! What is become of all his promises? The crescent, which shines on his standards, is the emblem of his inconstancy; his changeable character is seen in the phases of the planet of night."

The peace of Carlowitz was the preservation of the Ottoman empire, while its inconstant subjects did nothing but murmur against the conditions, and complain of the loss of timars, and the surrender of ziamets; nor was the storm laid, in the opinion of the Turkish people, while secretly hostile preparations were carrying on by the Czar of Muscovy.

The Khan of the Tartars, who was situated on the confines of the empire, advertised the Porte, by message upon message, that Russia was arming by sea and by land; that her troops, strongly reinforced, were acquiring the European tactics;

and that forts were erected along the line of the Boristhenes. Mustapha, sombre, disquieted, and disgusted with war, left Adrianople for his capital, to appease the rising discontent; and, to punish the criminal concealment of the Russian preparations, he sacrificed the Grand Vizir. The fall of the minister opened the way to the elevation of Daltaban, the Pasha of Bosnia, the dependent of the Mufti Fezzullah-effendi. It is time to sketch the character of these two personages, whose union and whose enmity exercised eventually such a fatal influence on the destiny of their master. Fezzulla-effendi, born at Van, was of the race of the Emirs Madernis of Sulomania. Muhammed IV., who entertained the strongest impression of his talents, had appointed him to be Cogia, or preceptor to his sons, the princes Mustapha and Achmet. Fezzullah was neither distinguished by profound knowledge nor by prudence; his most prominent habit was impenetrable subtlety, mixed with revenge and avarice, and such was the ascendant which Fezzullah soon acquired over his pupil, that the unhappy prince placed in him the blindest confidence.

For more than seven years the Mufti had exercised most unlimited power. One of his sons, who surpassed his parent in despotic spirit and in arrogance, was nominated by him to be the Mollah of Jerusalem; displeased with the pious and excellent Mehemet Cherkies, Pasha of Jerusalem, his malice had nearly sacrified that exemplary officer to his revenge.

The Grand Vizir Daltaban, first the partisan, and soon the antagonist, of Fezzullah, is equally worthy of our notice; their enmities and intrigues,

by their influence on the state, have become a portion of history.

In his youth a private janizary, Mustapha Daltaban had been educated in the household of the Grand Vizir Achmet Kiuperli. Kara Mustapha had then highly favoured him, but the fall and misfortunes of this rash man clouded his destiny, and Daltaban remained in obscurity, when Arabaja Ali made him Aga of the janizaries. He traversed on foot by day and night every quarter of the capital, and this activity and vigilance procured for him the surname of Daltaban, which means the man without a horse, who marches on foot and without noise. Daltaban, Aga of the janizaries, became the Seraskier of Bagdad, in Roumelia; during four years he covered, on this point, the Turkish frontiers, and made head against the Poles. The dangers of the state benefited Daltaban, who was appointed Begler-bey of Anatolia; but false accusations from higher Asia procured his disgrace and his exile to Bosnia, where he resided as a mazul, in tranquillity, while Fortune was preparing the scene which immediately led to his elevation.

Zenta had become the grave of the bravest of the Ottoman forces, and Bosnia was entirely open for a prey to the imperialists. Deprived of all their officers, the destitute Bosnians elected Daltaban, by acclamation, to be their chief; and so skilfully did he call out the resources of his provinces, that he had the glory of arresting the progress of prince Eugene.

The Sultan, somewhat revived by this check, now considered Daltaban as the bulwark of his empire, and he was appointed Pasha of Bagdad; in which difficult post, he skilfully brought back all the Arab tribes to their allegiance. It was on

the eve of a victory, that the malice or fears of Fezzullah had dispatched a chiaux to bring the head of the successful, and therefore culpable Pasha. Leading the messenger of death over the field of battle, Daltaban exclaimed, "Return quickly, and tell thy master all that thou hast seen!" Notwithstanding his own just claims, the skilful Pasha tempted the avarice of Fezzullah; and sixty thousand crowns of gold converted him into a powerful protector. The Grand Vizir had been put to death, and, by the advice of the Mufti, the same Battas Osman was now charged to bear the seal of the empire, and the title of Grand Vizir, to the individual to whom he had been deputed a few months before to inflict death with the fatal bowstring.

Daltaban knew the subtlety and the dangerous combination of the Mufti with the Reis-effendi Rami Mehemet, and the Dragoman Mavrocordato, since they had negotiated the peace of Carlowitz, and he sought to convert it into a cause of their downfall.

Determined to commence with the most powerful and dangerous of these objects of his suspicion, he had concerted to invite Fezzullah-effendi to an entertainment at his palace, and had decided to have him strangled at the repast; he relied upon exciting a tumult and clamour among the troops, who should require the heads of his enemies: but Daltaban had imprudently confided his plots to a confident, who betrayed his secret, and acquainted Fezzullah with his danger.

The Mufti, transported by anger and terror, sent back the confident with splendid presents, and with promises of his punctual appearance at the feast; and while Daltaban was instructing a dervise in the

mode of throwing the fatal bowstring around the neck of his victim, Fezzullah was preparing the means of secretly anticipating his adversary in his treachery. They were thus mutually planning the destruction of each other, when the adroit and subtle Mufti, availing himself of the ready access which his sacred functions gave him to the Sultan's presence, succeeded in procuring an order for the destruction of his rival. Fezzullah, thereupon, retired to his palace, and Daltaban received a summons to the seraglio, when, scarcely had he passed the fatal gates, ere the Kiaia of the Bostangis demanded his surrender of the imperial seal of office. Without any apparent emotion, although torn by anger and rage, Daltaban implored for an audience of his lord ; bound, however, and conducted to the scene of death, the Kiaia, who was preparing to decapitate the degraded minister, was so struck by his expressions, that he reported them to the Emperor. They were indeed ominous denunciations of the trials impending over the empire, and truly alarming to the disquieted Mustapha ; he, suspecting that some dreadful calamity lurked under such enigmatical and sinister expressions, became loath to proceed further in the business, and had directed that Daltaban should be confined for further examination; but this change of intention was, however, set aside by the entrance of Fezzullah-effendi, and Rami, who, regaining their usual ascendency over the perplexed Mustapha, the unfortunate Vizir was again brought to the spot of death. " Strike !" he exclaimed to the executioner, " strike him whom the Giaours have feared and spared !" The blow was given, and thus was closed in blood the career of the unfortunate Daltaban.

The news was no sooner known in the capital, than a revolt broke out, which overturned the throne of Mustapha, and avenged the fallen Vizir; for all the classes of the state who had chiefly trusted in his valour, assembled together at once, and the Ulema, the populace, and the soldiery, all joined in bitter exclamations against the Sultan and his perfidious advisers. The imprudency of the Kaimakan gave consistency to the rebellion; the revolters quickly besieged his house, whence he had scarcely time to escape in disguise; while the multitude rushing thence to the Atmeidan, they appointed Firari Hassan Pasha to be Kaimakan, the Nakil Mehemet Kaisibi, or the liar, to be the Mufti, and Doroseau Achmet Pasha (hitherto an obscure individual) to be Grand Vizir.

The Sultan and head Pashas being at Adrianople, ignorant of these important changes, the rebellion proceeded with a certain and powerful progress, and the scene which followed was brief and decisive. The revolters, headed by their chiefs, advanced towards Adrianople, and no sooner did the troops of the Sultan hear the exhortations of the new Mufti, Mehemet Kaisibi, than they unanimously deserted their leaders, and passed over to the side of the malcontent Constantinopolitans. Rami-effendi, and Mavrocordato, fearful of the tempest, had already withdrawn from the scene of danger; but Fezzullah, who was considered as having lost the sacredness of his office, being seized and brought before his enemies, both himself and all his family were put to death by the most cruel tortures, and his mutilated body afterwards cast into the river Hebrus. The downfall of the most odious of their enemies did not, however, benefit the Sultan, who, intercepting a letter, dis-

covered that the troops were resolved on the liberation of the Prince Achmet, his brother. Although master of his person, and strongly urged to put him instantly to death, the unhappy Mustapha refused to dip his hands in his brother's blood; he resigned himself to his unfortunate position, and, proceeding to Achmet's apartment, he voluntarily laid down his power. Embracing his brother affectionately, he acquainted him with the people's desire, and saluted him as Emperor; and in person conducted Achmet to the Hazoda. "Remember, my brother," he said, "that I have reigned, and that I have allowed you a portion of liberty and enjoyment; and I beseech you now, to feel the same tenderness towards me. As the son and brother of Sultans, you are worthy of the throne; but never forget that you owe all your elevation to traitors and rebels; should you pass their perfidy by unpunished, they will eventually act towards you, as they have treacherously done to me."

After this prophetic farewell, Mustapha retired to his brother's apartment, relinquishing the throne on the 24th of August, 1702; he survived this change scarcely for six months, when a mortal chagrin put a period to his melancholy existence, at the early age of forty years.

No prince could be placed in more difficult circumstances; no one could have striven more firmly than did Mustapha, in the commencement of his reign, to avert the dangers of the empire; and whatever may have been his faults, the Ottoman state was indebted to the fallen Sultan for the inestimable advantage of the peace of Carlowitz.

[A very singular circumstance is stated in the coinage of this reign, calculated to evidence the

loose system of regulation of the Turkish mints. A coin of Mustapha's claims attention, on account of its superior weight of 420 grains, denoting it to be a two-piastre piece ; although manifestly under, or along with the Arabic legend, and the Togra, we can discern traces of the Belgic Lion rampant, and dates, showing it to have been a Dutch rix dollar, which has received a second impression in the Turkish mint. It must be matter of surprise, how it could answer the government to stamp pieces of superior intrinsic value, with inscriptions that must bring them to the level of their own base currency.]

CHAPTER XIII.

ACHMET III.—TWENTY-THIRD REIGN.

H. 1114—A.D. 1702.

In tracing the annals of the Ottoman house, we appear to be representing a different race, as we pass from the times of Muhammed II., of Selim, and of Solyman, to the era of their enervated and imbecile successors. The dread of revolt, and the scene of disorder arising from the ambitious contentions of the Ottoman princes, were indeed made by the great Solyman the operative cause of their being detained in a state of perfect ignorance and sensuality in the seraglio. Here, solely conversing with, and surrounded by, fawning eunuchs and flattering Odalisks, the Ottoman princes henceforth vegetated without locomotion, until a dreary and monotonous confinement was terminated by the sepulchre or a throne, totally unacquainted with mankind, or indeed with themselves. The puppet of the Sultan, generally, passed from the confinement of the harem, to the imperial seat, prepared to see with other eyes than his own, and to be directed by ambitious ministers, according to

the various incidents which are ever revolving in such a feeble and dangerous element, as the public mind in Turkey is composed of.

Of eight Sultans who had successively filled the throne, from the accession of Mustapha I. in 1622, to that of Achmet III. in 1702, the whole space of eighty years had been a scene of revolt and of disorder. Of these eight sovereigns, five had been deposed, and three of the five murdered by a rebellious class of soldiery, now become dangerous only to the head of the empire whom they were sworn to obey, whose mandates they murmured against, and whose views of discipline and government they invariably resisted, and converted into sources of danger and degradation. An empire thus conducted, and an army thus constituted—a military force publicly coalescing with the national sentiment, in rejecting every species of improvement, could only, of course, effect (what is the invariable result of such obstinate and fatal blindness) a relaxation of legitimate authority, a deterioration of national prosperity, and an accelerated progress in the career of national misfortune and decay.

Achmet III. was thirty-six years of age when he succeeded to his brother, whose humanity had allowed to him a species of comfort usually denied to the branches of the imperial blood. Achmet had learned one lesson, the most common one to such a lot—the talent of dissimulation. Elevated to the throne by such instruments, he showered on them every mark of benevolence and favour, only to prepare with fuller security to work their eventual downfall. At first, however, Achmet conciliated the Odas of the janizaries by instantly taking up his residence in his capital, and he lavished his

favours on the rebels, while he was revolving how to repress their dangerous turbulency.

The first victim sacrificed was Caracash Mehemet, the heart and planner of the revolt. Seduced by the blandishments of the Sultan, he was persuaded to be the bearer of the imperial present to the Sheriff of Mecca, upon the commencement of a new reign. His route was honoured by every demonstration of respect; but it ended at Aleppo as he retraced his steps homeward, for there the Pasha was instructed to take his forfeit life. Chalik Achmet, Aga of the janizaries, was intrusted with the important post of Capitan Pasha, for the empire had sustained the loss of Mezzomorto; but a few days after his elevation, Chalik disappeared, and a dark rumour hinted at his being cast from his splendid cabin at midnight into the waters of the Bosphorus. The Grand Vizir Doroseau was spared, because he had solely been the passive instrument of the revolters, and he was, accordingly, merely exiled to Lepanto on a slender pension.

Selictar Assan had become the secret counsellor and agent of the cruelties of Achmet; and the Sultan promptly bestowed on him the hand of one of his sisters, as a proof how fully he confided in his zeal.

Assan soon spread throughout Asia, without notice or violence, the whole band of janizaries who had been concerned in the revolt of 1702, while he renewed by little and little the Odas of Constantinople; and the new levies, ignorant of the fault of their predecessors, were unconcerned at their punishments. Fourteen thousand janizaries, dispersed over Anatolia, were thus, within the space of five months, silently cut off without any public alarm; and a multitude of officers and Pashas ex-

perienced the same fate. Assan having fulfilled the views of Achmet, was himself an object of distrust, and, ere a year had passed by, was sent as Pasha to Cairo.

The Grand Vizir who succeeded Assan, had been called for in a degree by the public voice; for Achmet, who traversed his capital in disguise, and watched the public movements, had already resolved his people should appreciate their own favourites by their actions. Calaili, elevated to supreme power, committed such egregious acts of arrogance and folly, that the very populace were soon ashamed of their idol; and ere three months had passed by, they beheld with joy his banishment to the island of Cos. The great recommendation which he ever possessed to public favour, had been the constant exhibition of a blind and intolerant hatred to Christians. It needed something further than this recommendatory impulse, to qualify Calaili for the government of a great empire, but he was as devoid of talent as of liberal views. His successor was Baltadgi Mehemet Pasha, a page of Achmet's before his advancement to the throne. Baltadgi owed his elevation to circumstances too singular not to be named, and too well attested, not to be established.

Mustapha had humanely permitted to his brother Achmet a limited freedom within the walls of the seraglio; and the prince had beheld one day a fair Circassian, with whom he instantly became violently enamoured. Her name was Sarai, attached to the service of Curdisca, the mother of the reigning Sultan, and of Achmet. The Sultana Valide immediately penetrated the intrigue, and, alarmed for the consequences of such an unexampled event, she instantly sent for her physician, Nuh-effendi,

to whom she made a merit of espousing her favourite to his son; and the beautiful Circassian was on the same evening conducted to her husband's mansion. Achmet, informed of the tidings, dispatched forthwith a menacing letter to the effendi, who, perplexed betwixt the fears of displeasing the future claimant of the throne, or of irritating his present patroness, was constrained to perform publicly the ceremonies of the marriage, preserving Sarai most scrupulously for future events. Scarcely had Achmet mounted the throne ere his love revived, and the unfortunate physician being dragged before the Sultan, was ordered to execution. He, however, with great difficulty obtained a hearing, whereby his danger and disgrace were succeeded by riches and advancement. Achmet henceforth, therefore, meditated the immediate reception of Sarai into the imperial palace; but the laws of that sacred enclosure were jealously watched over by the Sultana Valide, and even Achmet found that he dared not to insist on the violation of them. It became, therefore, his object to select another husband, equally willing to sacrifice his rights, and Baltadgi, named to be his grand huntsman, willingly lent his house to the attachment of his master. The Ottoman court exhibited, therefore, the extraordinary spectacle of the lord of three hundred females, who left his own palace to resort to the roof of his subject, wherein resided a woman who thus saw the master of the Ottoman empire devoted to her personal attractions. Sarai procured Mehemet Baltadgi to be appointed Grand Vizir, and she ruled alike the Sultan and his minister. The crisis, however, demanded other counsels than those of a woman. Of all the European empires, the Ottoman state alone remained in profound peace. A

general war pervaded all the Christian community; the Houses of Austria and of Bourbon contested, sword in hand, the Spanish succession; England and Holland mixed themselves in the struggle, and assailed the monarchy of France. Amid these conflicting elements of strife, the weight of Turkey, to be placed in the scale against Germany, was eagerly courted by the French politicians; and Hungary was indeed open to assault. Count Tekeli, it is true, was dead, but his son-in-law, Ragotski, inherited his pretensions, and his hatred of the House of Austria, and his party was also very numerous in Transylvania. Achmet, however, had been warned by the past to avoid the dangers of a new war, and he beheld with pleasure his natural enemies wasting their strength against each other in their interminable dissensions.

An event of great interest to the Ottoman court arose from a source almost unknown to its counsellors and politicians, who, if they knew by name the illustrious Gustavus Adolphus, were in general profoundly ignorant of Sweden and its position. The Swedes became embroiled with the Russians, and King Charles the Twelfth commenced his wonderful career. He first deposed the steady enemy of the Ottoman empire, Frederic Augustus, King of Poland, stripping the crown of the Jagellons from his brows to place it on the head of Stanislaus Leczinsky. Following up his successes against his hated rival Peter, the King of Sweden was seduced by the counsels of the Hetman Mazeppa, to make an irruption into the Ukraine. He accomplished here almost more than is given to the limited powers of man. Inaccessible to fear, to famine, or danger, he proclaimed, "Silvae, paludes, aggeres, hostes, victi." But, if he triumph-

ed over natural obstacles, he had to contend with a genius as powerfully constructed for great things as his own; a genius which moved in its orbit with a grandeur of purpose that fulfilled the wise ends of a sagacious and persevering mind. Unchanged by disaster or discouraging circumstances, Peter drew inexhaustible resources from his own firmness, and at length crowned his glory by the total defeat of his powerful adversary at Pultowa. Wounded, conquered, forced to fly, but always filled with confidence, hope, and pride, Charles sought for a refuge in the Ottoman dominions.

He fixed his residence at Bender, a city of Besserabia. The policy of the Ottoman court must have been inclined to regard with pleasure the successes of Charles; but the decisive day of Pultowa of course influenced the Porte to the strict observance of the treaty of Carolwitz. Charles XII. doubted not but that he should succeed in exciting a war between the Turks and Peter, which might restore him his lost triumphs; and he kept at Constantinople both public and private agents, who sought by every means to hasten a rupture.

Baltadgi was no longer the Vizir, and doubtless his rank became troublesome to his master; he was therefore dismissed to the honourable exile of the Pashalik of Aleppo. Tchourluli Ali succeeded him, who declared to the agent of the Swedish monarch, "I will take your king in one hand, and my scimitar in the other, and I will myself conduct him to Moscow, at the head of two hundred thousand men." But that memorable, yet ever perilous exploit, was reserved for very different times, and for a genius to effect it far transcending that of the heathen madman. Tchourluli, however, soon became so attached to the interests of

Peter, that it is doubtful whether he would not have given up Mazeppa to the vindictive revenge of the Czar, if the latter had not died a natural death at Bender, and thus escaped the fury of his enemies. Achmet knew not the state of foreign politics, as the Grand Vizir kept from him every intelligence. When an adroit agent succeeded in presenting to him a memorial as he was passing to St Sophia, for the purpose of the Friday prayers, the paper opened his eyes to the position of Charles, and the intrigues of the Czar; it also occasioned the downfall of Tchourluli. He was succeeded by Kiuperli Ogli Niumana Pasha, a grandson of the conqueror of Candia. Niumana Kiuperli espoused at first the interests of Charles, and the fluctuating events of those times gave colour to the adroit and skilful agents whom he employed. Awakening the jealousy of the Porte, they succeeded in proving that a secret intelligence had been kept up between the Montenegrins, who were spread throughout Epirus and Thessaly, as well as Greece. The mere sound of a union betwixt the interests of the Greek states and the Muscovites, already united by their national faith, was sufficient to alarm a less sensitive race than the suspicious and revengeful Ottomans.

A chance circumstance contributed to inflame the public spirit, and to direct it against the Russian empire.

Peter the First, desiring to prolong the truce, dispatched accordingly an embassy to Constantinople, where his envoy arrived by sea, escorted by several ships of war. A Russian squadron thus navigating the Bosphorus, and passing into the waters of the Propontis—casting anchor even before the walls of the seraglio—presented the appearance of

a hostile fleet approaching the capital, from a sea considered hitherto as exclusively Ottoman, wounding the pride and exciting the fanaticism of the whole Turkish population.

Achmet the Third, sending for his Vizir, angrily demanded the cause of this step; and Kiuperli quitted his master's presence to interrogate the Russian envoy. "Whence all these vessels," he questioned, "if thy prince be at peace with the Sublime Porte? The Euxine is a sea without a strait, for the Bosphorus is not open to you." The excuses of the Russian envoy were disregarded, for the disposition of the Turkish government inclined to war, conforming itself thereby to the public irritation; but its treasury was unprovided with the requisite means, and Kiuperli refused to levy any new and oppressive imposts. The Sultan, offended at the conduct of Kiuperli, contented himself with his dismissal to the pashalik of Eubæa, and Mehemet Baltadgi for the second time received the imperial seal of office. The war then became declared between the two empires, and Tolstoi, the Russian ambassador, according to custom, was conducted to the Seven Towers. The Khan of Tartary received orders to march with his predatory hordes, while the Vizir assembled in the plains of Adrianople two hundred thousand men to combat the Russians.

Moldavia was about to become the seat of war, and it was of the first importance to secure its fidelity. In these circumstances, Brancovini, the Hospodar of Wallachia, was suspected of favouring the cause of the Russians; the Porte decided therefore on his deposition, confiding its execution to Demetrius Cantemir, who had just been appointed to the supreme power of Moldavia. This political ar-

rangement, however, totally failed, for the Wallachian remained faithful to the Turks who sought to destroy him, and Cantemir, loaded with honours, betrayed his trust.

The events of 1711, on the banks of the Pruth, offer many points of interest which bear on the campaigns carried on by the Russians in this important frontier of the Ottoman Empire. The same results have ever invariably followed the efforts of her assailants to break through the mountain barrier of the Balkan, so that the Turks feel perfectly at ease regarding the consequences of any hostile advance on this quarter. It is also clear that they have nationalized a system of defensive warfare, particularly calculated to exhaust their adversary, and to eventually defeat every attack. It is singular that a leader of the experience and sagacity of Peter should commit precisely a similar fault with that of his imprudent rival, the Swedish hero, by compromising the safety of his army, in advancing through a wasted country without proper magazines. He passed the river Pruth about the middle of July, at the head of one hundred thousand men, sixty thousand of whom were the veterans whom the Swedish wars had disciplined. The province of Moldavia, by a singular coincidence, contravened the treacherous secret alliance of its Waiwode; and the Wallachians, united in appearance to the Russian forces, seeking only to betray them, the disastrous consequences were soon developed. Peter had planned to take possession of the Turkish magazines which had been formed on the banks of the river Sereth, a stream flowing parallel to the Pruth on the west. One portion of the Russian cavalry, under the command of General Rems, posted themselves in the thick

forests which separate the two rivers; while the remaining cavalry, under the command of General James, formed the advanced guard of the army, which they preceded about twelve miles. Hastily crediting a report that the Ottoman forces had passed the river Pruth, the Czar, very inconsiderately, commanded James to fall back, and by his retreat left open the passes of the river, which they should have vigorously disputed: the advance of the Turks, therefore, divided the forces of General Rems, as yet on the right bank of the Pruth; and, after many bloody skirmishes, the Russian army, which had approximated gradually to the river, in the hopes of acquiring more readily those resources of subsistence which the exhausted country could no longer afford, took up a strong position on the Pruth: they were closely followed by the Ottoman army, who, speedily intrenching themselves, in the course of forty-eight hours succeeded in so closely straitening and hemming in on all sides the Russian camp, that it resembled a besieged city. Thus deplorably situated, with a deep river in the rear, and a watchful foe in front, the ill-fated army of the Czar soon became destitute of all supplies, and were delivered over to the accumulated sufferings of hunger and thirst; powerful batteries erected on the right bank, swept the river and interdicted the use of its stream for the supply of the Russian army; while the deplorable condition to which they were speedily reduced, left to the Czar no other alternative than that of submission to his ferocious enemy, or to open a retreat, sword in hand, through an intrenched camp, defended by an immense army. Peter determined on the latter desperate attempt, and summoning General Chérémétof to his tent, he ordered him to prepare a general attack to be

made at the break of day; meanwhile he desired to be left alone during the night. The reflections which must have pressed upon the highly wrought temperament of the Czar may be readily conceived, as he contemplated the fruits of so many toils, of such sacrifices as he had made for the future grandeur of his empire, wrested from his grasp when on the very eve of realization, and the mortifying reverse solely originating from an imprudence and rashness which he had so severely chastised in the previous instance of his daring enemy Charles XII. Assailed at intervals by those violent paroxysms which he had suffered from his youth, and a prey to the deepest despondency, his solitude was at midnight broken in upon by a female, who manifested, in this crisis of his fate, how truly the weaker sex can often lend that help and strength which his stronger nerves and fiercer spirit, in certain circumstances, has denied to man. Such cheering aid flowed into the discomfited mind of Peter, while he listened to the timely counsels of his Empress Catherine (formerly an obscure peasant of Livonia); far from deeming all to be lost, she urged the Czar to profit by the few precious hours intervening before the dawn, to present to the Vizir Baltadgi a project of a pacification, which should embrace every object of security and satisfaction to the Ottoman state.

Hastily sketching the preliminaries, she bore the document in triumph from the tent, and proceeded to accompany the important deed by a propitiatory present of her jewels and gold, together with all that could be collected among the chiefs of the forces. Having thus made the last effort which his magnanimity could brook with regard to those whom he had looked upon as ignorant

barbarians, Peter, after impatiently waiting until the break of day, without receiving a reply, now proceeded to draw up his entire army in readiness for a general attack. Again awaiting for a short pause, the signal was actually given, and the troops put in motion, when messengers arrived from the Vizir, to announce that he consented to a suspension of arms, and was ready to treat for peace. The Vice-Chancellor of Russia presented himself forthwith at the pavilion of Mehemet Baltadgi, prepared to agree to every thing but a surrender of the national honour; the terms were instantly proposed, agreed to, and signed. Azoph was to return under the dominion of Turkey, the port of Taganrog was to be demolished, and the frontiers of the Ottoman Porte somewhat enlarged and strengthened. Peter seized the first moments of the propitious agreement to withdraw his army from its fatal position, which was to him literally the Caudine forks, and directly to pass the river Pruth, which movement placed him out of the reach of any change of sentiment; and events soon proved the incalculable importance of his promptitude, for the last divisions of his army were yet on the left bank, and preparing to follow, when his determined, but ill-advised, rival and enemy, Charles XII., hastily entered the Turkish encampment, having speeded thither from Bender to gratify his eyes with the downfall and ruin of his great enemy. What a scene must the banks of the Pruth have exhibited, when thus was beheld in its interesting valley Peter the Great, commanding his troops with the heartfelt exultation that he was escaped from the snare, and, under Providence, master of his own destiny; within a few hundred paces also stood the undaunted and furious Swede, un-

able almost to credit his senses, that an enemy could have suffered such a prey to escape from inevitable destruction.

The lofty apathy which the Ottoman Vizir displayed in the interview which followed, completes the characteristic portraiture which this memorable scene discloses of these extraordinary personages. Too late convinced of the usefulness of his confident's advice, who had urged him to accompany from the opening of the campaign the movements of the Turkish forces, whereby he would have sealed, in all human probability, the fate of the Russian army; convinced now, by the evidence of his own eyes, that the opportunity was lost for ever, and overwhelmed with the keenest anguish, Charles XII. rushed to the pavilion of the Vizir, to pour forth his severest reproaches. To his question, "How he (Baltadgi) should dare to sign the peace without first having his royal sanction, for whose interests the war had been begun?" the Grand Vizir coolly replied, "that his Sublime Emperor had ordered him to combat for the interests of the Ottoman empire."—"Thou hadst the power of taking the Czar and all his army prisoners," replied the infuriate king, "and of leading them captive in fetters to Constantinople."—"If I had taken the Czar," replied Mehemet, with a disdainful smile, "who then would have governed his states in his absence?" Charles XII., dumb with rage, and quite beside himself, stretched forth his booted heel from the sumptuous couch on which he had flung himself, and hitching his spur into the splendid robes of the Vizir, as he proudly stood, he deliberately tore the garment. The Mussulman had too much self-control to notice an insult which he disdained to resent, and the King, with despair

in his heart, instantly remounted his horse, and returned to his residence at Bender.

It would certainly be erroneous to ascribe the forbearance, or it may be termed, pusillanimity, of the Turkish commander, on this occasion of the Czar's imminent peril, to avarice, for it was evidenced at his decease, which soon followed upon his disgrace, that Baltadgi died poor; it may be more usefully considered as a striking proof and illustration of the progressive inferiority of the Turkish armies. The fear of those chances and reverses which had overthrown so many Sultans and Vizirs, was present to the remembrance of Mehemet; and the reverses of the fatal banks of Salemkenen might well cause the Vizir to dread the fearful shock of such an army, urged onward by famine and despair. In the better days of Ottoman greatness, the Amuraths, the Selims, would have bathed their scimitars in the blood of the devoted Muscovite hosts, as the hunter smiles at the roarings and lashing of the baited lion; but now the impetus and spirit of the Turkish hosts had fled, leaving nothing to supply its place save the irregular onsets of unsteady violence. Whilst, however, Mehemet balanced the certain benefits secured by a treaty against the possibility of a dangerous defeat, his Kiaia, Osman-aga, over whose sordid soul the gold of Catherine really possessed a preponderating ascendency, soon succeeded in infusing his own well-dissembled terrors into the predisposed mind of his master; and the peace so singularly propitious for Peter, became the consequence. The events which followed this treaty are rather matters of civil intrigue than details of history, and would scarcely deserve notice, but as they are commixed with the freaks and singular

obstinacy of Charles of Sweden. It is very melancholy to reflect upon the great natural endowments and political resources which this prince offered up at the shrine of his indomitable pride: but this fatal propensity, uncontrolled by natural obstacles or friendly warnings, rendered all his marvellous natural advantages unavailing, and often pernicious, reduced his flourishing kingdom to the rank of a second-rate state, and reversed his destiny from being the possessor of a throne, and the guider of the fate of nations, to drag on an exile's life among those whom he viewed as ignorant barbarians, but who had finesse enough often to treat him as their dupe. Such are the consequences of one false predominating principle.

The news of peace were received at the capital with marks of great rejoicing, for Achmet cherished peace, and was pleased to have reaped the fruits of success without the danger of war; but the intrigues of Charles's agents soon pervaded the seraglio; there the Sultana Valide warmly espoused the cause of the Swedish monarch, and spoke in admiring terms of his prowess. Baltadgi became the sacrifice of the communications which thus reached the Sultan's ears, and falling into disgrace, was sent into exile, while the guilty Kiaia, Osman-aga, was decapitated. The Waiwode of Wallachia, the unfortunate Brancovani, whose subtle policy was too refined for Turkish forbearance, was dragged to the Seven Towers with all his family, and eventually condemned to die, and the affecting scene of the Grand Duke Notaras was again renewed in the fate of these unfortunates—a father, mother, and four sons. The Mufti, who was attendant, pressed upon the Wallachian prince and his offspring the alternative of pardon and release,

as contingent on their abjuration of the Christian faith; but the unhappy Brancovani and his consort, rejecting the terms, beheld with unshrinking constancy three of their race beheaded before their eyes; the fourth and youngest, sprinkled with his brother's blood, and sinking under the horrors of the scene, exclaimed that he would accept the proffered terms, and the execution, therefore, was stayed during the time requisite to acquaint the Sultan with this circumstance; but Achmet, disdaining a conversion which the immediate fear of death alone had produced, rejected the plea, and the hapless young prince was executed. Brancovani perished next, bewailing to his last breath, not his own misfortunes, but the weakness of his youngest born; lastly, the fate of the Wallachian princess filled up the horrid tragedy by her strangulation. These horrors appear to have awakened an unusual sympathy even among the obdurate Ottomans; for to this hour the death of Prince Brancovani and his family is the story which is dwelt upon to the visitor of the Seven Towers.

