The history of the Turkish Empire from the year 1623 to the year 1677. Containing the reigns of the three last emperours, viz / Sultan Morat or Amurat IV, Sultan Ibrahim, and Sultan Mahomet IV his son, the XIII. emperour now reigning.

Contributors

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RYCAUT'S

TURKS

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Paul Rycaut

529

438 RUXTON (George F.), Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains. *London*, 1847. Sm. 8vo, *cloth*, 10s. 6d.

439 RYCAUT (Paul), The Present State of the Ottoman Empire. Containing the Maxims of the Turkish Politie, the most material Points of the Mahometan Religion, their Sects and Heresies, their Convents and Religious Votaries. Their Military Discipline, with an exact Computation of their Forces both by Land and Sea. *London*, 1670. Folio, *with frontispiece, 2 plates, and engravings in the text, original calf*, £2 10s.

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the Royall
late Consul
& Fellow of
Societie

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THE HISTORY OF THE Turkish Empire

From the YEAR 1623. to the YEAR 1677.

CONTAINING THE

REIGNS

Of the three last

EMPEROURS,

VIZ.

SULTAN MORAT

OR

AMURAT IV.

SULTAN IBRAHIM,

AND

Sultan MAHOMET IV. his Son,

The XIII. Emperour now Reigning.

By *PAUL RYCAUT* Esq; late Consul of *Smyrna*.

LONDON,

Printed by *J. M.* for *John Starkey* at the *Mitre* in *Fleet-street* near *Temple-Bar*. MDCLXXX.

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THE
Epiſtle Dedicatory
TO THE
KING.

May it pleaſe Your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

I Cannot without ſome deſpondency of mind and awful fear of the Greatneſs of Your Majeſty, make an Offering at Your Sacred feet of ſo ſmall an eſteem and inconſiderable value, as theſe following Hiſtories. For having travelled long in remote Countries, and reſided no leſs than eighteen years in *Turky*, the World may reaſonably expect ſome rich returns unto Your Majeſty in Perſian Silks, and Tyrian Purples, or in the fineſt Carpets, and other Gayeties in which the ſoftneſs and luxury of the Leſſer *Aſia* did anciently abound: and may now judge me a Bankrupt, or an ill Husband of my Talent, when they ſee me at home trembling in Your Royal Preſence, with a Gift no more worthy than a few ſheets of Paper; which being a Sacrifice inferiour and beneath the acceptance of ſo Great a Monarch, I might reaſonably fear, that they would take fire at the heat of Your juſt diſpleaſure, were they not with all humility and reverence conſecrated to the Royal Clemency. For in this glorious Title and Attribute, Your Majeſty (as is notorious to the World) exceeding all the moſt Serene and the moſt Clement Emperours that ever were, expects not from me, either Gold or Jewels, but rather a true account of my time, how I have ſpent it in the Service of God and of Your Majeſty: and how I have adminiſtred that Publick Truſt and Intereſt which was committed to my Management. Accept therefore, *GREAT SIR*, theſe following Diſcourſes to diſcharge part of the account of my time, with other Treatiſes which have been the Employment to fill up my vacant Intervals: the remaining

account of my hours are not to be juſtified by my own report, but by the Teſtimony of others, whoſe wiſdom and goodneſs will be as réady to owne my Induſtry and Faithfulneſs in their Concernments, as they will be to excuſe and pardon my infirmities.

Ever ſince the time of Your Majeſties happy Reſtauration, my Lot hath fallen to live and act within the Dominions of the Turk, and there to move in a Publick Capacity; which though it was in an Adminiſtration of one of the loweſt note and degree, yet the great Influence which the flouriſhing Eſtate of that Trade hath on the common Good of *England*, nouriſhed in me a ſecret pride and ſatisfaction in that Employment, which called and raiſed up all my endeavours to acquit my ſelf therein with prudence, faithfulneſs, and induſtry, there being the ſame Regularity required in the Stars of the lower, as in thoſe of higher Magnitude.

This hath been the firſt, and indeed the only Affair I ever managed for the Publick; for before Your Majeſties bleſſed Return, the Character noted on my Family of being Loyal, as it made them at firſt active and zealous in the Service of Your Glorious Father, ſo afterwards it famed them for their Sufferings, and rendred them and me uncapable of Office. But Your Majeſty returning like the Sun to animate and cheriſh all living Creatures with an equality proportioned to their ſeveral Capacities, hath been pleaſed alſo to beſtow a Ray of Your benign Influence on my ſelf, whereby having received comfort and refreſhment, I do with all ſenſe of my Duty, and with entire Devotion pray unto the King of Kings for the Happineſs, long Life, and immortal Glory of Your Majeſty, and with all reverence and humble ſubmiſſion devote and conſecrate my ſelf, for ever to remain,

YOUR MAJESTIES

Moſt humble, moſt dutiful,
and moſt obedient Servant,

PAUL RYCAUT.

TO

TO THE
READER.

Reader,

THE Reign of Sultan Amurat or Morat being imperfectly wrote in Knolls his History, consisting for the most part of abrupt Collections; I have thought fit for the better compleating of the Reign of that Sultan, and the whole Body of our Turkish History, to deliver all the particular Transactions thereof with my own Pen: whereunto also I have added the Reign of Sultan Ibrahim, never before Published in the English Tongue, the particular Occurrences of which being acted before my time, were for the most part extracted from Venetian Writers, who by reason of their Vicinity to the Turk, have been always most curious, and concerned to note and observe the Affairs of that Empire.

But the other part of this History beginning from the Year 1660. and continued to the Year 1677. is the Product of my own Observations, being matters transacted in my time, which being part seen by my self, and in part received from good and probable Advices, I call by the Name of my MEMOIRS, in regard that I am little obliged to other Writers for those Collections; and therefore by Gods assistance assume the chief Merit of that Work unto my self: which I desire and heartily wish, Good Reader, might for thy satisfaction, and for the benefit of the World be still continued, and the thread of History drawn out unto future Ages: as also that those Errours and Mistakes of which I have been guilty herein, might be corrected and amended. Farewel.

Sultan MORAT or AMURAT the 4th, Emperour of ye Turkes.

My Brothers folly, & my want of Yeares
Let loose the reignes of Rule to Mutiniers;
But as nth time, my strength, & wit improve,
I all reforme nth feare, and not by love.
By mighty force I Babylon subdue,
From whence a peace nth Persia doth ensue:
And when 'gainst Christian foes I doe designe
To turne my Armes, dye nth excesse of wine

THE REIGN OF Sultan MORAT OR AMURAT IV. THE Eleventh EMPEROUR AND Twenty first MONARCH OF THE TURKS.

THE weak Underſtanding of Sultan *Muſtapha*, and his inability for Rule, cauſed the Affairs of State both at home and abroad to move diſorderly and irregular. *Where violence and injuſtice prevail, there is ſo little diſtance between the moſt eminent height of Grandeur and the loweſt abyſs of miſery, that a Prince may in a moment ſtep from one unto the other.* The Janiſaries and Military Officers commanded more now than the Civil, all things being guided by the air and fancy of the Souldiery, who placed and diſplaced with that wind of favour and diſpleaſure, which is agreeable to the humor of a multitude and the licentiouſneſs of Arms. For at the ſame time there were three Emperours, ſeven Great Viziers, two Captain-Paſha's, five Aga's of the Janiſaries, three Treaſurers, ſix Paſha's of *Cairo*, and in proportion the changes and alterations were as many in all the Provinces of the Empire. All this confuſion evidently proceeding from the weak and almoſt ſenſleſs underſtanding of *Muſtapha*; the Mi-

niſters

1623. niſters and people concurred as it were in an univerſal conſent to dethrone him a ſecond time, and exalt into his place Sultan *Morat* Brother to *Oſman*, who was murthered the year before. The principal Actors in this contrivance were *Kioſem* the Mother of *Morat*, and the Mufti; but in the execution hereof three difficulties occurred. The firſt was *Chuſacin* Paſha the Great Vizier, who by reaſon of the inabilities of *Muſtapha*, being become abſolute Lord and Soveraign of all, would be unwilling to aſſent unto that Propoſition, which might degrade him of his Dignity, and diveſt him of his Power. A ſecond obſtacle was the fancy and humor of the Souldiery, who having with much zeal and paſſion exalted *Muſtapha* to the Throne, it might be doubted, that in maintenance of the ſame humor they would with equal obſtinacy perſevere in their Election. A third was the poverty or low ebb of the Exchequer, which at that time was in no capacity to ſupply that Donative to the Souldiery, which was uſual and cuſtomary at the Inauguration of every Sultan. To forward and haſten this change and ripen this Plot, the News of the Rebellion of *Abaſſa* did much contribute, who with a Body of fifteen thouſand Horſe roved over all the Plains of *Kara-hiſar*, calling himſelf Avenger of Sultan *Oſmans* Murder, and Enemy of the Janiſaries, by whoſe Mutiny and Conſpiracy he was put to death; in ſatisfaction for which he not only killed all Janiſaries which fell into his hands, but their wives, children, and thoſe allied to them he deſtroyed with implacable malice and bloody rage. Upon this advice the Janiſaries at *Conſtantinople* being moved with equal fury and deſire of revenge, applied themſelves to their Aga, propoſing a ſpeedy union with the Spahees for ſuppreſſing this Rebellion before time gave it greater growth, and made the humor more ſtubborn and difficult to be purged. At the ſame time alſo came Letters from *Cicala* Paſha (who was diſpeeded into *Aſia* with a ſtrong Party to give a ſtop to the farther progreſs and advance of *Abaſſa*) adviſing that upon his near approach to the Enemy, ſo general a fear poſſeſſed his Souldiery, that moſt of them diſbanded and forſook their Colours; and that at preſent he had no more than five hundred Janiſaries, and two hundred Spahees under his Command, which he found to be an unequal mateh to contend with the increaſing power of *Abaſſa*. This Intelligence ſerved happily the occaſion of the Mufti, Vizier, and Aga to give a turn to the deſired change, and ſupplied them with an anſwer to the Janiſaries, that they were ready to yield compliance unto their Addreſs, but that the incapacity of their Soveraign obſtructed their proceedings, and that the defect in the principal wheel diſordered all the motions of good Government. At which reply the Janiſaries becoming more unquiet, aſſembled themſelves in a tumultuous manner at the Moſch of Sultan *Solyman*, where making an * Ayack Divan, (ſo called, becauſe they ſit not down, but ſtand on their legs to denote the preſent haſte and urgency of their affair) it was enacted by an unanimous conſent of the Civil and Military power, That young *Morat* or *Amurat* ſhould be promoted to the Throne, and that *Muſtapha* ſhould be depoſed: and becauſe the Exchequer was at its loweſt ebb, and wholly exhauſted by miſcarriage of the Officers, the Souldiers were contented to diſpenſe with their Donative, which they relinquiſhed in conſideration of the publick good, reſerving ſtill their Title and Claim thereunto at times of a more happy Inauguration. With this News the Vizier immediately mounted on Horſe-back to ſignifie this univerſal Decree to *Muſtapha*,

* Avack in Turkiſh ſignifies a Foot.

ſtapha, but he found him ſo ſtupid, as if he had been inſenſible of the Meſſage; and his Mother wanting power to reſiſt this ſtrong convulſion, gave way to neceſſity, and ſeemed to embrace what ſhe could not oppoſe. 1623.

Thus *Muſtapha* falling from the Heaven of his Throne to the Abyſs of his Priſon, ſeemed to return unto his centre; for being only by the wild-fire of Fortune carried as far aloft, as the force of popular powder could reach, he afterwards by the meer weight of his earthly temper returned with the like quickneſs of motion to the place from whence he aſcended.

Hereupon Sultan *Amurat*, a Youth of about fourteen years of age, was brought forth to the people, and placed in the Throne with all the acclamations and rejoycings of the people. And being taught by his Mother in a feigned manner to refuſe acceptance of the Empire, he pretended that the Exchequer was exhauſted, and that therefore he was not able to demonſtrate the affection and eſteem he had for them, and that ſince they had killed their former Sultans, he was fearful leſt the tenderneſs of his age ſhould betray him to the like violence: but the Souldiery having not the patience to hearken to his excuſes, immediately carried him to the Divan, where having cloathed him in white, they ſeated him on a Safraw erected with four Pillars ſtudded with precious Stones; the Covering of which was of Crimſon Velvet richly embroidered with Gold and Oriental Pearl. And being ſo ſeated, the Mufti with all reverence approached, and kiſſed his hand; and then turning to the people he demanded of them, if they were contented with that Prince whom they now beheld in the Seat of the Ottoman Kings; to which they having given aſſent by their loud acclamations, *Morat* with a becoming gravity encharged the Mufti to take care that Juſtice and the Law be executed, and ſo retired to his Lodgings with general ſatisfaction. The next morning he was carried by Water to the Moſch of *Jub* in the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*, where according to the Solemnity of the Ottoman Empire, having performed his * *Corban* or Sacrifice, and having his Cemiter girt to his ſide by the Emirſheriff, he mounted on Horſe-back, and with a magnificent Train entred by the Gate of *Adrianople*. In the mean time *Muſtapha*, who was more worthy to bear a Fools Cap than an Imperial Diadem, was conducted to Priſon, and more narrowly guarded than formerly; howſoever no man offered to take away his life, the perſons of Fools and Idiots being ſacred in eſteem of the Turks, and the leaſt injury offered to them accounted irreligious and unlucky.

Amurat inſtalled.

* Which is a diſpenſing of Mutton to the Poor.

Morat was of a lively countenance, full-fac'd, dark hair, of a black and lively eye, ruddy and ſanguine Complexion, and in every degree of a promiſing and hopeful Aſpect: but his exteriour appearance did not correſpond with the internal cruelty of his violent Spirit, having ſome ſimilitude with the Swan, which hath white feathers and black fleſh.

The Great Vizier who aſſiſted at this Solemnity was (as we have ſaid) *Chuſacin* Paſha, a perſon of ſelf-intereſt, who had waſted and conſumed the Treaſury, and converted a great part thereof to his own benefit; he was a Tyrant, hated of all men, and ſupported himſelf by no other Art than bribing of the Souldiery: and to his other Crimes he added that of having unjuſtly perſecuted *Halil* Paſha, and deprived him of his Office, his power not reaching to the taking away his life; which being

1624. reſerved for better times, he was again recalled from his retirement, and by ſpecial command of the Sultan, was unwillingly reſtored to the Office of Vizier, being beſt pleaſed with a quiet and pacifick life, to which his melancholy temper had naturally diſpoſed him. In the mean time *Chuſaein* Paſha being terrified by the ſenſible touches of his own conſcience, took his flight by way of the Black Sea, and being out of the reach of Juſtice, a Fine was ſet of five thouſand Zechins, and of Lands to the Revenue of an hundred thouſand Aſpers a year, to be given unto him who ſhould bring his head; many of thoſe who had ſold him their friendſhip and favour being affrighted with this Sentence, voluntarily diſgorged the rewards they had received, and amongſt the reſt the laſt Aga of the Janiſaries, who had been his Kahya or Steward for the ſpace of three months, reſtored eight hundred thouſand Dollars as an atonement for his ſin, and a ranſom for purchaſing his own life and Office. At length by force of the foregoing reward *Chuſaein* Paſha was betrayed and taken alive, and being brought to *Conſtantinople*, was immediately ſtrangled before the gate of the Divan.

Many were the difficulties which this young Sultan was to encounter, the greateſt of which was the inſolence of the Janiſaries, who feeling themſelves empty of money, began to repent of the prodigal and eaſie remiſſion of their Donative, and in a tumultuous manner to redemand it again. There was no argument or debate to be uſed againſt men of the Sword, who hearkned to no other reaſon than their own wants, and to ſatisfie them there was no other remedy than compliance; wherefore all Officers and perſons not employed in Military Affairs were forced to contribute towards a large Tax, and a ſhameful demand was made for the Loan of thirty thouſand Zechins from the four Chriſtian Ambaſſadours reſident at the Port, that they alſo as Friends might yield an aſſiſting hand towards the preſent urgency of Affairs: ſo little conſideration and ſhame have Turks to lay open the nakedneſs and diſtreſs of their Country even to ſtrangers and enemies of it. And indeed ſuch was the inſolence and uncontroulable power of the Souldiery, that their deſires and commands were Laws, and their determinations Rules for their Sultan and his Subjects.

This humor of Uſurpation and unlimited Power wearied all the Officers of the Empire, and inclined them ſecretly to approve the cauſe of *Abaſſa* Paſha of *Erzirum*, who declared and ſtiled himſelf Enemy to the Janiſaries; and of *Beckir* Paſha of *Babylon*, who was joyned with him. The Vizier alſo finding his power abridged by the arbitrary will of the Souldiery moved ſlowly and coldly into *Aſia*, where all the Force he could make conſiſted of no more than fifty thouſand new and unexperienced men, ſuch as were uncapable to contend with a more numerous Army of veterane Souldiers; to which alſo the Beglerbei of *Anatolia* joyned himſelf, as did all other the chief Timar-Spahees, who conſpired together to confound and deſtroy the pride and government of the Janiſaries. The Vizier alſo was of the ſame Party, and coldly at firſt anſwered the requeſt of the Janiſaries, when they earneſtly preſſed him to lead them againſt *Abaſſa* their common and mortal Enemy: at length being fortified with the Force of the Timar-Spahees, he told them plainly, That if they would go and fight, he would be a Spectator of the ſucceſs, but would not ingage himſelf in a quarrel wherein the blood of *Muſſelmen* might be ſpilt on one ſide and the other: by which means the Rebels in *Aſia* took head,

head, increaſed in force, and every day rendred them in a more formidable and dangerous poſture. 1625.

But this was not all the trouble which enſued; for the Tartars having refuſed that King whom the Grand Signior had appointed them to receive, declared for *Mehmet* his Brother, who was ſeconded by the Votes of the generality, and maintained by the ſtrongeſt nerve of that Nation. The Vizier was unwilling to ingage in this quarrel, alledging, That a Civil War was the worſt of evils, and that it was better to connive at a preſent inconvenience, than in this diſtracted time of Affairs to pollute the Empire with the blood of Tartars, who were their Brethren and of the ſame Religion and Alliance with them. Howſoever the Divan was of another opinion, and reſolved to diſpeed the Captain-Paſha with a Force ſufficient to re-inſtate *Gherey* (for ſo the elder Brother was called) in the Government of that Kingdom: but yet the Inſtructions given rather directed him to act with dexterity than with force, ſuppoſing that the Authority of the Turks abetted with the preſence of a conſiderable Force would create an inclination in the Tartars to obedience, ſo ſoon as they diſcovered them to appear on their Coaſt. The Captain-Paſha being arrived at * *Caffa*, declared, That he was ſent by the Grand Signior not to exclude either one or other of the Pretenders, but only to be Witneſs of a free and fair Election, that ſo all Civil diſcord ceaſing, that Party might be choſen who was moſt pleaſing to the generality of the people: to which end two Standards were erected, one for * *Gherey* the elder Brother deſired by the Turks, and the other for *Mehmet* beloved of the Tartars. The people in multitudes ran to the Standard of *Mehmet*, and but few to that of *Gherey*, which demonſtrated at how mean a rate the Tartars eſteemed the protection and favour of the Port. The Captain-Paſha vexed hereat, denied to give his aſſent to the confirmation, on pretence, that he was firſt to demand the Grand Signior's pleaſure; but at length was perſwaded by *Gherey* to land a Force of about eight thouſand men to owne and maintain his Cauſe, on hopes, that rather than ingage againſt the Turks, the people would condeſcend to Terms in his admiſſion and favour. The Tartars not being in the leaſt diſmayed hereat, arrayed themſelves in a warlike poſture, and feigning fear and flight, allured the Turks to a purſuit of them, until they had brought them to a place where thirty thouſand Horſe lay in ambuſh, which on a ſudden ariſing and encompaſſing them round, had entirely deſtroyed them, had not *Salil* the Brother of *Mehmet* given a ſtop to the ſlaughter, on hopes, that ſuch a teſtimony of friendſhip would reconcile the ſpirits of the Turks, at leaſt might render his Brother's preferment more tolerable and grateful to the Turks. In this conflict *Ibrahim* and *Chuſacin* who were Viziers of the Bench, the Kahya and a Capigi-baſhe of the Seraglio were ſlain, whoſe bodies were afterwards tranſported to *Conſtantinople*, ſix hundred Janiſaries and as many Sea-men were killed, and fifteen hundred Priſoners were taken, whoſe liberty was procured at a mean ranſom for the ſake of that Faith and Religion which they joyntly profeſſed; they alſo took thirty Pieces of Cannon, and might alſo have become Maſters of the whole Fleet conſiſting of thirty ſix Gallies, had they been deſirous to have proſecuted their Victory to the utmoſt advantage: and moreover in that conjuncture of affairs, when a general conſternation had overſpread the principal parts of the Ottoman Dominions, when the Counſels were feeble and faint,

and

* The chief City of the *Krim* Tartar.

* *Gherey* the name of the Family.

1625. and that a languiſhing pulſe beat in all the Government, had the Tartar with an Army of fifty thouſand Horſe then ready to march, made up to the Walls of *Adrianople*; it might have proved ſuch an opportunity for dividing and deſtroying this Empire, as hath not offered at any time ſince that occaſion. But the two Brothers *Mehmet* and *Salil* ſtiling their War forced and defenſive, uſed that moderation in their Victory which might not provoke a deſire of revenge in the Turks. The Captain-Paſha being thus permitted to depart from *Caffa* with his Fleet, ſailed to *Varna*, a Port in the Black Sea about two hundred miles diſtant from *Conſtantinople*; where the News of this defeat being arrived, put all the City into confuſion, and raiſed the Viziers at midnight to conſult of thoſe remedies and expedients, which were agreeable to the preſent emergency of Affairs. The Great Vizier *Ali* was of opinion, that the Grand Signior ought to condeſcend to Terms of Accommodation, though to the diſadvantage and diſreputation of his power; and that accordingly a Letter ſhould be wrote to *Mehmet* the Tartar, beginning with the uſual Complements of Friendſhip and Salutation; and afterwards declaring, That it was never the intention of the Port to ingage in a War againſt him, the late conflict having only proceeded from a miſtake and miſinterpretation of Orders; and that there was no other deſign than to compoſe the Civil differences amongſt themſelves by advancing that Prince to the Kingly Dignity who was moſt pleaſing and grateful to the people. This advice was approved by the reſt of the Council, and a Meſſenger diſpatched with the Letter, accompanied with a Cemiter and Veſt of Sables, which are the Signals of the Sultans favour. In the mean time the people murmured at the puſillanimity of the Government, ſaying, That they had ſent an Ambaſſadour to thank the Tartar for not ſeizing their whole Fleet, and acknowledge their obligation to him for the blows and wounds he had given their Army. The Tartars alſo gloried in this ſubmiſſion, and took the boldneſs to vaunt of their Linage and Deſcent to be more Ancient and Noble than that of the Ottoman Family; and that in this time of decay and degenerate procedure of that Monarchy, it appertained to the Greatneſs of the Tartars to ſtir up the fire and ſnuff the lamp, that the Splendour of that Empire might become more bright and ſhining than in former Ages: and ſo little reſpect did they now maintain for the Port, that they ſurpriſed two Ambaſſadours ſent from the Moſcovite in their way to *Conſtantinople*, robbed and killed them, as alſo the Turkiſh Chiaus that was with them, leſt his teſtimony ſhould be brought in for an evidence againſt them.

1626. During theſe Troubles the Coſacks taking advantage of the Captain-Paſha's abſence in *Tartary*, entred the *Boſphorus* with about an hundred and fifty Sail of Saicks and Boats; theſe Boats and Veſſels which the Coſacks uſe are built long and light with ten Oars of a ſide, and two men to an Oar; the Head and Stern are not unlike, ſo that they hang the Rudder ſometimes at one end, and ſometimes at the other, being not obliged to turn their Veſſel, but without loſs of time to proceed with that end which happens to be foremoſt. Each Boat carries fifty ſelect men armed with Fire-arms and Cemiter, in the management of which they are very expert; and are a People ſober, enduring labour and hard diet, and ſo ſpeedy in their Incurſions, that they foreſtal the advices, and commonly ſtrike before they threaten. With theſe Boats and

The form of Coſacks Boats.

and people (as we have said) they entred the *Bosphorus*, where they burnt several Villages and Houses of Pleasure; on the Grecian side they burnt *Boyuc-deri* and *Yenichiori*, on the Asian side *Stenia*. The appearance of this Enemy so near the Imperial City caused a general consternation, not unlike that at *London*, when the Dutch entred the River of *Chatham*. To oppose this Force there was not one Gally in readiness, so that Saicks, Chimbers, and small Boats were armed to the number of four or five hundred, and man'd with such people as the present haste and expedition offered; the great Chain was then brought forth to cross the *Bosphorus*, which the Grecian Emperours used at the Siege of *Constantinople*: and ten thousand men were issued from the City to defend the shoar from depredation and farther mischief. The Turkish Fleet faced the Cosacks to give them a stop, whilst they hovered about the middle of the Chanel in form of a Half-Moon, and so continued the whole day until Sunset; when with the night they returned into the Sea, carrying with them, besides their Booty, glory sufficient to have entred the Chanel, and without blows or opposition to have braved the Capital Seat of the Ottoman Monarchy, and the most formidable City of the whole World. Not many days after they returned again with a greater Force than before, which put the City into the like consternation; and having hovered about three or four days at the Mouth of the Black Sea, they burnt the Pharos or Lantern with certain Villages thereabouts, and being laden with Spoils and Glory, they again returned into their own Country. Thus we may observe, how bold Enemies are made with the weakness of a State: a Horse is soon sensible of his Rider, when backed by a faint hand and an unaccustomed lightness, but a stiff Rein and a close knee makes him obedient to his Ruler. All people having discovered the imbecillity of the Government, made head against it: and the young Sultan had those for his Enemies in the time of his Nonage, which in his strong and fiercer years became the most submissive and fawning Slaves in the World. 1626.

And though at this time the Turkish Ministers were corrupt and rebellious, and the Souldiery mutinous; yet *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of *Transylvania*, a Christian, was observant to the Port, demanding licence to wage War against the Emperour, which was easily granted, and upon payment of the usual Tribute of ten thousand Hungars, the Ambassadour with thirteen of his Followers received Cosians or Vests of Honour, and a promise of Succour and Protection, as the condition of his Affairs should require. Thus we see, that whilst the Turks themselves endeavoured to rent in pieces their own Monarchy; to which one would have thought, that the Christians had most reason to contribute: yet such was the unhappy Fate of Christendom, that *Gabor* was the only person at that time to court the Turks; and that for no other reason, than that he might be supported and abetted in a War against the Emperour and other Christian Princes of *Germany*. *Bethlem Gabor* desires assistance against the Emperour.

The Army of *Bethlem Gabor* consisted of above thirty thousand men, with which he marched over all *Hungary*, having taken most Towns of consideration, unless *Presburg alias Possonium*, *Rab*, and *Komorra*: but if we penetrate into the depth and foundation of this War, we shall find that it had a deeper interest than that of *Gabor*, and had its Original from the discord and Civil War of *Germany*. For the House of *Austria* being at that time in a condition to render it self formidable, and in a posture

1626. posture to create a jealousie in all the Princes subjected to it, did under colour of subduing the Palatine of the *Rhyne*, oppress also the liberty of the Empire, and of the several States which composed it. For after the Emperour against the Constitutions of the Golden Seal, and the sense of the Electoral Colledge, had divested the Palatine and his Children of their Estates and Dignity, not so much by force of Arms as by deceit and breach of promise; instead of disbanding the Army, which was to have been performed according to agreement, new Troops were added; and though the Protestant League was dissolved, yet the Catholick Combination with all its Adherents remained armed and immoveable to compel the Protestants to a restitution of the Ecclesiastical Revenue, notwithstanding the Articles of Peace to the contrary: so that the Princes and Towns of the Lower *Saxony* entring into a new League raised an Army under the Command of *Christian* of *Brunswick* Bishop of *Alberstadt*. *Bethlem Gabor* having his interest adjoyned to this Party, entertained the same desires and intentions to suppress the Greatness of the Emperour; and having the just complaint to alledge of wanting his annual Pension of fifty thousand Crowns, as was agreed by the Treaty of *Nieslasbourg*, he resolved to force it by Arms, and take part with the Princes of the Protestant Religion which he professed: but because his strength and power was not sufficient without the assistance of the Turks, he not only obtained their permission and approbation of this War, as we have said before, but by payment of fifty thousand Dollars presented to the first Vizier, and of forty thousand by way of annual Tribute, he procured an auxiliary Force of fifty thousand Turks and Tartars; with part of which, commanded by *Budiani*, he made an irruption into the Lower *Austria*, and with the other *Bethlem* himself about the beginning of *October* entred into *Moravia*, defeated the Regiment of *Tiffenbach*, retook the Town of *Turnova*, and routed the Count of *Montenegro* General for his Imperial Majesty before the Town of *Ghoding* on the Frontier of *Moravia*, which he afterwards beleagured and held besiegeduntil the 20th of *November*, when *Stanislaus Turzow* a Hungarian Palatine became Mediator of the Peace, and at length obtained a Truce: the principal Articles of which were as followeth.

1. That on both parts Arms be laid down for ten months, and all Acts of Hostility cease, that on neither side any attempt should be made either by force or fraud to take any Castles, Forts, Cities, or places of defence during this time; and that both Germans, Hungarians, and Turks should be alike comprehended.

2. That if the Emperour were desirous to treat and conclude a final Peace with the Grand Signior, he should use *Bethlem Gabor* as Mediator, and do nothing therein without his privity.

3. That all Places and Forts taken by the Prince of *Transylvania* in his late Expedition, and that all Cities and Castles now in possession of either, should so remain without any alteration.

4. That all Passages should be open for free Trade of Merchants, and all other the Subjects and Friends of either side.

A Truce being thus concluded, the Turks in their return made great havock, carrying with them great numbers of poor Christians into Slavery, which *Gabor* out of compassion seemed willing to redeem with a low price at his own charge, which the Turks refusing, carried those miserable Wretches into Captivity. The Count *Esterhasi* Governour of *Newhausel*

Newhauſel for the Emperour, being highly incenſed at this treacherous action contrary to the Truce ſo lately concluded, having drawn out a ſufficient Force from the neighbouring Garriſons, fell on the Rear of the Turks in their March towards *Buda*, and charged them ſo home on the Banks of the River *Niter*, that he killed five hundred of them on the place, took all their Baggage, with divers Priſoners, and gave liberty to many Chriſtian Slaves. The next day but one after he charged another Party of them, as they attempted to paſs a Bridge, which the night before he had cauſed to be broken down; of which having killed a great number, the reſt ſaved themſelves by ſwimming: howſoever many Chriſtians procured their liberty thereby, and a conſiderable Booty was made of Horſes, Camels, Waggons, and all Proviſions. The other Troops conſiſting of greater numbers were worſe treated than the former; for *Eſterhaſi* having received a Recruit of Horſe from *Reiffemberg* Governour of *Komorra*, and *Breuner* of *Javarin* or *Rab*, he proceeded boldly to meet the Turks, and joyning Battel with them, he ſlew twelve hundred on the place, gave liberty to fourteen hundred Chriſtians, took divers of their principal Commanders with all their Bag and Baggage, beſides a conſiderable quantity of Gold and Silver in Plate and Money. Nor were *Reiffemberg* and *Breuner* leſs ſucceſsful over thoſe who paſſed through their Quarters to joyn with the Garriſons of *Alba Regalis* and *Caniſia*, having killed ſeven hundred of them, and taken all their Baggage. Moreover Count *Serini* in his Journey towards *Vienna* defeated ſix hundred of them, and preſented their Colours to the Emperour: and *Eſterhaſi* in like manner after his ſeveral Exploits offered thirty Cornets at his feet, with ſix Priſoners of Quality, one of which was Kinſman of *Bethlem Gabor*. 1626.

Theſe rebuffs cooled the courage of the Turks a little, and altered the reſolution of the Council for carrying forward the War on the ſide of *Germany*, as was intended, had the ſucceſs anſwered expectation: For theſe misfortunes abroad, and inteſtine troubles at home, with Peſtilence and Famine, which at the ſame time greatly afflicted the parts of *Conſtantinople* (whereby an hundred thouſand people dyed) abated the mettle of the Turks, and cauſed them to take new meaſures in all their determinations: and for that reaſon Ambaſſadours were ſent both to *Vienna* and into *Poland* to renew the Articles of Peace, and ſo to confirm the League, that whilſt the Sultan was imployed in his Wars with *Perſia* and the Eaſtern Countries, nothing ſhould intervene from the Weſtern parts to trouble or obſtruct his progreſs, or recal him from his Enterpriſe. For now the Rebellion of *Abaſſa*, joyned with *Bechir* Paſha of *Bagdat*, growing daily more conſiderable, and his ſtrength increaſing to that condition, that he was able to keep the field in deſpight of the Grand Signiors Forces, he adventured to quarter within five days March of *Conſtantinople*: and at the ſame time Letters coming from *Haſſib* Paſha General of the Army in the Province of *Bagdat*, that the King of *Perſia* was entred into the Dominions of the Turk with a powerful Army, a general conſternation ſeized the whole Turkiſh Court, the wiſeſt and ſtouteſt having occaſion to call up for all their wiſdom and courage to aſſiſt at a time when the Government was aſſailed on all ſides, both at home and abroad. Various were the Counſels and Propoſals in what manner to proceed in times of ſuch emergency. Firſt it was reſolved to proclaim a War both againſt the King of *Perſia* and the Rebels in *Aſia*,

1626. and that whoſoever took of the Grand Signior Pay from one Aſper a day to a higher value, ſhould be in readineſs to ſerve in the War upon penalty of loſing his Eſtate, of being accounted a Rebel, and his wife and children ſold for Slaves. But the more ſober and moderate ſort judged it policy to take off *Abaſſa* by ſending him a general Pardon, with a conceſſion of all his demands, upon condition, that he ſhould turn his Arms upon the King of *Perſia*, who was the common Enemy of their Country and Religion: but the Janiſaries would by no means aſſent to this agreement with a perſon to whom they bore a more inveterate hatred, than to the Perſian himſelf, as he did alſo to the Janiſaries. For that he might better juſtifie his pretence of revenge, he declared, That being one day in a Moſch at his Prayers the murdered *Oſman* appeared to him, and taking him by the hand ſaid, My faithful *Muſſulman*, ſince thou art the moſt generous of all my Slaves, I command thee to revenge my death, with the blood of ſixty thouſand Janiſaries and Spahees, good Fortune ſhall accompany thy Arms, and Victory ſhall crown thy labours. During theſe intrigues and difficulties of reconciliation, *Abaſſa* ſpoiled the Leſſer *Aſia*, and the Perſian King conquered the City and Province of *Bagdat* or *Babylon*, took *Kur Aſan* Paſha an old Souldier Priſoner, poſſeſſed himſelf of *Moſul* and *Leska* on the Perſian Sea, and meeting no conſiderable oppoſition, he divided his Army into four parts. The firſt was diſpeeded into *Meſopotamia* commanded by the King himſelf. The ſecond made Incurſions into *Paleſtine*. The third infeſted the Coaſt of the Black Sea: and the fourth marched towards *Mecha*, with hope and deſign of ſharing all the parts of the Eaſtern Empire.

Ali Paſha, who oppoſed the King in *Meſopotamia*, was ſlain and his Army wholly defeated, ſo that the Province became a prey to the Enemy: the ſucceſs in *Paleſtine* was equally fortunate by the revolt of *Damaſcus*, a place of great riches and importance; the Coaſt of the Black Sea was grievouſly infeſted, and a Port taken near to *Trapezond*; and little oppoſition being made at *Balſora*, the Town was taken by that Army in their March towards *Mecha* and the parts of the Red Sea, where they rendered themſelves Maſters of *Medina* the City of their Prophet *Mahomet*.

To repair theſe loſſes, and to encounter numbers ſo ſtrong and valiant in all parts, the Vizier was diſpeeded with a powerful Force to the Town of *Bagdat*; but by reaſon of Mutinies and Tumults amongſt the Souldiery, matters found not the ſucceſs expected: and the Garriſon making valiant and vigorous Sallies againſt the imbecillity of the Turkiſh Souldiery, which were always moſt obſtinate and ſtout to oppoſe their own Commanders, obtained an advantage in every Attempt; by which diſcouragement many forſaking their Colours, the Siege was raiſed with diſhonour, and the intereſt of the Turk impaired and almoſt irreparably loſt in thoſe Provinces. This News arrived at *Conſtantinople*, that the Camp was riſen and fled by night, that they were forced to burn their Tents and Proviſions, and to break their great Artillery and caſt them into the *Euphrates*: that the miſeries in the Army had been ſuch by Famine and Peſtilence, and want of all Proviſions and Ammunition, that the like was never known: that the Vizier had beheaded three of his Paſha's, that ſo he might caſt the whole blame upon them; and that now retreating with his Army into the Turkiſh Dominions, the Perſians purſued them in the Rear, and for ten days did execution on them, making

The Siege raiſed at *Bagdat*, and the Turks overthrown.

king the best use they could of their Victory; which relation filled the hearts of all people with sadness, and disordered the Counsels with confusion. The cause of which ill success according to custom being imputed to the General, he was deprived of his Office, and sacrificed to the fury of the Janisaries. 1626.

These troubles were increased at *Constantinople* by the Addresses which the Prince of *Transylvania* made unto the Port by his Kapi-Kahya or Agent, representing to the Grand Signior, That he wanting Heirs Male to succeed him in his Principality, the States at a Diet had with common consent elected his Lady for his Successour, and therefore desired confirmation from the Port; in excuse of her Sex he alledged the urgent necessity of the present times, which perswaded rather to admit of the Government of a Woman, than that his Principality should for want of an Heir fall into the hands of the powerful Family of *Austria*. To make good this demand, Duke *John* of *Weymar* and Count *Mansfelt* arrived in *Silistria*, to whom the Prince of *Transylvania* joyned his Troops; and *Morteza* Pasha of *Buda* wrote to the Port, that he was marching towards *Vatz* to meet the Prince, and confer with him concerning these designs. The Emperours Resident at *Constantinople* greatly exclaimed against these proceedings, which something troubled the Counsels of the Turks, who in that conjuncture were unwilling to give beginnings to a new War; so that besides fair words they promised to write such Letters to the Pasha of *Buda*, as should give a stop to the Investiture of the Princess; but to say truly, the Instructions given were in such ambiguous terms, that they in effect left the whole matter to the discretion of *Morteza* to act, as he judged most agreeable to the state of Affairs on the Frontiers, and security of the present Peace.

Duke of *Weymar* and Count *Mansfelt* joyn with the Prince of *Transylvania*.

Thus did the Turkish Court seek to ward off the blow of a War with *Germany*, and yet secretly nourished and encouraged it, by giving Orders to the Pasha of *Buda* to take up his Winter-quarters with the Prince of *Transylvania*, and to follow his directions; but yet so to govern matters with caution, as not to engage too far on uncertain grounds or doubtful hazard, but to embrace Propositions of Peace, if offered with honour and security. In prosecution of these Rules, *Morteza* observing, that *Weymar* and *Mansfelt* having united their Forces with *Gabor*, had formed a considerable Army, and were able to fight with *Wallestein* General of the Imperialists; joyned also his Forces to theirs, judging it a prudent and politick design to wage a War at the blood and expence of others. With these encouragements, and with the favour of a good opportunity the Confederates fell upon the Army of *Wallestein* near the River *Gran*, who not being able to withstand their force and fury, was put to flight, and pursued in the Rear with great slaughter; and endeavouring to pass the River on two Bridges of Boats, were closely followed by the Princes Forces, who gaining the pass, put the whole Army into great amazement, and resolved to pursue them to the Gates of *Presburg* or *Vienna*.

The Emperours Army defeated.

Notwithstanding this success, the Prince of *Transylvania* observing the backwardness of his Allies to contribute the Succours of Men and Money which they had promised; and fearing that the unfortunate estate of the Turkish Affairs should cause the Sultan to disown the War, dispeeded a Messenger to the Emperour in the Winter-season to excuse the constraint upon him of taking up Arms, and to offer Terms of Accommoda-

1626. tion and Peace: but the Emperour refuſed all Treaties, until ſuch time as *Gabor* had ſeparated himſelf from his Allies, and from aſſociation with the Turk; upon which Anſwer *Gabor* retired to *Caſſovia*, and *Morteza* to *Peſth*. This compliance gave beginning to a Treaty at *Komara*, where the Commiſſioners on part of the Emperour, of the Grand Signior, and Prince of *Tranſylvania* aſſembled. All Parties ſeemed inclinable to War, and yet with occult intentions to make Peace, being neceſſitated thereunto by the urgency of their diſtinct Intereſts. The Emperour was urged by his Wars with the Proteſtants of *Germany*, and apprehenſion of Forces from *England* in favour of the Elector Palatine, then King of *Bohemia*: the Grand Signior was encumbred by the unfortunate condition of his Wars in *Aſia*: and *Bethlem Gabor*, jealous of being diſowned by the Port, deſerted by his Allies, and expoſed to fight and contend ſingly with the Emperour. In ſhort, *Gabor* concluded a Peace with the Emperour apart, which gave ſome jealouſies and diſpleaſure to the Grand Signior: howſoever he diſſembled his diſcontent, and willingly intereſſed *Gabor* with *Morteza* as Commiſſioner for him; who being variouſly diſpoſed, yet moved with the conſiderations of their common advantage, worked all differences into a Compoſition of Peace, the Articles of which being brought to *Conſtantinople* by an Internuntio from the Emperour, and delivered in preſence of the two Ambaſſadours of *Gabor*, they were accepted by the Chimacam, and ratified by the Grand Signior.

Peace concluded between the Emperour and *Gabor*.

Articles of Peace Concluded between the Emperour of Germany Ferdinand *the Second, and* Bethlem Gabor *in the Month of* December 1626.

I. THE *Prince of* Tranſylvania *doth promiſe by the Faith of a Chriſtian never to move Arms, or uſe any Hoſtility againſt the Majeſty of the Emperour, or the Houſe of* Auſtria, *or their Succeſſours, much leſs to enter into their Dominions with an Army, nor to aid his Enemies, or keep a Correſpondence with them: not to plot any Innovation in the Kingdom of* Hungary *or other Chriſtian Countries: nor to ſtir up or provoke the Turks, Tartars, or others to invade them: not to entertain or aſſiſt in any evil Counſel againſt his Majeſty, nor to give ear to the requeſts and deſires of his Enemies; but rather to reveal all their Conſpiracies and Wickedneſſes, which ſhall be made known unto him, and by all means to demonſtrate and ſhew a ſincere mind truly deſirous of* Peace, *and ſollicitous of the common* Good.

II. *That the Prince ſhall inſtantly depart with his whole Army out of the Territories and Cities of the Emperour; and that he ſhall reſtore as well all Goods belonging to the Imperial Treaſure, as thoſe of his faithful Subjects.*

III. *That he ſhall remove from him the Rebel* Mansfelt, *and all other his Followers and Adherents deſirous to invade the Dominions of the Emperour; and that he ſhall not aid any Stranger whatſoever, who at his inſtance hath entred into the Territories of his Majeſty with Count* Mansfelt, *to whom Letters of publick Safety ſhall be given, that they may return by twenty or thirty in a Troop, conditionally that in no place of their* Retreat *they ſhall joyn with the Enemies of the Emperour.*

IV. *That ſeeing it is fit for Eſtabliſhment of the Peace, that the Inhabitants of Countries and Cities belonging to the Prince, by conſent of the Emperour,*

rour, ſhould remain during his life in Obedience and Fidelity to him; and that 1626.
thoſe Inhabitants ſhould do Homage to the Emperour (ſaving their corporal Oath to the Prince) to keep inviolate theſe Articles, That they ſhould have leave by Letters of full Authority and Power granted them by the Prince in their firſt Aſſemblies and Conventions to make ſuch Oath of Homage.

V. *That at the ſame time of performing the Homage and Oath, beſides the Oath before the laſt War, they ſhall take a new Oath according to the Agreement between the Prince and the Commiſſioners of the Emperour.*

VI. *The Prince ſhall procure, that all Places upon the Confines which were taken by the Turks in the laſt War, be reſtored; and that all Captives taken Priſoners ſhall be ſet at liberty: and that the Prince ſhall procure the freedom of all ſuch the Emperours Subjects as ſhall be in the Turkiſh Captivity.*

VII. *That all the Subjects of the Emperour, lately incited and drawn to the Service of the Prince, ſhall be free from their Oath: and if the Prince hath any of their Writings Obligatory in his hands, that he ſhall reſtore them: and that theſe Conditions being confirmed, all other things formerly treated, ſhall remain in their former ſtate and vigour.*

VIII. *That if any other difficulties ariſe, they ſhall be accommodated with fidelity and quietneſs by Commiſſioners on both parts: And that all thoſe who in the laſt Commotions have ſerved the Prince, ſhall be abſolved according to the Treaty and Agreement at* Vienna.

IX. *That all the Inhabitants of Cities and Countries, which have ſerved the Prince, ſhall be abſolved; only thoſe excepted, who have voluntarily taken up Arms againſt the Emperour, for whom the Prince only ſhall intercede, excuſing always private men, who have done private wrongs; for they ſhall according to Law and Cuſtom ſeek their reſtitution by Civil Action.*

X. *That all other Articles of Peace concluded at* Nichilſburg *and* Vienna, *ſhall remain in their former vigour and force: And that all Goods of the Emperours Clergie, poſſeſſed by the Prince from the Year* 1619. *to this preſent day, ſhall be reſtored; except the Abbies of* Replana *belonging to the Seminaries of* Strigonium, *for which the Prince ſhall pay yearly to the Emperour five hundred Florens.*

Theſe Articles being thus agreed, and ſigned, and approved by the Sultan, in the month of *September* following 1627. the Articles between the Emperour and the Grand Signior were alſo agreed at *Komara*, the which are as follow tranſlated out of the Turkiſh word for word.

THat *ſeeing the Peace eſtabliſhed formerly at* Zitwar, Vienna, Komara, *and* Chiarman, *hath remained in the ſame ſtate, and in the ſame Articles, without any alteration, it ſhall not be violated by any new occaſion of contention.*

That the differences of Vatz, *whereof is made mention at the preſent, ſhall reſt in the ſame ſtate that the Commiſſioners on both ſides ſhall agree.*

That the new Forts built upon the Confines of Croatia, *contrary to the Peace, ſhall be demoliſhed. To which purpoſe our ſaid Deputy* Mehmet, *and our Vizier* Morteſa *Paſha, ſhall meet upon the Frontiers of* Buda *with your Deputies, at the time appointed by the Treaty, and thereupon the places on both ſides ſhall cauſe to be demoliſhed the Forts built contrary to the Peace: wherein if they find any impediment, they ſhall chuſe able and valiant men to perform and execute the ſaid ſervice.*

That

1626. *That after the approbation of this happy Peace, your great Ambaſſadour ſhall come to* Komara, *and ours ſhall repair with our Imperial Letters to* Strigonium: *and there one of them adviſing the other, yours ſhall ſet forward to our happy Port, and ours ſhall advance to you. For ſo it is agreed by our Imperial Order, both carrying with them the new Imperial Capitulations.*

That all complaints of Villages ſubject to both parts, ſhall be laid aſide, and no Violences, Taxes, or Contribution, contrary to our former Convention, ſhall be exacted. And all Forts built in the common Confines ſhall be raſed. And reciprocally it ſhall be made known, according to the ancient Treaty, what great men do dwell amongſt our Tributaries. And for the execution of the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth Articles of the Peace of Zitwa, *the tenth of* Vienna, *and the fourth of* Komara *and* Chiarman *(for ſuch was then the agreement) two Capigi-Paſha's of our high Port ſhall be deputed and diſpeeded, the one to this ſide, and the other to that ſide of the* Danube. *And upon your part you ſhall ſend two ſuch qualified perſons to the ſame places: who being met together with the Deputies of* Morteſa *Paſha and the Palatine of* Hungary, *ſhall rectifie all diſorders, and ſee that good Juſtice be done on both Parties: for ſo it is our moſt high pleaſure.*

That the Slaves which have been taken during this our Treaty, ſhall be freed and ſet at liberty without any ranſom: and thoſe who were taken before the ſaid Treaty ſhall be exchanged and redeemed, according to their qualities and eſtates, by the interpoſition of Morteſa *Paſha and the Palatine of* Hungary *deputed for that purpoſe.*

For the good of poor people on both ſides, the Commiſſioners have thought it fit to conclude this renewed Peace for twenty five years from 1627. *Whereunto we have given our Imperial aſſent.*

That all Merchants, and other our Subjects on both parts, ſhall have ſafe paſſage and conduct through both our Dominions: and we have given Command to our Paſha's, Beglerbeghs, Generals, Beghs, and Captains, upon our Confines, to apprehend, bring into Juſtice, and puniſh all ſuch as ſhall any way diſturb or moleſt them contrary to the Peace. As likewiſe the Palatine of Hungary *and other your Miniſters ſhall do on your part, if they find any ſuch offendors.*

That our Beglerbeghs, Sanzacks, Captains, and Governours; and your Generals, Commanders, and Captains ſhall upon occaſion imploy all ſuch perſons as are lovers of the Peace and common Good.

That there ſhall be no damage or hurt done to any of our Subjects in any of your Kingdoms or Dominions, neither by Sea nor Land: as there ſhall none be done to yours in our Dominions.

That all by-paſt wrongs, enmities, and unkindneſſes on both parts ſhall be forgotten and laid aſleep: and that this happy Peace ſhall be ſincerely and firmly continued and kept inviolate.

Upon condition that the Emperour perform and obſerve all the aforeſaid Articles, and that there follow no action from any Miniſters, contrary to the ſaid Peace; We promiſe and ſwear by God our Creator, who made the whole world of nothing, and by the honour which we bear to our moſt high Prophet Mahomet Muſtapha, *That there ſhall not be done during the whole term of the ſaid Peace, the leaſt hurt or damage to the Subjects, Countries, Kingdoms, Caſtles, or Forts of the ſaid Emperour, by any of our Miniſters or Armies, nor to any Chriſtian Slaves ſubject to our happy Port.*

By

By these Articles we may observe, that both Parties were desirous of a present Peace, rather than one which was durable; for things are so slubber'd over to serve the present occasion, that they leave all disputes undecided, till time should happen more proper to interpret them with the Sword, than with the Pen: like sores obducted by an unskilful Chirurgion, which festering within, must be again opened before they are cured: howsoever they served the turn of *Gabor*, whose interest it was to maintain an ill correspondence between the two Emperours. Peace being thus concluded between *Ferdinand* the Second and Sultan *Morat*, gave some reputation to the Affairs of the Turks: so that notwithstanding the late success of the Persian in their War by raising the Siege of *Bagdat*, and overthrow of the Turkish Army; yet that King finding himself now engaged alone, and singly to contend with the Ottoman Power, feared the Puissance of that Empire, lest being roused and heated with the sensible pinches of the late disgrace, they should call up and invigorate all their Forces to a revenge, which might at length tend to a ruine and destruction of *Persia*, unless Fortune which attended the first auspicious beginnings with success, did also continue constant, and still accompany their Arms, which could hardly be expected. 1626. 1627.

Wherefore on these considerations becoming more faint in prosecution of the War, the Persian dispatched an Ambassadour to *Constantinople*, furnished with various Proposals and projects for a Peace; but still matters driving so as to reserve the City and Province of *Bagdat* or *Babylon* in the hands of the Persian, the Treaty became ineffectual, in regard the Vizier (who was then called *Halil* Patha) judged it a high and an irrecoverable disreputation to the Empire to be dismembred of so principal a part of it. Wherefore the Ambassadour being dispeeded away with some neglect, the Turks armed with that diligence and heat, that they entred *Persia* with an Army of an hundred and fifty thousand men, with which appearance the people being dismayed, suffered *Tauris* to be taken without much opposition. From hence marching to *Bagdat*, they found the City well provided and defended with a numerous Garrison, from whence many Sallies were made with variety of Fortune, till at length the Turkish Souldiers being wearied and tired with incessant labour and watchings, many of them fled from their Colours; and with such diminutions, the Army being much abated in its numbers, the Vizier withdrew them from the Persian Dominions.

Another Expedition into *Persia*.

Some months after the Turkish Army being reinforced, the Vizier entring again into *Persia*, overthrew the Turcmen who opposed him in his March, and destroyed the Gregorians, who were friends to the Persian, with a very great slaughter, took *Moroc* their General and cut off his head, and adding to these Victories the report of having taken some few inconsiderable Towns, this Expedition ended without other advantages, or progress of their Arms. This ill success much troubled the Councils at *Constantinople*; for they considered that they had now waged an expensive, laborious War for the space of three years without any effect agreeable to the blood and charge which maintained it, but rather to the loss and damage of the Empire. The Souldiers abhorred the length and tediousness of the way, and the misery of the March, being to pass over vast Countries and Desarts, where there was nothing besides rocks, sands, and barrenness: many Horses, Camels, and other Beasts of burden perished for want of nourishment; and where provisions were

1627. were to be had, the price was ſo exceſſive, that the Timariots and other Souldiers had not a purſe to defray their charges. The Enemy likewiſe was very ſtrong, for the Sofi was at the head of forty thouſand brave Horſe, which daily infeſted the Ottoman Camp, beat their Convoys, and cut off their Proviſions, and ſo obſtructed them, that they could not advance. The Vizier *Halil* then General being diſcouraged by theſe diſaſters, was inclinable to accept of the Propoſition made by the Perſian, *viz.* That *Babylon* ſhould remain to his eldeſt Son in Fee, and to his Heirs and Succeſſours, acknowledging to the Grand Signior a Tribute as great as the yearly Revenue which proceeded from it, at the time when it was in the hands of the Sultan. But this middle way ſeemed an Expedient diſhonourable to the Greatneſs of this Empire, and that which argued puſillanimity and want of courage in the Government, and therefore was rejected by the Council of State as well as by the Military men. Howſoever the Perſians taking their meaſures by the diſpoſition they diſcovered in the Vizier thereunto, adventured to diſpatch an Ambaſſadour to *Conſtantinople* with tender of the ſame project; but as he was coldly and faintly received, ſo he was in a few days diſpatched with few words and little reſpect, as if he had been ſent as a Spy to diſcover the ſtate and condition of the City, and the inclination of the Prince, rather than to obtain any benefit by a Treaty. For now *Amurat* growing into years, increaſed in ſpirit, and diſcovered a Martial courage; he began to leave his delights, and walks in gardens, and the ſociety with his Mother and Women, and to aſſume thoughts of War and Government: ſuch as entertained him in ſoftneſs and luxurious paſtimes were reproved by the Miniſters about him, and by them perſwaded to buckle on his Armour, and to delight in Martial Exerciſes: ſo that now new meaſures were taken in all Affairs; and in the firſt place *Halil* the Great Vizier was recalled from being General in *Perſia*, and the Paſha of *Darbiquier* put into his place; and though he was Brother-in-law to the Grand Signior, yet being eſteemed at Court as a perſon who had amaſſed great richeſs in his employment, he was forced to diſgorge five hundred thouſand Crowns as an eaſe of his burden, and an atonement to pacifie the Sultan for the fault of his misfortunes and ill ſucceſs.

Propoſition made by the Perſian for a Peace.

Rejected by the Turk.

In theſe times of licentiouſneſs and revolt, the Pirates of *Algier* and *Tunis* began alſo to caſt off their reſpect and reverence to the Ottoman Empire; for being become rich by the Prizes they had taken on Chriſtian Veſſels, they reſolved to ſet up for themſelves, and to eſteem the Peace which Chriſtian Princes had made with the Grand Signior not to concern them; but as if their Governments had been independent, demanded a particular Treaty, and diſtinct Articles with themſelves: ſo that now daring to do any thing, ſix Veſſels of *Tunis* chaſed ſome Chriſtian Ships into *Rhodes*, and there attaqued them, notwithſtanding that the Caſtle ſhot at them: they afterwards took a Dutch Ship which had laden at *Alexandria*; and entring the Port of *Salines* in *Cyprus*, they engaged with two Venetians: the leſſer Ship made a good reſiſtance, but having no help ſhe was thrice fired, and at laſt burnt: the other being a Ship of eight hundred Tuns, was cowardly ſet on fire by the Mariners, and abandoned, eſcaping aſhore with their Boats. Then they ſailed for *Scanderone*, where finding a Dutch Ship and a Polaca they took both, and then landed. The Aga of the Scale with all the Inhabitants fled, ſo that finding no oppoſition they ranſacked and robbed all the Ware-houſes, and

The Pirates of *Tunis* and *Algier* trouble the Seas.

and afterwards ſet them on fire: the greateſt loſs fell upon the Engliſh and Dutch, the firſt loſt about ten thouſand Dollars, and the latter about thirty thouſand. Of theſe loſſes and breach of Peace the Chriſtian Ambaſſadours much lamented; and complained, that if ſome remedy were not applied thereto, all Trade muſt be given over, no ſecurity being to be expected in the Articles and Faith of the Grand Signior: to which, though the Vizier and Great men did ſeem to yield a favourable ear, and promiſe redreſs; yet being corrupted with ſome ſhare of the Spoils, and ſweetned with part of the robbery, they began to reject the Memorials of the Ambaſſadours, and to allow the pleas of the Pirates as grounded on ſome ſolid foundation of reaſon and Religion: ſuffering them to publiſh diſcourſes, that the Turks were obliged to maintain a perpetual War with the Chriſtians, as Enemies to their Law and Alchoran; and though policy may ſuggeſt ſome conveniencies by peace with them, yet thoſe conſiderations are matters of ſin rather than of reaſon. To make all this good, the Divan of *Tunis* ſent two Deputies to remonſtrate the great benefit and advantage the Port received by the depredations and hoſtile acts which they committed on the Chriſtians; and to inculcate this argument the better, they declared, That they had lately taken two Gallies of *Malta*, out of the ſpoils of which, they preſented unto the Sultan two Stirrups of Gold, with divers Slaves, two of which were Cavaliers, one of the Roman, and the other of the French Nation: thoſe which were Youths, and comely in ſhape and feature, were entred into the Service of the Seraglio, and the more ſtrong and robuſtious were committed to the ſervice of the Gallies; ſo that the Turks were inwardly pleaſed with theſe Piracies, howſoever gave good words to the Chriſtian Ambaſſadours, promiſed much and effected nothing. At that time Trade flouriſhed greatly in thoſe parts, and had done much more, had it not been interrupted by the Piracies of *Barbary*; and the Trade was eſpecially ſo great with *Venice*, that a Turkiſh Merchant called *Rodul* Aga, whoſe whole Negotiation and dealing was for that place, dyed worth a million of Soltanees, of which for want of children the Grand Signior became the ſole Heir. But one accident happened about this time on the Seas worthy to be recounted. The Seas (as we have ſaid) ſwarming then with Pirates, the General of *Candia* with three Gallies coaſting on the Seas for defence and protection of Merchant-Ships, arrived in the Port of *Andro*, from whence eſpying a Gally plying cloſe under the ſhore, and believing her to be a Corſaire or Pirate, made up to her; and becauſe it was about the glimpſe of the evening, ſo that ſhe could not be well known or diſtinguiſhed, the General raſhly charged her, and meeting a ſtout reſiſtance, many were killed before it was known that the Gally belonged to the *Archipelago*, commanded by *Dervis Bei*, one of the Grand Signiors Captains: but ſo ſoon as the miſtake was diſcovered, the Candiot General demanded of the Turk a thouſand excuſes, returned him his Gally and Slaves again, and whatſoever was taken from him, beſtowing with them an infinity of complements, ſuppoſing that thereby the ſpirit of the Turk being ſomewhat appeaſed and mollified, he would repreſent this encounter with the more favourable terms and advantage at the Port. Notwithſtanding which offices of kindneſs, *Dervis Bei* without farther loſs of time paſſed up to *Conſtantinople*, bringing his Gally in without Lantern, ſhot thorough, ill treated, and ſhattered, feigning himſelf alſo to be wounded;

1627.

A Fight at Sea by miſtake.

1627. ed; related that he had loſt forty four Levents, and ſeventy ſeven Slaves which were killed; and that all the Haratch or Tribute-money, which was collected for the Grand Signiors ſervice from the ſeveral Iſlands, was robbed and embezled by theſe Candiots. His complaints were aggravated by many circumſtances, and being aſſiſted with the clamours of other Beys or Captains of Gallies, the noiſe and diſpute was exceeding high in the Divan, urging, that the Venetians were obliged to make good a loſs which they had cauſed rather out of malice than miſtake. At that time *Georgio Giuſtiniano* reſided at *Conſtantinople* for the moſt Serene Republick, who to oppoſe the high clamours of theſe Complainants, ſhewed courage, and accompanied his anſwers with prudence and reſolution, which are often very convincing in the Turkiſh Court. They alledged, that the Peace was broken, he anſwered, That it would not be the firſt time, and that they ought not to yield entire credit to the relation of perſons paſſionate and partial in their own cauſe; that ſuch accidents as theſe were as ordinary and common in the World as cold and heat, as fair and foul weather; and that ſo ſoon as the errour was diſcovered, and the Gally known not to belong to *Barbary*, but to the Grand Signior, it was punctually and entirely reſtored with all the excuſes imaginable. In ſhort, this buſineſs which had ſo bad an aſpect at the firſt, by the dexterity of this Miniſter, and giving ſomething to *Dervis Bei* whereby to ſtop his mouth, the complaint ceaſed, and all farther proceedings were ſuperſeded.

Propoſals of Accommodation with *Abaſſa*.

The Wars in *Perſia* being unſucceſsful, it was propoſed in Council, that a Peace ſhould be made, if poſſible, with *Abaſſa* Paſha; that his demands, whatſoever they were, ſhould be granted, and promiſes given him of Honours and Preferment: but the inveterate enmity and hate which the Janiſaries bore him, and the difficulty there was to perſwade *Abaſſa*, that the overtures made him were free and candid, and not mixed with treachery and deſign, were obſtructions not to be obviated or overcome. Wherefore *Abaſſa* keeping mutual Intelligence with the Perſians, and receiving aſſiſtance and ſuccours from them, was become very formidable and ſtrong, and the Town of *Erzirum* well fortified with Works and a numerous Garriſon. Howſoever the Janiſaries, his mortal Enemies, preſſing the Vizier to proceed againſt him, at length obliged him to beſiege the place; which having done, and cloſely begirt it, the moſt forward and brave amongſt the Janiſaries were the firſt to ſcale the

Erzirum beſieged.

Walls, but were repulſed by the valour of ſtout and reſolute Souldiers; for they knowing that there was no other ſafety but in their Arms, and no other mercy than an ignominious death, being the juſt reward of their Rebellion, refuſed to give or to receive quarter: wherefore they made frequent Sallies on the Enemy, and as many Janiſaries of them as they took Priſoners, they immediately hanged about the Walls, as a ſpectacle of horrour to their Aſſociates. This reſolution and cruelty deterred the Turks from their frequent aſſaults and ſtorms made upon the Town; and the many Batteries and Fortifications rendred the place almoſt impregnable, ſo that there ſeemed no other hopes to remain, but to overcome them by a long Siege and Famine: but *Abaſſa* had ſo well provided againſt this danger, with ſuch plenty of proviſions, that the Turkiſh Army began to be more ſtraitned for want of ſuſtenance than the beſieged; ſo that becoming weary and diſcouraged amidſt ſo many

The Siege raiſed.

difficulties, they raiſed the Siege with ſuch diſorder and haſte, that they left

left ſeveral Pieces of Cannon behind them, and retiring with ſome confuſion, were charged in the Rear, ſo that many Janiſaries fell a Sacrifice to the hate and revenge of the Enemy. The News of this ſucceſs coming to *Conſtantinople*, was ill received; but the diſaſter thereof, according to the uſual cuſtom, was attributed to the Vizier who was General; for which cauſe he was deprived of his Office, and the Selictar Aga (who carries the Sword before the Grand Signior) was put into his place, a perſon of a fierce, bloody, and cruel diſpoſition. 1627.

To theſe, new troubles were added out of *Tartary*. For *Mahomet* the King of that Country, exalted to the Princely Dignity (as we have already declared) by the favour and Election of that People, though contrary to the ſenſe and pleaſure of the Port, was now fallen from the good eſteem which they conceived for him, becauſe he gave ſome hinderance to their uſual Incurſions on the Polonians and Coſacks out of memory and gratitude to the aſſiſtance they had contributed towards his Election; for which reaſon being as it were famiſhed for want of their uſual depredations, they refuſed to obey his Commands, and then openly threw off their Obedience to him as their Prince. The Turks, who always envied this Dignity to *Mahomet*, rejoyced to ſee this diſcord between him and his People, and therefore thought it time to make uſe of this occaſion to re-inſtate *Gherey* the elder Brother into the poſſeſſion of his Kingdom; whom the Turks, for his better ſecurity, having placed at *Rhodes*, the uſual Retirement of the Tartarian Princes, diſpatched a Squadron of Gallies to fetch him from thence to *Conſtantinople*; where being arrived, he was received with a magnificent and Princely Entertainment by the Sultan: that ſo the Fame thereof forerunning his arrival in *Tartary*, the people might be better prepared to concur with the Port in their acceptance of him for their King. He was afterwards conducted to *Caffa*, the Grand Signiors Town in *Tartary*, with a ſtrong Fleet of fifty Gallies, where at his firſt landing he was received by *Cant-Emir*, a rich and powerful Tartar, and Chief of the Turkiſh Faction, and by many others with great honour and ſolemnity, with whom alſo a conſiderable Party moſt willingly engaged. But the Coſacks of *Poland* and Circaſſians, friends to *Mahomet* the Brother, joyning their Troops to his Forces, became too ſtrong for the Turks; for giving them Battle near the Incloſures of the *Danube*, at a place called *Bandet*, they defeated them, and killed three or four thouſand of their men, putting all to Fire and Sword round about; and entring on the Seas with their Fleet of Boats, took five of the Turkiſh Gallies: with which ill ſucceſs the Tartars, which took part with *Cant-Emir*, being diſcouraged, abandoned their Colours and fled; ſo that *Cant-Emir* was forced to take Sanctuary in *Caffa*, which being a Town belonging to the Grand Signior, it was hoped, that the reverence they owed to that Name, would cauſe them to refrain all violence thereunto. But the Tartars, provoked by this late effuſion of blood, loſt all reſpect to that Government; ſo that beſieging the Town, they aſſaulted and took it, and therein the Son of *Cant-Emir* whom they cut in pieces, the Father eſcaping in a diſguiſe from the City. The News hereof arriving at *Conſtantinople* was greatly diſpleaſing, and cauſed many ſerious Debates and Conſultations thereupon; the wiſeſt and moſt ſober of the Council was for diſſembling the matter, and with their uſual dexterity to ſuffer what they could not remedy: for that it was by no means adviſable in the preſent conjuncture

New troubles from *Tartary*.

1627. of Affairs, to proceed unto an open rupture with the Tartars, fearing leſt the Chriſtians, Perſians, and other Enemies ſhould make a benefit of this occaſion, and joyning with a Nation ſo ſtrong in Horſe, ſhould dangerouſly preſs upon the Empire, and force them to the ultimate extremity of affairs. Wherefore an Envoyé Extraordinary was ſent to the Tartars, who covering the inward ſentiments of regret and anger which the Sultan conceived for the late diſgrace, ſeemed to wonder at the cauſe and reaſon of the laſt Engagement, as if it had been acted without the knowledge or order of the Grand Signior; and thus with gentle terms inſinuating, that the Surrender of *Caffa* would be very acceptable to the Port, and that which would atone for all miſcarriages, and be ſuch an offering of pacification, as would reconcile all paſt differences, and reſtore a perfect correſpondence between the Sultan and them, the Tartars readily aſſented to the demand, upon condition, that the Turks ſhould impoſe no other King upon them than him, whom by general conſent they had elected for their Prince.

1628. Though differences were thus concluded with the Tartars, yet the Coſacks continued ſtill their enmities, entring the Black Sea with eighty Saicks, which they ſo infeſted, that the Turks could for that year avail themſelves little of their Navigation in thoſe Seas: ſo that the Turks, to curb theſe inſolencies, gave Orders to build two Forts at the mouth of the Black Sea: the Poliſh Ambaſſadour made complaint hereof, and proteſted againſt it, as an Act contrary to the Capitulations of Peace; but the Turks eſteem little of the air of Bravadoes, whilſt they are not accompanied with ſomething elſe more ſolid than their own levity.

But the grand Concernments which buſied the thoughts of the Turks was the Rebellion of *Abaſſa*, and the War in *Perſia*, the management of which was the charge and care of the Selictar Aga lately made Vizier, called *Serches* Paſha. His Head-quarters were at the beginning of this year taken up at *Iconium*, called by the Turks *Conie*; and *Abaſſa* was encamped at *Kaiſaria*, againſt whom the Vizier marched; and being nearly approached, the Janiſaries earneſtly urged, that Battle might be given the Enemy; but the Vizier having received Inſtructions not to engage, if poſſible, but rather to enter into a Treaty, and to propoſe terms of Accommodation, delayed the time, and with various excuſes eluded the preſent premures of the Janiſaries; at which they became ſo angry, that they flew into an open Mutiny, cutting the Cords of his Tents, ſtoning him, and wounding him in the head: by which open violence the Vizier being compelled to make known his Orders, he aſſembled the chief Commanders of the Spahees and Janiſaries, giving them to underſtand, that the Grand Signiors pleaſure was to make up the difference with *Abaſſa*, as the only means to conclude an inteſtine and unnatural War, and to be able to withſtand the Perſians, and regain the Country and reputation which the Turks had loſt. This Propoſition ſeemed plauſible to the Commanders at the General Aſſembly, and more eſpecially becauſe it was the pleaſure and injunction of the Grand Signior; but more difficult it was to incline the rough and obſtinate minds of the Janiſaries to a reſolution ſo different to their natures, and ſo contrary to that revenge which they had deeply rooted in their hearts and ſworn to execute: howſoever the perſwaſions which the Officers uſed to their inferiour Souldiers, putting them in memory of the blood of their Companions, and how deſtructive the continuance of ſuch a War muſt neceſſarily prove for the future by thoſe large

The Janiſaries mutiny.

large effuſions of blood which they muſt expect farther to make, were ſo prevalent upon them, that at length they condeſcended to a Treaty, and to receive *Abaſſa* for a Friend and a Fellow-Souldier. *Abaſſa* at firſt ſuſpecting ſome treachery, refuſed to give a private meeting to the Vizier; but the Vizier giving his Brother the Beglerbegh of *Caramania* and the Paſha of *Anatolia* for Hoſtages, the day and place for a Conference was appointed; where both Parties meeting, Articles were agreed, that *Abaſſa* ſhould ſtill continue to be Paſha of *Erzirum*, his Son Paſha of *Boſra*, his Kahya or Lieutenant to be Paſha of *Maraſch* (all which were places on the Confines of *Perſia*) a general Act of Pardon and Amneſtie was to be given to *Abaſſa* and his whole Army; and the Articles ſworn unto in the moſt ſolemn manner by the Vizier, and confirmed in the publick Camp of the Janiſaries, who alſo promiſed to maintain this word and promiſe of the Vizier; to all which the Grand Signior gave his Hand, and affixed his Royal Signature. A Reconciliation being in this manner compleated, the City of *Erzirum* reſigned it ſelf to the Obedience of the Grand Signior, and the Army of *Abaſſa* was employed on the Confines of *Perſia*, and converted againſt the Enemy. The Vizier alſo was appointed to proceed on the ſame Enterpriſe; but his Army was ſo ill provided of all neceſſaries, that he made his excuſe, and refuſed to march forward; but on the contrary, he returned to *Conſtantinople* in company with *Abaſſa*, where with many demonſtrations of friendſhip and reſpect, he was conducted to the preſence of the Grand Signior to receive Honour, and the reward of his penitence, and return to obedience. The approach of theſe two great Perſonages near to *Conſtantinople* made much noiſe and rumor in the City; ſome blamed the weakneſs of the Government for accepting an Enemy unto favour, and that the crowning of his Rebellion with rewards, was to encourage others in the like practices. The Vizier was alſo murmured againſt for leaving the Army and the War, contrary to the Royal Command, by ſuch as were emulous of his Greatneſs: but as envy is converted into veneration, and ceaſes as ſmoke doth, when it is blown up by the flame of ſucceſs and glory; ſo thoſe who were emulous of theſe perſons, ſubmitted to all obſequious offices towards them, and diſſembling their malice, went to meet them as far as *Scutari*, that they might add to their Train and Equipage, and help at the Solemnity of their Entrance. All people now caſt their eyes on the Vizier and *Abaſſa*, as the two great men of this Age; the firſt was eſteemed for his dexterous and ſucceſsful management in bringing over *Abaſſa* to his ſubmiſſion and obedience; for though he was not famed much for his great Feats of Arms, yet this Reconciliation of *Abaſſa* was accounted a Maſter-piece of Policy, and better ſervice than a Victory. *Abaſſa* alſo drew the eyes of the people, who crowded to ſee ſo great a Captain, that could contend with the Port, and put all *Aſia* into diſturbance, and in concluſion could make the ſame Arms ſerve his Maſter, which had lately before given a check and ſtop to all the Ottoman Force. The Vizier was the firſt introduced to the Royal Preſence, where being graciouſly received, he was preſented with a Veſt of Sables and a Cemiter ſet with Jewels. *Abaſſa* was afterwards admitted, and having performed his obeiſance by touching the ground with his forehead after their faſhion; he declared, that he never was other than a faithful Vaſſal to the Sultan, and that he had taken up Arms for his ſake, that he might ſubjugate the inſolence of the Janiſaries, and with their blood

1628.

They conſent to treat with *Abaſſa*.

Abaſſa reconciled to the Grand Signior.

The Vizier and *Abaſſa* make their Entry into *Conſtantinople*.

1628. blood revenge the death, and ſacrifice to the Ghoſt of his murdered Brother *Oſman*, that they might learn to reverence their Princes for the future, and learn to know how ſacred the blood is of their Soveraign. The Grand Signior ſeemed kindly to accept this Apology, and as a token thereof beſtowed three Veſts upon him, which was a treble Honour of that kind, and made him Paſha of *Boſna*; on which employment he immediately entred: and though when ſuch Offices are beſtowed, it is commonly the cuſtom for that perſon who is inveſted in the Employment given, to kiſs the ſleeve of the Grand Signior publickly by way of thanks; yet leſt ſuch demonſtration of Honour ſhould ill affect the eyes of the Janiſaries, and cauſe murmuring and repinings amongſt the moſt envious of the Souldiery, his laſt Audience was deſigned privately, and his Diſpatch procured in more ſecret and familiar manner, and therefore more obliging than was uſual.

The Jews at *Conſtantinople* how treated.

To yield ſome aſſiſtance to the preſent growing Charges of the Empire, the Vizier impoſed a heavy Tax on the Chriſtians and Jews; on the firſt it was levied with all ſeverity; but the Jews found more favour by their Arts and ſecret management of Affairs; for they are a people of ſome Authority and Power in *Turkie*: they are curſed by particular perſons, but careſſed by the generality: they are Slaves in all Countries, and yet acquire ſomewhat of Maſterſhip and Propriety: they are Vagabonds, and yet every Country is their own: they cannot buy Lands, and yet daily increaſe their Fortunes: they multiply in abundance, becauſe they all marry, and are not deſtroyed by Wars: they are great Confidents of the Turks, and Enemies to the Chriſtians. In ſhort, covetouſneſs in *Conſtantinople* is like a publick Courtiſan, to whom the Jews are the Panders and Ruffians.

1629. The Grand Signior paſſing one day through the ſtreets, unhappily met with the Ambaſſadour of the Prince of *Tranſylvania*, who becauſe he did not immediately deſcend from his Horſe in token of reverence, he cauſed him and his whole Family to be impriſoned; but being afterwards excuſed by the Chimacam to have only been a matter of inadvertency, his omiſſion was pardoned, and ſo releaſed from his reſtraint.

The Souldiery having for a long time been governed by a looſe and gentle hand, continued their licentious way of living, committing many outrages on the Merchants and Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, againſt which many Decrees having been publiſhed, and Proclamations made without any effect or notice of the Souldiery; the Vizier was unwilling to dally longer; and therefore taking a Spahee and a Janiſary, hanged them up, and cut off their Heads, and with ſuch courſe and method of ſeverity he ſo abated the haughty ſtomachs of the Souldiers already mortified by the aſſumption of *Abaſſa* into favour, that they began to yield unto Command, and to behold their Rulers with an eye of reſpect, as thoſe which were ſeated in ſome degree above themſelves; for till now there was ſcarce a common Janiſary, but who thought himſelf to be the Creator or Elector of his General, and therefore to be little inferiour to him in Power and Dignity. And as this Vizier was ſevere towards the Souldiery, ſo he demeaned himſelf with equal rigour towards the Paſha's and Grandees of the Court; which though it was an humor in the Vizier at that conjuncture laudable and neceſſary, yet it procured him ſuch enmity, as removed him at a diſtance, and cauſed him to be ſent into *Perſia* to command the Army, and by that means to expoſe him to the

the hazard and difficulties of doubtful ſucceſs in a dangerous War. 1629.

The Vizier being departed, the Grand Signior appeared in publick on Horſe-back, together with his Brother by his ſide, an unuſual ſight amongſt the Turks; but the Queen-Mother, who in abſence of the Vizier ruled much, commanded that it ſhould be ſo: the Grand Signior had this year a Son born which cauſed great rejoycing at *Conſtantinople*, becauſe there were few Males at that time ſurviving of the Ottoman Line; but ſcarce was the Feſtival ended before the Child died.

But let us now for a while withdraw our Diſcourſe from the Wars of *Perſia*, and look to the Actions in *Poland* and *Tranſylvania*. *Mehmet* the late King of *Tartary*, who was ſo diſpleaſing to the Port (as we have already related) was now dead, to whom ſucceeded a Kinſman of his called *Jembeg Gheray*, univerſally pleaſing and acceptable to that people. This new King, to demonſtrate his proweſs, and to act ſomething acceptable to the Port, diſpeeded forty thouſand Horſe into *Podolia* and *Ruſſia* to ſack and ravage the Country, which dividing themſelves into ſeveral Parties, made their Incurſions as far as *Socal*. But in the mean time the Polonians and Coſacks having formed a ſtrong Body of Horſe under the Command of *Stephen Chmieleskie*, met them at their return near to *Burſtinow*, where they gave them a total overthrow; and in like manner *Staniſlaus Lubomiski* encountred another Party, and overthrow them, leaving thirty thouſand ſlain on the place, and taking two thouſand Priſoners, amongſt which was the younger Brother of the Tartar King. This defeat, as it was the greateſt that ever was given to the Tartars, ſo it is probable, that had it been well proſecuted at that time by the Polonians, they might have entred the *Cherſoneſus Tauricus*, and without much oppoſition have put an end to that Kingdom; but *Sigiſmond* King of *Poland* had other deſigns in hand: ſuch mixed Monarchies as that being better able to defend their own Dominions, than to acquire or conquer others. The Tartars overthrown by the Polanders.

To this News ill received at *Conſtantinople* ſupervened the unexpected death of *Bethlem Gabor*; unexpected, I ſay, becauſe that though he had been long labouring under the diſeaſes of Dropſie and Aſthma, yet the greatneſs of his Soul, and activeneſs of his Spirit maſtered for a long time his indiſpoſition, ſo that he ſeldom or never omitted his Counſels and buſineſs; and to the very time of his death was meditating and contriving deſigns, whereby to preſerve his Dominions, and enlarge them. And indeed the Government of *Tranſylvania* required no leſs than ſuch a ſtirring Spirit: for being ſeated between two ſuch powerful Monarchs, as the Emperour and the Turk, there was need of dexterity and courage to ſteer between the rocks of ſuch oppoſite Intereſts: ſometimes it was neceſſary to joyn with one, and anon with the other: ſo *Sigiſmond Battori* Prince of *Tranſylvania* uniting his Forces with the Emperour's in ſeveral Conflicts overthrew the Turk, and kept the ſcale in an equal balance: *Gabor* on the contrary inclined to the Turks, and ſupported his Intereſt with the Ottoman Power, following ſuch Maxims as had been more ruinous to Chriſtendom, had he tranſferred them to a Son to imitate and purſue; but dying without iſſue, the Government devolved to his Princeſs by Vote of the States of the Country, and by Confirmation of the Turk, as we have already intimated. *Gabor* knew ſo well how to deal and treat with the Turks, that he gained an abatement of ten thouſand Dollars of the annual Tribute; he managed his affairs ſo The death of *Bethlem Gabor*.

ſubtilely

1629. subtilely with the Emperour, that he was always invited to a Peace, and accordingly made his advantage by the Treaty. The other Princes of Christendom in like manner courted him, and particularly the Cardinal *Richelieu* employed one *Bornemis*, a Gentleman of *Transylvania*, a Lover of the French Interest, to be always about him, by whose means, and with the assistance of twenty thousand Crowns of yearly Pension, he obliged him to make War on the Emperour, at such seasons as it should be intimated unto him to be most conducing to the advantage of *France*. At length, as we have said, giving way to mortality, he died on the 15th of *November*, after he had reigned eighteen years: he was a Prince of great abilities, but exercised them ill to the damage of Christendom; howsoever he was a Souldier of extraordinary courage and conduct, having begun to manage his Sword at seventeen years of age, and as it is said, had been engaged in forty two several Fights. His Widow *Katherine*, Sister of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, rendred an account to the Port of this accident, and the Grand Signior immediately returned Answer by *Sulficar* Aga, condoling the misfortune, and encouraging her to a dependence on the Port: which she accepting with due resentment promised obedience to the Grand Signior, and begged his Protection. But the weather was too boisterous and rude for a Vessel to be navigated well under the Pilotage of a Woman; for the situation of the Country between two mighty and potent Monarchs required more than a masculine mind and courage to free and defend it from the plots, snares, and violence with which it was, as with a toile, encompassed by those two great *Nimrods* of the East and West. And though the Sultan undertook to defend his Female Ally, yet the diversion of the Ottoman Arms in *Persia*, the intestine distractions, and the Minority of the Emperour were such burdens on the foundation of Empire, and obstructions to great and Heroick Atchievements in behalf of the distressed Princess, that all the promises made to her were unavailable and ineffectual. For

The Widow of *Bethlem Gabor* perswaded to quit her Government.

Stephen Bethlem, a Kinsman of the deceased Prince, a man conspicuous in his own Person and Estate, as well as for the several Governments divided amongst his Sons, and the interest he had gained in his Country, procured means to convoke the States at *Claudiopolis*, and insinuating the foregoing inconveniencies of a Female Government, so prevailed with the Assembly, that they perswaded the Princess to yield up her Soveraignty to *Stephen Gabor*, as one better capacitated for Rule and Soveraignty than her self. *Stephen* having thus obtained his intent, entred into a serious Consultation with his Friends and Relations, whether he should labour to confirm the Government to himself and entail it to the Family, or renounce it to some other. The first seemed a matter very dubious and difficult; for that *Bethlem Gabor* his Predecessour had disobliged the principal Boyards or Barons of the Country, and thereby derived an envy and hatred to all his Family: his long and violent government annexed to the interest of the Turk, had not only rendred his Memory odious to his own People, but likewise to the House of *Austria*, which would be ready to continue the like prejudice and aversion to any of the same Family, as it did to the last thereof. For which Reasons, after due and mature consideration, it was resolved to offer the Government to *George Ragotski*, a person rich in money and of great interest, by reason of the Jurisdiction and Castles which he possessed in *Hungary*, belonging to his own paternal Inheritance; and in pursuance thereof they sent

sent *Stephen* the second Son, and *Solomon* a Kinsman of that Family for Ambassadours to *Ragotski*, representing to him, that they had preferred his Merit before the Interest of their own Family, and therefore desired him, that he would be pleased to take upon himself the Regency of the Principality. The offer of Government was a savoury bait to the palate of *Ragotski*, which he embraced with singular affectation and contentment, and was easily perswaded on this occasion to take a Journey to *Varadin*, one of the principal Fortresses and places of consideration in that whole Province, and was there received by *Stephen* the Ambassadour, Governour of the Citadel, with firing all the Cannon, and with the common Joy and Festivity of the whole City. But in the midst of this mirth, an unexpected Messenger arrived with News, that the States had with common consent elected another Prince, which was *Stephen Bethlem*, Father of the Ambassadour, and Author of this Counsel. *Ragotski* was strangely surprised with this Intelligence, and the Ambassadours were put to the blush to see their Negotiations under such a shameful defeat: howsoever resolving to continue constant to their first Election, and to renounce the interest of their own Family, they still maintained the same obsequious offices of Honour and Reverence towards *Ragotski*, as formerly. And notwithstanding the Orders received from the States to abstain from any other demonstrations of Honour to *Ragotski*, than what were ordinary towards a private person of his Quality and Riches; and that he should retire from the Confines of *Transylvania* to the Precincts of his own Castles: yet they still persisted to execute their first Commission, and so to attract people to his Party; that the number thereof daily increasing, it was at length agreed, that the first Election not being fair, the point in Controversie should be determined at *Sazburg*, a City of *Saxony*. The States General being assembled, *Ragotski* accompanied his pretensions with a large effusion of Gold, the most powerful and most convincing Argument imaginable: to which he added, That he had no design to affect the Principality, had not the same been first offered to him from *Stephen Gabor* the Father by the hand of his Son: that it was very improper for that person to offer a Dignity to another, which he affected for himself: that it was in the power of the Transylvanians not to have offered him the Principality; but having once chosen him to it, they could not, without his disparagement and prejudice, retract from their Election. In short, these considerations, assisted by the interest of the Princess Dowager, so far prevailed, that *Stephen Bethlem* was put aside, and *Ragotski*, who attended the success of this matter at *Varadin*, was with common consent elected Prince; from whence being with great Acclamations, and a general concourse of the people, conducted to *Alba Julia*, he there took the usual Oath with much Solemnity and Magnificence; and with Princely Magnificence entertained and treated the two Ambassadours *Stephen* and *Solomon*, and dispensed freely his money unto divers; who before being Enemies, were now reconciled, and become his Friends and Admirers. Liberality in a Prince is the most resplendent Gemm in all his Crown, and is a light so forcible, that it dazles envy it self, and puts out all the eyes of suspicion and jealousie.

1629. The Principality offered to *Ragotski*.

Ragotski chosen Prince.

By this time the Great Vizier was far advanced with his Army into *Persia*, having been encouraged to proceed by the feigned flight, or rather retreat of the Enemy, who burned, destroyed, and laid waste all round

1630.

1630. round them, as they retired; which put the Turks to such inextricable difficulties, that in two months March they had all the inconveniencies and miseries to contend with, which commonly attend Armies in strange Countries; the Plains through which they travelled were abandoned by the Inhabitants, and void of provisions, the Mountains were covered with Snow and comfortless; and what was worst, the Persians kept all the narrow passages so strongly guarded, that the Vizier was now more in danger of Famine than of the Sword: but being a person of great sense and experience in Military affairs, he prudently disingaged himself from the intricacy of these dangers; and encamping his Army in the Plain of *Amedan*, he so provoked the hot Spirits of the Persians, that they resolve to assault him on that side of his Camp, which they judged to be the most weakly defended; of which having some advertisement, he secretly laid an Ambuscado in the way, which so happily succeeded, that he killed eight thousand Persians on the place; but howsoever the Victory cost so dear, and was so bloody by the loss of the stoutest Janisaries, and the bravest of the Souldiery, that the news thereof made little noise or rejoycing at *Constantinople*.

A Victory gained by the Turks over the Persians.

With this Intelligence the Vizier demanded new Recruits; for that besides the abatement of his numbers by the last Engagement, the multitudes of the Enemy increased, and his own Souldiers fled from their Colours; of which many being observed to enter *Constantinople*, notwithstanding the severe Decrees of Martial Law published against them, put the Grand Signior into a high choler and indignation. And being desirous to reinforce the Viziers Army with all the Recruits that he was able, Proclamations were made, that all the Militia at *Constantinople* should immediately pass over unto *Scutari* under their respective Commanders; and that whosoever received one Asper of Pay from the Grand Signior in quality of a Souldier, should immediately pass the Chanel into *Asia*, and follow their Leaders to the War. But so great was the abhorrency which the Souldiers had to this March into *Persia*, calling it the Sepulchre and Cemetery of the Turks, that few or none would obey, every one flying, hiding, and shifting for himself as well as he could; during which fears and troubles, the ways from *Persia* were so obstructed by the *Curdes*, that in the space of three or four months no News arrived at *Constantinople* from the Army, which caused as great apprehensions and affrightments there, as if the Empire had been reduced to the utmost extremity. Nor did the Sultan want jealousies and fears of receiving affronts from the Emperour, and King of *Poland*; the first of which had a fair opportunity presented of regaining all *Transylvania*, especially at a time when that Country was divided by two several Factions; but more pressing and troublesom were the Cosacks, who daily infested the Black Sea, and to the great reproach of the Imperial City perpetually disturbed it with Alarms, passing up almost in sight of *Constantinople*: of which complaints being made to the Polonian Ambassadours, he answered with some indignation, That the Cosacks had reason for what they acted; for that since the Tartars had by Orders from the Grand Signior made their late irruption into that Country, as they could well prove from the Commission taken amongst the Baggage of the Prince of *Tartary* in the last defeat, the Cosacks might with all justice assume to themselves a method of revenge. But the Grand Signior not being able to support this affront, or to see himself braved on the very Banks of his Imperial

The difficulty of sending men into *Persia*.

The Cosacks trouble the Turks.

Imperial Seat, and his Villages and Towns round about burnt and pillaged by a crew of Free-booters and Pirates, caſt all the blame on the Chimacam, to whom in his rage he gave ſuch a blow with his fiſt on the face, that blood iſſued from his noſe; and had not the Queen-Mother interceded for him, he had been delivered into the hand of the Executioner to take away his life. Nor was the Captain-Paſha in leſs danger at his return; becauſe, that upon his aſſurance, that the Coſacks would not for that year make any attempt in the Chanel of *Conſtantinople*, the Grand Signior had aſſented, that the Fleet of Gallies ſhould that Summer make a Voyage into the *Archipelago*; which miſtake having been the cauſe of all this affront, the Captain-Paſha was to ſhare in the blame, and had likewiſe in the puniſhment, had not good Friends interpoſed between him and danger. Nor were the Coſacks ſatisfied with their late Plunder, but ſpeedily made another return with two hundred Boats; and though the whole Fleet of Gallies were then in Port, yet they had the boldneſs to proceed as far as *Pompey's* Pillar, and thereby to hinder all Proviſions from paſſing to *Conſtantinople* by way of the Black Sea. And what gave greater fear than all this, was the News which came at the ſame time, that the Poles were on the Frontiers with thirty thouſand Horſe; to whom immediately a Chaous or Envoyé was diſpatched with Propoſitions very advantageous to the Crown of *Poland*, conditionally that the continual irruptions made by the Coſacks ſhould be ſtopped, and they reſtrained within the due terms of peace and moderation. The Chaous found a civil reception from the Poles, and promiſes of compliance, in regard that the King had ſome intentions of making War upon the Moſcovite; but whilſt theſe things were in agitation, and that the Chaous was ready to return, behold on a ſudden News came, that ten thouſand Tartars were broken into *Podolia*, which put all things back again, and ſo changed the ſtile of Affairs, that in the ſtead of Articles of Peace, the Chaous was again returned with the menaces of War, and with reproaches for the laſt perfidious action. 1630.

Notwithſtanding all theſe troubles abroad, the Puiſſance of the Ottoman Empire might have been able to have ſtruggled with greater difficulties, had not its own inteſtine diſtractions rendred all things dangerous, and of a malevolent aſpect. The Government was at that time chiefly in the hands of the four Brothers-in-law, who had married four Siſters of the Grand Signior's, and for that reaſon were powerful, and employed in the principal Offices of State, and commonly drew contrary to the opinions of the Mufti and Chimacam, which two laſt were not well accorded between themſelves; for that the latter encroached on the Office of the Mufti, to the great ſcandal and diſcontent of all the religious and literate men in the whole City; howſoever they both joyned in conſultation by what means they might beſt ſecure themſelves and the Government from the luſts and evil deſigns of this quadruple Fraternity; but their wiſdom and intereſts were too weak to contrive remedies againſt ſuch high oppreſſions; for beſides the violences daily practiſed by the Brothers, the extravagant humors in the Sultan himſelf added to the diſorders of State, and increaſed the diſcontents and diſſatisfactions of the people: for though *Morat* was naturally endowed with a good wit and parts, was ſtout and of a good courage; yet as his perpetual debauchery in Wine rendred him in appearance but of a weak underſtanding, mixed with much levity, ſo it cauſed his acceſſions of the Fal- The diſorders in the Ottoman State.

1630. ling-ſickneſs (to which he was ſubject) to return often, whereby the ſtrength of his brain was daily weakened and impaired: he was negligent alſo in the performance of thoſe Ceremonies which his Anceſtors were accuſtomed to obſerve; nor did he live with that gravity and regular courſe which is agreeable to the Grandeur of ſo great a Prince: for ſometimes he would go out of his Seraglio with no other Attendance than of three or four men, which were for the moſt part Buffoons, Players upon the Gittern, and Eunuchs; and with no better an Equipage would he ſometimes be ſeen on Horſe-back, or in his Boat rowed on the *Boſphorus* with ſix Oars only: by which actions and other mean ſallies of Youth, he created ſuch a contempt towards his Perſon, that evil men grew factious and weary, and entred into Conſpiracies againſt his life, whilſt the good men feared and preſaged the ruine and downfal of the Empire: for neither juſtice, nor order, nor obedience prevailed; no Offices were conferred for Merit, but by money, or ſome other unlawful means; there remained no Counſellors of true faith and integrity, nor Souldiers almoſt either of experience for Sea or Land-adventures. The people being burdened by double Taxes and Impoſts were mutinous, and ready to take the leaſt fire of Rebellion; the Souldiery were diſorderly for want of Diſcipline and their conſtant Pay: the Paſha's of remote Provinces grew inſolent, taking upon themſelves rather an abſolute than a depending Soveraignty. In ſhort, all things looked with that black appearance, that nothing ſeemed to keep the frame of Empire together, but only the expectation of good ſucceſs to the Army in *Perſia*, the which, as it depended on uncertain events, ſo the Ottoman Monarchy was then ſhaking, and ſtood tottering on its deepeſt foundation.

Wherefore all people being intent to hear of good News from *Perſia*, were much pleaſed to underſtand, that the Vizier having by advantage in the laſt Engagement laden his Army with Plunder and Spoils, was now preparing to beſiege *Bagdat*, for whoſe good ſucceſs Prayers were daily made in the Moſchs; and the Schoolmaſters ſurrounded the ſtreets with their young Scholars, ſinging out Prayers with the Amen at every period, according to the cuſtom of that Country. The Vizier marched towards *Bagdat*, and began to beſiege it about the 10th of *September*; in order whereunto he amaſſed great abundance of all ſorts of Proviſions, and made his Magazine of them at *Moſul*, two thouſand Camels, each laden with two Sacks of Cotton, every Sack being of about ten foot long, were carried to the Siege, for ſhelter of the Souldiery, and to fill the Ditches. The Vizier having paſſed part of his Army over the River *Tigris*, the reſt with the Cannon remaining on the hither ſide, he diſpatched *Naſuf* Paſha of *Aleppo* with ſix thouſand Spahees to take a view of the place, and diſcover the Avenues unto it: in his way thither he met with eight thouſand Perſian Horſe ſent to reinforce the Garriſon, which he valiantly engaged; but being dangerouſly wounded, was forced to retreat with the loſs of almoſt half of his men, part killed, and part taken; thoſe which were carried Priſoners to *Bagdat* were treated with all civility by the Governour, who gave them a view of the Garriſon, which conſiſted of twenty thouſand effective men, ſhewed them their Stores and Proviſions, and that there was ſcarce an unuſeful mouth in all the City to devour them. Notwithſtanding this diſaſter at the beginning, the Vizier nothing diſmayed proceeded on his deſign, ſpending the whole month of *September* in making his approaches. In the month

The Vizier prepares to beſiege *Bagdat*.

The Siege.

of

of *October* he mounted eighteen Pieces of great Cannon, which for the space of twenty five days battered continually the Curtain between the two Bastions on which were four Pieces of Cannon not perceived by the Turks; there was also a deep and large Ditch not discovered by them, for that it was planked over with Boards, and covered with a green Turff, so that it appeared like a plain and firm ground; the breach being made, and seemingly undefended, the Turks resolved to make an Assault; wherefore the Vizier on the 20th of *November* commanded the Spahees under the Conduct of the Beglerbei of *Anatolia*, accompanied with Pasha's, Sangiacks, and other persons of note, as also with Janisaries, to the number of thirty thousand, to enter the breach: which being performed, and great numbers crowding on the Turff, the weight of them pressed down the Planks; and therewith the whole Engine giving way, five or six thousand were in a moment taken as it were in a Pit-fall, and swallowed up without any possibility of succour to be yielded from their Companions. After which on an instant there appeared fifteen thousand men on the breach and on the Bastions, which with their Cannon and continual Vollies of Musket-shot, so galled the Spahees, that they broke their main Body, and killed the Beglerbei of *Anatolia* with other persons of note and quality, and made the whole Army to retreat. Two days after this disgrace the Vizier raised the Siege, and marched towards *Mosul*, and the Persians encouraged with this success, pursued the Turks with eight thousand Horse, assailed the Rear-guard of the Enemy; and though the conduct and care thereof was committed to the charge of the Pasha's of *Aleppo* and *Damascus*, yet the Persians killed three thousand Turks, and had defeated the whole Rear of the Army, had not the Spahees turned their Horses, and withstood the shock with great Valour. 1630. The Siege raised.

Notwithstanding this dishonourable Retreat the Vizier lost not his courage, or hopes of taking the Town, in order unto which he appointed all things necessary to renew the Siege again in the months of *September* and *October* following; for that the foregoing months are either too rainy, or too hot in those Countries to undertake a design or enterprise of that nature: he fortified all the small places in those parts round, and quartered his Souldiers in them; so that having all conveniencies of living, they might be induced to continue, and not abandon their Colours: especially he took care to fortified *Illay*, a place of about two days journey from *Bagdat*, reinforcing the Garrison with six thousand men under the Command of three Beglerbegs, in regard that it was a very considerable Pass, and the principal Magazine and Granary of Corn and other Provisions. At the same time he sent Letters to *Constantinople*, representing the state of his affairs to be in a hopeful condition; and desiring Recruits both of men and money, gave great assurances of conquering the City at the next Attempt.

In this perillous condition of the Ottoman State one would have imagined, that Christian Princes would have seen their own interest, and made use of their advantage; but God not having as yet fixed a period to the bounds of this Empire, was pleased by his secret Providence to divert both the Emperour and the King of *Poland* from making War with the Turk, inclining them to employ their Arms on their Christian Neighbours. For though the Chaous (as we have said before) was returned from *Poland* with disdain, and with an angry Message; yet the The Poles and Turks make Peace.

Chimacam,

1630. Chimacam, when he made *Moſes* Vayvod of *Moldavia*, encharged him to perform all offices of Mediation between the Grand Signior and the Poles, perſwading them to reſtrain the Incurſions of the Coſacks, and to ſend an Ambaſſadour to the Port: in which affair *Moſes* ſo well performed his Negotiation, that applying Lenitives to the anger of the Poles, he reduced them to Articles of Peace, and to promiſes of reſtraining the Coſacks, on condition, that the Turks reciprocally forbid and withhold the Tartars from joyning or affording aſſiſtance to his Enemies the Moſcovites. Theſe Conditions being agreed, an Ambaſſadour was ſent from *Poland* to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received with as much joy as he was expected with impatience. The Coſacks and Tartars were two ſorts of people which lived equally on Spoils and Booty, the firſt as offenſive to the Turk, as the latter to the Pole; and therefore as it was an equal benefit, ſo it was an agreement of even Terms to counterchange the caution given reciprocally for one and the other. But the Engagement for ſuch wild people was more eaſily given than performed, which becauſe it was a point agreeable to both Parties, it was expreſſed with the moſt clear words and ſtrict terms poſſible. The Poles were weary and grieved to ſee their Provinces depopulated by the Tartars, who yearly carried away ſome thouſands of ſouls: the Turks on the other ſide were not leſs infeſted with the Coſacks, who captivated their people, burnt their Towns and Villages, and kept them in continual Alarms. But becauſe theſe people are hardly reſtrained from their robberies and pillaging, the Poles, as a remedy, reſolved to carry the Coſacks to the War againſt the Moſcovite, and better to ſecure the Tartar, the Poliſh Ambaſſadour obliged to pay them twenty thouſand Florins yearly, and ſix thouſand pair of Boots, according to the ancient Articles of Peace; on which conſiderations the Tartars were engaged never to enter *Poland* in a hoſtile manner, but to ſerve that King in his Wars againſt all Nations whatſoever, the Turks only excepted.

The Coſacks and Tartars compared.

1631. In this manner were the Turks this year freed from all apprehenſions of Alarm from the Coſacks, and of War with *Poland*. And the Emperour was ſo buſied concerning the ſurprize of *Mantoua*, and engaged in the quarrel about that Dutchy, and with ſome ambitious thoughts relating to *Italy*, that the Turks hoped to have proſecuted their Wars in *Perſia* without fear of diverſion from the Weſtern parts. But yet the affairs towards the parts of *Germany* were not ſo well ſecured, but that the turbulent ſpirit of *Ragotski* adminiſtred ſubject for diſſention; for being lately ſeated (as we have ſaid) in his Principality, he was doubtful, whether it were moſt for his intereſt to incline unto the Emperour, or to the Turk; and whilſt both Parties courted his friendſhip, and cheapned his acknowledgments (for of neceſſity he muſt be a Vaſſal to one or the other) the Heyducs who were Tenants to the Lands of *Gabor*, refuſed to return to the obedience of the Emperour, demanding protection from the Grand Signior. The jealouſie of thoſe ill conſequences which this commotion might produce alarmed all the Country; and the Emperour and *Ragotski* being hereby raiſed to a mutual defiance, advanced their Troops one againſt the other upon the Frontiers; but all *Hungary* trembling with fear of thoſe calamities which enſue from War, ſeveral of thoſe concerned interpoſed ſo far towards an Accommodation, that Deputies were appointed to meet at *Caſſovia* to treat of Peace: but in the mean time the Palatine of *Hungary* paſſing eight thouſand men over the River *Ti-*

Troubles in *Hungary*.

biſcus

biſcus to make ſeiſure of a certain Fort built by *George Baſta*, ſo alarmed and awakened *Ragotski*, that he diſpatched a Gentleman to him to demand the cauſe of this motion; and not receiving an anſwer agreeable to his expectation, he advanced upon him with an Army of ten thouſand men, and engaging him with great reſolution, killed four thouſand on the place, and ſo cauſed him to retire: from theſe beginnings all the miſchiefs of a bloody War had certainly enſued, had not *Ragotski* refuſed to receive Succours from the Turk; but he depending on his own ſtrength (having fifteen thouſand men in Arms for defence of his hereditary Lands in *Hungary*) contemned all external aſſiſtances, as favouring too much of vaſſalage and dependence; howſoever the Paſha's of the Frontiers aſſembled their Forces, and yet acted with ſuch caution, as not to proceed to an open Rupture; for the Wars in *Perſia* being unſucceſsful and preſſing, required moderation and Lenitives on this ſide, that ſo the differences now on the Frontiers might be transferred to an opportunity more ſeaſonable for diſpute. 1631.

In the month of *September* Sultan *Morat* being at his ſmall Seraglio called *Daout* Paſha, and ſleeping there one night in his Bed, he was on a ſudden awakened by a terrible Lightning; which entring his Chamber rounded his Bed, leaving ſeveral marks on his Sheets and Quilts; and whilſt he ſought ſome place to hide himſelf in, it paſſed under his arm, and burnt part of his ſhirt, the affrightment of which ſo aſtoniſhed him, that he remained for ſome time in a ſwound, which for ever after did much impair the ſtrength of his brain: he now began to be ſenſible that there were other Thunder-bolts than thoſe that proceed from his own Throne; and like *Tiberius* learned to tremble at the voice of God, whilſt he heard him ſpeak in the clouds: *Nec Deum unquam niſi iratum pertimuit, & turbatiori Cælo fulminantem.* And ſo affected was the Sultan with this accident, that afterwards he diſmiſſed divers of his Buffoons from the Court, and particularly a Mute whoſe ridiculous geſtures were his common Divertiſement, and for ſome time cauſed him to abſtain from Wine; and as a farther token of his Converſion and thankfulneſs to God for this eſcape, he ordered five thouſand Dollars to be given in alms to the poor, and Korban to be made of three hundred ſheep; and the Friday following he ſolemnly went to the Moſch, to render thanks unto God for having ſo prodigiouſly preſerved him from the Executioner of his Vengeance. 1631.

The G. Signior affrighted with Lightning.

During all this time the Great Vizier wanting Succours and Supplies of men and money, had great difficulty to contain his people in their due obedience, or within the bounds of their Quarters; for they were apt to leave their Colours, and would really have diſbanded, had not their ſpirits been daily held up with the hopes and amuſements of Pay and Recruits. The four Brethren-in-law which greatly apprehended leſt their Power and Authority ſhould be abated by the return of the Vizier, exerciſed all the diligence they were able to make new Levies, the reinforcement of which might inſtill new courage into the Souldiery, and be a means to continue the Vizier in thoſe parts; but the Mufti obſtructed all Levies on the ſide of *Greece* and the Frontiers of Chriſtendom, alledging, That the beſt Souldiers being ſent from thoſe parts, would hazard the Empire by expoſing and laying it open to the Incurſions of the Chriſtians: by which contrary opinions and delays the Vizier wanting the aſſiſtance expected, the Perſians recovered all the little

Fortreſſes

1631. Fortreſſes which they had loſt the year before, with the conſiderable place of *Illay*; which being taken by aſſault and by an abſolute force of Sword and Arms, the greateſt part of the Garriſon conſiſting of eight thouſand men commanded by the three Paſha's before-mentioned, were cut off, which was an important loſs to the Turks, not only for the ſlaughter of ſo many brave Souldiers, but alſo for the quantities of Proviſions, being the Granary and Magazine for the whole Army. Therein were likewiſe taken forty Field-pieces carrying eight pounds Bullet, with a great Chain of Iron, which uſually encompaſſes the Treaſury which is carried into the Field. With this ill ſucceſs the Vizier retreated from *Moſul* as far as *Mirdin*, from whence he redoubled his inſtances for Supplies for men and money. At length it was agreed, that an Army of thirty thouſand Tartars ſhould be ſent thither; but *Ragotski* adviſing, that he was upon the point of breaking with the Emperour, it was ordered, that their number ſhould be reduced to ten thouſand; the which taking their Journey into *Perſia* by the way of *Circaſſia*, were there encountred by *Han Gherey*, the Prince of *Tartary*, (whom we formerly mentioned to have been depoſed by that people) and by him obſtructed in their paſſage, the Vanguard of their Army being cut off by him; ſo that they were forced again to retreat and to embark their Men and Horſe at *Caffa* to be tranſported by Sea to *Trapezond*; which as it was a matter of great trouble, ſo it was a courſe unpractiſed by the Tartars. The G. Signior being unable to render a more conſiderable Succour than this unto his Army, which was now reduced to the weak number of two thouſand Janiſaries, and three thouſand Spahees, he reſolved to condeſcend to Terms and Articles, as the only means to ſave his Honour, and the remainder of his Forces. In order unto which, he releaſed a Perſian Lord from his Impriſonment in the Seven Towers, and qualified him with the Title of Ambaſſadour, beſtowing upon him an Equipage of Men and Horſe agreeable to his Character, with four thouſand Dollars to defray his Expence; and that the King of *Perſia* might be aſſured of the Sultan's real intentions and deſires of Peace, he recalled his Army in the Spring, whereby all Acts of Hoſtility ceaſed: and thus the Vizier being returned to *Conſtantinople*, that pride and rigour which he exerciſed towards all in the time of his proſperity, laid him low by misfortunes in the eſteem of his Enemies; who gladly embracing the opportunity to diſgrace him with all the terms of obloquy and detraction, deprived him at length of his Office. One of the four Brothers-in-law married to one of the Grand Signior's Siſters, and Prime of the Cabal, being conſtituted Vizier in his ſtead. Nor did the late Vizier eaſily eſcape with his life, until he had reprieved it with an atonement of an hundred thouſand Zechins of Gold and ſome choice Horſes which he preſented to the Sultan; the like Example other Paſha's his Companions followed in proportion to their Eſtates and Employments; by which Preſents the empty Treaſury was in a manner recruited, and the preſent neceſſities of the Sultan relieved.

Illay retaken from the Turks.

The Vizier deprived of his Office.

But this new Vizier enjoyed not long either his Honours, or his life; for the firſt act he performed, was to mitigate the *Valedé Sultana* or Queen-Mother to obtain a Hatteſheriff, or writing under the Grand Signior's Hand for cutting off the Head of *Caſref* Paſha, the *Spaheeler-Agaſi*, or General of the Spahees, which being executed by *Morteſa* the Commander in Chief in *Perſia*, his Head was brought and thrown at the Gates
1632. of the Divan. The Spahees aſtoniſhed at this ſpectacle, and enraged to

ſee

1632.

Mutiny of the Spahees joyned with the Janisaries.

see that Head on the ground which they so much esteemed and loved, forgot all the terms of duty and obedience to their Superiours; and without regard to the place wherein they were, even within the Walls of the Grand Signior's Court they threw stones at the Vizier, and beat him from his Horse; which though the Grand Signior and all the Viziers highly resented, as the most scandalous indignity that could be offered to the Majesty of a Supreme Ruler and to all Government, yet their Counsels rather sought remedies to suppress the Mutiny, than to make Proposals of executing Justice on the Offenders; for the Spahees seconded by the Janisaries, (who were glad of any cause to make a commotion) assembled in the *Hippodromo*, from whence they sent an Arz to the Sultan, requiring the Heads of the Great Vizier, and of divers others, as well within as without the Seraglio. The Grand Signior denying positively to assent hereunto, the Souldiery as plainly threatned to depose him, and place his Brother in the Throne; at which barbarous resolution the Grand Signior being affrighted, his youthful constancy was so shaken, that he wrote to his Mother to desire her excuse in case he assented to the death of her Son-in-law the Great Vizier; for that the storm of the military fury was so great, that he could not endeavour to protect him without the loss of his life and Crown: wherefore the Vizier being turned out of the Gates of the Seraglio, he was immediately butchered in the presence of the Sultan. Nor did the impetuous rage of the Souldiery end here, but they proceeded farther to demand the Head of the Janisar-Aga, or General of the Janisaries, who was reputed the chief Instrument of the death of *Casref*, because he was a principal Favourite to the Grand Signior; but he wisely taking divers off with Money and Presents, sowed division between the Janisaries and Spahees; so that some difficulty arising hereupon, the determination of his death was deferred for a while; howsoever they proceeded to demand, that the Mufti should be discharged of his Office, and that the Tefterdar, or Treasurer should be delivered into their hands. To the first the Grand Signior assented; but being willing to save the other, he pretended, that he was escaped and fled; but when he was found, he should run the same Fate with the Vizier. But the military Sedition not being appeased with this answer, they roved through the whole City, and *Galata*, and other parts of the Suburbs: the Spahees persisting to require the Head of the Janisar-Aga, and not finding him in his House, they plundered it, and departed; and meeting with a Youth, a Favourite of the Grand Signior's, they killed him; and so returning with the like fury to the Seraglio, they required admission to the New Vizier and Mufti. *Regep* Pasha, another of the Brothers-in-law, was then made Vizier, who with the new Mufti trembling at these Tumults, were careful to treat the Souldiery with all lenity and condescension imaginable, desiring them to declare their grievances, and whatsoever might give them satisfaction should be granted. The seditious Souldiers replied, That they were resolved to see the Grand Signior's Brother, for that when the present Sultan did not govern well, they might know from whence to produce another of better abilities, and more agreeable to the designs of the Empire. That necessity which caused the late easiness of condescension to former demands, made way also for compliance with this; so that the young Prince being brought forth, they obliged the Sultan not to attempt any thing against his life,

1632. and cauſed the Vizier and Mufti to become caution and ſecurity for it. Nor did theſe conceſſions contribute towards a pacification; but rather their inſolence increaſed thereby, renewing their exclamations at the Gates of the Seraglio for the Heads of the Janiſar-Aga and the Teſterdar; nor would they be ſatisfied with anſwer, that theſe men were not found in the Seraglio, but ſtill perſiſted in their ruſtic out-cryes and menaces, loſing all reſpect and reverence to the Sultan and the Superiours; ſo that the Grand Signior reſolved once to ſally out upon them with his own Guard; but trying their temper and reſolution, he diſcovered moſt of them to be poyſoned with the like ſpirit of Sedition, and combining with the others as Aſſociates in the Treaſon. The Viziers and other principal Officers perceiving the Mutiny to increaſe daily, and not knowing to what degree it might ariſe, made it their buſineſs to ſearch out for thoſe proſcribed by the Souldiery: at length the Aga was happily diſcovered by a certain perſon, to whom a reward was given of a thouſand Zechins, with the Office of Zorbaſi or Captain; and the Aga confeſſing that he had counſelled the death of *Caſref*, he was immediately ſtrangled, and his body hanged upon a tree to publick view. The like Fate befel the Teſterdar, who being alſo taken, was killed and hanged up, together with the body of the Aga. All which perſons thus inhumanely murdered by the Souldiery, were the Enemies of the preſent Great Vizier *Regep*; for which cauſe the Grand Signior ſuſpecting that he ſecretly contrived and nouriſhed theſe Rebellions, never after looked on him with a gracious eye. Of which the Vizier being ſenſible, combined with the Souldiery; and judging it almoſt impoſſible to ſet himſelf right in the affection of his Maſter, he courted the favour of the Militia, as the only means to protect his life, and maintain his Power. But as the revenge of Princes is not like a Thunder-bolt, which wounds on a ſudden, but rather like a Mine which requires time to form, and is then ſprung, when it may do the beſt execution: ſo in the ſame manner, the Grand Signior diſſembled his hate towards the Vizier, until one night being preſent with him in the Seraglio to ſee certain Fire-works, he called him aſide, and whiſpered to him, that he ſhould go into his private Lodgings, where being entred, the door was ſhut upon him, and he ſtrangled by certain Eunuchs, who were appointed to attend him for that purpoſe. But little benefit or riches did the Grand Signior reap by his death; for the Vizier having for ſome time expected this blow, had concealed his Treaſure, and conveyed it away for the uſe of his Poſterity. The like hatred did the Sultan conceive againſt the Souldiery, reſolving in his mind to execute his revenge eſpecially on the Janiſaries, as the moſt turbulent Fomenters of Rebellion and Treaſon, and to vent his anger either by the Cord or Sword, or ſome other more expedite way, as opportunity preſented: and to prevent or oppoſe the like Seditions for the future, he fortified the Seraglio, and brought Arms in thither by night, chuſing into his Guard ſelect men of courage and faithfulneſs: and being ſenſible, that the being of his Brother attempered his Soveraignty, and drew away the hearts and eyes of his Souldiers and People from fixing entirely on his own perſon; he therefore intended to cut him off, but the caution and ſecurity given by himſelf and chief Miniſters to preſerve his life, diverted him from this reſolution.

The Vizier ſtrangled by order of the Grand Signior.

In place of the deceaſed Vizier, *Mehmet* late Paſha of *Cairo* was conſtituted, and the Seal conſigned to him, with whom the Grand Signior conſulting of the preſent emergency of affairs, often uttered his diſpleaſure

ſure againſt the late Seditions, and ſignified his intentions to redreſs them for the future; in order unto which, he cauſed the Heads of the moſt mutinous Spahees to be cut off, and on various pretences ſeparated the Souldiery each from other into divers parts; ſome numbers of Janiſaries he commanded to march to the Confines of *Perſia*, and cauſed many others of them to be killed by night, and by various other means greatly weakened the Chambers, both by diminiſhing the numbers, and taking off ſuch who were the men of beſt courage and conduct: many bodies were found ſwimming in the *Boſphorus*, and known to be Spahees; great part of the Lands belonging to the Timariots was taken away, and the Pay of the Spahees was abated, and divers Offices of Profit and Honour were taken from the Militia, that ſo men might be made ſenſible of the indignation of their Prince, and that there is no ſport or jeſting with the anger of a provoked King, who knows no other mean of his paſſion than the total evaporation of his choler and vengeance. To maintain and make good theſe ſeveral acts of juſt puniſhment, young *Morat* growing in courage with his years, mounted on Horſe-back well armed, and like a Souldier attended with a ſelect Party of Cavalry, paſſed through the moſt publick ſtreets of the City in a huffing manner, and caſting a ſtern eye upon the Souldiery and People as he went, and making a hundred paſſes through the midſt of them, ſtruck them with an awe of his Majeſty, and admiration of his warlike and Martial appearance; with which ſeverity and gallantry the Souldiery being affrighted, began to conſider, that they were not longer to be governed by a Woman, or a Child, but by the moſt brave Prince that ever ſwayed the Ottoman Scepter; and thereupon for the future reſolved upon an impartial ſubmiſſion and obedience unto him. To encourage them in which, and to reconcile their ſpirits and affections to him, *Morat* oftentimes aſſembled his Souldiery at *Ackmeidan*, where he exerciſed with them ſhooting with the Bow at Marks and at Rovers, rewarding thoſe who ſhot beſt with adding an Aſper a day to their Pay; beſides which he diſtributed ſix thouſand Hungars amongſt them, to demonſtrate that wiſe Princes are uſed to mix Lenitives with their rigour. 1632.

Theſe Mutinies and Seditions in the Capital City encouraged rebellious Spirits in divers other places: ſo that a certain bold and audacious Fellow drawing a number of Miſcreants after him, poſſeſſed himſelf of the City of *Pruſa:* another of the ſame temper called *Elia* Paſha made himſelf Maſter of *Magneſia*, where he committed all the outrages which Enemies inflict on a conquered People; and being about twenty four miles diſtant from *Smyrna*, ſo affrighted the people of that place, who were Merchants, and ſuch as lived by Trade, that they fled with their Wealth, and ſuch things as were portable, leſt they ſhould be expoſed to the robbery and ſpoil of Thieves and Rebels. But the Beglerbey of *Anatolia* ſuffered not *Elia* to reign long in his luſt, but giving him Battel in thoſe Plains, wholly defeated him, and ſent twenty of the Heads of the chief Commanders to the Sultan for a Preſent; and purſuing *Elia* and the reſt of his Army to *Magneſia*, beſieged him in that City. The Grand Signior being adviſed hereof, and fearing leſt the Siege ſhould take up too much time, and move other ill humors in that Country, diſpatched Orders to offer Terms and Conditions of Accommodation with *Elia*, which were ſecretly treated, and great promiſes made him of

Rebellion in *Anatolia.*

1632. favour and rewards from the Grand Signior. The easie Fool accepted the Conditions, and embraced the promises; and leaving his City of *Magnesia*, proceeded confidently to *Constantinople* to receive the gracious rewards of the Sultan for his past Services. At his Entry into the Seraglio in place of the *Kapistar-Kahyasee* or Master of the Ceremonies, he was received by Officers with a Cord in their hands, who bestowed on him the gracious reward of his Masters ultimate favour.

Mutinies at *Buda*.

These Rebellions were no sooner suppressed in *Asia*, but that other Mutinies of the Janisaries for want of Pay began at *Buda* in *Hungary*, where they threw stones at their Aga, and pursued him to the very Palace of the Pasha, electing another into his place. They also cut in pieces the Governour of *Pest*, and bestowed his Office upon his Lieutenant. To remedy these disorders, and extinguish the Mutiny, the Grand Signior sent Commissioners to examine the matter, and to render him an account of the grievances and demands of the Souldiers: but they fearing to be surprised with some severe acts of Justice, prevented or forestalled the inquiries of the Commissioners by acknowledging their fault, and demanding pardon, with surrender of four of the Ring-leaders to punishment, declaring, That by their seducement and evil perswasions, they were debauched into that disorderly course of proceedings: the Sultan accepted the submission, and all things were quieted in *Hungary*.

Troubles in *Moldavia*.

Howsoever new troubles arose in *Moldavia:* for that People being oppressed over-much by their Prince *Alexander*, made an Insurrection against him, and drove him out of the Country, who for refuge fled to *Constantinople*. And the people desirous that one *Bernoschi*, a Polonian by Nation, might be put into his place, to obtain his Confirmation he came to the Port, and offered himself before the Grand Signior; but *Morat* suspecting, that to obtain the Principality for himself, he had secretly instigated and nourished the late popular Commotions, caused his Head to be cut off in the publick Divan.

Amurat had now born to him a seventh Daughter by his Slave, called the shining Star; and though he was much troubled that she had not brought him forth a Son and Heir, yet so much was she beloved by him, that he resolved to create her Queen, had not his Mother declared against it, as a thing not usual for any Woman to be honoured with that Title before she had supplied the Inheritance by the Birth of a Male Child. And that he might now totally extinguish the fire of Sedition amongst the Souldiery, he caused *Ferdum Esendi* and *Saluc* Aga, two prime Chiefs of the Spahees, with eight principal Janisaries, to be put to death; after which severity, fearing another Insurrection, he passed the Water, and retired to his Seraglio at *Scutari*, where he fortified himself.

It happened about that time, that a Turk Woman a Slave was found aboard a French Ship, ready to sail from *Constantinople*, which the Turks highly resented, and aggravated the crime so much against the French Ambassadour, that they imprisoned his Son then embarked, and would have confiscated the Vessel and her Lading. In those days the Christian Ambassadours resident at that Court, kept better Union and Correspondence amongst themselves than they do at present; so that all of them as concerned, joyned together to represent before the chief Ministers, that such a fault merited not so grand a forfeiture, for that it was most probable to have been committed without the privacy either of the Ambassadour or Commander of the Ship. The Ambassadours then resident

dent were Sir *Peter Wych* for *England*, the Sieur *Marcheville* for *France*, and *Pietro Foscarini* for *Venice*, at whose warm and urgent instances the Turks condescended to release the Vessel and the Goods laden upon her, with free liberty to depart. Howsoever it being represented to the Grand Signior by the Captain-Pasha (who is Admiral of the Seas) that one *Baldasar*, an Armenian by Nation, but Dragoman or Interpreter to the French Ambassadour, was a principal Instrument to move the Ambassadours to unite in this pretence; and being observed to manage the Interest of his Master with warm and earnest solicitations, the surly Sultan grew so angry that one of his own Slaves should presume to manage a dispute with him, in fury and rage commanded, that he should be immediately empaled; and that he might be assured that his Sentence took effect, he would see him with his own eyes on the Stake before he would pass the Water to his Seraglio at *Scutari*. The resolution was so sudden, and the Execution so speedy, that there was neither ear lent to hear, nor time given to mediate in his behalf; and the act being performed, complaints would not serve to redress a tyrannous action now past remedy, and not to be recalled: wherefore as the Ambassadours were forced to acquiesce and patiently endure the affront; so if they would have resented it, they could scarce have found one amongst their Interpreters of so bold a spirit, who durst have opened his mouth after so terrifying an example. The truth is, the Dragomen or Interpreters to Ambassadours at *Constantinople* are required to be men of Learning, Courage, and Courtship, their studies ought to endue them perfectly with the Turkish, Greek, and Arabick Languages, with some knowledge also of the Persian, and with good Elocution, and readiness of Tongue: their constancy and presence of mind is always necessary at their appearance before those Grandees or Great men, who are ever proud, haughty, and arrogant in all their expressions and ways of Treaty, the which they commonly manage towards Christian Ministers with the same respect which we use towards our Servants, or our Slaves. And therefore by reason of this and other Presidents of like nature, Dragomen have been always timorous in representing the true sence of the Ambassadours and Consuls; at least have so minced and tempered their words, that they have lost much of that vigour and accent which is necessary to inculcate perfectly a business into the Understanding of a Turk, especially if you intend to incline him to Reason and Justice. Wherefore it would be an excellent Qualification for an Ambassadour himself to understand and speak the Turkish Language, or at least to have a young man by his side of the English Nation educated in the Turkish Court, who should be ready to explicate those matters which are too thorny and prickly for Subjects of that Country to handle.

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The French Interpreter empaled.

Had all the foregoing Troubles, Mutinies, and Misfortunes encountred the spirit of an easie and a gentle Sultan, certainly the Fate of this *Amurat* had been the same with that of *Osman*, who retiring within his Seraglio, could never have appeased the seditious humor with all the concessions he could give to an unreasonable multitude: but being a resolved and bussling Prince, he at first gave some few steps backwards, as if he would yield somewhat to the impetuosity of that Torrent which he could not resist; yet it was only like a Ram who retires, that he may butt with the greater force. Howsoever the Politicians and sober men attributed the true cause of all these Commotions in the Souldiery, to have

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1633. have no other foundation than the ill ſucceſs and miſeries which attended the War in *Perſia*; for the way being long, and the Countries hot, barren, and for the moſt part void of all comfort, the Souldiers abhorred the fatigues, and march thither, and hated to conſider, that they ſhould be made a Sacrifice to the luſt of voluptuous Miniſters, who, to gain Eſtates and Riches out of thoſe Monies, which were deſigned to carry on the War, did not care, whilſt they lived at eaſe and in delights, what labours, wants, and dangers attended the Militia. Theſe conſiderations made likewiſe ſome impreſſion in the Sultan, who therefore inclined to hearken unto thoſe Propoſitions of Peace which were brought him by an Ambaſſadour from *Perſia*; and being accompanied with very great Preſents, the Peace was clapt up and concluded on a ſudden. But as things quick in their birth and production are not long-liv'd, nor long durable; ſo this Peace was broken the ſame year with an inconſtancy equal to that inconſideration with which it was agreed and ſigned. For no ſooner was the News hereof flown into the Eaſtern World, than the Great *Mogol* diſpatched his Ambaſſadour with Letters to the Grand Signior, perſwading him to make War again with the Perſian, promiſing to aſſiſt him therein, by ſtopping up the paſſage of *Nachivan*, which is a City in the Leſſer *Armenia*, built upon the River *Aranes*, and is the common Road into the *Indies*; the which motion, as it was pleaſing to *Morat*, ſo being accompanied with Indian Curioſities and Preſents of an ineſtimable value, the Ambaſſadour was graciouſly received and treated with ſuch Feaſts and Entertainments as are not uſually known amongſt the Turks; and returned again with Letters giving hopes, that he would ſpeedily take an occaſion to break with the Perſian. But thoſe who had experienced the difficulties of a War with *Perſia*, and obſerved, that in the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs it might be more eaſily and with advantage waged on the ſide of *Hungary*, endeavoured with many pregnant arguments to perſwade the Grand Signior thereunto, giving him to underſtand, that *Guſtavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden* being victorious over the Emperour in *Germany*, had taken many Towns and Cities of great ſtrength; and having overthrown him in divers Battels, had ſlain or taken his beſt Captains and moſt Martial men of Valour; and that other Chriſtians, who were deſirous to abate the pride of the Auſtrian Family, were ready to embrace the ſame Conjuncture, whereby they might entirely ſhake off the yoke and ſervitude to the Imperial Tyranny. Theſe advantages being well repreſented, took place eaſily in the mind of *Morat*, ſo that he diſpatched expreſs Orders to the Paſha of *Buda* to aſſemble his Forces, and put all things in a readineſs on the Frontiers: in compliance with which, though the Paſha ſet forth his Tents, and made great appearance of a March, yet ſome ſecret deſigns cauſed him to move ſlowly, and to affect a Peace rather than a War; ſo that receiving an Ambaſſadour from the Emperour at *Peſth*, he readily admitted him, and gave him ſafe conduct and Convoy unto *Conſtantinople:* at which time Advices coming, that the Great *Guſtavus Adolphus* was ſlain, and that the Affairs of the Swedes went backwards and unſucceſsfully in *Germany*, altered all the meaſures of the Ottoman Counſels; and though *Ragotski* endeavoured all he was able to foment the differences, and encourage the Turks to a War, having beſides other ſpecious pretences, an Army of thirty thouſand men in a readineſs to joyn with the Turks againſt the Emperour; howſoever the Turks looking

The Peace made with *Perſia*, and ſpeedily broken.

Perſwaſions for a War againſt the Emperour.

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ing on the condition of the Swedes as desperate, and the proffers of *Ragotski* to be uncertain, and of no true foundation, and the state of affairs amongst themselves to be turbulent and unsetled, gave a kind reception to the Emperours Ambassadour, and signed the Agreement for continuance of the Truce. By this and other actions of like nature *Ragotski* lost much of his esteem with the Emperour and the Grand Signior; the first always looked on him as an ambitious Prince, exciting the Turk against him, and ready on the least occasion to enter his Country with fire and sword; the other looked on him as a false Friend, who never made proffers but those which squared with his own designs and interest, and particularly he had disgusted the Port by presuming to instate one *Mathias* in the Principality of *Valachia*, and to eject another constituted there by Authority of the Grand Signior, called *Stridia* Bei, or Lord *Oysters*, because his Father was a Fisher-man, and gained a good Estate by the Trade of Oysters; howsoever it being the Grand Signior's pleasure to ordain such a person to that Office, it was a presumption and a bold piece of Usurpation in *Ragotski* to dispose of that Government by virtue of his own single Power: howsoever the Grand Signior, to avoid contention with the resolved spirit of *Ragotski*, confirmed *Mathias*, upon condition of a double Tribute paid for the Investment to the Principality. But besides these reasons for a Peace with the Emperour, the designs the Grand Signior entertained of making War upon *Poland* with the assistance of the Moscovites and Tartars, and of dispossessing *Emir Facardin* of his Government, were strong inducements to make fair weather on all other sides of the neighbouring Princes. The envy which the riches and greatness of *Emir Facardin* (who was a Prince inhabiting in the parts of *Arabia*, to whom a large tract of Land with several Fortresses did belong) had contracted to him from the Pasha's of *Damascus*, *Tripoli*, and *Gaza*, caused them to accuse him before the Grand Signior of Rebellion and other enormous Crimes: the Plea against him was managed especially by the Pasha of *Tripoli*, who alledged, That he was an Enemy to the Mahometan Law, destroyed the Moschs, kept correspondence with the Maltese and the Corsaires of *Ligorn*, permitting them freely to take water in his Country; that he openly favoured the Christians, suffering them freely to build Churches in his Country. That he continually fortified his Castles, and encroached on the Lands and Territories of the *Emirs* his Neighbours. In short, his riches were so great, that every one feared and envied him, and therefore represented his case in that manner, that the Grand Signior resolving to destroy him, sent great Forces into those Countries under the Command of the Pasha of *Tripoli*, to whom he commanded the Pasha's of *Damascus*, *Gaza*, *Aleppo*, and *Cairo* to joyn their Forces: and for better expedition, the Captain-Pasha was appointed to equippe his Fleet, to transport Men and Ammunition into those parts. The Captain-Pasha in his passage by Sea encountred two English Ships lading Corn in the Gulph of *Vola*, called the *William* and *Ralph*, and *Hector*: this being a prohibited Commodity not to be transported under penalty of forfeiting Ships, Goods, and Liberty of the men, moved the Pasha with the sight of such a Booty to command his Gallies to seize the Vessels; which being only two, it was imagined, that they would immediately yield and surrender without contest. But these bold Brittons knowing the consequences of such a surrender, resolved not tamely to yield themselves, at least to sell their liberties,

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A Peace made between the Emperour and the Grand Signior.

Preparations of War made against *Emir Facardin*.

A Fight of the whole Turkish Fleet against two English Ships.

1633. liberties, lives, Ships, and Goods to the Turks at the deareſt rate they were able: wherefore cutting their Cables, put themſelves under Sail, and got into the main Sea, fighting with the whole Fleet above three hours; ſometimes they were boarded by one Gally, ſometimes by two at once; but plying their Quarter-deck Guns with ſmall ſhot, and defending themſelves manfully with their half-Pikes, they often cleared their Decks, and put off the Enemy with great ſlaughter: the Captain-Paſha being aſhamed to ſee ſuch reſiſtance made by two ſuch Veſſels againſt his whole Force, reſolved to enter his men at the Gun-room port of one of the Ships, and running the Prow of the Gally into the Stern-port, the valiant crew of the Gun-room clapt an Iron Spike into the Trunnel-hole of the Prow, whereby the Gally being wedged faſt to the Timbers of the Ship, they brought their Stern-chaſe laden with croſs Bars, pieces of Iron, and Parteridge-ſhot to bear upon them, which raking them fore and aft, killed the Captain-Paſha himſelf, with near three hundred out of the Baſtard Gally. At length having ſpent all their ſhot, they charged their Guns with pieces of Eight, and being over-powered by numbers of their Enemies, and not able farther to reſiſt, they ſet fire to their Ships, which blowing up, deſtroyed two or three of the Gallies which laid by their ſides, together with thoſe men which were then fighting aboard at handy-blows on the Deck with the defendants; ſo that none of the Engliſh were taken, unleſs three or four fiſhed out of the water. An end being in this manner put to the Fight, the Turks gained the Victory, with the loſs of twelve hundred Slaves killed and wounded, beſides Turks, and were forced into Port, where they remained a full month to repair their Gallies; the which Fight affected all Turks with an aſtoniſhment of the Engliſh Bravery, or obſtinacy, (as they call it) and is a matter remembred and talked of to this day, eſpecially by the Son of the Captain-Paſha who was ſlain, called *Omem*, Paſha *Ogli*, who is Paſha of *Rhodes* at preſent, (as I remember) and commands three or four Gallies; for which reaſon he is ſo inveterate an Enemy to the Engliſh, that to ſatisfie his revenge, he buys what Engliſh Slaves he can get into his Gallies, and ſells none out under a double price or ranſom. The News of this Fight coming to *Conſtantinople* provoked the Grand Signior to the height of indignation; howſoever the Officers either being aſhamed of their loſs, or entertaining ſome ſecret admiration of the Engliſh Bravery, ſuffered the matter to be compounded for the Sum of forty thouſand Dollars, of which the Engliſh paid only their ſhare with the French and Venetians, whom (for I know not what reaſon) the Turks equally concerned in the occaſion.

Whilſt the Turks were appointing a new Captain-Paſha, and again refitting their Fleet, the Paſha of *Damaſcus* diſpatched a Summons to *Facardin* to ſurrender *Seida* up to him, with other Caſtles and places of ſtrength. The Old man reſided then at *Barut*, where pretending to be retired from all buſineſs, anſwered, that he had reſigned the whole Government into the hands of his Son *Ali*, as he had already teſtified by publick Acts: that he was but a Subject, and a Souldier under his Son, and therefore to him they ought to make their applications. *Facardin* had at that time an Army of twenty five thouſand men, the which he divided into two Bodies, commanded by his two Sons. *Ali* his eldeſt he ordered with twelve thouſand men (a thouſand of which were Maronites, and two thouſand Druzes) to march to *Saphet* for hindering the conjun-

conjunction of the Emirs of *Ferue* and *Therabith*, and the Pasha's of *Gaza* and *Damascus*, whose Forces being joyned together, did not compose a greater number than that of *Facardin*. *Ali* encountring with them, and being a brisk and hot-metled Prince, engaged and charged them so home, that he defeated them, and killed eight thousand of their men; but such a Victory as this not costing him less than seven thousand of his men, was in effect his own overthrow; for being the next day charged again by the Enemy, both sides fought with that obstinacy, that (as is reported) there remained not above an hundred forty six of all the Souldiers which followed *Ali*; and he himself having his Horse mortally wounded under him, and being out of breath, weary, and faint, yielded himself to a common Souldier who promised him quarter; but afterwards having him in his power he strangled him with his Match, and cut off his head and his little finger on which he wore his Seal-ring, and so presented both to the Pasha. But this proud Conquerour refused to accept this Present without Ceremony, until first the Head had been perfumed with sweet waters, the beard combed out, and covered with a rich Turbant, and having kept this Trophy for some days by him, he sent it afterwards to *Constantinople*. But before the News of this Defeat reached the ears of old *Facardin*, the Captain-Pasha with his Fleet of Gallies arrived at the Port of *Tripoli*; to whom *Facardin* being desirous to shew all friendship, and profess loyalty to the Grand Signior, he caused his Army to retire into the parts of Mount *Libanus*, whilst he himself with about three thousand men between domestick Servants and his Guards went to *Seida*, from whence he sent two **Caramosauls* laden with Provisions and refreshment to the Captain-Pasha for a Present, assuring him that he was an humble Vassal to the Grand Signior, and was ready to obey all his Commands; and because the Sultan may probably have received sinister reports relating to the Arms he had taken up, he assured him, that they were no otherwise designed, than to suppress the Robberies of the Arabs, and the Incursions of their Kings; and that he was ready to conduct his Army to any place, where his Master the Grand Signior should think fit to employ them. But these fair words could not divert the Captain-Pasha from his resolutions to enter the Port of *Seida*, nor from his Instructions of demanding, and upon refusal of forcing possession of the Castle; which as it was the most considerable Fortress, and the most pleasant Seat of all his Dominions, so he could not without much regret and sorrow hearken to such a Proposition: wherefore that the Pasha might not persist in this demand, he secretly proffered him an hundred thousand Zechins as a Bribe to himself, and his Son *Mansour* to be carried for a Hostage and Earnest of his faithfulness to the Grand Signior. The Captain-Pasha liked well the hundred thousand Zechins and the Hostages, but still required the Surrender of the Castle with them; on which whilst *Facardin* deliberated, News came of the death of his Son *Ali*, and the destruction of his Army, with which losing all courage, he yielded his Castle of *Seida* to the Captain-Pasha, retiring himself to his City of *Barut*; nor could he rest quietly at that place; for being pursued, he was forced to quit it, and retire with his Maronites and Druzes into the Mountains, lest being inclosed within the Walls of a City, he should fall alive into the hands of his Enemies. And now all good Fortune forsaking unhappy *Facardin*, the Maronites and Druzes his Subjects revolt to the Pasha of *Damascus*, his Palaces and Gardens

1633.

The Son of *Facardin* overthrown.

and is strangled.

* A sort of Vessel or Ship so called by the Turks.

1633. of Pleasure were all ruined, his Friends forsook him, his two remaining Sons were lost, one carried to *Constantinople* for a Hostage, and the other slain in fight; his Towns of *Gazir*, *Saphet*, St. *John d'Acria*, and others were surrendred to the Pasha of *Damascus*: only some few strong places in the Mountains remained to him, where living in League with *Reba* a King of the Arabs, he committed all the spoils he was able on the Lands belonging to the Pasha of *Damascus*. But being hunted from one Mountain to another, and from one Cave to another, he was at length forced to surrender upon Conditions, that he should have liberty to proceed unto the Grand Signior with his own Equipage of three hundred men and Trumpets sounding, and that he might carry with him all his Treasure consisting of a million of Zechins all in gold, together with other Riches, which were carried by fourteen Camels; and that he should not be conducted as a Prisoner in Triumph, but that he should with freedom approach the presence of the Sultan, like other Pasha's, who are in grace and favour. These Propositals being granted, *Facardin* with his two young Sons began his Journey to *Constantinople*, and being about two days journey from thence, he dispeeded eight Chests of Gold before him, to prepare and make his way to the Grand Signior; who being pleased with the gold, and greatly rejoyced to receive the submission and Homage of one who had so long stood out in Rebellion, he went out in a disguise and Habit of a Pasha to see and discourse with that person, of whom there had been so general a rumor: and having accordingly encountred with the Emir, he sate down in his Tent with him, desiring him to relate the story of his life, with the several particulars of his late misfortunes. Emir *Facardin* well knew the person of the Grand Signior; but feigning as if he was unacquainted with whom he discoursed, and that he took him for some Pasha, began to recount the course of his life, the reasons why his Enemies falsely suggested evil reports of him to the Grand Signior, how he was forced for defence of his life to take up Arms, and what ill success accompanied his affairs; all which he represented with such quickness and eloquence, that the Grand Signior pitying his misfortunes promised to be his Advocate, and mediate with the Grand Signior in his behalf. The day following *Facardin* made his Entry in a Triumphant manner, and received a most favourable Audience from the Grand Signior; and all the Pasha's and great men in conformity to their Master, and in hopes of sharing some part of his gold, shewed him a like kind favourable countenance and aspect. But finding afterwards that *Facardin* increased daily in the esteem of the Grand Signior, and that the old Rebel was become a new Favourite, and that he was likely to over-top and out them, they generally conspired together, taking the Mufti on their side to accuse him of many crimes, and more particularly that he was a Christian and an Apostate from the Mahometan Faith. This point of Religion so sensibly touched the Grand Signior, that he resolved to condemn him in a manner solemn and extraordinary; for mounting one day on his Throne, he commanded *Facardin* to be brought in, and placed on a low chair, where ordering his crimes whereof he was accused to be recited, he passed a formal Sentence of death upon him: but *Facardin* arising to justifie himself, was not permitted to speak, only he obtained a quarter of an hours reprieve to make his Prayers, and afterwards was strangled by the hands of two Mutes.

ANNO

ANNO 1634. 1634

Morat growing now into years, took into his own hands the reins of Government, reſolving to rule ſingly and abſolutely, and to make himſelf rather feared than beloved: he degraded four Viziers at once, and baniſhed them into *Cyprus*, confiſcating their Eſtates, for no other reaſon, than becauſe they had denied him the uſe of their Mules and Camels on occaſion of his ſervice. He became extremely ſevere againſt the Souldiery, cruſhing them with all imaginable rigour on the leaſt appearance of reluctancy to his Commands, declaring, that he expected blind and ſilent Obedience from all, but eſpecially from his Souldiery. He impoſed a great Tax upon Copper; and becauſe he had ſeveral Warehouſes filled with that Metal, which had for many years lain by, he forced the people to buy it at his own rates; at which aggrievance the Commonalty growing deſperate began to mutiny and rebel; but *Morat* put a ſpeedy ſtop thereunto by cutting off the Heads of fifty of the moſt ſeditious, and ſo paſſed to *Pruſa* with the attendance of ſix Gallies. He cauſed a Kadi to be hanged, to the great diſpleaſure and univerſal reſentment of the Ulemah, who are Students in the Law; who to make known their aggrievance, and conſult a remedy, aſſembled in great numbers at the Houſe of the Mufti. The Queen-Mother being acquainted with this Meeting, and fearing the ill conſequences thereof, gave immediate advice to the Sultan, who with like expedition diſpatched a Boat to bring over the Mufti and his Son to *Pruſa*, who were no ſooner arrived than they were ſtrangled, being not permitted to ſpeak for themſelves, or to alledge any plea or excuſe for their lives. This act of cruelty beyond the example of former Ages, and never practiſed by the moſt tyrannical of his Predeceſſours, ſtruck a terrour on the whole Empire; for men obſerving the unjuſt rigour which was executed on the Head and Chief of their Law, the Oracle and Mouth which reſolved their difficult Problems, and whom the World ſo reverenced and honoured, that few examples have been of Capital puniſhment executed on his reverend Head, feared that innocence was not ſufficient to ſecure their own leſs conſiderable Eſtates from his fury and violence. There is a particular death allotted for Mufties, which is by braying them in a Mortar, the which Mortar is kept in the Seven Towers at *Conſtantinople*, and there ſhewed to ſtrangers; the which Inſtrument hath been ſeldom made uſe of.

Morat exerciſes ſeveral acts of Tyranny.

Morat being greatly addicted to Wine, was ſenſible of the ill effects of it in himſelf, and that the heat of debauchery inclined him to violence and cruelty, and from hence collecting how dangerous this humor of drunkenneſs was in his people, eſpecially in his Souldiery, for that much of the late Seditions might be attributed thereunto, he publiſhed a moſt ſevere Edict againſt Wine, commanding all Taverns to be demoliſhed, the Butts to be broken, and the Wine ſpilt. It was the common cuſtom of the Grand Signior to walk the ſtreets in diſguiſe, when meeting with any drunken perſon, he would impriſon him, and almoſt drub him to death. It was his fortune to meet a deaf man one day in the ſtreets, who not hearing the noiſe of the people, nor the rumor of his approach, did not ſo readily ſhift out of the way, as was conſiſtent with the fear and dread of ſo awful an Emperour, for which default he was ſtrangled immediate-

Morat deſtroys the Taverns.

1634. immediately, and his body thrown into the ſtreets. All people feared and trembled at theſe practices, and were as careful to look out abroad for the Grand Signior, leſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed with the bluſter of his preſence, as Mariners are of being taken unprovided by ſome ſudden Guſt or Hurricane; for there was ſcarce a day, that one innocent or other was not ſacrificed to his fury and tyrannical fancy. One *Thomas Zanetti*, a Venetian Merchant, who had built a lofty Jardac, or a high Room of Proſpective on the top of his Houſe, was accuſed to the Grand Signior to have deſigned that place for no other end, than that he might with a Long-glaſs overſee the Chambers of the Ladies, and the Gardens, and Walks of the Seraglio: for which reaſon, without farther inquiry, he was hanged in his ſhirt on the top of his Jardac with a red Streamer in his hand, that ſo the Grand Signior might be ſure, that the Sentence was executed. The Eſtate of *Zanetti*, whether belonging to himſelf or Principals, was confiſcated; but in regard the Goods for Security were privately conveyed to the Ware-houſes of ſeveral Frank Merchants, ſtrict ſearch was made for them; but in regard the Marks and Numbers were altered, they could not be diſtinguiſhed: wherefore the Grand Signior concluding, that all the Frank Merchants had combined together to deceive him, he impriſoned every man of them, nor would he releaſe them until they paid forty thouſand Dollars for their ranſom and liberty. After which upon pretence of a Plot, or agreement of the Franks to defend themſelves from the leviation of this Tax, the Turks ſearched their Houſes for Arms; in taking of which they were ſo rigorous, that they ſpared not ſo much as a Birding-piece, nor yet the Sword of Sir *Peter Wych*, then Ambaſſadour for *England*, though he alledged, that it was the very Sword with which his Majeſty had conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon him.

Hangs a Venetian Merchant.

But from theſe tranſactions at home, let us paſs to the Wars in *Poland* and *Perſia*. That invincible Prince *Uladiſlaus* King of *Poland* had gained ſuch good ſucceſs againſt the Czar of *Moſcovy*, that the Czar was forced to demand aſſiſtance from the Turks. The Grand Signior, though he had lately made a Peace with *Poland*, and ſworn to maintain the Articles of *Chocin* concluded by his Predeceſſour Sultan *Oſman*; yet the continual depredations which the Coſacks made, did always adminiſter reaſonable pretences for a War: to which *Abaſſa* one of his chief Counſellours, a valiant and preſumptuous Captain, did much incite him; for promiſing to himſelf the Conduct of that Army deſigned againſt *Poland*, did much flatter the Sultan and himſelf with the fancy of mighty ſucceſs. The War being thus reſolved upon, the Turk who commonly ſtrikes before he quarrels, gave Orders to *Abaſſa* to make Levies of men in *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, and to put the Tartars in Arms, and the Militia of *Buda*, and of the parts along the *Danube* into a warlike poſture, and with all expedition to enter *Poland*. *Abaſſa* who had with wonderful diligence put his Troops in readineſs, ordered the Tartars with a Body of fifteen thouſand men to enter *Poland*; which they performed with ſuch celerity, that paſſing the River of *Tyr* above *Chocin* and *Rinczug*, they in a few hours laid all waſte for the ſpace of ten leagues round *Kemenitz*, and ſo retired with their Booty into *Moldavia*; howſoever their haſte was not attended with ſuch good ſpeed, but that they were overtaken on the 4th of *July* by *Staniſlaus Koniſpolzki*, General of the Poliſh Army, with no greater Force than two thouſand five hundred Horſe; howſo-

The Turks make War on the Poles.

ever

ever surprising them whilst they were feeding their Horses, he put them into such confusion and disorder, that he easily recovered all the Booty, and took five of their Chief men Prisoners, of which the Son-in-law of *Cantemir* was one. But this was a faint refreshment in respect to that terrible storm of sixty thousand men composed of Turks, Tartars, Moldavians and Valachians, which under the Command of *Abassa* had already passed the *Danube*. *Konispolzki* the Polish General having not sufficient Force to oppose them in open field, nor time to assemble a greater Army, gathered what Supplies he could from the Cosacks and Lords of that Country, and therewith encamped himself upon a Hill between the River *Tyr* and the Town of *Chocin*, that he might be the better able to succour *Kemenitz*, which the Enemy designed to assault. *Abassa* who contemned this weak Force of the Poles, resolved without farther consideration to attack them in their own Camp, and force them to fight; of which the Poles being well advised, placed several Pieces of Artillery, and lined all the Hedges and Ditches with Musquetiers where the Turks were necessarily to pass, drawing out their whole Army into Batalia; the Turks who hastened the neerest way to charge the Enemy, fell into the Ambush, where having lost about five hundred men, they began to make a stand, and to consider of some more advantageous way to their design. Wherefore *Abassa* taking another course, which he judged to be free from all concealed dangers, ordered the Tartars to charge the right Wing, and the Moldavians and Valachians the left of the Enemy, and he with his Turks would fight the main Body. The Tartars with great resolution performed their part, and had wholly defeated that Wing, had not *Wisnovitzki* with some Troops and a Train of small Artillery come in seasonably to their succour: the Moldavians and Valachians fought so faintly against the Enemy, whom they considered to be Christians, Brothers, and Neighbours, that they soon turned their backs and fled, but were not far pursued by the Poles. *Abassa* receiving this repulse sounded a Retreat, and immediately repassed the River *Tyr*, and marched with all the haste he was able, stopping no where, until he arrived at *Rinzur* about thirty English miles from the place of the Fight, and arriving at length on the Banks of the *Danube*, he gave licence to his Souldiers to disperse into their Winter-quarters; in the mean time *Abassa* dispatched Advice to the Grand Signior of the Particulars of the Fight, and of his great Victory by an entire defeat of the Polish Army. The Grand Signior believed the report, which none durst to contradict, and which was confirmed by the rumour of an Ambassadour coming from *Poland*. For the Poles being at that time engaged in a War with *Moscovy*, and apprehensive of another with *Sweden*, judged it not seasonable to provoke the Turk, but rather by way of Accommodation dispeeded an Ambassadour with a train of three hundred men to make complaints against the late Acts of Hostility committed by *Abassa*, as if he had moved his Arms without the Orders, or knowledge of the Sultan. About that time that the Ambassadour approached near to *Constantinople*, the Grand Signior had another Son born, but of a weakly and sickly temperament, howsoever great joy was expressed, and all the City was enlightned with Torches, Bonfires, and Fire-works; and that the Grand Signior might evidence his Greatness and Magnificence to the Ambassadour, he took this occasion of the Birth of a Son to make a solemn Entrance into the City, and to make the

1634.

A Fight between the Turks and the Poles.

An Ambassadour sent to the G. Signior from *Poland*.

1634. the greater ſhow he armed all the Citizens and Inhabitants.

Before the Grand Signior would grant Audience to the Ambaſſadour, he ordered that *Abaſſa* ſhould treat with him, and underſtand his buſineſs and deſires: *Abaſſa* carried himſelf high in the Negotiation, he pretended the damages and charges of the War, the demoliſhment of certain Palancas, which were the places of Refuge for the Coſacks, and the Tribute of ten years paſt, with ſecurity of payment for the time to come. The Ambaſſadour poſitively refuſed to hearken unto any terms about Tribute, and that for other matters the Preſents which he had brought to the Grand Signior would reaſonably anſwer. His Preſents were

A Coach lined with Velvet, with ſix very fine Horſes.
A Baſon and Candleſticks of Silver richly gilt.
Four Clocks, ten Veſts of Sables, ſix Quivers of Arrows, with ſome Hunting Dogs.

Being at length admitted to Audience, and thereunto conducted by the Aga of the Spahees and the Chaous Baſhee, the Grand Signior asked the Ambaſſadour, which was not uſual: *For what reaſon he was come thither?* To which he anſwered: *That he was come to bring his Majeſty advice of the Coronation of his King, and to eſtabliſh a Peace, if his Majeſty ſhould judge fit to accept thereof.* To which the Sultan replied: *That all Chriſtian Kings ought either to receive the Ottoman Laws, or pay him Tribute, or try the ſharpneſs of his Sword.* And taking a Cemiter in his hand which hung by him, he drew it half out, and ſaid: *With this I will ſubdue my Enemies, and though my War in* Perſia *continues, I do not fear to undertake another in* Poland. To which the Ambaſſadour returning a modeſt Anſwer, was diſmiſſed of the Royal Preſence.

And now the Grand Signior, to put a good face on the buſineſs, and to make the World believe, that he deſigned what he ſpake, he proclaimed a War with *Poland*, and ordered his Tents to be carried abroad, ſuppoſing hereby to draw the Poles to his own terms of agreement: and in purſuance hereof he mounted on Horſe-back and rode in ſtate through the City, his upper Veſt was made after the Hungarian faſhion lined with Sables; in his right hand he carried a Quiver of Arrows, in his left two drawn Swords, on his Turbant he wore a large Plume of Feathers encompaſſed with a Circle of Diamonds; and in this manner entring his Tents he proceeded to *Adrianople*. But before his departure the Count *Puchen*, Ambaſſadour from the Emperour, arrived with other ſumptuous Preſents, offering Incenſe and gifts of Peace at the Throne of this Greatneſs.

But before we relate the tranſactions at *Adrianople*, and the ſucceſs of affairs at that place, let us recount ſeveral diſmal accidents at *Conſtantinople*.

Several miſchiefs by water and fire.

The Grand Signior returning by Sea from a place called *Stravoſta* in the Bay of *Iſmit*, anciently the Bay of *Nicomedia*, where he had for ſome time held his Court and great Divan, he was followed by ſeveral Veſſels appointed to tranſport the people, in one whereof were ninety five perſons embarked, all of them Paſha's, Aga's, and chief Officers of the Court; the Veſſel was over-ſet by a ſudden guſt of wind, and all the people drowned, excepting three Sea-men which ſaved themſelves by ſwimming. More conſiderable were the miſchiefs by fire. For on occaſion of ſome Fire-works made in one of the Grand Signior's Chiosks or Houſes of Pleaſure, the fire took ſo fiercely on the Tavan or wooden Works of the Sieling,

Sieling, that it endangered the whole Palace, and had consumed all, but that many hands and active men gave a stop to the farther progress. This fire was but the fore-runner of a greater, which began the 16th of *September* in that part of the City of *Constantinople*, which is called *Aiacab*, being between the Wall and the Port where live Taverners, Butchers, Fishmongers, and others who sell provisions. The fire took first in one of those Houses which had been a Tavern, and are Buildings only made of Deal-boards and Timber, which combustible matter flamed out so violently, that it took hold on all the Houses round, and was so quick in its motion, as if it had taken by a train, or that some wicked people with Fire-balls had employed themselves in the mischief; the fire took its course against the wind, burning on one side and the other to the Historical Pillar, and to the Moschs of Sultan *Mahomet* and Sultan *Selim*; so that in a short time one third of the City was reduced to ashes. It is difficult to express the lamentable destruction was made hereby, what Riches, what Palaces, and Moveables were consumed in it, there being twenty thousand houses reported to be burnt; which misery is best represented by the remembrance of our calamitous Incendiation at *London*, the greatest difference between one and the other was, that that at *Constantinople* was more quick in its motion; for it burnt a larger compass of ground in one third of the time, than ours did at *London*; for that City for the most part consisting of slight Buildings of Wood met not the resistance which ours sometimes did against the Walls of Brick and stones. The fire being extinguished, and men having time to lament and think, began to impute the cause and fault to those whom they most suspected; sometimes they accused the Persians for having fired the City, for which crime one of them the next year suffered death: some attributed the cause of all to the Janisaries, and that they out of hatred to the Inhabitants, or for the sake of Plunder, if they did not begin, yet at least increased the fire; which they the more suspected, because the Janisaries refused not only to work themselves, alledging, that they expected Orders from their Aga, but likewise hindered and discouraged others. Howsoever the Grand Signior not wanting on his own part to contribute all assistance possible, sent four thousand men out of his Seraglio to work about the fire, not excusing the very Officers of his Royal Chamber from contributing their authority and personal aid; some of which ventured far into the fire to demonstrate their courage, activeness, and obedience to the Commands of their Emperour: but all this was too little against an obstinate and an invincible Enemy, for the fire flamed and proceeded until it wanted nourishment and food to consume. In fine, twenty thousand houses were burnt, two hundred Moschs, and the library of the Mufti, which for the number of the Arabick and Persian Books was curious and of high esteem: the Albengs or Habitation of the Janisaries containing three hundred Chambers, of which each Chamber was capable to receive four hundred men, were all burnt and reduced to ashes. The which fatal and miserable spectacle did a little touch the heart of Sultan *Morat*; so that he gave out considerable Sums to comfort the distressed who had most suffered by this calamity, and to raise from its ashes his consumed and languishing *Constantinople*, which being revived and flourishing, was again miserably consumed by flames in the month of *April* 1660. But such is the beneficial and commodious situation of that place, and the

1634.

A terrible fire at *Constantinople*.

riches

1634. riches thereof by trade, and the preſence of the Ottoman Court, that the Inhabitants again rebuilt it in fewer years than could be imagined.

But now to return to the Grand Signior at *Adrianople*, we find him reſolutely deſigned to make a War upon *Poland*, to which he was induced by the perſwaſions of *Abaſſa*, and the preſent conjuncture of advantage to joyn with the Moſcovite, it ſeeming great Policy not to ſuffer the Countries of *Moſcovy* to be over-run, or the Poles, who is a warlike and dangerous Nation, to grow puiſſant and powerful by his ſucceſs and Conqueſt over his Neighbours: wherefore preparations were made on all ſides for the War; great quantities of Proviſions and Ammunition were ſent into *Moldavia* by way of the Black Sea and the *Danube*. The Tartar *Han* ſent word that all his Forces were in readineſs, and expected nothing but their Orders to march; the Beglerbey of *Greece* made his Rendezvous at *Philippolis* with an Army of thirty thouſand men, where he attended to joyn with the Forces of *Boſna*, *Siliſtria*, and other parts of *Europe*; *Moldavia* and *Valachia* made an appearance of levying men, and joyning with the Turk, but their hearts were towards the Poles, with whom they kept a ſecret correſpondence, and would be ready to adhere on the leaſt opportunity. In ſhort, the Army of the Turks was ſo great, and all his affairs in that readineſs, that he ſcorned to incline an ear to Propoſitions of Peace; in which opinion *Abaſſa* humoured and perſwaded him, that the Poles were ſo fearful of his Forces, that they had already yielded to Terms of compounding for a yearly Tribute. All which proved falſe; for in the mean time *Uladiſlaus* King of *Poland* remitting nothing of the heat and vigour of his War againſt the Moſcovites, he was ſo ſucceſsful therein, that he forced an Army of eighty thouſand men, which he had beſieged in their Camp, to lay down their Arms, and ſurrender themſelves, which was an action ſcarce to be credited, at leaſt to be paralleled in any Hiſtory, and with this Conqueſt he might have proceeded to the Capital City of *Moſco*, and concluded the War and that Empire: but Gods Providence which governs all things altered this Counſel, and diverted thoſe victorious Arms to the Siege of *Bial*; which Town being well fortified and garriſoned withſtood many aſſaults of the Enemy, and blunted the Spirits and Swords of the Conquerour; for loſing much time in this Siege, other Towns made uſe of the opportunity to provide and fortifie themſelves, whilſt the Poles growing weary, and wanting Pay raiſed divers Mutinies and Seditions in the Camp. Theſe difficulties and inconveniences inclined the King *Uladiſlaus* to bend a favourable ear to the many ſupplications and inſtances which the Moſcovites made for Peace; ſo that the Plenipotentiaries being aſſembled, it was agreed, that the Dutchy of *Smolesko* and *Czernieſchou*, which two hundred years paſt had been taken from *Poland* and *Lituania*, with many other Towns and Countries to the extent of two hundred leagues, ſhould be reſtored to the Kingdom of *Poland*.

Reaſons for a War with Poland.

The Victory which the Poles obtained over the Moſcovites.

They make a Peace.

The News of this ſudden Peace coming unexpectedly to Sultan *Morat* cauſed his Bravadoes againſt *Poland* to ceaſe, and to turn the ſtile of his fury and indignation againſt the Moſcovites, whom he vilified with all imaginable terms of perfidiouſneſs and cowardiſe, and abuſed and impriſoned their Ambaſſadours. He conſidered that he had provoked an Enemy who was victorious, valiant, and powerful, and one who at any time was able to contend with his united Force, much more whilſt it was ſeparated

parated and disjoyned by his War in *Persia*: wherefore in all haste he dispatched an Ambassadour into *Poland* called *Shahin* Aga, desiring to renew the ancient League and Articles of Peace. This Ambassadour found the King at the Diet in *Warsaw*, where he publickly endeavoured to excuse his Master for the late Acts of Hostility, assuring them, that they were not performed according to his Masters desires and original intentions, but as they were moved and guided by the evil suggestions and artifices of *Abassa*, who being solely culpable of this fault by giving ill counsels to his Master, he assured them in the Name of the Sultan, that he should receive such punishment, as they should think fit to inflict upon him. Hereunto the King *Uladislaus* gave this answer, That since the Grand Signior could so easily infringe the Articles of that Peace which had been solemnly and sacredly established, it was now his part, and the wisdom of that grave Assembly to contrive such conditions and bonds wherewith to oblige his Master, as could not easily and at his pleasure be broken or avoided: and at the same time the Polish Ambassadour being returned from *Constantinople*, and discoursing in the Diet of the pride and perfidiousness of the Turks, and the scorn wherewith they received Christian Ambassadours, so incensed the spirit of the whole Assembly, that with a general consent they approved the words of the King, adding, that they would no longer be subject to the insults and falsities of that Tyrant, whom they would make to know, that they wore as well offensive as defensive Arms, and were not of that abject spirit or mean condition to permit the Sultan to violate the most sacred Articles of Peace, and then at his pleasure to salve them with a fawning acknowledgment, or a flattering speech. In this manner the Turkish Ambassadour was returned, whilst the King *Uladislaus* went into *Podolia* to take a view of his Armies, which he found to consist of eighty thousand fighting men, all well accoutred, of good courage, and ready to follow their King to the Walls of *Constantinople*.

1634.

The Turk sends an Ambassadour into *Poland* to desire a Peace.

The fear of the motion of this great Army in a conjuncture when the Wars broken out again in *Persia* were not prosperous, affected the mind of *Murat* with much terrour; so that he became very sollicitous to find out and make some substantial Proposition in order to an Accommodation. One of the Viziers called *Morteza* was very active in this business, plying continually the General *Konispolzki* with Letters, Offers, and Expedients for a Peace; to facilitate which and shew that the Grand Signior did heartily relent, *Abassa* was strangled by two Kapugees, and given for a Sacrifice to appease the anger of his Enemies; a person who was a stout Souldier, and one who had performed great and signal services in the War of *Persia*. But the Poles not being pacified with this single act of penitence, but thirsting farther after the blood of the Turks, desired to spoil and pillage their richer Provinces. Howsoever at length the Council of *Poland* entring into more serious debates, considered that the Troops lately come from *Moscovy* were but in a bad condition, that the part of their Army which consisted of Voluntiers would not endure a long and tedious War, and that the expence and charge of this great Army was immense and almost insupportable: for which reasons it was resolved, that a Peace should be made, which was soon afterwards concluded and agreed on these following Articles.

