

CORRESPONDENCE

RELATIVE TO THE

AFFAIRS OF THE LEVANT.

PART I.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1841.

1839-40 Y 27

LONDON:

PRINTED BY T. R. HARRISON, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

time, and to stave off the crisis in the affairs of the East; and nothing would tend more to the attainment of that object, than to indulge the Pasha in the expectation of the good offices of France and England being employed at Constantinople to secure to his son the succession to the Government of Egypt, on the same conditions on which it is now held by Mehemet Ali.

The above is the substance of Count Molé's conversation with me on this subject, and he requested me to report it to your Lordship.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 2.

Lord Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 3.)

(Extract.)

Therapia, January 27, 1839.

HAVE heard from good authority that advice has been given to the Sultan, to propose to the Great Powers the formation of a conference to decide the Oriental Question.

That the Great Council was held on the 22nd, to discuss the question of peace or war with the Egyptians; that the Sultan is as much as ever alive to that question.

That the Riala Bey has been sent to Alexandria in command of the steamer which took out the Sheik of the Mosque of Mecca, and has been ordered to obtain the best information of the state of the Army and Navy of Mehemet Ali.

On the 26th (yesterday), I heard from the same authority, that rumours continued to increase of war between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali; that there is much movement at the Seraskierate; that a levy of 80,000 men has been determined to be made throughout the empire, including the capital; and that great changes are about to be made amongst the high functionaries of the Porte, and several of them will be replaced by men particularly known by their hostility to the Pasha of Egypt.

Hafiz Pasha has lately shown a disposition to induce the Sultan to act offensively against Mehemet Ali. Your Lordship will observe, in the Persian correspondence sent home by this messenger, what is said respecting an understanding between the Shah of Persia and Mehemet Ali (a fact I long ago knew and stated).

I have endeavoured, as far as my means permitted me, to counteract what I knew (previous to the later information) had been doing with a view to induce the Sultan to deviate from his intention to wait for the results of Rechid Pasha's embassy to Her Majesty being fully known, before he should take any steps whatever of importance; and with this end in view, I sent M. Etienne Pisani to Riza Bey, to urge the necessity for acting with the greatest prudence and caution in the difficult and delicate situation of the Sultan's affairs, when a false step might have the most serious consequences.

No. 3.

Lord Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 1.)

(Extract.)

Therapia, February 6, 1839.

ON the 4th, there was a Grand Council of Ministers and Pashas, for the further discussion of the question of war or peace with Egypt.

The difficulty of obtaining from the Mussulman population men enough to complete the projected levies, was taken into consideration,

and a plan for raising Rayah Regiments, to be commanded by Turkish officers.

I am ignorant of the decision of the Council; the report of it is gone to the Sultan. I may not be able to ascertain the result, but I believe, if war be determined on, Hosrew Pasha will be made Bash Vekil (Prime Minister), he being the most marked enemy of Mehemet Ali.

I have at the same time to report, that the Ottoman treasury is said to be empty; that the Minister of Finance states his inability to provide for the most urgent expences, and upon that poverty justifies the continuation of monopolies.

I have written despatches, which will go by the messenger, to acquaint your Lordship, that I had endeavoured to prevent the adoption of any warlike measures against Egypt; and it will there appear that I have been aware of the state of things and mindful of it.

No. 4.

Lord Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 3.)

(Extract.)

Therapia, February 8, 1839.

WITH reference to my despatches of January 27 and February 6, I have to say, that I do not believe the Sultan will commence hostilities against Mehemet Ali at present. I have just had a communication with his Highness, and recommended most strongly his observance of the greatest prudence in his conduct; and said, that his Highness could not at this moment have sufficient grounds on which to form a sound judgment of his position.

The Sultan thanked me for my communication, and renewed the assurances he previously gave, that he would do nothing precipitately. It is certain that Hafiz Pasha has been advising war.

No. 5.

Lord Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 13.)

(Extract)

Therapia, February 12, 1839.

I HOPE the Sultan will avoid committing himself in any way at present. I omit no opportunity that offers, or that I can create, for renewing to His Imperial Majesty the counsel not to put anything to risk.

No. 6.

Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 14.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 11, 1839.

THE last despatches from Admiral Roussin, represent that the appearance of affairs at Constantinople is very warlike. The Ambassador states that the Grand Signor is intent upon attacking the Egyptians; and his counsellors, though differing in opinion from the Sultan, and apprehensive of the consequences of commencing hostilities, dare not risk incurring the displeasure of his Highness by giving him advice to remain at peace. On the other hand, Ibrahim Pasha, it is stated, says he will be cautious not to be an aggressor, but that if attacked by the Turkish Army, he has no doubt of entirely defeating it, and that he shall in that case march upon Constantinople immediately.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 7.

Viscount Palmerston to Lord Ponsonby

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March 15, 1839.*

HER Majesty's Government entirely approve the language which, as reported in your despatch of the 12th ultimo, you have held with the view of inducing the Sultan to avoid committing himself in any way at present; and I have to instruct your Excellency to press strongly on the Sultan, that while, on the one hand, Great Britain would undoubtedly assist him to repel any attack on the part of Mehemet Ali; it would, on the other hand, be a different question if the war was begun by the Sultan.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 8.

Lord Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 24.)

My Lord, *Therapia, February 26, 1839*

THE Ottoman fleet has been brought out of port, and is getting ready to be employed, if wanted.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 9.

Lord Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 6.)

(Extract.) *Constantinople, March 7, 1839.*

IT is reported, that some time ago the Sultan sent a Hatti-Sherif to the Great Council to the following purport:—

“Hafiz Pasha informs me that my Army is able to defeat the Egyptian Army in Syria. The Capudan Pasha tells me that my Fleet is strong enough to defeat and destroy the Egyptian Fleet. It remains for you to be courageous, and to do your duty.”

To this Hatti-Sherif the Great Council returned for answer, “that his Highness' Ministers would do everything in their power to act in conformity with the pleasure of their master.”

I have taken every measure within my power to persuade the Sultan of the advantages to himself that must be derived from patient and prudent delay of all hostile movements on his part. I hope the Sultan is convinced of the truth of what I have said to him, and I expect that he will not act at present against the Pasha of Egypt.

No. 10.

Mr. Milbanke to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 6.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, March 28, 1839.*

HEARING of the arrival of the messenger Barnard, on his way to London, Prince Metternich sent for me to request that I would be the channel of communicating to your Lordship the substance of a report which he had just received from the Austrian Internuncio, relative to the threatening aspect which affairs had assumed on the Syrian and Turkish frontiers.

His principal object in sending for me, however, was to beg me to call the earnest attention of Her Majesty's Government to the necessity of at once putting a stop to these warlike ebullitions, by the united remonstrances of all the Great Powers; and he said that he was about to dispatch a messenger to Constantinople, with instructions to Baron Stürmer, to state to the Sultan and his Ministers, in the most positive terms, that Austria would not quietly allow events in the East to assume a character by which the peace of Europe itself might be compromised. That if the Pasha of Egypt was the aggressor, as the Turkish Ministers wished to make out, the Sultan might count upon the assistance of the other Powers in repelling any attack. But, that if the approach of the Turkish Army to the Syrian frontier led to a violation of the established *status quo*, the Turkish Government must not be surprised if those Powers withdrew their countenance from the Sultan, and abandoned the Empire to its fate.

Prince Metternich then added, that as he conceived this to be a case which admitted of no delay, he trusted that your Lordship would not lose a moment in instructing Lord Ponsonby to concert with his colleagues the means of warding off the mischiefs which the present conduct of the Sultan was calculated to produce.

No. 11.

Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 11.)

My Lord,

Paris, April 8, 1839.

I HAVE received your Lordship's despatches to the 5th of April.

A letter having appeared in the "Journal des Débats" of yesterday, bearing the date of the 19th of March, from Constantinople, stating that the hopes which had been entertained of maintaining peace in the East had vanished, and that a war with the Egyptians was considered to be inevitable,—I, this day, enquired at the Foreign Office whether the last despatches from Admiral Roussin confirmed this intelligence?

I was informed that no despatches of a very recent date had been received by the French Government from Constantinople, but that Count St. Aulaire had written from Vienna, that the Russian Ambassador at that Court had communicated to Prince Metternich a despatch from M. de Bouténeff, in which it is stated, that although he, M. de Bouténeff, had declared that the assistance to the Turkish Government stipulated in the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, could not be claimed, if the Turks were the aggressors in a war against Mehemet Ali, the Sultan had not renounced his warlike intentions; and that it was most desirable that the Austrian Internuncio at Constantinople should be furnished with instructions to use the strongest language to deter the Sultan from carrying into execution those intentions.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 12.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, April 12, 1839.

I INCLOSE, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a despatch* from Her Majesty's Minister at Vienna, reporting the substance of a conversation with Prince Metternich, upon the disposition manifested by the Porte to commence hostilities with Mehemet Ali.

* No. 10.

With reference to what is stated in this paper, I have to instruct your Excellency to continue to co-operate actively with your colleagues in endeavouring by all means in your power to prevail upon the Sultan to abstain from any hostile proceedings against Mehemet Ali.

I add a copy of a letter which I have addressed to M. Hummelauer.

Inclosure in No. 12.

Viscount Palmerston to M. de Hummelauer.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, April 10, 1839.

YOU may assure Prince Metternich, that instructions have already and frequently been given to Lord Ponsonby, to endeavour by all means to dissuade the Porte from commencing hostilities against Mehemet Ali; and that Lord Ponsonby has continued, whenever circumstances required it, and especially of late, to carry those instructions into execution. I shall not fail, however, to write again to his Lordship upon this important matter by the monthly messenger, who is about to set out; and Her Majesty's Government would vain hope that the united efforts of the Representatives of all the Great Powers will succeed in persuading the Sultan to remain quiet.

No. 13.

Lord Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 6.)

My Lord,

Therapia, March 18, 1839.

I INCLOSE copy of a message I received this day from the Sublime Porte, and my reply to it.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) **PONSONBY.**

Inclosure in No. 13.

Lord Ponsonby to M. E. Pisani.

Sir,

Therapia, March 18, 1839.

I HAVE received your note containing the message from his Excellency Nouri Effendi, in the following words:

“D'après les dépêches reçues à la Porte, de la part de Hafiz Pacha, de Malatia, écrites il y a environ vingt jours, un corps très-considérable de troupes Egyptiennes, sous le commandement de Kourschid Pacha, est arrivé à Adana; tandis que le corps d'armée à Alep reçoit tous les jours des renforts. La distance d'Adana au camp de Hafiz Pacha, est d'environ soixante lieues. Cet état de choses donne beaucoup à penser à Hafiz Pacha, qui a été conseillé par les officiers Prussiens employés dans son armée, de lever le camp, et d'aller occuper certaines positions militaires situées entre l'emplacement du camp et Adana. Cette mesure est jugée nécessaire par les dits officiers. Les dépêches de Hafiz Pacha ont donné lieu à la tenue d'un Conseil. La Porte ne sait pas quelle réponse elle devrait faire à Hafiz Pacha, qui attend ses ordres. Elle se trouve dans le cas de prendre, en cette circonstance, l'avis de son Excellence Lord Ponsonby. Je le prie de me faire savoir quelle serait, dans sa manière de voir, la meilleure réponse à faire à Hafiz Pacha.”

To the foregoing, I request you will reply, in my name, that I am very sensible of the honour done me by the Ottoman Government, in desiring my counsel, and that nothing would give me more satisfaction than

to be able to prove my attachment to the interests of the Sublime Porte, by offering advice that might be of service, but that I value too much the interest of the Sublime Porte to venture to speak upon a military question, being myself ignorant of the art of war: and the question proposed to me is one that belongs exclusively to military men to determine. But I will, with the permission of his Excellency, take this occasion to renew what I have often and often said, with relation to the political part of the important matters of which this military question forms a portion, and again beg of the Sublime Porte to weigh most deliberately its decisions, and to make prudence and caution its guides. A false step might occasion irremediable mischief; and it seems to me, that the Sublime Porte can hardly be at this moment fully and completely acquainted with the precise situation of affairs in all those parts of the world where what is done, or doing, or to be done, must have a powerful action upon the welfare of the Sublime Porte.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) **PONSONBY.**

(Translation of part of the above Inclosure.)

“ACCORDING to the despatches received at the Porte, from Hafiz Pasha, of Malatia, written about twenty days since, a very considerable body of Egyptian troops, under the command of Kourschid Pasha, had arrived at Adana; whilst the *corps d'armée* at Aleppo receives reinforcements every day. The distance from Adana to the camp of Hafiz Pasha, is about sixty leagues. This state of things gives much anxiety to Hafiz Pasha, who has been advised by the Prussian officers employed in his army, to raise the camp, and to proceed to occupy certain military positions situated between the site of the camp and Adana. This step is considered necessary by those officers. The despatches of Hafiz Pasha have rendered it necessary that a Council should be held. The Porte does not know what answer it ought to return to Hafiz Pasha, who waits its orders. It finds itself under the necessity of asking, under these circumstances, the advice of his Excellency Lord Ponsonby. I request him to let me know what would, according to his view of the subject, be the best answer to return to Hafiz Pasha.”

No. 14.

Colonel Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 13.)

(Extract.)

Cairo, March 11, 1839.

THE Pasha may be expected here on or before the 17th instant, which is the 1st of the Turkish month of Moharem.

The Pasha's iron steamer left this for Essouan, five days ago, in order to convey him to Cairo.

Abbas Pasha, who is intrusted with the Government, during the absence of Mehemet Ali, has been alarmed by the reports which have been received from Constantinople, of the warlike preparations of the Sultan, which are said to be directed against Syria, and in consequence, wrote to press the return of the Viceroy to Cairo.

Orders have been given, and are in execution for getting the Pasha's fleet ready for sea. A considerable quantity of arms has been sent to Syria; and it is supposed that 4,000 troops, which have lately arrived at Alexandria from the interior, are for the same destination.

No. 15.

Colonel Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 13.)

(Extract.)

Cairo, March 11, 1839.

THE Riala Bey, who arrived here on the 14th of February, left this on the 1st instant for Alexandria, which place he left on the 7th instant for Constantinople, on board of the Sultan's steamer.

I saw the Riala Bey different times during his stay in Cairo, and he expressed much desire to see Mehemet Ali, but feared that he should not be able to await his return to Cairo.

I have not been able to learn that the Riala Bey came here with any ostensible mission; and conclude, that the object of his coming to this country, was merely to observe and to report the result of his observations.

But although the different public establishments here were ordered to be open for his inspection, and the chiefs of them were directed to afford to him all facilities and information, he did not evince any desire [to visit] them.

The Riala Bey was attended by an officer of the Egyptian Navy, and lodged in the palace of Houssein Pasha in this city.

No. 16.

Lord Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 14.)

(Extract.)

Therapia, March 19, 1839.

WHAT I am about to report may have connection with what I had the honour to communicate in my despatch of March 7, to your Lordship, and I entertain no doubt of its general truth.

"Hafiz Pasha and his officers are incessant in their demands and cries to the Porte to march against the Egyptians, alleging that there will never again be so favourable an opportunity for driving them out of Syria. The reports were received almost at the same hour with another report from Rechid Pasha, in which it is said that there is nothing to be expected from the Courts of London or Paris. The two reports have given force to the desire to attack Ibrahim, before his father can return from his journey; and it is almost certain that on the 17th instant, a resolution existed of following the advice of Hafiz Pasha."

Your Lordship will understand, that when I say, I believe in the general truth of what is stated, I do not mean to say that I believe the Ottoman Government will act in the way described, for on that point I give no opinion.

No. 17.

The Marquess of Clanricarde to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 15.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, April 1, 1839.

WITH reference to the apparent probability that war may break out between Turkey and Egypt, and to the desire of the Sultan to reduce his refractory vassal to better subjection, I have to report to your Lordship that Count Nesselrode tells me he is confident the Sultan will maintain peace, and resign the hostile intentions he cherishes against Mehemet Ali, provided the Russian and British Ambassadors at Constantinople, hold to the Divan the same language on that subject.

I stated to his Excellency how assured I was that my Government would spare no effort to induce the Sultan to maintain peace.

My colleagues here are firmly convinced that it is the sincere and earnest desire of the Emperor that Turkey should remain in perfect tranquillity: and I see no reason to differ from them in that opinion.

No. 18.

Lord Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 29.)

(Extract.)

Therapia, March 23, 1839.

NOURI EFFENDI sent me a message on the 21st instant, indicating that my advice would be followed. I do not believe it had much weight, but I think there will be nothing done at present to disturb the peace.

No. 19.

Rechid Pasha to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 26.)

Monsieur le Vicomte,

1, *Bryanston Square, 26 April, 1839.*

IL y a quelques jours j'ai eu l'honneur de demander à votre Excellence qu'elle voulût bien me communiquer le plus tôt possible, le projet de *Traité* contre les prétentions d'indépendance de Méhémet Ali.

Sachant bien que vous n'avez pas perdu de vue cette affaire, je ne vous la rappellerais pas aujourd'hui si je n'avais pas absolument besoin de m'absenter pendant quelques semaines; ce qui me serait facile après avoir envoyé ce projet à Constantinople.

Si vous pensiez, M. le Vicomte, que la confection de ce document dût entraîner quelque délai, je vous serais infiniment obligé de me le faire savoir, pour que, suivant votre réponse, je diffère ou avance le voyage dont je vous ai parlé.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.,

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la Sublime Porte,
Ambassadeur Extraordinaire,

(Signé) RECHID.

(Translation.)

Rechid Pasha to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 26.)

Monsieur le Vicomte,

1, *Bryanston Square, April 26, 1839.*

I HAD the honour, some days since, to request your Excellency to have the goodness to communicate to me, as soon as possible, the project of treaty against Mehemet Ali's pretensions to independence.

Knowing well that you have not lost sight of this matter, I should not recall it to your attention at present if I were not under the absolute necessity of absenting myself for some weeks, which I could easily do after having sent that project to Constantinople.

If you should think, M. le Vicomte, that the preparation of that document would occasion some delay, I should be greatly obliged by your informing me of it, as I shall defer or hasten the journey of which I have spoken, according to your answer.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

The Minister of the Sublime Porte for Foreign Affairs,
Ambassador Extraordinary,

(Signed) RECHID.

No. 20.

Viscount Palmerston to Rechid Pasha.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 6, 1839.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your Excellency's letter, of the 26th of April, requesting that I would communicate to you, as soon as possible, the draft of Treaty in opposition to the pretensions to independence advanced by Mehemet Ali; and I have to acquaint your Excellency that I propose to send it to you in the course of a few days.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 21.

Rechid Pasha to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 29.)

Monsieur le Vicomte,

1, Bryanston Square, 27 Avril, 1839.

M'ETANT toujours fait un devoir de tenir votre Excellence au courant de la tendance que les affaires prennent à Constantinople, j'ai aujourd'hui l'honneur de lui annoncer que les craintes que l'on avait sur le commencement des hostilités entre l'armée de Sa Hautesse et les troupes de Méhémet Ali, sont très-affaiblies par la teneur des dépêches que j'ai reçues aujourd'hui même; la paix semble désormais assurée pour cette année.

Je suis, &c.,

*Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la Sublime Porte,
Ambassadeur Extraordinaire,*

(Signé) RECHID.

(Translation.)

Rechid Pasha to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 29.)

Monsieur le Vicomte,

1, Bryanston Square, April 27, 1839.

HAVING always made it my duty to keep your Excellency acquainted with the turn which affairs take at Constantinople, I have to-day the honour to inform you that the fears entertained of the commencement of hostilities between the army of His Highness and the troops of Mehemet Ali are greatly diminished by the tenour of the despatches which I have received this day; peace appears to be henceforth secured for this year.

I am, &c.,

*The Minister of the Sublime Porte for Foreign Affairs,
Ambassador Extraordinary,*

(Signed) RECHID.

No. 22.

Viscount Palmerston to Rechid Pasha.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 6, 1839.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your Excellency's letter of the 27th of April, acquainting me that the tenour of the despatches which you had on that day received, led you to imagine that the apprehensions of hostilities between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali were much diminished,

and that it was thought that peace would probably be maintained during the present year; and I hasten to express to your Excellency the sincere satisfaction which Her Majesty's Government have derived from this intelligence.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 23.

Lord Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 27.)

(Extract.)

Therapia, April 6, 1839.

THE messenger who was the bearer of your Lordship's despatches to the 11th of March, arrived late on the 4th instant. That evening I sent for translation into the Turkish language, the substance of your Lordship's communication to me, "that you were agreed with Rechid Pasha on the principle of the proposed Treaty, and employed in preparing the details," and your other arguments. I added the best reasoning I could use, to induce the Porte to abandon warlike policy for the present. I pleaded for delay, knowing that I should do greater harm than good by calling for more.

The Mousteshar Nouri Effendi has replied to my communication, "that the Sublime Porte could not be satisfied with the Treaty, because it is not the Treaty that Rechid Pasha wished to make; that the Porte desired to destroy the *status quo*, and the Treaty proposed by Lord Palmerston not only leaves it in full force, but also binds the Porte not to take advantage in future of any favourable occasion that may offer; that Lord Palmerston's Treaty, with an extraordinary abruptness, stipulates, simply, that England shall unite with the Sublime Porte to act against Mehemet Ali, if he or his successor (of his family) shall declare his independence, or commit any aggression."

Nouri Effendi has promised to give a written answer to my communication, as soon as he has received the Sultan's commands. I will detain the messenger that it may be transmitted to your Lordship immediately.

Tahar Pasha (Chief of the Etat Major under the Seraskier) sailed yesterday in the steamer for Trebizond, from whence he goes to the headquarters of Hafiz Pasha. He was dispatched after the Treaty in question had been submitted in the first instance to the consideration of Nouri Effendi and the Capudan Pasha; and secondly, to the consideration of the Council. I have reason to fear the orders of Tahar Pasha are not of a nature to please your Lordship.

I believe that M. de Bouténeff has been seriously endeavouring to prevent war; the Internuncio has done the same, and the French Ambassador also; and I have continued unceasingly to recommend to the Sultan to delay at least, if not to abstain altogether from everything that may commit him in a perilous enterprize.

No. 24.

Mr. Consul Moore to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 29.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, March 14, 1839.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that the forced conscription is again in operation in Syria.

The levy to be raised is given out as 9,000 men.—a number, small as it may appear, the country will have great difficulty in supplying, so great has been the preceding drain on the population.

Some modification, it is said, is to take place in respect to the manner of raising the conscripts, who are not to be seized as formerly. An eye-

est également clair et évident, que comme l'on ne doit dans aucune circonstance vouloir l'effusion du sang, qui est une suite de la guerre, si Méhémet Ali reconnaît et pratique les obligations que lui impose sa qualité de sujet, Ma Sublime Porte ne prendra point le parti de la guerre; d'autant plus que les pays soumis au Gouvernement de Méhémet Ali, faisant partie de mes états héréditaires, la perte d'hommes de part et d'autre, et les maux qui viendraient fondre sur les pays, et affliger les populations, et surtout les classes pauvres, ne me toucheraient que de trop près. Mais que faut-il faire, lorsqu'il ne reste plus aucune sécurité de la part d'un homme dévoré par l'ambition et l'avidité, qui a conçu des projets perfides? Tant que cet état de choses dure, la sûreté et la tranquillité mutuelles ne sauraient exister, et je suis dans le cas d'entretenir à grands frais, une armée et un camp Impérial. Si l'on considérait cette question, comme on devrait le faire, sous les rapports des convenances qui doivent s'observer entre Gouvernemens; si on l'examinait avec bienveillance et justice, n'est-ce pas que l'on trouverait que la raison est tout-à-fait de mon côté, et que Méhémet Ali est coupable? Quant au Prince Metternich, c'est un homme animé de sentimens bienveillans, un homme d'un excellent jugement: je dois donc soupçonner et croire que cette chaleur et cette vivacité qui caractérisent le langage qu'il tient aujourd'hui, ne sont que l'effet du ton sur lequel on lui a écrit, soit d'ici, soit d'autres endroits. M. l'Internonce a parlé à Nouri Effendi de terme moyen pour la solution de cette question, sans avoir recours aux armes: cela veut dire la rentrée de Méhémet Ali dans la position qui lui convient comme sujet: mais cette position ne peut se réaliser que par la restitution, par Méhémet Ali, d'Adana, de Damas, d'Alep, de Seyda, de Jérusalem, et de Naplouse, et par la réduction de ses forces actuelles à ce point qui seul serait compatible avec sa qualité de sujet. Si les Grandes Puissances veulent travailler à faire naître un pareil état de choses, alors il serait digne de moi d'y donner mon adhésion Impériale."

Telles sont les paroles que, d'ordre du Sultan, j'ai rapportées à M. l'Internonce. Son Excellence ayant prêté une oreille attentive à tout ce que je lui ai dit, elle m'a assuré, que conformément aux ordres qu'elle avait reçus de sa Cour, elle va faire savoir tout ce que je lui ai rapporté au Prince Metternich.

J'ai également reçu de Sa Hautesse l'ordre de dire, que si le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique veut faire un acte d'amitié et de bienveillance en adhérant à un Traité d'Alliance conçu dans le sens ci-dessus exprimé, Sa Hautesse l'acceptera avec plaisir; et M. l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre est prié de faire savoir à sa Cour cette réponse du Sultan.

(Translation.)

(Translation made from the Copy of the Answer.)

Reply of the Sultan to the Communications made to him on the subject of Mehemet Ali; communicated by his Excellency the Mousteshar Nouri Effendi to his Excellency Lord Ponsonby, April 28, 1839.

THE instructions which accompanied a note on the part of your Excellency, have been laid before His Highness, who has taken cognizance of them.

The Austrian Internuncio has communicated to the Sublime Porte the reflections which Prince Metternich has made upon a measure which he proposes: namely, to abandon the warlike preparations directed against the individual who calls himself Pasha of Egypt. He even came, a few days ago, to the Mabein, to cause some considerations to be submitted to His Highness, touching the necessity of taking a middle course for the purpose of putting an end to this embarrassing question, without having recourse to war. I then received from His Highness' own mouth the order to say to the Internuncio what follows: "This Mehemet Ali has not ceased, since the affair of Conia, from putting himself in a position to undertake anything. He ruins the countries which have passed under his rule, and he reduces the inha-

bitants to misery; he levies troops, and causes batteries and other fortifications to be erected. My Sublime Porte had not, until recently, contemplated the erection of fortifications anywhere; and it is only since last year that it undertook to cause some positions in the neighbourhood of Conia to be fortified. And since the proceedings and the foolish pretensions of Mehemet Ali are of a nature not to leave us a shadow of security, it has been necessary to take the measures of defence which prudence suggests, by sending openly and in the face of the whole world, the necessary troops and munitions of war towards Sivas and Conia. If the Great Powers were to say nothing against the rebellious acts of Mehemet Ali, and if they were to persist, at the same time, in wishing to prevent my Sublime Porte from acting, this, certainly, would not be in conformity with the deference which Governments owe to one another, nor in accordance with their professed sentiments of goodwill; and it is clear and evident that if Mehemet Ali commits any act of aggression, my Sublime Porte can no longer remain inactive. It is equally clear and evident, that since the effusion of blood, which is a consequence of war, is in no case to be desired, if Mehemet Ali acknowledges and performs the duties which are imposed on him by his quality of subject, my Sublime Porte will not have recourse to war; the more so, because, as the countries placed under the Government of Mehemet Ali constitute a part of my hereditary possessions, the loss of men on both sides, and the evils which would befall the country and afflict the population, and above all, the poorer classes, would touch me too nearly. But what is to be done, when there no longer remains any security with respect to a man devoured up by ambition and greediness, who has conceived perfidious plans? As long as this state of things lasts, mutual safety and tranquillity cannot exist, and I am obliged, at a great expence, to keep up an army and an Imperial camp. If this question were considered, as it ought to be considered, with reference to the relations which Governments should maintain with one another; if it were examined with goodwill and justice, would it not be found that reason is entirely on my side, and that Mehemet Ali is to blame? With regard to Prince Metternich, he is a man animated by kind feelings, a man of an excellent judgment. I am therefore led to suspect and to believe that the warmth and vivacity which characterise the language that he now holds, are the effect of the tone which has been used in writing to him, either from hence or from other places. The Internuncio has spoken to Nouri Effendi about a middle course for the solution of this question, without having recourse to arms; that means, Mehemet Ali's return to the position which becomes him as a subject; but this position cannot be realized, unless Mehemet Ali restores Adana, Damascus, Aleppo, Seyda, Jerusalem, and Naplous, and reduces his present forces to such amount as would alone be compatible with his condition as a subject. If the Great Powers are willing to labour to bring about such a state of things, then it would be worthy of me to give my Imperial assent."

Such are the words which, by the Sultan's orders, I reported to the Internuncio. His Excellency, having listened attentively to all that I said to him, assured me that, agreeably to the orders which he had received from his Court, he would report to Prince Metternich all that I had stated to him.

I likewise received directions from His Highness to say, that if the Government of Her Britannic Majesty is willing to do an act of friendship and goodwill by becoming a party to a Treaty of Alliance drawn up in the sense above expressed, His Highness will receive it with pleasure; and the British Ambassador is requested to make known to his Court this answer of the Sultan.

No. 42.

*Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 9.)**Paris, June 7, 1839.*

(Extract.)

I HAD an interview this morning with Marshal Soult. His Excellency has received no despatches from the East of a later date than those which he communicated to me on Wednesday last, and of which I transmitted the substance to your Lordship by the post of that day.

The Marshal expressed his regret, that I had not as yet been able to make any official communication to him from your Lordship, in regard to the instructions to be given to the Admiral of the combined fleet on the Levant station. He said that the question of these instructions had been mooted in the Cabinet Council by Admiral Duperré, but that he, the Marshal, had desired to defer deliberating upon it, until they were in possession of the opinion of the British Government on that matter.

No. 43.

*Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 9.)**Therapia, May 19, 1839.*

My Lord,

I COMMUNICATED to Nouri Effendi the substance of your Lordship's instruction of March 15, which gave great dissatisfaction.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) **PONSONBY.**

No. 44.

*Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 9.)**Therapia, May 20, 1839.*

(Extract.)

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CAMPBELL transmitted to your Lordship, copy of a letter, dated May 1st, written by Artin Bey, and communicated to the Consuls. A copy also reached the Sultan, who was so exasperated, that he gave orders that war should be declared against Mehemet Ali. Reflection, however, caused that order to be recalled, but orders were issued to hasten the equipment of the fleet, and to press the despatch of troops and military stores to the army: both orders are in execution.

The Sultan said he would rather die, than not endeavour to destroy his rebel subject. The language of those about the Sultan is: "We hope for success, because all the Syrians are enemies to the Pasha."

Nobody here doubts of war, and the general opinion is, that the Army of the Sultan will be defeated. My opinion is not worth anything, as I am not skilled in military matters.

If the Sultan should be victorious, there will be comparatively little difficulty, and it is enough at present to consider what may be the probable consequences of his defeat. The common opinion is, that the conqueror will march for the Capital, having declared himself independent. It appears to me more likely he will take the Pashalics of Bagdad, Orfa, Diarbekir, &c., &c.

The Great Powers have established, as the criterion of right or wrong, the abstinence from aggression, declaring the culpable to be the Sultan or the Pasha, as the one or the other might be the first to commence hostilities. Judgment has been given by Russia, who assumed to speak in the name of all, and the Pasha has been declared the aggressor. The charge of aggression made against him by Russia, is confined to late acts done by the Pasha; but from the beginning, during

the whole period, as well as in this latter hour, the Pasha has always been the aggressor, and the Sultan has a right to claim from the Great Powers the maintenance of their own declarations. Passing over all the acts of the Pasha until the moment when the presumed (which your Lordship knows never existed) settlement of Koniah was made, the Sultan will be found from that hour in a state of quiescence, relying upon the intervention of the Great Powers for the settlement of differences as to territorial questions between himself and the Pasha, and for the payment of the miserable pittance of tribute due to him for the possession of kingdoms alienated from him. He made no preparations for war; committed no overt acts indicative of design to use force: he remained in a state actually inadequate to the defence of his remaining territories, until he was forced to have recourse to augmented armaments, by the menacing attitude of the Pasha, who had never ceased to assail the Sultan's power by intrigues, and had openly fortified all the avenues that lead through the Taurus into the provinces still under the Sultan's sceptre. The Pasha had never ceased to increase and perfect his army and his fleet, nor to push his conquests into new countries for the establishment of his power: and he made those conquests in his own name; he openly called on the Great Powers to sanction his assumption of independence of the Sultan. Could his intentions be doubted? The Sultan had the right of self-defence to justify his tardy exertions to guard against danger, and he had the further right, inherent in every man, be he sovereign or be he dependent, of placing himself in a position to repel insults.

No one of the Great Powers would have continued in a pacific attitude so long as the Sultan did, had any one of them been exposed to even a small part of the danger and the provocations he had to bear with.

Russia has declared a truth—a limited truth; the Great Powers cannot deny it; their repeated declarations engage them to oppose the aggressor.

No. 45.

Lord Beauvale to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 9.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, June 1, 1839.

PRINCE METTERNICH forwards to your Lordship the reports of the Internuncio, which agree with those of Lord Ponsonby as to the danger of war.

The Prince seeming to expect much from the arrival at Constantinople of his advice to the Porte, as to the course they ought to pursue, I observed to him, that the reply from thence might lead to the commencement of a negotiation, but it might also announce that of hostilities.

He admitted this, adding, that the only course to pursue was, for the Four Powers to agree among themselves what line to take.

If Her Majesty's Government should be disposed to enter into the Prince's views, as to the disposition to be made of Egypt, it will be necessary to decide whether the succession should be made personal to Ibrahim Pasha, or extended to his descendants, or to other descendants of Mehemet Ali. I would further remark, that such an arrangement, if it were practicable, would offer the best chance of preserving order in Egypt after Mehemet Ali's death, which will otherwise be exposed to many chances.

This first branch of the question being disposed of, I remarked to the Prince, that in all affairs there is a moment when reasonings cease, and action begins. He admitted the truth of this, and also, that in this instance the moment might possibly be arrived. That it was only then that the real affair commenced; and that it was probable that we might now be at the beginning of its end.

Is it not time then, I asked, to foresee, and if possible, to regulate its march? He said it was; and that as the first branch of the affair could only be conducted by the joint moral weight of the Four Powers, so must

ARTILLERY.

1st of the Guard.

2nd of Foot.

2 Regiments.

Note of Egyptian Forces expected to arrive.

INFANTRY.	CAVALRY.
1st of the Guard.	
6th of the Line.	6th.
35th ditto	11th.
3 Regiments.	2 Regiments.
And 6 Regiments of the Line are expected from Egypt.	

Inclosure 4 in No. 51.

*Note of the Forces at Adana and the Defile of the Taurus.**At Adana.*

INFANTRY.	CAVALRY.
29th of the Line.	5th.
30th ditto.	7th.
2 Regiments.	2 Regiments.

At the Defile of the Taurus.

5th of Infantry of the Line.
 2 Battalions of Sappers.
 2 Battalions of Artillerymen.
 And 2 Forts and 8 Batteries, mounting in all 150 Cannon.

No. 52.

Mr. Consul Moore to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 17.)

My Lord,

Beirut, May 9, 1839.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that accounts have been received at this place, of the passage of the Euphrates by the Sultan's troops, at Bir, and that forces under Hafiz Pasha are also advancing on the northern frontier.

On the other hand, the Egyptian troops have been summoned to Aleppo by Ibrahim Pasha, from all parts of Syria, and he has encamped his forces in the immediate neighbourhood of that city. His Highness is strongly fortifying and entrenching his position,—apparently with the intention to wait an attack, which is universally believed to be imminent.

The conflict, however, should it take place, will probably be deferred till after the Turkish moon Saffar, ending the 12th instant,—a season considered inauspicious by the Moslems for commencing military operations.

The maximum of Ibrahim Pasha's force in Syria is estimated at 60,000 regular troops. Report makes that of the Sultan at least double the amount, including irregulars; but it is not possible, at this distance, to number the latter army with any degree of accuracy. And indeed all that transpires just now, relative to pending events, coming chiefly through the organs or partizans of the respective parties, must be received with much caution.

The most active preparations are making by this Government to maintain a prompt communication with Egypt. Couriers from Aleppo are to reach Cairo the sixth day.

The Emir Bechir has received orders to send a force to Damascus and Tripoli; and about 1,000 Christian troops will march to each of the above places, under the command of the son and grandson of the Emir. This is a measure of precaution, as at neither of the above cities is the Mahomedan population believed to be well affected to the existing Government. Indeed any success on the part of the Sultan's troops, it is believed, would be the signal for revolt not only at those places, but throughout Syria.

An exception to this feeling I am of opinion may be looked for amongst the Christian troops of Lebanon, who certainly entertain fears that should the Sultan repossess himself of Syria, the Mahomedans would regain the ascendancy, and once more exhibit their naturally intolerant and fanatical character towards other sects.

In this immediate neighbourhood all is for the present tranquil, but much anxiety exists amongst all classes, but especially in the Christian population, as to the issue of pending events.

An individual whose life is of immense importance to the Egyptian cause at the present juncture, is Solyman Pasha, perhaps the only person in Ibrahim Pasha's army possessing the requisite talents for extensive and combined military operations.

No reliance can be placed on the accounts received respecting the insurrection in the Ledgea. I have observed that as the monthly period of the communication with Europe approaches, the authorities represent them as terminated, and that subsequent information belies those accounts.

A distinguished traveller who has just returned to this place from a tour along the banks of the Jordan, assures me, that he found the Arab tribes there all opposed to Ibrahim Pasha, and ardently desirous of an opportunity of acting hostilely against him. They had, of late, begun to show themselves in large masses, armed, on this side Jordan, and to enter the villages, which a little time ago they did not venture to do. The news of the Sultan's troops having crossed the Euphrates, had not reached the Jordan, when the traveller alluded to left its banks about eight days ago; but he does not doubt the news will afford the liveliest pleasure to the Arab tribes there, and lead to an open demonstration of their feelings should a collision between the armies take place.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) N. MOORE.

P.S.—13th May, up to this day, nothing new relative to the movement of the armies.

N. M.

No. 53.

Mr. Consul Werry to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 17.)

My Lord,

Damascus, May 10, 1839.

ON the 27th ultimo, I received intelligence from Mr. Pro-Consul F. H. S. Werry at Aleppo, under date of the 23rd, of the advance of the Sultan's troops, crossing the Euphrates at Bir, and the measures taking by His Highness Ibrahim Pasha. This information I transmitted the same day to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, *viâ* Beyrout, and to Her Majesty's Resident in Egypt, by the Government post.

On the 30th, I received further intelligence from Mr. Pro-Consul Werry at Aleppo, under date of the 25th and 27th, of the further movements of the Sultan's Army and His Highness Ibrahim Pasha's measures, which I transmitted the same day to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, *viâ* Beyrout, and to Her Majesty's Resident in Egypt, by the Government post. And on the 29th, I transmitted *viâ* Beyrout, to Her Majesty's Resident at Cairo, the information I was in possession of on the foregoing subjects.

raisons ont quelque chose de précieux et ne sauraient être rejetées sans examen.

Quoiqu'il en soit, au point où en sont venues les choses, il faut espérer que toutes les Puissances prendront le parti de la Porte et mettront ce qu'il peut y avoir d'obscur dans son langage, sur le compte de ses embarras.

Si j'ai cru devoir toucher ici la question de l'agression, c'est que de sa solution dépendra la conduite de la Russie, si la Porte se voit obligée de lui demander du secours; car d'après les déclarations qui lui ont été faites dans le tems par M. de Ruckman, et dernièrement encore par M. de Bouténéff, ce n'est qu'au cas où elle serait attaquée, que le Traité d'Emirghien* lui donnerait le droit de réclamer son assistance.

(Translation.)

Baron Stürmer to Prince Metternich.

(Extract.)

Constantinople, May 22, 1839.

THE most marked event of the last week is the return of Tahar Pasha from the army. That General-officer, who left this for Malatia on the 5th of April last, arrived in this capital on the 19th of the present month. I have not as yet been able to ascertain what report he has made to the Sultan, nor what will be the results of his mission; I, however, believe that the Porte wishes to afford to itself a delay of some days more, in order to mature the communications which it may wish to make to the foreign Legations.

If I am to believe the official reports which have reached me in this respect, Tahar Pasha must have represented the army as being in the most advantageous position for the commencement of hostilities and for a great blow. According to the same accounts the determination to make war was taken at a Council convoked at the Porte, by order of the Sultan, on the 20th of this month. That which causes me to fear that this is really the course adopted is, that Hosrew Pasha, who has always been opposed to the war, was not at the Council, and was not, as I have been assured, even summoned.

As I foresaw, and as I had the honour of reporting to your Highness at the time of the departure of Tahar Pasha, that officer's mission was evidently only undertaken with a view to gain time, and to free the Porte during six weeks from the demands for explanation of the foreign Missions, to which it stated, that it was unable to give explanations as to its intentions, before that General should have examined with his own eyes the state of affairs, and should have given with his own mouth an exact and detailed account of the same. At present, a communication to be addressed to us collectively, in which the determinations of His Highness are clearly explained, is, it is said, in course of preparation.

The public, which had flattered itself that the efforts of the foreign Powers in favour of the maintenance of peace would not remain without success, is greatly excited since the return of Tahar Pasha; and the report of an impending, perhaps of an already commenced, war is generally believed. The only question remaining is to know from what quarter the aggression will proceed. It is difficult to resolve this question. It is undoubtedly not always he who fires the first shot who ought in justice to be considered as the aggressor; and in such case, the Porte, supposing that the attack were to proceed from its troops, might very well not be so considered. All the world knows the acts of provocation on the part of Mehemet Ali, and the inkings after independence and war which

* Autrement dit de Unk'ar Skélessi.

even last year he manifested. The Porte would consequently have been justified in placing itself on its defence, and in exerting itself to provide the means of opposing vigorous resistance to such attack. Such conduct would have only been prudent and conformable, as well to its dignity, as to its true interests.

The partizans of Mehemet Ali are anxious to throw the blame of aggression on the Porte: they say, that a mistake has been committed in Europe, in accusing the Pasha of Egypt of having advanced his troops to the extreme frontier of Syria, those troops having always been from nine to fifteen leagues removed from that frontier. They moreover say, that although last year he spoke of war and independence, he has since sheathed his sword, paid the tribute which he owed, and has put himself in the right with respect to the Porte, which appeared satisfied with this apparent submission. The armaments which have since been made by the latter, and which have been carried on with so much energy, together with the march of the Ottoman troops to the very frontiers of Syria, can therefore not be imputed to Mehemet Ali, and must be considered as the sole cause of the approaching struggle. These reasons are specious to a certain degree, and cannot be thrown aside without examination.

However this may be, it is to be hoped that, at the point at which matters have now arrived, all the Powers will take the part of the Porte, and will attribute to its embarrassments what may be obscure in the language it holds.

If I have thought it right to advert here to the question of the aggression, it is because the conduct of Russia, in case the Porte should see itself compelled to demand the assistance of that Power, will depend on its solution; for according to the declarations which were made at the time by M. de Ruckman, and latterly again by M. de Bouténeff, it is only in case the Porte should be attacked, that the Treaty of Emirghien* would give to it the right of applying for such assistance.

No. 59.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 17.)

My Lord,

Therapia, May 26, 1839.

LATE this evening I received a letter from the Chief Dragoman, who had been sent for in the earlier part of the day to the Sultan's Palace, of which I inclose copy.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) PŌNSONBY.

Inclosure in No. 59.

M. Frederic Pisani to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Péra, ce 26 Mai, 1839.

SAID BEY m'a fait chercher aujourd'hui. Il m'a parlé de l'Affaire Egyptienne. La substance de ce qu'il m'a dit est absolument la même que celle de ce que Nouri Effendi nous a dit dans la dernière conférence; et par conséquent, je me suis tenu dans mes réponses à la lettre de ce que

* Otherwise of Unkiar Skelessi.

(Translation.)

The Duc de Dalmatie to the Baron de Bourqueney.—(Communicated by the Baron de Bourqueney.)

Sir,

Paris, June 17, 1839.

I PROCEED to answer the letter which you did me the honour to address to me on the 14th of this month, marked No. 52.

My preceding despatch will have made you acquainted with the answer of the cabinet of Vienna to our first communications upon the affairs of the East. You will find in the annexed extracts of two despatches from M.M. de Barante and Bresson, the only data which we have as yet with respect to the views of Prussia and Russia. At Berlin, as I have already informed you, they are quite disposed to join for the maintenance of peace in the measures of the other Powers. At St. Petersburg, where our communications had not yet arrived, M. de Barante supposed, from indications which I do not consider decisive, that the Russian Government was inclined to seize every honourable pretext to avoid involving itself in the embarrassments which the execution of the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi would entail.

The despatches arrived three days since by the packet boat from the Levant, have not brought us news of any importance. The armies were still in presence on the banks of the Euphrates; there had even been a slight skirmish between some soldiers, but nothing indicated a wish on the part of the leaders to come to an engagement. If, moreover, the reports sent by Ibrahim Pasha to his father, are to be believed, the Turks were far from being in a state to commence hostilities. Their army did not amount to more than 36,000 men, and these weakened by the want of sufficient supplies and by desertion. A belief, also, began to be entertained at Alexandria, that there would not be a war: it was even the opinion of the Viceroy. At Constantinople less security was felt, because, through the veil of pacific protestations, the Porte manifested its hostile intentions in the eagerness with which it sought grievances against Mehemet Ali, even in the most trivial circumstances and in the most improbable reports.

I have now sketched the state of things such as it exists at the present moment, that is to say, calculated still to justify very serious anxiety. You will, however, form a more complete judgment upon the matter from the annexed extracts of the correspondence from Egypt and Constantinople.

I will now enable you to answer the enquiries which Lord Palmerston has addressed to you as to the opinion which the Government of the King has formed with respect to the measures to be taken with a view to provide for the exigencies of the moment.

The Government of the King acknowledges the utility and the propriety of a concert between the Great Powers to provide the means of securing, by a common attitude and language, the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire; it thinks that the seat of the deliberations to be commenced for this purpose can be the most advantageously established at Vienna.

It is of opinion that, in order to prevent hostilities, if they should not yet have broken out, or to put a stop to them if they should have unfortunately commenced, the English and French squadrons, assuming a sort of armed mediation, should constitute themselves mistresses of the sea: should impose complete inaction upon the naval forces of Egypt and of the Porte, and should induce them to re-enter their harbours in the event of their having left them.

The English squadron appears to amount to ten ships of the line without counting other vessels. Our own will be composed also of ten sail of the line, and will reckon in addition four or five frigates, with at least four steam-vessels, and other lighter vessels. Seven ships of the line are already assembled at Smyrna, or on their way thither. The three others will very soon take their departure. It is important that instructions, not common,

but dictated in the same spirit, and which instructions the two Courts would previously communicate to one another, should be transmitted without delay to the commanders of the two squadrons for the guidance of their operations. When it is known in the East that such forces are acting in the same spirit, and tending to the same end, it is not possible to suppose that either the fleet of the Sultan, or that of the Pasha, will venture to contend against them. I say more: the employment of such forces, by rendering war almost impossible, will deprive Russia of every pretext for putting in movement her Sevastopol fleet or her land army.

In order the better to obtain the result which we have in view, it may perhaps be expedient that the Austrian flag should appear among the combined French and English squadron: one or two frigates with some light vessels will be sufficient for the purpose. It is to be observed, moreover, that Prince Metternich has already expressed this opinion.

Such, Sir, are the measures which, it appears to me, are required to be adopted without delay, if we do not wish to be surprized by events. I now come to the measures which, when the formal deliberations shall be opened between the Cabinets, may be taken in order to put an end to the existing crisis, and to prevent at any time its return.

If our declarations and the attitude of our squadrons should fail in preventing the two parties from coming to hostilities, or in compelling them immediately to cease therefrom, the necessity for a common action by the Great Powers would become evident; and there is no ground for expecting that Russia would, in that case, be induced to refrain from a physical intervention in a question in which her interests would be so directly affected. What should be obtained is, that her course of action be fixed and limited in concert with the other Courts; that she should bind herself to that which France and England would on their part have to exert; in short, it is, in fact, that a European Convention should take the place of the stipulations of Unkiar Skelessi. I am not ignorant of all the obstacles which would be raised to such a plan by the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, whose policy has always been to keep its relations with Turkey beyond the pale of European law. It is for the same reason that there are grounds for fearing that that Cabinet will not lend itself to negotiations carried on by means of permanent conferences. It will, however, have few arguments of any force to oppose to combinations evidently suggested by the desire for peace, and supported by all its Allies.

It now remains for me to speak of the final object of these negotiations, of the arrangement by which it might be possible to place the Sultan and his powerful vassal in a situation more satisfactory to both, and more promising for the tranquillity of the East than that in which they have been placed for the last six years.

The necessity of conceding to Mehemet Ali the hereditary investiture of a part at least of his actual possessions, appears to be almost generally admitted. It has been considered that Mehemet Ali, at the degree of eminence which he has reached, would be too strongly impressed with the urgency of providing for the future interests of his family, and of placing them in security from the vengeance of the Porte after his death, to permit himself to entertain really pacific views, until he shall have obtained some satisfaction on this head.

On the other hand, it is not to be hoped that the Porte will consent to grant him this augmentation of moral force, unless some advantage by way of compensation be given to it, which may afford a positive guarantee against the subsequent enterprises of an enemy, whose power it will thus have increased. The nature and the extent of this advantage are not indeed easy to be determined. Lord Palmerston thinks that nothing less than the restitution of the whole of Syria would suffice. At Berlin, it appears to be admitted, that the Sultan might content himself with a part only of this province. With regard to us, Sir, we acknowledge that the Porte would be entitled to a real compensation; but we think that the moment for fixing its nature and its extent has not yet arrived; that such a question can only be solved, according to various and complicated data, the estimation of which cannot be the work of a moment; and that this

point should be referred to the Conference which, if our views prevail, will be established between the Powers.

Be so good, Sir, as to read this despatch to Lord Palmerston. In thus communicating to the Cabinet of London, the whole of our views upon the important circumstances of the moment, we give it an unequivocal pledge of the confidence with which it inspires us, and of the desire which we feel to act with it, in the most perfect accordance. Lord Palmerston will readily understand, that some of the ideas which you are directed to communicate to him are hypothetical, and that events or even more mature reflections may greatly modify them.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) MARECHAL DUC DE DALMATIE.

P.S.—We anxiously await your answer, and the communication which Lord Palmerston will no doubt hasten to make to you of the decision of the Cabinet of London, upon the subject of the common deliberations, of which we propose to establish the seat at Vienna, as well as of the instructions destined for Admiral Stopford.

No. 62.

Viscount Palmerston to Earl Granville.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 19, 1839.

THE inclosed paper contains the substance of the instructions which Her Majesty's Government propose to give to Sir Robert Stopford, the Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Naval Forces in the Mediterranean, and upon which they request the previous opinion of the French Government.

The part of these instructions which relates to the possibility of the English and French squadrons going up to Constantinople in the event of a Russian force entering the Turkish territory, may require some consideration. It seems clear that such a measure would, in such case, be highly desirable, and that it would be the best, if not the only way, of effectually counteracting the bad consequences which might result from the entrance of the Russians into Turkey; but if that movement were to be effected against a vigorous resistance on the part of the Turkish forts in the Dardanelles, it would be difficult to accomplish it, unless the fleet were accompanied by some force which could be landed to carry the forts by taking them in the rear. This operation would not be difficult, and would not require any large amount of force; for though the batteries are formidable against ships, on account of the narrowness of the channel, the strength of the current, which sets downwards towards the Mediterranean, and because at this time of year the wind sets chiefly the same way as the current, yet those forts are weak on the land side, and might be taken one after the other, by any moderate force which attacked them in the rear.

It is probable, however, that if the Turkish troops were defeated, and if the Russians had entered Turkey, the Sultan would cheerfully permit, if he did not actually invite, the British and French squadrons to go up to Constantinople; and as those squadrons would come as friends to protect the Sultan, and not as enemies to attack him, it would be difficult for the Russians to suggest to him a plausible reason for refusing to receive such protection.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

Inclosure in No. 62.

Substance of proposed Instructions to Sir Robert Stopford.

THE Admiral to proceed with the ships under his command to the Bay of Scanderoon, or to any other neighbouring part of the coast of Syria which may be near to the places where the armies of the Sultan and of Mehemet Ali may happen to be.

If on his arrival off the coast he should find hostilities have not commenced, and that, on the contrary, the two armies have made retrograde movements, and that there is no likelihood of collision, he will then proceed in the execution of such other orders as he may have received from the Admiralty.

If he should find that, although hostilities had not actually commenced, the two armies, nevertheless, were near to each other, and continued to occupy positions likely to lead to collision, the Admiral should immediately open a communication with the Commander of each army, in doing which he will be assisted by the British Consuls on the coast; and the best step to take for this purpose would probably be, to send to the General of each army an officer, accompanied by a competent interpreter.

The Admiral should earnestly request each General to withdraw his troops some days' march from their actual position, in order to widen the distance between the two armies, and thus to give a security that no collision should take place to interfere with the efforts of the Allied Powers to effect by negotiation, a permanent settlement between the Sultan and his vassal. If the Generals should either or both of them refuse to comply with this request, the Admiral should dispatch a ship of war to Constantinople or Alexandria, or to both, as the case might be, to urge the superior Authorities to send the necessary orders; and he should express to the Generals the confident and well-founded expectation of the British Government, that they should suspend all forward movements till they should hear from their respective Governments; and he should impress upon them the deep responsibility which they would incur by any hasty and inconsiderate step.

If on his arrival off the coast he should find that hostilities had already commenced, he should, as in the former supposed case, immediately open a communication with the Generals commanding the contending armies, and state to them that he has been specially sent by the British Government to propose and strongly to press upon them a suspension of arms. That the British Government, in concert and in co-operation with Her Majesty's Allies, is going to endeavour to bring about, by negotiation, an amicable and a mutually satisfactory arrangement between the Sultan and the Pasha of Egypt; and that it is of great importance, for the success of such negotiation, that the hostilities between the two armies should be suspended while that negotiation is going on; that the views of the Powers with respect to these arrangements must be founded upon an enlarged consideration of the great interests of Europe; and that, consequently, those views could not be altered by any events which a continuance of hostilities might produce; and that such a continuance of hostilities, therefore, would only cause a useless effusion of blood, without being attended with any permanent advantage to either party; because the final settlement will depend, not upon the chances of the campaign in Syria, but upon the negotiations between the Great Powers and the Contending Parties.

If the two Generals should accede to the proposed suspension of arms, the Admiral will immediately send off a report thereof to Constantinople and Alexandria, and also, by the shortest way, to England; and he will, at the same time, urgently request the two Generals to withdraw their armies to a certain distance from each other, so as to leave a sufficient space between their respective troops.

It will also be desirable that the armistice should be confirmed by a formal Military Convention, and that its duration should be without any

definite limit of time and that a month's notice should be required before it could be put an end to by either party.

If either or both of the Generals should refuse to accede to this armistice, the Admiral should, as in the former supposed case, send off to Constantinople, or to Alexandria, or to both, to urge through the Ambassador at Constantinople, and through the Consul-General at Alexandria, that the requisite orders might be sent to the Generals in Syria, to agree to the suspension of arms.

If the refusal shall come from the Turkish General, it will, for many reasons, political and physical, be difficult for the Admiral to employ any other means than those of persuasion, to procure the consent of the Sultan; for to say nothing of the position in which Her Majesty stands towards the Sultan, who is Her Majesty's Ally, and who is also the acknowledged and undoubted the rightful Sovereign of the territory which is the cause of dispute, it is to be borne in mind that the operations of the Sultan's Army do not depend upon any communication by sea between Constantinople and the scene of operations, and that it would not be easy for the squadron to force its way up to Constantinople for the purpose of supporting by its presence, the representations of Her Majesty's Ambassador.

But in such case, the Admiral would strongly point out to the Turkish Commander how uncertain are the chances of war, and how great and fearful his responsibility would be, if, after he had refused an honourable armistice, when proposed to him by an ally of his master, for the express purpose of negotiation, any unforeseen disaster should befall his army; and if, instead of finding himself under the security of an armistice at the head of a strong and unbroken force, he were to be compelled to retreat with a defeated army, and be pursued by a victorious enemy; and if he should thus bring upon his country the most serious calamities through hostilities, the continuance of which he had himself insisted upon.

If, on the contrary, the refusal should proceed from the General commanding the troops of Mehemet Ali, geographical circumstances would enable the Admiral to employ more effectual means to accomplish his purpose; because the Egyptian Army could not well carry on its military operations in Syria without a free communication by sea with Egypt; and because the squadron, by going to Alexandria, could exert a powerful influence in support of the representations which the Consul-General might make to the Pasha of Egypt.

In such case, therefore, the Admiral would employ towards the General commanding the troops of Mehemet Ali in Syria, all the arguments which have been pointed out as applicable to the General of the Sultan; but the Admiral would further proceed to employ all the means at his command to produce compliance with his request.

For this purpose, he would, in the first place, prevent all further communication by Egyptian vessels, whether of commerce or of war, between Syria and Egypt; he would turn away all Egyptian ships of war, and would send all Egyptian transports and merchantmen to Malta, or to any other place, where they might be held for a time in safe custody. He would then leave on the coast of Syria such ships of war as he might think necessary for this purpose, and would proceed with the rest of his force to Alexandria, and would lose no time in earnestly pressing Mehemet Ali to send to Syria, in a British ship of war, positive orders for an immediate suspension of hostilities. If Mehemet Ali should comply with this request, all vessels which might have been detained should immediately be released; but the Admiral should remain off Alexandria with his squadron, till he had learnt that the order had actually been obeyed, and he might then return to the coast of Syria, to watch events, or might remain off Alexandria, according to his discretion under the then existing circumstances.

If the Pasha should refuse to give the order, the Admiral should then employ such means of pressure, gradually increasing in their stringency, as he may find necessary, or may think best calculated to accomplish the desired result.

Among the measures to which he might resort, would be a refusal to permit the Egyptian fleet either to come out, if in port, or to go in, if out of port; and he might detain all Egyptian merchantmen, and, according to his discretion, any Egyptian ships of war.

But it might happen that the army of the Sultan might have suffered a great defeat, and that measures of extreme vigour might become necessary to stay the advance of the Egyptians, and to save the Turkish Empire. In this case, the Admiral would be authorized to have recourse to any measures of compulsion which he might think to be within his means, and which he might consider likely to induce the Pasha to give the necessary orders for stopping the advance of his army, and for bringing it back within the limits of Syria.

In such an event, it is also possible that a Russian force, either naval or military, might enter the ports and territory of Turkey with the professed object of protecting the Sultan, and of repelling the Egyptian invaders.

In such a case, and after the Admiral had obtained from the Pasha the order for the retreat of his troops, and after he had received certain information that such order had been obeyed, it would be extremely desirable that the British squadron should proceed to Constantinople, and should remain there, or in the Black Sea, until the Russian forces had evacuated the Turkish territory.

There would be time for the Admiral to communicate on this matter with Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, for the purpose of ascertaining in what manner this measure could best be executed; and having stated to the Admiral their opinion on this point, Her Majesty's Government must leave it to his discretion, to determine whether, in the event of permission to pass not being granted, the force under his command would be strong enough to force the passage without sustaining such an amount of loss in men, and of damage to the ships, as would cripple the squadron and unfit it for any useful operation after the passage had been effected.

If the Turkish and Egyptian squadrons should be at sea, the Admiral should endeavour, as far as he could, consistently with the execution of the foregoing instructions, to prevent a collision between them, by interposing his squadron in a friendly manner between the other two fleets, and by urging the respective Admirals to retire to their own ports. But the first and most important object is to prevent or to put an end to hostilities by land, because it is the contest by land, much more than a conflict between the squadrons by sea, that might lead to consequences disastrous to the Turkish Empire and fatal to the peace of Europe.

These instructions have been prepared with the view of providing for all the cases which can at present be foreseen; but unexpected circumstances may arise, and different measures may be required; the Admiral, therefore, should use his discretion in departing, if he should think fit, from the letter of these instructions, provided he adheres to their spirit.

Orders of a nature similar to these, have been given to the French squadron in the Mediterranean; and that squadron will be instructed to join and co-operate with Sir Robert Stopford's. The most perfect understanding has been established between the British and French Governments upon the great and important matters to which these instructions relate. The interests of the two countries on these affairs are the same, their views and objects are identical, and their measures will be uniform.

The Admiral will, therefore, communicate, concert, and co-operate with the French Admiral, with the utmost confidence and frankness, upon all matters connected with the execution of these instructions, which he will show *in extenso* to the French Admiral; and Her Majesty's Government cannot doubt that the same harmony which exists between the two Governments, will prevail between their Admirals and squadrons.

Les Capitaines du "Scamandre" et du "Dante," dont le "Mentor" m'apporte les rapports, annoncent le commencement des hostilités en Syrie; au départ du "Dante" d'Alexandrie, le 7 Juin apportait la nouvelle de l'invasion du territoire Egyptien par les Turcs qui s'étaient emparés de quinze villages dont les habitans avaient été armés. A cette nouvelle, Ibrahim Pacha avait fait marcher un corps de 25,000 hommes contre eux; des transports étaient partis d'Alexandrie avec des troupes à bord.

L'Escadre Turque était dans le Bosphore au départ du "Scamandre" de Constantinople, le 7 courant, avec 7,000 hommes, qu'on disait devoir opérer un débarquement en Egypte. Le bruit courait à Constantinople qu'une affaire sérieuse, dans laquelle les Turcs avaient été battus, avait eu lieu en Syrie.

Le Grand Seigneur était malade.

(Translation.)

Telegraphic Lespach from Marseilles of the 22nd of June, 1839, 11 o'clock.

THE "Minos" started last night for Malta. The "Mentor" arrived at the same time. This last met on the 17th, between Maritimo and Sicily, with the squadron of Admiral Stopford apparently directing its course towards Malta.

The Captains of the "Scamandre" and of the "Dante," whose reports were brought to me by the "Mentor," announce the commencement of hostilities in Syria. At the departure of the "Dante" from Alexandria, news had arrived, on the 7th of June, of the invasion of the Egyptian territory by the Turks, who had possessed themselves of fifteen villages, the inhabitants of which had been armed. On this intelligence Ibrahim Pasha had marched a division of 25,000 men against them; transports had left Alexandria with troops on board. At the departure of the "Scamandre" from Constantinople on the 7th instant, the Turkish squadron was in the Bosphorus with 7,000 men, who, it was reported, were intended to effect a landing in Egypt. A report was current in Constantinople that a serious affair, in which the Turks had been beaten, had taken place in Syria.

The Grand Signor was ill.

No. 69.

Viscount Palmerston to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

My Lords,

Foreign Office, June 25, 1839.

I HAVE received the Queen's commands to signify to your Lordships Her Majesty's pleasure, that instructions to the following effect may be forthwith addressed to Admiral Sir Robert Stopford, Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Naval Forces in the Mediterranean.

Sir Robert Stopford will proceed with the ships under his command to the Bay of Scanderoon, or to any other part of the coast of Syria which may be near to the places where the armies of the Sultan and of Mehemet Ali may happen to be.

If, on arriving off the coast, the Admiral should find that hostilities have not commenced, and that, on the contrary, the two armies have made retrograde movements, and that there is no likelihood of collision, he will then proceed in the execution of such other orders as he may have received from your Lordships.

If he should find that, although hostilities had not actually commenced, the two armies, nevertheless, were near to each other, and continued to occupy positions likely to occasion collision, the Admiral should immediately open a communication with the commander of each army, in doing which he will be assisted by the British Consuls on the coast; and

the best step to take for this purpose would probably be, to send to the general of each army an officer, accompanied by a competent interpreter.

The Admiral should earnestly request each general to withdraw his troops some days' march from their actual position, in order to widen the distance between the two armies; and thus to give a security that no hostile collision should interfere with the efforts of the Allied Powers to effect, by negotiation, a permanent settlement between the Sultan and his vassal. If one or both of the generals should refuse to comply with this request, the Admiral should dispatch a ship of war to Constantinople, or to Alexandria, or to both those places, as the case might be, in order to request the British Ambassador and Consul-General to urge the superior authorities to send the necessary orders; and he should express to the generals the confident and well-founded expectation of the British Government that all operations or forward movements should be suspended till the further orders of their respective Governments should have been received; and he should impress upon the generals the deep responsibility which they would incur by any hasty and inconsiderate step.

If, on his arrival off the coast, he should find that hostilities had already commenced, he should, as in the former supposed case, immediately open a communication with the generals commanding the contending armies, and should state to them that he has been specially sent by the British Government to propose, and strongly to press upon them, a suspension of arms; that the British Government, in concert and cooperation with Her Majesty's Allies, is going to endeavour to bring about, by negotiation, an amicable and a mutually satisfactory arrangement between the Sultan and the Pasha of Egypt; and that it is of great importance for the success of such negotiation, that the hostilities between the two armies should be suspended while that negotiation is going on; that the views of the Powers with respect to these final arrangements, must be founded upon an enlarged consideration of the great interests of Europe, and that those views could not be altered by any events which a continuance of hostilities might produce; and that such a continuance of hostilities, therefore, would only cause a useless effusion of blood without being attended with any permanent advantage to either of the Contending Parties. Because the final settlement will depend, not upon the chances of the campaign in Syria, but upon the negotiations between the Great Powers and the two parties.

If the two Generals should accede to the proposed suspension of arms, the Admiral will immediately send a report thereof to Constantinople and to Alexandria, and also, by the shortest way, to England; and he will, at the same time, urgently request the two Generals to withdraw their armies to a certain distance from each other, so as to leave an ample interval of space between their respective troops.

It will also be desirable that the armistice should be confirmed by a formal military convention, and that its duration should be without any definite limit of time; and two months' notice, at the least, should be required, before it could be put an end to by either party.

If either or both of the Generals should refuse to accede to this armistice, the Admiral should, as in the former supposed case, send off to Constantinople, or to Alexandria, or to both, to urge through the Ambassador at Constantinople, and through the Consul-General at Alexandria, that the requisite orders might be sent to the Generals in Syria to agree to the suspension of arms.

If the refusal shall come from the Turkish General, it will, for many reasons, political and physical, be difficult for the Admiral to employ any other means than those of persuasion, to procure the consent of the Sultan. For to say nothing of the position in which Her Majesty stands towards the Sultan, who is Her Majesty's Ally, and who is also the acknowledged and rightful Sovereign of the territory which is the cause of dispute, it is to be borne in mind that the operations of the Sultan's Army do not depend upon any communication by sea between Constantinople and the scene of operations, so that the squadron could not check those operations; and that it would not be easy for the squadron to force

its way up to Constantinople for the purpose of supporting by its presence, the representations of Her Majesty's Ambassador.

But in such case the Admiral would strongly point out to the Turkish Commander, how uncertain are the chances of war, and how great and fearful his responsibility would be, if, after he had refused an honourable armistice, when proposed to him by an Ally of his master, for the express purpose of negotiation, any unforeseen disaster should befall his army; and if, instead of finding himself under the security of an armistice at the head of a strong and unbroken force, he were to be compelled to retreat with a defeated army, and to be pursued by a victorious enemy; and if he should thus bring upon his country the most serious calamities in consequence of hostilities, the continuance of which he had himself insisted upon.

If, on the contrary, the refusal should proceed from the General commanding the troops of Mehemet Ali, geographical circumstances would enable the Admiral to employ more effectual means to accomplish his purpose; because the Egyptian Army could not well carry on its military operations in Syria without a free communication by sea with Egypt, which communication the squadron could cut off; and because the squadron, by going to Alexandria, could exert a powerful influence in support of the representations which the Consul-General might make to the Pasha of Egypt.

In such case, therefore, the Admiral would employ towards the General commanding the troops of Mehemet Ali in Syria, all the arguments which have been pointed out as applicable to the General of the Sultan; but the Admiral would, in addition, proceed to employ all the means at his command to produce compliance with his request.

For this purpose, he would, in the first place, prevent all further communication by Egyptian vessels, whether of commerce or of war, between Syria and Egypt; he would turn away all Egyptian ships of war; and would send all Egyptian transports and merchantmen to Malta, or to any other place, where they might be held for a time in safe custody. He would then leave on the coast of Syria such ships of war as he might think necessary for this purpose; and would proceed with the rest of his force to Alexandria, and would lose no time in earnestly pressing Mehemet Ali to send to Syria, by a British ship of war, positive orders for an immediate suspension of hostilities.

If Mehemet Ali should comply with this request, all vessels which might have been detained should be released; but the Admiral should remain off Alexandria with his squadron, till he had learnt that the order had actually been obeyed; and he might then return to the coast of Syria to watch events, or he might remain off Alexandria, according to his discretion under the then existing state of circumstances.

If the Pasha should refuse to give the order, the Admiral should then employ such means of pressure, gradually increasing in their stringency, as he might find necessary, or might think best calculated to accomplish the desired result.

Among the measures to which he might resort would be, a refusal to permit the Egyptian fleet either to come out, if in port, or to go in, if out of port; and he might detain all Egyptian merchantmen, and, according to his discretion, any Egyptian ships of war.

But it might happen, that the army of the Sultan might have suffered a great defeat, and that measures of extreme vigour might become necessary to stop the advance of the Egyptians, and to save the Turkish Empire. In this case, the Admiral would be authorized to have recourse to any measures of compulsion which he might think to be within his means, and which he might consider likely to induce the Pasha to give the necessary orders for stopping the advance of his army, and for bringing that army back within the limits of Syria.

If the Turkish and Egyptian squadrons should be at sea, the Admiral should endeavour, as far as he could consistently with the execution of the foregoing instructions, to prevent a collision between them, by interposing his squadron in a friendly manner between the Turkish and Egyptian

fleets, and by urging the respective Admirals to retire to their own ports. But the first and most important object is, to prevent or to put an end to hostilities by land, because it is the contest by land, much more than a conflict between the squadrons by sea, that might lead to consequences disastrous to the Turkish Empire, and fatal to the peace of Europe.

These instructions have been prepared with the view of providing for all the cases which can at present be foreseen. But unexpected circumstances may arise, and different measures may be required. The Admiral, therefore, should use his discretion in departing, if he should think fit, from the letter of these instructions, provided he adheres to their spirit.

Orders of a nature similar to these, will probably have been given to the French squadron in the Mediterranean; and that squadron will be instructed to join and co-operate with the squadron of Sir Robert Stopford. The most perfect understanding has been established between the British and French Governments upon the great and important matters to which these instructions relate. The interests of the two countries in these affairs are the same, their views and objects are identical, and their measures will be uniform. The Admiral will therefore communicate, concert, and co-operate with the French Admiral, with the utmost confidence and frankness, upon all matters connected with the execution of these instructions, which he will show *in extenso* to the French Admiral; and Her Majesty's Government cannot doubt, that the same harmony which exists between the two Governments will prevail between their Admirals and squadrons.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 70.

Viscount Palmerston to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

My Lords,

Foreign Office, June 25. 1839.

I HAVE stated in my other letter of this day's date, that among the contingencies which might arise out of the existing state of affairs in the Levant, and with which Admiral Sir Robert Stopford might have to deal, "it might happen that the army of the Sultan might have suffered a great defeat, and that measures of extreme vigour might become necessary to stop the advance of the Egyptians, and to save the Turkish Empire. In this case, the Admiral would be authorized to have recourse to any measures of compulsion which he might think to be within his means, and which he might consider likely to induce the Pasha to give the necessary orders for stopping the advance of his army, and for bringing it back within the limits of Syria."

I am to signify to your Lordships Her Majesty's pleasure, that a further instruction be addressed to Admiral Sir Robert Stopford with reference to the above-mentioned contingency, and to the following effect:

Sir Robert Stopford should be informed that, in such an event, it is possible that a Russian force, either naval or military, might enter the ports and territory of Turkey, with the professed object of protecting the Sultan, and of repelling the Egyptian invaders.

In such a case, and after the Admiral had obtained from the Pasha the order for the retreat of his troops, and after he had received certain information that such order had been obeyed, it would be extremely desirable that the British squadron should proceed to Constantinople, and should remain either there, or in the Black Sea, until the Russian forces should have evacuated the Turkish territory.

There would be time for the Admiral to communicate on this matter with Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, for the purpose of ascertaining in what manner this measure could best be executed; and Her Majesty's Government having stated to the Admiral their opinion on this point, must leave it to his discretion to determine whether, in the event of permission to pass not being granted, the force under his com-

Avant tout, il nous faut maîtriser les faits, c'est-à-dire, empêcher que la lutte ne devienne menaçante pour le repos de l'Europe entière.

Lorsque nous aurons une fois atteint ce but, les circonstances se simplifieront d'elles-mêmes; alors on jugera avec plus de maturité quelle sera l'issue du combat et quels devront être les arrangements ultérieurs qui pourront intervenir entre les deux parties, afin de rétablir les relations pacifiques de la Porte avec le Pacha d'Égypte sur une base solide et durable.

Pour le moment, notre prévoyance doit se borner à aller au plus pressé, c'est-à-dire à empêcher que la politique mal dirigée du Sultan ne puisse nous entraîner dans une complication qui soit de nature à amener la chance d'un conflit Européen.

C'est ce danger que nous sommes intéressés à éloigner de tous nos efforts; et c'est dans cette vue qu'il nous a semblé indispensable de nous expliquer franchement avec l'Angleterre, en faisant à Londres la démarche dont je viens, d'ordre de l'Empereur, de vous indiquer le but et le plan. Elle prouvera au Ministère Britannique, que loin de vouloir provoquer une complication dans le Levant, nous employons tous nos soins à la prévenir; et qu'au lieu de nous prévaloir avec empressement des stipulations de notre Traité d'Alliance avec la Porte, nous sommes les premiers à désirer nous-mêmes d'éloigner le renouvellement d'une crise qui nous forcerait, malgré nous, à reprendre une attitude militaire sur les rives du Bosphore.

La certitude que l'Angleterre acquerra par là de nos intentions vraiment conservatrices, ne saurait manquer d'exercer une influence utile sur les dispositions du Cabinet de Londres. Il appréciera, je l'espère, la loyauté des sentimens qui a dicté la démarche dont vous allez vous acquitter. Veuillez ne pas tarder un seul instant, M. le Comte, à nous informer de l'accueil qu'elle aura obtenu de la part de Lord Palmerston. L'Empereur se plaît à croire que cet accueil répondra pleinement à nos vœux, et que l'entente qui s'établira entre le Cabinet Anglais et le nôtre, pour le maintien de la paix du Levant, servira à la faire rétablir promptement, lors-même que la politique imprévoyante du Divan aurait tenté de la troubler momentanément.

Agréez, &c.,
(Signé) NESSELRODE.

(Translation.)

Count Nesselrode to Count Pozzo di Borgo.—(Communicated by M. de Kisseleff, June 27, 1839.)

Sir,

St. Petersburg, June 15, 1839.

THE last despatches from Constantinople of the 17th May, and from Alexandria of the 3rd May, apprise us that the Ottoman and Egyptian troops had approached so near to each other that a conflict between them appeared imminent. This supposition seems to us the more probable, because the movement of Hafiz Pasha upon Bir, situated at the extremity of the frontiers of Syria, appears to indicate that it entered really into the views of the Sultan, all the while declaring his pacific intentions, to cause the Army of the Taurus to advance to such a point as to render a conflict inevitable, by attributing it to some chance circumstance, without the Porte appearing to have given any provocation for it.

M. de Bouténéff, at the date of his last reports, was continuing to employ all his efforts to dissuade the Sultan from the notion of precipitating himself into a struggle, the consequences of which might become so serious to the repose of the Ottoman Empire. It may be that the remonstrances of our Minister, joined to those of his Colleagues, have succeeded in preventing a complication which seemed at hand. In this case, the danger which appeared to threaten the repose of the East will have once again been averted; in the same manner as it was just a year ago, thanks to the unanimity which then presided at the determinations of the Great Powers of Europe.

But it is also possible that events may have now proceeded with too great

rapidity for the efforts of the Allied Representatives to have succeeded in arresting the execution of a plan of aggression, which the Porte appears to have meditated for a long time, and which it has contrived to veil in the most profound mystery.

At the distance at which we are from the scene of events, the remonstrances which we might now address to the Porte would certainly be somewhat late; we should be unable to prevent a struggle, which is perhaps at the present moment already begun. There remains but one task for us to fulfil, that is, to confine this struggle within the narrowest possible bounds, so that it may not compromise the maintenance of the general repose of Europe.

I will explain this idea clearly, and recapitulate in a few words the practical consequences which attach to it.

The real danger for Europe at large is not in a combat carried on in Syria between the troops of the Sultan and those of the Pasha of Egypt.

Neither would there be danger to Europe if the Sultan succeeded in reconquering Syria, as he wishes and hopes to do. The danger would not begin to become serious until, in the event of the fate of arms declaring against the Sultan, the Pasha of Egypt should profit by this advantage to place the safety of Constantinople and the existence of the Ottoman Empire in peril.

That would be the true and only danger for the continuance of general peace, for from the moment that Constantinople should be threatened, the question would cease to be considered simply as one between the Porte and Egypt. There would no longer be question of a struggle between two Mussulman forces,—there would be question of a European complication, which from that moment would appear to us to be imminent.

To prevent things reaching such a point, it is of consequence to take measures in time for confining the struggle between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali within certain limits, in order that this struggle may in no case extend itself so as to compromise the safety of the capital of the Ottoman Empire.

With this view it has appeared to us essential to come to an understanding, frankly, with the Great Powers of Europe, who, equally with us, have at heart to prevent the danger which we have just pointed out. Among those Powers Great Britain is incontestably the one that can exercise the greatest influence over the fate of this question, and can co-operate in the most decisive manner in realising the pacific intentions of our august Master.

With this conviction His Majesty desires you, Sir, to come to an explanation with the British Cabinet, on this subject, without the least reserve. Have the goodness to submit to that Cabinet, that it is as much for its interest as for ours, to take care that the struggle between the Porte and Egypt shall not assume so serious a character as may ever place the safety of the capital of the Ottoman Empire in danger;

That in order to avoid such a catastrophe, we should be prepared, 1st. To prevent the fleet of the Pasha of Egypt from coming out of port; 2dly. Not to allow the Egyptian Army, if it met with decided successes as was the case in 1833, to advance, as at that period, to the centre of Asia Minor, even to the gates of Constantinople;

That consequently, in order, beforehand, to set due bounds to the action of the Pasha of Egypt,—bounds clearly defined which he is not to be permitted to transgress with impunity,—it would be necessary to declare to him in the most formal manner, "That as long as he shall confine himself to the defence of the territories which have been assigned to him by the arrangement of Kutaya; as long as he shall not extend his military operations beyond the district of Diarbekir and Orfa, as he has formally promised to the Allied Consuls, so long will Great Britain, in conjunction with the other Powers of Europe, remain a passive spectator of the struggle which is going on in Syria; but that from the instant he shall act on the offensive, from the moment that he shall extend the theatre of the war beyond the defiles of

the Taurus in order to carry it into the centre of Asia Minor, from that moment England would consider such act of hostility as if it were directed against herself, and would thenceforward act as if she were at open war with the Pasha of Egypt;

"That in the same manner she would consider herself in a state of war with him, if he attempted to send out his fleet to enter upon a naval contest with the Sultan; the formal intention of England being to confine the contest within the limits of Syria, and not to permit it, under any pretence, to pass those limits, fixed irrevocably by the general interest of Europe, which desires that the peace of the East may be promptly re-established, and that the present struggle, whatever may be the chances of the war, shall in no manner place the tranquillity of the Ottoman Empire in jeopardy."

If England came to an agreement with us to issue a declaration couched in these terms, the Emperor would authorize his Representative at Alexandria to hold precisely the same language.

The other Allied Courts would doubtless hasten to unite their efforts to those of Russia and of England.

The harmony which would thus preside over the determinations of the Five Powers, might once again preserve Europe from the misfortune of a general conflagration in the Levant, by confining, as it may be said, the two adversaries in closed lists, compelling them to settle their quarrel in Syria, without permitting them to engage on a wider field, from which it is the general interest of Europe to keep them off in spite of themselves.

If we succeed in obtaining the result which I have described; if the English Government accepts the ideas which your Excellency is directed to communicate to it; if we thus prevent the fleet of Mehemet Ali from coming out of his ports; and if we forbid his army from crossing the Taurus, under penalty of finding himself at war with the whole of Europe, we shall have obtained all that is necessary to prevent a serious complication in the Levant.

Above all things, we must be able to bring the matter within our control, that is to say, prevent the struggle from becoming threatening to the repose of all Europe.

When once we shall have attained this end, circumstances will simplify themselves of their own accord; a more mature judgment can then be formed as to the issue of the combat, and as to what the ulterior arrangements which may be made between the two parties ought to be, in order to re-establish the pacific relations of the Porte with the Pasha of Egypt upon a solid and durable basis.

For the moment, we must confine ourselves to what is most pressing, that is to say, to guard against the ill-advised policy of the Sultan dragging us into a complication of a nature to bring on a chance of a European conflict.

It is this danger which we are interested in removing with all our endeavours; and it is with this view that we have thought it indispensable to come to a frank explanation with England, by taking in London the step of which, by the Emperor's orders, I have pointed out to you the plan and the object. It will prove to the British Ministry that, far from wishing to bring about a complication in the Levant, we are using all our care to prevent one; and that, instead of greedily availing ourselves of the stipulations of our Treaty of Alliance with the Porte, we are ourselves the first to desire to prevent the recurrence of a crisis which would compel us, in spite of ourselves, again to take up a military attitude on the shores of the Bosphorus.

The certainty which England will thereby acquire of our truly conservative intentions, cannot fail to exercise a salutary influence over the disposition of the Cabinet of London. It will, I hope, appreciate the sincerity of the sentiments which has dictated the step which you are about to take. Have the goodness, Sir, not to delay a moment in informing us of the reception it meets with from Lord Palmerston. The Emperor flatters himself, that this reception will fully answer our wishes, and that the understanding which will be established between the

English Cabinet and our own for the preservation of the peace of the Levant, will serve speedily to re-establish it, even if the short-sighted policy of the Divan should have attempted momentarily to disturb it.