The Vizir, who was immediately appointed by Ali Courmourdgi, the favourite of the Sultan, (as yet too young to fill that important office,) was Youssouf, Aga of the janizaries, who had risen gradually from the lowest offices of the sreaglio. The creature of Ali, he failed not to adopt the Russian interest, which Ali now protected; when therefore Poniatowski, the adroit agent of Charles, proceeded to congratulate the new Vizir on his elevation, he was greeted with the ominous warning, "to carefully abstain from any further intrigue, as, on the slightest discovery, he should be cast into the Bosphorus with a stone suspended from his neck."

The Czar, somewhat ungratefully, retarded the performance of those articles to which he had pledged his faith, and owed his safety; and this manœuvre becoming known to the Sultan, was sufficient to cost the Vizir his life, and to return the Russian envoys to their well-known lodgings in the Seven Towers, the road to which prison was become nearly as familiar to Tolstoy as the way to the Ottoman Porte, or Vizir's palace.

The hopes of the King of Sweden revived with the fall of Youssouf, and the Sultana Valide proclaimed aloud her admiration of his heroic valour, terming him her Lion. "When, my son," she exclaimed to Achmet, "when will you aid my Lion to devour his adversary the Czar?" The Sultan's favourite, however, was decidedly opposed to a rupture with Russia, and Peter, ashamed of his duplicity, or afraid to provoke the Porte, seriously promised to execute the stipulations which he had made, and this promise, by the aid of timely presents to the Ottoman ministers, allayed the rising storm. The new Vizir, Solyman Pasha, willingly concerted, by command of his patron, the dismissal of so troublesome and intermeddling a guest as the King of Sweden had proved; but the point was how to effect it, as that stubborn monarch obstinately refused to quit the Ottoman territories, and the Khan of the Tartars and the Pasha of Bender in vain sought to mollify his implacable spirit. The fool-hardiness of barricading his residence at Bender, and resisting the assault of six thousand Turks and Tartars, until he had caused the death of most of his faithful followers, is well known to the readers of history; and the Turks, who admired his valour while they condemned his rashnesss, (although irritated

at the useless massacre of so many of their followers,) magnanimously forbore to injure him; overpowered, and almost alone, his sword flung from his grasp into the air, he sank into the arms of the janizaries who pressed upon him. Conducted to Adrianople, and eventually to Dimotica, a strong city of Bulgaria, he still lingered there for a few months longer, until the new Vizir, Ibrahim Pasha, being suspected of favouring the cause of the King of Sweden, the vacant post of prime minister was occupied by Courmourdgi Ali, who had so long coveted the power. Charles XII., who knew too well that he could expect no aid from the present administrator of the affairs of Turkey, forthwith resolved to set out, and thereby freed the Ottoman ministers from a troublesome and costly guest.

During the various vicissitudes which have been recorded, Achmet, or rather his ministers, had suffered an opportunity to pass of inflicting a most fatal wound on the Emperor, and even, perhaps, of regaining their lost ascendency in Hungary; but the singular apathy, or indifference, of the Turkish diplomacy to foreign politics, permitted the conjuncture to remain unimproved. The alliance of Charles XII. had been neglected during his triumphant campaigns against the King of Poland and the Czar; yet his person was respected, and his cause espoused, when he was without power and a refugee; so also at present, the Emperor of Germany being at peace with France and all his neighbours, Achmet assumed a warlike position, and armed by sea and land.

A hundred vessels of war and fifty galleys were assembled in the port of Constantinople, under the orders of the Capitan Pasha Giamma Cogia,

and two hundred thousand men were assembled in the plains of Adrianople, when the arrest of the Venetian envoy, and the declaration, that the Sultan had resolved to regain possession of the Morea, announced the approaching war. Jerome Delphino had but eight thousand men to defend the whole province; however brave, therefore, their leader, those troops must eventually have yielded to their powerful adversaries, had not the Emperor Charles VI., who had guaranteed the peace of Carlowitz, interposed with his energetic mediation; as the rejection of his propositions brought on the Porte the weight of the German armies, the fate of the Morea became necessarily, for a while, a secondary consideration.

Three Austrian armies were employed, and the military talent of Eugene directed their plans, while a hundred and fifty thousand Ottomans were guided by the youthful and inexperienced Courmourdgi Ali. Burning to signalize his valour by some brilliant action, presumptuous and violent, he despised his great opponent because he hated him, and because he was a Christian; thus Eugene and Ali alike sought each other, impatient for battle. The imperial army passed the Danube—the Ottoman host passed the river Saave; and at length, after some bloody skirmishes, the decisive stake was played for near the city of Peterwaradin, where the last peace had been concluded. Prince Eugene took possession of the same lines as Count Caprara had used in 1694 against the same enemies, and the Grand Vizir began to besiege him in his intrenched camp. Secure of not being turned in their position, the imperialists issued forth to the attack, and for a time the impetuosity of the Turks overwhelmed their right

wing, and even penetrated into the imperial lines; they had pierced through the first intrenchments, and advanced as far as the second; two field marshals were slain, and the Turks believed the victory to be gained, when the approach of the Count de Palfy at the head of the imperial cavalry, and the renewed resistance of the foot soldiers, sufficed at once to throw the violent but unsteady columns of the Ottoman troops into irremediable disorder. Defeat upon defeat has proved, that there exists no moral sustentation in the Turkish character against the effect of sudden panic, and a total absence of discipline bereaves the Ottoman soldier of confidence in his commanders; if, therefore, they are once deprived of the stimulating excitement which numbers, and mutual cries and encouragement, keep up, they abandon every feeling of union or of retreat, and the instinct, quaintly described by the French words, *sauve qui peut*, dissolves in a few minutes a once powerful army, and reduces it into a defenceless train of fugitives: Such was again the catastrophe of Peterwaradin. Courmourdgi, who saw the fatal turn of the battle, gallantly threw himself, at the head of a scanty band of followers, in the way of the pursuing foe, and fought until he was pierced with two fatal wounds. Forcibly dragged by his adherents from the field, he was borne to Carlowitz, where he died on the morrow, in transports of rage at the disaster of his arms. The spoils of the Turks were immense, and the magnificent tent of Courmourdgi was the personal prize of the brave Eugene, while the reduction of the important city of Temeswaer was the result of this successful campaign.

In the ensuing year, the campaign opened under the most important appearances, as the conqueror

of Zenta and Peterwaradin was attended by a crowd of Christian nobles and princes, and an army of an hundred and fifty thousand men. The Ottomans again mustered an equal force, notwithstanding that the plague desolated the capital, and the Ulema and members of the divan exclaimed against the war. Atchi Ali, the Pasha of Belgrade, who was elevated to the viziriat, was prudent, brave, and experienced; but the same fatality governed the movements and tactics of the Ottoman forces, with precisely the same fatal results.

The celebrated city of Belgrade was surrounded by the army of Prince Eugene, while thirty thousand Turks were arrayed for its defence within its ample ramparts, when the lines of the Prince were invested by the Turkish host, who appeared on the heights of Cruscha, overlooking the imperialists, and the German forces were again, as at Peterwaradin, enclosed and besieged in their camp. The Prince commanded, that at the break of day the army should form in columns, and march out of their intrenchments to attack the foe. They were repulsed, and attacked in their turn; awhile victorious, the Turks were finally overthrown, when Eugene brought up in person his second line and his reserve; thus Atchi Ali was in a short time completely defeated. Such were the circumstances of the ill-maintained contest of Cruscha. Pursued to the heights, and charged by the imperial columns, the whole Turkish army took to flight, leaving their camp and stores a prey to the victors, and as the camp was altogether uninjured, it presented the appearance of an immense city, being filled with riches and with warlike stores.

The city of Belgrade was surrendered at once by its intimidated garrison; Saboz and Selymbria

followed its example, and the Grand Vizir rallied with difficulty thirty thousand soldiers at Nissa, to defend the defiles which interpose between Thrace and the capital.

Achmet, affrighted at such a dreadful defeat, sent to sue for peace at Vienna; but the Emperor, elated at his advantages, required the cession of Servia, Bosnia, and a portion of Moldavia, as far as to the Dniester. While the Turkish counsellors paused on ratifying such disastrous terms, (which, however, they had no means of resisting,) the flames of war lighted up in Europe by the ambition of Alberoni, minister of Philip V., King of Spain, secured much better terms for the Ottoman Porte. The Turkish ministers were well satisfied to sign the peace of Passarowitz, ceding the fortresses of Temeswaer and Belgrade, and the Venetians also were secured in the peaceable possession of the Morea.

Not only did the Ottomans exercise their usual pride in the progress of the negotiation; but, by their noble adherence to, and support of Ragotski, they fulfilled, to the letter, every honourable engagement contracted with that unfortunate prince, as, surrounded by a few faithful Transylvanians, he had a residence at Rodosto, near Salonica, and a thaim of a hundred piasters daily assigned for his support.

It has been usually made the peculiar glory of the reign of the amiable Selim, that he first established a printing-press at Constantinople; but a sense of justice leads us to show that, in fact, this event took place as early as the year 1726, under the reign of Achmet III. The Vizir Atchi Pasha was the victim of the unfortunate result of the battle of Belgrade, and his successor, the Kai-

makan Ibrahim, was careless and voluptuous; still, with these faults, he had penetration enough to conceive the desire of rectifying the defects of his own country, by an appreciation of the general system of the European states; and accordingly Mehemet-effendi, the enlightened negotiator of the peace of Passarowitz, was, in 1721, deputed upon a special embassy to Louis XV.

The particulars of the embassy are not less important than they are amusing, from the Asiatic turn of expression and opinions expressed on the habits and customs of Europe; for Mehemet-effendi preserved a journal of his mission. Among other presents to his master, he must have astonished him by the plans of Versailles and Marly; but the most inestimable boon procured by the talents and acumen of Mehemet was the art of printing, borne to the waters of the Bosphorus by Said-effendi, the son of Mehemet, who, on his return to Constantinople, immediately obtained a formal grant to realize his ardent desire of naturalizing this the greatest effort of human invention. Associating in his labours the renegade Ibrahim, since named Basmadgy, or the printer, Said-effendi obtained of the Grand Vizir and of the Mufti the amplest permission to print any of the works existing in the Arabic language on history or the sciences. The sagacity of Said commenced by a solemn exception of the Koran, the Sunnas, and doctrinal books of the Ulema, all of which were still to emanate solely from the scribes, which powerful class derived a main portion of their profits, as well as influence, from these labours. Four of the highest personages of the empire were named as inspectors of the imperial press; and this source of intelligence was esta-

blished in the valley of Kyát-Khána; and thus, of all the people and kingdoms of Islam, the Ottomans only lay claim to the credit of having begun to cultivate the sciences, by the creation of a national printing-press. At Kyát-Khána, under the auspices of the government, and by the munificence of Said-effendi aiding the labours of Ibrahim, the newly instituted presses rapidly produced an Arabic and Turkish dictionary, which was followed by an account of the maritime wars of the Ottomans; the History of the eruption of the Afghans, and of their wars with Persia; a History of the West Indies, of Timour Khan, of ancient and modern Egypt; a Treatise on the Compass; a set of Chronological Tables; the Ottoman Annals; the Annals of Raschid-effendi, wherein are found the Journal of the Embassy of Mehemet-effendi; and lastly, a History of the wars of Bosnia: All these works, which claim a distinguished notice among the annals of the Ottoman sovereigns, convey a far more favourable standard of the literary character of the Turkish capital, than the limited acquaintance of Europeans in general with the feelings and customs of this singular people usually permit them to entertain.

While such a distinguished invention was conferring a marked distinction on the reign of Achmet, a political revolution took place in Persia, which overturned the throne of the Sophi race, and changed all the relations of this interesting and important portion of Asia.

From Ismail, the founder of the throne of the Sophi dynasty, Persia had successively been governed by chosen princes of that illustrious race. Shah Hussain, the contemporary of Achmet, alienated the affections of his people by his imbe-

cility, and filled up the measure of the misfortunes of his country. The Afghans, originally a native race of the province of Shirwan, (the Gozan and Resen of Scripture,) which borders on the Caspian sea, had been dragged thence into Candahar, on the confines of India, to people the deserts which the fierce cruelty of the conqueror Timour had created. This warlike race, always inured to arms, had revolted against the weak Hussain Shah, and, under the command of Merveis, they penetrated to the capital of Persia, and forced the reluctant and pusillanimous Shah to espouse his daughter to the barbarian Merveis Khan; Thamas Khan, the youngest of the Persian princes, flying from Ispahan, disputed, inch by inch, with Merveis, the inheritance of his fathers, when a new revolution occurred, wherein Merveis was massacred, and Ashreff, his cousin, succeeded to his power and pretensions. While Persia was thus a prey to her internal and foreign foes, the Turks and the Russians equally availed themselves of her deplorable condition, for the Czar Peter took forcible possession of the provinces of Shirwan, of Mazanderan, of Ghilan, and the shores of the Caspian sea. Achmet, jealous of these events, was about to resume the war against Russia, when the prospect of dividing the spoils of the Persian empire became a joint object of these powerful neighbours, and thus sustained, Turkey succeeded in acquiring more splendid conquests in the east, than all the hardihood and courage of Selim or Solyman could achieve; but the wise saying of Solon, however, was never more verified than in the consequences of every Persian war upon the Turkish monarchy—"The end determines the character of the event;" for however promising its commence-

ment, or progress, this, as well as every former struggle, concluded in disgrace and national misfortune.

The generals of Achmet proceeded from victory to victory. They added the strong and important kingdom of Georgia to their northern frontier, and following up their successes, they completed an impregnable line of defence by the acquisition of all Armenia, comprising the salt mines of Ararat, the provinces of Erivan and of Nakshivan. Khadi, with the mountainous parts of Tauris, carried the dominions of Turkey as far as to the lake of Ouarmia. While thus, on the north and west, she acquired the finest provinces of Persia, the Pasha of Bagdad made an alarming progress into the very heart of the ancient Susiana, penetrating to the site of the once celebrated Ecbatana, now known as the fine city of Hamadan. Ashreff, disposed to grant every thing to acquire the crown which was the object of his ambition, proposed to assure to the Porte the possession of these splendid acquisitions, in hopes to seat himself on the throne of Persia, through the aid of the Sultan; the tempting offer was accepted, and the usurping Afghan recognised by the Porte in 1725, as the sovereign of Persia. The ink was scarcely dry on the compact ere a wonderful revolution commenced, and a single man arose who reversed the entire fortunes of the East; that man was Thamas Kouli Khan, perhaps better known, after his assumption of the diadem, as Nadir Shah. A few short weeks sufficed to chase Ashreff from the throne, and throw him into the power of Kouli Khan, who inflicted on him a merited and cruel death, while the puppet of sovereignty, Prince Thamas, soon disappeared from the scene, and Nadir Shah became

the powerful master of the Persian throne. He displayed thereon the most marked talents, courage, and magnanimity; and his first step was to demand from the Turkish Sultan, the restitution of those important provinces which Ashreff had formally surrendered by treaty. The capital of the Ottoman empire had scarcely ceased its rejoicings and exultation at the peace which had crowned the Persian war, when the new envoys of Persia denounced the vengeance of Nadir Shah, if these cherished acquisitions were not forthwith given up. The surprise and astonishment at such an unexpected demand were unbounded; the army had been dismissed, but the Sublime Porte rejected the proposed resumption with scorn, and prepared two armies to invade the centre and north of Persia. It was near Hamadan, that the first celebrated encounter took place, wherein Nadir Shah manifested those military talents which placed him among the most distinguished of Eastern commanders. The Turks, enveloped on all sides by his manœuvres, were cut to pieces, and were completely defeated, and Nadir Shah, with the celerity which marked henceforth his movements, marching forthwith into the province of Ardebeil, succeeded in completely surprising and defeating his foe, whereby Tauris and all Ardebeil became freed from the Ottoman forces.

An act of cruelty, characteristic of Nadir, was perpetrated by him after these signal successes, which eventually overturned the throne of Achmet. Nadir had commanded three hundred captives to be deprived of their noses and ears, and in that mutilated state, to be sent back into Turkey, in retaliation for the cruelties committed in their invasion; the cruel order was promptly obeyed, and

the Grand Vizir Ibrahim, willing to counteract the impression which the appearance of so many disfigured fugitives might cause, whose plaints too probably might excite a popular discontent, dispatched orders at once to sink the vessels which bore these unfortunates on their voyage to the Turkish capital. This black deed of national treachery also was done, but a fatal witness survived in Ali Patrona, who conceived and accomplished the rash project of changing the whole system of the state.

On the 28th of September, Patrona, with merely six or eight janizaries, repaired to the Atmeidan, where they soon assembled about thirty soldiers, who chose him for their chief, and their first step was to denounce the great, and especially the Vizirs. While the hope of plunder excited some, revenge enlisted others. The opportune absence of the ministers and the Sultan from the capital, left the murmuring populace open to the daring projects of Patrona and his seditious followers; and ere twenty-four hours had elapsed, the rebellion was too widely developed and supported to allow of any prospect of opposition. The usual steps produced the usual results. At first they murmured, then they coalesced; by and by increased numbers produced fresh demands; soon the chief officers of the state were sacrificed; and after glutting their revenge on their senseless and mutilated corpses, the insurrectionary leaders demanded the deposition of the Sultan himself. Achmet, in this extremity, seeing that he was deserted by the Ulema, and threatened by his rebellious soldiery, emulated the magnanimity of Mustapha. Himself repairing to the apartment of his nephew Mahmoud, he conducted him to the Hazoda, and saluted him as Emperor;

then he immediately retired into the chamber from whence he had just released his successor.

Thus, after a reign of twenty-seven years, which had often been marked by signal successes, and during which he had often shown those talents which deserved the gratitude and support of his fickle people, the unfortunate Achmet beheld himself the third Emperor whom the changeableness of the Turkish race had compelled to abdicate the supreme authority within the short space of half a century.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Germany.	Leopold I.	1705
	Joseph	1711
	Charles VI.	1740
England.	Anne	1714
	George I.	1727
	George II.	1760
Sweden.	Charles XII.	1718
Russia.	Peter the Great.	1724

[The coinage of the reign of Achmet attained a considerable degree of excellence, and a change also took place from the name of the imperial capital Constantinople, to Islambul.]

CHAPTER XIV.

MAHMOUD I.—TWENTY-FOURTH REIGN.

H. 1143—A. D. 1730.

THE rebels, having learned the abdication of Achmet, indulged themselves in every species of license and of rejoicing, as if the empire had been delivered from the most cruel tyrant. Mahmoud was proclaimed the same day; but, in fact, the whole effective power of the state was vested for a short time in the hands of Patrona and of his accomplices; for affecting still to wear the common dress of the janizary, Patrona enacted, in the streets of Constantinople, the part of the Neapolitan Massaniello, and exercised the most despotic power.

When Mahmoud, on the 5th day of his reign, went in state to the mosque of Ayoub, to be girt with the scimitar of Osman, the imperial procession passed between two rows of the janizaries, topachis, and gebezis, all unarmed, according to the imperial etiquette. The rebels alone attended with arms, and wearing the red turban, whereby they distinguished themselves; and Patrona at their head, mounted on a superb charger, splendidly harnessed, affected to blend the common habits of

the janizary with the most lavish pomp, continually casting handfuls of sequins among the populace. Yet the daring rebel, with Mousla and Ali, his two chief accomplices, could not long turn aside the bias of the public feeling from returning to its usual current of humble and tacit subjection, until some new incident should lead to a new cause of explosion. The camp at the At-Meidan was broken up; the janizaries had retired to their respective odas, and the influence of Patrona diminished day by day; the return of the Capitan Pasha into the port of Constantinople at once decided the punishment of the rebel and his accomplices. Summoned to the divan upon business of high importance, the Grand Vizir announced the elevation of Patrona and his two accomplices to Pashaliks; but Patrona, who knew the snare lurking under such a destination, no sooner opened his lips to reject the dignity, than the scimitar of Gianum-Coggia, the Capitan Pasha, laid him headless on the pavement, and his two confidents and thirty followers were immediately massacred, and as quickly forgotten. Two revolts troubled the reign of Mahmoud between 1730 and the end of the year 1731; but the deposition of the Grand Vizir for his negligence on occasion of the first revolt, and the energy of his successor Cabakulak in extinguishing the other, deserve only our brief notice. The germs of uneasiness, however, still lurked in the capital; a vigilant police detected the secret standards and preparations for a general rising; the Grand Vizir became exiled for his culpable ignorance of the threatening danger; the seals of empire were then bestowed upon Topal Osman, Pasha of Silistria. As these frequent changes were, in fact, part of the system of rule of Mahmoud,

it may be desirable to notice the cause of this innovation. Called to the throne by rebels, the Sultan directed all his efforts to ward off any similar attempts against his authority; and his Kislar-aga, a wary and experienced character, who had witnessed the two revolts of 1702 and 1730, counselled Mahmoud to keep the real power in his own hands, often to reappoint a new Grand Vizir, and never on any account to continue the same person in that eminent station above three years. Mahmoud strictly adhered to the sagacious advice, and thus continually innovated on the former practice in that branch of the body politic, which, without being a matter of law, had become perfectly a matter of usage.

Topal Osman was of a character noble, generous, and brave; the incidents of his early life have supplied many a similar tale with incident and zest. Charged, in 1698, with an order of the Emperor's for Grand Cairo, the bark was assailed on her passage, and captured by a Spanish corsair, who dragged his captives to Malta. While they were exposed there as slaves, a Marseillois, named Arniaud, struck with the air of Osman, then only 25 years of age, became so deeply interested in his fate, that he at length testified these feelings to the youthful Mussulman, who calmly said, "As you are moved at my fate, do a noble action; buy me, and give me liberty; you shall not repent of it." The Corsair demanded a thousand sequins; but Arniaud at length brought it back to six hundred, when he paid at once his ransom. He afterwards admitted him to his home; and, having had him healed of his wounds, he restored him to freedom and to his native country. The humble Osman became successively Seraskier of the Morea, and Pasha of

Roumelia. In every position he manifested his gratitude in the most striking manner; and when elevated to the Viziriat, his first thought was of Arniaud, and of inviting him to Constantinople. Osman held him in his embrace, and delighted to narrate the circumstance, which all the officers of his house repeated with astonishment, "Behold the Aga! the patron of the Vizir! behold him who is the preserver of our master;" and Arniaud, after enjoying the grateful reception given him, retired loaded with the Vizir's bounties to his native place. The war still continued with Persia, and the Ottoman forces had regained some portion of Erivan, when, faithful to the policy which he had adopted, Mahmoud recalled Ali Pasha, the successor of Rustan, from the army; and Osman, deposed from the Viziriat, under a charge of favouring the Giaours, was sent to replace him, with the title of Pasha of three tails, or Vizir. The safety of Bagdad was menaced by the much-dreaded Nadir Shah; thither Osman directed his steps with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. A furious battle took place under the walls of Bagdad, wherein the Persians were totally defeated, and Nadir grievously wounded; while the ferocity of the Turks elevated the hideous trophy of a pillar garnished with niches of human heads, an outrage which humanity had been spared the sight of since the era of Timour Khan. Osman was unable to profit by his victory, owing to the vast deserts which separate the Persian provinces, and his total want of the proper supplies, for the same intrigue which had deprived him of the Viziriat, denied him any kind of support; he found, however, resources in his own character and reputation; and the neighbouring Arab tribes, upon the faith of his pro-

mises, brought him supplies; but he had scarcely collected together the half of his original force, ere the fierce and indomitable Nadir had forced the defiles, and again was prepared to attack Osman. The Ottomans remained in their intrenched camp at Kerkhoud, and Nadir again tried his strength with Osman, only to be vanquished; the Persian army was pursued beyond Keilan, and Nadir Shah, disheartened at his losses, made overtures for peace. Osman proudly replied, "that his Sublime Master did not make treaties with usurpers."

The necessary supplies to maintain such a powerful attitude were totally denied to him. Neglected or forgotten, he was compelled to enter upon the campaign of 1734 with a weakened army and divided forces; a battle soon again ensued, wherein the Ottomans were overpowered, and the brave Osman slain; and the remains of the Turkish forces fled beyond Tauris, and towards Diarbekir. The important city of Bagdad was again threatened; and the fortunes of Nadir henceforth retained the ascendant which he had acquired. A fresh army of sixty-six thousand men, led by Abdalla, the brother-in-law of the Sultan, hastened to the vicinity of Erivan, and there suffered a most signal defeat. This disaster brought about a peace with Persia. The Porte relinquished Georgia, and opened the sacred territory of Mecca to the visits of the Persian pilgrims; and, after all the prospects of the Ottoman Porte, and such torrents of bloodshed, the general boundaries resumed nearly their former outlines. It was in 1734 that the contest for the throne of Poland between Augustus the Third, Elector of Saxony, and Stanislaus Leczinsky, renewed the contests in Europe, and rendered it probable that the Ottoman Porte

would become involved in the consequences; for the government of Mahmoud arranged their plans with such extreme vacillation and indiscretion, that having, by the publicity of their armaments, excited the resentment of the Russian Empress Anne, they at length found themselves involved in hostilities, single-handed, with the colossal power of Russia; while the Emperor of Germany was strenuously making preparations to join his forces to those of the Czarina. Scarcely had the successor of Ali Pasha seated himself in the Viziriat, when the declaration of war by the court of Petersburg was received at Constantinople. Mahmoud, either from being more enlightened, or still anxious for peace, forbore to confine the Russian envoys in the Seven Towers; and the Russians opened the campaign of 1736 by the attack on the Krimea, for the subjugation of which the famed Marshal Munich led a numerous Russian army. The lines of Precop, which might have served for an impregnable defence, had they been maintained with skill and adequate military science, were turned by the manœuvres of Munich; and, having burst into the peninsula, he proceeded to lay siege to Azoph, of which he soon became master. His next important conquest was the city of Oczakow, situated on the right bank of the Boristhenes, and near the mouth of the river; the explosion of its powder magazines, the effects of a chance bomb thrown into the works, produced such consternation, that the fortress was surrendered almost instantly to the fortunate marshal, who gloriously finished the campaign by the capture of Kibournou, the key of the river Dnieper.

The year 1737 opened with the most unfavourable appearances; for the Emperor of Ger-

many, joining his pretensions to those of the Russian empress, with his armies fully prepared for war, invaded at the same time the provinces of Servia, Bosnia, and Wallachia. The Sultan Mahmoud desired peace, and anxiously sought for it; but the German emperor, elated at his favourable prospects, demanded the cession of these important provinces as the price of his mediation; and the Turkish mind, inflamed by such unreasonable demands, rejected fiercely the idea of these dismemberments, and passed at once from despondency to fury; and Ismael Pasha, the Vizir, became the victim of his inactivity in the preceding campaign, his predecessor being sent into exile, and his Kaiai beheaded; the seals of office were bestowed on Sighen.

The Turks possessed among them an European of extraordinary energy and talent, the celebrated Count de Bonneval; and his appearance and assistance seemed as opportune to the Mussulman world as the talents of Themistocles were to Artaxerxes; for, under the influence of his counsels, the Ottomans took the field against the imperialists with an excess of spirit and enthusiasm, which was strongly contrasted by their dislike to combat against the Russians in the inclement deserts of the Ukraine, whereby a total change of fortune attended the proceedings of the hostile powers. The Count of Seckendorff had taken Nissa, and was preparing to besiege Widdin, on the Danube, as the Grand Vizir pressed forward to attack his corps, when an engagement ensued, so decidedly to the advantage of the Turks, that Count Seckendorff was compelled to evacuate Servia, with the loss of a third of his army, while Nissa soon opened her gates. In Bosnia, the Prince of Saxe Hildbourg-

hausen was still more unfortunate, for the Turks stormed his intrenched camp, and obtained a complete victory, dispersing the whole of his forces, and eminent success attended in every quarter the Ottoman arms. It is highly probable that one main cause of this change of fortune was the division of the imperial forces into four detachments, combating at once in four frontier points, whereby the war became a contest of skirmishing and partisan warfare, wherein the Turk always shines, and for which the native possessors of the soil have such important advantages. The Grand Vizir having made a triumphant entry into Constantinople, and gratified the population by depositing at the feet of his master the keys of five important places captured in this campaign, Sighen soon, however, was destined, notwithstanding his good fortune, to experience the usual changeful policy of Mahmoud; for scarcely had he departed, in the spring of 1739, for the rendezvous of the Ottoman army, on the plains of Adrianople, than the Capidgi Bashi appeared to demand the imperial seals, and to accord to him the choice of his place of exile.

The Pasha Elwas, the conqueror of Orsowa, was the successor to the Viziriat, who, leaving the care of watching the movements of Marshal Munich to the Tartar Khan of the Crimea, directed the whole military force of the empire against the city of Belgrade, the key of the Turkish provinces on the Danube. The Count de Wallis, who commanded the imperialists, endeavoured in vain to interpose against the overwhelming superiority of the Ottomans. The Count, after being defeated in two encounters, had his intrenched camp carried by assault; when the Grand Vizir pursued his re-

treat with such vigour as to drive the Count to seek refuge, with the relics of his forces, within the ample circuit of Belgrade. Master of the course of the Danube, and seconded by a numerous artillery, which made a great impression upon the fortifications, the ardour of the janizaries murmured because the signal for an assault was not given; but Elwas Pasha evidenced as much prudence and sagacity as he had exhibited traits of courage. Displaying the whole force of his army, he invited the plenipotentiaries of Austria to treat for peace, under the friendly mediation of France; and, assisted by the able talents of Mehemet Raghib, he succeeded in dictating the law to the negotiators. To the observations of the imperial negotiators he replied, with noble firmness, that the bad faith of Austria had been the sole cause of the war, wherein God had favoured the Mussulmans, and had espoused the just cause: "As there is but one God, I have only one word, and that is Belgrade—Belgrade, untouched in its fortifications, shall be restored to my Sublime Emperor, and for that price he will sign a peace." Wallis and Count Nieperg finally yielded to the uncompromising Ottoman, and the peace of Belgrade was signed on the first of September, 1739, which nullified the treaty of Passarowitz, and re-established the rivers Danube, Save, and Unna, for the boundaries of the two empires.

The pacification with the imperial court was also soon followed by another, which was most desirable to the Porte, with the Empress Anne. The war had been uniformly successful to her arms; but it fatigued and embarrassed her politics, which looked to another direction than towards the marshes of the Ukraine and the Crimea; hence she restored her conquests of Choczim and Molda-

via, and agreed to the demolition of the port of Azoph; but she obtained an annulment of all previous national treaties or compacts anterior to that of Belgrade, which, instead of being a truce, was declared to be a perpetual treaty of peace; and this recognition became, in course of time, of much importance, and effaced the recollections of the treaty of Pruth. The Sultan now also consented to recognise the Czarina's title of Empress; and this seemingly trivial or courteous formality was, in fact, a concession of singular importance in the eyes of the Ottomans, with whom "words are things." In the then incipient, but, so shortly after that time, very unequal rivalry of the Russians and the Mussulmans, every step of progressive ambition on the one part, as well as retrograde step on the other side, deserves to be fully investigated, and diligently recorded.