Abassa strangled.

Articles of Peace agreed between the Poles and the Turks.

That the Vayvods of *Moldavia* and *Valachia* should be confirmed by the Grand Signior with the consent and recommendation of the King of *Poland*.

1634 That *Cantemir* and his Tartars ſhould abandon the Country of *Buckzac*, and in caſe of refuſal, that then the Turk and Tartar *Chan* ſhould joyn their Forces to expel them from thence.

That the Poles ſhall ſuppreſs all Acts of Hoſtility of the Coſacks in the Black Sea.

That the Turks renounce for ever all demands, or future pretence of Tribute from *Poland:* and that they ſhall build no new Forts on the Frontiers.

That the Navigation on the River *Nieper* ſhall remain free and undiſturbed to the Poles. That all other Articles ſhall remain as formerly in their true force and virtue.

A difference between the French Ambaſſadour and the Captain-Paſha.

In this year happened out great differences between the French Ambaſſadour and the Turkiſh Officers. The firſt diſguſt had its original from the year 1631. when the Marqueſs of *Marcheville* going Ambaſſadour to *Conſtantinople*, was in his Voyage met off of *Scio* by the Captain-Paſha and his Fleet of Gallies, who immediately ſent off a Boat to adviſe him, that he ſhould ſtrike his Flag, and make ready the Preſents which were due to the Grand Signior's Admiral: *Marcheville* duly conſidering, that this ſubmiſſion would blemiſh the Honour of his Maſter, and the Dignity of his Character, refuſed compliance either in one or the other; howſoever that he might teſtifie the friendſhip and good correſpondence which he came to confirm between the two Kings, he ſtood off at ſome diſtance and fired five Guns to ſalute the Grand Signior's Standard; but the Captain-Paſha not contenting himſelf herewith, required the Ambaſſadour to come aboard and ſpeak with him, which after divers Meſſages from one Veſſel to another, the Ambaſſadour was counſelled to perform, not knowing how far otherwiſe he might engage the Honour of his Maſter. *Marcheville* being arrived at *Conſtantinople* did greatly complain of the affront and violence he received from the Captain-Paſha; which though the Grand Signior and other Miniſters ſeemed not to approve, yet the Ambaſſadour received little other ſatisfaction than fair words and promiſes, that his Honour ſhould be again repaired. At the Arrival of the Sieur *Marcheville* the Count *Ceſi*, who was the former Ambaſſadour, was to return into *France*; but the debts which he had contracted by a certain way of living, were ſo great, that the Creditors would not ſuffer him to depart without payment; for default of which he endured many affronts offered to his own perſon, and was detained at *Conſtantinople* until this year 1634. during which time the Marqueſs *Marcheville* managed all the Affairs of the Embaſſy, who keeping ſtill in mind the affront offered him before *Scio*, watched all opportunities to diſparage the actions and perſon of the Captain-Paſha; who at length returning from the Black Sea, where he had ſome ſucceſs againſt the Coſacks, was graciouſly received by the Grand Signior; and being advertiſed, how during his abſence the French Ambaſſadour had endeavoured to blaſt his reputation by many inſtances of diminution, which he often inculcated by his Druggerman, took advantage of the Grand Signior's good humour, to vent before him the reſentment which he conceived thereof: the Grand Signior to gratifie the Paſha, promiſed to hang the Druggerman, which the Paſha acknowledged as a ſingular favour, and returned from the preſence of the Sultan full of joy and contentment: but better to cover his malice, and to enſnare the poor Wretch, he ſent a Meſſenger to the Ambaſſadour,

dour, assuring him that he desired his friendship; and that there might be a right understanding between them, he perswaded him to send his Druggerman to him, that by his mouth he might signifie the esteem he had for the Ambassadour, from whose spirits he was willing to take off all jealousies and ombrages of discontent. The Ambassadour not suspecting the perfidiousness of the Pasha, sent his Druggerman to him, who being come within his power, was immediately hanged by the Grand Signior's express Command, and ordered that he should remain on the Gallows with his Velvet Cap on his head, which in this Sultan's Reign all Druggermen wore to distinguish them from others. The Ambassadour complained greatly of this affront and violation of Articles, to the Chimacam and other Officers, but could receive no other answer of satisfaction than that the Grand Signior might execute Justice, as he pleased, on his Subjects, without asking leave, or concerning the King of *France* or his Ambassadour in the matter. But *Marcheville* not resting satisfied with this reply, still prosecuted his pique and animosity to such height, that the Captain-Pasha farther incensed thereat, obtained Authority from the Grand Signior to dispeed him away: so that sending one day for *Marcheville*, and first reproaching his contrivances and designs against him, told him plainly, that it was the Grand Signior's pleasure that he should depart at that instant; to which he constrained the Ambassadour so precipitately, that he would not give him time to advertise his Servants, or make up his Baggage; but forced him aboard a French Ship then in Port, which he immediately compelled to sail; and the wind being contrary, caused the Vessel to be toaed abroad by two Gallies into the open Sea of the *Propontis*. After the injurious departure of this Ambassadour, the Count *Cesi*, who had been detained at *Constantinople* for the reasons before denoted, took again upon him the function of Ambassadour, to execute which in better advantage of Trade and Commerce, he was advised to a compliance with the Captain-Pasha, and to use such means as might mitigate that acrimony of spirit, which this Pasha nourished against the French Nation. These disputes between the French and the Turkish Officers revived certain disgusts and aversion against all the Frank Nations, which favoured the Latine Rites; so that in despight to them the Grand Signior restored again *Cyrillus* the Patriarch to the Patriarchal Jurisdiction, who had long been persecuted by the Jesuits, and by their means been deposed, promising that for the future he should continue undisturbed, in opposition to all those of the Roman Religion.

1634.

The French Druggerman hanged.

The Sieur *Marcheville* forcibly sent away.

The Peace (as we have said) being concluded with *Poland*, the Grand Signior was more at leisure to attend the Wars in *Persia*, with the labours and toils of which the Janisaries being wearied, began new troubles and Seditions in the Camp; the which disorder *Morat* attributing to the negligence or cowardise of the Officers, as wanting courage to suppress them, summoned the Janisar-Aga to appear before him, and without long process or excuse cut off his Head, and confiscated his Estate to the Exchequer, which amounted to a million and seventy thousand Dollars: another Janisary also more rich than seditious, was in like manner sacrificed, and an hundred and sixty thousand Dollars of his Estate added to the Treasury of the Sultan. The Pasha also of *Damascus*, with several other Officers of the Army enriched with spoils of the people, fell a Sacrifice to *Morat*'s avarice and cruelty; to whom riches and blood were

Acts of cruelty.

1634. so pleasing, that none acquired a higher degree of grace in his favour, than those who could give him notice of opulent men, who having found riches he undertook to find them guilty, and to prove their wealth so corrupted by extortion and violence, that nothing could hallow or purifie it but his Coffers.

The next News from *Persia* brought advice, that that King at the Head of a powerful Army was encamped in the Country about *Van*, with which the Turks not having sufficient Force to fight, the Vizier wrote to the Grand Signior, that his presence was necessary to increase the Army, and encourage the Souldiery; whereupon he resolved to leave *Adrianople*, and transfer his Court to his Seraglio at *Scutari*, that so remaining on the Banks of *Asia*, he might be nearer to his business, both to receive Intelligence and administer Supplies; and because Seditions and discontents in the people do always obstruct the motion of publick Affairs, he not only ruined the Taverns and Tabaco-shops, but forbid Coffee-houses, and other idle places of concourse; nay into Barbers shops no more than one was suffered to enter at a time; for those being places of resort, Treason was frequently vented there, men of that profession being notorious through the World for their talk and intemperance of language: and farther to restrain Meetings and secret Conventions strict Orders were given, that after an hour and half in the night all fires and candles in the City should be extinguished, which was the general discontent of all people. But what shewed much of the fierce spirit of the Sultan, was a certain fury which he conceived on this occasion. On a certain day riding on his Horse, thirty Indian Pilgrims met him in the way to demand his charity, and being in a different habit to what the Turks wear, and not accustomary in that Country, the Grand Signior's Horse started at the sight of them; and being spurred for bogling in that manner, the Horse capred and reared an end, so that he threw his Rider; at which the Grand Signior being highly enraged, drew out his Cemiter, and with his own hand killed his Horse, and instead of alms prepared a place of entertainment in the Gallies for those unhappy Indians.

The G. Signior returns to *Scutari*.

The Grand Signior being returned to his Palace at *Scutari*, which is seated on the Asian side opposite to *Constantinople*, applied his whole mind entirely to the Affairs in *Persia*; and being resolved to march thither in person, he put abroad the Horse-tail, which is a signal of departure, he visited the Sepulchres of his Ancestors, made his Corban, which is a distribution of flesh to the poor, for a Blessing on his Enterprise. The Officers of the Army contended to out-vy each the other in their Presents to the Grand Signior, some furnished him with Royal Tents, others with curious and light Arms; and others with Horses and Furnitures of value. Great Sums of Money were extracted out of the Exchequer for Military preparations and payments of the Souldiery. The charge of Affairs in absence of the Grand Signior was committed to the Bostangibashee, who was made Chimacam of *Constantinople*; and so with a fierce spirit, and aspect full of indignation and anger he mounted his Horse at the head of an Army of an hundred thousand; he departed from *Constantinople* about the end of *April*.

The G. Signior resolves to go to *Persia* in person.

1635. But before we recount the particulars of what succeeded in *Persia*, it is requisite to cast our thoughts back to the troubles of *Transylvania* occasioned by the competition of *Stephen Bethlem* and *George Ragotski* for that

that Principality. *Bethlem* (as we have said before) being grieved and discontented at his hard Fortune in being put by the Government, and resenting the punishment which *Ragotski* inflicted on his Son for the crime of manslaughter, he went to *Buda*, and there renewing his old complaints to the Pasha, he was with recommendations from him accompanied to the Port, where being introduced to the presence of the chief Ministers, he at large declared the Merits and good Services of his Family towards the Sultan: "That for this reason only, in dishonour "and despight to the Ottoman Empire, he was excluded from the Go- "vernment; and therefore challenged its assistance to re-establish him "therein, in consideration of which, he promised the same faithfulness "and devotion to the Sultan, which was professed and maintained by "his Ancestors, and was natural to the Family of *Gabor*. That as to "*Ragotski* it was apparent, that he entertained different principles; that "he was a person of elated thoughts and a turbulent spirit, and was ever "united in combination with the Emperour, Germans, and other Ene- "mies to the Ottoman State. 1635.

Bethlem renews his complaints to the Grand Signior.

His reasons to be re-instated.

The Turks moved with these reasons, resolved to favour *Stephen*, and to discountenance *Ragotski*; and though the conjuncture of affairs was such, as that any other Engagement in War, besides that of *Persia*, did not square with the present designs; yet at all times it was judged convenient to sow the tares of discord, and promote differences amongst Christians, which have ever produced advantages to the Mahometan Cause: and likewise the Pasha of *Buda* was commanded to enter *Transylvania* with a Force sufficient to contend with *Ragotski*; and lest the Emperour should be alarm'd with this commotion, a Chiaus was dispatched to give him a perfect understanding of the reasons, why an Army marched into *Transylvania*; the design of which was not intended in the least manner to impeach the Articles of Peace between him and the Grand Signior, but only to displace a man of a furious and turbulent spirit, and to ordain another in his stead of a more sober and quiet temper, by whose moderation and prudence the Peace between the two Empires may be improved and continued.

The Turks send an Army into *Transylvania*.

Ragotski startled at this design intended against him, assembled the States of his Country to determine and consult concerning a remedy, and immediately dispatched a Messenger to the Emperour, to desire and implore his Imperial succour and protection: and though *Ragotski* was sensible of the disparity of his strength, in comparison of that of the Turks; yet neither did his counsels nor behaviour betray fear or want of constancy. The Hungarians seconded those instances which *Ragotski* had made at the Imperial Court, and the Party which he had made at *Vienna* brought the matter to a debate in Council, which was argued on both sides with solid and convincing reasons. Those who spake in disfavour of *Ragotski*, alledged, That all assistance contributed to him would be a just cause and pretence to the Grand Signior to make War with the Emperour. That *Ragotski* himself was of an unquiet temper, not unlike to *Gabor* his Predecessor, who had often bid defiance to the Emperour, and over-running all *Hungary* and *Austria*, had often erected his Standard in the sight of *Vienna*. To protect and cherish a person of this disposition, was no other than to nourish a Serpent or Viper in their bosom; who being elevated at the expence of the Empire in successes against the Turk, would convert that power which he had gained

Ragotski implores aid from the Emperour.

It is debated in Council.

1635. gained to the damage of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, combining with the Faction of other Princes to procure its deſtruction. Let us therefore, ſaid they, ſtand at a gaze, and as men on the ſhore or in a good Port behold the agitation of Ships in the Ocean; perhaps the change of a Prince in *Tranſylvania* may turn to our benefit, and one may ſucceed into the place, of ſuch a mild temper and ſerene diſpoſition, as may better agree with the Maxims of this Court, and may cultivate that Peace which can only render theſe Countries happy.

Howſoever there were other opinions to the contrary, amongſt which it is ſaid, that D. *Annibal Gonzaga*, a perſon acquainted with the State of *Tranſylvania* and of the Turks, and Director of the Imperial Army, delivered himſelf in this manner.

May it pleaſe Your Sacred Imperial Majeſty,

IF Ragotski *had been the lawful Son and hereditary Succeſſour of* Gabor, *who was an Enemy to your Majeſty, we might then apprehend the evil conſequences of a Son, that traces the ſame path and footſteps of his Father. But here is another perſon, another Prince, in emulation different, and by enmity hating the Houſe of* Gabor; *wherefore I cannot imagine, how this Prince can poſſibly entertain Maxims of like nature with the other. For my part I believe, that it behoves your Majeſty to maintain a good correſpondence with the Princes of* Tranſylvania *by a cloſe Union againſt the Turk; your adjoyning Countries being like contignous Buildings, which are ſtrengthned by a mutual ſupport: let us therefore ſupport it, for if it depends not on us, it will be over-run, and remain oppreſſed without us. To aggravate the faults of* Gabor *to the diſparagement of* Ragotski, *is no Logical conſequence, unleſs you will argue, that the faults of the guilty are to be puniſhed on the innocent. Let us therefore conſider, which agrees beſt with the ſecurity of the Empire; that* Tranſylvania *ſhould remain in the hands of* Ragotski, *or of the Turk; or that we had better ſtrike againſt the rock of jealouſie, which we conceive againſt this Tranſylvanian, or on that ruinous rock of the Turkiſh Power. The Ottoman Counſels commonly look aſquint, they caſt their eye on the Prince, when their ſight aims at the Principality, and threaten the perſon, when they deſign to vent their fury to the ſubjection of his Country. The true intent of the Turk is to reduce* Tranſylvania *to the ſame condition with* Moldavia *and* Valachia, *and to incorporate this with infinite other Provinces into the groſs body of his Empire. It is notorious to all the World, that the Emperours your Predeceſſours have loſt a large tract of Land by the Turks, and your loſſes will every day be greater, as their Conqueſts increaſe; and when their Dominions in* Europe *are ſo enlarged, that they are able to quarter their Aſiatick Cavalry in theſe Countries, your dangers muſt neceſſarily be inevitable and full of terrour. For I compute, that when the Turk deſigns to make War upon us, he marches with an hundred thouſand men, and perhaps ten thouſand Camels, beſides other beaſts of burden; ſo numerous a body as this cannot be maintained until the graſs be fully grown, which is not until the middle or end of* June; *and from that time they have more than a month or ſix weeks March before they arrive upon our Confines; the which conſumption of time prolongs their Enterpriſes, and protracts the time of our damages. But if once they become Maſters of* Tranſylvania, *and that that Country be laid to* Moldavia, Valachia, *and other parts of* Hungary, *they may then commodiouſly winter amongſt us, and begin their Wars and Attempts*

tempts upon us early in the year, and purſue them until the laſt ſeaſon of the Autumn: and in this manner, whilſt we are debating and taking our meaſures in our Diet, they will fatten themſelves, and ſatiate their appetites with our ſpoils. It is good therefore for us to defend Auſtria *in* Tranſylvania, *keeping the feaver as far from the heart, as we are able. Let us ſuppoſe, that* Ragotski *is the moſt ungrateful man in the world, and that after we have ſupported and ſuccoured him, that he will reverſe his Arms upon us: howſoever he is not ſo ſtrong and conſiderable as to do us much hurt, and therefore it were better to have him our Neighbour and our Enemy, than the Turk, though our Friend: the firſt can only adminiſter ſome little cauſes of jealouſie, but the other may deſtroy and ſupplant us: the firſt is but like a putrid feaver, which is cured with every ſmall evacuation; but the latter is a peſtilence, which dilates and diffuſes it ſelf, and is deadly and irrecoverable. Let not the ſcruple neither of breaking with the Turk trouble us; for we may adminiſter aſſiſtance under-hand, and without noiſe effect our buſineſs, without arriving at the extremity of a rupture. It is folly and weakneſs in us to be charmed by the flatteries of the Turks, and the fair words of this Chaous, or to imagine, that when they have over-run all* Tranſylvania, *they will ſtop in the midſt of their career, before they arrive at the Gates of* Vienna; *no, their intentions are to lull us aſleep, and to deſtroy our Neighbour firſt, and then us; they cannot devour us both at once, but husband their diet, and reſerve us for another meal. The Turk is like a Serpent, who lyes quiet and coiled up all the Winter, not becauſe he wants either a ſting or poiſon, but being benumbed with cold, wants warmth and heat to give it motion and operation. This is my ſenſe and opinion, which I moſt humbly tender before the greater Wiſdom of Your Sacred Majeſty.* 1635.

Notwithſtanding theſe convincing Arguments, the reſult of the Council determined otherwiſe, and *Ragotski* was left to ſhift for himſelf, and to ſtand upon his own legs, which was a pernicious reſolution, and that which was afterwards the cauſe of the ſubjection of *Tranſylvania* to the Turk, and the original of many miſchiefs to the Empire; but this was the fortune of the Turks, more favourable to them than to the Chriſtian State. *The Emperour refuſes ſuccour to Ragotski.*

Ragotski being thus abandoned by the Imperialiſts, and expoſed to the mercy of an inſatiable Enemy, though his courage was good and reſolute, yet he began to deſpond of his Force, unable to deal with ſuch an unequal Match, as that of the Turk: and his Subjects being fearful of the event, perſwaded him to give way, and reſign his rule to the hands of *Gabor* his Competitor; *Ragotski*, that he might not ſeem to neglect the counſel of his Subjects and Friends, and to gain time, pretended to hearken to their advice; and accordingly entred into a Treaty with *Gabor*. During which debate he ſecretly obtained ſome Forces from *Poland*, by connivance of that Government; and the Hungarians being his friends, privately favoured him, knowing that the Conqueſt of *Tranſylvania* would be a ſtep to their deſtruction; and being at length well fortified and recruited, he began to declare openly, that he found no ſecurity to himſelf in this Surrender, for that a place was denied him, wherein he put his chief hopes of defence; and therefore that he was reſolved to ſupport and maintain his ſtate and cauſe in the beſt manner that he was able. Hereupon the Turks entred *Tranſylvania* with an Army of twenty five thouſand men under the Command of the Paſha of *Buda*: *Ragotski* obtains ſuccours under-hand. *The Turks enter Tranſylvania.*

1635. *Buda: Ragotski*, to obſtruct their March, diſpeeded his General *Cornis* with ſeven thouſand men to prepoſſeſs an advantageous ground, with Order to entertain, but not fight the Enemy, until he could come up to him with the groſs of his Army. The Turks perceiving their advantage in number, reſolved to engage the Enemy before they were reinforced with new Succours; to perform which they made a detachment of twelve thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand Janiſaries, and ſome Field-pieces commanded by the Paſha himſelf and *Stephen Gabor*. *Cornis* not being able to diſingage himſelf or avoid fighting, made a vertue of neceſſity, and put his Forces into form of Battel, and exhorting his men to follow his example, aſſured them, that Victory was ſooner acquired by valour than numbers, and that Fortune was always more favourable to the valiant and brave, than to the cowardly and puſillanimous. *Cornis* unſheathing his Sword fought in the head of his men, and led them through the thickeſt of his Enemies, the firſt rank of which not being able to ſuſtain the furious charge of the Chriſtians, gave way; and being diſordered, the firſt Squadrons ran foul of the ſecond, and at length all of them betook themſelves to a ſhameful flight. The Tranſylvanians took all their Cannon and Baggage with ten Enſigns, and killed three thouſand Turks. The Paſha of *Agria* was wounded, and *Olac* Bei of *Temiſwar* was taken Priſoner; and the whole Army had that day been defeated, had not the Janiſaries, who fortified themſelves in a thick Wood, given a ſtop to a farther purſuit. *Ragotski* likewiſe in divers ſucceeding Skirmiſhes overthrew the Turks, killing many Paſha's and Souldiers of quality, and at length remained ſole Maſter of the Field. The Turks retired to *Lippa*, and *Stephen* to *Temiſwar*, whilſt *Ragotski* made his Incurſions into the Country of the Turks, burning and ſpoiling two thouſand Villages; with which being terrified and beaten into terms of reaſon, they agreed to ſuffer *Ragotski* to injoy his Government, conditionally, that the Goods and Eſtate of *Gabor* in *Tranſylvania* ſhould be reſtored unto him: and thus *Ragotski* eſtabliſhed himſelf in the Government, and obtained a confirmation thereof from *Conſtantinople* to his Son, accompanied with Preſents and Ornaments of a Prince. And this example ſhews us in what manner we are to deal with Turks; reſolution and rigour are better Arms againſt them than complements, and with an Enemy it is more advantageous to make Peace with weapons in our hands, than to condeſcend to the hard terms which a Tyrant pleaſes to impoſe on an eaſie and an unprovided People. So ſoon as this News arrived the ears of the proud Sultan, he was ſo incenſed, that in a fury he would have deſiſted from his preſent War in *Perſia*, to vent his revenge upon *Tranſylvania*; but the cooler and more moderate counſels of wiſer friends adviſed him to defer the execution of his anger, until he could diſcharge it more to the purpoſe, and in a conjuncture when it would fall more eaſie on himſelf, and more heavy on his Enemy: howſoever in the mean time *Ragotski* made ſuch uſe of this remote diverſion of the Ottoman Arms, by advantaging himſelf of an Alliance with the Coſacks, and by the ill correſpondence and diffidence which at that time intervened between the Tartars and the Port, that he not only avoided the revenge threatned by *Morat*, but obtained an eſtabliſhment of the Inheritance to his Son.

They fight with *Cornis*,

are overthrown.

Peace is made.

Morat at *Erzrum*.

By this time Sultan *Morat* was arrived at *Erzrum*, which is a City belonging to the Turks on the Confines of *Perſia*; where the firſt Act which

which he performed of Juſtice, was to cut off the Head of the Paſha for his oppreſſion and extortions inflicted on the people. Entring into *Armenia*, he was grieved to ſee the upper and lower Provinces ſo miſerably deſtroyed and waſted by the War; to recover which he commanded the people under pain of death to return again to their ancient habitations within the ſpace of twenty days; but they being ſetled in other Cities, where perhaps they had purchaſed Houſes and Lands, could not poſſibly comply with the ſeverity of this Decree; and therefore were conſtrained to buy a diſpenſation and releaſe from the penalty for a Sum of money. 1635.

About the beginning of *July* in the parts of *Erzrum*, *Morat* made a general review and Muſter of his whole Army; with which thoſe he brought from *Conſtantinople* joyned to Recruits by the way, and thoſe Forces which had waged War in *Perſia* amounted to near the number of three hundred thouſand fighting men, but ſuch as were admirably well diſciplined, not only by the ſeverity of their Soveraign, but by the example he ſhewed them of frugality and patience: for he often marched afoot in the midſt of the heats, he was extremely temperate in his diet, though he was naturally of a gluttonous and luxurious palate; for ſeveral months he made uſe of no other Pillow for his head than his Saddle, nor other Blanket or Quilt than the Covering or Foot-cloth of his Horſe. Being arrived near to the City of *Revan* he beſtowed that largeſs on the Souldiery of a Dollar a man, which is accuſtomary to be given at all times, when the Grand Signior marches in perſon, and then made known to them his intentions of beſieging that place; and in caſe he took it not in the ſpace of ten days, that then he would leave it begirt with forty thouſand men; and dividing his Army into three Bodies, he would enter the bowels of *Perſia* by divers ways. The Tents of the Grand Signior and of all the Camp were pitched, Batteries raiſed, the Trenches opened, and all matters laid in the formal manner of a Siege. The Garriſon within commanded by Emir *Gumir* conſiſted of fifteen thouſand men, fitted and provided with all ſorts of Ammunition, and wanted neither courage nor proviſions; howſoever at the end of nine days the City was ſurrendred to the Sultan, upon terms of quarter to the whole Garriſon both for life and freedom of Eſtate; and becauſe this Governour Emir *Gumir*, a principal Noble-man of *Perſia*, had by corruption thus voluntarily delivered up the City, he acquired a place of high grace and eſteem in the favour of the Grand Signior, to which his courtly manner of indulging his humor, and complying with him in his Wine and Feaſts (to which the joy of this preſent ſucceſs priviledged him to return) gave him daily a new Title to receive extraordinary Honours from him. The news of this proſperous ſucceſs was poſted to *Conſtantinople*, as the firſt eſſay of the good effects of the Sultan's preſence; and was there celebrated with Feaſts, Joy, and Lights, according to the Turkiſh faſhion, called *Danalma*; to perform which the Turks obliged likewiſe the Chriſtian Ambaſſadours, ſaying, that if they were friends, they ought to evidence their ſatisfaction by demonſtrations of joy in the proſperity of their Ally: the Feſtival was kept for the ſpace of four days, during which two Brothers of the Sultan, *viz. Bajazet* and *Orchan* were ſtrangled; the latter of which, as is ſaid, was ſo brave, and of that courage, that he killed four of his Executioners before he ſubmitted his neck to the fatal Cord.

The Grand Signiors patience and labours.

Revan betrayed and ſurrendred by Emir *Gumir*.

Rejoycing and a Feſtival kept for it at *Conſtantinople*.

1635. The Turk entring farther into *Perſia*, inconſiderately fell into an ambuſh, where twelve thouſand of their men were defeated; howſoever the remainder of the Army not being diſcouraged with this Encounter, proceeded on their March, making moſt miſerable havock and deſtruction of all before them, carrying that dread and terrour to the Countries round, that all people fled, leaving their houſes and things not portable to the poſſeſſion of the Enemy. Howſoever the Turks found greater difficulties than they expected; for meeting frequently Parties of the Perſian Cavalry, which were practiſed to manage their Horſe and Sword, were often defeated, at leaſt endured and ſuſtained the ſhock of bloody Skirmiſhes; and then the Perſians retiring into the Mountains known to them, but unknown to the Turks, which ſerved them better than fortified places, returned again when any advantage or Booty appeared, which perpetually vexed and wearied the Enemy; and burning all things which might afford them relief, rendred that fruitful Country more deſolate and barren than the Deſarts of *Libya*, or the Sands of *Arabia*. In this manner the Turkiſh Army being deſtitute of all ſorts of proviſions and refreſhments, were forced to retire to the Country of *Tauris*; which being haraſſed and impoveriſhed like other Provinces, cauſed a miſerable famine in the Camp, whereby multitudes of Horſes and Camels periſhed for want of nutriment; at which the Grand Signior being highly incenſed againſt the Inhabitants of *Tauris*, committed their City to the will and mercy of the Souldiery, who having pillaged and ſacked it, left it a miſerable ſpectacle of fire and ſword.

The Turks enter farther into *Perſia*.

Tauris deſtroyed.

The King of *Perſia* ſeeing in what manner the Troops of his Enemy were wearied and conſumed, took hold of this opportunity as ſeaſonable to propoſe certain Articles of Peace by an Ambaſſadour, to which *Morat* ſeemed to incline a flexible ear; but lodging his Souldiers in their Winter-quarters in the parts of *Damaſcus* and *Aleppo*, he took his way towards *Conſtantinople*, with intention to eaſe the hardſhips and labours of the Summers War, by a voluptuous eaſe and Winters paſtime in the delights and ſoftneſs of the Seraglio. The 16th day of *December* he arrived at *Conſtantinople*, having paſſed from *Iſmit* through the Gulph of *Nicomedia* with the attendance of fourteen Gallies: he made his Entry by the Jews Gate, and not by that of *Adrianople*, as was accuſtomary; he was mounted on one of the beſt of his Horſes, and cloathed with a Coat of Mail, a Casket on his head with three Feathers adorned with Pearls and precious Stones, his Sword was girt to his ſide with his Bow and Quiver, his beard was in a rough and neglected manner, which made him appear more fierce and Martial; the Chimacam came after him, accompanied with the Traitor who ſurrendred *Revan*. This Feſtival for his return was celebrated for the ſpace of a whole week, during which time the Shops were ſhut, the doors and outſides adorned with green Boughs and Paintings, and by night the ſtreets with Torches were made as clear as the day: howſoever the people ſecretly murmured, that the War was not proſecuted, and the advantages taken when Fortune began to ſmile and favour their Enterpriſes; and that now deſiſting in the middle way, the work was again to be begun, and all the foregoing blood and treaſure was ſpent and conſumed to no purpoſe: theſe murmurings of the people were not without ſome ground and cauſe; for after the departure of the Grand Signior, the Perſians put themſelves again into the field, and recovered the Country which they had loſt; and having

Feſtival for return of the G. Signior.

1636.

offered

offered a Sum of money to *Morteſa* Paſha to ſurrender *Revan*; which he refuſing to accept on principles of fidelity and honour, they prepared to lay cloſe ſiege to the place: the Janiſaries were alſo diſpleaſed to ſee themſelves neglected, and caſt out of the Guard, and their places ſupplied by the Boſtangees; nor leſs diſguſted were the Lawyers to ſee ſeveral of their Judges and Kadies hanged, and their heads cut off, upon pretence of Sedition and Faction. His ill humor more increaſed to the height of Tyranny, by reaſon of certain twinges which he ſuffered of the Gout, which is not uſual in perſons of his age, not ſurpaſſing twenty ſix years; and becauſe his Phyſician a Jew forbid him wholly to drink wine, as poiſon to his diſeaſe and complexion, he was ſo enraged, that he drove him from his preſence with indignation, and immediately conceived ſuch anger and prejudice againſt the whole Nation, that he cauſed their Houſes to be ſearched, and their Jewels taken from them. But what was moſt ſtrange, was his horrid averſion to Tabaco, the taking of which by any perſon whatſoever he forbid upon pain of death; which ſentence he ſo rigorouſly executed, that he cauſed the legs and arms of two men, one that ſold Tabaco, and the other that took it, to be ſawed off, and in that manner expoſed to the view of the people: he alſo cauſed two others, a man and a woman to be impaled alive, for the ſame offence, with a Roll of Tabaco about their necks. 1636.

His averſion to Tabaco.

As the Gout cauſed him to be froward and ill-natur'd, ſo more eſpecially when ill News came from *Perſia*, he was obſerved to be more raving and tyrannical than ever: his Army in *Perſia* wanting proviſions diſbanded; *Morteſa* Paſha Governour of *Revan* being killed, the Souldiers rebel, open the Gates, and yield themſelves to the Perſian; for which offence the Janiſaries fearing the Juſtice of their Maſter the Grand Signior, two thouſand of them took up Arms in ſervice of the Enemy: the ſenſe hereof vexing *Morat* to the ſoul, he cauſed the Regiſter of the Janiſaries to be hanged, and another of their principal Officers to be beheaded, and ſtrowed the ſtreets of *Conſtantinople* with dead bodies, ſome for one cauſe, and ſome for another, which ſtruck the whole City with a general dread and conſternation. He often walked in the night, puniſhing quarrels and diſorders of the ſtreets, and meeting two women wandring in the dark, he cauſed them to be cut in pieces. He put his Cook to death for not dreſſing his Meat well, or not ſeaſoning his Sauces according to his palate. In his Seraglio ſporting with his Arms, he wounded himſelf with a Dart in the thigh; and by accident wounded the Son of *Mehmet* the late Vizier with a Carbine-ſhot, of which in a ſhort time after he dyed.

Revan regained by the Perſian.

The Grand Signiors ſeverity and crueſty.

The Perſian having taken *Revan* (as we have ſaid) inſtituted Chambers of Janiſaries in that place after the Turkiſh faſhion, paying them in the ſame form as at *Conſtantinople*; and to allure the Spahees to enter into his Service, he offered to all that came in twelve Aſpers a day of conſtant Pay, and declared, That their Faith and Law had no difference from the Mahometan. The Grand Signior receiving theſe Advices with extreme indignation, proclaimed his intentions to return again into *Perſia*; and though the deſign pleaſed not the Militia, who were weary of the War, yet his power was too great to be reſiſted, and his humors too violent to be diverted by ſober counſels; for having ſubjected and abſolutely ſubdued the inſolence of the Souldiers, and ſuppreſſed the arrogance of the Lawyers and Church-men, he ordered every thing ac-

1636. cording to his arbitrary and uncontroulable pleasure, which being rendred extravagant and unsupportable, by reason that in his Cups, and at the time of his debauchery he would often take his Counsels and determine his resolutions, were notwithstanding with more patience endured upon hopes that they would not be lasting, and that excesses would accelerate his death, and the end of their oppressions. The Pasha's of greatest note and riches he put to death, and confiscated their Estates to his Exchequer; and whereas avarice and cruelty were equally predominant in his nature, there was scarce a day wherein he made not some demonstration of those dispositions: the English Ambassadour making some instances for the releasement of English Slaves from Captivity, was forced to purchase their liberty by giving two Russians, or other Slaves in the place of one English-man. He took a singular delight to sit in a Chiosk by the Sea-side, and from thence to shoot at the people with his Bow and Arrows, as they rowed near the Banks of the Seraglio, which caused the Boat-men afterwards to keep themselves at a distance from the Walls of the Seraglio. And as he likewise took pleasure to go from one Garden to another on the *Bosphorus*, so if he observed any so bold, as to put forth his head to see him pass, he commonly made him pay the price of his curiosity by a shot from his Carbine. In all his Gardens and places of pleasure his chief recreation was drinking, in which his principal or almost sole Companions were Emir *Gumir* the Persian who betrayed *Revan*, and a Venetian of the Family of *Bianchi*, who having been taken by the Turks, when he was young, was placed in the Seraglio, and educated in all the Learning and Customs of it, and becoming as well a Proficient in drinking, as in other vices, he was made a Favourite and Companion to *Morat*. And thus did they follow this trade of drunkenness so constantly, that the health of the Grand Signior began to impair, and at length he became so sensible of his extravagancies, that he incharged the Chimacam not to obey him after dinner: and when in the heat of his Wine he took a humor to ride through the streets, the Janisaries and Officers would sometimes run before to advise the people to withdraw, and sometimes drive them away with stones, that so they might escape the hazard of this capricious Tyrant. As it cannot be expressed in what dread and fear the people stood of him, so neither in what Veneration he was with his Servants, who observed the looks and every cast of his eyes, had learned his nods, and the meaning of every motion and gesture of his body. It happened once, that a paper falling casually from his hand out of a window, the Pages ran in all haste down the stairs, striving who should be the first to take it up; but one more desirous than the others to evidence the zeal of his service, took the neerest way and leaped out of the window; and though with the fall he broke the bone of his thigh, yet being the first that took up the paper, he came halting to present it with his own hand: this bold readiness in his service so pleased the Grand Signior, that being cured, he was afterwards preferred to one of the most considerable Offices of the Empire. Thus was *Morat* revered in his Seraglio, as he was feared abroad, his Servants having the same awe of him, as *Bagotes* the Eunuch had of *Alexander* the Great, who holding the Pot of Incense and Perfumes whilst his Master slept, suffered his hands to burn to the bone, rather than to awaken him by moving out of his place. *Q. Curtius.*

But it is time now to leave off farther discourse of the Extravagancies

of

of *Morat*, and to return to the Wars in *Persia*; howsoever before the departure of the Grand Signior, it will be requisite to recount somewhat of the state of affairs in *Europe*. On the Frontiers of *Hungary* and *Poland* there wanted not Exercises and Skirmishes to employ and practise the Souldiery, and keep them in breath. The Poles heightned with their good successes, would not longer endure the Incursions of the Tartars, complaining against the Turk, that he had given Orders, and secretly abetted them in their Robberies and Invasions against the Articles of the last Peace; and therefore to avenge themselves, the Poles appeared on the Frontiers with forty or fifty thousand Horse; but the Grand Signior not willing in this conjuncture to break with the Poles, absolutely disowned any such Order or permission given to the Tartars, and being willing to continue the League, that he might oblige the King of *Poland*, gave liberty to all the people of that Nation, and to the Russians, who had been taken since the last Treaty, positively prohibiting all people from buying or keeping any of the Subjects of that Country for Slaves, during the continuance of this Peace. In *Hungary*, though the Ambassadour had but lately brought a Confirmation of the Peace from *Constantinople*; yet the Turks pretending that the Articles were not complied with, continued to trouble and disturb those Frontiers; for four thousand of them being gotten into a Body burnt certain Villages, made divers Slaves, and battered the Castle of *Raab*; but being repulsed by that Garrison, and by that of *Komorra*, they again made Head, and encamped within three leagues of *Presbourg*: the which gave great trouble to the Emperour, both because he had lately declared a War against *France*; and because he apprehended, that those Commotions of the Turks were designed to no other end, than to engage him to renounce all assistance and succour to be given unto *Ragotski*. We have already recounted in what manner the Turks had espoused the quarrel of *Stephen Gabor*, and resolved to establish him in the Principality of *Transylvania* with the ruine of *Ragotski*; which now being designed to be done by open Force, several Troops were sent to the Frontiers of *Transylvania*; which so alarmed the Hungarians, that they put themselves on their Guard, and obliged the Estates of *Austria* and *Hungary* to contribute towards the succour of the Transylvanian Prince. The Emperour remained long in suspense what course to steer, until at length the perswasions of the Confederate Princes, the shame of abandoning a Friend and an Ally for a prey to the Turks, and the fear of displeasing his hereditary Dominions in *Hungary*, who considered *Transylvania* as the Bulwark of their Country, induced him to promise secretly and underhand assistance to *Ragotski*. As to the Turks themselves, the effects did not correspond with their menaces; for though they had gathered an Army of twenty thousand men at *Buda*, they not only were disappointed of their design upon *Newhausel*, but were openly repulsed, and shamefully expelled the Frontiers by the Palatine of *Hungary*: and *Ragotski* being recruited by Succours from the Emperour, and by an Alliance with *Poland* defied the Forces of the Turk, and contemned the reports of sixty thousand men, preparing to march against him.

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Disturbances in *Poland* and *Hungary*.

The Turks confirm the Peace with *Poland*;

Send Forces against *Ragotski*.

For indeed the Grand Signior had too great an incumbrance on his shoulders by the War in *Persia*, to attend unto a perfect and studied revenge against *Ragotski*; for *Revan* being recovered by the Persian, (as we have already declared) was a matter of high moment, and what di-

stracted

1636. ſtracted all his counſels and weakened his hopes. When News came firſt of the Siege of *Revan*, Orders were given to the Vizier to beſiege *Bagdat*, as a means to cauſe a diverſion of Arms; but the Souldiery entertaining an averſion to this Enterpriſe, unanimouſly refuſed to march, or to proceed farther than *Erzrum*. *Jambolat Ogli*, who commanded the Army before the arrival of the Vizier, had ſtrangled a Paſha, and taken his Eſtate to ſupply the wants of the Army, and had likewiſe put to death ſeveral Spahees and Janiſaries for Mutiny, and becauſe they had declared an unwillingneſs to this War. The Souldiery prepared to addreſs themſelves to the Vizier for juſtice againſt theſe violent proceedings; but he not willing to hear them, endeavoured to divert their complaints, which cauſed a greater commotion and ſtorm than before. And though *Jambolat* pleaded his Orders and poſitive Commiſſion from the Grand Signior for what he had acted; yet that allegation not being accepted by the multitude as a juſtifiable plea, the Vizier was forced to condeſcend to their deſire, and ſtrangle *Jambolat*, as he had done the others, being the only means to quiet and compoſe this trouble of his Army. But as after ſome great ſtorm there is always remaining for a while a ſwelling and fluctuation in the waters, ſo there ſtill remained on the ſpirits of the Souldiery diſcontents and unquietneſs of mind: wherefore the Vizier fearing leſt the Enemy taking advantage of the preſent Seditions, ſhould charge them at a time of diſorder, he retired at a diſtance from them into the Plains of *Erzrum*: but he was not able to continue long in thoſe parts for want of fuel, and of wood and planks to ſecure them againſt the rains and ſnow; for it being Winter, which is rigorous and cold in that Country, their Tents were not ſufficient proof to defend them againſt the extremity of the weather.

Mutiny in the Turkiſh Army.

Whilſt the Turkiſh Army remained at this place, advice came, that the Perſians had beſieged *Van*, which is a ſtrong Fortreſs ſituate on an inacceſſible Rock on the Frontiers of the Province of *Diarbequir*. And though the Perſians were not able to take this place neither by ſtorm nor famine; yet during this Siege they made uſe of their time to ruine all the Country of *Diarbequir*, which they left ſo deſolate, that the Turkiſh Army could not quarter there, nor extract the leaſt proviſion or ſubſiſtence from thence. To all theſe misfortunes a greater was added by the treachery of a certain *Curd*, one who pretending to be ill-ſatisfied with the Perſian Party, voluntarily offered himſelf to the ſervice of the Turks; and having done them ſome little ſervices by being their guide through certain difficult paſſages, he gained a confidence ſo far with them, as that deſigning to ſurpriſe a quarter of the Enemy, they committed themſelves to his guidance and conduct; who having brought them into a narrow paſſage, where an Ambuſh of the Enemy lay, he then turned his Coat, and fought againſt the Turks, of whom fifteen thouſand were killed and taken in this ſnare. In ſhort, all matters of this War proceeded croſs and unfortunate for the Turks; for beſides their unlucky Fights with the Enemy, their own Seditions in the Camp were greater miſchiefs; for now enduring no longer theſe pungent miſeries, under the pretence of wanting Pay, they cut in pieces the Treaſurer of the Army, two Aga's of the Spahees, and the Chaouſbaſhee of the Janiſaries.

Van beſieged by the Perſians.

Fifteen thouſand Turks killed in an Ambuſh.

Mutiny of the Souldiers.

This News arriving at *Conſtantinople*, when *Morat* was afflicted with a grievous acceſſion of the Gout, ſerved to redouble his pains, in which raving againſt the conduct of his Officers, he immediately deprived the Vizier

Vizier of his Charge, and ordained *Biram* Pasha, late Chimacam, to succeed him in his Employment. The new Vizier immediately set forth the Horses Tail, which is a signal of departure, with sound of Drums and Trumpets, making Corban, which is a distribution of Mutton to the poor, in divers places: his Retinue was speedily equipped with such sumptuous Magnificence, that it looked rather like the Train of an Ambassadour, which intended to make Peace, than to the Troops of a General, whose business was nothing but blood and destruction. And indeed matters seemed to be inclining that way, the Persians having far advanced in this Negotiation; for they wisely pondering the immense Force of the Ottoman Empire, with which they were now contending, judged it the most politick course to make Peace under the auspicious Planet of their good Fortune; for not knowing how long that might remain constant, they might so soon as the wheel turns on the other side, be forced to accept terms of less advantage, than at present they might promise to themselves under their happy Stars. Wherefore a Proposition being made of sending an Ambassadour to the Grand Signior, he accepted of it; and accordingly arrived at *Constantinople* in the month of *August*, when the Vizier was scarce in the middle of his Journey. The Grand Signior entertaining some real inclinations to Peace, laid aside something of his usual Grandeur and State, giving the Ambassadour Audience in a few days after his arrival: and as nothing mollifies the hard mettle of a Turks spirit, like a gentle shower of Gold, and the emulgent softness of rich Presents; so *Morat* understanding of Gifts with which he came accompanied, afforded to the Ambassadour an easie ear and a pleasing countenance. The Presents for the Grand Signior, besides those for the Court, were these that follow.

1636. A new Vizier sent to the Army.

A Persian Ambassadour sent to the Grand Signior.

Eight Indian Horses of great price.
Forty Dromedaries.
An hundred and fifty Meticals of Musk. As much Ambergriese made up in several Bags, all sealed up with the Kings own Seal.
Thirty Bundles of the best black Sables.
Eight large Carpets mixed with Gold and Silver, with divers others of Silk very rare and precious.
Many Pieces of the finest Linen to make Turbants.
A great number of the rarest Girdles. Porceline to a great value.
Divers Pieces of Satin and Velvet with golden Flowers.
Fifty Pieces of silken Stuffs.
Eight Bows of excellent work.

These Presents so well disposed and prepared the mind of the Grand Signior towards an Accommodation, that he bestowed a kind aspect and gentle words on the Ambassadour, so that all the World expected that a Peace would have ensued.

And indeed one might well have believed his reality in this intention, since the ardent passion he had to be revenged of *Ragotski*, availed more with him than all other considerations in the world: his Honour also called him to give a stop to the progress of the Moscovites, who had taken *Asac*; and the Tartars and Cosacks gave some ground of jealousie, that before long they designed some Action on the Turkish Territories, the reasons whereof we shall discourse in this following Year.

We have already related some Years past, on what Terms the Tartars stood with the Turk, how they refused to accept that King which the

1637.

1637. the Port recommended to them, though the eldeſt and firſt of the true Line; how they fought and overthrew the Forces which the Grand Sig-

Troubles in the leſſer Tartary. nior ſent to compel them to the Election he deſired, and this laſt Year upon pretence of a War with *Cantemir* they refuſed to ſend their Army againſt the Perſian, as had always been accuſtomary to do againſt the Enemies of the Sultan, whenſoever required. The Paſha, Muftee and Kadi of *Caffa* (which is the Grand Signior's Town in *Tartary*) urged the Tartar *Han* to prepare and forward his Forces according to the duty and obligation which was incumbent on him; and enlivening their arguments with reproaches of cowardiſe and ingratitude, ſo far provoked the *Han*, that he cauſed them all three to be ſtrangled. Notwithſtanding this high provocation, the Grand Signior diſſembled the injury, leſt a due reſentment ſhould raiſe them into an open Rebellion; and diſſembling an approbation of the Fact, as done with reaſon and juſtice, ſent to the Tartar *Han* a Sword and a Veſt, as ſignals of his favour: and farther ſuſpecting, leſt in proſecution of ſo ſenſible a blow, the Tartar joyning in League with the Coſacks and Moſcovites, ſhould make himſelf Maſter of *Caffa*, he prudently touched the wound with a gentle hand, offering to ordain ſuch a Paſha, as ſhould be warranted with his aſſent and approbation. The Tartar being overcome by ſuch lenitives as theſe, proteſted that he never entertained other thoughts, than to maintain his Faith and Allegiance inviolable towards the Grand Signior, and that the Alliance he had made with the *Nogay* Tartars, and the Forces now raiſed were maintained with no other deſign, than to ſuppreſs the rebellion and inſolence of *Cantemir*.

This *Cantemir* being a perſon of a bold ſpirit, and daring in all his actions, did oftentimes, by virtue of his own Authority, lead a ſtrong Party to the field, being followed by the braveſt and ſtouteſt Souldiers of *Tartary*; for which reaſon being hated by the Tartar *Han*, and his life often attempted, and his own ſpirit not ſupporting a ſubjection to any other, he paſſed the *Nieſter* and retired with his own Troops, and ſuch others as would follow him into the Country of *Budziak*, near to *Beliegrod* and *Kilia*, confining on the Frontiers of *Moldavia*: where he intended to plant and form a new Colony and Government. In a ſhort time divers chief Captains being deſirous to follow the Enſigns of ſo famous a General came in to him, and multitudes of people forſaking the ſands and barren rocks of *Tartary*, came crowding into this Country, that the Plains of *Budziack* not being capable to contain them, they paſſed into *Moldavia*, where incroaching on the Lands of the proper Inhabitants, gave a jealouſie as if they intended to take poſſeſſion of the whole Province. The Poles being jealous of theſe ill Neighbours which lay at the Gate of their Country ready to enter on all occaſions, had made proviſion in their laſt Articles of Peace with the Grand Signior, that he ſhould force them to return, and urged that point by the Ambaſſadour with all earneſtneſs. The Tartar *Han* alſo finding his Countries depopulated and weakened by ſo large an evacuation, made alſo his complaints and addreſſes to the Port: but the Grand Signior looking on this Colony, as an increaſe of his Dominions, and to be compoſed of ſuch people whom neceſſity muſt render obedient; and that they could eaſily at his command make irruptions into *Poland*, *Hungary*, and *Tranſylvania*, ſeemed deaf to all applications in this buſineſs; and as if they were a people in whom he had no part, ſhewed no concernment for them,

Cantemir makes a new Colony.

though

though ſecretly he promiſed them his protection. Hereupon *Uladiſlaus* King of *Poland* being wearied with delays, reſolved by force of Arms to drive out this deteſtable Neighbourhood: but the Tartar *Han* whom this buſineſs more nearly concerned, being more ſpeedy in execution than the Poles, having raiſed an Army of thirty thouſand men, encountred *Cantemir* with twenty thouſand, and charged him ſo furiouſly, that he killed ſeven thouſand of them on the place, and put the reſt to flight, purſuing them through the Plains of *Dobruc* on the other ſide of the *Danube*. The Grand Signior who had all this time remained a Spectator of this ſucceſs, began now to take the part of *Cantemir*, and ſeverely to reprove the proceedings of the Tartar *Han*, for having diſturbed *Cantemir* whilſt he was preparing to ſerve him in the Wars of *Perſia*. But the Tartar *Han* having ſhaken off much of his reſpect and reverence towards the Grand Signior, deſpiſed the menaces which he vented againſt him, and proceeded in his own buſineſs, compelling his people to return again to their Country, and to their ancient Habitations. *Morat* being forced to ſuffer what he could not remedy, ſummoned *Cantemir* with all diligence to render himſelf at *Conſtantinople*, where being arrived, he was at firſt regarded with a favourable eye; but his Son ſoon after having in a private quarrel killed a Tartar near the Walls of the Seraglio, was for that fact juſtly ſtrangled by Order of the Grand Signior; the day following *Cantemir* was alſo impriſoned, and in a ſhort time underwent the like Fate with that of his Son.

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He is overthrown by the Tartar *Han*.

Cantemir put to death.

During theſe troubles a Nephew of *Cantemir* feigning himſelf to be diſguſted with his Uncle, revolted to the Party of the Tartar *Han* with no other than a treacherous deſign to take away the lives of the two Brothers; the which he compaſſed at a time of their Hunting, when being far remote from their Attendance, following their Game in untrodden paths, he ſet upon them with an hundred Villains, and perfidiouſly took away their lives. The News hereof was highly applauded at *Conſtantinople*, and the Traitor extolled as a perſon of mighty courage and wonderful ingenuity, ſo that now different counſels and new meaſures were taken concerning the Affairs in *Tartary*.

The King of *Tartary* killed.

Bechir Gherey Brother to thoſe Princes of *Tartary* which were killed, was then at *Jamboli*, a City in *Thrace*, retired thither under the Protection of the Grand Signior, for fear and jealouſie of treachery from his elder Brother. *Morat* cauſed him to be brought to *Conſtantinople*, where he was ſumptuouſly received and conducted to Audience by the Chimacam, who gave him the upper hand, which is the left amongſt men of the Sword, as the right is amongſt men of Learning or of the Pen; for as the right hand governs the latter, ſo the firſt is appendent to the left ſide. The bodies of the two dead Brothers were brought to *Conſtantinople*, where fetulent or ſtinking, they were expoſed to the ſight of *Morat*, who to gratifie his own humor of revenge, cauſed them to be thrown into the Sea.

Bechir Gherey ordained King of *Tartary*.

This good News from *Tartary* was attempered with a worſe from *Aſac*, which the Moſcovites and Coſacks had beſieged. This Town is ſituated at the mouth of the River *Tanais* upon the declining of a Hill; it is in form four-ſquare, and may be of about twelve hundred paces in compaſs. Before it fell into the hands of the Turks, it was a famous Scale for all ſorts of Merchandiſe, eſpecially for Butter, Cheeſe, ſalt Fiſh, Leather, Slaves, and other Commodities brought hither by Turks, Tartars, and

Aſac beſieged.

1637. Moſcovites. The Venetians when they addicted themſelves more to Traffick and Commerce than they do at preſent, took this Scale for their way into *Perſia*. This Town was fortified with ancient Walls flanked with capacious Towers, and with a Caſtle which being in the middle and on the ſide of the Water, divides the Town as it were into two equal parts. The Garriſon conſiſted not of above three or four hundred men; for being a place remote from powerful Enemies, it fell not under any great jealouſie, nor was it deemed worthy the charge of numerous defendants. The City being in this weak condition, the Coſacks ſoon made themſelves Maſters of it, which after they had ſacked and pillaged to the utmoſt, they conſidered it as a place worthy of better Fortifications; and therefore applying themſelves to raiſe new Works, and repair the old, they ſoon made it a Fortreſs of ſtrength and conſideration. This happening at a time, when the Turks were diverted by the Perſian War, the Coſacks injoyed this new Conqueſt for the ſpace of four years without moleſtation, until that in the Year 1641. it was recovered with much blood and ſlaughter by the Arms of Sultan *Ibrahim*, as we ſhall hereafter recount in the ſequel of this Hiſtory. And now becauſe the taking of this place was the original from whence the Diviſions and Civil Wars between the Poles and Coſacks derived their beginning, and was the occaſion that the Coſacks revolted from their juſt Obedience, to the Protection of the Turks; the relation will not only be curious, but a digreſſion neceſſary to the clearer light of the preſent Hiſtory.

Is taken by the Coſacks.

Uladiſlaus the Fourth King of *Poland* being wearied with conſtant complaints of the Robberies and Incurſions made by the Coſacks upon the Turks contrary to Articles and Treaties of Peace, was at length perſwaded by his Barons and Counſellors, that the only means to ſuppreſs the violence of this unruly people, was to diſarm them; and taking away their Weapons of War to ſupply them in lieu thereof with the Shovel and Mattock, with Ploughs and Pruning-Hooks: by which induſtrious diverſion from a wicked life of blood and robbery, to honeſt Husbandry and lawful Arts of living, they might with time be rendred uſeful to their own Prince, and capable of faith and juſt communication with their Neighbours. It is not one Age paſt ſince theſe people were called Coſacks, derived, as is ſuppoſed, from *Coſai*, a word in their Language which ſignifies a Goat, perhaps becauſe of their agility of body, or becauſe their garments are chiefly made of Goats skins.

The cauſe of the Civil War between the Poles and Coſacks.

The Coſacks Country deſcribed.

Pellibus & laxis arcent mala frigora bracchis,
Oráq; ſunt longis horrida tecta comis.

The Country inhabited by them was at firſt on the banks of the River *Boriſthenes*, about fifteen leagues in length to the entrance into the Euxine Sea, where it is reported, that *Ovid* was baniſhed; and ſome ſay, that from him a Village thereabouts called *Ovidona* derives its denomination; and hereunto we may afford the greater belief from one of his Elegies in his Book *De Triſtibus*, which ſeems to deſcribe this Country, and the fierceneſs of the Inhabitants. *Eleg.* 8. *lib.* 5.

Quam legis à Scythicâ tibi venit Epiſtola terrâ,
Latus ubi æquoreis jungitur Iſter aquis.

Miſta

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Miſta ſit hæc quamvis inter Græcósq; Getáſq;
A malè placatis plus trahit ora Getis;
Sarmaticæ major Geticæq; frequentia gentis,
Per medias in aquis itq; reditq; vias.
In quibus eſt nemo, qui non Coryton, & arcum,
Teláq; vipereo lurida felle gerat.
Vox fera, trux vultus, veriſſima mortis imago,
Non coma, non ullâ barba reſecta manu.

At preſent the name of Coſacks and their Country alſo is of a far greater extent than it was formerly; for they call now all ſuch in *Poland* Coſacks that are light Horſe armed with Bow and Arrow and Fire-arms: and their Country ſince the late Commotions is meaſured from the farthest parts of the Palatinate of *Chiovia* for the ſpace of an hundred and twenty leagues on one ſide, and the other of the *Boriſthenes*, which comprehends likewiſe all the Country of *Ukrania*. This Country was always inhabited by the moſt warlike people of *Ruſſia*; for that being ſubject to the frequent Incurſions of the Tartars, neceſſary defence and conſtant practice in Arms endued them with a bold and Martial ſpirit. *Ukrania* is a Country ſo fertile, that it may compare with the moſt fruitful ſoil in the World, producing ſuch quantities of Corn with little labour, that the Huſband-men being made negligent by their abundance, produced with little toil, have leiſure to apply themſelves to violence and rapine: they have no Wine, but uſe themſelves much to Strong-waters: their houſes are not built of wood or ſtone, but of Oſiers interwoven and daubed over with Earth and Lime; ſo that they uſe no nails or iron: they have no Merchants unleſs in *Kiow*: nor do they ſerve themſelves of Phyſicians or Apothecaries. Their learned Language or the Tongue wherein they write is the Sclavonian, anciently called the Illyrian: ſo that in all things this people is rude and barbarous; and though their manner of Government and Policy is not refined or methodically diſpoſed, yet nevertheleſs it is ſolid and of deep foundation, appropriated to the nature and diſpoſition of that people.

This honeſt deſign of King *Uladiſlaus* to reduce this people to a juſt and an induſtrious courſe of living, not agreeing with their temper and cuſtoms, they rather reſolved to leave their Country, and betake themſelves to various fortunes; ſome of them paſſed into *Moſcovia* to plant a Colony in thoſe uninhabited parts: a Body of them to the number of ſix thouſand joyning together, reſolved to paſs into *Perſia* to offer their ſervice unto that King; and being on their Journey as far as the *Tanais*, they encountred with a Party of Moſcovite Coſacks, who inhabited certain Iſlands of that River, with whom entertaining diſcourſe, they underſtood that *Aſac* might eaſily be ſurpriſed by them, if they could agree to unite Forces, which together might compoſe a Body of ten thouſand men: the importance of the place being well conſidered, it was reſolved, that the March into *Perſia* ſhould be ſhortned, and this City be ordained for the ultimate end of their travels and place of repoſe. According to this counſel *Aſac* being aſſaulted and taken, (as we have already intimated) the Coſacks fortified it in the beſt manner that they were able, making an Arſenal for their Boats and Saiks, whereby afterwards they did much more infeſt the Turks than before.

The other Coſacks who continued in their Country, being much perſecuted

1637. secuted by the Poliſh Nobility, choſe *Kilminieſchi* for their General (the Son of a Noble Family in *Lituania*, but baniſhed and degraded of his Honour for his criminal offences) and rebelled againſt the Government. At firſt not being able to reſiſt the Force of *Poland*, they retired within the Woods; but joyning afterwards with other Coſacks, they iſſued forth at the beginning of the Spring, beat the Poles, and carried away a conſiderable Booty: afterwards joyning with the Tartars, they made their Incurſions as far as *Zamoſca* within twenty leagues of *Warſaw*; and ſo matters continued with various ſucceſſes not appertaining to this Hiſtory. Only thus far it is pertinent to the matter diſcuſſed for us to have ſhewn, That the Counſels of *Poland* were in a great errour, when they reſolved to change the life, and alter the humour of this warlike people, which being protected in their Priviledges, and encouraged in their Wars, would at all times, as occaſion ſerved, have been ready to have ejected great numbers of good Souldiers into the Ottoman Territories, and might ſtill have been conſerved to balance the Power of the Tartars, which now daily infeſt and ruine the Borders of *Poland*. Theſe people were like ill humors, which being vomited out into the Dominions of the Turk, eaſed and made healthy the Body politick of *Poland*; but being conſerved within the ſtomach, cauſed Syncopes, Convulſions, and ſuch Commotions, as have of late years ſhaken the whole Body of the Poliſh Kingdom: and at length withdrawing themſelves entirely from all Obedience, together with that large Province of *Ukrania*, as they have weakened that Government; ſo now of late years ſeeking protection from the Turk, have added to his Kingdom, and enfeebled that of *Poland*.

When the News arrived firſt at *Conſtantinople* that *Aſac* was beſieged, the Captain-Paſha going then to inſtate *Beckir* into his Kingdom of *Tartary*, received Orders to relieve *Aſac*, and if poſſible, to raiſe the Siege; but the Succours coming too late, and the Town being taken, the loſs thereof was not eſteemed important enough to divert either thoughts or Forces from the Perſian War.

Preparations for the War in *Perſia*.

For now *Morat* reſolving to proſecute the War in *Perſia*, which could not be ſucceſsful without the united Power of his whole Empire, conducted by his own perſon, he reſolved to make a ſecond journey into thoſe parts, and with his own hand to knock at the Gates of *Babylon*. To prepare and diſpoſe all matters in order hereunto, he in the firſt place countermanded his Decree, which prohibited a farther increaſe of the number of Janiſaries; for now being deſirous to augment his Army beyond the account of ancient Regiſters, he opened the Janiſaries door, (as they call it) and enrolled ſix thouſand more into that Order. To conſerve ſtill the Order of this Militia, he appointed Officers ſtrictly and ſeverely to take the Decimation of the Chriſtian children in *Europe*, and leſt (as was uſual) they ſhould be corrupted by the parents, who often give Preſents, whereby to blind the eyes of the Miniſters, that ſo they may overſee their children, or in lieu of the comlieſt and moſt fit for ſervice, accept of the ſickly and impotent, or ſuch as are unworthy of the bread and education given them by the Sultan, he moſt ſeverely injoyned this ſervice, and under a thouſand menaces encharged the care hereof to be executed without favour or partiality to any. He carefully reviewed the Books of the Timjar-Spahees, counting the number exactly that every Country yields, and comparing them with thoſe muſtered in the Field,

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he confiſcated the Lands of thoſe that wanted, being forfeited for non-appearance: he would admit of no excuſe or delay to the matter in hand. The Superintendant of the Ordinance but making a ſcruple about the proportion of ſome Guns, as too weighty and unwieldy for ſo long a March, loſt his life for doubting or making a difficulty in what the Grand Signior propoſed or deſigned. And that no commotions at home might divert or call him back before his buſineſs was perfected, he encharged his Paſha's of the Frontiers to live quietly with their Neighbours, and to be ſure to give no occaſions of complaint, or cauſe for War during his abſence, recommending to the prudence of the Paſha of *Siliſtria* the care of compoſing certain differences between the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*. Having ſecured matters as well as he could at home, he ordered the Horſe-tail to be ſet forth at the gate of the Divan, and all Paſha's and Officers of the Army did the like at their own doors. His Troops began now to grow numerous; the Spahees and Timariots appointed for the Guard of the Grand Signior's Tents, together with other Cavalry which hold their Lands under Service, amounted unto two hundred thouſand. From the hundred ſeventy two Chambers of Janiſaries he drew forth thirty thouſand. From the Topgees or Gunners, whereof there are no more than twelve hundred in their Chambers at *Conſtantinople*, yet make up twelve thouſand in other parts, he drew out three thouſand for the preſent Service. The Shepherds and Plough-men of *Dulgaria* made up twenty thouſand, which with Water-bearers, Smiths, Bakers, Butchers, and all other Tradeſmen which followed the Camp, were in vaſt numbers; ſo that the whole Army with the Attendants belonging thereunto were at a moderate calculate computed to amount unto near five hundred thouſand men, whereof three hundred thouſand were fighting men. 1637.

The Peſtilence which is the Epidemical diſeaſe of *Turkie*, and which abates the numbers and pride of that people, raged this year greatly in *Conſtantinople*, and in the parts of *Romagnia*; it entred into the Seraglio, and amongſt others took away the only Son of the Grand Signior of two or three years old. This cauſed *Morat* to paſs moſt part of the Summer at a Palace on the *Boſphorus*, where he recreated himſelf with his drunken Companion the Perſian Traitor, and hereby he contradicted the Proverb, That Princes love the Treaſon, but not the Traitor; for *Morat* it ſeems loved them both, entertaining this Fellow in his boſom: his Cloaths, his Garb, his Horſes, and Equipage might rival with that of the Sultan's; he took place of the Chimacam in all publick appearances, and what was moſt ſtrange, he preceded the Mufti; which was a new form never before practiſed, and would have afforded matter of wonder and diſcourſe, but that the World conſidered this Novelty as a method agreeable to the extravagant humour of the Sultan. Amongſt his paſtimes nothing was more pleaſing than ſome divertiſement acted with blood; he ſhot the Son of a Paſha with his Gun, for daring to approach near the walls of his Seraglio, ſuppoſing that he came with curioſity to diſcover his pleaſures and manner of voluptuous recreations; for the ſame reaſon he would have ſunk a Boat laden with women, as it glided ſlowly by the banks of his Garden. He would himſelf behold two Thieves impaled, which were condemned to die for robbing ſomething out of his Seraglio: he commanded the Head of the Treaſurer of *Cyprus* to be cut off in his preſence; as alſo the Maſter of his Muſick, for daring to ſing a certain

The extravagant pleaſures and cruelties of *Morat*.

1637. certain Air which seemed Persian, and to praise the Valour of that Nation. The Pasha of *Temiswar* he put to death at a full Divan, for fighting unfortunately against *Ragotski*. To these severe Acts of Cruelty, which he called Justice, he added one not unpleasant. A certain Greek called *Stridia Bei* or Lord *Oysters*, who had been Prince of *Valachia*, and one whom we have before mentioned, having by his oppression and harassing that people amassed a considerable Sum of money, essayed a second time by force thereof to obtain the Principality, and making his offer and request before the Grand Signior, he was heard with some raillery; at length the Grand Signior told him, that he was too proud and aspiring, and therefore ordered the tips of his nose and ears to be cut off, telling him, that that was to clip the wings of his ambition. But that before his departure for *Persia* he might consummate his Acts of Tyranny, he practised one upon his Brother, a Youth of twenty two years of age, of great hopes and good endowments. He was conducted to the presence of his Brother at the Biram to pay his respects, as is usual at that Festival; and having performed the Ceremony, he enlarged himself in high praises and admiration of the Grand Signior's Generosity and Bravery, who for recovery of *Bagdat*, was contented to expose his Person to the inconveniences of a long Journey, and the dangers of a hazardous War, and that therein he equalled, if not surpassed the Glory of his Ancestors: which courtly and rational manner of discourse did not please *Morat*, but rather administred subject of jealousie, fearing that he knew too much, and that as he could speak well, so he might act accordingly; wherefore the same day he caused him to be strangled, to the great sorrow of the people, and detestation of his abominable Tyranny: but to amuse the minds of the multitude, and cease their murmurings, he caused it to be divulged abroad, that fourteen of his Women in the Seraglio were with child; which was all false, there remaining none of the Ottoman Race besides his Brother Sultan *Ibrahim*, who was weak as well in body as Understanding, and whose imperfections secured and compounded for his life; and to suppress the discourse about his Brothers Murder, he changed it into a talk about his Preparations for War, and his departure for *Persia*. Wherefore the Fore-runners and Harbingers of the Army being sent away with Labourers to repair Bridges, and to level the ways for the more easie passage of the Cannon, *Morat* passed over to his Tents at *Scutari* cloathed in a Coat of Mail, and with a Head-piece set with precious Stones, and his Sargoutch or Feathers clasped to it with Buckles of Diamonds. As he landed at *Scutari* he was received by three Squadrons of Souldiers, each Squadron consisting of four thousand men well armed, and richly attired; the garments of one Squadron of which were provided at the expence of the Grand Signior, and of the other two at the charge of his Favourite and of the Captain-Pasha; the latter of which presented to the Grand Signior thirty Purses of Money, for bestowing on him the honour to command that Gally which transported him to the Asian Coast. The Ambassadour sent from *Persia* was detained at *Constantinople* until this time, and after the Turkish fashion not permitted to depart at his own liberty; but being now ordered to follow the Camp, his Port and Quarters were assigned, that so he might be a Spectator of that Tragedy which was now to be acted. All things were now disposed in good posture with much Solemnity in order to a March; the Conacks or days Journies with their places of

Quarters

Quarters were laid out in an hundred and twenty days of March from *Scutari* to *Babylon*, and seventy days of Otorack or of repose: the Journies with the gros Body of such an Army could not be long, and the joyning with other Forces in the way required leisure and time. 1637.

In short, the Horse, after the Turkish manner, having eaten their gras and been soiled, this powerful Army decamped from *Scutari* about the end of *May*. The first day of Otorack or repose was appointed at *Ismit*, where the Grand Signior made a review of his Army; such as were aged, and unable to endure the fatigues of a long March he dismissed, giving them half Pay for their lives with the name of Otoracks, which is the same with *Milites Emeriti* amongst the Romans: with exact Order therefore and severe Discipline, to which their fierce Monarch had reduced them, marched this numerous Army; no Villages were abused, nor Country-people plundered, and all things were purchased with ready money: and the Grand Signior himself being rendred more gentle and tractable in the Field than in his Seraglio, heard all complaints, and distributed Justice with an equal and an impartial hand. 1638. The March of the Turkish Army.

In the mean time at *Constantinople* due care was taken to keep things quiet and in order; the Bostangibashee like Lord High Chamberlain, had the Charge committed to him of the Seraglio and the Moveables of it; he frequently made his Rounds both by Sea and Land, punished those whom he found in Taverns; nor would he suffer any Candles to be lighted after two hours in the night: the Chimacam and the Captain-Pasha likewise executed their Offices with all care and severity in their repective stations.

At this time, to the great dissatisfaction of the Greek Nation, *Cyril* the Patriarch, who had been in *England*, and greatly affected with the Discipline of our Church, was deposed, imprisoned in the Seven Towers, and strangled: in his place one *Carsila* was ordained Patriarch, and his Commission or Baratz obtained from the Grand Signior at the expence of fifty thousand Crowns, one moity whereof was paid from *Rome*, the whole design against *Cyrillus* being managed by the Jesuits and other Religious living at *Galata*, who accused him before the Turks of keeping a secret correspondence with the Moscovites and Cosacks; for which losing his life, *Carsila* a pretended Friend to the Roman Faction was instituted Patriarch. *Cyrillus* the Patriarch strangled.

The Grand Signior marching with his potent and numerous Army, all the world remained at a gaze what the issue would be of this mighty Enterprise; yet most were of opinion, that the Honour and Riches of the Ottoman Empire being now at stake, the War could not otherwise conclude than with the Conquest of *Babylon*. All that could be feared was some diversion by the Christian Princes, who taking hold of the present conjuncture, should enter the Frontiers with a powerful Army, and thereby force the Sultan to return; but as to *Poland* the jealousie soon vanished. When the News came of a Civil War between the Poles and the Cosacks, and that ten thousand of the latter were slain in a Battel, this Intelligence came most seasonable and grateful to the Port, expecting now a Message from the Cosacks, desiring succour in their extremity; for such accidents as these have nourished the Turkish Interest, which hath grown out of the Civil discords of Christian Princes.

By this means as the apprehensions of War by Land ceased, so there appeared some clouds of storm at Sea, which doubtless might have produced

1638. duced a War with *Venice*, had the Turks been at leisure to attend it; for sixteen Gallies belonging to *Algier*, *Tunis*, and *Biserta* well armed with Slaves and Souldiers, and provided sufficiently with Cannon, Powder, and Bullet, commanded by *Ali Piccenin*, united together and formed a small Fleet, with design to rove over the Adriatick Sea, and infest the Coast of *Italy*. Their intentions were to plunder the Riches of *Loretto*; but being hindred by contrary Winds from entring so high into the Gulf, they made a descent in *Puglia*, and sacked all the Country of *Nicotra*, carrying away a great Booty, with Slaves, and amongst them several Nuns which they prostituted to their lust; thence they passed over to the side of *Dalmatia*, and in sight of *Cataro* took a Vessel, and made Prize of all Ships which they met in those Seas, the rumour of which made great noise over all *Italy*, the people exclaiming against their Princes for suffering their lives and Estates to remain subject to the petty Force of a few Pirates. For the Vessels of *Malta* and *Florence* were disjoyned, and roving after purchase in the *Archipelago*, took little notice of what was acted in the Gulf. The Spaniards after their fashion were slow in arming, and spent the Summer in preparations, till the Pirates laden with Booty, were departed towards the Winter; so that none remained to take care of *Italy* and the Venetians Gulf, but *Venice* only, to whom the Dominion of those Seas are rightly appropriated. To suppress therefore the insolence of these Pirates, the Republick set forth a Fleet consisting of twenty eight Gallies and two Galleasses under the Command of *Marin Capello*, with Instructions to sink, burn, and destroy those Pirates, either in the open Seas, or in Harbour of the Turks; for that by the Articles of Peace between the Grand Signior and the Venetians, it was agreed, That no Port or Harbour of his should be priviledged to afford entertainment or protection to any Free-booter or Pirate of that nature. It happened about that time, that the Maltese and Florentines cruising in the *Archipelago*, had done great mischief to the Turks in those Seas; to revenge which, and to prevent farther damage, the Captain-Pasha sent Orders to these Vessels of *Barbary* immediately to come to his assistance; to which they were now more easily perswaded; for being already laden with Booty and Spoils, they contented themselves with a change of their station: but to give a farewel to those parts, they first resolved to spoil and plunder *Lissa alias Lesina*, an Island belonging to the Republick; but being overtaken by the Venetian Fleet in their Voyage thither, near to *Valona*, a Port and Harbour belonging to the Turks, they put themselves under the defence of the Town and Castle, which received them willingly to their protection, notwithstanding all Articles and Agreements to the contrary. The Venetian Fleet saluted the Castle without a shot, desiring, that according to the Capitulations of Peace the Pirates might be rejected, and commanded to abandon their Port: in answer hereunto the Turks replied with a shot, making known their intentions to defend their friends: wherefore the Venetians retiring at some distance came to an Anchor, designing to block up the Port. Many days had not passed before the Pirates endeavoured by help of their Oars and a gentle gale to make their escape; and being with the gray of the morning, advanced without the Port, they were espyed by the watchful Venetians, who dividing their Fleet into two Squadrons charged them with high courage; the Fight continued for the space of two hours, during all which time the Castle

The Pirates of *Algier* and *Tunis* infest the Gulf of *Venice*.

Capello blocks up the Pirates in *Valona*.

Caſtle of *Valona* fired at the Venetians, and ſhot down a Maſt of one of the Galleaſſes, a ſplinter of which wounded *Lorenzo Marcello* the Commander; at length five of the Gallies of the Pirates being diſabled, and many of their people killed, they began to fly and retire again under the protection of the Town; as alſo did the Venetians to their place of Anchorage. A diſtinct Advice of all Particulars being diſpatched to *Venice*, the Senate wrote to *Capello*, That ſince the reſpect which the Republick owes to the Ottoman Court was not unknown to him, he ſhould by no means make any attempt againſt thoſe Pirates upon the Land, but meeting them fairly at Sea, he ought then to make uſe of all the valour and force he was able. In the mean time the Duke of *Medina las Torres* Vice-King of *Naples* diſpatched an Expreſs to *Capello*, with Letters applauding the generoſity of the deſign, wherein he was now engaged for the Glory of his Republick, and the common good of all Chriſtendom, proffering to ſupply him with refreſhments and Ammunition, and what elſe might ſupply his occaſions; expecting that by ſuch encouragement as this, he might be induced to aſſault the Enemies in *Valona*, without reſpect to the Grand Signior, or any inconveniences which might ariſe thereby. On the contrary the Governour of the Caſtle and Kadi of the Town wrote a Letter to *Capello*, putting him in mind, that he was within the Grand Signior's Dominions, and that he ſhould be careful how he offered any violence to thoſe places, which would certainly prove a violation of the Peace, and be the Original of an inevitable War. 1638.

Capello had now lain a whole month before the Port, having all the time injoyed fair weather and a ſmooth Sea, againſt the hope and deſire of the Turks, who expected, that by means of ſome ſtorm the Enemy would be forced to remove their Quarters to ſome ſecure Harbour, and thereby afford them an opportunity to eſcape. But *Capello* growing weary of ſuch tedious attendance, reſolved to expect no longer, nor yet to loſe the preſent advantage of rendring himſelf Maſter of the Veſſels of the Enemy: wherefore dividing his Fleet into ſeveral Squadrons, he advanced near the Port, firing ſeveral ſhot at the Tents of the Pirates, of which one from a Galleaſs ſtruck a Moſch; and arming with ſtore of men the Galeotes and Brigantines they entred the Port, and to the aſtoniſhment and vexation of the Turks poſſeſſed all the ſixteen Veſſels, and brought them to their Admiral: which though they had diſfurniſhed of all their chief Booty, yet their Cannon and Arms remained, of which there were twelve Pieces of great Braſs Guns, beſides others of Iron, with divers Falcons and leſſer Arms. He aſſaults them in the Port.

The Intelligence hereof being carried to *Venice*, Orders were given, that all the Veſſels ſhould be ſunk in the Port of *Corfu*, excepting only the Admiral of *Algier*, which was to be brought to the Arſenal of *Venice*, there to remain as a Trophy of Victory, and for a perpetual Memory of this glorious Atchievement. Howſoever this Exploit was variouſly interpreted at *Venice*, and approved or diſproved according to the diverſity of humors. The younger men applauded it as an action of great Gallantry, excuſing his tranſgreſſion of the Senates Orders by a tranſport of paſſion and zeal towards his Country, and deſire of Glory. But the Senators and men of mature Judgments highly reſented this breach of their Orders, which as they are ſtrictly enjoyned, ſo they expected that they ſhould be punctually obeyed. That this action was a ſufficient and juſt cauſe alone to kindle a War, and that it was a matter intolerable,

1638. that a ſingle Citizen ſhould of his own head and humor preſume to act ſuch things, as muſt neceſſarily involve the Publick in a War contrary to their pleaſure, and in oppoſition to their expreſs commands. For which crime and other ſubſequent defaults *Capello* was afterwards forced to juſtifie himſelf, as will be ſignified in the ſequel of this Hiſtory.

The Particulars of this Advice were by an expreſs Meſſenger diſpatched to *Luigi Contarini* the Bailo or Ambaſſadour for the Venetians at *Conſtantinople*, a Perſon of great reputation and eſteem, having been converſant in the principal Courts of Chriſtendom, and employed for the ſpace of ſeven years at *Munſter*, where he was aſſiſtant with the Nuntio *Chigi* afterwards *Alexander* VII. in the general Peace of *Europe*. The Turks alſo receiving this News aggravated to them with all the foul circumſtances imaginable, the Chimacam immediately ſummoned the Bailo to Audience, and with an angry countenance began to exclaim: "That taking advantage of the Grand Signior's abſence in remote parts, "the Venetians had in a perfidious and hoſtile manner aſſaulted and de- "ſtroyed the Fleet of *Barbary*, which were his Subjects, and ſuch as he had "called to his aſſiſtance againſt the Corſaires of *Malta* and *Ligorne*. That "being accidentally compelled by ſtorm to enter into the Port of *Va- "lona*, they were forcibly taken thence, and violence offered to the "Grand Signior's Port and Caſtle by way of a manifeſt and open breach. "If this preſumption were grounded on the long diſtance of the Grand "Signior from theſe parts, the Venetians would do well to conſider, how "that they provoke an angry Prince, and one who eſteems neither ex- "pence, hazards, nor labours to compleat his revenge. If this were a "deſign to divert the Grand Signior's Arms from *Perſia*, they would do "well to conſider, that the Sultan was not ſo far advanced, but that he "could turn a currant, if he pleaſed, ſufficient to drown, and in an in- "ſtant to overwhelm the Dominions of *Venice*; or could at leaſt collect "Forces from nearer parts able to revenge his quarrel, and vindicate his "Honour from the diſdain and ſcorn of ſuch petty Neighbours. *Here- unto the Bailo or Ambaſſadour made this Reply:* "That this Piratical peo- "ple was the ſame which the year before had landed in *Candia*, and made "ſpoil of the Eſtates of the Inhabitants, and carried many of them into "ſlavery; and not contented with this Booty they entred the Gulph, "and penetrated into the very bowels of *Italy*, with deſign to ſack and "plunder the Iſland of *Liſſa*, which was under the Dominion of the "Republick. That the Venetian General friendly ſaluted the Caſtle of "*Valona*, which was returned with ſeveral ſhots from thence; that had "it been his intention to have attempted the Port in the beginning, he "would not have lain thirty ſeven days in expectation of the forth- "coming of thoſe Pirates, it being only reſpect to the Grand Signior, "which obliged him to that attendance. At length being wearied, and "provoked by the inſolence of that people, he forcibly entred the Port, "knowing that by Capitulations with the Grand Signior, it was agreed, "that all Ports ſhould be forbidden, and that to theſe Pirates, unleſs "they firſt gave ſecurity and caution not to injure and make Prize of "the Subjects of the Republick. *The Chimacam replied hereunto*, That "there were ten thouſand Souldiers and Slaves belonging to thoſe Gal- "lies, which had taken their refuge in *Valona*; and therefore he requi- "red the Venetians to permit them free paſſage into their own Country, "and to reſtore their Gallies, unleſs they intended to come to an open "Rupture with the Grand Signior.

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The Chimacam alſo preſſed more urgently for reſtitution of the Gallies, in regard that having adviſed the Grand Signior of this diſaſter, he had at the ſame time given him hopes and almoſt aſſurance to believe, that by his Negotiations he ſhould recover them out of their hands: but the Senate was of a different opinion; and therefore gave expreſs Orders to their Officers of the Marine Affairs immediately to ſink all thoſe Veſſels, that ſo the expectation of the Turks being diſappointed by an impoſſibility of recovery, might not by the rude inſtances and threats of *Morat* oblige them to a diſhonourable and an undecent reſtitution. 1638.

The News of this misfortune made greater noiſe and diſturbance in the Divan of *Algier* than at *Conſtantinople*; that rude rabble raved and railed and threatned, laying the blame ſometimes on one, then on another, being ready to come to blows amongſt themſelves; but that being obliged by order of their Divan to keep their thumbs within their girdles, they durſt only expreſs their anger by punches and thruſts of their elbows. At length coming to cooler Terms, they charged all the fault on their Admiral *Ali*, and reſolved to make applications to the Grand Signior for redreſs, and reparations on the Eſtates of the Venetians in his Dominions. The Algierines angry at this News.

The News alſo hereof overtaking *Morat* in his March into *Perſia* aggred him to the heart, and tranſported him to that heat of indignation, that he immediately ordered, that the Venetian Bailo with all his Nation in the Ottoman Dominions ſhould without exception be cut to pieces; but the Great Vizier and his Favourite ſuffering him for ſome time to vent the impetuoſity of his fume and rage without contradiction, gave a ſtop for thirteen days to the diſpatch of theſe fatal Orders; until taking him in a more gentle mood, they perſwaded him to change this ſentence of death, to the impriſonment only of the Bailo; and ſuch care was taken, leſt the News of a War with *Venice* ſhould fly into *Perſia*, and thereby prejudice the Terms of Peace, that this accident was kept as a ſecret and communicated to none, but ſuch as were nearly concerned in the Government. The Command for the Bailo's Impriſonment being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, he was ſummoned to Audience by the Chimacam; and though at that time he was exceedingly afflicted with the Gout, yet the Turkiſh obedience to Imperial Commands admitting of no excuſe, he was forced to an attendance; and being brought in his Sedan, he was carried to the Chamber of Audience, where he expected ſome time until the Chimacam came to him; in the interim being entertained by ſome Aga's, whom the Chimacam had employed to ſound him touching the reſtitution of the Veſſels; who finding by his diſcourſe that they were ſunk, without poſſibility of recovery, and that there could be no compenſation made for them, they returned with this anſwer to the Chimacam; of which being now informed he came in, and having no farther to expoſtulate on this matter, produced the Grand Signior's Command for his Impriſonment, and kiſſing it firſt cauſed it to be read. The Bailo replied, that he was ready to ſubmit, being not only willing to ſuffer Impriſonment, but alſo Martyrdom, accompanied with the ſevereſt pains, for the ſake of his Prince and his Country. The Grand Signiors anger againſt the Venetians. The Venetian Bailo impriſoned.

To ſoften and mitigate matters, the other Chriſtian Ambaſſadours then reſident at the Port, had made Arz to the Grand Signior, wherein with all reverence and reſpect they offered themſelves for Mediators in this difference, engaging themſelves but not the parole of their Princes, for

1638. the perſon of the Bailo, that he ſhould not fly from the Port, nor yet refuſe any reaſonable Terms by way of Accommodation. This Mediation of the Ambaſſadours ſeconded with ſome Preſents from the Bailo to the Turkiſh Miniſters, ſo facilitated matters, that the Bailo at firſt was conducted to the *Kahya's Chamber, and afterwards was confined to his own Houſe in *Galata*, guarded by four Chiaouſes, with free liberty to all Viſitants whatſoever. There was now no other ruthour or diſcourſe in *Conſtantinople*, but of a War with *Venice*, ſo ſoon as that with *Perſia* was concluded; and in the mean time the Grand Signior gave Orders, that ten Gallies ſhould be built in his own Arſenal at his charge, and preſented to the Barbarouſes, with condition that they ſhould ſtay until the Spring, and accompany his Fleet to Sea. But *Ali Piccinin* the Admiral ſuſpecting that this was only a ſnare to engage him and his men for ever in the Grand Signior's ſervice, refuſed the obligation, and ſet two Gallies on the ſtocks for his own account.

* The Chiaus cams Steward.

Advice of the Bailo's Confinement being come to *Venice*, with a report of the paſſion and rage of the Sultan, they expected nothing more than a War with the Turk; which they communicated to all Chriſtian Princes, requeſting their ſuccours and aſſiſtance againſt the common Enemy. Theſe addreſſes produced rather compaſſion of their caſe, than ſubſtantial Contributions, Pope *Urban* himſelf giving them great aſſurances of ſome help from the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, beſides Proceſſions, Maſſes, and Benedictions for their good ſucceſs, in as great a number as they could deſire: notwithſtanding which due care was taken to make ready and provide againſt all Encounters. Letters were wrote to the Captain-General in the Levant to make due Preparations againſt the Enemy: ſixteen Gallies were armed out of *Candia*, to which were joyned other Galleaſſes under the Command of *Antonio Piſani* and *Sebaſtiano Veniero*: Souldiers were levied in every place, and all Garriſons provided with Ammunition and Victuals, and reinforced with numbers of an auxiliary Militia. Howſoever it was not the buſineſs nor advantage of the Venetians to make a War with the Turks, but rather whilſt they feared the worſt, and made proviſions againſt the utmoſt extremities, they endeavoured to enter into Treaties of Peace, and to qualifie the hot Spirit of the Grand Signior with the gentle lenitives of fair words, and proffers of making attonement with the Sacrifice of Gold and other Preſents: in order unto which they wrote a Letter to the Grand Signior to this effect. *That being provoked by the inſolence and frequent robberies of the Pirates of* Barbary, *who did not eſteem faith or obedience to his Majeſty, nor the Commands which he had often ſent to reſtrain them, they were induced out of natural defence of themſelves, to chaſtiſe and correct them; but as this was acted without intention to diſoblige his Majeſty, ſo they were ready to maintain and cultivate that ancient friendſhip and correſpondence which was ingrafted on the firm root of his glorious Progenitors.* Morat, though he received this Letter in a huff, and gave an Anſwer to it with diſdain, which breathed nothing but threats of revenge and total deſtruction; yet he ſent it by an Expreſs of his own to *Venice*, couching ſomething within the terrour of his words, as if there was place left for an Accommodation, if the Venetians knew what ſalve was to be applied to obduct the skin of this bleeding wound. The Venetians quickly apprehended, that Gold was the only remedy, of which they were ready to contribute freely; ſince they could make no better a purchaſe with their

their money than Peace, nor could make a better bargain than with such a Sum as would serve only to make the first Preparations of War, to evade all hazards, troubles, and calamities by a happy and safe conclusion of Peace. The which notwithstanding took no effect, until the return of *Morat* from *Persia*; and therefore we shall defer discourse thereof to its proper place. *Amurat* marched now at the Head of a formidable Army, cloathed in the Habit of a Janisary, to render himself acceptable to the Militia, whom having subdued by rigour and severe Discipline, he would now oblige by courtesie and fairer treatment: with courage and great patience he marched through sandy Deserts and unfrequented places; and being the first who offered to expose himself to dangers and sufferings, the Souldiery followed willingly his example, esteeming no attempts either hazardous or tedious, in which they saw themselves preceded by their valiant General. In this March he was overtaken by one who rode hard to demand *Mostaluck*, which is the reward of good News for the Birth of a Son, of which one of his Sultana's was delivered at *Ismit*: the Messenger was secured until the News was confirmed; which being afterwards turned to the Birth of a Daughter, the poor man suffered death, being cruelly impaled for his unadvised haste and excess of officious respect towards his Prince. 1638. *Morat* marches to *Persia*.

The Great Vizier met his Master at *Iconium* with a moderate Equipage to give more room for the Quarters of the Army; and rendring himself more gracious in his eyes by a Present of fifty thousand Dollars, he was again remunerated with a Cemiter and a Vest of Sables, which are the usual signals of the Sultan's favour. All *Asia* was now in Arms, and the Princes and Great men came in to perform their duty, accompanied with their Forces and Attendance: only complaints were made of a certain Shegh, Santone or Preacher belonging to the Mountains of *Anatolia*, who had refused to do Homage, or serve in the War; he was one, who by a feigned Sanctity had acquired a great reputation amongst his people; and having declared himself to be the *Mehedy* or the Mediator, which according to the Mahometan Doctrine is to fore-run Antichrist, for reducing all the World to one Unity of Faith: he had perswaded his people, that he and they under him were by Priviledge of his Office exempted from all Taxes, Contributions, or Impositions by any Secular Power whatsoever. The Grand Signior who could not understand or believe this Doctrine, presently detached a strong Body with some Cannon under Command of the Captain-Pasha (who, as we have said, was to accompany the Grand Signior in the War) to confute the Principles of this Rebel, and to reduce him to obedience. These Forces being entred on his Dominions, Proclamation was made to the people, that they should deliver up their Impostor into the hands of Justice; which if they refused to do, then Fire and Sword was to be their portion, and destruction to extend even unto their children of seven years of age. This terrible denuntiation of the Sultan's Sentence struck all the people with cold fear and amazement; howsoever the Shegh availing himself on certain Prophecies, which he interpreted in his own favour, adventured to stand a shock with the Grand Signior's Forces; but being overcome by them, the Shegh was taken alive and carried to the Grand Signior; who having given a stop to his March at *Iconium*, until the end of this business, he condemned him to be flead alive; and in this guise being a horrid Spectacle to all Beholders, he was carried upon an Ass to the A Shegh rebels. He is overcome and punished.

1638. the Wheel, on which he ſeemed to endure the remainder of his puniſhment without any ſenſible touches or pangs in the torments.

This ſucceſs being attained, *Morat* proceeded in his March, and paſſing through *Alexandretta* or *Scanderone*, he was there ſaluted by the Guns of all the Engliſh and Dutch Ships then in Port, and preſented by the Merchants and Conſuls, eſpecially by the Venetian called *Marco Foſcolo*, whoſe Preſents were computed to amount unto the value of ten thouſand Dollars. Thence he proceeded to *Antioch*, where he refreſhed his Army for a few days, obſerving the Antiquities of that place. At *Aleppo* he was met by the Paſha of Grand *Cairo*, who brought with him a rich Tribute, accompanied with an Army of twenty four thouſand Souldiers, all choice men well armed and well cloathed; at the ſame place alſo the Forces of *Paleſtine* joyned with him, ſo that his Army was now increaſed to a vaſt number. Proceeding forward new Sangiacks came in daily belonging to the Countries through which they marched, and a ſtrong Party of Tartars deſpairing of being able to act any conſiderable matter againſt *Aſac*, offered themſelves to the ſervice of the Grand Signior.

The Perſian Army dares not give battel to the Turk.

The King of *Perſia* entred the Field at the Head of an hundred and twenty thouſand Horſe; but being inferiour in force, made only uſe of them to reinforce his Garriſon of *Bagdat* with an addition of thirty thouſand men; which now being well provided, he judged that the Force within and the ſtrength of the place would be able to endure a long Siege, and with time weaken, if not deſtroy the vaſt numbers of the Turks, of which there were former examples: with the reſt of his Forces he returned to encounter the Great *Mogul*, who (as we have ſaid) promiſed *Morat* to aſſiſt him in this War, and attack the Perſian on the other ſide of his Dominions, which ſerved for an advantageous diverſion to the Turk. This was the reaſon that no memorable Battels ſucceeded in the Field, there being none of greater note than a Fight which *Quinan* Paſha had with two thouſand Perſians belonging to *Revan*, with whom accidentally encountring, he killed fifteen hundred of them on the place, and took the reſt Priſoners, which being five hundred in number were brought before *Morat*, and all barbarouſly put to death by him.

During the time of this March *Morat* often exerciſed himſelf in Feats of Arms, to ſhew his ſtrength of body and dexterity of hand; amongſt other things wonderful to the Souldiers, he pierced a Suit of Arms of Musket-proof with a Dart, called by them a *Gerit*, thrown from his hand; for evidence of which the Armour is placed on one of the Gates of *Aleppo* with an Inſcription under it.

The Turks paſs the River *Euphrates*.

About the beginning of the month of *Auguſt* the Turkiſh Army paſſed the River *Euphrates* by means of a Bridge, which was not ſo well built, but that it ſunk under the weight of Horſes, Camels, and Baggage, by which diſaſter many periſhed in the water, which great rains had ſwelled above the bounds of its Banks. As this numerous Army proceeded, ſo all petty Princes applied themſelves to perform their Homage; amongſt which one *Tarpos* a King of the Arabs came with his Wife, Mother, and Son to proſtrate himſelf before the Sultan: he was entertained in the Tent of the Favourite, who being always in company with *Morat*, was never ſuffered to ſeparate from him, and his Tent more for oſtentation than to ſerve his occaſion. *Tarpos* being admitted to Audience, was received with reſpect and a favourable countenance, and preſented with a

Veſt

Veſt of Cloth of Gold lined with Sables and a ſmall Purſe of Gold: in recompence whereof the Arab Prince returned certain choice Horſes and two Leopards. In like manner the Georgians and Mengrelians, who are Tributaries to Turk and Perſian, and commonly incline to the ſtrongeſt ſide, whoſe Nations we have deſcribed *in the preſent State of the Ottoman Empire*, would not be wanting at this time to bring their Tribute of eighty thouſand yards of Linen-cloth, which they pay every three year, with ſome Children of both Sexes choſen out of the comelieſt and moſt healthful amongſt them. 1638.

The Turkiſh Army at *Moſul*.

At *Moſul* the Army lay encamped for ſome time, where was a general Rendezvous and confluence of people from all parts, and every thing ordered and modelized for a War. Severe Diſcipline was kept amongſt all, Offenders were impaled, flead alive, their bowels ript out, and thrown into the publick ways: nor did Takers of Tabaco eſcape with leſs puniſhment than the reſt. In the mean time Wine was forbid to his whole Camp, unleſs to himſelf and his Favourite, being a Royal drink; and when the chief Phyſician commended the admirable virtue of Opium, adviſing *Morat* to uſe it in the place of Wine, he enjoyned him to make his words good by his own example, and thereby forced him to take ſo much, that he was overcome, and died by ſwallowing too great a quantity.

The deſcription of *Babylon* or *Bagdat*.

From *Moſul* the Army marched in due order to *Babylon*, where the Great Vizier arrived with thirty thouſand men about the 19th of *October*; but by reaſon of the great weight of Artillery, and the many impediments which attend ſuch vaſt numbers, the Grand Signior came not thither till the 5th of *November*, and on the 9th the whole Turkiſh Army preſented it ſelf before the Walls of *Babylon*.

Babylon the ancienteſt City of the World, reported to be built by *Nimrod* on the Banks of the River *Euphrates*, and afterwards beautified and enlarged by *Semiramis* the Wife of *Ninus*, is recorded in Hiſtory for the vaſtneſs thereof to be one of the ſeven Miracles of the World. Afterwards the furious Inundations of the River, and the Iron teeth of devouring time, and the ſubjection thereof to the Macedonian Empire, did much eclipſe the glory of that City, and cauſed *Seleucus Nicanor*, one of *Alexander*'s Captains, to build a new one where the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* meet, forty miles more Northwards than the old *Babylon*, which he therefore called *Seleucia* after his own Name. In the year of our Lord 753. *Abugiafer Almanſor* an Arab King enlarged this City to the Eaſtern ſide of the *Tigris*, as being leſs ſubject to the Inundations of the River, giving it the Name of *Bagdat*, or the place of Gardens; but his Son *Almolied* being more pleaſed with the Weſtern ſide, encouraged people to build the ſtatelieſt Palaces and beſt Fabricks near the place where he delighted to keep his Court, ſo that the River *Tigris* divided the City. The which with the Country thereabouts was ſubdued by *Solyman* the Magnificent; and afterwards in the Year 1625. it was recovered by *Abas* King of *Perſia*, until at length in this of 1638. it was vanquiſhed by the mighty force and proweſs of this Magnanimous Sultan, as we ſhall now underſtand.

Bagdat beſieged.

The numerous Troops of the Ottoman Army covering all the Plains, a general Council of War was called of the chief Commanders of the Janiſaries and Spahees, eſpecially of ſuch who had been practiſed in the Sieges of the ſtrong Fortreſſes in *Hungary*. After ſome debate and long conſide-

1638. consideration, it was agreed, That the City ſhould be battered in three places. One Battery of twelve Pieces of Cannon commanded by the Great Vizier was to be erected againſt the Bright Gate: the ſecond againſt the Dark Gate of ten Pieces of Cannon, under the Command of the Captain-Paſha: and a third of eight Pieces directed againſt the Gate of *Perſia*, under the Government of *Chuſaein* Paſha Beglerbei of *Anatolia*. The Grand Signior in the mean time habited like an ordinary Souldier, that he might be the leſs expoſed to danger, viſited all Poſts and places, encouraging them with his words and preſence, proteſting that he would not change his Cloaths for ever in any place but within the Walls of *Bagdat*. In the ſpace of three days the Trenches were opened, the Batteries raiſed, and the Cannon planted; and *Morat* having made Korban, gave fire to the firſt Cannon with his own hand, as he had brought the firſt Basket of Earth to raiſe the Works. The Defendants within conſiſted of eighty thouſand fighting men, with which they made frequent Sallies of four and five thouſand men at a time, who being retired were again ſeconded by another of the like number, which put the Turkiſh Camp into much confuſion, and into danger of having their Trenches levelled, and their Cannon ſpiked; but the Turks valiantly fighting, the ſlaughter proved bloody on both ſides: and being guided rather by the bravery of their courage, than by Art or Experience in War, they carried their Works forward to the very brink of the Ditch, having an Italian and a Candiot for their chief Enginiers; who though they were not perſons of that ability, as our modern times have produced, yet they were ſuch, as for want of better, ſerved the preſented occaſions, where force and numbers, with ſmall additions of Art, were the moſt available. For in this Siege the Sword was more exerciſed than the Spade or Matock, and there was more need of Arms than Works; for the conſtant Sallies kept the Turks always watchful and imployed, and perpetually diſturbed them, until at length they were forced with great labour to raiſe a high Circumvallation with a very deep Ditch defended by ſeveral Redoubts; whereby the Beſieged being kept in, their numbers decreaſed by former Sallies, and their courages abated by deſpair of Relief, they began to grow cold in the Acts of Bravery, and to reſerve their men for the ultimate and laſt efforts of defence. In the mean time the Turks plied their Batteries ſo hotly, that in a few days the Walls were laid open almoſt fifty paces wide. In this condition the Defendants having no other refuge than ſome ſmall Retrenchments, which they had made during the Siege, were expoſed to the open force of the Enemy. For now the Turks having filled up the firſt and ſecond Ditches with Sacks of Wool, Faggots, and other Rubbiſh, crowded in vaſt numbers to enter the Breach, which the Perſians defended as ſtoutly with Stones, Bullets, artificial Fires, and all Inſtruments of death, which fell like ſhowers of Hail on the heads of the Enemy. The Great Vizier ſignalizing himſelf above all by his undaunted courage, commanding with his hand and voice, was unhappily ſhot by a Musket-bullet, and fell on the heaps of the dead, amongſt whom there is no diſtinction between the common Souldier and the braveſt Captain. This Fight within the Breach continued for five days, where both ſides fighting like men in deſpair, the dead bodies lay in heaps, and blood was ſtagnated like a Pool to wade thorough. At length the numbers of the Turks prevailing, commanded now by *Muſtapha* the Captain-Paſha, entred

entred the Town by force of Arms on the 22th day of *December* about the time of Sun-set, when the Royal Standard of the Turks was planted in this City. Howsoever twenty four thousand of the Persians remaining still alive, and united in a Body capitulated for Quarter, otherwise threatning not to die unrevenged: Pardon and Quarter for their lives was readily granted, on confidence of which the Persians threw down their Arms, and submitted to the publick faith or the Sultan's clemency. But the Grand Signior afterwards considering, that the granting Quarter at *Revan* had been the cause of the loss of the City, he repented him of his promise, and gave Order to the Janisaries most inhumanely to open a torrent of blood, and make a barbarous Massacre of those who had newly thrown down their Arms at his feet, not sparing either woman or child, either sex or age; the which slaughter, like a work of darkness, was acted in the night by the light of Torches and Lanthorns, and appeared a horrid spectacle to all, especially to the Persian Ambassadour, who being conducted like a Prisoner in the Camp, was a sad Spectator of his Countries destruction on the horrid Theatre of its capital City. 1638. *Bagdat* taken.

So soon as *Bagdat* was taken, *Morat* dispatched away Posts immediately with the News into all parts, and wrote a Letter with his own hand to the Chimacam, ordering a *Dunalma* or Feast of Thanksgiving, and rejoicing for the space of twenty days; during which time no business was to be acted, the Houses were to be adorned both without and within with the best Furniture, and every House was to set forth Lights, Torches, and Fire-works agreeable to the condition and ability of the person. The people exclaimed hereat as too great an expence, and the vacation from business seemed too long for those who lived by their daily labour. The chief Ministers and Grandees evidenced external actions of joy, but inwardly feared and trembled, suspecting that the fierce and cruel humour of their Sultan would be elated, and rendred more tyrannical, and untractable by success and a favourable Fortune. The Christian Princes received this Intelligence like bad News, and as an Alarm to awaken them from the easiness of Peace, to expectations of War: for War with *Persia* was like an Ulcer in the Bowels of the Turkish Empire, which gangrened and consumed the strength and marrow of their Power; which now being cured, and the Body politick rendred healthy by such a seasonable success, would convert it self to Enterprises pernicious and dangerous to the neighbouring States.

After the Conquest of this City *Morat* gave out, That he resolved to proceed with his Army into *Persia*, and to enter the Walls of *Spahan*; but having some indispositions of health upon him, and recalled by the charming Letters of a Favourite Mistress, whom he had left at *Diarbechir*, he inclined to return again to *Constantinople*. Wherefore mustering first his Army, he found that it was abated near an hundred thousand men, two thirds whereof being killed in the War, the rest perished by the Pestilence, and other diseases and maladies incident to Camps; a great part of the slaughter fell on the most veterane Souldiers of the Janisaries and Spahees, of which many of the Chief being slain, their Lands and Revenues returned to the Grand Signior, and gave him both opportunity and ability to reward many with such Offices and Gifts as came by the death and fall of other Commanders. Thus the Captain-Pasha, whose Valour had rendred him famous, was made Great Vizier in the place of him that was

1638. ſlain, and the Perſian Favourite was conſtituted Captain-Paſha; and though many repined at this advancement, as conferred on a Stranger, and a Perſon without Merit, yet the Grand Signior conſidered him as one whoſe Experience in that Country, and the Information he had given him of the ſituation and ſtrength of *Babylon*, had made abundant compenſation for the favour and honour he had beſtowed upon him.

1639. The Grand Signior having left a Garriſon of thirty thouſand men in *Bagdat*, diſpeeded the Great Vizier with a conſiderable Army to penetrate far into the Country of *Perſia*. And having now releaſed the Perſian Ambaſſadour, giving him liberty to return to his Maſter, wrote by him this braving Letter.

I *That am Lord of Lords, and Conquerour in the parts of* Arabia, Perſia, *and* Greece: *King that commands with eminent Rule in the World, exalted by Divine aſſiſtance to the Empire of the Univerſe; the moſt Invincible Poſſeſſor of the White and Black Seas, and of all the Cities and Fortreſſes which encompaſs them. Lord of the Divine and Prophetick Temple, that is, of* Mecha *and* Medina, *as alſo of* Jeruſalem, Aleppo, Damaſcus, *and of all thoſe Holy and Venerable Countries, of Grand* Cairo, *Salutiferous* Babylon, *and of* Van, *of* Ethiopia, Balſora, *and the Leſſer* Aſia; *of all the Countries of the Curds,* Georgians, *and Tartars; of* Moldavia, Valachia, *and univerſally of all the Provinces and Regions of* Greece *and* Anatolia. *And in ſumm, Supreme Lord of the Seven Climates, the Victorious and Triumphant King in the Service of God Sultan* Amurat Han, *to the Valiant* Sofi, *to whom may God give peace, if he deſerve it. This Imperial Letter worthy of Obedience being come to thee, Be it known unto thee, That the Ambaſſadour which Thou didſt ſend to my happy Port with deſires of Peace, I have detained until this time in which I have ſubdued* Bagdat, *by means of the keen edge of my Invincible Cemiter. If thou deſireſt Peace, ſurrender thoſe Provinces which belong to the Dominions of my Victorious Predeceſſors, into the hands of my Beglerbeys, who are now marching at the head of my Victorious and Inexpugnable Army: otherwiſe expect me next Spring with my Troops more numerous than the ſands of the Sea, within the bowels of thy Dominions; where I will appear on Horſe-back to unkennel thee from the Caverns wherein thou now lurkeſt, not daring to manage thoſe Arms, which are unworthily girt to thy ſide. That afterwards ſhall ſucceed, which was determined from all Eternity. Peace be to him who directs his ways aright.*

This Letter being diſpatched, the Grand Signior recalled the forty thouſand men which he had lent, from the Service of the Great *Mogul*, which he quartered about *Bagdat* to hinder the attempts of the Perſians, in caſe they ſhould deſign to purſue him in the Rear, and diſturb his return into *Europe*. By reaſon of the rigour and extremity of the Winter, and a certain defluxion which falling on his Nerves, made him ſomething paralytical, the Grand Signior departed not from *Bagdat* until the 15th of *April*, and then for recovery of his health, and to foil the Horſes by the way with convenience of graſs, ſhort days journies were appointed. The Grand Signior's indiſpoſition increaſing with ſome cold and ſhivering fits, gave the firſt Symptoms of a Feaver; but afterwards it plainly appearing to be a paralytical diſtemper, ſuſpected by the Phyſicians to end in an Apoplexy, it was rumoured abroad, that *Morat* was dead; but it was whiſpered with ſuch caution, as if they had feared leſt the

The Grand Signior returns to *Conſtantinople.*

the Grand Signior would have over-heard them, and risen from his grave to punish their secret and inward joy. Being somewhat recovered from the last accession of his Palsie, the humour fell into his legs, and swelled so much, that he could scarce sit upon his Horse; howsoever he hastened as fast as he could to *Constantinople* to disprove and confute the falsity of that report concerning his death. In the mean time it is not to be expressed with what fear and terrour the Chimacam and other great Ministers of State expected the return of their formidable Prince, not knowing where the Thunderbolt of his cruel disposition would strike, until at length it fell on the head of the poor Sultan *Mustapha*, whose weakness, as it rendred him unable for Government and Command, so it made him stupid and insensible of death. 1639.

At length on the 10th of *June* the Grand Signior arrived at *Constantinople:* the Favourite *Soltana*, which had accompanied him to the War, passed by water from *Ismit* attended with six Gallies, and took her Lodging the first night of her arrival at a small Chiosk or House of Pleasure under the Wall, so as to make a magnificent Entry the day following. Her Coach was covered with Cloth of Gold, and the Spokes of the Wheels were gilded, and the Wheels shod with Silver; she was followed by twelve Coaches, and the Mufti, Pasha's, Kadees, and other Officers went before to conduct her to the Seraglio. The Grand Signior, who arrived the same day attended with fifty six Gallies, made not his solemn Enrty until two days after, being performed with all the Ceremony, State, and Magnificence which could be contrived. The Grand Signior in his own Person appeared in the Persian Habit, with a Leopards skin thrown over his shoulders, after the manner of a Kausee (as they call them) or a brave huffing Champion, having his Stirrup attended with twenty two of the chiefest Nobles, whom he had reserved at *Bagdat* purposely to lead in Triumph when he made this Entry. The Treasure brought to *Constantinople* was landed at the Seraglio out of ten Gallies, and calculated to amount to a greater Sum than that which was carried from thence; for besides the Riches taken in the Plunder of *Babylon*, seisure was made in divers places of the Estates of Pasha's and other Great men, which by death, or for crimes escheated to the Grand Signior.

The Grand Signiors Entry into *Constantinople.*

After the Grand Signior's departure out of *Persia*, little of action succeeded, as if by mutual agreement, a Truce or Cessation of Arms had been contrived. The Persians desired a Peace, because they were enfeebled and tired with the War: The Turks had regained their Honour by the Conquest of *Bagdat*; and being unwilling to lose it by change of unconstant Fortune, and longer consume their riches and men in a tedious and remote March, were attending to receive Propositions of Peace first offered by the Persian. To effect which the Great Vizier, who was left at *Bagdat* to command the Army, intimated to the Governours of the Frontiers, that a proffer of Peace should be accepted; which being made known to the King of *Persia*, he immediately dispatched an Ambassadour to the Grand Signior to propose Terms of Accommodation. The Ambassadour being arrived at *Constantinople*, was grateful and acceptable to all, and his day of Audience appointed after the usual manner on the Pay-day of the Janisaries, when the floor of the Divan is covered with Sacks of Money: before the door of the Chamber of Audience stood the Persian Captives all cloathed in rich Vests. The Ambassadour being conducted to the Royal Presence with the usual

An Ambassadour sent from *Persia* to the Grand Signior.

1639. Ceremonies (of which we have given an account in another place) was received by the Sultan sitting upon a Saffaw covered with Crimson Velvet embroidered with Pearl; his Turbant was encompassed with a Chain of Diamonds, cloathed with a rich Vest lined with Sables; he cast no pleasantness of aspect on the Ambassadour, but beholding him with a fierce and scornful look, received the Letter in a kind of careless disdain, behaving himself in every motion, as if he neither esteemed the King, nor his Ambassadour; or as if the Persian had been wholly conquered by him, had sent to beg Peace, and pardon for his life: The Ambassadour was soon dismissed from his Presence; and matters being referred to the Negotiation of the Chimacam, no other difficulty arose besides the dispute concerning *Revan*, which at length was agreed by another Ambassadour sent to the Vizier on the Frontiers to remain unto the Persian, as *Bagdat* was confirmed to the Turk: and so Peace was without long debate clapt up; the Grand Signior, by reason of his indisposition which increased upon him, being not inclinable to trouble his head with the burden of business.

A Peace concluded.

Peace being thus concluded with *Persia*, there appeared a perfect Sunshine and fair weather in the Ottoman Court, neither dissentions at home, nor Wars abroad troubling the quiet and repose of the Sultan; until some differences happening between the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia* exhaled the first cloud of disturbance. At that time *Lupulo* was Prince of *Moldavia*, a Person of evil Principles, covetous and unjust. *Matthew* was Prince of *Valachia*, a good man, zealous for the Christian Religion, and one who administred equal Justice to his people. *Lupulo* not contenting himself with his own, but desirous also of his Neighbours possession, made instantes to the Port to have the Principality of *Moldavia* conferred upon his Son, alledging that thereby he should be better enabled to balance the power of *Ragotski* in *Transylvania*, and on all occasions be rendred more serviceble to the Grand Signior's designs and interest: and seconding this Proposition with a Present of fifty thousand Dollars to the Chimacam, and promise to increase the annual Tribute, he obtained the Chimacam's friendship, at whose instance the Grand Signior was perswaded to write unto *Matthew* to surrender up his Province into the hands of the Son of *Lupulo*; declaring, That it having been accustomary to change the Princes of those Countries every three years, he ought after an injoyment of above seven years to content himself with a quiet and voluntary resignation, unless he would desire to draw upon himself a ruine by the anger and displeasure of the Sultan. *Matthew* having no posterity, resolved not to surrender his Government but with his life; and having a particular animosity against *Lupulo*, could by no means incline his mind to make his Enemy happy with the Spoils of his Estate. Wherefore having obtained assistance from *Ragotski*, he resolved to withstand the Forces of young *Lupulo*, and engage with them: and being ready to mount on Horse-back and begin the Battel, he first dispatched an humble Message to the Grand Signior, acquainting him, "That he was ready at his Command to resign his Principality into the "hands of the meanest Greek his Majesty would appoint; who being "the source of all Equity and Justice, he hoped that he would not ob-"lige him to such Terms as would raise his mortal Enemy upon his "ruine; a man so intent to his own interests, and so unconscionable to "compass them, that all late Revolutions, Wars, and Commotions have "been

Troubles in *Moldavia* and *Valachia*.

"been raiſed either by him, or by his Inſtruments. This Letter being received and read by the Grand Signior, was ſeconded in a few hours after, with News of the total defeat of young *Lupulo*; which put the Grand Signior ſo much into choler, that he immediately committed the Chimacam to the Seven Towers, for being the Projector and Author of this Counſel. It was ſuppoſed however, that *Murat*'s anger would not proceed to that degree, as to extend to his life; but being informed, that he was rich, and that he was poſſeſſed of two millions of Dollars, which lay by him in ready Money, it was concluded, that ſo vaſt a wealth could not in a ſhort time be honeſtly gained; which appearing as an undeniable evidence and teſtimony of his violence and oppreſſion, the Grand Signior made no difficulty to paſs the Sentence of death againſt him, nor to condemn the Money to his own Exchequer. His Office was given to *Siman* Paſha, and the Principality confirmed unto *Matthew*. 1639.

The Chimacam put to death.

During all this time, the quarrel which the Turks conceived againſt the Venetians for violating their Port of *Valona*, was not yet compoſed; but now having time to peruſe and conſider old accounts, the Venetian Bailo was called by the Chimacam to Audience, and to a Conference with him concerning this matter. In the firſt place therefore the Bailo alledged, "That the Pirates of *Barbary* had for the ſpace of twenty years "roved in the Venetian Gulf, and made Prize in that time of ſo many "Ships and Goods belonging to Merchants, that the Republick had been "prejudiced by them in ſeveral millions; which alſo did in ſome man-"ner prejudice the Cuſtoms of the Grand Signior, to whom the Vene-"tian Merchants pay for the moſt part yearly the Sum of an hundred "thouſand Dollars in Cuſtom for their Goods, beſides the benefit which "the Ottoman Dominions receive by ſo profitable a Commerce. *Hereunto the Chimacam replied:* "That the damages which the Turks recei-"ved by the Corſaires or Free-booters at Sea under the Colours of "*Malta*, *Ligorn*, *Majorca*, and other places were greater and more diſ-"honourable to the Majeſty of the Ottoman Grandeur, than the depre-"dations of the other ſide were to *Venice*: and therefore it would be "neceſſary for the good of the World, that ſuch violences were pre-"vented in all places; and that men of ſuch wicked profeſſion ſhould "be eſteemed for univerſal Enemies, and to have no other Quarter, nor "Articles granted them, than what we give to wild and hurtful beaſts, "whom we deſtroy by ſnares and gins, and all advantages. The which "alſo was never denied to the Venetians, whilſt they encountred and "took them in the open Seas; but to enter into priviledged places, and "violate a Sanctuary of the Grand Signior's, without reſpect to the "mighty Power of ſo dreadful a Monarch, was an act ſo inſolent, as "could never obtain pardon without a due compenſation for the of-"fence; which could not be done, but either by a reſtitution of the "Veſſels, or elſe of a like number in the places of them. *Hereunto the Bailo replied:* "That if an Accommodation could not be made on other "Terms, nor Peace maintained, but by a ſubmiſſion to Pirates, and "ſupportation of all their injuries and robberies, a War muſt inevitably "enſue; for the good ſucceſs of which they depended on the Bleſſing "of God Almighty, and the general aſſiſtance of all Chriſtendom, which "will eſteem it ſelf univerſally concerned in this Cauſe, and obliged as "well to make good this quarrel againſt Pirates, as to preſerve *Venice* for

"their

1639. "their main Bulwark and defence againſt the Ottoman Force.

"You make me ſmile (anſwered the Chimacam) when you tell me of "the power of Chriſtendom, which contains nothing more of terrour "than the name. Do not I know, who have been Paſha of *Buda*; that "the Emperour hath no money; and that when the Swedes, a ſmall and "inconſiderable people, have made War upon him, they have almoſt "over-run his Country? As for *France*, if they underſtand their own "Politicks, they will ſcarce be perſwaded to lend aſſiſtance to the Em-"pire, when we make war againſt it. The Spaniards have ſo much to "do at home, and to conſerve themſelves from the incroachments of "their powerful Neighbour the French, that they are wholly unable to "lend Forces to wage a war at ſuch a diſtance from their Dominions. "Wherefore conſidering the advantage we have upon you, which we "well know and underſtand; you muſt either have war on theſe ha-"zardous terms, or elſe purchaſe your peace with a conſiderable Sum "of money. In making of which bargain you muſt conſider, that you "have to deal with a mighty Prince, and not with a Merchant; and "therefore your offer ought to be large at firſt, ſo as it may gain credit, "and be received with a favourable ear; for a ſmall Sum to him is like "a little morſel given to an hungry ſtomach, which ſerves only to in-"creaſe the appetite. And you know, that we our ſelves are often "forced to ſacrifice to the avarice of our Prince, by effuſions of vaſt "Sums of money, which are always beſt compounded for, when they "are done readily, and at firſt, before we give our Maſter time to con-"ſult with his pillow, and to make up our accounts according to the "calculate of his own reckoning. Let me therefore exhort you to fol-"low the like example, and immediately make an offer of three hun-"dred thouſand Zechins of Gold, which if you will do, and employ my "intereſt to make this compoſition for you, I hope, though with ſome "difficulty, to gain its acceptance. To talk and reaſon of things paſt is "but to beat the air, becauſe the time is vaniſhed and gone; but you "may conſider of the preſent, that you may ſecure the future. We ſell "you peace at this price, if it be worth your money take it; if not, "refuſe it, as you judge the purchaſe moſt agreeable to your intereſt.

At this time Chriſtendom was embroiled in its uſual combuſtions, ſo that aſſiſtance from other Princes was not only uncertain, but without all foundation; ſo that the Venetians could have no ſure truſt to any other than their own Force. In regard that many were deſirous at that time to ſee the Venetians engaged with the Turk, that ſo they might not be able to concern themſelves in the War of *Italy*, which then grew hot by the Wars of *Savoy*, *Modena*, and *Matoua*, favoured by the protection of the Spaniards, by whoſe means all the differences aroſe about the Valtoline. Conſidering which, the wiſe Senate being willing to purchaſe ſo great a bleſſing to their Country by a moderate price, gave liberty to their Bailo to compound for it at what rate and terms that he was able; which by the Bailo's dexterity in the management was concluded for the Sum of two hundred and fifty thouſand Zechins, which was eſteemed for a great ſervice, and redounded much to the reputation of the Bailo: after which concluſion, the former Articles were ratified, and theſe which follow added thereunto.

"That the Ambaſſadour or Bailo ſhould be ſet at liberty, and per-"mitted to return to his own habitation: That Commerce be renewed

"as

" as formerly between the Subjects of both Countries. That all Contro- 1639.
" verſie about the matters happened at *Valona*, for ever be ſilenced and
" forgotten. When at any time the Pirates of *Barbary* ſhall happen to
" enter within the Ports of the Grand Signior, they ſhall give ſecurity,
" that they will commit no damage or ſpoil on the Subjects of *Venice*.
" And in caſe they ſhall have taken any Prizes belonging to the afore-
" ſaid State, they ſhall not be admitted nor protected in the Ports be-
" longing to the Grand Signior. Wherefore in virtue hereof all Aga's,
" Captains of Caſtles, and other Miniſters who ſhall not obey and ob-
" ſerve this Capitulation, ſhall be deprived of their Office; and if the
" Venetians ſhall then enter violently into the Port, where ſuch Enemies
" have taken refuge, it ſhall not be imputed to them for a crime, or
" eſteemed a breach of the Capitulations. And farther, if the Venetians
" ſhall at any time encounter the aforeſaid people of *Barbary* in the open
" Sea, it ſhall be lawful for them to aſſault, take, and deſtroy them
" without notice, or exceptions of the Ottoman Port. And laſtly, the
" new Bailo lately elected ſhall pay unto the Grand Signior five hundred
" thouſand Pieces of Eight, which make two hundred and fifty thouſand
" Zechins of Gold. This Writing was firmed and ratified about the mid-
" dle of the Moon *Rebiul* in the *Hegeira* or Year of *Mahomet* 1049. Here- *September* 1639.
of authentick Copies were immediately diſpatched to the Beglerbeys, San-
giacks, and Kadi's on the Coaſts of the Mediterranean Sea, and to the
Paſha of *Boſna*, for better publication of the Peace, and free Traffick
and Commerce between the Subjects of both people.

The Baron *Chinski* arrived at that time from the Emperour in quality
of Envoyé Extraordinary to congratulate the Grand Signior's ſucceſs in An Envoyé
taking *Bagdat*, and making a Peace with *Perſia*; but not bringing with ſent from the
him Preſents to that value, which on this occaſion were expected, he Emperour to
was not looked on, nor conſidered with that favour and reſpect, as was the Grand Sig-
agreeable to his Character and Quality. And there happening a diſpute nior.
between this Envoyé and the Engliſh Ambaſſadour concerning prece-
dency of place; the Turks yielded it to the Engliſh, being made to
underſtand the difference which Chriſtian Princes make between the
Title of an Ambaſſadour and that of an Envoyé, though the Turks uſe
but that one word of *Elchi* to expreſs both. And though the Baron
Chinski laboured to diminiſh the Dignity of an Engliſh Ambaſſadour at
Conſtantinople, by alledging, that he was elected by the Company of
Merchants for conſervation of their Trade only, and afterwards confirm-
ed and honoured by the King: yet this Argument was in no wiſe preva-
lent with the Turks, who eſteeming the Commiſſion of the Prince, and
the charge of an Office the only qualification to ennoble a perſon, made
no difficulty to determine the point in behalf of the Engliſh. And though
ſome Italian Writers ſay, that the Engliſh Ambaſſadour gave fifteen
Purſes of Money or ſeven thouſand five hundred Dollars to the Chima-
cam for this favour; yet thoſe who underſtand how unwillingly the
Turkie-Merchants part with their money on defence of ſuch punctillios
and niceties, eſpecially where the Ambaſſadour might have avoided the
bringing them into diſpute, will more readily believe, that the Turks
from free motives of their own Juſtice and Reaſon judged this Honour
due to the Ambaſſadour, than that he ſhould purchaſe this indiſputable
point by the diſgraceful means of money.

ANNO

1640.

ANNO 1640.

The Turkiſh Counſels uncertain about a War.

All matters being now determined between the Turks and *Perſia*, and the black clouds blown over from the Venetians, the Grand Signior ſtudied how and where he might turn his Arms with moſt advantage: he had conceived an irreconcileable pique againſt *Ragotski* and *Matthew* for the cauſes before related; but having an intention to make uſe of their Force againſt *Poland* or *Germany*, or againſt them both together, he diſſembled the paſſion he conceived againſt them, and rather deferred his revenge, than pardoned the liberty which they had exerciſed without his licence or aſſent. Sometimes he reſolved to recover *Aſac* out of the hands of the Coſacks; ſometimes he thought of making War upon *Poland*, judging himſelf much affronted by that King, for not ſending an Ambaſſadour to congratulate his late ſucceſſes: then he ſuppoſed, that a War in *Germany* would be more eaſie, and the Conqueſt more profitable by reaſon of the richeſs of the people, and the fertility of the ſoil, to which pretences could never be wanting on the ſcore of thoſe differences which always ariſe amongſt the people of the Frontiers. During theſe debates and counſels, preparations were made for War both by Sea and Land, as yet uncertain where they ſhould be employed: to command them the Great Vizier was ordered to haſten his journey from *Perſia*, whoſe arrival was celebrated at *Conſtantinople* with a ſolemn Entry; and for a particular and diſtinguiſhing Honour, the Grand Signior ſent him a Veſt from his own Back to wear on the day of his Triumph. This Vizier was a perſon very auſtere in his behaviour, bold and valiant, as he evidenced by his actions in taking *Bagdat*, zealous for his Maſter's intereſt; and what is rare in a Turk, not much addicted to his own: he had acquired a great ſhare in the eſteem of his Maſter, and his Authority increaſed, as the daily decay of the Grand Signior's health rendred him leſs able for Government. For now the ſtrong complexion of *Morat* began to grow feeble by exceſſes of frequent debauchery, his ſtomach was become cold and weak, not able to digeſt the lighteſt meats, his hand ſhook, and a paralytical diſtemper ſeized him in every part: ſo that his Mother and the Phyſicians perſwaded him to forſake the uſe of Wine, as poiſon and deſtruction to his health: and he, whilſt he was ſenſible of his languiſhing condition, like a true Penitent, made many proteſtations and vows againſt it, forbidding the accurſed poiſon to be received within the Walls of the Seraglio: howſoever his kind heart could not poſſibly withſtand the temptation of a Banquet, to which his Pot-companions did ſometimes invite him: amongſt which the Great Vizier would not be wanting alſo to pleaſe and cajol the humor of his Maſter with the liquor that he loved. But his chief and conſtant Camerades in drinking were his Perſian Favourite and *Muſtapha* Paſha of *Boſna*, one educated in the Seraglio, promoted to the place of Selictar Aga, to whom he gave the ſtately Palace of *Ibrahim* Paſha on the *Hippodrome*, together with his eldeſt Daughter in Marriage. Theſe two ſtout Sons of *Bacchus* perſwaded the Grand Signior to appoint one ſolemn Drinking-day in time of the Biram, which is the great Feſtival of the Year, and introduced by their Prophet in imitation of our *Eaſter*. *Morat* being at this time poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of debauchery, accepted the motion, and invited the two Drunkards to dinner with him. The Perſian provoked his pleaſure

The Vizier returns from *Perſia*.

sure of drinking by salt Meats, and by peppered and spiced Dishes; the sort of Wine they most used was a sweet Malvoisia, sometimes twisted, and encouraged with the strong Waters, called *Rosa Solis*, of which they sucked so long, and with such excess, that falling under the force of it they were insensibly carried away to their several beds. This dissolute repast became fatal to the Grand Signior; for a fire being kindled in his veins and bowels, he fell into a violent and continued Feaver. The Physicians being called, were fearful to administer Remedies, lest proving unsuccessful, their lives should pay for the ineffectual operation: at length they agreed to let him blood, but this hastened his death. For he died the fourth day of his Feaver, being the 8th of *February*, in the seventeenth year of his Reign, and the one and thirtieth of his Age, having ruled in the height of all disorders and irregular excesses, which his youthful years enabled him to support. With his death all his thoughts and designs of making War against Christendom perished, having sworn after his return from *Persia* to reduce all his neighbouring Countries to the Mahometan Law. He was of a most cruel and implacable disposition, having amongst his other Acts of Tyranny imbrued his hands in the blood of his two Brothers, *Orchan* and *Bajazet*; as also strangled his Uncle *Mustapha*, whose innocent weakness had been sufficient to secure his life against any, but the most horrid Monster of humane Tyranny. He left no Son; for though he had divers, they died in their infancy, notwithstanding which his Kindred were so detested by him, that he envied the descendence of Monarchy on his Brother *Ibrahim*, who was preserved by a strange providence from his fury: often saying, that he wished that he might be the last of the Ottoman Line, that the Empire of that Family might end with him, and devolve unto the Tartar. He was certainly the most absolute Prince that ever swayed the Ottoman Empire: but of no Religion, seldom fasting in the month of *Ramisan*, contemning and laughing at the Santones, and others of their Religious Orders. He was very inquisitive into all Actions of the City, for which he maintained his Spies, and oftentimes took his rules and measures from discourses of people concerning his Government. He was a great Dissembler, ready, active, and revengeful, covetous to extremity, having left fifteen millions of Gold in his Treasury, which was empty when he entred upon the Soveraignty. In short, he was so bad, that he had scarce any allay of Vertue; being so great a Tyrant, that at length he became his own Assasinate, and fell unlamented by all but the two Companions of his bestial excess.

1640.

The death of Sultan *Morat*.

His Character.

The End of Sultan Morat's *Life.*

Sultan IBRAHIM Emperour of the Turkes *Anno Dom.* 1640

I That of Ottman Blood Remain Alone
Call'd From a Priſon to aſcend a Throne
My Silly Mind I Bend to Soft Delights
Hating Th'unpleaſant thoughts of Nauall Fights
Till Mad with Wanton Loues I Fall at Firſt
Slaue to My Owne Then to My Peoples Luſt

P. H. Van. Hove Excud.

THE REIGN OF Sultan Ibrahim, TWELFTH EMPEROUR OF THE TURKS.

SUltan *Amurath*, or *Morat*, after a Feaver of eight days continuance, caused by an excess of Debauchery in Wine; having on the eighth of *February*, 1640. according to the *New-Style*, expired his last Breath: His Mother, called *Kiosem*, comforted herself with the thoughts that her Son *Sultan Ibrahim* still lived, and was the sole Surviver, and undoubted Heir of the *Ottoman* Family; to whose Succession, that She might make the more facile, and undisturbed Entrance, She consulted with all the Viziers; requesting their consent and assistance in the lawful promotion of her remaining Son to the Throne of his Ancestors: For She had understood, that *Morat*, who always abhorred the ill-shaped Body, and weaker mind of his Brother, envied him the Dignity of the *Ottoman* Scepter, and therefore had bequeathed the Succession to the *Tartar*, having, in the heat of a Debauch, and fumes of his Wine, compelled his Pashas to swear to the performance of his Testament. Wherefore the Queen, assembling them together, with gentle words desired them to remember, That *Ibrahim* was the lawful Heir, and their true Emperour; that the Tartar *Han* was a Stranger, odious to the Souldiery, and not beloved by the People; that an alteration of this nature could never be contrived and executed without danger to the Actors, and that they to whom She assured the continuance of the same Honours and Offices in reward of their constant Allegiance,

1640.

Vid. the Ott. State.

1640. legiance, would be in hazard of losing all, by the coming of a Foreign Prince, who having Confidents of his own to prefer, and grand necessities to satisfie, would make bold even with Estates and Provinces to prefer his Favourites, his Kindred, and Country-men; and establish the firmness of his Government on their ruine: Yet, setting aside those considerations, touching their own safety and interest, She promised, That if they would reach out their hands unto her Son, for to lift him unto the Throne, he should acknowledge his Empire from them, and accordingly love, tender, and esteem such faithful Subjects. The Viziers, after some reflections on the tye and obligation which *Sultan Morat* had caused them to make to him, declared, and published it to be unlawful, and void; protesting, that they were resolved to maintain inviolable the Allegiance they owed unto *Sultan Ibrahim*, descended from the *Ottoman*-bloud, which they reverenced and adored with an awe equal to the religious esteem which their Forefathers had of it; and therefore with one voice they cryed out, Let *Sultan Ibrahim* live. Herewith the Council breaking up, the Viziers, accompanied with all the Officers and Attendants of the Seraglio, went with Shouts and loud Acclamations to the Prison of *Ibrahim*, to salute him Emperour; for he, poor Prince, had now for four years remained a sad Recluse in a dark room, where he had received neither light, nor Air, but what came from a little Window, which sometimes in favour was opened to him, from above; and what was worse, the continual expectations, and fear of Death, without Friends, Conversation, or Hope, rendred those apprehensions worse than Death it self, which daily were represented to him in that solemnity, as might terrifie a mind more constant and firm than his: So soon as he heard the Shouts and Voices of a Multitude near his Door, he immediately conceived, that the Fate was now come which he had so long expected, and therefore he barred his Door, and denied to give entrance; and when the Viziers proclaimed him Emperour (fearing it might be some artifice of his Brother to see with what joy he would entertain the News) he answered, that he did not so much as think of the Empire, nor desire it, but only prayed, that *Sultan Morat* might live, to whom he pretended not to be a Brother, but a Slave; and when he perceived that they began to force the Door, though with terms of Respect and Observance, he still endeavoured to keep it close; for Nature had taught him to conserve a Life, however miserable, and void of consolation. He continuing thus resolute not to open, Reverence to his Person commanded them to forbear any ruder violence, until the Queen Mother over-hearing all this stir, descended her self in Person, and first causing the dead Corps of *Sultan Morat* to be extended before his Door, with gentle Compellations, and confident Assurances, averred the Death of his Brother. The voice of his Mother began to dissipate his fears, and being in part already convinced by his Ears, he adventured to peep at the Door, and giving then entire Credence to his Eyes, his heart and spirits consented to revive, and so retiring back into his Chamber, he willingly received the Congratulations of the Ministers and Souldiers; which being past, he readily applied his Shoulders to the Coffin of his dead Brother, and having bore his share of that dear burden to the Gate of the *Seraglio*, he there resigned it to his Domestick Officers, who buried him in the Sepulchre of *Sultan Achmet*. From thence he took Boat, and

passed

paſſed to the Moſch of *Jubs Seraglio*, where in the ſpace of eight days, he compleated all the Ceremonies of his Coronation, and afterwards, according to the cuſtom of his Anceſtors, he rode through the City to his great Palace; but whether it were for want of practice, or by reaſon of a poſture natural unto Fools, he ſate ſo ridiculouſly on his Saddle, as moved rather the Laughter than the Acclamation of the People. In fine, being entred the *Seraglio*, he began to breathe, and enjoy the Air of Liberty with ſo much contentment and ſatisfaction, that he unwillingly would empair the leaſt Particle of his late acquired Freedom, by thinking, or attending to buſineſs, and as if he enjoyed ſufficient, committed all to the management of his Mother; howſoever, being deſirous to handle ſomething of the Government, he did it with ſo little grace and dexterity, that it plainly appeared, that that Soul animated a Body not fit to ſway or wield a Scepter. 1640.

The Queen-Mother, to maintain the word She had given to the Viziers, continued them all in their reſpective Offices, ſo that, though there was great diſproportion in the mind of the two Princes; yet the Miniſters being the ſame, there ſeemed to be little or no alteration in the Government. The Great Vizier remembring well the thoughts of War which *Sultan Morat* meditated againſt the Coſſacks, and being deſirous of Glory, and continuance of his Power, reſolved to proſecute the ſame deſign, hoping to meet a ſpirit in *Ibrahim* equal to the generoſity of his Brother: To this War many and various were the motives, as firſt, a natural deſire of revenge on the Coſſacks, for having infeſted the Black Seas, that they might thereby provoke *Poland* to a War, which when they had reduced to ſome extremity, the Emperour would conſequently fall in to their aſſiſtance, and thereby create quarrels, which muſt neceſſarily open a large Field of troubles, which being ſown with the ſeed of diſcord, could not fail to produce cauſes, and pretenſions for a War. It being thus reſolved, to which the Vizier neither wanted Eloquence nor Reaſons to perſwade; Great preparations were made for a War, which was intended to be maintained for many years: during which time, God, who diſpoſes all things at his pleaſure, permitted a falſe report to fly, that the Perſians were providing a great Army to beſiege *Bagdat*, to which the Turks giving entire credence, it was reſolved in the *Divan*, that thoſe preparations againſt *Chriſtendom*, ſhould be diverted towards the Parts of the Eaſtern Countries. By this vain rumour only were all theſe grand deſigns diſappointed, and all farther thoughts vaniſhed for the preſent, of moleſting the Chriſtians. From whence it is obſervable, how neceſſary are the foreign Reſidences of Miniſters, and how abſurdly the Turks erre, who, by reaſon of their pride, vouchſafe not to entertain Ambaſſadours in the Court of Strangers, being beholding to the Jews, or Armenian-Merchants for all their intelligence they receive touching the Affairs of Neighbouring Kingdomes.

Reaſons for a War with the *Coſſacks*.

The Wars being thus ſuſpended, the Great Vizier had time to caſt his Eyes about him, and contrive the ruine of ſuch whom he ſuſpected moſt dangerous to his Condition. Amongſt the reſt, none appeared more formidable than *Muſtapha* Paſha, Captain Paſha; a young brisk Perſon, and Favourite of the Queen-Mother, whom to remove was difficult and dangerous, being a Vizier as well as he, and in one of the moſt eminent degrees of dignity in the whole Empire: and therefore that he

1640. might touch him with ſmooth and gentle terms, he practiſed upon him the ordinary decoy of Preferment, proffering him the Government of *Buda*; which whilſt the one ſeemed out of modeſty to refuſe, the other with the greater force of Complement, and obliging expreſſions of friendſhip preſſed him to accept. At length, overcome with importunity and kindneſs, *Muſtapha* received the proffer, whereby being diveſted of the Queens Protection, he was ſoon after overtaken in his Journey towards his Principality, and by another Mandate required to take his way to the Province of *Siliſtria*, the ſmalleſt, and moſt inconſiderable of the Empire: in which he was no ſooner inveſted, than a ſecond Edict took off his head.

But another *Muſtapha*, more fortunate, was ſent Paſha to *Grand Cairo* in *Ægypt*; he was a mortal Enemy to the *Crim Tartar*, of whom he ſhewed his hatred at *Rhodes*, by putting his Son to death, for having ſaid, that *Sultan Morat*, and *Sultan Ibrahim* dying without Iſſue, the Empire was to deſcend to his Family: This Son of the Tartar was then at *Rhodes*, it being a cuſtome always to have one of them as a Hoſtage for the Fathers obedient Comportment towards the Turks, their place of Reſidence being either at *Rhodes*, or ſome Town on the Black Sea, as we have elſewhere declared.

The *Sultan* in this Interim had little regard unto the Government, both for want of Capacity, and by reaſon of his luxurious and wanton Appetite, to which he indulged in the higheſt exceſs of ſenſuality; for having been accuſtomed to a Priſon, and reſtraint, he knew not how to enjoy that freedome he had recovered, but by ſubjecting it to the imperious ſervitude of his Luſts. This humour the Vizier and great Miniſters cheriſhed in him, by continual Banquets, Feaſts, and Entertainments, in which he always took high contentment and ſatisfaction. His other Recreations were, Horſe-races, and Shooting with the Bow, rewarding the moſt dexterous Archers. Buſineſs was a ſtranger to him, he knew not what it meant, nor thought there was other employment for an Emperour than to ſtudy thoſe paſtimes, which moſt correſponded with his Youth and Nature: only the Vizier would ſometimes in matters of high importance demand his Aſſent, which was either out of formality, or elſe to ſecure himſelf with the Name and Authority of his Maſter.

The News of *Sultan Ibrahim*'s promotion to the Throne being arrived at *Venice*, the moſt Serene Republick diſpatched *Pietro Foſcarini* as their Ambaſſadour extraordinary to complement the *Sultan*: The Prince of *Tranſilvania* in like manner, ſent his Tribute, which was ſome Hawks, and twelve Veſſels of Gilded Plate, as feudatary acknowledgments for the Lands held, and for his Confirmation in the Principality.

Ambaſſadours ſent to complement Sultan Ibrahim.

The Miniſters of other Princes having paſſed the like addreſſes, which were cuſtomary, The Ambaſſadours of *Poland* made Complaints of the Tartars, whoſe incurſions againſt them, the Turks by Conditions of Peace were obliged to reſtrain; but in this, as in other occaſions ſince that time, the Poles could obtain no redreſs from the Turks, who willing to have the Chriſtians oppreſſed or ruined, either ſeemed not to give credit to the ſubject of Complaints, or elſe to find out excuſes to acquit the Tartar; which being ſo known and common a Practice with the Turk, it is to be wondred, why the Poles have ſent ſo many late Meſſages of this nature, which in former, as well as in this preſent

Age

Age have proved fruitleſs; a pregnant example of which, we ſhall find in the Reign of *Sultan Mahomet*, Son of this *Ibrahim*. 1641.

Amongſt other Corruptions of theſe Times, Aſpers were ſo cut and clipt, that the Dollar roſe from 80 to 120 Aſpers; which irregularity being complained of in the *Divan*, all monies were reduced to their intrinſick value, and the Aſpers called in to be coyned in the Mint, to the great damage of the people. But this matter will not appear ſtrange, if it be compared to the Vellion of *Spain*, and to the permiſſion in *Turkey*, of the baſe alloy of Temins, by which never any Nation before was ever ſo cheated and abuſed. And now the ſtorms of War, which threatned from *Perſia*, being blown over, it was judged ſeaſonable to reaſſume the thoughts of War ſo long meditated againſt the Coſſacks; in order unto which, Gallies were commanded to be built, which ſhould draw little Water, and purpoſely made to paſs the ſhoals of the Black Sea, near *Aſac*, for the recovery of that place out of the hands of the Enemy: Another Squadron alſo of Gallies was deſigned for the *Archipelago*, to oppoſe the Gallies of *Malta* and *Naples*, which much infeſted thoſe Seas. To the firſt enterprize the Tartar much excited the Turk, by reaſon that *Aſac* did not only hinder his Incurſions by Land, but rendered his Navigation in the Black Seas, very unſecure. To the ſecond, The Gallies of *Malta* much provoked them, under the Command of *Frederick* the Landgrave of *Heſſe*; who by the perſwaſions of the Cardinals of *Savoy*, and *Barberini*, from a Proteſtant was become a Roman Catholick, and had obtained the great Croſs of *Malta*; and with ſeveral Gallies and Ships, performed ſome exploits at *Biſerta*, and at the *Golleta* near *Tunis*.

The Year 1641. being now entered, the Sultan paſſed a moſt Luxurious Life in his Seraglio, conſuming an immenſe Treaſure on his Women; and whileſt theſe two Fleets were preparing to proceed on their reſpective Expeditions, that intended for *Aſac* had almoſt been diverted by the rumours and diſturbances on the Frontiers of *Hungary*; but they were ſoon afterwards appeaſed by an appearance of an Envoy from the Emperour, and return of a Chiaus to *Vienna*, with Ratification of all the former Articles and conditions of Peace: Howſoever the German Internuntio was braved at the Port, for not appearing ſooner with his Preſents and Complements of Congratulation, for the happy Entrance of *Sultan Ibrahim* to the Ottoman Throne; ſo apt are the Turks to believe Acts of Civility, or Ceremony to be parts of Obedience and Submiſſion; and what Chriſtians have once given them voluntarily, is afterwards exacted as a matter of Debt or Duty.

And being thus freed from a ſuſpicion of Troubles in *Hungary*, and exempted from the fears of waging two Wars at once, (which the Turks always ſtudiouſly avoid) they diſpatched a Letter into *Poland*, to demand paſſage for their Army, through that Country to the Siege of *Aſac*; but that not being conſented unto, the Turks prepared to open their way by Force, and the Poles to defend the paſſage. In which interim, many diſaſters concurred, ſufficient to diſcourage the Turks in their deſign; who are a people, that ſuperſtitiouſly calculate the ſucceſs of their Enterpriſes, by the difficulty or ſmooth ſucceſs of their firſt beginnings: For when the Vizier was ready to depart, a dreadful Fire happened in *Conſtantinople*, to the quenching of which, applying not only his Orders, but his own Perſon; he adventured ſo far, that he burned both his hands, and ſindged his Beard in that manner, that he was forced to take his Bed for

1641. for ſeveral Days, where he was honoured with a Viſit of the Sultan. News alſo came at the ſame time, that *Tauris*, or *Echatan*, on the Borders of *Perſia*, was miſerably ruin'd by an Earthquake; and what was worſe, the Sultan himſelf was ſeized with an Apoplexy, which turned to a Paralytical Diſtemper, the cauſe whereof was attributed to his exceſſive uſe of Women; to whom he was ſo immoderately addicted, that he conſumed his Days and Nights in their Apartments. This Diſeaſe, which is rarely or never Cured, being joined to a report given out by his Ladies, that notwithſtanding his Venereal heat, he was yet impotent as to Women; created a belief, or at leaſt a ſtrong probability, that he might die without Iſſue, which cauſed high confuſion in the Counſels of the Grandees, that no deſign could make any chearful progreſs, until proviſion was firſt made for ſupply of the Ottoman Houſe; for the Succeſſion of the Tartar was in no manner convenient or ſecure; but rather that the Throne ſhould be furniſhed with the Son of a Siſter, or of a Niece, than to ſubject themſelves to the Rule and Paſſions of a Foreign Prince: And though the Sultan did afterwards recover his health, yet all ſuſpected and feared, that by the immoderate heat of his Venereal Inclination, he would dye without Children; every one diſcourſing, as moved by his Paſſion, or his Intereſt.

About this time arrived an Ambaſſadour at *Conſtantinople*, from the *Sofia* of *Perſia*, bringing a Ratification of the Peace; who was ſo much the more welcome, by how much more the preſent Conjuncture rendred it advantagious; and being uſhered in with exceeding rich preſents, raviſhed the hearts of the Turks, whoſe good nature melts and diſſolves with the ſight or hopes of Gifts.

In *Dalmatia*, near the Confines of *Zara*, the Turks made Incurſions on the *Venetian* Territories, and cauſed ſome diſturbances: but being chaſtiſed by an Ambuſh laid for them, whereby about 200. of them periſhed; all matters were again reconciled, and the Peace renewed.

And now one would imagine, that the deſign againſt *Aſac*, by ſuch diverſity of obſtructions, were abſolutely laid aſide; which though they were of that importance, and eſpecially the fear of *Ibrahims* Death, to detain the Vizier at home; yet he thought fit to proſecute the deſign under the Command of the Paſha of *Siliſtria*, to whom he had committed the Conduct of this War. The Paſha proud of his Charge, rejoiced to be employed in a War, wherein he apprehended ſo little difficulty, and prognoſticated to himſelf nothing but Glory and Victory; eſteemed the Defendants for no other than Fiſhermen, and better experienced to ſail their Boats, and govern their Sayks in the Black Seas, than to draw up an Army in the Field, or defend their Walls. This confidence was farther increaſed by an Embaſſy at the ſame time from the Moſcovite, who not only renounced all aſſiſtance, or concernment for that Town, but renewed with them his Friendſhip, and Articles of antient Agreement. The Ottoman Army, beſides Janizaries, and other Turks, conſiſted of Moldavians, and Valachians, and a great number of Tartars, which at firſt entered into their Trenches, and beſieged the Town; but here they reſted not ſecurely, by reaſon of the frequent Sallies the Beſieged made upon them; and more eſpecially by the Mines which they ſprang to the terrour and damage of their Enemies. The Turks moved hereat, made furious Aſſaults, but were as valiantly repulſed by the Defendants; who threw ſcalding Water, and Pitch, and burning Sulphur, upon the Aſſailants;

The Siege of *Aſac*.

ants; ſo that not being able to take the Town by force, they retired to their Trenches, and deliberated in what manner, by fair promiſes, and mony, they might invite them to ſurrender: Hereupon the Captain Paſha, the Tartar *Han*, and others, tryed the efficacy of large Proffers of Priviledges to the Town, their Country, and Inhabitants; with a gratuity of twelve thouſand Hungers of Gold: but theſe promiſes could make no more entrance into their hearts, than the Turks could do into their Walls, which they ſeemed reſolute to defend, wanting neither Proviſion, nor Amunition, nor Courage for the War; but on the contrary ſide, all theſe were wanting in the Turkiſh Camp; ſo that 15 days paſſed without any action, until they were ſupplyed by the arrival of certain Brigantines, and light Veſſels, diſpatched with all expedition with the neceſſaries of War; At the coming of which, the Turks prepared for another Aſſault, which they continued unceſſantly for the ſpace of ſeven days, but were received with that vigour by the Beſieged, that they could not gain one palm, or inch of ground, ſo that at length with diſgrace, and diſcouragement, they were forced to give over their attempt, deſpairing to gain the Town in the time, and with the Force which was allotted for this enterprize. With this ill ſucceſs, extremity and Famine pinched the Turks in their Trenches ſo much, that an Oxe was ſold for 15 Zaichins, a Lamb for three, and a Meaſure of Barley which ſerved a Horſe for one time, for a Dollar, ſo that at length they were forced to raiſe the Siege; and the Captain Paſha by tempeſtuous weather was conſtrained to ſhelter his Fleet in the Port of *Caffa*. In their return home, the General was fearful of having forfeited his head; the Commanders were ſilent, and aſhamed of their ſucceſs, and the Souldiers diſcouraged, famiſhed, and poor; for they had loſt 3000. Spahees, 7000 Janizaries, and 800 other Souldiers, beſides Moldavians, Valachians, and Tartars; thoſe that ſurvived of the Foot were naked, and many ſick; the Spahees were without Horſes, with which they were ſupplyed by the Tartars; and in fine, ſo unſucceſsful were all matters, that the Veterane Souldiery avouched, that they never endured a more cruel, nor a more miſerable War. 1641.

The juſt puniſhment of a Perſian Traytor.

And now we ſhall end this Year 1641. with the ruin of *Emir Gumir*, a Perſian by Birth, a Favourite, and yet Traytor to his natural Prince. This *Emir* in the laſt Wars which *Sultan Morat* waged againſt *Perſia*, was entruſted with an Embaſſy, and with Conduct of part of his Army, but he betrayed both to the Turk, under whoſe protection he took Sanctuary, and obtained great Gifts and Preferments, for a reward and price of his Treachery. *Sultan Morat* afterwards beſtowed a magnificent Seraglio upon him, ſituated on the *Boſphorus*, enriched him with a vaſt Treaſure, and what is more, with his Favour; making him his Companion in his Paſtimes, and his Confident in his ſerious Counſels; it was he, that firſt perſwaded the *Sultan* to drink Wine, in which both of them were beaſtly intemperate, and mighty and valiant to bear, until the heat thereof having extinguiſhed the natural heat of their Stomachs, it became too cold and crude, unleſs corrected, or fortified with Rach, or diſtilled Spirits. The fumes of ſuch ſtrong Drinks, were the cauſe of the extravagant actions, which *Morat* practiſed in his Life, and afterwards became the means to haſten his Death; whoſe days being ended, it was time alſo for proſperous wickedneſs to expire, and to meet a puniſhment equal to its demerit. Wherefore one day, (having deſired Licence of the

Vizier

1642. Vizier to return to his own Country, where it is believed, he had by mony purchaſed his Pardon) he was called to the Viziers preſence, and there without any Impeachment, Proceſs, or Accuſation, had the ſtring applyed to his Throat, and ſtrangled on the place; the reaſon hereof ſome give, to be the immenſe Riches which *Sultan Morat* had beſtowed upon him, though there wanted not many cauſes to render him ſuſpected, and obnoxious to the preſent Government; firſt, becauſe he was too well acquainted with the Secrets of the Seraglio, and of that State, to live in any other Country than the Turkiſh Dominions; then it was feared that the Perſian Ambaſſadour might make uſe of this perſon to act what Treaſon he pleaſed on the remainder of the Ottoman Family, on promiſe that ſuch an attempt ſhould expiate his former Villany, and regain the favour of his natural Prince. But ſuch ſignal actions as theſe are commonly wrote in ſuch large Characters of Divine Juſtice, which never left Treaſon unpuniſhed, either in this Life or the other; that we need not to ſearch or enquire for a further cauſe, or occaſion of this puniſhment.

The Year 1642. being now entered, and the Turks deſirous to repair their laſt Years diſgrace, reſolved again with better preparation and Conduct, to attempt *Aſac*; but before they would engage, according to their uſual Cuſtom, they determined to conclude all Ombrages, and matters of diſpute ariſen on the Confines of *Hungary*. To which end, the Emperour deputed the Baron of *Queſtemberg*, with other Barons; and the Turks on their ſide commiſſionated the Paſhaws of the Confines, with inſtructions not to inſiſt too ſtrictly on the Conditions, leſt it ſhould retard the Peace, and obſtruct the other deſign of War: Wherefore the Turks condeſcending to matters reaſonable, and yielding up part of their Uſurpation, a Peace was concluded for twenty Years, much to the Advantage and Favour of the Chriſtians.

The Birth of *Sultan Mahomet*.

And now to give farther courage to the Proſecution of higher Attempts, the whole Turkiſh Empire was repleniſhed with joy, for the Birth of a young Prince *Sultan Mahomet*, that now reigns; ſo that the ſuppoſed impotency of the Father (whereby the Ottoman-Family might have been extinguiſhed) was proved otherwiſe by plain Effect; and the fear of thoſe that ruled the Empire vaniſhing by the Riſing of this new Star, all places were filled with Joy and Triumphs; only the Tartar *Han* finding himſelf thus diſappointed, was ſuppoſed not willing to concurre heartily in this common Joy. In this manner vaniſhed the appearance of Civil Diſſention in that Family, which now flouriſhes and encreaſes every day, and inſenſibly creeps forward to the deſign (which they hope) of an Univerſal Monarchy. Pardon me, O Chriſtian Kings, if I ſay inſenſibly, for methinks you are ſenſible of the leaſt touch you receive from one and the other, but feel not the gripes and pinches of your Common Enemy, who like a Hectick Feaver hath mingled with your Blood, and ſtolen into the Marrow of your ſtrength, where he will lurk until he hath diſſolved the Fabrick of your Chriſtian World, unleſs expelled by Concord amongſt your ſelves, and the Divine Aſſiſtance favouring your united Forces.

The War renewed againſt *Aſac*.

But now to return again to the famous Siege of *Aſac*; It being the cuſtome to caſt all miſcarriages in War on the General, the Viſier diſplaced the Captain Paſha, taking upon himſelf that Office and Title, of which there was never any former example. In the Place likewiſe of the

the Pasha of *Silistria*, was constituted *Mustapha* Pasha of *Ægypt*; which Government, though much inferiour to his former, yet was received without sense of disgrace, it not being the Riches or Power of any Office that confers Honour, but favour and good will of the *Sultan*. Nor did only the miscarriage of the late War tend to the disrepute of the former Pasha of *Silistria*, but the report of his having poisoned the Tartar *Han* encreased the difficulty of reconcilement with his Superiours, which being a matter rather suspected than proved, excused him from farther punishment than only a deprivation of his Office. 1642.

The new Pasha of *Silistria* thus taking upon himself the Command of the Army, and Conduct of this War, assembled a Force of *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Moldavians*, and *Valachians*, far exceeding the number of the last Year. At the News of which, and of the Fleet of Gallies designed to besiege them by Sea, they apprehended their danger so great, that without the assistance of the Moscovite, they concluded it impossible to defend their City; to him therefore they made applications for succour, representing unto him the extremity their affairs were in, by reason of that powerful Enemy which threatned them; and that having always acknowledged him for their Protector, there was no refuge left them but under the defence of his Arms. But hereunto the Moscovite gave a brief reply, That he had lately concluded Peace with the Turk; since which, having received from him no occasion of breach, he could not with any Justice engage so soon against him in a War. The Cossacks being thus disappointed of their principal hopes, resolved to abandon their City; but to make the best advantage of their flight, they carried with them all their Moveables; and demolished their Walls, and ruined their Houses, leaving the place a notorious spectacle of despair and ruine; and no other possession to their Enemies, than the compass of so much ground pestered with Rubbish, and rude heaps of Stones: The Pasha howsoever abundantly contented, that his very name was sufficient to affright his Enemies, entered the City with Triumph, where he began to repair the Walls, and invite the Inhabitants to return, with all assurance of security, and protection. This gentle treatment recalled many back to their homes, so hardly are men weaned from their Native Country; and in a short time the City beginning to fill, all matters seemed to return to their pristine state and condition.

The Inhabitants abandon *Asac*.

About this time the Persian by his Ambassadour renewed his League with the Turk, and confirmed it in the name of the new King, which was performed on condition, that the *Sofi* should demolish the Fortress of *Fortrina*, which he had contrary to Articles built on the Frontiers, not far from the Caspian Sea; which that it might assuredly be performed, a Capugibathee was dispatched to see it effected.

The Persian renews his League.

And in this manner, *Asac* being subdued, and a Peace secured with the Persian; The Turks who can neither live in quiet with their Neighbours, nor observe Capitulations longer than they turn to their advantage; contrived to take *Giavarine*, *alias Rab*, a strong Fortress on the Confines of *Hungary*, by a Stratagem which they designed in this manner: Certain Souldiers habited like Peasants, were crouded into several Carts, covered with Hay, which being entered within the Walls, were immediately to leap forth, and surprize the Centinels and Guards at the Gates (which might easily be Executed on men, whom 20 Years before of Peace had made secure) these were to be seconded by 4000 Souldiers,

The Turks seek to take *Rab* by a Stratagem.

1642. which lay ready in a Neighbouring Vally; but it happened, That an Officer of the Garriſon returning from Hunting, had by chance diſcovered this ſtrong party of Turks, which cauſed him to quicken his pace towards the Town, and overtaking in his way certain Carts of Straw, which appearing to be laden in a form different to what was uſual, increaſed in him a farther ſuſpicion of Treachery; howſoever, he proceeded forward with the more haſte, yet without any appearance of Jealouſy: until being entered into the Town, he declared what he had ſeen, at which the Garriſon was immediately in Armes; and having permitted the Carts to enter, the Bridge was drawn up, and the Carts being ſearched, the whole fraud and treachery was diſcovered; and having made the Turks Priſoners, and Armed the Walls with Souldiers, the whole deſign was diſappointed; ſo that thoſe who lay in Ambuſh returned to their own Cities. The Emperour hereupon reſolved to ſend an Ambaſſadour to *Conſtantinople*, to complain of this Treachery; whereof the Turks being aſhamed, and the more becauſe it did not ſucceed; refuſed to admit the Ambaſſadour, unleſs the Emperour would firſt agree to pay a Yearly Charge of a hundred thouſand Rix-Dollars to the Port; not by way of Tribute, but of Preſent; in which unreaſonable demand, they took more confidence, in regard they perceived that the Emperour was engaged in a War againſt the *Swede*. Upon this diſhonourable demand, the Emperour deferred the Embaſſy intended, ſuppoſing it leſs perilous to adventure a War in *Hungary*, than diſhonourable to condeſcend unto a Propoſition, ſo derogatory to the Majeſty of his Ceſarean Greatneſs.

1643. The Year 1643. being now entered, the Prince of *Tranſilvania* conveyed his Annual Tribute, being 10 thouſand Zaichins, to the Port; which when the Agents of that Prince Preſented before the Vizier, he ſeemingly refuſed it; pretending that the compleat Tribute was to be 15 Thouſand, according to Agreement; but the Agents replyed, that five thouſand had been remitted unto *Bethlem Gabor*, not by way of Gratuity or Recompence for his Services, but in Exchange, or as the price of two Cities, which the Prince had yielded to the *Sultan*, out of his own proper Eſtate in *Hungary*; with which Anſwer the Vizier remained ſatisfied, being Jealous of the Turbulent and Active Spirit of that Prince.

During all theſe Wars and Revolutions in Kingdoms and States, *Sultan Ibrahim* contained, and contented himſelf within the Precincts of his Seraglio; where becoming a Faithful and Valiant Souldier of *Venus*, he conſumed more Treaſure in that War, than his Brother *Morat* did in his Foreign Conqueſts; and being as it were entered into the Mahometane Paradiſe, where the Company of fair Women is the chiefeſt felicity promiſed, he laboured to increaſe the Ottoman Family, and to acquit his people of the apprehenſion they had of wanting an Heir to ſucceed in the Throne; ſo that on the 15*th* of *February*, he had a ſecond Born, and a third Son on the 12*th* of *March* following; which abſolutely took away the reproach of his frigidity or impotence, proving afterwards the moſt laſcivious, and devout Sultan, that ever aſpired to the Mahometan Heaven.

This Year the Turks Armed out 20 Gallies more than uſual, beſides 30 Sail of Ships, and Gally Groſſes; in the beginning of *June*, riding at the Seraglio point (where the Commanders in Chief came to take their leave

leave of *Sultan Ibrahim*) they divided into two Squadrons; one of which consisting of 20 Gallies, under the Command of *Beker* Basha, took their Voyage into the Black Sea; the remainder under the Captain Pasha, sailed for *Cyprus*, with intention to do Justice on the Pasha of that Island, whose Riches gained by Oppression, had debauched him from due Obedience towards his Prince; and being arrived there, without rumour or noise, giving signs of good will and respects towards the Pasha, one day he sent to invite him aboard to banquet with him; where the Pasha foolishly coming, and having well eaten and drank with him, his entertainment had not time to digest, before he breathed his last; for being on his departure, the Slaves assaulted him, and strangled him by Order of the Captain Pasha. No other matters remarkable did the Turkish Fleet perform this Year at Sea, before they returned again to their Winter Quarters. Howsoever this Year proved favourable to many poor Christians in Slavery; for there happening a most miserable Plague in *Alexandria*, which relaxed the spirits of men, and rendered every one so negligent in his Office, that about 4000 Slaves taking advantage of such remissness in their Guardians, seized a Ship in Port, and crouding themselves therein, set Sail, and landed some of their people at *Candia*, others at *Malta*, the rest at *Marseillia*, by which means they happily regained their liberty: on which incouragement 800 more adventuring to perform the like, and fighting in a body at the Gate of *Alexandria*, 300 of them were slain, the rest leaped into a Gally, which though without Oars, had yet her Sails to the Yard, and having the fortune of a favourable wind, arrived safe at *Candia*; in like manner they became free, taking convenient passage from thence to divers parts of Christendom; these Slaves were all redemanded by the Grand Signior from the Venetians; in which no satisfaction being given, was one cause, and original of that War which afterwards ensued. 1643.

And now the Year 1644. being begun, *Ragotski* who was never contented but in combustions, and never at ease but when he was proving new projects, made demands of certain places on the Confines of *Moravia*, scituated within the Mountains which he challenged as the Inheritance of his Son, besides other pretences, which he made in right of *Bethlem Gabor*. To forward which designs, moved with an inveterate enmity to the Austrian Family, he endeavoured to win the hearts of the Commonalty with a plausible Declaration for Liberty, and to throw off the Yoke which had so long gauled the neck of *Hungary*; whereby having raised an Army of 20000 Horse, and 30000 Foot, he entred, and spoiled the Country of his old Enemy and Neighbour the Count of *Humanay* an Hungarian, took *Solnock* by Force, and Besieged *Filek*, and *Cassovia*; for suppression of which Insurrection, and Rebellion of *Ragotski*, the Emperour was forced to a War, and having Rendezvoused his Army at *Presburg*, the Conduct thereof was committed to the Charge of Count *Puccaim*. The Turks having intelligence of these Preparations for War, Commanded 20 thousand men to march into those parts, to oppose these Combustions on the Frontiers; with 6000 of which the Count *Puccaim* Encountering furiously, Assaulted and routed them. And in the mean time *Ragotski* laying aside all care for the War in *Hungary*, applyed himself to Relieve *Olimz* in *Moravia*, but in his March thither he was recalled by the Inhabitants of *Sendar*, which is a Castle erected on a Hill near *Cassovia*, offering to surrender unto him; but the Governour 1644.