Accept, &c.,
(Signed) NESSELRODE.

No. 75.

Instructions to the French Admiral in the Levant.—(Communicated by M. de Bourqueney, June 29.)

M. le Contre-Amiral,

Paris, le 26 Juin, 1839.

DEJA quelques actes d'hostilité paraissent avoir eu lieu en Syrie, entre les troupes du Sultan et celles du Vice-Roi d'Egypte. Un puissant intérêt Européen existe à prévenir ou arrêter les effets d'une collision, et c'est là le but que se propose la France, aidée de ses Alliées; c'est celui que vous devez chercher à atteindre avec l'escadre sous votre commandement, soit isolément, soit par votre co-opération avec l'escadre de Sa Majesté Britannique et avec la station navale d'Autriche dans le Levant, si, comme il y a tout lieu de le croire, cette station a l'ordre de se joindre aux forces navales Françaises et Anglaises. Vous aurez donc à vous concerter avec leurs commandans, sur les moyens de rendre la co-opération efficace. De son côté, sans doute, Sir Robert Stopford aura reçu des instructions conformes à l'intérêt puissant qu'ont les deux pays dans la conduite d'une affaire dans laquelle leurs vues et leur but sont identiques, et leurs mesures doivent être semblables.

Il doit donc y avoir entre les deux amiraux communication réciproque de leurs instructions, et il doit s'établir entre eux toute la confiance et toute la franchise propres à amener dans leurs opérations le même accord qui existe entre les deux Gouvernemens. Lorsque le cas exigera concert et co-opération, la direction supérieure appartiendra à l'officier le plus élevé ou le plus ancien en grade.

A la réception des présentes instructions, l'escadre sous vos ordres devra se diriger vers les côtes de Syrie.

Dans le cas de la rencontre des escadres Turque et Egyptienne, vous vous attacherez à rendre impossible une collision, en vous interposant entre elles, et en pressant les amiraux de rentrer dans leurs ports respectifs; et vous empêcherez tout arrivage de troupes et de munitions de guerre, par mer, sur le théâtre de la guerre.

Vous devrez chercher à vous mettre immédiatement en communication avec les deux généraux-en-chef, soit dans la baie d'Alexandrette, soit sur tout autre point le plus rapproché des lieux occupés par les deux armées.

Vous ferez tous vos efforts pour leur faire proposer et accepter une suspension d'armes, pendant laquelle les Puissances entrèrent en négociation pour amener un arrangement mutuellement satisfaisant pour la Porte et pour le Pacha d'Egypte. Il convient de faire remarquer, que cet arrangement devant être fondé sur une large appréciation des grands intérêts de l'Europe, et non pas sur les éventualités de la guerre, aucune des deux parties n'a intérêt à continuer les hostilités qui, quelle qu'en fût l'issue, ne pourraient, en définitive, améliorer sa situation; il sera également important d'insister pour que les deux armées se retirent à une certaine distance l'une de l'autre.

L'armistice sera constaté par une Convention militaire portant que la reprise des hostilités, si elle avait lieu, devrait être dénoncée au moins un mois à l'avance.

Ces démarches, ces dispositions, soit qu'elles proviennent d'un des deux commandans des escadres agissant isolément, soit, en cas de réunion des deux escadres, qu'elles aient lieu de concert et avec la participation de l'un et de l'autre, ces dispositions, dis-je, devront être portées immédiatement à la connaissance de notre Ambassadeur à Constantinople, et

du Consul-Général à Alexandrie, et l'avis en sera transmis en France par la voie la plus prompte.

Si les deux généraux, ou l'un d'eux, se refusaient à accéder à cet armistice, l'Ambassadeur à Constantinople et le Consul-Général à Alexandrie en seraient immédiatement informés, comme dans le cas précédent, afin qu'ils eussent à réclamer l'envoi aux généraux en Syrie, des ordres nécessaires pour les faire consentir à la suspension d'armes.

Si le refus venait du général Turc, on appellerait son attention sur la grave responsabilité qu'il assumerait en cas de revers. Il lui serait signifié que dès ce moment, la voie de mer serait fermée à tout secours destiné à l'Armée Ottomane, tandis que notre Ambassadeur, informé du refus, agirait auprès du Sultan pour vaincre cette résistance.

Si le refus, au contraire, provenait du général Egyptien, des représentations analogues lui seraient faites, et toute communication maritime entre la Syrie et l'Egypte serait immédiatement fermée.

Dans l'un ou l'autre cas, les deux amiraux se concerteraient sur la répartition des forces qu'il serait nécessaire de placer soit à l'entrée du détroit, soit devant Alexandrette, soit enfin sur tel point du territoire de l'Asie Mineure qui serait jugé convenable pour y établir un blocus étroitement serré, et ne permettre la sortie d'aucun bâtiment de guerre ou autre.

Outre le concert établi entre les commandans des escadres Française et Anglaise, et même le commandant de la station Autrichienne, il serait possible qu'une escadre Russe offrit son concours; il doit être bien entendu qu'il serait admis dans un but pacifique et conforme aux présentes instructions.

Ces instructions ont pour but, de pourvoir aux éventualités qui ont pu être actuellement prévues. Il en est d'autres qui, par leur nature et leur gravité, exigeront des instructions ultérieures: elles vous seront adressées. Le Roi s'en rapporte, pour tout le reste, au zèle et à l'habileté du Commandant de son escadre, aidé de ses connaissances locales, et de la vieille expérience de l'illustre amiral avec lequel il va se trouver en rapports de service.

(Translation.)

Instructions to the French Admiral in the Levant.—(Communicated by M. de Bourqueney, June 29.)

M. le Contre-Amiral.

Paris, June 26, 1839.

ALREADY some acts of hostility appear to have taken place in Syria between the troops of the Sultan and those of the Viceroy of Egypt. An important European interest is at stake to prevent or arrest the effects of a collision, and this is the object which France proposes to effect with the assistance of her Allies; it is this which you are to endeavour to attain with the squadron under your command, either separately or by your co-operation with the squadron of Her Britannic Majesty, and with the naval division of Austria in the Levant, if, as there is every reason to believe, this division has received orders to join the French and English naval forces. You will, therefore, have to concert with their commanders upon the means of rendering the co-operation efficacious. Sir Robert Stopford on his side will, no doubt, have received instructions in conformity with the important interest which the two countries have in the management of an affair in which their views and their object are identical, and in which their measures should be similar.

The two Admirals should, therefore, reciprocally communicate to each other their instructions, and should act towards each other with all the confidence and frankness requisite to introduce into their operations the same unanimity which subsists between the two Governments. Whenever circumstances may require concert and co-operation, the chief direction will belong to the officer of the highest rank or of the longest standing.

Upon the receipt of these instructions, the squadron under your orders should proceed towards the coast of Syria.

In the event of a meeting between the Turkish and Egyptian squadrons, you will endeavour to render a collision impossible, by interposing yourself between them, and by urging the Admirals to re-enter their respective ports; and you will prevent any arrival by sea, at the theatre of war, of troops and warlike stores.

You will seek to place yourself immediately in communication with the two Generals-in-Chief, either in the Bay of Scanderoon, or at any other point the nearest to the places occupied by the two armies.

You will exert every effort to induce them to propose and agree to a suspension of arms, during which the Powers will enter into negotiation in order to bring about an arrangement mutually satisfactory for the Porte and for the Pasha of Egypt. It is proper to remark that, as this arrangement must be founded upon an enlarged consideration of the great interests of Europe, and not upon the chances of the war, neither of the two parties has any interest in continuing hostilities which, whatever may be their issue, cannot ultimately improve their situation. It is equally important to require that the two armies should retire to a certain distance from each other.

The armistice shall be confirmed by a military Convention, stipulating that the renewal of hostilities, if it takes place, should be notified at least one month beforehand.

These measures and these arrangements, whether proceeding from one of the two Commanders of the squadrons acting individually, or resulting, in case of a junction of the two squadrons, from the concert and participation of both Commanders, should be immediately communicated to our Ambassador at Constantinople and Consul-General at Alexandria, and information thereof should be forwarded to France by the most expeditious channel.

If the two Generals, or either of them, should refuse to agree to this armistice, the Ambassador at Constantinople and the Consul-General at Alexandria should be immediately informed thereof, as in the preceding case, in order that they may urge the transmission of the necessary orders to the Generals in Syria to consent to a suspension of arms.

If the refusal should come from the Turkish General, his attention should be directed to the serious responsibility which he would incur in case of a reverse. It should be pointed out to him that from that moment communication by sea would be closed to all succours destined for the Ottoman Army; whilst our Ambassador, informed of his refusal, would exert himself with the Sultan to overcome this resistance.

If the refusal, on the contrary, should come from the Egyptian General, similar representations should be made to him, and all communication by sea between Egypt and Syria should be immediately cut off.

In either case, the two Admirals should concert as to the distribution of the forces which it may be necessary to place either at the entrance of the Straits, or off Scanderoon, or in short, at any point of the territory of Asia Minor which may be considered expedient for the maintenance of a strict blockade, and for preventing the departure of any vessel, either of war or of any other description.

Besides the concert established between the Commanders of the French and English squadrons, and also between them and the Commander of the Austrian naval division, it is possible that a Russian squadron may tender its co-operation; it must be well understood that its co-operation should be admitted for a pacific object and in conformity with the present instructions.

These instructions are intended to provide for contingencies which it has been possible to foresee. There are other contingencies which from their nature and their importance require ulterior instructions: those instructions will be addressed to you. The King relies in every other respect upon the zeal and ability of the Commander of his squadron, aided by his local knowledge, and upon the practised experience of the illustrious Admiral with whom he is about to act.

Sub-Inclosure in Inclosure 3 in No. 80.

Extrait des Rapports qui sont parvenus de Syrie à la date du 15, du 16, et du 17, Rebi-el-evel, 1255.

LES quatorze villages du district d'Ouront dans la Province d'Antab, ont été occupés par des troupes de Hafiz Pacha. Il a distribué aux habitans de ces villages des armes et des munitions de guerre. Il s'est fait présenter les vieillards de ces mêmes villages; il leur a donné des habits d'honneur. Trois cavaliers Arabes, Hanadis, ont été pris par les habitans de ces villages, qui se sont empressés de les conduire près de Hafiz Pacha, pour en recevoir le backchiche (pour-boire) promis en outre. Hafiz Pacha a donné l'ordre à ses troupes, que s'ils rencontrent des soldats Egyptiens, de les arrêter ou bien de faire feu sur eux. On a fait tirer à Nézib des coups de canon pour annoncer l'arrivée de Hafiz Pacha dans la dite ville. On a fait courir des bruits qu'Ibrahim Pacha ne peut plus avancer; qu'il sera obligé de se reculer devant les troupes Turques jusqu'au Caire; et que le Pacha qui se trouve à Mouche, va désertier et venir près de Hafiz Pacha avec la moitié des soldats qui sont sous son commandement; qu'un Pacha avec onze régimens vient du côté de Malatia, et qu'aussitôt ces régimens arrivés, Hafiz Pacha marchera vers Antab, dans l'armée duquel se trouvent déjà 140 pièces d'artillerie. En outre, on a intimidé les habitans des villes et des villages, en répandant des bruits que le village qui ne se soumettra pas à tems à l'autorité de Hafiz Pacha, hommes, femmes et enfans, tous seront passés au fil de l'épée; le village de Ouront est occupé par une partie de leur cavalerie; le Chef de ce même village a été appelé par Hafiz Pacha; il lui a fait cadeau d'une montre en or. Lorsque ce chef d'Ouront était de retour à son village, il a fait venir tous les vieillards des villages du district, et leur a enjoint de repousser les soldats Egyptiens. Il a fait réunir les habitans de quatre ou cinq villages dans un seul; il leur a distribué des fusils et de la poudre que Hafiz Pacha lui avait envoyés.

Son Altesse Ibrahim Pacha, par sa lettre du 17 Rebi-el-evel, mande en outre, que le Pacha qui se trouve à Marache, excite aussi la population de Kourd Dak; qu'on a remarqué un des chefs des troupes de ce même Pacha parmi la tribu Kourde qui avait saccagé Boulanick; qu'on répand le bruit qu'on a à Koniah 16,000 hommes; à Gifté-kan autant sous le commandement de Ali Pacha de Koniah; qu'on va recruter 8,000 hommes encore dans ces contrées; qu'on a 20,000 hommes à Caramanie; et qu'on dit que toutes ces troupes sont destinées pour le Kuluk-Bogaz. Un autre corps d'armée marchera vers la Syrie par le district de Nijdé. Le corps d'armée fort de onze régimens, marchera pour Kaisserie; le Pacha de Marache avec autant de Kourdes et des canons, &c., &c.

En répandant tous ces bruits, on espère pouvoir exciter la population, comme on l'a déjà fait dans la Province d'Antab.

J'apprends à l'instant par deux exprès de Magioun Bey, que cinq escadrons de la Cavalerie Turque ont attaqué le corps de Cavalerie Arabe sous le commandement du dit Bey, à Tel-Béehir. Notre cavalerie n'a pu résister à leur choc, attendu qu'elle était inférieure en nombre, et que la Cavalerie Turque était suivie de près par des régimens d'Infanterie. Pour empêcher que leurs intrigues et leurs menées ne soient pas communiquées aux environs d'Alep, je me suis décidé à aller à leur rencontre, et je suis arrivé à Tel-Chaïr avec sept régimens de Cavalerie, et douze batteries d'Artillerie à cheval, en laissant l'ordre au Général Solyman Pacha de me suivre avec le corps d'armée.

(Translation.)

Extract of Reports from Syria, dated the 15th, 16th, and 17th of Rebi-el-evel, 1255.

THE fourteen villages of the district of Ouront in the province of Aintab have been occupied by the troops of Hafiz Pasha. He has distri-

buted arms and ammunition to the inhabitants of these villages. He has caused the elders of these same villages to be presented to him; he has given them dresses of honour. Three Arab Horsemen, Hanadis, have been captured by the inhabitants of these villages, who hastened to carry them before Hafiz Pasha, in order to receive from him the promised reward. Hafiz Pasha has ordered his troops, if they fall in with Egyptian soldiers, to capture them, or to fire upon them. Cannon were fired at Nezib to announce the arrival of Hafiz Pasha in that town. Reports have been spread, that Ibrahim Pasha can no longer advance; that he will be obliged to retreat before the Turkish troops as far as Cairo; and that the Pasha who is at Moosh is about to desert, and join Hafiz Pasha with half the soldiers under his orders; that a Pasha with eleven regiments is coming from the direction of Malatia; and that as soon as these regiments arrive, Hafiz Pasha, with whose army there are already 140 guns, will march towards Aintab. Moreover, the inhabitants of the towns and villages have been intimidated by reports that the men, women, and children of any village which shall not submit in good time to the authority of Hafiz Pasha, shall be all put to the sword; the village of Ouront is occupied by a part of their Cavalry; the Chief of that same village was summoned by Hafiz Pasha, who gave him a gold watch. When this Chief of Ouront returned to his village, he convened all the elders of the villages of the district, and enjoined them to drive back the Egyptian soldiers. He collected into one village the inhabitants of four or five villages, and distributed to them some muskets and powder which Hafiz Pasha had sent to him.

His Highness Ibrahim Pasha, in his letter of the 17th of Rebi-el-evel, further reports, that the Pasha of Marash also is stirring up the population of Kourid Dak; that one of the superior officers of that Pasha's troops has been noticed among the tribe of Koords who plundered Boulanick; that it is reported that there 16,000 men at Koniah; as many at Gifté-kan under the orders of Ali Pasha of Koniah; that 8,000 more men are about to be raised in those countries; that there are 20,000 men in Caramania; and that all these troops are reported to be destined for the Kuluk-Bogaz. Another corps will march towards Syria by the district of Nijdé. The corps, consisting of eleven regiments, will march for Kaisserieh; the Pasha of Marash with as many Koords, and the guns, &c., &c.

It is hoped that, by spreading these reports, the people may be stirred up, as has already been done in the province of Aintab.

I learn this moment by two expresses from Maggiun Bey, that five squadrons of Turkish Cavalry have attacked the corps of Arab Cavalry under the orders of that Bey at Tel-Bechir. Our Cavalry could not withstand the shock, being inferior in number, and the Turkish Cavalry being closely followed by some regiments of Infantry. In order to prevent their intrigues and machinations from being extended to the neighbourhood of Aleppo, I decided upon advancing to meet them, and I arrived at Tel-Chaïr with seven regiments of Cavalry, and twelve batteries of Horse Artillery, leaving orders for Solyman Pasha to follow me with the main body.

No. 81.

Viscount Palmerston to Lord Beauvale.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, June 28, 1839.

I HAVE to inform your Excellency, that Her Majesty's Government have received from Prince Esterhazy, from M. Kisseleff, and from the French Government, important, and generally speaking, satisfactory, communications upon the subject of the present state of affairs between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali; and the result of these communications leads Her Majesty's Government to conclude, that the views taken of

these matters by the Austrian, French, and Russian Governments, may be stated shortly to be nearly as follows:—

All three of those Governments appear to be strongly impressed with the necessity of preventing, if possible, the outbreak of hostilities between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali, or of putting a speedy end to those hostilities, if they should unfortunately have already broken out; and in that opinion Her Majesty's Government entirely concur. The Russian Government, however, in a despatch of which M. Kisseleff gave me yesterday a copy, states, that the Powers of Europe might be contented to remain passive spectators of the continuance of those hostilities, so long as the Contending Parties should carry on their conflict within the limits of Syria. But in this view, Her Majesty's Government cannot agree; because it is not so much the scene of action, as the possible result of the conflict, which may exercise a decisive influence on the great interests of Europe, and a signal defeat and dispersion of the army of the Sultan, would be scarcely less disastrous on one side of the Taurus, or of the Euphrates, than upon the other.

Your Excellency will see, by the instructions given to Sir Robert Stopford, and which you are authorized to read to Prince Metternich, that Her Majesty's Government consider, that if hostilities shall have begun, and if the Egyptian Troops shall have advanced into Asia Minor, the first object to be aimed at, will be, to procure a suspension of arms, and to cause the Egyptian Troops to return within the limits of Syria; and, therefore, it is unnecessary to state that Her Majesty's Government are not willing to consent that Mehemet Ali should continue to occupy the districts of Diarbekir and Orfa;—districts beyond the Province of Syria, of considerable importance in a military and political point of view, and which it has long been the desire of Mehemet Ali to acquire.

Upon the first point, then, connected with these affairs, there appears to be a general concurrence of opinion, that hostilities between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali ought to be prevented or stopped. Austria, France, and England, seem also to feel that the present relative position of the Sultan and the Pasha is incompatible with the safety of the Turkish Empire, and with the peace of Europe; and that some different arrangement must be arrived at, in order to avoid serious and extensive dangers.

Some parts of Count Nesselrode's despatch, might, perhaps, be construed to imply that Russia is not of this opinion, and is satisfied with the present state of things; but there are other passages which appear to indicate that Russia is not disinclined to take into consideration the possibility of making some more permanent settlement. France, Austria, and Great Britain, have expressed a decided opinion that some such settlement is absolutely required for the safety of Europe, and that the Great Powers ought, without loss of time, to enter into communication with each other for that purpose. Prussia would of course concur in such a proceeding; and, although Russia has hitherto endeavoured to retain within her own discretion, everything belonging to her relations with Turkey, yet the Cabinet of Petersburg must clearly see that the general interests of all the Powers of Europe are so directly concerned in the fate of the Turkish Empire, that no one Power can separate herself from the rest in her dealings with respect to Turkey; but that Turkish affairs must henceforward be considered to be as much an European question, as any other affairs with which the Cabinets of Europe have been occupied.

The French Government proposed that these matters should be discussed in a Conference of the Five Powers, to be held at Vienna. Prince Metternich has stated reasons why, in his opinion, these matters cannot properly be submitted to a formal conference, but he has proposed that Vienna should be the seat of negotiation on these affairs. Her Majesty's Government saw many strong reasons in favour of the French proposal, and some of much weight against it; the proposal of Prince Metternich is open to fewer objections, and holds out less advantages.

The informal negotiation proposed by Austria would certainly not fetter the action of Great Britain as much as a formal conference would do.

Her Majesty's Government, however, are willing to agree to the pro-

position of Prince Metternich, provided it shall be acceded to by Russia and Prussia, as well as by Great Britain and France; and I have great satisfaction in stating to your Excellency, that one strong motive which leads Her Majesty's Government to acquiesce in this arrangement is, the entire confidence which they place in your ability, discretion, and firmness.

The general view which Her Majesty's Government, as at present informed, entertain of the affair in question, may be stated as follows:

The Great Powers are justified in interfering in these matters, which are, in fact, a contest between a sovereign and his subject, because this contest threatens to produce great and imminent danger to the deepest interests of other Powers, and to the general peace of Europe. Those interests and that peace require the maintenance of the Turkish Empire; and the maintenance of the Turkish Empire is, therefore, the primary object to be aimed at. This object cannot be secured without putting an end to future chances of collision between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali. But as long as Mehemet Ali continues to occupy Syria, there will be danger of such collision. Mehemet Ali cannot hold Syria without a large military force constantly stationed there. As long as there is an Egyptian force in Syria, there must necessarily be a Turkish army in that part of Asia Minor which borders on Syria. Each party might agree at present to reduce those forces to a given amount, but neither could be sure that the other was not, after a time, secretly increasing his amount of force; and each party would, beyond a doubt, gradually augment his own force; and thus, at no distant period, the same state of things which has existed of late, would again recur: for the motives and passions which have led to it would still be in action. Mehemet Ali, or Ibrahim, would still desire to add more territory to their Pashalics; the Sultan would still burn to drive them back into Egypt.

It appears then to Her Majesty's Government, that there can be no end to the danger with which these affairs menace the peace of Europe, until Mehemet Ali shall have restored Syria to the direct authority of the Sultan; shall have retired into Egypt; and shall have interposed the Desert between his troops and authorities and the troops and authorities of the Sultan. But Mehemet Ali could not be expected to consent to this, unless some equivalent advantage were granted to him; and this equivalent advantage might be hereditary succession in his family to the Pashalic of Egypt: Mehemet Ali and his descendants being secured in the Government of that Province in the same way that a former Pasha of Scutari and his family were so secured; the Pasha continuing to be the vassal of the Porte, paying a reasonable tribute, furnishing a contingent of men, and being bound like any other Pasha by the treaties which his sovereign might make. Such an arrangement would appear to be equitable between the parties, because, on the one hand, it would secure the Sultan against the many dangers and inconveniences which arise from the present occupation of Syria by the Pasha; while, on the other hand, it would afford to the Pasha that security as to the future fate of his family, his anxiety about which, he has often declared to be the main cause of his desire to obtain some final and permanent arrangement.

It appears to Her Majesty's Government that if the Five Powers were to agree upon such a plan, and were to propose it to the two parties, with all the authority which belongs to the Great Powers of Europe, such an arrangement would be carried into effect, and through its means, Europe would be delivered from a great and imminent danger.

No. 82.

Viscount Palmerston to Earl Granville.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, June 29, 1839.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency, a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna^c ac-

* See No. 81.

Your Excellency will communicate the substance of this despatch to the French Government.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 124.

Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 17.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 15, 1839.

I HAVE received your Lordship's despatches to the 12th of July.

The inclosed copies of telegraphic despatches which were received here on Saturday by the French Government, were sent to me on Saturday evening by Marshal Sout.

The more detailed reports from Admiral Roussin and from the French Consul at Alexandria, had not reached Paris at the time I saw Marshal Soult this day, but are expected to arrive to-night or to-morrow morning.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 124.

Telegraphic Despatch from Marseilles.

Le Consul de France à M. le Président du Conseil.

Alexandrie, le 26 Juin.

UN courrier arrivé aujourd'hui du quartier-général d'Ibrahim, annonce à Méhémet Ali que l'attaque contre l'Armée Turque devait avoir lieu le 21 Juin.

(Translation.)

The Consul of France to the President of the Council.

Alexandria, June 26.

A COURIER arrived to-day from the head-quarters of Ibrahim, reports to Mehemet Ali that the attack on the Turkish army was to take place on the 21st of June.

Inclosure 2 in No. 124.

Telegraphic Despatch of 13th July, 3 A.M.

ON mande de Constantinople, que le Sultan est gravement malade; qu'il ne s'occupe plus des affaires; et que les médecins avaient déclaré que son existence ne pourrait pas se prolonger plus de trois mois.

Le 26 Juin, on parlait à Alexandrie d'une bataille qui aurait eu lieu le 21, entre les Egyptiens et les Turcs, mais on n'avait pas de détails, et l'on attendait avec impatience le paquebot de Beyrouth.

La flotte Turque qui devait sortir le 24, était encore, le 28, dans le détroit des Dardanelles; on attribuait ce tems d'arrêt à la maladie du Sultan.

L'Amiral Lalande avait envoyé le "Trident," "l'Hercule," et le "Jupiter," à Ourlac et se trouvait avec "l'Jéna" seulement à Ténédos.

L'Escadre Anglaise, composée de sept vaisseaux, deux frégates, une corvette, deux bricks, et un bateau à vapeur, a quitté Malte le 2 Juillet, se dirigeant sur l'Egypte et la Syrie.

(Translation.)

Telegraphic Despatch of 13th July, 3 A.M

IT is reported from Constantinople that the Sultan is seriously ill; that he no longer busies himself about affairs; and that the physicians had declared that his existence cannot be prolonged beyond three months.

The 26th of June, there was a rumour at Alexandria of a battle having taken place on the 21st between the Egyptians and the Turks, but the details had not been received, and the packet from Beyrout was looked for with impatience.

The Turkish fleet, which was to go out on the 24th, was still, on the 28th, within the straits of the Dardanelles; this detention was attributed to the illness of the Sultan.

Admiral Lalande had sent the "Trident," the "Hercules," and the "Jupiter," to Vourla, and was alone with the "Jena" at Tenedos.

The English squadron, composed of seven sail of the line, two frigates, one corvette, two brigs, and one steam-vessel, left Malta on the 2nd of July, proceeding towards Egypt and Syria.

No. 125.

Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 17.)

(Extract.)

Paris, July 15, 1839.

MARSHAL SOULT, this morning, informed me that he has written a despatch to M. de Bourqueney, to be communicated to your Lordship, in which he has authorized the French Chargé d'Affaires to declare the readiness of the French Government to become a party to a general guarantee of the integrity of the Turkish Empire by the Five Great European Powers. His Excellency indeed dwelt at some length upon the advantages of such a self-denying engagement.

The Marshal then spoke to me of a conversation you had had with M. de Bourqueney, and said to me that he agreed with your Lordship, that if any Russian ships should propose to join the combined fleets of England, of France, and of Austria, upon the Syrian coast, their being permitted to pass through the Dardanelles for that purpose should be considered as a *cas exceptionnel*;—a case in which the deviation from the established principle of shutting the straits, would be counterbalanced by the advantage of manifesting that all the Great Powers acted in concert.

With reference to the Sultan's death, and the possible disturbance of the public tranquillity, the Marshal was of opinion that the Ambassadors, in case they apprehended danger to the lives and properties of their countrymen, might call upon the Admirals to station one or two frigates near Constantinople for their protection, and which might be used as a place of refuge even for the young Sultan, if any apprehension should be felt for the security of his person, from the disturbed state of the capital.

No. 126.

Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 17.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 15, 1839, 10 P.M.

I INCLOSE the copy of a telegraphic despatch which I have just received from Marshal Soult, announcing the death of the Sultan Mahmoud.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 136.

Lord Beauvale to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 23.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, July 10, 1839.

I COMMUNICATED to Prince Metternich your Lordship's letter to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, of the 25th of June.

Before reading it, he remarked to me that the Note delivered by Admiral Roussin at Constantinople, and the instruction to Admiral Lalande, were both founded upon the false principle of an equality of right between the Sultan and the Pasha,—a principle which Austria could not adopt, and the falseness of which he had pointed out to M. de St. Aulaire.

After reading your Lordship's letter, Prince Metternich expressed his satisfaction with it in all its parts, and his sense of its completeness as an instruction. He has since dwelt much to me upon his astonishment that the French Government, with such an instruction before them, should have given one varying from it in essential points, incorrect in principle, and comparatively vague in its provisions.

I did not omit to point out to Prince Metternich the advantage of your Lordship's instruction over the Russian proposition, for confining hostilities within a certain district in case of their having commenced, in which, when he saw the application of the principle as laid down in your Lordship's letter, he fully concurred.

No. 37.

Lord Beauvale to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 23.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, July 11, 1839.

IT appears certain that the Sultan died on the morning of the 29th, and that his death was kept secret for six-and-thirty hours, at the end of which period the only notification of it was the proclamation of his successor.

The orders to the Commanders, by sea and land, to suspend operations, were sent on the 28th or 29th. Admiral Roussin was ignorant, till some time afterwards, of this step having been taken, and he had received a refusal to his demand to be allowed to send an officer to the army of Hafiz Pasha. This refusal was founded upon various pretexts, and accompanied by a request to be furnished with the grounds of accommodation which he was authorized to propose between the Sultan and the Pasha. He was told that his first Note had not been laid before the Sultan, it being impossible to propose to his Highness to revert to the *statu quo*; but that if he would present a conciliatory reply, conveying a reasonable plan of arrangement, the clemency of the Sultan might probably be extended towards his vassal.

The leading Turkish Ministers have stated to Baron Stürmer, that if anything could have deterred them from ordering operations to be suspended, it would have been Admiral Roussin's tone in demanding it.

They further requested the Baron to apply to Prince Metternich for his advice how to act; and Hosrew Pasha stated, that if Mehemet Ali would restore Syria and Candia to the Porte, and would reduce his forces, the right of hereditary succession in Egypt might be secured to his family.

The documents, of which I have here given a summary, will be communicated to your Lordship, and to the French Government.

Prince Metternich's answer to Constantinople will approve of the suspension of hostilities; will recommend the Porte to keep its army and fleet entire, withdrawing them out of the reach of daily collisions; and will recommend them to await in total stillness the overtures of the

European Powers. To Mehemet Ali, the Prince will give the same advice, under pain of destruction, if he neglects it.

As to the plan of pacification, Prince Metternich fully adopts your Lordship's ideas; but the Porte having itself designated the terms upon which it is willing to confer Egypt upon the family of Mehemet Ali, he considers these, consisting of the restitution of Syria and Candia, and the disarming, as a *sine quâ non*; whereas the restitution of the eastern coast of the Red Sea, and the terms upon which Egypt is to be held as a fief, are open to negotiation.

His plan for the conduct of this negotiation is the following. It must begin at Constantinople, and will be complete when the Porte shall have agreed with the Five Powers upon the terms to be granted to the Pasha: this agreement to be consigned to official notes. When this is done, the Five Powers will notify to the Pasha the terms, and call upon him to accept them, supporting their intimation by such pressure, in case of refusal, as may be sufficient to determine his assent. This assent being obtained, the arrangement to be placed under the guarantee of the Five Powers. The outline of the terms is already sketched, and may be considered as adopted by England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. France remains; and Prince Metternich requests the British Government to persuade France.

As to the eastern coast of the Red Sea, the amount of tribute, the obligation of treaties, present and future, entered into by the Porte, upon the Pasha, and the extent of reduction of force to be required of him; these, although of minor importance, are yet points which will offer many difficulties, and which must be regulated with the Porte, before an ultimatum can be presented to the Pasha. The only difficulty of treating them will be with France, and it will be for your Lordship to determine whether to treat them at Paris or here. I shall request Prince Metternich, in case your Lordship decides upon the former place, to direct Count Appony to give all the assistance in his power.

In the question of disarming, it is probable that the Porte will insist, as it is entitled to do, upon a diminution of Mehemet Ali's fleet, and this diminution is precisely what will be most unpleasant to France, who has always looked upon the naval power of Egypt as a reinforcement to her own, and thereby a counterpoise to our maritime superiority in the Mediterranean. If, therefore, this branch of the question is to be treated here, it will be necessary that I should be furnished with instructions as to the amount of reduction to be insisted upon, and the mode, specifying whether any part of the fleet is to be given up to the Sultan.

When this is settled, it will be necessary to establish the relations between the negotiation at Vienna and the Ambassadors at Constantinople.

It is clear that Vienna in its relations with that place is nearly a month a-head of London and Petersburg. It will therefore be for your Lordship to provide, that when the proposition to be presented to the Porte has been assented to by the Five Powers, it shall receive the support of Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople. The application of the Porte to Prince Metternich for advice, and the proximity of this Capital, throw this branch of the negotiation very much into his hands; nor, considering the identity of his objects with our own, can it be better placed. The amount of this exclusive direction will be augmented or diminished in proportion to the number of references which shall be necessary to London and Paris.

When we come to treat with Egypt, the Maritime Powers must take the lead; and the first question will arise upon the mode of summoning the Pasha to accept the ultimatum of the Porte.

The modes are three,—by the Consuls, by the Admirals, or by a Commissioner to be sent on board the fleet. If the latter be preferred, how is the Commissioner to be chosen, and from whence is he to be sent? In either of the three alternatives, it will be necessary that the Admirals should be instructed how to act in case of Mehemet Ali's refusal to accept the Sultan's offer.

Three modes of notification

Prince Metternich believes that the moral weight of the Five Powers

acting in concert will determine the submission of the Pasha, but if it should not, I cannot but doubt the efficacy of a blockade to induce him to evacuate Syria. That country is reported to be provided with warlike stores for more than one campaign, nor would it be difficult to organize a transport by camels across the Desert. The Pasha's fleet would be laid up in port, and his commerce would pass under neutral flags. In such a case, the Russian proposition to consider ourselves in a state of war might be found the only one efficacious.

If any part of this second branch of the negotiation is to be treated from hence, (and I do not see, after an agreement has been come to at Constantinople, what can be gained by references to Paris and London,) it will be requisite that the Admirals should be furnished with instructions, and the negotiation here with directions for its guidance.

I have comprised in this despatch the result of many conversations with Prince Metternich, with the view of assisting the deliberations of Her Majesty's Government.

P. S.—I see I have omitted a consideration of much importance; it is, that whenever a common proposition shall have been agreed upon by the Five Powers, all separate communications either from the Ambassadors or from the Courts should cease.

If Mehemet Ali were to remark a difference of meaning, or even of tone, between any one of these and the collective language of the Alliance, the chance of his submission would be much diminished.

No. 138.

Lord Beaurale to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 23.)

My Lord.

Vienna, July 11, 1839.

PRINCE METTERNICH has received answers from St. Petersburg, to his despatches of 14th June. They were copying for transmission to London and Paris, so that I did not see them; but the Prince assures me that they bespeak an identity of views with Austria. The despatches to which they reply, did no more than convey Prince Metternich's first communications to Constantinople. Prince Jablonowski, who left this on the 21st, bearing a private letter from Prince Metternich, recommending the establishment of a central point of negotiation, had but just reached Petersburg before their departure; a further courier, therefore, must be expected with the official answer to this proposition; but Russia already adopts the principle, that everything is to be done in common.

Upon all the details Prince Metternich agrees to your Lordship's ideas without reserve, and is sure of their adoption by Russia: so that, according to him, England, Austria, and Russia, are placed exactly upon the same line, and there only remains to induce France to relinquish her deviations from it.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) BEAUVALE.

No. 139.

Lord Beaurale to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 23.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, July 11, 1839.

I THIS day applied to Prince Metternich upon the subject of the Austrian squadron. He told me it would consist of nine sail; that the Archduke had been ordered to hold himself in readiness to embark; but that its sailing would be delayed until an answer should be received from Paris to an application calling upon the French Government to conform its instruction to that which had been given by England;

the principle of parity between the Sultan and the Pasha being one which Austria could not admit, any more than she could its application to the equal treatment of their vessels. Till this was done, Prince Metternich said the Austrian squadron could not join the combined fleet, as it would not know with whom to act.

No. 140.

Lord Beauvale to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 23.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, July 12, 1839.

PRINCE METTERNICH has just communicated to me the whole of his despatches to Paris with their inclosures. They will be laid before your Lordship. His despatch upon the incorrectness of principle in the instructions to Admiral Lalande, is a masterpiece of argument. It treats the difference between the French and English Instructions as merely apparent, assuming and proving that the real thought of the French Cabinet cannot be other than that of England and Austria.

The despatch of Count Fiquelmont is conclusive upon this point, the Emperor regarding Mehemet Ali only as a rebellious subject.

No. 141.

Lord Beauvale to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 23.)

My Lord,

Vienna, July 14, 1839.

THE departure of Prince Metternich's courier was suspended, by the arrival of an estafette from Constantinople. I inclose Lord Ponsonby's despatches received by this occasion; those of the Internuncio will be communicated by Prince Esterhazy. There are two differences between them. The first is, that Baron Stürmer mentions it to be intended by the Porte to apprise Mehemet Ali that the Sultan may be induced to appoint one of his sons to the Pashalic of one of the Provinces he (Mehemet Ali) at present holds, which is virtually a relinquishment of Syria to Ibrahim Pasha. The other, that the Internuncio notifies the consent of the Representatives of the Five Powers having been given to support the propositions of the Porte, while Lord Ponsonby only speaks of their having agreed to notify the facts to the Consuls. There is a further difference between this overture made by Nouri Effendi, and the one he made to the Internuncio; in that, the evacuation of the Holy Cities was omitted, as in this, is the disarming.

Prince Metternich intends making no change in the attitude Austria has taken; on the contrary, the squadron will receive immediate orders to join the combined one of England and France, in the Levant. He holds that no difference of sentiment has taken place in the Turkish Councils; that the tranquillity now sought to be re-established would not last; and that the European Powers having been brought forwards, must carry through the task they have undertaken.

The reasoning upon which this opinion is founded will be laid before your Lordship, and appears to me to be founded in truth.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) BEAUVALE.

No. 142.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 24.)

My Lord,

Therapia, July 1, 1839.

THE death of His Majesty the Sultan was not expected to take place so soon, for there had been alleviations of the malady, though not such as to give well-grounded hopes of his recovery. The event obliges the Internuncio to dispatch an estafette without delay, and I have no time to write as I wish to do upon so serious a subject as the state of this country; but I did write some time ago to Lord Beauvale, and I have now written a hasty letter to him, in which I have summarily given such opinions as I should lay before Her Majesty's Government in an official form if I had time; and perhaps Lord Beauvale will have the goodness to communicate them to your Lordship, if he thinks they ought to be submitted.

I regret that it is not competent to me to suggest any measures to the Admiral commanding Her Majesty's squadron, for I am of opinion that the presence of the squadron at the Dardanelles would be useful, and perhaps necessary to prevent the occurrence of things that may be disadvantageous to Her Majesty's interests in this country.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 143.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 24.)

My Lord,

Therapia, July 2, 1839.

I RECEIVED, this evening, from his Excellency Nouri Effendi, a note, of which I inclose copy. The meeting probably will not be over in time to allow me afterwards to write by post, and therefore I will report now what I have good reason to believe is the substance of the business intended to be brought forward by the Ottoman Ministers,—namely, a communication of a resolution taken by the Sublime Porte, to propose to Mehemet Ali to make the Government of Egypt hereditary in his family on the terms of vassalage and tribute, provided he consents to restore Syria, and Candia, and Mecca, and Medina, to the Sultan.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) PONSONBY.

Inclosure in No. 143.

Nouri Effendi to Viscount Ponsonby.

Mon sieur l'Ambassadeur,

Constantinople, le 20 Rebi-el-akhir, 1255.

CHARGE d'ordre Souverain de faire à votre Excellence une communication importante, je m'empresse de la prévenir du désir que j'ai d'avoir l'honneur de m'entretenir avec elle, et de la prier par conséquent de vouloir bien se rendre à ma maison de campagne à Emirghienoghlu, demain à 5 heures à la Turque.

Agrééz, &c.,
(Signé) NOURI.

(Translation.)

*Nouri Effendi to Viscount Ponsonby.*Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, *Constantinople, 20th Rebi-el-akhir, 1255.*

CHARGED, by order of my Sovereign, to make to your Excellency an important communication, I hasten to acquaint you of my desire to have the honour of conversing with you, and consequently to request that you will have the goodness to come to my country-house at Emirghien-oglou, to-morrow at 5 o'clock, Turkish time.

Receive, &c.,
(Signed) NOURI.

No. 144.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 24.)

My Lord,

Therapia, July 3, 1839.

IN pursuance of the desire of the Sublime Porte, the Ministers of the Five Great Powers assembled this day at the House of the Ottoman Minister for Foreign Affairs. Nouri Effendi was the only Ottoman Minister present. He stated, that the Sultan had commanded him to assure the Ministers, in his Highness' name, of his esteem and friendship for the Sovereigns they represented, and his warm desire to cultivate by every means the good understanding that existed between their Governments and the Ottoman Porte. This was handsomely expressed according to Turkish forms.

His Excellency proceeded to say, he was commanded to make known to the Ministers of his Allies and friends, that the Sultan, being animated by the wish to put an end to the calamities which pressed heavily upon his people, in consequence of the conduct of the Pasha of Egypt, and the anger he had excited in the bosom of the late Sultan Mahmoud, had determined to send one of the eminent men of his Court to offer the Egyptian Pasha pardon for the past, and assurance of favour for the future (of which the Sultan sent a decoration as the mark and evidence), and to promise that his Highness would confer upon the Pasha and his family the hereditary government of Egypt to be held by the Pasha and his descendants as vassals, on the condition that Syria, &c. should be immediately restored to the Sultan.

Nouri Effendi asked for the opinion of the Ministers, who replied that they would rejoice in the restoration of peace, and were warmly desirous of the prosperity of his Highness; that, being uninstructed by their Governments, they could not give any opinion as to the terms which the Sublime Porte was about to propose to the Pasha, but they would not fail to report to their Governments the communication they had received.

Questions were asked to ascertain precisely the nature of the proposal intended to be made to the Pasha, and it was distinctly understood, that the Sultan would grant to Mehemet Ali the hereditary government of Egypt, within the boundaries that were formerly the limits of that country; that is, as I understand it, the limits that used to circumscribe the country as a Pashalic.

It was asked if it was intended to leave Mehemet Ali in possession of Syria, or of Mecca, or Medina, or St. John d'Acre, and the reply was in the negative. The Ministers thought it right to confine themselves to inquiries directed solely to the perfect elucidation of what was stated to them, and not to enter at all into discussion of the merits of the proposition.

Nouri Effendi desired the Ministers to write to the Consuls of their respective Governments; and the Ministers agreed to notify the facts and what had taken place to the Consuls,

I will forward by the French steamer, copy of my letter to Colonel Campbell.

There were questions asked as to the state of the armies in Syria, and Nouri Effendi said that orders had been sent, which would be received by Hafiz Pasha in about ten days, peremptorily commanding him not to engage in any act of hostility; and he added, that Mahomed Ali Bey had already carried orders to that officer to avoid attacking the Egyptian Army, and said the Porte had no intelligence of any fighting having taken place of greater magnitude than skirmishes between detached bodies of Irregulars, and so forth.

The Sultan's measure has the advantage of showing his disposition to live on friendly terms with the Pasha: he offers pardon and oblivion as to the past, and favour as to the future. He shows that the Pasha has not to fear from him the effects of personal hate, as he had from the deceased Mahmoud; and takes from the Pasha the excuse that fear afforded him for his armaments. He throws the defence upon the Pasha of continued rebellion, and of the disturbance of the peace of the world, which will be the consequence of his pursuit of projects of aggrandizement and ambition.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 145.

Viscount Palmerston to Lord Beauvale.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 23, 1839.

I INCLOSE, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a draft of Note which Baron Roussin has been instructed to present to the Turkish Government, requesting that if the naval or military forces of other Powers are invited to Constantinople, the French Squadron may be permitted to pass the Dardanelles.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 146.

Draft of Note to be presented to the Porte by Admiral Roussin.—(Communicated by Baron de Bourqueney, July 18.)

Juillet, 1839.

LE Soussigné, Ambassadeur de France, a reçu l'ordre de faire la communication suivante à Son Excellence M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la Sublime Porte.

Les graves événemens qui viennent d'éclater en Syrie, imposent à la politique des Cours Européennes l'obligation de prévoir jusqu'aux chances les plus invraisemblables de la crise qu'ils ont fait naître.

Il est sans doute bien peu probable qu'on voie renaître aujourd'hui les dangers qui en 1833 menaçaient la capitale même de l'Empire Ottoman, et forçaient la Porte à accepter un appui étranger. Sans parler des autres circonstances qui, depuis lors, se sont tant modifiées, il y a tout lieu d'espérer que les efforts des Grandes Puissances Européennes pour arrêter les hostilités à peine commencées, préviendront des extrémités semblables.

Encore une fois, pourtant, il faut tout prévoir, et l'histoire présente trop d'exemples d'accidens inattendus qui ont trompé les calculs des Gouvernemens les plus forts et les plus habiles, pour que la Sublime Porte puisse considérer comme une injure, l'hypothèse d'un désastre qui l'obligerait de nouveau à réclamer, pour sa défense, l'appui de ses Alliés.

Le jour où l'existence du trône du Sultan serait réellement compromise, elle les trouverait tous disposés à lui accorder leur concours pour prévenir une catastrophe qui, en ébranlant l'équilibre politique, mettrait en péril

la paix du monde, dont le maintien les intéresse tous au même degré. A Pétersbourg, à Vienne, à Berlin, à Londres, à Paris, il n'y a qu'un sentiment à cet égard.

Dans un tel état de choses, la Sublime Porte comprendrait sans doute que le moyen le plus assuré de concilier avec la nécessité fâcheuse où elle se trouverait réduite, le soin de sa dignité et même de sa sûreté, ce serait de demander, non pas à une Puissance en particulier, mais à l'Europe entière, l'appui qui lui serait devenu indispensable. Un grand Empire ne déchoit pas, en effet, en se plaçant sous la protection des grands intérêts Européens. Il trouve dans la diversité même de ces intérêts, lorsqu'ils se réunissent pour venir à son aide, la garantie certaine que cette protection ne pourra pas se transformer en une suprématie dangereuse pour son indépendance.

Le système de conduite que cette considération puissante indique à la Sublime Porte est d'ailleurs le seul qui s'accorde avec les convenances et les justes susceptibilités de la politique des Grandes Cours, dont il lui importe certainement de tenir compte.

Le Gouvernement du Roi a donc la conviction qu'il va au-devant des intentions de la Sublime Porte en demandant que, dans le cas où les forces de terre ou de mer d'une ou de plusieurs des Cours Alliées seraient appelées à Constantinople, les ordres fussent donnés pour ouvrir immédiatement le passage des Dardanelles à une escadre Française qui viendrait, de son côté, protéger le trône du Sultan contre les périls dont l'imminence aurait déterminé une telle mesure.

Le Soussigné prie Son Excellence M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de lui faire parvenir le plus promptement possible, la réponse de la Sublime Porte à cette communication, pour qu'il puisse, ainsi qu'il en a l'ordre, l'envoyer sur le champ à Paris.

(Signé)

BARON ROUSSIN.

(Translation.)

Draft of Note to be presented to the Porte by Admiral Roussin.

July, 1839.

THE Undersigned, Ambassador of France, has received orders to make the following communication to his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sublime Porte.

The serious events which have just occurred in Syria, render it obligatory upon the policy of the Courts of Europe to anticipate even the most improbable chances of the crisis which those events have produced.

It is indeed very little likely, that a recurrence should be witnessed at the present time of those perils, which, in 1833, menaced even the capital of the Ottoman Empire, and forced the Porte to accept foreign support. Without mentioning the other circumstances which since that time have been so much modified, there is every reason to hope, that the efforts of the Great European Powers to put a stop to hostilities which have scarcely commenced, will prevent the like extremities.

Once again, however, it is necessary to anticipate everything, and history offers too many instances of unlooked-for accidents which have deceived the calculations of the strongest and most skilful Governments, for the Sublime Porte to regard as an insult the supposition of a disaster which might compel it again to solicit for its defence the support of its Allies.

The day that the existence of the Sultan's throne should really be compromised, the Porte would find them all inclined to afford it their co-operation to prevent a catastrophe which, by shaking the political balance, would endanger the peace of the world, in the maintenance of which they are all interested to the same degree. At Petersburg, at Vienna, at Berlin, at London, and at Paris, there is but one opinion in this respect.

In such a state of things, the Sublime Porte would doubtless understand that the surest method of reconciling a regard for its dignity, and even for its security, with the grievous necessity to which it would find

itself reduced, would be, to request, not from one Power in particular, but from the whole of Europe, the support which would be indispensable for it. A great Empire, in fact, is not degraded by placing itself under the protection of the great European interests. It finds even in the diversity of those interests, when they unite in coming to its succour, the sure guarantee that this protection cannot be transformed into a supremacy dangerous to its independence.

The system of conduct which this weighty consideration indicates to the Sublime Porte is, moreover, the only one which is consistent with the duties and the just susceptibilities of the policy of the Great Courts, which it is certainly important for the Porte to pay attention to.

His Majesty's Government therefore is persuaded, that it meets the intentions of the Sublime Porte by requesting that, in the event of the land or sea forces of one or more of the Allied Courts being invited to Constantinople, orders may be given immediately to open the passage of the Dardanelles to a French squadron, which, on its part, would arrive for the protection of the throne of the Sultan against the perils, the imminence of which would have led to such a measure being determined upon.

The Undersigned requests his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs to forward to him as quickly as possible the answer of the Sublime Porte to this communication, in order that he may immediately send it, as he is instructed to do, to Paris.

(Signed) BARON ROUSSIN.

No. 147.

Earl Granville & Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 25.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 22, 1839.

THE inclosed telegraphic despatches, one from the French Ambassador at Constantinople, and the other from the French Consul-General at Alexandria, were sent to me this day by Marshal Sout. The intelligence they contain, though coming from opposite quarters, is in substance the same; and no doubt, therefore, can be entertained of the complete rout of the Turkish army under Hafiz Pasha.

I was not at home this morning when Count Appony called upon me, but I have just been told by Marshal Sout, that the Austrian Ambassador has received despatches from Prince Metternich, containing accounts from Constantinople of the 3rd, stating that an entire change in the politics of the Divan had taken place.

The Internuncio writes, that Nouri Effendi had communicated to him, and also to the other Ambassadors of the Great European Powers, that the Sultan had determined to accord to Mehemet Ali the hereditary right to the government of Egypt; and that he proposed sending an Envoy of rank and consideration to Alexandria, charged to communicate to the Pasha this determination, and to deliver to him the decoration of the highest order in the Turkish Empire, with magnificent presents. The Marshal Sout was inclined to think that the news of the battle of the 24th of June, though not divulged, must have reached Constantinople on the 3rd, and that the intelligence of this disaster caused the sudden veering in the politics of the Turkish Government; but in Admiral Roussin's despatch of the 8th, from Therapia, it is stated, that the Porte had only just received the news of the battle. It is not improbable that the partizans of Mehemet Ali at Constantinople, relieved from the terror inspired by the Sultan Mahmoud, may have gained an ascendancy in the councils of the new sovereign. It seems, however, that Prince Metternich had instructed the Internuncio to dissuade, if possible, the Sultan from thus prostrating himself before Mehemet Ali, and to engage him to rely upon the European Powers for protection.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 147.

Telegraphic Despatch from Marseilles, of the 22nd July, at 5 A. M.

Le Consul-Général à M. le Président du Conseil des Ministres.

Alexandrie, le 6.

L'ARMEE Egyptienne sous les ordres d'Ibrahim Pacha ayant attaqué l'armée Turque commandée par le Séraskier Hafiz Pacha, à Nézib, au-delà d'Alep, celle-ci a abandonné le champ de bataille après un combat de deux heures. Tout le matériel, en fusils, canons, et munitions, est tombé au pouvoir des Egyptiens. Ibrahim a écrit cette nouvelle le 25 Juin, sous la tente du Général-en-Chef Turc. Il était de retour à Antab le 28, mais avait donné ordre à trois régimens d'infanterie et trois régimens de cavalerie de se porter en avant sur Ourfa et Diarbékir.

(Translation.)

Telegraphic Despatch from Marseilles of the 22nd July, at 5 A.M.

The Consul-General to the President of the Council of Ministers.

Alexandria, the 6th.

THE Egyptian Army under the orders of Ibrahim Pasha, having attacked the Turkish Army commanded by the Seraskier Hafiz Pasha, at Nezib, beyond Aleppo, the latter abandoned the field of battle after an action of two hours. All the matériel, in guns, cannon, and ammunition, has fallen into the power of the Egyptians. Ibrahim wrote this intelligence the 25th of June, from the tent of the Turkish General-in-Chief. He had returned to Aintab on the 28th, but had ordered three regiments of Infantry and three regiments of Cavalry, to advance upon Orfa and Diarbekir.

 Inclosure 2 in No. 147.

Telegraphic Despatch from Marseilles of the 22nd July, at 3 P.M.

Thérapia, le 8.

LA Porte vient de recevoir la nouvelle qu'une bataille a été livrée dans le voisinage d'Alep, le 24 Juin, et que l'Armée Turque a été détruite. Les débris ont repassé la frontière, et on ne dit pas que l'Armée Egyptienne les ait poursuivis.

(Translation.)

Telegraphic Despatch from Marseilles of the 22nd July, at 3 P.M.

Therapia, the 8th.

THE Porte has just received the intelligence that a battle has been fought in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, on the 24th of June, and that the Turkish Army has been destroyed. The remains have repassed the frontier, and it is not said that the Egyptian Army has pursued them.

Inclosure 1 in No. 156.

*Telegraphic Despatch from Marseilles.**L'Agent des Affaires Etrangères à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.**Marseille, 25 Juillet, 3 h. du soir.*

LE 10, arrivée à Alexandrie de Akiff Effendi, envoyé par le jeune Sultan pour annoncer à Méhémet Ali la mort de son père; le confirmer dans le gouvernement de l'Égypte et de la Syrie, avec l'hérédité dans sa famille; et lui proposer l'oubli du passé, en le nommant Généralissime et soutien de l'Empire Turc; et en l'invitant à se rendre à Constantinople pour présider à la réorganisation de l'administration.

L'escadre Anglaise croise dans les parages de Chypre, et communique avec Alexandrie.

La "Gazette d'Agra" du 9 Mai, annonce que Runjeet Singh était dans un état désespéré.

Ces nouvelles ont été apportées à Malte par le paquebot Anglais "l'Acheron," parti d'Alexandrie le 14, et M. Fabreguette a profité du bateau à vapeur Anglais le "Blazer," qui arrive à l'instant, pour me les transmettre avec une dépêche pour vous, que je vous enverrai par le courrier de demain matin.

(Translation.)

*Telegraphic Despatch from Marseilles.**The Agent of Foreign Affairs to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.**Marseilles, July 25, 3 P.M.*

AKIFF EFFENDI arrived at Alexandria on the 10th, sent by the young Sultan to announce to Mehemet Ali the death of his father, to confirm him in the Government of Egypt and of Syria, with hereditary succession in his family; and to propose to him to forget the past, nominating him Generalissimo and support of the Turkish Empire, and inviting him to proceed to Constantinople to preside over the reorganization of the administration.

The English squadron is cruising off Cyprus, and communicates with Alexandria.

The "Gazette d'Agra" of the 9th of May, announces that Runjeet Sing was in a hopeless state.

These news have been brought to Malta by the English Packet, "the Acheron," which left Alexandria the 14th, and M. Fabreguette has taken advantage of the English steam-boat the "Blazer", just arrived, to transmit them to me, with a despatch for you, which I will send you by the Courier of to morrow morning.

Inclosure 2 in No. 156.

*Telegraphic Despatch from Marseilles.**L'Agent des Affaires Etrangères à M. le Président du Conseil.**Marseille, 25 Juillet, 3 h. du soir.*

LE 8, on connaissait à Alexandrie la mort du Sultan. Le 9, arrivée à Alexandrie d'une Corvette Turque ayant à bord Negib Bey, Kiaja du Capitan Pacha, chargé d'annoncer au Vice-Roi la présence du Capitan Pacha à Stankio, se dirigeant sur Rhodes, et de lui proposer de placer la flotte Turque sous sa protection, pour la garantir contre les troubles à craindre par suite de la mort du Sultan. On ignore la réponse de

Méhémet Ali, qui a expédié le bateau à vapeur la "Mer Noire" au Capitan Pacha.

Le 10, arrivée à Alexandrie d'Akiff Effendi, envoyé par le jeune Sultan pour annoncer à Méhémet Ali la mort de son père.

(Translation.)

Telegraphic Despatch from Marseilles.

The Agent of Foreign Affairs to the President of the Council.

Marseilles, July 25, 3 P.M.

THE death of the Sultan was known at Alexandria on the 8th. On the 9th a Turkish Corvette arrived at Alexandria, having on board Negib Bey, Kiaja of the Capudan Pasha, having orders to inform the Viceroy, that the Capudan Pasha was at Stankio, on his way to Rhodes, and to propose to him to place the Turkish Fleet under his protection, to secure it against the troubles which it is feared may follow the death of the Sultan. The reply of Mehemet Ali, who has sent the steam-boat, the "Mer Noire," to the Capudan Pasha, is not known.

On the 10th, Akiff Effendi arrived at Alexandria, sent by the young Sultan to announce to Mehemet Ali the death of his father.

No. 157.

Viscount Palmerston to Earl Granville.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, July 30, 1839.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 26th instant, reporting your conversation with Marshal Soult, as to the course which should be followed by the Five Powers in the present state of the affairs of the Levant.

Your Excellency will express to Marshal Soult, the great satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government have learnt, that the sentiments of the Government of France upon these important matters coincide so exactly and entirely with their own; and your Excellency will assure Marshal Soult, that Her Majesty's Government fully agree with him in thinking, that neither the overthrow of the Turkish Army, nor the treachery of the Capudan Pasha, nor the timidity or submission of the Divan, ought to alter, in any degree, the course which the Five Powers had previously intended to pursue; and that any arrangements which may have been made between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali, at a moment when the advisers of the Sultan were struck down with fear, or influenced by treacherous motives, ought to be regarded as null; and that a declaration to this effect should be made to Mehemet Ali. Her Majesty's Government will immediately instruct Lord Beauvale to make to the Austrian Government a communication upon this subject, similar to that which the French Government has instructed M. de St. Aulaire to make.

Her Majesty's Government sincerely rejoice at the complete identity of opinion on these most important matters between France and England; and they consider this identity as being the more valuable, because it has arisen spontaneously, each Government having been led to the same conclusion by its own view of the great European interests which are involved in these questions.

There can be no doubt, that this perfect union of England and France will confirm Austria in the course which she was herself one of the first to chalk out. With Austria, Prussia will go; and it is impossible that Russia can be unwilling to concur in the same course.

(Translation.)

The Grand Vizier to Mehemet Ali Pasha.—July 5, 1839.

IT is already some days since I wrote to your Excellency to announce to you the accession to the Imperial Throne of the most majestic, most magnificent, and most powerful Sultan, Abdul Medjid Khan, our Lord and Master, in consequence of the death of him whom it has pleased Providence to call to a better life.

His Highness, endowed with uprightness and with wisdom, qualities with which Heaven has favoured him, said as soon as he ascended the throne:

“The Pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali Pasha, having been guilty of certain offensive proceedings against my late glorious father, many things up to the present time have taken place; and latterly also, he has made preparations. But I do not wish that the tranquillity of my subjects should be disturbed, and that Mussulman blood should be spilt. I forget, then, the past; and provided that Mehemet Ali Pasha shall exactly fulfil the duties of submission and of vassalage, I grant him my Sovereign pardon, I design for him a magnificent decoration, and similar to that of my other illustrious Viziers, and I grant the hereditary succession of his sons to the Government of Egypt.”

Such are the gracious words which His Highness has spoken; and as I have been appointed Grand Vizier, an honour which I do not deserve, and as your Excellency is one of my old acquaintances, the wish which His Highness has just expressed cannot fail, considering the sincere friendship which I entertain for you, to cause me a lively satisfaction.

Orders have been forthwith sent to the Seraskier of the East, his Excellency Hafiz Pasha, to halt his army; and the Imperial fleet, which was on the point of sailing from the Dardanelles, has been detained. According to the orders of His Highness, the decoration which is intended for you is being prepared, and the firman of your investiture, and we will send them to you hereafter.

In the meanwhile the most distinguished Akiff Effendi, Secretary to the Council of the Porte, is sent to your Excellency to announce to you this joyful news, and to inform you in detail of the sentiments which His Highness has been pleased to express as regards you.

We trust in God that, under the auspices of the most magnificent reigning Sultan, our Lord and Master, who is established by Heaven, the people of all parts of the Empire will enjoy the greatest tranquillity. But it is evident, that the realization of this hope depends on the union among the Mussulmans. On this account it is necessary, according to the prudence and wisdom which characterise you, and agreeably to the orders of His Highness, that the past be buried in oblivion, and that your Excellency withdraw your armies and give heed to maintain this union; and it is in this hope that I have addressed you this despatch.

No. 177.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 2.)

My Lord.

Therapia, July 10, 1839.

I HAVE heard no more news respecting the Army of Hafiz Pasha, and nothing of the movements of Ibrahim Pasha.

There are no news yet come from the Ottoman fleet, but I hear the Sublime Porte has sent a Hatti Scheriff by some agent to be read to the officers and crews of the vessels, ordering them to return to Constantinople.

Public tranquillity continues undisturbed.

The messenger who was the bearer of your Lordship's despatches to the 17th of June, arrived late last night, and will be kept here till I can state, with some precision, the state of affairs.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 178.

Baron de Bourquency to Viscount Palmerston.

My Lord,

Hertford House, le 1er Août, 1839.

PAR sa dépêche d'avant-hier, le Maréchal Soult me charge de vous donner lecture de la lettre qu'il adresse à notre Consul-Général à Alexandrie, sous la date du 27 Juillet. Pour ne pas vous importuner, je vous en envoie copie, et je le fais avec d'autant plus d'empressement, que vous trouverez la pensée de ces instructions parfaitement conforme à la déclaration du Maréchal à Lord Granville.

Agréez, &c.,
(Signé) BOURQUENEY.

(Translation.)

Baron de Bourquency to Viscount Palmerston.

My Lord,

Hertford House, August 1, 1839.

MARSHAL SOULT, by his despatch of the day before yesterday, instructs me to read to you the letter which he has addressed to our Consul-General at Alexandria, dated the 27th of July. In order not to importune you, I send you a copy of this letter, and I do this with the more satisfaction, since you will find the spirit of these instructions in perfect conformity with the declaration of the Marshal to Lord Granville.

Receive, &c.,
(Signed) BOURQUENEY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 178.

Marshal Soult to the Consul-General of France at Alexandria.—(Communicated by Baron de Bourquency.)

Monsieur,

Paris, le 27 Juillet, 1839.

J'AI reçu les dépêches que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire jusqu'au No. 115 inclusivement. Celles de M. de Lurde me sont également parvenues.

Le Gouvernement du Roi voit avec peine, que les avantages obtenus par Méhémet Ali, loin de lui inspirer la modération qui conviendrait si bien à la position forte et glorieuse dans laquelle il se trouve placé, semblent avoir éveillé dans son esprit et des espérances et des projets dont rien dans ces derniers tems n'avait indiqué l'existence.

Le langage qu'il a tenu à M. de Lurde est certainement en accord avec l'intention si récemment exprimée par lui dans les instructions envoyées à Ibrahim Pacha, de s'en remettre pour la conclusion de sa querelle avec la Porte, aux négociations qu'allaient entamer les Puissances Européennes. Ces instructions par cela même qu'elles nous avaient été officiellement communiquées, et qu'un de mes officiers d'ordonnance en avait été rendu porteur, constituent à notre égard un engagement qui n'a pu être rompu par des faits auxquels nous sommes complètement étrangers.

Le Gouvernement du Roi veut croire que le Vice-Roi, promptement remis de l'exaltation qu'ont pu lui causer des succès aussi rapides que

No. 189.

Viscount Palmerston to Earl Granville.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 5, 1839.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency, copies of two letters which I have addressed to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, containing instructions for the guidance of the Admiral commanding Her Majesty's squadron in the Mediterranean, in the present state of the affairs in the Levant.

These instructions have been prepared by me, in concert with M. de Bourqueney; but M. de Bourqueney could not take upon himself the responsibility of agreeing to them on behalf of his Government. He sent copies of them, however, to Paris on Saturday evening, for the consideration of his Government; and I have settled with him that these instructions should be sent immediately to your Excellency, in order that you may send on the messenger and the instructions, if the French Government should agree to what is proposed; by which means several days may be gained in the arrival of the instructions.

If the French Government should object to any part, and should wish for alterations, then the messenger will wait at Paris till the two Governments shall have come to an understanding.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 190.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 6, 1839.

I HAVE received your despatch of July 24, reporting the substance of your conversations with Baron Werther, upon the present state of affairs in the Levant; and I have to instruct you to express to that Minister the sincere gratification which is felt by Her Majesty's Government in finding that the views and opinions of the Cabinets of London and of Berlin upon the Affairs of the Levant are so entirely the same; and that the course of policy which it appears in the present crisis to be so important for the Five Powers to pursue, will be supported by the weight and authority of Prussia. Baron Werther will, no doubt, have already been informed that the French Government is of opinion that the defeat of the Turkish Army, the defection of the fleet, and the timidity of the Divan, ought to make no alteration in the course which the Five Powers had intended to pursue before those events were known; and you will state to Baron Werther, that in that opinion Her Majesty's Government entirely concur.

Those unfortunate events cannot in any degree diminish the great interest which Europe has in maintaining the Ottoman Empire in its integrity and independence as an essential element of the balance of power; nor can those events diminish in any sensible degree the means which the Five Powers, if united, must necessarily have, of carrying into effect any arrangement which they may unanimously agree upon as necessary for the accomplishment of the great objects which they have in view. But those events, by rendering more apparent the dangers to which the Ottoman Empire would be exposed, if left to itself, and by showing more clearly the imminence of those dangers, afford additional proofs of the necessity of union, vigour and promptness on the part of the Five Powers.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 191.

Colonel Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 6.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, July 17, 1839.

INCLOSED I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship copy of two despatches received by me from his Excellency Viscount Ponsonby, together with copy of my reply thereto, and which has been sent this day to Constantinople by the same steamer which brought Viscount Ponsonby's despatch.

I have endeavoured to be as explanatory as possible in my despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador, and which consequently obviates the necessity of any further observations on my part to your Lordship.

I have, &c.,

(Signed)

PATRICK CAMPBELL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 191.

Viscount Ponsonby to Colonel Campbell.

Sir,

Therapia, July 5, 1839.

ON the 3rd instant, the Representatives of the Five Great Powers were invited to meet the Ottoman Minister for Foreign Affairs, at his house on the Bosphorus. When they were assembled, his Excellency Nouri Effendi stated, that the Sultan had commanded him to assure the Ministers, in his Highness's name, of his esteem and friendship for the Sovereigns they represented, and his warm desire to cultivate by every means the good understanding that existed between the Ottoman Porte and their Governments.

His Excellency proceeded to say, he was commanded to make known to the Ministers of his Allies and friends, that the Sultan being animated by the wish to put an end to the calamities which press heavily upon his people, in consequence of the conduct of the Pasha of Egypt, and the anger it had excited in the bosom of the late Sultan Mahmoud, had determined to send one of the eminent men of his Court to offer the Egyptian Pasha pardon for the past, and assurance of favour for the future (of which the Sultan sent a decoration as the mark and evidence), and to promise that his Highness would confer upon the Pasha and his family the hereditary Government of Egypt, to be held by the Pasha and his descendants as vassals, on the condition that Syria, &c., &c., should be immediately restored to the Sultan.

Nouri Effendi asked the opinion of the Representatives, who replied, that they would rejoice in the restoration of peace, and were warmly desirous of the prosperity of his Highness; that being uninstructed by their Governments, they could not give any opinion as to the terms which the Sublime Porte was about to propose to the Pasha, but they would not fail to report to their Governments the communication they had received.

Questions were asked to ascertain precisely the nature of the proposal intended to be made to the Pasha; and it was distinctly understood, that the Sultan would grant to Mehemet Ali the hereditary Government of Egypt, within the boundaries that were formerly the limits of that country; that is, as I understand it, the limit that used to circumscribe the country as a Pashalic.

It was asked if it was intended to leave Mehemet Ali in possession of Syria, or of Mecca, or Medina, or of St. John d'Acree, and the reply was in the negative. The Representatives thought it right to confine themselves to inquiries directed solely to the perfect elucidation of what was stated to them, and not to enter at all into the discussion of the merits of the proposition.

Nouri Effendi desired the Ministers to write to the Consuls of their respective Governments, and the Ministers agreed to notify the facts, and what had taken place, to the Consuls.

Ainsi se termina notre première conversation avec Méhémet Ali.

Notre seconde réunion, fixée d'abord au lendemain matin, fut remise ensuite à l'après-midi, à cause du débarquement d'Achmet Pacha, qui fut reçu le même jour par le Vice-Roi. Deux heures avant le coucher du soleil, les quatre Consuls-Généraux d'Autriche, d'Angleterre, de France, et de Russie, se rendirent simultanément chez le Pacha. Dans cet entretien, des tentatives furent renouvelées pour engager Méhémet Ali à se désister dès à présent de la flotte, et à la rendre à son légitime propriétaire; mais cette fois encore nos représentations furent en pure perte.

Il protesta de ses intentions conservatrices; récapitula de nouveau la déclaration qu'il nous avait faite la veille; y apporta quelque modification dans les expressions, et s'efforça surtout à nous convaincre de la nécessité de la chute de Hosreff Pacha.

Il disait à ce sujet:—"Aussi longtemps que le Grand Vizir restera en place, il n'y aura pas de véritable accommodement entre le Sultan et moi. Que Sa Hautesse nomme Grand Vizir qui elle voudra, et je serai le premier à coopérer à la consolidation de son trône. Je ne brigue point pour moi ce poste, car je le refuserai si on me l'offrait, mais je désire ardemment l'éloignement d'un homme qui est détesté par la nation entière, et auquel tous les moyens sont bons pour arriver à son but, même le fer et le poison. Tant que les Représentans des Quatre Grands Cabinets soutiendront Hosreff Pacha, il pourra rester en place, mais le jour où il ne jouira plus de leur protection, il tombera. Aujourd'hui, si la tranquillité n'est point menacée à Constantinople, c'est grâce à l'appui des Grandes Puissances; que Hosreff se retire, et la tranquillité se maintiendra dans la capitale sans leur coopération. Je viens d'écrire au Grand Vizir une lettre particulière, par laquelle je lui donne le conseil de quitter les affaires et de demander sa démission. Cette lettre sera remise à Akiff Effendi, que j'expédie demain pour Constantinople. Par le prochain bateau à vapeur Français j'écrirai dans le même sens à la sœur du Sultan Mahmoud, et la Valide Sultane, car en leur envoyant mes lettres par Akiff Effendi, Hosreff Pacha serait honnête à les soustraire."

Avant de quitter le Vice-Roi, il nous engagea de profiter du départ pyroscaque Ottoman pour Constantinople, afin de transmettre nos Rapports à nos Ministres respectifs.

(Translation.)

Brief Summary of two Interviews which took place between the Pasha of Egypt, and the Consuls-General of the Four Great Courts.

ON the 14th of July, towards 5 o'clock in the evening, the Turkish fleet, with the Capudan Pasha on board, appeared in sight of Alexandria. Upon this being known, the Consuls-General of Austria, England, and Russia repaired to the Viceroy, in order to exhort him not to allow himself to adopt any inconsiderate measure, and to obtain from His Highness some tranquillizing promises with respect to his future conduct. The Consul-General of France, being kept at home by indisposition, had requested his Colleagues to speak in his name. This meeting, moreover, was only to be a prelude to the general meeting fixed for the ensuing day.

We began by representing to the Viceroy how groundless were the accusations which, with the view of giving a colour to and justifying his defection, Achmet Pasha had brought against Hosrew and Halil Pasha, particularly the reports spread abroad respecting the poisoning of Sultan Mahmoud, so little in conformity with the depositions of the European doctors who had attended His Highness during the course of his illness.

Passing then to the present position of affairs, we told him that the Representatives of the Great Powers, with the view of avoiding armed intervention to the last moment, and desiring the peaceable solution of the Eastern Question, seriously entreated him to come to an amicable arrangement with the Sultan; that His Highness had already given him a striking proof of his magnanimity by granting him the hereditary

Government of Egypt; that it was now the Pasha's turn to give a proof of goodwill and submission towards his Sovereign, and to accelerate the peaceful solution of this struggle. That for this purpose the immediate restitution of the fleet would be the most evident pledge of his good faith.

Mehemet Ali replied to us: "I do not pretend to exculpate Achmet Pasha; his assertion may indeed not be well founded; and I dare say that all that he has written to me ought rather to be attributed to the hatred with which Hosrew Pasha inspires him. As to the concession made by the Sultan, I do not consider it as a mark of generosity on his part, but as an act of necessity. As long as Hosrew Pasha shall be at the head of affairs I must mistrust all his assertions, and I cannot reckon upon a sincere reconciliation. I must therefore aim at something positive, and not content myself with promises and oaths. How could I put faith in Hosrew who is my mortal foe?

We represented to His Highness, that he was too experienced in business to allow himself to be duped; that the written promises of the Sultan sheltered him from the artifices of the Grand Vizier; that it was his interest not to excite disorders at Constantinople, which might easily spring up upon the news of the loss of the Turkish Army, of the defection of the fleet, and of the uncertainty which was felt respecting the attitude of the Viceroy. That the best method of re-establishing the security of the capital would be to restore the fleet to His Highness, to send to Constantinople without delay some person, charged to make in his name his submission to the Grand Signor, and to lay before him the wishes of His Highness. That Achmet Pasha, having quitted the Dardanelles, after having received the order to proceed with the fleet to Constantinople, had committed an act of high treason; and that the Representatives of the Great Courts felt repugnance to believe that he was willing to make himself an accomplice of the Capudan Pasha by accepting the fleet at his hands.

Here the Pasha loudly protested against such an argument, alleging that, in time of war, it was permitted to receive deserters. We replied to him, that the defection of Achmet Pasha had taken place after the sending of the Grand Vizier's letter, which announced, in the name of the Sultan Abdul Medjid, the oblivion of the past, the forwarding of the firman, and the grant of the inheritance of Egypt; that, moreover, the Viceroy had himself looked upon peace as re-established, since he had given orders to his son Ibrahim Pasha, upon the receipt of the Grand Vizier's letter, to retire with his troops on this side of the Euphrates.

"Yes," answered Mehemet Ali, "I am no longer in hostility with the Sultan, who, as I have already told you, is innocent and pure as a diamond; but I am at war with his Ministers, who have not been named by the voice of the nation, and who by means of intrigues have usurped the chief posts of the country, and now pretend to dictate the law."

To this reasoning of the Pasha, we replied, that according to the knowledge which we possessed of persons at Constantinople, Hosrew Pasha appeared to us to be the only man capable of directing affairs at such a critical moment as a change of reign in Turkey always was; that the wishes of the nation went for nothing in this; that it had never been consulted, and that therefore it was difficult to know its opinion; that above all things it was important to overawe the people at a critical moment; and that the history of the Ottoman Empire in general, afforded us an example, that the accession of a Sultan to the throne had never taken place without a shock, without shedding of blood, and without a change of Ministry.

The conversation turned for some time longer upon the character and the capacity of the different great dignitaries of Turkey, and upon the changes which, according to the Pasha, would be favourable to the consolidation of the present Government. Then having taken a few turns up and down the room, the Viceroy proceeded:—"It is not my intention for the present to send an officer to Constantinople to compliment the Sultan on his accession to the throne, but I beg you to transmit

to the Representatives of the Four Great Powers at the Ottoman Porte, the following declaration, namely:—

“That in two days Akiff Effendi will set out again for Constantinople. He will be the bearer of a letter of congratulation and of submission from me, to the new Sultan Abdul Medjid. I shall also write a letter to Hosrew Pasha, in which I shall represent to him:—1st. That the late Sultan Mahmoud made to me at one time, through the medium of Sarim Effendi, much more advantageous proposals than those which His Highness has now addressed to me, since he then proposed to me the hereditary Government of Egypt, as well as that of the district of Seyda, and of the Sandjack of Tripoli. 2ndly. That, under present circumstances, I ask for the hereditary Government of Egypt, with that of Syria and of Candia, that is to say, of all that I now possess, as I had previously announced. 3rdly. That on this condition, if I am treated with good faith, I will be the most faithful of the servants and vassals of His Highness, and I will defend him whenever and against whomsoever he may wish.

“It is in this sense that I propose to write to Constantinople. I shall not mention the fleet in my letter to the Grand Vizier, from a feeling of propriety, but I beg you to have the goodness to assure the Ambassadors and Ministers, that I have never had the intention of keeping it, or of making use of it for a hostile purpose against the Sultan; on the contrary, I formally engage to restore it, the moment my proposals shall have been accepted. In this case, all the vessels composing the squadron of His Highness, to the very last, shall be sent back to Constantinople. As for the Ottoman Admirals, those who may fear to return to Turkey, may remain in Egypt, which forms a part of the same monarchy. If once the Sultan agrees to my prayer, and Hosrew Pasha shall have been removed from the direction of affairs, I shall not hesitate to proceed to Constantinople on the first invitation of His Highness, and it will not be with the squadron that I shall go thither, but alone in a steamer, and with the sole object of presenting my homage in person to my Sovereign and offering him my services.

“Finally I declare to you, that if my proposals are not accepted, I will not make war, but I will maintain myself in my present position, and I will wait.”

Thus ended our first conversation with Mehemet Ali.

Our second meeting, fixed in the first instance for the ensuing morning, was afterwards put off to the afternoon, on account of the landing of Achmet Pasha, who was received the same day by the Viceroy. Two hours before sunset, the Four Consuls-General of Austria, England, France, and Russia, proceeded simultaneously to the Pasha. In this interview renewed endeavours were made to induce Mehemet Ali to give up the fleet forthwith, and to restore it to its lawful owner; but here, again, our representations were entirely thrown away.

He declared his conservative intentions; recapitulated afresh the declaration which he had made to us the evening before; modified in some degree the expressions contained in it, and endeavoured above all to convince us of the necessity for the fall of Hosrew Pasha.

On this subject he said, “As long as the Grand Vizier remains in office, there will be no real reconciliation between the Sultan and me. Let His Highness name whom he will Grand Vizier, and I will be the first to co-operate for the consolidation of his throne. I do not aspire to that post myself, for I should refuse it if it were offered to me; but I ardently wish for the removal of a man who is detested by the whole nation, and who avails himself of any means, even the sword and poison, to attain his end. So long as the Representatives of the Four Great Cabinets support Hosrew Pasha, he may remain in office, but the day that he ceases to enjoy their protection he will fall. If, at this moment, tranquillity is not threatened at Constantinople, it is owing to the support of the Great Powers. Let Hosrew retire, and tranquillity will be preserved in the capital without their co-operation. I have just written a private letter to the Grand Vizier, in which I advise him to retire from affairs, and to ten-

der his resignation. This letter will be given to Akiff Effendi, whom I despatch to Constantinople to-morrow. By the next French steamer I shall write to the same effect to the sister of Sultan Mahmoud, and the Validé Sultana; for, if I send them my letters by Akiff Effendi, Hosrew Pasha is capable of withholding them.

Before leaving the Viceroy, he requested us to take advantage of the departure of the Turkish steamer for Constantinople, to send our reports to our respective Ministers.

Inclosure 6 in No. 191.

Detail of First Interview of the Capudan Pasha with Mehemet Ali.

(Translation.)

ON the 14th of July, at 4 o'clock P.M., appeared the Sultan's fleet off Alexandria, in number of nineteen sail.

On the 15th, at 9 o'clock A.M., the Egyptian steamer the "Nile" entered the western harbour, having on board Mushir Achmet Pasha, the Admiral of the said fleet. Immediately, Mehemet Ali's first Secretary, named Houssein Pasha, was sent from the palace in the Pasha's own boat, to meet and bring him on shore. When the "Nile" steamer anchored, Mushir Achmet went into the boat, and immediately a salute of nineteen guns was fired by the "Nile," which salute was repeated by the forts the moment he landed, when he was received by the Pasha's civil officers of rank, and he rode upon the Pasha's own horse; and thus preceded by the said officers, cawasses, and chiaushes, went to the Pasha's palace between two files of the troops that were placed all the way. As soon as he entered the palace gate, Mehemet Ali walked out of his room to meet him, when the Admiral seeing him, unbuckled his sword, gave it to one of the officers behind him, and walked respectfully towards the Viceroy, and bowed to the ground as if meaning to kiss his dress, while the Viceroy embraced and kissed him, saying "Welcome, brother." After this, they walked arm in arm into the Viceroy's room, all the officers following them. They sat near each other on the middle of the sofa. The Capudan Pasha then told his Highness that, for a long time past, it was his wish to have the honour of seeing him. After coffee and pipes, the Viceroy dismissed all the bystanders, and this was at half-past 9 o'clock; when Sherif Aga, the Capudan's Pasha's Kiaja, who was still within, walked up to the Viceroy, and, kissing his feet, told him, "Now you are both together, with your leave I retire," meaning that he had accomplished his object, and fulfilled his duty so far. His Highness and the Capudan Pasha remained by themselves in the room till half-past 10 o'clock, after which the Capudan Pasha walked out of the room bare-footed, his own servant not being there to give him his shoes, and was obliged to walk about twenty paces without shoes, until his servant brought them, as well as his sword, upon which he went to the Mussappi Serai (the palace for guests), accompanied in the same way as he had arrived. When he entered the palace assigned to him, all the civil officers, as well as Houssein Pasha, kissed his foot, and he asked them to take seats and gave them coffee, telling them, "Thank God, my wishes to meet the Viceroy are accomplished, and you may know that I have obtained his Highness's permission for the landing of the Vice and the Rear Admirals."

With the Capudan Pasha ten officers landed, two of whom are Beys (Colonels), and one is the brother of Osman Pasha, the Ex-Egyptian Admiral who deserted to Constantinople more than five years ago.