The same period saw the Ottoman Porte consent to treat with, and admit the court of Sweden to its alliance, and to commute the debts of her sovereign, Charles XII., for the present of a vessel of war, and of thirty thousand muskets.

The treaty of Belgrade thus established the general peace which the Turkish empire so much needed; but the Grand Vizir Elwas, instead of being recompensed for effecting the opportune pacification, was disgraced, and the seals of office were confided to the Kaimakan Achmet.

The death of the Emperor Charles XII., the last male of the illustrious House of Hapsburg, armed, in 1741, all the powers of Europe; and the Ottoman Emperor, far from rejoicing at the prospect of their thus weakening each other, did himself the signal credit and honour of inviting these Christian princes to a reconciliation, proffer-

ing to them his mediation. The letters written in his name to the courts of Europe breathe the finest sentiments of national honour and good-will; for such were the diplomatic feelings of a court hitherto characterised by fanaticism, pride, and disdain. A silent and inactive spectator of the war which desolated Europe, until terminated by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, the Sultan Mahmoud, far from availing himself of its chances to annoy his neighbours, voluntarily allayed any uneasiness on the part of the court of Vienna, by converting the truce into a perpetual peace.

A popular excitement now disturbed the tranquillity of the Sultan; it was caused by the folly and ambition of Bekir-aga, the successor to the office and the favour of the old and experienced Kislar-aga. He had for his assistant a young slave named Solyman-aga, and the Armenian Jacumb; this triumvirate laid the whole Ottoman state under contribution to their insatiable thirst for gold. Flattering the Sultan's taste for luxury and magnificence by frequent presents of the rarest articles of the arts which money could procure, the dazzled senses of Mahmoud rendered him wholly the passive instrument of the arbitrary exactions and tyranny of his favourite.

Bekir-aga had already placed himself in the frightful danger always impending over the head of a marked enemy to the corps of the janizaries, by retaining the pay, of several companies, and, above all, by seizing upon the funds which had been appropriated to build certain odas recently burnt down; when the height of his infatuation led him to commit an outrage upon the Ulema, the most formidable body of the state.

An agent of Bekir's had been convicted before

the Mollah of Scutari, which process the patron commanded him in vain to rescind; impatient at what he deemed the obstinacy of a simple Mollah, his Tchoadar drew a whip from his girdle, and had the insolence to strike the judge with it as he sat in open court. The Mufti instantly laid the outrage before the Grand Vizir, who, aware of the secret instigator of the violence, sought to appease the Mollah by the offer of the dignity of Mollah of Iconium, the highest post of his rank; but Bekir having imprudently rewarded his Tchoadar, by an appointment to a distant lucrative post, the entire body of the Ulema combined to work his downfall. On the part of the Kislar-aga the most violent measures were privately resorted to; blinded by their fury, they hired assassins to strangle the unfortunate Mollah and his daughter in their beds, and afterwards to fire their dwelling, so as to give the affair the semblance of accident; but this mode of concealment of their crime only added to their guilt and the public irritation, and the Ulema swore to revenge the death of the Mollah; at length the janizaries entered into the conspiracy, and the destruction of the three culprits became sealed.

The throne was inaccessible to the complaints and petitions of the people, for all approach to the Sultan was closed by the watchfulness of the Kislar-aga; soon, however, conflagrations in every quarter, which broke out for a continuance of more than twenty successive nights, announced to the uneasy mind of Mahmoud the existence of some popular cause of discontent. He began his anxious perquisitions by the deposition of the Grand Vizir; but he, however, was not the victim called for, and the fires on the morrow reappeared. Mahmoud, un-

certain of their origin, then summoned the Mufti, who soon revealed to the Sultan the crimes of the Kislar-aga and his accomplices. Mahmoud, indulgent to his favourite, would have screened him from the public fury by sending him into exile to Grand Cairo, but the rage of his people compelled him to render a tardy assent to their wishes, and to execute the Kislar-aga and his two agents; after which act of rigour the public mind was appeased, and the imperial Kasna enriched by a prodigious sum in gold and precious jewels, produced by the confiscation of their ill-gotten spoils. The severe justice of Mahmoud, who generally was regulated by just views, repressed all the subordinate depredators; but age augmented his suspicions, and the privation of any issue infused deep inquietude into his lot. Directing his views to the maintenance of perfect tranquillity and good-will throughout the different orders of his capital, Mahmoud regarded not the signs of the times in the remote parts of his empire, and became scarcely more than the governor of the capital; and hence he overlooked the appearance, from the southern extremity of the Ottoman empire, of that simoom, which, sweeping onward from the burning deserts of Arabia, had time and opportunity to convert a speck on the distant horizon into the formidable cloud of enemies, distinguished as the abhorred sect of the Wahabites.

The province of Yemen originated this offset from the schools of the Karmatians, the genuine promulgators of the dogmas and austerities of those warlike fanatics, who, under the Kalifs of the Abbasside race, were the scourge of Islamism, and the terror of Arabia. The obscure race of the Wahabites, treading in the first steps of the Turks

themselves, commenced by obeying a spiritual guide in the Sheik Muhammed, and having their Othman, or leader, in Ebn Sehand, the Prince of Derayah and Delahsa, two districts situate in the desert, nearly an hundred leagues from Bassorah.

Sheik Muhammed, a man of talent and address, of the tribe of the Nejedis, undertook to become the reformer of Islamism, and to bring back the Koran to its primitive simplicity and purity. He took this sacred book for his basis, rejecting the glosses of the Sunnites, and reducing Muhammed to the standard of a wise man, beloved by God, and an instrument only to declare the will of the Most High to mankind. Before opening his commission, the skilful Sheik laid claim to the miracle of a lambent flame having appeared on the person of his grandfather, announcing the future holy vocation of his descendant; and the Sheiks, who interpret these visions, declared that tradition had fully established the claims in a son of Solyman, the humble shepherd of the desert. El Wahab, the son of Solyman, saw these prognostics verified, not in his own person, but in that of the Sheik Muhammed, of whom he was the father; and these oracular seers of the desert gave the sirname of Wahabites to the new sectarians, although the Sheik Muhammed was their actual legislator.

The new prophet now issued forth from Yemen, and overran the cities of the Euphrates and of Syria. Rejected, like the Prophet Muhammed, in his commencement—repulsed from Mecca and Damascus—chased from Bagdad and from Bassorah, he returned, after three years of ill success, to his native spot. The Prince Ebn Sehand was then the ruler of a newly formed state, composed of various tribes, weakened by their wars and dis-

sensions, but partially knit together and attached to his fortunes in consequence of his bravery and exploits; confidence and admiration were the basis of his authority, and the guarantee of his subjects' fidelity. Ebn Sehand embraced the doctrine of the Sheik, and his Arabs followed his example, with the more enthusiasm, as a great class of them were of the same tribe of the Nejedis, whence Muhammed was descended, and were already secretly his proselytes; the Sheik Muhammed was declared to be Pontiff, and Ebn Sehand the commander and leader of those bands of sectarians who prepared to spread their faith by their swords; while the city of Derayah soon became distinguished as the capital of the Wahabites, and distinguished in Arabia. The character of this community of soldiers contained all the materials co-operative for the promotion of the ambitious views of Ebn Sehand—they were abstemious, robust, courageous, greedy of spoil, and fanatic. He divided them into select troops of cavaliers; he accustomed them to the severest toils, and most violent exercises, which were of daily and common occurrence; he armed them lightly, and accustomed two of them to mount on each dromedary, whereby they could accomplish the longest and most extraordinary marches. "Would you become rich, powerful, and dreaded," Ebn Sehand exclaimed to his Arabs, as he dismissed them over the vast deserts, thus armed and equipped, to surprise and plunder their foes, "soldiers, despise death!" A further cloud also arose to disturb the repose of Mahmoud, who had wholly overlooked the formidable race whom we have described, and this manifested itself on the side of the Russians, a people ever advancing, and drawing tighter and closer the

barrier between the Ottoman provinces and their own. They had gradually peopled, occupied, and strengthened, the vast tract of country comprised between the rivers Dniester and Dnieper. These deserts were the boundary and mutual defence of their empires, and it had been stipulated by treaties that they should remain void and free; but the Russians gradually, and without eclat, established a continuous line of forts and redoubts, which formed a circumvallation around the states of the Khan of Tartary. Colonies were founded, to which they attracted multitudes of the Wallachians and Moldavians, influenced by their community of faith; soon villages and a town arose; and at length the province (for such it became) was designated at Petersburg as New Servia; and thus the Russians formed establishments for any future war, supplied with arms, and strengthened by military defences. The cries and remonstrances of the Tartars excited even Mahmoud to call upon the Empress Elizabeth to suspend these proceedings. The court of Petersburg made every requisite promise, and gave positive orders to abandon entirely the proceedings; but they were merely suspended for a few months, until the Sultan had relapsed into his usual lethargic indifference. Mahmoud, indeed, drew near the end of his career; a fistula, either neglected or wrongfully treated, consumed the vitals of his constitution, and his end rapidly approached; but such was the predominating anxiety on his mind, to let no cause of umbrage from public feeling disturb his tranquillity, that not even his imminent danger could induce him to suspend the Friday procession to St Sophia, to assist at the public prayer. Placed on his charger, and surrounded by his usual

stately attendance, he proceeded thither under a mortal suffering; but his imprudence hastened his end. Although supported by the arms of his Tchoadars, he could scarcely keep onward the very trifling space from the mosque to the gate, when, sinking into their arms, he was borne into the palace, and actually expired in the way between the two courts of the seraglio.

This Sultan's death took place on the 13th of December 1754. Mahmoud was aged fifty-eight years, of which he had reigned twenty-four. His death plunged Constantinople in sorrow, and caused universal regret.

Mahmoud was mild, affable, and humane. That he did not want talents, is apparent from the retrieval of the foreign importance of Turkey, and the comparative tranquillity of his domestic and civil policy. He loved and cultivated the fine arts, and considerably softened the fierceness of the Ottoman habits and manners. His choice of a profession led him to work specimens of ebony, ivory,* &c. as matters of ornament, and

* The doctrine of Islamism teaches that no man may be above his destiny, from the highest to the lowest; hence, therefore, it is a rule of faith, that each man shall learn a vocation whereby he may earn his bread, if predestinated to be so circumstanced; and a curious list is given in Maradja, of the occupations of Patriarchs, Kalifs, and Sultans, which commences with the first man:

"Adam tilled the ground; Noah was a carpenter, Abraham a weaver; David made coats-of-mail; Solomon baskets of the date tree; the Kalif Omar manufactured skins; Othman sold eatables, and Ali, the cousin of the Prophet, hired himself to a master for a salary. After their example, the Ottomans make a rule of cultivating some art, and the Sultans were the first to voluntarily submit to the law; thus Muhammed II. sold flowers, which he

hence a taste was framed in his habits and pursuits for the acquisition of bijouterie; whence a general interest was excited for articles of splendour and luxury, hitherto unknown in the palaces of the rich and powerful Turks.*

cultivated; Solyman the Great made slippers; Achmet I. made ivory cases and boxes; Achmet III., who excelled in writing, embluzoned the canonical books with ornaments permitted in the mosques; Mahmoud I. made tooth-pick cases of ebony and ivory, gold and silver workmanship, and bijouterie; Osman III., as a cabinetmaker, made little secretaries; Mustapha III. had a magnificent workshop, where he shut himself up to strike coins and dyes with the officers of his household; Abdul Hamid made bows and arrows; Selim III. chose the painting of muslins, generally the work of females."

* The comparatively modern times to which we have now traced down the Ottoman annals, appears to render any further notice of the contemporary sovereigns of Europe unnecessary.

CHAPTER XV.

OTHMAN III.—TWENTY-FIFTH REIGN.

H. 1168—A. D. 1754.

OTHMAN was likewise the son of Mustapha II. He left the seraglio at fifty-three years of age to ascend the throne, when for the first time he beheld other beings than the eunuchs and female attendants, by whom he had hitherto been surrounded. A perfect stranger to every event of life, in all respects as void of knowledge as in his infancy, he regarded the pomp which now surrounded him as a spectacle, or sport; hence he knew no impressions but those of childish amusement, and from the very first day of his reign he became entirely the willing puppet of the Kislar-aga. The politics of the old and wary adviser of his predecessor, had inculcated the importance of withdrawing always so great a trust as the Viziriat, after an occupation of two or three years; but the views of the favourite scarcely permitted the continuance of the same individual in power for as many months. Said-effendi, the munificent patron of the press, was appointed Vizir, and in that capacity gave public

audience to the minister of that power in whose capital he had acquired such enlightened views. All Constantinople was in commotion to witness the splendid reception of the Count de Vergennes; but the Sultan, who appeared to take more amusement from turning the imperial splendour into masquerade, than in any other diversion, had scarcely passed through the solemn introduction of the ambassador to the foot of the imperial throne, than, divesting himself of his robes, and attired as one of the Ulema, he was seen by all the populace of Constantinople, attended only by two of his chaioux, mixing with the crowd, and running on foot, sometimes before, and sometimes by the side of the ambassador's procession. Said-effendi was quickly replaced by Ali-pasha Oglu, beloved by the soldiers, and esteemed by the people; but he scarcely had time to become envious of the high credit of Ali, the Selictar-aga, ere he was dismissed to make way for the favourite. The Selictar-ali now thought he had arrived at the point of success; it was, however, the point of constant inquietude, and in the end his destruction. Inattentive to the public regulations, a few inadvertencies created murmurs, which reached the ears of the Sultan, whose great delight consisted in roaming throughout the streets of his capital, and in conversing freely with his subjects; and in one of these nocturnal rambles, the Selictar-aga became charged with a more serious inculpation.

Othman was without offspring, and he beheld with jealous hatred the views of his people directed towards the princes his nephews, the sons of Achmet III.; becoming severely cruel, in consequence of his suspicious apprehensions, Othman had resolved to destroy the entire race. Two of the

princes had perished by poison; and Mustapha had already put the poisoned cup to his lips, when, aware of its deadly quality by the taste, he compelled the wretched instrument of his uncle's hate to drain the remainder of the potion, which proved its power by stretching him breathless on the floor. He, therefore, together with Abdul Hamid, regarded each day as a boon of existence unlooked for, and soon to terminate; when Othman heard that his Vizir, Selictar-ali, had been watched, and seen to pass from the apartments of the imprisoned princes at night, and in disguise. The passions of Othman were so excited, that he was with difficulty persuaded to commit to the proper functionary the bloody office of decapitating Selictar-ali, whom he immediately ordered to be executed.

The only very particular occurrence which marked the short reign of Othman was a tremendous conflagration, and in this instance it was entirely the effect of chance, and laid three-fourths of the capital in ashes. It occurred in 1756, towards the morning, in the quarter of the city facing Pera and Galata, near where the boats and barges of the Sultan are prepared; here the watchman struck the signal on the alarum-drums of the janizary aga's tower, which spread the alarming tidings of fire over Constantinople. Much useful time was lost, from the police regulation, which prohibits any exertions to stop the progress of the flames before the arrival of the guards: and thus the fire, not being extinguished at first, acquired a powerful head. A strong north wind drove the flames along the seraglio walls, in which direction the fire seized on the palace of the Grand Vizir. All the great functionaries labour at the extinction

of a conflagration, and even the Sultan in person superintends the public endeavour; but now neither his exertions nor his offers of reward could effect any good. The enormous mass of St Sophia blocked up its progress; until the lead which covered the dome at length took fire, and ran in liquid torrents upon the terrified assistants, who then abandoned the edifice to its fate. Orders were at length given to level a vast space on every side, for the flames to spend themselves; when at this critical moment the wind, changing from the north to the east, drove round the flames to intersect the burning edifices. Three streams of raging fire appeared to unite to overwhelm the centre of the city, and Constantinople presented the awful spectacle of an ocean of flame. Every effort to repress, appeared to add to the evil; an entire corps of janizaries were environed by the flames, and all power of flight blocked up; they had been occupied in the demolition of some houses just about to take fire; the cries of these wretched victims added to the horror of the day; and the sun was obscured altogether from sight by the volumes of ashes and dusky smoke, which hung as a canopy over the whole city.

Such was the terrible catastrophe which consumed three parts of Constantinople, or about eighty thousand dwellings. The Porte,* or palace of the Grand Vizirs, the magazines of tents for the armies, with numberless public establishments, khans, and hospitals, became the prey of the flames.

* The palace of the Grand Vizir, by a metaphor familiar to most of the Eastern languages, is called the Porte, or King's Gate, and hence the Ottoman Court assumes the name of the Sublime Porte, in all public transactions.

The Porte was immediately reconstructed, and to secure it inviolate from a similar misfortune, it was ordered that it should in future stand apart from all other buildings, and therefore the adjacent spots were purchased and added to its site; and an incident connected with this measure deserves notice, as it marks the character of property, and of Eastern feelings. An aged woman protested that she would not alienate her bit of land, because she was attached to the property of her fathers; neither proffers of the most lucrative nature, nor menaces, could move her from the resolve, and when further violence was meditated, the Sultan forbade it, exclaiming, "That must not be done—that ought not to be done, it is her rightful property." Unquestionably private feelings should here have yielded to public good, but the circumstance demonstrates that the despotism of the Sultan has its bounds. During two years of his reign, Othman had already employed eight Vizirs; he now called to his councils the celebrated Mehemet Raghib, unquestionably the most able man of his empire. He possessed the talents required for his eminent station; a profound dissembler, and regardless of every object but the maintenance of his power, the whole empire crouched under a rod of iron; but his skill, his address, and firmness, could not limit or divert the fickleness of Othman; this prince made no secret of his intention to give Raghib a successor in the Capitan Pasha, when that officer should return from his summer collection of the tributes; but a fortuitous illness terminated the life of Othman, and perpetuated the Viziriat of Raghib. Othman the Third died from the consequence of a surgical operation which his intemperance had caused. Still preserving his puerility to the last, he would fain

enjoy the amusement of witnessing the salute of the Ottoman fleet in returning from its cruize in the Archipelago to the imperial residence; he was therefore borne to the kiosk overlooking the Bosphorus, in a dying state, and expired within a few hours after they had returned to the palace, in the night of the 28th or 29th of October.

Othman reigned only three years, and the recital of his public conduct must confirm the just estimate of his weak and capricious character. But after thus censuring the sovereign, we have this testimony to bear to his memory, that he manifested he needed only proper culture to have become a very different being; in the short duration of his reign, he completed the splendid mosque called the Nour Osmanie, or the Ottoman Splendour, which ranks among the chief of the magnificent specimens of Ottoman grandeur; the rich columns which formed the peristile of the palace of the regal race of the Attali of Pergamus, became part of its interesting ornaments; still more to his glory, Othman also founded, adjacent to the Nour Osmanie, a university or college for the maintenance of one hundred and seventy students. As a further testimony also of his love for letters, he opened in 1755 the library which bears his name, wherein, among other treasures, are deposited two copies of the Koran; the one written by the hand of Ali, the other by that of Othman, founder of the Turkish empire; also the astronomical tables of Cassini were translated into Turkish; thus manifesting traces of intelligence, and a taste capable of greater improvement.

CHAPTER XVI.

MUSTAPHA III.—TWENTY-SIXTH REIGN.

H. 1171—A. D. 1574.

THE death of the Sultan Othman rendered the Vizir Mehemet Raghib permanent in the possession of that power, which only the evening before he had awaited the imperial summons to resign, and he hastened to withdraw from his imprisonment Prince Mustapha, to proclaim him Sultan: the poison had left visible traces of its potency in the pallidness of his features, which Mustapha preserved throughout his life. His reign was scarcely announced before all Constantinople was struck with astonishment and dismay, by the news of the sacrilegious pillage and general massacre of the sacred caravan to Mecca. The great importance attached to the escort, and free passage of the pilgrims, usually led the Porte to pay a particular attention to this circumstance; but the fickleness of Othman had removed Ezadi, the Pasha of Damascus, (who had ingratiated himself with the Bedouin tribes,) to the pashalik of Aleppo, and the Arabs, indignant at losing their patron, and at the neglect of his successor, had collected together, to the number of forty thousand men, and succeeded

in the surprisal and plunder of the sacred caravan. The incident appeared likely to cloud, if not to overthrow the bright prospects of Mustapha altogether, had not the adroit Raghib ascertained that the occurrence had actually taken place under the rule of Othman, and was referable to the sinister event of his death, and not to Mustapha's accession; thus the public mind was appeased by this fortunate explanation, and the sacrifice of the obnoxious Kislar-aga, who was the hated favourite of the late Sultan. His head was exposed at the seraglio gate in a silver dish, with an inscription, "that he was punished as a traitor against the faith, and for having been the cause of the sacrilege committed by the Arabs against the sacred caravan," in which he had certainly no part. The minds of the populace now became appeased, and Mustapha's rule commenced with unclouded auspices; youngest son of the Sultan Achmet, he had been a prisoner for twenty-seven years, and was forty-two years of age when he mounted the imperial throne.

This Sultan, aided by his able Vizir, endeavoured to introduce order into the state, and to renew its wasted energies. Severe sumptuary laws, enforced rigidly by Mustapha, attest the progress of luxury, which had rapidly increased under the late sovereigns; and a revolt, of a kind unknown hitherto among the Ottomans, broke out during the pressure of a very grievous famine, partly caused by the shipwreck of seventy vessels from the Black Sea, laden with corn, the chief hope of Constantinople. The disturbance was principally headed by females, who broke open the granaries, and continued their violence and clamours until a par-

tial distribution of the scanty supplies again restored tranquillity.

Notwithstanding the disposition of the Sultan and his minister to renew the warlike enterprises, so suited to the genius and early impressions of the Ottoman soldiery, a profound peace reigned throughout the empire; and the Ulema, hostile to war, declared it to be contrary to the Koran to disturb a peace, the conditions whereof were punctually fulfilled. After five years exercise of the supreme power under Mustapha, in 1762, died Mehemet Raghib, the most able and experienced statesman which Turkey had possessed since the distinguished Achmed Kiuperli, and the character of Raghib is inscribed among the list of public benefactors.

His enlightened mind proposed to secure the capital from the future ravages of the plague, by establishing lazarettoes on the Islands of Princes; but the views of the people whom he sought to benefit were not matured enough to apprehend his views. Distinguished by literary talents, Raghib then founded a library, which he gave by his will to the public; and on the entrance is marked this simple inscription, "Honour and glory to God; in submission to the will of God, and in hope of pleasing him, Mehemet, Grand Vizir, surnamed Raghib, or the Studious, has founded this establishment in the year of the Hejira 1176," A. D. 1762. He is not only signalized by his love of letters,* but Raghib also cultivated literature

* No part of the Turkish annals can offer a better point for the brief sketch exhibited of the principal literary establishments of the Turkish capital by M. Schulz, a German professor, who, speaking of the libraries of Constantinople, in a letter dated September 1826, ob-

in his own person. Among other works, he is the author of Collections in Morals and Philoso-

serves: "It is difficult to say how many libraries there are in the vast surface of Constantinople; there exist a number scarcely known to any body, which are rich in valuable works. I have already visited thirty. Sultan Mustapha's, the Yeni-djami, S. Bajazet's, Raghib Pasha's, Ibrahim P. Kiuperli's, Aschour-effendi's, Mourad Mollah, Kilitch Ali P., the Library of the Pages of the Grand Seignior at Galata Serei, the Dervises Mewlewi, the Osmanlie, Solimania, S. Abul Hamid, Athif-effendi, Faiz-ullah, Aya-sofiah, S. Muhammed, Ali P. Hakim Oglu. Veli-effendi, Taufik-effendi, Djourilli Ali P., Merzfouni P., Salik Zadi, Rustan P., Merzih P., Amaradja P., Agoub Ansair, the Library of the Aga." All these establishments are for the most part very rich. Among other works, M. Schulz notices Ib Alathir, in two enormous folio volumes, at the library of Raghib Pasha; and in six volumes of less bulk in that of Athif. The works of Ibn-asakir and of Ibn-adim, on Damascus and on Aleppo, are colossal productions; the former alone being from twenty to twenty-two thousand pages in folio of very small writing. Ibn-khaldoun (*a translation of whose valuable history is now preparing in England*) is found in the library of Ibrahim Pasha in seven volumes, also the History of Ibn-aladim. Even such short notices show how much the public may expect from the communications of M. Hammer on Turkish history and literature —a work digested in the spirit of research and freedom, without the personal bias and personal feelings disqualifying most of our modern travellers from a just appreciation of Turkish character, to whom the mainspring has also usually been wanting, namely, a familiar acquaintance with the Arabic and Turkish tongues.

The first volume of M. Hammer's work is wholly given to the city of Constantinople; the faubourgs of that city, and the Bosphorus, to the entrance to the Black Sea, form the second. It will particularize the climate, variations of atmosphere, earthquakes, and natural productions; the whole of the walls, buildings, and public establishments, baths, reservoirs, places of commerce, fortifi-

phy in Arabic; of the Finic Raghib, or Vessel of Men of Letters; of the Manketata, or Chosen Sentences and remarkable Words; also a Collection of Letters and State Papers of his own Life. Du Halde's China was translating into Turkish under Raghib's inspection, but was dropped at his decease. His finesse and expertness kept off the dangers incidental to his dignity; for which purpose he even succeeded in the dangerous expedient of disgracing and exiling the Mufti, with all other inferior rivals. The Sultan continued to tread in the steps of his late Vizir, and to accumulate treasures for the realization of his ambitious projects, when, in 1763, the birth of a son, the amiable and unfortunate Selim III., filled Constantinople with joy, and the enthusiasm of the capital was indulged in the festivities of unbridled saturnalia for ten successive days.

The counsels of the Porte were no longer di-

cations, marine, artillery, &c. The whole of the shores of the Bosphorus; the European side from Tophana to the Black Sea; and, on the Asiatic, from Scutari, will be given. M. Hammer enters also deeply into the traces of Pagan rites, and the temples consecrated to the divinities of Paganism; very striking coincidences are given with references to the celebrated work of M. Creuzer on the Religions of Antiquity. Constantinople reckons also ten academies or colleges, for the cultivation of literature, which are monuments of imperial munificence:

The Academy of	St Sophia, founded by Muhammed II.	1453
. . . . .	Muhammed, appertaining to the mosque so called, - - - -	1471
. . . . .	Sultan Bajazet II. - - -	1505
. . . . .	Selim I. - - - -	1514
. . . . .	the Solimania; the Sultana Mihru-mah, founded by Solyman I.; Kilig-ali or Ochiali, the Capitan Pasha of Selim II.; Achmet I. - - - -	1600
. . . . .	Osman III., began by Sultan Mahmoud I.; Mustapha III. - - -	1764

rected to conquer, but to preserve; and the brilliant fame of Frederic II., which had filled Europe with his military renown, had reached even the Sultan's ears, who desired to possess the portrait of the Hero of the North. The politic Frederic willingly seized an opening, which might in any future war prove so serviceable in creating a diversion on the side of Russia; and hence arose at this epoch the first friendly ties with Prussia. The political state of the Crimea now underwent a violent change from the invasion of Krim Gaury, a deposed Khan, who sought to overturn the authority of Alim Guary, who was old, timid, and imbecile, and the fiery Tartar succeeded in seizing the throne; when, collecting together a vast body of Tartars, he deluged Moldavia with his troops, and made an immense booty. The Porte, who always skilfully manages those who are powerful enough to become their own protectors, upon his return to his allegiance, sanctioned his usurpation; and power, not spoil, being the object of his desire, Krim Guary ransomed and restored the captive Moldavians and their herds. This prince breathed only war, but many circumstances retained Mustapha in his pacific views, so that not even the death of Augustus III., King of Poland, and the menacing arrangements whereby the Empress Catherine II. succeeded in placing the crown of the Jagellons on the brows of her favourite Poniatowski, could effect a change in the Ottoman policy. The janizaries were become unwarlike and idle, the spahis sunk in luxury, and all classes of the military only regardful of the preservation of their timariots, Egypt was disturbed, and the Wahabites menaced Mecca; the violence, however, of one man lighted up a war, which not all the wrongs of Poland, and

the true politics of Turkey, could effect, and these two formidable countries entered on the terrible conflict of 1768, which lasted six years.

Balta is a city of Krim Tartary, separated by a rivulet from the Ukraine. It is noted for the rich pasturage which nourishes the numerous herds and flocks of the Nogay Tartars. Jacoub Aga, formerly the governor of Balta, owed his elevation to the Khan Krim Guary, who had again been removed, in consequence of the dread excited by his boiling ambition, and Jacoub now languished in prison, in daily expectation of death, having experienced the hate of Mackloud Guary, the successor of his patron; at length, by the good offices of the Baron de Tott, he was set at liberty, and permitted to retire to Balta, but stripped of his wealth. Still full of ambition, and anxious to recall Krim Guary to his former station, he skilfully caught at an event which facilitated his plans. The discomfited Poles had retreated on all sides from the vast superiority of the Russian forces, and a small detachment took refuge in the pashalik of Chocsim, in the vicinity of Jacoub Aga. The intrigues of this artful man soon brought on a skirmish betwixt this little band of Poles, and the Russians who had followed them; when driven back on Balta, the Poles were followed thither by their foes; the action was soon participated in by the Turks, many were massacred by the Russians; while, to add to the seriousness of the insult, Jacoub Aga arranged that a fire should break out, which consumed the best part of the place; and which, it is said, was begun by his own hands. The details conveyed to Constantinople threw the whole capital into an excess of rage, so that all parties were now eager for war, Mackloud was deposed, and Krim Guary,

replaced in his former rank, was made generalissimo of the Ottoman armies, the Sanjak Sheriff was displayed with all imaginable pomp, and the war began.

All ranks of Mussulmans were invited to rally under the sacred standard, and all Asia crowded to the field; devastation and waste as usual tracked their course to the Danube, until Krim Guary, issuing forth from his peninsular steppes, with an hundred thousand of his Tartar subjects, and an immense host of the Ottomans, opened the campaign by crossing the Ingul and the Bog; he soon inundated the vast space of New Servia with his numbers, and this province, so much the subject of jealousy to the Porte, became the prey of his troops. The towns were destroyed, the wretched inhabitants were swept off into captivity, and with the exception of a few strong forts, the whole district returned to its original solitude and destitution.

Leading back his forces to Bender, the indefatigable Khan terminated his arduous campaign as he had begun it; the Pasha had prepared a bridge of boats across the Dniester, but had omitted to break the ice, so as to fasten the chains to the bank. Krim Guary, impatient of delay, exclaimed, "See how the Tartars are accustomed to pass rivers!" then dashed on horseback into the stream, and, notwithstanding the crackling ice, succeeded in struggling safely through to the opposite shore. His rash and warlike boldness was precisely calculated to buoy up the superstitious Ottomans; but the Vizir, a man of inferior talents, was altogether jealous of his ascendency and superiority of command. Mehemet Emir Effendi was constrained to yield in silence, but he was not therefore the

less dangerous enemy, and Krim Guary died of poison, just as he was preparing to break into Poland.