1644. *Forgatz*, and the German Garrison opposing this Mutiny of the People, a Civil War began amongst themselves, but at length the advantage falling unto *Ragotski*, the Gates were opened unto the Transilvanians; with which success their spirits being raised to higher matters, they proceeded forward, until General *Getz* with a strong Body, gave a stop unto their progress. And thus was the Fire of War rekindled again in *Hungary*, by means of *Ragotski*; to whom notwithstanding the Turks would never adhere, being well acquainted with his turbulent and unsteady humour. In the mean time the Emperour dispatched his Ambassadour, with rich Presents to the Sultan, desiring him to forbear giving farther assistance unto *Ragotski*; but what between skirmishes, propositions, and treaties, matters were not composed until the fourteenth of *August*, 1645. at which time all Articles were concluded, and signed between the Emperour and *Ragotski*.

But to return now to the Affairs of *Constantinople*; *Sultan Ibrahim* having the Fortune of active and prudent Ministers, attended entirely to his Pastimes and Pleasures without prejudice to his interest, and the state of his Empire; for the first Vizier being faithful and vigilant, immediately cut off those Members with the Sword which he suspected in the least manner inclinable to Sedition; amongst which were the Pashaws of *Aleppo*, and *Cassa*. For by this kind of seasonable and speedy remedies, the Plethory of the Ottoman Empire is commonly evacuated, and the Body Politick thereof restored to its pristine state of health and safety.

In like manner the *Valede Sultana*, being a Woman of great courage and abilities, attended carefully to the welfare of her Son, whom She sometimes decked up, and set forth as a property of Majestick Gravity to the People, whilst She her self assumed the Authority, and carried all things with a high and imperious spirit; and being ambitious to be feared as well as honoured, She laid violent hands on the first Vizier, called *Mustapha*, and strangled him; for though he was an active and faithful Minister, yet because he passed something on her which She imagined did savour of Neglect, and because she apprehended his power, which was greatly confirmed by the interest and favour he had with the Janisaries, and their Favourers, she resolved to make him an example, as well of her revenge, as of her Power; after whose death the charge of first Vizier was conferred on *Mahomet* the Pasha of *Damascus*.

The same Fate befel the Captain Pasha, who was likewise strangled for having over boldly, or peremptorily made answer to some impertinencies of the Grand Signior; and his Office was afterwards conferred on *Beker* Pasha of *Rhodes*. With such rigour as this, do the Sultans govern, who resolve to be obeyed, and to have their Commands executed without delay or contradiction.

The Tartars make incursions into Poland notwithstanding the Peace.

Whilst these matters were in agitation, the Tartars forgetful of their late Peace, made another incursion with thirty thousand Men into *Russia*, against whom *Konispolski* having made head with twenty thousand Men only, overthrew them, and killed twelve thousand, and took three thousand Prisoners, pursuing the rest to the Borders of *Wallachia*. In like manner *Wisniowick*, a noble Polander, happily encountred another Party of Tartars, as they were on their return from spoiling the Countries of *Moscovia*, of whom, having killed ten thousand Men,

Men, he recovered their Booty, and sent the rest home naked and empty. This was the true and most effectual means for the Polanders to avenge, and right their injuries, and more prevalent than Ambassies, and Messages of Complaint unto the Port, which we have experienced since, and in the present Reign of the Son of *Ibrahim*, to have been so far from producing matter worthy so much as the Charge of the Ambassadour, that they have been retorted with ignominy, and affronts. But here *Ibrahim* perceiving how the Poles had avenged themselves with their own Sword, would seem to approve of the action, which he could not hinder; and to appear a sincere observer of the peace, he deposed the Tartar *Han* for his unlawful incursions, which was such a satisfaction to the Crown of *Poland*, as they never could obtain by force of Justice, Complaints, and Vertue of passive Valour, until their active fortitude took their cause in hand, and pleaded for them. 1644.

On the 19th. of *March* of this year a fourth Son was born to *Sultan Ibrahim*, and on the 19th. of *February* following, being in the year 1645, notwithstanding all the Reports of his impotency, was born a fifth Son, named *Solyman*, to the Great Contentment of his People.

The Turks Gallies this Year under the Command of *Beker* their new Captain Pasha made an attempt on the Coast of *Calabria*, bringing from thence two hundred Slaves; and attempting the like near *Corton* paid for their former Booty, with the loss of five hundred Men.

Howsoever, the Gallies of *Malta* being six in number, had better success as to themselves, though the consequences thereof proved fatal to the Venetians, having given the first occasion of that long War, which afterwards ensued between the Turk and them. The truth of which Story is this, free of all Romance or Fable, which the Knights of *St. John* or *Malta* would mix therewith: It happened that the Kuzlir Aga, or Chief Eunuch which governs the Women in the Signiors Seraglio, having cast his Eye on a fair Slave, then set to sale by a Persian Merchant, became so enamoured of her that he purchased her for himself, under the notion of a Virgin, at the price of 450. Dollars; but the Eunuch had not long entertained this Lady in his service, before she proved with Child, not by him (you may conceive) if you understand how the Eunuchs of this Country are disarm'd of their virility: at which he was so greatly offended, that he banished her from his Society, and confined her to the house of his Steward. The time being come for her to be delivered of her great Belly, it proved a Son, and some months after, the Aga being desirous to see the Babe, was so pleased with the Aspect of it, that he resolved to adopt it for his own, ordering it Cloaths, and other necessaries agreeable to its Condition. It happened that about that time *Sultan Mahomet* (which now reigns) was then born, and there wanting a Nurse for the Child, this beautiful Slave was preferred to the honour; so that she was entertained near two years in the Seraglio: during which time *Sultan Ibrahim* took such an affection to the Nurses Boy, that he loved him better than his own eldest Son, who was of a bad Complexion, and of no better air in his Face than his Father, and took great delight to play and sport with him, at which the Mother of *Sultan Mahomet* was so displeased, that She could not longer endure either Nurse or her Boy, and for her sake took so much displeasure against the Kuzlir Aga, who preferred her, that neither

The story of the Kuzlir Aga, his Slave and Son taken by the Maltezes.

1644. neither his presence nor service were acceptable; and so violent she was in her passion, that one day, when *Sultan Ibrahim* was playing with his Women and Children in the Garden, according to his usual Custom, throwing them one on the other into the Water, the Queen grew so furious, that she could not contain longer from venting her Anger in unhansome terms, and Jealousy against the Nurse and her Son. At which the Sultan being much displeased, and being ill natured (if we may speak boldly of an Emperour) took her Son which is now *Sultan Mahomet*, out of her Arms, and with some few Curses swung him into a Cistern, where he had been certainly drowned, had not every one in that instance applied themselves to save him; at which time he received the mark or scar he wears at this day in his Forehead. All these matters served for farther fuel to nourish the implacable Spirit of the Queen, which the Kuzlir Aga well observing, judged it prudence to give way to her Fury, and so begged his Dismission from the Court, together with his Slave and Son, and that having visited *Mecha*, according to his Law, he might enjoy a retirement in *Egypt*, which is the Portion of banished Eunuchs.

The Queen easily consented hereunto, nor was it difficult to procure the Licence of the Sultan, who was as easily perswaded to any by those who were about him; wherefore the Eunuch having provided to be gone, Shipped himself with his great Treasure, on the Fleet which was now designed, and ready to depart for *Alexandria*, which consisted of three Ships; one a great Gallion, and two others of lesser burthen, and 7 Saiks; these having at the beginning of their Voyage found contrary Winds, put into *Rhodes*; from whence loosing with more favourable weather, they unfortunately met with 6 *Malta* Gallies, excellently well Manned, and provided. The Admiral Gally immediately Boarded one of the Saiks, and took her, Manned only by Greeks; by whom they were informed of the condition, quality, and Cargo, of the greater Ship, which gave heat, and resolution to the Souldiery. In like manner, with little Opposition, the Gallies called the *St. John*, and *Joseph*, possessed themselves of one of the lesser Ships, which being laden only with Timber, brought from the Black Sea, to build Ships at *Alexandria*, was of little value, having 40 Turks aboard, 8 Women, and a Child which sucked at the Mothers Breast. In the mean time, the three other Gallies, called the *St. Mary*, *St. Lorenzo*, and *Victory*, attacked the great Gallion, and having cast their Iron Graples into the Ship, with the motion of the Ship, the Irons gave way and broke, only that of the *St. Lorenzo* held fast, so that the whole force of the Ship, both of small and great Shot, was poured in upon the Gally, to their damage and loss of men. In the mean time the Admiral Gally came in to their assistance, and Assaulting the Ship on the other Quarter, made a Diversion of their men, and having thrown in their Graples, they scaled the sides of the Gallion, as if it had been a Fortress; where being entred, they remained for some time at handy-blows with the Turks; but at length, all the Gallies coming to their help, having made an end of subduing the other Ships, the Turks were forced to retire under Covert of their Decks, which they defended still with singular valour, wounding the Christians with their half Pikes through the Gratings. But in fine, the Captains of the Gallies, perceiving that this was not the way to compel them to a speedy Surrender, ordered several Musquetiers out of every Gally, to fire in at the

The Engagement of the Turkish, with the *Malta* Gallies.

the Windows, and loop-holes of the Ship; by which having killed their Commander in Chief, their Valour and Conſtancy began to fail, and deſirous to ſave their lives with loſs of Liberty and Eſtates, they caſt down their Armes, and begged mercy. 1644.

In this Engagement were killed the Captain of the *St. Mary*, and ſeven Cavaliers, of which five were French, one Italian, and one German; the Admiral himſelf and the Captain of his Gally were both wounded; 79 Souldiers and Mariners killed, and 132 wounded; of the Turks it is not certain how many fell, in regard as they were killed, according to Cuſtom they caſt them over-Board; the Eunuch himſelf though always educated in the ſoftneſs of the Seraglio, and in the Converſation of the Female Court, yet in the end concluded his days like one of the Maſculine Sex, fighting valiantly with his Sword, until over-whelmed by his Enemies: by which it is obſervable, that thoſe perſons loſe not their Courage with their virile parts; for it hath been known in former days, how that Eunuchs have been Generals in the Turkiſh and other Armies, and Conducted their affairs with admirable Courage and Succeſs.

The prize which the Chriſtians had gained in this manner, was very conſiderable; for beſides the Gold, Silver, and Jewels, which were the Treaſure this Eunuch had amaſſed in the Reign of three ſeveral Sultans; they gained 350 Slaves, beſides 30 Women, ſome of which were young and Virgins; ſo that there was not a Souldier or Seaman who had not a conſiderable ſhare of benefit proportioned unto him. With this Fortune, towing their prizes, they in a ſhort time came to an Anchor in the Port of *Caliſmene*, in the Iſland of *Candia*, called antiently *Phenice*, on the South-ſide of the Iſland, remote from all Venetian Garriſons; and where (as it is reported) they were ſupplyed with no Proviſions, excepting a ſmall quantity of Biſket, which was furniſhed by a Country Fellow, who for that very cauſe was ſhot to death: From hence the Gallies departing, arrived in *Malta* with their Prizes, where they were received in great Triumph. The young Son of the Eunuch (for ſo we call him) was reported to be a Son of the Grand Signior, ſent into *Egypt* to be Educated, and was accordingly ſaluted, treated, and reverenced by the Grand Maſter; the ſame Opinion was diſperſed and confirmed in all parts of *Europe*, and the Errour for many years maintained at the expence of the * Religion, until the Boy growing up to a good Age, and not judged worthy of a Ranſom, or enquiry after by the Turks, it was thought convenient for him to put off his State, and Greatneſs, and become a Fryer, and I think a Dominican, and this is he who now goes under the name of the *Padre Ottomano*.

* Of the Knights of *Malta*.

The news hereof arriving at the Ottoman Court, *Sultan Ibrahim* was tranſported with Anger, threatning Deſtruction and Ruin unto *Malta*; beſides he ſhewed a moſt inveterate Paſſion againſt the Venetians, for not guarding the Seas from his Enemies, and for relieving them in their Ports. In which Rage and Fury, he put his own Captain Paſha to death, and Summoned the Chriſtian Ambaſſadours, braving them all for the little reſpect was ſhown to his proper Shipping; and in ſhort, was angry with all, but reſerved the effect of his wrath to be poured on the Venetians, to which this accident adminiſtred the firſt original, and will afford us ample matter of diſcourſe in this enſuing Hiſtory.

For the Grand Signior firſt made his Complaints againſt *Venice*, to their Miniſter, or Bailo, then reſident at *Conſtantinople*, called *Soranço*; alledging,

1644. ledging, that contrary to the Articles of Peace, they had afforded Proviſions and Entertainment to his Enemies in *Candia*, and at a time when having made prize of his own Ship, and Domeſtiques of his Seraglio, they ſeemed with more extraordinary demonſtrations of Hoſpitality than uſual, to receive them into their Harbours. To which the Bailo made Anſwer, That his Majeſty was ill informed of the true ſtate of thoſe matters; for that the Port to which the Malteſes came, had neither Caſtle nor Fortreſs belonging to it; but was an open, wide, and unfortified place; for if the Grand Signior is not able to defend thoſe Ships from careening as they have often done, before *Rhodes* it ſelf, how was it poſſible for the Venetians to drive them from the Seas, and deny them the uſe of that Salt Water, which hath neither Fort nor Caſtle to reach and Command them? With which Anſwer *Ibrahim* ſeemed to remain ſatisfied; and matters appeared ſo appeaſed on the ſide of the Venetians, that *Soranço*, though a perſon of a moſt acute and penetrating judgment, imagined nothing leſs than a War: and though he was aſſured otherwiſe, by ſomething that the Engliſh Ambaſſadour had diſcovered in that matter; yet becauſe it came not firſt from the report of one of his own Interpreters, he would not ſeem to believe, or give credit thereunto, notwithſtanding the ſtrong probabilities that might perſwade it. Indeed Chriſtian Miniſters muſt neceſſarily, with much difficulties, and leſs inſpection govern, and penetrate affairs in the Turkiſh Court than in any other; becauſe acceſs to the great Miniſters is ſeldom privately, or familiarly admitted, from whence wiſe men moſt commonly take their meaſures, and obſervations; but on the contrary, are forced to act all by the Negotiation of their Druggermen or Interpreters; and as they hear with their Ears, ſo are they often-times beholding to their reflexions; which how ſubject they may be to errour, is beſt known to thoſe Miniſters, who have practiſed much, and long in that Court.

And in this manner *Ibrahim* covered his deſign againſt *Candia*, by pretence of making War upon *Malta*, to which he had lately received ſo juſt a provocation. To this enterprize none inſtigated him more, than a certain Hagia, or Tutor, which had accompanied him in the time of his ſolitude, and had inſtructed him in the firſt Principles of the Mahometan Doctrine; he was a ſubtle, and underſtanding Man, and one who kept a ſecret correſpondence in the Chriſtian Courts; for being Maſter of what Gold he pleaſed, he paid for his intelligence with liberality and ſecrecy; and though he was no Prophet, yet he pretended to be a Magician, or Conjurer, or one that had a Command or Soveraignty over familiar Spirits; an excellency greatly admired, and reverenced by the Turks. This man had for a long Seaſon attended an opportunity to promote a War againſt *Venice*; eſteeming their Territories very convenient to be laid to the Turkiſh Dominions, and their force an under-Match for the puiſſance of the Ottoman Empire. And now this accident provoke-ing the deſire of the Turks to this War, and the opportunity appearing commodious to cover the deſign, under pretence of Aſſailing *Malta*, it was ſecretly reſolved to attempt the Iſland of *Candia*; for as its ſtrength and ſituation made it the Key to all the other Iſles of the *Archipelago*, ſo it would be the Bullwark of the Maritime Countries, from whence the paſſage would be ſhort and eaſy into *Africa*; from whence the Gallies might advantagiouſly relieve *Cyprus*, and guard the Fleet from *Egypt*, and from thence might be opened a Door to invade *Sicily*, and the other

parts

Parts of *Italy*. On these Considerations War being resolved against *Candia*, reports divulged the design only against *Malta*, and for that end, orders were issued for building and fitting a hundred Gallies, and as many Ships of War; and Commands sent into *Barbary* for assistance of all their Naval Forces, and the day appointed for Rendezvous, and departure, all which time the enterprize was kept secret, and by no more symptoms suspected, unless by the unusual caresses the Turks at that time over-acted in their officious kindness towards the Venetian Bailo. 1644

The report of these great preparations flying over all Parts of *Europe*, was entertained at *Malta*, with some apprehensions, as being the Place on which all the storm was to refund its fury. Whereupon the Cavaliers or Knights of that Place summoning a Council, resolved to cite all the Fraternity to repair to the defence of their Capital Seat, and of their order and patrimony: Likewise Letters were directed to the several Officers, to prepare and send Powder, Match, and Lead, iron Buckets, Timber to make Carriages for Cannon, and for other uses, as also Corn, Bisket, Salt, Flesh and Fish, Vinegar, Wine, and all other sorts of Ammunition. They likewise instituted some Officers over the waters, to see that the Fountains and Conduits should be made clear, which were to serve the City, and that those without, that were to remain in the possession of the Enemy, should be carefully and artificially poisoned, all the Mills remaining in the Fields were transported into the Town, the Doors and Windows of Wood belonging to the Peasants houses were taken down, and carried into the City, with all their Utensils, and what else was portable, so that nothing remained but the wide Fields, and an open Air to breathe in.

In the mean time, the Venetians being a wise and jealous State, suspected the worst of all Events, and feared what their Minister at *Constantinople* could not discover, which caused them to make some preparations; but yet with that dexterity and secresy, as not to render them diffident of the Turks proceedings. For to be jealous of a Friend, is sometimes to make him an Enemy, and distrust always argues disaffection, which Prudence teaches to conceal from those who are more powerful than our selves. Some were notwithstanding of opinion, that the Complaints of *Ibrahim* were only artifices to extract the Blood of Gold, which they judged fit to administer, if it were possible to satisfie the Appetite of those Leaches. Others were of a contrary sense, and would by no means admit it for good counsel, or policy, to buy their Peace of the Turk; for besides that it was disagreeable to the Grandeur of *Venice*, it was but a shadow that they purchased, since their Enemies could on every slight occasion reassume what they had sold, and make the menaces of War, and the Sale of Peace serve them for a perpetual Fountain, and Mine of Gold and Treasure; and that since it was necessary at one time or other to cast off this yoke of Tyranny, the sooner it was done, the advantage would be the greater, and the honour more apparent to the World, seeming to make War rather their choice than their last remedy. Howsoever, orders were given to the Bailo, with all Prudence and Art to touch gently the Pulse of the Turks, to discover if money would redeem the present quiet of their State. But the resentment that the Turks had conceived was grown apparent in the comportment towards the Bailo; for having

1644. one day demanded Audience, he attended ſeveral hours without admiſſion; yet when the Ambaſſadour of *Ragotski* come to the Vizier, he no ſooner entred the houſe than he was received: and at the ſame time it was told the Bailo, that he might retire, for that there was no place nor ſeaſon at preſent to afford him Audience. In the mean time, *Ibrahim* himſelf walked often to the Arſenal, to forward and haſten his preparations, laying an Embargo on all Strangers Veſſels in all Ports of the Ottoman Dominions. Orders were likewiſe diſpatched to *Thebes*, *Negropont*, and other Parts of *Greece* for making Bisket, and to *Morea* for cutting and ſquaring Timbers, and ſacking Wools to fill up Trenches; in all which rumour and ſtir there was no other diſcourſe but of *Malta*, and of throwing that Iſland into the Sea with the Shovel and Mattock, and rendring it the moſt dreadful example in the World of the Ottoman Rage and Greatneſs.

With ſuch preludes as theſe began a War of long continuance, maintained with various ſucceſſes for divers Years, the fatal iſſue whereof we our ſelves have ſeen and heard. But it is ſtrange to conſider, that an Exploit ſo Martial as this ſhould commence in the Reign of a Sultan wholly given up to his Pleaſures, and ſo ſwallowed in ſenſuality, that all thoſe luxurious and wanton actions which are recounted of *Sardanapalus* and *Heliogabalus* are flat and faint Similitudes of that prodigious effeminacy, in which this Sultan outdid all other examples of former Ages.

Amber was the common perfumes which burned perpetually in the Womens Apartments, and the common Sauce to moſt of his Viands; not perhaps becauſe it ſo much pleaſed his Palate, as that it was a provocative, and incitement to his Luſts. And this puts me in mind of a ſtory I have heard of an Engliſh Merchant, living then at *Galata*, who was maſter of a rare piece of Ambergrieſe, which was in form like a Pyramid; the News whereof was told to the Grand Signior late at Night, when the ſmoak of the Perfumes began to abate: Which ſo ſoon as he heard, though it was near Midnight, he diſpatched a Meſſenger to call the Merchant with his Ambergrieſe; who being knocked out of his Bed in haſte, by the importunity of the Officer, came to the Seraglio Gate two hours before day, where he attended until it was broad light, and then without more words found a Market for his Amber, and before his departure received thirteen thouſand Dollars. The Female Court was then extreamly rich and ſplendid, all *Italy* was ſcarce able to ſupply it with Silks, and Cloath of Gold; ſo that the Trade was in thoſe days flouriſhing above other times, and gave great employment to Engliſh Shipping; and ſo impatient were the Women for their Gay Cloaths, that ſo ſoon as the news of a Ship from *Italy* came, and that ſhe was arrived within the Caſtles of the Helleſpont, but there detained by contrary winds, Gallies were immediately diſpatched to bring up their Silks, which they oftentimes forced away without any account or price made with the Merchant; of which that worthy Gentleman, Sir *Thomas Bendyſh*, then Ambaſſadour, complaining to the Vizier, and finding no other relief than good words, reſolved on an expedient of making known his cauſe to the Grand Signior, which was this. In *Turkie* they have a Cuſtom, that when any one receives a notable injury, or injuſtice from the Chief and great Miniſters of State, they put fire on their heads, and running to the Grand Signior, no man can hinder

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or deny them access to his presence. In like manner the English Ambassadour not being able to obtain satisfaction from the Vizier, in return to his many Complaints, drew out all the English Ships in *Galata*, which were then 13 in number, and drawing in their Guns, and shutting the Ports, put fire on every Yard Arm of their Ships, and came to an Anchor just before the *Seraglio*. The Customer being the first that espyed this unusual sight, immediately apprehended the reason, and sent to acquaint the Vizier thereof in all haste; the Vizier likewise fearful lest the Complaints should by this means come to the Grand Signiors Ear, sent the Customer aboard with a considerable part of the money, and desired that the Fires might be extinguished, promising faithfully to comply in payment of the rest; hereupon Consultation being had between the Ambassadour and the Merchants, the Ships returned to their Stations, not seeming to have been taken notice of by those in the Seraglio. 1644

And notwithstanding the great number of Women within the Seraglio, all which were at the Devotion of the Sultan; yet *Ibrahim* not being contented herewith, passing one day to *Scutari*, had by chance cast his eye on an object which much pleased him: what it was, becomes not the modesty of my Pen to relate; but being returned to his Seraglio, he sent Orders to the Vizier, to seek out for him the biggest, and best proportioned Woman which was to be found in all *Constantinople*, and the parts thereabouts. Hereupon Emissaries were dispatched into all Quarters of the City; at length they happily procured a huge tall Armenian Woman, well proportioned according to her height, and a Giantess for her Stature; which being found, she was presently washed and perfumed in the Bath, and as richly Clothed and Adorned as the shortness of time would permit: There was no great difficulty to perswade her to become Turk, having so high preferment in her prospect. So that being introduced to the Grand Signiors presence, he became immediately Enamoured, and was so pleased with her Society, that he preferred her before all the Women of his Court; an Evidence whereof he gave, in that he could not deny her in any request she could make, and particularly about that time the Pashaluck of *Damascus* being void, this Woman begged it for her self, substituting another in the Office, who was accountable to her for all the profits and emoluments thereof: By these particulars of favour the Queen Mother becoming jealous, one day inviting her to Dinner, caused her to be Strangled, and perswaded *Ibrahim* that she died suddenly of a violent Sickness, at which he poor Man was greatly afflicted.

But not to insist long on these luxurious pastimes, we shall return again to matters of higher concernment: *Ibrahim* had now understood, that the Venetians growing jealous of his Preparations, began likewise to Arm, and provide for the worst; which being in no wise pleasing to the Turks, who were apprehensive that their Marine Forces consisted most in surprize, caused *Ibrahim* to complain of the defensive posture, in which they Arrayed themselves, alledging that suspicions of this nature argued no hearty disposition towards their Friends, nor was any thing more contrary to a good correspondence, or more disobliging than such like Jealousies, which oft times beget that enmity which was never designed; and farther it was judged necessary if possible, to dissuade the Bailo from a belief of any Hostility designed against his Republick; to inculcate which none was esteemed so proper an instrument as the old cheating

1644. *Hogia*, who was the first motive to the War; a Preacher who imagined that the excellency of his Religion afforded him a priviledge to falsifie, lye and commit any act for advantage thereof, though never so contrary to truth and Morality. This *Santone* with the testimony of one or two more grand Professors, with many Asseverations and Vows, endeavoured to perswade the Bailo, of the Grand Signiors good intentions towards *Venice*, and his fixed resolutions to destroy *Malta*. And though the concernment which those godly Elders showed, and the earnestness they used, whereby to inculcate a credence to what they affirmed, were enough to discover their contrary intentions; and though it is said, that the Venetians could not heartily believe what they so strongly suspected; yet hereby, and by the common vogue of the people, they abated much of their caution and heat, which they otherwise had used in due preparations and provisions against an evil so fatal and destructive in the sequel.

The beginning of the War.

The first Act of Hostility was committed by *Giacomo da Riva*, who being sent for Sopraveditor to *Tino*, was in his way to touch at *Candia*, there to deliver Ammunition and Provisions for War; but being encountered by some barbarous Vessels, who assailed him for a Merchants Ship of small force, were received so warmly that he sunk one of them, with which the rest left him and fled, relating at *Constantinople* that they had been ill treated by the Venetians, and that they gave the first Assault upon them, because that they were called to the assistance and service of the Grand Signior.

The Fleet and Land Forces being already put to Sea, the report and opinion still continued, that the War was designed against *Malta*; wherefore such as apprehended the hazard, and were acquainted with the difficulty of such an enterprize, began to inform the Grand Signior how impossible it was, that this action should be accompanied with good success. To which arguments he made no other reply than by a seeming obstinacy, resolved with the Ottoman Sword to cut all those knots and difficulties which opposed him in the work. At length one *Salee Efendi*, a Preacher, who had obtained some more than ordinary esteem with the Grand Signior, advised him, that before he commenced a work of that importance, he should inform himself of the true state of that place, from a certain Aga, who was lately returned from *Malta*. The Grand Signior being very willing to hear any thing of this nature, called the Aga, who related to him how impregnable both the City and Castle were; how the Knights were provided against all Assaults; that the Island it self is only a Rock, not containing Earth enough for an Army to intrench; that the approaches must be made by the Pick-Axe and Mattock, it being all Stone. In short, it was not a place to be taken in one Summer, and the Winter coming on, it affording no shelter, nor provisions of it self, was not capable of relief in Seas so stormy, and from Countries so remote, without hazards, losses, and frequent Shipwracks. *Ibrahim*, who had designed all along to make War upon *Candia*, seemed little concerned or moved at this Discourse. The Gallies and Ships which were now all in a readiness, being come forth to the Seraglio point, the Grand Signior entered his Grand Chiosk, situated on the Bank of the Sea; where the Selictar Aga, General, and all the Chief Commanders, came to perform the usual Ceremonies of Obedience and Duty before their departure. At this solemn Assembly the Grand Signior declared, that his intentions were to make War upon the Infidels, according as every one should

ſhould underſtand by his reſpective Commiſſions, which ſhould now be delivered unto them: That he expected the higheſt demonſtrations of Courage in them imaginable, and what was agreeable to the Conductors of the Ottoman Armies: That reward and puniſhment were in his hands, and that he reſolved to diſpenſe them according to their merits: That they ſhould not doubt of all due aſſiſtance and ſuccours; for he had ſo well contrived, and ſo juſtly fitted all his meaſures, that he was allready provided of Men, Timber, Ammunition, and money ſufficient to maintain and carry on this War for ſeven Years. At which they all gave a ſhout, and declared, that they were ready to ſpend their Bloud and Lives in Execution of his Commands. Whereupon every one received a rich Coſtan, or Veſt, and the General a Scimitar ſet with Diamonds; who being a young Man of about 26. or 27. Years of Age, had a Council of ſix graver Paſha's allowed him, and then the Commiſſion for the War was brought forth ſealed, with Orders not to open it, until they were paſt the *Dardanelli*. Hereat the noiſe of great and ſmall ſhot from the Gallies and Ships, reſounded through all *Conſtantinople*, and the Commanders repairing to their Veſſels, the Aſſembly broke up, and every thing was put in a poſture to make Sail. 1644.

It was now the laſt day of *April*, 1645. old ſtyle, when the Fleet firſt broke ground, which conſiſted of 73. Gallies, beſides the 8. Gallies of *Barbary*, 2. Mahons, or Galleaſſes, one great Gallion called the *Sultana*, 10. Ships of *Alexandria*, 2. of *Tunis*, and 10. of Engliſh and Dutch Ships, which coming to *Conſtantinople* for Trade, were there preſſed into the Service, with about 300. Saiks, and Caramuſſals, which carried Souldiers, Proviſions, Ammunitions, and Utenſils for War. Their Militia conſiſted of 7000. Janiſaries, 14000. Spahees, and about 50000. Timariots, and other Souldiers, with about 3000. Pioniers; theſe all were to Rendezvous at *Scio*; where they arrived the *7th* of *May*. But before their departure from *Conſtantinople*, the Bailo *Soranço*, or the Venetian Ambaſſadour, thought fit in Complement, and for diſcovery, to make a viſit to the Captain Paſha, by whom he was received with frank courteſy and aſſurance of Friendſhip; ſo that though he ſuſpected the worſt, yet could he collect no certain aſſurances of Peace, or War; however he adviſed Signior *Cornaro*, then Governour of *Candia*, that though he could not certainly penetrate into the bottom of the Turks deſign, yet he apprehended that the ſtorm might fall on that Kingdom, underſtanding that the Captain Paſha was not well inclined towards the moſt Serene Republick: wherefore, he ought to be watchful and circumſpect, yet with as little demonſtration of jealouſy as was poſſible; ſo that if the Turks ſhould there arrive, he ſhould afford them all conveniencies of Watering, Proviſions, and other refreſhments. 1645.

The Fleet being departed from *Scio*, for *Napoli di Romagnia*, the Northern Wind ſo freſhned, and blew ſo hard, that the Gallies were ſeparated, and forced to put into divers Ports, and the Saiks and Caramuſſals to Anchor at *Micono*, and *Tino*. At the latter of which belonging to the Venetians, they had licence to Water, and were refreſhed with ſuch Proviſions as the Iſland afforded; and now after this flurry of Wind, the Fleet being again united, they were ſeen off at Sea from *Cerigo*, an Iſland of the Venetians at the Mouth of the *Archipelago*, and ſailing towards the Channel of *Braccio de Maina*; and the next day 9. Gallies, a Gallion, and a Brigantine, made towards the Iſle of *Cerigo*, and

1645. and sent a Letter ashore by a Boat to the Proveditor, from the Pasha of *Rhodes*, demanding their usual present of Coffee and Sugar, which was given them, they assuring all friendship, and real good intentions towards the People, and Dominions of *Venice*. But in the mean time a Satia laden with Armes and Ammunition from *Venice*, bound for *Retino*, unhappily falling into the Turkish Fleet was intercepted by them, and taken, which unmasked all the design, and made the Turks appear in their true colours, notwithstanding all their religious Protestations, and outwardly fair Comportment, the usual disguise of the Mahometan sincerity.

Towards the end of *May* the Turkish Fleet was discovered from *Carabuso*, a small Fortress of the Venetians, some distance off at Sea, standing to the Westward, which gave some jealousie to them at *Candia*; and being compared with some precedent Acts, as that of sounding the depth of water about St. *Theodoro* with a Brigantine, (which is a small Rock lying off of *Canea*) which pretended to come from *Santa Maura* with Turky Merchants, afforded undeniable grounds of assurance to those in *Candia*, that the War was designed against them; howsoever, the Ottoman Fleet rendezvousing again at *Navarino*, a place far distant from *Candia*, altered their apprehensions at *Venice*, and elsewhere of this War, deeming it now certain, that this design had no other aim or mark but that of *Malta*.. But this opinion was no sooner entertain'd, than it was confuted by open acts of hostility; for the Captain Pasha being arrived at Cape *Colonna*, by some called *Sunio*, immediately dispatched a Brigantine to *Constantinople*, with advice of his proceedings and intentions to pass directly for *Candia*; whereupon it was thought seasonable to publish the War against *Venice*, which was performed with committing the Ambassadour *Soranço* to Prison, and giving orders through all the *Archipelago* to destroy or enslave all the Subjects of that Republick. And here the Turk practised his usual beginnings of War with more than ordinary caution; for though with other Princes, whose Territories border on him by Land, he usually endeavours to strike at the same time when he gives the salutations of Peace; Yet here being to contend at Sea, where he is conscious his Forces are inferiour to those of *Venice*, he practised all those feigned artifices, confirmed with as many holy Vows and Protestations, as their Religion hallows, and makes lawful, when they can bring advantage and encrease to the Mahometan Faith.

But though the Venetian Republick was so politick as outwardly to demonstrate a religious confidence of their potent Neighbour, whom they were conscious not to have provoked by any breach of Capitulations; yet were not so secure of his Faith, and so easie to believe his fair dissimulations, as not prudently to provide against the utmost effects of his power and treachery. Wherefore, whilst the Turk prepared, they armed likewise secretly, made considerable Levies without noise, commissionated thirty extraordinary Commanders of Gallies, took up seventeen English, and Dutch ships into their service, armed out two Galliasses extraordinary, and when the Turk had unmasked his design, they then imparted their condition to all the Christian Princes, craving their succour and assistance to maintain the common Bulwark of *Christendom* against the common Enemy. The Galleasses were commanded by *Girolamo Morosini*; the Gallies, of which fifteen were made ready, and afterwards

afterwards put to Sea, all commanded by Noblemen, were under the Conduct of *Antonio Capello*. *Franceſco Molino* was made Proveditor General, a Perſon of untainted Juſtice and Honour, and extraordinary zealous and vigilant in the Publick Intereſt, whoſe undefatigable labours and care of his Countrey promoted him afterwards to be Doge of *Venice*. By his order and counſel extraordinary Proveditours were ſent to *Candia*, *Cerigo*, and *Tino*, as Places moſt feared, and in danger, and orders were diſpatched to *Andrea Cornaro*, then General and Inquiſitor in *Candia*, to arme out twenty Gallies from the Arſenal of *Canea*; and to promote this deſign the better, he hired two Engliſh, and one Dutch Ship, then in Port of *Malomocco*, to carry unto *Candia* Timbers fitted, and already ſquared at *Venice*, for building Gallies; beſides which he ſent Cannon, Corn, and all Ammunition of War, with fifty thouſand Zecchins in Gold for encouragement of the Militia, with a recruit of two and twenty Companies of Foot, formed and collected out of divers Nations. Intelligence being come of the impriſonment of the Bailo at *Conſtantinople*, the Senate by a common and unanimous ſuffrage elected *Franceſco Erizzo*, then Doge General of the Sea, judging, that their Armes would proſper under his Command, which had formerly been ſucceſsful under the auſpicious Conduct of his Anceſtors; and he, though a perſon of ſeventy four years, worn out with Age and Cares of the Publick, did yet chearfully conſecrate the remainder of his days to the ſervice of his Country. But whilſt he prepared to crown the end of his Life with the Glory of this important and generous enterprize, Death terminated all his intentions, leaving him with the honourable memory of his paſt actions, and with a Lawrel hanging over his head, which had his Life continued, had been planted on his Brows. But that this accident might not give interruption to the weighty Affairs now in hand, *Molino* took his place, and proceeded in his Voyage and deſigns, and arrived with the Venetian Fleet at the Iſland of *Corfu*. In the mean time the Turkiſh Fleet careened and fitted themſelves at *Navarine* with all neceſſaries to aſſault *Candia*; in which interim advice came to *Canea*, that the Bailo was impriſoned at *Conſtantinople*, by a Letter from *Soranço* himſelf; which he had dropped from the Window of his cloſe reſtraint, and diſpatched by one of his Confidents with a Veſſel, expreſs; which was not ſooner arrived than it was that Night confirmed by all the Beacons or Watch-Towers of the Countrey; who having diſcovered the Turkiſh Fleet far diſtant at Sea, gave a general Alarm by the Fires they made. The next Morning being the $\frac{5}{15}$ of *June*, they diſcovered the whole Fleet, near Cape *Spada*, which being drawn up in the form of a half Moon, took up a vaſt tract of Sea; and ſailing ſlowly with fair Weather, and a ſmooth Sea, diſplayed themſelves with the greateſt terrour imaginable to the Iſlanders. At length the lighter Veſſels began to edge in with the Bank of *Gogna*, (which is a place diſtant about eighteen miles from *Canea*) and were followed by the groſſer and heavier part of the Armata. And now before I proceed farther I ſhould make a pauſe, and deſcribe the antiquity, the Geography, and the preſent ſtate of this famous and renowned Iſland, but that is already performed ſo diſtinctly and elegantly by other Pens, that it ſhall be ſufficient for me to declare here in brief terms, how this Kingdome became the Patrimony or Poſſeſſion of *Venice*. In the year 1204. a Sale thereof was made to this Republick, by the Mar-

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1645. quis *Bonifaccio* of *Montferratto*, by an Inſtrument ſealed the 12*th* of *Auguſt* at *Adrianople*, and ſigned, and delivered, in the preſence of *Marco Samudo*, and *Ravano, da Verona*, Ambaſſadours in the time of *Enrigo Dandola* Doge; but the people of this Iſland not conſenting unto the ſale, oppoſed themſelves againſt it, until the Venetians by force of Armes procured their Obedience, and confirmed their purchaſe by a double Title. Hereupon ſuch noble Citizens as adventured their Lives in this acquiſition, obtained the Eſtates of the Rebellious Greeks, being obliged in proportion to the Lands they held, to maintain Men and Horſe at their own charge, and are therefore called the Feudatary Cavalry. So that the whole Country is divided into three parts; *viz.* the noble Venetians or Cavalry; ſecondly, the noble Candiots, or Colony, which were Infantry that came to inhabit from *Venice*; and thirdly, the Greeks or Natives of the Country which never rebelled, but took part with the Venetian State: the firſt two ſpeak Italian, and are of the Roman Church; the others ſpeak Greek, and conſerve the right of that Religion.

The Ottoman Fleet now touching the ſhoar at *Gogna*, took Livery and ſeizin quietly of that flouriſhing Iſle of *Candia*, where they Encamped a while to refreſh their Forces, and prepare all things in order to their Conqueſt. In the mean time, the news hereof Alarmed all *Venice*, and not only haſtened them in the expedition of their Fleet, but warmed their applications to all Chriſtian Princes, from whom they craved help in the general defence of Chriſtendom: which ſome at firſt imagined would have been granted as it was once in the time of the holy War; or that thoſe whom the Declaration of a common Cruſada, or Devotion, or ſenſe of Religion could not move, yet at leaſt the conſideration of their Countries defence, or the maintenance of a Bulwark of Chriſtendom, might perſwade to wage Arms againſt the Turk, as a Common Enemy: but what cold apprehenſions the Chriſtian Princes entertained hereof, both the faint ſupplies and aſſiſtances they adminiſtred, and their bloody and vigorous Wars one againſt another, have abundantly teſtified, to the fatal loſs and ruine of that Country. And though in the beginning there were better hopes, by means of the Popes earneſt interceſſion with all the Princes of *Italy*, to whom he ſhowed a fair Example, by uniting his own Gallies with the Venetian Fleet, and amongſt the reſt prevailed alſo with the Republick of *Genoua*, to employ their Gallies in this noble enterprize, which tended to the Glory of God, and the common ſafety and preſervation of *Italy*: yet that leaven of vain punctilio's, which hath ſo often betrayed the Chriſtian Cauſe to the advantage of the Turk, gave a ſtop for ſome time to theſe proceedings. For before they would enter into Armes, they deſired the Genoeſes, that the right of bearing the Flag ſhould firſt be determined in favour of their Admiral, before that of *Toſcany*, or *Malta*: and though the Pope to take away this occaſion of diſpute, propoſed to have no other Flag worn beſides his own, under which all Italian Princes without impeachment of their honour, as Auxiliaries, and Military Adventurers might promiſcuouſly wage War; yet this could not appear ſatisfactory to the Genoeſes, who not only took this occaſion to demand the precedency before *Toſcany* and *Malta*; to which the G. Duke (who was not inferiour in State, and ſuperiour in Title) and the Malteſes (who time out of mind, and by Decree of *Charles* the Fifth, claimed Precedency on the Seas before them) would never aſſent; but alſo thought fit to avail themſelves

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in this Conjuncture, to obtain from the Pope the Grant of a Royal Court; and that treatment which is given to Kings, or Crowned Heads. But becauſe theſe demands ſeemed to contain thoſe difficulties in them, which could not be granted without the manifeſt diſpleaſure of other Princes; the Pope reſolved to afford what aſſiſtance he could from himſelf, and therefore granted a Leavy of a thouſand Foot out of his own Dominions, with free liberty to buy what Ammunition, and Proviſions were to be found in the Eccleſiaſtical State, with impoſition of a double tith or tenth on the goods and Dominions of the Clergy; ſo that theſe ſuccours of the Pope, and the Auxiliary Forces of *Naples*, *Toſcany*, and *Malta*, under the Command of Prince *Ludoviſio*, General of the Church, being united to the Venetian Fleet, did ſpeedily compoſe a moſt puiſſant and formidable Force; however by reaſon of diſſentions amongſt the Commanders, and other misfortunes derived from thence, to the Chriſtian Arms, nothing ſucceeded fortunately this Year. For the Turks having gained their landing at firſt without oppoſition, overthrew the Chriſtians in ſeveral ſmall Skirmiſhes, and afterwards forced *Canea*, the ſecond City of that Iſland, which they took with much blood and ſlaughter of the Chriſtians. 1645.

The Turks having made ſo ſucceſsful a progreſs this firſt Year, as to poſſeſs themſelves of one of the moſt conſiderable Cities, took Courage to proceed in their Conqueſts; in which they had the fortune to make themſelves Maſters in the next place of *Retimo*; in defence of which, the General *Andrea Cornaro*, loſt his Life by a Muſket ſhot. Nor more ſucceſsful were the Venetians this Year at Sea; for what with quarrels amongſt the Commanders, and with their coldneſs, and negligence in their buſineſs, they ſuffered the Turkiſh Veſſels to paſs freely, without giving them that interruption which was very facil to men reſolute and concerned: Nor was the opportunity which preſented to ruine the Turkiſh Fleet made uſe of, then lying half diſarmed, and ill provided, at the Iſle of *St. Theodoro*, (which is a Rock oppoſite to *Canea*) where at that time it is believed they might all have been burned, had the occaſion been improved, agreeable to that advantage which then offered: ſo that towards the latter end of the Year, the General *Molino* returning home, either by reaſon of ſome diſtemper, or by revocation from the Senate, which ſeemed to be ill ſatisfied with his ill fortune, or his ill management of the publick Affairs; he was diſmiſſed from his high Charge. And *Gio. Capello*, Procurator of St. *Mark*, was conſtituted in his place. 1646.

This new General early in the Year departed from *Venice*, having under his Command, 50. Gallies, 6. Galleaſſes, and 40. Ship of War, and 4. Fireſhips, beſides other Veſſels which are neceſſary Attendants on ſo great an Armata; which grand preparations raiſed the minds of the Chriſtian World to expect the abatement of the Ottoman Pride, and other effects equal to the magnificent oſtentation, and triumphing glory of this mighty power: but God who gives not always ſucceſs to the powerful, nor the Battel to the ſtrong, was not, it ſeems, ſo well ſatisfied for the ſins of Chriſtendom, as to judge it worthy to be delivered from the ſcourges of its Grand Oppreſſor. 1647.

Whilſt *Capello* remained with the beſt part of the Fleet at *Candia*, *Tomaſo Moroſini*, Admiral of the Ships, ſhewed himſelf in a Bravado with 22 Sail before the Caſtles of the *Helleſpont*, called the *Dardanelli*, defying *Moroſini* braves the Turkiſh Fleet.

1647. defying the whole Turkiſh Power, with Colours flying, and Drums beating; nor did they dare to anſwer the bold Challenge, until in a dead Calm, ſome few light Gallies preſented themſelves in a ſeeming Battel, with whom for want of Wind, the ſhips were on the diſadvantage, and rather received prejudice than gave it; ſo that both ſides were contented with the action. *Moroſini* withdrew from that ſtation and returned to his General at *Candia*, to whom having joyned his Forces, he earneſtly perſwaded him, together with the Proveditor *Grimani*, to engage the Turkiſh Fleet, which they aſſured him was much inferiour to them, both in number of Veſſels, and in Skill, and Courage of the Combatants; and that the ſucceſs of this Year conſiſted in the cutting off the Enemies ſuccours, which was their ſole relief and dependance, without which they could not longer maintain the ground they poſſeſſed, but muſt deliver up that and themſelves to their pleaſure. But the cautious General would not aſſent to this reſolution, judging it overraſh and precipitate; for that the fortune of *Candia*, and other Iſles of the *Archipelago* was not to be hazarded on the ſucceſs of one Battel. During which diſpute, and irreſolution of affairs, the Turkiſh Fleet conſiſting of 300. Sail, arrived at *Canea*, where they landed 40000. fighting men, which turned the ſcale of the War, and rendered the Turks ſo powerful, as not ever more to be expelled, or their off-ſpring extirpated from the Confines of that Iſland. By this time the Pope's and *Malta* Gallies were come to their aſſiſtance, and united with the Venetians; ſo that *Capello* ſetting Sail from the Port of *Suda*, reſolved to engage the Enemy at St. *Theodoro*, which was effected accordingly, though with little ſucceſs; for the Turks had fortified themſelves, and ſecured their Gallies with that advantage, that they could not be aſſaulted without great hazard of the Chriſtians; and when they endeavoured to burn them, their 4. Fireſhips took fire too ſoon, and proved of more fear and aſtoniſhment to the Turks (to whom this invention was as yet unknown) than of real dammage. After this the Venetians returned again to *Suda*, where having intelligence that 30. Turkiſh Gallies, with men and Proviſion (which they had collected in ſeveral parts of the *Archipelago*) were on their Voyage to *Canea*, *Capello* preparing to intercept them with a force of Galleaſſes and Gallies, and leaving *Grimani* and *Moroſini* to Gommand the main body of the Fleet, he in perſon bent his courſe towards *Cerigo*.

In the mean time *Muſtapha* Paſha departed from *Canea*, in order to his return to *Conſtantinople*, with 57. light Gallies, 2. Ships, 2. Galleaſſes, and many Saiks; but meeting in his paſſage with a hard ſtorm of Northerly Winds, he loſt 7. of his Gallies, and ſeveral other Veſſels, ſo that he reſolved to divide his Fleet, and ſend part of them to *Scio*, and himſelf with the other part to make for *Negropont*. This Fleet was followed by ſome other Veſſels under the Command of *Mahomet Celebee*, Brother of the Paſha of *Algier*, who being as far in his way, as the narrow Streights of *Andra*; he was there ſtopped by the fury of the Northern Winds (which are the Maſter Winds of thoſe Seas) and by the impetuous rage thereof, was carried to the Iſland of *Zia*; where having given Licence to the greateſt part of his Souldiery to Land, they careleſly ſtrayed abroad, and without ſuſpicion of ſurprize, merrily paſſed their time in eating and drinking. In the interim, advice hereof being carried to *Tomaſo Moroſini*, then with ſome Ships in the Port of *Milo*; he immediately without loſs of time applied himſelf to aſſault the Turks, and being followed by the

Proveditor

Proveditor *Grimani*; he took two of their Ships, whilſt *Mehmet Celebee* with about 200. of his men, betook themſelves to the weak ſhelter of an old demoliſhed Fort, and afterwards ſurrendred themſelves to the diſcretion of the Conquerour. 1647.

Moroſini and *Grimani*, encouraged with this ſucceſs, reſolved to purſue the Enemies Fleet; in order unto which, *Moroſini* firſt putting out to Sea, was inſtantly carried away by a fierce gale of Wind towards *Ambro*, and ſeparated from the reſt of his Fleet, and thence again was toſſed by the impetuoſity of the ſtorms unto *Raſti*, of which *Muſtapha* Paſha having intelligence, made haſte to attack this ſingle Veſſel, with 40. Gallies; giving order to the Bey of *Rhodes*, to lay him aboard with 15. Gallies, the ſtrongeſt and beſt armed of all their Squadron: *Moroſini* nothing diſmayed, bearing the ſame conſtancy of mind in the midſt of his Enemies, as at a diſtance, boldly ſhowed himſelf on the Quarter Deck, encouraging his men with his words, and by his example, to actions worthy their Religion, Faith, and Country, for which they contended. The Turks continued for ſome time to batter the Ship at a diſtance with their Cannon, but with little dammage to the Chriſtians; who returned their ſhot to better advantage. Hereby the Turks perceiveing that blows given ſo far off did little Execution, reſolved to Board the Veſſel, and ſubdue her by force of Armes, and being come to the ſide of the Ship, the Souldiers were fearful to enter, ſuſpecting ſome trains of Powder to blow them up, until *Emurat* one of the Captains ſtruck off the Head of one or two of his own men, whom he perceived backward in the Aſſault, which affrighted the reſt into the greater danger, and forced them to enter the Ship, who were ſoon followed by the Gallies of the Bey of *Rhodes*, of *Milo*, of *Mehmet* Bey, and others; ſo that now 200. of the Enemy were Combating with Swords and Half Pikes upon the Deck; in which ſtorm, *Moroſini* fighting amongſt the thickeſt, was ſhot through the Head with a Muſket Bullet, and ſo glorioufly finiſhed his days in the ſervice and defence of his Country; gaining to himſelf a Laurel, and an Immortal name of Glory and Renown. The Chriſtian Souldiers little regarding all this time the fall of their General, ſtoutly maintained their Fight, in which they received encouragement from the proſpect they had of 2. Galeaſſes making haſte to their ſuccour; at whoſe nearer approach, the Turks deſiſted from their farther attempt; being unwilling to purchaſe a Victory at the dear rate it would coſt them. The Body of *Moroſini* was tranſported to *Venice*, and his Obſequies Celebrated in a manner more Triumphant than Funebrous; the Proveditor *Grimani* was likewiſe declared Captain General in the place of *Capello*; who having as it were Beſieged the Caſtles at the Mouth of the *Dardanelli*, taken ſeveral places in the *Archipelago*, and put the Enemies Fleet often unto flight; he thereby, and by other acts of Valour, rendered him juſtly renowned through all Chriſtendom. *Moroſini* ſlain.

Theſe were the chief and moſt memorable actions by Sea, performed this Year; Thoſe by Land were acted chiefly in *Dalmatia*, where the Turks poured in their Forces on the Venetian Dominions, but were bravely repulſed by *Leonardo Foſcolo*, who took *Ali* Bey Priſoner, the Commander in Chief of the Sangiac of *Licca*, and ſlew his Son; beſides which, he took *Sacovar*, *Poliſſano*, *Iſlan*, and other Fortreſſes and Caſtles, full of Armes and Ammunition, which were the Magazines of the Country; he alſo recovered *Novegrade* out of the hands of the

1647. Turks, which was afterwards demoliſhed by Order from the Senate; which Victories were followed with other ſucceſſes; nothing being able to oppoſe the Valiant and Proſperous Armes of *Foſcolo*; for beſides the taking and ſacking of ſeveral other Forts and Caſtles in *Dalmatia*, *Obraovzo*, *Carino*, *Ottiſſina*, *Velino*, *Nadino*, *Urana*, *Tino*, and *Salona*, in the Confines of *Croatia*, and *Boſna*, became a prey to the Venetian Armes.

Sebenico Beſieged.

But to this ſucceſsful Progreſs of the War, a ſtop was given for ſome time by the ſickneſs of *Foſcolo*; in which interim, the new Paſha of *Boſna*, called *Mahomet Techli*, a Circaſſian born, a perſon both Generous and Valiant, with an Army of 40. thouſand men, beſieged the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Sebenico*; but was bravely repulſed by the Valour of the Inhabitants, the very Women exceeding the imbecillity of their Sex; and Children and old Men, with the weakneſs of their Age, ſtrengthened themſelves with reſolution againſt their Enemies, and ſo valiantly behaved themſelves in defence of their City, that the Turk was forced to raiſe his Siege, having gained nothing but the loſs and ſlaughter of many of his people, and the beſt of his Souldiery; whereby he gained an aſſurance of the invincible ſtrength of that place, and the valour of the Inhabitants. *Foſcolo* in like manner recovering his health, continued the un-interrupted courſe of his Victories, and thereunto added the taking of *Scardona*; ſo that in *Dalmatia* the Venetian affairs ran ſo proſperouſly, that nothing could be deſired to render them more happy and glorious. For the Turks not only were expelled from the Confines of *Dalmatia*, but likewiſe that Province became more quiet and ſecure than ever it had been in the times of Peace.

The ruine of the Venetian Armata at *Pſara*.

But the joy of theſe ſucceſſes was very much allayed by the unhappy fate of a great part of the Venetian Fleet, at the Iſland of *Pſara*; which being lanched from *Candia* with intention to aſſault the Turks within the *Dardanelli*, unfortunately were driven by contrary Winds to that unſecure ſhore; where contending with a moſt furious ſtorm, a great part of the Fleet was caſt away, and the General *Grimani* himſelf drowned. About which time, the Turks for the greater terrour of the Chriſtians, laid cloſe Siege to the City of *Candia*, and made many and various attempts thereupon, carrying on their Aſſaults with the height of bravery and reſolution, the particulars of which require a diſtinct Hiſtory; but by the invincible Fortitude and Courage of the Chriſtians, they were repulſed with that ſlaughter, and with the loſs of ſo many men, by ſallies and other ſtratagems of War, that the Turks were at length conſtrained to raiſe their Siege with diſhonour and confuſion; during which time many of the Nobility and perſons of Quality loſt their Lives; amongſt which, the principal were, *Vicenzo della Marra*, Governour General of the Armes of *Candia*, and Count *Remorantino*, natural Son of the Duke of *Loraine*, Commander in Chief of the Forces that came from beyond the *Alpes*.

Cliſſa taken.

General *Foſcolo* encouraged by the many glorious Enterpriſes that he had obtained, reſolved to conſummate all by taking the ſtrong and famous Fortreſs of *Cliſſa*, ſcituate in the Confines of *Dalmatia*, and Borders of *Boſna*, on the top of a ſharp and craggy Mountain, invironed with Rocks and unacceſſible paſſages; the difficulty of the attempt rather inflamed than abated the Courage of *Foſcolo*, ſo that he Valiantly Beſieged and Aſſaulted that place; during which time, the Prieſt *D. Stefano Sorich*, Captain

Captain of the Morlachs, intercepted the ſuccours which were ſent thither, and *Georgio* the Proveditor, overthrew *Teccheli* Paſha in a Field Battel; ſo that the Inhabitants deſpairing of relief, ſurrendered up themſelves to the mercy of the Venetians; and thus *Cliſſa* being taken, the Senate Commanded that it ſhould be more regularly Fortified. 1647.

And here the Chriſtian Armes met ſome interruption. For the Morlachs deſirous to caſt off the Turkiſh Yoke, and return to the protection of the Venetians, deſigned to ſurprize *Scutari*; and at the ſame time the Archbiſhop of *Durazzo*, with 7000. Albanians, was to ſeize upon *Croia*, and *Alleſſio*; but the deſign being diſcovered by the traiterous practices of ſome falſe Brethren, before matters were maturely grown, or the time of Execution, it had certainly coſt the Life of all the Morlachs, and 700. Venetian Souldiers joined with them, had not the increaſe of the Waters hindered the ſpeedy March of the Turks, who reſolved to cut them all off without mercy, or regard to any; ſo that having time to diſperſe themſelves, and take refuge in the Mountains, the moſt of them preſerved their lives from the Cruelty of their Enemies; only ſome certain Eccleſiaſtical Perſons falling into their hands, they imputed unto them the cauſe of the Rebellion, and in a barbarous manner impaled them on Stakes.

The Turks enraged for the loſs of *Cliſſa*, diſpatched *Dervis* Paſha into the parts of *Boſna*, with a potent Army threatning to Aſſault *Spalatro*; whom to divert, *Foſcolo*, together with Prieſt *Sorich*, Captain of the Morlachs, entered into the Enemies Country; ſpoiling, burning, and deſtroying whereſoever they came. The Morlachs more greedy of prey than ambitious of glory, divided themſelves into ſmall parties to rob and pillage; in which interim they were aſſaulted by the Turks, but being ſcattered, were ſo far from making a ſtout reſiſtance, that they committed themſelves to a ſhameful flight, in which great numbers of them were miſerably Butchered; nor could the valour of *Sorich*, nor of the Governour *Poſſidaria*, reduce them by their Examples into any Order; whilſt together with ſome few valiant Dalmatians, and Morlach Captains, they endured the ſhock of all the Enemies Fury; in which Skirmiſh the Turks loſt 7. Agas, and about 70. Souldiers: On the Chriſtians ſide were killed 400. ſome few Slaves, and about 70. Enſigns taken; amongſt the reſt the good Prieſt *Sorich* ſcorning to turn his back, had the misfortune to fall into the Enemies hands, whom they flead alive, and afterwards impaled; and though they ſubdued his Body, yet he was ſtill maſter of his mind; bearing the ſame conſtancy in his torments, as he had ſhowed Magnanimity and Courage in the Face of his Enemy.

Whilſt theſe Martial Affairs were tranſacting with the bloud and life of many thouſands on both ſides, *Sultan Ibrahim*, like a ſtout Souldier of *Venus*, waged another War in the Elyſiums of *Cupid*; and caſting aſide all thoughts of *Candia*, remitted the ſole care and management thereof to the Vizier and Paſhas of the Divan; following a life ſo laſcivious and ſenſual, as can neither be imagined with a chaſt fancy, or deſcribed by a modeſt Pen. A principal inſtrument of his delights, and Engine to compaſs his Amorous Deſigns, was a certain caſt Wench of his, which he named *Shecher Para*, which ſignifies a little piece of Sugar; for it ſeems ſhe was ſo complaiſant and dulcid in her humour and diſcourſe, as meritted that apt name to expreſs the ſweetneſs of her Converſation; this Woman

1647. Woman having the convenience to visit all the Baths in Town, took notice of every Woman which she saw of more than ordinary Features and proportion, and having enquired her condition and dwelling, presently reported the same with all advantage to her Sultan, who having heard the beauty described, became passionately Enamoured, and could find no repose in his fancy, until his instruments, either by fair words or violence, had seduced her, or forced her to his Bed. But growing now extravagant and over-wanton in his Amours, he fell in love with the Sultana, or Widdow of his Brother *Sultan Morat:* To win her affections he had recourse to his Dear *Shecher Para*; who used all her Arts in this service: but her pretty wheedling terms could prevail nothing on this Lady, who answered her in short, that at the Death of her Lord *Sultan Morat*, she had resolved upon a perpetual Widdowhood, for that the memory of him was still so lively in her, that she could not entertain the thoughts of admitting any new Embraces. This repugnancy and opposition inflamed the heat of *Ibrahim* like a Feaver, so that he resolved to assault her himself one day by force, and took his time just as she came out of the Bath; but she being a bold Woman, and disdaining the wandring loves of *Ibrahim*, laid her hand upon her Dagger, (which Sultana's and great Ladies usually wear) threatning to wound him in her own defence; the noise and brawling hereof being over-heard by the Queen Mother, called her from her Retirements, and concerned her in the Quarrel; who whilst she reproved her Son, for the rape he intended on his Brothers Wife, gave opportunity to the Sultana to escape; and so delivered her out of the hands of this Satyr. But *Ibrahim* mad with love, and fuming with disdain to be checked and opposed by his Mother, Commanded her immediately to the old Seraglio, where he confined her to several days Imprisonment, during which time he understood in what manner she had treated his large-sized Armenian, of whom we have already spoken; whereof the Queen Mother being conscious, submitted her self with all humility to her Son, begging his favour and pardon; and so well acted her part by those who carried her Addresses, that she overcame quickly his easy nature, and was again restored to his Grace, and her Lodgings in the new Seraglio.

In the mean time *Shecher Para* travelling over all the Baths in Town, to discover new delights for her Master, at length had the fortune to cast her Eyes on a Daughter of the Mufti, a Maid of Incomparable Beauty and features of Countenance, and proportion of Body, which she reported to *Ibrahim* so sensibly, as if she her self had been in love; and after she had praised every part and member of her, she concluded in sum, that she was the most Excellent and admirable piece that ever Nature framed. The Sultan had no sooner heard the story, but according to his usual custom, fell most desperately in love, and had immediately without farther consideration or counsel, dispatched his Emissaries; or without other preamble, ceremony, or Courtship, to have fetched her to him; had not the sense of the late rebuff he had received from his Brothers Wife, made some impression of fear in him; and the apprehension he had of the power of the Mufti, created in him a certain caution and respect in the treatment of his Daughter: wherefore he rather resolved to send for the Mufti, with whom he treated of honourable terms concerning Marriage; promising to take her into his Bosom, and prefer her in honour equal to any other of his Sultana's.

The

The old Man who was tender of, and doated on his Daughter, knowing well the wandring humour of the Sultan in his Amours, intended rather to marry her to some great Personage, with whom she might be more happy, than in being a Soltana: for he considered, that *Ibrahim* having already other Sons, her Issue would either be Sacrificed for security of their Brothers, or else spend their days in a Prison, and become Grey-headed, whilst they breath in a *medium* between Life and Death, and are sad Recluses in the Grave of their unhappiness. These considerations were well imprinted in the mind of the Mufti: but because he durst not deny his proposal, he dealt with him as Inferiours usually do with their Lords and Superiours; that is, he returned him thanks, expressing infinite Obligations, that he would vouchsafe to cast his Princely Eyes on the unworthiness of his Family: however he advised him, that according to the Canons of their Law, of which he was the Expositor, and obliged to be a severe and precise Observer; it was great Impiety in a Father to impose on the affections of his Child; so that though he could heartily wish that his Daughter would embrace this honour, to which he would exhort her with all the earnest perswasions of a Father; yet if she proved refractory thereunto, it would not be becoming his power to force her; and therefore hoped his Majesty would believe, that in proceeding thus far, he had performed that duty which became him, both as a Father, and a Loyal Subject. *Ibrahim* supposing that by this Concession he had gained his design, thanked and imbraced the old Man, whom dismissing with plenary satisfaction, he remained now with an impatient expectation and hopes of enjoyment. Next Morning the Mufti returned early to the Grand Signior, and having first sufficiently instructed his Daughter to refuse the Sultans proffers, told him plainly, that he had used all his paternal authority and interest with his Daughter, that he might induce her to accept this mighty Fortune, which cast it self upon her; but that it found not that ready acceptance with her as he expected; what could be the reason he knew not how to conjecture, since Women are commonly irregular, and unreasonable in their Affections. 1647

Ibrahim being in this manner disappointed, and more angry to encounter any boundary or restraint to the imperious violence of his Lusts, than opposition against the puissance of his Armes; dismist the Mufti with some neglect and disdain, whom he resolved to treat with rigour, and his Daughter with Courtship. In order to the first, he banished him the Court, and forbad him his presence in any other place; grew sullen and unsatisfied at all his administrations of Justice, intending thereby to induce him to a resignation of his Office, there being nothing more irksome to an ingenuous spirit, than to serve and not to please. On the other side he dealt with the young Lady in a different manner, by the crafty and flattering insinuations of his trusty *Shecher Para*, who so forcibly mannaged her tongue full of curious words mixed with threats, representing the storms and fury of the Sultans rage, and again the glory, splendour, and happiness of the Seraglio; where she should Reign as Empress and Soveraign of the World: all which she expressed with that passion, and lascivious enticement, as would have shaken a firmer Constancy, than the Vertue of a Turkish Maid: but she being well admonished by her Father, remained obstinate in her denial: but to quiet the importunity of this Seducer, she begged her not to sollicite her Father in

1647. in this requeſt, but rather that ſhe would intercede in her behalf with the Sultan; ſupplicating him with all humility to pardon her Childiſh refuſal, and to leave her unto her own liberty and choice, and a ſingle Life: to obtain which favour from her, ſhe produced a Diamond of conſiderable value, deſiring her to accept of that from her, and to become her Friend, her Aſſiſtant, and Protectreſs. *Shecher Para* being overcome by her Maiden Modeſty, could no longer reſiſt ſuch forcible entreaties; and having her Eyes obſcured with the luſtre of the Jewel, promiſed to change her note, and excuſe her refuſal with all the advantagious and compaſſionate terms poſſible; and ſo taking her leave with a courteous farewel, repaired to the Sultan, to give an account of her Negotiations. *Ibrahim* having with more doubtful fear attended the Iſſue of this laſt Conference, than he did the ſucceſs of his War with *Venice*; received his *Shecher Para* with exceeding joy, who being come in, began to recount all the particulars that had paſſed: but the ſum of all was, that this ſilly Maid was ſufficiently ſenſible of the honour of being a Soltana, of being Courted by his Majeſty, of the joyes, delights, and glory of the Seraglio; but that when ſhe reflected, how that ſhe was to bring forth Children to die by untimely Deaths, and to end their Days by poiſon, or the Bow-ſtring, or at leaſt to live miſerable lives ſeparated from Mankind, and immured within Walls, and Intombed whilſt they breathed; ſhe could not but tremble with ſome horrour, and judge that all the blandiſhments of Worldly Fortune were but a tranſient Paradiſe; which could not poſſibly recompence, or out-weigh the ſenſe and tenderneſs ſhe conceived for the miſery of her unfortunate Off-ſpring. Howſoever ſhe ſo couched her Diſcourſe, that ſhe gave *Ibrahim* ſome hopes to overcome at length; by which ſhe appeaſed a little his fury and deſpair, and extracted ſome Jewels and Gifts in reward of her paſt labour, and encouragement for her future ſervice. In this manner *Ibrahim* had patience awhile, expecting ſomething farther from the induſtry of *Shecher Para*; but finding no effect of all his expectations and gentleneſs, at length reſolved to break through all conſiderations of reſpect, either to the Father as the Mouth and Oracle of the Law, or to the ſimple and fooliſh innocence of the Maid; and therefore ordered the Great Vizier to cauſe a Watch to be ſet on the Girl, either going in or coming out of the Bath, and without farther Ceremony to bring her unto him. This Order being executed accordingly, and the Maid hurried to the Seraglio; *Ibrahim* poſſeſſed and enjoyed her for ſome days, but with thoſe tears, reluctancy, and ſullenneſs, as took off from the edge and appetite of enjoyment; ſo that he returned her back again with ſcorn and contempt unto her Father; who at firſt diſſembled the injury with the ſame Countenance as he did before, when he was interdicted the Sultan's preſence; ſuppreſſing his revenge like a concealed fire, which burſts out afterwards with more violent Flames. But though the ſenſe of obedience and duty towards his Prince allayed much of the choler he conceived againſt him for the Rape of his Daughter; yet he knew not how to pardon the Great Vizier, whom he termed no other than a Ruffian or Pandor; the Miniſter of his Maſters Luſts, and not of his Laws, and of Juſtice. Thus full of indignation he applyed himſelf, and made his complaint unto one *Mahomet* Paſha, a principal Member of the Divan; one of great wiſdom and practice in the conduct of affairs, and one with whom he had a particular Friendſhip and intimacy. Nor

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leſs intereſt had he with Janiſar. Aga, or General of the Janizaries; to both whom, with tears in his Eyes, and with ſuch words as the ſenſe of his injuries ſuggeſted, he railed at the Vizier, and aggravated the Raviſhment of his Daughter with all the circumſtances of Villany and Violence. Theſe two Friends heard the ſtory with a ſenſible remorſe, and immediately concluded that for the honour and ſecurity of the Empire, it was neceſſary to depoſe Sultan *Ibrahim*; and for the ſame reaſon to cut off the firſt Vizier; agreeing amongſt themſelves that *Mahomet* Paſha ſhould receive the Seal, and the Office. To effect which, they deemed it neceſſary to draw the Queen Mother into the Conſpiracy, being a Woman of great Authority, and having as it were the Reins of Government in her hands, by reaſon of the weak judgment of her Son. But becauſe it was difficult to perſwade the tenderneſs of a Mother to the ruine of her Son; the wiſe Mufti reſolved firſt to ſound her inclinations and diſpoſition towards this deſign: and being well informed of her fierce Circaſſian nature, and the jealouſy and anger ſhe conceived againſt *Shecher Para*, obtained Licence to be heard by her, as if he would beg her interceſſion with her Son in his behalf; and being admitted to diſcourſe with her, he thereby plainly diſcovered her moſt inveterate hatred and diſpleaſure againſt her Son; not only for this, but for many other actions of like nature. This diſcovery which the Queen had made, gave him the boldneſs to propoſe the confinement again of *Ibrahim* to his old Priſon; not that he ſhould be abſolutely laid aſide and depoſed, but only corrected awhile, and being put in remembrance of his paſt condition, might be taught wiſdom, and inſtructed for the future, what moderation and juſtice Sultans are obliged to exerciſe in the adminiſtration of Government; and ſo ſubtlely did he inſinuate his diſcourſe, that the Queen Mother aſſented to the propoſal, and that the Seal ſhould be conferred on *Mahomet* Paſha; for ſhe had conceived an irreconcileable hatred againſt *Achmet* the G. Vizier, by whoſe counſel ſhe was ſent to the old Seraglio, and was united in Confederacy with the deteſted *Shecher Para*. The Mufti greatly ſatisfied to have gained ſo conſiderable a Conſpirator to the party, communicated the whole buſineſs, with the Progreſs of it, to the two Kadileſchers, or Lord Chief Juſtices of *Romelia* and *Anatolia*; who approveing thereof, and promiſing their utmoſt aſſiſtance, the *7th* of *Auguſt* was the Day appointed for the Inſurrection of the Janizaries, who being all in a readineſs on that day, went in a tumultuary way to call the Mufti, the Kadileſchers, and other Officers and Miniſters of the Law, whom they ſeemingly forced to accompany them to the preſence of the G. Signior, of whom they demanded, that the preſent Vizier *Achmet* ſhould be deprived of his Office, and that *Mahomet* Paſha ſhould be conſtituted in his place. The G. Signior at firſt refuſed their demand, but being perſwaded by his Mother that it was neceſſary to content the Militia in that tumult; he conſented thereunto, and having called *Achmet*, he took from him the Seal, and conferred it on *Mahomet* Paſha, and therewith the Office of G. Vizier. *Achmet* trembling at the conſequences hereof, reſolved to commit himſelf to the mercy of the Mufti, and therefore haſtned to his Houſe to attend his return, hoping to find him his Protector, under whoſe ſhadow and roof he fled for Sanctuary. The Souldiery having thus obtained the firſt-fruits of their Inſurrection, accompanied the Mufti unto his home, where finding the depoſed Vizier *Achmet*, the Janiſar. Aga immediately Commanded him out of Doors, from whence he had no

1648.

1648. sooner drawn his Foot, than that he was seized upon and strangled, and his Body thrown before the Gate of the new Mosch.

The next day being the 8*th* of *August*, 1648. the Janizaries again arising in the like tumult as before, came to demand of the Mufti, whether that according to their Law, *Sultan Ibrahim* as a Fool, and a Tyrant, and unfit for Government, ought not to be deposed? To which the Mufti giving answer in the affirmative, sent to cite *Sultan Ibrahim* the day following to appear in the Divan, to administer Justice to his Souldiers and Subjects, who expected it from him. But *Ibrahim* supposing that he had sufficiently satisfied the Souldiery, by putting the Vizier out of Office, laughed at the summons which the Mufti made him; which being seconded by a Fetfa, which is a point of Law resolved by the Mufti, who is the Mouth or Oracle thereof, *viz.* That the G. Signior being called to account, is obliged to appear before the Justice; the Sultan in high disdain tore the Paper, threatning the Head of the Mufti: but it was now too late, he having already sufficiently fortified himself with the power and strength of his Rebellious Companions. This Fetfa was immediately seconded by another of a higher nature, which declared, that whosoever obeyed not the Law of God, was not a true Musfulman or Believer; and though that person were the Emperour himself, yet being become by his filthy actions a Kafir or Infidel, was *ipso facto*, fallen from his Throne, and no farther capable of Authority and Government. This Fetfa being seen by *Ibrahim*, he tore it in pieces, Commanding the G. Vizier instantly to put the Mufti to Death, as guilty of Treason against his Prince: but having now lost his Authority, his Commands were not longer regarded, nor any reverence had of his person: For the Janizaries being again assembled about five a Clock in the Afternoon, came with their usual tumult to the Gates of the Seraglio. And now *Sultan Ibrahim* losing all Courage at this third attempt, fled into the Armes of his Mother, begging her assistance and protection. She being a bold and subtle Woman, employed all her Rhetorick and Eloquence to perswade the Souldiery not to offer violence to the person of their Lord and Master; promising that he should relinquish the Government, and retire himself with a Guard into his old Lodgings. *Ibrahim* comforted a little, that he should save his Life, shrunk himself willingly into his old Shell, wherein he had so long conserved his Life. In the mean time the Conspirators taking forth his eldest Son *Sultan Mahomet*, set him on the Throne of his Father, and planting the Sargouch, or Imperial Feathers on his Head, saluted him for Emperour with loud Acclamations. *Ibrahim* continued his Imprisonment for some days with great patience, but at length growing desperate and furious, often beat his Head against the Wall, until at length, he was on the 17*th* strangled by four Mutes.

In this manner *Sultan Ibrahim* ended his Days, which puts me in mind of the saying of a wiser and a better King than he, *That there is little distance between the Prisons and the Graves of Princes.* And this Example made a great Officer understand how King *Charles* the Glorious Martyr was put to Death. For he, I think it was the Great Vizier, falling into discourse with the Chief English Interpreter at *Constantinople*, not then calling to mind the Fate of *Sultan Ibrahim*; demanded, How, and when King *Charles* was put to Death? Sure, said he, Your King must have no Power, or your People must be more Rebellious and Mutinous than other Nations of the World, who durst commit an act so horrid and vile as this.

this. See, said he, How our Emperour is revered and observed; and how submissive and obedient half the World is to the nod of our Great Monarch. To which the Interpreter replyed, that to recount unto him the History and occasion of this prodigious fact, would be too long and tedious for him to hear: but that the time it happened, was some Months after the Death or Murder of *Sultan Ibrahim*; which was an *Item* sufficient to give him a perfect understanding of what he required. 1648.

Sultan Ibrahim having in this manner ended his Dayes, the Government was committed into the hands of the G. Vizier, and the old Queen Mother (which is she whom we call *Kiosem* in the Ottoman State) and of 12. Pashaws; who were to manage all Affairs with supream Power, during the Minority of *Sultan Mahomet*, who now Reigns.

Ibrahim was the fifth Son of *Sultan Achmet*, born of the same Mother with *Sultan Morat*, Educated like the other younger Sons of the Ottoman Family, within the Walls of an obscure and unhappy Prison; so that 'tis no wonder, if wanting the advantages of seeing and practising in the World, he should neither have studied Men, nor been experienced in the Art of Government. Nor less strange is it, being natural to humane infirmity; for men who have lived under restraint, affliction, and fear of Death, to become licentious and immoderate in all kind of pleasures, whensoever they pass on a sudden from the depth of misery to some transcendent degree of happiness and prosperity; which as I say all men are naturally subject unto; so more especially those, whose Religion indulges them all kind of sensual Carnality in this Life.

Ibrahim was in his own nature of a gentle and easy temper, of a large Forehead, of a quick and lively Eye, and ruddy Complexion, and of a good proportion in the Features of his Face; but yet had something in the air of his Countenance, that promised no great abilities of mind. And giving himself up to all kind of Effeminacy and softness, attended not unto the Government of his Affairs; and therefore it was his greatest misfortune to be served by wicked and faithless Officers to whom he trusted, and to whom he gave credence, wanting in himself the talents of wisdom and discretion to discern their malice. The continual apprehensions that he entertained of Death during his Imprisonment, had so frozen his constitution with a strange frigidity towards Women, that all the dalliance and warm embraces of the most inflaming Ladies in the Seraglio, could not in a whole Years time thaw his coldness; which was the occasion at first of that report, which spoke him to be impotent towards Women: during which time he attended to his Ministers of Justice, and to a management of the affairs of his Empire, which in the beginning of his Reign gained him a credit and reputation, and raised a great expectation of his goodness and care of his Subjects welfare; an evidence of which, he gave in his Charge to the Great Vizier, that he should put no Man to Death unless for Capital and enormous Crimes. But at length losing himself in Lusts and Sensualities, he forsook the Helm of his Regency, committing the guidance of his Empire to other hands: and as he was ignorant of War, so he foolishly sported in the calms of Peace; and suffering himself to be guided only by Fortune, felt the stroke thereof in his last Unhappy Fate.

Sultan MAHOMET the 4th the Present Emperour of the Turkes

When I an Infant in my Cradle Lay
And Call'd Th' Ottman Scepter for to Sway
My Troopes Reuolt, Seditions Men Incline
To Rage, and need a Stronger Head Then Mine:
But as my yeares, so doth my power increase
My Warres Succeed, and Triumphs Neuer Cease
By Christian Discords Help't, my Mighty State
Growes great: Still Liuing I attend my Fate.

P. H. Van Houe. Sculp:

THE REIGN OF Sultan Mehmet, OR MAHOMET IV. THIRTEENTH EMPEROUR OF THE TURKS.

ANNO 1649.

SUltan *Ibrahim* periſhing in this manner, by the mutinous violence of the Souldiery, his Son *Mehmet*, or *Mahomet*, being a Child of ſeven years of Age, ſucceeded in the Throne: During whoſe Minority, (which was to continue for the ſpace of ten years longer) his Mother, who was the firſt *Sultana*, aſſiſted with the Counſel of twelve Paſhaws, took upon her ſelf the Regency, and in the firſt place reſolved to continue the War againſt the Venetians, which *Ibrahim* intended to conclude, having engaged himſelf far in a Treaty of Peace with the Bailo or Ambaſſadour, which reſided at the Port for that Republick.

Whilſt theſe matters were tranſacting, and preparations making to proſecute the War; the malignant humours of the Empire began to fer-

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1649. ment unto that degree, as affected the Body Politick at first with unnatural heats, which soon afterwards proceeded to a Feaver, and then to a dangerous Convulsion. The ill-affected Part was the Militia, which is the heart and principal of the life of that Government. For the Spahees and the Janisaries, being the Horse and Foot, entred into a desperate controversie. The first judged it their Duty to revenge the Death of their Soveraign, *Sultan Ibrahim*; and in order thereunto demanded the Head of the Great Vizier, as the Chief Authour and Contriver of the death of his Lord and Master. The others being conscious to themselves of having by their Armes carried on the Conspiracy, not only declared their resolutions to defend the Vizier, but owned that what he had acted was by their order, and at their request and instigation. The Spahees being highly provoked with this declaration, swelled with anger and malice against the Janisaries; and both sides being equally proud and rich could not bear each others reproaches. The Spahees being Men of Estates in Land, looked on themselves as the Gentry, and to have the greatest share in the concernment of the Empire. The Janisaries living regularly in their Chambers, or Martial Colledges, looked on themselves as the better Souldiers, and the more formidable Party; and the truth is, both of them were proceeded to that height of Command and Authority in Government, that had they not been suppressed by the cruel hand, and bloody disposition of *Kuperlee*, as shall be more largely related hereafter, this Empire was then in danger of falling into as many Divisions, as there were at that time Pashaws, or great Captains. The cause hereof proceeded from the warlike disposition of *Sultan Morat*, who being the most Martial Man of his Age, preferred none but Men of great courage, and such as had signalized their valour by undoubted proofs; And such Men as these he loaded with honour, and raised them to the highest, and most eminent charges in the Government. But *Morat* dying soon afterwards, these Great Men had time to enrich themselves during the gentle and easie Reign of *Sultan Ibrahim*; which being seconded by the Minority of this Young Sultan, their pride knew no bounds, either of Modesty towards their Commanders, or Reverence towards their Sultan. Hence it was that the Souldiery dividing, so great a Sedition arose amongst them, that at last they came to blows, resolving to decide the controversie by the Sword. But the Quarrels of Turks amongst themselves not being commonly of long durance, the Care and Vigilance of the Magistrates prevented all open defiance in the Field; but yet could not so pacifie their Animosities, but that several Skirmishes, or Rencounters passed between them in the Streets, wherein the Spahees were always worsted, and at length were forced to abandon the City, scarce daring for some time to owne the name of Spahee within the Walls of *Constantinople*.

These disturbances gave the Venetians some hopes to accomodate their Peace with better advantage; but the Reply to this Proposition was more fierce and positive than ever, and so ill resented that the Bailo going from his Audience, was on the 27*th*. of *April* seized on, and with all his Retinue clapped into Prison and Chains; being sent to those Castles which are scituate on the *Bosphorus*, in the middle way between *Constantinople* and the Black Sea. But this furious severity by the intercession of other Christian Ministers continued not long, before the

the Bailo received more gentle Treatment, by the Sacrifice which the Turks made unto themselves of *Grillo*, his Interpreter, who being called down from the presence of the Bailo, was immediately by two Officers strangled, and his Body thrown out at the Window of the Castle; the which act, though it may seem unjust and barbarous to us, hath yet been frequently practised amongst the Turks, being to this day their common use to threaten the Druggermen or Interpreters; which is the cause that they often mince, or wholly alter the sense or meaning of their Masters, on those occasions when words are spoken by them ungrateful to the Turks. 1649.

The Turks bearing this disdain to the Venetians, laboured to re-enforce their Armies in *Candia*, and supply them with Ammunition and Provisions; and though the Venetians lay before the Mouth of the *Dardanelles* to intercept all succours which might be carried thither; yet the Turks notwithstanding their Divisions, having recruited their Fleet with forty Gallies, and ten Great Ships, broke through the Venetians, and in despight of them, convoyed five Gallies laden with Souldiers and Ammunition, and landed them safe at *Canea*; and about the same time six Gallies, and ten Ships of *Barbary*, entered into the Port of *Suda*.

The General which commanded in chief was named *Chusein* Pasha, a Person of great courage and experience; he had for some time besieged the City of *Candia*, but for want of Men and Ammunition was forced to rise from that place, and retire to *Canea* and *Retimo*, whilst in the mean time the *Candiots* received recruits of Men, and supply of Provisions, improving their leisure time to fortifie their Town with such works as rendred it almost impregnable, and made it become the Wonder and Discourse of the World after some years succeeding.

Nor was the War only carried on in *Candia*, but also in *Dalmatia*, *Morea*, *Bosna*, and *Albania*. For *Foscolo*, the General of *Venice*, designing to force some Corn from the Parts of *Castel-nuovo*, he landed some Men there, but was so ill received by the Turks, that he was forced to retreat unto his Vessels with great disorder, and no less dishonour. But he had better fortune in the Parts of *Bosna*, where he repulsed the Enemy to the very Gates of *Sarsay*, the Capital City of that Province, and took upon composition the Fortress of *Risano*, which is scituate between *Cataro* and *Castel-nuovo*; but at length the Turks receiving an additional aid of fifteen or sixteen thousand men, the Venetians were forced to quit their new Conquests, and retire into their own Country.

During the time that these Affairs were in agitation, the young Emperour was proclaimed, and his Inauguration celebrated with the usual Ceremonies, but with rejoycings, and hopes extraordinary; who being yet scarcely arrived to eight years of Age, many mutinies and troubles arose in divers Parts of the Empire, as in *Damascus*, *Syria*, *Anatolia*, and other Countries, where the Pashaws refused to pay in the customary Taxes and Tribute, declaring that they would keep the money in their hands during the minority of the Grand Signior; and that when he came to Age of Government they would be accountable to him both for the principal and for the improvement.

The Turks in *Hungary* making incursions into the Territories of the Emperour were overthrown by the Count *Forgatz*, near *Buda*, where the

1649. the Pasha was taken Prisoner, and his Son slain. Nor better fortune had they in the Assault they made on the Fortress of *Cissa*, where having lost five thousand Men, they were forced to retire with great dishonour.

The *Cossacks* also in this conjuncture grew more bold, so that they covered the Black Sea with their Boats, doing great damage to the Saicks, and other Vessels, which traded in that Sea, and at length came up the *Bosphorus* above *Therapea*; giving a great Alarm with much fear and confusion to all *Constantinople*.

Amidst these misfortunes, intestine troubles and new disorders arose in the Ottoman-Empire; For as commonly all the blame of miscarriages and ill successes in *Turkie*, are cast upon the head of the Commander in chief; so the Enemies of the Great Vizier took the advantage in this conjuncture to reproach his ill Government, and carried the accusation so far, as to depose him from his Charge and Office; in whose place the Aga, or General of the Janisaries succeeded.

The Spahees in *Asia*, being displeased with this Election, assembled in a Body of seven or eight thousand, and marched towards *Constantinople*, pretending to revenge the death of *Sultan Ibrahim*; their numbers daily encreasing, the Divan very much feared lest the Party which favoured the Spahees in *Constantinople*, should join themselves to the Asian Mutineers; to prevent which it was judged good reason and policy, to anticipate the Justice they demanded, by taking away the Life of the deposed Vizier; which being easily assented unto, and without much hesitation performed, gave some little stop to the fury and heats of the Spahees. Notwithstanding all which, as the Divisions which the Turks entertain amongst themselves were never so great as to afford the Christians any advantage thereby; so the Venetians did not reap any benefit from these Quarrels; but on the contrary, the Turks studiously attended to their Affairs in *Candia*, passing thither with sixty Gallies, thirty great Ships, and twenty five other smaller Vessels, laden with Men, and all sorts of Provisions and Ammunition for War; so that in this year 1649. the Affairs of the Turks remained in that Island in this happy and hopeful posture. Amongst these Ships were thirteen English, which the Turks took up at *Smyrna*, and forced into their service. For though the Ambassadour, Sir *Thomas Bendysh*, then resident at *Constantinople*, opposed the engagement of these Ships what was possible, and also the Commanders and Seamen were very unwilling and dissatisfied to undertake the design; yet the Turks with menaces, and promises of reward forced them to carry Men and Ammunition to *Candia*, so that, making a Vertue of Necessity, they complyed with that which they could not resist.

ANNO 1650.

Husaein Pasha, Governour of the Island of *Candia*, having received these succours and recruits, resolved to besiege the Chief City of *Candia*; to which intent, drawing out from the Ships, and Garisons of *Retimo* and *Canea* what men he was able, he formed an Army of thirty thousand Men, with which he marched, and pitched before the Town. He was provided also with twelve pieces of Cannon, four thousand Sacks

Sacks of Wooll, three thousand Ladders, and with a good quantity of Granadoes; with this force he attaqued the City in two places, *viz.* on the Forts of *Martinengo*, and *Mocenigo*; and prest so hard on the latter, that notwithstanding the generous resistance of the Defendants, he won the Fort, and there planted the Ottoman Colours; fortifying it with more Cannon, and a good number of Men. 1650.

Count *Coloredo*, Governour of that place, was then sick, the Garrison very weak, and things reduced to the last terms of extremity; when General *Balbiani*, Admiral of *Malta*, arrived with six Gallies, and there landed 600. Men, and 60. Knights; which with great Courage mounted the Guard of the Fort *Martinengo*, which was the place of most danger and honour. The Turks excited with a desire to welcome the new Guests, made three desperate and furious assaults on this Fort, but were with equal valour repulsed by the Defendants; at which disgrace and foil being highly enraged, they resolved on a fourth attempt, which they pursued with that Courage and Success, that the Venetians were forced to give way to their violence, with the slaughter almost of all those which defended this Fort; until the Cavaliers of *Malta*, who having no greater glory, nor readier will, than to spill their bloud for the Christian Cause, rallied all the force they were able, and made so prosperous an Attaque upon the Fort, that they recovered it again with the bloud and destruction of all those who defended it; but they enjoyed it not long, before the Turks regained it with the like success and slaughter; which variety of Fortune the Venetians being sensible of, and that they could not bear such costly interchanges with the Turk, had recourse to their ultimate remedy of Mines, which succeeded so happily, that the whole Fort was carried into the Air, and therewith 2000. good Souldiers of the Turks; with which destruction, and other repulses in divers places, they were so weakned and discouraged, that they raised the Siege on the fifth of *October*, new Stile.

In this Interim, the Tartar *Han*, called the *Krim*, demanded the Guardianship of the young Sultan, as of right belonging unto him; but the Council answered hereunto, that their Master was already in better hands than those into which they desired to transfer him; and that his Grandmother, and the Divan, wanted neither wisdom nor fidelity to direct his affairs: with which answer the Tartar being forced to remain satisfied, was able to revenge himself no farther, than by exciting the Cossacks to infest the Seas; which gave some diversion to those Armes, which otherwise had all been employed against the Venetians.

But these designs from *Tartary* did little trouble the Council, in comparison of that spirit of Discord which was arisen between the Spahees and the Janisaries; for both parties being emulous of each others greatness, endeavoured on all occasions to elevate their Chief Commanders to the highest and most profitable places of the Empire: which dissention touching the principal Ministers of State, who were all engaged on one side or the other; administred great troubles, and retarded the execution and success of all the grand designs of the Empire. Nor was it of less importance and dishonour to the Divan, that their Fleet was hindered passage by the Venetians, who blocked up the Mouth of the *Dardanelles*; whereby all intercourse with *Candia* was interrupted: but being resolved to remove this obstacle, they commanded the Captain Pasha to force his passage; which he accordingly performing, was so warmly

 received

1650. received, that he quickly loſt two Gallies, and after much bloud, and loſs on both ſides, was forced at length to retire again within the Streights. But what was of worſe conſequence to the Turks, was the inveterate diſcord between the Spahees, and Janiſaries; who having been unadviſedly embarked promiſcuouſly together, came oftentimes to words, and then to blows; which ended not without the bloud and death of divers of each party. Theſe miſchiefs increaſed the rage which the Turks at *Conſtantinople* conceived againſt the Venetians; who were all thereupon (not excepting the Bailo *Soranzo*, nor his Secretary *Ballarino*) interdicted the Territories of the G. Signior; and ſent back into their own Country.

The Captain Paſha, that he might be in a capacity to make a ſecond attempt to force his paſſage, ſent to *Conſtantinople* for new recruits: when News came that the Siege of *Candia* was raiſed, and that the Turks had loſt the Fort of St. *Theodoro*; which ſo angred the ſpirit of the Queen Mother againſt the Vizier, that ſhe immediately depoſed him from his Charge, and therewith had taken away his Life, had not the Faction of the Janiſaries protected him in this extremity.

The Paſha of *Buda* was introduced into his place, a perſon of a turbulent and ambitious ſpirit, who to increaſe his favour with his Miſtreſs the Sultana, evidenced his heat and zeal againſt the Venetians, and to that end ſent immediately expreſs Orders to the Paſha of *Boſna*, to inveſt *Cliſſa* with all the power he was able; and therewith he preſented him with a Cimeter, and a Halter; the former to be his reward in caſe of good ſucceſs, and the latter to be his puniſhment in caſe of misfortune. But this furious Vizier continued not ſo long, as to experience the Iſſue of this Command; for he was in a few days laid aſide, and *Chuſacin* Paſha, the General of *Candia*, was placed in his ſtead; howſoever his Orders were to remain with the Army, by which means, much emulation and conteſt was prevented, which might otherwiſe have happened between the Spahees, and Janiſaries, at the Election of a new Vizier; and thereby all excuſes taken from the Souldiery of abſence from the War, who could now pretend nothing of reaſon to withdraw themſelves, on ſcore of attendance on the Viziers perſon; and to ſupply his Authority at the Regal Court, a Chinacam was ſubſtituted to adminiſter Juſtice in place of the Vizier, which is uſual on ſuch occaſions.

Notwithſtanding all which, affairs ſucceeded not extraordinary well for the Turks in *Candia*; for being ſtraitned for proviſions in *Canea*, by the near approach of the Chriſtians, the Turks were forced to make a diverſion, by appearing in great Troops before *Candia*; which they were enabled to do, by the ſupplies they had lately received, with the arrival of their Fleet of Gallies; for the Winter ſeaſon approaching, the Venetians were conſtrained to abandon their ſtation before the *Dardanelles*, and to leave the paſſage open for the Enemy. And ſo this Year ended rather with advantage than diſgrace to the Chriſtians.

ANNO 1651.

WIth theſe great ſuccours and ſupplies ſent to *Candia* by the Turks, affairs muſt neceſſarily have ſucceeded proſperouſly to their deſigns, had not inteſtine diſcords at home interrupted their proceedings, which aroſe from a Jealouſy and Emulation between the Grand-mother, and

and Mother of the young Sultan. For each of them pretending to the tuition or guardianſhip of the Emperour, during his minority, divers Parties and Factions formed at *Conſtantinople*, from whence all that trouble and combuſtion aroſe, which we have at large related in the third Chapter of the Preſent State of the Ottoman Empire. So that now it was no time to talk to the Souldiers or People of a War in *Candia*; For the firſt thought themſelves engaged to contrive a ſettlement and determination of Diſputes at home, and the latter being irritated with a new Tax laid on them, for want of money in the Treaſury, exclaimed, and talked loud, and at length, inſtead of paying, broke out into open Rebellion, which by aſſiſtance of the Souldiery, was appeaſed, under no leſs terms than the death of ſeveral principal Miniſters of State. 1651.

During theſe Diviſions, the Venetians had time to arme out a very conſiderable Fleet for defence of *Candia*; *Foſcolo*, who had been General in *Dalmatia*, being ſent thither with title of Generaliſſimo in the place of *Mocenigo*: But theſe Diſſentions amongſt the Turks, according to their uſual cuſtom, laſting not long before they came to a Concluſion, by the entire deſtruction of one of the Parties; the Chief Miniſters began to reaſſume again the thoughts of proſecuting the War in *Candia*, and to ſend Recruits to reinforce the Army under the Command of *Chuſaein* Paſha, who was returned with new Forces and courage to aſſault the City of *Candia*. At this time a certain Greek, pretending to be a Perſon of Quality, and diſcontented with the Turks, fled from them to the Chriſtians, where being received with all kind and obliging entertainment, he had thereby liberty of ſeeing and viſiting all the Fortifications of the Place. After he had obſerved and diſcovered as much as he deſired, this traiterous Fugitive fled again to the Turkiſh Camp, where he revealed what places were moſt ſtrong, or beſt fortified, and where the Town was weakeſt, and moſt eaſily to be aſſaulted. The Venetian General being awakened at this diſcovery, and conſidering the numbers of his People to be few, in reſpect of the Enemy, and that the Outworks could not be maintained without a more numerous Gariſon, he reſolved to deſtroy ſome of thoſe Forts; and accordingly blew up with Mines four Baſtions, which being at a diſtance could not be relieved without much danger. The Turks hereby making conjectures of the weakneſs of the beſieged, cheerfully aſſaulted the Fort of St. *Demetrio*, thinking to carry it without much trouble, but contrary to their expectation, they encountred ſo bold a reſiſtance, that they loſt three thouſand men on the place.

At *Conſtantinople* they were ſtill ſo intent to carry on this War, that having prepared, and laden on the Fleet great quantities of Granadoes, Bomboes, and Mortar-pieces, with other Fire-works, the Captain Paſha, with hopes agreeable to his Force, ſet forth to Sea, with eleven hundred Sail, conſiſting of Gallies, Ships, Galleaſſes, Saiques, Brigantines, and ſmaller Veſſels, with reſolution to engage the Venetian Fleet, whoſe Commanders alſo were equally deſirous and ready to conſent with them to a Battel. On the *7th.* of *July*, the Venetians being at an Anchor in the Port of St. *Ermina* diſcovered the Turkiſh Fleet, to which as they were much inferiour in number, ſo they were ſuperiour to them in the agreement and experience of their Commanders. The Turks having paſſed forward on their way, the Venetians purſued them, and the better to draw them to a Battel, *Mocenigo* ordered two

1651. Ships, commanded by *Barbaro* and *Dolphino* to croſs the Turks at the point of the Iſland; and his Vice-Admiral, *Bataggio*, with four Ships to engage the main Body of the Turkiſh Fleet; to whoſe aſſiſtance many other Veſſels coming in, he ſo rudely treated ſeveral Gallies, that they were forced to ſeek harbour in the Port of *Chios*, now *Scio*, with the loſs of *Mahomet*, Paſha of *Anatolia*, who was ſent to ſucceed in the Office of *Chuſacin* Paſha, the General of *Candia*; but Night coming on, the reſt of the Fleet retreated to the Iſles of *Naxia* and *Paros*. On the tenth day the Turks having watered their Fleet, gave a ſignal of defiance to the Venetians, by diſcharge of two pieces of Cannon; and the Venetians accepting the challenge, both Fleets gave a furious charge one to the other; but the Turks were not able to withſtand the courage and skilfulneſs of the Venetians; for the Captain Paſha having loſt many of his men, and the poop of his Gally being carried away with a Cannon ſhot, the whole Fleet was put into diſorder, and then unto flight, ſo that the Gallies began to employ themſelves in toaing the Ships. But one of their Mahones being ſeparated from the reſt, was aſſaulted by two Galleaſſes, and ſome Ships, and finding none to come in for ſuccour, the Captain was killed, with four hundred Souldiers, and two hundred were taken Priſoners.

A great Victory obtained by the Venetians over the Turk.

In the mean time *Mocenigo*, the General, gave chaſe to the Gallies, which two to a Ship were toaing the heavier Veſſels as faſt as they could; but being hardly purſued, were forced to caſt off the Hauſer, and ſhift for themſelves as well as they were able. The Turkiſh Ships ſeeing themſelves thus abandoned, fired whole Broadſides upon the Enemy; but the Venetian Gallies leaving their own Ships aſtern, that they might purſue their advantage, *Querini* boarded a Great Galleaſs, called the *Soltana*, upon which were three hundred Souldiers, who offered to ſurrender upon promiſe of Quarter for their Lives. But the Chriſtian Souldiers heated with fight, and not then underſtanding any thing of Conditions, deſperately boarded the Veſſel, whereby the Turks being reduced to an extremity of deſpair, gave fire to the Powder, and therewith carried as well the Vanquiſhers as the Vanquiſhed into the other World. According to this example four other Veſſels burnt themſelves, one of 60 braſs Guns, and three others of 40 to 44. Fifteen Veſſels of the ſtarboard wing ſaved themſelves by good ſailing. Of the larboard wing, Captain *Nicolo*, a Renegado, with his ſhip was taken by the Admiral of the Galleaſſes, likewiſe another Great Veſſel by *Lazaro Mocenigo*, and another by Proveditor *Melino*. In ſhort, there was not one Veſſel which remained in ſight of the Venetians, which was not either taken, ſunk, or burnt. Notwithſtanding all which, conſidering the Veſſels which were eſcaped, and the three thouſand men which the Turks had landed at *Naxia*, in order to their being tranſported unto *Candia*, the Victory ſeemed to be very imperfect; wherefore the Venetians attending another encounter with the Turkiſh Fleet, did happily meet them in a few days after; and being encouraged with the late ſucceſs, as the Enemy was low in their ſpirits and reſolution, they bravely attaqued the Turk, and took 39 Gallies, 23 Ships, three Galleaſſes, together with the three thouſand Souldiers, which were then embarked from *Naxia*: Thoſe which eſcaped took Refuge in the Port of *Rhodes*.

After this great loſs, the Turks entertained no great deſigns of the Conqueſt

Conqueſt of *Candia*; but only to conſerve *Canea*, and the footing that they had won in that Iſland: nor did ever the Turks after this, dare to ſtand a formal Battel with the Venetians at Sea, but rather contriving to eſcape than to fight, did ever after build light Gallies, for tranſporting of Men and Ammunition, with intention to wage their War only at Land, and not at Sea; it being a ſaying ever after common in their Mouths; *That God had given the Sea to Chriſtians, and the Earth to the Turks.* 1651.

To theſe ill ſucceſſes abroad, were added great diſſentions at home; for the mutinous Spahees in *Aſia*, having united into a ſtrong Body, marched towards *Conſtantinople*, to join with their other Brethren in thoſe parts. The Janiſaries on the other ſide not leſs diligent to oppoſe their Enemy, to revenge the outrages committed on their Brethren, whom the Spahees had ill treated, having cut off the Noſes and Ears of ſeveral of them; beſides all which, they proceeded to that height of Inſolence, as to demand the Heads of the Great Vizier, and of the Aga of the Janiſaries; and being now by their numbers rendered formidable to the Court, it was judged agreeable to the preſent Conjuncture, to ſatisfy in ſome meaſure theſe Mutiniers, by diſcharging theſe two Officers of their employment, which did in ſome degree for the preſent qualify and appeaſe theſe Tumults.

ANNO 1652.

THE ſeditions at *Conſtantinople* were ſcarce quieted, before advice came of a Rebellion of the People of *G. Cairo* and *Damaſcus*, who both at the ſame time conſpired, as if they intended to caſt off ſubjection to the Ottoman Family; the which mutiny and diſturbance aroſe to that Head, as gave great cauſe of fear to the Divan; and employed all their Counſels and contrivances for this whole Year, in what manner they might reduce this people to their Duty and Obedience. During which time, the Chriſtians in *Candia* had time to breathe, and opportunity to provide themſelves with all Ammunition and Proviſions; and to repair their old, and add new Fortifications to their Town.

ANNO 1653.

BUT theſe troubles being with time compoſed, the G. Vizier deſired greatly the Conqueſt of *Candia*, which being by experience proved to be with difficulty gained by the Sword, he endeavoured to win it by fairer terms; and to that end wrote a Letter to the Republick of *Venice*, in Letters of Gold; wherein he declared, that it ſeemed ſtrange to him, that the Senate had not diſpatched their Ambaſſadour to him with the ſurrender of *Candia*, in regard that thereby they might aſſure themſelves to purchaſe a certain Peace, which they vainly retarded by ſuch delays. Howſoever in theſe Letters no mention was made of the cauſes, or reaſons, why Signior *Capello*, who was an eminent Perſon, being Procurator of St. *Mark*, and ſent thither for Bailo, was ſo ill treated with Impriſonment at his Arrival, notwithſtanding the permiſſion and encouragement which was given for his kind reception obtained at the inſtance of the French Ambaſſadour; but this reſtraint continued not long upon him, before he was releaſed with a daily allowance (which continued for ſome time)

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fore his Arrival; the Turks ſtill inſiſting on the ſurrender of *Candia*, would not underſtand any terms which did not entirely inveſt them in that Conqueſt. 1654.

To effect which by force, which could not be performed by compoſition; the Paſha of *Buda* was Elected for Captain-Paſha, or Commander in Chief of the Seas; and Orders given to equippe a new Fleet of Ships, and Gallies, for tranſporting the ſuccours of Men and Proviſions to *Candia:* where *Chuſaein* Paſha the General, being wearied with his long Siege of the Town, withdrew his Men at ſome farther diſtance for their better refreſhment; for they wanting all conveniencies in their Trenches, began to Mutiny, and to refuſe the performance of their duty, until the General ſatisfying their pay, and diſpenſing liberally Largeſſes to the Officers, gave them new encouragement and ſatisfaction; with which, being a little enlivened, *Chuſaein* ſent a Herald, with a defiance to thoſe in the City, challenging them to fight a pitcht Battel with him; but the Chriſtians refuſed the offer, thinking it more prudence not to accept, than loſs of honour to deny an Anſwer to the Challenge. Then the Turks ſought ſome means to effect their deſign by treachery; to which end, they treated with a certain Captain for delivery of one of the Gates of the City, which he promiſed to do unto the Turks, but gave Advertiſement unto the Governour. The Paſha the night following advanced with ſome Troops, hoping to find one of the Gates opened to him; but inſtead thereof, the Defendants having prepared a Mine to receive them, ſprang the ſame ſo opportunely, that it carried away the moſt of thoſe who were engaged in the deſign, and therewith their hopes of becoming Maſters ſpeedily of that impregnable Fortreſs. Wherefore they reſolved for a while to repoſe, and attend thoſe ſuccours which were now preparing at *Conſtantinople.*

The Fleet being put into a readineſs, the Souldiery departed with their uſual hopes of ſucceſs; but meeting with their Enemy again at the Mouth of the *Dardanelli*, the Fight was furious and hot for a long time between them, but concluded to the diſadvantage of the Turks, who there loſt 6000. Men, two Gallies, three Ships, and a Mahone: howſoever they broke through the Venetians, and landed 12000. Men in the Iſle of *Candia.* The News of this defeat, and the confirmation thereof, by the wounded Men which were landed at *Conſtantinople*, made a great noiſe amongſt the people. Howſoever the Turks perſiſting conſtant to their intentions of proſecuting the War, ſent Orders to the Captain-Paſha again to fight the Venetians ſo ſoon as the Fleet was refitted, and reſtored to a condition to engage in another Battel; but the Venetians ſcarce gave them the leiſure to repair, before they attacked them again, whereby they put them to ſuch diſorder, that they were forced to take refuge in the firſt convenient Port; where having attended a favourable Wind, they haſtned to *Conſtantinople*; and from thence were diſpeeded into the Black Sea againſt the Coſſacks, who very much infeſted thoſe parts.

The Captain Paſha being arrived, extolled his own great ſervices and adventures, and on the contrary vilified the Great Vizier, diſparaging all his actions, as mixed with weak counſels, and proſecuted with cowardice, or want of true reſolution; the which took ſuch deep impreſſion in his abſence, having none to anſwer for him; that all being given for granted which was alledged againſt him, orders were diſpatched to *Candia* by an Officer, to take off his head, in whoſe place this Captain Paſha ſucceeded.

Amidſt

1654. Amidſt of all theſe combuſtions of War, the mediation of Peace was carried on by the French Ambaſſadour: For though Signior *Capello* was actually Reſident on the place, qualified with the Character of Bailo for the Republick of *Venice*; yet the Turks would ſcarce vouchſafe to treat perſonally with him; and indeed his ſufferings by impriſonment, and other barbarous uſages had affected him with ſuch a melancholy, as rendred him uncapable for ſome time of adminiſtring publick Affairs; for having loſt his reaſon by giving way to ſad and black thoughts, he laid violent hands on himſelf, by wounding himſelf in two or three places of his Belly; but the Wounds proving not mortal, he was in a ſhort time reſtored again to a ſound eſtate both in Mind and Body; as I ſhall ſome few years after have occaſion to relate from the words of his own mouth, which he was pleaſed to utter to me on his death-bed, and the day before he departed this life.

ANNO 1655.

THE Great Vizier after all his evil inſinuations againſt *Chuſsein* Paſha, fell very ſick and infirm; ſo that the Court conſidering him as a perſon uncapable of farther ſervice, caſt their eyes on the Paſha of *Aleppo*, who being a daring Martial Man, was eſteemed to be the better Chief in ſuch a hazardous War, which for being on the Sea, was unuſual and diſpleaſing to the Turks. Againſt him nothing could be objected beſides his rebellions and contrariety to the Government; but hereunto it was preſently anſwered, that the extravagance of his humour proceeded only from his Ambition of being Great Vizier; which when he had attained, that thirſty deſire of Glory, which he exercis'd for acquiring this office, would be buſied in thoughts to advance and improve his honour in actions beyond his Predeceſſours. Letters being arrived at this Paſha's hands, which called him to Court to accept this charge, did ſecretly pleaſe the humour of his haughty ſpirit; howſoever, he remained for a while in ſome ſuſpence and irreſolution, not being aſſured whether ſome deceit might not be concealed under this ſpecious appearance of Preferment: But conſidering, that the way unto gains and advantage was by daring adventures, he reſolutely accepted the proffer, and put himſelf in his March towards *Conſtantinople* with a glorious Equipage of forty thouſand Men, thinking therewith to make good his retreat, and ſecure his perſon in caſe that deceit were diſcovered which he rationally ſuſpected. Being arrived near unto *Conſtantinople*, he received from the Great Signior ſeveral meſſages of kindneſs, and a good welcome; and was accordingly received into the City, and inveſted in the office, with all the circumſtances of favour and honour imaginable.

Having thus taken poſſeſſion of his charge, he promiſed the Grand Signior that he would employ all his endeavours to reſtore the decayed Eſtate of Affairs, and reform the Government. And as an earneſt thereof, he began to remove ſuch Miniſters from the Court which were ſuſpected by him; and to render himſelf the more abſolute, he cut off ſeveral others, whom he imagined might in any wiſe diſturb or controul him in the management of his Affairs.

After which he diſpatched his orders to all Maritime Towns of the Empire, to fit and make ready what Gallies and Ships were poſſible to be provided; intending thereby to ſet out the greateſt Fleet that ever was

ſeen

seen in the *Levant*; but to compleat this work, two great difficulties a- 165
roſe. The firſt was, to find a wiſe and well experienced Commander, and the next was, in what manner to perſwade the Spahees and Janiſaries to embark; for they having heard and ſeen in what manner their Companions had periſhed in this miſerable War, abſolutely refuſed to go, and though the Animoſities of theſe two orders of Souldiers were irreconcileable one to the other, yet in this common Cauſe being united, they raiſed ſo horrible a Sedition, that they aſſaulted the Mufti in his very houſe, and purſued him within the Gates of the Seraglio with a thouſand reproaches and injuries, as an Authour of evil Counſels, and a Diſturber of the common Peace and quiet of the Empire. Nor was it poſſible to appeaſe this Tumult, but by anticipating to them four months Pay; with which their minds being made more pliable, they gently yielded to Obedience, and ſuffered themſelves to be embarked for *Candia*.

Zarnezan Muſtapha was made Captain Paſha, or General of the Fleet, which was very numerous, and well equipped, conſiſting of ſixty Gallies, eight Mahones, thirty great Ships of War, and ſixty one Gallies, belonging to the Beys. After having remained three days at the mouth of the *Dardanelles* near the Caſtles, they went out in this order; The Beys Gallies were the firſt, then followed the Ships, next the Mahones, and the Rear conſiſted wholly of the Grand Signiors Gallies. The Van of the Fleet being the Beys Gallies, which are always the beſt manned, and provided, were ordered to attack the main Body of the Chriſtian Fleet, for that being ſeconded with the Ships they would be able to ſuſtain the ſhock until the Mahones could come up, which were directed againſt the ſtarboard Wing of the Enemy, compoſed of Galleaſſes. The Venetians, though much inferiour in number, yet as great in courage, gave evident ſigns of their deſire to fight, with hopes, by Gods Bleſſing, to obtain a Victory. The Venetians whilſt the Turks paſſed, remained ſtill with their Anchors apique, which the Turks interpreting as a token of their courage and boldneſs, were ſo daunted that they began to ply towards the Coaſt of *Greece*; but being forced to paſs under the Guns of the Venetian Admiral, they were ſo ill treated by his Broadſides, that they were diſcouraged from making a ſecond charge. The Ships, and other Veſſels fared little better, being forced to paſs under the Guns of the Enemies Fleet. The Captain Paſha attempted to paſs on the Coaſt of *Anatolia*, with his lighter Gallies, but being hindred by a ſtrong party of the Enemy, he was forced to follow the reſt of the Fleet, taking his Courſe with them by the Coaſt of *Greece*. In this Charge one of the Turks Mahones was ſunk, and two diſabled: But the greateſt Fight happened between a Squadron of the Turks Ships, and four of the Venetians, which had been hard put to it, had not the Captain *Mocenigo* come in to their aſſiſtance; howſoever, the Venetian Captain of the Ship, called the *Crown*, was ſlain by a Musket ſhot. In ſhort, the Chriſtians boarded the Turks with ſo much vigour and reſolution, that they took ſeveral of their Ships, and mixing with the thickeſt of their other Veſſels, they put many aſhore, and others eſcaping in their Boats, left their Slaves and Gallies to the diſpoſal of the Enemy; ſo that the Venetians obtained that day a hundred braſs Guns, with a ſignal Victory, having had no other important Loſs, unleſs the Ship called the *David* and *Goliah*, which being overpowered, was burnt by the Turks.

1655. The People of the Turks, who were in daily expectation to receive intelligence of a ſucceſs agreeable to ſo great preparations, were much troubled to hear the news of the Defeat given to their naval Forces; of which miſcarriage the World dividing it ſelf into different conjectures, the moſt part, eſpecially thoſe of *Conſtantinople*, attributed the misfortune of all to the ill Government, and want of experience in the General. Wherefore to appeaſe the People, eſpecially the Merchants, who were weary of this marine War; from whence they reaped nothing but loſſes of their Ships and Goods; It was thought fit to enter into a Treaty with Signior *Capello*, the Venetian Bailo, concerning a Peace; but he having his Commiſſion taken from him, for the reaſon before related, his Secretary *Ballarino* ſupplyed his office; and in order to an accommodation, had two Audiences with the Great Vizier, to whom, and to others of the Divan, he made Preſents of rich pieces of Cloth of Gold, in the name of the Republick. Howſoever the Turks thinking it diſhonourable to accord unto other terms, than the intire reſignation of *Candia*, proceeded in their preparations as formerly; at which the Merchants and Tradeſmen at *Conſtantinople* received ſuch matter of diſcontentment, that in tumults they cryed out for Peace at the Gates of the very Seraglio; and behaved themſelves with that inſolence, that the Janiſaries were called to drive them from thence by force of Armes; howſoever this Tumult and Riot of the People ended not without the Life of the Great Vizier, to whoſe fury he was made a Sacrifice. And though his Son appeared at the Gates of the City with forty thouſand men, to demand Juſtice on the Murderers of his Father, yet the People were ſo far from being diſmayed thereat, that their fury and rage encreaſed to a greater height, and required the Authority of the Divan to keep things from running into the inconveniences of a Civil War.

ANNO 1656.

THeſe diſorders induced the chief Miniſters to enter into another Treaty with *Ballarino*, propoſing to withdraw their Forces from *Candia*, and make a peace, upon the payment of ten millions for the charge of the War; and to incline the Venetians hereunto, the Turks gave ſevere orders to their people living about *Corfou*, to moleſt the Inhabitants of that Iſland with all acts of Hoſtility imaginable; and farther publiſhed, that their intentions were to ſet out a more numerous and ſtronger Fleet than any which from the beginning of this War had ſailed on the Seas; and in order thereunto, great numbers of Slaves, conſiſting of *Coſſacks* and *Moſcovites*, were bought of the Tartars, and tranſported to *Conſtantinople*.

The Venetians were not in the leaſt affrighted at theſe boaſtings of the Turk, but on the contrary, knowing that their Affairs in *Candia* were well ſecured and provided, gave orders to *Ballarino* to deſiſt from farther Treaties, and to procure his Licence to depart. And the Turks to evidence their intentions to proſecute the War, entered into *Canea* with twenty eight ſail laden with Armes and Proviſions, on which alſo were fifteen hundred men. By this conveyance was ſent a Janiſar. Aga with Orders from the Grand Signior to conſtitute *Chuſaein* Paſha, in the place of Captain Paſha, or Admiral of the Seas; but he judging this to be a deſign, or lure to draw him from his Poſt, or Office, wherein he

he was more ſtrong and ſecure, acknowledged the honour of the employment, but framed excuſes to continue his Seat and place of Reſidence, which the Chief Miniſters were forced to accept; it being a conjuncture more ſeaſonable to diſſemble, than to reſent his refuſal. 1656.

Whilſt new preparations were making againſt *Candia*, ſo horrible a ſtorm of Mutiny and Sedition aroſe at *Conſtantinople*, as conſtrained the Grandees of the Council to quit for the preſent all thoughts of providing for the War againſt the Enemy, that they might defend and ſave themſelves from the fury of their own People; For the Spahees and Janiſaries joining together, pretended to reform the abuſes of the State; to perform which, in a furious tumult, putting themſelves in Arms, they ran to the Divan, where they depoſed the Great Vizier, and diſcharged divers other Officers of their employment; The Mufti was conſtrained to fly to *Jeruſalem*, and the Queen Mother ſcarce remained ſecure in her old Seraglio. And to ſo great a height their Rebellion proceeded, that they propoſed even to dethrone the Grand Signior himſelf. And having thus caſt off all reſpect and duty to their Prince, they entred the Imperial Palace, and forcing the Guards, broke up the Treaſury, and carried two millions from thence. Amidſt of this horrid and affrighting Confuſion, Merchants and well-meaning Citizens remained in the moſt aſtoniſhing apprehenſions imaginable; for all Laws being broken, and Juſtice unregarded, the whole City laid open to be pillaged and ſacked by the licentiouſneſs of an unbridled Souldiery. For ſeveral days the Offices both of the Mufti, and Great Vizier remained vacant, by reaſon that the two Factions of Janiſaries and Spahees could not agree upon the Election. At length the moſt ſeditious amongſt them wearying out the others with Quarrels and Conteſts, advanced a Fellow of no underſtanding or reputation to the eminent degree of Great Vizier; in which condition he remained not long. For the fire of the multitude being with time quenched, and the popular heat abated, this new Vizier was diſplaced, all things returning to their uſual Channel, and Authority to its Fountain. And that matters might more eaſily be reſtored to their ancient order, the Grand Signior called for the Paſha of *Damaſcus* to receive the Dignity of Great Vizier, for he being a Perſon of eighty years of Age, and of long experience in Affairs, having managed the moſt weighty Charges of the Empire, was looked on by all as the moſt proper perſon to compoſe, and heal theſe great diſtempers in the State; and this was that famous *Kuperlee*, who was Father to him who ſucceeded him in this Office. The Paſha of *Siliſtria* was alſo conſtituted Captain Paſha, and *Chuſsein* was confirmed in his Government of *Candia*. And now the bright Beams of Juſtice and Government having diſſipated the ſtorms and fury of popular ſollevations; the Grand Signior in Perſon mounting his horſe, accompanied with his principal Miniſters of State, viſited all the Parts of *Conſtantinople*, where making Inquiſition for the principal Leaders and Fomenters of this Rebellion, he ſeized on ſome, and without further proceſs, boldly executed them in the face of the People. But before things were reduced to this condition, four Months were ſpent in this horrid Confuſion; and what is moſt ſtrange, this Great Empire for ſo long time remained without a Pilot, toſſed on the Waves of popular Commotions; all which ſerved to give eaſe, and reſpite to the Venetians in their War, but not to operate towards a Peace; ſo reſolute were the Turks in their deſign of making an entire Conqueſt of *Candia*.

A Rebellion at *Conſtantinople*.

1656. For having again Equipped a moſt formidable Fleet, conſiſting of 60. light Gallies, 28. Ships, and 9. Galleaſſes; they attempted to make their way for *Candia*, and therewith to fight the Venetians in caſe they ſhould oppoſe them in their Voyage, to which they were the more encouraged upon ſight of the Venetians, who appeared at the Streights of the *Dardanelli*, with no more than 29. Gallies, and ſome Boats, or Brigantines; howſoever the Turks were not ſo confident in their numbers, but that they judged it requiſite to fortify themſelves with two Batteries; one on the Coaſt of *Anatolia*, and the other on the European ſhore; whereby they imagined, that they might cauſe the Venetians to give way, and open a paſſage to their Fleet: But notwithſtanding the continual ſhot which the Turks made upon them, they ſtill kept their Station from the 23*th* to the 26*th* of *June*; when the Wind coming about to the North, which was favourable for the Turks to Sail out, and to bring them nearer to their Enemies, they began gently to approach; and the like the Chriſtians endeavoured, being deſirous to join Battel; at which firmneſs of reſolution, the Turks being a little ſtartled, became willing to avoid the fight, and to creep under the ſhelter of the point of *Babiers*, which locks in one of the Bayes between the Caſtles and the Mouth of the *Dardanelli*. But the Wind on a ſudden turning favourable for the Venetians, the Prior of *Rochelle* with his Squadron, and *Mocenigo* with three Ships under his Command, made up towards the Caſtles, with deſign to cut the Turks off from their Retreat; the others valiantly aſſailed the Turks, who defending themſelves like thoſe, whoſe chief ſecurity conſiſts in their Arms, there enſued a moſt miſerable ſlaughter on one ſide, and the other; at length the ſucceſs of Victory happened to the Venetians, who were animated by the couragious Example of their General *Marcello*, though he having Boarded, and become Maſter of a great Ship called a *Soltana*, with the Gally which attended her, was ſhot in the thigh with a Cannon Bullet, and thereby gained the glory to die Conquering, and Triumphant. After whoſe Death the Proveditor taking upon him the Command of the Fleet, proſecuted the Victory ſo cloſe, that excepting 14. Gallies which eſcaped with the Captain Paſha, and 4. Gallies of the Beyes; all the whole Fleet was either taken, ſunk, or burnt. The Venetians not being able to Man all the Veſſels that they had taken, ſet many of them on fire in the Night, excepting only 12. Gallies, 4. Ships, and 2. Galleaſſes, which they reſerved for a demonſtration, or evidence of their Victory. With this glorious ſucceſs 5000. poor Chriſtians obtained their freedom, and had their Chains and Shackles knocked off. What number the Turks might have loſt is uncertain; but as to the Venetians, it is reported, that beſides their General, there were not above 300. Men in all killed and wounded.

Engagement between the Turks and Venetians.

The Venetians obtain the Victory.

The Venetians being encouraged by this ſucceſs, attacked the Iſland of *Tenedos*, and in the ſpace of four days became Maſters of it; as alſo in a ſhort time afterwards of *Stalimene*, antiently called *Lemnos*; the which ſhameful loſſes, and overthrow, ſo irritated the mind of the G. Signior, that he gave Orders to carry the War into *Dalmatia*, intending the next Summer to go thither in perſon; and in the mean time Commanded by the Paſha of *Boſna*, that the City of *Raguſa* ſhould be put into a readineſs to receive his Troops, being judged a convenient place for the Seat and Magazine of Arms for thoſe Countries. But the poor Republick greatly apprehending this misfortune, than which there could

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be no greater miſchief, nor ruine to their Country; diſpatched certain Deputies with their yearly Tribute to the Port, with inſtructions, that in the way thither, they ſhould ſupplicate the Paſha to intercede with the G. Signior in their behalf, repreſenting to his Majeſty, that they paying their annual Tribute for protection, ought not in juſtice to be expoſed to the licentiouſneſs of an Army, which their little Territories were not capable to receive, nor provide with convenient Quarters: at which Meſſage the Paſha being highly incenſed, anſwered rudely, and impriſoned them; threatning to ſtrangle them, in caſe their Government did not obey the Commands of the Sultan. 1656.

ANNO 1657.

BUT the Chief Miniſters at the Port, taking into their conſideration the preſent State of Affairs; that the City of *Conſtantinople* was full of diſcontents; the Perſian on one ſide, and Moſcovite on the other, ready to invade divers parts of the Empire; that there were deſigns to depoſe the G. Signior, and ſet one of his Brothers on the Throne; beſides a multitude of other dangers; the reſolution of the Courts removal, and of the G. Signiors March into *Dalmatia* was ſuſpended; his preſence and authority being eſteemed moſt requiſite in ſuch a Conjuncture of troubles at the heart and center of his Empire. After which, the appearance of the G. Signior in publick was leſs frequent; for that he might haſten the departure of the Spahees and Janiſaries for *Candia*, he deferred his Journy to *Adrianople* for ſome time; but they being averſe to this War, refuſed to march, until firſt they had received all Arrears, which were due to them; the which audacious propoſal ſo incenſed the G. Signior, that he cauſed the heads of two of the moſt forward Mutineers to be cut off in his preſence.

This unſeaſonable rigour rather provoked the ſpirits of diſcontented men, than abated them; and the continual prizes which the Venetians made on the Turks, and ſtoppage of proviſions, which did uſually ſupply *Conſtantinople* from the *Archipelago*, raiſed the price of Bread, and of all Victuals in that populous City, ſo that the people murmured and exclaimed, as if they had been reduced to their laſt extremity. The G. Vizier conſidering that the loſs of *Tenedos* was the cauſe of all theſe inconveniences; promiſed the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, that he would regain it in a ſhort time; in order to which, he ſet forth a very numerous Fleet, to beſiege that Fortreſs; but contrary Winds, and bad weather, forced them into a Neighbouring Port, where they attended the Conjunction of the Beyes Gallies with them. The General of the Venetians having received advice hereof, put to Sea, that he might hinder theſe two Fleets from joining; and was no ſooner in the Channel of *Scio*, than that he met with 10. Sail of *Barbary* men of War, convoying a great number of Saiques, and other Veſſels, of which 14. were laden with proviſions, carrying alſo with them 200. thouſand Crowns, which was the Tribute of *Rhodes*: theſe the Venetians aſſailed with ſuch Courage and ſucceſs, that they burnt the ten Ships, and many of the Saiques; killed a thouſand Turks, took 400. Priſoners, delivered 300. Chriſtians; with the loſs only of 100. killed, and 300. wounded.

This and other loſſes augmented the diſcontents at *Conſtantinople*, ſo that the G. Vizier to hold up the ſpirits of the people, reſolved to go in perſon

1657. perſon to *Tenedos*; and accordingly Equipped a Fleet of 18. Ships, 30. Gallies, 10. Galleaſſes, with an innumerable Company of Saiques, and other Veſſels; whereon he Embarked 20. thouſand Horſe, and 80. thouſand Foot; with which Army the Vizier ſailed out of the *Dardanelli*, on the 17*th* of *July*, having firſt received intelligence, that *Mocenigo* was not returned from the *Morea*, where he had been for ſome time in chaſe of certain Ships; Howſoever the Turks found not the paſſage ſo clear, but that they encountred with a Squadron of 18. Sail of Men of War, under the Command of Signior *Bembo*; the which ſeeming an inconſiderable number to the Turks, they aſſailed them with undoubted hopes of Victory. The Admiral and Vice-Admiral of the Turks, with five other great Ships, charged the Venetian Admiral, who defended himſelf ſo bravely, that for three hours they lay Board and Board; the reſt of the Turkiſh Fleet aſſailed the other part of their Enemies Fleet ſo cloſe, that the Fight became terrible and bloody, both for one and the other, until at length the Turks being worſted were put to flight, and in the purſuit a great Turkiſh Sultana was put aſhore near *Troy*; one of their Galleaſſes was diſabled, two of their Ships ſunk, and the reſt were chaſed as far as *Metylene*, being put by the Iſland of *Tenedos*.

In this Interim, the General *Mocenigo* was on his Voyage towards the *Dardanelli*, and being come within the noiſe of the Cannon, he haſtened with more diligence; and arrived ſo ſeaſonably to the aſſiſtance of *Bembo*, that at his appearance moſt of the Turkiſh Gallies began to turn their ſterns, and make towards the ſhore of *Anatolia* with ſuch diſorder, that of twenty eight Gallies, and two Galleaſſes, there were but five only which kept company with the Baſtard Gally of the Captain Paſha, and entred with him under the defence of the Caſtles. The reſt of the Fleet was chaſed by *Mocenigo*, but the Turks being to windward, the Chriſtians were not able that day to come up with them. The next day the Wind being more favourable, a Council of War was held aboard the Venetian General; during which conſultation, they eſpied five Gallies making towards the Point *Baba*, there to ſecure themſelves under the Shore; and thereupon reſolved, that whilſt the Captain General with the Squadron of *Malta*, attempted thoſe 5. Gallies, and others which had taken the ſame place of refuge; the reſt of the Fleet ſhould keep firing at thoſe without. Accordingly the Captain General made towards the Point *Baba*, where paſſing within Musket-ſhot, and under the reach of five Batteries, an unfortunate Shot in the powder-room blew up the Ship, and therewith ended the days of this valiant *Mocenigo*, who died full of honour and glory; his brave actions continuing his Memory in all the Hiſtories of *Venice*. The Proveditor ſucceeding in his Command proſecuted the ſame deſign, and as if he would imitate the antient funeral piles, he celebrated the Obſequies of his General, by burning the Admiral Gally of the Turks, and thence retired towards *Tenedos*.

After the Turks had refitted their Veſſels, and put their Fleet in a reaſonable poſture, they departed from *Metylene* the 28*th*. of *July* at night, and on the 30*th*. were on the Coaſt of *Tenedos*, where immediately landing five thouſand Men, and great numbers approaching ready to ſet their Foot on ſhore, the Defendants of the Fortreſs ſummoned a Council of War, at which all agreeing that the Iſland was not tenable againſt ſo great a force, embarked their Men, Ammunition, and Artillery, and reſigned their place to the Diſpoſal and Command of the Enemy. After which

Tenedos retaken by the Turks.

which ſucceſs the Turks in like manner landed ten thouſand men on the Iſland of *Lemnos*, where, having laid a formal Siege to the Caſtle, they made a general aſſault, but were repulſed with the loſs of five hundred men, leaving their ſcaling Ladders to the Beſieged. They made afterwards divers attempts, but in all were beaten off with conſiderable loſs; ſo that they had abandoned the Enterprize, had not the greater fear and apprehenſion of the Divan at home confirmed their courage againſt the Enemy; until at length the Chriſtians being wearied with two months Siege, without hopes of relief, were forced to a ſurrender, which was performed on Articles, That they ſhould depart with Armes, and Baggage, and have free liberty to embark themſelves for *Candia*. 1657. *Lemnos* retaken.

Theſe two important places being regained by the Turks, were the ſubject of great joy to the Court, and of courage and ſatisfaction to the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*: So that the Grand Signior apprehending that by theſe ſucceſſes, the Seditions and Mutinies of the City were appeaſed, he took his Journey to *Adrianople*; where to evidence his Grandeur to the Bailo *Capello*, and the Secretary *Ballarino*, he made his entry with an Army of twenty thouſand men, beſides the ordinary attendance of the Court, and uſual Concomitants of the Ottoman Train. After which Oſtentation, the Grand Signior encharged *Ballarino* to write to the Senate, That though he was able to over-run all their Country, and take from them their Capital City, yet ſuch was his clemency, that he was contented to grant them peace, on conditions that they ſurrendred to him all the Iſland of *Candia*, with the Fortreſs of *Cliſſia* in *Dalmatia*, and payment of three millions of Gold for the dammages of the War. But theſe ſeemed to the Senate to be ſuch unreaſonable propoſitions, and ſo prejudicial to their honour, that they reſolved to maintain the War, and to defend themſelves more vigouroufly than ever.

ANNO 1658.

NOtwithſtanding the deſigns of the Turks againſt *Dalmatia*, they were not leſs intent to their Affairs in *Candia*, deſigning to try their fortune once again in the Siege of the principal City of that name, for that that falling into their hands, the whole Iſland would quickly be reduced, and with that Conqueſt an end would be put unto the War. The Venetians on the other ſide, attended to their buſineſs with all diligence, not neglecting any proviſions which might ſecure their intereſt in that Country; and that they might regain what they had loſt, they held intelligence with ſome perſons in *Canea*, hoping by their means to ſurpriſe the Town; but the Turkiſh Governour, being very vigilant, reinforced his Gariſon with five hundred men; and *Chuſacin* Paſha coming to his aſſiſtance with thirty Gallies, diſappointed the Venetians of landing at that place.

The Rendezvous of the Army which was to march into *Dalmatia*, was ordered to be at *Adrianople*, where the Brother in Law of the Paſha of *Aleppo*, who was Commander of the Forces of that place, arriving later than the day prefixed, was for that reaſon put do death by the Great Vizier. This ſeverity ſo enraged the Paſha, that immediately he raiſed an Army of forty thouſand men, and marched towards *Scutari*, threatning *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, unleſs the head of the Great Vizier were given him by way of reprizal for that of his Brothers. The Divan being ſtartled The Rebellion of the Paſha of *Aleppo*.

1658. led hereat, returned him a gentle meſſage, neither denying nor granting his demand, as if they intended to amuſe him with hopes: but he interpreting this delay for a refuſal, did not only perſiſt in requiring the head of the Vizier, but of four other principal Councellours, whom he judged to have concurred in the Sentence for his Brothers death; and in farther proſecution hereof, he burnt and ſpoiled all the Country about *Conſtantinople*; and the Plague raging at the ſame time in the City, affected the Inhabitants with ſuch ſadneſs and diſcontent, that the chief Miniſters apprehended more evil from thence than from the Enemy without. The Army of the Paſha daily increaſing, and being grown from forty to ſixty thouſand men, cauſed the Vizier to abandon all other thoughts and deſigns but thoſe which tended to the deſtruction of the Paſha, and his Complices; ſo that there neceſſarily followed a revulſion of the Forces from *Dalmatia*; the Vizier himſelf diverting them from thence and *Tranſilvania*, marched with the whole Army towards *Conſtantinople*.

Yet before the Great Vizier departed from *Adrianople*, he perſwaded the Grand Signior to ſet the Bailo *Capello*, and the Secretary *Ballarino* at liberty, that thereby he might give ſome jealouſie to the Rebels, as if he deſigned to make a Peace with *Venice*, to have more power, and better leiſure to make his War againſt them. This Counſel, though prudently given, had yet little influence on the humour of the Paſha, who continued his March, fortifying himſelf in the moſt advantageous Paſſes of the Country: But what was moſt bold of all his actions, and rendred his pardon beyond the clemency of his Soveraign, was the proclaiming a Youth of twenty years of Age, then with him in his Army, to be the Son of *Sultan Morat*, and conſequently the lawful Heir of the Crown; and that in right of him, he had taken poſſeſſion of a great part of *Aſia*, and was marching towards *Conſtantinople*, with reſolution to diſpoſſeſs *Sultan Mehmet*, and exalt this lawful and undoubted Heir on the Throne of his Anceſtors.

This and other rumours from *Perſia*, that that King taking the advantage of theſe diſorders, was making preparations to regain *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, and revenge himſelf of all thoſe cruelties which the Turks had inflicted on his Subjects and Country, increaſed the fears and cares of the chief Miniſters of State. Notwithſtanding which, *Chuſaein* Paſha proſecuted his buſineſs no leſs in *Candia* than formerly, in hopes to put an end to the War there, before the end of the Summer; and in order thereunto, he received a Recruit of five and twenty thouſand men, from the *Morea*. But the daily increaſe of the Paſha's Forces, and his approach towards *Conſtantinople*, as it was a matter of the higheſt conſequence, ſo it required the moſt prudence and caution in the management. In the firſt place therefore by *Fetſa*, or Reſolve from the Mufti, the Paſha was declared a Rebel, and guilty of High Treaſon againſt the *Sultan*, notwithſtanding which, a Chaous was diſpatched with Letters of Pardon, if now repenting of his fault, he would disband his Army, and return to his former obedience, he ſhould be received into grace and favour. The Paſha received the Chaous with the ſame Ceremony and honour, as if he had been an Ambaſſadour, being willing to conſider him under that Character, rather than under the notion of a Purſuivant, or Officer ſent to affright him into his Duty; and in anſwer to the meſſage replyed, That it was not in his power to condeſcend to any conditions, for that ſince he had aſſumed the Cauſe of this Youth, who was the Son of *Sultan*

tan Morat, concealed to that Age by his Mother, for fear of the power of his Uncle, he could not assent to any terms or conditions less than the Exaltation of him to the Ottoman Throne: and so carrying this Young Man with him, as a property, whereby to cover his Rebellion with the Guise of Justice and Duty; he maintained a Court for him after the Ottoman fashion; and causing the *Tughs*, or Standards to be carried before him, he permitted him to give Audiences, send Dispatches, and to take on him all the royal marks of Empire. The Army of the Pasha was by this time encreased to seventy thousand Men, one Part of which he sent towards *Scutari*, and another towards *Smyrna*, which alarm'd all the Countries round about, and gave the Grand Signior such cause of apprehension, that he tryed divers means, and made many propositions of honours and benefits to the Pasha, whereby to allure him to obedience; One while he offered to him the Government of G. *Cairo*, but that being rejected, he endeavoured to raise men in *Asia* to oppose the progress of his Armes; of which some numbers being got into a Body, and perceiving the formidable Force of the Pasha, revolted, and joined themselves to his Party. This extremity of Affairs caused the Grand Signior not only again to proclaim the Pasha a Rebel, but to give liberty to his people to destroy him and his Souldiers in any parts where they should encounter them. In pursuance of which Licence, a Village in *Asia* having killed twenty five or thirty of the Pasha's men, which came thither to refresh themselves; the Pasha was so enraged thereat, that he caused his Souldiers to put Man, Woman, and Child to the sword throughout the Village. And in this manner the Affairs of the Turks remained in the greatest Confusion imaginable through the whole course of this year 1658. 1658.

ANNO 1659.

NOR did this Year begin with better Omens of success, for to the other dangers was added a report, that the Persian had taken the Field with two hundred thousand Men, for recovery of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, which was the Ancient Patrimony of his Forefathers; so that the Grand Signior being rendred thereby more willing to agree and accommodate Affairs with the Pasha, proffered to him the Government of the Province of *Soria* for ever, paying only a yearly homage of a hundred thousand Sultanees, in lieu of three hundred thousand, which that Country always yielded. But the Pride of the Pasha scorned a proffer of so mean a consideration, having nothing less in his thoughts than the entire enjoyment of the Empire, or at least to partake an equal share thereof with the Sultan. For the hopes of the Pasha encreasing with his Army, which was now grown to eighty thousand men; he took up for some days his head-Quarters near the Fortress of *Tocacia*, within ten days March of *Smyrna*; and thence approaching towards *Constantinople*, the chief Ministers concluded that there was no other safety but in their Armes, and that the Pasha was not to be reduced to any terms of gentleness or moderation. Accordingly the Great Vizier passed into *Asia* with a numerous Army, and speedily joined Battel with the Pasha, which continued for some hours with great slaughter on one side and the other; but at length the fortune of the day turned in favour of the Pasha, and the Viziers Army being routed, he lost all his Cannon and Baggage, and he himself

1659. was forced to ſave himſelf in the neighbouring Countries; where not being purſued by the Paſha, he had time again to collect his torn and ſcattered Troops. The news hereof multiplied the diſorders and confuſions at *Conſtantinople*, to which being added the motion of the Perſians, and that they were to join with the Paſha, as alſo ſome troubles in *Tranſilvania* cauſed by the unquiet ſpirit of *Ragotski*, together with the ill humour of the male-contents in the City, made all things appear with equal, or greater danger at home than abroad.

Wherefore, as the ultimate remedy of theſe imminent dangers, it was reſolved, that the Grand Signior ſhould go in perſon to the War, on ſuppoſition that Reverence to his Royal Perſon would produce that awe on the ſpirits of his Subjects, which was not to be effected by violence, or force of Armes. According to this reſolution the Grand Signior paſſed into *Aſia*, and joining his Forces with thoſe of the Vizier, compoſed an Army of ſeventy thouſand Foot, and thirty thouſand Horſe, with which marching boldly towards the Enemy, the heart of the Paſha began to fail him; ſo that calling a Council of his Officers, he propoſed his inclinations towards terms of agreement, rather than to hazard all on the uncertainties of a Battel; the ſpirits of the Souldiery being now become tractable by the appearance of ſo great a Force, aſſented to the propoſition; and thereupon Articles being ſpeedily drawn up, were ſent to the Grand Signior for his approbation, who, though he would not ſeem to refuſe any thing therein contained, yet declined a perſonal Treaty, as being a matter too mean for his Imperial Perſon to capitulate with his Vaſſals; and therefore ordered, that *Mortaza* Paſha ſhould treat in his behalf, promiſing to confirm whatſoever Act *Mortaza* Paſha ſhould conclude in this matter. *Mortaza* being thus made Plenipotentiary, refuſed to treat with the Paſha, until ſuch time as he had retreated with his Army at a diſtance of ſome days March from the Grand Signior's Camp; which being performed near a Town called *Alexandria*, he fooliſhly ſuffered himſelf to be ſeparated in a private place from his Army, on pretence that Peace was more aptly concluded in a free retirement, than under the conſtraint and force of the Souldiery. Here *Mortaza* meeting the Paſha forcibly ſtrangled him with 17. of his Complices, whom he had brought with him for Witneſſes to his Capitulations with the Grand Signior. With the news hereof the Army of the Paſha ſoon disbanded, every one with ſhame and ſilence ſhifting for himſelf, retired to his own Country and home. And herewith eaſily ended this Civil War almoſt in a moment, which but now threatned the Extirpation of the Ottoman Race. The cruel Vizier retained his thoughts of revenge, which we ſhall ſhortly hear in what manner he vented on the great Spahees and rich Men in *Aſia*, who had joined themſelves with the Paſha in this Rebellion. This good ſervice promoted *Mortaza*, and rendred him more conſiderable to the Grand Signior; ſo that he was employed in the aſſiſtance of the Tartars, againſt *Ragotski* in *Tranſilvania*, and afterwards preferred to the important Charge of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, of whoſe ſucceſs, and Fate we ſhall hear in the Sequel of a few years.

But as yet the Commotions of *Aſia* were not ſo wholly extinguiſhed, but that the Nephew of the Paſha of *Aleppo*, in revenge of the treacherous death of his Uncle, took up Armes, and was followed by the people of the Territories depending on *Aleppo*. To his aſſiſtance came in alſo the Son of *Chuſacin* Paſha, late General in *Candia*, whom the cruel Vizier had put to death, notwithſtanding the merit of his late ſervices, which

which might seem to attone for his former misfortunes, and make satisfaction for non-compliance with instructions; but this Vizier, who never pardoned any Person, would not begin with an Act of clemency towards one who was none of his Creatures, or Confidents depending on him. To these joined the Bey of *Torgue*, who casting off his Obedience to the Pasha of *Cairo*, entered into the Cabal with ten thousand Horse; so that a formidable Army being composed by this Union, gave a new subject of fear and apprehension at *Constantinople*. But the Great Vizier so dextrously managed his Affair, by sowing Dissention between the Chiefs, and bestowing Largesses to the Souldiery, that the Army unsensibly mouldred away, leaving their Generals, and Commanders to shift for themselves, and exposing them to the Justice of a Vizier, who was unacquainted with mercy, and never pardoned any who was either guilty of a fault, or suspected for it. 1659.

Towards the end of this Year the Vizier built the lower Forts, which are scituated at the entrance into the *Dardanelles*, commonly called by the name of the Queen Mothers Castles. And dispatched a Chaous to the Pasha of *Canea*, to put all things in a readiness for the Siege of *Candia*: Orders were also given to the Pashaws of the Inland Countries to prepare themselves for the Wars against *Dalmatia*, and *Transilvania*.

ANNO 1660.

THE Rendezvous of the Army being appointed at *Belgrade*, the Vizier hastened thither in Person to quicken the preparations, and March of the Souldiers, which were flocking thither from all parts. This Vizier *Kuperlee*, though aged, was yet very active and vigorous, by which he created so much confidence of himself in his Master, that he acted nothing in all the Government but by his counsel and direction: which being always jealous and bloody towards those who had any power in the Empire; he for that reason cut off the Casir of *Damascus*, who though he was a good Governour, and a faithful Servant, yet because he was a Favourite of the Queen Mother, and conserved the State of his Affairs in a laudable posture, he grew jealous of his power, and therefore sacrificed his blood to his own security and bloudy dispositition. The which act of unjust cruelty so enraged the Queen Mother, that she for ever after bore a mortal hatred to this Vizier, and continued the same to his Son, which was the famous *Kuperlee*; but his moderation and discretion was so well tempered with respect towards her, that She at length not only pardoned the sin of his Father in him, but became his Friend, and relished the services which he performed for his Master.

The Venetians having about this time received considerable succours, namely 4000. French Foot, which his most Christian Majesty after the Conclusion of Peace at the *Pyrenean* Treaty, had most generously spared to that Republick, were enabled to attempt some notable enterprize; and thereby so hardly pressed the Pasha of *Canea*, that he earnestly wrote to the G. Signior for succours; assuring him that without present relief, he should be forced to surrender his Town to the mercy of the Enemy. The G. Signior promised him speedy relief, and for his better encouragement sent him the Present of a Sword and a Vest of Sables; in the mean time the Venetians took three Forts, *viz. Calamo*, *Calegro*, and *Epicarno*, and proceeded to lay Siege to *Canea*; but the Enemy having received a

1660. ſupply of 3000. men into the Town, the Chriſtians quitted this enterprize in hopes of beating the Turks out of new *Candia*; which was lately built near to the old *Candia*, with deſign to keep that Town ſtraitned by perpetual Alarms, and by the vicinity of ſo bad a Neighbourhood.

The G. Vizier being very Aged, was ſubject to many infirmities, and falling ſick at *Belgrade*, he was adviſed by the Phyſicians to change the Air, as the beſt remedy for his Diſeaſe; and indeed they were all careful to give him the beſt and ſafeſt Counſels, for that he often threatned them, if he died of that Sickneſs, he would ſend them all to the next World before him. The Vizier following the advice of his Phyſicians, returned to *Adrianople*, where having in a good meaſure recovered his health, he ſent Orders to *Hali* Paſha, then General of the Forces in *Hungary*, to haſten the Siege of *Varadin*, being eſteemed by the Turks an advantagious Fortreſs for carrying on their Conqueſts in that Country; of the taking of which Town, and of all the troubles in *Tranſilvania*, cauſed by the ambitious humour of *Ragotzki*, we ſhall treat at large in the following Hiſtory. For being come to that time, in which Providence allotted me a charge at *Conſtantinople*; I was thereby ſomewhat elevated on a riſing ground, whereby I could with my own Eyes ſurvey the Tranſactions of that great Empire; and for that reaſon I call them my Memoirs; which for being matters tranſacted in my own time, I have thought fit to introduce them with a ſhort Advertiſement to the Reader.

THE

THE MEMOIRS OF *PAUL RYCAUT*, Esq;

Containing the

HISTORY OF THE TURKS,

FROM THE

YEAR 1660. to the YEAR 1678.

With the most

Remarkable Passages

Relating to the

ENGLISH TRADE

In the space of

Eighteen YEARS.

LONDON,
Printed for *John Starkey* at the *Mitre* near *Temple-Bar*,
MDCLXXIX.

THE

MEMOIRS

OF

TRADE &c.

Containing the

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OF THE

TURKS,

FROM THE

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In the Space of

Eighteen YEARS.

LONDON,

Printed for Tho. Basset at the Anchor near Temple-Bar,

MDCLXXIX.

TO THE
READER.

Courteous Reader,

THis following History is some part of those fruits arising from my vacant hours of eighteen Years residence in Turky, seven whereof I compleated at Constantinople, in quality of Secretary to the Lord Ambassadour, and for eleven Years I exercised the Office of Consul at Smyrna. In the first times of which, I had great advantages to observe, and make my Annotations; having for the most part been acquainted with the persons as well as with the affairs of those concerning whom I write; and indeed the incumbence which was then upon me, obliged me to a knowledge both of persons and busines. My latter time, which was that of being Consul, constrained me to an attendance on matters relating to the government of our Trade; and therefore it is not to be expected, that at that distance from the Court, I should lay down Transactions so positive, and particular, as in the preceeding Years; yet the acquaintance, and correspondence I afterwards continued at Court, and the care I took to inform my self of what occurred, qualified me in some measure for an Historian; at least put me into a condition to make a Breviate, or Collection of certain Observations occurring in the Turkish Court.

When I first entered on this work, I was carried with a certain emulation of French and Italian Writers, of whose Ministers few there were employed in the parts of Turky, but who carried with them from thence, Memoirs, Giornals, or Historical Observations of their times. In which our Nation hath been so defective, that besides some scattered and abrupt Papers, without coherence, or method, adjoined to the end of Knoll's History of the Turks (which is an excellent collection from divers Authours) one shall scarce find five sheets of Paper wrote by our Countrymen in way of History. At which omission having often wondered, I resolved from my first entrance in those Countries, to note down in a blank Book what occurred in that Empire, either as to civil, or military affairs; with what Casualties and Changes befel our Trade, that so both one and the other might serve for Examples and Precedents to future Ages; the which after some years afforded me materials to compose and frame this following Discourse. In which, having by Gods assistance

thus

thus far proceeded; As it may be an Example to my Successours, to spin and draw out the thread of this History through Ages to come; so it will be a good part, and office, of those who reside there at present, by a more diligent enquiry to correct, and amend what I have mistaken, or misunderstood.

For next to the immediate attendance to the Charge and Trust imposed upon me, I judged it a chief duty towards my Country, to denote and Record certain Transactions relating to Trade, which is the grand Interest that hath engaged England to a Communication, and Correspondence, with these remote Parts: nor doth the World perhaps expect much less from me, than that I should add something to the History of the Turks in our time, which howsoever imperfectly I may perform it; yet the Offices which I have exercised, and the impartiality with which it is wrote, may gain it some credit and reputation in the World. For in the writing hereof, I cannot be taxed with animosity to any person; nor am I to be esteemed as possessed with affection, or partiality to any side; which is a point of sobriety, and good temper, necessary for all Historians: For we who lived in those parts, were little concerned for the House of Kuperlee, or for the Favourites of the Court; nor was it of any moment to us, whether the Faction of the Spahees, or Janizaries prevailed; or whether the Courtiers, or the Souldiers, ruled the Empire: only we esteemed it our duty, to speak best of that Government under which our Trade thrived most. And though the times of Sultan Ibrahim were the golden days for Merchants, which employed our Navigation beyond the memory of any times, either before, or since; and consumed of our Manufactories (though not in greater quantities) yet perhaps with better advantage and profit to our Nation: Yet I ought not to be so injurious, or ungrateful to Sultan Mahomet the Fourth, as to accuse his Government of Oppression, or Violence towards us, or of any breach of Articles, and Priviledges, which he had granted to his Majesties Subjects; but shall rather applaud, and be ready to own that Justice which our Complaints have found, and met at the Ottoman Court, under the protection of those worthy Ambassadours sent by his Majesty to stand Centinel on the Guard of their Country.

For whereas in the time of Sultan Morat, when the Military men bore the sway; Injustice and Violence, which mingled in all the actions of Rule, had an influence also on the English affairs: And when in the time of Sultan Ibrahim, that the Female Court had gained the predominancy; and that vast Treasures were expended in Riot and Luxury; the prodigality of great persons made it necessary to be rapacious and unjust: But in these more moderate times of this present Sultan, when neither excessive Wars abroad, nor Luxury nor immoderate expences at home, exhausted the Coffers.

We

We may easily imagine, that the disorders of State did not drive the Rulers to a necessity of exercising unjust Arts, which are always most certain Symptoms, either of a bad Government, or a vitious inclination in the Prince.

The English Trade according to the Chronicles of Sir Richard Baker, *was first introduced into the Country of the Turks, in the Year* 1579. *but* Sagredo *an Italian Writer, accounts only from the Year* 1583. *perhaps before that time Overtures were only made for a Trade, which might be so inconsiderable, as that until then it was not esteemed worthy to be adorned with an Ambassadour, or to be opposed by the Ministers of Foreign Princes. For so soon as an Ambassadour from* England *appeared at the Ottoman Court, with Credential Letters from Queen* Elizabeth, *the French and Venetian Ministers took the Alarm, and opposed his reception, especially the French, who (as* Sagredo *reports in his History of the Turks) represented unto the G. Vizier, how much this new Friendship with the English would obstruct that antient Alliance which was made with his King, and would impeach and lessen the Priviledges and Trade which they enjoyed in those parts: To which the Vizier answered, according to their usal phrase and stile; that the happy Imperial Seat where his Master resided, was called the Port, because it was free and open to all such who desired to take refuge and Sanctuary therein, and therefore the English without just reason ought not to be excluded. That the Sultan ought not to be denied that freedom of love and hatred, which was common to all Mankind; and that he was as well resolved to chuse and cherish his Friends, as to prosecute and destroy his Enemies. Whereunto the French Ambassadour urged, that since it was the pleasure of the Grand Signior to admit the English; that at least they should be obliged to enter* Constantinople *under the French Colours. But the English Ambassadour replyed, that his Mistress who was so potent, scorned all Dependencies on other Nations, and would rather abandon the Friendship of the Sultan, than admit the least diminution of her own honour: and embellishing his Discourses (as* Sagredo *proceeds) with the representation of that advantage and profit, which the English Trade would bring to the Ottoman Empire; he so ensnared the hearts of the Turks, that they preferred the admittance of new Guests, before the Alliance of antient Friends. Since which time our Commerce and Trade with the Turk hath been in its increase, and being governed by a Wise and Grave Company of Experienced Merchants, hath by Gods blessing brought an inestimable Treasure and advantage to the English Nation, which that it may still continue, increase, and flourish in all Ages and times to come, is the hearty desire, and Prayer of him, who is a true, and faithful Servant to that worthy Society, and a sincere Wellwisher to his Country.* Farewel.

THE HISTORY OF Sultan Mahomet IV. THE XIII. EMPEROUR OF THE TURKS, Beginning in the NINTH YEAR OF HIS REIGN.

The First BOOK.

Anno Christi, 1661. *Hegeira*, 1072.

IT was now the beginning of this Year, when the Earl of *Winchelsea* arrived at *Constantinople*, the first Embassadour sent abroad from His Majesty of *Great Britain*, *Charles* the Second, after his happy Return to the Glorious Throne of his Ancestors, to *Sultan Mahomet*, the Thirteenth Emperour of the Turks; it being judged fit, that amongst other Alliances which were to be contracted with Foreign Prin-

1661. ces and States, this of *Turkey* ſhould not be omitted, but rather in the firſt place conſidered: In regard, that as the flouriſhing Eſtate and proſperity of *England*'s richeſſe depends abſolutely on her Foreign Trade, ſo on none more particularly than on that of *Turkey*, which conſumes great quantities of her moſt ſtaple and ſubſtantial Manufactures, and makes returns in whatſoever Employes, and gives Bread to the poor and induſtrious of the Nation.

The Vizier *Kuperlee*.

At the arrival of this Embaſſadour, the important affairs of this vaſt and ſtill growing Empire, were governed by the Great Vizier *Kuperlee*; a perſon decrepit and infirm in body, by reaſon of his great Age, but of a ſolid and ſubtle judgment; by Nature cruel, and by Years froward; which diſpoſition was ſingularly well fitted to do ſervice to his Maſter, againſt the impetuous ſtorms of the Faction of thoſe times, in which the Paſhaws, and Chiefs of the Souldiery (as often it happens in Empires, whoſe Body is grown too vaſt to be ruled by a weak Head) became rich and powerful, and by the long Vacations of Peace, inſolent and wanton; for as then the Wars with *Venice* were carried on faintly, only by ſending forth an Armata of Gallies in the Spring; and the preparations became rather accuſtomary, returning with the Year, and made for exerciſe of the Arſenal, and amuſement of the people, than deſigned with any probable expectation of ſucceſs or Victory, proportionable to that Treaſure and trouble which maintained them. So that to encounter ſo many difficulties, and predominancy of Ambition and Avarice, the Prince himſelf being young, the Fortune of his Empire had more than urgent neceſſity of ſuch a rough and cruel diſpoſition as was found in *Kuperlee*; who ſo ſeaſonably made uſe of it, to the deſtruction of all ſuch, who might either endanger his Prince, or himſelf; that in two or three Years time he became Maſter of the Lives, and Eſtates, of the Grand Mutiniers; confiſcating their richeſſe and fortunes to the uſe and ſecurity of his Maſter; having in his time put to Death, thirty ſix thouſand perſons, whom he proſcribed in ſeveral Countries; and privately ſtrangled in the City, by vertue of his abſolute and uncontroulable Authority, without giving the Offenders liberty of Proceſſes, or Pleas for their Lives, or the ſolemnity of Scaffolds, or applauſe of a Funeral Oration at the Gallows, whereby to win the affections and compaſſions of the vulgar, but went through with his bloody and tragical buſineſs, without noiſe, or rumour, or knowledge almoſt of all the Souldiery, or the people; whilſt the great Perſonages, whoſe rapine and pride had contracted them envy and hatred from their inferiours, ſtood confuſed and amaſed, not having power to rebel, nor Sanctuary to fly unto.

Ab Kuperlee vizier in his Ufurs put to death. 3 Gen: Turkiſh affairs.

Such is the effect of an abſolute, and arbitrary power, which is Maſter of times and affairs, and rather fits and ſquares Enterprizes to Counſels, than Counſels to Enterprizes. *Reges Herculè non liberi ſolum impedimentis omnibus, ſed Domini rerum, temporumq; trahunt Conſiliis cuncta, non ſequuntur. Liv. lib.* 9. The Grand Signior in the mean time applauded the diligence and circumſpection of his Miniſter; and though yet trembling with the memory of late ſollevations amongſt the Janizaries; yet being young, and active, addicted himſelf wholly to the delight of Hunting, and to follow the Chace of fearful, and flying Beaſts; whilſt his Vizier ſo cloſely followed his game of bloud, that he left no perſon conſiderable in the Empire, who was not a Creature made by, or depending on him; unleſs the Kahyabei, or Lieutenant General of the Janizaries; *Mortaza*

Paſha

Pasha of *Babylon*, now called by the Turks *Bagdat*, and the Pasha of *Magnatia*; Men, whose bravery, and generous Justice, or else their Guards, or Fortune, had only seated beyond the reach and Sword of this Tyrant. This was then the State of the Turkish Affairs amongst themselves: As to Foreign, and Christian Princes; The Emperour, the King of *England*, the French King, and the States of *Holland*, had their Embassadours and Residents at the Ottoman Court, with whom as yet passed a fair and amicable correspondence, excepting with the French; whose Embassadour had then lately obtained his release from Imprisonment, to which he was confined contrary to the Law of Nations, and the Custom of the wisest, and most generous people of former Ages; and compelled to return into *France*; an Agent being there setled by the Merchants, to Negotiate their Affairs; the occasions and grounds whereof we have at large signified in another place: which unlawful treatment of a person sacred, none will much admire, who considers the humour of supream Ministers that judge themselves under no restraint or limits of Law; either Civil, or National. The Venetians notwithstanding the War, had two Ministers there resident; the Ecc^mo *Capello*, Procurator of St. *Mark*, a right worthy and noble person; and Signior *Ballarino*, a person vigilant, and subtle, who omitted no opportunities to advance his own Fortunes, and with that the benefit of his Republick. The Emperours Resident, called *Simon Reuninghen*, a person sincere, free, and open hearted, agreeable to the nature of the Germans; had for some Years, though with some difficulty, continued the Peace, or rather matters from breaking out into an open War; the Incursions on the Frontiers, and other accidents, always administring occasions of discontent, and complaints to both parties. 1661.

But that the series of this History may be continued with an even thread, and clear light to the Reader, we must cast back our Eyes to the Year 1657. when the Ambition of *George Ragotzki*, Prince of *Transilvania*, began new troubles in his own Principality, and laid the Foundation of a future War between the Emperour and the Turks. For now *Poland* was so wearied with the incessant Wars of *Moscovy* (the inveterate Enemy of that Crown) with the frequent Rebellions of the Cossacks, and the invasion of the Swedes; whom the traiterous Vice-Chancellour, and his Adherents, had invited to the spoils of their own Country; that King *Casimirus* was reduced to the ultimate extremity of his Affairs; the publick Exchequer, and private Treasuries were exhausted, the Villages dispeopled, the Fields uncultivated, Traffick, and Commerce ceased; nothing but Wars, Robberies, and Confusion filled the Diurnals with News, and the hearts of the Inhabitants with Sorrow and Calamities: wherefore *Casimir* King of *Poland*, vexed on all sides, and not knowing where or how to apply a remedy, dispatched his Great Chancellour *Albertus Praveſmoski*, in Quality of Embassadour, to demand assistance from *Ragotzki*, promising in recompence thereof, to adopt his Son to succeed him in that Kingdom. No Message could arrive more grateful to ambitious *Ragotzki*, who by so desired a proffer, seemed to arrive the Zenith of his Prosperity; which like the Land of Promise, being only shewed to his Father in a long Prospective, seemed now as it were, by Inheritance, to devolve upon his Son; in order unto which, many days of Treaty and Conferences were held between *Ragotzki*, and the Polish Ministers; but *Ragotzki* insisting on certain particulars, which were not in the Power of

The History of Prince *Ragotzki*.

1661. of the King or his Commiſſioners to grant without the approbation of a Diet, the Treaty was diſſolved, and *Ragotski* remained diſpleaſed, and angry; pretending himſelf to have been deluded and ſlighted, reſolved to avenge the Affront, and by his Armes gain to himſelf the Crown of that Kingdom; ſo that raiſing a ſtrong Army, and joining himſelf in a Confederate League with *Sweden*, he invaded *Poland*, waſting all the Frontiers with Fire and Sword. The Ottoman Port growing jealous of the ſucceſſes of theſe Affairs, and not ſo much of the Advance of *Ragotski*, as of the growing greatneſs of the *Swedes*, with whom unwillingly they would be Borderers, iſſued an expreſs Command, That without contradiction or delay, he ſhould immediately give a ſtop to his March, and return with his Army into *Tranſilvania*. And though the Emperor of Germany, and the *Krim* Tartar declared their diſlike of his proceedings, threatning to invade his Principality at home, unleſs he retracted himſelf, and deſiſted from this enterprize; yet *Ragotski* having his underſtanding blinded with Ambition, and the luſt of Rule and Government, ſtopped his ears to the menaces of his Enemies, and the counſel of his Friends. This *Ragotski* enjoyed a State moſt happy, large, fertile, and populous, in Power inferiour to few, ſuperiour to many; ſo that he might have paſſed peaceably and honourably with all, could his great ſpirit have bowed to, and complied with his Potent Neighbours. For on the one ſide the Puiſſant power of the Turk threatned him, to whom the leaſt Ombrages of diſpleaſure adminiſter occaſion of War; On the ſide of *Hungary* the Emperour over-awed him; On the ſide of *Valachia*, and *Moldavia* he lay open to the incurſion of the Tartars: So that a man might rationally expect, That this Prince ſhould have eſteemed it honour enough to have conſerved his own without rendring himſelf obnoxious to the jealouſie and ſuſpicion of his Neighbours. But his great ſpirit was ſo enamoured of a Crown, and ſo bewitched with the hopes of obtaining it, that nothing ſeemed difficult or improbable to the acquiſition of his longing deſires, which were the occaſion of all thoſe calamities and miſeries in *Hungary*, which afterwards enſued.

Ragotski joins with the *Swedes* againſt *Poland*.

The difficulty of *Ragotski*'s Affairs.

In contemplation of all which foreſeen evils, his Ceſarean Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to the Ottoman Port, declaring againſt the temerity and audaciouſneſs of *Ragotski*; who in the mean time ſubdued the Fort of *Briſtia*, invaded with Fire and Sword the Province of *Ruſſia*, plundered *Podolia*, and advanced as far as *Camonitz*, a Fortreſs ſtrong by Art and Nature; and joining afterwards with the *Swedes*, aſſiſted them in the ſubjection of *Cracovia*. About this time the Emperour *Ferdinand* the third began to ſend ſuccours into *Poland*, and to proteſt againſt the proceedings of *Ragotski*, but being ſurpriſed by ſickneſs, ſoon after paſſed to a better life; which for ſome time, giving a ſtop to the aſſiſtance of *Poland*, was interpreted by *Ragotski*, as a happy Omen of his good Fortune.

