

**THE BOOK WAS
DRENCHED**

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_216672

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Call No.

Accession No.

Author

Title

This book should be returned on or before the date
last marked below.



THE PRESENT
STATE
 OF THE
 Ottoman Empire.,
 Containing the MAXIMS of the
TURKISH POLITIE
 The moſt material Points of the
MAHOMETAN RELIGION,
 Their SECTS **and** HERESIES, their CONVENTS and
 RELIGIOUS VOTARIES.
 THEIR
MILITARY DISCIPLINE,:

With an exact Computation of their

F O R C E S both by L A N D and S E A.;

Illustrated with divers Pieces of Sculpture, repreſenting the
 of Habits amongſt the *Turks*.

IN THREE BOOKS.

By *PAVL R T C A V T* Efq; ;'

Late Secretary to his Excellency the Earl of Winchilſea (Embaſſador Extraordinary for his Majeſty *Charles* the Second, Or. to *Sultan Mahomet Hun* the Fourth, Emperour of the *Turks*) now Conſul of *Smyrna*, and Fellow of the Royal Society.

The Third Edition.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *John Starkey* and *Henry Frome*, and are to be fold by
Robert Boulter, at the *Turks-Head* in *Bihops-gate-street*.

MDCLXX.

To the Right Honourable
HENRY Lord **ARLINGTON**
 His Majesties Principal Secretary of State.

My Lord,



After five years residence at *Constantinople*, in service of the Embassy of the Earl of *Winchelsea* (my ever honoured Lord) and this my second journey from thence by land into my own Country, I judged it a point of my Duty, and of my Religion too, to dedicate this following Treatise, as the fruits of my Travels, Negotiations, and leisure in those remote parts, to the Noble Person of your Lordship as that *Votiva Tabula* which many both in ancient and in the modern times, after some signal deliverance, or happy arrival at their desired Port, use to offer to their Gods, their Saints, or their Patrons: And truly, my Lord, this Discourse treating chiefly of the Turkish Policy, Government, and Maxims of State, seems naturally to appertain to the Patronage of your Lordship, whose faculties of Wisdom and Vertue have given you the Blessing of your Princes Favour, and the Reputation, as well abroad as at home, of an Eminent and Dextrous Minister of State.

It were a great Presumption in me to offer any Observations of my own in the Courts of Christian Princes to the test of your Lordships Experience and Judgment, who not only is acquainted with the Customs and Manners, but penetrates into the Designs, and knows the Cabinet Councils of Neighbouring Principalities, with whom our divided world may possibly be concerned, but perhaps without disparagement to your Lordships profound Wisdom, or over-value of my own abilities, I may confidently draw a rude Scheme before your Lordship, of the Turkish Government, Policies, and Customs -, a Subject which Travellers have rather represented to their Countrymen, to supply them with discourse and admiration, than as a matter worthy the consideration, or concernment of our Kings or our Governours.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

It hath been the happy fortune of the Turk to be accounted barbarous and ignorant ; for upon this perfuasion Chriftian Princes have laid themfelves open and unguarded to their greateft danger; contending together for one Palm of land, whilft this puiffant Enemy hath made himfelf mafter of whole Provinces, and largely fhared in the rich and pleafant poffeffions of *Europe*.

This contempt of the Turk on one fide, caufed the Emperour to be fo backward in oppofing that torrent of the *Ottoman* Force, which in the firft year of the late War broke in upon him ; and the fufpition of defigns from *France* on the other, altered the Resolutions and Councils of the Emperour for profecution of the War, which then running favourably on the Chriftian part, was no lefs than with the aftonifhment of the whole world, and of the Turks-themfelves, on a fudden underftood to be clapt up with Articles of a difadvantageous Peace ; admiring to fee the Emperour give a flop to the current of his Victories, and relinquifh the Game with a lucky hand. But this will feem no riddle to thofe who penetrate Affairs with the fame judgment that your Lordfhip doth, and confider the unfirm condition the Houfe of *Auftria* was in, by a daily expectation of the death or fall of fo main a Bafis of it, as the King of *Spain*, and the divifion amongft the Princes of the Empire, the League of the *Rhine*, the* French practices to make the Duke of *Enguyen* King of Poland and the extravagant demands of the French and Rhinifh League for Winter quarters, and places of Strength, not only in *Hungary*, but alfo in *Styria* and the adjacent places; and at the fame time look on the Faftions in *Hungary*, and a confiderable Army of French in the bowels of *Germany*, who were fuppofed in thofe parts to have rather come with defign to over-awe the next Diet, and force the German Princes to eleft the French King for King of the Romans, than with fincere and fimple intentions of oppofing themfelves to the Enemy of the Faith : for then it will appear, that the beft ufe the Emperour could make of his good fuccels, was moderation in Victory, and reconciliation with his powerful Enemy. And hereupon Earl *Leifle* being difpatched for Extraordinary Embafladour from his Imperial Majefty, to the Grand Signior ; though the Turk was elevated with the thoughts of the neceffity the Chriftians had of a Peace, did

The Epistle Dedicatory.

yet fo happily manage his Charge and Employment, as created in the Turks an extraordinary reverence towards hi? Perfon, and obtained fuch Honours and Treatments from them, as the Turkifh Court never beftowed before on the Emperours, or any other Chriftian Embaffadour; extoiting this Complement from the great Vizier, That he was more fatisfied the Emperour had fent fo brave and illuftrious a perfon, than if he had fought to reconcile his Affections with a hundred thoufand Dollars more of Prefent. And to do juftice to this worthy Perfon, he hath brought a reputation to the Britifh Nation, above any in our age, whofe vertues and induftry have acquired the higheft Trufts and Preferments in Forreign Parts j and done the fame honour to his King, under whom he was born a Subject, as to the prefent Emperour and his Anceftors, under whom he is, and hath always been a faithful Minifter : having deferved fo eminently for faving the whole German Empire from the Treafon of *Wal-hftein*, by his own fingle act of bravery (*a ftory* notoriously known to all the world) as can never in gratitude be forgot by that Nation, nor want its due Record and place in the Hiftory of that Country. A

The fpeculation of what is contained in this following Difcourfe may feem unworthy of your Lord (hips precious hours, in regard of that notion of Barbarity with which this Empire is filled ; yet the knowledge hereof will be like a *Turquoife*, or fome other Jewel fet within the Rofe of thofe many Gems of your Lordfhips Wifdom and Vertues.

This Prefent, which I thus humbly confecrate to your Lordfhip, may be termed barbarous, as all things are, which are differenced from us by diversity of Manners and Cu-Horn, and are not dreffed in the mode and fafhion of our times and Countries ; for we contract prejudice from ignorance and want, of familiarity. But your Lordfliip, who exactly ponderates the weight of humane Adions, acknowledges rcafon in all its habits, and draws not the mcalures of Oeconomy or Policy from external appearances or eflcts, but from the fundamental and original Conftitutions -, fo that your Lordfhip will conclude, that a People, as the Turks are, men of the fame compofition with us, cannot be fo favage and rude as they are generally defcribed ; for ignorance and groffnefs is the effect of Poverty, not incident to
happy

The Epiftle Dedicatory.

happy men, whose fpirits are elevated with Spoils and Trophies of fo many Nations.

Knowing (My Lord) that this work which I have undertaken is liable to common cenfure, I have chofen to fhrowd my name under the patronage of your Lordfhip, to protect me from the ill-underftanding and mif-conceptions of our Countrymen, both at home and abroad : againft which I doubt not but to be fufficiently armed in all parts where I travel, when the countenance your Lordfhip affords me, is joined to the authority of his Excellency the Earl of *IVinchilfea*, his Majetties Embaffadour Extraordinary, now actually refident at *Conftantinople*, my ever honoured Lord ; to whom I read, a long time before publihd to the World, the greateft part of this following Treatife ; and as I received his favourable approbation, and affent to the verity of mod matters herein containcd i fo I muft ingenuoufly confefs to have been beholding to that quick and refined Cenjus of his, who often recliried my miftakes, fupplied me with matter, and remembred me of many material points, which I might otherwife have moft unadvisedly omitted : And his Excellency knowing that in his abfence this Book might want a favourable Patron, left me to my felf to feck out one, who might concur with him in the fame innocent defence. And as (My Lord) you are a publick perfon, and under our Gracious Sovereign, are one of thofe generous fpirits which have espoufed the common intereft of the Nation ; fo I pre fume on this prefent occafion not to want your protection alfo in a finglc capacity : for which excefs of favours I fhall ever pray for the exaltation of the greater glory of your Lord In ip, and for ever acknowledge my felf,

My Lord,

Your Lordfhips moft humble, moft

faithful, and moft devoted Servant,

PAUL RYCAUT.

THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader,

Present thee here with a true Syfleme or Model of the Turkifh Government and Religion j not in the fame manner as certain ingenious Travellers have done who have fet down their Obfervations as they have obvioufly ocenrred in their Journeys , which being coUe&ed for the mofl part from Relations, and Difcourfes offuch who cafuaUy intervene in company of Paffengers, are confequently fubjeci to many errors and miftakes : But having been an Inhabitant myfelf at the Imperial City for the fpace of five years, and affifted by the advantage of confiderable Journeys I have made through divers parts of Turkey, and qualified by the Office I hold of Secretary to the Earl of Winchilfea Lord Embafiadour I had opportunity by the conftant accefs and practice with the Chief Minifters of State, and variety of Negotiations which paffed through my hands in the Turkifh Court, to penetrate farther into the Myfteries of this Politie, which appear fo ftrange and barbarous to us, than hafty Travellers could do, who are forced to content themfelves with a fuperficial knowledge.

The Computations I have made of the value of their Offices, of the ftrengh and number of their Souldiery, according as every City and Country is rated, are deduced from their own Registers and Records. The Obfervations I have made of their Folitie, are either Maxims received from the Mouth and Argument of confiderable Minifters, or Concluftions arifing from my own Experience and Confederations. The Articles of their Faith and Conftitutions of Religion, I have fet down as pronounced from the mouth of fome of the ntoft learned DoStors and Preachers of their Law, with whom for Money or Prefents

The Epistle to the Reader.

I gained a familiarity and appearance of friend/Lip. The Relation of the Seraglio, and Education of their Youth, -wiih divers other matters of Cuſtom and Rule,were tranſmitted to me by federal ſober Perſons, trained up with the beſt Education of the Tnrkiſh Learning ; and particularly,by an understanding Polonian, who had ſpent nineteen years in the Ottoman Court.

If (Reader) the ſuperſtition,vanity, and ill foundation of the Mahometan Religion ſeem fabulous, as a Dream, or the fancies of a diſtrated and wild Brain, thank God that thou avert born Chriſtiatr,and within the Pale of an Holy and an Orthodox Church, If the Tyranny, Oppreſſion,and Cruelty of that State wherein Reaſonjands in no competition with the pride and hiſt of an unreaſonable Miniſter, ſeem ſtrange to thy Liberty and Happitiefs, thanks God that thou art bom in a Country the moſt free and juſt in all the World; and a Subjecl to the moſt indulgent, the moſt gracious of all the Princes of the 'Vniverſe ; That thy Wife, thy Children, and the fruits of thy labour can be called thine own, and protciled by the 'valiant Arm of thy fortunate King : And thus learn to hgow and prize thy ewn Freedom, by compariſon with Forreign Servitude, that thou mayſt ever bleſs God and thy King, and make thy Happineſs breed thy Content, without degenerating into wantonneſs, or deſire of revolution. Farewel.

THE CONTENTS Of the feveral CHAPTERS.

The Firft Book.

CHAP. I.

THE Conftitution of the Turkifh Government, being different from moft others in the world, hath need of peculiar Maxims and Rules whereon to ejlabliffi and confirm it felf Page I

CHAP. II.

The abfolutenefs of the Emperour is a great fupport of the Turkiſh Empire. 2

CHAP. III.

The Leſon of Obedience to their Emperour is taught by the Turks as a Principle of Religion, rather than of State. 8

CHAP. IV.

The Hiſtory of Kiofem., or the zueen-Mother. 11

CHAP. V.

The Education of Young Men in the Seraglio, out of which thoſe who are to difcharge the great offices of the Empire are elected, it being a Maxim of the Turkifh Politie, To have the Prince ferved by ſuch whom he can raife without envy, and deſtroy without danger. 25

CHAP. VI.

Of the Method in the Turkifh Studies and Learning in the Seraglio. 30

CHAP. VII.

Of the Platonick affection and Friendſhip the Pages in the Seraglio bear each to other. 33

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Mutes and Dwarfes. 34

CHAP. IX.

Of the Eunuchs. 35

Of the Blacke Eunuchs, and Appartments of the Women. 37

CHAP. X.

Of the Agiamoglans. 40

CHAP. XI.

Of the Vizier Azem., or Prime Vizier, his offices the other fix Viziers of the Bench and of the Divan, or place of judicature. 43

CHAP. XII.

Of the offices, Dignities, and feveral Governments of the Empire. 51

(a) CHAP.

The Contents.

CHAP. XIII.	
<i>In what manner the Tartar Han depends on the Turks</i>	57
CHAP. XIV.	
<i>Of the Tributary Princes to the Turkic viz- the Moldavians, Valachians, Tranfilvanians, Ragufcans, &c.</i>	60
CHAP. XV.	
<i>The deflation and mine which the Turks make of their own Country in Ada, and the Tarts moft remote from the Imperial Seat\ eftcemed one caufe of the confervation of the Empire.</i>	67
CHAP. XVI.	
<i>MI Hereditary SucceJJion in Government^ as alfb the prefirxtation of an Antietit Nobility , againft the Maxims of Turkijh Politic</i>	69
CHAP. XVII.	
<i>The frequent exchange of Officers, as the petting up one and degrading another ; a Rule always praB'ifedas wholefom^ and conducing to the welfare of the Turkijfi State.</i>	75
CHAP. XVIII.	
<i>The fiveral Arts the Turks ufe for incrcafe of their People. is a Principal Policy , without which the greatnejs of their Empire cannot continue nor be encreafed.</i>	79
CHAP. XIX.	
<i>The manner of Reception of Forreign Embajjadours amongi? the Turks, and and the efteem is had of them.</i>	83
CHAP. XX.	
<i>How Embajfadours and Puklick Mmifters govern themfelves in their Negotiations and Residence amongst the Turks.</i>	89
CHAP. XXI.	
<i>How Chriftian and other Forreign Princes in particular ft and in the efteem and opinion of the Turk.</i>	91
CHAP. XXII.	
<i>The regard the Turks have to their Leagues with Forreign Princes.</i>	94

The fecond Book

CHAP. L	
<i>Of the Turks Religion in general.</i>	
CHAP. II.	
<i>The Toleration that Mahometanifm in its Infancy promifed to other Religions, and in what manner that agreement was afterwards obfirved.</i>	98
CHAP. III.	
<i>The Arts wherewith the Turkijh Religion is propagated,</i>	103
CHAP. IV.	
<i>The Power and Office of the Mufti, and the Turkijh Government in Religious Matters.</i>	105
CHAP. V.	
<i>Of the Mufti's Revenue j and from whence it does arife.</i>	109
CHAP. VI.	
<i>Of the Emirs.</i>	110
CHAP.	

The Contents.

CHAP. VII.	
<i>Of the Endowments of Royal Mosques, and in what nature Tithes are given for maintenance of their Priests and Religion.</i>	112
CHAP. VIII.	
<i>Of the nature of Predestination according to the Turkish Doctors.</i>	115
CHAP. IX.	
<i>Of the difference of Sets, and disagreement in Religion among the Turks in general.</i>	117
CHAP. X.	
<i>Of the two prevailing Sets, viz. of Mahomet and Hali, that is, the Turk and the Persian; the Errors of the Persian recounted, and confuted by the Mufti of Constantinople.</i>	119
CHAP. XI.	
<i>Of the ancient Sets and Heresies among & the Turks.</i>	122
CHAP. XII.	
<i>Of the new and modern Sets arisen among the Turks, and how dangerous some of them may prove for raising sedition in the Empire.</i>	128
CHAP. XIII.	
<i>Of their Religious Men and firji of their Dervises.</i>	135
CHAP. XIV.	
<i>Of the Order of Ebrbuhare.</i>	141
CHAP. XV.	
<i>Of the Order of Nimetulah.</i>	142
CHAP. XVI.	
<i>Of the Order of Kadri.</i>	143
CHAP. XVII.	
<i>Of the Order of Kalenderi.</i>	145
CHAP. XVIII.	
<i>Of the Order of Edhemi,</i>	147
CHAP. XIX.	
<i>Of the Order of Bectafte.</i>	148
CHAP. XX.	
<i>Of the Order of Hizrevi; or Herewi.</i>	149
CHAP. XXI.	
<i>Of A fam ages, Divorces, and how far Concubinage is indulged amongst the Inrki.</i>	151
CHAP. XXII.	
<i>Of other parts of the Turkish Religion, and first of Circumcision.</i>	157
CHAP. XXIII.	
<i>Of the five necessary Points which are required to constitute a true Mahometan; viz. 1. Wafoings. 2. Prayers. 3. Observation of the Ramazan. 4. The Zacat. 5. Pilgrimage.</i>	158
CHAP. XXIV.	
<i>Of the Feast of Bairam, and the Ceremonies used at that time by the Chief Officers and Ministers towards the Grand Signior.</i>	162
CHAP. XXV.	
<i>Of the Prohibition of Swine's-flesh and Wine.</i>	165
CHAP. XXVI.	
<i>Of their Marahy, good Works, and some certain account of their Laws worthy observation.</i>	166

The Contents.

The Third Book.

	CHAP. I.	
<i>Of the present state of the</i>	<i>Military Discipline amongst the Turks.</i>	1
	CHAP. II.	
<i>Of the Turkish</i>	<i>Militia in general.</i>	2
	CHAP. III.	
<i>A Computation of the Forces arising from the</i>	<i>Zaims and Timariots.</i>	6
	CHAP. IV.	
<i>Of certain Customs and Laws observed amongst the</i>	<i>Zaims and Timariots.</i>	
	CHAP. V.	
<i>Of the state of the Militia in Grand Cairo and Egypt, and of the Auxilia-</i>	<i>ry Forces to the forementioned Militia of the Turks.</i>	14
	CHAP. VI.	
<i>Of the Spahies.</i>		16
	CHAP. VII.	
<i>Of the Janizaries.</i>		22.
	CHAP. VIII.	
<i>Whether the maintenance of an Army of Janizaries according to the ori-</i>	<i>ginal institution, be now agreeable to the Rules of Politic amongst the</i>	<i>Turks.</i>
		28
	CHAP. IX.	
<i>Of the</i>	<i>Chiaufes.</i>	31
	CHAP. X.	
<i>Of the other parts of the Turkish Militia, viz. the Toptchi, Segbans, and</i>	<i>Sarigias, Gebegee, Muhlagi, Belli, and Delees.</i>	22
	CHAP. XI.	
<i>Certain observations on the Turkish</i>	<i>Camp.</i>	36
	CHAP. XII.	
<i>Of the Turks Armata, or "Naval Forces at Sea. "</i>	<i>"</i>	45
<i>The Conclusion.</i>		49



THE MAXIMS OF THE Turkifli Politic

CHAR I.

- *The Constitntion of the Turkiflh Government being different from most others in the World, hath need of peculiar Maxims , and Rules, whereon to establiſh and confirm it self.*



Have begun a Work which seems very full of difficulty and labour for to trace the footsteps of *Government* in the bed: formed and moulded *Common-wealths* (such as are supported with *Reason* and with *Religion*) is no less then to unriddle and resolve a Myſtery.

For as a *Common-wealth*, by many Authors, hath not been unaptly compared to a Ship, in divers respects, and proper Allegories 5 fo principally the small impreſſion or sign of

O nav'is referent in mare te novi fluctum.
Horat, 14.
Ode Lib. 1.

track, the floating habitation leaves behind it on the Sea, in all the traverses it makes, according to the different winds to attain its Port, is a lively emblem of the various motions of good Government, which by reason of circumstances, times, and multiplicity of chances and events, leaves little or no path in all the Ocean of humane affairs.

But there must be yet certain Rules in every Government, which are the foundations and pillars of it 5 not subjeel: to the alteration of time, or any other accident ; and so essential to it, that they admit of no change, untill the whole model of Politic suffer a Convulsion, and

The Maxims of the Turkifti Tolitie.

be (taken into some other form*, which is either effected by the new laws of a Conqueror, or by intestine and civil revolutions. Of such Maxims as these, (obvious to all who have had any practice in the Ottoman Court) I have made a collection, subjoining to every head some reflections and considerations of my own, which at my leisure hours I have weighed and examined, bringing them (according to the proportion of my weak judgement and ability) to the measure and test of reason and virtue; as also to a similitude, and congruity with the Maxims of other Empires, to which God hath given the largest extent of Dominion.

But indeed when I have considered seriously the contexture of the Turkish Government, the absoluteness of an Emperour without reason, without virtue, whose speeches may be irrational, and yet must be laws; whose actions irregular, and yet examples; whose sentence and judgement, if in matters of the Imperial concernment, are most commonly corrupt, and yet decrees irrefragable: When I consider what little rewards there are for virtue, and no punishment for profitable and thriving vice, how men are raised at once by adulation, chance, and the sole favour of the Prince, without any title of noble blood, or the motives of previous deserts, or former testimonies and experience of parts or abilities, to the weightiest, the richest, and most honourable charges of the Empire; when I consider how short their continuance is in them, how with one frown of their Prince they are cut off; with what greediness above all people in the world, they thirst and haste to be rich, and yet know their treasure is but their snare; what they labour for is but as slaves for their great Patron and Master, and what will inevitably effect their ruine and destruction, though they have all the arguments of faithfulness, virtue, and moral honesty (which are rare in a Turk) to be their advocates, and plead for them. When I consider many other things of like nature, (which may more at large hereafter be discoursed of) one might admire the long continuance of this great and vast Empire, and attribute the stability thereof without change within itself, and the increase of Dominions and constant progress of its arms, rather to some super-natural cause, than to the ordinary Maxims of State, or wisdom of the Governours, as if the Divine will of the all-knowing Creator, had chosen for the good of his Church, and chastisement of the sins and vices of Christians, to raise and support this potent people.

Tacit. 3; An. Mihi quantopura recentium fen veterum revoho, tanto magk ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotis obfervantur.

But that which cements all breaches, and cures all those wounds in this body politick, is the quickness and severity of their justice, which not considering much the strict division and parts of distributive and commutative, makes almost every crime equal, and punishes it with the same and extreme chastisement, which is death; I mean those which have relation to the Government, and are of common and publick interest. Without this remedy, which I lay down as a principal prevention of the greatest disorders, this mighty body would be filled with the poison of its own ill humors, and soon divide itself into several Signories, as the ambition and power of the Governours most remote from the Imperial Seat administered them hopes and security of becoming absolute.

In this Government, feverity, violence, and cruelty are natural to it; and it were as great an error to begin to loose the reins, and ease the people of that oppression to which they and their forefathers have since their first original been accustomed, as it would be in a nation free-born, and used to live under the protection of good laws, and the clemency of a virtuous and Christian Prince, to exercise a Tyrannical power over their estates and lives, and change their liberty into servitude and slavery. The *Turks* had the original of their Civil Government founded in the time of War: for when they first came out of *Scythia*, and took Arms in their hands, and submitted unto one General, it is to be supposed, that they had no Laws but what were Arbitrary and Martial, and most agreeable to the contempt and design they had then in hand, when *Tangrolipix* overthrew the *Persian Sultan*; possessed himself of his Dominions and Power, and called and opened the way for his companions out of *Armenia*; when *Cutlumufis* revolted from him, and made a distinct Kingdom in *Arabia*: when other Princes of the *Selcuccian* Family in the infancy of the Turkifh power had by Wars among themselves, or by Testament made division of their possessions; when (Anno 1300) *Ottoman*, by strange fortunes, and from small beginnings swallowed up all the other Governments into the *Oguzian* Tribe, and united them under one head, until at last it arrived to that greatness and power it now enjoys. The whole condition of this people was but a continued state of War; wherefore it is not strange, if their laws are severe, and in most things arbitrary, that the Emperour should be absolute and above law, and that most of their Customs should run in a certain Channel and course most answerable to the height and unlimited power of the Governour, and consequently to the oppression and subjection of the people: and that they should thrive most by servitude, be most happy, prosperous and contented under Tyranny, is as natural to them, as to a body to be nourished with that diet, which it had from its infancy or birth been acquainted with. But not only is Tyranny requisite for this people, and a hindrance to curb them, left by an unknown liberty they grow mutinous and unruly, but likewise the large territories and remote parts of the Empire require speedy preventions, without process of law, or formal indictment: Jealousie and suspicion of nongovernment being licence and authority enough for the Emperour to inflict his severest punishments: all which depends upon the absoluteness of the Prince; which because it is that whereby the *Turks* are principally supported in their greatness, and is the prime Maxim and Foundation of their State, we shall make it the discourse and subject of the following Chapter.

*Ma Esperatt
che gli hanno,
eche cominct-
ano ad effere in
veneratrone,
&c. Machi.c.tf.
del prencipe.*

CHAP. II.

The abfolutenefs of the Emperour is a great fupport of the Turkifh Empire.



*Sultan Mahomet Han the present Emperor
aged 25 years 1690.*

The Irregulars
of the Turkifh
Empire.

THe Turks having (as is before declared) laid the first foundation of their Government with the principles most agreeable to Military Discipline, their Generals or Princes, whose will and lusts they served, became absolute Masters of their Lives and Estates; so that what they gained and acquired by the Sword with labours, perils, and sufferings, was appropriated to the use and benefit of their Great Master. All the delightful fields of Asia, the pleasant plains of *Tentpe and Thrace*, all the plenty of *Aegypt* and fruitful nefs of the *Nile*, the luxury of *Corinth*, the substaace of *Peleponesus*, *Athens*, *Lemnos*, *Scio*, and *Mitylen*^ with other Isles of the *Aegean Sea*, the Spices of *Arabia*, and the riches of a great part of *Perfia*, all *Armenia*, the Provinces of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Bythinia*, *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Palestine*, *Calofiria* and *Phoenicia*, *Colchis*, and a great part of *Georgia*, the tributary principalities of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, *Romania*, *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, and the best part of *Hungary*, concur all together to satisfy the appetite of one single person; all the extent of this vast territory, the Lands and Houses, as well as the Castles and Arms, are the proper goods of the
Grand

Grand Signior, in his sole disposal and gift they remain, whose possession and right they are; only to lands dedicated to religious uses, the Grand Signior disclaims all right or claim* and this he says piously observes (to the shame of our Statutes in *England*, who violate the *penetralia* of the Sanctuary) that when a Baihaw, though afterwards convicted of Treason, bestows any lands or reflects on any certain Mosque or Temple, that grant or gift is good and exempted from any disposal or power of the Grand Signior. The lands being thus originally in the Grand Signior, after the Conquests were made, and the Country secured, and in condition to be distributed, divisions were made of the Houses, Manners, and Farms among the Souldiers, whom they call *Timars*, as the reward and recompence of their valour and labour in consideration of which, every one proportionably to his revenue and possession, is obliged to maintain Horse and Men to be always ready when the Grand Signior shall call him forth to serve him in the Wars by which means the whole Country being in the hand of the Souldier, all places are the better strengthened, and the conquered people more easily kept from Mutiny and Rebellion; not much unlike our tenure of Knights-service in *England*, and lands held of the Crown, but with this difference, that we enjoy them by the title of a fixed and settled Law, never to be forfeited but upon Treason and Rebellion; they enjoy themselves by inheritance derived from the father to the Son, but yet as usufructuary during the pleasure of the Emperour, in whom the propriety is always reserved, and who doth often as his humour and fancy leads him to please and gratify a stranger, dispossess an ancient Possessor, whose family hath for many generations enjoyed that inheritance. Sometimes I have heard with the sigh of some, and the curse of others, how the Grand Signior heated in his Hunting, and pleased with the refreshment of a little cool and chrystal water, predated him by a poor Paifant; hath in recompence thereof freed the Tenant from the rent of his Landlord, and by his sole word confirmed to him the Cottage he lived in, the Woods, Gardens and Fields he manured, with as found a title, as our long deeds and conveyances procure our purchases and inheritances in *England*; and this the former Matter dares not name injustice, because this Tenant is now made proprietor by the will of the Grand Signior, which was the same title and claim with his; prescription, tenant-right, and custom availing nothing in this case. For if the inheritance hath been anciently derived from Father to Son; the more is the goodness and bounty of the Emperour to be acknowledged, that hath permitted so long a succession of favours to run in one family, in whose power it was to transfer it to others.

The absolute and unlimited power of this Prince is more evident by the titles they give him, as *God On Earth, the shadow of God, Brother to the Sun and Moon, the giver of all Earthly Crown*, &c. And though they do not build and erect Altars to him, as was done to the Roman Emperours, when that people degenerated into a fashion of deformed adulation, wherein *Italy* is at present corrupted; yet the conception they have of his power, the Ray they conceive to be in him of divine illumination, is a kind of imagery, and idolatrous fancy they frame of his divinity. It is an ordinary saying among the *Turkish* Cadees and Lawyers,

the Cr. Sig. retains, and obliges himself to govern within the compafs of Laws, but they give him fo large a latitude, that he can no more be faid to be bound or limited, than a man who hath the world to rove in can be termed a prifoner, becaufe he cannot exceed the Inclofure of the Univerfe. For though he be obliged to the execution of the *Mahometan* Law, yet that Law calls the Emperour the Mouth and Interpreter of it, and endues him with power to alter and annul the moft fetled and fixed Rules, at leaft to wave and difpenfe with them when they are an obftacle to his Government, and contradict (as we faid before) any great defign of the Empire. But the learned Doctors among the *Turks* more clearly refrain the Imperial power only to the obfervation of that which is Religious in the *Malwmetan* Law, faying, That in matters which are Civil his Law is Arbitrary, and needs no other Judge or Legislator than his own will. Hence it is that they fay, the Grand Signior can never be depofed or made accountable to any for his crimes, whilft he deftroys caufelefly of his Subjects under the number of 1000 a day; and in like manner hence it is, that though the *Mahometan* Law determines the teftimony of two Witneffes of that Faith to be valid for the determination of all cafes of difference; yet by our Capitulations it is provided, that no *Turkish* Witneffes of what number or quality foever can avail againft any of the *Englilh* Nation,, by reafon that the cafe being Civil is difpenfable by the Imperial power 5 but I doubt, were any matter in queftion Criminal, (as we have never, God be praifed, had occafion to put it to trial) the Capitulations would be forced to yield to the *Mahometan* Law, as being Religious and Divine, with which the Sultan hath no power to difpenfe*. Of what confluence and benefit this abfolute power hath been to the *Ttrkj*, is evident by the extent of their Empire and fuccels of their Arms. For if the Sultan pleafes the Souldiery, no matter how the people in this conftitution is contented; and this was the conclufion of *Machiavduy*-on this Government, in the 19. Chapter of his Book *del Prencipe*. And it muft needs be a great advantage to a Commander, when the *Vile* and *Fuftum* are reconciled and made the fame, and that he meets no contradiction or oppofition at home, which may retard or crofs the great defigns abroad. The Emperour of *Germany* had doubtlefs fooner encountered the *Turks*, and given a flop to his free entrance the firft year of the late War into *Hungary*, had he been abfolate of the whole Empire, and not neceffitated to expect the confent of his feveral Princes, and the refult of a Diet, when the *Turks* were even ready to enter *Germany*, For when many heads or hands are required, all bufinefs moves flowly, and more time is fpent in agreement of the manner of action, in arguments and debates, (which are molt commonly carried on by argument) than in the moft difficult point of execution. It would feem a great clog to the Grand Signior to be obliged to depend on the bounty of his Subjects when he would make a War, or on the judgment of a Lawyer that fhould contradict and cenfure the actions of his Prince as irregular, and exceeding the privileges of his Prerogative. It is very difficult to underftand how it is poffible with thefe tethers for any Country or City ever to arrive to that height, as to be termed the Miftrefs of a great Empire, or a Prince be faid to have a long arm, or embrace a large compafs of the Globe, who is pinioned

with

with the bands of his own Laws. But I confefs it is a bleffing and wonderful happinefs of a people, to be Subjects of a gracious Prince, who hath prefcribed his power within the compafs of wholefom Laws, acknowledgement a right of poffeffion and propriety of Eftate as well in his Subjects as himfelf, who doth not punifh the innocent with the guilty, nor opprefs without diftinttion, nor act the part of that King whom God gives in his wrath. But then they muft content themfelves with their own borders, or fome neighbouring conqueft, and this is better, and a greater glory and content, [than the honour of being Slaves to the luft of a Monarch, whofe Titles comprehend the greateft part of the world.

CHAP. III.

The Leifon of Obedience to their Emperdur is taught by the Turks, as a Principle of Religion rather than of State.

THE abfolute power in the Prince implies an exaft obedience in the Subjects ; and to infill and confirm that Principle no art or induftry is wanting, in the education of thofe who are placed in the *Seraglio*, with defign of preferment to Offices and great Charges ; fo that even the Oath of Obedience which Friars and other Religious men vow to their Superiors at their firft initiation into Ecclefiaftical Orders, is not more exactly or devoutly obferved or profefed by them, than this Doctrine of fubmiffion to the will of their great mafter is carefully taught to his young Scholars, who ftand Probationers and Candidates for all the Governments of the Empire. To die by the hand or command of the Grand Signior, when the blow is fubmitted to, with entire refutation, is taught to be the higheft point of Martyrdom 5 and whole good fortune it is Co to fuffer immediately tranfported to Paradife. *Kara Muftapha Paffaw* (a great Vifier) after he had been fo fucceffful in all matters of his charge, and proved fo excellent an Inftrument of victories and fervices to his Mafter, that he was applauded by all to be a moft happy and fortunate Minifter, was fo fenfible of his own condition, and the favour of his Prince, that he confefled he was now arrived to the greateft glory and perfection he could in this life afpire to, and only wanted the holy Martyrdom, to die by the order and fentence of the Grand Signior as the reward of his faithfulnefs, and the confummation of all his Honours.

Such as receive any wages or pay coming from the Exchequer, or any Office depending on the Crown, have the title of *Kul*, which is, the Grand Signiors slave : fuch is the great Vifier and all the *Paffawa* of the Empire, and it is more honourable than the condition and name of *Subject* ; for they have a privilege over thefe, and can revile, beat and abufe them with authority 5 but the *Subject* cannot offer the leaft injury to the *Slave* without danger of fevere punifhment. *Slavery* among the *Turks* denotes a condition of entire refignation to the will and command of the Emperour, to perform whatfoever he fignifies ; or if poffible, what he conceives . though he command whole Armies of them to precipitate themfelves from a Rock, or build a Bridge with

piles of their bodies for him to pass Rivers, or to kill one another to afford him pastime and pleasure. They that have been where they have been and known the manner of this blind obedience, may well cry out, *O homines ad fervitutum paratos !* And doubtless the flattery used in the *Seraglio* towards the Prince by those that are near his person, is proportionable to this condition of slavery they profess, and cannot but fancy a strange kind of projected benefits in all the deportment within the Walls of the *Seraglio*, when there appears so much condescension abroad to all the lusts and evil inclinations of their Matter ; so that a generous Prince (as some have been found among the *Ottoman Emperours*) though he desired not the publick liberty, would yet be weary of this slavish compliance, and seek other counsel and means to inform himself of the true state of his own and other Kings Dominions, then such as proceed from men unexperienced in any other Court or Country then that they live in. This flattery and immoderate subjection hath doubtless been the cause of the decay of the *Turkish* discipline in the time of Sultan *Ibrahim*, when Women governed, and now in this present age of Sultan *Mahomet*, whose counsels are given chiefly by his Mother, *Negroes*, Eunuchs, and some hand some young Mofays or Favourite ; seldom any from without being permitted, or have their spirits emboldened to declare a truth, or are called to give their counsel in matters of greatest importance. So that this obedience which brave and wife Emperours have made use of in the advancement of noble exploits, and enlargement of their Empire, is with effeminate Princes (delighted with flattery) the snare of their own greatness, and occasion of weak counsels and means in the management of great designs. If a man seriously consider the whole composition of the *Turkish* Court, he will find it to be a Prison and Bannard of Slaves, differing from that where the Galley-slaves are immured, only by the ornaments and glittering outside and appearances: here their chains are made of Iron, and there of gold, and the difference is only in a painted shining servitude, from that which is a squalid, fordid, and an infamous slavery. For the youths educated in the *Seraglio* (which we shall have occasion to discourse of in the next Chapter) are kept as it were within a prison, under a strange severity or discipline, some for 20, 30, others 40 years, others the whole time of the age of man, and grow gray under the correction of their *Hogias* or Tutors. The two Brothers of this present Grand Signior, are also imprisoned here, retrained with a faithful and careful guard, and perhaps are sometimes permitted out of grace and favour into the presence of their Brother, to kiss His Veft, and to perform the offices of duty and humility before their Prince* The Ladies also of the *Seraglio* have their faithful keepers of the black guard to attend them, and can only have the liberty of enjoying the air which passes through grates and lattices, unless sometimes they obtain license to sport and recreate themselves in the Garden, Separated from the sight of men by walls higher than those of any Nunnery.

Zui liberta
 ton publican
 noolles, cum
 projolt scrvin-
 tium pasinsie
 sedebat. Ta(

Nay, if a man considers the contexture of the whole *Turkish* Government, he will find it such a Fabrick of slavery, that it is a wonder if any amongst them should be born of a free ingenuous spirit. The Grand Signior is born of a slave, the Mother of the present being a

The Maxims of the Turkish Politie.

Circassian, taken perhaps by the *Tartars*, in their incurfions into that Country. The *Vifiers* themselves are not always free born by Father or Mother ; for the *Turks* get more children by their flaves then by their wives, and the continual fupply of flaves fent in by the *Tartars*, taken from different Nations, by way of the black fea, has hereafter we (hall have occafion to fpeak more fully) fills *Confiantinople* with fuch a ftrange race, mixture, and medly of different forts of blood, that it is hard to find many that can derive a clear line from ingenious Parents .• So that it is no wonder that amongft the *Turks* a difpofition be found fitted and difpofed for fervitude, and that is better governed withafevere and tyrannous hand, then with fweetnefs and lenity, unknown to them and their fore-fat hers: as *Grotius* takes this Maxime out of *Ariftotle*, *Zuofdam homines natura effe Servos* ; i. e. *ad fervitutum aptos* •& *ita populi quidem, eo funt ingenio ut regi qnam regere norint rectius*. But fince it appears that fubmiffion and fubjection arefo incident to the nature of the *Turks*, and obedience taught, and fo carefully infilled into them with their firft Rudiments ; it may be a pertinent queftion, how it comes to pafs, that there are fo many mutinies and rebellions as are feen and known amongft the *Turks*, and thofe commonly the moft infolent, violent, and deſperate that we read of in ftory. To let pafs the mutinies of former times in the *Ottoman* Camp, and theufual, though fhort rebellions of ancient days: I (hall inftance in the cafes and beginnings of two notorious disturbances, or rather madnefses of the Souldiery not mentioned in any Hiftory, which being paſſages of our age, deſerve greatly to be recorded.

Spahees the
Turkish horſe,

This obedience then that is fo diligently taught and infilled into the *Turkish Militia* (as to the *Spahees* in their *Seraglios*, or *Seminaries* ; the *Janizaries* in their chambers) fometimes is forgot when the paſſions and animofities of the Court (by which inferiour affections are moft commonly regulated) corrupt that Difcipline, which its reaſon and fobrittty intituted.. For the affections of Princes are indueed with a general influence, when two powerful parties afpiring both to grtatnefs and authority, allure the Souldiers to their reſpective factions, and engage them in a civil war amongft themſelves ; and hence proceed feditions, deftruction of Empires, the overthrow of Common-wealths, and the violent death of great Miniſters of State.

And fo it hapned when ill government and unprofperous fuccesseſs of war, cauſed difobedience in the Souldiery, which ſome emulous of the greatnefs of thofe that were in power, nourilhed and raifed to make place for themſelves or their party. For in the time of *Sultan Mahomet*, the preſent Grand Signior, when the whole government of the Empire refted in the hands of one *Muulki Kadin*, a young audacious woman , by the extraordinary favour and love of the Queen Mother ("who, as it was divulged, exerciſed an unnatural kind of carnality with the faid Queen) To that nothing was left to the counſel and order of the *Vifier* and grave Seniors, but was firſt to receive approbation and authority from her ; the black *Eunuchs* and *Negroes* gave laws to all, and the cabinet counſels were held in the ſecret appointments of the women ; and there were proſcriptions made. Officers difcharged, or ordained as were moft proper to advance the intereſt

of

The Maxims of the Turkilh Politie. 11

of this Feminine Government. But at length, the fouldiery ("not used to the tyranny of Women) no longer supporting this kind of fer- vitude, in a moment resolved on a remedy, and in great tumults came to the *Seraglio*, where commanding the Grand Signior himself to the *Kiofch*, or banquetting-houfe, demanded without further prologue the heads of the favourite *Eunuchs* ; there wa| no argument or Rhetorick to be opposed to this unreafonable multitude, nor time given for delays, or confutation ; but every one of the accused, as he was entred into the fouldiers roll or catalogue, and required, being frft ftrangled, was afterwards thrown head-long from the wall of the Garden, and committed to the farther fatifadHon of their enemies revenge, by whom from thence they were dragged to the *Hyppodromo*, and before the new *Mofque* cut into fmall pieces, and their flefh roasted and eaten by them. The day following, they apprehended *Mulki*, and her hulband *Schaban Kalfa*, both whom they put to death ; nor ended this tumult here, until by means of diffention between the *Spahees* and *Janizaries*, the principal Minifters found means and opportunity to interpoze their power ; and having executed feveral of the *spahees*, and performed other exemplary parts of Juftice, reduced matters to fome kind of quietnefs and compofure ; and thus order results often from confufion, and tumults in corrupted Commonwealths have operated good effects to the redrefs of feveral evils. But befides this infurrection or mutiny of the *Janizaries*, have fucceeded divers other ; but be- caufe there hath been no diforder among them fo notorious and memorable, as that which occafioned the death of *Kiofem*, Grand-mother to the prefent *Sultan*, we have thought fit to record the certain particulars of it to all pofterity.

CHAP. IV.

A true relation of the defigns managed by the old Queen, Wife of Sultan Ahmet, and Mother of Sultan Mbrat, and Sultan Ibrahim, againft her Grand-child Sultan Mahomet who now Reigns ; and of the death of the faid Queen and her Complices,

AFTER the murder of *Sultan Ibrahim*, by confpiracy of the *Janizaries*, *Sultan Mahomet* (eldest (on of the late deceased Emperour, a child of nine years old) fucceeded in the throne of his father ; and the tuition of him, and administration of the Government (during his minority) was committed to the old Queen, the Grand-mother, called *Kiofem* ; a Lady, who through her long experience, and pradice in affairs, was able, and proper for fo considerable an office 5 and fo the young *Sultan* was conducted to the *Mofch* of *Eiub*, where with the accustomed Ceremonies, his fword was girt to his fide, and he proclaimed Emperour through all the Kingdoms and Provinces of his Dominions.

For fome time this old Queen governed all things according to her pleasure, until the Mother of this young *Sultan* (as yet trembling with the thoughts of the horrid death of her Lord, and fearing

kit the fubtle and old Polititian the Grandmother (who had compafied the death of her hufband, fhould likewife contrive the Murder of her Son) grew hourly more jealous of his life and fafety \$ which fufpition of hers was augmented by the knowledge (he had of the ambitious and haughty fpirit of the Grand-mother, and the private treaties, and fecret correpondence the held with the *Janizaries*, which compelled her to a refoluton of making a faction like wife with the *Spahees*, and *Pafhaws*, and *Beyes*, who had received their Education in the *seraglio*, being a party alwaies oppofite to the *Janizaries*. Thefe (he Courted by Letters, and Meffages, complaining of the death and Murder of the *Sultan* her Hufband, the Pride and Infolence of the *Janizaries*; and fmall efteem was had of her Son, their undoubted Prince; adding, that if they provided not for their own fafety, the Old Queen would abolifh both the name and order of *Spahees*. The *Afiatick Spahees* awakened hereat, with a 'confiderable Army marched to *Scutari* under the Conduct of *Gurgi Nebi*, and demanded the heads of thofe who had been the tray tors and confpirators againff the facred Life of their late Sovereign, all which were then under the protection of the *Janizaries*, and fupported by the powerful Authority of the Queen Regent. Upon this Alarum, the Grand Vifier, (called *Morat Pafhaw*) who had had his Education amongft the *Janizaries*, being adored by them as an Oracle, and engaged with them in the late Treafon againff the *Sultan*, fpeedily paffed over from *Conjiantinople* to *Scutari*, with an Army of *Janizaries*, and others of his favourites and followers, tranfporting likewife Artillery and all neceffaries for entrenchment; fomeskirmifhes paffed between the Van-guard of the *Spahees* and the *Deli* (which are the Vifiers Guard) and thereby had engaged both the Armies; but that the two Chief Juftices of *Anatolia* and *Greece* interpofofing with their grave and religious countenances, preached to them of the danger and impiety there was in the cfufion of *Muffelmims* or believers blood; and that, had they any juft retences, their plea fhould be heard, and all differences decided by the Law. Thefe, and fuch like perfwafions made impreffion on *Gurgi Nebi* and other *spahees*; and the pofture they found their Adverfaries in, to give them battel, made them inclinable to hearken to propofals for accomodation; but efpecially their courages were abated by what the Juftices had declared, that in cafe they repaired not to their own homes, the Vifier was refolved to burn all the Rolls, and proclaim a general *Nefiraum* through the whole Empire: ("which is an Edict of the Ring and *Mufti*, commanding all the *Turks* of his Kingdoms from feven years old and upward to arm and follow him to the war.)

The *Spahees* hereupon difperfed themselves; and from their retreat encreafed the Pride of the *Janizaries* faction, and of their chief Commanders, viz, *Bectas Aga*, highly favoured by the Queen Regent; *Kul Kiahia* Lieutenant of the *Janizaries*, and *Kara Chiaus* a follower of *Beffas*, who now efteemed themselves abfolute Matters. of the Empire. Thefe three now governed all matters, contriving in their fecret Councils the deftruction of the *Spahees*; efpecially thofe famed for riches and valour 3 and as one of the firft rank, gave order to the *Tafia* of *Anatolia* to take away the life of *Gurgi Nebi*, whom accordingly he one day aflaulted in his quarters, and being abandoned by his

The Maxims of the Turkifh Politie. 13

Souldiers fhoot him with a Piftol , and fent his head to *constantinople*.

The *Spahees* exasperated hereat, entred into private Councils and Conspiracies in *Anatolia* againft the *Janizaries*, drawing to their party feveral *Beyes* and *Pafhaws of Afia* (and particularly one *Ipfir* a *Circafian* born, but educated in the *Seraglio*, a Perfon of a couragious fpirit, and powerful in men and treafure) affaulted many quarters of the *Janizaries* in *Afia*, and cutting off their arms and notes, miferably flaughtered as many as fell into their hands.

On the other party *Bektas Aga*, fecure in his condition, amaffed weakh with both hands by new impositions, rapine, and other arts; caufing to be coined at *Belgrade* 300 thoufand *Afpers*, one third filver, and two of tinne; thefe *Afpers* he difperfed amongft the *Tradesmen* and *Artifans*, forcing others to exchange his falfe metal for Gold, at the value of 160 *Afpers* for the *Hungarian Ducat*. The people fenfible of the cheat, begun a mutiny in the auarter of the *Sadlers* at *Cottfantinople*, which encreafed fo faft, that the whole City was immediately in a general uproar : this tumult was violently carried to the place of the *Mufti*, whom they forced with the *Seigh* (who is the Grand Signiors Preacher) and the *Nakilr Efref*, or Primate of the *Mahometan* Race, to accompany them to the *Seraglio*, where at the inward gate of the Royal Lodgings, with clamours and out-cvies they made their complaint. In this danger the Grand Signior was advifed by the *Capi Agafi*, and *Solyman Aga*, the *Kuzlir Aga* or chief Eunuch of the Women, that, this happy conjuncture was to be embraced for the deftruction of *Bectas* and his complices ; but fear, and too much caution hwdered that defign for the prefent, only it was judged fit, for fafifaction of the multitude, that *Mekk Ahmet Pafraw* (then Prime Vifier, and yet a flave to the lufts of the *Janizaries*) fhould be deprived his office which was immediately effected ; and the Seal taken from him was delivered to *staffs Pajhaw*, a Stout and Valiant perfon. This Vifier, being jealous of his own honour, and jealous for the fafety of the Empire, call: about all ways to fupprefs the arrogance of *Bectas* and his adherents • left the like fhame, and misfortune fhould befall him, as did to *Murad Pafha* one of his late Predeceffors in the Office of Vifier, who for diffentmg from *Bectas* in opinion, had loft his life, had he not efaped his fury by flying into *Greece*. Thetimes were alfo troublefome, and full of danger ; the *Janizaries* kept guard in the ftreets, not differing fo much as two Citizens to walk together, for prevention of fecret consultations ; many *Artifans*, or handy-crafts-men were imprifoned, as principal in the late tumult, againft the confent and order of the new Vifier; the Court was alfo divided; The *Sultans* party contrived to furprize and kill the rebellious Commanders of the *Janizaries*, and that the day following, the Lieutenant of the *Baltagees*, or Hatchet-men, fhould encounter *Kul-chiachia* as he came according to cuftom to the *Divan*, and flay him ; but the Old Queen being of a contrary faction, with threats and menaces frighted that Officer from his defign. The two Queens were exasperated highly againft each other ; one to maintain the Authority of her Son, and the other her own ; in the City the confufion grew greater, the *Janizaries* were not pleafed with the election of *Siaut Pafha*, knowing him to be averfe

The Maxims of the Turkifh Politie

averfe to their faftion ; but yet confidering rheftate of the times, they endeavoured with fair promifes to allure him to their party. The Old Queen by Letters advifed Befiteofall matters that were difcours'd in the *Seraglio*, intimating that the Young Queen was Author of all thefe difturbances, and that therefore as a remedy of all thefe evils, it was neceffary, that *sultan Mahomet* (hould be depofed , and his younger Brother *Soljman* placed in his ftead, who having a Mother, would be abfolutely fubjeft to her tuition: (he added likewifethat *Soljman* waealufty youth, corpulent and Majcftictl, whereas *Sultan Mahomet* was lean, weakly, and unable for the Crown, *te&a** having received this meffage from the Queen Regent, affembled a Council at *Orta-giami*, (that is the '*janizaries Attofc*) v/htre was great and folemn appearance both of the Souldiery and Lawyers, (which latter are of the fpirtual function among them) fomeout of friendfhip to their party, and others for fear of their power ; only the Vifier was wanting, whom they fent to invite, out of an opinion that he might be drawn to their fide, and in cafe they found him" oppofite, then not to fuffer him to efcape alive from their Councils. It was then two hours in the night, when this meffage came to the Vifier ; and though it wasagainft the ftate, and gravity of a Vifier to go to any, but his Mafter ; yet he thought it now time to difcoble, and overcome the greatnefs of his mind ; and fo with a private retinue went to the *Mofch*, where the firft he encountred was a Guard often thoufand *Janizaries* arjned with their Muskets and Matches lighted, which at firft fo difmayed him that he had fome thoughts of returning ; but afterward recovering himfelf, and taking courage, refolved to proceed} and coming to the *Mofch*; *Bectas* vouchfafed not to meet him, but fent another to perform that Ceremony ; at which neglect though the greatnefs of his fpitit could fcarce contain it felf ; yet iuppreffing his choler, addreffed himfelf to the feet of *Bectas*, who fcarce arifing gave him a faint well-com ; and fetting him on his left hand, (which is the upper hand with the *Turkifh* Souldiery) began to propound to him his new defigns, and firft that it was neceffary, that the prefent King fhould be depofed, and *Solyman* Crowned in his place ; that the Canons of the Imperial *Seraglio* (hould be reformed ; and that whereas the Children of divers Nations were yearly collected for the fervice of the Grand Signior , none (hould for the future have admiffion there, but the Sons of *Janizaries* : The Vifier contented to all that was propofed, profeffing a fincere affection and reality to them, and their party, fwearing upon the *Alchoran*, with the moft horrid imprecations on himfelf, and his family, if he were not faithful to them and their defigns ; which gave *Bectas* that fatisfaftion that he began to perfwade himfelf, that the Vifier was really a confiding perfon, and one affectionate to their intereft, and fo partly from this confederation, and partly out of a confidence of his own ftrengh, and inability of the Vifier to hurt him, fairly took his leave of him, and fo difmiffed his *Kalaba Divan*, or his confuted Council* But the *Chiachia Bei* (or Lieutenant General of the *Janizaries*, and *Kara-Cbiaus* reproved very much *Bed as* for permitting the Vifier to efcape with his life, laying, he had done ill in fuffering the bird to efcape out of the Cage ; that he had releafed one, aad permitted him to carry his head on his fhoulders, who would fhortly

take

take off theirs, with many words of the like effect. But *Bectas* flighted their reproof, as proceeding from want of courage, and the ignorance of their own power ; and that the time until morning was *Co fhort*, thatfhould the *Vifier* intend to countermine them, he was wholly unable , being unprovided both of Power and Councel. The *Vifier* being got free, went apace to the *Seraglio*, with two men only, thanking God as he walked, that he was freed from the hands of thofe Tyrants and Villains ; and coming to the Iron gate, intending to pafs through the Garden, he found it open contrary to the cuftom , and enquiring of the *Boftangees* or *Gardioers* the reafon, he could learn nothing farther from them , then that it was the order of the Old Queen ; who (as it appeared afterwards) expected her Confidants who might withdraw her that night into fome retirement where fhe might remain fecure from the dangers of the enfuing day. The *Vifier* being cntred, went foftly to the *Sultans* apartments, and in his way by good chance met with the *Kuzlir-Agaft Solyman Aga*, the chief Eunuch of the Women, who in the dark was making his rounds about the old Queens Lodgings; by the *Vifiers* voice *Solyman* knew who he was, but was amazed at his unfeafonable Vifit, yet underftanding the bufinefs, thanked him for his Vigilance ; adding, that he had alfo obferved that the Old Queen contrary to her cuftom, was not yet gone to bed, who did at other times at two hours in the night difpofe her felf to reft, only this Evening (he had entertained her felf in company of her Eunuchs and Favourites, with Mufick, Singing and other unufual delights! Wherefore after fome fhort deliberation, the *Vifier*, *Solyman Aga*, and others of the Kings Eunuchs went to the quarters of the Old Queen and offering to enter forcibly, were repulfed by the Queens Eunuchs ; but *Solyman Aga* being a ftout man drew his Dagger and ftruck the chief Chamberlain *Bajb Kapa Oglar* on the face, upon which the other Eunuchs who accompanied *solyman* entred furiously with their Daggers at which the Eunuchs of the Queen flying, fhe remained alone in the Chamber, where fhe was committed to the Cuftody of the Kings Eunuchs. The fugitive Eunuchs would immediately have efcafed out of the *Seraglio*, but the Gates were firft fhut by order of *Solyman Aga* fo that they with all other favourites of the faid Queen were taken and fecured in fafe hands. This Victory was fo fecretly obtained, that they received no alarum in the txoyal Lodgings, though nearadjoining ; fo that the *Vifier* and *Solyman Aga* went to the Chamber where the King flept, and lifting up the Antiport, made a fign of filenceto the Ladies of the Guard, commanding by dumb motions that the Young Queen fhould be awakened ("for it is the cuftom in the Grand Signiors Court to fpeak by figns, to prevent noife, and as if there were fome point in it of Majefty and decency, they have practifed this mute language fo fully, that they are able to recount ftories in it) The Ladies hereupon gently rubbing the Queens feet, raifed her out of her fleep, and gave her to underftand that *Solyman Aga* would fpeak with her ; whereat the Queen furprifed, leapt from her bed to fpeak with him, and was fcarce informed of the bufinefs before (he became fo affrighted, that fhe could not contain her felf within the bounds of moderation or filence, but with a great cry ran to take her Son as one diftrack:ed, and catching him up in her armes, cried out, Q Son, you and

I are dead ; the Grand Signior likewise as a Child bewailed himself, and falling at the feet of *Solyman Aga*, said, *Lala, Lala Kurtar-beni* ; which is Tutor, Tutor save me: He not without tears took his Lord into his arms, and with the Vifier encouraged the Child and his Mother, protecting that they would rather die, then live to behold so horrid a ruine; and so accompanied him (some Ladies carrying before Torches lighted in their hands, to the *Hozoda*, which is the Prefence Chamber or place where the Principal Officers of the Court attend) Upon the approach of the Torches, the Guard which watched in this Chamber was amazed, and walking towards the light to discover what there was, perceived that the Grand Signior was coming thither, and thereupon returned again with all haste to awaken their companions, and calling them immediately to repair to their due service. The Grand Signior being seated on a Throne, which is alwayes remaining in the Prefence Chamber ; the Officers hereof (which are in number forty) presented themselves before him, desiring to know if His Majesty had any thing wherein to employ their Fidelity and Service. Hereat *Socman Aga* said, *He that eats the Kings Bread, should apply himself to the Kings service ; we suffered the Traitots to destroy Sultan Ibrahim, and now they would also take this out of our hands ; To you it belongs, who are His Majesties Principal Servitors, to afford him your ut most assistance.* *Egizufi Muffapha Pasha* Sword-bearer to the Grand Signior, and chief of the Prefence Chamber, a man of a Lions Heart and undaunted resolution, understood something formerly of the bad inclinations of the old Queen to wards the King, readily replied, Great Matter be not troubled, tomorrow you shall see (God willing) the Heads of your Enemies at your feet. The Vifier and others in the mean time after a (short Consult, fell to aft, the exigencie of their Affairs admitting no delays ; and in the first place, Pen and Ink being brought, an Order was presented to the Grand Signior to be subscribed for arresting the *Bostan-Pasha* as a Traitor, for having against the rule of the night kept open the Gate of the Rings Garden. This was done in an instant, he removed from his Office and another constituted in his place, and at the same time the Oath of Allegiance was administered to him, who calling together the Gardiners in number about 500. caused them also all to swear faithful obedience to the Grand Signior, and to remain all that night, keeping good Guard at the Gates and Walls of the Gardens. In the next place the *Ichoglans* were called up (who are the Grand Signiors Pages) and to proceed with the more privacy and lead confusion, they went first to the Chamber of the *Capa Aga* (who by his Office is over all the Youth of the *Seraglio*) and knocking gently at the Window, the Guards came at the noise, and demanded what the matter was? they answered, Awake the *Capa Aga*, and let him speak to us at the Window. But the *Capa Aga* would first know who they were that would speak with him: and when it was told him that it was the Vifier and the *Kufliir Aga*, he answered, I am indisposed and cannot rise, but utter what you have to say at the Window ; so they said, by His Majesties Order go and raise all the *Ichoglans* in the *Seraglio*, upon an important occasion ; and yet the *Capa Aga* would not stir, so that some believed him confederate in the Conspiracy, but the truth was, he was an ancient Man of 90 years, and unhealthful in his body. Where-

fore *Solyman Aga* cried out with a loud voice, *Aga* raife the *Ichoglans*, *Our King is ready to be taken out of our hands*; but the *Capa Agafi* perceived that he would not raife the *Ichoglans* or Pages, unless he brought Command in writing from the King. In the Interim the Servants of the *Capa Aga* awakened, and hearing his discourse, could not contain themselves, but without farther order run to both the greater and lesser Chamber of the Pages; the *Butler* came to that which is called the greater Chamber; it was then live hours in the night when he entered in, and running to the middle of the Chamber which was 80 paces in length, he made a stop and clapped his hands together *, (To make such a noise in the *Seraglio* at night is a high misdemeanor) at which some being awakened, raised up their heads, and startled at such an unusual alarm, enquired the reason of it; at which he again clapping his hands, and crying out, *Arife*, the Grand Signior is like to be taken out of our hands., the whole Chamber was raised; so that you might have seen all the *Ichogans* in number above 600. to rise and run in a confused manner, some without Cloaths, some without Arms to fight, some to fly, supposing the *Janizaries* were already entered the *Seraglio*, In this amazement came a Guard of Black and White Eunuchs to the door, advising them to arm themselves with what weapons were next at hand, and there to remain until they received farther Orders. All the other Chambers of Pages and Officers were in the same confusion, and were commanded in the like manner to arm themselves. The Grand Signior all this time fearing he should be put to Death as his Father was, could not be pacified until *Muftapha Pasha* his Sword-bearer taking him by the hand; shewed him his Attendants all armed, and ready at his command; and passing by one of the Windows of the Lodgings, WAS deferred by a young man, who cried out with a loud Voice (God grant our King ten thousand years of life) at which all the Chamber shouted, * *Allah* *Allah*; this acclamation rang through all the *Seraglio*, so that it reached the more remote quarters of the *Drogifts*, *Cooks*, *Pole-axe-men*, *Falconers* and others; who being ready and armed as the others, answered with the like shout.

* A shout used by the Turks when they fight.

These preparations were not only in the *Seraglio*, but like wife without; for the Viceroy had given order to all the *Pajhavos* and *Beglerbegs* and other his Friends, that without delay they should repair to the *Seraglio* with all the force they could make, bringing with them three days provisions, obliging them under pain of Death to this Duty. In a short space of great was this concourse, that all the Gardens of the *Seraglio*, the outward Courts and all the adjoining streets were filled with armed men; from *Calata* and *Tophana* came Boats and Barges laden with Powder and Ammunition and other necessaries; so that in the Morning by Break of day appeared such an Army of Horse and Foot in the Streets, and Ships and Gallies on the Sea, as administered no small terror to the *Janizaries*; of which being advised and seeing the concourse of the people run to the assistance of the King, they thought it high time to bestir themselves; and therefore armed a great Company of *Albaneses*, *Greeks* and other Christians, to whom they offered Money, and the Titles and Privileges of *Janizaries*, promising to free them from *Harach*, or Impositions paid by the Christians; which Arguments were so prevail, that most taking Arms, you might see the

Court and City divided, and ready to enter into a moft dreadful confufion of a Civil War.