Catherine II. had relied on her address to parry the war, she had therefore been taken by surprise; and the second campaign of 1769, was opened by the Ottomans with a vast undisciplined host of more than two hundred thousand men, to which Prince Galitzin calmly opposed himself with only twenty-four thousand Russians; so perfectly had the latter people learned already to understand the inferiority of Turkish warfare, and the impotency of their vast numbers, when not impelled by a masterly mind. Mehemet Emir had neither the energetic vigour of youth, nor the prudent experience of age; he was as unacquainted with the tactics as with the *materiel* of an army; he was, however, headstrong and presumptuous, and relied confidently on the guidance of astrologers. To complete the mischiefs environing the unhappy Vizir, his master chose to reserve in his own hands the power of directing the campaign; thus orders were dispatched after orders from the recesses of the Seraglio, which Mehemet could not execute, and for the omission of which his head must answer.

The Russians were, however, repulsed from before the fortress of Choczim, which they had nearly acquired by the treachery of Ali Pasha, its commander. The plot being discovered, a reinforcement was introduced, and the Russian assailants experienced a very severe check. The Vizir, intoxicated with this unexpected piece of good fortune, advanced onward towards the Polish frontiers, without provisions or necessary magazines; his vast forces were occupied in plundering indiscriminately friends or foes. Necessitated to sepa-

rate the army into three distinct divisions, the corps of the Seraskier followed the route to Yassy, without any precaution; these crossing the Dniester, he encountered the Russian forces, who completely overthrew the Ottomans by their artillery only. Taking to flight with the utmost consternation, they communicated a similar panic to those in the rear under the Grand Vizir; they also fled without having seen an enemy, and thus the whole army dispersed into Bessarabia and Moldavia, while the victorious Galitzin invested Choczim. Mehemet Emir rallied, at length, a corps which greatly outnumbered the Russians, and compelled them finally to raise the siege, with which the campaign terminated, Galitzin having made head with twenty thousand Russians against two hundred thousand of their disorderly enemies. The head of Mehemet Effendi was in due course exposed at the seraglio gate, with this inscription, "For not having followed the plan of the campaign regulated by the Sultan himself."

The successor of Mehemet was Moldovandgi, whose military reputation elevated him to the Viziriat, but who experienced the fickleness of human events. Burning to signalize himself, and to efface the disasters of his predecessor, Moldovandgi openly avowed his resolve to seek the foe, and chase them from Poland. Causing a bridge to be cast over the Dniester, he prepared to pass the river in sight of Galitzin, who, however inferior in numbers, had resolutely staked the safety of his army to defend the passage. The Ottomans, impatient for action, passed the stream by numerous detachments, which constantly harassed and assailed the Russian camp; nothing seemed wanting for the liberation of Poland but the final

assault which the Vizir had decided upon, in the hope of ending the war by one blow: at this important and critical moment, a sudden swelling of the Danube carried away the bridges whereby the Ottoman forces had their communications with Moldavia. Although they had begun boldly to defy and harass the Russians, and their safety hinged upon an instantaneous and successful attack which every thing presaged, the Ottomans began to grow unquiet and restless; at this moment, the torrents pouring down from the Krapacks mountains into the Dniester, swelled its stream so alarmingly, that the bridges which had just been completed, were at once also swept away; at which event, those of the Turks already in combat with their foes, turned their horses and fled in confusion; the panic soon seized the whole army: pressed upon by the Russian forces, they threw themselves into the impetuous stream, and realized, by their ungovernable terror, the fate which they dreaded; despising all authority, and deaf to the Vizir's voice, men, horses, cannon, all were lost; so extraordinary became the terror, that even the garrison of Choczim, who had hitherto so bravely defended the place, which the swelling of the Dniester of itself would have rendered unassailable, partook of the general cowardice, joined their flying comrades, and left the fortress, with its gates wide open, a prey to the Russians. Their enemies were in no condition to pursue them, nor even aware for some days of the full extent of their success, as both Galitzin and his generals discredited the accounts which were brought to the head quarters, by a few Cossacks who swam across the river to report the evacuation of Choczim. At first they deemed that it must be a snare, but soon

ascertaining its reality, Galitzin joyfully took possession of his conquest. Such were the events of the campaign of 1769; at the end of which, the Empress Catherine recalled Galitzin, to whom the success of her forces may be attributed, and placed Marshal Romanzoff in the command. Mustapha contented himself with the exile of the unfortunate Moldovandgi, and endeavoured by extraordinary levies, and a liberal use of the imperial treasure, to meet the reverses of his armies; the policy of the Russian Court prepared, however, to excite a more serious danger, even in the heart of the Ottoman empire; and presuming that a community of faith must awaken a participation of feeling, they secretly arranged to bring forward the Greeks, and to arm on the north and the south the Christian population of the Turkish provinces against their masters.

Orloff, the favourite of Catherine, who had formerly served in the ranks of the Russian artillery corps, with Papaz Oglu, an obscure Greek, undertook, by the aid of that adventurer, to revive the spirit of freedom in the descendants of the Spartans, Athenians, and other illustrious Grecian states.

The population of the Morea in 1770, ranked about one hundred thousand Greek males capable of bearing arms, while the Ottomans, reposing on their undisturbed possession, kept up about five thousand military in the various fortresses. Their treatment of Greece might be deemed haughty, but it was far from being oppressive; and the eager desire of the Mainotes, and other inhabitants of the Morea, to chase away the Venetians, and to submit to their former masters, proves that they deemed the Ottoman yoke the easier of the two. Whenever a war broke out, the only precaution of

the Turkish divan had been to order a general disarming of their Christian subjects; after which act, the sanjaks, janizaries, and other troops, relapsed into their habits of indolence and indifferency, and Papaz Oglu had therefore no difficulty in visiting the Morea, and intriguing with the primates. Benakhi, the Primate of Calamata, esteemed for his experience and opulence by the Mainotes, as well as by the people of the plain, entered readily into the views of Papaz Oglu; an agreement was signed by several bishops, captains, and Mainotes, the friends and relatives of Benakhi, to prepare a general rising in the Morea, which should take place upon the appearance of a Russian force; and upon this contract Papaz Oglu had the audacity to report to St Petersburg, that one hundred thousand Greeks were ready to aid the Russian arms.

It was on this chimerical prospect only, that Catherine II. ordered a Russian fleet to sail from the ports of the Baltic to the Egean Sea, and the Cyclades, the navigation of which was as unknown to the commander, as the Euxine had been to the first Argonauts. It was in the summer of 1770 that seven Russian sail of the line, four frigates, and a few transports, having on board about twelve hundred troops, cast anchor in the harbour of Coron; the Ottomans, startled and alarmed beyond measure at the unexpected occurrence, far from thinking of defence, fled on every side to the fortresses; but the Russians were altogether unable to avail themselves of the panic which their appearance had created. The Greeks and the Russians had, however, mutually deceived each other; the latter had conceived that on their mere appearance the whole male population would take up

arms; the Greeks had supposed that their services would merely be requisite as guides for an army equipped at all points: they became alarmed at the slender aid which the Russian squadron could give, and the deceptions of Papaz Oglu became apparent to all; Benakhi, however, was the first to elevate the standard of Greek independence, and the Russians landed whatever arms they had brought for the use of the brave Mainotes. A few thousand men were collected together under the pompous title of the Eastern and Western Legion of Sparta; and in the vain hope of extending the insurrection, they undertook to besiege Coron. The Turkish ministry had been advised of a maritime attack from Russia, but so ignorant were they, that the Sultan's ministers demanded with derision, "What was the Sound?" When they learned that the Russian squadron had sailed, to the last they persisted in guarding against a maritime attack from the Black Sea; but as soon as they had accounts of the real fact, a motley armament, equipped in haste, was dispatched to the islands under the command of the Capitan Pasha. The Russian forces had already quitted the useless enterprise against Coron, and had succeeded in getting possession of Navarino, which was left almost without defenders; four vessels of the Turkish squadron, therefore, entered the port of Napoli with supplies, while six other vessels awaited their return to the cape appointed for the rendezvous, thence unitedly to sail to Navarino. The Russian squadron under Elphinston approached them, and displayed the Russian flag, upon which five of the six Turkish vessels instantly took to flight, one only sustained the engagement, returned the fire of the foe with a bravery equal to their attack; op-

posed itself singly to the whole squadron, and at length succeeded in making a safe retreat under the cannon of Napoli. A single individual thus had retrieved the Ottoman character, and shewn traits worthy of Barbarossa, Mezzomorto, and of Occhialli; and that man became afterwards the support of the empire, under the title of Hassan Bey.

The struggle which the Ottoman empire sustained against the gigantic efforts of Catherine, is among the most important portions of history, as it clearly illustrates the genius and character of Turkey, and the points on which the warfare of these formidable rivals is destined to turn. The campaigns of 1772 and 1773 may be almost mistaken for those of 1827 and 1828; the catastrophe of Tchesme is the parallel of that of Navarino; the Moldavian campaigns present the same results; and the serious attempts to blockade the Dardanelles, with the firmness of Mustapha, seem the precise counterpart of the dangers and magnanimity of the Sultan Mahmoud. The distinguished character who sustained the glory of the Ottoman name, was however Hassan-bey; born in Persia, and taken into captivity in his infancy by the Ottomans, he was sold to an inhabitant of Rodosto, a city of Propontis: here he signalized his hardihood and courage, and escaping in a Greek vessel, he enrolled himself among the mercenaries of Algiers; rising in power among these fierce and lawless pirates, he excited the anger of the Regency, whence being forced to fly, he sought refuge at Naples, and under the protection of Count Ludolf, ambassador from the King of the two Sicilies to the Sublime Porte, he became known to Raghib Pasha, and was by him appointed to a command in the Otto-

man marine in 1764, under the reign of Mahmoud; he thus arrived at the post of Capitan of the flag of the Capitan Pasha. His daring spirit having reunited the Ottoman fleet, burned to pursue the squadron of Elphinstone; a step which his commander shrunk from adopting. The Russian enterprise had failed entirely in its views of emancipating Greece; of the Morea they possessed only Navarino and Mistra, when the Albanians, whom the vengeance of the Ottomans called to their aid, burst into the peninsula to lay it waste with fire and sword; the city of Patras, and also every place which resisted, were laid in ashes; while the Russians, few in number, and pressed on all points, hastened to re-embark; the Greek chiefs of the insurrection crowded also to their vessels, amongst whom were Papaz Oglu, and the aged Benakhi: thus the whole peninsula, and its abandoned and defenceless inhabitants, became a prey to Albanian pillage, and to Ottoman revenge.

The Capitan Pasha, meantime, faithful to his plan of caution, sought to avoid the enemy; but at length a combat becoming inevitable, he chose certainly a skilful position, in the narrow strait separating the island of Chio from the Asiatic coast. Having moored his twenty-four vessels, guarded by batteries, and flanked by shoals and rocks, he awaited his foe. The position and circumstances very much resembled the position of Aboukir, and the results were not widely different from the glorious victory of the Nile. The combat began with great fury, and it is remarkable that the Capitan Pasha, at the very moment of commencing the battle, caused himself to be put on shore, on the pretext of establishing some batteries on the coast, at the same time that the generalissimo Orloff

quitted his vessel to embark on board of a frigate, which he kept aloof during the whole action. The Capitan Pasha was not needed when the brave Hassan commanded. His enormous vessel was attacked by the Russian Admiral's flag ship, and a chance shot having carried away the rudder of the latter vessel, she drove down on the Capitan Pasha to board, and the contest became most bloody. Their decks were swept by musketry, and alternately taken and retaken; but Hassan, covered with wounds, was on the very point of carrying his enemy, when the Russian commander succeeded in setting the Turkish vessel on fire. The flames burst forth so furiously, as to communicate also to the Russian ship, the crew of which sought an escape by plunging into the deep. Hassan, after using every endeavour to extinguish the flames, took the same expedient, and, accompanied by Achmet, an old companion and friend, they succeeded in gaining the shore, ere the powder magazines, exploding, blew both the vessels into the air. This terrible explosion terminated for the present the contest; but Jaffer-bey, commander of a division, alarmed at the event, made signal to cut the cables and clear the enemy, by keeping along the coast. While thus sailing along, he perceived in front of the port of Chio, the little bay of Tchesme, and, heedful of nothing but the present danger, he hastened to anchor under the guns of the fortress, followed thither by the whole of the fleet, which thus hastened to crowd together into the same asylum.

Hassan, wounded and scorched by the flames, made his way on foot to Tchesme, to exhort the imprudent Ottomans instantly to leave so dangerous a position; but the Capitan Pasha, decided to

avoid another engagement, only strictly forbade any ship to put to sea,—he multiplied the batteries, and made his position impregnable, but not inaccessible; and too soon the Russians saw his infatuation with as much astonishment as joy, and hastened to take advantage of it. While a few ships, by a feigned attack, occupied the attention of the Turkish fleet and port, two fire ships, conducted by the English officers serving under Elphinstone, were taken into the midst of the bay; the crews then hastily retreated to the larger vessels, having lighted the train, and no sooner were they on board, than the Russian ships withdrew from the scene of danger, as far distant and as rapidly as possible. They had scarcely time to avoid the bay, ere the flames burst forth and communicated to the four large Turkish vessels, which they touched; soon these becoming ungovernable, bore down upon the fleet, all of which became commixed together,—each caught the flames successively, and the whole port of Tchesme became an ocean of flame. The cannon, which were shotted, as the flames reached them, battered down the fortress and buildings, until the fire reaching the powder magazines, ship after ship exploded into the air, while their unfortunate crews sought for safety by plunging into the sea. This dreadful scene began an hour after midnight, and lasted until six in the morning; and thus on the night of the 7th or 8th of July 1770, was destroyed the whole Ottoman fleet, composed of twenty-four vessels, several of which carried a hundred guns. Only one vessel of 60 guns escaped the conflagration, which was captured by the Russians.

The advice of Elphinstone was for an immediate advance through the Dardanelles to the walls of

the seraglio, and circumstances warrant the supposition that it might have been gloriously successful; but it was too bold a conception for Orloff to adopt: Brilliant, therefore, and unlooked-for, as this great success really was, its results were principally confined to the reduction of Lemnos; but meantime Constantinople was thrown into a state of the greatest disquiet and alarm, for the fortresses of the Dardanelles were nearly useless and dismantled. Mustapha, who sustained the news with wonderful firmness, confided to the celebrated Baron de Tott to renovate and strengthen the defences of these important straits. This French officer had repaired to Constantinople after the death of the Tartar Khan Krim Guary, and had carried, with success, the improvements of Europe into the Turkish foundries, and schools of instruction for the artillery. The approach to the capital thus confided to his zeal, he sought for the Reis-effendi; and we may estimate, by an anecdote given by the Baron, what were the engagements of the Turkish minister at so critical a juncture. According to the Baron's amusing narrative, he found the mind of Ismail-bey entirely engrossed by the important engagement of procuring two canary birds to sing together the same air.

The Russians, however, did not make any attempt for the forcing of the passage when the Dardanelles lay defenceless and unguarded, and the Baron soon succeeded in arranging those batteries, which, in after times, evidenced how formidably they can act against the most courageous assailant.

In Moldavia the campaign had proved equally unfavourable to the Turks. Romantzow had passed the Dniester, to hold the army of the Grand Vizir

in check, while a Russian corps pressed the siege of Bender. Harassed by the Tartars, and driven at length into nearly the same position as that of Peter the Great, the result testified how judiciously the Turkish Vizir had acted in accepting of the treaty proffered by that monarch. In the present instance, the Russian general attacked immediately the whole Ottoman army before they had time to intrench; and the result was a brilliant victory, gained, as usual, chiefly by the artillery. Their camp, cannon, and seven thousand waggons, with provisions and military stores, attested the victory of Cahoul, and erazed the disgrace of the Pruth. The Grand Vizir repassed the Danube, with scarcely five thousand men following the standard of the Prophet; and the discomfited troops hastened back to the capital, which they filled with their terrors; it was, moreover, at the identical moment that the catastrophe of Tchesme had plunged the country in mourning. The victory of Cahoul cost the Ottoman Porte the strong fortress of Bender, which resisted until the conquerors took possession solely of heaps of rubbish: But the mere alarm of its fall struck the Turkish forces with one of those panics, so remarkably prevalent among their armies, and so ruinous of their character; for, without the slightest cause, but from their own fears, they evacuated the places situate on the left bank of the Danube; and the Russians, who had always hitherto been repulsed from before Ismail with loss, now found this important fortress unguarded.

It needed a firmness of mind as admirable as that which sustained Mustapha III., to contemplate steadily the dangers surrounding his throne. Catherine II., as politic as she was ambitious, sap-

ped on all sides the bases of the Turkish power, and the terror of the Russian name covered at the same time the Danube and the Archipelago. Russian intrigues disunited the Tartar chiefs, and prepared the conquest of the Crimea; while a Russian detachment, issuing from Georgia, marched on the pashalik of Trebisond, where no foreign enemy had appeared since Timour; having repossessed themselves of Azoph, a Russian fleet ravaged the Euxine, and precluded the entrance of supplies by the Bosphorus, while on the opposite point her naval forces took possession of Lemnos, and shut up the capital on that side. Palestine had revolted from the Turkish rule, and Sheik Dahar lifted the standard of independence amid the mountains of Lebanon. In Egypt, the celebrated Ali-bey had chased the Pasha, the representative of the Sultan, from Cairo, and aspired to acquire the power and rank of the Mameluke Soldans. Such were the perils surrounding the throne of Mustapha; but though thus pressed on every side, the Ottoman empire constantly renewed its efforts, and opposed a spirited but defensive system of resistance.

Relinquishing the principalities, the Grand Vizir fortified the strong camp of Schumla, and maintained throughout the year a successful campaign amid the recesses of the Balkans. A useless attempt was made, in 1772, to effect a peace between these belligerent powers, with the concurrence of Austria and of France. The interests of the European sovereigns were engaged too strongly in the contest to see its progress with indifference, and its consequences threatened to involve Europe in a general war. The pretensions of Russia, however, which required *the free naviga-*

tion of the Bosphorus, as well as the cession of the Crimea, and the vast space between the Bog and the Dniester, were rejected by the Porte, and the indecisive campaign of 1773 followed. Faithful to the system of avoiding a general action, Moussou Oglou, who was nominated Vizir, had bounded his exertions to the maintenance of his position, and watching the steps of his enemy. The Russians in vain attempted the siege of Silistria, or the surprisal of Varna, being repulsed in both enterprises with serious loss. The very news merely of their approach to Varna spread affright and alarm throughout Constantinople, and Mustapha, regardless of the bodily disorder to which he was a prey, declared his resolve to personally combat the enemy; but the brave Hassan, weary of the inaction of the maritime war, had joined the forces, and, heading a corps of cavalry, he so harassed the Russian army, that he drove them across the Danube, with the loss of their stores and cannon.

At the moment of this return of prosperity the Sultan Mustapha closed his days. He had sustained, under every reverse, the long train of calamities breaking in upon his empire, but his health gradually sank under his constant disquietude of mind. In his last moments, sending for Abdul Hamid, the last of the sons of Achmet III., he confided to the young prince the projects which he had planned for the prosperity of his country, and recommended him to continue the war until he could conclude an honourable peace.

Mustapha evidenced a firm and powerful mind, capable of entertaining the most useful and enlightened projects; although his early education had been wholly neglected, yet his views were far be-

yond those of his ministers and subjects in general. He ordered the Prince, of Machiavel, to be translated into Turkish, as well also as its antidote, the Anti-Machiavel; he had also printed the Aphorisms of Boerhaave. Superior to the prejudices of his people, he had commanded his son Selim to be inoculated, from which act he was restrained solely by the remonstrances of his mother; for although we owe the inestimable advantage of this practice to the Ottomans, from whom it was transmitted to Europe through the talent and sagacity of Lady Wortley Montagu, yet the fatalism of the East has always obstructed its general application and utility.

Mustapha III. regarded literature, and protected it. He founded at Constantinople, in 1764, the academy which bears his name. He repaired the magnificent mosque and library of Muhammed II., which had been injured by earthquakes; and having acquired the title of Gazi, or Victorious, he erected at Constantinople the mosque of Nour Mustapha.

CHAPTER XVII.

ABDUL HAMID.—TWENTY-SEVENTH REIGN.

H. 1187—A. D. 1774.

It was amid so many dangers and reverses that Abdul Hamid, on the 21st of January, 1774, ascended the Ottoman throne. From the Caucasus to the Danube the Ottoman power was pressed upon by the Russian forces. Georgia, the native country of the Mamelukes, attracted the attention of Catherine; and Heraclius, who had successively received the principality from Nadir Shah and the Ottoman Sultans, was flattered by the promises of the northern autocrat, and the gift of a crown and sceptre, to rank himself as a vassal of the Russian throne. The line of fortified places, commencing with Belgrade, Oczakow, Bender, Choczim, Widin, Silistria, and Nissa, supported on the second line by the Danube, and the cities of Brahilow, Ismail, Kali, and Akerman, did not tranquillize the Porte, who now saw its empire laid open from the east. On the Adriatic Sea, Mahmoud, the Pasha of Scutari, transferred to the pashalik of Joanina, appeared to occupy, with the territory

of Scanderbeg, the rebellious spirit of the valiant Epirots, and set at defiance the capidgis, the firmans, and enmity of the Porte. His successor, the celebrated Ali Pasha, laid in Macedonia the foundation of an independency, which he sustained for a quarter of a century. Asia Minor, and every part of the surface of Ottoman power, exhibited the same picture of violence and disunion. Achmet ruled in Bagdad with a power little short of being absolute, and set at nought the firmans of his master. In Egypt, Ali-bey had experienced the ingratitude of his creature Muhammed-bey; and Daher, the ancient and crafty Sheik of Lebanon, still held the important port and pashalik of Acre, in opposition to the views of the Porte. It was amid all these disorders that the Sultan, after passing forty-four years in the confinement of the old seraglio, ascended, at the age of fifty, the throne of his father; until the period of his advancement, he had occupied himself with copying the Koran, and making bows and arrows. The splendour of the throne dazzled the mind of one who had lingered so many years in the obscurity of a prison; yet Abdul Hamid lent himself to encourage and support, by his superintendence, the military establishments and improvements of his uncle Mustapha; and an immense mass of forces pressed forward, in the spring of 1774, to the campaign on the Danube.

Although the Russian empire was convulsed by the revolt of Pugatchiff, the Empress had evidenced the firmness of her character, and reinforced the army of Romanzow. Again passing the Danube, he proceeded to the investiture of Silistria, a fortress so often the object of contest between the two powers. The Ottomans rushed

forward to attack the Russian troops ere they had intrenched themselves. Their vast superiority of numbers and fanatical fury called forth all their physical powers of attack; but these desultory efforts sunk before the steady discipline and tactics of their foe. Suwaroff and Kaminski attacked a corps of twenty thousand men, commanded by the Reis-effendi, escorting a convoy of five thousand chariots; the corps was entirely routed or cut in pieces, and the chariots were burned. This disaster was speedily followed by the most fatal blow which the Ottoman empire had yet received. The lines of the Grand Vizir at Schumla, vast as was his host, were too extended; and Romanzow, with as much audacity as success, broke in by one of the openings, turning the position of Moussou Oglu, and stationed himself so as to cut off all communication between the Vizir and his magazines, which were at Varna. This unexpected movement so stupified and alarmed the Turkish forces, that at length falling into one of their panic terrors, and deaf to the voice and entreaties of their commander, they slaughtered each other; breaking up their companies, they fled promiscuously on every side; so that, out of the immense army, scarcely twelve thousand men retained their post with the Vizir around the standard of the Prophet. In this extremity, unable to be succoured, to resist, or to retire, Moussou Oglu hastened, by couriers, to apprize his sublime master of the extraordinary defection. Fortunately for his head, Moussou had espoused an aunt of the Sultan, who appeased his indignation; and the Mufti, to reconcile the event with the honour of the throne, declared, by his fetsa, that "the Grand Vizir could not conquer without the aid of sol-

diers; and as his army had abandoned him, the Holy Prophet ordained that he should make peace."

Romanzow, unaware of the opportunity which fortune had prepared for him, finding the Ottoman camp on all sides fortified, was arranging his plans for an assault, when the kiaia of Moussou Pasha appeared to demand a peace. The preliminaries were so hastily agreed upon, that they were signed on the drum-head, in the Russian camp of Katchouk Kainardghi, about four leagues from Silistria, the 21st July, 1774.

Of all the conquests of Russia, she retained only the tract between the Bog and the Dniester, known by the name of New Servia; the forts of Yenikali and Kertesh, in the Crimea; and the fortress of Kilburn, at the embouchure of the Dnieper, opposite to the town of Oczakow. Besserabia, Moldavia, Wallachia, and the Grecian Isles, were restored to the Porte. The most important feature of the treaty was the free admission of Russian merchant vessels to the navigation of the Bosphorus; and next, the declaration of the independence of the Krim Tartars, which was in fact the virtual surrender of this important province to the Russian empire; and the Russian cabinet had long coveted this valuable acquisition. Austria gained, by the same treaty, the Buckowina, a cession which added very little to the losses or disgrace of the Ottoman state. Thus terminated this most inauspicious war; begun in 1768 by Mustapha, with the generous view of emancipating the Polish nation; and the character of the peace justly filled the Porte with suspicion and fear. The ink was yet fresh with which the treaty had been signed, when the Turkish ministers hastened

to gather in a harvest of confiscations, and to punish the rebels whom the war had permitted to revel in security. Ali-bey, Sheik Daher, and the Waiwode of Moldavia, fell successively under the dagger or the bowstring. Hassan-bey also desolated the Morea, now abandoned to his fury, by the most unsparing executions, erecting a pyramid of human heads in testimony of his barbarism. The peace of Kainardghi, however, could be only regarded as an armed truce between the two nations. Hassan Pasha, the fierce and intrepid warrior, might be met with daily at the arsenal, giving orders and directing the preparations, accompanied by the young lion which he fondled as a fit companion, and soon by his energy a numerous fleet displayed the crescent on the waters of the Bosphorus.

Events in the Crimea excited fresh germs of discontent; and had not extreme fear operated on the resolves of the Sultan, he would inevitably have renewed the war. The Khan Dewlet Guary, strongly attached to the Porte, was so alarmed by the defection of some powerful tribes of Tartars, (a revolt solely excited by the intrigues of Catherine,) as to fly from the Crimea, and scarcely had the firm friend of the Porte disappeared, ere the Russians caused Saim Guary to be elected in his place, a prince of as strong a bias to the interests of Russia. Alarmed at this menacing encroachment, the Sultan threatened to appeal to arms, while Saim Guary sheltered himself under the protection of Russia. Received at St Petersburg with marked honour, the Empress affected to treat the Tartar prince as her vassal, and the marshal, Romanzow, had orders to collect an army on the Dnieper; meantime the Porte set up a competitor

in the person of Selim Guary against the pretensions of Saim Guary, but the resolute proceedings of the Empress, however, which left to the Porte no option but the disastrous one of engaging in a new war, or of yielding to her appointment, at length produced its recognition of Saim Guary. Having succeeded in nominating a Khan to the Crimea, an occasion soon presented itself for seizing upon the territory itself; and to effect this, a pretext only was needed, however flimsy. The gold and the agents of Russia excited domestic troubles; which, causing Saim Guary to appeal to the Empress, soon brought about the desired crisis, by a brother of Saim's, Batti Guary, governor of Kuban, endeavouring to surprise him in the city of Kaffa, which forced him to take refuge in Taganrog; and the divan itself was no stranger to these domestic feuds, which it would never have fomented, had its members been aware that Russia alone would gather the fruits.

Prince Potemkin, the politic favourite of Catherine II., and the successor of the Orloffs, appeared at the head of sixty thousand troops as the avenger of Saim Guary; and at his approach, Batti Guary instantly submitted, so much influence had the reputation and very name of the ambitious Russian. The divan, on its part, dispatched a Pasha to secure possession of the isle of Taman, which was merely a precautionary measure; but Saim Guary, at the instigation of Russia, summoned the Pasha and his troops to retire; the fierce Ottoman, as an answer to the Khan, decapitated his envoy, upon which, Prince Potemkin declared, that the insult thus shown to the ally of his sovereign should be exemplarily punished, and required a passage through the peninsula to the isle of Taman.

The Khan had no sooner opened the passes of the Crimea, than the Russian troops spread themselves over the whole country; Kaffa was taken by surprise, and the person of the Khan secured, under the pretext of watching over his safety; and soon the Imauns, Mirzahs, and Tartar chiefs, were conducted before Potemkin, to take the oaths of allegiance to his sovereign. Suwaroff also overran the Budijak and Kuban; Batti Guary submitted, and with his hordes imitated the example set him; while the unfortunate Khan, alarmed and betrayed, transmitted an authentic act of abdication to St Petersburg, accepting, as an equivalent for his once potent sovereignty, a pension of eight hundred thousand rubles, which was never paid.

The capital of the Ottoman empire was thrown into a state of most extreme fury at these events, and a general outcry for war ensued; but the preparations of Russia were of too formidable a nature for the divan singly to risk the consequences of an appeal to arms; and the European courts were too much divided by their separate interests and jealousies, to take up the cause of Abdul Hamid. A new treaty, therefore, was signed at Constantinople in 1784, whereby the Tartars were recognised as the subjects of the Empress; who thus acquired a splendid dominion over a million and a half of warlike Tartars, and ennobled her acquisitions by the classic titles of the Taurida and the Caucasus; while, the cession once completed, the Khan became an object of contempt to both parties, and after remaining a while in the suite of Potemkin, he was enticed by the insidious invitations of the divan to Constantinople, that they might revenge the loss of their Tartar provinces by his execution.

The vicissitude of human affairs had now

brought round to the throne of Abdul Hamid the same terror of the Autocrat, which the Paleologi formerly had endured from the first Sultans of the Ottoman race; so sensitive were the minds of the Turks become, that the slightest step or design of the perfidious neighbour, thus encircling their territory and capital, formed a source of alarm and trouble in Constantinople and the seraglio. It was also the result of the glare of Catherine's character, to mark her politic contact with the Turks by the most irritative expedients that female pride could adopt. Such was her triumphal procession throughout these newly acquired Tartar provinces; the assemblage and review of a large body of forces in the peninsula, and the pageants of several crowned heads, and the corps diplomatique, attending the progress of the Empress. Each of these indications were regarded by the Turks as hostile, and the Ottoman empire, taking the alarm, poured its myriads out of Asia to form a rampart against the ambition of Russia. The imperial and royal interviews in the Taurida were shortened by the ominous cloud now hanging over Europe, which soon became plunged into a series of wars and revolutions, such as had been hitherto unknown in the records of modern history; but the Turkish excitement, however, could not be again allayed. It was in vain that the Empress sought at length to continue the peace with the Turkish sovereign, so necessary to the realization or security of the new political objects which demanded her attention and her precaution; by the idle bravado of inscribing on the portal of a gate of Kherson, "The route to Byzantium," had been infixed a rankling thorn which could not be with ease extracted; thus the most moderate explanations were suspected by

the Turks, and war was proclaimed. Suwaroff now commanded in the Kuban, and it was against Kilbourn that the Ottoman attack was directed, a fortress advantageously situated on the river Dnieper. Suwaroff allowed the approach of the Ottoman forces as far as the glacis, when a terrible combat commenced, which, after being well contested for twelve hours, ended in the destruction of the Turkish detachment, and of increasing the terror of Suwaroff's name. The news of the failure of this attack arrived at the capital, together with the information of Joseph II. having made an assault upon Belgrade, without issuing a declaration of war. Notwithstanding that the Porte had thus unexpectedly another powerful enemy to combat, such were the energies displayed by all ranks, that the armies of Joussouff Pacha, the Vizir, exceeded in a great degree the forces of the Russian and the imperial crowns; and the redoubtable Hassan, with a powerful fleet, convoyed twenty thousand men to reconquer the Crimea. Part of the advantages which the Ottomans might probably have obtained, were frustrated by two revolts, which had nearly dissipated as formerly their numerous but incongruous forces; and Joussouff found no other means of control than by placing them in dangers and leading them to combats. A strong corps crossed the Danube, and forced the passes of Slatina, whereby the Bannat was invaded and swept of its inhabitants, who were dragged into slavery beyond the Bosphorus; and the imperialists were repulsed on all sides in the campaign of 1787, until Joseph called to the command of his armies the celebrated Marshal Laudohn.