But how vain and deceitful are humane hopes, whoſe foundations are Ambition and Violence! For *Leopold* ſucceeding in the place of his Father to *Hungary*, and the Empire, immediately proſecuted the deſign in favour of *Poland*, and in the firſt place beſieging *Turone*, one of the chief Cities of *Pruſſia*, taken by the *Swedes*, forced it to a Surrender. The King of *Denmark* alſo growing jealous of the encreaſing greatneſs of the *Swedes*, nouriſhed by antient grudges, and National Emulations, took up Armes in defence of *Poland*, and being at firſt, fluſh of money,

gave

gave constant pay and large donatives to mercenary Souldiers, which encreased his Army, drawing great numbers from the Swedish Colours; so that being stoutly recruited, he entered into the Enemies Countries, possessed himself of the important Fort of *Olme* in *Norway*; overthrew the Swedish Army at *Vorgast*, and obtained a victory over their Fleet in the Baltick Sea. The Poles also themselves, who at first revolted from their Prince, and favoured the Swedish proceedings, perceiving the Wind change, and become contrary to that Party, began to abandon the interest they professed, and by degrees to return to the due obedience of their King. *Zerneski* also the General, and *Lubomiski* the Great Chancellour of *Poland* met the Swedish Forces near *Cracovia*, where giving them Battel, discomfited the whole Army, killed fourteen thousand upon the place, took all the Cannon and Baggage, and won that day a most signal Victory. 1661.

Ragotski perceiving the face of things thus changed, and being by Command of the Ottoman Port abandoned by his Moldavian and Walachian Forces, began to turn his face towards *Transilvania*, where now he wished himself and Army lodged in safety. But being overtaken by General *Zerneski* near the Mountains of *Transilvania*, he was, though unwillingly, engaged to fight, and was with that fury assaulted by the Polish Horse; that though according to his usual Bravery, he charged in Person at the head of his Troops: yet he was not able to withstand a violence so disadvantageous in number, but that his men being first put into disorder, then to a Retreat, and then to open flight, his whole Army was defeated, many of them perished by the Sword, others flying through the Woods and Mountains died with famine; and he himself obliged to buy a shameful Peace, engaging by Word and Oath to the payment of a great summ of Money, was permitted with a mean Retinue to return into his own Country. Nor did these misfortunes end here; but the Tartars commanded by the Turks, in revenge and chastisement of *Ragotski*'s Enterprize without their consent, entered into his Principality with considerable Bodies of Horse, against whose sudden Invasion, an Army under the Conduct of his General *Kemenius* could not be so soon collected and disciplined, as to be able to resist that fury of Tartars, who at their pleasure, burned the Towns and Villages, and carried away multitudes of people of both Sexes, and all Ages for Captives into their own Country, amongst which some were of Quality and Condition. Amidst which troubles came Letters from the Ottoman Port, directed to the Nobles of *Transilvania*, declaring *Ragotski* a Rebel, and commanding that according to the laws and priviledges of that Principality, they should proceed to the Election of a new Prince, and in case of refusal, all the ruines and calamities were threatned, which they might justly expect in punishment of their disobedience from a severe and angry Emperour.

Ragotski overthrown by the Swedes, Poles.

The Turks threaten *Ragotski*.

Ragotski being well informed what was designing against him at the Ottoman Port; and knowing that his power was not able to oppose so much puissance, resolved to give way to necessity, and voluntarily depose himself, before he should be engaged thereunto by the Imperial Decree; so that he calmly receded from his Principality, hoping that his humility and submission might procure his pardon at the Court. The Nobility of *Transilvania* being as well desirous to evidence their affection to their old Prince, as their obedience to the Grand Signior, did immediately

He deposes himself.

1661. ately appoint a day for Election, but with Proviſo, that a general Petition ſhould be made in behalf of *Ragotski*, that he might be again reſtored unto ancient Grace and Favour with the Port, who in the mean time ſwore to live peaceably in a quiet and private condition, without making diſturbance, or innovation in the Government, and that when this Grace ſhould accordingly be obtained, then that the new Prince ſhould recede, and ſuffer things to return to their former and priſtine Eſtate. For which purpoſe there was choice made of one *Francis Redeius*, a Perſon of a peaceable and gentle temper, who would eaſily condeſcend to the terms agreed, and as willingly reſign up his Government again, as he unwillingly received it. But though *Ragotski* had renounced, promiſed, ſwore, and in appearance ſeemed to recede from his Government, and ſurrender all at the irreſiſtible Decree of a ſuperiour power; yet his high Spirit, and working Brain could not diſlodge that Ambition of his heart, which at firſt privately countermined and enervated the Power of the new elected Prince: but afterwards his towering thoughts ſwelled too big to be ſuppreſſed under the cover of diſſimulation, yielded juſt reaſon to the Ottoman Port to ſuſpect his deſigns; who not being ignorant of what was paſt, diſpatched Orders to the Paſha of *Buda* to demand the ſtrong Fort of *Janoua* for caution and ſecurity of the good Behaviour of the *Tranſilvanians*.

Redeius made Prince of *Tranſilvania*.

Ragotzki ſeeing himſelf thus diſcovered, unmasked himſelf openly, and threw away his Vizard, and with a vigourous force and courage reaſſumed the Rights and Standard of his Principality, forcing *Redeius* not only to relinquiſh his Power, but to ſwear never again to uſurp it, though enforced upon him by the Authority of the Turks.

Ragotzki again declares himſelf Prince.

Theſe extravagances ſo exaſperated the minds of the Turks, that whereas before they began to entertain tender thoughts towards *Tranſilvania*, they now meditated its entire Ruine and Conqueſt; and ſo laying aſide Arguments and Treaties, they made Levies of Horſe and Foot both in *Europe* and *Aſia*. *Ragotski* foreſeeing how unable he was to reſiſt a Force ſo unequal as the puiſſance of the Ottoman Empire, without the ſuccour of Foreign Force, reſolved, like the Prodigal Son, to throw himſelf into the compaſſionate Arms of the Emperour, as his Father, earneſtly ſupplicating, That whereas before, his diſorderly and diſobedient Life had rather merited puniſhment than favour; yet in this Cauſe, wherein the intereſt of *Chriſtendome* was concerned, he would compaſſionate the common Good of the Chriſtian Church, rather than chaſtiſe his particular miſdemeanours. With this meſſage *Michel Miſces*, his Chancellour, being diſpatched, was graciouſly received by the Emperour, and readily aſſured of powerful aid and protection.

Ragotski elevated with this courteous Treatment and promiſes had his whole mind enflamed with hopes and deſire of revenge; ſo that aſſembling ſuch Forces as he could, he entered boldly into the Field againſt the Paſha of *Buda*, who with a conſiderable Army, was ordered to march before, and enter the Confines of *Tranſilvania*, and there unite with the Paſha of *Temiſwar*.

1658. In the Tranſaction of all theſe paſſages, *July* was well entered, when both Armies met in open Field; and though the Forces of the Tranſilvanians were much inferior to thoſe of the Turk, yet *Ragotzki* full of his wonted Courage and heat, ſo vigorouſly aſſailed the Enemy, that he quickly broke and diſordered their Ranks, put them to flight, and killed

three

three thousand upon the place. But little did this advantage benefit poor *Transilvania*, for the Great Vizier soon after following with the gross of his Army, consisting of little less than an 100. thousand men, provided accordingly with Artillery, and all other Military Ammunition; seconded by the Tartars, and assisted by the Moldavians and Valachians, and a Rout of other barbarous Nations; laid Siege to the strong Fortress of *Janoua*; of which and of several others, in a short time he rendered himself Master, laying waste and desolate, all the Countries round with Fire and Sword. The Nobles of *Transilvania* sensible of these imminent and approaching mischiefs, dispeeded three persons of considerable Quality amongst them, in an Embassy to the Vizier; viz. *Francis Daniel*, *John Lues*, and *Acatius Berclay*, who greatly laboured by their Oratory to perswade the Vizier, that they were in no wise consenting to the disobedience of their Prince, but did always readily submit to the Ottoman servitude; imploring his Clemency and Commiseration of their distressed and ruined State. The Vizier inclining his Ear to their Petition, stopped the progress of his Arms, but increased their Tribute to such an excessive rate, that the burden of it became insupportable; and appointed *Berclay*, one of the Embassadours to be Prince; taking thereby from the People, the free priviledge of Election; Commanding them to accept him without farther dispute, or repugnancy. It is uncertain whether *Berclay* designed the Principality to himself by any instance he made to the Turks, or whether his Election proceeded meerly from the Vizier himself; yet this is certain, that returning home *Berclay* applyed himself to establish his own Dominion, and to disappoint the designs of his Predecessour, and his party.

1661.

The Vizier besieges *Janoua*.

Berclay made Prince of *Transilvania*.

The Turks being satisfyed with this submission, with the subjection of several places of importance, with deposing of *Ragotzki*, and establishment of a new Prince, began to disband a great part of their Forces; and the Great Vizier, with the remainder, returned towards *Constantinople*; supposing the fire of this War to be totally extinguished.

In this condition of repose, matters continued for about the space of two Years; when *Ragotzki* impatient of his losses, and of the exchange of his publick State to a private condition, inveterate in his hate towards his Rival and Competitor, resolved to tempt fortune once more, and make his ultimate Assay, either to establish himself in his Principality, or at least to render himself equal with other mortal Princes in the Grave; and so relying with much confidence on the zealous affection of his Subjects, and the promise of powerful Adherents, he once again justled himself into the Government, by the expulsion of his Rival; whom he could not behold with other than with an emulous and unpleasing eye. *Berclay* perceiving himself thus ensnared, neglected, and persecuted by all parties, represented these innovations to the Ottoman Port, with the most aggravating circumstances imaginable; beseeching them to afford him aid, and vindicate their own honour in maintenance of him, whom they had constituted a Prince, and was a Creature formed by their own favour. The Turks immediately touched with the sense hereof, Issued out Orders to *Ciddi Ahmet*, the new Pasha of *Buda*; Commanding him without delay, to gather what Forces he could to interrupt the designs of *Transilvania*; and to put matters unto a stand, until a greater Army could second him, under the Command of *Ali* Pasha, appointed General for this Expedition. The Pasha of *Buda* readily obeyed, and assembling what

Ragotzki makes new Troubles.

1661. Forces he could in *Hungary*, and joining with the Pasha of *Temiſwar*, paſſed the *Danube*, and with a very conſiderable Army entered *Tranſilvania*. *Ragotzki* undaunted at the near approach of his Enemy, boldly entered the Field with his Forces, and joined Battel with them in the Month of *May*, 1660. between the Cities of *Clauſemburg*, and *Giulia Alba*. At firſt the Chriſtians endeavoured to have intercepted the Enemies paſſage, by ſome Ambuſcado, or ſtratagem of War; but the Turks ſtill advancing, were at length met by the Van-Guard of the Chriſtians; to aſſiſtance of which ſeveral Bodies following one after the other, it became a general Engagement of both Armies: in which Battel, *Ragotzki* gave his uſual proofs of valour; declaring by his actions, that he was reſolved to die, or to Triumph. But being at length wounded in four parts of his Body, and his Army over-powered with numbers, he was forced to yield the Fortune of the Day to the Turks; leaving 8. pieces of Cannon, and his Standard in their hands; and the greateſt part of his Army being either killed or taken; he himſelf with a few of his Attendants, recovered *Varadin*; where after 18. Days diſtemper of his Wounds, he expired his unquiet and troubled Soul. This was the end of that vain *Icarus*, who attempted to fly with feigned Wings and borrowed Feathers; this is the fate of ambitious Spirits, whom Pride elevates and exhales like a vapour, unto that height, until it diſſolves them into Showers, or precipitates them into the abyſſe of all Confuſion. This *George Ragotzki* was of a tall and well proportioned Stature, black Hair, and a friſled Beard; his Eyes quick and lively, of an active Body, and healthy Conſtitution; his Spirit was high and great, which betrayed him to extravagancies; his Comportment was generous and courteous towards all, which rendered him exceedingly beloved and eſteemed by his Nobility; he was free in his Speech, and eloquent in his Expreſſions, prudent in his Counſels and Enterprizes; had not the quickneſs and vivacity of his Soul made him ſomething raſh and violent in his Attempts; he was of the Proteſtant Religion, leaving behind him a Widow, and a Son of hopeful and happy endowments.

The Death of *Ragotzki*.

His Character.

After the Death of *Ragotzki*, it might well be expected that theſe ſtorms of War ſhould be diſperſed, and that *Tranſilvania* ſhould at length enjoy the Sun-ſhine, and calmer Weather of Peace and Repoſe. But *Ali* Paſha, General of the Turkiſh Camp, being by this time arrived the Confines with his powerful Army, reſolved not to return empty or in vain, without advantaging the Ottoman Intereſt, and making ſome ſatisfaction towards the expence and trouble of ſo great an Army. Wherefore taking pretence againſt *Varadin*, for receiving *Ragotzki* after his Defeat, abetting his party, and following his Intereſt, deſigned to ſummon that important Fortreſs to ſurrender, which is ſituated at the foot of thoſe Mountains which open a paſſage into *Tranſilvania*.

The people of *Varadin* crave aid of the Emperour.

The Inhabitants of *Varadin* terrified at the approach of this formidable enemy, diſpatched a Meſſenger to the Emperour, imploring with moſt effectual Arguments his Sacred Protection and powerful Aſſiſtance againſt the Common Enemy to *Chriſtendome*, repreſenting to his Ceſarean Majeſty, how that the Turks in their Capitulations with him, had agreed to build or erect no new Fort on thoſe Frontiers: and whereas it was the ſame thing to force and uſurp a Fortreſs already made, as to form a new one; the taking of *Varadin* was to be eſteemed a real violation of the Articles of Peace. That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to reflect on the

the fatal consequences which the loss of *Varadin* might prove to *Hungary* as well as *Transilvania*; being that Gate, which obstructed, cuts off all intercourse between them and *Germany*. These considerations with several others, were exceeding prevalent in the Imperial Council; so that it was resolved, that General *Souches* should prepare his Army, and put all things in readiness to afford the assistance which was desired; supposing that with the German Regiments, and Hungarian Forces, might be formed an Army of about 25. thousand fighting men. But in regard in those instructions given to *Souches*, there was a Clause, that he should be careful not to engage his Forces in any attempt, where the event might be doubtful, he assembled the principal persons of that Country, and the Militia, to consult whether succour and relief might be given to *Varadin*, without hazarding the Army in a doubtful and a dangerous adventure: in consideration of which point, a true computation being made of all the Imperial Forces, they were found much inferiour to that calculate which was made of them at *Vienna*; For that since *Tockai*, *Zatmar*, *Kalo*, and other places belonging to the State of *Ragotzki*, had been Garisoned by German Souldiers, there remained not of them above 4000. effective Men; the Hungarian Forces which were supposed to have consisted of 2000. Men, could not form 600.; the Haiduchs which were computed to be 6000. Men, did not appear in the person of one; being all dispersed and retired to their own homes. The additional Forces from the Princes of the Empire were as uncertain, as the expectation of them long and tedious; for though the Imperial Forces united are of puissance sufficient to bid Battel, and defiance to the numerous Troops of the Ottoman Power; yet in regard the union of that Body depends on the Assembly of Diets, Treaties, and long Debates, which are subject to time and delays, caused by different Factions, (which are impossible to be avoided amongst different States) whose Disunions, Competitions, Emulations, and Pretences, always in such meetings abound, and prejudice the common cause and benefit of the Empire; the raising of such a formidable Army, becomes a matter always of time and difficulty. Howsoever the Emperour whose Hereditary and Elective Possessions bordering on the Confines of the Enemy, is necessarily engaged to be the standing Bulwark of the rest, and a Bank against the inundation of barbarous Nations; whilst other Princes whose Dominions are more remote and secure, apprehend not the premures and storms that the Emperour sustains, and is enforced to expel with the loss and diminution of his own people, and impoverishment of his peculiar Treasure: To these considerations, which rendered these pious intentions towards *Varadin* almost impossible; there wanted Money, which is the Sinews of War, and the Soul of all Enterprizes: And that which farther retarded those succours and prosecution of the design in hand, was the departure of his Cesarean Majesty from his Court at *Vienna*, on occasion of a Progress as far as *Trieste*, to take Homage of his Provinces of *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and *Cragno*; which was an action much against the Counsel and advice of the Arch-Duke *Leopold* his Uncle; who foresaw how great disorders would ensue by the Emperours absence in this Conjuncture from his Imperial Court. Upon which considerations, Count *Souches* sent a true List of all his Forces, with an account of the strength of his Enemy; remonstrating that it was impossible to convey Forces into *Varadin*, without hazarding a Battel with *Ali* Pasha, which would prove an absolute breach of the Peace; which in this Conjuncture, and

1661.

The difficulty of making war with the Turk.

1661. want of preparation, was neither honourable, nor ſafe for the Empire.

In the mean time *Ali* Paſha proceeded and encamped with his Army before *Varadin*, breaking firſt ground the 4*th* of *July*, 1660. and beginning a Formal Siege, he ſoon begirt the Town, and continually labouring in making Trenches, Batteries, and Approaches, they arrived in a few days to the Counterſcarp of the Wall. But the better to deſcribe the Siege and Aſſaults on this famous City, it will be neceſſary firſt to explain the Condition and Scituation of the place.

Varadis beſieged.

Varadin therefore is ſeated in a Plain, on the Banks of the River *Chryſé*; To the Eaſt it is environed with ſuch craggy, and rough Mountains, as render it almoſt on that ſide unacceſſible; To the South the Town extended it ſelf moſt; To the North it is waſhed with the River, over which ſome ſmall, yet fruitful, Hills raiſe themſelves; it is encompaſſed with a Wall filled with Earth, after the faſhion of Modern Fortifications, and ſtrengthened with five main Bulwarks, and a very deep Ditch filled with the River Water: it was well provided both of Victuals and Ammunition, and armed with Ordnance both great and ſmall, as was ſufficient to have repulſed a puiſſant Enemy, and have ſuſtained a long and ſtrait Siege. But the Gariſon within conſiſted only of eight hundred and fifty Souldiers, an inconſiderable number, both in reſpect of the Circuit of the Fortreſs, and of that groſs Army which encompaſſed it.

The Enemy being now, as it is ſaid before, under the Counterſcarp of the Wall, they perceived that the Ditch was ſo deep, and filled with Water, that though their great Guns had made open Breaches in the Walls, yet there was no poſſibility to ſtorm them, or bring the Souldiery to ſcaling Ladders, or handy blows. The beſieged alſo made ſuch continued Sallies, with ſucceſs and ſlaughter of the Enemy, that after three and twenty days of vain labour to ſew the Ditch, *Ali* Paſha was at length almoſt reſolved to have raiſed his Siege, and given over the Enterprize; upon which whilſt he conſidered and ruminated (as ill Fortune would have it) a certain Maid, which formerly had been a ſervant to the Governour of the Gariſon, then a Captive in the Turkiſh Camp, having obſerved how on occaſion the Citizens uſed to empty and drain the Ditch, revealed the ſecret to the Turks, hoping thereby not only to purchaſe her Liberty, but with that alſo a Sum of Money for price of her treachery; ſo that diſcovering where another Ditch was to be opened, the courſe of the Water was ſoon diverted, and the Walls of the Town laid dry and open to the Aſſailants. As this happened without, ſo another accident within, equally dangerous, befel the Beſieged; for one day an Officer of the Ammunition going into the Stores with a lighted Candle, by chance dropped a ſpark of fire from his Lanthorn into the Powder, which taking fire, blew up the Powder, Granadoes, Fire-works, and all other military Stores, with the neighbouring houſes, and above a hundred men; which loſs alone was ſufficient to have dejected the minds of frail men; yet they ſo valiantly bore up their courages, that they ſeemed not in the leaſt abated, but rather animated with the height of anger and deſpair. The Turks having now free Acceſs to the Walls, undermined ſome ſmall Forts, which they blew up, and thereby made ſo great a Breach that with facility hoping to gain the Town, if they made uſe of the occaſion, they poured in ſuch multitudes of peo-

Two ill accidents to the Gariſon.

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ple as the Beſieged were ſcarce able to withſtand; and the Turkiſh Souldiery being alſo weary of their ſufferings, and irkſomneſs of their tedious leagure, reſolved now or never to put an end to their labours; ſo that advancing with their open Breaſts to the top of the Battlements, without fear either of Cannon, or Musket ſhot, they entered within the Walls, and planted the Turkiſh Banners on the Works; but being afterwards received by a reſolute Company of the Defendants, they were again thrown from the Walls, and tumbled back into the Ditch with an incredible Slaughter. It is impoſſible here to deſcribe the anger, the courage, the deſpair which was apparent in the faces of the Beſieged, enflamed by the love of their own Country, and hatred of the Turks; ſo that three or four ſuſtained ſometimes the Aſſault of a Troop, and a ſmall number united oppoſed a whole Sangiack of the Enemy. The Women alſo forgetting the imbecillity of their Sex, renewing in themſelves the Courage and Vigour of the Ancient Amazons, expoſed themſelves without fear upon the Walls, throwing ſcalding Water, Stones, burning Pitch, and whatſoever came next to hand, upon the Aſſailants; whom they ſo valiantly repulſed from the riſing of the Sun till twelve at Noon, that after much ſlaughter on both ſides, the Turks growing faint, retreated, and took breath a while within their Trenches. And now the Souldiery conſidering the Obſtinacy of the Chriſtians, began to mutinie, and reſolving not to caſt away their lives in vain, motioned to raiſe the Siege, and be gone; which when the General oppoſed, they threatned to ſacrifice his Life to the Ghoſts of their departed Brethren. But ſee, how many times the Devil ruines the fortune of the Chriſtians! for whilſt they were in this deliberation to depart, behold, a certain Thracian one of the Gariſon Souldiers adviſed the Turks that there were not above three hundred ſound men remaining in the whole Gariſon, that they were now reduced to their ultimate Criſis; ſo that if they appeared only before them, and would but terrifie them with another Aſſault the Town was their own, without the leaſt doubt of Surrender. This Advice retarded the haſty departure of the Camp; inſtead of which they again muſtered themſelves before the Walls, and prepared to aſſault the Breach, reſolving to put all to a ſecond extremity. The Chriſtians within perceiving the reſolution of their Enemy, and being ſenſible how much they were infeebled by the laſt Convulſion, and loſs of blood, and as yet ſore of their Wounds, immediately ſpread a white Flag of Treaty, which was as readily accepted by the Turks, and all Articles agreed on the 17*th.* of *Auguſt*, and on the 20*th.* the Gariſon marched freely out with Colours flying, and Drums beating, with liberty to go whereſoever they pleaſed without hurt or injury; which Conditions were fully and faithfully performed and maintained.

1661.

A Thracian betrays the weakneſs of the Town.

Varadin ſurrendred.

Varadin being thus yielded, afforded matter of diſcourſe, of diſcontent, of fear, and apprehenſions at *Vienna*; ſome argued, That is was but common and natural reaſon, when our Neighbours houſe is on fire to look to our own; Others blamed the ſlow and phlegmatick proceedings of the German Miniſters, who in ſuch urgent emergencies as theſe, could ſit as unconcerned, as Spectators at a Theatre, who regard nothing, which way the prize is carried; And in ſhort, the whole Chriſtian World ſtood Admirers of this ſottiſhneſs, eſteeming either thoſe Borderers aſtoniſhed and ſtruck into a ſtupid timidity, or moved by principles of Policy, which none beſides themſelves either underſtood, or penetrated. Only Count *Nicho-*

Vienna troubled for the loſs of *Varadin*.

las

1661. *las Serini*, a Prince who had a fair and Soveraign Inheritance in thoſe Parts, Commander of *Croatia*, and the Confines under his Ceſarean Majeſty, a moſt mortal and inveterate Enemy of the Turks, could not endure their inſults, bravadoes and daily encroachments, but watching his occaſion of advantage, when *Caniſia* was almoſt deſtroyed by a dreadful fire, and thereby their Ammunion, and Proviſion for the moſt part conſumed, he gathered what Forces he could poſſible, and made uſe of the opportunity to lay Siege unto it, not doubting but in that Conjuncture, and miſerable Calamity of all things, to promote the intereſt of his Maſter, and the common cauſe of *Chriſtendom*; which as ſoon as he had done, he wrote a Letter to the Emperour, acquainting him that God had opened him a Gate and Path to his Intereſt, and to a juſt revenge of the Ottoman perfidiouſneſs; Who having violated their Faith, and the mutual Peace in taking *Varadin*, would be juſtly and gloriouſly recompenſed by the loſs of *Caniſia*; which being now, as it were by miracle, put into his hands, it were a neglect of the Divine Providence not to improve with advantage an opportunity ſo cheerful and ſo promiſing: to which, beſides other arguments, he added, That if his Ceſarean Majeſty ſhould not think fit to concurr herein with aſſiſtance of his Imperial States, yet at leaſt he would be pleaſed not to interdict him from the Glory of that deſign, in which he queſtioned not but to ſucceed, and in a ſhort time to render not only to his Majeſty, but alſo to the whole Chriſtian World, proofs of his Valour, and a good account of his Enterprize. Howſoever, the Emperour's Council ſeriouſly conſidering that *Serini*'s State could not be engaged with the Turk without involving his Intereſt; and that the Princes of the Empire, though when aſſaulted, would willingly contribute their Forces in the defenſive part, yet would be backward to be the Aggreſſors, and engage their States in an offenſive and provoking War, did therefore not only deny to ſecond, or abett his deſigns with military ſuccours, but poſitively commanded him to retire, and deſiſt from his reſolution againſt *Caniſia*; with which Anſwer, the Zeal and Spirit of *Serini* was ſo enflamed, that throwing in paſſion his Cemiter on the Ground, he raiſed his wellformed Siege, and retired to his proper Reſidence at *Chiacaturno*.

Count *Serini* deſigns againſt the Turks,

—is forbidden by the Emperour.

The loſs alſo of *Varadin* moved the Tranſilvanians to conſult their ſafety in this extremity of their Affairs, which now amidſt theſe dangers and ſtorms which threatned them, appeared in a deſperate and languiſhing Condition, unleſs remedied by a deſperate Cure, and the reſolves of ſome wiſe and valiant Counſel. Wherefore in the firſt place, they concluded to depoſe *Acatius Barclay*, the Favourite of the Turks; and in his ſtead they conſtituted *John Chiminianus*, or *Kemenius*, the late General of *Ragotzki*'s Army. In the next place, they made their Addreſſes and Applications to the Emperour for aſſiſtance, ſupplicating, as *Ragotzki*, and thoſe of *Varadin* had done before, the powerful protection, and ſacred Patronage of the Imperial Eagles, alledging thoſe Arguments of common ſafety, and mutual intereſt, which apparent reaſon ſuggeſted, and which were the preſent Subject and Theme of all the Courts in *Chriſtendome*. To this Demand the Emperour aſſented, promiſing readily his aſſiſtance, but with Proviſo, that for his ſecurity, the Cities of *Zechelhid*, *Chowar*, *Julia*, and other places ſhould receive Gariſons of German Souldiers. The Tranſilvanians willingly accepted the propoſitions, ſo that ſoon after thoſe places were ſupplied with German

The Tranſilvanians conſult their ſafety.

They beg aſſiſtance of the Emperour.

Gariſons,

Garisons. But as yet no effectual Forces came from the Emperour, nay rather the German Councils seemed willing to perswade the Turks that there was no design, but to maintain the ancient, friendly and amicable Correspondence; to which end it is said confidently, that the Prince *Gonzaga* wrote to the Pasha of *Buda*, That those Garisons sent to possess certain places of *Transilvania* were only in appearance, and not to create Dissentions between the Austrian Court, and the Ottoman Prince; which Letters *Ali* Pasha sent to the Transilvanians, with design, that discovering unto them an evident reason to distrust the Emperour, they should wholly resign themselves to the good will and disposition of the Port. But notwithstanding, these verbal assurances prevailed not so much with the Turks on one side, as the German Garisons administred jealousie on the other; So that the Vizier raged furiously against the Emperour, for encouraging *Kemenius*, who had treacherously murdered his two innocent Brothers in his Rebellion against *Barclay*, the only, true and lawful Possessour. Nor did the Turks only vent their anger and disdain in words, but also by the sad and calamitous effects of War; passing without farther parly into the Emperours Dominions in *Hungary*, where they put all to fire and sword. Count *Serini* perceiving evidently hereby that the War was broken forth, and that it was not longer time to stand at a gaze, and not make necessary Provisions for defence; about the beginning of *June*, he laid the foundations of a Fortress on the Banks of the River *Muer*, within the Dominions of the Turks, about a League distant from *Canisa*, and in memory of his Family and Name, called it *Serinswar*, a place convenient to assault, and offend the Enemy, and to fix the Bulwark, or Redoubt of the Province of *Stiria*, which work was laid with that secresy, and executed with such expedition, that it was almost finished before it was known, or notice taken thereof by the Turks; but so soon as it was discovered, and the News arrived at *Constantinople*, the old Vizier *Kuperlee* stormed with rage, and in his height of passion, signed a Command for strangling the Pasha of *Canisa*, for not timely preventing the Erection of that Fort in its beginning. In like manner this work was an occasion of disgust at *Vienna*; for though the Turks were the first who had broken the Peace, and given just cause to the Christians to provide all cautions imaginable for their safety; Yet I know not why, nor wherefore, there wanted not certain persons in the Court either emulous of *Serini*'s Glory, or zealous of the Emperours Interest, who interpreted the activeness, and forward heat of this Count to be like fire to enflame the Fuel of Controversie between the two Empires; yet certainly we cannot but meritoriously applaud the Heroick Spirit of this Prince, who was provident of his Countries safety, watchful of the Enemies Motion, soon touched with the sense of the Mahometan infidelity, and in fine, a zealous Champion of the Christian Cause. But now, with what Salve or Balsome soever the Italian, or Spanish Chirurgions of Politick Government, imagined to obduct a callous over the smarts or wounds of these differing States; the Breaches grew every day too wide to be drawn up, or cemented by artificial compliances, or verbal lenitives; for now the succours promised by the Emperour were arrived in *Transilvania*, under the Command of Count *Montecuculi*, and joining with the Forces of *Kemenius*, formed such a numerous, and well composed Army, as was judged not only sufficient to contend for the interest of the Christian Cause, but also for the entire

1661.

Prince *Gonzaga*'s Letter to the Pasha of *Buda*.

Count *Serini* builds a Fortress on the Turks Dominions.

1661.

The just commendation of Count *Serini*.

The Emperor sends Forces to *Transilvania*.

1661. entire deciſion of the Worlds Dominion; So that both Generals with an unanimous conſent, confident of Victory, agreed, not to expect the approach of *Ali* Paſha, but boldly to meet and provoke him to Battel.

Ali the Turkiſh General perceiving the ſtrength and reſolution of the Chriſtians, thought it prudence for a while to detract from Engagement, and temper the uſual mettle of the Ottoman fury with cooler Counſels of advantage, which delays and opportunities of time would adminiſter: for obſerving that the Tranſilvanians were divided into Factions, he humoured the diſſenting party, by conſtituting *Michael Apaſi* their Prince; a perſon in the flower and ſtrength of his Age, of great parts and abilities; and one who violently affected the Principality, having but lately purchaſed his freedom from ſlavery. In this manner *Apaſi* paſſing from his Priſon and Chains, to the glory and trouble of a Throne; poor *Tranſilvania* remained divided, and taking Armes againſt her ſelf, went daily working and contriving her own ruine. This hath always been the Maſter-piece of the Turkiſh Policy, and this diſunion amongſt Chriſtians hath availed the Ottoman Intereſt more than their Swords, and confirmed their obſtinacy in Religion with a Miracle, as if the diviſion of Chriſtian Princes (which in late Ages have fruſtrated the holy deſigns againſt this common Enemy) had been an effect of their Prayers, and a Conceſſion of Divine Providence to their daily Petitions. So now the Tranſilvanians being divided, great numbers of them revolted from *Kemenius* to *Apaſi*, which not only weakened, but diſcouraged the Chriſtian Army with fear and confuſion; amidſt of which, *Ali* Paſha took his time to Aſſault them, not far from *Claudiopolis*; and being aſſiſted by the advantagious conjuncture of the preſent opportunity, ſo wholly diſcomfited them, that he killed and took 50000. perſons, which was the Iſſue of the preſent union, and the excluſion of *Kemenius*, who was now forced to abandon *Tranſilvania*, and ſeek his refuge in *Hungary*.

The Turks Policy.

Kemenius routed.

Howſoever *Kemenius* could not here reſt ſatisfied, but revolving in his mind certain ways to recover his Principality, obtained from *Montecuculi* ſome German Troops; with which, and with his own ſcattered Forces, which at length he had collected into a Body; he reſolved to try his Fortune once more with the Turks, and joining Battel with them, not far from *Presburg*, he fought with a reſolution becoming the deſperateneſs of his deſign; either that day to Die, or to Triumph. The Fortune of that days conflict remained a long time doubtful; ſo equal they ſeemed on both ſides to be in their Courage, in their Force, and in their Conduct, until at length the advantage of the Turks number prevailing, *Kemenius* was forced to a diſorderly retreat, and afterwards to a confuſed flight; in which, being by one of his own Souldiers knocked from his Horſe, was trampled under foot, and the greateſt part of his people remained a Sacrifice to the enraged Weapons of the Turks.

Kemenius a ſecond time put to flight.

Apaſi's party being greatly encouraged with this ſucceſs, joining with a Body of the Turks, laid Siege to *Claudiopolis*, the Court of the Tranſilvanian Princes, now Gariſoned by German Souldiers, and Governed by *David Retani*, a right valiant and truſty Souldier, who omitting nothing which might conduce to the defence and maintenance of the Town, either by his care or valour, made many ſucceſsful Sallies upon the Enemy, and tired and wearied them out in their Siege; until at length General *Schenidau* then in *Hungary*, gathering what force he could, which were not above 6000. Men, marched with all haſte poſſible to the relief of *Claudiopolis*;

Claudiopolis beſieged.

diopolis; the report of whose approach arriving the Turkish Camp before his person, or Army, and the common rumour and fear augmenting much their number; the Turks were so terrifyed hereat, that in haste and disorder they forsook their Siege after three Months continuance; leaving great quantities of Victuals behind for want of Carriages, and Beasts of burden. *Schenidan* having gained this success and honour with so much facility, he reinforced the Garison, and returned with Triumph home; carrying with him great Booties of Cattle and other spoils of the Enemy. The defence of this place was accounted almost miraculous; for besides that the Fortifications were after the antient model, it was unprovided of Cannon and other warlike Ammunition; and therefore we are not to pass by the Governour *Retani* without due Commendations; whose valiant and generous spirit, with courage equal to his diligence, knew how to fortify and to defend his Walls: For out of the Town Bells he founded his Artillery; he daily wearied the Enemy with Sallies, surprised one of their Batteries, which most annoyed the City; composed the Mutinies of the Citizens within; and in short, against the opinion of all, he defended and maintained it in the possession and right of the Emperour. 1661. The Siege raised.

Claudiopolis being thus relieved, the Turks stomached inwardly the disgrace, and yet thought it prudence for the present to dissemble; and therefore upon some addresses made for Peace from *Transilvania*, and certain Propositions tendered by the German Resident; the Vizier counterfeited his inclinations thereunto so far, that he prohibited all farther Acts of Hostility upon the Frontiers.

Notwithstanding which, the rumour at this time running, of a Combination of all Christendom against the Turk, with Men or Money, forwarded by the endeavours of the Pope, and the contrivances of *Venice* encreased the former jealousy, and caused the Skirmishes on the Frontiers to be more hot and frequent: and the Vizier being froward and cholerick, and by nature jealous; matters had immediately proceeded to an open rupture, had not the German Resident, by his Moderation and Prudence, represented affairs in the smoothest guise of Peace, and delayed the War rather than composed it; so that this whole Summer was spent in disputes, messages, and debates on both sides. The Turks jealousy.

The Vizier designing this War in his Eye, and desirous to comply with the vagrant humour of his Master, who was weary of his Seraglio at *Constantinople*, resolved to transfer the Turkish Court to *Adrianople*, so that toward the end of *June* they entered their Tents without the City. But before they could dispose their affairs for to depart, the Plague which is the Epidemical Disease of this Country, and the common distemper of the Summer Season began to break forth and diffuse it self through all parts of the City; that in a short time the Keyes of many Houses were brought to the Grand Signior for want of Pretenders and Heirs surviving to possess them: in greater Houses of Pasha's and others, where have been a hundred and fifty persons, scarce five have remained alive for burial of the others; what the fury of that mortality might be, was best conjectured by the daily account was kept of the Corps carried out of the City, by the Gate only of *Adrianople*, which for some Weeks amounted (I speak moderately) to twelve or thirteen hundred a Day; It being observed amongst the Turks, when above a thousand in a Day are carried forth Dead by that Gate, that then Prayers are to be made to Almighty God The Turkish Court removes to *Adrianople*. A great Plague at *Constantinople*.

1661. to withdraw that heavy judgment. At which time the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs are likewise desired to offer up their Devotions, and intercede with God for mitigation of the Pestilence; and the same day in a Field called *Okmaidan*, do all assemble, though divided apart, to pray against the common Calamity, it not seeming vain to them, that every one should call upon his God. Nor did the Plague rage only in the City, but the Ships and Turks Saykes were infected in parts remote on the Black Sea, and the *Propontis*, so that above a hundred Sail were reported to be lodged at several Ports for want of Seamen to navigate them home. The Camp also where the Grand Signior, and Vizier remained, was not exempted from this common Contagion, for the necessary intercourse between that and the City communicated the evil equal unto both, strowing the ways with dead Bodies, in that manner as represented a passage conducting to a Cœmetery, or Charnel house, rather than to a Martial Camp or Court of a Great Emperour. This mortality hastned the Grand Signior with his Army and Attendances into a better Air, the Vizier was to follow a few days after, but before his departure he setled and constituted his Son *Chimacam*, or Governour of *Constantinople*. Things in this confusion and haste not being well provided for, the Grand Signiors reception at *Adrianople* caused him to prolong his Journey by taking a compass round by the Castles at the mouth of the *Hellespont*, and from thence went to *Dimotochum*, where having lingered out eight or ten days more, he made a solemn entrance into *Adrianople*, which will for some years following be discoursed in this History as the Seat of the Ottoman Empire.

Kuperlee sends for his Son.

It was now towards the Winter, when this Vizier *Kuperlee*, finding himself mature with Age, and ready to fall like Autumn Fruit, sent for his Son from *Constantinople* to bear a share with him in the Burden of the Empire. This he did with the consent of the Grand Signior, for he alledged, that being now feeble and decayed, he could not make his personal Addresses as formerly, nor attend at the Court to render his Majesty an account of his Affairs; and therefore had need of so trusty a Messenger as his Son, to carry his advices and directions, and faithfully to communicate what he should encharge to his Relation; all others being on some consideration or other suspected, and at least Enemies to him, or to the Grand Signior. The Sultan accepting the proposition and the Person, had often occasions of discourse and familiarity with the Son, called *Ahmet*, who deported himself with that faith and prudence in the management of all his Affairs, that the old Vizier had no great difficulty to procure a Grant of succession for him in that Office: For though there were many obstacles therein, as the abhorrency of the Turkish Policy from all hereditary succession in places of trust; and the Youth of his Person not exceeding 32 years of Age, and some emulous, powerful, and ancient Competitors, who hated the Father; Yet the old Fox had so ingratiated himself with his Master, for (to speak truly) he had been the only instrument that had preserved him and his Empire from falling into as many Divisions as there are Pashalicks, or Governments, that the Grand Signior gave credit to him as to an infallible Oracle, assuring him that before any other, who might either pretend merit, Age, or Precedency, his Son should be preferred to the Succession. The old man acknowledged the favour with all humility and thankfulness, declaring, that he had now served his Majesty faithfully for the space

Procures the Succession for his Son.

ſpace of five years, a longer proportion than commonly Viziers had managed that Office, in ſuch tempeſtuous and diſtracted times, who either for their own offences, or want of Providence, or good Conduct have made ſhipwrack of their own lives, and the Charge they piloted: But he had lived in the worſt of times, when the ſpirits of men with diſcontent were enflamed round about him, and threatned the ruine of their Prince and Empire; and yet had reduced things to compoſure, and to the obedience of the Ottoman Yoke, that now he that was the Sultan might incline his head to reſt with ſecurity, and enjoy his paſtimes and pleaſures, without being interrupted by thoſe Conſpiracies, which deſtroyed his Father, and endangered him in his years of Infancy. And becauſe the continuance of his Security and Glory depended on the execution of certain Maximes, which he had framed to himſelf, he was chalking out to his Son ſuch undoubted Rules and Doctrines of Government, as would certainly tend to the glory and proſperity of the Empire, being abundantly ſatisfied that his Son was faithful, prudent, and active. But three things he particularly recommended to his Majeſty. 1661.

1. Never to give Ear to the Counſels and Advices of Women.
2. To amaſs what Treaſure he could poſſible into his Coffers, though with Oppreſſion, and impoveriſhment of his people.
3. To be continually on horſe-back, and keep his Armies in conſtant Action.

Rules given to the Grand Signior.

On the 19*th* of *October* *Kuperlee* having ended his days, whoſe Diſeaſe was Old Age, and a Gangrene in his Legs, his Son by Hatteſheriff, or the Grand Signior's Patent under his hand, taking the Seal was conſtituted Vizier in the place of his Father, to the admiration and diſappointment of the graver Seniors, who were diſcontented, not only to perceive themſelves neglected, but that perſon alſo to ſupplant them, who was judged uncapable of the office, according to the Canon, and ancient Precedents of this Government. *Kuperlee* dies.

The Body of *Kuperlee* was tranſported to *Conſtantinople*, where in his life time he had erected a very ſtately and magnificent Structure, as his Monument over the Grave, or Vault, where he deſigned to be interred. In his life time he had filled it with Corn, which daily was diſtributed to the poor, and being emptied after his death, received his Corps, over which a ſmall Moſch was endowed with Oyl for Lamps, and maintenance of certain Taliſmans and Softaes, to make Prayers and Offerings for his Soul.

The Father being thus interred, *Ahmet* his Son began to contrive his own eſtabliſhment, and to ſettle his Greatneſs on the foundation of his Fathers Rules of Policy, from whom not to degenerate in cruelty of Nature, or leave his Legacies unpaid to thoſe he had proſcribed, he in the firſt place ſacrificed the Blood of the Paſha of *Magnatia* to his Fathers Ghoſt, with ſome other petty attendances; ſo that the World perceived that they had changed the Vizier, but not his tyranny, or at leaſt the ſame ſpirit of the Father ſeemed to be renewed, and tranſmitted again into the Perſon of the Son. But more difficult it was to obtain the like ſucceſs againſt *Mortaza*, the Paſha of *Babylon*, and the *Kayah-begh*, or Lieutenant General of the Janiſaries, who were long before (as we have ſaid) marked out for deſtruction by his Father. For the firſt was the moſt powerful Paſha of all *Aſia*, vigilant, and active, and had done and merited great rewards from his Maſter, and particularly in

Paſha of *Magnatia* cut off.

1661. decoying, and cutting off the head of the Grand Rebel *Asan* Pasha, who dared the Sultan at the Gates of his Seraglio; but understanding the ill will of the house of *Kuperlee* against him, stood always on his Guard, lodging without the Walls of the City, and under the protection of his Armes and Souldiers, who were greatly affected to the generosity of his Person; so that, though many attempts were made upon him, and that Officers, or Executioners came from the Court, openly tendring from the Sultan the Present of a Sword, and Vest of Sables, the usual Signals of the Ottoman Grace, but privately bringing a Bowstring, or a Halter; yet they were all entertained at a distance, and returned again with the same dissimulation they had used in their feigned Addresses. In like manner the *Kayah-begh*, an ancient, prudent, and experienced Commander, beloved by the Souldiery, and secured by the Priviledge of his Office, (for a *Kayah-begh* cannot be cut off during his Command, without infringement of the honour and order of the Janisaries) preserved still his Station, and Command in despight of the Viziers hate and endeavours. But what could not be done by mere vertue of the Absolute Power, was effected under the appearance of honour and favour of the Sultan, who by his Royal Commission, having made him Pasha of *Damascus*, he was at the same instant deprived of his Military Power and Priviledge, and lay now naked and exposed to the Arbitrary Pleasure, and will of his Adversary. Nor could his prayers or tears incline the Grand Signiors mind to reverse his Order, who, together with the Vizier, rather inforced it with the specious pretext of Favour and Grace for his former merits, and with commendation of his Abilities agreeable to the importance of so considerable a Government encreased the just suspicion of *Solyman*, (for so the *Kayah-begh* was called) not being ignorant of the Turkish Proverb, A *Kayah-begh* is like a Fish in the Water, which out of its Element immediately dies. However, *ut finis omnium cum dominante, grates agit*, he acknowledges the favour of his Master, and gave thanks for it, according to the Duty of a good Subject, who ought to acquiesce in the sentence of his Prince, which, though never so full of severity, ought to be believed, and called Clemency. The Vizier now hasted *Solyman* Pasha to depart with all expedition, not allowing him above four or five days time to make preparations for so long a Journey, which otherwise he would have prolonged as one, like the rest of Mankind, desirous to protract the thread of Life, imagining that in his journey, at some distance, where his Death might be most obscure, and least noted, the Edict of the Grand Signior might overtake him, and find a Grave for him in some solitary Desert, or unfrequented Mountain. Wherefore he made one day an Address to the Vizier, under pretence of taking his last farewel, and freely acquainted him with his apprehension and his fears, desiring that he would deal as frankly with him, in letting him know the utmost of his Fate, for that now he was in his hand, and was so good a Proficient in the Mahometan Religion, as to oppose nothing which was his Destiny, or inconsistent with the Decree of the Sultan. The Vizier reverencing the Years, and pitying the Condition of so worthy a Commander abased solely by his Power, bid him be of good cheer, assuring him of his Life, so long as he acted nothing contrary unto his, which he confirmed by Vows, and all imaginable Protestations, encouraging him to proceed forward to his Government with those cheerful Words, and Assurances, that

Solyman Pasha in disgrace.

Tac. Lib. 14. Ann.

that *Solyman* Pasha taking his farewel with more ease of mind, and confidence of Life, departed *Adrianople* in three days after his designment to the new Office: But not many days Journey had he advanced into *Asia*, before the G. Signiors and Viziers Commands over-took him, altering his design for *Damascus*, and instead thereof ordered him a Pilgrimage unto *Mecha*, and exile into the remote and desert parts of *Arabia*, until he should be thought worthy to be re-called by that power which banished him. In like manner some few days after, the Mufti being on a *Friday* seated in his place, in the Mosch of Sultan *Selim* (a very noble and famous Fabrick) and attending there the G. Signiors entrance, that he might begin his Prayers, was unexpectedly whispered in the Ear, that he should retire and give place to another Mufti; which immediately he obeyed, and in four hours departed *Adrianople*, being banished to *Gallipoli*, for his Friendship (as was supposed) to *Solyman* Pasha, and for not passing the *Fetfa* for his Death, according to the will and desire of the Grand Signior. 1661. He is sent away.

During the Transaction of these affairs in divers parts, the Wars against the Venetians were carried on faintly; the Gallies had no other design, or employment, than to transport recruits of Men, and Ammunition to *Canea*, that so the Turks might rather keep the ground that they had gained in that Island, than add thereunto by new Conquests, until such time, as that being freed from other Wars, they might have leisure and opportunity to attend unto that alone. Accordingly the Captain Pasha set forth at the usual Season from *Constantinople*; and arrived at *Scio* with 23. Gallies, besides his own called the Bastard-Gally, or Admiral; the advice of which, coming to the Captain General of the Venetians, he hastned thither with all his Fleet to besiege him in the Port: but this seeming after some days a tedious work, and what might lose too much time; he resolved to depart from thence, and so leaving a sufficient Guard before the Port, he set Sail with two Galleasses, thirteen light Gallies, and seven Auxiliaries for the Coast of *Rhodes*; where his Brigantines advised, that the remainder of the Turkish Fleet were Anchored, and were taking aboard two thousand Souldiers for reinforcing *Canea*; but before the Venetians could arrive, intelligence was given them by the way, that the Turks were loosed from *Rhodes*, and were Anchored under the Island of *Patmos*, wherefore altering their course, they steered for *Nio*, and there watering their Vessels, sailed near to *Nixia*, where the Van-guard discovered five and thirty Gallies of the Enemy, which had made prize of a Tartana laden with Provisions designed for the Venetian Fleet, and having taken out her lading had set her on fire. The Venetians having their Enemy in their Eye, gave them chase until the Evening, when the Night coming on put an end to the pursuit: but keeping their course towards *Candia*, they had sight again of them the next Morning, and coming nearer, the Turkish Admiral put forth his Flag of Defiance, as if he intended to come to a Battel; but the Wind blowing hard, and the Sea increasing, both Fleets were separated until the Morning; when the Venetians discovered certain of the Enemies Gallies to Leeward of *Milo*, where bearing down before the Wind upon them, five of them ran ashoar; one was sunk, and four were taken by the Venetian and Maltese Gallies, three of which fighting with great Courage and Valour, killed divers brave Cavaliers of one and the other Country. The men which ran the Gallies ashoar at *Milo*, did it with design to secure themselves in that small

1661. ſmall Fort which the Turks poſſeſſed in that Iſland; but they were not able to withſtand the valour of the Venetians, who having firſt recovered the Cannon of the Gallies which were ran aſhoar, with their rigging, and what elſe was uſeful, they ſet the Hulls on Fire; and immediately entering the Port, the Captain General Landed two hundred ſelect men, and veterane Souldiers to beſiege the Fortreſs, giving Orders to one *Manolacchi Macchiotti*, who was well acquainted with the Turkiſh Language, to ſummon them to a Treaty, the which they readily accepted, and were received to quarter at diſcretion of the General; the next Morning they were brought down to the Sea-Coaſt to the number of about nine hundred, amongſt which there was a Janizar-Aga, a Bey of *Rhodes*, and three of *Conſtantinople*, beſides Captains, and other perſons of condition and quality. Theſe Priſoners being divided into ſeveral Gallies and Ships, the Venetians departed, and cruiſing about the Coaſt of *Candia*, to hinder the importation of all ſuccours, they encountered with *Antonio Priuli*, with a good Squadron of Veſſels under his Command.

THE

THE HISTORY OF Sultan Mahomet IV. THE XIII. EMPEROUR OF THE TURKS.

The Second BOOK.

Anno Christi, 1662. *Hegeira*, 1073.

AT the beginning of this Year the People of *Algier* sent Messengers and Presents to the G. Signiors Court, then at *Adrianople*, complaining against the actions his Majesties Fleet, under the Command of the Earl of *Sandwich*, had done against their Town and Castles, pretending those Forts to be the G. Signiors, and the Affront offered to him, as willing to interest him in their Quarrels and Piracies. And that their Addresses might be more graciously received, they brought with them certain Presents, which though in former times were Yearly, were now only as their Affairs required, and on this occasion were doubled: for besides their Presents to the Ministers and Officers of State; they brought to the G. Signior a Ship made in Silver, beset with Emrods, Rubies, and other Stones; fourteen young and handsome Boys, and a Neger Eunuch for the Seraglio. But the Earl of *Winchelsea*, his Majesties Embassadour there Resident, being then at Court, had so well prepossessed the Vizier with the ground and reasons for the War, that the complaints of *Algier* were judged in no wise touching

1662. touching the Ottoman Intereſt, or the breach of their Peace, any impeachment of the good correſpondence and friendſhip which then intervened between the King of *England* and the Grand Signior. But their preſumption to ſearch Engliſh Ships, and take out Strangers goods, was objected as an argument of their diſobedience and Rebellion, contrary to the G. Signiors Capitulations, which alſo was aggravated by their ill Treatment of the G. Signiors Paſha, whom they had beaten, impriſoned, and caſt out of all power and authority; which ſevere reprehenſions ſo terrifyed and diſcouraged them, that they not only deſiſted from their pretenſions againſt the Engliſh, but began to fear, leſt the power and intereſt of the Embaſſadour at Court, ſhould contrive ſome miſchief to their own perſons.

The G. Signior perſwaded to return to *Conſtantinople.*

Soon after this the Vizier eſteeming it neceſſary towards his better eſtabliſhment to gratify the City of *Conſtantinople*, and the Grandees of the Empire, by the G. Signiors return to his Imperial Seat, prevailed with him, (as a matter wholly neceſſary) to adorn and comfort that place by his preſence; for now he began to declare a kind of abhorrency to it, in regard the memory of thoſe Rebellions which were nouriſhed in that place, to the deſtruction of his Father, and to the great hazard and narrow eſcape afterwards of himſelf; had taken that impreſſion on his fancy, that the Chambers of the Seraglio appeared melancholy and diſmal, and the Walks of his Gardens ſolitary, and the noiſe of the Rooks and Daws amongſt his Trees, were like the croakings of Ravens or unlucky Birds. Howſoever the Vizier had ſo far entered into his affection and eſteem, that his perſwaſions were ſtronger than his own abſolute Dominion; and prevailed ſo with him againſt the force of his own fancy, that about the Equinoctial he began his Journy towards *Conſtantinople*, to the great joy and ſatisfaction of his people: But by the way lingring out his time in Hunting and other Paſtimes of the Woods and Fields; it was the 30*th* of *March* before he made his Entry, for never was Prince ſo great a *Nimrod*, ſo unwearied a Huntſman as this; never was he at quiet, but continually in the Fields on Horſeback, riſing ſometimes at Midnight, to ride up the Mountains, that he might more early diſcover the Sun in the Morning; by which extravagant courſe of life, he wearied out his Court and Attendants, who began to believe the amorous humour of his Father more ſupportable, than the wandring Vagaries, and reſtleſs ſpirit of the Son. But not only were his Huntings tedious to his Court, but troubleſome and expenſive to the whole Country, which were all ſummoned in whereſoever he came, and ſometimes thirty or forty thouſand men appointed to beat the Woods for three or four days, carrying before them the compaſs of a whole days Journey about, incloſing all the Game and wild Beaſts within that Circuit, which on the day of the Hunt, the G. Signior kills and deſtroys with Dogs, Guns, or any other way, with abundance of noiſe and confuſion: which paſtime, though lawful in it ſelf, and commendable enough in ſo great a Prince, yet the frequent uſe of it, was a burden and an oppreſſion to his people, whileſt in the Winter they paſſed many cold Nights in the Woods, and being unuſed to that hardſhip, many of them paid for their Emperours Paſtime with their own lives.

The Grand Signiors extravagant Huneing.

The Vizier endeavours to eſtabliſh himſelf.

The G. Signior being now at *Conſtantinople*, the Vizier judged not himſelf ſo well fixed in his Government, but that through the malice of his powerful Enemies, who were familiar to the G. Signiors Ear, he was in danger to be ſhaken; the principal of which was the Kuzlir Aga, or Chief Eunuch

Eunuch of the Women of the Seraglio, who by means of the Valede, or Queen Mother was ill-affected to him, being both inclined to prefer some Favourites of their own, for the diminution, and Eclipſe of the Viziers Power, one whereof was the *Teſterdar* Paſha, or Lord Treaſurer, placed in Office againſt the Viziers Approbation, which the Vizier underſtanding, made ſhort Work with him, depriving him of his Office, commanded him in a few hours to quit *Conſtantinople*. 1662.

But the Queen Mother, and *Kuzlir Aga* reſenting this Affront to their Favourite, reſolved to even ſcores in a piece of the like nature: Wherefore they obtained for the Viziers *Kahya*, or Steward, the Paſhalick of *Darbiquier*, a rich and honourable Government, not for any diſaffection or hatred they had unto him, but only to deprive the Vizier of the Counſel and Aſſiſtance of ſo knowing and faithful a Servant; for he was a Perſon, who by his own Eſtate, and Friends had raiſed the houſe of *Kuperlee*, having in the time of his poverty and meanneſs lent him that Sum of Money, which gave him the firſt Riſe to his Richeſſe and Authority; for recompence and intereſt of which, old *Kuperlee* made him his Steward, and ſhared to him his honours and proſperity; in which deporting himſelf towards all people with the ſame modeſty, and evenneſs of temper which he uſed in his former Condition, he procured no Enemies to his own perſon, and ſuch as hated the intereſt he ſerved, only wiſhed him diſobliged from it, ſo as to be able to diſpenſe their malice on the Vizier, without concerning him in his Maſters ruin. This conſideration moved the angry Lady, and the envious Eunuch to vex their Adverſary by the removal of his moſt faithful Creature and Servant.

Mahomet Kahya now Paſha of *Darbiquier*, after a reaſonable and convenient time allowed him for his preparations, being very rich, ſet forward towards his Government, with a very noble and numerous Retinue, having amongſt the reſt five hundred perſons young, well mounted, and well armed; which notwithſtanding were not ſo ſtrong, but before they were advanced many days Journey into *Aſia*, were encountred by a greater force of bold and deſperate Robbers, who engaging with him killed two hundred of his people on the place, rifled his Baggage, and conſtrained the Paſha himſelf to fly to the next City. This ſtrange and audacious Robbery produced many Commands and Orders for ſeizure and ſuppreſſion of Thieves in the leſſer *Aſia*. And becauſe the cuſtom is, that ſomething muſt be done in compliance with the Imperial Commands, many poor innocent men were taken in the Fields, and Mountains, and perhaps without any other Crime againſt them, than that they were not maſters of a thouſand Aſpers to bribe the Officers, were for want thereof ſent as Thieves to the Port, where without further conviction or Tryal they were executed. A notable Robbery.

The Vizier being thus weakned by the removal of his faithfulleſt friend, his condition was given over as deſperate by the generality of the World, and ſeveral appearances of troubles ariſing from the Eaſtern and Weſtern Parts, gave occaſion to the Queen Mother, and her Party, to diſparage his Abilities in the eſteem of the Sultan: Wherefore they exhorted him to imitate the Example of his Renowned Predeceſſors, who made uſe of their Viziers only to eaſe them from the troubleſom part of their Government, but did not entirely throw off the knowledge and privity of the

1662. important Transactions and State Affairs in the whole Empire. This Lesson awakened the Grand Signior a little, so that he declined some days his sports abroad, and exercise on horse-back, and instead thereof passed much of his time in a Chiosk, or Garden-house on the Wall of the Seraglio, just opposite to the Viziers Gate, where his chief business and concernment was to observe such as went in, or came out; and when at any time he espied those enter, remarkable for their Attendance, or difference of habit, he would send to know of the Vizier, what occasion drew those people thither, what their business was, and the like, by which he gave himself that satisfaction as to believe that he had now found the true way of inspecting his Affairs, and taking care of his Empire. The Vizier was not unsensible from whence this humour of the Grand Signior proceeded, nor ignorant what ill consequences such petty matters might produce; wherefore he resolved, if possible, to reconcile the favour and good will of the Valede, or Queen Mother, but all his Addresses (it seems) were returned fruitless; so difficult was it to appease the malice of a feminine Spirit; and this malice She so ill concealed, that it was often said by Turks of Quality and Judgment, That the Great Viziers Mother, who entertained a Familiarity with Spirits, as they believed, had by her Enchantments procured the Office of Vizier for her Husband and Son successively, and prevailed still to preserve her Son in the favour of his Master, yet could not by force of Magick get power or dominion over the Valede; No Spells, it seems, had virtue enough to qualifie the spirit of that angry *Juno*. Some hereupon judged, that the Vizier might have thoughts to make Resignation of his Office, and to content himself with some Pashalick of a higher, and more eminent degree; but apprehensions and jealousies of their dangers, and his own natural Ambition, soon stifled those considerations, resolving to continue his Charge in opposition to all the difficulties, and dangers he might encounter. And perhaps he gave himself the same counsel which the Vitellian Souldiers did to their General. *Nihil atrocius eventurum, quam in quod sponte ruant, moriendum victis, moriendum deditis; id solum referre, novissimum spiritum, per ludibrium & contumelias effundant, an per Virtutem.* Men who must die, whether they yield or are conquered by force, have the same Fate; all the difference is, that the one dies with valour and reputation, the other with reproach and cowardice. But to execute this stout counsel with prudence and wisdom, he conceived it necessary, if possible, to reconcile the sincere friendship of *Samozade*, the Reis Effendi, or Chief Secretary of State, a person the best practised of any, in the Affairs and Negotiations of the Ottoman Empire, and one much in the esteem and favour of the Queen Mother, and in order thereunto treats him with more familiarity and condescension than was ordinary, or by many judged agreeable to the Greatness of a Grand Vizier; for always when he came into his Presence, he arose up, calling him secretly Father, Tutor, and Companion, in supporting the Burden of the weighty Government, and such other Compellations, as the Grand Signior vouchsafed only to the Vizier: for though this Reis Effendi was of the greatest abilities, and this present Vizier the most youthful and unexperienced of Latter Times, yet it may be accounted one special mark and token of his prudence, in knowing how to elect so useful a friend, and of his policy in procuring his sincere faithfulness towards him, and making

The Queen Mothers enmity to the Vizier.

Tacit. Lib. Hist. 3.

making him really his own. To which end he converſed much with him, communicated all his thoughts, freely demanded his advice, received his private entertainments, and in fine, was wanting in no points of affable courteſie and compliance, whereby he might create him his own, contenting for ſome time himſelf with the name of Vizier, though the other as one, who beſt knew how to mannage it, enjoyed the power. 1662

The Chief Officers of the Seraglio, inſtigated by the Queen Mother to diminiſh ſomething the power of the Vizier, put often the Grand Signior in mind, as a matter agreeable to his dignity, to have a regard to his Government, which cauſed him more frequently than his humour ſerved, to betake himſelf to his Chiosk over againſt the Viziers Gate to make his uſual obſervations; and perceiving ſome Chriſtians to enter the Court with red Calpacks, or Caps, and yellow Shooes (prohibited to Chriſtians by orders of inferiour Magiſtrates but never until now thought worthy the Imperial Obſervance) immediately called for the Subaſhee or Conſtable of *Conſtantinople*, and from the Window commanded him with great fury to enter the Viziers Court, and ſuch Chriſtians as he ſhould find there with yellow Shooes and red Caps he ſhould firſt beat, and then ſend uncovered, and bare-footed home. The Subaſhee armed with a power in this matter as high as the Viziers, entered his houſe without Complement or Licence, and encountring firſt the Kapikahya's or Agents of *Moldavia* and *Valachia* negotiating the Affairs of their Prince and Country, he rudely layed them down, and without reſpect to their Perſons or Office, beat them on the feet, tore off their red Stockins, and Caps, and ſent them home with their heads and feet bare, derided by the people, and lamenting the Affliction of that Tyranny to which they were ſubjected. This inhumane treatment of perſons in a manner ſacred, was ſeconded by publick Proclamations, ſtrictly prohibiting all Chriſtians from wearing red Caps, yellow Shooes, ſcarlet Veſts, and the like; and Janiſaries from the uſe of Hanjars or Daggers, and ſilk Turbants, upon pain of death: which Order was ſo ſtrictly enjoined, that the corners of every Street were furniſhed with Officers to obſerve, and puniſh ſuch who were found to offend. The Grand Signior himſelf judged alſo the Execution of this order of that importance as to deſerve his own proper care and inſpection, wherefore walking abroad, as his manner was, in diſguiſe, with his Executioner at hand, encountred in the Streets an unfortunate Bridegroom, an Armenian, who that day, on priviledge of his Eſpouſals, had adventured to dreſs himſelf with yellow leathern Socks: nothing was, or could have time to be pleaded in his behalf, before the fatal Blow was ſtruck, which ſent him to his Grave inſtead of his Nuptial Bed. This fury continued ſome few days with much rigour, and ſtrict obſervation, but afterwards growing cold again, all care was neglected, happening herein, as commonly it doth in all things, which have no other foundation than humour and fancy.

That is, of the *Hezoda*, or Royal Chamber.

The Grand Signiors ſevere prohibition of yellow ſhooes, and red Calpacks to Chriſtians.

But this inſpection into petty matters did not ſo much diſturb the thoughts of the Vizier, as did the power and greatneſs of *Mortaza* the Paſha of *Babylon*, by the Turks called *Bagdat*, a perſon of an undaunted Courage and great Conduct, whom he had hitherto ſuffered to live, contrary to the true knowledge of his intereſt, and the Rules his Father had left him: wherefore he reſolved to renew his deſign and attempts againſt

1662. his Life; one I remember was in *December* of the past Year, when in our Journey to *Adrianople*, we met a Messenger on the way, who amongst other Discourses informed us, that he was then going to *Babylon* for confirmation of *Mortaza*, and as a testimony of the G. Signiors favour and good will towards him, he carried him a Sword, and a Vest of Sables: we immediately, and that truly guessed, for what Present the Sword was sent; for in some Months after the Chaous-bashee, or chief of the Pursuivants, returned without delivery of his Present. For the wise *Mortaza* was so justly jealous, that he would not so much as admit him to his presence, but returned him again with his Sword and Sables, for those who were more easy and credulous, and who believe to die by Command of the Sultan to be Martyrdom, and the only Crown of all their merits and deserts: and knowing that he could not long subsist in opposition to so great an Enemy; he contracted an Alliance, by Marriage with a Daughter of one of the *Gordean*, or *Curdean* Princes, and in Dowry, had one of the strongest Forts of those Mountains delivered into his hands.

The Vizier seeks to cut off *Mortaza* the Pasha of *Babylon*.

The Vizier finding himself thus foiled in his occult Artifices, began publickly to profess his enmity; and therefore in the first place perswaded the G. Signior, that the long continuance of *Mortaza* in that Government, beyond the usual term, so opulent and powerful, and of a spirit so ambitious and rebellious, could not but prove dangerous to himself, and in time give him confidence of competition for the whole Empire: which hazard to prevent with most prudence and advantage, (there being a present occasion of good Souldiers for relief of *Candia*) *Mortaza* and his Complices could not be better bestowed than upon that employment. The G. Signior readily consented to this Counsel, being naturally very apprehensive of danger, and in his place constituted the Aga, or General of the Janizaries, posting him away with all speed possible to his Government; who did not run so fast in his Journey, but that the advices of the coming of a new Pasha, arrived timely the Ears of *Mortaza*, who judging it an unequal match to contend with the whole Empire, gave way to his Successour, but withal, kept himself so on his Guard, that his adversary could not reach his Head, and send it as the first-fruits and Tribute of his new Office. For yielding up his Command as in an honourable manner of retreat, he gave out, that with his Army (reported to consist of forty thousand men) he was on his March to *Candia*, but soon after his design was discovered to be otherwise; for believing his own Force unable to contend with his Masters, he retired with his riches, and some of those most faithful to him unto his Fort on the Mountains, and to the protection and Country of the King of the *Curdi*, whose Daughter he had Married, and remained in expectation of time and opportunity, to take his revenge on the Vizier, hoping that with time this storm would blow over, and that the beams of his Princes favour would again shine upon him. These *Curdi* are called by some Writers *Cordiæi*, from whence the Province had the name of *Gordiene*, bordering on *Assyria*, the Kingdom once of *Zabienus*, who siding with *Lucullus* against *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, was by *Tigranes* murdered with his Wife and Children. These people inhabit the Mountain *Amanus*, dividing *Syria* from *Cilicia*, which by reason of the difficult access thereunto, was never yet subjected to the Ottoman Yoke; they are said in former times to have worshipped a black Dog, and dare not speak ill of the Devil, not for love, but fear.

Curdi.

But

But ſome report that have lately been amongſt them, that they have left off that Helliſh ſuperſtition, and embrace a certain ſort of Religion mixed with Chriſtianity and Turciſm; but yet without Baptiſm or Circumciſion. In brief, they are a bad ſort of groſs people at the beſt, contenting themſelves with little Religion, addicted to bloud and Robberies. Theſe *Curdi* or Gordeenes, being a people retired, keep within their Mountains, are ſhy in their Converſation and Diſcourſe, and afford us little ſubject, or opportunity of knowing with any ſatisfaction, their Religion or Manners: but from ſuch of our Country-men, as have lately entertained Society with them, we have this account. They are ſeated on thoſe Mountains as we have ſaid before, which of old were called *Cordiæi*, or *Gordiæi*, beginning near *Aleppo*, but running out as far as *Perſia*; they make ſhew of the Turkiſh Religion for fear, but have in reality another of their own, which permits them to eat Swines fleſh and drink Wine, as the Druſes and Kalbeenes; Bacon being eſteemed by them a particular Cordial, or Reſtorative for the ſick. The chief Country and City of thoſe near *Aleppo* is called *Jeumee*, where they have a Convent of twelve Prieſts with a Superiour over them, and another of the like ſort near *Moſul*, or *Nineveth*. The two Chiefs of theſe Monaſteries meet at fixed times to conſult for the good of the Common-weal. Their Devotions are private in a Cave; they tell us of but one Book, which contains both their Law and their Rituals; being asked what they thought of our Saviour, they anſwered, he was their breath, and their Soul; at the name of *Mahomet* they ſpit, and with *Nicodemus* his circumſpection and aſſurance of ſecrecy, they declared themſelves and Chriſtians the ſame, which they would make appear ſo ſoon as they were delivered from their fear of bondage to the Turk. They ſay that they worſhip God, and will not curſe the Devil, to which no force or power can compel them; partly, perhaps becauſe they have heard of our Saviours Precept, *Bleſs, and Curſe not*, but rather, becauſe they hold, that the Devil and his Followers, ſhall one day be reſtored to their former ſeats of bleſſedneſs and dignity. When their Prieſts are together, and Wine brought in amongſt them, the Superiour makes a ſign for ſilence, and afterwards a ſhort Admonition, that Wine is the bloud of God. I have heard that a Capuchin Fryer was once invited amongſt them, with promiſe to give him a ſight of their Book of Rituals, and being come to *Jeumee*, was detained a Day or two in a Cave, on pretence that the other Superiour of *Moſul* was then amongſt them, who being a ſevere perſon, if he knew of his being there, would certainly put him to Death, as one who came to alter their Religion; upon which ſuſpicion the Capuchin forgetting his Curioſity, fled for ſafety, with all ſpeed poſſible. Their Prieſts are ſaid to be grave, wearing black throughout; their Garments plaited or quilted; the Veſtures of the Commonalty are agreeable to Mountaniers, whoſe natures are rough and boiſterous, addicted to bloud and Robbery, the common vice of thoſe people. I have heard, that the Son of a Gourdeene Widow being killed by ſome of that Country, ſhe aſſembled her neareſt Kindred, and required them to bring her the Windpipe of the Murderer, which when they had done, ſhe together with her Friends, eat it in revenge. In fine, their Religion may have ſome ſmall Reliques of Chriſtianity, but mixt with the dregs of other Religions. 'Tis poſſible they may be of the Manichee Race. Their opinion of the Devils Reſtoration, was once held in part by *Origen*: that of Wine (that it is the bloud of God) was the Heatheniſh conceit of the Egyptian 1662.

1662. Egyptian Prieſts. Their whole Nation if well united may compoſe an Army of thirty or forty thouſand men.

But to return to our purpoſe. The news of the flight of *Mortaza* to this ignoble Prince troubled the G. Signior, who ſtill retained ſome impreſſions of kindneſs to his perſon, remembring his generoſity, valour, and former deſerts, the memory of which was encreaſed alſo by the Friends of *Mortaza*, who wanted not in the Court to repreſent them with ſome compaſſion, arguing that his flight was not of contumacy, or contempt to his Maſters protection, but an effect of natural preſervation; which worked ſo far on the G. Signior, that he immediately ſent for the Vizier to enquire of him the ſtate and condition of *Mortaza*. The Vizier to defend himſelf, and make good what before he had counſelled his Maſter, aggravated his Adverſaries crimes, and his diſobedience and flight to an inconſiderable King; with which, and ſome other light excuſes and perſwaſions, that the removal of ſuch a perſon was agreeable to the preſent ſtate of affairs, and conducing to his own ſecurity, eaſily pacified the mind and affections of the G. Signior; but no ſooner was he returned to his Houſe, but advice was given him, that the Emaum of *Mortaza*, or his Prieſt or Chaplain was then at *Conſtantinople*, whom the Vizier immediately ſent for, and without any Plea or Endictment, ſtruck off his Head, and threw his Body into the Sea, on pretence that he was ſent thither, as a Spy for his Maſter, and to give Intelligence, and a beginning to Rebellion: Theſe were his colours and allegations for his deſerved Death; for Governours though never ſo wicked and ſo abſolute, and that have no need to render any other cauſe to the World of their actions, than their own will, yet eſteem it neceſſary to act under the ſpecious guiſe of juſtice, and in the good opinion of the multitude. The Aga of *Babylon* encountred the ſame Fortune; for *Mortaza* giving place, he thought it fit for himſelf to do the like; reſolving for *Conſtantinople*, but being intercepted in his Journey by the new Paſha, his Head was ſtruck off, and his Journey ſhortned.

But that which again renewed the trouble and fears of the Vizier, was a report that the late *Kahya-begh* degraded at *Adrianople*, was ſecretly returned to the City, and lived concealed, giving ſuch Orders to the Janizaries as tended to Mutiny and Inſurrection, and that the pretences and reports of his being gone to *Damaſcus*, and thence in his holy Pilgrimage to *Mecha*, were but all falſe ſtories to conceal his Reſidence at *Conſtantinople*. This ſet the Vizier all on fire, and made him tremble with the thoughts of it; wherefore ſearch was made for him day and night, but not found; for in reality he was gone on his deſigned Journey, only it was the misfortune of his Kahya, or Steward, as before it was of *Mortaza*'s Emaum, to fall into the Viziers hands, who being beaten to confeſs where his Maſter was, died afterwards of the blows.

But notwithſtanding that *Mortaza* was fled, yet the Vizier laid not aſide his fears and thoughts concerning him, not knowing how ſoon he might be recalled home, and ſeated in his place; of which various Examples are extant in Turkiſh Hiſtory; And therefore he ſent orders to *Mahomet* Paſha, his late Kahya, now Paſha of *Darbiquier*, as General (with the knowledge and conſent of the Grand Signior) and to the Paſhaws of *Aleppo*, *Erzirum* and others near adjacent, to prepare and aſſemble what Force was neceſſary to conſtrain the King of the *Curdi*, to ſurrender *Mortaza* into their hands: But whilſt theſe matters were in agitation,

tation, ſome unexpected troubles in *Georgia* diverted their Armes, and held them for ſome time in ſuſpenſe, not knowing what the iſſue might be. The Original and Ground thereof was this: After *Sultan Solyman* had taken *Erzirum*, it was agreed in the Capitulations between the Turks and Perſians, that of the ſeven Provinces of *Georgia* (anciently called *Iberia*, but now as ſuppoſed to have received the Denomination from St. *George*, the Cappadocian Martyr, there had in great eſteem and reverence) three ſhould be tributaries to the Turk, and three to the Perſian, all governed by *Achic-baſh* as head and ſupreme Prince, to whom the ſeventh ſhould alſo be ſubjected, without acknowledgment to either; In payment of which tribute, they continued moſt willingly, leſt for default thereof, the importation of Salt, of which their Provinces afford none, ſhould be hindred either from the Turkiſh, or Perſian Dominion. And now it happened that *Achic-baſh* dying, his Wife married again, who to gratifie her new Lover, was contented to have the eyes of her Son put out, who was the lawful Heir to the Government. This Fact was ſo hainouſly received by the Princes of the three Provinces under the Perſian, that with common conſent, they elected one to ſucceed *Achic-baſh*, and extorted the power out of the hands of the Amorous Traitour. The Princes of the three Provinces under the Turk alarm'd hereat, made inſurrection, reſolving rather than any Foreigner, to ſet up one of the Kindred of *Achic-baſh*, which the Perſian Provinces better underſtanding, approved likewiſe, and for confirmation, and maintenance of their choice aſſembled an Army of threeſcore thouſand men. The Paſhaws tending towards *Curdi*, were ſurprized in their March with the news of theſe diſturbances in *Georgia*, and not rightly apprehending the cauſes of theſe ſudden commotions, gave an arreſt to the progreſs of their Armes, inclining towards the Parts of *Georgia*, to be in a readineſs to ſuppreſs all deſigns againſt the Ottoman Dominions, ſo that the thoughts of War againſt the *Curds* was for ſome time laid aſide. The news of theſe troubles did alſo alarm the Port, with which alſo came a report, That ſix hundred Tents of the *Kuzilbaſhees* (which are the beſt ſort of Perſian Horſemen) were pitched nigh the Confines of the Grand Signiors Territories; ſo that Orders were diſpatched to the aforeſaid Paſhaws to watch the motion and iſſue of thoſe Affairs, but thoſe ſtorms blowing over by the eſtabliſhment of *Achic-baſh*, the Turkiſh Forces proceeded on their firſt deſign againſt *Mortaza*, marching to the paſs of the Country of the *Curdi*, which is very ſteep, aſperous and rough. The whole Kingdom being, as it were, one Mountain of dangerous and difficult acceſs, hath hitherto preſerved the Inhabitants from the Ottoman Subjection. The entrance thereunto being ſtrong by Nature, is alſo fortified with ſeveral Caſtles, the chief of which, poſſeſſed by *Mortaza*, is called *Zizri*, and the people thereabouts *Zezidi*. The Turkiſh Army being arrived at this paſs, *Mahomet*, the Paſha of *Darbiquier*, appointed General, as we have ſaid before, ordered five hundred of his ſelect men to enter within the paſs, which the *Curdi* perceiving, with little oppoſition, put to flight, being ſo commanded by the General; The unadviſed *Curdi* eagerly purſuing the enemy, left the paſs naked, and undefended, ſuppoſing their whole victory and ſucceſs to conſiſt in the Rout of thoſe few: whereupon the Turkiſh Army wiſely poſſeſſed the paſs, and got between the *Curdi*, and their place of Retreat, and laying the Siege to the Caſtle, required them either to ſurrender

1662.

The Provinces of *Georgia* in diſturbance.

The Turks Stratagem againſt the *Curdi*.

1662. surrender themselves, or else *Mortaza* and his Complices into their hands.

The *Curdi* perceiving themselves thus hardly beset, and in a manner defrauded, their Garison which possessed the pass without the Confines, the enemy gotten possession of the Gate which opened to their Countrey, their Castles besieged, and in danger to be gained, and an inlet made to an Inundation by their Enemies, caused them to request a three days truce for Consultation, which being granted, they began to consider, whether it were better to hazard the welfare of their Country in a dangerous War, of which the Turks having already compassed the passage, had made half the Conquest; or to surrender up *Mortaza* to his own King, one in whom they had no part, no interest, nor relation. The latter counsel was most generally pleasing, wherefore they seized *Mortaza*, promising at first to conduct him through the Mountains to the Persians, but afterwards being on horse-back, and about a mile distant from the Camp, they bound his hands behind him, and with his Steward, the Master of his Horse, and a Page, delivered him into the hands of the Turks, who immediately struck off their heads, and sent them to *Constantinople*, where for three or four days they lay before the Door of the Divan, with Inscriptions on them whose they were, and afterwards were thrown into the Sea. And thus ended this famous *Mortaza*, who had in like cases, by order of this Viziers Father, been an active Executioner of other Pashaws, and now included in the same Fate, by means of the Son, being proscribed (as we have said before) by Testament, and the most likely of any Pasha in the Empire to stand in Competition for the Office of Vizier.

The Surrender of *Mortaza* in the Turks hands, and his death.

The Vizier upon this success began to shew a more cheerful Countenance than formerly, suspecting less of danger upon removal of so suspicious an Enemy. And truly it was now hard to say where in the whole Empire was a generous, bold, or ambitious spirit remaining, who had Reputation and Authority enough to attempt a priority, such havock was made by this Viziers Father of all hopeful and daring dispositions, and such an Addition made to the slaughter by this man in present Office, that whether mens spirits were vanquished, and cowed with former Examples, or that the Age really afforded not such Heroes, it is hard to say: None now appearing other than obsequious to this Vizier, and to fear, and court him.

The Vizier having thus successfully contrived his Establishment, and security at home, had time to confirm it by his Wars abroad, well judging that Foreign Wars allay Civil Dissentions, and the prosperity thereof doth both produce reputation and terrour of his person amongst his Enemies, as well as reconcile affections, and increase Authority amongst his Subjects at home. Wherefore he meditated on a War against the Emperour, and was glad to embrace the occasion from the late Disturbances made in *Transilvania* by *Kemenius*, as we have related in the former Year. But yet like a crafty Politician, who looketh one way, and steers another, so the Vizier, that he might the better lull the Germans into a sleep, and apprehensions of security, he dissembled his inclinations to Peace, and to hearken to such propositions as were tendered him by the German Resident, namely, that the Fort of *Serini* should be demolished being built against the intention, and without the knowledge or consent of his Imperial Master, that the Garisons of *Zechelhid*, *Colosvar*, and other

other places ſhould be removed, with other overtures, and the faireſt propoſitions imaginable, which might give the Turks ſatisfaction, and by ſome means or other reconcile the differences, if poſſible. To which counſel the Emperour was the rather inclinable, in regard that a Treaty at that time was on foot between the French King and the Duke of *Lorain* for *Alſatia*, and that the reſult might prove prejudicial to the Empire, ſhould he at the ſame time be engaged in a War againſt the Turk, whilſt as dangerous a friend as the other was an enemy, crept eaſily into a ſuſpected Neighbourhood. But the other Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially *Rome*, and the Allies, engaged in the Venetian Quarrel, perceiving the Emperour to detract from his reſolutions of War, upon this ſuſpicion endeavoured to clear him from all jealouſie in reference to the French deſigns, and for better evidence thereof, had their own engagements ſeconded by proteſtations from that King, not only not to moleſt the Empire during this War, but to afford him conſiderable aid and aſſiſtance both in Men, and Money. Theſe Negotiations and incitements to a War, encouraged the Emperour, and the German Princes in that manner, that whilſt the Turks expected the return of the Corrier from *Vienna*, as it were with an Olive Branch of Peace, and Confirmation of all Articles, which before were eſteemed to be concluded, and agreed; the Scene was wholly changed, and the Letters contained new demands and propoſitions, and in fine, made all doubtful and unſatisfactory. The Turks penetrating rightly into this Affair, preſſed hard to have a ſpeedy Peace, or War, wherefore the Reis Effendi, or Secretary of State, did at a private Conference with the German Miniſter in the name of the Grand Signior, and in few words declare, that three months were allotted to demoliſh the Fort built by the Count *Serini*, and for coming of an extraordinary Ambaſſadour to confirm the Articles: Notwithſtanding which, the G. Signior unmindful of the time, and of the Conditions he had given, and prefixed for peace, ordered the Vizier immediately to prepare for the War, declaring that he would in Perſon accompany him in part of his March, and remove his Court to *Adrianople*; For this being a Country Champion, and plain, full of Game of all ſorts, ſo drew the heart and delight of the Grand Signior, that his Seraglio at *Conſtantinople* ſeemed as a Cage, or Priſon in reſpect of thoſe deſired Plains of *Thrace*: His Women were no paſtime or recreation to him, in whoſe Apartments he ſpent little time: For this exceſſive humour in Hunting made him daily to preſs the Vizier to depart for *Adrianople*, not that he had ſo real a deſire to the War as he had to his Game; which gave occaſion to that ordinary Saying amongſt the Turks, *That the Grand Signior had left ſome Hares behind him at* Adrianople, *and would return to ſeek them.* At length the Vizier not longer able to reſiſt his importunity without his diſpleaſure, ſummoned a Council of all the Viziers of the Bench, where alſo the Janiſar Aga was preſent, to conſult concerning the time of their departure, at which they unanimouſly concluded, that for divers reaſons, it was moſt neceſſary to deferr this expedition until the next Spring. Firſt, Becauſe that three months time were already given to the Emperour for ſending his Extraordinary Ambaſſadour. Secondly, Becauſe in ſo ſhort a time proviſions could not be ſent into thoſe Parts for relief of the Camp. Thirdly, Becauſe the Souldiers which were abroad could not have timely notice to repair to their Colours. Fourthly, Becauſe many Souldiers had begun to rebuild their

1662.

The reſolution of War uncertain.

The Reaſons why the Turks deferred the War with the German.

1662. houſes deſtroyed by the late Fires, which by the Spring they might ſee finiſhed. And laſtly, That the Summer being now almoſt ſpent, was not ſo fit for action, as the Spring, which gives new life and bloud to men, as well as ſap and moiſture unto Vegetables. Theſe reaſons being repreſented with all humility to the Grand Signior, he ſeemed to reſt ſatisfied, and his heat of viſiting *Adrianople* for the preſent allayed. And in the mean time, that the deſign againſt *Germany* might be the more covertly carried, it was given out that the preparations were intended againſt the Venetian Territories in *Dalmatia*, (*viz.*) *Zara*, *Sebenico*, and *Cataro*, and Proclamation was made that all Souldiers ſhould prepare themſelves for the Wars againſt the next Spring. In which Interim no accident intervening which might bring matters to an accommodation and better underſtanding, the daily Skirmiſhes on the Frontiers made the Controverſie every day more difficult to be reconciled, and the breach the wider. The Count *Serini* alſo proceeded in finiſhing the Fortification he had lately raiſed near *Caniſia*; And the other Commanders of the Ceſarean Army ſeeing the great progreſs of the Turks in *Tranſilvania* ſecured *Claudiopolis*, *Somoſvar*, *Sechilhid*, *Clewar*, *aliàs* *Coloſvar*, and *Betlem*, with ſome other Towns and Fortreſſes. The Turks on the other ſide, under the Command of *Ali* Paſha, penetrate into the very Center of *Tranſilvania*, and conceiving a jealouſie of War from the paſſages before mentioned, loſt no time to take their advantages, ſo that the Paſha of *Varadin* not contenting himſelf with that Country, and limits formerly preſcribed for maintenance of his Fortreſs, adjoined to his Juriſdiction what Villages and Towns he thought fit, whilſt the poor Prince, *Michael Apafi*, though made by the Turks, durſt not lift a hand, or interpoſe the leaſt Obſtacle, or Impediment to his quiet progreſs, or peaceable poſſeſſion, which ſo harraſſed the people of the Country, and wrought that miſery and deſtruction therein, that the Prince, deprived of his power in Government, and diſabled by oppreſſion to pay his Annual Tribute, had no hopes of redreſs, but from the aſſiſtance of Divine Providence, governing the hearts of Chriſtians and Turks to compaſſionate the miſery of his Country. Wherefore he craved the aſſiſtance of the Emperour, and of the King of *Poland*, acquainting other Chriſtian Princes more remote of the ſad eſtate of the Chriſtian Cauſe; He ſent alſo his Ambaſſadours to the Port with moſt ſubmiſſive Letters to the Vizier, complaining againſt the Paſha of *Varadin*, and craving his Commands for retirement of his Army, within their due and ancient bounds. Letters were alſo directed to the Publick Repreſentatives of Chriſtian Princes reſiding at *Conſtantinople*, one of which was directed to the Earl of *Winchelſea*, his Majeſties Ambaſſadour, which being that which may conduce to the more full underſtanding of the preſent deplorable Condition of *Tranſilvania*, I thought fit to be here mentioned.

The ſad Condition of *Tranſilvania*.

Excellentiſſime Domine, & Amice obſervandiſſime,

The Prince of *Tranſilvania*'s Letter to His Majeſties Ambaſſadour.

AFflictiones Regni Tranſilvaniæ quibus per complures annos juſto Dei Judicio caſtigatur, toti Orbi Chriſtiano manifeſtæ ſunt, nec poſſumus non fateri, inter duos Potentiſſimos Monarchas adeò indies hoc Regnum coangustari, ut niſi extraordinariâ Dei clementiâ aliquod ſubſequatur levamen, vix, immo ne vix quidem, diu duraturum credamus. Sed ut ad rem proximiùs collimemus. Potentiſſimus Imperator per Legatos Regni, & noſtros

nunc

nunc reduces Clementiſſimum ſuum patrocinium pollicetur, interim autem Paſſa Varadinenſis non contentus Villis ac Pagis ad dictam Arcem pertinentibus, uſque ad meditullium planè Tranſilvaniæ, metu Mortis, integras ad deditionem cogit Regiones, quæ nunquam eidem Arci applicatæ fuerant, nec poſſibile eſt Principatum Tranſilvaniæ iis ademptis, ulterius perſiſtere, Tributúmq; annuum perſolvere poſſe. Qua de re tam Potentiſſimum Imperatorem quam Supremum Vezirium denuò requirere cogimur, veſtram quocirca Excellentiſſimam Dominationem confidenter rogamus, eo quo convenientius putaverit modo continuò noſtro Oratori opitulari, eáq; quâ pollet Authoritate Cauſam promovere, ne gravetur rem non ſaltem Tranſilvaniæ, verùm quoque Chriſtianitati perutilem factura, nóſq; ad vincula amicitiæ arctiſſimè devincturа, cui felicem vitam precamur, & manemus indubitati. 1662.

Datum in Caſtris ad Pagum *Koczard* poſitis die 26 *Septembris*, An. Dom. 1662.

Excellentiſſimæ Dominationis veſtræ

Amicus Benevolus,

Michael Apafi.

In Engliſh thus.

Moſt Excellent Lord, and moſt worthy Friend,

"THE Miſeries of *Tranſilvania*, with which for many years, by the "juſt Judgment of God, we have been afflicted, are manifeſt to "all the Chriſtian World; Nor can we but confeſs, how between two "moſt Potent Monarchs, our Principality is ſo daily ſtraitned, that "unleſs through the extraordinary mercy of God, we obtain ſome "relief, we believe not our ſelves longer able to ſubſiſt. But to come "nearer to our buſineſs. The Moſt Potent Emperour, by his own "Ambaſſadours, and ours now lately returned, hath promiſed us his "moſt Gracious Protection; yet notwithſtanding, the Paſha of *Varadin* "not content with the Towns and Villages appropriated unto his Caſtle, "hath entered into the very middle of *Tranſilvania*, and hath compel-"led, for fear of death, thoſe Provinces entirely to yield themſelves, "which never before were belonging to his Fortreſſes, which being taken "away, it is impoſſible for the Principality of *Tranſilvania* longer to "ſubſiſt, and pay its annual Tribute; Wherefore we are conſtrained a-"gain to beſeech the moſt Potent Emperour, and the Supreme Vizier, as "alſo we confidently deſire your Excellencie, in that manner which "your Excellencie judges moſt convenient, to be aſſiſtant to our Agent, "and with your Authority to countenance our Cauſe, in which your "Excellencie will not only perform a matter beneficial to *Tranſilvania*, "but to all *Chriſtendom*, and oblige us for ever with the Bonds of friend-"ſhip; and praying for all happineſs of Life and Proſperity to your Ex-"cellencie, we remain your undoubted Friend.

Given in our Camp at the Village Koczard *the five and twentieth day of* September, 1662.

Your Excellencies

Loving Friend,

Michael Apafi.

1662.

This Letter was received by his Majesties Ambassadour with that humanity as was agreeable to his noble Nature, and with that sense of the Christian Cause as became a religious Minister of the Faiths Defendor, and an Answer returned thereunto full of affectionate Piety and Compassion. But it was feared that the time was elapsed, and the Disease proceeded too far to admit a gentle Cure; For it could not probably be expected, that the Vizier should, upon fair words, or perswasions, or by the force of passionate and Rhetorical expressions, be induced to let slip the fair opportunity of an intire and total subjection of *Transilvania*. And the truth is, herein lay the ground of the great Quarrel between these two Emperours; for ever since the Defeat of *Chimianus* (or as the Transilvanians call him *Kemenius*) the Turk swallowing in his thoughts the intire subjection of that Country, designed to reduce it to the Government of a Pasha, rather than of a Christian Prince, though elected at the Ottoman Port; and in order thereunto, advanced beyond the Limits of the ancient bounds, and pitched his Camp in the very Bowels of the Country. These proceedings giving matter of jealousie to all the Captains of the bordering Christians; the Count *Serini* first hastned the finishing of his Fort, as much as was possible, and next, according to his example, the Imperialists in all parts of the Borders fortified their Towns and Castles, and reinforced their Garisons; which was answered by the Turks in the like preparations. And thus mutual fears and jealousies effected that ill Correspondence, in which the State of Affairs then remained.

And since *Transilvania* is the present Scene of Action, it will not be much from our purpose to digress a little in declaring the state of that miserable Principality, and by what ways and means the Turks encreased their Tribute, and encroached on their Liberties; the which Relation I received from one of the Transilvanian Agents to this effect.

A History of Transilvanian Misery.

In the time of *Sultan Solyman*, *Transilvania* was governed by her own Laws, and her natural Prince, paying then only thirty thousand Dollars of yearly Tribute. After which *Ali* Pasha taking *Varadin* on the Frontiers, had some part of the Country allotted him for maintenance of his Garison, and at that time solemnly swore, That beyond those Limits allotted to *Varadin*, the Turks should not farther enter into *Transilvania*, but that Oath being little regarded, they have since that time possessed themselves of six Provinces, (*viz.*) *Bichar*, *Doboka*, *Halnock*, *Colos*, in which is *Claudiopolis*, and of the best part of *Zarand*. Nor were the Turks satisfied herewith, but in the year 1658. the Vizier *Kuperlee* entered *Transilvania*, and by force of Armes took the strong Town of *Janova*, and demanded the Surrender of *Lugas* and *Karansebes* into his hands. Nor could the allegations of the Oath of *Sultan Solyman*, or of *Ali* Pasha, or any other perswasions or submission induce him to moderate any part of his severe demands, until first having miserably destroyed the whole Country, and satiated himself with bloud, he was contented, upon the sad and humble supplication of the Ambassadour from that Prince, to withdraw his Army out of *Transilvania*, on condition, that fifty thousand Dollars of yearly tribute should be added to the former thirty thousand, and that *Lugas*, and *Karansebes* should be wholly abandoned by the native Inhabitants, and delivered into possession of the Turk: And as a mark of his absolute Dominion over that Country, he forced

forced one *Achacius Barcley*, employed before as Ambaſſadour to him, to take on him the Government, threatning that if he accepted not of the Charge, he would inveſt a Carter in the Principality: Notwithſtanding all this Treatment; and though the Tranſilvanians comply'd with all the propoſitions offered them by the Turk, yet not long after the Tartar *Han* paſſed twice through the Country, miſerably harraſſing, ſpoiling, and killing, or making Captives all he met, whoſe departure alſo from this Country was purchaſed with a conſiderable ſum of money. And this was the ſtate of the miſery of *Tranſilvania*, when the troubles raiſed by *Ragotzki* and *Kemenius* added to the other diſcontents, and adminiſtred farther occaſion to the enſuing War. 1662.

But whilſt the thoughts of the Ottoman Court were intent on their preparations for the next years War in *Hungary*, advice came that the Turkiſh Fleet, conſiſting of ſeventeen ſhips, and thirty ſeven Saiques, lately departed from *Conſtantinople* bound for *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, and convoyed by ſix Gallies, which met them at *Scio*, very rich with mony, and other goods, (whoſe returns are yearly for the moſt part made in Sugar, Coffee, Rice, and other Commodities) were encountred near *Rhodes* by the Venetian Armata, and ſuch ruine and prize made of them, that of the threeſcore Sail, twenty eight Saiques, and four Ships were ſunk and taken: (*viz.*) eighteen Saiques taken, and ten burnt, three Ships taken, and one burnt, and thereon two hundred and ſeventy Slaves, amongſt which there were of note, *Arnout Aſan Aga*, Eunuch of the Seraglio, *Mahomet Aga*, *Baſcut Agaſey* of *Grand Cairo*, and *Emin Reis*, Captain of a Ship. When this news arrived I happened to be at the Viziers Court, and perceived a ſtrange diſturbance and alteration in the faces of all then preſent; but more particularly the Grand Signior ſeemed to be heated with fury, and preſent reſolution of revenge; ſo that he had almoſt forgotten his deſigns againſt the Emperour, and quitting his paſtime in Hunting, he began to talk of tranſporting his Armes into *Dalmatia*, and thereupon ſent Orders to one *Beco* a Begh of the *Morea* to cauſe a ſurvey of the Highways, Paſſages, and Bridges towards *Dalmatia*, as if he had intended immediately to march, and either to deferr his Hungarian War, or wage both at the ſame time. But his graver, and more ſober Council moderated his heat with reaſon, knowing that the deſigns of Princes, though never ſo abſolute, muſt be ſubject to times and ſeaſons, until their Powers can extend to Omnipotency, which never yet could exceed the abilities of a mortal man, though ſome have affected Divine Honours, and by Flatterers have been ranked after death in the number of the Gods. The Venetians loſt ſeventy men only, or thereabouts, and amongſt them *Giacomo Semitecolo*, a noble Venetian, with other Braves and Souldiers of Fortune. The Turks horribly touched with this loſs and diſgrace, eſpecially the Grand Signior, who had an intereſt in the *Caravana*, had a mind to vent ſome of their fury on Signior *Ballarino*, the Venetian Miniſter to the Port, like thoſe (as we ſay) who cannot beat the Horſe will beat the Saddle; ſo that they intended to impriſon him again in ſome dark Cell, or obſcure retirement, of which, or of ſome other rigour Signior *Ballarino* was ſo ſenſible, that he wrote this enſuing Letter to the Senator *Nicolo Contarini*, which may ſerve to explain the anguiſh and ſorrowful apprehenſions of his Soul.

The Alexandrian Fleet encountred by the Venetians.

IF

1662.

IF my mind were capable of Comfort, I could not in the midſt of ſo much anguiſh entertain a more efficacious motive thereunto, than thoſe obliging expreſſions which your Excellencie uſes towards me, who like a Terreſtrial Deity is pleaſed to protect me. But alas, I am too much overwhelmed with grief to diſcover any ſubject which may cauſe me to dry my tears. I find no ſhelter againſt that ſtorm which I foreſaw. Nor is it ſufficient for me to diſcover the Tempeſt before it arrives: It is not ſufficient in this darkneſs to loſe my ſleep, diſturb my quiet, tire my Body, debilitate my health by a ſlender Diet, whilſt toſſed in the Boſome of an inexorable Element, I am denied the enjoyment of a ray of Light. I hold the Helm of the Ship as direct as I can, but the adverſe waves of my Fortune drive me into the midſt of thoſe ſtorms where I apprehend the greateſt dangers: I am here in the midſt of a Sea, which is the Neſt of Extravagancies, the grand belief of unthought of Accidents, the ſpacious Theatre of Tragedies, a fierce Giant, a horrible Monſter, who with gentle Opiates endeavours to lull aſleep, and lead thoſe to deſtruction who have too great a confidence in their own ſtrength. I reproach my ſelf for not having been able to make it ſufficiently underſtood, how one ſtroke of adverſe Fortune is capable to put all into danger, who are imbarked in the ſame Veſſel; And as little able am I to inculcate into the minds of men, that whilſt the Waves of the vaſt Sea are ſmooth and calm, the nearer is the raging of the Waters, and the fury of a Tempeſt. It was therefore neceſſary that there ſhould have been ſome more skilful Pilot than my ſelf to conduct this Veſſel. I was long ſince acquainted with my imperfections, and therefore called aloud for the aſſiſtance of an abler Pilot, to direct me in this tempeſtuous Region; but ſince I was not heard, I gloried at leaſt to be alone in this Gulf, that being ſwallowed up by a final ruine, my Martyrdom may be a means to ſave the reſt. Rains and Lightnings do not affright me, but rather ſerve to quench that fire of diſdain which I conceive againſt my ſelf, for not knowing how to perform better, and ſerve to enlighten me daily to find out that Compaſs or Cart which may direct me to a courſe or path of ſecurity. I fear Thunders and Tempeſts, becauſe the violence of one, and the hardneſs of the other is able to render a cold ſweat mixed with bloud altogether unprofitable. This miſerable School, though of eleven years continuance, conſtrains me to ſtudy the diſpoſition of the Stars, the Signs in the Air, the ebbings and flowings of the waters, concealed Rocks, the dangers of a long Voyage, and the neceſſity of recovering a Port. I have ſtudied indeed, but I fear I have not well learned this profound Diſcipline, for where there is the greateſt urgency, there I have gathered the leaſt fruit; for ſince the aſpect of the Spheres are become more inauſpicious, I am doubtful that I ſhall ſee the Ship beaten with ſwelling Surges, and being full of Water, it will be ſo far from being eaſed by thoſe opportune remedies which I bring, that it will rather be encreaſed by my tears. God grant by his miraculous Providence, the Tranquillity which we deſire, and which by humane means will be difficult to obtain. I had not the underſtanding to take Opportunity by the Foretop when She preſented herſelf unto me with gentle and benign appearance, ſhowing me the means to ſave this floating Veſſel, and ſpare our inſidious rewards. For this reaſon my dejected, but not conquered, mind makes my very Bowels feel an unuſual anguiſh of an over-troubled eſtate. May it pleaſe the Divine pity, that theſe my afflictions may prove the Offſpring of my own vileneſs, but not the means of my ruine. I truſt therein, I confeſs, and yet frail hope, amidſt this Gulf of Sin, induces me to expect doubtful ſucceſſes; Yet certainly

certainly I will endeavour to avoid a ſhipwrack on thoſe Rocks of Deſpair; 1662.
And ſo imploring the Patronage of your Excellencie here on Earth, I confirm my ſelf. From Pera *of* Conſtantinople *the* 19 *of* December, 1662.

This Letter ſeems to be wrote in the ſtyle of a deſpairing perſon, yet if it be well conſidered, the meaning is no other than what the Iſſue of Affairs ſome years afterwards did evidence; and his intentions were no other than to deſcribe the ill nature of the Turkiſh Miniſters, and their obſtinacy of continuing a War, until they had wearied out the Venetians into an humour of ſurrendring the whole Iſland of *Candia* unto them. I had the honour to be well acquainted with the Perſon of Signior *Ballarino*, and I always eſteemed him in his external Behaviour accompliſhed with the exceſſes of Italian Civility; he was endued with great fluency of Language, both in Diſcourſe and Writing; he was jealous, acute, and wary; and in ſhort, was a proper Miniſter for that Republick, well practiſed and verſed in the manner of Treaty with the Turkiſh Court. He at firſt was ſent from *Venice* to *Conſtantinople* in quality of Secretary to the Excellentiſſimo *Capello*, Procurator of St. *Mark*, a Perſon eminent for his Office, and the ſeveral great employments which he had exerciſed in that State; he was ſincere, and of a generous Soul, his comely looks, and grave habit ſpoke him to be a Gentleman and a Senator. In ſhort, he was ſo well eſteemed of at *Venice*, that he was thought worthy to be imployed in this Embaſſy to the Grand Signior, which is commonly granted to perſons after they have run through all ſervices of the Commonwealth, as a Conſummation of their Honours and Richeſſe. This Gentleman then had the misfortune to be inveſted in this honour in the worſt of Times, when the War was broke forth, and being thereby expoſed to their cruelty, he was put into Priſon, where paſſing for ſome time a Life of ſorrow and ſadneſs, he fell into a melancholy, which repreſented all things to him in the blackeſt manner; ſo that, I know not why, his fancy ſuggeſted to him, that he was not only miſerable in his Impriſonment and Reſtraint amongſt the Turks, but that he was fallen alſo into diſgrace, and diſpleaſure of his Prince at home. I will not ſay that Signior *Ballarino* did nouriſh the operation of this black humour in him; but I have heard that he did not adminiſter that comfort to him, as might ſerve to diſpel the thickneſs of that Vapour which obſcured the generous temper of his Soul. In ſhort, he gave ſuch way to this melancholy, that he laid violent hands upon himſelf; (as we have ſaid before) but afterwards by the Care of his Friends and Servants, being cured of his wounds, he lived ſome years after, by his ſorrows, and repentance for it, to give ſatisfaction to God and the World. Howſoever, the Senate being informed thereof, and judging this Act to be the effect of a violent Phrenſie, appointed *Ballarino* to take on himſelf the intire management of Affairs, reſerving only the Title and Honour to Signior *Capello*. *Ballarino* now managing all Affairs, *Capello* looked on himſelf as neglected and laid aſide, howſoever comported his condition with ſubmiſſion and gentleneſs, never openly reſenting the Honours of *Ballarino*, or to ſee him preferred before himſelf; Howſoever, ſecretly nouriſhing an inward diſcontent, his robuſtious Nature, upwards of eighty years of Age, was forced to give way to its final diſſolution; and falling ſick he ſent to the Earl of *Winchelſea*, then Ambaſſadour for his Majeſty at *Conſtantinople*, to acquaint him of his Diſtemper, deſiring him to ſend me, who was then

1662. then his Secretary, unto him. At these Summons I was easily perswaded to go, having always had his Person in great Reverence; and being come to his Bed-side, he raised himself upon his Pillows, and embracing me in his Arms, I fancied my self to receive the Benediction of one of the Ancient Patriarchs. He began with a weak voice to say to me, Sir, I am near my end, expecting every minute to render up my last Breath, and therefore as a dying man, I desire of your Master, the Ambassadour, that so soon as I am dead, he would be pleased to deliver this poor Carcass of mine from under the Covering of this accursed Roof. For Answer whereunto I did not stand to expostulate the reasons with him, well knowing the cause of his discontent; but that I would communicate his desires to my Lord Ambassadour, and speedily return with my Answer to him. Accordingly I departed from him, and quickly brought from my Lord a promise to endeavour his utmost to comply with his request; at which he seemed to be much satisfied, and commanded his Servants then present, especially one called Sig. *Tomaso Gobbato*, his great Confident, to be Witnesses thereof. The next day he expired his last Breath, and the day following his Body being embalmed, his Bowels were buried, and the Funeral Rites performed with such order and decency as was seemly in a Country where he lived rather like a Prisoner than an Ambassadour. All things being thus prepared, the Earl of *Winchelsea*, according to the Will of the Deceased, sent for his Body, already embalmed, which was immediately without opposition or scruple sent to his house; where it remained for some months, in expectation of a conveyance for *Venice*. At length a Dutch ship, being bound from *Constantinople* thither, it was designed that the Body should be thereon imbarked; but I know not for what reason, the Customer refused to suffer it to pass; though it may well and rationally be conjectured, That *Ballarino*, who was sensibly touched to have the care of the Body of his Master, his Countryman, and Colleague taken from him, did with Presents prevail with the Customer to put difficulties in the way, which he supposed might vex those who were thought worthy of this employment. This opposition being made, and not to be overcome without much money, it was contrived that the ship departing should attend the Corps at *Tenedos*, which was without the Command of the Castles; and the Body being divided from the Legs, was packed up in a Butt of Cavear, and so sent down by a Boat with Licence of the Customer, as a parcel of Goods and Merchandice; and so safely arriving aboard, the Corps were separated from their adjuncts; and being laid decently in a Coffin, covered with a Pall of Black Velvet, with Scutcheons, and other ornaments appertaining to the Funerals of such great Personages; it arrived safely at *Venice*, where it was interred with the usual Ceremonies, in the Tomb of the Ancestors of that Ancient Family.

But the heads and thoughts of these Governours were not so employed in their preparations of War, but that the Vizier could lend an Ear to the suggestions of some malicious Pharisees, who, under pretence of Religion, informed him, That the Christian Churches, burnt down in *Constantinople* and *Galata* by those dreadful Fires in the year 1660, were again re-edified against his Command, and the Law of the Turks, which allows the reparation of Churches, and continuance of such which were found standing when Mahometanism was introduced; but not to erect new, or rebuild what are either by time, fire, or other accidents fallen to ruine.

ruine. And being farther informed, that though those Churches were restored under the notion of Dwellings, or Ware-houses, yet secretly served for Celebration of Divine Service, and thereby his Decrees and Edicts were frustrated and disappointed: Wherefore, furiously transported with a Mahometan Zeal, commanded immediately that the Authours of those Buildings should be imprisoned, the Churches themselves levelled to the Foundation, and the ground whereon they stood confiscated to the Grand Signior. This action, though naturally agreeable to the disposition of the Vizier, who was a perfect Turk, zealous in execution of all points of the Mahometan Law, being educated after the severest sort of Professours, and one of those whom they called Sofiaes; yet he was chiefly prompted unto this, and to a greater abhorrency of Christianity, by one Vanni Effendi, a Shegh, or Preacher, one who was as inveterate and malicious to the Christian Religion, as any Enthusiast or Fanatick is to the Rites of our Church and Religion. And thus we may see how troublesome Hypocrisie and Puritanism are in all places where they gain a Superiority; For this Preacher not contented only to ruine the Christian Churches, but perswaded the Vizier that the terrible Fires in *Constantinople* and *Galata* in the year 1660, and the last years unparalleled Pestilence, and the inconsiderable advance of the Turks on the Christians for some years, were so many parts of Divine Judgments thrown on the Mussulmen, or Believers, in vengeance of their too much Licence given to the Christian Religion, permitting Wine to be sold within the Walls of *Constantinople*, which polluted the Imperial City, and ensnared the faithful by temptation to what was unlawful: Wherefore a Command was issued, That no Wine should be henceforth sold within the Walls of the City. And it was farther intended that Greeks and Armenians, and all other Christians, who had Dwellings or Possessions within the Walls of the City, should within forty days sell those habitations, and depart; which otherwise should be confiscated to the Grand Signior; but God who supports the Faithful in Tryals of Persecution, moderated this Decree, and reserved still his Church in the midst of Infidels; not suffering this City to lose the Name nor Religion of that Holy Emperor, who both erected, and christned it; as also to preserve most of the Churches, which though again uncovered, yet were redeemed for money from the possession of the Turks. Nor was the Mahometan Zeal satisfied in Demolishment of the Churches themselves, unless it vented part of its fury against the poor Workmen, which for their hire and days Wages erected them; such as Greek Labourers, Masons, and Carpenters, who were all beaten and imprisoned. But it happening at that time that the Queen Mother building a sumptuous Mosch, and having occasion of many Labourers and Artists to forward so vast a Work, sent to the Maimarbashee (who is the Master work-man, or Cape, over all such who are employed in Building) to supply such a number of Carpenters, Masons, and others, as were convenient to carry on that Fabrick with expedition; who readily replyed, That he would provide all that was possible, but could not promise a sufficient number, unless those Greeks were set at liberty, who were imprisoned by the Grand Vizier for building the Christian Churches; which answer being reported again to the Queen Mother, she interceeded with the Vizier in their behalf, who being glad of any occasion to gratifie so great a Lady, immediately released them, without any fine or reward, which he designed to obtain for their liberty.

1662.

The Vizier destroys the Christian Churches rebuilt after the Fire.

The Zeal of a Turkish Preacher.

1662. Howſoever the Vizier not well brooking ſuch an indignity (as he ſuppoſed) put upon him by ſo mean a Slave, as the Maimarbaſhee, dealt with ſome of the impriſoned Labourers to accuſe him, as the Authour and Licenſer of building the Chriſtian Churches. The Greeks eaſily enough perſwaded to pleaſe ſo great a Perſonage, accuſed him accordingly, whoſe Evidence, though not paſſable againſt a Turk by the Mahometan Law, yet ſerved the Viziers revenge for the preſent, who immediately commanded his head to be ſtruck off, and his Eſtate confiſcated; which was reported to conſiſt of two thouſand purſes of mony, every purſe importing five hundred Dollars, then found actually in his houſe, which, if true, is a ſtrange Wealth for ſo ordinary a perſon. But by this, and by many other inſtances, we may perceive that there is no people in the World more covetous, and deſirous to amaſs Wealth than the Turks, nor none more uncertain to enjoy it.

The Viziers revenge on the Cape of the Builders.

About this time the French Merchants in the *Levant*, having adviſed his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty that the Turks were ſenſible that the affront to the perſon of *Monſieur la Haye*, his Ambaſſadour, was contrary to the Law of Nations, and ſuch an injury as could not but provoke the Choler of ſo puiſſant a Prince to a juſt revenge; and knowing that his Majeſty being powerful at Sea, was able to extend his Armes to the utmoſt Confines of his Empire, whilſt the interpoſition of other Countries limited the Turks March by Land, and their ignorance and inability in marine Affairs rendred them uncapable to arrive thoſe Banks of *France*, which the Sea waſhes: Theſe Conſiderations the French Merchants having perſwaded the King to be the thoughts of the Grand Signior, and that he deſired the continuance of the Peace and Traffick with *France*, and as an evidence of his remorſe and diſpleaſure for the injury to Monſieur *la Haye*, the Father, his Majeſty was contented in ſatisfaction thereof to redreſs this injurious tranſgreſſion of the Law of Nations, by ſome extraordinary marks of favour and honour to the Perſon of Monſieur *la Haye* the Son; that ſo exceeding the uſual method and rule of Ceremony towards this Ambaſſadour at his arrival, the World might be convinced of the real affection, and hearty deſire the Grand Signior had to renew his Peace, and preſerve his Commerce with *France*. This is ſuppoſed to be what the Merchants of *Marſeille* and *Lyons* governed by the Intereſt of their Trade, ſuggeſted to their King to induce him to ſend an Ambaſſadour to *Conſtantinople*; For at this time Monſieur *Roboli*, a Merchant, remained only as Conſul or Agent for the Affairs of Commerce. Things thus repreſented at the French Court, the King diſpatched away two Gentlemen to *Conſtantinople* with Letters to the Grand Signior and Vizier, and one to the *Sieur Roboli*, the Agent, declaring that if the Turk would make amends for the laſt Affront done to the Ambaſſadour, by ſome ſignal notes of Honour in the abuſed Perſon of Monſieur *la Haye*, the Son, he would then condeſcend to confirm the Ancient League and Amity. The Letters tranſlated out of the French Tongue, were as followeth.

Meſſengers from *France* to introduce a new Ambaſſadour.

To

1662.

To Our Dear, and Well Beloved *le Sieur Roboli*, Agent for Our Affairs at *Conſtantinople*.

By the King.

Dear, and Well Beloved,

THE Inclination We have to continue that Amity with the Emperour of the Turks, which hath remained ſo long between Us, and Our Empires, and maintain the ancient Alliances, hath cauſed Us to write to Him, and his Great Vizier, to know the Entertainment and Reception that they will give to the Sieur de la Haye, *the Son, in ſatisfaction of the violence exerciſed before on his own Perſon, and the Perſon of the* Sieur de la Haye, *the Father, our Ambaſſadour, againſt the Law of Nations. We write to You this Letter, to give you Order to conduct and preſent before the Vizier, the Secretaries* du Preſſoir, *and* Fontain, *which We have ſent to carry him our Diſpatches, and return with the Anſwers, which you ſhall ſolicite without loſs of time, the which you ſhall bring your ſelf, in caſe they be not agreeable to that reſolution we have taken not to receive any ſatisfaction, but in the Perſon of the ſaid* Sieur de la Haye, *the Son, which is due to Us, for that Inſolency and Affront which hath been done them. Willing alſo notwithſtanding, that before you depart, you aſſemble the French Merchants in* Conſtantinople *together, that they may chuſe amongſt themſelves one for their Chief; but if the Anſwers be ſuch as We have cauſe to expect, We approve that you remain in the Station where you are, in Quality of Our Agent, until the Arrival of the ſaid* Monſieur de la Haye, *and that you ſend them by the ſaid Secretaries* du Preſſoir, *and* Fontain, *of which you ſhall not fail, for ſo is Our Pleaſure.*

Given at *Paris* the twentieth of *January*, 1662.

Signed,

LOUIS.

De Lomenie.

The King of France *his Letter to the Great Vizier.*

To the Moſt Illuſtrious and Magnificent Lord, the Chief Vizier of the Sublime Port of the Grand Signior.

Moſt Illuſtrious and Magnificent Lord,

ALthough the Indignity offered to the Perſon of the Sieur de la Haye Venteley, *Our Ambaſſadour, and to his Son, which We have deſigned to the ſame Charge, have touched Us as far as becomes a victorious Prince, who holds the firſt rank over Chriſtian Kings, and who hath under his Power one of the moſt warlike Nations of the World; Notwithſtanding after being informed, that the diſgrace which the ſaid Gentlemen have incurred hath proceeded rather from malice, and the ill Offices of ſome Perſons, who have endeavoured to diſturb, by this ill Treatment of them, the good Cor-*

1662. *respondence which hath been between Us, than from any design on the Grand Signiors Part to offend Us; and that on the contrary, there continues in His will an intention to maintain the Ancient Friendship which remains between our Estates and People after so many Ages. We being not desirous to estrange Our selves, shall send an Embassadour in ordinary to his High Port, and having cast our Eyes upon the said* Sieur de la Haye, *the Son, We are much inclined to dispatch him for this employment; but as We desire to be assured of the good reception that shall be made him, We give You advice of Our intentions by this Letter; that according to the desire You have testified of the continuance of Our friendship, and Our Ancient Alliances with His Highness, shall pray God to have You, Most Illustrious and Magnificent Lord, in His holy and worthy protection.*

Written at Paris the twelfth day of *January*, 1662.

LOUIS.

De Lomenie.

The King of France *his Letter to the Grand Signior.*

To the most High, most Excellent, most Puissant, most Magnanimous, and Invincible Prince, the Great Emperour of the Mussulmans, Sultan Mahomet, *in whom all Honour and Vertue abound. Our most dear and perfect Friend.*

MOST *High, most Excellent, most Puissant, most Magnanimous, and Invincible Prince, the Grand Signior, Emperour of the Mussulmans,* Sultan Mahomet, *in whom all Honour and Vertue abound. Our most dear and perfect Friend. May God encrease Your Greatness and Majesty with a happy end. We have not known how to impute the ill usage, which hath been offered to the Person of the* Sieur de la Haye, *our Ambassadour, and to his Son, designed by Us to the same employment, to any causes and motions in Your Highness, but rather to the Instigation of some People, which would trouble that good Correspondence, which hath been so long established between Us, and our Empires. And as we have cause to believe that Your Highness desires much to continue this friendship and good understanding, upon what hath been wrote Us on Your Part; and to concurr with You herein, we desire much likewise to continue to maintain an Embassadour at Your High Port, in place of the said* Sieur de la Haye. *And since We have none of Our People that is more intelligent than the* Sieur de la Haye, *the Son, in what concerns the Affairs and Functions of this Embassy; We have elected him for this employment, to which We shall willingly dispatch him, if We may be assured of the good usage and kind reception which shall be given him. This is that which We expect from Your Highness, reserving a more particular information to be sent by the* Sieur de la Haye, *the Son, of the good Correspondence which We desire always to have and maintain with You. And hereupon We pray God, That You may be most High,* &c. *as above, in his Holy and Worthy Protection.*

Written at *Paris* the twelfth day of *January*, 1662.

Your true and perfect Friend,

LOUIS.

De Lomenie.

The

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1662.

In Anſwer to the Kings Letter the Grand Signior made no reply, but only by his Vizier, by reaſon that in all the Ancient Turkiſh Regiſters and Archives, there was no example found, that the Grand Signior ever wrote to any King, who had not an Ambaſſadour actually reſident at his Port. But this Negotiation about a French Ambaſſadour took not effect, until ſome time after, in which other Letters and Meſſages intervened, as will appear by the following Sequel of this Hiſtory.

The returns of the Turkiſh Armata to winter at *Conſtantinople*.

It was now towards the beginning of Winter, when the Seaſon of the Year compelled the Turkiſh Fleet of Gallies to return according to cuſtom, to the Port of *Conſtantinople*. The whole Summer before, they had for the moſt part paſſed in ſome Harbour or Creek amongſt the Greek Iſlands, having afforded nothing of Convoy or ſuccour towards the ſafe Conduct of the Fleet of *Grand Cairo*, but ſuffered them to fall into the hands of the Enemy, as before mentioned, and indeed for ſeveral years the Marine Affairs of the Turks have always gone decaying in Fame and Force; and the preparations of the Armata every Spring, have been of Form and Courſe, rather than with hopes of ſucceſs correſpondent to the expence. In their return home, near *Conſtantinople* they encountred a fierce ſtorm, ſo that three Gallies were caſt away at *Ponte Piccolo*, (by the Turks called *Cuchuccheckmage*, about four Leagues diſtant from *Conſtantinople*.) Howſoever the Weather clearing, the remainder of the Fleet got into Port, entring with joy, with vollies of great and ſmall Shot, with Streamers flying, Pipes ſounding, and all other ſorts of their Country Muſick, bringing with great Oſtentation a ſmall Flyboat, which had been a Ligorneſe Man of War, taken by them as ſhe was cruiſing ſingly in the Arches of *Pelago*; which was brought in with ſo much Ceremony uſed in toaing her into Port, decking her with Streamers and Pendants, with ſuch ſigns of Victory and Triumph, as if they had led Captive the whole Venetian Armata. But I muſt not omit the relation of what befel one of the Beghs Gallies, deſigned, with the reſt, to rendezvous at *Conſtantinople*, whilſt ſhe loitered amongſt ſmall Iſles in the Gulf of *Nicomedia*. It was a Gally, the Commander of which had newly received as the Portion of his Wife, being a Young man lately married, who entertained great thoughts of raiſing his Fortunes by the ſpoils and prize he was to make. At theſe Iſles ſeveral of the Officers, and * Levents went on ſhore; where whilſt they entertained themſelves with Wine and merriment; the Slaves made an inſurrection in the Gally, ſeized the Captain, cut off his Head, and threw his Body into the Sea; and ſo becoming Maſters of the Veſſel, weighed Anchor, and ſet ſail. Thoſe on the ſhore admiring at the unexpected departure of the Gally, accompanied her with their eyes and wonder as far as they could perceive her in ſight, but obſerving her to ſteer a different courſe from the Port, to which they were deſigned, ſuſpected much of the truth of what had ſucceeded; wherefore taking their Boat immediately, they haſtned to *Conſtantinople* to give advice of what had paſſed, that (if poſſible) Orders might timely arrive the Caſtles on the Helleſpont, which might obſtruct their farther paſſage. But alas! the poor Slaves were ſo diſmayed with their own action, and ſo tranſported with a ſlaviſh fear and apprehenſion of what might ſucceed ſhould their eſcape not be effected; that they knew not what courſe to ſteer: all things ſeemed to contradict their liberty, the Wind proved contrary, their Spirits dejected,

The Slaves make an Inſurrection in one of the Beghs Gallies.

* The Souldiers at Sea called by that name.

ed, their understandings void of counsel and contrivance; so that wandring three or four days in the *Propontis*, at last ran their Gally ashoar on the Asian side, near *Palormo*; from whence they were brought back to *Constantinople*, and there, by sentence of the Captain Pasha, fourteen of them had their Legs and Arms broken, and so suffered to dye in that torture, and afterwards their Bodies were thrown into the Sea, to the terrour of all other Slaves, who prefer a miserable Life at the Oar, before the torments of some hours in dying. 1662.

Though the Turks have their Affairs but ill managed at Sea, and their success accordingly fortunate; yet their preparations for Land services are more expedite, and executed with that secrecy and speed, that oftentimes Armies are brought into the Field, before it is so much as rumoured by common mouths that any designs are in agitation: For though it was now Winter, yet the design against *Germany* went forward, Forces were daily sent to the Frontiers, Cannon, and Ammunition for War, transported by way of the Black Sea, and the *Danube*. Orders issued out to the Princes of *Moldavia*, and *Valachia* to repair their Wharfs and Keys along the River, for the more convenient landing of Men and Ammunition, and to rebuild their Bridges for the more commodious passage of the Tartars; That Horses should be provided against the next Spring, for drawing all Carriages of Ammunition, and Provisions; their Magazines stored with quantities of Bread, and Rice, their Fields well stocked with Sheep, and other Cattel, and that no necessaries be wanting which concern the victualling, or sustenance of a Camp. The Tartars were appointed to have in a readiness a hundred thousand Horsemen, to make Incursions on the Frontiers; Likewise the Pashaws of *Darbiquier*, *Aleppo*, *Caramania*, and *Anatolia* received their orders; and seven and twenty Letters, accompanied with as many Vests, after the Turkish manner, were sent to as many Pashaws of the Empire, to dispose the strength of their Countries in a Warlike posture, so as to march when the Grand Signiors Commands should require them to attend his designs: And that the occasion of the War might appear the more justifiable, it was resolved, That no Acts of Hostility, or other Breaches of Peace should be pretended, than the Fort built by the Count *Serini*, being a matter really against the Articles of the last Peace; the Demolishment whereof, the Ottoman Force intended to make the principal end of their first Enterprize, in which if they encountred any opposition from the Emperor, the Cause of their War would be then the more plausible; for as yet the Emperour had not fully declared his approbation of that Work, raised by *Serini*, as agreeable to his Assent, or Pleasure. On the other side with no less caution and labour did the Christians endeavour to secure their Frontiers, by raising their Militia, and reinforcing their Garisons, and especially to perfect the new Fort near *Canisa*, which, as it was thought so considerable, as to countervail the inconveniences and miseries of a War, so the Turk thought it neither honourable, nor secure, until he had seen it razed, and levelled with the ground.

The Preparations for the German War.

All things thus growing black and stormy round about, that nothing seemed less probable, and it may be said, less possible, than an accommotion; Behold, on a sudden, an Accident fell out at *Rome*, from whence this War with the Turks received its life and heat, which becalmed much of the fury and storm on the Christian Confines, and inclined matters in *Germany* towards propositions of Peace, fearing that *Italy*, who had begotten

An Accident disposing the Christian Affairs to a peace with the Turk.

1662. gotten this War, was not able (as things ſtood) to contribute towards its maintenance and ſupport. The occaſion was this. It happened that in the ſtreets of *Rome* the French Ambaſſadours Coach was aſſaulted by the *Corſi* Natives of the Iſle of *Corſica*, which are of the Popes Guard, the Page killed at the Boot of the Coach, and the Ambaſſadours Lady wounded; whether this barbarous act was deſigned againſt the Perſon of the Ambaſſadour by any Perſons of Eminency, or malice of the People, is little to the purpoſe I have now in hand; only the King took this Affront ſo heinouſly, that for the preſent no acknowledgments or ſatisfaction the Pope could make, could allay his juſt reſentment, or any thing be imagined poſſible to expiate this indignity, beſides a War. The News of this Diviſion between the Son, and the ſpiritual Father, filled all the Miniſters of *Conſtantinople* with much Joy, and with ſubject of Laughter, and expectation of the Event, judging now that their daily Prayers for the Diſcord of the Chriſtian Princes amongſt themſelves, were heard and granted, ſince they had ſo far availed, as to diſunite the very Oeconomy of Chriſtendome. And now they imagined that this difference would have a forcible influence on their Affairs in *Hungary*, and either incline the Emperour ſpeedily to a Peace, or otherwiſe to undertake a War on diſadvantageous terms. Things had an iſſue accordingly, for in a few Weeks after, advice came by Poſt from *Ali* Paſha, then at *Temiſwar*, that his *Salam-Chaous*, called *Chuſacin*, who had long ſince been ſent to *Vienna*, with more diſtinct Demands of what the Turks propoſed, and being ſuppoſed, through his long ſtay, to be detained a Priſoner, was again returned, and with him had brought the Baron of *Goez*, as Internuncio, ſent to *Ali* Paſha, to receive a more particular Information of the Turks propoſitions, for that the Emperour pretended, he was not as yet throughly ſatisfied therein. And thus matters, beyond all expectation, began to incline to an agreement, in regard that *Rome* being now in danger herſelf, not by the Turks, but by the Chriſtians, held herſelf uncapable to adminiſter that Fuel to the Fire of War which She had promiſed; ſo that the League treated there beginning to fail, the Emperour grew faint, and the Princes cold, in their Preparations, wiſhing ſome Courſe could be effected, which might bring matters to an accommodation. Such were the Diſcourſes and imaginations of the Turks; In which condition we leave the ſtate of Affairs until the beginning of the next year; and in the mean time it may not be from our purpoſe, nor tedious to the Reader, to record what befel this year moſt remarkable to the Engliſh Nation, and their Trade in Turky, which alſo may be beneficial, by inſtruction of paſt examples, to ſuch who ſhall for the future be concerned in the Traffick and buſineſs of the Levant.

The Baron of *Goez* ſent to *Ali* Paſha.

What

1662.

What Remarkable Accidents befel the ENGLISH NATION, *and their Trade this Year in* TURKY.

THE Messengers from *Algier*, as before related, having promised better Obedience for the future to the Commands of the Grand Signior, obtained a new Pasha for their City, and Country thereunto belonging; who before his departure, was enjoined by the Grand Signior to dispose Affairs with the Earl of *Winchelsea*, his Majesties Ambassadour at *Constantinople*, as might demonstrate his dispositions towards a Peace, and his desire that the Algerines should do the like, and accept of that Clause in the Articles, prohibiting the search of English Ships, either for their own or Strangers Goods. The place appointed for the meeting between the Embassadour and the Pasha, was a certain Chiosk, or Garden house, belonging to an Eunuch, the *Aga* of a Seraglio at *Pera*; where both parties being met, the Pasha declared that the Grand Signiors desires were, That a Peace should be concluded on the Ancient Capitulations, and that by him these Orders were to be carried unto *Algier*, from whence he was advised, that the Algerines were ready to accept those Articles, if one of his Majesties Ships singly appeared about the Treaty; so that, the World might not esteem their condescension to proceed from Force and Compulsion. Hereof Advices being sent into *England*, a Peace ensued in some Months after, but what faith these Infidels kept will be related in the Sequel of this Story; the memory of which is engraven with the Point of a Diamond, and the Losses which ensued thereupon to the Exchange at *London*, deserve a particular Treatise, which in the mean time many Families retain in a sad remembrance.

In *May* Advice was brought to the Lord Ambassadour, how that the *Anne*, a Frigate of his Majesties Royal Navy, commanded by Captain *Jonas Poole*, which had convoyed the general Ships to *Smyrna*, in her passage homewards stopped at the *Morea*, and came to an Anchor near a place in that Country, called the Black Mountain, commodious to Wood and Water in; to which end were landed threescore men, armed with Swords and Firelocks; these made havock of the Woods on all sides, loading their Boats away as fast as they could, and not only so, but set great Trees on Fire, which in that dry Season of the Year dispersed it self far and wide; which being seen at a distance in the Night, alarmed the people of the Country, so that the Begh, or Governour came down with some Force to discover the matter, supposing that some Maltese, or Venetians might be landed. At the approach of this Body of Turks, our Men quitted the Woods, and shifted away as fast as they could to their Boats, of which thirty eight escaped, the rest falling short were intercepted by the Turks, and eleven of them were killed, and eleven taken Captives; and of the Turks, two Aga's, and two or three others had the fortune to fall by some Musket-shot from our men, whilst in this confusion, they endeavoured to defend themselves. On the news hereof, our Lord Ambassadour represented the whole matter to the Vizier declaring, That it was lawful according to our Capitulati-

1662. ons, to take refreſhments, and ſupply our wants in any part of the Grand Signiors Dominions; and that therefore he demanded Juſtice on the Begh of the *Morea*, and reſtitution of the Captives. But the Vizier underſtanding that ſome Turks were killed in the skirmiſh, lent not ſo ready an ear to theſe Complaints; howſoever, to be acquitted of the Ambaſſadours ſolicitations, referred the buſineſs to the Examination and Juſtice of the Captain Paſha: but it falling out that at that time the Conſul and Merchants at *Smyrna* had an unhappy difference with the Captain Paſha, (which ſhall in the next place be related) was the Cauſe that all Applications to his Favour and Juſtice were ſuſpended, and a ſlow progreſs made towards obtaining the liberty of thoſe poor unfortunate men. Howſoever, ſome months after it happened that the Begh of the *Morea* being removed from that Government, and coming to *Conſtantinople* with his whole Eſtate, brought with him the eleven Engliſhmen, which he had taken, and offered them to ſale unto the Ambaſſadour, who conſidering that they were Engliſhmen, and ſuch as had been enſlaved in actual ſervice of their King, he eſteemed himſelf obliged both in Charity and Honour to redeem them. But the Caſe appeared too foul to demand their Liberty by ſtrength of the Capitulations; for beſides that, the cutting Wood in places inhabited without permiſſion, is a Robbery and a Crime in its ſelf, not to be maintained by the Law of Nations, the killing of a principal Aga, and wounding others, might ſufficiently warrant the Turks, without any Breach of Peace, to detain theſe men as lawful Captives: Wherefore the Lord Ambaſſadour deeming it unſeemly, that thoſe who had ſerved in his Majeſties Navy ſhould be condemned to the Turkiſh Gallies, diſburſed fourteen hundred Lion Dollars, which was demanded for them, which was afterwards repay'd him by his Majeſty; and having cloathed, and provided them with neceſſaries for their Voyage, conveyed them with the firſt occaſions into *England*.

The difference between the Engliſh Nation, and the Captain Paſha which impeded the Liberty, for ſome time, of theſe Captives, had its Original at *Smyrna*, where ſome Engliſh Merchants making Collation one Evening in a Garden, were aſſaulted and beaten by certain drunken * Levents, belonging to a Gally then in Port, in whoſe Company was a Portuguez Slave. The News hereof flying to the Frank Street put all the Neighbourhood into an uproar, ſo that divers people with ſuch weapons as came next to hand, in a fury went in purſuit of the Levents, and unhappily meeting one, drew him into the Engliſh Conſuls houſe, where they treated him with ſuch blows as abated much of the heat and fumes of his Wine; during which diſturbance and confuſion, the Portuguez ſlave found an opportunity to make his eſcape. The Conſul knowing it ſome advantage in *Turkie* to complain firſt, ſent to the Kadi, giving him to underſtand the ill uſage of four of his Merchants (whoſe names he gave in writing) by the unruly Levents, whilſt they innocently, and without injury to any, divertiſed themſelves in a Garden; to which, for the preſent, little more was given in anſwer, than that on a farther examination of the buſineſs, the Conſul ſhould receive Juſtice. In the mean time the Turk, who had been beaten in the Conſuls houſe, reſolved not to leave the Gate till he had received ſatisfaction for his blows; and the others that were his Comrades demanded their Slave from the Engliſh, which was loſt, by whoſe means and aſſiſtance (as they pretend) he had made his Eſcape. The matter came now to high Demands on both ſides, which

* Soaldiers belonging to the Sea.

The Garden Avania.

which the Kadi, either not being desirous, or not of sufficient Authority to compound, the Gally departed without any agreement, and the complaint was carried by the Turks to the Captain Pasha, who then being with his Fleet at *Mytilene*, with little other thoughts or business, was glad of this occasion to get money, and therefore suddenly returned the Gally again, with Orders to bring before him the four Merchants, whose names he particularized, to make answer to their accusation of having beaten his Levents, and contrived the escape of the slave. The Consul and Merchants being affrighted by this Message, and Command of so great a Personage, endeavoured with money to accommodate the business, by force of which it was at length taken up, costing in all the summ of Dollars two thousand seven hundred, or thereabouts. The which passage may serve for an example to such as live in *Turkie*, that all troubles of this nature are best compounded for at first; for at the beginning nothing more was demanded than the price of the Slave, and of the broken pate of the Levent: but being suffered to come under the Cognizance of powerful and covetous Tyrants; as there is no fathoming their unsatiable desires, so there is no prospect into what inconvenient dangers such Affairs will involve, and entangle themselves. 1662.

As *Turkie* hath been seldome or never without having false money currant, so the best sort of Silver hath been so clipped by the Jews, Armenians, Merchants, and others; that the Dollar was brought at *Constantinople* to six Drams, and at *Smyrna* to seven, which made great confusion in the Trade of these Countries. Wherefore the Vizier as he had already given proof and testimony to the World of his strict observance, and adherence to the Mahometan Law, so he was desirous to appear highly careful and sensible of the Publick Interest: And therefore as the most necessary work, he began with the Dollars of six Drams, proclaiming that they should no longer pass in payments, and that those in whose hands they were found, delivering them into the Mint should receive a. 8 o in return of every such Dollar, by which means the Mint would advance a. 4 on every Dollar, esteeming every dram worth 14 Aspers, and that for the present no Dollar being currant under seven Drams, it might afterwards be brought to Lyons, and Dollars of nine Drams; which regulation, though at first grievous to some particular persons, would afterwards redound to the common advantage and benefit of Trade. To forward which Design the Grand Signior, and Queen Mother sent all their Dollars of six Drams to be new coined into Aspers at the Mint, so likewise did the Vizier, intending to be very strict in prohibition of that money. But a while after it happened that the Treasurer of the Viziers Steward having occasion to pay monies, either for his own or his Masters account, forced some Bags of six Drams on those to whom payment was to be made; the Receivers denied to accept them, but he being a powerful man, and very urgent, forced the money upon them, with which laden, as they had received them, they went directly to the Vizier, acquainting him that they were desirous to obey his Commands, as to the six Dram Dollars, but his Stewards Treasurer had forced on them that sort of money, which if it was his pleasure that they should still pass, they were contented to receive, if not, they desired him to give Command for their payment in other money. The Vizier being highly enraged, that the first Violation of his Commands should begin in his own Family, immediately ordered, without farther proof or process, that the Offenders Head

The Viziers Edict against Dollars of six Drams.

1662. should be ſtruck off, and his body thrown into the Sea; which Sentence was executed in the ſame hour for example and terror of others, and to expiate the crime, and take away the ſcandal from the fountain of Juſtice, whoſe ſtreams can never be eſteemed to run clear when the ſource is corrupted. In like manner the Overſeer of the Mint was ſtrangled, and *Emir* Paſha, formerly Paſha of Grand *Cairo*, was baniſhed to the Iſle of *Lemnos*, for making the Coin of Aſpers 5. *per cent.* worſe than their true value.

Merchants of *Aleppo.*

The Merchants at *Aleppo*, being far from the Court, are more ſubject to troubleſom Avanias than others, who are nearer to the head or fountain, from whence Juſtice ſhould proceed, as may appear by many examples, and particularly by an accident which fell out there this year. For it happened, that a Janiſary which ſerved the Engliſh Nation, riding abroad with ſome of the Merchants, for want of heed, or the unrulineſs of his Horſe, chanced to hurt a Youth playing in the ſtreets. Whereupon the Merchants, and the Janiſary, not to ſuffer this buſineſs to come within the knowledge of the Cities Officers, immediately for ſome money quieted the complaints, and ſtopped the farther demands of the father; and to make the buſineſs more ſecure, cauſed the father to make Hoget before the *Kadi*, that he was well ſatisfied, and remained without farther pretence, either on the Merchant, or the Janiſary, for the hurt which his child had received. But the Paſha, who had for a long time attentively watched an opportunity to extort mony from the Engliſh, was reſolved not to let paſs this fair occaſion; and therefore ſent to demand from the Conſul thoſe Merchants, which he called Acceſſories to this miſchief, and the Aſſaſſinates of a Muſſulman. The Conſul appearing in perſon before the Paſha, denied to deliver up the Merchants being guiltleſs of any crime; and that for hurt to the child, the father had received full ſatisfaction from the Janiſary, and given a diſcharge before the *Kadi*. Howſoever this reaſon would not pacifie the Paſha, who could acknowledge no other argument available than a ſum of money; and therefore in proſecution of his deſign produced ten falſe Witneſſes, that the child was dead of its hurt, and that Engliſh men had done the miſchief. The Conſul had now no other anſwer than a flat denial; for the Paſha had forced by threats the Hoget from the Janiſary, and perſiſting with conſtancy in defence of his Merchants, the Paſha confined him for an hours time in a Chamber of his Houſe, and beat, and impriſoned his Druggerman. The Conſul afterwards returned home; and perceiving a difference between the Paſha and the Mufti, purchaſed the favour of the Mufti on his ſide, and procured from him an Hoget of the ſeveral proceedings in this buſineſs, which was diſpatched away with all expedition to *Conſtantinople*, that a redreſs of this injury might be obtained from the Superiour Power. Whilſt the Lord Ambaſſador in due manner reſented this breach of Capitulations, and prepared to make his complaints to the Vizier, it happened that certain Chriſtians of *Aleppo*, from whom the Paſha had forced 18000 Dollars by unjuſt extortion, were then at Court ſolliciting the reſtauration of their right. The Ambaſſador judging this a convenient and opportune preparation to prepoſſeſs the mind of the Vizier with a true apprehenſion of the injuſtice of this Paſha, encouraged and pricked forward theſe abuſed and oppreſſed Chriſtians in their complaints; and the next day preſented his Memorial to the Vizier, containing all the particulars of the late paſſages at *Aleppo*: which with the other

other Crimes alledged the Day before, so moved the mind of the Vizier, that he promised the Ambassadour to send a Kapugibashee of the Grand Signior to enquire into the Truth of these Allegations; and that he might be satisfied of his real intentions to do him justice, he advised him to send a Messenger in company with this Officer, who might witness the reality of his proceedings. The Kapugibashee being in this manner dispatched, and arriving at *Aleppo*, made the Pasha refund the money he had unjustly taken from the poor oppressed Christians of that Country; in which good action my Lord Ambassadour had been an useful instrument, having encouraged the Agents of those Christians at *Constantinople*, counselled them what Course to take, and introduced them by his Chief Interpreter to the Presence of the Vizier, for which he received the thanks of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs, who gratefully acknowledged to the English Consul at *Aleppo*, how much they were engaged to the charity and favour of the English Ambassadour: But whilst all mens eyes were in expectation what farther proceedings were designed against the Pasha in favour of the English, the Officer denied to have received any instructions therein, and so returned to *Constantinople* without taking notice of the English Concernment. The Ambassadour judging himself herein slighted, sent to the Viziers Kahya to know the mystery of this neglect; for the Vizier and himself having pawned his word, and promises to do him justice, against the Pasha of *Aleppo*, it seemed strange that his assurances should vanish into nothing; and that he so meanly esteemed his Quality and Office, as to disparage it with so much disrepute and contempt as must necessarily befall him, should this Pasha escape without exemplary punishment; For then the World might with reason believe his Applications of no prevalency, and his Merchants fear the insufficiency of his protection. To which the Kahya answered, That it was true, that the Kapugibashee was not instructed in the Concernments of the English, in regard a more solemn and eminent piece of Justice was designed for the Ambassadour, than any that could be performed by the Kapugibashee, and that in twenty or thirty days at furthest the Pasha should be deprived of his Office. The next day following the Kahya advised that the Hattesheriff, or Imperial Command for deposing of the Pasha, was signed, and that old *Mahomet* Pasha of *Darbiquier* was constituted in his place; which News was highly pleasing to the Lord Ambassadour, in regard he had been an ancient Friend to the English, under whom he presaged to our Nation at *Aleppo* all security and contentment. By which Story it is observable, That though the Supreme Officers amongst the Turks are willing to satisfie Christian Ambassadours resident with them, in the Care they have of their Welfare, and maintenance of their Capitulations; yet are not desirous to publish to their own people the punishment of their Grand Officers, at the instigation or for the concernment of a Christian: And that though the Turks are apprehended amongst us for a people of great Morality, and singleness in their Dealings; yet it is observable in this, as well as in other their actions, that they have double tongues and faces, and know how to act with as fine a Thread, and plausible pretences as are accustomary in the most politick and refined Courts of *Italy*.

1662.

Reflections on the Premises.

Anno

1663.

Anno Christi 1663. *Hegeira* 1074.

THE Baron of *Goez*, which at the end of the last year arrived at *Buda* with several overtures of peace, had so far proceeded in his Treaty with *Ali* Pasha of *Buda*, that all Articles seemed almost concluded, and scarce any difficulty to remain, unless the Surrender of *Zekelhyd* on the Confines of *Hungary*; which also was afterwards accommodated by Agreement, That the City should be resigned into the hands of the Prince of *Transilvania*, as the most equal Condition between the Emperour and the Turk. So that, matters thus seeming to be composed, all people talked of Peace with *Germany*, and that the force and miseries of Wars were to be turned upon *Dalmatia*: And though the Turks had no design less in their thoughts than this, or any intentions towards a Peace, as will be proved by the Sequel; howsoever, the German Ministers, as men credulous of what they desire, gave the Peace for certainly concluded, in which conceit the Turks so humoured and indulged their fancy, that they perswaded Prince *Portia*, the Chief Minister of State to the Emperour, in that manner of the reality of their intentions; that he neglected the necessary provisions and preparations of War. And though he was often advised by the Resident at the Ottoman Port, that all these Demonstrations of Peace were only Artifices of the Turk, to delude the Emperours Council; yet so tenacious was he of this opinion, that though it be but common reason, and the vulgar rule of Policy for a Prince to arm, and suspect his Neighbour, who puts himself into a warlike posture; yet this Great Personage, though in other things profoundly wise, and circumspect, was so deluded, that he replyed to the Residents Advices to this effect, That it was the Office of a prudent and experienced Minister to discover with diligence the resolution of the Cabinet Councils of Princes, and not to give ear or credit to what is the common voice or vogue of the Vulgar.

The Turks with words deceive the German Ministers.

The Spring drawing near, the Vizier prepared all things for action, nominating and appointing such, who in his absence were to supply the Offices of State: *Ishmael* Pasha, then Pasha of *Buda*, was designed for *Chimacam*, or Governour of *Constantinople*, and *Mustapha* Pasha, Captain Pasha, Brother in Law to the Great Vizier by marriage of his Sister (and now the present Vizier) was made *Chimacam* at *Adrianople*, near the Person of the Grand Signior. All other preparations for War went forwards, thirty pieces of Cannon from *Scutari*, and fifty from the Seraglio, most of a vast bigness and weight, which had served in the taking of *Babylon*, with great store of Ammunition and Provisions of War, were transported up the *Danube* to *Belgrade*, and the Princes of *Moldavia*, and *Valachia*, had now Commands sent them to quicken their diligence in making their preparations of War, and in providing Sheep, Beef, Rice, and all sorts of Victuals for supply of the Camp; and General Proclamation was made in all places, That all Souldiers, who received one Asper of pay from the Grand Signior, were to prepare themselves for the War.

About the middle of *February* the Horse Tail was set forth at the Viziers Gate; (which is the usual signal of the Camps motion within the space of a month) so that none may excuse himself from the War for want of due and timely intimation. And though the time for departure nearly

nearly approached, yet the Grand Signior was so impatient, that he would scarce expect until the Equinoctial, which was the Term formerly appointed and published for this expedition; resolving sometimes to proceed before, and leave the Vizier to follow him, letting fall words often, That such as loved and honoured him would keep him company. But this hasty resolution, and eager desire of his Journey the Vizier, Mufti, and others of his Counsellours did moderate, perswading him to a little longer patience: to which, though with some difficulty, he assented; yet he could not forbear from his horses back, and constant exercises abroad, nor could he be induced to take one nights repose longer in his great Seraglio at *Constantinople*, but lodged at *Daout* Pasha, a small Palace about four miles distant from *Constantinople*. Which extravagant manner of living most people attributed to his wandring humour, and delights in hunting, riding, and such like exercises, having his sole pleasure in the Woods and Fields: But others, who judged with better foundation, did conceive, That the Grand Signiors choice of other places of Residence rather than his Imperial Seraglio, proceeded not so much from his own unsetled humour, and course of living, as from an apprehension of some Designs, and mutinous Treasons of the Janisaries against him: for to speak the truth, since the death of *Kuperlee*, the Militia began again to be corrupted; and if we may believe the opinion of the most principal Turks, the Vizier undertook this War to employ the busie spirits of the Souldiery, which began to grow resty and insolent through idleness, and by that means secure his own life, and establish his Condition and Fortune.

1663.

The Grand Signior impatient to leave *Constantinople*

The Equinoctial being come, the Grand Signior would not have one days longer patience; for though the Season was wet and rainy, yet the Tents were pitched; and though the Wind was so violent and forcible as overturned almost the whole Camp, yet no difficulties and inconveniences of Weather could give one hour of intermission to the Sultans desires: Wherefore on the *9th* of this Month the Grand Signior departed from *Constantinople*, attended with his Court, his principal Officers of State, and with what part of his Army was then in a readiness to march. The magnificence of the show they made, was according to the usual solemnity, yet worthy the sight of a Stranger, and perhaps not incurious to the Reader in its Relation.

March.

First, marched with a singular Gravity, the several and distinct Orders of Civil and Military Officers in their proper Habits and Caparisons, the Santones in their wild dress followed by the Emirs, or such as are of the Kindred of their false Prophet; The Great Vizier, and Mufti rode in rank together, the Vizier on the left hand, the most honourable place amongst the Souldiery, being the side to which the Sword is girt, as the right is of greatest esteem amongst such as are of the Law, being that hand which guides the Pen: The Trappings of the Viziers Horse were plated with Gold, and before him were carried three horse-tails, called in Turkish (*Tugh*,) and behind him came about three hundred and fifty Pages, all Young men well mounted, and armed with Jacks and Coats of Male: Next followed the Minions of the Court, or Seraglio, (*viz.*) the Paicks with Caps of beaten Gold, and embroidered Coats, the Solacks with Feathers, armed with Bows and Arrows; these two last are of the highest degree of Lacqueys, which more nearly attend the Person of the Grand Signior; These were followed by nine led Horses of the Grand

The Cavalcade which the Gr. Signior made when he departed from *Constantinople*.

1663. Grand Siginor, richly adorned with precious Stones, and Bucklers all covered with Jewels of an unknown value. Immediately before the Perſon of the Grand Siginor was led a Camel carrying the Alcoran in a Cheſt covered with cloth of gold: The Grand Siginor himſelf was cloathed in a Veſt of cloth of gold lined with a Sable incomparably black, held up from the ſides of his Horſe by four Pages; his Perſon was followed with great numbers of Eunuchs, and Pages with long red Caps wrought with gold about the head, carrying Lances and Mails, with two locks, one on each ſide of their head, which are worn by ſuch only as are of the Royal Chamber: after theſe crowded great numbers of Servants, with the chief Comp. of Spahees, commanded by the *Selictar Aga*, in number about 1800. And in this manner and order they marched to their Tents.

The Tents were raiſed on a ſmall Hill, as may be judged about four miles diſtant from *Conſtantinople*, and about two thouſand in number ranged at that time without order, only the Grand Siginor's ſeemed to be in the midſt, and to over-top all the reſt, well worthy obſervation, coſting (as was reported) one hundred and eighty thouſand Dollars, richly embroidered in the inſide with gold, and ſupported by Pillars plated with gold. Within the * Walls of this Tent (as I may ſo call them) were all ſorts of Offices belonging to the Seraglio, all Retirements and Apartments for the Pages, *Chioskes* or Summer-houſes for pleaſure; and though I could not get admittance to view the innermoſt Rooms and Chambers, yet by the outward and more common places of reſort, I could make a gueſs at the richeſs and greatneſs of the reſt, being ſumptuous beyond compariſon of any in uſe amongſt the Chriſtian Princes. On the right hand hereof was pitched the Grand Viziers Tent, exceedingly rich and lofty; and had I not ſeen that of the Sultans before it, I ſhould have judged it the beſt that my eyes had ſeen. The oſtentation and magnificence of this Empire being evidenced in nothing more than in the richeſs of their Pavilions, ſumptuous beyond the fixed Palaces of Princes, erected with Marble and Mortar.

The richneſs of Turkiſh Tents.

* In Turkiſh Perdéh.

On the 16. of this month the *Aga* of the Janiſaries firſt raiſed his Tents, and began his march, the next day followed the Grand Siginor, Vizier, and other Officers, and Spahees. At which time all *Aſia* was full of Souldiers flocking from all parts of the Eaſt, as from *Aleppo*, *Damaſcus*, *Arabia*, *Erzirum*, and *Babylon*: ſo that for a long time Boats and Barks were continually imployed to ferry the Souldiery from *Scutari* into *Europe*: and the High-ways, Villages, and all parts of the Road towards *Adrianople* were filled with Souldiers, as if all *Aſia* had iſſued out to devour and inhabit the German Poſſeſſions. And for greater expedition in the March of the Army, Proclamation was made of a general Rendezvous at *Sophia* at the * *Biram*, then within three weeks time, where they deſigned to foil their Horſe, and refreſh themſelves before they fell in earneſt to their buſineſs. But before the Grand Vizier departed from *Adrianople* to proſecute a War in *Hungary* againſt the Emperour, he called Siginor *Ballarino* to his preſence, as if he would treat with him of matters tending to an adjuſtment with *Venice*; when at the ſame time he had 20000 men in a readineſs at *Scutari* to march into *Dalmatia*, and to joyn with other Forces in *Boſna* and *Croatia*; but this diſſimulation and appearance of Treaty ſerved only to diſcover on what Terms a Peace might be obtained, in caſe Affairs in *Hungary* ſhould be ſo preſſing as

The Turks begin their March.

* The Turks Feaſt.

to

to require an application ſolely of Arms to that Country. 1663.

Not only had Signor *Ballarino* Affairs of publick trouble, but likewiſe ſomething touched him of private concernment in his own Family; where the Turks, I know not upon what information coming to ſearch, found in his houſe two figures, one of a man, and the other of a woman made of linen cloth, ſtuffed with Wool and Cotton; the which were interpreted by the Turks to be Images of Sorcery and Inchantment; one repreſenting the Grand Siginor, and the other his Mother, were deſigned in a ſecret manner, by thruſting Needles and Pins into thoſe parts, where the heart and liver is, to cauſe thoſe whom they repreſent to dye with macerations and conſumptions, according to the Inchantment of *Medea*. *In jecur urget acus.* And this ſuſpicion was augmented by the reports of the neighbourhood, who hearing the Prieſt often recite his Litany, and ſing Evening-ſong, avouched that they conſtantly over-heard the Charms muttered in ſuch forms as are uſed by Magicians and Sorcerers: wherefore deſigning to take the Prieſt, who was the Father Provincial of St. *Francis*, and puniſh him for his Witchcraft, the good man fairly fled, and kept himſelf out of harms way, until Signior *Ballarino* could quiet the minds of the Turks by ſome Art, which he more forcibly practiſed upon them by a ſtronger charm of money and Preſents than that which was the ſubject of their complaint.

In the mean time all fears and dangers of *Candia* vaniſhed, becauſe the Turks bent their Forces and chief of their ſtrength againſt their Enemies at Land: to provide againſt which, the Senate of *Venice* ſent into *Dalmatia* the Baron *Spaar* for General, with many other Officers under him, namely the Marqueſs *Maculani*, Count *Ettore Albano*, *Carlo Martinengo*, and *Roverelli*, Count of *Caudes*, the Cavalier *Grimaldi*, *Echenfelt*, and others. Into *Friuli*, *Franciſco Moroſini* was diſpatched in quality of Proveditor General with ſupreme Power and Authority, and in this manner all matters were as well provided and ſecured by Land, as they were by Sea.

The *Biram* chanced to happen out this year towards the end of *April*, by which time the Vizier, and moſt of his Army, aſſembled according to Proclamation at *Sophia*; where having continued ſome time, and conſulted well in what manner to put their deſigns in execution, they proceeded in their March towards *Buda*, and the Confines of *Hungary*; but in the way the Vizier was encountred by a Meſſenger from the Emperor, offering all reaſonable Propoſitions of Peace, if poſſibly a ſtop might be given to the farther progreſs of that vaſt and formidable Army. All matters were propoſed which probably might give ſatisfaction; the Fort of Count *Serini* (the grand eye-ſore of the Turks) was proffered to be demoliſhed, with other Conditions which before the March of the Army were never propoſed or demanded. But the Vizier gave little ear to theſe fair Overtures, but proceeded forwards in his Demands, as he did in his March: requiring now, not the demoliſhment of the Fort, but the ſurrender of it entirely with all the Strength, Artillery, and Ammunition into the hands of the Grand Signior. Had this condition been granted, it is probable the deſires and pretenſions of the Turks would not have ſtopped here, but have riſen, as the ſpirits of their Enemies had condeſcended, and exceeded all the hopes and advantage which they imagined probable and feaſible to be obtained by the War. Wherefore this Meſſage proving fruitleſs, the Bringer of it was permitted licence to

1663. return into *Germany*: But the Reſident was refuſed diſmiſſion, being detained in the Turkiſh Camp, as an Inſtrument to mediate a Peace, when both ſides ſhould grow weary of the War.

The Coſacks infeſt the Tartars.

About this time the Tartars were greatly infeſted by the Coſacks, who were then very formidable and ſtrong, approaching near the City of *Oſiac*, the Key and chief Fortreſs of *Tartary*, under the Command of a Fiſherman of the *Boriſthenes*, who having had great ſucceſſes, and collected a conſiderable ſum of money, became a dangerous Enemy: By Sea alſo they commanded abſolutely, roving uncontrouled, having a Fleet of Saykes and Gallies near an hundred and fifty Sail, againſt whom the Tartar *Han* or King of *Tartary* craved of the Grand Signior forty ſail of Gallies that year to oppoſe them. But this Force of the Coſacks was ſoon abated; for it pleaſed God, that paſſing out of the *Palus Mæotis* through the narrow paſſage of *Colchos* into the Black Sea, the beſt part of this Fleet ſuffered ſhipwrack; with which they were ſo diſmayed, that the twelve ſail of Gallies (which was the whole Force the Turks could ſpare this year for that Sea) gave a check to the remainder, and forced them again to the Banks of the *Boriſthenes*. The reſt of the Turkiſh Fleet, conſiſting, together with the Beys Gallies, in all but of thirty Sail, departed from *Conſtantinople*, with deſign rather to make ſome appearance of a Fleet, and noiſe amongſt their own people, and collect the Contributions of the Iſles in the *Archipelago*, than out of hopes of effecting any thing againſt the Venetians, and ſo it ſucceeded; for this Fleet remained the whole Summer at *Mytilene*, not daring to appear abroad for fear of the Enemy.

The Tartar unwilling to go to the War.

Though the Tartars were ſo hardly beſet by the Coſacks, yet their danger at home was not a ſufficient excuſe to diſingage them from their aſſiſtance in the War of *Hungary*. For the Vizier marching towards the Frontiers, ſent one Meſſenger after the other to haſten the Tartar *Han* with all ſpeed poſſible to the Wars. But the Tartars ſeeming not ſo willing, or ſo ready as the Turks expected, more poſitive commands, and ſevere threats, were diſpatched than before, that laying aſide all excuſes or delays, they ſhould with all the Force of their Country attend in this preſent War againſt the Emperour, or otherwiſe the Tartar *Han* was to be deprived of his Government, and his Son conſtituted in his place. Theſe ſevere menaces reduced the Tartar to great ſtraits; fearful he was to diſpleaſe the Sultan, not knowing what ill conſequences might proceed from thence; but more apprehenſive he was of the approaches of the Coſacks, and of the diſpleaſure of his own People, who were reſolved to ſee this fire of War extinguiſhed in their own homes, before they would attend the deſigns, or ſatisfie the luſts of a ſtranger Prince. In this Dilemma the Tartar *Han* finding himſelf, made uſe of fair words and promiſes, ingaging his word, That after the harveſt was paſt, no obſtacle ſhould prevent his compliance with the Sultans expectations; for at preſent it was impoſſible, in regard that ſhould their people at this ſeaſon be diverted from gathering the harveſt, the Corn and Fruit would remain on the ground, and ſo occaſion a Famine, and deſtruction of their Country. And herein the Tartar had ſome reaſon; for theſe people go not to the Wars, as other Nations, who leave a ſufficient number behind to cultivate their Country, and perform all other Offices and Imployments in a Common-wealth: but theſe making their chief livelihood and ſubſiſtence on the prey and robberies they make on their Neighbours,

The courſe of life amongſt the Tartars.

bours; as many as reſolve to eat Bread and live, who are men not old or impotent, able to bear Arms, betake themſelves to their Horſe and Bow, ſo that when their Army is abroad, their Towns and Villages are only inhabited, and defended by their Women. But the Turk whoſe deſires are never ſatisfied with reaſons, or withſtood by words, or with any thing beſides the execution of his Commands, diſpatched another Meſſage more full of threats and reſolution than formerly, carried by the Embrahor, or Maſter of the G. Signiors Horſe, menacing nothing but Fire, and Sword, and Deſtruction, to the *Han* and his Country, if he longer delayed to perform his Duty. But by this time the Harveſt being almoſt gathered, and their fears againſt the Coſſacks partly extinguiſhed, the Tartar promiſed with all expedition an Army of ſeventy thouſand men, under the Conduct of the Prince his eldeſt Son, who whilſt they were putting themſelves in order, and aſſembling for the War; reports were murmured, as if the Turks were in a Treaty of Peace with the Emperour, and matters in a fair likelyhood of compoſure: At this news the common Souldiers amongſt the Tartars were not a little ſtartled, fearing that they who are free Booters, and have no other pay than their purchaſe, ſhould by ſuch a Treaty be forced to return empty, and therefore before they would proceed, ſent to adviſe the Sultan of theſe their fears; ſupplicating him, that if he ſhould think fit to conclude a Peace, and ſo oblige them to return into their own Country, that he would not take it amiſs, if upon their march home, they ſhould make themſelves good upon his Subjects of *Moldavia*, and *Valachia*, whoſe perſons and Eſtates they reſolved to carry with them, as a juſt prey and recompence for their loſs of time and labour. The Sultan who ſets a ſmall value on the Lives and Eſtates of his Chriſtian Subjects, judged this Propoſition but reaſonable, ſo long as upon theſe terms he might obtain the benefit of the Tartars aſſiſtance, who are the beſt Horſe to forage, deſtroy, and make deſolate a Country.

1663.

They are threatned again.

They ſend an Army into *Hungary*.

The Story of Aſan *Aga the Moſayp or Favourite, and other inſtances of the uncertainty of the Turkiſh Richeſſe, and Glory.*

THE Great Vizier being by this time arrived on the Frontiers with a very conſiderable Army; the G. Signior at *Adrianople* continued his uſual pleaſures in Hunting, Riding, throwing of the Gerit or Dart, and in other paſtimes and ſports of this nature; at which time caſting his Eyes upon one *Aſan* Aga, a ſprightly youth of his Seraglio, a Polonian by Nation, to be more forward and active than any of his Court, took an affection to him, ſo ſudden and violent, as might be judged neither well founded, nor long durable; for the Grand Signior having heard, that there were examples amongſt the Emperours his Predeceſſors, not only in the abſence, but in the preſence alſo of the Vizier, of maintaining and conſtituting a Favourite, in Turkiſh called *Moſayp*, did own publickly the Election of this perſon for his Friend and Companion; ſo that this Minion was on a ſudden ſo highly ingratiated in the favour of his Prince, that he always rode equal with him; Cloathed as rich, and mounted as well, as the Sultan himſelf, as if he had been his Coadjutor, or Companion in the Empire. The Queen Mother, the *Kuzlir* Aga, and other rich Eunuchs of the Seraglio, the Chimacams of *Adrianople*, and *Conſtantinople*,

1663. *tinople*, with all the Great Officers and principal Miniſters, were commanded to make Preſents of Money, Jewels, and other Sacrifices, to this riſing Sun; whom now every one ſo courted and adored, that he became the only talk and admiration of the whole Town; no other diſcourſe there was, but of *Aſan Chelabei*, *Aſan* the fine accompliſht Gentleman, *Aſan* the only Creature of Fortune, and Idol of the whole World. This high and ſudden promotion of this Youth, greatly diſpleaſed the Queen Mother, and *Kuzlir* Aga, who had Creatures of their own to prefer, and by their means became the Envy and Emulation of the whole Court, ſo that there wanted not ſuch who poſted the news to the Vizier, as him, on whom the growing greatneſs of *Aſan* might have the moſt dangerous reflection: but the Vizier duly conſidering, that the deep impreſſions this Youth had made in the affections of his Maſter, were not to be removed by plain dealing, but by ſome more occult Artifice and diſſimulation, took occaſion to write to the G. Signior, in favour of *Aſan* Aga, extolling the prudence of his choice of ſo compleat and hopeful a Youth for his Favourite; but that it was pity, ſo pregnant parts as thoſe with which *Aſan* was endued, fit to promote his Maſters Service and Intereſt, ſhould be Encloiſtred, and Buried, in the ſoftneſs and delights of his Seraglio; and therefore his Counſel was, to have him preferred to ſome government, and degree of a Paſha, to which, his Abilities and Education, in the Nurſery and Diſcipline of the Court, had abundantly accompliſhed him. *Peſſimum genus inimicorum, laudantes.* Nor were the Queen Mother, and *Kuzlir* Aga, all this time wanting in their contrivance to undermine him, but not with a deſign ſpun with ſo fine a thread, profeſſing themſelves openly his Adverſaries: for which Courtly Policy, the Vizier only received a check, and ſome few verbal reproofs, for intermedling with what ſo nearly concerned his Maſters Fancy and Affection: But the *Kuzlir* Aga, was by one word from *Aſan* (whom he had diſcovered to be his Enemy) deprived of his Office, and had therewith loſt his Life, had not the Queen Mother powerfully interceded for him, and gained an exchange of his puniſhment from death to baniſhment in Grand *Cairo* in *Ægypt*. The Baltagibaſhee alſo (who is the Captain of that part of the Grand Signiors Guard, who carry hatchets, and are employed in cutting Wood for the uſe of the Seraglio) being diſcovered to be a Confederate in the ſame Plot againſt the Favourite, was condemned to the ſame puniſhment, and immediately both of them diſpeeded away to the place, where they were to ſpend the remainder of their days. Grand *Cairo* hath always been the place of Baniſhment for unfortunate Courtiers, or rather of ſuch who have with much greatneſs, plenty, and contentment ſometimes enjoyed the Fruit of their great Richeſſe, gained in the ſunſhine and ſummer of their Princes Favour. To this City alſo was this *Kuzlir* Aga exiled, who in the enjoyment of his Office for ſeveral years, had amaſſed a moſt vaſt Wealth, incredible to be ſpoken, and much to be wondred, that a Negro, whoſe hue and perſon is contemptible amongſt all, whom God hath created of a Colour different from thoſe who partake more of Light, and are of nearer ſimilitude with the Sun, and Nature of an Angel, one whoſe Original was a Slave, and his price never above a hundred Pieces of Eight, ſhould be loaded with ſuch Goods of Fortune, and enriched with the Treaſury of a Prince: His Retinue conſiſted of about 900 Horſe, (beſides Camels, and Mules for his Baggage) amongſt which a hundred were led Horſes, worth ſeven or eight hundred Dollars a Horſe,

Tacitus.