Ibrahim Pasha is advancing on Asia Minor. Maggiun Aga, one of the officers who command the Egyptian van-guard, has written to the Governor of Sverick, a letter (which the latter transmitted to the Porte, and which the Chief Dragoman has seen) which says :—"His Highness the Generalissimo Ibrahim, having confided to me the Government of Orfa, Diarbekir, and Harpout, I am repairing thither with a considerable body of troops. On the receipt of this letter you will lose no time in finding and sending to me 600 camel-loads of barley, &c."

I have, &c.,
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 225.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 17.)

(Extract.)

Therapia, July 26, 1839.

I EXPECT that, long before this arrives in London, the settlement between Mehemet Ali and the Porte will have been made. The answer to be given to-morrow to the demands of the Pasha of Egypt may not be satisfactory to him : but I think that either the Pasha will insist upon his demands, and the Porte will yield to them ; or the Pasha will take what is offered, and defer exacting the full measure until after he shall have completely established his authority in Constantinople, which he will do with very little delay. Perhaps this latter mode of acting may be the best for him ; because the proceeding can be so managed that the grant will have the air and the form of an act springing spontaneously from the Porte ; and as such it will be less subject to the criticism of foreign Governments. I consider the Ottoman Empire to be delivered over to Mehemet Ali.

In the absence of instructions to direct my conduct, I remain passive, after having taken those steps (reported in my late despatches) which were intended to delay any settlement that should not be in concurrence with the interests and counsels of England and France.

Her Majesty's Government has learned from Colonel Campbell the demands made by Mehemet Ali. I am informed, and I think correctly in substance, that the answer to be given by the Porte is, "The hereditary government of Egypt to be granted to Mehemet Ali, and the government of Syria to be granted to Ibrahim Pasha till the death of Mehemet Ali, when the government of Syria is to be again at the disposal of the Porte."

This answer given by the Porte would be inconsistent with the promises made to me by the Grand Vizier.

No. 226.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 17.)

(Extract.)

Therapia, July 29, 1839.

I INCLOSE copy of a Collective Note signed by the Representatives of Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia, and myself, on the 27th instant.

The Note was yesterday presented by the Dragomans of the Five Powers to the Sublime Porte, and cheerfully and gratefully received by the Grand Vizier, on the 28th. I inclose Dragoman Pisani's report to me of what took place on that occasion.

Baron Stürmer received Prince Metternich's instructions on the morning of the 27th, and the Note, signed, was ready in the evening. I beg leave to express with all humility my approbation of the activity and promptitude with which the Baron acted ; and I consider the measure to be the most salutary step that could have been taken. It was also most fortunately well-timed, for the Ottoman

Ministers had actually resolved upon concessions to the Egyptian Pasha, which would have been at this moment on their way to Alexandria, and which would have mischievously complicated the affairs of this country. This measure has given force and courage to the Grand Vizier to resist the Pasha, and to maintain the rights and interests of the Sultan. It will also, I think, insure the tranquillity of the Capital, and the security, therefore, of the foreign and Christian populations and inhabitants. It opens the road for all that may be considered right to be done by Her Majesty's Government. It has placed Her Majesty's Government in a position that enables it to secure the future integrity and independence of Turkey.

I fear the state of Asia Minor is very unsatisfactory, but it is natural that it should be so after the late events. It is not to be imagined that Mehemet Ali will neglect any means in his power to augment disorder everywhere, but he is himself the source of all the dangers and difficulties, and if he be forced to desist from pursuit of his ambitious plans, order will be easily restored. If Her Majesty's Government will secure Constantinople against all attack, there will be no just cause for alarm from anything that can be done to disturb the peace, or alter the balance of power in Europe; but if that main object be neglected, there must be, eventually, a complete failure of all that is attempted to preserve the common interests, and to escape a war at some future, and probably not distant, period.

P. S.—I inclose a translated copy of the Pasha of Egypt's letter to the Grand Vizier.

Inclosure 1 in No. 226.

Collective Note of the Five Powers.

Constantinople, ce 27 Juillet, 1839.

LES Soussignés ont reçu ce matin de leurs Gouvernemens respectifs des instructions, en vertu desquelles ils ont l'honneur d'informer la Sublime Porte, que l'accord sur la Question d'Orient est assuré entre les Cinq Grandes Puissances, et de l'engager à suspendre toute détermination définitive sans leur concours, en attendant l'effet de l'intérêt qu'elles lui portent.

(Signé) PONSONBY,
 Ambassadeur d'Angleterre.
 BARON DE STURMER,
 Internonce d'Autriche.
 COMTE KONIGSMARCK,
 Ministre de Prusse.
 BARON ROUSSIN,
 Ambassadeur de France.
 A. BOUTENEFF,
 Ministre de Russie.

(Translation.)

Collective Note of the Five Powers.

Constantinople, July 27, 1839.

THE Undersigned have received, this morning, from their respective Governments instructions, in virtue whereof they have the honour to inform the Sublime Porte, that agreement among the Five Great Powers on the Question of

the East is secured, and to invite it to suspend any definitive resolution without their concurrence, waiting for the effect of the interest which those Powers feel for it.

(Signed) **PONSONBY,**
Ambassador of England.
BARON DE STURMER,
Internuncio of Austria.
COUNT KONIGSMARCK,
Minister of Prussia.
BARON ROUSSIN,
Ambassador of France.
A. BOUTENEFF.
Minister of Russia.

Inclosure 2 in No. 226.

M. Frederic Pisani to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Péra, ce 28. Juillet, 1839.

JE m'empresse de rendre compte à Votre Excellence du résultat de la mission dont mes Collègues les Premiers Drogmans de France, d'Autriche, de Prusse, et de Russie, et moi, avons été chargés auprès de Son Excellence le Moustéchar Nouri Effendi, résultat, comme Votre Excellence va voir, extrêmement satisfaisant.

Nous avons remis la Note Collective signée hier par leurs Excellences les Représentans des Grandes Puissances, et relative à la Question d'Orient, au Moustéchar, à qui nous avons, à même tems, présenté une traduction Turque de la susdite Note. Le Moustéchar ayant lu la Note, a fait quelques observations qui dénotaient qu'il en était très-satisfait, et il est allé la faire voir au Grand Vizir, qui n'a pas tardé à nous faire chercher.

Nous avons trouvé Son Altesse avec les Moustéchars Nouri Effendi et Sarim Effendi. Son Altesse a parlé dans les termes les plus obligeans des offres bienveillantes des Grandes Puissances, et de leurs excellentes dispositions envers la Porte. Nous avons assuré les Ministres que les Grandes Puissances, extrêmement intéressées à la Question d'Orient, sont résolues de la terminer, tout en consultant la dignité de la Sublime Porte et l'intégrité de l'Empire Ottoman. Les Ministres ont été on ne peut plus satisfaits de ce que nous venions de leur dire, et le Grand Vizir, surtout, en a exprimé toute sa reconnaissance, en disant : "Voilà, en effet, comment des Gouvernemens doivent en agir envers les autres Gouvernemens." Après quoi, Son Altesse nous a dit que la notification que nous venions de faire à la Sublime Porte par une Note Officielle revêtue des signatures des Représentans des Cinq Grandes Puissances, ne laissait plus aucun lieu à envoyer Saib Effendi à Alexandrie; mais qu'attendu qu'il faut une réponse à la réponse de Méhémet Ali, envoyée par le canal d'Akiff Effendi, elle va lui écrire, qu'aussitôt après l'arrivée d'Akiff Effendi à Constantinople, la Sublime Porte s'est occupée de cette affaire, et qu'elle était à la veille de prendre une détermination, mais que MM. les Interprètes des Cinq Grandes Puissances se sont présentés à la Porte avec une Note Officielle, pour l'engager, au nom de MM. les Représentans de ces Puissances, de ne prendre aucune détermination sans leur concours, ce à quoi Elle a dû adhérer pour ne pas manquer aux égards qu'exige d'Elle la sollicitude témoignée ainsi par les Grandes Puissances.

Le Grand Vizir nous a chargés, my Lord, de prier nos Ministres respectifs d'écrire des lettres analogues aux Consuls à Alexandrie; et nous avons assuré Son Altesse que MM. les Représentans s'empreseront d'écrire dans le même sens à MM. les Consuls.

Le Grand Vizir et les deux Moustéchars ont décidé, comme mesure très-convenable, que la lettre de Son Altesse sera portée à Méhémet Ali par le Capi Kiaja, c'est-à-dire l'Agent de ce Pacha près la Porte, qui fera le voyage dans un bateau à vapeur de la Marine Ottomane, lequel devra partir après-demain; et Son Altesse a exprimé le désir que, de la même manière que le Capi Kiaja doit emporter la lettre Viziriale à Méhémet Ali, une personne au choix de MM. les

Représentans soit destinée à se rendre à Alexandrie par la même occasion, chargée des dépêches de leurs Excellences pour les Consuls.

Nous avons promis au Grand Vizir de porter fidèlement à la connaissance de nos Ministres respectifs tout ce que Son Altesse venait de nous dire, et nous nous sommes retirés.

Je suis, &c.,
(Signé) FREDERIC PISANI.

(Translation.)

M. Frederic Pisani to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Pera, July 28, 1839.

I HASTEN to give your Excellency an account of the mission to his Excellency the Moustechar Nouri Effendi, with which my Colleagues, the Dragomans of France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, and myself were entrusted, — a result, as your Excellency will see, extremely satisfactory.

We delivered to the Moustechar the Collective Note relative to the Eastern Question, signed yesterday by their Excellencies the Representatives of the Great Powers; presenting him, at the same time, with a Turkish translation of the said Note. The Moustechar having read the Note, made some observations which showed that he was very well satisfied with it, and he went to show it to the Grand Vizier, who presently sent for us.

We found His Highness with the Moustechars Nouri Effendi and Sarim Effendi. His Highness spoke in the most obliging terms of the kind offers of the Great Powers, and of their excellent dispositions towards the Porte. We assured the Ministers that the Great Powers, being deeply interested in the Eastern Question, are resolved to bring it to a conclusion, having respect, at the same time, for the dignity of the Sublime Porte, and for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. It was impossible for the Ministers to be better satisfied than they were with what we had said to them, and the Grand Vizier especially expressed all his gratitude, saying, "See, in truth, how Governments ought to act towards other Governments." Afterwards His Highness said to us that the notification which we had just made to the Sublime Porte by an Official Note, signed by the Representatives of the Five Great Powers, rendered it no longer necessary to send Said Effendi to Alexandria; but that as it was necessary to make some reply to the answer of Mehemet Ali, sent by Akiff Effendi, he would write to him, that immediately after the arrival of Akiff Effendi at Constantinople, the Sublime Porte had occupied itself with this affair, and was on the eve of taking a decision thereupon; but that the Interpreters of the Five Great Powers presented themselves to the Porte with an Official Note, inviting it, in the name of the Representatives of those Powers, not to take any resolution without their concurrence, to which the Porte could not but assent, in order not to be wanting in the consideration which the solicitude thus evinced by the Great Powers requires of it.

The Grand Vizier commissioned us, my Lord, to request our respective Ministers to write corresponding letters to the Consuls at Alexandria; and we assured His Highness, that the Representatives would readily write to the same effect to the Consuls.

The Grand Vizier and the two Moustechars have decided, as a very proper course, that His Highness' letter should be conveyed to Mehemet Ali by the Capi Kiaja; that is to say, the Agent of that Pasha at the Porte, who will make the voyage in a steam-vessel of the Ottoman Navy, which will start the day after to-morrow; and His Highness expressed a desire, that in the same way as the Capi Kiaja is to deliver the Vizirial letter to Mehemet Ali, so a person selected by the Representatives should be appointed to proceed to Alexandria by the same opportunity, with their Excellencies' despatches to the Consuls.

We promised the Grand Vizier faithfully to make known to our respective Ministers everything that His Highness had said to us, and we withdrew.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) FREDERIC PISANI.

d'entrer à ce sujet dans de plus amples développemens. D'ailleurs, notre intention n'est point ici de provoquer une discussion quelconque sur une éventualité qui, nous l'espérons, ne se réalisera pas; notre unique désir est simplement de mettre le Cabinet Français à même de se pénétrer des intentions et des intérêts qui servent de règle à la politique de la Russie. Eclaircir mutuellement la position des Cabinets, c'est incontestablement le moyen le plus sûr de maintenir le parfait accord si heureusement établi entre eux: union désirable, parcequ'elle renferme en elle, ainsi que M. le Duc de Dalmatie dans une de ses communications récentes l'a si bien observé, la garantie la plus solide pour rassurer les amis de la paix.

C'est dans cet esprit de conciliation et de parfait accord, que vous êtes chargé de vous acquitter auprès de M. le Président du Conseil, de la communication contenue dans la présente dépêche dont vous voudrez bien lui donner lecture et remettre copie.

Recevez, &c.,
(Signée) NESSELRODE.

(Translation.)

*Count Nesselrode to Count Medem. (Communicated by M. de Kisseleff,
August 19, 1839.)*

M. le Comte,

*St. Petersburg, ^{July 25,}
August 6, 1839.*

IN the midst of the events which seem from day to day to aggravate more seriously the state of affairs of the Levant, the Emperor has considered it necessary that his Representatives should be exactly apprized, both of the opinion which he has formed of the present situation of the Ottoman Empire, and of the resolutions which he has taken to counteract the dangers which threaten at the present time to compromise the peace of the East.

It is by the express order of our August Master, that I make it my duty, M. le Comte, to acquaint you, in the most positive manner, with his thoughts and determinations.

The Emperor feels conscious of having done all in his power to prevent a conflict between Turkey and Egypt. He addressed to Sultan Mahmoud the most serious representations, in order to deter him from the idea of engaging in a struggle of which our August Master foresaw the deplorable consequences.

The event has but too far realised our anticipations and justified our remonstrances. The action of the $\frac{1}{3}$ of June, has destroyed the Turkish Army. The treason of the Capudan Pasha has filled up the measure of the misfortunes which have marked the close of Sultan Mahmoud's reign.

Notwithstanding so many disasters, his son Abdul Medjid has ascended the throne, without his accession being accompanied with those scenes of disorder and of trouble, of which the history of Turkey offers us such frequent examples. Far from this being the case, the latest reports from our Minister at Constantinople attest, that the solemnity of the coronation has been accompanied by unanimous demonstrations of respect and of fidelity in the midst of that immense population of the capital of the Ottoman Empire, the tranquillity of which has not been troubled for a single moment.

In this state of affairs, the Emperor in no wise despairs of the safety of the Porte, provided that the Powers of Europe know how to respect its tranquillity, and that they do not by inopportune agitation end by unsettling, at the same time that they wish to consolidate, it.

Few words will suffice, M. le Comte, to place before you our whole opinion in this respect.

The situation in which the Porte finds itself at present, however difficult it may be, is not novel. During a long course of years, it has always committed the same faults, and experienced the same disasters. But, guided by a secret instinct for its own preservation, it has always known how to avoid the fatal moment which would bring on its fall.

At the present day, actuated by the same idea of preservation, it is on the

eve of once more entering into an arrangement with Mehemet Ali. It has already caused to be made to him for this purpose offers of conciliation, which it has hastened to communicate to the Representatives of the Five Great Powers. Further, it has asked for their support at Alexandria, in order to persuade the Pasha to accept the proposals which it has just made to him.

In this manner, the work which the Cabinets of Europe are called upon to perform, has been clearly pointed out to them by the Porte itself. They have to support its overtures at Alexandria; to prevail upon Mehemet Ali to accept them; not to allow him to impose more onerous conditions on the Sultan; in one word, to place the Pasha under the necessity of adopting the bases of a definitive arrangement which Europe is authorized to consider as stable, because it is an equitable one.

This, M. le Comte, is the work which the Cabinets of Europe will have to perform. To attain this end, it is necessary that all their efforts should be concentrated at Alexandria. To direct their action towards Constantinople, would be to direct their efforts to the side from which the danger does not come. There, neither diplomatic agitation is necessary, nor the display of military force; tranquillity alone is wanting.

This conviction has dictated the resolutions of the Emperor. In the midst of the general agitation which the crisis in the Levant has produced, he has experienced neither uneasiness nor impatience to act. He has made no demonstration; he has not sent to Constantinople a single ship, or a single soldier, in the firm persuasion that his inaction would do the Porte more good than his army or his fleet could have done.

Such is the attitude which the Emperor has taken.

Wherefore, if Russia, whose most direct interests are engaged in the present crisis, and whose frontiers are immediately adjacent to those of Turkey, appears at the present time to be neither uneasy, nor impatient to appear on the theatre of events, it seems to us, that much more can the Powers, whose safety is in no way compromised, and who are separated by great distances from the Ottoman Empire, adopt, without the least inconvenience, the same attitude, and moderate their action.

In this expectation, our August Master flatters himself that the French Government, guided by the policy full of foresight which it has pursued up to this day, will not endeavour to complicate the situation of the Ottoman Empire by a display of naval force, which, instead of preserving peace at Alexandria, would unsettle peace at Constantinople.

If, unfortunately, the hope which the Emperor has reason to found upon the moderation of the French Government, should not be realized; if the appearance of a foreign fleet in the Sea of Marmora should come to aggravate the state of affairs at Constantinople; the course which Russia would have to pursue would not be doubtful. In the presence of a foreign fleet, the Emperor's Minister would formally protest against the flagrant violation of the principle of the closing the Dardanelles; a principle which the Porte has at all times considered as a fundamental rule of its policy, and which it has engaged itself to us invariably to maintain; he would declare that he regarded this violation as contrary to the independence of the Porte; he would immediately suspend his functions, and quit Constantinople. Then it would only remain for the Emperor to take such measures as he might consider necessary to re-establish the Porte in its entire independence, and to enable it to fulfil its engagements towards us, free from all foreign constraint.

Such, M. le Comte, would be the inevitable consequences of the appearance of a French squadron in the Sea of Marmora.

As it is more than ever necessary that the Cabinets of Europe should give an account to themselves of their relative positions, and that they should give proofs in this respect of the greatest sincerity towards one another, our Cabinet has thought that it was its duty to give to the French Government a clear and positive explanation of the steps which we should be obliged to take, in the event of the case of which I have just made mention ever being realized. In this case, the part which we should have to take, would not depend on our own free choice; it would be imposed on us by the exigencies of our policy, as well as by the most direct interests of our Empire. A glance thrown upon the map

will explain the difference which exists in this respect between the geographical position of Russia, and that of the Western Powers.

In fact, when a Russian squadron anchored in the Bosphorus in 1833, its presence could neither be considered as a threat directed against the French Navy, nor as a blow struck at the commercial prosperity of Marseilles. But if, at the present moment, a French squadron should make its appearance at Constantinople, its presence would react directly upon Odessa and Sevastopol.

The French Ministry is too enlightened and too just not to acknowledge the difference of position which I have just pointed out. In 1833 we protected the Porte without offering any affront to the Western Powers. In 1839, the foreign squadrons, without protecting the Porte, would come to insult Russia.

It is sufficient for us to have clearly established this distinction, which dispenses us from entering upon this subject in fuller particulars. Besides, our intention now is not to provoke any discussion whatever with respect to a contingency, which we hope will not be realised; our desire is simply to enable the French Cabinet to comprehend fully the intentions and the interests which serve as a rule for the policy of Russia. Mutually to clear up the position of the Cabinets, is incontestably the surest means of maintaining the perfect agreement so happily established among them; a union desirable, because it contains in itself, as the Duke of Dalmatia in one of his recent communications has so well observed, the most solid guarantee for reassuring the friends of peace.

It is in this spirit of conciliation and of perfect concord, that you are authorized to make to the President of the Council the communication contained in the present despatch, which you will have the goodness to read to him, and of which you will give him a copy.

Receive, &c.,
(Signed) NESSELRODE.

No. 235.

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquess of Clanricarde.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 20, 1839.

M. DE KISSELEFF communicated to me yesterday a copy of the despatch from Count Nesselrode to Count Medem, of the ^{25 July}_{6 August}, which, it appears from your despatch of August 10, Count Nesselrode himself has shown to your Excellency.

With reference to that part of the despatch which relates to the passage of the Dardanelles by a French squadron, I read to M. de Kisseleff the three instructions to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, of which I inclose copies*, in order to show to M. de Kisseleff that the Russian Government had misconceived the nature of the demand which the British and French Ambassadors at Constantinople were instructed to make,—that in certain contingencies the fleets of their respective nations might be permitted to pass the Dardanelles. I pointed out to M. de Kisseleff that such demand was not made with any view of hostility against Sevastopol or Odessa, but solely for the protection of Constantinople, and not upon the principle of separate action on the part of England and of France, but for the purpose of maintaining a joint action on the part of the Five Powers.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

* See Nos. 90, 117, and 120.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Bulwer.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 20, 1839.

I HAVE to instruct you to state to the French Government, with reference to the communications which have passed between the two Governments, about the measures to be taken for restoring to the Sultan the Turkish fleet, that in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the Collective Note presented to the Porte, on the 28th ultimo, by the Representatives of the Five Powers, affords a strong reason to Great Britain and France for pursuing a different course on this important matter from that which they had before contemplated.

The Governments of England and France are friends and allies of the Sultan, and have spontaneously and formally declared their determination to uphold the independence and integrity of the Turkish Empire under its present dynasty, and to oppose themselves to any combination which might be calculated to trench upon that integrity and independence. But it is manifest that Mehemet Ali, by retaining the Turkish fleet, avowedly as a means of extorting from the Sultan the concession of certain demands, does openly attack the independent political action of the Sultan, and does, by a combination with the traitorous Commander of the Turkish fleet, endeavour to possess himself of the means of destroying the integrity of the Turkish Empire. Her Majesty's Government is therefore of opinion, that the Governments of France and England are bound, no less by a regard for their recent declarations, and a respect for their own honour, than by considerations of sound policy, to compel Mehemet Ali to give back to his own lawful Sovereign the ships of that Sovereign, which he now, in violation of every principle of duty and good faith, persists in retaining for purposes hostile to that Sovereign. But as the Five Powers have now, by the Note of the 27th ultimo, placed themselves collectively in the situation of mediators between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali, it is the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, that all further steps in this matter ought to be taken, if possible, collectively by the Five; and that the decision as to such steps should emanate from Vienna, which is the central point of the negotiation, instead of from London or Paris.

Her Majesty's Government, therefore, are about to send immediately instructions to Lord Beauvale, to propose to the Representatives of the other Four Powers the steps which, under all circumstances, appear to Her Majesty's Government the fittest to be taken with respect to the Turkish fleet; and to state to the Representatives of those Powers, that it is the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, that the restoration of that fleet by Mehemet Ali should be insisted upon as an indispensable preliminary to any negotiation whatever upon any other point.

The course which Her Majesty's Government would propose for the attainment of this object is, that the Consular Agents of the Five Powers at Alexandria should be instructed by the Ambassadors and Ministers at Vienna, formally, and in a Collective Note, to demand from Mehemet Ali the immediate restitution of the Turkish ships, together with such of the officers and men as may be willing to return to their allegiance; that if this demand be complied with, the Turkish ships should be placed under the care and custody of the combined English, French, and Austrian squadron; the Admirals of which would take care not to permit any of those Turkish ships to go up to Constantinople, without being first certain by communications with the Turkish Government, that the fidelity of the officers and men could be relied upon, and that there would be no danger of their again revolting against the Porte, in the event of their being sent back to Constantinople.

If any doubt should be entertained on this point, the ships should be kept at Rhodes or elsewhere outside of the Dardanelles, or they should be accompanied to Constantinople by some ships of the combined fleet; or else they should be sent back with merely officers and men enough to navigate them, and perhaps a guard belonging to the Allies on board each ship.

The Consular Agents should have no power to negotiate as to the surrender of the Turkish ships, nor to allow Mehemet Ali more than a stated period,—

No. 373.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 15.)

My Lord,

Therapia, October 22, 1839.

I INCLOSE copy of a Note from the Sublime Porte, dated 21st instant.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) PONSONBY.

Inclosure in No. 373.

*Note from the Sublime Porte to the Representatives of the Five Powers.**Constantinople, le 13 Chaban, 1259.**(21 Octobre, 1839.)*

(Traduction.)

ON sait qu'aussitôt après l'avènement au trône du Sultan Abdoul Medjid, le pardon que Sa Hautesse daignait accorder à Méhémet Ali, Pacha d'Egypte, à condition que les hostilités cesseraient par terre et par mer, fut publié, et annoncé à tous les hauts fonctionnaires de l'Empire; et que, bientôt après, les Cinq Puissances Alliées se chargèrent de l'arrangement et de la conclusion de la Question Egyptienne.

On sait aussi qu'en attendant la décision des Cinq Puissances, et pour laisser les choses dans l'état où elles étaient, la Sublime Porte fit savoir à ses généraux, dans leurs campemens respectifs, qu'il fallait éviter absolument, la circonstance arrivant, tout conflit avec les troupes Egyptiennes, et qu'elle ne cesse encore de faire les mêmes recommandations.

Il était donc nécessaire, qu'en attendant l'heureuse issue de la médiation des Puissances, Méhémet Ali Pacha s'abstint aussi de tout mouvement hostile. On voit cependant par les dépêches successives communiquées aux Représentans des Cinq Puissances, que les troupes du Pacha, sous prétexte, tantôt de prendre des quartiers d'hiver, tantôt de poursuivre leurs déserteurs, se sont peu à peu portées en avant des lieux qu'elles occupaient et se sont établies dans diverses villes, bourgs et villages. Les commandans de l'Armée Ottomane, se conformant aux instructions de la Sublime Porte, ne se sont pas opposés à ces envahissemens de territoire; ils se sont contentés d'en informer le Gouvernement de Sa Hautesse, et de demander à cet égard l'expression de la volonté Impériale.

Or, il serait contraire à la déclaration officielle de la Sublime Porte qu'elle autorisât ses sujets à repousser par la force l'agression Egyptienne. D'un autre côté, il est impossible d'envoyer aux habitans des lieux dont les Egyptiens veulent s'emparer des instructions pour qu'ils les y reçoivent.

En conséquence, outre la difficulté qui résulte pour la Sublime Porte de ce fait en lui-même, il ne lui paraît pas convenable, après l'acceptation de l'intervention des Cinq Puissances, de pourvoir, sans les consulter, aux mesures qu'exige une affaire aussi délicate.

La Sublime Porte se regarde donc comme obligée par la nature de l'affaire aussi bien que par celle de ses rapports d'amitié avec les Cinq Puissances, d'en faire part à leurs Représentans et de s'en référer à eux quant à la marche qu'elle doit adopter.

La présente Note est adressée à M. l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, de même qu'elle l'est à M. l'Intendance d'Autriche, à MM. les Ministres de Russie et de Prusse, et à M. le Chargé d'Affaires de France, et c'est pour nous une occasion de lui renouveler l'assurance de notre haute considération.

(Signé) RECHID.

(Translation.)

Note from the Sublime Porte to the Representatives of the Five Powers.

Constantinople, 13th Chaban, 1259.
(October 21, 1839.)

IT is known that immediately after the accession of Sultan Abdul Medjid to the throne, the pardon which His Highness was pleased to grant to Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, on condition that hostilities should cease by land and by sea, was published and notified to all the high functionaries of the Empire; and that presently afterwards the Five Allied Powers undertook to settle and conclude the Egyptian Question.

It is also known, that while waiting for the decision of the Five Powers, and in order to leave matters in the state in which they were, the Sublime Porte acquainted its Generals in their several positions, that it was absolutely necessary to avoid, the case occurring, any conflict with the Egyptian troops, and that the Porte does not even now cease to issue the same injunctions.

It was necessary, therefore, that while waiting for the happy issue of the mediation of the Powers, Mehemet Ali should also abstain from all hostile movements. It appears, however, by the successive despatches communicated to the Representatives of the Five Powers, that the troops of the Pasha, under pretext, at one time of taking up winter quarters, at another of following deserters, have by degrees advanced from the positions which they occupied, and have established themselves in different cities, towns, and villages. The Commanders of the Ottoman Army, in obedience to the instructions of the Sublime Porte, have not opposed these encroachments; they have confined themselves to reporting them to the Government of His Highness, and to demanding the enunciation of the Imperial pleasure in respect to this matter.

Now, it would be at variance with the official declaration of the Sublime Porte, if it were to authorize its subjects to repel by force the Egyptian aggression. On the other hand it is impossible to direct the inhabitants of the places which the Egyptians wish to make themselves masters of, to receive them.

Consequently, besides the difficulty which the Sublime Porte experiences from this circumstance alone, it does not consider it proper, after having accepted the intervention of the Five Powers, to have recourse, without consulting them, to the measures which so delicate an affair requires.

The Sublime Porte then considers itself obliged by the nature of the affair, as well as by the nature of its friendly relations with the Five Powers, to communicate thereupon with the Representatives, and to refer to them as to the course which it should adopt.

The present note is addressed to the Ambassador of England, in the same manner as it is addressed to the Internuncio of Austria, the Ministers of Russia and of Prussia, and the Chargé d'Affaires of France; and the doing so affords me an opportunity of repeating to him the assurance of our high consideration.

(Signed) RECHID.

No. 374.

Mr. Pro-Consul Werry to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 16.)

(Extract.)

Aleppo, September 23, 1839.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, a copy of my despatch of the 20th instant, to Viscount Pousouby, which I hope will meet with your Lordship's approbation.

Since the date of my inclosed despatch to his Excellency the Ambassador, nothing of any interest has transpired on this frontier, or within the jurisdiction of this Consulate, which merits your Lordship's attention.

Turkish History

46

641
L. C.

✓
Zeitschrift

PJ 5. D 4

der

Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Herausgegeben

von den Geschäftsführern,

in Halle Dr. Arnold,
Dr. Rödiger,

in Leipzig Dr. Anger,
Dr. Brockhaus,

unter der verantwortlichen Redaction

des Prof. Dr. Brockhaus.

Dreizehnter Band.

Mit vier Kupfertafeln.

Leipzig 1859

in Commission bei F. A. Brockhaus.

Auszüge aus Nesrî's Geschichte des osmânischen Hauses.

Von

Dr. Th. Nöldeke.

Die osmânische Geschichtschreibung hat sich früher ausgebildet, als man gewöhnlich annimmt. Nicht nur aus der Zeit Muhammeds II. haben wir eine Geschichte des Eroberers selbst ¹⁾, sondern sogar auf Mürâds II. Zeit gehen einige historische Werke zurück, von denen mir folgende bekannt sind: 1) Die Quelle des تواریخ آل سلجوقی ²⁾ تاریخ عاشق پاشا زادہ (auf der Leydener Bibliothek Nr. 419) ³⁾, das ich selbst näher untersucht habe; ein Buch, das nach seiner ganzen Art darauf schliessen lässt, dass es nicht das erste historische Werk in osmânischer Sprache sei. Freilich ist aber die Zahl dieser Werke gewiss gering, wenn wir auch erwägen müssen, dass dieselben von den spätern Osmânen wegen ihrer einfachen Sprache (قبای ترکی) nicht für würdig angesehen worden sind, zu der hohen Literatur gerechnet zu werden, und deshalb zum Theil früh verschollen sein mögen.

Seit Bâjezîds II. Zeit tritt die historische Literatur der Osmânen in eine zweite Periode; der prunkende, geschraubte Styl der spätern Perser greift immer weiter um sich, die Werke selbst werden immer zahlreicher, und zwar steht diese Vermehrung im Allgemeinen in umgekehrtem Verhältniss zu der Wichtigkeit ihres Inhalts. Diese Periode, deren erster und durch seinen widerwärtigen, selbst für den türkischen Geschmack übertriebenen Schwulst hervorragender Vertreter Idrîs von Bidlîs ⁴⁾ ist, scheint sich erst

1) *Hammer*, Gesch. des osm. Reichs (II. Ausg.) I. 25.

2) Ebendas. 21.

3) Die nähere Beschreibung dieses höchst merkwürdigen Buchs, das besonders für die Geschichte der Urtürken (آل اوغوز) sehr wichtig ist, wird sich in dem hoffentlich bald erscheinenden III. Bande des Catal. libr. mss. bibl. Lugd. finden.

4) Und einen solchen Schriftsteller, über den vollständig das Urtheil gilt, das Gosche (Jahresbericht d. D. M. G. in Ztschr. XI, 305) über Vassâf ausgesprochen, konnte Hammer in seiner orientalischen Art „den mit Recht geschätztesten Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen“ nennen (a. a. O. 79).

in neuester Zeit mit Ğevdets Târîh abzuschliessen, der eine ganz neue Bahn einschlägt.

Zu den letzten Schriftstellern der ersten Periode gehört Nesrî aus Brusa ¹⁾. Dieser schrieb nicht etwa einen blossen

تاریخ آل عثمان, sondern, wie die etwa um dieselbe Zeit lebenden Mirhâvend und Hâvendmîr, eine nach Dynastien geordnete allgemeine Geschichte unter dem Namen جهان نما, Weltschau oder Weltspiegel, in 6 Theilen, deren jeder in mehrere „Classen“ (طبقات) d. h. Herrschaftsperioden zerfiel. Da aber der letzte Theil, der die Geschichte der Osmânen bis auf seine Zeit und als Vorgeschichte die der Oguzen und der Selġuken von Rûm enthält, wie Hâġî Halfa (unter جهان نما) bezeugt, schon früh besonders ausgegeben ward, so dass die jedenfalls weit weniger wichtigen vorhergehenden Theile ganz verloren gegangen zu sein scheinen, so hat man sich gewöhnt Nesrî bloss als Verfasser einer osmânischen Geschichte zu betrachten.

Der Werth dieser Geschichte ist höchst bedeutend. Nesrî erwähnt in der ganzen 3ten „Classe“ nie eine schriftliche Quelle, woraus wir freilich nicht schliessen dürfen, dass er bloss aus der mündlichen Ueberlieferung geschöpft habe. Jedenfalls bleibt aber diese, welche damals gewiss noch frisch und kräftig war, eine Hauptquelle. Schon die ganze Form seiner Erzählung zeigt dies. Fast jedes Capitel beginnt mit den Worten روایت کرده u. dgl. Ja er ist in diesem Punkte so genau, dass er selbst die gleichzeitigen Ereignisse, so weit er sie nicht mit eignen Augen gesehen, unter dieser Form anführt, in der immer die Restriction liegt العهدة على الراوى. An einigen Stellen giebt er sogar einen förmlichen سند seiner Traditionen. Diese seine Quellen hat er nun, soviel wir sehen können, gewissenhaft benutzt. Das Streben, das sich so oft bei morgenländischen Schriftstellern zeigt, das Herrscherhaus über alle Gebühr zu erheben, ist bei ihm wenigstens nicht absichtlich wirksam und geht nie bis zur offenbaren Unwahrheit. Seine Wahrheitsliebe sträubt sich z. B. gegen die von schmeichelnden Genealogen erfundene Identificirung des Oguz mit dem Esau, so dass das Herrscherhaus von Ibrâhîm abstammen sollte, während es doch ein feststehender Satz der morgenländischen Gelehrten ist, dass Jafeth (يافث) der „Vater der Türken“ (ابوالتُرك) ist. So entscheidet er auch noch an andern Stellen zwischen zwei Angaben nach dem Standpunkte seiner Kritik. Natürlich steht er aber auf der Bildungs-

1) Eine kurze Notiz über sein Leben bei Behrnauer, Quellen für serbische Geschichte aus türk. Urkunden (Wien 1857) p. VI.

stufe seiner Zeit und seines Volkes und sieht daher manches in falschem Lichte. Wohl kein gebildeter Schriftsteller zeigt so den Geist, der die älteren Osmänen beseelte¹⁾. Einfach und schlicht, roh, ja barbarisch, aber mit einem gewissen Heroismus, den der Gegensatz zu den kriechenden Byzantinern noch mehr hob, so waren die damaligen Osmänen, und so schreibt Nesrî ihre Thaten. Von dem persischen und zum Theil byzantinischen Firniss, der sich damals über die Sitten und besonders den Stil der gebildeten Classen zu ziehen anfang, von dem sich schon bei älteren Schriftstellern Spuren finden²⁾, sehen wir bei Nesrî nichts, abgesehen von wenigen Redensarten und einzelnen feierlichen Stellen. Im Allgemeinen schreibt er ganz einfach, ohne allen Schmuck, kurz und kräftig, bisweilen mit humoristischem Anflug³⁾. Dabei scheut er sich nicht vor echt türkischen Wörtern; daher finden sich in ihm manche Ausdrücke, die später nicht mehr vorkommen, und andere, die jetzt höchst selten sind, gebraucht er häufig statt der heutzutage üblichen arabischen und persischen⁴⁾.

Auch in grammatischer Hinsicht zeigt Nesrî manches Eigenthümliche, wenn gleich seine Sprache nicht so archaistisch ist, wie die der Selgukenchronik. Einiges könnten hier allerdings die Abschreiber verwischt haben.

Die Vorzüglichkeit seiner Schreibart sieht man erst recht, wenn man ihn mit Saaduddin vergleicht. Manche Ereignisse, die Nesrî auf einer halben Seite erzählt, nehmen in der „Krone der Geschichtswerke“ drei Blätter ein, ohne darum so vollständig erzählt zu sein, wie bei jenem. Uebrigens ist Nesrî sowohl von Saaduddin als von vielen andern stark benutzt worden. Einen solchen stellenweise wörtlichen Auszug, der jedoch erst wieder aus einem Abschreiber Nesrî's genommen zu sein scheint, finden

1) Für den Culturzustand des eigentlichen Volkes sind dagegen populäre Schriften noch wichtiger, wie besonders das in stark von einander abweichenden Handschriften cursirende Buch: غزوات خير الدين پاشا. Dergleichen Werke hat aber Hammer's Staats- und Hofgeschichte nicht benutzt.

2) Im تاريخ آل سلجوق sind manche Theile ganz rhetorisch geschrieben, wobei freilich zu bedenken, dass ihm persische Hof-Historiographen zu Grunde liegen. Andere Theile des Werks sind dagegen ganz einfach stilisirt.

3) Dazu gehört z. B. die häufige Bezeichnung flüchtiger Feinde durch Krähen und Raben, die Stelle, wo Karamans Sohn mit dem sich verkriechenden Fuchs verglichen wird, die Stelle: „wer noch keinen Backenstreich schmeckte, hält den, welchen er austheilt, für einen von Eisen“ u. s. w. (Behrnauer a. a. O. 51).

4) Manche dieser Wörter finden sich weder bei Bianchi, noch in der لهجة اللغة. Andere verdanken ihre Stelle bei Bianchi wohl nur dem Umstande, dass sie Meninski noch als bekannt vorfand, so dass sie Bianchi mit oder ohne „vieux“ verzeichnen konnte.

wir in Hâgî Halfa's Ġihânnümâ (۶۷ ff.). Wir haben diesen Auszug zur Berichtigung unseres Textes benutzen können.

Die Abfassungszeit des Werkes lässt sich zwar nicht genau angeben, doch muss es zwischen dem Jahre 1485 (980 d. H.), dem letzten darin erwähnten, und dem Jahre 1495, dem Todesjahre des Prinzen Ġem, den es noch als lebend voraussetzt ¹⁾, geschrieben sein.

Ich würde die Vorrede des Werkes mittheilen, hätte sie nicht in der von mir benutzten Handschrift eine Lücke von wenigstens zwei Seiten, die allerdings ein späterer Schreiber durch einen falschen Custos hat verdecken wollen. Dahingegen wird es passend sein, das Gedicht mitzutheilen, in welchem der auch sonst als Dichter bekannte Verfasser den Sultân Bâjezîd II. preist. Dieses Gedicht ist die einzige Stelle der Handschrift, in der Nesîri's Name vorkommt, der jedoch ein blosses تخلص zu sein scheint.

قصیده ملیحه فی مدحه

اول شهنشاهکه ²⁾ ایشی عدلیله احساندر
 نامی سلطان بایزید بن محمد خاندر
 نوله عدر... سد بولسه خلف امن امان ³⁾
 چونکه ضلّ الله فی الارض اول عظیم انشاندر
 پادشاه هفت کشور مصالح روی زمین
 ناصر دنیا و دین و رحمت رحماندر
 بنده فرمانیدر انک مملوک عالمین
 اکه قولدر جمله شاه اول قامویه سلطاندر
 عدل دادیله جهان ملکین آباد ایلدی
 جور ظلمکه خانہسی اجدن اوجه و براندر
 خصم اعدانک عدلده قطع قاماغه دن
 هر خطایی مستجاب حجت برهاندر

1) Siehe unten.

2) So ergänze ich das verwischte Wort, von dem nur noch شہ...ک
 zu lesen ist. Die Lücke im 2ten Verse wage ich aber nicht auszufüllen.

3) Zwei ähnliche durch و (u) verbundene Wörter werden hier wie auch
 im Persischen sehr oft ohne و geschrieben.

ممالک املاک سلطان سلاطین جهان
 باسط امن امان داور دوراندر
 حامی ضعف العباد ماحی اعدا
 قاطع عرق فساد وقامع طغیاندر
 قهرن اعدایه ولطفن اصدقایه بخشش ایدر
 بایه ویخسوله احسانی انک یکساندر
 اعل اسلامه انی سدد سند قلدی خدا
 مفخر اعل اغز 1) و دولت عثماندر
 چونکه حیل مشکلات اول پادشاهک شاندر
 درکهنده نشریا هم مشکلیک آساندر
 اقتباس نور ایدرسم نوله ذاتندن انک
 ذره چونکم یرتو خرشیدله تاباندر
 حق تعالی ملک ایچنده قلسون انی پایدار
 دور ایچنده نیتکم شمس قمر غلطاندر 2)

Eine feine Kaside zum Lobe des Sultâns.

„Der Name jenes Kaisers, dessen Wirken Gerechtigkeit und Wohlthun ist,
Ist Sultân Bâjezid ben Muhammed Hân.

Wie sollte das Volk nicht unter seinem Schutze(?) Sicherheit und Ruhe finden,
Da dieser Grossmächtige ja der Schatten Gottes auf Erden ist.

Er ist der Herrscher der sieben Zonen, der Förderer der Wohlfahrt auf der
Erdoberfläche,

Der Helfer der Welt und des Glaubens, der Gnadenbeweis 3) des All-
erbarmers.

Seinem Gebote unterworfen sind die Beherrscher der Menschen,

Alle Könige sind seine Sklaven, er ist der Oberherr aller.

Durch seine Gerechtigkeitspflege hat er das Reich der Welt blühend gemacht,
Das Haus des Unrechts und Drucks aber ist von einem Ende zum andern
verödet.

1) Cod. أعز.

2) Das Metrum ist رمل.

3) Wie sich Muhammed im Koran *ورحمة من الله* „einen Gnadenbeweis
von Gott“, nennt.

Um die Rede (wörtlich: Zunge) der Gegner und Feinde mit Gerechtigkeit¹⁾
 abzuschneiden,
 Ist jede Gegenrede von ihm anmuthig, beweiskräftig und überzeugend.
 Er ist Herr der Könige, Sultân der Sultâne der Welt,
 Verbreiter von Sicherheit und Ruhe, Gesetzgeber der Zeit,
 Schützer der Schwäche der Menschen, Vertilger der Widerspänstigen,
 Ausrotter des Unheils, Unterdrücker der Empörung.
 Er lässt seine Gewalt den Feinden, seine Güte den Freunden fühlen,
 Auf gleiche Weise theilt er Armen und Reichen seine Wohlthaten zu.
 Gott hat ihn zum Wall und zur Stütze für die Bekenner des Islâms gemacht,
 Er ist der Ruhm des oguzischen Hauses und des osmânischen Reichs.
 Da es dieses Herrschers Geschäft ist, Schwierigkeiten zu lösen,
 So werden an seinem Hofe, o Nesri! alle deine Schwierigkeiten leicht.
 Wie sollte ich nicht von seinem Wesen Licht entlehnen,
 Da ja das Sonnenstäubchen durch den Sonnenstrahl erhellet wird.
 Möge der Höchste ihn so lange in der Regierung erhalten,
 Als Sonne und Mond sich im Kreislaufe drehen²⁾.“

Die von mir benutzte Wiener Handschrift³⁾, aus der zuerst Behrnauer in dem angeführten Werke ein Stück herausgegeben hat, scheint ein Unicum zu sein. Sie ist in gutem, etwas steifen Nesbî geschrieben, nach der Unterschrift von einem gewissen Husein ben Hasan, der im Safer 966 (Nov. — Dec. 1558) die 250 Blätter starke und bis auf jene Lücke in der Vorrede vollständige Abschrift vollendete. Im Ganzen ist der Codex gut zu nennen, ohne dabei von Fehlern frei zu sein. Ich habe in den Auszügen diese nach Kräften zu berichtigen gestrebt, jedoch an einigen Stellen ein non liquet aussprechen zu müssen geglaubt. Stillschweigend habe ich nur solche Fehler berichtet, bei denen die wahre Lesart nicht im Geringsten zweifelhaft sein konnte. Hierzu rechne ich vor Allem die vielen falsch geschriebenen arabischen und persischen Wörter. Die Handschrift hat hier ganz die schwankende, nach der osmânischen Aussprache die Lautunterschiede verwischende Orthographie der populären Schriften. Sie schreibt, um nur wenige Beispiele anzuführen, *حنده*, *هنز* (für *حينده*); *مشاعر* ohne die ihnen gebührenden Vocalbuchstaben; *عيشرت* (für *عيشة*), *عيمارتة*, *واليدة*, *سببيله* (für *سببيله*), *علا* (für *علا*) mit ungehörigen Vocalbuchstaben; *اكسر* (für *اکثر*), *صلاحي* (für *صلاحى*), *غازيلر* (für *غازيلر*) mit falschen Consonanten.

1) Wahrscheinlich ist zu lesen *عذله* „beim Tadel“, d. h. wenn sie ihn tadeln. Fl.

2) *نتكم* oder *نتكه* mit folgendem Indicativ oder Conditionalis entspricht im ältern Osmanischen dem gewöhnlichen *مادامكه*. Fl.

3) Hist. Osm. 15.

Einen im Osmânischen zur Erleichterung der Aussprache eingeschobenen (vor Possessivsuffixen wieder ausfallenden, aber vor Casussuffixen sich behauptenden¹⁾) Vocal drückt sie durch die Schrift aus in حموصه (nach Homs حموصه), مصر (für مصر). s für t hat sie in سراخور für سرهخور. Diese Fehler, welche schwerlich einem Gelehrten, wie Nesrî selbst, zugeschrieben werden können²⁾, habe ich einfach verbessert und nur da angezeigt, wo das Richtige zweifelhaft scheinen konnte. Auch habe ich in allen arabischen Wörtern ein auslautendes s, wo dieses abgefallen war, wieder hergestellt, z. B. قلعیه, مختاره für قلعیه, مختاره ده. Dagegen habe ich die Orthographie türkischer Wörter gar nicht geändert. Diese zeichnet sich, wie ein Blick lehrt, durch die grösste Sparsamkeit in Anwendung von Vocalbuchstaben aus, die nur selten durch ein Vocalzeichen vertreten werden. Diese Sparsamkeit, welche in älteren Werken häufig, aber doch nicht allgemein³⁾ ist, dehnt sich in einigen seltenen Fällen sogar auf den auslautenden Vocal aus, z. B. يكرم, d. h. يكرم statt يكرمي; تمر لَنَكْ mit - über dem ك als Ersatz des s⁴⁾. Ausserdem werden viele Wörter mit einander verbunden, die wir getrennt schreiben würden, z. B. اولگون (ol gün), بندخی (ben dahy), مشايخکرام (für مشايخ کرام).

Ich habe aus dieser Handschrift einige Stücke ausgewählt, welche historisches Interesse haben. Ganz besonders gilt dies von der merkwürdigen Stammtafel der Osmänen. Weit entfernt diese für ein streng geschichtliches Denkmal zu halten, glaube ich doch dass sie auf echt türkischem Boden entstanden ist. Denn nimmt man die zwei شاه سليمان⁵⁾ weg, so bleiben lauter

1) Der Grund davon ist, dass die Casussuffixe noch länger mit einem Consonanten anlauteten, z. B. اوغولننگ, اوغولغه, اوغولنی (gleich dem jetzigen oguluñ, ogula, ogulu); dagegen اوغلی (oglu) sein Sohn.

2) Vielleicht dass er dictirte, und so die Fehler schon im Original standen.

3) Die Orthographie in der erwähnten Selgükenchronik hat sehr viele Vocalbuchstaben. Noch viel weiter geht hierin das Çagataï, das z. B. auch e fast beständig durch t oder ی bezeichnet.

4) Häufiger findet sich diese Nichtbezeichnung des auslautenden Vocals durch einen Consonanten in dem altosmanischen Falknerbuche, herausgegeben von Hammer-Purgstall im „Falknerklee“, Pesth 1840. Fl.

5) Dass der erste Süleimân nicht in die türkische Umgebung passt, ist leicht zu sehen. Aber selbst der zweite, der angebliche Vater Ertogruls

rein türkische Namen übrig, von denen die meisten sich noch jetzt deuten lassen. Freilich ist hier nicht zu übersehen, dass dieselben Namen zwei oder mehrmals wiederkehren, theils unverändert (z. B. Tugra), theils dialektisch abweichend (توراق und ضورخ). Da solche Namen in den Handschriften sehr verdorben zu sein pflegen, so führe ich die Varianten des von Ali (bezeichnet durch A. ¹) und Saaduddin ²) wahrscheinlich nach Nesrî selbst gegebenen Verzeichnisses an; und zwar so genau, dass ich auch die gewöhnlich bloss orthographischen Unterschiede im Setzen oder Weglassen von Vocalbuchstaben anmerke, indem diese Abweichungen hier häufig auf eine verschiedene Lesung des Namens hindeuten können.

Sonst habe ich mich fast aller historischen Bemerkungen und Vergleichen enthalten, auch aller Polemik gegen Hammer, zu der mir, wie fast jedem, der einen Theil der muhammedanischen Welt behandelt, der Stoff nicht fehlte. Ich erkenne dagegen gern an, dass mir die Gesch. d. osm. Reichs zum Verständniss mancher Stellen behülflich gewesen ist, besonders auch zur Verificirung von Ortsnamen ³). Indessen gebe ich meine Aussprache von Orts-, zum Theil auch von Personennamen mit allem Vorbehalt. Besonders will ich nicht einstehe für meine Aussprache slavischer Namen. Für die Auffindung kleinasiatischer Ortsnamen ist mir Hâgî Hâlfâ's Gihânnümâ sehr behülflich gewesen; freilich ist man bei der schlechten türkischen Orthographie nie sicher, die rechte Aussprache zu geben.

Für die Transcription türkischer und anderer muhammedanischer Namen und Wörter habe ich, um Gleichheit zu erzielen, ganz die in Constantinopel jetzt gebräuchliche Aussprache angenommen. Nur in den Namen der vorosmânischen Periode habe ich Kün (für Gün), Temür (für Temir) und Anderes dergl. zugelassen. Sonst drücke ich z. B. کون طوغدی durch Gün dogdu aus, obgleich ich nicht zweifele, dass der Name zu seiner Zeit Gün dogdy (oder selbst Kün toghdy) ausgesprochen worden ist

ist mir verdächtig, theils weil sein Titel شاه und sein arabischer Name Misstrauen einflösst, theils weil auch der erste Selgûke, der nach Rûm kam, Süleimân heisst. Man könnte diesen in die Geschlechtstafel eingefügt haben.

1) Wiener Hdschr. Hist. Osm. 20.

2) Leydener Hdschr. Nr. 172 (bezeichnet durch L.) und Wiener Hdschr. A. F. 98 (W.). Die Genealogien nach diesen beiden Wiener Handschriften hat mein Freund Behrnauer für mich abgeschrieben, der mich auch durch gültige nochmalige Vergleichung einiger Stellen meiner Abschrift mit der Hdschr. Nesrî's zu Dank verpflichtet hat. Wo ich sonst Saaduddin citire, geschieht dies nach der Leydener Hdschr.

3) Ich verweise hier besonders auf die erste Karte des ersten Bandes, die freilich Hammer selbst nicht für ganz genau ausgiebt.

und vielleicht hie und da in Kleinasien noch ausgesprochen wird ¹⁾).

Ich schliesse mit dem Wunsche, dass sich der türkischen Litteratur ein immer grösserer und allgemeinerer Eifer zuwenden möge. Denn bietet auch vom ästhetischen Standpunkte aus betrachtet die osmânische (und wohl auch die osttürkische) Litteratur wenig wahre Schönheiten dar, und gerade am wenigsten in den Theilen, welche zur Befriedigung des ästhetischen Bedürfnisses bestimmt sind, so ist doch ihre geschichtliche und sprachliche Bedeutung um so grösser.

Leyden im October 1857.

طبقة ثالثة سلاطين روم آل عثمان غازى بيان ايدر

بو طبقه بعد رسول اللد صلعم والخلفا الراشدين افضل المغزاة
والجاهدين در اكرچه زمانا وذكراً مؤخر در اما رتبة و قدراً مقدمدر
تاخر زمانى تقدم رتبة شافى ²⁾ دكلدر نته كم حضرت محمد رسول اللد
صلوات اللد عليه وسلامه خاتمر النبيين وسيد امام المرسلين در

Dritte Classe.

Geschichte der Sultâne Rûms, des Hauses Osmâns des Glaubenskämpfers.

Die Fürsten dieser Classe sind nach dem gesegneten Gesandten Gottes und nach den rechtwandelnden Halifen ³⁾ die vorzüglichsten Glaubenskämpfer und Religionsstreiter. Kommen sie auch in der Zeit und der Geschichtserzählung hinterher, so stehen sie doch an Rang und Würde voran, und die Nachstellung in der Zeit steht mit der Voranstellung im Range nicht in Widerspruch, wie auch der erhabene gesegnete Gesandte Gottes das Siegel (der Letzte) der Propheten und doch Fürst und Vormann aller Gottesgesandten ist.

1) Dass zu der Zeit, wo unsere Handschrift geschrieben ward, die Erweichung des t in d auch bei harten Vocalen schon begonnen hatte, zeigt die Schreibart طوقمق, طورمق für دووقمق, دورمق.

2) رتبه منافى 1. Fl.

3) Den vier ersten Halifen.

ذکر انساب آل عثمان وکیفیت نزولہم الی السرمہ مہندسان اخبار
 مہمانی سیر و مذکران اسرار معانی اثر شیلہ روایت اندلر کہ بو نسب
 بزرگوار ارغوز بن قراخانہ پتشر کہ بولجاس¹) بن یذاث بن نوح عم
 اولادنددر اشبو نست ازرنہ ار طغرل بن سلیمان شاہ بن قیسا آلپ
 بن قرل بوغا²) بن بای تیمور³) بن آی قتلغ⁴) بن طغرا بن قرای

Geschlechtstafel des Hauses Osmâus und Darstellung
 ihrer Ansiedelung in Rûm.

Wie die Kunden-Architekten der Biographien-Gebäude und
 die Geheimniss-Erzähler der Traditions-Stoffe überliefern⁵),
 reicht dieses erhabene Geschlecht bis zu Oguz ben Karahan, einem
 der Söhne des Bulgas ben Jâfis ben Nûh (Friede über ihn!), hin-
 auf, und zwar in folgender Ordnung: Ertogrul ben Süleimân Şâh
 b. Kaja alp b. Kyzyl boga b. Bai temür⁶) b. Ai kutlug b. Tugra

1) So Neşrî durchgängig, und auch Ali führt ihn nach Neşrî's Angabe
 (نشری قولناجہ) als نجاس (d. i. بولجاس) an. Sonst schreiben aber Ali
 und Saaduddin اولسجہ خان. Die تواریخ آل سلجوق haben immer
 ابو الجہ خان, eine Form, die wohl durch die Aehnlichkeit mit der arab.
 کنیة entstanden ist.

2) قرل بوغا N. 3) بای تیمور W. 4) آی قوتلغ A.

5) Man würde nicht genau den Sinn des Schriftstellers wiedergeben,
 wenn man das روایت اندلر کہ u. s. w. durch „man hat überliefert, dass“
 übersetzte; denn dies deutsche „dass“ geht nur auf den ersten Satz, während
 doch der ganze Abschnitt dem روایت اندلر کہ untergeordnet ist. Es ist als
 ob es hiesse: „So überliefert man“, und als ob nun ein Kolon und dann
 der ganze Abschnitt in Gänsefüßchen (› ‹) folgte. Denn das کہ ist eben
 nur ein : oder › ‹.

6) Der Name تیمور wird gewöhnlich „Timur“ ausgesprochen. Diese
 Aussprache streitet durchaus mit den türkischen Lautgesetzen und ist bloss
 durch die persisch-arabische Orthographie, welche das e und ü nicht anders
 als durch ی und و darstellen konnte, verursacht. Es fragt sich nur, ob
 wir der ursprünglichen osttürkischen (und auch wohl mogulischen) Aussprache
 folgend „Temür“ sprechen wollen, oder mehr osmânisch und der rein osmân-
 nischen Form „demir“ (دمور, دمیر) annähernd Temir. Ganz falsch ist
 aber die in neuerer Zeit aufgekommene (z. B. auch von Sprenger gebrauchte)
 Schreibart Taimur oder Taïmur mit dem Diphthong. Denn dieser widerspricht
 nicht nur die Etymologie, sondern auch die häufige Schreibart تیمور ohne ی
 und der Gebrauch der ersten Silbe als Kürze in osmânischen und çagataï-
 schen Versen.

تو¹ (بن ساقور بن بولغای² (بن سنقور³ (بن توقتمور بن یاساق⁴)
 بن چمندور بن آی قتلغ⁵ (بن توراق⁶ (بن قازخان⁷ (بن باسو⁸)
 بن یلواج⁹ (بن بای بک¹⁰ (بن طغرا¹¹ (بن طوغهش بن کوچ بک¹²)
 بن اورتق¹³ (بن قرتاری¹⁴ (بن چکتیمور¹⁵ (بن طوراخ¹⁶)
 قزل بوغا بن یماق بن باشبوغه¹⁷ (بن جمهورمیر¹⁸ (بن بای سوی¹⁹)
 بن طغرا²⁰ (بن سونج²¹ (بن چار بوغا²² (بن قورتولش²³)
 قورخاو²⁴ (بن بالچق بن قوماس²⁵ (بن قزا اوغلان²⁶ (بن سلیمان
 شاه بن قورخلو²⁷ (بن بولغان²⁸ (بن بای تمور بن طورتمش²⁹)

b. Karai tu b. Sakur b. Bulgai b. Sonkur b. Tok temür b. Jasak
 b. Cemendür b. Ai Kutluk b. Turak b. Kazhan b. Jasu b. Julvag
 b. Bai Bek b. Tugra b. Togmus b. Küg Bek b. Ortuk b. Kartary
 b. Cek temür b. Turah b. Kyzyl buga b. Jamak b. Bas buga b. Gemür
 mir b. Bai sui b. Tugra b. Seving b. Car buga b. Kurtulmus
 b. Kurhav b. Balcyk b. Komas b. Kara oylan b. Süleimän Şah
 b. Kurahlu b. Burulgan b. Bai Temür b. Turtmus b. Kök alp³⁰)

- 1) قرای قو A. قرایتور W. قرانو L. 2) بلغای A. W. L.
 3) سویقدر A. 4) یاساق A. 5) Ohne ای W. L. 6) توراق W. 7) قراخان
 Dazu hat L. قتلغ. Bei A. fehlt er. 8) یاسو W. L. A. 9) یلواج A. 10) بای بیک
 W. L. 11) طغرای W. 12) کوچ بیک W. 13) اورتوق N. 14) قماری
 بن قرتاری W. 15) چکتیمور N. 16) طوراخ W. L. 17) باش بوغا N. Bei A. etwas andere
 Ordnung: بوغا قزل بن طوماق بن باشبوغه بن قزل بوغا: L. W. 18) حورمیر
 A. 19) بایسو A. 20) Fehlt bei L. W. B. 21) سویج N. 22) Mit چ W. 23) قورتلمش
 W. A. Fehlt bei L. 24) قورخاو W. 25) قورجاو L. 26) قزا اوغلان L. W. A. 27) قورخالو
 L. 28) بولغان N. 29) یوزلوخان L. 30) آلپ (Held) wird diesem Stammvater nur in dieser
 Stammtafel gegeben. Sonst heisst er immer 'bloss کوک oder کوک خان (Himmel).

30) Der Beiname آلپ (Held) wird diesem Stammvater nur in dieser Stammtafel gegeben. Sonst heisst er immer 'bloss کوک oder کوک خان (Himmel).

بن کوک الب بن اوغوز بن قراخان بن ديب تاقوى 1) بن بولجاس
 بن ياشن بن نوح عم وقراخان بن مراد عيصدر واوغوز خان عيص
 بن اسحاق بن ابراهيم عم اوغلي در ديديلر خطا اندلر زيرا عيص روم
 اصغر اتاسيدر که روم ثانيه در ارفحشد بن سام نسلندندر اغوز وترک
 وروم اولی کبی اولان يياثندن ايدوکى کتب تواریخده مذکور وتواریخ
 مختارده منقولدر وانده ذکر اولان ازرنه حکمتله سابقا بو کتاب جهان
 نماه: قسم اولک طبقه ثانيه سنده انساب اولان نوح عم که ماليله استيفا
 اتدوکى یرده مسطور در وسلاجقه دخی ابراهيم خابيل الرحمانه منتهی
 اولور ديمک نتمک بعض تواریخ عجمده ذکر اولنور عجمک اما تعصبات

b. Oguz b. Kara Han b. Dip Takui 2) b. Bulgās b. Jāfis b. Nūh
 (Friede über ihn!). Man sagte, Kara Han sei Is (Esau) und Oguz
 Han sei der Sohn des Is b. Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm (Friede über ihn!).
 Aber dies ist falsch, denn Is ist der Vater der gelben Rūm, welche
 die zweiten Rūm (die eigentlichen Römer) sind. Er ist aus dem
 Stamme des Arfabād b. Sām, während in den Geschichtsbüchern
 steht und es sich in dem Werke *Tevāriḥ-i-muhtāre* findet, dass
 Oguz wie die Türken und die ersten Rūm zu den Kindern des
 Jāfis gehören. Darnach haben wir es denn auch in der zweiten
 Classe des ersten Theiles dieser Weltanschauung an der Stelle, wo
 die Geschlechtsreihen der Söhne Nūh's (Friede über ihn!) aus-
 führlich dargestellt werden, der Wahrheit gemäss geschrieben.
 Dass auch die Selguken 3) von Ibrāhīm, dem Freunde des Allbarm-
 herzigen, abstammen sollen, wie in einigen persischen Geschichts-

1) Die Varianten dieses Namens siehe in der folgenden Anm.

2) Nesrî hat ديب تاقوى; Saaduddin ديب تاقوى; ebenso Ali; die
 تواریخ آل سلجوق (fol. 7. verso) haben ديب ياقوى, Mirhāvend (Wiener
 cod. A. 29 II, fol. 159 verso) ديب باقوى. Letzterer erklärt ديب durch
 بزرك, ديب تاقوى durch جابه, تخت, and دولت واولو منصبلو. Aehnlich erklärt ihn die Selguk-
 kenchronik durch ديب. ديب ist wohl „depe“; mit باقوى
 könnte man bei (bek), pek, bog, buga vergleichen, doch ist dies sehr un-
 sicher. Uebrigens haben Saaduddin und Ali hier einen anderen Namen,
 nämlich قايى خان, قره خان بن قايى خان, und enden damit die Liste. قايى er-
 scheint sonst als ältester Sohn des Kün Han, Enkel des Oguz und vornehm-
 ster der alten 24 Türkenstämme.

3) Die Aussprache „Selguk“ widerspricht wiederum den türkischen Laut-
 gesetzen, welche nur „Salguk“ zulassen. Da jedoch jene Aussprache allge-
 mein geworden ist, behalten wir sie bei.

شنيعه سندنسدره حکايت شول وقتکه سلطان محمود بن سمکتکين آل سلجوقی يوز بيگ مقداری اتراکله خراسانه کچردی آل سلجوقه منتسب اولن اتراکدن کوک الب خان اولادندن طوارلو ورزقلو بر طایفه بلاد ارمنیه دن نواحی بلده اخلاطه نزول ایدب یوز یتمش بیل مقداری تا جنکز خان خروجنه دک انده قالدلر جنکز خان هجرتک التیوز اون انتمنده خروج ایدب بلخه دک کلوب یه وسنتای بهادر ایرانه مسلط ایدب بلاد عجمده حضور قلمدوغی اجلدن کوچر اولی اتراکک جملهسی الی بیگ خانه رتیسلری سلیمان شاه بن قیا السیه اویب کلوب رومه نوکلدلر اول وقت سلطان علاء الدین بن کیخسرو که سلطان علاء الدین اول در بانیه قونیه در رومده پادشاه اولدوغنک ایتداسیدی بو الی بیگ کوچر او ارزومده وارزنجانده بر قاج بیل یازین یایلایب قیشین قیشلایب اول اطرافک کافرلرندن قابوب قارب

büchern steht, gehört zu den schmähhlichen Erzeugnissen persischer Parteilichkeit.

Erzählung.

Um die Zeit, als Sultân Mahmûd ben Sebûktigin das Haus Selçuks mit ungefähr 100,000 Türken nach Horâsân übersiedelte, liess sich ein mit jenem Hause verwandter, an Vieh und sonstiger Habe reicher Türkenstamm, der von Kôk Alp Hân abstammte, in Armenien in der Gegend von Ahlât, nieder und hielt sich hier etwa 170 Jahre bis zum Auftreten Cingiz Hân's auf. Als dieser im Jahre 616 der Higre ausziehend bis Balh kam und Jeme (?) und Sintai Bahâdir über Irân herfallen liess, da war in ganz Persien keine Ruhe mehr zu finden, so dass alle wandernden Türken, 50,000 Familien, ihrem Anführer Süleimân Sâh ben Kaja Alp folgten und nach Rûm aufbrachen. Damals hatte gerade Sultân Alâuddîn I. b. Keihosrev, der Erbauer Ikoniums, die Regierung von Rûm angetreten. Diese 50,000 Wanderfamilien zogen einige Jahre lang in der Gegend von Erzerum ¹⁾ und Erzenğân nmher, abwechselnd Sommer- und Winterlager beziehend und die dortigen Ungläubigen ausplündernd. Da sie aber endlich wegen

1) Die Orthographie *ارزروم*, wofür jetzt nach falscher Etymologie *ارزنروم* geschrieben wird, nähert sich der ältern *ارزروم*.

یوروردی آخر مصایقهٔ امکانه دن¹) طواریری اینش یوقش چکمکدن
 انجمن ولایت عجمده دخی واقعنک اولاجغی اولوب سلیمان شاه دخی
 ینه وئن اصلیه سنه متوجه اولب حلب دیارندن کتمک قصد ایدب
 وارب جعبر قلعدسی ایلنه چقدلر اندن قرات ارماغی یوللرنه کلب
 کچمک استدیلمر سلیمان شاه کچت طلب ایدب اتن صویه دپدی
 انفساق یاریمش ات سرچب سلیمان شاه اتله صویه دشدی اجلی
 انده مقدرمش الله امرنه وارب جعبر قلعدسی اتنده دین اتدیر
 شمیدیکی حینده اول بیره مزار ترک دیلر اول اتراکدن بر طایفه انده
 متمکن اولدیلمر الان جعبر قلعدسنه اول اتراکوک نسلندن حکم ایدلر
 اندن اول اتراک متفرق اولوب کیمی بردهیه کتدی که شمیدی شام
 ترکمانی دلر کمی ینه رومه کلدی شمیدی رومه اولن کوچر اولرک
 نسلندندر القصه چونکه سلیمان شاه متوقی اولب درت اوغلی قلدی

des engen Raums müde wurden, ihr Vieh beständig bergauf
 bergab zu treiben, und da in Persien das Ereigniss geschehen
 sollte²), so zog Süleimân Şâh wieder nach seiner Heimath zu,
 in der Absicht, durch das Gebiet von Haleb zu ziehn. Als sie
 nun nach der Gegend vom Schlosse Gaaber kamen, wünschten
 sie dort über den Euphrat zu setzen. Süleimân Şâh trieb des-
 halb sein Pferd in den Fluss, um eine Furth zu suchen. Aber
 das Ufer war felsig, so dass das Pferd ausglitt und mit Suleimân
 Şâh in den Fluss stürzte. Sein Ende sollte nach der Schicksals-
 bestimmung dort sein; er stellte sich Gottes Befehle. Sie begruben
 ihn unterhalb des Schlosses. Noch jetzt nennt man den Ort „das
 Türkengrabmal“. Ein Theil jener Türken blieb dort wohnen,
 und noch jetzt steht das Schloss Gaaber unter Männern aus die-
 sem Stamme. Später aber trennten sich jene Türken, indem
 einige von ihnen in die Wüste zogen, die jetzt den Namen Türk-
 mänen von Syrien führen, andere gen Rûm zogen, welche die
 Stammväter der jetzigen Wanderstämme von Rûm sind. Süleimân
 Şâh hinterliess nun bei seinem Tode vier Söhne: Sonkur tigin, Gün-
 dogdu, Ertogrul den Glaubenskämpfer und Dundar. Einige der
 Türken folgten diesen vier Brüdern, begaben sich wieder nach

1) Cod. امکاندن.

2) Ist die Stelle richtig, so kann sie nur auf die Vorherbestimmung
 von Süleimân's Tode gehn, der ja aber nicht in Persien stattfand.

بری سنقور تکین وبری کون طوغدی وبری ار طغرل غازی وبری
 طوندار انراکدن بعض بودرت قرنداشی اویب ینه رومه دوشب فرات
 باشنده پاسن اواسنه سورملی چقورنه واردلر ار طغرل طوندارله انده
 درت یوز مقداری کوچر اوله قالب ایکی قرنداشلری ینه وطن اصلیه
 سنه رجوع اقلر ار طغرل بر نجه ایام انده طورب یایلایب
 قشلدقنصره ینه رومه عزم اندلر کلب انکوریه قریب قرجه طاغه نزول
 اندلر اندن سلطان اویوکنه رحلت اندلر وبعضی ثقاتدن اشتم
 که حتی قدوة المتقین مرحوم مولانا ایاس ایتدی بن اورخانک

Rûm hin und kamen nach der Ebene von Pasin und der Schlucht von Sürmeli bei dem Ursprung des Euphrat. Während Ertogrul und Dundar dort mit etwa 400 Wanderfamilien blieben, kehrten ihre beiden Brüder wieder in ihre Heimath zurück. Ertogruls Stamm zog, nachdem er einige Zeit hier Winter und Sommer gelagert hatte, wieder nach Rûm hin weiter und liess sich nahe bei Angora am Karâga dag nieder. Darauf wanderten sie nach Sultân Öjünü¹⁾. Von einem zuverlässigen Mann habe ich folgende Erzählung selbst des Musters der Frommen, des seligen Mevlânâ İjâs gehört: Ich traf einst mit dem Steigbügelhalter Urhan's²⁾ zusammen. Es war ein alter Mann. Der erzählte, er habe von seinem Vater und Grossvater Folgendes gehört: Als Ertogrul mit etwa 400 Mann nach Rûm zog, war Sultân Alâuddin gerade im Kampfe wider einige

1) So schreibt Nesrî den Namen immer, während er sonst (z. B. im Gihân.) öüü geschrieben wird. Unten kommt noch ein Name mit اویوکى vor; dagegen این اویکی. Es scheint, dass اویوکى und اویوکى ursprünglich nicht identisch sind. Jenes liegt auch wohl in dem Namen der Stadt بوز اویوک in derselben Gegend.

2) Ob der Name اورخان Urhan oder Orhan auszusprechen, wage ich nicht zu bestimmen, da die mir zugänglichen Quellen der Aussprache durchaus unzuverlässig sind und die Etymologie nicht entscheidet. Ich weiss nicht einmal, ob das خان der bekannte Titel oder nicht vielmehr das alte Participisuffix ist, das im Çagatai قان oder غان, im Osm. ان ist, das aber ursprünglich bei der weit grössern Ausdehnung der Kehlaspiraten (غ und خ) auch خان gewesen sein kann. So liesse sich in der Geschlechtstafel der Name قازخان (als gleichbedeutend mit قازانق und auch wohl خزار) erklären, und auch قراخان könnte ebenso gut „der Sehende“ (vom çagataischen قارامانق, jakutisch ħara) sein, als „der schwarze Ĥân.“

ركاب دارنه¹) بولشدم پير كشيدي ايتدي انامدن ودهدمدن
 اشدمه ايتدلر اول وقتكه ار طغرل درت يوزه يقين ارله رومه عزم اندلر
 سلطان علاء الدين دخى بعض اعداسيله جنك صددنده ايدى بونلر
 دخى كوچملى كلوب اتفاق سلطان علاء الدينك شول حالنه يتشرلر
 كه تاتار سلطان علاء الدينى بوكلدب صيا يورر ار طغرل ياننده بر
 قچ يوز يرار يولداش واريدى ار طغرل ايتدى يارانلر²) جنكه طوتن
 كلدك يانمزه قاسچ كوترورز عورت كى قچوب كتمك ارلك دكلدر
 البته شونلر ك برنه معاونت اتمك كرك غالبه مى معاونت ايده لم
 يوقسه مغلوبه مى ايتدلر مغلوبه معاونت عسپر در آدمز از در وهم
 يكنه قوت ديمشدر ديدلر ار طغرل ايتدى بو سوز وردانه لر كلامى
 دكل ارلك اولدر كم مغلوبه يارديم ايدهوز خضر³) كى بوك دمنده
 بيچاره لره مدد يتشه دستكبر اولوز ديدى

seiner Feinde begriffen. Als sie nun (?) kamen, fanden sie, dass die Tataren eben daran waren, den Sultan Alauddin völlig zu schlagen⁴). Ertogrul hatte einige hundert tüchtige Gefährten bei sich. Zu diesen sprach er: „Freunde! Wir kommen gerade zum Kampfe. Wir führen Schwerter an der Seite. Wie Weiber zu fliehen und wegzugehen ist nicht männlich. Einem von beiden müssen wir helfen. Sollen wir nun dem Sieger beistehen, oder dem Besiegten?“ Da sie sagten: „Dem Besiegten beizustehen ist schwer. Unsere Leute sind schwach an Anzahl, und der Sieger, heisst es, hat Kraft!“ entgegnete er: „Dies ist nicht die Rede tapferer Männer. Männlich ist's, dem Besiegten Hilfe leisten. Wie (der Prophet) Hyzr soll den Hülflösen zur Zeit der Noth⁵) Hilfe kommen; wir wollen Beistand leisten.“

1) Cod. دارنه. 2) Cod. يارانلر. 3) Cod. خضر.

4) Dass die Formen olajor, olejor (auch olujor, ölujor) auf Zusammensetzung mit einem vollen Verbum beruhen, zeigt der Vocalismus, und ist deshalb schon früher vermuthet worden. Die bei Nešri und in älteren Schriften mehrfach vorkommenden vollständig conjugirten Formen (اولا يورر, اولو يورردي u. s. w.) lassen über die Zusammensetzung mit einem Verbum jormak (oder jorumak), das gewiss mit jürümek, jortmak zusammenhängt, keinen Zweifel.

5) بونك (buñ) fehlt in der Lehget ul-lugat und bei Bianchi, der aber das davon abgeleitete buñalmak hat. Čag. und Jak. muñ.

بيت بيك حج ايدرسه بوليا كشي اول ثواني كم
 وقتنده چاره سوزن ايده دفع اضطرار
 پس همان ار ضغرل اتباعيله ال قليججه اورب بسر طرفدنكه سلطان علاء
 الدينك مقابله سنده ايدى تاتاره قلعج قويدلر شاعين قرغيه كيرر كيبي
 كيورب فى الحال عدوى منهزم قلدلر سلطان علاء الدين اتى كورب
 ار طغروله استقبال كوستردى ار ضغرل دخى اتباعيله اينوب سلطان
 علاء الدينك انين اوپدى سلطان علاء الدين دخى ار طغروله خلعت
 فاخره (1) كيورب توابعنه ولو احقنه عطا واحسانلر ايلدى اندن سكوت
 نسام ييزى خلحقنه قشله وطوم انيجى وارمى طاغرىنى ييلاق وردى
 عثمان غازىنىك ظهورى سكوتدن اولماسنه (2) بودر واول وقت
 قرجه حصار فتح اولنما مشدى اما قرجه حصارله بلجك سلطان علاء
 الدينه اطاعت ايدرلردى اول طرفلر اوج ايدى ما حاصل سلطان علاء
 الدين ار طغرلك شجاعتمن مردانه لكين كوردى چه رسنده اثار نجايت

Macht ein Mann auch tausend Pilgerfahrten, findet er doch nicht den Lohn, als wenn er

Zur rechten Zeit von dem Hülflosen die Bedrängniss abwehrt³⁾.

Darauf griff Ertogrul sofort mit seinen Begleitern zum Schwert und hieb von der dem Sultân Alâuddin gegenüberliegenden Seite auf die Tataren ein. Wie der Falke auf die Krähe stiessen sie auf den Feind und trieben ihn sogleich in die Flucht. Da der Sultân dies sah, ging er dem Ertogrul entgegen. Dieser stieg mit seinen Begleitern ab und küsste ihm die Hand, worauf der Sultân ihm ein prächtiges Ehrenkleid und seinen Begleitern und seinem Gefolge viele Geschenke gab. Dann gab er seinen Leuten ein Land Namens Söjüt zum Winter- und Dumanyg und die Berge von Ermeni zum Sommeraufenthalt. Hieraus schliesst man mit Recht, dass der Glaubenskämpfer Osmân in Söjüt geboren ist. Damals war Karaga bysar noch nicht eingenommen, aber es war wie Bilegik dem Sultân Alâuddin unterworfen. Dies waren drei Landstriche. Da der Sultân Ertogrul's Tapferkeit und Männ-

1) Cod. قاخر. 2) Hier scheint nach der Uebersetzung etwas wie دليل zu fehlen. Fl.

3) Metr. مصارع in der bei Persern und Türken gewöhnlichen Form

--v | -v -v || v -v -v | . Das ی von كشي ist zu elidiren.

والنمنده انوار سعادت مشاعده ايدب اول اوجى اكسا وردى اول وقت
ار طغرل هنوز نو جواندى اما مهابتمندن سام نریمان¹⁾ قان قشانردى
وافراسياب زمان قوشنوردى

بيت نو جوان مرد ودلیبر وپهلوان داشت غایت قوت و تباب و توان
اندن ار طغرل سکودی مقام ایدندی اول زمانده صاحبک قره حصارده
کرمیان باباسی الیشر واردی چودار نام بر تانارله کاه کاه کلوب قرجه
حصاری انجدرلردی ار طغرل سکوتده متمن اولغله اول ولایت
امین اولدیلسر بونک اوزرنه بر قاج ییل کچدی سکودی قشلیب
طومانلیجی یایلادیلسر²⁾ فتح قرجه حصار دلر که بر قاج ییلدن صکره
قرجه حصارک کفاری ار طغرولسه حضور ورمز اولب اظهار عداوته

lichkeit sah, auf seinem Antlitz die Spuren der Fürstlichkeit und
auf seiner Stirn den Lichtglanz des Glücks bemerkte, gab er ihm
jene drei Landstriche. Ertogrul war zwar damals noch jung,
allein aus Furcht vor ihm harnte Säm Nerimân's Sohn Blut und
gürtete der Efrâsiâb seiner Zeit das Schwert um.

Als Jüngling ein Mann, Held und Ritter,
Hatte er gewaltige Kraft, Stärke und Macht.²⁾

Darnach machte er Söjüt zu seinem Wohnsitz. Damals befand
sich in Sâhybyñ Kara hysâr³⁾ Kermian's Vater Ilişer. Dieser
kam mit einem Tataren Namens Çodar von Zeit zu Zeit und beun-
ruhigte Karaga hysâr. Da aber Ertogrul sich zu Söjüt niederliess,
wurde⁴⁾ jenes Land sicher. Dieser Zustand dauerte einige Jahre.
Man hielt sich im Winter zu Söjüt, im Sommer zu Dumanyğ auf.

Einnahme von Karaga hysâr.

Wie man sagt, fingen die Ungläubigen von Karaga hysâr
nach einigen Jahren an, sich gegen Ertogrul feindlich zu zeigen
und ihm keine Ruhe zu lassen. Dieser begab sich deshalb zu
Sultân Alâ-uddin und reizte ihn zum Glaubenskampf an. Der

1) Cod. سام و نریمان.

2) Metr. رمل.

3) Da dieser Name unten noch einmal ebenso vorkommt, habe ich es
nicht gewagt, das Suff. der 3ten Pers. hinzuzusetzen, das man hinter hysâr
erwarten sollte. Das Gihân. hat mit pers. Izâfet حصار صاحب. Dass
man die zahllosen „Schwarzburgen“ durch Zusätze näher bestimmte, kann
nicht auffallen.

4) اولدیلسر weil das Land mit seinen Bewohnern als Mehrheit gedacht
wird.