In the Seraglio all things were in good order, the Morning Devotions being finifhed, the *Baltagees* (who are a Guard that carry Poleaxes) called to the Pages to joyn with them, and accompany them to the Prefence Chamber. Thefe *Baltagees* were in number about 200 ftrong, of large ftature, and of admirable agility ſt at whofe beck the Pages ran with all alacrity to the door of the Chamber, where they at firft received a repulfe from the Mafter of the Chamber who was an Eunuch, and one faithful to the Old Queens intereft, who to yield all poffible furtherance towards the protection of her Perfon, reproved the influence of the Rout in coming fo boifteroufly to the Royal Lodgings: to which they unanimouly answered that they would ſpeak to His Majeſty, and that it was their defire to have the Old Queen (Enemy to the King, and the *Mahometan* Faith) put to Death; at which words he being enraged, and relying on his Authority, reproved them with terms of Rebels and Traitors to their Maſter. *What have you to do with the queen* (ſaid he)? *Are you worthy to open your mouths againſt her Serene Name?* He reiterating theſe and the like words, one of this Rabble ſaid, Rill that Cuckold, for he alſo is an Enemy of the Faith; and whilſt one lifted up his hand to ſtrike him, he fled by the way of the *Tarras* into the Garden, whither being purſued by five or fix of them, he was overtaken, and catching him by the collar would have cut his throat, but that at his earneſt entreaty they gave him ſo much liberty as firſt to caſt himſelf at the feet of the *Sultan*: whither being dragged, he delivered to the King a Seal and a Key of Secret Treafure, and being about to ſay ſomething in his own behalf and defence of his life, a bold youth of theſe *Baltagees* called *Jakh-Leferli* ſtruck him on the head with his axe, and cleft it into two pieces; the others ſeeing this firſt blow given him, fell on him with their Symitters and cut him to pieces: his blood and brains were dallied on the rich Carpets, which moved fear *fa* many, who were ſecretly of the Conſpiracy with the Old Queen. The Young Ring himſelf ignorant of the good intentions of his Servants, at the fight of blood-fhed, being yet tender-hearted, cryed and cloſely embraced the *Selihtar* who then held him in his arms; but upon the removal of the Corps out of his fight and ſome ſmooth words, as that it was a ſacrifice of love to him, and the like, his childiſh tears were ſoon wiped away. In this interim the new created *Mufti* and *Kenan Papa* one of the *Vifiers* of the Bench, and *Bilyzade Efendi*, who was formerly Lord Chief Juſtice, and well affected to the *Spahees* party, entering the *Hazoda* or Prefence Chamber, perceiving a tumult in His Majeſties Prefence with different voices and languages, for ſome cryed in *Georgian*, others *Albanian*, *Bofnian*, *Mengrelian*, *Turkiſh* and *Italian*, remained in great confuſion how to proceed with order and reaſon in this important affair; For the *Mufti* and others were of opinion that the ſentence againſt the Old Queen was not raſhly to be pronounced, and ſo the matter might calmly be debated, and if poffible, an expedient might be found for ſaving her life, and ſecuring the *Sultan*; But the Rabble impatient of delay, cryed out, defer not the ſentence; for otheiwife we ſhall eſteem thee as one of her adherents. By this time news was come to the Young Queen, that there had been

The Maxims of the Turkifh Politie. 19

a fight in the Streets ; who as yet doubtful of the fuccels, and fearing if the Fanizaries fhould gain the advantage, *Bectas* would revenge the blood of the Old Queen by her death, came covered with a Vail into the Pretence Chamber, faying as (he paffed, /s *this the Reverence you owe to the King your Lord ? Do you know the pUce where you are ? What would you have of a Woman ? Why de you bufie your felves in the Kings Affairs ?* Some prefently apprehended that this was only a Plot of the Young Queen to make the World believe (he would rather affill: the Grand-Mother, than contrive againft her, which made the Pages the more importunately to perfift with the *Mufti* for the *Fetfa* or fentence againft her. But one of the Pages fufpecting that this Woman fo veiled, might be the old Queen her felf, cryed out, This is the you feck for ; fhe is in your hands, take your Revenge upon her: at which fome beftirring themfelves to feize her, (he ran to the feet of her Son, and laying hold on him, cryed out, No, no, I am not the Grand-Mother, I am the Mother of this His Majefty ; and wiping the tears from the Eyes of her Son with her Handkerchief, made figns to keep back, which retrained the forwardnefs of fome who prefled to lay violent hands upon her. The *Mufti*, who obferved the carriage of the Rout, and their earaefl defires which could not be remfed, feared, if he gave not his concurrence, he himfelf fhould be killed, and the rather becaufe he overheard the old *Kenan Pafha* difcoursfe with the Viner, to the like effect. So that after fome pause and Confultation with the other chief Minifters, it was refolved to fupplicate His Majefty for his confent; which was done in thefe words ; *Sir, The will of God is, that you confign your Grand-Mother into the hands of Juftice, if you would have thefe Mutinies appeafed ; a little mifchief is better than a great one ; there is no other Remedy ; God willing, the end fhall be prosperous.* Pen and Ink being brought, the *Mufti* wrote the fentence, and the Grand Signior fubfcribed it, which was that the Old Queen fhould be ftrangled, but neither cut with fword, nor bruifed with blows. The writing was delivered into the hands of one of the Chamberlains, to whom by word of mouth it was ordered that they fhould carry the Queen out by *Cnfhana* (or the Gate of the Birds) foas fhe might not die in fight or bearing of the Grand Signior. The *Ichoglans* advancing the *Royal Command* on high with their hands, went out of the Prefence with a great bout, crying, *Allah, Allah*, to the door of the Womens Lodgings, where they met fome Black Eunuchs keeping Guard, who upon the fight of the *Imperial Firme*, and the command of *Solyman Aga*, gave them admittance, upon condition that twenty perfons only fhould enter the Chambers. Thofe who were beft armed went in, and palling through the Chambers of the Virgins, were met by the Queens *Suffone* with a Piftol in her hand, who demanding what they would have, they answered, the Rings Grand-Mother ; fee rcplyed, I am (he, and with that offered to difcharge her Piftol, but it took fire only in the Pan ; with that the *Ichoglans* laid hold on her, fuppofing her to be the Queen ; but being better advifed by *Solyman* the *Kuzlir Aga*, and directed to the Chamber where the Queen was; the door being opened, they perceived the Room to be dark (for the Womens quarters in the *Seraglio* for the moft part are made obfcure and clofe, and Lights are burnt in them day and night) and the old Queen had at the approach of

these Officers extinguiſhed her Candles and got into a great Pref, and there covered her ſelf with Quilts and Carpets ; but Torchés being brought in, they looked all about, and deferyed nothing; at which they were enraged againſt *Solyman* and would have killed him, ſaying, that he was the Cauſe the Queen had eſcaped. But *Solyman* ad viſing them to ſearch more narrowly, one called *Deli Dogangi*, got upon the Pref, and removing the Cloaths, diſcovered the Qyeen, who had thruſt her ſelf into a corner ; at which (he ſoftly thus entreats him , *O brave man be not cruel unto me* 3 and promiſed (he would give to every *Ichoglan* five purſes a man (each purſe conſiſting of 500 Dollars) if they would ſave her life. It is not the time of ranſome, Traitor, ſaid he: and taking her by the feet, drew her forth; the Queen riſing up put her hand into her Pocket, and threw out handfuls of *Zaichins*, hoping that whilſt they were ſcrambling for the Gold (he might have an opportunity to eſcape; ſome of the young men gathered up the Money, but the *Dogangi*, like a Dog of the Game, left her not, and at length though ſhe were heavy, caſt her down. The others offered at her life, and particularly an *Albaneſe* called *Ali Bofiangi*, who feeling two great Jewels at her ears, immediately caught at them and tore them thence. They were two Diamonds of the bigneſs of Cheſtnuts put angularly, and beneath each Diamond was a Ruby to ſet it off. Thoſe ear-tings were given her by *Sultan Afhmet* in the time of her moſt flouriſhing Age, and his greateſt affection. 'Tis ſaid that ſuch Jewels cannot be found in all the Great *Turks* Treafure, and were eſteemed by the moſt ſkilful Jewellers worth a years Revenue of Grand *Cairo*. This *Ali* (hewed the Jewels to his Comrade, demanding the value of them, and his Counſel whether to conceal or reveal them: but the Comrade prized them at that rate, that the-ſtout young man could not ſleep day nor night , being always in fear left the Jewels ſhould not be kept hid ; and apprehending that they became none but the Grand Signior to wear, went and delivered them to *Solyman Aga*, who in recompenie thereof, preſented him with 16 *Zaichins* which he accepted, deſiring alſo to be admitted into the Chamber or the Treafury, which was granted him. Others alſo plucked her, ſome by the hands, others by the feet, ſome riſed her Cloaths, for (he was furniſhed throughout with things of great value ſewed in her Garments, and eſpecially in her Sable Furs, which contain'd alſo certain Magick Spells, by which (he conceived (he had tyed the tongues of all the Emperours living in her time. The Perſon who gave me this relation, intormed me, that he had ſeen a certain lock admirably made, and engraved with the Names of *Murad* and *Sultan Ibrahim*; it was made by a famous *Gindgi*, a very igeforant Fellow, but a Superſtitious, Crafty Liar, by which Art6 finding acceſs in (hort time he became a chief Favourite of *sultan Ibrahim*, and from a poor Student called by the *Turks* a *ſofta* , he grew ſo rich in two years that none in *Constantinople* was comparable to him.

But to return to the Queen now affaulted by furious young men greedy of riches ; ſhe was in a moment deſpoiled of her garments ; her Furs were torn off into ſmall pieces ; and feeling tript of her Rings, Bracelets, Garters and other things, ſhe was left naked without a Rag to cover her, and dragged by the feet to the *Chufhana*: and being

at the place of her execution, the young officers found themselves unprovided of a Cord to ftrangle her, fo that crying out for a Cord, one ran to the Royal Chappel, and thence took the Cord that upheld the great Antiport of the *Mofch*, which being twined about the Queens neck, the afore faid *Dogangi* getting upon her back., pitched her neck with his hands, whilst the others drew the Cord. The Queen though (he were by this time befides her (enfes, and worn out with Age, being above 80 years old and without Teeth.' yet (he with her Gums only did bite the thumb of his left hand, which by chance came into her mouth, fo hard that he could not deliver himfelf until with the haft of his Ponyard he ftruck her on the fore-head near her right eye. There were four that ftrangled her; but being young Executioners, laboured long to difpatch her, till at length the Queen leaving to ftruggle, lay fretched out, and was fuppofed to be dead, and fo crying (*Vldi, Uldi*) (he is dead, (he is dead, ran to carry the News thereof to His Majefty 5 but being fearce out of fight the Queen raifed her felf up, and turned her head about ; upon which the Executioners being again called back, the Cord was a fecond time applyed, and wrung fo hard with the haft of a hatchet, that at length (he was difpatched, and the News carried to the Royal Chamber. The black Eunuchs immediately took up the Corps, and in a reverent manner laid it fretched forth in the Royal *Mofeh*; which about 400 of the Queens Slaves encompaffing round about with howling and lamentations, tearing the hair from their heads after their barbarous fafhion, moved companion in all the Court.

This work being over, the Vifier having given thanks to the *Ichoglans* or Pages for their pains, gave order to produce the Banner of *Mahomet*, which is carefully and reverently kept in the Treafury ; which being produced, obliges all of that faith from feven years and upward to arm and come under it. The Banner being brought forth with a rich covering, was advanc'd with great fhouts of *Allah, Allah* ; and carried by the *Ichoglans* out of the chief Gate of the *Seraglio*, where it was mown to the people, who with wonderful admiration and Devotion beheld their glorious Standard ; order was alfo given to proclaim through the whole City the proceffion of the Heavenly Banner s for they fay that the Angel *Gabriel* brought it to *Mahomet* in the time of a great War made againft the Cbriftians, as an infallible fign and evidence of Victory. The opinion of this fuperftitious flag Co prevailed, as it brought not only the young and healthful to fight under it, but ficks, and old, and Women judged themselves obliged to run to the defence of this holy Enfig. The News hereof, and the death of the Old Queen coming to the old Chamber of the *Janizaries* 5 feveral of them, and thofe alfo of the Principal heads began to murmur, that it was now neceffary to lay afide their private ioterests, and have a refpect: to their faith and their fouls ; for fhould they oppofe the Heavenly Banner , they fhould run themselves into the State of *Gaurs* or Infidels, and become liable to the fame cenfure or punifhment which is inflicted upon unbelievers. But in the new Chambers *Bettas* endeavoured to remove this apprehenfion from the mind of his Souldiers, by large Prefents both of Gold and Silver, perfwading them to uphold their Fame and Reputation ; for that the Grand Signior and

The Maxims of the Tutkifh Politie.

his Mother were Enemies to their name and designs, and resolved to abase or destroy the order of that Militia ; and with assurance of Victory and encouragement against a people unarmed and undisciplined, animated them to fight ; and to make the business more easy, advised them to fire the City in several parts, that so the people might be diverted and divided for safety of their own goods and dwellings. But this proposition took not with the Officers and Soldiers, who had many of them Houses and Possessions of their own in *Constantinople* ; but put them into great distractions and divisions in their Councils. In this pause came an Officer from the Grand Signior (who to venture his life, had the promise of a good reward) with a Command in writing which he threw in amongst them, and galloped away as fast as he could ; crying out as he rode, He that comes not under the Banner of the Prophet is a Pagan, and his Wife divorced. The Writing was taken up and carried to the Presence of the Principal Officers, which being opened and read, was to this purpose; *Bektas Aga I have made Pasha of Bofoa, Kara-chiaus / have made Captain General of the Sea\$ Kul-kahya I have made Pasha of Temifwar ; and Kara Haslan Ogle / have made Janizar Agafi ; and I require at fight of these Presents, that every one of you upon pain of death and mine of his Family, repair to his duty and fiation.* In this Instant came News that the old Chamber of *Janizaries* had left their station and were run under the Banner without Arms, and had refused *Bektas's* Money and deserted his Cause, and that the *spahes* in great Troops and the *Jebegees* (who command the Ordnance) approached with Artillery to beat upon their Chambers. The *Spahes* came thundring in upon the *Janizaries* in remembrance of their past injuries, and had certainly cut them off, had not the Viceroy with his Sword in his hand by good and bad words retrained them, and appeased their animosity. The *Janizaries* of the new Chamber proclaimed their new Commander, and visited him with their usual form of Congratulation , running afterwards confusedly under the Banner. *Kara-Hifan* the new elected *Aga of the Janizaries*, went to the *Seraglio* to thank the Grand Signior for the honour done him, and with ten of his Principal Friends was admitted to the Grand Signiors Presence ; who humbly kneeling the ground, received the accustomed Vefts, and with some admonitions was fairly dismissed, and ordered to reduce his *Janizaries* to better obedience. By this time *Bektas, Kul-kahya, and Kara Chiaus* with some of their Favourites remained wholly abandoned, looking one upon the other, full of complaints and railings, each at other for the miscarriage of the action.

But since it was not now time to condole but to save their lives, every one made to his house. First *Bektas* fled to his home, where having ordered his Affairs, he clothed himself in the *Albanian* fashion, and escaped to the house of a poor man formerly his Friend and Confidant ; but the next day being discovered by a youth, was taken, and being set on a Mule, was with the scorn and derision of the people conducted to the Grand Signiors *Seraglio* and there strangled. This person was held in much detestation by the common people, that after his death the *Cooks* and inferior sort of Servants run Spits and Pitch-forks through his body ; and plucking the hairs out of his beard, sent them for Presents to their acquaintance through all *Constantinople*, saying, These

The Maxims of the Turkifh Politie. 23

Thefe are the hairs of that Traitor, who gloried, that before he would lofe his Head, there fhould be raifed a Mountain of heads, as high as Sth *Sophia*. But *Kulkahya* being come to his houfe, filled his Portmantles with Gold and Jewels, and accompanied with fixty horfe, refolved to fly to the Mountains of *Albania*, places fo inacceffible, that they have never yielded to the Turkifh yoke : but finding himfelf hotly purfued in his journey, and that it was impoffible to efcape with fo great a number, freely diftributed a great part of his Gold upon his retinue, and thanking them for their affection and good intentions, difmiffed them all excepting one Servant, with whom he journeyed with four laden horfes with Gold, Jewels and other riches 5 and perceiving that this alfo was too great an incumbrance, they buried a Treafure to the value of 600. thoufand Dollars in the Country as they travelled ; which was afterwards found out by certain Shepherds, who difagreeing about the divifion thereof, the matter came to be known to the Judge of that Country, who feized upon it all and fent it to the Grand Signiors Treafury. But *Kulkahya* travelling ftill farther with his fingle Page, came to a Town, where wanting bread, and forced for the payment of it to exchange Gold, fell into a fufpicion of being one of thole Fvebels lately efaped from *Conftantinople*; which news being brought to a Captain of horfe that commanded the place, he came immediately with fome men to tqkehims but *Kulkahya*, revolving not to fall into their hands alive, refitted them until he was killed by a Mufket-shot, and fo his head being fevered from his body was fent to the Grand Signior. *Kara Chiaus* in this interim being with 200 men retired into his Garden, was aflaulted by an *Aga* of the *Spahees* (called *Par-mantis*) with 500 men; but that this enterprife might be acquired with little blood, a Perfon was fent fecretly to advife that party, that if they oppofed the Royal Command, they fhould every one be put to death ; at which the people fled and difperfed themfelves. At that infant came in this *Aga* and took him, and yet comforted him with the clemency and mercy of the Grand Signior, promifing alfo himfelf to intercede for him. And fo bringing him to the *Seraglio* by the Garden gate, His Majefty had notice of it, and looking out of the Window and feeing him upon his knees begging pardon, the Grand Signior gave a fign to the Executioner to (bangle him, which was accordingly performed. The new *Janizar Aga* who knew all the Officers formerly affected to the Rebellious party, for feveral nights caufed fome or other of them to be ftrangled, to the number of 38 perfons, which ftruck fuch a terrour into the *Janizaries*, that for a long time after they kept themfelves within the bounds of humility and obedience. And thus concluded this Tragedy, remarkable as well for the difpatch as for the action it felf, being but the work of fourteen hours. And in this manner it is apparent, how the Leffons of obedience which are fo carefully taught, and infilled into the minds of all thofe who fetve and depend upon the Grand Signior are corrupted ; and by the Pride, Difcord and Faction of the Governours feduced from their natural Principles.

By the premisses we may confider more generally, that it hath always been the Misfortune of unlimited powers to be fubject to dangers and violence, arifing from the difcontents and unconfancy of the Soul-diery:

diery; for they coming to be fenfible of their own ftrengh, and knowing that the power of the Emperour is but fortified with their hands and heart, like unruly beafts throw their Riders, and (hew that the Principles of obedience taught them, are eafily corrupted and defaced by evil perfwillons, or fedition in a Commander or common Souldier. Thus we fee in the time of the latter *Roman* Emperours, who ufurped a power unknown in the dayes of the pure and happy conftitution of that Common-wealth, and governed all by the Sword and their own lufts; few of them ended their dayes fortunately, or died in their beds and peace, without becoming a Sacrifice to the fame power that firft proclaimed them Emperours; And though the Mutinies and Rebellions in the *Turkish* Militia can hardly operate any durable alterations in the State (as we (hall more at large hereafter difcourfe) yet doubtlefs the Tyranny in the *Ottoman* Emperours, had provoked the people longfince to have proved the benefit of another Race, but that there is a ftrange kind of Devotion and Religion in their minds as to the *Ottoman* bloud, which having been the original of their Empire and greatnefs, will ever be maintained in high reverence and honour. Nor is it likely that the fair Speeches and allurements of a Rebellious (lave will ever prevail to perfwade this people from their Religion to this Prince, or that their arms can ever be prosperous under the Ensign and Conduit of an Ufurper. And may all Chriftians learn this LeiTon from the *Turks*, and adde this principle to the Fundamentals of their Religion, as well as to their Laws. None can more experimentally preach this Doftrine to the World than *England*, who no fooner threw off her Obedience and Religion to her Prince, but (as if that vertue had been the only bar to all other Enormities and Sins) (he was deprived of all other Ecclefiaftical and Civil Rights, and in all her capacities and relations deflowred and prophaned by impious and unhallowed hands.

And thus having given a Relation of the *Turks* Religion and firft Principles in order to their obedience to their Prince, let us proceed a little farther into the *penetralia* of the *Seraglio*, and there fee what farther care is taken of the Youth, in all points of their *Education*, to fit and prepare them for the management and performance of the higheft and weightieft Offices of State ; which I judge to be one of the chiefeft of the *Turkish* Politie, and is certainly an extraordinary fupport and fecurity of the Empire.

The Maxims of the Turkifh Politie. 25

CHAP. V.

The Education of young men in the Seraglio, out of which thofe who are to difcharge the great Offices of the Empire are elected. It being a Wlaxiwe of the Turkifh Politic, to have the Prince ferved by fitch whom he can raife without Envy, and deftroy without Danger.

IT is a fpecial point of Wifdom in Princes, to provide and prefer men of deferring Parts and Abilities to the difcharge of the great and important Offices of State, not fuch whom chance and fortune cafually throws on them, becaufe they will not take the pains of a narrow and feverc fcrutiny to feek men able, and fit for truft 5 nor fuch whom flattery, riches, gifts, or nobility promote, but thofe whom the Prince by his own experience of their wifdom, virtues, and diligence, or the testimony of his Cbuncellors, and other confidents, judges capable to improve their advancement to the honour of the King, and the bleffing of their Country; and not like vaft Mountains which hide their heads in the clouds, and yet remain without fruit, or herbage; whofe barrennefs makes their height accufed. Some wife Princes, and great Minifters of our modern times, have kept Rolls and Regifters of the moft eminent Men famed for their virtue, and knowledge in any parts, with an account of their Family, lineage, and condition, out of which, (if in their own jurifdiftion) they culled and elected fuch, proper for their occasions and vacant Offices.

*Balzac de la Cour, Leur fertilité fait mal dire leur elevation. Cardinal Richelieu**

The *Turk* is not lefs careful in the choice of his Officers, and loves to be ferved by his own, fuch as to whom he hath given breeding, and education, and are as obliged to employ thofe parts in his fervice which he hath beftowed, whofe minds he hath cultivated with wifdom and virtue, as well as nourifhed their bodies with food, until they arrive to a mature age, that renders the profit of his care, and expence^ fuch as thefe he is ferved by, whom he can raife without envy, and deftroy without danger.

The Youths then that are defigned for the great Offices of the Empire, called by the *Turks* *Ichoglans*, muft be fuch as are of Chriftian Parents, taken in War, or prefented from remote parts; as I have obferved that the *Algerians*, always amongft their other gifts, prefent fome Youths whom they have taken by PyracY; the Policy herein is very obvious, becaufe the Sons of Chriftians will hate their Parents being educated with other Principles and Cuftoms 5 or coming from diftant places have contracted no acquaintance, fo that darting from their Schools into Government, they will find no Relations, or Dependencies on their Interefts then that of their great Mafter, to whom they are taught, and neceffity compells them to be faithful. In the next place, thefe Youths muft be of admirable features, and pleafing looks, well fhaped in their bodies, and without any defects of nature 5 For it is conceived that a corrupt and fordid foul can fcarce inhabit in a fcene and ingenious Afpeft; and I have obferved, not only in the *Se~*

*Magnæseft co-
mitum emula-
tio, quibus pri-
mus apud prin-
c'ipem fuus lo-
cus, & Frinci-
um cut pluri-
mi & acerrimi
comites. Hac
dignitas, ha vi-
res, Magna
semper electo-
rum juvenum
globo arcun-
dant, in pace
decus, in belli
prefidium.*

raglio, but alfo in the Courts of great men, their perfoal attendants have been of comely lofty Youths, well habited, deporting themfelves, with fingular Modefty and reſpett in the preſence of their Maſter: So that when a *Pafcha*, *Aga*, or *Spahee* travels, he is alwayes attended with a comely equipage, followed by flouriſhing Youths, well clothed and mounted in great Numbers, that one may gueſſat the greatneſs of this Empire, by the retinue, pomp, and number of Servants which accompany Perſons of Quality in their journeys; whereas in the parts of Chriſtendom where I have travelled, I have not obſerved (no not in attendance of Princes) ſuch oftentation in Servants as is amongſt the *Turks*, which is the life and Ornament of a Court. And this was alwayes the cuſtom in the Eaſtern Countreys, as *Z Curtius* reports *Lib. 6. Znippe, omnibus barb arts in corporum Majeſtate veneratio eſt magnorumq; operum non alios cap aces putant, quant quos eximia ſpecie donare natura dignats eſt.* But theſe Youths before they are admitted, are preſented before the Grand Signior, whom according to his pleaſure he diſpoſes in his *Seraglio* or *Pera*, or *Adrianople*, or his great *Seraglio* at *Conſtantinople*, which is accounted the Imperial feat of the *Ottoman* Emperours. For theſe are the three Schools or Colledges of Education. Thoſe that are prefer'd to the laſt named, are commonly marked out by ſpecial designation, and area nearer ſtep to degrees of Preferment, and are delivered to the charge of the *Capo*, *Aga*, or chief of the White Eunuchs. The Eunuchs have the care of theſe Scholars committed unto them, whom they treat with an extraordinary ſeverity; for theſe, being the *Cenſores morum*, puniſh every flight omiſſion, or fault with extreme rigour. For Eunuchs are naturally cruel, whether it be out of envy to the Maſculine Sex which is perfect and intire; or that they decline to the diſpoſition of Women, which is many times more cruel and revengeful then that of men; they will not let flip the ſmalleſt *Peccadillo* without its due chaſtiſement, either by blows on the ſoals of the feet, or long faſtings, watchings, or other penance; ſo that he who hath run through the ſeveral Schools, Orders, and degrees of the *Seraglio*, muſt needs be an extraordinary mortified man, patient of all labours, ſervices and injunctions, which are impoſed on him with a ſtrictneſs beyond the diſciplinethat religious novices are acquainted with in Monaſtries, or the ſeverity of *Capuchins*, or holy Votaries. But yet reaſons theſe men that have been uſed all their lives to fervitude, and ſubjection, ſhould have their ſpirits abated, and when licenſed from the *Seraglio* to places of Truſt and Government, ſhould be ſo acquainted how to obey, as to be ignorant how to Rule, and be dazled with the light of liberty, and overjoyed with the fence of their preſent condition, and pail ſufferings, paſſing from one extreme to another, that they ſhould loſe their reaſons, and forget themſelves and others. But in anſwer hereunto, the *Turks* affirm, that none know ſo well how to govern, as thoſe who have learned how to obey; though at firſt the fence of their freedom may diſtraſt them, yet afterwards the diſcipline, lectures, and morality in their younger years, will begin to operate, and recollect their Scattered fences into their due and natural places. But to return from whence we have a little digreſſed; Theſe young men before they are diſpoſed into their Schools, which are called *oda*, their Names, Age, Country, and Parents are Regiſtered in a Book, with their

^{s a}
Oda ſignifies
Chamber.

allowance

allowance from the Grand Signior of four or five Aspers a day ; the Copy of this book is font to the *Tefterdar*, or Lord Treafurer, that fo quarterly they may receive their penfion.

Beiog thus admitted they are entered into one of the two Schools , that is to fay into the *Bojuck. Oda*, or the *Cuchuck oda*, which is the great Chamber, or thelefs* the former commonly contains 400, and the other about 200 or 350. thefe two Schools may be faid to be of the fame form or rank ; and what is t jught in one, is like wife in the other ; neither of them hath the precedency ; all of them equally neat to preferment; their firft leffons arc filence, reverence, humble and modeft behaviour, holding their heads downwards, and their hands acrofs before them ; their Matters the *Hugas* intrucr them in all the rights, difcipline, and fuperftition of the *Mahometan* Religion, and to fay their prayers, and underftand themin the *Arabick* language, and to (peak, read, and write *Turkish* perfectly. Afterwards having made proficiency in the former, they proceed in the ftudy of the *Perfiatt* and *Arabick*. tongues, which may be of benefit to them if their lot chance to call them to the Government of the Eaftern parts, and is a help to theimprovement of their knowledge in the *Turkish*, which being of it felf barren, is beholding to thofe tongues for its copioufnefs and enrich ment.

The 2 Odnes

Their Cloathing is good Englifh Cloth and Linnen, neither fine nor coarfe; their Diet is chiefly Rice, and other wholfome Meats which become the Table of Scholars, where there is nothing of fupetfluity, as there is nothiog of want .• Their manners and behaviour are ftrictly watched by the Eunuchs their careful Guardijns, foas they cannot be familiar one with another at anytime without modefty, and refpect: to the prefence they are in ; if they go to perform the neceffary offices of Nature or to the Bath, they are never out of the eye of an Eunuch, who will admit none of their neareft relations to fpeak with them or fee them unlefs fpecial Licenfe be obtained from the *Capa Aga* or chief of the Eunuchs. Their Bed-Chambers are long Chambers where all night Lamps are kept burning 5 their Beds are laid in ranks one by another upon *Safrawes* or Bords raifed from the ground ; and between every five or fix lies an Eunuch, fo as conveniently to fee or overhear if there be any wanton or lewd behaviour or difcourfe amongft them.

Cloathing and other neceffaries.

Their retirement. Bedd-chambers

When they are arrived to fome proficiency, and almoft to Mans eftate and ftrengh of body, fit for manly exercifes, they are trained up in handling the Lance, throwing the Iron Bar, drawing the Bow, a*id throwing the Gerit or Dart. In all thefe exercifes they fpend many hours, being conftant in all or fome of them, and are feverely corrected by their Eunuchs if they feem to be remifs or negligent therein: many of them fpend much time principally in drawing the Bow, in which they proceed from a weaker to one more ftrong, and by continual exercife and ufe come at lad to draw Bows of an incredible ftrengh , more by art and cuftom then of pure force; and thus by conftant bodily exercife they become men of great ftrengh, health and agility, fit for the Wars, and all active employments ; amongft their other exercifes, Horfemanfhip is a principal Leffbo, both to lit in a handfome pofture, and to manage their Horfe with dexterity ; to

Horfeman (hip.

The Dart et
Gorit.

draw the Bow on Horfe-back forwards, backwards, and on either fide, which they learn with that agility and pliantnefs of their joynees in the full career or fpeed of the Horfe as is admirable ; they learn alio to throw the Geritor Dart out of their hands on Horfe-back, which becaufe it is a fport and recreation theprefent Grand Signior delightsin above all others, everyone in hopes of preferment, and in emulation one of the other, endeavours to be a Matter in it, and moftare become fo dexterous, that they will dart a ftick of above three quarters of a yard long with that force, that where it hits, it will endanger breaking a bone. The Grand Signior every day paffes his time with feeling bis Pages exercifed in this fport, in which ordinarily one knocks another from his Horfe, and feldom a day paffes in which fome receive not bruifes or desperate wounds. This *Sultan* doth many times appoint dayes of combat between the Black Eunuchs and fome of his White Pages on Horfe-back, in this manner with the Gerit ; and then happens fucha skirmifh with fuch emulation, each fide contending for the honour of his colour, race and dignity, with that heat and courage, as if they contended for the Empire ; this paftime feldom concluding without fome blood. But it is to be noted, that none of thefe exercifes are performed by any of thofe that belong to the two Chambers, unlcs within the Walls of the *Seragho*; the other Pages who accompany the Grand Signior abroad, are fuch as are preferred to farther and higher Chambers, as hereafter we (hall difcourfe. To the former LdTons of School-learning and exercife abroad, are added fome other accomplifhments of a Trade, handy-craft or Myftery, in which a man may be ufeful to the fervice of the Grand Signior, as to fow and embroiderin Leather Cin which the *Turks* exceed all other Nations) to make arrows and embroider quivers and faddles, and make all forts of Furniture for Horfes ; fome learn to fold up a Turbant, others to fold up, clean, and brum vefts ; to wafh and clean in the Bath, to keep Dogs and Hawks ; others to excel in the Tui kifh manner of Mufick, and all other fervices which may keep them from idlenefs, and wherein they may be of future ufe to their great Mafter. And according hereunto *Pajbaes* and great men have been denominated and furnamed after their departure from the *Seraglio*, to their places of Office and Truft.

Such as have before made good proficiency in their Studies, and attained to a dexterity in their bodily exercifes, are tranfplanted to the firft ftep of preferment, which is the warning the Grand Signiors Linen, and here they firft change their Cloth for Satten Vefts and Cloth of Gold, and their Pay and Salary is augmented from four or five Afpers a day to eight or more ; thence they pafs, as places fall, to the *Hazna-Oda*, or Chamber of the Treafury, or to the *Kilar* or Difpenfatory, where the Drugs, Cordials and rich Drinks for the Grand Signiors fervice are kept ; out of thefe two Chambers they are elected in order to the higheft and fupream place of the *Seraglio*, which is called the *Haz Oda*, which confifts of forty Pages ; thefe attend immediately on the Perfon of the Grand Signior, and amongft them twelve hold the chief Offices of the Court, viz.

1. The *Selectar-Aga*, the Rings Sword-bearer.
2. The *Chiohadar-Aga*, he who carries his cloak or veft for rainy weather.
3. The



Cherem Aga or he that brings the basin to the Grand Signor



Selietar Aga or Sword bearer



Selietar Aga or he who makes the Grand Signor's Turban



A page of the Hazode

3. The *Rechintbar-Aga*, he that holds his Stirrup.
4. The *Ebrictar-Aga*, he that carries his water to drink or waffh.
5. The *Tulbentar-Aga*, he that makes up his *Turbant*,
6. The *Kern Hufar-Aga*, he who keeps the wardrobe, and overfees the wafting the Linnen.
7. The *Chefneghir Bafhee*, the chief Sewer.
8. *Zagergee Bafhee*, the chief over the Dogs.
9. *Turnakgee Bafhee*, he who pairs his nails.
10. *Berber Bafhee*, chief Barber.
11. *Muhafebegee Bafchee*, the chief Accomptant.
12. *Teskgreege Bafhee*, his Secretary.

There are also two other Officers in the Court of great respect, which are the *Dogan Bafhee*, or chief Falconer, and the *Humaungu Bafhee*, or chief over the Baths ; but theft have their offices and Lodgings apart, and not entering into the Royal Chamber, are not capable of higher preferment.

There are nine also are called *Ars Agalar*, who have the privilege of presenting petitions like Matters of the Requests; of these, 4 are of the *Hafoda*, as the *Shiletar Aga*, *Tchobadar Aga*, *Rikiabrar Aga*, *Tulbend Oglanij*, and the others are of different offices, as the *Hazna Kiahiaifi*, who is the second Officer of the Treasury, *Kiler Kiahiaifi*, who is overseer of the provisions of *Sherbets*, Sugar, sweet-meats, &c. *Dogangi Bafhi*, or chief Falconer, the *Hazodabafchi*, or principal commander of the Royal Chamber, and *Kapa Agaft* or chief Commander of the Pages ; all which are first and nearest to preferment, and to be employed abroad, in the Office of *Pacha*, as places are void.

Those that are thus through the grace and favour of the Sultan arrived to the dignity of being of the Royal Chamber, where they enjoy the honour and privilege of being constantly in his eye and presence, are often presented by him with Swords, vefts, bows and the like ; and are permitted to take rewards for the intercessions and applications they make in behalf of others. Sometimes he sends them on message to *Pasphaes*; sometimes for the confirmation of the Princes either in *Transilvania*, *Moldavia*, or *Walachia* ; sometimes to carry presents to the Visier and great men: in all which employments they are greatly entertained and presented both with money, jewels, and rich furniture for horses, so that very few of these forty, but in short time gain estates of their own, fit to equippe and furnish them to enter into any offices of the Empire. As offices fail in order, supplies are made out of these, others rising from lower Chambers successively in their places ; whether it be to the four most considerable Governments which are *Cairo*, *Aleppo*, *Damascus* and *Buda*, or if none of these places be void, to be *Beglerbegj* of *Grecia*, or of *Natolia*, to be *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, *Spabeeler Agajee*, or General of the Horse, or to some small *Pashalicks* or Governments scattered in several places of the Empire. But we shall not here need to discourse of the particular offices and dignities within the power and gift of the Grand Signior, intending to make a distinct Chapter of the several offices, governments, dignities and places, from whence the Grand Signiors profits arise, that so we may the better describe the wealth of this Empire, and the importance

The degrees of successions greatly observed.

tance of those offices, for discharge of which young men are educated with the care before mentioned.

But before the conclusion of this Chapter, it will be necessary to add, that none unless by special grace, are advanced from the *Seraglio*, until the age of about 40 years, by which time they are ripe and mature for Government, and the wantonness and heat of youth allayed. Before their departure to their places of trust, they are courted and honoured by all with presents; the Queen Mother, the *Sultanae*, the rich Eunuchs, the Great Vezier, and Officers abroad concur all to adorn them with gifts and riches at their advancement, as undoubted consequences of the Grand Signiors favour. And at the farewell, with much submission they visit the *Capa Iga*, or chief of the Eunuchs, and other principal officers of the *Seraglio*, recommending themselves in the time of their absence to their good grace and favour, desiring to live in their good opinion and friendship, and this is done with as much ceremony and complement as is exercised in the most civil parts of Christendom. For though the *Turks* out of pride and scorn, comport themselves to Christians with a strange kind of barbarous haughtiness and neglect, they are yet among themselves as courteously and precisely their own rules of complement and civility, as they are at *Rome*, or any other parts of the civilized world.

CHAP. VI.

Of the method of the Turkifh Studies and Learning in the Seraglio.

WE have rather (hewed in the foregoing Chapter, the education of those young Scholars, in reference to exercise of body, and dexterity in arms, then the method of their studies and speculations, according to the manner of our Seminaries and Colleges, which more respect the cultivation of the mind with the principles of virtue and morality, and the notions of sublime reason, then in the improvements of the body by assiduity of exercise, which makes them become a dove, and begets an agility in the management of arms. And though the latter is a business most attended to by sprightly and ingenious spirits, who know preferments in the *Ottoman Court* have always depended and still do on the virtue of the Sword yet speculation and knowledge in Sciences are not wholly estranged from their Schools, which we (shall in brief touch upon to satisfy the curiosity of our Academies, who I know would gladly be resolved what sort of Physical or Moral Philosophy, what Tongues and Sciences fall within the contemplation of that barbarous ignorance of the *Turks*. To dilucidate which the most clearly that I can, according to the best information of the learned *Turks*; it is reported by the *Kalfaes* or *Pedagogues* of the *Seraglio*, that their chief design is to intrust their Scholars in reading and writing, so as they may have some inspection into the books of their Law and Religion; especially the *Alcoran*, whereby may be produced in their minds a greater reverence to them. For being once passed from the first form of their A. B. C. and join-

ing Syllables, they are then intrufted in the *Arabian* Tongue, wherein, all the fecrets and treafure of their Religion and Laws are contained, and is a neceffary accomplifhment of a *Pafha*, or any great Minifter in relation to the better difcharge of his office, being thereby enabled to have an infpection into the writings and fentences of the *Kadees*, or other Officers of the Law within his jurifdiction, as well as furoifhed with knowledge and matter of difcourfe concerning religion. And to adorn thefe young *Candidates* of the Grand Signiors favour, with more politic and ingenious endowments, the next Itftbn is the *Perfian* Tongue, which fits them with quaint words and eloquence, becoming the Court of their Prince, and corrects the groftnefs, and enriches the barrennefs of the *turkifh* tongue, which in it felf is void both of expreffion and fweetnefs of accenr. It teaches them alfo a haadfome and gentle deportment, intrufts them in Romances, raifes their thoughts to afpire to the generous and virtuous actions they read of in the *Perfian* Novellaries, and endues them with a kind of *Platonick* love each to other, which is accompanied with a true friendship amongft fome few, and with as much gallantry as is exercifed in any part of the world. But for their Amours to Women, the refraint and ftridtnefs of Difcipline, makes them altogether ftrangers to that Sex ; for want of convcrfation with them, they burn in luft one towards another, and the amorous difpofition of youth wanting more natural objects of affection, is tranfported to a moft paffionate admiration of beauty wherefoever it finds it, which becaufe it is much talked of by the *Turks*, we will make it a diftinct difcourfe by it felf. The books they read commonly in the *Perfian* language, are, *Danifien*, *Schahidi*, *Pend-attar*, *Gtuhftw*, *Bofan Hafiz*, and the *Turkijh* books called *Mulemma*, or a mixture of the *Arabian* and *Perfian* words both in profe and verfe, facetious and full of quick and lively expreffions. Of thefe forts of books thofe moft commonly read are called *Ktrkpizir*, *Humaiunname*, or *delile we Kemine*, *El fulcale*, *Seidbatal*, and various other Romances. thefe are ufually the ftudy of the moft aieri and ingenious fpirits amongftthem. Thofe others who are of a complexion more melancholick and inclinable to contemplation, proceed with more patience of method, and are more exact in their ftudies, intending to become Matters of their Pen, and by that means to arrive to honour and office either of *Reft Efendi*, or Secretary of Stare, Lord Treafurer, or Secretary of the Treafury, or Difpenfatory, &c. or elfe to be *Emaums* or Parifh Priefts of fome principal Mofchs of Royal foundation, in which they pate an eafie, quiet and fecure life, with a confiderable competency of livelyhood. Others aim in their ftudies to become *Hazifai*, which fignifys a Conserver of the *Alchoran*, who get the whole *Alchoran* by heart, and for that reafon are held in great efteem, and their perfons as facred as the place which is the Repofitory of the Law. .

Thofe who are obferved to be more addicted to their Books then others, are named by them *Talibulilmi*, or lovers of Philofophy, though very few amongftthem arrive to any learning really fo called, yet they attain to the degree of *Ginzcbon* or Readers of the *Alchoran*, for benefit and relief of the fouls of thofe departed, who for that end hath bequeathed them Legacies. At certain houfes they read Books that treat

treat of the matters of their Faith, and render them out of *Arabick* into *Turkifh*, and thefe Books are *Schurut, Salat, Mukad, Multeks, Hidaie, &c.* which they defcant upon io an Expository manner; inftructing the more ignorant and of lower form, by way of Catechifm. They have alfo fome Books of Poetry written both in *Perftan* and *Arabick*, which run in Rhime and Meeter, like the Golden Verfes of *Pythagoras*, Containing excellent fentences of Morality, being directions for a godly life, and contemplation of the miferies and fallacies of this world, which many of them commit to memory, and repeat occasionally as they fall into difcourfe. For other Sciences, as Logick, Phyfick, Metaphyfick, Mathematicks, and other our Univerfity Learning, they are wholly ignorant ; unlefs in the latter, as far as Mufick isa part of Mathematicks, whereof there is a School apart in the *Seraglio*. Only fome that live in *Conftantinople* have learned fome certain rules of Aftronomy, which they exercife upon all occafions, and bufie themfelves in Prophefies of future contingencies of the Affairs of the Empire, and the unconftant cfate of great Minifters, in which their predictions feldom divine grateful or pleafing ftories. Neither have the wifeft and mod active Minifters or Souldiers amongft them, theleaft infpection into Geography, whereby to be acquainted with the fituation of Countreys or difpofition of the Globe, though they themfelves enjoy the poffeffion of fo large a proportion of the Univerfe. Their Sea-men, who feldom venture beyond fight of Land (unlefs they be thofe of *Barbary*, who are *Renegadoes* and prattifed in the Chriftian Arts of Navigation) have certain *Sea'Cards* ill framed, and the Capes and head-lands fo ill laid down, that in their Voyages from *Conftantinople* to *Alexandria*, the richeft place of their Trade, they truft more to their eye and experience, then the direction of their Maps ; nor could I ever fee any Cart of the black Sea made either by *Turgor Greek*, which could give the leaft light to a knowing Seaman, fo as to encourage him according to the rules of Art, to lay any confidence thereon in his Navigation.

The Art of Printing (a matter difputable, whether it hath brought more of benefit or mifchief to the world) is absolutely prohibited amongft them , becaufe it may give a beginning to that fubtlety of Learning which is inconffitent with, as well as dangerous to thegroiteneffes of their Government, and a means to deprive many of their liveli-hood, who gain their bread only by their Pen, and occafion thelofs of that Angular Art of fair Writing, wherein they excel or equal moft Nations : the effect of which is evident amongft the Weftern people where Printing hath taken footing. And though there be few Hiftorians among them who have any knowledge of paff-times, or the being of other Empires before the *Ottoman*, mixing all ftories in confufion together (as we have faid before) without diftinction of Perfons, or refpect of Chronology ; yet as to the fuccelfes and progrefs of Affairs in their own dominions, they keep moft ftrict Regifters and Records, which ferve them as prefidents and rules for the prefent Government of their Affairs.

And thus the Reader may found the depth of the *Turks* Philofophy, who though they reach not thofe contemplations of our profound *Sophies*, have yet fo much knowledge as neither to be over-reached in
their

The Maxims of the Turkifh Politie. 33

their Treaties with the wits of the World, nor for want of good Conduct of Affairs lose one inch or their Empire.

CHARVII.

*Of the Affection and Friendjhip the Pages in the Seraglio
bear each other.*

SINCE in the fore-going Chapter we have made mention of the amorous disposition that is to be found among these youths each to other, it will not be from our purpose to acquaint the Reader, that the Doctrine of Platonick love hath found Disciples in the Schools of the *Turkij* that they call it a passion very laudable and virtuous, and a step to that perfect love of God, whereof mankind is only capable, proceeding by way of love and admiration of His image and beauty stamped on the creature. This is the colour of virtue, they paint over the deformity of their depraved inclinations ; but in reality this love of theirs, is nothing but libidinous flames each to other, with which they burn so violently, that banishment and death have not been examples sufficient to deter them from making demonstrations of such like addresses ; so that in their Chambers, though watched by their Eunuchs, they learn a certain language with the motion of their eyes, their gestures and their fingers, to express their amours; and this passion hath boiled sometimes to that heat, that jealousies and rivalries have broken forth in their Chambers without respect: to the severity of their Guardians, and good orders have been brought into confusion, and have not been again re-dreiled, until some of them have been expelled the *Seraglio* with the Tippet of their Vests cutoff, banished into the Islands, and beaten almost to death.

Nor is this passion only amongst the young men each to other but Persons of eminent degree in the *Seraglio* become inveigled in this sort of love, watching occasions to have a fight of the young Pages that they fancy, either at the Windows of their Chamber, or as they go to the *Mosque*, or to their warnings or baths ; offer them service and presents, and so engage them as to induce them to desire to be made of the retinue of him that uses this Courtship towards them, which they many times obtain, and being entertained in the service of a Master who so highly fancies and admires them, they become often sharers with him in his riches and fortune!

The Grand Signiors themselves have also been (laves to this inordinate passion. For *Sultan Morat* became so enamoured of an *Armenian* Boy called *Aiush* as betrayed him, though otherwise a discreet Prince, to a thousand follies ; and at another time preferred a youth for his beauty only from the Novitiate of *Galata*, to be one of the Pages of his *Haz Oda* or Chamber of his Royal Presence, and in a short time made him *Silahter Aga* or Sword-bearer, one of the greatest Offices in the *Seraglio*. And this present *Sultan* became so enamoured of a *Constantinopolitan* youth, one of the Pages of his *Muftians* School, called *Kulogli*, or *Son oi a* (lave, that he made him his chief Favourite, never could content himself without his Company, clothed him like himself,

made him ride by his side, commanded all to prefer and honour him, in the same manner as if he had made him Companion of the Empire.

This passion likewise reigns in the Society of Women, they die with amorous affections one to the other ; especially the old Women court the young, prefer them with rich Garments, Jewels, Money, even to their own impoverishment and ruine, and these darts of *Cupid* are (not through all the Empire, especially *Constantinople*, the *Seraglio* of the Grand Signior, and the apartments of the Sultans.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Mutes and Dwarfs.*A mute**A dwarf*

BEside the Pages, there is a sort of Attendants to make up the *Osman* Court, called *Bizebani* or *Mutes*, men naturally born deaf, and so consequently for want of receiving the sound of words are dumb: These are in number about 40, who by night are lodged amongst the Pages in the two Chambers, but in the day time have their Nations before the *Mosque* belonging to the Pages, where they learn and perfect themselves in the language of the *Mutes*, which it made

made up of several signs in which by custom they can discourse and fully express themselves not only to signify their Sense in familiar questions, but to recount stories, understand the Fables of their own Religion, the Laws and Precepts of the *Alcoran*, the name of *Mahomet*, and what else may be capable of being expressed by the Tongue. The most ancient amongst them, to the number of about eight or nine, are called the Favourite *Mutes*, and are admitted to attendance in the *HazOda* ; who only serve in the place of *Buffons* for the Grand Signior to sport with, whom he sometimes kicks, sometimes throws in the cisterns of water, sometimes makes fight together like the combat of *Clinias* and *Dametas*. But this language of the *Mutes* is so much in fashion in the *Ottoman* Court, that none almost but can deliver his message, and is of much use to those who attend the Presence of the Grand Signior, before whom it is not reverent or seemly so much as to whisper.

The Dwarfs are called *Giugt* ; these also have their quarters amongst the Pages of the two Chambers, until they have learned with due reverence and humility to stand in the Presence of the Grand Signior. And it one of these have that benefit, as by Nature's fortunate error to be both ; Dwarf, and dumb, and afterwards by the help of Art to be castrated and made an Eunuch, he is much more esteemed, then if Nature and Art had concurred together to have made him the perfectest creature in the world ; one of this sort was preferred by a certain *Pajha*, to the Grand Signior, who was so acceptable to him and the Queen Mother that he attired him immediately in Cloth of Gold, and gave him liberty through all the Gates of the *Seraglio*.

CHAP. IX.

*Of the Eunuchs**

THis libidinous flame of depraved nature, is so common a disease amongst the *Turks*, and so ancient a Vice, that both for state and prevention of this unnatural crime, it hath not been esteemed safe or orderly in the Courts of Eastern Princes to constitute others for the Principal Officers of their Household then Eunuchs: the like is observed in the *Siraglio* of the Grand Signior, where two Eunuchs especially have the Principal Command, and are persons of the highest and eminentest esteem, viz. the *Kuzlir-Agafi*, who is superintendent over the Women, and is a Black Eunuch.



Kızlar Aga or Black Eunuch of the women.

The other is *Caps Agafi* or Matter of the gate, who is White, and commands all the Pages and White Eunuchs residing in the Court; Under him are all the Officers that are Eunuchs, as first the *HAZ Otdbfchi* or Lord Chamberlain, who commands the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber.

a. The *Serai Kiahaiafi*, Lord Steward of the household, who oversees the Chambers of the Pages, and the *Seferli odaft*, or the Chambers of those Pages who are designed to follow the Grand Signior upon any journey, and of these he hath care to see provided of Cloaths and all other necessaries for the service they undertake.

3. The *Haznadar Bafhi*, or Lord Treasurer of the *Seragto*, who commands those Pages that attend the Treasury; I mean not that which is of present use, as to pay the Souldiery, or serve the publick and present occasions of the Empire, for that is in the hand of the *Tefterdar*; but that riches that is laid apart for the expences of the Court, and that which is amassed and piled up in several rooms of the *Seraglio*, of which there have been Collections and additions in the time almost of every Emperour, distinguished and divided by the names of the *Sultans*, through whose industry and frugality they had been acquired; but this wealth is conserved sacred, not to be used or exposed, unless on occasions of extreme emergency.

4. The

4. The *Kilargi Bafhi* ; that is, the chief Commander over the Pages, to whole care the charge of the Difpeofatory is committed, or ex peaces for the daily provifions; Other Officers there are of Eunuchi 5 as he that is firft Matter of Scholars for their books, called *Ikingi Capa oglani* and his Ufher; the chief *Miergidgi* or Prieft of the Grand Signiors *Mofque* ; under whom are two other affiftants, for cleaning and well ordering of the *Mofques*.

Thefe are the only Officers of the White Eunuchs, the others are of the commonalty, which are in number about fifty, and have ordinarily twelve Apfers a day pay, which alfo are augmented according to the *Wakfi* or Legacies of the deceased. Thofe that are Curates of the Royal *Mofques*, and have pluralities of benefices of that nature, have fometimes a revenue of a 100 *chequins* a day: among thefe alfo due order is obferved, the younger or Junior's in the *Seraglio*, always giving refpect and reverence to Seniority.

Of the Black Eunuchs.

THE Black Eunuchs are ordained for the fervice of the Women in the *Seraglio* ; as the White are to the attendance of the Grand Signior , it not feeming a fufficient remedy by wholly difmembring them, to take the Women off from their inclinations to them, as retaining fome relation (till to the Ma feu line Sex, but to create an abhorrency in them ; they are not only castrated, but Black, chosen with the worft features that are to be found among the molt hard-favoured of that African race. The prime Officer of them all, as we have faid before* is the *Kuzlir Aga*, or Matter of the Maids or Virgins,

a. *Valide Agafi*, the Eunuch of the Queen Mother.

3. *Schahzadeler Agafi*, or the Eunuch to whose charge is committed the Royal Progeny, and in whose custody at present are three Sons of *Sultan Ibrahim*, Brothers to the present Emperour, viz. *Solyman*, on whom the Turks at present found their principal hopes and expectation 5 *Bajazet* and *orchatt*, the Mother of which two last is still living, and confined to the old *Seraglio* in *Constantinople*, which is the Monastery of the decayed Wives and Mistresses of former Grand Signiors, from whence there is no redemption, until either their Sons die, or by good fortune one becomes Emperour.

4. Is *Fazna Agafi*, or the Eunuch that is Treasurer to the Queen Mother, and commands those Damfels that are Servants in the laid Chamber.

5. *Kilar Agafi*, or he that keeps the Sugar, Serbets and Oruggs of the Queen Mother.

6. *Bujutkoda Agafi*, commander of the greater Chamber.

7. *Kiatchuk.Oda Agafi*, commander of the lesser Chamber*

8. *Bajh Capa Oglani*, the chief Porter of the Womens apartment.

9.& 10. Two *Mefgidgi Barcbi*, or the two *Emaums* or Priests of the Royal *Mofque* belonging to the Queen Mother, ordained for the Womens Prayers.

The Apartments of the Women.*The habit of a Lady in the Seraglio*

And since I have brought my Reader into the quarters of these Eunuchs, which are the Black guard of the sequestred Ladies of the *Seraglio*, he may chance to take it unkindly, would I leave him at the door, and not introduce him into those apartments, where the Grand Signiors Mistresses are lodged : And though I ingenuously confeis my acquaintance there has all other my conversation with Women in *Turky* is but strange and unfamiliar ; yet not to be guilty of this discourtesie, I (hall to the best of my information write a short account of these Captivated Ladies, how they are treated, immured, educated and prepared for the great atchivements of the *Sultans* affection; and as in other (ories the Knight consumes hirafelf with combats, watching and penance to acquire the love of one fair Damfel; here an Army of Virgins make it the only study and business of their life to obtain the fingle nod of invitation to the Bed of their great Master.

The Reader then must know that this Assembly of fair Women ("for it is probable there is no other in the *Seraglio*) are commonly prizes of the Sword taken at Sea and at Land, as far fetched as the *Turk*, commands, or the wandriog Tartar makes his excursions, competed almost
of

of as many Nations as there are Countries of the world ; none of which are esteemed worthy of this Preferment, unlefs beautiful and undoubted Virgins.

As the Pages before mentioned are divided into two Chambers, Co likewise are these Maids into two *Odaes*, where they are to work, fow, add embroider, and are there lodged on *Safames*, every one with her bed apart, between every five of which is a *Kadun* or grave Matron laid to oversee and hear what actions or discourse passes either immoral or undecent. Besides this School they have their Chambers for Mufick and Dancing, for acquiring a handsome air in their carriage and comportment, to which they are most diligent and intent, as that which opens the door of the sultans affections, and introduces them into Preferment and Esteem.

Out of these, the Queen Mother chooses her Court, and orderly draws from the Schools such as (he marks out for the most beautiful, facetious, or most corresponding with the harmony of her own disposition, and prefers them to a near attendance on her Person, or to other Offices of her Court. These are always richly attired and adorned with all sort of precious stones, fit to receive the addresses and amours of the *Sultan*: over them is placed the *Kadun Kahia* or Mother of the Maids, who is careful to correct any immodest or light behaviour amongst them, and instructs them in all the Rules and Orders of the Court.

When the Grand Signior is pleased to dally with a certain number of these Ladies in the Garden ; *Hebvet* is cried, which rings through all the *seraglio*, at which word all people withdraw themselves at a distance, and Eunuchs are placed at every avenue, it being at that time death to approach near those walls. Here the Women strive with their Dances, Songs and Discourse to make themselves Mistress of the Grand Signiors affection, and then let themselves look to all kind of lasciviousness and wanton carriage, acquitting themselves as much of all respect to Majesty as they do to modesty.

When the Grand Signior resolves to choose himself a Bed-fellow, he retires into the Lodgings of his Women, where (according to the story in every place reported, when the Turkifh *Seraglio* falls into discourse) the Damfels being ranged in order by the Mother of the Maids, he throws his handkerchief to her, where his eye and fancy best directs, it being a token of her election to his bed. The surprized Virgin snatches at this prize and good fortune with that eagerness, that she is ravished with the joy before (he is deflowered by the *Sultan*, and kneeling down first kisses the handkerchief, and then puts it in her bosom, when immediately (he is congratulated by all the Ladies of the Court, for the great honour and favour she hath received. And after she hath been first washed, bathed and perfumed, (he is adorned with Jewels, and what other attire can make her appear glorious and beautiful ; she is conducted at night, with Mufick and Songs of her Companions chanting before her to the Bed-chamber of the *Sultan*, at the door of which attends some Favourite Eunuch, who upon her approaching gives advice to the Grand Signior, and permission being given her to enter in, (he comes running and kneels before him, and sometimes enters in at the feet of the Bed, according to the ancient ceremony,

remoooy, or otherwise as be chances to like her, is taken in a nearer way with the Embraces of the Grand Signior.

This private entertainment being ceded, (he is delivered to the care of the *Kadan Kahia* or Mother of the Maids, by whom (he is again conducted back with the same Mufick as before, and having first washed and bathed, hath afterwards the lodging and attendants that belongs to *Hunkjar Afa-kifi*, that is, the Royal Concubine ; if it be her good fortune to conceive and bring forth a Son, (he is called *Hafaki Sultana*, and is honoured with a solemn Coronation, and Crowned with a small Coronet of Gold beset with precious Stones. Other Ladies who produce like fruits from the Grand Signiors bed, have not yet the like honour, but only the name of *Bafi Hafaki*, *Inkingi Hafaki*, the first and second Concubine, and so forward*

The Daughters that are born from the Grand Signior, are oftentimes at four or five years of Age wedded to some great *Tafia* or *Begler* beg* with all the Pomp and solemnities of Marriage, who from that time hath care of her Education, to provide a Palace for her Court, and to maintain her with that state and honour as becomes the dignity of a Daughter to *Sultan*. At this tendernefs of Age, *Sultan Ibrahim*, Father of the present Grand Signior, Married three of his Daughters ; one of which called *Cheaher Han Sultan*, hath had already five Husbands, and yet as is reported by the World, remains a Virgin ; the last Husband deceased was *Ifhmael Pafha*, who was (lain in the passage of the River *Raab*; and is now again Married to *Gurgi Mahomet Pafha of Buda* a man of 90 years of Age, but rich and able to maintain the greatness of her Court, though not to comply with the youthfulness of her bed, to which he is a stranger, like the rest of her preceding Husbands.

After the Death of the Grand Signior, the Mothers of Daughters have liberty to come forth from the *Seraglio* and marry with any person of Quality ; but those who have brought forth Sons, are transplanted to the old *Seraglio*, where they pass a retired life without redemption ; unless the Son of any of those Mothers by death of the first heir, succeeding, release his Mother from that restraint, and make her sharer with him in all his happiness and glory.

CHAP. X.

Of the Agiam-Oglans.

WE have hitherto spoken of the *Icboglans* of Pages, Mutes, Dwarfs, Eunuchs, and the Feminine Court} it will be now necessary to speak of the under Officers and Servants called *Agiam Oglans*, who are designed to the meaner uses of the *Seraglio*. These are also Captives taken in War, or bought of the *Tartar*, but most commonly the Sons of Christians taken from their Parents at the Age often or twelve years, in whom appearing more strength of body than of mind, they are set apart for labour and menial services: These are,

1. Porters.
- a. *Bofung's* or Gardiners.
3. *Baltagi's* or Hatchetmen, who cut and carry Wood.

4. *Argees*



The Bostange: Baskaw or Head of the Gardiners



A Holuggi or Confectioner of the Seraglio



A Hamki or an Officer employed by the Grand Signor or messenger etc.



The habit of an Asiatican

4. *Atgees* or Cooks, with all the Offices of the Kitchin.
 5. *Patcks* and *Solacks*.
 6. Butchers.
 7. *Holvagets* or Confectioner*.
 8. The Attendants of the Hofpiral of fick Pages.
- And all other fct apart for fervile Offices.

Thefe are feldom the Sonsof natural born Turks, but yearly collected ("as I laid) from the incireafe of poor ChriftianS in the *Morea* and *Al baniax*, by which means thofe Countries are greatly dif peopled* the yearly number of thotethus collected, amount molt commonly, as I am giveoto underftandj to about acoo. which being brought to *Constantinople*, are firft prcfented before the Vifier, who ("according as his humor directs him) are placed in divers (rations, either in the *Straglioes* of *Galata*, *Okmedon*, or *Adrianople* ; others are put forth to learn divers Trades in the City 3 others to be Sea-men, and learn Navigation ; others efppecially are placed in the great *Seraglio*, where they are made to fer vein the Stables, in the Kitehin, to dig in the Gardens, to cleave Wood, to row in the Grand Signiors Barge, and to do what other fervicesthey arc commanded by the Superiors fee over them, called *Oda-bafhes* ,who are men of ancients ftanding then the reft, having about fifteen Apfers a day Salary, two Vefts of Cloth a year, and two pieces of Linnen Clothfor fhirts and handkerchiefs, &c. and thefe are fubject to the *Bofiangi Pajha*, who is the head and abfoiute Commander of all thole who have the name of *Bofiangees* or Gardeners, of which there may be 10000 in and about the *Seraglioes* and Garden of the Grand Signior.

Of thefe *Bofiangees*, Tome are raifed to a higher degree, and called *Hafakfy* which fignifirs Royal, and attend only to meflages fent by the Grand Signior himfelf, and are men of fpecial authority. Their Habit or Cloarhiig nothing differs from the *Bofiangees*, unlefs in the finenefs of their Cloth,their Collar and Girdle,according to this Picture.

The power of the *Bofiangi Pajha* is very great \$ for though he himfelfarofcbut from the *Agiamoglans*, and wore a felt Cap, yet he hath the command of all the Grand Signiors Gardens and Houles of pleafure, overfees all his Water-works, and hath power and jurifdction aolng the *Bofphorus*, unto the mouth of the Black Sea, commands alfo the Country at a large diftance from *Constantinople* 5 having power to punifhall debaucheries and extravagancies in and about the Country Villages, and is capable by the Grand Signiors favour to become *Pajha* of Grand *Cairo*, *Babylon*, *Suda*, &c. and of the firft degree Which is Vifier Azent.

The *Agiamoglans* who are defigned to the Grand Signiors *Seraglio*, are of the choicft amongft the whole nuuber, the ftrongeft bodies and moft promifing Affpects, and are diftributed into feveral Companies as they want to make up their complement. This difcipline is very fevere and frift, fo that they are taught obedience and readinefs to ferve, with watchings, fallings and other penances;

Their cloathing is of coarfe Cloth made at *Salome a*, anciently called *Theffalonica* ; their Caps of Felt, after the form of a Sugar-loaf, of a hair colour, according as the Picture here defcribes ; fame of them are

taught to Read and Write, who are esteemed the most acute and fit to receive ingenious learning, but the most part are exercised in activity of body, in running, leaping, wrestling, throwing the Iron Bar, and other agility wherein the strength and activity of body is best practised. Their Lodgings are under several Pent-houses or (beds, built under the Walls of the *Seraglio*, their Diet is flesh and rice, sufficient though not luxurious. Out of these belonging to the *seraglio* none are drawn out for *Janizaries*, but are sometimes preferred to service of *rafas* for their fidelity or good deserts, and by those Matter aristo considerable riches, and commodious manner of livelihood 3 others of these in great numbers are made use of for attendance on the Grand Signiors Tents, when he goes to the Wars, and in other Journeys are useful for the management of the Grand Signiors carriages and travelling necessities. Such *Agiamoglans* (as we have said before) that are distributed into other quarters besides the Royal *Seraglio*, are principally designed as they grow ripe, and of strength of body to be made *Janizaries* in the place of the deceased; so that their principal education is in order thereunto, of whom we shall speak more largely when we treat of the Militia.

The names of the *Agiamoglans* are written in a book, with the places where they are distributed, their several Pays of two, three, or five Aspers a day, which book is under-written by the Grand Signior, and assigned to the *Tefterdar* or Lord Treasurer, who pays their Salaries every three months, being obliged at that time to enquire who is dead or removed, and so accordingly to make a true report to the Grand Signior.

And thus I have given you a brief account of the Grand Signiors *Seraglio* and the Regiment at it, which if well considered and weighed, is one of the most Politick constitutions in the World, and none of the meanest supports of the Ottoman Empire; which relation I had from the mouth of one who had spent nineteen years in the Schools of the *Seraglio*. I must confess I have not treated so amply thereof as the subject might require, because the Rules and Oeconomy observed among the Women, Mutes, Eunuchs and other of the retired apartments, I conceive to be a kind of digression from my purpose, my intention being principally to describe the Government, Maxims, and Policies of the *Turk*. And therefore I proceed to treat of the diversities of Offices and Places of great Riches and Trust, which remain in the power of the *Sultan* so confer on those Favourites, Minions, and Creatures, whom thus at his own charge he hath nourished like a Father from their infancy to invest in their riper years with great honours, for security of his own Person, and flourishing estate of his Dominions.

CHAP- XL

Of the Vifier Azem or Prime Vifier, his Office, the other fix Vifiers of the Bench, and of the Divan or place of Judicature.