The *Kuzlir* Aga baniſhed to *Cairo*.

As alſo the Baltagibaſhee.

Horſe, and that he might ſtill ſeem to live by his Princes Bounty, a thouſand Aſpers a day was to be his conſtant pay, to be iſſued out of the G. Signiors Revenue in *Egypt*; by which we may in part calculate the greatneſs of this Empire, when ſo vaſt Richeſſe is accounted but a reaſonable proportion for ſo vile and mean a Slave: Howſoever the G. Signiors Treaſury ſuffers little hereby, for this wealth and pomp is but lent him to keep, and look on; he is uncapable to make a Teſtament, or conſtitute an Heir; the G. Signior himſelf ſucceeding to all the Eſtate he hath given him, and the improvement of it. This Negro being proceeded as far as to *Conſtantinople*, had his Companion the Baltagibaſhee, recalled from him with deſign to be put to Death, but afterwards by mediation of ſome powerful Friends, who took advantage of the gentle and benign humour of the Sultan, his pardon was obtained, and he preferred to a ſmall * Paſhalick in the leſſer *Aſia*. Howſoever the Eunuch proceeded in his Journey to *Grand Cairo*, where being arrived, after three Days, was by the Imperial Command ſtript of all his wealth and greatneſs, which amounted unto two Millions of Dollars, to be reſtored again to their firſt Maſter, who uſes to lend his Slaves ſuch gaieties and Ornaments, only to afford the World occaſion to ſee and admire the vaſtneſs of his Wealth, and contemplate the vanity and unconſtancy of Richeſſe and Worldly glory. This poor Negro thus deveſted of all, returned to his primary condition of a Slave, in which he was born, and for many years had lived, and was now baniſhed, forſaken, and diſconſolate in the upper *Egypt*; whither going ſcarce with ſufficient to preſerve him from Famine and Beggery, the Beyes of *Egypt*, out of compaſſion, beſtowed on him an Alms of twelve Purſes, being eight thouſand four hundred Dollars, according to the Account of *Cairo*, now the only ſupport and ſuſtenance of his Life. 1663.

* Government of a Paſha.

This Victory gained over theſe great Perſonages, and foyl given to the Queen Mother herſelf, was not carried by this young Favourite with that prudent equality of mind as was decent; but being puffed up with pride and glory, adventured to a judgment and cenſure of the deepeſt matters of State, which touched not a little the jealouſie and ſcorn of the Great Vizier, who therefore wrote to all thoſe grave Sages, to whoſe Counſel he conceived the Sultan gave any ear or credit; repreſenting with extraordinary paſſion and fervency the dangers he apprehended might befal his Maſter, and his Empire, whilſt both were ſubject to the unexperienced Counſels of *Aſan*, a Youth both in years and knowledge. That it was much to the diſparagement of the Supreme Office of Vizier, whilſt he was with thouſands of Turks on the Frontiers contending for the Glory and Enlargement of the Ottoman Dominions, ſubjected to millions of dangers and labours; to be ſupplanted by a Boy, fit only for an attendant in his Maſters Chamber; and to have the privacy of the Emperours State Counſels and policy rifled by a Youth, whoſe years had not fitted him for the knowledge and continence of an ordinary Secret. Theſe reaſonable Complaints of the Vizier's were by ſome of his wiſe Friends, whoſe Age and Gravity had produced ſomething of Reverence towards their Perſons, not without hazard and fear communicated unto the Sultan, the violence of whoſe Love being with time moderated and abated, he began to conſider the reaſonableneſs of this Diſcourſe, and ſo on a ſudden, to the great admiration of all, caſt off his Favourite, creating him a Kapugibaſhee, or chief Porter, with a hundred and fifty Aſpers a day Sallary.

The

1663.

The Ruine of Samozadè, *the Reis Effendi, or Chief Secretary of State to the Great Vizier.*

AND ſince we have related a Story which partly repreſents the unconſtancy and tyranny of the Turkiſh Greatneſs, it may yet pleaſe the Reader, ſhould we add another, though a little out of its due order, not leſs remarkable, and worthy of Record than the former.

When *Newhauſel* was beſieged, called by the Turks and Hungarians *Oywar*, and divers attempts made on it in vain; *Samozadè* the Reis Effendi, with leſs caution and wiſdom than he did uſually practiſe in other matters, wrote a Letter to the Chief Eunuch of the Women, then in the Seraglio at *Adrianople*, to this effect. That if the Grand Signior deſired to have that Fortreſs taken that was then beſieged, he ſhould chuſe a more able Captain for his Army than the preſent Vizier, a perſon who had only been educated in a Tekeh, or Colledge, and ſtudied in the ſpeculations of Law, and not in the Oda's of the Janiſaries, or Cuſtomes and Exerciſes of the Camp: and therefore if his Majeſty thought fit to chuſe another General, he could not caſt his eyes on any more able and deſerving than *Ibrahim* Paſha his Son in Law, a Perſon qualified for the Office of Vizier, being skilful in all points both of War and Peace. This Eunuch being the perſon that had ſucceeded to the former lately exiled, having received this Letter, immediately without farther Art or Prologue, read it to the Grand Signior, at which though at firſt he was ſtartled, yet not as yet weary of the Vizier, but ſtill conſerving a kindneſs and eſteem for him, took the Letter from the Eunuch, and ſent it to the Vizier, permitting him to inflict what puniſhment he judged moſt agreeable to his own preſervation and vindication of his honour. The Vizier having received this Letter, ſeemed not in the leaſt to be ſurprized with the perfidiouſneſs of *Samozadè*, but in a cool temper recollecting all the Applications and Addreſſes (which we have mentioned before) at his firſt entrance into this Supreme Office, and judging from thence, that he was not a perſon capable of friendſhip, or a ſteadineſs to his Intereſt, ſent for him, and for *Ibrahim* Paſha his Son in Law to his preſence, and firſt having upbraided his Treachery, and want of Integrity, in return to all the Careſſes and Endeavours he had uſed to win his Faith, cauſed both their heads to be ſtruck off by the Executioner.

This *Samozadè* was one of the moſt wiſe and beſt practiſed Secretaries of State that ever ſerved the Ottoman Empire, and one whom our Engliſh much lamented, being perfectly acquainted with the particulars of our Capitulations, and Conſtitution of our Trade; and had not his extraordinary Covetouſneſs blemiſhed his other moral Vertues, he might have been eſteemed a man rare, and a Miniſter not unworthy the greateſt Monarch of the World. The Richeſſe he had collected during the time of his State Negotiations were incredible and immenſe, for he ſpared and loſt no opportunity of gains, which rendred him the more liable and obnoxious to the ſtroke of Juſtice. His Goods were now ſeiſed on for ſervice of the Sultan, his Maſter, as juſtly confiſcated for Treaſon, his Eſtate was found to amount unto three millions of Pieces of Eight in ready money; He had ſixteen hundred Camels, four hundred Mules, ſix hundred Horſes of the beſt ſort, beſides ordinary Horſes of ſervice proportionable

proportionable to those of value. In his Chests and Stores were found four thousand Girdles, or Sashes of the best sort of Silver, never worn; seven and twenty pounds weight of Pearl, three hundred Daggers (or Turkish Hanjars) most set with Diamonds and Rubies, besides ninety Sable Vests, each whereof might be valued at a thousand Dollars; His Swords and rich Furniture were without number, or account, with a Cart Load of the best and finest *China*; over and above all this remained to his Son a Revenue of about ten pounds Sterling a day, who being condemned to the torture to confess the hidden Riches of his Father, at his first examination discovered one hundred and twenty five thousand Zaichins of Venetian Gold. 1663.

Of an Avania brought upon the Dutch Nation.

BEfore we proceed on with the Relation of the War in *Hungary*, where we for a time shall leave the Great Vizier, it will not be from our purpose to digress a little in recounting certain intermediate Accidents, which had reference to our own and the Dutch Nations Interest at the Ottoman Court. And first I shall begin with the Dutch, to whom a considerable trouble and misfortune befel, by means of a ship of theirs called the Emperour *Octaviano*, which designing to lade Turks Goods at *Alexandria* for *Constantinople*, had her Licence and Dispatches obtained by means of the Holland Resident, the Sieur *Warnero*. This ship being accordingly laden at *Alexandria*, whereon also the Grand Signior himself had thirty thousand Dollars Interest, and being ready to depart, was near the Port surprized by the Venetian, and Maltese Corsairs, and so taken. This News was posted over land from Grand *Cairo*, and the Cargo sent of the Goods, importing fourscore and four thousand Dollars, which in the Month of *June* arrived at *Constantinople*. The persons interested in this loss being many, in the nature of a Tumult applied themselves to the Grand Signior, and demanded sentence against the Dutch Resident for reparation, alledging that he had recommended the ship, and Commander, who had combined with the Corsairs to surprize him, and that the Resident had engaged for the faithfulness of the Captain, who had betrayed their Goods, not endeavouring to defend himself so much as by the shot of one Musket. The Grand Signior being likewise concerned herein himself, was easily perswaded to grant his Order and Sentence, That the loss of all should concern the Dutch Resident, and his Nation, requiring the Chimacam of *Constantinople* to summon the Resident, and intimate his pleasure therein, exacting a time limited for the payment. The Resident being called to several Audiences thereupon, denied to have had any hand in the employment of this ship on this Voyage, and that their Capitulations, to which the Grand Signior had sworn, acquitted him from being responsible for the misdemeanours of any of his Nation, for whose fidelity and good behaviour he had never personally engaged, and thereupon positively refused to make himself liable for payment of this money, to which he was neither obliged by the Law of Nations, nor his own private Act. Notwithstanding which, the Turks sentenced the Resident to be liable to make satisfaction; in regard that when the ship was first freighted, he appeared before

1663. fore the Chimacam at *Conſtantinople*, and being asked whether the Commander of this Ship was an honeſt man, and one who might be intruſted with ſuch a concernment of the Turks; his Anſwer was, That he believed he might, and that he was always eſteemed faithful and honeſt to his Truſt: which in the Turkiſh Law amounting to as much as if he had ſaid, he would become his ſecurity, the Grand Signior confirmed the former ſentence againſt the Reſident, and with haſte and fury diſpatched a Kapugibaſhee to bring his perſon to *Adrianople*; where being arrived, and continuing as yet conſtant to his firſt Anſwer, was committed to cuſtody of the Chaouſbaſhee, or Chief of the Purſuivants, where they gave him time until after the Feaſt of the little *Biram*, to conſult his own good and ſecurity of his Nation within the Turkiſh Dominions. The Feaſt was no ſooner ended, but the Grand Signior ſent immediately to know his ultimate reſolution, declaring, That if he continued ſtill obſtinate againſt his Power, he had commanded that he ſhould be committed to that Dungeon which had ſome few years before been the Lodging of other Chriſtian Miniſters. The Reſident terrified at the thoughts of ſuch an Impriſonment, declined from his former conſtancy, ingaging to pay the money in an hundred and five days time, for no longer would be granted; ſo violent and unreaſonable the Turks were in their demands againſt the Law of Nations, the particular Capitulations, and the common reaſon and juſtice of the World. This money was for the moſt part taken up by the Dutch Nation in *Turkie* at Intereſt, and afterwards the debt extinguiſhed by money lent them by the States, for payment of which a particular Impoſition was granted on all Goods brought from *Turkie*, until the debt to them was cleared with an Intereſt of one *per cent.* for the year. By which it may be obſerved, how little are eſteemed the perſons of Chriſtian Repreſentatives in the Turkiſh Court; who having proved with what tameneſs ſome Princes have taken the affronts offered to the perſon of their Ambaſſadour in former times, and now obſerving with what patience the States of *Holland* have ſuſtained the like inſolence and injury in their Reſident, they may poſſibly profeſs their Function ſacred, but yet in matters of their own intereſt will never be induced to vouchſafe them that reſpect or juſt treatment which is due to them.

In what ſtate the Affairs of England, *in reference to the Turkiſh Court, ſtood about this time with* Algier, *and other Parts of* Barbary.

IN the preceding year we declared how a Peace was concluded between *England* and *Algier*: for better confirmation whereof, and ſecurity of our Merchants Eſtates in the *Levant*, upon occaſion of a future breach, it was judged neceſſary by His Majeſties Council, That the reſpective Articles laſt made and concluded with *Algier*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli* ſhould be diſtinctly deſcribed and ratified by the Grand Signior, with this Clauſe at the concluſion of each, *viz.* "That in caſe the foregoing "Articles were not kept by theſe his Subjects reſpectively, but ſhould "contrary to the meaning thereof through Piracy be broken, that then "it

" it should be lawful for the King of *England* to chastise those people by " his own Arms and Force, without impeachment or breach of that good " Peace and Amity which intervenes between His Majesty of Great *Bri-* " *tain* and the Ottoman Emperour: And this was supposed might always be a Plea in defence of the English Nation in *Turkie*, when at any time His Majesty provoked by the injuries of those faithless and piratical Nations, should take due revenge upon them, not only on the Seas, but also on the Land, subverting those very Cities and Fortresses, which are the Nests of Piracies, and the common chastisement and Gaols of Christendom. When these Articles came to the hands of His Majesties Ambassadour the Earl of *Winchelsea*, with Orders to have them ratified and subscribed in the manner foregoing, the Turkish Court was then at *Adrianople*, to which place on this occasion the Lord Ambassadour made a journey from his usual Residence at *Constantinople*; and having acquainted the *Chimacam* with the whole matter, and the Propositions rightly apprehended by him, they were offered, and the next day communicated in behalf of the Ambassadour to the Grand Signior, who readily promised compliance with His Majesties desires, ordering the Articles, and conclusion of them, to be ingrossed and prepared for the Imperial assent. Howsoever some considerable time ran on before they were delivered out, in regard that being matters of State relating to War and Peace, they could not be fully granted without privity and knowledge of the Grand Vizier, who was the supreme Counsellour, and therefore we were forced to attend thirty five days before an Express could go and return from the Frontiers with the Answer expected, which was as easily granted by the Vizier, as before it was entertained by the Grand Signior. On *August* 5. the Confirmation of the several aforesaid Articles were consigned unto my self in presence of our Lord Ambassadour by the hands of the *Chimacam*, being my self designed in person to deliver them; for which service a Frigate of His Majesties Navy attended at *Smyrna*: so that very evening I departed, and arrived at *Smyrna* the 15th of *August*. 1663.

In my Journey from *Adrianople* to *Smyrna*, omitting the Geography of the Countries, and the pleasant view I had from the top of a Mountain between *Malagra* and *Gallipoli*, from whence I could survey all the *Hellespont*, and at the same time take a prospect of the Propontick and Ionian Seas, I shall only relate two passages which befel me in this Journey, not unpleasant to be remembred.

The first was at a small Village called *Ishecle*, at the foot of the Mountain *Ida*, not far from the Ancient *Troy*, now named by the Turks *Kauzdog*, which signifies the Mountain of Geese; the people that inhabit here are of a rude disposition, great Thieves, and of a wild and savage nature; at my entry thereupon I was advised by those that were with me, that it was necessary to take Mules to carry my Baggage through the Mountains, and to press the people to convoy me to the next Government by virtue of a Command the Grand Signior had granted me for the security of my Travels; so that arriving at this place by break of day, I went directly with all my Attendance, being about eighteen or nineteen Horse to the Kadi's House, where knocking hard at the door, a Servant looked out at the window, and spying so great a company, wholly affrighted, ran to his Master, and awakening him with such dreadful news, he had scarce any soul or life remaining to render an answer; for he was one of those, who three times a day was used to take his

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wives, children, and cattel live and inhabit, where they moſt delight, or like the Shepherds of ancient days, remove their dwellings to thoſe places where they find moſt plenty of water and paſture. Amongſt theſe Cots ſo ſoon as I alighted from my Horſe, I was received and ſaluted by the Aga or Chief with great humanity and kindneſs; for ſo ſoon as he underſtood who I was, and that I was imployed in publick Affairs, he preſently placed me under ſome neighbouring Trees, and called for Carpets and Cuſhions to ſit on, which were more fine and rich than agreed with the outward appearance of men wholly unaccuſtomed to a City-life. After ſome diſcourſe had with me, which I remember to have been very courteous and inquiſitive of my condition and buſineſs, he provided Provender for our Horſes, and in a ſhort time ordered Bread and Eggs to be brought for to ſtay my ſtomach, ſuppoſing that hard Travels had ſharpened my appetite. About an hour after that, he invited all my company, and then we fed very plentifully of ſeveral diſhes which the good Houſwives had dreſſed within the Precincts of their poor Tents: whilſt the Shepherds had in the field killed a fat Kid, and were then roaſting it whole at the fuel of a tree which they had fell'd; this Roaſt-meat they cut into quarters, and with Bread and Salt put it into a Linen-cloth, delivering it to one of my Servants for our Breakfaſt the next morning. Having thus well refreſhed my ſelf with the charity of theſe good Shepherds, I aroſe with the Moon about eleven a clock at night; but before my departure, I demanded what I had to pay: to which the generous Shepherd replied, That my acceptance was a ſufficient payment, for that all men were obliged to be civil and hoſpitable to men who travelled the World like me for publick ſervice; and withal deſired me to ſpeak well, whereſoever I came, of ſuch poor men who led their lives in the fields, who were inſtructed in theſe Principles, *viz.* to hurt none, and to be humane and helpful to all mankind. 1663.

In a few days after my Arrival at *Smyrna*, I imbarked on the *Bonaventure* Frigat, commanded by Capt. *Berkeley*, afterwards Sir *William Berkeley*, and ſhaping our courſe firſt for *Tripoli* in *Barbary*, we came to Anchor before the Town the 29th: and immediately going aſhore, we were conducted to the Preſence of the Paſha of that Country, whom I acquainted with the occaſion of this Addreſs, delivering into his hands two Copies of the late Treaty of Peace, one confirmed by the Hand and Seal of His Majeſty our Gracious Soveraign, and the other of the Sultan; both which he received with ſingular reſpect and reverence, promiſing to maintain the Peace ſacred and inviolable; and ſo being diſmiſſed fairly from him, we ſpeedily repaired on board, and ſetting ſail again that night with a proſperous gale, we anchored in the Bay of *Tunis* on the ſecond of *September*: and the next day being landed, we in the firſt place made our Addreſſes to the Dey, who bears the Office of Prince or Governour in Chief, though in the Arabian Language the word ſignifies as much as Uncle, to whom I tendred the Confirmations of Peace in the ſame form and manner as before at *Tripoli*: the Dey received them with reſpect and honour, promiſing to continue the Peace; that part which was from our King he received himſelf; but that which was from the Grand Signior he adviſed me to deliver to the Paſha; for coming from his Maſter, it might more nearly concern him than any other: the Paſha having ſeen and read the Hatteſheriff, returned it again to the Dey to be placed amongſt the Records and Regiſters of the Divan, and ſo making a

Tripoli.

Tunis.

1663. Visit to all the great men in power, giving them notice of our business, that so none might take exceptions, or judge themselves neglected for want of Addresses; we the same Night departed from *Tunis*, and proceeded forward in our Voyage to *Algier*. But before we arrive there, I have time to acquaint the Reader of the pestilential Fever which then affected our whole Ship. When we departed from *Smyrna*, we had fourteen sick of the Autumnal Distemper, but before ten Days, we had ninety five out of a hundred and sixty men, which lay sick on their Beds and Hamocks; and we feared so general a weakness, that we should not have had strength sufficient to have Sailed our Ship; for I think there was scarce any amongst us in perfect health. But God shewed his strength in our weakness, so that in ten Days, having buried nine of our men, he was pleased with the change of our Climate, to renew our health, and in Answer to our Prayers, as it were by a Miracle, to restore us to all the Health, and Strength, and Comfort, that we could desire.

At *Algier* that Den of Thieves, and Harbour of Faithless Men, and all Impiety, we arrived the 10th of *September*, where immediately with assistance of the Consul, we designed to tender the Confirmations of the Peace unto the Divan; then the supreme and absolute power. But whilst we imagined the Peace firm, and improbable, that those Articles which were concluded and agreed but the last Year, should so easily and soon be forgotten; we found the Scene of affairs greatly altered, and fears of an unexpected rupture; for the Ships of *Algier* roving in the Seas, had lately sent in nine small English Vessels without a Pass from the Duke of *York*, for want of which, they pretended by a new Agreement they ought to be prize; of which, six by means of the Consul being released, three only remained under detention at our Arrival; when immediately we applyed our selves to *Shaban* Aga, a Spanish Renegado, then Cape or Chief of their confused Divan; to him we first disclosed the import of our Message, and shewed the Confirmations of our Peace subscribed by the King of *England*, and the G. Signior. After he had read them, a Divan was called, and the Confirmations openly published; at which time, it was assented, and agreed, that the Articles ought to be maintained, and the Peace continued: but to have this established by firm Authority, it was farther referred to the Great Divan, which is a grand Assembly of the People, who usually meet together every *Saturday* of the Week. In the mean time, having had an acquaintance formerly with the Pasha of this place, sent hither by the G. Signior, we were desirous to make him a Visit, the better to discover in what nature they honour and own the Ottoman Port: but before we could be admitted to his presence, we were obliged to demand Licence of the Divan, which they granted with some unwillingness, and with the caution of two or three Witnesses of our Discourse. We were scarce welcomed into the room, and the usual salutations passed, before we were interrupted by the Officers, and not suffered to proceed; so little esteem they made of the Pasha, to whom notwithstanding they allowed twelve thousand Dollars a Year for his maintenance, so as to carry the fair and specious outside at the Ottoman Court, of receiving a Pasha from thence; but were so far from permitting him to intermeddle in the Government, that they confined him like a Prisoner, not suffering him to stir abroad without permission and consent of the Divan, and that very seldom, though he often pleaded, his health was much empaired by

by his reſtraint, and craved enlargement, rather for neceſſity than his pleaſure. 1663.

The Day of the great Divans Aſſembly being come, the Confirmations of the Peace were again read, and well approved, and ſo laid up in the Repoſitory of their Writings; and promiſe made us for releaſement of our Ships. But let us now obſerve the levity and unſteadineſs of this popular Government; for being the Day following appointed to receive our diſpatches, and diſcharge of the three Ships; there aroſe unexpectedly at the Divan, certain ſcruples and jealouſies amongſt them, which immediately quaſhed all our Negotiations, and inſtead of confirming the Peace, produced a War. For the Divan being met, they were afraid to releaſe the Ships, leſt the Souldiers who had ſent them in, being then abroad, ſhould call them to queſtion for it at their return; and not to releaſe them, might be an occaſion of a War; which not ſucceeding according to their deſire, the cauſers thereof might be called into queſtion, and puniſhed for it; of which ſtill remained the freſh memory of late Examples. In this *Dilemma* of their affairs, they reſolved to make the Act herein, to be of general and publick aſſent; and to that end they Aſſembled a Grand Divan, calling the Captains of Ships and Gallies, then in Port, unto their Council; who without heſitation, or queſtioning other matters, declared, that the three Engliſh Ships were lawful prize; and that it was no longer requiſite to maintain the ſecond Article of freeing Strangers goods on Engliſh Veſſels; it neither being the deſign nor intereſt of *Algier*, to benefit all Chriſtendom by their Peace with *England:* this Sentence was followed by the whole rabble of the Divan, with cry and noiſe; to which, the wiſer ſort, notwithſtanding our Plea, and reaſons to the contrary, which laſted for full two hours, were forced to condeſcend, and concur in the ſame vote. Howſoever by importunity, and ſomething of the force of reaſon, which in the moſt blind and obſcure minds of men, hath ſomething of forcible violence; we obtained the releaſe of the three Ships, upon diſcharge of the ſtrangers goods, and payment of their Freight. But the ſecond Article of Peace, forbidding the ſearch of Engliſh Ships, for Strangers Eſtates or their Perſons, was declared null, and no longer to be maintained; nor the Peace likewiſe, unleſs his Majeſty would accept it upon that condition, to which end, they wrote this following Letter.

The uncon-ſtancy of the popular Go-vernment at *Algier*.

The Letter of the Government of Algier *to his Majeſty.*

GReat and Chriſtian Prince, *King of* England. *After Health and Peace*, &c. *Since we have made Peace with You unto this day there have no injuries nor damages been offered by Us. Your Ships that have been as Prizes, for Your ſake we have let free, not offering them the leaſt injury, nor diminiſhing any thing from them in the leaſt, until ſuch time as Your Conſul gave Us Counter-paſſes; that what Ships were found with them, to be let free, and thoſe that are without them to be brought in: And we have found divers without them, which for Friendſhip ſake which is between Us, We have let go free. Now from henceforth, if that we find any of our Enemies goods or men in Your Ships, we ſhall take the goods and men, paying the freight to their Port. And we ſhall deſire you, as ſoon as you ſhall receive this our Letter, that you will ſend your anſwer hereunto, for we ſhall think it long*

until

1663. *until we receive it from you; and for the future, what Ships shall be brought in without a Paſs-port, we ſhall take them, and detain them here, until ſuch time as we have an anſwer from You; which pray ſend without delay. The end of the Month* Sefar, 1074. *which was then in the Month of* September, 1663.

In this manner a ſecond War broke forth in the ſpace of two Years, by which a perſon may judge of the inconſtancy and unſteady humour of this People; who but three days before, gave us all the evidence of fair correſpondence and Friendſhip; and it is probable, that when they entered the Divan, they came not with reſolutions or thoughts of War; however accidents and occaſional Diſcourſes each with other, following the cry and humour of ſome rude Savage perſon, which leads the reſt, carried all things with violence towards a breach: So that by what preceded, and from theſe following reaſons, it may be concluded impoſſible to maintain a firm and laſting Peace with this People.

Firſt, Becauſe theſe people are compoſed of the worſt ſort or ſcum of the Turks, and worſt of Chriſtians, which are Renegadoes, who have renounced God and their Country, and a Generation of people who have no Religion, nor Honour; Peace cannot be longer expected or maintained, than fear or intereſt enjoins them to compliance.

Secondly, The Government of *Algier* being popular, and in the hands of a vile Commonalty, who are ignorant perſons, guided by no Rules, or Principles; unſteady in all their Councils, not reſolving or conſulting any thing before they enter the Divan, do commonly follow that reſolution, which they perceive to be carried on with the greateſt noiſe; and therefore are a people not capable of Peace or Friendſhip.

Thirdly, This irrational Commonalty is over-awed by a heady Souldiery, who are only then affrighted into a Peace, whilſt a ſtronger force compells them into good manners. But when that power and puniſhment is withdrawn, they again harden their hearts like *Pharaoh*, and then when the temptation of rich Merchant men preſents it ſelf, their natural inclination to Piracy returns, and their Covetouſneſs again prevails, and then they curſe the Peace, and the makers of it, and without remorſe break their Articles, and their Faith, having neither honour, nor Conſcience to reſtrain them. Wherefore unleſs the Heads of the chief Cauſers of the War be given in ſatisfaction, or money paid for the expence, and Hoſtages given for ſecurity of it, it can never be expected that a laſting Peace ſhould be maintained with this people; the proof of which, hath been made appear by the ſequel of affairs, and by thoſe Wars which have enſued ſince this time. And now let us return to the Wars in *Hungary*, and become Spectators of thoſe Tranſactions, which were then the general concernment of the Eaſtern and Weſtern World.

The

1663.

The Proceedings of the War in Hungary.

WE left the Grand Vizier on his March towards the parts of *Hungary*, with an Army, as computed, to consist of eighty thousand fighting men, and of about seventy thousand designed for Pioniers, and other necessary services of the Army. In this march the Vizier out of design to slacken the Warlike Preparations of the Christians, and to discover the inclinations of the Emperour to Peace, desired a Treaty, that if possible, matters might be reduced to terms of accommodation. The Resident of *Germany*, was then in the Army, but he, not being impowered singly for any such Treaty, the Baron of *Goez*, then with *Ali* Pasha at *Temeswar* was sent for, and being arrived, were both called into the Viziers Tent at *Belgrade*, to whom it was proposed, That in Case the Emperour desired a Peace, he should resign into the hands and possession of the Sultan *Zekelhyd*, *Zatmar*, *Clausenburg* alias *Colosvar*, with the late built Fort of Count *Serini*, without which, no Sacrifice could appease the anger, and give a stop to the progress of the Ottoman Armes. Whilst these Propositions by Post were dispatched to *Vienna*, the Vizier proceeded in his Journey to *Strigonium*, now called *Gran*, to which place, after sixteen Days time, the Messenger returned with an answer from the Emperour, which showed an inclination towards an acceptance of Peace on the terms proposed, but with instructions to his Ministers to moderate by their discreet mannagement (what was possible) the rigour of the demands. For by reason of the disaffection of the Hungarians, whom the Emperour had lately disgusted by demolishing several of their Churches, and discountenancing the Protestant Religion which they professed; and by reason of the phlegm of the Princes of *Germany*, whom different interests made slow and unactive in their preparations against the common Enemy; the Emperour was wholly unprovided to oppose the violence of this over-flowing Torrent, and became an unequal match for the Ottoman Force. The Turks perceiving that the Germans began to condescend, and yield to any conditions, which might purchase their quiet, started a farther demand of fifty thousand Florins of Yearly Tribute, and two Millions of Crowns for expence of the War, to be paid by the Emperour to the Sultan. These proud and unexpected Proposals startled not a little the Baron of *Goez*, who readily made answer, that he clearly perceived now, that there were no intentions to a Peace, since the Vizier was pleased to make the matter so difficult and impossible, for that it were as easy to bring Heaven and Earth to meet, as his Master to meet the G. Signior in the Concession of this particular. These extravagant demands awakened the Imperial Court, who now observing the Turks without their Vizard, to march hastily to surprize them, vigorously roused themselves to make that convenient provision and defence by War, which the straitness of time permitted them: so that in the first place they Assembled a Diet at *Ratisbonne*, where it was resolved to raise four Armies; the first for the Guard and defence of *Moravia* and *Silesia*, under the Command of Count *Susa*, a Native of *Rochel*. The second under the Command of Count *Raimond Montecuculi*, for safety of *Rab*, *Newhausel*, and *Komora*, and the Frontiers of *Hungary*. The third under Command of Count *Nicholas Serini* for defence of *Croatia*. The fourth composed

The Vizier desires a Treaty to amuse the Christians.

This Tribute was paid by the Emperour to Sultan *Solyman*.

1663. composed solely of Hungarians, commanded by the Palatine of that Country, which they reported to consist of thirty thousand fighting men. Fifthly, It was ordered that all Garisons should be well provided of Victuals and Ammunition; and that the Inhabitants of *Vienna* should take into every house a provision for a years maintenance, and such as were not able at their own Cost, were to abandon their Dwellings. And in the mean time the Villages round about were demolished, to the great amazement and confusion of the people.

The Turks now bearing in their thoughts nothing but War, began to design and chalk out the best order and method for its prosecution. The principal places then in eye of the Vizier, were *Raab*, and *Komorra*, Fortresses of considerable strength, maintained and defended by Souldiers of known prowess and conduct, and provided equally with all sorts of Ammunition and Provisions, agreeable to such considerable Bulwarks and Walls, not only of the German Empire, but (I may say) of all Christendom. *Raab*, called by the Italians *Javarin*, and by the Turks *Yanick*, is scituated in a plain, level, and Champion Country; the Town it self very regular and compact, the Fortifications most exact according to the new model, and much improved in its strength since the recovery of it from the hands of the Turk, by whom it was once taken, in the year 1594. it hath its name from the River *Rab*, on which it is seated just on the meeting of the *Danube*. *Komorra* is a stronger Fortress, erected in an Island of the River *Danube*, called after the same name, which hath often been attempted by the Turks, but with ill success; at both which places I have personally been, and viewed them with much delight. Wherefore the Vizier considering the strength and difficulty of these places, resolved to take due and mature consideration before he engaged himself in any enterprize, and to that end assembled together in Consultation with him the most ancient and grave men, that were Natives of the Country; some of these being such who had lived in *Rab*, been Slaves there, and had well marked and observed the strength of that Fortress both as to Nature and Art, assured the Vizier, That the Work was immense, difficult, and dangerous, and not to be accomplished in the space of one Summer; and that the Winters in that Countrey were very cold and rigid, and ill agreeing with the temperament of the Asiatick Souldiery. The Vizier, though he farther considered that his Souldiers were as yet young and unexperienced, and that a foyl encountred at the first Enterprize, might be a discouragement from following the continued Tract and Course of this War, which must be sustained with labour and patience, and that to withdraw his Forces in the Winter would be a dishonour to the Ottoman Armes, a blemish in the beginning to his own Reputation, and an encouragement of the Enemy: Howsoever, having a violent Ambition and Desire to become Master of *Rab*, he could not rest satisfied in this Counsel before he had consulted with *Ali* Pasha, and other Pashaws of the Frontier Countries, who duly considering the matter as it stood, concurred in the same judgment that was formerly made of the difficulty of this design; and herein they were the more strongly confirmed, by the report of certain Hungarians, whom some parties of Horse, under the Command of *Ali* Pasha, roving and sallying out near the Walls of *Rab*, had surprized and taken, who being brought bound before the Vizier, related, That the Town was well provided with all sorts of Ammunition and Provisions, and the Garison reinforced by

Raab.

Komorra.

The Turks deliberate of the Method to be used in the war.

Count

Count *Montecuculi* with ſupply of four thouſand men, and in this manner reported the Work as difficult as the Turks of the Countrey had formerly ſignified. This relation confirmed by ſo many hands, diverted the Vizier from this Deſign; for before that time imagining it a place which might eaſily be ſubdued, he propoſed to himſelf, without any interruption, a clear and undiſturbed March to the Gates of *Vienna*, which he ſwallowing alſo in his thoughts, hoped by his own ſucceſs to repair the ſhame of *Solyman's* flight from the Walls of that City, and beſides the Glory of forcing the Emperour from his Imperial Seat, he ſhould attone for the ſin of the Ottoman Cowardice, and be the firſt who undertook to mend the actions, and outvie the proweſs of the moſt magnificent, and moſt ſucceſsful of their Sultans. But the Ambition of this grand deſign giving way to neceſſity, and to thoſe other impediments which obſtructed it, after due and mature Conſultation, *Newhauſel*, called by the Hungarians *Oymar*, was fixed upon as the place to be firſt attempted, and held up to the eye of the Souldiery, as the reward and prize of their valour and hazard. Wherefore Boats were provided, and Planks, and Timbers for a Bridge to paſs the *Danube*, which the Turks in a few days, according to their uſual expeditions, had raiſed; ſo that the Army both Horſe and Foot began to tranſport themſelves as faſt as was poſſible to the other ſide, but the multitudes crouded over in that diſorder and haſt, that three or four thouſand men had ſcarce paſſed the River before the Bridge was ſo broken and ſhattered, that ſome time was neceſſarily required to repair it, before the reſt of the Army durſt adventure to follow their Companions. The Approach of the Turkiſh Army alarmed all that ſide of *Hungary*, but eſpecially the Inhabitants of *Newhauſel*; who obſerving the Turks to bend their Courſe that way, plainly foreſaw the Storm of War to be breaking on them: the News alſo of the fall of the Bridge, and thereby the Separation of about four thouſand Turks from the Body of the Army, was brought in by the Country people, who forſaking their Villages fled for ſuccour to the ſtronger Fortreſs of *Newhauſel*. Hereupon *Forcatz*, the Governour of *Newhauſel*, a valiant and experienced Souldier, though eſteemed by the Turks unfortunate, taking this Alarm, judged that this occaſion of cutting off that part of the Turkiſh Army which had paſt the River, was in no wiſe to be omitted, and therefore aſſembled a Council of War, which conſiſted of all the principal Officers and Commanders of the Gariſon; (amongſt which was Colonel *Volter*, that commanded the four thouſand men, lately ſent to reinforce the Town) he declared that his opinion was, Immediately to make a Sally on that part of the Turkiſh Army, which had already paſſed the River, before the Bridge was repaired for Tranſportation of the others; which endeavours, by Gods Aſſiſtance, ſucceeding well, might not only diſcourage the Enemy, but be a means to divert them from their preſent deſign upon their City. This Advice, though he preſſed with heat of Argument, and violence of Speech, yet could it not prevail with the reſt of the Council, which ſeemed wholly averſe thereunto, eſpecially *Volter* who declared, That his Commiſſion was not to fight in the Field, but to conſerve himſelf within the Walls, for maintenance of his Gariſon: Some days paſſed in this Diſpute, whilſt *Forcatz* growing more eager and hot on this deſign, uſed opprobrious Terms, and expreſſions of infamy towards the other Officers, accuſing all ſuch of Cowardice and Treaſon, who refuſed to concurr with him in

1663.

Newhauſel.

Forcatz the Governour of *Newhauſel*, ill adviſes a Sally.

1663. this Enterprize and advantage on the Enemy, which Heaven ſeemed to reach out to them for their Deliverance, if their wiſedom and courage afforded them only will and grace to lay hold on the opportunity. Theſe ſharp words and reſolution of the Governour provoked the minds of the Officers to a condeſcenſion, and thereupon about eight thouſand men of Choice, and approved Souldiers, well armed with ſtout hearts, and hard Iron; not ſuffering themſelves to be upbraided with ſuch reproach, in the ſilence of the Night, under the Conduct of *Forcatz*, (their own Commander *Volter* remaining in the Town) took their way towards the Turkiſh Camp, and being armed with Firelocks, marched with all privacy, without lighted Matches, or ſound of Drum or Trumpet. But whilſt the foregoing Diſpute laſted, the Turks had tranſported the groſs of their Army over the River, and then lay on her Banks, reſting ſecurely under their Pavillions. The Chriſtians approaching near the Turkiſh Camp, with the firſt twilight, and dawning of the Morning, (perceiving the Enemy unprovided, but not diſcovering their Force) dealt at firſt onſet, their ſhot moſt plentifully amongſt them, and proceeding amidſt the thickeſt, cutting, ſhooting, killing, and making havock of all before them. The amazed Turks having many of their Companions brought to their laſt ſleep, before themſelves were throughly awake, and ſome flying before they diſcovered the reaſon or the danger, an Alarm was given by the confuſed murmur of *Allah*, *Allah*, and that the Chriſtians were upon them, reached the fartheſt Quarters of the Turkiſh Army, which immediately put themſelves into Battalia, and order of fighting, whilſt this handful of Germans proceeded forwards, dealing their blows amongſt their Enemies, cutting the Cords of the Tents, and deſtroying all before them. But by this time the Turks having put themſelves into a poſture of Defence, the Horſe and Foot came marching in a Body, extending their Wings in the form of a half Moon, ſo as to encloſe this ſmall number, and on all ſides to aſſail them. The Germans ſeeing this formidable ſight approach, and no ſafety in flight, encouraged each other to ſell their Lives at as dear a rate as they could; all hopes of eſcape ſeeming deſperate, they fought with that courage and obſtinacy as amazed the Turks, and yielded not until their Spirits fainted with labour, and their Swords were blunted by the Bodies of their Enemies. The Count *Forgatz* hardly eſcaped, but by the help of his Horſe, with ſome few others, fled to *Newhauſel*, which unwillingly received him, wiſhing that the raſhneſs of his Counſels had only proved his own deſtruction, and not involved ſo many brave and innocent Souldiers, who were only unfortunate for being over-powered by his command and perſwaſions: The reſt overwhelmed with multitudes yielded; for though they behaved themſelves beyond the power and courage of men, yet the numbers of the Enemy prevailed at length over theſe Chriſtian Champions, whoſe Gallantry was more eminent and conſpicuous in being ſubdued, than the Glory of their Enemies in the Victory. In this Skirmiſh few eſcaped, amongſt which four hundred Gentlemen were ſlain, and about eighteen hundred Priſoners reported to be taken, a bad Omen at the beginning of this War. This Rout being given, the Turks triumphed in Blood, and ſucceſs, and returned with their Captives, and Trophies back to *Strigonium*, where the Vizier mounting a Throne of State and Majeſty, treated theſe valiant Souldiers, not like men of War, or Captives taken in open Field, but as a Judge condemned them to dye by the hand of the

Forcatz ſurpriſes the Turkiſh Camp.

The Germans are routed, and fly.

The Vizier deals not like a Souldier with his Priſoners of War.

the Hang-man or Executioner, passing a formal Sentence of Death upon them, as if they had been Thieves or Assassinates arrested by the hand of Justice. The Sentence being passed, and the Turkish Army drawn up, these valiant Christians were ranked in order and file to dye, who had so lately with Swords in their hands, ranged themselves in Battle against their Enemy; and so soon as the Executioners fell to their work, and the horrid Massacre was begun, the Guns were fired, and the whole Camp resounded with barbarous Musick and shouts. In the mean while the most superstitious amongst them triumphed, that God was now destroying the Infidels, manifesting the truth of their Prophet, and doing his own work; not unlike the assertions and doctrines of those Pretenders to Religion, who have always hallowed and excused their cruelties with the Name of God, and sanctified the blood they have shed by making their Enemies *Amalekites*, and by pretence of false Lights and Prophecies countenanced their most impious Sacriledge in Gods Churches, and Invasions of their Neighbours Rights. The mercilesse Executioners had proceeded to bereave of life about thirteen or fourteen hundred persons, the Vizier standing a Spectator with zeal to his Sect and Prophet, until the Turkish Souldiery who inhabit the Borders, glutted with so much cruelty towards their Neighbours began to murmur, and at length to speak aloud, That to destroy Captives in cold blood was an action against the Law of Arms, and might be revenged by their Enemies with like examples of cruelty, since none there present, being all Souldiers, were secure from the misfortunes and mutabilities of War. The Vizier over-hearing these whispers of the Souldiery, gave a stop to the cruelty of the Executioners, and sent such as survived to different Prisons in *Buda*, *Adrianople*, and *Constantinople*. I have seen not far from *Strigonium* the heads of these Wretches thus miserably butchered, thrown up into a heap, the beards and hair of those that lay undermost still growing; the earth which sucked in their blood, became thence stenched up and barren, and the white bones and carkasses of their bodies lay dispersed and scattered in a large field; so that I could not but call to mind the massacred Legions under the Conduct of *Quintilius Varus* in *Germany*; and those *albentia ossa*, and the barbarous Altars flowing with the Roman blood; and I could as passionately fancy to have seen the angry Germans return to appease the Ghosts of their Country-men with decent Burial, as I was sensible of *Germanicus* his zeal, when he adventured to contaminate his Augurs Office by his too forward Humanity and Religion towards his Country and Parentage. But this cruelty of the Vizier was recompensed by Count *Serini* not long after, who having had some success against *Arnaut* Bassha and his Army of whom he had slain six hundred men, and such as he took alive, in cold blood he dismembred and tortured, and having of some cut off their hands, and plucked out their eyes, sent them to report the reason of this inhumane and mercilesse usage to the Vizier. 1663.

In the mean time *Forcatz* advised General *Montecuculi* the Governour of *Rab* of this defeat, and how the flower and strength of his Garrison was destroyed; and that if he were not immediately supplied, he should be forced to abandon his Fort, and leave all to the fury and mercy of the Enemy. Hereupon a thousand Germans were sent for succour with all sorts of Ammunition and Provisions requisite; but the Turks after their Triumph before *Strigonium*, returned and marched on so fast towards The Turks approach to *Newhausel*.

1663. wards *Newhauſel*, having paſſed the *Danube*, that certainly they had intercepted this Recruit, had not *Forcatz* amuſed their minds, and for a while ſtopped their haſty approach, by advancing a white Flag to the top of the Walls, as if he had had a deſign of Treaty and Surrender of the Town upon Conditions: ſo that here the Turkiſh Army made a halt, and for three or four hours time remained with expectation when Conditions for the Surrender ſhould come; every one wondering to ſee the Flag of Truce erected, and ſo much ſilence in the Fort, and yet no appearance of a Meſſage. In this interval and breathing of time, the Succour ſafely arriving within the Town, the white Flag was changed to colours of defiance, to the great aſtoniſhment and anger of the Turks: Whereupon the Vizier drawing ſomewhat nearer, began to intrench and begirt the Town on the 4th of *Auguſt*, which was defended by three principal Officers, *viz.* Count *Adam Forcatz*, the Marqueſs *Pio* an Italian, and one *Lucatelli* an old and experienced Souldier. But the Vizier, before he would offer any violence to the Town, thought fit to ſummon them in this ſtile: That through the Grace of God and the Miracles of our Prophet, who is a Son of both Worlds, and by whom there is Happineſs and Glory, I that am the firſt of the Council, and General of the moſt Mighty Emperour of the Turks, that is the King of all Kings of the Earth, To you *Adam Forcatz* that are the Chief among all the Nobility of *Hungary*, do make known, That through the Command of my moſt Gracious Lord, the moſt terrible, the moſt puiſſant, and moſt myſterious Emperour, I am come with his Forces before *Newhauſel* to reduce it to his Obedience. Wherefore if you ſhall deliver up the place to Us, you ſhall have liberty to march out with what belongs unto you from the higheſt to the loweſt, and he that would rather ſtay ſhall keep his Goods and Eſtate: but if you will not yield, we will take it by force, and every man of you, from the higheſt to the loweſt, ſhall be put to the ſword. If the Hungarians did but know the good intentions of the mighty Emperour, they and their children would bleſs God for him. Peace be to the obedient. The Chriſtians not ſubmitting to theſe Summons, the Turks continued to make their nearer approaches, and being now at a convenient diſtance, raiſed two great Batteries, on which they mounted a hundred Pieces of Cannon, and from thence made ſuch conſtant ſhot as ſhaked the Churches, and almoſt levelled the moſt lofty Buildings with their foundations. The 14th of *Auguſt* was deſigned for a general ſtorm, ſo that before break of day Faggots and Rubbiſh were brought to fill the Ditches, and ſcaling Ladders to aſcend the Walls; but though the Ottoman Forces were puiſſant, and their Aſſault they made fierce and briſk, yet they were received with that gallantry by the Defendants, that the Trenches early in the morning were filled with the carkaſſes of the dead, and at laſt the Turks forced to give over the Aſſault, with the loſs of great numbers of their men.

The Turks Summons.

The Turks ſtorm the Town.

The Siege ſtill continuing, and the Turks angry, and inflamed with the diſgrace of their late foil, endeavoured to redeem their Honour by their Attempts, filling up the Ditches with Rubbiſh, ſerving themſelves therein of the Chriſtian Captives lately taken: The Defendants on the other ſide, by the dictates of Nature and Reaſon, were directed to maintain their houſes, wives, and children from the rapine and violence of an unjuſt Enemy; ſo that both Parties moving from different Principles, uſed all the Art and Valour poſſible for deſtruction each of other: the

noiſe

noiſe of Cannon from the Forts raiſed by the Turks, reſounded continually in the Air, and from the Town the ſhot were often ſo fortunately placed, that daily, beſides great numbers of ordinary Souldiers, many Perſons of Note and Quality amongſt the Turks were ſlain. 1663.

But the Turks having before this Town a greater number of Souldiers than either could come to fight, or what was thought neceſſary to ſubdue it, the Vizier ſelected from his Army a very conſiderable Force to enter and ſpoil *Moravia* and *Auſtria*; of theſe were 600 Tartars joyned to a ſtrong Force of Turks, who by the guidance of the Natives paſſing the River *Waegh*, ſpoiled and deſtroyed all the Country round about, carrying men, women, and children into ſlavery, leaving what was not conveniently portable, in aſhes. But in paſſing the River, they incountred a conſiderable Body of Germans, both Horſe and Foot, and being oppoſed by them, were at firſt forced to retreat again over the River with the loſs of about eight hundred Janiſaries; but the next day renewing the Fight with better courage and ſucceſs, paſſed the River in deſpight of the Imperialiſts, whom they purſued almoſt as far as *Presburg*. Theſe Turks were ſeconded by a greater Body of Tartars, every one after the manner of his Country, leading one or two ſpare Horſes, made Inroads within five miles of *Vienna*, deſtroying and laying in aſhes all places before them; things there reſembling Dooms-day conſumed with fire, and not ſo much almoſt left as marks or appearance of habitation. The Turks enter *Moravia* and *Auſtria*.

Theſe Troubles and Confuſions in *Hungary* were the talk and amazement of all Chriſtendom, and indeed little more they were than talk; for the Chriſtian Princes farther diſtant, as leſs concerned ſtood at a gaze, expecting the iſſue of that Treaty which was between the King of *France*, and the Pope; and the Princes of *Germany* (whatſoever was reſolved at the Diet) like men ſurprized knew not what Succours to afford: ſome thought it now time to treat with the Emperour, and recover the Rights and Priviledges they thought their due, and to condeſcend to no Terms of confederate aſſiſtance againſt the common Enemy, unleſs with advantageous conſiderations to their State; and all in general acted with that negligence and coldneſs, as if only the State of *Auſtria*, and not the common Cauſe of *Germany* had been concerned. The Election of a General for the Imperial Army admitting long debate, was another retardment to the Preparations for the War; the Duke of *Brandenburg* was nominated, and ſollicited to accept the ſupreme Command; but the Title of being General of the Empire, or the Imperial Army, was a diſpute undeterminable, and a difficulty not to be overcome: and though the Enemy had paſſed their Frontiers, and triumphed in their Poſſeſſions, and threatned the ſubverſion of all Chriſtendom, yet Jealouſies, Niceties, and aery Formalities took up all the time; ſo that at length their Councils had no other reſult than an increaſe of Animoſities and Difficulties amongſt themſelves. The Emperour alſo terrified with the Siege of *Newhauſel*, and the near Incurſions of the Turks, abandoned his City of *Vienna*, carrying with him the Records and greateſt of his Richeſs to *Lintz*, to the greater apprehenſion, diſcouragement, and fear of the whole Country in general, and was an act which might have produced very fatal effects, had not the Winter approached, and the progreſs of the Infidels been interrupted by the Valour, Vigilance, good Fortune, and Conduct of Count *Serini*, who in requital of thoſe Incurſions The confuſion of the German Councils. The Emperor removes to *Lintz*.

1663. sions the Turks made into the Christian Territories, entred the Turkish Borders near *Komorra*, and there with Fire and Sword destroyed all before him, defeated a Party of about three thousand Janisaries, taking from them a good Booty of Money and Provisions designed for Relief of the Leagure before *Newhausel*.

During these varieties of success the Turks still continued the Siege, and having now made a breach, and almost filled the graft with rubbish, Faggots and other implements, attempted a second storm on the 28th and 29th of *August*, but were repulsed with an extraordinary loss, by the couragious Gallantry of the Defendants: on the 9th of *September* was given another more furious Assault, every Pasha leading his men in the Front, so that the Action this day was so violently and couragiously performed, that the Turkish Enlign was advanced to the top of the Rampire of the Fort *Frederick*, where both sides coming to handy blows, the dispute continued a long time; but the courage of the Defendants at length prevailing, the Turks were driven headlong from the Walls, and their Colours wrested from them with the loss of about five thousand men, and four hundred Christians. Though the Turks were much abated in their courage by this days work, yet the Vizier obstinately continued the Siege, preparing speedily for another storm, in which he hoped to force the Christians to a Surrender. In the mean time, to facilitate the design of the Turks, on the 15th of *September* the chief Magazine of Powder (none knows how) took fire, and blew into the air, by which blow fifty Souldiers and several Officers were slain; but the worst was, that the besieged were deprived of all their Powder, unless what remained in private houses, which so dismayed the Inhabitants, that immediately with one voice they demanded a Parly: the women also began a confused tumult, crying out for a Surrender, in which they were so impetuous and violent, that they threw stones from their windows on the Souldiers. Amidst of this confusion the Turks disposing their Companies to make another storm, the Officers resolved upon a Treaty, which concluded with these following Conditions.

The Turks make another assault on the Town.

Newhausel yielded.

First, That the Commanders and Garrison should march out on the 17th of *September* with Bag and Baggage, and have safe conduct as far as *Komorra*: and that for a convenience of the sick and wounded, the Vizier should be obliged to provide four hundred Carts and more, if there should be occasion.

Secondly, That as such as desire to abandon their dwellings, may have liberty to depart, so such as desire to abide may continue their habitations: and that the Religious and Ecclesiastical persons may perform their Functions as in former times.

Thirdly, That upon the Surrender of the principal Works, no Turk shall enter within the Town, until all such as intend to depart have quitted their stations.

Fourthly, That for performance of Articles, two Aga's should be given for Hostages; and that until the foregoing Articles were fully accomplished, all acts of Hostility should cease.

Fifthly, That the Garrison might not be necessitated to march through the Turkish Camp, the Turks themselves were obliged to make them a new Bridge, or repair the old to pass the *Niter*.

These Articles, though punctually observed by the Turks, yet the Tartars, who are of a faithless and barbarous nature, upon certain pre-

tences

tences assaulted the Garrison, as they marched out, and had doubtless moved the rest of the Camp Rabble to imitate their example; had not many of the Pashaws at the Head of their Troops, killed the most forward in this Rebellious attempt, whose perfidious insolence and riot could not yet have been restrained, had not the Garrison quickned their pace, more like a flight than an orderly March. But the Vizier on the contrary, distributed money to the Garrison, and especially to the Hungarians, with design (as is supposed) to allure and attract their minds to a belief of the gentleness of the Turkish Yoke; as if he compassionated the miseries of that Country, which was the Stage whereon the Tragedies of so many miseries and slaughters were acted. This Siege continued about the space of 43. Days; of the Garrison marched out 3500. sound men, and about 500. wounded; those Inhabitants who would remain, had protection and liberty. The Army which besieged the Town consisted of 50000. men. In the Town were found 60. pieces of Brass Cannon, but most broken and unserviceable, with little Ammunition, but with great provision of Hungarian Wines. The loss the Turks might receive, is computed to have been of about 15000. men, amongst which was slain, the Spaheelar Agasee, or General of the Horse, *Beco* Pasha, Beglerbeg of *Romalia*, *Usaff*, Pasha of *Anatolia*, and *Ibrahim* Pasha of *Seyda*, with sixteen Captains belonging to *Buda*, and nine to *Constantinople*. 1663.

The loss of *Newhausell* affected the Austrian Court with so dreadful aprehensions of the Ottoman Fortune and Fury, that they hastened the finishing of the Works, and Fortifications of *Vienna*; cutting down all the Woods and Boscage thereabouts, which might benefit or shelter the Enemy; and so great an impression did the fear of the Turks prevalency and power work on the minds of the Germans, that they not only Fortified the Frontiers, but secured the innermost parts of *Austria*, which extend along the River, as far as within three Miles of *Lintz*.

But above all, *Possonium* which was upon the Frontiers, though not an open Town, yet of no strength or resistance, was not neglected, but reinforced with a considerable Garrison, and the Works restored and repaired, with as many additional Fortifications as time would admit. But the Inhabitants had lost so much of their Spirit and Courage, by the melancholy relation of the fate of *Newhausel*, and the apprehension of the dreadful advance of the whole Turkish Force; that their constancy to the Emperour began to waver, and to entertain some thoughts of submitting to the mercy and clemency of the Turks, who had newly declared, that such as voluntarily submitted to the Ottoman Obedience, should for three years be exempted from all Tribute or Taxes. This consideration adjoined to fear, so prevailed on those of *Possonium*, that they shut the Gates against the Garrison which was sent to recruit and defend them; some publickly declaring the extremity of their affairs had no other safety than in a surrender of themselves to the mercy and protection of the Vizier. Howsoever the Count *Strozzi*, with his Italian Artifices, so wheedled the grosser humour of the Hungarians, that they were perswaded to admit him and his Regiment within the Town, where he disposed all things with that Conduct, and built those Forts, and in a short time so apparently rendered the Town tenable, that the Inhabitants taking Courage, resolved to defend themselves, in obedience to their Prince, to the ultimate point of Estates and Lives. In the mean time the Turks made themselves Masters of *Leventz*, a Town though tenable, and not contemptible for its

Possonium garrisoned.

Count *Strozzi*.

Leventz taken by the Turks.

1663. its ſtrength, yet was by the peoples fears, and allurements of the Viziers promiſes and fair Propoſitions, committed to the mercy of the Turks, and ſwore in Fealty to them the 23d day of *September*.

Feſtivals for Victory amongſt the Turks.

By this time the news of the taking of *Newhauſell*, was arrived at the Ottoman Court, where it was entertained with ſo much joy, that a Dunelma, or Feſtival, was appointed for the ſpace of ſeven days through the whole Empire; which according to the faſhion of the Turks, is Celebrated by adorning the Gates, and outward Walls of their Houſes, ſo ſoon as it begins to be dark, with great ſtore of Lamps and Candles, during which time the Nights are ſpent with Muſick and Bankets, as the Dayes are with Viſits and Preſents, and *Corban*, (which is an Almes which rich men make in fleſh to the poor ſort, and is given either at the little *Biram*, which is called the Feaſt of *Corban*, or upon ſome publick Thankſgiving, which is performed in this manner.) He that makes the Corban, firſt layes his hand upon the head of the Sheep, or Lamb, makes a ſhort Prayer, and then in the name of God cuts the throat, the Butcher afterwards fleying off the skin, the Corbaniſt divides the fleſh into ſmall pieces, to as many poor as flock to receive it. In the heat of theſe Revels, and Bankets, every one ſpake high in praiſe of their fortunate Arms, and Congratulated each with other, the proſperous beginnings of this War, promiſing to themſelves the following year, rather a time of Peregrination or Travel through the pleaſant Countries and Cities of the Chriſtians, than blood and ſweat in obtaining the poſſeſſion of their Enemies. Nor were ſuch imaginations vain, or abſurd for the Commonalty to entertain; in regard it was evident to the World, in what manner the Ottoman Arms roved through *Hungary* uncontrouled, without an appearance of any conſiderable Force to give them the leaſt ſtop or interruption; ſo that under the very Walls of *Rab* and *Presburg*, and on the Banks of the *Danube* near *Komorra*, Incurſions and depredations were made, and great numbers of people of both Sexes, and of all Ages, were carried into ſlavery, the Country all round laid waſt, the Corn and Hay burnt; with all other miſerable effects and Concomitants of War.

The manner of Corban.

In this manner all places ſeemed to fall down and yield at the very rumour of the Turks approach; for not only *Leventz* ſurrendred it ſelf, but likewiſe *Nitra*, though over-topped by a ſtrong and an impregnable Caſtle, was by the Cowardice of the Commander betrayed at the firſt Summons of the Turks; for which action, the Captain afterwards, by expreſs Command of the Emperour ſuffered Death.

After all theſe ſucceſſes, though no oppoſition appeared in the Field, to obſtruct the luxuriant and wanton march of the victorious Squadrons of the Ottoman Army; and not only *Hungary*, but *Auſtria*, and the lower *Germany* was Alarmed and terrified with the rumour of the Turkiſh numbers; and though the Vizier (as it is ſaid) began this War with the ambitious thoughts of poſſeſſing *Vienna* it ſelf, and out-vying the Acts of *Solyman* the Magnificent: Yet it ſeemed ſtrange, that being come thus far, and almoſt in proſpect of his hopes, that he ſhould give a check to his Fortunes, and not advance towards *Vienna*; to which now the paſſage ſeemed wide and open; but it was almoſt a miracle, that he ſhould not make a Viſit to *Poſſonium*, before which, had he only diſplaid his dreadful Arms, it had ſurrendred at his firſt Summons and Appearance. Inſtead whereof he attempted *Schinta*, the Magazine of the Emperours Arms and Artillery, but found not the ſame eaſy entrance as he did with the

The Vizier aſſaults *Schinta*, but beaten off.

the Governour of *Nitra*, but instead thereof, being stoutly repulsed after several Assaults, concluded the enterprize too difficult, and requiring more time and bloud than could be countervailed by the acquisition of that place. Wherefore raising his Camp, he employed a considerable party to take *Novigrade*, a Castle scituated on a high Rock, encompassed with a Ditch of thirty four Foot deep, Garrisoned with 600. Souldiers, and provided sufficiently with Victuals and Ammunition; howsoever by ill fortune and worse Conduct, this place also was resigned into the hands of the Turks. 1663.

Novigrade taken by the Turks.

By this time the Winter approaching, and the season of the Year beginning to be unfit for action, the Great Vizier retreated as far as *Belgrade*, to take up his Winter Quarters with the gross of his Army. Where remaining with full satisfaction and glory, contemplating the successes of the past Year, and promising to himself greater renown, and exaltation of his mighty acts, for that insuing; he so contemned the Force of his Enemies, that he Licensed great numbers of the Asian Spahees, who came as far as from *Babylon* and Grand *Cairo*, to return home to their own possessions. Howsoever to vex the Christians with continual Alarms, the Vizier ordered a flying Body of Turks and Tartars, to the number of 30000. under the Command of * *Chengiogli*, to pass into *Stiria* and *Croatia*, the Country of Count *Serini*, and there to burn, lay waste, and depopulate all before them. Count *Serini* was now newly returned from *Hungary*, and supposing the Season for action finished, had lodged the greatest part of his Forces within their Winter Quarters, and securely laid himself to repose; when an Alarm came of the approach of thirty thousand Horse; the Count rowsing his great Spirit from its ease, collected as many of his people into a Body, as the shortness of time would permit, which were not above 480. men; and with these he betook himself to the River *Muer*, to give a stop (if possible) to the passage of the Enemy, placing Centinels in all places where the River was fordable. On the 17th of *November* the Christians espyed the Turks Encamped on the other side, and at the same time discovered 2000. of them to have passed the River; on which, *Serini* immediately made that furious Assault, assisted with the Courage of Captain *Chirsaleas* (a person who had often times given glorious proofs of his valour against the Turks) that he soon put them to open flight, and they seeking to pass the River, and missing the place where the River was fordable, threw themselves headlong into the Water, where the most part of those perished who escaped the Sword. The Turks on the other side were so amazed at this stupendious Valour of *Serini*, that their Courages failing them, they desisted from their farther attempt upon *Croatia*, so that this poor Country seemed as it were for the present, to be reprieved by Miracle from a total destruction.

The Vizier retreats to his Winter Quarters.

* Pasha of Temiswar.

Count *Serini* overthrows a party of Turks and Tartars.

1664

THE HISTORY OF Sultan Mahomet IV. THE XIII. EMPEROUR OF THE TURKS.

The Third BOOK.

Anno 1664. *Hegeira* 1075.

THE Month of *January* was now well entered with its rigid Frosts, when *Apasi* Prince of *Transilvania*, beholding his Souldiers in their Winter Quarters, and all things quiet and still about him, judged it seasonable for his establishment to discover himself with some lustre to the World, seated in the usual Throne of the Transilvanian Princes; which sight appeared so universally grateful to the people, that they began to be enamoured of their Prince, and to applaud his Person, his Prowess and Vertues, and to cast an ill and envious Eye on those Cities, which were Garrisoned with German Souldiers. About which time the Fortress of *Zechelhyd* revolted from Obedience of the Emperour unto *Apasi* the Prince: for the Souldiery of that Garrison having long Arrears of pay due to them, made a Mutiny, and expelled their Colonel *Dempenbal* from his Office, and pillaged his House, placing the Quarter-Master of *Strozzi*'s Regiment in his stead. The news of this Sedition flew quickly to *Vienna*, from whence immediately a Messenger was dispatched with an Act of Pardon, from the Emperour,

Zechelhyd revolts to *Apasi*.

perour, upon submission, and proffers of full satisfaction of all Arrears; 1664.
but the Souldiery finding themselves only paid with words, hearkened to the more effectual Propositions of *Apesi*, who taking hold of this opportunity, sent every Souldier ten Dollars with a Suit of Cloaths, promising larger and more constant pay than they received from the Emperour, with which the Garrison being satisfied, surrendred up their City on the 20th of *January*. But whilst other Armies remained in their Quarters, and other Commanders gave themselves up to ease, and drowned themselves in Wine and Bankets; and whilst Jealousies, Envies, and Ceremonies, disturbed and confused the resolves of Diets and private Councils; The generous and vigilant *Serini*, having received advices from *Adrianople*, that the Turks design in the next Campagna, was to convert the whole heat and fury of the War upon *Croatia*, and through that Country to open a passage unto *Friuli*; his active Spirit conceived that heat and flame, that the Winters cold could not chill his hot and eager desires from entering into the open Field, and commencing some attempt and enterprize on his Enemy. Wherefore on the 16th of *January* he began his march from *Serinswar*, with an Army of about 25000. men; And in the first place, marching along the Banks of the *Dravus*, shewed himself before *Berzenche*; which upon conditions of marching away with Arms, Bag, and Baggage, was surrendered to him. *Bakotka* was likewise yielded, and a Palancha on the River quitted upon report of the Counts approach, leaving behind them eight brass Guns in the Fort. From hence he marched towards *Essek*, otherwise called *Oseck*, which is the only pass from the upper to the lower *Hungary*, having a Bridge of Wood over a Moor or Fen, about six or seven miles in length, which once I remember, with my Horse, I was an hour and three quarters in passing (as I observed by my Watch), and reported to have been six years in building. This Bridge *Serini* resolved to burn, which cost the Turks 300000. Dollars, and six Years time to build, imagining that to rebuild it again, was a work of that time, as could not be repaired in one Summer, and that by this means the Turks would be disappointed of all action the following Year, and the Empire have time to breath, and assemble the utmost of their strength and force together: wherefore taking opportunity of the hard Winter, when the Marsh was frozen, and a strong wind to carry the flame; he sent before him 2000. Dragoons, and 3000. Croats, which encountring 6000. Turks at the foot of the Bridge, set for guard of that place, were so ill treated by them, that they had been wholly cut off, had not a considerable Force of Horse and Dragoons, come in to their assistance, by whose resolution they not only routed the Turk, but took the Palancha, which was the defence of the Bridge, and having gained it in hot blood, put all to Fire and Sword; after which, Fire being set to the Bridge in divers places, in a short time it was consumed and remained in ashes. The news of this exploit was received at *Vienna* with great Joy; believing that for the following Year, they had disappointed the Turks of a passage, but by the sequel it will appear, how much they erred in the account made of the diligence of the Turks, who in forty days repaired that which they esteemed a work of some Years; and as I observed, it was all built of new Timber, and on another foundation different from the old. From this place *Serini* marched to *Quinq; Ecclesiæ*, or *Five Kirk*, at whose near approach, the Turks set out a white Flag on one of the Towers, signifying a desire of Parley, as if they had had intentions

Oseck.

The Bridge burned.

Quinq; Ecclesiæ taken by *Serini*.

1664. to ſurrender on Terms and Articles of Agreement; the Chriſtians with this confidence marched near the Walls, where the Turks eſpying their advantage on their Enemies now under command of their Guns fired upon them, and did ſevere execution, killing amongſt others ſeveral principal Officers, of which were General *Hammerling* and Count *Harderſtein*; which perfidious action ſo tranſported *Serini*, that he reſolved on a furious aſſault, and performed it with that gallantry, that on the 5th of *February* he took the Town by ſtorm and force of Arms, and in recompence of their treacherous Stratagem, put all the Inhabitants to the ſword, and gave up the Town to the Pillage and Plunder of the Souldiery, and afterwards ſetting it on fire, rendred it the moſt horrid ſpectacle of fire and ſword that had as yet been ſeen or known in this preſent War.

Theſe ſucceſſes of *Serini* gained him the reputation of a valiant and fortunate Prince, and his liberal hand in frankly beſtowing the Booty and Pillages amongſt the Souldiery, invited great numbers to follow his Banner. His active Spirit and Vigilance gained him likewiſe a reputation amongſt the Turks, that their principal fear and dread was of *Serin-Ogli*, as of a watchful and politick Enemy; for in every place he made great havock and ſpoil, being reported to have laden two thouſand five hundred Carts with Slaves, Goods, and Ammunition, and to carry with him an hundred fifty five Pieces of Cannon taken out of ſmall Forts and Palancha's, and to have laid waſte all the Country between the *Drawus* and the *Danube*. In theſe Incurſions, and victorious and dreadful travels through the Enemies Country, the valiant *Serini* at length arrived at *Sigeth*, a Fortreſs conſiſting of a new and old Town conjoyned by a Bridge which croſſes a famous Marſh or Fen, ennobled by the Attempt made thereon by *Solyman* the Magnificent in the year 1565. with an Army of ſix hundred thouſand men; in defence of which *Nicholas Serini*, the great Grandfather of the preſent Count, immortalized his Fame and Memory with the loſs of his life, and renowned the place it ſelf by his Feats of Arms. At this place *Serini* was reſolved to revenge the blood of his Anceſtors, and ſacrifice great numbers to the Ghoſt of his Grandfather; to which end he ſent the Count *Olack* before him with part of his Army, to ſummon the Enemy, and prepare the way to his own more effectual force; *Olack* had ordered all things accordingly, when *Serini* full of Glory and Spoils arrived him in his Leagure, and joyning together appointed the day for a general ſtorm; but whilſt theſe things were meditating, and that *Sigeth* was reduced almoſt to the laſt extremity, advice came of the near approach of a Body of twelve thouſand Turks and Tartars; to encounter which the Attempt was accounted difficult, conſidering the loſs and diminution of the Chriſtian Forces, which by continual actions, and the bitter ſuffering of the Winter ſeaſon, were reduced to a number inferiour to that of their Enemies, and wanting all ſorts of Proviſion and Ammunition, it was reſolved, as moſt expedient, to raiſe the Siege, which was the next day performed, and the Souldiery taken into Garriſons to repoſe and recruit themſelves. But whilſt by the active and zealous Spirit of this great Champion moſt matters proceeded ſucceſsfully on the ſide of *Croatia*, the Chriſtian Affairs on the other ſide, by the negligence of ſome Miniſters, ran into evident ruine and diſorder. For *Claudiopolis* which not many years paſt had defended it ſelf ſo valiantly againſt the Turks under

Sigeth beſieged.

The Siege raiſed.

Claudiopolis yields it ſelf to *Apaſi*.

under the Command of the Governour *Retani*, did now, wanting pay, (the ſinew and life of the Souldiery) follow the late example of *Zechelhyd*, and ſurrendred it ſelf into the hands of *Apaſi*; and though the complaints and murmurings of the Souldiers gave a ſufficient time of warning to make due Proviſions againſt a misfortune ſo imminent and plainly appearing, yet the want of expedition at *Vienna*, and the unprofitable application only of empty words and air to feed the penury and ſatisfie the appetite of ſtarving men, was a remedy ſo little available, that the Garriſon ſubmitted to *Apaſi*, and yielded to Conditions whereby they might eat and live: the ſtory of which place, compared with that of *Zechelhyd*, was ſo ſhameful and pungent to men capable of any impreſſions of honour or duty, that at length it awakened the Germans, and admoniſhed them to provide better for *Zacmar* and *Tockay*, and other Frontier Garriſons, leſt they alſo ſhould incur the like Fate and misfortune with the two former. 1664

By this time the Actions of *Serini* were rumoured in the Grand Signiors Seraglio, and the report of them became common in the mouths of the Vulgar; wherefore full of anger and diſdain, the Sultan wrote ſeverely to his Vizier, reproving him of negligence for ſuffering *Serini* ſo freely to range his Countries without controul, to the great diſhonour of his Empire, and damage of his People: whereupon the Vizier not as yet having received his Recruits, nor prepared ſo early for the March of the groſs of his Army, diſpatched notwithſtanding a conſiderable Force to precede him, with Orders either by ſtealth to ſurprize *Serinſwar*, or elſe to lay ſiege unto it. This Army marching by the way of *Boſna*, the News thereof was brought to Count *Peter Serini*, appointed by his Brother to ſtand Sentinel on the Guard of his Country, whilſt he in Perſon was buſied in *Hungary*, who immediately thereupon with what force he could collect, ambuſhed himſelf at the narrow Paſs of a Mountain called the *Morlac*, where he had not long attended before the Turks without order or care entred with their whole Body; but being on a ſudden ſurprized by the Count, were wholly defeated, leaving two thouſand dead on the place, with many Priſoners.

Count *Peter Serini* defeats the Turks in the Streights of *Morlac*.

The month of *March* being now well entred, the Froſts began to thaw, and the Air become more mild and moderate, when Count *Nicholas Serini* entertained thoughts of laying ſiege to *Caniſia*: But to lay the foundation of this deſign with the better judgment, it was thought firſt neceſſary to view the ſtate and ſituation of the place; wherefore the Count in perſon accompanied with about fourteen Officers, went one day to take a ſurvey thereof; but he was not ſo private in his deſign, but that it was known to the Turks, who ſecretly laid five hundred men in wait to take him, and upon the near approach of *Serini*, ſtarted from their holes with ſhouts and out-crys; but the Count was ſo well mounted on his Croatian Courſer, that he out-ran them all, and got refuge in the Thickets of a neighbouring Wood, where three hundred of his own Horſe alarmed at a diſtance by the Echo's of the cry, came in to his ſuccour, and making head againſt the Turks, routed and defeated them, killing and taking many Priſoners; amongſt the ſlain was found one armed cap-a-pe, with a ſilk twiſt or cord of divers colours about his waſte, who was, as reported by the Captives, to have been one who reſolved to have taken *Serini*, and with that cord to have brought him bound to the feet of the Vizier. *Serini* having thus eſcaped, reſolved

The danger of *Serini*.

to

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lightful Plains of *Hungary*, or the plenteous Confines of *Vienna*, to a Country leſs happy or fruitful, encompaſſed with Fens and Marſhes, poiſoned with bad Airs and Vapours, and made more miſerable already by the Deſolations of War. But let us leave *Serini* at his Siege before *Kaniſia*, and travel a while with our thoughts to the Diet at *Ratisbone*, and underſtand what is there forming and deſigning towards Preſervation of the Commonweal of the Empire. The taking of *Newhauſel*, and the Progreſs of the Ottoman Armes, had awakened the German Princes with that ſenſe of the common danger, that a Diet was aſſembled at *Ratisbone* to conſult of the moſt effectual means that might give a ſtop to the uncontrouled incurſions of the Turk. And not to trouble the Reader with the names of all thoſe Princes and Ambaſſadours which there appeared, it will be ſufficient to ſignifie, That beſides his Ceſarean Majeſty, there were preſent, as his Plenipotentiaries, the Elector of *Mentz*, and Arch-Biſhop of *Saltzburgh*: And though many Princes ſhowed themſelves with Glory and Splendour; yet none appeared with that Pomp and Magnificence as the Elector of *Bavaria*, who for number of Coaches, richneſs of his Liveries, and compleat Government of his Retinue, was ſo neat and polite, that he ſeemed not only to exceed every Court in particular, but in Elegance and Magnificence to equalize them all together. Upon Debate of matters in reference to this War, the Count of *Olach* was unanimouſly choſen General for the Confederates of the *Rhine*; but the more hot Diſputes between the Proteſtants and Papiſts about Election of other Generals kept matters in longer ſuſpence, yet at length the Marqueſs of *Baden* was choſen Marſhal General in behalf of the League, the Marqueſs of *Durlach*, and the Biſhop of *Munſter* his Councellours, and Directors of the War, and Count *Francis Fucher*, General of the Ordnance. But in the Levies of their Forces they concurred more freely and willingly; for beſides the Imperial Forces, which conſiſted of 41600 Foot, and 13900 Horſe, the Allies and Confederates furniſhed 13850 Foot, and 3350 Horſe; the Auxiliaries of the Empire made up a Body of 16991 Foot, and 4037 Horſe, beſides the Forces of *Saxony*, and *Brandenburgh*, and the Succours of *France*, ſo that, by Gods Providence, the Chriſtian Army was this year eſteemed equal, if not more numerous than the multitudes of their Enemies.

1664.

The Diet at *Ratisbone*.

The ſtrength of the Chriſtian Army.

The next matter under conſideration was the nomination of Miniſters to be ſent abroad to implore aſſiſtance from Chriſtian Princes more remote; the Count *Piccolomini* was to negotiate in the Courts of *Italy*, but having taken a Diſtemper in his Journies, died after a ſhort Sickneſs at *Milan*.

Italy.

Alſo the Count *Colalto*, ſent to his Majeſty of Great *Britain*, died in his Journey before he arrived at *London*; notwithſtanding which the generous piety of his Majeſty was not wanting with a liberal hand to contribute towards the promotion of the Chriſtian Intereſt.

England.

From *Poland* nothing more could be obtained than Terms of Courteſie, and Demonſtrations of Good Will and Deſires, for that their Forces being employed againſt the Moſcovite to recover the loſt Countries of *Lituania*, could not poſſibly attend the Service and Command of his Imperial Majeſty, though they could not but at the ſame time reflect on their premures and neceſſities with ſhame and confuſion, which diſabled them from anſwering with like returns, the grateful memory they ſtill retained of the aſſiſtance againſt *Sweden*.

Poland.

To

1664. France. To his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty Count *Strozzi* was employed, before whoſe Arrival at *Paris* the common report and vogue was, That that King reſolved to contribute an effectual aſſiſtance to the Chriſtian Cauſe in that preſent Conjuncture; which pious diſpoſition *Strozzi* ſo happily improved, that he obtained from his Majeſty a Grant and promiſe of four thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, raiſed and payed at his own charge, to be united with the Troops of the Rhimiſh League: And farther his Majeſty was ſo gracious herein, that he publiſhed a Declaration, That what perſon ſoever would ſerve the Emperour againſt the Turk, his reſolution and action therein ſhould be accepted by him, in the ſame manner, as if the ſervice were immediately tendered to himſelf. Upon which many perſons of Quality reſolved upon this expedition, amongſt which was the Duke of *Buglion*, the *Marquis de Villeroy*, the Abbot of *Richelieu*, and many other Heroes, and Perſons of Bravery, who ventured their Lives with no other conſideration than that of honour and Religion. But before I paſs from this Embaſſy, give me leave to report a Complement which Count *Strozzi* paſſed upon this King, which ſome ſay did ſavour a little too much of flattery and affectation. The matter was this: Count *Strozzi* being admitted to hiis Audience, ſo ſoon as he entered into the Chamber, I know not whether it was feigned or real, he ſeemed to be ſtruck with ſuch an amazement and fear, that for a while he was not able to pronounce a word articulate or intelligible; but at length recollecting himſelf, he began with a trembling voice to excuſe this heſitation of his Speech, having his Senſes diſſipated, and his Eyes dazled with the Rays and Splendour of ſo much Majeſty; and with that, as in a rapture or ecſtaſie, broke out into an admiration of the French Monarchy, the report of whoſe Greatneſs and Glory, though arrived to the utmoſt Confines of the Univerſe, came yet far ſhort of that real Majeſty which he ſaw and admired, whoſe dreadful and myſterious Throne was ſufficient to revive the dead Aſhes of the Sabean Queen to proſtrate herſelf before this new *Solomon*, much excelling the wiſdom, the richeſs, the vertue, and happineſs of the former. And thence deſcending with the like ſagacious obſequiouſneſs, to confute the malicious Reports of malignant tongues, who, envious of the harmony of Chriſtian Spirits, repreſented his Majeſty as ill-affected to the Auſtrian Family, whereas to the contrary, he could teſtifie to have found that exceſs of Affection, and admirable diſpoſition in his Majeſty towards the Emperour his Ally, as rendred his Embaſſy abundantly happy and ſucceſsful, which, joined to the Zeal his Majeſty had towards the Chriſtian Cauſe, was like Friendſhip united to Charity, and Moral Vertues made perfect by ſpiritual Qualifications. In fine, he compared his Chriſtian Majeſty to that Glorious Sun, which communicating his light to the Chriſtian World, affords the moſt benign influence to the Catholick Climate; with much better reaſon therefore ought *Germany* to participate ſo great a Circle of thoſe Rays, as may ſerve wholly to obſcure and darken the dim and barbarous Light of the Ottoman Moon. In ſum, *Strozzi* knew ſo well how to manage his Diſcourſe, and play the Oratour, that he obtained conſiderable aſſiſtances, and returned to his Maſter the Emperour with full Demonſtrations of all obliging Terms, and courteous Treatments. And having thus underſtood what preparations are making in Chriſtendom, let us paſs over into the

Count *Strozzi*'s Speech to the French King.

Turks

Turks Quarters, and see what is in the mean time transacting in those Dominions. 1664.

At this time the rumour of a Rebellion and Mutiny amongst the Great Beghs at Grand *Cairo* in *Egypt* afforded matter for trouble and consultation at the Ottoman Court; for that those Beghs who have great possessions and power in that Country, made seizure of *Ibrahim* Pasha, and imprisoned him, being about the expiration of his three years commonly allotted to that Government; and therefore near upon departure. The demands they had upon him was for no less than three thousand purses of money, which, according to the *Cairo* Account, are reckoned seven hundred and fifty Dollars a purse, and pretended to be taken from them against Law and Justice; and that without restitution thereof they resolved not to restore him his liberty. This insolence against so eminent a Pasha, qualified with such absolute power in his Government, and one related to the Grand Signior by marriage of his Sister, compared with the late neglects and disobedience of that people, who for some years had failed in the full payment of their Tribute, were interpreted as evident Symptoms of disaffection, and malignancy, which that people entertained against the Ottoman Subjection. Wherefore the Sultan immediately dispatched away the Master of his Horse to *Cairo*, with full power to appease this Rebellion, and with Lenitives to moderate the fury of the people, who seemed to be too licentious and unbridled to be governed by a Musselim, or Deputy: Wherefore the Selictar Aga was elected Pasha, and to depart with all expedition. In the mean time this Messenger, to make greater haste, took post through *Asia* with thirty in his Company, and in a short time arrived at Grand *Cairo*, where, with fair terms, and restitution of some money from the Pasha, all matters were reduced to an amicable composure, only the punishment of the Chief Mutiniers, with a fair Countenance, deferred for a season, was afterwards according to the Turkish fashion, when time and opportunity presented, remunerated to those factious Spirits with a severe Interest, and satisfaction to Justice. Rebellion of the Beghs in *Egypt*.

Not long after *Ibrahim* Pasha having obtained his liberty, returned from his Government of *Cairo* to *Constantinople*, where refreshing himself some time with the embraces of his young Sultana, an Imperial Command for immediate payment of four hundred Purses of money to the Grand Signiors Treasury, disturbed his delightful quiet. The Pasha made a present payment of one half, but desired time for the remainder, either for want of that instant supply, or else on hopes of ease of his Fine. But the Sultan, who is impatient of any delay in his Slaves, which savours of obstinacy or disobedience, though never so reasonable, dispatched another Command enjoining present compliance, and as a penalty for the late neglect, raised the Demand from four hundred to six hundred Purses, which if not as readily payed as required, the Kimacham of *Constantinople* was impowred to commit him Prisoner, within the four Gates of the Seraglio, the fatal Prison, from whence few find other Release than by Death. The Pasha not being able to comply, was there restrained of his Liberty; and yet had the good fortune in a few days to obtain his freedom, by the endeavours (as some suppose) of the Great Vizier, who having by this Act weakened his Power and Treasure, did afterwards as an instrument of his Deliverance, conserve his Life, and obtain for him the Government of *Darbiquier*, where being *Ibrahim* Pasha fined, and imprisoned.

1664. remote and obſcure at ſo far a diſtance, could never be capable to ſhadow, or by his great popularity and affable comportment endanger the preſent happy ſtate of the Viziers Office.

Matters growing now towards action, by return of the Spring, the Grand Signior, to incourage his Vizier in a continuance of his duty, ſent him a Horſe and a Sword as a teſtimony of his favour and good eſteem of his perſon: and Orders were iſſued out through all the Empire for publick Prayers to be made ſome days before the Vizier began his March towards the Enemy. This appointment of publick Devotions occaſioned matter of argument and diſpute between the Mufti and a Shegh or Preacher, one that was always near the Grand Signiors Perſon, and therefore on confidence of his familiar acceſſes to the Preſence of the Sultan, and on preſumption of his Sanctity and Priviledge of his Office, took liberty to oppoſe and contradict the Oracle of the Ottoman Law. The Problem in queſtion was, Whether Prayers appointed for ſucceſs of the Ottoman Arms, according to the Law of their Prophet, were to be made privately, and in every Moſch or Oratory apart, or in a general Aſſembly of the whole City. The Mufti maintained the laſt Poſition, citing in favour of his opinion the teſtimony of divers Arabick Doctors, and the cuſtoms of the preſent and paſt times. The Shegh on the contrary was for Devotions to be performed in every Moſch, declaring, That the Aſſembly of all the people of a City into one body did nothing avail or inforce the power of Prayer; for they being true Believers were all illuminated, and had no need of helps to make their Prayers more fervent or more acceptable. The argument was hot on both ſides: and though the Mufti had got another Shegh on his part, who might pretend to as much of illumination as the other, and joyned to the Mufti's opinion, who is the Mouth and undoubted Interpreter of the Law, might ſeem able not only to reſolve the knottieſt difficulties, but to impoſe an aſſent on them with greater authority; yet the Shegh having the Grand Signior on his ſide, preſently got moſt of reaſon, and forced the Mufti to recant his former opinion as erroneous, and to baniſh the other Shegh his Companion, pretending that he was now convinced, and had ſooner diſcovered the truth, had not the Impoſtor, the falſe Preacher deceived him by his feigned illuminations. This Victory gained the Shegh much applauſe and eſteem with the Grand Signior, ſo that he vented what Doctrine he pleaſed, and all he ſaid was taken for Divine Rules and Precepts. He was born about *Van* on the Confines of *Perſia*, ſo that he is called *Vanni Efendi*, and is of the Armenian Race: he preached every Friday at *Adrianople* in one Moſch or other, where the Grand Signior was for the moſt part preſent; and though the greateſt part of his Sermons were ſtuffed up with praiſes of the Mahometan Religion, and invectives againſt Chriſtians, ſentencing all polluted and profane who aſſociate with them, and exclaiming againſt the abomination of Wine; yet it is confidently reported, that he is no ſtrict Obſerver of the Law he profeſſes, the which his Diſciples and Familiars are ready to excuſe in him, ſaying, That it may be lawful for him to diſpenſe with ſuch matters, in regard his Illuminations and high Prerogatives of Sanctity have infranchiſed him from obſervance of the meaner and leſs ſubſtantial points of their Law.

A Diſpute between the Mufti and a Shegh.

The Turks who are as much given to Predictions and Interpretations of old Prophecies, as ever the Egyptians were, buſied themſelves this year

Predictions amongſt the Turks.

year more than ever, to know the Event of this War. Some who had studied ancient Arabick Predictions, had extracted certain Astrological Figures, and from thence framed strange fancies, according to the humor or melancholy of the Astrologer; one whereof coming to the Grand Signiors ear, mentioning divers things obscurely, and in general of the great effusion of blood, but that at last the advantage and Victory should remain to the Turk, and that the Grand Signior himself should shortly make a Journey; the Grand Signior troubled hereat, as much as ever *Pharaoh* was about the Interpretation of his Dream, sent for one of the Chief Justices of the Law called the Kadilescher, and with him conferred concerning this Prediction: all things pleased him well, but only the latter part of making a Journey. Whither that Journey should be, he could not imagine; his Arms were so prosperous in *Hungary*, that he conceived the Vizier had no need of his presence either to animate or recruit his Army: and to any other part, he knew not what could move him from his delightful and beloved City of *Adrianople*. The Kadilescher supposing that he might put that Interpretation thereon which might not be ungrateful, replied, Perhaps, O Emperour, he may mean that you shall again return to your sublime and happy Port of *Constantinople*. The Grand Signior suddenly touched herewith burst into choler: How, said he, to *Constantinople!* what joy, what comfort can I have there? Hath not that place been fatal to my Father? What benefit had my Uncle from thence? or any of my Race? Have not all my Princes Ancestors been subject to a thousand Mutinies and Rebellions in that place? I shall sooner than return thither set fire to it with my own hands, and rejoyce to see that City with my Seraglio brought to ashes. And that we may farther discover the strange aversion the Sultan had to *Constantinople*, and his resolution to change the Seat of his Empire, it is observable, that he built a small Seraglio not far from *Adrianople*, in imitation of that near *Constantinople* called *Odoul Pasha*, the place to which he most frequently resorted after that City fell under his dislike and hatred. The Village where his Palace was built was called *Chiomlichoi*, or the Village of Pots, where earthen vessels were made: but the Grand Signior changed the name, and called it *Odoul Pasha*; with which name before the people were well acquainted, and that it was accustomed to their mouths, two poor silly Country-men mistaking, and calling it simply by the former name, were apprehended by some of the Bostangees, and brought before the Grand Signior as contemners of the Imperial Command, and by his immediate Sentence were put to death.

1664

The Grand Signiors aversion to *Constantinople*.

A small Seraglio by that name near *Constantinople*.

About the end of *May* the Grand Signior had a Son born to him of one of his Women, for joy of which seven days of *Donalma*, or rejoycing were appointed through all the Ottoman Dominions: but especially at *Adrianople* the Solemnity was greatest, all sorts of Artisans endeavouring to outvy each other in their shows and pastimes to entertain the City. At the Gate of the Seraglio was erected a magnificent Pavilion for the Grand Signior, before whom were shown rare artificial Fireworks invented by the most ingenious Masters thereof amongst the Jews: one of which firing a Rocket, which not ascending with usual strength, unhappily fell on the Vest of the Grand Signiors Favourite, standing at the door of the Tent: at which the Young man being surprized, sent to find out him who fired it, which happening to be a poor Jew, was condemned immediately by the Grand Signiors sentence to receive eighty

A Son born to the Grand Signior.

1664. blows on the ſoals of his feet: but as report went, this young Favourite not appeaſed with this ſlender puniſhment, obtained the Sultans command to put him to death.

But to return to the Turkiſh Camp. The Vizier was aſtoniſhed to underſtand that *Kaniſia* was beſieged, and wondred much at the raſhneſs of *Serini*, in attempting a work ſo difficult without probability of ſucceſs; howſoever being adviſed, that the Garriſon was ill provided of Victuals and Ammunition, he gave order for its ſupply. In order to which eighty Carts laden with Proviſions convoyed by a conſiderable number of Turks, were conducted by way of *Sigeth*; but being interrupted in their paſſage by *Serini*'s Souldiers, were routed, put to flight, and their Proviſions taken. In the mean time the Beſieged made many vigorous Sallies, and ſome not without loſs to the Chriſtians, and to defend themſelves the better uncovered the tops of their houſes, and made their Lodgings under ground, ſecure from Granadoes, or ſhot of the Enemies Batteries. On the other ſide the Ammunition and Artillery from the Emperour came not ſo timely as was expected; nor were the Bomboes and Granadoes ſo artificially made, but that many of them ſpent themſelves in vain: the Succours likewiſe of men fell very ſhort of the numbers promiſed, and Souldiery being drawn from their Winter-quarters before the colds were paſt, or the paſture grown, began to murmur; but nothing diſcontented them ſo much as want of Pay, the juſt complaint of Souldiers, which diſcouraged them more than the difficulty of their adventure: againſt all which *Serini* provided as much as he was able out of his own Purſe, continuing the Siege more out of reputation than probable hopes of ſucceſs; for his Army was at leaſt diminiſhed two thouſand in its number, of which four hundred Hungars, and two hundred Germans were loſt in the firſt Aſſaults made upon the Suburbs, and the reſt periſhed by ſickneſs, and the vigorous and frequent Sallies of the Enemy. Howſoever *Serini* ſeemed not to doubt of the ſucceſs, if he could but be for ſome time ſecured from the advance of the Vizier, who now began to draw his groſs and numerous Army out of their Winter-quarters into the open field; and therefore with the other Officers before *Kaniſia* ſignified their advice to the Emperour and General Council of War, That it was neceſſary that the Imperial Army ſhould be as early in the field as the Ottoman; and for the more methodical government of Affairs, that the Army ſhould be divided into three Bodies, one to recruit the Forces before the Town, a ſecond to march to *Oſek*, and hinder the Enemies paſſage over the *Dravus*, and a third to take the field, and apply aſſiſtance where it was judged moſt uſeful. This counſel being well accepted by the Emperour, Orders were immediately iſſued forth to General *Montecuculi* to begin his March, with deſign to obſtruct the Turks paſſage over the *Dravus*; for that the ſucceſs againſt *Kaniſia* was of that high importance, as might juſtly require the imployment of all the Chriſtian Forces in its concernment. Wherefore one Poſt was diſpatched after the other to *Montecuculi* to ſollicite his ſpeedy March, and to give a ſtop to the Viziers progreſs. But he anſwered, That he attended General *Sporch*, whom he every day expected to joyn with him; but this Anſwer proving by the effect to be nothing more than a preſent excuſe, gave occaſion of ſuſpicion, and produced that diſcontent in the minds of the moſt zealous, as ſpread a rumor through all *Germany* much to the diſreputation of *Montecuculi*.

The Siege of *Kaniſia*.

Time

Time thus being protracted, and no Forces appearing to recruit the Leagure, at length advice came to the Generals, when they were just going to dinner, that the Vizier with a most numerous Army was within * three Leagues of the Town. For the Bridge of *Osek* was against the common opinion again rebuilt, planked, and compleated with new Timbers in the space of forty days, many hands making light work; which when first founded, was the work of six years: which Expedition was the more remarkable, in regard that this Bridge was not formed out of the ruines of the old, nor founded on the same ground, but new framed out of the Woods with as much comliness and order as befits a Bridge of that nature and length, passing over a wild Marsh or Fen. The news of the Viziers so near approach was strange to *Serini*, who by the calculation made of his March, did not yet expect him for several days; but the Vizier apprehending the straitness in which *Kanisa* might be, leaving the gross of his Army, made more expedite Journies with a Body of twenty thousand Horse, which not being unknown to *Serini*, his daring spirit was once resolved to give him Battel, in which opinion was also Count *Strozzi*; but *Olach* dissenting, and refusing to ingage his Forces, the Siege was raised, and all the Forces with good order retreated to *Serinswar*, where they arrived the day following, leaving to the Enemy a great quantity of Powder, Match, Shovels, twenty Carts of Meal, and two Iron Guns broken. 1664. * Fifteen English miles. The Siege of *Kanisa* raised.

No Pilgrim ever followed his way with more devotion to the sacred Shrine, than the Vizier was willingly led in pursuit of his Enemy to the Walls of *Serinswar*, being the place to which his intentions inclined, as the beginning and consummation of the War. Over against this envied Fort there is a little Hill strong by Nature, incompassed with a narrow Ditch, yet not so narrow, as that a Horse can leap over it, nor yet so shallow as to be forded. This Hill *Serini* proposed to the rest of his Collegues or Coadjutors, *viz.* *Olach* and *Spaar*, as a place commodious to incamp their Army, because lying open to the River, could easily be relieved, and would serve as a Redoubt or Out-work to the Fort, in which upon all extremities they might find Sanctuary and refuge: But the apprehension of the Viziers Numbers, and his near approach had made that impression of fear in their minds, that no safety seemed to remain, unless they could see the River *Mura* between them and their Enemy. Nor was *Serini* more successful in his perswasions to assault the Enemy, whilst they were wearied with their March, and busied in extending their Tents, the other Generals being of opinion, that it was too great a hazard for them alone to venture their Forces in so unequal a Combate, but they ought rather to expect *Montecuculi*, by the addition of whose Forces the lot of War would be less hazardous, if not wholly certain. In this manner great Enterprises have been disappointed, which have wanted only resolution to make them successful, Fortune being commonly favourable, if not a servant, to bold and daring Spirits; the disunion also of Generals hath been the overthrow of the wisest Counsels, and Wars have been observed never to have thrived where the Heads of Armies have been of dissenting humors or different interests. The Turks pursue the Christian Army.

This timidity on the Christian part raised in that manner the spirits of the Turks, that without stop or opposition passing the River *Muer*, they arrived at *Serinswar*, where they immediately fell to their Mattock and Spade, breaking ground for their Trenches, which by continued labour they The Turks intrench before *Serinswar*.

1664. they so diligently attended, that in seventeen days they arrived at the very ditch of the Fort: only whilst the Turks were transporting their Numbers over the River, the generous spirit of *Strozzi* not enduring to see their passage so easie and open, valiantly opposed himself and his small Force against the greater power of the Enemy, and so resolutely performed the Action, that he killed five hundred upon the place, till at length being unfortunately shot by a Musket-bullet in the forehead, he gloriously, together with one *Chisfareas*, a renowned Croatian Captain, ended his days in defence of his Country and the Christian Cause.

Count *Strozzi* slain.

In this interim General *Montecuculi* arrived with his Army, and was received by Count *Serini* with all evidences and demonstrations of respect and hearty welcome, and between both passed an appearance at least of friendly correspondence. But as to the present Engagement, *Montecuculi* was of opinion, That the opportunity was over-slipt, which should at first have been performed, rather by way of surprize than open Battle, before the Ottoman Army had arrived to its full numbers, consisting now of an hundred thousand fighting men. To which reasons *Serini* replied, That the Christian Cause, and the States and Confines of the Empire were not to be maintained by men that carry their thumbs at their girdles, or by Armies made resty with ease, and wanton with luxury. That those Armies were raised not to consume and exhaust the Revenues of their Princes, and Exchequers of their States, without making satisfactory amends by a valiant defence of that Interest which they owned. That the Enemy had not been before that time attempted, was no fault or neglect of his, who under the very Walls of *Kanisia* resolved to give them Battle; but that the other Generals supposed it more prudence and caution to protract the Engagement till his Arrival, who being now happily conjoyed with them, nothing ought to deter them from a glorious Attempt on the Turks, who not consisting of above thirty thousand men, ill disciplined, and worse armed, were not able to withstand the prowess of their Veterane Army, which far exceeded them in number, discipline, and courage. These or such like expressions *Serini* used; and to prove what he averred, he dispatched a confident Person of his own, who spake naturally the Turkish Language, with a Letter to the German Resident, then entertained under custody in the Turkish Camp, to know of him the true state and number of the Turks, which Messenger soon after returned with this short account.

Serini's Reasons to fight with the Turks.

Nisi me mortuum velis, amplius non rescribas, hic vix sunt triginta millia, nec illa satis electa, quid vos à pugna deterret? Tormenta Arcis nimis in altum explodumtur. Which in English is thus. "Unless you desire my "death, write not back to me again, here are scarce thirty thousand men, "and those ill provided, what then should deter you from an Engagement? "The Cannon in the Castle are too high mounted, or shoot over. *Serini* gave this Letter to *Montecuculi*, who replied, That so soon as General *Sporch* came up with his Forces, he would immediately draw up the Army into Battalia; *Sporch* being arrived, he then resolved to expect Marquess *Baden*, and so deferred the Battel from time to time, until the Turks advantaging themselves by these delays, had worked themselves under ground to the very Walls of the Castle. At length *Montecuculi* entring into *Serini*'s Fort (it is not known upon what reasons of jealousie, or discontent) cleared *Serini*'s Forces of the Garrison, and dispossessed the Gover-

The German Resident's Letter to Count *Serini*.

Montecuculi contrary to the opinion of *Serini* declines the Battle with the Turks.

Governour, which when *Sirini* perceived, full of anger and displeasure, he quitted the Camp, and retired himself to his Residence at *Chiacaturno*, with intent to make his just Appeal and Complaint to the Emperours Court. 1664. *Serini* retires from the Warr.

The Turks availing themselves of these delays and discontents, proceeded forward in their work, so that having Mined to the very Walls, on the 9th of *June*, they blew up one of the Half Moons, at which the Defendants were so terrifyed, that with amazement they left open one of their Sally Ports, at which the Turks entering, put the whole Garrison into disorder, consisting of 1900. fighting men; so that now no safety remaining but in flight, they forsook their Fort, and crouding over the Bridge in confused heaps, broke it down with the over-pressure of its burden; by fall of which, many perished in the Waters, and about 350 which remained, were cut off by the Sword; This was the fate of *Serini*'s Fort, built with Art, and lost by Cowardice and ill Conduct, which the Year before, only with 20. Germans, and 150. Hungarians, withstood a most impetuous and fierce storm of the Enemy, but now was less tenable than a Palancha, though Garrisoned with 1900. men, of whom in this last assault one alone had Courage to fire his Musket, but none adventured to draw a Sword: unless certain Voluntiers, and French Officers, whose Courage only renowned their own Deaths, and served to upbraid the Cowardice of their Companions. In the Fort were only found five small Field Pieces, one whole Cannon, a great Mortar piece, and two small ones belonging to Count *Serini*; there were also one Morter piece, and two small Field pieces, like to those of *Serini*, belonging to the Emperour; the other Guns of weight or value, were carried out of the Fort, as being judged not long tenable, and decreed to be abandoned to the Enemy. *Serinsivar* being thus taken was immediately demolished by the Vizier, and razed to the ground; either because he would seem to maintain his word, or Vow he had made, or because he would not multiply Garrisons, when the present occasions required rather the active Force of a moving Army. *Serinsivar* taken.

But before we proceed farther, it seems pertinent to our purpose, to declare the reasons and grounds of the preceeding neglects and discountenance passed upon *Serini* by the Grandees of the Imperial Army, which not being vindicated by the Emperour, seem to have been cast upon him by his expres Order, or at least to have been willing for some private respects, to have the person of *Serini* abased, and his actions obscured. It is therefore to be noted (what before hath been said) That the first pretence the Turks made for this War, was this Fort of *Serinsivar*, raised against the Capitulations and Articles of the last Peace; for which, though the violence against *Varadin* may be pleaded as equal, if not exceeding the present breach, to which this was only subsequent, and seemed to be but a just recompence or effect thereof; yet because it was that stone of scandal and offence, which drew after it that deadly War, in which the Emperour unwillingly engaged against the Ottoman Power, and caused him freely to intimate unto *Serini*, his desire rather to see that Fort demolished, than the Peace interrupted; to which *Serini* yielding no Ear, drew upon himself the deserved displeasure of his most gracious Prince, who permitted the act of his obstinacy and disobedience, to become a just snare to his own folly. But perhaps, that displeasure which was Justice in the Emperour, might be Envy, and emulation in his Reflections on the disgrace of *Serini*.

Ministers,

1664. niſters, who beholding with jealous Eyes his actions and ſucceſſes the Winter before, which enraged his Enemies, and exalted his name to that glory in all the Courts of Chriſtian Princes, that the Pope honoured him with Medals of Gold; the King of *Spain*, with the Order of the Golden Fleece; the French King as a demonſtration of his eſteem, with a Token of ten thouſand Crowns; and Cardinal *Francis Barberini*, with a Penſion of eight hundred Crowns a Month; and all other European Princes, at leaſt made the moſt part applications to him by Congratulatory Letters, admiring his Virtues, and applauding his Succeſſes; permitting their Gazets and Diurnals, Weekly to divulge and publiſh his praiſes. From whence may rationally be collected, the true occaſion of that Envy, which by cold aſſiſtances, and ſlow ſuccours, obſtructed as well the taking of *Kaniſia*, as the valiant defence of *Serinſwar*, which was decryed, not only as a Fort erected without due and mature conſideration, but without art, or regular proportions, which might render it tenable; accuſing at the ſame time as well the raſhneſs and temerity of *Serini*'s Counſels, as his want of judgment and experience in Military Affairs.

But to leave now the ſad ſubject of the Chriſtian misfortunes, occaſioned by their own quarrels and diſſentions, which the Grand Enemy of Gods Church always endeavoured to ſow for advancement of his own Kingdom: Let us caſt our Eyes on the other parts of unhappy *Hungary*. The Siege of *Kaniſia* being raiſed, and *Serinſwar* taken, and demoliſhed, ſucceſs had ſwelled, and puffed up the minds of the Turks to a height that nothing ſeemed difficult or impoſſible to their deſires. On the other ſide, controverſies and delays gave that advantage to the Enemy, that nothing could be expected, but loſſes, ſlaughter, and in the end, a total ruine. But God who pittied the miſeries of poor Chriſtendome, caſt his Eyes of mercy on the Frontiers of the upper *Hungary*, granting ſome more happy ſucceſſes to the Chriſtian Armes, conducted by the Valour and Fortune of Count *Soiſé*, a French Gentleman, who having the Command of an Army diſtinct from that of *Montecuculi*, began his firſt attempt and enterprize upon *Nitra*, where ſeveral perſons of Quality, and Officers of the Turkiſh Army, were aſſembled to conſider of the affairs of War. *Soiſé* having taken his convenient meaſures, and made his due approaches, began to batter the Walls, a great part of which in a ſhort time he ſhook ſo ſhroadly, that he opened a very wide breach, and continually plying Granadoes into the Town, ſo affrighted the Beſieged, that immediately they offered a Parley, which *Soiſé* accepted, (and the rather, upon advice, that *Varadin*, *Solnoc*, *Temiſwar*, and the places adjacent, were collecting Forces to raiſe the Siege, and relieve the Town) entered into Treaty, and concluding upon Conditions, the Town Surrendered, and the Turks marched out with their Colours folded, and Muskets under their Arms, leading their Horſes, had Convoy as far as *Chomar*.

Nitra taken by by the Chriſtians.

Soiſé having obtained this ſucceſs, entered into Conſultation about recovery of *Newhauſel*, but having not Forces judged ſufficient to attempt the difficulty of that place, he turned his endeavours and deſigns upon *Lewa*, or *Leventz*; but in the way thither, he was caſually engaged with a Body of fourteen thouſand Turks and Tartars, who were marching to the relief of *Nitra*, and fell in unawares upon his Rereguard: whereupon *Soiſé* commanded the Regiments of his Major General *Guarnieri*, and of the Colonels *Caprara*, and *Zeitſch*, and the Horſe and Dragoons

The Turks aſſault *Soiſé*.

of

of *Brandenburg*, then marching in the Van to face about, and Charge the Enemy, which they performed with that Courage, and Vigour, that they routed and purſued them as far as the River *Giava*. At which place *Soiſe* Encamped with his Army, and in an advantagious ſituation made a line of Circumvallation about his Camp, ſtrengthening it with ſome pieces of Cannon. The Turks having recovered a convenient Retreat upon the River, remained oppoſite to the Chriſtians, and having there reinforced themſelves with additional Recruits, returned again to give them Battel, and in three places with extremity of fury and deſpair, aſſaulted the Chriſtian Camp: Fortune for a long time remained doubtful on both ſides, till at length the admirable reſolution of the Chriſtians overcame, leaving a thouſand Turks extended on the place; many were drowned and the reſt fled; leaving a rich Booty for reward to the Conquerours. 1664.

The Chriſtians in this manner being ſucceſsful, reſolved not to check the current of their Fortune, but without delay proceeded to *Lewa*, which having been for ſome time battered with great Guns, ſurrendred it ſelf to the mercy of the Conquerour; in which was found, a conſiderable quantity of Meal, and twenty great pieces of Artillery. *Lewa* taken.

In the mean time, the difference between the King of *France* and the Pope (on occaſion of the inſult offered at *Rome* by the *Corſi*, to the Embaſſadours Houſe and Perſon) being this Year compoſed; thoſe Forces of the French being in all about 3000. Horſe, ſent firſt into *Italy* to avenge this affront, under the Command of the Count *Colegni*, were ordered to paſs into *Hungary*, by way of *Venice*, to the aſſiſtance of the Emperour; to which, ſeveral Gentlemen, Voluntiers of the ſame Nation, joining themſelves, formed a Body of 4000. Horſe well appointed, valiant and deſirous of action. The Pope alſo, whoſe words expreſſed and breathed out nothing but holy zeal againſt the common Enemy, promiſed a ſupply of 10000. Foot, and 3000. Horſe, which were to paſs by way of *Trieſte* into *Croatia*, according to the promiſe and aſſurance of the Nuntio at *Vienna*: for acknowledgment of which religious and conſiderable ſuccour, Count *Leſlie* was diſpatched from the Imperial Court, in a private Character, to paſs thoſe Offices of grateful aeceptance, as were due to ſo high a merit and ſenſe of the Chriſtian Cauſe. But ſcarce was *Leſlie* arrived at *Venice*, before he underſtood (to his great admiration) that the holy Army was by Order of the Pope disbanded, for which no other cauſe was aſſigned, than only, that at *Rome* it was ſeriouſly debated, and in the end, it was concluded, that the expence was too great to be charged on the Eccleſiaſtical State; and that the Souldiery alſo were themſelves unwilling to be ſo far ſeparated from their own Country; all which at *Vienna* were underſtood to be frivolous pretences, and the cauſes thereof attributed to the ſiniſter Offices of a perſon ill affected to the Emperours Intereſt, by which the Pope and *Don Mario* his General, falling from their reſolutions and promiſes, Count *Leſlie* was revoked from his employment, and the Imperial Intereſt, and hopes diſappointed of ſo conſiderable a ſuccour. The Pope recals his Forces from aſſiſtance of the Emperour.

Howſoever, that the Paſtoral care might not ſeem to be altogether dormant and careleſs of the Univerſal Flock, the Pope having disbanded his Army, could not do leſs than to ſupply the defect thereof with mony; for raiſing of which, he charged the Eccleſiaſtical State through all *Italy* (the Dominions of *Venice* only excepted, whoſe Wars already with the The Pope ſupplies the Emperour with money, but not with men.

1664. Turks exempted them from farther Taxes) with an impoſition of 6. *per Cent.* of their yearly Revenue, under the notion of Tenths, or Tiths, which in all amounted to the ſum of 700 thouſand Dollars, which by Bills of Exchange, was remitted by way of *Venice* to the Imperial Court. In the mean time, the French Troops were arrived in *Hungary*, under the Command of the Count *Coligni*, which joining themſelves with the General *Montecuculi*, followed the motion of the Viziers Army. The Turks deſigned to paſs the *Danube*, for recovery of *Lewa* or *Leventz*, and in their way to deſtroy and lay deſolate the Country of Count *Badian*, and in vertue and ſtrength of that and former ſucceſſes, to paſs forward to the ſubjection of *Poſſonium* and *Vienna*. But God who diſpoſes the affairs of this World, and gives laws and bounds to the licentiouſneſs and unlimited Pride and Avarice of Mankind, took off the Wheels of the Turkiſh Chariots, and cauſed them to move ſlowly and warily, having an Eye always backwards to the Forces of *Montecuculi*, who attended them along the Banks of the River *Muer*, or *Mura*.

But whilſt theſe two great Armies marched in view of each other, the Walachian and Moldavian Forces joining with a conſiderable number of Turks and Tartars, under the Command of *Chuſaein* Paſha, reſolved to aſſault, and again to recover *Leventz*, which though ſcarce ſetled, being ſo lately taken by the Chriſtians, yet valiantly repulſed two fierce aſſaults of the Enemy, with that Courage, and Bravery, that 2000. were ſlain under the very Walls. By which time, it being the $\frac{1}{11}$ of *July*, Count *Soiſé* paſſed the *Nitra* with his Horſe and Foot, and thence haſtning his march with all expedition, he firſt Encamped at the foot of a Hill called S^t *Benet*, from whence he diſcovered the Enemies Body from the top of a Mountain, and thence approaching nearer, threw up ſome Earth and Works by the Banks of the River *Grava*; the next day having found a fordable place of the Water, *Soiſé* in leſs than two hours paſſed the groſs of his Army; which the Enemy obſerving, left their Siege, abandoned their Trenches, and diſplaid their Army in open Field, which conſiſting of 25 or 30 thouſand fighting men, appeared much more numerous than the Chriſtians. For to theſe Forces, under the Conduct of *Huſaein* Paſha of *Buda*, were joined the Paſha of *Anatolia*, and *Cidizade*, the Paſha of *Temeſwar*, four Boluchees of Spahees, and a good Force of Tartars, together with the Militia of *Moldavia*, and *Valachia*, under their reſpective Princes, which compoſed an Army, as was computed, of above 25000. men. Upon approach of *Huſaein* Paſha, the Chriſtians gave way, and retreated, intending to receive their Enemy in a larger Field, and afford an occaſion to them of greater confidence in execution of the deſign they came to act. The Turks ſuppoſing the Chriſtians to be fled for fear, with more boldneſs marched forward. And believing this retreat to proceed rather of fear than policy, continued to contemn the puſillanimity of the Chriſtians, and leſt it ſhould argue too much regard and eſteem of their Force, vouchſafed not to ſend Scouts abroad, either to view their Camp, or to prevent ſurpriſal: but ſome of their Officers wiſely conſidering, that a Souldier ought never to deſpiſe his Enemy, they were perſwaded to ſend a conſiderable Body of Horſe, to view and diſcover the Enemies Force, who in the way, meeting with a party of the Chriſtians, after a ſmall Skirmiſh put them to flight, and taking ſome Priſoners, brought them before the General; the Priſoners upon Examination confeſſed, that Count *Suſa* was fully reſolved the next Morning to

Count *Soiſé* marches to raiſe the Siege of *Leventz*.

The Turks before *Lewa*.

to give them Battel, and declared the number and courage of his Army to be such, as altered the opinion *Husaein* had conceived of the Cowardice and weakness of the Christians power; so that that whole night the Turks past with watchful and vigilant Guards; their Arms ready, and their whole Camp in a posture of defence. 1664

The next Morning being the 9th of *July*, the day breaking discovered the Christian Army at so near a distance, as that their several motions might be discerned; and putting themselves in Array for the Battel, made two Wings of Horse; each Wing consisting of 3000. Horse, the most Armed Cap-a-pe, and well provided; the Foot marched in the Body of the Army, well appointed and fitted with all sorts of Ammunition and Arms, and so raised with chearful Courages, as rendered them in appearance to the Turks, a Warlike and formidable Army. The Turks likewise drew themselves into Battalia, desirous to try the fortune of the day; the right Wing was Commanded by the Prince of *Valachia*, and the left by the Prince of *Moldavia*. The Body of the Army was composed of Turks and Tartars, almost all Horse, except 2 or 3000 Janizaries, sent as an Auxiliary Force from *Newhausel*, and *Strigonium*. These two Armies thus ranged in a posture of defiance, stood in view each of other, until *Husaein* Commanded his men to pass the Marsh or Fen, which was between them and the Chtistians: but several would have perswaded him the contrary, lest the success of the day not proving to expectation, the Marsh should be a disadvantage to their flight, and an occasion of greater slaughter in the pursuit: to which *Husaein* Couragiously answered, That men who would Conquer were to look forward, and not behind them; those that would save their lives by flight, were fit to perish in it; and that for his part, he was resolved to cut off all hopes of safety from his Army, but what consisted in their Swords, and Victory over their Enemies. The Turks having thus passed the Marsh, made a halt and faced the Christians until Noon; who moved not a foot from their ground, that so they might obtain the advantage of the Sun; which in the Morning being in their Faces, would upon declining be an offence unto the Turks. In the mean time, no question but both Generals made their Orations to their Souldiers, encouraging them to fight in defence of their Faith and Religion, of their Countries Glory and Safety; suggested with those Arguments and Rhetorick, as was agreeable to the principles and condition of both parties; and which we may well suppose according to the Licence of Historians, to have been in these words, or to this effect.

The Christian Army put themselves into Battalia.

The Speech of Count *Susa* to his Army.

When I see, and consider before us (Fellow Souldiers) those Enemies who are the object of our fury and rage, I conceive words more necessary to moderate the heat of your anger, so as to fight with discretion, rather than to raise your Spirits to that height of Warlike Courage, in which consists the safety and glory of this days Fortune. For these are they, who lately in cool blood against the Laws of Arms and Nations, unhumanly butchered our Countrymen and Kindred, and made no difference between Captives of War, and Malefactors, but like Thieves, and Murderers, sentenced brave men to death, who had no other crime, than that they unhappily fought in defence of their Country. These are they, who in the very times of peace, consume your

1664. *Borders, and rob your Markets; and whose Capitulations of Peace, make yet all acts of hostility lawful: These are the grand Enemies and despisers of the Cross of Christ; against whom whosoever dies, is both a Conquerour and a Martyr. This Army before your Eyes, consists in part of* Moldavian, *and* Valachian *Christians, forced to this War by compulsion, not of choice; the rest are either Turks educated in the softness of* Asia, *or Tartars who never made advantage by Battle, but by flight; these are they with whom you have this day to contend before the Walls of* Lewa, *where many of your Wives, and Children, and Friends, are immured, and are Spectators of your Vertue and Courage: Let us therefore valiantly address our selves to this Battle, on the success of which the fortune of* Hungary *and* Germany *depends.*

The Speech of *Husaein* Pasha to his Souldiers.

WHilst our General the Grand Vizier is so successful in his Arms abroad, having subdued the strong Fortresses of Oywar *and* Serinswar, *and struck a terrour and amazement to all the Enemies of our formidable Emperour; let not us be unactive, or want our share in the renown and fame of triumph and Victory. I shall not need to put you in mind of the glorious exploits of your Ancestors, whose Valour and Vertue, which formed this vast Empire round about us, you ought now to imitate, and give the World new proofs, how emulous you are to exceed the Courage and bravery of former times. The other divisions of the Ottoman Power have contended hitherto with their Enemies on unequal terms, and droven them forth from their shelters of Trenches and Bulwarks; but here you have an open Field to fight, nothing between you and the naked Breasts of your Enemies; we stand in equal numbers and terms with them; nothing can win the day but only Valour, and nothing lose it but meer Cowardice. These are the shattered Companies we have expelled last Year from* Oywar, *and the Companions of those, whose Bodies and Heads we have heaped before* Strigonium: *should we submit to be subdued by these, whom our* Osmanlees *have so often Conquered; we should not only stain our selves with the highest infamy and shame, but give a turn to the Universal Fortune of the Ottoman Arms.*

By this time it was Noon, and the Sun turning it self from the Christian to the Turkish Army, a Warning piece was fired from the Christian Camp, at which sign their whole Army began to advance, and with chearfullness to approach the Turks, who stood ready to receive them. At the first onset the Christians poured a plentiful Volly of shot on the Turks and Tartars, which composed the main body; at which immediately they put themselves to flight, leaving the two Wings to an unequal Battel, who resisted not long before they followed the example of their Companions, leaving their Baggage and Cannon, with the honour of the day, unto the Christians; who in the pursuit slew the Turks without compassion or resistance; filling the Fields with dead Bodies, and the Rivers with blood, until Night which is the shelter of the distressed, gave a stop to their farther slaughter: such as escaped betook themselves to *Strigonium*, where they were refused either passage over the Water or Provisions, or any other refuge or entertainment after their wearisome flight; for *Strigonium* it self was judged now in danger, and the next attempt after the foregoing Victory, and therefore there was no reason or policy to unfurnish themselves of necessary provisions to supply or relieve a dis-

Husaein Pasha routed and fled.

Refuge denied them at *Strigonium*.

a discouraged and cowed Army. Whereupon the Moldavians, and Valachians, finding themselves half famished, forced their Princes to return home, being glad of the occasion to acquit themselves of the Turkish Wars, in which they were used more like Slaves than Souldiers. The Princes though sensible of the danger this unlicensed departure, and desertion of the Wars might bring upon their persons, were yet necessitated to yield to the violence and mutiny of their Souldiery: in their march homewards they encountred no difficulties or opposition, unless at the *Tibiscus*, where a small number of Turks would have denied them passage, but were soon dispersed by the Sword of the resolved Souldiery, who having conducted their Princes to their usual Courts, made an end betimes of this Years Campagna. *Husacin* Pasha in the mean time, being denied entrance at *Strigonium*, fled to *Newhausel*, where his presence was most acceptable for reinforcement of that Garrison, which now was in some danger of being recovered by the Christians. Of the Turks were killed in this Fight 6000, of the Christians 150; none of Quality, excepting one *Kovari*, a worthy and stout Hungarian Captain; 4000 Carts were taken, laden with all sorts of Provision and Ammunition for War; about 100 Colours, and a great number of Tents, and Arms of all sorts; twelve pieces of Cannon, about 1000 Horse, and 140 Camels, straying in the Fields, without care of Keepers, or Riders, with great Droves of Cattle of all sorts, and other good booty and spoil, which remained as a reward to the Conquerour. The number of Prisoners was not great, by reason that the Souldiery, in heat of the pursuit, and in revenge of the Turks Cruelty towards the Garrison of *Komar* the less, whom lately in a barbarous Cruelty they had put to the Sword, were wholly inclined to slaughter and destruction, only about 700 Moldavians, and Valachians, were spared until they came in sight of *Strigonium*, where they erected several Gibbets, and hanged them thereupon, with their Muskets about their Necks, requiting (as they supposed) part of the Viziers Cruelty, and executing part of Gods Justice upon those who profess the name of Christ, and yet fight under the Banner of *Mahomet*.

1664

The Moldavians and Valachians return home.

Soisé animated with the foregoing success, designed to attempt *Barcan* a Palancha opposite on the other side of the *Danube* to *Strigonium*, and to that end embarked ten thousand five hundred of his men on four Gallies, and forty Galliots, carrying the Teutonick Colours, in regard that that religious Order had amply contributed towards the building of those Vessels, when they were on the Stocks in the Arsenal of *Vienna*. The Souldiers were so fleshed with the former Victory, that nothing seemed difficult or hazardous; so that Count *Marfet*, without Orders of the General, rashly in a Bravado fell in upon the Town, without any advantage of earth, or other shelter, but with open Breasts exposed himself and Souldiers to all dangers; but the attempt being too difficult, he was, in fine, shot through both the Cheeks, and forced to retire with loss and disreputation: This attempt was seconded by the Duke of *Holsatia*, and his Infantry, who bringing some small pieces of Cannon to the very Palizadoes, began to batter the houses, during which about a hundred and fifty Janisaries made a vigorous Sally, but were repulsed with a sufficient loss, so that the Christians making good their ground, brought up and planted four Cannons, and two Mortar Pieces, and firing at the same time some Granadoes, so plyed their work, that the Inhabitants looking

Soisé assaults *Barcan*.

1664. looking on their condition as desperate, gave fire themselves to their Wooden Buildings, passed the Bridge, and recovered *Strigonium*. The Town thus abandoned, the Christians had no difficulty to get possession, but entering quietly in, seized what was remaining of value, and adding to the flames, by other fires, in a few hours reduced all to Ashes; which being done, *Soisé* marched back to *Komorra*, to refresh his men, and take Counsel what ought to be the next design and enterprize to be taken in hand. And here for a while was a pause, or full point of the actions of *Soisé*, who not wanting Adversaries in the Imperial Court, emulous of his happiness and fortune, instilled such suspicions and scruples into the mind of the Emperour and Council, as caused *Soisé* to give up his Commission, that he might seek a life private, and free from the evil tongues of the envious, until afterwards his Vertues dispersing those malignant Clouds, he was restored to the good opinion of his Cesarean Majesty, and honoured with the Charge and Command of the strong Fortress of *Komorra*, where I my self had once the honour to make him a Visit, and was courteously received by him. This ill success of the Pasha of *Buda* arrived the Viziers ears, whilst he was attempting to pass the River *Rab*, in which were many difficulties, in regard the Banks were defended by the Christian Palanchas, which in every adventure cut off considerable numbers of men. At which loss of men, and time, and the ill success near *Lewa*, the Vizier being greatly moved, made another attempt on the 27th of *July*; advancing with the Gross of his Army as far as *Kemend*, where the River runs narrow and shallow, but by the valour of the Hungarians, Germans, and French conducted by General *Montecuculi*, an Italian born, were repulsed with some Slaughter.

Barcan burnt.

The Turks with part of their Army pass the *Rab*.

On the first of *August*, the Turks made another considerable attempt, having planted Guns on the Banks of the River, which shot into the Christian Camp, and passed over in one place six thousand Janisaries and Albanians, and near a Village called *Chiesfalo*, where the water was narrow and shallow, very considerable numbers of Horse crouded over. At which formidable sight, the Christians collecting their Forces together, retreated to a more spacious place, where might be open Field sufficient for both Armies to draw up and join Battel. About half the Army having now passed the Water, the other part, in which was the Vizier, remained still on the other side, intending the next Morning to follow and advance to the Body, which was gone before; but it happened, by Gods Providence, that that very Night there fell such a Deluge of Rain, as immediately made the River to swell above its Banks, and become altogether unpassable without a Bridge or Floats; so that the Turkish Army being now divided by the Waters, were uncapable of yielding any sudden assistance each to the other. Howsoever, the Vizier judging that that Part of his Army which had already passed, was an equal Match for the Christians, entertained not the least diffidence of good success, at least supposed they might be able to decline a Battel, until by abatement of the waters (which could not be long at that Season of the Year) he were enabled to pass, and join his main Body with them; and therefore full of hope and confidence, having at first discomfited the forlorn hope of the Christians, which consisted of a thousand men, dispatched immediately Messengers to acquaint the Grand Signior of his success and passage, which News he

The *Rab* swells with immoderate Rains.

knew

knew would be the more grateful, becauſe the Grand Signior by daily Letters and Commands urged him to proceed in his March, and not to ſuffer the impediment of a narrow Ditch to be an interruption to the whole Ottoman Force, which in former times was not reſtrained by the depth or breadth of the Ocean. The Grand Signior having received this Intelligence, as if the intire Victory and Triumph over the World conſiſted in the paſſage over the *Rab*, was tranſported with ſuch an extraordinary joy and aſſurance of Victory, that to anticipate the good News a ſolemn Feſtival was ordained for the ſpace of ſeven days, and ſeven nights, called by the Turks *Dunalma*; in which time the whole nights were made light with Lamps and Candles, and made chearful with great Guns, Vollies of Muskets, Sound of Drums and Trumpets, revellings and what other Solemnities might teſtifie joy and triumph. But ſcarce three Nights of this vain Dream had paſſed, before the Grand Signior awakened by intelligence, contrary to his aſſured expectation, of the Defeat and Deſtruction of a conſiderable Part of the Viziers Army, ſhamefully commanded the Lights to be extinguiſhed, and the remaining four Nights deſigned for Joy, to be converted to Melancholy and Darkneſs: And though the raſhneſs and vain fancy of the Governors was the ſole cauſe of this precipitate mirth, yet as great men love always to charge their errours and follies on the ſhoulders of others, ſo the Sultan accuſed the Chimacham, through falſe Information, to have been the Authour of this ſhameful Decree; and in that fury, calling the Executioner, had certainly taken off his head, had not his young Minion, or Favourite, now called *Kul Ogli* (promoted to the Preferment of *Aſan*, before mentioned) with much earneſtneſs and Prayers interceded for his Life. 1664.

The Turks vain joy.

Signifies the Son of a *Kul*, or Slave.

And indeed this Joy and Triumph was ſo much more ridiculous and ſhameful, by how much more fatal and deſtructive was the enſuing Event. For the Turks being now got over the River, had not, at firſt, time enough given them to caſt up Earth, but were forced by the Chriſtians to an Engagement; For the Chriſtian Army was drawn into Battalia to receive them. The right Wing conſiſted of the Auſtrian Forces, commanded by *Montecuculi* himſelf; The Left was formed of the Confederates of the *Rhine*, commanded by Count *Olac*, to which was adjoined forty Troops of the French Cavalry, conducted by Monſieur *Coligni*, and the main Body was commanded by the Marſhal General Marquis *Buda*, which compoſed a very formidable Body, and aſſailed the Turks with extraordinary Valour; the Fight was very furious, and began about nine a Clock in the morning on the third of *Auguſt*, and continued till four in the Afternoon with variable fortune; during which time the Waters being abated, the Spahees paſſed over in ſeveral places, and charged the left Wing of the Chriſtians, and in other places they made attempts, only to divert the Army, whilſt the Janiſaries threw up Earth to ſecure a paſſage for the reſt; which when the Chriſtians eſpied they at firſt reſolved to ſound a Retreat, but afterwards, perceiving that the Trench was but newly begun, *Montecuculi* drawing up the Body of the Army into a half Moon, attacked the Janiſaries on all ſides with that fury, ordering the Bodies of Horſe to contend with the Spahees; that the Turks now faintly fighting began to give ground to their Enemies, at which inſtant turn of Fortune, an outcry was heard, That *Serini* on the other ſide had ſet on the Viziers Camp; which ſo animated

the

1664. the Christians, and terrified the Turks, that the latter began to give back, and put themselves to shameful flight, leaving dead upon the Place eight thousand of their Companions, and the Glory of the Day to the Christians. The Turks, who always fly disorderly, not knowing the Art of a handsome Retreat, crouded in Heaps to pass the River, the Horse trampling over the Foot, and the Foot throwing themselves headlong into the Water, without consideration of the depth, or choice of Places fordable; those sinking catching hold on others who could swim, sunk down, and perished together; others were carried away by the rapidness of the Stream, and both Men and Horse were carried down the River, and swallowed up in deeper Places: the Water was died with Blood, and the whole face of the River was covered with Men, Horse, Garments, all swimming promiscuously together; no difference was here between the Valiant and the Cowardly, the Foolish and the Wise, Counsel and Chance, all being involved in the same violence of Calamity, *non vox & mutui hortatus juvabant adversante undâ, nihil strenuus ab ignavo, sapiens à prudenti, consilia à casu differre, cuncta pari violentiâ involvebantur*; so that the Waters devoured a far greater number than the Sword, whilst the Vizier standing on the other side of the River, was able to afford no kind of help or relief, but as one void of Counsel and Reason, knew not how nor where to apply a remedy. This defeat though in Christendom not greatly boasted, by reason that the destruction of the Turks, which was most considerable by the Water, was partly concealed to them, yet the Turks acknowledge that Ruine and Slaughter to have been of a far greater number than what the Christian Diaries relate, confessing that since the time that the Ottoman Empire arrived to this greatness, no Stories make mention of any Slaughter or Disgrace it hath suffered to be equal unto the calamity and dishonour of this. On the Turks side were slain that day, *Ishmael* the late Pasha of *Buda*, and Kimacham of *Constantinople*, by a shot from the Enemy passing the Water; the Spaheelar Agasee, or General of the Spahees; the Janisar Aga, the younger Son of the Tartar *Han*, and several other Pashaws; *Alibegh*, General of *Bosna*, thirty Capugibashees, five and thirty Pages of the Vizier's and three hundred of his Guard, five thousand Janisaries, three thousand Spahees, fifteen hundred Bosnacks, eight hundred Albanians, six hundred Croats and Hungarians of the Turks Subjects, two hundred and fifty Valachians and Moldavians, six hundred Tartars, of *Anatolia* fifteen hundred, and about four thousand other Asiaticks, from the farthest parts of the Turks Dominions, Eastward; so that in all we may account seventen thousand slain on the Turks side; besides which were taken sixteen pieces of Cannon, a hundred and twenty six Colours, with the Standard of the Viziers Guard, five thousand Cemiters, most of which were embossed with Silver, and some beset with Jewels, with many Horses, of which six were sent as a Present to the Vizier. Of the Christians were slain near three thousand Men; those of note were, The Count *Nassau*, Count *Charles* of *Bracondorf*, Captain of the Guards to Count *Montecuculi*, Count *Fuchier* General of the Artillery of the Empire, Colonel *Pleiter*, with his Lieutenant Colonel and Serjeant Major, and with many other Gentlemen of the French Nation, who deserve forever to be chronicled for their Vertue and Valour. For herein the French Nation ought not to lose their just praise, having made proofs of their Valour, as well in this, as in other Battels, it being reported,

That

The defeat given the Turkish Army by the River *Rab.*

Tac. lib. 1.

The slain on the Turks side. 17000

17000 Turks slain

That Monsieur *Coligni* their General, killed thirty Turks with his own hand. 1664.

The News of this Victory being posted to *Vienna*, it is wonderful to consider with what Applauses, with what Honours, with what Encomiums the Fame of *Montecuculi* was celebrated; for besides the Triumphs, with Fires, sounding of Bells, Banquets, and other demonstrations of solemn Joy; the Glory of *Montecuculi* was the Theme of every Ballad sung in the corners of streets; which Honors of the Commonalty were seconded by greater and more substantial of the Imperial Court, who conferred upon him the Title of Lieutenant General of the whole Army, a Dignity so eminent, as is inferiour to none, except the Emperour, in order of the Militia; and was not without some scruple granted to the Archduke *Leopold* by his Brother *Ferdinand* the Third; and withheld from *Piccolomini* Duke of *Amalfi*, until he had highly merited it, and made his way to it through bloody fields, where Providence first crowned him with Laurels of Success and Victory.

And here is just occasion for us to doubt, why *Montecuculi* should be thus admired and loaded with Honours, whilst the services of *Serini* and *Soisé* were so far from being taken notice of, that they seemed to effect the disgrace and ruine of these Worthies, rather than to produce the favour of their Prince, and the applause of their Country, the natural Rewards of Valour and Vertue. And indeed I cannot but confess, I my self have wondred, when in the Court of *Vienna* I have heard the Actions and Zeal of *Serini* so slightly spoken of or contemned, when a Stranger took the liberty but to descant on his actions, and to vent any thing which but savoured of his commendations. The reason of which I adventure to assign unto two causes. The first is, that Antipathy or natural aversion the Germans have to the Hungarians and Croatians, these endeavouring to maintain the Priviledges of a People, who have a free liberty of the Election of their Prince; whilst the others desirous to take occasion to weaken and impoverish them, would necessitate them to yield their Kingdom to the Emperour by an hereditary Right. The second is, the fury of *Serini* and *Soisé*, whose zeal without consideration of irritating the Turk, or fear of moving the passion of the Lyon beyond the terms of an easie pacification, transported them to commit all damage and ruine, which are the just concomitants of War; which rage seemed over-violent to the Court at *Vienna*, and not to suit with the present Policy of the War, which was designed to be carried on rather in a defensive than in an offensive posture; imagining perhaps, that the good nature of the Turk might be complemented into Peace, and that gentleness and generosity might have the same effect upon them, as it had upon *Saul*, when *David* had his life at his mercy, and yet spared him: according to which counsels of the Court, *Montecuculi* squaring every particular of his motions, and thereunto adding success, mounted on the wings of Fame, and had his Glory celebrated without diminutions; but the hot and zealous temper of *Serini*, which Souldier-like understood nothing but down-right blows, knew not how to use that moderation and caution, which the Imperial Court judged an ingredient so requisite to the prudent management of the present War, that he was esteemed uncapable of command, who had not discretion enough to practise it: and this was the true reason that *Serini* was discountenanced, and that his Command was taken from him, and that his Appeal to the Court was

Reasons why the Services of *Montecuculi* were accepted better than those of *Serini*.

1664. without redreſs: howſoever in regard that the Fame he had won carried him high in the eſteem of all Chriſtendom, he was entertained with hopes and fair promiſes; and even after the very Battle of *Rab*, nothing was more commonly diſcourſed than the giving *Nicholas Serini* a command independent of any other General: but in the end it proved nothing but vain Propoſals to humor the fancy of *Serini* himſelf, and to ſatisfie the World, which admired, a perſon ſo qualified and deſerving as he, ſhould be made a ſubject of ſo much diſgrace and neglect.

With this News the Turks remained greatly aſhamed and dejected, having but two days before demonſtrated exceſſes of joy, congratulated the happy News one to the other, and after their manner ſent Preſents abroad, derided the Chriſtians upon the News, exprobriated them with a thouſand injuries, and applauded their own Vertue, Valour, and the righteouſneſs of their Cauſe and Religion: but on a ſudden Intelligence coming contrary to their expectations, ſuch a dampneſs fell upon their ſpirits, that for ſome days there was a deep ſilence of all News at *Conſtantinople*; they that the day before ſought for Chriſtians to communicate to them the Miracles of their Victory, now avoided their Company, aſhamed of their too forward joy, and the liberty they had taken to contemn and deride the low condition of the Chriſtian Camp. And now the ill News not being able longer to be concealed, Prayers and Humiliation were appointed publickly to be made at all the great Moſchs of *Conſtantinople* and *Adrianople*, where all Emaums with their young Scholars were commanded to reſort, and ſing certain Prayers appointed for ſuch occaſions.

Sedition in the Turkiſh Camp.

The minds of the Souldiery after this defeat were very much diſcompoſed, tending more to ſedition than obedience. Every one took licence to ſpeak loudly and openly his opinion, that the War was commenced upon unjuſt and unlawful grounds. That the total Eclipſe of the Moon which portends always misfortunes to the Turks, ſhould have cauſed more caution in the Commanders in ingaging the Armies this year, until the malignancy of that Influence had been over-paſſed. All generally accuſed the firſt Vizier as the Author and ill Manager of the War, *Iniquiſſima bellorum conditio eſt, proſpera omnes ſibi vendicant, adverſa uni imputantur*, and calling to mind the ſolemn Oath with which Sultan *Solyman* confirmed his Capitulations with the Emperour, particularly vowing never to paſs the *Rab*, or place where the Turks received their defeat, without a ſolid and reaſonable ground of War, concluded that this Invaſion was a violation of the Vow, and an injury to the ſacred Memory of that fortunate Sultan, and therefore that all Enterpriſes and Attempts of this War would be fatal and deſtructive to the Muſſulmen or Believers, and the end diſhonourable to the Empire.

Tac. in Vitâ Agricola.

This opinion was rooted with much ſuperſtition and ſtrength of fancy in the minds of the Vulgar: and the rumors in the Camp that the Vizier upon a falſe Alarm of the approach of the Enemy towards his Quarters, had commanded the Army to retreat, adminiſtred fury and courage to the Chriſtians, and fear and amazement to his own; from which errour and timidity was occaſioned that ſlaughter which enſued; on which diſcourſes and reports dangerous diſcontents daily increaſing in the hearts of the ſouldiery, it is thought, they would have vented their paſſion, and revenge on their General, had he not at a publick Aſſembly of all the Heads and Commanders of the Army cleared himſelf freely, by charging the miſcarriage

of

of all upon the Grand Signior, having acted nothing but with Authority of the Imperial Command, promising with as much speed as honour and safety would permit, by agreement and composition of Peace to bring the War to a conclusion. And this contrivance and art was that (as is supposed) which for the present secured his life; for the Souldiery were greatly terrified and possessed with a dread of the Christians, and amazement upon every Alarm. For the old and experienced Commanders and Veterane Souldiers were either destroyed by the secret Proscriptions of the Vizier *Kuperlee*, or slain in the Engagements of this Year, and the Asian Spahees and other Souldiers having wives and children, and possessions to look after, were grown poor, and desired nothing more than in peace and quietness to return to their homes: so that nothing could come more grateful to this Camp, no largesses or donatives could pacifie the minds of the Souldiery more than the promises and expectations of a Peace. 1664.

The Grand Signiors hunting at *Yamboli*.

The Sultan during these disturbances and misfortunes was preparing for a hunting Journey to an obscure Village called *Yamboli*, about three or four days travel from *Adrianople*, designing to drive all those vast Woods along the Black Sea for Game, where he had a small ruinous Seraglio. The Queen-Mother, the Chimacam, with all the Court, were to accompany him. The Equipage and Pomp he went in perswaded many, that the design of that Journey was grounded on other causes of Policy, than what were generally penetrated: some conceived, that the Vizier contrived his Journey thither, to divert him from opportunities of receiving Intelligence from Spahees, and others of the true state of the Camp, and management of Affairs: others judged it might be to avoid in that obscure place the mutinous seditions of the Souldiery. On what consideration soever it might be, the Grand Signior having spent some time abroad, returned again to *Adrianople* with all his Retinue, without doing any thing more important than killing great numbers of wild Beasts, and ennobling those Wildernesses and Woods about *Yamboli* with the fame of his renowned Hunting. *Keblelee* Pasha being slain (as we have said) before *Serinswar*, who was Husband to the Viziers Sister, the Vizier bestowed the Widow on *Husacin* Pasha of *Silistria*. And much about the same time the Grand Signior considering that his own Sister, by the death of her old Husband *Ishmael* Pasha, slain in the last Battle, led a single life, conferred her in Marriage upon the old *Mahomet* Pasha, whom before we have related to have been *Kahya* to the Vizier, late Pasha of *Darbaquier*, and now of *Aleppo*, who as an Honour charged with a weight of troubles and other inconveniences, seemed thankfully to receive her; and though he was a man of ninety years of age, and had long since forgot the solaces of the bridal Bed, yet according to the custom of Marriage with a Sultana, he was ingaged to divorce his former Wife, with whom he had past the summer and winter of his age, and as a constant Husband, was still uxorious in his love. So that in the midst of Wars, where some found Graves, others found Marriage-beds, and reason of State found a Vacation to conjoyn *Mars* and *Venus* without interruption of ruder Enterprises.

The Great Vizier after his defeat marched to *Stultweissenburg* or *Alba Regalis*, to recruit and refresh his Army, and expect the Recruit of the Pasha of *Aleppo*, who was said to bring with him about eight thousand Souldiers.

1664. From *Stultweiſſenburg* the Turks, with the groſs of their Army, returned to *Strigonium*, and here the Vizier not unmindful of the ſhameful flight, and rebellious return of the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia* to their own Countries without his order or permiſſion, ſent one Meſſenger after the other in great haſte and fury after the Turkiſh manner, to recal thoſe Princes to the War, and that laying aſide all excuſes whatſoever, they ſhould immediately, with what Forces they could collect, repair again to the Camp. The Princes weary of the War, and fearful of the Viziers evil intentions to take away their lives, endeavoured to excuſe their flight, alledging, that their People would not obey, or follow them to the Wars in any conſiderable numbers, and that now it being the end of the Summer, new Levies would be of great expence, and of little benefit, and diſenable them from paying their yearly Tribute; of which (notwithſtanding their conſumption of Treaſure in the laſt Expedition) they were like to find no eaſe or relaxation, though a burden too great for their haraſſed and impoveriſhed Country to ſupport. But theſe excuſes were no arguments to reſolved Turks, ſo that Commands came doubled and trebled one after the other full of threats and menaces, to march forward with what Forces they could collect, the Meſſengers aſſuring them, That there was no deſign prepared againſt them by the Vizier, but what was friendly and of good intention. At length the Princes not able to remain longer without a cenſure of Rebellion to the Port, with heavy hearts and light purſes ſet forwards with about fifteen hundred men apiece, ſending before ſuch ſums of Money and Preſents, as they hoped might mollifie and prepare their acceſs to the Vizier, whilſt they themſelves marched ſlowly, to afford longer time to the operation of this Phyſick. The Prince of *Valachia* had intruſted about forty thouſand Zaichins to an Officer of his called his Veſtiario or Maſter of his Wardrobe, whom he had ſent before him, therewith to make his acceſs eaſie and ſafe to the Vizier: of whoſe faith that he might aſſure himſelf the better, he made him ſwear before the Holy Altar, and take the Communion thereupon, that he would be faithful and active in this Negotiation. The Veſtiario thus departing, added to his religious Vows, common promiſes and proteſtations; but no ſooner was he a few miles diſtant from his Maſter, before he tired in his Vows, and altered his road from the Vizier to the way leading to *Conſtantinople*, declaring as he went, That his Prince was become Rebel, and was fled, and that he, not to be Partner in his perfidiouſneſs, was haſting to *Conſtantinople*, there to give evidence of his faith and ſubmiſſion to the Turks. This unexpected news coming to the Prince, cauſed him to deſpair of all ſecurity and reconciliation with the Vizier, and force him by flight to make good the words of his treacherous Servant; ſo that taking with him his Wife and remainder of his Wealth, paſſed through *Tranſylvania* with much difficulty, and at length arrived within the Emperours Territories, reſolving to exchange an inconſtant and dangerous Principality for a more ſecure and private courſe of life. But this impious Greek did not reſt quiet with his ill acquired Eſtate without receiving diſturbance from the Boiars or Nobles of the Country; and *Stridia Bei* the new-made Prince, juſtly accuſing him for having robbed the Publick Treaſury, extorted from him the ſum of 150000 Dollars towards his Inveſtment in the Principality, and eaſe of the Country, which was now wracked for payment of old debts, and the growing charges of the new Prince. And thus

Vizier ſends for the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*.

The Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia* recalled to the Wars.

Fides Græca, or the honeſty of a Greek.

thus much of the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*. 1664.

At *Strigonium* great were the Conſultations, what courſe was to be taken: The Chriſtians were now Maſters of the Field, and the Turks diſcouraged, and now the Summer was ſo far ſpent, that it was too late to think of recovering their reputation that year with the hazard of a Battel. So that at length it was reſolved to unite the ſhattered Forces of *Chuſrein* Paſha, lately defeated by Count *Suſa*, to the Army of the Vizier, and attend to ſecure *Oywar* or *Newhauſel* with Proviſions, Ammunition, and Reinforcement of that Garriſon, whereby this War might conclude with ſome Trophies of advance, and inlargement of the Ottoman Borders, which in all their Wars is the deſign and Maxime of the Turks. So that marching thither, they gathered and collected all the Proviſions poſſible, and having ſupplied the Garriſon, they returned again to *Strigonium* with all expedition, retaining ſtill impreſſions of terrour from the late ill ſucceſs. And that they might march with leſs impediment, they ſent their Artillery and heavy Baggage down the *Danube*: ſuch was the fear of the Turkiſh Army at preſent, that it is ſuppoſed, had the Chriſtians eagerly purſued their Victory, they had not only defeated the whole Turkiſh Force with little oppoſition, but alſo without any impediment marched to the very Walls of *Buda*.

But what infatuation ſoever blinded the Chriſtian Counſels, little or no advantage was taken, as if the deſign of the Emperour had only been to repel the Enemy from his Borders, or that he feared to irritate the Turks with a too inveterate and pertinacious proſecution of his Victories. Inſtead of which the Vizier making ſome Overtures of Peace, and evidencing the reality of his intentions by his Preſents of a Veſt of Sables, and a Horſe richly furniſhed, with which he flattered and careſſed the German Reſident, the Articles were accepted and embraced at *Vienna* with much greedineſs, and the Peace almoſt wholly concluded and clapped up in a moment, to the aſtoniſhment of the whole World. But as matters of this nature cannot ſucceed without juſt and due conſiderations, ſo on both ſides certain cauſes concurred which inclined and diſpoſed things to an accommodation. For on the Turks part there wanted not ſuch in the Ottoman Court, who emulous of the Grand Viziers fortune and charge, endeavoured to remove him from the favour of his Prince, by accuſing him in many particulars of negligence, and imprudence in the conduct of his Affairs. To anſwer which, his return with the Olive-branch of Peace in his mouth, and yet the Laurels of Conqueſt on his head, having added ſo conſiderable a Fortreſs as *Newhauſel* to the Dominions of the Empire, and demoliſhment of *Serinſwar*, the Original cauſe of the War, were a ſufficient conviction of the evil accuſations of his Adverſaries, and an argument irreſiſtible, when inforced by the Authority of his own Preſence. On the Emperours ſide, the demand of the City of *Erfurt* by the Elector of *Mentz* ſituated on his Confines, at a time of ſo much exigency as this, and ſeconded by hopes of aſſiſtance from *France*, and the Hans Towns on the *Rhyne*, whereby it was probable great turbulences might reſult, inclined the Emperour with much reaſon to Propoſals of Peace; Inſtructions for which being conveyed to the Reſident then in the Turkiſh Camp from the Cæſarean Court, after a ſhort Treaty the Articles were agreed and concluded, as followeth.

The reaſons which inclined both Parties to Peace.

Firſt, That *Tranſylvania* remain with its ancient Limits and Priviledges under the Command of Prince *Michael Apaſi*.

Secondly,

1664. Secondly, That the Emperour of *Germany* have liberty to fortifie both *Gutta* and *Nitra*.

Thirdly, That the Turks ſhall not alter or innovate any thing on the Confines of *Hungary*, or any other part bordering on the Emperor.

Fourthly, That *Apaſi* pay ſix hundred thouſand Dollars to the Ottoman Port for expences of the War.

Fifthly, That all Acts of Hoſtility between the Emperour, and the Grand Signior, and their Subjects for ever ceaſe.

Sixthly, That the two Provinces of *Zatmar* and *Zaboli*, granted to *Ragotzki* by his Imperial Majeſty during life, return again to the Emperour, to which neither the Prince of *Tranſilvania*, much leſs the Ottoman Port, ſhall ever pretend.

Seventhly, That the ſtrong Caſtle of *Zechelhyd*, which revolted from the Emperor, be demoliſhed, in regard neither Party will relinquiſh his Right thereunto.

Eighthly, That *Varadin* and *Newhauſel* remain to the Turk, having conquered them by force of their own Armes.

Ninthly, That for confirmation of this Peace, Ambaſſadours be interchangeably ſent with Preſents of equal value.

On theſe Terms (of which none ſeems diſadvantageous to the Chriſtian Intereſt, unleſs the fourth Article, the diſhonour of which ſeems to be covered with the name of *Apaſi*, though the ſcore was paid by the Emperour) the Peace was eſtabliſhed, and the Vizier, as a beginning thereof, gave liberty to many Chriſtian Captives, ſome whereof were of Quality, and Proclamation was made through all the Confines for a Ceſſation of Armes. Howſoever, ſome petty matters remained undecided, which were deferred until the Arrival of an extraordinary Ambaſſadour, who was to exchange with the Turks another Ambaſſadour in the Month of *May* following; and in the mean time ſuſpenſion of Armes, and all other Hoſtilities was confirmed. At which News all ſorts of People amongſt the Turks were greatly rejoyced, and the Publication thereof the more welcome, by how much the more unexpected. Whereby we may obſerve the alteration of that ancient Martial diſpoſition, which was natural to this Empire, which whilſt it was exerciſed in War, grew hardy, active and inured to warlike exerciſe, but now through Idleneſs and want of War (except the Venetian, which affords the Souldiery no conſiderable employment) their minds became reſty, wearied with one year and a halfs labour, and dejected with the unproſperous ſucceſs of one Summer.

The Hungarians oppoſe the Peace.

But what Conſiderations ſoever the Emperour might have to conclude this Peace, the Hungarians were highly diſſatisfied with it, becauſe it was founded on their proper loſs; and that *Newhauſel* was given for a price of the common quiet, which none but themſelves paid, and yet all *Germany* enjoyed the benefit. That that Town was an appendage to the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and to which the Emperour having only the claim (as they pretended) of an Elective Prince, could not diſmember any part without conſent of the States thereof; and this poſition they maintained with that heat and fury, that they declared themſelves diſobliged from obſervation of the Articles, reſolving to vindicate their own right in deſpight of all oppoſition whatſoever; and that ſince the Emperour had undertaken their Protection he was bound to aſſert their freedom, and defend their Cities, even with the expence

expence of his own Treasury, and at the hazard of his own hereditary Possessions. But to these exorbitant Demands the Emperours Council replyed with these following reasons and moderation; That they themselves were the first Beginners and Promoters of this War; That His Majesty at their instance and request condescended to protect them as Subjects, not only with draining of his own Exchequer, and blood of his Patrimonial Dominions, but with the charge of hired and mercenary Strangers. In the mean time what assistance had the Hungarians brought to this War or to their own defence? What Contributions did they ever make? What Forces did they ever unite in the Field by a general assent of their whole Kingdom? Notwithstanding his Majesty was ready to continue the War, could they themselves propose either a safe way for the maintenance of it, or that the present Conjuncture did not offer honourable Conditions of a happy Composure? Moreover, That the King of *Spain*, his Uncle, and Father in Law, being aged and decrepit, leaving no other Heir than an infirm and sickly Child, to support the charge and weight of all his Kingdoms, it was requisite that at such a time as this, he should be free from all incumbrances, either to assist the Infant in Administration of the Government, or to assert his own Rights (if so it should please God) in the Succession. And that now, since a Treaty was on foot for Election of a Successour to the Kingdom of *Poland*, it was necessary for His Imperial Majesty to bear his part in that Transaction; but above all, it was considerable, That the common Enemy being rich and powerful, God had seemed to put his Victory into their hands to no other end than to improve it unto a Peace, which being at this time neglected, the best that could ensue would be the miseries of War, which turning on the inconstant Wheel of Fortune with variety of successes, is always attended with Slaughter, Captivity, Fire, Sword, and a thousand other Calamities. These, and such like reasons, moderated and mollified the exasperate spirits of the Hungarians, so that they seemed to acquiesce and be satisfied, and making a Vertue of Necessity, had patience where there was no other remedy.

1664.

The Emperors Reasons for a Peace.

The sudden News of this unexpected peace did in like manner affect the French King, and the States of the Empire, judging it unreasonable for them to be interested in the War, and yet unconcerned in the Conclusion of the Peace. Howsoever, things being well represented, and as well received and understood; his Most Christian Majesty accepted of the Reasons as just and satisfactory. In the mean time the French had a free liberty to make choice of their Winter Quarters, which they fixed upon in *Bohemia*, but their King being unwilling to burden the Country with his Souldiers for a longer time than they were serviceable to them, he ordered them to march, and quarter in *Alsatia*; but before their departure the Emperour honoured Monsieur *de Coligni* with his Picture incircled with Diamonds, and the other Officers with Gold Chains and Medals; ordering the Troops not to march above ten miles a day, and every third to be a day of repose, and to be entertained all the way at free Quarter, so as to return into *France* jocund and healthy, as they departed thence. But before they would bid adieu to those Countries, the General and Officers paid their Visit to Count *Nicholas Serini*, presenting him with a Horse, Furniture, and Pistols, as a small Tribute to that Great Captain, whose Fame was celebrated through the whole world, ingenuously confessing, That the

The French Army march homeward.

rumour

1664. rumour of his name ſtruck more amazement and terrour in the Enemy, than the Armies that actually faced them, and was more inſtrumental in obtaining the Victory on the Banks of *Rab*, than their weapons or courage which fought againſt them. But not long after this worthy Heroe *Serini* hunting one day ſeparated from the reſt of his Attendants in the Thickets of a Wood, behold, on a ſudden was ſurprized by the ruſhing forth of a wild Boar, which raging, and made furious by ſome Wounds he had received, firſt ſtruck him in the Knee, with which falling to the ground, the fierce Beaſt not giving him leiſure to recover himſelf, ganched him again in the head with his broad Tuſk, which proved ſo mortal, that in a ſhort time he expired in the Arms of one of his Pages. This was the end of this valiant Captain, who unconquered in many and redoubled Conflicts of his Enemies, was made the prey of an ignoble Beaſt. Such are the ſecret and occult Providences of Heaven, which men interpret or reflect on as they are governed by prejudice or intereſt. And ſo did the Turks attribute the Fall of this their Grand Adverſary to the righteouſneſs of their Religion, and juſtneſs of their Cauſe; as if he had been a perſon unworthy to dye by the hand of a man, was condemned to be executed by that Beaſt, which is moſt abominated and deteſted by the Turkiſh Rites. He was a Perſon as mortal an Enemy to the Turks, as ever *Hannibal* was to the Romans; in Dangers moſt couragious, in War valiant, and patient of labour, in Peace courteous, and moderate in his Pleaſures; his Diet was natural, rather than artificial; in Bankets, or Drinking Meetings, after the faſhion of that Country, was ſparing in Wine, and rather abſtemious than intemperate; Muſick and Dances were the Entertainment of the ſofter and effeminate Part of his Court, rather than his own Paſtimes, whoſe Recreations were chiefly in the Woods, and in ſuch Huntings as had ſomething in them of ſimilitude with Martial Exerciſes; his Judgment was profound and deep, and yet his familiar Diſcourſe facetious; his Converſation obliging, his humour affable, and yet ſevere and majeſtick; he ſpake much, and yet well, his diſpoſition was liberal and generous, eſpecially to his Souldiers, whom he never reſtrained or defrauded of their Booty and Prey, but contented every one with a juſt and exact Diviſion. In ſhort, he was one of thoſe zealous Champions of the Chriſtian Cauſe, who in the Chronicles of paſt Ages ought to be placed and numbred amongſt the worthieſt Heroes.

Serini's Death.

The Character of *Serini*.

The Winter now approaching, and a concluſion in all appearance made of the War, the Vizier returned to *Belgrade*, deſigning to remain there until the German Ambaſſadour had entered the Turkiſh Borders, and in the mean time ſent for his Mother thither, pretending that in an uncertain and changeable eſtate the Maternal Bleſſing is of higheſt Conſolation, it being eſteemed pious amongſt the Turks for a man to die at the Feet of his Mother. This Mother of his was eſteemed a cunning or wiſe Woman, by whoſe Charms and Incantations his Father, and he were ſuppoſed long to have conſerved the Office of Vizier; and as my own Ears can witneſs the common Souldiers Diſcourſe, That his Mothers Art conſiſted much in Philtrums and Charms, reconciling affection and friendſhip, and had a power over the Grand Signiors Inclinations and Underſtanding, rendring all things and actions the Vizier had performed in this War full of merit and admiration. This I ſay was the Diſcourſe of ſome common Souldiers.

The Vizier ſends for his Mother to *Belgrade*.

In

In the month of *December*, that Blazing-ſtar which appeared formidable to moſt parts of the known World, was alſo ſeen within the Turkiſh Empire, not without a general terrour of all, as prognoſticating diſaſters of Sword, Peſtilence, and Famine; and ſet the Turkiſh Aſtrologers at work to find out the myſtery it portended: from whoſe Art moſt commonly was divined the death of ſome great Perſon in the Empire, which ſome would have to be the Grand Signior, others the Vizier, others both, as they deſired alteration and change of Government. 1664. The Blazing-ſtar.

The Grand Signior continued all this time at *Adrianople* taken up with an extraordinary delight and pleaſure in his Court there, with which his averſion to *Conſtantinople* ſo much increaſed, that he could not endure ſo much as the name of the place: and if accidentally in his Hunting (as is reported) he chanced to fall into the road which led thither, and remembring himſelf thereof, would immediately turn thence, as one that corrects himſelf of ſome deſperate errour, or avoids a path which tends to an evitable deſtruction. The Kadeleſcher and the other grave Judges of the Law obſerving this unreaſonable hatred of their Prince to his Imperial Seat, conſidered how prejudicial it was to him and his People to have a City of that renown, antiquity, and commodiouſneſs of living deſpiſed and abandoned: and that perhaps the Souldiery now upon their March from the War, might be impatient of returning home, as all the Dependents on the *Divan*, and Perſonages of great Quality, deſired to injoy their Habitations and Gardens at *Conſtantinople*; from which diſcontent on all ſides it was concluded, That there might reſult dangerous Seditions and Mutinies, and therefore reſolved (and as ſome ſay alſo at the inſtigation of the Vizier) to proſtrate themſelves before the Grand Signior, and tender him their opinions and ſence in that particular, which they accordingly performing and aſſigning the Kadeleſcher, or the Chief Juſtice with all humility to be their Mouth in this Petition, their counſel was received with that indignation, that they were chaſed from the Grand Signiors preſence with fury and high diſpleaſure, and the Kadeleſcher at that moment deprived of his Office. The Sultans hatred to *Conſtantinople* increaſes.

To theſe other extravagances the Grand Signior would have added another of a higher nature and cruelty, by cauſeleſly putting to death his Brother *Solyman*, whom all the time of his Raign, together with another Brother, he had kept Priſoner in the Seraglio: for now having a Son of his own, he conceived it more ſecure to remove all competition that might be for the Government, according to the example and cuſtom of the Ottoman Princes; but ſuffering ſome remorſe of conſcience in the thoughts of imbruing his hands in the blood of his guiltleſs Brother, conceived it more juſtifiable to perform the Fact by proceſs of Law, and to that end ſent to the Mufti for his Fetfa or Sentence, *viz.* That in ſuch a caſe, where there is a ſufficient proviſion for continuance of the true Linage of the Ottoman Family, whether it may be lawful, according to their Law and ancient Preſidents, to take off ſome as ſuperfluous Suckers, that draw not only nouriſhment from the root, but endanger alſo the life of the Tree. But the Mufti was not ſo cruel or unjuſt as to paſs this ſentence, but rather ſupplicated the Grand Signior to defer this reſolution; for having but one Son, and that a Child, which was ſubject to the common chances of mortality, the Ottoman Family was not ſo ſufficiently provided of Heirs, that he could paſs his ſentence for taking away one, who was ſo neceſſary a reſerve and member of it; with which reply the The Sultan ſeeks to deſtroy his Brother.

1665. Grand Signior ſuffered himſelf to be overcome, having ſome touches of conſcience, and perhaps not being naturally cruel ſome ſenſe of compaſſion towards his innocent Brother.

The Vizier offers to depoſe the Tartar *Chan*.

But returning now to the Great Vizier, we find him in his Winter-quarters at *Belgrade*, where having taken an affection to the elder Son of the Tartar *Chan*, or elſe having conceived ſome hatred or diſpleaſure againſt the Father, frankly proffered to depoſe the Father, and confer the Government upon him who was the Son. But it ſeems this young Tartar, though barbarous, had yet ſo much of filial obedience and reverence inſtamped on him by Nature, that he modeſtly refuſed the proffer, and immediately diſpatched a Meſſenger with ſecret Advices to his Father. The Tartar *Chan* received this Intelligence with great indignation, and purpoſing to play that game in reality with the Vizier, which he had paſſed on him only by way of overture, wrote a Letter to the Paſha of *Buda*, a man of great abilities and courage, advertiſing him, that hearing a true and worthy character of his proweſs and wiſdom, he could not but deſire to be his friend; and that he might make demonſtrations of his being ſuch, he proffered all the intereſt he had at the Ottoman Court to promote him to the ſupreme Office of firſt Vizier. What Fate ſoever accompanied this matter, either from the Confidents of the Tartars, or of the Paſha, the ſubſtance of the Meſſage came to the knowledge of the Vizier, who obtaining a private Commiſſion immediately from the Grand Signior therein, ſent for the Paſha, and without farther proceſs, or evidence of proof, or accuſation ſtruck off his Head.

Anno Chriſti 1665. *Hegeira* 1076.

The Turkiſh Ambaſſadour departs.