بشلمدی ار طغرل دخی سلطان علاء الدینہ وارب غزایہ تحریک ایدب روم لشکرپله سلطان علاء الدین کلب قرجه حصارک ارزنه دشدی اول وقت دخی ولایت کوتایه قلعہ سیله کفره النده ایدی سلطان علاء الدین جنوبن ار طغرله تفویض ایدب اتفاق اول طرفدن خیمی جنک اولب کافر بوکالب سلطانن صلح طلب اتدلسر سلطان علاء الدین ار طغروله غایت معتقد اولدی اندن سلطان صلحی قبول اتمیب المته ویرک قلعہ درکن خبر کلدیکه باینجار تاتار نقض عهد ایدب کلب ارکلی غارت ایدی سلطان علاء الدین فی الحال کوچب بعضی عسکرله ار طغرولی قلعہ اوزرنده قویب سعی ایت فتح ایدیدک اولامی دیب کیدب تاتار دخی کلب قرشولیب بوغا ایوکنده اوغراشب تاتاری بر وجهله قردیکه حسابہ کلمه ^{تاتار} لکایفه دیرلر که سلطان علاء الدین قاقدرغندن بیوردی تاتارلرک خایه لرین کسب دریلرینی بر بوینه دیکب بر سایبان اتدلسر شمیدیکی حاملده اول حکرایه طشق

Sultân erschien mit dem Heere von Rûm und griff Karaga hysâr an. Damals war auch Kjutâhije mit seiner Landschaft noch in der Hand der Ungläubigen. Sultân Alâ-uddin übergab die Umgegend davon dem Ertogrul. Da nun von dort aus stark gekämpft ward und die Ungläubigen geschlagen wurden, baten sie den Sultân um Frieden. Allein da dieser auf Ertogrul grosses Vertrauen setzte, genehmigte er den Frieden nicht, sondern sagte, sie müssten durchaus die Feste übergeben. Da kam plötzlich die Nachricht, dass der Tatar Baïncâr (?) den Vertrag gebrochen und Eregli verheert hätte. Sogleich brach Sultân Alâ-uddin auf und liess den Ertogrul mit einem Theile des Heeres zur Belagerung zurück, indem er sprach: „Strenge dich an; vielleicht könntest du die Stadt einnehmen.“ Als der Tatar ihm entgegen kam und man bei Buga Öjünü auf einander traf, schlug er ihn auf eine Weise, die alle Berechnung überstieg.

S c h w a n k.

Wie man sagt, befahl Sultân Alâ-uddin aus Zorn, den Taren die Hoden abzuschneiden, die Häute derselben auf einander zu nähen und daraus einen Sonnenschirm zu verfertigen, was auch geschah. Noch jetzt nennt man jene Fläche Daşak jazysy ¹⁾ (Hodenebene).

1) یازو in der Bedeutung „Fläche“, die in ältern Schriften nicht selten

یازوسی درلرہ و بو طرفدہ ار طغرل اقدام بلیغ ایدب حق تعالی فرصت ویرب قلعة فتح ایدب تکوینی طوتب قلعة یغما ایدب خمسین اخراج ایدب باقی مال غنیمتی غزاتہ قسمت اندی اندن خمسین بشارتہ سلطان علاء الدینہ کوندردی اندن ار طغرل غازی لیلاً و نهاراً ایکی ییل اوج آی درت کون غزایہ مشغول اولب اندن سلطان علاء الدین متوقی اولدی نہ وقت متوقی اولدغی یوقورودہ دینلمشدر بونده اکلدوغندن مراد طغروللہ اولن قضیہ'ری اعلام اولنماغدی سلطان علاء الدین متوقی اولیجق اوغلی غیاث الدین قونیه تاختنہ جلوس اندی انک زماندہ ملک تاتار بالچچور رومہ کلب غیاث الدین منهزم اولدی تاتار رومہ مستولی اولدی چونکہ تاتار رومہ حاکم اولدی ملوک سلاجقنک عثمان برادی قالدی ار طغرل سکوتدہ سکوت ایدب متقاعد اولب اول دیاری یورد ایدنب کفاریلہ مدارا¹⁾ ایدب زندکانیہ مشغول اولدی تا علاء الدین کیقباد بن شرامرز بن

Ertogrul seinerseits drang unterdessen kräftig vor, so dass ihm Gott die Oberhand gab und er die Festung erstürmte, wobei der Befehlshaber gefangen ward. Nachdem die Stadt geplündert war, sonderte er den (dem Feldherrn gebührenden) fünften Theil der Beute ab und vertheilte das Uebrige unter die Glaubenskämpfer. Darauf sandte er den fünften Theil mit der Siegeskunde dem Sultan Alâ-uddin. Als darauf Ertogrul noch 2 Jahre 3 Monate und 4 Tage lang Tag und Nacht mit dem Glaubenskampf beschäftigt gewesen war, starb Sultan Alâ-uddin. Wann er gestorben, ist schon oben gesagt worden; dass wir seiner hier gedacht haben, ist geschehen um die ihm und Togrul gemeinsamen Thatsachen anzugeben. Als sein Nachfolger bestieg sein Sohn Gyjäs-uddin den Thron von Iconium. Zu seiner Zeit kam der Tatarenfürst Balour nach Rüm; Gyjäs-uddin ward geschlagen und die Tataren wurden Herren von Rüm. Nun blieb von den Selgukenkönigen nur noch der blosse Name übrig. Unterdessen blieb Ertogrul still und ruhig in Söjüt, zog in jener Gegend weidend umher, erhielt gutes Vernehmen mit den Ungläubigen und lebte vergnügt.

ist, fehlt in der Lehgét ul-lugat und bei Bianchi, der dafür یاز aufführt, das ich sonst nicht gefunden habe.

1) Cod. مدار.

کیکابوس زمانه دک قلدی که سلطان علاء الدین ثانی در و بلجک
تخیله قرجه حصارک فتح اولی اراسنده یتمش بیله قریب کچدی زهرا
سلطان علاء الدین اولک وفاتیه قرجه حصار کرو مووملر السندن
چقمشدی نیچون انکچونکم سلطان علاء الدین ینه تکورنی ایچنده
ابقا ایذب خواجه کسمشدی ۵ ابتداء الدولة العثمانیة خلفد ملکهم
چونکه ار طغرل سکوتده ایلی بویله متوطن اولوب سالها انده قالدی
دولت آل سلجوق ایاغه دشمنین خمول اختیار انمشدی وار طغرولک
اچ اوغلی واریدی بری عثمان وبری کوندز وبری صارو یاتی واولان

Er lebte bis zur Zeit des Sultans Alâ-uddîn II. Keikubâd ben Firâmerz ben Keikjâûs. Zwischen der ersten Einnahme von Karâga hysâr und der von Bilegik verflossen beinahe 70 Jahre. Bei des Sultans Alâ-uddîn II. Tode war nämlich Karâga hysâr den Gläubigen wieder entrissen worden. Weshalb? Deshalb, weil Sultân Alâ-uddîn den Befehlshaber des Schlosses gegen Tributpflichtigkeit wieder eingesetzt hatte ¹⁾.

Anfang des osmânischen Reichs, mögen seine ²⁾
Fürsten ewig herrschen!

Als Ertogrul sich mit seinen Landsleuten und seinem Stamme ³⁾ zu Söjüt niedergelassen hatte, blieb er lange Jahre da. Weil die selgukische Herrschaft so gänzlich gesunken war, lebte er ganz in freiwilliger Zurückgezogenheit. Er hatte drei Söhne: Osman, Gündüz ⁴⁾ und Sary jaty ⁵⁾. Von diesen

1) Das ist also eine Lehre für die osmânischen Herrscher, gegen besiegte Fürsten nicht zu milde zu sein. Das ungewöhnliche: „Weshalb? Deshalb“ dient dazu, diesen Satz als besonders wichtig hervorzuheben.

2) دولة ist hier, wie oben ولاية, als Inbegriff von Personen gefasst (Dynastie = Dynasten), daher das Suffix ³⁾.

3) Die Bedeutung „Stamm“ für بوی, die bei Bianchi fehlt, kommt nicht nur sonst (besonders häufig in den تواریخ آل سلجوق), sondern auch gleich unten bei Nesrî selbst vor.

4) Dass کوندز nicht, wie man es wohl hat fassen wollen, Locativ ist = کونده, zeigt, ausser der Bildung کوندزین u. a. m., auch der Gebrauch des Wortes als Eigenname. Gündüz ist gleichbedeutend mit gün; steht es für „bei Tag“, so ist es accusativisch, wie das meist damit verbundene gige.

5) Im Gihân. ۹۳۱ und ۹۷۰ ff. immer صاری پالی.

طغرل بن عثمان بهادر اولدی اول سمبدن عثمانیه خلقی عزت ایدب آوده قوشده انراکک یکیدی یکیلی انک یاننه جمع اولورلردی اول وقت پادشاه اعظم قازان خان بن ارغون رومه مستولی اولوب آل سلجوقدن مسعود بن کیکاوسله کیقباد بن فرامرز بن کیکاوسی تحت حکومتنده قلوب پنه رومده مقرر ایدب ممالک رومی مسعودله کیقباده نیابتده ویردی بونسلر رومه قزان خان قبلندن متصرف اولوب آمده وملاطیهیه وسیواسه وخرپرته غیث الدین مسعود بن کیکاوس متصرف اولدی قونیایه وسواحل رومه سلطان علاء الدین کیقباد بن فرامرز متصرف اولوب رومک محصولاتنی بونسلر جمع ایدب غزان خانیه کونده رلردی اول زمانده ار طغرل غایت پیسر اولمشدی اکا اولادنه اول یرک کافری ومسلمانی عزت ایدردی وار طغرلک بو سلطان علاء الدین کیقباد بن فرامرزه دخی مناسبت تامه سی واریدی احيانا اولادندن بو سلطان علاء الدینه ¹) پیشکشلر وارب کلسورلردی وسطان علاء الدین اول وثاتندن صکره آل سلجوقدن رومه کم ملک

war Osman der tapferste; deshalb ehrte ihn Ertogrul's Volk und sammelten sich bei Wild- und Vögeljagd die jungen, behenden Türken um ihn. Damals setzte der grösste Herrscher Kazan (Gazan) Hân ben Argun, als Oberherr von Rûm, von dem Hause Selguks den Keikubâd b. Firâmerz b. Keikjâûs wieder als Vassallen-Herrscher über Rûm, so jedoch, dass er neben ihm auch den Mes'ûd b. Keikjâûs zum Statthalter machte. Als sie das Land nun so für Kazan Hân verwalteten, besass Gyjas-uddîn Mes'ûd b. Keikjâûs Amid, Malâtija, Sîvâs und Harpurt, Alâ-uddîn Keikubâd b. Firâmerz Iconium und die Küstenländer von Rûm. Allein die Einkünfte Rûms sammelten sie alle und schickten sie dem Gazan Hân. Damals war Ertogrul sehr alt. Die Ungläubigen und Gläubigen jenes Landes ehrten ihn und seine Söhne. Er stand auch in vertraulichem Verhältniss zum Sultân Alâ-uddîn Keikubâd b. Firâmerz. Von Zeit zu Zeit kamen von seinen Söhnen an diesen Sultân Alâ-uddîn Geschenke. Keiner vom Hause Selguks, der nach des Sultân's Alâ-uddîn I. Tode Rûm beherrschte, versagte dem Ertogrul seine Gunst und seinen Schutz.

1) Cod. علاء الدین.

اولسه ار طغرولسه نظر حمايتن دريغ انهزدي وار ضغرل دخى غايت ديندار ونامدار وشجاعتمله معروف كشيدي زهد و تقوايه وصلاحده اول زمانك مشاهيرنندندي وبالجمله ار ضغرل پير فاني¹) اولوب اوغلي عثمان قزنداشلريله كنده و بويلى ايچنده حاكم اولب تمامت كوچر اولي اتراك انك محكومى اولدى اول وقت سلطان علاه الدين ثانيك سلطان ايوكك اسكى شهرنده و اين اوكنده نايبلى و اريدي عثمان غازي بونلرك يونه وارب كلب دوستلق ايدردي اما اين اوكى بكيمله اتحادده يارانلردى²) دايم بله سنه عيش عشرته مشغولدى و خصلت عثمان غازي و بسو عثمان غازي غايت صالح مسلمان و ديندار كشيدي و عانتيدكم اوج كونده بر طعام بشرط فقر ايبى و صلاح ايبى جمع ايدب طعام ايدردي وهم يالناجقلى كيورب طونلردى و طول عورتلرى دايم صدقه و بيردي

Ertogrul war ein äusserst religiöser, berühmter und als tapfer bekannter Mann. Er gehörte zu den damaliger Zeit durch Sittenstrenge, Frömmigkeit und Rechtschaffenheit berühmtesten Leuten. Als nun endlich Ertogrul alt und schwach geworden war, ward Osmân mit seinen Brüdern Fürst über die eigenen Stämme und beherrschte alle wandernden Türken. Damals hatte Sultan Alâuddin II. zu Eski sehr in Sultan öjüzü und in In önü Statthalter. Diese pflegte der Glaubenskämpfer Osmân zu besuchen und ihnen Freundschaft zu bezeigen. Besonders dem Bei von In önü schloss er sich eng an und lebte mit ihm immer in Lust und Freude.

Charakteristik des Glaubenskämpfers Osmân.

Dieser Glaubenskämpfer Osmân war ein äusserst guter Moslim und religiöser Mann. Er hatte die Gewohnheit alle drei Tage eine Mahlzeit kochen, die Dervise und frommen Leute zusammen kommen zu lassen und sie damit zu speisen. Auch liess er die Nackten vollständig kleiden und gab den Wittwen immer Almosen.

3) Cod. پير وفاني.

2) Cod. يارانلردى.

حکایت فتح بلجوک ایدر لر که بلجوک تکوری یار حصار تکورنک قزن السه کره کیدی جمله تکورلری دکنه اوقیب اسباب عروسی تهیته ایدب اتغای اندلر که عثمان غازی دخی دکنه اوقبالر همان کادو کنلین طوتب هلاک ایده لر اندن کوسه مخالی اوقدب طانشق ایدب اسبابن مهیا ایدب دلایلر که عثمانیه یورجیلکه کوندره لر عثمان بلجک تکورنک دکن ایده جکین ایشدب اوقیوجی وارمدین سرویله 1) قینلر کوندر ب ایتدی تکور برانرم بو قیونلری دکنه خدمته کلنلره یدرسون انشا الله بندخی واردغم وقت صاچویبی ایلدم انلره لایق خون نه مز اولا اما درویشانه وراز خدمت ایده وز دیدی اندن صکره بلجک تکوری قیونلری الب کوسه مخالی عثمانیه اوقیاجلغه کوندر ب خیلی التون وکمش اوانلق بله کوندردی کوسه مخال دخی عثمان

Einnahme von Bilegik.

Wie man sagt, wollte der Herr von Bilegik die Tochter des Herrn von Jär hysâr heirathen. Während man alle Schlossherren zur Hochzeit einlud und die Vorbereitungen zum Feste traf, verabredete man sich, auch den Glaubenskämpfer Osmân einzuladen, aber ihn gleich bei seiner Ankunft festzuhalten²⁾ und umzubringen. Dann liess man den Köse Mihal rufen, weihte ihn in das Geheimniss ein, machte das für ihn Nöthige zurecht und wollte ihn als Eilboten zu Osmân schicken, um diesen einzuladen. Als Osmân hörte, der Herr von Bilegik wolle Hochzeit machen, sandte er voll Freuden, noch ehe der Hochzeitbitter kam, Hammel ab und sprach: „Mein Bruder der Schlossherr möge diese Hammel denen als Mahl vorsetzen³⁾, welche ihm zur Hochzeit ihre Aufwartung machen werden. So Gott will, werde auch ich, wann ich komme, die (üblichen) Geldgeschenke mitbringen. Freilich was haben wir, dass ihrer würdig wäre? Jedoch wir wollen wie arme Leute gehen und unsere Aufwartung machen.“ Nachdem darauf der Herr von Bilegik die Hammel empfangen, sandte er den Köse Mihal zur Einladung an

1) ل. سرویله. Fl.

2) Das Suffix *ولین*, das jetzt fast nur noch in *بوجلین* und *آجلین* gebraucht wird, in der Bedeutung von *کبی* und *ج*, ist noch bei Nesrî häufiger. Wie diese Stelle zeigt, wird es ganz wie *ج* und die Casussuffixe gebraucht, indem das Suff. II. pers. sein ursprüngliches *n* nicht einbüsst.

3) Diese Construction des Causativums mit dem Dativ des zweiten Objects ist in der ältern osmân. Sprache nicht ganz selten. Im Jakutischen ist sie regelmässig (Bühtlingk §. 701).

غازیه 1) کلب دوکونه اوقیوب و م مخفیجه کافرلرک انفساقلردن اعلام
ایدب حدرکله اولف کرکسین دیدی اندن عثمان غازی مخالفه
اوقیاجلق چوق نسنه ویردی خلف ایچنده ایتدی محال بک قزنداشم
تکوره بندن سلام ایدب ایت هر بییل زحمتمز چکه کلمشلم در کر میان
اوغلیله عداوتمز کندولره خون معلومدر بو بییل دخی زحمتمز
چکسونلر انامک و بنم رختچوکزلر و مزی یینه قلعهیه کوندلر لم
بقینده یایلاغه کتملویز همیشه حافظمز انلر در یینه اسپابمز انلرک
حریم امانتنده اولسون تا که بز دخی بو طرفدن چشمندن امین
اولوب دوکونه خدمت ایدره و م قین انام و خاتونم تکورک اناسیله
بولششف و بلششمک استرلر اگر بیوررلرسه انلری دخی دکنه بله ایدره لم 2)
دیدی پس کوسه محال بو سوزلری کلب بلجوک تکورنه اعلام
ایدجک وایکی سوندی غایت فرحناک اولدی ایتدی ترک جمیع

Osmân und gab ihm viel Gold- und Silbergeräth mit. Da dieser zum Glaubenskämpfer Osmân kam, lud er ihn zur Hochzeit ein, theilte ihm aber zugleich heimlich den Anschlag der Ungläubigen mit und rieth ihm dringend, auf seiner Hut zu sein. Darauf gab der Glaubenskämpfer Osmân dem Miħal als Botenlohn grosse Geschenke und sprach zu ihm in Gegenwart der Leute: „Miħal Bei, bringe meinem Bruder dem Schlossherrn meinen Gruss und sage ihm, er sei gewohnt jedes Jahr für uns Mühe zu übernehmen; er wisse selbst, wie ich mit Kermian Oglu in Feindschaft lebe; er möge deshalb auch dieses Jahr wieder sich für uns bemühen. Wir wollen nämlich mein und meiner Mutter weniges Hausgeräth wieder auf das Schloss bringen und den Sommer über in der Nähe weiden. Er ist immer unser Hüter; mögen unsere Sachen wieder in seinem sichern Schutze bleiben, damit wir, von dieser Seite vor des Feindes bösem Blicke sicher, ihm bei der Hochzeit aufwarten können. Zugleich wünschen meine Schwiegermutter und meine Frau die Bekanntschaft seiner Mutter zu machen; ist er so gütig es zu erlauben, so bringe ich sie mit zur Hochzeit.“ Als dem Schlossherrn diese Worte durch Köse Miħal überbracht wurden, freute er sich gar sehr und sprach: „Der Türke läuft uns von selbst mit allen seinen Weibern, Kindern, Geld und Gut in die Hände; jetzt gilt es nur, ihn und diese ganze Sache immer im Auge

1) Cod. عثمانه غازی. 2) ایلده کم. I. Fl.

عورت اوغلان مالی رزقیله کلوب قبضمه کره یورر همان بونک و بو ایشک
 آرنجه اولق کرک دیب کوسه مخالی ینه عثمانه کوندر ب فلان وقتده
 دوکوندر لطف ایدب تشریف بیوره سز دیو دکونک وقتن و عثمانک
 کوچیله کاسه جکین اعلام اتدلر اندن عثمان غازی کوسه مخاله
 ایتدی بزم خلقهتر حکرایه اوکر نمشلدور بلجک طار بر در دکون انده
 انمسونلر بر کییکجه یرده اتسونلور دیدی تکور بوسوزلری هب قبول
 ایدب دکونی چاقر بییکاری اوکوزلره کچه لرله مهارلر ایدب ایچلر نه
 رخت املر قویب سوردلر و هم عادتیدیکه رختی اوکوزلره یکلذب
 خاتونلر قلعهیه قویرلدی ینه اول منوال ازره بو مهارلری اوکوز قطارلریله
 کییکجه قرکولغنده حصاره کوتردلر بر یرده قودیلر چونکه بونلر بو
 حیلله ایسه قلعهیه کیردیلر فی الحال اول کییکجه یوکلرندن یالن قلیج

zu behalten.“ Darum schickte er den Köse Mihal wieder zu Osmân und liess ihn mit den Worten: „Zu der und der Zeit ist die Hochzeit; habt doch die Gewogenheit, mich zu beehren“ die Zeit melden, wo die Hochzeit gefeiert werden sollte und er mit seinem ganzen Hause (kjuğ) kommen könnte. Osmân der Glaubenskämpfer sprach darauf zum Köse Mihal: „Unsere Leute sind an ebene Flächen gewöhnt; Bilegik aber ist eng; man möge deshalb die Hochzeit nicht dort, sondern an einem etwas geräumigen Orte halten.“ Der Schlossherr ging auf dies alles ein und man verlegte die Hochzeit an einen Ort mit Namen Cakyr Byüary. Osmân aber belud zur bestimmten Zeit die Stiere mit Filsdecken ¹⁾, steckte, unter dem Vorgeben, das Geräth befinde sich daria, Leute hinein und trieb die Stiere fort. Auch war es wirklich seine Gewohnheit, das Geräth auf Stiere zu packen und die Frauen auf das Schloss in Verwahrung zu bringen. Auf dieselbe Weise brachten sie damals diese Habe auf Zügen von Stieren im Dunkel der Nacht auf die Burg und legten sie an einem gewissen Ort nieder. Da diese Leute durch solche List ins Schloss gedrungen waren, brachen sie sofort in derselben Nacht, das gezogene Schwert in der Hand, alle gewappnet aus ihrem Gepäck hervor, drangen an das Thor

1) Ohne Zweifel fehlen nach بییکاری ein paar Worte, die wir wohl richtig nach dem Gihân. 178 so ergänzen: ایتدیلهر موعده: دیرلر بر یرر انده ایتدیلهر موعده: وقتنده عثمان غازی دخی بر نییجه. Ich fasse مهارلر als „Heirathsgut der Frauen“, zweifle aber sehr an der Richtigkeit dieser Erklärung.

الرنده جمله مسلح یرہ دوکاسب قپویہ سکیردشب دربانلری
 دپلیدیلسر حصاریہ آدم خود از قلمشدی جمله دوکونه کتمشدردی
 ہونلر حصاری فتح اندلر بو طرفدن عثمان غازی دخی بر نچہ
 دلاولری عورت طوننہ قویب تکورہ کوندرہرب ایتدی لطف کم 1)
 ایدب ہوانرم تکور بو خاتونلری بر ایوجہ یردہ قوندر تا کہ اندہغی
 تکورلری کورب اوشنہمایلسر ہلجک تکوری شرح اولسب ایتدی
 ترکک اری وعورتی وانسانی واسمانی اسانلغله ایوالمہ کردی دیدی
 جملہسنی کندو الیلہ کوندردی دیدی چون عثمان غازی بو خاتون
 صورتنہ کرنلرلہ اخشام وقتندہ کلدی زہرا قلعہیہ کیرنارلہ
 شیلہ قول اولنہمشدی کہ انار قلعہیہ وارددن صکرہ کندو دخی
 تکورلہ بولشہ چون اخشام یقین اولدی تکورہ خبر اولدیکہ عثمان
 غازی خاتونلرلہ کلیورر تکور ایتدی اخشام کلدیکنہ سیر یعنی

und machten die Thorwächter nieder. Im Schlosse waren nur wenig Leute geblieben, da Alles zur Hochzeit gegangen war; daher eroberten sie das Schloss. Von seiner Seite verkleidete der Glaubenskämpfer Osmân einige seiner Helden als Weiber und liess den Schlossherrn bitten: „Der Bruder Schlossherr möge so gütig sein, diesen Frauen einen guten Platz anzuweisen, damit sie die dort befindlichen Schlossherren sehen können und keine Lange- weile empfinden.“ Der Herr von Bilegik, hierüber erfreut, sagte: „Männer und Weiber, Leute und Sachen des Türken sind leicht und bequem in meine Hand gefallen, da er alle selbst geschickt hat.“ Als der Glaubenskämpfer Osmân am Abend mit diesen als Frauen verkleideten Männern ankam — denn so war es mit denen verabredet, welche in das Schloss gedrungen waren, dass er erst nach ihrer Ankunft auf demselben zum Schlossherrn kommen sollte — als dieser nun gegen Abend die Nachricht erhielt, der Glaubenskämpfer Osmân komme mit den Frauen an, dachte er, Niemand solle die Sîr(?)¹⁾, d. h. die Weiber, sehen, und liess

1) ل. کرم. Fl.

2) Steckt hierunter ein byzantinisches Wort oder ist *أسیر* zu lesen, wofür man freilich eigentlich *أسیرات* oder dgl. erwarten sollte. *أسیر* (Schauspiel, Anblick) ist hier wohl nicht passend. [Ich vermuthe in *أسیر* eine Verstümmelung von *أسیر (وار)*: „dass er Abends kommt, hat eine Ursache: nämlich es soll niemand die Weiber sehen“. Fl.]

عورتلری کیمسه کورمسون دیوصاندی بر ایوجه یسر احصار ایذب
 قرشولیب تعظیمله قوندردی هنوز دخی تکور اوداسنه وارمدین عثمان
 غازی ات ازنه کلدی کوسه مخمال دخی بله بندی عثمان غازی قچر
 کبی اولوب کتدی تکوره خبر اولدیکه عثمان قچدی تکور بر پیاره
 سرخوشدی بماندم ات ارقاسنه کاب ترکک اردنه دشدی قالدیلر
 یقدرلر بلجوکه یقین یرده بر دره واردر انده عثمان غازیه یتشب عثمان
 غازی دخی تکورک کلجکن بلوب تکور کلنجه انده توقف کوستردی
 چونکه تکور یتشدی عثمان غازیله بولشدی و بو عورت صورتنه کرن
 ارلر دلارلر دخی اردین کسدلر اندن تکور بوغازی عثمان غازیکنک
 النه وردی بماندم باشنی کسوب اول کیجه یار حصاره انب علی الصباح
 تکورنی طوتب و دوکونه کلن کافرلری بیه طوتب خلقلک اکثرنی
 اسیر ایذب اندن طورخود الپی تیزجک اینه کوله صالدلر طورغود الب

deshalb gegen Abend einen guten Platz fertig machen, ging ihnen entgegen und brachte sie mit Ehrbezeugungen an ihren Ort. Aber noch ehe er in sein Zimmer hineinging, sprang der Glaubenskämpfer Osmân aufs Pferd, zugleich auch Köse Mihal. Wie ein Fliehender eilte der Glaubenskämpfer Osmân davon. Dem Schlossherrn ward dies gemeldet; etwas berauscht stieg er sofort auf das Pferd und setzte dem Türken nach. Jene machten Halt und liessen ihn nah heran kommen ¹⁾. Nahe bei Bilegik liegt ein Thal; dort holte er den Glaubenskämpfer Osmân ein. Als dieser die Ankunft des Schlossherrn merkte, wartete er auf sein Herannahen; jetzt erreichte er ihn und stand ihm gegenüber; die als Weiber verkleideten Helden schnitten ihm den Rückzug ab, so dass der Schlossherr seine Kehle in des Glaubenskämpfers ²⁾ Osmân Hand lieferte. Sogleich schlug man ihm den Kopf ab. Darauf zog man noch in derselben Nacht nach Jâr hysâr hinab, nahm gegen Morgen dessen Herrn nebst den ungläubigen Hochzeitgästen fest und machte die meisten der Leute zu Gefangenen. Dann ward Torgud Alp schnell nach Äinegöl geschickt, langte auch, damit

1) Ich gestehe, dass mir dies Wort, das ich jokadyrlar lese, sehr zweifelhaft ist. Das قالدیلر kann in der Handschrift auch قالدیلره gelesen werden.

2) Zwischen بوغازی und عثمان غازی scheint ein Wortspiel beabsichtigt zu sein.

دخی اینه کل تکوری ایبا نقوله اشذب قچه دیو تیز یلدریم کبی
یتشوب اینه کوئی محاصره اتدی عثمان غازی دخی جمله الدقلرینی
بلجوک حصارنه کتورب حصار مصاحنی کورب اینه کوله کلوب فی
الحال یغما یردی غازیله دخی طرثة العین ایچنده حصاره کیسرب
تکورنی پاره پاره ایدب ارککینی قیرب دیشسنی اسپر اقلدر زسرا بونلرک
شوملغندن چوقی مسلمانلر شهید اولمشلردی ۵ حکایت روایت
ایدلر که اول کلنکه یار حصار تکورنک قزیدی آدی لولوثر خاتوندی
عثمان غازی اتی اوغلی اورخانه وپردی اول وقت ارخان یکیمت اولمشدی
بر اوغلی دخی واریدی اتی کوچر او ازرنه موکل قلمشدی وبلجمله
چونکه عثمان غازی بو درت پاره حصاری فتح اتدی ولایتلرنه عدل
داد کوسترب جمیع کوپلر (2) یرلو یرنه کلوب متمکن اولوب وقتلری کافر
زمانندن دخی یسک اولدی حتی عثمان غازی اقلیمنده امن امان
زساده اولغین قلان لیرک کافرلری دخی انک اقلیمنه کاسب شنلک

der Schlossherr Aja Nikola nichts erföhre und flöhe, schnell wie
der Blitz an und belagerte das Schloss. Nachdem Osmân seinerseits
alles Erbeutete nach Schloss Bilegik gebracht und die nöthigen
Einrichtungen hinsichtlich desselben getroffen, kam er selbst nach
Änegöl. Sofort war dies ein eroberter Ort; die Glaubenskämpfer
drangen im Augenblick ein, hieben den Schlossherrn in Stücke,
erschlugen alles Männliche und nahmen die Frauen gefangen.
Denn durch die Bosheit dieser waren viele Gläubige zu Märtyr-
ern geworden.

E r z ä h l u n g.

Wie man überliefert, hiess jene Braut, welche des Herrn von
Jâr hysâr Tochter war, Lûlûfer ¹⁾ hâtûn. Osmân gab sie seinem
Sohne Urhan, der damals ein Jüngling war. Er hatte noch einen
andern Sohn, dem er die Aufsicht über die Wanderstämme übertragen
hatte. Als nun der Glaubenskämpfer Osmân diese vier Burgen erobert
hatte, verwaltete er ihre Landschaften mit Recht und Gerechtigkeit,
so dass alle Dorfleute jeder an seinem Orte sich ruhig niederliessen
und bessere Zeit hatten als unter der Herrschaft der Ungläubigen.
Ja, da in dem Gebiete des Glaubenskämpfers Osmân Sicherheit
und Ruhe in hohem Grade herrschten, kamen sogar aus dem

1) Sonst meist نیلوثر (vgl. Hammer I, 74).

2) ؟ کوپولر Fl.

اولدی القصة چونکه عثمان دكون ايدب لولوثر خاتونی اوغلی اورخانه وردی بو لولوثر خاتوندر که برسوده قیلدی جه قیوسنه یقین یرده حصار دبنده تکیه سی واردر و لولوثر کوپرسن دخی اول یاپدردی اول صویه لولوثر دیمکه وجه تسمیه اول کوپردر و سلطان مراد غازینک و سلیمان پاشانک اناسیدر اول خاتونی اخر اورخانه بروسا حصارنده مناسترده بله دفن ائدله بو فتحک تاریخی هجرتک التی یوز طقسان ضقورنده واقع اولدی ✽ گفتار اندر ذکر استقلال عثمان غازی نور الله مرقدہ 1) چونکه عثمان غازی بلجوکوی و یار حصاری و اینه کولی و یکی شهری توابعیله و لواحقیه فتح اتدی اندن صکره اقدام ایدب و ارب ازنیق اوزنه سکیردم ایدب ازنیقک یوللری کسب شهرة طشردن نسنه کرمز اولدی قزلق اولب شهر خلقی بوکلب کولدن اوغرلین استانبوله مددجی کونده رب استمداد ائدله استانبولدن یاردم کوندردیله عثمان غازیلره ایندی استانبولدن بی قیاس لشکر کلیورر

übrigen Lande die Ungläubigen in sein Gebiet und lebten da zufrieden. Kurz, Osmân veranstaltete eine Hochzeit und gab Lülüfer hâtûn seinem Sohn Urhan. Dies ist die Lülüfer hâtûn, deren Kloster in Brusa am Fusse der Burg, nahe beim Kaplyga-Thore liegt. Auch die Lülüfer-Brücke liess sie bauen, von welcher jener Fluss den Namen Lülüfer erhielt. Sie ist auch die Mutter des Glaubenskämpfers Sultân Mürâd und Süleimân Paşa's. Man begrub diese Frau später nebst Urhan in der Burg von Brusa im Kloster. — Die Jahreszahl dieser Eroberung ist 699 der Hîgre.

Osmân der Glaubenskämpfer, dessen Ruhestatt Gott erleuchte, wird unabhängig.

Als der Glaubenskämpfer Osmân Bilegik und Jâr hysâr und Änegöl und Jeñi sehr nebst ihrem Gebiet und Zubehör erobert hatte, schritt er weiter und griff Nicäa an, indem er die Wege zu dieser Stadt abschnitt, so dass nichts von aussen in sie hinein gelangen konnte. Die Einwohner, durch die hieraus entstandene Hungersnoth aufs Aeusserste bedrängt, schickten heimlich über den See Gesandte nach Istambol, um Hülfe zu erbitten. Da man von dort wirklich Unterstützung sandte, so sprach Osmân zu den Glaubenskämpfern: „Von Istambol kommt ein zahlloses Heer;

1) Cod. مرقد.

اگر ایرلر ساوز ازرمزه هاجوم ایدب اطراف رومیمنك كافرلری بی-ز-
 شهرکیر اولورلر بو کلن کافرك صمنماسنه بر چاره اولسه دیدی غازیلر
 ایتدیلمر بزم ادممز ازدر بر دخی سلطان علاه الدین ثانیدن استمداد
 ایدهلر دیب فی الحال قونیه ادم کوندردنر فتحلریین بلدرب اولجق
 احدائی اعلام اندلر سلطان علاه الدین ثانی بو خبرلری اشدب شان
 اولب جوشه کلب تلبل علم قلیچ وات و خلعت و برب بویردیکه صاحبک
 قره حصار دن بر نیچه بییک خلق معاونته وارلر سلطانسه کیدن آدم
 دخی کلمدین استانبولدن کافر کلب دندن کچمکه باشلدی کافرلر
 ترک قچدی دیو غفلتاه اوتررکن عثمان غازی یلاق حصارندن دل
 الوب کافرک غفلتن بلب دندن کچنلرک اوزرین اورب دین بصقونن
 ایدب بصب بعضی قلبدن کچرب و بعضی دکره غرق ایدب
 و کجهینلری دوزب استانبولسه کیدب غازیلر غنایمله مغتنم اولب
 ازنیق فتحنه مقید اولیب همان جماعتلرینه بشارت خیرین کوندرب

trennen wir uns, so werden die Ungläubigen der Gegenden von Rûm, wenn sie uns angreifen, unsere Löwenfänger. Sollte es wohl irgend ein Mittel geben, diese ankommenden Ungläubigen zu schlagen?“ Da sprachen die Glaubenskämpfer: „Unsere Leute sind gering an Zahl; wir wollen lieber den Sultân Alâ-uddin II. um Hülfe bitten.“ Sofort sandten sie Leute nach Konia, um ihre Eroberungen anzuzeigen und über die erwarteten Ereignisse zu berichten ¹⁾. Der Sultân Alâ-uddin ward vor Freunde über diese Nachrichten ganz entzückt, übergab dem Gesandten Trommel, Fahne, Schwert, Ross und Ehrenkleid, und sprach gnädigst: „Es sollen von Sâhybyû Kara hysâr her einige tausend Mann zu Hülfe kommen.“ Aber noch ehe der Gesandte wieder ankam, erschienen von Istambol die Ungläubigen und begannen über die Landzunge zu gehen. Während sie in dem Wahne, der Türke sei geflohen, unbesorgt lagerten, machte der Glaubenskämpfer Osmân, der die Unbesorgtheit der Ungläubigen von Gefangenen gehört hatte, die er von Jalak hysâr aus gemacht, auf die, welche hinübergangen waren, einen nächtlichen Ueberfall, liess Einige

1) Welches der beiden Reiche ist wohl elender, das, welches sich von einer Handvoll Räuber wichtige Städte unmittelbar vor den Thoren der Hauptstadt wegnehmen lässt, oder das, welches von den in seinem Namen gemachten Eroberungen nichts weiss?

مقر عزنه ارشمکه نیت ایدب کوچب کتدی والدہسی ومتعلقاتی عثمان غازیہ بر ایکی کوچ استقبالی ایدب کلب بولشدلر انفساق اول ائنادہ ایکندو¹) وقتندہ سلطان علاء الدین ثانیدن طبل و علم بر ات و بر قلیچ و خلعت شاعانہ یتشدی ہاندم ارباب دیوانی وارکانی اعیانی راستہ ایدب دیوان سلطانی مرتب قلب عثمان غازی عزتچون اناسنی ایاغن درغرب نوبت اورلنجه ایاغن طوب بر قاعدہ شاعانہ وقانون امیرانہ نوبت عثمانی اولردی اول زماندن تا سلطان محمد ابن مراد خان غازی زمانہ دکن رسم عثمانی بَنک ازنہ ایدی ہر بار کہ سفرہ خروج اتمکہ نوبت اولور اولسہ پادشاہلر ایاغ ازہ کلب کویا ایہام ایدروردی وقت خروج اولدی شمدن کیہرہ اوترمق روہ دکلدر دخی مادامکہ سفرہ اوللر صباح واقشام کہ نوبت اورلہ پادشاہ وارکان دولت نوبت تمام اورلنجه ایاغن طوروردی سلطان محمددن صکرہ نوبتہ ایاغن طورمق کسلدی زیراً سلطان محمد بر بسک

über die Klinge springen, trieb Andere ins Meer und veranlasste dadurch die, welche noch jenseits waren, nach Istanbul zurückzukehren, so dass die Glaubenskämpfer mit Beute beladen wurden. Ohne sich weiter um die Einnahme von Nicäa zu kümmern, sandte Osmân seinen Genossenschaften die Siegeskunde und kehrte, da er beabsichtigte zu seiner Residenz sich zu begeben, um. Seine Mutter und seine Angehörigen kamen ihm ein bis zwei Stationen weit entgegen, um ihn zu empfangen. Zufällig kamen gerade um die Zeit des Nachmittags vom Sultân Alâ-uddin II. Trommel, Fahne, Ross, Schwert und königliches Ehrenkleid an. Sogleich liess er die Herren des Diwâns, die Würdenträger und Grossen sich in Ordnung stellen, und hielt einen Sultânsdivân, indem er seine Mutter zur Ehrenbezeugung aufstehen liess und selbst während des ganzen Nebetschlagens²) stehen bleibend, nach königlicher Regel und fürstlichem Gesetz die osmânische Nebet schlagen liess. Von damals an bis zur Zeit Sultân Muhammeds, des Sohnes Mürâd Hâns des Glaubenskämpfers, blieb die osmânische Ordnung also. So oft die Nebet zum Auszug in den Krieg geschlagen ward,

1) Cod. ایکند .

2) Die kriegerische Musik, welche nach persischer Sitte des Abends dem Herrscher zu Ehren gemacht wird.

مفسده طورمق نه لازمدر دیو ایایغن درمییب فراغت اندی اما نوبت شاهی کسلمدی اول قانون ازره قلدی وبالچله چونکه عثمانه طبیل و علم کلدی اول دخی مال غنیمتدن خمسین چقرب تحفه بی حد و هدایای بلا نهاییه برله قصد اندی که قوئیپیا وارب سلطان علاء الدین ئانپله بولشوب صفای همتمین الب ولی عهدی اولاً زیرابو سلطان علاء الدین کیقباد بن فرامرزک اوغلی یوغدی عثمانی پان اوغلی بیرنه کورب طبیل علم کوندرمشدی عثمان غازی دخی سلطان علاء الدین زماننده اگرچه نوعاً استقلال بولمشدی لیکن آده رعایت ایدبن ختبه وسکه ینه سلطان علاء الدین آدنه قامشدی چونکه عثمان اسبابن تهپیه اندی که سلطانه کیده اول اثناسده خپرکلدیکه سلطان علاء الدین اخرته انتقال اندی اوغلی قامدوغی اجلسدن

standen die Herrscher auf, um gleichsam dies anzudeuten: „Es ist Zeit geworden auszuziehn; von jetzt an darf man nicht mehr sitzen bleiben.“ So lange man im Kriege war, standen der Herrscher und die Grossen des Reichs Morgens und Abends ¹⁾ beim Nebetschlagen aufrecht, bis dieses vorbei war. Nach Sultân Muhammed kam die Sitte ab, zum Nebet aufzustehen, denn Sultân Muhammed sprach: „Was ist es nöthig, wegen einer Rotte Uebelthäter aufzustehn?“ und hob diese Sitte auf. Aber die königliche Nebet ward nicht abgeschafft, sondern blieb nach jener Ordnung bestehen. — Als nun Osmân Trommel und Fahne empfing, schied er aus der Beute ein Fünftheil aus, in der Absicht mit Geschenken ohne Zahl und Gaben ohne Maass nach Konia zu gehen, um den Sultân Alâ-uddîn II. persönlich für sich einzunehmen und Thronfolger zu werden; denn dieser Sultân Alâ-uddîn Keikubâd, Sohn des Firâmerz, hatte keinen Sohn; indem er Osmân ganz wie seinen Sohn ansah, hatte er ihm Trommel und Fahne geschickt. Wenn gleich der Glaubenskämpfer Osmân zu Sultân Alâ-uddîn's Zeit gewissermassen unabhängig geworden war, so hatte er doch für seine Person soviel ehrfurchtsvolle Rücksicht, Kanzelgebet und Münze im Namen des Sultâns halten zu lassen. Während nun Osmân sich fertig machte, zum Sultân zu gehn,

1) Die bei Bianchi fehlende Form *اقشام*, die übrigens in vulgärer Sprache, z. B. von den Armeniern auch jetzt noch gebraucht wird, entspricht der Form *یوقسه*, die Nesri u. a. m. für *یوخسه* gebrauchen. Ebenso finden wir *یوقسل* neben *یوخسل*.

برنه وزیرى صاحب کچدی عثمان انى اشذب الحکم لله العلیّ الکبیر
 دیب پاندم بوپردی قرجه حصاره طورسون فقیهه ۴ قاضی وهم
 خطیب اتدلر زیرا بو طورسون فقیه بر عزیز کشیدی خلقه امامت
 ایدردی اده بالیله دخی آشنا ایدی وقرجه حصاره دخی کرمیاندن
 وغیرندن خیلی مسلمانلر کلب شنلمشدی اول خطبه عثمان غازی آدنه
 که اوقندی قرجه حصاره اوقندی بعضلر ایدر سلطان علاه الدین دن
 طبل وعامر کلمسی بلجک فکندن نیجه یسلر مقدمدر قرجه
 حصار اندوغی وقت اقی تملر کوندردی دیدلر ۵ ذکر قانون عثمانی
 چونکه خطبه وسکه عثمان غازی آدنه مقرر اولب قاضی وصوباشی
 دکلدی کرمیان ولایتندن بر کشی عثمان غازیبه کلب ایتدی بو

kam unterdessen die Nachricht, dass er verschieden, und dass, da er keinen Sohn hinterlassen, sein Vezîr für ihn Herr geworden sei. Auf diese Nachricht sprach Osmân: „Die Entscheidung steht bei Gott, dem hohen, grossen,“ und befahl sofort ¹⁾, dass Tursun Fakîh Kâdî und Prediger für Karâga hysâr werden sollte. Denn dieser Tursun Fakîh war ein heiliger ²⁾ Mann, ein Bekannter des Edebaly ³⁾, der das Amt des Gemeinde-Imâms versah. Viele Gläubige waren auch von Kermian und anderswoher nach Karâga hysâr gekommen und hatten es bevölkert. Der erste Ort, an dem für den Glaubenskämpfer Osmân das Kanzelgebet gehalten ward, ist Karâga hysâr. Einige behaupten, Sultân Alâ-uddin habe ihm schon einige Jahre vor der Einnahme von Bilegik Trommel und Fahne gesandt, und zwar durch Ak temir zur Zeit der Einnahme von Karâga hysâr.

Das osmânische Gesetz.

Als des Glaubenskämpfers Osmâns Name in Kanzelgebet und Münzgepräge aufgenommen war und ein Kâdî und Subaşy angestellt waren, kam aus Kermian ein Mensch zu Osmân und sprach: „Verpachtet mir den Zoll dieses Marktes.“ Auf seine Frage, was dieser Zoll sein solle? sprach jener: „Von Jedem, der eine Last zu Markte bringt, werde ich einiges Geld nehmen.“ Da sprach der Glaubens-

1) Als durch den Tod Alâ-uddin's völlig unabhängiger Fürst, setzt er jetzt einen Uatib ein, der für ihn die Hutba hält.

2) عزیز, Bezeichnung grosser Heiligen, Dervise u. s. w.

3) Osmâns Schwiegervater.

A brieſe Diſcourſe of

Baſſa (who liued not long ſince) is ſuppoſed to haue brought with him from Cair to the value of ſix millions: and *Atabames* another of the Viziers was thought to haue had a farre greater ſum. His preſents alſo amount vnto a great matter; for no Embaſſadour can come before him without great gifts; no man is to hope for any commodious office or preferment without money, no man may with empty hands come to the preſence of him ſo great a Prince, either from the prouince he had the charge of, or from any great expedition hee was ſent vpon, neither vnto ſo great and mighty Prince are trifles preſented. The Vayuods of Moldavia, Valachia, and Tranſylvania, before their late reuolt, by gifts preſerued themſelues in their principalities, being almoſt daily changed, eſpecially in Valachia and Moldavia: for thoſe Honors were by the grand Signior ſtil giuen to them that would giue moſt; who to performe what they had offered, miſerably oppreſſed the people, and brought their prouinces into great pouertie. In brief, an eaſie thing it is for the great Tyrant to find occaſion for him at his pleaſure to take away any mans life, together with his wealth, be it neuer ſo great: ſo that he canot well be ſaid to lack money, ſo long as any of his ſubiects hath it. Neuertheleſſe the late Perſian war ſo emptied the late couetous Sultan *Amarath* his coffers, and exhauſted his treaſures, that all ouer his empire the value of his gold was beyond all credit intanced, inſomuch that a Chequine was twice ſo much worth as before. Beſides that, the mortal wherof his gold and ſiluer was made, was ſo embafed, that it gaue occaſion vnto the Lanizaries to ſet fire vpon the city of Conſtantinople, to the great terror not of the vulgar ſort only, but of the grand Signior himſelf alſo. And in the city of Aleppo only were in the name of the great Sultan 60000 chequines taken vp in preſt of the merchants there, which how wel they were repaid we leaue for them to report.

Now albeit that the Turkes reuenues be not ſo great as the largeneſſe of his Empire and the fruitfullneſſe of his countie might ſeem to afford, all the ſotte being his own, yet hath hee in his dominions a commoditie of far greater value and vſe than ate the reuenues themſelues; which is the multitude of the Timariots or Penſioners, which are all horſemen, ſo called of *Timaro*, that is a ſtipend which they haue of the great Sultan, *via*. the poſſeſſion of certaine villages and towns, which they hold during their life, and for which they ſtand bound, for euerie threeſcore ducats they haue of yearely reuenue, to maintaine one horſeman, either with bow and arrowes, or elſe with targuet and Launce, and that as well in time of pece as war for the *Othoman* Emperours take vnto themſelues all ſuch lands as they by the ſword winne from their enemies, as well Mahometanes as Chriſtians, all which they diuide into Timars, or as we call them, Commandams, which they giue vnto their ſouldiers of good deſert for teame of life, vpon condition that they ſhall (as is aforeſaid) according to the proportion thereof, keepe certaine men and horſes fit for ſeruiſe alwaies ready whenſoeuer they ſhall bee called vpon. Wherein conſiſteth the greateſt policie of the Turke, and the ſureſt mean for the preſeruation of their Empire. For if by this means the care of manning the ground were not committed vnto the ſouldier, for the proſit they hope thereof, but left in the hand of the plaine painfull husbandman, all would in that ſo warelike an Empire lie waſte and deſolate; the Turkes themſelues commonly ſaying, That whereſoeuer the Grand Seigniors horſe ſetteth his foot, there the Graſſe wil grow no more; meaning the deſtruction that their great Armies bring in all places where they come. The inſtitution of theſe Timariots, and the taking vp of the Azamoglan (ſo ſo they call thoſe children which are taken from their Chriſtian parents to be brought vp for Lanizaries) are the two chief pillars of the Turkes Empire, and the ſtrength of their wars, both which ſeem to be deuifed vnto the imitation of the Romans, as are diuers things moe in the Turkiſh government: for the Romane Emperours vſed their own ſubiects in the wars, and of them conſiſted the Prætorian army, which neuer departed from the Emperours ſide, but were ſtill to gard his perſon, as doe the Lanizaries the great Turk. And in the Roman empire lands were giuen vnto ſouldiers of good deſert, for them to take the proſit of during their liues, in reuward of their good ſeruiſe and valour, which were called *Beneficia*, and they which had them, *Beneficiarij*, or as we term them, Benefices, and benefited men. *Alexander Severus* granted ſuch ſouldiers, heirs that might enjoy thoſe lands & commandams, conditionally that they themſelues ſhould ſerue as had their fathers, elſe not. *Conſtantine* the Great alſo gaue vnto his Captaines that had wel deſerued of him, certaine lands for

The two chief
pillars of the
Othoman Em-
pire.

the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire.

A for them to live vpon during the terme of their life. The like fees in France, which they call *Feyds*, were of Temporaries made perpetuities by these their late Kings. These Timariot horsemen in the Turkish Empire serue to two great and most notable purposes: whereof the first is, That by them the Grand Seignour, as with a bridle, keeps the rest of his subiects in euery part of his great Empire in awe, so that they cannot so soon moue, but that they shall haue these his Timariots as falcons in their neckes; for to that purpose they are dispersed all ouer his dominion and Empire. The other vse of them (and no lesse profitable than the former) is, that out of them he is alwaies able to draw into the field an hundred and fifty thousand horsemen well armed, ready to goe whithersoever hee shall command them: with all whom he is not at one farthing charge. Which so great a power of horsemen cannot continually be maintained for lesse than fourteene millions of duckats yearly. Wherefore it is to be maruelled, that some comprising the Turkes revenues with the Christians, make no mention of this so great a part of the *Othman* Emperors wealth and strength, seruing him first for the suppressing of all such tumults as might arise in his Empire, and then as a most principall strength of his continuall Warres, alwayes ready to serue him in his greatest expeditions. The number of these Timariot horsemen is now growen very great, taking increase together with the Turkes Empire. It is reported, That *Achmat* the third, grandfather vnto *Achmat* that now reigneth, in his late warres against the Persian, subdued so much territorie as serued him to erect therein forty thousand Timariots; and appointed at Tauris a new Receit, which was yearly worth vnto him a millton of gold. These Timariots are in all accounted to be seuen hundred and nineteene thousand fighting men; of whom a 57000 haue their dwelling in Europ, and 462000 in Asia and Africk.

The number of the Timariots.

B Besides these Timariots, the grand Seignour hath a great number of other horsemen vnto whom he giueth pay, which are his Spahi, Vlofagi, and Carapici of his Court, being indeed the nurseries and seminaries of the great officers and gouernors of his Empire; for from among them are ordinarily chosen the Sanzacks, which afterwards through their good deserts or the Sultans great fauour, become Viziers, Beglerbega, and Bassa's, the chiefe rulers of that so mighty a monarchy.

The Spahi, Vlofagi, and Carapici.

C He hath also still in his army a great multitude of other horsemen, called *Acanzi*, being indeed but rural clowns, yet for certain priuiledges which they haue, are bound to goe vnto the wars, being euen of the Turkes themselves accounted of small worth or value in comparison of the Timariots. Hee receiueth great aid also from the Tarter in his wars, as also from the Valachians and Moldauians (vntill that by the example of the Transylvanians, they to the great benefit of the rest of that side of Christendom revolted from him) all which are to be accounted as the Romans *Auxiliarij*, that is to say, such as come to aid and assist him. And thus much for his horsemen.

The Acanzi.

D Another great part of his strength consisteth in his footemen, and especially in his *Ianizaries*: in whom two things are to be considered, their Nation, and dexteritie in Armes. Concerning their Nation, such of the Azamoglan as are born in Asia are not ordinarily inrolled in the number of the *Ianizaries*, but such as are borne in Europ; for they of Asia are accounted more effeminate, as they haue been alwaies, more ready to fly than to fight. Whereas the people of Europ haue euen in the East been accounted for better and more valiant souldiers, hauing there to their immortal glory, set vp the notable trophies of their most glorious victories. The souldiers of Asia be called Turkes, after the name of their Nation, and not of their Countrey, (no countrey being indeed so properly called) and they of Europe, Rumi, that is to say, *Romani*, or Romans; as the Countrey, especially about Constantinople, is called by the name of Rum-lli, that is, the Roman Countrey, as it was in ancient time, of the notable Roman Colonies therein, knowne by the name of *Romania*. Now as concerning their dexteritie, such male children are culled out from the Christians, as in whom appeareth the greatest signes of strength, aduozitie, and courage; for these three qualities are in a souldier especially required. This choice is made euery third yeare, except necessitie inforce it to be made sooner; as it happened in the late Persian Warre, wherein not onely other choice was made; but they were glad to vse the Azamoglan also, a thing neuer before by them done. And those Youths (the Children of Christian parents) being by them that haue taken them

The Ianizaries.

A briefe Discourse of

the sea coast from Velex (or as some call it Belis) De Gomera, or more truly to say, from the River Muluis (the bounder of the Kingdome of Fez) euen vnto the Arabian Gulfe, or Red-Sea Eastward, except some few places vpon the visage of the sea, holden by the king of Spain; viz. Melicabrit, Melilla, Oran, and Pennon; and from Alexandria Northward vnto the city of Afoa, called of old Seine, Southward in which space are contained the famous Kingdomes of Tremizen, Algiers, Tunes, and Ægypt, with diuers other great Cities and Prouinces. In Asia all is his from the streets of Hellepontos Westward, vnto the great city of Tauris Eastward; and from Derbent neer vnto the Caspian Sea Northward, vnto Adena vpon the Gulfe of Arabia Southward. The greatnesse of this his Empire may the better be conceiued by the greatnesse of some parts thereof: the Meere of Meotis, which is all at the Turkish Emperors command, being in compasse a thousand miles; and the Emxine or Blacke Sea in circuit two thousand and seuen hundred; and the Mediterranean coast which is subiect vnto him containing in compasse about eight thousand miles. But to speake of his whole territory together, he goeth in his owne dominion from Tauris to Buda, about three thousand two hundred miles. The like distance is from Derbent vnto Adena. From Balsera vpon the Persian Gulfe vnto Tremisena in Barbarie, are accounted little lesse than foure thousand miles. Hee hath also in the Sea the most noble Islands of Cyprus, Euboea, Rhodus, Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and others of the Archipelago. In this so large and spacious an Empire are contained many great and large countries, sometime most famous Kingdomes, abounding with all manner of worldly blessings and natures store; For what Kingdome or country is more fruitfull than Ægypt, Syria, and a great part of Asia? What countrey more wealthfull or more plentifull of all good things, than was sometime Hungarie, Grecia, and Thracia? In which countries hee hath also many rich and famous Cities, but especially foure, which bee of greatest wealth and trade, namely Constantinople, Caite, Aleppo, and Tauris. Constantinople for multitude of people exceedeth all the Cities of Europe, wherein are deemed to be about seuen hundred thousand men, which if it be so, is almost equal to two such Cities as Paris in France. Aleppo is the greatest City of Syria, and as it were the centre whereunto all the merchandise of Asia repaire. Tauris of late the Royall seat of the Persian Kings, and one of the greatest Cities of that Kingdome, from whom it was in this our age taken by Amurat the third, hath in it about two hundred thousand men. Caite amongst all the Cities of Africa is the chief, leaving all others farre behinde it (although that some make the City of Cano equall vnto it in greatnesse) being as it were the store-house not of Ægypt onely, and of a great part of Africa, but of India also; the riches whereof being brought by the Red Sea to Sues, and from thence vpon Camels to Caite, and so downe the riuer Nilus to Alexandria, are thence dispersed into these Westerne parts: albeis that this rich trade hath of late time been much impaired, and so like more to be; the Christians (especially the Portugals) traffiquing into the East-Indies, and by the vast Ocean transporting the rich commodities of those Easterne Countries into the West, to the great hinderance of the Grand Signior his customes in Caite.

The Ottoman government in this his so great an empire is altogether like the government of the Master ouer his slave, and indeed more tyrannicall: for the great Sultan is so absolute a Lord of all things within the compasse of his empire, that all his subiects and people, be they neuer so great, do call themselves his slaves, and not his subiects: neither hath any man power ouer himselfe, much lesse is hee Lord of the house wherein hee dwelleth, or of the land which hee tilleth, except some few families in Constantinople, to whom some few such things were by way of reward, and vpon especiall fauor giuen by Mahomet the second, at such time as hee won the same. Neither is any man in that empire so great, or yet so far in fauor with the great Sultan, as that he can assure himselfe of his life, much lesse of his present fortune or state, longer than it pleaseth the Sultan. In which so absolute a souerainity (by any free borne people not to be endured) the tyrant preferueth himselfe by two most speciall means: first, by taking off all armes from his naturall subiects, and then by putting the same and all things else concerning the state and government thereof into the hands of the Apostata or Renegate Christians, whom for most part, every third, fourth, or fift yeare (or oftner if his need so require) becraketh in their childehood, from their miserable parents at his tenths or tribute children.

Whereby

The four chief cities for trade in the Turke Empire.

the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire.

- A** Whereby he gaineth two great commodities: first, for that in so doing he spoyleth the Provinces, hee most feareth, of the flour, shewes, and strength of the people, choice being still made of the strongest youths, and fittest for war: then, for that with these as with his owne creatures he armeth himselfe, and by them assureth his state; for they in their childehood taken from their parents laps, and deliuered in charge to one or other appointed for that purpose, quickly and before they be aware become Mahometans; and so no more acknowledging father or mother, depend wholly on the great Sultan; who to make use of them, both feeds them and fosters them, at whose hands onely they looke for all things, and whom alone they thanke for all. Of which fry so taken from their Christian parents (the only seminarie of his wars) some become horsemen, some footmen, and so in time the greatest Commanders of his state and Empire next vnto himselfe; the naturall Turks in the meane time giuing themselves wholly vnto the trade of merchandise, and other their mechanical occupations; or else to the feeding of eareth, their most antient and naturall vocation, not intermedding at all with matters of government or state. So that if vnto these his souldiers, all of the Christian race, you ioyne also his fleet and mony, you haue as it were the whole strength of his Empire: for in these foure, his horsemen, his footmen, his fleet and money, especially consisteth his great force and power: whereof to speake more particularly, and first concerning his money: it is commonly thought, that his ordinary reuenue exceedeth not eight millions of gold: and albeit that it might seeme, that he might of so large an Empire receiue a far greater reuenue, yet doth hee not, for that both hee and his men of warre (in whose power all things are) haue their greatest and almost onely care vpon armes, first by nature to wast and destroy countries, and to preferue and enrich them: insomuch that for the preferuation of their armies, and furtherance of their expeditions (euery yeare to do) they most grieuously spoyle euen their owne people and Prouinces whereby they passe, scarce leauiug them necessaries where-with to liue: so that the subiects despairing to enioy the fruits of the earth, much lesse the riches which by their industrie and labour they might get vnto themselves; do now no further endeavour themselves either to husbandrie or traffique than they needs must, yea, than very necessity it selfe inforceth them. For to what end auailteth it to sow that another man must reape? or to reape that which another man is ready to deuoure? Whereupon it cometh, that in the territories of the *Ottoman* countrey, yea euen in the most fruitfull countries of Macedonia and Greece are seen great forests, all euery where wast, few cities well peopled, and the greatest part of those countries lying desolate and desart: so that husbandry (in all well ordered commonweales the Princes greatest store) decaying, the earth neither yeeldeth her increase vnto the painefull husbandman, neither the matter vnto the artificer, neither the artificer wares to furnish the Merchant with, all together with the plough running into ruine and decay. As for the trade of merchandise, it is almost all in the hands of the Iewes, or the Christians of Europe, *viz.* the Ragusians, Venetians, Genowaies, French, or English; the naturall Turks hauing therein the least to do, holding in that their so large an Empire no other famous Cities for trade, more than the foure aboue named, *viz.* Constantinople, Tauris, Aleppo and Caire: whereunto may be added Caffa and Thessalonica in Europe; Damascus, Tripolis, and Aden in Asia; Alexandria and Algiers in Africke. In our countries here in this West part of Europe, of the abundance of people oftentimes ariseth dearth; but in many parts of the Turks dominions, for want of men to manure the ground, most part of the poore countrey people drawne from their owne dwellings, being inforced with victuals and other necessaries to follow their great armies in their long expeditions, of whom scarce one of ten euer returne home to their dwellings againe, there by the way perishing, if not by the enemies sword, yet by the wants, the intemperatenesse of the aire, or immoderate paines taking. But to come neerer to our purpose, although the great Turks ordinary reuenues bee no greater than is aforesaid, yet are his extraordinarie echeats to be greatly accounted of, especially his confiscations, forfeitures, fines, amerciaments (which are right many) his tributes, customs tythes and rents of all preyes taken by sea or land, with diuers other such like, far exceeding his standing and certaine reuenue: his Bassas and other his great Officers like rauiening Harpies as it were sucking out the blood of his poore subiects, and heaping vp ineffimable treasures, which for the most part fall againe into the Grand Signior his coffers. *Ibrahim Vizier*

Bassa

v^o brought to Constantinople, are taken view of by the Aga of the Janizaries, who causeth to be registered the name of the youth with the name of his father and the country wherein hee was born. Which done, part of them are sent into the lesser Asia (now called Natolia) and other provinces, where learning the Turkish language and law, they are infected with the vices and manners of them with whom they live, and so in short time become true Mahometans. Another part of them; and those of the most towardliest, is divided into Cloisters which the grand Seignior hath at Constantinople and Pera, of whom the fairest and most handsome are appointed for the Seraglio of the great Sultan himselfe. All the time that these Youths thus sent abroad live in the lesser Asia, or other the Turkes provinces, they are not appointed to any certain exercises, but still kept busied, some at husbandry, some in gardening, some in building, some in other domestical services, neuer suffered to be idle, but alwaies occupied in painful labor: where after certain years they haue bin thus inured to labour and paines taking, they are called into the Cloisters of the Azamoglan (for so they are called all the time until they be enrolled into the number of the Janizaries) and are there deliuered vnto certain speciall gouernours appointed to take charge of them, who keep them still exercised in painfull works and labour, increasing them euill enough, as well in their dyer, as in their apparell and lodging: they sleep together in large rooms, like vnto the religious Dormitories, wherein are Lampes with burning, and Tutors attending, without whose leaue they may not stirre out of their places. There they learn to shoot both in the bow and peece, the vse of the Scimiter, with many feats of a chiuicke; and being well trained in those exercises, are enrolled among the Janizaries and Spahis, of whom the Janizaries receiue no lesse than five apers, nor more than eight for their daily pay, and the Spahis ten. Being recorded amongst the Janizaries, they are either sent away into the wars, or into some Garrison, or else attend at the Court. These last haue for their dwelling three great places like vnto three Monasteries in the City of Constantinople. There they liue vnder their Gouernours to them deputed, the younger with great obedience and silence seruing the elder; in buying of things for them, in dressing their yeer, and such like services. They that be of one seat or calling liue together at one table, and sleep in long walkes. If any of them vpon occasion chance to lie all night abroad without leaue, the next mornning he is notably beaten, with such nurture and discipline, that after his beating he like an Ape kisseth the Gouernours hands that so corrected him. These Janizaries haue many large priuiledges, are honoured, although they be most insensit, and are feared of all men; yea euen of the grand Sultan himselfe, who is still glad to make faire weather with them. In their expeditions and trauels they rob the poore Christian roome, houses, who must not say one word to the contrary. When they buy any thing, they giue the seller what they will themselves; they can be iudged by none but their Aga, neither can they be executed without danger of an insurrection; and therefore such execution is vnder seildone, and that very secretly. They haue a thousand royalties: some of them are appointed to the keeping of Embassadors sent from forreine princes; other some of them are assigned to accompany Strangers Trauellers, especially them that be men of the better sort; for the more that they may safely passe in the Turkes dominions, for which service they are commonly well rewarded. They haue made choice of their prince, namely *Selimus* the first, his father *Bajazet* yett liuing; neither can any the Turke Sultans account themselves iully installed in the Imperiall dignitie, or assured of their estate, vntill they be by them approoued and proclaimed. Euerie one of these Sultans at his first coming to the Empire doth giue them some great targette, and sometimes the better to please them, increaseth also their pay. In every great expedition some of them goe forth with their Aga or his Licutenant, and are the last of all that fight. There is no office among the Turkes that mooueth enuy, than at the office of the Aga of the Janizaries; for the greatnesse of his authoritie and command: onely hee is called the *Beg* for beg of *Grecia* thus, not their owne lieutenants, but haue them nominated vnto them by the grand Signior. Vnto this great man the Aga of the Janizaries nothing can portend, vnto certain destruction that to be of them beloved; for then is he of the great Sultan *Bajazet* feared or misliked, and for occasion sought to take him out of the way. The number of the court Janizaries is betweene ten and 14000. This warlike Order of souldiers is in these outdaies much misliked, for now naturall Turkes are taken in for Janizaries, as a real

the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire.

- A** (the people of Asia; whereas in former times none were admitted into that Order but the Christians of Europe only; beside that, they marry wiues also, contrary to their ancient customs, which is not now forbidden them. And because of their long lying still at Constantinople (a city abounding with all manner of pleasure) they are become much more effeminate and sloathfull, but withall most insolent, or more truly to say, intollerable. It is commonly reported, the strength of the Turkish Empire to consist in this Order of the Janizaries; which is not altogether so; for albeit that they be indeed the Turks best footmen, and surest guard of the great Sultans person, yet vndoubtedly the greatest strength of his state and empire resteth nothing so much in them, as in the great multitude of his horsemen, especially his Timariots. Beside these Janizaries, the Turkish Emperour hath a great number of base footmen, whom **B** the Turks call Afapi, better acquainted with the spade than with the sword, seruing rather to the wearying of their enemies with their multitude, than the vanquishing of them with their valour: with whose dead bodies the Janizaries use to fill vp the ditches of towns besieged, or to serue them for ladders to clime ouer the enemies walls vpon. But as the Romans had both their old Legionary, and other vntained souldiers which they called Tirones; of whom the first were the chiefe strength of their wars, and the other but as it were an ayd and supply: euen so the Turke accounteth his Timariot horsemen the strength of his army, and the Acanzi (which is another sort of base and common horsemen) but as an accessory; and so amongst his footmen he esteemeth of his Janizaries, as did the Romans of the Prætorian legions, but of his Afapi as of shadows. The Janizaries are by none to be commanded, more than by the great Sulcan himselfe, and their Aga: as for the Bassiaes, they much regard them not, but in their rage oftentimes soule entreat euen the greatest of them. The Afapi, as they are but base and common souldiers, so haue they also their ordinary captains and commanders, men of no great place or marke.

- The whole state of the great Empire of the Turks is commanded by the great Sultan, by the graue aduice and counsell of the Vizier Bassiaes, which were not wont to be in number above foure, so prouiding for the secrecy of his high designs or important resolutions; hardly by a great multitude to be concealed; howbeit that the Sultans of later time haue had sometimes moe, sometimes fewer, as their pleasure was. These men are of all others in that Empire the greatest, and for their high places most honoured: vnto them euen the greatest Princes that haue any thing to do in the Turks court, sue and send their honourable presents. By their aduice the great Sultan taketh his war in hand, neither without them concludeth he any peace. They giue audience vnto the Embassadours of forreine Princes, who from them receiue their dispatch. The greatest honors and preferments (which are many in that so great and large an Empire) are all by their means to be obtained: which maketh them of all others to be sought vnto. Some one or other of them are still Generals ouer the great armies of the Turks, especially in those their late wars; their three last Emperors neuer themselves going forth into the field (excepting once that *Mahomet* the third for the maintenance of his credit with his men of war, came downe into Hungary, and there won the city of *Agria*;) which leading of such mighty armies is still with great emulation and ambition of the Vizier Bassiaes amongst themselves sought after, as well for the great profit thereby vnto them arising, as for the honour thereof, which is of all other the greatest. But leauing these great ones, the chiefe counsellors for his state; the whole body of his so large and mighty an Empire (all in the hands of marshall men) is gouerned by other great Bassiaes, whom they by a most proud barbarous name call *Beglerbegs*, that is to say, Lords of Lords, every one of them hauing vnder him certaine Bega or *Sanzaeks*, who are lords and rulers also ouer some particular Cities and Countries, with the Timariots therein; yet all still at the command and becke of their *Beglerbeg*. In ancient time there was wont to be but two of these proud *Beglerbegs* in all the Turks Empire: the one commanding ouer all the Prouinces the Turke had in Europe; and the other ouer all that he had in the lesser Asia, now of the Turks called *Natolia*. But the Turkish Empire greatly augmented in Asia by *Selyman* the first, and also afterward much enlarged both in Europe and Asia by *Solyman* his son, the number of the *Beglerbegs* were by him increased, and in some sort also changed: who although that they be all *Beglerbegs*, and that one of them (especially in the time of peace) in the managing of his soldiers, and affaires

The great numbers of the Turkish Empire.

A briefe Discourse of

Bassa (who lived not long since) is supposed to haue brought with him from Cair to the value of six millions: and *Mahomet* another of the Viziers was thought to haue had a farre greater sum. His presents also amount vnto a great matter; for no Embassadour can come before him without great gifts; no man is to hope for any commodious office or preferment without mony, no man may with empty hands come to the presence of him so great a Prince, either from the prouince he had the charge of, or from any great expedition hee was sent vpon; neither vnto so great and mighty Prince are trifles presented. The Vayvods of Moldavia, Valachia, and Transylvania, before their late reuolt, by gifts persued themselves in their principalities, being almost daily changed, especially in Valachia and Moldavia: for those Honors were by the grand Signior still giuen to them that would giue most; who to performe what they had offered, miserably oppressed the people, and brought their prouinces into great pouertie. In brief, an easie thing it is for the great Tyrant to find occasion for him at his pleasure to take away any mans life, together with his wealth, be it neuer so great: so that he cannot well be said to lack mony, so long as any of his subiects hath it. Neuertheless the late Persian war so emptied the late couetous Sultan *Amurat* his coffers, and exhausted his treasures, that all ouer his empire the value of his gold was beyond all credit inanced, insomuch that a Chequine was twice so much worth as before. Besides that, the metal wherof his gold and siluer was made, was so embased, that it gaue occasion vnto the Ianizaries to set fire vpon the city of Constantinople, to the great terror not of the vulgar sort only, but of the grand Signior himself also. And in the city of Alepp only were in the name of the great Sultan 60000 chequines taken vp in prest of the merchants there, which how wel they were repaid we leaue for them to report.

Now albeit that the Turkes reuenues be not so great as the largenesse of his Empire and the fruitfulnessse of his countries might seem to afford, all the solde being his own, yet hath hee in his dominion a commoditie of far greater value and vse than are the reuenues themselves; which is the multitude of the Timariots or Pensioners, which are all horsemen, so called of *Timars*, that is a stipend which they haue of the great Sultan, viz. the possession of certaine villages and towns, which they hold during their life, and for which they stand bound, for euerie threescore ducats they haue of yearely reuenu, to maintaine one horseman, either with bow and arrowes, or else with targuet and Launce, and that as well in time of peace as war for the *Othoman* Emperors take vnto themselves all such lands as they by the sword winne from their enemies, as well Mahometans as Christians, all which they diuide into *Timars*, or as wee call them, *Commendams*, which they giue vnto their souldiers of good desert for teame of life, vpon condition that they shall (as is aforesaid) according to the proportion thereof, keepe certaine men and horses fit for seruice alwaies ready whensoever they shall be called vpon. Wherein consisteth the greatest policie of the Turke, and the surest mean for the preservation of their Empire. For if by this meanes the care of manning the ground were not committed vnto the souldier, for the profit they hope thereof, but left in the hand of the plaine painfull husbandman, all would in that so warrelike an Empire lie waste and desolate; the Turkes themselves commonly saying, That wheresoever the Grand Seigniors horse setteth his foot, there the Grasse wil grow no more; meaning the destruction that their great Armies bring in all places where they come. The institution of these Timariots, and the taking vp of the Azamoglan (for so they call those children which are taken from their Christian parents to be brought vp for Ianizaries) are the two chief pillars of the Turkes Empire, and the strength of their wars; both which seem to be deuised vnto the imitation of the Romans, as are diuers things moe in the Turkish government: for the Romane Emperors vsed their own subiects in the wars, and of them consisted the Praetorian army, which neuer departed from the Emperors side, but were still to gard his person, as doe the Ianizaries the great Turk. And in the Roman empire lands were giuen vnto souldiers of good desert, for them to take the profit of during their liues, in reward of their good seruice and valour, which were called *Beneficia*, and they which had them, *Beneficiarij*, or as we term them, Benefices, and benefited men. *Alexander Severus* granted such souldiers, heirs that might injoy those lands & commendams, conditionally that they themselves should serue as had their fathers, *eladot. Constantine* the Great also gaue vnto his Captaines that had wel deserved of him, certaine lands for

The two chief
pillars of the
Othoman Em-
pire.

the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire.

A for them to live vpon during the terme of their life. The like sees in France, which they call *Ferds*, were of Temporaries made perpetuities by these their late Kings. These Timariot horsemen in the Turkish Empire serue to two great and most notable purposes: whereof the first is, That by them the Grand Seignior, as with a bridle, keeps the rest of his subiects in euery part of his great Empire in awe, so that they cannot so soon moue, but that they shall haue these his Timariots as falcons in their neckes; for to that purpose they are dispersed all ouer his dominion and Empire. The other vse of them (and no lesse profitable than the former) is, that out of them he is alwaies able to draw into the field an hundred and fifty thousand horsemen well armed, ready to goe whithersoever hee shall commaund them: with all whom he is not at one farthing charge. Which so great a power of horsemen cannot continually be maintained for lesse than fourteene millions of Iuekats yearely. Wherefore it is to be maruelled, that some comparing the Turkes revenues with the Christians, make no mention of this so great a part of the *Othoman* Emperors wealth and strength, seruing him first for the suppressing of all such tumults as might arise in his Empire, and then as a most principall strength of his continuall Warres, alwayes ready to serue him in his greatest expeditions. The number of these Timariot horsemen is now grown very great, takingly increase together with the Turkes Empire. It is reported, That *Amurat* the third, grandfather vnto *Achmat* that now reigneth, in his late warres against the Persian, subdued so much territoria as serued him to erect therein forty thousand Timariots; and appointed at Tauris a new Reccit, which was yearely worth vnto him a million of gold. These Timariots are in all accounted to bee seven hundred and nineteene thousand fighting men; of whom 35000 haue their dwelling in Europ, and 462000 in Asia and Africk.

The number of the Timariots.

B Besides these Timariots, the grand Seignior hath a great number of other horsemen vnto whom he giueth pay, which are his Spahi, Vlesagi, and Caspici of his Court, being indeed the nurseries and seminaries of the great officers and gouernours of his Empire; for from among them are ordinarily chosen the Sanzacks, which afterwards through their good defense or the Sultans great fauour, become Viziers, Beglerbega, and Bassa's, the chiefe rulers of that so mighty a monarchy.

The Spahi, Vlesagi, and Caspici.

C He hath also stil in his army a great multitude of other horsemen, called *Acanzj*, being indeed but rural clowns, yet for certain priuiledges which they haue, are bound to goe vnto the wars, being euen of the Turkes themselves accounted of small worth or value in comparison of the Timariots. Hee receiueh great aid also from the Tartar in his wars, as also from the Valachians and Moldauians (vntil that by the example of the *Transylvanians*, they to the great benefit of the rest of that side of Christendom revolted from him) all which are to be accounted as the Romans *Auxiliarij*, that is to say, such as come to aid and assist him. And thus much for his horsemen.

The Acanzj.

D Another great part of his strength consisteth in his footmen, and especially in his *Ianizaries*: in whom two things are to be considered, their Nation, and discipline in Armes. Concerning their Nation, such of the *Azmozglans* as are born in Asia are not ordinarily inrolled in the number of the *Ianizaries*, but such as are borne in Europ, for they of Asia are accounted more effeminate, as they haue been alwaies, more ready to fly than to fight. Whereas the people of Europ haue euen in the East been accounted for braver and more valiant soldiers, hauing there to their immortal glory, set vp the notable trophies of their most glorious victories. The soldiers of Asia be called *Turkes*, after the name of their Nation, and not of their Countrey, (no countrey being indeed so properly called) and they of Europe, *Romi*, that is to say, *Romani*, or Romans; as the Countrey, especially about *Constantinople*, is called by the name of *Rum*. Ili, that is, the Roman Countrey, as it was in ancient time, of the notable Roman Colonies therein, knowne by the name of *Romania*. Now as concerning their discipline, such male children are culled out from the Christians, as in whom appeareth the greatest signes of strength, activity, and courage; for these three qualities are in a soldier especially required. This choice is made euery third yeare, except necessitie inforce it to bee made sooner; as it happened in the late Persian Warre, wherein not onely oftner choice was made, but they were glad to vse the *Azmozglans* also, a thing neuer before by them done. But those Youths (the Children of Christian parents) being by them that haue taken them

The Ianizaries.

A briefe Discourse of

the sea coast from Vex (or as some call it Belis) De Gomera, or more truly to say, from the River Muluis (the bounder of the Kingdom of Fez) euen vnto the Arabian Gulfe, or Red Sea Eastward, except some few places vpon the riuaige of the sea, holden by the king of Spain; viz. Mesfalcabit, Melilla, Oran, and Pennon: and from Alexandria Northward vnto the city of Afa, called of old Seine, Southward in which space are contained the famous Kingdomes of Tremizen, Algiers, Tunes, and Ægypt, with diuers other great Cities and Prouinces. In Asia all is his from the streits of Hellespontus Westward, vnto the great city of Tauris Eastward: and from Derbent neer vnto the Caspian Sea Northward, vnto Adena vpon the Gulfe of Arabia Southward. The greatnesse of this his Empire may the better be conceiued by the greatnesse of some parts thereof: the Meere of Meotis, which is all at the Turkish Emperors command, being in compasse a thousand miles; and the Euxine or Blacke Sea in circuit two thousand and seuen hundred; and the Mediterranean coast which is subiect vnto him containing in compasse about eight thousand miles. But to speake of his whole territory together, he goeth in his owne dominion from Tauris to Buda, about three thousand two hundred miles. The like distance is from Derbent vnto Adena. From Balsera vpon the Persian Gulfe vnto Tremisena in Barbarie, are accounted little lesse than foure thousand miles. Hee hath also, in the Sea the most noble Islands of Cyprus, Euboea, Rhodus, Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and others of the Archipelago. In this so large and spacious an Empire are contained many great and large countries, sometime most famous Kingdomes, abounding withall manner of worldly blessings and natures store: For what Kingdome or countrey is more fruitfull than Ægypt, Syria, and a great part of Asia? What countrey more wealthfull or more plentifull of all good things, than was sometime Hungarie, Grecia, and Thracia? In which countries he hath also many rich and famous Cities, but especially foure, which bee of greatest wealth and trade; namely Constantinople, Caire, Aleppo, and Tauris. Constantinople for multitude of people exceedeth all the Cities of Europe, wherein are deemed to be aboue seuen hundred thousand men, which if it be so, is almost equal to two such Cities as Paris in France. Aleppo is the greatest City of Syria, and as it were the centre whereunto all the merchandise of Asia repaire. Tauris, of late the Royall seat of the Persian Kings, and one of the greatest Cities of that Kingdome, from whom it was in this our age taken by *Amurath* the third, hath in it aboue two hundred thousand men. Caire amongst all the Cities of Africa is the chief, leauing all others farre behinde it (although that some make the City of Cano equall vnto it in greatnesse) being as it were the store-house not of Ægypt onely, and of a great part of Africa, but of India also; the riches whereof being brought by the Red Sea to Sues, and from thence vpon Camels to Caire, and so downe the riuer Nilus to Alexandria, are thence dispersed into these Westerne parts: albeit that this rich trade hath of late time been much impaired, and so like more to be; the Christians (especially the Portugals) traffiquing into the East-Indies, and by the vast Ocean transporting the rich commodities of those Easterne Countries into the West, to the great hinderance of the Grand Signior his customes in Caire.

The foure chief cities for trade in the Turke Empire.

Handwritten scribbles or initials.

Handwritten scribbles or initials.

The *Ottoman* government in this his so great an empire is altogether like the government of the Master ouer his slaue, and indeed more tyrannicall: for the great Sultan is so absolute a Lord of all things within the compasse of his empire, that all his subiects and people, be they neuer so great, do call themselves his slaues, and not his subiects: neither hath any man power ouer himselfe, much lesse is hee Lord of the house wherein hee dwelleth, or of the land which hee tilleth, except some few families in Constantinople, to whom some few such things were by way of reward, and vpon especiall fauor giuen by *Mahomet* the second, at such time as hee won the same. Neither is any man in that empire so great, or yet so far in fauor with the great Sultan, as that he can assure himselfe of his life, much lesse of his present fortune or state, longer than it pleaseth the Sultan. In which so absolute a souerainity (by any free borne people not to be endured) the tyrant preferueth himselfe by two most speciall means: first, by taking off all armes from his naturall subiects, and then by putting the same and all things else concerning the state and government thereof into the hands of the Apostata or Renegate Christians, whom for most part, euery third, fourth, or fift yeare (or oftner if his need so require) bectaketh in their childhood from their miserable parents as his tenths or tribute children.

Whereby

the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire.