The Prime Vizier

THe prime Vifier called in *Turkifh* Vifier Azem, is as much as chief Councillour ; he is sometimes termed the Grand Signiers Deputy or Representative, or *Vicariut Imperii*, becaufe to him all the power of the *Sultan* is immediately devolved; there is no other solemnity, as I know of, in the creating a Vifier then the delivery of the Grand Seniors Seal, which he alwayes carries about him in his bafom, on which is engraven the Emperours name, by which he becomes inverted in all the power of the Empire, and can without the formality and procefs of Law remove all obftacles and impediments which hinder the free fway of his Government. It hath alwayes been the Policy of the great Princes of the Eaft, to erect one as Superintendent over all the reft of their Minifters ; fo *Daniel* was constituted by *Darius* yver the Presidents and Dan.c.6. Princes, becaufe of the admirable fpirit and wifdom that was in him : and *Joffh* was made Chief Governour and abfolute Commander over all *Egypt*, and by this means thofe Princes who gave themfelves much

over to softness and luxury, could with more cast demand account of miscarriages in the rule of their Empire, it being their Policy to constitute on whom all the blame of miscarriages in Government might be thrown.

The first constitution that we meet with in History of the first Vifier, was in the time of *Amurath* the third King of the Turks, who palling into *Europe* with his Tutor called *Lala Schabin*, he made him his chief Councillour, and committed to him the charge of his Army, with which he won *Adrianople* formerly called *Orestias*, and ever since the Grand Signior hath continued to maintain that Office of Vifier, using that common appellation of *Lala*, which signifies Tutor, whensoever in familiar discourse he speaks to him.

There are besides the first, commonly six other Vifiers who are called Vifiers of the Bench, that have no power nor authority in the Government, but only are grave men, that have perhaps had Charges and Offices, and are knowing in the Laws, and fit together with the first Vifier in the *Divanot* Court where causes are tried, but are mute and cannot give their sentence or opinion in any matter unless the first Vifier please to demand their Counsel or judgment in point of Law *, which he seldom does, not to disparage his own reason and experience. Their pay proceeds from the Grand Signiors Treasury, and is not above 2000 Dollars a year.* any of these six can write the Grand Signiors Firme or Autogra upon all commands or decrees that are sent abroad and because their riches are but moderate, and the Office they are in treats not much with the dangerous parts of State, they live long without envy or emulation, or being subject to that inconstancy of fortune and alteration, to which greater degrees of place are exposed. And yet when any great matter is in Consult, and of considerable importance, these six with the first Vifier, the *Mufti* and *Caddeefcheers* or Lords Chief Justices, are admitted into the Cabinet Council, and are often permitted freedom to deliver their opinions on the matter of question.

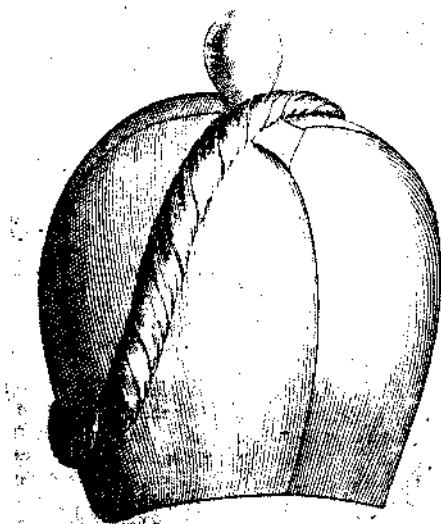
The state and greatness the Prime Vifier lives in is agreeable to the honour of him whom he represents, having commonly in his Court about 2000 Officers and Servants -, when he appears in any solemnity or publick show, he carries on his Turbant before two Feathers, as the Grand Signior wears three set on with a handle of Diamonds and other rich Stones, and before him are carried three Horse tails called the *ugh* upon a long staffe, upon the top of which is a gilded knob and the like distinction of honour is permitted only to the three other principal *Pashas* within their jurisdiction; viz. the *Pasha* of *Babylon*, of *Cairo*, and of *Buar*; the other inferiour *Pashaes* have only one horse tail carried before them without other distinction or badge of Authority; and these three forementioned *Pashaes* have a right to be Vifiers of the Bench, and can take their places in the *Divan* when the time of their Offices are expired, and any of them found at the Court in entire grace and favour.

The Prime Vifier as he is the representative of the Grand Signior, (so he is the head or mouth of the Law; to him appeals may be made, and any one may decline the ordinary course of justice, to have his case decided by his determination; unless the Vifier through the multiplicity

tiplicity of his affairs, and the small confideration of the cafe, thinks fit to refer it to the Law. And that he may evidence his care of the publick good, he is at waves prefent at the *Divan* four times a week j that is, *Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuejday*, and the other dayes (excepting *Friday*) keeps *Divan* in his own houfe, fo diligent and watchful are thefe men to difcharge the Adrs of Juftice, and their own Office.

He is attended to the *Divan*, which is a Chamber of the *Seraglio*, by a great number of *Chianrfes* and their Commanders ia chief, who are a fort of Purfevants and other Officers who only ferve to attend him to the *Divan* called *Muta faraca*, and may be termed Serjeants or Tipftaffes ; as he defcends from his horfe and enters the *Divan*, or upon his return goes into his houfe, he is with a loud voice of his Attendants prayed for, and wifhed all happinefs and long life, not unlike the falutations the *Roman* Souldiers uled to their Emperours 5 *Cum fib aufyiciis Cafaris omnia proffera & felicia precabantur*. When he is fet upon the Bench, all cafes are brought before the *Caddeelefcheer* who is Lord Chief Juftice, and by him all judgments pafs, unlefs the Prime Vifier (hall think the caufe proper for his cognifance, or fhall difapprove at any time the fentence of the judges and then by virtue of his unlimited power he can reverfe the Verdict and determine as he pleafes. All Officers in the *Divan* wear a ftrange fort of drefs upon their heads, called in *Tnrkijh* *Mugevezee*, which for the moft lively defcription, where delineated before you;

-A



A. Turbant

And

The Maxims of the Turkish Politie.

And this (hall in Ithort ferve for what is neccessary to speak of the *Divan* in this place, in regard we only touch upon it for the better explanation of the Vifiers Office. .

The Prime Vifier hath his power as ample as his Mafter who gives it him, except only that he cannot (though he is the Elder Brother of all *Pajhaes*) take on any of their heads without the Imperial signature or immediate hand-writing of the Grand Signior, nor can he punish a *Spahee* or *Janizary*, any other Souldier but by means of their Commanders: the Militia having reserved themselves that privilege, which secures them from several opprttfions: in other matters he is wholly absolute, and hath so great a power with the Grand Signior, that whomsoever he (hall thinKfit of all the Officers in the Empire to proscribe, he can speedily obtain the Imperial hand to put it in execution.

Whatsoever petitions and addreses are made, in what business soever, ought first to pass through the hands of the Vifier: but yet when a-party hath suffered some notorious injury, in which the Vifier is combined, or hath refused him justice, he hath liberty then to appeal to the Grand Signior himself, which is permitted by an ancient custom; the aggrieved person putting fire on his head enters the *Seraglio*, runs in haste, and can be stopped by no body until he comes to the presence of the Grand Signior, to whom he hath licence to declare his wrong. The like was done by Sir *Thomas Bendjish* when Embassadour at *Constantinople*, putting pots of fire at the Yard Arms of some English Ships then in Port, and came to Anchor near the *Seraglio*. The reason thereof was, the violent seizure of the Merchants goods, as soon as arrived in Port, for the service of the Grand Signior, without bargain or account of them, which being taken up by those Officers and great Persons who were out of the reach of Law, forced the worthy Embassadour at that time Refident to represent his grievances with much resolution, signifying them to the Grand Signior by fire on the Yards of eleven English Ships then in Port, which were drawn off from the scale, where they usually lay, to the side of the *Seraglios* which coming to be discovered first to the Vifier, before the grand Signior had notice thereof, he immediately extinguished those fires by a fair accommodation, before they burst into a more dangerous flame, by the knowledge of the Grand Signior, who might justly destroy him for fueling such notorious injustice to run to that publick and known extremity.

The *Persians* in like cases put on a Veil of White Paper, signifying the aggravation of their injury is not to be described in as much Paper as can cover their bodies.

This great Office of Charge and Trust, as it is the highest, so it is the nearest to *Joves* Thunderbolt, and most exposed to envy and emulation. Strange stories are read and confirmed by eye-witnesses in our days, concerning the unexpected rise and ascent of unworthy men on a sudden without degrees, steps or approaches to this mighty power and glory, and as soon have been thrown down and been the subject of the peoples cruelty and revenge; some have been the Sons but of a few days growth, and true Sun hath scarce set, before their greatness and glory hath declined * others have continued but a month, some a year, others two or three, and withal, even in those who have lived
longest

longeft aod happie ft, fortune fports with that wantonbef and inconstancy, that it may ferveto be the Mirrour and Emblem of the Worlds vanity, and uncertain riches* It is the fate of great Favourites with barbarous Princes to be but (hort-lived. For either the Prince delights to exercife his power in debating fome, and advancing others, or hath bellowed fo largely, that his bounty is at a flop, and begins to be wearied with heaping of favours, as the other is gluttoned aod fatiated with receiving them; *Fatopotentiæ raro fimpiternæ an fatias capit ant illos cum omnia tribuunt, ant hot qnod nihil rtiqum eft quod capiant*, Tac. Lib. 3. Emulation And flattery are like wife great, and the factions are commonly many in the Ottoman Court, whereby the (late of the firft Minjfter is endangered. *Infiit a mortalibus natura recentem aliorum felicitatem ægris oculis introfpicere, modumq, fortunæ a nllis magis exigere, quam qnos in squo vident*. Tac. Lib. 3. Sometimes the Queen Mother rules, fometimes the Kufli Aga commands, perhaps a beautiful Woman is Miftrefsof the power, as well as of the affections of the Suborn every one of thefe have fome Favourites, fbme or other who watch Preferments, and are intent toobferve all mifcarriages of State, which may reflectin, or queftion the judgment or hone ft y of the firft Authour, by whtch means the unhappy Vifier, either by the Sultans immediate command, or tumults of the Souldiery raited by the powerful factions aforementioned, yields up his Life and Government together ; whofe power and greatnefs being only borrowed from hisMafter, and depending on anothers pleafure, by its fhort continuance and mutability, verifies that true faying of Tacitus, Lib. 12. *Nihil rerum mortalium tarn infabile & fluxum eft, qnam fama potentia non fat vi nixæ*. '

But it doth not always happen that the Prime Vifier becaufe he is deprived of his Office, (hould therefore lofe his life ; for many times, efpecially if he be a man whofe difpofition is not greatly fufpected of Malice or Revenge to the contrivers of his fall, or be not of a generous fpirit, and great abilities and popularity, whereby he may be venterous and capableof railing Rebellion or Mutiny, he is permitted calmly to retire, and quietly to defend from his high Throne of honour, to enter into the lower Region and air of a fmall and petty Government of a Pafha ; as not many years paff the Predceffours of Kinkerli Father of this prefent Vifier being degraded, had the Pajhalick, of Kanifia (which is accounted one of the meaneft of all the Governments which are fubje & to a Pafoa) conferred on him, and here I cannot tell whether fuch a Vifier hath not more reafon to blefs and congratulate his fortune then accufeit ; for in this condition he is more free from cares and dangers, and much more happy if his ambition and greatnefs of fpirit render not his repofe and eate lefs pleafing, becaufe it is not in the higheft Lodgings of Honour and Command. But it is feldom fo among the Turks; for wtththemitifeemed no difgrace to be tranfplanred from the Mountains to the Vailies ; they know their original, and cornpofttion partakes not much of Heavenly fire, aod that the Clay they are framed of, is but of common Earth, which is in the hand of the Grand Signior as the Pot, to frame and mould, as is moft agreeable to his pleafure and will. And as it is no difparagement to decline and go backward in Honour amoogft the Turks, fo it is no new thing, er abfurdity in their Politicks, to fee men rife like Mulhromes in a night, aod from the

meanest and moſt abjeſt Offices, without degrees or convenient approaches, at once leap into the Seat and Quality of the Prime Viſier* I ſhall inſtance in one example worthy of Record, which was of late days, and as yet that I know of, hath had no place in Hiſtory. It happened that in *Conſtantinople*, there was either great ſcarcity of fleſh, or the negligence of the Butchers had made it ſo, ſo that they who were not ſo early abroad as to watch their uſual time of making their days provision, or came any thing late, were neceſſitated to paſs that day with a Lenten diet; among thoſe who had miſſed one rooming their common proportion of fleſh, was one *Dervife* a Cook of a Chamber of *Janizaries*; this man knew the blows and puniſhment he was to ſuffer from the chief of the Chamber; that through his floth and want of care, the whole Company ſhould that day paſs without their Dinner, which cauſed him in great paſſion with loud exclamations as he paſſed the ſtreets to accuſe the ill Government, and little care was had to rectifie theſe common abuſes: it fortuneſed that at that time that "*Dervife* was lamedting his caſe to all the world, and curling the principal Officers, that the Grand Signior in diſguiſe patted by, and feeling a man in ſuch a diſorder of mind, came in a courteous fanner to demand thereaſon of his paſſion; to whom the *Dervife* replied, *It was in vain for him to be inquisitive; or for me ſaid he, to inform of what you are able to afford no remedy unto; for none but the Grand Signior himſelf is of ſufficient power to redreſs that for which I have ſo much cauſe to be troubled.* At laſt with much importunity he told what great abuſe there was in the Butchery, that the *Shambles* were ill ſerved, that he had miſſed the uſual proportion of fleſh that morning, for his *Janizaries* Chamber, and whatpunishment he was lively to ſuffer, for having come forth only one moment of his due time; he added farther that the Viſier and other Officers were negligent in rectifying theſe mean and low diſorders, being wholly taken up in enriching themſelves, and intent to their own intereſt; but if I were firſt Viſier I would not only cauſe great plenty of fleſh in this City, but at all times of the day it ſhould be found by thoſe who wanted it; and now what benefit have either you, ſaid he, by hearing this ſtory, or what releaſe am I likely to have of puniſhment by repeating it to you / The Grand Signior afterwards returning home, and conſidering of the diſcourſe the *Janizaries* Cook had made him, whether to prove the abilities of the man, or becauſe he conceived Providence had offered this encounter, or that Princes delight to exerciſe their power in creating great men from nothing he ſent immediately for the *Dervife*, who being come into his preſence, and ſenſible of the familiar diſcourſe he had made him, trembling caſt himſelf down at his feet, ſuppoſing that the free language he uſed of the Viſier and the Government, was the cauſe he was now to loſe his life. But it happened quite contrary, for the Grand Signior encouraging him to lay aſide his fear, told him *he was reſolved to make him firſt Viſier*, to try an Experiment whether he was able to amend thoſe abuſes he complained of; and that herein he might not tranſgreſs the degrees whereby he was gradually to paſs, he firſt made him chief of his Chamber, the next day Captain, the day following *Aga* or General of the *Janizaries*, and thence with one ſtep to be Great Viſier, who not only remedied the abuſe in the ſhambles according to his promiſe, but proved a famous and excellent Miniſter of State; and though examples

of the like nature, are frequent among the *Turks*, yet this may serve at present to (show in part the fortune and fate by which men are raised, and the uncertainty of greatness and glory amongst the *Turks* above any other part of the world besides.

It was a hard Problem in the *Turkish Policy*, which as a wife Prime Vicer proposed to certain *Pashas* amongst other questions, What courses were possible to be found out for a first Vicer to maintain and continue his office, and acquit this so dangerous charge from the hazard and uncertainty to which it is liable; for you see Brothers, said he, how few enjoy or grow old herein; their virtue, their care, and their innocence are no protection, some remain a day, a week, a month, others protract the third to a year or two, but at length they are (to use our own Proverb) like the *Ant* to whom God gives wings for their speedier end. The *Pashas* were for a while all silent, not knowing what reply to make, or how to resolve so difficult and knotty a point, until *Kuperli* (who was then the most ancient and perhaps the wisest *Pasha*, as the actions of his following life have sufficiently testified) first replied that in his opinion, the only and most probable means for a tottering Vicer to secure himself, is to divert the minds of the Grand Signior and other working brains, upon some foreign War; for Peace is that which corrupts the dispositions of men, and sets them on work to raise themselves with intestine and civil evils; when War buies their Spirits, and employs them to gain renown and glory by Martial actions, by which means Plots and Treachery are driven from our own homes. * *Coufiliis & astutes externas moliri, arma procul habere*, Tac. lib.6. And it is possible that *Achmet* the Son of *Kuperli*, who began the last War with *Germany*, might go upon this Maxim of his fathers; for in all matters of his Government, he is observed to walk by the same rules and directions, which were bequeathed to him as well as his inheritance.

And yet for all this doubtful estate of the Prime Vicars, some have been known to manage this office 18 or 19 years, and afterwards wearied with care and pains, to acquit it by a natural death; from whence this question may arise, whether the favour or displeasure of the Prince depends on the destiny or fortune we are born to, or whether humane Counsel can assign a way between contumaciousness and flattery, wherein to steer free from danger and ambition? Vnde *dubitare cogor, fato & forte nascendi, ut Caetera, ita Principum inclinatio in hos, offensio in illos, an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis, liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam, & deforme obsequium pergere iter, ambitione & periculis vacuum*. Tacit, lib 4. But we find but few examples of this kind. For if Vicars have been evil, their own cruelty and covetousness have hastened their fate; if good, their merits have been their ruin. 5 left the great benefits their merits have procured to their Prince (should seem to want reward, or be dangerous or difficult to requite, *Beneficia eo quod Uta, dum videntur exsolvi posse; ubi multum antevenerat pro gratia odium redditur*, Tac. lib. 4.

The Revenues of the first Vicer which issue immediately from the Crown, and are certain appendages to the office, are not great, being not above 20000 Dollars yearly, which arise from certain Villages in *Romelia*; the rest of the immense riches which accrues to this charge for

full of eares and danger, flows from all the quarters of the Empire. For no *Baffin* or Minister of trust enters his place without his Present and offering to the first Vifier, to obtain his consent, and purchase a continuance of his favour. Those that have Governments abroad* have always their Agents at Court, who with gifts continually mollifie the Vifiers mind, entreating him to represent their service to the Grand Signior in an acceptable and grateful manner. And though at the Equinoctial in the Spring, all *Pajhaet* and any that have Governments of note, are obliged to make their Prefects to the Grand Signior of considerable value, at which time the first Vifier neither will not want his own acknowledgment*, he is yet farther treated by all Peifons with fums of money, as the nature of their buifness is, which is not iecretJy, but boldly and confidently demanded, and the bargain beaten as in matters of Merchandize, and Trade5 and Justice and Favours made as vendible and fet as publick to sale, as Wares and Commodities are in the Shops and places of common Mart ; so that if the first Vifier proves covetous (as commonly they do who are raised from nothing, and used always to thrift) and resolves to lose nothing of what he may get, his income is in redible, and may equal that which is the Root of the Grand Signior, and in a few years amasse an immense riches and wealth. But of this the Prince and the *Turkifh* Policy is not Ignorant, and accordingly provides remedies to drain the inundations of the Vifiers Coffers ; at first by extorting great fums of money from him at his entrance to the charge ; then under colour of Friendship and Favour the Grand Signior makes him Vifits, in requital whereof rich Prefects are made him, as Gratitude for so much Honour j next he many times sends to him for a gift of 100000 Dollars, for Jewels, Horfesand other things of a great value;and in this manner several contrivances are used to turn these Rivulets to pay their Tribute to the great Ocean * amongst which this present Grand Signior *Mahomet* the fourth hath found out one way amongst the rest, putting the Vifier often to the charges of his Dinner, sending to his Kitchin for 20 dishes of Meat, which is the usual proportion of the Grand Signiors ordinary Table, and by inviting himself to a Banquet many times at the Vifiers expences 5 and this being done so frequently, gives the world occasion to believe that he demands it out of no other design then narrowness of soul to save the charges of his own Dinner ; and the rather it is so believed because this Ee per our is reputed of a covetous disposition, and of no affinity with *Solyman* the Magnificent. But the ways and means by which the Grand Signior comes in the end to be possessed of the gains and profits collected by his Vifier, and other officers, requires a particular discourse apart, which (shall in its due time and place be treated of) and this (shall for the present suffice to have spoken concerning the Prime Vifier and his office.

CHAP. XII.

The Offices, Dignities, and feveral Governments of the Empire.

HE that will defcribe the Polities of a Country, mud endeavour c-
ppecially in the moft exaft and punctual manner poffible to declare
the feveral Offices, Dignities and Riches of it, that fa a more eafie com-
putation may be calculated of itsftrengrh, numbers of Men, Fortifica-
tions, Forces by Sea, where beft defended, atld where molt eafily vul-
nerable and exposed.

The ntxt to the Vifier *Azem* or the firft: Vifier, are the feveral *Begler-
begs* (which may not unaptly be compared to Arch-Dukes in fome parts
of Chriftendoin) having under their iurifdiction many *Sangiacks* or Pro-
vinces, *Beyes, Agues and other*; To every one of thefe the Grand Sig-
nior in honour beftows three Enfigns (called in Turkifh *Tugh*) which are
ftaves trimmed with the tail of a Horfc with a golden *Ball* upon the top,
and this is to diftinguilh them from *Bajhaws* who have two Enfigns 5 and
the *Sangiack beg*, who hath alfo the name of *Pafcha*, and hath but one.
When a *Pafcha* is made, the Solemnity uftd at the conferring his office,
is a Flag or Banner carry ed before him, and accompanied with Mufick
and Songs by the *Miriale*m, who is an Officer for this purpofe only, for
investiture of *Pafiaes* in their office.

The Government of *Beglerbegs*, who have feveral Provinces called
Sangiacks under their command are of two forts ; the firft is called *Has
ile Beglerbeglik*, which hath a certain Rent aflignedoutof the Cities,
Countries, and Signories allotted to the Principality ; the ftcond is call-
ed *Saltane Beghrbeglik*, for maintenance of which is annexed a certain
Salary or Rent, colcked by the Grand Signiors Officers with the Treau-
fure of the whole Government, out of which are paid alfo the *Satgiack
Beglars*, that is, the Lords of the feveral Counties, Towns or Cities, and
the Militia of the Country.

It is impoffible exactly to defcribe the Wealth and ways of Gains
exercifed by thefe Potent Governours to enrich themfelves; for a
Turk is ingenious to get Wealth, and hafty to grow rich; howfbever
we will fuccinctly fetdown the certain fums of Revenue which are
granted them by Commiffion from the Grand Signior, afliged them
out of every particular place of their Government} btides which they
have the Profits of all Wefts and Strays, Goods of Felons, fideofVac-
cant Church-Offices, Slaves, Horfes and Cartel, which by Mortality or
other accidents have no certain Matter ; to which may be added the be-
nefit of their *Avanias* or falfe Acculations, whereby they invade the
Right and Eftatesof their Subjects ; as alfo or the Robberies of their
people and frangers, by their own Slaves and Servants, Whom they
fend abroad with that defign; and having committed the Robberies
themfelves, under pretence of difcovery of the Crime and doing Ju-
ftice, they feize the innocent people, torture and imprifon-them, and
perhaps put fome to death for expiation of their own offences. To
come nearer then to this purpofe. The *Beglerbegs* of the firft fort are in
number 22, who have their Revenue allotted them in the places that
they govern, collected by their own Officers according to Commiffion,

An Afer is i-
boub the value
of a half,
penny.

of which the firftis of *Anatolia*, anciently called *Afs minor*, afterwards *Anatolia*, *Ἀνατολία*, from its more Eaſtern ſituation in reſped of *Greece* & the yearly Revenue of which in the Grand Signiors books called the old Canon is a Million of Aſpers, and hath under its jurifdiction 14 *Sangiack*. *Kiotabi* where the *Beglerbeg* refides in *Pbrjgia* *Magior*, *Sarah an*, *Aidin*, *Kafiamoni*, *Hudanendighiar*, *Boli*, *Mentefcbe*, *Angers* otherwife *Ancjra*, *Karabyfar*, *Teke ili*, *Kiangri*, *Hamid*, *Sultan Ughi*, *Kareff*, with the command of 22 Caſtles.

2. *Caramania*, anciently called *Cilicia*, and was the laſt Province which held out belonging to the *Caramanian* Princes, when all places gave way to the flouriſhing Progreſſo of the *Ottoman* Arms ; the Revenue hereof is 660074 Aſpers, and hath under its jurifdiction 7 *Sangiack**, viz. *Iconium*, which is the Court of the *Beglerbeg* in *Cappadocia*, *Nigkdc*, *Kaifani*, otherwife *Cefanca*, *Jenifebebri*, *Kjrfebebri*, *Akschebri*, *Afaerai* : And in this Principality are three Caſtles, at *Iconinm* one, at *tarende* and *Mendui*, under the *Pajba's* immediate command, and feventeen others in ſeveral *Sangiacks*..

Which figni-
fies a free
command.

3. *Diarbekjr*, otherwife *Mesopotamia*, hath a Revenue of a Million two hundred thouſand and 660 Aſpers, and hath under its jurifdiction 19 *Sangiacks*, with five other Governments called *Hukinmet in Turkifh*, eleven of which *Sangiack** are properly belonging to the *Ottoman* Royalties, and eight are *Curdian* Counties, or of the people called *Kurts*; for when *Curdia* was conquered, the Country was divided, and diſtinguiſhed into the nature of *Sangiack**, but with this difference of right inheritance and ſucceſſion to the Goods and Poſſeſſions of their Parents, and ſucceed as Lords of Mannors, or to other petty Governments by Blood and Kindred. And as other Lords of *Sangiacks*, *Timariot**, or Barons pay the Grand Signiors duties, and hold their Land in Knights ſervice, or other tenure whereby they are obliged to attend and follow their Commanders to the Wars, whenſoever they are called thereunto by the Grand Signiors ſummons: theſe that are regiſtred for *Hukjumat* have no *Timariots* or Lords to command them, but are free from all Duties and Impoſition, and are abſolute Maſterſtof their own Lands and Eſtates. Thoſe *Sangiack** which are properly belonging to the *Ottoman* Roy aides are *C/for/w*, *Ezani*, *Synnck*, *Nesbin*, *Chatenghif*, *Tchæmiſchekrek*, *Seared*, *Mufarkin*, *Aktchie*, *Kala*, *Habur*, *Sangiar* other wife *Diarbekir*, which is the place of refidence of the *Beglerbeg*. Thoſe *Sangiacks* which are entailed upon Families are *Sagman*, *Kulab*, *Aiecbrani*, *Tergil*, *Ataki*, *Pertek*, *Tchtfakſcur*, *Tchirmeks*

4. Of *Scbam* otherwife *Damaſcus*, the certain Revenue of which is a Million of Aſpers, and hath under it *Sangiackj* 7 with *Has*, where the Contributions by the *Beglerbeg** Officers are collected upon the Country* and are *Kadeſcherifail* *M Jeruſalem*, *Gaza*, *Sifad*, *Nabob/* alias *Uaplee* in *Syria*, *Aglnn*, *Bahura*, and *Damaſcus*, the City where the *Beglerbeg* refides. He hath farther three with *Saliane*, for account of which he is paid by the Kings Officers ; and thoſe are *Kadmar*, *Saida*, *Bern*, *Kinrk*, *Schubek*, where are no *Timariots*, but the Inhabitants are true, and abſolute Matters of their own Eſtates in the ſame manner as the *Carfare*, which We have before mentioned ; the Caſtles here are for the moſt part demoliſhed, and ſcarce worthy our notices.

5. Is of *Siwas* a City in *Armenia*, *major*, hath a Revenue of 900 thou

thoufand Afpers, and hath under his Dominions fix *Sangiackj*, viz. *Antajta*, *Tcburum*, *Buradick*. *Demurki*, *Gtanuk*., *Arthur*, the Castles of which are 19.

6. Is the Government of rhe *Pafcha* of *Erzrum* on the confines of *Georgia*, hatha Revenue of a Million two hundred thoufand and 660 Afpers, and hath under his Government eleven *sangiaeks*, viz.. *Karahizar*, *Scharfa Kieifi*, *Pafm*, *Esbtr*, *Hones*, *Tehran*, *Turtum*, *Meyenkerd*, *Ma nservan*, *Kyzutchan*, *AleLzkcrd* ; and hath thirteen Castles.

7. Is the Government of the *Pafcha* of *Wan* or *Van* a City in *Media*, hath a Revenue of a Million a hundred and thirty two thoufand 209 Afpers, and commands 14 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Adilgimar*, *Ergifch*, *Mufch*, *Barkjri*, *Kiarkian*, *Kifani*, *Efpaird*, *AgakIs*, *Efyad*, *BeNikUttur*, *Kalaibaierid*, *Berdea* and *Edegiek*.

8. Is the Government of the *Pafcha* of *Tchildir* on the confines of *Georgia*, hath a Revenue of nine hundred twenty five thoufand Afpers, and commands nine *Sangiacks*, viz. *Olti*, *Hart us*, *Arndnug*, *Erdcham-burck Hagrek*.) *Pufenh* of alias *Pufenhal*, *Machgil*, *Igiare*, *Penbeck*. *Per-tfyek*.

9. Is the Government of *Scbeherezulm Affyria*, the *Pafcha* of which hatha Revenue of a Million of Afpers, and commands 20 *Sangiack**, viz. *Surutchuk*, *Erbil*, *Kiufibaf*, *Sebehribazar*, *Chabkjule*, *Gebthamrin*, *Hturd Mtrd*, *Dutchuran* *Merghiane*, *Hastinudevin*, *Agiur*, *Neitutari*, *Sepeuzengire*, *Ebruan*, *tamtdan*, *Badeberend*, *Bellas*, *Vicheni*, *Garrikalo*, *Renghene*.

10. Is the Government of *Halef* or *Aleppo*, hath eight hundred and feventcen thoufand 772 Afpers Revenue, and commands 7 *Sangiacks* with *Has* and 2 with *Saliane* : Of the firft fort are *Adana*, *Ekrad*, *Kelts*, *Btregtk*, *Mearre*, *Gazir*, *Balis*: Of the other are *Matik* and *Turkman* which is *Turcomania*, of thefe at this day the Revenue is farmed, and are not called *Sangiacks* but *Agalik*., for in them are no *timariots*, but every man is Lord and Marter of his own Lands: This Government hath five Catties.

11. Is the Government of *Marafeb* near the River *Euphrates*, fituated between *Mefrpotamia* and *Aleppo*, otherwife called by the *Turkj Zulka-drie*, hatha Revenue of 62S thoufand 450 Afpers, and commands four *Sangiacks* only, viz. *MaUtia*, *Afab*, *Kars*, and *Samfad*, and hath four Catties.

12. Is the Government of *Kibros* otherwife called *Cyprus*, hath a Revenue five hundred thoufand 650 Afpers, and commands 7 *Sangiackj*, viz. 4 with *Has*, and are *Itcbili*, *Tarfus*, *Alanie*, *Schis* ; the other 3 with *Sahane*, are *Kenine BafMaufa*, *Lefkufcha* or *Larnica*, which is the place of the *Pafcha's* residence, and bath 14 Catties.

13. Iathe Government of *Tafabdos Sebam*, otherwife tripoly of *Syria*, hatha Revenue eight hundred thonfand Afpers, at this place the *Pafcha* refides, and hath under him 4 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Hams*, *Hama*, *Gemele* and *Selemie*, and bath only one Cattle*in the *Sangiack* of *Hams* called *Faflulekrad*.

14. Is the Government of *Terbozan*, otherwife *Trabtzond*, encom-pafted with a ridge of Mountains, according to a Poet born in that place,

The Maxims of the Turkish Politie.

Vertice Montano Trapeze inclufa receffit.

Formerly the Imperial Seat of the *Comnetii* reigning over *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and the parts of *Pontus*, founded by *Alexius Comnents*, who upon the raking of *Constantinople* by the Western Chriftians fled to this place, which flourished until taken by *Mahomet* the Great 5 it is situate on the *Etixine* or black Sea, and full a place of considerable Traffick, especially, made rich for the fiftiing, out of which and the cuftoms the *Pafcba*, though he hath no *Sangiacks* under his Government, hath yet a Revenue allotted of 734 thoufand 850 Afpers, with 14 Castles to defend the City, and the Dominions belonging thereunto.

15. The Government of the *Pafcba* of *Kars* a .City near *Erzrum*, hath a Revenue of 820 thoufand 650 Afpers, and commands fix *Sattgiackj*, viz. *Erdehankintchuk*.) *Giugewan*, *Zarufchan*, *Ghegran*, *Kughizman*, *Pafin*.

16. The Government of the *Pafcba* of *Muful*, otherwife called *Nincve in Affyria*, hath a Revenue of 681 thoufand and 56 Afpers, and commands live *Sangiackj*, viz. *Bagtwanlu*, *Tekrit*, *Zerbit*, *Eski Muful* or old *Ninive*, and *Hunt**.

17 The Government of the *Pafcba* of *Rika* hath a Revenue of 680 thoufand Afpers, and commands feven *Sangiacks*, viz. *Ghemafche*, *Chabur*, *Dizirhebe*, *Benirabue*, *Serug*, *Biregek Ane*.

Thefe are all the Governments which are in *Afia* with *Has*, let us now pa/s into *Europe*.

18. Is the Government of the *Pafcba* of *Rumuli* otherwife *Romania*, which is the moft honourable *Turkish* charge in *Europe*, hath a Revenue of a Million and a hundred thoufand Afpers, the feat of the *Pafcba* is *Sofia*, 2nd commands 24 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Kioftendit* otherwife *Justiniana*, *Mora* other wife *Morea*, *skenderi Tirbala*, *Silifira*, *Nigbeboli*, *Vehri*, *Awlona*, *Jania*, *Ilbrazan*, *Tebirmen*, *Selanik* othcrwife *Salonica*, *Wize*, *De-Inniid*, *Vskjup*, *Kirkkelifd*, *Dukikin*, *Wedin*, *Alagehizar*, *Serzerin*, *WaltcharIN Bender*, *Akkerman*, *Ozi*, *Azakh* But it is to be obferved that though *Morea*, according to the ancient Canon, was under the jurifdiction of the *Pafcba* oi *Romania*, yet now it is divided and made part of the Revenue of the *Valedeoi* Queen Mother, where a Farmer of her Rents and Incomes now refides.

19. Is the charge of the *Kupudan* otherwife Captain *Pafcha*, or as the *Turks* call him General of the White Seas, hath a Revenue of 885 thoufand Afpers ;he is Admiral of the Grand Signiors Fleet, and Commands as fir as the *Turkish* Power by Sea extends ; and commands 13 *Sangiackj*; viz. *Galipoli*, which is the proper place of the *Pafcba*'s refidence, *Egribuz* otherwife *Negropont*, *Karlieli*, *Ainebahti*, *Rhodes*, *Midillu* or *Aletilene*, *Kogia Eli*, *Betga*, *Sifla*, *Mezefira*, *Sakjot* the Ifland of *Seio*, *Beneksche* or *Malvatia*; fome others adde *Nicomedia*, *Limnos* and *Nixia*.

20. Is the Government of the *Pafcba* of *Budun* otherwife *Bnda* in *Hungary*, hath a Revenue and commands twenty *Sangiacka*; viz. *Agri*, *Kanyfu*, *Samandra*, *Fetchui*, *Uftunubilgrad* or *Stultwiffenberg*, *Ojtrogon* or *Strigoinum*, *sekdin*, *Chawan*, *Semutum*, *Sirem*, *Kupan*, *Filek*, *isekftwary Sekthes*, *Setchre*, *Novigrad*, *Seward*, *Belgrade* or *Alba Regal/s*.

And

And now lately in the year 1665. that *Wiwar* or *Newbaufil* was taken, a new *Sangiack*. is fince added.

a 1. The *Pdfcha* of *Temefvpar* in *Hungary* hath a Revenue and hath under his command 6 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Lrpona*, *Tcbanad*, *Ghiola*, *Mudava*, *Waradin*, to which alfo *Janova* is addtd, conquered in the year 1665.

22. Is the Government of the *Pafcha* of *Bofna* in *Myria*, divided formerly into *Liburtia* and *Dalmatia*, now called *Sclavonic* ; his Revenue is a commands 8 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Herfek.*, *Kelts* ,*Es dernik* *Puzga*, *Feragine*, *Zagine*, *Kirka* *Rabvige*.

There are other *Pajlhas ufCoffa*, *iheodofta* in *Taurica* in *Cberfonejus*, which having no *Sangiacks* ,no *Tintariots* nor *Ziamets* under them, but only a few beggely Villages which we (hall purpofcly omit, as not worthy the notice. And fo much (hall be faid for the *Pafchas* or *Beglerbths* with *Hat*, or with the Revenue impofed upon Countries under their command, collected by their own Officers.

Thofe that are with *Saliane*, or paid out of the Grand *Sigciars Trea^* fury, are:

1. The *Pafcha* of *Gran Caira*, called by the *Turks* *Miftr*, hath a Revenue of 600 thoufand *Scheriffs* or *Zebins* a year, which he may juftly and honeftly pretend to ; as much is the Tribute yearly paid the Grand Signior from that place ; which is moft commonly brought fince the War with *Venice* upon Camels backs by land, with a guard of 500 men, not to expofe it to the danger of being intercepted at Sea 3 another fum of 600 thoufand *Zebins* yearly goes to the payment of the *Turks* Forces in *Egypt* ; befides the vaft fums of money this *Pafcha* extorts with infupportable Avarice and Tyranny from the Natives of the Country, during the fpace of his 3 years Government ; by which means he grows exceffive rich, and able to refund a good ftream into the Grand Signiors Cofters at his return, as hereafter (hall be the fubject: of our more large difcourfe; he commands 16 *Sangiacks* as is reported, but not being regiftred in the Kings Book, I let them pafs without naming them.

2. Is the Government of *Bagdat*, otherwife *Babylon*, hath a Revenue of a Million and 700 thoufand *Afpers*, and commands 22 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Dertenk.*, *Gezan*, *Getvazir*, *Renk*, *Aiadiie*, *Gelle*, *Semvpat*, *Remaliie*, *Beiare*, *Derne*, *Deb are*, *Waft*, *Gebkiule*, *Gedide*, *Kefend*, *Kaftrchirin* *Ghiilan*, *Karag*, *Anne*, *Alfebah*, *Demurkapn*, *Deirberbiie*, *Karaniie*.

3. Is the Government of the *Pafcha* of *Yemen*, which is in *Arabia Felix*, whole place of refidence is at *Adem* upon the Red Sea 3 which place and Country being recovered for the moft part again from the *Turk* by the *Arabians*, it is neither needful to mention the Revenue, nor the *Sangiacks* it formerly commanded.

4. Is the Government of *Habelcb* upon the confines of the *Abiffinu* in *Ethiopia*, called alfo by the *Turks* *Hufitzebit*, which extending it felf to the Dominions of *Prefier John*, being far diftant from the lucrousf of the *Ottoman* force, is now wholly loft to the *Turks* fo that wo can neither affign the Revenue, nor the *Sangiacks*.

5. In the Government alfo of *Bajra* on the confines of *Perjia*, a Maritime City in the *Sinus Perficms* near *Byblis* in *Phanici*, were reckoned 26 *Sangiacks*, but now not held by the *Turk*, who hath no other power

The Maxims of the Turkish Politie.

there, nor benefit thence, excepting only that prayers are made constantly for the *Sultan*.

6. In the Government of *tahfa* on the confines of *Or mm* in *Perjia*, are counted 6 *Sangiacy*, viz. *Aimn*, *Sakpl*, *Negniie*, *Netif*, *Benderazir*, *Giriz*, but these Countries are poor, and have scarce any place in the Grand Signiors Registers.

To these we should adde the Governments of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli* in *Barbary* } but that being much fallen off from the *Turks* obedience and become almost independent of themselves } we (ball pass by the discourse of them, especially because of late years the mutual Treaties with *Barbary*, and interchanges of War and Peace with those Countries, hath made the state and condition of that people well known and familiar in *England*.

The use of the particular Catalogue fore-going, is to demonstrate the greatness and power of the *Ottoman* Empire, which hath so many considerable Governments and Principalities in its possession, wherewith to encourage and excite the endeavours of Heroick spirits to an ambition of great and noble Enterprises, whereby to merit the Rewards which remain in the power of the *Sultan* to gratifie them with. And to shew in the just computation of the number of men the *Turk* can raise to the War: though notwithstanding, they are in the gain of the Grand Signiors favour and complement; as in the last War with *Germany*, they brought 10000 effective men into the Field.

Of these *Beglerbegs* five have *Visiers*, which signifies as much as Councillor, viz. the *Paschas* of *Anatolia*, *Babylon*, *Cairo*, *Romania*, and *Buda*; which are charges of the greatest riches, power, and fame; the others have their pre-eminence, rank, or order according to the Priority of Conquest, and Antiquity in the possession of the *Turks*.

These are all the great Governments of the Empire, in whose respective jurisdictions are always three principal Officers, viz., the *Mufti*, the *Reis Efendi*, otherwise called *Reis Kitab*, which is Lord Chancellor or Secretary of State, or rather those two offices united into one; and the third is *Tefterdar fahaw*, or Lord Treasurer. These three officers are near Councillors and attendants on their *Vajhaws*, and so also they are on the Prime Vifier, whose *Mufti*, *Reis Efendi*, and *Tefterdar* have a superiority and dignity above the others, and are to them, as the original to the Copy.

Of the *Mufti* we shall speak in due place. The *Reis Efendi*, which signifies chief of the Writers or Book-men; (for the *Turks* call always men of the Law, and Professors of the Pen, and Parochial Priests by the Title of *Efendi*) is always present and attending on the Vifier, for passing Orders, Decrees, Patents and Commissions into all parts of the Empire^ which are daily dispatched in those numbers into all places, as is incredible} for the *Turks* governing more by their Arbitrary power, and according to the exigences of affairs, then by a set rule, or form, every business requires its distinct order and the very Courts of Justice are moderated according to the commands and directions they

they receive from above ; by which means the *Rek Efetdi's* hands are filled with fuch a multitude of bufinefs, as employs great numbers of Writers⁵ and confequently brings in riches flowing to his Coffers 3 fime in which Office, who by their parts, induftry, and courage have gained authority and refpect, have amaffed wealth, which might compare with the riches and treafure of Princes: We fhall here inftance in one of late years, famous in *Turky*, for his knowledge and riches, called *Samozade*; one who had piled thofe heaps of all things that were rich and curious, as were too tedious and long to infer in a Catalogue in this place. It may fuffice, that being executed in the time of the laft Wars againft the Emperour of *Germany* for fome confpiracy againft the Great Vilier, fuch a Treafure was found appertaining to him (all which was confiscated to the Grand Signior) as was fufficient to have enriched and railed his Prince, had he been impoverished, and in a declining condition.

The other Great Officer, is the *Tefierdar* or Lord Treafurer, who receives the Revenue of the Grand Signior, and pays the Souldiery, and makes other publick difburfements 5 this Office is different from the Treafurer of the *Seraglio* (of whom we have already fpoken) who attends to nothing elfe but the expences of the Court, and to gather in the accidental profits and prefents paid to the Grand Signior 5 which is" fo confiderable, that every *Sultan* (for the mod part) amaffes a particular treafure of his own, which after his death is inclofed in a certain Chamber, and (hut with an Iron gate, and the Key-hole (topped with Lead, and over the Port is writ in Golden Letters, The Treafure of fuch a *Sultan*. And this will fuffice to have fpoken of the Offices and Dignities of the Empire.

CHAP. XIII

Of the Tartars and Tartar Han, and in what manner they depend upon the Turks.

THe *Tartars* may very well be accounted amongft the other Princes fubjett to the *Ottoman* power jl mean not the *Aftatick Tartars* or the *Tartar of Eusbeck*, (though fo much *Mahometan*, as to wear green Turbants, and to deduce their Race from the Line of *Mahomet* himfelf) for having conquered *China*, and poffefling a greater Empire then the *Ottoman*, they are far from acknowledging any fubjedion or degree of inferiority to the *Turk*. ' nor are all the *European Tartars* Subjects to the *Sultan*; for the *Kalmuk* and *Citrahan Tartars* (men of ft range barbarity, and countenance different from all the other race of mankind) though Profefibrs of the *Mahometan* Religion, are yet faithfully and piously obedient to the Duke of *Mofeovie* their lawful Prince.

But the *Precopentian Tartar*, which inhabits *Taurica Chcrfonef***, now called *Crim*, the principal City of which is *Theodofia*, now *Cafa*, and the *Nagaentian Tartar*, which inhabits by the *Talus Meotn* between the Rivers of *Volga* and *Tanats*, are the people which may be accounted amongft the Subjects, or at leaft Confederates of this Empire: though oniy the City of *Cafa* of all thofe Dominions, is immediately in Poffef-

fion and Government of the *Turk*, which in my opinion appears Co be a cautionary Town and Pledge for their obedience ; and though the *Han* or Prince of that Country is elective, yet he is cholen out of the true Line, and confirmed by the Grand Signiors, who have always taken upon them a power to depose the Father, and in his place constitute the Son or next of that Linage when found remiss in affording their Auxiliary helps to the War, or guilty of any disrespect or want of duty to the *Ottoman* Port.

This present *Han* which now governs, called *Mahomet Ghirei* (for that is the Surname of his Family) remained during the life of his Father (according to the custom of the Eldest Son of this Prince) a hostage to the Turk in *Janboli* a Town in *Thrace*, four days journey distant from *Adrianople* situated on the *Euxine* or black Sea ; but from thence upon jealousy of the Turkish a vicinity to his own Country, was removed to *Rhodes*, where he passed an obscure and melancholy life until the death of his Father, and then being recalled to *Constantinople*, had there his Sword girt on, swore fealty to the Grand Signior, with all other formalities performed according to their custom of feudal Inauguration : But being let led in his Kingdom and mindful of his differences at *Rhode*, he had ever stomached the Pride of the *Ottoman* Emperour, by which, and the disavowal of the *Polonians*, and the other neighbouring *Tartars* as a thing dishonourable to so ancient and powerful a people, to resign the heir of their Kingdom a hostage to their neighbours; this present Prince hath refused this part of subjection which the *Vilier Kuprinli* often complained of ; but not being in a condition to afford a remedy unto, thought it prudent to dissemble.

But yet these people are esteemed as Brothers, or near Allies with the Turk, to whom for want of heirs male in the *Ottoman* Line, the Empire is by ancient compact to descend ; the expectation of which though afar off, and but almost imaginary, doth yet conserve the *Tartar* in as much obedience to the *Turk*, as the hopes of an Estate doth a young Gallant, who is allured to a complacency and obsequiousness with the petulant humor of a Father that adopts him, who is resolved never to want heirs of his own Family. And thus the *Tartar* is as obedient as other subjects ; and though the *Turk* exercises not his power there by commands, as in other places of his Dominions, but treats all his business by way of Letters ; yet these Letters serve in the place of Warrants, for the execution of the Grand Signiors pleasure, and are as available as the * Autogra, and other formalities of the Imperial Edict, are in other places (in subjection to the Turk)

* The great Character of the Emperors name affixed at the top of every Command.

By ancient compact between this Empire and the Kingdom of *Tartary*, it is agreed, that whenever the Grand Signior goes in person to the Wars ; the *Tartar Han* is to accompany him in person with an Army of a hundred thousand men, but if the Viceroy or some other General be in the Field, then is he only obliged to send forty or fifty thousand under the command of his Son, or some principal Officer of his Kingdom, who are paid and maintained out of the booty and pillage they acquire, In the year 1663. the *Tartar* called on occasion of the War in *Hungary* to the assistance of the *Turk*, they made such incursions into that Country, *Moravi*, and *Silesia* sackings and burning all Castles and Towns, that they carried away one hundred and sixty thousand

thoufand captive fouls in one year which precife number I am infor med from thofe who had received good information of the Ptngik or Certificates that were given upon every head ; for the *Tartar* beingan abfolute frec-booter, makes prize of all that comes within his power ; and left he fhould prey on the fubjects of the *Turk*, they are bound to take out atteftations from certain Regifters, of the Names, Countries and Age of their Captives, left they fhould deceive the *Turk* with the fale of thofe, who are already their own fubjects and flaves.

The *Tartar* is to the *Turk*, as the *Giacall* to the *Lion*, who hunts and finds the prey for the *Lion* to overcome and feed on : And Co the *Tartar* makes incurftions into the neighbouring Countries roundabout, and pafs in great bodies fbmetimesten or twelve days without doing the leaft dammage or fpoil in their journey outward ; but as *Coon* as they turn their faces home, they rob, fpoil, burn and carry all the Inhabitants of what Age or Sex foever, like a torrent before them ; and every one of them leading three or four Horfes a piece, on which they mount their Captives and load their prey, make a running march day and night with few hours intermimon for natural repofe, too faft for any orderly Army to overtake ; and any other, that is not fo, is not able to give them battel. Such of their flaves as in the journey are wounded and in fir me, and not able to accompany the Camp, they kill ; thofe which they bring fafeinto their own Country they fell to the *Turks*, who come thither to trade for this Merchandize, which is the moft profitable commoditie that *Tartary* affords. Young Boyes and Girls are rated at the higheft price, the latter of which being beautiful are like Jewels held at an unknown value ; but few of them e/cape the luft of the *Tartars*, who deflower them even in the years of their very infancy. This fort of people were by the ancients called *Sermati*, and were always famous for their exploits on Horfe-back, but heavy and ignorant of foot fervice ; which Character *Tacitus* gives of them, *Lib.* 1. *Hift.* Omnts *Sermatutn* virtus quaft extra ipfos, nihil adpedeftrem pugnam, tarn ignavum ubi per turmas advenere, vix ulla aciet obftiterit, inerst videtur judore acquirere, quod poffis fanguine purare, mira diverfitate narturd cum iidem homines fie ament inertiam, & oderint quietem: They live very hardly, and feed efpecially on horfe-flefth, which dying in their march, they never examine his difeafes, whether fufteited or overheated ; but distributing his flefh amongft their Companions, placed it under their Sadies: and thus baked between the heat of the man and thehorfe, chafed with that days labour, is at night judged fufficiently prepared, as a di(h fit for the Table of their Prince.

And as the men are nourished with a Diet of raw flefti, herbs and roots, orfuch as the Earth naturally produces without the concoction of the Fire to prepare it for their ftomachs; fbalfo their Horfes are of a hardy temperament, patient of hunger and cold, and in theiharp Winter of thofe Countries, when the ground is covered with Snow, nourifh themselves with the Barks of Trees, and fuch herbage as they can find at the bottom of the deep Snow. Their Towns or Villages confift of huts rather than houfes, or hurdles made of fticks and covered with a courfe hair Cloth, of which Villages there are accounted two hundred thoufand, fo that taking one man out of every Village (as their cuftom is when they go to the War) they fpeedily form an Army

of two hundred thousand fighting men. But now having carried great riches out of *Poland*, and gained a considerable wealth by the Market of their slaves, some of them throw or their homely Plads to wear Sabres, and some more frugal, employ their money for building Houses; the riotous and dissolute are addicted to strong Waters, and a drink called *Boza* made of a certain feed (which drank in a great quantity doth intoxicate, and is now much in use among the *Turks*) and give themselves up to a gluttony, as brutish as that which is natural unto Swine, having no art of fauces to provoke their appetite, but rest delighted with the meer contentment of idleness and a full stomach.

But this (shall be sufficient to have spoken of the relation the *Tartars* have to the government of the Turk, and their subjection to this Empire, their customs and manners being more amply and fully described in other books.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Tributary Princes to the Grand Signior, viz. Moldavians, Valachians, Transilvanians, Ragusans, &c.

The power and puissance of an Empire is not more judged of by the many governors, the rich offices it can dispose of, the multitude of Provinces it contains in obedience, and the necessity it can impose on other Princes to seek its confederacy (which we have already treated of) then it is by the many tributaries which to redeem the remainder of their worldly goods, willingly sacrifice the best part to appease his fury, in whose power it is to matter all.* and so these distressed Nations, long wearied-out with tedious Wars, oppressed between the Emperour of *Germany*, the *Volander*, and the *Turk*, and more damaged by their own civil dissensions and domestic perfidiousness, then vanquished by the force of Arms, were forced at last to surrender up their fruitless Provinces to the devotion of the Turk, which are now harassed and oppressed beyond all expression, and are the meekest Oaves to the Turk of all other his subjects; and may well be compared to the industrious Bee and profitable Sheep, whom he cares for and maintains alive for the sake of their Honey, and the interest of their Wool; and as if all this were too little, when it (shall so be thought fit, he opens the gate to the Incurfions of the *Tartar*, who having gained a considerable booty of goods and captives, sells to the *Turks* for slaves, those which were before his subjects. These three poor Provinces formerly called the *Daci*, which withstood so long the *Roman Arms*, were always esteemed a Valiant and Warlike people, according to that of *Virgily lib. 8. Æn.*

*Indomitiq; Dace, & pontem Indignatus Arams.
& Juvenal. Sat. 5.*

Dacium & feripto radiat Germanicus autre.

Which Countries have been the Graves and Cemeteries of the *Turk*/- andio thefe modern times been theftageon which fo many Tragedies of War have been acted, being defended with as much valour and variety of fuccesses, as could humanely be expected in fo unequal a Match as was between thofe Provinces fingly, and the *Ottoman* Empire. But now at laft they are forced to yield, and become not only tributaries, but flaves and fubjects to the *Turks* who having deprived them of the true line of their natural Princes fucceding in a lawful inheritance, place over them fome Chriftians of the Creek Church, without confident ion of their conditions or riches, or qualifications nay rather choofe to give the Standart (which is the fign of the Grand Signiors confirmation of the Prince to fome inferior Perfon as Taverners, Fifh-mongers, or other meaner profeffions purpofely to difparage the people with the bafenefs of their Governors, and expofe them to the oppreffions of men of no worth or dexterity in their office, It hath feveral times been under the confideration of the *Turks*, at length to reduce thefe three Provinces to the command of fo many *Pafhaws*, contrary to the original Capitulations agreed on at the time that thefe people firft fubmitted to the *Ottoman* yoke : but as yet it hath been carried to the contrary, as more profitable and better ferving the ends of the Empire; for hereby Chriftians become the intrumcuts of torment to their own Brethren * Out-rages and Spoils may be the more boldly acted ; more Turkifh Officers employed on every flight occafion on gainful meflages, and the people by long oppreffions living under the jurifdiction of a Prince, who can rather fpoil then protect, may be reconciled more willingly to the Turkifh Government, and learn to value the gentlenefs and power of a *Pafhaw*, compared with the remembrance of their former aggrievances. But of this government they will rather let them imagine the eafe and fweetnefs then enjoy it 5 for were a *pafhaw* the Governor, the power of a Turk would be concerned for their protection, he would efteem himfelf their Patron, and his honour engaged in their defence, by which means thefe Countries would be relieved in a great meafure of extortions and violences, which is not Co beneficial to the *Turk*, as the prefent miferable eftate in which they re main.

Moldavia called by the *Turks* *Bugddan* was firft made tributary to the *Turks* by *Mahomtt* the great, but under the fmall tribute of 2000 Crowns *per annum* ; afterwards *Bogdanus* *Vajvod* thereof, anno 1485. fearing to become abfolute Vaffal to the *Turk*, taking to his affibcation the Kingdom of *Poland*, took up Arms againft *Selymus* the fecond, by whom being drawn out from his Country, *John a Moldavian* born, but one who had embraced rhe *Mahometan* fuperftition, was preferred by *Selymus* to the Principality ; but no fooner was he fetled therein but he returned to his former Religion, for which caufe the *Turk* taking into bis affiftance the Province of *Valachia*, made War upon *Moldavia* 5 but *John* the *Vayved* by trechery lofing his life, this Province fell totally into the power of the *Turk*, and was united to his Empire in the year 1574. The tribute in thofe days of this Province is recorded in the *Turkifh Hiftory* to have been 40000 *Zechins* or 80000 Dollars; but now whatfoever may be reported, the tribute of thefe Countries is, or was, the Header may take this following account for what is the certainly paid

The word *Vayvod* fignifies as much

Militiæ, or the General of an Army.

Moldavia.

Its annual
tribute.

paid, being related to me from one who had for many years been employed for *Vayvod* both in *Moldavia* and *Valacbiaby the Turk*, viz. the yearly tribute of *Moldavia* is,

1. To the Grand Signior 120 purfes of money ; each purfe containing 500 Dollars, makes 60000 Dollars.

2. Ten thoufand Okes of Wax, each Oke being two pounds and a half *Englifh* weight.

3. Ten thoufand Okes of Honey.

4. Six hundred Quintals of Tallow for the *Arfenal*.

5. Five hundred Oxe Hides.

6. Five hundred pieces of Canvas for Cloathing, and Shirts for the (lives, and other fervices for the Gallies.

7. 1330 Okes of Wax for the fervice of the *Arfenal*.

8. To the chief Vifier ten Purfes of money or 5000 Dollars, and a Sables Furre for a Veft.

9. To the Vifiers *Kahija* or chief Steward, one Purfe or 500 Dollars.

10. To the Tefterdar or Lord Treafurer the fame, as to the *Kahija*.

This is the ordinary and annual tribute this Country acknowledges to the fupremacy of the *Sultan*; and it were well and happy for this people were it all; but there are fo many accidental expences, pretentions and artifices of the *Turks*, framed and contrived meffages mccrly to extratt money and prefents from this oppreffed and haraffed people, as do more then equal, and fometime double the charge of their yearly tribute. To which you may adde the price paid for the Principality, which is every three years fet to fale, and is

To the Grand Signior 150 Purfes, or 75000 Dollars.

To the *Valede* or Queen Mother 50 Purfes, or 25000 Dollars.

The price of
the Principa-
lity.

To the Grand Signiors Favourite, who is commonly fome handfome young youth, ten Purfes, or 5000 Dollars.

And to the *Kuffir Aga* or chief Black Eunuch, who is Superintendent over the Ladies in the *Seraglio*, ten Purfes of money.

And laftly, to the prime Vifier and other Officers, for as much as they can beat their bargain. All which money is taken up at Intereft of 40 or 50 *per cent*, fometime on condition to be doubled 5 and this is done by men who having no Eftates of their own, the debt becomes to be charged on the Country, which is pillaged and poled for it to the very bones, firft to fatisfie the price of the Principality with the Intereft-money for what it was valued, then to pay the annual tribute, then to fatisfie the multitude of covetous *Turks*', who like fo many Vultures purfue after the Skelton of this confumed *Carkafs*. And laftly, the Prince himfelf muft take his accounts, and take his Meafures to be capable for the future, after he hath laid afide the Ornament of his Office, to live in fome proportion agreeable to his paft condition ; and this is neither done moderately nor modeftly, but with a covetoufnefs and greedy appetite, commonly incident to the nature of men born of mean Parentage and educated with the parfimony of a fcanty houfe ; who alfo thereunto adde many grains of allowance to the limits of their gains, in confideration of the yearly Gratuities they muft make to reconcile the Friendfhip of the chief *Turkifh* Minifters, whereby they may enjoy protection for their Perfona and Eftates.

The

The ftate and condition of the Province of *Walachia* is not better, but rather worfe, and more affiled then that of *Moldvia*; for this Country being now equally with the former in the fole aod enure diffofal and poffeffion of the *Turk*, to whom it became firft tributary under their own Princes in the time of *sultan Bajazet*; Afterward in the year 1462. *Mahomet* the Great undertook the entire Conquest pf it then governed by its *Vayvod Wladus*, whose younger Brother fupported by the *Turk* and a factious party in that Country, poffeffed himfelf of the Principality, contenting birnfelf to be Vafal to the *Turk* kifh Empire; afterwards iri the year 1595. *Michdel* the *Vayvod* thereof joining himfelf with *Sigifmind* of *Tranfilvania*, and with the *Vayvod* of *Moldavia* waged a long and terrible War againft the *Turks*, untill revolutions, unqujetnefs, and factons have fo fpent them as that they are at length become another addition to the Empire of the *Turks*, who now impofe on them a heavy yoke and a ftrait curb not to be imputed to any thing more then to Divine Jyftice, which takes occafion to exercife a hand of Pevrrity againft the unfeafonable negligence, fedition and variance of Chriftians amongft thernfelves, at a time when the common enemy to their profcflion attended only the opportunity of their own diflentions, to enter and devour them.

The tribute of *Walachia* to the Grand Signior, was formerly 120 Purfes of money, or 60000 Dollars yearly, according to that of *Moldavia*, and had fo ftill continued had not lately *Matthew* the *Vayvod* about the year 165\$. grown rich, and therefore forgetful of his condition (having by friends and large prefents at the Port, procured a continuation of his Office for the fpace of nineteen or twenty years) rebelled againft the *Turk*., taking falfe meafures of his wealtn and power as able to encounter the puiffance of the *Ottoman* Empire ; but being foon put to the worft and forced to yield, his life was fpared, and the fafety of bis Country redeemed upon the augmentation of their tribute; fo that now, that which was yearly paid being 120 Purfes of money,

1. Is become to the Grand Signior 260 Purfes, or one hundred and thirty thoufand Dollars.

2. There is paid 15000 Okes of Honey.

3. ooco Okes of Wax.

4. To the Prime Vifier ten Purfes of money, or 5000 Dollars, and a Veit of Sables.

5. To the *Tefterdar* or Lord Treafurer one Purfc of money, or 500 Dollars, and a Veit of Sables.

6. To the *Kuftür Aga*, or chief Eunuch of the Women 12000 Afpers.

7. To the Vifiers *Kahija* or Steward ftvv hundred Dollars., and a Veit of Sables.

The other charges and value fet on this Province when friennially fold, is not lefs then that of *Moldavia* ; the method and arts ufed for extorting money from thence are the fame, the oppreffion in every point equal, unlefs the remembrance of the extravagant diforder of *Matthem* the *Vayvod* ftill kept in mind, emboldens the *Turk* with more confident pretences to work more defolation and impoveriflment in this Pro* vince". Now lately a Prince was fetled there by order of the Grand Signior, in the year 1664. called *Stridia Bei* by the Greeks, which

Erery Oke fs
two pounds
and a half
Englifh.

which fignifies a Lord that had gained fome fortune from felling Oyfters and Fifh ; this perfoo fucceeded *Gregoraffio* the late Prince, who fearing the anger of the Prime Vifier for returning home with his Army. Without licence, defeated by General *Sufa* near *Lew a*, fled for fafety of his life into the Dominions of the Emperour: The *Turks* who always avenge the crimes of the Governors on the people, or of the fubjects on the Governors, raifed the price of the Principality to a higher value, caufing *Stridia Bet* (as I am confidently informed, who was contented to accept it at any raje) to pay for it 800, Purfes of money, or four hundred thoufand Dollars; to which being added the intereft before mentioned, the fum may eafily be computed that this new *Vayvod* engulfed himfelf in ; and I leave the Reader to imagine with what glad hearts and bleilings the people of that Country went forth to receive their Bankrupt Prince.

Nor is *Tranfilvania* wholly exempted from the oppreffion of the *Turks* for after feveral revolutions from the time of *Huniadei* made *Vayvod* by *Vladiflaus* the fourth King of *Hungary*, Anno 1450, a great defender of his Country againft the Infidels, until the time of *Stephen* the feventh, firnamed *Ragoizki*, Patronized by the *Turks*, Anno 1630. This Principality remained fometime at the devotion and difpofal of the King of *Hungary*, of *Poland*, of the Emperour, and fometime of the *Turks* until by the growing greatnefs of the *Ottomans*, the *Turks* became Matters of the beft part of this Country. But yet *Tranfilvania* is more tenderly and more honourably treated than the other two Provinces, their tribute being much lefs, and their Princes chofen for the moft part more regularly from the ancient Line, or at leaft from the honourable houfes of the Boyars or Nobility, who have an affinity or alliance with the true blood of the former *Vayvods*. Their ancient tribute was only 6000 *Zecbins* yearly, but afterwards were added 9000 more annually, for acknowledgment of certain Caftles which *Ragotzki* had taken from *Poland*, which the *Turk*, demanding to have refigned into his poffeffion, were for that fum redeemed, and fo ill detained in the hands of the *Tranfilvians* ; over and above which they only pay 900 Dollars and two filver Bowls to the feven Vifiers of the Bench: And this is all the acknowledgment they make to the *Turk*, who demonftrates more refpect always to this Prince and his Meffages, than thofe of the neighbour Provinces, by reafon that that Country is not totally in his power (certain ftrong fortrefles being in the hand of the Emperour of *Germany*) for whole fake this people is more gently dealt with, left too much feverity fhould occafion them to revolt ; And this confideration induced the *Turks* to treat modeftly with *Michael Apafi* the Prince of this Country in the late Wars in *Hungary*, by trufting much to his conduct, by unning him like an honourable Confederate, by permitting him freely to poffefs *Zekflkyd* after its voluntary furrender in a Mutiny, without the controulment or fuperintendency of a *Turk* as his Superior ; and for his farther encouragement gave out, that when the *Sultan* had totally fubdued *Hungary*, thofe parts which were not fubjeft to *Pajhaws*, fhould be annexed to his Dominions, and he honoured with the Title of King of *Hungary*.