THE Peace thus happily concluded with *Germany*, was a ſubject of ſingular contentment to the people, and not leſs readily embraced by the Grandees, who haſtened ſo much the conſummation thereof, that in the beginning of *January* one *Mahomet Beigh*, of the Order of the Mutaſaracaes (who are thoſe that attend the Services of the *Divan*, and are of a degree ſomewhat above the Chaouſes) a man of conſiderable richeſs, was deſigned Ambaſſadour for *Vienna*, and qualified with the Title of the Paſha of *Romelia*. In the month following being *February*, this Ambaſſadour having received his Preſents and Inſtructions departed, with Orders to remain on the Frontiers, until the Emperours Ambaſſadour met him at the place of Exchange, where according to cuſtom at the ſame time that one enters into the Dominions of the Emperour, the other paſſes into thoſe of the Grand Signior. The Preſents that one Emperour ſends to the other are according to the ancient Canon, and are to be of equal value, and are commonly eſtimated to be an hundred thouſand Dollars. Thoſe ſent by the Grand Signior to the Emperour were

3 Horſes with their Furniture adorned with precious Stones.
12 Other led Horſes of great price.
A Royal Tent with all the Apartments, valued at eighty thouſand Dollars.
A Royal Feather ſet with Jewels.
Ambergreeſe of a conſiderable value.
Bezoar-ſtones.
20 Cods of Musk.
70 Coſtans or Veſts of three ſorts.
6 Perſian Carpets.

40 Very

40 Very fine Turbants, with other Perſian Commodities of divers ſorts of Linen. 1665.

The Spring being now well forward the time of action, and the Summer at hand, the Turks remained with great expectation of the German Ambaſſadour; and with greater impatience, in regard that their Ambaſſador had for ſome time continued upon the Frontiers. It was now *May*, and yet no news from *Germany*; ſo that many began to doubt the reality of the Peace, others reflected on the diſhonour of the Grand Signior, in having his Ambaſſadour ſo long on the Frontiers, as if the Peace had been precarious and deſired by the Turks: ſome conſidered the preſent ill conſequences, in caſe the War ſhould break out again; for that licence was given to the greateſt part of the Army to return home, and all ſuch as came as far as from *Babylon*, *Damaſcus*, and *Egypt* to the Frontiers in *Hungary* were departed; and to recal theſe again, and other Zaims and Timariots from remote parts, required a conſiderable time, of which their diſtreſs would not admit, ſhould the Chriſtians prove deceitful in their Treaty. Beſides which, reports were ſpread abroad, that the French had intercepted the Ambaſſador in his paſſage about *Komorra*, and had given an interruption to the Peace. Others reported, that the Ambaſſadour was dead in his Journey, and that the Hungarians were again in Arms, as wholly diſſatisfied with the Peace. Theſe rumors flying about, all people blamed the facility of the Great Vizier in being too credulous, and confident of the faith and morality of the Chriſtians; and the Enemies of the Vizier more boldly adventured to accuſe his ill management of Affairs, which did not a little tickle the ambition of *Muſtapha* Paſha, then Captain Paſha, and Chimacam of *Adrianople*, ſuppoſing that all the diſgraces and ill ſucceſſes of the Vizier prepared a way for his aſcent unto that Office. And to become more popular, being a man naturally of an affable and plauſible carriage, inſinuated himſelf into the favour and good opinion of the Great men and principal Favourites of the Seraglio, over-acting his part in ſome meaſure by condeſcenſions unbeſeeming the degree and dignity of a Chimacam, being obſerved one day to kiſs the Veſt of the Kuzlir-Aga, too apparent a piece of adulation and meanneſs in ſo great a Subject, who in thoſe parts repreſents the perſon of his Maſter. Theſe paſſages were not altogether unknown to the Vizier; and though at a diſtance he could not perfectly view, and diſcover particularly the comportment of this Chimacam, yet being by converſation well acquainted with his ſubtle diſpoſition, gueſſed at his thoughts and the reſt of his actions, and to deal with him in the ſame terms, wrote a Letter to the Grand Signior, bewailing the ill ſucceſs of the War againſt *Venice*, and the ill eſtate and condition of the Fleet, to repair which, and to give courage to their men, and reſtore the Diſcipline in marine Affairs, the preſence of the Captain-Paſha was neceſſary in the Fleet, who had now for two years injoyed the benefit and the title without perſonal attendance on that important Charge. The Grand Signior having received this Letter, concurred in the ſame opinion with his Vizier, and gave Orders to the Chimacam to prepare himſelf to ſerve that Summer at Sea; for that now it was neceſſary he ſhould be in perſon there, and leſs requiſite his preſence in the City, where his Office would ſpeedily be made void by return of the Vizier. The Chimacam immediately in obedience to his great Maſters command, put himſelf in a poſture for his Voyage, and in the firſt place ſent away his Women to *Conſtantinople*, and appointed the Fleet not to depart

Rumors of the People on occaſion of ſtay of the German Ambaſſadour.

Muſtapha Paſha's affectation and popularity.

1665. depart until his farther order: yet in the mean time so secretly and under-hand made use of the friendship of the Court-Favourites, representing as from themselves, how useful the service and attendance of the Chimacam was as yet in the City, by reason that the delays of the German Ambassadour made the Viziers return uncertain, and that this Office would ill be supplied by any other, they obtained licence for his continuance in Office, and disappointed the intentions and designs of the Vizier.

About the end of *May*, after long expectation arrived the German Ambassadour at *Buda*, to the great joy of the Turkish Camp. I then was there my self, and observed the general satisfaction at this news: so that now the Ambassadour being entred the Frontiers, and his arrival secured, on the 29th of *May* the Vizier began his March from *Belgrade* with the whole Army, and I kept company with them for thirteen days. On the last of *June* the Vizier arrived within six hours Journey of *Adrianople*, intending in two or three days to prepare for his solemn Entrance. But it is reported, That the Viziers Mother had by her Art so affected the heart of the Grand Signior towards her Son, that he could not longer want his presence, and therefore in the way dispatched frequent Messages to him to hasten him as fast as his convenience would permit. And better to assure him of his grace and favour, sent his young Favourite, a handsom Youth of about twenty years of age, to meet him with a Present of five Horses richly adorned and furnished, and to feast him plentifully on the way: and being come within a few hours Journey, the Grand Signior could not contain his desire of seeing him, until the day of his Entry; but ordered him immediately to come to him, being impatient of a private Conference. The Vizier accordingly obeying, and being come to the Royal Presence, the Grand Signior kissed him on the shoulder, and honoured him with a * Topoose of gold studded with precious Stones, with a Sword, a Dagger, and a Horse richly furnished, with which Regal Munificence he returned triumphing to his Tents, being now fully assured of the real grace and constant favour of his Master. The second of *July* the Vizier made his Entrance with solemn Pomp and Glory through part of the City, passing again into the field to remain under Tents with the whole Camp, being so ordered by the Grand Signior, in regard the City was neither capable to contain so great a number without dispossessing the greatest part of the Inhabitants of their Houses; nor in this hot season of the year was it so wholesom and cool as the open air of the Country. Besides matters would be in a far greater readiness for a departure towards *Constantinople*, to which place the Vizier had perswaded the Grand Signior to make a Visit after Audience given to the German Ambassadour, whom the people now expected with wonderful impatience.

* It is in the fashion of a Mace, which the Turks wear at their Saddles.

Not many days after arrived Count *Lesly* the Ambassadour Extraordinary from his Cæsarian Majesty to the Grand Signior, who made a solemn Entrance into the City, passing first through the Turkish Camp, where the Grand Signior remained, and thence to the House furnished and appointed for him at the expence of the Sultan. The Cavalcade was as followeth: In the Front of all were the ten Chaouses which had attended the Ambassadour through the whole Journey, these were followed by an hundred fifty five other Chaouses with Muzevegé, with some Captains over the Janisaries. The Ambassadour had of his own

The German Ambassadours Entrance.

Retinue

Retinue about a hundred and fifty Persons on horse-back, well mounted, and cloathed after the Hungarian fashion; his proper Guard consisted of four and twenty Persons armed with Partisans; before him went his Trumpets, and Kettle Drums, but not sounding, with two Banners of Spread Eagles flying, one of them richly embroidered, carried by a Count of the Empire. The Ambassadour himself was cloathed with a Cloth of Silver Vest, lined with Sables, on his Cap he wore a Feather after the Turkish fashion, adorned with Jewels, which they call (*Sargouch*) and is only used by the Grand Signior, and his principal Vizier; before him went eight led Horses richly furnished; immediately after him followed the Pages and Servants of the Spaheelar Agasee, and of the Aga which conducted him from the Frontiers. Next came his Litter covered with Violet coloured Velvet and carried by Mules; then his three Coaches with six Horses a piece, one of which being richly gilded, and made chearful with Glass Windows after the new mode, the Grand Signior became much pleased with it, and at his request it was presented to him; after these followed four or five other Coaches of four Horses, in which were Churchmen and unfirm persons; and last of all came the German Waggons, and other Carts with those of the Countrey with Baggage. 1665.

This Ambassadour was not long arrived before he was admitted to Audience with the Prime Vizier, who bestowed on him a Vest of Sables, with a Horse and Furniture of considerable value, and a hundred of his Retinue were vested with Costans, which amongst the Turks are testimonies of favour and acceptance. About four days after the Ambassadour had Audience with the Grand Signior himself, at which were only forty Costans given out, which coming from so Grand a Personage, were in value multiplied much above the number given by the Vizier. Audience given to the German Ambassadour.

The Presents brought by the Ambassadour were as followeth:

A Looking Glass of about a Mans height, in a silver Frame, standing on a pedestal of Silver, turning round on every side.

2 Great Basons of Silver, supported with three Pillars at three Corners, a Mans Body and a half high, adorned with several Figures; at one Pillar was fastned a gilded Bason, over which was a Fountain Cock for the Water to run through.

2 Great gilded Basons full of holes at the Bottom to make a Passage for the water.

12 Silver Candlesticks, every one about two Ells high.

6 Silver Flower-Pots.

12 Gilded Ewers for sweet Waters.

12 Silver Dishes with Covers made after the form of Turkish Turbants, all gilded within side.

12 Gilded Dishes for Confects, set upon Pedestals of Silver.

1 Round Table of Silver upon a Pedestal of about half an Ell, after the manner of the Turkish Tables, with many Devices.

4 Guns with Silver Stocks, and one Cutlash of Silver.

2 Great Writing Desks of Jaspar-Stone with Prospectives within.

2 Other of Ebony Wood, and Tortoise shell, in-laid with Gold and Silver.

1 Great Ice Vessel, and one great Drinking Pot of Silver.

4 Pieces of Spanish Tapestry wrought with Silver.

14 Clocks with Turkish and Christian Figures.

1665. A Grota with a Clock in it, and a Caſe of Virginals which found with the motion of Water that runs through it.

A Cupboard an Ell high adorned with Boſſes of Silver, in which was a Salt-Box, Candleſticks, and other appurtenances thereunto.

A large Cheſt with Figures of Silver gilded.

A high Writing Desk of Silver gilded with many Boxes and Drawers, which for the Art and Invention is not to be deſcribed.

Preſents to the Valede or Queen Mother.

An embroidered Cuſhinet to ſow upon, in which was a Looking Glaſs, and a Virginal ſounding of it ſelf.

A large Looking Glaſs in a Silver Frame.

2 Silver Candleſticks of an Ell and half high.

A Basket of Silver rarely worked and engraven.

4 Great Cups.

To the Great Vizier.

12 Silver Platters with Covers.

2 Silver Candleſticks ½ of an Ell high.

12 Silver Plates handſomely worked for Confects.

1 Basket of Silver engraven.

14 Very large Silver Cups.

For other Miniſters to be beſtowed as occaſion was.

32 Clocks of ſeveral ſorts, ſome with Turkiſh, and others with Chriſtian Figures.

21 Watches gilded.

7 Gilded Baſons and Ewers.

The Weight of the Silver all together amounted unto three thouſand five hundred pound weight. Theſe were the Particulars of the Preſents ſent from the Emperour to the Grand Signior, from whom he received the like value by the Ottoman Ambaſſadour. And though this Relation may ſeem impertinent to the Weight of Hiſtory, yet in regard on ſuch minute things many times greater matters depend, and thereby the curioſity of the Reader ſatisfied, I thought it not from our purpoſe to inſert a Liſt thereof.

The Genoeſe make Peace with the Turk.

This year gave the firſt Beginning to trade between the Ottoman Dominions, and that of *Genoua*. For in Company of the German Ambaſſadour, in condition of a private perſon, came the Marqueſs *Durazzo* a Nobleman of *Genoua* with Letters from that Republick to the Grand Signior, and Great Vizier, importing their deſire of friendſhip and commerce with the Ottoman Port. This deſign of opening a door to a new Trade was commenced and carried on wholly by the contrivance and power of the Family of the *Durazzo's*, falſely founded on the courſe allay of money, then currant in the Turkiſh Territories, which proved not long durable, as will appear by the Sequel. This Marqueſs being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, declared his Meſſage, which if favourably accepted, an Ambaſſadour or Reſident with Merchants ſhould be ſent

ſent to hold a Trade in the Turkiſh Dominions. In anſwer whereunto the Vizier replied according to the uſual complement, That the Arms of the Port are always open to thoſe who deſire to entertain a friendſhip and correſpondence with it. But becauſe in former days Ambaſſadours from *Spain* and *Genoua* having like promiſes of admiſſion, were notwithſtanding, through the union of the Engliſh, and French and Venetians, obſtructed in their paſſage, and forced to return home, though one of them as far as *Scio* in his way, and the other as *Raguſa*; therefore this Marqueſs in remembrance hereof preſſed the Vizier farther in his promiſe, deſiring him to give him the aſſurance, that what oppoſition might be made to the contrary by other Miniſters, he would yet keep firm to that word he had given to his Republick: the Vizier conſtantly promiſed that he would; and if any other Ambaſſadours were not pleaſed with the friendſhip and Treaty of that day, they might ſeek their remedy as they pleaſed, and if they pleaſed might have liberty to depart. The Marqueſs being ſatisfied with this aſſurance, took Letters to his Republick in aſſurance thereof, and Articles were given, and Priviledges for Trade ſigned according to the Tenour of other Capitulations: and being herewith diſpatched, he returned home by Land, and the next year appeared again himſelf in the Perſon of Ambaſſadour Extraordinary to the Ottoman Court; where after high and conſiderable Preſents and great Expences made, chiefly ſupported by the Houſe of *Durazzo*, a Reſident was ſeated at *Conſtantinople*, and a Conſul at *Smyrna*, where we will leave them for a while, and ſome years after (God willing) take an account of the profit and loſs this progging Nation had made by this Embaſſy and Trade. But before we leave this point, it will be worth our noting, how hainouſly the French Ambaſſadour Monſieur *La Haye* took this entertainment of the Genoeſe, in regard he was ſo concerned againſt his admiſſion, that he declared to the chief Miniſters of State, how he had received Orders to oppoſe the entrance of the Genoeſe Nation as highly prejudicial and obſtructive to their Trade; and in fine, to acquaint the Grand Signior, that in caſe he reſolved to entertain them, his Maſter would withdraw his Ambaſſadour and Nation, and therefore they ought to conſider, whether a new Friend and an inconſiderable Republick ought to be preferred before the known and approved acquaintance of the powerful Empire of *France*. But whatſoever the French Miniſters were able to act to the contrary, the Genoeſes kept their ſtations, in which they were the better ſecured by thoſe frequent occaſions of diſguſt his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in defence of the Chriſtian Cauſe, had given to theſe Enemies of the Chriſtian Faith.

1665.

The Genoeſe received.

The Great Vizier and the German Ambaſſadour being now both at the Ottoman Port, the Wars were concluded, and every one began to diſpoſe his affairs to a quiet and a repoſed life. But this Empire being ſtill by Gods Providence in a condition of growth and augmentation, could not remain long in Peace, nor long in health without exerciſe and action. Wherefore no ſooner was *Germany* at eaſe, than the Viſier began to move the proſecution of the War in *Candia*, deſiring to obtain the glory of ſubjecting totally that Iſland, which for the ſpace of twenty five years had been the principal ſubject of the Ottoman deſign and exerciſe, and acquire to himſelf the Fame in Hiſtory of being Conquerour of *Candia*, and Concluder of the Venetian War. Wherefore the Vizier with ſeveral other principal Perſons, aſſembled in a Garden near the City

The Turks reſolve to proſecute the War in *Candia*.

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to be uſed, than which none was better than to ſet fire to the Seraglio, by which means, either the thing ſought for would be eſteemed for burnt and conſumed by the fire, or in ſo great a loſs it might be hoped that matters of ſmaller moment would not be remembred. Wherefore the bold Wenches without other conſideration gave fire with their candle to the roof of Cedar, of which wood moſt of the Womens rooms in the Seraglio are made, which in a moment made ſuch a flame, as with the help of a little wind, was carried through all the quarters of the Womens Apartments, and thence took its way to the *Divan* Chamber, and other conſiderable parts of the Court, where many Records and Regiſters of Law were conſumed to aſhes, together with one of the leſſer Treaſuries, where much richeſs, which endured not the teſt of fire, periſhed: and the whole Seraglio had run an evident hazard, had not the Boſtangees and other Servants of the Court ventured far into the flames, in which many of them miſerably periſhed. The fire being quenched, and the Women afterwards (I know not how) detected to have been the Authors thereof, were ſent to *Adrianople*, and being there accuſed, were ſtrangled by the immediate order of the Grand Signior. 1665. The Seraglio at *Conſtantinople* ſet on fire.

But the deſtruction of that conſiderable part of the Seraglio was no impediment to the Grand Signiors return to *Conſtantinople*, being rebuilt with that ſpeed and induſtry, equal or excelling the magnificence of the former, that the day prefixed for the Journey thither was not prolonged by reaſon thereof. Howſoever the Grand Signiors averſion to the place made the wheels of his Chariots move ſlow, and the quickneſs of his Attendants grew ſlack and cold, obſerving ſo much diſpleaſure in their Emperor to the place deſigned. For though he was preſſed by the Vizier to begin his Journey, and could not handſomly refuſe to comply with the time appointed; yet to defer this reſolution as long as was poſſible, he contrived a long way of Meander towards *Conſtantinople*, forming his Journey in Company with the Great Vizier by way of the *Dardanelli* upon the *Helleſpont*, on pretence of viewing the Fortifications of the new Forts raiſed at the entrance of that Streight, and ſending ſome Proviſions from thence for Relief of *Candia*; wherefore the Captain-Paſha was commanded to Sea with three Gallies, and at *Gallipoli* to attend the Grand Signiors arrival, being to tranſport him thence to the Caſtles, and back again. And the deſign being now reſolved, and hot to proſecute the War in *Candia*; for tranſporting thither a numerous Army, it was concluded, That the Captain-Paſha ſhould propoſe to the Engliſh Ambaſſadour the Grand Signiors deſire of fifteen Sail of Ships, with conſent of our King, for this ſervice, the Turks paying what reaſonable Rates ſhould be demanded. But the Earl of *Winchelſea* then Lord Ambaſſadour, modeſtly replied, That though His Majeſty of *England* did always entertain a good affection and a zealous diſpoſition towards the Affairs of the Grand Signior; yet at preſent the War with *Holland*, and ill underſtanding with *France*, made his occaſions for his own Shipping more urgent than uſual, and the time moſt unſeaſonable to preſs his Majeſty in this particular: by which reply and ſeveral other excuſes of the Ambaſſadour, the Captain-Paſha perceiving an averſneſs to the Propoſition, and that Chriſtians unwillingly arm Turks againſt the Croſs, gave an account of this diſcourſe to the Grand Signior and Vizier, who immediately gave order for the building of ſixty Gallies againſt the next Spring, which with what they had before would make up above an

1665. The Turks prepare for a War on *Candia.*

hundred Sail. The Rendezvous of this Fleet, together with Saykes and other Turkish Vessels, from thence to transport the Vizier and his Army for *Candia*, was appointed to be made at *Malvoisia*; of the success of which we shall have occasion (God willing) to discourse in the following Year, which gave a beginning (as we may say) to the total loss of that Country and to that famous Siege, which in History will bear the Fame of one of the most memorable in the World. And as a preparation thereunto, and as a supply of the present urgent necessities, three Ships, *viz.* one English, another French, and a third Dutch were laden with Corn, and thirty Sail of Beys Gallies, with all sorts of Arms and Ammunition, with a Recruit of a thousand Janisaries, were dispeeded from *Constantinople* for Reinforcement and Succour of that Island.

The Grand Signior arrives at *Constantinople.*

And now at length the Grand Signior after his long circuit arrived at *Constantinople*, where he made his solemn Entry the third of *October*, but not with that Joy and Pomp, which usually attended other Sultans in their return from the Wars and labours to their Imperial City; but all things seemed like the Sultans humour sullen and displeased; for he seldom lodged in his Seraglio, or slept there, but at a small Palace called *Daout-Pasha*, where he for the most part made his abode; only sometimes in the day he passed a few hours at his Seraglio, but rested not there in the night: the reasons hereof some attributed to the remembrance of those dangers and troubles which he had seen in that Court, and which made so deep an impression on his fancy, that he could never enter within those Gates without some sense of terrour for the late disorders.

Marquess *Villa* received into service of the Venetians.

The German War being thus concluded, the Sultan returned to *Constantinople*, and Affairs disposing themselves to spend their fury against *Candia*, all things growing black and tempestuous towards that Coast, the Venetians prudently provided to oppose the storm. And as an able General, and wise and experienced Captains are the supports of an Army; and that the success of War depends much on Martial Discipline, and on the vigilance and wisdom of the Commanders, the Senate gave order to their Ambassadour at *Turen* called *Catarin Belegno*, to offer unto Marquess *Ghiron Francesco Villa*, a Native of that Country, the honourable charge of General of the Foot with a stipend of 12000 Crowns of yearly Pay; the said Marquess obliging himself to bring with him four Captains, and two Lieutenant-Generals, for entertainment of whom the Republick allowed five thousand Ducats, besides seventy Ducats a month pay to an Engineer. To this Marquess *Villa* a power was given to command in chief over all, without subjection to any other than to the Captain-General, and to the Proveditor-General in *Dalmatia*, when he waged War in that Province: and in short, his actions were not to be questioned or examined by any other than the Senate it self, to whom he was immediately subjected, and a Gally was to be allotted purposely to transport him and his Family to *Candia*. Upon these conditions agreed at *Turen*, Marquess *Villa* took his Journey to *Venice* about the beginning of *April*, being accompanied with his Kinsman *Francesco Villa*, his Nephew *Benedetto* Count of *Lagnasco*, Count *Lodovico Saluzzo*, and Count *Bernardino Barretta*, which four served in quality of Captains, together with *Gio. Francesco Pusserla* and *Alessandro Negri*, who were Lieutenant-Generals, and *Gio. Girolamo Quadruplano* Engineer. With these Companions and several other Voluntiers Gentlemen of Quality, the Marquess *Villa* was received with much honour by the Nobility and

People

People of *Venice*; and being introduced into the Colledge, with a singular grace and fluency of Language he began to speak in this manner. 1665.

The Speech of Marquis *Villa* to the Senate.

IF thanks, most Serene Prince, and most Excellent Sirs, ought to be equivalent to the benefits we receive, I must of necessity (not to appear ungrateful) refuse those favours, which this most Serene Republick is pleased to confer upon me; or resolve to appear ungrateful, because I am unable to make a compensation. But I satisfie my self in this, That as the mind which receives favours, and returns thanks is the same; so that mind which makes acknowledgments with a due sense of them, doth in some measure equal the benefit, though it prove defective in expressions to declare it. I do therefore confess and acknowledge, that the Election you have been pleased to make of me amongst so many conspicuous Persons, unto a Charge graced by most renowned Predecessours, and in it self most honourable, is a most singular favour, and an effect of your immense Bounty to me; which though it be limited with some subordination, yet it may serve for the ultimate Goal to a glorious Course of Military labours. I must also farther acknowledge, That as it is the property of this most Serene Republick to receive momentary Services, and to render them eternal by Records in History; so they have been pleased to adjoyn unto my mean deserts a remembrance of the humble devotion which my Ancestors professed towards them: I mean Alfonso Villa *my great Grandfather, who in that most glorious Fleet at* Lepanto, *whose Sails were the wings of Victory, evidenced his Christian zeal against that People, which issuing from the bowels of Sea-monsters, continue to vent their ancient rage against your most Serene Highness. Nor with less promptness of mind, had my Grandfather* Francesco Villa *and my Father* Guido Villa *consecrated their Powers to your Command; but that the unparallel'd Equity of this most Serene Republick gave permission, that one of them should take the charge of General of the Artillery of the Holy Church under the Pope his Supreme Lord, preferring a natural duty before a voluntary service; and that the other being entertained in service of the most Invincible* Charles Emanuel *in* Piedmont, *you were pleased to judge, That the service done to a Prince your Confederate, and Son of this Republick, was a service and duty rendred to your selves: so that this Election made of me by this most Serene Republick, and approved by the singular goodness of that* Charles Emanuel, *who now reigns, evidences the Destiny of my Family, and obliges me to satisfie that hereditary debt by performances, which my Ancestors entertained only in their wishes. Hence it is, that to this my Election some celestial influence hath concurred, by which I am clearly assured, that your more than humane power is desirous to imitate the Divine, which oftentimes makes use of weak means to operate miraculous effects, that to you only the success may be acknowledged, and to you only the thanks be returned: that if the Providence of your Serenity, and of this most Serene Republick will be pleased, (as I am assured you will) to imitate the Divine Providence, which cooperates with means, the number and quality of your Troops and plenty of your Provisions, which are the nerves of War, are those means which correspond with the ends you design: and therefore I dare presage, that I shall not only see the threatning horns of the changeable Ottoman Planet precipitated into the Sea by the Venetian horn of strength, but those glorious Conquests renewed, which rendred your Name more bright and resplendent than the Sun it self in his Oriental parts. With these auspicious Presages, I feel already in my breast an impatient heat to sacrifice my life in so worthy a cause, fancying that I serve*

1665. *the Universe, whilst I am engaged in the service of the greatest of Republicks, which communicates delicious Fruit to all People, gathered from those triumphant Palms, which were planted and watered with her own sweat and labours; and resembles her own generous Lion, which continually stands on the Guard in opposition to the common Enemy, that all other people may rest quiet, and repose secure. And thus much, Most Serene Prince, and Most Excellent Sirs, shall suffice to have been spoken by a Souldier, not acquainted with Eloquence, to whom courage is more requisite than words, and to fight well with the hand, is more laudable than to utter florid Speeches with the tongue.*

According to the preceding counsel and desire of Marquis *Villa*, the Senate sent by divers Convoys great plenty of Provision and Ammunition to *Candia*, and fitted their Fleet with all things necessary; and strengthened their Forts both with Horse and Foot drawn out of their Garrisons on the *Terra Firma*, being assisted with men and money from other Princes and States. The Pope gave them liberty to levy four thousand men out of his Countries, the Emperour also furnished them with a considerable Force, to which were made Additions from other Parts of *Germany*.

In this manner the prudent Care of the Venetians provided for their own safety: But at *Constantinople* things were more quiet, for it being Winter, the Turks made Entertainments for the German Ambassadour, who was first feasted by the Chimacam, and twice afterwards, with much Magnificence, by the Great Vizier at his own Garden, seated on the *Bosphorus*, all difficulties being before overcome, and agreed, unless the deliverance of the poor Captives from the Prison and the Oar, who continued in the torment of expectation between hope and fear, either of liberty or perpetual slavery. Which Treaty though it properly belonged to the Vizier, to whom the absolute power is derived, yet in formality it was reserved for matter of the last Audience with the Grand Signior, who being desirous to attend his Hunting and Pastime abroad, was in pain, until he had complyed with his Office towards this Ambassadour, whose departure though not some time after designed, yet being often called upon to receive his Dispatch from the Grand Signior, was admitted on the 31th of *October* to his Audience with the same formality and feasting as is common to all other Ambassadours in the Divan, or place of Judicature, and received three and forty Coftans bestowed on himself and his retinue, and thence being conducted to the Chamber of Audience, with some of the principal Noblemen of his Company, they presented themselves on their Knees, with their Faces on the Ground, according to the Custom of the Eastern Courts; with which occasion the Heer *Reningen*, who had for sixteen or seventeen years been Resident for the Emperor, a person grown infirm with Age and the Gout, and his Knees not so active and pliable as the younger sort, coming also to take his turn in this prostrate manner of Worship, was so rudely handled by the Kapugibashees, who assisted on each Arm at the Ceremony, that he not being able to bow his head so easily as others, was thrust down by them with so little consideration or respect, that his Brows and Forehead were broken on the Flour; which mischance so disordered him, as put him besides that Speech which he had premeditated in Turkish to address to the Grand Signior; and though he

The German Ambassadour's first Audience with the Grand Signior.

curbed

curbed what was poſſible his paſſion, whilſt he remained in the Royal Preſence, yet in vain afterwards he vented his Choler with words againſt thoſe unmannerly Officers without other remedy or ſatisfaction. The Demands of the Ambaſſadour were in writing read before the Grand Signior, according to the cuſtom of the Court, and principally concerned the freedom of the Slaves, ſome of which were then in the Gallies, and Banniard, and others of the moſt principal in the ſeven Towers. Other Demands there were in relation to the State of *Tranſylvania*, that for the future it might be free from Incurſions, in which particular the Turks had already violated the Peace; and that a more orderly Government of Affairs might be obſerved on the Frontiers, than uſually had paſſed, as agreed by the laſt Capitulations. To which the Grand Signior gave no Anſwer, referring all to the Vizier, only told the Ambaſſadour in ſhort, That he ſhould counſel his Maſter to beware of invading the Ottoman Dominions, or acting any thing in prejudice of the Peace. 1665.

The Articles of Peace made between the two Emperours were for the moſt part a confirmation of the ancient Agreement, only it was provided as a new Addition, That the Armies ſhould depart from the Confines of *Tranſilvania*. Secondly, That the Caſtles and Forts garriſoned with German Souldiers in that Countrey ſhould be reſigned into the hands of the Prince. And Thirdly, There were other particulars added in reference to *Newhauſel*, and the Countries adjacent lately conquered, and the Limits of both Emperours, as before declared.

But whilſt theſe things were in agitation, and Ambaſſadours interchangeably at either Court, the Turks of *Varadin* and *Janoua* made frequent incurſions into *Tranſilvania*, deſtroying the Villages, and carrying away great numbers of Captives; and ſo lately, as about the beginning of *Auguſt* laſt, thoſe of *Varadin* conveyed themſelves privately under the Caſtle *Cſeh*, and robbed the Horſes belonging to that Garriſon, killed ſome, and carried others into ſlavery; at which time alſo two thouſand Turks beſieged the Caſtle *Valko*, which they took, and razed to the ground; which Complaints of their Countries Aggrievances the Tranſilvanians intimated to the German Ambaſſadour, as matters already acted contrary to the late Articles of Peace, requeſting farther to interpoſe for a moderation and abatement of their Tribute, which *Kuperlee* had, contrary to Oath and reaſon, unjuſtly augmented. But the Ambaſſadour ſeemed ſo coldly to interpoſe in this behalf, as taught the Turks to deny his Requeſts, acquieſcing with this Anſwer, That it was no breach of Peace the to make incurſions on the Frontiers, as alſo without Cannon to rob, and ſpoil, and skirmiſh, not exceeding five thouſand men in number. For it appeared that the Ambaſſadour was moſt deſirous to ſecure the main points of the Peace, which concerned moſt the Intereſt of the Empire, and not hazard it for ſuch like Concernments of *Tranſilvania*; for though it ſeemed ſtrange to the World to ſee a Peace haſtily clapt up with diſadvantageous Terms on the Emperours ſide, whilſt he was victorious and fortunate in ſeveral Enterprizes; yet they that penetrated farther into the State and Condition of the Empire report, That there was a neceſſity of making a moderate uſe of theſe ſucceſſes by a fair accommodation, rather than to tempt Providence by a too eager and continued proſecution of the war. For it was obſerved that the Deſigns of making the Duke of *Anguien*, Son to

The Reaſons why the German Ambaſſadour interpoſed not in behalf of *Tranſylvania*.

1665. to the Prince of *Conde*, King of *Poland* proceeded forward; and that there was a Combination of a dangerous League amongst the Princes of the *Rhine*. The Divisions between the Germans and the Hungarians encreased; the latter of which are known to be an obstinate sort of People. The Army also of the French was feared in the Bowels of the Empire, under the Command of Monsieur *la Feüillade*, who under pretence of applying themselves to the assistance of Christendom, were suspected to come with intentions to advance the interest of their King, and force the next Diet to elect him King of the Romans; in order whereunto, and in consideration of farther assistance, they demanded several Towns in *Hungary* to be delivered into their hands, and made extravagant Propositions for Winter Quarters; all which considered, made the German Ambassadour more tender how he entered into Disputes with the Turk, which might prejudice the essential points of the Peace, or occasion a new War more destructive to *Germany* through the dangers before intimated, than by the Arms and Hostility of the common Enemy. These Considerations made the Ambassadour less zealous in the matter of *Transilvania*, and in all others which were not really conducing to his Masters immediate service; so that having no other difficulty remaining, than the liberty of the Captives, on the day of his last Audience with the Vizier, being the 8th of *November*, he urged with more earnestness their Release, which was in part granted; those of the Gallies were delivered from their Chains and Oars; but such as were of greater Quality in the seven Towers were detained, untill the Emperor had on his part released the Turks of Quality in like manner; and though it was agreed in the Article, That Captives should on both sides be released, yet the Vizier interpreted it to be in respect to Number and Quality, of which I remember to have heard often Complaints, and especially of those poor Gentlemen, then under Irons and restraint, who though afterwards received their freedom, yet for the present endured more torment in their minds, than if they had never been put in expectation to enjoy their hopes. At the end of the Audience the Ambassadour proposed something in behalf of the Religious of *Jerusalem*, That certain places of Devotion might be restored them, which were injuriously taken from them by the Greeks; and also that Licence might be granted for re-Edification of some Churches, and Monasteries destroyed in *Galata* by the late Fire: To the first of which the Vizier answered, That the Franks with the Greeks of *Jerusalem* should have a fair and equal Tryal at Law about the possession of those places in difference, and Justice and Right should be done unto the injured; but the latter Proposition he positively denied, for being a matter contrary to their Law and Religion, was not dispensable by his Power, nor ought he to expect a Complement from him, or Gratuity of that nature, which was inconsistent with the honour and conscience of the Donor; but that in any thing else he was ready to yield to his Desires, whereby he might understand the value he put upon his Person, using this Expression, That he was more satisfied that the Emperour had designed so illustrious and worthy a person to this Embassy, than if he had sent him a hundred thousand Dollars more of Present, and at the Conclusion of the Audience, vested both the Ambassadour and Resident with Sables, which ended with all imaginable satisfaction, and mutual contentment.

The German Ambassadour's Audience with the Vizier.

On

On the 21th of the month of *November* arrived at *Conſtantinople* Monſieur *De Ventelay*, Ambaſſadour from the French King to the Grand Signior, who was Son to the Sieur *De la Haye*, the former Ambaſſadour, a perſon much talked of before he arrived, a generous and an accompliſhed Gentleman, and one well practiſed in the Affairs of that Country. To underſtand which ſtory the better we muſt look back to the former Year, at the beginning of which during the German War, and that the Vizier remained in his Winter-quarters at *Belgrade*, a Corrier with Letters from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to the Firſt Vizier arrived, who concealed not the occaſion of his coming, nor the contents of his Letters with that ſecrecy, but that thoſe who were imployed in the Tranſlation of the Papers into Turkiſh, made it publickly known to be no other than a recital of the many provocations his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had received from the Pirates of *Barbary*, containing a Liſt of the Ships, Men, and Goods they had from time to time ſeized and made Prize: in vindication of which indignities to his Honour, and in protection of his People, he could not do leſs than make a War upon thoſe Pirates (for as yet the advice was not come, that the French had deſerted *Gigeri*) in which for the foregoing reaſons the Grand Signior ought not to judge himſelf concerned. And for the Succour given the Emperour, it was not afforded as King of *France*, but as one of the Princes of the Empire, in which capacity, by virtue of his Tenure, he was obliged to contribute ſuch Forces on the like emergencies and diſtreſſes of the Empire. And if the foregoing reaſons were available with the Sultan to induce him (as in reaſon he ought) to believe he continued in perfect friendſhip with him, without breach of Articles, he was then ready to ſend his Ambaſſadour to reſide at the Port, provided it might be Monſieur *De Ventelay*, Son to Monſieur *De la Haye* late Ambaſſadour there, who was the perſon that had ſome time ſince received indignities from the Vizier *Kuperlee*, that ſo his Majeſty might receive ſatisfaction, by having the very perſon of Monſieur *De Ventelay* honoured by extraordinary demonſtrations of reſpect, in reparation of the former affronts. This Meſſenger having tranſlated his Papers, obtained licence to ride Poſt to the Vizier, and in the froſts and extremities of the weather in *January* ſet forward on his Journey; but in his paſſage through *Adrianople*, viſiting the Chimacam, and deſiring his licence in like manner to ride Poſt to the Vizier on publick affairs, received ſuch a leſſon of ſcorn and diſdain, vented with the extremity of choler againſt the French Nation in publick Divan, with terms undecent to be repeated: and that in farther reſentment, if he were Firſt Vizier, he would refuſe to accept any friendſhip or alliance with them; but ſince he was inferiour to the Great Vizier, he would diſpeed him to the Camp, and grant him a Command for his Poſt. But it ſeems this Corrier being arrived at *Belgrade*, was received with better terms, and more courteſie by the Vizier, who had learned by experience of the late Chriſtian Wars, and proof of the Valour of the French Nation, that the Propoſitions of that King were not lightly to be contemned. And therefore conſented that Monſieur *De Ventelay* might freely come (uſing their common expreſſion) that the Arms of the Port are always open to receive the addreſſes of Friends, Allies, and Confederates. With this Meſſage and Letters the Corrier was diſpatched by way of *Raguſi* with ſafe conduct, and what elſe was requiſite for his ſecurer paſſage. No doubt but his moſt Chriſtian Ma-

1665.

An Ambaſſadour arrives from *France*.

jeſty

1665. Reflexions of the Turks on the Embaſſy of Monſieur *De Ventelay*.

jeſty was the more urgent, that the perſon of Monſieur *De Ventelay* (who was the ſubject on whom formerly the Turks had exerciſed ſuch injurious violence) ſhould be accepted for Ambaſſadour, and reſolved, unleſs they received him, he would ſend no other, that ſo his Honour which ſuffered before in this perſon, might be repaired again by the reſpect and reverence they were to ſhew to him as Ambaſſadour; as if in repentance of their former unkindneſs, they ſhould now ſtrive to make amends by extraordinary demonſtrations of honour to this Repreſentative. For it was judged in *France*, and there concluded, That there was no other means to repair the Kings Honour, than by the Embaſſy of Monſieur *De Ventelay*; to which that a greater reputation might be added, he was tranſported in one of the Kings Ships called the *Cæſar*, accompanied with a Fire-ſhip, and a ſmall Patach for a Victualler, and for his better Equipage was attended by four or five Marqueſſes and Perſons of Quality. Being arrived at the farther part of the City called the Seven Towers, the Ships came to an Anchor, from whence the Ambaſſadour ſent to adviſe the Vizier of his arrival, deſiring as one mark of the extraordinary honour promiſed him, that a return might be made to the Salute of his Ship from the Seraglio, by the Cannon which lay under the Wall, a Ceremony before never demanded, or practiſed with reſpect to any Chriſtian or Turkiſh Veſſel; and that his landing might be honoured with a more than uſual reception by the attendance of Officers, or at leaſt equalled to the Formalities of the late Engliſh Ambaſſadour. But the Vizier it ſeems judged, that the reception of the Engliſh, ſtrained on a particular occaſion, was not to be brought into example, and that a Salute from the Seraglio was ſo beſides the ordinary cuſtom, that he eſteemed the demand to be extravagant, and that ſuch a Preſident would be diſhonourable to his Maſter. And therefore reſolving not to exceed the particulars of former cuſtoms, offered at his landing to have him accompanied to his Houſe with ten Chaouſes; only the Ambaſſador not accepting hereof, in a diſcontented manner entred with his Ship the day following, and giving the uſual Salutes to the Seraglio, landed at *Topenan*, a place near to his own Dwelling, from whence with no other attendance than his own Company, privately walked up, and with no farther ceremony took poſſeſſion of the place of Reſidence of former Ambaſſadours from *France*.

Notwithſtanding this ſlight treatment, the Ambaſſadour was not ſo much mortified, but he conceived hopes, that the Turks would at length in contemplation of his Maſters greatneſs, gratifie him with ſome ſignal demonſtrations of extraordinary honour, by conceſſions of unuſual Priviledges, and greater facility in his Negotiations: and therefore was induced, though as yet he had not had a perſonal Audience of the Vizier, to deſire a revocation of the agreement made with the Genoeſe, (the Marqueſs *Durazzo*, of whom we have ſpoken before, being juſt upon his departure) proteſting againſt it with all earneſtneſs, as a matter ſo prejudicial to the French Traffick and Commerce in thoſe Dominions, that if admiſſion were given to the Genoeſe, they muſt expect to loſe friendſhip and commerce with *France*. But notwithſtanding this heat and other proteſtations againſt it, the Vizier who inherited his Fathers ſpirit, little regarded the diſcontent of the French, but calmly anſwered, That the Grand Signior was Maſter of himſelf and Country, and might make Peace or War at his own pleaſure without licence or permiſſion of the French

French King; and that such as were envious, or discontented at the Peace, had free liberty to depart, and take their remedy as they esteemed most beneficial. 1665.

In this manner matters passed between the time of this Ambassadours Arrival and his Audience. In which interim the curiosity of Monsieur *Abermont*, Captain of the French Man of War, had like to have proved fatal to him; for whilst he viewed from the Gallery of his Ship the pleasant situation of the Seraglio, and the Prospect of the *Bosphorus*, behold at a distance appeared certain Gallies gently gliding down the stream, dressed up with Flags and Streamers, which all Ships and Saykes saluted with their Guns as they passed. This Captain being informed that the Grand Signior was there in person, and returned from his Hunting, which he had made in certain Woods not far from the City, saluted him also as he passed with twenty five Guns; but being not able to discover his person, presently fitted his Boat and followed him, hoping to receive that satisfaction at his landing; for conceiving, that access to the Ottomani and Eastern Princes is as facile and grateful, as it is to those of Christendom, with all confidence endeavoured to accost the Person of the Grand Signior as near as was possible. The Grand Signior turning his eyes, and seeing a man habited (as he conceived) in a barbarous and extravagant dress, apprehended the Majesty of his Person violated by so near and bold an approach of the curious Stranger; and thereupon, without farther inquiry, being moved with scorn and indignation, called for the Executioner, who is ever ready at his hand. But some persons then present, especially the Bostangibashee, being of more moderation, beseeched the Grand Signior to have a little patience, and to inquire of the Ghaur or Infidel (as they call'd him) the cause of this his boldness: with which the Grand Signior suppressing a little his passion, and having patience until one was sent to expostulate with the Captain, who all this while, though he perceived some disturbance, was yet ignorant that the matter so dangerously concerned himself; and not being able to understand the Messenger, nor to be understood by him, rendred the business more confused, and less understood: which the Messenger observing, and knowing the danger of this worthy and innocent Gentleman, being perhaps of a compassionate nature and prudent, framed this excuse to the Grand Signior, That he did not well understand the Infidels language, but what he conjectured was, That he being Captain of that Vessel, which had newly saluted his Majesty as he passed with twenty five Guns, was now come in confidence of his Royal bounty and clemency to receive a Coftan, as a sign of his Majesties favour, and reward of his own respect. The Grand Signior having by this time his choler somewhat abated, was better pacified with these gentle words; the Bostangibashee also interceding at the same time in his behalf, that he was a stranger, and ignorant of the customs of their Court, and that if he deserved punishment, he might be remitted to the examination of the Vizier, who might chastise him, as he found it reasonable. The Grand Signior contented herewith, the rude Bostangees seized the Captain and hurried him to the Vizier, who all this time was ignorant of his errour or his danger, more than that he perceived by the accent of their words, and by their gestures, that something was amiss, and debated in reference unto him. The Drugger-men, or Interpreters of the French Nation being sent for, and the Vizier and the Captain both understanding the matter, the crime

A strange accident befallen the French Captain of the Man of War.

1665. appeared only to be an abſurdity committed through ignorance: yet to pleaſe the Grand Signior, and to make an appearance, as if ſomething were done in chaſtiſement of this bold curioſity, the Vizier ordered, that the Captain ſhould be conducted by two Chaouſes to the Ambaſſadour, there to be put in Chains and in Priſon, until ſatisfaction was made for his fault. The Captain being thus brought before the Ambaſſadour, this honeſt Gentleman was puniſhed in the ſame manner as we do thoſe in Chriſtendom, who crowd to ſee their Prince.

The Ambaſſadour had his firſt Audience with the Vizier on the 7th of *December*, which being inſignificant to any other buſineſs more than to the delivery of his Maſters Letter, and other matters of Form and Ceremony, we ſhall need to inſiſt the leſs upon it.

The French Embaſſadours ſecond Audience.

His ſecond Audience before that of the Grand Signior, was in the beginning of *January*, at which time the Ambaſſadour began to declare what he had in Commiſſion from his King, which principally related towards a ſatisfaction for thoſe affronts formerly offered him in the perſon of his Father, and himſelf inculcating into the Vizier a true apprehenſion of the greatneſs of his Maſter, his Force by Land, his powerful Fleet which ſhould that following year be ſet forth in the Mediterranean Seas, with other arguments which might challenge due reſpect and honor to ſo great a Prince. Theſe Propoſals and Diſcourſes, though the Vizier ſeemed not to entertain with that benign and flexible ear as was expected or thought ſatisfactory, and thereupon ſeveral diſguſts did afterwards ſucceed; howſoever in the end all matters cleared up again, and his Excellency was permitted to return to his own Houſe with all imaginable ſatisfaction, as he was pleaſed to intimate to the Ambaſſadour for his Majeſty of Great *Britain*. Soon after followed his Audience with the Grand Signior according to the uſual Ceremonies; ſo that all things run ſmoothly with the French for ſeveral years after. And here by the way it is obſervable, That an Engliſh Ambaſſadour once arguing hotly with the Vizier on ſome points of the Capitulations, in which judging himſelf wronged, threw the Capitulations to the Vizier, telling him, that he might keep the Writing and Paper, ſince he reſolved not to obey the Letter. The Vizier hereupon calmly took the Capitulations, and laid them behind his Cuſhion, which the Ambaſſadour in a more conſiderate temper could not again recover under an expence of fifteen hundred Pieces of Eight.

The Grand Signiors Huntings.

During the time of theſe Negotiations the Grand Signior wholly imployed his time and thoughts in Hunting, ranging all the Woods for ſeveral days journies round *Conſtantinople*, in which Exerciſe twenty or thirty thouſand men were imployed, collected from the Cities and Villages round about, all which were paid at the publick expence and charge of Houſe-keepers both Turks and Chriſtians, which in one hunt might amount to thirty or forty thouſand Dollars. With this burden the people being often oppreſſed, and many periſhing in the Woods with cold and hunger, began to murmur at the exceſs of Tyranny, curſing their Princes madneſs and folly, maintained with the life and ruine of his Subjects. But notwithſtanding all theſe whiſpered curſes and ſecret menaces the Grand Signior followed his delights with ſuch frequency, and with that heat and eagerneſs, that the people perceiving no end of their miſery, began to ſpeak loudly and plainly, and by ſome principal Perſons gave the Vizier to underſtand, That the people would not longer endure

dure the extravagant Vagaries of their Prince at so dear a rate, of which he that was his chief Councellour ought to inform and advise him. The Vizier, who was before sensible of the excess of his Masters humour in this particular, and that immoderation, even in lawful and innocent exercises, may become a Vice, and when acted with oppression of the Subject as dangerous as other terms which sound more of Tyranny and Violence, resolved with courage and humility to represent to his Master the danger of such expensive Huntings, especially when over frequent; and therefore assured those who made their Complaints, That for the future all matters should be redressed, and the Grand Signior should not be so prodigal in his Huntings on the Purse of his Subjects. And so sensible was the Vizier of the disorders which might arise from hence, if some remedy were not speedily applied, that he immediately departed *Constantinople* to find out the Grand Signior, who was lodged in some retired cool place, environed with Woods and Mountains; leaving *Solyman* Pasha for Chimacam, or Deputy, in his place, in whose former Government many terrible Fires had happened in *Constantinople*. 1665.

The *Nogay* Tartar desires Lands of the Grand Signior.

About this time Advice came to *Constantinople* of certain Addresses the *Nogay* Tartar had made to the Pasha of *Silistria* to obtain a Country to live in between the Rivers of *Boristhenes* and the *Danube*; for that their own Country being full, they were forced to abandon and empty it of forty or fifty thousand Families, who lived in Waggons, and had about a hundred thousand head of Cattle, all which with their substance, they proffered for Subjects to the Grand Signior, if he pleased to afford them protection, and Land for Pasture and habitation. The Pasha approving hereof, gave them assurance of security under the shadow of his Masters favours, sending information thereof to the Port, who willingly embraced these new-come Guests, and entered into consultation what Country and Limits should be assigned them. In the mean time the *Krim* Tartar jealous of this people, and not knowing what inconvenience such Neighbourhood might produce, fell upon them, and cut off a great number of them, forcing the rest to return into their own Country, which though ill taken at first by the Turks, was yet afterwards excused by the Tartar, and dissembled by the Port.

Though all things appeared quiet at *Constantinople* after the Peace concluded with the Emperour, and that the German Ambassadour was returned back to his Master; yet the Turks prosecuted their Designs against *Venice*, and made great preparations in the Provinces of *Albania*, *Bossena*, and *Licca*, which confine on the Venetian Territories; and though in reality those Forces were not intended against those parts, but in order to a more warm prosecution of the War in *Candia*, whither the Vizier intended to transport himself in Person; yet the Venetian State not fully penetrating the Design, took the Alarm chiefly in *Dalmatia*, and reinforced their Garrisons of *Cataro* and other Fortresses. And that matters there might be well provided, and all things acted with due circumspection; Marquis *Villa* was ordered to visit those Garrisons in his Voyage to *Candia*; so that departing from *Venice* attended with two Gallies, he arrived in a few days at *Zara*, and thence proceeding to *Spalato*, where the Proveditor General, *Catarin Cornaro*, made at that time his residence; they both joined together to survey the most important places of that Province. They began with the City of *Spalato*, which rather seems a place intended by Nature for a Palace of delights, than a

Marquess *Villa* surveys the Forts in *Dalmatia*.

Spalato.

1665. Garriſon of Armes; being the Seat which *Diocleſian* (who was born at *Salona*, ſix miles diſtant from thence) choſe for his Garden of retirement, after he had renounced the Empire, and is now turned into a ruder ſhape of War, ſince the Invaſion of the Turk made it neceſſary to be fortified for ſecurity of it ſelf, and the parts circumjacent. *Spalato* is now very ſtrong, being ſecured by divers Redoubts; the chief of which is ſcituated on a little riſing, called *Grippe*, diſtant about a Musket-ſhot from the Town, is ſtrengthened with four Royal Baſtions, and with good Artillery; there is alſo a new Line of Fortification drawn round the Town, which renders it the ſtrongeſt, and moſt conſiderable of all *Dalmatia*: But to make this place the more impregnable, theſe Generals laid the foundation for another Bulwark; and as an evidence of their Union, they caſt a medal with a ſtamp on one ſide of *Cornaro*, and on the other of Marquis *Villa*, and ſo rendring thanks to God, the Service ended with firing all the Guns of the Town.

Curzola. Afterwards both the Generals embarking, paſſed that Night to *Curzola*, anciently called *Corcina Negra*, which is one of the greateſt and beſt of the Iſles of this Gulf; Thence paſſing by *Raguſi*, where the Deputies of that Government, in recognition of that Soveraingty which the Venetians have over the Adriatick Seas, preſented the uſual refreſhments to the General of the Province; and in a particular manner treated Marquis *Villa* with a Preſent in name of their Republick. That Night they arrived at the Entrance of the Channel of *Cataro*, and taking *Peraſto* in their way (which is a ſtrong Fortification about ſix miles diſtant from *Cataro*) they were received there with firing all the Guns of the Town, which were doubly multiplied by an Echo returned from the ſound of the neighbouring Mountains. Thence they proceeded to viſit *Budua*, a place well fortified, as alſo Fort S^t *George* in the Iſland *Lieſina*, which is the uſual Rendezvous of Brigantines, and armed Barques; at length they went to *Almiſſa*, where they made a general Muſter of all the Forces of the Province; in all which places having viewed and amended the defects in Fortification, and given order for ſupplying them with Ammunition and Proviſions neceſſary; they returned back to ſee the famous Fortreſs of *Cliſſa*, the ſcituation of which ſeems to have been planted when Nature deſired to ſport, and be wanton; for it iſſues, as it were, out of the Boſom of two Mountains, which are at an equal diſtance from the Town, and then drawing themſelves at each end into the faſhion of a Bow, ſeem to form a triumphal Arch. The paſſage through theſe Mountains is ſo narrow and crooked, that it appears like a Labyrinth; and being ſupplyed with plenty of Fountains and Ciſterns both within and without the Fortreſs, the Suburbs demoliſhed, and no incumbrances to cloy and weaken its ſtrength, is certainly more obliged to Nature for its defence than to Art. From hence they proceeded to view *Sebenico*, which is another ſtrong Fortreſs, ſcituated on a riſing Hill, and overviews a ſpacious Port, the entrance to which is ſecured by the Fort S^t *Nicholas*; and the City it ſelf, beſides its own Walls, is guarded by a Cittadel, and by the new works of S^t *John*, ſcituated on two Hills; From hence the Generals returning to *Zara*, the Capital City of the Province, which being encompaſſed by the Sea, and annexed to the Land only by a Bridge, which is alſo defended by a Fort, is rendered the ſtrongeſt and moſt impregnable of all the Fortreſſes. And here having made a general Muſter of all the Forces, and viſited the Country

Cataro and Peraſto.

Cliſſa.

Sebenico.

of

of *Novigrade*, and *Possidaria* the habitations of the Morlach Militia, the Marquis returned again to *Venice*, being called thither by the Senate; for the Year being now well spent, and the Winter approaching too near to admit of any considerable action; the time grew seasonable for counsels in which manner the Affairs of Wars might best and most advantageously be directed for the succeeding Year. Yet in regard Advices were come from *Candia*, That the Turks were much afflicted with the Pestilence, and scarcity of all Provisions; it was judged requisite to prosecute the War the more eagerly against them, before the Great Vizier arrived there with such an Army as commonly attends his Person; it being advised from Count *Leslie*, the Emperours Ambassadour at *Constantinople*, that the whole force of the Ottoman Armes was to refund it self speedily on that Island. This Intelligence hastned the departure of Marquis *Villa* from *Venice*, with such Force as was then in a readiness, being directed with necessary Instructions of what he ought to act in *Candia*. In his Voyage thither he touched at *Corsu*, *Cefalonia*, and *Zant*, and afterwards happily arrived on the 6th of *December* at the Isle of *Paros* or *Paresi* in the *Archipelago*, where he met with the Captain General, and other Chief Commanders of the Fleet, together with *Vuertmiller* the Lieutenant General of the Ordnance; and here the Marquess reforming several Companies, which were much diminished in their numbers, a general Muster was made of all the Forces, which being ranged in form of Battel, they were accounted to amount unto eighteen hundred Horse, and eight thousand two hundred ninety five Foot. This Army had some want of Fire-Armes, and other Necessaries, of which the Senate being advised, they promised to supply all by a Convoy, then preparing; and congratulating in their Letters to Marquis *Villa* the good News of his happy Arrival at *Paros*, raised and prompted him to Atchievements worthy his Courage and Grandeur; for being a Person now elevated on the Bulwarks of *Candia*, he seemed to stand on that Theatre, where he had all *Europe* for his Spectators. 1665.

The Troubles which the English Trade found this Year in Turky.

THE Currant of our Negotiations ran smoothly this Year without any considerable interruption in all parts of *Turkie*, unless at *Aleppo*, where the Emin, or Customer, according to his usual practice, began a new pretence, not only against former Presidents, but also against the very Letter of Capitulations, demanding 2 ; *per Cent.* Custom at *Scanderone*, and 3 at *Aleppo*; a matter against which our Articles of Peace and Commerce have made many and sundry Provisions; Notwithstanding the Customer (like others of his Predecessours, who have ever at *Aleppo* made Disputes about their Customes, without being restrained by the most strict Imperial Commands, and plainest Decisions of the Law) resolved to make good his pretence by a sequestration on the whole Cargo of two general Ships, then under his Custody in the Custom-house. The Consul hereupon had recourse to the Justice of the Kadi, and there produced the Capitulations, the Hattesheriff, or Royal Signature, under the hand of Sultan *Ibrahim*, wherein the particulars of Custom were regulated, a Command from the present Vizier, and his Father, and other Commands

1665. Commands from *Adrianople* and *Conſtantinople*, all of the ſame tenour. The Emin on the other ſide, had no other Argument than his Baratz or Patent from the Teſterdar or Lord Treaſurer, which was ſo prevalent, and of that force with the Kadi, joined with the fear and favour he bore towards the Emin; that it was judged by him to ſtand in ballance with all the other Imperial Signatures; and therefore left the buſineſs (which was as much as the Cuſtomer deſired) undecided, making a Declaration, that the reaſons on both ſides were ſo forcible, and the arguments ſo equal, that he concluded it more proper, that a matter of ſo great importance ſhould be reſerved for the determination of more powerful and eminent Officers. The matter ſtanding thus doubtfully, the Emin conceiving it too great a pawn to detain ſo great a quantity of Cloth for a difference only in the Cuſtom, delivered to every man his conſignation, reſerving only fifty Bales to make himſelf good on the judgment and commands he expected ſhortly in his favour. The difference being now referred up to the Court, the Lord Ambaſſadour received the juſt complaints of the Conſul and Merchants; for redreſs of which abuſes, his Excellency diſpatched my ſelf, then his Secretary and Druggerman, to the Vizier at *Belgrade*, attending the advice of the German Ambaſſadours entrance into the Frontiers. The Vizier having heard the difference, was ready to have paſſed ſentence in our favour, had not the Teſterdar the only Advocate for the Cuſtomer, from whom the Original of our Evils was derived, put an unhappy obſtacle in the courſe of our Negotiations, pretending that there were antient Teſters or accounts amongſt his Books, which mentioned two and a half *per Cent.* at *Scanderone*, and three at *Aleppo*; and though it was urged to the contrary, that we never had to do with the Regiſters of the Treaſurers, nor had managed any Apalto, or Farm of the Grand Signior; but our Capitulations are our Law and Rule, and our Commands Regiſtred in the Reis Efendi's, or Secretaries Office, than which we never had, nor could ever acknowledge any other Canon: yet the Vizier over-ruled our reaſons, and we were forced to ſubmit, until the Teſterdar took his leiſure to examine and conſult his Books.

The Vizier and his Army being then upon their return, we found no opportunity to renew our ſollicitations, until we came to *Niſſa*, where the Army had two days of repoſe, and there again as in other places before, we urged the Teſterdar ſo importunately, that at length we compelled him to acknowledge to the Vizier, that our affairs were not regiſtred in his Office. So that now we took liberty to declare our reaſons to the Vizier; which we drew from our Capitulations, the antient Hatteſheriff of *Aleppo*, the Vizier and his Fathers own Commands, and Copies of others of the like tenour, not omitting other Arguments and Evidences, which rendered the buſineſs not a little clear and apparent to the capacity of the Vizier: who thereupon reprehended the Teſterdar, for ſeeking by his Command to introduce an innovation contrary to our Capitulations, and promiſed us Commands in our favour; but we replyed, that we had already Commands, and the Grand Signiors own Royal Signature on our ſide, and that our Ambaſſadour had not ſent us ſo many days Journey to ſeek another, which perhaps would as ill be obſerved as the former; But it was the puniſhment of the Cuſtomer which the Ambaſſadour expected, who againſt ſo many clear evidences, durſt proceed to the violation of them all. Many other words were added pertinent and forcible

forcible to the preſent purpoſe. To which the Vizier anſwered, that he was now upon his Journey, where buſineſs of this nature was ill diſpatched. And therefore ordered us to proceed to *Adrianople*, where he ſhould have more leiſure to conſider what was fit to be done in order to juſtice and ſatisfaction of the Ambaſſadour. Hereupon I left the Army, wherein I was much incommoded, and proceeded with all haſte to *Adrianople*, where the Great Vizier in ſome days after me arrived, and there we renewed our wonted endeavours, and ſollicitations, that we might come to an end of this buſineſs, and that juſtice might be done us: But the Vizier willing to gratify the Teſterdar, was not forward to paſs his Sentence, but put us again off to *Conſtantinople*, where the Books ſhould be peruſed, that were laid up amongſt the Regiſters of the *Divan*: For that this matter was a concernment of the G. Signiors, in determination of which, he ought to be tender and conſiderate. That for ſending for *Ibrahim* Aga, the Cuſtomer (which was one of the principal of our demands) to anſwer for the injuries he had done our Nation, he was already ordered to appear at Court, where he ſhould be ready to ſtand to judgment for what the Ambaſſadour ſhould object againſt him: and this had been the anſwer which was contrived to be given to the Ambaſſadour himſelf, in caſe he had (as once he deſigned) appeared at *Adrianople* in perſon on this occaſion. 1665.

The Vizier arriving at *Conſtantinople* ſome few Months after; The Lord Ambaſſadour obtained Audience of him on the 15th of *October*, preſſing ſtill for juſtice againſt the Cuſtomer of *Aleppo*: but nothing thereof could be procured, beſides a Command for reſtitution of the fifty Bales of Cloth, detained in the hands of the Emin, upon the pretence before related, and that the payment of Cuſtoms ſhould be regulated after the rate of three *per Cent.* according to the antient uſance. For putting this Command in execution, an Aga was ordered to be diſpatched, for whoſe ſervice herein the Vizier allotted a thouſand Dollars ſhould be paid him, which though an extravagant reward, yet to put an honour and authority on the buſineſs, and not to diſpleaſe the Vizier, it was granted to him, and ſo he was diſpatched the 25th for *Aleppo*. But the troubles of our Merchants at *Aleppo* ended not here: For the Teſterdar greatly enraged to ſee his deſigns againſt us to have no better iſſue, thought to trouble us by a new invention of prohibiting the Scale of *Scanderone* to all Engliſh and other Chriſtian Veſſels, and that the Factories ſhould be transferred again over to *Tripoli* in *Soria*; a place formerly frequented by our Merchants, but by reaſon of the danger and inconvenience of that Port, the Trade was tranſported to the Scale of *Scanderone*. This alteration the Teſterdar pretended to have been granted to the Merchants at their earneſt Petition, and promiſe to the G. Signior, of payment of 13000. Dollars Yearly, for diſcharge and maintenance of thoſe Guards which were requiſite in that place for ſafety of the Coaſt, and defence of the Caravans which paſs with Merchants goods to *Aleppo*; but time and corruption of the Miniſters had deprived the Grand Signior of the benefit of that duty. And this he urged with the greater inſtance and eagerneſs, knowing that the Scale of *Scanderone* being prohibited, the Hatteſheriff whereon conſiſted the priviledge of the Merchants, and their ſole ſecurity muſt conſequently fall, and they forced to a new agreement. On this occaſion our Lord Ambaſſadour had Audience with the Vizier, and inſiſted on that point of our Capitulations, which gives us liberty

1665. liberty to trade in any part of the Grand Signiors Dominions; and therefore to consent to be restrained, or confined to any particular place, was to assent to a breach of the Capitulations, which was out of his power, and only to be dispensed with by his Master the King of *England*, and the Grand Signior by whom they were established; and to connive or assent to the breach of one particular clause, was to hazard the loss and breach of the whole: for that our Capitulations (to use the Turks saying) are like a string of Beads, of which, when one link is broken, the others drop off. To which the Vizier replied, that the Scale of *Scanderone* was open, and clear as before for the English Trade; but because the Tefterdar, and Customer, pretended that the Grand Signior was put to great expences for maintenance of a Watch and Guard at that Port, which was only in respect to the security of the Merchants Goods; Orders should be given for taking away those Officers, as unnecessary and insignificant to the publick Service; no Guards having ever been in that place, the Embassadour judged his business to be granted, and so thanked the Vizier and departed. But not many days after the Tefterdar procured a Command for shutting the Scale of *Scanderone*, and transporting the Factory to *Tripoli*: which Command was rather intended to affright our Nation into some composition, than really to be put in execution, as appeared by the sequel; for the Tefterdar better considered than to bring so great an *odium* upon himself from the whole Country and City of *Aleppo*, and to enforce the Embassadour to have recourse to the Grand Signiors own person, for redress of an abuse of so high a nature, in derogation of his Imperial Capitulations. Howsoever it is observable in the transaction of all this business, that it is difficult to bring a corrupt Turkish Minister to Justice or punishment, meerly for breach of our Capitulations, or in respect to any difference or abuse offered to Christians, unless the complaint be accompanied with presents or money, which are most prevalent Arguments in the Turkish Court; and in this Case I really believe, that had three or four thousand Dollars been offered as a reward for bringing the Customer to capital punishment, the complaint had found acceptance, and honourable success: for default of which, the Cause was starved, and naked, and carried no fire or heat in those aggravations with which it was represented. It is likewise observable, that business in the Turkish Court doth not always find that dispatch, or expedition, as is generally believed in Christendome, unless it come accompanied with the interest of the Ministers themselves, and then it is transacted in a moment, which otherwise languishes with delays, and will never want excuses to defer it.

Anno 1666. *Hegeira* 1077.

WE shall begin this Year with the strange rumour and disturbance of the Jews, concerning *Sabatai Sevi*, their pretended Messiah, which for being most principally acted in *Turkey*, may properly belong to the History of this time and place; which therefore for delight of the Readers, I shall here insert: for though it may have been elsewhere published, yet being an issue of my Pen, I may lawfully now own it, and annex it to this History, in respect of that near coherence it may have therewith; and that many other particulars have been added thereunto, which succeeded until the Death of this *Sabatai*.

According

According to the Predictions of several Christian Writers, especially of such who comment upon the Apocalypse or Revelations; this Year of 1666. was to prove a Year of Wonders, of strange revolutions in the World, and particularly, of blessing to the Jews, either in respect of their Conversion to the Christian Faith, or of their Restoration to their Temporal Kingdom. This opinion was so dilated and fixt in the Countries of the Reformed Religion, and in the heads of Fanatical Enthusiasts, who dreamed of Fifth Monarchies, the down-fall of the Pope and Anti-Christ, and the greatness of the Jews, insomuch, that this subtle people judged this Year the time to stir, and to fit their Motion according to the season of the Modern Prophecies. Whereupon strange reports flew from place to place, of the March of multitudes of people from unknown parts into the remote deserts of *Arabia*, supposed to be the ten Tribes and a half, lost for so many Ages. That a Ship was arrived in the Northern parts of *Scotland*, with her Sails and Cordage of Silk, navigated by Marriners who spoke nothing but Hebrew, and with this Motto on their Sails, *The twelve Tribes of Israel.* These reports agreeing thus near to former Predictions, put the wild sort of the World into an expectation of strange accidents this Year should produce in reference to the Jewish Monarchy. 1666.

In this manner Millions of people were possessed when *Sabatai Sevi* first appeared at *Smyrna*, and published himself to the Jews for their Messiah, relating the greatness of their approaching Kingdom, the strong hand whereby God was about to deliver them from Bondage, and gather them from all the parts of the World. It was strange to see, how this fancy took, and how fast the report of *Sabatai*, and his Doctrine, flew through all parts where Jews inhabited, and so deeply possessed them with a belief of their new Kingdom and riches; and many of them with promotion to Offices of Government, renown and greatness; that in all places from *Constantinople* to *Buda* (which it was my fortune that Year to travel) I perceived a strange transport in the Jews, none of them attending to any business, unless to wind up former Negotiations, and to prepare themselves and Families for a Journey to *Jerusalem*; all their Discourses, their Dreams, and disposal of their affairs, tended to no other design, but a re-establishment in the Land of Promise, to Greatness and Glory, Wisdom and Doctrine of the Messiah, whose Original, Birth and Education is first to be recounted.

Sabatai Sevi was Son of *Mordechai Sevi*, an Inhabitant and natural of *Smyrna*, who gained his Livelihood by being Broker to an English Merchant in that place; a person who before his Death was very decrepit in his Body, and full of the Gout and other infirmities: But his Son *Sabatai Sevi* addicting himself to study and learning, became a notable proficient in the Hebrew and Arabick Languages; and especially in Divinity and Metaphysicks, he was so cunning a Sophister, that he vented a new Doctrine in their Law, and drew to the profession of it so many Disciples, as raised one day a tumult in the Synagogue; for which afterwards he was by censure of the Kockhams (who are the Expounders of the Law) banished out of the City.

During the time of his Exile he travelled to *Thessalonica*, now called *Salonica*, where he married a very handsom Woman; but either not having that part of Oeconomy as to govern a Wife, or being impotent as to Women, as was pretended, or that she found not favour in

1666. his eyes, she was divorced from him. Again, he took a second Wife more beautiful than the former; but the same causes of discontent raising a difference between them, he obtained another Divorce from this Wife also. And being now free from the incumbrances of a Family, his wandring head moved him to travel through the *Morea*, thence to *Tripoli* in *Syria*, *Gaza*, and *Jerusalem*, and by the way picked up a Ligornese Lady, whom he made his third Wife, the Daughter of some Polonian or German, her Original and Country not being very well known. And being now at *Jerusalem*, he began to reform their Law, and to abolish the Fast of *Tamuz*, (which they keep in the month of *June*) and meeting there with a certain Jew called *Nathan*, a proper Instrument to promote his design, he communicated to him his condition, his course of life, and intentions to declare himself the Messiah of the World, so long expected and desired by the Jews. This design took wonderfully with *Nathan*; and because it was thought necessary, according to Scripture and ancient Prophecies, that *Elias* was to precede the Messiah, as St. *John Baptist* was the Fore-runner of Christ, *Nathan* thought no man so proper to act the part of the Prophet as himself; and so no sooner had *Sabatai* declared himself the Messiah, but *Nathan* discovers himself to be his Prophet, forbidding all the Fasts of the Jews in *Jerusalem*, and declaring that the Bridegroom being come, nothing but joy and triumph ought to dwell in their habitations, writing to all the Assemblies of the Jews to perswade them to the same belief. And now the Schism being begun, and many Jews really believing what they so much desired, *Nathan* took the courage and boldness to prophesie,
June. That one year from the 27th of *Kislau*, which is the month of *July*, the Messiah was to appear before the Grand Signior, and to take from him his Crown, and lead him in chains like a Captive: *Sabatai* also at *Gaza* preached Repentance to the Jews, and Obedience to himself and Doctrine, for that the Coming of the Messiah was at hand. Which novelties so affected the Jews, Inhabitants of those parts, that they gave up themselves wholly to their Prayers, Alms, and Devotions; and to confirm this belief the more, it happened that at the same time that news hereof with all particulars were dispatched from *Gaza*, to acquaint the Brethren in foreign parts; the rumour of the Messiah had flown so swift, and gained such reception, that Intelligence came from all Countries, where the Jews sojourn, by Letters to *Gaza* and *Jerusalem*, congratulating the happiness of their deliverance, and expiration of their time of servitude by the appearance of the Messiah. To which they adjoyned other Prophecies relating to that Dominion the Messiah was to have over all the World, that for nine months after he was to disappear; during which time the Jews were to suffer, and several of them to undergo Martyrdom; but then returning again mounted on a celestial Lyon, with his Bridle made of Serpents with seven heads, accompanied with his Brethren the Jews, who inhabited on the other side of the River *Sabation*, he should be acknowledged for the sole Monarch of the Universe, and then the Holy Temple should descend from Heaven already built, framed, and beautified, wherein they should offer Sacrifices for ever. And here I leave the Reader to consider, how strangely this deceived People was amused, when these confident and vain reports and dreams of Power and Kingdoms had wholly transported them from the ordinary course of their trade and interest.

This

This noise and rumour of the Messiah having begun to fill all places, *Sabatai Sevi* resolved to travel towards *Smyrna*, the Country of his Nativity, and thence to *Constantinople*, the capital City, where the principal work of preaching was to be performed: *Nathan* thought it not fit to be long after him, and therefore travels by way of *Damascus*, where resolving to continue some time for better propagation of this new Doctrine, in the mean while writes this Letter to *Sabatai Sevi* as followeth. 1666.

22. *Kesvan of this Year.*

TO the King our King, Lord of our Lords, who gathers the dispersed of Israel, *who redeems our Captivity, the Man elevated to the height of all sublimity, the Messiah of the God of* Jacob, *the true Messiah, the Celestial Lyon,* Sabatai Sevi, *whose Honour be exalted, and his Dominion raised in a short time and for ever,* Amen. *After having kissed your hands, and swept the dust from your feet, as my duty is to the King of Kings, whose Majesty be exalted, and his Empire enlarged. These are to make known to the Supreme Excellency of that place, which is adorned with the beauty of your Sanctity, that the Word of the King and of his Law hath inlightned our faces, that day hath been a solemn day unto* Israel, *and a day of light unto our Rulers, for immediately we applied our selves to perform your Command, as our duty is. And though we have heard of many strange things, yet we are couragious, and our heart is as the heart of a Lyon, nor ought we to inquire a reason of your doings, for your works are marvellous and past finding out, and we are confirmed in our fidelity without all exception, resigning up our very Souls for the Holiness of your Name. And now we are come as far as* Damascus, *intending shortly to proceed in our Journey to* Scanderone, *according as you have commanded us, that so we may ascend and see the face of God in light, as the light of the face of the King of life: and we servants of your servants shall cleanse the dust from your feet, beseeching the Majesty of your Excellency and Glory, to vouchsafe from your habitation to have a care of us, and help us with the force of your right hand of strength, and shorten our way which is before us. And we have our eyes towards Jah, Jah, who will make haste to help us and save us, that the children of iniquity shall not hurt us, and towards whom our hearts pant, and are consumed within us, who shall give us talons of iron to be worthy to stand under the shadow of your Ass. These are the words of the servant of your servants, who prostrates himself to be trod on by the soals of your feet.*

Nathan Benjamin.

And that he might publish this Doctrine of the Messiah and himself more plainly, he wrote from *Damascus* this following Letter to the Jews at *Aleppo*, and parts thereabouts.

TO the Residue or remnant of the Israelites Peace without end. These my words are to give you notice, how that I am arrived in peace at Damascus, *and behold I go to meet the face of our Lord, whose Majesty be exalted; for he is the Soveraign of the King of Kings, whose Empire be enlarged. * According as he hath commanded us and the Twelve Tribes to elect unto him twelve men, so have we done: and we now go to* Scanderone *by his Command to shew our faces together with part of the principal of those particular friends to whom he hath given licence to assemble in that said place.*

* *Sabatai* wrote a Letter to elect one man out of every Tribe.

1666. *And now I come to make known unto you, That though you have heard ſtrange things of our Lord, yet let not your hearts faint or fear, but rather fortifie your ſelves in your faith, becauſe all his actions are miraculous and ſecret, which humane underſtanding cannot comprehend; and who can penetrate into the depth of them? In a ſhort time all things ſhall be manifeſted clearly unto you in their purity, and you ſhall know and conſider, and be inſtructed by the Inventor himſelf, and bleſſed is he who can expect and arrive to the Salvation of the true Meſſiah, who will ſpeedily publiſh his Authority and Empire over us now and for ever.*

Nathan.

And now all the Cities of *Turkie*, where the Jews inhabited, were full of the expectation of the Meſſiah, no Trade or courſe of gain was followed; every one imagined, that daily Proviſions, Richeſs, Honours, and Government were to deſcend upon him by ſome unknown and miraculous manner. An Example of which is moſt obſervable in the Jews at *Theſſalonica*, who now full of aſſurance, that the reſtauration of their Kingdom, and the accompliſhment of the times for the Coming of the Meſſiah was at hand, judged themſelves obliged to double their Devotions, and purifie their Conſciences from all ſins and enormities, which might be obſerved by the ſcrutiny of him who was now come to penetrate into the very thoughts and imaginations of Mankind. For which work, certain Kochams were appointed to direct the people in the regulation of their Prayers, Devotions, and Faſtings: but ſo forward was every one now in his acts of Penance, that they ſtayed not for the ſentence of the Kocham, or Preſcriptions or Rules, but applied themſelves immediately to Faſtings; and ſome in that manner beyond the abilities of Nature, that having for the ſpace of ſeven days taken no ſuſtenance, were famiſhed: others buried themſelves in their Gardens, covering their naked bodies with earth, their heads only excepted, remained in thoſe beds of dirt, until their bodies were ſtiffned with the cold and moiſture: others would endure to have melted wax dropt upon their ſhoulders: others to roul themſelves in ſnow, and throw their bodies in the coldeſt ſeaſon of the winter into the Sea, or frozen waters. But the moſt common manner of Mortification was firſt to prick their backs and ſides with thorns, and then to give themſelves thirty nine laſhes. All buſineſs was laid aſide, none worked or opened ſhop, unleſs to clear his Ware-houſe of Merchandiſe at any price: who had ſuperfluity in Houſhold-ſtuff ſold it for what he could, but yet not to Jews, who were interdicted from all bargains or ſales under pain of Excommunication, pecuniary mulcts, or corporal puniſhment; for their comportment as to buſineſs and imployment was eſteemed the teſt or touch-ſtone of their faith. It being the general Tenent, That in the days that the Meſſiah appeared, the Jews ſhould become Maſters of the Eſtates and Inheritance of Infidels, until when they ought to content themſelves with matters only neceſſary to maintain and ſupport life. But becauſe that every one was not Maſter of that Proviſion and Fortune as to live without daily labour; therefore to quiet the clamours of the poor, and prevent the enormous lives of ſome, who upon theſe occaſions would become vagabonds, and deſert their Cities, due order was taken to make collections, which were ſo liberally beſtowed, that in *Theſſalonica* only four hundred poor were ſupported by the meer charity of the richer.

And

And as they endeavoured to purge their consciences of sin, and to apply themselves to good works, that the Messiah might find the City prepared for his reception; so lest he should accuse them of any omission in their Law, and particularly in their neglect of that ancient Precept of Increase and multiply, they married children together of ten years of age, and some under, without respect to riches or poverty, condition or quality; but being promiscuously joyned to the number of six or seven hundred couple, upon better and cooler thoughts, after the deceit of the false Messiah was discovered, or the expectation of his Coming grew cold, were divorced, or by consent separated from each other. 1666.

In the heat of all this talk and rumour came *Sabatai Sevi* to *Smyrna*, the City of his Nativity, infinitely desired there by the common Jews, but by the Kochams or Doctors of their Law, who gave little or no credence to what he pretended, was ill received, not knowing what mischief or ruine this Doctrine and Prophecy of a new Kingdom might produce. Yet *Sabatai* bringing with him Testimonials of his Sanctity, holy Life, Wisdom, and gift of Prophecy, so deeply fixed himself in the heart of the generality, both as being holy and wise, that thereupon he took courage and boldness to enter into dispute with the Grand Kocham (who is the head or chief Expositor of their Law, and Superintendent of their civil Government) between whom the arguments grew so high, and language so hot, that the Jews who favoured the Doctrine of *Sabatai*, and feared the Authority of the Kocham, doubtful what might be the issue of the contest, appeared in great numbers before the Kaddee of *Smyrna*, in justification of their new Prophet, before so much as any accusation came against him; the Kaddee according to the custom of the Turks swallowed money on both sides, and afterwards remitted them to the determination of their own Justice. In this manner *Sabatai* gained ground daily; and the Grand Kocham with his Party, losing both the affection and obedience of his People, was displaced from his Office, and another constituted more affectionate and agreeable to the new Prophet, whose power daily increased by those confident reports of his Enemies being struck with phrensie and madness, until being restored to their former temper and wits by him, became his Friends, Admirers, and Disciples. No invitation was now made in *Smyrna* by the Jews, nor Marriage, or Circumcision held, where *Sabatai* was not present, accompanied to the solemnities with multitudes of his Followers, and the streets covered with Carpets or fine Cloth for him to tread on; but the humility of this Pharisee appeared such, that he would stoop and turn them aside, and so pass. And having thus fixed himself in the opinion and admiration of the people, he began to take on himself the Title of Messiah and the Son of God, and to make this following Declaration to all the Nations of the Jews, which being wrote Originally in Hebrew, was translated for me faithfully into Italian in this manner.

L'Unico Figliolo e Primogenito di Dio Sabatai Sevi, il Messiah e Salvatore d'Israel, a tutti li Figlioli d'Israel eletti di Dio, Pace. Essendo che sette fatti degni di veder quel gran giorno della deliberatione e salvatione di Israel, e consummatione delle Parole di Dio promesse per li suoi Profeti, e Padri nostri, per il suo diletto Figlio di Israel. Ogni vostra amaritudine si converta in allegrezza, e li vostri digiugni si faccino feste, per che non piangerete, O mici Figlioli di Israel, havendosi dato iddio la consolatione innarabile

1666. *rabile feſtegiateri con Timpani, Organi, e Muſiche, ringratiando quello chi ha adempito il promeſſa dalli ſecoli, facendo ogni giorno quelle coſe che ſolete fare nelle Calende, e quel giorno dedicato all' afflittione e meſtitia, convertite lo in giorno giocondo pro la mia comparſa. E non ſpaventateri niente, per che haverete Dominio ſopra le Genti, non ſolamente di quelle, che ſi vedono in Terra ma quella che ſono in fondi del Mare. Il tutto pro voſtra conſolatione e allegrezza.*

Which tranſlated into Engliſh runs thus.

"THE only and firſt-born Son of God *Sabatai Sevi*, the Meſſiah and "Saviour of *Iſrael*, to all the Sons of *Iſrael*, Peace. Since that you "are made worthy to ſee that great day of Deliverance and Salvation "unto *Iſrael*, and accompliſhment of the Word of God promiſed by his "Prophets and our Forefathers, and by his beloved Son of *Iſrael*, let "your bitter ſorrows be turned into Joy, and your faſt into Feſtivals, for "you ſhall weep no more, O my Sons of *Iſrael*; for God having given "you this unſpeakable comfort, rejoyce with Drums, Organs, and Mu-"ſick, giving thanks to him for performing his promiſes from all Ages, "doing that every day which is uſual for you to do upon the Calends, "and that day dedicated to affliction and ſorrow, convert you unto a "day of mirth for my appearance. And fear you nothing, for you ſhall "have Dominion over the Nations, and not only over thoſe who are on "Earth, but over thoſe creatures alſo which are in the depth of the Sea. "All which is for your conſolation and rejoycing.

Sabatai Sevi.

Notwithſtanding the Diſciples of *Sabatai Sevi*, were not ſo numerous, but many oppoſed his Doctrine, publickly avouching, that he was an Impoſtor, and deceiver of the people, amongſt which was one *Samuel Pennia*, a man of good Eſtate and Reputation in *Smyrna*; who arguing in the Synagogue, that the preſent ſigns of the Coming of the Meſſiah were not apparent, either according to Scripture, or the Doctrine of Rabbins, raiſed ſuch a Sedition and Tumult amongſt the Jews, as not only prevailed againſt his arguments, but had alſo againſt his life, had he not timely conveyed himſelf out of the Synagogue, and ſo eſcaped the hands of the Multitude, who now could more eaſily endure Blaſphemy againſt the Law of *Moſes*, and Prophanation of the Sanctuary, than contradiction or miſbelief of the Doctrine of *Sabatai*. But howſoever it fell out, *Pennia* in a ſhort time became a Convert, and Preacher up of *Sabatai* for the Son of God, and Deliverer of the Jews; and not only he, but his whole Family, his Daughters propheſie, and fall into ſtrange ecſtaſies: and not only this houſe, but above four hundred men and women propheſie of the growing Kingdom of *Sabatai*, and young Infants who could ſcarce yet ſtammer out a ſyllable to their Mothers, repeat and pronounce clearly the Name of *Sabatai* the Meſſiah and Son of God. For thus far had God permitted the Devil to delude this people, that their very children were for a time poſſeſſed, and voices heard to ſound from their ſtomachs and entrails: thoſe of riper years fell firſt into a trance, foamed at the mouth, and recounted the future proſperity and deliverance of the Iſraelites, their Viſions of the Lyon of *Judah*, and the Triumphs of *Sabatai*. All which were certainly true, being effects of diabolical deluſions, as the Jews themſelves ſince have confeſſed to me.

With

With these concomitant accidents and successes *Sabatai Sevi* growing more presumptuous, that he might correspond with the Prophecies of Greatness and Dominion of the Messiah, proceeded to Election of those Princes which were to govern the Israelites in their March towards the Holy Land, and to dispense Judgment and Justice after their Restauration. 1666.

In this manner things ran to a strange height of madness amongst the Jews at *Smyrna*, when appeared such Pageantry of Greatness, that no Comedy could equal the mock-shows they represented. And though none durst openly confess any scruple or doubt of this common received Belief, yet for confirmation of the Jews in their Faith, and astonishment of the Gentiles, it was judged no less than necessary, that *Sabatai* should shew some Miracles, whereby to evince all the World that he was the Messiah. And as the present occasion seemed to require an evidence and conviction infallible of this truth, so it was daily expected by the Vulgar with an impatience suitable to humors disposed to Novelty, who out of every action and motion of their Prophet, began to fancy something extraordinary and supernatural. *Sabatai* was now horribly puzzled for a Miracle, though the imagination of the people was so vitiated, that any leger-de-main or slight of hand would have passed more easily with them for a Wonder, than *Moses* striking the Rock for water, or dividing the Red Sea. And an occasion happening, that *Sabatai* was in behalf of his Subjects to appear before the Kaddee or Judge of the City, to demand ease and relief of some oppressions which aggrieved them; it was thought necessary a Miracle should be worked now or never, when *Sabatai* appearing with a formal and Pharisaical gravity which he had starched on, some on a sudden avouched to see a Pillar of Fire between him and the Kaddee, which report presently was heard through the whole room, filled with Jews that accompanied *Sabatai*. Some of whom, who strongly fancied it, vowed and swore they saw it; others in the outward Yard, or that could not come near to hear or see for the crowd, as speedily took the Alarm, and the rumor ran, and belief received by the Women and Children at home in a moment. So that *Sabatai Sevi* returned to his house triumphant, fixed in the hearts of his People, who now needed no farther Miracles to confirm them in their Faith. And thus was *Sabatai* exalted, when no man was thought worthy of communication, who did not believe him for the Messiah: others were called Kophrim, Infidels, or Heretieks, subjected to the Censure of Excommunication, with whom it was not lawful so much as to eat. Every man produced his Treasure, his Gold, and Jewels, offering them at the feet of *Sabatai*; so that he could have commanded all the Wealth of *Smyrna*, but he was too subtle to accept their money, lest he should render his design suspected by any acts of covetousness.

Sabatai Sevi having thus fully fixed himself in *Smyrna*, and filled other places with the rumors of him, declared that he was called by God to visit *Constantinople*, where the greatest part of his work was to be accomplished; in order whereunto he privately shipped himself with some few Attendants on a Turkish Saike in the month of *January* 166$\frac{6}{7}$, lest the crowd of his Disciples, and such who would press to follow him, should endanger him in the eyes of the Turks, who already began to be scandalized at the Reports and Prophecies concerning his Person. But though *Sabatai* took few into the Vessel with him, yet multitudes of Jews travelled

1666. velled over land to meet him again at *Conſtantinople*, on whom all their Eyes and expectations were intent. The Wind proving Northerly, as commonly it is in the *Helleſpont* and *Propontis*, *Sabatai* was thirty nine days in his Voyage, and yet the Veſſel not arrived: So little power had this Meſſiah over the Sea and Winds. In which time the News forerunning to *Conſtantinople* that the Jews Meſſiah was near, all that people prepared to receive him with the ſame joy and impatience as was expreſſed in other parts where he arrived. The Great Vizier then alſo at *Conſtantinople*, (being not yet departed on his expedition for *Candia*) having heard ſome rumours of this Man, and the diſorder and madneſs he had raiſed amongſt the Jews, ſent two Boats, whilſt the Saik was detained by contrary Winds, with Commands to bring him up Priſoner to the Port, where accordingly *Sabatai* being come, was committed to the moſt loathſome and darkeſt Dungeon in the Town, there to remain in farther expectation of the Viziers Sentence. The Jews were not at all diſcouraged at this ill Treatment of their Prophet, but rather confirmed in their belief of him, as being an accompliſhment of the Prophecy of thoſe things which ought to precede his Glory and Dominion; which Conſideration induced the Chiefeſt Perſons amongſt the Jews to make their Viſits and Addreſſes to him with the ſame Ceremony and Reſpect in the Dungeon, as they would have done, had he then ſate exalted on the ſublime Throne of *Judah*. Several of them, with one *Anacago* by name, a Man of great eſteem amongſt the Jews, attended a whole day before him, with their Eyes caſt down, their Bodies bending forward, and hands croſs'd before them; (which are poſtures of humility and ſervice in the Eaſtern Parts) the undecency of the place, and preſent ſubjection not having in the leaſt abated their high thoughts and reverence towards his perſon.

For the Jews in *Conſtantinople* were become as mad and diſtracted, as they were in other places, all Trade and Traffick forbidden, and thoſe who owed money, in no manner careful how to ſatisfie it; Amongſt which wild Crew, ſome were indebted to our Merchants at *Galata*, who not knowing the way to receive their money, partly for their intereſt, and partly for curioſity, thought fit to viſit this *Sabatai*, complaining, That ſuch particular Jews, upon his Coming, took upon them the boldneſs to defraud them of their right, and deſired he would be pleaſed to ſignifie to thoſe his Subjects, his pleaſure to have ſatisfaction given.

Whereupon *Sabatai*, with much affectation, took pen and paper, and wrote to this effect.

To you of the Nation of the Jews, who expect the appearance of the Meſſiah, and the ſalvation of Iſrael, *Peace without end. Whereas we are informed, That you—— are indebted to ſeveral of the Engliſh Nation, It ſeemeth right to us to enorder you to make ſatisfaction to theſe your juſt Debts: which if you refuſe to do, and not obey us herein; know you that then you are not to enter with us into our Joys and Dominions.*

In this manner *Sabatai Sevi* remained a Priſoner at *Conſtantinople* for the ſpace of two Months; at the end of which the Vizier having deſigned his expedition for *Candia*, and conſidering the rumour and diſturbance the Preſence of *Sabatai* had made already at *Conſtantinople*, thought it not ſecure to ſuffer him to remain in the Imperial City, whilſt both the Grand Signior, and himſelf were abſent; and therefore changed his Priſon to the *Dardanelli*, otherwiſe called the Caſtle of *Abydos*, being on

on the *Europe* side of the Hellespont, opposite to *Sestos*, places famous in Greek Poetry. This removal of *Sabatai* from a worse Prison, to one of a better Air, confirmed the Jews with greater confidence of his being the Messiah, supposing that had it been in the power of the Vizier, or other Officers of the Turks, to have destroyed his Person, they would never have permitted him to live unto that time, in regard their Maximes enforce them to quit all jealousies and suspicions of ruine to their State by the death of the Party feared; which much rather they ought to execute on *Sabatai*, who had not only declared himself the King of *Israel*, but also by Prophecies published fatal things to the Grand Signior and his Kingdoms. 1666.

With this Consideration, and others preceeding, the Jews flocked in great numbers to the Castle, where he was imprisoned, not only from the Neighbouring Parts, but also from *Poland*, *Germany*, *Ligorn*, *Venice*, *Amsterdam*, and other places, where the Jews reside; on all whom, as a reward of the expence and labours of their Pilgrimage, *Sabatai* bestowed plenty of his Benedictions, promising encrease of their Store and enlargement of possessions in the Holy Land. So great was the confluence of the Jews to this place, that the Turks thought it requisite to make their advantage thereof, and so not only raised the price of their Provisions, Lodgings, and other necessaries, but also denied to admit any to the presence of *Sabatai*, unless for money, setting the price sometimes at five, sometimes at ten Dollars, or more or less, according as they guessed at the abilities and zeal of the Person; by which gain and advantage to the Turks, no Complaints or Advices were carried to *Adrianople*, either of the Concourse or Arguments amongst the Jews in that place, but rather all Civilities and Liberties indulged unto them, which served as a farther Argument to ensnare this poor People in the belief of their Messiah.

During this time of Confinement *Sabatai* had leisure to compose and institute a new Method of Worship for the Jews, and principally the manner of the Celebration of the day of his Nativity, which he prescribed in this manner.

BRethren, and my People, Men of my Religion, inhabiting the City of Smyrna *the Renowned, where live Men, and Women, and Families; much Peace be unto You from the Lord of Peace, and from Me his beloved Son King* Solomon. *I command you, That the ninth of the Month of* Ab (which according to our account answered that year to the Month of *June*) *next to come, you make a Day of Incitation, and of great Joy, celebrating it with choise Meats, and pleasing Drinks, with many Candles and Lamps, with Musick and Songs; because it is the day of the Birth of* Sabatai Sevi *the High King, above all the Kings of the Earth. And as to matters of labour, and other things of like nature, do as becomes you upon a day of Festival, adorned with your finest Garments. As to your Prayers, let the same Order be used as upon Festivals. To converse with Christians on that day is unlawful, though your Discourse be of matters indifferent; all labour is forbidden, but to sound Instruments is lawful.*

This shall be the method of your Prayers on this day of Festival. After you have said, Blessed be thou, O Holy God; then proceed, and say: Thou hast chosen us before all people, and hast loved us, and hast been delighted with us, and hast humbled us more than all other Nations, and hast sanctified

1666. *fied us with thy Precepts, and haſt brought us near to thy Service, and the Service of our King. Thy Holy, Great, and Terrible Name thou haſt publiſhed amongſt us; And haſt given us, O Lord God, according to thy love, times of Joy, of Feſtivals, and times of Mirth, and this Day of Conſolation, for a ſolemn Convocation of Holineſs, for the Birth of our King the Meſſiah* Sabatai Sevi, *thy Servant, and firſt-born Son in love, through whom we commemorate our coming out of* Egypt. *And then you ſhall read for your Leſſon the firſt, ſecond, and third Chapters of* Deuteronomy *to the ſeventeenth Verſe; appointing for the reading thereof five men, in a perfect and uncorrupted Bible; adding thereunto the Bleſſings of the Morning, as are preſcribed for Days of Feſtivals. And for the Leſſon out of the Prophets, uſually read in the Synagogue every Sabbath, you ſhall repeat the* 31th *Chapter of* Jeremiah *to your Prayer called the Muſſaf (uſed in the Synagogue every Sabbath and ſolemn Feſtival.) Inſtead of the Sacrifice of Addition at the returning of the Bible to its place, you ſhall read with an audible Voice, and clear Sound, and with holy Harmony the* 95th *Pſalm. And at the firſt Praiſes in the morning, after you have ſung Pſalm* 91, *and juſt before you ſing Pſalm* 98, *you ſhall repeat Pſalm* 132; *but in the laſt Verſe where it is ſaid,* As for his enemies I ſhall clothe them with ſhame, but upon himſelf ſhall his Crown flouriſh; *in the place of [upon himſelf] you ſhall read, Upon the Moſt High; after which ſhall follow the* 126th *Pſalm, and then the* 113th *to the* 119th.

At the Conſecration of the Wine upon the Vigil, or Even, you ſhall make mention of the Feaſt of Conſolation, which is the day of the Birth of our King the Meſſiah Sabatai Sevi, *thy Servant, and firſt-born Son; giving the Bleſſing as followeth. Bleſſed be thou, our God, King of the World, who haſt made us to live, and haſt maintained us, and haſt kept us alive unto this time. Upon the Eve of this Day you ſhall alſo read the* 81 *Pſalm, as alſo the* 132, *and* 126 *Pſalms, which are appointed for the Morning Praiſes. And this Day ſhall be unto you for a remembrance of a ſolemn Day unto eternal Ages, and a perpetual Teſtimony between me, and the Sons of* Iſrael.

Audite audiendo, & manducate bonum.

Beſides which Order and Method of Liturgy for Solemnization of his Birth, he preſcribed other Rules for Divine Service, and particularly publiſhed the ſame Indulgence and priviledge to every one who ſhould pray at the Tomb of his Mother, as if he had taken on him a Pilgrimage to pray and ſacrifice at *Jeruſalem.* The Devotion of the Jews towards this pretended Meſſiah, encreaſed ſtill more and more; ſo that not only the chief of the City went to attend and proffer their ſervice towards him in the time of his Impriſonment, but likewiſe decked their Synagogue with *S. S.* in Letters of Gold, making for him on the Wall a Crown, in the Circle of which was wrote the 91 Pſalm at length, in a fair and legible Character; attributing the ſame Titles to *Sabatai*, and expounding the Scriptures in the ſame manner in favour of his appearance, as we do of our Saviour.

Howſoever ſome of the Jews remained in their Wits all this time, amongſt which was a certain Cocham at *Smyrna*, one zealous of his Law, and of the good and ſafety of his Nation; and obſerving in what a wild manner the whole people of the Jews was tranſported with the groundleſs belief of a Meſſiah, leaving not only their Trades, and Courſe of Living, but publiſhing Prophecies of a ſpeedy Kingdom, of reſcue from the

the tyranny of the Turk, and leading the Grand Signior himself captive in Chains; matters so dangerous, and obnoxious to the State wherein they lived, as might justly convict them of Treason and Rebellion, and leave them to the mercy of that Justice, which on the least jealousie and suspicion of matters of this nature, uses to extirpate Families, and subvert the Mansion houses of their own People, much rather of the Jews, onwhom theTurks would gladly take this occasion to despoil them of their Estates, and condemn the whole Nation to perpetual Slavery. And indeed it would have been a greater wonder than ever *Sabatai* shewed, that the Turks took not advantage from all these extravagancies to drain the Jews of a considerable Sum of money, and set their whole Race in *Turkie* at a Ransome, had not these passages yielded them matter of pastime, and been the subject of the Turks laughter and scorn, supposing it a disparagement to the greatness of the Ottoman Empire, to be concerned for the rumours and combustions of this despised people. With these Considerations this Cocham, that he might clear himself of the blood and guilt of his Countrymen, and unconcerned in the common destruction, went before the Kaddee, and there protested against the present Doctrine, declaring, That he had no hand in setting up of *Sabatai*, but was an enemy both to him and his whole Sect. This freedom of the Cocham so enraged and scandalized the Jews, that they judged no Condemnation or Punishment too severe against such an Offender, and Blasphemer of their Law, and Holiness of the Messiah, and therefore with money and presents to the Kaddee, accusing him as disobedient in a Capital Nature to their Government, obtained sentence against him to shave his Beard, and commit him to the Gallies. 1666.

There wanted nothing now to the appearance of the Messiah, and the Solemnity of his Coming, but the presence of *Elias*, which the Jews began to expect hourly, and with that attention and earnestness, that a Dream or Phantasm to every weak head was judged to be *Elias*, it being taught and averred, that he was seen in divers Forms and Shapes, not to be certainly discovered or known before the Coming of the Messiah. For this Superstition is so far fixed amongst them, that generally in their Families they spread a Table for *Elias* the Prophet, to which they make an invitation of poor people, leaving the chief place for the Lord *Elias*, whom they believe to be invisibly present at the Entertainment, and there to eat and drink without diminution either of the Dishes or the Cup. One person amongst the Jews commanded his Wife, after a Supper of this kind, to leave the Cup filled with Wine, and the Meat standing all Night for *Elias* to feast and rejoyce alone, and in the morning arising early, affirmed, That *Elias* took this Banquet so kindly, that in token of gratitude and acceptance, he had repleniſhed the Cup with Oyl instead of Wine. It is a custom amongst the Jews on the Evening of the Sabbath to repeat certain praises of God, (*Hundola*) which signifies a distinction or separation of the Sabbath from the prophane days (as they call them;) which praises or blessing they observe to perform in this manner. One takes a Cup filled with Wine, and drops it through the whole house in the name of *Elias*, saying, Elias *the Prophet*, Elias *the Prophet, come quickly to us with the Messiah the Son of* David. And this, they affirm, is so acceptable to *Elias*, that he never fails to preserve that Family so devoted to him, and augment it with the Blessings of encrease. Many other things the Jews avouch of *Elias*, so ridiculous, as are not

1666. neceſſary to be declared, amongſt which this one is not from our purpoſe, That at the Circumciſion there is always a Chair ſet for *Elias*. And *Sabatai Sevi* being once invited at *Smyrna* to the Circumciſion of the firſt-born Son of one *Abraham Gutiere*, a Kinſman of *Sabatai*, and all things ready for the Ceremony; *Sabatai Sevi* exhorted the Parents of the Child to expect a while until his farther order. After a good half hour *Sabatai* ordered them to proceed, and cut the Prepuce of the Child, which was inſtantly performed with all joy and ſatisfaction to the Parents: and being afterwards demanded, wherefore he retarded the performance of that Function; his anſwer was, That *Elias* had not as yet taken his Seat, whom as ſoon as he ſaw placed, he ordered them to proceed: and that now ſhortly *Elias* would diſcover himſelf openly, and proclaim the news of their general Redemption. This being the common opinion of the Jews, and that *Sabatai Sevi* was the Meſſiah, being become an Article of Faith, it was not hard to perſwade them that *Elias* was come already, that they met him in their diſhes, in the dark, in their Bed-chambers, or any where elſe inviſible, in the ſame manner as our common people believe of Hobgoblins and Faries. For ſo it was, when one *Solomon Cremona*, an Inhabitant of *Smyrna*, making a great Feaſt, to which the principal Jews of that City were invited, after they had eaten and drank freely, one ſtarted from his ſeat, and avouched that he ſaw *Elias* upon the Wall, and with that bows to him, and complements him with all reverence and humility: ſome others having in like manner their fancies already prepoſſeſſed, and their eyes with the fume of Wine ill prepared to diſtinguiſh ſhadows, immediately agreed upon the object, and then there was not one in the Company who would ſay, he did not ſee him; at which ſurpriſe every one was ſtruck with reverence and awe, and the moſt eloquent amongſt them having their tongues looſed with Joy and Wine, directed Orations, Encomiums, and acts of thankfulneſs to him, courting and complementing *Elias*, as diſtracted Lovers do the ſuppoſed preſence of their Miſtreſſes.

Another Jew at *Conſtantinople* reported, That he met *Elias* in the ſtreets, habited like a Turk, with whom he had a long communication, and that he injoyned the obſervation of many neglected Ceremonies, and particularly the Zezit, *Numb.* 15. 38. *Speak unto the Children of Iſrael and bid them, that they make fringes in the borders of their garments throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of the border a ribband of blue.* Alſo the Peotz, *Levit.* 19. 27. *Ye ſhall not round the corners of your head, nor marre the corner of your beard.* This apparition of *Elias* being publiſhed, and as ſoon believed, every one began to obey the Viſion, by fringing their garments; and for their heads, though always ſhaved according to the Turkiſh and Eaſtern faſhion, and that the ſuffering hair to grow, to men not accuſtomed was heavy and incommodious for their health and heads; yet to begin again to renew, as far as was poſſible, the ancient Ceremonies, every one nouriſhed a Lock of hair on each ſide, which was viſible beneath their Caps, which ſoon after began to become a ſign of diſtinction between the Believers and the Koparims, a name of diſhonour, ſignifying as much as Unbeliever or Heretick, given to thoſe who confeſſed not *Sabatai* to be the Meſſiah. Which particulars, if not obſerved, it was declared as a menace of *Elias*, That the people of the Jews who come from the River *Sabation*, as is ſpecified in the 2. *Eſdras Chap.* 13. ſhall take vengeance of thoſe who are guilty of theſe omiſſions.

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But to return again to *Sabatai Sevi* himſelf, we find him ſtill remaining a Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Abydos* upon the *Helleſpont*, admired and adored by his Brethren with more honour than before, and viſited by Pilgrims from all parts, where the Fame of the Coming of the Meſſiah had arrived: amongſt which one from *Poland* named *Nehemiah Cohen* was of ſpecial note and renown, learned in the Hebrew, Syriack, and Chaldee, and verſed in the Doctrine and Kabala of the Rabbins, as well as *Sabatai* himſelf: one (of whom it was ſaid) had not this *Sevi* anticipated the deſign, eſteemed himſelf as able a Fellow for to act a Meſſiah as the other. Howſoever it being now too late to publiſh any ſuch pretence, *Sabatai* having already prepoſſeſſed the office, and with that the hearts and belief of the Jews, *Nehemiah* was contented with ſome ſmall appendage or relation to a Meſſiah; and therefore to lay his deſign the better, deſired a private Conference with *Sabatai*. Theſe two great Rabbins being together, a hot Diſpute aroſe between them. For *Cohen* alledged, That according to Scripture and Expoſition of the Learned thereupon, there were to be two Meſſiahs, one called *Ben. Ephraim*, and the other *Ben. David*: the firſt was to be a Preacher of the Law, poor and deſpiſed, and a Servant to the ſecond, and his Fore-runner; the other was to be great and rich, to reſtore the Jews to *Jeruſalem*, to ſit upon the Throne of *David*, and to perform and act all thoſe Triumphs and Conqueſts, which were expected from *Sabatai*. *Nehemiah* was contented to be *Ben. Ephraim*, the afflicted and poor Meſſiah, and *Sabatai* was well enough contented he ſhould be ſo; but that *Nehemiah* accuſed him for being too forward in publiſhing himſelf the latter Meſſiah, before *Ben. Ephraim* had firſt been known to the World, *Sabatai* took this reprehenſion ſo ill, either out of pride and thoughts of his own Infallibility, or that he ſuſpected *Nehemiah* being once admitted for *Ben. Ephraim*, would quickly, being a ſubtle and learned Perſon, perſwade the World that he was *Ben. David*, would by no means underſtand or admit of this Doctrine, or of *Ben. Ephraim* for a neceſſary Officer: and thereupon the Diſpute grew ſo hot, and the Controverſie ſo irreconcileable, as was taken notice of by the Jews, and controverted amongſt them as every one fancied; but *Sabatai* being of greater Authority, his Sentence prevailed, and *Nehemiah* was rejected as Schiſmatical, and an Enemy to the Meſſiah, which afterwards proved the ruine and downfal of this Impoſture. For *Nehemiah* being thus baffled, and being a Perſon of Authority, and a haughty Spirit, meditated nothing but revenge; to execute which to the full, he took a Journey to *Adrianople*, and there informed the chief Miniſters of State and Officers of the Court, who (by reaſon of the gain the Turks made of their Priſoner at the Caſtle on the *Helleſpont*) heard nothing of all this concourſe of people, and Prophecies of the Revolt of the Jews from their obedience to the Grand Signior. And taking likewiſe to his Counſel ſome certain diſcontented and unbelieving Cochams, who being zealous for their Nation, and jealous of the ill conſequences of this long continued and increaſing madneſs, took liberty to inform the Chimacam (who was Deputy of the Great Vizier then at *Candia*) that the Jew Priſoner at the Caſtle called *Sabatai Sevi* was a lewd perſon, and one who endeavoured to debauch the minds of the Jews, and divert them from their honeſt courſe of livelihood, and obedience to the Grand Signior, and that therefore it was neceſſary to clear the World of ſo factious and dangerous a Spirit. The Chimacam being thus informed, could do no

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1666. leſs than acquaint the Grand Signior with all the particulars of this mans condition, courſe of life, and Doctrine; which were no ſooner underſtood, but a Chaouſe or Meſſenger was immediately diſpatched to bring up *Sabatai Sevi* to *Adrianople*. The Chaouſe executed his Commiſſion after the Turkiſh faſhion in haſte, bringing *Sabatai* in a few days to *Adrianople*, without farther excuſe or ceremony, not affording him an hours ſpace to take a ſolemn farewel of his Followers and Adorers, who now were come to the vertical point of all their hopes and expectations.

The Grand Signior having by this time received divers informations of the madneſs of the Jews, and the pretences of *Sabatai*, grew big with deſire and expectation to ſee him; ſo that he no ſooner arrived at *Adrianople*, but the ſame hour he was brought before the Grand Signior. *Sabatai* appeared much dejected, and failing of that courage which he ſhewed in the Synagogue. And being demanded ſeveral queſtions in Turkiſh by the Grand Signior, he would not truſt ſo far to the vertue of his Meſſiahſhip, as to deliver himſelf in the Turkiſh Language, but deſired a Doctor of Phyſick (who had from a Jew turned Turk) to be his Interpreter, which was granted to him, but not without reflection of the ſtanders-by, that had he been the Meſſiah and Son of God, as he formerly pretended, his Tongue would have been looſed into Eloquence and perfection of Languages. But the Grand Signior would not be put off without a Miracle, and it muſt be one of his own chuſing; which was, that *Sabatai* ſhould be ſtripped naked, and ſet as a mark to his dextrous Archers; if the arrows paſſed not his body, but that his fleſh and skin was proof, like Armour, then he would believe him to be the Meſſiah, and the perſon whom God had deſigned to thoſe Dominions and Greatneſs he pretended. But now *Sabatai* not having faith enough to ſtand to ſo ſharp a tryal, renounced all his Title to Kingdoms and Governments, alledging that he was an ordinary Cocham and Jew, as others were, and had nothing of priviledge and vertue above the reſt. The Grand Signior notwithſtanding, not wholly ſatisfied with this plain confeſſion, declared, That having given publick ſcandal to the Profeſſors of the Mahometan Religion, and done diſhonour to his Soveraign Authority, by pretending to withdraw from him ſo conſiderable a portion as the Land of *Paleſtine*, his Treaſon and Crime could not be expiated without becoming a Mahometan Convert: which if he refuſed to do, the Stake was ready at the Gate of the Seraglio to impale him. *Sabatai* being now reduced to his laſt game and extremity, not being in the leaſt doubtful what to do; for to dye for what he was aſſured was falſe was againſt Nature, and the death of a mad man: replied with much chearfulneſs, that he was contented to turn Turk, and that it was not of force, but of choice, having been a long time deſirous of ſo glorious a profeſſion, he eſteemed himſelf much honoured, that he had an opportunity to owne it firſt in the preſence of the Grand Signior. And here was the *Non plus ultra* of all the bluſter and noiſe of this vain Impoſtour. And now the Reader may pauſe a while, and contemplate the ſtrange point of conſternation, ſhame, and ſilence, to which the Jews were reduced, when they underſtood, how ſpeedily their hopes were vaniſhed, and how poorly and ignominiouſly all their fancies and promiſes of a new Kingdom, their Pageantry and Offices for Devotion were paſt like a tale or a midnights dream. And all this was concluded, and the Jews ſunk

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on a ſudden and fallen flat in their hopes, without ſo much as a line of comfort or excuſe from *Sabatai*, more than in general to all the Brethren, that now they ſhould apply themſelves to their callings and ſervices of God, as formerly; for that matters relating to him were finiſhed, and the ſentence paſt. 1666.

The News of *Sabatai* turning Turk, and of the Meſſiah to a Mahometan, quickly filled all parts of *Turkie*; the Jews were ſtrangely ſurpriſed at it, and aſhamed of their eaſineſs of belief, of the arguments with which they had perſwaded others, and of the Proſelytes they had made in their own Families. Abroad they became the common deriſion of the Towns where they inhabited, the Boys houted after them, coining a new word at *Smyrna* (*Pouſtai*) which every one ſeeing a Jew, with a finger pointed out, would pronounce with ſcorn and contempt; ſo that this deceived people for a long time after remained with confuſion, ſilence, and dejection of ſpirit. And yet moſt of them affirm, That *Sabatai* is not turned Turk, but his ſhadow only remains on Earth, and walks with a white head, and in the habit of a Mahometan; but that his body and ſoul are taken into Heaven, there to reſide until the time appointed for accompliſhment of theſe Wonders: and this opinion began ſo commonly to take place, as if this people reſolved never to be undeceived, uſing the Forms and Rules for Devotion preſcribed them by their Mahometan Meſſiah. Inſomuch that the Cochams of *Conſtantinople* fearing the danger of this Errour might creep up and equal the former, condemned the belief of *Sabatai* being Meſſiah as damnable, and injoyned them to return to the ancient Method and Service of God, upon pain of Excommunication. The Stile and Tenour of their Letter was as followeth.

TO you who have the power of Prieſthood, and are the knowing, learned, and magnanimous Governours and Princes reſiding in the City of Smyrna, *may the Almighty protect you,* Amen, *for ſo is his will.*

Theſe our Letters which we ſend in the midſt of your Habitations, are upon occaſion of certain Rumors and Tumults come to our ears from that City of your Holineſſes. For there is a ſort of men amongſt you, who fortifie themſelves in their Errour, and ſay, Let ſuch an one our King live, and bleſs him in their publick Synagogues every Sabbath day; and alſo adjoyn Pſalms and Hymns invented by that man for certain days, with Rules and Methods for Prayer, which ought not to be done, and yet they ſtill remain obſtinate therein. And now behold it is known unto you, how many ſwelling waters have paſſed over our ſouls for his ſake; for had it not been for the mercies of God which are without end, and the merit of our Forefathers which hath aſſiſted us, the foot of Iſrael *had been raſed out by their enemies. And yet ſtill you continue obſtinate in things which do not help, but rather do miſchief, which God avert. Turn you therefore, for this is not the true way, but reſtore the Crown to the ancient cuſtom and uſe of your Forefathers, and the Law, and from thence do not move.*

The Jews ſcruple to ſay the head of *Iſrael.*

We command you, That with your Authority, under pain of Excommunication and other Penalties, all thoſe Ordinances and Prayers, as well thoſe delivered by the mouth of that man, as thoſe which he injoyned by the mouth of others, be all aboliſhed and made void, and to be found no more, and that they never enter more into your hearts; but judge according to the ancient Commandment of your Foreſathers, repeating the ſame Leſſons and Prayers every

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Joam Tob, *Son of* Hanania Ben Jacar.
Iſaac Alnacagua. Eliezer Caſti.
Joſeph Kazabi. Eliezer Gherſon.
Menaſſe Barudo. Joſeph Accohen.
Kaleb *Son of* Samuel. Eliezer Aluff.

During the time of all theſe tranſactions and paſſages at *Conſtantinople*, *Smyrna*, *Abydos* upon the *Helleſpont*, and *Adrianople*; the Jews leaving their mercantile courſe and advices what prices Commodities bore, and matters of Traffick, ſtuffed their Letters for *Italy* and other parts, with nothing but wonders and miracles wrought by their Meſſiah. As that, when the Grand Signior ſent to take him, he cauſed all the Meſſengers immediately to die; upon which, other Janizaries being again ſent, they all fell dead with a word only from his mouth; and being deſired to revive them again, he immediately recalled them to life, but of them only ſuch, who were true Turks, and not thoſe who had denied that Faith in which they were born, and had profeſſed. After this they added, that he went voluntarily to Priſon, and though the Gates were barred, and ſhut with ſtrong Locks of Iron, yet that *Sabatai* was ſeen to walk through the ſtreets with a numerous attendance; and when they laid ſhackles on his Neck and Feet, they not only fell from him, but were converted into Gold, with which he gratified his true and faithful Believers and Diſciples. Some Miracles alſo were reported of *Nathan*, that only at the reading of the name of any particular Man or Woman, he could immediately recount the ſtory of his or her Life, their ſins or defaults, and accordingly impoſe juſt correction and penance for them. Theſe ſtrong reports coming thus confidently into *Italy*, and all parts; the Jews of *Caſal di Monferrato*, reſolved to ſend three perſons in behalf of their Society, in the nature of extraordinary Legates, to *Smyrna*, to make enquiry after the truth of all theſe rumours, who accordingly arriving in *Smyrna*, full of expectation and hopes, intending to preſent themſelves with great humility and ſubmiſſion before their Meſſiah, and his Prophet *Nathan*, were entertained with the ſad news, that *Sabatai* was turned Turk; by which information, the Character of their Embaſſy in a manner ceaſing, every one of them laying aſide the formality of his Function, endeavoured to lodge himſelf beſt to his own convenience. But that they might return to their Brethren at home with the certain particulars of the ſucceſs of theſe affairs; they made a viſit to the Brother of *Sabatai*, who

who ſtill continued to perſwade them, that *Sabatai* was notwithſtanding the true Meſſiah; that it was not he who had taken upon him the habit and form of a Turk, but his Angel or Spirit, his Body being aſcended into Heaven, until God ſhall again ſee the ſeaſon and time to reſtore it; adding farther, that an effect hereof they ſhould ſee by the Prophet *Nathan* verifyed, now every day expected, who having wrought Miracles in many places, would alſo for their conſolation, reveal hidden ſecrets unto them, with which they ſhould not only remain ſatisfied but aſtoniſhed: with this only hope of *Nathan*, theſe Legates were a little comforted, reſolving to attend his arrival, in regard they had a Letter to conſign into his hands, and according to their inſtructions, were to demand of him the grounds he had for his Prophecies, and what aſſurance he had that he was divinely inſpired, and how thoſe things were revealed unto him, which he had committed to Paper, and diſperſed to all parts of the World. 1666.

At length *Nathan* arrived near *Smyrna*, on *Friday* the 3d of *March*, towards the Evening, and on *Sunday* theſe Legats made their viſit to him, but *Nathan* upon the news of what ſucceſs his Meſſiah met with, began to grow ſullen and reſerved, ſo that the Legats could ſcarce procure admittance to him; all that they could do, was to inform him, that they had a Letter to him from the Brotherhood of *Italy*, and Commiſſion to confer with him concerning the ground and foundation of his Prophecies: but *Nathan* refuſed to take the Letter, ordering *Kaim Abolafio*, a Cocham of the City of *Smyrna*, to receive it; ſo that the Legats returned little contented, but yet with hopes at *Nathans* arrival at *Smyrna*, to receive better ſatisfaction. 1666.

But whilſt *Nathan* intended to enter into *Smyrna*, the Cochams of *Conſtantinople*, being before adviſed of his reſolution to take a Journey into their parts, not knowing by which way he might come, ſent their Letters and Orders to *Smyrna*, *Pruſſia*, and every way round, to hinder his paſſage and interrupt his Journey, fearing that things beginning now to compoſe, the Turks appeaſed for the former diſorders, and the minds of the Jews in ſome manner ſetled, might be moved, and combuſtions burſt out afreſh by the appearance of this new Impoſtor, and therefore diſpatched this Letter as followeth.

TO you who are the Shepherds of Iſrael, *and Rulers, who reſide for the Great God of the whole World in the City of* Smyrna, *which is a Mother in* Iſrael, *to her Princes, her Prieſts, her Judges, and eſpecially to the perfect wiſe men, and of greateſt experience; may the Lord God cauſe you to live before him, and delight in the multitude of Peace,* Amen. *So be the will of the Lord.*

Theſe our Letters are diſpatched unto you, to let you underſtand, that in the place of your Holineſs, we have heard, that the learned man which was in Gaza, *called* Nathan Benjamin, *hath publiſhed vain Doctrines, and made the World tremble at his words and inventions. At this time we have received advice, that this man ſome dayes ſince departed from* Gaza, *and took his Journey by the way of* Scanderone, *intending there to Embark for* Smyrna, *and thence to go to* Conſtantinople, *or* Adrianople. *And though it ſeems a ſtrange thing unto us, that any man ſhould have a deſire to throw himſelf into a place of flames and fire, and into the ſparks of Hell: Notwithſtanding, we ought to fear and ſuſpect it,* for the feet of man always Arab. Prov.

1666. guide him to the worſt. *Wherefore, we underwritten, do advertiſe you, That this Man coming within the Compaſs of your Juriſdiction, you give a ſtop to his Journey, and not ſuffer him to proceed farther, but preſently to return back. For we would have you know, That at his Coming he will begin again to move thoſe tumults, which have been cauſed through Dreams of* Arab. Prov. *a new Kingdom,* And that miracles are not wrought every day. *God forbid, that by his Coming, the People of God ſhould be deſtroyed in all places where they are, of which he will be the firſt, whoſe blood be upon his own head; for in this Conjuncture every little errour or fault is made Capital; you may remember the danger of the firſt Combuſtion, and it is very probable, that he will be an occaſion of greater, which the tongue is not able to expreſs with words. And therefore, by virtue of ours, and your own Authority, you are to hinder him from proceeding farther in his journey, upon pain of all thoſe Excommunications, which our Law can impoſe, and to force him to return back again, both he and his Company. But if he ſhall in any manner oppoſe you, and rebel againſt your word, your Endeavours and Law are ſufficient to hinder him, for it will be well for him, and for all Iſrael.*

For the love of God, let theſe words enter into your ears, ſince they are not vain things, for the lives of all the Jews, and his alſo conſiſt therein. And the Lord God behold from Heaven, and have pity upon his people Iſrael. Amen. *So be his holy will written by thoſe who ſeek your Peace.*

Joam Tob *Son of* Chanania Jacar.
Moisé Benveniſte, Kaleb *Son of* Cocham,
Iſaac Alnacagua, Samuel *deceaſed*,
Joſeph Kizbi, Moisé Barudo,
Samuel Acazſina, Elihezer Aluf.
Jehouſual Raphael Benveniſte.

By theſe means *Nathan* being diſappointed of his wandring progreſs, and partly aſhamed of the Events contrary to his Prophecies, was reſolved, without entring *Smyrna*, to depart thence; howſoever he obtained leave to viſit the Sepulchre of his Mother, and there to receive pardon of his ſins (according to the inſtitution of *Sabatai* before mentioned;) but firſt waſhed himſelf in the Sea, in manner of purification, and ſaid his *Tevila*, or Prayers, at the Fountain, called by us the Fountain of *Santa Veneranda*, which is near the Cœmetery of the Jews, and then departed for *Xio* with two Companions, a Servant and three Turks to conduct him, without admitting the Legates to audience, or anſwering the Letter which was ſent him from all the Communities of the Jews in *Italy*. And thus the Embaſſy of theſe Legates was concluded and they returned from the place from whence they came, and the Jews again to their Wits, following their Trade and Profeſſion of Brokage, as formerly, with more quiet and advantage than the means of regaining their poſſeſſions in the Land of promiſe. And thus ended this mad phrenſie amongſt the Jews, which might have coſt them dear, had not *Sabatai* renounced his Meſſiahſhip at the Feet of *Mahomet*. Theſe matters were tranſacted in the Years 1665 and 1666; ſince which *Sabatai* hath paſſed his time devoutly in the Ottoman Court, educated at the Feet of the learned *Gamaliel* of the Turkiſh Law, (*viz.*) *Vanni* Effendi, Preacher to the Seraglio, or as we may ſo term him, Chaplain to the Sultan, one ſo literate as to be eſteemed the Grand Oracle of their Religion,

ligion, so precise, and conceited of his own Sanctity as a Pharisee, and so superstitious, that nothing seemed more to unhallow his Worship than the touch or approach of a Christian. To this Master *Sabatai* was a most docil Scholar, and profited, as we may imagine, beyond measure in the Turkish Doctrine; so that in exchange of such impressions *Vanni* thought it no disparagement, from so great a Rabbin as his new Disciple, to learn something of the Jewish Rites, and rectifie those crude Notions he had conceived of the Mosaical Law. In this manner *Sabatai* passed his days in the Turkish Court, as some time *Moses* did in that of the Egyptians; and, perhaps in imitation of him, cast his eyes often on the Afflictions of his Brethren, of whom, during his life, he continued to profess himself a Deliverer, but with that care and caution of giving scandal to the Turks, that he declared, Unless their Nation became like him, that is, renounce the Shadows, and imperfect Elements of the Mosaical Law, which will be compleated by adherence to the Mahometan, and such other Additions as his inspired Wisdom should suggest, he should never be able to prevail with God for them, or conduct them to the holy Land of their Forefathers. Hereupon many Jews flocked in, some as far as from *Babylon*, *Jerusalem*, and other remote places, and casting their Caps on the ground, in presence of the Grand Signior, voluntarily professed themselves Mahometans. *Sabatai* himself by these Proselytes gaining ground in the esteem of the Turks, had priviledge granted him to visit familiarly his Brethren, which he employed in Circumcising their Children the eighth Day, according to the Precept of *Moses*, preaching his new Doctrines, by which he hath confirmed many in their Faith of his being the Messiah, and startled all with expectation of what these strange ways of Enthusiasm may produce; but none durst publickly owne him, lest they should displease the Turks, and the Jews, and incurr the danger of Excommunication from one, and the Gallows from the other. 1666.

The course of life which *Sabatai* led after he turned Mahometan.

Howsoever in *January* 167[illegible] appeared another bold Impostor amongst the Jews in *Smyrna* from the *Morea*, as it was said, or not known from whence, who in despight of *Sabatai*, and his own Governours, pretended to be Messiah; but with so inconsiderable and petty a Deluder as this, the Jews thought to make quick work; but being ashamed at first to bring another Messiah on the Stage, by help of money they accused him of Adultery, and procured a Sentence from the Kadi, condemning him to the Gallies; in order unto which, and in proof of his good behaviour he remained some time in prison, in which Interim he found means to clear himself of that Crime by open evidence to the contrary, and had for the present escaped out of the power of the Synagogue, had not their Authority and money prevailed more than the Friends or Disciples of this Impostour; whom we will leave in prison, and *Sabatai* in the house of *Pharaoh*; where he continued until the Year 1676, and then died. And so we return to more important matters of the Turkish Affairs.

Since that we have so long insisted on the phrensie of the Jews, let us return to matters of greater Consequence, and more general concernment; and look back to Count *Lestie* the Emperours Ambassadour, who having departed from *Constantinople* the 11th of *December* of the last Year, we find on the 10th of *March* of this year on the Frontiers ready to make exchange with the Turkish Ambassadour. The Night

1666. before, Count *Leſlie* was lodged at a Village called *Elmar*, where the Inhabitants, as in the moſt parts of upper *Hungary*, are Calviniſts in Religion; and though they live between two Swords, do yet in time of War, by paying a Tribute to both Parties, and providing Forage for both, remain more ſecure than in the Villages ſubjected to either, which are often burnt, or in ſome other manner miſerably deſtroyed. The next day the Emperours Ambaſſadour, conducted by the Paſha of *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, with about three hundred Horſe, arrived at the place for many years obſerved for Exchange of Ambaſſadors, which is about an hour and halfs Journey, or five miles (as we may ſo ſay) diſtant from this Village, where in open Fields upon the Brink of the *Danube*, are ſet three Poſts; the two Ambaſſadours meeting at that in the middle, after ſome Complements, take their leaves each of other, and ſo exchange. The German Ambaſſadour that day arrived near his Poſt about ſeven a Clock in the morning, but the Turkiſh, not being as yet come from *Komara*, he could not proceed farther. After ſome expectation here, advice came, That the Turkiſh Ambaſſadour was reſolved not to depart from *Komara*, until he was ſatisfied for the allowance of eighteen days, at a hundred Dollars for every day, which he had ſpent at his entrance into Chriſtendom, between the Frontiers and the City of *Vienna*. But to this was replied, That it had never been the cuſtom to allow the Turkiſh Ambaſſador mony for his daily proviſions, until he entred the Emperors Court; and in the mean time the expences and charge of his journey were to be defrayed by the Imperial Officers, who had performed the ſame in a moſt ample and plentiful manner: But the Turk was reſolved not to be ſo ſatisfied, and therefore declared he would not depart without full payment; hoping the more eaſily to prevail, in regard the German Ambaſſadour was already in the Field, expoſed to the cold and ſharp weather, without proviſions either for himſelf, Attendance, or Horſes, whilſt the Turk remained warm in his Boat, accommodated with his Stove, and wrapt in his Furrs, ſo that he hoped there might be a neceſſity of granting what he reſerved for the rear-guard of his pretenſions. The matter ſeemed unreaſonable to the German Ambaſſadour, as alſo to the Turks that attended him, who being in the open and cold Air, judged it an unſeemly time to capitulate. But in fine, the German gave him this Anſwer, That an Ambaſſador ought to be contented with that hoſpitality and entertainment which was accuſtomary, as he himſelf had done; for that ſince his departure from *Buda*, which was then ſeven days, he had not received one Aſper of allowance, reſting ſatisfied with the Paſha's word, that from *Buda* homewards it was not accuſtomary to receive a farther treatment; ſo that if he inſiſted on the firſt he was to be allowed the latter, ſince both Ambaſſadours are to be uſed with terms of equality; and therefore to find an expedient to give him ſatisfaction, he was contented to reſign his ſeven days allowance from the Grand Signior; and if any thing farther was really owing he would engage his parole of honour for the payment. And farther he added, That none but a corrupt Miniſter would make his private Intereſt to ſtand in Competition with a publick Deſign, and make the pretence of a few Dollars an interruption and impediment to the progreſs of the great Affairs of the two Empires, profeſſing that he would have quitted all his right, rather than the leaſt concernment of his Maſter ſhould have received a prejudice, on confidence of whoſe gracious favour

The manner of exchange of the Emperours and Turks Ambaſſadours.

favour he depended for reparation of whatſoever he ſuffered for his ſervice. He thanked God that he had happily managed his Embaſſy to the ſatisfaction of the Grand Signior, and the approbation of his Maſter, and was now ready to perform the laſt office and ceremony, in which if he did fail, or was impeded, the fault was not his, being ready to return to *Buda*, ſo the other in like manner did to *Vienna*, there to remain until this difference was decided by their Maſters. The Turkiſh Ambaſſador's Kahya or Steward who was preſent, and heard all this diſcourſe, ſeeming not pleaſed to hear of a return to *Vienna*, immediately replied, That he conceived his Maſter would not remove from *Komara*; to which it was anſwered, That a man who ſo little underſtood the office of an Ambaſſadour, as it appeared his Maſter did, was to be treated with ſome other kind of ſtile than was agreeable to the reſpect due to a publick Miniſter, and ſhould therefore be forced to it in caſe he ſhould refuſe. The Turkiſh Ambaſſadour having his ſtomach ſomething taken down with the threats of returning to *Vienna*, that afternoon looſed from *Komara*, and between three and four a clock arrived at the place of Exchange; but the wind blowing hard, had put ſome of his Boats aſhore, which were moſt laden, and feweſt men to govern them, which afforded him occaſion of farther delay, pretending that his Goods might be arreſted at *Komara*, and until he was ſatisfied to the contrary, he was reſolved not to make the Exchange. The German Ambaſſadour was more moved with choler at this humor than at the former; and the Turks that attended, growing more hungry and more cold, beſtowed on him a million of curſes. The Sun now declining towards its ſetting, Count *Leſlie* ſent word to the Turk, That he was reſolved not longer to abuſe his own patience, but immediately to proceed forward, giving order to his Coach to drive on, proteſting, That if any miſchief was derived from this irregular proceeding, the fault was not his, nor would he anſwer for any of thoſe fatal conſequences which might enſue; to which alſo being added ſome perſwaſions of the Paſha of *Quinq; Eccleſiæ*, the Turk at length came out from his Boat and went to his Poſt. The Turks were drawn up on their own Quarter to the number of about three hundred, and the Hungarian Huſſars or Horſe-men on the other to about two hundred; the two Ambaſſadours making a ſtand at their reſpective Poles, proceeded with equal paces to meet in the middle, where ſome few Complements having paſſed between them and Salutes interchangeably ſent to the chief Miniſters of each Empire, the German Ambaſſadour entred his Coach, and the Turk his Boat, and ſo both returned to their reſpective Courts. Such as was the ſordid and intereſſed humor of the Turkiſh Ambaſſadour in this tranſaction, ſo no leſs diſhonourable was his way of living at *Vienna*, where he ſojourned with that miſerable famine and penury in his houſe, as diſcontented all his family, cauſing ſome to leave him and return home; others with better motives (as it is hoped) to the number of thirty became Chriſtians, and imbraced the Faith: at the ſame rate he was generous in his Preſents; for to the Maſter of the Houſe where he lodged he gave two five-Stnars or eighteen Pence Engliſh, and to the Commiſſary who conducted him to the Frontiers he preſented a Bag of Rice, which was not accepted, but returned with the like complement, as that with which it was tendered. 1666.

But no ſooner was this Peace concluded, and the Ceremonies thereof thus happily finiſhed, but the Turks, attentive to another War, which The Turks meditate a new War.

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1666. is the life of their Empire, and their only ſecurity againſt inteſtine Diſcords, made all the Preparations and Proviſions this Year, that were poſſible, for the total ſubjection of *Candia*, of which this Vizier was highly ambitious, deſigning thereby to gain unto himſelf that renown of which his Predeceſſours had been in purſuit for the ſpace of twenty five years; ſo that all Ammunition, Victuals, and whatſoever was neceſſary was in great quantities ſupplied from all the circumjacent parts of the Empire.

The City of *Candia* was ſome time before governed by the Proveditor *Priuli*; but afterwards the Venetians, apprehenſive of the ſucceeding War, conferred the Charge on Marqueſs *Villa*, a worthy and experienced Souldier, with Title of General of the Venetian Infantry, as we have before intimated; and having left him and his Forces in the month of *December* laſt, on the Iſland of *Paros*; where having, as is ſaid, muſtered his Forces, he imbarked them on ſixteen Gallies, five Galleaſſes, and thirty five Men of War; with which ſailing in company from *Anti-Paros*, the whole Fleet on the 12th of *February* made their Rendezvous at *Argentiera*; during which time the Turks landed eighteen hundred Janiſaries at *Canea*, being tranſported thither on thirty five Gallies, which having incountred with the Cavalier *Hoquincourt* in the Chanel of *Scio*, received ſome damage and loſs of men in their way, though this Cavalier himſelf was wounded in the Engagement, and forty of his men ſlain. The Venetain Fleet departing from *Argentiera* on the 23th of *February* came in ſight of *Candia*, when a very great ſtorm ariſing with Thunder and Lightning, put the whole Fleet in danger of ſhipwrack; but by Gods Providence, though toſſed with contrary winds, they arrived on 26th in ſafety in the Port of *Suda*, being directed thither in a dark night, by thoſe Lights which the Fortreſs had put abroad, though the Turks on the other ſide had put out falſe Fires to deceive them. The Army being landed at this place, and a Muſter made of the Forces, Pay was given to the Souldiery; with which being become the more couragious, they marched towards *Canea*, with hopes to perform ſome memorable Enterpriſe at that place. The Lieutenant-General *Vuerſmiller* led the Van conſiſting of ſix hundred Foot, and an hundred and eighty Horſe, and advancing beyond thoſe bounds which Marqueſs *Villa* had preſcribed him, was incountred by a more numerous Force from the Garriſon, by which being at firſt put into ſome diſorder, had been intirely defeated, had not the Marqueſs opportunely arrived to his Succour: howſoever the Venetians loſt in this Skirmiſh three hundred Souldiers, forty Horſe, and twelve Officers, amongſt which the Marqueſs *Ceva* was ſlain upon the place, and Captain *Scot* a Scotch-man taken Priſoner, whom the Engliſh Factory redeemed at *Smyrna*; of the Turks ſeven hundred were computed to have been killed, with the Aga of the Janiſaries, a ſtout and a well experienced Souldier. And as this beginning was not very auſpicious to the Chriſtians, ſo neither did the Heavens ſeem much to favour them; for an unuſual rain with few fair days continued almoſt for the ſpace of three months, which filled all Rivers, Marſhes, and Ditches with ſo ſtrange an inundation, that the Army beginning to want Forage for the Horſes, and all other Proviſions for their Men; and the Garriſon of *Canea* being reinforced from *Retimo*, *Chiramo*, *Armiro*, and other places, diſcouraged the Commanders in that manner, that they thought it more convenient to retire and incamp in the pleaſant and fruitful Vallies of *Spina Longa*, until better weather, and other Recruits of their Army

An Engagement near *Canea*.

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ſhould open a way either to make another Attempt on *Canea* or new *Candia*. But Fortune did not favour theſe deſigns; for the Captain-General *Andrea Cornaro* arriving with his Fleet, part at *Candia*, and part at *Standia*, (which is an Iſland or Rock about two Leagues diſtant from this City) a new reſolution was taken to remain on the defenſive part, and to attend wholly to the guard of the City: for as in the natural body, when it is aſſaulted by acute and hot humors, the ſpirits retire to the heart to comfort and ſecure that from the violence of the diſtemper; ſo the Venetians perceiving that their Enemies daily grew more numerous, reſolved to contract their Force into one Body for defence of that City, which was the heart or the moſt principal inſtrument of life in that Iſland: wherefore Recruits both of Men, Ammunition, and Proviſions were daily ſent thither; and the Captain of the Gulf arriving at *Suda* with eleven Gallies and one Galleaſs, carrying fifteen hundred Souldiers, with three hundred Pioniers, joyned his Forces to the Body of the Fleet; and all imbarking in divers Squadrons, made haſte to land their men in the City of *Candia* with all poſſible expedition. 1666.

The Marqueſs *Villa* landed here the firſt of *March*, being conducted from the Mole by the Proveditor to the Palace, which was provided for him; where having been complemented, and having received and returned the uſual Viſits, he in the firſt place took care to quarter the Horſe, and the new Forces lately arrived with due convenience; next he viſited the Garriſon and every Fort in particular, where he amended what was amiſs, and added what was defective. The Captain-General by this time arriving with the remainder of the Militia, a general Muſter was made in the Trenches of the Fort *Panigra*; of which the Turks having advice, fell unexpectedly upon them with a ſtrong Body; the Chriſtians being ſurpriſed hereat, and *Verſama* a valiant Colonel being ſlain, they began ſhamefully to run, nor could either the Bravery of the Marqueſs, or his Authority ſtop their flight; howſoever the Musket-ſhot and great Guns from the Walls were ſo plentifully beſtowed on the Turks, that few of thoſe who were over-forward in the purſuit, returned to their Companions. Marqueſs *Villa* lands at the City of *Candia*.

On the 12th of *April* a Fleet of Gallies arrived with new Recruits, with which the Chriſtians being reinforced, Marqueſs *Villa* reſolved to take the Field; ſo that marching out of the City by night with ſeven thouſand Foot and ſix hundred and fifty Horſe, he incamped between that and the Valley of the River *Gioffiro*, drawing his Trenches juſt oppoſite to the Enemies Camp; in the mean time two Squadrons of Ships were ſent abroad, one towards the *Crociere*, and the other towards the Coaſt of *Canea*, to intercept and hinder ſuch Succours as might be ſent to the Enemies Camp. Nor were the Turks leſs vigilant or valiant on their ſide; for a Party of about two thouſand men ſallying from their Trenches, and marching ſecretly under the covert of a Mountain, unexpectedly aſſailed the Out-guards of about fifty Foot belonging to the Regiment of *Friſchein*, commanded by Captain *Rades*; which after a ſtout reſiſtance retreated into another Body of fifty Muſquetiers, and twenty five Arquibuſiers of the Regiment *Arborio*; who alſo being aſſiſted by other detachments, recovered their firſt Poſt; but being afterwards overpowered by great numbers of Turks, were forced to quit the place; which Marqueſs *Villa* obſerving, ordered fifty Horſe under Lieutenant-Colonel *Mattiazzi*, and ſeventy Foot under *Blanc* Sergeant Major The Venetians incamp. The Turks aſſault them.

1666. Major of the Regiment *Arborio* to their assistance, by whom the Post was again recovered with great slaughter of the Enemy: but this advantage was of little other benefit than to inflame the spirits of the Turks, who rallying again their Force with fresh courage and extraordinary valour came to handy-blows with the Venetians, forcing them to another Retreat with the death of Lieutenant *Cerusa* a Savoyard, and some common Souldiers; but the Turks injoyed not long this advantage; for the Musquetiers from the Line with some small Guns, and the gross Artillery from the Walls did much execution on them; and at the same time being charged by a Party of Horse under Command of Colonel *Rades*, the Venetians with glory and incouragement recovered their Post, driving the Turks in disorder and confusion to their Trenches. This success of the Christians served to heat the spirits of the Turks, and animate them to another Engagement: for having by private ways of hidden Vallies conducted their Men, about four hours before night made another Assault upon the Venetians, I will not say surprised them; because remaining always in apprehension of the Enemy, they kept themselves so watchfully on their Guard, that in a moment they were ready to receive them; and that so warmly, not firing until they came within the length of two Pikes, that in a moment the field was covered with the bodies of Horse and Men; the Turks startled hereat, not knowing whether it were better to stand to it or fly, until incouraged by their Leaders, they kept their ground for a time: but being galled by the continual Vollies of shot, and charged by a Body of Horse led by Count *Sforza Bissaro* and Captain *Casich*; they were so shaken, that they turned their backs, and began to run, until falling in with the gross Body of their Party, they made head again; and mixing both Horse and Foot with the Venetians, they forced them to retreat to the side of their Trenches; and so closely plyed them, that the fresh Troops of the Turks on the right and left wing had cut them off, had not the Count *Corradini* by order of Count *Sforza* with a Regiment of Curassiers, and likewise Colonel *Scoppa* with his Lieutenant-Colonel *Tadeo Motta*, with a good number of Archibusiers, assisted by a Squadron of the Regiment of Count *Bassaro*, sallied from the Line, and being succoured on all sides, forced the Turks at length to sound a Retreat. The night coming on disswaded any pursuit of the Enemy, lest unknown ways and darkness should betray their men into ambushes or other snares. The Turks lost a thousand men with divers Commanders of Quality and Note: of the Venetians were killed Lieutenant *Cerusa*, *Gio. Teffari* Captain to *La Motte*, eleven Horse, and some few Foot: *Motte*, *Corradini*, *Soupe*, Count *Corbelli*, and some others were wounded.

The Turks make another assault.

About this time advice being come to the Captain-General, That the Turks were dispeeding fifty Gallies laden with Men and Ammunition, he resolved to incounter them at Sea with four Galleasses and twenty Gallies, reinforcing his Fleet with twelve hundred men, which he took from the Camp; which being thereby considerably diminished, as also by the late Engagements; yet Marquess *Villa* kept his ground, but contracted the compass of his Trenches, and raised a Fort in sight of the Enemy, who had not the courage to give him the least interruption; but rather after this example fortified their own Trenches, shutting all Avenues or passages to Renegadoes, whom they suspected might fly, and give advice to the Christians: howsoever some of them escaped to the Venetian Camp,

Camp, declaring that the Cannon from the Town did much incommode the Turks in their Trenches; upon which Intelligence Marquess *Villa* ordered forty eight shot to be made at that place, where they were most offended, which put the Turks into great consternation: after which no considerable Engagements happened, besides some few Skirmishes and Rencounters of no memorable note, in which one *Antiquario* a Quarter-master, Count *Pio Ferretti*, and others signalized themselves by particular Acts of Valour, as also Captain *Vimes* who killed *Mehmet Bey*, a Turk of great esteem, with his own hand. 1666.

But now the Turks receiving daily Recruits, as of eight hundred Janisaries, and six hundred Spahees landed at *Gira-petra*, and seventeen hundred more disbarked at *Chissamo*; and advices daily coming of great numbers of Galeots and Brigantines providing in the Gulf of *Lepanto*, and of eighteen Ships of *Barbary*, all ready to transport Souldiers to *Candia*, moved the Captain-General to perswade the removal of the Camp for better security of the most important places: the which Marquess *Villa* performed accordingly in the night preceding the first of *June*, with much order and care; for first he caused the Artillery to be withdrawn, with the Mortar-pieces, Ammunition, and Provisions of War, and placed in the Fort of *Mocenigo*; then he caused half the Army to work in filling the Trenches, whilst the other half remained in form of Battle, and two hours before day blew up the Fort; which having done, they marched in three Bodies to the City, to the great joy and satisfaction of the Turks, who on that occasion made a day of Festival. The Venetians Camp raised.

These particulars of Action having passed under the Conduct of Marquess *Villa* without any signal Victory or advantage over the Turk, administred subject to such who in the parts of Christendom were emulous of his glory, and envious of his eminent charge, to give liberty to their tongues to disparage the management of his Affairs, as not agreeable to that high expectation of success which the World conceived thereof, when he first entred on this imployment: But here it is observable at what rate men who lye soft and warm in their beds at home, unconcerned in the dangers, labours, and hazards of those who live and act abroad, can make their reflexions, and pass their censures on active and ingaged men, not considering the state of affairs, the uncertainty of Succours in so long and distant a tract of Sea as passes between *Venice* and *Candia*, subjected to winds and a thousand casualties; nor yet the numerous Troops of the Enemy, nor the Puissance of that Empire, which for its Power, Riches, and the Valour of its Souldiery may be esteemed the most Potent and considerable of all the Monarchies and known Kingdoms of the Universe. But what conjectures soever envious men might make of the Conduct of Marquess *Villa*, yet the Senate of *Venice* applauded his labours, and owned his services, as being such, which having merited the admiration and esteem of all the World, did in a particular manner challenge their thankfulness and acknowledgments. About this time the Gallies of *Malta* arrived at *Candia*, where some dispute arising touching the place of precedence in the Fleet, which the Venetians denied to them: they departed thence with some dissatisfaction, and returned to the Westward to transport the young Empress out of *Spain* into *Italy*.

And now Intelligence coming to *Candia* by divers Letters, that the Great Vizier was departed from *Adrianople* with a numerous Army, and

1666. was already arrived at *Thebes*, where a general Rendezvous was appointed of the whole Army, with resolution to be transported from *Malvoisia* to that Island; the Venetian Generals and Commanders in chief concluded it necessary, if possible, to hinder their passage, and rather to fight them at Sea, which was their more propitious Element, than to attend their landing, where they would be forced to dispute with unequal numbers and on disadvantageous terms. Accordingly the Captain-General reinforced his Fleet with two thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse under the Command of Count *Licinio Martinoni*, appointing the Rendezvous to be at *Argentiera*, to which place also Marques *Villa* repaired, touching by the way at *Milo* for refreshment of his Horse, it being an Island abounding with herbage; the Captain-General being for some days detained at *Standia* by contrary winds, a Consultation was held for the more advantageous management of the War; after which the whole Fleet making sail was on *August* the 9th scattered by a furious storm, and not being able to recover *Santoxini*, they by good fortune fetched *Stanpalia*, an Island abounding with generous Wines, excellent Fruit, Partridges, and other Provisions; at length after various fortunes arriving at *Andra*, which is a great and populous Island, another Council of War was held, where it was again concluded, That all care was to be taken to intercept the Succours which the Enemy daily sent to *Candia*; to which end the Cavalier *Grimani*, Captain of the Galleons, was ordered to cruise about the Coast; and hearing that twelve Turkish Ships were lading Provisions in the Gulf of *Volo*, he repaired thither, and had the good fortune to take them with all their lading; but the other Squadrons missed of the like success; for notwithstanding the care and vigilance which was used, all matters seemed to succeed prosperous for the Turks, and adverse to the Christians; the designs of the first having an issue agreeable to their intentions, whilst those of the latter were always disappointed either by Nature or by Fortune, or rather by that secret hand of Providence, which had allotted that Island for a Prize to the Ottoman Arms.

The Great Vizier arrives at *Thebes*.

Twelve Turkish Vessels taken.

By this time the Turkish Army being at their Rendezvous at *Thebes*, the Great Vizier prepared to imbark; and considering the difficulty of the passage, thought it prudent first to make new Propositions to Signior *Ballarino* before he entred on this hazardous attempt, supposing perhaps, that the rumour of this March might have affrighted the Venetians to a Surrender of that Kingdom, that they might spare the blood and charge of that War which afterwards ensued: wherefore *Ballarino* being called from his house at *Constantinople*, began his Journey towards *Thebes* on the 25th of *August*, accompanied by a Capugibashee and three Janisaries; and in twenty three days arriving at *Thessalonica*, now called *Salonica*, he fell sick of a violent Feaver, caused by that agitation of body in his Travels to which he was unaccustomed, and for want of that sleep which he used to take after his slender dinner, passing the rest of the day and night in continual watchings: at first he felt only some little alterations, which he hoping might pass over, resolved to proceed on his Journey notwithstanding the perswasions to the contrary of Signior *Patavino* his Secretary, with whom I was well acquainted, and ever esteemed for an honest and a worthy Person: but he continued resolute to proceed, fearing lest his delays by the way should lose him the opportunity of that moment of Treaty, which was impossible afterwards to be retrieved; for

for in his Journey he would often reaſon in this manner: If I ſhould ſtop here, what cenſure would the World paſs on me? I may poſſibly excuſe my ſelf; but in the mean time the Vizier may ingage too far in his deſign, and fruſtrate all thoſe methods and foundations which I have laid towards a Peace: and then if I live, I ſhall be over-burdened with the reproaches of the World, for having abandoned the grand incumbence in its ultimate neceſſity, which is charged upon me, which will be a more ſenſible affliction than the agony of death. My ſickneſs will be eſteemed by many to be rather diſſembled than real. The dead man lives in the memory of his faithfulneſs and conſtancy, and the living man dyes in the indelible characters of his cowardiſe and misfortune. Theſe were his own words. And thus travelling forward his Feaver daily increaſed to that exceſs, that on the ſixth day he was forced to ſtop at a City called *Iſdino*, where having inſtructed Signior *Patavino* in what manner he ought to manage affairs, and recommending his ſervices and children to the favour and protection of the Senate, he paſſed to the other World, being honoured by a ſolemn Funeral at the publick Expence, and interred in the Church of St. *Mark*, his Son *Domenico Ballarino* ſucceeding into the Office and Inheritance of his Father. The Senate underſtanding by advices from Signior *Padavino*, That the Vizier deſired another Envoyé qualified with the Character of a publick Miniſter to reſide with him in *Candia*, diſpatched the Secretary *Girolamo Giavarina*, a Perſon of good abilities, to that place. And at the ſame time the Captain-General *Andrea Cornaro* preſſing the Senate for licence to return to his own Country; his requeſt was granted, and *Franceſco Moroſini* was appointed to ſucceed him in that important Charge, and was accompanied at a time of ſo great emergency with powerful Convoys, and with Recruits of Men, Proviſions, and Ammunition fitting to carry on ſo preſſing a War. 1666.

On the month of *October* the Great Vizier in perſon imbarking himſelf and Army at *Malvoiſia* with many Paſha's, and men expert and active in the War paſſed over to the Iſle of *Candia*, reſolving by ſtrength and dint of Sword to force that ſtrong City to obedience, the main Bulwark of Chriſtendom, ſituated at the entrance of the *Archipelago*; of the ſucceſs of which famous Siege we ſhall have occaſion to diſcourſe more at large and more particularly hereafter; in order unto which the Great Vizier on the laſt day of this Year, went in Perſon to take a view of this City, and having ſurveyed all ſides of it, apprehended that the Siege would be long and tedious; and therefore returned again to *Canea* to take thoſe meaſures which were requiſite for an Enterpriſe of that weight and conſideration. The Vizier paſſes over into *Candia*.

In the mean time the Princes of Chriſtendom being for the moſt part either in that diſcord amongſt themſelves, of which the Turks have always made their advantage; or elſe living in parts remote, did not conſider *Candia* as a Bulwark to their Dominions, and therefore rendred little other aſſiſtance to the Venetians than good words, and vain wiſhes for their ſucceſs and Victory. The Popes Forces only under Command of *Muzeo Mattei* which were in *Dalmatia*, were tranſported to *Candia*, and five hundred Foot belonging to the Grand Duke of *Toſcany*, came into their places for defence of that Country. The moſt Chriſtian King in return to the Embaſſy of *Venice* performed by the Cavalier *Alviſe Sagredo*, remitted to that Republick an hundred thouſand Crowns, and

1667. Cardinal *Barberini* at his expence ſupplied four thouſand Meaſures of Corn. But the preſent Conjuncture did not ſeem to ſmile on the Venetians, for all the Gallies belonging to *Spain* and *Italy*, as well as thoſe of *Malta*, were employed in the tranſportation of the new Empreſs *Margerita* of *Auſtria*. The Pope was infirm, and diſtracted with his own domeſtick Affairs. The Emperour was a young Bridegroom, and beſides the Diverſion which a Wife gave him from Cares, he apprehended that he might ſpeedily receive ſome diſturbance from the Princes of the *Rhine*, and from *Sweden* in the Dukedom of *Bremen*. The King of *Spain* was a Child of five years old, labouring at the ſame time under a war with *Portugal*, and threatned by the more powerful Arms of *France*, on the pretence of *Flanders*. Beſides all which, the Turks were as well in quietneſs amongſt themſelves, as they were at peace with all other Princes; ſo that we may expect that the force and power of the Ottoman Empire ſhould now be turned, like a Torrent, to overwhelm this ſpot of land, which ſeemed to be ſo ſcituated, as well to reſiſt the Waves of the Seas, as the inundation of this mighty and Martial People.

Anno Chriſti 1667. *Hegeira* 1078.

AT the Beginning of this year the Winter and Cold which chilled and benumbed the Earth, encreaſed the heat, and gave vigour and action to the Tartars, who made ſuch an unexpected incurſion into *Poland*, that they carried with them near a hundred thouſand captived Souls, as they were numbred before *Jaſh*, in their return home. The Polanders, awakened hereat, but ill adviſed, reſolved on a Treaty where there was more juſt cauſe for an open War, and in order thereunto diſpeeded an Ambaſſadour to the Sultan, to expoſtulate the reaſon of this Breach of Peace, and require juſtice and ſatisfaction on thoſe his Subjects, who had, contrary to the Articles of Peace, committed ſuch actions, and outrages of open hoſtility; or at leaſt, that the Turk would not take upon him to abett the cauſe of the Tartars, whilſt the Polanders took juſt revenge for their late injuries. The Ambaſſadour with this meſſage put himſelf in a readineſs, and with a retinue of about two hundred and fifty perſons, begun his journey towards the end of *April*, and on the ſecond of *May* croſſed the River *Nieſtro*, which divides *Poland* from *Moldavia*, where he was received by two of the Boiars, or Moldavian Noblemen, and thence conducted to *Jaſh*, where the Prince of that Country reſided. The Ambaſſadour expected the Viſit of the Prince, according to Cuſtom and Articles of Peace; but the Prince being either forbidden by the Port, or rather out of an ignorant ſtiffneſs and pride, omitted to paſs the Civilities of that Office, but yet ſupplied the Ambaſſadour with plenty of Wine and Proviſions; which the Polanders enjoying freely, diſpenſed perhaps more eaſily with other neglects and omiſſions which concerned formalities and ceremonies.

The ninth of *June* the Ambaſſadour arrived at *Adrianople*, and thence was called to *Demitochum*, a City about a days Journey diſtant, where the Grand Signior, for the ſake of his hunting and divertiſement, remained under Tents, as the moſt convenient lodging in that Seaſon of the year; the 25th the Ambaſſadour had his firſt Audience with the Chimacam, at which thirty five of his Retinue were veſted with Coſtans, nothing paſſing but the uſual Ceremonies and Complements. The 28th he had Audience

By the number of Coſtans is to be eſteemed the honour the Turks bear to one Prince above the other.

Audience of the Grand Signior; but first made tender of his Presents as followeth. 1667.

A Crystal Cup in a Case of Gold, adorned with Rubies and Diamonds.
2 Baskets rarely woven with a very fine Rush.
A Clock.
A Cabinet of Ebony supported with four Eagles made of Silver, in which also was a Clock with a perspective Looking-Glass.
2 Silver Cups of considerable bigness.
2 Silver Flaggons.
A Gun which discharged twenty times.
2 Spotted Dogs.
4 Mastiffs.
100 Ells of Holland.

These Presents preceding, made way for the Ambassadours Audience, at which he declared, That the Commission from his Master the King of *Poland*, was to make Complaints unto his Majesty of the grand Incursions the Tartars had made into *Poland* without any reason or cause of War; and that therefore his Master did expect from him, as from a just and vertuous Prince, a permission for revenge, and satisfaction of his injuries, to enter *Tartary*, without assuming it as any ground of Breach or Infringement of that Peace which he held with him; or else that he would by his authority enjoin the Tartars to restore their Captives, and their spoils, and render them a reasonable satisfaction. The Grand Signior returned no reply hereunto, but referred that to be done by his Chimacam, silence being esteemed some part of his Majesty and State, which he seldom breaks but with few and haughty words. The Polish Ambassadours Audience.

This Ambassadour was a man of a bold and daring Spirit, a fit Orator for such an Embassy, had not his immoderate Covetousness, the vice and folly commonly incident to Old Age, much eclipsed many of those Vertues of which he was Master. He was also a Man of a violent temper, feavered to a madness in the height of his Choler, which strangely betrayed him to many undecencies in his Language and Comportment. For at his Audience with the Chimacam, when he came to receive the Grand Signior's Answer, his words were vented with that heat, and so like to menaces, that the Turks taking exception thereat, returned his course Speeches with the like Dialect, at which the Ambassadour swelled with that indignation and anger, as became not the Moderation and Gravity of his Office; adding in Conclusion, That he was an aged man, full of years and corporal infirmities, that nothing could arrive more happy to him than a death in which he should triumph to suffer for the benefit and glory of his Country. This excess and intemperance of Language moved the Turks to set a guard upon him, and confine him to his own house in the nature of a Prisoner; which violation of his Sacred Office, so worked upon his Spirits, that he often vented some part of his fury in words and blows on the Officers of his Guard; for which rude behaviour having received some reproofs from the Chimacam, his passion not knowing which way to ease it self, feavered him into a desperate sickness, of which in a few days, phrensical and distracted, he departed this life. The Death of the Polish Ambassadour.

The Secretary of the Embassy, being the next in Office, took upon him the Function and Charge of the Ambassadour, and having now nothing

1667. thing to act, but to receive the Answer to the Message of his Master, for which a day being appointed, he was presented with a Horse and Furniture by the Chimacam, of whom having audience, he received no other satisfaction to the complaints against the Tartars than these following, which were related to me by the Secretary of the Embassy, who did me the honour to make me a Visit, when I was on my recovery from a dangerous Sickness, at *Constantinople*.

First, That no compensation or pretence be ever hereafter demanded for the late incursions made by the Tartars into *Poland*.

Secondly, That the Polanders make not War upon the Cossacks, who had lately renounced their subjection, and were fled for protection to the Ottoman power.

Thirdly, That the Poles immediately make war upon the Moscovite.

Fourthly, That the Turk Merchants have free trade into *Poland*, and that the Turkish Merchants receive satisfaction for what injuries and losses they lately suffered.

With these propositions and conditions of Peace, the Secretary was dispatched, which did not so well please the Poles as to return thanks for them or a Messenger with Advice of their Acceptance or Ratification; and though they could not but be sensible of the scorn and yoke the Turks would impose upon them, yet having still remaining amongst them certain Reliques of their former dissentions and diversity about election of a Successour to their King, and there being a certain spirit of Luxury, Pride, and Sedition which was crept in amongst the Nobility, they considered not the advantage of the present time, but willingly preferred a present ease, and enjoyment of their Feasts and Banquets, before the hazards and uncertainties of benefit, which they might receive by the doubtful lot and fortune of War; and though never any Season appeared more opportune and advantageous to the Pole than this, when the flower of the Turkish youth and Force was employed in *Candia*, and all places, in part, dismantled of their usual strength and complement of Souldiers to defend their Frontiers; yet they seemed resolved to pass by the former incursions, and spoils, and robberies made on their people, so the Turk would but stop here, and permit them, without farther provocation, to enjoy their quiet, and debauched way of living: Only some of the Borderers on the Turks, who had deeply suffered by the late incursions, moved with the loss of their Estates, and the Captivitie of their neerest Relations, joined with a considerable number of the Moscovites, entered *Tartary* in the Months of *October* and *November*, and burned about three hundred Villages, carrying away Captives, and other prey, from under the very Walls of *Coffa*.

The Revolt of the Pasha of *Balsora*.

At this time also the Pasha of *Balsora* began new rumours and an unseasonable Rebellion, who being reported to have an Army of Horse and Foot consisting of forty thousand men, gave no small disturbance and apprehension to the Turks; who with their difficulties of War in *Candia*, and the jealousies of a storm from *Poland*, remained with some doubts and hesitancy about the way of their proceedings. At length Orders were dispatched to the Pashaws of *Erzirum*, *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, and *Darbiquier* to unite against the Rebel, to divest him of his Government and to send his forfeited head to his Master. These Pashaws accordingly joining their Forces, defeated the Rebel; and as all Conspiracies of open Rebellion distant from the Court, have had but ill success in these

Countries

Countries againſt the true Prince, ſo this Paſha was routed, and being forſaken by his Servants, fled with a few horſe to the protection of the King of *Perſia*. The principal Cauſe which moved the Paſha of *Balſora* (as I was informed from the mouth of the Paſha of *Damaſcus*) to this Rebellion, was the Confidence he had in his own ſtrength, and the fidelity of his people, to whom of ancient right, that Government was of hereditary Succeſſion, deſcended to him by his Anceſtors for many Generations: by which means he challenged ſuch abſolute intereſt in his Principality; that for many years he refuſed to acknowledge the Grand Signior by any other tokens of homage, than in the bare name of his Protector, and in making publick prayers for his proſperity and victories. But at length the Grand Signior coming to impoſe farther on him, ſtirred his hot deſires into Rebellion, and to an open defiance. 1667.

About the beginning of this year the Captain-General *Cornaro*, with the Proveditor of the Armata *Franceſco Barbaro* returned to *Venice*, bringing with them one *Ramadam* a Sangiac of *Egypt*, and other Slaves taken by the Captains *Grimani* and *Molino*. The manner was this: *Ramadam*, with three and twenty Ships, laden with Men and Ammunition, endeavoured to enter into *Canea*, but being charged by the Venetians, and overcome, ſet fire to their Ship, and leaping into the Schiff to ſave their lives were taken by the Boat of *Molino*; and though fourteen Gallies came out of *Canea* to their aſſiſtance, yet they could not hinder the taking of five of their Ships, beſides ſeveral others which were put aſhore and ſtrand by four Malteſe Corſairs, who entered into the fight, being called at a diſtance by the ſound of the Cannon. About that time alſo a Turkiſh Gally was ſurrendred by the induſtry and ingenuity of the ſlaves, who having ſecretly boared ſome holes in the bottom of the Gally, and plugged them up afterwards, ſo as that they might let in the water, or ſtop it when they pleaſed; it happened that the Gally being near the Rock, which is called *Polycandro*; they ſecretly drew out the plug, whereby ſo great a Flood of Water on a ſudden came in, that the Gally being ready to ſink, the Turks affrighted forſook the Gally to ſave themſelves on the Rock, leaving the Slaves in the Gally to ſhift as well as they could. The Slaves being thus free'd of their Maſters the Turks, plugged up the holes again, and clearing the Gally of water rowed away, and delivered themſelves into the hands of the Venetians; upon which advice, the Captain General diſpatched the Captain of the Gulf *Lorenzo Cornaro* with two Gallies to that Rock, where they became maſters of all the Turks except two, who threw themſelves into the Sea, preferring death before ſlavery.

In the mean time the Duke of *Savoy* recalled Marqueſs *Villa*, who was his Subject, from *Candia*; the reaſons for which was attributed to an appearance of Breach with *Geneva*, the Switzers and the Valtelines, who were his Subjects, or rather to the ill Offices of thoſe who envied his preferment, being deſirous to have him recalled from a place of ſo much honour and reputation. In obedience to this revocation Marqueſs *Villa* taking his leave of General *Cornaro*, returned from *Candia* as far as *Zant*; where meeting the new Captain General *Franceſco Moroſini*, and being by him aſſured, That the Pope, and Senate of *Venice* repreſenting the difficulty of Affairs in *Candia*, and the preſent urgency and neceſſity for his preſence there, had obtained Licence from the Duke of *Savoy* for his continuance in that employment; upon which aſſurance, Marqueſs *Villa* took

1667. took a resolution to return again to *Candia*, being accompanied with a strong Squadron of Vessels carrying considerable quantities both of Ammunition and Provisions.