- A** Whereby he gaineth two great commodities: first, for that in so doing he spoyleth the Provinces, hee most feareth, of the floure, sinues, and strength of the people, choice being still made of the strongest youths, and fittest for war: then, for that with these as with his owne creatures he armeth himselfe, and by them assureth his state; for they in their childhoode taken from their parents laps, and deliuered in charge to one or other appointed for that purpose, quickly and before they be aware become Mahometans; and so no more acknowledging father or mother, depend wholly on the great Sultan; who to make vse of them, both feeds them and fosters them, at whose hands onely they looke for all things, and whom alone they thanke for all. Of which fry so taken from their Christian parents (the onely feminarie of his state) some become horsemen, some footmen, and so in time the greatest Commanders of his state and Empire next vnto himselfe; the naturall Turks in the meane time giuing themselves wholly vnto the trade of merchandise, and other their mechanical occupations; or else to the feeding of cattell, their most antient and naturall vocation, not intermedling at all with matters of government or state. So that if vnto these his souldiers, all of the Christian race, you ioyne also his fleet and money, you haue as it were the whole strength of his Empire: for in these foure, his horsemen, his footmen, his fleet and money, especially consisteth his great force and power: whereof to speake more particularly, and first concerning his money: it is commonly thought, that his ordinary reueneue exceedeth not eight millions of gold: and albeit that it might seeme, that he might of so large an Empire receive a far greater reueneue, yet doth hee not, for that both hee and his men of warre (in whose power all things are) haue their greatest and almost onely care vpon armes, fitter by nature to waite and destroy countries, than to preserue and enrich them: infomuch that for the preseruation of their armies, and furtherance of their expeditions (euery yeare to do) they most grieuouly spoyle euen their own peopled and Provinces whereby they passe, scarce leauing them necessaries wherewith to liue: so that the subiects despairing to enioy the fruits of the earth, much lesse the riches which by their industrie and labour they might get vnto themselves, do now no further endeavour themselves either to husbandrie or traffique than they needs must, yea, than very necessity it selfe inforceth them. For to what end aualleth it to sow that another man must reape? or to reape that which another man is ready to deuoure? Whereupon it cometh, that in the territories of the *Othoman* country, yea euen in the most fruitfull countries of Macedonia and Greece are seen great forrests, all euey where wast, few cities well peopled, and the greatest part of those countries lying desolate and desart: so that husbandry (in all well ordered commonweales the Princes greatest store) decaying, the earth neither yeeldeth her increase vnto the painefull husbandman, neither the matter vnto the artificer, neither the artificer wares to furnish the Merchant with, all together with the plough running into ruine and decay: As for the trade of merchandise, it is almost all in the hands of the *Iewes*, or the Christians of Europe, *vis.* the *Ragusians*, *Venetians*, *Genowaies*, *French*, or *English*; the naturall Turks hauing therein the least to do, holding in that their so large an Empire no other famous Cities for trade, more than the foure above named, *vis.* *Constantinople*, *Tauris*, *Aleppo* and *Caire*: whereunto may be added *Cassa* and *Thessalonica* in Europe; *Damascus*, *Tripolis*, and *Aden* in Asia; *Alexandria* and *Algiers* in Africke. In our countries here in this West part of Europe, of the abundance of people oftentimes ariseth dearth; but in many parts of the Turks dominions, for want of men to manure the ground, most part of the poore country people drawne from their owne dwellings, being enforced with victuals and other necessities to follow their great armies in their long expeditions, of whom scarce one of ten euer returne home to their dwellings againe, there by the way perishing, if not by the enemies sword, yet by the wants, the intemperatenesse of the aire, or immoderate paines taking. But to come neerer to our purpose, although the great Turks ordinary reueneues bee no greater than is foresaid, yet are his extraordinarie escheats to be greatly accounted of, especially his confiscations, forfeitures, fines, amerciaments (which are right many) his tributes, customs paythes and tenths of all preyes taken by sea or land, with diuers other such like, far exceeding his standing and certaine reueneue: his *Bassas* and other his great Officers like rauening *Harpies* as it were sucking out the blood of his poore subiects, and heaping vp inestimable treasures, which for the most part fall againe into the *Grand Signior* his coffers. *Ibrahim Vizier*
Bassa

The Turkish ordinary reueneues.

vpbrought to Constantinople, are taken view of by the Aga of the Janizaries, who causeth to
 be registered the name of the youth, and the name of his father and the country wherein hee
 was born. Which done, part of them are sent into the lesser Asia (now called Natofia) and
 other provinces; where learning the Turkish language and law, they are infected with the vi-
 cious manners of them with whom they live; and so in short time become true Mahome-
 tant. Another part of them; and those of the most towardliest, is divided into Cloisters
 which the grand Seignior hath at Constantinople and Pera, of whom the fairest and most
 handsome are appointed for the Seraglio of the great Sultan himselfe. All the time that
 these Youths thus sent abroad live in the lesser Asia, or other the Turkes provinces, they are
 not appointed to any certain exercises but still kept busied; some at husbandry, some in garden-
 ing, some in building, some in other domestical services, never suffered to be idle, but alwaies
 occupied in painful labor; where after certain years they have bin thus inured to labour and
 pains taking, they are called into the Cloisters of the Azamoglan (for so they are called all
 the time until they be imolled into the number of the Janizaries) and are there delivred vnto
 certain speciall Governours appointed to take charge of them; who keep them still exercised
 in painfull works and labours, increasing them euill enough, as well in their dyer, as in their
 apparrell and lodgings; they sleep together in large roomes, like vnto the religious Dormito-
 ries, wherein are Lampes still burning, and Turors attending, without whose leave they may
 not stime out of their places. There they learn to shoot both in the bow and peece, the vse of
 the Scimitor, with many feats of a skiville; and being well trained in those exercises, are in-
 stalled amongst the Janizaries and Spahis, of whom the Janizaries receive no lesse than five
 aspers, nor more than eight for their daily pay, and the Spahis ten. Being recorded amongst
 the Janizaries, they are either sent away into the wars, or into some Garrison, or else attend at
 the Court. The Court haue for their dwelling three great places like vnto three Monasteries
 in the City of Constantinople: There they live vnder their Governours to them deputed,
 the yongers with great obedience and silence serving the elder; in buying of things for
 them, in dressing their yeats, and such like services. They that be of one feat or calling live
 together at one table, and sleep in long walks. If any of them vpon occasion chance to lie
 all night abroad without leave, the next morning he is notably beaten, with such nurture and
 discipline, that after his beating he like an Ape kisseth the Governours hands that so corre-
 cted him. These Janizaries haue many large priuiledges, are honoured, although they be
 most insensible, and are feared of all men; yea euen of the grand Sultan himselfe; who is still
 glad to make, haire wear, bow, or them; in their expeditions and trauels they rob the poore
 Christians of their goods, who wait not say one word to the contrary. When they buy
 anything, they fight for it, and when they sell, they sell it themselves; they can be iudged by none but their
 Aga, neither can they be executed without danger of an insurrection; and therefore such exe-
 cutions are very seldom done, and that very secretly. They haue a thousand royalties: some of
 them are appointed to the keeping of Embassadours sent from forreine princes; other some
 becom the assigned to accompany Strangers Travellers, especially them that be men of the
 better sort; and the better they may safely passe in the Turkes dominions, for which service they
 are comonly well rewarded. They haue made choice of their prince, namely Selimus the first,
 his father Bajazet yet living; neither do any of the Turke Sultans account themselves fully in-
 vested in the Imperiall dignitie, or a state of their estate, vntill they be by them approved
 and proclaimed. Euen so one of their Sultans at his first coming to the Empire doth giue
 them some great largesse, and honor, and the better to please them, increaseth also their pay.
 In every great expedition some of them goe forth with their Aga or his Lieutenant, and are
 the best of all the fight. There is no office among the Turkes that moe enuy at, than at the of-
 fice of the Aga of the Janizaries; for the greatnesse of his authoritie and command; onely he
 and the Beglarbeg of Ouedin shall not their owne Lieutenant, but haue them nominated vnto
 them by the grand Signior. Who is his great man the Aga of the Janizaries nothing can por-
 tant and be certain de strudions that to be of them beloved; for then is he of the great Sultan
 away seized or mistrusted, and strudion fought to take him out of the way. The num-
 ber of the court Janizaries is betwixt six and seuen thousand. This warlike Order of souldiers is
 in these our daies much beloved, for soe naturall Turkes are taken in for Janizaries, as are af-

... 145 ... 147

... 147 ... 148

... 148

The Janizaries great priuiledges.

... 148

G

H

I

K

L

M

fo

the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire.

- A** [o the people of Asia; whereas in former times none were admitted into that Order but the Christians of Europe only; beside that, they marry wiues also, contrary to their ancient custome, which is not now forbidden them. And because of their long lying still at Constantinople (a city abounding with all manner of pleasure) they are become much more effeminate and sloathfull, but withall most insolent, or more truely to say, intolletable. It is commonly reported, the strength of the Turkish Empire to consist in this Order of the Ianizaries: which is not altogether so; for albeit that they be indeed the Turks best footmen, and furest gard of the great Sultans person, yet vndoubtedly the greatest strength of his state and empire resteth nothing so much in them, as in the great multitude of his horsmen, especially his Timariors. Beside these Ianizaries, the Turkish Emperour hath a great number of base footmen, whom **B** the Turks call *Asapi*, better acquainted with the spade than with the sword, seruing rather to the wearying of their enemies with their multitude, than the vanquishing of them with their valour: with whose dead bodies the Ianizaries vse to fill vp the ditches of towns besieged, or to serue them for ladders to clime ouer the enemies walls ypon. But as the Romans had both their old Legionary, and other vnttrained souldiers which they called *Tirones*; of whom the first were the chiefe strength of their wars, and the other but as it were an ayd and supply: euen so the Turke accounteth his *Timariot* horsmen the strength of his army, and the *Acanzij* (which is another sort of base and common horsmen) but as an accessory: and so amongst his footmen he esteemeth of his Ianizaries, as did the Romans of the *Prætorian* legions, but of his *Asapi* as of shadows. The Ianizaries are by none to be commanded, more than by the great Sultan himselfe, and their *Aga*: as for the *Bassias*, they much regard them not, but in their rage of ostentimes soule entreat euen the greatest of them. The *Asapi*, as they are but base and common souldiers, so haue they also their ordinary captains and commanders, men of no great place or marke.

The whole state of the great Empire of the Turks is commanded by the great Sultan, by the graue aduice and counsell of the *Vizier Bassias*, which were not wont to be in number above foure, so prouiding for the secrecy of his high designs or important resolutions, hardly by a great multitude to be concealed: howbeit that the Sultans of later time haue had sometimes moe, sometimes fewer, as their pleasure was. These men are of all others in that Empire the greatest, and for their high places most honoured: vnto them euen the greatest Princes that haue any thing to do in the Turks court, sue and fend their honourable presents. By their aduice the great Sultan taketh his war in hand, neither without them concludeth he any peace. They giue audience vnto the *Embassadours* of forreine Princes, who from them receiue their dispatch. The greatest honors and preferments (which are many in that so great and large an Empire) are all by their means to be obtained: which maketh them of all others to be sought vnto. Some one or other of them are still *Generals* ouer the great armies of the Turks, especially in those their late wars, their three last Emperors neuer themselues going forth into the field (excepting once that *Mahomet* the third for the maintenance of his credit with his men of war, came downe into Hungary, and there won the city of *Agria*): which loading of such mighty armies is still with great emulation and ambition of the *Vizier Bassias* amongst themselves fought after, as well for the great profit thereby vnto them arising, as for the honour thereof, which is of all other the greatest. But leauing these great ones, the chiefe counsellors for his state; the whole body of his so large and mighty an Empire (all in the hands of martall men) is governed by other great *Bassias*, whom they by a most proud barbarous name call *Beglerbegs*, that is to say, *Lords of Lords*, euery one of them hauing vnder him certaine *Begs* or *Sanzacks*, who are lords and rulers also ouer some particular Cities and Countries, with the *Timariors* therein; yet all still at the command and backe of their *Beglerbeg*. In ancient time there was wont to be but two of these proud *Beglerbegs* in all the Turks Empire: the one commanding ouer all the Prouinces the Turke had in Europe; and the other ouer all that he had in the lesser Asia, now of the Turks called *Natolia*. But the Turkish Empire greatly augmented in Asia by *Selimus* the first, and also afterward much enlarged both in Europe and Asia by *Sulymus* his son, the number of the *Beglerbegs* were by him increased, and in some sort also changed: who although that they be all *Beglerbegs*, and that one of them (especially in the time of peace) in the managing of his soldiers, and affaires

The great and
matters of the
Turke Empire

THE INFLUENCE OF
FIREARMS UPON TACTICS.

"HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL INVESTIGATIONS
BY AN OFFICER OF SUPERIOR RANK."

Friedrich Karl, prince of Prussia
"

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

J. E. Hoffmann?

BY CAPT. E. H. WICKHAM, R.A.

15.17
9483



HENRY S. KING & Co., LONDON.
1876.

MILITARY WORKS.

- Minor Tactics.** By Captain C. CLERY, 32nd Light Infantry, Professor of Tactics, Royal Military College, Sandhurst. Twenty-six maps. New and revised edition. Demy 8vo., cloth, price 16s.
- Studies in Leading Troops.** By Colonel VON VERDY DU VERNOIS. An Authorised and Accurate Translation by Lieutenant H. J. T. HILDYARD, 71st Foot. Parts I. and II. Demy 8vo., cloth, price 7s. 6d.
- Hasty Intrenchments.** By Colonel A. BRIALMONT. Translated by Lieutenant CHARLES A. EMPSON, R.A. Nine plates. Demy 8vo., cloth, price 6s.
- Elementary Military Geography. Reconnoitring and Sketching.** Compiled for Non-Commissioned Officers and Soldiers of all Arms. By Captain C. E. H. VINCENT. Small crown 8vo., cloth, price 2s. 6d.
- Studies in the New Infantry Tactics.** Parts I. and II. By Major W. VON SCHERFF. Translated by Colonel LUMLEY GRAHAM. Demy 8vo., cloth, price 7s. 6d.
- The Frontal Attack of Infantry.** By Captain LAYMANS, Instructor of Tactics at the Military College, Neisse. Translated by Colonel EDWARD NEWDIGATE. Crown 8vo., cloth, price 2s. 6d.
- Austrian Cavalry Exercise.** From an abridged edition compiled by Captain ILLIA WOJNOVITS, of the General Staff, and Prefaced by a General Sketch of the Organisation, etc., of the Cavalry. Translated by Captain W. S. COOKE. Crown 8vo., cloth, price 7s.
- The Volunteer, the Militiaman, and the Regular Soldier.** By a PUBLIC SCHOOLBOY. Crown 8vo., cloth, price 5s.
- Tactical Deductions from the War of 1870-71.** By Captain A. VON BOGUSLAWSKI. Translated by Colonel LUMLEY GRAHAM. Third edition. Demy 8vo., cloth, price 7s.
- Victories and Defeats.** An attempt to explain the Causes which have led to them. An Officer's Manual. By Colonel R. P. ANDERSON. Demy 8vo., cloth, price 14s.
- Operations of the German Engineers, 1870-71.** By Captain A. VON GOETZE. Six maps, 8vo., cloth, price 21s.
- Russia's Advance Eastward.** By Captain C. E. H. VINCENT, F.R.G.S. Based on the Official Reports of Lieutenant HUGO STUMM, German Military Attaché to the Khivan Expedition. Crown 8vo., cloth, price 6s.
- Operations of the South Army in January and February, 1871.** Compiled from the Official War Documents of the Head-Quarters of the Southern Army. By Colonel VON WARTENSLEBEN. Translated by Colonel C. H. VON WRIGHT. With maps. Demy 8vo., cloth, price 6s.
- Operations of the First Army under General von Steinmetz.** By Major VON SCHELL. Translated by Captain E. O. HOLLIST. Demy 8vo., cloth, price 10s. 6d.
- Operations of the First Army under General von Manteuffel.** By Colonel VON WARTENSLEBEN, Chief of the Staff of the First Army. Translated by Colonel VON WRIGHT. Demy 8vo., cloth, price 9s.
- Operations of the First Army under General von Goeben.** By Major VON SCHELL. Translated by Colonel C. H. VON WRIGHT. Four maps. Demy 8vo., cloth, price 9s.
- Operations of the German Armies in France, from Sedan to the End of the War, 1870-71.** With a large official map. From the Journals of the Head-Quarters' Staff. By Major WILLIAM BLUME. Translated by Major E. M. JONES. Demy 8vo., cloth, price 9s.
- The German Artillery in the Battles near Metz.** Based on Official Reports. By Captain HOPFFRAUER, Instructor in the German Artillery and Engineer School. Translated by Captain E. O. HOLLIST. With map and plans. Demy 8vo., cloth, price 21s.
- The Operations of the Bavarian Army Corps.** By Captain HUGO HELVIG. Translated by Captain G. S. SCHWABE. Two Vols., five maps. Demy 8vo., cloth, price 24s.
- The Army of the North German Confederation.** A Brief Description of its Organisation, of the Different Branches of the Service and their "Rôle" in War, of its Mode of Fighting, etc. By a Prussian General. Translated from the German by Colonel EDWARD NEWDIGATE. Demy 8vo., cloth, price 5s.
- Mountain Warfare.** Illustrated by the Campaign of 1799 in Switzerland. By Major-General SHADWELL, C.B. With appendix, maps, and introductory remarks. Demy 8vo., cloth, price 16s.

HENRY S. KING & CO., LONDON.

place, its method of fighting was similar in every respect to that of the English. The Bohemians used high shields, pointed stakes, iron-shod flails and pikes, with which they took up a position, and indulged in hurling missiles from it at their pleasure. By far the greater part of the infantry consisted of archers, cross-bowmen, and hand-guns, and who were formed up behind this screen of shields. The assailant might also avail himself of the wagon fortification, and was in fact obliged to do so if he wished to profit by the fire of his weapons; for up to the middle of the fifteenth century firearms were only carried on the wagons. But if the assailant wished to storm the hostile wagon fortification, then infantry was a *sine quâ non*, in order to effect an entrance into it, and pave the way for the cavalry. Infantry was just as necessary to the defender as to the assailant. Another circumstance arose, owing to which the introduction of infantry was facilitated to a greater extent than would have been the case had it been alone due to tactical exigency. The feudal system had shown itself both in the French and English wars, as also elsewhere, viz., in the Hussite war, as being totally incapable of providing for the defence of the country, still less was it suited for aggressive war. Mercenaries were everywhere employed. Moreover the growing sovereignty of the princes and the greater diffusion of money favoured this system.

In Italy, where the feudal system had never taken firm root, mercenaries had been for several centuries the only soldiers. France and Burgundy emancipated themselves by the introduction of the ordnance companies, in quite another manner from that of the feudal system. They also employed numerous mercenaries. In Germany, after the Hussite war, the country swarmed with numerous bands of mercenaries, both horse and foot, who turned the scale in all the affairs between the princes and the towns, and were of the greatest importance, especially under Mathias of Hungary, and in the Prussian civil wars.

The enlisted infantry soldier had become the prince's servant, and found therein a counterpoise against the arrogance of the

knights; the latter moreover, as we have shown, could no longer dispense with infantry.

The extraordinary progress which artillery made in the second half of the fifteenth century, both technically, as regards the construction of the barrels, as well as of the carriages, and, besides, by the introduction of iron shot, increased its effect upon the battlefield. The wagon fortifications could not withstand the effect of the *kartannen* and *schlangen*—names which were then given to the ordnance of that day—and they were no longer tenable. The dismounted English and French knights had to take to their horses again.

On the other hand, the facility which had been obtained in moving and working the ordnance permitted it to accompany the main body of the infantry.

The independence which, by this means, the infantry was now able to assume against the cavalry rendered the wagon fortification no longer indispensable for taking up a position, although it had a provisional value on the march, and in camp, owing to the protection which it gave to the flanks.

It is a notable fact that the Swiss were the first to disencumber themselves of it during their wars with the Burgundians. The strict discipline which the laws of their country imposed upon the Swiss, and which was due to the necessity for this mountainous people being ever on the *qui vive* against the neighbouring knights and the house of Hapsburg, made the Swiss especially suited to constitute the model by which the newly-created infantry should fashion itself. But it was more especially their manner of fighting, which was nothing more nor less than that of the old Germans, and was totally different from that of the English and Hussites.

Their armament, which consisted of halberds and long spears, with fighting swords and morning stars, without shield—the front ranks in armour, and their formation in deep masses—had, together with the mountainous country in which they fought, already made them dreaded by the knights. The ordnance

now enabled them to take to the plains, and to assume the offensive.

The small-arms (fire) which during the whole of the fifteenth century were quite secondary to the bow and the crossbow, at least as regards the rapidity with which they could be discharged, were of much less importance with regard to the capability for defence which they conferred. The Swiss made very little use of firearms: steel was the weapon alone suited to their formation in deep masses, and to their method of fighting. Towards the end of the century the proportion was 1:5.

It cannot therefore be said that it was owing to hand firearms that modern infantry owes its existence.

Owing to the results obtained by the Swiss in their Burgundian wars, the German foot mercenaries, who up till now had adopted the armament and manner of fighting peculiar to the Bohemians, adopted that of the Swiss, and the name "Landsknecht" was, shortly after, that by which they were called.*

They also dispensed with the wagon fortification during the disturbances in the Netherlands. The youthful Maximilian, subsequently Emperor of Germany, was their instructor; the Swiss and Venetian wars their schools. In the early wars of Charles V. and Francis I. they already outbid the Swiss, and were more in request than the latter. All Europe soon learnt to know them by sight. The attempt to create an infantry thoroughly capable and full of vitality in France failed, because nowhere had the feudal system taken firmer root, and it had excluded the people from the use of weapons. Bowmen alone had arrived at any perfection. France, therefore, was obliged to have recourse to the Swiss and to the "Landsknecht," whom they took into their pay.

* It was nevertheless more of an adventitious circumstance that the name "Landsknecht" was introduced at the time when a change took place in the nature of the men's armament. The title "Lanzknecht," or spearman, cannot be justified, as the word "Lanz," spear, was never used in Germany, and cotemporaries like Oliver de la Marche and Pirkheimer refer the expression explicitly to "Landsmann" (*compagnon de pays*) and servants of the land (flat land in the vicinity of the Swiss).

On the other hand, a nationality appeared towards the end of the fifteenth century which produced an infantry remarkable for its excellence. This was the Spaniards. The wars which had been waged for centuries against the Moors, and which had been principally carried on by the towns, had had the effect of creating an active and excellent infantry, which, soon after its first appearance in Italy, towards the end of the fifteenth century, assumed the armament and method of fighting peculiar to the Swiss.

At first their method of fighting reminds one of that of the Hussites, as they used shields, and short swords for close combat, and surrounded themselves with wagons in the shape of a fortification. The Italians also, in the Venetian wars, adopted the Swiss method of fighting, and tried to outdo them in the length of their spears.

At the close of the fifteenth century, therefore, the three arms, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, with which we shall be concerned by-and-by, had assumed a tangible form with regard to one another; and in the year 1528 a German author expresses this in the following striking words: "When a lord (*ein herr*) wishes to expend 300,000 florins on a war, he must give 100,000 for the mounted equipment, another 100,000 for the artillery (*artaleroy*), and the last 100,000 for the infantry."

Before we come to examine more closely the union of the three arms for fighting, it is necessary that we should examine each one separately. The exclusive arm of the Middle Ages, the cavalry, had during the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries undergone many phases in the course of their development, as they had to take into account the many alterations which we have partially touched upon above. At the close of the fifteenth century it was more heavily armed than it had ever been before, and each nationality had its own peculiar manner of fighting.

In Italy, during the second half of the fourteenth century, the national mercenaries had, under competent leaders (*Condottieri*), succeeded in clearing Italian ground from foreign hordes,

and had perfected a system of tactics, which, although its results had given rise to much ridicule, nevertheless contained the germ of the tactics of modern times.

Composed almost exclusively of bands of cavalry, caution formed the first consideration, both in their formations and in their fighting, consequently there were several divisions, each formed by a number of small bodies; these were successively employed, and the reserves were admirably brought into action at the proper moment. At the same time they had a superior armament.

Italy was the ground where the other nations studied and brought home progress in the armament of man and horse. The Condottieri had no need to fear contact with foreigners. The Armagnacs, as well as the German army of the Emperor Ruprecht, found them to be very superior as opponents, but in 1494 they went down before the combined arms of the modern army, consisting of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, like cards at the slightest touch.

In the fourteenth century the French cavalry found itself obliged to follow the English method of fighting, and to dismount in order to fight in conjunction with the bowmen. By the creation of the ordnance companies under Louis VII., they became a standing corps, and had a more fixed organisation. It appears that it was only after that time that they made use of the shallow formation which French authors declared to have been the case some time previously, although there was not the slightest foundation for such a statement. It was undoubtedly the ordnance which necessitated this formation, after it had made their method of fighting on foot quite impossible.

The formation consisted in this, that the head spearman (*chef der lanze*), the gensdarme, was put in the front rank, and behind him came the men-at-arms belonging to him, so long as they were not bowmen.

The mounted bowmen fought separately, generally in the advance. The number of ranks of men-at-arms would not therefore have been more than three or four.

The squadron consisted originally of 100 lances, which were later on subdivided into half and quarter squadrons of fifty and twenty-five lances. Companies of 100 lances were reserved for royal princes alone.

The French liked fighting with a very extended front, and had therefore seldom more than two lines of battle. Charles the Bold alone, had four lines behind one another.

In contradistinction to the shallow formation of the French, the German cavalry were formed up in deep masses having a point in front, and only after the time of the Emperor Maximilian were they formed into square bodies with the same number of ranks as files.

Charles V. was the first to assume a normal depth of twenty ranks, but it appears to have been only in the Spanish cavalry, for the Germans fought in deeper formation.

The heavily-armoured men constituted the point and surrounded the flanks, the ordinary horsemen were in between. The apex was blunted, so that the first rank consisted of three, five, or seven spearmen (heavily armoured), according to the size of the whole body, and the succeeding ranks increased successively by two files up to a certain limit, when the remaining ranks contained an equal number of files.

They were likewise reckoned according to the number of the *kyrissers*, as the spearmen were called before the time of Maximilian; before this, according to the number of helmets or spears. The size of these bodies varied, but 100 spearmen appears to have been the normal number. The *ordonnance* companies of Maximilian were of the same strength, consisting of four standards, each composed of twenty-five *kyrissers*. As there were seven mounted men to each *kyrisser*, the standard (*fahne*) had a strength of 200 horsemen. There were also an extra standard with a strength of 250 horses which constituted an advanced guard. The bodies of horse were consequently 800—1000 strong.

We know from Kongspergen that many more than four stan-

dards were joined together in one body, as was likewise the case with the bodies of "Landsknechts." We know, as a guide to the proportion of these bodies, that a *rottmeister* or file leader was appointed to each fifty horses. Consequently each body would correspond to 2500 horses.

In the time of Maximilian every "kyrisser" had a mounted arquebusier assigned to him. In Germany the crossbowmen were quite abolished, whereas the archers remained for a long time as part of the French army, as was also the case with their infantry.

The German cavalry fought in three, sometimes in four, divisions during the whole course of the Middle Ages. Nothing certain is known as to the distance between these divisions. In every case it was very small. If the armies were small, as was usually the case, each division consisted of one of these bodies. With larger armies each division consisted of several of these bodies.

It was the rule for the advance to be made by divisions, and to allow the first one to fight until it was exhausted, and then to relieve it by the following one. The former then retired to the wagon fortification, which was in the rear, and there it reformed its ranks, and adjusted itself rapidly into its proper order. Good generals kept a reserve in hand which did not take a part in the above method of fighting. This custom had been introduced during the Crusades.

After the infantry of the Swiss and of the German "Landsknechten" had, towards the end of the fifteenth century, definitely adopted the plan of fighting in deep masses, and had become an integral part of the army, they also formed themselves into three divisions, each consisting of a separate body, to which a troop of cavalry was attached.

These divisions were formed up very close together, in such a manner, however, that the hind ones could pass the front ones; the cavalry were posted on the flanks.

The number of files and of ranks in these bodies of infantry

was equal, their depth therefore was greater than their breadth.

After the Spaniards and the Italians had assumed the Swiss formation, they made the bodies square, so far as the ground allowed, so that the relation between the number of the ranks and that of the files was as 3:7.

The number of musqueteers at the time of the Italian wars, on the commencement of the sixteenth century, was a very small one. The banneret of 400 "Landsknechts" had only fifty arquebusiers at the time of Maximilian, whilst with the Swiss their number was never more than a fifth of those who carried steel arms. The higher commands consisted of ten such bannerets, so that these may be looked upon as forming a tactical unit, and comprised a body of 4000 men, 500 of whom were musqueteers. This number of the latter was sufficient to enable the front and flanks to be covered with from three to four ranks; five was the maximum. When the cavalry attacked them, they were obliged to take refuge in the ranks of the pikemen. The barrel of the arquebuse was still very short, but it had a sort of matchlock provided with a simple touchhole. When taking aim the habit of laying the butt against the cheek had begun to come into practice. No attempt had as yet been made to organise either the infantry or the cavalry into regiments.

The bannerets were united together into bodies as circumstances required, and these consisted of 4000, 8000, and even more.

The artillery was posted close round the infantry, as their most essential support. In order that it might possess mobility, it could only consist of the lightest calibres (falconettes and large arquebuses mounted on wheels). We must consider it as quite exceptional when even guns of large calibre were employed in battle, and it was rarer still that the artillery, as at Ravenna, freed itself from its close connection with the infantry, and was used to take the enemy in flank. Although very slow

when firing, its effect upon the deep masses of the infantry and cavalry was fearful. The formation of three divisions in the small armies, which appear to have been the rule at the end of the fifteenth and commencement of the sixteenth centuries, caused the front to have too small an extension, so that these divisions often deployed when the cavalry filled up the intervals between them. The vanguard (*avantgarde*) then formed the right wing, the main body (*bataille*) the centre, the rear guard (*arrière-garde*) the left wing. In this fashion the modern army may be said to have come into existence, but it was in a very clumsy manner; nevertheless this was due in a great extent to the peculiar circumstances of the times. It was useless for the critic, by means of the old writers, to recommend anything better. The universal adoption of these systems showed that under the existing conditions they alone were the right ones, although the most incongruous elements were concealed in them. A heavily-armoured cavalry, an infantry having a bad deep formation, was opposed to artillery which was becoming every day more formidable. Nevertheless the cavalry could not dispense with its heavy armour, as it was necessary in order to cope successfully with the infantry; and the deep formation of the latter was necessary in order to withstand the cavalry. The next object of the attack was therefore to render the hostile artillery harmless, which was done by hurling a forlorn hope against it in order to capture it. The fight then became a severe struggle with the steel arm of one body against that of the other. The assailant had undoubtedly, since the improvement in firearms, great difficulties to overcome. He was compelled to develop his attack at greater distances from the enemy, and the heavily armoured men were obliged to traverse great distances, in order to reach the enemy, when they were generally fatigued by their exertions. Usually the defender did not wait for him, as the unruly mercenaries would not remain steady in the face of the hostile artillery fire, but rushed to the attack against the wishes of their commanding officers.

We shall now see that the improvement in the system of tactics hinges itself upon the improvement of small-arms, as the latter, at first still under the protection of the pikemen, became more and more formidable to the cavalry, later on no longer required the support of the pikes, and finally almost excluded cavalry from taking a part in tactics, whilst almost all the infantry systems were sufficient to keep off the cavalry.

Of just as great importance was the effect which the use of the small-arm exercised upon the cavalry itself, as during the course of the sixteenth century it appears to have almost usurped the place of the steel arm in that branch, and made their formation and tactical employment entirely dependent upon it. This lasted until the infantry, on its side, completely ignored the steel arm (line tactics).

The cavalry became, by this means, again for a time the predominantly deciding arm, until the infantry had discovered new methods of formation which assigned the steel weapon to its true place.

Artillery, on the contrary, had exercised very little influence on the system of tactics; on the other hand, it had gained great influence on the conduct of the fight, as in the hand of the general it was the instrument which was the most to be depended upon.

Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

WE have become acquainted with the important part which the infantry firearm played at the commencement of the sixteenth century. Progress in the manufacture of the powder, which was now corned for the musket; the introduction of a better kind of gun-lock, with a slow-match as the means of ignition; increased length of the bore, &c., caused the musket to become by degrees an efficient weapon of war; and in the Spaniards we find an infantry force who knew how to make the best use of it in battle.

These alterations appear for the first time when the wars between Charles V. and Francis I. broke out. Crossbow and longbow completely disappeared. Fighting in extended order

received a greater development, and enriched tactics with some essentially new expedients.

The importance of taking advantage of the ground was thoroughly realised, and increased the advantages of the defence to an extraordinary extent. Under otherwise similar circumstances, upon the "disposition" alone—*i.e.* the choice and judicious occupation of the position—depended the victory. What was meant by an unassailable position began to be understood.

The assailant found that neither in his still very clumsy artillery, nor in the extended order of fighting of his arquebusiers and musketeers, had he the means for succeeding in his attack, and was, owing to the heavy armament and deep formation, hampered in his movements to the greatest extent.

The artillery, owing to the great development of hand firearms, fell into the background, and was neglected. One gun at the most was considered sufficient for 1000 men, and the question was raised whether it would not be better to dispense with the guns entirely in the field. At all events, the deep formation of the pikemen continued in force in spite of them during the whole course of the sixteenth century.

The hand firearms increased with each decade, so that at the end of the sixteenth century they became as numerous as the pikes. The musketeers were partly distributed on the flanks of the bodies of pikemen, but the greater number constituted themselves as skirmishers in separate bodies at the four corners of the square of pikes, from whence they carried on a skirmishing fight.

The Romance nations evince in this latter respect a decided superiority over the German ones, but as the final result remained in a great measure dependent upon the pikes, and as the Germans moreover were unsurpassed in the close order of their mass-formation, the German mercenaries were in universal request. The German mercenary element was consequently developed to an extraordinary degree, all the European States availed themselves of it. This avowed fact, *viz.*, that it is only when fire-fighting is immediately connected with the shock that

follows it that its true value appears, and which is as much in force to-day as then, may be stated as a further instance of it.

The great numerical increase of the musketeers, and their inability to defend themselves against cavalry, rendered it necessary that measures should be taken to give them adequate protection against the attacks of the latter. Consequently the wagon fortifications again played an important role at the close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, and other mechanical means were also tried. Real progress, however, lay in the alteration of the tactical methods of the infantry, which must be such as to enable the pikes and the musketeers, by mutually protecting one another, to withstand the cavalry.

The clumsy deep formation of the pikes was altered into a hollow one, and in order to make it more flexible, both for moving and handling, the parts which constituted the sides were formed into independent battalions. The space between these smaller bodies was intended to receive the musketeers when they fled before the cavalry. As the depth of these bodies was diminished, and as the flank battalions were allowed to close in upon one another, and were used as a second division, an extension of front was gained. The rear battalion of the hollow square then constituted the third line, or when several such squares were combined together it might be entirely dispensed with.

It was also now no longer considered necessary to adhere rigidly to these hollow squares. In general it was found quite sufficient to place the battalions *en echiquier*.

In the formations which Prince Maurice of Orange made use of these new methods appear to have become thoroughly developed. He formed advanced guard, main body, and rear guard, each of some four or five small battalions, in the above formation, which, while each division moved up by their left into battle, thus constituted a fighting formation of two to three lines.

In case the ground did not permit of this deployment, so to

speak, the three divisions stood one behind the other at division distance, so that the first line was formed by the advanced guard, the second by the main body or "bataille," the third by the rear guard. In each line the centre battalions, when there were four of them, were somewhat advanced; the rear ones, which would have completed the square formed by each division, dispensed with.

Gustavus Adolphus, likewise abandoning the system of having a hollow space surrounded with battalions, by connecting several such units together, next made use of the three lines system; and later he adopted a complete line formation, with cavalry on the wings. The centre battalion in each division (brigade) was somewhat advanced. There was no longer any talk of having a fighting disposition, consisting of advanced guard, main body, and rear guard, but of lines, with right and left wings.

The French adopted the Dutch forms without reserve, but soon took up the line formation. Since the time of Henry IV. there were some standing regiments, a feature common to France, Spain, and Turkey alone. The wars of the Huguenots had stirred up the warlike spirit of the French nation; and Louis XIII., owing to his partiality for infantry, understood how to improve this arm. "Puysegars octagon" was nothing else than a hollow space surrounded by battalions, and is an indication of the origin of the new alterations.

The Spaniards and Austrians still kept to their great masses of pikes of 3000 men in spite of this progress, but they also formed them into three divisions in echelon, until, during the course of the thirty years' war, they were obliged to adopt a more extended formation, and to have recourse to the two line system, and to smaller tactical bodies. The strength of the battalion was from 500—1000 men, and was now composed of pikemen in the centre and musqueteers on both flanks.

Owing to the mutual support which these bodies gave one another, the depth of the pikemen was no longer such that each one could withstand the attack of cavalry, but it was

made such that the hindermost rank could reach beyond the first rank with their pikes, and that the musqueteers could keep up an unbroken though slow fire, so that the first rank after having fired retreated to the tail end, and would be ready loaded when the last rank in its turn came to fire. The rapidity of loading had so far advanced in the thirty years' war that a depth of six ranks was sufficient for the above purpose. A similar depth was necessary for the pikemen, to enable all ranks to exercise a proper effect upon their immediate front.

It is to the further improvement in firearms that the principal share in these alterations in infantry tactics is due, but even these new plans would not have thrust themselves to the front, had not important alterations occurred in the cavalry, though to the certain disadvantage of that arm.

During the course of the sixteenth century, the deep formation of the German cavalry had been maintained against the shallow one of the French gendarmerie, and certainly advantageously so, on account of the firm consistency of these deep masses. All changes in the armament had the eventual effect of introducing shallower formations.

The cavalry still consisted of noble heavily-armoured horsemen with their men-at-arms. The archers and crossbowmen were eventually changed into small-arm men, armed with the "fire-striking weapon" (pistol with a wheel lock). We have already seen that this began in Maximilian's time, when the pistols, however, had no lock. The causes which led to the gradual abandonment of the lance by the noble knights were as follows, viz., the preference for small-arms; the heavy weight of their armour—the thickness of which had to be continually increased; and the circumstance that by the crossing of the European race of horses, which happened after the commencement of the sixteenth century, a retrogression ensued as regards their powers of endurance. The "kyrisser," who had previously carried a lance, now became the "kürassier," armed with a long pistol; and the mounted crossbowmen became the mounted

"arquebusier," armed with a long firearm. In addition to the above, there was the mounted infantry soldier, the dragoon, upon a weaker horse.

This change was already completed towards the end of the sixteenth century, even after the French gendarmes had adopted the pistol after the example of the Dutch cavalry. The Spaniards alone retained the lance for some little time. In the thirty years' war it had nevertheless completely disappeared.

The pistol had this advantage over the lance, viz., that when fired at a short distance it was certain to penetrate the cuirass; while the lance did not pierce the harness, the weight of which was always increasing during the course of the sixteenth century; and moreover a slighter horse was required for the pistol, as the cuirassiers only moved at a moderate pace. Consequently, when cavalry was engaged against cavalry, the firearm had a decided superiority over the lance, but when fighting against infantry it was useless unless disorder had broken the cohesion of their ranks.

The mobility of cavalry had so far diminished, that bodies of foot-musketeers accompanied it, placed between the squadrons, in order, by their co-operation, to produce confusion amongst the enemy's ranks. This was the predominant object of the mounted arquebusier, who was not intended to make an attack himself.

Even the much lauded improvement which Gustavus Adolphus introduced into his cavalry is overrated. He also employed foot-soldiers between his squadrons, and his cavalry did not make use of their swords until they had fired off their pistols.

Out of the deep masses of the cavalry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, small bodies had arisen consisting of from sixty to eighty horses, which stood next to one another in regiments of five squadrons, the ranks of which were from three to five men deep, without having made any material advance in mobility.

If the value of cavalry, from what has been said, had materially deteriorated, and if the infantry were in consequence still

able to retain the clumsy formations of the sixteenth century, the relative worth of the former was not materially lessened thereby, as it represented predominantly that offensive element, which the infantry lacked in so great a degree.

The artillery made remarkable progress in the course of the sixteenth century, both as regards its *personnel* and *matériel*. For instance, the *matériel* was much simpler, and was limited to a few calibres. To be sure, these calibres were common both to the long and short guns (schlangen and kartaunen) as well as to those guns which formed a mean between the above, and the thickness of their metal also varied considerably. In reality this may not have been quite so bad as the artillery literature of that time represents it to have been.

With regard to the *personnel* it ought to be mentioned that Charles V. assigned a nobleman to every two-horsed gun, and this plan was universally followed. The further progress of artillery may be expressed principally by the reforms made by Prince Maurice of Orange. He not only reduced the calibres to the twenty-four, twelve, and six pounders, he gave greater solidity to the carriages by introducing much stronger iron work and regulated the relations between their weight and that of the gun. But there is this especial feature to be remarked with regard the use of field artillery; he substituted gun cartridges with iron balls for the hail-shot which had been hitherto in use. It is an extraordinary circumstance that he turned no attention to the howitzer (*laufnitszen*), which had continued in use in Germany, although during his time successful results first attended the throwing of mortar-shells, and many attempts were made to fire hollow shot from the "kartaunen."

Gustavus Adolphus, also, who paid great attention to artillery, and adopted the Dutch methods in all essentials, did not hit upon the idea of using howitzers for throwing shells.

The relations of the *personnel* of the artillery were materially improved by the creation of artillery regiments under Louis XIV.

After this glance at the progress of the individual arms, it is necessary to go more thoroughly into their connection and method of fighting, and in this respect also to include the forms of the Dutch and Swedes in the general course of tactical development.

The formation of one single line of battle had, as we have seen, been adopted at the commencement of the sixteenth century, without, however, considering this as applicable to all occasions, as the terrain would under certain conditions make the formation in three lines necessary.

This latter plan corresponded to the old custom, and the constant endeavour to return to it shows itself during the whole course of the sixteenth century. But the small armies with which operations were carried on, and the circumstance that the bodies of infantry were so very large that it was seldom that more than three of them could be formed, constituted an obstacle thereto.

An endeavour was now at least made to obtain a gradual development of the fight, and to keep a reserve in hand.

The musketeer combat presented the means for attaining this, as it was allowed to predominate, whilst the masses of pikes were kept back.

A step in advance on this was made, and recourse was had to the attack in echelon by the pike masses themselves, though, owing to the clumsy manner in which it was done, and to the undisciplined bodies, seldom with success. "The one body must advance immediately in succession to the other." So we find it laid down from a manuscript source of that time, "one attack must follow the other immediately, one body, however, must not stand still and look on, as I have seen and experienced, until one after the other either wins or loses." Unquestionably the author had here the battle of Cerisola in view, as it occurred in his time.

Infantry was little suited for the actual reserve, as it was too slow in its movements. A considerable body of cavalry

selected for this purpose, was led by the lieutenant-colonel himself, who "must attack with his force at the very last moment, and exactly at that place where he sees there is greatest need of him, and as being most favourable for winning the battle."

Charles V., with his large armies, was enabled to fall back upon the three line system, each of which was composed of several bodies of infantry. The distance between these lines was a very small one, and no account of the effect of firearms was taken into consideration in estimating it.

The cavalry was posted between the infantry masses, and only a very small part was placed on the wings. In this latter respect, however, a considerable advance took place during the struggle of the Netherlands for independence, as the Spaniards placed their cavalry entirely on the flanks, and Prince Maurice of Orange followed their example. The importance of reserves in a cavalry combat was universally acknowledged, consequently, they were given a deep formation in three lines.

Falconets (five and six pounders) were placed in front of the bodies of pikes, and also on their flanks. Advantageous points of the ground were also used to unite the guns which were at disposal. Henry IV. made this an especial maxim. Prince Maurice divided the two purposes for which artillery was now used, by adding particular guns of small calibre to his battalions, and retaining some heavy guns at his disposal for placing on favourable points of ground, which were to introduce the battle. One gun per 1000 men was still the proportion.

The endeavours which were made in the sixteenth century to render the successive employment of troops feasible, could only be attended with success by reducing the size of the bodies of troops, and Prince Maurice was the first to carry this out. We have already become acquainted with the peculiar conditions which led to the alterations in the formation of infantry.

If we now proceed to examine the battle array and manner of fighting of Prince Maurice in accordance with the above points of view, the result is as follows. He reduced his regiments of

PART II.

THE PERIOD SUBSEQUENT TO THE INTRODUCTION OF
RIFLED ORDNANCE.

	PAGE
1. CONSIDERATION OF THE TACTICS OF THE WARS FROM 1859 TO 1866	90
<i>Campaign of 1859 in Italy</i>	91
<i>Campaign of 1866 in Italy</i>	97
<i>Campaign of 1866 in Bohemia</i>	100
<i>The American War</i>	117
<i>The Battles around Atlanta, from July 20th to August 4th, 1864</i>	122
2. BREECH-LOADER AGAINST BREECH-LOADER. CAMPAIGN OF 1870-71. METHOD OF FIGHTING	127
<i>The Infantry</i>	130
<i>The Artillery</i>	134
<i>The Cavalry</i>	148
<i>The Terrain</i>	151
<i>Attack and Defence</i>	152
APPENDIX.—Instructions of Frederick II. to his Artillery Colonels Von Dieskan and Moller, issued in the camp at Prosnitz, by Olmütz, 30th June, 1758	159

THE
INFLUENCE OF FIREARMS UPON TACTICS.

PART I.

FROM THE PERIOD BEFORE THE INTRODUCTION
OF RIFLED ORDNANCE.

I. *PROGRESS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN TACTICS
FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF FIREARMS UP TO THAT PERIOD
WHEN RIFLED FIREARMS CAME INTO GENERAL USE.*

(a.) UP TO THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE, 1813-15,
AN HISTORICAL SKETCH.

Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.

AT the time when we find that firearms were first introduced—during the first half of the fourteenth century—the knight reigned supreme on the battlefield. Nevertheless, during the course of the Middle Ages, the value of the infantry soldier had come to be felt, under certain favourable conditions, however, and only amongst individual nationalities, but infantry could never succeed in carrying on a struggle of any duration with the knights and soon disappeared from the scene; besides which, the latter disdained to fight side by side with them. It was even considered derogatory for a knight to make use of bow or crossbow when fighting. The English knights, however, were an exception to this. As the bands of archers were on foot, but were never-

theless incapable of independent tactical employment, their union with the cavalry presented great difficulties, the English knights therefore found themselves compelled to fight on foot.

It is to this method of fighting, as well as to their discipline, that they were indebted for the results which they obtained in the French and English wars. From that time onwards, mounted archers and crossbowmen were continually being augmented in Germany, and after the great Burgher wars (1388) it was a habit of the knights (who were spearmen) to attach two infantry soldiers to themselves, as well as their troopers, one of whom was a bowman, the other a pikeman. It was, however, only in exceptional cases that a knight dismounted to fight on foot, although this custom had been in vogue from the earliest Middle Ages.

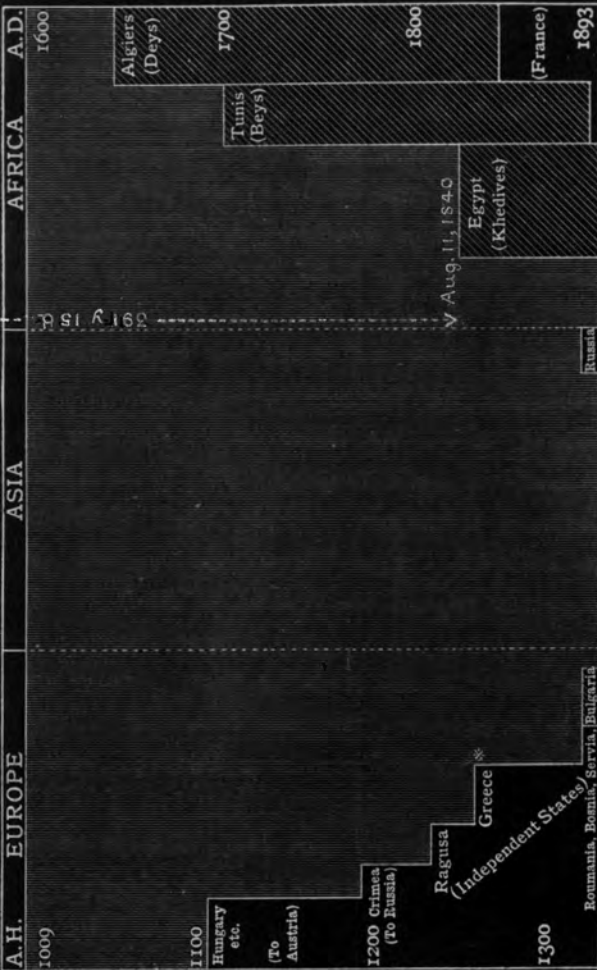
The French knights, on the other hand, were instructed to dismount and fight on foot, as it was impossible when mounted to break through the palisades formed of wooden stakes shod with iron, behind which the English intrenched themselves. It may not, however, have been owing to class prejudice alone that such great difficulty arose with regard to the formation of an infantry which would be capable of independent action. In Germany every condition was at hand for the creation of an excellent infantry, and the powerful rivalry which arose between the knights and the civic element, and which led to arms being taken up in the second half of the fourteenth century, would of necessity have created an infantry force had it been at all possible.

Moreover the knowledge of our ancestors had so far advanced that it was well known what an effective infantry force meant. But the heavily-armoured knight, the exclusive soldier of the Middle Ages, with his military education, the whole end and aim of which was war and intestine feuds, exercised an ascendancy over the infantry to an extent that had never been equalled. Some new element was required in order that an infantry force could make headway, and this new element was artillery.

It was at the beginning of the fifteenth century that the

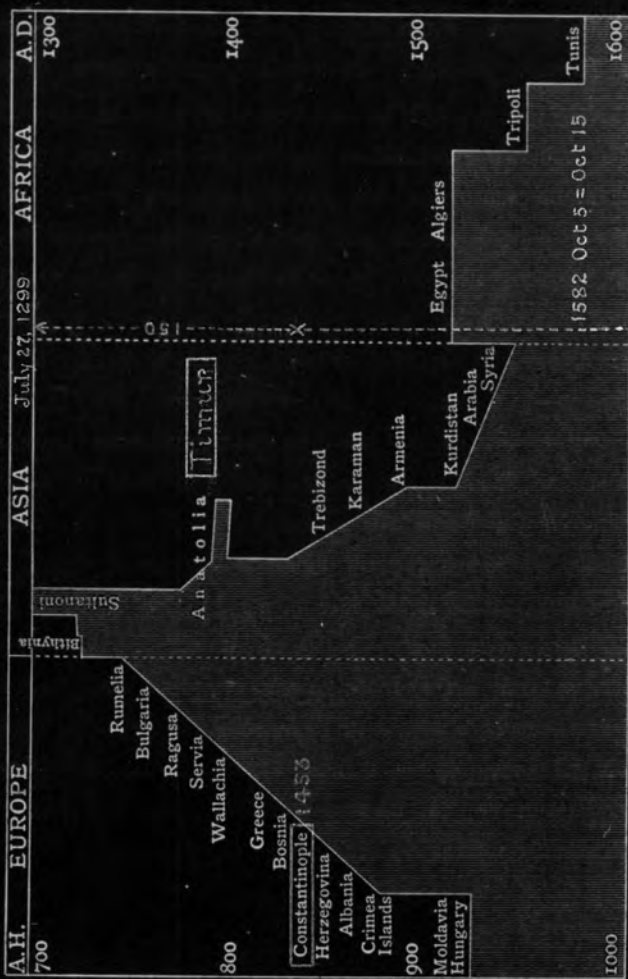
firearm had made such progress, owing to the increased length of the barrel, and to the invention of a proper framework on which it might be manipulated, that it was capable of delivering a direct fire. Hitherto it had been necessary to have recourse to curved fire even with the weapons discharged by hand. The names *Tarras Rifle* and *Veuilaire*, from which stone-shot and subsequently leaden balls were fired, which sprang into existence at the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the same time as the hand-gun known as *Couleuraine*, are an evidence of this progress; and a tactician arose in Ziska, who knew how to turn this weapon to advantage in a tactical manner peculiar to it.

He caused the rampart made by the wagons and carriages, *Wagenburg*, which until now had always been placed in rear of the line of battle formed by the knights, to be brought into the first line of battle, furnished it with a great number of these hand-guns, and also laid in a large stock of mortars (*haufnützen*), for vertical fire. Ziska adopted this plan of fighting from the Belgian cities, by whom it had been much employed during the fourteenth century. Considering the condition of firearms during the fourteenth century, they were scarcely yet adapted for this method of fighting, and in fact, from the results obtained, it was quite evident that such was the case. The German knights were shattered against these wagon fortifications of the Hussites, and found that their only chance of success was to make use of them themselves. The expression "wagon fortification" became then identical with "army." The garrison of these wagons, which at first had consisted exclusively of the commonest soldiers, was, after the Bohemian knights began to take part in the fighting, composed of foot-soldiers and horsemen. These wagon fortifications, however, were only suited for marching and defensive battles. As soon as the assailants were weakened or driven back by the fire delivered by them, the cavalry burst forth therefrom, in order to reap the fruits of the victory. The infantry also took part in these sallies, but it was not at all suited to withstand an attack of cavalry. When such an attack took



DECLINE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

GROWTH OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.



m m

TVRCORVM

ORIGO, PRINCIPES, IMPERATORES, BELLA, PRÆLIA, CÆDES, VICTORIÆ, REIQVE MILITARIS ratio, & cætera huc pertinentia, continuo ordine, & perspicua breuitate exponuntur; Et Mahometicæ religionis Instituta; Iudiciorumque processus, & Aulæ constitutio; Procerum item ac populi mores, vitæque degendæ ratio perceruetur:

ACCESSERE,

Narratio de Baiazethis filiorum seditionibus; Turcicarum item rerum Epitome, quomodo nimirum captiui Christiani distrahantur, & ab Imperatore Turcico, cateruq; Turcis traidentur:

TOMVS PRIMVS.

Omnia nunc primùm bona fide collecta, sermoneque Latino exposita à reuerendo & doctissimo viro, D. PHILIPPO LONICERO Theologo.

Cum rerum & verborum INDICE locupletissimo.

I 5

8 4.



Cum gratia & privilegio Casarea Maiestatis.

FRANCOFVRTI

Excudebat Ioan. Wechelus, impensis Sigismundi Feyerabendij.

aduersus has Christianorum copias, apparatus fuit & industria, qui ducem sibi elegere Solymannum Nicææ Suldanum, armis acerrimum, laborum patientissimum, in rebus dextre cauteq; gerendis in primis prouidum, tum ad occasiones rerum captandas solerti prudentia industrium, cum quo nemo alius inter omnes Sarracenorum Turcorumque duces & principes conferri posset. Hic Solymannus de Christianorum principum expeditione certior factus, nihil prius habuit, quam ut hostes è finibus regni sui arceret, & prior antequam inimicos imperij sui recessus occuparent, armis eos lacesseret, fortunamq; belli experiretur. In numeris itaq; congregatis copiis omnibusq; ad hostem propulsandum, eiusque impetum sustinendum necessarius accuratè comparatis, Christianorum exercitum non procul à Nicæa obuiam procedit, ubi anticipè diu fortuna acerrimè pugnatum fuit, & magna clades Christianis illata, tandem tamen victoria, licet etnenta penes Christianos fuit. Turci, dissipatis ordinibus cæteruatim cæsi, multi etiam capti fuisse. Ipse quoque Solymannus fortiter manum cum hostibus conferens, occubuit. Inde potentie Turcorum inclinatio facta est, ipsiq; Asia, quam ante 40. annos vi subegerant, vi rursus eieci fuisse. Christiani in vrbe Nicææ post 26. dierum obsidionem potiti sunt, quinto Idus Iunij, anno 1107. Occupata deinde Antiochia, hinc etiam Hierosolymus, quatuor annorum spacio Lyconiam, Ciliciam, Syriam, Melopotamiam, Comagenam perdomuerunt, primusq; rex Hierosolymitanus à Christianis electus & creatus fuit Godofridus Bilonenus, qui solem ni ritu initiandus, aurea corona ornari nimisè festinavit, sed exemplo Christi, ibi pro peccatis mundi passi & cruci affixi, spem auream coronam sibi imponi voluit. Post Bilonei mortem possedit regnum heroica virtute ac pietate cõstitutum, retinere in annu vsq; 85. Ciuilibus. n. dissidijs inter principes regni Guidonem & Raimundū exortis, Guido Saladinū ex Ægypto ad belli societatem inuocauit, qui suis reb. intentus, utroq; oppresso, regno Hierosolymitano finem attulit. Occupata vrbe Saladinus, Christianis vi quò uellent, discederent, & quæ possent humeris secum asportarent, concessit. Patriarcha tum fuit Hierosolymitanus Hercules, qui flebit oratione fortunā ciuitatis deplorans, cū suis Alexandriam contendit, alij alia sibi, pro sua quisque conditione quaesuere hospitia ac receptacula. Digressis Christianis Saladinus templa destruxit & in fauillas redegit, sibiq; regnū ex antu sui sententia firmavit. Hoc defuncto, rursus ibi Turcæ rerum potiti fuisse, & vsq; ad hodiernum diem non sine probro & dedecore Christianorum, dominium vrbis sibi vendicant.

OTTO-

OTTOMANNVS PRIMVS TUR-
corum Imperator.

Multiplaci lassata Asia res clade premuntur,

Hinc Saracenus Tartarus inde ruit:

Magna Christicola gladios in vulnere stringunt:

Gracia funestae seditione perit:

Impiger in creta noua concepit Ottomannus

Consilia, & Valida surgit in arma manu.

Et vastatricis regno fundamina turba

Ponit, & in multo sanguine scepra linaat.

ANno Christi supra millesimum trecentesimo, Ottomanni ductu & auspiciis Turcorum vires supra modum auctae, eorumque imperium, quod hodiernum in diem est validissimum, constitutum fuit. Plerique obscuro eum genere parentibusque agrariis natum, singulari virtute & calliditate ad summum imperij fastigium euectum esse asserunt. Quamquam Laonicus Chalcondyla parentem eius Orthogulem illustrem & genere & virtute inter Turcos fuisse affirmat. Nam cum Turcorum genus magnum esset & immensum auctum, nobiliores inter eos familiae Scythici sanguinis & vetustate pares celebrabantur, Eureneseij, seu Ebreues, Thutacambi seu Turacani, Michajogli, Malcocij, & Ogucij. Ex Oguciorum tribu natus est Duzalpes magna fortitudinis & iustitiae gloria illustris. Huius filius Oguzalpes imperium tribus Oguciorum sibi vendicans ad tyrannidem aspirauit, at maquam infesta Graecis inferens breui ad maximam in Asia claritatem accessit. Huius filius Orthogules, cum manu esset promptissimus, paternam gloriam multum auxit. Huius Orthogulis filius esse perhibetur Ottomannus, id nominis sortitus a tenui Gallaciae oppido, quod Ottomanziū hodie vocatur. Hic Ottomannus & regiam dignitatem & Ottomannorum cognomentum primus in familiam Oguciorum adduxit. Consiliis magnus fuit & felix, nihil quod non ad optatum exitum perduceret, temere aggrediens, magnam Bithyniae partem subegit, Prussiaeque imperij sui sedem constituit, quod alij filio eius Orhani tribuunt, multa ad Euxinum oppida vi cepit, vrbes regionesque Asiae clarissimas edomuit, Natoliam, & Ancyram in Phrygia, Sinopen in Galatia, & Sebastiam Cappadociae. Cumque Graecorum res eo tempore ancipiti ferrentur fortuna, intestinisque discordiis agitentur propter Byzantij regnum reges ambo, auus & nepos Andronici: interim suis rebus intenti Turcae, magnam suae potentiae in Asia duce Ottomanno, secere accessio-

ut ultra decem millia colligat, ex quibus elegantiores in suum palatium assumit. Reliquos in Bursa & Caramannia inter agricolam & pastores curat distribui, ut ibi laboribus agriculturæ vacanter ad labores perferendos indurentur, Turcicumque idioma addiscant. Exacto quadriennio, cum alij à tributariis Christianis adducuntur pueri, illi Constantinopolim euocantur, ubi diuersis artibus eius instructi, inter lanzaros, ut illis ministrent, distribuuntur, & ministris deinde in contubernium lanzarorum cooptantur, ad alia officia conscendunt. Sic tristissima Christianorum seruitus perpetuum eumq; exercitissimum Turcico imperatori suppeditat militem.

VISIËR BASSÆ.

Quatuor porro summae auctoritatis sibi adfeseit consiliarios magnus Turcorum princeps, cum quibus de rebus omnibus tam belli, quam pacis tempore deliberat. Eos vocant *Visier Bassas*, qui & ipsi ex eorum numero sunt, qui Christo abnegato, Mahometanae impietati sese addixerunt. Horum magna est potentia & auctoritas, & reditus ingentes. Sunt inter ipsos, qui sex millia ministrorum suis stipendiis aluat. Summa rerum bellicarum administratio est penes duos Beglerbeios, Beglerbeium Græciæ, & Beglerbeium Anatoliæ.

LINGVA IN AVLA TURCICÆ ca vsitata.

Quod ad linguam in aula Turcica vsitatam atinet, haud vna vel lingua vel dialecto vtuntur. Sed pro nationum diuersitate, diuersæ etiam linguæ sunt in vsu. Præcipua tamen est lingua Turcica, qua imperator ipsemet ex legis præscripto vtitur, vnde & lingua imperatoria vocatur, non quod reliquis præstet, cum lingua sit prorsus barbara, sed quod Turcorum imperator in inauguratione solenni sese, Ottomannica id lege iubente, obstringat, quod præ aliis linguis Turcicam euehere, ornare, & excolere velit. Quæ causa est, quod in aula Turcica hæc lingua aliis sit vsitatio, licet ex animi sui sententia quisq; lingua sibi grata vtatur. Post Turcicæ reliquis præpoller, Arabum atq; Æthiopum lingua, eò quod Alcoranus ea lingua conscriptus sit. Tertium locum obtinet Illyrica, lanzaros maxime in vsu, quæ etiã copia sua omnes alias orbis terrarum linguas excellere iudicatur. Huic succedit lingua Græca Constantinopoli inter ciues, & Peræ, adeoq; per totam Græciam vsitata. Præter has aliæ complures in aula Turcica in frequenti sunt vsu, pro nationum, quæ imperio Turcico subiectæ sunt diuersitate.

DISCL.

DISCIPLINA MILITARIS

Turcorum.

Disciplinā militari & iustitiā, facillē omnibus aliis nationibus palmā præcipiunt. Nec vel olim tantus iustitiæ rigor circa disciplinā bellicā inter bellicosissimas gentes facillē apprehendi potuit, quantum inter Turcos hodie observatur. Nam & minimum quodvis facinus morte vindicatur. Vnde vix vnquā cōperitum est, seditionē inter eos quamuis in maximo exercitu cōcitam esse. Et quidem tribus de causis re militari Christianis præstare videntur Turcæ. Præmia causa est, quod inter Turcos, ducū per omnia dicto sint audientes milites, & ex eorū nuro toti pendeant. Quod inter nostrates imitabile peritum est, quippe qui si equēter mota seditione ducem pro sua obbediētia in transversum rapiunt.

Alterā causa est, quod hostem aggredientes Turcæ omnino sibi per suam vitam habeant, vnicuique & modum & tempus mortis inevitabile destinatum, adeoq; fronti quasi inscriptū esse, nec fieri posse, ut tempus illud vel antevertat aliquis vel excedat.

Tertiā causa est, quod & pane & vino facillē abstinere possint, vel sola oriza & aqua contenti, quin & à carne, si usus ita postulat, sibi temperantes. Quod si orizæ desit copia, pulvere utuntur, quem ex carne salita collectum, ut vrgenti inopiæ succurrant, secū vehunt, eo in calidam aquam immisso, pulvem sibi inde coquunt, qua famem sedare assolent. Nec ratio vrgente fame incisus equorū venis sanguinem hauriunt, quo inedia succurrant. Equorum etiam caro ipsis cibus est pergratus, vnde haud facillē equum licet graviter sancium abijciunt. Ad quosvis labores sustinendos, ad pericula quævis subeunda, ad famem, sitim, & qualvis ærumnas tolerandas nostratibus militibus sunt exercitiores, adeoque ad omnem fortunæ aleam sint paratissimi. Cum ergo & laborum & inedia sitisque, tum etiam frigoris æstusque sint tolerantes, tum erga duces suos obsequentiissimi, inter se ipsos verò concordie studiosissimi, haudquaquam mirandum est, optato in bellis gerendis successu ipsos gaudere.

Cæterum de bellicis virtutibus, tum etiam modo aduersus hostem immanissimum, belli suscipiendi, administrandi, adeoque gerendi aptius iudicabunt, qui in armis ætatem suam exigunt, quam qui vitam agunt umbratilem. Nec enim immerito Hannibal ille dux calliditate, solertiaq; facillē cuiusvis alij preferendus, ut insanum hominem & delirum inutilem videtur Philosophum, suaviter de re militari rhetoricantem. Hoc verò intus votis optandum erat,

Quotquot hæcenus ex iuuenibus, ministris, eunuchis, præfectis, nominati & descripti sunt, eorum nemo arce egredi-
 audet, serui omnes sunt imperatoris, eius sumtu etiam a-
 luntur, plerique Christianorum filij, exceptis Eunuchorum ple-
 risque, qui indiani sunt. Nec enim temerè Christiani castrantur,
 nisi quis ex effreni libidine ipsemet peccate huic causam præbeat,
 aliorum violando pudicitiam. Vbi 25. annum attigerint ij, quo-
 rum hæcenus facta est mentio, imperator ex arce dimissos am-
 plioribus præficit officijs. Discessit ex arce simul imperatorem
 aduent, supplicesq; discedendi veniam ab eo petunt. Qui vestem
 protinus auro contextam singulis iubet circumijci, equumq; in-
 signem adduci. Magna deinde humanitate eos compellat, mo-
 neos vt strenuam virtuti nauent operam, eaque fidelitate, quam
 hæcenus in arce testati fuerint, deticeps etiam in eorum officio-
 rum, quibus præfaturi sint administratione, se imperatori com-
 mendent. Tum si quid in arce viderent, quod reticere quam pro-
 ferri satius sit, ne vili hominum teneant. Dimissi ab imperato-
 re, triumphandi arce egrediuntur, veste ornati aurea, fronta-
 liquæ aureo ingentis præcij, geminisque intertexto, conspicui.
 Singuli etiam manu sudariolum gestant, cui circiter mille aspri
 inuoluti sunt, quam pecuniam vbi equos ante portam arcis stan-
 tes conscenderint, in turbam spargunt. Inde ad destinatum sibi
 quisque locum pergit, auferens secum, quicquid diuitiarum in
 arce sibi comparauit.

DE MAGNÆ PORTÆ PA- latij custodibus.

In ingressu palatij ad portam magnam duæ sunt ianitorum
 turmae, alternis ibi excubantes.

Vni turmæ præest *Capigibassi*, trecentos sub se habens ianito-
 res. Alterius turmæ capitaneus vel *Capigibassi* ducentis præest
 militibus vel ianitoribus. Priori *Capigibassi* centum quinquaginta
 aspri in singulos dies numerantur, alteri centum. Militum
 stipendium est sex vel septem alprorum. Fustibus armati ad por-
 tam astant, attendentes, ne quis Turcarum, præter palatinos ar-
 cem ingrediatur. *Capigibassi* isti imperatorem, quoties arcem
 egreditur, equis vestibusque insignes præcedunt. Nam suis ipsi
 sumtibus equos seruosque circiter quadraginta alunt, vt hoc fastu
 & populo & imperatori se commendent.

DE SACERDOTIBUS IN palatio orantibus.

Quadra-

Quadraginta sacerdotes, quos *Eneangiler* vocant, quotidie arcem, ut primum porta referata fuerit, vna intrant, quorum stipendium in singulos dies est quatuor asporum. Hi templum ar-
 cis ingressi, circulo humi picto se includunt, singuli manu librum tenentes, ex quo psalmum, quem vocant *Encam*, eius prolixitatis, ut integram horam duret lectio, distincta & clara voce in genua se inclinantes, legunt. Adsunt qui obseruent, ne quis psalmi aliquam partem omittat. Persualum enim ex superstitione sua habent, si quis psalmum istum quadragies legat, eum voti sui in omnibus, quæ à Deo petat, compotem futurum, & ab omnibus ijs, quæ animum exerucient, immunem fore. Quæ causâ est, quod singulis diebus quadragies psalmum istum recitari suorum grauaminum nomine curet imperator, dum quadraginta eum sacerdotes simul recitant. Quod si imperator diem obeat, nihilominus ad sepulcrum eius conuenientes lectionem continuant, nec quicquam de stipendio post mortem imperatoris ipsis decedit. Hinc quotquot ex Ottomanni sanguine orti sunt, tondem sibi sacerdotes reliquere, qui memoriam eius, à quo ordinati fuere, & præmium ipsis decretum, celebrant. Sacerdotibus defunctis actutum alij surrogantur.

SECUNDI LIBRI PARS QUARTA,
 DE TURCICI IMPERATORIS
 militaribus copijs, Capitaneis, Ducibus, Præfectis,
 cæterisque extra arcem ipsi
 seruiantibus.

DE BASSIS IMPERATORIS
Turcici.

Caput I.



RES vel quatuor nonnunquam imperatoris Turcici, summi intimique sunt consiliarij, quos *Vister Bassas* vocant, asciti in aulam ex Turcæ mancipijs. Horum summa & auctoritas est, & potentia. Consilij eorum tam belli quam pacis tempore imperator viuunt.

In singulos dies habent stipendium mille asprorum. Huc accedunt castella, arces, principatus per Græciam & Natoliam, quibus ex imperatoris gratia dominantur, maximosque inde rebus percipiunt. Quisque suum apparatus habet æulicum amplum, & splendidum, eo ordine, sed non ea amplitudine & maiestate, quo imperator ipse.

DE CAPITANEO JANIZERAGASI.

Caput II.

BASSAS illos proximè sequitur *Janizeragasi*, ex Bosnia, capitaneus vel princeps Janizerorum, qui Turcici imperatoris latus in militia cingunt. Milites istos Turca per Græciam, Wallachiam, Bosniam, ex Christianorum liberis, quasi decimatione quadam colligit, & ex parentum conspectu abductos, Mahometanis legibus, Turcicisque ritibus informari præcipit. Peculiaribus ad hanc rem vitur exploratoribus, qui obseruent, qua indole, & qua corporis agilitate & forma vniucuiusque sint filij. Quod si cui tres fortè sint filij, inde Turca sibi aufert speciosissimū, membrisque agilimum. Exploratores peculiare sibi à Turca constitutum habent præmium, suntque eorum vltra ducentos. Pueros hinc inde collectos Constantinopolim abducunt, & inter ciues, assignatis singulorum nominibus, vt Turcicam linguam & mores addiscant, distribuuntur, donec Janizerorum contubernio cooptentur. Janizeragasi iste indies quingentorum asprorum habet stipendium, peculiare tentorium vel arcem, in qua imperatoris sumptibus vitam agit magnificā, vernas sub se ducentos, quos suis alit sumptibus. Sunt præterea sub ipso Viceduces decem, quorum singuli militibus mille imperant. Sub his rursus sunt centuriones & decuriones. Hi omnes Constantinopolim incolunt, nocturnaque inter eos excubiæ per ciuitatem, ob vitandos tumultus distribuuntur. De his supra in fine primi libri plura.

DE BASSA VEL CAPITANEO IMBRALEM.

Caput III.

IN magna apud imperatorem gratia est capitaneus *Imbralem*, vexilliferis omnibus quorum opera in bellis vitur imperator, imperans. Citra eius mandatum vexilla tollere & vibrare minimè audent. Centum & quinquaginta asprorum diurnum ipsius est stipendium. Quinquaginta præterea sub se habet equites,

tes, quibus ab imperatore stipendia numerantur. Vocantur hi *Sangattaler*, quasi dicas vexilliferi. Vexillum, lunæ falcatae signum, cuius precium viginti asprorum millibus cæsetur, affixum habet. Quod si cui in ciuitate aliqua publicum ab imperatore officium commutatur, vexillum capitaneus *Imbralem* in ciuitate ista erigit, splendidisq; ab eo, qui officij administrationem suscipit, muneribus, auro, vestibus generosisq; equis ornatur.

DE CESIGNIR BASSA.

Caput III.

Cesignir Bassa, quadraginta iuuenibus, quorum officium est, imperatoris mensæ fercula apponere, præest, imperatoris hic est prælibator. 130. asprorū ipsius est stipendiū diurnum.

DE NOBILIBVS AULICIS.

Caput V.

Ducenti imperatoris Turcici serui sunt, quos vocant *Muteferruca*, quasi dicas, pro suo arbitrio imperatori seruietes. Diurnum horum stipendium est quadraginta asprorum. Hi immunes sunt à militaribus officijs. Arcem pro suo iubitu adeunt. In horum collegium adoptantur, qui præclaris suis facinoribus quasi rude donari meriti sunt. Horum capitaneus est *Muteferruca Bassa*, cuius diurnum stipendium est centum asprorum. Hi vitam agunt liberam, suorum agrorum & fundorum potissimum curam agentes.

DE EQVITIBVS, TURCÆ

latus vtrinq; claudentibus.

Caput VI.

Mille sunt equites *Spahioglani* imperatoris serui, quorum capitaneus *Spahio glandargasi* pro diurno stipendio habet centum aspros ex annuis redditibus. Equites hi dextrum latus imperatoris claudunt, ex eorum numero asciti, qui vbi quartum & vicesimum attingere annum, à ministerijs in arce subeundis liberantur. Sinistrum imperatoris latus claudunt mille quingenti equites, *Suluphtar* dicti, omnes Christianorum filij, horum dux *Suluphtar Basca* vocatur. His etiam vrbis Constantinopolitane custodia, absente imperatore noctu interdiumq; committitur. Forundem officium est, annuos imperatoris redditus per Græciam & Natoliam colligere.

Abbé: J.-P. Niqué, Patrologia Graeca,
vol. 159, (Latin Greek texts).

Paris, 1866

Joseph Methonensis, Serr. Borbo
by the Victoris F. Loricere

Chalcocondyla. The

writing which remains of Joseph, bishop
of Methonensis, the which are
added to the historical epistles of
Athens.

Vol. I - Concerning Zimberich Epitaphs
(15th century)

PATROLOGIÆ

CURSUS COMPLETUS,

SEU BIBLIOTHECA UNIVERSALIS, INTEGRÆ, UNIFORMIS, COMMODA, OECONOMICA,
OMNIUM SS. PATRUM, DOCTORUM SCRIPTORUMQUE ECCLESIASTICORUM,

SIVE LATINORUM, SIVE GRÆCORUM,

QUI AB ÆVO APOSTOLICO AD ÆTATEM INNOCENTII III (ANN. 1216) PRO LATINIS;
ET AD CONCILII FLORENTINI TEMPORA (ANN. 1439) PRO GRÆCIS FLORUERUNT :

RECUSIO CHRONOLOGICA

OMNIUM QUÆ EXSTITERE MONUMENTORUM CATHOLICÆ TRADITIONIS PER QUINDECIM PRIORA
ECCLESIE SÆCULA,

JUXTA EDITIONES ACCURATISSIMAS, INTER SE CUMQUE NONNULLIS CODICIBUS MANUSCRIPTIS COLLATAS, PERQUAM DILIGENTER CASTIGATA; DISSERTATIONIBUS, COMMENTARIIS VARIISQUE LECTIONIBUS CONTINENTER ILLUSTRATA; OMNIBUS OPERIBUS POST AMPLISSIMAS EDITIONES QUÆ TRIBUS NOVISSIMIS SÆCULIS DEBENTUR ABSOLUTAS, DETECTIS AUCTA; INDICIBUS ORDINARIIS VEL ETIAM ANALYTICIS, SINGULOS SIVE TOMOS, SIVE AUCTORES ALICUIUS MOMENTI SUBSEQUENTIBUS, DONATA; CAPITULIS INTRA IPSUM TEXTUM RITE DISPOSITIS, NECNON ET TITULIS SINGULARUM PAGINARUM MARGINEM SUPERIOREM DISTINGUENTIBUS SUBJECTAMQUE MATERIAM SIGNIFICANTIBUS, EDORNATA; OPERIBUS CUM DUBIIS, TUM APOCRYPHIS, ALIQUA VERO AUCTORITATE IN ORDINE AD TRADITIONEM ECCLESIASTICAM POLLENTIBUS, AMPLIFICATA;

DUGENTIS ET QUADRAGINTA INDICIIS SUB OMNI RESPECTU, SCILICET, ALPHABETICO, CHRONOLOGICO, ANALYTICO, ANALOGICO, STATISTICO, SYNTHETICO, ETC., OPERA, RES ET AUCTORES EXHIBENTIBUS, ITA UT NON SOLUM STUDIOSO, SED NEGOTIIS IMPLICATO, ET SI FORTE SINT, FIGURIS ETIAM ET IMPERITIS PATEANT OMNES SS. PATRES, LOCUPLETATA; SED PRÆSERTIM DUOBUS IMMENSIS ET GENERALIBUS INDICIIS, ALTERO SCILICET RERUM, QUO CONSULTO, QUIDQUID NON SOLUM TALIS TALIS PATER, VERUM ETIAM UNUSQUIBETQUE PATRUM, ABSQUE ULLA EXCEPTIONE, IN QUODLIBET THEMA SCRIPSERIT, UNO INTUITU CONSPICIATUR; ALTERO SCRIPTURÆ SACRÆ, EX QUO LECTORI COMPERIRE SIT OBIVIUM QUINAM PATRES ET IN QUIBUS OPERUM SUORUM LOCIS

SINGULOS SINGULORUM LIBRORUM SCRIPTURÆ VERSUS, A PRIMO GENESEOS

USQUE AD NOVISSIMUM APOCALYPSIS, COMMENTATI SINT :

EDITIO ACCURATISSIMA, CÆTERISQUE OMNIBUS FACILE ANTEPONENDA, SI PERPENDANTUR CHARACTERUM NITIDITAS, CHARTÆ QUALITAS, INTEGRITAS TEXTUS, CORRECTIONIS PERFECTIO, OPERUM RECUSORUM TUM VARIETAS TUM NUMERUS, FORMA VOLUMINUM PERQUAM COMMODA SIBIQUE IN TOTO PATROLOGIE DECURSU CONSTANTER SIMILIS, PRETII EXIGUITAS, PRÆSERTIMQUE ISTA COLLECTIO UNA, METHODICA ET CHRONOLOGICA, SEXCENTORUM FRAGMENTORUM OPUSCULORUMQUE HACTENUS HIC ILIC SPARSORUM, VEL ETIAM INEDITORUM, PRIMUM AUTEM IN NOSTRA BIBLIOTHECA, EX OPERIBUS ET MSS. AD OMNES ÆTATES, LOCOS, LINGUAS FORMASQUE PERTINENTIBUS, COADUNATORUM, ET EX INNUMERIS OPERIBUS TRADITIONEM CATHOLICAM CONFLANTIBUS, OPUS UNICUM MIRABILITER EFFICIENTIUM.

SERIES GRÆCA POSTERIOR

IN OUA PRODEUNT PATRES, DOCTORES SCRIPTORESQUE ECCLESIE GRÆCÆ AB ÆVO PHOTIANO AD CONCILII USQUE FLORENTINI TEMPORA, ET AMPLIUS, NEMPE MORTEM CARDINALIS BESSARIONIS.

ACCURANTE J.-P. MIGNÉ,

Bibliothecæ cleri universæ,

SIVE CURSUUM COMPLETORUM IN SINGULOS SCIENTIÆ ECCLESIASTICÆ RAMOS EDITORR.

PATROLOGIA, AD INSTAR IPSIUS ECCLESIE, IN DUAS PARTES DIVIDITUR, ALIAM NEMPE LATINAM, ALIAM GRÆCO-LATINAM. AMBÆ PARTES JAM INTEGRE EXARATÆ SUNT. LATINA, 222 VOLUMINIBUS MOLE SUA STANS, 1110 FRANCIS VENIT; GRÆCA DUPLICI EDITIONE TYPIS MANDATA EST. PRIOR GRÆCUM TEXTUM UNA CUM VERSIONE LATINA LATERALI COMPLECTITUR, ET 104 VOLUMINA IN 109 TOMIS, PRO PRIMA SERIE, NON EXCEDIT. POSTERIOR VERSIONEM LATINAM TANTUM EXHIBET, IDEOQUE INTRA 55 VOLUMINA RETINETUR. SECUNDA SERIE GRÆCO-LATINA AD 58 VOLUMINA TANTUM ATTINGIT; DUM HUIUS VERSIO MERE LATINA 29 VOLUMINIBUS EST ABSOLUTA. UNUMQUODQUE VOLUMEN GRÆCO-LATINUM 8, UNUMQUODQUE MERE LATINUM 5 FRANCIS SOLUMMODO EMITUR: UTROBIQUE VERO, UT PRETII HUIUS BENEFICIO FRUATUR EMPTOR, COLLECTIONEM INTEGRAM, SIVE LATINAM, SIVE GRÆCAM COMPARET NECESSE ERIT; SECUS ENIM CUIUSQUE VOLUMINIS AMPLITUDINEM NECNON ET DIFFICULTATES VARIA PRETIA ÆQUABUNT. IDEO, SI QUIS TANTUM EMAT LICET INTEGRE, SED SEORSIM, COLLECTIONEM GRÆCO-LATINAM, VEL EAMDEM EX GRÆCO-LATINE VERSAM, TUM QUODQUE VOLUMEN PRO 9 VEL PRO 6 FRANCIS SOLUM OBTINEBIT. ISTÆ CONDITIONES POSTERIORI PATROLOGIÆ LATINÆ SERIEI, PATRES AB INNOCENTIO III AD CONCILIUM TRIDENTINUM EXHIBENTI, APPLICABUNTUR. PATROLOGIA QUÆ MANUSCRIPTIS IN BIBLIOTHECIS ORBIS UNIVERSI QUIESCIBENTIBUS CONSTABIT, NECNON PATROLOGIA ORIENTALIS, CONDITIONIBUS SPECIALIBUS SUBJICIENTUR, ET IN TEMPORE SVO ANNUNTIABUNTUR, SI TEMPUS EAS TYPIS MANDANDI NOBIS NON DEFUERIT.