The naval warfare was more successful, for one part of the Russian fleet was commanded by the

intrepid Paul Jones, and a second detachment by the Prince of Nassau Seigen. The brave but imprudent Hassan Pasha had engaged with his fleet in a canal filled with dangerous shoals, where three of his largest vessels grounded. In the midst of their disorder, the Russians made an attack, and a sunk battery, constructed by Suwaroff in the Dnieper, completed the destruction of the Ottoman flotilla. Any other commander than the heroic Hassan would have atoned for the mischance with his head; and a second effort, moreover, was even more unpropitious. During the 1st and 2d of August, 1788, the fortunate Prince of Nassau took, burnt, or sunk, fifteen sail of the line or frigates, so that more than eleven thousand Ottomans perished or were made prisoners, and the wrecks of the Turkish forces took shelter under the cannon of Oczakow. The siege of this fortress was begun by Prince Potemkin, with a force of eighty thousand men; such was its decayed condition, that the defence could not be expected to last three weeks, but the Turks defended its shattered ramparts with such pertinacity and exasperation, as to occupy the Russian forces for four months. During the siege, seven horsemen were seen one morning issuing from the fortress, and charging alone a Russian regiment, who were obliged, notwithstanding their wonder and forbearance, to bayonet them.

The assault was given the 6th of December; nearly the whole of the garrison were slain, sword in hand; the slaughter lasted for three days; above a third of the Russian army had perished from cold, or disease, or by the sword; and twenty-five thousand of the inhabitants, and the garrison, was the Turkish sacrifice. With this bloody triumph, Potemkin terminated the campaign of 1788.

The death of Abdul Hamid occurred in the spring of 1789, at the age of 64; which event was not noticed but by the seraglio. The janizaries rejoiced to replace an inactive imbecile prince by one of higher promise; and Selim III., the only son of the Sultan Mustapha, mounted the imperial throne at the age of 25. The liberty which his uncle had liberally granted to him, had given some impulse to his character; and the nation augured very favourably from the firmness which he had on some occasions displayed.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SELIM III.—TWENTY-EIGHTH REIGN.

H. 1203—A. D. 1789.

THE first given order of the new sovereign was to embody the most powerful aids for his armies; and the janizaries, spread over the empire, hastened from every quarter to the great rendezvous in the plains of Sophia. The Bannat, depopulated, ravaged, and burnt, demonstrated to Selim III. that the German Emperor was not invincible; and the intrigues of Prussia and of England succeeded to excite an ally for the Porte in the King of Sweden, who assembled an army in Finland, and a fleet of twenty sail of the line in the Baltic. The good fortune of Catherine again was conspicuous, in that the Swedish declaration of war preceded only by four days the execution of the orders given for the sailing of the Cronstadt fleet for the Archipelago. A little later, and Gustavus would have been left a free sea, the Russian ports would have been without a navy, and the capital without defence. Catherine, whose magnanimity gloried in opposing itself to difficult circumstances, instantly dispatched the

fleet so prepared, under Admiral Greig, to combat Gustavus, while an army was created with incredible activity on the borders of Finland. The seeds of disaffection had long been scattered among the leaders and nobles of Sweden, where the intrigues of Catherine were as formidable as her arms. A doubtful naval action, wherein much blood was spilt, and a revolt of his army before Fredericksham, disgusted the King of Sweden with the war; he hastily retired to Stockholm, and Catherine was preserved from the most imminent foreign danger of her reign.

The Russian army, united under Prince Potemkin, comprised all the effective forces of the empire; while Sultan Selim had reinforced the Ottoman strength to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand men. The command of these forces, as well also as the Viziriat, were unjustly withdrawn from Joussouff Pasha, and conferred upon the Pasha of Widdin. At this critical moment an auspicious circumstance occurred for the interests of the Porte, in the voluntary submission and aid given to her armies by the rebellious Pasha of Albania, who had hitherto defied her power, and disobeyed her orders. Faithful to Islamism, he sent to the Porte the heads of the unhappy German officers, who had been deputed by the court of Vienna to negotiate a treaty favourable to their master.

The campaign of 1789 was opened by the Prince of Cobourg leaving his winter quarters, in Gallicia, and advancing into Moldavia, along the right bank of the Sirath; Suwaroff, quitting Yassy, prepared to support him, while a Seraskier, with forty thousand Ottomans, pressed onward to attack the combined forces; and the battle took place

on the 21st of July, 1789. The Austrians and Russians divided their forces into small squares, between the intervals of which they permitted the clouds of spahis to pass, when they overthrew and utterly dispersed them, by cannon placed in the angles of the squares; finally, their Turkish camp, equipage, artillery, and stores, became the prey of the victors, with their immense magazines. The unfortunate Seraskier was no less a personage than the renowned Hassan, who, from being Capitan Pasha, had become a General, and aspired after that success by land which it seemed that destiny had ravished from him on the waters.

The Prince of Cobourg soon learned that the Grand Vizir was approaching with an hundred thousand men. Suwaroff, who was separated from his forces, hastened to join him, by the most rapid marches, and appeared at Rimnik at the very instant that the two hostile armies were preparing to engage. To the Prince of Cobourg's solicitations to allow the Russian troops some repose, Suwaroff characteristically replied, "My men need no repose; St Nicolas before me, myself following the saint, and my troops following me, let us attack the foe:" thus the battle of Rimnik began. It was fought on the same plain where Bajazet I. overthrew the Hospodar Stephen. The brave Osman, Pasha of Widdin, with Maurojini the Prince of Wallachia, commanded; they headed a hundred thousand against the allied forces of twenty-five thousand. The plains of Rimnik were distinguished by one of the most decisive* victo-

* This battle was always recalled by the Duke of Saxe Cobourg as among the most brilliant of his exploits. It won the campaign, and he used to say, when referring to its consequences, "When one has only once well beaten

ries of the war; above twenty thousand Turks perished, with the Reis-effendi, and numerous Pashas; the whole of their battering train and stores were taken; and the broken remains of this vast army threw themselves partly into the fortress of Brahilow, and partly into the intrenched camp of Schumla, where the heroic but luckless Hassan Pasha again resumed the command and the Viziriat, with all its responsibilities, without having the slightest power of averting the disastrous consequences of the late defeat. The Prince of Cobourg, entering Wallachia, took possession of Bucharest; and Belgrade, besieged by Laudohn, capitulated, after three weeks' investment; so that there no longer existed on the frontier any strong fortress but Nissa, between the victorious army of Laudohn and the capital of Selim.

Towards the mouths of the Danube, the Russians passed on from triumph to triumph. Bender opened her gates; Koutoukai, Galatz, and Akerman, were occupied by Suwaroff, whose army formed the siege of Ismail. In these most disastrous circumstances, all the states of Europe secretly or openly espoused the interests of the divan against the ambitious projects of Russia, alarmed at a crisis which threatened no less than the subversion of the Ottoman power. At this instant Joseph II. descended to the tomb, and thus the dangers of Turkey were averted. Leopold, more politic than his brother, resumed merely a defensive position; for he felt that the treasures and strength of his empire had been exhausted for interests foreign to those of his people.

the Turks, one is at ease for the whole campaign;" words truly expressive of the ruinous panic and discouragement attendant on the lax organization of their troops.

The Empress Catherine, indignant at the seeming dictation of the European powers, influenced by England and Prussia, resolved to continue the war single-handed, in defiance of their menaces, and refused the pacification which, if it had been skilfully presented, so as to flatter her personal feelings, she would have willingly concluded. Resolutely disdaining the appearance of dictation, she dispatched orders to her generals, and the campaign of 1790 was opened. In every quarter the same unfortunate consequences to the Turks attended the war. Tulcia and Kilia were surrendered; Potemkin and Repnin overran the whole province. The Russian squadrons swept the Black sea, and intercepted all the supplies of corn for the capital; Prince Repnin defeated an army of sixty thousand Turks at Macinz; while Kutusoff and Goudowitz triumphed in the Kuban and Crimea, where their enemies were wholly dispersed. So many disasters so closely approximating to the capital, and the ominous complexion of the campaign, excited universal murmurs and discontent, which were announced by nightly conflagrations. Selim, naturally noble, cheerful, and just, became, from these repeated disasters, morose and cruel, when the capture of Ismail justly carried his terror to the highest pitch.

Suwaroff had received the commands from Potemkin, to take Ismail at any cost. It was garrisoned by forty thousand men, commanded by a Seraskier; still it was assaulted by the fierce and remorseless Russian, and carried by a violence of effort which has scarcely a parallel, and which was followed by a massacre which filled Europe with horror, and exists as a perpetual stain upon the character of the barbarian who perpetrated it. The

Seraskier, Kaplan Guary, the brother of the Khan of the Tartars, and fifty thousand Mussulmans, were slain or made prisoners; and the very women disputed the place, poniard in hand, from house to house. The frost being too severe to allow of their interment, six days were engaged in casting the carcases of horses and thirty thousand slain into the Danube. "The Russian flag floats on the ramparts of Ismail," was the whole of the laconic dispatch of Suwaroff, announcing the event to Potemkin; but the spoils and plunder of the city were immense: such was the blood-stained trophy which signalized the siege of Ismail, the most murderous, the most glorious, and most terrible military assault of modern times. The alarming news of the fall of Ismail produced all the menacing appearances of revolt and revolution in the capital, which the Ulema sought to allay by pronouncing each Mussulman slain in its defence to have merited the paradise of the Prophet. Selim, more and more invisible to his people, and more exasperated than heretofore by misfortunes, sullied his character by an execution which every noble and feeling mind must regret, namely, that of the aged Hassan, to whom the Viziriat became the threshold of the tomb. This brave warrior, after a life marked by exploits almost equal to those of fabulous story, was condemned to expiate misfortunes which no single arm could avert; while the condemnation which abridged his glorious career, can find no plausible apologist, and served only to increase the alarm and discouragement of the Ottoman forces.

At this moment, by one of those timely interpositions which often break in on the misfortunes of nations, and alter their consequences, Leopold

signed a peace most unhoped for, and at the same time most advantageous to the Porte, on the 4th of April, 1791, whereby Belgrade and all the Austrian conquests were restored, with the exception of the temporary cession of the city of Choczim.

Joussouff Pasha was for the second time recalled to the Viziriat, not to be more successful, however, than his illustrious predecessor. Varna, the bulwark of Constantinople towards the Balkans, was threatened, and the Grand Vizir was on the very point of being cut off from his magazines, and of experiencing the same humiliation, or perhaps a severer one, than the disgrace of Kainardgy, when the courts of London and Berlin, aware of the Empress Catherine's anxiety for peace, and managing with more address the loftiness of her character, permitted the articles to proceed without any foreign interference, and the peace, so greatly needed by the belligerents, was signed at Yassy, on the 9th of January, 1792. The stipulations of the convention of the treaty of Kainardgy were renewed; the river Dniester was recognised as the frontier of the two empires; Oczakow was ceded to Russia, with the large space comprised between the Bog and the Dniester, on which soon arose the important city and establishments of Odessa; the cession of the Crimea, of the isle of Taman, and part of the Kuban, were again formally confirmed, with an indemnity of twelve millions of piastres, for the expenses of the war. On her part, the Empress restored all her other conquests, and as soon as the treaty was signed, renounced the payment of the money, declaring herself satisfied with its recognition. The most important article of the treaty, was the con-

cession to Russian ships, to enter the strait of the Bosphorus, and navigate the Black Sea; henceforth under the Russian flag, foreign vessels of other nations, and especially Greeks, found an effectual protection. Thus terminated a dangerous war, which had nearly overthrown the Ottoman throne, and at length was ended by the loss only of Oczakow, and a portion of its territory; an extremely slender concession compared with the terror felt throughout the Ottoman empire. The real cause of all these restitutions, and which thus restored the integrity and might have healed the wounds of the Turkish state, resulted from the menacing appearance of the political horizon which shook all Europe in 1792, when the French revolution established or enforced its principles, and overturned a throne which had been supported during fourteen centuries. Although peace had been concluded with Russia, the state of the Ottoman empire was extremely unquiet and disorganized. The government had become dislocated, and weakened in all its interior movements, by the extraordinary reverses and defeats which had conspicuously marked the late wars wherein the Porte had been engaged with Austria and north Russia. In all these instances her armies had usually been dispersed by armies very inferior in numbers; and the great importance and superior efficacy of the European system in military sciences and tactics, had manifested itself too clearly not to be felt most deeply by the Ottoman ministry. While, however, the necessity of a reform was strongly demonstrated, the dangerous insubordination of the janizaries, and the blind ignorance of the populace, rendered any such attempt dangerous in the highest degree; and the Pashas of the empire, clearly perceiving the

dangers of Turkey, sought only how they might make such use of the public calamity as should secure to them the sweets of independency and perpetuity in their respective pashaliks; thus Bagdad, Bussorah, Aleppo, Acre, Albania, and others, disregarded the firmans of the Sublime Porte; while, to add to these causes of alarm, the Wahabites of Arabia succeeded in occupying the whole of the sacred territory, and set at defiance the orders and menaces of the Ottoman court. Accustomed, however, to manage these events as matters of internal policy, the Porte contented itself in general with winking at the malversations and contempt evidenced by its vassals, scoring up their faults for a future day of retribution. The actions of Paswan Oglu, the Pasha of Widdin, deserve more peculiarly our notice, as he openly espoused the determination of the janizaries to resist all attempts at improving their discipline in the provinces, which union made Paswan a character of national importance. The grandfather of Paswan was a chimney-sweeper of the city of Widdin, on the Danube; he had served in the armies, had distinguished his bravery in the Russian war, and obtained the fief of Parabin in Moldavia. He occupied himself with the education of his son Omer, who arrived at the rank of Bassi-aga, or chief of the district. Omar had two sons; Ibrahim-bey, established at Constantinople, and Osman, surnamed Paswan Oglu, or the son of the chimney-sweeper. His father, who resided in Widdin during a portion of the year, instructed Paswan in the military and political sciences; the young Paswan possessed a great activity of mind, with a very violent temper. In 1785, being in the country with his father, a quarrel broke out betwixt the

parent and son, which lasted above two years, and ranked in one party or the other, the chief portion of the population of Widdin. At length in 1788, a reconciliation was effected; but, as a consequence of the conjunction of these two parties into one, the father and son became in a manner the rulers of Widdin, where their authority strengthened daily. Alarmed at this progress and success, the Porte accredited Mahmud Pasha to expel them, with the promise of the pashalik for his reward. Besieged for three months by twelve thousand men, the father and son at length escaped to Prince Maurosini in Wallachia, who gave them protection, and established them at Georgievo to resist the Austrians; here Omar was overwhelmed and defeated by the Austrian forces, and eventually fled with only seventeen followers to the castle of Kulla, within six leagues of Widdin. No sooner had the intelligence of the re-appearance of Omar reached the ears of the Pasha of Widdin, than he dispatched a thousand men to take him dead or alive.

Omar, with his seventeen men, resisted for four days, receiving seven wounds. At length his followers were massacred, the fort taken, and himself and secretary made prisoners. The Pasha had ordered Omar to be brought before him at Widdin; but no sooner had the report of his capture spread throughout the place, than his townsmen secretly met, and resolved to demand his liberty. So extraordinary was the sensation caused by his respected name in Widdin, that the Pasha, to stop its further progress, sent orders for his private and instant decapitation, setting on foot a report of his escape. The people, pacified at the news, returned to their obedience, but Paswan, in-

formed of his father's fate, resolved to revenge him. By a variety of plans and efforts, such as are paralleled only among the deeds of this extraordinary race, he succeeded, in 1789, in obtaining admittance by night into Widdin, and taking captive the Pasha. The latter, thus in the power of his implacable foe, expected his immediate execution; he therefore silently exhibited the firman of the Sultan for the act he had done, and Paswan had the generosity and policy to respect his life, and to permit him to reside in Widdin in a manner suitable to his rank, but without any power, while he artfully availed himself of his name for licensing his troops, and became in effect the master of Widdin. So completely was his ascendency at once established, that, vesting the administration in the hands of a relation, Beker-aga, he hesitated not to join with his corps of 6000 men the army of Joussouff Pasha, the Grand Vizir, during whose disastrous campaign the contingents of Paswan were nearly cut to pieces, and reduced to five hundred men. Returning with them to Widdin, he resumed his former authority, when a new Pasha had orders to send his head to the Porte. Instead of his effecting that sanguinary object, Paswan attacked and reduced him to the same state of imbecility as his predecessor; going, however, to the country to hunt, he had nearly been entrapped by four hundred men sent in pursuit of him by the Pasha. Paswan escaped, regained his ascendency in his native city, drove out the Pasha, and held it by force of arms for many years, while he performed regular service with his contingents in the Turkish army. At length, in 1792, the effort was made by the Sultan to effect the introduction of the improved discipline, which excited the general discontent of the jani-

zaries. The Ottoman Porte, bent upon the punishment of a portion of the garrisons of the city of Belgrade and other fortresses on the Danube, disbanded the janizaries, replacing them by spahis and irregular troops. Paswan Oglu, instantly discerning the opportunity of aggrandisement, declared himself openly the protector of the discarded janizaries, who crowded to his standard from all parts of the empire. The zeal with which he undertook their cause, spread his name and renown throughout the empire, and even in the divan, where there existed a strong and powerful party in their favour. From this moment, Paswan assumes the rank of the leader of a party, whose links extended to every portion of the European and Asiatic provinces of Turkey. Alarmed at the rapid progress of Paswan, the Porte dispatched Mufti Pasha, in 1794, to know the demands and views of that too powerful subject; but Paswan suspecting a snare, declined the conference, and pursued his audacious designs upon the chief fortresses of the Danube. In 1796, an army of 50,000 men, under the orders of the Begler-bey of Roumelia, and five other Pashas, were insufficient to reduce Widdin, and they were compelled to negotiate for a peace. It was only the prelude to Paswan's shifting the scene to the province of Roumelia, which he overran with the malcontents even to the walls of Adrianople.

In the year 1796, he had so far pervaded the whole line of the Danube, that he had secured in his favour the whole extent from Rudshuk to Belgrade. Nicopolis and Sistowa admitted his garrisons, and he had gained possession of Orsowa and Semendria. Pushing forward two columns of troops rapidly, one by Nissa and Sophia, and the other

column by Tornowa and Philipopolis, he soon became master of Bulgaria and Servia. The Begler-bey of Roumelia, confined within the walls of Adrianople, kept wholly on the defensive, while parties of Paswan's followers reached even the walls of Constantinople. All presaged a revolution in Turkey in Europe, when the Porte, becoming seriously alarmed, assembled together a force of an hundred thousand men, drawing troops from all the Asiatic provinces. Several battles ensued, and Paswan became compelled to retreat within the walls of Widdin. The siege lasted during five months, and his fate appeared inevitable; yet such was the unshaken fidelity of his townsmen, that eventually Paswan was enabled to repulse the Seraskier, and make a treaty, which confirmed him in his possessions, with the rank of Pasha of three tails. His sagacity, however, guarded him against the snares of the Porte, by maintaining a powerful garrison, the utility of which was evidenced in 1797, when the Begler-bey of Roumelia, whose cruelties had procured for him the surname of "the Terrible," assembling secretly a powerful force, hastily proceeded against Widdin, in the hope of surprising, and of crushing Paswan Oglu. His watchfulness had anticipated and prepared against the attack, while the Begler-bey, defeated in every engagement, was obliged to fly before an exasperated enemy, who pursued him to the gates of St Sophia.

Summoning forthwith to his standard, from all parts of the empire, the janizaries whom he had disbanded, Paswan displayed himself more powerful than ever, and appeared to meditate the greatest undertakings. The Porte, in consternation, levied hastily an army, which was commanded by the Grand Vizir in person, and the campaign was about

to open, when death unexpectedly arrested the career and projects of Paswan, in 1800, and allayed the fears of Selim. The civil war, which we have thus traced, was marked by the exhaustion of the national resources, and it eventually, in all probability, would have led to consequences perhaps subversive of the Ottoman throne, had not the death of the intrepid chieftain dissolved the confederacy of the discontented soldiery, and the cities returned immediately to their wonted submission and obedience.

While Paswan was thus embroiling the affairs of the Porte in Bulgaria, Czerni Georges, copying his example, became the actor of similar excesses in Servia. Born of obscure parents at Belgrade, his first motion for resisting legitimate rule arose from a dread of punishment for having blown out the brains of a Turk. He soon collected a band of desperate characters, and became noted for courage and success. The same qualities led on to greater things, for no obstacles deterred, nor menaces daunted him. Pursuing a career of personal hatred against the Turks, as the oppressors of his country, he of course excited their vengeance against the whole class of Servian subjects, whereby he was opposed by his father, whom he sought by every personal concession to soften. His father, who viewed the projects of Czerni Georges as leading to the ruin of his countrymen, refused his advances, and threatened to denounce him and his haunts to the Pasha of Belgrade, unless he submitted. Georges employed every effort of entreaty, until together they had reached the first post of the enemy,—then again receiving a final refusal, "Inflexible old man!" he exclaimed, "thou shalt neither betray thy son nor thy country!" on which

he instantly shot him through the head. A variety of engagements and battles ensued, usually to the discomfiture of the Turks, until this extraordinary man attained to such an eminence as to succeed in possessing himself of the important fortress of Belgrade; and in 1804, he obliged the Ottoman Porte to acknowledge him, by a solemn treaty, as the Hospodar of Servia. No treaties, however, in the view of the Turkish government, with its subjects and rebels, are ever binding beyond the hour of necessity; he was therefore always environed by dangers, and eventually threw himself into the arms of Russia. He materially assisted their warfare against the Ottoman Porte, and became a most formidable enemy to them; so that they were in fact dispossessed of their strongest frontiers and national defence, on the whole line of the Danube, through the exertions and revolt of these distinguished partisans of Bulgaria and of Servia. Selim and his ministers all knew of the imperative necessity of introducing a new and renovating system into the Turkish armies, without which it must be impossible that she could maintain her power as a nation, being encircled, as her territories were become, on all points, within the circumference of the hostile empire of Russia; yet every step brought the government into the most imminent dangers. The state of Europe throughout was convulsed to the centre, by the terrible wars and changes which grew out of the events following the commencement of the French Revolution. It was the desire and endeavour of the Ottoman government to keep aloof altogether from the storm.

The French Directory manifesting a desire to cultivate with the Porte the relations of amity so long subsisting, had accredited to Constantinople

General Aubert Dabayet, in 1796, as their ambassador. He bore to the Sultan a new and interesting present,—a train of artillery, in the highest state of equipment, with officers and artillerymen qualified to instruct the Topegis, and to improve the foundries for cannon at Tophana; officers, also, competent to benefit the corps of janizaries and spahis, accompanied the ambassador. The endeavours of the French officers were zealously aided by the exertions and example of the Sultan; but were received with universal rejection and discontent by the janizaries, as they absolutely refused altogether to conform to the new exercise. A small corps, totally distinct, and attached to the bostangis, was subsequently formed, chiefly composed of renegades and strangers. The advantageous progress made by them was most striking, and their appearance was favourable, when the death of Aubert Dabayet, and the departure of his suite, terminated for a time the attempt at national improvement. The desire of preserving the germs of this establishment for his country's sake, was among the last acts of the much injured Hassan Pasha; who, anxious to naturalize such a beneficial step, extended his countenance to these renegades, formed them into a regular battalion of infantry, and sustained them by his liberality and favour. They were, however, so greatly the object of the railleries and menaces of the janizaries, that their number never exceeded six hundred men; but these, few as they were, rendered the most important of services to Turkey in the war wherein she was unexpectedly involved for the possession of her fine province of Egypt, soon invaded, in the most treacherous manner, by the army under Napoleon.

Whether the originating impulse of the expedition to Egypt grew out of the design to convert the fertile country into a French colony, and thus to endeavour to attract the commerce of India to Europe by the way of Suez and the Mediterranean Sea, in preference to the circuitous route by the Cape of Good Hope; or whether the Directory framed it to get quit of a general whom they feared, and Napoleon accepted the command in the chimerical hope of founding a new dynasty in the East, and becoming Kalif of Egypt, or King of Jerusalem, (dreams not too romantic for his imagination); whatever was the true cause, the French expedition was as unprincipled an attack as could be made upon a friendly power,—a power always evidencing the most marked interest for France, and fulfilling the duties of a zealous ally.

To the Sultan, the invasion of this important province became a source of the deepest disquiet. Involved in perils by the disastrous events of the Russian campaigns; his authority disputed by the powerful pashas, and thwarted in every endeavour to infuse plans of renovation into his forces, he beheld every danger heightened, and his empire brought by the attack into collision with the struggles and warfare of Europe. It was on the 19th of May, 1798, that this formidable armament "set sail from Toulon, illuminated by a splendid sunrise, one of those which were afterwards popularly termed the suns of Napoleon." On the 10th of June, the strongly fortified island of Malta was surrendered, through the defection and treachery of the French knights. Caffarelli said to Napoleon, as they passed through the most formidable defences, "It is well, General, that there was some one within to open the gates to

us; we should have had more trouble in entering if the place had been altogether empty!" The progress of Bonaparte to Alexandria, and the striking chance which frustated the meeting of the two fleets, are among the most remarkable events of Napoleon's career. On the 29th of June he landed. The city of Alexandria was taken by storm, and cruelly given over to military execution, to strike terror into the various classes of the natives,—a step which has always been characterised as cruel and ill-advised.

The forces destined to achieve a great revolution in the East amounted to twenty-five thousand picked veterans, led by Kleber, Desaix, Berthier, Lannes, Andreossi, Murat, and other well-known names. Whatever brilliant hopes, however, their known valour and talents might have excited, were, in fact, crushed by the immortal battle of August 1st, which annihilated the French fleet, and so far altered the destinies of the French army, as to render them in future only the colonists of an insulated province. The power of Egypt was lodged with the beys, who wholly governed its provinces, without heeding the Pasha, excepting to dole forth the slender sum, which, after numberless deductions made, was, for form's sake, transmitted to the Ottoman Porte. Bonaparte readily adopted an arrangement whereby he hoped to conciliate the Sultan, and to obtain his sanction to his measures; he therefore admitted the Pasha to the same ostensible share of authority as was yielded to him by the beys, and spoke with as much seeming respect of the Sublime Porte, as if it had been his intention to permit of its having an effective power in Egypt.

It is probable that the Porte, embarrassed by so many unpropitious circumstances, might have winked for a while at the aggression, and watched the course of events; but the awakening impulse which resounded through Europe, with the tidings of the battle of the Nile, aroused the Turkish cabinet to active measures. War was proclaimed against France, and an army collected, to enter Egypt from Syria. During these steps on the part of the Ottoman government, the French succeeded in overpowering the Mamlukes, and acquiring possession of the whole province of Egypt. The superb Mamluke cavalry, in no degree a match for the artillery and steady discipline of European armies, were mowed down by grape-shot, or destroyed by the fire of the well-formed squares of the French infantry. The battle of the Pyramids, and the previous skirmishes, reduced the brave Murad-bey and their leaders to the necessity of flying into the deserts which skirt the borders of Upper Egypt.* Two Turkish armies had meantime assembled, one at Rhodes and the other at Syria,

* The campaigns of the French in Egypt and Syria present very different results from the usual idea entertained. Bonaparte held both the Mamlukes and Arabs as more skilful and obstinate in resistance than the Turkish cavalry. The Mamlukes endeavoured vigorously to penetrate the French squares, charging them in closed squadrons, and essaying every kind of arms to open an avenue,—several of them even desperately backed their horses against the line. The mode of fighting of the French troops against these swarms of cavalry, was, to flank them with their squares, and place them betwixt two fires, which invariably overthrew their lines, and drove them into the Desert for refuge, leaving the field covered with their dead.

with the hope of recovering Egypt; and Bonaparte, always daring, resolved to anticipate their movements, and to march with a strong force, so as to preoccupy Syria.

The fort of El-Arish, the key of Egypt, fell easily into his hands; a body of Mamlukes was dispersed by a night attack; and, finally, he entered Palestine with ten thousand men, without much loss or privation. The bloody event of the capture of Jaffa, and the massacre of a portion of its garrison, were the first fruits of his advance. His next step was to St John d'Acre, a port which was the key to the province, and which, being fortified on the old Gothic plan, he deemed altogether inefficient against his forces. Here, however, he met with obstacles on which he had not calculated. Djezzar Pasha had communicated the approaching attack to Sir Sidney Smith, then cruizing in the Mediterranean, who set sail for Acre with the Tiger and Theseus, two ships of the line. Arriving there about two days before the French made their appearance, he so greatly strengthened the fortifications, that Acre presented the means of a respectable defence. Moreover, the cannon and military stores destined to form the siege were detected, while sailing along under Mount Carmel, and captured by the Theseus; and thus the means intended for the siege became eminently useful in its defence, and the consequence of their capture was eventually decisive in the struggle. On the 17th of March, 1799, the siege was formed; by the 28th a breach was effected, and an assault made, wherein the French sustained a heavy loss, and were eventually repulsed. During the contest for this town, the Ottoman forces advanced as far as Mount Tabor; and Bo-

naparte, thinking it safest to attack the Turks single-handed, left two divisions to keep the trenches before Acre, while with the rest of his forces he hastened against the enemy. The battle has been denominated, the Day of Mount Tabor. The Ottomans were defeated; the camp of the Syrian army was taken, and its scattered forces fled to Damascus. Napoleon, elated, returned to the siege of Acre; and the arrival of thirty heavy cannon from Jaffa seemed to promise better success. It was on the evening of his return that, walking on the mount which still retains the name of Richard Cœur de Lion, Bonaparte exclaimed to Murat, as he pointed to Acre, "The fate of the East depends upon yonder petty town; its conquest will ensure the success of my expedition, and Damascus will be the first fruits of it." Repeated assaults proved the importance which he set on its capture. He had effected a lodgement in a disputed tower of the works; and so very slender was the barrier betwixt Acre and its fall, that although ships bearing aid were seen in the offing, it became a doubt if the place would hold out until they landed. To effect this object, and protract its fall, Sir Sidney Smith proceeded to the breach, at the head of a body of British marines, armed with pikes, until the critical moment that a Turkish fleet bearing reinforcements entered the bay. The Tchiflik regiment of disciplined renegades were on board; they were immediately landed; and their valour and steadiness mainly contributed to the successful termination of one of the most interesting, and perhaps important, sieges of the war. Eight fruitless assaults were made on these tottering and blood-stained ramparts; the siege had lasted sixty days; several of the best French ge-

nerals were killed; the reinforcements, conveyed so opportunely by sea, convinced Napoleon of the uselessness of further effort; and, on the 20th of May, the French army retired from these inauspicious walls. The whole retreat was conducted with great skill, as were the arrangements for a joyous reception at Cairo. Lower Egypt had been excited to revolt, during the absence of Napoleon, by the appearance of a fanatic personating the mysterious personage, the Imaum Mahadi. This pretender was completely defeated, and the French showed the greatest severity in punishing his followers.