Thefe Princes of the three foregoing Provinces are farther obliged to ferve the Grand Signior in his Wars, whenfiever fummoned thereunto ;
but

but with what number, and in what manner, we referve for its due place in the Treatise of the *Turks* Militia and Auxiliaries.

The City and small Dominion of *Ragusi*, is also another tributary to the *Turks* which is a petty Common-wealth, not vouchsafed the Title of a Republick, neither by the *Venetians* nor the *Pope*, and only styled *Ucvmmutita di Ragusa*, which is a Town in *Dalmatia* commanding over a narrow and barren Territory of a few Villages, which for the space of above 150 miles extends itself along the Sea-coast, and some little Minds of no great consideration. It was anciently called *Epidaurus* (of which name there were two other Cities in *Peloponnesus*) but that being razed by the *Cothes*, the inhabitants after their departure rebuilt again this City of *Ragusi*, giving it a new name as well as a new foundation. The government of it in the nature of a Common-wealth is more ancient than that of *Venice*, having preserved it self more by art and submission to some powerful Protector, then to its own force; which caused them to court the friendship of the *Turks*, before he was Master of any part of *Europe* and as their Records report, it was upon the advice of a Holy Nun, esteemed a great Saint amongst them; who prophesying of the future greatness of the Turkifh Empire, allured them that the only means to preserve for many Ages their Common-wealth free and happy, was to submit themselves to one of the most prosperous of Princes, to whose Dominion the best part of the world should be subdued: Whereupon two Embassadors were dispatched to the City of *Prufa* (then the Regal Seat, before the utter mine of the *Grecian* Empire) with presents to the *Sultan Orchanes*, desiring to become his tributaries, and in confederation thereof to strengthen their weak Common-wealth with assistance, under the shadow of his prevalent protection. There is no doubt, but the *Sultan* then received them the more courteously, and promised the maintenance of a former League, by how much the distance they were at as yet, gave them the less cause to fear his arms wherefore the tribute being agreed on of twelve thousand and five hundred *Zechins* yearly, they were returned home with all demonstration of courtesy, and assurances of defence: *Orchanes* entered into Articles with them, bestowed on them a grant of all the immunities and privileges they desired, the which he signed with the form of his whole hand wetted in Ink and clapped on the Paper, which was all the Firm and Seal in those days, and is now revered amongst the *Turks* with the same esteem, as the *Jews* do the Tables of *Moses*, or we the most sacred and holy reliques; ever since that time this tribute hath yearly continued, and been brought always in the Month of *July* by two Embassadors, who reside at the Turkifh Court for the space of a year, the former returning home; these are relieved at the same season of the following year, by the accession of two others with the like tribute* which with the presents they also bring to the Prime Vicer, the chief Eunuch of the Women, the Queen-Mother and other *Sultans*, with the charges and expence of the Embassy, is computed to amount yearly to the sum of twenty thousand *Zechins*.

They were in times past, before the War between the Republick of *Femce* and the *Turks*, very poor, and put to hard shifts and arts to raise the Turkifh tribute; but this War hath opened their scale, and made it the Port for transmitting the Manufactures of *Venice* and all *Italy*

into Turkey, which yields them such considerable customs, as thereby their tribute is supplied with advance, and their other necessaries provided for; So that now the old Ornaments of the Embassadors, as their black Velvet Bonnets, and Gowns of Crimson Satten, lined heretofore with Martins Fur, but now with Sables} are not layed up in the common Wardrobe for the Embassadors of the succeeding year, but a new Equipage and Accoutrements are yearly supplied at the common charge: and thus they pass honestly and in good esteem at the Ottoman Court, being called the *Dovcbrai Venedick*. by the Turks, or the good Venetian.

This petty Republick hath always supported it self by submission, and addresses for favour and defence to divers powerful Princes, courting the favour of every one, never offering injuries, and when they receive them patiently support them; which is the custom the *Italians* call them *le sette battiere*, or the seven Banners, signifying that for their being and maintenance of the name of a free Republick, they are contented to become slaves to all parts of the world. And it is observable on what a strange form of jealous policy their Government is founded; for their chief officer who is in imitation of the Doge at Venice is changed every month, others weekly; and the Governour of the principal Castle of the City, is but of twenty four hours continuance; every night one is nominated by the Senate for Governour, who is without any preparation or ceremony taken up as he walks the streets, having a handkerchief thrown over his face, is led away blindfold to the Castle, so as none can discover who it is that commands that night, and by that means all possibility of conspiracy or combination of betraying the Town prevented. These people in former times were great Traders into the Western parts of the world and it is said, that those vast carriages called *Argofies*, which are so much famed for the vastness of their burthen and bulk, were corruptly so denominated from *liagofies*, and from the name of this City, whose Port is forced rather by Art and industry, then framed by nature,

The tributaries of Georgia and Mengrelia.

Some of the Provinces also of Georgia, formerly Iberia, but now supposed to be called from St. George the Cappadocian Martyr, and the poor Country of Mengrelia, are also tributaries to the Turk, who every three years send messengers with their sacrifice to the Grand Signior of seven young Boyes, and as many Virgins a piece, besides other Haves for Presents to great men: this people chuse rather this sort of tribute than any other, because custom hath introduced a forwardness in the Parents without remorse to sell their Children, and to account slavery a preferment, and the miseries of a servitude a better condition than Poverty with freedom; of the whole retinue which these beggerly Embassadors bring with them (for so the Turks called them) being about seventy or eighty persons, a crew of miserable people are all set to sale, to the very Secretary and Steward, to defray the charge of the Embassy, and bring back some Revenue to the publick Stock; so that the Embassadors return without their Pomp, reserving only the Interpreter as a necessary attendant to their voyage home.

The Emperour of Germany may also not improperly be termed one of the tributaries to the Ottoman Empire (whom for honour sake we mention in the last place into ungrateful an office) being obliged accordingly

. cording to the Articles made with *Solyman* the Magnificent to pay a yearly tribute of 3000 *Hangars*, but it was onely paid the first two-years after the conclusion of the Peace; afterward it Was excused by the *Germans*, and diffembled by the *Turks* ; until taking a refutation to make a War on *Hungary*, made that one ground and occasion of the breach: for upon the truce made for eight years between *Sultan Solyman* and the Emperour *Ferdinand*, as *Augerin Busbeck* reports inthofe Capitulations, that the tribute is made the foundation of the accord. *Cujus concordit, facts, ac confederationis ha conditiones Juntto primo, ut tua dilectio quotannk ad aulam nofiram fro arra induciarum 300000 Hungaricos Ducatos mittere teneatur, una cum refiduo, quod nobis per, proxime præterlapfum biennium refervetur.*

CHAP. XV

*Embassy to the Grand
of the year
of 3000 hangar*

*The Defolation and Kuine which the Turks make of their own Countries in Asia, and the parts most remote from the Imperial Seat, esteemed one cause of the conservation of their Empire**

THis position will appear a Paradox at first sight to most men who have read and copfider'd the *Roman* Conquest, whose jurisdiction and Dominions were far larger then this present Empire; and yet we do not find that they so studiously endeavoured to dispeople, and lay waste the Nations they subdued ; but rather encouraged industry in Plantations, gave priviledges to Cities meanly stored, invited people to inhabit them, endeavoured to improve Countries rude and uncultivate with good Husbandry, and Maritime Towns with Traffick and Commerce, made Citizens of their confederates, and conferred on their conquered subjects oftentimes greater benefits then they could expect for under their true and natural Princes; and certainly the *Romans* thrived and were richer and more powerful by their policy ; and therefore why the *Turk*, might not proceed in the same manner, and yet with the same advantage, is worth our consideration.

For the solution of which difficulty, it will be necessary to consider that these two Empires being compared, there will be found a vast difference in the original, foundation, progress and maxims each of other. For the *Romans* built their City in peace, made Laws by which the arbitrary will of the Prince was corrected ; and afterward as their Arms succeeded, and their Dominions were extended, they accommodated themselves often to present necessities and humours, and constitutions of the people they had conquered, and accordingly made provision, and used proper Arts to keep them in obedience * and next, by their generosity and wisdom won those Nations to admire and imitate their virtues, and to be contented in their subjection. But the *Turks* have but one sole means to maintain their Countries, which is the fame by which they were gained, and that is the cruelty of the sword in the most rigorous way of execution, by killing, consuming and laying

defolate the Countries, and tranſplanting the people unto parts where they are neareſt under the command and age of Governours being wholly deſtitute and ignorant of other refined Art, which more civilized Nations have in part made ſerve in the place of violence. And yet the *Turks* have made this courſe alone anſwer to all the intents and ends of their Government.

For the Subjects of this Empire being governed better by Tyranny then Gentleſhip, it is neceſſary, that courtes ſhould be taken whereby theſe people may remain more within compaſs and reach of Authority; which they would hardly be, were every part of this Empire ſo well inhabited as to afford entertainment within the Fortifications of its vaſt Mountains and Woods, to the many unquiet and diſcontented ſpirits that live in it. And this may be one cauſe, that ſo rarely Rebellions ariſe amongſt the *Turks* though in the remoteſt parts of *Aſia*; and when they do, are eaſily ſuppreſſed: This alſo is one cauſe, why Great men ſo eaſily reſign themſelves up to the will of the Grand Signior to puniſhment and death, whether the ſentence be according to Law, or only Arbitrary: this is the reaſon that fugitives and homicides cannot eſcape; for having no place for flight, neither the inhabited Cities which are immediately under the eye of a vigilant Commander will afford them refuge, nor can the deſolate Countries entertain them: and Chriſtendom is ſo abhorred by them, that they will never take it for their Sanctuary. And thus deprived of all means of ſafety, they wholly attend to pleaſe and ſerve their Great Matter, in whoſe favour and hands alone is the reward and puniſhment.

Another advantage, and that not inconsiderable, that this manner of diſpeopling the Country brings to this Empire, is the difficulty an enemy would find in their March, ſhould they with a Land-Army attempt to penetrate far into the Country; for without great quantities of Proviſion they could not poſſibly be ſuſtained: and from the Country none can be expected: what little it affords, the Inhabitants will conceal or carry away, and leave all places as naked and barren of Food for man, as the Sea it ſelf.

And though it is known often, that in *Aſia* the Troops of ſome diſcontented *Bei* or *Aga*, to the number of three or four hundred men, in the Summer-time having their retirements in the Woods and Mountains, aſſault *Caravans*, and rob all Paſſengers from whom there is any hope of booty; yet in the Winter they are diſperſed, becauſe they have no Quarters againſt the weather, nor Proviſions for humane ſuſtenance, every one (tuſting for himſelf in ſome place where his condition is the leaſt known or ſuſpected).

And it may not be here from our purpoſe to admoniſh the Reader, that as the *Turks* account it one good part of their policy, to lay a conſiderable part of their Empire deſolate; ſo on the contrary, they obſerve in their new Conqueſts to fortiſie, Strengthen and confirm what they have gained, by numbers of people, and new Colonies of their own; and when they have reduced any conſiderable Country to their ſubjection, they commonly are inclined to make peace with that Prince from whom they have won it, ſo as to have time to ſettle and Secure their new Conqueſts; for Countries over-run in haſte, are almoſt as ſpeedily again recovered, and are like tempeſts and ſudden Storms, which

which are the sooner difperfed for being violent. *Augufim Cafan*, who was a wife and judicious Prince, confidering the extent of the *Roman* Empire, wrote a Book, faith Tacitas, which was published after his death, wherein he described the publick Revenue, the number of Citizens and Confederates lifted for the War, the Fleets* Kingdoms, Provinces, Tributes, Cuftoms, &c. *Additratatq; infupar Complinn cotmmdi io-* *Tie. Lib. t.*
ta terminos imperi, incertus, faith that Author, *Meiu, an par invidi-* *Annul,*
un-y which doubtlefs this wife Emperonr meant of a modiratce and lot a precipitate progrefs of their Arms, as well as of praferiping fined knits to the ultimate confines of the Empire, beyond which a Statute fhould be made of *Non plus ultra*, notwithstanding the rooft promising defigus and incitements that could offer.

CHAP. XVI.

All Hereditary fucceffion in Government, as alfo the prefervation of an ancient "Nobility, againft the Maxims of the Turkilh Politic

HAVING formerly entred into difcourfe of the fveral great Officers of State, it will be neceffary to declare what care the *Turks* take to preferve the body of their Empire free of Fa&ton and Rebellion; for there being many Provinces in the *Sultans* gift, which are remote, rich and powerful, and fo adminifter temptation to the Governours to throw off the yoke of their dependence, and make themfelves and their Pofterity abfolute ; great care is taken to prevent this mifchief by feveral Arts, none of which bath been more effectual amongft the *Turks*, nor more fed alou fly practifed, then the deftruction of an ancient Nobility ; and admitting no fucceffion to Offices or Riches, but only in the direct *Ottoman* Line, as my Lord *Verulam* fays, *EjJay 14. A Monarchy where there ar no Nobility at all, if ever pure and abfolute Tyranny as that of the Turks ; for Nobility attempts Sovereignty* and draws the people somewhat a fide from the Line Royal.* By which means it comes to pa&, that *Pafiavps* education in the *Seraglio*(inf the manoe as we have faid before) without knowledge of their blood or family, and without the (upport of powerful relations or dependences, being feot abroad to foreign Governments, where they continue but for a (hort feafbn, have uo opportunity or poffibility of advancing any intereft of their own above that of the *Sultan*. And though fome have out of an afpiring and ambitious fpirit, afumed a blind confidence of renting away part of the Empire ; as *Afan Aga Pajkaw* of *Aleppo* of late years, with a frang and powerful Army marched as far as *Scutari*, threatening the Imperial City * and the *Tmrkjfh* Hiftory tells us of the revolt of fveral *Pafiam* * yet all thefe Rebellions have been but of (hort durances; the Grand Signior never designing by open force and dint of Sword, to try his Title to the Empire with his own Slaves, but only by Come fecret plot and ftratagem, getting the head of the Rebel, be is aiTured of the Vi&ory without other hazard or difpute of War : *Sot* immediately thereupon the whole Army difperfes, and every one fhifts by gight to fave himfelf from

The Maxims of the 'Turkish Politie.

from the *Sultans* anger nor is it imaginable it can be other wise; for these men are but strangers and foreigners in the Countries they ruled, have DO relations there or kindred to second or revenge their quarrel, have no ancient blood or possessions which might entitle their heirs to the succession, or out of affection or pity move their Subjects to interest themselves in their behalf; but being cut off themselves, all falls with them, which affords the strangest spectacle, and example of fortunes unconstancy in the worlds for a *Turk* never revered but for his office, that is made the sole measure and rule of his greatness and honour, without other confederations of Vertue or Nobility. And this is the reason the *Turks* value not their great men when taken by the Enemy, for not otherwise looking on them then on ordinary Soldiers, they exchange them not with Commanders and persons of Quality on the Christians party; for the favour of the *Sultan* makes the *Pashaw*, and not noble blood or virtues; so that the *Pashaw* imprismed loses the influence of his Sovereigns protection and greatness, loses that also which rendered him noble and considerable above other persons.

There are notwithstanding some *Pashaws* of petty Governments, who have obtained to themselves, through some ancient grace and privilege from the *Sultan*, an hereditary succession in their Government, and as I can learn, these are only the *Pashaws* of *Gaza*, *Cordiflan*, and three *Sangiacs* formerly mentioned under the *Pashaw* of *Damascus* and *Matic*, and *Turkman* under the *Pashaw* of *Aleppo*. And since I have mentioned the *Pashaw* of *Gata*, it will be but requisite to recall to mind the memory of one lately of that place with much honour and reverence, being one whose actions and devotion to the Christian worship, might conclude him not far from the *Kingdom of God*: for besides his favourable inclination in general, to all who professed the Christian Faith; he was much devoted to the Religious of *Jerusalem*, to whom he often made Presents, as provisions of Rice and other supplies for their Monastery; and when once the *Father Guardian of the holy Sepulchre* came to make him a Visit, with great respect and reverence, he met him at a good distance from his house, giving him a reception much different from what the *Turks* usually bestow on any, who profess other than the *Mahometane* faith: and might deserve the Character that *Tacitus* gives of *L. Volusius*, that he was *Egregia fama, cum Septaginta quinque annis patrum Vivendi, præcipueque opes bonis artibus, inoffensa tot Imperatorum militia fuit*. And yet this good man having forty five years lived innocently in that Government, and received the inheritance from his Father, was by promise of fair treatment allured to the Port, where without farther process or any accusation, his hoary head was severed from his body, for no other reason, then left: the permission and indulgence to this long continuance and succession in office, should prove too ample a deviation from the rules of the *Turkish Politic*. •

And that all means of attaining ancient riches, which is the next degree to Nobility, may be cut off; the *Turk* observes this Maxim of *Machiavelly a reprimere la insolenza di uno, non vie più sicuro, enteno scandolofo modo, che preoccupargli quelle vie, per le quale viene quella potenza*: and so the Grand Signior suffers no possibility of arriving to
ancient

ancient wealth ; far as Eldest Brother to great men he makes seizure of the Estates of all *Pashas* that die, who having Children, such part is bestowed on them for their maintenance as the Grand Signior shall think fit and requisite : If a *Pa/haw* dies that is married to a *Saltana*, which is the Grand Signiors Sister, Daughter, or other near relation, her Kabin or Dowry is first deducted from the Estate (which is commonly 100000 Dollars) and the remainder accrues to the *Sultan*, as heir to the rest: and by this means all ancient Nobility is suppressed, and you (hall fine the Daughters of ancient Greek Houses espoused to Shepherds and Circers, and the ancient Reliques of the noble Families of *Catacuzem* and *Paleoligi*, living more contemptuously at *Constantinople*, then ever *Dionysius* did at *Corinth*,

But not only in *Pashants* and great men is care taken to clip their wings, which may hinder them from soaring too high, but also in the *Ottoman* Family it self greater severity and strictness is exercised then in others, to keep them from growing great in offices or wealths whereby to have possibility of aspiring to the Supreme powers and therefore by the original and Fundamental Laws of *Turks*, the Children of a *Soltana* married to a *Pashat* are not capable of any office in the Empire, and at most cannot rise higher, then to be in the quality of a *Capugibajee*, which is one of the Porters of the Grand Signiors Gate. They that are of this race never dare vaunt of their Pedigree, it is a contumaciousness and almost Treason to name it ; nor have I learned that there is any Family amongst the *Turks* of this Line, of any account or esteem, but one alone, who is called *Ibrahim Han Ogleri*, or the offspring of *Sultan Ibrahim*, their Father being a Son of the Grand Signiors Sister, and married to a *Soltana* (and are said to be of the race of the *Tartars*) so that proceeding by the Womans side only, the left notice is taken of their blood: their Rent or Revenue yearly is about 70000 Dollars, *quibus magna opes, innocenter partæ & modestie habitæ*, which they manage with prudence and discretion, live honourably without ostentation, seek no office, or intermeddle in the affairs of State, by which means they hitherto have preserved themselves from envy and suspicion in the revolutions of the *Turkish* Government.

The Grand Signior many times when he fears the greatness of any *Pashar*, under colour and pretence of honour, prefers him to the Marriage of his Sister, or some other of his Feminine kindred ; by which means, instead of increase of power and glory, he becomes the miserable slave in the world to the Tyranny and Pride of an insulting Woman: For first he cannot refuse the honour, lest he should seem to neglect and condemn the *Sultans* favour ; then before the Espousals, he must resolve to continue constant to her alone, and not suffer his Affections to wander on other Wives, Slaves or distractions of his love: If he hath a Wife whom he loves, whose long conversation and Children she hath brought him, have endeared his affections too far to be forgotten 5 he must yet banish her and all other relations from his home, to entertain the embraces of his unknown *Soltana*: Before the Espousals, what Money, Jewels or rich Furs (he sends for, he must with complement and cheerfulness present, which is called *Aghirlick* ; besides this, he makes her a Dowry called Kabin, of as much as friends that make the match can agree 5 when the Kabin is concluded and passed before the Justice

^The Marriage
of a Pasham
with a Soltana.

in form or nature of a recognition ; the Bridegroom is conducted to the Chamber of his Bride by a Black Eunuch, at whose entrance the custom is, for the *Soltana* to draw her Dagger, and impudently to demand the reason of his bold access, which he with much submission replies to, and (hews the *Emmri Podefaw*, or the Imperial Firme for his Marriage ; the *Soltana* then arises, and with more kindness admits him to a nearer familiarity. The Eunuch takes up his Slippers and lays them over the Door (which is a sign of his good reception) then he bows with all reverence before her to the Ground, and retires a few paces back, making some brief Oration to her full of Complement and Admiration of her Worth and Honour} and remaining afterwards a while silent, in an humble posture, bowing forward with his hands before him, until the *Soltana* commands him to bring her water, which he readily obeys, taking a Pot of water provided for that purpose, and kneeling before her, delivers it to her hand ; then she takes off her red veil from before her face, embroidered with Gold and Silver Flowers, and so drinks -, in the mean time her Serving-maids bring in a Jow Table, on which are set a pair of Pigeons roasted, and a plate of Sugar-candy ; the Bridegroom then invites his coy Spouse to the Collation, which she refuses until other Presents are brought her, which lie prepared in the outward rooms with which her modesty being overcome and her stomach brought down, (he is persuaded to the Table, and sitting down, receives a Leg of a Pigeon from the hand of her Bridegroom ; tastes a little, and then puts a piece of the Sugar-candy into his mouth and so rising up returns to her place ; all the Attendants then retire and leave the Bridegroom alone with his *Soltana* for the space of an hour to court her singly ; that time being past, the Musick founding, he is invited forth by his Friends to an outward room, where having passed most of the night with songs and sports, at the approach of the morning, the *Soltana* weary of her pastime retires to her bed, which is rich adorned and perfumed, fit to entertain Nuptial Joies: The Bridegroom advised hereof by the nod of the Eunuch, creeps silently into the Bride-chamber, where (stripping himself of his upper Garments, he kneels a while at the feet of the Bed, and then by little and little turning up the Cloaths, gently rubs her feet with his hand, and kissing of them, ascends higher to the embraces of his Spouse, which (he willingly admits him to, and vouchsafes her self and him a happy Bedding; in the morning betimes the Bridegroom is called by his Friends to the Bath ; at whole call arising, he is presented by the Bride with all sorts of Linnen to be used in Bathings after these Ceremonies are past, they are better acquainted, yet in publick (he keeps him at a distance, wears her Hani-arre or Dagger by her side in token of her Superiority ; and so frequently commands gifts and riches from him, until the hath exhausted him to the bottom of all his wealth. Nor is this esteemed sufficient to mortify these poor slaves by a Womans Tyranny, but they are always put forward upon desperate attempts, as lately *Ishmael Rifaw*, who was killed palling the River *Raab*, in the overthrow given the Turks by the Emperors Forces under *Montecuculi*; and others I could name in the like manner; left the honour of their Marriage in the Royal Family without the crosses and mortifications which attend it, should puff them up with the ambition and proud thoughts, which is not lawful for them to imagine.

But

Bat it may well be objected how it came to pass, that the present Prime Vifier called *Ahmet*, should succeed his Father *Kuperlee* in the Government of the Empire. 'Tis true, it was a strange deviation* from the general rule of their Policy, and perhaps such a precedent as may never hereafter be brought into example ; but accidents concur oftentimes to the fortune of some men without order or reason; and yet *Kuperke* the Father had so well deserved of the *Sultan*, and his whole Dominions, for having by his own wisdom and resolution saved the Empire from being rent in pieces by the faction and ambitious of fortie aspiring persons, and by the blood of thousands of mutinous and rebellious heads, had cemented and made firm the throne of his Master, that no honour could be thought sufficient to be paid to his Ghost, unless it were the succession of his Son in his place; which the more unusual and irregular it was esteemed, the greater glory it was to that family 5 and herein also this subtle fox plaid his Master-piece, by representing the state of affairs to remain in that posture, as was necessary to be carried on with the same method as begun ; which he had intruded to the knowledge of his Son ; and this was the reason why this young Vifier then scarce arrived to thirty years, and but an ordinary *Kadee* or Justice of the Law, was both as to his age and relation thus irregularly preferred to the office of Vifier.

The reasons why *Ahmet* *Pasiant* present Vifier, succeeded his Father *Kuperlee* in Government.

Nor hath hereditary succession and long continuance in authority been only avoided amongst the *Turks* ; but we find that the *Romans* often changed their Governours, and never suffered them to continue long in one Province ; and so the King of *Spain* doth at present in the Government of *Flanders*, the *Indies*, the Kingdom of *Naples* and other parts, the space of three years being commonly allotted them for their residence. But amongst the *Turks* there is no fixed term of time appointed to their *Pashaws*, but only they remain as Tenants at Will of the Grand Signior ; who according to his pleasure, and as he sees reason cuts them off, recalls them, or transplants them to another Province 5 only the *Pasiant* of Grand *Cairo* in *Egypt*, hath a certain space of three years appointed, to which his Government is confined ; and there may be very good reason for it ; for it being a place of great trust, riches and power, in which *Pashaws* grow in a short time vastly wealthy, it cannot be wisdom to continue them long there ; the revenue of which we have had occasion already to discourse of. And therefore the Grand Signior doth often, not only abbreviate their time, but also at their return shares in the best part of the prizes they have made. The *Romans* had that opinion of the wealth and power of *Egypt*, that *Augustus* made a Decree, and held it *inter alia dominationes arcana*, that it should not be lawful for any without particular licence to enter *Egypt*, and expressly forbids Senators and Gentlemen of *Rome*, without order from the Prince, or for affairs of State, to visit those parts. And *Tacitus* gives this reason for it, *Nefame nangeret Italiam quique earn Provinciam, clastraq; terra ac maris, quamvis levi prapdio adversum ingentes exercitus injedrffet.* Lib. 1.

Another danger to the Empire, which the *Turks* sedulously avoid, besides hereditary succession in office, is rivalry among Princes of the Blood, during the time of their Fathers life ; for afterwards the succession takes care to secure his Brethren beyond possibility of competition.

tit ion. The ftory of *Selymm* and *Bejazer*, the Sons of *solyman* the Magnificent, is a perfect experiment of the feud and diffention which is bred in the defires of barbarous Princes, fo that when they arrive to any maturity of age, they are always tranfplanted to different *Seraglios* abroad* where they keep their Courts diftynft, and cannot enter within the Walls of *Cenfiantinople*, daring the life of their Father, left by interview with each other, their minds mould be moved with emulation* or inhabiting in the Imperial City, fhould be provided with means before their time to attempt the Throne of their Father. And for this very reafon the Grand Siguier hath fcarce performed the ceremonies of his Inauguration before he hath feafoncd his entrance to his Throne with the blood of his Brothers; which barbarous coftom began in the time of *sultan Bajazer*. But if the Brothers are but few, and the Grand Siguier of a difpofitioa more naturally inclined to clemency then cruelty, be fecutes them" in the *Seraglie*, under the tuition of Mafters, and care of a faithful guard; differing nothing from imprifonment, but in the name, prohibiting them the fociety and converfation of all: and thus the two Brothers of this prefent *Sultan Mahomet*, live in as much obfturity and forgetfulnefs, as if they had never been born, or having paff a private life, were departed to the place where all things are forgotten.

It is no great digreffion from our purpofe here to take notice of two forts of Government purely popular; the one hath already had hid period, and the other is of late beginning, and at prefent flourifhes; add thofe are the Common-wealths in *Egypt* under the *Mamalukes*, and the other in our days in the Dominions of *Algier*: The firft not only depofed the whole Family of their Prince from having power in the Government, and from all fucceffion, but alfo made it an immutable law, that the Sons of the *Mamalukes* might fucceed their Fathers in the inheritance of their eftates, as lands and goods, but could not affume the title or Government of a *Mamaluke*; nor not only fo, but that all that were born in the *Mahometan* or *Jewifh* Faith, were incapable *ipfo facto* of the Order of a *Mamaluke*; and only fuch preferred thereunto, who had been Sons of Chriftians and become Slaves, inftituted and educated in the *Mahometan* fuperftition; or elfe men of maturcr age, who having abjured God and their Country, were come thither to feck preferment in that Kingdom of darknefs. And this flavifh and ftrange conftitution of Government flourifhed for the fpace of 267 years, until overthrown in the year of our Lord 1517. by the arms of *Selymus* that victorious Emperour of the *Turks*. The prefent Government of *Algier* is but of a few years; the firft original of which was by one *Barharofe* a famous Pyrate, and afterwards by the acceffion of great quantities of *tnhj* out of the *Levant*, the protection of the Grand Sigoior was craved, and a *Pafhaw* received from the Port; but now the *Pajhaw* remains without any power; the whole Government being transferred to the feum of the people; who fearing left the power fhould at laft become fubject to the Natives, have made it a law, that no Sons of a *Turk* born in that Country, whom they call *Cololies*, can be capable of an office in their Common-wealth; but only fuch, who having been born Chriftians, are perverted to the *Turkifh* fed, or'elfe fuch who come from parts of the *Turkifh* Dominions, to be members of their

Repub-

Republique. And thus much fhall ferve to have declared how much the *Turks* are jealous of all fucceffions in office and authority, which may prejudice the a bfbute Monarchy of their great *Sultan*.

CHAP. XVII.

The frequent exchange of Officers, viz. the fetting up of one, and degrading another, a rule always practifed as whole fome, and conducing to the welfare of the Turkifh State.

HE that is an eye-witnefs and frict obferver of the various changes and chances in greatnefs, honours and riches of the *Turks*, hath a lively Embleme of contemplation before him, of the unconffancy and mutability of humane affairs; fortune fo frangely fports with this people, that a Comedy or Tragedy on the Stage with all its Scenes, is icarce foner opened and ended, then the fate of divers great men, who in the day-time being exhaled to high fublimity, by the powerful rayes of the *Sultans* favour, in the nightfall, or vanifh like a Mt-teor. The reafon hereof, if duly confidered, may be of great ufe as things ftand here, that is, to the power of the Grand Signior; for in this constitution the health and benefit of the Emperour is confulted before the welfare of the people: And the power of the Emperour is in no a&ion more exercifed and evidenced, then by withdrawing and conferring his favours; for by thefe means, having many whom he hath educated and prepared for offices, and ftand candidates to receive them, his power would feem to be at a *Nonplus*, and appear like an inconfiderate Father, who had fpent more money in the breeding of his Sons then the Patrimony amounted to he had to beftow upon them: and therefore the Grand Signior to imitate the Sun, benights fome parts of the world to enlighten others, that fo by a general influence and communication of his beams, he may be acknowledged the common Parent of them all.

And this courfe doth not only evidence the power of the Grand Signior, but likewife encreafes it; for none are advanced in thefe times to office, but pay the Grand Signior vaft fumms of money for it, according to the riches and expectations of profit from the charge; fome pay, as the *Pafiars* or Grand *Cairo* and *Babylon*, 3 or 4 hundred thoufand Dollars upon paffing the Commiffion; others one, others two hundred thoufand, fome fifty thoufand, as their places are more or leff confiderable: and this money is moft commonly taken up at Intereft, at 40 or 50 percent, for the year, and fometimes at double, when they are conftrained to become debtors to the covetous Eunuchs of the *Sera-raglio*, fo that every one upon his firft entrance into office locks on himfelf (as indeed he is) greatly indebted and obliged by juftice or injuftice, right or wrong, fpeedily to difburthen himfelf of the debts, and improve his own principal in the world; and this defign muft not be long in performance, left the hafty edift overtake him before his work is done, and call him to account for the improvement of his Talent. Think then (taking all circumftances together of the covetous difpofiti-

on of a *Turk*, the cruelty and narrowness of soul in those men commonly that are born and educated in want) what oppression, what rapine and violence must be exercised to satisfy the appetite of these men, who come furnished with immense desires, and strange considerations to satisfy • *tibbie! Din for did us repente dives mutationem fortune male regit, accensæ egestatæ longa cupidinibus immoderatus, Tac.lib. i.Hift.* So that Justice in its common course is set to sale, and it is very rare when any Law-suit is in hand, but bargains are made for the sentence, and he hath most right who hath most money to make him *rectus in Curia.*, and advance his cause. And it is the common course for both parties at difference, before they appear together in presence of the Judge, to apply themselves singly to him, and try whose donative and present hath the most in it of temptation; and it is no wonder if corrupt men exercise this kind of Trade in Trafficking with Justice; for having before bought the Offices of consequence they must sell the Fruit.

Vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius.

Add here unto a Orange kind of facility in the *Turks*, for a trifle or small hire to give false witness in any case, especially, and that with a word, when the controversy happens between a Christian and a *Turk*; and then the pretence is for the *Muffelmanleck* as they call it, the cause is religious, hallows all falseness and forgery in the testimony, so that I believe in no part of the world can Justice run more out of the current and stream than in *Turky*, where such Maxims and considerations corrupt both the Judge and Witnesses, *Turcæ magnæ pietatis is loco ducunt dicere falsum testimonium adversus heminem Christianum; non expectant ut rogentur; injussu adfunt seque ultro ingerunt.*

Buibeq; Ep.4,
de Leg Tur.

This consideration and practice made an *English* Embassadour upon renewing the Capitulations, to insert an Article of caution against the testimony of *Turks*, as never to be admitted nor pleaded in any Court of *Lursajh* Justice, against the *English* interest; and nothing to be admitted as evidence in that case, but only a *Hoget*, which is in the nature of a Recognizance made before a Judge, or a Bill or Writing under the hand of him on whom the demand is made; which Article as it was very advisedly, and with great Prudence and Wisdom obtained, hath proved of admirable confluence and security to the Traffick and Merchants Estates, which before being liable to the Forgeries and false pretences of every dissolute *Turk*, have now this point as a defence and fortification, by which false pretences and suits for considerable sums of money, and matters of great value have been blown away, and decided

Turkish History
in the reign
of Barret the
fourth King of

In the time of *Bajazet*, the fourth King of the *Turks*, the Courts of Justice were in like manner corrupted, as at present; for reformation of which the Prince resolved to execute a great number of the Lawyers, until it was pleasantly represented by his Jester (to whom between jest and earnest he had given liberty to speak the truth, which sober men durst not) that all the cause of bribery and corruption in the Judges, proceeded for want of stipends and necessary maintenance % whereupon *Bajazet* growing cooler, sensible of the cause of that evil, applied a remedy, by granting their pardon, and allowing them diaries and stipends, with additional Fees of twenty Aspers, in all causes exceeding a thousand; and twelve Aspers for every writing and instrument out of

Court.

Court. And in times of the best Emperours, when vertue and defer; ft Were confidered, and the Empire flourished and encreased, men had offices conferred for their merits, and good services were rewarded freely and with bounty, without fums of money and payments to be a foyle to the lustre of their better parts: But now it is quite contrary, and all matters run out of courle; a manifest token in my opinion of the declension and decay of the Ottoman Empire, as *Livy* faith; *Omnia prospera frequentibus Deos, adversa autem spernentibus*. How however in part this serves the great end of the Empire; for *Pashaws* and great men having a kind of a necessity upon them to oppress their subjects, the people thereby lose their courages; and by continual Taxes and seizures on what they gain, poverty subdues their spirits, and makes them more patiently suffer all kind of injustice and violence that can be offered them, without thoughts or motion to Rebellion 5 and for the Lord *Verulam* says in his *Effyes*, that it is impossible for a people overladen with Taxes, ever to become Martial or Valiant 5 for no Nation can be the Lyons Whelps and the Afs between burthens: by which means the *Turk*, preserves for many different sort of people as he hath conquered in due obedience, using no other help then a severe hand joyned to all kind of oppression; but such as are *Turks*, and bear any name of office or degree in the service of the Empire, feel but part of this oppression, and live with all freedom, having their spirits raised by a license they attain to insult over others that dare not resist them. Essay 29.

But the issue and conclusion of the spoils these great men make of their subjects is very remarkable; for as if God were pleased to evidence his just punishment more evidently and plainly here, then in other sins; scarce any of all those *Pashaws* who have made haste to be rich, have escaped the Grand Signiors hands, but he either wholly defeats them of all, or will (have the best part of the prey with them. Amongst which I have observed none passes so hardly as the *Pashaws* of Grand Cairo, because it is the richest and most powerful of all the Governments of this Empire; and so either in his journey home, or after his return, he loses his life by publick command, or at least is rifled of his goods as ill got, which are condemned to the Grand Signiors treasury. And it is strange to see yet with what heat these men labour to amass riches, which they know by often experiences have proved but collections for their Master; and only the Odium and Curfes which the oppressed wretches have vented against their Rapine, remain to themselves; *rebus secundis avidi, adversis autem incauti, Tac*. And this is like the policy that *Cæsar Borgia* used, otherwise called *i/ Duca Valentine*, who the better to reduce *Romagna*, lately subdued to obedience, made one *Mejfer Romiro d' Orchis* Deputy, a man of a cruel and tyrannical disposition, who by rigour and force reduced affairs to the will and order of his Prince: and the work now done, and the people remaining extraordinarily discontented, the Duke thought it time to purge the minds of his people of the ill apprehension they had of his Government, by demonstrating that the former bad usage proceeded from the bad inclination of his Minister; commanded the same *Romiro d' Orco* at *Cefenna*, to be cut in pieces, and exposed to the publick view of the people, with a piece of wood, and a bloody knife by his side. This

faith

faith Machiavel, lib. del Principe, cap. 7. *fece aqtelli popoli in ttn tempo rtmanere Jiupidi & jodisfatti* ; and the Turk underftands well how profitable in the fame manner it is for the conftitution of his Eftate, to ufe evil inftruments, who may opprefs and poll his people, intending afterwards for himfelf the whole harveft of their labours ; they remaining with the hatred, whilst the Prince under colour of performing juftice, procures both riches and fametogether.

If it be fufpected that any great man intends to make combuftion or mutiny in his Government, or that his wealth or natural abilities render him formidable; without farther inquiry or fcrutiny, all difcontent of the Grand Signior is diffembled, and perhaps a Horfe, or Sword, or Sables-veft is reported to be prefented, and all fair treatment is counterfeited, until the Executioner gets the bow-it ring about his neck, and then they care not how rudely they deal with him : joft
 Lib. 6. Apoih. like the Birds in *Plutarch*, who beat the Cuckow for fear that in time he fhould become a Hawk.

And to make more room for the multitude of officers who crowd for Preferments, and to ad the cruel Edicts of the Empire with the leaft noife; oftentimes when a great Pcrfonage is removed from h's place of Truft, and fenr with a new Commiffion to the charge perhaps of a greater Government ; and though he depart from the Regal Seat with all fair demonftrations of favour, before he hath advanced three dayes in his journey, triumphing in the multitude of his Servants, and his late hopes, the fatal command overtakes him; and without any accusation or caufe other then the will of the *Sultan*, he is barbaroufly put to death, and his body thrown into the dirt of a Forreign and unknown Country, without folemnity of Funeral or Monument; that he is no fooner in the Grave, then his Memory is forgotten. And this met hinks is fomewhat agreeable to the crafty policy of *Tiberius*, who fometimes would Commiffionate men for Government of Provinces, to whom before-hand he had defigned not to permit licenfeto depart the City ; *Poftremo eo provectus eft, ut mandverit qnibufdam provincias quos egredi urbe non trat paffurus.*

Hence are apparent the caufes of the decay of Arts amongft the *Turks*, of the neglect, want of care in manuring and cultivating their Lands; why their Houfes and private Buildings are made flight, not durable for more then ten or twenty years; why you find no delightful Orchards and pleafant Gardens and Plantations; and why in thofe Countries where Nature hath contributed fo much on her part, there are no additional labours of Art to complete all, and turn it to a Paradife; for men knowing no certain heir, nor who (hall fucceed them in their labours, contrive only for a few years enjoyment. And moreover, men are fearful of fhewing too much oftentation or magnificence in their Palaces, or ingenuity in the pleafures of their Gardens, left they fhould bring on them the fame fate, that *Nabals* Vineyard occafioned to his Mafter: and therefore men neglect all application to the Studies of Arts and Sciences, but only fuch as are neccffary and conducing to the meer courfe of living ; for the very fear and crime of being known to be rich, makes them appear outwardly poor, and become naturally Stoicks and Philofophers in all the points of a referved and cautious life. And here I am at a fland, and cannot conclude this

Chapter without contemplating awhile, and pleasing my self with the thoughts of the bleifedness, the happiness, the liberty of my own Country; where men under the protection and safe influence of a gracious and the best of Princes in the world, enjoy and eat of the fruit of their own labour, and purchase to themselves with fertility Fields and Mannors, and dare acknowledge and glory in their Wealth and Pomp, and yet leave the inheritance to their Posterity.

CHAP - XVIII

The several Arts the Turks use to encrease their People, is a principal Policy, without which the greatness of their Empire cannot continue not be encreased.

There was never any people that laid foundations and Designs of a great Empire, but first thought how to make it populous, and by which means they might best supply them with people, not only sufficient for the sacrifice and slaughter of the War, but for the Plantation of Colonies, Possession and security of what the Sword hath conquered. We never understood how one people alone that was Martial, and by success in War had framed a large Empire, was able from the root original of its own Stock, to abound with issue of natural Subjects, to bear proportion with the stronger Nations; nor how a handful of people with the greatest policy and courage in the world was able to embrace a large extent of Dominion and Empire: It is true, that Alexander did with an Army, for the most part, composed of Macedonians, as it were in a rank make a Conquest of the best part of the Eastern world; but this Empire, like a Ship that had much Sail and no Ballast, or a fair Tree over-charged with boughs too heavy for its stem, became a windfall on a sudden.

The *Turks* therefore, during the continuance of their Empire, to have not been ignorant of this Truth; for no people in the world have ever been more open to receive all sorts of Nations to them, then they, nor have used more arts to encrease the number of those that are called *Turks*; and it is strange to consider, that from all parts of the world some of the most dissolute and desperate in wickedness, (brought flock to these Dominions, to become members and professors of the Mahometan superstition* in that manner that at present, the Wood of the *Turk* is so mixed with that of all sorts of Languages and Nations, that none of them can derive his lineage from the ancient blood of the

The *Romans* who well knew the benefit of receiving Strangers into their bosom, called this freedom they gave *Jus civitatis*, whereby Foreigners became as lawful possessors of Estates and Inheritance, and had as much right to the common privileges, as any that was born in the Walls of *Rome* and this *Jus civitatis* was given to whole Families; so that as Sir F.B. says well, that the *Romans* did not over-spread the World, but the World it felt. The *English* call it Naturalisation, the *French* Enfranchisement; and the *Turks* call it becoming a Believer;
for

for they joyning with it a point of Religion, not only the proffers of the goods of this world, but alfo of delights in the world to come, make the allurements and arguments the more prevalent; and it, being an opinion amongft them, as overall the world, 'that it is a meritorious work to create Profelytes, Icarce any who hath money to purchafe a flave, but will procure one young and fit for any impreficra, whom he may name his Convert, add gain reputation amongft his neighbours pf having added to the number of the faithful: Of all this number, which yearly are added to the Profeffors of *Mahomet*, none can retreat on lower terms then Death and Martyrdom for Chrift; which caufes many whole confidences, though touched with a fenfe of the denial of their Saviour, yet having not the grace or courage to afiert their faith on fo hard a Lefbn, grow deperate or carelefs, and dye in their fin. This fort of people become really *Turks*, and fome through cuftom and their own lufts, are really periwaded of the truth of this profeffion, and have proved more inveterate and fatal enemies to Chriftianity, then the natural *Turks*; which will appear, if we confider that all the fuccesses they have had, and exploits they have done at Sea, have been performed by fuch who have denyed the Chriftian Faith, as namely *Chigal*, *Ogli*, and others.

It was the cuftom formerly amongft the *Turks*, every five years to take away the Chriftians Children, and Educate them in the *Mahometan* fuperftition; by which means they encreafed their own people, and diminifhed and enfeebled the force of the Chriftians; but now that cuftom in a great part is grown out of ufe, through the abundance of *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Jem*, and all Nations where the Iron Rod of the *Turks* Tyranny extends, who flock in to enjoy the imaginary honour and privileged of a *Turk*. And indeed it is no wonder to humane reafbn, that confiders the oppreffion and contempt that poor Chriftians are expofed to, and the ignorance in their Churches, occafioned through poverty in the Clergy, that many Ihould be found who retreat from the Faith; but it is rather a Miracle, and a true verification of thofe words of Chrift, *That the Gates of Hell fhall not be able to prevail againft his Churchy* that there is conferved ftill amid ft fo much oppofition, and in defpight of all Tyranny and Arts contrived againft it, an open and publick Profeffion of the Chriftian Faith; which next to Gods Providence, confidering the ftupid ignorance in the *Greek*, and *Armenian* Churches, the confervation of their Faith is not to be attributed to any inftance more, then to the ftrict obfervation of the Feafts and Fafts of their Churches; for having rarely the helps of Catechifm or Sermons, they learn yet from thefe outward Ceremonies fome confufed Notions and Precepts of Religion, and exerceife with feverity and rigour this fort of Devotion, when through cuftom, confufion and Scarcity of knowing guides, all other fervice is become obfolete and forgotten amongft them.

The *Turks* have another extraordinary fupply of people from the Black Sea, fent them in by the *Tartars*, who with their light bodies of Horfe make incurfions into the Territories of the neighbouring Chriftians, and carry with them a booty of whole Cities and Countries of people, moft of which they fend to *Couftantinople* to be fo fold, and is the .chief Trade and Commodity of their Country (as we have already difcourfed.)

difcourfed.) It is fed to fee what numbers of *Saykes*, or *Turkifh* Veffels, come failing through the *Bojpborvs*, freighted with poor Chriftian Captives of both Sexes, and all Ages, carrying on the Main-top a Flag, either as a Note of Triumph, or elfe as a Mark of the Ware and Metchandise they carry. The number of the Slaves brought yearly to *Confiantinople* is uncertain ; for fometimes it is .more, and fometimes left, according to the Wars and fuccefs of the *Tartars* ; but as it is apparent in the Rcgifters of the cutoms at *Confiantinople* only, one year with another at the lead 20000 are yearly imported; amongft which the great eft part being Women and Children, with eafie perfwafions, and fair promifes become *Turks*; the men being ignorant, and generally of the *Ruffian* or *Mofcovite* Nation (who are reported not to be over-devout, or of famed conftancy and perfeverance in Religion) partly by mehi-ces and fear, partly by good words and allurements of reward, despairing of liberty, and return to their own Country, renounce all intereft in the Chriftian Faith. Of this fort of Metal moft of the *Turks* are in thefe days compofed, and by the fecundity of this generation, the Dominions of this Empire flow ; for the; *Turks* of themfelves, though they have the liberty of *Polygamy*, and freer ufe of divers Women allowed them by their Law, then the (everity of Chriftian Religion doth permit, are yet obferved to be lefs fruitful in Children, then thofe who confine themfelve9 to the chafte embraces of one Wife*. It is true, we have heard how in former times there have been particular men amongft the *Turks*, that have feverally been Fathers to a hundred Sons; but now through that abominable vice of *Sodomie*, which the *Turk*? pretend to have learned from the *Italians*, and is now the common and profefled (hame of that people3 few fecundious Families are found amongft them ; efpecially amongft the Perfons of the greater Quality, who have means and time to aft and contrive their filthinefs with the moft deformity, And in this manner, the natural ufe of the Women being neglected amongft them, and as St. Paul faith, *Men hurtling in luft one towards another* \$ fo little is mankind propagated, that many think, were it not for the abundant fupplies of Slaves, which daily come from rhe Black Sea (as before we have declared) confidering the Summer-flaughters of the Plague, and deftructions of War; the *Turk*. would have little caufe to boaft of the vaft ndmbers of his people : and that a principal means to begin the ruine of this Empire, were to prevent the taking of fo many Captives, or intercept thofe numbers of Slaves which are daily tranfported to nourifh and feed the body of thb great *Babylon* ; by which means in time they would not only find a want of Servants, but a decay and fcarcity of Matters; fince as it is before mentioned, thefe Slaves becoming *Turks*, are capable of all priviledge?, and being commonly Manumifed by their Patrons, through the help of Fortune, arrive equally to Preferments with thofe who are of the ancient *Mahometan* Race: this is the true reaibn, the *Turkcan* fpend Co many people in his Wars, and values not the lives often thoufand men to win him but a fpan of ground, and yet almoft without any fenfible diminution of his people ; and on the contrary, the invention of an *Idquifirion*, and the diftinction between *Chriftianos vieies*, and *Nuevos in Spain* and *Portugal*, have caufed that decay and fcarcity of people in thofe Countries, as hath laid the beft part of thofe fruitful *Soyls*

Rom.cap.I

defolate, add forced them both to a fleceffity of entertainiog a mercenary Souldiery.

It is no small inducement to the vulgar people, who is moft commonly won with outward allurements, to become *Turks*; that when they are fo, by a white Turban, or fuch a particular Note of honour, they (hall be diftinguifhed from other like Sects (all people amongft the *Turks*, being known by their heads, of what Religion or Quality they are) and fo may the better be directed where they may have a priviledge to domineer and injure with the moft impunity. If we confidcr how delightful the Mode, is in *England and France*, efpecially to thole that are of a vain and gay humor, and that nothing feems handfome or comely, but what is drefed in the fafhion and air of the times; we (hall not wonder, if the ignorant and vain amongft Chriftians, born and Educated in thofe Coutries, fhould be catched and entrapt with the fancy and enticement of the *Turkifh* Mode, and be contented to depoil themfelves of the garment of Chriftian virtues, to a (Turne a drefs more Courtly and pleating to the eyes of the world; for fo the *Britains*, and other Nations, after Conquered by the *Romans*, began to delight themfelves in their Language and Habit, their Banquets and Buildings, which they accounted to be humanity and refinement of their manners \$ but *Tacitus* faith. *Pars fervitutis erat*, a fignall fymptom of their fubjection.

And it is worth a Wifemans obfervation, how gladly the *Greeks and Armenian* Chriftians imitate the *Turkifh* Habit, and come as neer to it as they dare; and how proud they are, when they are privileged upon fome extraordinary occafion to appear without their Chriftian diftinction. And thus the *Turk* makes his very Habit a bait to draw fome to his Superftition; Riches, to allure the covetous; rewards and hopes, to rule the ambitious; fears and terrours of death, the cowardly and timorous; and by all means works on the difpofitions and humours of men, to make additions to his Kingdom: Such as adhere to the Chriftian Faith, the *Turk*, makes no account of, and values no other wife in the place of Subjects, then a man doth of his Ox or Afs, meerly to carry the burthens, and to be ufeul in fervile and llaviih Offices: they are oppreffed, and are fubject to all advantages and pretences* and their Goods and Eftates gained with labour, and the fweat of their brow\$, liable to the Rapine of every great man \$ they are difarmed, and never excrcifed in War, by which means they become Effeminate, and lefs dangerous in Rebellion: only the people of *Tranjihania, Moldavia and Valachia*, under the conduct of their refpectivc Princes that the Grand Signior fets over them, ferve him in their perfons in the War, and are the fir ft thruft forward in all deperate enterprifes; fo that the oppreffioo of the poor Chriftians under the *Turk*., is worthy our companion, how poor they are become, how their former wealth is exhausted, how the fatnefs of their rich foil is drained, and made barren by poifonous fuckers; fo that it is evident that the *Turks* defign is no other, then by impoverifhment and enfeebling the inereft of Chriftianity, to draw Profelytes and ftrengh to his own Kingdom*

Wherefore fome fort of poor Chriftians, either actually Subjects to the *Turkifh Tyranny* pt borderers on them, who often feel the mifery of their incurfhons, being fearful of their own conftancy in the faith, have

have contrived ways to pricurve themselves from any other protein on: wherefore in *Mengrelia*, the Chriftiaos ar the Baptifm of theif Children make a crofs on their hands ; and in *Strata* their cuftom is to make it pn their foreheads, withthejuyceof a certain Herb, the ftairi of which never wears out ; fa that fome of thefe Nations, who become Renegadoes to the Chriftian Faith, bear always a badge and note of designation about them to a holy profeffion, which may ferve to upbraid their perfidious defertion of the faith \$ the crofs on their forehead appearing for a flame and difcountenance to the white Turbant on their heads. By which pious art, many of thefe diftreffed Chriftians have notwithstanding fear and depair of liberty, and promifesof reward through the apprehenfion of this incongruity between the Crofs and the banner of *Mahomet*, preferved themselves firm to their firft colours.

CHAR XIX.

The manner of Reception of Forreign Entbaffadours amongft the" Turks, and the esteem thty have of them.

THere was no Nation in the World ever fo barbarous, that did not acknowledge the Office of an Embaffadour facred and neccTary.
Sanctum populis per fœcula nomen ;

And Cicero faith, *Sic enim fntio jus legasorum cum homium Præfidio munitum, turn etiam divine jure ejfe vallatum* ; the Alchoran it felf calls *De Harufp. rejorfs* this Office inviolable ; and it is a Turkifh Canon, *Elchi taval yoketet*, Do no hurt to an Embaffadour ; fo that the *Turks* do confefs themselves obliged by their own law to rules of civilities, courteous treatment, and protection of Embaffadours. The greatft honour they fhew to any forreign Minifter, is to him who comes from the Emperour, becaufe his confines are contiguous with theirs, and have had occafion more frequently, then with other Chriftian Princes, to try the power of the Imperial Sword. An Embaffadour coming from the Emperour, as foon as he enters within the *Ottoman* Dominions, hath bis charges defrayed by the *Sultan*, according to the importance of the bufinefs and negotiation he isdefigned to, until the tme of his return; and a Refident continuing in ordinary, hath in like manner; his conftant allowance. As it hath always beea a cuftom amongft the Eaftern Princes to fend prefents each to other, as tokens of friendfhip and amity ; fo the Emperouris by an ancient cuftom and agreement obliged to accompany his Embaffadour to this Court with prefents and gifts, as offerings of peace ; and on the contrary, that the Erriperour may not remain with the difadvantage, the Grand Signior is bound to recompence the Embaffy wiith another from himfelf, and adorn it with prefents of equal value with thole that were feat him. Rut Embaffadours and Representatives from other Princes, who have their Dominions more remote, and whofe principal defign is efteemcd for the promotion of Trade and Commerce, as the *Englijh*, *French*, and *Dutch*, are always admitted with their prefents, which the *Turk*, by cuftom calls his right, and judges not himfelf obliged to return the

84 *The Maxims of the Turkifh Politie.*

like, esteeming his Capitulations and Articles he makes with thofe Princes, privileges and immunities granted their fubjects.

The ceremonies they ufe at the audience of every Embafladour are acted (as in all parts of the world) moft to fet off the glory of the Empire ; and represented with fuch advantages, at may beft afford a Theme for an Embafladours pen to defcribe the riches, magnificence and terrour of the *Ottoman* power. The Audience with the Grand Signior (having firft patted a complement with the Prime Vifier) is commonly contrived on days appointed for payment of the *Janizaries*, which is every three moneths ; and with that occafion, the Order and Difcipline of the Militia, the Money and Stipends that are iffued forth, are there expofed to the observation of the publick Minifter. The money is brought into *the Divan*, and there piled in heaps, where the Embafladour is firft introduced, and feated on a Stool covered with Crimfon-Velvet, placed near the firft Vifier, and other Vifiers of the Bench : as foon as the money is paid out of the chief of every *Oda* or Chamber, who afterwards diftribute it amongft their Souldiers, a plentiful dinner is prepared for the Embafladour, who together with the firft Vifier, and other Vifiers of the Bench, and *Tefardar* or Lord Treafurer, are feated at the fame Table, Which is not raifed as high as the Tables we ufe, but fomewhat lower, covered over with a capacious Voyder of Silver, in which the difhes are (et, without ceremony of Table-cloth or Knives. In the fame room are two other Tables for the principal attendants of the Embafladour, and other perfonages amongft the chief note and quality ; the difhes are ferved in by one at a time, which as foon as touched or tafted, are taken off to make room for another ; and thus there is a fucceffion of threefcore or fourfcore Services, all the difhes being of *China*, worth about 150 Dollars a piece ; which are reported to have a virtue contrary to poifon, and to break with the leaft ufe thereof, and for that reafon esteemed more ufeful for the Service of the Grand Signior.

*Nam nulla aconha bibuntur
Fiftilibus, &c. Juvenal.*

The Audience
of Embafla-
dours.

The banquet being ended, the *Chaombafhee*, or chief of the Purfivants conducts the Embafladour, with fome of his retinue, to a place apart, where feveral gay Vefts, or long Garments, made of Silk with divers figures, are prefented them (as a fign of the Grand Signiors favour) which the Embafladour firft putting on, and then the others, to the number of 18 or 19, attended with two *Capngibajhees*, or chief of the Porters, perfons of good esteem in that Court, with Silver Staves in their hands, he is conducted neerer towards the Grand Signiors prefence; then follow the prefents brought by the Embafladour, which are carried to the beft advantage for appearance, and are delivered to Officers appointed to receive them. The Courts without are filled with *Janizaries*, amongft whom is obferved fo profound a Silence, that there is not the leaft noife or whifper understood; and the falutations they give their principal Officers as they pafs, bowing altogether at the fame time, is war-like, and yet courtly, and Savours of good Difcipline and Obediencce.

The

The Enbaiiadaour is then brought to a great gate neer the Audience, the Porch of Which is filled with white Eunuchs, clothed in Silks and Cloth of Gold ; farther then this, none is suffered to proceed, besides the Secretary, Interpreter and some other persons of best quality : at the door of the Chamber of Audience is a deep silence, and the murmuring of a Fountain neer by, adds to the melancholy; and no other guard is there but a white Eunuch: and here a pause is made, and they tread softly in token of fear and reverence, so as not to disturb with the least noise the Majesty of the *Sultan*: for access to the Eastern Princes was always difficult, and not permitted with the same familiarity as hath been practised amongst the *Romans*, and at present with us, where the sight of the King is his own glory, and the satisfaction of his Subjects: For it is with the Turks, as it was with the *Parthians*, when they received *Vonones* their King, educated in the *Roman* Court, who conforming to those manners, faith *Tacitus*, *irridebantur Græci Comites, prompti aditus, obvia comitas, igneæ fars his virtutes*, Lib.2.Ann, the affability and easiness of address to their Prince, was a scandal to that Nation. At the entrance of the Chamber of Audience hangs a ball of Gold, studded with precious Stones, and about it great chains of rich Pearl ; the Floor is covered with Carpets of Crimson-velvet, embroidered with Gold wyre, in many places beset with feed Pearl. The Throne where the Grand Signior sits, is raised a small height from the ground, supported with four Pillars plated with Gold : the roof is richly gilded, from which hang balls, that seem to be of Gold: the Cushions he leaned upon, as also those which lay by, were richly embroidered with Gold and Jewels: In this Chamber with this occasion remains no other attendance besides the first Vifier, who stands at the right hand of the Grand Signior with modesty and reverence. When the Embassadour comes to appear before the Grand Signior, he is led in, and supported under the arms by the two *Capugibafiees* before mentioned * who bringing him to a convenient distance, laying their hands upon his neck, make him bow until his forehead almost touches the ground, and then raising him again, retire backwards to the farther parts of the room; the like ceremony is used with all the others, who attend the Embassadour only that they make them bow somewhat lower than him : the reason of this custom, as *Bus bequius* faith, Was, because that a *Croat* being admitted neer to *Amnrath*, to communicate something to him, made life of that opportunity to kill him, in revenge of the death of his Matter *Marous* ; but the *Turkish* History faith, that this was done by one *Miles Corbeliz*, who after the defeat given *Lazarte* the Despot of *Strata*, rising from amongst the dead, had neer access to the pretence of *Amnrath*. The Embassadour at this Audience hath no chair set him, but (landing, informs the Grand Signior by his Interpreter, the several demands of his Matter, and the business he comes upon, which is all penned first in writing ; which when read, is with the Letter of credence consigned into the hands of the great Vifier, from whome the answer and farther treaty is to be received.

This was the manner of the Audience given the Earl of *Wittthelfea* when Embassadour there for his Majesty, and is (as is there said) the form used to others, who come from a Prince equally honoured, and respected. But though the *Turks* make theft outward demonstrations

of all due reverence and religious care to preserve the persons of Embassadors sacred and free from violence; yet it is apparent by their treatment and usage towards them, in all emergencies and differences between the Prince they come from, and themselves, that they have no esteem of the Law of Nations, or place any Religion in the maintenance of their Faith. For when a War is proclaimed, the Embassador immediately is either committed to close imprisonment, or at least to the custody of a careful guard, confined within the limits of his own house: in this manner, the Representative of *Venice*, called there the *Sdile*, by name *Sorenio*, in a (height Chamber of a Castle (situated on the *Bosphorus*) endured a severe imprisonment, having his Interpreter strangled, for no other cause than performing his office in the true interpretation of his Matters hence: afterwards this *Bath* (for so they call there the ambassadors from *Venice*) was removed to another prison at *Adrianople* where he continued some years; and in fine, by force of presents mollifying the *Turks* with money (with which their nature is easily made gentle and pliable) he obtained liberty to remain in the house appropriated to the Representatives of *Venice*, but under a guard, whose office was to secure him from escape, and observe his actions; and yet with liberality and presents, which overcome the *Turks* more than any consideration in the world, he enjoyed as he pleased, license for his health to take the fresh air, and use what freedom was reasonable.

Nor less injurious to the Law of Nations, have been the examples of violence and rage, acted on the persons of the French Embassadors; first on the *Sieur Senfi*, a man seduced upon suspicion of having contrived the escape of *Konifposki*, General of the *Polish* Army, taken captive in a Fight, and sent Prisoner to the above said Castle on the *Bosphorus*; the mean was by a Silken cord sent in a Pye, with Limes and Files to cut the Iron bars; and having first secured his guard with the strength of wine, in the dead of the night, let him down by the cord from the highest Tower, where finding Horses ready, he got safe into *Poland*: the contrivance of this stratagem, and the instruments of the escape, was laid to the charge of the *French* Embassador* who was committed for that reason to the Prison of the *Seven Towers*, where he remained for the space of four months, until his money, and the *French* King his Matter mediated for him, promising to send another speedily to succeed him* he was delivered from his imprisonment, and returned home by the way of *Poulov*.

The successor of this Embassador was the Count *de* a man too generous and splendid to live amongst covetous and craving *Turks*; exhausted most of his wealth in gifts and presents, to which adding a vanity and ambition to court the Grand Signiors Mistresses in the *Seraglio* (as is said) he paid such vast sums of money to the Eunuchs for his admittance, that in a few years he became so indebted, and importuned with the clamours of his Creditors, as wholly discredited, and lost the Honour and Authority of his Embassy; so that the *French* King thinking it dishonourable to continue his Minister in that charge, who was failed and undone in the reputation of the world, sent him a Letter of Revocation to recall him home; but the *Turks* gave a stop to his return, pretending that their Law which was indulgent to the persons

of Embafladours, did not yet acquit them from payment of their debts, or privileged them with impunity to reb the Believers and other Subjects of the Grand Signior, contrary to that rule of *Grotius*, who not only exempts the Perfons, but the Servants and moveables of Embafladours from attachments; and no Law can compel him to the fatisfaction of debts by force, but by friendly perfwafion only, till being returned to his own Country, and put off the quality of a publick perfon, he becomes liable to common proccers; *Si quid, ergo debits contraxit, & ut fit, resfoli eo loco nulla poffideat, ipfe compellandm erit amice, & fi detrectet, is qui mifit, ita ut ad pofiremum ufurpantur ea, qua adverfus debit ores extra territorial pofitos ufurparifolent.*

*Frot.lib.de,
fure belli &
ac.*

Nor lefs remarkable was the barbarous uſage of the *Sieur Ia Haye* Embaffadour alfo for the *French* King to the Port, under the Government of the great Vifier *Kuperli*. The Court being then at *Adrianople*, and the Treaty in hand between the Grand Signior and the Republick of *Venice*; through the mediation of the *French* Embaffadour, by conſent and command of his Matter, certain Letters of his wrote in Characters were intercepted by the *Turks*; by what means, and upon what information, the matter was too evident then, to be apprehended other than an *Italian* contrivance: the Cypher, as containing matter prejudicial to the State, was carried to *Adrianople* and tying known by examination and confeſſion of the Meſſenger, to have been delivered to him by the Secretary of the *French* affairs; immediately in all haſte the Embaflador then at *Conſtantinople* was cited to appear at Court } but being ancient, and indifpoſed in his health with the Gout and Stone, diſpatched his Son as his Procurator, with inſtructions and orders how to anſwer what might be objected | hoping by that means to excuſe the iſeppenience of a Winters Journey.