The History of the famous Siege of Candia.

On the 27th of *April* the Forces from *Egypt* under the Command of *Messir Bey* appeared in the field, and on the 5th of *May N. S.* the General of the Janisaries incamped on the right side of New *Candia*, that he might better view and survey the ground near the *Lazaretto*.

1667. At the beginning of the New Moon of this Year's *May*, being the 12th day of the month, publick Prayers being first made through the most principal places of the Empire for the success of the Ottoman Arms, and so solemnly continued every *Monday* and *Thursday* for the space of a year; the Great Vizier first appeared before the renowned Fortress of *Candia*, and began the memorable Siege of that City, which for the space of twenty five years preceding had been the subject to which the special care and expence of *Venice*, and the Art of the most subtle Engineers of the World, as far as humanely was possible, did concur to render it the most impregnable Fortress of the Universe.

The Town was fortified with seven great Bastions, *viz.* the *Sabionera*, *Vetturi*, *Jesus*, *Martinengo*, *Betlem*, *Panigra*, and St. *Andrea*; these were all incompassed with a large and deep Ditch, of which were the Revelin of St. *Spirito*, the Revelin of *Panigra* flanked to the right with the Half-moon of *Mocenigo*: next hereunto was the Revelin of *Betlem* bordering on the Work of St. *Maries*, which to the left had the Revelin of St. *Nicholas*, and this adjoyned to the Fortification of *de Palma*, next whereunto was the Revelin of *Priuli*, with the Redoubt of *Crepa-cuore*; and over all was the Royal Fort of St. *Demetrio*, which commanded the Work of *Molino* and *Sabionera* unto the very Sea.

Marques *Villa* at his last return was chiefly intent to strengthen the Fortifications, and repair the Out-works, especially that of St. *Andrea* which was almost ruined, and the old subterranean Traverses were so full of water, and the old Galleries so high, that the Enemy could easily pass under them, all which he repaired and amended in a short time. In confidence of gaining this strong Fortress, the Turks demolished New *Candia*, situate about two miles from the Old, which the Vizier now pointed out to them as a better Seat, and incouraged them to win and inhabit it; so that 12th of *May* the Turks incamped over against St. *Maries* along the Valley of *Gioffiro* with the sound of their Drums and Trumpets, and firing great Guns and Vollies of Muskets. Their Forces at first consisted of about forty thousand fighting Men, and eight thousand Pioniers, but soon afterwards increased to seventy thousand, and so for the most part were maintained during the Siege.

The first Traverses began from the side of St. *Maries*, and were carried to the Sea, the Great Vizier took his Quarters over against *Panigra*, the Janisar-Aga against *Martinengo*, and other Pasha's between that and *Betlem*. On the other side the Pasha of *Romelia* incamped against the *Lazaretto*, and *Catirgi-Oglé* Pasha of *Canea* against *Sabionera*, *Achmet* Pasha Vizier of the Camp, and *Zagargibashee* Major General of the Janisaries, who had the reputation of old Souldiers and good Engineers, were ordered to inlarge and lengthen the Traverses on the side of the Half-

The disposition of the Turks Camp.

Moon

Moon of *Mocenigo*. Quarters being thus aſſigned, they raiſed three Batteries, the firſt againſt the Baſtion of *Martinengo*, and the right ſide of the Work St. *Maries*; a ſecond againſt *Panigra*; and ſoon after a third againſt the Half-moon and Bulwark of *Betlem*, from whence they continually thundered with their great Cannons, ſhooting Bullets of ſixty, ninety to an hundred and twenty pound weight. 1667. The Batteries raiſed by the Turks.

Nor were the Beſieged within leſs induſtrious or wiſe in the diſpoſition of their Affairs; for Marqueſs *Villa* took his Quarters at the entrance of the Bulwark *Jeſus*, Proveditor *Barbaro* at *Panigra*, the Proveditor General of the Kingdom at *Martinengo*, the Duke of *Candia*, *Franceſco Battaglia*, in the Fort of *Sabionera*, and other Officers between the Curtains of St. *Andrea*, *Betlem*, and *Sabionera*.

Things thus diſpoſed on both ſides, many and various were the valiant Aſſaults and Sallies, the Traverſes extraordinary, the Rencounters bloody, the reſiſtance vigorous, not known or recorded in any Siege before; which though they can never be fully expreſſed, or particularly denoted, yet I ſhould do injury to the aſhes of thoſe Heroick Chriſtians who ſo freely entred the Liſt, and on this Theatre of the World ſacrificed their lives in defence of Chriſtendom, ſhould I not ſignalize ſome of them of divers Nations for their Proweſs and Valour. And here pardon me, good Reader, if I come ſhort or fail in this relation, where many of unparalleled Valour and Vertue dyed obſcurely and unknown, and the numbers of others ſo great, that to ſpecifie them all, were to ſwell this Work to a larger Volume than the Book of Martyrs. Here was that Martial field into which remote Nations and unconcerned deſcended, carried thither by zeal to the Chriſtian cauſe, or by certain Principles of Valour and Magnanimity; ſo that though the War bore no other denomination than of the Venetian and the Turk, yet ſo great was the confluence of both parts of the World to this little Iſle, as if it had been choſen by unanimous conſent for a Stage to try the Title to the Univerſal Empire. The Town being thus beleagured on all ſides, but where *Neptune* the Spouſe of *Venice* kept it open, the Chriſtians endeavoured firſt to diſturb the Traverſes of the Turks by a Mine of Powder which they blew up; but through the neglect or little experience of the Engineer, it being the firſt which they had fired, reverted, and did more hurt to themſelves than to the Enemy; the errour of which being obſerved, another Fornello was fired, which taking its due place and meaſures, ſo affrighted the Turks, as yet not acquainted with this manner and invention of War, that they began at the firſt onſet to be diſcouraged, conſidering that if the ground was unſecure and unſtable at that diſtance, what abyſſes and chaſmes muſt there be prepared to make them graves under the Walls or entrance to the City. To ſecond and juſtifie this Gun-powder Plot the Chriſtians made two Sallies, one by the Savoyards under Command of Colonel *Profito Torſe*, who iſſued forth from the Revelin of *Betlem*, and made great ſlaughter of the Turks with Granadoes on the ſide of *Panigra*; another was performed by Colonel *Arborio* and Colonel *Marini*, accompanied with Count *Bruraſco* Captain of the Guards to Marqueſs *Villa* who aſſaulted two Redouts of the Turks, and forced them to flight, and afterwards with ſome loſs retreated victoriouſly to their Works. In like manner Colonel *Frigeri* Commander of the Fort St. *Demetrio*, made a Sally on *Catirgi-Oglé* near the *Lazaretto*, and with ſome loſs returned triumphant. The firſt Mine blown up. Two Sallies made by the Chriſtians.

1667. The Capeain-General disarms his Gallies.

About this time arrived at *Standi* the Captain-General *Francesco Morosini*, who after some Consultation disarming his Fleet of about a thousand men, entred with that Succour into the Town, and yet fitted out a convenient Squadron of Gallies and Galleasses to rove in the *Archipelago* to hinder the Enemies Succours and Recruits, which were designed for *Candia*.

Five Mines the Christians sprang.

In this interim the Turks repaired the old Battery against the *Lazaretto*, and laboured continually in their Galleries and subterranean Works; so that by that time that the Christians had sprang five Fornelli upon them towards the point of the Half-moon of *Mocenigo*, the Turks had advanced so well towards the Borders of *Panigra*, that they sprang two Mines; but these being but the first proofs or essays of this kind of invention, reverted on themselves with the loss of two hundred of their men, and again fired a third with little success: which the Christians answered to better purpose, blowing up sixty or seventy Turks. Wherefore the Turks made a farther tryal of two Mines by the Half-moon, rather to their own loss, than to the damage of their Enemy.

Attempts of the Turks on the side of *Panigra*.

In all the month of *July* passed not a day without some considerable action, sometimes to good, sometimes with bad success to both Parties; every day Mines were sprang on both sides, destroying the Lines, and overthrowing the Galleries; but the main force and heat of the War as it were concentring it self towards the Quarters of *Panigra*, to defence thereof the Engineer *Castellan* as freely as couragiously proffered the use of his Art, and the hazard of his Person. In which whilst he imployed himself, and endeavoured to cleanse the Galleries of their rubbish, which the Enemies Mines had thrown down, the Turks threw such quantities of Bomboes and Stink-pots into those Caverns, as made the stench thereof so suffocating and noisom, that two Officers were choaked or smothered that went to view the place, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Cavalli* and the Engineer *Castellan* himself were brought away half dead, poysoned with Sulphur and pestiferous smoke; to purifie which Grota, nothing could render the air more wholesom, in expulsion of the preceding vapour, than the smoke of Juniper and burnt Aqua vitæ, which being made use of with good success, the Christians fired two Mines, which opened so dreadful an abyss, as served for the grave of great numbers of Infidels.

Arrival of Gallies from the Pope and *Malta*.

During this time of daily rencounters arrived the Auxiliary Gallies from the Pope and *Malta*, commanded by Prior *Bichi* and *Bali del Bene*, as also the Gallies of *Naples* and *Sicily* commanded by *Giametino Doria* and the Duke of *Ferrandina*, of whom the Captain-General would have borrowed some Forces to have served at Land; but their Commissions it seems or their courages were too strait to afford any such Supplies, being designed to cruise in the *Archipelago*; only the generous Chevalier *d'Harcourt* with ten other Camerades that were imbarked on the Gallies of *Malta* agreed to enter the Garrison, having come with no other design from *France*, than to offer themselves in defence of the Christian cause, and in a time of Peace, when their Prince had no need of their assistance and service, to give the World true evidences and proofs of the value and greatness of their souls. In all Enterprises this Person, worthily descended of the House of *Lorrain*, was a Companion to Marquess *Villa*, and one day venturing on a design to disturb the Enemies approaches, was shot in the face with a Musket-bullet; of which wound recovering some time after, he with his Companions returned to *France*, having

Chevalier *d'Harcourt*.

having like Cavaliers Paſſant acted the parts of true Chivalry. But neither did the Prior *Bichi* Commander of the Popes Gallies, nor *Doria* Admiral of thoſe of *Naples*, act agreeable to the bravery of thoſe French Gentlemen; for they not only denied, as we have ſaid, to land a ſmall number of their men, but as if they came only to make them a viſit, ſent this ſhort Letter of Advice dated the 24th of *Auguſt*, in theſe words. *The Auxiliary Gallies are obliged to depart this night and to return to* Suda, *where they are to remain until the expiration of that time which is appointed for them in theſe Seas.* Prior *Bichi* likewiſe ſent word to Marqueſs *Villa*, That he judged it fit to depart, by reaſon that no action preſented for them to undertake: to which the Marqueſs replied, That he who ſeeks may find, and that ſuch opportunities never offer to thoſe who endeavour to avoid them. *Doria* alſo, to colour his excuſes, ſaid, That his Orders were not to land men, unleſs the Town were in the extremity of danger of being taken; to which *Villa* replied, That he could not well be aſſured in what condition the Town was, ſince he never vouchſafed to ſet his foot aſhore, or conceived a curioſity of ſeeing the greateſt and the moſt famous Siege that ever was in the World. In ſhort, theſe Holy and Catholick Squadrons departed without contributing any aſſiſtance to the Chriſtians, incurring thereby the ſevere cenſure of the Commanders in chief, with the anger and diſdain of the Souldiery. 1667.

The Venetians have always thought it Policy to maintain an Agent in the Ottoman Quarters, perhaps with deſign to afford them Intelligence, or to be ready to apply Terms of Peace in times of moſt urgent neceſſities. According to which Rule Signior *Giavarina* was ſent to *Candia* upon the Venetian Armata, now governed at Sea by one *Paſqualino*, with Inſtructions to treat with the Vizier, and perhaps to grant him any thing beſides *Candia*, though without this nothing could come either welcome or ſatisfactory to the Turks. Howſoever to introduce him into the Camp, a white Flag was diſplayed on the ſide of the *Lazaretto*; which when the Turks perceived, they flocked in great numbers to know the myſtery of this Signal of Pacification. And though nothing appeared, beſides a Letter directed to the Great Vizier, yet they hoped it might portend ſomething of Treaty, which in the end would produce a Peace, and a concluſion of their labours, before the Winter ſurpriſed them in their colder Lodgings. The Vizier having read the Letter, had his thoughts raiſed as high as was poſſible in hopes of a Surrender; and therefore moſt freely ordered, That Signior *Giavarina* ſhould the Sunday following come to the Valley of *Gioffiro* with what Attendance and Followers he judged fit, proffering at the ſame time a ceſſation of Arms and all acts of Hoſtility: but the Chriſtians who were not reduced to that extremity as to crave Peace, or a reſpite from action, kindly refuſed his gentle proffer, which ſo inraged the Vizier, that in a fury he gave fire to a Mine on the left ſide of *Panigra*, which was ſeconded with that furious aſſault, that *Panigra* had been put into great danger, had not the courage of the Defendants been ſupereminent, and repulſed the Enemy with ſo great a ſlaughter, that the earth round about was covered with dead bodies: which action was ſeconded by a brisk Sally performed by ſome Knights of *Malta*, as *la Maiſon Neufve*, *de Langeron*, *de Clement*, *de Monroſier*, *de Charboniere*, and *de Blanbuiſſon*, though againſt the advice and counſel of Marqueſs *Villa*, of which the two firſt were ſlain, and the reſt returned with honour and ſucceſs.

An Agent arrives at *Candia* to treat with the Vizier.

The Turks aſſault *Panigra*.

At the end of this month of *July* the Garriſon received a Supply of

1667. six hundred Foot under Command of *Ottavio Abia*, a noble Venetian, who likewise made his entry more acceptable by twenty thousand Ducats which he brought with him. At the time of his arrival the Christians fired a Mine with good success, but the Enemy had prepared another in revenge, which took such effect on the right Angle of *Panigra*, as broke the Counterscarp ten paces, and filled the Ditch with Earth, on advantage of which the Turks came to an Assault, but through the courage of *Luca Grandis* Serjeant Major, and other gallant Officers, a stop was given to the Enemies fury, and they beaten off with considerable loss.

And now for the present all Sallies ceased, whilst both sides carried on their designs under ground, thwarthing and crossing the Mines, each of other; in which subterranean Travels and Passages, the Miners often met, and had frequent and bloody Encounters, those that were strongest robbed the Powder and Utensils of the weaker, so that the Scene of War seemed to be transferred *ad inferos*, and to be carried on with more fury and violence in the Grave, or the other world, than it was in the open Air of the Cydonian Fields. The Turks becoming now as expert as the Christians in their secret and hidden Traverses, had penetrated so far, that on the 8th of *August* they fired a most dreadful Mine on the side of the half Moon, which made so great a Breach in that work, that eight men could march a breast; which so animated the Enemy with the advantage, that immediately in great numbers they mounted the breach to give an Assault; but supplies being timely afforded in assistance of the Guard, the Enemy was precipitated headlong, and overwhelmed with such showers of Musket shot, that the Retreat into their works was not only disorderly, but the number of those who survived so few and diminished, as gave proof how hazardous it was to attempt other more difficult and better fortified Bastions.

The Turks fire a dreadful Mine.

Nor was the success of the Turks less on the side of *Panigra*, where having made a Breach, they endeavoured to make good their ground under shelter of Sacks of earth, which the Christians drew away from them with long iron hooks, which was such a piece of sport to the besieged to see their Enemies dismantled of their shelter, and lye open to their shot, that a young Page of Marquess *Villa*, called *du Clos*, venturing in this action beyond his years, was shot with a Musket Bullet in the head, and so hastned to the other World covered with glory and renown.

There was scarce now a day which passed, that was not signalized with the springing of several Mines both on one side and the other; most of those made by the Christians were seconded with Sallies, and those of the Turks with Assaults and Stormings of one Fort or other. On the 10th of *September* Signior *da Riva*, a noble Venetian, arrived with a Recruit of five hundred Souldiers, and a great number of Pioniers, and the same day was celebrated, after the usual manner, by springing of Mines; one of which threw a Turk on the Fort of *Panigra*, and ruined the Galleries of the Enemy; the next day likewise several Fornelli were fired by the Enginier *Lubatiers* from the parts of the half Moon, and of *Panigra*, which filled up the Line, and spoiled the Redoubts of the Turks.

On the 15th the Christians vigourously sallied out with seventy Foot, under the Command of Colonel *Vechia*, and two other Captains from the Revelin of *Panigra*, who after a valiant skirmish, orderly retreated under the rampart of the Revelin; to which place the Turks eagerly pursuing

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1667. under the Bulwark of *Panigra*. Colonel *George Maria* was ordered to assault the Redoubts which were opposed to the Breach, Colonel *Vecchia* to attaque the Redoubts between *Panigra* and the half Moon, Colonel *Cremasco* and *Marini* to assault the redoubts between the half Moon and *Betlem*. Count *Brusasco* defended the work of S^t *Maria*, Colonel *Inberti* defended the Revelin of S^t *Nicholas*, and Serjeant *Motta* with thirty able Souldiers advanced to the fartheſt Lines of the Enemy, killing and putting to flight all before them. Colonel *Frigeri* Captain of the Fort S^t *Dimetry*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Vimes* poſſeſſed ſeveral Redoubts; and in the concluſion all retreated in excellent order with ſucceſs and triumph, to yield the Turks evident arguments of their fortitude and courage; and that the Town was ſtill ſo well provided, as not only to be in a Condition of defending it ſelf, but offending the Enemy.

Yet the Turks were ſtill labouring to countermine the *Fornelli* of the Enemy, and to revenge the former Plots; to which end they had penetrated to the moſt inward works of *Panigra*; but the Pioniers, employed by the Engineer *Quadruplani*, diſcovering their Gallery, entred boldly in, and drove away the Turks, from whom they took thirty two Barrels of Powder, and by that means for the preſent preſerved that work, and the Lives of many Souldiers.

Two Mines of the Chriſtians.

The 17^th of *October* the Chriſtians ſprang two Mines, one of thirty, and another of five and thirty Barrels of Powder, which did the deſired execution upon the Turks; which ſome brave ſpirits ſeconded by a bold Sally, amongſt which none was more eminent than a Greek Prieſt, who, moved with zeal to his Country, entered far into the Enemies Trenches, where having killed a Perſon of Quality hand to hand, he was returning with the Trophy of his head; but being in the way intercepted by three at once, he was unequally matched, and ſlain, and died with the higheſt honour imaginable under the Walls of his Native City.

One Mine of the Chriſtians.

Soon after the Cavalier *Verneda*, another Engineer, fired a Mine of forty Barrels of powder, which made the very City and Works tremble, like an Earthquake; for whereas this Mine ſhould have taken its effect on the Enemies Redoubts, Providence ordered that it ſhould take its paſſage through an old Gallery, with ſo much violence and ſmoke, that it ſuffocated the Miners, Carpenters, and Maſons, to the number of ſixty men.

Towards the end of this Summer the Turks at *Conſtantinople* and *Adrianople* grew big with the expectation of the happy News and Arrival of that meſſenger that ſhould declare the taking of *Candia*, and the end of the Venetian War; to entertain which joy with the more readineſs, they had prepared Lights, and Lamps, and artificial Fire-works to ſolemnize their * *Dumalma*, and made publick prayers and proceſſion of the youth of the City twice a week; but finding their hopes fruſtrated, and their joys from Month to Month deferred, their expectations became tyred and wearied, and growing almoſt aſhamed of their diſappointment, began to throw the blame of the miſcarriage of their Affairs on the ill Conduct of the Vizier, and the ſluggiſhneſs of their Souldiery. The Grand Signior alſo more impatient than the reſt, diſpatched away a Meſſenger with Letters to the Vizier, reproaching his cowardiſe and ſloth; that being provided with a moſt puiſſant Army, and with all other appointments of War, ſhould ſuffer the Ottoman Force to be baffled and

* Which is their Triumph for Victory.

The G. Signior ſends a Meſſenger to bring him certain information of the State of his Camp in *Candia*.

and entertained in taking a ſingle Fort for longer time, than formerly it had been in ſubduing whole Provinces and Kingdomes; and moreover charged the Meſſenger to bring him a faithful and true Relation of the ſtate of all Affairs, and what was the real cauſe and difficulty that ſo long obſtructed the progreſs of his Arms; but yet ſent the Vizier for his encouragement a Sword, and a Veſt of Sables, as tokens of his favour: The Great Vizier moved with this meſſage, reſolved to give ſome certain proofs of his induſtry and valour, and either to take the place, or elſe at leaſt to convince his Maſter, by the knowledge and teſtimony of his Inquiſitor, that the Work was of more hazard and longer time than was apprehended in the Seraglio. Whereupon preparations were made, and the time of aſſault was appointed chiefly on the ſide of *Panigra*, ſo that preſſing valiantly forward, they planted ſix of their Colours on the ruines of that work; ſo that now, full of hope and courage, they adventured to deſcend into the Ditch, but being prevented by three Mines, which contained ſeventy Barrels of powder, they were mounted in the air with ſo much noiſe and violence, that many Bodies were toſſed on the Rampire of the Town, many of their greateſt Redoubts overthrown, and Graves made for multitudes of the Aſſailants. This Aſſault as it began with great fury, ſo it continued for many hours; in which action Signior *Piſani*, Proveditor General of the Kingdom, was killed by a Granado. Howſoever, the Enemy was repulſed by the valour of the Chriſtians, inſomuch that the Turks growing faint were preſſed forward by the Vizier, who, to encourage his Souldiers, promiſed an extraordinary reward of honour and mony to him who ſhould but firſt touch the Walls with his hands. The hopes of riches and honour ſo pricked forward all conditions of the Souldiery, that the Commonalty deſperately threw themſelves at all, and endangered ſo far the taking of *Panigra*, that they had certainly poſſeſſed themſelves of it, had not the Venetians had recourſe to their laſt refuge of Mines, and blown the whole Work into the Air, by which periſhed three Paſhaws, and great numbers of common Souldiers. And this for the preſent aſtoniſhed the Turks, and gave a ſtop to the farther proceedings of this Aſſault. This proof gave an evident Conviction to the Grand Signior's Inquiſitor of the ſtrength of the place, and difficulty of the Work; and having been an Eye-witneſs of all, returned with diſmal Stories of a cruel War, reporting perhaps, and it was related in the parts of Chriſtendom, That this was a place where blood was ſpilt day and night, where Gallant Men had forgot to ſleep, living in perpetual labours, enured to intolerable ſufferings and hourly dangers, there being none ſecure either in the Church, in the houſe, or in the ſtreet; for Granadoes rained, Cannons thundred, Arrows flew, with ſtones like a Tempeſt; ſo that there was none in that place, but who quartered on the Brink of the Grave. 1667.

It now grew towards Winter, and yet the Vizier thought of no other Quarters than his Trenches, judging that if he ſhould quit his ſtation, the labours and progreſs of the former Summer would be loſt, and the Work to be again begun in the Spring. Wherefore reſolving to keep his Works, provided all conveyances to carry away the Water, and ſheds to caſt off the Rain, and warmer Tents for the Souldiery, which yet could not ſo artificially be contrived, but that the Camp was full of mire and dirt, tedious and troubleſome to Man and Beaſt, and the

Quarters

1667. Quarters of the Souldiery, ſo damp between their Banks of Earth, as cauſed Catarrhs, Fluxes, Feavers, and other Camp Diſeaſes with much mortality.

The Winter cauſes all action to ceaſe.

It was now the dead of Winter, and yet Martial Exploits were as frequent as they had been in Summer; and though the great rains and flouds of water extinguiſhed the fires, and made, as it were, a ceſſation of Armes, and of all acts of hoſtility; yet this interval of calmneſs and tranquillity the Chriſtians made uſe of to repair the Paliſade of S^t *Andrea*, and the Lines of Communication within the Ditch. And becauſe the main Bulwark was alſo ſhaken, and in ſome danger, all the Chiorma or Slaves of the Gallies were commanded aſhoar to labour in the reparation, and to make an inward retrenchment, which in ſhort time, with admirable diligence, was perfected, and on all ſides compleated.

The Turks in the mean time carried their Traverſes forward as much as they could, for they were now entered into the very Ditch of the Town; and becauſe there was no poſſibility to work in the Mines, by reaſon that the Galleries were filled with water, they attended wholly to employ their great Guns, and fire Granadoes, ſo that they raiſed a new Battery near the Work of *Mocenigo*, which began to batter the lower parts of S^t *Andrea*, and raiſed another Battery on the ruines of the Revelin of *Panigra*, which being lower ground could not much prejudice the main Bulwark.

The Sultan ſatisfied with the Relation given by his Meſſenger concerning the progreſs his Vizier had made upon the Town, and of the hopes there was in time to gain it, encouraged him with a Letter of Praiſe, accompanied with a Sword, and Veſt of Sables, the magnificent Signals of the Sultans favour. And now beſides the Force of Fire-Arms, the Turks made uſe of Arrows, ſhot into the Town, carrying papers written in Italian and French, perſwading the Souldiers to fly to their Camp, where they ſhould receive civil treatment, and a ſecure refuge; which gave that encouragement to thoſe wearied with the labours of the Siege and hard uſage, that many of them made Tryal of the Turks entertainment, and eſcaping out of the Works, fled to the Enemies Camp, where they were cloathed, received Conduct Mony, and were permitted Licence to embark themſelves for what place they pleaſed.

General *Barbaro* and *Overtmiller* depart from the Army.

About this time the Proveditor General *Barbaro* and the Lieutenant General of the Artillery *Overtmiller* having obtained licence from the Senate, returned to *Venice*; the firſt was diſpleaſed, that Marqueſs *Villa* ſhould take the precedence of him; and the other, becauſe his opinion of making a general Sally of all the Garriſon on the Enemy was not followed, but rejected by the Council of War, as a deſign pernicious and over-hazardous; for that the fighting with an Enemy more numerous than themſelves, fortified in their Redoubts and Works, and hidden under ground in inextricable Labyrinths, was an Enterpriſe ſo raſh, that no man wiſhing well to the Garriſon, and of ſound judgment ought to adviſe.

The deaths of Secretary *Giavarina* and *Padavino*.

The Turks having in this Campagne fixed themſelves well in a formal Siege, and gained ground, and many advantages on the Chriſtians, of which the deſtruction of the Work of *Panigra* was none of the leaſt: the Vizier ſuppoſed it a ſeaſonable time to enter into a Treaty by the hand of the Secretary *Giavarina*, who was there entertained for that purpoſe; but

but he falling ſick of the Camp-diſtemper dyed in a ſhort time, whoſe death was ſoon after followed by that of Signior *Padavino*, who finiſhed his days at *Canea*; the Plate, Money, and Houſhold-ſtuff of both were carefully inventored, and by the juſtice of the Vizier duly accounted for, and adminiſtred to the Venetians. The Inſtruments of Treaty being thus taken away, the Captain-Paſha was diſpatched to *Conſtantinople*, carrying with him four thouſand wounded and ſick men, and a Letter to the Grand Signior and Divan, ſignifying his reſolutions to win the place, or dye under the Walls of it; and to that end deſired them to ſend him ſuch Recruits of men and ſupply of Proviſions as were requiſite. He complained of the cowardiſe of thoſe to whom they had incharged the Convoys; that he wanted both Powder and Bullet, for default of which they could neither ply their great Guns, nor go forward in their Mines; that bread was ſo dear, that no price could be ſet to it; that his Souldiers by ſlaughter and ſickneſs did daily diminiſh; ſo that his Army was reduced to twenty three thouſand Foot, ſeven hundred Horſe, and two thouſand Pioniers; and in fine concluded with urgent inſtances to have Recruits of all diſpeeded to him, without which it was impoſſible to gain the Town, or ſave himſelf. Hereupon Recruits came from all parts, both of Men, Ammunition, and Proviſions, eſpecially from the Frontiers or adjacent places, which by ſuch vaſt evacuations were almoſt diſpeopled, more particularly in *Albania* and *Caſtelnuovo* extraordinary Preparations were making both of Men, Horſe, and Camels; and a report was ſpread, that the Grand Signior intended to paſs over in Perſon to *Candia*; but this was ſoon diſproved by his reſidence at *Lariſſa*, where he remained to render aſſiſtance more eaſily, and receive advices more ſpeedily than could be performed at *Adrianople*. 1667.

Great quantities of Corn were alſo ſent from divers places, particularly from *Smyrna*, where Engliſh, French, and Dutch Ships were taken up for that ſervice, to the prejudice of the Trade, and damage of the concerned: ſome of which Veſſels were taken in their paſſage to *Candia*, whilſt others arrived in ſafety through the negligence, as was ſuppoſed, of the Commanders at Sea. And indeed the Turks plyed their buſineſs with that induſtry and diligence, that notwithſtanding the Force which the Venetians had at Sea, their Recruits for the moſt part arrived ſafe, and Corn began to be ſo plentiful, that the Vizier gave a prohibition againſt having more imported; and in ſhort, nothing wanted for proſecution of the War, which was carried on in the Winter, as far as the ſeaſon or the weather would permit; ſo that ſcarce a day paſſed without ſomething of action, either of ſtorming or blowing up of Forts, overthrowing Galleries, filling Trenches, the particulars of all which are ſo numerous, that to recount them would fill a Volume, and are more proper to be related in a Journal than a Hiſtory, in which minute matters ought to be paſſed by, and nothing but acts of greateſt moment be recorded.

Howſoever great Actions at this ſeaſon ceaſed for a while on one ſide and the other, only continual diſcharges of great ſhot and Bomboes were practiſed. And the Turks endeavouring with artifice to cover their deſigns, diſpatched a Letter to the Senate of *Venice* by way of *Suda*, and thence in a Galley to *Candia*, touching certain Motives of Peace, ſuppoſing that Propoſitions and Offers of Accommodation would looſen the minds of the Officers, and render them leſs intent and diligent in

1668. their Affairs; on receipt of which Letter, though Marqueſs *Villa* replied, That he had as much power from the Senate to conclude a Peace, as the Vizier himſelf had from his Maſter, yet the Vizier would not treat with him, but ſent a Letter which was conſigned by an Aga at the Bulwark of *Palma* under the caution of a white Flag, deſiring that it ſhould be forwarded to *Venice*. About this time arrived to the great comfort of the Beſieged the new Proveditor *Bernardo Nani* with five hundred Souldiers, and *Matteo Matheus* Sergeant General with ſome Recruits from the Pope, bringing with him three hundred Medals of Silver to beſtow on ſuch as deſerved them, with Jubilees and Indulgences without number, and thus ended the Action of this Year.

Anno Chriſti 1668. *Hegeira* 1079.

THE Spring approaching, toward the end of *January* the Turks full of hopes to compleat their Conqueſt, vigorouſly in all maritime Ports of the Empire made proviſions of Corn and other Victuals to be ſent to the Camp, when occaſion ſhould require, and opened a door for Janiſaries according to the Turkiſh phraſe, the Formality of which is in this manner: The Chief Officer appointed for that purpoſe asks ſeverally ſuch as come to be liſted, Of what Chamber they deſire to be; to which they making reply, That they will be of the fifth, ſixth, or ſeventh, or the like, the Officer gives them a blow under the ear with the palm of his hand, and bids them repair to their Chamber, with which they nimbly paſs away. But herein the due form and order of Janiſaries was corrupted; for in former days Janiſaries were educated in that condition from children, and from thence named *Teniſheri* or *Tyrones*, or the young Souldiery; but now on this neceſſity of raiſing Forces, ancient men, Fathers of Families with long beards were admitted, to the diſparagement of that Order, and corruption of the exactneſs of that Diſcipline. Conſiderable Supplies alſo were ſent of Beldargees or Pioniers; ſo that this year from ſeveral parts, according to the beſt computation, the Forces of *Candia* were recruited with a Supply of ſeventy thouſand men, for tranſportation of which and of their Proviſions, all Chriſtian Ships were imbarged at *Smyrna* and *Conſtantinople*, ſeveral of which in their voyage to *Candia*, were intercepted by the Malteſe Corſaires, and particularly a French Ship called the Arms of *France*, on which were between four and five hundred Turks, was taken, and in boarding of her about an hundred Turks were killed upon the Deck: ſome other ſmall Veſſels (one of which was a Ligorneſe under Engliſh Colours) were taken, the French Barks which had in this manner loſt their Corn, unadviſedly returned to *Smyrna*, ſuppoſing the excuſe of having done their endeavours, and of being over-powered by a ſtronger Force was ſufficient: But the Turks who judge of nothing well, but by the ſucceſs, having gotten them into their hands, made them not only return their Freight, but ſatisfie the loſs of the Cargaſon.

Formality in making Janiſaries in theſe days.

In the Month of *March* the Vizier having intelligence of ſix or ſeven Venetian Gallies to be at *Fodile*, not far from *Standia*, under the Command of the Proveditor of the Armata *Lorenço Cornaro*, gave order to *Regep* Paſha of *Romelia*, who was Captain of the Souldiery, and *Durach* Begh, who commanded a Squadron of twelve Gallies, to weigh Anchor in the night, and there ſurpriſe them: *Durach* Begh, though

A Fight at Sea.

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fore againſt his will, doubting the truth of the report, yet readily obeyed and fitted his Gallies for the Enterpriſe. The Captain-General having intelligence of the deſign, prepared four Gallies in Port, and imbarked that night with a French Regiment and ſome Italians to the number of ſix hundred, beſides two Companies of the Guards, and one of the Proveditor *Nani*, under the Command of Colonel *André Facile* and *Montalto*, accompanied alſo with the Proveditor Extraordinary, *Daniel Juſtiniani*, Commiſſary of the Treaſury of the Militia, with ſeveral other Captains and Officers; and arriving at *Standia*, found the Proveditor General *Cornaro* newly entred there from cruſing the Seas with ſixteen Gallies, to whom having communicated the deſign, they immediately looſed from the Port, and arrived at *Fodilé* before midnight. The Turks having from the place of their Anchorage diſcovered two Sail, hoped there might be no more, and therefore came forth to fight them; but ingaging farther, met ſuch a number as evidenced the danger, and the little hope there was in other than in their Courage and Arms. The night being dark, the Venetians not to miſtake each other, carried ſuch great Lights on their Maſt-heads, as not only diſtinguiſhed them from the Enemy, but alſo directed them to give battle to the Turks, which they proſecuted ſo home, that they took and ſunk five of the Turkiſh Gallies, of which the Admiral commanded by *Durach* Bey was one; the reſt, though much ſhattered, and for the preſent unſerviceable, did yet by the help of their Oars, and the darkneſs of the night, find a way to eſcape: nor was this Victory gained by the Venetians in a Fight of ſeven hours without the loſs of two hundred Souldiers killed, and about five hundred wounded, beſides ſome Perſons of Quality and Command, *viz.* the Cavalier *Araſi Juſtiniani*, the Commiſſary *Franceſco Cornaro*, *Foſcarini*, &c. the wounded were *Georgio Greco*, *Lorenço Bembo*, and *Marco Balbi*. The Turks loſt many of their beſt Sea-men and Souldiers, beſides Slaves and others, counting on every Galley one with another three hundred perſons; amongſt the Priſoners which amounted to four hundred and ten, the Beys of *Cyprus* and *Navarine* with *Muſtapha* of *Anatolia*, and the Chiaus of the Paſha of *Aleppo* were taken, together with eleven hundred Chriſtian Slaves who were all freed, on condition that they ſhould ſerve the Summer following in the Venetian Armata. Of the Turks were ſlain *Durach* Bey, the Bey of *Coron*, and *Haſtam* formerly Bey of *Coron*. The Great Vizier from the Camp could all the time behold the flaſhes of the ſmall and great ſhot, and by help of the Venetian Lights perceive the ſucceſs of his own Fleet, not anſwerable to his expectation. What loſs the Turks ſuſtained with Slaves and Souldiers is incertain, only an hundred Chriſtian Slaves were releaſed, and four hundred Turks captivated, and amongſt the ſlain was *Durach* Bey himſelf, a ſtout Sea-man, and a known Pirate, who from a ſmall Brigantine had raiſed himſelf to be Begh of the *Morea*, and to command four or five Gallies of his own. In like manner, and not long after, a Squadron of Venetian Ships were forced by ſtorm in the night to anchor under Cape *Spada*, where accidentally ſix Turkiſh Gallies were riding. The Sky being very dark and cloſe, the firſt Ship ran foul of a Galley, and ſo ſhattered and cruſhed her ſides, that being ready to ſink, the Turks forſook her, and run aboard the Ship to ſave a life which was to be afterwards miſerable and ſlaviſh. The others affrighted at the arrival of theſe unexpected gueſts, ſlipt their Cables to ſeek harbour in a tempe-

1668.

1668. ſtuous Sea; but the weather being too boiſterous for Gallies, one of them was caſt away, and about an hundred and ſeventy men loſt: the news hereof being brought to *Venice* by Colonel *Vecchia* with the Enſigns and Spoils taken from the Enemy, the Senate beſtowed the honour of Knighthood on the Captain-General, comforting the families of the ſlain and wounded with ſignal marks of Honour and Glory.

The ſucceſs of the Turks at Sea.

The Captain-Paſha put this year to Sea more early than was uſual, deſigning to make as many Voyages to *Candia* as was poſſible, with Succours both of Men and Ammunition; his deſign and work was wholly to avoid the Venetians, and to ſteal aſhore his Recruits; to which end he made ſuch expedition in every Voyage, that ſcarce could the Chriſtians have advice of his arrival in any part of the Iſle of *Candia*, before he was well forwarded in his return: yet his haſte was not ſo great, but one time having fifty three Gallies in his Campany, he adventured to look into the Port of *Nio*, where he met four Corſaires or Free-booters under Malteſe Colours, commanded by two Brothers *Themericort*, and by the Knights *Verva* and *Bremont*: two of the Ships were on the Careen waſhing and tallowing their Veſſels, whilſt the other two, *viz.* the *Themericort* Brothers were on the Guard, being at anchor in the narroweſt entrance to the Harbour. The Turks ſuppoſed at firſt, that ſo formidable an appearance of their Fleet would affright the Chriſtians to a Surrender, rather than to contend on thoſe unequal terms. But it ſeems the Corſaires were more reſolute than was imagined; for no ſooner did the Turks approach, than the Chriſtians diſcharged their Cannon and Vollies of ſmall ſhot ſo plentifully, as cauſed the Gallies to diſpute at a farther diſtance, where ſhooting as it were at rovers with their long Caſhee Pieces (not adventuring to come to a nearer Fight) for the ſpace of eight hours made (as reported) about eight thouſand ſhot, with little or no execution; ſo that the Captain-Paſha made his ſign of Retreat, and forſook the Engagement, as being too dangerous and difficult an Enterpriſe. But better ſucceſs had the Turks the next month at Sea againſt Captain *Georgio*, an old and ſubtle Pirate, who for many years had vexed and pillaged, not only the Turks, but Chriſtians on all Iſles of the *Archipelago*: great fortune he had in taking Turkiſh Saiks and Veſſels, and ſome of them conſiderably rich, and when that prey failed him, or was ſcarce, he then purſued his game on the ſhore, from whence he often carried men, women, and children into ſlavery, and oft-times had the fortune of conſiderable Booty. The Iſlands which lay open and unguarded were his common Rendezvous, where the men attended his ſervice, and the women his luſt. In this manner this Pirate paſſed for ſeveral years, having obtained unto himſelf a fame and terrour with the Turks, and richeſs at home: the place which he commonly choſe to waſh and tallow his Veſſels, was amongſt certain ſmall Iſles in the Bay of *Edremit*, anciently *Adrimetum*, oppoſite unto *Mytilene*, from whence he had as from a Thicket or Wood a view of ſuch Veſſels as paſſed the great Road towards *Conſtantinople*: theſe frequent ſucceſſes rendred him ſo confident and ſecure, that he ſtill continued his ſtation, notwithſtanding the Turkiſh Naval Forces, which in the Summer ſeaſon made their Rendezvous at *Scio*. But at length the Captain-Paſha with the whole Turkiſh Armata being at *Scio*, and with him three Ships of *Tripoli*, advice came that Captain *Georgio* had not forſaken his little Iſles, but was there careening his ſmall Fleet which conſiſted of two Ships and a Brigantine: hereupon

Captain *Georgio* taken by the Turks.

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the Tripoleſes were commanded out to encounter the Enemy, whom the next day they found ſo ſecure and negligent, that he diſcovered not his Foes before they were ready to attaque him. The Captain Paſha alſo fearing that the Tripoleſes were not of ſufficient Force to encounter ſo valiant and experienced a Commander, both to make the Enterprize the more eaſie and certain, and to gain the reputation of that buſineſs to himſelf, went out in perſon with all his Gallies. The Tripoleſes had began to fire on Captain *Georgio* before the Paſha came in to their aſſiſtance, but it falling calm, and the Ships not able to join in a nearer fight, gave way for the Gallies, which being above fifty in number, overpowered the Chriſtians on all ſides; howſoever, the two Ships defended themſelves againſt all this Force, until the Captain himſelf being killed, his own Ship ſurrendred, but ſo ſhattered, that ſhe was ſcarce able to ſwim above water. This Ship being overcome, the Turks boarded the other, commanded by Captain *de Leſcaſes*, who ſeeing no remedy to avoid being taken, he leaped into his Boat, and blew up his Ship; howſoever could not eſcape his deſtiny, for having his Arm broke, he became a prey and a ſlave to his Enemy. 1668.

The News of this Victory was celebrated with ſo much the more joy, by how much this perſon was feared and hated; and was not only a ſubject of rejoycing to the Turks, but alſo to the Chriſtians, whoſe Parents and Relations this Corſaire had pillaged and enſlaved; ſo that the Inhabitants of the *Archipelago* for the moſt part were pleaſed with the revenge, and promiſed more ſecurity and quietneſs to their open Coaſts. With no leſs triumph was this News poſted to the Grand Signior, who rewarded the Meſſenger with two thouſand Dollars gratuity, and cauſed demonſtrations of joy to be made through the whole Court; ſo dreadful was grown the Name of ſo inconſiderable a perſon, in reſpect of the greatneſs of the Ottoman Empire.

But the ſucceſs of this advantage did not heighten the courage of the Captain Paſha to that pitch, as to make him more bold with the Venetian Armata; for in the month of *July* having great Recruits of Men and Proviſions to land, and hearing that the Venetians lay before *Canea*, having fortified a Rock, called S^t^ *Todoro*, at the mouth of that Port, he reſolved for *Retimo*; but purſuits, or intelligence of the Enemies being in the way, or his own fears ſtill prevented him, until at length he was forced to *Gira-Petra*, a ſmall and obſcure place, far diſtant from the City of *Candia*, and the way thither by land rocky, and almoſt unpaſſable for Beaſts of Burden; howſoever, the Men and Ammunition were there landed with that haſte and expedition, that in leſs than thirty hours time the Captain Paſha was again upon his return for *Scio*, leaving the Souldiery, and the Ammunition he had disbarked to find a paſſage through the Rocks and Mountains: At which the Vizier was ſo diſpleaſed, that he ſent the Captain Paſha this Meſſage, That the next time he ſhould forbear to bring farther ſupplies, until he could find a more commodious Port wherein to land them.

In this manner the Marine Affairs paſſed this year at Sea, the Turkiſh Fleet having, beſides other ſuccours, tranſported *Ibrahim* Paſha of *Damaſcus* with eight hundred Spahees unto *Candia*, whom we mentioned formerly to have been Paſha of Grand *Cairo*, and married to the Grand Signior's Siſter; and being one with whom I had a former acquaintance, and who was a great friend to the Engliſh Nation, I made him a viſit as he paſſed through *Smyrna*.

Whilſt

1668. Whilſt theſe matters were tranſacting at Sea, on the 7th of *January* arrived the new Proveditor General *Bernardo Nani*, and Sergeant General *Mutio Matei* with five hundred Foot, ſent by the Pope, who gave licence for deſtruction of ſome Monaſteries, whoſe Orders were judged leſs neceſſary in the Venetian State, that their Revenue might be applied to the ſervice of this War; after Arrival of which ſuccours, a general Muſter was made of the whole Garriſon, and the number thereof reckoned to amount unto eight thouſand fighting Men; though ſoon afterwards continual action and exploits of War decimated the number, and many of the brave Commanders being taken off, every tenth man periſhed, and rendred the place in a condition which required continual ſupplies.

Formany and various were the attempts and actions performed on both ſides under the Walls of *Candia*; and firſt the Turks began to make appear a Battery which they had raiſed on the ſide of the *Lazaretto*, which ſo offended the Port, that there was no harbour or acceſs for Veſſels. On the contrary to which, by the Fort of S^t *Andrea* another Battery was raiſed, which offended *Tramata* very much, which was another ſmall harbour, capable only to receive Boats or Barks; the paſſage to which was ſo annoyed now by the Enemies Cannon, that no Veſſel could go in or out, unleſs in the Night, and that too with ſome difficulty and danger.

The Turks reſolve to make their paſſage by St *Andrea*.

The Turks gaining advantage on the ſide of S^t *Andrea*, applied their whole ſtrength and diligence to that part; and one dark Night paſſing undiſcovered along the Seas, they ſilently fixed a Cord to the Paliſade of S^t *Andrea*, and with an Engine ſtrained it ſo violently, that they tore away ſeveral of the main Stakes of the Work without being perceived by the Centinels, who paid for that neglect with the price of their lives; upon which ſucceſs they continued to advance their lines on that ſide, which Marqueſs *Villa* perceiving, reſolved to hinder by ſome valiant ſallies. And firſt two hundred brave men ſelected out of ſeveral Regiments, conducted by Sergeant Major *Motta*, iſſued out from *Panigra*, and taking their way along the Sea, bravely mixed with the Turks, and put them to flight; and though the Alarm thereof brought a Concourſe of Turks from all parts of the Camp, yet the Chriſtians ſtood ſo ſtoutly to it, that they ſtruck a terror to their Enemies, and once forced them to a Retreat within their Trenches; and at length, after they had overthrown certain Redoubts and Traverſes, they gave back with good order, returning with Victory and Glory; which bravery the Captain General acknowledged to all, and encouraged in the common Souldiery with a Preſent of fifty Zechins. This ſucceſs gave the beſieged opportunity to finiſh their Platforms which they had raiſed on the ſide of the Ditch adjoining to the Bulwark of S^t *Andrea*, on which they planted two pieces of Cannon which carried fifty pound Bullet a piece; which much diſturbed the Enemies Traverſes: Howſoever, the Turks with indefatigable pains, and invincible patience battered the little Tower of *Priuli*, the Curtain, and Revelin of S^t *Andrea*, and employed all their power and attention to fill the Ditch with Faggots, Earth and other Rubbiſh.

A Sally made by the Chriſtians.

On the 29th of *February*, after the Chriſtians had firſt made a Breach on the Enemies Redoubt, which confronted the Revelin of S^t *Andrea*, and ſprang five Mines one after the other, a ſecond Sally was made by a conſiderable Body of the beſieged, conſiſting of two hundred French

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and Savoyards, three hundred Italians, two hundred Germans, and a hundred and twenty horſemen, who iſſued forth with that Gallantry, that driving the Turks under Covert, advanced far within their Works, with which Demonſtration of honour the Captain General being ſatisfied, they made the ſmoke which was a Signal for their Retreat; ſo that returning victorious without much loſs, that day was remarkable, and numbred amongſt the other days which were eſteemed ſucceſsful and fortunate in that Siege. 1668. Another Sally.

Howſoever, the Turks with admirable patience and aſſiduity crept forward by their Traverſes, and help of their great ſhot on the Baſtion of S^t *Andrea*, which whilſt *Auguſtine Roſtayne*, Adjutant of Marqueſs *Villa*, conſidered, he was taken off by a Cannon Bullet; and yet the Turks could not advance ſo faſt, but that the Engineer *Maupaſſan* gave ſome retardment to their progreſs by firing a Mine, which overthrew two of their Redoubts, and afforded them new work to repair them and the adjoining Traverſes.

This was the preſent ſtate of the miſerable *Candia*, when the Duke of *Savoy* recalled his Subject Marqueſs *Villa* from his honourable employment; and a Ship, called *Alexander* the Great, by appointment of the Venetian Senate arrived at *Standia* to tranſport him and his Family to *Venice*; ſo that on the [illegible] of *April*, accompanied to *Tramata* by all the principal Officers of the Garriſon, he embarked in order to his Voyage, whoſe place was about two Months after ſupplied by the Marqueſs S^t *Andrea Montbrun*, a Nobleman of *France*, with whom the Venetian Ambaſſadour at *Paris*, by order of that Republick, had prevailed to take upon him the defence and protection of that deplorable City, reduced now almoſt to its ultimate Criſis. Marqueſs *Villa* returns into *Italy*.

I cannot adventure to aſſign the reaſons that might induce the Duke of *Savoy* to recal the worthy Governour from this glorious action. Some ſay, that thoſe who were emulous of his glory procured his revocation; Others, that the Marqueſs himſelf deſired it; and that finding the Forces of the Town to decline, and the Turks to encroach and penetrate daily into the innermoſt parts of ſtrength, he was deſirous, after ſo long a Siege, to return with untainted glory; or perhaps weary of a Siege ſo tedious and perilous, he might deſire to retire, having performed ſufficient already in his own perſon, and enough to make all Chriſtendom his Debtors and Admirers. So that I cannot but reproach thoſe tongues and pens, which in report and writings attribute the cauſe of Marqueſs *Villa*'s retirement to certain juſt occaſions of diſcontent given him by the Captain General *Franceſco Moroſini*, who, envious of his Fame and actions, and unwilling to have a conſharer with him in his honours, did uſually thwart his Counſels and Propoſals; and more particularly contemned a Redoubt which Marqueſs *Villa* had built, and of which he had a ſingular eſteem. Yet that *Moroſini* might evidence the unſufficiency thereof, 'tis reported that he wrote a Letter to the Vizier, to aſſault that Redoubt; for if he did, he promiſed to afford him opportunity to take it, by withdrawing all Forces from thence; which Letter, it is ſaid, was betrayed to Marqueſs *Villa*, and brought to his hands, which he with great prudence and moderation diſſembled until the hour of his departure, and then produced it to the aſtoniſhment and ſhame of *Moroſini*. To this particular I give the leſs belief, becauſe I find it wrote in a Journal of this Siege by a perſon who was a great Favourer of the French, and willing Cauſes of Marqueſs *Villa*'s departure.

1668. willing to ſhare the intire glory to that Nation, and the miſcarriages to the Italian. Whatſoever might be the motive to Marqueſs *Villa* to perſwade his return, is uncertain; howſoever, it is reported, that being arrived at *Zant* in his way to *Venice*; and there meeting a ſtrong Convoy bound for *Candia*, with recruits of Men, and plenty of proviſions, he conceived new thoughts of the greatneſs of the Republick; and beholding alſo with what vigour and vigilance they attended to the conſervation of that place, he began to teſtifie ſome remorſe and diſſatisfaction for having abandoned a Charge which rendred his Fame great through the World; and the continuation of which labours being crowned with that ſucceſs which his courage and conduct merited, might have brought a Bleſſing to all Chriſtendom, and perpetuated his honour and glory to all poſterity. The Marqueſs being arrived at *Venice* was received with the uſual Ceremonies and Honours from the Publick, and being introduced, after private Audiences, into the Colledge, he ſpake in this manner.

Marqueſs *Villa*'s Speech.

IF the thanks which I render to your Serenity, and to your Excellencies could equal the greatneſs of thoſe favours which I have received from you, it would have been but an ordinary glory to you not to have infinitely ſurpaſſed the bounds of my acknowledgements, as you have infinitely outdone the utmoſt of my Deſerts; Nor could this Auguſt Senate have been exalted to the moſt elevated point of Soveraign Power, had I been able to render Services worthy of that generoſity which compoſed it. For as the affection of the Creatures towards God, makes excuſes for their wants and infirmities; ſo having a zealous deſire to contribute to the glories of this moſt Serene Republick, not only my endeavours, my labours, and my bloud, but alſo my life, and my whole being; I beſeech you to accept thereof as an attonement for the weakneſs of my abilities. This, my Lords, is that deſire which I have ever demonſtrated in all the wearisome performances of my Charge under the generous Conduct of the Captain General of your Armes, whoſe Valour I have endeavoured to ſecond and imitate. This is that Deſire which would have entertained me in the ſervice of this moſt Serene Republick to the ultimate period of my life, if the Command of my Prince, concurring with the Aſſent of your Serenity, had not enjoyned my return. I confeſs, that I ſhould feel in my ſelf an inward Conſolation, could I aſſiſt at the triumph of Candia, *which I hope in a ſhort time to ſee victorious over all her Enemies; until when, my Lords, the honour which you have been pleaſed to do me hitherto, cannot but be reliſhed by me as a Comfort of my life. And what greater Glory can I imagine to my ſelf, than to have ſerved a Republick, which may be called the moſt perfect work of the hand of God, which being founded like the Firmament upon the Waters, communicates happy Tranquillity through all the World? I am able now to boaſt, That I have ſeen a City which of it ſelf alone is able to reſiſt the Puiſſance of all* Aſia, *and that I have proved and tryed the valorous oppoſition which it made againſt a formidable Enemy. I can (I ſay) glory that I have awakened in the hearts of your Souldiery, their ancient Valour, and that I have ſprinkled your Lawrels with my own Bloud; and it is but juſt that I ſhould diſtil it to the laſt drop for the ſervice of this moſt Serene Republick, which after ſo many Ages reſigns it ſelf up a Sacrifice for all Chriſtendom. It is by your Arms (my Lords) and by your immoveable Conſtancy, that the City of* Candia, *which in former Days was eſteemed the weakeſt of all the Fortreſſes of*

Greece,

Greece, *is become at preſent the moſt famous Theatre of War. I dare not only hope, that the concluſion thereof will be happy, ſo long as your Serenity watchfully attends to the conſervation of that place, but that alſo this Auguſt Senate will extend their Conqueſts into the moſt remote parts of all the Eaſt. This would be, moſt Serene Prince, and moſt Excellent Lords, the conſummation of all my deſires, and alſo that I might finiſh my days in the Service of this moſt Serene Republick, towards which I ſhall for ever conſerve a moſt paſſionate zeal and an immortal acknowledgment.* 1668.

The Senate, that they might teſtifie the eſteem they entertained of the perſon of Marqueſs *Villa*, preſented him with a Baſon of Gold valued at ſix thouſand Ducats, together with a Patent recounting at large the many famous Exploits which he had performed in their Service, which they expreſſed with a ſtile ſo generous and obliging, as may ſerve for a Record to tranſmit the Fame of his Merits to all Poſterity.

Marqueſs *Villa* being departed from *Candia*, the Captain-General recalled all his Forces from divers parts of the *Archipelago*, which he had ſent thither with the Souldiers wounded in the laſt Battle; and being returned, they brought with them great numbers of Pioniers and Workmen to labour in the Fortifications and Mines: at the ſame time alſo the Captain-Paſha arrived at *Canea*, bringing two thouſand Janiſaries with him.

Marqueſs St. *Andrea*
viſits the Works.

The Marqueſs St. *Andrea Montbrun*, a Gentleman of the French Nation, was tranſported to *Candia* by the General Proveditor *Cornaro*, where being entred into the Charge and Office of Marqueſs *Villa*, wanted nothing of the vigilance and circumſpection of his Predeceſſour. And therefore in the firſt place having viſited all the Forts, Out-works, and Retrenchments of the Town, ordered what was neceſſary for repair of the breaches, and amended what was deficient in the moſt diſtreſſed Fortifications. And though the Turks fired a Mine the 22th of *Auguſt* at the point of the Fort St. *Andrea*, which made a moſt dangerous breach; yet it was ſo valiantly defended, and ſo ſpeedily repaired, that the Enemy gained little or no advantage, and all by the extraordinary diligence of this Marqueſs St. *Andrea*, who paſſed whole months without uncloathing himſelf; and as his nights were without ſleep, ſo his days conſumed without repoſe, applying himſelf perſonally to all places where was moſt of danger, eſpecially at the Fort of St. *Andrea*, where he took up his conſtant Quarters.

The Turks now daily preſſing the Town more nearly than before, Skirmiſhes and Sallies were more frequent and more bloody; ſo that about this time the Proveditor General *Bernardo Nani* applying himſelf with all earneſtneſs in the performance of his Charge, was ſlain by a Musket-ſhot in his head; his death was much lamented by all, being a Gentleman who was born (as may be ſaid) in the Fleet, having had his Education there, and paſſed his youth in Wars and dangers for the ſafety and honour of his Country. *Girolamo Bataglia* was elected by the Republick to ſucceed him in the Office, whoſe death was alſo ſeconded by that of *Franceſco Bataglia*, Brother of the Duke of *Candia*, being ſhot in the breaſt with a Musket-bullet; and though he was ſent thither to adminiſter Juſtice to the People, yet his zeal and courage carrying him to Martial Acts beyond his duty, made a grave for him amongſt the other Heroes and Worthies of that place.

1668. The Turks approaching daily nearer with their Works, infested very much the passage of Vessels to the Town, and shot so directly into the Port, that no Ship, Galley, or Bark could remain in any security from their Cannon; to remedy which, a small Redoubt was raised at *Tramata*, which being well and strongly fortified served for a small Port, under the shelter of which the lesser Vessels found some protection, and was of great relief to the distressed City. About this time the Popes Gallies with those of *Malta* arrived, commanded by *Fra. Vincenzo Rospiglios*, the Popes Nephew, who having not brought a greater number of people than what served to man their Gallies, they were not able to spare many for defence of the Town.

The long continuance of this Siege, and the fame thereof noised through the whole World, moved the heroick and gallant Spirits of our Age, to descend into this *Campus Martius*, this Field of War, and give proofs of their Prowess and Valour in defence of the Christian Cause; some being moved by a principle of vain-glory, proceeding from the briskness of a youthful and aery Spirit, and others from the sense of Devotion and fervour towards Religion: amongst which none were more forward than some Gentlemen of the French Nation, as namely Monsieur *La Fueillade*, *alias* Duke of *Roanez*, with the Count St. *Paul*, a young Cavalier; to forward which design, taking first the Licence and Benediction of their King, they appointed their Rendezvous at *Tolon*, where they listed two hundred Gentlemen, Cadets or younger Brothers, who went in quest of Honour, and not of Pay, with four hundred ordinary Souldiers who expected their maintenance from the bounty of their Leaders. The chief of whom was Monsieur *La Fueillade*, and his Lieutenant the Chevalier *De Tresmes*.

Some French Gentlemen, Adventurers for honour, arrive at *Candia*.

Their whole Body was divided into four Brigades.
The first commanded by Count St. *Paul*.
The second by the Duke *De Carderousse*.
The third by the Count *De Villa Maur*.
And the fourth by the Duke *De Chatean Trery*.

When these Persons of Honour and Courage arrived at *Candia*, they found the City hardly beset, and reduced to a strait and difficult condition; for the Turks were advanced so near to the Fort of St. *Andrea*, that the Souldiers within and without could cross their Muskets, and reach Tabaco one to the other: howsoever this breach was so well repaired with a good Palissado fortified with several Bonnets, and a double Retrenchment on the Bastion it self, and a third Retrenchment of squared stone withal, that the courage of the Besieged being nothing abated by the many and furious assaults of the Enemy, the Town still remained in a defensible posture, and still capable with good Succours and Supplies to yield matter of imployment for several years to the Ottoman Forces. These worthy Champions, as I said, being arrived, moved with the sense of Religion, and desire of glory to themselves, challenged the priviledge of mounting the Guard of St. *Andrea*; but that being already prepossessed by the Knights of *Malta* and other Officers of the place, was refused to them. Howsoever the Captain-General *Morosini* was pleased to gratifie them with the Guard of a small Chapel over that Bastion on the right hand of the breach, a place of no less danger, and therefore of no less honour than the other; with which the Cavaliers being satisfied, Monsieur St. *Paul* mounted the Guard one day at six a clock in the morning,

ning, and continued there until the ſame hour of the day following; during which time he loſt his Major *Dupré* and Monſieur *De Marenval*, the latter of which had his brains knocked out with ſo violent a blow of a great ſhot, that ſome pieces of his skull dangerouſly wounded the Sieurs *De Chamilly* and *De Lare*, who were near to him: and more maliciouſly did the Turks ply the ſtations of theſe new-come Gueſts than any others, throwing Bomboes, Granadoes, Stink-pots, and other ſorts of artificial Fire without ceſſation into their Quarters, notwithſtanding which, this young Prince and Monſieur *La Fueillade* expoſed themſelves like common Souldiers, animating their men more with their example than their words. 1668.

And now by this time by ſo many Works and removals of Earth, by ſo many Traverſes and Mines under ground, and throwing up the caverns and bowels of the Earth into the Air, the ſoil became ſo brittle, crumbling, and as it were ſandy, and like aſhes, that it ſeemed not capable longer of enduring the Pick-ax or the Shovel, and was ſo porous, that the light of ſome Mines glimmering into the others Traverſes, eaſily diſcovered each others Mines, whereby it became equally a trade and cuſtom to ſteal Powder. Howſoever the Venetians ſo cloſely worked with thoſe Props and Arts, that they formed a conſiderable Mine, which on the firſt of *December* they ſprang with ſo much ſucceſs, that they wholly overthrew a Battery of the Turks directed againſt St. *Andrea*, and buried all their Cannon. The Chriſtians overthrow a battery of the Turks.

But theſe French Gallants intended not from the firſt of their deſign to make this War their Trade, or the Town of *Candia* their place of habitation, but as Paſſengers or Pilgrims, whoſe ſouls are active, and hate idleneſs, to give the World ſome proofs of their Valour, and ſo away: wherefore *La Fueillade* their General preſſed *Moroſini* to give leave, that he and his Fellow-Souldiers might make a Sally, and enter into the Enemies Trenches, ſo as to yield a divertiſement to thoſe on the Walls, and perform that Action and Enterpriſe for which they had deſigned and undertaken this Voyage: of which ſome of them were ſo impatient, that they would not expect Orders for their Sally, as the Chevalier *De Treſmes*, who alone entred into the Enemies Works, and returned with his Sword all bloody; at which *La Fueillade* his Commander was ſo incenſed, that he reproved him with this ſhort reprehenſion, *I would as gladly ſee a Butcher as you.* Others by this example ſcarce refrained from the like; amongſt which Monſieur *De Ville Franche* drew a Turk by force from his Trench, and brought him to the foot of the Baſtion; but there he was forced to quit his Prize, for being ſhot in the Leg with a Piſtol-bullet, ſoon after dyed of the wound: By theſe examples the Commanders ſeeing it impoſſible to repreſs or abate the mettle of theſe vigorous Spirits, their bridle was taken off, and licence given to make their excurſion; ſo that all things being ordered and contrived for a Sally, before break of day in the morning they ſilently iſſued forth, and leaping into the Enemies Quarters, valiantly mingled with them, cutting and hewing down all before them; their Banner was a Crucifix carried in the Front by Father *Paul* a Capuchin Fryer, who little regarding thoſe who followed him, proceeded with his Enſign as unconcerned, as if he had been in Proceſſion; which ſo animated the Souldiery, that like men conducted by miracle, they broke through the groſs Body of the Enemies Force: and ſo violent they were in their combate, and ſo intent to their buſineſs, A Sally made by the French.

1668. that they neither obſerved the multitudes of the Enemy which came upon them, nor the ſignal of their Commander for a Retreat; until at length diſcovering their danger, they made ſpeed with ſome diſorder to return, having loſt an hundred and twenty Gentlemen in this rencounter, whoſe heads being cut off (as the cuſtom of the Turks is) were pitched upon the Pikes end, and ranked before the door of the Viziers Tent, amongſt which the head of the Marqueſs *Doradour* did beyond all the others draw the eyes of the Turks, who admired the clearneſs of his complexion, and fairneſs of the hair; which being breaded in treſſes for the more convenience in fighting, made death it ſelf beautiful, and was at the ſame time both his Enemies glory and their compaſſion. The French having thus evaporated their fury with this Phlebotomy, there not remaining above two hundred and thirty after this Sally of all thoſe ſix hundred brought into *Candia*, Monſieur *La Fueillade* with his reliques departed: at which time the whole ſtrength of the Town conſiſted of about ſeven thouſand ſtranger Souldiers, four thouſand Inhabitants, and two thouſand Savoyards, which was too weak a Garriſon to reſiſt ſo potent an Enemy, ſo formally and ſtrongly incamped, unleſs ſupplied with new Recruits. Wherefore the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg* mindful of their Chriſtian Brethren in this diſtreſſed Siege, contributed three Regiments towards their relief, conſiſting in all of three thouſand three hundred men. The firſt under Count *Waldeck*, the ſecond under *Molleſon*, and the third under Count *Radesfeld*. They made their Muſter firſt at *Verona*, and imbarking at *Venice* the 28th of *March*, on the 12th of *May* 1669. they arrived at *Candia*. Theſe valiant Souldiers deſiring to eaſe the long beſieged Companies, demanded the Guards of *Sabionera* and St. *Andrea*; which being by this time become hot and dangerous ſtations, were not diſputed with that heat of honour as formerly, but were eaſily yielded to the freſh and new-come Souldiery. Many now and various were the aſſaults which the Enemy made upon the Town, hoping to carry it by dint of Sword; but the Chriſtians unweariedly maintained their valour and courage, and particularly the Lunenburghers, whoſe gallantry deſerved its due praiſe and reward. Their General Count *Waldeck* whilſt he undauntedly incouraged his men, and openly expoſed himſelf on the Works, received a mortal wound, of which ſoon afterwards he dyed; but before he expired, he aſſembled together his Fellow-Souldiers, and incouraged them in the Holy cauſe they were come to maintain, giving them as a Farewel-Sermon, inſtructions, and perſwaſive arguments to a godly life, and having confeſſed his own ſins in the preſence of them all, he reſigned his ſpirit into the hands of his Creator, leaving not only his own Forces, but the whole Town diſconſolate for the loſs of ſo able a Commander.

The Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg* ſent Forces to relieve *Candia*.

Count *Waldeck* dyes of his wounds.

And now the time of year approaching, wherein the Town expected its ultimate Relief, and the Union of all the Princes of Chriſtendom for raiſing the Siege, which had continued for the ſpace now of about two years; the valiant Chriſtians full of hopes, daily animated each other, caſting their eyes to Sea-ward, promiſed a reward to the firſt Deſcryer of the long deſired Fleet. The Turks alſo being adviſed of the expected Succours, reſolved if poſſible to perform the buſineſs deſigned before their arrival; and thereupon made one of the greateſt aſſaults that ever was yet given to the Town, in which though the Chriſtians behaved themſelves with all valour imaginable, yet the Turks ſtill gained farther

footing

footing and advantage. And now it fared with the Town after every storm, as it doth with a physical body after every accession of a Feaver, which though it intermits for some time, yet it leaves the Patient always more weak and debilitated than before. Wherefore the Christians increasing in care and diligence, the Captain-General disarmed several of his Gallies to supply the Town with what Force he could possibly contribute, and the Engineers imployed their brains for destruction of the Enemy, so that they fell again to their Mines, and sprang one which took good effect; soon after they sprang seven others, after which four more near the Revelin of St. *Spirito*, which blew up many Turks, ruined their Lodgings, and buried one of their Batteries: these also were followed by another Mine of an hundred and sixty Sacks of Powder, which took its way between St. *Andrea* and the Revelin of St. *Spirito* with extraordinary execution and violence, throwing up that vast quantity of Earth and Timber, that it not only overwhelmed the Enemy in the neighbouring Trenches, but overthrew a Battery of three Pieces of Cannon, which the Turks had raised on the Revelin of St. *Andrea*: yet all this served to increase the heat and fury of the Enemy rather than abate it; for they imagining this to be the ultimate force and the last blast of the expiring Fortress, plyed their assaults with the more fury and madness, pressing forward the crowds of the Souldiery collected lately in Villages, and the Janisaries newly created taken from the Plough to be matter and fuel for the Christians Powder. 1668.

A Mine of an hundred and sixty Sacks of Powder fired by the Christians.

Winter now approaching, and the Vizier resolving to quarter a second year under the Walls of *Candia*, began to provide against the weather, and resolved to lye still until the Spring should renew the time for action, but never intermitted his imployment of plying constantly his Batteries, and shooting Bomboes into the Town. In the mean time the Besieged being animated by their new additional Forces, whose spirits also were high, and desirous of action; the Commanders thought it not policy to suppress the heat and mettle of their courage at the beginning, but gave way to the Souldiers proposition of a Sally, which was effected in the month of *December* with no bad success. For the Christians surprising the Turks unawares, little dreaming of any such design, fell in amongst them on the side of *Sabionera*, where they took a Battery, dismounted and spiked the Cannon, with the loss of the Duke of *Candia*, being shot in the breast with a Musket-bullet; of the Turks near three thousand were killed, amongst whom was *Benglee* the *Sampsongibashee* or Major General of the Janisaries, and *Katirgi-Oglé* Pasha of *Canea*, whom we have already mentioned, and so returned with Triumph into the Town. This *Katirgi-Oglé* which signifies the Son of a Mulatier, was formerly a common Thief, who robbed on certain Mountains near *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, called *Ock-shaher*, which now have their names from him: and being a couragious man and fortunate, drew a considerable number of Miscreants from all parts to follow him in his Enterprises. His profession was not to rob Caravans or Merchants travelling in their honest imployment; but Knight-Errant-like pretended to revenge the injuries and abuses of his Country by the unjust and corrupt Ministers, whom for robbing and oppressing the people, he esteemed it Justice and Vertue to deprive of their ill gotten Wealth. In which Trade he gained such Riches and Power, that at length he came to *Scutari*, from whence acquainting the Grand Signior of the abuses of

The Christians sally on the side of *Sabionera*.

Katirgi-Oglé his original and life.

1668. of his Officers, and his own courſe of living was upon promiſes of duty and ſubmiſſion received into Grace and Favour, and not only obtained pardon, but preferment. For the Grand Signior diſcovering in him a ſpirit of much reſolution and bravery ſent him unto *Candia*, and conferred on him the Paſhaluck of *Canea*, in which on all occaſions he comported himſelf with much bravery, dying at laſt before the Walls of *Candia*.

Various were the Sallies and Conflicts the Chriſtians made upon the Turks towards the end of this Year; one of which, after that foregoing, was made by Marqueſs *Villa*, who with a thouſand two hundred men fell in upon the Turks Trenches, where he had ſo good ſucceſs, that he brought back with him a hundred Turks heads, which he planted on the Walls.

The Turks alſo as they had made ſtrong Aſſaults, and gained on the Fort of S^t *Andrea* to the Eaſt, ſo they undauntedly preſſed forwards on the Baſtion of *Sabionera* to the Weſt, with a Force of ten thouſand men, having the advantage of three Batteries, each conſiſting of ten pieces of Ordnance. The next Night the Turks gave a general Aſſault with all their Forces to the Baſtions of *Panigra*, *Sabionera*, and S^t *Andrea*, and the great Fort S^t *Demetrius*; but the Beſieged were armed with all caution and vigilance againſt ſurpriſe, and with that Conduct and Valour, that they gave the Enemy three Gallant Repulſes with much ſlaughter and confuſion; but yet this ſucceſs was diminiſhed by the loſs of the Count *de Mare*, an experienced Venetian Souldier, who, after proofs of an invincible Valour, loſt his life in defence of the Chriſtian Cauſe. But not long after the Marqueſs *Cornaro*, and the Baron *Spar* arriving with a Recruit of three thouſand Men, as if they intended to requite the Turks laſt Aſſaults, made ſo reſolute and ſo ſucceſsful a Sally, that they left above two thouſand Infidels dead upon the place, with a conſiderable number of their Officers.

The Turks ſtorm three Baſtions at once.

The State of Affairs in the Turkiſh Court, and other Parts of the Empire during the War in CANDIA.

BUT whilſt we are in relation of the Wars abroad, we muſt not forget the proceedings of Affairs at home. The Grand Signior now weary of his repoſe and aboad in his Seraglio at *Adrianople*, and impatient of the delays in his Affairs at *Candia*, judged it as well agreeable to the preſent convenience of his Empire, as to his own humour, to ſeat himſelf in ſome place of nearer diſtance from *Candia*, than his preſent aboad; from whence by his preſence and authority, his Army might with better expedition be ſupplied with all neceſſaries of War and proviſion. After various Arguments about the choice of the place, *Lariſſa* was fixed upon, a City anciently renowned for Antiquity and Plenty. And that the Court might not abound with unneceſſary Attendants; the Queen Mother, and *Haſaki* Sultana, with all the Ladies of their Retinue, were ſent to *Conſtantinople*, a policy perhaps to amuſe

The Female Court ſent to *Conſtantinople*.

muſe the minds of the people, and afford them an occaſion of diſcourſe, and hopes that the Grand Signior himſelf might ſhortly follow. But before the departure of this Female Court, the diſpoſal of the Grand Signior's Brothers was moved and queſtioned by the Janiſaries, who having long ſince been jealous and doubtful of their ſafety, did demand, that the protection and cuſtody of them ſhould be committed to the Queen Mother; who willingly received the Charge, and gave ſecurity by Hoget to defend and preſerve them from all private Treachery, or publick Attempts with the ſame tenderneſs and care as ſhe ſhould her own life, or the life of her Son. In this manner theſe Princes and Princeſſes departing, made a ſolemn and magnificent entrance into *Conſtantinople*. The chief of the Cavalcade was *Kul-ogli*, the Grand Signiors Moſayp, or Favourite, attended with a hundred and fifty Pages in Coats of Male, and Satten Veſts; in one Coach was the *Valedé* Sultana, or the Queen Mother, in the next was the *Haſaki* Sultana, or the Grand Signior's Queen, in the third were the Brothers, in the fourth was the young Prince, or the Grand Signior's Son, after came the Coaches of more ordinary Ladies attended with about a hundred and fifty black Eunuchs, in Veſts of white Satten. 1668.

The Janiſaries jealous of the ſafety of the Sultans Brothers.

The Grand Signior alſo preparing for his journey to *Lariſſa*, pitched his Tents without the City; from whence one day viewing round the Camp from a Jardac, or Tent, elevated above the reſt, he eſpied with a Proſpective Glaſs a certain perſon taking Tabaco in his Tent, whilſt a Slave rubbed his Legs: His Attendants not able or willing upon his Demands to inform him who he was, he ſent an Officer to make Enquiry, who returned with Anſwer, that it was *Ibrahim* Aga, the Kahya or Steward to the Chimacam, and in effect Chimacam himſelf, having a great ſhare in the mannagement of Affairs; but the ſmoke had like to have ſmothered him and all his Fortunes; for this Grand Signior, who is as great an Enemy to it as King *James* was, or Sultan *Morat*, would have made him the Sacrifice to that Incenſe, had not thoſe preſent interceded for him; who with the Chimacam's own mediation, and the coſt of fifty Purſes, or five and twenty thouſand Dollars, ranſomed his Life.

The Gran. Signior diſpleaſed with Tabaco.

The Sultan being arrived at *Lariſſa*, News came of the near approach of the Excellentiſſimo *Alviſe de Molino*, Ambaſſadour from the Venetian Republick, with propoſitions of peace. But the Turks before they would admit the Embaſſy, or the perſon which brought it, to a nearer approach than a Days Journey from the Court, would be reſolved firſt whether he brought with him the Keys of *Candia*; To which it was replied by the Interpreter, That he was not able to give them ſatisfaction in that particular, being but a mean and ordinary ſervant, to whom the Secrets of State, and reſolutions of great men were not committed; his Office being only to render faithfully the words and ſence of his Maſters, and not to enter into the private thoughts and Cabinet of their Counſels. To which the Chimacam proudly and barbarouſly made anſwer, Go tell thy Maſter, that unleſs he brings the Keys of *Candia*, thy head ſhall pay for it. And that he preſume not in perſon to approach nearer unto this Court. So the Ambaſſadour remained at a diſtance for ſome weeks, and at length was transferred over to the Vizier at *Candia*; who being more ready to hearken to propoſitions, in hopes by ſome overture or other to hook in *Candia*, gave an eaſie Audience to the Ambaſſadour,

An Ambaſſadour ſent from *Venice*.

1668. baſſadour, and controverted ſeveral Articles and Propoſitions with all freedom and patience. So that on the Venetians part, the Surrender of *Suda* was offered, and a Sum of money, in compenſation of the War. The Vizier on the other ſide would be contented with nothing leſs than the Surrender of *Candia*; and in lieu thereof to grant a Licence to rebuild *Paleo-Caſtro*, an ancient Fortreſs. But the Fortreſs it ſelf of *Candia* being the prize and aim of both, nothing could be concluded without that; ſo that, the Ambaſſadour in fine, declared plainly, That the City of *Candia* was maintained and defended by the Armes of Foreign Princes, without whoſe conſent it could not be reſigned; all the reſt of the Iſland ſhould be the reward of their bloud and labour, only *Candia* was capable of no Conditions, but what were impoſed on it by force of Armes.

The Vizier, whoſe honour could be ſalved, and the glory of the Ottoman Empire maintained, at no other rate than the ſubjection of *Candia*, would hearken to no other terms or propoſals; ſo that the Treaty broke off, and the Ambaſſadour returned to *Canea*, there to remain until farther Overtures of an Accommodation ſhould preſent.

It was now towards the depth of Winter when three men of War and a Fire-Ship, ſent by the moſt Chriſtian King, ſteered up the Helleſpont with words and boaſtings as full of Wind as their Sails; and being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, vaunting of their Force, as if ſufficient to ſubdue the Turkiſh Dominions, they uttered certain rumours, that they were come to revenge the late affront offered to their Merchants, to cauſe that money to be repaid, which in late and frequent Avanias had been extorted from their Nation; and to renew their Capitulations with more advantageous terms. As namely, That their Cuſtoms from 5 be reduced to 3 *per Cent.* as the Engliſh, Dutch, and Genoeſes pay. That their King be treated by the Sultan with the equal Preſents and Gifts, according to the Cuſtom uſed with the Emperour; and that at all times interchangeably Ambaſſadours be ſent to reſide in each others Dominions; with other propoſitions which ſeemed as extravagant to the Turks, as they appeared to others vain, and to have no foundation but in the report of the Vulgar.

French Ships of War ſail to *Conſtantinople*.

But that which was reported by the moſt judicious concerning theſe Ships was, That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty being made to underſtand perfectly the affronts put on his Nation by the Turks; and not fully ſatisfied (as is ſuppoſed) with the reſpect they had ſhown to his Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, made it the chief Deſign of his Ships to withdraw him from thence, ſuppoſing it a leſs diminution to his honour, to have the perſon of his Agent ſubjected to affronts, than of his Ambaſſadour, to which (it was imagined) he might be obnoxious, in conſideration of thoſe great ſupplies, which were in the following year deſigned for *Candia*. In what manner ſoever the Turks deemed of this appearance of Men of War to hector and brave them at their Imperial City, they did yet for the preſent cunningly diſſemble the matter, giving the French fair words, and what plenty of Proviſions their occaſions did require. In what manner this Affair was tranſacted, I ſhall not adventure to relate, nor is it well or certainly known; Yet not long after came Orders for the Ambaſſadour to repair to the Court at *Lariſſa*; and that until the Grand Signior's pleaſure was farther known, the Ships of War were to be detained. The Commander in chief, called Monſieur *d' Almeras*, was not a little troubled

trou bled to have his Ships thus embargued, and labouring in his thoughts between the time limited in his Inſtructions by his Maſter and the reſtraint by the Turks, he once bravely reſolved to hazard his paſſage through the Caſtles; but protracting the execution thereof from day to day, even until the end of *April*; at length Licence came for their departure, and Orders to repair unto *Vola*, near *Lariſſa*, there to take an Ambaſſadour, or Agent, or Envoyé from the Sultan to their King. For, it ſeems, the Vizier had intimated to the Grand Signior, That it was not time to diſguſt the French King, and to bring him under the notion of a declared and publick Enemy, or at leaſt to irritate him ſo far as might provoke him to ſend greater Forces, than perhaps he deſigned the next year, for *Candia:* and that he ought to comply with the preſent conjuncture, and ſalve that up for a time, which he might afterwards open at his pleaſure. This counſel ſeeming reaſonable to the Grand Signior, and agreeable to the preſent neceſſity, he ordered (as I was credibly informed) a thouſand Dollars only to adorn his Ambaſſadour; ſo pitifully do the Turks eſteem of Chriſtian Princes, and ſo highly do they value themſelves, as if a Meſſage from them would be reverenced in Chriſtendom as a favour, though brought by a Porter or a Slave. But the French Ambaſſadour conſidering this allowance too mean a proviſion for a perſon qualified to appear before his Maſter, did (as it is ſaid) out of his own Purſe and generous Soul contribute a far greater Sum, with two Veſts of Sables towards his better Equipage. In this manner the Sultan diſſembling an appearance of good correſpondence with his Chriſtian Majeſty, diſpatched away his Envoyé on the Ships of War, being a Perſon in quality of a *Mutaſaraca*, one of the ſame degree with a Chaous, to expoſtulate with the King concerning ſeveral Particulars, and eſpecially his Reaſons for ſending for his Ambaſſadour, without ſending another according to ancient cuſtom to ſupply his Office, wondering much at this ſudden alteration of friendſhip, without any cauſe given on the Ottoman ſide: and with theſe ſmooth and fair words the Turks imagined they might charm the Spirit of the King for a while, and ſuſpend his Succours from *Candia*, until at laſt it were beyond his power and wiſdom to relieve. In the mean time the Ambaſſadour from the moſt Chriſtian King was detained as a Hoſtage for the other, of whoſe return we ſhall ſpeak in its due place.

1668.

The Gr. Signior ſends a Meſſenger to the French King.

Towards the end of this year Sir *Daniel Harvey* Lord Ambaſſador from His Majeſty of Great *Britain* arrived at *Conſtantinople*, ſucceeding in the place of the Earl of *Winchelſea*, who could not obtain Audience with the G. Signior until the end of the following year, by reaſon of the Sultans unſetled abode and far diſtance; who at length coming to *Salonica*, ſummoned the Ambaſſadour thither, and there conferred on him the uſual Ceremonies and Honours due to the Ambaſſadour at firſt Reception.

Decemb. 1668. *Sir Daniel Harvey* Ambaſſadour from his Majeſty.

Candia was now hardly aſſailed in four places, *viz.* on the ſide of *Betlem*, *Panigra*, St. *Andrea*, and *Sabionera*. Theſe places being twice ſtormed, in which the Turks loſt thirty thouſand men, ſo many Mines and Fornelli were fired, that the ground lay open like a vaſt abyſs, with ſtrange heaps of confuſed and undigeſted Earth, and hindred the Enemy from approaching to the Wall; but *Sabionera* and St. *Andrea* being eſteemed the moſt weak, becauſe they were not fortified by any conſiderable Out-works, or compaſſed with any depth of Ditch, were preſſed and forced upon by the Turk with more violence than

A Relation of the ſtate of *Candia* toward the end of this year.

1669. any parts of the City. The Enemy having by their great number of Pioniers elevated the confuſed Earth, they formed ſome Batteries, fortifying them, and ſheltering their people with Sacks of Wool, and a Labyrinth (as we may ſay) of Redoubts, they advanced foot by foot upon the Revelin of St. *Andrea*, being deſtitute of all Mines to ſtop their proceedings; and having at length blown up the Revelin, and with fire and earth having taken the Out-work, they penetrated into the Ditch (which was not deep) with four Traverſes, and came now to the very foot of the wall of the Bulwark, fortified with eighteen pieces of Cannon, ſix of which carrying fifty pound Bullet ſhot into the Ditch, eight flanked that ſide which was oppoſite to *Panigra*, and four on that part towards the Revelin of St. *Spirito*, notwithſtanding which they ſtormed the Walls in nine places. And beginning to make a breach by firing certain Mines, which opened a wideneſs of forty two paces at the point of that Bulwark; and continuing their breaches towards the Sea, breaking in their way the Front of the Fort *Priulo*, they proceeded almoſt to the Gate of St. *Andrea*, and opened forty eight paces more, in all ninety paces. Afterwards they ruined the remainder of the Wall, and that which was called the Scotch Fort to the very Sea; ſo that the Chriſtians were forced to retire from their Out-works, and contract their Precincts to the Walls of the City.

To add unto the miſery of this place, an unfortunate ſhot from the Turks Camp entred that Magazine which was near St. *Peters* Church, where the artificial Fires were made; and meeting ſeveral ſhells of Granadoes already charged, with thirty Barrels of Powder; all took fire, and blew into the air, and burned all the houſes which were near thereunto. At this unlucky accident the Beſieged fearing a general aſſault, and ſeeing the Turkiſh Horſe draw into a Body near *Sabionera*, the whole Garriſon ran to the Walls; but no farther Attempt being made, towards evening they blew up a Lodge of the Enemy, with all the people that were therein.

Anno Chriſti 1669. *Hegeira* 1080.

TOwards the end of the laſt Year, and at the beginning of this the Turks began to open their eyes, and find themſelves defrauded with the groſſeſt cheat that ever was impoſed on a people who had either reaſon or humanity. For now three or four years had ran on, that the French, Dutch, Italians, and other Nations had introduced into all parts of the Turkiſh Dominions (unleſs in thoſe Eaſt-ward, as *Aleppo*, and farther) a ſort of ſmall Money called by ſome *Luigini*, by others *Ottavi*, and by the Turks *Temins*, worth about five pence Engliſh; which appearing pleaſant and bright to the eye, and commodious for change, and common expences, ſo bewitched the Commonalty, that Pieces of Eight, Zaichins, and other merchantable Money were laid aſide, as neither currant or valuable. At firſt about nine years paſt they were of good and warrantable Silver, but afterwards with time by little and little grew worſe, and of baſer alloy: at length the people doting more and more upon them, they came coarſer every day than other; and being ſtill currantly paſſable, every perſon that was failed, and of bad reputation entred into the Trade, who knowing no bounds of honeſty or of gain, compoſed their Money wholly of Copper or coarſer Metals, with

The ſtory of the falſe Reaux or Temins.

with a fair gloſs and reſemblance of Silver, buying therewith the Commodities of the Country; and at length amaſſed up all the Gold, Silver, and whatſoever came to hand was the price of their falſe and baſtard Coin, with which they filled and abuſed all *Aſia*: nor was this Money only of one Mint, but of divers Stamps and Mottoes reproachful to the Turks, and it is pity they had not wit enough to underſtand them, as namely, *Voluit hanc Aſia mercem De procul pretium ejus*, and ſuch like; which were ſo various, that many who had the curioſity to make a collection of them, found no leſs than an hundred and twenty ſeveral Stamps. The Commonalty ſtill enamoured with the brightneſs of their colour, and commodiouſneſs of their change, little reflected on the ill conſequence to the generality, having ſeldom more than to ſupply their daily wants. And the Officers of the Cuſtoms finding a benefit extraordinary to themſelves upon the vaſt Sums of Money imported, little cared how it fared with the publick. In the mean time the whole currant of Merchandiſe in the Levant was diſpoſſeſſed of its ordinary and true chanel; for vaſt quantities or a glut of Turkiſh Goods filled all Chriſtendom, the prices low and cheap, and no profit to any Merchant dealing upon the ſquare, or upon the old and legal way of Traffick. At *Ligorne* and other parts of *Italy* complaints were made, That the Silver and Bullion of the Country were melted down to make a compoſition with baſer Metals for *Turkie*, and exchanged for decaying and periſhable Commodities. In ſhort, no man ſeemed ſatisfied with the Trade, and yet the World, like their ſins, which they diſapprove, purſued it with all heat and violence imaginable. This Trade being thus over-laid, and vaſt heaps of adulterate Money imported daily worſe and worſe, cauſed the Jews and other Merchants at firſt to except againſt ſome ſorts, and admit of others. This ſcruple, together with the prohibition of them two years before by the Engliſh Factory at *Smyrna*, obliging themſelves unto the Levant Company under a conſiderable penalty not to receive this money for Cloth or other Commodities of the growth of *England*, together with the circumſpection and contrivance of the Engliſh Conſul, awakened firſt the blind minds of the Turks, who having long been infatuated with this beloved money, began now to reject and abhor it like the falſe and farded countenance of a Courtiſan: ſo that from eleven they fell to twelve, and ſo to thirteen and fourteen to the Lion-Dollars. In which conjuncture a Dutch Convoy arrived at *Smyrna*, importing vaſt Sums thereof; which for a Bribe to the Officers of the City, or what the Cuſtomer would ask, were permitted Licence to be landed; which overflowing in great abundance, and rather of a worſe than better alloy, went declining to eighteen, and ſo to twenty, at which Rate for a ſhort time they paſſed currant. And now at this price the Officers did what was poſſible to keep them up, conceiving it impoſſible, in a time of ſo much ſcarcity of all ſorts of other Coins, that the Countries could ſubſiſt, or that Trade in buying or ſelling could proceed, if this money ſhould wholly loſe its eſteem and value: nor were the people ſo much the care of the Governours, though for many years they had known no other price or reward of their labours, as were the vaſt damages of the Sultan, in whoſe Coffers were conſiderable Sums, which were never known to have been placed unto the loſs of the Exchequer; for it is a Proverb amongſt the Turks, *That the Grand Signiors Lead cannot ſink.* But that which raiſed moſt of tumult was the rigour of the 1669.

1669. Tax-gatherers, who refuſed to take that money from the people for their Duties to the Grand Signior, but demanded of them Lion-Dollars, *Sevil* and *Mexico* Pieces of Eight, or the like; which they not being able to find, beat and impriſoned them in all places, where this queſtion came into diſpute: the people hereupon, though patient, and accuſtomed to violence and burden, could not yet ſupport longer an oppreſſion ſo unreaſonable, but that Inſurrection was made in all places where this came into diſpute: and as injured patience turns to fury, at *Pruſa* and *Angora* the torrent of the peoples rage was not appeaſed without the blood and lives of ſome of their Officers, alledging with good reaſon, That their Miniſters and Governours having introduced or permitted this money amongſt them, and allowed it as currant in that manner, as that they had for ſome years known no other, nor received other for all the fruits of their labour or poſſeſſions, they ought not now to refuſe to receive that which they themſelves had made paſſable; which argument and reaſon was preſſed in ſundry places with that violence, that the Officers were forced to ſubmit to the neceſſity of the times, and the fury of the multitude. And now this money had wholly loſt its reputation, and began to be refuſed generally at any rate whatſoever; ſo that though the Government thought fit to licenſe them at thirty to the Dollar; yet the people proſecuting the abaſement of it with a hate and diſaffection equal to their former deſires, refuſed generally and abſolutely to accept them in payment. Wherefore the Sultan perceiving that the power of his Officers was not ſufficient to render this money longer paſſable at any rate, at length he commanded, that every one ſhould bring in his money of theſe ſorts into the Mint where it ſhould be melted down, and the Silver it produced ſhould be delivered to the Proprietor. At which Summons ſeveral Great men voluntarily brought in their money, others had it ſeized and condemned to the Furnace, amongſt which was a French Merchant ingaged to the import of ſixty thouſand Dollars. As yet the News of this alteration not having reached Chriſtendom, divers Ships arrived at *Conſtantinople* with vaſt Sums of this money, which were all ſeized and forced to the Mint. In like manner other Ships arrived at *Smyrna* with the ſame Commodity, which my ſelf would not ſuffer to be landed, and ſome of them having no other foundation of Stock or Freight, returned empty, to the great loſs of the Employers. It was ſtrange to ſee, how on a ſudden all Trade ceaſed, no money being left in the Country, few Bargains were made but by Barters; and though all this ruine might wholly be attributed to the ill Government, yet the people were contented, and ſate down with the loſs. And thus concluded this extravagant Trade of falſe Money, being ſuppoſed to have wrought more of deſtruction and loſs at the end, than it brought of benefit at the beginning; memorable for nothing more than for expiring ſo quietly, though it had the chief part of the Turkiſh Empire to ſupport and defend it.

During theſe Troubles the Grand Signior paſſed his time in hunting near *Lariſſa*, where he ruined the Country round about, and tired the people with beating and driving the Woods for Game and wild Beaſts to divertiſe him, in which, as formerly, he continued ſo exceſſively immoderate, that without conſideration of the heats, or colds, or moiſture of the ſeaſon, he compelled the people, but eſpecially the Jews (of which great numbers inhabit that Country) to continual labours in the Woods

and

and Fields; by which many died through the rigid Frosts of the Winter and Calentures of the Summer. But yet notwithstanding these Divertisements, the Grand Signior could not easily cast off the melancholy apprehensions and fears he had for the state of his Affairs, imagining that the long delays and ill success at *Candia*, and defaults in Government had begotten in his Subjects a hate towards his Person, and a desire of alteration. Wherefore the Spring approaching, he retired into a solitary but pleasant shade amongst the Mountains, where sprang cool and crystalline waters, about sixteen hours Journey from *Lariſſa*. In this solitude his melancholy thoughts again disquieted him with a jealousie and suspicion, lest his Brothers now at *Constantinople* should take their advantage, and one of them be by the Peoples consent and assistance placed in his Imperial Seat: which imagination made that impression in him, that he immediately dispatched away a trusty and valiant Officer with all secrecy, without making any noise, to bring him their Heads, directing his Commands to his Mother, in whose custody they were; and not doubting of her help and assent, as being most nearly concerned in his interest, expected every hour the return of his Messenger with that grateful Present, which could only cure the torture of his jealousie, and alleviate his cares. But no sooner was this fatal Command arrived the hands of the Queen, but she trembled so much, that she could scarce hold the Paper. At length considering, that (as hath been said before) she had given in caution to the Janisaries for the lives of these Princes, and that to her care they were committed, she immediately disclosed and published the design of the Grand Signior to the Janisar-Aga, craving his help and protection, protesting that she was resolved to maintain the faith she had given to those Princes, whose life she tendered equal with her own. This advice and resolution of the Queen-Mother being brought to the Janisaries, was heartily approved, and protestations given, that they would never abandon her, nor the lives she preserved. The rumour hereof in an instant flew through the streets; but with such variety of reports, that nothing of certainty was known, only in general some great ruine was apprehended to threaten the City; whereupon a strange outcry was made to shut up the shops, and every one to consult the safety of the Publick. But some few hours after, it being more distinctly known, that the Grand Signior had sent for the Heads of his Brothers; the People of *Constantinople*, whose sole hopes of seeing the Royal City restored to its ancient Honour, was by the conservation of these Princes, were in a greater combustion than before; for every one then betook himself to his Arms: so that in a short time were assembled forty thousand men at *Okmedon* well appointed, where confiding in the strength of a general Cause, in which they were ingaged, they vented many opprobrious speeches against the Government, calling the Chief Ministers *Orſyſler*, which is unfortunate Fellows, a term amongst the Turks, of the greatest ignominy, especially to a Governour, and loudly exclaimed and wished for a reformation. In the mean time the Queen-Mother desired aid from the Janisaries, and Guards about the Apartments of the Princes, lest the Bostangees, who are the Creatures of the Grand Signior, should assault their Quarters. The Consultations also amongst the Janisaries were long and secret, and the Queen-Mother dispatched several Messages to the Grand Signior, advising him to forsake the Mountains, and repair to one of his Imperial Cities, as became the Majesty

1669.

The Grand Signior designs to cut off his Brothers.

1669. Majesty of so great a Sultan, being the only means to secure to him the establishment of his Crown. And now the Reader will with impatience attend the conclusion and issue of so great rumours and disturbances; but it is now, as it hath been experienced in other Commonwealths, *acribus, ut fermè talia, initiis, incurioso fine*, matters violent in their original, spend themselves at first, and produce nothing remarkable in their end. And so was the effect of these recesses, and mutiny of the people at *Constantinople*, whose humour of novelty and change venting it self, and in four or five days tired with expectation; at length every one began to return to his dwelling and employment. The face likewise of things at *Constantinople* seemed quiet and appeased, carrying with it, as it were, a still modesty and shame for the late disorders; and nothing was heard or murmured for the space of twenty or thirty days after, until the Grand Signior trembling with the fears of this confused Rebellion, kept more strict Guards than ordinary within his mountains, and after being better recollected, entered into Consultation, and being advised of the Heads and Leaders of the late Insurrection, proscribed such as were the prime Actors, and having dispatched away two or three Messengers on this Errant, they entered secretly in the Night to their Lodgings, where they quietly, and without noise, took off the heads of four or five of them, and banished as many without the least noise, or notice taken thereof by the Vulgar. And because this disorder happened at *Constantinople*, for which the chief Commander ought to answer, the Chimacam passed not without a jealousie either of negligence or consent; wherefore the Vizier sent for him and the Janisar-Aga to *Candia*, as if he had occasion of their service, though not without their own fears and suspicion of others, to answer and make satisfaction for the late mutiny. And thus for a while this Flame is extinguished, and the fire raked up in the Embers. We must expect a while, and observe when and where it will again burst forth.

Tac. Lib. 6.

The Spring now approaching, which supplies new Spirits, and warm and fresh bloud into the Veins of Man, as well as sap in Trees, and life in other Vegetables; let us return again to the Wars, and survey the Camp, and posture of Affairs before the walls in *Candia*. The Turkish Army, which, like worms benummed with the Cold of Winter, had lain immured between their Banks of Earth, did not ply their Assaults so frequently as they had done in Summer, only for a Winters exercise, battered the inward Works of S^t^ *Andrea's* Fort, which as we said before, they had hardly beset. And now the time for action being again come about, they renewed their storm on that side so violently, pressing forward the least esteemed of their Souldiery, that with the help of Spade and Mattock, and blowing up of some Mines, they penetrated forty paces within the Walls of the City. But the Christians having long since foreseen the weakness of that side, made it part of their Winters labours to draw another Wall from the Fort *Panigra* (whose Revelin or Out-work was before blown up) crossing over almost to the *Tramata*, which they fortified as well as could be expected, and made constant and bold resistance against the Enemy. Notwithstanding which the Turks pressed so constantly and boldly forward, that though the Christians were strong within, and provided with all sorts of provisions both of war and sustenance, yet nothing supported their Courages and Spirits more than the expectation of promised Succours from *France* and *Italy*; it being reported, and generally

The Turks storm again the Fort of St. *Andrea.*

generally believed, that they would be so numerous as might be able to give Battel in the Field unto the Türk, and force them out of their Trenches; for by no other means was it possible for this City to be relieved: for it might fare with this place, as it did formerly with *Rhodes* and *Ostend*, which, though wanting neither men nor provisions, were yet taken by palms and inches of ground, till not so much was left, as would hold men to defend them. A pregnant example (as S^r *William Temple* well observes) how impossible it is to defend any Town that cannot be relieved by an Army strong enough to raise the Siege. Whilst the Christians were entertained with these hopes, the Turks fortified themselves without as strongly as the besieged had within, heaving like Moles with their numerous Army of Pioniers, whose lives being not valued, they were wholly intent unto Mines, blowing up all before them, in that manner that every day they gained a pace of ground within the City. So that in effect (as will be seen by the Sequel) this most impregnable Fort of the World was forced and taken by the Spade and Shovel, and by a Crew of unarmed Labourers, who understood nothing more than the Plough and Harrow. So that now this Town seemed to be reduced to its utmost Crisis, either of being taken, or for ever freed of this malignant Enemy. And indeed the Turks had so far advanced upon the Bulwark of S^t *Andrea*, that now nothing remained of it, more than ruines, and undigested heaps of Earth and stone, in defence of which the chief Commanders applying themselves in person with all diligence, the Marquess S^t *Andrea Montbrun* was wounded by a stone in the face, the Cavalier *de Bret* was buried in the ruines to the very Neck, and with difficulty drawn out of the Earth by Assistants about him; two other Cavaliers were wounded with Granadoes, and the Cavalier *Fexillere*, who carried the Standard of *Malta*, was shot into the Eye with a Musket. The Proveditor General *Cornaro* serving at the repair of the Breach, was so wounded in the Belly by a Granado, that his Bowels burst, of which he died in three hours; and with a piece of the same Granado the Count *Vignole*, a French Gentleman of great Valour, was likewise slain: And so hotly the Turks plyed this Breach, that from the 28^th^ of *May* to the 2^d^ of *June* they sprang five Mines, which brake all the Palisades of the Christians; the which the Turks seconded with that fury and mettle, as if they intended to win the place and make an end of their work, before the arrival of the Forces expected from Christendom. And this Post was now grown so dangerous and weak, that the Captain General, the Marquess of *Montbrun*, and all the chief Officers took up their Quarters at this place, where his Excellency kept an open Table, and the Marquess took up his Lodgings at Night, that so the other Officers might have no excuse on account of attendances or orders to abandon these Quarters. 1669.

Succours sent out of Christendom.

The Princes of Christendom all this time forgot not their besieged Brethren in *Candia*. Pope *Clement* the IX. pressed the most Christian King to make ready his succours in due time, who had already himself prepared all things, and elected the Duke of *Beaufort* his General of all the Forces by Sea, whether of French or other Nations. This Duke, like a couragious and brave Prince, thinking it little glory to command at Sea, where the Enemy was of an inferiour and unable Force to encounter him, did therefore desire Licence from his King to make tryal of his Fortune in the Field, where he might evidence his Valour in the

1669. the face of the Infidels, and ſignalize his Fame either by Death or Victory. The King, unwilling to hazard ſo worthy a perſon of his bloud out of his due Command in the rank of an ordinary Souldier, at firſt denied his requeſts; but the Pope interceding for him, whoſe General he was, with holy Arguments, and devout Contemplations of Martyrdom, and Glory of dying for the Chriſtian Cauſe, at length obtained a conceſſion from the King, who of himſelf was flexible to ſo pious a requeſt, eſteeming it unholy to deprive his Kinſman either of the Palm of a Martyr, or the Lawrel of a Conqueror.

The French Fleet looſe from *Tolon*.

The Summer being come, and all things provided, the Duke aſcended his Ship at *Tolon* a City in *Provence*, the 6th of *June*, *New-ſtyle*, with about ſeven thouſand Land Souldiers, commanded by the Duke of *Navaille*, with the Marſhals *Lebret* and *Colbert*, and ſeveral other Worthies and Heroes of undaunted Courage, and arrived before the Town of *Candia* the 19th of the ſame Month, having caſually encountred together in the Seas on the 17th with fourteen Sail of Venetian Ships, laden with Horſe and Ammunition to mount the Troops, and relieve the Town; which happy encounter and ſpeedy paſſage, ſeemed a happy Omen of the future ſucceſs. The appearance of this ſuccour ſeemed to the Beſieged as ſent from Heaven, and adminiſtred unto them new hopes and courage; and the ſalutes paſſed between the Town and the Fleet with the uſual Ceremonies, and all the imaginable teſtimonies of joy and triumph.

They arrive at *Candia*.

No ſooner were they arrived than the two Generals, with other principal Officers, immediately in their Shallops took the beſt view and ſurvey they could of the Enemies Camp, and the Condition of the Beſieged; in which whilſt they entertained themſelves, they eſpied a ſmall Veſſel making towards them with S^t *Mark*'s Colours, in which was the famous Engineer Signior *Caſtellano*, diſpatched by the Captain General *Moroſini* with an exact plat of the Town, and diſpoſition of the Turkiſh Camp, which being particularly viewed and conſidered, it was evident, That if the Turks ſhould make ſome very forcible Attempt before the new Forces could be landed (as it was very probable they might) they would put all in hazard of being loſt; wherefore the Captain General preſſed to have ſome ſuccours immediately ſupplied to be aſſiſtant in that caſe of extremity; To which the Duke of *Navailles* immediately conſented, and landed himſelf that Night in perſon with ſufficient Force to mount the Guard on the Breach of S^t *Andrea*, whoſe firſt Retrenchment was continually battered by the Turks; and though there was a ſecond Retrenchment in hand, yet time being required for compleating thereof, that part of the Town would be reduced to its ultimate hazard; for ſhould the Enemy ſpring a Mine (which they feared was already formed under the preſent Work) it would lay all open and naked, without other Fortification. The Duke being aſhoar, was received by *Moroſini* with all demonſtrations of Civility and Reſpect due to a perſonage of his Quality and Employment; and with a welcome ſuitable to the preſent extremity of his Affairs: all Ceremonies and Complements were ſoon paſſed over, the urgency of matters not permitting them time to be long impertinent; ſo that falling into the Diſcourſe of the common ſafety, it was reſolved that the ſuccours ſhould be immediately landed, which was performed with that diligence and expedition, that in two days the whole Army came ſafe on ſhore, excepting only ſome few, cut ſhort by ſhot from the Enemies Camp.

The French Forces landed.

On

On the 23d the Generals and other Officers, held a Council of War, amongſt whom was alſo the Marqueſs of S^{t} *Andrea*; and did unanimouſly conclude, that the Town was no longer tenable, or to be maintained, unleſs by ſome extraordinary enterprize attempted on the Enemy, and by ſome furious Sally performed with reſolution, and ſtratagems of War, in order unto which it was reſolved, That the 27th ſhould be the day of ſally both with Horſe and Foot, and that the Fleet not to loſe their part in this action, ſhould play with their great Guns on that ſide of the Turkiſh Army which lay incamped on the Quarters of St. *Andrea*. All the Forces were landed on the 26th, and the whole night following was ſpent in preparations for the next days ſally: the Army being drawn up made four Batalions, the firſt called the Admirals commanded by the Sieurs *Martel*, *Vandre*, and *Gravier*; the ſecond was the Vice-Admirals commanded by the Sieurs *de la Mothe* and *Planta*; the third was the Rere-Admirals under Command of Chevalier *de Bouillion*, *Gabaret*, and the Chevalier *Dailly*; the fourth was the Batalion of the Sieur *d'Almeras* commanded under him by the Sieurs *Panetier*, *de la Rogue*, *Fontier*, *Bitault*, and the Chevalier *de Nemond*; and on the left hand of theſe aforeſaid Batalions, the Guards of the Duke of *Beaufort* were diſpoſed. The Duke of *Beaufort* unwilling to be a Spectator in this glorious Action, without bearing a part in his own perſon, after he had given order to the Fleet to accoſt the ſhore on the ſide of St. *Andrea*, as near as conſiſted with their ſecurity, and from thence with their great Guns to annoy the Enemies Camp as much as was poſſible, came that night on ſhore, reſolving to fight in the Head of the Forlorn Hope, from which hazardous adventure no intreaties or counſel of his friends could prevail to diſſwade him.

1669.

A Council of War held in *Candia*.

The order of the Chriſtian Army to make their Sally.

The Forlorn conſiſted of 400 men, on the head of which marched fifty men with hand Granadoes, flanked with three Troops of Horſe, Commanded by Count *Dampiere*: the Regiments of Guards, with four Troops of Horſe for their Wings, flanked alſo with three Regiments of Foot, followed the Forlorn. The Reſerve conſiſted of the Regiments of *Harcourt*, *Conti*, *Lignieres*, *Roſan*, *Montpeſat*, and *Vendoſme*, flanked with four Troops of Horſe under Command of the Count *Choiſeul*, which placed themſelves on a riſing ground, to hinder all Communication between the Vizier, whoſe Camp was before S^{t} *Andrea*, and the Janizar Aga, who lay before *Sabionera*. Between the firſt and ſecond line, were placed fifty Musketiers of the King, to be aſſiſtant on occaſion; and the other Troops of Horſe were to take the left hand along the Trench leading to the *Sabionera*: the Regiment of *Montpeyroux* was to mount the Guard on the Fort of St. *Demetrius* to ſecure the Retreat, if occaſion ſhould require. In like manner five hundred Pioniers were ordered to level the Trenches of the Enemy on the Quarter of St. *Andrea*, whilſt the Body of the Turks Army was imployed in repulſing the violence of the Sally.

Things being diſpoſed in this manner, and the morn approaching, the Forces marched out by the Gate of St. *George* with all ſilence poſſible, covering their Matches, that the fire might not alarm the Enemy; the Onſet was to begin with the dawning of the day, and the Signal was to be given by firing of the chief Mine Royal; which being large, and furniſhed with a great quantity of Powder, might (as was ſuppoſed) make way to the ſlaughter of the Turks whom the Chriſtians might find

The Chriſtians ſally at the Gate St. *George*.

1669. terrified and disordered by such an unexpected accident. This Mine was reserved for the last extremity, but being low was full of water; so that the Powder was stowed on floats and rafts to support it, but yet received so great a damp and moisture, that when they came to spring it, the Powder took not fire, which was the first disappointment of this Enterprise. Though some are of opinion, that the Mine was so vast, and contained such a quantity of Powder, that the Engineers were timorous to spring it, lest it should reverse on the Besieged, as well as take effect on the Enemies Camp. But be it how it will, a quarter of an hour before day the Generals expecting no longer, the Forlorn Hope which lay within half a Musket-shot of the Enemy, assaulted two Redoubts, took them, and put them all to the Sword: with the like courage the other Regiments entred the Line, and making themselves Masters of the Trenches after much blood and slaughter, and storming a Fort on which was the Battery directed against St. *Demetrio*, possessed themselves of it, and therewith of a great Magazine of Powder belonging to the Enemy, spiking all the Cannon that were found therein.

The Christians fall upon the Turks.

The day by this time being clearly broken out, discovered the action; so that the Turks with all expedition put themselves into a Body on the Hill near New *Candy*, from whence observing and contemning the small number of the Christians, came thundring down in great numbers to regain their Trenches. The Duke of *Navailles* perceiving his Forlorn hardly beset, came in to their assistance with two Regiments of Foot, and two Troops of Horse, which behaved themselves with that gallantry, as ingaged the Turks again to quit their Trenches. But whilst success seemed thus to smile on the Christians, the Magazine of Powder which was newly won, containing an hundred thirty four Kintals of Powder (by what accident is not known) took fire, and blew up all into the air, by which many were destroyed and wounded, especially of the Batallion of the Guards, with many Officers. This fatal blow quite turned the Scale of Fortune. For the Souldiers hearing the dreadful clap, and feeling as it were the Earth to tremble under them, supposed it to be the eruption of some Mine near them, with which they were so amazed, that they began with confusion to disperse to the right and left, and put themselves into shameful flight. In like manner the Forces near the Sea sensible of the blow, began to retreat, and abandon their design, which no perswasions of their Officers, or other incouragement could animate them to prosecute; but that the faintness of a second Attempt (an infirmity recorded of ancient Times to be incident to the nature of the French Nation) prevailed upon their spirits, beyond any possibility of arrest, so that in a disorderly manner they fled into the Body of the first Battalion, where being now united with the Reserve, they for some time sustained the shock of the Enemy; until other Bodies of the Turks from New *Candia* and St. *Andrea* over-powered them with greater multitudes, so that then they wholly abandoned the field, and every one as well as he could, sought his Sanctuary and refuge within the Precincts of the Fortifications. Howsoever *Choiseul* and *Lebret*, each of which had a Horse killed under him, incouraging their Troops, disputed the case yet longer, and still with other Officers made head upon the Enemy; but at length with the Duke of *Navailles*, and several other Gentlemen, who made their way through the Enemy with their Swords, they were forced to retreat honourably into the Town. The

The Christian Army in confusion.

Duke

Duke of *Beaufort* was ſaid to have laboured much in reſiſting the ſhame- 1669.
ful flight of his men, and venturing his Perſon into danger, from whence he reſolved never to retreat, was overwhelmed with unequal numbers, and ſo fell amongſt the common heaps: but his body, though much ſought after, being not found, it was believed rather, that he periſhed by that fatal Magazine of Powder, which blowing up, affrighted and diſordered the whole Chriſtian Army.

But not only did misfortunes attend the Land-Forces, but the Fleet at Sea ſhared in the diſaſters. For ſome few days after the wind blowing hard from the Sea, cauſed the Ships to ride at a diſtance from the ſhore. The whole Fleet conſiſted of eighty Ships ſmall and great, fifty Gallies, and ſix Galleaſſes, being the whole Force of that Year from *France*, *Italy*, and *Malta*. All which being at Anchor in due order as near the ſhore as was ſafe or convenient, made many ſhot into the Turks Camp, but with little execution: during which Action, the *Santa Tereſa*, a French Ship of ſeventy Braſs Guns blew up, and her whole Company loſt, being about three hundred men, of which ſeven only were ſaved; the Admiral of *France* being near to this Ship, received five ſhot from her which paſſed through her, and by the Splinters and fall of Timbers; the Veſſel called *La Reale* had ſix Cavaliers killed, and forty Souldiers Slaves were killed and wounded. After this it was propoſed in Council, That another Sally ſhould be made of ten thouſand French; to which the Duke *De Navaille* aſſented, on condition that they might be preceded in the Van by four thouſand Venetians, who were well acquainted and verſed in the nature of the place, and knew the ſeveral Redoubts, Galleries, and Trenches of the Enemy. But the Captain-General being deſirous to reſerve his own experienced Souldiers to the ultimate and laſt occaſion of emergence, refuſed to aſſent thereunto.

The loſs the Turks ſuſtained that day was uncertain, of the French were only an hundred thirty five heads brought in by tale, as I was informed from one who was preſent when they were counted, amongſt which were many principal Officers. For beſides the Duke of *Beaufort* were ſlain the Count *Roſan*, the Chevalier *di Villarceaux*, the Chevalier *de Quelas*, the Sieur *de Guene-gaud*, Marquis *de Fabert* Major of the Regiment of *Lorrain*, the Sieurs *de Montreüil* Captain of the Guards, *de Beauvais* and *Do*, *Garnier*, *La Paneterie Touvenin*, *Lanſon*, *Bellebrune*, *Hautefage d'Avenne*, *Maran de S. Jean de Chauveniere*, *Goindreville* Captain of the Regiment of *Bretagne*, *Forcan*, *du Boulet* Captains of the Regiment of *Harcourt*, *Chaſelet*, *Martinval de Boſſemoat*, *de la Haye*, *de Bourneuf*, *de Vandre Martel* Captain of a Ship, the Chevalier *Lodevé*, with nine Captains and eight Lieutenants Reformades of the Brigade of *Picardy*, *Navarre*, and *Normandy*. The Sieur *Lebret* was ſhot through the Buttocks with a Musket-bullet; beſides whom were wounded the Sieurs *de Montagne* Colonel of a Regiment, *de Caſtelan* Major of the Guards, *de Caviſon*, *Croiſelles*, *de Montigny*, and *de Moiſſac* by the Battery which blew up: the Chevalier *d'Ailleurs* was hurt with an Arrow through the Arm; *De la Marliere* Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of *Lorrain* with five or ſix Officers of that Body, and *Villiers* Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment *Jonzac* were all wounded. The Marqueſs of *Lignieres* had his Thigh broken, and a Finger ſhot off, and his Lieutenant-Colonel had his Arm broken. The Marqueſs of St. *Vallier* Colonel with five or ſix of his Officers, the Chevalier *de Novion* Colonel with ſeveral Officers of the Regiments of *Bre-*

French Officers ſlain.

1669. *tagnie*, *Montpezat*, *Harcourt*, and *Conti* were all wounded, with four other Captains of Horſe, and four Lieutenants; alſo the Marqueſs of *Uxelles*, the Chevalier *de la Haugette*, the Count *de Loſſe* Captain of the Guards to the Duke of *Navailles*, the Count *de Montbrun* Commander of the Kings Muſquetiers, and the Sieur *de Tagni* Quarter-maſter-General were wounded: who being Perſons of great Quality as well as Courage that left their Country, and expoſed themſelves to dangers, with no other motive than their own gallantry or defence of the Chriſtian Cauſe, ought be numbred amongſt the Heroes and Champions of our Age. Of Priſoners there were not above ſeven or eight taken, amongſt which were the Sieur *de Bois-Dauphin* a Norman, and Son of a Marſhal of *France*, and the Sieur *de Chatean Neuf*, the firſt for his Youth, Beauty, and Courage greatly eſteemed by the Turks, and both entertained by the Vizier with more generoſity than uſually poſſeſſes the Nature of Turks: who after this ſucceſs, having gathered and thrown the heads of the ſlain according to their manner into a heap, did one day in merriment pitch them upon the points of their Lances, and ranking them in file and order, with Hats and Feathers on them, beat the French March amongſt them with ſhouts and Vollies of Muskets.

Matters ſucceeding in this manner unhappily, and the Enemy already almoſt in the midſt of the Town, being come to the laſt Retrenchment, beyond which could be raiſed no more inward Fortifications; the Officers as in like caſes of misfortune began to throw the blame upon each other, and the conteſt between the French and Italians grew as hot within the Town, as the War was without; ſo that the Duke of *Navailles* appearing diſcontented, though in reality he might well be diſcouraged, and might be apprehenſive with due reaſon that the Town was in a deſperate condition; howſoever he pretended, that the time was almoſt expired, which the King had prefixed for the continuance of his Forces in *Candia*, and that therefore he could not think of any other deſign for them, than that which was in order to their imbarking. The Captain-General being greatly ſurpriſed at this reſolution, endeavoured to perſwade him to the contrary, and being accompanied with the General of *Candia* and the Proveditor General waited on the Duke at his own Quarters, where he repreſented to him in the moſt efficacious terms poſſible the preſent dangerous condition to which the City was reduced; until which time, under the Providence of God, they acknowledged the preſervation thereof to the magnanimous Arms of their religious King; and therefore in ſuch a conjuncture of misfortunes and extremity they knew not unto whom they might have recourſe for aſſiſtance, but to the Generoſity of his Excellency, and of thoſe Gentlemen, who for no other end but that of Religion and Honour, had undertaken ſo great a Voyage, and had voluntarily caſt themſelves into the hourly dangers of this Siege: That the Succour they demanded was really great and moſt important for defence of the place, in regard that thereon their whole ſafety depended. Howſoever it might have coſt ſome labour, though not much blood to the French Forces, if they would have worked on a new Retrenchment with the ſame celerity and diligence, as they formerly uſed, whereby the Siege might be prolonged until the Winter, or till the Chriſtian Princes might take new meaſures, and ſend greater Recruits. Hereunto *Navaille* gave anſwer, That the zeal which the King his Maſter conceived for the conſervation

The French leave the Town.

of

of *Candia*, was evidenced by better effects, than the empty promiſes without fruit of other Princes; and that accounting the preſent number of Forces and Gentlemen of conſiderable Quality which were ingaged in this War, together with the great expence and charge his Majeſty had been at in maintenance of a Fleet to tranſport them, his Majeſties affection to the Republick was unqueſtionable: and that both he and his Officers who had the honour to command thoſe Forces had undertaken a long Voyage, and entred into dangers with conſtancy and readineſs of mind, and had aſſaulted the Enemy almoſt before they ſaw them, and given relief to the Town before they ſet their foot in it; but if the iſſue of affairs did not correſpond with a ſucceſs agreeable to their good intentions, and the primary deſign of this Enterpriſe, they muſt have patience, ſeeing that it coſt no other than the ſlaughter of Freneh-men, and that there had been a large effuſion of the Noble and Illuſtrious as well as of the common blood. It was a ſpecies of ingratitude not to remain contented with ſuch forcible arguments of friendſhip; and it was a breach of modeſty to pretend, that becauſe his King had lent them eight thouſand men, that therefore they ſhould continue in *Candia* ſo long as one remained alive. It was true, that beſides the Kings ſervice he was acted by ſome inward motives of Religion, but that he could not tranſgreſs the Commands and Inſtructions of his Majeſty, which injoyned him to imbark his Forces in order to their return about the 20th of that preſent month of *Auguſt*. In reply to which, though the Captain-General and the other Venetian Officers, and alſo *Bali Roſpiglioſi* the Admiral of the Popes Gallies urged his ſtay with all the inſtances and arguments imaginable, yet nothing could prevail to detain him until the arrival of other Forces, only he was contented to leave ſix hundred men in the Town during the time that he continued at *Standia*: ſo that by this time having imbarked his Forces, and laſtly the ſix hundred men left on the Works, the Duke took his farewel and departed: ſo that the Town being as it were deſerted and forſaken of its chief hopes, all things were given for deſperate, and men began to be weary of their lives, as well as of the War and of their labours; and whereas with the aſſiſtance of the French, (as it was ſaid in the Council) the Town might have held out until the next Spring, it was now by this grand revulſion reduced to its laſt Criſis, and ſo weakened, as that no poſſibility of preſervation remained but in honourable terms of Surrender. And though the French in their Voyage home about *Malta* encountred poſitive Orders to remain on the place, yet judging the Town might already be ſurrendered, and ſo the return diſgraceful and in vain, proceeded notwithſtanding in their courſe for *France*, for which default and want of conſtancy the Duke of *Navailles* being arrived at *Tolon*, ſuſtained the puniſhment of his Princes diſfavour, and ordered for ſome time not to approach the Court. 1669.

The Turks, by departure of the French, increaſing in hopes and courage, made an aſſault on the Quarters of *Sabioncra* and St. *Andrea*; and firſt attaquing ſome Souldiers to the number of about thirty, who were placed on the Guard at the Poſt of St. *Pelagia*, they cut moſt of them off, and put the reſt to flight; with which the Turks being more animated, advanced to the Paliſade of the new Retrenchment; but Vollies of Cannon, and ſhowers of Muſket-ſhot, and ſtones pouring on them, gave ſome ſtop to the fury of their career. *Grimaldi* obſerving that the Enemy

The Turks make an aſſault.

1669. Enemy was at a ſtand, brought up his Voluntiers and Cavalry which ſerved on Foot, and together with the Forces from *Brunſwick* ſo plyed the Turks with ſtones, Granadoes, and ſhot, that the Fight was confuſed, bloody, and horrid; howſoever the Enemy ſo perſiſted, that the Commanders gave Order, That the groſs of the Army ſhould fall on; but the Souldiers were ſo broken and torn, that they refuſed to advance, though thruſt forward with the point of Sword and Spear. The Captain-General in the mean time taking his courſe along the Marine, on which part alſo the Turks were far advanced, cauſed a Mine to be ſprang under the thickeſt crowd of the Turks: which conſiſting of an hundred Barrels of Powder, made ſuch a deſtruction, as abated much of the ſtorm, and induced the Enemy to retire within their Redoubts. The Marqueſs St. *Andrea*, in like manner performing the office of a valiant and experienced Souldier, applied himſelf to all places where danger moſt required his preſence, and recovered certain Breaſt-works which the Enemy had gained in this Skirmiſh.

Nor was the ſtorm leſs furious and bloody on the part of *Sabioncra*, nor was the ſucceſs and advantage on the Chriſtians ſide leſs conſiderable, in all which the Souldiery deſerved great commendations and renown; the two French Regiments of *Peraſi* and *Jonſac* under the Command of the Sieur *Choiſeul* did wonders; as alſo thoſe few which remained of the Regiments of *Savoy* commanded by Signior *Arborio*: Signior *Rados*, *Nicolò Polani* a Noble Venetian, the Proveditor *Cornaro*, the Colonels *Gabriel*, *Givii*, and the Sergeant Major of the Troops of *Brunſwick*, and Sergeant Major *Bellegarde*, as alſo the Commander in chief of *Malta* gave honourable teſtimonies of their Bravery and Valour. In ſhort the Captain-General praiſed them all, which was the beſt reward he could beſtow on ſuch generous Souls; and then ſent Orders to *Standia*, That the Forces arrived with the Duke *Mirandola* ſhould immediately be landed: theſe Forces, which when they were firſt imbarked, amounted to the number of a thouſand five hundred men, were now by Calentures and other ſickneſſes cauſed by the exceſſive heats of the ſeaſon reduced to ſix hundred; and though they were unhealthy and unexperienced Souldiers, yet the extremity of Affairs was ſuch, as called them to immediate ſervice, and to be placed on the Guard of the new Retrenchment.

But all this could give little relief to the periſhing condition of this miſerable Town; which was not only weakened by departure of the French, but by at leaſt five hundred others, ſuch as Swedes and Germans, and other Nations, who notwithſtanding all care and endeavours to the contrary, crowded under the French Banner. Likewiſe the Batalion of *Malta* imbarked, which though reduced to a ſmall Body, was yet very conſiderable for the Quality and Valour of the Cavaliers; which example all the Voluntiers followed, and thereby reduced the Town to a condition beyond all poſſibility of defence; for that in actual ſervice not above four thouſand men remained, and of theſe at leaſt an hundred a day being killed, the Town muſt neceſſarily in a ſhort time become a prey to the Enemy; wherefore the Captain-General called a Council of the moſt eminent Officers; and becauſe the matter was of great importance, he judged fit alſo to have the opinion of the Commanders of the Galleaſſes, and of the other Captains of the Fleet. At this Council were preſent

A Council held for to conſider of the ſtate of *Candia*.

Franceſco

1669.

Franceſco Moroſini Captain General.
Giacomo Contarini Duke of *Candia.*
Girolamo Battaglia Proveditor General of Armes.
Daniel Moroſini Proveditor }
Giacomo Cornaro Proveditor } of the Kingdom.
Alviſe Minio Commiſſary of the Ammunition and Proviſion.
Marquis S^t Andrea Monthrun General of the Army.
Marquis of *Frontenac* Lieutenant General.
The Baron *Frederick de Spaar* General of the *Tramontani.*
The Cavalier *Bartolomeo Variſano Grimaldi* Sergeant General.
Baron *Chilmerſeck* Sergeant General.
Count *Francis Salvatico* Governor of the Armes of the City.
Cavalier *Verneda* Chief Engineer, and Superintendent of the Artillery.

On the other ſide ſate the Commanders at Sea, which were as followeth.

Lorenzo Cornaro Proveditor of the Fleet.
Alviſé Magno Captain in Extraordinary of the Galleaſſes.
Iſeppo Moroſini Captain in Ordinary of the Galleaſſes.
Georgio Benzoni Captain of the Gulf.
Aſcanio Giuſtiniano Governour of the Gulf.
Angelo Moroſini Pay-maſter.
Gio. Batt. Calbo Commiſſary of the Ammunition and Proviſions.
Alexandro Locattelli Cancellier.

All which having taken their places, the Captain General began to declare, That the extremity of the place was ſo well known and evident to them all, that there was no need for him to inform them of the particulars; only that he had called them together to know their opinions and counſels in what manner the defence of the Town might be beſt prolonged, and what advice they would give him touching the preſent premures and emergency of Affairs. He added further, That he had by good experience proved them to be as well judicious and wiſe in their Counſels, as they were valiant in the Execution; and that now was the time to lay aſide all oſtentation of ſpeech, and to attend unto that which was ſolid reaſon and advice, which he deſired every one to deliver freely with a clear and real ſenſe and affection towards the grand Concernment. Then he ordered the Cancellier to read a ſhort preamble of the matter on which they were to deliver their opinions, deſiring every one to expreſs his judgment in Writing; But after ſome few had ſubſcribed their Declaration, ſo much time was ſpent therein, that it was conceived more expedite for every perſon to declare his opinion by word of mouth.

As to the firſt point all generally concurred, that conſidering the ſmall number of the Defendants, the Town could not hold out much longer; for that the Enemy on the ſide of S^t *Andrea* was arrived to the laſt Retrenchment, which being low, weak, and compoſed of bad matter, could not long reſiſt their power; that on the ſide alſo of *Sabionera* they were ſo far advanced by the lower grounds towards the Arſenal, that in a ſhort time they would block up the Port, and cut off all proviſions and ſuccours from the Town; and that if the Enemy were reſolved to adventure the loſs of two or three thouſand men by a general ſtorm, there would remain no poſſibility of withſtanding their Force. This being generally aſſented unto, and concluded on all hands, another

1669. ther Question was propounded; namely, That considering the premisses, what was to be done which might render the most effectual service to the Republick; it was well known how important that place was to the Publick, and what vast Treasures of Gold and Silver, and what plentiful Effusions of bloud had been expended and poured forth in defence thereof; and that therefore it ought to be maintained to the utmost and last gasp of strength; but that it ought also to be considered, That the Town being either taken by assault, or the Port blocked up, there would certainly ensue such deplorable Consequences as every person may imagine; and the Republick be damaged by losing all that which is now in a possibility of being saved. It was therefore put to the Vote, beginning on the side of the Inferiours, as the custom is, and so ascending to the chief; and it was resolved that they should capitulate, and enter into a Treaty with the Turks. When it came to *Grimaldi*'s turn to speak, he confessed clearly, That the Town could not hold out for many days, and though it was more glorious to the Defenders to dye on the Walls of it, yet it would be of worst service to the Publick; howsoever, he was of opinion, that rather than surrender, it would be better to burn it, or blow it up with Mines; in execution of which, the wounded and unserviceable people should in the first place be shipped away, then taking the opportunity of a dark and quiet Night the Infantry might be all embarked; it was true, as he confessed, that the action was difficult and full of hazard; howsoever, two things moved him to this Counsel; One was, The little assurance he conceived of the faith of the Turks; and the other was, The gloriousness of the action: for as this City had been in an extraordinary manner defended, and of which the World cannot give the like example; so the end thereof would not be less renowned and famous, it not being a greater triumph to drive the Enemy from the Walls, than being vanquisht to leave a bloudy Victory, and instead of a Palace a heap of stones and ashes. Many of the Council, and amongst them Marquess S^t *Andrea Montbrun* was of the same opinion, and the Commissary *Minio* endeavoured to second it with efficacious Arguments; But in fine, after a long Discourse, they all concluded that the resolution was more generous than practicable; by reason that so many people could not be embarked without knowledg of the Enemy, who was not only quartered near, but within the very Walls of the City.

The Captain General was of a different opinion; for that besides the difficulty of embarking the Souldiery, there were also some other considerations which might disswade this resolution, and render it more prejudicial to the Publick than a Surrender by Composition. After some short debate, all at length concurred in the same sentiment, from which also *Grimaldi* did not much dissent, confessing that the proposition he had made would prove difficult in the Execution; howsoever, considering the little faith which the Turks observe, he thought it more secure to confide their safety to Fortune and their own Swords, than to the engagements and moderation of a perfidious and enraged Enemy. In short, he submitted wholly to the better judgments of the Council, and more particularly to the Captain General, and the Marquess of S^t *Andrea*, who were best acquainted with what more nearly concerned the service and interest of the Prince.

In fine, the conclusion was, That they should enter into a Treaty with

with the Vizier, and endeavour to obtain the moſt advantageous Conditions poſſible. Howſoever, it was thought fit to advertiſe firſt this their determination to the Auxiliary Forces at *Standia*; and to renew the inſtances they had formerly made to them for three thouſand men, with which, and with two thouſand Gally Slaves they would endeavour the making of another Retrenchment, whereby the Town might be conſerved for ſome time longer. Howſoever, in this Interim the Captain General being willing to touch the Viziers pulſe, that he might better diſcover in what manner he ſtood affected towards a Treaty, diſpatched one Colonel *Thomas Anand*, an Engliſhman, of courage, and of able Parts, and of intire honeſty, together with one *Stefano Cordili*, an intelligent young man to the Vizier's Camp; and that his deſign might not be diſcovered by thoſe of the Town, they were ordered to paſs from *Standia* with a white Flag up the River *Gioſſiro*; and that being come to a Treaty, they ſhould only diſcover the mind and inclinations of the Turks, without making known their intentions, or entering into particulars. 1669. Reſult of the Council.

Being come in this manner prepared to the Vizier's Camp, they told the Turks, That they were come to renew the Treaty begun by Signior *Molino*, which had been broken off by the Arrival of the French and Pope's Forces; to which a Turk, then come from the Vizier's Tent, reſolutely anſwered, That they ſhould think of no Articles nor Treaty without a Surrender. To which *Anand* replyed, That they would do well to acquaint the Vizier ſo much, for that perhaps he might be of another opinion; and ſo not urging farther they departed; but returning after Dinner the ſame Turk came down again, called *Achmet* Aga, a Confident of the Vizier's, together with *Panaiotti* the Vizier's Interpreter; and then with more earneſtneſs declaring, That nothing would be heard, unleſs in the firſt place they were reſolved to deliver the Town, and threatned them in caſe they returned without this Propoſition: The Captain General being adviſed hereof, the next morning *Anand* and *Scordili* went again on the ſame meſſage; and meeting the Turks under *Paleocaſtro*, they acquainted them that they had orders to treat about a Surrender; but firſt deſired to know what Articles they would give them, and what Town in exchange for this. In this manner a Treaty being begun, it was reſolved for better expedition to erect Tents nearer to the Town for the place of Conference, where the Plenipotentiaries on both ſides were to meet. *Ibrahim* Paſha, late Paſha of *Aleppo*, *Achmet* Aga, the Kahya-begh of the Janiſaries, the Spahyler *Agaſi*, and the Interpreter *Panaiotti*, were the perſons choſen by the Turks: on the part of the Chriſtians, after ſome Debate, no other perſons were choſen beſides *Anand* and *Scordili*, who meeting the Turks at the time and place appointed, demanded of them ſome other place in exchange for that of *Candia*. To which the Turks with ſome heat replyed, That it was againſt their Law to deliver Towns where Moſchs were built, into the hands of Chriſtians. To which the others anſwered, That this could not be their Law, ſince that in a Treaty ſome months paſt begun by the Cavalier *Molino*, they had offered to deliver up into the hands of the Chriſtians *Candia Nuova*, *Sitia*, and *Girapitra*, all places where Mahometan Moſchs were erected; and though the Turks might now imagine it eaſie to win the Town by force, they aſſured them that greater difficulties remained; and that if they remembred what bloud, what labours, and

1669. what Treasures their small acquests and advance had cost them, they might thence calculate what Force still remained to conquer, and that the last gasp of this dying Fortress would spend it self with more ruine and destruction than they had felt in all the other approaches and assaults thereunto. In fine, the Turks seeming resolved to be sole Masters of the whole Kingdom of *Candia*, the Venetians began to condescend to receive some compensation in another manner.

Howsoever, the difficulties were not yet ended but greater appeared, for the Turks demanded satisfaction for the charge of the War; and the Haratch or head-money, which for all those years of the Wars they had not received from the people of the Isles of the *Archipelago*; they demanded also a Tribute for the Forts and Islands of *Cerigo*, *Tino*, and *Clissa*, and the other Conquests in *Dalmatia*; all which points caused new Disputes, which were maintained with those heats, and with that obstinacy, as if it had been impossible for both parties ever to meet in a conclusion. Notwithstanding, after long Debates, on the fourth of *September* they came to agree of giving hostages, and to certain proposals concerning the manner of surrendring the place. The Turks demanded to have the Outworks put into their hands, with one of the Gates of the City, and the Palisade of the new Retrenchment: To which *Anand* and *Scordili* answered, That this was not a proposition to be made to the Captain General, for that they were assured, the Garrison would sooner suffer themselves to be cut in pieces, than to commit themselves to the mercy of the Turkish Souldiery; whose faith is recorded in the History of *Famagusta*, and may serve for a true example and mirroir of their treachery and faithlesness to all Ages. In this manner the Treaty had like to have been broken off; but at length they concluded, That it was necessary to render an account to the Vizier of the particulars of this Conference, adjourning the Treaty until the next Morning.

Notwithstanding all which, the Turks did not abate in the least point their progress in the War, labouring in their Works, and fighting with more heat than ever. The Venetians on the other side were not less active, firing continually their Cannon and Granadoes, and making some little Sallies, endeavoured as much as they were able to cover the weakness of their Forces. The Turks had raised a new Battery which broke a great part of the Palisade of the new Retrenchment, upon which it was expected that they should make a strong attempt, for whose better entertainment two Mines were prepared to receive them; but they deferring the assault, the Captain General gave orders to fire both the Mines at once, which consisting of a hundred and fifty Barrels of Powder, made the ground to tremble both in the City and in the Camp, overthrowing several works with miserable slaughter of the Enemy.

The Turks observing this resolution in the Defendants, became more tractable, and less severe in their demands; so that *Ibrahim* Pasha with the rest contented themselves with no other security for performances of Conditions than Hostages; of which three were consigned mutually on both sides. After which, other Articles were, with less difficulty, concluded; so that in the morning of the 6th of *September* the Turks demanded that the Christians should give all their Articles in Writing; whereupon the Council ordered *Grimaldi* to draw them up; which were in substance as followeth.

The Conditions of Peace.

First, That for obtaining a good and lasting Peace, it is agree'd, That

That the City of *Candia*, with all its Cannon which were planted there before the time of the War, be consigned into the hands of the Vizier. 1669.

Secondly, That quiet possession be given to the Republick of *Suda*, *Carabusa*, and *Spina Longa*, with the Territories thereunto belonging, with the Fortress of *Cliss* in *Dalmatia*.

Thirdly, That the Venetians may carry away all the Cannon which have been brought into the Town since the beginning of the War.

Fourthly, That for embarking the Souldiery, Pioniers, and Inhabitants of all Qualities and Conditions, with their Arms, Provisions, and Baggage twelve days time shall be granted and assigned.

Fifthly, That what shall remain unshipped at the end of the twelve days aforesaid, the Vizier shall, with his own Boats, assist to the lading thereof.

Sixthly, That during this time of truce, no person whatsoever shall transgress his Limits, or pass the bounds of his Station or Quarters; and that he who doth shall be treated as an Enemy.

Seventhly, That so soon as these Articles shall be subscribed under the white Flag, all Acts of Hostility shall cease both on one side and the other.

Eighthly, That for security of performance of these Articles, three Hostages be mutually given on one side and the other.

Ninthly, That for better assurance, that the Venetians will use all their endeavours to embark their Men and Goods, the Turks may employ two Officers for Eye-witnesses of the same.

Tenthly, That for better effecting hereof, all Ships, Gallies, and other Vessels may freely approach near unto the shore, and enter into the Port both by Day and Night.

Eleventhly, That the Venetian Fleet may remain at *Standia*, or at any other Island in the *Archipelago*, until such time as they are dispatched, or that things are duly prepared for their departure.

Twelfthly, That all Commissions given by one side and the other be revoked, and that whosoever shall after the space of forty days commit any Act of Hostility against the tenour of these Articles of Peace, shall be punished with capital punishment.

Thirteenthly, That so soon as an Ambassadour from *Venice* shall arrive at the Port, all Slaves or Prisoners of War taken under the Venetian Colours shall be freed and released.

Fourteenthly, That what depredations shall be made at Sea or Land after these Articles are subscribed, and before the publication thereof, shall be faithfully made good and restored.

Fifteenthly, That a general pardon be given to the Subjects of both sides, who have acted contrary to their Faith and Allegiance, during this War.

Sixteenthly, That in Virtue of these Capitulations the former Articles be likewise confirmed which were made in the Year 1571, and that no Tribute or Present be demanded from the Port, unless as hath formerly been paid for such Islands as the Venetians hold in the *Archipelago*.

Seventeenthly, That of these Articles two Copies be made, one in Turkish with its Translation into Italian, subscribed by the Vizier, and sealed with the Grand Signior's Signet; and the other in Italian underwrote

1669. wrote by the Captain-General, and ſealed with the Seal of the Republick.

Theſe Articles being ſigned, the Hoſtages were given both on one ſide and the other. Thoſe given by the Venetians were *Fauſtino da Riva* Lieutenant-General, *Giovanni Battiſta Calbo* Commiſſary, and *Zaccaria Mocenigo* who had been Duke of *Candia*. Thoſe given by the Turks were *Belir Aſſan* Paſha, *Mahomet* Aga of the Janiſaries, and *Gurgi Bei* Teſterdar or Treaſurer.

During this Siege, of the Venetians ſide there were killed and wounded thirty thouſand nine hundred eighty five, of the Turks one hundred eighteen thouſand ſeven hundred fifty four.

The Batteries which the Turks raiſed againſt *Sabionera* and St. *Andrea*, conſiſted of fifty nine Pieces of Cannon, carrying from fifty to an hundred and twenty pound weight of Bullet.

The Storms which the Turks made upon the Town were fifty ſix.

The Combats under ground forty five.

The Sallies made by the Venetians ninety ſix.

The Mines and Fornelli ſprang by the Venetians eleven hundred ſeventy three, by the Turks four hundred ſeventy two.

The Venetians ſpent Barrels of Powder fifty thouſand three hundred and ſeventeen.

Bomboes of all ſorts by the Venetians of fifty to five hundred weight, were forty eight thouſand an hundred and nineteen.

Granadoes of Braſs and Iron an hundred thouſand nine hundred and ſixty: Granadoes of Glaſs eighty four thouſand eight hundred ſeventy four.

Cannon-ſhot of all ſorts two hundred ſeventy ſix thouſand ſeven hundred forty three.

Pounds of Lead eighteen millions forty four thouſand nine hundred fifty ſeven. Of Match pounds thirteen millions twelve thouſand five hundred.

What quantities the Turks might conſume of Ammunition is not certain; only it is obſervable, That the Braſs taken up in the ſtreets which came from the Enemies Bomboes was ſo much, that whole Ware-houſes were filled with the Metal, and ſo much ſold as yielded many thouſand of Crowns.

The Articles being ſubſcribed, and Hoſtages given, the Captain-General attended with all application of mind and induſtry imaginable to imbark the Men and Ammunition, committing in the mean time the care of the City to *Cornaro* the Proveditor of the Fleet.

During theſe days that all things were providing in order to a Surrender, there was great ſilence in the Turkiſh Camp, and no diſorder in the City; the Souldiers on the Ramparts, and the Turks in their Trenches ſaluted each other with civility, and entertained communication and diſcourſes together with friendſhip and freedom of ſeveral paſſages relating to their War, nothing of quarrel, or ſcuffle, or rude words happening out between them in all the term of the twelve days. The Vizier ſent divers times civil Meſſages and Preſents of refreſhment to the Captain-General and Marqueſs St. *Andrea*, which they returned with equal reſpect and generoſity; and ſo exceſſive were the Turks in theſe offices, that the Venetians began to be jealous, leſt under this mark and guiſe of courteſie ſome fraud or deſign ſhould be covered according to

their

their own Proverb: *Chi ti fa piu carezze che ſuole, ò ti ha engannato ò enganar ti vuole.* 1669.

In ſhort, all things were diſpatched with that diligence and care, that on the 27th of *September* the City was conſigned; all the Inhabitants departed thence, not one remaining in the City, except only two Greek Prieſts, a Woman, and three Jews. 1669.

In this manner the whole Iſle of *Candia*, the cauſe and occaſion of all that Blood and Treaſure that was ſpilt, and exhauſted in twenty five years Wars, fell at length to the fortune and increaſe of the Turkiſh Empire, with its moſt impregnable Fortreſs of the World, ſtrengthened with as much Art and Induſtry, as the humane Wit of this Age was capable to invent, after a ſtrait Siege of two years, three months, and twenty ſeven days. For the ſpace of twelve days allotted for the Surrender being expired, on the 27th of *September* being Friday, the great Croſs erected on the Wall was after midnight taken down, and advice given to the Venetians, ſo ſoon as the morning dawned, that the Turks did that day attend the Surrender, which was accordingly performed by the Principal Citizen about nine of the clock of the ſame morning, who offering the Keys of the City to the Great Vizier in a Baſon of Silver on the breach of St. *Andrea*, was by him preſented with a Veſt of Sables, and five hundred Zechins in Gold, and to his Servants were given two hundred. To *Moroſini* alſo a Preſent was offered worthy his Quality; but he refuſed it, ſaying, That he would never give a ſeeming occaſion to the malicious World to ſlander him with the leaſt appearance of having ſold his important Charge. Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting on the breach, ſome of the moſt cowardly and diſorderly amongſt the Janiſaries preſſed forward to have entred by force, in violation of the Articles ſo lately agreed and confirmed; but ſome of the Garriſon not yet imbarked, keeping themſelves ſtill on the Guard, repulſed the moſt forward in the Riot by killing three or four of their Companions: which diſturbance and inſolence of the Souldiery, when made known to the Vizier, he aſſembled the diſorderly together; and firſt upbraiding their cowardiſe, who durſt not enter in the time of War, would now counterfeit Valour in the time of Peace, ſentenced fifteen of them to be impaled on the breach, which piece of Juſtice and Gallantry was immediately executed. This rumour being appeaſed, the *Topegibaſhee* and *Gebegibaſhee*, or the Generals of the Ordnance and Arms took quiet poſſeſſion of the Forts and Cannon of the City, and whilſt the Turks entred over the breach, the Chriſtian Army withdrew and imbarked themſelves as faſt as convenience and decency would permit, who after the departure of the French, and of ſuch who accompanied them, were not computed to be above two thouſand five hundred men, and thoſe ſickly, ill accoutred, and half naked; and thus this City and whole Iſland became ſubject and a prey to the Ottoman Arms. Amongſt the Officers which took poſſeſſion of the Town were the Teſterdar and the Aga of the Janiſaries. The Teſterdar as he paſſed over the breach of St. *Andrea*, and obſerving how low and weak the Works were on that ſide, turned to the Aga of the Janiſaries, and with ſome diſdain ſaid to him, We have here ſpent ten days in the Surrender of this Town which we might have taken in two hours.

The War began in *April* 1645.

Candia delivered.

The Turkiſh Army taking poſſeſſion on Friday the 27th of *September*, the Vizier made his Entry on Friday the 4th of *October*; in which time they

1669. they had erected a triumphant Bridge over the breach of St. *Andrea*, on which the Vizier entred into the Town, and passed directly to the Church of St. *Francis*, which was converted to a Mahometan Mosque, where having said his Namaz or Prayer, he went to the house where the Marquess St. *Andrea* was lodged, which was prepared for him, with a sumptuous Entertainment of five hundred Dishes at the expence of the Grand Signior.

This City in four parts of five was ruined and demolished in the time of the Siege, all the Bells and Ornaments of the Churches and Houses to the very Locks of the doors were carried away; the Arms remaining were old and rusty, and not above three hundred and fifty Pieces of Cannon left on the Walls, and those for the most part very small: the Inhabitants remaining were only five, as we have said before, unless some few decrepit Jews and Greeks, which might make up the number of about thirty; so that never could be a more sad spectacle of desolation, nor a more clear Mirroir of the miseries of War.

The Great Vizier being possessed of the Town, dispatched away an Express with the good News thereof to the Sultan, who posted as fast as wind and weather would permit. And here the Reader may easily apprehend what joy possessed the minds of the Turks in all places where the rumour flew of this Cities Surrender, which had for so many years baffled and put a stand to the Ottoman Sword. And though the joyful tidings added wings to the Messengers haste, yet the uncertainty of the Grand Signiors abode retarded some days the arrival of the News: which will seem very strange to him that considers, that the motion of so great an Emperour in the Glory of his Fortunes should be less obscure than the light of the Sun, perceptible by all conditions, who inhabit that side of the Globe, where his rays are visible. At length the Messenger found the Sultan within the Woods and Mountains of *Negropont* where he had passed the heats of the Summer, and some part of his discontent in those solitary retirements: it being now towards the end of *September*, and the Winter approaching, the Isle was incapable to entertain so great a Court, and to return back seemed as dishonourable as it was dangerous, the Souldiery and People being equally discontented, the one by the ill success and government of Affairs, and the other by oppression of Taxes: but this joyful News cleared all those clouds and ombrages of doubtful and disconsolate thoughts, which the Grand Signior received like a dream, being at first so surprised with such an unexpected happiness, that he could scarce believe it; but at length recollecting his scattered spirits, without delay returned the Messenger again with his Embrahore or Master of his Horse to the Vizier with the Present of a Sable Vest, a Dagger, and a Sword, being the usual signals of the Sultans favour, and with a Letter freighted with Encomiums and Praises of his Valour and Fortune. And whereas the Vizier had perswaded him to return to *Constantinople*, he answered, That he was resolved to winter at *Salonica*, where with the Spring he expected his presence, and from thence in company with him, should be ready to chuse any Seat, which in his judgment the Vizier apprehended most conducing to the benefit of the Empire.

The News brought to the Grand Signior at *Negropont*.

The Captain-General *Morosini* having in the mean time imbarked his Forces, sailed to *Suda* to provide and fortifie that place, *Spina Longa* and *Carabusa*, poor Rocks and Appendages to the greater Isle of *Candia*, with

with all neceſſary ſupplies of Victuals and Ammunition: which only ſerve for a Proſpect into *Candia*, and to keep alive the Title of the Venetian Republick to that Kingdom. *Suda* is the moſt conſiderable of the three, but yet not ſtrong, the Sea being fordable between that and *Candia*, and not of long reſiſtance, whenſoever the Turk ſhall think it worthy his time to ſubdue. Here *Moroſini* attended the Ratification of the Peace from *Venice*, and the diſbanding of the Turkiſh Army, in which time four French Ships with Succours of Men and Ammunition arrived at *Candia*; but coming late were diſappointed of their deſign, and ſo returned back into their own Country. 1669.

The Venetians at *Suda*.

The Turks having now finiſhed their work, diſpeeded away their Janiſaries and Pioniers by all occaſions of ſhipping: thoſe that remained were imployed all the Winter in filling the Trenches without the City, and many Slaves taken out of the Gallies to repair the breach of St. *Andrea*: in which work, whilſt they threw up the diſordered rubbiſh, ſo poyſonous a ſtench evaporated from the bodies of the ſlain, which lay buried in thoſe ruines, as begat a Peſtilence and other diſeaſes in the City and in the Gallies; but labouring continually on that work, they ſoon acquitted themſelves of the contagion, by help of the Winters cold which then approached.

In this manner expired the Action of this Year fortunate in its ſucceſs to the Turks; for though they gained but thirty Acres of Land with expence ineſtimable of Blood and Treaſure, yet the Glory and Fame which attended it, being the conſummation of twenty five years Wars, and the Theatre where the whole World were Spectators, was of greater value to the Turks than any other conſideration, and may with time prove a place of advantage to the farther increaſe of their Weſtern Empire, unleſs God Almighty by his Mercy and Providence give a ſtop to the progreſs of this Grand Oppreſſour.

But before this Year ended, behold the miſery of Chriſtendom, by reaſon of diſcontents and animoſities in the Imperial Court, the Count *Serini* Prince of *Croatia*, the Marqueſs *Frangipani* and Count *Nadaſti*, joyned with other Nobles of *Hungary*, ſent Meſſengers to the Great Vizier at *Candia*, offering themſelves Subjects and Tributaries to the Turk, deſiring his Protection of their Religion and Liberties, deſigning to act the part of *Bethlem Gabor*: of which Conſpiracy and Rebellion we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more hereafter.

Serini and the Nobles of *Hungary* offer themſelves to the Turk.

The Great Vizier imployed himſelf this whole Winter paſt in repairing the Fortifications of *Candia*, regulating them in ſome meaſure according to the Turkiſh Model, and in repairing and beautifying the Town, which was done with ſuch admirable expedition, that in a few months moſt of the houſes demoliſhed in the time of the Siege were again erected, and the Churches converted into Moſchs and adorned, three of the principal whereof took the Names of the Grand Signior, Great Vizier and Captain Paſha, and were endowed by them with an honourable Revenue, ſufficient to maintain them in Reparations, Lamps, and Taliſmans. But the Turks were not more pious towards their Moſchs than the Chriſtians were careleſs and cold towards their Churches; for the Venetians inſerted not one Article in favour of a Chriſtian Church or a Religious Houſe, which would have been granted as ſoon as demanded, only a Greek who was Interpreter to the Great Vizier called *Panaiotti*, a Perſon of Parts and Learning, at the expence of two thouſand two hundred

1669. hundred Dollars; and an Armenian Merchant called *Apro Chelabei* at the charge of a thouſand four hundred purchaſed two Churches for their reſpective Nations.

The G. Signior returns to *Salonica*, and hunts.

The Grand Signior in the mean time returned to *Salonica* to paſs the remainder of the Winter, which place being famous for multitude of all ſorts of Game, drew his heart, and made him impatient till he arrived thoſe Plains, more deſired by him than the Elyſian fields; for having made his Entry into that City, the next day he deſigned to hunt: but being put in mind that the Engliſh Ambaſſadour Sir *Daniel Harvey*, who (as we ſaid) arrived at *Conſtantinople* the year before, attended his Audience, he was contented to grant it to him the next morning. But yet not to loſe his hunting, at midnight he ſent Officers to the Ambaſſadour to prepare for the next days Audience very early; and to gain time, ordered his Horſes to be all ready, that ſo having diſpatched that Ceremony, he might immediately mount into the Saddle and purſue his Game. Howſoever he was not in ſo much haſte, but he teſtified due reſpect to His Majeſty of Great *Britain*, and the eſteem he had of the Engliſh Nation, ordering the Capitulations to be renewed; and commanding the Chimacam, that if any one ſhould break or infringe them, that he ſhould cut him off without farther argument. But as to renewing the Capitulations, the Chimacam falling at the Grand Signiors feet, beſeeched him, That that particular might be deferred until the arrival of the Great Vizier, whoſe proper power and act it was to make War and Peace; and therefore for him to intermeddle about Capitulations was to invade the Viziers Authority, which he durſt not do without putting his life in danger, or at leaſt rendring his Perſon obnoxious to his irreconcileable diſpleaſure; with which the Grand Signior being ſatisfied, ordered that the renewing of the Capitulations ſhould be deferred until the return of the Vizier, and ſo diſmiſſed the Lord Ambaſſadour from his Preſence; but this work of renewing the Capitulations was reſerved for the care and conduct of Sir *John Finch*, who ſucceeded in the Embaſſy after the death of Sir *Daniel Harvey*.

Sir *Daniel Harvey*, his Majeſties Ambaſſadour, hath his Audience of the Grand Signior.

The Grand Signior ariſing from his Throne mounted into his Saddle to follow his exceſſive delight in Hunting, which now he purſued every day without reſpect of cold or wet, or Horſes or Attendants; but like an impetuous *Nimrod* raged amongſt the timorous Hares and flying Harts, over-ſpreading the Woods with vaſt numbers of poor Jews and Peaſants, which he had commanded forth to drive for Game, not reſpecting the extreme rigour and Froſts of Winter, by which many of thoſe poor Wretches, lying abroad in the nights, were benumbed, and dyed. And ſo far did his humour tranſport him in this Recreation, that he was diſcouraged at no inconvenience or labours which attended it; for one day appointing his Hunting at a certain place, which to paſs on Horſe-back was a great circuit, but a nearer cut over a Gulf or Arm of the Sea, he ordered his Horſes round, whilſt he in Perſon attended with the Chimacam and ſeveral of his Grandees, paſſed over to the other ſide in a Gally. But being impatient of his Sport, and not able to give time to his Horſes to make their way, aſcended his Gally, commanding them to row away with all ſpeed; and arriving at the other ſide ſome hours before his Horſes could come, would yet land: and being weary of expectation, reſolved to meet them on foot through all the dirt and mire of a low and rich ſoil: where whilſt he travelled heavily, and almoſt tired,

tired, by good fortune they espied a Miller driving his Horse laden with two Sacks of Meal; whom when they had called, and made him to lighten his burden, and take off the Pack-saddle, the Chimacam himself stripped off his own Sables Vest, and covered the Horse with it, on which the Grand Signior mounting in great state, rode like a Prince till he met his own Retinue, which passage served to fill the discourse at night of that days Hunting, and deserves to be chronicled with our English Dialogue between the Miller and the King: howsoever we make use of it here to demonstrate the strange and passionate humour which possessed this Sultan in his Hunting. 1669.

Little other recreation did this Grand Signior take, unless it were in the Company of his chief Sultana, called the Hasaki Sultana, by whom having had a Son, which beginning now to play and speak, reconciled much of his affection to the Female Sex, but yet with that moderation and well regulated love, that he confined himself wholly to this one Woman, having sent for her to be his Companion in all journies and adventures of Errantry, whilst the other Ladies as incumbrances and impediments to the speedy motions of the wandring Court, were dispeeded to *Constantinople* under the Government of the Queen Mother, as we have before declared; of which priviledge this Sultana beginning to be sensible, endeavoured to encrease and conserve the Affections of her Lord by all the arts and tricks of love imaginable; for she was really, or else feigned to be, so enamoured of him, that she pined and macerated away her self for his absence; and when he was indisposed in his health, or intended a long Journey from her, she would fall into Swoundings, and Paralytical Fits, or something else, which was an undoubted symptom of true affection, such as commonly intervenes amongst us in the chast embraces of single marriage; that the Grand Signior, whose loves to Women were not naturally as vagrant as his delights after the chase of wild Beasts, was so much satisfied in her alone, that he could be no more without her than she without him; so that, like *Diana*, or some Mountain Nymph, she became a Huntress after her Prince, as he a Ranger after his Game. The G. Signior delights solely in his Queen.

Anno Christi 1670. *Hegeira* 1081.

THE Spring coming forward, the Great Vizier declared, That after S^t *George*'s day, which is the 23^d day of *April*, (called by the Turks *Cassim gheun*) he resolved to depart from *Candia*; and therefore ordered, That all Ships, Saiks, Brigantines, and other Vessels, which were found in any Port of the Grand Signior's Dominions, should be sent to *Candia*, to transport him and the remainder of his Army to *Rhodesto* in *Romelia*, from whence he designed his March to meet the Grand Signior at *Adrianople*. But before his departure he took a view of the Island, taking his progress through the whole circumference of it, and numbring all the Inhabitants which paid Harach, or Pole-money, found them not to exceed two and twenty thousand persons. For though in the time of *Dellee Mehmet* Pasha, who was the first that brought the Ottoman Sword into that Country, there were listed fifty five thousand, who paid duties of Harach; yet now the Plague, the Sword, and other miseries of War had reduced them to that small number, of whom ten thousand (as is reported) perished in the Mines, and before the Walls of their own The Vizier takes a survey of the whole Isle of *Candia*.

1670. City; and great numbers of Olive-Trees being cut down and burned by the Souldiery in time of the War, is the reason that that Island yields not half the quantity of Oils as in former times.

The Ambassadour of *Venice* Signior *Alvise Molino*, before mentioned, was now at *Candia*, designing to accompany the Vizier in his Voyage to the Grand Signior; for adorning which Embassy the Republick had appointed a Ship to carry the Presents and several Persons of Quality for attendance of the Bailo (for so their Ambassadour is called;) and in regard in that passage the ship was to touch at *Zant*, they laded on her a hundred thousand Zechins for payment of that Souldiery, which with the Captain General were returned from *Candia* to that place, with Presents for the Grand Signior and his Court; but it pleased God, that this Ship sailing down the Gulf, met with so furious a storm of Wind, that she suffered shipwrack on the Coast of *Italy*, where not only the ship and goods were lost, but every soul upon that ship perished; amongst which was *Lorenzo Molino* Son of the Ambassadour, and *Ottavio Labia*, another noble Venetian.

The Vizier departs from *Candia*, and arrives at *Scio*.

The Great Vizier entertained himself so long in *Candia* that the month of *May* was well entered before he departed thence; and by the way touched at *Scio*, where he was met by all the Officers and Governours of the adjacent Jurisdictions, who came to make tender of their Presents and Services; but the Vizier in a plausible manner, accepted of their courteous Offers, but returned their Gifts, saying, That he was so sensible of the great oppressions and expences the neighbouring Countries had suffered by reason of the War, that he was resolved to superinduce no new Charge by Victory and Peace.

In like manner from all parts was a confluence of poor oppressed people, who came to petition for justice and relief against the corruption and tyranny of their Governours in the respective Countries. But the Vizier admitted no Audience for Complaints, whether it were to maintain an apprehension of his clemency and gentleness, by acting nothing that was cruel or severe, or to enjoy himself after his cares and turmoils in the War; he almost for fourteen days continuance entertained himself in private by the cool and crystalline Fountains of *Scio*. Some report, that he gave himself at that time so excessively to Wine, being overjoyed at his success, and conclusion of the War, that he was never capable, during his abode there, of serious thoughts or counsels; so that his Kahya, or Secretary, could never be admitted access, unless he were called, though on the most urgent occasion of business. Others interpreted his retirements to be in order to serious considerations about the mannagement of Affairs at his return; as how to satisfie the expectations of the Grandees, who patiently attended an amendment of abuses in the Government; how he might pacifie the minds of the Souldiery, who were jealous of Conspiracies against the lives of the Royal Brothers, and how to steer in an even course at Court between the security of his Master, and satisfaction of the Vulgar; for all the World lived in hope that alteration of times would amend abuses, and that the last remedy of all was the return of the Viziers Authority. Howsoever, it is certainly reported, That the Vizier was become exceedingly intemperate in wine,

The Great Vizier perswaded to drink wine.

and drowned much of his cares in the fumes and vapours of it, supposing himself, as *Tiberius* did in *Capreæ*, exempt from the eyes of the World, whilst he remained in *Scio*, which the Sea had separated from the greater Continent;

Continent. And yet the Vizier, is believed, never to have tasted Wine, or known whether it was bitter or sweet, till the pride of his success in *Candia* transported him to make his joy extravagant, to which the Officers about his Person invited him, as that which cheared the spirits, strengthened the nerves, and induced a strange kind of delight and pleasure in the fancy, beyond any thing of Poppies, or Opiate Compositions, or *Biram*-Pasha's Pills, or Berse, or a thousand other inventions, fit only to confuse mens reason, and stupifie the brain, and benumb all the senses, in which some, as I have heard, had so practised themselves by degrees, that they could swallow five drams in twenty four hours, though I never knew any, unless one Turk, whom I saw eat above three; but then they could eat nothing else, nor were they fit afterwards to receive or digest any other nourishment, Nature being used to that poyson, rejected all other sounder nutriment. But Wine (they said) cheared the heart in that manner, and comforted the stomach, that the Turks began now generally to drink it, unless he were some Pharisaical Hypocrite of the Ulamah, or some superstitious aged and ignorant Professour. So that the vice of drunkenness became more common amongst the Turks than amongst the Germans, or our selves: I am sure more intolerable, and administred to more mischiefs, by how much the Turks being unaccustomed to Wine, knew less how to comport the heats of intemperance. 1670.

The Souldiers and other Turks drink Wine to excess.

And here I shall make a little digression from my purpose in hand to acquaint my Reader of the effects which I have observed to be produced in those who accustom themselves to the use of Opium. In all the Country Villages amongst the Turks, the more aged sort of men who have most leisure, and least necessity to work, addict themselves to Opium for alleviation (as they say) of their cares, and to forget their sorrow, for pleasure in the taste there can be none, being very bitter to the palate; which being taken in a morning in a small quantity, about the bigness of a Tare, superinduces at first a strange chearfulness about the heart, and thence raises a more pleasing vapour to the head, than any can proceed from the spirits of the best and the highest Wines: but afterwards as it begins to digest, the vapour becomes more gross, and consequently a kind of stupefaction is induced over the brain and nerves, which with drowsiness and sleep passes away like a drunken fit. The Youth amongst them which drink Wine abhor Opium, until growing into years, and to the care of a family (as a sign of which they suffer their beards to increase) they are taught by their Imaum, and more by example of others, that Wine being against their Law, is only dispensable in wild and unbridled Youth, but in those of riper age is a vice to be reproached by all sober and well-governed men. In the place of which they take up the lawful and innocent Pill of Opium, which makes men serious and setled (as they say) because that it operates not like Wine, which makes men mad, and rash, and violent, but disposes them to be Sots, and to sit grave and quiet without doing hurt to any man, which is a qualification accounted very laudable amongst them, and is one of the greatest Vertues which they endeavour to acquire in their Tekes or Monasteries. This being the reason for which it is taken and allowed, it is grown a common custom almost amongst all the Country-people, who in the morning before they go to work take first their Opium, and upon it three or four dishes of Coffee; for it is observable, that none eats Opium but who accompanies it with great quantities of

A digression about Opium.