PATROLOGIÆ GRÆCÆ TOMUS CLIX.

LAONICUS CHALCOCONDYLA. JOSEPHUS METHONENSIS. ALII.

EXCUDERATUR ET VENIT APUD J.-P. MIGNÉ, EDITOREM,
IN VIA DICTA THIBAUD, OLIM D'AMBOISE, PROPE PORTAM LUTETIÆ PARISIORUM VULGO
D'ENFER NOMINATAM, SEU PETIT-MONTROUGE, NUNC VERO INTRA MŒNIA PARISIENSIA.

— CN. P. LENTVLO. —
 SVLES. FVERINT. CVM. D—CERENT. CENTVM
 MILLIBVS. HOMINYM—O. FRV—
 desunt lineæ quinque.

ADVERSI PARIETIS SERIES PRIMA.

CVRIAM. ET. CONTINENS. ET. CHALCIDICVM. TEMPLVMQVE.
 APOLLINIS. IN. PALATIO. CVM. PORTICIBVS. ÆDEM. DIVI. PVLI.
 LYPERCAL. PORTICVM. AD. CIRCVM. FLAMINIVM. QVEM. SVM.
 APPELLARI. PASSVS. EX. NOMINE. FIVS. QVI. PRIOREM. EODEM.
 IN. SOLO. FECERAT. OCTAVIANI. PVLVINAR. AD. CIRCVM.
 MAXIMVM. ÆDES. IN. CAPITOLIO. IOVIS. FERETRII. ET. IOVIS.
 TONANTIS. ÆDEM. Q'IRINIS. ÆDES. MVNDO. ET. IVNONIS.
 —ET. IOVIS. LIBERTATIS. IN. AVENTINO. ÆDEM. LARVM.
 IN. SVMMA. SACRA. VIA. ÆDEM. DEVM. PENATIVM. IN. VELLIA.
 ÆDEM. IUVENTATIS. ÆDEM. MATRIS. MAGDELE. IN. PALATIO. FECI.
 SERTORIVM. ET. POMPEIVM. THEATRYM. VTRVMQVE.
 OPYS. IMPENSA. GRANDI. REFE. L. SINE. VLLA. INSCRIPTIONE.
 NOMINIS. MEI. RIVOS. AQUARUM. COMPLVRIBVS. LOCIS. VETVSTATE.
 LABENTIS. REFECI. ET. AQVAM. QVÆ. MARIA. ADPELLATVR.
 DUPLICAVI. FONTE. NOVO. IN. RIVVM. EIVS. IMMISSO. EORVM.
 IVLIVM. ET. BASILICAM. QVÆ. FVIT. INTER. ÆDEM. CASTORIS.
 ET. ÆDEM. SATVRNI. CÆPTA. PROFLIGATAQVE. OPERA. A.
 PATRE. MEO. PERFECI. ET. EAMDEM. BASILICAM. CONSVMATAM.
 IN. AMPLIATO. EIVS. SOLO. SUB. TITVLO—NOMINIS.
 FILIORVM. —VLVVS. NON. PERFECISSEM. PERFECI. AB. HE.
 REDIBVS.—VIRGINE. EXEMPLVM. DEVM. IN. VRBE. CON-
 SUECI. FLVVI. PRÆTERMISSO. QVOD. TEME—FT.—
 VICTORIS. TEMPLVM. QUORVMQVE. AVGVSTVM. ET. TEMPLVM.
 APOLLINIS. IN. SOLO. MAGNAM. PARTEM.—EMTO. FECI.
 QVOD. SVO. NOMINE. M. MARCELLI. VENERI.—MANIBVS.
 IN. CAPITOLIO. ET. IN. ÆDE. DIVI. IVLII. ET. IN. ÆDE.
 APOLLINIS. ET. IN. ÆDE. VESTÆ. ET. IN. TEMPO. MARTIS.
 VICTORIS. CONSECRAVI. QVÆ. MIHI. CONSTITERVNT. CIR-
 CITER. MILLENIS. AVRI. CORONARI. PONDO. TRIGINTA. QUINQUE.
 MILLIVM. MVNICIPIIS. ET. COLONIIS. ITALIÆ. CONFERTIBVS.
 AC. TRIVMPOS. MEOS. QVINCTVM. CONSVL. REMISI. ET. POSTEA.
 QVOTIENSCVMQVE. IMPEPATOR. M. AVRI. CORONARIVM.
 NON. ACCEPI. DECERNENTIBVS. MVNICIPIIS.—QVÆ. ANTE.
 TEMPVS. DEFVNCTARVM. AFRICANARUM. DECREVERAM.
 MEO. NOMINE. AVT. FILIORVM. MEORVM.
 ET. NEPOTVM. IN. CIRCO.—AVT. IN. FORO. AVT. IN.
 AMPHITHEATRIS. POPVL.—QUIBVS. CONFECTA. SUNT. BESTIARVM.
 CIRCITER. TRIVM. MILLIVM. ET. QVINGENTA. NAVALIS. PRÆLII.
 SPECTACVLVM. POPVL.—LIBERVVM. IN. QVO. LOCO. NVNC.
 NEMVS. EST. CÆSARUM. CAVATO.—LONGITVDINE. MILLE.
 ET. OCTINGENTOS. PEDES. IN. LATITVDINE. PEDES. DVGENTI.
 IN. QVO. TRIGINTA. ROSTRATÆ. NAVES. TRIREMESQVE. PLVRIMÆ.
 —RVMORES. INTER. SE. CONFLIXERVNT.—RVNT
 PRÆTER. REMIGES. MILLIA.—CIRCITER.—
 IN. TEMPLIS. OMNIVM. CIVITATVM. PONTI. ET. ASIÆ. VICTOR.
 ORNAMENTA. REPOSVI. QVÆ. SPOLIATIS. TEMPLIS. QVIS. PRIVATIM.
 POSSEDERAT. STATVÆ.—QVADRAGENIS. ARGENTEIS.
 STETERVNT. IN. VRBE. AC. CIRCITER. QVAS. IPSE. SVSTVLI. EX.
 QVA. DE. PECVNIA. DONA. AVREA. IN. ÆDEM. APOLLINIS. MEO.
 NOMINE. ET. FILIORVM. QVÆ. MIHI. STATVERVNT. HONOREM.
 HABERVNT. POSVI.

SERIES SECUNDA.

MARE. PACAVI. A. PRÆDONIBVS — DOMIBVS. —
 —SVIS —————CONTRA. REM. —
 —DOMINI. —————cætera. desiderantur.

SERIES TERTIA.

REGIS. PARTHORVM.

post aliquot lineas.

A. ME. GENTES. PARTHORVM. ET. MEDORVM.—
 rursum post aliquot alias.

IN. CONSVLATV—

cætera prorsus abolita.

Habes, optime lector, reliquias Ancyranæ monumenti, facile omnium quæ nunc exstant, præstantissimi, siquidem esset integrum. Ejus illustratio non hujus est loci.

11. *Anni, mensium, dierum apud Turcos ratio et appellationes.*

Notavi ad marginem libri, annum Mahumetanum 687, quo mortuus Ertucules traditur, esse Christianum 1289. Hoc uti planius intelligi possit, libet hoc loco quam paucissimis explicare temporum apud Turcos rationem, videlicet annorum, mensium, dierum, quantum quidem hætenus intelligere de his potui. Constat igitur apud Turcos annus 12 mensibus, sed lunaribus, et tradunt ipsi, post 32 annos Turcicos firmamentum cæli cursum suum absolvere. Unde propemodum colligi plerique putant, annis 51 Christianis, respondere Mahumetanos 32, cum exiguo additamento. Præmittitur id etiam, hunc annum Christ. 1587 cum inciperet, fuisse computatum a Turcis pro Mahumetano 994. Quippe licet hoc intelligere de verbis ultimis in diplomate sultani Muratis III quo continetur prorogatio pacis cum Rudolpho II imp. Augusto. Leguntur enim istic hæc in extremo verba: *Die primo proximi mensis Januarii, anno Domini Jesu supra quem sit gratia et auxilium divinum, 1584: qui erit annus transmigrationsis magni prophetæ nostri, supra quem sit gratia salusque divina 991: die 27 sacra luna Silchidze.* Quibus in verbis notandum, annos Mahumetanos Turcis usitatos non eosdem esse cum annis Hegiræ, quæ incipit a nativitate Mahumetis, videlicet ab anno Christiano 592. Nam expresse dicitur a Turcis anno Christiano 1584 fuisse computatos annos 991 a transmigatione sive morte Mahumetis: quibus si tres ab illo tempore elapsos adjicias, erit annus hic Christianus 1587 a morte Mahumetis 994. Jam si de 994 detrahas annos 687, quo tempore mortuus Ertucules traditur, reliqui erunt anni Mahumetani 307, qui transiit scilicet ab Ertuculis morte usque ad hunc annum præsentem. Diximus autem paulo ante Turcicos annos 32 propemodum respondere Christianis 51. Quamobrem de 307, Mahumetanis detrahendi veniunt anni 928/31 sive paulo minus quam decem: et erunt 307 Mahumetani, si 10 integros deducas, redacti ad annos Christianos 297. His rursus deductis de 1587 reperiemus annum Christi 1290, quo scilicet mortuus fuerit Ertucules, Osmanis pater. Tradunt autem Annales hi nostri mortuum Osmanem ipsum anno Mahumetano 727 qui Christianus erat 1328. Ergo post obitum patris superstes fuit paulo amplius quam 59 annis Mahumetanis sive 38 Christianis. Et quia Turci volunt eum regnasse 29 annis, nostri 28, quod idem est: necesse est verum fateamur quod historici diligentes et fide digni scripserunt, Osmanem perpeuis excursionibus ac rapinis collocupletatum magnam partem Bithyniæ vicinæque Ponto Euximo regionis, intra spatium 10 annorum a morte patris scilicet numeran-

derum, in potestatem redegissee. A quo tunc nunc tempore, principatu jam constituto stabili quoque, recte rerum potitus dicitur annis Christianis 28. Hædemque verissime statuetur, initium regni Osmanici referendum ad annum Christianum 1300, quod sane multas ob causas diligenter observandum.

Quod menses attinet, jam antea monuimus, in usu Turcis esse lunares. Hos nominare incipiunt ab ipsis noviluniis. Et numerantur ab eis 12, sicut etiam nos totidem habemus. Anni principium referunt ad mensem Silchidze, qui late loquendo, quod Græci dicere solent, Decembri fere nostro respondere debebat ex opinione complurium: sicuti plerumque Ramazan mensis ad Septembrem debebat ex eorumdem sententia referri: quo mense Ramazane jejuniæ suæ menstruum servant, a crepusculo matutino ad solis occasum usque, donec sidera conspiciantur nihil cibi potusve sumentes: et finito jejuniis, suum illud hujus hauram, sive magnum festum instar paschatis nostri, celebrant. Sed progressu temporis tam Silchidze quam Ramazan in alios menses nostros transeunt. Quippe celebrandi hauram tempus singulis annis anticipare Turci solent diebus undecim: qui dies embolismi fere loco sunt ad complendum annum lunarem. Nam si dies unum lectum computentur tricies et semel, efficiuntur dies 341: qui paulo minus quam integrum annum constituunt, addendum triginta et uni Mahumetanis annis, ut Mahumetani triginta duo anni, Christianis triginta et uni respondeant; quemadmodum a nobis indicatum paulo ante hoc ipso capite.

Nomina mensium hæc sunt:

1. Silchidze.
2. Mucharen.
3. Sepher.
4. Rebuil Evel.
5. Rebuil Achir.
6. Dsiumasiel Evel.
7. Dsiumasiel Achir.
8. Rezeb.
9. Sehaban.
10. Ramazan.
11. Schewal.
12. Silcade.

Sicubi lector aliquod nomen ex his paulo aliter scriptum in Annalibus repererit, sciat id factum a nobis, scripturam Joannis Galderii, interpretis Cæsarei, sequentibus.

Hos autem menses in dierum hebdomadas, sive septimanas, dividunt: diebus hæc tribuunt nomina.

1. Basar iuni, hoc est, dies mercatus hebdomadarii, qui respondet diei Dominico nostro.
2. Basar Ertesi, hoc est, dies post mercatum hebdomadarium proximus, sive postridie mercatus: qui dies Germanice dici commode posset *Astermarkttag*. Respondet diei lunæ nostro.
3. Salli, respondet diei Martis nostro.
4. Basar schamba, id est, quartus dies: quem Per-

sica lingua sic et ipsi vocant, uti nos feriam quartam dicere solemus, qui Mercurii dies est.

5. Paşchembe, hoc est, dies quintus, lingua itidem Persica: veluti nos feriam quintam vocamus, qui Jovis dies est.

6. Dsiuma, duabus syllabis, (alii Zuma scribunt, et Zuna) vel Dsiuma juni, quod significat diem ecclesie sive templi. Nam Veneris diem feriantur.

7. Dsiuma Ertesi, hoc est, *επιόδα*, Græco vocabulo Pindarico, quasi si dicas, post festum, vel *Aferse'ertag*, Germanice. Vulgo Saturni dies.

12. *Somnium Ertuculis, Conia, luna Turcis auspiciata.*

Valde superstitiosos esse Turcos in observandis somniis, animadvertere lector potuit ex narratione Supplementi nostra, de initis decennalis hujusce belli Persici. Hoc autem Ertuculis de Osmane filio somnium, quo ingenti comparabatur arbori, cum aliis sequentibus, per est ei simile, quod Astyages rex Medorum de Cyro, ex filia nepote suo, ab Herodoto et aliis expositum, habuit. Conia vero Turcis urbs est Caramania sive Cilicia, quam Græci dicebant Ionium. Leonis Sapientis imperatoris Novella de Thronis accuratius hanc in Lycaonia collocat. Chalecocondyles Cariae facit urbes Larandam et Toconeium, ubi nota confusum cum nomine articulum Toconeium, pro Tocoonion: ut alibi Tosibinium quoque scribit idem interpres, Ardelii sive Transilvanie urbem, quæ articulo a nomine disjuncto Sibinium est, vel Cibinium, ut hodie scribunt. Conia recentioribus geographis appellatur Cognia, pronuntiatione Italica. Quod autem Edibalis filia per lunæ splendorem significaretur, in eo felicissimum quoddam omen erat, ex opinione Saracenorum ac Turcorum: qui lunam, velut imperio suo fatali quadam lege propitiam et auspiciatam, mirum quantum habere virium 402 in portendendis adjuvandisque successibus conatum suorum, ut etiam nunc hodie sic semper existimarunt. Errant enim (et in his est Franciscus Sansovinus Venetus) qui Turcos scribunt subacto primum Bozincensi regno, imperante Sultano Muchemete II, lunam crescentem signis militariibus apposuisse. Nam si verum hoc esset, non lunam duntaxat accepissent, exclusis stellis, quæ in ejus regni signis cum Luna conjunctæ cernuntur. Constat etiam e Belvacensis historia, Saracenos ante constitutum hoc imperium Turcicum, eandem habuisse de luna, Mahumetanorum conatibus et expeditionibus bellicis favente, persuasionem. Anno, inquit, 1218, statim post adventum Christianorum ad Damiatam, facta fuit eclipsis lunæ quasi generalis: quam contra Saracenos interpretati sumus, veluti portendentem eorum defectum, qui sibi lunam attribuunt, in incremento decrementoque lunæ magnam sibi vim ponentes.

13. *De ducibus Turcicis a quibus Anatoliæ regiones nomina sortitæ sunt.*

Annales hi nec ducum nomina, nec provinciarum hoc loco expriment: quæ nos tum ex Laonico, tum

A aliis Annalium locis eruemus. Facit Laonicus septem numero duces, qui regionem armis subactam inter se diviserint. Hos uno tantum loco non recenset omnes. Caramano dicit obligasse mediterranea Phrygiæ majoris, cum Cilicia: cujus a nomine Cilicia, dicta deinde Caramania fuit, in hodiernum usque diem hac appellatione duranti. Sarchani sors maritimam Ionæ regionem, Smyrnam usque tribuit. Unde Sarchaniæ nomen est adepta, testibus his Annalibus, et Laonico, et secretario Sigismundi Malatestæ, qui res in Asia Græciæque se præsentem gestas, ante annos plus minus 80, descripsit. Ortelio Sarcum dicitur. Calami, et filio Carasi, obvenerit Lydia, usque ad Mysiam: quæ regio Carasia fuit appellata. Reperitur hoc nomen in his Annalibus, et apud Iudicatum modo Malatestæ secretarium, qui Pergamum in Carasia collocat. Ab Ortelio Bessangli ea pars Anatoliæ nominatur. Osman Ertuculis filius Bithyniam, cum regionibus Olympum versus spectantibus, et cum Tekia, nactus est. Ab hoc Osmania, vel Othmania, quemadmodum hactenus alii scribunt, dicta: cujus in Annalibus sub Bajazite primo fit mentio. Atque haud scio, an non in Synonymia geographica Ortelii, quo loco de Asia minori agit, Cottomanidia sit rectius hæc ipsa sive Othmania, sive Othmanidia, cujus tamen limites istie latius, quam pars sit, videntur extendi. Amura filios tradit Laonicus accepisse Paphlagoniam, cum iis quæ ad Euxinum vergunt. Ea fuerit Penderachia scilicet, de qua superius dictum in Osmanidarum genealogia, vel potius Penderachia. Vocatur autem hic Amura Pachymerio Amuricus, cum quo Reineccius alicubi, Gregoram secutus, Alisurium Caramanum confundere videtur: Omer in Annalibus Turcicis dicitur, qui Omeris filios appellat Isvendiares begos, Sinopes etiam dominos, Laonico Sphenderes aut Sphenderes unde nomen Penderachia, velati Sphenderachia. Bolli nominatur hæc ipsa Penderachia vel Sphenderachia regio in Ortelii tabula Natoliæ, præcisæ Paphlagonia. Et credo Bolli vocem provinciae datam a civitate Bolli, quæ Turcicis Annalibus est Boli, sicut idem et agri Bolensis meminerunt. Est etiam in Asia minori Mendesia regio, cujus principem Laonicus Mendesium et Mendesem vocat, nepotem Calami: quod Mendesia nomen non Turcicum origine puto, sed Græcum, et ejus provinciae, quæ sic appellata fuerit a civitate Mendos, cujus mentio fit in constitutione Leonis Augusti de ordine thronorum, tanquam episcopatus pertinentis ad metropolim Stauropolitam in Caria. Videtur etiam eadem esse Mendus cum illa, quæ Myndus aliis dicitur, et ad Cariam quoque refertur. Regio Mendesia scribitur Ortelio Menteso, sicut et nostris in Annalibus. Aidinis denique ducis apud Laonicum typis editum nomen legitur, qui regionem a Colophone ad Caiam usque se porrigentem possederit. Hic Aidin beg Turcis est, unde reponendum apud Chalecocondylem Aidinis ducis nomen, et apud Ortelium pro Aidinelli restituendum Aidinelli. Sunt alia quoque

regiones in Anatolia, quæ novas appellationes veteribus incognitas habent, sed eas duntaxat hic enumerare volumus, quibus indita fuisse certis a Ducibus nomina Laonicus et Annales hi nostri tradunt.

13. *Bassa, Emir, Sarai, Caravansarai, Vezir, Vezirazem Beglerbeg, Emir Halem, Emir Achur.*

Filius alter Osmanis, Urehanis frater alium non habet in Annalibus titulum, quam Alis bassa : quod bassæ vocabulum Turcis caput significat. Falluntur autem qui pro sultanis vezires fuisse dictos, ac Emirum (Amares ipsi vocant) in locum putant successisse bassas et beglerbegos : quibus et begos ab eis, et sangiacos adjungi, velut et ipsos Emirum successores, magis etiam miror) cum vox Emir ne hodie quidem extincta sit, ac præterquam quod ipsi sultano proprie competat, ut supra diximus, etiam certis, in aula tribuatur officariis. Quippe sunt ad Portam, emir Halem, Bujuc emir Achur, (qui Prætori etiam 403 Græciæ nostro Amyrachures dicitur) et Cudzuc emir Achur. Bassæ nomen hoc tempore datur iis primis, qui vezirum dignitatem obtinent : deinde beglerbegis. Ipsa nomina cum officiis, suo declarabuntur a nobis loco prolixius. Hic paucis addo, Portæ Osmanicæ duum esse generum officia : quorum alia ministeriis obeundis intra saraium sultani destinata sunt, alia procurandis negotiis publicis extra saraium. Et saraium Turcis palatium principis est, vel aliud amplum ædificium non a Czar voce Tatarica, quæ regem significat, dictum : unde Reinocius Saragliam Turcis vocari putat, ut regiam. Nam aliæ quoque domus, extra sultani regiam, nomen hoc ferunt : ut ille, quas sultanorum mulierculæ sive concubinæ inhabitant, ut Atschamoglanorum ædes, ut ampla Turcorum hospitia, sive diversoria publica, quas vulgo caravasarai nostri vocant. Quippe a Turcis caravansarai vel serai dicuntur, hoc est, ædificia destinata caravans, quæ hominum agmina sunt cum jumentis, ob itinerum pericula turmatim se conjungentium. Consule de his exposita prolixius capite 247. De officiis intra saraium alibi, sicut et de aliis extra saraium. Bassæ, de quibus hic agimus, extra saraium numeribus sibi mandatis funguntur. Et inter hos qui primi sunt, vezires dicuntur ; nostris, consiliarii secreti, vel arcani. Supremus autem, vezirazem nominatur, quæ apud Saræenos etiam in usu dignitas, et existimatione præcipua fuit. Cedrinus et alii protosymbulum interpretantur, cujus etiam mentio fit in libro de significatis iusomiorum quem antehac Sambucani exemplaris mutili filem sequentes, Apomasari tribuimus : cum Achmetis eum postea cognoverimus esse, de libro bibliothecæ Cæsareæ, ex quo viri clariss. Hugonis Blotii J. C. et Augustalis bibliothecarii beneficio, nostri codicis lacunas omnes expluvimus. Simeon Magistri officiorum alicubi Solemanem Protosymbulum Balsamæ vocat, quem Zonaras archisatrapam Masalmæ dixit. Similiter extra saraium sunt beglerbegi, qui et ipsi bassæ vocantur. Prætori Græciæ nostro, qui

ante 320 annos vixit, Peclarpaces scribuntur. Et erant in Imperio Saræenico simul et emires, et vezires, et beglerbegi, etiam ante monarchiam Turcicam : prorsus ut dici nequeat, pro sultanis vezires appellatos, in emirum locum successisse bassas et beglerbegos. Quippe meminit beglerbegorum officii vetustior prætoræ Cedrinus, et ipsum nomen interpretatur archontas archonton, ut nostri dominos dominorum : veluti qui sub se, præter gregarios milites, spachios, subassas, etiam sangiacos et begos habeant : utrosque minorum (quod aiunt) gentium dominos, de quibus suo loco. Prætor addit, officium beglerbegorum respondere dignitati vel officio maximi stratopedarchi quem nunc generalem campi vocare solemus. Item sultano servit extra saraium is qui dicitur emir halem, cujus paulo ante meminimus. Vexillorum præfectus supremus est, ac tum ipse vexillum regium gestat in expeditionibus, tum vexilla beglerbegis offert sua, itidemque sua sangiacis begis. Emir achur stabuli præfectus est, cui vocabulo si Bujuc, præponatur, major vel primus ; si cudjuc, minor aut secundus stabuli præfectus intelligitur. De his jam percepisse lectorem opinor, qui Turcis bassa, qui beglerbegi, qui emires sint. Nec ignoro nomen emir Quibir, dignitatis in aula sultanorum Calrensiū maximæ. Sed intra limites coercenda scriptio, ne commentarius prolixior lectorem offendat, aut sæpius eadem repetat.

15. *Isnic, Bursa, Teggiur.*

Isnicam dixi, nomen hodiernum et Turcis usitatum retinens, licet ab aliis aliter scribatur, quæ Nicea priscis est. Castaldus per errorem non urbem Nicæam vocat Isnecham, sed lacum sive paludem Aseaniam, quæ tamen hodie Turcis Aesu dicitur, nomine significante aquam albam sive limpidam. In multis enim antiqua nomina sic immutant, ut priscorum similitudinem retinentia, tamen aliquid in lingua sua significant. Prusæ nomen antiquum retinui, tametsi nunc Bursa vulgo dicatur : quæ vox in errorem impulsi Bonfinium, ut Byrsam appellaret : quasi nomen hoc aliunde, quam a Prusa rege Bithynorum, acceperit. In Leonis Augusti constitutione de Thronis, etiam Theopolis sive Dei civitas cognominatur. Idem Claudiopolitano provincie Honoradiis archiepiscopatu Prusiadem subjicit, quod ideo notandum, quia Busbequius in Lincario Prusiadem cum Prusa confudit, Teggiur Turciset provincie præses, quem ipsi more suo denominant a cujusque provincie metropoli. Laonicus Harmosten reddidit, quæ vox antiquo Laconum usu significat eum qui vel in urbem, vel regionem imperio subjectam mittitur, ut ejus res constituat ac disponat. Prætor noster ducein regionis interpretatur, qui Græcis est Higemon. Sic enim perturbationem rerum in Asia minori describens, post occupatam a Flandris Constantinopolim, ait : Qui duces aliis in locis illi fuerant haecenus, singuli regionem administrationi suæ commissam, nunc sui juris efficiebant : vel ad hoc impulsi motu proprio,

Cum autem anni Turcici 296, Christianos efficiant 287: sequitur omnino tot annis haecenus imperium Osmanidarum durasse, sumpto ejus initio, sicut indicatum est, ab 420 anno 1500. Sin aliorum sequi rationes velimus, necessario referendum erit principium regni Osmanidarum ad annum Christianum 1295, quod omnium chronographorum et Historicorum illustrium sententiis adversabitur: aut omnino fatendum, in illa supputatione nostrorum quinque totos annos esse superfluos.

48. *Monumentum Muratis in campo Cosova.*

De sepultura Muratis obiter habeto, tradi a quibusdam, cadaver ejus Sophiam fuisse deportatum. Alii cum Turcis consentiunt, qui Prusam memorant avectum, et juxta Thermas Prusæ majorum monumentis aggregatum: Ita tamen, ut prius evisceraretur, et intestina in planitie Cosovana (Cassovianam Sansovinus ubique non recte vocat) terræ mandarentur. Id verum esse colligitur ex his Bonfinii verbis, quibus etiam monumenti, eo loco relictæ, hodieque superstitis, et nobis a comitibus Turcis monstrati, mentio fit; In media (inquit) fere planitie Cosovæ collis modicus assurgit, cujus radices Schitniza lambit. Non multo ulterius, ad caput aquoris, quædam turris erat, cujusdam olim Amuratis tumulus et pyramis: qui profligato exercitu, ibi cæsus et sepultus est. Haecenus Bonfinius, cujus verbis non nihil inhæreamus. Schitnizam alii Schinitzam temere nominare malunt. An idem fluvius sit cum Morava, videbimus deinceps, numero notarum 124. Amuratis tumulum et sepulturam intelligit, quo loco fuerunt ipsius condita viscera. Quemdam dicit Amuratem indefinite, pro sultano Murate I. Profligatum prius sit exercitum, non exprimens, Turcicusne profligatus fuerit, an hostilis exercitus, ac deinde Muratem cæsum: cum cæso Murate, Lazari Servie principis exercitum a Bajazite filio Muratis hic audiamus fuisse prælio victum.

49. *Kiratovum mons argenti, Vidina sive Vidinum, Citros, Bozjna, Patzinacæ.*

Kiratovum Turcis appellatur oppidum Servie situm ad montem, quem Argentarium vocant, a fodinis argenti. Gallicus interpres Laonici Rhodopen hunc esse vult, cum sit Hæmus. Antonius Bonfinius argenti fodinarum in Servia mentionem facit, ut admodum nobilium. Kiratovum Castaldo scribitur Crajovo, quod idem est cum Kiratovo. Vidinam hodie dicunt, quam Marius Niger olim vult appellatam fuisse Viminacium. Ejus in Justiniani Augusti amissa novellæ titulo fit mentio, cujus epitomen in I aratilis meis Græcis reperi. Sambucus noster in Ungariæ chorographia quodam Viminatz, diversum a Vidina, mox infra Belgradum ponit, Chalcocondylis interpres Latinus Bydenam reddidit, quam Vidynam scribere debuerat: quemadmodum legitur etiam in posteriore novella de ordine Thronorum, quam in synodo

A Andronicus Palæologus II Imperator edidit. Ejus enim hæc verba sunt: Vidina, quæ prius erat episcopatus sanctissimi archiepiscopatus Bulgariae, in metropolim evecta est. Bonfinius Bidinum nominat. Michael Ritus Bidinum, apud quem tamen male scriptum legitur Biolinium, pro Bidino. Vidinensis saugiacatus, nunc inter alios Beglerbego Temesvarensi subjectos recensetur, de quo plura suo loco, in Notitia videlicet imperii Ottomanici. Citros in novella Leonis imperatoris episcopatus est Thessaliæ, sub metropolitano Thessalonicensi: Bozinae regionis vulgo quoque notum est nomen. Incolas historici Græci dicere Patzinacas. Origine sunt Venedi, quod ex ipsa lingua, qua utuntur hodieque Veneda liquet. Antiquitates horum Cedrinus in Monomacho Augusto fuculente descripsit. Sed eo loco deest in edito Cedrino fragmentum insigne, quod cum historiæ studiosis aliquando communicabimus. Vir acris iudicii Pencerus, quem adolescens in geometricis et astronomicis audire meminimus, Patzinacarum seu Patzinacorum nomen a Pozina sive Pozinania, nobili Poloniæ municipio, derivare solebat: quod in iis scilicet finibus aliquando sedes habuisse videantur, antequam versus Tribalfos commigrarent. Et dicti videntur a Græcis Patzinacæ, nostrorum more, quibus Bozinachi non aliter appellantur, an Slavi, Slavachi: Poloni, Polachi: Bœmi, Bœmachi.

50. *Alascheher in Caramunia.*

C Alascheher lingua Turcica significat Altam civitatem. Græcis uno vocabulo diceretur Hypsipolis. Sed ejusmodi nomine nulla reperitur in historiis urbs, nec apud Geographos, quod equidem sciam. Leo Sapiens Augustus in novella de Thronis sub metropoli Neocæsariæ Ponti Polemoniæ recenset episcopatum Hypsilon, id est altum vel sublimem. Idem sub Synadensi Phrygiæ Salutaris metropoli collocat episcopatum Hypsu, quod iisdem Græce alludit ad altitudinem. Sed an ad Alascheherim ea nomina congruant, ut existimentur appellationem Græcam Turci lingua sua reddidisse: iudicio lectoris eruditi relinquo. Quia tamen statim hic sequitur Aidinensis agri mentio, qui versus Cariam Phrygiæ majori finitimam se porrigit, et Alascheheri capta venisse Bajazitis in potestatem traditur: facile persuaderi equidem mihi pateret, oppidum posterius Hypsu, abolito vocabulo Græco, Turcicum Alascheher ejusdem significati diversa in lingua nomen accepisse. 421 De regionibus, Aidinensi et Sarchania, superius a nobis numero 13 tractatam.

51. *Constantini a Turcis appellati Græcorum imperatores omnes, Nigeboli, prælium Nicopolitanum.*

Et Græcorum imperatori, cui Bajazites inulisse bellum dicitur, nomen erat Joannes Palæologus (Calojoannem vulgo nominabant, non a pulebritudine, sed bonitate) qui Manuelem filium, cujus nos præcepta educationis regni Latina fecimus, consortem imperii vivus designavit. Nihilonius

hunc Turci Constantinum vocant, non Joannem: A prorsus eadem causa quam supra, numero 46, de Servia despotis exposuimus, qui similiter etia Lazarus vocatur omnes, et Buldogli. Quamquam hoc quaque verum, videri Græcos ipsos imperatores affectasse Constantini nomen, ut nostri Caesaris et Augusti, tanquam primi Constantinopoleos et Orientalis imperii conditoris. Sic Heraclius Augustus in Novellis suis, quas aliquot habemus nunc editas, Heraclium filium cognominat *Neon* sive novum, aut juniores, aut alterum Constantinum. Sic in monasterio Constantinopoli, quod Græci *Suluna* vulgo vocant, appellatus, quondam *Peribleptæ*, sive spectatissimæ *Deiparæ*, Armeniorumque sacris nunc dicatum, versus occidentalem templi partem Michael Paleologus imperator cum Theodora Augusta piectus conspicitur, inter utrumque parentem collocato Constantino filio, cum inscriptione triplici. Primæ verba sunt hæc, quæ Latine proferam, Græca cum alijs daturus alibi:

MICHAEL IN CHRISTO DEO
FIDELIS REX ET IMPERATOR,
DYCAS, ANGELVS, COMNENVS,
ET NOVVS CONSTANTINVS.

Quod ille cognomen Constantini magis profecto mereri videbatur, quam alii, propter recuperatam expulsis Flandris Constantinopolim. Urbem vero Nigebolim Turci vocant, quæ præcis a victoria Trajani Augusti de Daecorum rege Deceballo dicta fuit Nicopolis. Ea duplex est, major et minor: C quas medius rex fluviorum Danubius interlabitur. Hodie Sangiacatus Nigebolensis sub Rumelle sive Græciæ beglerbego censetur. Nomine regis Ungarorum intelligitur Sigismundus, qui postea factus fuit imperator. Is anno Christiano 1392 Nicopolim obsedit, ut Bonfinius commemorat. Geufræus, et alii quidam, pugnam volunt anno 1396, profecto Michaelino. Sed vero similis est, quod a Turcis etiam traditur, cum a Sigismundo Nicopolis oppugnaretur, eo se cum exercitu Bajazitem obsidione Constantinopoleos soluta contulisset: dumque suis obsessis succurrere niteretur, anno proximo 1395 prælium fuisse commissum. Et annus iste Christianus Mahumetano 794, quo pugnam Annales aiunt, respondet. Impressionis nocturnæ nulla mentio apud nostros historicos. Froissardus, Bonfinius, Geufræus, prælii tam infelicitè pugnatæ culpam in Gallorum proterviam conferunt, sicut ex ipsorum narrationibus cognoscere, qui volet, potest.

52. Pax inter Bajazitem et Græcos.

Nusquam nostris in historiis legitur, Bajazitem cum obsessis Constantinopoli toto vel octennio vel decennio, Græcis principibus pacem fecisse: minus etiam, quod expressa in Annalibus conditione, de recipiendis in urbem Turcis, ea pax facta fuerit: sed urbe jam peritura, nec opinatum supervenisse tradunt auxilium, movente

contra Bajazitem maximis cum copiis Temire Chane Tatarorum. At vero cum apud Laonicum legatur, ingratum erga patrem filium Andronicum, dum a Bajazite regno præfici cuperet, ejecto patre Calojoanne, cum Manuele filio regni consorte, verbis inter alia talibus usum: Habebo in urbe judicem sive præfectum Turcum: non absimile vero fuerit, adigente Bajazite Græcos ad extremam desperationem, tandem eorum imperatores, Calojoannem et Manuelem, in id etiam assensos, quod utro de Turcis in urbem admittendis Andronicus obtulerat. Cur enim habiturum se judicem Turcum promittebat, si nulli erant in urbe domicilium habituri Turci, quibus ille Cadius sive judex in occurrentibus controversiis jus diceret?

53. Melatige, Silistra, Empoli.

Quæ sit urbs Melatige, de his Laonici verbis intelligitur: Post Ertzicam (rectius scripsisset interpretes Ertzincam, vel Ertzingam, duplici gamma) captam, progressus Bajazites, Melitinen urbem, Euphrati impositam, in deditionem accepit. Hinc enim patet, Melatigen Turcos dicere, quæ olim vocata fuerit Melitine. Prothlysteron duntaxat animadvertendum, quod prius Ertzingam a Bajazite captam fuisse commemorat, quam Melitinen: eum a Turcis contrarium scribatur. Est autem Melitine Leoni Augusto in novella de Thronis Armeniæ secundæ metropolis. In Anatoliæ descriptione geographica reperire est Malatiam ad Euphratem fluvium, quæ Turcorum est illa sive Melatige, sive Melatie, Græcorum Melitine, colloante hanc etiam Laonico super Euphratem fluvium, Silistriæ nomen hodieque Turcis notum, civitatis in Macedonia, ubi Silistrensis Sangiaci sedes, 422 Rumeliæ sive Græciæ beglerbego subjecti. Empolis haud scio, an non sit Amphipolis, vicina Serris, de qua dictum cap. 43. Lembalo quidem reperitur in Græcia Castaldi, sita versus Thessaloniceam, Emboli fortasse Turcica, cum articulo Italico: nisi quis malit, datum loco nomen ab Embolo, propter similitudinem cum rostro navis. Sed Amphipolim potius hic arbitror intelligi.

54. Despotarum dignitas: Cræles, Cralæna. Quisnam Turcis Bulcus despota: Bulcovitziorum Genealogia.

In Græcorum imperio prima, secundum regiam vel imperatoriam majestatem, dignitas erat eorum quos ipsi vocabant despotas: uti videre licet in officiorum palatii catalogo, passimque Græcis in historiis. Vicini principes, Græcorum exemplum imitati, se quoque despotas nominarunt, præsertim Bulgari, Servique: licet eosdem videamus in Græcorum historiis interdum regio quoque censerit titulo, cum Cræles pro despota appellentur, et ipsorum conjuges Cralæna, pro despinis. Idem in nostris etiam observavimus. Sic enim Thomas Ebendorfus in Austriacis annalibus manuscriptis: Elisabet, inquit, illa Friderici Austriaci regis Romanorum desponsata fuit aliquando Joanni Bohem.

dimicantes Bulei milites, truculentos ac feroces A
 Dervisios appellabat Temir, qui se vitamque suam
 pro salute suorum animose devovissent. Germa-
 nuna vero Bajazitis filium Mustapham hoc praelio
 perisse diximus ex fide horum annalium antehac
 aliquoties, idque licet sultanus Muchemetes pri-
 mus, itemque Murates secundus post mortem pa-
 tris saepius verum esse protestarentur: tamen us-
 que adeo Graecis impressa de hoc diversa erat
 opinio, Mustapham ut alium, pro legitimo se ven-
 ditantem, obviis ulnis exciperent, et armis contra
 Muratem magna cum imprudentia maloque suo
 tuerentur: offerente amplissima quæque Murate,
 modo neutrius a partibus starent, ac ipsos inter
 se rem armis decernere paterentur. Consimilis
 huic Graecorum est error de Bajazitis filio, quem
 fidium (sic enim chordas interpretes reddidit) opifex
 Prusæus incolumem Byzantium perduxerit: cum
 tamen nulla fiat in annalibus Alis eujuspiam, Baja-
 zitis filii, mentio; nec ab ipso quidem Laonico,
 cum alibi Bajazitis filios recenset. Notandum magis,
 quod etiam Musulmane regnante narrat a Mose
 Jesuque fratribus occulatum fuisse Prusæ pue-
 rum Muchemetem apud illum ipsum opificem
 chordarum, a quo Muchemetes hoc opificium
 didicerit. Et factum id scilicet a Mose, om-
 nium crudelissimo, vel ipso Laonico teste,
 ne ab aliis charus sibi puer occideretur. Muche-
 metem vero jam grandiusculum inde profu-
 gisse ad Alurim Caramanum, a quo adjutus, C
 servatori suo Mosi bellum intulerit: sed victum
 427 confugisse ad Alim fratrem, exulem ac
 inopem, et quidem Constantinopolim: ubi nonnihil
 respiraverit, collectisque suorum, reliquiis, denuo
 temere belli fortunam decreverit. Hæc Laenicus de
 puero Muchemete, chordarum opificis discipulo,
 pene pueriliter, nec vero multas ob causas consen-
 tanea. Magis idonei rerum Turcicarum scriptores,
 ipsi Turci, tradunt, rebus Temiriano praelio de-
 speratis, bassas abduxisse secum, arrepta fuga,
 maximum natu Bajazitis filium Soleimanem, veluti
 legitimum patris in imperio successorem: et illorum
 exemplo Muchemetem, non puerum (ut Laenicus
 putavit), sed copiarum ex imperio paterno quarum-
 dam ducem, suis itidem rebus uti consuleret, Ama-
 siam cum suis se contulisse: quo loco deinceps
 eum vixisse, non semel annales tradunt: et indidem
 eum exercitu contra Musam fratrem movisse, post-
 quam interfecto Soleimane, vindicem necis ipsius
 se professus esset. Quæ res, meo sane judicio, di-
 gnæ sunt hominum historię studiosorum obser-
 vatione: cum in publicatis hactenus scriptis histo-
 ricis nihil intricatius de Turcicis rebus reperiamus,
 quam quæ de hoc ipso tempore summæ Turcorum
 infelicitatis memoriæ prodita legimus.

65. *Semercant, Bajazitis mors, annorum ratio.*

Regionis Zacatainæ, cujus incole id temporis
 imperio Temiris parentes, Laonico Tzachataides

A nominantur, caput est urbs Semercant, hodie
 mercium Indicarum emporio celeberrimo septem-
 trionalibus etiam nota. Sarmacanda plerumque
 vocatur, edito Laonico Samrachanta, litteris trans-
 positis, pro Samarebanta. Sunt qui dictam putant
 a Sem, Nobæ filio, quorum opinioni Turcorum
 pronuntiatio Semercant astipulatur. Maracandam
 Sogdianæ veteribus appellatam existimant aliqui.
 Cæterum Bajazitem ex animi ægritudine doloreque
 mortuum scripsit Chalcocondyles, cui Turcicæ
 narrationes non adversantur: sed addunt, hoc
 mœrore velut ad desperationem adactum, mortem
 sibi met ipsi conscivisse. Quod dilucidius exponens
 Theodorus Spanduginus, ait Bajazitem, spe libertatis
 amissa, constituisse cum animo suo seipsum
 occidere. Sed cum nullum ejus peragende rei
 modum inveniret, tam denique diu caput allisisset
 illi caveæ de ferro factæ, qua tenebatur inclusus,
 donec præ furore fremens ac frendens, misere sibi
 mortem afferret, tyrannique vita, secundum poetam,
 indignata sub umbras fugeret. Interpretes Laonici
 pugnatum notat inter Bajazitem et Temirem anno
 Christiano 1397. Mortuum Bajazitem scribit Fran-
 ciscus Sansovinus anno 1398, Geufræus anno 1400,
 quos equidem Jalli opinor. Quippe secundum rati-
 ones accuratas annalium deprehendimus, com-
 missum fuisse prælium anno vel 1399, vel 1400,
 Gilderunem vero mortuum anno 1403. Similiter in
 annis regni hujus erratum a Laonico, qui viginti
 quinque numerat, pro solis quatuordecim: de quo
 vide supra numero 47 notata.

66. *Castamoni, Congeri, Congi.*

Claudiopolis civitas est Honoriadis, in Ponto pro-
 vincia, quam nov. Leonis Augusti metropolim facit,
 eique præter alios episcopatus, Heracleam quoque
 Ponticam subjicit. Hanc Marius Niger recenti nomi-
 ne dici putat Castamenam, sive Castamonam;
 sed fallitur, cum rectius Castromena sit Clau-
 diopolis. Castamona vero sita longius est, versus
 Sinopen oppidum Helenopanti et Paphlagoniam.
 Tam Sinopes, quam Castamonæ nomina, cum
 ipsis oppidis, supersunt, uti, videre est in anna-
 lium supplemento nostro, ad annum Christianum
 1534. Istic enim tunc Osman bassa vezirazemes
 contra Persas iturus, militem in hibernis habuit.
 Menavinus alicubi Castemolen nominavit. Cedrinus
 in Michaelæ Stratiotico sive militari, Castamonem
 appellat, et in Paphlagonia collocat his verbis:
 Castamonem in Paphlagonia sitam veniunt, quæ
 sane Castamon domicilium erat magistri [officiorum]
 Isaacii Comneni. Prætor Graciæ noster Castamonam
 vocat in Historia sua, de Michaelæ Palæologo, post
 victos a Tataris Iconiensis, hæc commemorans:
 Michael Comnenus, hoc praelii eventu, cum maximo
 Persicorum exercituum duce, quem Peclarpacem
 Persæ (hoc est, Iconenses Turci) vocare solent,
 in viam sese dabat: adeoque pluribus una diebus
 iter faciebant, cum hostem sibi a tergo in hæren-
 tem haberent, horisque singulis cum eo dimicarent.

Tandem festinabundi Castamonam perveniunt, juxta quam domus indicati Peclarpæcis erat. Hactenus prætor. Quæ vero hic Congeri nominatur, eam ipsam esse puto, quam in Anatoliæ tabula Congi scriptam legimus, haud procul a Castamona dissitam.

67. *Genuini Bajazitis filii secreti a commentitiis.*

Quæ de Bajazitis liberis. hoc loco non multis verbis exponuntur, diligenti consideratione memoriaque digna sunt. Quippe cum illi de Turcorum sententia, non plures numero, quam sex omnino fuerint: quid aliud statuamus, quam reliquos hactenus nobis obtrusos, velut in judicio status ab ipsis Turcis condemnatos, pro genuinis deinceps agnoscere non debere? Neque 428 vero vel unum, vel alterum duntaxat hoc judicium tangit, sed rejiciendi omnino totidem veniunt, quot extra controversiam legitimi censentur: nimirum hi sex, Orthobules, Mulsumanes, Cyriscelebis, Alis, Jesus minor, Mustaphas cognomento Dusmes: cum primi ex his Orthobulis filio Ziche, quem ipsum quoque Turci ceu cretum Osmanidarum sanguine non agnoscunt. Interim vero pro duobus explosis, duo succedunt hactenus quidem ignoti, sed a Turcis pro legitimis agniti Gilderunis filii pro Dusme Mustapha, Mustaphas Zelebis, amissis in pugna contra Temirem, pro Jesu minore, Casanes Zelebis.

68. *A quo necatus fuerit Isa, Constantinus, pro Manuele Græcorum imperatore.*

Scriptis Laonicis, inter Mulsumanem Jesumque majorem gesta fuisse de imperio bella, quorum tamen annales hi non meminere, tandemque Jesum a Mulsumane peremptum. Ejus parricidii culpa Mulsumanem, hoc est, Soleimanem profecto immerentem onerat, cujus auctorem Turci Musam produnt, quibuscum ipsa rerum gestarum series consentit. De nomine Constantini, quo Turcos Græcorum imperatores omnes appellasse, numero notarum 51 diximus, exemplum hic aliud habes. Is enim Græcus imperator, ad quem narratur emir Soleimanes obsidum loco misisse sororem suam, fratremque natu minimum, non Constantini nomen habebat, sed Manuelis, ex Palæologina familia, cujus et superius facta mentio.

69. *Sedes imperii Turcici diversæ.*

Quanam æceremonia sultani Turcici regnum aspiciari consueverint, expositum a nobis est prolixè in annalium supplemento, initio regni Selimis secundi, quod incidit in annum Christianum 1566. Solebat autem hoc in ea fieri civitate, quæ sedes esset imperii. Principio Turcis ea fuit Prusa Bithyniæ, paulo ante mortem Osmanis ab Urchane filio capta: quæ licet honorem hunc non diu retinuit, ex pristina tamen prærogativa meruit, ut longissimi temporis spatio sultani Turcorum mortui paternis et avitis istic monumentis, etiam diu post captam Constantinopolim, sicut in vita sultani Selimis secundi de Achmete Coreuteque fratribus ibidem sepultis videre licet, inferrentur. Postquam vero transvectis in Europam copiis, Murates pri-

mus, Urchanis filius Osmanis N. Hadrianopolim cepisset: eodem et regni sedes ex Asia commigrasse videtur, quod recte se facturos sultani ducerent, si rebus Anatolicis jam tranquillioribus, præcipuum militiæ robur Hadrianopoli velut in excubiis haberent: unde, momentis rerum ex usu suo gerendarum animadversis, progredi paulatim latius et in Europæ viscera grassari possent. San-sovinus existimat, primum omnium Muchemetem, Gilderunis filium, huc imperii sui sedem transtulisse, quod urbium Thraciæ facile caput esset Hadrianopolis. Sed ante Muchemetis etiam tempora certum sive regiæ, sive Portæ Osmanicæ locum, sultanos priores Hadrianopoli constituisse, pluribus ex locis Laonici manifestum est. Quippe de Mulsumane eloquens, Profectus, inquit, Hadrianopolim, regni sedem (hoc est, quæ regni sedes erat), regnum ordinavit. Et paulo ante de Mose, Hadrianopolim, ait, quæ regni sedes est, profectus, ibidem rex declaratur. Quam vero ad urbem translata tertium fuerit Porta, nemo non novit.

70. *Gerle, Dolap, Soleimanis mores.*

De Isvendiarum ditone superius explicatum numero notarum 13, qua et Gerle comprehendebatur oppidum. Id nota 19 diximus in tabulis geographicis corrupte scriptum inveniri Gerede pro Gerele. Narrant vero annales, Soleimanem castra propter Gerlen, ad ripam fluminis locasse. Non exprimitur ejus fluminis hic nomen, sed in Anatoliæ descriptione Dolap vocatur. Soleimanis indolem Chalcocondyles quoque ceu bonam prædicat, eique magnas virtutes tribuit, sed eadem cum Turcis de perpetuis ejus potationibus et luxu commemorat: quæ homini minus rerum suarum provido sollicitoque tandem exitium attulerunt.

71. *Valachia Carabogdania, Nemetsassii, Iflach, Gallicia, Vaivoda, Murze, Bogdani.*

Dæcia quondam appellabatur amplissima regio, quæ Transsylvaniam cum utraque Valachia continebat. Et cingunt am bæ Valachiæ Transsylvaniam, quarum una majoris nomen habet, altera minoris. Major ad Euxinum mare se porrigit, et nostris Moldavia, Turcis Carabogdania, quasi nigra Bogdania, sive Bogdani regio dicitur: a frumento nigro, cujus est ager ille feracissimus. Gallicus, et alter Chalcocondylis interpres, Podoliam perinscite faciunt, regionem juris Polonici. Minor propter Danubii ripas extenditur, et plerumque Transalpina, Bonfinio Montana quoque sicut et aliis nominatur. Vlachiam vocavere Græci, et incolas Vlachos: pro quibus interpretes Zonaræ, Cedrini et aliorum historicorum reddidere Blachiam et Blachos, contra molliorem pronuntiandi rationem Græcorum: quos imitantes Turci, non Iflach, sed Iflach dicunt. Nomen Valachorum non a Flaccis Romanis, origine fabulosa, 429 quæ pluribus tamen placuit, sed a Germanis nostris profectum arbitror. Habuerunt enim vicini Daci Germanos, puta Quados, Gothos, Gepidas, in quorum agro, qui nunc

batur olim, nunc Tzaconia, non Sacania, sicut A Ortelius prave scripsit.

421. *Ibanis seu Joannis ditio, Cotziacum, sive Getia, Iscodar, Scodra Scutarium, Ischender beg.*

Annales hanc ditionem Joannis vocant, quam Ibanis regionem dixit Laonicus. Ivanem vero scribere debuit interpret. Etenim Servianus Iwan, ut hodie Rossis quoque Joannes vocatur. Intelligitur autem Joannes Castriotes vel Castriotus, partis Albaniae princeps, pater Georgii Castriotis, qui nominabatur a Turcis Ischender beg, id est dominus Alexander, ex quo 443 Scanderbogum fecerunt alii, magnamque Alexandrum non recte interpretati sunt. Corruptius eundem Bonfinius Sandorobechum appellavit. Laonicus Scanderem scripsit, qui puer in januas regis venerit, hoc est, ad Portam Osmanidae principis; et hoc tempore Muratem ei bellum fecisse commemorat. Chalcocondylis interpres hoc loco margini Caleioli nomen ascripsit, pro nomine Castrioti. Cotziacum in hujus belli narratione, libro septimo Laonici, Getia vocatur: vicina Crae (Crojam nostri dicunt, de qua plura paulo post), quam post Getiam, licet frustra, Murates adortus fuit. Iscodarbeg Turcis est Scodrae dominus sive princeps, videlicet hic ipse Georgius Castriotus, de quo dictum. Scodra vero Graecis est integra voce Scutarium. Plinius tamen alicubi Scodram vocat, et in Novella Leonis Augusti de thronis etiam Scodarum episcopatus sub Dyrhaelina metropoli reperitur, qui sane non diversus est ab ejus civitatis episcopatu, cujus hic fit mentio. Fallitur Barletius, cum Turcis Scandriam dici putat, quasi Alexandriam. Nam Iscodar non est Scandria, nec Alexandria vocatur eis Scandria, sed Ischendrie.

422. *Saxones in Huniadis exercitu. Sazii, Sassii, Sassia.*

Mirum alicui videatur, cur Annales mentionem Saxonum hic seorsum faciant, cum statim in genere Germanorum nomen subjiciant, quo Saxones etiam continentur. Ejus eximendi scrupuli causa dico, non hic nostro in Germania Saxones intelligi: sed Saxones Transsilvaniae vel Erdelii, vel Septemcastrensium in Hungaria regionis incolas, qui Sassios sive Saxones hodieque se profitentur, et a Ceculis, ejusdem regionis incolis, tam lingua, quam aliis rebus, omnibus differunt. Hinc Bonfinius in Transsilvaniae site Saxobaniae mentionem facit, pagina 612 postremae Francofurtensis editionis, quam Sambucus nostro clarissimo debemus: cujus equidem mortui memoriam cum benevolentia usurpo, et praeter meritum a quodam excellentis ingenii doctrinaeque viro, nobis tamen amico, mox a morte paulo tactam inolementius, doleo. Et ibidem Sambucus margini nomen Saz, ad Saxobaniam ascripsit: quo significare voluit, hanc a Saziis sive Saziis sic dietam. Notum vero, Saxones a Germanis, quos superiores vocant, ita nominari: cum ipsi patriam suam Sassiam, seque Sassios intelligunt. His conjunge, quae

A supra de Nemetsassii capite 71 exposuimus. Autem vicli Saxones nostri a Karulo magno Augusto, quemadmodum in Flandriam, sic etiam in haec Erdelli loca translati fuerint, quod aliquibus persuasum video: non hujus est loci, prolixius discutere. Mibi quidem vix vero fit simile, qui sciam uno saeculo Saxones ante Karulum magnum in Pannonia cum ipsis fuisse civibus suis Longobardis; ut omnia tam alia, quae sane plurima possent in medium afferri. Copiae nostrorum, quas Turci maximas fuisse dicunt, hominum viginti duo millia continebant: praeter Valachos tamen, uti Bonfinius meminit.

425. *Valachi a Turcis caesi, justo judicio vindicatum in transfugas.*

Annunt Annales, casus a limitotrophis aliquot B proceribus Turcicis fuisse Valachos ante commissum in planitie Cosovana praelium. Chalcocondyles vero tradit, Valachos ab Ungaris et ceteris Christianis ad Muratem sub ipsam defecisse Cosovanam dimicationem: deque sententia Muratis arma ponere jussos, in exercitus utriusque conspectu, summa cum omnium admiratione, ceu perfidos transfugas ac desertores, trucidatos fuisse. Quod equidem exemplum singularis in Murate severitatis ac justitiae, praeteritum a Turcis esse silentio, non abs re miror.

424. *Annus praelii Cosovani, numerus utrinque caesorum. An Morava fluvius idem cum Schitniza.*

Notavimus in margine libri annum Mahometanum 835, quo pugnatum in Cosovana planitie, respondere Christiano 1448: quo Bonfinius etiam dimicationem scripsit. Idem addit, perisse continuis hisce conflictibus Turcorum ad triginta quatuor millia, Christianorum vero duntaxat octo millia, quemadmodum Murates ipse suis in litteris ad Corinthios lassus fuerit. Caeterum hoc loco praeterire silentio non possum, me superius numero notarum 48 pollicitum explicationem quaestionis, an Schitniza fluvius idem sit cum Morava. Sic enim hunc cum incolis voco, qui Chalcocondylis interpreti Morabas scribitur. Cedrinus alicubi Moravem tam fluvium, quam castellum ad ejus ripam positum, non procul a Beligradis, nominare videtur. Pervenit, inquit, usque ad Moravem et Belegrada, quae castra sunt Pannoniae, in Transistriana regione sita, et Crafi Turciae vicina. Quibus verbis ultimis Crales Turciae significat Hungariae regem. Saepius enim repetit Cedrinus, Unnos et Ungros dici Turcos. Idem hos in Pannonia Turcos occidentales discernit a positis in vicinia Persarum Turcis orientalibus. Et Turcia Persis hodieque dicuntur Mogores, quod nomen genti suae nunc etiam tribuunt Ungari, sicut Eginhartus quoque Karuli Magni tempore scripsit,

444. *Ugros vel Ungros et Magores eosdem esse. Nota vox Ungarorum, Maggior mndra. Sed redeamus ad Moravam, Geufræus Moravam olim Moschum fuisse nominatum putat. Meminit autem Laonicus, sepultos fuisse Turcos, hoc praelio caesos, ad ripam Moravae fluminis. Bonfinius vero proce-*

res ait ibidem sepultos, gregarios in profluentem A Schitnizam coniectos. Hinc parere videtur, idem esse flumen, Schitnizam et Moravam. Sed cum equidem recordari videar, comites nostros istie unum Moravam nominasse: restat ut concludamus, Schitnizam hactenus conservato nomine, postquam se Moravam miscuit, amisso priori vocabulo deinceps solo Moravam nomine censi, donec ita conjunctus uterque fluvius in Danubium labatur. Memini vado nos transire Moravam, magna mensium aliquet siccitate plurimum deminutis ejus aquis: sed nusquam ab eis incolis Schitniza, ubique Morava nominabatur, contra interpretis Gallici opinionem.

125. *Feris beg, Gergoni sive Chrysonicum, Anatolia montana.*

Nomen beglerbegi Romaniæ, qui Gergonim arceam vel oppidum instaurare jussu Muratis debebat, Annales ipsi non expresserunt. Bonfinius autem scripsit, hunc appellatum fuisse Frigibechum, quod Italica pronuntiatione tantumdem valet, ac Frisibeg. Turci Feris beg, aut Feris beg enuntiant. Reperitur enim superius tale begi cujusdam alterius nomen, initio vitæ Bajasitis primi, qui progressus cum copiis ad Danubium usque, primus istie Vidinam occupasse traditur. Oppidum Gergoni Turcis dictum, Bonfinius Chrysonicum nominat. Situm est in Roxiana sive Rasciana Servianave regione, ad Moravam fluvium. Anatoliæ montana Turci vocant hoc loco, sicut alibi quoque sæpius, montem Olympum, sive Calogerorum, in Bithynia, prope civitatem Prusam: de quo dictum antea, capite notarum 17.

126. *Beligradum Albanæ, Crua, Croa, Croe, Croja, principum Crojanorum in Belgio familia.*

Idem cum superiori, ad Savi Danubii que confluentes sito Belgrado Servie, nomen habet hoc Albanæ vel Arbanæ (sicut vulgus Græcorum vocat) Beligradum, hoc est, arx alba. Quippe conjuncta cum oppido arx est, quæ a Valona, celeberrima nunc etiam Epiri civitate (Leo imperator Auloniam, veteres Aulonem dixerunt), unius itinere diei distat. Cæterum dissimulare non debeo, nullam obsessi a Murate paulo ante mortem Beligradi mentionem reperiri, vel apud Martinum Barletium Scodrensem, rerum a Scanderbego gestarum scriptorem, vel apud Bonfinium, vel Geufræum: sed obsidium Crojæ duntaxat ab his exponi, quam prius etiam capto Cotziaco sive Getia, quatuor ante hoc tempus annis, irrito conatu tentaverat: ut scripsit Laonicus, qui Cruam nominat, urbem Albanorum primariam. Novella Leonis Augusti, quam toties citamus, velut alteram quamdam imperii Constantinopolitani notitiam, numero multitudinis Croas appellat, et harum episcopum Dyrrbachino subjicit. Idem ei nomen est apud prætorem Græciæ nostrum. Barletius Crojam vocat, idque nomen Epirotarum lingua fontem significare dicit: quod intra munitonem jugis aquæ fontes sint. Primus hanc Mura-

tes his obsedit, quo de nunc agimus: et cum ea potiri secunda oppugnatione non posset, in morbum lethalem præ indignatione lapsus, rabidam exhalavit animam. Imitatus est patrem persequendo Castriote, vexandaque Croja, Muchemetes secundus filius: qui continuis munitionibus undique circumdatam, et artissime clausam, capere tamen non potuit, Scanderbegus tandem sponte Venetis eam donavit ante mortem, ne tantæ reipublicæ destituta præsidio, Turcorum in manus mox a morte defensoris veniret. Obiter hoc adjicitor, ab hac Croja nomen tulisse nobilissimos Belgii proceres Crojanos, qui Crojam aliquando possedisse traduntur: sicut in iisdem Albanicis locis et Karlovitzii principes, origine Galli, de quibus dictum capite 46, Dyrrbachium suo cum agro tenuerunt: et Achaicæ principes in eadem vicinia rerum aliquando fuerunt potiti, Sabandosaxonica nati familia. Ex Crojanis regulis summæ fuit auctoritatis apud Karulum V Augustum Hadrianus, Chiurii dominus. Eadem editus gente fuit Antonius princeps Portianus in Gallia. Nunc apud Belgas superstites sunt duo fratres, dux Arescotanus, et Haurechius marchio, cum principe Chimæo Arescotani filio.

127. *Galata, Ceras, Simus Ceratinus, Pera, Sycæ, Scala Sycæna.*

Urbs Galata vulgo etiam nota est, e regione Constantinopoleos sita, trans sinum, quem Ceras sive Cornu, et Ceratinum sive Cornutum, veteres etiam vocarunt: quod instar cornu cervini sparsim ramis quasi quibusdam litus utrumque amplectatur. Patet in ambitu totus hic sinus milliaribus Græcis viginti. Galatas hodie masculo genere Græcis effertur, sicut et prætori Græciæ nostræ, qui Phurion sive castellum vocat. Eadem et Pera dicitur et Peræa Nicetæ historico, quod ultra sinum posita sit. Veteres ab arborum ficos ferentium 445 copia Sycas nominabant, quæ vox apud Zosimum quoque nostrum legitur. Xylander apud Cedrinum ficus interpretatur, et suburbium esse dicit Byzantii: cum tamen intermedio mari ab urbe disjungatur. Qua Constantinopoli Galatam transjicitur, Scalam Sycenam ponit vetus urbis Constantinopolitanae descriptio, quæ libro Notitiæ utriusque imperii adjecta est: et scalam in Portolano suo Græci hodieque dicunt eum locum, quo naves appellant et ubi exseenditur. Usus est hac voce Cedrinus in Copronymo, cum narret, unum glaciæ fragmentum cum impetu delatum et impactum in scalam Acropoleos, id est arcis Byzantinæ, de qua capite 159, eam comminuisse. Latitudo sinus inter hanc scalam et oppidum Galatam, vel inter ambas potius scalas, e regione positas, ad passus 500 patet. Galata Genuensium colonia est, etiam hodie majori ex parte a Christianis inhabitata, præsertim mercatoribus.

turæ Chairadinis Bassæ, cui ab Italis nomen Barbarossæ datum fuit. Meminit hic eum sepultum liber ipse Annalium, ad annum Christianum 1547. Diplokionion priscis dictum erat Jasonium. Ortelius non recte Diplociana scripsit, pro Diplokionion, et Bisitas, pro Besietas.

Ultra Diplokionion est id, de quo prolixè nunc egimus, Neocastron.

Hinc itur ad locum, Stenia nunc dictum, nomine corrupto de Sosthenio, ni fallor. Aut hoc illud est Stenon, Cedrino et aliis frequenter nominatum.

Sequitur Neochori, quod sic enuntiatur a Græcis hodie, cum sit Neochorion. Significat autem locum vel agrum prædiumve novum.

Supra Neochorion pagus est Pharapia. Sic enim a Græcis effertur, a nostris Therapia.

Pervenitur hinc ad Panagian sto mauro molo, id est, ad sanctissimam Deiparam virginem, sitam ad nigram molem portus. Quidam e vulgo nominant, ad sanctissimam Deiparam die xv Augusti.

Ultima Turris est ad ipsum Ponti ostium, cum pago a Græcis inhabitato, sita: sicut et hactenus indicatorum utriusque litoris locorum incolæ fere Græci sunt. Eam turrim Busbequius Pharam vocabulo veteri nominat, sed accolæ Phanarion appellant, a Græco verbo derivata voce, quod lucendi significationem habet. Quippe noctu faces accenduntur in suprema turris parte, quam animi causa conscendimus, ut ad ostium Ponti navigantium incolumitati consulatur. A Constantinopoli distat hoc ostium maris Euxini milliaribus Græcis plus minus 55. Scopuli saxo vivo siti duo sunt ante Ponti ostium, quo in Bosporum magna vi semet exonerat. Hæ scilicet illæ Cyaneæ sive Symplegades, sive Planetæ sunt, quas ipse Busbequius pene putavit fabulosas, aut invenire se saltim, velut alio devolutas, potuisse negavit. Insulæ priscis hæ dicebantur non quod sint magnæ, sed quod undique mari velut insulillæ vel nisidia, sicut Græci vocant, alluantur: Cyaneæ, quod ex intervallo magno adnavigantibus cæruleum de se colorem præbeant: Symplegades et Planetæ a conquassatione mutua, qua spectantibus ex remoto spatio non tangere se tantum existimantur, verum etiam loco moveri, et ita coire, duntaxat unus ut esse scopulus, unum nisidion, videantur. Hanc opinionem de Cyaneis meam Gregoræ verba hæc, e libro Historiarum iv, confirmant: « Promontorium, inquit, templi Argonautarum, quod Os Ponti appellatur: ubi Cyaneas et Planetas esse Græci quondam dixerunt: nimirum in ipso Ponti ostio. Hæc omnia sane diligenter inspicere bis memini, præsentis Hieronymo Arconato, præstantis ingenii viro: qui rem memoria dignam hic mihi primus suggerebat. Altera Symplegadam, quam simpliciter saxum Busbequius appellavit, habet columnam veterem ex albo marmore, quam vulgus istæ Pompeii columnam falso vocat. In hac præter alia, quæ Gyllius diligenter servavit et descripsit, Augusti Sphingem mihi

A monstrabat Arconatus, a Gyllio non animadversam. Sphingi respondet inscriptio, quam ab aliis omisam ponere libuit.

DIVO CÆSARI AVGVSTO
L. CLANNIDIVS
L. F. CLAVD. PONTICVS

448 Nec tamen defuerunt hic olim etiam Cn. Pompeii monumenta, relicta in his locis inde ad illis usque temporibus, cum imperator populi Romani contra Mithridatem, Ponti regem, bellum gereret. Exstat unum adhuc liberti ejusdam Pompeiani marmor, quod non procul a Casanis bassæ messita (quondam illustri S. Theodosiæ templo) supra navale Sultaninum sita, conspicitur. Id pulcherrimis exaratum litteris Romanis, hæc B verba continet.

V. CN. POMPEIVS. PHILINVS.
POMPEIÆ PHILOMENÆ
FILLIÆ
ET SIBI

Habet lector uno comprehensa capite non pauca, quibus tam prolixè recensendis, si præter officium et institutum alicui fecisse videbor, excusabit apud æquos me iudices infixum animo fervens explicandi res Græcas et Turcicas studium, cum rerum ipsarum varietate tam utili, quam minime lædiosa.

129. *Tempus certum captæ Constantinopoleos.*

Certum est, captam Constantinopolim a Muchemete II die 29 mensis Mai, quem iv Kal. Junias vocamus, anno Christiano 1455, non 1452, quem admodum apud Æneam Silvium per errorem librarii fortasse scriptum legitur. Potest hoc etiam ex collatione Mahumetanorum annorum ad Christianos colligi. Cætera de urbistam obsidione, quam occupatione, licet paucis exposita sint verbis, ut in Annalibus fieri solet, iis tamen consentanea sunt, quæ Chalcocondyles prolixius, ut in historia, memoriæ prodidit.

150. *Atmindan, columna serpentina, statuarum stichioses.*

Atmindan significat Turcis eum Constantinopoli locum, quem ab equorum cursu Græci dixerunt Hippodromum. Nam si verbum verbo reddas, At et Mindan significant equorum locum capacem et amplum. Columna serpentina nunc etiam superest, ex ære facta, sic ab imo convolutis inter se spiris serpentis triplicis, ut in parte superiori tandem sese tres cervices, triaque serpentina capita, dividant ac separent in formam triquetram: quibus quondam acceptus impositum ab urbis conditore Constantino Magno fuisse plurimum scriptis celebratum illum tripodem Apollinis Delphicum. Quod ait, effectum fuisse per hoc simulacrum, ut eo durante nullus esset in urbe serpens: ex opinionibus Græcorum Muchemeti relatum fuit: quorum in libro manuscripto de urbis ædificiis, quem habemus, Stichioses ejusmodi (sic enim appellant) statuarum variae leguntur, et quidem ab Apollonio Tya-

neo profectæ, si quidem vera narrant. Certe quod A statim sequitur de statua equestri aenea destructa, qua pesti præclusus fuerit in urbem aditus; superstitionis videri posset aliquam mereri fidem, cum singulis annis ea nunc sæde mensibus æstivis calidioribus grassetur. Qua nos istuc astate venimus, absumpsisse credebatur inter quatuor menses hominum ad 150000. Nec anno sequenti pauciores interierunt.

151. *Siurige Sphetigradum, Sphetia.*

Duxit in Albaniam copias Muchemetes adversus Ischenderem begum, sive Georgium Castriotem. Siurige lingua Turcica significat arcem acutam. Græci dicerent Oxypyrgion. Laonicus Sphetiam vocat appellatam a Barletio Sphetigradum, lingua B Slavonica, quam idem a Crofa distare 58 milliariibus ait.

152. *Nove, Nova, Novograd. Novus mons Rasciæ, Neopyrgium.*

Nove Croatis et Servianis dicitur, quæ hic Nova nominatur, oppidum Serviæ cuius tunc despota Georgius adhuc superstes erat: sed non multo post moritur, impetrata pace a sultano Muchemete, filioque minimo natu Lazaro, successore post se relicto. Notavimus supra cap. 101, Novogradum nunc vulgo dici, quod arcem novam significat, non novum montem, ut Bonfinius interpretatur, dum novum montem Rasciæ vocat. Apud Laonicum Neopyrgum legimus, pro quo Neopyrgum reponemus, nomen id Græcis sonans, quod Venedis Novograd. Ibidem margini ascriptum Novohardum mutabimus in Novogradum, vel potius Novogradum. Ait hic Laonicus magnum esse metalli proventum, et aliam oppidum Moravam, Istro misceri. Sanguis nunc sedes est, Budæ beglerbegi subditi.

153. *Belgradi vel Albæ Græcæ secunda obsidio.*

De Belgrado et Muratis obsidione dictum antea numero 100. Nunc iterum obsessa fuit a Muchemete Muratis filio, qui eam repetebat ab Ungaris, ut membrum Serviæ nunc sui juris effectæ, de quo prolixè tractatum indicato capite. De hac obsidione secunda Thomas Ebendorfus, in Austriacis Annalibus suis, hæc retulit: Anno 1453, Turcus Machomet secundus elatus fortunis, despotam Georgium, Ratzia principem, in suis terris hostiliter invasit, et plura hominum millia crudeliter abduxit. Hinc et despota versus Ungariam, ad Albam Græcam, cum suis secretis se contulit, 449 terramque suam gubernandam Joanni de Huniad, Ungariæ gubernatori, dum Viennam (ad Fridericum IV imperatorem) pergeret, commendavit. Inde Nandoralba, janua et clausura regni Ungariæ, obsidetur a Mahumeto, anno 1456, oppugnatione acerrima facta die 21 Julii, cum prius hoc in itinere castrum S. Andreae (Nota margini ascriptum nomen Senderoviæ), quod erat Georgii despota, aggressus incassum fuisset. Soluta obsidione, mortuus Joannes de Hun-

niad, comes Bistricensis, xi die Augusti. Eum exploravit Fr. Joannes de Capistrano, Huniadis commilito: « Salve, aureola cæli, quæ cecidisti, corona. Regni extincta es lucerna. Orbis corruptum es speculum, in quo nos diutius inspicere sperahamus, et alii. Nunc tu devicto inimico triumphas coram Deo et angelis, o bone Joannes. » Sane quam fortiter, et immortalium cum laude sua, hi duo se gesserunt, hoc propugnaculo Christianorum defendendo, Huniades et Capistranus, monachus ordinis Prædicatorum, clarus in historiis Volonum cruce signatorum dux, qui mortuum Huniadem paucos intra dies secutus fuit. Muchemetes in oppugnatione die 21 Julii, ejus Ebendorfus meminit, lethali accepto vulnere, vix incolumis evasit. Obsidio soluta fuit die 6 Augusti, quem Calixtus III pontifex haberi festum ex eo tempore voluit sub nomine Transfigurationis Christi: quod tamèn festum illo die multis ante sæculis Græci celebrare consueverant, appellantes id sacram sanctam metamorphosin Domini et Dei, Servatorisque nostri, Jesu Christi.

154. *Dai Caratze Bassa, Bonfinius et Chalcocondyles emendati.*

Hic Bassa Bonfinio Caracia vocatur, Chalcocondyli Caratzies. Europæ ne beglerbus fuerit, an Anatoliæ, non exprimitur in Annalibus. Laonicus tamen diserte ducem Europæ nominat, ex quo corrigendus Bonfinius, qui Asiæ ducem fecit; errore consimili cum eo, quem supra numero 106 de Chasane bassa notavimus. Verba Laonici hæc sunt: Europæ dux Caratzies, qui gloria et virtute excelebat omnes qui regis in januis militabant, ab oppidanis bombardæ globo ictus occubuit. Eum rex (Muchemetes) multum lugebat. His verbis etiam mortis genus indicatur, quo periit. In obsidione vero Constantino-politana corrupte nomen hujus Saratzies legitur, pro quo reponendum Caratzies. Huic etiam pertinet ille Laonici locus de oppugnatione Belgradi, excerptus et emendatus supra, cap. 72.

155. *Rex Bozinæ Stephanus.*

De Semendria diximus cap. 90, Pozinacorum origo declarata legitur capite 49. Duplicem esse Bozinam, docuimus capite 95. Qui Rozinæ rex hic memoratur, Stephanus erat, de quo plura non multo post. Is sponte sua ditionem Semendriae fecisse narratur, quam a morte soceri occupaverat. Erat autem uxor huic Lazari Bulcovitzii filia, Georgii despota neptis, quemadmodum in genealogia Bulcovitziorum capite 54 indicavimus. Et apparet hinc Lazarum Serviæ despotam Georgio patri, qui diutissime regnavit, non diu superstitem fuisse.

156. *Tarabosanis imperator a Muchemete secundo victus.*

De Castamone dictum capite 66. Sinopes etiam frequens hactenus facta mentio. Novella Leonis imperatoris, cognomine Sapientis, episcopatum Sinopensem Amasianæ metropoli subjecit in Hellenoponto. Pordapam dici tradit Laonicus, novo vocabulo, licet hic in Annalibus parum mutato veteri.

TRADITIO CATHOLICA.

SÆCULUM XV. ANNI 1439-1462.

ΛΑΟΝΙΚΟΥ
ΧΑΛΚΟΚΟΝΔΥΛΟΥ
ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΔΕΚΑ.

LAONICI
CHALCOCONDYLÆ
HISTORIARUM LIBRI DECEM.

ACCEDUNT

JOSEPHI METHONENSIS EPISCOPI

SEU

JOANNIS PLUSIADENI

SCRIPTA QUÆ EXSTANT.

PRÆMITTUNTUR

LEONARDI CHIENSIS, MITYLENÆI ARCHIEPISCOPI; ISIDORI,
S. R. E. CARDINALIS, RUTHENORUM ARCHIEPISCOPI,

EPISTOLÆ HISTORICÆ;

ACCURANTE ET DENUO RECOGNOSCENTE J.-P. MIGNE,

BIBLIOTHECÆ CLERI UNIVERSÆ,

SIVE

CURSUM COMPLETORUM IN SINGULOS SCIENTIÆ ECCLESIASTICÆ RAMOS EDITORE.

TOMUS UNICUS.

VENIT 10 FRANCIS GALLICIS.

EXCUDEBATUR ET VENIT APUD J.-P. MIGNE EDITOREM.

IN VIA DICTA THIBAUD, OIJM D'AMBOISE, PROPE PORTAM LUTETIÆ PARISIORUM VULGO
D'ENFER NOMINATAM, SEU PETIT-MONTROUGE, NUNC VERO INTRA MŒNIA PARISINA.

1866

rium acciperent, brevi suis maximarum opum auctor fuit. Deinde cum quotidie Nomades plurimi ad ipsum confluerent, et in belli societatem adversus finitimos admitterentur, tandem mirum in modum imperii sui pomœria promoverunt. Propter res fortiter gestas etiam Aladinæ charus acceptusque erat. Sunt qui litterarum monumentis scriptum reliquere, Ogusiorum tribum auspiciis ductuque Orthogulis loca juxta Taurum munita occupasse, et hinc armis instructos procurrentes, finitimam regionem subjugasse: Græcos ejus regionis accolas devicisse, suoque imperio maxima adjecisse incrementa. Quæ autem horum ab initio fuerit conditio, adhuc, verane sint an falsa quæ de ipsis modo exposuimus, non facile affirmare ausim: quamvis plurimi scriptores ea commemorarint; proinde cum ea hactenus ab origine repetierim, nunc amplius de his verba facere supersedeo. Quantum vero attinet ad Otomanidas, ex familia Oguziorum ortos, ut ad clarissimum hoc imperium evaserint, nunc explanare instituo.

Vicus est juxta Mysiam, quem Sogutam incolæ vocant, ubi est et fluvius ejusdem nominis. Vicus ille rerum omnium affluentia pollet, remotus a mari Euxino ducentis quinqueaginta stadiis. Potest idem locus Itæ vicus nominari. In hanc regionem cum Oguzii penetrassent, ibi aliquanto tempore habitarunt. 7 Ottomanus autem (9), Orthogulis filius, initio non admodum secundis agebatur fortunæ flatibus. Proinde cum esset animo liberali et forti præditus, animos eorum qui in vico agebant, opibus sibi conciliat, brevique sibi devotissimos habuit. Hinc cum odiis certarent continuis adversus Græcos, omnium assensu imperator declaratus est. Bello itaque adortus Græcos, qui in ea regione habitabant, non prius prælio excessit, quam cum omnes aut cecidisset, aut fugasset. Hinc prospere succedentibus rebus, victorias plurimas Græcis extorsit.

Cum autem fama nominis sui regiones plurimas implevisset, etiam apud Aladinam maxima gloria viguit, creatus ab ipso dux, eum undique præclaris editis facinoribus res fortiter gessisset. Defuncto rege Aladina, discordia inter regni optimates exorta est. Orthogulus adhibitus in colloquium, cum multum temporis deliberando esset absumptum, tandem icte fœdere promisit, se ipsis et socium auxiliarem fore, quocumque in militiam proficiscantur: hac tamen conditione, ut quas-cunque regiones, conjunctis copiis, suo imperio adjunxerint, eas inter sese partiti velint. Cum igitur, ut fœdere tenebatur, communi consensu viribusque communibus bella aggredierentur, tanta ipsius inter omnes virtus emicuit, ut brevi plurimas opes acquireret, regnumque sibi pararet haud aspernandum. Hi autem eum forent duces numero septem, initio regionem, quam tum armis subjecerant, inter sese diviserunt: postea partitionem sorti committentes, Caramano obtigisse mediterraneam Phrygiæ, Ciliciam usque, et Philadelphiam. Sarchani sors addixit maritimam Ioniciæ regionem, qua Smyrnam usque patet. Lydia usque ad Mysiam obvenit Calami, et filio suo Carasi. Bithyniam au-

λαβόντα, ἐπὶ τῆς ταύτης ὁμόρου χώρας καταστροφῆ ἐνεῦθεν ὠρμηθῆσαι, καὶ τοὺς γε Ἑλλήνων περιοίκους ἔχειν, καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα χωρησάσαι δυνάμεως. Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν ἔσχε τοῦτοις τὰ πράγματα, καὶ ὡς ταύτη ἢ ἄλλῃ ἐγένετο, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω βραδίως εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμι, ὑπὸ πολλῶν μόντοι λεγόμενα. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐπιμνησάμενος παρήμι. Ὡς δὲ Ὀτουμανίδας τῆς Ὀγουζίων μοίρας ἐπὶ τῆνδε ἀφίκοντο τὴν ἀρχὴν, ὧδε γενέσθαι ἐπιυθόμην.

finitimam regionem subjugasse: Græcos ejus regionis accolas devicisse, suoque imperio maxima adjecisse incrementa. Quæ autem horum ab initio fuerit conditio, adhuc, verane sint an falsa quæ de ipsis modo exposuimus, non facile affirmare ausim: quamvis plurimi scriptores ea commemorarint; proinde cum ea hactenus ab origine repetierim, nunc amplius de his verba facere supersedeo. Quantum vero attinet ad Otomanidas, ex familia Oguziorum ortos, ut ad clarissimum hoc imperium evaserint, nunc explanare instituo.