The Son being there arrived, immediately was called to Audience, accompanied with the Chancellor, or Secretary for the Merchants (for the other Secretary of the private affairs of the Embaſſe, apprehending the fury and injuſtice of the *Turks*, had timely ſecured himſelf by flight.) Diſcourſe was firſt had concerning the Contents of the Characters; the *Turke* inſolent in their Speeches, provoked this *Sieur la Haye* the younger, to utter ſomethiing tending towards a contempt of that power the *Turks* had over him, encouraging himſelf with the thoughts of the protection of the Ring his Maſter; who was ſoon ſenſible, and moved with the lead injuries offered his Miniſters. The *Turkf*, who can endure nothing leſs than menaces, and *Kuperlee* through natural cruelty and choler of old age, and particular malice againſt the *French* Nation, moved with this reply, commanded the *Caowbajhee*, who is chief of the Purſcvants, to ſtrike him in the mouth; which he did with that force, being a rude robuſtious fellow, that with a few blows of his Fiſt, he ſtruck out two of his Teeth before, and in a moſt undecent and barbarous manner dragged him with the Secretary for the Merchants, to a Dungeon ſo loathſome and moiſt, that the ill vapours oft-times extinguished the Candle. The old Embaſſadour the Father, was with like *Turkiſh* fury ſent for, the *Turks* executing all they do with frange haſte and violence; *Bar bark contatio fervilis, fiatim exequi re glum videtur*; and being arrived at *Adrianople*, was alſo committed to cuſtody, though not with that rigour and ſeverity of Imprifonment

Tac.lit.6.

as the Son, until the fpace of two Months palling with prefents and follicitations, they both obtained their liberty, and returned again to *Conftantinople* ; where fcarce were they arrived, before news coming of a *French Ship*, which had loaden Goods of *Turks*, and run away with his Cargafon, the Embaffadour was again committed to another Prifon in *Conftantinople*, called the feven Towers, where he remained, Until with Gifts and Money, the anger of the *Turks* was abated. And ft ill the malice of *Kuperke* perfecuted this *Sieur Ia Haye*, until after his Embaffie of 25 years continuance, unfortunate only at the conclufion, he was difpatched home obfcurely and in di/grace, without Letters of revocation from his Matter, or other intimation to the Grand Signior, which might fignifie the defire of this Embaffadours return.

The reafon of this irreverent carriage in the *Turks* towards the perfons of Embaffadours, contrary to the cuftom of the ancient *Romans*, and other gallant and civilized people, is an apprehenfion and Maxime they have received, that an Embaffadour is indued with two qualifications ; one of reprefenting to the Grand Signior the defires of his Prince, the breach of Articles or League, the aggrievances and abufes of Merchants trading in his Dominions ; that fo fatisfaction and amendment may be made: And the other, that he remains in nature of a Hoftage, called by themfelves *Mabapow* or pledge) by which he becomes refpooiffible for what is acted by his Prince contrary to the Capitulations of Peace, and remains for a pawn for the faithful and fiocere carriage of his Nation, and as fecurity to infure what goods belonging to *Turks* are loaden on their Veffels. As the Refident for *Holland* was in the year 1663, imprifoned at *Adrianople* for mifcarriages of a Ship belonging to his Nation, taken by *Maltefe* men of War, whereon at *Alexandria* were goods loaden belonging to the Grand Signior, and other considerable perfons of State, and was not releafed, until he engaged to eighty five thoufand Dollars, in the fpace of one hundred and twenty days, which was the full import of the *Turkifh* intereft.

Nor hath this Law of Nations, to the facred eftcem of Embaffadours, found better obfervation towards the Representatives of the *German* Emperour, who have upon all conjunctures of Difcord and Breaches of Peace between thofe two powerful Princes, been fubjeft to confinements and cuftody of a Guard, nothing differing from formal imprifonment ; or elfe, as it happened to the *German* Refident in the laft War, are tranfported from place to place, according to the motion of the Armies, as a barbarous Trophy in the time of their prosperous fuccelfes, and as a means at hand to reconcile and mediate when evil Fortune compells them to compofition.

What ill fate fover hath attended the Minifters of other Princes in this Court, the Embaffadours from His Majefty of Great *Britain*, our Sacred King, have never incurred this di(honour and violation of their Office ; the negotiations and differences fince the *Englifh* Trade hath been opened in *Turkie* have been various and confiderable, and matters as to the fecurity of the Embaffadour and Merchants, have been often reduced to a doubtful condition, as far as words and rude fpeeches full of menaces and choler, might make a fober man fufpicious of a greater ruine : And yet through the conftancy, prudence and good fortune of Embaffadours, the *Turkifh* rafbotfs hath not drawn upon them-

themselves the guilt of violating their persons, but have either prevented troubles in the beginning, or wisely compounded them before they made too far a breach.

It is worth observation, that the *Turks* make no difference in the name between an Embassadour, Resident, Agent, or any petty Messenger sent or reding upon a publick Affair; the name *Elcibi*, serves them to express all: and though the *Turks* on occasion of Ruptures and other Discontents lose their respect towards the person of Embassadours; yet still it is commendable in them, that they commonly abstain from the spoil and plunder of the Merchants estates, with whose Prince they are at enmity; for they look on Merchants as men, whose profit is best advanced by Peace; and as their own comparison is, like to the laborious Bee which brings Honey to the Hive, and is innocent, industrious and profitable; and therefore an object of their compassion and defence.

CHAP. XX.

How Embassadours and publicly Ministers govern themselves in their Negotiations and Kefidence amongst the Turks.

Embassadours in this Country have need both of courage and circumspection, wisdom to dissemble with honour, and discreet patience, seemingly to take no notice of Affronts and Contempts, from which this uncivilized people cannot temperate their Tongues, even when they would seem to put on the most courteous deportment and respect: towards Christians. 'The French Embassadour, *Monjieur Id Haye*, sent once to advise the great Visier *Kuperlee*, that his Master had taken the strong City of Arras from the Spaniard, and had obtained other Victories in *Flanders*, supposing that the Turk would outwardly have evidenced some signs of joy, and return an answer of congratulation; but the reply the Visier gave, was no other then this (What matters it to me whether the Dog worries the Hog, or the Hog the Dog, so my Matters head be but safe?) intimating that he had no other esteem of Christians, then as Savages or Beasts; and with no other answer then this, due to an officious Courtship towards a Turk, the Messenger returned. There is no doubt, but of all those means, wherewith Kingdoms and States are supported, there are two more principal and chief of all others: The one is the substantial and real strength and force of the Prince, which consists in his Armies and interest; and the other is the honour and reputation he gains abroad, which hath sometimes proved of that Authority and consequence, as to make the State of the weaker Prince to appear more considerable; or at least, equal to the greater forces of the other. This reputation is principally maintained by a prudent manner of negotiation, and depends on the discretion of the Representative, in which for many years the Republick of *Venice* had great advantages in the Turkish Court, through the caution and policy of their Ministers, who nourished in the Turks an opinion of their (strength of Arms, and force of Wisdom, beyond the reality thereof; that before the War broke forth; no Na-

tion

The Maxims of the Turkifh Politie.

tion in amity with the *Turk*, had their affairs treated with more honour and refoett then this Common-wealth.

An Embaffadour in this Court ought to be drc»mfped and careful to ;ivpid the occafion of having his honour blemifh'd, or of incurring the Jeaft violation of his perfoo (for afterward) as one baffled in his reputation, he becomes (corned, lofes his power and intereft, and all ejreem of his worth and wifdom ; for having endured one arTrpm,their Inflbnce ibon prefumes farther to trefpafs on hie patience; for certain* ly *Turks* of all Nations in the world, are moft apt to croft and rrample on thofe that lye under their feet * as on the cpntrary,thofe who have a reputation with them, may make the beft and moft advantageous treats of any part of the world, according tp that of *Mmkqum*, Ep. 1. *Sunt Turd in utrawq;partem nimii five indulgent it, cum pro amhtf fe probare volant, five werbitate cum irafi funt.* To reply according to the Pride and Ignorance of a *Tur*[^] is properly to blow up fire into a flame *, to fupport with fubmiffion and a puffillammoas fpirit,his affronts and indignihies,by negotiating faintly or coldly,is to add fuel and wood to the burning piles ; but folid reafpn and difecurfe, accompanied with chearful expreffions, vivacity and courage in argument, is the only manner of dealing and treating with the *Turks*. That which is called good nature or flexible difpofition, is of little ufe to a publick Miniftet in his treaty with *Turks*: a punctual adherence to former cuftoms and examples even to obftinacy, is the beft and Cafeft rule ' for the cooceffpn of one point ferves to embolden them to demand another, and then a third \$ and fo their hopes increafe with the fuecefs, having no modeity nor wifdom to terminate their deirirs, ; one aft or two of favour is enough afterwards to introduce a cuftom (which is the chiefest part of their Law) and to make that which is meerly voluntary, and of T race, to become of obligation. few a principal matter,which a publick Unifter ought to look to, is to provide himfelf of fpirited, eloquent and intelligent Interpreters5 fpirited, I fay, becaufe many times the prefece is great they appear before, and the looks big and foure of a barbarous Tyrant ; and it hath been known.that the Embaffadour hath been forced 10 interpofe his own Perfbn, between the fury of the Vi- fier and his Interpreter, whofe offence was only a delivery of the words of his Matter ; fome of whom have notwithstanding been imprifoned, or executed fprthis caufe, as we have partly intimated in the foregoing Chapter; The reafon of which Tyranny and preemption in thefe prime Officers over the Interpreters, is becaufe they are mott commonly bprn Subjects of the Orapd Signior, and therefore ill fup- port the lead word mif-placed, of favouring of contctt from them,not diftinguifhing between the fcpfe of the Embsfladeur, and the explicati- on of the Interpreter * and therefore it were very ufeul to breed up a Seminary of young Englifhmen, of fprihtly and ingenious parts, to be qualified for that Office ; who may with left danger to themfelvee, honour to their Matter, and advantage go the publick, exprefs boldly without the uM mincing and fubmiffion of other Interpreters, whatfo- ever is commanded and declared by their Matter,

It is certainly a pood Mixjme for an Embaffadour in this Country, not to be over-ftodious in procufiog a familiar friendfbip with *Turks* 3 a fair comportment towards all in a radtrate way.is cheap and fecure*

for

For a *Turk* is not capable of real friendftiip towards a Chriftian ; and to have him called only , .and thought a friend who is in power, is an expence without profit ; for in great emergencies, arid times of neceitv "ty, when their affittidnce is moft ufeffiil, he muft Be bought again, and his iriendlhip renewed with prefents, and farther expectations: how-Ibever, this way of negotiation by prefents and gratuities, is fo much in cuftom amongft the Turks that to (peak truly icarce any thing can be obtained without it \ but it is the wifdbm of the Minifter, to di(pofe and place therri with honour, decency, arid advantage: For there are, and have been always, two or three powerful perfons in this Court, which in all times carry the principal fway, and command of all 5 thefe muft neceffarily be treated with refpect, and often Jweetned with gratuities : he that hath money may doubtlefs make friends when he needs them, and with that fecure his capitulation and his privilege, purchafe iuftice, and if his ftock Will hold out, act.any thing that can reafbnably be imagined ; yet it is the moll: profitable and prudent way to refer fomething to friendfhip and good cofrefpondence, and not all to the rheer force and ftrengh of money;

C H A P; XXI

How forreign Princes in Particular fiand in the efteem and opinion of the Turks.

THe *Turks* as we have occafionally intanced before, are naturally a proud and infolent people, confident, arid conceited of their own vrtue, valour, and forces, which proceeds from their ignorance of the ftrengh and conftitution of other Countries ; fo that when, the danger which may arife from the Conjunction and Union of Chriftian Princes, to the *Mahometan* Intereft* is, difcourfed of, they compare the Grand Signior to the Lyon, and other Kings to little Dogs, which may fqrve (as they iay) to roufe and difcompofe the quiet and Majefty, of the Lyon, but can never bite him, but with their utmoft peril. „ They fay farther, as by an ingenuous confeffion, that they are unable to encounter the Chriftians at Sea, to whom God hatn given that unfable clement for Dominion and Poffeffion} but that the Earth is the lot and inheritance of the *Turkh* which is demonftrable by that great circuit of Empire, obedient to the *Mahometan* Arms. Thefe are the thoughts arid apprehenfions, of the Commonalty concerning Chriftendom in gene; ral (which I have heard often difcourfed amongft them) but the opinion and efteem which knowing men and Minjfters frame of Forreign Kingdoms and States diftinttly, is for trie moft part according to thefe following particulars.

"

Of all the Princes fo far remote ds *England*, none amongft this people ftands in better account than His Majefty of *Great Britain*, hot only for the convenience of the Trade, which provides this Empire with many neceffary commodities 5 but for the fame of his Shipping, and power at Sea, which makes him, though divided from all parts of the World, yet a borderer on every Country, where the Ocean extends: Arid this efteem and honour the *sultan* bears towards His Majefty,

hath been evidenced in several particulars, and by none more than by the security and freedom his Merchants live in, in these Dominions and a readyness always in every reasonable request, to gratifie His Majesties Embassadors.

As for the Emperour, the *Turk*, knows that his own proper and peculiar force in it self, is inconsiderable, but that with the conjunction and assistance of the *German* Princes, they are allied, and have proved it to their experience in the year 1664, that his strength is equivalent to the *Ottoman* power; but yet they are not ignorant, that the diversity of Religions and Sects in *Germany* abate much of that heat and coalition amongst themselves, which is requisite to the vigorous opposition of so potent an enemy. And it is evident, that the Emperours unreasonable severity against the Protestants in *Hungary*, dissembling his whole Dominion there, by depriving them of their Churches, and exercising other courses for suppression of the reformed Religion, ripened the *Turks* design of War first laid in the year 1663; conceiving that in that conjuncture, holding forth the specious pretence of liberty in Religion and Conference, the *Hungarians* would either wholly desert the Emperour, or very coldly and faintly apply themselves to his succour; the effect of which was in the succeeding Wars plainly verified, and known that the *Hungarians* were not only sparing in their contribution and supplies of men in the service of the Emperour, but held secret Junctoes and Councils, whether it were not better to accept the *Turks* sovereignty, on the conditions proposed, with liberty or their Religion, rather than to continue in Allegiance to the Emperour, who neither afforded them freedom of conscience, which is the destruction of their spiritual estate, nor was able to withstand the *Turks*, which argued insufficiency to yield them protection in their temporal. The Emperour sends his Embassador to the *Turk* under notion of the King of *Hungary*, because at his instalment as Emperour, he swears to make a perpetual War with the *Turk*; and indeed their peace is little better than a War, considering their frequent incursions into each others Territories and that to skirmish or fight in bodies under the number of 5000, not taking Forts, or bringing Cannons into the Field, is no breach of the Capitulations.

The French King, though the first Christian Prince, that having no confines bordering on these Dominions, entered into Capitulations with the *Turk* for a free and open Commerce and Traffick; and obtained the Title of *Podefiaw*, which signifies as much as Emperour, and is denied to all other Christian Kings, and even to the *German* Emperour himself being judged an honour amongst the *Turks* proper and peculiar only to the Grand Signior: yet their esteem of the *French* is not so great as forae would persuade the world it is, having (as we have at large declared in the foregoing Chapter) given ample testimonies in the persons of the Embassadors, their scorn and neglect of the Prince he represented. I have heard the wife Lord Chancellour *samofide* say, that the *French* gained that Title of *podejhaw* to their King by craft and subtilty, and was never fully examined nor considered in and in that business there is a strange Romance told of a fair *French* Lady, preferred to the *Seraglio*^ whom the *Turks* were willing to receive for a Princess, and thence challenging affinity with the King of *France*,

was the more profuse in the honour of his Titles: It is true, there was a time when the *French* Embassadour was called to secret Councils, and admitted within the Walls of the *seraglio* to private meetings and debates of the *Turks*; but it was when the *French* plotted, and openly assisted in transportation of the *Turks*, for the invasion of *Italy*, but since that time, and specially in the year 1664, through the force given the Emperour, and the Bravado upon *Barhary** the *French* hath always (and that not without some reason) gone declining in the good opinion and esteem in the *Ottoman* Court.

The *Pope* is more esteemed, as a Prince able to blow the Coals, and excite other Princes to the damage of the *Mahometan* State, rather than by his own power, or force to effect any thing himself and having no confines bordering on the *Turks** his riches, power or greatness seldom falls as a subject for their consideration.

As little account would they make of the King of *Spain** but that the *Granadine* *Turks*, of which there remains in *Constantinople* a considerable number since their expulsion, through an extreme affection naturally inherent in them to *Spain*, discourse of it with a passion, not altogether free of a little *Rodomontade** and vain-glory, vices incident to their Country; whereby they create in the *Turks* a conceit of the greatness, riches and force of *Spain** according as it flourished in the time that the *Moors* possessed their seat and habitation there. But yet the *Turks*, though a people incurious and negligent of the accurate state of other places, besides their own, are not altogether ignorant of the decay of *Spain*, the Wars in *Portugal*, and the menaces from *France** which makes them aim at one of the *Venetian* ones in *Dalmatian* to have the better prospect and easier passage unto *Sicily** or the Kingdom of *Naples*.

The esteem the *Venetians* are in at this time amongst them, is greater than when the War first began, for then they entertained an opinion of their force much inferior to the real estimation thereof; as they do now the contrary beyond their true strength, making always calculations from the effect and success of things. Yet the *Turk*, knows, that the *Venetian* power is not comparable to his by land, and that nothing but *Fortitude* stands between him and the mastery of *Venice*; which makes him ashamed and angry, that after so many years Wars, no greater additions should be acquired to the Empire, than his footing in *Candia** the whole possession of which was imagined at the beginning of the War, would upon a bare demand be quietly presented as the price and purchase of the peace.

The King of *Poland* is not so esteemed at the *Ottoman* Court, by reason of his great power, consisting chiefly in Horse, which in opinion of the *Turks* is the most warlike, and look on that people as martial, and with much difficulty brought under their subjection. But by reason of the great combustions and intestine troubles of that Country, the *Polanders* apply themselves with much dexterity and caution in their treaties with the *Turks* and especially, being borderers with them, and subject to their incursions and robberies of Men and Cartel, they endeavour all means of fair and reasonable compliance. And on the other side, the *Turk* is well inclined to the *Polander*, and defers his prosperity beyond others of

94- The Maxims of the Turkish Politie.

his neighbour-Princes; becaufe he looks on him, as the only curb upon all occafions of the *Mofcovites*, and whom they may make ufe of, to give fome flop and arreft unto the progrefs of his Arms.

The *Mofcovite* hath yet a greater fame and renown with the *Turks*, being reported able to make a hundred and fifty thousand Horfe; *ib* that he treats with the *Tnr Turk* equal terms, and fills his Letters with high threats and Hyperbolical expreffions of his power, and With as fwelling Titles as the *Turk*. The *Greeks* have alio an inclination to the *Mofcovite* beyond any other Chriftian Prince, as being of thei Rites and Religion, terming him their Emperour and rtoteddr 5 from whom,, according to ancient Prophefies and modern predi&idns, they exjecd: delivery and freedom to their Church. But the greateft dread the *Turk*, hath of the *Mo/levity* is from the union with the *Soffi* or *Per-tan*, which two uniting together, would be too unequal a match for the "*Ottoman Empire*. , ,

But above all the great Potentates of the world, the Ring bf *Perfu* was mod feared and efteemed by the *Turk* not only by reafon of his great force, and that the borders of his Dominion* run a long (pace or the confines of the *Turks* h but becaufe it is almoft impoffible,, by tea fori of the vaft Deferts, and uninhabited places, to carry the War into his Country, without the cumberfome carriages of all neceffary Provifions. which.with how much difficulty gnd iricommodity Were performed ir theiaft Wars between thefe two great Princes, the Hiftory fufficientl) relates -, but,fince the coriqueft of *Babylon*, and decay of their riches they are now the fubje&s of the *Turkish* (corn ana contempt. The neernefs of their Faith, though deri ved from the fame Founder, but a f terwards receiving fome difference by the interpretation of *Haly*, is in no wife a reconcilement of their afrections ; but rather a ground am matter of their fear and jealoufie, left at any time Waging a Wai againft the *Perfian*, that Hereliefhould begin to be (et on foot amongfl the people, which like a (park that caufes the conflagration of a whok City, may breed thofe intefine civil diftractions, which may prove o more danger and ruine than the former War. It will not be neceffary to (peak much of the *Hollanders*, in regard, that though they have a Resident there, are (carce taken notice of as a Nation different, but depending on the *Englih*. And thefe are all the Nations confiderable. with whom the *Turk* hath occafion to treat, or that fall under his cog nifance or bufinefs.

CHAP. xxii.

The regard the Turks have to their Leagues with Forreign Princes.

AS the Chriftian Religion teaches humility, charity, courtefie, and faith towards all that are within the pale of humane Kature, to be *εὐλαβία καὶ φιλοφροσύνη* ; fo the Turkifti (uperftition furnifhes its followers with principles, not only to abhor the Doctrines, but alfo the perfons of fuch whom they term not Believers. The fordidnefs of their blouct and ungentlenefs of their education, makes them infplantand (welled in profferity;

profperhy; and their Victories and Spoils upon Chriftians, render the Arms and Force of other parts Contonptible in reflect of theirs.

Upon thefe confidcrations of the vilenefs of Cbriftianity, and Teom of their power, they aflame this into a Maximte, that they ought not to regard the Leagues they have with any Prince, or the reafons and ground of a quarrel* whilft the breach tends to the enlargement of their Empire, which confequently infets the propagation of their Faith. Many and various are the examples and ftorie* in all Ages, fincp the beginning and iocreafe of the *Turkifh* power, of the perfidiouftefs and treachery of this people that it may be aquestion, whether their valour and force bath prevailed more io the time of War, or the little care of their faith and maintenance of their Leagues hath availed them in the time of Peace. Thus *Didymaticbnm* in the time of Peace, under *Amurath*, third King of the *Turks*, whilft the Walls and Fortifications were Building, was by the *Afan* Labourers, which were entertained io the work, and the help of other *Turfy* which lay near in ambulb, furprifed and taken; fo alfo *Rbodeftnm* in time of Peace by command of *Amurath*, was by *Eurepfes* aflaulted and taken by ftratagem fo *Adrianople* in the reign of the fame Emperoiir, after Peace made again, and affurances given of better faith, was by the art and difguife of *Cbafij-Ilbeg*, pretending to be a difcontented Captain and a Fugitive from the *Turkjy*, by fair Speeches and fome Anions and Skirmiffes abroad, gained fuch confidence amongft the credulous *Gretks*, as enabled him afterwards to fet the Gates open to *Amnraths* Army, which after fome CooBift waft taken* and never recovered again by the power of the *Greek*;

Now called
Rbodetio,

It is an old and praftifed fubtilty of the *Turks*, immediately after tome notable Misfortune to entreat of Peace, by which means they may gain time to recollect their Forces and Provisions to profecute the War* It is notable and worthy of Record, the treachery of the Treaty ufed io the year 1604. Begun in the time of *Mahomet* the third, and broken off by *Achmat* his Succefiur. The overtures for a Treaty were firft propounded by the *Turks*; and Commiffioners from the Emperour appointed, and met the *Turks* at *Buda*; twelve days truce were concluded for consideration of the Articles* and Prefentsent by the *Turfy* to the Emperour, to perfwade him of the reality of their intentions. *Mahomet* dying, *sultan Ackmat* renews his Commiffiion to the *Baffa* of *Buds* to continue the Treaty; whereupon the *Qriflian* and *Turks* Commiffioners have another Meeting at *Pefth*; where whilft the Chriftians were courteoufly Feafting the Infidels io Tents near the Town, and they to create ip the Chnftians an affurance of their faithful deal? ing, wert producing Letters from their *Sultan* and Prime Vifier filled with Oaths and Proteftations, as by the God of Heaven and Earth, by the Books of *Momfer* by tte foultis of their Anchor s, and the like, that their intentions for Peace were real, and meant nothing but what was honourable and juft; At that very time the *Turks* of *Buda*, conceiving that in the time of this great Jollity and confidence, the Walls of *Pefik* were negle&ed and flightly manned, iffued out in great numbers to furprize it; the alarm of which ended the Banquet, and the *Turks* rinding matters contrary to their expectation, returned only with the Ibarac of their treachery,

It is no wonder the Difciplcs (herald in a point of fo great liberty,
and

and advantage follow the example and Doctrine of their Matter* for the like *Mahomet* did when overthrown., and repulſed at the ſiege of *Mecha*, made a firm League With the Inhabitants of (hid Peace and Amity: but the next Summer, having again recruited his Forces, eaſily ſurprized and took the City, whilſt that people relying on the Jate agreement, ſuſpected nothing leſs then the Prophets treachery. And that ſuch perfidiouſneſs as this might not be Chronicled in future Ages, in diſparagement of his Sanctity ; he made it lawful for his Believers, in caſes of like nature, when the matter concerned thoſe who were Infidels, and of a different perſwaſion, neither to regard Promiſes, Leagues, or other Engagements ; and this is read in the Book of the inſtitutions of the *Mahometan* Law, called *Kitab Hadaia*.

It is the uſual form and cuſtom, when a noble advantage is eſpyed on any Country, with which they have not ſufficient ground of quarrel, to demand the opinion of the *Muſtee*, for the lawfulneſs of War ; who without conſulting other conſideration and judgment of the reaſonable occaſions, then the utility of the Empire, in conformity to the foregoing preſident of his Prophet, paſſes his *Fetſa* or ſentence by which the War becomes warrantable, and the cauſe juſtified and allowed.

It is not to be denied, but even amongſt Chriſtian Princes and other the moſt gallant people of the world, advantages have been taken contrary to Leagues, and Faith, and Wars commenced upon frivolous and flight pretences ; and States have never wanted reaſons for the breach of Leagues, though confirmed by Oaths and all the Kites of Religious Vows: We know it is controverted in the Schools, whether Faith is to be maintained with Infidels, with Hereticks, and wicked men \$ which in my opinion were more honourable to be out of queſtion.

But we never read that perfidiouſneſs by Ad and Proclamation was allowable, or that it was holy to be faithleſs, until the Docters of the *Mahometan* Law, by the example of their Prophet recorded and commanded this Leſſon, as a beneficial and uſeful Axiome to their Diſci-ples.

And here I cannot but wonder at what I have heard and read in ſome Books of the Honeſty and Juſtice of the *Turks*, extolling and applauding them, as men accompliſhed with all the virtues of a moral life; thence ſeeming to infer that Chriſtianity it ſelf impoſes none of thoſe engagements of goodneſs on mens natures, as the Profeſſors of it do imagine. But ſuch men I believe, have neither read the Hiſtories, nor conſulted the rules of their Religion, nor praſtified their convention ; and in all points being ignorant of the truth of the *Turks* dealings, it is not ſtrange, if through a charitable opinion of what they know not, they erre in the apprehenſion and Character they paſs up on them.



OF THE Turkish Religion.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I

Of the Religion of the Turks in general.

THe Civil Laws appertaining to Religion amongst the *Turks* are Co confounded into one body, that we can scarce treat of one without the other ; for they conceive that the Civil Law came as much from God, being delivered by their Prophet, as that which immediately re-peels their Religion, and came with the same obligations and injunctions to obedience. And though this Polttiewasa Fiction of some, who first founded certain Governments, as *Ntma Pompilius, Solon*, and the like, to put the greater engagements and ties on men, as well of cōpncience, as through tear of puniiment; yet in the general that proportion is true, that all Laws which respect Right and Justice, and are tending to a foundation Of good and honest Government, are of God ; *For there is no poixer but of God, and the powers that be, are ordained of God.* And then if God owns the creation and constitution of all Princes and Rulers, as well the Pagans as Christians ; the Tyrants, as the indulgent Fathers of their people and Country, who lefs doth he disallow the Rules and Laws fitted to the constitution and Government of a people, giving no dispensation to their obedience, because their Prince is a Tyrant, or their Laws not founded according to true realbn, but the humour of their corrupted judgments or interest.

It is vulgarly known to all, that their Law was compiled by *Ma-homet*, with the help of *sergins the Monk*- (and thence this fapertition
O is

is named *Mahometanifm*), *Whofe* infamous life is recorded fo particularly in many other Books, that it were too obvious to be repeated here : and therefore we (hall infift, and take a view of the Rites., Doctrines and Laws of the *Turkifh Religion*, which is founded in three Books, which may not improperly becalled the Codes and *Pandects* the *Mahometan* constitutions.

The firft is the *Alchoran* ; the fecond, the content or teftimony of Wifemen, called the *Afforah*, or the traditions of the Prophets} and the third, the inferences or deductions of one thing from another. *Mahomet* wrote the *Alchoran*, and prefcribed fome Laws for the Civil Government: the other additions or fuperftructures were compofed by their Doctors that fucceeded, which were *Ebbubechcr*, *Omar*, *Ozman* and *Haly* the *Calijfs* of "*Eabylon* and *Egypt*, were other Doctors and Expofitors of their Law, whofe fentences and pofitions were, of Divine Authority amongft them s but their efteem of being oraculous failing with their temporal power, that Dignity and Authority of infallible determinations, was by force of the Sword transferred to the *Turkifh Mufti*. And though there is great diverfity amongft the Doctors, as touching the explication of their Law} yet he is cteemed a true Believer, who obferves thefe five Articles or Fundamentals of the Law, to which every true *Turk* is obliged. The firft is, cleannefsin the outward parts of their body and garments. Secondly, to make Prayers five times a day. Thirdly, to obferve the *Ramazan* or Monthly Faft. Fourthly, to perform faithfully the *Zekat*, or giving of Alms according to the proportion prefcribed in a certain Book, wrote by the four Doctors of theirs, called *Afan*, *Embela*, &c Fifthly, to make their Pilgrimage to *Mecha*, if they have means and poffibility to perform it. But the Article of Faith required to be believed is but one, viz. that there isbut one God and *Mahomet* his Prophet. Other Rites, as Circumcifion, obfervation of *Friday* for a* day of Devotion, abftinence from Swines fleth, and from bloud, are not reckoned (as they fay) amongft the five principal points, becaufe they are enjoyed at tryals and proofs of a mans obedience to the more neceffary Law.

CHAP. II.

The Toleration that Mahometanifm in its Infancy premifed to other Religions'; and in what manner that agreement was afterwards obferved.

WHen *Mahomctanifm* was firft weak, and therefore put on a modeft Countenance and plaufible Aspect: to deceive mankind, it found a great part of the World illuminated with Chriftianity, endued with active Graces, Zeal, and Devotion, and eftablifhed within it felf with purity of Doctrine, Union, and firmprofeffion of the Faith, though greatly (bakenby the Hereties of *Arrint* and *Nefitorinsh* yet it began to be guarded not only with its patience, long-fuffering and hope, but alio with the Fortifications, Arms and Protection of Emperors and Kings: fo
that

that *Mahomttanifm* coming then on the difadvantage, and having a hard game to play, either by the luftre of graces, and good examples of a ftrict life to out-fhine Chriftianity ; or by a loofenefs and indulgence to corrupt manners, to pervert men dedicated to Gods ferVice | or by cruelty or menaces to gain thofe who accounted Martyrdom their grcatcft glory, and were now alfo defended by the power of their own Princes ; judges it beft policy to make proffers of truce and peace between the Chriftian and its own profellion: and therefore in all places where its arms were prevalent and r)rofpctuous, proclaimed a free toleration to all Religions ; but efpecially in outward appearance, courted and favoured the Chriftian, drawing its Tenents and Doctrines in fome conformity to that rule, confefling Chrift to be a Prophet, and greater then *Mofes*, that he was born of a Virgin & that *Mary* conceived by the fmell of a Rose ; that the blefled Virgin was free from original (in, and the temptations of the Devil; that Chrift was the Word of God, and is fo ftyled in the *Alchoratt*, and cured difeafes, raifed the dead, and worked many miracles ; and by his power, his Difciples did the like: and I have heard fome fpeak of him with much reverence, and with heat to deny Chriffs paffion ; faying, it were an impiety to believe that God who loved, and had conferred fo much power, and fo many graces on Chrift, fhould fo far dilhonour him, as to deliver him into the hands of the Jews, who were the worft and moft fcorned of men ; or to the death of the Crofs, which was the moft infamous and vile of all punifhments.

In this manner they feemed to make a league with Chriftianity, to be charitable, modeft, and well wifhers to its profefors ; and *Mahomet* himfelf fays in his *Alchoan* thus: O infidels, I do not adore what you adore, and you do not adore what I worfhips obferve you your law, and I will obferve mine; And for a farther affurance of his toleration of Chriftianity, and evidence to the world, that his intent jori was neither to perfecute nor extirpate their Religion* he made this Following Compatt, the Original of which was found in the Mohaffery of Fryars on Mount *Cartnel*, near Mount *Libanns* which is within one days Journey of *Mechd*, and is the place where the *Mahometan* Pilgrims make their *Cor ban* or Sacrifice before they enter that City, as We ftiall hereafter have occafion to fpeak of more at large) and, as it is faid, wastranfported to the Kings Library in France ; which becaufe it is accient, and of curiofity, it will not be impertinent to beiof cited here.

' *Mahomtt* fent from God to teach mankind, and declare the Divine
' Commiffion in truth, wrote thefe things; That the caufe of Chrifti-
' art Religion determined by God, might remain in all parts of the
' Eaft, and of the Weft, as well amongft the inhabitants, as ftrangers,
' near and remote, known, and unknown : to all thefe people I leave
' this prefent writing, as an inviolable league, as a decision if all far-
' ther controversies, and a law whereby juftice is declared, and ftrict
' obfervance enjoyed. Therefore, whofoeVer of the *Moplmans* Faith
' fhall neglect to perform thefe things, and violate this league, and after
' the manner of Infidels break it, and tranfgrefs what I command here-
' in, he breaks the Compact of God, refits his agreements and con-
' temns his Teftament, whether he be a King, or any other of the faith-

Moffelman fig-
nifies a be-
liever, and for
the Turks call
them felives.

Of the Turkifh Religion.

' full. By t his agreement, whereby I have obliged my felf, aod which
 ' the Chriftiaos have required of me, and in my Name, and in the name
 ' of all my Difciples, to enter into a Covenant of God with them, and
 ' League and Teftament of the Prophets, Apoftles elect, and faith-
 ' ful Saints, And blefled of times paf audio come. By this Covenant,
 ' I fay, and Teftament of mine (which! will have maintained with as
 ' much Religion, as a Prophet Miffionary, or as an Angel next to the
 ' Divine Majefty, is ftrict his obedience towards God, and mob-
 ' fervance to his Law and Covenant) I promife to defend their
 ' Judges in my Provinces, with my Horfe and Foot, Auxiliaries, and
 ' other my faithful Followers; and to prefeve them from their Ene-
 ' mies, whether remote or near, and fecure them both in peace and
 ' war: and to protect their Churches, Temples, Oratories, Monafte-
 ' rics, and places of Pilgrimage, wherefoever fcituated, whether in
 ' Mountain or Valley, Cavern or Houie, a Plain, or upon the Sand, or
 ' in what fort of Edifice foever : alfo to prefeive their Religion and
 ' their goods in what part foever they are, whether at Land or Sea,
 ' Eaft or Weft, even as I keep my felf and my Scepter, and the faithful
 ' believers of my own people. Likewife, to receive them into my
 ' protection from all harm, Vexation, offence and hurt. Moreover, to
 ' repel thofe enemies which are offensive to them and me, and (toutly
 ' to oppofe them both in my owoperfon by my fervants, and all others
 ' of my people and Nation. . tor fiacel am fet over them, I ought to
 ' prefeve and defend them from all adverfity, and that no evil touch
 ' them before it firft affiift mine, who labour in the fame work. I
 ' promife farther to free them from thofe burthens which confederates
 ' fuffer, either by lones of money or impositions ; fo that they (hall be
 ' obliged to pay nothing but what they pleafe, apd no molefttatioo or
 ' injury (hall be offered them herein. A Bifhop (hall not be removed
 ' from his Diocefs, or a Chriftian compelled to renounce his faith,
 ' or a Monk his proftflion, or a Pilgrim diftwbed in his Pilgrimage,
 ' or a Religious inan in his Cell: Nor (hall their Churches bedeftroy-
 ' ed, or converted into Mofques: for whofoever doth fo break this
 ' Covenant of God, oppofes the Meflenger of God, and fruft rates the
 ' Divine Teftament. No imposition (hall be laid upon Fryars or Bi-
 ' (hops, nor any of them who are not Jyable to Taxes, unlefs it be with
 ' their own confcnt. And the Tax which (hall be required from rich
 ' Merchants, and from Fimermen of their Peatl, from Miners of their
 ' Precious Stones, Gold and Silver; and all other rich and opulent
 ' Chriftiahs, (hall not exceed above 12 fhillings yearly; and it fhall
 ' alfo be from them who are conftant inhabitants of the place, and
 ' not from Travellers, and Men Of an uncertain abode ; for they (hall
 ' not be subject to impositions or contributions, unlefs they are pof-
 ' 'effbrs of inheritance of Land or Eftate; for he which is lawfully
 ' fubjeft to pay money to the Emperour, mall pay as much as another,
 ' and not more i nor more required from him, above his faculty and
 ' * ftrength. In like manner, he that is taxed for his Land, Houfes or
 ' Revenue, (hall not be burthened immoderately, nor op pre (led with
 ' greater Taxes then any others that pay contribution: Nor (hall the
 ' confederates be obliged to go to War with the *Moffelmans* againft

not of duty to a confederal e, to be employed in Military affairs ; bat rather this Cotnpactis moade with thetn, that they may be the left oppreffed ; but rather the *Moffelmads* shall watch, and ward, and defend them: And therefore., that they te not compelled to go forth to fight, or encounter the Eaeiriy, or find Horfe or Arras, uolefs they voluntarily farnish them ; and he who shall thus Willingly contribute, (hall be recompencd and rewarded. No *Moselean* shal infett the Chriftians, nor contend with them in any throg but in kind nefls but treat them with all courtefle, and abstain from all oppreffion or violence towards them, if any Chriftian commit a crime or fault, it (hall be the part of the *Moffitktm* to affitt him, intercede arid give caution for him, and compound for his mifcarriage 5 liberty (hall al- Co be given htm to redeem his life, dor (hall he be torfaken, nor be defrit ute of help, becaufe of the Divine Covenant which is with them, that they should enjoy what the *Moffelmsns* enjoy, and suffer what they fuffer: and on the other fide, that the *Moffelmant* enjoy what they enjoy, artd foffer what they fuffer. . And according to this Covenant, which is by the Chriftians jufs request, and according to that endeavour which is fo required for confirmation of its Authority. rou are obliged to protect them from all calamity, and perform ail Dfficesofgood will towards therri, Co that rhe *Moffdmans* may be fharrers with them in prosperity and adverrtty. Moreover, all care ought to be had, that no violence be offered to them, as to matters relating to marriage, viz., That they compel not the Patents to match their Daughters with *Moffelmans*: Nor shall they be raolefted forrefufal, either to give a Bridegroom or a Bride ; for this is an aft wholly Voluntary, depending oh their free will and pleasure. But if it happen that a Chriftion Woman shall joyn with a *Moseman*, he is obliged to give her liberty of confcience in her Religion, that the may obey her Ghoffly Father, and be intrufred in the Doctrines of her Faith without impediment 5 therefore he (hall not difqutet her, either by threatening divorce, or by follicitations to forfake her Faith: but If he hall be contrary hereunto, and moleft her herein, he defpifes the Covenant of God, rebels against the Compact of the Messenger of God, and is entred into the number of lyars. ttforeover, whert Chriftians would repair their Churches or Convents, or any thing eife appertaining unto their VVorftiip, and have need of the liberality and affiftance of the *Mofieltoans* hereunto, they ought to contribute, and freely to bestow according to their ability ; hot with intention to receive it again, but *gratis* ; and as a good will towards their Faith, and to fulfil the Covenant of the Meflenger of God, considering the obligation they have to perform the Covenant of God, and the compact of thelvletfengerof God. Nor (hall they opprefi any of therh living amongst the *Moselmans*, nor hate them, nor compel them ro carry Letters, • or (hew the Way, or any other manner force themi for he Which exercifesany manner of thisTyraniw againft theovisan oppreffor, and an adverlary to the Meffienger of God, and refractory to his frreprepts; These arc the Covenants agreed between Mokomet the Meffenger of God, arid Chriftians. But the conditions on which tyWd thefe Covenants oo their Confcienccs., are thefe i That no Chriftfetigtve any chtertaioomerit to a Souldier; enemy to the *Aitfklrtinti*

or receive him in his house publicly or privately ; that they receive none of the Enemies of the *Moslems*, as sojourners in their Houses, Churches or religious Convents 5 nor under-hand furnish the Camp of their Enemies with Arms, Horse, Men, or maintain any intercourse or correspondence with them, by contracts or writing ; but betaking themselves to some certain place of abode, (shall attend to the preservation of themselves, and to the defence of their Religion. ' To any *Moslem* and his Heirs, they shall give three days entertainment with variety of Meat ; and moreover, (shall endeavour to defend them from all misfortune and trouble ; so that if any *Moslem* shall be desirous, or be compelled to conceal himself in any of their houses or habitations, they (shall friendly hide him, and deliver him from the danger he is in, and not betray him to his Enemy: and in this manner the Christians performing Faith on their side, who-ever violates any of these conditions, and doth contrarily, (shall be deprived of the benefits contained in the Covenant of God and his Messenger , nor shall he deserve to enjoy these privileges indulged to Bishops and Christian Monks, and to the believers of the contents of the *Alchoran*. Wherefore I do conjure my people by God and his Prophet to maintain these things faithfully, and fulfil them, in what part soever of the world they are. And the Messenger of God (shall recompence them for the same ; the perpetual observation of which he seriously recommends to them, until the day of judgment, and dissolution of the world. Of these conditions which *Mahomet* the Messenger of God hath agreed with the Christians, and hath enjoined, the witnesses were

' *Abu- Bacre Affadique, Omar ben-akharab.*

' *Ithman ben Afaw Ati ben abi-taleb,*

' with a number of others ; the Secretary was *Moavia ben abi Sofia*, a Soldier of the Messenger of God, the last day of the Moon of the fourth Month, the fourth year of *Hegira* in *Medina*, May God remunerate those who are witnesses to this writing. Praise be to God the Lord of all creatures.

This Covenant or Articles with Christians (howsoever denied by the *Turky* to have been the act and agreement of *Mahomet*) is yet by very good Authors taken for real, and to have been at that time confirmed when his Kingdom was weak, and in its infancy, and when he Warred with the *Arabians*: and fearing likewise the enmity of the Christians (not to be assaulted by two Enemies at once) secured himself by this religious League, made in the Monastery of *Fryars*, in Mount *Carmel*, from whence that strict Order have their denomination. But mark how well *Mahomet* in the sequel observed this Law. ' Assoonas his Government increased, and that by Arms and bad Arts he had secured his Kingdom, he writes his Chapter of the Sword, called so perhaps because the first words of it are often engraved on the *Turky* Cymbets made at *Dantafeus*; and on their Bucklers and other forts of Arms: And another Chapter in the *Alchoran* called the Chapter of Battle (which is always read by the *Turky* before they go to fight) and therein his modest words (if you adore not what I adore, let your Religion be to you, and mine to me) and other promises of toleration and indulgence to the Christian Religion, were changed to a harder notes and his

Edicts

Edicts were then for bloud and ruine, and enllavement ot Ciiriftians: When you meet with Infidels, faith he, cut off their heads, kill them, take them prifoners, bind them, until either you think fit to give them liberty, or pay their ranfom ;> and forbear not toperfecutc them, until they have laid down their Arms and fubmitted. And this is that fort of toleration the *Turkj* give to the Chriftian Religion ; they know they cannot force mens Wills, nor captivate their Confcienccs,' as well as their bodies i but what means may be ufcd-to render them contemptible, to make them poor, their lives uncomfortable, andtheintereft of their Religion weak and depicable, are practifedwith divers Arts and Tyranny, 'that the:r toleration of Chriftianity is rather to afflict and perfecute it, than any grant of favour or di(penfation.

The *Mahometan* Religion tolerates Chriftian Churches and Houfes of Devotion, in places where they have been anciently founded, but admits not of holy Buildings on new foundations ; they may repair the old Coverings and Roofs, but cannot lay a ftone in a new place Confecrated to Divine Service ; nor if Fire, or any accident deftroy the Superfrtructure, may a new ftrength be added to the foundation, wherewith tounder-prop it for another Building; fo that at laft the Chriftian Churches in thofe Dominions muft neceffarily come to ruine, as many already have fubmitted to the common fate of time. And as it happened in the great and notable Fires of *Galata* fir ft, and then of *Conftantinople*, in the year 1660, that many of the Chriftian Churches and Chappels were brought to Allies; and afterwards by the Piety and Zeal of Chriftians (carce re-edified, before by publick order they were thrown down again into their former heaps, being adjudged contrary totheTurkiOlaw, to permit Churches again to be reftored, of which no more remained than the meer foundation.

CHAP. III.

The Arts wherewith the Turkifli Religion is propagated.

THe *Turfy* though they offer thefpacious out-fide of the foregoing toleration, yet by their Law are authorized to enforce mens.confcienccs to the profefiion of their Faith, and that is done by various arts and niceties of Religion: For if a man turn *Turk* his Children under the age of fourteen years, though Educated with other principles,muft be forced to the fame perfwafion. Men that fpeak againft the *Mihometin* Law, that have rafhly promifed at a time of diftracYion or drunken nefs to become *Turks*, or have had carnal knowledge of a Turkifh Woman, muft either become Martyrs or Apoftates} befides many other (ubtilties they ha veto entrap the fouls of Chriftians within the entanglements of their Law.

It is another Policie wherewith the *Mahometan* Seel: hath been encreased , the accounting it a principle of Religion, not to deliver a City or Fortrefs by confent or voluntary furrendcr, where *Mofques* have been once built, and *Mahometanifm* profeffed And therefore the *Turk* no (boner enters a Town by Conqueft, but immediately lays foundati- ons for his Temples, thereby impofing an obligation of an obftinate

and constant resolution on the conscience of the defendants, which many times hath been found to have been more forcible and prevalent on the spirits of men, than all the terrors and miseries of Famine, Sword or other calamities.

It is well enough known upon what different interests Christianity and *Mahometanism* were introduced into the world ; the first had no other enforcements, than the persuasions and Sermons of a few poor Fishermen, verified with Miracles, Signs and inspiration of the Holy Ghost; carrying before it the promises of another life, and confederations of a glorified spirituality in a state of separation? but the way to it was obstructed with the opposition of Emperours and Kings, with scorn and contempt, with persecution and death; and this was all the encouragement proposed to mankind to embrace this Faith: but *Mahometanism* made its way with the Sword; what knots of Argument he could not untie, he cut, and made his spiritual power as large as his temporal ; made his precepts easy and pleasant, and acceptable to the fancy and appetite, as well as to the capacity of the vulgar; representing Heaven to them, not in a spiritual manner, or with delights unexpressible, and ravishments known only in part to illuminated souls ; but with gross conceptions of the beauty of Women with great eyes, of the duration of one act of carnal copulation for the space of sixty years, and of the beastly satisfaction of a gluttonous palate ; things absurd and ridiculous to wise and knowing men ; but yet capable to draw multitudes of professors, and carnal defenders of its verity. And this Doctrine being irrational to the better sort of judgments, causes the Lawyers, who are men of the subtlest capacities amongst the *Turks* to mistrust much of the truth of the Doctrine of *Mahomet* ; especially the afflictions relating to the condition of the other life. For the representation of the delights of the next world, in a corporeal and sensual manner, being inconsistent with their reason, leads them to doubt the truth of that point and so wavering with one scruple, proceed to a mistrust of the whole System of the *Mahometans* faith. One would think that in such men a way were prepared for the entertainment of a Religion, erected on more solid principles and foundations ; and that the Jews might gain such Profelytes to their Law, from which a great part of the *Mahometan* superstition was borrowed ; or that the Christians might take advantage in so well-disposed subjects, to produce something of the Mystery of Godliness: But the first are a people so obnoxious to scorn and contempt, esteemed by the *Turks* to be the scum of the world, and the worst of men; that it is not probable their Doctrine can gain a reputation with those, to whom their very persons and blood are vile and detestable ; nor is it likely the Christians will ever be received by them with greater Authority, and more favourable inclination, until they acquit themselves of the scandal of Idolatry, which the Images and Pictures in their Churches seem to accuse them of in the eyes and judgment of the *Turks* who are not versed in the subtle distinctions of Schoolmen, in the limitations and restrictions of that worship and the evasions of their Doctors, matters not only sufficient to puzzle and distract the gross heads of *Turks* but to strain the wits of learned Christians to clear them from that imputation.

But to return to our purpose. The propagation of the *Mahometan* faith

faith having been promoted wholly by the Sword; that perswasion and principle in their Catechism, that the souls of those who die in the Wars against the Christians, without the help of previous acts of performance of their Law, or other works, are immediately transported to Paradise, must necessarily whet the Swords and raise the spirits of the Souldiers ; which is the reason that such Multitudes of them (as we read in History) run evidently to their own (laughter, esteeming their Lives and bodies at no greater price than the value of (tones and rubbish to fill Rivulets and Ditches, that they may but crtt a Bridge or passage for their fellows to assault their enemies.

The success of the *Mahometan* arms produced another argument for the confirmation of their faith, and made it a principle ; that whatsoever prospers, hath God for the Author 5 and by how much more successful have been their Wars, by so much the more hath God been an owner of their cause and Religion. And the same argument (if I am not mistaken) in the times of the late Rebellion in *England*, was made use of by many, to intitle God to their cause, and make him the Author of their thriving sin, because their wickedness prospered, and could trample on all holy and humane rights with impunity. And I have known that the *Romanists* have judged the afflictions and almost subversion of the Church of *England*, to be a token of Gods deferriion and disclaim of her profession, forgetting the Perfections and Martyrdoms of the Primitive Saints, and that the Church of God is built in furrow and established with patience and passive graces ; but these men rather than want an argument, their malice will use the weapons of Infidels to oppose the truth. And on this ground, the *Turks* do horribly delect and abhor the Jews, calling them the forsaken of God, because they are Vagabonds over all the world, and have no Temporal Authority to protect them: And though according to the best enquiry I could make, that report is not true, That they permit not a Jew to become a *Turk* ; but by turning a Christian first, as a nearer step and previous disposition to the *Musulman* faith ; yet it is certain they will not receive the Corps of a Rencgado Jew into their Cemeteries or places of burial ; and the Jews on the other side disowning any (share or part in him, his loathed Carcass is thrown into some Grave distant from other Sepulcher6, as unworthy the Society of all mankind.

CHAP. IV.

The power and office of the Mufti's, and of their Government in Religions Matters.

The *Mufti* is the principal head of the *Mahometan* Religion or Oracle of all doubtful questions in the Law, and is a person of great esteem and reverence amongst the *Turks* ; his election is solely in the Grand Signior, who chooses a man to that office always famous for his Learning in the Law, and eminent for his virtues and frittness of life ; his Authority is so great amongst them, that when he passes judgment or determination in any point, the Grand Signior himself will in no wise contradict or oppose it.

106 *The Turkifh Government*

His power is not compulſory, but only rdblyng and pecwafivew matters both Civil and Criminal, and of State: his manner of reiblves is by writings thequeftioo being firſt dated *m* Paper briefly and fuccWtly, he underneath ſubſcribes his feoteoce by Yes, or No, or in fame other (hort determination called a *Fetfa*, with addition of theſe words, Cod knows better ; by which it is apparent that the determinations of the *Mufti* are not eſteemed infallible. This being brought to the *Cadet* or Judge, his judgement is certainly regulated according thereunto , and Law Suits of the greateſt moment concluded in an hour, without Ar reft s of judgement, appeals, or other dilator y Arts of the Law.

In matters of State the *Sultan* demands his opinion, whether it be in condemnation of any great man todeath,orin making War or Peace,of other important affairs of the Empire ſ either to appear the more juſt and religious, or to incline the people more willingly to obedience; And this practice is uſed in buſineſs of greateſt moment ; ſcarce a Viſier is proſcribed, or a *Pap air* for pretence of crime diſplaccd,or any matter of great alteration or change deſtgned; but the Grand Signior arms him/elf with the *Muji't* ſentence; for the nature of manrepofes more fecUrity in innocence and actions of juſtice, then in the abſoluteaod uncontrouleable power of the Sword. And the Grand Signior, though he himſclſ is above the Law, and is the Oracle and Fountain of Juſtice, yet it is ſeldome that he proceeds ſo irregularly tocontemn that Authority wherein their Religion hath placed an ultimate power of decifion in all their controverlies.

But ſometimes perhaps Queries are ſent from the Grand Signior to the *Mufti*, which he cannot reſolve with ſatisfaction of his own conſcience, and the ends of the *Sultan*; by which means affairs important to the well being of the State, meet delays and impediment ; In this caſe the *Mufti* is fairly diſmiſſed from his infallible office, and another Oracle introduced, who may reſolve the difficult demands with a more favourable ſentence s if not, he is degraded like the former, and ſo the next, until one is found apt to propheſie according to what may beſt agree with the intereſt of his Matter. This Office was in paſt-time eſteemed more ſacred by the *Ottoman* Princes then at preſent ; for no War was undertaken, or great Enterpriſe ſet on foot, but firſt like the Oracle or *Augur*, his determination with great reverence was required as that without which no bleſſing or ſucceſs could be expected ; but in theſe dayes they are more remiſs in this manner of conſutation ; ſometimes it is dorie for formality ; but moſt commonly the Prime Viſier conceited of his own judgement and Authority aſſumes the power to htmſclſ, and perhaps firſt does the thing, and afterwards demands the approbation of it by the fence of the Law.

And herein the *Mufti* hath a ſpacious Field for his Interpretations; for it is • agreed that their Law is temporary, and admits of expoſtkions according to times and ſtate of things . And though they preach to the people the perfection of their *Alcborans* yet the wiſer men bold, that the *Mufti* hath an expoſitory power of the Law to improve and better it, according to the ſtate of things, times and conveniences of the Empire ! for that their Law was never deſigned to be a clog or confinement to the propagation of faith, but an advancement thereof, and therefore

to be interpreted in the largeft and fartheft fetched fenfe, when the frift words will not reach the defign intended.

So it was once propounded to the *Mufti*, what rule (hould be observed in the devotion of a *Turk*, carried Slave into the Northern parts of the world, where in Winter 19 but one hour of day, how he might poffibly comply with his obligation of making prayers five times within the twenty four hours, viz. Morning, Noon, Afternoon, Sunfet, and at an houfmand half in the Night; when the whole day being but of one hour admitted of none of thefe diftinctions, for refolution of which, the *Mufti* answered, that God commanded not things difficult as it is in the *Alchoran*, and that matters ought to be ordered in conformity to time and place, and making fhort prayers once before day, then twice in the hour of light, and twice after it is dark, the duty is complied with.

Another queftion of the fame nature was propofed to the *Mufti*, concerning the *Kiblah* or holy place of *Mecha*, to which they are obliged to turn their faces in their prayers; how at Sea where they had no mark, efpecially fuch bad Geographers as commonly the *Turk** are, it is poffible to comply with that neceffary formality required in their devotion; the *Mufti* refolved this doubt almoft like the former, prefcribing a kind of circular motion in prayers, by which means they cannot mift of having at fome time their faces towards the Holy City, which in a cafe fuch much difficulty is a fufficient compliance with the duty.

Many cafes of this nature are propofed to the *Mufti*; and many particular rules of confeience required, one of which is remarkable, that *Btftbequ*'ws relates, that occurred in his time during the Wars between: the Emperour of Germany and Sultan Solyman: whether a few Ghiftians taken Captives by the Grand Signior, might be exchanged with many Turks in the hand of the Emperour. It feems the *Mufti* was greatly perplexed and puzzled in the refolutions for fometimes it feemed a difteem to the value of a *Turk* to be rated under the price of a Chriftian 5 on the other fide, it appeared want of charity and care of the intereft of the *Moffelmans* to neglect real terms of advantage on fuch airy and fubtle points of formality. In fine he confulted his Books, and declared that he found two different Authors of great authority of contradictory opinions in this controverfie; and therefore his Judgment was to incline to that which had moft of favour &c mercy in it. The *Mufti* whilst qualified with that title, is rarely put to death, but firft degraded, and then becomes liable to the ftroke of the Executioner; but in cafes of notorious crimes or conviction of Treafon, he is put into a Mortar for that intent remaining in the Prifon called the feven Towers at *Conftantinople*, and therein beaten to death, and brayed to the breaking and confufion of all his bones and fiefh.

The next office to the *Mufti* is *KadeUfchere* or Judge of the Militia, otherwife Judge Advocate, who hath yet power of determination in any other Law Suits whatfoever; for this privileged the Souldicry of this Country enjoys, to have a power extenfive over all other conditions of people, but to be only fubject themfelves to the Government of their own Officers; this office a *Mufti* muft neceffarily pafs through, and difcharge with approbation before he afcends the top and height of his Preferment*

Mollah.

The next inferior degree is a *Mollah* ; and these are of two sorts, one of three hundred *Afchers*, and the other of five hundred *Afchers*, so called for distinction sake ; the first sort are principal Judges in petty Provinces, containing under them the command of *Kadees* of poor and unconfidable places ; the others have their jurisdiction over the whole dominion of a *Begherbeg*, and have the *Kadees* of several rich and renowned places under their Government: these rise often to the *Mufti's* office, but proceed by several degrees and steps and must first gradually command where the Imperial Seats have been, as first to be *Mollah* in *Prusa*, then in *Adrianople*, and lastly in *Constantinople*, at which time he is next to the office of *Kadeleschere*, and thence to that of the *Mufti*.

These and *Kadees* which are the lower and ordinary sort of Judges, are as much to be reckoned in the number of religious men as the *Mufti* himself for as I have said before, the Civil Law of the *Turks* is conceived by them to be derived from their Prophet, and the other Expositors of their Law with as much engagement and obligation as these which immediately concern the Divine Worship and therefore are to be treated and handled together.

The *Emaums* or Parochial Priests, must be able to read in the *Alehoratt*, and be counted men of good fame and moral lives amongst their neighbours, before they can be promoted to this Function, and must be one of those who have learned at the appointed times of prayer to call the people together on the top of the Steeple, by repeating those words, *Allah ekber, Allah ekber, Efchedu enla Ilahe il all ah we efchedu enne Mahammed evreful: cuah Fleie ala Selah heie ala Telah Allah ekber, Allah ekber, la Ilahe ilallah* ; that is, God is great, God is great, I profess that there is no Deity but God, and confess that *Mahomet* is the Prophet of God ; in this manner the people of a Parish recommending any one to the Prime Vicar, declaring that the former *Emaum* is dead, and the office Vacant, and that this person is qualified in all points to the Function, or better and more knowing than the present Incumbent; he receives immediate induction and establishment in the place ; but for better proof or trial of the truth of the testimony that accompanies him, he is enjoined to read in presence of the Vicar some part of the *Alchoran*^ which being done, he is dismissed and approved, and takes the Vicar's *Tefchere* or *Mandamits* for the place.

This is all the Ceremony required in making an *Emaum*; for there is no new Character or state of Priest-hood (as they hold) conferred upon them, nor are they a different sort distinguished from the people by holy Orders or Rites, but merely by the present office they manage ; When being displaced, they are again numbered with the Laity : their habit is nothing different from others, but only that they wear a larger Turbant like the Lawyers, with some little variety in folding it up, and put on a grave and serious countenance* Their office is to call the people to prayers, and at due hours to be their leader into the *Mosque*, and to read and repeat upon Fridays certain Sentences or Verses out of the *Alchoran*; few of them adventure to Preach, unless he be well conceived or really well gifted, but leave that office to the *Soigh*, or him that makes Preaching his Profession, who is one commonly that passes his time in the Convents, that we (shall hereafter treat.

The

in Religions Matters.

The Wufth hath no Jurisdiction over the *Emmitt*, as to the good order or Government of the Parishes, nor is there any Superiority or Hierarchie as to rule amongst them j every one being Independent and without controul in his owe Parish, excepting his subjection in Civil and Criminal Causes to the -chief Magistrates, and considering the manner of their designation to the Religious-office, the little difference between the Clergy and the Laity, and the manner of their fingle Government in Parochial Congregations, may not unaptly seem to square With the Independency in *England*, from which original pattern and example our Sectaries and Phanatick Reformers appear to have drawn their Copy.

The Church-men and Lawyers are greatly in esteem amongst them, as is apparent by theatre they use to wards them their Writings and commands, directed to them in this manners You that art the glory of the Judges and Sage men. the profound Mines of Eloquent and Excellence, may your Wiktarn and Ability be augmented.

CHAP. V.

Of the Mufti's Revenue, and from whence it doth arise.

After the *Mufti* is Elected, there is no Ceremony used in his InveftiturethentM: he presents himself before the Grand Signior, who Cloaths him with a Vcft of rich Sables of a thousand Dollars priced and. a thousand more he presents him with in Gold made up in a Handkerchief, which he delivers With his own hand, putting it in the fold of his under Garment 4oubfe4 over his breast, and bestows on him a Salary of two thousand Aspers a day, which is about fivepound Sterling money besides which he hath no certain Revenue, unless it be the power of Preferment to some Prebendaries or Benefices of certain Royal *Mosquets*, which he sells and disposes of as is best to his advantage without the scruple of corruption or Simony.

By the sentences he gives which they call *Petfiti*, he receives not one Asper benefit ; though every *Feife* costs eight Aspers, yet the Fee thereof goes to his Officers ; that is, to his *Mufamedegi*, or he who frates the question, is paid five Aspers ; to his *Mumeiz*, or he who Copies or transcribes the question fair, two Aspers 5 to him that keeps the Seal, one Asper.

Other benefits the *Mufii* hath jSttfej. excepting only that at his first entrance to his office, he is feluted by all Embassadors and Residents for foreign Princes ; as also the Agents of several *Pa/haws* residing at the Port, none of which come empty-handed, but offer their accustomed presents, by which he collects at least fifty thousand Dollars.

When any *Mufti* is deprived of his Office without any other relative then the pleasure of the Grand Signior, he is gratified with an *Arpalik* which is the disposal of some Judicial Preferments in certain Provinces so that the super in tendency of them, from which he gathers a Competent Revenue for his maintenance.

And because he is a Person whose advice and counsel is of great.

Author

Authority with the Grand Signior and Vifier, and that his word and candid report of matters is confiderable, and his favour in (enrences very cftimable ; he is therefore courted by all the Grandees of the Empire, who know no other way of reconciling and purchafing the affettion of a *Turk*, then by force of prefents, which have more of power in them, then all other obligations or merits in the world.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Emirs.

WE may here bring in the *Emirs* otherwife called *Enlod Refnl*, into the number of the Religious men, becaufe they are of the race of *Mahomet*, who for diftinction fake, wear about their heads Turbants of a deep Sea-green which is the Colours of their Prophet ; put of reverence to his eftemed holy blood, many priviledges are indulged by the fccular Authority, that they cannot be vilified, affronted or ftrook by a *Turk* upon forfeiture of his right hand 5 but left they fhould be licentious by his impunity, they have a chief Head or Superior

riour amongst them called *Nakib Eschref*, who hath his Serjeants or Officers under him, and is endued with so absolute a power over them, that as he pleases it extends both to Life and Death; but he never will give the scandal to this holy seed to execute or punish them publicly. And though few of them can derive his Genealogie clearly from *Mabomet*; yet those who can but only pretend to it, are often helped out in their Pedigree, as often as the *Nakib* desires to favour any Person, who can have any colour to acquire a new subject; and then to clear himself from the world, he gives him a Tree of his lineage and descent. The *Nakib* being well acquainted with this abuse, carry the less respect to the *Nakib's* Genealogie; so that as often as they find any of them guilty of a crime, they make no scruple to take off their Green Turbans first, calling them and laying them aside with all Reverence, and afterwards beat them without respect or Mercy.