The struggles of the Mamlukes served no other purpose than to rivet closer the yoke enfixed on Egypt. Nevertheless, the routine of surprisals and skirmishes proceeded until the news reached Bonaparte, encamped near the Pyramids, that a Turkish army, commanded by Said Mustapha Pasha, had landed at Aboukir. Hastily assembling his forces from all points, he pressed forward to the encounter; and when, his arrangements being made, he was discoursing with Murat, he made the oracular declaration, "Go how it will, this battle will decide the fate of the world." Most probably his mind had long before decided upon the step of returning to Europe, to which this fortunate encounter gave a brilliant encouragement. The total annihilation of the Turkish troops, and their inability to oppose any steady resistance to the discipline of the French forces, were never more clearly seen than in this battle; and proved that the deliverance of Egypt, if ever effected, must be done by different troops than the Sublime Porte could bring into the field.

The splendid battle of Aboukir supplied the pre-

text, so long wanted by the ambitious Napoleon, of leaving his army, which had become only an insulated force, and could no longer furnish aliment for his impatient spirit. He returned for a few days to Cairo; and, professing still to be friendly to the Porte, he set on foot a treaty for the exchange of prisoners. He then penned his farewell instructions to Kleber; hasted to Alexandria; and, embarking on the 23d of August, 1799, with a few chosen followers, on board of two frigates, arrived in safety at Frejus, after a surprising voyage of forty-one days, and upon a sea covered with English vessels. Thus closed his illustrious career in the East; nor can any thing more strongly mark the importance of the check given to his ambitious designs by the chivalric defence of Acre through the exertions and heroism of Sir Sidney Smith, than that, within five short months after its occurrence, he seized upon the very first plausible excuse for quitting the theatre of such great and magnificent projects as he had held forth to his followers and the world, and returned almost a fugitive to Europe.

The task of the delivery of Egypt from her French invaders was undertaken, and gloriously accomplished, by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and, after his death in battle, by Lord Hutchinson. These brave commanders succeeded in effecting the defeat of the formidable forces of France, which no Ottoman host would have achieved. The approach of the Grand Vizir from Syria had always been followed by signal defeats; and, notwithstanding the brilliant success of the British forces, it would have been a hard struggle, if the ardent desire of the French to revisit their beloved

France had not influenced the convention which restored them again to their country.

Thus the fine province of Egypt was again restored to its late masters; but the Mamluke beys had suffered so great a diminution of their strength in their long and arduous warfare, that the Porte resolved to seize upon the present opportunity of crushing their power altogether. The first step taken was at an invitation to partake of a friendly entertainment in the Capitan Pasha's ship, when the beys were assailed in the respective boats, and several of the most powerful destroyed. The surviving members of this once formidable race were pursued by the Turkish forces; they maintained a languid struggle with Muhammed Ali, appointed eventually the Pasha; however, they were at last ensnared, by his specious promises, to enter the castle of Cairo, and were massacred without mercy. Of all this once formidable race of soldiers, —these bands, who for so many centuries governed Egypt, and gave her Soldans to rule with vigour and military prowess, not a remnant remains, the few scanty relics who survived the treachery of Muhammed having pined away amid the heats of Dongola; Egypt, therefore, has reaped nothing, as a country, from the extraordinary invasion which we have narrated, but the overthrow of the Mamluke beys, and the revival of the despotism of the Ottoman yoke. It is, however, a matter of great interest to record, that the fall and extinction of the two most celebrated communities of national mercenaries since the Prætorian Bands of Rome, namely, the Janizaries of Constantinople, and the Mamlukes of Cairo, have both taken place almost at the same period of time, and of quite recent occurrence. The disciplined regiment of Tchiflik

returned to the capital loaded with honours for their bravery at Acre, and their success became a prevalent and powerful motive with the Sultan to proceed with his favourite measures of renovating and re-organizing his military forces; desires which, however laudable, worked, together with other unfortunate coincidences, to accomplish his ruin.

The soldiers attached to the new discipline by Hassan Pasha, returning to Constantinople with the Ottoman squadron after the retreat of the French forces from Syria, were received with enthusiasm and caresses by the inhabitants, who compared their valour and good conduct with the shameful cowardice of the forces engaged in the battles of Aboukir, Mount Tabor, and of Nazareth. The Sultan Selim, who became greatly attached to the defenders of Acre, resolved forthwith to avail himself of the public enthusiasm to establish a new and independent well-disciplined corps, paid from a separate treasury. The project was violently opposed by the Ulema and by the janizaries; but the Aga of the latter corps, with its chiefs, being still with the army of the Grand Vizir in Syria, the Seymen-bashi, his lieutenant, was induced to enter into the Sultan's views. The Mufti also, Vely-zade-effendi, had been the companion of Selim in his infancy, and felt the highest attachment to his person; he therefore calmed the Ulema; and at length a fetsa appeared, announcing to the population of Constantinople, the formation of the new corps. So fully sensible, however, were the Mufti and the ministers, of the danger of the project, that the fetsa, organizing the corps henceforth denominated the Nizam-gedit, or New Ordinance, limited their numbers to twelve thousand men. Handsome barracks were erected

forthwith, near Scutari, in Asia, on the site of the ancient seraglio of Chalcedon; and also in Europe, near Levend Tchiflik, which was supplied with an exercising ground, shaded on every side by rows of limes; a marble kiosk for the reception of the Sultan; a mosque, with baths, fountains, and reservoirs; a spacious saloon; a refectory; a powder magazine; and rows of shops for armourers and sutlers.

It was not long ere the new corps were enabled to prove their merit. During 1803 and 1804, numerous parties of robbers, upheld by the disturbed state of the provinces, overran Bulgaria and Roumelia, retreating for impunity into the recesses of the mountains of Bosnia and of Albania. Vainly did the government order the neighbouring Sanjaks to remedy these disorders. The Sultan Selim, therefore, dispatched against these bands four of the newly disciplined regiments, who completely extirpated the ravagers; and, after a series of brilliant skirmishes, put an end to the devastations of the fine plains of Thrace and of Mæsia.

So hostile, however, were the janizaries, and so perfectly did they impoison the public mind, that this corps was treated with hate and alienation instead of gratitude, by the very provinces which it had thus served; but not so by the Sultan and his ministers, who received them with the most liberal recompense. Resolved, at length, to increase the new corps, by a species of conscription, the Sultan proceeded to issue a dangerous hat-sheriff, on March 1805, which ordered a levy to be made, between the ages of twenty and twenty-five years, among the janizaries, and that the picked men should be incorporated with the nizam-gedit.

This measure caused the greatest disturbances at Adrianople and throughout the empire, and after a series of troubles and dangers it was suspended.

During these circumstances, General Sebastiani arrived at Constantinople, as the representative of Napoleon. His celebrated tour in the Levant furnished the originating irritation which caused the rupture of the peace of Amiens; and his counsels in the capital of Turkey instigated its ministers to change the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, against the stipulations of the treaty of Yassy, and involved Turkey in war with Russia and England. Such are often the results of the commixture of one violent or artful mind with the fermenting and dangerous passions at certain epochs afloat, whereby the jealousies of rival states engender wars calamitous alike to princes and subjects. M. Stalinsky, the enlightened negotiator of Russia, sailed for Tenedos, and General Michelson, in November 1806, hastily entered the principalities, of which he soon obtained the possession, and placed himself in union with Paswan Oglu. Mr Arbuthnot did not feel himself at liberty to adopt the vigorous step of the Russian envoy, but lingered at Constantinople, in hopes of influencing the divan, by his representations, to admit of the pretensions of Russia, and overturn the influence of Sebastiani. Nothing could be more embarrassing than the position of the Sultan, the sad spectator of a contest of which he was the ostensible object, and the proposed prey. The victory of either party alike menaced him with ruin; he had to choose between the armies of France, and the fleets of England. Never was a sovereign so situated between two negotiators, one armed with all the power by land, the other with that by sea; both, to all appearance,

able to destroy, but neither of them capable of protecting him against his antagonist.

The measures of the English were, however, confined to the mode least calculated to effect the end they desired. Had the expedition to the Dardanelles been prepared to force that celebrated passage, instead of such a step being brought forward as a threat, the Ottomans would probably have complied with the demands of England under the dread of her hostilities; but that idea being constantly presented to them in hostile notes, no sooner did the act take place, than it excited only resistance and rage. Mr Arbuthnot, perceiving that his observations were without results, and dreading a capricious confinement in the event of a rupture with the Porte, secretly withdrew with his suite and the principal British merchants, on board the Endymion frigate, which sailed under cover of the night, January 29, 1807; and without attracting attention or alarm, or the least suspicion that the British Ambassador was on board of her, the Endymion made her passage to the road at Lemnos. The British minister sought to renew his influence and continue his mission from hence, but all the replies made to him by the Porte were evasive. On the 19th of February, Admiral Duckworth, commanding eight sail of the line, two frigates, and two bomb vessels, obtained the fame of being the first admiral who ever hostilely passed these beautiful and well-fortified straits in time of war. The Royal George, Sir John Duckworth's flag ship, led the advance, the rest followed under full sail, in a line; the celebrated batteries were on every point in disorder and almost useless; the currents and winds bore the English vessels swiftly on, and the most complete success

attended the passage; a Turkish vessel of the line, and five frigates, were destroyed at the point of Nagara. Profiting by a favourable wind, the English fleet advanced within two leagues of Cape St Stefano, having their sails full set; the splendour of the imperial city was already viewed by the English, when a sudden calm presaged the veering round of the breeze to the opposite point from the Black sea; the night quickly came on, the currents became adverse, the bomb vessels were still in the rear, therefore the Admiral resolved to drop anchor and await for the morning.

Whatever might be the feelings of the ministry, the arrival of the fleet produced nothing but fury and enthusiasm among the population of Constantinople, and the Sultan willingly adopted the national tone; Sebastiani and his suite volunteered their valuable aid to strengthen the assailable points, and thus while the English fleet became stationary near the Isle of Princes, the fortifications were so strengthened, and every point so bristled with batteries, that the capital was soon rendered perfectly free from danger. The activity, however, of the Ottomans, did not end here, they also sedulously worked night and day to render the return through the Dardanelles more difficult than the advance had been; and Admiral Duckworth, after a few days of disquiet, spent in the vain hope of intimidating the Turkish divan, saw himself necessitated to hasten from the Propontis ere it became his prison.

Favoured by the winds and the current, the captains had at first occupied themselves very little in attending to the Turkish batteries, however numerously manned and zealously served; but the enormous cannon near the old Castle,

which Baron de Tott exerted such labour to render effective, proved on this memorable occasion its sweeping range; soon, this destructive engine discharging one of its enormous marble balls, the Windsor Castle received the blow, which made a frightful breach in her side, and broke the main mast between decks; another of these projectiles struck the Standard on the poop, and overthrew every thing in its progress, nearly sixty men being killed or wounded by this single ball. Fortunately the greatest number of these enormous balls were fired in vain, the immobility of the ordnance rendering it necessary to fire at the precise instant when a vessel was passing in the immediate direction of the cannon's mouth. Sir John Duckworth, having returned to the road of Tenedos, without the loss of a single vessel, prepared to set sail for Malta, and thence to the shores of Egypt.

Before we enter on the narrative of the revolutions which desolated the capital, and cost the Sultan his throne, it is necessary to follow the short and disastrous expedition which at this time was undertaken by the English to Egypt, after the British forces, conformably to the treaty of Amiens, had replaced Egypt under the power of the Ottoman Porte. The Mamluke beys were naturally desirous of regaining their power, in which design they were also supported by the influence of England; but the Porte had, however, decided upon availing itself of the very reduced state to which French war and invasion of their possessions had brought them. The sale and introduction of Georgian or Circassian captives were prohibited, and the Porte dispatched a considerable force of Albanians, under the control of Muhammed Ali the Pasha, to carry on a war of extermination against the

Mamlukes and their dependents. The remains of their force were obliged to fly for safety to Upper Egypt, and finally, from thence to Dongola, so that the traces of this fierce and powerful class of soldiery have eventually perished in the deserts of Nubia. The English commanders in the Mediterranean, finding themselves most unexpectedly involved in hostilities with the Turks, and having entertained very disparaging conceptions of their ignorance and inefficiency in military tactics, a plan for the invasion of Egypt was executed, to form a league with the beys, which, as the event proved, was quite inadequate to its purposes, both as to the forces employed, and the judgment requisite to effect any useful end. An armament not exceeding altogether 5000 men, was dispatched to Alexandria, the inhabitants of which city, owing to the conciliatory plans of Major Missett, received them with the greatest cordiality; the portion of this ill-fated expedition which proceeded to Rosetta, anticipating the same feeling, were most cruelly disappointed. Finding the gates open, and the place having apparently submitted, they entered without order or suspicion, but scarcely had they entangled themselves within the narrow and winding streets of the city, ere a sharp fire, kept up from the windows and loop-holes of the dungeon-like houses, committed the most murderous execution upon the troops; unable to return the fatal assault upon a foe concealed behind numerous walls, or even to fly, the confusion was so great, that the whole party were nearly exterminated; the few who escaped retreating with the greatest expedition to Alexandria, where the situation of the remaining troops was also critical in the extreme. An attempt was made to carry the town of Rosetta, and to punish

its conduct by means of a stronger force, but the vigorous plans of Muhammed Ali soon rendered it advisable to seek a retreat; the disaffection reached also to Alexandria, so that, weary of insidious foes and treacherous friends, the English renounced their projects, and capitulated for the evacuation of Egypt. If instead of five thousand men, the expedition had been composed of a body of only fifteen thousand, Egypt might have become a rich and important province, the bulwark of our Indian empire. The English government, however, took a judicious view of the war, which thus mischievously had disunited two powers whose interests mutually coalesced, and as a first step to conciliation, it withdrew almost entirely the British vessels of war from the seas of Syria and the Archipelago.

Seyd Ali, the new Capitan Pasha, became elated that the English fleet had been foiled in their enterprize, chiefly as he deemed it through his own rare intrepidity. Sailing into the Mediterranean, he attacked the Russian fleet of Admiral Siniavin; the two fleets were nearly equal, and the combat was maintained with the greatest fury; although the Turkish Admiral was defeated, yet the Russian squadron suffered so severely, as to sail subsequently to the Ionian Isles, whence it returned no more to the Egean sea.

The Porte having no longer any thing to dread from the English or Russian fleets, now proceeded to direct its entire attention to the two provinces occupied by their national enemies. Desirous to profit by the diversion caused in the North by the victories of Napoleon, Turkey called on all her pashaliks for an extraordinary levy. The Bosniaks were summoned; also the Servians, and the

levies of Roumelia, to the intrenched camp of Shumla, where also were directed the contingents of the Pashas of Asia; and Mustapha Bairacter, the most energetic of the Ottoman leaders, and highly esteemed by Selim, was advanced to the dignity of Vizir, or Pasha of three tails. The ceremony of passing the janizaries in review, in the month of Sefir, or the middle of April, had taken place with its accustomed pomp. The janizaries took the route to Shumla, under the command of a new Aga, who having long been engaged as Oda-bashy in the 31st Oda, which is charged with the guard of the palace of Frence, was favourably disposed to the new institutions. The Grand Vizir, the Kiaia-bey, the Teftadar, the Reis-effendi, and other ministers, followed the forces, leaving in Constantinople the Kaimakan Musa, and the Vekeels with the Emperor Selim. They dared not to venture on dispatching the troops of the nizam-gedit to the Danube, fearful of renewing past disorders. A favourable opportunity was, however, watched for, to call forth their services, while the regiments of Asia occupied their Ortas, and the nizam-gedit were disposed of among the batteries of the Bosphorus.

The Mufti, whose enlightened prudence and regard for the Sultan had so greatly served his master, died at this juncture, to the deep regret of Selim; and the lamentable consequences which occurred, soon evidenced what a calamity his decease became to the whole Ottoman empire; and the Sultan, who had cherished him as a friend, soon felt the whole extent of his loss.

Thinking that he saw in the Cadis-asker of Roumelia, the intelligence and enlightened views so important to forward his plans, the Sultan selected

him to occupy this important office. The individual thus advanced, not only, however, disliked the nizam-gedit, which he deemed inimical to the Ulema, but he entertained a personal hate against his sovereign, and sought maliciously to effect his ruin; and Musa, the Kaimakan, possessed a similar character to the Mufti. Owing his elevation to a feigned zeal for the new institutions, but in his heart, subtle, cruel, and ambitious, he entertained the most deadly hatred against the superior officers of the divan, by whom he was usually controlled. Unable to cope with them in power, he had long resolved to excite a new revolution, through the disaffection of the Ulema and the janizaries; and when, by the appointment of so favourable a coadjutor, the whole power of the state was thus thrown into the hands of Musa, by the absence of the vizir and other officers, an opening was given to machinations, which overturned the throne, and cost the life of the best and most promising of the Sultans of the Ottoman race. At the period of the departure of the janizaries for Shumla, there had been added to the nizam-gedit, for the service of the batteries of the Bosphorus, a certain number of adventurers, mostly Albanians of Trebizond. These, under the name of yamaks, or assistants to the batteries, received the same pay as the nizam-gedit, occupied the same barracks, carried the same arms, and were trained to the same discipline. The Sultan Selim, hoping to incorporate these yamaks, who were in number about two thousand, with the other troops, took much interest in their exercises, and at length issued the order to incorporate them into the corps. A little management, and a few timely presents, would have easily effected the measure with popularity; but the deceitful Kaimakan seized the

opportunity to intermix with them some janizaries, who undid every favourable disposition, by hinting that the yamaks belonged of right to that warlike militia to whom the Ottoman throne owed its glory, and that they should disdain to connect themselves with those false Mussulmans, who would assimilate the children of the Prophet to the infidel dogs.

The traitor Musa having thus silently prepared the train of the explosion, in concert with the Mufti, now commanded Mahmoud-effendi to repair to the castles, to pay the yamaks, and to take with him the uniforms of the nizam-gedit, to clothe these corps. Mahmoud-effendi, totally ignorant of all that was passing, repaired to Roumely Cavach, the most considerable battery of the Bosphorus on the European coast. The pay and the arrears being discharged, produced universal joy; but the scene became totally changed upon the appearance of the uniforms. As great reluctance was manifested, Mahmoud-effendi, hoping to put down the opposition in its first rise, commanded several yamaks to clothe themselves; upon which the furious storm burst forth, and they rushed in a body on Mahmoud to strangle him. The minister was defended by the nizam-gedits, by whose aid he flung himself into his boat, and hastened to the shores of Buyukdere, to reflect upon the steps necessary next to take. Several yamaks, however, who watched his course, ran along the shores, awaited his arrival, and instantly murdered the minister and his secretary.

The disorders of Roumely Cavach rapidly spread throughout the batteries of the Bosphorus. The yamaks rose upon the nizam-gedits, and being the most numerous, drove them from the batteries;

while the commandant of the batteries of the shores of Asia experienced the unhappy fate of Mahmoud-effendi, and his corpse was also cast into the Bosphorus.

The rebellion of the yamaks might in fact have been put down in a night; but the treacherous Kaimakan, in whose hands was then lodged the executive power, withheld the remedy, and misled the Sultan, who was kept in ignorance of all that was passing without the palace; meantime, the Bostanghi-bashi, who repaired to Buyuk-dere, was received by discharges of cannon by the yamaks; which violence somewhat opened the eyes of the Sultan. At this juncture, the Kaimakan intimated to the several ortas of janizaries, that the hour was come for overturning the new institutions. The yamaks had rendezvoused in the plains of Buyuk-dere, where they chose a chief, and took the oath to stand by each other; from thence to the capital, owing to the address of the Kaimakan, their march was a triumphal procession. On the 29th of May, they entered Constantinople, and proceeded directly to the palace of the Aga of the janizaries, where, being encouraged by the acclamations of the populace, the false Musa had meantime displayed a singular scene of cruelty and treachery. Summoning to his palace those persons whom he had resolved should perish, the Teftadar, and several members of the divan and of the mint, obeyed the summons; the Kaimakan received with the kindest tone the objects of his malice; he even exhibited the most refined politeness; pipes and coffee were introduced, while he assured them of their safety against the revolt which had just broken forth; when, in the midst of these assurances, he

left the apartment, to send thither the messengers of death, who proceeded to execute his victims.

The kettles were loudly sounding throughout Constantinople, as the seditious janizaries hastened to the Atmeidan, and all the capital was in movement. The ministers were their first victims; but the most important of those hated by the Kaimakan, had already effected his escape to the seraglio, wherein his office of Bostanghi-bashi gave him an asylum. This edifice was now closely shut, the gates guarded, and the Sultan, pages, and bostanghis, were all under arms. While the tumults surrounded the palace, and fear reigned within, the traitor Musa ventured to enter, and advise his unfortunate sovereign, who, yielding to his perfidious counsel, reluctantly and weakly assented to the death of those of his ministers who were favourable to the new institutions. Their heads, on the morrow, were presented to the revolters, with the hatsheriff suppressing the new institutions; and the triumph of the insurgents seemed now to be attained; but that dark, malignant spirit was at work, which rested not while the unfortunate Selim occupied the throne. The Mufti, who had hitherto looked on, without aiding the government, on being now appealed to by the insurgents, encouraged them to proceed to the ruin of Selim; whereby the thousands who filled the Atmeidan, demanded with one voice the elevation of Mustapha, the son of Abdul Hamid. The Sultan Selim, who had quitted his harem at daybreak, occupied the hall wherein the Ottoman Emperors gave audience to their subjects; there, seated on an angle of his sopha, he was surrounded by his domestics attached to his fate, when, informed of the approach of the Mufti, he com-

manded his entrance. His message was to inform him that his reign was over.

Selim heard the discourse of the hypocrite with calmness and resignation; finding himself at last deserted on every side and left alone, and his palace besieged by a rebellious soldiery, he arose with a noble and dignified air from his seat, took a few turns through the saloon to bid his farewell to his weeping attendants, and, retiring to the apartments of the unfortunate princes of the race of Othman, he resigned into the hands of Mustapha that power which he had ever exercised for the good of his people, and never deserved more highly than at this moment. Never did any revolution more strikingly evince the blindness of despotism; truly a victim to the treason of Musa, there was no moment of the whole catastrophe, wherein the punishment of that traitor, and a summons to rally round the seraglio the troops of Scutari and of Tchiflik, would not have rescued the unhappy Sultan, and turned the punishment upon the rebels.

The nizam-gedits, who had remained inactive within their barracks, without orders or commanders, upon learning the fate of their benefactor, and the ascendency of their enemies, hastened to disperse, and regain their native provinces, while the yamaks and topegis proceeded to pillage the barracks; and a general discharge of artillery announced that Mustapha had ascended the throne.

CHAPTER XIX.

MUSTAPHA IV.—TWENTY-NINTH REIGN.

H. 1222—A. D. 1807.

THIS prince was thirty years old when he was placed on the throne. Of a feeble character, and unacquainted with human nature, he was very ill calculated to contend with the difficult circumstances surrounding him. The revolution which elevated Mustapha, had ostensibly been conducted by the yamaks, headed by their leader Cabakchy, the Massaniello of the day; he had been able, like many other individuals, to work a vast mischief; but to repair or consolidate, was beyond his power. The Kaimakan Musa and the Mufti, having destroyed or banished all their enemies, exercised the sovereign authority without control, until a quarrel arising, the Mufti coalesced once more with the seditious soldiery to procure Musa's banishment. While these intrigues were wholly engrossing the seraglio, the war in Moldavia languished, and the favourable opportunity presented in consequence of the occupation of the arms of Russia in Poland, was wholly lost. The sanguinary bat-

tles of Eylau and Friedland had weakened the strength of Russia, and presented an opportunity of the highest importance to have been improved. Mustapha, during the short period that he held the power, became the mere instrument of the will of others; and, unable or unwilling to control the armed multitude which intrigue and faction put in motion, he appears to have exercised no particular act of sovereignty, but in the commencement and termination of the short pageant wherein he formed a part.

The peace of Tilsit had disappointed the hopes of Turkey. This state had been flattered by Sebastiani into the belief that her interests were taken under the special protection of Napoleon; but Napoleon's desertion of her cause threw the whole weight of the Russian army upon her provinces; and this act, (however unimportant at the time the favour or enmity of Turkey might appear to the puissant Napoleon,) became in fact a pivot upon which his future fate turned, when the pacification of Turkey and Russia, under similar circumstances with reference to France, let loose the Moldavian army in 1812, just in time to overtake and overwhelm his wretched followers at the passage of the Beresino.

Mustapha Bairactar, the Pasha of Rudshuk, felt the gratitude due to Selim for his elevation, and secretly resolved to avenge his fall. Watching carefully the course of events, he had prepared to advance with his Albanians,* whose corps had

* The strongest proof of the repulsive aversion of the Turks to all improvement, is the ingratitude and hatred with which they load those who strive to introduce any ameliorating measures. To instance the following among numerous cases: Bonneval endeavoured to remedy the

been carefully disciplined, to the capital, when the Kaimakan, who had succeeded to Musa, and who had since shared his fate of exile, repairing to Bairactar, endeavoured to impress him with the full conviction that Cabakchy and his yamaks might be punished, and Selim restored; to effect which, nothing more was requisite than to lead his hardy troops against the enervated militia of Constantinople.

Through an able emissary, Bairactar succeeded in awakening the jealousy of the Grand Vizir and the principal officers of state against the Mufti and chiefs of the yamaks; and his next step was an immediate advance, with all his forces, to Adrianople, where the Vizir and Bairactar met and coalesced their plans. There his camp soon became the centre of the business and affairs of the Porte, whose chief officers resorted to Bairactar, while from hence the Grand Vizir, at his suggestion, repaired to Constantinople with the Sanjak-sheriff of the Prophet, whereby he secured in fact the possession of the city. He was followed by the forces of Bairactar, when the intimidated Mustapha, who had anticipated that his own downfall was at hand, was rejoiced to find that the Albanian leader limited his demands to the punishment of the yamaks and the Mufti. These demands were granted; and the Sultan, to show his confidence, personally visited the camp of Bairactar. The latter, unprepared at the moment to seize his person, suf-

defects of their artillery; he was endured by the Ottomans in consequence of his apostacy; his son Solyman was put to death; the same unmerited fate awaited the Russian who instructed the forces of Bairactar in European manœuvres; and Inglis Mustapha, or Campbell, who directed the cannon foundries, died in misery and want.

fered his prize to escape him, and prepared, by his emissaries, to dispose the course of things for the restoration of the Sultan Selim. The plan which he had formed, was to watch for one of the days when the Sultan Mustapha left the seraglio to visit a kiosk in the Bosphorus, so as to profit by his absence to enter the palace, and restore the fallen Selim. To obviate any alarm on the part of the populace at the appearance of the Albanians, a report was spread, that the peace was about to be signed, and the troops made their entry under the pretext of accompanying the Sanjak-sheriff to the seraglio.

The 28th of July was the day fixed upon, and the Sultan had left the palace. The first obstacle arose from the disinclination of the Grand Vizir to the enterprise of restoring Selim, which had hitherto been concealed from him. Engaged now too far to retreat, the fierce Pasha instantly tore the seals from his custody, and placed him under confinement. He then pressed forward to the seraglio; and the janizaries on guard, bowing with respect to the Sanjak-sheriff, permitted the troops to enter into the first court; but the Bostanghi-bashi, who had become alarmed, hastened to close and barricade the second court. The solid doorway resisted the attempts of the followers of Bairactar, while a white eunuch demanded through a grate, "Who was without?"—"Open the gate," exclaimed Bairactar in a voice of thunder; "I come, with my brave troops, to deposit the Sanjak-sheriff!" The eunuchs were about to open the gate when the Bostanghi-bashi replied, "that it should only be opened at the command of the Sultan Mustapha."—"Speak no more of the Sultan Mustapha," replied with fury the Pasha of Rud-

shuk; "it is the Sultan Selim, vile slave! thou must address, whom we are come to rescue from his enemies, and to replace on his throne."

The voice and menaces of Bairactar, the appearance of the artillery, and cries of the soldiery, were on the point of prevailing over the guardians to open the gate, when the Sultan Mustapha reappeared. Acquainted by a faithful slave with the scenes that were passing within the seraglio, he had hastened to return thither incognito, in a boat, with three pairs of oars. Informed of the demand of Bairactar, he ordered him to be told, that ere a few minutes should elapse, Sultan Selim should appear—then it was that the frivolous but cruel Mustapha resolved to put Selim to death. Surprised by the executioners in a kiosk, that amiable and ill-fated prince made a powerful resistance, until he was thrown down and strangled. Bairactar, who suspected some sinister event, had by this time forced his way into the interior of the palace; when the eunuchs of Mustapha, casting the body of the murdered monarch before him, exclaimed, "Behold the Sultan whom you seek!" Throwing himself on the disfigured corpse, Bairactar wept aloud, exclaiming, "Unhappy prince, I fought to restore you to the throne of your ancestors, and I have caused your death!" Overpowered by his sensations, he knelt before the corpse, while his followers, remaining motionless, participated in his grief, until Seid Ali the Capitan Pasha, and partaker in his enterprise, whispered to him the importance of seizing the moment for revenge, and Mustapha Bairactar, instantly arousing himself, commanded, "that the Sultan Mahmoud should be proclaimed, and Mustapha arrested." All became obedient before the furious chief. The pages

and eunuchs mixed with the soldiers of Bairactar, and ran to assist in shutting up Mustapha in the prison of the seraglio, as well as to seek the prince Mahmoud; their earnest zeal was for a long time fruitless, he having also been destined for death by his brother, and only preserved in the moment of peril by the fidelity of a slave, by whom he was hid in the furnace of a bath, from which state of painful confinement it was, that Mahmoud was released, to ascend the Ottoman throne.

CHAPTER XX.

MAHMOUD II.—THIRTIETH REIGN.

H. 1223—A. D. 1808.

THE revolution which placed the present sovereign on the throne, had been different from any preceding convulsion, it being executed by a provincial force entering the capital to change the monarch, in opposition to the Mufti and Ulema, and the janizaries; the cause of so marked a change arose from the state of parties. The janizaries of the capital were, by the majority of the empire, despised for their associating themselves with the vile yamaks to dethrone their Sultan; the Mufti had displeased all parties by his avarice and by his intrigues with Cabakchy Oglu; and the Sultan Mustapha, wholly given up to the most frivolous pursuits, and incapable of serious attention to affairs, could confer no stability on the government. To add to the popularity of the new measures, Bairactar prided himself on having been a janizary, and was looked upon as their liberator, and as the

restorer of the ancient order of things. The seals were of course given to Bairactar, who avenged, with unsparing severity, the death of his benefactor. Thirty-three heads were exhibited at the seraglio gate, amongst which was conspicuous that of the traitor Musa. All the officers of the yamaks who could be seized, were forthwith strangled and cast into the Bosphorus; and the Odalisks of the seraglio, who had rejoiced at the death of Selim, were sewed up in sacks, and precipitated into the sea from the tower of Leander. After these terrific scenes, the obsequies of Selim were performed with extraordinary magnificence, and Constantinople exhibited appearances of profound grief for the prince after his death, whose life had been so much embittered by cabal.