1670. Coffee, which is doubtleſs a kind of Opiate in it ſelf, and partakes very much of a Narcotick Quality; by this means and conſtant uſe ſome arrive to take ſtrange quantities; the moſt that ever I knew any man take was three drams in twenty four hours, *viz.* a dram and an half or thereabouts in the morning, and as much an hour after noon: the which for more exactneſs I had the curioſity to ſee weighed. The ſame perſon offered for a ſmall reward to take five drams in twenty four hours; but then he ſaid, it required a long time to digeſt, and did not doubt but to overcome it: but I was too ſcrupulous to put a man into a ſleep, from whence I feared he might never awake. This perſon was of a thin and livid complexion, his skin ſhriveled, no more beard than a few hairs, his mouth commonly open, becauſe his chap was fallen; his countenance putting me often in mind of the Picture I have ſeen of the *Gorgons* head; for had it been incompaſſed with Snakes inſtead of his Turbant, it might have ſerved for a perfect Original. He had arrived to the years of forty eight, and from the years thirty he had entred into Opium from a great exceſs of Wine: in which condition he found that his ſtomach required little other nouriſhment, being content with a ſmall quantity of bread and water for his other Diet, Opium ſupplying him with all the other Delicacies he could deſire: he was the father notwithſtanding of two or three children, which he confeſſed to have begot in the ſtrength of his Opium, having no deſire to accompany with his wife, until he was firſt invigorated with his uſual Doſe, being till then like a Trunk or Log, wanting ſpirits almoſt to turn his body. For his Opium was that only which could revive all, which about a quarter of an hour after it was taken began to operate, and then we diſcovered in his eyes, which before were dull and heavy, ſcarce opening, a certain quickneſs and ſparkling, and then ſoon after he was fitted for the work of the day, and could labour as others, and take a journey on foot of ſeven or eight miles to Market, and return home at night: his body was always bound, or his belly conſtipated with the hardneſs of his excrement, and yet he was ſubject to no other ſickneſs, unleſs his vitiated deſire to this Poyſon which can nouriſh no wholeſom or healthful body. The Turks, as I have learned, make little other uſe of Opium than this; yet ſometimes they will put it into their Camels ears, and the noſtrils of their Horſes, when faint and weary, wherewith they revive again, and ſoon recover their ſtrength and force to travel.

The Vizier having thus paſſed ſome days of Entertainment at *Scio*, entred again his Gally, and paſſing through the Streights of the *Helleſpont* arrived at *Rodeſto*, where having landed many of his Janiſaries and ſuch of the Army as remained with him, after a few days continuance he marched to *Adrianople*, where he was received by the Grand Signior with all evidences of ſatisfaction, and entred the City triumphant after the manner of the Turkiſh *Allai*.

The Ceremonies and Complements being paſt, which uſually intervene between Great Perſonages after a long abſence, the grand Conſultation was, In what manner to prevent the ſeditious irruptions of the Souldiery, and how to reconcile the Jealouſies between the Grand Signior and his Brothers. For the former, two things were concluded neceſſary. Firſt, to divide the Militia of the Janiſaries, which was immediately executed, and eight thouſand of them, under pretence of Incurſions, were ſent through *Moldavia* to remain on the Frontiers of *Poland*.

Secondly,

Secondly, it being obſerved, that moſt of the Souldiery drank Wine, from whence in ancient times aroſe many Mutinies and Seditions of the Souldiery, dangerous to the Ottoman State, as namely in the time of *Mahomet* III. when the Janiſaries in the heat of drunkenneſs entred the Seraglio by force, and demanded the Heads of the chief Favourites: And as then it was judged the beſt Expedient to cool the hot brains of the Janiſaries, to proclaim a Prohibition of Wine at *Conſtantinople*, and to command upon pain of death, That thoſe who had any Wine in their Houſes ſhould bring it forth, and ſtave it; ſo now the uſe of it was univerſally forbidden in all the parts of the Grand Signiors Dominions, and a ſpecial Command was ſent to all places reſpectively under the penalty of death, and a thouſand maledictions, curſing Wine as come from Hell, and as a Liquor produced by the Devil to enſnare mens ſouls, and inebriate their heads, and confound States. And ſo generally was this Prohibition enjoyned, that his Majeſties Ambaſſadour at *Conſtantinople* with long ſolicitation and charge obtained licence for his Family, and the Merchants there to make Wine; but for the Merchants at *Smyrna* there was more difficulty, and this year Wine was not made in their Houſes according to cuſtom, and not without ſcruple permitted to be imported from the Greeks Iſlands and other parts where the Command extended not its force; for the Prohibition was to all places where were Moſchs or Turks Inhabitants, the Villages or Iſles where Chriſtians only lived were not included. To this Prohibition were added on every Friday Sermons to the People inveighing againſt Wine, and curſing the Drinkers of it, in which affair *Vanni Efendi* the Grand Signiors Preacher was much concerned, from whom the Original of this Counſel was judged to proceed. And now to pleaſe the Reader, who perhaps may be curious to know the ſtile of this Prohibition, I have here inſerted the Command *verbatim* as tranſlated out of the Original, and directed to the Kadi of *Smyrna*.

1670.

Wine forbidden in all parts of the Grand Signiors Dominions.

TO the moſt perfect of the Judges amongſt Muſulmin (or Believers) the moſt worthy amongſt thoſe Powers which profeſs one God, the Mine of Vertue and Wiſdom, the Exemplar of Juſtice to all People, the Inheritor of the Sciences of the Prophets and Apoſtles, the Ornament of his Office and (through the Grace of God aſſiſting) our Preſident in Smyrna, *whoſe Vertues may they ever be augmented. At Receipt of this my Royal Command know, That Wine and Games at Dice, and figured Cards, and of Arrows without feathers, which are Lotteries, are the filthineſs of Diabolical work (according to the teſtimony of the miraculous Revelation) are Fomenters of malice and wickedneſs, and are the ferment of that Faction and Sedition which corrupt and ſeduce the Servants of God, which being prohibited by Authority, and yet uſed, provokes the anger and diſdain of Almighty God againſt us: And whereas by this Mother of all wickedneſs (that is, Wine) the Muſulmin Kingdoms are defiled, there appears an evident alteration of the Muſulmin Law and Faith, and an inlet to actions of foul impreſſion. Praiſed be the high and moſt great God, that in the days of my years abounding in Felicity, the obſervation of lawful Precepts hath been confirmed, and unlawful things have been prohibited; and now I know that this is the ſum of the moſt important Affair conducing to my Kingdoms and my own Felicities, and in general the principal and greateſt care, and the beſt and moſt neceſſary Canon of my Empire: ſo that being deſirous to ſatisfie the Creator of the World, my Royal and immutable Will reſolves to cleanſe and purifie the*

The Command againſt Wine.

1670. *the Muſulmin Kingdoms of this prohibited and filthy abomination; wherefore when this Royal Command comes to your hands, whereſoever there are Taverns of Wine, let them be raſed and thrown down in all Cities and Towns ennobled with Muſulmin Moſchs, let the buying and ſelling thereof be prohibited, with all drinking and uſe of Wine; and likewiſe I command, That in* Conſtantinople, Bruſa, *and* Adrianople *the Impoſition thereupon be wholly taken off. And that in all other Cities and Towns adorned with Muſulmin Moſchs, there be not a drop of Wine ſuffered or admitted in; and that Muſulmins neither privately nor ſecretly drink Wine; and whoſoever is or ſhall be Author of this ſin, and to alter my Command in this particular, either now or hereafter, may be be puniſhed by the Univerſal Lord of all the World. Likewiſe when this my Command of high Reputation appears, which is a Royal Writing, let it be annexed to the Decretal Rolls, and be put in execution according as it is obligatory. And when this Command comes to your hands, you are to have all due care of this injoyned particular, That it operate according to the Tenour of this Royal Injunction, participating of Proſperity and Majeſtick Power, by virtue of which you are to reprove, reprehend, hinder, and prohibit, according to the Law of God, the drinking of Wine; and that it may be wholly taken away, let the Tax and Revenue which proceeds from thence be taken off, and in all guarded and governed Cities and places of my Kingdoms, let the Taverns be ruined and overthrown. And therefore you are to make known and publiſh to all Citizens and Inhabitants the force of this my Royal Command, as well in the City of* Smyrna, *as in other Cities and Towns ennobled with Muſulmin Moſchs, and you are to ruine the Taverns which are found there. And you are to take away the Houſes of Entertainment amongſt the Franks which are in* Smyrna *that ſell Wine, nor ſhall they ſell Wine in their own houſes, but you ſhall hinder and prohibit them: and if thoſe Taverns ſhall be the Poſſeſſions of private men, you ſhall adviſe the Owners of them; or if they be bequeathed by Teſtament to the Deputies of the* Muteveli, *you ſhall admoniſh them with earneſtneſs and threats, That in the place of Taverns they raiſe other more profitable and lawful Buildings, and that they re-edifie them in a different form from the firſt. And the Taverns being ruined and demoliſhed according to my Royal Command, and the Butts and other Utenſils thereof taken away, you ſhall make a publick Arz thereof, and ſend it to my Royal Stirrup; and you being admoniſhed thereof by my Royal Admonition, you are to have a care that neither in the City nor Suburbs thereof, nor in Cities adorned with Royal Moſchs any perſon whatſoever bring in Wine, or one drop thereof, or that the buying or ſelling thereof be admitted, and that no Muſulman drink Wine. For if after this I come to underſtand, That any perſon have brought in Wine, though it be but one drop, I ſwear by the Holy Souls of my Grandfathers, and great Grandfathers, that thoſe who bring it in, or ſell it, or drink it, ſhall be puniſhed with ſuch tortures, as were never inflicted on any before. In ſhort, this being a buſineſs ſo important as to the Faith, as to my Empire, my ſtrong intention and firm reſolution is to cleanſe and purifie in the higheſt degree as well the Frontiers, as the Royal Seats of my Empire from ſo foul a ſink of ſo much filthineſs and diſſention; and therefore do injoyn this Royal Writing of high felicity ſo far, that nothing ſhall be able to change or alter it, or revoke this Command of Majeſtick Reputation. And for the future, let him be who he will, that ſhall offer to oppoſe, or alter, or change this my Command declared by theſe Preſents, or have intention or deſign to the contrary, may the curſe of God be upon him. In conformity hereunto know*

know you, that are Judges, that this being my Will and Pleasure, and ultimate Resolution, you are to register this noble Command in the Book of publick Acts and Decrees, that so it may be preserved; and for execution thereof, you are to use all your diligence and power, and therein to take due care; for if after these Admonitions, Confirmations, Menaces, and Rigours, Wine be either bought or sold in the Cities or Suburbs, or other places, as before; or that there remains any Tavern not ruined, or if in any wise a drop of Wine be bought or sold, you shall receive due punishment, and your self suffer the same torments which are threatned against those who are publickly guilty of the transgression of this Law. Therefore know this, and knowing it, give credit to my noble Firme. 1671.

Dated in the Month *Rabiul Evel*, *Hegeira* 1081. in *Adrianople*.

And now one would imagine that this Command being a Hattesheriff signed with the Grand Signior's own hand, would have been of durable and perpetual Force and Authority. But experience hath shewed us the contrary, that in one Year after, Licence being first given to Franks, to make Wine in their own houses, and especially to all Christian Ministers; in one year more the indulgence became universal, and Taverns were again admitted, and still continue as common and free as in former times.

Anno Christi 1671. *Hegeira* 1082.

THE Ship which carried the Presents for the Turks, and designed to transport the Ambassadour, being cast away, new preparations were made, and the Gally *Brazzana*, commanded by *Alexandro Zeno*, a noble Venetian, was dispatched with them, being ordered to transport Signior *Molino* the Ambassadour to the Port, who was received with the usual honours due to his Quality and Character; all which Ceremonies and Offices being past, several matters occurred which were not so well expressed in the Capitulations, but that they needed an explication; and new Orders and Models for redress of Affairs in *Dalmatia*: For the Morlacchs, who in time of the War had submitted themselves to the obedience of the Venetians, began now to infest the Country, and to enter into those places, which in the first years of the War they had destroyed and abandoned; the Turks on the other side opposed them, and the Country being open, many skirmishes happened, and as many troubles ensued as in the time of the War. For adjusting these differences *Mahomet* Pasha of *Bosna* was dispatched into those Countries with Authority and Instructions; where on the other side he was met by *Antonio Barbaro*, Proveditor General of *Dalmatia* and *Albania*, appointed by the Senate to accord and settle the differences of the Confines; and the place designed for meeting of the Commissioners was appointed to be between *Climno* and *Clissa*; but such was the fury of the people, and the passion that both parties had to recover their ancient possessions, that the Turks in the Month of *November* by force of Armes made themselves Masters of *Obronzo* and *Dernis*, which were surrendred without much opposition, by reason of the small numbers of the Morlacchs, who neither having Garrison nor Fortifications were easily surprized, under the pretence of peace. But it succeeded otherwise at *Scardona*, where by

The Venetian Ambassador at the Port.

1671. by the assistance of a Gally and some Brigantines, the Turks, who were the Aggressours, were repulsed; and in like manner at *Risano* they were beaten off, and put to flight with much confusion and slaughter, with the death also of *Usuff* Bey, their chief Commander, and Author of all these troubles.

The Relation of these disturbances was carried to the Port by the Bosnacs, who were concerned in these Affairs, with all circumstances of aggravation which might incense the Grand Signior, and move the Vizier to take part in their Quarrel; But he being desirous to maintain that Peace which he himself had concluded, moved the Grand Signior to dispatch a Hasacheé, or one of his Royal Officers, to render him an exact account of the true state of the Affairs of that Country. In which Interim *Mahomet* Pasha of *Bosna*, the Commissioner, happening to dye, the Vizier moved, That the Morlacchs should surrender up those places which they had lately possessed, and that new Commissioners should be again sent for adjusting the Limits of the Confines, and the Possessions of the Inhabitants. The Senate of *Venice* accepting this proposition, gave Orders to their General *Barbaro* to withdraw the people from the places in dispute, and in the Month of *May* 1671 made and constituted the Cavalier *Nani* Procurator of S^t *Mark*, their Plenipotentiary, with full authority to compose all differences touching the Frontiers. On part of the Turks one *Mamut*, once Pasha of *Buda*, and late Chimacam of *Constantinople*, was nominated and impowred with like faculty; he was a person with whom I was well acquainted, and of whom we have had occasion to discourse, when he was Kahya to old *Kuperles*. He was a Native of the Country of *Bosna*, who are reputed for men of much more affable and courteous disposition, and of more pleasing Conversation, than the common temper of the Turks, who are for the most part of haughty, sullen, and saturnine Complexions.

Commissioners appointed for determining the differences of the Confines in *Dalmatia*.

These Commissioners, with *Thomas Tarsia* Interpreter, met about the end of *July*, in the plains of *Island* between *Zara* and *Sebenico* under Tents erected for that purpose: At this meeting were present also the Mufti, and Treasurer of *Bosna*, and all the Kadi's and Military Officers of that Province, which might make a Body of four or five thousand men, ill armed, and badly accoutred: With *Nani* the Commissioner for *Venice*, were present, *Alberto Magno* Captain of *Zara*, *Farsetti* Proveditor of *Cliffa*; divers military Officers, such as the Cavalier *Varisano*, *Grimaldi* Serjeant General, Count *Rados*, the Count *Scorto*, *Vimercato*, *Cesarini*, with divers other Colonels, and Persons of Quality, and Nobles of the Province, some of which were Representatives for their principal Cities, such as *Zara*, *Sebenico*, *Spalato*, and *Trau*. His Excellency the Comissioner *Nani* had three Troops of Horse, and as many Companies of Foot, for his Guard, and at *Possidaria* were two Gallies and four Brigantines to attend him: so that his Equipage appeared as well Martial, as agreeable to a place ordained for a Treaty of Peace.

On the 27^th of *July* the Commissioners had their first Conference in the Pasha's Tent, the Debate continued many hours with much heat; which did not only relate to the late Conquests, but new difficulties arose, in regard that *Ferat* Aga, appointed Commissioner for the Port, had in the year 1573 assigned Bounds and Limits to the Confines, according to his pleasure and arbitrary will, which not being assented unto by the Venetians, a new regulation was made by the said *Ferat*, together

gether with Cavalier *Soranzo* in the year 1576. Time afterwards, and the turbulent ſpirits of the Inhabitants had altered theſe Limits, and by reaſon of the long War the Land-Marks and Bounds of the Confines were removed or wholly deſtroyed. The original Copies of the Writings of Agreement were rotted, and much defaced, the names of the places and the ſcituations being wrote in divers Languages, were confuſed, and the reports of the people were ſo different, proceeding from the diverſity of their Intereſts, that little of judgement could be founded on their relations. At length, as to the Confines of *Zara*, it was agreed, That they ſhould be regulated according as they were limited by *Soranzo* and *Ferat*; for better ſettlement of which, and to avoid all doubtfulneſs or miſtake, the Commiſſioners took the pains to travel ſeveral days journey in perſon to erect the bounds and Limits of each people; in which though many conteſts and differences aroſe between particular perſons, yet at length perſonal intereſts were forced to give way to publick determinations. 1671.

In like manner the Confines of *Sebenico* were determined, being bounded by the River *Checa*, and being arrived at *Scardona*, the Paſha *Mamut* deſired that he might have the convenience of paſſing in the Gally, and accordingly he was received aboard, and treated with that generous entertainment which is agreeable to the magnificence of the Republick; and landing at the River of *Belulla* on the Banks of the Vally *Daniel*, where the Paſha had placed his Tents, the Turks who with a greedy eye ſwallowed in their thoughts the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of all theſe Plains, would have enlarged their Confines to thoſe marks which *Ferat* Aga had ſingly placed according to his own arbitrary pleaſure, including alſo *Verpogly* within their Limits. This *Verpogly* was a ſmall Redoubt on the top of a Hill once belonging to the Venetians, which at the beginning of the War they abandoned, as coſting more to maintain and defend, than the value or conſideration of it; the Turks afterwards poſſeſſed it, when they had a deſign to beſiege *Sebenico*, but afterwards forſook it, and retired; upon this place *Mamut* much inſiſted, producing a Command from the Grand Signior, ordering that it be taken in, fortified, and garriſoned. But *Nani* with more force of Argument inſiſted on the contrary, producing ancient Writings, and undeniable Teſtimonies to prove that this place did really, and of right belong to the Republick; by which though the Paſha was fully convinced in his own mind; yet being over-awed by the inſolent importunities of the Inhabitants, he was cautious and fearful of declaring his true ſenſe in the caſe; but rather endeavoured to overcome the Venetians ſometimes with flatteries, and anon with menaces, having to that purpoſe, beſides his own Forces, ordered the Beglerbey of *Greece* to approach thoſe Confines with an Army of about ten thouſand men. But all this did not move the ſteddy Conſtancy of the Venetian Commiſſioner from his reaſon and right; for maintenance of which he appeared firm and reſolute, and being neceſſitated for convenience of Water to remove his Quarters to the Lake *Rebenich*, gave ſome jealouſie to the Paſha by this retirement of an intention to break the Peace; howſoever, *Nani* declared his meaning to the contrary, and that there might be no interruption to their proceedings, propoſed that theſe differences might be remitted to the Supreme Powers; and that in the mean time, until anſwers came, they might proceed in the adjuſtment of other parts of the Confines. But the Paſha aſſented not

The difference about *Verpogly*.

1671. hereunto, but desired rather the dispute should be referred to the Port, and that in the mean time he himself should retire to *Cettina*, and the other to *Spalato*. Scarce were the Messages sent, and the Dispatches made (by *Isaac* Aga, a Person whom I well knew) before *Mamut* Pasha, after a short indisposition ended his days: he was a man of about ninety two years of age, at which years I have admired to see him ride abroad, and transact his affairs with great dexterity, with a strong memory, and a sound judgment. And here it is admirable to observe with what constancy and patience the Turkish Officers do usually support their laborious employments; they contemn all difficulties and incommodiousness of living, as if they did not feel them, inuring themselves to colds and heats, to watchings and labours, being abstemious in their diet, and as occasions require, not indulging to sleep: and no question but this aged man travelling in the scalding heat of the Sun, and suffering much for want of plenty, as well as of good water, dried up that little radical moisture which remained, and caused this Autumn-fruit to fall, which perhaps might have continued a short time longer on the tree, had it not been deseccated by drought, and shaken too hard by the motion of travels and labour.

Mamut Pasha dyes.

The News of *Mamut* Pasha's death being arrived at the Port, a Commission was immediately granted to *Chusacin* Pasha Imbrahor, or Master of the Horse to the Grand Signior, to succeed in his government and business of Treaty concerning the Limits of the Confines; with which Authority and Instructions *Chusacin* posted away, and being well informed by *Isaac* Aga of the ill nature and rapacious disposition of those Borderers, arrived with intentions to agree, and with courteous and benign thoughts towards Cavalier *Nani*, who had gained an esteem and repute amongst the Turks of a generous and noble disposition.

A new Conference of the Commissioners.

On the 15th of *October* the Commissioners met in the Valley of St. *Daniel*, shewing a courteous and kind aspect each towards other. Wherefore laying aside all considerations concerning the Limits assigned by *Ferat* Aga, and the Contests about *Verpoglie*, the Line drawn from the Mountain *Tartarus* was agreed, and determined to be the true and undoubted Confines of *Sebenico*. The Valley of St. *Daniel*, for the pleasure and fruitfulness of it, administred more of difficulty; but at length the Arguments of *Nani* prevailed, and induced the Pasha to assent to those Bounds, which had been assigned by *Soranço* in the year 1576. giving, to avoid future mistakes, the true names to those places, which the Turks for their advantage, and to confuse things, had altered and disguised, that they might not be known. Thence proceeding to the Territory of *Trau*, where was less of difficulty or trouble; for the Wars not having made much alteration in that place, the Lines were evidently described by *Soranço*, according to whose description the Fields, Plains, Rocks, and Mountains were measured out and allowed.

Lastly, They came near to *Spalato*, where before the War there was little of any Territory assigned; but now by the Conquest of *Cliffa* there was assigned unto it a spatious and fruitful Country, extending it self to the foot of the Mountains. As to *Cliffa* there was no difference at all: howsoever the Turks would on no means admit, that the Venetians should keep *Salona* and *Uragnizzo*, because by that means they would cut off all communication between *Cliffa* and *Spalato*, and thereby render it a place useless, and of more charge than benefit; and because those

thoſe two places of *Salona* and *Uragnizza* had been the Dowry of a Sultana Wife of *Ruſſen* Paſha, and by her given to endow a Moſch, which therefore according to their Religion could not be given away, nor alienated. But *Nani* inſiſting as vigorouſly on this, as on other points, ſhewed himſelf reſolute to maintain this particular, as being that, which if not granted, would certainly in a ſhort time be occaſion of thoſe quarrels and diſſentions, which muſt neceſſarily break forth into an open War: for that there could be no ſecurity of Peace to the Inhabitants of *Salona*, whilſt they lived amidſt their Enemies, and juſt on the Skirts of *Cliſſa*, *Spalato*, and *Saſſo*. *Chuſacin* having well comprehended this conſideration, and being deſirous to diſpoſe matters towards a durable Peace, ſlighted the opinion and ſenſe of the Borderers, and ſo concluded all matters, and in preſence of *Nani* ſubſcribed the Agreement on the 24th of *October* in open Divan held in the Campagne of *Salona*; the which was alſo mutually ſubſcribed, and Copies interchangeably given. And in this manner the difference about the Confines was concluded, and the long War between *Venice* and the Turks had an end. 1671

Whilſt all things were reducing themſelves into a poſture of Peace, the Timariots diſbanded, and the Janiſaries retired to their Chambers, in the month of *October* returned the Turks Envoyé from *France*, bringing with him an Ambaſſadour from that King called Monſieur *De Nointel*, a Perſon of an excellent temper, grave and ſerious in his Treaties and comportment; and to give this Embaſſy the greater reputation, he was attended with three Men of War and a Fire-ſhip, which ſailing along the *Helleſpont* and *Propontick* without oppoſition, came to an Anchor near the ſeven Towers, from whence ſending advice of their arrival to the Chimacam demanded to be ſaluted by the Seraglio, they promiſing as they paſſed to ſhew the firſt demonſtrations of courteſie; but that being denied, as not uſual or cuſtomary, the French Ships paſſed the Seraglio ſilently without firing a Gun, or any ſignifications on either ſide, whether of Friendſhip or Hoſtility: the Ships came to an Anchor at *Fonduclé*, where the Ambaſſadour remained aboard unſaluted and unacknowledged by the publick Miniſters of the City; until the Great Vizier, who ſuppoſed that a breach with *France* ought to have better foundation than a meer Punctilio of Honour, ſeemed more to deſpiſe than take notice of the affront. For he who knew ſo well to diſſemble, after he had ſeen the French Troops ranged both in *Hungary* and *Candia*, againſt the Ottoman Forces, and yet politickly connived thereat, and accepted an excuſe, did not eſteem it prudence to ground a War for want of the ſmoke of a few Guns; but on the contrary ordered, That the Ambaſſadour ſhould be received with the uſual Form and Solemnity of Reception. The French having the advantage by this ſucceſs, the Souldiers and Sea-men belonging to the Ships committed many inſolencies in *Pera* and *Galata*, which never were revenged or accounted for; and when the Ships departed, above an hundred Slaves eſcaped from the Gallies and parts of *Conſtantinople*, and gained Sanctuary aboard: amongſt the reſt one Monſieur *De Beau-jeu* a Knight of *Malta*, who had for a long time been Priſoner in the ſeven Towers; but at length knocking off his Irons, and by help of a Cord letting himſelf down from one of the higheſt Towers in the night, recovered the Ships, and regained his liberty. Nor yet did this nor other affronts, whereby the French did really brave the Turks, adminiſter ſufficient ſubject of choler to the Vizier; for paſ-

1671. ſing all by, as if nothing had been done, or nothing worthy his notice, frankly gave his Orders to let the Ships paſs the Caſtles, which upon the foregoing cauſes and pretences had been before detained: adding, That it was natural, as well for men as for birds, to endeavour to procure their liberty, and therefore were not blameable: but that thoſe to whoſe care they were committed, wanting due circumſpection and vigilance in their Office, ſhould pay for the eſcape of their charge by the price of their own lives or liberties.

The French Ambaſſadour in the mean time proceeded in his Journey to *Adrianople*, where the Court reſided; and having paſſed through the ſeveral degrees and Punctilio's of Viſits and other Ceremonies, at length deſcending to matters of buſineſs, propoſed the renovation of the Articles of Peace, with an addition of thirty two Particulars to be altered or adjoyned. The Vizier who all this time kept more in his heart than he evidenced in his countenance, refuſed to condeſcend to a conceſſion of the moſt eaſie and reaſonable of their demands, offering only to renew the Capitulations *verbatim* according to the Tenour of the ancient Canon, without other alteration than the Name of the preſent Sultan, and the Date of the Month and Year, and herein he was ſo conſtant and fixed, that no arguments or colours of reaſon could ſeem to move him in the moſt minute and leſs important points of circumſtances; and this perhaps leſt the World ſhould imagine, that the Turks were affrighted into Terms and better Treatments of Friendſhip, or that Immunities and Privileges in the Ottoman Court were acquired rather by rude uſage adjoyned with menaces and neglects, than by more candid and fawning Addreſſes.

In this manner the French Affairs rather went back than forwards in the Ottoman Court, and it ſeemed that the Turks late Embaſſy into *France* and of the French to the Port ſerved to augment the differences more than allay them. For the new Ambaſſadour falling ſhort in his expectation, having obtained nothing of thoſe many Particulars which he demanded, retired male-content from *Adrianople* to his uſual Reſidence at *Conſtantinople*, where he reſolved to attend what farther Inſtructions ſhould be given him from *France*; and ſuppoſing his Maſter would ill reſent his uſage ſo contrary to what was promiſed in general terms, did ſuppoſe, that his next Orders would be of revocation, and that thoſe frequent diſguſts and diſreſpects ſo often received, and given on one ſide and the other, would at length burſt out into an open defiance. The Turks apprehended ſo much themſelves, and as their affairs and deſigns proved afterwards with *Poland*, they were diſpleaſed that they had given the moſt Chriſtian King ſo juſt an occaſion of quarrel: for underſtanding towards the latter end of the Year 1671. that great Preparations for War were making in *France* both by Sea and Land, they were conſcious that their demerits had juſtly deſerved the chaſtiſement of the French Arms, in revenge of the many injuries they had offered that Nation, and therefore pauſed a while, and obſerved the motion of theſe Enemies, before they would engage themſelves in a War with *Poland*. But at length the beginning of the Year 1672. having diſcovered the deſigns of *France* to be only intended againſt *Holland*, the Turks reaſſumed their purpoſes ſo long premeditated againſt *Poland*, with an arrogance natural to Turks, and with a ſcorn not only of *France*, but of all Chriſtendom. For his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty judging perhaps, that the

the rude treatment of an Infidel Prince ſo far remote, intrenched not ſo much on his Honour and Intereſt, as the quarrel he had with the neighbouring States, ſeemed to contemn for the preſent, or rather to defer the revenge of former injuries until a more fit and commodious ſeaſon; wherefore in the mean time his Ambaſſadour upon new Inſtructions from *France* brought purpoſely by a Man of War, repaired a ſecond time to *Adrianople*, where he intimated unto the chief Miniſters the great deſire his Maſter had to maintain that League and Friendſhip, which for above an hundred years had continued inviolate and uninterrupted: and therefore waving all other former Particulars of demand, declared himſelf ſatisfied, only to renew the Capitulations, with that ſingle alteration of their Cuſtoms from five to three in the hundred, according to that Priviledge which the Engliſh and all other Chriſtian Merchants injoyed, whoſe League and Friendſhip was ſubſequent to that of others. The Great Vizier being now freed of that ſuſpicion and fear he apprehended of the French Fleet, and being aſſured that their Arms were not now probable to diſturb him in his deſigns intended, he ſeriouſly ſmiled in his ſleeve at theſe Addreſſes, and with a kind of ſcorning neglect bid the Ambaſſadour welcome to the Court, ſaying, That he ſhould have what he deſired. Wherefore the Capitulations were tranſcribed, and the alteration made in the value of their Cuſtoms; but the Vizier who meant nothing leſs than to yield them this Priviledge, deferred the ſigning thereof from day to day, pacifying the daily importunity of the Ambaſſadour with dilatory excuſes, until at length having protracted the time to the very day that the Grand Signior and he began their March towards *Poland*, without ſo much as granting the Ambaſſadour a perſonal Audience, did then with ſoft and gentle words ſignifie to the Interpreters the grand preſſures of his Affairs at preſent, that would not permit him time to perfect all matters with the Ambaſſadour, whom they ſhould aſſure, that at his return with Glory and Victory from the Enterpriſes in hand, thoſe requeſts ſhould be granted, and his promiſes performed; and in the mean time his Nation ſhould remain ſecure in theſe Dominions, as in former times, and the League and Friendſhip continued and maintained. The Ambaſſadour was ſtrangely ſurpriſed at this laſt Farewel; but being a Gentleman of great Morality and Vertue, knew, no doubt, how to bear ſuch a diſappointment with an equality of mind agreeable to the greatneſs of his Soul; and therefore with a due reſentment of the injury received, he returned to *Conſtantinople*, whilſt the Sultan and his Vizier proceeded in their March towards the Confines of *Poland*. 1671.

But before I enter into a relation of the motives of that War, and the ſucceſs thereof, which is the ſubject of the following Year, let us return to the place from whence we have digreſſed, and obſerve in this Year of Peace and repoſe of this Empire, what the Sultan contrived for ſecurity of himſelf by the death of his Brothers.

We acquainted you formerly in what manner the Sultan was diſappointed in his deſigns againſt his Brothers, by means of his Mother, to whom the Janiſaries had committed the care of their ſafety, which ſhe according to her promiſe had maintained, and tendered equally with her own. But now the Vizier being returned from the Wars, and the moſt ſeditious amongſt the Janiſaries withdrawn from *Conſtantinople*, it was thought fit to make a new attempt on the Princes ſtill reſiding in the

1671. the old Seraglio, which was performed with those due preparations and secrecy, that it took effect on Sultan *Orchan*, the eldest of the two, who in the month of *September* 1671. dyed by a draught of poyson, which was administred to him as a Present from his courteous Brother; some say he was strangled, and that before he submitted his neck to the Bow-string, he killed one of the Executioners with his Hanjarre. This Prince was reported by the people to be a comely Person, of a strong and robustious body, of large and black eyes like Sultan *Morat*: his death was lamented by all, and presaged as fatal to the Empire, in regard that that very night that he was murthered the Moon suffered a greater Eclipse than it had done for many years before, which happening out in this conjuncture was interpreted as ominous, and served to increase the maledictions and evil speeches, which the Turks in all places cast out upon those who gave this counsel to the Sultan.

Sultan *Orchan* put to death by his Brother.

About this time the State of *Genoua* desirous to change their Officers in *Turkie*, sent a new Resident to *Constantinople*, and a Consul to *Smyrna*, which change was principally obtained at the request of the old Ministers, who weary of an employment so tedious, without a benefit corresponding to their melancholy life, and perceiving their Trade decline before it was arrived to any tolerable state or degree of reputation, by the assistance and mediation of friends sollicited their Letters of Revocation. For the Trade of *Genoua* being chiefly founded on hopes of those advantages which they expected from a coarse or base alloy of money, did instantly decay so soon as the Turks discovered themselves to be abused by the vast quantities of Temins imported, as we have before related: after which their profit failing, the Consulage consequently decayed, which is the only subsistence and encouragement of such Officers as are necessary to reside for the continuance of that Peace, which but a few years before they unadvisedly made with the Turk. The new Resident had no sooner arrived at *Constantinople*, and considered the poor and mean estate and ill foundation of their Trade, the growing charge of the Residency, and the great debts thereof that were to devolve upon him from his Predecessour; but he perceived into what a Labyrinth of troubles he had ingulfed himself, instead of being preferred according to his hopes into a place of Honour and happy retirement. In which confusion of thoughts arising one morning before day from his bed, and sitting on his Close-stool (as the servants of the house report) reached at a Towel, which being intangled within the Lock of a Carbine that hanged always charged near his bed, unfortunately drew the Trigger too hard, which with that gave fire, and shot the poor Gentleman into the belly with a brace of Bullets, of which being mortally wounded, after Confession and some Prayers in a few hours he passed to another life: unhappy mischance, if it may be called a chance; for I have understood from a sober person of that Nation, that the anguish of mind which he conceived at the evil condition of his Affairs, wrought in him a deepness of melancholy and despair, under which languishing some days, did at last most miserably lay violent hands upon himself.

A new Resident sent from *Genoua*.

And now it is time to recal to mind the Conspiracy of Count *Serini*, Marquess *Frangipani*, and Count *Nadasti*, Persons of Quality and of great Power in *Croatia* and *Hungary*, who (as we said before) had sent their Messengers to the Great Vizier then remaining in the Leagure of *Candia*, with overtures of submission to the Ottoman Power. It was strange

The Conspiracy of *Serini*, *Frangipani*, and *Nadasti*.

News

News to the World to hear that the Houſe of *Serini* ſhould abandon the Chriſtian Party, and thoſe renowned Defenders of their Country ſhould apoſtatize, though not from Chriſtianity, yet from that Cauſe and Liberty which their Anceſtors and themſelves had defended with Blood, Treaſure, Valour, and Conſtancy. But diſſentions and animoſities ſown by Satan, the Enemy of the Chriſtian Church, did ſtrangely corrupt the minds of thoſe famous Perſons, and raiſe in them a Spirit reſolved to avenge the neglect and injuries put upon them by the Miniſters of the Imperial Court, though at the expence and hazard of their fortunes and lives, and ruine and ſhipwrack of their Honour and Conſciences: For the neglects and affronts undeſervedly caſt on *Nicholas Serini* during the late War (as before related) and the contempt and ſcorn put on the Croatian and Hungarian Nobility, was ſuppoſed to have fired the hot and ambitious Spirits of theſe Perſons, who could more eaſily endure the ſlavery of the Turkiſh yoke, than condeſcend to the Government and prevalency of a contrary Party. Wherefore in proſecution of their deſign, being reſolved to ſubmit to the Turk, they diſpatched two Gentlemen to the Ottoman Court, who arrived at *Adrianople* the 11th of *February* 167; demanding the protection of the Sultan, for which they promiſed a Tribute of thirty Purſes, or fifteen thouſand Dollars every year for thoſe Lands they held in *Croatia*. To make Anſwer hereunto a Divan or Council was called, in which were weighed all the Arguments and Reaſons on one ſide and the other. The Muftee oppoſed their receiving into protection, as being againſt the Capitulations and Agreement ſo lately concluded with the Emperour, wherein the receiving or abetting of Rebels is expreſly forbidden, and provided againſt by one ſide and the other; but *Vanni Eſendi* the Preacher who uſed to be always of a different opinion to the Muftee, urged to have them received, becauſe that the advancement of the Mahometan Cauſe, and enlargement of their Empire was more ſacred than the conſervation of their League with an Infidel Prince. And that the Ottoman Court was no longer to be termed the Refuge of the World, if it could not yield that protection which oppreſſed Kingdoms and diſtreſſed Princes petitioned to obtain. In this manner the matter being controverted without Agreement, it was in fine reſolved to refer the matter to the determination of the Grand Vizier, who was now in a few months expected to return triumphant from *Candia*. But in that interim Intelligence coming by way of *Boſna*, that the Emperour had already entred *Croatia* with thirty thouſand men, that he had taken *Chiacheturno* in *Cotoriba*, and that *Serini* and his Aſſociates were already fled, either to *Vienna* to beg pardon of the Emperour, or *Tranſylvania*, or to ſome other place, that the Marqueſs of *Bada* had fortified *Sequas* and other Caſtles of *Serini* with German Garriſons; the Turks eſteemed it too late to adminiſter help to this deſperate cauſe, and therefore refuſed to owne the Patronage of a People, to whom they could neither pretend by Reaſon, nor defend by Arms. The Vizier alſo being returned, like the Fox, contemned thoſe Grapes which he could not reach, and with an abhorrency as it were of the Revolt or the Rebellion, as a zealous Hater of all perfidiouſneſs, refuſed to afford protection to any of the Complices in the late Confederacy, which he politickly deſigned in reference to the Emperour, whoſe friendſhip he would ſeem to conſerve moſt faithfully, leſt he ſhould interrupt him in the carrying on of that War, which he then meditated

1671.

1672. meditated againſt *Poland*. But what became afterwards of theſe Conſpirators is the ſubject matter of the German Hiſtory, it is ſufficient to acquaint the Reader here that their deſign being ſeaſonably diſcovered, they were interrupted by the hand of Juſtice, and met that Fate which is due to Traitors and Rebels to their Country, having abuſed the goodneſs of their Prince, to whom clemency and mercy are connatural. We ſhall therefore leave theſe men to render the next account to the Judge of all things, and proſecute our Relation of the Wars of *Poland*, which now was the next prize held up to the Turkiſh Militia, and was that adventure which was to conſummate the glories of the Great Vizier. Howſoever, this gave beginning to that Rebellion in *Hungary*, which to this Year 1679 hath been continued, without proſpect how far it may proceed, and what may be the iſſue of ſuch direful Effects.

Anno 1672. *Hegeira* 1083.

WE have formerly acquainted you how coarſely the Chimacam of *Adrianople* had in the year 1667 treated the Ambaſſadour of *Poland*, who came to complain of the incurſions made into their Country by the Tartars; deſiring that not only ſatisfaction might be made for the late ſpoils, but that that unruly and ſavage people might be reſtrained from the like Attempt for the future. But the Vizier being now returned in perſon it was thought neceſſary, That to preſerve this groſs Body of Empire from corruption, it ſhould be exerciſed with motion, and the vigorous agitations of a new War. To what place they ſhould now convert or employ their Armes, was the important ſubject of a grand Conſultation; they had lately made up a peace with the Venetians, ſo that on that ſide it was too early to make an irruption, the parts of *Perſia* were too remote and diſtant to carry on a War with ſucceſs and pleaſure; the fields of *Hungary* had been lately traced, and they were ſatiated with the blood of *Auſtria* and *Germany*; ſomething now of novelty muſt be propoſed, and the forgotten ways of *Poland* muſt be again opened, there being ſomething, it ſeems, of wantonneſs in proſperous Armes, which delight in variety, and abhor as much to fight often in the ſame Country, as Travellers do to ſee the ſame place twice. The Polanders had unto this day ſo preſerved the Limits of their Country with honour and gallantry, that the Turks could never ſecure to themſelves one palm of Land within their Territories, until the civil and moſt deteſtable Diſcords of that Country laid them open to the fury of their Enemies, who embraced this moſt grateful opportunity, which facilitated their Deſign, and made that eaſie which they had ſo long deſired, and with care ſtudied and contrived. But for the better underſtanding of theſe Affairs it is convenient for us to take the Thread of Hiſtory at ſome diſtance off, that ſo we may with better light comprehend the Cauſes, Original, and Occaſions of this War.

The Turks deliberate of a War.

The hatred and jealouſies which the Ottoman Port hath always nouriſhed and conſerved againſt the Kingdom and Dominions of *Poland*, are ancient and inveterate, having their riſe from the valiant oppoſition and ſucceſsful repulſes it always made againſt the various attempts of the Turks; whereby the Poles were animated to treat always at equals with them, and with terms agreeable to that vain glory and ſwelling pride, which are natural to their Nation. But that which renewed the memo-

The Cauſes of the War with *Poland*.

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ry of past actions, and raised an expectation in the Turks to avenge the injuries by subjugating the Cosacks, was one *Bogdan Chimilniczki* General of the Cosacks, who growing powerful in that Country, with the strength of a numerous Army, abhorring the Pride of the Polish Nobility, denied obedience to their Kingdom, resolving to make himself the absolute Prince of that Province, from whence various fortunes of War succeeding, he was at length forced to join himself to the Tartars, and crave the protection of the Turkish Armes. In the mean time, *Poland*, invaded by the Swedes, Moscovites, and Transilvanians, was dismembred of *Livonia*, and a great part of *Lituania* and *Verania*, the first possessed by the Swedes, and the latter by the Czar of *Moscovy*, and the Rebel Cosacks; which confusions rejoiced the Turks, and gave them the first hopes, not only to free themselves from the frequent Piracies the Cosacks committed on them in the Black Sea, but to impose upon them the Ottoman Yoke; to which end they maintained a secret correspondence with the Generals of that people, promising them the assistance of Men, Money, and Armes, but yet with that caution, that they would not seem unprovoked to quarrel with the Poles, or without just cause to violate the peace of *Choccin*, to which they pretended a most religious and reverend regard. 1672.

Wherefore, that they might not appear causeless Actors against that solemn League, they secretly encouraged those Incursions, which in the Years 1666 and 1667 we have already mentioned to have been made by the Tartars into *Poland*, as far as the Walls of *Leopolis*; which action, that the Tartars might not have occasion to abett and maintain, the Poles resolved to send a most splendid Embassy to the Turks, desiring that the Tartar *Han* might be deposed, for having unjustly violated the sacred peace of *Choccin*. For that as the Poles were obliged to restrain the Piracies and Depredations of the Cosacks in the Black Sea, so the Turks were become security against the incursions of the Tartars. Scarce had the Ambassadour *Radiowski* delivered this message, before he unhappily died at *Adrianople* (as we have before signified;) to whose Complaint and Demand, after many delays, no other answer was given, than that the Poles should first break their League which they had contracted with *Moscovy* for thirteen years, without the consent, and against the pleasure of the Port, and then after that they might expect and promise themselves all due satisfaction.

In this manner Affairs stood when King *Casimir*, weary of the Factions and Discords of the Nobility, resigned up his Crown to retire unto a private life. And now it being necessary to proceed to a new Election we may consequently expect various Commotions and Disturbances in this State, sufficient to attract the eyes of the Turks, and encourage the Cosacks in their intended Revolt. At length Prince *Michael Korebut Wisnowieski* being elected King, it seemed agreeable to reason, that all *Verania* should have returned to obedience of him, to whom the best part of that Country did by right of patrimony, and natural inheritance belong; but the success thereof fell out contrary to all expectation, for *Doroszenko*, then General, designing to usurp that Government, proposed the project of uniting *Verania* to the Body of *Poland*, as a member of the Crown, by which means that Province would not only become free from its Vassalage to the Nobility, but obtain equal suffrages in the Diet, with all the other more free and priviledged Countries;

1672. and in this manner he might not only compel *Poland* to condescend to his designs, but confirm himself in the absolute and supreme Authority of the Cosacks: This proposition therefore seemed so insolent, and savouring of Rebellion to the Polish Court, that a severe and menacing Message was dispatched to *Doroſenſko*, threatning to take from him his Bulaua, or Truncheon of General, if ever he entertained any such imagination so highly derogatory to the Majesty of the Polish State; he therefore thought it his time to cast himself wholly into the protection of the Sultan, and accordingly dispatched Ambassadours to the Port to signifie their submission, begging to be received into the Arms of the Ottoman Power; and as an assurance thereof, that he might receive the (Tough) which is the Ensign of Authority, carried by Pashaws. The Vizier at the first motion hereof, reflecting on the evil consequences, in case the Grand Signior's honour should be foiled in this action, suspended a while a compleat answer thereunto; but at length being instantly sollicited, and perceiving the Disorders and Factions of *Poland* to encrease, the Cosacks were received for Subjects of the Empire, and obliged to wage War against all Enemies to the Ottoman Power.

Duke *Michael* being elected King, the first Act he performed was to send an Ambassadour extraordinary to the Grand Signior, with no other Design than to acquaint him of his Election to the Crown, only in case an opportunity presented, then to move for a ratification of the Articles concluded at *Choccin*. This Ambassadour, called *Wiſozki*, being of a haughty and proud spirit, became the Authour of all the mischief which ensued; for being of a temper which could not equally bear the honour of his important Office, lanched out into matters beyond his Commission, and instead of imparting his Message, would become sole Arbitrator of all the differences between those two powerful Princes; for he being unacquainted with the Power or Affairs of the Turks, supposed nothing in this World comparable to the number, richeſs, and valour of his own Nation, and therefore gave himself that liberty of arrogant Language, that by way of Command and Menaces he rather seemed to act the part of a Governour or Umpire in the differences of State, than of an Oratour or Suppliant for peace. In his conceit the Turks wanted both courage and power to invade *Poland*, and therefore supposed he might safely brave them into a ratification of former Articles, especially when he mentioned a hundred thousand Horse, which he undertook before the Vizier to be able on his own account to conduct as far as the Walls of *Adrianople*. It was a strange humour of *Rodomontado* that inspired these two last Ambassadours, and if from them we may take a pattern of the disposition of the rest of the Polish Nobility, it will be no wonder to hear and read the Distractions that are amongst them, that they carry themselves with disrespect to their Prince, are emulous and factious amongst themselves, and that their pride and ignorance, which have flattered their humour, and triumphed amidst their Tenants and Vassals, should betray them to all those evils which we may fear may be the consequences thereof.

The Great Vizier, considering the confidence which this person used in his Discourse, imagined that the differences in his Country might be composed, and therefore in compliance with his desire, offered in general terms to confirm the peace made at *Choccin*, without Addition of any new Article in reference to the Cosacks, being a business of that nature which

which admitted of no preſent determination; this, he ſaid, was his ultimate reſolution, which if the Ambaſſadour approved not, he might then adviſe it home, and expect a farther reſult of their Counſels. *Wiſozki* being really poſſeſſed in his fancy of the Turks weakneſs, gave way to his paſſion, and with little judgment replied, That he approved not of the Propoſition, nor needed he to tranſmit any ſuch advice into *Poland*, he himſelf being a Plenipotentiary of as full a Power as the King and Councel; for being a Nobleman, he was by conſequence that neceſſary Member of the Republick, that nothing could paſs without his Suffrage. 1672.

The Vizier amazed at this extravagant way of diſcourſe, the which he ſupported with moderation and contempt, diſpatched away a Chiaus into *Poland* with Letters, deſiring that this Ambaſſadour ſhould be recalled, as being a Perſon unable to manage matters of the leaſt concernment; and if they ſupplied his place with another, he ſhould be received with due reſpect, and a plain way laid open to conclude his Negotiations to the ſatisfaction of both Parties.

Wiſozki abounding in his own ſenſe and humor, repreſented matters in a far different manner into *Poland*, alledging, That the Law of Nations was impeached by the violence offered to his Perſon, being impriſoned, and the uſual Tain or Allowance of Ambaſſadours withheld from him; both which were not abſolutely true: for the maintenance he refuſed as too mean for his Quality and Office; and for his Impriſonment, it was no other than a Confinement to the City of *Conſtantinople*, with a prohibition only from paſſing over unto *Pera*, where formerly in a houſe he had taken, he committed a thouſand irregularities and diſorders, which cauſed the Vizier to recal him again over to *Conſtantinople*, denying him the liberty of paſſing more to the other ſide. Theſe were the injuries which he complained of into *Poland*, ſtill fancying, That if the Nobility were aſſembled to conſider of theſe matters, the Turk would be ſo affrighted at it as to condeſcend unto any terms he ſhould propound. Theſe reports of *Wiſozki* took that impreſſion with the Court, that eſteeming all authentick which he ſaid or wrote, without farther examination iſſued out Orders for a general Inſurrection, and that all people ſhould prepare for the War, rendring the Vizier no other anſwer, than that when their Ambaſſadour was ſet at liberty, and had licence to depart, the like ſhould be permitted unto theirs, and in the mean time the Chiaus was committed to ſafe cuſtody. The Grand Signior highly angred at this obſtinate miſunderſtanding, immediately ordered that *Wiſozki* ſhould depart, and at the ſame time commanded his whole Militia to riſe and follow him to the War; and ſo much the rather was he animated by the reports ſent him from *Doroſenzko*, ſeconded by the Vayvods of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, whoſe Letters declared the miſerable confuſions in *Poland*, divided into divers Factions and Parties, their want of money, and the mutiny of the Souldiery inclined rather to betray than defend *Verania*. And now a Sword and other Preſents uſual in theſe caſes, being ſent to the Tartar *Han*, he was ordered to unite with the Coſſacks, and to invade *Poland*, where being encountred near *Batowa*, by a Body of Horſe under the Command of *Luzecki* Governour of *Podolia*, the Poles were defeated, and was the firſt bad Omen of the ill ſucceſs of this unhappy War.

To ſecond theſe beginnings, the Grand Signior having raiſed an Army

1672. of an hundred and fifty thouſand men, marched towards *Poland* already ſick and languiſhing with its own inteſtine diſtempers, and unable to contend with a Body united within it ſelf, wanting neither internal vigour, nor nouriſhment to maintain its ſtrength; the firſt Enterpriſe was the impregnable Fortreſs of *Caminiecz*, which had often in former times baffled the Ottoman Arms; but now being ill provided, deſtitute of Arms, Ammunition, Proviſions, and but weakly manned, and what was worſt, deſpairing of any Relief, after eleven days Siege ſurrendered it ſelf to the pleaſure of the Conquerour. Hence the Turks had an open paſſage through all *Podolia* and *Volhinia* to the very Walls of *Leopolis*, which they paſſed over like Travellers rather than Enemies, there not appearing one perſon in Arms to oppoſe them, delighting and ſporting themſelves in theſe moſt fruitful and delicious Countries of *Europe*: thus had private animoſities and civil rancour poſſeſſed the minds of the Poles one againſt the other, that they had rather yield themſelves to the ſervitude of an Enemy, than condeſcend to the humor or counſel of a Citizen. Thus had the Turks paſſed all this Summer in the Plains and Cities of *Poland*, where it ſeemed rather Peace than War, all places ſubmitting without difficulty unto the Grand Signior as to their true and natural Lord and Soveraign, by which means the Inhabitants redeemed their Lives and Eſtates; for the Sultan willing to demonſtrate his clemency, and to ſpare thoſe who voluntarily yielded, and encourage others to ſubmit to ſo gentle a yoke, forbad all the common outrages of Souldiers, not permitting Plunder or Booty to be brought into the Camp; nor greater Spoils to be committed, than if his Army had paſſed through his own Dominions; whether this obliging or winning manner of proceedings overcame the ſtout hearts of the Polanders more than blows, will be experienced in the ſequel of this ſtory; it is certain the Militia returned home poor and weary, and more broken by this years Expedition than by the long and tedious March to *Perſia*, and hazardous Battles during the Siege of *Babylon*; but the Sultan was deſirous to return home, and give this firſt proof and teſtimony to the World of his warlike and invincible Spirit, of his clemency and of his ſucceſs in Arms, that at his firſt appearing in the Field, all Armies and Fortreſſes ſubmitted to his Power. The Poles on the other ſide being of an opinion and temper far different to that of their Ambaſſadour *Wiſozki*, reſolved to purchaſe the departure of their new Gueſts on any terms; ſo that theſe following Articles were agreed and concluded.

That the King of *Poland* ſhould quit all Claim to *Ukrain*, *Podolia*, and *Ruſſand*.

That for *Leopolis* and the Country thereabouts ſhould be paid a Tribute of ſeventy thouſand Dollars a year; all other Capitulations formerly made were to ſtand in force and virtue.

Theſe Articles being ſigned, the Grand Signior committed the Government of *Verania* and *Podolia* to *Doroſenzko*, and the defence of *Caminiecz* to *Chuſaein* Paſha with a Garriſon of twelve thouſand Janiſaries; ſo that now being returned home, the Militia was permitted to repair to their ſeveral Countries and Dwellings, the following year being dedicated to the repoſe and eaſe of the Souldiery.

Towards the end of this Year, when the Ships of *Barbary* returned home, thoſe of *Tripoli* conceived a certain diſcontent againſt their Paſha named *Oſman* for his covetous behaviour towards his Souldiers; for having

ving that Summer taken very rich Prizes from the Venetians and other Nations, the Souldiers expected at their return home to receive a division of their Spoils according to their juſt and equal ſhares. But the Paſha grown old and covetous, getting the whole into his hands, appropriated the greateſt part to his own Coffers, diſtributing to the Souldiers an inconſiderable proportion of what they had gained the year before. Hereupon the chiefeſt Commanders amongſt them becoming greatly enraged began to inceenſe the Souldiery, which for intereſt or want of Pay, being always ready to mutiny, took fire immediately, and eaſily were blown into a Rebellion; ſo that firſt making Parties, and retiring into ſecret Junto's and Councils, they reſolved to deſtroy the Paſha, and alter the Government, and thereby make themſelves Maſters of all the Treaſure and Richeſs which *Oſman* Paſha had in the ſpace of thirty years amaſſed together. The Paſha having notice of all that paſſed, and apprehending the Conſpiracies of this unbridled People to be dangerous, began to provide for his ſafety, and getting together ſo many as he ſuppoſed of his Party, and that were, or might be faithful to him, which joyned with his Slaves and Servants, made up a ſmall Garriſon, wherewith to defend and preſerve himſelf within his Caſtle, which being well provided of Ammunition and Victuals, he ſhut his Gates, denying acceſs or admittance unto all perſons upon any pretence and account whatſoever. Hereupon the Mutiny appearing, the Souldiery drew into a Body in the open field, againſt whom ſeveral ſhot were made from the Caſtle; ſo that now the Civil War was begun, and the whole Force of *Tripoli* raiſed againſt the Paſha and his Caſtle, which being ſtraitly beſieged, the Defendants who were for the moſt part Servants and Slaves, failing in their courage, reſolved to make Conditions for themſelves to the beſt advantage; wherefore conſpiring againſt their Maſter, entred his Chamber and ſtrangled him in the night; and the next morning opening the Caſtle-gates, received the Enemy within the Walls, making manifeſt the death of their Maſter and their own Treachery. *Oſman* Paſha being dead, every one acted for a time what the wildneſs of an unruly multitude could ſuggeſt, till ſuch time as the Heads of the Rebellion could frame themſelves into ſome form of Government, which for the preſent was reſolved to be by a *Dei*, as moſt convenient for commanding of the Souldiery, intending for the future to take the *Algier* Government by a Divan for their Pattern and Model of Rule, under which the people of that place had found and experienced the ſweetneſs of liberty, richeſs, and ſucceſs. Theſe matters being agreed upon, ſome of their Men of War were ſent to give advice unto the Grand Signior of the revolutions of their City, ſupplicating him to pardon the violence uſed againſt their Paſha *Oſman*, whoſe Covetouſneſs and Tyranny forced them for ſelf-preſervation to precipitate that Authority, which they knew on their complaints, his Majeſty would have granted them; and that he would be pleaſed to receive them into his protection and favour, as his faithful and humble Subjects and Slaves, and as an evidence thereof would grant them a Paſha confirmed by his Royal Signature. The Sultan, though at firſt ſhewed himſelf much diſpleaſed with this manner of proceeding againſt *Oſman* Paſha; yet ſeeing that there was no remedy, ſuffered himſelf to be mollified by their Preſents and ſubmiſſion, granting them a Paſha for their Governour, whoſe power proved as unſignificant as his doth, who bears that Title at *Algier*. Matters being thus reduced 1672.

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1673. ced to some tolerable condition amongst them, they concluded, That the most beneficial course of life to render them considerable, as well as to amuse and divert the minds of their rude people from innovations against their Governours, was to grant free liberty to whomsoever pleased to arm out Ships of War; which Priviledge *Osman* Pasha reserved to himself and his Confidents; and finding at present that they were able to set out six Sail from forty to fifty Guns, and four more from twelve to thirty, intending to accomplish in all the full number of fifteen Sail; those who traded in the Levant Seas began to apprehend, that this faithless and heady people would at a time, when they found their advantage and the temptation of a rich Prize, break their Peace with his Majesty our King, the which *Osman* Pasha had notwithstanding conserved for several years without violation, moved perhaps thereunto out of an apprehension, that in such troubles which a War with *England* might bring upon them, he might lose or impair his riches, and bring the like confusion on his people, as he had lately heard of in *Algier* on the like occasion: but how and in what manner these matters succeeded, and how at length this people broke their Peace and Faith, we reserve to be recounted at the end of the Year 1674.

Towards the end of the month of *August* it pleased God to take out of this life unto a better Sir *Daniel Harvey* his Majesties Ambassadour at *Constantinople:* a man whose person being comely, was extremely grateful to the Turks; and for the experience he had at the Ottoman Court, was equal in the happy management of Affairs to any of his Predecessours.

Anno 1673. *Hegeira* 1084.

BUT it seems the Turks had made too much haste in their return to digest a Conquest of so large Extent; so that they were scarce well warmed by their Winter-fires, before they were alarmed again with Jealousies of *Poland*, and the Seditions amongst the Cossacks, whom *Doroszenzko* wrote he could not keep in subjection, unless he had some Succours sent him from the Port. The rumors likewise that the Muscovite armed, and was resolved to assist the Poles in recovery of their lost Country, increased the apprehensions of the Turks, who too late perceived the errour they had committed in so soon disbanding their Army, which before some were scarce got home, they were forced to recal. But now the year was well begun, and no grand preparations made; so that it was impossible to collect an Army in so short a time considerable enough to be honoured with the Conduct of the Sultan; wherefore it was resolved, that all things this year should be disposed in a readiness against the next. But the Grand Signior had a project of his own to depart speedily with his Court, and to pass the heats of the Summer in the Mountains of *Zegna* about five or six days Journey on his way towards *Poland*, which being reported to be a place well planted with Trees, watered with cool and fresh Springs, and abounding with all sorts of Game, made him impatient to take up his Summer-quarters in a Country so agreeable to his humor; and that he might cover the design of pleasure with that of profit and policy, he pretended that the report of his proceeding so far would both hasten the Army, and give a terrour to the Enemy. But the Great Vizier and his Council who weighed all things

things better, were of another opinion, judging it neither honourable for the Court to be retired into Woods and Mountains, nor the advantage of such a surmise able to countervail the expences and inconveniences of that Journey; and therefore it was concluded to stand unto the first resolution, That the Grand Signior with the main Body of his Army should not move until the following year, but that in this interim all preparations should be made for Provisions and Ammunition, in order unto which three thousand Janisaries were already sent away to *Keminiecz* under the Command of the *Sampsongibasbee*, and six thousand more under the *Zagargibasbee* were to be landed on that *Isthmus*, which joyns the *Crim* Tartar unto the Main, from whence they had a short March to the assistance of *Doroscenzko*. *Chasacin* Pasha lately come from *Damascus*, was nominated for General to be sent into *Silistria*, and there to command in Chief over the Militia of *Dobriza*, *Bosna*, and *Rumelia* in case of any alteration and disturbance in *Poland*: this Person was always accounted a stout and valiant Souldier, though seldom fortunate, and was the same that lost the Battel before *Lewa* in the last German Wars, as we have before intimated: he was about this time grown infirm by a hepatical Dysentery, which reduced him to a weak condition of body, with little hopes of recovery. 1673.

In the mean time arrived at *Adrianople* an Ambassadour from the great Czar of *Muscovy*, bringing Letters dated in *April* of the preceding year, which was before the time that the Turks had entred *Poland*, the contents of which were, That the Grand Signior would do well to desist from his design against that Country; for that if he did proceed and invade those Dominions, he should find himself obliged to make War upon him, and with his mighty and puissant Power to drive him back to his own Jurisdiction. This Message appeared very unseasonable, and caused much laughter at first; for that the Turk had since the Date of that Letter invaded *Poland*, and possessed himself of vast Countries, and yet neither encountred any opposition from the Muscovite, nor so much as heard any rumor of his Motion. Wherefore the Turks with scorn forbad the Ambassadour any farther Addresses, and commanded him to be gone speedily, saying, That his Master had neither courage nor force to maintain his word of War, nor wisdom to manage a Treaty of Peace. The unseasonable Address of the Muscovite Ambassadour.

The Reports now from the parts of *Poland* spake matters to be in a quiet posture, and not likely to concern the Turks much for this year; wherefore the Grand Signior began again to renew his purposes of pastime and pleasure in the Mountains of *Zegna*; but because no true or perfect account could be given of the delights, refreshments, and situation of that place, the *Olack Celebi* or chief Postmaster was sent to survey the Country, and to return with a relation of all matters: but in the interim the design was altered; for the Grand Signior having begun a Fabrick in which he had expended about eighty thousand Dollars, at a small Village about nine or ten miles from *Adrianople*; the place and novelty of the Building so well pleased him, that he found in himself an inclination to pass the whole Summer there; and becoming likewise enamoured of a young Lady in his Seraglio, notwithstanding his former tenderness to his Queen, and late aversion to all other Women, he judged it was possible to divertise his time well in those parts, and more to his contentment, than in wild woods and uninhabited mountains. Whereupon

1673. upon the intentions of *Zegna* were laid aside, and nothing thought of but the rest and quietness of the Court for this year.

But because it was reported, That the Czar of *Muscovy* made great Preparations for War, it was judged necessary to command the *Crim* Tartar to be watchful of his motion by Land., though the natural slothfulness of that people gave them no apprehension of their Arms for this year: howsoever it being probable, that they might prove more active and forward in the Black Sea, than they were capable to do by Land, by sending forth their small Boats down the *Volga* to take and pillage the Saiks and Vessels belonging to *Constantinople* and other parts; the Captain-Pasha was ordered to pass into that Sea with thirty five or forty Sail of Gallies for defence of the Coast, and for fortifying and repairing *Asac*, and the Fortresses thereabouts: but whilst these Preparations were making for the Euxine or Black Sea, the other Seas were neglected and undefended; for the *Alexandrian* Fleet consisting in all of eight Sail, were encountred not far from *Rhodes* by some Maltese and Ligorneſe Corsaires: the Ships of the Turks were most of them very great and potent Ships, one of them was at least fifteen hundred Tuns, and was capable to carry an hundred Guns, the others of eight hundred or a thousand Tuns, able to have resisted and overcome, had they been well armed, double the force that assaulted them; but being now engaged with an Enemy, though not so strong, yet better experienced in marine Affairs than themselves, they fought with them stoutly the first day; but the next day six Gallies coming to the Christians assistance, (which had been harboured in some Port not far distant, and led thither by the noise of the Cannon, to which also a calm giving the greater advantage) the Turks began to faint in their courage, so that four Gallions and two Saiks yielded to mercy, which was a Prize of so great value, that it was supposed never to have been equalled since the time of Sultan *Ibrahim*, when the loss of the grand Sultana and other Ships gave the first occasion of War with *Venice*. This great Ship which was reported by those who saw her to be both longer and broader than the Soveraign, carried only sixty Guns, and was manned accordingly only with about an hundred Seamen, and about two hundred more which were Land-men, wholly unacquainted with the Sea or with Naval Fights: the biggest Ship amongst the rest was belonging to the Queen-Mother, and the others to the Grand Signior, being freighted principally with Sugar, Coffee, Rice, and other Provisions for the proper maintenance of their Courts, which we may suppose will highly inflame these grand Personages with anger and disdain, when they reflect on their own proper losses which touch them so nearly as their peculiar Goods and the Furniture of their Kitchins.

The *Alexandrian* Fleet taken by the Malteses.

The Turkish Court now angered with this loss, was more moved in the midst of *May*, when a Messenger from *Poland* arrived with Letters from the Grand Chancellour, declaring with modest terms, That their Kingdom was unable or unwilling for many respects to pay the promised Tribute; so that if they did not judge fit to wave or lay aside those pretensions, they should be forced to take up Arms in defence of their Honour, Safety, and Priviledge of their Dominions. The Turks surprised with this unexpected Message, too late perceived the errour of the last years proceedings, which were carried on with a clemency and confidence not agreeable to the disposition and humor of such an Enemy, as is unacquainted

The Poles refuse to pay their promised Tribute.

unacquainted with ſervitude, and ſo far from being able to ſupport a Foreign Yoke, that they cannot endure ſubjection to their own Civil Government, every Nobleman (of which there are many in *Poland*) being ambitious to be a Prince, judges himſelf better than his elected King. Hence proceeded all thoſe diſſentions which laid them open to the late invaſion of their powerful Enemy, the apprehenſion of whom having obducted for a while thoſe ſores of Faction which feſtered amongſt them, and that principle of ſelf-conſervation, which by a forcible nature inclined them to Union, at length armed them with a reſolution to avenge the Liberties of their Country, and aſſured them of the Truth of that Saying, That *a Kingdom divided againſt it ſelf cannot ſtand.* 1673.

The Turks now wiſhed that they had either made a true uſe of their Victory, and the opportune Conjuncture of the laſt years Affairs to have ſetled and ſecured their Conqueſts, or that they had never begun the War; for now finding themſelves engaged in it, they were in honour obliged to proceed, and loſe the fair opportunity which preſented to make their advantage in *Hungary*; to which place they had been, and were ſtill invited by the Rebels of that Country, who to revenge the Cauſe of *Serini*, *Nadaſti*, and ſome other Diſcontents and Aggrievances of which they complained, and to defend the Proteſtant Religion, in which by the zeal of ſome Churchmen, they were diſturbed, reſolved to abandon their Allegiance to their natural Prince, and rather ſeek a protection for their Eſtates, and allowance for their Religion under the Turk, than remain beholding for either to a prevailing party at the Imperial Court. The chief Authours of this Rebellion were *Petrozy*, *Sepeſi*, *Tende*, *Gabor*, *Sutrey*, and other principal perſons amongſt the Hungarians, who having on their own ſtrength oppoſed themſelves againſt the Emperour the laſt year were defeated in divers engagements, and at length reduced to a very low and miſerable condition. Wherefore they renew again their Petitions and Preſents to the Sultan, ſent by their Agents about the beginning of this Month of *April*, begging his aſſiſtance and protection, repreſenting the eaſineſs of the Conqueſt, and how large a Gate they were able to open to his Armies, and make a plain way for him into the moſt fertile and opulent Countries of the World, of which he ſeemed already half poſſeſſed by reaſon of thoſe Diſcontents and Factions that were amongſt them.

The Rebels in *Hungary* renew their Petition to the Turks for aſſiſtance.

The Turks though well ſatisfied of the reaſonableneſs of the deſign, yet being engaged in honour againſt *Poland*, knew not how to retract, and therefore diſpatched away the Meſſengers for the preſent with fair hopes and ſecret promiſes, well treated in private, though they received rather a Denial than Encouragement in publick. For the expedition againſt *Poland* was that which employed ſolely the wiſeſt heads of the Empire, who as it were in fury iſſued out immediate Orders, That all thoſe who eat the Grand Signior's Bread, ſhould without farther delay prepare themſelves for the Wars againſt *Poland*; and that Proviſions and Ammunition ſhould be ſupplyed in all places according to the uſual proportions; The Tugh, or Horſe-Tail, (the Signal for departure) was ſet forth, the Tents ordered to be carried into the Field, and ſuch haſte made in all parts, as if the raiſing of an Army were the buſineſs but of one day; reſolving immediately to proceed againſt their Enemies, to whom the Sultan returned a moſt dreadful and menacing Letter, full of expreſſions agreeable to the Turkiſh Style, which threatned Confu-

The rage of the Turks againſt *Poland.*

1673. ſion, Sword, Famine, Fire, Deſtruction, and a thouſand other more direful Judgments: but the Collection of this great Army, and the appendages belonging thereunto, were not ſo ſuddenly provided as to admit of ſuch a diſpatch as the Sultan's fury pretended; wherefore in cooler blood it was concluded, That for this Summer they ſhould not paſs much beyond the other ſide of the *Danube*, that the Winter Quarters ſhould be deſigned in *Siliſtria*, from whence they might more effectually threaten and affright their Enemies with their near approach.

About this time the French found an opportune ſeaſon to accommodate all their Affairs with the Port, and to put a period to the ſeveral Articles and particulars they had for many years demanded. For now the French King not only appeared very formidable by reaſon of his ſucceſs againſt *Holland*, but likewiſe inſtrumental to promote the deſigns of the Port, whilſt he kept the Brandenburghers employed, and diverted the whole Armies of the Empire; and now alſo that they might engage him not to contribute aſſiſtance to the Poles, they judged it reaſonable policy to evidence to that Ambaſſadour more external demonſtrations of kindneſs, and ſtrain their courteſie beyond the terms which they could cordially, and in reality afford them. Wherefore, at length the Capitulations were renewed, and ſome Articles and Priviledges ſuperadded, which are theſe that follow.

Firſt, That all religious Perſons and Biſhops of the French Church ſhall remain and continue quiet and unmoleſted in their reſpective habitations and dwellings, with liberty to perform all their Eccleſiaſtical Rites and Ceremonies.

Secondly, That the religious of *Jeruſalem* and of *Bethlem* ſhall conſerve thoſe religious places which they have anciently poſſeſſed, and there may continue to celebrate their Worſhip of God, and all their Devotions, without any diſturbance.

Thirdly, That if theſe Religious of *Jeruſalem* or *Bethlem* have any difference or diſpute with the Officers thereof, it ſhall be remitted to the deciſion of the Port.

Fourthly, All Frenchmen, and all under their Banner, ſhall ſafely at all times go to *Jeruſalem*, and return without moleſtation.

Fifthly, The two Churches in *Galata* belonging to the Jeſuits and Capuchins, and anciently poſſeſſed by them, are now again confirmed by theſe Preſents; one of which belonging to the Capuchins having been burnt, free liberty is given for the rebuilding thereof, and to remain as formerly in the hands of the French; and in the Hoſpital in *Galata*, if they will read the Goſpel after their faſhion, none ſhall give them diſturbance or hinder them.

Sixthly, Whereas the French Nation formerly paid 5 *per Cent.* Cuſtom, now in regard they have been ancient friends to the Port, and that they have renewed their Capitulations, they ſhall pay no more than 3 *per Cent.* and accordingly let no more be demanded.

Seventhly, All Portugueſes, Sicilians, Catelans, Meſſineſes of *Ancona*, *&c.* that have no Ambaſſadours at the Port, if they come under the French Banner, ſhall pay no more than 3 *per Cent.* according as the French pay.

Eighthly, In payment of their Cuſtoms, they ſhall pay the Currant Money ſuch as paſſes in our Treaſury, and the Farmers of the Cuſtoms ſhall not refuſe the ſame.

Ninthly,

Ninthly, The Meſteria they ſhall pay according to what the Engliſh Merchants pay, and no more. 1673.

Tenthly, All the Merchandiſe they bring, or ſhall bring, ſhall be valued according to the preſent eſtimation, and no more pretended of them, and if the Cuſtomers will notwithſtanding raiſe the eſteem of the Goods above the value, then if the Merchant will pay his Cuſtom in *ſpecie*, it ſhall not be refuſed.

Eleventhly, The Cuſtom of Silk being paid —— a new Cuſtom ought not to be demanded.

Twelfthly, The Cuſtom being once paid, the Cuſtomer ſhall not refuſe to give his Teſchare, and the Merchant being willing to tranſport his Goods to another Scale, another Cuſtom ſhall not be demanded.

Thirteenthly, The Officers and Cuſtomers at *Sidon*, *Birut*, *Aleppo*, or *Cairo* ſhall not compel the Merchants to take Goods by Force, not under any pretence whatſoever take one Aſper from them, nor demand mony to be lent unto them.

Fourteenthly, The French Veſſels may bring Goods from the *Indies*, by way of the Red Sea, unto the Port *Suucis*, and having paid their Cuſtom once there, whatſoever Goods they cannot ſell in that Country, they may have liberty to tranſport over land to *Alexandria*, and there relade them again on their own Veſſels without paying another Cuſtom, or receiving moleſtation from any perſon. Howſoever, this Capitulation is to be underſtood with this condition, that this point ſhall be ſignified to the chief Officers of *Cairo*, who having called a Council of the moſt knowing and experienced perſons to conſider hereof, and they concluding that this point is in no wiſe prejudicial to that Countrey, nor to the intereſt of the Believers, then this Article to be of force, but if they adviſe the contrary, then this to be of no effect.

Fifteenthly, If the Fryars, or Merchants, or Druggermen will make Wine, and tranſport it abroad, none ſhall hinder them.

Sixteenthly, The French Conſuls, and all under their Banner, having a difference with any of, or above, four thouſand Aſpers, it ſhall be decided at our publick Divan.

Seventeenthly, If any man-ſlaughter ſhall happen in the ſtreet where French dwell, they ſhall not be liable to pay the price of the Bloud, unleſs it be proved before the Juſtice that a Frenchman was guilty thereof.

Eighteenthly, The Druggermen in ſervice of the French Nation ſhall enjoy the ſame priviledges, as before ſpecified.

Nor was the French intereſt only available at that time to obtain the foregoing Articles, and renew their Capitulations with ſuch Additions; but likewiſe to procure Licence for the Ambaſſadour to travel into the remoteſt parts of the Ottoman Dominions; for though it were a thing never practiſed before, and denied (as is well known) to other Chriſtian Ambaſſadours; yet it was granted to Monſieur *de Nointel* with ſo much freedom, that firſt in a Brigantine he went to *Scio*, thence viſited the chief Iſles of the *Archipelago*, thence croſſed to *Rhodes*, and ſo proceeded to *Satalia*, *Cyprus*, and *Jeruſalem*: ſo much confidence had the Turks, contrary to their cuſtom, in this Ambaſſadour: for as they ſtile all Repreſentatives from Foreign Princes their pawns or pledges of Peace, ſo had not the Turks in that conjuncture thought the intereſt of *France* worth

The French Ambaſſadour obtains licence to travel.

1673. worth the obliging, they would never have deviated from their ancient Custom, and given an example for other Ministers to demand a priviledg of the like nature.

The Turks resolve on a war against *Poland*.

But to return again to the designs against *Poland*, the Sultan about the end of *July* marched with such Forces as were then in a readiness towards the Confines of that Country; and though he had not with him above fifteen thousand men, yet it was concluded that the Fame and terrour of the Grand Signior's motion would either abate and bring low the spirits of the Poles, and induce them to dispatch an Ambassadour with terms of Peace, or at least this readiness of the Turkish Camp would be an early preparation for the designs of the next year, and put the whole Empire into a timely motion, and that uniting with the Forces of the Frontiers, they might make a Body sufficient to resist any sudden Incursion. This resolution being taken, the Great Vizier led the Van, and encamped on the Banks of the *Danube* near a place called *Isacgee*, where he with all diligence built a Bridg of Boats to pass his Forces with the greatest facility to the other side, on which lies the Country of *Moldavia*. The Sultan about a days journey short of the Vizier, fixed his Court and Camp at a place called *Babadog*; with intention after some days to cross the River, and proceed as far as *Kemenitz*, that by the influence of his powerful Presence he might encourage his Army there, and provide all things necessary for security of that Garrison. But in the mean time advices coming that the Polish Army, consisting of about twenty thousand men, was roving about the Confines of *Leopolis*, under the Command of General *Sobieski*, and that a reconciliation was passed between the King and him; and that *Zircha*, Commander of the Cosacks, joined to considerable forces of the Moscovite and Calmuck Tartars, had made incursions into the parts about *Osac*, caused the Sultan to desist from his designed progress to *Kemenitz*, and to pass no farther than over the River into *Moldavia* for hunting or other pastimes. By these matters the Turks being fully convinced, that the Poles resolved not to pay their promised tribute, nor to send an Ambassadour with propositions, which were condescending or supplicating for Peace; the Sultan himself dispatched away an Aga with Letters into *Poland* full of threats, menaces, and protestations of bringing all that ruine, misery, and destruction on their Country, which always attends the most cruel and bloudy War, if they did not retrieve their errour by a speedy submission and compliance with those Articles which were the last year accorded. And this was the last motion the Turks made towards a Peace, which they were desirous to embrace on any terms honourable, that so they might have opportunity to divert their Arms to the more mild Climates of *Hungary*, where, besides the entertainment they expected to receive from friends, who invited them, they should not be liable to half those inconveniences of Cold, Frosts, and Famine, as they were probable to meet in the parts of *Poland*.

The Poles pass the *Niester*.

But the Poles were so much in earnest, and so little esteemed the menaces of the Sultan, that they anticipated his threats by some acts of hostility, and showed that they so much scorned his anger that they were resolved to be the first Aggressours. For the great Mareschal *Sobieski* with his Lieutenant General *Wisnowitzki* marched forward, and boldly passed the *Niester* with fifty thousand select Souldiers. The General of the Turkish Army, *Chusacin* Pasha, alarmed hereat, immediately

ately iſſued forth ſuch Orders for preparing and fitting his Camp as were agreeable to a ſpeedy Battel; and that he might underſtand the ſtate of his Camp, he called the Prince or Vayvod of *Moldavia* to examine him concerning the ſtate and condition of his Forces; the anſwer he gave proving not ſatisfactory to the expectation of the Turk, who was enraged at the approach of the Enemy, with high and proud words inſulted over the Prince, giving him no better terms than Dog and Infidel, and at length ſtruck him over the head with his Pole-Axe; notwithſtanding which, and the diſgrace he put upon him, imprudently that night committed unto him, and to the Prince of *Valachia*, the care of the Guards, which conſiſted of three thouſand Men. The Valachians as near Neighbours and Aſſociates with the others, ſeemed at firſt more grievouſly to reſent the affront, than did the Moldavians, and therefore that Night took their Prince by force and carried him to the Poliſh Army. The Prince, that he might make a Vertue of Neceſſity, complained of no force or violence offered unto him by his Souldiers, but as if he had voluntarily revolted, ſhowed outwardly a fair and ſerene countenance towards the Poles, until ſuch time as with forty of his Men, he found an opportunity to eſcape; but being by next morning at break of day overtaken by five Troops of Polonian Horſe, his whole Retinue was ſlain by them, excepting five of his men, who with himſelf, ſaved themſelves by the ſwiftneſs of their Horſes; Howſoever, the Prince received a wound on his left hand with a Sword, with which preſenting himſelf before the Great Vizier, and by that teſtimony boaſting of his Faith and Loyalty to the Ottoman Houſe, was conducted by him to the preſence of the Sultan, who, in reward of his fidelity and valour, veſted him with a rich Coſian, and reſtored him again to his Principality with addition of three hundred Aſpers a day pay. His Wife and Children which remained as Hoſtages at *Conſtantinople*, being upon the News of the Princes Revolt clapt into the ſeven Towers, were again releaſed, and conducted to their houſe with all imaginable honour and magnificence.

1673.

The Prince of *Valachia* carried by his own Souldiers to the Poles.

But the Moldavian Prince was more in earneſt, and heartily diſdained the affront offered him by *Chuſaein* Paſha, towards whom, and the other Turks, though he carried a ſerene and calm countenance, yet he nouriſhed a ſecret flame and ſtorm within himſelf; to vent which, and revenge the affront, he maintained a correſpondence with *Sobieski*, giving him intelligence of all matters in the Turkiſh Camp, how he might moſt eaſily ſurprize the Forces of the Paſha of *Sivas*, and the four Generals of the Spahees of *Alchabolick*.

The Prince of *Moldavia* revolts.

The Chriſtians made uſe of this intelligence accordingly, by making their aſſault on the enemy on the weakeſt ſide, when the Prince having reſerved his anger until an opportune Seaſon, turned his face againſt the Turks, and with a courage agreeable to his ſpirit and command, he entered the Tabor, or Intrenchment of *Chuſaein* Paſha, and wounded him with his own hand. The heat of the Fight continued fourteen hours, in which none behaved himſelf more valiantly than did *Solyman* Paſha the Beglerbeg of *Boſna*, who though he was as brave, and fought as ſtoutly as any man could, having ſix Horſes that day killed under him, he was at length forced to fly and abandon the field, following *Chuſaein* Paſha, and the Paſha of *Sivas* and *Ciddi-ogla*, who made better uſe, in ſaving themſelves, of their horſes heels, than their own Armes; But in this

The Turks overthrow.

1673. this Flight his Horſe pitching his foot into the hole of a wooden Bridg, which he was to paſs, was there ſtopped until he was overtaken by a Souldier with a Hat, who ſhot him through the Body; ſo that continuing his flight more faintly than before, he was overtaken by a Polonian Huſſar, who with a Lance bore him to the Ground, where he was trod under foot, and cut in pieces by the Enemy: The other three Paſhaws were wounded; the Generals of the Green and Yellow Sangiacks of the Spahees were taken Priſoners, and two other principal Commanders of the Spahees were killed. The Zagargeebaſhee, who commanded eighteen Chambers of Janiſaries, was taken priſoner, the Standard of the Janiſaries taken, and they wholly cut in pieces and deſtroyed, conſiſting of eight thouſand five hundred men; all the Troops and Attendants of thoſe Paſhaws, with four Sangiacks of Spahees, were ſlain upon the place, which in all were computed to be about twenty five thouſand men. The booty taken was very conſiderable, for beſides the ordinary Baggage they took two thouſand purſes of money, then newly brought for payment of the Souldiery, and twenty five thouſand Waggons of Proviſions and Ammunition.

After this ſucceſs and important Victory the Poles became Maſters of the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Chotin*, and other ſmaller Palanchas, on the Banks of the *Nieſter*, making their Incurſions into *Moldavia*, as far as *Jaſh*, which is the principal City of that Country. And thus far was *Kaplan* Paſha proceeded with the Recruits of about four thouſand men, when the News came of the fatal Rout, and the fame thereof encreaſing by the fearful Relations of ſuch as fled from the Battel, alarmed the Turks with ſuch frightful apprehenſions, that they retreated back again to the other ſide of the *Danube*, and united themſelves to the Forces of the Vizier. But *Chuſacin* Paſha, though he ſaved his life, yet could not conſerve the Air of the Sultan's favour; for ſo ſoon as he arrived at the Court, he received an ill welcome; for according to the manner of Turks, who puniſh the ill ſucceſs of a General equal to Crimes committed, he was immediately put into Chains, deprived of his eſtate and honours, and ſent priſoner with the attendance only of two ſervants unto the Caſtles of the *Dardanelli*, where the diſturbance and unquietneſs of his mind reduced him to an infirmity of Body; ſo that being ſick, and without Friends or Phyſicians, he ſent to Sir *John Finch*, his Majeſties Ambaſſadour, as he paſſed up the *Helleſpont*, to afford him the uſe and aſſiſtance of his Phyſician; but the Ambaſſadour excuſed himſelf, letting him know, that his Retinue being paſſed before on another Veſſel, he was ſorry it was not in his power to accommodate him in the manner he deſired.

Chuſacin Paſha impriſoned.

The Winter being now well entered, which is very wet and cold in thoſe Countries, cauſed the Armies on both ſides to draw into their warmer Quarters, there to meditate and contrive their deſigns for the more active ſeaſon. During theſe Affairs the King of *Poland* died; ſo that the Election of a new Prince, the manner of reconciling their inteſtine Differences, and the means to defend their Countries, were Subjects of important Conſideration, and matters more than ſufficient to employ the wiſeſt heads of that Nation for a longer time than their common Enemy was reſolved to afford them. The Turk on the other ſide though full of revenge and anger for their laſt misfortune, yet patiently took this loſs as the paring only of his Nails, that his Claws might grow the

The King of *Poland* dies.

the longer, and was ſo rowſed with this blow, that he ſummoned all the Nations of his large Empire to come in to his aſſiſtance, towards which forty thouſand Carts laden with Proviſions were appointed to rendezvous on the Banks of the *Danube* towards the end of the month of *March*. Yet in the mean time the Turks not having patience to ſee their perfidious Prince avail himſelf of his Revolt, and in deſpight of the Ottoman Power to ſeat himſelf in his Principality of *Jaſſi*, were reſolved to drive him thence; and in order thereunto not expecting a milder ſeaſon, immediately diſpeeded ſome Troops of Tartars, and two thouſand Spahees under the Command of a new Prince, to drive him out of the Country. In the mean time the Poles, ſince their late Victory, kept the Fortreſs of *Kemenitz* ſtraitly blocked up on all ſides, and thereby reduced them to ſuch a want of food and other proviſions, as might probably cauſe them to ſurrender before the Summer could open a way to their relief. 1673.

But before I conclude this Year, I muſt not omit to acquaint the Reader, that in the month of *September* an Engliſh Factor at *Smyrna* deſcended of good Parents, and educated under a ſevere and religious Maſter, one who had a reaſonable Eſtate of his own, and in good buſineſs and employment, did notwithſtanding in the abſence of his Partner, with whom he was joyned in Commiſſion, carry out of the houſe 215 fine Cloths belonging to ſeveral Principals of *England*, with a conſiderable Sum of ready Money, Jewels, and things of value: of which having poſſeſſed himſelf, he went before the Kadi, and there in preſence of divers Officers of the City turned Turk, hoping by the Priviledge of the Mahometan Law, whereby no Chriſtian teſtimony can paſs againſt a Turk, to appropriate unto himſelf that whole Eſtate, which he had thus treacherouſly got into his ſole cuſtody. And it being impoſſible for Turks to atteſt the Marks, Numbers, or know the Eſtates of Perſons being in *England*, he judged himſelf out of the reach of any Power or Art to diſpoſſeſs him of his unjuſt and wicked acqueſts. Howſoever the Conſul did ſo cloſely purſue him both at *Smyrna* and at the Turkiſh Court, that in the ſpace of ſeven months he regained all the Cloth, and the beſt part of the Money and Jewels out of his hands: and in fine reduced this Renegado to ſo low a condition, that he humbly ſupplicated the Conſul to contrive a way for his paſſage into *England*: at which time His Majeſties Frigate the *Centurion* being then in Port, he was imbarked thereupon, and ſo returned into his own Country.

The Particulars of all which having been amply related in Writing and Letters to private Friends, I purpoſely omit the ſame in this place, that ſo I might caſt a veil over the nakedneſs and ſhame of our Nation in that City. Howſoever I judge it requiſite to recount this Story in brief and in general heads, That men may know there is a God who rules above, who rejects impious and licentious perſons, confounding the deſigns of thoſe who betraying their Truſt, deviate from the common Rules of Morality and Honeſty.

Anno 1674. *Hegeira* 1085.

THis Year began at *Smyrna* with the happy Arrival of Sir *John Finch*, ſent by His Majeſty for Ambaſſadour to the Grand Signior in the place of Sir *Daniel Harvey*, who dyed in *Auguſt* 1672. at his Country-

1674. Country-house not far from *Constantinople*. His Excellency entred the City on the first day of *January* 167⅓ rejoycing the English Factory with the sight of their new Ambassadour, (that Office having been now void for the space of sixteen months) who was welcome also to people of the Country, judging him fortunate for arriving at the Feast of their great *Biram*: nor less pleasing was the News thereof to the Court, especially to the late Pasha of *Tunis*, whose Goods and Monies taken by one *Dominico Franceschi*, out of an English Ship called the *Mediterranean*, in her passage from *Tunis* to *Tripoli*, this Ambassadour had recovered from *Ligorne* and *Malta*; which being an action without example, was greatly admired and applauded by the Turks, and esteemed an evident demonstration of that great Interest and Power which the Glory of our King hath acquired in Foreign parts, and of the singular dexterity of such a Minister. But to proceed to the Wars.

The Polanders being thus prosperous, made use of their success, and the sharp cold of the Winter-season to make their Incursions, and Winter-quarters through all the Principalities of *Moldavia*; for they being born in cold Countries, and accustomed to the Snows and Frosts, were more patient and enduring of extremity of weather than were the Turks, who were brought forth from more mild and moderate Climates: so that neither could the Poles be driven out from those Countries, nor *Kemnitz* be relieved by them, until such time, that the Sun getting high, and thawing the Snows, and warming the Earth, prepared a season fit for return of the Turks again into those Countries; who marching according to their custom with an Army composed of great multitudes, quickly compelled the Poles to retire. For the Grand Signior and Vizier having both seated their Winter-quarters on the Banks of the *Danube*, were ready at the first opening of the Summer to enter their Arms into the Enemies Countries; and having called the Tartars to their assistance, did according to the usual custom make Incursions for depredation of Slaves, Cattel, and whatsoever else was portable in a running March.

The *Chan* or King of this People was at that time greatly indisposed in his health, of which he advised the Great Vizier, as if he intended thereby to obtain a release from his personal attendance that year in the War: But the Vizier, who either supposed this excuse to be only a pretence, or that he had a kindness for his Person, immediately dispatched away his own Physician called Signior *Massellini*, an Italian born, a worthy Learned man, a good Christian, and my intimate Friend: with whom maintaining a constant correspondence by Letters, he wrote me, That from the Grand Signiors Quarters which were at *Batadog* near the Banks of the *Danube*, he arrived after seventeen days Journey in *Chrim*, where (he said) he was received with singular honour and kindness by the Great *Chan*, whom he found to be a Prince of admirable prudence, gentleness, and generosity, but greatly afflicted with a Hypochondriacal Melancholy; which being an infirmity of some years standing, was with the more difficulty removed; howsoever he was so far from being uncapable to follow his Army, that he advised him to divert his mind with the thoughts of War: which counsel having taken, after thirty days abode in the Camp, he found himself much more chearful than before, and greatly relieved of that pressure of Melancholy and caliginous Vapours which offended his Brain. We are now (said he) at *Ussia*

A Journy into *Tartary*.

at

"at the Mouth of the *Boristhenes*, which we have passed from the other 1674
"side unto this, where the River is nine miles broad, from hence we are
"marching towards *Bender* upon the *Niester* to pass into *Moldavia*, and
"there to joyn with the Ottoman Army. The Poles have sent to demand
"Peace, but with condition, that *Kemenitz* be restored to them; which
"Proposition was with great disdain rejected, and will never be granted
"whilst this Emperour reigns. These people greatly desired a Peace with
"*Poland*, which the Election of *Sobieski* for King may probably facilitate;
"for not only they, but the Turks also dread a March into *Poland*, and
"are so inveterately bent to take revenge on the Muscovites and Cosacks,
"who lately became their Subjects, that they could accept of any reasona-
"ble Terms of Accommodation with *Poland*. I for my part found *Tar-*
"*tary* a very pleasant Country, plentiful of all Provisions, and the people
"much more courteous and obliging to Strangers and Christians, than
"those Turks with whom you and I have conversed. Thus far *Messellini*
writes in commendation of the Tartars, and in farther confirmation
hereof, I have read in some Books, That as to their Morals, there are
very few Nations to be found less vicious, they are extremely severe and
faithful, they have no Thieves or false Witnesses amongst them, little
Injustice or Violence, and live in union and great tranquillity: the mar-
vellous fidelity of the Captive Tartars in *Poland* is every day to be ob-
served, who never fail to return at the time appointed, when they are
licensed upon their word to go and procure their Liberties by the ex-
change of Polish Prisoners, which they execute punctually, or return
themselves, not failing a minute. And it is observed, That the Polish
Gentlemen do rather trust the young Tartars, which are in their Service,
with the keys of their Money and Jewels, than any of their Houshold.

The time for Armies to draw out of the Winter-quarters, and take
the Field being now come, the Grand Signior and Vizier, with great
numbers both of Horse and Foot passed the *Danube*, and prosecuting
their March to the Confines of *Poland*, they relieved *Kemenitz* in the *Kemenitz relie-*
first place, the Poles at the News of their approach rasing the Siege. *ved.*
Thence they proceeded to *Chuozim*, a strong Fortress on the *Niester*,
taken from them the last year by the Christians, after the defeat given
to *Chusacin* Pasha, as before related, the which was surrendred without
much difficulty on Articles, which were ill observed, the whole Garri-
son being afterwards put to the Sword. Nor had they worse success
against the Muscovites, who retreated backward as the Turk advanced,
leaving *Asac*, after it had been sacked and almost destroyed, to be again
rebuilt, which was speedily effected by the assistance of the Captain-
Pasha, who was that year with thirty nine Gallies dispeeded into the
Black Sea, and with great numbers of Slaves and Souldiers repaired the
ruines which the Muscovites had made. In the mean time, whilst the
chiefest strength of the marine Force was thus employed, a small Squa-
dron of about ten Gallies were ordered for the *Archipelago* and the Le-
vant, under the Command of one *Mahomet* Pasha, a Person that mana-
ged sundry great Employments; but his prodigality and profuse way of
living was the cause that he could thrive in none, only he thereby gain-
ed so much interest and credit with the Grandees and Monied men of
the Court, who are the Pages and Eunuchs, as served him to contract a
debt of a thousand Dollars without any ability of his own to give them
satisfaction: of which these Creditors being assured, made it their Pe-

1674. *Mahomet* Pasha sent with a Fleet of Gallies into the Arches.

tition to the Grand Signior to grant him the Command of that Squadron of Gallies, which was that year designed for the *Archipelago*, supposing that he in this Expedition being to pass unto many Islands and Countries, knew how to make such use of his time, and the advantage of his Employment, as would gain him a sufficient benefit whereby to satisfie and clear all scores and accounts with them. This Office being accordingly conferred, *Mahomet* Pasha prepared himself to depart, whilst the Creditors remained in full expectation of a profitable Voyage and speedy returns; which to improve to the best advantage, the Pasha first visited the open and undefended Isles, from whence with the greatest severity and rapine imaginable he pillaged and plundered what he was able, making some of them to ransom their whole Country with money. Thence he proceeded to *Scala Nova*, called by the Turks *Kousb-adasee*, a place on the Coast of *Asia*, not far from *Ephesus*, where he demanded of the people (though all Turks) the Sum of five thousand Dollars, which they not finding to pay, were treated with all kind of force and violence, till at length paying down 1500, and engaging to pay the rest in a months time, the Pasha departed, leaving an Aga, a Servant of his, to receive the money at the time agreed. In that interim, the Kadi coming to be changed, and another of more courage and spirit succeeding in his place, believed that the best service at his beginning and entrance into Office which he could perform towards the people, was to relieve them from the oppression of the Pasha, and perswade them positively to refuse the payment; who taking courage from their Chief, drove the Aga out of Town, with a thousand menaces and reproaches. Upon this News *Mehmet* Pasha returned again full of anger and indignation, but found not that easie reception nor kind entertainment, as before; but on the contrary, the Gates were shut against him, and the people abandoning their Habitations, with common consent resolved to make a Journey to the Grand Signior; and to shew they were in earnest, proceeded so far in their way as to *Ephesus*, which is about ten miles distant from thence: the prejudice and danger of which complaint *Mahomet* Pasha greatly fearing, sent Messengers to pacifie them with good words and promises to relinquish his pretensions, in case they would return; but the uproar was so great, that they found as much difficulty to quiet it, as the Town-Cerk in ancient times had to appease the Tumult raised by the Silversmiths about *Diana* of the *Ephesians*. Being thus baffled at *Kousb-adasee*, he vented his fury on some poor Islands which he could more easily master, and thence proceeded to *Napoli di Romania*, where the people being already alarmed with his behaviour, and violence of his actions in other places, and encouraged by the example of *Kousb-adasee*, upon his arrival there, without farther ceremony shut their Gates, and appeared armed against him upon the Walls; at which entertainment and unexpected opposition, the Pasha fearing some evil consequences, set sail from thence, and crossing again the Seas into *Asia*, made *Rhodes* his next Port. Thence he passed to *Satalia*, to *Cyprus*, and *Scanderone*, and so again returned for *Constantinople*, taking *Smyrna* in his way, committing most extreme rapine and violence on the people, whose complaints having gone before him to the Court, he was immediately cut off at his arrival; but in the first place, his gains and ill gotten goods were seized on to satisfie the Grand Signior, and his Creditors of the Seraglio, who being sent to fish for Wealth, was served like the Cormo-

rants

rants in the *Indies*, which being made tame, and taught to fish for the benefit of their Masters, have a Ring clapped about their necks to prevent them from swallowing the prey they take. 1674.

But to return to the Actions at Land, which were matters of the greatest importance. The Turks had no sooner relieved *Kemenitz*, recovered *Choczim*, and caused the Muscovites to retreat, and draw their Forces into their Country; but being Masters of the Field, and having the choice of acting according to their own pleasure, resolved to secure the places they already possessed, esteeming it more wisdom to make sure their late acquisitions, than to add thereunto new conquests, which they could not maintain. And therefore considering the inconstancy of the Cosacks, who having abandoned their subjection to *Poland*, had submitted themselves to their yoke; and also how unable *Doroſenzko* their Governour was either to keep them in obedience, or else to defend them from the Polonian Incursions; they resolved for prevention of these inconveniences, and for a secure remedy against any sinister accidents of this nature, to make seisure of that Party of the Cosacks, who had not submitted to them, and transport them into other parts, which they accordingly put into execution, and sweeping all the Countries as they passed, carried away men, women, and children into Captivity: part of which, such as belonged to the Grand Signior, had some Lands assigned them along the Coast near the Black Sea; the Armenians, who were a Trading people, and lived at *Kemenitz*, were transported to *Philipopoli*; of the Jews some were carried to *Adrianople*, and others to *Constantinople*; but the younger sort of both Sexes were permitted to the Souldiery to carry them for Slaves to their own homes, and were in great numbers dispersed through all parts of the Empire: a Policy anciently used by *Pharaoh* to his Egyptian Subjects, who having bought their Lands of them, did afterwards transport them from one end of the Land unto the other, that so he might keep them in the greater servitude and subjection, *Gen.* 47. 21. *And as for the people, he moved them from one end of the borders of Egypt to the other.* And in this manner the success concluding the year, without any great Enterprise or Feats of Arms, the Sultan returned to his Court at *Adrianople* about the end of *November*, licensing all the Asian Horse and Souldiers of remotest parts to return to their own Countries, with liberty to appropriate the following year to their repose and care for their peculiar concernments.

The Turks secure their Conquest.

To these Wars amongst secular Persons and men of Arms were added Differences, and never to be decided Controversies between the Religious of the Roman and Greek Churches at *Jerusalem*, who contending for the possession of the Holy Sepulchre of the King of Peace, rent that seamless Coat of Christ, and managed their Controversie with more malice and rancour each against other, than Princes do, who invade one the other with Fire and Sword. For the Franks or Western Christians subjected to the Popes Dominion, had possessed for several Ages a right to the Holy Sepulchre, and enjoyed the honour of the custody thereof, notwithstanding the pretences of the Greeks thereunto, who for many years in vain attempted at the Ottoman Court to obtain that Priviledge; for the Franks being ever more powerful by charitable contributions brought from Christendom, besides large Sums of Money from the King of *Spain*, did always outbid the Market of the Greeks, and consequently

The difference between the Latines and Greeks at *Jerusalem*.

1674. consequently made use of stronger arguments, than the adverse Party could produce in defence of their cause. Until such time, that one *Panaioti*, a Greek born in the Island of *Scio*, having by his parts and excellent address arrived to the honour of being Interpreter for the Western Tongues to the Great Vizier, at length obtained that favour with his Master, that he seldom refused whatsoever he with reason and modesty requested; and being a great Zelot in his Religion, and esteemed the chief Patron and Support of the Greek Church, he secretly begged in behalf of his Country, the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre at *Jerusalem* out of the hands of the Franks; which the Vizier would not deny him, both to reward him for some services already performed, and likewise because he knew that a concession of this nature would again raise the spirits and animosities of Christians; the allaying and appeasing of which being an office solely in the power of himself, and the supreme Authority, would certainly prove beneficial to the Ottoman Court. *Panaioti* having obtained this Command, and considering that the defence thereof would be a trouble to him, for that thereby he should create Enemies which were no less than Kings and Princes to contend with, and perhaps should live to see it reversed, wisely laid it by him, there to remain dormant until the time of his death; which happening the year past, the Command was produced and brought to light, and was before the *Easter* of this year set on foot at *Jerusalem*, and by virtue thereof the custody of the Sepulchre sentenced by the Pasha and Kadi of that place to belong unto the Greeks, the which was occasion of so great trouble and confusion, as disturbed the Holy Feast, and polluted the Sacrifices with the blood of one or two persons, who most earnestly contended for the Priviledge of their Nation and Religion. Nor could this difference be decided here, but both sides appealed to the Court above; which being heard and debated in publick Divan, the possession of the Sepulchre was adjudged in favour of the Greeks; the Franks being only to injoy a precarious use thereof, as Pilgrims and Strangers to the Country. Howsoever the Fryers of *Jerusalem* would not tamely yield up their Right, but again resolved to try their Fortune at the Court, having by means of *F. Canisares* their Commissario with expence of a great Sum of Money obtained a review of the case, but without success; for all these endeavours and charge proved fruitless, the former sentence being confirmed in favour of the Greeks; and the Franks having no other Expedient, applied themselves to the assistance of the French Ambassadour, to whose protection the Holy places are assigned by Capitulations. But neither the power of the French Ambassadour, nor of any other Christian Representative was available; for the Vizier either mindful of his promise to *Panaioti*, or being resolute to maintain the Command he had given, would on no terms be perswaded to revoke it; the which intention of the Vizier being made known to the Greeks, their Patriarch earnestly pressed a hearing of the case; but the Fryers not willing to abide the shock, retired to *Constantinople*, lest the Greeks forcing them to Justice, they should be condemned *in Judicio contradictorio*, and a Hoget or Sentence passing, they should be condemned in Law as well as by Authority of the Hatteheriff. Which to put in execution, the Patriarch took out a Command whereunto was added, That the Fryers in token of their subjection, should pay a Drachm of Silver a head to the Patriarch, and hold all their places of them. This was the issue of the present controversie,

verſies, which is certainly determined for the time of this Vizier without revocation, yet perhaps in the time of another, it may admit of a review for money, eſpecially being received when as yet the new Miniſter hath not ſatiated his covetous deſires; howſoever, the expence will always be chargeable, and the ſucceſs uncertain. Thus have I ſeen and obſerved in this particular the effect and experience of two things; *viz.* The covetouſneſs and pride of Fryars, and the concluſion of their Law-ſuits before Infidels. The Franks, or the Weſtern Chriſtians, had until this time the cuſtody of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Greeks that of the Chappel of *Bethlem*, but the uſe was free to both; but the Franks not being able to enjoy the Sepulchre with contentment, whilſt with envious eyes they beheld the Greeks in poſſeſſion of *Bethlem*, were always contriving deſigns by force of money, and power of Chriſtian Miniſters to eject them from that Right; until that now in theſe contentions they have loſt both; being neither able to recover the one, nor conſerve the other. 1675.

Anno Chriſti 1675. *Hegeira* 1086.

PRopoſitions of peace not being ſo earneſtly preſſed, nor ſo advantageouſly proffered by the Poles, as the pride of the Turks did expect, the War ſtill continued, but not proſecuted either on the one ſide or on the other with the ſame violence with which it began. For the Sultan deſigning this year to circumciſe his Son, the young Prince, now about twelve years of Age, and to marry his Daughter of ſeventeen to his Moſayp, or Favourite, Paſha of *Magnaſia*, commonly called by the Name of *Kul-ogli*, which ſignifies the Son of a Slave, he reſolved to dedicate this whole Year to quiet repoſe, mirth, and jollity at home, only two thouſand Janiſaries were ſent to *Ibrahim* Paſha to recruit the Souldiers on the Frontiers of *Poland*, and the Tartars were reinforced with ſome Turkiſh Troops under *Uſuff* Paſha to aſſiſt *Doroſenſko* againſt the Poles, who were with a conſiderable Army fallen into *Ukrania*; And the Captain Paſha, with twenty eight Sail of Gallies, was diſpeeded into the Black Sea for carrying of ſuch Proviſions and Ammunition for War as was neceſſary for ſupply of the Army; Beſides which, no preparations of War were deſigned, theſe being judged ſufficient, though not to conquer, yet at leaſt to repreſs the Incurſions, and amuſe or keep the Armes of the Enemy employed.

The happy ſtate of the Ottoman Court.

For at the Ottoman Court the face of all things was become ſerene and calm, no Seditions of great men, nor diſcontents of the people, nor black and cruel deſigns of State diſturbed or clouded the ſplendour of the Solemnities, or the brows of the great Statiſts, but all matters ran in an uninterrupted courſe of Joy and Feſtivity. The Sultan, who in his actions ſhewed himſelf a moſt benign Prince, ſparing and compaſſionate of the blood and miſery of his Subjects, hath, ſince his arrival to a mature Age, exerciſed a wiſe manner of Government, ſevere and juſt, and yet void of the cruelty and tyranny of his Anceſtors; under whom the trading Chriſtians enjoyed the priviledge of their Capitulations with more juſtice, and leſs frequent Avanias. The Vizier alſo, and other great Officers, being ſenſible of the benefit which Trade begat, treated Merchants with more gentleneſs and reſpect than in former times, their Ships not being forced on every occaſion into the Grand Signior's ſervice,

1675. vice, but rather perſwaded to it by rewards and fair promiſes, otherwiſe than in the times of former Viziers; and it is to be wiſhed alſo that the like might be ſaid under the Government of thoſe which are to ſucceed; though if we look forward to the years 1678 and 1679 we ſhall find the Scene of things altered, and not only Merchants, but even Ambaſſadors, and the Repreſentatives themſelves, remain under ſad diſcouragements. Amongſt theſe joys and gentle ways of Government, the manner of this Court was much altered; the Divan had not for two months ſpace been opened for buſineſs, to the great prejudice and interruption of Juſtice; Wine, that great abomination to the Turkiſh Law, which four years paſt was by the Imperial Decree forbidden under pain of Death and a thouſand Execrations and Curſes, was now the common Drink, and divertiſement in faſhion, uſed immoderately by all, excepting the Grand Signior, the Mufti, and Reis Effendi; the Vizier himſelf having been exceſſively intemperate therein, had extinguiſhed the natural heat of his ſtomach, which could be warmed by no leſs heat than what proceeds from *Aqua Vitæ*; by which debauchery and indiſpoſition all buſineſſes were ſlowly and negligently diſpatched, and according to his example the Officers and Miniſters acted in their Affairs, which in former times being always diſpatched by nine a Clock in the Morning, that became now the time and hour of riſing.

The Grand Signior himſelf, though not taught by his Attendants to drink Wine, leſt it ſhould perhaps betray him to ſome actions dangerous to them, gave himſelf to Amours; for falling in love with a Poliſh Woman, lately captivated at *Kemenitz*, he made her his Second Haſakee or Sultaneſs; for having had the good fortune to bring him a Son, that honour was the reward of her fruitfulneſs; and that he might give other teſtimonies of his favour, he caſt his eyes on a poor Chinganee, or Gipſy Boy, who with ſinging and dancing ſo pleaſed him, that he gave him ſix purſes of money, containing three thouſand Dollars, with Horſes and Servants, and took him into the Seraglio. Amidſt theſe Delights the Grand Signior gave order to the Vizier not to ſpeak to him of three things, Neither of returning to *Conſtantinople*, nor againſt his Favourite, nor againſt his Hunting; in other matters he might uſe freedom.

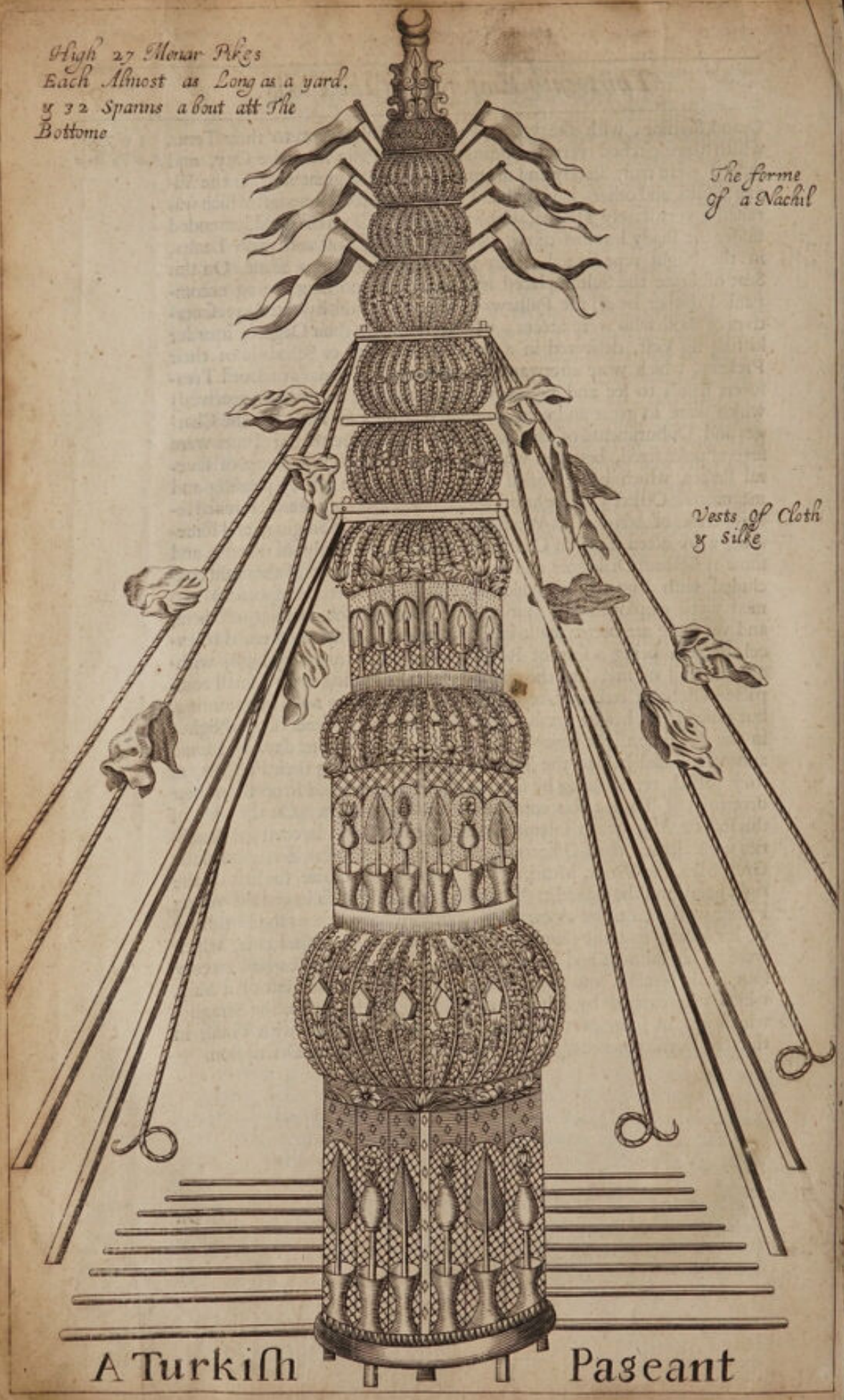
Another alteration of a better nature, with reference to Learning and Knowledge, ſeems alſo remarkable in this Court; for the Grand Signior having been ſome years paſt preſented by the Dutch Reſident, with twelves large Volumes of the new *Atlas*, upon an accidental ſight thereof was ſo pleaſed, that he commanded it ſhould ſpeedily be tranſlated into Turkiſh; to which Work D^r *Alexandro Mauro Cordato*, the Viziers Interpreter, who ſucceeded in the place of *Panaioti* deceaſed, was nominated; but he finding it too unweildy for him, deſired the aſſiſtance of a French Jeſuit, then at *Scio*, skilful in the Turkiſh and Arabick Languages, who was immediately ſent for, and therein employed; and though it is thought, that this buſineſs is above their Element, and that it will ſoon cool and be neglected, yet it ſeems to be the firſt ſtep which the Turks have made unto Learning, and therefore is the more obſervable.

The great Feſtivals in what manner celebrated at the Turkiſh Court.

And now the Feſtivals beginning on the 16th of *May*, we muſt for ſome days lay aſide all buſineſs, and obſerve with what order and form theſe Solemnities were performed. In the firſt place, On this day the Grand

Grand Signior, with the young Prince his Son, went to their Tents, which were pitched very ſumptuouſly in the Plain near the City, and indeed were truly ſtately and magnificent; all the great men, as the Vizier, Mufti, and others, having their Pavilions erected; amongſt which was raiſed a very ſtately Throne, with a Canopy of Cloth of Gold, extended under the ſhady leavineſs of two tall Elms, which, ſet off with many Lamps, in the Night repreſented a very pleaſant and glorious Scene. On this Seat of State the Sultan placed himſelf in the morning, being accompanied thither by all the Paſhaws then preſent, and by the Repreſentatives of thoſe who were abſent; who according to their Degree, in order kiſſing his Veſt, delivered in a Silk Purſe a Note or Schedule of their Preſents, which were afterwards put into the Teſterdar's or Lord Treaſurers hands to ſee and compare them with the particulars received; which were ſo great and conſiderable, that they far ſurpaſſed the Charges and Diſburſments of the Solemnity. Oppoſite to the Tents were ſeveral poles fixed, between which at Night were hung Lamps of ſeveral ſhapes, which being varied every Night made a very pleaſing and magnificent Object; by light of which in the Evening were exerciſed ſeveral tricks of Activity, as Wreſtlings, Dancing, and Singing, and ſometimes were acted Turkiſh Comedies, which conſiſt only of Farces, and ſome ridiculous Dialogues, and at laſt the divertiſements of the night concluded with Fire-works, which were ſo many, that (as reported) 240 men were employed for four months time in the making of them, and yet there are better made in Chriſtendome; only one ſeemed to excel the reſt, being a ſort of Rocket, which went up very high, without any tail of fire, like the common ones, carrying only a ſmall compacted Globe of red fire like a Star, and making no noiſe in mounting, but raiſed to its height breaks. Theſe were the paſtimes of the Night; in the day time all the ſeveral Arts and Trades, ſome one day, and ſome another, paſſed before the Tents, every one offering their Preſents, as they paſſed, repreſenting by ſome kind of Pageant and Proceſſion their diverſities of Trade: this continued for fifteen days. On the 25th of this inſtant *May*, was a ſolemn Cavalcade, in which marched the Janiſaries with all their chief Officers, Chiauſes, and Mutaſaracas, *&c.* And of the Great Men, the Vizier, Mufti, and *Kul-ogli* the Favourite, the firſt on the right hand, and the ſecond in the middle; after them followed the young Prince who was to be circumciſed, extraordinary rich in the Furniture of his Horſe, and the number and largeneſs of the Diamonds, which were on his Tulbant and Breaſt. In this Cavalcade were carried twenty four ſmall Nachils, and two large ones, as high as the Maſt of a Ship, which were carried by a hundred Slaves, and ſet before the Seraglio, which are in form of triumphant Pyramids, adorned with Tinſils in thirteen Diviſions, according to this following Form or Deſcription. 1675.

On



A Turkish Pageant

On the 27th, being the day of *Mahomet's* Birth, the Grand Signior rode publickly to the Moſch of Sultan *Selim*, having no other attendance than the Retinue of his own Court; his Pages were very rich in Cloth of Gold, each carrying a Feather ſtudded with a rich Jewel on his Head; after the Grand Signior rode the young Prince, who that Night was circumciſed. During this Feſtival, a vaſt number of people was fed at the charge of the Grand Signior, and about two thouſand circumciſed, every one of which had a Quilt given him, with a ſmall pay of three Aſpers a day for his Life. 1675.

This Solemnity for the Circumciſion being ended, on the 10th of *June* began the Feaſt for the Marriage. The Kuzlir Aga, who is the black Eunuch of the Women, was Brideman or Compare to the young Princeſs, and the Teſterdar or Lord Treaſurer to *Kul-ogli*, both which in the name of the Bride and Bridegroom went before the Lord Chief Juſtice called the Kadeleſcher, and by him had the Articles of Marriage wrote, and paſſed into publick Act; which being done, the Preſents were ſent, and firſt thoſe from the Bridegroom to the Bride, which were theſe, a great number of Beaſts and Birds ill-favouredly made in Sugar, thirty Mules laden with two Cheſts of Sweet-meats apiece, and about their necks each carried a Veſt of Sattin for the Muletiers, then were carried a great many Pots of Sherbet, then an hundred and twelve men carrying Veſts of Silk, Cloth, Velvet, and Cloth of Gold, ſome had three, ſome five or ſix at leaſt wrapt up in Linen; then went five Horſes, one with rich Furniture; then followed a noble Veſt of Cloth of Gold lined with Sables and nine Buttons and Loops on a ſide embroidered with large Pearl, on the top of which on the one ſide was a very large Diamond, and on the other a Saphire, with Shoes, Boots, and Pattents for the Bagno, all covered with Pearl; likewiſe two Dreſſing-boxes, with Looking-glaſſes, and a Cap in form of a Crown, a little Cabinet embroidered all over with Pearl, eight Girdles ſet with Emeralds, Rubies, and Diamonds, a large Diamond-ring, a pair of Pendants of two great Emeralds, with many other particulars, which in paſſage were impoſſible to be remembred. The manner of the Marriage of the Grand Signior's Daughter.

Theſe Preſents being thus performed on the part of the Bridegroom to his Bride, the next Preſents concerned the Grand Signior to his Daughter, which were in place of her Dowry according to the cuſtom of the Eaſtern Countries: wherefore the 19th of this month the Preſents were uſhered with a moſt ſolemn Cavalcade of all the Grandees of the Court to the Houſe of the Bridegroom, which were two Gardens made of Sugar, forty little Nachils, eighty ſix Mules laden with Houſhold-ſtuff, ten men with her Dreſſings, as Boots, Shoes, &c. embroidered with Pearl as the former; then were carried her Jewels ſet in Girdles, Bracelets, &c. promiſcuouſly together, not in that rule as thoſe were which were ſent her by the Bridegroom. The Houſhold-ſtuff was made up with coverts, yet howſoever ſome parts were left open on the ſides, to ſhew that the Cuſhions were embroidered with Pearl, and others were of Velvet embroidered with Gold. At laſt came twelve Coaches with Slaves and thirty ſix black Eunuchs. The 23d the Bride was conducted to her Bridegrooms Palace with a ſolemn Cavalcade, with two great Nachils of the ſame form and bigneſs as thoſe carried at the Cavalcade of the Prince, with two ſmaller ones of Silver. The Bride was ſeated in a handſom Coach drawn with ſix Horſes, and covered with Plates of Silver, and the

1675. ſides adorned with long Streamers of Tinſel: before which went the Kuzlir Aga or chief black Eunuch of the Women: after followed four Coaches with ſix Horſes apiece, and twenty one more with four Horſes, each carrying two Eunuchs: then at ſome diſtance off came the Haſakee or Queen-Mother to the Bride in a Coach all covered with Plates of Silver, and attended with ten other Coaches more: the night following the Bride was conducted to the Nuptial Chamber in ceremony only, ſhe not being yet ripe for conſummation of Marriage: all which Solemnity was attended at the Bridegrooms Court, with the ſame Sports and Fire-works which were made at the Tents, with an addition of dancing on the Ropes, and ſliding down a Rope faſtned to the top of the Steeple of the Moſch of Sultan *Selim*, which had like to have proved fatal to one who came down with a Boy at his back; for when he was about twenty yards from the ground, the Rope broke, but falling on a tree firſt, and then on a man, he was taken up with little hurt. The moſt remarkable of all theſe Shows, was a man that walked up a Rope as high as the ſecond Balcony of the Menareh or Steeple of Sultan *Selim*, which is as high as commonly our Spire-Steeples are in *England*: And another hanging on a Rope with his hands, with his body extended, turned himſelf twelve times round with his hands: at all which Sights the Grand Signior was a conſtant Spectator. In this manner theſe Solemnities ended, the Moſayp or Favourite rich in the eſteem of his Prince, and in high honour with all, had yet ſome allay to attemper and moderate his joy; for the Princeſs not yet fit for conſummation, in caſe ſhe dyed before that time, all her Jewels and Goods muſt return to the Grand Signior, notwithſtanding which he would be obliged to pay her Dowry, which was ſaid to be the Sum of two years Revenue of Grand *Cairo*; but let it be what it will, he will be inſolvent, being, as reported, three hundred Purſes already in debt. And now to demonſtrate the uncertainty of the Courts of Princes, as well as of all other places and conditions of the World, the Great Teſterdar or Treaſurer, who had for the ſpace of thirteen years managed this Office with ſingular induſtry and advantage, was now removed from thence, and under a ſpecious ſhew of preferment, was advanced to the Dignity of Paſha of Grand *Cairo*: this change was the more wondered at, becauſe he was a Perſon ſo acute and ſo proper for the Office, that no man that held the place did ever manage it with greater reputation, nor with greater benefit to the Intereſt of his Prince; for beſides his good huſbandry in other matters, he was ſo skilful in knowing the price of Commodities, and ſo near in making his Bargains, that the Merchant could ſcarce live by him, which in that conſumption of Goods made in the Seraglio, will produce a conſiderable abatement, when all things are bought at the beſt hand; conſidering which, many reaſons were alledged, and conjectures made of his removal: ſome ſaid, That the Grand Signior having a liking to a young Man of his, to prevent his being taken into the Seraglio, the Teſterdar gave him a Wife, and thereby greatly diſpleaſed the Grand Signior, as if he had purpoſely contrived it, to defeat his deſires: others ſaid, That the Grand Signior would have borrowed money of him to pay the Arrears of the Spahees, which he refuſed to lend: but others talked, and that with beſt reaſon, That *Kara Muſtapha* the old Chimacam, who is always with the Grand Signior, had found an opportunity to repreſent him amiſs, ſuggeſting, that the Teſterdar ſhould ſay, That

The Teſterdar put out of his Office.

That want of money in the Treasury was caused by the vast Sums consumed in the fooleries of the late Feasts: and the Vizier, though he entertained no personal animosity against him, yet was willing to sacrifice him to the friendship of *Kara Mustapha*. And so being dispossessed of his Office, thereunto succeeded the Janisary *Efendi* or Judge-Advocate of the Janisaries, a great Drinker of Wine, and one not to hold any comparison with the parts and abilities of his Predecessour. Money now wanting greatly in the Treasury, several ways were sought to bring it in, and to save expences. The first of which was, that a review be made of all Otoraks, such as *Milites emeriti*, who are excused from the War, and yet receive their pay; from which number those were excluded who had bought it, or were not come legally by it, which would save the Grand Signior a vast Sum of Money yearly: and to help at this time of need, the late Treasurer must refund and ease himself of money, before he enters on that rich and important Office of Grand *Cairo*. And *Chusein* Aga the chief Customer, who was a man that had inriched himself by many bad ways and arts, was displaced from his Office, and caused to disgorge great Sums of Money to add unto the Supplies of the Treasury. He was a Person of a subtle disposition, raised from the mean degree of a Shoemaker, and being well acquainted both with good and bad ways of gaining money, was a proper Instrument for the Turkish Government, it being his fortune to fish riches rather for others than himself. And now being deprived of his Office and the best part of his Wealth, he resolved, like all other discontented Ministers, to take a Pilgrimage to *Mecha*, and to that end made a solemn Visit to the Pasha of *Cairo*, then in his Tents near *Scutari*, acquainting him of his intentions to wait on him, and perform his Respects in his passage to the Holy *Kebleh* or *Mecha*. 1675

Ways for raising Money.

The Turks have not of late years been very prodigal of the blood of their Subjects, nor have those Executions been done of late on any Officer, unless his Tyranny and Oppression of the people did justly draw due punishment upon himself. And such was the case of the Kahya or Secretary of the Chimacam or Governour in the Viziers absence of *Constantinople*, who taking on himself the management of all the Affairs of his Master, acted every thing according to his own pleasure; for finding that whatsoever he did or propounded, was always confirmed and assented unto by his easie Lord, he assumed a boldness to undertake any thing upon the proffers of mony, so the Sum was in any manner agreeable to the greatness of the matter required, or to the danger he incurred; by which means he involved his careless and unwary Master in such intrigues, as could have no excuse besides his own supineness, and the corruptness of his Servant. At this manner of administring Justice, the people being discontented, hastened the removal of the Chimacam: and now another entring on the Office, the Kahya remained exposed to the malice and complaints of all his Enemies, amongst which none was of greater force than an accusation laid against him, for having granted leave to the Armenian Christians at *Constantinople* for a Sum of Money to erect a Church; for which, though a Command was granted by the Great Vizier, obtained at a good price, to build one there of Timber, but of a low and mean Fabrick; yet the Kahya for a greater Sum of twenty Purses of Money, or ten thousand Dollars, improved this Command, and changed their Materials from Timber to Stone and Mortar: the which

The Chimacam of *Constantinople* his Steward cut off.

1675. Building beginning to rise with some magnificence, offended the neighbouring Turks with so much scandal, that great numbers of them carried the Complaints thereof to the Grand Signior; who calling the Vizier, and examining the Case, the Vizier would owne no other Command, than for repairing of an old Church, but not building one new. Whereupon Sentence of Death being passed on the Kahya, an Officer was sent to execute it. And in his way to *Constantinople*, at a place called *Selebria*, meeting with the Offender, he caused him to return again with him to *Constantinople*, where having strangled him, his Body was thrown into the Sea.

We have thus far discoursed of the Affairs at home, which consisted for the most part in jollities and divertisements; let us now look on the enterprizes and attempts abroad, and we shall find no great matter of action this year performed against *Poland*, more than some incursions made into *Ukrania* by the Turks and Tartars under the Conduct of *Ibrahim* Pasha, in which we have no Battels, nor great Skirmishes to recount, only a seizure or surprize of those Cosacks, which were not under the jurisdiction of *Doroscenko*, who like sheep were driven from their pastures, and Men, Women, and Children carried away into Captivity, and transplanted into Countries, where they might better serve the purposes and designs of the Turkish Empire; to which ends also vast numbers of Tartars with their Families, were called to inhabit the circumjacent parts of *Kemenitz*, for better security of that Conquest, to which the Tartars most willingly concurred, esteeming it a happy Bargain to exchange the Soil of *Tartary* for the fruitful Plains, and more gentle Air of *Poland*. And thus we may consider what the intestine Discord of the Poles hath brought upon themselves; that they, who in former days maintained their honour and reputation with the Turks, beyond any of the bordering Nations; not having ever suffered them to continue in their Country, much less to sojourn or possess one palm of Ground therein; can now more easily see them before the Walls of *Leopolis* or *Cracovia*, and planted in the very Bowels of their Countrey, rather than a King of their own Countrey set over them not agreeable to their own humour and fancy; or perhaps rather than behold the envied exaltation of some persons to dignity, or some little disorders in their Government; of which the Turk knows well to make use, it being no new Lesson for him, to profit himself of the Discord and Animosities of the Christians.

In like manner the Marine Affairs of the Turks this year afforded little worthy of observation, unless it were, That the Captain Pasha was employed with about thirty Sail of Gallies into the Black Sea, for transporting of Ammunition and Provision to those Forces in *Ukrania*; but he returned not with an equal number of Gallies, with which he departed, having lost five of them by storm, and then arrived at *Constantinople* on the 26th of *October*, called by the Greeks the Feast of S^t *Demetrius*, and by the Turks *Cassim-gheun*, a day which is commonly remarkable for Storms at Sea; of which the Turks and Greeks are so apprehensive or superstitious, that on that day or near that time, either before or after, until the storm hath vented its fury, and taken its course, they will not adventure themselves unto the Sea, upon the most pressing occasion, or hopeful inducement whatsoever.

And here I judge it requisite to conclude this Year with two matters very

very observable relating unto Trade: The first is with reference unto the Genoueſes, who in the Year 1666. first sent their Ambassador Signior *Durazzo*, with many Presents and great Magnificence to conclude a Peace with the Ottoman Empire, with the sole design and intention of Trade; which having been established on no other foundation at the beginning, than that of their Temins, and the Fabrick of their own Cloth, when the first failed, as it did in two years after, and that their Cloth turned not to account, but was out-sold by the English and Dutch, then their Trade began to decay, or rather never came to perfection, like the fruit of a young tree, which buds fairly, and produces fruit, but hath not strength to digest or bring it to maturity: Even so it was with the Genoueſes, who having been at the charge of an Ambassadour Extraordinary, and setled a Resident at *Constantinople*, and a Consul at *Smyrna*, and all the other Formalities of Trade, wanted that nourishment thereof from their own soil, which produces the true and natural fruit of Commerce, which is gain and profit; and being out-done by other Nations in shipping, there could little or no benefit be expected from their own Navigation in the Levant. For these reasons, their Trade failing, the Duties of Consulage on Goods appointed to maintain the Officers, and defray the publick Expences, were consequently wanting; so that the Count *Fieschi* Resident for that Republick at *Constantinople*, finding himself in great distresses and necessities, and unable to maintain himself and his Attendants agreeable to his Character and Quality, often advised his Prince and the Senate of the unhappy state of their Affairs, desiring from them either to provide a Supply agreeable to the occasions, or to recal him from that Office, where he could no longer live in that Honour required. This importunity produced the exchange of Officers, and the Mission of Signior *Giustiniano* to reside at *Constantinople*, and Signior *Gentile* at *Smyrna*; the first of which, some few days after his arrival, being unfortunately killed with a Carabine in his Chamber at *Constantinople*, as before related, the Office of Resident came to be still continued in the person of *Fieschi*, who remaining without provisions necessary to maintain his degree, and the annual Presents expected by the Turks, which they esteem as due as their Income, and as part of their Revenues, was forced to take up money on Pawns, and his own credit at the Interest of 20, 25, or 30 *p.r cent.* according as his necessities increased; and the apprehensions men conceived of an insufficiency and hazard in their security, was the cause that the debt, which in the beginning was inconsiderable, increasing with Interest upon Interest, came at length to the Sum of sixty or seventy thousand Dollars, which the Republick of *Genoua*, attributing in a great measure to the ill Conduct of *Fieschi*, and judging the greatest part of this debt to be feigned, sent another Resident called Signior *Spinola* to succeed him in his Office, who arriving at *Smyrna* in the month of *May* of this present year, on a stout Ship hired of the Venetians, and under the notion of a Man of War accompanied with a Merchant Ship, and a new Consul (the old one dying the year before) setled there such Orders, as were judged necessary for the government of their Affairs. But before these Genoueſes arrived, a report had fore-ran them from *Ligorne* and other parts, that their Ships brought great quantities of false Gold and false Pieces of Eight: the which coming to the ears of the Turks, Commands were provided against their arrival to search their Ships, and try their Monies; to which the Genoueſes not condescending,

1675.

The Trade of *Genoua.*

1675.

1675. ſcending, Arz or teſtimony was made thereof by the Kadi unto the Grand Signiors Court. In the interim whilſt this Arz went up, and the anſwer expected, the Genoueſe Reſident deſigning to proceed forward on his Voyage to *Conſtantinople*, demanded the Kadi's Môraſelau or Ticket of Licence for the Man of War on which he came, to paſs the Caſtle, (for that Ship had entred within the Port.) The Kadi judging it neceſſary, that both the Reſident and Ship ſhould attend the arrival of the anſwer from above, refuſed to grant this Licence; whereupon the Reſident all in a rage imbarked himſelf, and immediately ſet ſail, and having a fair Breez out of the Port, gently ſlided along by the ſide of the Caſtle without any ſtop or interruption.

This affront being put upon the Kadi, greatly diſpleaſed him; ſo that calling the Lieutenant and Gunner of the Caſtle into queſtion, and not admitting of their Plea, that the Ship was a Man of War, and the perſon thereon a Reſident, both which were priviledged, and both going up to the Grand Signiors Court, were to anſwer there for what was laid againſt them; but this I ſay, not being admitted for reaſon, the Kadi committed them both to Priſon, from whence with ſome charge afterwards they releaſed themſelves.

The new Reſident being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, the Creditors of Count *Fieſchi* demanded payment of the debts owing to them, which was given in, to amount to ſixty thouſand Dollars, and ſo much was to be paid before *Fieſchi* ſhould be permitted to depart, or at leaſt that part thereof being ſatisfied in hand, the new Reſident *Spinola* ſhould give ſecurity for payment of the remainder: the which he refuſing to do, as not owning the accounts which *Fieſchi* had given in, in regard he judged them to be compoſed of extravagant Intereſts, and to ariſe on charges not allowable by that Republick, who after the death of *Giuſtiniano* diſowned *Fieſchi* for their Miniſter; hereupon great diſturbances and commotions aroſe amongſt the Creditors, ſome of which being in great Power, as the Janiſary-Aga and others, Sequeſtration was laid on their Man of War; ſo that ſhe was toaed away to the Arſenal, and there laid up, and attached for payment of the debt: which ariſing on the account of the Publick, the Goods of the Common-wealth was juſtly eſteemed liable to the Sequeſtration: during which time the Peſtilence, the Epidemical diſeaſe of that ſeaſon at *Conſtantinople*, affecting with its contagion the Ships company, about eighteen or twenty of them dyed thereof, and all their affairs reduced to a ſtrange conſternation.

In this interim many and various were the diſputes and conteſts between the two Reſidents; ſometimes they propoſed to refer their differences to the deciſion of the Engliſh, French, and Venetian Miniſters; ſometimes again, finding the diſtance ſo wide and ſpatious between them, they reſolved to have their matters determined by Turkiſh Sentence. At length the new Reſident perceiving no end of this buſineſs, and that the Ship lay ingaged at a great charge, and as it were captivated to the great diſhonour of the Republick, came to an agreement to pay thirty three thouſand Dollars, one third whereof was to be paid in hand, and the other two thirds by equal portions in the ſpace of one year; the firſt payment to be made after ſix months, and the other ſix months after; to which not only the Reſident, but their Merchants alſo entred perſonally into obligation. In this manner the Ship being cleared, and taking ſuch lading as offered for *Genoua* at *Conſtantinople*, ſailed for *Smyrna*;

Smyrna; where taking another Ship of the ſame Country into her company, departed with the Dutch Convoy for Chriſtendom. But having remained ſix months in Port, ſubjected to much charge and trouble, and not finding a Freight equal to the time and expence, was no great incouragement to the Genoueſes to continue this Trade; which by good experience appears in no manner agreeable to their Country, nor yielding ſucceſs anſwerable to the long expectation of ten years paſt. 1675.

In this Year it was, that the Grand Signior and Great Vizier at the inſtigation of *Chuſacin* Aga the chief Cuſtomer (whom we have before mentioned) caſting their eyes on *Smyrna*, and finding it a place of great Trade, and a convenient Port, for which in ancient times it was always famous, and for the ſame cauſe was frequented by Merchants both from the Eaſtern and Weſtern parts of the World; ſo that it was become the only great and conſiderable Mart or Scale within the Precincts of the Turkiſh Empire: conſidering it (I ſay) in this manner with a benign eye, as bringing great profit and advantage, they began to think it worthy the Ornament of ſome publick Edifices, founded with that Magnificence as might endure long, and renew the ancient Honour and Reputation of *Smyrna:* Hereupon they erected in the firſt place a Beſaſteen, which is in the nature of our Exchange, where ſeveral Shops are made, and variety of Goods ſold; and to make the better Front towards the Sea, it was founded therein on vaſt Stones and Piles, fit to ſupport a weighty Building.

A Beſaſteen and new Cuſtom-houſe, and a Royal Chan built at *Smyrna*.

The next Edifice erected was a Cuſtom-houſe built into the Sea only on Piles of Timber, with a handſom Front towards the Sea; and this the Great Vizier judged to be a work not only neceſſary, but alſo agreeable to the Majeſty of his Maſter; for until this time the Cuſtomer lived in a hired Houſe, not unlike the others which Merchants inhabit. And now this Houſe being compleated, a Hatteſheriff or Royal Decree came down from the Court, commanding that all Ships that came into that Port either to lade or unlade, ſhould lay their ſides to that Cuſtom-houſe Scale, and thereon diſcharge their Goods, and receive others.

And now whereas the Merchants injoyed at all times in former days the convenience of having their Goods landed on, and laden from their own Keys or Scales, they greatly reſented this innovation; and as they unwillingly quit any Priviledge, ſo they judged this not unworthy to be contended for with ſingular conſtancy and reſolution: the commodiouſneſs of which was thought ſo conſiderable, that it not only cauſed this place in former days to flouriſh, and to be diſtinguiſhed from all the Marts in the World; but alſo the injoyment thereof invited the Inhabitants from the more elevated parts of *Smyrna* (where was health and pleaſure) to the lower Bogs and Mariſhes, exchanging health and chearful air for profit and convenience of Commerce. Hereupon applications were made by all the Conſuls of the Frank Nations to their Ambaſſadours and Miniſters at the Grand Signiors Court. In the mean time Trade by common agreement was interdicted, at leaſt as to the lading or unlading of Ships, which continued for ſeveral days, and touched ſomewhat grievouſly the Engliſh and Dutch Nations: the firſt having two Ships, and the latter ſix Merchant-ſhips in Port. The Engliſh Ambaſſadour being then perſonally at *Adrianople*, was the firſt who without the aſſiſtance of any other Miniſter, moved in this affair, but found great oppoſition in it from the Turkiſh Officers; who with ſome reſent-

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1676. ment of the preſent reluctancy of the Merchants, declared not without paſſion, the reſolution the Grand Signior had to conform the honour of the Cuſtom-houſe in ſome ſemblance with thoſe of Chriſtian Princes; and therefore did wonder that the Chriſtian Merchants could ſo eaſily condeſcend to the rules of thoſe Cuſtom houſes in their own Countries, where they were Natives, and yet could not ſupport the ſame in theſe parts where they were Aliens and Strangers. And as a farther evidence of the Turks reſolution to maintain this point, it was ſaid by the Vizier's Kahya, that the Grand Signior was reſolved to blow up both Port and Town, rather than not be obeyed in his own Dominions; with this Anſwer, Merchants deſpairing of the ſucceſs, began to unlade their ſhips at the Cuſtom houſe, or to give an account there of the Goods in their Boats; for the Cuſtomer was become ſenſible, that there was not ſufficient Water for ſhips to ride at the Key of the Cuſtom houſe, and did alſo indulge unto the Merchants ſeveral other particulars herein, that ſo the innovation might ſit the more lightly on them, which he perceived was ſo ill reſented and taken to heart. And this was the firſt beginning in the Months of *Auguſt* and *September*, when this priviledge was taken from the Merchants. And in this Year alſo the Great Chan next to the Beſaſteen was in Building, and the firſt Foundation thereof laid, and the great Aquaduct brought from the Plains of *Bogiaw*, and little *Harchi-bonar*.

Anno Chriſti 1676. *Hegeira* 1087.

THis Year began with joyful News to the whole Turkiſh Empire, all places and Cities of leſs renown rejoycing to hear the intentions of the Sultan to refreſh and adorn again his Capital Throne of *Conſtantinople* with the Imperial Preſence; for that City (which is the moſt proper Scituation of the World, to be made the head of a great Empire) having now almoſt for ſixteen years wanted the Rays of Majeſty, and the Countenance of the Sultan, became almoſt abandoned and forſaken of its Inhabitants, ſo that the ſpacious Seraglios or Palaces of the chief Miniſters and Officers of the Empire began to decay and run to ruine, and the Artiſans and Shop-keepers to leave their dwellings, and to follow their Trade at *Adrianople*, or in the Camp. But now the News of the deſigned return of the Grand Signior to his ancient Seat, filled all places with joy and triumph, eſpecially at *Conſtantinople*, which was not more ſatisfied with the conſideration of the benefit and advantage it was likely to receive by the Royal Preſence, than that thoſe ſuſpicions and jealouſies which formerly poſſeſſed the mind of the Sultan with a prejudice againſt this place, did ſeem now to vaniſh, and that he reaſſumed a confidence of his Royal City equal to that love and eſteem which his Anceſtors had of it; ſo that the humour which then poſſeſſed *Conſtantinople* appeared like that of *London* at our Kings Reſtauration, all joy, even to tranſport, for this unexſpected Return; the people in the ſtreets congratulating their mutual happineſs, thanked God, that they had lived to ſee that happy day and bleſſed hour.

The G. Signior returns to *Conſtantinople*.

The occaſion of this unexſpected and ſudden reſolution cauſed many roving gueſſes and opinations of the reaſons of it. Some ſaid a Dream which the Grand Signior had, and which gave great diſturbance to his thoughts, until he reſolved for *Conſtantinople*. Others ſaid, the revolt and

and troubles at *Cairo*, of which we shall presently have occasion to discourse, and some added certain Commotions at *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*; some reported, that *Xeriff* of *Mecha* wrote him a Letter, that he could not acknowledge him the Head and Protector of the Mussulmin Faith, so long as he had abandoned his Imperial City, and lived in the mountains and unknown places. Others said, that the Janisaries and Militia murmured, and that his Coming to *Constantinople* was forced and not to be avoided; and that the Sultan being now out of love with *Adrianople*, had cursed it, and sworn never more to set foot in it, having ordered the Materials sent for the building of the Great Seraglio at *Adrianople*, to be stopped on the way, and returned back again. At this rate all the World talked and discoursed, joy and hopes made the people fancy every thing according to their wishes. The Grand Signior being approached near to *Constantinople*, fixed himself in his Camp in the Fields, near a small Seraglio of his own, called *Daout Basha*, from whence the people for many days expected, that he should, according to the Custom of his Ancestors, make a solemn Entry; instead whereof he made some Sallies with a small Company through the Streets, as it were *incognito*, taking his pastime on the Water, and on the sides of the *Bosphorus* in his Gallies and Boats, but most commonly frequented his Palace of *Scutari* on the Asian side, where with much delight and confidence he lodged and reposed his Court, but made no solemn Entry through the City, nor frequented his great Seraglio; where though he might perhaps dine, and pass certain hours, yet he slept not one Night there; of which the people took especial notice, and thereby received confirmation of the jealousie their Soveraign had of them, to their extraordinary grief and dissatisfaction; however it was some contentment to the people, and renown unto the City to have their Emperour so near, though it was rumoured as if the Court towards the approach of Winter intended again to return unto *Adrianople*. In the mean time the Grand Signior took his chief delight and divertisement on the Water, passing in his Gallies and Pleasure-Boats up the *Bosphorus* to the mouth of the Black Sea; and thence returning, much frequented the Gardens, and Houses of Delight upon the Banks of the River; and visiting all places, a Country House called *Therapea*, belonging to the Dutch Resident, received the honour of his Presence, which he liked so well, that he took it from the Proprietor, and conferred it without any consideration of money on one of his Courtiers, giving out a Proclamation, That no Christian Minister should possess any Seat or Habitation on the side of the *Bosphorus*. A strange thing, and what is not to be paralleled in any part of the World.

1676.

Conjectures concerning the reasons of the Grand Signiors return to *Constantinople*.

About the beginning of this Year the Captain Pasha died, and *Zaid Ahmet* Pasha-ogli, then at the Camp, succeeded him; his Father was a famous Man, and in the same Charge, but cut off by old *Kuperlee*. Soon after *Ibrahim* Pasha, General of the Army at *Kemenitz*, likewise died, and his Office was conferred on *Ibrahim* Pasha, that was Pasha of *Candia*, of whom we have had often occasion to speak, being a great friend to the English Nation. The Great Vizier also was not far remote from the Confines of Death, being now fallen, by reason of immoderate drinking of Wine, and chiefly of hot Cinamon Waters, into a formed Dropsie and Jaundice.

In the preceding year we touched on the removal of the Tefterdar

1676. or Treasurer from his Office to the Government of Grand *Cairo*, and the reasons for it, which though it might be a preferment (being the richest and most important Charge of the Empire) to which the esteem the Sultan had of his parts and abilities, might probably advance him; yet the imploying of him at a distance so remote, was certainly an effect of some displeasure, whereby he or his Favourites judged him a Person not fit to remain longer near the Royal Presence. Wherefore having commenced his Journey (as before mentioned) he arrived at Grand *Cairo*, where he had not long continued before he began, according to the natural acuteness of his mind and hugstering manner, to pierce with a narrow inspection into all Affairs of that Government, and particularly into the Revenue and Treasure of the Country, contriving with himself by what means the disorders might be corrected, and the Revenue and Tribute improved; for he had an excellent Genius or Spirit in the matters of Money, nothing in advantage of Interest could ever escape him; so that he began to lay a new foundation in all proceedings; he would not be contented with the old Taxes and Impositions, and where he found Lands improved, or the Customs augmented, he would put in for a share of the Benefits, and would reform every thing wherein he judged his Master to have been abused. But though he was acute and sharp-sighted in such matters as these, yet he wanted experience in the Government of *Egypt*; for the great Beghs of this Country being alarmed with these innovations, began to stand upon their Guard, and to enter into private Consultations, in what manner to oppose themselves to this new way of Government, which looked like slavery, and designs of bringing them into servitude, and a subjection unknown to them and their Fore-fathers. For indeed the Government of *Egypt*, if well considered, is rather Aristocratical than Monarchical; for though they acknowledge the Sultan to be their Head, and accept his Pasha for Ruler, and pay a yearly Tribute; yet the Beghs which are great Lords in their respective Countries, carry the sway and Dominion in all other matters, and will endure nothing which savours of oppression or innovation; so that these persons grown jealous by the proceedings of the new Pasha, flew into open Sedition, and immediately to Arms, with force of which they assaulted the Pasha's Palace, took him and threw him into Prison. The News whereof flying with all haste to the Ottoman Court, appeared at the first apprehension or surprise as if all *Egypt* had revolted, and gave the World occasion to discourse, That the Wars were to be carried Eastward, and that the sudden resolution of removing the Court to *Constantinople* was in order to a farther March into those parts But frequent Messages with time making the business to be better understood, caused the Grand Signior to dispeed with all haste another Pasha, with Commission to remove the former, and to continue all the ancient Customs and Priviledges from the beginning indulged to the Beghs of *Egypt*: with which Message and gentle words of grace and favour from the Sultan, all discontents being pacified, the former Pasha was released from his Imprisonment, and suffered to depart, and thence proceeded to the Island of *Candia*, where he entred on that Pashaluck, succeeding *Ibrahim* Pasha in Charge, who (as before related) was sent to *Kemenitz* to be General of the Army, in place of the Pasha lately deceased.

The People in *Egypt* rebel against their new Pasha.

But here I must not forget a story which happened during the time of this Summer, whilst the Grand Signior had his abode and injoyed his Recreations

Recreations in the circumjacent parts of *Conſtantinople*, there was a cer- 1676.
tain Sultana which had been a caſt Wench of Sultan *Ibrahim*, who after his death, having been married to ſome Paſha, obtained her releaſe from the old Seraglio, and being alſo a Widow by the death of this Huſband, had liberty to take her habitation on the Banks of the *Boſphorus*, or where ſhe thought fit. This Lady was called *Soltana Sporcha*, in Turkiſh *Mordar:* how ſhe came to be ſo nominated I cannot tell, perhaps ſome Italian Pages of the Court might in reſpect to her way of living impoſe this Name upon her, for ſhe was no other than a Bawd, or ſomething worſe, making it her Profeſſion to buy young Girls, and to educate them in ſinging, dancing, and in all the ways which beſt accompliſh Courtiſans. Amongſt this Train of Scholars, ſhe had one more brisk and aery than the others which could ſing, and dance, and prate incomparably, and was ſo quick in her Reparties, that ſhe greatly delighted the Paſha's and Lords, whoſe pleaſures ſhe attended, bringing from them conſiderable Gifts and Preſents to the enriching of her ſelf and Miſtreſs; and became ſo much the talk of the Court, that at length the report of her arrived the ears of the Grand Signior, who being alſo deſirous to injoy ſome divertiſement by the pranks of this witty Girl, ſent to the Sultana one of the black Eunuchs for her: which Imperial Command ſhe not daring to diſobey, conſigned her with great ſubmiſſion into the hands of the Meſſenger; but with this caution, that ſhe humbly deſired the Sultan not to make any attempt on her Chaſtity, in regard ſhe was both a Virgin and a Free-woman. The Grand Signior having pleaſed himſelf with the wantonneſs of this Wench, began to take a fancy to her, and reſolved to take her into the Seraglio; but ſhe ſhewing a kind of nicety and coineſs, the Grand Signior, who perhaps was better accommodated, ſent her back again to her Miſtreſs, reflecting (as was ſuppoſed) with ſome diſguſt on the cautions which accompanied her. It happened not long after, that this Girl exerciſing her Art in the preſence of ſome great Perſons, one *Cheſmé* Aga, a Boſnian by Nation, Captain of the Great Viziers Guard, a ſtout and valiant man, happening to be a Spectator one night, became unfortunately enamoured of her, and from that time not being able to remove the impreſſion ſhe had made in his heart, reſolved, if poſſible, to make her his Wife, and to that end made his affections known and his intentions of Marriage, both to her and to her Miſtreſs. The Girl was well enough pleaſed to become the Wife of ſo honourable a Perſon; but the Sultana unwilling to loſe the profit and benefit ſhe daily brought her in, refuſed the Match, declaring, That ſhe was a Slave, and not at her own diſpoſal, and therefore in no capacity of beſtowing her ſelf any way without her conſent. This impediment giving a ſtop to the Marriage, put the two Lovers on plots and contrivances in what manner to injoy each other, and Love being ingenious, quickly found out a means to bring them together; for the Girl eſcaping from her Miſtreſs, lodged her ſelf in thoſe Chambers which her Lover had found for her. And being now miſſed, none but *Cheſmé* Aga was charged with her, of whom ſhe complained to the Grand Signior, and cited him before his Maſter the Great Vizier to anſwer for her; but he denying to know any thing of her, and no witneſs appearing againſt him, all farther proceedings were ſuperſeded for the preſent: But *Soltana Sporcha* keeping watchful ſpies upon all the motions of *Cheſmé* Aga, at length found him and his Miſtreſs together, and by the Authority of Of-

The Hiſtory of *Soltana Sporcha.*

1676. ficers brought them both before the Vizier: to whom the Sultana ſent a rude meſſage, That *Cheſmé* Aga ſhould be puniſhed, and that her Slave ſhould be returned. The Vizier hereof acquainted the Grand Signior, and gave him to underſtand the meſſage which the Sultana had ſent him, deſiring to know what puniſhment he was pleaſed ſhould be inflicted on them. In which interim *Cheſmé* Aga told the Vizier, That he expected no other than a ſentence of death from the Grand Signior, only he deſired that his beloved Miſtreſs might be ſpared, for he was ſure he ſhould live in her. It was not long before the fatal Decree came for putting *Cheſmé* Aga to death, and ſending the Woman to the Seraglio, which was immediately executed; which act might ſeem to denote a natural cruelty in the Sultan, being in reality very ſevere, though the whole courſe of his Reign hath been more gentle and mild than of any of the Ottoman Emperours; only this fact proceeded rather from diſdain than thirſt of blood, being angry that this Girl ſhould prefer the Love of one of his Vaſſals before the Honours of the Seraglio, and that her Miſtreſs the Soltana ſhould charm him with a lye of her being free, when ſhe was no other than a ſlave, and not long before bought for an inconſiderable price.

The Grand Signior returns again to *Adrianople.*

Not long after this, and towards the 11th or 12th of *September*, when the Sun was come to the Equinoctial, the Grand Signior prepared to depart. The rumour of which diſpleaſing and making ſad the peoples hearts, as much as his preſence before comforted them, it was given out, That the Grand Signior intended to return with the Spring, and divide the conſolation, which his reſidence produced, between the two Regal Cities, and for an evidence thereof, he ordered a Platform to be laid for erecting a new Seraglio at *Scutari*, and the Vizier deſigned another at *Bezick-raſh*, and the Palaces of the Paſha's and great Men were all putting into a way of Reparation, which for ſome time amuſed and contented the minds of the Commonalty.

The Death of the Great Vizier *Achmet.*

About the beginning of *October* the Grand Signior ſet forward towards *Adrianople*, being accompanied with the Moſayp, which is his Favourite, and *Kara Muſtapha* who was his Chimacam, taking his recreation by the way in Hunting; but the Great Vizier *Achmet* Paſha continuing ſtill ſick of his Dropſie and Jaundice, took his Journey by Water as far as *Selebrea* for his better eaſe, and thence proceeding in a Horſe-litter to *Churlu*, which is the half-way to *Adrianople*, on the 23d of *October* expired his laſt; his Diſeaſe, though heightned by Wine and hot Spirits, yet was in ſome part hereditary, his Father dying of the Dropſie. His Body was on the 25th brought back again in a Coach to *Conſtantinople* with a ſmall Attendance, and buried in the ſame Sepulchre with his Father.

His Character.

He was a Perſon (for I have ſeen him often, and knew him well) of a middle ſtature, of a black beard, and brown complexion, ſomething ſhort-ſighted, which cauſed him to knit his brows and pore very intently when any ſtrange perſon entred to his preſence: he was inclining to be fat, and grew corpulent towards his latter days. If we conſider his age when he firſt took upon him this important Charge, the Enemies his Father had created him, the contentions he had with the *Valede Sultana* or the Queen-Mother, and the Arts he had uſed to reconcile the affections of theſe great Perſonages, and conſerve himſelf in the unalterable eſteem of his Soveraign to the laſt hour of his death, there is none but muſt judge him to have deſerved the Character of a prudent and politick Perſon.

Perſon. If we conſider how few were put to death, and what inconſiderable Mutinies or Rebellions happened in any part of the Empire during his Government, it will afford us a clear evidence and proof of his gentleneſs and moderation beyond the example of former times; for certainly he was not a Perſon who delighted in bloud, and in that reſpect of an humour far different from the temper of his Father; He was generous, and free from Avarice, a rare Vertue in a Turk! He was educated in the Law, and therefore greatly addicted to all the Formalities of it, and in the Adminiſtration of that ſort of Juſtice very punctual and ſevere; He was very obſervant of the Capitulations between our King and the Grand Signior, being ready to do Juſtice upon any corrupt Miniſter, who pertinaciouſly violated and tranſgreſſed them, of which I could give ſeveral inſtances, but theſe being improper for this place, are only in general to be mentioned with due gratitude in honour to his Memory. As to his behaviour towards the neighbouring Princes, there may, I believe, be fewer examples of his breach of Faith, than what his Predeceſſours have given in a ſhorter time of Rule. In his Wars abroad he was ſucceſsful, having upon every expedition enlarged the Bounds of the Empire; He overcame *Newhauſel* or *Oywar*, and laid thereunto a conſiderable part of *Hungary*, which to this day continues ſubject, and pays cõntribution to the Turk. 1676.

He concluded the War with *Venice* after twenty ſeven years continuance, by an intire and total ſubjection of the Iſland of *Candia*, having ſubdued that impregnable Fortreſs, which by the reſt of the World was eſteemed invincible.

He won *Kemenitz*, the Key of *Poland*, where the Turks had been frequently baffled, and laid *Ukrania* to the Empire; reducing the Coſacks, thoſe mortal Enemies, to ſubjection, and to a deſire of taking on them the Ottoman Yoke: and, finally, he impoſed a new Tribute on all *Poland*. After all which Glories he dyed in the 47th year of his Age, and 15th year and 8th day of his Government; a ſhort time, if we conſider it, for ſuch great actions; howſoever, if we meaſure his triumphs, rather than count his years, though he might ſeem to have lived but little to his Prince and People, yet certainly to himſelf he could not dye more ſeaſonable, nor in a greater height and eminency of Glory. *Utcunque Principi, & Reipublicæ parum, ſibi certè ſatis ſuæq; Gloriæ vixiſſe videbitur.*

The Great Vizier having in this manner expired his laſt breath, the Seal was immediately carried by his Brother to the Grand Signior, who upon Receipt thereof, according to common expectation, conferred the ſame on *Kara Muſtapha* Paſha, who had for ſo many years formerly exerciſed the Office of Chimacam, which is as much as Deputy to the Great Vizier, of whom in other places we gave a Character of being a wiſe and experienced Perſon, of a ſmooth behaviour, and a great Courtier; agreeable to which temper of mind, ſo ſoon as he attained this promotion, he ſent an obliging and courteous Meſſage to the Servants of the deceaſed Vizier, condoling with them the death of their Maſter, promiſing to take them and their Concernments into his Care and Protection; according whereunto he advanced *Solyman* Kahya (who was the late Vizier's Subſtitute, and for ſome years had managed all Affairs) to the Office of Embrahore, which is chief Maſter of the Grand Signiors Horſe, and is a place not only of honour, but of great ſecurity. *Kara Muſtapha* made Vizier.

He

1676. He that was his own Kahya he made a Vizier of the Bench, and Chimacam in the ſame manner as he was to *Achmet* Vizier; by which point of policy he ſeemed to have ſtrengthened himſelf againſt all Enemies, for having two Creatures of his own ſo well diſpoſed; one near the Perſon of his Prince, who would be able to do him all good Offices; and the other (whenſoever the Wars or other occaſions ſhould cauſe him to be abſent from the Royal Preſence) might ſupply his place without attempting to ſupplant him. The Kapiſſer-Kahyaſee, or Maſter of the Ceremonies to the late Vizier, he made his own Kahya, and all the other Agas which depended on that Court, he received into his own ſervice; ſo that in effect there ſeemed, by this great chance of Mortality, to be little other alteration in the Court, than of the ſingle perſon of the deceaſed Vizier; of whoſe Memory, that the Grand Signior might evidence the love and eſteem that he retained, he did not intermeddle or appropriate unto himſelf any part of his Eſtate, or diſanulled his Teſtament; but reſigned all into the hands of his Relations, challenging no ſhare or proportion thereof: And whereas the Vizier left no Children, the Eſtate fell to his Brother and Siſters, who to evidence their Devotion to Religion, and good will to the Publick, and to pleaſe the eyes of the envious World, conferred on *Mecka* the Rent of the new Cuſtom houſe, the Beſaſteen, and new Chan built at *Smyrna*, and finiſhed in the year 1677.

At this firſt change there were rumours, that the new Vizier had begun his Government in blood, having cut off ſeveral Heads lately in Authority; but all was falſe, and only grounded on a diſpleaſure which he was known to have conceived againſt certain perſons. Only one act he performed rather of juſtice than ſeverity, having cut off one of the Pay-maſters of the Exchequer for falſe Money. The occaſion was this: Certain Muletiers having received money from the Exchequer in Venetian Zechins, and finding ſeveral of them falſe, returned them again, but could not prevail to have them changed; whereupon having made their Memorial thereof, they carried them to the Vizier, and upon examination, the Pay-maſter declared, That he received them from the Great *Ibrahim* Han-ogli, who being for that Cauſe ſent for and accuſed, was put into a fear, which proved as dangerous to him as a Diſeaſe, the apprehenſions of Death being worſe than the reality; but the Great Teſterdar ſoon cleared him of this Accuſation, having atteſted, That to his knowledge the money received from him was good, and diſpoſed on other occaſions; ſo that the whole blame lying now on the Pay-maſter, and upon farther ſearch more of the ſame ſtamp being found in his hands, he deſervedly ſuffered the puniſhment of Death, the which had likewiſe been inflicted on another Officer of the ſame rank, but not being found ſo culpable as the other, he was permitted to redeem his life with forty Purſes of Money, or twenty thouſand Dollars.

Alterations with the new Vizier.

Thus far we have ſeen the gentle and ſmooth behaviour of the preſent Vizier towards the Friends, Relations, and Servants of the deceaſed, and with what Acts of Juſtice he began his Government. But, behold, on a ſudden the face of the whole Court was changed, every Officer thereof putting on a Countenance of fierceneſs, pride, and arrogance, beyond the manner and cuſtom lately practiſed. For the Great Vizier took on himſelf the State and Grandeur of the Sultan, (the acceſs being as difficult to him as to his Maſter) his Kahya that of the Vizier,

Vizier, and so every inferiour Officer advanced himself into a fancy of possessing the next and immediate Degree above him. This haughty behaviour had a more particular influence on the Ministers and Representatives of Foreign Princes, whose Interpreters were not admitted, as formerly, to private Audiences or Conferences about their Affairs, but only at the Publick Divan, where their Arzes or Memorials were to be preferred in the same manner as was practised by the Subjects of the Countrey, and those of conquered Nations, who petition for Justice. The which abasement was not only cast on the Interpreters, but on the Persons of the Representatives themselves: an example of which we have in the French Ambassadour; who coming at the time appointed to receive his Audience of the Vizier, was forced to expect a long time before he could have admittance, and then entering into the Chamber of Audience, was rudely crouded, and rushed upon by a Crew of unmannerly Chaouses, who no otherwise regarded the Person of the Ambassador, than if he had been one of the Grooms or Lacquies. Being come to the Seat of Audience, the Ambassadour observed, That the Stool for the Great Vizier was set upon the Soffrá, and that for Him below, or at the foot of it; the which being an unusual and unpractised diminution of the ancient honour given formerly to Ambassadours, he ordered one of his Servants, To set it again on the Soffrá equal with that of the Vizier's; the which being done, was again brought down by one of the Vizier's Pages, and placed as before; whereupon, the Ambassadour seizing the Stool with his own hand, carried it on the Soffrá, and sate upon it; which being reported to the Vizier, then in his retiring Chamber, he sent twice to him to remove, letting him know, That unless the Stool were returned into the Place appointed by him, he would not appear in the Chamber of Audience. Whereunto his Excellency returned this prudent Answer, That the Vizier might dispose of his Chair as he pleased, but not of his Person. In which Interim the Chaous-bashee came in, roaring out, *Calder*, *Calder*, which is, Take it away, Take it away, (meaning the Stool) at which noise the Ambassadour arising to see what the matter was, had the Stool taken from under him; whereat being greatly enraged, he threw out of the Room in a high passion, and causing the Presents which he brought to be again returned with him, he mounted his Horse, and departed. 1676.

Afterwards it was intimated unto the English Ambassadour, That he might, if he pleased, receive Audience of the Great Vizier; But his Excellency, understanding in what manner the French Ambassadour had been treated, excused his Going, on pretence of an Indisposition of health. Howsoever, the Venetian Bailo, and the Residents of *Holland* and *Genoua* were contented to be admitted unto Audience on those terms which the Vizier was pleased to allow. And though during the time that he was Chimacam, and bore other inferiour Offices, and Charges of Trust, his behaviour was gentle, affable, and civil; yet I fear, that now having changed his Office, he will have altered his humour, and that his Greatness will have encreased his Pride, Avarice, and Fierceness: thus, no man knows what another will be, when he shall enter into power.

Die

1676.

Dic mihi si fueris tu Leo, qualis eris.

And as *Magistratus indicat Virum*, so in the actions of his management the temper and constitution of this great Person will be discovered. And thus having given a short Account and Character of this present Vizier, his future Acts and Monuments must be the Subject of other Pens.

FINIS.

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