Their second Officer is called *Alamdar*, who carries the Green Flag of *Mabomet*, when the Grand Signior appears with any solemnity in publick, they are capable of any offices; few of them exercise any Trade, unless that which is *Eschref*, or one who deals in slaves, to which sort of Traffick this Sainted offspring is greatly addicted, as being a holy profession to captivate and enslave Christians. These are the most abominable *Sodomites* and abusers of Masculine virtue in the world, in which sin against nature they exceed the foulest and detestable lust of a *Tartar*.

CHAP. VII.

*Of the endowments of Royal Mosches, and in what manner
Tithes are given for Maintenance of their Priests and Religion.*



*An Imam or Parish Priest of one of the
Royall Moschs.*

THe Turks are very Magnificent in their *Mosches*, and Edifices erected to the honour and iervice of God, and not only in the Buildings, but in the endowments of them, with a Revenue which Records the Memory of the Donor to all Posterity, and relieves many poor who daily repeat prayers for the souls of such who dyed with a perswasion that they have need of them after their decease; for those I say who dye of that belief, for the condition of the soul, until the day of judgement is controverted amongst the Turks, and the question not decided as a matter of faith, or as revealed or determined by the *Alchoran*. For so large benevolence is given to places destined to Gods service, that as some compute, one third of the Lands of the whole Empire are allotted and set out to a holy use; much to the flame of those who pretend to the name of Christians and yet judge the fraallest proportion

tion to be too large a competence for those, who serve at the Altar,

The principal Mefchs and those of richest eqdqwmcot (as in 'ali reason pught) art those of Royal Foundations, called in *Turkish* *se/aria Giameleri*; over which the Prime Superintendent is the kuzkir Age, or the, chief Black Eunuch of the *Suit ant* Woman ; and in his power it is to distribute all considerable offices of Ecclesiastical Preferment relating to the Royal *Mofchs*, which office makes a considerable addition to his other power and Revenue: for there are many of those *Mofchs* in divers places of the Empire ; but especially where the *Sultans* do or have resided, as *Frufa*, *Adrianople* and *Constantinople*.

The Royal *Mofchs* of *Constantinople* are *Santa Sophia*, *Sultan Mahomet*, who Conquered this City. *Sultan Bajazet*, *Sultan Selin*, *Sultan solyman*. *Schezade de* or the Son of *Sultan Solyman*, *Sultan Ahmet*, and three other *Mofchs* built by the Queen Mothers, one of which was lately erected and richly endowed by the Mother of this present *Sultan* .

I shall therefore adventure to acquaint my Reader with the particular Revenue belonging to all these Royal Edifices, but certain it is they have Rents as noble and splendid as their Founders; for for example of which, I shall instance only in that of *Santa Sophia*, built by *Justinian* the Emperour, and rebuilt by *Theodorus*, and was the Metropolis of old *Byzantium*, and the Mother Church belonging to the Patriarchal See of *Greece*, is still preserved sacred and fit for use of Divine Service ; of the Revenue of which *Mahometan* Barbarism and Superstition hath made no sacrilegious Robbery, but maintained and improved and added to it, in that manner that the income may equal any Religious foundation of Christendom ; for when I had the Curiosity of procuring from the Registers of that Church, distinctly all the particular Gifts, Benefices, Lands, Monies at interest, and other endowments belonging thereunto, and offered according to my ability some thing considerable, to have a true Copy of the riches and annual Rent of the place, the Keepers of those Lists would persuade me (whether out of ostentation, or scruple of sin to make one of my faith acquainted with the particulars of their Religious offerings) that the Wealth, rent and account of all those Royal endowments are so many, such as they are distinctly set down, fill a Volume, and the knowledge of them is the study alone of those who are destined to this service ; but in general I am given to understand, by those who magnify not matters beyond their due computation: That the Revenue amounts to about one hundred thousand *Zechins* a year; which proceeds not from any Lands or Duties raised without the Walls of the City, but all from within; the *sultan* himself being a Tenant to that place, paying of acknowledging a Rent of one thousand and one Aspers a day for the ground which the *Seraglio* stands on, being in times of the Christian Emperours some part of the Sanctuary or Carvens dedicated to the use of that stately Temple, which the *Turks* esteem sacred to separate entirely from the holy Service to which it was assigned; though the admirable situation thereof rendered it unfit for other habitation, then the enjoyment of the *Sultan* ; did therefore think fit to oblige the Land to a Rent, adding the same Asper as a signification, that the thousand Aspers were not a sufficient consideration for the use of the Church Lands ; and might therefore be augmented as the piety

The Turkish Government

and devotion of succeeding Emperours should move them.

It is reported by the *Turks*, that *Constantinople* was taken upon a *mednesday*; and that on the *Friday* following (which is their *Sunday* or *Sabbath* as we may call it) the victorious *Sultan* then first entituled *Eraperour*, went with all Magnificent Pomp and Solemnity to pay his Thanksgiving and Devotions at the Chorch of *sanita Sephia*, the Magnificence of which so pleased him that he immediately added, a yearly Rent of 10000 *Zeckins* to the former endowments, for the maintenance of *Imams* or Priests, Doctors of their Law, *Tali/mams* and others, who continually attend there for the Education of youth, teaching them to read and write, instructing them also in the principles of their Law and Religion.

Other Emperours have since that time, erected near unto it their *Turbemot* Chappels of Burial, in one of which lies *Sultan Selim*, first named *Sarbofe*, or the drunken, with his hundred Children, and there with have conferred a maintenance of Oyl for Lamps and Candles which burn day and night, and a provision for those who attend there in prayer for their souls departed; to which opinion the *Turks* (as I have said already) are generally inclinable, though not Preached or enforced on any mans belief as an Article of Faith. Over and above this expence, there is daily provision made for relief of a multitude of poor, who at certain hours appear at the Gates of this Temple, and receive their daily sustenance; whatsoever advances, as yearly great sums are laid up in the Treasury, is numbred with the riches of the *Moschy* and remains for the use of that place, as for the reparation, or building thereof, in case of fire or other accidents.

Besides the sumptuous Edifices of the body of the Royal *Mosques*, there are annexed unto them certain Colleges for Students in the Law called *Tehmcle*, out-houses for Kitchens; where the poor's Meat is distributed, Hospitals called *Timarhanelar*, *Hans*, or Houses of Lodging for Strangers or Travellers, publick Fountains, shops for Artisans, and whole Streets of low Cottages for habitation of the poor, whose stock reaches not to a higher Rent.

All these appendages bring some Revenue to the *Moschy*, which is constantly paid in to the Rector or Resident thereof, called *Mutetielli*; but because this is not a sufficient maintenance, there are divers Lands, Villages, Mountains, Woods and whole Countries assigned to this use called *Wakfi*, which are hired out at certain Rents for the behoof and benefit of the *Moschs*; some rents being paid in Corn, others in Oyl, and all sorts of Provisions; and out of every new Conquered Country, some part thereof is assigned to the use of *Mosch*es of modern Fabrick; as now from the Country gained lately about *Nembaufell* (which as I am informed from those who gave in the account to the Grand Signior, there are two thousand Villages which pay Contribution to the *Turk*) are assigned certain Lands for increase of the rent of the *Moschs* built at *Constantinople* by this present Queen Mother; which rents are sometimes raised by the way of Tenths or Tithes, not that the *Turks* make Tithes a duty or rule for the maintenance of persons, places and things consecrated to Divine Service, but as they find it a convenient and equal expedient in some Countries for alleviation of their rents. Such Countries and Villages as these which are called *Wakfi*,

are greatly bleffed and happy above others, in regard that the Inhabitants enjoy not only particular privileges and immunities from thence, bur freedom likewise from oppreffion of *Pafhaws* and the *Turkifh* Souldiery in their March, or of great perfons in their journey or paffage from one Country to another, who out of reverence to that lot to which they are feparated, abftain from all kind of difturbance and abufe towards that people.

Other *Mofchs* of inferiour quality, founded by private perfons and the confents of *Dervifes* and other Orders, which cannot have their Revenues in Land like the *Mofchs* of Royal Foundation, have their Eftates in money bequeathed by Teftament or by Gift of the Living, which being lent out at eighteen in the hundred *per annum*, produces a conftant rent; and though intereft for the moft part is forbidden by the *Mahometan* Law, yet for the ufes of *Mofchs* and fupport of Orphans it is allowed; in all other cafes it is *Haram* and abominable. And becaufe the taking up of money upon Loanc is in fome manner neceffary and conducing to the better fubfiftence and being of Trade, and that men will not lend without a corifideration or benefit; the ufual manner is to borrow money for a certain time, and in the writing or obligation to acknowledge the receipt of as much as the principal and intereft may amount unto, and oftentimes double of the Capital fum, which being delivered before witnefs in a bag or in grofs, the Creditor declaring the fum to be fo much therein contained, and the Debtor acknowledging it, the teftimony is valid when the Debt comes to be demanded. And thus much (hall ferve in brief to have declared concerning the endowments and manner of enriching the *turkifh Mofchs*, from whence the conftitution of others of the like nature may eafily be collected.

CHAP. VIII.

The Nature of tredeftination according to the Turkifli Doctours.

THE Doctrin of the *Turks* in this point feems to run exactly according tothcaffertion of the fevereft *Cahinifts*; and in proof hereof their Learned men produce places of Scripture, which feem to incline to the fame opinion. As fhall the Veffel fay to the Potter, *Why haft thou made me thus ? I will harden the heart of Pharoah*, *Jacob have I loved, and Efau have I hated*, and the like. For the *turks* attribute no fmall Reverence and Authority to the Old Teftament, as wrote by Divine Infpiration, but that the *Alchoran* being of later date, and containing the Will of God more exprefly and perfectly, the former is now abrogated and gives place unto this.

Some are fo pofitive in this affertion, that they are not afraid to fay that God is the Author of evil, without diftinction or evafions to acquit the Divine purity of the foulnefs of fin according to the Doctrin of the *Manichees*. And all in general concur in this conclufion, That whatsoever profpers hath God for the Author ; which wasthe reafon they deftroyed not *Bajazets* Children, during the time of his War againft

TheTurkifh government

his Brother *Selymtts*, expectVio to receive an undoubted argument of the Will of God therein, from the good or bad fortune of the Father. And from the same rule they conclude much of the Divine approbation and truth of their Religion., from their Conquests and present Prefeprity.

They are of opinion that every man9 destiny is writ in his forehead, which they call *Narfip* or *Tactir*, which is the Book writ in Heaven of every mans fortune, and is by no contrary endeavours, counfels or wisdom to be avoided; which Tencnt is so firmly radicated in the minds of the vulgar, that it causes the Souldiery brutifhly to throw away their lives in the most desperate attempts, and to esteem no more of their bodies, then as dirt or rubbish to fill up the trenches of the Enemy: And tospcak the truth, this received assertion hath turned the *Turks* as much to account, as any other of their best and subtlest Maxims. '

According to this Dodhine, none ought to avoid or fear the Infection of the Plague; *Mahomets* precepts being not to abandon the City-houfe where Infection rages, because God hath numbrcd their days and predestinated their fate; And upon this belief, they as familiarly attend the Beds and frequent the company of Pestilential persons, as we do those that are affected with the Gout, Stone or Ague. And though they evidently see that Chrifians, who fly into better Airs, and from infected habitations, survive the fury of the years Pestilence, when whole Cities of them perish and are depopulated with the Disease yet so far is this opinion rooted amongst them, that they scruple not to strip the contagious shirt from the dead body, and to put it on their own, nor can they remove their abode from the Chambers of the sick, it being the custom in the Families of great men to lodge many Servants on different Palets in the same room, where the diseased and healthful lie promiscuously together, from whence it hath hapned often, that three parts of a *Tajhaws* Family, which perhaps hath consisted of two hundred men, most youthful and lusty, have perished in the heat of July and Augusts Pestilence. And in the same manner many whole Families every Summer have perished, and not one survivor left to claim the inheritance of the house, for want of which the Grand Signior hath become the proprietor.

Though the *Mahometan* Law obliges them not to abandon the City, nor their houses, nor avoid the conversation of men infected with the Pestilence where their business or calling employs them; yet they are counselled not to frequent a contagious habitation, where they have no lawful affair to visit. But yet I have observed, in the time of an extraordinary Plague, that the *Turks* have not confided so much to the precept of their Prophet, as to have courage enough to withstand the dread and terror of that (laughter the sickness hath made but have under other excuses fled to retired and private Villages, especially the *Cadees* and men of the Law, who being commonly of more refined wits and judgments than the generality, both by reason and experience have found that a wholesome Air is a preserver of life, and that they have lived to return again to their own house in health and strength, when perhaps their next Neighbours have through their brutish ignorance been laid in their Graves. And this is the opinion

most

most general and current with the *Turks*, who are called *Jebare* ; There is another fort amongst them called *Kadere*,

C H A P . I X .

*The difference efSects and difagreement in Religion amongst the
Turks in general.*

THere is no consideration more abstruse and full of diftraction, then the contemplation of the ftrange variety of Religions in the world: how it is poffible that from the rational foul of man, which in all mankind is or little difference in it felf, and from that one principle, which is the adoration of a Deity, fhould proceed fuch diverfities of Faiths, fuch figments and Ideas of God, that all Ages and all Countries have abounded with fuperftitions of different natures 5 And it is ftrange to confider, that Nations who have been admirably wife, judicious and profound in the Maxims of their Government, fhould yet in matters of Religion give themfelves over to believe the Tales of an old Woman, a *Pythonefs*, or the dreams and imaginations of a melancholy *Bermite*. And it is as ftrange that men who embrace the fame principles in Religion, and have the fame true and infallible Foundation, fhould yet raife fuch different and difproportionate Fabricks , that molt fhould make their fuperftructure of Straw and Stubble, and but few of a fubftantial and durable Building, without uniformity, harmony or agreement each to other. For refolution of which difficulties, nothing can be laid more then that the god of this world hath blinded the hearts of them that believe not, *Left the light of the glorious Gofpel 2 Cor.v. of Chrift who is the image of God, fhould frine unto them.*

The *Mahometan* Religion is alfo one of the prodigious products of Reafons fuperforations, which hath brought forth nothing good, nor rational in this production, more then the conf-fion of one God. And yet even herein alfo are diversities of Sects, Opinions and Orders, which arc maintained in oppofition each to other, with emulation and zeal by theprofeflburs, with heats, difputes and reparations, terming the contrary parties prophane and unholy 5 the particulars of which Sects and diverfity in their Tenents, I (hall as far as I have feen or could learn, fet down and defcribe, having with the more curiofity and diligence made the ftricter enquiry, becaufe I have not read any Author which hath given afatisfactory account of fuch Sects as are fprung up amongst them in thefe latter and modern times.

It is a common opinion, that there are feventy two Sects amongst the *Turks*, but it is probable there are many more, if the matter were exactly known and (canned. The *Turkifh* Doctors fancy that the feventy two Nations which they call (*Tetmifh ekee Melet*) into which the world was divided upon the confufion of the Languages at *Babel*, was a Type and a Figure of the divifions which in after-ages fhould fucceed in the three moft general Religions of the World. In this manner they account feventy different Sects amongst the Jews, feventy one amongst the Chriftiaos, and to the *Mahometan* they affign one more, as being
the

The Sests and Herefies

the laft and ultimate Religion, in which, as all fulcnfs of true Doctrine is completed, fo the Myftery of iniquity, and the deviation of mans judgment, by many paths from the right rule, is here terminated and confined.

The Turks have amongft trumfelves as well as in other Religions, Sests and Herefies of dangerous confequence, which daily encrease mixing together with them many of the Chriftian Doctrines (which fhall in their due place be defcribed) and in former times alfo a fort of phonatick *Mahometans* which at firft met only in Congregations under pretence of Sermons and Religion, appeared afterwards in Troops armed againft the Government of the Empire.

So one *Scheiches Bedredin* Chief Juftice to *Mufa, Brother of Mahomet* the fifth King of the *Turks*; after the death of his Matter was banifhed to *Nice* in *Asia*, where confulting with his Servant *Burgluzes Mufaphd*, by what means they might raife Sedition and a fecond Warthey agreed, the readieft courfe was by broaching a new Sect and Religion, and by perfwading the people to fomthing contrary to the ancient *Mahometan* fuperftition. Whereupon *Burgluzes* masking his Villany under a grave and ferious countenance, took his journey into *Aydnin*, otherwife *Caria*, where he vented Doctrines properly agreeing to the humour of the people, preaching to them freedom and liberty of confcience and the Myftery of Revelations, and you may believe he ufed all arts in his perfwafions, with which Subject ufed to be allured to a Rebellion againft their Prince, fothat in a fhort time he contracted a great number of Difciples beyond his expectation. *Bedredin* perceiving his fervant thrive fo well with his preaching, fled from his place of Exile at *Nice* into *Valachia*, where witbdiawing himfelf into a Foreft like a devout religious man, gathered d number of Profelytescompofed of Thieves, Robbers and Out-lawed people; thefe he having infrutted in the principles of his Religion, fent abmadlike Apoftles to preach and teach the people that *Bedredin* was appointed by God to be the King of Juftice, and Commander of the whole world \$ and that his Doctrine was already embraced in *Asia*; The people taken with thefe Novelties, repaired in great numbers to *Bedredin*, who conceiving himfelf ftrong enough to take the field, illued from his defart with Colours difplayed, and an Army well appointed; and fighting with his deluded Multitude a bloody Battel, againft thofe Forces which *Makomet* fent to fupprefs him under his Son *Amurath*; the deluded Rebels were overthrown, *Bedredin* taken Prifoner, and his pretences of Sanctity and Revelation were not available to fave him from the Gallows.

And thus we fee, that the name of Gods caufe, revelations, liberty and the like, have been old and common pretences and delufions of the world, and not only Chriftians, but *Infidels* and *Mahometans* have wrote the name of God on their Banners, and brought the pretence of Religion in the Field to juftifie their caufe.

in the Turkifh Religion.

CHAP. X.

*Of the two prevailing Sects, viz. Of Mahomet and Hali ;
' that is, the Turk and the Perfian ; the Errours of the
.Perfian recounted and confuted by the Mufti of Conftanti'-
nople.*

THe two great Sects amongst the followers of *Mahomet*, which are most violent each againft other, the mutual hatred of which diversity of Education and Intereft of the Princes have augmented, are the *Turfy* and *Perfians* : The firft hold *Mahomet* to have been the chief and ultimate Prophet ; the latter prefer *Haly* before him ; and though he was his Difciple and fucceeded him ; yet hiy inspirations they esteem greater and more frequent, and his interpretations of the law moft perfect and Divine.

The *Turk*, alfo accuses the *Perfian* of corrupting the *Alchoran*, that they have altered words, misplaced the Comma's and Stops, that many places admit of a doubtful and ambiguous fenfe ; fo that thofe *Alchorans* which were upon the Conqueft of *Babylon* brought thence to *Conftantinople*, are feperated and compiled in the great *Seraglio*, in a place apart, and forbidden with a Curfe on any that (hall read them. The *Turks* call the *Perfian* for faken of God, abominable and blafphemers of the Holy Prophet ; fo that when *Selymns* the firft made War in *Perfia*, he named his caufe the cage of Cod, and proclaimed the occafion and ground of his War to be the Vindication of the caufe of the Prophet, and wenge of the blafphemies the *Eerfians* had vented againft him ; and fo far is this hatred radicated, that the youth of what Nation foever is capable of admittance into the Schools of the *Seraglio*, excepting only the *Perfian*, who are looked upon by the *Turk*, as a people fo far Apoftatized from the true belief, and fallen into fo desperate an Eftate by a total corruption of the true Religion, that they judge them altogether beyond hopes or poffibility of recovery, and therefore neither give them quarter in the Wars, nor account them worthy of life or flavery.

Nor are the *Perfians* on the other fide endued with better nature of good will to the *Turks*, efranging themselves in the fartheft manner from their Cuftoms and Doctrines, rejecting the three great Doctors of the *Mahometan Law*, viz. *Ebbnbecher, ofman* and *Omar*, as Apocryphal and of no Authority ; and have a cuftom at their Marriages to erect the Images of thofe three Doctors of Paffe or Sugar at the entrance of the Bridal Chamber, on which the Guefts firft cafting their looks, leave the impreffion of any fetret Magtck which may iffue from their eyes, to the prejudice or misfortune of the Married couple ; for in the Eaftern parts of the world they hold that there is a ftrange fascination innate to the eyes of fome people, which looking attentively on any, as commonly they do on the Bridegroom and the Bride in Marriages, produce macerations and imbecillity in the body, and have an efpecial quality contrary to procreation : and 'therefore when the Guefts are entrcd, having the Malignity of their eyes Arretted on thefe

Statues,

Statues, they afterwards cut them down and diffolve them.

And that it may the more plainly appear what points of Religion are moft controverted amongst them, and what Anathema's and Curries are by both (ides vented each againft the other ; this following fentence paff by the *Mufti Efad Efendi*, upon *Schak thbas* Tutono the King of *Perfia* called *Sari Halife*, and all the *Perfians*, will be a fufficient reftimony and evidence of the enmity and hatred that is between thofe two Nations an extract of which is here drawn from the Book it felf licenfed and approved at *Constantinople*.

If you had (fays he) no other Herefie then the rejection of thofe elevated familiars of *Mahomet*, viz. *Omar*, *Ofman* and *Ebbubecher*, your crime would notwithstanding be fo great as were not expiable by a thoufand years of prayer or pilgrimage in the fight of God ; but you would be condemned to the bottomlefs Abyfs of Hell, and deprived for ever of Celeftial Blift; and this fentence of mine is confirmed by the fame opinion of the four *Imams*, viz. *Imam Azem*, *Imam Schafi*, *Imam Malick*, and *Imam Hambeli*; and therefore I friendly admonifh you to correct this crroure in your felves, and likewife in your Scholar King *Abbas*.

Not are you contented to pafs with this fingle error, whereby you have gained the name of *Kyzilbafchi*, that is, *Perfian* Hereticks, but you are become as abominable as the *Durzi* (a people that lives about Mount *hibanui*) of bad eftera and reputation, corrupted in all points of Doctrine and manners ; fo that I cannot but pafs this black fentence upon you, that it is lawful in a Godly steal to kill and deftroy you for the Service of God ; your Tenents being refuted by *Giafer Efendi*, who hath branded the *Perfiats* for *Pagans*, and in feventyfcveral places of the *Alchoran*, and the very words of *Mahomet* demonftrated the clearnefs of their crroure.

If the Chriftian only for faying there is a Trinity in God is condemned for Life and Eftate, why fhould the *Perfian* exped better quarter, who is ftigmatized for Herefie in feventy places of the *Alchoran* ? And one of your deteftable opinions of therirft rank is,

That you esteem your felves obliged to affemble the *Mofchs*, but not to prayers: for what fignifies your meeting, if not to prayers? *Mahomet* himfelf fays, that he who repairs to the Congregation without a defign of prayer, is a Hypocrite and a Diffembler, is accufed of God, nor fhall be bleffed in his Houfe or Eftate, the good Angels (hall abandon him, the Devils fhall attend him, nor fhall he ever prosper in this world, or in the world to come.

In anfwer hereunto you fay, that the antient Order of Priests is extinct, that you have nonewhose pious lives enable to preach and inftitute you, or to be your leader to holy prayer in the Publick Afsembly. Do there want pious and holy perfons of the race of *Mahomet* ? if there donot, why do not you imitate and follow them? but you are Enemies, and in open Hoftility to the *Mahometan* Family, and excufe your felves from the ufe of Priests, or *Imams*, becaufe their innocence cannot equal that of Infants. In this point (it is true) you have fomething of reafon ; for your *Imams* are not only Infidels in Doctrine, but defiled in their converfation ; and your King who is your High-Priest, frequents Stews and the Styes of deformed Luft, ravifhing fair

and chaft Wives from the embraces of their Husbands ; and that publicly in the *face* of the world, maintaining concubinage with them. And where the example of a Prince makes fuch things lawful, his Subjects, whether Souldiers or Lawyers, will make no feruple to imitate his anions.

You deny the Verfe called the Covering in the *Alchoran* to be authentick ; you reject the eighteen Verfes, which are revealed to us for the lake of the holy *Aifche*.

Chapter Co

The Wife of Mahom, to called

At the *Abdejtox* wattling, you hold it not lawful to wafh the bare feet, bur only lightly ftroak them over.

Your Mufrachioes or hair on the upper lip you never cut, but the Beard on the Chin, which is the honeft Ornament of a ni.ins countenance, you cut and clip into what form you pleafe.

That holy Colour of Green appropriated to the Banner of *Mahomet*, which ought only to adorn the nobler parts, you in defpight to the honour of the Prophet, with an irreverent negligence, place it on your Shoes and Breeches.

Wine which is an abomination to the true obferver^A of the Law,, you drink freely of, without feruple of confeience ; as alfo in Meats you make no diftinction between clean and unclean, but ufe all with a like indiffercccy. In fhurt, fhould I mention all thofe feventy points wherein you erre, and are without all comparifon corrupt and erroneous, I fhould fwell my writing to a Volume, and not attain my end, which 'B brevity.

Another finful cuftom you permit amongft you, which is, for many men to be joyned to one Woman ; for to whom of them can be appropriated the off-fpring that is born ? what Book have you, or Law, or example of any Nation to produce in approbation of this vile and unnatural cuftom ? How vile muft thofe Children be who are the iflue of fuch Parents ? that it is no wonder, there be none found amongft you worthy the holy Character of a Prielt or a Judge.

But you cannot be fo irrational, as to deny that the Aflembling in *Mofchs* to prayer, is neceffary to Divine Service, *Mahomet* himfelf prayed together with the people, and fometimes preferred *Ebbecher* to celebrate the Divine Service, following him as others of the people did.

Why do not you afk your Pilgrims who come from *Afecba*, what mean thefe four Altars in the *Mafch*, which are the places of prayer defigned to the four feveral Orthodox Setts ? why take you not example from thefe ? but you are full perverfe and obftinate, haters of God and his Prophet ; What will you anfwer at the day of Judgment before *Mahomtt* and his four Friends ? who long fince being dead, you revive their Aihes with ignominy, erecting their Statues at your Marriages in Sugar, and afterwards in contempt hew them down to yield paftime and occafion of laughter to the Spoufes and their Guefts.

Was not the firft converted to the Faith, *Ebubecher* ?

Was not *Omar* the braveft Champion of the *Mahometan* Religion againft the Chriftians ?

Was not he who difpofed and diftinguifhed the Chapters of the *Alchoran*, the chaft *Ofmam* ?

Was not the braveft and mod Learned bearer of the *lulfckir*, or the

Sword with two points, was it not *Halt* ? And were not *Imam Haffan*, and *Imam Hufein*, Martyrs of the Faith in the Deferts of *Kerbela* ?

Did not *Mahomet* fay with his own mouth, O *Hali*, for thy fake there are two forts of people predefinated to Hell ? one that loves thee, and one that loves thee not. Are not you then that wear red Turbants much to be condemned, being of evil life and converfation, and not well inclined to the houfe of the Prophet, nor the family of the faithful, as it is written in the Book called *Aadick* ? The Chriftians conferve the hoofs of that Afs on which Chriff rode, and fet them in cafes of Gold and Silver; and efteem it an cxtream honour to have their Faces, Hands or Heads touched with fo holy a relique. But you who profefs your frlves Difciples of the Prophet of God, and derived from the blood and family of his Friends, defpife fo glorious a Title, commanding after the repetition of your prayers, that is, after the Ezan, that Curfes and Blafphemies be proclaimed againft thefe holy Friends and Ailociates of the Prophet.

That is, when the people are called to prayers from the Steeple.

Btiffies this, your Books maintain and avouch it lawful to pillage, burn and destroy the Countries of the *Muffelmirs*, to carry their Wives and Families into flavery; and from a principle of Malice and Reproach to carry them naked through your Markets, and expofe them to fale to any Chapman ; *Pagans* themfelves efteem not this honeft nor decent, by which it is apparent that you are the moft mortal and irreconcilable enemies to us of all the Nations in the world, you are certainly more cruel to us than the *Sezidi*, the *Kiafirs*, the *Zindik*s, then the *Dnrzians* ; and in brief you are the Kennel of all uncleannefs and fin ; a Chriftian or a Jew may hope to become true Believers, but you can never.

Wherefore by virtue of that Authority I have received from *Mahomet* himfelf, in confideration of your mifdeeds and incredulity, I pronounce it lawful for any one of what Nation foever, that is of the Believers, to kill, deftroy and extirpate you ; fo that as he who flays a rebellious Chriftian, performs a meritorious action in the fight of God ; much rather he who kills a *Perfian*, (hall obtain a reward feventy-fold from the fountain of Juftice. And I hope that the Majefty of God in the day of Judgment will condemn you to be the Affes of the Jews, to be rode and hackneyed in Hell by that defpifed people ; and that in a fhort time you will be exterminated both by us, the *Tartars*, the *Indians* and *Arabians* our Brothers and Affociates in the fame Faith.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Ancient Sects and Herefies amongst the Turks.

THERE are four Setts into which the *Mahometans* of the efteemed Orthodox belief are divided ; and thofe are thefe.

The firft is called *Haniffe*, which is profefed in *Turfy*, *Tartary*, *Eufbec*, and on the other fide of *Jehun*, *Bactorus* and *Qxus*.

The fecond is *shaffee*, whole Cuftoms and Rules the *Arabians* follow.

The third is *Malechee*, to which *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, *Algier*, and other parts of *Africa* devote themfelves.

The

The fourth is Hambelle, of which are but few, and is known only in some parts of *Arabia*.

These four are all accounted Orthodox, and are followers of certain Doctors (as we may say amongst Christians, Scholars of St. *Augustine*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Dominicus*, or the like) and have only differences as to Ceremonies, postures in their prayers, washings, diversities in some points of their Civil Laws; and each maintains a charitable opinion of the other, as true Believers, and capable of entering into Paradise, if their life and conversion be regulated according to their Profession and Tenents.

All *Mahometans* according to the Countries wherein they live, come under the notion of one of these four preceding Professions; but yet are nominated with other names and differences of Sects, according as they follow the opinions which some Superstitious and Schismatical Preachers amongst them have vented; and those commonly known and marked with the names of ancient Heresies by the respective Opponents, which may properly be called so, because they are conversant in their Doctrines concerning the Attributes and Unity of God, his decrees and judgments, his promises and threatenings, and concerning proprieties and gifts of Faith, are especially these which stand in opposition each to other, viz.

<i>Moatazali</i>		<i>Sephatii</i>
<i>Kadari</i>	To	<i>Giabari</i>
<i>Morgii</i>		<i>Waidi</i>
<i>Shii</i>		<i>Chavoarigi</i>

From each of these Sects, as from so many roots arise several Branches of different Doctrines, as according to the Tenents of the Turkish Doctors complete the number of seventy two.

Moatazali signifies as much as Separatists; the reason of which denomination, was from *Alhafi* the Scholar of *Wafel Ebu Atw*, the Author and Master of this Sect, to whom the question being proposed, Whether those who had committed a gross sin, were to be adjudged condemned and fallen from the Faith? the Scholar *Alhafi* instead of expediting the resolution of his Master, withdrew himself and began to interpret his sense thereof to his other Fellow-Disciples; from which withdrawing of himself they were afterwards denominated *Moatazali*^ which is Separatists., But the name they give themselves is the Defenders of the Equity and Unity of God, in declaration of the manner of which they so differ among themselves, that they are divided into two and twenty Sects, which are maintained with that passion on all sides, that every party accuses his opposites of Infidelity. But the principle in which their wrangling Sophisters accord in common, is this; That God is eternal, and that eternity is an attribute most properly agreeable to his essence; but yet they reject the attribute itself, saying, that God is eternal, wise, powerful and the like, by his own entire and single essence; but yet they say, he is not eternal by his eternity, nor wise by his wisdom, nor powerful by his power, for fear of admitting any multiplicity in the Deity, or incurring the like error as they say of the Christians, who divide and dishonour the Unity of God, by the

conceptions they frame of the three Persons in the Trinity. And if the Christians are to be blamed for introducing three Eternals, how much more are those who frame as many Eternals, as there are Attributes to the Deity ?

Haietti.

Another sort derived from this Seed: called *Haietti*, hold that Christ assumed a true and natural body, and was the Eternal and Incarnate, as the Christians profess; and in their *Credo* or Belief have inferred this Article, that Christ (shall come to judge the world at the last day, and for proof hereof alledge an Authority out of the *Alchoran* in these words. Thou *Mahomet* (halt see thy Lord return in the Clouds: which though they fear expressly in plain terms to interpret of Christ, yet they confidently affirm it to be prophesied of the *Mejjiah*, and in discourse confess that that *Mejjiah* can be no other than Christ; who (shall return with the same humane flesh again into the world, Reign forty years on Earth, confound Antichrist, and afterwards shall be the end of the World.

Another sort of Professors of the Sect of *Moatazali*, are *Ifi*, whose first Author was *Ifa Merdad*; these maintain that the *Ahhoran* was created contrary to the express word of *Mahomet*, who anathematizes all who are of this persuasion, saying, let him be reputed an Infidel, who believes the *Alchoran* created; for solution of which difficulty and to concur with the words of their Prophet, they say, that the *Alchoran* delivered by *Mahomet*, was but a Copy transcribed out of that wrote by God and laid in the Library of Heaven, and that when their Prophet denies the Creation of the *Alchoran*, he hath no reference to the Original, but to his own hand-writing which he had Copied, and extracted from the text, and infallible exemplar.

These also farther proceed to deny against the common Tenent of the *Mahometans*, the incomparable and Matchless Eloquence of the *Alchoran*; aliening that were it not prohibited, other *Arabians* might be found, who could far transcend every line of it in Wisdom and Rhetoric; which in my opinion is a strange kind of Impudence in the very face of their Prophet, who seems to be too proud of the exact disposition, and full signification of every word, that he judges it not less charming for the sweet sound of its Eloquence, then it is convincing for the purity and truth of its Doctrine.

Sephati.

The great Antagonists to the *Moatazali*, are the *Sephati*, who Affign in God Eternal Attributes of Knowledge, Power, Life, &c. And some of them proceed so far, and grossly herein, that they frame conceptions of corporeal Organs of Sense, as of Hearing, Seeing, and Speech to be in God, affirming that those expressions of Gods fitting in his Throne, Creation of the World by the work of his Hands, his Anger against Sin, Repentance for mans Conversion, which we call are to be taken in the literal and plain sense, and have no need of farther fetched interpretations to clear the true notion of them: But yet herein their *Doctors* seem not to agree, some defining a body, to be the same as, *per se subsistens*, denying it to be an essential propriety of a body to be circumscribed and finite, others conclude that it is enough to say that God is great, without argument of his circumscription, or determination to any particular place, with many other strange conceits, whereby are made apparent the roving Fancies of Ignorant Men, with-

without the Rules or Grounds of philosophy, or *Metaphysics*. But the fatterer fort amongst them, who would appear more Moderate and Wiser than the rest, forbid their Scholars to make Comparifon of the Senses in God, with those of the Creature, who being more subtly urged by their severe opponents the *Moatazali*; they were forced to declare themselves more plainly, in this manner, that the God which they Worshipped was a Figure, Vifible, and an Object of the Sight, confiding of parts Spiritual and Corporeal, to whom local Motion might be agreeable, but that his Flefh and Blood, his Eyes and Ears, his Tongue and Hands were not of any fimilitude with created fubftances, but were of another Crafis and Mixture which fubjected them to no Diftemper or Corruption; in proof whereof, they alledge the words of *Mahomet*, that God created Man after his own Likenefs; And all other of those Examples drawn from the Holy Scriptures with which the *Alchoran* is filled, and where in familiar expreffions, the Divinity is pleafed to condescend to the infirmity of Humane Capacity.

The next *Sect* is that of the *Kabari*, who deny wholly the Divine Decree or Predefination, affirming that every man is a free Agent, from whose will as from the first principle all good and bad actions flow and are derived, so that as with just reason God Crowns mans good works with the Rewards of Blifs and Felicity; so on the other side justly punishes his evil actions in this world, and in the next to comes and this they style the Doctrine of Equity, and define it to be a measure of mans actions, according to the rectitude and difpofition of that right line, which the prime Intellect hath drawn out by wisdom in proportion. This opinion is absolutely rejected as heterodox in the *Mahometan* Religion; and yet it is not fully determined how *Mahomet* moderated in the dispute between *Adam* and *Mofis*, whom an Arabian Doctor comically introduced, pleading and justifying themselves before God. *Mofes* beginning first, reproached *Adam*, that he was one immediately created by the proper hand of God, in whom the Divine Nature breathed the breath of Life, whom Angels were made to adore, placed and feated in Paradiſe, and fortified with actual graces againſt the enormities and crooked irregularities of inferiour affections; from which happy ſtate that he ſhould fall and precipitate mankind, together with himſelf, his crime was aggravated with all the degrees of his former perfection. *Adam* to excuſe himſelf, replied in this manner. Thou *Mofis* whom God hath called to a familiar pavley, revealed his Will and Pleaſure unto in thoſe engraven Tables, where all Morality and Vertue is contained, reſolve me this one Quaere and difficult Probleme, how many years before I was created, doſt thou find that the Law was wrote? *Mofes* answered forty. And did you find, reply'd *Adam*, that *Adam* rebelled againſt his Lord and finned? to which *Mofis* anſwering in the affirmative, do you blame me then ſaid he for executing that which God forty years before predeſtinated and deſigned me unto? and not only forty years, but many Myriads of Ages before either the Heavens or Earth were framed. *Mahomet* confounded, as the *Kadari* report with this Argument, left the quifion undetermined, though his followers, as men are moſt prone to errour generally, entertain the contrary Tenent.

The great Enemies diametrically oppoſed to theſe are the *Jahari* or *Jabari*

Czabariy

Kninri.
Ebnol Athir
Mr. roetch
Noe it Mori
but Arabum.

126 *The Sects and Herefies*

Giaburi ; who maintain that a man hath no power over his Will or Anions, but is wholly moved by a Superiour Agent, and that God hath a power over his creatures, to defign them to Happiness or to Misery, as seems best to his divine pleasure, but in the explication of this opinion they proceed in the most rigorous manner, and say that man is wholly necessitated and compelled in all his actions that neither his Will, nor Power, nor Election is in himself; and that God creates in him his actions, as he doth in Inanimate and Vegetable creatures the first principle of their Life and Essence; and as the Tree may be said to produce Fruit, the Water to run, the Stone to move downwards, so are the actions in man, for which yet there is a reward and a punishment properly and necessarily allotted. This point is very subtly controverted by the *Jrabian Doctors*, to which how the *Turks* are addicted, we (shall farther discourse in the Chapter of Predestination.

Morel.

The Sect of *Morgi*, are the great Favourers and Patrons of the *Mahometan* Religion, maintaining that a *Muffelman* or Believer though guilty of the grossest sins, is not punished for them in this world, nor receives his absolution or condemnation after death, until the day of Resurrection and Judgment: and farther, that as impiety with the true belief (shall never be punished; Co piety and good works proceeding from a false and erroneous faith, is of no validity or power conducing to the fruition of the joys of Paradise. And to these may not improperly be compared some Sectaries in *England*, who have vented in their Pulpits that God fees no sin in his Children ; and that the infidelity of *Sarah*, being of the house of the faithful, is more acceptable to God, than the Alms, Prayers, and Repentance of an erroneous Believer without the Pale and Covenant of grace.

Waidi.

The opposite Sect: to these are the *Waidi*, who esteem that a man fallen into any great or mortal sin, is put into the condition of a defetter of his faith; and though he be a professed of the true Belief, shall yet without recovery for ever be punished in Hell ; but yet that his torments shall be in a more remiss degree than that of Infidels: But that opinion which in this point is esteemed Orthodox amongst the *Turks*, is this, That a firmer in a high nature going out of this world without repentance, is wholly to be committed to the pleasure of God, either to pardon him for his mercy, or for the intercession of the Prophet *Mahomet*, according to what he faith in the *Alchoran*, My intercession shall be for those of my own people who have greatly sinned ; that being first punished according to the measure of their iniquity, they may afterwards in compassion be received into Paradise & for it is impossible they should for ever remain in the eternal flames with the Infidels & because it is revealed to us, that whosoever hath but the weight of an Atom remaining in his heart of faith, (shall in due time be released from fiery torments ; for which cause some Sects amongst the *Turks* use Prayers for the dead, and place their Cemeteries always by the side of High-ways, that Passengers may be reminded of their own Mortality, and pray for the souls of those departed & of which we (shall have occasion to discourse hereafter. The fictions the *Mahometans* frame of Hell, are as ridiculous as those they fancy of Paradise ; For they imagine when they shall be called by *Mahomet* from this Purgatory at the day of judgment, the way to him is over Iron Bars red hot with Fire , over

Chap.

which

which they muft pafs with naked Feet ; only the Paper which they in their life-time have taken from the ground and conferved fromt yeing trampled on by the Feet of Men or Beasts, (hall at that day be ftrowed on the Bars of this hot paffage, that they may pafs that fire Ordeal with left torment ; which is the reafon the Turks fee no fmall piece of Paper on the ground, but they immediately ftoop for it, and place it in fume fecret corner of a Wall, to redeem that (as they fay) from the difhonour of mens feet, on which the name of God is or may be wrote, and with expectation to enjoy the benefit promifed, when the foles of their feet (hall try the intenze heat of this burning Iron. The fame refpect alfo they (hew to Rofe-leaves, in confideration (as they be'ieve) that a Rofe was produced from the fweat of *Mahomet*.

The *Shii* are the Sect fpoken of before, oppofed by the Subjeds of the whole *Ottoman* Empire, as themoft heretical of any of the reft, in regard they prefer *Ali* before *Mahomet* in the prophetical Office, and refrain the prophettick gift to the natural line derived from *Ali*, and that none is worthy of the Title of a Prophet, who is guilty of fin, though of the lower nature; fome of which Profeffors called *Alnofairi* affirm that God appeared in the form of *Ali*, and with his tongue proclaimed the mod hidden Myfteries of Religion ; and fome have proceeded yet farther, to attribute to their Prophets divine honours, afcribing them to be elevated above degree and ftate of the creatures: thefe expect the return of their Prophet *Ali* in the Clouds, and have placed that belief as an Article of their Faith, from whence may feem to be grounded that miftake amongft our vulgar, that the *Turks* believe *Mahomet* (hall again return into the world.

To the foregoing are oppofed the *Chawarigi*, who deny that there *chawarip*. is or hath been fuch Function as that of a Prophet, allowed by God in any particular perform; nor any ever fent into the "world endued with that power of Infallibility, to refolve doubts, and teach and impofe a new Law on Mankind ; but if at any time fuch an Office fhould be neceffary, it can never be refrained to one lineage for the perfon being faithful and juft, no matter whether he be a Servant or free, a * *Nabathean* or a * *Korafchite*.

There are ancient Sects amongft the profeffors of the *Mahometan* Religion, out of which are arofe fo many others as by the confeffion of the *Turkifh* Doctors complete the number of feventy three. But becaufe the accurate fearch into fo many is of little delight or profit to the Reader, I fhall content my (elf with having given him a tafte of thefe foregoing, learning him to guefs at the reft in what manner the fancy of a man can frame deductions from the foregoing premifes and fhall now give an account how bufie thefe modern times have been at *Confianti/tople* in hammering out ftrange forms and chimera's of Religion, the better to acquit *Englauditom* the accusation of being the moft fubjett to religious innovations, the world attributing much thereof to the air and constitution of its Climate.

Alnofairi.

* One of the vulgar orrude fort amongft the *Arabians*.
* One of a noble family amongft the *Arabian*,

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the New and Modern Sects amongst the Turks.

That called Zeidi, is one of the latter edition.

Derived from the Mittctdi.

Malumigee.

Mezzachnlia,

Jabaiah.

ALL Ages and times have produced their Sects and Heretics in every Religion ; and therefore we (hall proceed in declaring some few that are of a fresher date then those in the foregoing Chapter, and so shall continue to descend to others which this present Age hath begot. Zeidi maintains that God will send a Prophet of the Persians with a Law by which shall be annulled the Law of Mahomet,

A second to this is derived from the Moatez'di, that denies any man can be Oiled a Saint in this world, excepting the Prophets, who were without sin 5 and that the true Believers (hall in the next world see God as clearly as we see the Moon at full; against the Doctrine of Mahomet, who says God is invifible either to us in this world, or the next.

There are also those called Malumigee, who maintain God is perfectly to be known in this world ; and that by the Doctrine of Cognoſce teipſum, the creature proceeds to the perfect knowledge of his Creator.

The Opponents to these are Mezzachulia, who hold, that they which know God only in this world by some glimmerings and rays of his glory and eſſence, is ſufficient to lead them into Paradife, and rank them in the number of the faithful.

Another sort there are called Jabaiah, which denies Gods Omnificence, affirming, That God governs the world by chance and accidents, not comprehending from Eternity or at the Creation of the world, a perfect certainty of the particular affairs that were to be tranſacted in it, and that God improves in knowledge by time, as men do by conſtant practice and experience.

We (hall not inſert here to multiply many of these Sects, who have almost as many diverſities amongst the Turks, as there are Schools and Matters; every Hogia that is but a form above ameer Pedagogue, and reads a few Books of the Arabian Fables, esteems himself of mean account, if by some lingular opinion which he inſtills into his Diſciples, he diſtinguiſhes not his Gymnaſion from the common and inferiour Schools. But these men in framing their particular fancies, and venting their follies have a ſpecial care that none of their principles opugne those five points of practice, and one of faith, mentioned in the first Chapter of this Book, which are the eſſential points that conſtitute a Mahometan ; or derogate from the Authority of their Governours, or produce factions or diſturbances in the State.

But these modern times have produced other Sects amongst the Turks, some of which feare in part dangerous, and apt to make a considerable rupture in their long continued union 5 when time changes and revolutions of State ſhall animate some turbulent ſpirits, to gather Souldiers and followers under these Doctrines and other ſpecious pretences.

Kadezdeli.

One of which is called Kadezadeli, a Sect ſprung up in the time of Sultan

Sultan Mot at, whose chief propagator was one *Birgali Effendi*, who invented many Ceremonies in praying for the souls departed, at the burial of the dead. Those that are of this Sect cause their *Imam* to cry loud in the cars of the inanimate body, to remember that God is one, and his Prophet one. Those who are principally devoted to this Set, are the *Ruffians* and other sort of Renegado Christians, who amongst their confused, and almost forgotten notions of the Christian Religion, retain a certain Memory of the particulars of Purgatory, and prayers for the dead.

But the opinion esteemed Orthodox, and most generally allowed amongst the *Turks*, is. That *DO Mahometan* goes eternally to Hell, but after a certain space of years is delivered thence, and passes into Paradise; After death they assign two sorts of punishments; the first is called *Azabe-Kaberi*, or the punishment of the Grave, which being the bed of wicked men, binds with its Earth so fast as it crushes their bones, and shuts the pores and crevices through which they should see into heaven; but the bodies of good men enjoy the comfort of having a window from their dark inclosures, to behold the Vision of Gods glory. The other is the pain of Hell, where the souls remain until their torments are accomplished, and Divine Justice satisfied.

There is an opinion of late years principally maintained amongst the Gallants of the *Seraglio*, and common in *Constantinople*, the professors of which are called *Chumpeffahi*, or the good followers of the *Messiah*; these maintain that Christ is God and Redeemer of the world ^{*Chumpeffahi.*} the young Scholars in the Grand Signiors Court are generally devoted to this Tenent, especially those which are the most courteous, affable and best disposed, that it is grown into a Proverb amongst them, when they would commend and praise gentleness and civility of each others nature, they do it with the expression of *Chumpeffahifien*, as if they would say, You are gentle, accomplished and excellent in your favouri as becomes one who professes the *Messiah*. Of this sort of people there are great numbers in *Constantinople*, some of which have so boldly asserted this Doctrine, that they have suffered Martyrdom under this denomination, which is still maintained, and secretly professed by such multitudes as wear white Turbants, that upon some notable opportunity were this cause and Religion made the ground of some Toleration and Infirmitie amongst its Disciples and professors, it might take an unexpected footing, and prepare a ready way for the Plantation of the Gospel: but of this we shall speak more hereafter in its due place.

And because it is our intent here to declare the several Religions amongst the *Turks*; it will not be from our purpose to mention how far Atheism hath spread it self in these Countries; and as Logicians illucidate one contrary with another, and Painters set off the Whiteness of their Colours with a foil of Jet, or other Blackness; so the privation of all Religion is not unaptly placed in the same Chapter with the various and different professors of it.

These then give themselves the Title of *Mnfiriu*, which signifies, The true secret is with us; which secret, is no other then the absolute denial of a Deity, that nature or the intrinsic principal in every individual thing directs the orderly course which we see and admire; and

The SeSsand Herefies

that the Heaven, Sua, Moon and Stars have thence their Original and motion, and that man himfelf rifes and fades like the grafs or flower ; It is ft range to confider, what quantities there are of men that maintain this principle in *Conftantinople* , moft of which are *Kadees* and learned men in the *Arabian* Legends, and others are Renegadocs from the Chriftiah faith, who confcious of the fin of their Apoftacy, and therefore defirousthat all things may conclude with this world, are the more apt to entertain thofe opinions which come neareft to their wifties. One of this Sectcalld *Mahomet Effendi*, a rich man, Educated in the knowledge of the Eaftern Learning, I remember, was in my time executed for impudently proclaiming his blafphemies againft the being of a Deity ; making it in his ordinary itfcourfe, an argument againft the being of a God, for that either there was none at all, or elfe not fo wife as the Doftors preached he was, in fufferiog him to live who was the greateft enemy and fcoroer of a Divine effence that ever carfle into the world. And it is obfervable, that this man might notwithstanding his accufation have faved his life, would he but have confefled his error, and promifed for the future an affent to the principles of a better : but heperffited ftillin his blafphemies, faying, That though there were no reward, yet the love of truth obliged him to dye a Martyr. I muft confefs until now, I never could believe that there was a formal Atheifm in the world, concluding that the principle (of the being of a God) was dcmonftrable by the light of nature s, but it is evident, now how far feme men have extinguiſhed this light and lamp in their fouls.

This poifonous Doftine is fo Infectious, that it is crept into the Chambers of the *Seraglh* , into the apartments of the Ladies and Eunuchs, and found entertainment with the *tafias* and their whole Court ; this fort of people are great favourers and lovers of their own Sect, courteous and hofpitable to each other, and if any by chance receives a Gueft within his Gates of their own judgement, betides his Diet and Fare with much freedom, he is accommodated with a handfume Bed-fellow of which Sex he moft delights: they are very frank and liberal, andexceffive in their readinefs to do each other fervice; It is faid, that *Sultan Morat* was a great favourer of this opinion in his Court and Militia, defirous withal to propagate that of *Kadizadeli* amongft the vulgar, that they being a fevere, morofe and covetous people, might grow rich, and fpare for the benefit of his Exchequer 5 for the Sect of *Kadizadeli* before mentioned, is of a melancholy and Stoical temper, admitting of no Mufick, chearful or light dtfeourfes, but confine themfelves to a fet Gravity; in publick as well as private they make a continual mention of God, by a never-wearied repetition of thefe words, *Ilahe ila Ellak s* that is, I profefs there is one God: there are fome of thefe that will fit whole nights bending their bodies towards the Earth, reciting thofe words with a moft doleful and lamentable Note: they arc exad and moft punctual in the obfervation of the rules of Religion, and generally addict themfelves to the ftudy of their Civil Law, in which they ufe conftant exercifes in arguing, oppofing and anfwering, whereby to leave no point undifcovered or not difcuffed. In fhort, they are highly Phanfaical in all their comportment, great admirers of themfelves, and fcorners of others that conform not

to their Tenets, scarce affording them a falutator common communication; they refuse to marry their Sons with those of a different rite but amongst themselves they observe a certain policy; they admonish and correct disorderly 5 and such who are not bettered by their persuasions, they reject and excommunicate from their Society. These are for the most part Tradefmen, whose sedentary life affords opportunity and nutriment to a melancholy and distempered fancy.

But those of this Sect who strangely mix Christianity and *Mahometanism* together, are many of the Souldiers that live on the confines of *Hungary* and *Bosnia*; reading the Gospel in the *Sclavonian* tongue, with which they are supplied out of *Moravia*, and the neighbouring City of *Ragusa*; besides which, they are curious to learn the Mysteries of the *Mchorapt*, and the Law of the *Arabick* tongue; and not to be accounted rude and illiterate they affect the Courtly *Persian*. They drink wine in the month of Fast called the *Ramazan*, but to take off the scandal they refuse Cinnamon or other Spice's in it, and then call it *Hardali*, and pass currant for lawful liquor. They have a Charity and Affection for Christians, indeed are ready to protect them from Injuries and Violences of the Tarks: They believe yet that *Mahomet* was the Holy Ghost promised by Christ; and that the descending of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost was a Figure and Type of *Mahomet*, interpreting in all places the word to signify their Prophet, in whose ear often the White Dove revealed the Infallible directions to happenings. The potures of *Bosnia* are all of this Sect, but pay Taxes as Christians do; they abhor Images and the sign of the Cross; they circumcise, bringing the Authority of Christ's example for it, which also the *Copticks* a Sett of the *Greek Church* in *Egypt* imitated 3 but have now, as I am informed, lately disused that custom.

Potures a people of Bosnia.

Another subtle point about the Divine Attributes hath begot a Sect amongst the *Janizaries*, called *Bektaschi* from one *Becktasch*, which seems an improper subject so deep in the Metaphysical speculation to trouble such gross heads as theirs; they began (as it is said) in the time of *Solyman* the Magnificent, and are called by some *Zerati*; that is, those who have Copulation with their own kindred, and by the vulgar, *Mumconduren*, or extinguishers of the Candle; This Sect observe the Law of *Mahomet* in Divine Worship, with a strictness and superstition above any of the Precisians of that Religion: but hold it unlawful to adjoyne any attributes to God, by saying that God is great, or God is merciful, by reason that the nature of God being infinite and incomprehensible, cannot fall under the weak and imperfect conceptions of mans understanding, which can imagine nothing applicable to his nature. Of this Sect there was a famous Poet amongst the *Turks* called *Nemifi*, that was lead alive, for saying, when the *Emanm* called the people to prayers at the ordinary hours from the Steeple with the usual Word, *Allah Ekber*, God is one, that he layed, upon the supposition that no Epithete can be predicated of the Divine Essence. Amongst the *Janizaries* are at present many principal Commanders of this Sect; but formerly were more in the time of *Becktasch*, *Aga*, *Kul Ksh Kabya*, *Mahomet Aga*, and others, who for their Rebellion in *Constantinople*, (as we related before) were put to death under the Historical Pillar in the time of this present Empourous Minority. These people against the infidelity of riature use Cas-

The Setts and Herefies

nal Copulation promifcuoufly with their own Kindred, the Fathers mixing with their Sons and Daughters, without respect to proximity of blood or nearness in the degrees of relation, suffering themselves to be tranfported contrary, to the abhorrency of Nature, by a weak and illogical comparison of the lawfulness and reason, that he who engrafted the Tree, and planted the Vine should rather taste of the Fruit, then reigne the benefit of his labours to the enjoyment of others ; and in this Argument act against the inclination of innate modesty, according to that of seneca.

*Fere quoque ipse Veneris evitant nefas,
Getter ifque leges infcius fervat pudor.*

These people are easily induced to give false witness or testimony in the favour of their Sett, without confederation of Equity or reasonableness of their cause; by which means invading the right of others they became rich and powerful, until they were debated by the deprivation of *Bectajhes* Authority, and Power of other potent favourers of their Sett : and though afterwards upheld by *Sndgi Beker*, a Standard Bearer of the *Janizaries*, a rich and learned man, they received a second blow by his death, he executed by a *Vifier Kupriuli Mahomet*, for his diversity in Religion and Wealth together, but farther animosity against this Sect was dissembled at that time, by reason of the multitude of those professors in *Constantinople*, and because reason of State saw it at that time necessary to draw blood in many parts of the Empire for other causes, then for Errors in Religion.

The Sect called *Sabin*, though *Mahometans* in profession, seem yet to run contrary to the stream and general consent of all its professors who give themselves commonly the Title of Enemies and Confounders of Idolatry, and yet these notwithstanding seem from the influence, the Sun and Moon have on sublunary bodies, of all living sensitive creatures to conclude a certain Divinity in those common lights of the world. In *Constantinople* there are some few Astrologers and Physiicians of this Sett, but in *Partbia* and *Media* they are numerous, the men commonly worshipping the Sun, and the women the Moon, and others the Arctic Pole; they are not Ariel in a severity of life, or in the conformity to the prescriptions of their Law, but govern themselves with morality and prudence. They are not apt to believe the immortality of the soul, nor the reward of Virtue, or punishment of Vice in the next world * nor prone to vindicate themselves from injuries, reproachful language, or other evil actions of men, but regarding them as the natural effects of the Celestial influences, are no more provoked by them than we are with a (bower of Rain for wetting us, or the intense heat of the Sun in the Summer Solstice.

Munafih is a Sett purely Pythagorical, which believes the Metempsychosis or Transmigration of souls, of which there are some in Constantinople one *Albertus Bobovius* a *Volonian* by Nation, but Educated in the *Seraglio*, and intrusted in all the Learning of the *turkish* Literature (from whom I freely confess to have received many of my observations) related to me a pleasant discourse that passed between him and a Dorgift at *Constantinople*, touching this subject. This Dorgift being Learned,

Learned, was the occafion that *Albertus* frequented his Shop the oft-
ner ; and once being after fome familiar acquaintance at a collation to*
gether, it chanced that a Black Dog giving them interruption at their
Banquet, that *Albertus* kicked him to drive him to a farther diftance ;
at which the Dorgift growing pale and difordered, *Albertus* guefied by
his countenance that he was difpleafed at his unkindnefs towards the
Dog ; and therefore defired his pardon if thereby he had given him
any fubject of offence : the Dorgift being thus pacified with the cour-
tefief of his Gueft, advifed him to ask pardon of God, for that it was no
fmall crime and fin that he thefeby committed. This happening at the
fame time that the Funerals of a *Mufti* called *Behai Efend*, were then fo-
lemnizing, afforded an occafion of difcourfe concerning the foul of the
Mufti and Dog together ; the Dorgift demanding the opinion of his
Gueft, whether he conceived the foul of that *Mufti* was predefinated
to remain within the confines of the Grave, until the day of rrefur-
rection ? in the knowledge of which queftion *Albertus* feeming wholly
ignorant, and defirous to underftand the folution from him ; the Dor-
gift began freely to declare that the fouls of men deceafed enter into the
Bodies of Beafts, which are in temperament moft agreeable to the dif-
pofitions of thofe whom before they animated ; as the foul of the glut-
ton enters into the Swine, the foul of the lafcivious into the Goat, of
the generous into the Horfe, of the vigilant into a Dog, and fo the like s
in proof of which he produced a Book treating of all the diffioftions of
nature, and the proper alignments for their habitation after death :
adding moreover, that of this opinion it was pity there were fo few in
Conftantiuple, ibme there were, and thofe all of his own Trade and Pro-
fiffioD, but that at *Gram Cairo* were great numbers, ftritt adherers to this
Doctrine 5 that for his part he prayed to God with the reft of his Bro-
thers of the fame Trade, that their fouls may hereafter be fo honoured
as to inform the body of the *Camel* ; becaufe they are Beafts that are
laborious, abftemious, patient and meek, and bring their Dorges from
the re mot eft parts of the Eaft: and that he did not doubt but after the
Circle of 3365. years, that his foul had travelled for feveral Ages
through the world, and wandred from the body of one *Camel* to ani-
mate another ; it fhould with the viciffitude of time return again to a
humane body, more purifyed and refined than in its firft principles.
And this was the *Credo* of the Dorgift, to which opinion it is faid all
China is greatly devoted.

Efchraki, which fignifies illuminated, is a Sect purely Platonical,
contemplative of the Divine Idea, and the number in God ; for though
they hold the Unity, yet they deny not the Trinity, as a number pro-
ceeding from the Unity ; which conception of theirs they ufually
illuftrate by three folds in a Handkerchief, which may have the deno-
mination of three ; but being extended, is but one entire piece of Lin-
oen. Thefe men are no great admirers of the compofition of the *Al-
cboran*; what they meet therein agreeable to their principles, they
embrace and produce as occafion feryes in confirmation of their Do-
ctrine; other parts which with difficulty are reconciled they reject,
and ffile abrogated : and becaufe they apprehend that the true beati-
tude and blifs of Paradife confifts in the contemplation of the Divine
Majefty, they condemn all the fancies and grofs conceptions of Hea-
ven,

In Turkidi

Called in
Turkifh *Hahi*
and *Tefpbi*.

ven, which *Mahomet* hath framed to allure and draw the minds of rude and grofs men. Of this Sect are all the *Scheghs* or able Preachers that belong to the Royal *Mofchs* or Churches ; who are men conftant in their devotions, abftemious in their Diet, of a chearful countenance, and taking behaviour, great lovers of Harmony and Mufick, and of an indifferent Drain in Poetry, whereby they compofe certain Songs in Meeter, for entertainment of their Auditory. They are likewife generous and companionate of humane frailty ; and are not covetous, Stoical, or conceited of themfelves, by which means their behaviour is rendered extremely taking through all *Constantinople* ; they are greatly delighted with an ingenious Afpect: in youth, and from thence gather matter of contemplation on the comelines of the increated beauty: they are addicted to entertain a charitable affection for their neighbour, becaufe (as they fay) he is the creature of God, from whom our love is converted to the Creator. Their Difciples they procure as much as poffible, to be men of comely and pleaſing countenances and Majeftick preference, who they inſtruct in all the rules of abſtinence, gravity, and other virtues moſt appropriated to their Sect. And thefe of all forts of *Turks* feem worthy of the beſt Character, whom I compaffionate, for not being born within the pale of a Chriſtian Church, nor duely inſtructed in the Myſtery of Chriſtianity, to which they feem by their morality and virtues already to have prepared many previous difpofitions.

A Sett much different to that immediately foregoing is the *Haireti*, fignifying amazed, and doubtful in determination of all controversies, who can endure any thing rather than to controvert opinions, and difpute on queſtion in chafe of truth: they will neither undertake to perfwade or diffwade ; but like the *Academicks* affirm that falſity may by the wit and contrivance of man be dreſſed in a habit as not to be diſtinguiſhed from truth it ſelf ; and on the contrary, truth may be fo diſguiſed with Sophiſtry and deluſions as to be rendered as deformed and ugly, as falſhood, and therefore they conclude all queſtion ſto be meerly probable, and no ways admitting of certain demonſtration ; ſo that in points of dubious controversies their common fayings are, *Allah Bilur*, God knows, *bize Karanuk*, it is unknown to us, and ſuch like expreſſions favouring of negligence and a brutiſh want of curioſity to ſearch into the ſtudies of Art and Science. Of this Seel: ſoovie notwithstanding are Preachers, and from that degree are promoted to the office of *Muftis* in which they behave themſelves according to their affected careleſſneſs, with a readineſſ and facility to ſubſcribe all ſentences to the Satisfaction, and in favour of the demandant ; adding for the moſt part theſe words, *Well aku ealem biſſerub*, God knows that which is beſt. As to the manner of their life and practice, they are punctual obſervers of the rites of the *Mahometan* Religion and conſutations of their civil Law, but much incline to yield to the courſe of their own nature, and the force of paſſion ; they drink Wine not to appear Cynical or unfociable, but more generally addict themſelves to Electuaries compoſed of *Opium*, which tends to augment their natural ſtuporification ; and when they are overcome with the obſcurity of this vapour, whatſoever you affirm though never Co contradictory, they readily aſſent to, not ſo much (as they confeſs) from a perſwaſion to one proportion

position more than another, but of a pleasing compliance to their companions, which humour the nature of thek Sect allows of. And though they stile the *Efchraki* Dogmatical and obftinate opin'ators ; yet by experience it is obfervcd that the *Mufties* Educated in the *Efchrakian* Schools have been much more fortunate then thofe of the *Hairetian* Sect; becaufethe former having a certain foundation of principles, have been cautious in fining *Fetfas*, or delivering their Sentence in the refolution of weighty Matters of State, choofing rather to renounce their Office, then their reafon. But the others being negligent and in curious in their determinations, as if fortune did direct them more to the true part then folidity of judgements have been always free and open in their Sentences ; by which means events of State falling out unhappily, and the mifcarriage attributed to the council of the *Mufti*, they have been oftner fubject to the punifhment of banifhment or death then their Opponents.