The interment of Sultan Selim was followed by the investiture of the Sultan Mahmoud, August 11, 1808; and it was remarked with blame, that Bairactar, instead of being habited as the Vizir-azem, surrounded by chiaoux with white wands, and the pomp of a civic ceremony, appeared with three hundred Albanians, armed to the teeth, with muskets, sabres, and yatagans, and each holding a pistol in his hand.

Determined upon effecting a reformation in the army, Bairactar entered upon the expedient of forming a representation of the leading Pashas, under whose authority the changes requisite for a renovation of the armed force might be safely made. It is interesting to look at the appearance of a convocation of the chiefs of such a state, persons exercising in their own districts the power of life and death, and assuming the power and splendour of the ancient Persian Satraps. The Begler-beys of Anatolia and of Roumelia, the Pa-

shas in the vicinity of the capital, the Pasha of Karamania, Tchapan Oglu, and Karaman Oglu, with Cadi Pasha, the late Vizir, appeared in person. The wary and subtle Pasha of Yanina sent his agent, armed with full powers; the Pashas of Bagdad and Damascus, who had so severely suffered at times from the insubordination of the janizaries, voted for their disgrace; Mehemet Ali of Egypt, who had no janizaries, forbore from expressing any interest in the question; the Pashas of Kari, Erzeroum, and Mossoulj, were too distant to take part in the measure. The proposition of Bairactar, which was unanimously sanctioned by the meeting, was to revive the military order of the Siemens, who might be attached to, and be formed from, the janizaries, while they should be regulated according to the discipline of the nizamgedit. The name of this corps was more odious to the janizaries than even that of Selim, as belonging to an institution more ancient than their own, and they were only the more resolved to ruin the author of the innovation. The Pashas, however, either in person or by deputy, heard in respectful silence the wishes, or rather commands, of Bairactar; after ratifying which, and signing their acquiescence, they again retired to their governments. The Mufti also pronounced, by a fetsa, that the safety of the empire depended upon the exact adherence to the canons of the great Emperor Solyman II., and upon extirpating the abuses which had crept into the military system.

Bairactar, who had begun his enterprise with such prudence and success, became, however, changed by prosperity, and, without attempting to carry the reform into practice by gentle degrees, he proceeded to acts which the janizaries regarded as

positive violations of their privileges. The new corps also fell into contempt from its very first existence, and was composed of the lowest classes of Constantinople, commanded by the late officers of the nizam-gedit, and lodged in the barracks of Scutari and of Tchiflik, formerly belonging to this corps. It soon, therefore, became apparent, that Bairactar, dreaded by the seraglio, hated by the Ulema and the janizaries, had no other strength but his fifteen or sixteen thousand Albanians and four thousand Siemens to depend on. At this eventful moment, either from fancied security, or from contempt of the janizaries, who had appeared to take tamely their humiliation, he deprived himself of nearly the whole of his Albanians, to dispatch them towards Philipopoli, where a revolt had broken out. Nothing could be more easy than for the Vizir to have supplied these guards; he had, however, become rash, and blinded to the dangers growing around him; he therefore remained almost without troops, within the power of an infuriate inimical soldiery, thirsting for his destruction. The feast of the Bairam approached, succeeding the long fast of the Ramazan, in which the janizaries had sworn that the tyranical Vizir should perish.

The etiquette of the Ottoman court required, that on the evening of the third day the Grand Vizir should pay a visit of ceremony to the Mufti. Bairactar submitted to the duty, and proceeded to the Sheik Islam with only a guard of two hundred soldiers. When he issued forth, the street was filled with the populace, and he commanded his guards to prepare their arms, and his chiaoux to keep back the crowd. The fierceness of Bairactar, and the blows of his chiaoux, procured

him a temporary respect. He paid his visit, and regained his palace in safety, resigning himself without fear to the pleasures of wine and of his harem.

The scene without the palace was soon swiftly changed. Ten individuals, who had been wounded by the guards of the Vizir, ran from café to café inflaming the populace; and as the night drew on, the janizaries, who had only watched for the favourable moment, assembled by thousands from their respective Ortas, and surrounding the palace of Bairactar on every side, they in an instant set fire to all the adjacent houses, and enveloped it in a volume of flames: the janizaries then formed themselves into a cordon around the devoted pile. Bairactar, who, after his return, had partaken of a splendid banquet, and drank copiously, was so buried in sleep that it was difficult to arouse him. The moment in which he awoke was terrible; his palace on all sides on fire—the roaring of the flames—the crashing of the walls as they crumbled down—the cries of his slaves, or guards, who, as they issued forth, were mercilessly massacred—the shouts of joy of their cruel enemies, mixed with the groans of their victims—all announced to the Vizir an impending cruel death.

The only possible path for safety, was for Bairactar to have tried to cut his way through the cordon of hostile troops; instead of which, the Vizir is supposed to have retreated from the threatening conflagration into a strong square tower, whose strength would, as he hoped, have withstood the flames and the foe. This struggle betwixt the janizaries and the Vizir was not, however, the only commotion which threatened the

capital. Ramis Pasha, the Capitan Pasha, no sooner had heard of the dangers of his colleague, than he determined to rescue or avenge him. Spreading the report that Bairactar had been preserved from the flames, he posted Cadi Pasha with four thousand men to watch the janizaries of Scutari; he then dispatched several of the old soldiers of the Vizir by the roads of Silistria and Adrianople, with orders to re-enter Constantinople, and spread the report of Bairactar's existence, and the march of the neighbouring Pashas and Ayans to his aid. These rumours paralized the janizaries, who shut the gates of the city, and prepared to act only on the defensive. In the night which followed, the whole city was shaken by a violent explosion from the centre of the burning ruins of the Vizir's palace; and it was found that the magazine, with the Grand Vizir, was blown into the air, whether by accident or design is to this day unknown.

The Sultan Mahmoud, however he might desire to repress the pride of Bairactar, felt that with the renewed ascendency of the janizaries, his brother Mustapha might regain the throne; he therefore gave orders for the Siemens to enter the seraglio, and joined Ramis Pasha in upholding the cause of the Vizir, whose fate remained unknown, as the cause and the effect of the explosion could not be ascertained. His palace was still burning, and the whole space, from the seraglio to its smoking ruins, was occupied by the infuriated janizaries, although they were dismayed by the reports that their enemy had long since escaped from their fury.

The Siemens were the first to commence hostilities, and the whole of the 15th of November

was passed in a murderous fire of musketry, the gates being shut, and the suburbs in silence awaiting the result of the awful struggle which convulsed the capital. The vessels of the Capitan Pasha played upon the janizaries' barracks; and, on the 16th, Cadi Pasha, with a column of four thousand men and cannon, drove before him the janizaries on every side, and set fire to a barrack wherein five hundred of them were stationed; and the whole were burnt alive. Cadi then broke through the cordon around Bairactar's palace, but could gain no tidings of his fate. Dividing his troops into three divisions, his officers proceeded to put to death, without mercy, every one bearing arms; and the massacre was soon succeeded by a pillage, whereby both janizaries and inhabitants united to overwhelm the troops of Cadi Pasha. The janizaries, having resolved to regain possession of their barracks near St Sophia, returned several times to the charge; constantly repulsed, they again had recourse to the terrible expedient of fire, and set the buildings in flames on all sides. Its ravages soon spread to that magnificent edifice, and consumed all the adjacent houses, while the corps of Siemens were enclosed in the blazing barrack. Cadi Pasha made a fruitless effort for their rescue, but was repulsed into the seraglio with great loss; and as the fire spread around, very soon the miserable Siemens were seen extending in vain their arms for mercy: they were brutally forced into the flames, the desire of destruction seeming to be the only predominant impulse. At this dreadful crisis, the janizaries pressing forward to the entrance of the seraglio, demanded the annihilation of the Siemens and the restoration of Mustapha—a sound which decided the fate of that

vindictive and imbecile prince; quickly Cadi Pasha presided over the scene which closed the sublunary existence of Mustapha. At this period, the city was in a blaze from the walls of the seraglio to the aqueduct of Valens, as the Sultan Mahmoud beheld the terrific sight from a tower of the palace.

When the morning of the 19th, which succeeded this horrible night, dawned on the capital, the janizaries, enabled now to penetrate the smoking ruins of the vast space where once stood the Porte, or palace of the Vizir, eagerly seeking among its cinders for spoil, approached the ruins of the stone tower, wherein, in the great chamber on the ground floor, were discovered three corpses; in one of these were recognised the disfigured features of the late dreaded Bairactar. Rejoicing at the calamity of their enemy, they hastened to acquaint the Aga of the janizaries, that Bairactar, who was said to be hastening forward at the head of a large body of troops to destroy the capital, no longer existed. Dragged by the heels by the exulting janizaries to the Atmeidan, the ghastly traits of the Vizir struck dismay and terror into the Siemens yet guarding the seraglio walls. Convinced of the inutility of any further hostilities, the new corps, enraged at the deception practised on them by Ramis Pasha and Cadi Pasha, declared that they had been deceived, and that they would no longer combat against the janizaries.

The Sultan Mahmoud, now the only survivor of the imperial house, had no longer aught to fear from the janizaries, and, aware that the moment for decision was arrived, he ordered that the fire from the vessel should cease, and a hat-sheriff announced to the janizaries that the Siemens, as an order, had

ceased to exist. These troops received with transports of joy the notice. The magnanimity of Mahmoud ensured a safe retreat to the friends of the late Vizir by a speedy embarkation at the seraglio point, on board a vessel, which bore them by sea far from their enemies, to Silistria and Rodosto, from whence they repaired to Rudshuk, the late abode of Bairactar. The last outrage was the destruction of the magnificent barracks of Scutari and of Tchiflik, where five hundred Siemens defended themselves with desperate valour against a multitude of assailants, until they all perished in the flames. Thus terminated the most tremendous revolution that Constantinople had experienced since it fell under the power of the Osmanlis, which cost the lives of two sultans, and spilt the best blood of the empire. On the 19th the janizaries returned to their allegiance, and prostrated themselves before the throne of their master, while the Mufti and Ulema felicitated their sovereign on the happy triumph of religion and the ancient laws. The Bairam was celebrated with rejoicings, the streets cleansed and purified from the dead, and the funeral of Mustapha was celebrated with much pomp, his remains being deposited in the tomb of Abdul Hamid, his father.

The situation of the Ottoman empire, and the character of Mahmoud II., the reigning Emperor, is so replete with associations and consequences of the highest importance, as well to Europe at large as to the population of Asia and Europe which is subjected to his power; the events are so striking which have marked the destinies of Turkey since the accession of the present monarch; and the developement of his magnanimous and energetic qualities are so commensurate to the existing crisis,

that it is scarcely possible to select a more interesting subject for the pen of the historian, or one of greater importance for the consideration of the politician and philosopher. Turkey, which has not remained merely stationary, but has deteriorated and relapsed into fanatic ignorance, and intermittent paroxysms of rage and imbecility, assailed by the most potent enemies from without, and distracted by the most tremendous contentions and bloodshed within, seems recalled from the utter annihilation that impended over her destiny as a nation, solely by the grandeur of character of one man. If any character can satisfy the Turkish people that the fatalism pervading their Koran is a faithful doctrine, the appearance of Mahmoud, the illustrious successor and rival of the genius and valour of Solyman and of Selim, seems calculated to impress upon his Turkish subjects that conviction. As yet the grand drama is proceeding; its catastrophe has not arrived; the threads of the various important events, on which its future results hang, are not evolved—the historic pen must, therefore, refrain from anticipating consequences, however alluring the topic, convinced by experience how weakly and absurdly man reasons upon the moral government of nations. Events thicken and ramify, so as to efface every mark of the preceding period. Laying down, therefore, the pretension of anticipating the future, the following are the singularly important matters which already have marked the reign of Mahmoud, and for which our limited space presents only the power of making a succinct notice. Each of them singly operated a very important change to Turkey. They are so very important, and lead to such consequences, as justify the desire of closing here the Ottoman an-

nals, (reserving an historical detail of the reign of Mahmoud for a future volume, wherein can be fully illustrated the customs, manners, policy, arts, and religion of Turkey, so as to exhibit a faithful mirror of the Ottoman empire,) a few months may give certainty to many points of national importance, now wrapt up in doubt and conjecture; meantime, we would shortly touch on the following unparalleled events concurring together in this comparatively short period. Of the Moldavian war, the conclusion of which hastened the downfall of Napoleon; of the repression of his powerful refractory vassals, Paswan Oglu, Czerni Georges, Ali Pasha, Djezzar Pasha, and Suleiman Pasha of Bagdad,—the mere repetition of whose names shows the bold tone and vigour of the Sultan's internal government; the rise and progress of the Greek revolution; the war with and total defeat of the Wahabites, and the recovery of Mecca and Medina, and execution of Ebn Sahend, the Wahabite prince; the revolt and annihilation of the janizaries, forming such a vast military body, dispersed throughout the provinces, existing for four hundred years, the cause of infinite revolts and revolutions, after having been the shield and bulwark of the empire: the total destruction of the only recognised legal military force also taking place, as it has proved, on the eve of a war with the powerful and encroaching Russian empire, the hereditary foe of Turkey, and a rebellion raging in the centre of her territories; the total destruction of her navy by her professing allies, and the demand of her most important European provinces: such is the sketch of the mere features of these important events, which have been met with and combated by a resolution hitherto unshaken, and a tone

of honour and good faith in the Sultan hitherto unsullied.

The Moldavian war had languished during the reign of the predecessors of Mahmoud. The Russians had needed the whole of their disposable forces against Napoleon, and the Ottomans, deprived of their frontier provinces by revolts and refractory Pashas, had left the war to its own fate. The accession of Mahmoud operated an entire change in the spirit of the campaign, the armies on both sides being augmented to 200,000 men. The contest which then ensued was perhaps never surpassed in ferocity. The Russians passed the Danube in three places, and laid siege to Rudshuk. The city was vigorously defended, and the Russians were finally repulsed, with the loss of 6000 men. Kaminsky made a similar attack upon the intrenched camp at Shumla, but here also he was driven back with great carnage.

In the month of September, however, Kaminsky, by a sudden attack, routed the Turkish army, with a loss of 12,000 men, and Rudshuk, on one side of the Danube, and Giurgevo, on the other, with the whole Turkish flotilla, were captured. The Grand Vizir was compelled to retreat across the Balkans, having provided for the defence of Varna, and the intrenched camp of Shumla.

A new Vizir then was appointed in Ahmed Pasha, the Sanjak sheriff displayed, and, owing to the energies of the Sultan, a numerous army marched into Bulgaria. By a series of attacks, the Russian forces were driven from Rudshuk and across the Danube, whither the Grand Vizir was incautiously incited by his ardour to follow, crossing the river at three points. The portion of the Turkish forces which had crossed the Danube were

eventually cut off, and after encountering the severest privations, were compelled to surrender to the Russians; the Turks, however, had soon received great reinforcements, and concentrated themselves at Rudshuk. At this period the exhausted state of Turkey, and the peril of Russia in the invasion of 1812 by Napoleon, led to the peace of Bucharest; but the Emperor of France sorely lamented the unexpected pacification, which let loose the Russian army, in the very crisis of his fate, to arrive on the banks of the Beresino, under Admiral Tchitjagoff, at the precise moment that his distressed followers were anxious to effect an unmolested passage of the stream. The Turkish ministry had experienced at the peace of Tilsit the ingratitude and neglect of Napoleon, when, after having been cajoled by the promises of Sebastiani to take up arms, their empire was left, single-handed, to fight or fall. The lesson was deeply felt by the aggrieved Ottomans, and the moral evidenced that no state is so powerless as not to merit attention.

Russia, moreover, contracted somewhat of a debt of gratitude to the Turkish empire, which, although her political enemy, and so hardly pressed, generously forbore to urge her injury at the instant of her extreme peril, and concluded with her an advantageous and honourable peace.

On this happy termination of the foreign hostilities which menaced the Porte, England also being in relations of amity, and no cloud to threaten future evil, the Sultan resolutely entered on the difficult task of recalling the great officers of his empire within the bounds of obedience. It seems truly extraordinary how any empire, that was parcelled out, at one and the same period, among so many powerful and rebellious satraps as the list of

Pashas exhibits, could, by any process whatever, preserve a bond of civil and national concord; it is also truly remarkable, that within a few years each of these formidable feudatories closed his romantic career; and as Pashas leave no heirs, the immense wealth wrung from the people by extortion flowed into the Kasnè of the Sultan, and served to recruit the state. Paswan Oglu's death dissolved the union which that extraordinary man had formed with his native place, and restored Widdin to the control of a new governor.

Czerni Georges, who had erected an independent principality, and been expelled, after fifteen years of bloodshed, from Servia, although possessed of every splendour of property and distinction, wearied with the languor of a life of ease, was fain to re-enter in disguise the Turkish dominions; there, soon discovered by the watchful emissaries of the Porte, he was dragged before the Pasha of Belgrade, and by his command instantly decapitated.

Ali Pasha was born about the year 1748. A narrative of his artful and audacious career until 1788, when he became Pasha of Joannina, would of itself fill a volume. The reduction of the Suliotes, and the occupation of Prevesa, united nearly the whole of Albania and Epirus under his command. His influence extended throughout Thessaly, and even Greece in general; and the position of his Pashalik, and its contiguity to the Ionian Isles, invested Ali with the rank and consideration of a respectable potentate; whence he was courted by turns both by England and France. Acquiring some object of ambition yearly, it was in 1814 that this ambitious character took possession of Parga, which brought under his dominion the whole of continental Greece, from the classic ridge

of Parnes, the boundary of Attica, to the rugged mountains of Illyricum. All-powerful as was the subtle Vizir Ali, one enemy had sworn his destruction, Ismael Pasha, whom Ali had repeatedly attempted to assassinate. He now ventured on the bold step of dispatching two Albanian couriers to Constantinople, as if charged with dispatches, but in reality to murder Ismael Pasha. The attempt failed, and as the fetsa, which was afterwards in process of time exhibited with his head, expressed, "he even pushed his audacity so far as to fire shots in Constantinople (the residence of the Kalif and the centre of all security), for which he was deposed, and the provinces he governed given to other Vizirs." To reduce the power of Ali occupied the arms of the Porte for two years, during which period, although forsaken by his troops, deserted by his family, and left at the advanced age of 78 to contend against the most appalling dangers, Ali showed himself more magnanimous in adversity than he had ever been in the day of his power. He maintained an unshaken firmness and tranquillity, and set his enemies at defiance; but compelled at length by want of provisions to capitulate, after a few weeks' confinement on an island in the lake, until the Sultan's pleasure could be taken, this cruel and despotic tyrant underwent the fate which he had so often inflicted upon others. A romantic immortality has been conferred on this bloody despot, by the intercourse which he had with Lord Byron, whose stanzas frequently refer to the Pasha and the scenery of Albania, whereby the reader becomes intimate with his power and influence beyond that of any other of the Turkish ephemeral rulers. For nearly thirty years, he virtually ruled over Continental Greece and Epirus; he seemed

buttressed up on every side by family strength and power; Veli Vizir, one son, governed the Morea; Mouktar Pasha ruled in Thessaly; and a grandson became Bey of Trikala. Where are they? The traveller in proceeding from Constantinople by the gate of Selyviria, sees on a parapet wall, raised on the way-side, five Turkish tombstones, ranged in a line in a remarkable manner, and forming striking objects in a small cemetery; these are the monuments of Ali Pasha, his three sons, and his grandson—the inscriptions import, that "here is deposited the head of the once celebrated Ali of Tepeleni, Governor of the Sanjak of Yanina, who for upwards of fifty years pretended to independency in Albania;" similar in some degree is the record of Mouktar Pasha; of Veli Pasha; of Saelih Pasha; and of Mehemed Pasha; their five heads were purchased of the public executioner for a great price, and interred by the man who had long transacted the duties of his confidential agency at the capital,—a praiseworthy example of fidelity and attachment. Having thus erected a memorial, Solyman retired to a convent, and took the order of a dervise. All the stones have the following date: Gemazeel sheer 1237, corresponding to our February 1822.

It appears tolerably certain, that the rebellion of Ali Pasha determined more than any other event the period of that extensive insurrection, for which Greece had long been in a state of preparation; from every source of investigation, it seems apparent that the explosion was premature, and that other circumstances concurred to excite the fermentation which led to the first irregular movements in the cause of Grecian independence.

On the 7th of March, 1821, Alexander Ypsilan-

ti, a major-general in the Russian service, and son of a former Greek governor of Wallachia, entered Moldavia with a Greek corps, and in concert with Michel Sutro, the Viceroy, issued a proclamation calling on the Christians to take up arms, and promising them the protection of Russia. It seems clear that Ali Pasha had intelligence of his designs, the Vizir declaring, even during the siege, that in a few months he would shake the empire, and that those who attacked him should tremble in Constantinople. The signal thus given, was followed up at Patras, the Mainotes occupied Laconia and Messenia, the fleet of Hydra occupied the small but fortified island of Ipsara, and a senate assembled at Kalamata.

In the meantime the Porte called on all the Pashas to put down the insurrection by fire and sword: the signal for extermination was given by the Sultan; and on the 22d of April, 1822, being Easter day, the greatest of the Greek festivals, Gregorius the patriarch of Constantinople was seized and hanged before the patriarchal church in which he had been officiating. This ill-advised measure was followed by the seizure and decapitation of numberless Greeks of all ranks. So great was the bloodshed, that instead of inspiring terror, it gave an impression of general indignation, and all ranks, especially the clergy, united to spread the spirit of resistance throughout Greece, and Hydra, Ipsara, and Spezzia entered on a naval war, in which the inferiority of the Turkish marine became immediately manifest. At the end of the campaign of 1821, the Morea, with the exception of Patras, Corinth, Modon, Coron, and Napoli, was in possession of the insurgents, and nearly all of the islands excepting Lesbos, Rhodes, and Scio.

Early in December the congress met at Epidamnus, in the gulf of Egina; the number of deputies, exclusive of Mavrocordato and the military chiefs, was about sixty; and on the 1st of January 1822, was put forth the memorable act of independence, which was proclaimed amid the acclamations of the deputies, the soldiery, and the people. The beginning of the campaign of 1822 was memorable for the atrocious cruelty wherewith the Turks effected the ruin of the flourishing and fertile island of Scio, wherein above 40,000 perished by the sword, and more than 30,000 were dragged into slavery, and the island desolated. The end of the second campaign, wherein the utmost efforts had been made by the Porte, seconded by the exertions of Omer Vrioni, the new Pasha of Joannina, and Chourshid Pasha, was truly disastrous. The loss of the Turks by famine and sword, in the Morea alone, could not be less than 25,000; and of the force which invaded Acarnania, scarcely one-half escaped, for by the massacre of Scio a spirit of resistance was excited which nothing could allay.

The plan of the Turks was again to make a simultaneous attack upon the northern coast of the Morea, from Eastern and from Western Greece; but on the whole the campaign of 1823 was alike inglorious and disastrous to the Turks; and, after three years' war, no real progress was made towards the reduction of Greece.

The chances of the war in 1824 wore the same dubious character. Though Ipsara was taken by the Capitan Pasha, yet his fleet was eventually repulsed, and compelled to retire to the Dardanelles, after making an unsuccessful attempt on Samos. Thus the prospects of Greece were very highly improved

by the events of the campaign. The year 1825 brought the Egyptians into the contest, whose improved discipline, aided by the ample resources of Mehemet Ali, the Egyptian Pasha, operated most disastrously upon the Greek cause. It was in March 1825 that Ibrahim, son of the viceroy of Egypt, took possession of the port of Navarin with 14,000 soldiers. From the period of his landing in the Morea, to the tripartite naval interference which annihilated the Turkish fleet in the same port of Navarin; and the expedition of 1828, sent by the French government for the purpose of dispossessing the fierce and savage Ibrahim from the soil of Greece; the most persevering and obstinate endeavours of the Egyptian commander were inefficient to reduce the country to subjection, or to keep their hold of any spot whatever, longer than it was occupied by a superiority of numbers; whatever was not held by the armed hand, was hostile ground; intimidation was tried, desolation was inflicted, the females were seized and expatriated, the olive trees were cut down and destroyed, the harvests were trodden under foot, and unreaped, and it appeared no longer an empty menace that the Sultan should have commanded to have brought to him "the ashes of the Morea." While these scenes were passing in peninsular Greece, Missolonghi obtained a title to public attention by the transient residence and the death of Lord Byron. It seems impossible to name him, and not to touch on his character of marked energy and genius; one who had hitherto acted only under the impulse of a capricious imagination and idle licentiousness—whose soul, strung for better hopes, could not but suffer all the bitterness which a course of life so far below its convictions must inflict. Byron felt the sting of deserting the

Christian's hope, and never gave more promise of shaking off the evil courses he had so long rioted in, and of becoming an illustrious character, than at the moment which closed for ever his span of earthly trial; so dangerous is it to neglect the heaven-proffered opportunities of retracing the downward steps of human frailty—

> ——— "facilis descensus Averno;
> Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,
> Hoc opus, hic labor est."

Missolonghi itself became the prize of the invader, and the tomb of Byron would have passed into the Ottoman charge, but all that remained of his mortal mould had already been transported to the burial place of his ancestors at Newstead Abbey. The Egyptian commander experienced a fatal blow by the attack of his fleet at Navarino; which catastrophe, so weakening to Turkey in the impending conflict with Russia, was chiefly owing to the infraction of the promises of Ibrahim. The annihilation of almost the whole of the Turkish and Egyptian fleet decided the emancipation of Greece, by the superiority which it gave to her marine; but the allied European powers, still desirous of owing the release and establishment of Greece to the sense and forbearance of Turkey, awaited for the first burst of the Sultan's anger to abate, and a better feeling to arise; until, disappointed of their hope, the spring of 1829 has announced a project, which assigns the territory of Attica, Phocis, and Bœotia, to the passes of Æta and Acarnania, or Thessaly, with the Morea, including the Cyclades and Egean isles, for the Greek republic. The Egyptian commander and his forces have been wafted back to Alexandria;

and the Morea, completely freed from the Sultan's forces, is again restored to her native population; wasted, indeed, and desolate, but Nature has a spring and recoil, that ever repairs the desolation of her enemies, and exhibits her self-restoring qualities for the advantage and service of man.

The Smyrna Courier informs us, that the frontiers of Greece are fixed as follows by the ambassadors:—It is to include Attica, Livadia, and Eubœa, and to be bounded by a line drawn from the Gulf of Arta to the Gulf of Volo, in the 39th degree of latitude. The following twenty-eight islands to be united to it, viz. Syra, population 60,000, Myconi 8000, Nari 30,000, Tino 30,000, Andros 30,000, Serfo 4000, Sifno 2000, Santorin 18,000, Anafe 2000, Stampalie 2000, Hydra 40,000, Spezzia 15,000, Egina 15,000, Poros 12,000, Salamine 5000, Milo 10,000, Scyro 5000, Thermia 4000, Zea 8000, Amorgo 4000, Calemrios 5000, Leros 3000, Nysiros 2000, Pathmos 18,000, Nicaria 5000, Sicino 1000, Nio 2000. Delos is uninhabited, but highly valued by the Greeks on account of its antiquities.

Livadia has been taken by the Greeks, and some skirmishing is going on between them and the Turks, who appear to be losing ground in Greece, as Demetrius Ypsilanti took Salona on the 29th of November.

A state paper, signed in London by Lord Aberdeen, Prince Polignac, and Prince Lieven, on the part of their respective courts, has announced, that the Greek cause, so far as concerns the Morea and the islands, is placed under the special protection of their courts. And henceforth we may hope, that the faith of a Christian people, and the arts of a civilized and enlightened race, will unite

to shed their glorious beams upon the once bright and enlightened shores of classic Greece.

If the Sultan beheld his Grecian provinces ravished from his grasp, and the spoil of war which Muhammed II. had seized, regained by dint of native energy and courage, against fearful odds, in 1828 and 1829; if he had nearly succeeded in converting the provinces which he could not subdue, by means of his Egyptian vassals, into a desolate waste, he was no less indebted to the powerful Viceroy of Egypt, for the aid and strength demanded to rescue the sacred territory of Mecca and Medina from the pollution of the Wahabites, and restoring it to the faithful Mussulmans, who annually resort to the birth-place and tomb of the Prophet. For many years these spots, so sacred to the followers of Islamism, had been interdicted to their vows. The Wahabites, who prohibited pilgrimages, occupied not only the Nedjed, but carried their incursion as far as Bagdad, and spared not the splendid shrines of Kerbela, or Meshed Ali. The Imaums of Suna and Muscat were tributaries to Sahoud Abdallah; the isles of Bahrein received his governor; the Shah of Persia propitiated his friendship by magnificent gifts. It was in 1816 that Muhammed Ali acquainted Sahoud Abdallah, that "he would send his son, Ibrahim Pasha, with a numerous army, to ruin the country and to exterminate the inhabitants, and leave not one stone standing on another in his capital, Derayeh; and that he would lead him, dead or alive, to Constantinople." This threat he has fulfilled to the letter.

Abdallah Ebn Sahoud becoming alarmed, levied thirty thousand men, to act in movable columns, and made demands of troops throughout Nedjed

and his dependencies, at the same time that he still sought to propitiate the Viceroy. On the 23d of September 1816, Ibrahim Pasha quitted Egypt with the troops under his command, and six days after he anchored in the port of Jambo with his flotilla from Suez, and without opposition reached the city of Medina. The plan of Ebn Sahoud was to harass the Egyptians and destroy their convoys; but Muhammed commanded his son to await for his entire forces, then to attack his enemy in all points, and end at once a war, the expenses of which exhausted the resources of Egypt. Ibrahim acquired a character for vigour and courage, which brought to his standard the fickle Arabs; and the Sultan, eager to attach again to his sceptre the sacred sepulchre, sent the young warrior the three tails, giving the rank of a Vizir, and the investiture of a robe. The situation of Ibrahim, notwithstanding his bravery, would have become critical, had not Façal el Daruych, Shiek of the tribe of Monteyr, sought to revenge the blood of his brother on Abdallah, by offering to unite his tribe to the Egyptian forces, and to destroy the Wahabite power. Within two years Ibrahim had successfully detached from the Wahabite cause their allies and chief dependencies; also Abdallah found his Arabs unwilling to encounter the artillery and firearms of the Egyptian troops. The siege and capture of Khabra, Aneyzeh, Boureydeh, Chakra, and Derayeh, with their dependencies, had brought him to the capital of Nedjed, and the seat of Abdallah's power. It was the 6th of April 1818, after the heavy rains, that the Egyptians, constantly sustained by Façal and the Arab tribe of Monteyr, invested Derayeh; the place consisted of five quarters, each surrounded by walls strengthened

by bastions; there also was a strong fort defending the quarter called Ghacybeh, as well as Tourfych, both situated near a mountain. Abdallah Ebn Sehoud dwelt in Tourfych. The siege lasted from the month of April to the month of September, a period of five months, during which the tumbrils and ammunition of Ibrahim were blown up by an accident; but nothing could abate his resolution; strengthening his lines, he drew fresh supplies from the flotilla, and renewed his attacks, until he formed a practicable breach. The unhappy sovereign of Derayeh demanded a conference, for which he sought the tent of Ibrahim, when the prince demanded, "Why he had continued the war?"—"Destiny willed it; but the war is ended," was the reply of Abdallah. "If you desire to defend yourselves longer, I will supply you with ammunition," exclaimed Ibrahim. "No, God has favoured your arms; it is not your soldiers, but His will, which thus humbles me," was the Arab's reply. Tears were ready to start from his eyes, when Ibrahim sought to console him, saying, "That many as elevated as himself had felt the reverses of fortune." Abdallah demanded peace; and his vanquisher granted it, but observed, "That he was not authorized to leave him at Derayeh, as his father's order was to send him to Egypt." Abdallah grew thoughtful, and demanded a delay of twenty-four hours to give his answer; which was granted, and he retired into the fort, but scarcely had he left the tent, ere Ibrahim, with reason, reflected on the unlikelihood of his ever again becoming master of Abdallah's person. It is melancholy to reflect, how denuded of all hope this once-powerful Arab sovereign must have felt himself, to have voluntarily surrendered to his cruel enemies; but the

short interview had impressed him very favourably towards Ibrahim, and he argued sanguinely from the ease with which he was permitted to exercise his choice. After the delay of twenty-four hours, he returned to Ibrahim's tent, and was received with the most studied respect. When Ibrahim demanded how he had decided, Abdallah replied, "That he was resolved to go, provided he was assured of his life." The prince replied, "That it did not become him to control the will of the Sultan, or of his father, but he considered both of them as too generous and noble to cause his death." Abdallah then recommended his family to his care, and besought him not to injure Derayeh; and having received a white handkerchief as a token of peace, he retired to make preparations for his fatal voyage. He was accompanied by his treasurer and secretary, and, bidding farewell to his native spot, he traversed the desert with a guard of four hundred men. The fall of Derayeh, and the overthrow of Abdallah, entailed that of the whole province of Nedjed and El Haryg; and the sacred cities and territory were restored to the authority of the Ottoman Sultan.