Ἔστι Σογουτή παρὰ Μυσίαν κώμη οὕτω καλουμένη εὐδαίμων, καὶ ποταμὸς παρ' αὐτῇ οὕτω καλούμενος. Διέχει δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάττης τῆς τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου σταδίων ὡσεὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους· καλοῦτο δ' ἂν αὐτὴ Ἰταλία κώμη. Ἐς ταύτην δὲ τὴν χώραν ἀφικομένους τοὺς Ὀγουζίους ἐνοικῆσαι ἐπὶ τινα χρόνον. Ὀτουμάνου δὲ τὸν Ὀρθογρούλεω παῖδα, οὐ πάνυ τοι εὐπράττοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι τὴν τε ψυχὴν ἐλευθεριώτατον, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ φιλοφρονοῦμενον ἐκ τῶν προσόντων ὡς οἶόν τ' ἦν μάλιστα αὐτῷ τοὺς τε ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἀνακτήσασθαι. Ὅστε διαφοράς σφίσι πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνων αὐτῶν περιοίκους γενομένης, ἠγεῖσθαι κελεύειν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Ὀτουμάνου τὸν Ὀρθογρούλεω· καὶ μαχεσάμενον, τρέψασθαι τε τοὺς ταύτη Ἑλληνας.

Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτου ὀρμωμένους ἐπιπολῶ, ἐπαεζελθεῖν τε τοὺς Ἑλληνας, καὶ παρὰ Ἀλαδίην εὐ μάλα εὐφημοῦμενον μέγα εὐδοκιμῆσαι, ἐπὶ στρατηγίας τε καθιστάμενον, καὶ ἔργα ἀποδεικνύμενον ἄξια λόγου. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλαδίην βασιλέως, καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων αὐτοῦ ἐς διαφορὰν σφίσι ἀφικνουμένων, λέγεται ἀφικέσθαι ἐς λόγους αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐκείνοις ἀλλήλοις, ζυμμαχίαν τε καὶ δμαιοχίαν ἐκείνοις συνθέμενον, ζυμβῆναι αὐτοῖς ὄρνια ποιησάμενον, ἐφ' ᾗ ὁμοῦ πάντας κοινῇ συνδιαφέρειν τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ καταστρέφειν τὴν χώραν, ὅσην δ' ἂν δύνωνται, ὅσην δ' ἂν ὑπάγωνται, ἐπιελέσθαι, σφίσι κατὰ τὰ κοινῇ σφίσι αὐτοῖς δεδογμένα· καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἅμα ἐκείνοις ἐλαυνόμενα καταστρέψασθαι χώραν οὐκ ὀλιγὴν, καὶ ἔργα ἀποδεικνύμενον μεγάλα, καὶ χρήματα συχνὰ ἐπικτώμενον· ὥστε ἐν βραχεί ἐπὶ ἀρχὴν παρεληλυθῆναι οὐ φαύλην. Τοῦτους δὲ ἠγεμόνας ἐπὶ γενομένους, ὅσην ὑπηγάγαντο ἀρχὴν διανεμεθῆναι μετὰ ταῦτα σφίσι αὐτοῖς· λαβεῖν δὲ Καραμάνου τὴν μεσόγειαν τῆς Φρυγίας ἄχρι Κιλικίας καὶ Φιλαδεφίας· Σαρχάνην δὲ ἐνεῦθεν τὴν παράλιον τῆς Ἰωνίας χώραν, ἔστε ἐπὶ Σμύρνην ἐλθεῖν· τὰ δὲ Λυδίας ἔστε ἐπὶ Μυσίαν Καλάμην σὺν τῷ παιδί αὐτοῦ Καρασῆ. Τὰ πρὸς Ὀλυμπόν τε καὶ Βιθυνίαν

Notulæ marginales.

(9) Circiter ann. 1500.

Ἄουμανόν λαχεῖν μετὰ Τεκίω· τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἀ
 Εὔξεινον πόντον καὶ Παφλαγονίαν λαχεῖν τοὺς
 Ἄμουροι παῖδας. Τὴν δὲ Κερμανὸν οὐ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ
 τούτων γεγονέναι φασί· ἀλλὰ βασιλεία πρόσθεν
 γενόμενον Κωνίου τῆς Καρίας πόλεως, ἐν ᾗ τὰ
 βασίλεια ἐπὶ συχνόν τινα χρόνον διεγένετο. Τού-
 τοις ἀπεληλαμένον ἐνταῦθεν ἐπὶ Ἰωνίαν ἀπά-
 ρας, κίκει ἰδιωτεύοντα ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν. Εἰ μέντοι
 ἐπὶ τὸ ὑγχανον ὄντες οἱ σύμπασαν τῆνδε κοινῇ
 ὑπαγόμενοι σφίσι τὴν χώραν, ἣ χωρὶς ὡς ἕκαστος,
 καὶ ἡ ἄλλη ἄλλη ξυνέβαιεν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρχὴν
 παρεγένετο ἕκαστος, οὐκ ἂν δὴ οὕτω ἐν δέοντι πο-
 λυπραγμασίῳ. Σογαύτην μέντοι ἐπίσταμαι κόμην,
 ὡς οἱ ἀπ' ἐκείνης γενόμενοι Ὀτουμανίδων βασίλεις
 ἐτιμῶν τε ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐπιφοιτῶντες ταύτῃ τῇ
 κόμῃ, καὶ τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν αὐτῇ ἀποδίδόσκει γέγρα-
 τὰ νομισζόμενα. Ἄπὸ ταύτης δὲ ἐπίσταμαι ἄκοῃ γενέ-
 σθαι Ὀτουμάνον τὸν Ὀρθογρούλεω παῖδα πρῶτον δὴ
 τοῦ γένους τούτου, ἄλλας τε οἱ πόλεις ὑπαγόμενον
 ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Προῦσαν τὴν ἐν Μυσία
 πόλιν, καὶ τότε εὐδαίμονα παραστησάμενον, ὑπὸ
 λιμοῦ ἐκπολιορῆσαι ἐλόντα τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ
 τὰ βασίλεια ποιησάμενον, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ὀρμώμε-
 νον ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ περιφανῆ ἀποδείξάμενον,
 παῖδάς τε καὶ ἀρχὴν οὐ φαύλην καταλιπόντα, τε-
 λευτήσας ἐν Προῦσῃ. Τοῦτον δὲ ἴσμεν ἡμεῖς τοῦ
 γένους τοῦδε τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς οἶόν τε ἄριστα καθι-
 στάντα, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸ ἐπιτηδείατατον αὐτῷ
 καταστήσάμενον, τάξιεν τε ἄριστην ἀποδείξασθαι
 ἄμφ' αὐτὸν, ἣν Θύρας βασιλέως καλοῦσι, καὶ ταύτῃ
 γε τῇ δυνάμει τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε δεδιττόμενον θέσι τῶ
 ἄμφ' αὐτὸν, κατέχειν τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ
 ξύμπαντας ἐν τάχει παραγενομένους, ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῷ
 δοκοίη, καὶ ἐπιτελοῦντας ἅτ' ἂν ἐπιτάττοι ὁ βασι-
 λεύς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραγγελόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέως
 θυρῶν κατὰ τάχος ἰόντας. Τοῦτον δὴ οὖν ἐπιθό-
 μεθα γενναϊοτάτον τε ἐς τὰ πάντα γενόμενον, ταύτῃ
 τε ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον νομισθῆναι δαιμόνιον καταλι-
 πεῖν τε ἀπὸ τούτου τὴν ἐπινομίαν τοῖς ἀπ' ἐκείνου
 γενομένοις, Ὀτουμάνου παῖδας ἔτι καὶ νῦν καλεῖ-
 σθαι. Ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ὀκτακισχίλιοι Τούρ-
 κων ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπῃν διαβάντες περὶ Ἐλλάσποντον,
 καὶ ἐν Χερβρονήσῳ κατασχόντες φρούριον Ἐλληνι-
 κὸν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ὀρμώμενοι, τὴν τε Θράκην ἐς
 Ἰστρὸν ἐλαύνοντες, ἐληίζοντο τὴν χώραν ἐπιδρα-
 μόντες, τὰ τε πολλὰ διήρασαν, καὶ ἀνδράποδα ὡς
 πλείστα ἐλόμενοι, ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διεβίβαζον, τοὺς
 τε Ἐλληνας καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς ἦγον καὶ ἔφερον. Ἐν
 τούτῳ δὴ Σκυθῶν μοῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγη, ἀπὸ Σαρματίας
 ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρὸν ἐλάσαντες, καὶ τὸν γε Ἰστρὸν δια-
 βάντες, τοὺς τε Τούρκους ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ κατέλαβον,
 καὶ μαχεσάμενοι ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ πλὴν ὀλίγων τι-
 νῶν, διεχρήσαντο σύμπαντας ἀφειδέστατα. Ὅσοι δὲ
 οὐκ ἐφθάρησαν, διασωθέντες ἐς τὴν Χερβρόνησον, ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐθις διαβάντες, οὐκέτι πάλιν ἀφί-
 κοντο.

Τότε οὖν τὰ Ἐλλήνων πράγματα ἐταλαντεύετο
 ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω, διαφορομένον σφίσι κατὰ τὴν Βυ-

(10) Iconium olim, nunc Congium.

tom cum his regionibus quæ Olympum respiciunt,
 uactus est Otomanus cum Tecie. Paphlagoniam
 cum his regionibus quæ vergunt ad Euxinum pon-
 tum, acceperunt Amurie filii, sic sorte partitionem
 regente. Cermianum dicunt non fuisse de numero
 septem illorum ducum, verum imperasse Conio (10)
 Cariæ urbi, in qua regia erat : tandem suo detur-
 batum regno, abiisse in Ioniam, sectatusque ibi
 vitam privatam, quietem amplexus est. An septem
 illi duces adjunctis copiis, aut singuli per se, regio-
 nes istas subjecerint : præterea ut alius in alterius
 successerit opes et regnum, non referre arbitror
 curiosius describere. Illud autem certum est, reges
 Otomanidarum Sogutham vicum multum honorasse,
 cum eo frequenter accederent, reddentes vicu incolis
 solemnia munera. Accepi **S** præterea, Otoma-
 num Orthogutis filium primum generis hujus ex
 isto vico oriundum existisse : qui inde profectus,
 urbes Asiæ cepit : et Prusam Mysiæ urbem opibus
 florentem, fame expugnatam, regni sedem constitu-
 it. Postremo operibus multis fortiter et splendide
 peractis, relinquens liberos et regnum illustre,
 naturæ debitum exsolvit Prusæ. Hic primus istius
 generis optime quæ ad regni salutem attinent,
 disposuit. Et ut regnum sibi faceret quam maxime
 firmum et opportunum, satellites aliegit, quos
 regis (11) Januas sive portas nuncupavit. Et cum
 jam omnibus propter istam potentiam formidini
 esset, subditos facile in imperio continuit, cum
 omnes ad nutum, quando vocarentur, præsto es-
 sent : et impigre ea quæ Januæ regis imperarent,
 obirent. Commemorant, Orthogulem istum virum
 per omnia exstitisse generosissimum : et cum
 propter res suas præclare administratas angustior
 homine, et quasi divinus reputaretur, posteris
 reliquit insigne cognomentum, ut Otomanidæ sive
 Otomani filii vocentur. Hoc regnante Turcorum
 octo millia trajecerunt in Europam per Hellespon-
 tum, captoque Græcorum præsidio Chersoneso
 imposito, perrexerunt in Thraciam, et ad Istrum :
 incursionibusque plurimis factis, regionem istam
 vastarunt, et maximam hinc reportarunt prædam.
 Mancipia, quæ erant plurima, jure belli capta,
 transmiserunt in Asiam. Græcorum Triballorumque
 (qui nunc Bulgari dicuntur) res agebantur fereban-
 turque. Ea tempestate Scythæ parva manu a Sar-
 matia prodeuntes, festinabant ad Istrum. Quo
 transmissis, Turcos, quos eo loci deprehenderant,
 atroci prælio inuito fuderunt : et propemodum om-
 nes, demptis paucis, necaverunt. Qui autem integri
 ex eo prælio abierant fuga, in Chersonesum delati,
 et hinc in Asiam transvecti, tandem ab Europa abs-
 tinuerunt.

Eodem tempore Græcorum res ancipiti frueban-
 tur fortuna, cum intestinis discordii agitantur
 Notulæ marginales.

(11) Regis Januæ, custodes corporis, Janizari.

C. RUDOLPHI II Rom. imp. desig. bibliothecarius, ex Augustali bibliotheca Vienensi potestatem mihi fecisset inspiciendi veri horum Annalium archetypi, lingua litterisque Turcicis exarati, in quo hujus libri ad Ferdinandum Cæs. tua manuscripta dedicatio cernitur, his verbis :

PIISSIMO FERDINANDO ROM. HVNG.
BOHEMORVMQVE, etc. REGI POTENTISS.
HIERONYMVS BECK A LEOPOLDSTORF
SUE MAIEST. DEDITISSIMVS ALVMNVS
EX HIERSOLYMIS AC MONTE OREB
FELICITER REDVX, LIBRYM HVNC
OTHMANNORVM RES GESTAS AD NOSTRA
VSQVE TEMPORA CONTINENTEM, D. D
ANIMO DEVOTISSIMO MDLI :

307 equidem ad hoc archetypum, aliquot dierum labore Joannis Gaudier interpretatione recensui, adjutus a Stephano Ungaro, Turcicæ, Arabicæ Persicæque linguæ gnaro, quem tu ipse nobis in hunc finem, ab hero suo, illustri et magnifico domino Andrea Teufel, libero Barone, imperatori a consil. et præsidii ad Arrabonem Jaurini supremo præfecto, impetrasti. Mahumetanos annos ad Christianos redegi, quos etiam marginibus ascripsi : quod Joannes Γαλαξὶς prætermisit. Supplementum adjeci, quo gestæ res annis 37, usque ad annum præsentem, exponuntur. In hoc memorabilis exstat decemalis hujus belli Persici descriptio, quod adhuc eventu dubio, studiis et odiis utriusque partis æcerrimis, geritur. Huic appendici succedit Pandectes historiæ Turcicæ noster, quo a Turcis tradita, cum nostrorum historiis Græcis, Latinis, Italicis, Gallicis, Germanicis ita confero : nihil ut inexplicatum relinquam, ne iis quidem præteritis, quæ libri nostri manuscripti, multique superstites adhuc idonei nobis auctores, suppeditarunt. Idem Pandectes quam multa rara contineat, nec ante nos a quoquam prodita, cognoscere lectorem experiundo malumus, quam profixius ipsi, non sine quorundam invidia, prædicare. Habes rationem totius commentationis, Vir Magnifice, quam si Zoileus dens quispiam, in hac ætatis nostræ licentia, rodere fuerit ausus : ut ipse, rerum Turcicarum peritissimus, tuendam suscipias, meque animi propensione solita complectaris, etiam atque etiam rogo.

308 INDEX AUCTORVM, QUI IN PANDECTE CITANTVR.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Abrahamus Baschajus Ungarus. | Martinus Barletius. |
| Abrahamus Ortelius. | Martinus Crusius. |
| Agathias Myrinæus manuscr. | Melchior Soiterus. |
| Andreas Cambrinius Florentinus. | Natalis Comes. |
| Antonius Bonfinius. | Nicephorus Gregoras. |
| Antonius Geufraens. | Nicetas Choniates. |
| Antezius Meliensis. | Nicolaus Nicolaides Delphinus. |
| Augerius Busbequius. | Nicolaus Sophianus. |
| Augustinus Curio. | Origines urbis Constantinopolitanæ liber manuscr. |
| Aythonus Armenius. | Paulus Jovius. |
| Basilius Joannes Heroldus. | Petrus Bellonius. |
| Cedrinus integer manuscr. | Petrus Bizarus. |
| Chronica diversa manuscripta, Græca, Latina, Germanica. | Petrus Gyllius. |
| De ædificiis urbis Constantinopolitanæ, liber manuscr. | Petrus martyr Mediolan. |
| Emmanuel Musicius Atheniensis. | Philippus Callimachus. |
| Franciscus Sansovinus. | Philippus Mornæus. |
| Georgius Hustius Illyricus manuscr. | Prætor Græciæ, manuscr. |
| Georgius Pachymerius. | Procopius. |
| Itinerariorum in Palæstinam, liber Germanicus. | Reinerius Reineccius. |
| Jacobus Castaldus. | Secretarius Sigismundi Malatestæ. |
| Joachinus Cureus. | Stephanus Broderithus. |
| J. Antonius Menavinus. | Symeon magister Officiorum, manuscr. |
| Jo. de Plano Carpi. | Tarcagnotæ historia. |
| Jo. Martinus Stella. | Thomas Ebendorfus Haselbachius, manuscr. |
| Karulus Ciusius Atrebas. | Thomas Porcaecius. |
| Laonicus Chalcocondyles Atheniensis. | Thomas Spanduginus Cantacuzenus. |
| Leo imp. Aug. manuscr. | Vincentius Belvacensis. |
| Ludovicus Bassanus Jadrensis. | Wolfgangus Dreslerus. |
| Marcus Paulus Venetus. | Zouaras. |
| | Zosimus comes. |
| | Zygomalus protonotarius Græcus. |

JOANNIS GAUDIER DICTI SPIEGEL

TURCICI INTERPRETIS

EPISTOLA PRÆLIMINARIS AD D. FERDINANDUM ROM. CÆS.

Serenissime, potentissime Rex, Domine clementissime.

309 Cum non ita pridem regia Vestra Majestas librum Turcicum mihi commiserit, in quo ortus atque gesta imp. Turcorum describuntur: quem quidem regie Vestrae Majestatis nobilis, strenuus atque integerrimus Hieronymus Beck a Leopoldstorf ex itinere Hierosolymitano et Turcia rediens, obtulit: qui mihi a regia Vestra Majestate Germanice interpretandus, clementer demandatus: quod humiliter præstiti, eaque qua a Turcis scriptus est methodo, in idioma Germanicum transtuli. Licet vero idipsum libenter more et stylo rhetorico effecissem: sed cum ab ineunte ætate, parum admodum litteris humanioribus fuerim imbutus, atque hujusmodi in rebus minime versatus; certæ tamen sum spei, laborem hunc exiguum regie Vestrae Majestati placiturum. Adnotassem etiam simul quo tempore secundum annos salutis nostræ hæc gesta fuissent: verum cum anni Turcorum breviores sint nostris, neque ipsorum anniversarii dies, sicut apud nos Christianos, in idem tempus coincidunt, licet etiam ipsi in anno menses duodecim habeant: tamen hoc tantum ratione splendoris lunæ; insuper scribunt ipsi dicuntque, spatio triginta duorum annorum, secundum ipsorum computationem, cælum mobile seu firmamentum suum absolvere cursum: id tantumdem fere esset, cum nos Christiani triginta unum, ipsi triginta duos annos scriberent nominarentque. Et quantumvis ex mea translatione computari non potest, quo tempore annorum Christi hæc imp. Turcorum res gestæ sint: attamen omnino gubernatori, militiæ duci, aut capitaneo, cui cum inimicis Christiani nominis agendum, lectu operæ pretium esse existimo. Hinc namque videre licet, quid politia aut animus heroicus valeat, qualiterque magistratus erga proprii commoti, avaros atque superbos homines se exhibere remunerarique debeat; quale etiam detrimentum patriæ atque exercitui, ob inobedientiam, confusionem, perfidiam, superbiam, proprium commodum, oriri et accidere possit. Propterea facile colligere hinc licet, cum moderni imperatores Turcici parvæ atque obscuræ familiæ, cum exigua manu in immensum creverint, uti quidem ex historia hac intelligo, quod Asia, Græcia, Bulgaria, Arbanesia, Bosnia, Servia, nonnisi propter inobedientiam, confusionem, perfidiam, superbiam, et rem privatam, in tot calamitates atque manus inimicorum nominis

310 Christiani inciderint: quod (prohi Deum!) hodierno adhuc die evenire videmus. Nam quæ alia est causa Christianæ devastationis, quam inobedientia, perfidia, avaritia, superbia, et rei private studium? Nam hic propter suum commodum favet Turcis, alter Woïwodæ: tertius, nulli obsequens, seipsum dominum, censet. Unde fit porro quod nos omnia bella erga Christiani nominis hostes insinita, minus prospere geramus, quam propter inobedientiam, confusionem, perfidiam, avaritiam, superbiam, et proprium commodum? Nos existimamus ipsos minime subsistere, rem nostram inconsiderate aggredimur, et proponimus nobis magnas opes ab ipsis acquirendas: primo congressu alacres atque animosi sumus, verum illico remittimus. Deus omnipotens suam dignetur nobis gratiam largiri, quo nos erga ejusmodi divini nominis hostes dirigamus, superioribus et magistratui simus obsequentes, bonam politiam conservemus, avaritiæ, superbiæ, et rei private, quantum aequum est, tribuamus; ne et nos tandem (quod Deus præcavere velit) sicuti nominatæ regiones in maxima damna veniamus, et posteritas nostra fidem atque religionem dabolicam suscipere cogatur. Quod Deus in æternum nobis concedere dignetur (a). Amen.

Regiæ Vestrae Majestatis

Humillimus, obedientissimus servitor, et interpres Turcicus,

JOANNES GAUDIER, alias SPIEGEL.

(a) Expectabam, Quod Deus a nobis avertat.

clade afficere. Cum autem profligati prius a Christianis in utroque cornu Turci, Christianos armorum onere nimio gravatos animadverterent, de industria fugam arripientes, insequendi viam eis aperuerunt. Quippe Christiani se mox, instar diluvii ejusdem, concitatis equis, diffudere. Sed Turci, qui fugam inierant, equorum cursu ad latus inflexo, expeditos et inermes Christianorum milites **329** invaserunt, quos nudos esse norant, et in eos alacriter acinaces suos strinxerunt. Id illi cum fieri cernerent, celerrime cataphractos equites suos secuti sunt: quibus ubi jam non esset integrum, in Turcos aciem denuo convertere: tandem mutuis se vulneribus conficere cœperunt, atque ita solutis et dissipatis ordinibus, exercitus omnis in fœdam sese fugam coniecit. Tum vero Turci, quos antea fugisse diximus, hinc inde conglobati, Christianis a tergo ad ipsam usque munitionem castrorum inhæserunt: fuitque deinceps pugnatum utrinque toto illo die, usque ad vesperam, et a vespera rursus ad diluculum usque. Jancus autem, cum ita rem geri videret, astu se ab exercitu Christiani reliquit e castris subduxit et profugit. Christianis ad extremum victis, Janci rebus omnibus, cum tormentis, et universo apparatu bellico potiti fuere Turci: quibus ad sultanum Muratem adductis, unus alteri porrecta manu, mutuo semet exceperere gratulabundi, totumque triduum eo loco quiescentes, veluti festivitatem quamdam, singulari cum hilaritate celebrarunt. Inde sultanus Muchemetes ante patrem Hadrianopolim profectus est. Gestæ vero fuerunt hæc res in Cosovana planitie anno 855 (Chr. 1448).

Murates etiam Muchemetem filium secutus est Hadrianopolim, ibique tempus ad aliquod in otio vixit, ita tamen, ut Romanæ beglerbegum cum copiis ablegaret, ad extruendam arcem Gergonim: qua perfecta, Murates in Anatoliæ montana, captandæ frigidioris auræ causa, se contulit, anno 855 (Chr. 1448).

E montanis reversus, expeditionem in Albaniam suscepit, ut arcem Beligradensem occuparet. Sed irritus ille conatus fuit, ideoque rediit Hadrianopolim, nec amplius ab illo tempore ulli vel expeditioni, vel bello interfuit: extinctus die quodam Mercurii **D** qui decimus erat mensis Mucherenis, anno 855 (Chr. 1450), cum annis triginta unum imperasset.

Successit patri sultanus Muchemetes filius in administratione regni, statimque decimo sexto die dicti mensis exercitum in Caramaniam duxit, et bellum principi Caramano, Ibrahimî bego, intulit. Sed eo non multo post composito, reversus est Hadrianopolim, atque ibi novam arcem ædificare cœpit, eodem anno 855 (Chr. 1450).

Anno sequenti proximo, videlicet 856 (Chr. 1451), non procul a Constantinopoli, loco quodam a tergo Galatæ oppidi sito, munitissimam arcem ad mare condidit.

Absolute inujus arcis ædificio, mandata cum liste-

ris in omnes provincias suas expedit, quibus omnes tam Anatoliæ quam Romanæ coegit exercitus, conductis etiam vicies mille peditibus. Genizarorum erant ad decem millia. Convolarunt et alii complures ad eum, quibus alioqui militandi necessitas non incumbela. Bellica quoque tormenta fundi jussit, instar draconum. Ita cum omni tormentorum apparatu, tantisque cum copiis Hadrianopoli profectus, castra Constantinopoli admovit: displosisque tormentis, muros, et pinnas eorum, disjecit. Christiani, quotquot urbi præsidio erant, fortiter illi quidem se defendebant: sed urbem tueri contra vim Muchemetis haud poterant. Is enim, concessa militi licentia, diripiendi Constantinopolim, modo eam occupassent, usque adeo Turcorum

B animos accendit, ut magno illam cum impetu invaderent, oppugnarent, per vim denique caperent. Potiti vero sub urbe Turci, die vicesimo mensis Rebululæ, Sultanus Muchemetes, urbem captam ingressus, hinc inde per eam obequitavit, obstupescens ad inusitatas ædificiorum formas. Cum in Atminlanem pervenisset, columnam ibi lapideam vidit, cui triplex erat impositus serpens abeneus idemque triceps. Illum conspicatus, quidnam hoc esset idoli, quæsivit. Simul in eum contorta magna vi clava ferrea, quam pusdiganum Turci vocant, uni de tribus illis capitibus serpentinis labrum inferius comminuit. Quo facto, mox serpentes in urbe magno conspici cœpere numero. Quapropter auctores ei fuere quidam, ut missum deinceps illum serpentem faceret: quando per id simulaerum effectum fuerit, ut serpens in urbe nullus esset. Hinc ea columna in hodiernum adhuc diem durat. Et quanquam unius abenei serpentis inferiore labro dejecto, serpentes in urbem venerint, nocere tamen nemini possunt. Erat etiam erectus equus abeneus, cui statua quædam equestris insidebat. Utrumque Muchemetes demolitus est. Ferunt autem hac statua pesti præclusus fuisse aditus, quo minus in urbem penetraret ac in ea grassaretur.

Occupata Constantinopoli, Anatoliæ montana, recreandi sui causa, Muchemetes petiit: et inde reversus in Albaniam copias duxit: ubi Siurigen in potestatem redegit, anno 858 (Chr. 1455).

Anno sequenti, Novam cum copiis aggressus, cepit. Quippe Christiani rursus hac potiti fuerant. Factum hoc anno 859 (Chr. 1454).

Secundum hæc, ad Albam Græcam exercitum adduxit: sed cum eam expugnare non posset, accessit. Periit ibi Dais Caratzes bassa, qui beglerbegi munere fungebatur. Eodem anno 860 (Chr. 1456) conspecti sunt duo comete versus orientem solem unus, alter ad occasum.

Constantinopolim reversus, magnam celebritatem Muchemetes instituit, dum **330** Bajazitem filium circumcideret, anno 861 (Chr. 1457).

Deinde coacto exercitu, in Moream abiit, et urbem Gordum, eum oppidulis quibusdam cepit, anno 862 (Chr. 1458).

Postea Semendriæ copias admovit. Rex autem Bozinensis sponte sua Semendriæ deditioem fecit, anno 865 (Chr. 1459).

Hinc rursus in Moream profectus, multa castella curæ oppidulis occupavit. Id temporis, die quodam Veneris, primo diluculo, sol adeo lucem suam amisit, ut omnia tenebris involverentur, anno 864 (Chr. 1460).

Transmisit autem secundum hæc universis cum copiis in Anatoliam, ulteriusque progressus, Castamonem, Sinopen, et Tarabosanem civitates occupavit: imperio suo regionibus illis omnibus adjunctis. Unde deinceps Hadrianopolim rediit, et in otio tempus ad aliquod se recreavit. Acciderunt hæc anno 864 (Chr. 1461).

Rursus expeditione suscepta, Valachiam ingressus est, et Vaivodam Valachiæ, cui nomen Dracoles, magno cum exercitu invasit. Hoc bello vaivoda Valachus consilium cepit opprimendi castra Muchemetis nocturno tempore, sed parum efficere potuit. Illeque non succedente conatu profugit in Ungariam: ubi cum in manus regis Ungari pervenisset, carceri mancipatus fuit. Interea vero Valachiam sibi sultanus Muchemetes subdidit.

Misit et classem in insulam Mitylenen, ejusque belli causa etiam ipse relicta Valachia Anatoliam adiit. Occupata vero fuit insula Mitylene anno 866 (Chr. 1462).

Ex Anatolia Constantinopolim se contulit, ubi quedam ædificia curavit exstrui: et Mechmetem bassam, vezirem suum, in Moream ablegavit. Is aliquot ibidem oppidula cepit, anno 867 (Chr. 1465).

Secundum illa productis Muchemetes copiis, Bzinam adortus est, et omnem illam regionem in potestatem redegit, regemque captum occidit. Inde sub jugum ab eo missa fuit Herzegovina, cum Covadza: quibus rebus gestis, itinere converso, Constantinopolim repetiit, anno 869 (Chr. 1464).

Annus autem sequens 870 (Chr. 1465), exactus ab eo Constantinopoli fuit in otio. Sed in Albaniam deinde profectus, ditionem ducis Joannis istic imperio suo subjecit. Cum autem id temporis exercitum ipsius dira quadam lues invasisset, ipse Philippopolim adiit, ibique se quieti dedit, anno 871 (Chr. 1466).

Philippopoli discedens, rursus in Albaniam perrexit, majoremque provinciæ partem occupavit, anno 872 (Chr. 1467).

Ex Albania profectus in Anatoliam, Carananæ fines ingressus est, et arcem Giolchisarem expugnavit: unde postea Constantinopolim reversus, aliquandiu bellicis a negotiis abstinuit, anno 873 (Chr. 1469).

Non multo post, ut otii sane diuturnioris erat impatiens, ipsemet itinere terrestri profectus est versus Egripon: cum Machmutem bassam eodem ablegasset cum classe, duodecim millibus hominum

A instructa. Posteaquam huc appulissent copiæ Turciæ, Christiani seque fortunasque suas egrè pro-pugnabant. Sed cum tandem muri tormentorum impetu pulsati corruissent, non arce tantum, et civitatè, per vim potiti fuere Turci: verum etiam omnem finitimam regionem Muchemetis imperium accipere coegerunt, anno 874 (Chr. 1470).

Egripo devicta, Constantinopolim se recepit, et aspros novos signari jussit, anno 875 (Chr. 1471). Dum Constantinopoli Muchemetes quiescit, Usumchasanis Parthorum regis militiæ dux, cui nomen Jusufzes begus, cum exercitu se movit, et magnam illam urbem Armeniæ Tocatam populatus, in Caraniam venit. Erat id temporis sultanus Mustaphas is locis a patre Muchemete præfectus. Is collecto exercitu, Parthis obvium se dedit, eosque fudit, Jusufze bego capto, et Constantinopolim ad patrem Muchemetem misso: quod quidem evenit anno 877 (Chr. 1475).

Tum vero Muchemetes ad arma se parans Anatoliam adiit: et mandatis hinc inde missis, ut omnes milites ad ipsum in Anatoliam se conferrent, edixit. Peditum ad viginti millia in armis esse jussit, et Genizarorum numeros ad decem usque millia suppleri: cum alicuius etiam comitatus decem hominum millia complecteretur. Ad summam, coactus ei fuit exercitus, qui numerum septuaginta vel octoginta millium excederet. Cum hoc ergo milite versus Parthiam profectus, Usumchasanis regi bellum intulit: sumptis etiam secum in hanc expeditionem filiiis, sultano Bajazite, sultano Mustapha, et sultano Zeme. Progressus autem cum suis in Asiam, non plura dumtaxat occupavit oppida, verum etiam sublimi sitam loco, munitamque insiguit arcem, Carachisarem cepit, Usumchasanis obviam Muchemeti non prodit, sed astu quodam excogitato, militem suum hinc inde partitus, in insidiis locavit. Et quia primam aciem in exercitu Muchemetis Romanæ beglerbegus, Chas Murates, ducebat, forte occidit, ut inopinato quasdam in Persarum copias incideret, ac manum cum eis conserere cogeretur. Ibi cum majores Parthorum vires essent, dissipatus Romanæ milites, et ipse beglerbegus occisus fuit. Interea vero dum Parthi primam hanc Muchemetis aciem cæderent: etiam ipsi, desertis ordinibus suis, hostem confusi persecuti, tandem ad illam pervenerunt aciem, cujus ipse sultanus Muchemetes dux erat. Is autem **331** Parthorum perturbatos conspicatus ordines, cum suis eos adortus est. Quod a Muchemete fieri videns Usumchasanis, magno animi ardore concitatus, et ipse sua in Turcos duxit agmina. Permistis utrinque tantis exercitibus, acerrimum prælium commissum fuit: cum Muchemetis filii suis cum copiis gravissime Parthos urgerent, et in altero cornu Machmutes bassa, cum Daute bassa, Anatoliæ beglerbego, tormentis bellicis hostem vehementer affligeret. Etiam Usumchasanis uni de filiiis caput amputatum, et sultano Muchemeti oblatum fuit. Cum ergo Parthi

388 PRINCIPES MACHANENSES

CONTINUA SUCCESSIONIS SERIE

Cum Osmanidarum genealogia, qui ab eis originem ducunt.

LECRAG CVTLVDZEC. CARA CHIR. OGYZ. GOKKELP. VEL KYKELP. VERSAIOR. TOCTEMVR.		CIAC Aga. RAKI Aga. BAIYNGER. OICVLYC. BAINDER. CVSYL buga. CADI ELP.		SOLEIMAN Scach.	
SYNGVRSENGI,		ERTVCVL,		GVNDODDI.	
GVNDYS, qui et Gundus Elp.		SARIGATI, qui et Aidogdi.		I. OSMAN Gasi, regnavit annis 29.	
AGDEMVR		II. VRCHAN Gasi, an. 32.		ALI HASSA.	
SOLEIMAN HASSA, Gerlensis et Bolensis sangiacus, mortuus duobus ante patrem mensibus.				III. SULTAN MVRAT CHAN Gasi an. 52.	
SIAVS Zelebi, caecatus a patre.		IV. BAJASIT Gilderun Chan, annis 14.		IACVZ Zelebi, strangulatus jubente Bajasite fratre.	
DAVT Zelebi, exsul apud Vngaros.		V. EMIR MVRAT Zelebi, occisus a Musa fratre.		VI. MYSA regnavit annis 3 1/2. MET Chan, occisus a Muchamele fratre.	
* ORTHOBYLES, cuius Annal. Turc. nullam mentionem faciunt, sed Graeci tantum ZICHES, quem Turci, sicut et patrem non agnoscunt. Vide Notas nostras cum indice.		N. filia, que et ipsa Constantinopoli fugit.		VII. SUL-TAN MYCHE- tan Myche- dis loco missus Constanti- nopolim a fratre Soleimane.	
VRCHAN Zelebi, profugit a patris morte Constantinopoli.		VIII. SULTAN MVRAT Chan II, an. 31.		N. Zelebi, notus ex Isuendiaris begi filia, nominatus a baptismo Calixtus Osmanides.	
ALADIN Zelebi, ante patrem mortuus Amasiae.		IX. SULTAN MYCHE- MET Chan II, an. 50.		N. Zelebi, notus ex Isuendiaris begi filia, nominatus a baptismo Calixtus Osmanides.	
MVRAT Zelebi, ante patrem mortuus.		X. SULTAN BAJASIT Chan II, an. 55, veneno sublatu a Selime filio.		ZEMI, qui Gemes, Italica pronuntiatione, pulsus a fratre, moritur exsul in Italia.	
SINAN scach, Caraniae begus, ante patrem moritur.		ALEM scach, qui et Alama scach: ante patrem, missus ad fines Persicos, moritur.		ACHMET praefectus Amasiae, occisus a Selime.	
MYCHEMET Zelebi, strangulatus jussu sultani Selimidis patris Prusae.		ALADIN Zelebi, profugit ad Ismailem Sophium num Egyptiam, cuius filiam duxit uxorem.		MYCHEMET praefectus Magnesiae, a patre veneno necatus.	
MVRAT Zelebi, necatus in conspectu patris a mortuis.		MVRAT Zelebi, profugit ad Ismailem Sophium num Egyptiam, cuius filiam duxit uxorem.		N. Zelebi, N. Zelebi, cum patribus necati Prusae, jussu Selimis.	
MVRAT Zelebi, necatus avi jussu post patrem.		MVRAT Zelebi, profugit ad Ismailem Sophium num Egyptiam, cuius filiam duxit uxorem.		CONCVTPRI- mum Casta- monae, post Magnesiae praefectus, occisus a Selime germano fratre.	
MVRAT Zelebi, necatus avi jussu post patrem.		MVRAT Zelebi, profugit ad Ismailem Sophium num Egyptiam, cuius filiam duxit uxorem.		XI. SULTAN SELIM Chan, regnavit annis 8, mensibus 8, diebus 8.	
MVRAT Zelebi, necatus avi jussu post patrem.		MVRAT Zelebi, profugit ad Ismailem Sophium num Egyptiam, cuius filiam duxit uxorem.		XII. SULTAN SOLEIMAN Chan II, an. 47.	
MVRAT Zelebi, necatus avi jussu post patrem.		MVRAT Zelebi, profugit ad Ismailem Sophium num Egyptiam, cuius filiam duxit uxorem.		N. filius Zemidis, factus Christianus, Rhodi vixit. Ea vero capta, constans in religione Christiana interfectus est a sultano Soleimane.	
MVRAT Zelebi, necatus avi jussu post patrem.		MVRAT Zelebi, profugit ad Ismailem Sophium num Egyptiam, cuius filiam duxit uxorem.		N. et N. N. et N. filii necati cum ducta patre. Constantinopolim.	
MVRAT Zelebi, necatus avi jussu post patrem.		MVRAT Zelebi, profugit ad Ismailem Sophium num Egyptiam, cuius filiam duxit uxorem.		BAJASIT, victus a Selime fratre, fugit ad Persas, ubi strangulatus est cum quatuor filiis.	
MVRAT Zelebi, necatus avi jussu post patrem.		MVRAT Zelebi, profugit ad Ismailem Sophium num Egyptiam, cuius filiam duxit uxorem.		OMER, MVRAT, SELIM, MYCHEMET	
MVRAT Zelebi, necatus avi jussu post patrem.		MVRAT Zelebi, profugit ad Ismailem Sophium num Egyptiam, cuius filiam duxit uxorem.		ZIANGIUR, CHAME- gibbosus, RUSTEMIS Mustapha fratre necato, seipsum interfecit.	
MVRAT Zelebi, necatus avi jussu post patrem.		MVRAT Zelebi, profugit ad Ismailem Sophium num Egyptiam, cuius filiam duxit uxorem.		XIII. SULTAN SELIM Chan II, an. 8.	
MVRAT Zelebi, necatus avi jussu post patrem.		MVRAT Zelebi, profugit ad Ismailem Sophium num Egyptiam, cuius filiam duxit uxorem.		XIV. SULTAN MVRAT Chan III, regnare cepit sub principium anni Christi 1575.	
MVRAT Zelebi, necatus avi jussu post patrem.		MVRAT Zelebi, profugit ad Ismailem Sophium num Egyptiam, cuius filiam duxit uxorem.		MYCHEMET, ALADIN, ZIANGIUR, ABDALLA, SOLEIMAN. Hos quinque fratres suos sultanos Murates in ipsis auspiciis imperii, se praesente stranguari jussit.	
MVRAT Zelebi, necatus avi jussu post patrem.		MVRAT Zelebi, profugit ad Ismailem Sophium num Egyptiam, cuius filiam duxit uxorem.		MYCHEMET, post circumcisionem ablegatus Magnesium, ibidem adhuc detentus.	

JOANNIS LEUNCLAVII

PANDECTES

HISTORIÆ TURCICÆ

LIBER SINGULARIS

AD ILLUSTRANDOS ANNALES.

389 *De genealogia sultanorum, Osmanidarum, tum etiam, quid scach, gasi, zeledi, emir.*

Ante omnia lectori duximus depingendam hic seriem principum Machanensium, a quibus Osmanidas ortos, annales hi Turcici tradunt: cum arbo- re, quam vocant Genealogica sultanorum, inde usque ab Osmane primo, ad Muratem hunc tertium, ejusque filium Muchemetem. In hac autem genealogia relinqui nomina barbara simpliciter, uti pronuntiantur a Turcis: quibus tamen in explicacione Annalium eam dare formam libuit, quam Græcis probari video. Obiter etiam lector animadvertat, Uguzem vel Oguzem hic quarto loco poni, a quo familiam hanc Oguziam Turci dictam aiunt, quam Laonicus Chalcocondyles, Latine Galliceque non magna cum interpretum laude publicatus, appellat tribum Oguziam: viderique apud Laonicum, Oguzalpem (licet confusis temporum rationibus) eundem esse, qui Oguzes Turcis vocatur. Oguzalpes enim dicitur, velut Oguz Elp, id est Oguzes Elpius, vel familia natus Elpia, cujus in annalibus mentio fit in Vita Sultani Muratis II, anno Mahometano 849, sive Christiano 1444, quæque videtur eadem esse cum Oguzia. Præterea Giokelpem nos vocamus, secuti Gauderium, lingue Turcicæ Cæsareum interpretem, qui Turcis est aliorum pronuntiatione Kukelpes vel Gukelpes. Sic apud Vincentium Belvacensem corrupte legitur quidam Kiocay, pro Kioc Chan, pronuntians vocem Kioc unica tantum syllaba, qui alibi Gog Chan dicitur: ut etiam Gukelp, et Gog Elp, pro eodem accipiatur. Quod nomen indicandum putavi, propter appellationem gentis, quæ sacris in Litteris exstat. Seachi autem appellatio, quæ tribuitur Soleimani, Ertuculis patri vel regum, vel magnorum est principum, præsertim apud Persas: sicut apud Hispanos Dont vocabulum in usu est. Apud Jacobum Fontanum Tsaccus nomen est, quod vix agnoverit aliquis idem esse cum Seacho. Nec recens hoc esse Seachi vocabulam, vel ex eo patet, quod apud Aythionum hæc decimo quinto capite verba, licet corrupte, legantur: Postmodum quidam rex

A Persarum, nomine Cossorassath, fuit primus ausus Romanorum imperio rebellare, ac se fecit imperatorem Asiæ nominari. Quippe vox illa Cossorassath mutanda prorsus in Chosroas Sach, quod Chosroas Seach, id est, rex Chosroes, enuntiandum. Obiter hoc indicare propterea libuit, quod insignis historicus Reineccius, auctor editionis Aythoni postremæ, de Chossorassath putaverit Artaxerxem faciendum: qui tamen **390** Agathiæ nostro non Artaxerxes est, sed Artaxares, uti Byzarus quoque noster, V. C. ex observationibus nostris adnotavit. Rursus alibi apud eundem Aythionum Soliman Sa, non est Soliman bassa, sicut in Appendice sua Reineccius opinatus est, sed Soliman Seach. Ertucal et Ertucul (diversa namque scriptura reperitur) a Turcis dicitur, quem Laonicus Ortogulem vocat, Osmanis patrem. Et Osmanem hunc dico, non Otmanem, vel Otomanum; itemque non Otmanidas, sed Osmanidas: quod ita postulet Arabicæ Turcicæque linguæ pronuntians ratio, cui Græcæ prolatio nominis, per Theta litteram scripti, non adversatur: quando istæc littera non Latina T vel TH respondet, sed ex usu Græcorum, gemino potius S, cum sibilo quodam expresso. Sic enim Assmanem pronuntia- vit Chalcocondyles, non Athmanem. Nec aliud hoc Osmanis illius est nomen, quam Osmanis bassæ, qui ante biennium bello Persico perit. Ortelium sane miror Osmanem, quem Ottomanum vocat, Zichi filium facere, tam Græcis, quam Turcis repugnantibus. Gunduselpis nomen, qui et Gundus a Turcis vocatur, idem prorsus est cum Duzalpe Laonici, per aphæresim, quam vocant, detractionem- que primarum litterarum. Et in margine Latini Laonici ascriptum legitur hujus Duzalpis nomen aliud ex alio libro, Judisalpes: quod ad Gunduselpem vel Junduselpem propius accedit. Errat autem in his Laonicus quod Duzalpem ponit primum in hac fam- lia, qui Gundus et Gunduselp, Ertuculis filius: quod Oguzalpem Duzalpis facit filium, qui ab hoc decimo tertio gradu est inter ascendentes: quod Orthogulem Oguzalpis filium, Duzalpis nepotem statuit, cum duodecimo gradu absit ab Oguzem, qui est inter

ascendentes, et Gunduselpis seu Duзалpis fuerit pater. Osman a morte patris annos triginta novem Mahometanus ex annalium auctoritate vixit, sed viginti novem tantum imperasse scribitur: quod primis decem annis principatum acquisiverit, et constituerit. Sultani nomen huic ab annalium auctore non tribuitur, sed Murati primum nepoti, et abnepoti deinde Muchemeti: quod de hoc Muchemete Theodorus etiam Spanduginus adnotavit. Gazi vero cognomen Osmani datur, sicut et Urchani filio, Muratique nepoti, quod strenuum magnanimumque militem significat. In Urchane (sic enim scribendum) notanda cum Ali bassa fratre concordia, cum omnes alii, quorum de rebus Turcicis exstant scripta, dicant ab Urchane principatus initio sublato fuisse de medio fratres duos: aperte reclamantibus hęc Turcicis annalibus, qui primum a Bajazite Gilderune Chane parricidium regni causa commissum fuisse, necato Jacupe Zelebi fratre, docent. Zelebis nomen, quod nobilem significat, a Turcis arbitrator usurpatum, ad imitationem Romanorum et Græcorum, quorum hi filios imperatorum natu minores nobilissimos vocabant, illi novellissimos, voce nonnihil corrupta, sicut patet ex historiis, inscriptionibus, numismatibus antiquis et fastis. Unicam tantum hoc loco lubet inscriptionem, fidei causa, licet in re manifesta, ponere: tum quod pro se vetus, jam nova sit, hoc est, recens primum inventa: tum quod antiquitatem nobilis urbis Austrię Viennensis, quondam seu Vindobonę, seu Vindonianę, quod magis probamus, insigniter illustraret. Eam magnifici equitis DN. HIERONYMI BECK A LEOPOLDSORF, Cęsar. Majestatis Camere aulicę consiliarii, studio liberali debemus: qui columnę fragmentum veteris, quę integra Milliarium Romanum fuit, in vinea quadam, haud procul a Sancti Marci necocomio, ad unum a Vienna lapidem, repertum cum intelligeret, operam dedit ut donum suam deportatum, posteritati conservaretur. Ejus inscriptionis hęc verba sunt litteris expressa nobis familiaribus. Nam ductus earum, quales in archetypo conspiciuntur, hoc quidem tempore dare non possumus.

IMP C.ES
P LIGINIO CORNEL
VALERIANO NOB. LISS..
CES. PRINCIPI
IUV. NTYTIS VA..
ET PONTES VETUSTA
CONLAPSA RESTI
A VIND. M P
II.

Intelligitur autem nomine nobilissimi, juvenutisque principis, minor natu frater Gallieni Augusti. Sic igitur et Turci Zelebes suos dixere, quanquam in annalibus his animadvertere liceat, Muchemetis secundi, et successorum filios non amplius Zelebes, sed sultanos cepisse nominari. Ceterum esse Turcos veluti similes quasdam Romanorum Græcorumque, quibus successerunt, plu-

ribus in rebus animadvertimus: in titulis, officiis militaribus, provinciarum prefecturis, legibus, et universo imperio constituendo. Jam quod Bajazitis Gilderunis sive Lælapis filios attinet, in eis recensendis auctorum magna diversitas est. Turci primogenitum faciunt emirem Soleimanem, quos equidem sequor: Et Soleimanes hic dictus fuit emir, auctoritatis majoris causa. Nam emires appellati sunt praefides et propagatores imperii Mahumetis, quasi superiores (Gulielmus Tyrius satrapas seu principes majores interpretatur) quos Græci amires et ammirades vocarunt, de quibus 391 non recte vel ameres, vel ameres, vel admiratos, vel admirales, vel admiralidos fecere Belyacensis, et interpres Cedriini, et alii. Nec hodieque nomen hoc aspernantur in iururcorum sultani. Laonicus vero post Jesum suum majorem, quem simpliciter Isam Turci vocant (quod nomen etiam propius imitatus est Laonicus libro sexto, quum Jessen Brenezis filius, quem alibi Jesum vocat, scribit) quemdam Mulsumanem nomine ponit. Idem facit primogenitum Orthobulem, a patre Sebastię prefectum, et ibidem ab hostibus urbe captum. Turci vero annales expresse tradunt, Sebastiam emiri Soleimani filio natu maximo, a patre datam fuisse: qui tamen a Temire captus Sebastia, non fuerit interfectus. Plura de his allaturum deinceps in medium sumus, ad numerum notarum 59 et 67.

Tertii quidem Cyriscebelin patris Bajazitis successorem faciunt, cujus nomen nec in Turcicis commentariis, nec apud Laonicum reperitur, et fletitium plane videtur. Eum dicunt a Temire fuisse captum, sed e custodia tamen evasisse. Laonicus autem scripsit, praelio Temiriano captum fuisse Mosem, qui videretur reliquis praestantior robore. Proinde Temir eum circumduxit, et secum in castris habuit, victum ministrans. Postea Laonicus hęc subjicit: Temir Cheriam properavit, Bajazitem et filium ejus secum vehens, cujus parvum respectum egit. Proinde in patriam regionem fuga evasit. Denique tertio repetit Laonicus initio quarti libri, Mosem dimissum a rege Temire, mari ad regionem patriam redisse. Similis est confusio in minorum natu Bajazitis filiorum mentione. Nam Laonicus et Jesum minorem commemorat, qui nusquam in annalibus Turcicis reperitur, et ultima inter omnes loco ponit Mustapham respiciens (ut arbitrator) ad illum Mustapham, cui Dismis cognomen a Turcis datur, qui que Bajazitis se filium mentiebatur. Atqui disertè Turci tradunt, minimum natu fuisse Casanem Zelebin, qui tempore calamitatis paternę fuerit adhuc ætate tenera; narrantque deinceps ab emire Soleimane fratrem hunc natu minimum, Casanem Zelebin, fuisse Constantinopolim missum, ut obsidis loco ibidem esset. Laonicus etiam alicubi Jesum minorem, facti minimum natu, et Constantinopoli baptizatum ait: de quo sane vero sit simile, Jesum minorem Laonici, esse illum ipsum natu minimum

Bajazitis filium, quem annales Turcici Casanem Zelebini vocant. Error Sansovini duplex Osmanidarum in arbore, quo Sultanus jam superstitis a Cyriscelebi propagat, et Bajazitis ex Cyriscelebi nepotem facit Muchemetem primum, tam manifestus est, nullius ut refutationis indigeat. Alis vero, qui Constantinopolim et ipse profugerit, nulla Turcicis in annalibus mentio. Reposuimus etiam suo loco germanum illum, et natalibus opera nostra nunc restitutum, Bajazitis filium, Mustapham zelebim; qui ut Temiriano prælio, sic etiam hæcenus ex Osmanidarum stemmate, haud scio quo fatali casu exclusus, periit: locum ejus invadente Mustapha, suppositio Bajazitis filio, quem Annales hi Dusmis appellant cognomento. De Sauze jussu patris exæcato, nullum in annalibus verbum. Nomen Sauzi illud est, quod Soleimanes hodierno veziri azemi adhuc pueri dedisse fertur. Siaus enim bassa vocatur, ejus supra quoque aliquoties in supplemento annalium nostro facta mentio. Quod autem Sauzi a Reineccio Taures filius attribuitur, qui exsul in Ungaria vixerit: et quod idem dat Mustaphæ suppositio filium Davidem, ex auctoritate Joannis Basilii Heroldi, qui et ipse diu exsularit apud Ungaros: errore quodam factum, ex vitiosa scriptura, et Heroldi hallucinatione, profecto. Non enim Taures apud Chalcocondylem legi debet, sed Tantes, tribus syllabis, quod nomen est Taut vel Daut, quemadmodum nostris in annalibus Daut bassa legitur, sub imperio Bajazitis secundi. Et Turcis Daut dicitur, qui David Hebræis. Hic ergo Tantes verus esto Sauzis filius, alter autem Dusmis Mustaphæ filius David, eeu commentitius, expungitor. Perperam deinde traditur a nostris, Isam sive Jossam, sive Jesum majorem, a Musulmane, qui Turcis est emir Soleiman, occisum: cum ejus necis culpam Turcorum annales in Musam, sive Mosem, fratrem alium, deriverit. Volunt etiam nostri, quos Reineccius in Osmanidarum stemmate sequitur, Muchemetem secundum fuisse natum ex Irene, Georgii Bulcovizii, Severiorum despote, filia. Falsum hoc esse, manifesto patet ex annalibus hisce nostris, et annorum supputatione. Natus enim fuit Muchemetes anno Turcico 835 (Chr. 1450). Murates autem duxit Irenem quinque post annis, Mahumetano scilicet 858. Non ergo potuit Irenes esse filius Muchemetes. Præterea non potuisset ex Irene natus initio regni plures ætatis annos habere, quam sexdecim, cum tamen constet imperare cepisse natum viginti unum plus minus annos. Nec Irenem fuisse dictam Georgii despote filiam, sed Mariam, ostendemus infra, numero 96, quem locum lector cum hoc jungat. Quem porro Sponderbeium, nobilem in Panderatia Satrapam ex Ænea Silvio vocat Reineccius, patrem secundæ Muratis secundi conjugis, Spenderem dictum legimus in edito Laonico; quod nomen idem est cum Sphendere, quem Isvendiarem Turci appel-

lant. Quippe solent iis nominibus, quæ a gemina consonante incipiunt, litteram I, 392 vel V Gallicum præponere; verbi gratia, cum pro Scen lere dicunt Ischender; pro Scodra Iscolara; pro Scopia, Uscopia. Frequens vero in annalibus hisce mentio fit Isvendiariis, quod cognomentum principibus illis datur, quorum erat ad Pontum Euxinum ditio, in ipsa Ponto provincia, vicinaque Paphlagonia. Chalcocondyles quemdam ex eis nominat Ismailem, Sinopæ principem, et alibi principem Sinopæ et Castamonis, amicum et socium Mosis. In nostris autem annalibus hisce legitur, Isvendiari, Temirem Chanem vel dedisse, vel adeptas a Bajazite restituisse, Castamonam, Congerim, Calazugen. Idem narratur hospitio Musam excepisse, clamque secum habuisse, cum ab emire Soleimane fratre bello peteretur. Notanda quoque verba Laonici, cum ait, Scenderis, qui Sinopen regebat, fuisse filium Ismailem. Quippe legendum puto Spenderis, non Scenderis, licet mihi nomen Scenderis non sit ignotum, Panderatiæ satrapiam quod attinet, est ad Pontum Euxinum civitas, in Ponto provincia, quæ hodie Penderæli dicitur; eo posita situ, vateris ut Heraclæ Ponticæ locum occupasse videatur. Ab hac si dicti non sunt Sphenderes, Isvendiariesve begi, quos alii Spender aut Sponderbeios vocarunt, saltem Spenderes oppido regionique nomen dedere. De his et alia leges infra, numero 15. Nunc ad Osmanidarum genealogiam ut redeamus, equidem non abs re dubito, an duos ex illius Sphenderis filia Murates suscepit filios. Laonicus certe duntaxat unius mentionem facit, quem Cambrinius appellat Calapinum, a cognomento potius, quam nomine proprio. Nam Calapinus vocabulum corruptum est ex Zelebi, de cuius significato supra monuimus. Alii Chialapum dixere, quod ex eodem zelebi factum patet. Major aliorum opinione, qui duos faciunt, Tursines ætatis mense decimo octavo necatus (ut aiunt) a Muchemete secundo, nomen habet insolens, et incognitum Osmanidarum familiæ. Per me tamen de his, ut quilibet arbitrata suo statuat, licet. Similius etiam vero, siquidem omnino fuere duo fratres, Muratis ex Sphenderina filii unus post alterum tam brevi temporis intervallo nati, puerum natu majorem octodecim mensium deportatum fuisse Constantinopolim et Venetias, ut servaretur, quod Gaifrao placet, quam sex mensium infantem, quod Reineccio. Cæterum inter Bajazitis secundi liberos, nec Alim Caphæ satrapam, nec Muratem satrapam Trapezuntis posui, tum quod Menavinus, testis oculatus, horum non meminerit: tum etiam, quod Trapezuntis præfecturam Selimein obtinuisse, nostris ex annalibus, et ipso Menavino constet, indeque Capham transmisisse, cum de occupando imperio cogitaret; quo se non contulisset, si fuisset istie Alis frater, conatibus haud dubie Selimis obstiturus, qui aliorum fratrum impedimenta metuens, hoc ipsa iter arri-

THE
NAUIGATION AND VYAGES

OF

Lewes Hertomannus,

Lodovico Bartolomeo of Bologna.

Vantema, Lodovico de

GENTELMAN OF THE CITIE OF ROME,

TO THE

REGIONS OF ARABIA, EGYPTE, PERSIA, SYRIA, ETHIOPIA, AND EAST INDIA,

BOTH WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE RYUER OF GANGES, ETC.

IN THE YEERE OF OUR LORDE 1503.

*G240. H146
Hakluyt vol. IV*

CONTEYNING

MANY NOTABLE AND STRAUNGE THINGES,

BOTH HYSTORICALL AND NATURALL.

TRANSLATED OUT OF LATINE INTO ENGLYSHE,

By Richarde Eden.

IN THE YEERE OF OUR LORD 1576.

A good riuer of
fresh water in
Grand Caiman.

most, where we found no people, but a good riuer of fresh water; and there we turned vp threescore great tortoises; and of them we tooke our choise, to wit, fifteene of the females, which are the best and fullest of egges, whereof two serued an hundred men a day. And there with stones we might kill turtle dones, wilde geese, & other good fowles at our pleasures. Thence we came to Cape de Corrientes on Cuba to water, and from thence to Cape S. Antonio, and so went ouer for the Tortugas, without taking of any new prize: and thence cut ouer to Rio de puercos on the coast of Cuba. There we tooke a small barke of twenty tunnes, with foure men and forty liue hogs, with certeine dried porke cut like leather ierkins along, and dried hogs tongues and neats tongues, and 20 oxe hides. Then passing thence, within foure dayes we tooke a ship of 80 tunnes laden with hides, indico, & salsa perilla, North of an headland called Corugna: thence the current set vs to the East to the old chanel. There we tooke a frigat of 20 tunnes, hauing certeine pieces of Spanish broad cloth & other small pillage: there continuing off the Matanças 12 dayes, with the winde so Westerly that we could hardly recouer Hauana in the moneth of May. Here we tooke two boats laden with tortoises, which we sunke, sauing some of the tortoises, & setting the men on shore. Then at length we recouered vp to Hauana, where we came so neere to the forts, that for one houres fight they ouer-reached vs with their long ordinance. Then came out the two gallies, hauing 27 banks on a side, and fought with vs another houre; which for that time left vs by reason of the increasing of the winde. Then passing alongst nine leagues to the Westward we found out an excellent harbour, hauing three fadome water at the flood, able within to receiue a thousand saile, where we found hog-houses, which they terme coralles, and tooke away certeine hogs and pigs. As we came out of this harbour, the weather being calme, we were incountered by the gallies, which had followed vs, and fought with them three houres, oftentimes within caliuer shot: but wee made such spoile of their men and oares, that they beganne to be weary, and gaue vs ouer, with their great losse. Here within foure dayes after, as we lay to the Northward sixe leagues off this harbour of Cauannas, we met with master captaine Lane, Generall of master Wats his fleet, and captaine Roberts, in the Exchange, a ship of Bristol, of an hundred and forty tunnes, and master Benjamin Wood with his foure ships which were set out by my lord Thomas Howard with Captain Kenel of Limehouse captaine of the Cantar of Weymouth. All we being heere together espied a ship of some 50 tunne, which we chased with their boats; but my shallope first boarded her, and tooke her: which had in her sacke, Canary-wine, muscadell, tent in iarres, and good store of oile in iarres. The ship we vnladed and burned: the men ran on shore. Hence wee came all together, being about 13 sailes, before Hauana; but passing by we gaue chase to a ship of 60 tun, which entred into an harbour a league to the Northwest of Hauana, which with boats was boarded, and found to be of Puerto de Cauillos in the bay of Honduras, laden with tanned hides, salsa perilla, Indico, raw hides, and good store of balsamum: and she had foure chests of gold, which they got on land before we could come to them. We brought this ship into England. Thus spending a seuenight in lying off and on for purchase, and finding nothing come, I set saile for England, and arriued at Douer about the tenth of Nouember 1592.

Preseruing of
hogs-flesh.

The excellent
hauen of Cauan-
nas.

A briefe note of a voyage to the East Indies, begun the 10 of April 1591, wherein were three tall ships, the Penelope of Captaine Raimond, Admirall, the Merchant royall, whereof was Captaine, Samuel Foxcroft, Vice admirall, the Edward Bonauenture, whereof was Captaine, M. James Lancaster, Rere admirall, with a small pinnesse. Written by Henry May, who in his returne homeward by the West Indies suffered shipwracke vpon the isle of Bermuda, wherof here is annexed a large description.

The tenth of April 1591 we departed from Plimmouth with the ships aforesayd. In May following wee arriued at Grand Canaria one of the fortunate Islands. Also toward the end of this moneth we tooke a Portugall shippe being bound for Brasil, within three degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, which serued greatly to our refreshing. The 29 of Iuly following

A Portugall ship
taken.

following we came to Aguada Saldania a good harbour neere the cape of Buona Sperança, where we stayed about a moneth with the Merchant royall, which by reason of sicknesse in our fleet was sent home for England with diuers weake men. Here we bought an oxe for a knife of three pence, a sheepe for a broken knife or any other odde trifle, of the people which were Negros, clad in cloaks or mantles of raw hides, both men and women. The 8 of September the Penelope & the Edward Bonaventure weyed anker, and that day we doubled the cape of Buona Sperança. The 12 following we were taken with an extreame tempest or huricano. This euening we saw a great sea breake ouer our admirall the Penelope, and their light strooke out: and after that we neuer saw them any more. In October following we in the Edward fell with the Westermost part of the isle of S. Laurence about midnight, knowing not where we were. Also the next day we came to an anker at Quitangone a place on the main land of Africa, which is two or three leagues to the Northward of Moçambique, where the Portugals of the isle of Moçambique fetch all their fresh water. Here we tooke a pangaia, with a Portugall boy in it; which is a vessell like a barge, with one matsaile of Coco nut leaues. The barge is sowed together with the rindes of trees, and pinned with wooden pinnes. In this pangaia we had certeine corne called millio, hennes, and some fardels of blew Calicut cloth. The Portugall boy we tooke with vs, and dismissed the rest. From this place we went for an island called Comoro, vpon the coast of Melinde, which standeth about 11 degrees to the South of the equinoctial: in which island we stayed all Nouember, finding the people blacke and very comly, but very treacherous and cruell: for the day before we departed from thence they killed thirty of our men on shore, among whom was William Mace our master, and two of his mates; the one of them being in the boat with him to fetch water, the other being on shore against our ship; they hauing first betrayed our boat. From hence we went for the isle of Zanzibar, on the coast of Melinde, whereas wee stayed and Wintered vntill the beginning of February following.

They double
the cape of
Buona Espe-
ranza.

Quitangone
neere Mozam-
bique.

The isle of Co-
moro.

They Winter at
the isle of Zan-
zibar.

The second of February 1592 wee weyed anker, and set saile directly for the East Indies; but hauing calmes and contrary windes, wee were vntill the moneth of Iune before wee could recouer the coast of India neere Calicut; whereby many of our men died for want of refreshing. In this moneth of Iune we came to an anker at the isles of Pulo pinaom, whereas we stayed vntill the first day of September, our men being very sicke, and dying apace. This day we set saile, and directed our course for Malaca: and wee had not bene farre at sea, but wee tooke a shippe of the kingdome of Pegu of some fourescore tunnes with wooden ankers, and about fiftie men in her, with a pinnesse of some eighteene tunnes at her stearne, both laden with pepper. But their pinnesse stole from vs in a gust in the morning. Here we might haue taken two shippes more of Pegu laden likewise with pepper and rice. In this moneth also we tooke a great Portugall ship of six or seuen hundred tun, laden chiefly with victuals, chests of hats, pintados, and Calicut clothes. Besides this we tooke another Portugall ship of some hundred tun, laden with victuals, rice, Calicos, pintados, and other commodities. These ships were bound for Malaca with victuals: for those of Goa, of S. Thomas, and of other places in the Indies doe victuall it, because that victuals there are very scarce.

The isles of
Pulo pinaom.

In the moneth of Nouember 1592 we shaped our course for the island of Nicubar lying certeine leagues to the Northwest of the famous island of Sumatra; whereas within short time wee came to anker: and here wee had very good refreshing: for after wee arriued there, the people (whom we found in religion Mahumetans) came aboard vs in their canoas, with hennes, cocos, plantans, and other fruits: and within two dayes they brought vnto vs reals of plate, giuing vs them for Calicut cloth: which reals they found by diuing in the sea, which were lost not long before in two Portugall ships which were bound for China, & were cast away there. This was the furthest place that we were at to the Southeast: and heere because our company by this time was much wasted and diminished, we resolued to turne backe to the isle of Zeilan. Wherefore we weyed anker in the moneth of Nouember, and arriued at Zeilan about the end of the same moneth. In this island groweth great store of excellent cinamom, and the best diamonds in the

The isle of Ni-
cubar.

They retourne
homeward.

had hyred certayne Cammelles (which they call Carauanas) to go to Mecha, and beyng then ignorant of the customes and maners of them in whose companye I shoulde go, I entred familiaritie and friendshyppe with a certayne captayne Mamaluke, of them that had forsaken our fayth, with whom beyng agreed of the price, he prepared me apparell lyke vnto that whiche the Mamalukes vyse to weare, and geuyng me also a good horse, accompanied me with the other Mamalukes. This (as I haue sayde) I obtayned with great cost, and many gyftes which I gaue hym. Thus enter yng to the iorney, after the space of three dayes, we came to a certayne place named Mezaris, where we remayned three dayes, that the Merchantes which were in our company myght prouide thynges necessarie, as specially Camels, and dyuers other thynges. There is a certayne Prince whom they cal Zambei, of great power in the countrey of Arabia: he had three brethren and foure chyldren. He norysheth fourtie thousand horses, ten thousand mares, and foure thousand Camels. The country where he keepeth the heardes of these beastes, is large, of two dayes iorney. This Prince Zambei is of so great power, that he keepeth warre with the Soltan of Babylon, the gouernour of Damasco, and the Prince of Ierusalem al at once. In the tyme of haruest and geathering of frutes, he is geuen wholly to praye and robberyng, and with great subtiltie deceyueth the Arabians: for when they thynke hym to be a myle or two of, he is with them sodenly betymes in the morn yng: and inuadyng theyr landes, carryeth away theyr frutes, Wheate, and Barlye, euen as he syndeth it in the sakes: and so lyueth continually day and nyght with suche incursions. When his Mares be weered with continuall runnyng, he resteth a whyle: and to refreshe them, geueth them Camelles mylke to drynke, to coole them after theyr great labour. Those Mares are of such marueylous swyftnesse, that when I presently sawe them, they seemed rather to flee then to runne. Note also that these Arabians ryde on horses only couered with certayne clothes or mattes, and weare none other vesture then only an inwarde coate, or petticoate: for weapon they vse a certayne long Dart of Reedes, of the length of ten or twelue cubites, poynted with Iron (after the maner of lauteyls) and frynged with sylke. When they attempt any incursyons, they marche in suche order, that they seem to go in troupes: they are of despicable and litle stature, and of coloure betweene yealowe and blacke, which some call Oliuastro. They haue the voyces of Women, and the heare of theyr head long and blacke, and layde out at large. They are of greater multitude then a man woulde beleue, and are among them selues at continually stryfe and warre. They inhabite the mountaynes, and haue certayne tymes appoynted to robberye: for this purpose they obserue especially the tyme, when they are certayne of the passage of the Pylgryms and other that iorney that way to Mecha, then lyke theeues they lye in the way and robbe them. When they make these theuysish inuasions, they bryng with them theyr wyues, chyldren, families and all the goodes they haue. Theyr houses they put vpon the Camelles, for other houses haue they none, but lyue onlye in tentes and pauilyons as do our Soldiers. Suche tabernacles are made of blacke wooll, and that rough and fylthy. But to returne to our viage.

Carauana, a companie of Camels. Mamaluchi renegadi.

Mezaris.

The prince Zambei in Arabia.

The Prince of Ierusalem.

A Prince a theefe.

Mares.

The Arabians lyue by robbery.

Houses borne on Camels backs. Tentis and pauilyons.

The eleuenth day of Aprill departed from Mezaris a company of Camels (which companie they call the Carauana) to the number of 35 thousand, with fourtie thousand men. But we were no more then threescore persons, of whom the Mamalukes had taken the charge to gujde and garde us, and the Carauana of our companie, whiche the Mamalukes diuided into three partes, as some in the fronte, other in the myddest of the army, and other in a wyng after the maner of a halfe Moone, inclosyng the whole armie; for in this order march the peregrines which iorney in these regions, as hereafter we wyll further declare. But you shall fyrst understand that Damasco is from Mecha fourtie dayes and fourtie nyghtes iorney. Departyng therefore from Mezaris we continued our iorney that day, vntyll the 22 houre of the day. Then our Captayne and guide Agmirus, after he had geuen the watch worde and signe, commaunded that euerye man shoulde rest and remayne in the place where the signe shoulde be geuen them. Therefore as soone as they hearde the signe by the sound of a Trumpet, they stayed, and after they had vnburdened theyr Camels, spent there two houres to victual themselues and theyr beastes: then the Captayne geuyng a new signe, charging theyr

This for feare of the Arabians.

From Damasco to Mecha.

Perhaps with the sounde of a horne or Trumpet.

theyr Camelles agayne; they departed speedly from thence. Euery Camell hath at one feedyng fyue Barly loaves, rawe and not baked, as bygge as a Pomegranate. Takyng horse, they continued that iorney the daye and nyght folowyng, vntyll 22 houres of the day, and at that houre they obserue the order whiche we haue spoken of herebefore. Euery eight daye they draw water by dyggyng the grounde or sande: by the way neuerthelesse somewhere are founde Welles and Sesternes. Also euery eyght daye, they rest theyr Camelles two dayes to recouer their strength. The Camelles are laden with incredible Burdens, and double charge: that is to meane the burden of two great Mules. They drynke but once in three dayes.

Water.

The burden of the Camelles.

Of the strength and valiantnesse of the Mamalukes. Cap. 9.

WHen they tary and rest them at the waters aforesayde, they are euer enforced to confict with a great multitude of the Arabians: but the battayle is for the most parte without bloodshed, for although we haue often tymes fought with them, yet was there only one man slayne on our parte: for these Arabians are so weake and feeble, that threescore Mamalukes haue often put to the worst fyftie thousande Arabians. For these feeble Arabians which are called Pagani, are not in strength or force of armes to be compared to the Mamalukes, of whose actiuitie I haue seene great experience: among the whiche this is one. A certayne Mamaluke layde an Apple vpon the head of his seruant; and at the distance of about 12 or 14 pases, stroke it off from his head. I sawe likewise an other, who ryding on a saddled horse with full course (for they vse saddles as we doe) tooke off the saddle from the horse styll running: and for a space bearing it on his head, put it agayne on the horse, styll continuing his full course.

The feeblenesse of the Arabians.

Pagans.

The actiuitie of the Mamalukes.

Of the cities of Sodoma and Gomorrha. Cap. 10.

PAssyng the iourney of twelue dayes we came to the playne or valley of Sodoma and Gomorrha, where we founde it to be true that is written in Holy Scripture: for there yet remaine the ruynes of the destroyed citie, as witness of Gods wrath. We may affyrme that there are three cities, and eche of them situate on the declining of three hylles: and the ruines doe appeare about the heyght of three or foure cubites. There is yet seene, I wotte near what, lyke blood, or rather lyke redde waxe myxte with earth. It is easie to belecue that those men were infected with horrible vices, as testifieth the baren, drye, filthie, and vnholosome region, vterly without water. Those people were once fedde with Manna: but when they abused the gyft of God, they were sore plagued. Departing twentie myles from these cities, about thirtie of our company perished for lacke of water, and dyuers other were ouerwhelmed with sande. Goyng somewhat further forewarde, we founde a little mountayne, at the foote whereof we founde water, and therefore made our abode there. The day folowyng early in the mornyng, came vnto vs 24 thousand Arabians, askyng money for the water which we had taken. We answered that we would paye nothing, because it was gyuen vs by the goodnesse of God. Immediately we came to hand strokes. We geathering ourselues together on the sayde mountayne, as in the safest place, vsed our Camelles in the steede of a bulwarke, and placed the merchautes in the myddest of the army (that is) in the myddest of the Camelles, whyle we fought manfully on euery syde. The battayle continued so long, that water sayled both vs and our enemies in the space of two dayes. The Arabians compassed about the mountayne, crying and threatenynge that they would breake in among the Camelles: at the length to make an ende of the conflicte, our Captayne assembling the merchautes, commanded a thousande and two hundred peeces of golde to be giuen to the Arabians: who when they had receyued the money, sayde that the summe of ten thousande peeces of golde should not satisfie them for the water which we had drawn. Whereby we perceiued that they began further to quarrell with vs, and to demaunde some other thing then money. Whereuppon our Captayne gaue commaundement, that whosoever in all our companie were able to beare armes, should not mount vpon the Camelles, but should with all expedition prepare themselues to fyght. The day folowyng in the morning,

Manna, turned in bitter plagues.

Lacke of water.

Water secretly bought. So did Abraham with the Philistians.

So doeth the Turke his army.

sendyng

sendyng the Camelles before, and inclosyng our army, beyng about three hundred in number, we met with the enemies, and gaue the onset. In this conflicte, we lost only a man and a woman, and had none other damage: we slue of the Arabians a thousande and fyue hundred, whereof you neede not marueyle, if you consyder that they are vnarmed, and weare only a thynne loose vesture, and are besyde almost naked: theyr horses also beyng as euyll furnished, and without saddles, or other furniture.

Of a mountayne inhabited with Iewes, and of the citie of Medinathalhabi, where Mahumet was buried. Cap. 11.

IN the space of eyght dayes we came to a mountayne which conteyneth in circuite ten or twelue myles. This is inhabited with Iewes, to the number of fyue thousande or thereabout. They are very little stature, as of the heygth of fyue or sixe spannes, and some muche lesse. Iewes Pigmei. They haue small voyces lyke women and of blacke colour, yet some blacker then other. They feede of none other meate then Goates fleshe. They are circumcised, and deny not them selues to bee Iewes. If by chaunce any Mahumetan come into their handes, they slay him alyue. At the foot of the mountayne, we founde a certayne hole, out of the whiche flowed aboundance of water. By fyndyng this oportunitie, we laded sixtiene thousand Camels: which thyng greatly offended the Iewes. They wandred in that mountayne, scattered lyke wylde Goates or Prickettes, yet durst they not come downe, partly for feare, and partly for hatred agaynst the Mahumetans. Beneath the mountaine are seene seuen or eyght thorne trees, very sayre, and in them we founde a payre of Turtle Doues, which seemed to vs in maner a miracle, hauyng before made so long iourneyes, and sawe neyther beast nor foule. Then procedyng two dayes iourney, we came to a certayne citie named Medina-thalhabi: foure myles from the said citie, we founde a well. Heere the Carauana (that is, the whole hearde of Camelles) rested. And remayning here one day, we washed our selues, and chaunged our shertes, the more freshely to enter into the citie: it is well peopled, and conteyneth about three hundred houses, the walles are lyke bulwarkes of earth, and the houses both of stone and bricke. The soile about the citie, is vtterly barren, except that about two myles from the citie, are seene about fyftie palme trees that beare Dates. There, by a certayne garden, runneth a course of water fallyng into a lower playne, where also passingers are accustomed to water theyr Camelles. And here oportunitie now serueth to confute the opinion of them whiche thynke that the Arke or Toombe of wicked Mahumet in Mecha, to hang in the ayre, not borne vp with any thyng. As touching which thyng, I am vtterly of an other opinion, and affirme this neyther to be true, nor to haue any lykenesse of trueth, as I presently behelde these thynges, and sawe the place where Mahumet is buried, in the said citie of Medinathalhabi: for we taryed there three dayes, to come to the true knowledge of all these thynges. The citie of Medinathalhabi. When wee were desirous to enter into theyr Temple (which they call Meschita, and all other churches by the same name) we coulde not be suffered to enter, without a companion little or great. They taking vs by the hande, brought vs to the place where they saye Mahumet is buried. The Toombe or Sepulchre of Mahumet. Mahumet was not buried in Mecha.

Of the Temple or Chapell, and Sepulchre of Mahumet, and of his felowes. Cap. 12.

HIS temple is vaulted, and is a hundred pases in length, and fourescore in breadth: the entry into it, is by two gates: from the sydes, it is couered with three vaultes, it is borne vp with 4 hundred columnes or pillers of white brick, there are seene hanging lampes about the number of 3 thousande. From the other part of the Temple in the first place of the Meschita, is seene a Tower of the circuite of fyue pases, vaulted on euery syde, and couered with a cloth of silke, and is borne vp with a grate of copper curiously wrought, and distant from it two pases: and of them that goe thither, is seene as it were through a lattesse. Towarde the lefte hande, is the way to the Tower, and when you come thither, you must enter by a narrower gate. On euery side of those gates or doores, are seene many bookes in maner of a Librarie, on the syde 20, and on the other syde 25. These contayne the filthie traditions and lyfe of Mahumet and his felowes: within the sayde gate, is seene a Sepulchre Mahumets Librarie. (that

Nomothete
Turcarum.
This Hali our
men that have
been in Persia,
call Mortus Ha-
li, that is Saint
Hali.
Discorde and
sectes of religion
among the Ma-
hometans,
Turkes, and
Persians.
Note.
Surch come,
such chaffe.

(that is) a digged place, where they say Mahumet is buried and his felowes, which are these, Nabi, Bubacar, Othomar, Aumar, and Fatoma: But Mahumet was theyr chiefe Captayne, and an Arabian borne. Hali was sonne in lawe to Mahumet, for he tooke to wyfe his daughter Fatoma. Bubacar is he who they say was exalted to the dignitie of a chiefe counsellor and great gouernour, although he came not to the hygh degree of an apostle, or prophet, as dyd Mahumet. Othomar, and Aumar, were chiefe Captaynes of the army of Mahumet. Euery of these haue their proper bookes of theyr factes and traditions. And hereof proceedeth the great dissention and discorde of religion and maners among this kynde of filthie men, whyle some confirme one doctrine, and some an other, by reason of theyr dyuers sectes of Patrons, Doctours, and saintes, as they call them. By this meanes, are they marueylously diuided among them selues, and lyke beastes kyll themselues, for such quarelles of dyuers opinions, and all false. This also is the chiefe cause of warre betweene the Sophie of Persia, and the great Turke, beyng neuerthelesse both Mahometans, and lyue in mortall hatred one agaynst the other for the mayntenance of theyr Sectes, Saintes and Apostles, whyle euery of them thynketh theyr owne to bee best.

Of the Secte of Mahumet. Cap. 13.

Nabi is the name
of Mahumet.
A great price
for vile marchan-
dies.

Such people,
suche Priest.

My lorde Bi-
shop of Mecha.

It seemeth that
they know not
where he was
buried.
The deuyll he
was.

Christe at the
feete of Mahu-
met.

Mahumet shal
ryse etc. with
Iuda.

False miracles to
confirm false re-
ligion.

NOW will we speake of the maners and sect of Mahumet. Vnderstande therefore, that in the highest part of the Tower aforesayde, is an open round place. Now shall you vnderstande what crafte they vsed to deceyue our Carauana. The first euenyng that we came thither to see the Sepulchre of Mahumet, our Captaine sent for the chiefe priest of the Temple to come to him, and when he came, declared vnto him that the only cause of his commyng thither, was to visite the Sepulchre and bodie of Nabi, by which woord is signified the prophet Mahumet: and that he vnderstoode that the price to be admitted to the syght of these mysteries, should be foure thousande Seraphes of golde. Also that he had no parentes, neyther brothers, sisters, kinsefolkes, chylde, or wyues, neyther that he came thither to buy merchaundies, as spices, or Bacca, or Nardus, or any maner of precious Iewelles: but only for very zeale of religion and saluation of his soule, and was therefore greatly desirous to see the bodie of the prophet. To whom the Priest of the Temple (they call them Side) with countenance lyke one that were distraught, made aunswere in this maner, Darest thou with those eyes with the which thou hast committed so many horrible sinnes, desyre to see him by whose sight God hath created heauen and earth: To whom agayne our Captayne aunswere thus, My Lorde, you haue sayde truely: neuerthelesse I pray you that I may fynde so much fauour with you, that I may see the Prophet: whom when I haue seene, I will immediately thrust out myne eyes. The Side aunswere, O Prince, I will open all thynges vnto thee. So it is that no man can denye but that our Prophet dyed heere, who if he would myght haue dyed at Mecha: But to shewe in himselfe a token of humilitie, and thereby to gyue vs example to folowe him, was wylling rather heere then elsewhere to departe out of this worlde, and was incontinent of Angelles borne into heauen, and there receyued as equall with them. Then our Captayne sayde to him, Where is Iesus Christus, the sonne of Marie: To whom the Side answered, at the feete of Mahumet. Then sayde our Captayne agayne: It suffyceth, it suffyceth, I will knowe no more. After this, our Captayne commyng out of the Temple, and turnyng him to vs, sayd, see (I pray you) for what goodly stuffe I would haue payde three thousande Seraphes of golde: The same daye at euenyng, at almost three a clocke of the nyght, ten or twelue of the Elders of the secte of Mahumet entred into our Carauana, whiche remayned not paste a stone cast from the gate of the cite. These ranne hyther and thither, crying lyke madde men, with these wordes, Mahumet the messenger and Apostle of God, shall ryse agayne, O Prophet, O God, Mahumet shall ryse agayne, haue mercy on vs God. Our Captayne and we all rayse with this crye, tooke weapon with all expedition, suspectyng that the Arabians were come to robbe our Carauana; We asked what was the cause of that exclamation, and what they cryed? For they cryed as doe the Christians, when sodeynly any marueylous thyng chaunceth. The Elders answered, Sawe you not the lyghtning whiche shone out of the Sepulchre of the Prophet Mahumet.