We (hall not proceed tofwell this Work with a longer Catalogue of thefe Setts, left weshould feem over tedious to the Reader, and in-tread of pleasing his Palate, ftould over-charge his Stomach ; othcrwife we might proceed to recite as many Sects as there are Towns or Schools in the Empire, in every one of which fome pragmatifal Preacher or other have always ftarted a new opinion, which can never want Difciples. And certainly the diverfity of opinions in *Turky* is almoft infinite, and more numerous then in *England* , or other parts of Chriftendom, though commonly not proceeding from the fame malice, nor laid with the fame deGgn to the prejudice of the State: the reafon of this variety amongft the *Turks* I attribute to the many Religions which voluntarily, and for intereft or by force have entered into the *Mahometan* fuperftition, many of which being *Grtians*, and intruced in the Arts and Sciences with which that Empire once flourifhed, which was the Mine , and Treafury of Philofophy and Learning, did afterwards mix with their new Religions (not being wholly fatisfyed with the *Alcboran*) certain Traditions and Opinions of the ancient Philofophers: And fever a lot her Nations, as *Ruffians*, *Mufcovites*, *Chircaffians*, and the like, retaining fome few remembrances of their firft Notions and Principles, make a farther addition to this ill compounded medley, which alfo receiving fome difference and variety as they encreafed and were propagated, have multiplied to a number both unprofitable and tedious to fearch farther into.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Dervifes.

IT is commonly fenowri and received, that the *Turkifh* Religion is an abfurd competition of the Chriftian and Jewifh Rites; in imitation of the former of which doubtlefs their Monafteries and Orders of religious men were introduced ; moft of which incline to a pretended mortification and ftrictnefs of life; to poverty, and reoumiation of the worlds enjoyments, according to the devotion of Chriftians a thoufand years

years past, whose piety and exemplary lives drew Infidels to extract a rough Copy of their elevated verties.

I have been the more curious in making an exact enquiry into the Customs, Institutions and Doctrines of the *Mahometan* Convents, because I find relations hereof sparingly feathered in other Books, and that obscurely without punctuality or certainty : But I shall promise my Reader to deliver nothing herein, but what I have good Authority for, and taken from the mouth of the most Learned of their *Seigns* or Preachers, which are the Heads or Superiours of these Societies.

The Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law inform me, that their Religious houses and Institutions, are as ancient as *Mahomet*, from whom general orders and instructions were derived for their economy, first to his Disciple *Hali*; but our *Turkish History* and other Records make no mention of these Monasteries, till within these three hundred and fifty years, in the time of *Orcbanes* second King of the *Turks*, who is famed to have been the first founder of Houses of these Orders.

Those of the *Mahometan* Faith, who first framed rules and institutions for these Religions, were two, viz. *Chahettee* and *Nackihendee*, which after *Mahomet* are esteemed the two Fountains from whence other Orders are proceeded, which are these following \$ from *Chahettee* are derived

Vimetulahi from *Nimetula*

Kadri from *Kadri*

Kalenderi from *Kalendar*

Edhemi from *Edhem*

Hizrevi from *Hizir*

Bekiaffee from *Beksas*.

The first Founders and Masters of these Orders.

From *Hacksbendee* proceed only two, viz.

Ebruharee from *Ehrnhar*

Mevelee from *Menelava*.

Their Original Founders.

These several Orders we (shall distinctly touch upon, beginning with the *Mevclevee*, which though set down here last, yet because for fame amongst the *Turks*, they are the first, we shall most largely and particularly treat of them.

The *Mevelee*, otherwise and most commonly named *Dervise*, which word signifies Poor and renouncers of the world, have their chief and Superiour foundation in *Iconium*, which consists of at the least four hundred *Dervises*, and governs all the other Convents of that Order within the *Turkish* Empire, by virtue of a Charter given them by *Ottoman* first of the *Mahometan* Kings, who out of devotion to their Religion once placed their Prior or Superiour in his Royal Throne, because having been his Tutor, and he who girted on his Sword (which is the principal Ceremony of Coronation) he granted him and his successors ample Authority and Rule over all others of the same Profession.

Their Superior.

Their Postures.

They pretend to great Patience, Humility, Modesty, Charity and Silence,

Silence in prefence of their Superiour or others ; their eyes are always fixed downwards, their heads hanging towards their breaft, and their bodies bending forwards.

Their fhirts are of the courfeft Linnen can be made, with a White Plad or Mantle about their fhoulders: but moft wear a loofe kind of Garment made of Wool at *Iconim* or in *Anatolia*, of a dark colour ; their Caps or what they wear on their heads, is like the Crown of a Hat of the Jargeft fize, made of courfe *Camels* hair of a whitift colour ; their Legs are always bare, and their Breads open, which fome of them burn or fear in token of greater devotion: they wear alfo a Leather girdle with fome mining ftone upon the Buckle before, either of Marble or Alabafter, Porphyry, Ivory, or fome thing that makes a great fhew or luftre. Their Cloa thing,



The Prior over a Convent of Dervifes



The Habit of the

Befides their Faft of *Ramzan*, they keep a weekly Faft on every *Thursday*, on which day, none unlefs for fome indifpofition of health or other lawful cau(e, hath licenfe to eat, until after Sun-fetting. Their Fafts.

Every *Tuesday* and *Friday* the Superiour of the Convent makes a Sermon or expofition of fome Verfes in the *Alckoran*, or out of the

Their turning
round.

Books wrote by their Founder, or some other prime Doctor of the *Mahometan* Law ; after which is done, the *Dervises* with marvellous modesty and reverence bowing to their Superiour, begin to turn round, some of them with that swift motion, that their faces can scarce be seen; a certain Pipe made of a Cane, sounding all the time of this motion ; and on a sudden when the Musick ceases, they all stop with that exactness and firmness, (showing no symptoms of a disordered or swimming brain; to which having accustomed themselves from their infancy or youth, in some years that motion becomes as natural, with as little disturbance to their Head or Stomach, as to walk forward, or to use any other exercise which nature is delighted with. This custom (they say) they observe with great devotion in imitation of their first Founder *Meveland*, who for fourteen days together, and without taking any refreshment, used this Vertiginous motion by a miraculous assistance (his Friend *Hamze*, or Companion, all that time sounding by him with his Flute or Pipe) until at last falling into an extasy, he received strange Revelations, and divine commands for the institution of this his Order: the Pipe they play on, they esteem for an ancient and sanctified sort of Musick, and to be that with which *Jacob* and the other holy Shepherds in the Old Testament praised God.

It hath a doleful melancholy found out but their constant exercise and application thereunto makes it as musical as can be imagined in such an Instrument : the best of those Cans are esteemed to come from *Iconium*, and are of twenty five Dollars price. But this sort of devotion with instrumental Musick, is by *Turks* themselves disputed again, denying that their Founder, who was of spiritual a man, did ever institute, or himself use Musick in his turning round, because the *Alchoran* expressly forbids all devotion and service of God with Musick, but only with the natural and living voice ; And that isthereafon, why in calling their people to prayers they use no Bells, but only the voice of a man and for this cause I remember, that in my time prohibitions have been made by publick Authority against this practice of the *Dervises*. But they on the contrary, alledging Davids example, and his Dancing before the Ark as Arguments for their Musick and Giration, have by the help of several persons in power, many of them being greatly affected with their devotion, maintained from time to time this custom and institution of the first Founder of this Order, notwithstanding that one *Vanni Efendi* a great *Scib* or Preacher, esteemed as a knowing Person by the Grand Signior and all the Court, hath, by his Authority endeavoured to Reform this Corruption (as he calls it) amongst them.

Their Tro-
fession.

They profess Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, like Capuchin Friars or other Orders of St. *Francis*; but if any have not the gift of continence, he may obtain License to leave his Convent and marry ; but of these, they observe that none ever thrived or lived happily with contentment, that renounced this Dedication to Gods Service.

Their Em-
ployment.

The Novices serve in the most fervile Offices, and in time others supply their places ; they lie as companions two together in a Cell, some of which employ their time in Learning to Read and Write in *Turkish*, *Arabick* and *Persian* ; but most yield for their slothful temperament to which they are naturally addicted : but because the nature of man is restless, and must employ itself either in good or bad actions ; most of these

The Turkish Monasteries and Votaries.

these associates exercise some kind of Legerdemain, or tricks to amuse the minds of the common people and from really apply themselves to Sorceries and Conjurations by help of familiar spirits. *Busbequius* tells strange Stories of one with whom he was acquainted, that he would strike a stone of great weight and bigness against his shaft with that force and violence as were sufficient to knock down an Of, or break the bones of the stoutest Giant ; and that the same man he hath seen take an Iron Bar red-hot from the fire and hold it in his mouth, and though the spittle and moisture of his mouth hissed with the heat, yet he seemed to take it thence again without the least hurt of burning imaginable.

This sort of people of all other Turks, addict themselves to drink Wine, Strong-Waters, and other intoxicating Liquors ; and eat Opium in that quantity, by degrees using their bodies thereunto, that no Mountebank or *Mitbridates* himself who was nourished with poison, are capable to digest half that proportion that these men will do; the effect of which is at first, like men drunk or mad, to raise their spirits to a sort of dissipated Mirth, and afterwards when the filthy vapours are consumed and spent, and a dull stupefaction overcomes them, they name it an extasy, which they account very holy and divine in imitation of their first founder, who was often observed to put himself into this condition; and therefore what helps may be found to excite Mirth or distraction, is lawful and allowable in this Order.

There is a famous Monastery of these in *Egypt*, invoking for their Saint one *Kederlee*, which by the Stories they tell of him should be St. *George*, in conformity with whom all other *Dervises* maintain a Reverent esteem of this Saint, affirming that in his life he was a valiant Horseman, killed Dragons and all sorts of venomous Beasts, and now being departed this life, God for preservation of good men hath given him power to deliver such as being in distress, invokes his assistance, especially those who are at Sea, and at the point of shipwreck ; and that he with an extraordinary swiftness of motion flies from one part of the world to another in the twinkling of an eye, and seasonably comes in to their succour. These by virtue of that blessing *Kederlee* confers upon them, pretend to charm Serpents and Adders, and handle them as familiarly as we do the most innocent and domestick creatures; whereas, as I have heard from good Authority, is not peculiar in *Egypt* only to *Dervises*, but to other men who are said to be naturally endued with a virtue against the poisonous bites of vipers and other venomous Beasts; who putting great numbers of them into a bag together, do cull and sort them out with their hands, as one would do Worms from Mules; and others with a word charm Serpents from moving as they crawl along the Banks of Nile, which gifts these men pretend to inherit from their Parents, and others to possess in reward of their virtues and Sanctity. This sort of *Egyptian Dervises* have Sainted the Horse of St. *George*, and have feasted him in Paradise with the other three beasts in high respect and esteem amongst the Turks, viz. the Ass on which Christ rode, the Camel of *Mahomet*, and the Dog of the seven Sleepers.



Thefe *Dervifes* have Monasteries in the moſt famous places of the *turkiſh* Empire, which ſerve the travelling Pilgrims of this Order for Inns and places of entertainment: for they above all other Religious Turks, journey and travel from one placeto another, wherethe *Mahometan* Religion is profeſſed, under pretence of preaching and propagatiqg their Faith ; add thus they travel upon Charity of their Monaſtc-ries and Alms of others into *Perſis*, *China*, and the Dominions of the *Moguls* by which means they become the beſt ſpies and intelligencers of any that are found in the Eaſtern parts of the world.

I remember at *Adrianople* to have ſeen the Ruine of one of theſe Monasteries ſituatedona pleaſanthill, and in good Air, that overſces the whole City and Plains round about ; which upon enquiry I underſtand was demolifhed by the famous Viſier *Kuperli* ; becauſe it was diſcovered to be a Rendezvous of the lewd Women of the Town, and a Stew where the young Gallants debauched the Wives of the richeſt *Turks*, to whom their Huſbands had given liberty in honour to the Sanctity of the place, to be often preſent at the devotion of the *Dervifes* ; but their way of practice being too publick and ſcandalous, the Foundation of their houſe by the order of the Viſier was razed to the ground.

The Turkifh Monasteries and Vetaries.

CHAR XIV.

Of the Order of Religions Turks called Ebrbuharee.

THis Order of *Ebrbuharee* was first instituted by their founder and institutor *Ebrbuhar*, from whom they have their denomination, who herein followed the Precepts and Rules of his Matter *Nacksbende*, from whom in like manner the Order of *Mevelevee* or *Dervifes* are derived : for the better understanding this sort of people, the Reader may take this following, as an authentick discourse relating to their manners and original, which I (shall deliver *Verbatim* as given me in writing by one esteemed Learned amongst the *Turks*, and was a *Hadgi* or Pilgrim, and made it his business to inform me of this Sect. *Sultan Bajazet*, said he, in the year of *Mahomet* nine hundred and eleven, erected a *Mosch* and Convent in *Constantinople* dedicated to this Holy *Emir Ebrbuhar* (that is of the race of *Mahomet*) upon whom rest the mercy of the Creator. This man both extrinsically as to appearance in the world, and intrinsically as to his devout soul, was famous and renowned for the Miracles he worked ; on which *Fabrick Sultan Selim* afterwards bestowed a fountain of water.

This *Ebrbuhar* Scholar of *Nacksbende*, taking into his Company the affiance of *Abdulla* and *Ilahi* and *Vefa*, Preachers and Heads of other Convents, came out of *Afia* to propagate their Doctrine in *Europe*. *Uabi.*

Their actions were governed with Meekness, Gravity and Silence, and laying aside all superstitious Worships, they exercise themselves in pious actions; their discourses amongst themselves were nothing in relation to the things of the world, but of Matters relating to a future life.

These poor religious fast for the most part on *Mundays* and *Thursdays* ; and both they and those devoted to their order abstain from all Meats that carry with them any fetulent or ungrateful smells, and in this manner these devout people exercised in abstinence and a moral life, and swallowed up or transported with the illumination of God, and attending to their daily prayers, Commemoration of Gods mercy, and other offices of devotion, acquire a holy disposition and preparation for Celestial glory.

As to the Holy *Emir Ebrbuhar*, whose Myfterious life may God manifest to us; was nourished with Bread made of Barley, Oil of Olives, Honey and Grapes, and abstained from all things of a strong scent or favour, he eat but three times a year*, giving himself continually to Fasting and Prayer ; he was a man of great Sanctity, full of Divine Revelation, his attractive virtue was grateful to all, to his Feet from divers Countries were many deaf persons brought, which afterwards returned sound and healthful to their own homes; all which is the relation of my Doctor and great admirer of the *Mahometan* Religion.

to commendation of the religious of this Order, are these Verses in the *Persian* tongue.

142 *The TurKriſh Monaſteries and Notaries.*

Cher kakiki iahi der gehan bulendi
Nakſchibendi Kiun'Nakſchibendi'; that is,

If thou wouldſt find in the world one accompliſhed as a true *Heroe*, make thy ſelf a *Nakſchibendi*, who is the true pattern of a Servant of God.

And notwithſtanding this great pretended purity and ſanctity of theſe men, they are yet by the generality eſteemed Hereticks in the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition, becauſe they judge themſelves not obliged to the Pilgrimage of *Mecca*, by reaſon of their pretended purity of foul and Seraphick Raptures, which elevate them above the world, and enable them in their very Cells to be preſent, or have a clear Proſpect into their Holy *Mecha*.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Nimetulahi.

ONE fort of thoſe who are accounted in the number of *Chalvetti* is the *Nimetulahi*; they had their beginning in the *Hegira* or year of *Mahomet* 777, and their denomination from one of that name, famous for his Doctrine and feverity of life in the time of *Suit an Mahomet*, Son of *Bajazet*, called by the *Turks* *Ildertm*, or the Son of Thunder; He was an excellent Phyſician, and renowned for his virtues amongſt the vulgar; for better knowledge of his Life and Doctrine, the Reader may take notice what one of this Order related to me in admiration of his Matter.

He was one, ſaid he, who preached and published the truth, mortified his body, followed not the affections of the carnal Appetite, knew the intricate nature and Quiddity of all creatures, rendered continual Prayers and Praises to his Creator; and ſo long reſigned himſelf entirely to ſpeculation, until he arrived to the Ravishment of Extacies and Raptures, in which he oftentimes obtained the happineſs to diſcourſe with God.

He eat of all thoſe things which God made lawful for humane nourishment, without obſervation of Faſts or ſtridneſs in Diet, but day and night continued in his prayers and devotions: whileſt he ſlept he extended not his feet like the beaſts of ſeafe, who cat Corn and Hay in the Stables, ſometimes the fear of God made him tremble, and his countenance became melancholy and affrighted with the apprehenſion of his Majeſty. And to this perfection none ever arrived, nor to that intimate knowledge of the divine Secrets.

The profeſſors of this Order aſſemble every *Munday night* to praife the Unity of the Divine Nature, and celebrate the name of God with Hymns and Songs.

Thoſe that would initiate themſelves into this Order, are obliged to make a Quarentine firſt, or remain ſequeſtered in a Chamber for the ſpace of forty dayes, with twenty four drams of Meat a day > during which

The Turkifh Adonafteries and Votaries.

which time they fee the face of *Gad*, the fublime Paradife, and praife the Creator and Framer of the Univerfe ; at the expiration of their term, they are taken forth by the reft of the Fraternity, who taking hands Dance in a *Morris* ; in which Vagary, if any Vifion appear to the Novices from God, they throw their Cloaths behind them, and fall flat with their faces on the ground, like men amonifhed or ftrook with an Apoplexy, until fuch time as the Prior or chief of their Order coming and making prayers for them, they return by degrees to their fenfe again, and taking them up with their eyes red and diftorred, they remain a while like men drunk, diftracted or ftupid ; but afterwards their Scattered fpirits being better collected, the Prior demands in fecret their Virions and Revelations, which they communicate to him, or fome other ferious and grave perfon well inftructed in the Myfterieii of their profeffion.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Kadri.

THIS is another of thofe fix Religions which are derived from *Cbalvetti*, which had one *Abdul Kadri Ghilani* for its firft Founder, a man greatly admired for his wifdom and abftinence, whofe Sepulchre is found without *Babylon*, to which place many of thofe who enter into the Regular Orders of thefe Convents make their Pilgrimages.

Thofe who enter into this Religion, muft perform their Novitiate with degrees of abftinence and fafting; wherefore when firft they take the profeffion upon them, there is beftowed upon them a fmall Cudgel made of the Wood of a Willow, weighing when frefh and green four hundred drams, which they are always to carry about them hung at their Girdle; by the weight of this they take their daily allowance of bread, until fuch time as the Wood becoming exceeding dry, is alfo much the lighter, and fo according as the weight thereof lightens, their propottion of Bread diminifhes.

Befides their prayers of five times a day, to which all *Mahometans* are bound, they are obliged to fpend the whole or beft part of the night with turning round at the found of a little Pipe, and to utter this word, *Hai, Hat*, which fignifies Alive, being one of the Attributes of God. And this they do in imitation of the Cuftomufed by their Founder, who is faid to have pronounced this word *Hai*, fo often, and with that vehemency, that the vein of his breaft burfting, the blood gumed out upon the Wall, and made the word *Hai*. Wherefore all his Difciples to follow the example of their Mafter, taking hands together in a ring, repeat this word, *Hai, Hai*, withfo much violence, and fo often, until they fall on the ground without breath or life ; thofe who laft out longeft carry off the dead from the Chamber, and lay them to recover their fpirits after their frained exercife ; and this they do every *Friday* night. Every one of thefe are obliged once in the year to a retirement of forty days, in a little Cell free from all company or converfation, during which

The Turkifh Monafieries and votaries.

which time they are wholly to give themselves to meditations, and to observe their dreams, and so recount them to their Superiour, who studies the interpretation of them, and from them Divines of future things.

They have many times license from their Superiour, to be drunk or intoxicate themselves with *Aqua vitæ* Opium, or any stupifying Drugs, to be better able to perform with more spirit and vehemency their mad Dance.

These fellows are of a refined wit, notable Sophisters and Hypocrites; their secrets they reveal to none but those of their own profession, by which means they are subtle to cheat those of other Religions.

They are not debarred from the liberty of Marriage, but if they do marry they are excluded from the Convent, and may wear any sort of habit, yet for distinction sake they wear Black Buttons; those that live in the Convent, carry a certain white Plaid of a Course Cloth, their Heads with hair unshaven, without Caps or other covering, and their feet bare. These are called *Kadri*, and have a Convent at *Tophana* in Constantinople.

The Founder of this Order, called, as we have said before, *Abdul Kadir Ghilan*, was born in the *Hegira* or year of *Mahomet* five hundred sixtyone, and dyed in the year six hundred fifty seven; he was esteemed both a Lawyer and a Philosopher; his Master or Instructor was *Abdul Mumin Gazeli*, who composed two Books, one called *Mugrib* or the *Arabian Grammar*, and another called *Andalus*. At that time that *Helak* Son of *Genghiz Han* came to *Babylon*, he caused him to kill one *Alkami* than Vice-King of that City, for being of the *Persian Sect*, called by the *Turks* *Rafizi* or Hereticks, because they reject *Abubecher*, *Omar* and *ofman*, as Apocryphal Writers, and attribute not to them that honour of Holy men, which is given by the *Turks*.

The Prior or chief of the Convent of this Order, teach their Disciples a certain prayer, which they whisper in their ears, that it may not be overheard or known by others, this they are obliged to repeat every moment with little intermission, unless at times set apart for the offices of nature; and boast that it hath so much of efficacy in it, that by the virtue thereof, they obtain the enjoyment of divine visions and revelations.

Their posture is, like other Religious *Mahometans*, to sit with their beads hanging down, and their Noses in their Breasts, which they call *Murakabe*; the better to keep them from distraction or wandering thoughts, during their contemplations of Heaven, and the vanity of satisfying the carnal appetite.

Amongst the many Miracles that the followers of this Order recount of their Master, one is this, That coming once to *Babylon* to inhabit amongst the other superstitious persons and *Santones* of that City, they hearing of his approach went forth to meet him, one of them carrying in his hand a distilled with water, from whence they would infer, that as that distill was full to the brim so as to be capable of containing no more, so their City was so replenished with Learned and Religious persons, that there was no place to receive him. Whereupon this subtle Sophister studying to confute this Hieroglyphick, whereby

they would excufe the courtefie of due Hofpitality, ftretching his arms firft towards Heaven, and then bowed down and gathered a Rofe leaf which he laid on the water, which before had filled the di(h: by which piece of ingenuity, he not only confuted the parable of the Churlifh *Babylonians*, but alfo fo took with them, that they regiftred it as a Miracle of wifdom, and bringing him into their City with triumph, made him the Supriour of all their Orders.

CHAP. XVII.



a Santone or Holy man

THIS Order may rather be termed the Seel: of *Epicureans*, then men retired to mortifie their appetites, and deny the world, as all other of the religious and regulated *Turks* pretend; but yet this sort of Fanatics pretend to Religion by a different way of Libertinifm and loofeness in their conversation; which they act fo publicly, that they are not ashamed to profess their institution and customs to be after this manner.

146 *The Turkish Monasteries and Votaries.*

In the time that *Mahomet Manfur* Son of *Melkaziz Ohousa* the Son of *Silabdin*, being ready to resign up his last breath, bequeathed to his Son *Mahomet Melik Kiamel*, the Government of *Cairo*, and all the other parts of the Kingdom of *Egypt* ; *Damasius* and *Jerusalem* to his Son *Ifa Melik Muazin* and *Diarbekir*, to his third Son *Efchrefmuf*; There lived a certain *Santone*, who always mentioned the name of God with the found of his Pipe, and with that Mufick recreated himself day and night, not after a chearful and merry humour, but with sad and melancholy Tunes, accompanied his Pipe with Tears and Sighs. He was an excellent Musician, and a deep Philosopher, endued with those supernatural virtues as enabled him to work Miracles clear, and notorious to all the world; he was a *Hermite*, called in *Arabick Abdal*, sent with his head bare, and his body full of wounds, without Shirt or other Cloathing, besides a Skin of some wild Beast thrown over his Shoulders; at his Girdle he wore some finely polished stone, is wreaths, instead of Diamonds or Stones of value, he wore several Jewels, which carried a lustre and fair appearance with them; this man WAS called *Suntone Kalenderi*, who was continually ringing *Arabick* Sonnets, and according to them Mulicd Airs, making also harmonious compositions so artificially, that he seemed another *David*. But how strict and sober forever this *Santone* was, his Disciples or Profelytes are of another temper, being wholly given up to Jollity and delights, they banish all kind of melancholy and sadness, and live free of cares, passions or torments of the mind, and have this saying amongst them, This day is ours, to-morrow is his who shall live to enjoy it; and therefore studiously attend to lose no moment or least part of their pleasure, but consume their time in eating and drinking; and to maintain this gluttony they will sell the Stones of their Girdles, their Earrings and Bracelets. When they come to the house of any rich man or person of Quality, they accommodate themselves to their humour, giving all the Family pleasant words and chearful expressions to persuade them to a liberal and free entertainment. The Tavern by them is accounted holy as the *Aiosch*, and believe they serve God as much with debauchery or liberal use of his creatures (as they call it) as others with severity and mortification. And the *Turks* say, That in the H*-gira 615, the Christians became Masters of *Jerusalem*, by reason that the Institutor of this Order of the *Kalenderi*, who had a chief band in the Government of the City, was found drunk when it was assaulted.

CHAP,

The Turkifh Monaſteries and Votaries.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Edhemi.



religious man of the order of Edhemi.

THe original Founder of this Order was one *Ibrahim Edhem*, concerning whom the Disciples themselves, or Followers recount things very obscurely, and tell us Stories that his Father was a Slave and *Abafine* by Nation, and went one day under the Fort *Horanan* to discourse with *Ibnimelik* King of *Cairo*, that he was a man very comely, facetious and sober in his carriage, always desiring to please God, continued in the *Moschs* reading the *Alchoran*, and in prayer day and night with his face prostrate on the ground, and often repeating these words,

" O God, thou hast given me so much wisdom, as that I know clearly " that I am in thy direction ; and therefore (corning all power and domination, I resign my self to the speculation of Philosophy and a holy life.

His Servants feeling this his devout way of living, applied themselves to the imitation of his Austerity, and abandoning all greatness and vanities of the 'world, applied themselves to solitude and mortification; their superfluous garments they bestowed on the Poor, giving to those whose necessities required them.

Their food is Bread made of Barley, and Pray frequently with Fasting, and their Priors apply themselves much to a faculty in Preaching.

Their principal Convents are in Cities of *Perfia*, especially *chorafan*.

Their Cloathing is of a coarse thick Cloth, upon their heads they wear a Cap of Wool, with a Turbant round it, and about their necks a white Linnen Cloth striped with red. In the Deserts they converse with Lions and Tigers, salute them and make them tame, and by the miraculous power of divine assistance entertain discourse with *Enoch* in the Wilderness; This and many other wild discourses they make of this *Edhem*, but because there are but few of this Order in *Constantinople*, being most appropriated to *Perfia*; I could not receive so particular an account of their Rule and institutions, as I have done of others.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Order of Beaaffc.

THe original Founder of this Religion, is of no ancient Memory or (landing, nor had his Birth or Education amongst the *santones* of *Arabia*, from whence most of these superstitious pretenders have had their beginning; but one of those that was an Army-Preacher, that could fight as well as pray, of whom my learned *Hogia* gives me this account.

In the time (says he) that the Warlike and Victorious Sultan Amurath passed with his Army into Serbia, and overcame Lazarus, the Despot of that Country, and flew him in Battel, Becktafhw then Preacher to Amurath; who amongst other of his admonitions forewarned him of trusting the Ser-
Vid Chap 20 *vians; but Amurath out of his courageous spirit relying on his own wisdom and force admitted a certain Nobleman called Vilvo, upon pretence of doing him homage, to approach near him and seize his hand, who having his Dagger ready and concealed, stabbed Amurath to the heart and with that blow made him a Martyr. Becktafh following that this treacherous death of his Prince, must needs also be the coup of his, for being so near his Person, and prophesying of this fatal stroke, fought not to prevent it, but made preparations for his own death. And in order thereunto provided himself with a white Robe with long sleeves, which he proffered to all those which were his admirers, and Profelytes, to be passed as a mark, of their obedience to him and to his institutions; so on this action the custom hath been introduced of kissing the sleeve of the Grand Signior,*

The Religions of this Order wear on their heads white Caps of several pieces with Turbants of Wool, twisted in the fashion of a Rope, they observe constantly the hours of Prayer, which they perform in their own Assemblies; they go Cloathed in White, and praise the Vnity of God crying, Hu
(which

(which is, may he live) and by thefe means obtain the Grace of Cod.

This Santone hath many millions of Difciples and followers ; now all the Janizaries of the Ottoman Port are profefors of the fine Religion. This Becafth at his death cut off one of his fleaves, and put it upon the head of one of his religious men , part of which hung down on his fhoulders ftying , after this , youffail be Janizaries, which fignifies a new Mihtia ; and from that time began their original infitution, fothis is the rcafon why the Janizaries wear Caps falling behind after the manner ofjleeves called Ketches. This Hagi Bedrallh was a perfon exceedingly attractive in his converfition, holy to admiration, a man of great worthy and Majeftick in his comportment, he was buried in the City Kyr, where they have many Convents and Religious followers, who always praife and adore God : and thus far my Hologia informs me.

But whatfoever he fays, this Order is the moft abhorred in the world by the Kadizadeli, becaufe that BeUafh left it to the free will of his Difciples, either too fervethe conftant hours of prayer or not ; by which great liberty and licentiousnefs is entered amongft the Janzaries, who are Souldier-like; not over zealous or devout in their Prayers, little attendant to the offices of devotion. In fome Songs which this Eefafh is faid to have compofed, it is often repeated, that none hath known God, becaufe none hath feen him: And for this reafon the moft zealous Mahometans call the 'janizaries Keferejis^ which fignifies without faith 5 and a certain Mufti called Ebufuud delivered his fentence or Fetft^ to the queftion demanded him ; if a Muffelman or Believer fhould fay to a Janizary thou art a Pagan , what punifhment he (hould merit by the Law ? he replied, that a man is an Infidel, who holds a Janizary for a true Believer.

Some Friars of this Order of Befafh do in all publick (hews and blemities march near the perfon of the Janizar Aga, crying continually, Hu, Hu, with their Daggers drawn. They are a moft licentious fort of people, much given to Sodomy, for which the ignorant and loofe fort of Janizaries are willingly their Difciples ' and are now grown into that vaft multitude, as is almoft impoffible to extirpate them or their vices, though corrofives are laid to eat away this Gangreenin the Militia, which goes creeping on with an unfeafible pace; as we (hall difcourfe more largely in the next Book of the Turkifh Militia.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Order of Herewi or Hizrevi

IN the time of Orchanes the (econd King of the Turks, who Governed thirty five years and Reigned eighty three, and dyed in the Hegira of Mahomet feven hundred and fix teen, there lived in Prufi, then the Regal Seat, a famous Santone called Herewi) who ufed to walk up and down, and as an aft of charity to buy the Livers and Lights of Beasts to feed Cats and Dogs he profefled poverty and fevere mortification with Tears and Sighs, which he afted with that fervency that the Angels leaving

leaving Heaven, came to be witnefs of his holy penance. The fame of which moved *Sultan Orchanes* to difcource with him, and to know the itory of his paff life which he fmiling began to recount, and told him, that he formerly was a King derived from the Line of *Mahomet*^A had compaffed with his arms the Rivers of Nilus, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, had governed Provinces with his Sword and Scepter, had been glorioufly and triumphantly adorned with precious Stones and glittering Arms, and had made the world tremble at the very mention of his name. But at Lift considering the vanity of this world, he refblved on a folitary life, and to renounce all the follies and fmall fatisfactions of Riches and empty Honours. At which faying, *Sultan Orchanes* was amazed, and faid, We ought not to defpife thofe who under the guife and appearance of mad and diftrafted perfons wander through the worlds for their virtues are rare -, and in this man particularly I difcover fo much of fanftity, that I judge my felf unworthy the name of one of his Servants. And this is the reafon, why Fools and Frantick people have ever fincc been had in Honour and reverence amongft the *Turks*, as thofe whom Revelations and Enthufiafms tranfported out of the ordinary temperament of humanity.

This *Herewi* was very Learned and Experienced in Chymiftrys and to thofe who profefled his Order and entred into the regular life of his Religion, inftead of Afpershe beftowed Golds he wore a Green Velt; and lived very abftemioufly; he mended his own Cloaths, and dreffed the Dyet for his Convent. He endowed many *Mofchs* and feveral Hospitals of Charity at *Grand Cairo* and *Babylon*, His Sepulchre is at *Prufe*, which is greatly vifited by Pilgrims, and adorned by the Bounty and Munificence of thofe who reverence the Memory of this holy *Santonc*.

This is the beft relation I could procure from one of the *sheighs* or Preachers, and one that was Prior of this Order, whofe example, as the original Copy, others of this Order imitate. They have a Monaftery in *Conftantinople*, as all the others before mentioned, befides which in this Capital City, nor in any parts of the *Turkifh* Dominions in *Europe*, have I obferved any *Teke* or Monaftery, where *Turks* profefs to lead a Religious life, but is one of the Orders before mentioned 5 fome others there may be about *Babylon* and *Egypt*, and remoteft parts of *Afu*h whofe names and conftitutions I have not repeated here, who have (as I am informed) fomewhat more of ridiculous and fupercititious Worthip amongft them than I have declared in the account I have given of thofe I have been acquainted within the parts I have travelled \$ yet it is obfervable they all of them pretend to poverty, as the neareft way to arrive the happinefs of Paradifes but with their poverty (as I have feen in fome of their *Tekes* where I have been, efpecially thofe removed from Cities) they mix fo much negligence in their living, not caring for neatnefs in their Houfes, but leave all things in a difbrderly and confufed manner, afeftifies their lazinefs as well as poverty 5 and are not like the Cells of *Capuchins* who having nothing to attend to befides their Prayers and Gardens, improve all things with that advantage, as graces Poverty, and convinces the World that in a moderate enjoyment of it there is more fatisfaction, than in thofe vexations which attend the difpofal and government of heaps of riches, and the
fatiety

iaty of opulency and plenty. It is worth noting also, that on the Monuments of *Santones* and in the Gardens, or before the Gates of these Religious, there is always some ridiculous adornment, such as agrees with the fancy of Bedlams ; as Crowning the Hearse of the dead with Beads, and Horns, and Ribbons, and pieces of Tinsel, &c. and their doors with the like, accounting it a chief disposition to Divine Service to have a mind endued with an humour inclining to the fancy of Hypochondriacal or diliracted heads, so that Khali not enlarge farther in this Discourse, nor to glut my Reader with so Infipid and Fulbme a subjed.

CHAP- XXI.

Of Marriages and Divorces, and how far Concubinage is in
 dufaed amongst the Turks.



The Habit of the Women in Constantinople

The Turks Marriages and Divorces.

THe (late of Marriage is accounted both honourable and holy amongst the *Turks*, by which the race of Mankind is best encreased and maintained 5 yet the Priests as I may call him, or their Church-man, hath the least hand in the Solemnity ; the matter as an action wholly civil, is performed before the *Caddee* or Judge; not unlike the manner practised in *England* for some few years, according to that absurd Act of Marriages by a Justice of Peace ; and is in the nature of a Recognition, whereby the Husband doth personally oblige himself before the Judge to take such a Wife, and in case of his Death or Divorce, to endow her with a certain Estate to remain to her own disposal. The Woman is not there present, but appears by her Father or some of her nearest Relations, and is afterwards by a great attendance of Women brought covered, fitting astride on Horse-back under a Canopy to the Habitation of her Bridegroom, who remains at the Gate with open arms to receive her ; there is great Rejoicing and Feasting hereat, the night before she is brought to the Company of her Husband, but when the precedent Ceremonies to the Marriage are done and completed, the House is all filled, and (he is brought into the best Chamber by an Euriuch (if he be of Quality) if not, by some Women of near Relation, and delivered to her Husband, who is himself to untie her Drawers, and undress her for his bed, not unlike the custom amongst the *Romans* of *Zonamfolvere*.

Polygamy is freely indulged to them by their Religion as far as the number of four Wives, contrary to the common report, that a *Turk* may have as many Wives as he can maintain 5 Though *Mahomet* had nine Wives, and *Hali* had fourteen, as being men more (spiritual and of a more elevated degree had greater privileges and indulgences for carnal enjoyments.

This restraint of the number of their Wives is certainly no Precept of their Religion, but a rule superinduced upon some political considerations, as too great a charge and taking to many Estates, everyone that takes a Wife being obliged to make her a Kibbo or Dowry, as we have (aid before) or else for better Regulation of the economies, and to prevent and abate somewhat of the Jealousies, Strifes and Embroilments in a Family, which must necessarily arise between many Rivals in the possession of one Husband who is obliged by Law and Covenants, to deal and deal flow his benevolence and conjugal kindness in an exact proportion of equality. And left this could not be to a certain number of Wives, should seem a restriction and loss of that liberty and freedom of Women which they say, God hath bestowed on us and every one may freely serve himself of his Wife ; as Slaves, with as much variety as he is able to buy or maintain, and this kind of Concubinage is no ways envied or condemned by the Wives, so long as they can enjoy their due maintenance, and have some reasonable share in the Husband's bed, which once a week is their due by the Law 3 for if any of them hath been neglected the whole week before, (he challenges *Thurkey* night as her due, and hath remedy in that case against her Husband by the Law ; and if (he be so modest as not to sue him for one week's default, (he is yet so ingenious to contrive a supply of her wants: And whereas these Women are Educated with much retirement from

the conversation of men, and consequently with greater inclinations towards them, and with no principles of virtue of moral honesty or Religion, as to a future State relating to the rewards or punishments of their good or bad actions ; they are accounted the most lascivious and immodest of all Women, and excel in the most refined and ingenious subtilties to steal their pleasures*. And as in Christendom the Husband bears the disgrace and scandal of his Wives incontinency here the horns are by the vulgar adjudged to the Father, Brothers, and Kindred \$ the blood of her Family is tainted and dishonoured, and the Husband obtaining a Divorce, quits himself of his Wife and dishonour together.

No question but then the Infitutor of this easie Religion* next to the satisfaction of his own carnal and effeminate inclination, and this taking freedom amongst his Disciples; his main consideration was the increase of his people by *Poligamy*, knowing that the greatness of Empires and Princes consists more in the numbers and multitudes of their people, than the compass or range extent of their dominions . This freedom (if it may be called so) was granted at the beginning of the world for the propagation and increase of mankind^and the Jews had that permission and indulgence to their loose and wandering affections, and we read that the Eastern parts of the world have abounded with Children of divers Mothers, and but one Fatherland that ordinarily a Great Perfection in *Egypt* hath been attended with a hundred lusty Sons in the field, proceeding from his own Loins, well Armed, and daring in all attempts of War. But yet this course thrives not so well amongst the *Turks* as formerly \$ whether it be thought their accursed Vice of *sodomie* , or that God blesses not so much this State of life, as when the paucity of Mankind induced a sort of a necessity and plea for it.

But chiefly through the irreconcilable emulation and Rivalry which is amongst many Wives, those Witchcrafts and sorceries (which in this Country are very frequent) are prepared against the envied fruitfulness each of other, that either they make an Abortive Birth, or otherwise their children perish & macerate away with secret & hidden charms, by which means they are now observed not to be so fruitful and Dumerous, as is the Marriage-bed of a (Single Wife, nor is the Family so well regulated, and orderly as under the Conduct and good Husbandry of one Woman, but contrarily. filled with noise, brawls and dissensions, as parents the wisdom of the Husband to become an equal Umpire and Arbitrator of their differences, which consideration restrains many, though other wife inclineable enough to gratify their Appetites from incumbering themselves with so great an inconvenience ^and I have known some though childless, have adhered to a single Wife, and preferred Quiet and Repose, before the contentment of their Offspring.

The Children they have by their slaves, are equally affected with those they have by their Wives; *Neque vero Tuna minus honoris deferunt si at ex concubinis aut pellicibus quam ex uxoribus, neque tibi mi nus in bona paternajuris habent*, Bufbeq. Ep. I.

But yet with this difference in effect of the Law, that unless the Father manifests them by his testament, and confers a livelihood upon

them by Legacy, they remain to the Charity of their Elder Brother that is born From the Wife, and are his Slaves, and he their Lord and Master; and it is with them, as the Civil Law, *Partus ventrem sequitur*, So that from the Loins of the same Father, may proceed sons of a fervile and ingenious condition.

There is also another sort of half Marriage amongst them, which is called *kabin*, when a man takes a wife for a Month, or for a certain limited time: and an agreement is made for the prize before the *Cadee* or Judge: and this Strangers oftentimes use, who have not the gift of Continency, and are desirous to find a Wife in all places where they travel, and is the same which they term in *Spain* to be *Em*ucibado*, or *Cafado de Media Carts*, only the act there is not made allowable by the Laws as in *Turkey*.

There is another sort of Marriages commonly used amongst the *Turks* (if we may give it that honourable Title) which is the conjunction of an Eunuch with a Woman; such I met as are wholly disarmed of all parts of virility, do not with standing like many Wives, and exercise Lufts of an unknown and prodigious nature.

There is also one point or restriction of Matrimony in the *Turkish* Religion which is observable; that is, *Mahometan* may marry himself with what Woman he ever, though esteemed an Infidel, as a Christian, Jew, or any other different profession, so it be of those who are of a Learned Religion, of which Books are wrote to defend and maintain it; but such Women are of a Religion which hath nothing in it of Learning or of written Law, as the sect of *Mtuxzee*, who adore the fire, conserving it always burning in their Temples, and are to be found in the parts of *Persia* but principally in some Countries of *Mogul*; and also the *Gipfie Women* are prohibited (of which great numbers are amongst the *Turks*): a Vagabond people without Law or Religion, but what is fabulous and ridiculous, and having no literature or knowledge amongst them, are reputed as abominable amongst the *Turks*.

And here the *Turks* upon occasional discourses of the severity and strictness of the Christian Discipline in matters of Concupiscence, telling them that no Copulation is allowable but in the marriage Bed, that restrained and confined to one Wife, without the additions of Slaves to satisfy with variety the corrupted fancy; that the very thoughts of Lust and Concupiscence pollute the purity of the soul; *Audatbat whofoever looks on a woman to Lust after her, commits adultery in his heart*; They presently deride these our Precepts and our Laws, which Christians not only by their actions & corrupted lives condemn and invalid, but Authority itself not by a simple connivance only, but by indulgence and privileges, foment and encourages persons walking contrary to that which is confessed to be an indispensible Law. For proof whereof, they mention the Stews of *Italy*, Whoredom made an allowable Trade and profession in *Venice*, *Naples*, and the City of *Rome*, and the *Cantonerias* in *Spain*, and framed into a Politick body (as it is related and apprehended by the *Turks*) from whence Taxes and impositions are raised: The *Turks* comprehend not the Politick grounds he takes, with which in *Italy* this Maxime is defended, nor is it fitting to produce the reasons or argue it with them, since the benefit

benefit which accrues to the *Roman Church*, and the Profits that arise thence, being employed in maintenance of Gallies and Forces against Infidels, is the best can be said to hallow this permission; but 'tis an improper argument with a Turk to excuse this License and Authority to sin, upon confident ions of being better able to War against the Professors of his Religion. And therefore the Turk will hardly be convinced but that this manner of Concubinage hath much more of Sanctity, Order and Policy in it, as being free from Diseases and Foulness, than the wandering Lufts of Stews or impudence of Corefians made bold and hard-foreheaded by conceffion of Authority;

*Pudet hæc opprobria Nobis
Et dici potuisse, &c.*

Amongst all the privileges that the *Sulun* enjoys above his subjets, this one hath lest than they, that he cannot marry; but yet he hath as many Women as serves his use, though never so libidinous, or are requisite for the Ostentation and great Magnificence of his Courts according to the custom of the Eastern Princes, who placed a great part of their Pomp in the multitude of their Women. This disuse of Marriage in the *Sultan* hath been a Maxime of State, and reckoned amongst the *Turkij inter Arcana imperii*, from the time of Bajazet, until this very Age: the reasons hereof are diversly related. *Busbequius* saith, That *Bajazet* after the great Victory obtained against him by *Iamrlane* jo to his other great Misfortunes and Disgraces, had this one added, of having his Wife *Deffina* whom he dearly loved, to fall into the hands of the Conquerour, whose ignominious and undecent treatment before the eyes of her Husband Was a matter of more dishonour and sorrow, than all the rest of his afflictions: so that ever since that time, the sultans to free themselves from being capable of that disgrace on occasion of like fortune, take no feminine companion of their Empire in whom they may be more concerned than as in Slaves, or the loss of Goods, Riches, or Estate. But in my opinion, this policy is of a deeper reach and design, than the considerations of matters so merely possible; for as I have heard, the only sign and ceremony of a *Suitant* making a Wife, is the endowing her with Riches agreeable to her condition and quality, not called *JO*Ei**, which is Dowry, but *Pashmaluck* or money for her Shoes; which besides Prefects, Jewels and rich Garments for her self, and great attendance, her Revenue ought to be equal to that of a *Valede* or Mother of the Grand Signior, which is four or five hundred thousand Dollars yearly rent; so that were this custom in use, and meeting with the disposition of some Princes that are Amorous and Prodigal, the chief Revenue of the Empire would be expended in the Chambers of Women, and diverted from the true Channels in which the Treasure ought to run for nourishment of the Politick body of the Common-wealth. Besides were it the custom for *Sultans* to take wives, it would contract that main principle of Policy amongst them, of avoiding Alliances and far Relations of the Grand Signior abroad. And this was the principle reason of the murder of *Suitan ofman*, tenth Emperor of the *Turks* contrived

by the Rebellion and Toleration or the Souldiery: it being obj&ed that he had Married a *So It an a* Whereby he had contracted Alliances contrary to the Fundamental Conftituitont of the Empire.

The tye and folemnnity of Marriage, and the nature thereof amongft the *Turks*, is as before related : from which the Woman hath no ways to unloofe her felf, whilft the Hufband maintains her with Bread, Butter, Rice, Woodland Flax to fpin for her cloathing ; the Law fupposes her foinduftrious a Houfwifeas with her own labour to fupply her felf : there are fotne other points pleadable in Law for Divorce in behalf of the Woman, as impotency or frigidity in the Hufband, and the like ; but the man hath divers means to acquit himfelf, and cando it by feveral allegations ; and may upon as eafie terms, and on as flight grounds fue out his Divorce, as was permitted to the Jews in cafes of diflike, or that fhe found no favour in his eyes.

There are amongft the *Turks* three degrees of Divorce, every one of which is made before the *Kadee* or Juftice, and by him drawn out and regiftred. The firft feparates the Man and Wife only from the fame Houfe and Bed, the maintenance of a Wife being dill continued ; The fecond not only divides them in that manner, but the hufband is compelled to make good her *Kabin* which is a Joynture or Dowry promifed at her marriage, fo as to have no intereft either in him or his Efrate and to remain in a free condition to marry another. The third fort of Divorce winch is called (ouch *Talac*) is made in a folemn and more ferious manner, with more rigorous terms of eparation, and in this cafe the hufband repenting of his Divorce, and Jefirousto re-take his wife, cannot by the Law be admitted to her without firft confenting and contenting himfelf to fee another man enjoy her before his face, w hich condition the Law requires as a punifhment of the hufbands lightnefs and inconfancy, and as an evidence to (hew that though the *Turkifh* Law is very indulgent and open in the free choice and enjoyment of Women, yet that it punifhes fuch as unadvifedly frufrnte the folemn points thereof, with remarkable notes of infamy and difgrace. Notwithftanding fome afterwards repenting of their Divorce, have been contented with the conditioned bavechofen fome hand fome youth to enter into the Bed of their Wife. It is a merry Story that is told of one, who in this cafe being put to a great ftraight, refolved to call the firft man he conveniently met to this Office, that lb as one unknown his reputation might be thelefs concerned: the man he firft lighted on ril^pened to be a *Kaickgee* or Boat-man, who it feems fo well fatisfied and plea fed the Wife, that (he afterwards renounced all intereft in her Hufband, and refolved to adhere to her new Lover, of whom (he fuppofed fhe had fufficint proof and acquaintance with already to efteem a better Huiband than her former. There are but few amongft the *Turks*, though fome are found, who fo heartily repent of their Divorce, and fo fond of their feparated wives, as to be contented to take them with the foregoing condition : for it is reputed a kind of an abominations and when they would fignrleany matter far alienated, or efranged, they all call it {*Ouch Talac*) fome thing fo divided and feparated as to be a Sin and prophanation fo much as to covet or defire it.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the other parts of the Turkifli Religion.

Of CircumciCion.

CircumciCion is not reckoned amongft one of the five points which constitute a true *Mahometan* believer, but tis only (as we have faid before) propofed as a tryal and proof of mans obedience to the more neccffary partes of the Law. This rite of CircumciCion is not received by them as an Article of Precept delivered exprelly from the *Alchoran*, but by tradition and ancient practice and ufe amongft the *Arabians*, before the time of *Mahomet*, derived originally from *Ifimael* or *Efau* whofe progeny they are, and from thence give themfelves the name of *Ifhmaehtes*. The *Arabian* Doctors affirm that *Mahomet* himfelf was born without a Navel, and naturally circumcized; perhaps to equal the fame ftory which the Jews report of *Mofes*, and fome others of the Patriarchs, and it feems in thofe Countries where circumciCion is in practice, that it is not unufual for Children to be fo born, who are therefore called Sons of the Moon, on whom the vertue of the Moon hath more than ordinary manner of influence- *Credebant fequidem Arabes, quod it le qui fub lunæ radii s nafceretur, contrahi perm de ac circumcifnm prptutum.* *Pecockis nota
it Arnbum mo*

The *Turks* never circumcife their Children untill the ape offeven years and upwards ;and then they do it by a Barber or Chirurgion, it not being efteemed a matter appropriated to the office of the *Rmaum* or Prieft (for (as we have faid before) they make no fuch diftinction as Clergy and Laity I mean, as to any fpirkual Character of Prielthood for a man may cry upon the Steeple to day, and like their paftor be the firft to lead his Congregation to their Prayers, and expound the *Alchoran*'m the Pulpit ; and next day be expelled his Panfh, and become free to any other fecular employment or profeffion : they obferve fome ceremonies amongft them on this occafion, often differing according to the Country and place ; but commonly the child is fet on horfe-back in his beft cloaths, attended with his School-fellows and companions, who with loud fhouts repeat fome words in the *Alchoran*'^and being brought home, and the ad of circumciCion performed, he is carefully attended for his cure, and in the mean time there is a feaft or banquet prepared for the Guefts ; thofe who of riper years become *Mahometans* in fome places are carried about the Town on horfe-back, with a dart in their left hand pointing to their heart, fignifying that they will rather fuffer themfelves to be paffed through with that inftruaient, than renounce that faith they then profefs. And this circumciCion is an admiffion and introduction of them into the number of the faithful, as it is amongft the Jews, and Baptifm with the Chriftians. *Ceremonies at
the Circum-
cifion.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the five neceffary points which are required to confititute a true Mahometan.

Of their Wafhings.

THough Mahomet faith in the *Alchoran*, that his Religion is founded in cleannefs, &c that it is half of his Law, yet much before *MA-hornets* time wafhings were obferved according to the fame prefcriptions by the *Arabians*, who defcending from *Iffmael*, maintained by tradition the practice of wafhings: and he had no other (hare in this invention, than that it was enforced by his Authority on the profeflors of his feft. The *Turks* are certainly very cleanly people in their exterior manner of living; as in their wafhings relating to their holy exercises and duties, they are very precise and fuperftitious; fome of them believing that the very water purifies them from the foulnefs of their fins, as well as from the uncleannefs of their bodies: There being three forts of wafhings obferved by them.

The firft is called *Abdeft*, which is a preparation for their Prayers, entring the *Mofek*, or reading the *Alchoran*; they firft wafh their hands and arms, then their neck, their forehead, the crown of their head, their ears, their teeth, the face, under thenofe, and laft of all their feet* but if the weather be cold, and not convenient to uncover them, it is fufficient, if they make fome evidence thereof by any other outward fignification.

The fecond is called *Guful*, which is the cleaning of the Bath after copulation or nocturnal pollutions; untill which time a man is called *Giunub*) that is, his prayers are accounted abominable before God, and his Society to be avoided by men.

The third is *Taharet*, which is a wafhing after the cafe or evacuation of nature; to this homely office they defign the three laft fingers of the left hand, and upon this account they call Chriftians *Tahardtfis*, which is as much as one defiled and impure for want of this manner of cleaning. And wafhing is fowfual and frequent amongst them both before and after meat, as hath caufed a common proverb amongst them, that God hath created meat that men may have occafion often to wafh their hands.

Secondly of their prayers. After their wafhing follow their prayers, which *Mahomets* to recommend to his difciples the force; and virtue of prayer, calls it in his *Alchoran* the pillar of religion, and the key of paradife, & enjoyed the performance five times in the fpace of twenty four hours,^{TM*} between the day-breaking and Sun-rifing, called *Saba nsmtfee*-, Secondly, at noon, called *Vlenamafes*; Thirdly, at the middle hour, between the noon & the fetting of the Sun, called *Kindinamafes*; Fourthly, at Sun-fetting called *Acphanamnfes*; Fifthly, at an hour and half in the night, called *yachindamafes*; this action they perform with very much reverence & devotion, and hold that they ought to be fo intent and fixed in their thoughts on this religious aft towards God, that

no business of the world, though the execution of the Sultans decree should in the same moment be commanded, or fire should burst forth in the very Chamber where they remain, or an armed enemy within their Gates or Camp, they ought not yet to be diverted, or break abruptly off their prayers, to extinguish or oppose themselves against their inevitable destruction; it is much, in my opinion that Infidels (should be possessed with that awe and defence of the Divine Majesty in the time of their audience with him; and yet that Friars and others of the Roman Church obliged to their office, as the Turk to his Namaz, (should perform it so perfunctorily, as to mix the discourse of business with the repetition of their breviary, and join with their responses answers and resolutions of questions are made them -, and so satisfy themselves in the *Opus operatum*, as if it were more important to comply with his command who imposed the office, than with his who primarily enjoined the sacrifice of prayer.

The form of their prayers is not extracted out of the *Alcoran*, only the collections of sentences, as in the Name of God, God is great and merciful and the like, are deduced from thence (as Christians do from the fountain of the holy Scriptures) the rest is compiled by the four Doctors we have before mentioned, *Viz. Ebbubecher, Omar, ozman, and Ali*; whose names are wrote in golden Characters on the walls of *Moschs* here in they observe many postures and gestures of their body, as placing their hands one on the other before them, bending the body kneeling, touching the ground with their forehead, moving the head to each side, and the like in which it is difficult to make distinction of those merely invented or ordained by *Mahomet*, from those which were primarily in use amongst the ancient Arabians: But that the orderly Ceremonies in their prayers may be better described, it will be to our purpose to hear what *Busbequius* relates of the whole Turkish Army, whom he had seen drawn up orderly in the field at their devotion. I am (said *Epist. 32* he) *Jin* that plain, a great multitude of heads folded up in Turbants who with profound Silence attended to the words of a frier their conduct or all of them being drawn up in ranks and file, and covering with their extended orders the whole plain, seemed to have framed a wall or bulwarks by the regular disposition of their bodies their doathings were of light colours and their turbants comparable to the whiteness of the snow, and the variety of the different colours of their garments hid the eyes with a fringe piece; in this manner so immovable they stood as if they had grown in the place where their feet were fixed, no coughing, hemming, nor voice was heard, nor so much as any motion was perceived of their heads every one at the name of *Mahomet* pronounced by the Friar, bowed his head to his knees, & at the name of God reverently prostrated himself & kissed the earth; and thus the Turks with devout ceremony and profound attention perform their holy duties; supposing that prayer to become fruitless, when is interrupted by scratching of the head rubbing the hands, or any other gesture not essential to their prayer. But of all Nations and Religions that I have known, they are the most hypocritical; they are those who love to pray in the Market-place, and in the Corners of the Streets to have praise of men; for it is observable with the Turks that where they find the most spectators, especially of Christians, to chuse that place how inconvenient soever, to spread forth their handkerchief

160 The necessary Points in the Mahometan Law.

lib. 12. Hift,

kerchief, and then begin their prayers. The substance of their prayers consists for the most part in praises of the divine power & attributes* mixing therewith Petitions for the safety of their Prince and his dominions, and for the Tentation and wars amongst Christians, which part they conceive God hath greatly gratified them in, and rejoicing upon the rumours of wars and disturbances in Christendom, as an cried or the divine facility and concession to their prayers: they know well by experience, what tacit reports of the Roman Policy; *That Omne scelus exter- num cum letitia habendum, femina etiam odiorum incende;* and as the Romans destined Armenia to be a prize held up, and the Stage also, on which the Tragedy of the mine of the Eastern Nations were to be ad- ded *Eandem Armeniam specie largitionis turbandis barbarorum animis prbuerint* fo the Turfe forebore for several years the total Conquest of the Provinces of Transilvania, Moldavia, & Valachia, Te(eTving them for the Cadmean fields, wherein the Hungarians, Germans, rolonians, and the people of those Countries themselves might delfroy one the- other, and make his entrance to the poffeffion of them the more facile, and lefs abloudy.

thirdly, Of their Ramazan.

The third necessary point of their Religion, is the obfervation of the Month of Ramazan, or a Fast in that whole Month, in which time they can neither eat, drink, or take anything in their mouths, whilst the Sun is above the Horizon; afterwards, upon (hutting in of the Evening, that the Emaum lights the Lamps, which in that Month are expofed round the Steeple of every Mofch, they have liberty to eat most part of the night they spend in Feasting, reierving commonly their greatest Delicacies and best Provisions for the consolation of that Fast; their bufiness and employments they attend most to in the night, palling the day as over tedious in deeping, so that their Fast is nothing but a changing the day into night. This Month they call sacred and holy, and the time when the Gates of Paradise are opened, and of Hell are shut: and so stritt is the imposition of this Fast, that it is no less than Death for a Turk to be accused of the breach thereof. In this Month to drink Wine is esteemed an inexpressible Crime, and such who give themselves that liberty at other times, do yet, not to give scandal, abstain from it fourteen days before the beginning of this Month; and Women and other of the more superstitious sort, begin fifteen days their Fast before it is enjoined by the Precept of their Prophet. But such as are sick, or have any infirmity, or are travellers in their journey, have a permission to eat, but with that condition, as to remain obliged at other times of their health and convenience to make good those days of the Ramazan, of which they remain indebted to the performance of their Law.

The Institutions of this Month of Ramazan, proceeded from Makommt himself, in the second year of his Prophetick office, which he did not assume until he had fully compleated forty years, having before imitation of the Jews Fast of Aflura [Lev H. 16. ver. 19. rn](#) memory of the overthrow of Pharaoh and his Host in the red-Sea, enjoined to the Arabians the same time of abstinence; but afterwards apprehending it dishonourable to be beholdnig to the Jews for the invention of a fast instituted

Mr. Pecock,
Note de Ara-
Inm moribus,

The neceffary Points in the Mahometan Law. 161

instituted the *Rsmaza**, the time of which is governed by the course of the Moon, and falls out commonly ten days sooner than in the preceding year, for that this *Faht* with time comes to run through all the months, and is more easie to the *Turks* when it happens in the short days of the Winter, rather than in the Summer, when the days are long and hot, which become tedious to the ordinary sort of people, who for necessity are forced to labour, and yet for the quenching thirst dare not refresh their mouths with a drop of water.

Fourthly, Of their *Zacat*

Which is another necessary point to the constitution of a *Mahometan*, which is the bestowing alms according to certain rules prescribed by four principal Doctors of their Law: the word *Zacut* signifies as much as increase, because the alms procure the blessing of God & multiply the (store of the merciful. According to this command every man is obliged to give one in a hundred of all their Estate to relief of the poor, & though this Precept is enjoyed as an essential ingredient to constitute a true *Mahometan*, yet *Covetousness* and Policy so much prevail with the *Turks* that the Rich are both unwilling to part with so much of their Estate, and fearful to evidence their wealth by a true calculate according to the *Zacat*; so that the Poor are the best observers of this injunction, the Rich conceiving it superfluous, and never intended by God to make the performance of Religion a snare to their Estates.

Fifthly, Of their Pilgrimage to Mecha

Which is enjoyed to every one who hath Riches and freedom from great Offices and charges of Government, to perform it; being a Type or (signification of their passage out of this world into the next. The number of those who yearly undertake this Pilgrimage is uncertain, though most commonly are registered from divers parts where the *Mahometan* Religion is professed, above fifty thousand souls; these Pilgrims depart about the latter end of May from *Constantinople* and meet with those from *Anatolia*, *Caramania* and others of that quarter of the world at *Damascus*; those from *Persia* assemble at *Babylon*; those of the parts of *Egypt* at *Grand Carie*, and all unite upon the Mount *A-rarat*, where they observe divers Ceremonies, as making *Corban* or Sacrifice which they do by killing Sheep, and sending part thereof as Presents to their Friends, and distribution thereof amongst the Poor, in remembrance that upon the same Mount *Abraham* designed to Sacrifice his Son *Isaac*; they also here strip themselves of their Garments, and being covered only with a Blanket, go in procession through the Mountain in signification that they must now leave all their sins and affections of the world behind them.

The chief commander over the Pilgrims (for amongst considerable number of people, there must be rule and government) is appointed by the Grand Signior, and is called *Sur-Emim* by whom he sends 500 *Zechins*, an *Alchoran* Embroidered with gold carried on a Camel & as much black Cloth as serves for hangings for the *Mefchr* at *Mecha*; and this is yearly presented from the *Sultan* to that place; when the

Of the Turkifh Feasts.

new hanging is fet up, that of the former year is pulled down, and is by the Pilgrims torn in picces, fome getting more and fome lefs, carry any rag of it home, as a relique and token of their Pilgrimage, which ferves them in place of the *Caabe* to which they turn their faces at the time of their prayers. The *Camel* which carryed the *Ahhoran*, at his return home is decked with flowers and other ornaments, and having performed this holy journey, is ever after exempted from all labour and fervice.

C H A P . XXIV.

Of the Bairam and Ceremonies ufed at that time by the chief Officers to the Grand Signior.

THe *Bairam* is the feaft of the *Turks*, of which there are two in the years one immediatly following the *Fait* of *Ramazau*, as our *Eafter* doth the *Lent*, which is called the great *Bairam*; the other is the little *Bairam*, which happens about feventy dayes after the former; at which time the people for three days ceafe from their labour, prefent one the other, rejoyce and take greater liberty than at other times, which no queftion but was invented by *Mahomet* for relaxation of the bodies & minds of his followers, as well as in imitation of the *Chrifti*an Feasts.

The *Bairam* is then conceived to begin at the firft appearance of the new Moon after the *Ramazan*; which is fome time deferred a dayes time if the weather prove Cloudy, that the Moon is not vifible, if longer the Sky be obfcured, according to the courfe of nature, it is prefumed that the Moon is begun, & fo their Feaft begins alfo *which is published at *Constantinople* by the difcharge of great Guns at the point of the *^e-raglio* upon the Sea-fhore, at which time the Lights or Lamps on the Steeples of the *Mofchs* are extinguished or omitted to be lighted, and Drums and Trumpets are founded in all publick places of the City, and Courts of great Perfons: fo that every one betakes himfelf to Mirth and Paftime as his own inclination or convenience leads him.

But that which will be mod curious to the obfervation of the judicious Reader, is, the relation of the Ceremonies ufed in the *Seraglio* at this Feaft by the feveral officers of State to the Grand Signior, and to one and other; which are fo formal precise and conftant to the leaft motion of every Member of the body, as will clear the *Turks* from that opinion which paffes of them in the world of being rude, uncivil and void of all Ceremony or Courtfhip in their comportment and behaviour, which according to the beft information I could procure, is for the mod part in this manner.

The Antiport leading to the Lodgings of the *Kapa Agafi* (or chief Eunuch who commands the Pages) being adorned with rich Carpets, Cushions & other Furniture after their fafhion, on the *Vigil* of *Eve* before the *Bairam*, all the prime officers of ftate belonging to the empire then at *Constantinople*, affemble themfelves at the Grand Signiors *seraglio* three or four hours before day, where as foon as day breaks, the

Grand

Grand Signior mounted on horfe back, paffes threw the midft of them, and goes to the *Mofchtoſ Santa Sophia*, where having faid his Morning prayer, he returns again to the *Seraglio*.