It was on the 18th of November 1818, that Abdallah was presented to the Viceroy at Subra, on the Nile; as during the interview he held a small ivory box, in shape of a writing case, the Viceroy demanded what it was; he said, that "it contained what Schoud, his father, had taken from the tomb of the Prophet." On opening it, there appeared three magnificent copies of the Koran, garnished with rubies on the envelope, three hundred pearls of large dimensions, and an emerald attached to a golden cord. Finally, Abdallah sailed for Constantinople on the 19th of Novem-

ber, accompanied by the Tartars. The Viceroy had solicited his pardon, but the divan were implacable, and Abdallah was sacrificed to the resentment of a fanatical people. This prince, after being paraded along the streets of Constantinople for three days, was, together with his unfortunate companions, beheaded in the square of St Sophia. Thus perished the chief of a brave and warlike race, the unhappy Abdallah ebn Sahoud.

THE FALL OF THE JANIZARIES.

SUFFICIENT matter has arisen in the course of the foregoing pages, to mark the cankering influence over the Ottoman empire, which this vast body of soldiers had obtained. After adopting the most obnoxious and destructive habits of mercenaries, they also claimed certain privileges, as consecrated by the faith of Islam, and enforced such claims with the scimitar, or suspended the bowstring, without form of trial, over the head of every one, however elevated in rank; their acts of ambition, and their capricious predilections, were often more unjust and fickle than those of the Prætorian cohorts of Imperial Rome. The dread of this tumultuary body (always prepared to rush upon its victims) became in truth the polar star of the Ottoman policy. If Constantinople remained at rest, and the janizaries were obedient, every part of the political system, according to Turkish judgment, worked well; but if civil dangers arose from disobedient Pashas, or if foreign enemies pressed upon the empire from without, the impossibility of putting the janizaries or standing forces of Turkey in motion, or of regulating

and conciliating them, became a most precarious and alarming duty. The wars of modern Turkey against such armies as Russia and Austria now exhibited in the field, are essentially different from those which took place in the time of Muhammed. Then those troops rushed forth to riot in plunder, to devastate and conquer; now they encounter hardship, privations, wounds, defeat, and disgrace; and, instead of choosing to learn by experience, and to meet the times by similar improvements to those of the civilized nations of Europe, they obstinately and blindly go to battle in the same array, and with the same crude *materiel*, as in the 15th and 16th centuries. Their proud bands are easily broken soon after the first shock is given, or any vigorous attack is made, and they are easily overthrown by a few discharges of field artillery; a panic generally ensues, they turn their weapons against each other and their own officers, and disperse on all sides, to return to their barracks, and to aggravate the mischief which they have already inflicted on their country, by the augmented national crime of rebellion, and by the dethronement of their sovereign. Such has been the usual native disposition of Turkish reaction against their weak Sultans; if, however, a prince ascended the throne possessing more energetic and enlightened views than his predecessors, such as was Osman I. or Selim III., ere he could concoct the force requisite to counteract a military insurrection, some sudden spring of savage revolt, the treasons so familiar to the janizaries, as when a ferocious beast attacks the peaceful traveller, have precipitated ruin upon the officers of government, and swept away emperor, vizirs, and slaves, in one common downfall. It was reserved for the vigorous sceptre of

Mahmoud the Second, by one of the most sanguinary and terrific civil contests of modern history, to free the imperial throne of Othman from this intolerable yoke.

The immediate events connected with the destruction of the janizaries, cannot be more usefully or faithfully detailed than from Dr Walsh's narration. And to clearly take a view of this important circumstance, we must advert to a name familiar in the first formation of this celebrated corps, as well as in many instances of their insubordination and rebellion under different sultans. Halet Effendi had been ambassador to the Court of France, and was tinctured with the literature of Europe. The Sultan, pleased with his acquirements, appointed him to the situation of Nizamdgè, or keeper of the signet; and he became so useful to the prince, that for several years he was the mainspring of the cabinet. The janizaries, however, took great umbrage at this influence, and employed the Dervise Hadgi Bektash to express their sentiments to the minister, confiding that his sacred caste would give an impunity to his interference. The Bektash dervises are a numerous and highly venerated community in Asia Minor, and the corps owed its institution and its sanctity to a dervise of this class in the reign of Amurath, whence one of these divines had always officiated in the namaz of prayer in the Orta mosque. Hadgi Bektash ventured to speak freely to Halet Effendi, which gave great offence; and on the 28th of February, 1822, the Hadgi disappeared, being probably privately strangled.

The janizaries, indignant at this mysterious disappearance, held more frequent meetings, and the result was, a demand for the dismissal of seven of

the ministers the most obnoxious to the soldiery, which was presented to the Sultan on his way to the mosque, on Friday, 1st November, 1822. (A man stands in a conspicuous place in the street as the Sultan approaches, holding in both hands the paper which he sets over his head, to mark that it is for the Sultan's eye; if the Sultan gives the sign, an attendant takes the paper, and puts it into a bag for inspection.) After Mahmoud's return from the mosque, the janizaries very anxiously awaited an answer, but none was returned, and on the next Friday their Aga was ordered to demand an explanation. He did so, as the Sultan dismounted, and as he performed his official duty of holding the Sultan's stirrup, when the Sultan declared his total ignorance of the subject. A great fermentation now arose in the public mind, and Mahmoud paraded the streets of his capital to ascertain the public excitement; the consequence of this state of things was, that on the 10th of November, the ministry was broken up, four of its members were exiled, and Halet Effendi was eventually decapitated.

Whether this sacrifice really grew out of any discoveries made to the disadvantage of the former favourite, or whether it became a necessary sacrifice to allay the discontent of the janizaries, it is clear, that though not the immediate, yet it was the remote, cause of the extinction of that corps. Mahmoud could bear the domination of his janizaries no longer, and resolved to get rid of them altogether. It had long been the desire of the government to introduce new systems of discipline; but every attempt had been fatal to the innovator: and yet the events of the Greek war, and the successes of the Egyptian forces, through

their superior discipline, convinced every thinking man of its necessity. The Sultan determined to make another attempt; and if the janizaries assented, he designed to hold them in check with his disciplined troops; but if they resisted, to extirpate them altogether. In conformity with his designs, the janizaries were to furnish from each orta 150 men, who were to be instructed and drilled in European tactics by the Egyptian officers. As the Turks are so led away by terms, and a great offence had arisen from the term of nizam-gedit, a new institution; so the same thing was now called nizam-gttei, or the old regulation, and all were satisfied; it being declared to be merely a revival of an exercise used in Solyman's time.

They were so far advanced in the appointed evolutions, that the 15th of June, 1823, was appointed for a general review, at which the Sultan, the Ulema, and ministers, were to attend, and it was to take place in the great square of the Atmeidan. On the day preceding, the troops were brought together to exercise, that they might be expert in their movements on the grand day, and it was now, for the first time, that the janizaries perceived that they were practising the very thing that they had all determined to resist. A Bairactar, or standard-bearer, called out, "Why, this is very like Russian manœuvering!" A general discontent ensued; they instantly assailed the palace of the Janizary Aga, who had scarcely time to escape, and they killed his kiaia, and even insulted his harem, and then spread themselves over the city to arouse their companions to a revolt. The Sultan was at this time at Beshiktash, a kiosk a few miles up the Bosphorus; the Janizary

Aga, the Grand Vizir, and other ministers, hastened thither from the Porte, to inform him of what had happened. The ministers had scarcely left the palace of the Porte ere the mutineers arrived; the building was pillaged and stripped, and the archives were destroyed. The insurrection now assumed that desperate character, which always announced, in the furious moments of the janizaries, their settled resolve to proceed to extremities; their kettles sounded mournfully through the streets in the way to the Atmeidan, which immense square was soon filled with the insurgents, and above twenty thousand were thus assembled.

The crisis had arrived that had been both expected and feared by the Sultan, and he energetically resolved to call forth the resources which he had long secretly prepared. Immediate orders were transmitted to the Pasha Aga of Yenikui, and to the Topgee Bashi, a commander of artillery, to hold themselves in readiness with their forces. A council was then called of all the principal members of the divan, and Mahmoud energetically stated the ill conduct and mischiefs of the janizaries; also, the resolve he had formed to put an end to such a dangerous influence. The Sultan added, that rather than submit to such a system, he would at once retire into Asia, and leave Constantinople and European Turkey to its fate; and he proposed to display the Sanjak-sheriff, as a measure of necessity, that all good Mussulmans might rally round it. The proposition was unanimously approved of, and the various orders were rapidly issued. The standard was taken accordingly from the imperial treasury, and borne to the Sultan Achmet's mosque; the Ule-

mas and the Softas* preceded, the Sultan and his court followed, all rehearsing the Koran. The zealous Mussulmans rushed from all quarters to gaze upon and rally under the sacred symbol. The standard, borne into the mosque, was placed in the pulpit, and the Sultan pronounced an anathema on all who refused to range themselves under it. The Aga Pasha's troops now arrived from the Bosphorus; the Topgee Bashi landed his artillery at the Yali kiosk, under the walls of the seraglio; the galiendgoes, or marines, and the bostangis, or gardeners, were also in readiness; all seemed as perfectly matured as it was sagaciously planned.

Four officers of rank were now dispatched by the Sultan to the Atmeidan, to offer pardon to the janizaries, if they would immediately disperse; which offer was scornfully rejected, and the four officers were wantonly put to death; for long experience had made them presume upon their most extravagant propositions being ultimately accepted. The Sultan demanded, then, of the Mufti, if he might kill his subjects in case of their rebellion? The Mufti answered affirmatively; upon which the Sultan required a fetsa,† and prepared to accomplish the long-projected design.

* The ministers of religion receive their education in common with the Ulema in the colleges, and together, they form the class of students called Softa.

† The fetsas are judiciary decisions, pronounced by the Muftis, in the same spirit as the ancient Imaums; and as the law of the Prophet is of higher authority than even the will or commands of the Sultan, who is supposed to govern his people by the law of the Koran and tradition; thus the fetsa of the Mufti, when launched against the Sultan in an hour of public excitement and revolt, is usual-

The Aga Pasha had by this time collected about 60,000 men on whom he could fully depend, and he received immediate orders to put the janizaries down by force of arms, which he lost no time in executing. He entirely surrounded the Atmeidan, where they were assembled in a dense crowd, and were without the slightest intimation of the Sultan's intention. The first conviction of their horrid situation, was from a general discharge of grape-shot, which did vast havoc upon their crowded masses; great numbers being killed, the survivors were obliged to retire to their kislas, or barracks, which were close by; here they shut themselves up, and as the crisis had decided the Sultan to give no quarter, orders were given to set fire to the edifices, and consume them, together with all their unhappy inmates; and the dreadful command was faithfully performed. The barracks were surrounded, like the Atmeidan, by cannon, which thundered on the walls without intermission. No situation can be conceived more horrible than that of the janizaries; the houses in flames over their heads; the buildings battered down and torn in pieces by grape-shot, and overwhelmed with ruins and burning fragments. As it was determined to exterminate them utterly, no quarter was given or received. The janizaries, notwithstanding the great odds at which they were taken, defended themselves with extraordinary fierceness, and slew a vast number of their assailants. The work of death proceeded, and the

ly equivalent to a dethronement; for the existing prejudices upon which obedience is founded, are, by the word of the Mufti, brought to bear against the authority of the Sultan, resistance being made legal by the dictum of the chief of the Ulema.

infatuated victims were crushed, or destroyed by the devouring flames, and the smouldering ruins as they fell in. The burning fragments overwhelmed them all, until the conflagration being at length extinguished by the lack of any proximate fuel to feed upon, the Atmeidan presented, on the ensuing morning, a hideous spectacle of burning ruins slaked in blood, and a mingled mass of dead bodies and smoking ashes.

For two days afterwards the city gates continued closed, during which time, such was the relentless rigour of the Sultan, that the bostanghis searched every corner of the city for whatever janizaries might have escaped the massacre of their comrades; these, when found, were led away to appointed spots, where executioners were stationed to decapitate their victims. Vast numbers were thus slaughtered in those human shambles, which were horrible to behold. The blaze of fires and the report of cannon ceased, and at length the public labourers were directed to cleanse the city, which had thus become one immense charnel-house. The number of janizaries who perished could never be distinctly ascertained; but they evidently, in the capital alone, greatly exceeded twenty thousand, independently of the numbers which perished in the provinces.

The gates of Constantinople were at length opened to Christians and all comers, to pursue their customary avocations. The Sultan appeared in the uniform of the new corps, and went to the mosque, attended by the seimen, the topgees, and bostanghis, instead of his usual guard of janizaries, whose nizams, or badges, were everywhere torn down and trampled upon. On the next day Mahmoud, as the Kalif of the Faithful,

publicly anathematized the whole body of the janizaries, inhibited the mention of their name, or any allusion to them, and in their place solemnly conferred the appellation of Assakini-Muhamoodditch, or forces of Muhammed, on the new army forming to replace them; and in the evening, fellahs, or public criers, were everywhere sent about the city and suburbs, to proclaim that tranquillity was restored. Thus, after four centuries and a half, * the class of janizaries perished, who had been the most powerful support of the empire in the first centuries of their institution, but who eventually became an inflexible barrier to all progressive improvement, and the fomenters of continued intestine troubles and commotions; being all-powerful to work evil, and incapacitated, by their

* No part can be more proper to present to the reader a brief sketch of the territory and armies of Turkey, than while thus recording the annihilation of its chief arm of military strength. This sketch of the surface of territory and population of the Ottoman empire in 1829, is taken from the able French geographer Malte Brun, on the calculations of M. Hammer and the best authorities.

EUROPE.	Square leagues, of 25 to a degree of the equator.
Moldavia, with Bessarabia,	3,500
Wallachia,	2,900
Servia, Bosnia, and Turkish Dalmatia,	4,100
Bulgaria,	3,570
Roumelia,	3,380
Macedonia,	2,780
Albania,	2,190
Epirus, Thessaly, Livadia,	1,960
Morea,	950
Candia,	610
Eubœa and other European Isles,	500
	26,440

ignorance, their enervated and licentious habits, to contribute, in any degree, to the well-being or advantage of the state. It is certainly an anoma-

Asia.	
Anatolia, with Karamania and Roum, to the Euphrates,	26,300
Syria, exclusive of the desert,	6,800
Armenia, with Turkish Georgia,	8,400
Diarbekr, Mesopotamia, &c.	19,800
Asia—Total,	60,500
Turkey in Europe,	26,440
Egypt,	20,000
Total of the Ottoman empire,	106,940

The data whereon to estimate the population of this vast extent of territory are very vague and uncertain; but, taking the average of dwellings to be as thinly scattered as in the least peopled parts of Spain, the total population of Turkey in Europe, Asia, and Africa, might be estimated to be between 25 and 30 millions, of which about one-half inhabit Turkey in Asia. In calculating for Anatolia five millions, Armenia two, Kurdistan one, the pashaliks of Bagdad, Mossoul, and Diarbekr, one and a half, Syria 1,800,000 or two millions, the true approximation is probably nearly acquired.

Population of European Turkey by Religions.	
Mussulmans,	2,889,000
Christians, Greeks,	5,880,000
Catholics, Armenians, and Jews,	707,000
	9,476,000

Sketch of the Ottoman Armies, by M. Hammer.	
The janizaries,	100,000
Artillery, &c.	14,000
The spahis,	24,000
The timariots,	100,000

ly in history, to behold a great empire thus shake off all its veteran force, its positive and existing strength, changing its long-recognised character, and its entire system, and with so much of sternness massacring the bulk of its most efficient soldiery, at the very instant in which it is about to enter upon a contest, not merely for power, but for its very existence, against a grasping, ambitious neighbour, of such superior strength. Had time been allowed to him, Mahmoud has evidenced energies commensurate to the almost Herculean task of infusing life, vigour, and renovation, into the present inert mass of Turkish imbecility; but the alarms and the dangers of war have come on too instantly after the singular and astonishing event, and the appalling catastrophes which we have just described. The last mention made of the fallen corps relates to a feeble and expiring effort in the month of August 1828, when a number of the disbanded janizaries, who had repaired to the capital under the pretext of enlisting in the new levies then making, were detected in a conspiracy which had been organized for calling on all their dispersed members throughout the empire to rise in insurrection. The Sultan gave orders for their immediate execution, and by his rigour stifled the plot.

To these must be added a vast irregular militia scattered throughout the empire, also the forces which every Pasha maintains in his government. These scattered forces, if compacted into a regular military system, would probably mount the armed forces of the Sublime Porte to at least 750,000 men. The Pasha of Egypt has scarcely less than 50,000 men on foot; Servia, Bosnia, Albania, and most of the pashaliks, maintain large bodies o forces, from which the Sultan is at the present period requiring effective contingents.

Great alarm was, however, felt at the first moment; and it delayed for several days the march of the Grand Vizir with the reinforcements for the army in the camp at Shumla, opposed to the Russians.

It was but too manifest that the external relations of the Ottoman empire, unless they were ruled by a feeling of concession, and directed by a spirit of forbearance very uncommon for the Turkish character, must eventually lead to a collision with Russia, if not with the principal powers of Europe. But the Sultan's character bears the impress of unshaken and dauntless determination, which, falling in with the fiercer tones of Turkish intolerance, and contempt for the Rayahs, or Christian subjects of the Ottoman empire, has led to such sanguinary and appalling atrocities against the Greeks, as might justly form the grounds of an interminable war. These violences, so highly disgraceful, were tolerated, although impatiently, by indignant Europe, which beheld, in 1821, the Greek Patriarch and bishops, and enlightened Greeks of the Fanar, barbarously slaughtered. In 1822, the bloody massacre of Scio excited universal indignation; and within a few short months, the invasion of the Morea, and the delivery over of the Greeks to the systematic and exterminating cruelties of Ibrahim, completed the measure of Turkish despotism, and of Christian Europe's forbearance. As to the abstract right of interference by external nations, it must be left to the commentators upon dusty folios to determine, in their closets, how much of human blood must flow, how far desolation may be carried, ere the hand of a Christian is held out to pluck a suffering brother from beneath such a yoke as that of the over-

bearing and unfeeling Turk. He gained his title in blood, by blood he loses it; and exultingly the pen records, that the eventful year 1828 has redeemed the fatal moment when Europe, despised and debased, permitted the fierce janizaries of Muhammed II. to rivet the fetters of Greece, which are now struck off.

Until the year 1824, the Sultan was justly considered as irresponsible for the violent and persecuting tone of his government; as every one conversant with Turkish history must be certain, that the slightest indication of favour to the Greeks during the power of the janizaries, might have cost him his throne; from 1824, however, the character and tone of its policy is exclusively the Sultan's own; and the Greek insurrection, however insignificant in detail, has become an epoch in history, as it establishes principles, which, but for this revolution, would have remained undeveloped. Could the Porte have been brought, by any argument of prudence or of expediency, to have lent itself to see Greece governed according to the institutions of her provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, under a European guarantee, she might have escaped most of the perils which have now beset her empire. But Turkish pride will not bend; and although the fight of Navarino sets the seal to the maritime freedom of Greece, the dogged obstinacy of the Turkish temper would not abate one jot of its tenacity. While, therefore, the divan was occupied in disputing upon these irritative topics, and drawing out the negotiations by interminable conferences, and by the presentation of notes purposely unmeaning and delusive, the state of affairs went onward with an impetus which Ottoman sluggishness could not control;—the

Russian nation are also given to stubborn resolves; and excited and aroused by years of warlike demonstrations, it is at length become more dangerous for that government also to draw back than to go on.

The concluding portion of our historic sketch of the reign of the present Sultan, is necessarily a mere summary of the first campaign on the Danube; and in the paucity of our present sources of accurate information, little more can be presented than dates and facts, as, in the existing state of things, all speculations become merely themes of declamation, too frequently disproved by the event. It was in the afternoon of the 9th of June, 1828, that the Emperor Nicholas, wearing his imperial mantle thrown over a military costume, first set his foot on the Turkish territory, and the passage of the Danube was accomplished on that day by the whole of the Russian army, without any serious obstruction. The siege of Brailow already had caused a serious loss to the Russian army; the place was defended with great obstinacy, and although vigorously attacked, was contested inch by inch. It became now a great point to use the greatest exertion, it being essentially requisite to secure the navigation of the Danube ere the Russian armies ventured with their *materiel* into the desolated country before them. It does not appear to have been at all meditated by the Turkish government, to dispute the Russian advance into the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. The Sultan, deriving wisdom from the experience of former wars, from the want of steadiness and firmness in the raw levies from Asia, to cope with the veterans of Russia, had wisely resolved to avail himself of the natural obstacles of the coun-

try, to concentrate his strength on Shumla, and to defend the barrier of the Balkans.* The whole amount of the Sultan's forces was not calculated, in the spring of 1828, at more than 100,000 men, while the Russian armies have been computed at the enormous aggregate of 300,000 men; and the vast military strength of that empire warrants the number so stated as being possibly correct. It was on the 15th of June that the strong fortress of Brailow surrendered, after the explosion of several mines, and a fruitless attempt to carry the fortress by storm. Two particulars recorded at the time, evidence a desperate resistance by the Turks. It being granted by virtue of the capitulation, that all who chose to leave the place with their effects might do so, the whole of the population, amounting to 13,500 souls, quitted the city with the soldiers; the next fact is, that this siege alone cost the Russian army a loss at least of 15,000 men.

Having at length accomplished their object of securing the fortress in their rear, the Russian army advanced upon Bazardjik, while a strong force by the coast of the Euxine proceeded to invest the important fortress of Varna, and a maritime blockade was established by the Russian fleet. Now was discerned the full measure of the "untowardness" of the naval achievement of Navarino, whereby the whole fleet of our valuable and natural ally the Ottoman Porte had been destroyed, so as to give superiority and undue preponderancy to the naval strength of her enemy the Russian government.

* In Dr Walsh's most interesting tour, the reader will find a graphic sketch of these important passes, now so greatly the object of interest.

In the course of the month of July, as the Turks forbore to oppose any obstacle, the Russian main force safely reached the passes of the Balkans, and took up a position in the hills near Shumla, and the strong fortress of Silistria, on the Danube, was also invested; still the progress of Russia, however threatening her position and formidable her armies, has not certainly corresponded to the general expectation of Europe; no striking event has followed her advance, and the game is yet to be played; she avowedly dared not trust her army in the fastnesses of the Balkans, with the main force of the Turks posted at Shumla, and the fortresses of the Danube strongly garrisoned; so that the general attention of Europe was attracted to the two sieges then carrying on, as furnishing a pivot for future operations. Up to the month of October, however, no occurrence took place of any decisive nature, and therefore the positive advantages of the campaign rested hitherto with the Ottomans, who had thus resisted the first attacks of their powerful foe, and whose means of defence were improving with every month. The first great disaster which the Turks sustained was the defeat of the Pasha of Widdin, who had entered Little Wallachia, to operate a division in favour of Varna; the object of this well-meant effort seems to have been effected; but an unexpected night assault of General Geismar (who doubled back his steps on the Pasha, carelessly encamped in the Turkish mode) threw their forces into complete consternation; a total rout and dispersion followed; and there is no doubt but this disastrous event, which left the defenders of Varna to their own resources, had a very material influence on its fate; although it is now admitted on all sides,

that the fall of this very important place, was mainly caused by the treachery of Youssouff Pasha; and, what seems to establish it beyond a doubt, is the magnificent pension and establishment settled on Youssouff by the Russian government.

Varna was hardly pressed by bombardment, by sap, and by assault, throughout the month of September, still it bravely held out. To protract the fall of the place, and to afford opportunities for its relief, the Capitan Pasha had allowed himself to hold several conferences with the Russian commanders; a finesse which bribery and the treachery of Youssouff turned against him; for a small party of Russians having entered into the place while Houssain was thus occupied, Youssouff Pasha, without consulting Hussein Pasha, immediately ordered his troops to lay down their arms, and surrendered the city. The whole garrison in a panic followed his example, excepting the Capitan Pasha and a few followers, who, on the first intimation of what was passing, fled into the citadel, and continued their resistance until they were permitted to march out with the honours of war, when the Russian army entered the breaches with colours flying and drums beating. The Emperor Nicholas, by a very curious exercise of imperial reminiscence, has since published a rescript addressed to Count Woronzow, "to honour the memory of his renowned predecessor, the king of Poland, who fell at Varna, fighting under the banner of Christ, by a public monument;" but this curious portion of history has been fully given from Turkish and Christian historians of the reign of Amurath the First, and as it was an act of treachery on the part of the descendant of Jagellons, most justly punished, so the Autocrat would have act-

ed more prudently in forbearing altogether from the historical retrospect. The fall of Varna, however, far from intimidating the Sultan, appears to have wrought up the Turks to a higher state of national excitement, which feeling soon changed to exultation, upon the news arriving of the Russian forces, after extraordinary privations and suffering, having been constrained to raise the siege of Silistria. This event took place on the 10th of November, and from the bulletins of the Russian army, it is manifest that they had to sustain a continued succession of combats, together with the terrible consequences of unfavourable elements. The cold and rainy weather setting in remarkably early, the trenches were entirely under water, and the thermometric cold 18 degrees below the freezing point; the Russian camps were therefore broken up, and their troops withdrawn to their winter cantonments in Moldavia and Wallachia, after a most serious mortality, and attended by great losses of cannon and stores.

Such are the events which the first campaign has produced; a campaign which, it should be remembered, was to see the Russian army triumphantly encamped under the walls of Constantinople. The generals of Nicholas I. have unquestionably marched over the two principalities; they have besieged and captured Brailow, and they have by treachery acquired possession of Varna; they have also attacked Silistria, but have experienced a failure before that fortress; if we examine, therefore, the result of the vast exertions Russia has made in money and men, we shall see the prodigious cost at which these acquisitions have been gained, and it is impossible for the most sanguine Russian partisan not to deem them dearly purchased.

On the part of Turkey, events have rolled on with unexampled rapidity; the military resources of the state will become doubled at least, by the pacification of Bosnia, most skilfully effected by the Porte, and the prudent and firm conduct of her existing internal government; the sacred Sanjak-sheriff has been unfurled, and the energetic Mahmoud has quitted his palace for the tented field, and bends all his efforts to call forth the resources of his slumbering empire. The changes that he has so rapidly effected have been the changes of an age; he has rendered Constantinople a secure and peaceful abode; he has wholly annihilated the janizaries; he has subjected the Ulema and the Pashas to a system of obedience to the established laws and regulations of the empire, quite novel and hitherto unknown among them; and he has roused a spirit of imitation and improvement, both in costume and discipline, of itself the most incredible of all his undertakings. The Sultan himself has been seen booted, spurred, and dressed in a hussar uniform, traversing the streets of the capital, or in its vicinity, with only a small retinue attending him in these excursions. Those who know the Turks best, look upon this as the most astonishing change of all, as that people had a particular antipathy to the dress of the hated Giaours; thus, every means of calling forth the active operation of the public mind, and giving fresh animation to its enmity against the Russian people, is unremittingly pursued.

The camp of the Sultan at Ramis Tchiflik protects the capital on the north-west side, whilst the Seraskier Mehmed Khosrou Pashi, still occupies the position of Daud Pasha, and covers Constantinople on the south. The Sultan frequents

the Mosque Eyoub,* and from the heights watches over the tranquillity and government of his capital, the streets and cafés of which he now visits incognito, as he cannot appear in public while the standard of the Prophet is without the city. The Turks are said to have become so passionately fond of the new military system, that companies from Asia are seen exercising by night, that they may not be told by the instructor on the following morning, that they are behind the others. A skilful hand has indeed touched the chords of

* The beautiful view of Constantinople given in the title to our first volume, embraces this interesting coup-d'œil from the point of Eyoub's tomb. The stream beneath the eye is the interior harbour, which terminates in the point seen, and is supplied by the Cydaris; on the right ranges the Fanar, or Greek quarter, continuing on to the Seraglio point, the mosque nearest to which is St Sophia, the mosque of Achmet, and the Sulimanie; on the left is the shore of Asia with the Jews quarter, within the little indenture ranges the valley of St Dimitri, Galata, and Pera, with its Genoese tower, &c. &c. The procession, which forms the vignette to vol. ii. exhibits the ordinary array of the Sultan, on his way to the mosque on Friday. The following account is given of Abdul Hamid, father of the existing Sultan:—"On the day of the birth of Mahmoud, I beheld the Sultan Abdul Hamid go to the mosque of Sultan Achmet with his train; he was preceded by the Vizir, the Capitan Pasha, and all the grandees of the Porte, mounted on superb horses. The Mufti himself was in an arubah, or Turkish carriage, with two [illegible], or couriers. Among the officers of the Grand Seignior the white and black eunuchs are particularly striking, from their rich apparel, also the dwarfs, and the fantastic forms of the armourers, whose casques and fasces recall so strikingly those of the Roman soldiers. The Atmeidan was crowded with spectators, and when the Sultan came near, each individual bowed his head, and covered his face with his hands; not an individual, excepting the foreigners, presumed to steal a glance of the sublime emperor."

Turkish pride, and a powerful mind is giving the awakening spirit its proper direction; for the Ottomans have awoke from their slumber at their Sultan's call; the sound is as thrilling and as imperative as ever bestirred a people, and their ancient energy rapidly returns. A body guard is arming around the Sultan, of youths, the sons of Pashas and grandees of his empire, from whose attachment he will derive strength and aid; and, more than all, he will cement a personal tie betwixt the sovereign and his powerful vassals, hitherto unknown; as he has done away with hereditary Pashaliks, and has subjected the Pashas more strictly to the supreme control, than any of his immediate predecessors; and the institution of a guard from their families may become a very important link in the state.

The times seem pregnant with great events; and the fierce energy of the Turk may, perhaps, yet prove that their empire is the sleeping, and not the dying lion; for the indomitable bearing of Mahmoud marks the contest with a fierceness, which proves that the struggle will be terrible, and the approaching campaign of 1829 may, perhaps, show the royal animal aroused so effectually from his lair, as to chase away for ever the Russian Autocrat, the most formidable assailant of his haunts.

END.

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