OUR

Our Captayne answered, that he sawe nothyng, and we also beyng demaunded, answered in lyke maner. Then sayde one of the old men, are you slaues? that is to say bought men: meanyng thereby Mamalukes. Then sayde our Captayne, We are in deede Mamalukes. Then agayne the olde man sayde, You my Lordes, cannot see heauenly thinges, as being Neophiti (that is) newly come to the fayth, and not yet confirmed in our religion. To this our Captayne answered agayne, O you madde and insensate beastes, I had thought to haue giuen you three thousande peeces of golde, but now, O you dogges and progenie of dogges, I will gyue you nothyng. It is therefore to bee vnderstoode, that none other shynyng came out of the Sepulchre, then a certayne flame which the priests caused to come out of the open place of the Towre spoken of here before, whereby they would haue deceyued vs. And therefore our Captaine commaunded that thereafter none of vs should enter into the Temple. Of this also we haue most true experience, and most certayne assure you that there is neyther Iron or steele, or the Magnes stone that should so make the toombe of Mahumet to hange in the ayre, as some haue falsely imagined: neyther is there any mountayne nearer then foure myles: we remayned here three dayes to refreshe our company. To this citie victualles and all kynde of corne is brought from Arabia Felix, and Babylon or Alcayr, and also from Ethiope, by the redde sea, whiche is from this citie but foure dayes iourney.

Neophiti.
Sic ne responde
Pontifici?

The fable that
Mahumets
Toombe hangeth
in the Ayre.

The iourney to Mecha. Cap. 14.

AFTER that we were satisfied, or rather wearyed, with the filthinesse and lothesomenesse of the trumperyes, deceites, trifles, and hypocrises of the religion of Mahumet, we determined to goe forward on our iourney: And that by guyding of a pylot, who myght directe our course with the mariners boxe or compasse, with also the carde of the sea, euen as is vsed in sayling on the sea. And thus bendyng our iourney to the West we founde a very fayre well or fountayne, from the which flowed great aboundance of water. The inhabitantes affyrme that Sainct Marke the Euangelist was the aucthour of this fountayne, by a miracle of God, when that region was in maner burned with incredible drynesse. Here we and our beastes were satisfied with drynke. I may not here omit to speake of the sea of sande, and of the daungers thereof. This was founde of vs before we came to the mountayne of the Iewes. In this sea of sand we traueiled the iourney of three dayes and nightes: this is a great brode plaine, all couered with white sande, in maner as small as floure: If by euil fortune it so chauce that any trouaile that way southward, if in the meane time the wind come to the North, they are ouerwhelmed with sande. And although they shoulde haue prosperous wynde, yet are they so inuolued with sande, that they scatter out of the way, and can scarcely see the one the other 10 pases of. And therefore the inhabitants trauayling this way, are inclosed in cages of woodde, borne with Camels, and lyue in them, so passyng the iorney guided by pilots with maryners compasse and card, euen as on the sea, as we haue sayde. In this iorney also many peryshe for thirst, and many for drynkyng to muche, when they finde suche good waters. In these sandes is founde Momia, which is the fleshe of such men as are drowned in these sandes, and there dried by the heate of the Sunne: So that those bodyes are preserued from putrifaction by the drynesse of the Sand: and therefore that drye fleshe is esteemed medicinable. Albeit there is an other kynde of more pretious Momia, which is the dried and embalmed bodies of kynges and princes, whiche of long tyme haue been preserued drye without corruption. When the wynde bloweth from the northeast, then the sand riseth, and is driuen against a certayne mountayne which is an arme of the mount Sinai. There we found certayne pyllers artificially wrought, whiche they call Ianuan. On the left hande of the sayde mountayne, in the toppe or rydge thereof, is a denne, and the entrie into it, is by an Iron gate. Some fayne that in that place Mahumet lyued in contemplation. Here we heard a certayne horrible noyse and crye: for passyng the sayde mountayne, we were in so great daunger, that we thought neuer to haue escaped. Departyng therefore from the fountayne, we continued our iorney for the space of 10 dayes: And twyse in the way fought with fyftie thousande Arabians, and so at the length came to the citie of Mecha, where al thinges were troubled

Journey on the
lande by carde
and compasse as
on the sea.

The fountaine of
Sainct Marke
the Euangelist.

The sea of sande.
Mare fabulosum.

Momia.

Momia of
Kynges bodies
embalmed.

Mount Sinai,

The den where
Mahumet liued
in contemplation.

The realme of
Decham in
India.

more freely, gaue me further instructions, and counsayled me to repayre to a certayne Kyng of the greater India, in the kyngdome and realme of Decham, whereof we will speake hereafter. Therefore the day before the Carauana departed from Mecha, he willed me to lye hydde in the most secrete parte of his house. The day folowyng, early in the mornyng, the trumpetter of the Carauana gaue warning to all the Mamalukes to make readie their horses, to directe their iourney toward Syria, with proclamation of death to all that shoulde refuse so to doe. When I hearde the sounde of the Trumpet, and was aduertised of the streight commaundement, I was marueylously troubled in mynde, and with heauy countenance desired the Mahumetans wife not to bewraye me, and with earnest prayer committed myselfe to the mercie of God. On the Tuesday folowyng, our Carauana departed from Mecha, and I remayned in the Mahumetans house with his wyfe, but he followed the Carauana. Yet before he departed, he gaue commaundement to his wyfe to bryng me to the Carauana, which should departe from Zida the porte of Mecha to goe into India. This porte is distant from Mecha 40 miles. Whilest I laye thus hyd in the Mahumetans house, I can not expresse how friendly his wife vsed me. This also furthered my good interteynement, that there was in the house a fayre young mayde, the Niese of the Mahumetan, who was greatly in loue with me. But at that tyme, in the myddest of those troubles and feare, the fyre of Venus was almost extincte in mee: and therefore with dilaunce of fayre woordes and promises, I styll kepte my selfe in her fauour. Therefore the Fryday folowyng, about noone tyde I departed, folowyng the Carauana of India. And about mydnyght we came to a certayne village of the Arabians, and there remayned the rest of that nyght, and the next day tyll noone.

Affliction cool-
eth lechery.

The citie of
Zida.

Poore Pilgrym
that came from
Mecha.

From hence we went forwarde on our iourney toward Zida, and came thither in the silence of the nyght. This citie hath no walles, yet fayre houses, somewhat after the buyldyng of Italie: Heere is great aboundaunce of all kynde of merchandies, by reason of resorte in maner of all nations thither, excepte Iewes and Christians, to whom it is not lawfull to come thither. Assoone as I entered into the citie, I went to their Temple or Meschita, where I sawe a great multitude of poore people, as about the number of 25 thousande, attendingyng a certayne Pilot who should bryng them into their countrey. Heere I suffered muche trouble and affliction, beyng enforced to hyde my selfe among these poore folkes, faynyng my selfe very sicke, to the ende that none should be inquisityue what I was, whence I came, or whyther I would. The Lord of this citie is the Soltan of Babylon, brother to the Soltan of Mecha, who is his subiecte. The inhabitauntes are Mahumetans. The soyle is vnfruitfull, and lacketh freshe water. The sea beateth agaynst the towne. There is neuerthelesse aboundance of all thinges: but brought thither from other places, as from Babylon of Nilus, Arabia Fœlix, and dyuers other places. The heate is here so great, that men are in maner dried vp therewith. And therefore there is euer a great number of sicke folkes. The citie conteyneth about fyue hundred houses.

From Arabia to
Persia.

After fyftiene dayes were past, I couenaunted with a pilot, who was ready to departe from thence into Persia, and agreed of the price, to goe with him. There lay at Anker in the hauen almost a hundred Brigantines and foistes, with diuers boates and barkes of sundry sortes, both with Ores and without Ores. Therefore after three dayes, gyuyng wynde to our sayles, we entred into the redde sea, otherwise named Mare Erythræum.

The red sea.

Of the red sea, and why it can not be sayled in the nyght. Cap. 21.

IT is well knowen to wyse men that this sea is not red, as some haue imagined, but is of the colour of other seas. We continued therefore our vyage vntyll the goyng downe of the Sunne: for this sea, is nauigable only in the day tyme: And therefore in the nightes, the maryners rest them, vntyll they come to the Ilande named Chameran, from whence they proccede forwarde more safely. Why this can not be sayled in the nyght, they say the cause to be, that there are many daungerous sandes, rockes, and shelues: and therefore that it is needefull of diligent and long prospecte, from the toppe Castell of the shyppe, to foresee the dangerous places.

The

The seconde booke entreating of Arabia Fœlix. That is, the happie or blessed Arabia.

Of the citie of Gezan, and the fruitfulness thereof. Cap. 1.

FORasmuche as hytherto wee haue spoken somewhat of the maners of the people and citie of Arabia Fœlix, it may nowe seeme conuenient to finishe the rest of our vyage with such thinges as we haue seene in the sayde countrey of Arabia. Therefore after sixe saylyng, we came to a citie named Gezan. It hath a commodious porte, and very fayre, where we found about fourtie and fyue Brigantines and foistes of dyuers regions. The citie is harde by the sea syde, and the Prince thereof, is a Mahumetan. The soile is fruitful, lyke vnto Italie: It beareth Pomegranates, Quinses, Peaches, Apples of Assyria, Pepons, Melons, Oranges, Gourdes, and dyuers other fruites: Also Roses, and sundry sortes of floures, the fayrest that euer I sawe: It seemeth an earthly Paradyse. The moste parte of the inhabitauntes go naked. In other thinges, they lyue after the maner of the Mahumetans. There is also great abundance of fleshe, wheate, barley, the grayne of whyte Millet or Hirse (whiche they call Dora) whereof they make very sweete bread.

The citie of Gezan.

Of certayne people named Banduin. Cap. 2.

DEpartying from the citie of Gezan, the space of 5 dayes, sayling towarde the left hande, hauyng euer the coast of the lande in sight, we came to the sight of certayne houses, where about 14 of vs went alande, hopyng to haue had some victuals of the inhabitants. But we lost our labour, for in the steede of victuals, they cast stones at vs with slinges. They were about a hundred that fought with our men for the space of an houre. Of them were slayne 24. The rest were dryuen to flyght, they were naked, and had none other weapons then slynges. After theyr flyght, we brought away with vs certayne hens and Calues very good. Shortly after a great multitude of the inhabitauntes shewed them selues to the number of fyue or syxe hundred: but we departed with our praye, and returned to the shyppes.

Of an Ilande of the red sea, named Cameran. Cap. 3.

THE same day sayling forwarde, we came to an Iland named Cameran, which conteyneth ten myles in circuite. In it is a towne of two hundred houses, the inhabitantes are Mahumetans: it hath aboundaunce of freshe water and fleshe, and the fayrest salte that euer I sawe. The porte is eight myles from the continent, it is subiecte to the Soltan of Amanian of Arabia Fœlix. After we had remayned here two dayes, we tooke our way towarde the mouth of the red sea in the space of two dayes saylyng: This sea may here be sayled both day and nyght, for (as we haue sayde before) from this Ilande vnto the porte of Zida, the red sea is not safely nauigable by nyght. When we came to the mouth of the sea, we seemed to be in maner inclosed, for that the mouth of the sea is there very streyght, and no more then three myles ouer. Towarde the right hande, the continent lande is seene of the heyght of ten pases: the soile seemeth rude and not cultured. At the lefte hande of the sayde mouth, ryseth a very hygh hyll of stone. In the myddest of the mouth, is a little Ilande vnhabited, named Bebmendo, and is towarde the lefte hande to them that sayle to Zeila: But they that goe to Aden, must keepe the way to the lefte hande. All this way, we had euer the lande in our sight, from Bebmendo to Aden, in the space of two dayes and a halfe.

Of the citie of Aden, and of their maners and customes towarde straungers. Cap. 4.

I Doe not remember that I haue seene any citie better fortified then this: It standeth on a soyle not much vnequall, it is walled on two sydes: The reste is inclosed with mountaynes, hauyng on them fyue fortresses. The citie conteyneth sixe thousande houses. Theyr exercise of bying and selling, begynneth the seconde houre of the nyght, by reason of extreeme heate in the day tyme. A stone cast from the citie, is a mountayne hauyng on it a fortresse.

Of the citie of Aden looke. Cap. 13. Byng and sellyng by nyght.

The

The shyppes lye neare the foote of the mountayne: it is certaynelye a very goodly citie, and the fayrest of all the cities of Arabia Fœlix. To this as to the chiefe marte, the merchauntes of India, Ethiopia, and Persia, haue recourse by sea, and they also that resorte to Mecha. Assoone as our Brigantines came into the hauen, immediately the customers and searchers came aborde, demaundyng what we were, from whence we came, what merchaundies we brought, and howe many men were in euery Brigantine.

Beuyng aduertised of these thinges, immediately they tooke away our maste, sayles, and other tackelynges of our shyppes, that we should not departe without paying of custome. The day after our arryuyng there, the Mahumetans tooke mee and put shackles on my legges, which came by occasion of a certayne Idolatour who cryed after mee, saying O Christian Dogge, borne of Dogges. When the Mahumetans hearde the name of a Christian, incontinent they layde handes on mee, and brought mee to the Lieuetenant of the Soltan, of that place, who assemblyng his counsayle, asked their opinion if I should bee put to death as a spye of the Christians.

The Soltan himselfe was out of the citie, and therefore his Lieutenaunt who had yet neuer adjudged any man to death, thought it not good to gyue sentence agaynst mee, before the Soltan should be aduertised hereof. And therefore I escaped this present daunger, and remayned in custodie fiftie and syue dayes, with an Iron of eightiene pounce weyght hangyng at my feete. The seconde day after I was taken, many Mahumetans in great rage resorted to him, whose office was to make inquisition of treason. These a few dayes before, by swymmyng hardly escaped the handes of the Portugales, with the losse of theyr foistes and Barkes, and therefore desired greatly to bee reuenged of the Christians: affyrmyng with outrageous crye, that I was a spye of the Portugales. But God fayled not to assyst me: for the master of the prison perceyuing the outrage of the Mahumetans, and fearyng that they would offer me violence, made fast the gates of the prison. After that syue and fiftie dayes were paste, the Soltan commaunded that I should be brought before him: and so, set vpon a Camel with my shackles, I came in eight dayes iourney to the place where the Soltan laye and was brought to his presence in a citie named Rhada: for there the Soltan had assembled an army of thirtie thousande men, to make warre agaynst the Soltan of the citie of Sana, whiche is three dayes iourney from Rhada, and situate partly on the declining of a hyll, and partly in a playne, very faire to be scene, well peopled, and hauyng plentie of all thinges. When I came before the Soltan, he began to aske me what I was, I answered that I was a Roman, professed a Mamaluke in Babylon of Alcayr, and that of religious mynd to discharge my conscience of a vowe whiche I had made to see the bodie of Nabi the holy Prophet, I came to the citie of Medinathalhabi, where they say he is buried: and that in all cities and countreys by the way, I hearde honourable reporte of his greatnesse, wisdom, and singuler vertue, and therefore ceased not untill I entred his dominions, moste desirous to see his face, yeldyng thanks to God, and Nabi, that it was nowe my chaunce to be presented before him: trustyng that the equitie of his wisdom, would thereby consyder that I was no spye of the Christians, but a true Mahumetan, and his seruant and slaue. Then sayde the

Soltan, saye Leila illala Mahumet resullala: which wordes I coulde neuer well pronounce, eyther that it pleased not God, or that for feare and scruple of conscience I durst not. Therefore when he sawe mee holde my peace, he commytted me agayne to pryson, commaundyng that I shoulde be straightly looked vnto, where 16 men of the citie were appoynted, euery day foure, to wathe me by course. So that for the space of thre monethes, I had not y fruition of heauen, during which miserable time, my diet was euery day a lose of myllet, so litle that seuen of them woulde not haue satisfyed my hunger for one daye: But if I myght haue had my fyll of water, I woulde haue thought my selfe happie. Within three dayes after the Soltan marched with his army of thyrty thousande footemen (as we haue sayde) and three thousande horsemen, to beseege the citie of Sana. These horsemen borne of Christian parentes, and blacke like the Ethiopians, and whyle they were yet very young, were brought in the kyngdome of Prester Iohn, named in Latine Presbyter Iohannes, or rather Preciosus Iohannes. These Christian Ethiopians, are also named Abyssini. They are brought vp in discipline

The Auethour taken and put in prison. Picade the Moonke writeth that Christians are founde in all regions sauyn in Arabia and Egypt, where they are most hated.

The wordes of them that professe the religion of Mahumet.

Soldiers horsemen of Christian Ethiopians of the dominion of Presbyter Iohannes. Abbyssini, vnder Prester Iohn.

discipline of warre, as are the Mamalukes and Ienetzares of the Turkes. This Soltan hath them in great estimation, for they are the garde of his owne person, and therefore haue greater wages, and in number fourescore thousande. They couer their bodie with a sindon, like vnto a cloke or cape, putting out onely one arme, and are besyde naked without any other apparell. In the warres they vse rounde targettes, made of buffes hydes, with certayne litle barres of Iron to strengthen them. These targets are paynted very fayre with sundrye colours, and very commodious to resyste dartes, and are in largenesse as muche as the mouth of a barell: the handle is made of woodde, as bygge as they may well holde in theyr handes, and shorte brode swordes. At other tymes, they vse also vestures of lynnne cloth of sundrye coloures. Also of gossampine or Xylon, otherwyse also named Bombasine. In the warres, euery man beareth with hym a slyng, which he casteth fyrst shakyng it often about his head. When they come to 40 or 50 yeeres of age, they make them hornes, by wreathyng fy heare of their heds, so bearyng two hornes lyke young Gotes. When they procede to the warres, fife thousande Camels folowe the army, all laden with ropes of bombasine.

A gard of foure
score thousand
blacke men.
Targettes.

Slynges.

How the women of Arabia, are greatly in loue with whyte men. Cap. 5.

After the army was departed, I was incontinent commytted to pryson, as I haue sayde. Harde by the pryson was a long entrie in maner of a cloyster, where somtyme we were permitted to walke. Ye shall further vnderstande, that in the Soltans place remayned one of his three wyues, with twelue young maydes to wayte vppon her, very faire and comely, after theyr maner, and of coloure inclynnyng to blacke. The faouore that they bore me, helped me very much, for I with two other, beyng in the same pryson, agreed that one of vs should counterfytte him selfe to be mad, that by this deuce, one of vs myght helpe another. In fine it was my lotte to take vppon me the mad mans part, and therefore stode me in hande to do suche follies as pertayne to madnesse. Also the opinion whiche they haue of mad folkes, made greatly for my purpose: for they take mad men to be holy, and therefore suffered me to run more at large, vntyll the Eremites had geuen iudgement whether I weare holy, or ragyng mad, as appeareth heereafter. But the fyrst three dayes in which I began to shew my madnesse, weryed me so muche, that I was neuer so tyred with labour or greued with payne, for the boyes and rascall people somtyme to the number of 40 or 50 hurled stones at me almost without ceassing, while in the meane tyme againe I paid some of them home with lyke wages. The boyes cryed euer after me, calling me mad man. And to shewe it the more, I caryed alwayes stones with me in my shyrt, for other apparel had I none. The queene hearyng of my follies looked ostentymes out of the wyndowes to see me, more for a secrete loue she bore me, then for the pleasure she tooke in my follyes, as afterwarde appeared.

Counterfet mad-
nesse.

Therefore on a tyme, when some of them, muche madder then I, played the knaues with me in the syght of the queene (whose secrete faouour towards me I somewhat perceyued) that my maddnesse myght seeme more manifest, I cast of my shyrt, and went to the place before the wyndowes, where the queene myght see me all naked: wherein I perceyued she tooke great pleasure, for she euer founde some occasion that I myght not goe out of her syght: and would sometymes, with all her damoselles wayting on her, spende almost the whole daye in beholding me: and in the meane season diuers tymes sent me secretly muche good meate by her maydens, and when she saw the boyes or other doe me any hurt, she badde me kyll them, and spare not, reuyling them also, and calling them dogges and beastes. In the pallace was nouryshed a great fatt sheepe: for there are some of such exceedyng bygnesse, that only the tayle wayeth 11 or 12 pounce weyght. Vnder the coloure of madnesse, I layd hand on this sheepe, saying; Leila illala Mahumet resullala: which wordes the Soltan before, when I was brought to his presence, wyllyd me to say, to prooue whether I were a Mahumetan or a professed Mamaluke. But the beast answeryng nothyng, I asked hym yf he were a Mahumetan, Iewe, or Christian. Aud wyllyng to make hym a Mahumetan, I rehearsed agayne the sayde wordes, Leila illala Mahumet resullala, (that is to saye)

Sheepe with ex-
ceedyng great
tayles.

A sheepe made
a Mahumetan.

of any thyng, but only for his pleasure and desyre of knowledge. And therefore passyng no further, by reason of the warres (as we haue sayde) we returned to the citie of Eri, where he enterteined mee in his house honourably: and shewyng mee his Nyese, instauntly desyred mee to take her to wyfe. But I, hauyng my mynde otherwyse destinate, woulde not seeme to contemne his so friendly a profer, but deferred it to a more conuenient tyme. Therefore departyng from thence, within eight dayes after, we returned to Ormus, and sayled from thence into India, arryuing there at a certayne porte named Cheo.

Cheo.

Here foloweth the fourth booke, which entreateth of India, and of the cities and other notable thynges seene there.

Of the citie of Cambaia in India, most fruiteful in maner of all thynges. Cap. 1.

FORasmuche as in the begynnyng of this woorke we promised that we would declare all thynges briefly, we intende nowe heere to speake onely of thynges which may seeme most woorthye to be knowen. Entryng therefore into India, we came to a certayne porte, which the great and famous ryuer Indus passeth by, and is not far from the citie of Cambaia. It is situate three myles within the lande, towarde the South. The Brigantines or foystes can haue no accesse to it, excepte the fludde ryse hygher then commonly it is woont to do, which sometymes ouerfloweth the lande the space of foure myles. But heere the fluddes haue contrarie courses of increasyng, for heere they increase in the wane of the Moone, but with vs in the full Moone. The citie is walled after our maner, and aboundeth with al necessarie thynges, especially with wheate, and al sorts of holesome and pleasaunt fruites. There are also certayne kindes of spyces, the names whereof I knowe not. It hath also abundaunce of gossampine or bombassine cotton. Merchaunts bryng from thence yeerely so much bombassine and silke, that sometime they lade fourtie or fyftie shyps to cary into other countreys. In this region is also a mountayne where the Onyx stone, commonly called Corneola, is founde: and not farre from thence also an other mountaine, where the Calcedony and Diamant are found.

The maners of the people of the citie of Cambaia: and of the Soltan thereof.
Cap. 2.

THE Soltan of Cambaia, at my beyng there, was named Macamut, and had raygned fourtie yeeres, after he had expulsd the kyng of Gugerat. They thynke it not lawefull to kyll any luyng beaste to eate, or to eate fleshe. They are no Mahumetans, neyther Idolaters, and therefore I beleue that if they were baptised, they were not far from the way of saluation, for they obserue the exquisite rule of iustice, doyng no worse to other, then they woulde to be done to them. As touchyng theyr apparell, some of them go naked, and other couer onely theyr priuities. On theyr heades, they weare fyllettes of purple colour. They them selues are of darke yelowe coloure, commonly called Leonell coloure. This Soltan maynteyneth an army of 20 thousande horsemen. Euery mornyng resort to his pallace, fyftie men, syttyng on Elephanes. Their office is, with all reuerence to salute the king or Soltan, the Elephanes also kneelyng downe. In the mornyng assoone as the kyng waketh, is hearde a great noyse of Drummes, Tambartes, Tymbrelles, Waytes, and also Trumpettes, with dyuers other musicall instruments, in reioycyng that the kyng lyueth. The lyke do they whyle he is at dinner: and then also the men syttyng on the Elephanes, make hym the like reuerence as before. We wyll in due place speake of the wytte, customes, and docilitie of these beastes. The Soltan of this citie, hath his vpper lyppe so grosse, that it is a monstros thyng to beholde: Insomuche that sometyme he beareth it vp with a fillet, as women do the heare of theyr heades: his bearde is whyte and long, euen vnto the nauell. He is so accustomed to poyson from his infancie, that he dayly eateth some to keepe it in vse. And although he hym selfe feele no hurt thereof by reason of custome, yet doth he thereby so impoyson hym selfe, that he is poyson to other: for when he is disposed to put any of his noblemen to death, he causeth hym to be brought to his presence, and to stande

naked

The ryuer
Indus.
The citie of
Cambaia.

Note the increse
of ryuers
contrarye to
ours.

40 shippes lade
with sylke and
bombasine.

Pithagorici.
Good people.

They may seeme
the successours
of Darius and
Porus.

The great
pompe of the
kyng of
Cambaia.
Elephanes.

Monstros
great lyppes.

A straunge
historic of a
Kyng accus-
tomed to eate
poyson.

naked before hym. Incontinente he eateth certayne fruites (whiche they call Chofolos) lyke vnto Nuttemegges: and eateth also the leaues of certayne hearbes, whiche they call Tambolos, addyng also thereto the pouder of beaten oyster shelles. And a whyle chawyng A venomus kyng. al these together in his mouth, he spitteth it vpon hym whom he desyreth to kyll, who being sparkled therewith, dyeth, by force of the poyson within the space of halfe an houre. He entertaineth about foure thousand concubines: for when soeuer he hath lyne with any of them, she with whom he hath lyen, dyeth the daye folowing, beyng by hym impoysoned. Belyke he getteth no chyldren. And therefore when he changeth his shyrt, or other apparell, no man dare weare it: and for this cause he hath great change of apparell. My companion enquired diligently of the merchants by what meanes he was of so venomous nature: They answered, that the Soltan his father brought him so vp of a chyld with poison by litle and litle, with preseruatiues so accustomyng hym thereto. But let vs now returne to speake of the maners of the people: for the most part they weare but only one syngle vesture, and are very warrelyke men: also greatly geuen to merchandies. The fruitfulnessse and plentifulnesse of the region can not be spoken. It is frequented almost of al nations. Therefore from this citie, and from an other (wherof we wyll speake hereafter) diuers and innumerable sortes of merchandies, are transported to almost all the regions of the worlde, and especially to the Turkes, Syrians, Arabians, Indians: also to diuers regions of Affrike and Ethiopia: principally exceedyng abundance of sylke and Bombasyne, and therefore is this Soltan marueylous rych. Plentie of sylke. He keepeth in maner contynuall warre with the kyng of Ioga, whose realme is ysfecne dayes iorney from Cambaia, and reacheth very farre euery waye. This kyng mayntayneth an armie of 30 thousand fyghtyng men: he and all his people are Idolatours. The kyng of Ioga, an Idolatour. He lyueth in contynual progresse, with a mightie trayne at the charges of the people: and contynually carrieth about with hym foure thousand tentes and paulions: also his wyfe, children, concubines and slaues, furthermore, foure or fiue of most couragious horses: likewyse muskattes, moonkeys, Parrottes, Leopardes, and haukes. Continuall progresse. Wyues and concubines. And in this order he walketh almost ouer all India. The kynges apparell, is a double gotes skinne, one coueryng his brest, and the other his backe, with the hearysyde outward: he is of wesel colour enclining to blackenesse: The colour of the Indians. as are the most part of these Indians, beyng in maner scorched with heate of the Sunne. They weare al earerings, precious stones, and iewels of sundry sorts: some couer theyr body with a single, light, and thinne vesture, puttyng out one arme naked. The kyng and certaine of his noble men, paynt their faces with certayne sweete gommes and spices: and some also other partes of their bodies. They are ledde with many vayne superstitions: for some professe neuer to lye on the grounde, some to lyue in continual silence, as though they were speechlesse, hauing two or three appointed by signes to serue them meate and drynke.

They haue all hornes hangyng about theyr neckes: and therefore when they come to any citie, they blowe theyr hornes all at once, to make the inhabitantes afraide, as do they that with vs keepe Crowes or Rookes out of the corne. Then commyng to talke with the citizens, they demaund victualles and what soeuer other thynges they stande in neede of. Whyle the kyng any tyme resteth a whyle in one place, almost all the whole armye gardyng his person about his paulion, fyue or syxe hundred in the meane tyme raunge abroade together to geat what they can. Wanderyng nations. Feeble men. They tarry not past three dayes in one place, but are euer wanderyng after the maner of the vagabunde Egyptians, Arabians and Tartars. The region is not fruitfull, but rough, with craggie mountaines. The houses of the citie are despicable: the citie is also without walles. This kyng is enemye to the Soltan of Machamir, and vexeth hym greatly with diuers incursions.

Of the citie of Ceull, and the maner of the people. Cap. 3.

Departyng from Cambia, in twelue dayes iorney I came to a citie named Ceull: the land that lieth betweene them both is called Guzerat. The kyng of this citie, is an Idolatour: Guzerat. they are of darke yealowe colour, or Lion tawnye: some were suche slender apparell as they whom

whom wee haue spoken of before: other are naked, couering onlye theyr pryuities. They are prompt to the warres, and vse swordes, bowes, dartes, slynges, and rounde targettes. They haue engines to beat downe walles, and to make great slaughter in an armie: the citie hath walles, and is distant from the sea but three myles. A fayre ryuer runneth by the citie, by the whiche much merchandies is brought thither. The soyle beareth almost all maner of fruites, except Vynes, Walnutttes, and Chessnutttes. It hath also Wheate, Barlie, and other kyndes of corne. Here is made great plentie of Bombasine cloth. They are such Idolatours as are they of Calecut, of whom we wyl speake hereafter: yet are there in the citie many merchants Mahumetans. They exercise iustice. The kyng entertayneth but a small armie. There are many horses and kyne. Two dayes iorney from hence, is a citie named Dabuly, hauing a great ryuer runnyng by it. It hath walles after the maner of ours. The soyle is fruiteful, and the citie beautifull. There are innumerable merchauntes Mahumetans. The kyng is an Idolater, and hath an armye of 30 thousande men. They are in maners lyke vnto the other, and of the same colour.

Idolatours.

Dabuly.

Idolaters.

Of Goga, an Ilande of India. Cap. 4.

DEpartying from hence, I came to the Iland of Goga, not past a myle destant from the continent. This payeth yeerely trybute to the kyng of Dechan a thousand peeces of golde, of the value of the Saraphes of Babylon, hauyng on the one syde the Image of the dyuell, and on the other syde, certayne vnknownen caractes. Vppon the sea coaste of one syde of this Ilande, is a towne buylded after the maners of ours. The gouernour is a certayne Captayne of soldiers named Sauain: he hath in his regiment foure hundred Mamalukes, and is also a Mamaluke hym selfe: and therefore when he fyndeth any whyte men, he entertayneth them frendly, and geueth them stypende of twentie Saraphes of golde euery moneth. But he fyrst maketh profe of their strength and valiantnesse by wrestlyng: and if they be not founde meete for the warres, he putteth them to handy craftes. This Captayne with onely his foure hundred Mamalukes, greatly vexeth the king of Narsinga. Departying from hence, in eyght dayes iorney by lande, I came to the citie of Dechan.

Tribute.

Mamalukes.

White men.

Of Dechan, a very fayre citie of India. Cap. 5.

The kyng or Soltan of Dechan, is a Mahumetan, of whom the foresayde captayne Mamaluke is entred in wages. This citie is beautifull in syght, and the soyle very fruitfull and plentifull in maner of all thynges necessarie. The kyng is accompted a Mamaluke, and with hym 35 thousande men of his dominion of horsemen and footemen. The citie is beautified with a marueylous fayre pallace, and the pallace adourned with many fayre roomes, for before you come to the kynges chamber, you must passe by 44 other chambers, for the sollers of the chambers are so orderly disposed, that one chamber styll geueth entrye into an other, vntyll you come to the last. The citie is compassed with a wal, after the maner of the Christians. The houses are not vncomely. The kyng vseth incredible pompe, and regal magnificence. They that wayte vppon his person weare vppon theyr shooes or starpins Rubies and Diamondes, and such other precious stones. What ouches and iewelless they weare in theyr earynges and Condalliis, Carkenettes colours, let wittie men iudge, comparying the feete to the more noble partes of the bodie. Sixe miles from the citie is a mountayne where Diamondes are digged. It is compassed with a wall, and kept with a Garrison. The region hath plentie of all thynges. The people are Mahumetans. Theyr apparell for the most part is of sylke: or at the least the sherte or inmost vesture. They weare also thyne buskynnes: and hose lyke gregascos or maryners slops. Theyr women, after the maner of the women of Damasco, haue theyr faces couered. The kyng keepeth in maner continual war with the kyng of Narsinga. The most part of his souldiers are strangers, enterteined for wages. They are whyte men: but the inhabitantes, of the coloure of the other Indians. The kyng is marueylous ryche, and lyberall. He hath also a great nauie of shyps. He hateth the Christians as much as any other. Thus hauyng traueled this part of the region, I toke my iorney towarde a citie named Bathacala, syue dayes iorny from Dechan. The inhabitantes are Idolaters, ex-

A fayre pallace.

Great pompe and magnificence.

Where Diamondes are founde.

Womens faces couered.

White men.

The kyng of Dechan hateth the Christians. The citie Bathacala.

cept certayne Mahumetan merchaunts, which resort thither for merchandise. It hath abundance of Ryse, Sugar, Fygges, Walnuttcs, Wheate, Corne, and many other fruites and rootes vnknownen to vs. They haue Beeues, Kyne, Bulfes, Sheepe, Goates, and dyuers other beastes, but no Horses, Mules or Asses.

Of certayne other goodly cities of India. Cap. 6.

DEpartying from hence, I tooke my iorney towarde a citie Centacola, one dayes iorney from Bathacala. The prince of this citie is no lord of great riches. There is neuerthelesse abundaunce of fleshe, Ryse, and other suche fruites as growe in India: many Mahumetans resort hyther for merchaundies. The kyng is an Idolater, and of Lion tawny colour. They go starke naked, and weare nothing on theyr heades. This prince is subiecte to the kyng of Barthacal. Departying from hence two dayes iorney, I came to an Ilande named Onor, whose kyng is an Idolater, and serueth the deuyll, and is subiect to the kyng of Narsinga: He is very gentle and familier, he mayntayneth eyght foystes, which make excursions and lyue by rouyng and pyracie. He is in great frendshyppe with the kyng of Portugale. The inhabitantes couer their priuities with a sindone, and are besyde all naked. The soyle beareth plentie of Ryse, as in other partes of India. There are in maner al kyndes of beastes, as wyld bores, Harts, Wolues, Lions, and sundry kinds of birdes, and foules vnlike vnto ours, Pecoockes also and Parrottes. It hath innumerable Kyne of shynyng yelow colour: also sheepe exceedyng fatte. There is so great abundaunce of flowers and Roses, that they fayle not in wynter. There can not be a more temperate ayre: and therfore they lyue muche longer then we do. Not far from this citie, is an other citie named Mangolor: from whence about the number of 60 shyppes departe yeerely laded with Ryse. The inhabitantes are partly Idolaters, and partly Mahumetans. Their maner of lyuing and apparell, is as we haue sayd before.

Centacola.

Barthacal.
The Ilande of Onor.A kyng, a pirate.
Naked men.
Ryse.Beastes.
Byrdes and foules.

Flowers all the yeere longe.

Longe lyfe.
Myngolor.
Ryse.

Of Canonor and Narsinga, great cities of India. Cap. 7.

DEpartying from hence, we directed our iorney toward the citie of Canonor, beyng a very goodly citie. Heere the kyng of Portugale hath a very strong towne. The kyng of the citie is an Idolater, and no great frend to the kyng of Portugale. The citie hath a porte, whyther are brought the horses of Persia: but the custome for horses is exceedyng great. Departying from hence, and entryng further into the lande, we came to the citie of Narsinga, where many Mahumetan merchauntes do dwel. The soyle beareth neyther wheate nor vynes, or fewe other fruites, except Oranges and Gourdes. They eate no breade: but lyue with ryse, fyshe, and suche walnuttcs as the countrey beareth. In maners and Idolatrye, they are lyke vnto them of Calecut, of whiche we wyl speake heereafter. There is founde plentie of spyces, as Ginger, Pepper, Myrobalans, Cardanum, Cassia, and dyuers suche other. Also many and dyuers kindes of fruites vnyke vnto ours, and muche sweeter. The region is in maner inaccessible for many dennes and diches made by force. The kyng hath an army of fyftie thousand gentelmen, whiche they call Heros. In the warres they vse swoordes, rounde Targettes, or Buklers, Lances, Dartes, Bowes, Slynge: and begyn nowe also to vse Gunnes. They go naked, coueryng onely their priuities, except when they go to the warres. They vse no Horses, Mules, Asses, or those Camels whiche we commonly call Dromedaries. They vse onely Elephanter, yet not to fyght in the battayle. Great merchaundise is vsed in the citie: for thyther resorte from dyuers countres two hundred shyppes yeerely. Departying from the kyngdome of Narsinga, in 15 dayes iorney towarde the East, we came at the length to a citie named Bisinagar.

Afterwarde he became frende to the Portugales.

Citie of Narsinga.

Oranges.
Ryse.

Straunge fruites.

An army of fyftie thousand gentelmen.

Gunnes.

Elephanter.

Of the fruiteful citie of Bisinagar in the kyngdome of Narsinga. Cap. 8.

THE citie of Bisinager is vnder the dominion of the kyng of Narsinga, and subiect to him. The citie is very large and well walled, situate on the syde of a hyll, and eyght myles in circuite. It is compassed with a triple wall, and is a famous mart of all sortes of ryche merchaundise. The soyle is marueylous fruitfull, and hath whatsoeuer pertayneth to delicates

A triple wall,

Hawkyng and
huntyng.

An army of
four thousand
horsemen.
Horses of great
price.

Four hundred
Elephantess.
Dromedary
Camelles.

and pleasures. There is no lande more commodious for haukyng and huntyng, for it hath large playnes and goodly woods: a man would saye it were an earthly Paradyse. The kyng and people are Idolaters. He is a prince of great power, he hath an army of foure thousande horsemen. And yet is it to be noted, the price of a good horse there, to be no lesse then foure or fyue hundred of those peeces of golde whiche they call Pardais: And sometye it so chaunceth that a horse is solde for eight hundred of those peeces of golde. The cause of which great price is, that they are brought out of other countreys: and that they haue no Mares, being forbydden by the commaundement of the kynges, streightly charging the portes to be kepte, least any mares should be brought into the countrey. Hee hath also foure hundred Elephantes to serue in the warres: and lykewyse as many Camelles, of the kynde of those swyfte runnyng Camelles which be commonly called Dromadarii. And here me seemeth good opportunitie to say somewhat of the docilitie, agilitie, and wyt of Elephantes, as we haue promised.

Of the docilitie, agilitie, and wit of Elephantes. Cap. 9.

Howe the Ele-
phantes are pre-
pared to the
warres.

Seuen men fyght
vpon one Ele-
phant.

Howe the Ele-
phant is armed.

The Elephant
vnderstandeth
the voyce of his
keeper.

The Elephant
can not abyde
fyre.

The strength of
the Elephant.

The Elephants
haue ioyntes in
their legges.

The hande of
the Elephant.

The teeth of the
Elephant is fury.

THE Elephant, of all foure footed beastes, and nexte vnto man, is most wittie and docible, and not farre from humane sence, and surmounteth all other beasts in strength. When the Indians bring them to the warres, they put great packesaddelles on their backs, suche as in Italie they vse for the great Mules. These packesaddelles they gyrd vnder theyr bellies with two chaynes of yron. Vppon the saddelles, they place on euery syde a litle house, or if you will, rather call them Turrettes, or Cagies, made of wood: euery Turret conteyneth three Men. Betweene the two Turrettes sitteth an Indian on the backe of the beast, and speaketh to him in his owne language, which the beast vnderstandeth and obeyeth: for it is certaine that no other beast approacheth so neare to the vnderstanding of man. Seuen men therefore are thus placed vppon one Elephant when they goe to the wars, and all armed with coates of fence, Targets, Bowes, Lances, Dartes, and Slynges. Also the trunke or snoute of the Elephant (which of the Latine is called Promuscis, or Proboscis, and of some, the hande of the Elephant) is armed, and hath a sword fastened to it of the length of two cubites, very strong, and of a handfull in breadth. And thus furnished, they procede to the battayle. When it is requisite to goe forwarde, or backwarde, the gouernour sittynge aboue, gyueth them an instruction with such voyces as they are accustomed vnto: for sometye he sayth thus to the beast, Stryke here, stryke there, forbear here, goe forewarde there, turne this way, and that way. All which woordes he vnderstandeth and obeyeth without spurre or brydell. But where it so chaunceth that by casting of fyre, they are with feare dryuen to flyght, they can by no meanes be stayed. And therefore these people haue many subtile deuises howe they may feare them with fyre, which this beast, by the sense of nature, feareth aboute all thinges, and therefore flyeth in maner at the syght of fyre. And to speake somewhat of theyr strength, as I haue by experience, I remember that when I was in the cite of Canonor, certayne Mahumetans drue a shyp aland, turnyng the shyp, after the maner of the Christians, with the fore end towarde the lande, and laying vnder it three rowling beames. Then three Elephantes commodiously applied, drawyng with great force, and bendyng downe theyr heades to the ground, brought the shyp to lande. But many haue thought that the Elephantes haue no ioyntes in theyr legges, and that therefore they could not bende theyr legges: which thyng doubtlesse is false, for they haue ioyntes as haue other beastes, but in the lowest parte of theyr legges. The females are more fierce then the Males, and much stronger to beare burdens. Sometime they are taken with furie or madnesse, and testifie the same by disordinate runnyng here and there. One Elephant exceedeth the bygnesse of three Buffles and not vnlyke of heare. They haue eyes lyke swyne, and the snout or trunke very long, wherwith they put meate and drinke into their mouth: and therefore may it well be called the hande of the Elephant. The mouth is vnder the throate, much lyke the mouth of a Sowe, and the trunke is holowe, and can therewith holde fast stickes or staues, and them rule as it were with a hande. I sawe also the trunke of a tree ouerthrowen by an Elephant, which 24 men attempting, could not doe. The two great teeth or tuskes, are placed in the highest iawe. Ech of their eares, are two hand-
fuls

fuls byg, whether the beast be of the bygger or lesse kinde. The feete are like vnto such round thicke trenchers of wood as be commonly vsed. The foote containeth fyue hooves, in roundnesse like vnto great Oysters. The tayle is lyke to the tayle of a Busle, foure handfull long, and of thyn heare. The females are also bigger then the males, they are of sundry bignes, for some are of 13 handfult high, and other of 14 handfult, and some also haue been seene of sixtiene handfult. They goe slowly, and walowing, and therefore some that haue not ben vsed to them, are moued to vomite euen as it were on the sea. Yet is it a pleasure to ryde on the young Elephantes, bicause they goe softly like ambeling Mules. When you mount of them, they stoope and bend their knees, that you may easily ascende. They are neuer brydeled, neyther vse theyr keepers any halters to gouerne them.

The bygnesse of the Elephant.

Of the ingendering of Elephantes, and of the magnificence & riches of the king of Narsinga. Cap. 10.

When they ingender, they resorte to the medowes or woods, for by a certaine naturall shamefastnesse they doe it not but in secrete places: Althoug some Aucthors haue written that Elephants engender backward. Some take it for a great present to giue the king the member or pissell of an Elephant, whiche perhappes they doe for the exceedyng great price of Elephantes: for some are solde there for fyue hundred peeces of golde, and some (as they say) for two thousande: which peraduenture, is not for their greatneses of bodie, but rather for certayne properties, wyt, and docilitie, wherein some farre exceede other, euen as among men. And I dare well say that I haue seene some men much inferior to Elephants in wyt and sense. Therefore the kyng of Narsinga, in riches and dominion, farre exceedeth all kynges that euer I haue seene or hearde of. The cite in situation and fayrenesse, representeth the cite of Milane, except only that is in a declining place, and lesse equal. Other kingdoms which are subiect to this, lye round about it, as the kingdome of Ausonia and Venice lye about Milane. Their Bramini (so are the priestes named) tolde me the king receiuech dayly of that cite for tribute or reuenuie, the summe of twelue thousandes of those peeces of golde whiche they call Pardios. He maynteyneth an army of many thousandes of men, for he liueth in continuall warre with his borderers. He is an Idolatour, and honoureth the deuyll, euen as doth the kyng of Calecut. They that are of the rychest sorte, vse a slender inwarde apparell or peticote, not very long, and bynde theyr heades with a phillet or broade bande, of sundry colours, after the maner of the Mahumetans. The common sorte, couer onely their priuities, and are besyde all naked. The kyng weareth a Cappe of cloth of golde, of two handfultes long: when he goeth to warre, he weareth a vesture of bombasine, and thereon a cloke adourned with plates of gold, hauyng the borderer garde besette with all sortes of precious stones and Ieweltes. His horse with the furniture, is esteemed to bee worth as muche as one of our cities, by reason of innumerable Ieweltes of great price. When he goeth a huntyng, three other kynges beare him company, whose office is to be euer neare him, and guyde him. When he maketh any journey, or rydeth abrode, he is accompanied with six thousand horsemen: And therefore it is manifeste that not only for these thynges whereof we haue spoken, but also for dyuers other of lyke magnificence, hee is one of the greatest Kynges in the worlde. He coyneth money and peeces of golde named Pardios. Also other siluer money of lesse value, whiche they call Fano, conteynyng the value of sixtiene of the smallest money of copper. Traueylers may here goe safely through all his dominions, if they can avoyde the daunger of the Lions. Of theyr dyet and order of lyuyng, I will speake more largely where occasion shall serue to wryte of Calecut. This kyng of Narsinga, is a great friende to the Christians, and is in great amitie with the kyng of Portugale: and therefore the Portugales are here friendly and honourably vsed. When I had remayned in this cite many dayes, I returned to the cite of Canonor.

The naturall shamefastnesse of Elephantes.

The pissell of an Elephant.

Men of lesse vnderstandyng then Elephantes. The riches of the kyng of Narsinga.

A great tribute by the day.

Idolaters.

A rich cloke. The magnificence of the kyng of Narsinga.

Coyne of golde and siluer.

Daunger of Lyons.

The kyng of Narsinga, friend to the kyng of Portugale.

The cite of Trompata.

And after I had remayned three dayes, I entered further into the lande, and came to a cite named Trompata, about twelue myles from Canonor. The inhabitauntes are Idolatours. It is neare vnto the sea, and therefore there are seene many merchantes Mahumetans. They lyue moderately and haue in maner none other ryches then nuttes of India, but there are

tayne shadowes and darke places and maryshes, lest they shoulde suddenly chaunce to meete with them. Wherefore when they come abrode, that they may be hearde a farre of, they crye with a loude voice I wotte near what, that they may be hearde of the sayde Bramini and Naeri, least beyng soddenly betrayyed, they shoulde be put to death.

Of the apparell of the kyng, queene, and Inhabitanes of the cite of Calecut.
And of their maner of feedyng. Cap. 6.

THE apparell of the kyng and queene, is litle or nothyng differyng from the other Idolaters: among the whiche the Mahumetans (as strangers) are not to be accompted. They couer onely their priuie partes with bombasine cloth or sylke, and are besyde all naked, barefooted also, and bareheaded. But the Mahumetans weare single apparell, reachyng only vnto the nauel. The women are apparelled euen as are the men, sauynge only that they lette theyr heare growe very longe. The kyng and nobilitie of the cite, eate no fleshe except they fyrst aske counsayle of the Priestes. But the common people may eate what fleshe they wyll, excepte the fleshe of kyne. But they of the basest sorte, named Nirani and Poliar, may eate onely fyshes dryed at the Sunne.

Of their custome after the death of the kyng. Cap. 7.

AFTER the death of the kyng, if he haue any male chyldren lyuyng, or brethren, or brothers chyldren, they succede not in the kingdome: for of auncient lawe and custome, the septer pertayneth to the kynges systers sonnes, of whiche if there be none, it commeth to the next of the blood: And this for none other cause (as they saye) but that the priestes haue defloured the queene. When the kyng goeth abrode or on huntynge, the priestes, be they neuer so young, keepe the queene at home, and remayne neere about her: for there is nothyng more acceptable to the kyng, then that the priestes shoulde so keepe companye with the queene. And therefore the kyng may well thynke that the chyldren borne of her, are not to be numbred amongst his chyldren, and therfore taketh the chyldren of his systers, to be nearest of his blood, and ryght inheritours to the crowne. When the kyng is dead, all his subiectes, by cuttyng theyr beardes and shauyng theyr headdes, testifie how greuously they take his death. Yet heerein they vse not all one fashion, for some cutte onely part of the heare of theyr chynne, and some parte of the heare of theyr head, and other all: and so euery man as he doth phantasie. Duryng the tyme that they celebrate the funerals of the kyng, they that lyue by fyshyng, forbear fyshyng for the space of eight dayes. And when any of the kynges wyues dye, they obserue the lyke ceremonyes as for the death of the kyng. The kyng sometyme, by a certayne supersticion, absteyneth from venery, or the company of women, for the space of a yeere: and lykewise forbearth to eate certayne leaues, whiche they call Betolas, beyng the leaues of Assyrian apples: which they vse not onely for delicates, but also because theyr propertie is to moue men more greatly to wanton lustes. For the same purpose also they eate a certayne fruite named Coffolo, somewhat lyke vnto Dates.

Of their chaungyng of wyues. Cap. 8.

THE gentelmen and merchauntes, to shew great curtesie and frendshyp one to the other, vse sometyme to change wiues, and therein vse this maner of speache: My freende, we haue nowe of long tyme lyued together as faythful frendes, and therefore for the laste accomplishment of our frendeshyppe, if it so please thee, lette vs change wyues. Content sayth the other, for I beare thee euen as good wyll. The wyues refuse not to agree on the condition herein also, to please theyr husbandes. Then the one bryngeth his wyfe to the other, saying: Woman, this man shall hereafter be thy husbande. The other sayth the lyke to his wyfe also. Thus all partes beyng agreed, they depart with frendly embrasyng: But the chyldren remayne with the fyrst husbande. These Idolatars haue also diuers other customes: for among some of them, one woman is maryed to seuen husbandes, of the whiche euery of them hath his nyght by course appoynted to lye with her: And when she hath

They are not troubled with garderobes, or making them redye morayng and euenyng.

The kynges children succeed not to inherite the kyngdome.

What paynes the priestes take for theyr liuyng and what seruice they do the kyng. Bastordes.

Moornyng for the death of the kyng.

Chastitie and abstinence.

Meates that moue to lecherie.

Great frendshyppe.

hath brought fourth a chylde, she may geue it or father it to whiche of them she lysteth : Who may in no case refuse it.

The maner of feedyng of the common people, of the Idolatars, and of theyr Iustice. Cap. 8*.

LYing along on the grounde they eate theyr meate out of a traye of copper: for spoones, Diogenistæ. they vse certayne leaues of trees. Theyr meate commonly, is Ryse, fyshe, spices and fruites, of the commoner sort. The labouryng men or ruder sorte, eate so fylthly, that The punyshe- ment of mur- therers. puttyng theyr foule handes in the potte, they take out ryse by handfulls, and so thrust it in theyr mouthes. They vse this kynde of Iustice for homicide. Where any hath slayne a man, he is thus punyshed. They haue a kynde of galows made in maner of a double crosse, where whyle the murthurer is tyed fast, one thrusteth a stake through his bodye, where the Beatyng. poore wretche so hangeth vntyll he be dead: But they that wounde or hurt any man, re- deeme the faulte for mony payde to the kyng. They that are in debte, are thus enforced to paye the same. The creditour fyrst demaundeth his monye: and if it be founde that the A straunge ma- ner to demaund debte. debitour breake promysse, then he to whom the mony is owyng, goeth to one of the kynges scriueners (whiche are sayde to be a hundred) and before hym makyng dewe prooffe of the debte, receiueh of hym a greene wand of a tree, with auctoritie to prosecute his debitour vntil he haue found him, where when he hath arrested him, with these woordes (go no fur- ther before thou paye me) thryse rehearsed, he sayth furthermore thus. I charge thee by the head of Bramini, and by the head of the kyng, not to sturre from this place before thou paye me. There is no shyfte but eyther to paye incontinent, or there to loose his lyfe. But Death for debte. if he be found alone, and escape after the sayd woordes, he is euer after adindged a rebell, and therefore shall it be lawefull for any man to kylle hym whersoouer he is founde, within the kynges dominions.

Of the honoring of Idolles. Cap. 9.

When they praye to theyr Idolles, in the mornyng before the Sunne ryse, they resorte to Outward deny- nesse. the pooles or ryuers to washe them: And so at their comyng home to theyr houses (where they keepe theyr Idolles) they touch nothyng before they praye to the Idolles prostrate on the grounde secretly: while they praye, they make certayne deuylyshe gesticulations lyke mad men, so maruelously defourmyng theyr faces, eyes, and mouthes, that no man can be- holde it without horroure: and thus contynue their prayer a quarter of an houre. When the tyme of eatyng approacheth, they may not fal to theyr vittayles, before some one of the gen- tlemen haue dressed it, and set it in order. But this custome is obserued onely among the gentelmen or noble men. The women haue none other charge or care, then to dresse and Womens woorkes. beautifie them selues, for their husbandes vse not to haue to do with them before they be curiously washed, and perfumed with sundrye sweete sauours. When the women go abrode, Clely Women. it is marueilous to beholde howe they are behanged with iewels and pretious stones, on theyr eares, armes and legges.

Of theyr maner of warre. Cap. 10.

They haue in the citie certayne maisters of fence, that teach them how to vse the sword, Maisters of fence. the target, the launce, and suche other weapons. When the kyng proceedeth to the warres, he is furnyshed with an armie of a hundred thousande footemen, for of horsemen there is The kynges army. no vse, but onely Elephantes: for the kyng hym selfe rydeth on an Elephant. They that are next to the kyng, weare about theyr headdes, fyllettes or bandes of sylke, of crymisyn or scarlet colour. Their weapons are certayne crooked swordes, targets, launces, and bowes. Their Weapons. The kynges ensigne, is a certayne thyng made of bowes of trees, implicate round like the The kynges ensigne. couering of a tub, borne vp on a reede. This is borne so that y shadow thereof may couer the king from the heate of the Sunne: and is in their tongue, called Somler. When both the armies approche within three arrowe shoote, the kyng sendeth his Braminos into the tentes The priestes are barolles. of his enimies, in maner of haroldes to challenge a hundred of them to come fourth (if they A challenge to combatte. dare)

with the Mahumetans for the murther of eight and fourtie Portugales (whiche was done at my beyng there) I thought it best in tyme to depart from thence. This facte so greatly moued the kyng of Portugale to reuenge, that he hath since that tyme kepte hostile warres agaynst them, and greatly consumed them, and defaced their citie. We therefore departyng from thence by a very fayre ryuer, came to a citie named Caicolon, distaunte from the citie of Calecut fiftie leagues: the inhabitantes are idolaters. There is great aboundance of Merchaundies, and great frequentation of merchautes: the soyle beareth of the best kynde of Pepper. The kyng of the citie is not very rych. In apparel and maners, they differ litle from them of Calecut. Heere we founde certayne merchantes, Christians, named of the profession of saint Thomas the Apostle. They obserue the fastyng of fourtie dayes, as we do, and beleue in the death and resurrection of Christ, as we do, and therfore celebrate Easter after our maner, and obserue other solemnities of our religion, after the maner of the Greekes. They are commonly named by the names of Iohn, Iames, Matthias, and Thomas. Departyng from thence, in the space of three dayes iorney we came to an other citie, named Colon, about twentie myles distant from the aforesayde. The kyng is an idolater, and a prince of great power, hauyng euer an armie of twentie thousande horsemen: there is a very fayre port. Neare to the sea syde the soyle beareth no corne, yet great aboundance of fruite and pepper, as in the citie of Calecut: but by reason of the warres we remayned no longer here. Not farre from hence, we saw men fyshe for pearles, in maner as we haue sayde before of the citie and Ilande of Ormus.

Of Cyromandel, a citie of India. Cap. 2.

The citie of Cyromandel is by the sea syde, and distant from the citie of Colon seuen dayes saylyng. The citie is very large, but without walles: it is subiecte to the kyng of Narsinga, and is within the syght of the Iland of Zaylon. After that you are past the poynt of Comerin, the soyle beareth plentie of Ryse. This citie is in the way to diuers great regions and cities: It is inhabited with innumerable Mahumetans merchantes, resortyng thither from many countreys. There are no spyces, but aboundance of fruite, as in Calecut.

I founde there certayne Christians, who affyrme that the bodye of saint Thomas the Apostle is there in a certayne place, about twelue myles from this citie, and also that there are certayne Christians whiche relygiously obserue the holy body: and that the Christians are euyll vsed, because of the warres whiche the kyng of Portugall hath made agaynst the people of these countreys. Also that the Christians are sometyme murdered secretly, lest it shoulde be knowen to the kyng of Narsinga, who is in amitie and friendshyppes with the kyng of Portugall, and greatly faouere the Christians. The cause whereof (as they saye) is also partly by reason of a certayne miracle, whiche was this. The Christians on a tyme had a great conflicte with the Mahumetans, where one of the Christians beyng sore wounded on his arme, resorted incontinent to the sepulchre of saint Thomas, where making his prayers, and touchyng the holy place, his arme was immediately healed. Whereupon (as they saye) the kyng of Narsinga euer after greatly faouered the Christians. Here my companion solde muche of his wares. But by reason of the warres betweene the kynges of Narsinga and Ternaseri, we determined to depart from hence. And therefore saylyng ouer a gulfe of 20 leagues with great daunger, we arriued at an Iland named Zailon, very large, as containing in circuite a thousand myles.

Of the Ilande of Zailon, and the precious stones founde there. Cap. 3.

IN this Ilande are foure kynges of great dominion, by reason of the largenesse of the Ilande. But because of the warres among them at my beyng there, I could not tarye long to haue particular knowledge of the region and maners of the people. There are in the Ilande many Elephantes. There is also a very long mountayne, at the foote whereof, are founde many precious stones, named Piropi, commonly called Rubines or Rubies. The merchautes iewelers, come by them by this meanes.

Fyrst, goyng to the kyng, they bye of hym a certayne measure of that grounde where suche stones are founde, of the largenesse of a cubite every way. The price of this, is fyue

Caicolon.

Pepper.

Christians of
the profession of
saint Thomas.

Colon.

An armie of
20 thousande
horsmen.

Pearles.

Zailon.

Comerin.

The bodie of
Thomas the
Apostle.The kyng of
Narsinga frende
to the Portu-
galls.A miracle at
the sepulchre of
S. Thomas.Foure kynges in
one Iland.

Elephantes.

Rubie stones.

pieces of gold: yet with suche condition, that in dyggyng the grounde, there is euer one present for the kyng, to the ende that if in dyggyng be founde any of those precious stones exceeding the weyght of 10 Caractes, the same to be reserued for the kyng. And the rest that are founde vnder that wayght, to apparteyne to the merchaunt. Not farre from the sayd mountayne, are founde diuers other sortes of precious stones, as Iasyntes, Saphires, Topases, and suche lyke. Harde by the mountayne, runneth a great ryuer. The soyle bryngeth foorth the sweetest fruites that euer I sawe, especially cloues, and apples of Assiria, of exceeding sweetnesse, and all other as in Calecut.

Of the tree of Cinamome in the Iland of Zaylon. Cap. 4.

THE tree of Cinamome is not much vnlike a Baye tree, especially the leaues, it beareth berryes as doth the Baye tree, but lesse, and whyte: It is doubtlesse therefore none other then the barke of a tree, and is geathered in this maner. Euer ythyrd yeere they cutte the branches of the tree. Of this, is great plentie in the sayde Ilande. When it is fyrste geathered it is not yet so sweete, but a moneth after when it waxeth drye. A certayne Mahumetan merchaunt of the Ilande, tolde my companyon, that there in the top of a hygh mountayne is a certayne denne, whyther the inhabitantes of the countrey resort to praye, in memorye of our fyrst father Adam, who (they saye) after he had synned by breakyng the commaundement of God, lyued in that place in continuall penitence. Whiche thing they affyrme by this coniecture, that there is yet seene the print of the steppes of his feete, of the length of almost two spans. The inhabitantes are subiect to the kyng of Narsinga, and paye hym tribute. The region is of temperate ayre, although it be situate in maner vnder the Equinoctiall lyne. The people are of darke tawny colour. Theyr apparell, are certayne single clokes of bombasine cloth, whiche they weare, bearyng euer the ryght arme out all naked, as is the maner of all the Indians. They are no warrelyke men, neyther haue they the vse of Iron. Here my companyon solde to the kyng muche Saffran and Coralles.

Of Palechet, a citie of India. Cap. 5.

DEpartyng from the Ilande of Zailon, in three dayes saylyng we came to a citie named Palechet, subiecte to the kyng of Narsinga. It is a famous marte of ryche merchaundies, and especially of iewels and precious stones, brought thither from Zailon and Pego. There is also great plentie of spices. There dwell in the citie many Mahumetan merchauntes, where we beyng receiued in one of theyr houses, tolde hym from whence we came, and what merchandies we brought, as Saffran, and Coralles, whereof he was very glad. The citie hath great scarsnesse of corne, but plentie of Ryse: and in other fruitfulnessse of the soyle and maner of the people, much lyke vnto Calecut. But because they were at dissention with the kyng of Tarnassari, and prepared warres agaynst hym, we departed from thence, and in 13 dayes saylyng, arryued at the citie of Tarnassari, a hundred myles distant.

Of Tarnassari, a citie of India. Cap. 6.

THIS citie is not farre from the sea, and situate on a meetly equall grounde, well walled, hauyng also a famous porte, and a very fayre ryuer runnyng on the North syde of the citie. The kyng is an Idolatour, and a prince of great power. He keepeth continuall warre with the kyngs of Narsinga and Bangella. He bryngeth to the felde a hundred Elephantes, of the fayrest and byggest that euer I sawe. He hath an armie of an hundred thousand pensionarie footmen and as many horsemen. Theyr weapons are swoordes, rounde targettes, peltes, bowes, dartes, and ianelins of great and long reedes. They are also armed with iackes made of bombasine cotton, wrought very harde, and closely couched. Theyr houses are walled, and cominent in order as ours are. The region bryngeth foorth wheate, bombasine, sylke of sundrye kindes of colours, Brasile, and sundrye kyndes of fruites, muche lyke vnto ours. Also apples of Assiria, Oranges, Limons, Citrons, Gourdes, Cucumbers etc.

Of the wyld and tame beastes of the citie of Tarnassary. Cap. 7.

THIS region bryngeth foorth many beastes both wyld and tame. The tame beastes are,

Oxen.

ourney to the Ilande of Gyaua, and came thither in the space of fyue dayes, saylyng euer towarde the south. Our Pilot vsed the maryners boxe or compasse, with also the lode stone and sea carde, after the maner of ours. Therefore when my companyon sawe that the Septentrions or north starres coulede not be seene there, he asked the Christians howe they could sayle on that sea without the guide of the north star: and asked also, by what other star they were guided: The Pilote aunswered, that the inhabitantes of these regions obserue principally fyue starres, and also one other starre, opposite or directlye contrary to the Septentrions or North starres, whereby they gouerned their viages in these regions: and sayd that he also vsed the lode stone, because it euer mooueth to the North: and sayde furthermore, that on the other syde of that Ilande, is a certayne people, whiche in saylyng obserue certayne starres, contrary to the Septentrions, for that the sayde people are Antipodes to them of Europa Sarmatiæ, and that they inhabite as colde a region and climat, and as neare vnto the pole Antartike, as is manifest by the shortnesse of the day, beyng but foure houres long in their wynter: of whiche talke we tooke great pleasure.

Of the Ilande of Gyaua, and the maners of the people. Cap. 27.

Therefore procedyng on our iourney fyue dayes saylyng we came to the sayde Ilande, beyng very great and large, and hauyng in it many kyngdomes, and kynges, beyng all Idolaters, and of diuers maners of lyuyng: for some of them honor Idolles, after the maner of Calecut: some also honor the Sonne, and some the Moone: other take kyne for their Idolles: and some, the fyrst thyng that they meete in the mornyng, take for the Idol of that day: other also honor the picture or similitude of the deuyll. This Ilande bryngeth foorth sylke, whiche groweth of it selfe in the wooddes, and also the fayrest Smaragdes or Emeraldes that are in the world: there is likewyse plentie of Golde, and Copper. The soyle is fruitfull of Corne, and all sortes of fruites, as in the cite of Calecut. There is great abundance of fleshe of all sortes, as with vs. The inhabitantes are faythfull, and true dealyng people: they are of the same colour and stature that we bee, but haue larger foreheades, very great eyes, and of brasyll or redde colour, and flatte noses, wearyng theyr heare long. There is a great multitude of foules and birdes, but vnylike vnto ours, except Peacockes, Turtle dooue, and Crowes. They greatly obserue iustice, and good order. For theyr apparell they vse mantels, or clokes, of Bombasine cloth, or sylke, or Chamlet, euer wearyng out one arme. They vse no coates of fence, or armure because they haue no warres: but when they traueyle on the sea, they vse bowes, and impoysoned arrowes made of Reedes. They vse also certayne long and holowe staues (which we call Trunkes) through the which after our maner, they blowe little arrowes, so infected with poyson, that if they rayse neuer so little blood, death foloweth incontinent. They haue no Gunnes or other ingines. They eate all sortes of fleshe, fyshe, and fruites, yet some feede of one kynde of meate, and other of other, as them listeth.

Of theyr cruell maners in selling their parentes to the Anthropophagi to be eaten.

Cap. 28.

The inhabitantes of the sayd Ilande (they I meane which feede of fleshe) when they see theyr parentes so feeble by age, that they serue for no vse, but are tedious both to them selues and other, they bryng them to the market or fayre, and sell them to the Anthropophagi, which vse to eate mans fleshe. They that buye them, kyll them out of hand and eate them. Likewyse when any young person among them, falleth into any suche sicknesse, that by the iudgement of theyr wyse men he can not escape, to the ende that he should not vnprofitably lynger in paynes, his brethren and kynsfolkes sell hym to the Anthropophagi. When my companion, beyng detested with these cruell maners, shewed in countenance that he detested this horrible inhumanitie, a certayne merchaunte of the inhabitantes sayde thus vnto hym: O Persians, no sacrifice can redeeme your sinnes, in that you giue so fayre fleshe to the woormes to be eaten. Therefore abhorryng these beastly maners, we returned to our shyppes, not intending any longer to tarry there.

Of the strange course of the sunne in the Iland of Gyaua. Cap. 29.

Whyle we remayned here, the Christian merchantes euer desirous to shew vs new and

The North star.

The starres about the pole Antartike. The lode stone serueth in the south regions beyonde the Equinoctiall line. Antipodes.

Idolaters.

The image of the deuyll. Sylke of trees. Smaragdes. Golde. Copper.

Whyte men, good people.

Byrdes and foules.

Impoysoned arrowes. Trunkes.

Anthropophagi eate mans fleshe. In the West India, they are called Caniballes.

A straunge pittie.

Rather to butcher then woormes.

strange things, whiche we myght declare at our returne into our countreys, sayde thus vnto vs, My friendes, make reporte in your countrey of a straunge thyng whiche I will now shewe you. Beholde (sayde they) the place of the Sunne in the South at hygh noone, and thereby consider howe farre this region is from your countrey. We then behelde the Sunne to runne toward the ryght hand: and agayne, to shewe or marke a sphere, about two handfuls brode, towarde the lefte hande, which doubtlesse seemed to vs very straunge. And this (as they saye) is euer seene in the moneth of Iuly. But I nowe scarsely beare this in mynd, for I there forgot euen the names of our monethes. But this is certayne, that in this region, the tymes and seasons of the yeeres are lyke vnto ours, and of lyke temperature of heat and colde. Here my companion bought two fayre Emeraldes for a thousande peeces of golde, and also two gelded children for two hundred peeces of golde: for heere are certayne merchants that buy none other ware, then such gelded children.

Emeraldes of
great price.
Gelded children.

Of our returne from the Ilande of Gyaua. Cap. 30.

AFTER that we had remayned here fyftiene dayes, wery of the maners of the inhabitantes, and of the coldnesse of the countrey that time of the yeere, we determyned to proceede no further: for this cause also, that there remayned in maner none other region woorthie to be seene, and therefore hyring a lyght shyp, we departed from thence, sayling Eastwarde for the space of fyftiene dayes, and came at the length to the citie of Melacha, where remaying three dayes, we tooke our leaue of our companions the Christian merchautes, with friendly embrasinges, and sorowfull myndes. Which departure (I take God to witnesse) greeued me so sore, that if I had been a single man without wyfe and children, I would neuer haue forsaken suche friendly men. We therefore departed, and they remayned there, saying that they would shortly returne to the citie of Sana: and we takyng a foist, returned to the citie of Cyromandel. By the way, the gouernour of the shyp tolde vs, that about the Ilandes of Gyaua and Taprobana, there are aboute seuen thousande little Ilandes. When we arryued at Melacha, my companion bought as muche spices, sweete sauours, and silke, as cost hym fyue thousande peeces of golde: But we came not to the citie of Cyromandel in lesse space then fyftiene dayes saylyng. There we vnlayed our foist, and after we had remayned there twentie dayes, hyring an other foist, we came at the length to the citie of Colon, where we founde 22 Christians, of the realme of Portugale. And fearyng that they would take me for some espion, I began to imagine howe I myght depart from thence: But seeyng that they were so fewe in number, I chaunged my purpose, especially for that there were many merchaunt Mahumetans whiche knewe that I had been at Mecha, to see the bodie of Mahumet. But with'in the space of twelue dayes, we came to Calecut by the ryuer.

Sana.

Seuen thousande
Ilandes.
Malacha, or
Melacha.

Colon.
Portugales.

Agayne of the citie of Calecut after our returne thither. Cap. 31.

AFTER so many long and daungerous peregrinations and viages, in the whiche we haue been partly satisfied of our desyre, and partly weeryed by many suche occasions of inconueniencies as chaunce in the way (as they can well consider that haue been vsed to suche long iourneyes) we determyned to proceede no further, but to thynke only of our safe returne into our natiue countrey, and therefore I will breiefely declare what chaunced to me in the way: the rather that other men, takyng example by my traueyles, may knowe the better howe to gouerne them selues in the lyke, if lyke ardent affection shal moue them to take suche viages in hande, as I am sure noble spirites of many valiant men will moue them thereto. Therefore enteryng into the citie of Calecut, we founde there two Christians, borne in the citie of Milan, the one named Iohn Maria, and the other Peter Antonie. These were Jewellers, and came from Portugale with the kinges licence to buye precious stones. When I had founde these men, I reioyced more then I am able to expresse: for we went naked after the maner of the inhabitantes. At our fyrst meetyng, seeyng them to bee whyte men, I asked them if they were Christians, They sayde, yea. Then sayde I, that I was also a Christian, by the grace of God. Then takyng me by the hande, they brought me to their house, where for ioye of our meetyng, we could scarsely satisfie our selues with teares, embrasynges, and kyssyng: for it seemed nowe to mee a straunge thyng to heare men speake myne owne

Two Christians
of Milan in
Calecut.

tolde hym all that before he had tolde the kyng of Calecut: Addyng moreouer, that the sayde Christians had disclosed theyr secretes to the Portugales. When the Bishop vnderstode these thynges, he called a counsayle of all the Mahumetan merchautes, wyllyng them, of the common treasurie, to geue a hundred peeces of golde to the kyng of Gioghi (who was then at Calecut) and to speake to hym in this maner. It is not vnknownen to you (most noble prince) howe a fewe yeeres past, when your maiestie came hither, we receiued you with more honorable enterteinment then we are nowe able to do: The cause whereof, is no lacke of good wyl, or knowledge of our deuetic towarde your hyghnesse, but rather the great and manyfolde iniuries and oppressions whiche we haue susteyned, and do dayely susteyne by our mortal enimies the Christians, whereof we haue, at this present, example of two Christian traytors of this citie, whiche haue disclosed to the Portugales al our secretes, and therefore we make most humble petition vnto you to take of vs a hundred peeces of golde, to commaund them to be slayne. When the kyng of Gioghi hearde these words, he consented to theyr petition, and forthwith appoynted two hundred men to commyt the murder: And that they might be the lesse suspected of the Christians, meanyng soddenly to kyll them in theyr house, came by tenne and tenne as though they came to demaunde theyr accustomed rewarde. But when the Christians sawe so great a company assembled about theyr house, they suspected that they sought somewhat elles then theyr rewarde or offeryng, and therefore incontinent takyng theyr weapons, they fought so manfully at the wyndowes and doores of theyr house, that they slue syxe men and wounded fourtie. But at the length, some of the Gioghi, shot at them certaine iron arrowes out of crosse bowes, with the which they were both slayne, the one beyng sore wounded in the head, and the other in the bodie. As soone as they sawe them fall downe, they cutte theyr throtes: and takyng the hotte blood in the palmes of theyr handes, drunke it vp, with contumelious woordes agaynst the Christians. After this murder, the concubine of Iohn Maria came to Canonor, with her young sonne, whom I bought of her for eyght peeces of golde: and causyng hym to be baptysed, named hym Laurence, because it was saint Laurence daye. But within a yeere after, he dyed of the Frenche poxe, whiche disease had then dispersed almost through all the worlde, for I haue seene many infected with it foure hundred myles beyonde Calecut. They call it Pua, And they affyrme that this disease was neuer seene there past 17 yeeres before. It is there more greuous aud outragious then with vs.

Of the Nauie of the citie of Calecut, and of the memorable conflicte betwene the Christians and Mahumetans. In the whiche the Portugales with incredible valiantnesse gaue theyr enimies the overthrowe. And howe the kyng of Canonor reioyced at their victorie. Cap. 38.

IN the yeere of our Lorde 1506. the fourth daye of March, woorde was brought vs of the death of the sayde Christians. The same daye, from the cities of Calecut, Pauan, Capagot, Pandaram, and Trompatam, departed a great nauie of two hundred and eyght shippes, of the whiche fourescore and foure were great shippes, or shippes of burden, and the rest were dryuen with Ores, after the maner of foystes, whiche they call Paras. The Nauie was manned with in maner innumerable Mahumetans, shewyng themselues very braue in apparel of purple sylke and Bombasine, with also theyr hygh and sharpe cappes, after theyr maner, of the same colour, lyned with sylke: wearyng also on theyr armes many bracelettes, and on theyr handes hadde gloues, embrodered and garnyshed with diuers kyndes of workes: for weapons, they had Turkey bowes, swordes, launces, peltes, and all sortes of gunnes, after our maner. When we sawe theyr Nauie procedyng in order, and well instructed, it seemed farre of lyke a wood, the mastes presentyng the similitude of trees: Whiche thyng seemed so litle to deterre vs, that we were in sure beleefe, that our God and Christe woulde geue vs the victorie agaynst the blasphemers of his holy name, the Idolatours and Sarasens, old enimies of our religion. And therefore the valiant knight and gouernour, the sonne of the honorable lord Don Francisco Dalmeda, viceroy of India, who had there the supream gouernement of twelue shippes, with the assistaunce of the Admirall of the Nauie, when he sawe the great force of the enemy, myndfull of his accustomed vertue, with sounde of

trumpet

The Mahumetans conspire the death of the Christians.

An Oration.

The death of Iohn Maria and Peter Antonye.

The Frenche poxe.

The nauie of the kyng of Calecut agaynst the Portugals.

The Mahumetan soldiers.

trumpet assembled all the souldiers, and spake to them in this maner. My deare frendes, and brethren in one God, and one fayth of Iesus Christe, nowe is the tyme come when you ought to remember, that as Iesus Christe spared not, neyther feared to gyue his precious body to death for our sakes: euen so, except we wyl shewe our selues most vnkynde, and vnworthy so great grace of God, it shal be our dueties to spende our liues in the defence of his glorie, and our holy fayth, assuring our selues of the victorie against these dogges, hateful to God, and progenie of the deuyl. Now therefore fyghtyng in his name, and vnder the banner of his holy crosse, shew your selues manfull and valiant: for nowe is in you the power to great eternal fame, in mainteyning the quarel of our sauour. Therefore with me, lyftyng up your hartes to God, and your armes with force and courage, let vs gyue the onset on these dogs. When the gouernour had sayd these wordes, the priest went vp to the hyghest part of the ship, and holdyng in his hand the picture of Christe nayled on the crosse, shewed it vnto the souldiers, exhortyng them to remember the commaundementes of God, and the holy fayth and baptisme whereby they were consecrated to God, puttyng no doubt in the forgeuenesse of theyr sinnes, dying in so godly a quarell: and then blessing them, with inuocation of the name of God, he pronounced the sentence of absolution and forgeuenesse of theyr sinnes. The exhortation of the priest, so moued the hartes of all men, that the teares ranne from our eyes for ioy and great desire we had to die in the quarel. In the meane time the nauye of the Mahumetans made sayle towarde vs. The same daye our Admirall with two foystes made towarde them, and passyng betweene two of theyr greatest shypes, discharged his ordinance on both sydes: whiche the Admyrall dyd, to proue the strength of those shypes, which they chiefly esteeme, and trust most vnto: But this daye was nothyng done woorth the memorye. The day folowyng, the Mahumetans with full sayles drewe neare the citie of Canonor, and sent vs worde by a messenger, that if we woulde permytte them to go whither they woulde, they woulde not haue to do with vs. Our Admirall answered, that the Christians coulde not so forgette the periurie of the Mahumetans, in violatyng theyr faith and promyse made by common consent, when they woulde not suffer the Christians to passe that way, but contrary to theyr fayth and promyse slue 47 Christians, and robbed them of foure thousande peeces of golde: and therefore badde them passe further if they durst, and they shoulde well knowe of what reputation and spirite the Christians are. Then sayde the Mahumetans, Mahumet wyll defende vs, and confounde the Christians: and with those wordes, assaulted vs all at once with incredible furie, thynkyng to haue passed through, hauyng no further to sayle then 10 myles from the shore. But our Admiral of purpose suffered the enimies to come nearer vntyl they were ryght ouer against the citie of Canonor, meanyng there to set on them with all his force, that the kyng of Canonor beholdyng the conflicte, myght be witnesse of the valiantnesse of the Christians. Then when the trumpetter of the Admirals ship sounded the battayle, and gaue the signe, incontinent he assaulted two of theyr greatest shypes. Heere I am not able to expresse the exceedyng noyse of theyr Drummes, Trumpets, Tambarels, and other such innumerable, which they vse in this case. The Admiral hym selfe, in maner contemnyng all theyr meane shippes, passed through theyr nauie, and inuaded one of theyr greatest shippes, castyng theron chaynes and grasples, to fyght with them at hande strokes: but they cast of the chaynes thryse, yet the fourth tyme the chaynes tooke such holde, that the Christians entred into the ship, where they made such hauocke and slaughter, that all the Mahumetans of that shippe (which were sixe hundred in number) were slayne, insomuche that there was not one left alyue to tell newes. The Admirall encouraged by this victorie, inuaded another of theyr great shippes, whiche had chayned it selfe with a foyst of the Christians, where was also a great conflict, in the whiche were slayne aboue fyue hundred Mahumetans, and theyr ship sunke. The Mahumetans discouraged by this defeate, assaulted our twelue foystes with al their force, and caryed them away. But heere the manhood and valiantnesse of Iohn Seranus, the captaine of the Galley, shewed it selfe, who only with one Gally made suche a slaughter among the Mahumetans, that it may seeme incredible: for he so fiercely inuaded them that had caryed away the foystes, that he recouered them

The oration of the gouernour to the Christian soldiars.

The nauie of the Mahumetans. The Admirall of the Christians.

The quarel and occasion of the warre.

The Mahumetans geue the onset.

The valiantnesse of the Admirall.

A great slaughter of the Mahumetans.

The valiantnesse of Iohn Seranus.



The Andrews University Center for Adventist Research is happy to make this item available for your private scholarly use. We trust this will help to deepen your understanding of the topic.

Warning Concerning Copyright Restrictions

This document may be protected by one or more United States or other nation's copyright laws. The copyright law of the United States allows, under certain conditions, for libraries and archives to furnish a photocopy or other reproduction to scholars for their private use. One of these specified conditions is that the photocopy or reproduction is not to be used for any purpose other than private study, scholarship, or research. This document's presence in digital format does not mean you have permission to publish, duplicate, or circulate it in any additional way. Any further use, beyond your own private scholarly use, is your responsibility, and must be in conformity to applicable laws. If you wish to reproduce or publish this document you will need to determine the copyright holder (usually the author or publisher, if any) and seek authorization from them. The Center for Adventist Research provides this document for your private scholarly use only.

The Center for Adventist Research

James White Library
Andrews University
4190 Administration Drive
Berrien Springs, MI 49104-1440 USA
+001 269 471 3209
www.andrews.edu/library/car
car@andrews.edu

Disclaimer on Physical Condition

By their very nature many older books and other text materials may not reproduce well for any number of reasons. These may include

- the binding being too tight thus impacting how well the text in the center of the page may be read,
- the text may not be totally straight,
- the printing may not be as sharp and crisp as we are used to today,
- the margins of pages may be less consistent and smaller than typical today.

This book or other text material may be subject to these or other limitations. We are sorry if the digitized result is less than excellent. We are doing the best we can, and trust you will still be able to read the text enough to aid your research. Note that the digitized items are rendered in black and white to reduce the file size. If you would like to see the full color/grayscale images, please contact the Center.

Disclaimer on Document Items

The views expressed in any term paper(s) in this file may or may not accurately use sources or contain sound scholarship. Furthermore, the views may or may not reflect the matured view of the author(s).