Being returned he enters the *Hafoda* or oyal chamber, & fetting himſelf in his Seat of State, having the chief Eunuch of the Pages on his left hand, the Sons of the *Tartar* Han (which remain for hoſtages in the *turkiſh* Court) upon ſigns made to them, are the firſt who preſent themſelves before him to wi(h him a happy Feſtival; whom (as I have heard reported) he walks three paces to meet, and they proſtrating themſelves, ſay, *Eiamifcberif*, which is, may theſe days be happy, and ariſing kiſs his hand and ſo retire. The next who makes his addreſs, is the prime Viſier, who ſtanding on the right hand of the Grand Signior in the front of all the *Beglerbegs*, *paſhaws*, and other great officers, Complements the Grand Signior upon one knee, and nearer approaching kiſſes his hand, and then ariſing takes the ſtation of the *Kapa Ag aſi* or Eunuch of the Pages. The next who follows in this Ceremony is the Mufti, who on the left hand fronts the Officers and principal heads of the Law, as the *Kadelefcheres* of Lords chief Juſtices of *Anatolia* and *Greece*, the *Nakib Eſchrefſe* principle head or primate of the Kindred of *Mabomet*, the *Mollabs*, Preachers called *Seigbs* and others. Then the Mufti bowing his head to the ground, holding his hands on his Girdle, kiſſes him on the left ſhoulder, and the Grand Signior ſteps one pace, ſolward to meet him, and ſo retires to his placemen all the others in their ſeveral orders take their turns to pals this Ceremony, who are treated according to what the prime Viſier informs the Grand Signior, for ſome kiſs his hand, others the hem of his veſt, ſome his ſleeve, othera his breaſt, thereafter as their Quality and Authority is, which is ſo full of variety and formal niceties, that there is a Book wrote expreſſly treating of all the particularities of this Ceremony. The laſt of all who is called to perform his Complement, is the *Jarizar Agafi*, or the General of the *Jamizaries*,

This part being thus far paſſed, the Grand Signior enters into a more retired Chamber of the *Seraglio*, where the Art, *Agalarot* the four principal Pages are the firſt of the Court to do their obeyſance as before: then follow the Eunuchs and other Pages; In the mean time a Dinner is provided in the Chamber of the *Divan*, where the Officers of State having complied with their obligation, take a plentiful repaſt at the Grand Signiors charge, after which the Grand Signior makes a preſent to each of the fifteen principal officers of Sable Vcſts, with which the Ceremony concludes.

Then is way made for the Coaches of the *Soltanaes*, who having been Gloyſtered in the old *Seraglio* the whole year before, are glad at the Feaſt of *Bairam* to have occaſion to make their Viſits to the Grand Signior in the firſt place, as beiag of his Kindred and delations, and then to the Queen or Queen-Mother, and to the other *Soltanaes* and Ladies, with whom they uſe variety of Ceremony according to their Condition and Quality; and there have liberty to remain for the ſpace of three days in Banquetting and other divertifements of Mulick and diſcourſe.

I may well be obſerved from the premiſes, how generally the world it miſtaken in the opinion is conceived of the Courtraip uſed amongſt

the *Turks*, commonly reputed by Travellers to be rude, coming much short of that quaintness, bowings, cringings & reverent postures used in Chriftendom. It is true the *Turks* deportment even in the moltvile and mechanick vulgar, though never so mean is carryed with a strange kind of barbarity and radeness towards the best of Chriftians in those parts ; which proceeds rather from a sort of pride and detestation taught them by their Religion, than from any want of being instructed in their duty of due reverence to their superiours ; for in their carriage one towards the other, they observe the rules and niceties of Complement with as much variety and exactness, as is exercised in Rome, or the most civilized Courts of Chriftendom ; and amongst the chief Ministers there is much preciseness and caution used not to exceed the limits of that Ceremony which inferiours owe the superiours, lest they should disparage their own quality, or give occasion to the world to believe their disorderly submission to be a part of adulation. And therefore it is worthy the study of Chriftian Ministers employed in Embassies in the ottomas Court, to be well informed in the rules and manner of their carriage in presence of the chief Ministers of Starejfor uncovering the head, as in Chriftendom is amongst them esteemed ridiculous and affrontive, and the manner of little bowings and often inclinations of the body, taken as acknowledgements of the great distance there is between the Matters they represent, and therefore a little Ceremony at the entrance, and the like at departure, with a steady and constant behaviour at the time of the treaty or discourse, is the best rule for a Chriftian Ministers, which is interpreted amongst *Turks* as the effect, of gravity and estimation. of themselves; it being certain, that the contrary hath caused many Chriftian Ministers to fall lower in the reputation of the *Turks*, than they had deserved for their wisdom and dexterity in the management of the more substantial points of affairs.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the prohibition of Swines fleſh And Wine.

The five foregoing principles already treated of are (as we have ſaid before) the eſſential points required towards the conſtitution of a true *Mahometan* ſo other matters are proofs and trials of their obedience ; amongſt which none is more enjoyned than the prohibition of Swines fleſh and Wine which are called *Haram*, things abominable and forbidden. The fiſt in reality abhorred by them, and at diſpleaſing as the fleſh of a man to civilized people, or a *Dogs* thigh to ſuch as have been uſed to delicacies and wholeſome viands. But Wine of late years, though forbidden by the Law, hath gained a better reputation, oc though accuſed by them, is yet accounted of ſo ſhong a temputation, that the fin is the more excuſable; & though the Alcoran poſitively inhibits the uſe thereof, and the expoſitors of the Law have ſo far removed it from all poſſibility of becoming lawful, that they have determined that if Wine be ſpilt on the ground, and in that place graſt grows, & with that paſture a Sheep or an Ox is nourished, thoſe Cat-tel become *Haram*, and are as abominable as the fleſh of Swine.

But not withſtanding the ſevere prohibitions hereof by their religion, Wine is ſo commonly uſed, that it is publickly drank without cautions or fear of giving ſcandal ; the great men, becauſe in office, are more careful how the world diſcovers the delight they take in that Liquor, leſt the miſcarriages of their office ſhould be attributed to the exceſs of Wine; or the knowledge of their uſe of that which deprives them of their reaſon, render them uncapable of their truſt and dignity. For the *Turks* account it impoſſible to drink Wine with moderation, and are ignorant of the benefit of it for Correction of crude humours and indigeſtions of the ſtomack ; and wonder to ſee it by *Engliſh*, *French* or *Italians* tempered with water; for unleſs they may drink it with full bowls, and have ſufficient thereof, to give them their *Kaif* (as they call it,) that is to tranſport them into a diſſolute mirth, or the ridiculous adions of drunkenneſs, or to a ſurfeit or a vomit, they eſteem it not worth the drinking, and a provocation to the appetite and palate to remain with a deure of demanding more.

But ſuch as would appear Religious amongſt them, and are ſuperſtitious, moroſc & haters of Chriſtians, abſtain wholly from Wine, and are of a Stoical pride, melancholy tamper, and ceniorious of the whole world. Theſe men who drink only Water and Coffee, enter into diſcourſes of State matters, cenſure the actions & paſs Characters on the Grandees and great Officers; *Affumta ſtoicorum arrogantia, Sectaq; quſ ſurbidos, & mgotiorum appetentes faciat. Tac. lib. .14*, And this was the reaſon why the great Viſier Kupriuli, put down the Coffeehouſes in *Conſtantinople*, and yet privileged the Taverns; becauſe the fiſt were melancholy places where Seditions were vented, where reflexions were made on all occurrences of ſtate, and diſcontents publiſhed and aggravated, but Wine raiſed the ſpirits of men to a gay humour, and would never operate thoſe effects to end anger his condition, as the Councils which were contrived in the Aſſemblies of thoſe who addicted themſelves to a more melancholy Liquor.

The

166 Of the Turks Morality and Temperance in Wine.

The drinking Wine in young men is esteemed amongst the extravagancies of youth, but in old men is a crime more uodecent and scandalous in a higher degiee. But why *Mahomet* should so feverely forbid the ufe of wine to his Difciples is recounted in a fableon this occafion; That their Prophet being once invited by a friend to an entertainment at his houfe, chanced in hit way thither to be detained a while at a Nuptial Feaft, where the Guefts raifed with the chearful Spirits of the wine, were Merry, embracing, and in a kind temper each towards others wich pleating humour *Mahomet* attributing to the effed of the wine, bleffed it as a facred thing, and fo departed. But it happening that in the Evening returning again, and expecting to fee the love and careffes he had before bleffed to be augmented, he found the houfe to the contrary, full of brawls, and noife, fightings, and all confufion, which he alfo having understood to be another effect of the Wine, changed his former bleffing into acurfe, and for ever after made it *Harsm*, or an abomination to his difciples.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of their Morality, GoodWorks, and fowe certain of their harps worthy of obfervation.

Though according to the Preceding difcourfe, the character that may thence remit from the nature and temperance of *the Turks* doth not promife any long Treatife concerning their deep morality; virtues, and elevated graces: yet in the minds of all mankind though never fo barbarous, God having wrote the Law of nature, and made that impreffion of doing right to our neighbour, which tends towards confervation of the world; we may well expect to find the fame principles in the Turks; efpecially their Victories and Spoils abroad, having procured them converfation with other nations, and their wars and Treatife with Chriftians, having refined their minds in a good part of that rude temper they brought with them out of *Scythia*, it will not be ftrange for us to find amongst them men, whom Education hath made civil, polifhed in all points of vertuous deportment, & made *Heroes* of their Age; though I muft confeß I cannot applaud the generality of this people with fo high encomiums, as I have read in the Books of fome ingenious travellers, and do believe without partiality that they come Ibort of the good nature & virtues are to be round in mod parts of Chriftendom. Howfoever, wherein they conceive a great part of charity is placed, & meritorious works, it will not be unworthy nor uopleafant to confider;

And in the firft place, they cfreem it a good work to build houfes, though from thence they obtain a rent, becaufe it is a habitation for thofe who have no lands or Eftates, to have them of their own. But efpecially fuch as are Princes and great men, who build *Chans* or *Innes*, which are receptacles for travellers at night, are ranked in the firft order of facred benefactors, and art bleffed & prayed for by the weary Guefts, who have found repofe and refrellment through their munificence: And in thefe buildings the *Turks* are extraordinary Magnificent
in

in most parts of the Empire, having united to many of them a stately *Moschs*, Baths & Shops for Artificers and Trades-men to supply all the necessities of the Travellers; and some of them are so endowed, that every night the Guests are entertained at free cost with a convenient Supper, be their number more or less according as the *Chan* is capable to receive. The form of these buildings is for the most part according to the model of the highest and stately four Halls, covered with lead though not altogether so high-roofed; yet some I have observed for their breadth & length very Magnificent; yet by reason that they have been somewhat lower, have only in that come short of the pride of the stately Fabricks: though in few of them are apartments for different companies, yet every one is sufficiently retired, having at a convenient distance different Chimnies for all parties of Guests to dress their meat, and in the winter for their fire; the greatest inconvenience to men of watchful spirits, & used to quiet retirements is the want of sleep, which until I have been over-tired with labour, and accustomed thereto by divers dayes journeyes, hath been always a stranger to my eyes, by reason of the molestation of various companies, some of which are always awake, some mending their Carts, others dressing meat, others upon their departure, that in those publick places never want noise to disturb those who sleep but of one ear: These stately *Chans* or Innes, which with the *Moschs* are the only durable & magnificent buildings of the Empire, are the Edifices of certain great men, who fearing to be deprived of their riches by a hasty death, should they endeavour to continue them to their family, chuse to perpetuate their names and secure their conditions by these publick works.

Those who would appear of a companionate and tender nature, hold it a pious work to buy a Bird from a cage to give him his liberty; and hold it a merciful action to buy bread and feed the Dogs, of which there is a great number of diseased Curs in all streets appropriate to no Master, but are mangy and foul, and no small causes of breeding the Plague, so frequent in all the Cities of the *Turks*. And this care of Dogs is accounted 10 charitable, that there are certain Laws made for the protection and maintenance of them: and it is a lighter offence to deny bread to a poor Christian who is famished in his chains, than to the Dogs of their street, which are fit for nothing but to breed Infection and some bind themselves by a vow to give such a quantity of bread a day to the Dogs of such a Street, others bequeath it by testament, for they maintain their quarters from other wandering Curs, and joyn together in a strange manner to preserve certain limits free from others that are not whelped and bred amongst them.

The *Camel* is another sort of Beast to which the *Turks* bear not only a love, but a Religious reverence, accounting it a greater sin to overburthen and tire them with too much labour than the Horse, because it is the beast most common to the holy parts of *Arabia*, & cat-
*ris*es the *Alchoran* in pilgrimage; that I have observed those who have the government of the Camels when they have given water to them in a Basin, to take of the foam or froth that comes from the mouth of the Beast, and with that, as if it were some rare Balsome, with a lingular devotion to anoint their Beards, & thereat with a Religious sigh groan out, *Hadgi Baba, Hadgi Baba*, which is as much as, Oh Father Pilgrim,

grain, Oh Father Pilgrim. And thus having run through the moft oblenrable points of the *Turkifh Religion*, it will be now time to take a view of their Heft and militia, being that by which their Empire it more fupported, than either by their Policy in Civil Government, or Profeffion in Religions.

T H E

THE THIRD BOOK,

Wherein is Treated of the

Turkish Militia.

CHAPTER I.

Of the present state of the Military Discipline in General amongst the Turks,



Whoever is acquainted with the state of the Turkish Empire and hath duly considered the premises of this foregoing Treatise, will easily judge that the main Sinews of the *Ottoman* Kingdome consists in the force of the *Spahees*, *Janizaries*; and the other Auxiliaries; and that this Government being wholly founded upon Martial Discipline, and the Law of Arms, is most obliged to the constitutions, and supported on the Props related in this following Discourse: for this people having neither entred into the Possession of this Empire, as into an uninhabited and desert Land, as Colonies of other Nations have done into Countries new found or discovered; nor got admittance precariously from the Grecian Princes for the benefit of their Neighbourhood and commerce, but have opened their way to possession and government by meer force and power of the sword; whereby their Constitutions, Laws, Customs, and Manners of living are wholly agreeable to the warlike discipline of a Carap, and to the quickness and ready execution of Martial law: And if it be true in Morality, as it is in nature, that things are conferred by the same cause by which they are produced; it will necessarily follow, that this *Ottoman* Empire, which was begot by arms, and had *Mars* its only Father, will never be nourished by softness, and the arts and blandishments of Peace.

But he that takes a view of the *Ottoman* Armies, as described in various Histories, renowned for their Chivalry and Discipline in the times of *Sultan*, *Selim*, or *Solyman* the magnificent, and designs thence to extract a draught, or Copy for his present speculation, will find himself much at a loss in framing true conjectures of the puissance of the Turks, or the Rules of their Government, by comparison of former times with this present age. For that ancient sublimity and comely Majesty in the Emperor is much abated; the forces by Land decayed, and the Maritime power by ill success and unskilful and slothful Seamen, reduced to an inconsiderable condition; the Countries are dispeopled, and the Royal Revenue abated; nothing re-

mains of thofe plenteous ftores and provifions of War, nor that Regiment and Discipline continued in peace, none of that antient obfervation of their Laws and Religion, nor that love and refpect to the Militia, which is now become degenerate, foft, and effeminates nor is the *Ottoman* Court fo prone to remunerate the fervices, and exalt intereft of the Cavalry, or maintain the reputation of the Janizaries. In breif there are no reliques of ancient juftice, or generofity of aifercet Government, or Obedience to it, of Courtifie or Concord of Valour or Council, nor yet of Confidence, Friendfhip, or generous Fidelity.

But though this Empire hath many of thefe diftempers, and begins to grow factious, and yet flothful, and defirous to avoid the occafions of War, as all Governments have been which in their youth and firft beginnings were eager, adive, and provoked through poverty, in their riper years grown rich, and luxurious with plenty, have declined afterwards as from the meridian of their greatnefs and power; yet the Turks maintain ftill the extent of their Dominions, and if they have loft ground in one place, like the Sea, they have recovered it in another; if in *Afia* the *Perfians* have taken from them *Rivan*, *Schirvan*, *Tibrit*, *Lyris*, and *Ghenge*, it is but a recovery of their own Dominions, if they are difpoffeffed in *Ethiopia*, of *Aden*, and other parts of *Arabia Felix*, they have recompenfed themfelves in *Europe*, by their footing in *Candy* and in *Hungary*, by the late conqueft of *Newhaufel*, and *Nevigrade*, and in *Tranfiivania*, by the additions of *Janova* and *Waradin*.

But this Empire as vaft and large as it is, is yet difpeopled, the Villages abandoned, and whole Provinces as pleafant and fruitful as *lempe* or *Theffaly*, uncultivate and turned into a defart, or wildernefs: all which defolation and ruin proceeds from the Tyranny and Rapine of the *Beglerbegs*, and *Ruffians*; who either in their journeys to the poffeffion of their Governments, or return from thence expofe the poor inhabitants to the violence and enjury of their Attendants, as if they had entered the Confines of an enemy, or the Dominions of a conquered People.

In like manner the infolence of the Horfe and foot is unfupportable, for in their marches from one Country to another, Parties of 20 or 30 are permitted to make excursions into divers parts of their own Dominions, where they not onely live upon free quarter, but extort money and cloths from the poor Vaffals, taking their Children to fell for flaves, efpecially the *Bulgarians*, and *Servians*, and the people of *Bofna* and *Albania*, which being ignorant of the Turkifh tongue are fold for *Ruffians*, *Hungarians*, or *Mofcovites*, fo that rather than be expofed to fo much mifery, and lifence of the Souldiery, the poor people chofe to abandon their dwellings and wander into other Cities, or feek for refuge in the Mountains, or woods of the Country. In fine, though generally the Military Offices are in the fame form, and the Souldiery difpofed according to the ancient Rule and Canon, yet licentiousnefs and negligence have fo prevailed in the Officers, as to introduce that corruption which renders them wholly altered, and eitrainged from their firft difcipline: For the Commanders upon every light occafion are contented to make Otoracks

or Stipendiaries, such as enjoy the pay and priviledges of a Souldier, and yet are excused from the Wars ; which they easily purchase with a small sum of money, for a scratch, or a flesh-wound gained in the Wars ; wholly against the Original Institution, which designed that benefit only for maimed and disabled Souldiers ; so that now there is so great a number of that Souldierly lusty and healthful, under the title of dead-mens pay, as disfigure the Grand Signior's Treasury and weakens his Forces.

>

The *Janizaries* also marrying freely, and yet dispensed with as to the absence from their duty and Chambers, apply themselves to Trades and other Studies besides the War, by which means having Children and dependencies, they are forced by other Arts than their few Asspers of daily pay, to seek the provision and maintenance of a Family ; and their minds growing estranged from the War, are solicitous with the care and anxiety for a Wife and Children ; and in my time, have so abhorred the thoughts of the War both in *Candy* and in *Hungary*, that many have offered great Presents to be excused ; and so general hath been the dislike of all kind of Martial action for the reasons before mentioned, that at first the very rumours and discourse of War, and afterwards the reality thereof, caused so general a discontent, as had, if not prudently prevented and timely suppressed, burst into a Mutiny of the Militia ; whose meer enquiry but into the reasons and grounds of the War, is little different from a Sedition.

Another Corruption hath the covetousness of the Officers produced for small presents and donatives, in owning many under the title and name of *spahes* and *Janizaries*, which have no name or place in the Rolls, or Registers of the Souldiery ; by which means many Offenders, and outlawed persons are defended by the military privileges ; and the ancient honour due to Arms is prostituted for the maintenance and protection of the rascalities and shame of the world.

And this shall serve to have spoken in general of the present state of the Turkish Souldiery ; we shall now proceed to the particularities of the force and numbers of the Turkish Militia, and from whence and how they are raised.

CHAP. II.

Of the Turkish Militia.

IN the twelfth Chapter of the first Book we made an estimate of the Revenue and the Riches of all the *Beglerbegs* and *Pashas* of the Empire, by which might be collected the number of Souldiers which these great men are able out of their own Families to furnish unto the Wars ; it will be now time to make a just computation in its due place, of the Forces in particular, the numbers, the Countries from whence they are raised, the several military orders, and the true puissance of the *Ottoman* Empire ; which is indeed so incredibly

great and numerous, that with good reason they have formed it into a Proverb, *That no grafts grows there where the Turkfh Horfehatbonct fet his foot* This fpeculation is abfolutely neceffary to a true defcription of the Regiment of a Country; for the Martial Conftitutions are the beft part of the Political Science, and Civil Laws have no vigour unlefs they receive their Authority by the enforcement of the Sword: This Confederation is alfo neceffary to the Art of a States-man that he ill ftudies the Geography of his Enemies Provinces, who knows not the utmoft Strength it contains by Land and Sea; and is ill prepared to gain a perfect knowledge of the prudent Arts wherewith a Nation or People is conferved in Peace, who is ignorant of their Force, and Conftitutions appropriated to the time of War, Wherefore we (halldifcours as fuccinctly of this Subject as the matter will permit, and with the fame certainty that one of the principal Mufter-Mafters of the Turkilh Rolls, long praftifed and accurate in his Office, hath decyphered, from whofe Report it felf I profefs to derive my Authority in this following Relation.

Called in
Turkifh Mal-

* Gebegi.

The whole Turkifh Militia then is of two forts* one that receives maintenance from certain Lands or Farms beftowed on them by the Grand Signior; others that receive their conftant pay in ready mony. The great nerve or finew of the Turkifh Empire is that of the * firft rank, which are of two forts, viz., -Zaims, which are like Barons in fome Countries; and Timariots, who maybe compared to the Decuman* amongft the Romans. Thofe of the fecond fort, paid out of the Grand Signiors Treafury, are Spaheef, "janizaries, * Armourcs * Gunners, and Sea-Souldiers called Levens, who have no pay for life, or are enrolled amongft the military Orders; but only make an Agreement for five or fix thoufand Afpers for their voyage, which being ended, they are difbanded.

Of the Zaims and Timariots.

The nature of thefe two, and their Inftitution is the fame; the only difference is in their Commiffions or patents, or rather we may call them the Conveyances or Evidences for their Lands, which they have from the Grand Signior: For the Rent of a Zaim is from 20^m of Afpers to 99999, and no further; for adding one Aſper more, it becomes the Eftate of a Sangiackbeg, called a Pafhaw, which is from 100000 Afpers to 19^m999; for adding one Aſper more, it becomes the Revenue of a Beglerbeg.

The Timariotszte of two forts *one call'd Tezkerelw, who have the Evidences for their Land from the Grand Signiors Court, whole Reſit is from 5 or 6000 Afpers, to 19^m999; for then with the addition of one Aſper they enter the number of Zaims: The otjier fort is called Tezkerctis, who hath his Patent or Writing from the Beglerbeg of the Country, whoſe Rent is from 3000 to 6000 Afpers.

The Zaims in all Expeditions of War are obliged to ferve with their Tents, which are to be furniſhed with Kitchins, Stables, and other neceſſary Apartments, agreeable to their ſtate and Quality, And for every 5000 Afpers of Rent received from the Grand Signior; they are to bring a Horſe-man into the Field, which is called Gebels

as for example, one or thirty thousand Alpers is to come attended with fix, one of ninety thousand with 18 Horsemen, and so proportionably. every *Zaim* is entitled *Kilig* or sword, so that when the Turks calculate the strength or numbers that a *Begletbeg* is able to bring into the field for the service of his prince, they make a computation upon so many *Zaims* and *Timariots* themselves, which they call so many swords, not Numbering the people with which they come accompanied.

The *timarieu* are obliged to serve with leather Tents, and to be provided with 3 or 4 Baskets for every man that attends them, for their Office is, besides fighting, as also of the *Zaims*, and *spsbeet*, to carry earth, and (rones for making Batteries and Trenches, *whilest the janizaries* are in skirmish with the Enemy. And for every three thousand Alpers rent the *Timariots* are felled at a man and horse, as the *Zaim* is for every five thousand: And both one and the other of these Souldiers little differ from those in *England* which hold their lands in *Capites* the ancient tenure of Knights service*

Both *Zaims* and *Timariots* are disposed into Regiments under command of colonels, called *Alai-Begler*, who march with Colours and the * Kettle Drum: these Colonels are again under the command of the *Pascha* or *Sangiackbeg*, and he under the *Beglerbeg*; which Forces being united into one body, repair to the Rendezvous appointed by the * general who is either the Grand Signior in person, or the Viceroy *Azem* or some other eminent person qualified with the title of Viceroy.

* In Turkish
:Tabl. Alem.

* In Turkish
Serasker.

These two Orders of Souldiers are not only appropriated to Land-service, but some also are destined to the sea, who are called *Deria Kalemi* or *Admiral*: but the *Zaims* are most commonly dispensed with as to the Sea-service in their own persons, upon the payment of so much money as they are esteemed at in the Signiors Books, out of which Levies are raised, and enrolled in the Registers of the *Arftall*; but the *timariots* can never be excused from their personal duty and service with their attendance of fouldiery, according to the value of their Lands.

Neither the one nor the other of these can be dispensed with from their personal service at Land; no excuse in time of the Grand Signiors wars is lawful or pleadable: if sick, they are carried in Horse-litters or beds; if infants, in Hampers, or Baskets, and in their very Cradles accustomed to the hardship, hazard, and discipline of war. And thus much shall serve in brief to have spoken in explication of the Nature of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*, which come under the general denomination of *spahis*, and compose the best part of the Turkish Armies: we (shall now proceed to declare, as far as can probably be computed, the number of these Horse which fill up the vast Host that hath overpread so large a proportion of the world.

CHAP. III.

*A Computation of the numbers of the Forces arising from the
Zaims and Timariots.*

IT were a work of too great labour confidering the little fat is faction and delight it would afford the Reader, to proceed accurately in defcribing the juft numbers of thofe which follow thefe *Zaims* and *Timariots*; it will be fufficient to denote, that the fmalleft number of a *Zaim* is four men and is the greateft of a *Timariot*, whose loweft condition is obliged to maintain a fingle man, and the higheft of a *Zaim* to ferve with nineteen; fo that whoever will furvey this Turkish Hoft muft make his Calculate a little more or lefs by conjecture and judgement.

And this difficulty is the more augmented, when I confider the fraud is ufed by the Accomptants, Regiffrers, and Mufter-Mafters of the Grand Signiors Enrolments, who are as well acquainted with the arts and fweetneffe of making falfe Mufters as they are in the moft ingenious places of Chriftendom and perhaps Policy may afford a connivance to this fraud, for the fake of a fuperlative face of their Armies; which they love to exprefs by this ufual fimilitude, *Afker reml deria anifaly*, As innumerable as the fands of the Sea fhore: but in effect the noife is greater than the reality, and he that will (turn up their number, may find Arithmetick to make the account, which by the vaft extent of Tents, confufion of Baggage, train of Servants, and attendants of the Camp, appears infinite in the popular eftimation. Befides the Turkish Armie admits of great increafe and decreafe by the many Interlopers, as we may call them, which the Zaras for their own honour introduce to fill up their numbers on a day of mufter, or appearance; fo that one would admire to fee, in fo fhort a time fo apparent a decay in the Turkish camp. which abufe, the great and famous Vifier *Mahomet Kiuprnli* with Cruelty and extraordinary feverity endeavoured to remedy upon his expedition for recovery of *Tenedos* and *Lemnos*; and conqueft of *janoua* in *tranfilvania*; but it is impoffible for one man to know, and fee, and remedy all diforders, and is amongft the Turks called *Aain oin* a fecret fraud, as difficult to be totally remedied as it is to be thoroughly difcovered.

But that which makes the principall difference and various change herein, is the death of *Zaims* and *Timariots* \$ fome of which holding an eftate onely for life, and others dying without heirs of their bodies their Lands revert to the Crown. • Which Eftates being improved by the induftry of the poffeffors, above the primary valuation in the Records, and afterwards falling into the hands of the Prince are beftowed again on others according to their true eftimate, which is oftentimes double of the former. By which means, the number of the Grand Signiors Souldiery is increafed; and it is a point very obfervable, that as other Princes lofe by the fall, and death of their fubjects the Grand Signior is the only gainer, for of the moft that are (lain in a day of Battel, the Eftates accrue to him, in difpofal again of which

Note.

he

he observes this Rule, to gratify many with that which was before the proportion of a single person.

But to come now to the express and distinct account of the *Ziamets* and *Timariots* in every part and Government of the Empire this Computation is extracted out of the Imperial Rolls, and Register of the Grand Signior.

In the Government of *Anatolia* are reckoned as follows ; in the

<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>		
<i>Kiotahia</i>	39	948	So that computing	
<i>Saruhan</i>	41	674	at the lowest rate 4.	
<i>Aidin</i>	19	572	<i>Gebelues</i> to every	<i>Zahs</i> is the
<i>Kaftamoni</i>	24	570	<i>Zaim</i> with them and	<i>Ziamit</i> the
<i>Hudawendighur</i>	42	1005	their followers, must	land for
<i>Bolt</i>	14	551	make	maintenance
<i>Mentefche</i>	52	381		of the <i>Zaim</i> .
<i>Angura</i>	10	257	Doubling the number	
<i>Karahifar</i>	10	615	of <i>Timariots</i> at the West	
<i>Tefeili</i>	7	257	rate makes	14880
<i>Kiangri</i>	7	381	In all	16060
<i>Hamid</i>	9	585	For maintenance of which	
<i>Suitan Ughi</i>	7	390	Army, the Rents in the	
<i>Karefi</i>	7		<i>Ottoman</i> Statutes are,	80 <i>Afpers</i>
<i>Jenighifar</i>	7	12	<i>Afpers</i>	makes a Dollar
				per a piece
				of 8.

Total of *Zaimets* are 295 and 7440 *Timariots*

There were farther in past times allotted to the attendance of this Army about 6900 men for mending the ways, bringing provision, and service of the Artillery, there was also an allowance for 1280 *Sutlers*, or *Victualers* of the Camp, and for 128 *Trumpeters*, and *Drummers*, which were *Gypsies* ; but this was when *Anatolia* was a Frontier Country to the *Christians*, and was therefore better fortified and accommodated ; but since it is become one of the innermost parts of the Empire, that Rent is converted into the possessions of *Zaims* and *Timariots*, so that there is a farther addition of 330 *Ziamets* and 1136 *Timariots*.

In the Government of *Caramania* are reckoned

<i>Sangiack</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>		
<i>Iconium</i>	18	513	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the	
<i>Nigde</i>	11	355	<i>Zaims</i> at the lowest	
<i>Kaifairi</i>	12	144	rate are	292
<i>Jenifcheher</i>	13	244	Of <i>Timariots</i> at the	
<i>Akjcheher</i>	6	122	same account	4900
<i>Kyrfcheher</i>	4	430		
<i>Akserai</i>	9	358	Which makes in all	4892
			The Rent according to the	
			<i>Ottoman</i> Statutes it.	
			<i>Afpers</i>	10500175
				In

Which make

73

2165

In the Government of Diarbekir are reckoned 12 *Sangiacks* besides those of *Kinrdifiaw* and *Gurdia*, which are computed to make 1800 men ; but I finde only 9 denoted for the *Ziamets* and *Timariots*, viz.

<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>	
<i>Amed</i>	9	16;	The <i>Gcbehtcs</i> or the <i>Zaims</i> at
<i>Charpurt</i>	70	163	the loweft rate will make 424
<i>Ezani</i>	10	122	<i>Timariots</i> <i>Gekelftes</i> at the fame
<i>Sipurek</i>	0	1	rate will make 1080
<i>Nesbin</i>	1	5	
<i>Chafengbif</i>	5	30	1504
<i>Tehemefcherek</i>	2	7	
<i>Kuleb</i>	3	24	The Rent is not defcribed of this
<i>Sangiar</i>	6	21	Country in the <i>Ottoman</i> Statutes.
Which make	106	540	

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Damafcus*, called in Turkish *Scham*, are 7 *Sangiachks*,

<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>	
<i>DamofcuS</i>	87	337	The <i>Gebelncs</i> of the <i>Zaims</i> at the
<i>Jerufalem</i>	9	161	former rate 512
	4	61	The <i>Gebelnes</i> of <i>Timariots</i> 1746
<i>Bahhra</i>	9	39	
<i>Sifad</i>	5	123	In all 2258.
<i>Gaza</i>	7	108	2258
<i>Nabolos</i>	7	44.	
Which make	128	873	

In the Government of the *Beghrbegoi Liwas*

<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>	
• <i>Liwas</i>	48	928	The <i>Gebelnes</i> of the <i>Zaims</i> at the
<i>Amafia</i>	19	249	former rate 423
<i>Tcburum</i>	16	310	The <i>Timariots</i> 6058
<i>Buzadick.</i>		731	
<i>Demurks</i>	1	310	In all 6490
<i>Gianik,</i>	7	348	
<i>Arckbir</i>	2	153	The Rent for maintenance
			hereof 13087327
Which make	108	3029	

In the Government of the Beglerhg of Erzrtm are,			
<i>Samiaich</i>	<i>Zigmets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>	
<i>Erzrum</i>	56	2214	
<i>Karahizar-Jcharki</i>	32	904	
<i>Kieft</i>	8	229	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the <i>Zaimes</i>
<i>Tapn</i>	9	654	at the former rate 488
<i>Hanes Esber</i>	5	435	The <i>Timariots</i>
<i>Tortum</i>	10	491	in all 11584
<i>Mamervant</i>	4	96	
<i>Melazkerd</i>	0	272	
<i>Tekman</i>	1	253	
	122	5548	

In the Government of the Beglerbeg of Wan are,			
<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>	
<i>Wan</i>	48	147	
<i>Adilgewar</i>	29	101	
<i>Ergifch</i>	0	14	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the <i>Zaims</i> at the
<i>Scmtreghinl</i>	32	203	former rate make 740
<i>Tehobanln</i>			The <i>Timariotf.</i> 1652
<i>Ghiokiche</i>	2	160	
<i>Derekgher</i>		79	In all 2392
<i>Ghiorluk.</i>	27		
<i>Faniiazi</i>	7	25.	
	4	826	

In the Government of the Beglerbeg of Marsfch are,			
<i>Sangiack</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>	
<i>Marafch</i>	10	118	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the <i>Zaims</i> at the'
<i>Malatia</i>	8	276'	former rate make 108
<i>Afab</i>	9	118	The <i>Timarios</i> 1024
	27	512	1132.
			The Rent for maintenance,
			Afpers 9420317

In the Government of Cyprus are			
<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timnriots</i>	
<i>Itchili</i>	16	60'	The <i>Gebdues</i> of the <i>Zaims</i> at
<i>Alaine</i>	0		the former rate make 160
<i>Cyprus</i>	9	308,	The <i>Timariets</i> 2134
<i>Schis</i>	2		
<i>Tarfus</i>		428	2294
	40	1067	

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of Tripoli in Syria are,
Sangiacks *Ziamets* *Timariots*

<i>Tripoli</i>	12	87	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the	<i>Zaims</i> at
<i>Hams</i>			the former rate make	250
<i>Gebele</i>	9	91	<i>Timariots</i>	1140
<i>Selemie</i>	4	52		
<i>Hamaz</i>	33			1390
	63	570		

In the Govcrment of the *Beglerheg* of Rika are.

<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>		
<i>Rika</i>	30	143	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the	<i>Zaim</i> at the
<i>Serug</i>	9	291	former rate make	240
<i>Biregek</i>		1091	Of the <i>Timariots</i>	1332
<i>Ane</i>		123		
	60	666		1572

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Trabezond* are no *Sangiacks* as is declared in the First Book; yet within the Jurisdiction of the City it felfare 56 *Ziamets* and 398 *Timariots*; So as the computation of that place is of 920 men.

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of Aleppo are,

<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>		
<i>Aleppo</i>	73	295	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the	<i>Zaims</i> at the
<i>Adana</i>	11	191	former rate make	463
<i>Kelis</i>	17	295	Of the <i>Timariots</i>	2088
<i>Azir</i>	2	91		
<i>Balis</i>	7	86		2556
<i>Mearre</i>	7	86		
	117	1044		

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of Tehilder are,

<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>		
<i>Olti</i>	3	123		
<i>Erdehamburck</i>	9	86		
<i>Hagreek.</i>	2	23		
<i>Hartus</i>		39	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the	<i>Zaims</i> , at the
<i>Ardnug</i>	4	149	former rate make	424
<i>Punfenhaf</i>	11	18	Of <i>Timariots</i>	1318
<i>Penbek</i>	8	54		
<i>Tarcbir</i>	2	4		
<i>Luri</i>	9	10-		1742

Vfiucha	1	7
Achankiulk.	11	37
Achtala	6	6
Afin	4	14
Penbeck		89
	9	0
	106	659

In the Government of the Captain *Pafhaw*, or Lord Admiral, are,

Sangiacks	Ziamets	Timariots	
Negropont,	12	188	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the <i>Zaims</i> at
Mytilene.	4	83	the former proportion make 500
Kogia ile.	25	187	Of <i>Timartots</i> 2504
Sifla.	32	235	
Kurlilli.	11	119	2804
Galtpoli.	14	32	
Rhodes.	5	71	For maintenance of which the
Betgat.	5	146	tventfet down in the <i>ottoman</i> Sta-
Mezeftra.	16	91	tutes is <i>Afers</i> 10800000
	124	1152	

In the Government of the *Beelerbeir* of *Rumeli*, otherwife *Romania*, are,

Sangiacks	Ziamets	Timariots	
Sophia	337	1788	
Kiojhendill	49	1017	
Morea	100	242	
Alexandria			
bf Epyruis	19	205	The <i>Zaims</i> with ttier <i>Gebalues</i> at
Tirhala	16		the former proportion make 4300
Siliftra	75	525	The <i>Timariots</i> 16388
Nigheboli	60	432	
Vchri	60	344	This the lowef? rate 2 0688
Anion a	63	342	
Jania	62	489	But the ordinary computation of
Ilbafan	18	345	the <i>Zaims</i> and <i>Timariots</i> in this
Tchirmen	20	138	place with their <i>Gebelues</i> , is of about
Salonica	36	130	30200 fighting men, or there abouts ;
Wize	20	262	to which is added the Souldiers of the
Delunia	24	79	<i>Beglerbeg</i> , <i>Sangiabegs</i> , and other
Uskiup	20	165	Officers, which commonly amount to
Kerkfefa	1	344	2500. The Militia maintained with the
Dukakjn	10	18	Lands of the Country may be compu-
Widin	17	53	tated at 32700, or 33000 men;
Alagehizar	27	225	
Serzernn	17	509	
Waltcarin	10	225	
		317	
	1075	8194	Bb 2
			Befides

Chimney

Befides this Militia in *Romania*, there is another fort called *Jureghian* or *Jurukler* who have their Eftatcs in Fee from Father to Son, of which there are accounted about 1294 Families: There is also another fort in the Province of *Dobridge*, called * *Ogiacks*, of which there are about 4000 Houfes; Of the fame kinde in the Province of *Kizilge* are 200 Houfes: in *Tchirmen* 351 of *Cingani*, which are the fame as amongftus the Gypfies; in wize 170:80 that the whole fum of *ogiacks* may arrive to the number of 4721 ,or at moft to 5000. Thefe are obliged every year to draw out of every thirty perfons five, called *Efchkingi* or volunteers, who are to joyn themfelves with the *Tart* art for making Excursions into *Ruffia*, *Poland*, or other parts ; and fo yearly they interchangeably take their courfe. The other 25 remaining arc called *Jamafond* arc not obliged perfonally to ferve when the Grand Signiors Wars call them to employment ; but then for every 5000 Apfers Rent they poffeff of the Grand Signiors Lands, they are feffed at one man, who are affigned to ferve out of thofe whofe turn it was that year to have accompanied the *Tartars* in their Robberies. The principal Office of thefe is to attend the Artillery, Baggage, and Provifions, to mend the Ways and Bridges for paffage of the Army. To the like Service are obliged certain Families of *Bulgarians* for carriage of Hay, and cutting Grafs, according to the Seafon of the Year.

The number of the *Zaims* and *Timariots* in the Governments of the *Behrbeys* of *Buda*, *Temfwar*, and *Bofna*, I find not particularly defcribed in *Ottoman* Books ; but however according to the beft information, that Militia on the Confines of the empire called *Serbady*, amount to the number of about 70000 fighting men, paid out of the Rents of the *Sangiackj* of that Country. But though the Militia of *Bnda* be not fet down in the Registers of more ancient date at *Conftantinople*, becaufc it was a principality independent both for its eminency, Revenue, and large extent of Dominions yet in that City it felf is ftrict order obferved, and the Rolls of their force moft exactly known and computed to which the Turks have a ftrict eye, it being a frontic Garriion of much importance, and the Key of *Hungary* ; the Militia of which, as I learned from Officers of note, during my refidencce ia that place, was according to this precife account; Of

'Janizaries	12000	called <i>CuchucCappt</i>	300
<i>Spahees</i>	1500	<i>Topgees</i> , or <i>Gunners</i>	500
<i>Zaims</i> and <i>Timariots</i>	2200	<i>Martoloes</i> , a fort of Foot-	
<i>Azaps</i> which are the mean-		Souldiers	300
eft fort of Souldiery,	1800	Souldiers belonging to the	
Belonging to the Gafle of		powder-houfe	. 280
<i>Badu</i>	1200	The Souldiery who are	
<i>Jebeges</i> , or Armourers	1900	Servants to the <i>Tafhaw</i>	3000
The Guard at the Gate			

In all 22180 ; to which adding the Militia of *Bofna*, and other parts of *sdavenia*, and all along the Frontier Countries, which extends for

for above 800 English miles, the number may amount to no less than 70000 fighting men. But we here discourse only of the number of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*, which whole sum amounts to, of *Zaims* 10948, and of *Timariots* 72436 ; which makes in all 89380 ; but this is calculated at the lowest rate, they may very well be reckoned to be one third more, besides other Militia's of *Cairo*, or other orders of Souldiery to be treated of in the following Chapters.

These Partitions or Divisions were first made by Solyman the Magnificent, as the best Rule and Method for an orderly disposition of his Militia, and as the strongest nerve of the *Ottoman* Force: but as with time in the most exact compositions of Discipline, corruptions through covetousness and ambition of officers are introduced; so also in the just disposal of these rents according to the ancient institutions» for the *Beglerbegs Pashas*, *Treasureurs*, and other officers, instead of bestowing this maintenance to the Souldiers, according to their merits of Valour or long Service, reserve it to prefer and gratify their Servants and Pages, obliging them in recompence thereof under various Services; some that live at *Constantinople*, or near the Sea, to defray the charges of all Boats and Vessels which carry their household Provisions 5 others that live in the inland Countries agreeing with the Treasurer of the Souldiery, without regard to the true Heirs, or any other consideration, set to sale these Rents to them who prefer most ; so that in time of Harvest the *rafiaw* sends abroad his officers to gather his Profits from the poor *Timariots*, with that oppression and violence as causes disturbances, differences, and Lawfuits amongst them, which being to be decided by judges partly interested in the Quarrel, the Sentence is certainly determined on their side who have most power and most money.

The foregoing account of *Zaims* and *timariots* the most reasonable one can be given : And because we have reckoned them at the lowest rate, making some allowance to the 83380, this Militia may amount to an hundred thousand men, which, as I have heard, is the utmost number of this sort of Souldiery.

CHAPTER IV.

Of certain Customs and Laws observed amongst the Ziamets and Timariots.

Amongst these Forces of *Ziamets* and *timariots* are in time of War and Action mixed certain Volentiers or Adventurers, called by the Turks *Gionullu*, who maintain themselves upon their own expence in hopes by some signal Actions of Valour to obtain the success into a *Taints* or *Timartots* Lands, as places are made void by the slaughter of the War. These men are often very hardy and ready to attempt the most desperate Exploits, moved by a desire of the reward, and by the persuasion, that at worst dying in a war against Christians, they become Martyrs for the Mahomite Faith. It is reported,

Of the Turfyjh Militia, and

ported, that in one day, upon the assaults given *Sorinſmar*, or the new Fort of Count *Serini*, one *Timariots* Farm was bellowed eighttimes; one being slain it was conferred on another, and foona third and Co on the rest; all which had the misfortune to fall, untill it rested on the eighth, the others dying with the title only of *Timariets*.

The *Zaims* or *Timariots* being aged, or impotent, have in their life time power to resign up the right of their estates to their Sons, or other Relations.

It is not lawful for a Peasant or Clown to mount his Horse, or girt his Sword like a *spahie*, untill first he hath had part of his Education in the Service or Family of *Come pashaw*, or person of Quality; unless it be on the Confines of the Empire, where having given evident Testimonies of his Courage, he may then become Competitor for the vacant Farms of a *Zaim* or *Timariot*.

It is the Custom of *Romania*, that a *Zaim*, or *Timariot* dying in the Wars, his *Zaims* rents are divided into as many *Timariot* Farms as he hath Sons, but if a *Timariot* hath no more than 3000 Aspers Rent, it descends entirely to his eldest Son; but if it be more, it is proportionably divided amongst the rest of his Children.

But if they die of a natural death at their own homes, the lands fall to the disposal of the *Beglerbeg* of the Country, either to confer them on the Heirs of the deceased. on any of his Servants, or sell them at the best advantage.

But in *Anatolia* there are many *Zaims* and *Timariots* whose Estates are hereditary to them and their Heirs; and are not obliged to serve in person in the war, but only to send their *Gebehus*, or number of Servants according to the value of their Estates; of which duty if they fail in the time of War, the years Rent is confiscated to the Exchequer; and this Estate descends to the next of Kin, whether derived from the Male or Female line.

CHAP. V.

The State of the Militia in Gran Cairo, and Egypt.

THE Guard and protection of the Kingdom or Egypt is committed to the charge of twelve *Begs*, *Come* of which are of the ancient Race of the *Mamelukes*, confirm'd by *Sultan Selin* upon the taking of Cairo; these have the command of the whole Militia in their hands, whereby they are grown proud, powerful, and ready upon every discontent to rise in rebellion, every one of these maintains 500 fighting men, well appointed for war, and exercised in Arms, which serve but as their Guard, and for Servants of their Court; with which they go attended in journeys, in their huntings, and publick appearances; under the command of these twelve Captains are twenty thousand Horse, paid at the charge of the Country, whose Office is by turns to convey yearly the Pilgrim's to *Meeha*, and the annual tribute of 600000 *Zechins* to the *ottoman* Court, whether it be judged requisite to send it either by Land or Sea; these are the standing Militia of the Country, out of which, unless upon the fore-going

going occasions, they are not obliged to other service ; their principal duty being, to prevent the invasion of the *African* mountaineers, who often make incursions from their barren Rocks , into the fat and fruitful Soils of *Egypt*. Besides this Militia, are computed eighty thousand *Timariots*, out of which they yearly transport about 2500 or 3000 men to the wars of *Candy* ; but to more remote Countries, or the late wars of *Hungary*, I did not hear that this Souldiery hath usually been called.

These twelve *Beghs of Egypt* are noble by blood, enjoying an hereditary Estate descending from the Father to the Son ; which riches joyned with the command of a powerful Army, hath rendered them so formidable and insolent, that oftentimes they take upon them an authority to imprison and depose the *Pashaw* from his Office, and spoil him of all the riches he hath collected in his three years government: by which means, are always great jealousies, and enmities between the *Pashaw* and these *Beghs* ; diffensions and rebellions to that high degree, that many times it hath been little different from an absolute Revolt. *Ibrahim Pashaw* was in the year 1664 imprisoned by them, and obtained his liberty for *600 purfes of many ; after whose departure the brother of the said *Ibrahim*, upon some certain pretences on the *Pashaw's* score, falling into their hands , was imprisoned also, but shortly after obtained his release by the Grand Signiors matter of Honor, who was sent expressly to compose the disorders of *Egypt* ; which were now proceeded to that decree, as without some satisfactory atonement could not be termed otherwise than a total defection ; and therefore they resigned up one called *Sulficar Set* to justice, who * being brought to *Adrianople*, was immediately in presence of the Grand Signior put to death. But the Turk hath always on occasions of these disturbances and insolences, diffembled and connived at the disorders, perceiving the distemper of that Kingdom to be such, as can with much difficulty be redressed, fearing that were forcible remedies applied, they would cause so violent a commotion of humours, as would absolutely rent it from the body of the Empire.

About 100000
Dollars at
Cairo.

* Called *Em.*
bra hore.

* In the
month of Feb.
1664.

The Auxiliary Forces to the forementioned Militia of the Turks,

Are the *Tartars*, *alachians*, *Moldavians*, and *Tranfilvianians*, under the command of their respective Princes. Who are obliged to serve in person whensoever called by the Sultans command. The *tartars*, I mean of crime, are to furnish a hundred thousand men with the *Tar Urhan*, or Prince in person to lead them, when the Grand Signior himself appears in the field ; but if the Army is commanded by the *Vizier* only, then the Son of the *Tartar hau* is to serve ; or having no illue, the Army to the number of 40 or 50 thousand fighting men, is to be conducted under the chief Minister. But the Princes of *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, and *Tranfilvania* are never excused from personal attendance in the Camp, each of which respectively are to be attended with six or seven thousand men a piece. And though the Prince of *Tranfilvania* called *Apafi*, was in the last War against the Emperor not called out of the Confines of his own Country ; it was with design that

that he should keep that Station free from the irruption of the Enemy not that he was difobliged from his perfonal attendance on the Vitiers Camp.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Spahees.

Hitherto we have treated of the Turkifti Horfe that are maintained by Farms, and Rents of Lands: now it will be neceffary todifcourteoffhofe that receive their conftant pay from the Grand Signiors Treafury ; and thefe are called *Spahees*, who may not improperly be termed the Gentry of the *Ottoman* Empire, becaufe they are commonly better educated, courteous and refined, than the other fort of Turks, and are in number 12000. Of thefe there are two Orders, one called *Silahtari*, who carry yellow Golours, and the other *Spahaoglari* or the Servants of the *Spahees*, and have their Colour red ; thefe Servants have now obtained the precedency above their Maftera ; for though the *Silabtari* are very ancient, and deduce their intitution from Ali their firft Founder, who was one of the four Companions of *Mahtmet* ; yet *Sultan Mahomet* the third, on a day of Battel.

Battel in Hungary, seeing the *Stahleri* routed and put to flight, with violent passion and earnestness endeavoured to stop their course; and perceiving the Servants of these *Spahes* to remain still in a body, incited them to revenge the shameful cowardice of their Masters, who immediately encouraged with the words of the *Sultan*, clapping up a red Flag, gave so bold an onset on the Enemy, and with that success as wholly recovered the glory of the day: in remembrance of which service and notable exploit, the *Suit an* as disposal of all *Holious* and Orders, gave ever after the preheminance to these Servants before their Masters; since which time this new institution of *spa' haoglary* hath always been continued.

These light-Horse-men are armed with their Scimitar and Lance, called by them *Mizrak*, and some carry in their hands a *Gent*, which is a weapon about two foot long, headed with Iron, which I conceive to be the same with the *Pila* amongst the Romans, which by long exercise and custom they throw with a strange dexterity and violence, and sometimes darting it before them in the full career of their Horse, without any stop recover it again from the ground: they also wear a straight Sword named *Caddare*, with a broad blade fixed to the side of their Saddle, which, or the Scimitar, they make use of when they arrive to handy-blows with the Enemy; many of them are armed with Bows and Arrows, and with Pistols, and Carbines but esteem not much of fire-Arms, having an opinion, that in the field they make more noise than execution: some of them wear jackets of Mail and Head-pieces painted with the colour of their Squadron; in fight they begin their onset with *Allab, Allab*, and make three attempts to break within the Ranks of the Enemy, in which if they fail, they then make their retreat.

The *Ajtan Spahes* are better mounted than commonly those of Europe, though these being Borderers on the Confines of the Christianities, having learned much of their Discipline by constant skirmishes and combats, are trained in the Art of War, and become the more valiant and experienced Soldiers. But the *Ajtatick Spahes* were formerly the more rich, many particular men of them bringing into the field, thirty or forty men apiece, besides their Led-Horses, Tents and other accommodations proportionable to their retinue; but these Cavaliers seemed too great and proud to the Vizier Kupriuli, for the condition of common Troopers, and infected with the Epidemical Spirit of Faction and Mutiny, which raged at that time amongst all the Grandees of the Empire; which caused him to strike off their heads with as little remorse, as one would do the tops of Poppies, until he had absolutely made a destruction of them. Those now which remain are poor and inconsiderable, contented to comrade 10 or 12 in a Company, for maintenance of a poor Tent, and 2 or 3 Horses and a Mule for Baggage and Provisions; these are more tame, and subject to the Cudgel, and can take a beating patiently on the soles of the feet, which is their punishment, as the *Janizaries* is to receive the blows on the Buttocks; (that so this chastisement may neither incommode the feat of the Horseman, nor the marches of the foot) but if the crime be great and Capital, they are sent for by *Cbianses*,

Their Arms.

—Comparison
of the *Spahes*
of *Afimi*
Europe.

or Purfuivants to appear before the Vizier, by whom being condemn-
ed, and ftrangled neer the Walls of the Grand Signiors *Seraglio*, their
bodies are afterwards about two or three hours in the night thrown in-
to the Sea, without other folemnity than the firing of one of thofe
great Guns next the Sea, which are planted under the Walls of the
Seraglio, which ferve for fo many warning pieces for others Example.

Their pay.

Their pay is diverfc, but in general, it is from twelve to a hundred
Afpers a day: thofe who proceed from the *Seraglio*es of Pera, *Ibra-
him*, *Paffaw* and *Adrianople*, which are fo many Nurseries and Schools
as well of the principles of War, as literature; or have been Cooks
Mates (for the Cook of thefe Societies is a principal Officer of re-
fpect) or *Baltagees*, that is, Hatchet-men, who cut wood for the
Grand Signiors *Seraglio*, and are licenfed to live abroad with the title
of *Spahee*, have the loweft pay of twelve Afpers a day 3 but thofe
who are extracted from the lefs, or greater Chamber of the Grand
Signiors own *Seraglio*, called *Sent ferai*, have 19 Afpers pay, and if
they are favoured with the title of an Office, they receive two or
three Afpers augmentation. But fuch as are elected to the War out
of more eminent Chambers, as the Landery, the Turbant Office, the

* Killer *Odafi*.
Hazna *Odafi*.
Dogant *Odafi*.

* Called Tara-

Difpenfatory, the * Treafury, the * Falconers Lodge and others,
(which we have mentioned in the Defcription of the *Seraglio*) have,
at firft thirty Afpers daily pay: an * encrafe of which is obtained
fometimes by the Viziers, or rvegifters favour unto two Afpers mo re,
fometimes by fervices in the War, by receiving two Afpers augmen-
tation for the head of every Enemy he brings in; two Afpers more
for * intelligence of the death of any *Spahee*, out of the pay of the
deceased; as alfo at the Incorporation, or Inftaement of every Grand
Signior, five Afpers increafe is given as a donative general to the
whole Army of *Spahees*: and thus many of them by art, induftry,
and good fuccels go augmenting untill they arrive to a hundred
Afpers, and here is their *nonplus ultra*, they can rife no higher. They
are paid quarterly from three months to three months; which they
may omit to receive for 9 months, but if twelve pafs, they can only
demand the nine, the other quarter, or more is confiscated to the pub-
lick Exchequer: Their place of payment is now in the Hall of the
Vizier, which formerly was in the houfes of the Pay-Matters, and
Treafurer, but changed by the Vizier *Kupriuli*, on occafion of the dif-
orders and abufes of the Officers which caufed mutinies, and difhir-
bances amongst the Souldiery. For the rich *Spahees* living far diftant,
to excufe themselves from a long journey to the City, agreed with
the Pay-Matters that they for fome certain part of their income,
fliould without farther trouble to themselves, take up their dues, and
make it over quarterly to their Countries of abode; thefe men thus
tafting the benefit of this trade, agreed with others for fome little
gains to difpatch them before the reft; by which means and the pay-
ment only on Wednefdays, and Saturdays, thofe *spahees* that came
from remote parts, making fo long attendance, had with their *execf-
Ces* m *Conftantinople* fpent as much as the principal firm they expect-
ed; of which growing feafible, at firft they began to murmur, then
to threaten the Pay-Matters, and at laft it proceeded to open mutiny
by forcing the doors, breaking the windows of the Officers, with many

* This is done
that the
Grand Signi-
or may not be
cheated by
having the
pay continu-
ed to thofe
who are dead.

ny

nyother infolencies and difordcrs, untill Kuprinli, to remedy thefe abuses, ordered the money to be given out in his prefence, and the payment to be continued every day untill the pay was ended.

The Sons of Spabees, prefenting themselves before the Vizier, may claim the privilege of being enrolled in the Grand Signiors Books; but their pay, which is the loweft rate twelve Afpers a day, is to iffue forth from their Fathers proportion, but then they are in the road of preferment, and are capable by their fervices and merits to make additions upon foundation of their own induftry. Befides the foregoing ways by which the Spabees gain their encrease of pay, I am given to underhand that formerly they had another benefit, called *Gulamiie* or fafeconduct money; which was one per cent. of all moneys to thofe whom the Collectors of the Grand Signiors Revenue fummoned to convey the Treafure for more fecurity to the Capital City, befides the maintenance of themfelves and Horfes in the journey; but this as too chargeable a deduction from the Imperial Revenue was with time taken off, to the great difcontent of the Spabees in general.

Sons of Spa

Accidental gains to the Spabees

The Grand Signior going in perfon to the wars, according to the ancient Cuftome of other Sultans beftows a larges on the Spabees, of five thoufand Afpers a man, which they call *Sadack Akshiafi*, or a donative for buying Bows and Arrows, as alfo to the Janizaries, as we (hall hereafter mention.

This Army of Spabees is in the War a meer confufed multitude without any Government, or diftribution into Troops or Regiments, but march in heaps, fight without order, little account kept of their prefence or abfence from the Camp; only at the pay in the month of * November whofever appears not, unlefs favoured by the Officers, hath his name rased from the Grand Signiors Regifter.

Their Dilcipline

Their duty in the War is to ftand Centinel with a Janizary at the end of every cord at the Grand Signiors Pavilion, as alfo at the Viziers, armed with his Cemitar, Bows, Arrows, and Lance, mounted on Horfe-back; as the Janizary on foot with his Sword and Musket and alfo the charge of the Treafure for payment of the Militia, is committed in the field to their cuftody.

This Order of Souldiers was in ancient times in great efteem and honour in all parts of the Empire, by reafon of their accomplishment in Learning, refined Education in the Imperial Court, their nearnefto preferments, and acquaintance and intereft with the Grandees of the Empire: The place of the *Selibtari* in their marches to the Warre, was to flank the Grand Signior on the left hand, and the *Spabi Oglani* on the right, and were alwayes the ultimate referve of the Battel, as the Life-guard to the Sultan; But like men not knowing how to comport themfelves in profperity, growing mutinous and ambitious to have a hand in the Government, became Confederates with the Janizaries in confpiracy againft the life of their true Sovereign Sultan of man; to which Treafon adding other Infolencies, they juftly were deprived of the favour of Sultan Morat, and Sultan Ibrahim; the terrours alfo of their late fedition remaining frehly ftill impreffed in the memory of this prefent Emperor Sultan Mabamet, when they complotted againft his own and his Mothers life, is the caufe

How they have loft their honour.

they have still gone declining from the degree of their pristine honour and esteem ; for the Prince as he is the Fountain of Honour, so is his countenance and favour the spirit and life which gives a lustre and sparkling to those Titles and Riches he hath conferred ; other Seditions hastened the ruin of their reputation, and in the year 1657, when the Vizier Mahomet Kupruili, on occasion of his Expedition again!! Janova, summoned the Afian Spahees to the Rendezvous in Hungary ; who instead of yielding obedience to the command of their General, elected a new Captain a Spabee of their own rank, called Haffan Aga, preferred to be Pashaw of Aleppo : whose name at that time, I remember upon the hopes of the diffentions he might create amongst the Turks, was greatly famed and celebrated over all Christendom. These Combuitions in Asia headed by the chief Enemy to the Vizier, caused Kupruili to leave many of his designs against Transilvania unexecuted, and to clap up a Peace on reasonable and moderate terms of honour, that so he might hinder the progress of a dangerous civil which now threatened and approached the Capital City ; for by this time Haffan Pashaw being arrived near the walls of Scutari, began to treat by way of Petition to the Grand Signior, and represent that out of his zeal to the good of his Majesty and his Empire, he had undertaken a long march to inform him of the corruption of his Ministers and the miscarriages of Government ; his tender years as yet not having ripened his judgement to penetrate these evils, which with time his understanding would discover to be too inveterate and incurable. All the oppressions and aggrievances of the Souldiery he seemed to object to the cruelty and oppression of Kupruili and in appearance had nothing but thoughts of the honour and safety of the Grand signiors person ; and doubtless this man was unfit to manage such a design, for he entertained scruples of Conscience, and a remorse and tenderness in spilling Mahometan blood, considerations which are incompatible with the condition of a Rebel -, for who hath the impiety to draw his Sword against his Prince, must stop at no bars either of divine or humane right to maintain it. This gave advantage to Kupruili to cut off his design upon his Enemy ; for in the interim of this Treaty, Mortaza Pashaw of Babylon, was commanded to possess the City of Aleppo, and Haffan after many fair messages and promises from the Grand Signior and the Vizier, was persuaded to return again to Aleppo, to capitulate with Mortaza concerning those points and aggrievances he sought to have redressed ; it being alledged to him, that Mortaza had received instructions to treat, and a plenipotentary power to grant and firm as far as would be reasonable and honourable for the Grand Signior to condescend. Haffan with this easy answer returned toward Aleppo ; near which place he credulously committed himself into the hands of Mortaza, who no sooner had him within his Tents, but he concluded all Controversies and Capitulations by the decision of his head from his body : The whole Army of Spahees immediately, with the fall of their General, was scattered, and divided themselves ; but about three hundred of them being apprehended by Mortaza, were sent to Constantinople, where in the presence of the Grand Signior within the walls of the Seraglio at Scutari they were all executed ; since which their pride hath ever gone

gone declining, and their name becoome fo odious amongft the people, that upon the very nominating a *Spahee*, the vulgar were ready to run upon them with ftones ,of other weapons that came next to hand ; fo that now the *Spahees* are much eclipsed in their ancient fame and honour.

There are befide thefe two foregoing forts of *Spahees*, other four, the firft called *Sag Vlefigi* , that is appointed to march on the right hand of the *spahaoglani* and carry white and red Colours. The fecond *usolVlefigi*, whofe place is on the left hand of thefe labtari, which carry white and red Colours. The third *Sagureba*, that is Souldiers of Foot are to march on the right hand of the *Sag Vlefigi*, and carry white Colours. The fourth is *Sol Garcia*, whofe place is to march oirtliff left hand of the *Vlefigi*, and carry white Banners : but thefe four *Forts of Spahees* are ralled and lifted according to neceffity and occifions of War, and are obliged to all fervices and duties } their pay is from Afpersto 30 a day, and are capable according to their merits, of being promoted to one of the fuperior Orders. There is alfo another fort of more elivated *Spahees* called *Mutafaraca*, who iflue out from the *seraglio* with more favour than the ordinary fort of *spahees*, and are 400 or 500 in number, their pay is 40 Afpers a day, and have alwaies the obligation or duty on them to ferve and attend the Grand Signor when he goes in progrefs for pleafure from Village to another.

And thus much (hall ferve to have declared in brief concerning the inftitution and difcipline of the *Spahees*, as alfo of all the Militia of the Turkifti Horfe ; we (hall now proceed to declare fomthing of their Infantry.

Of the Turkifh Militia, and
CHAP. VII.
Of the Janizaries



Their begin-
 nlag-

THE next main finew of the *Ottoman* Power is the order of *Janizaries*, which is as much as to say, the new Militia; and yet their Antiquity may be deduced from *Ottoman* the first King of the Turks; but because they received honours and priviledges from *Aamurath* their third King, our Turkifh History accounts that to be the time of the first original: it is certain that in his time they were modeled, and certain Laws perfected both for their education and maintenance; when by the counsell of *Catradin*, otherwise called *Kara Rustem*, *Amurath's* prime Vizier, it was ordained that for the augmentation of this Militia, every fifth Captive taken from the Christians, above the age of 15 years, should be the dues of the *sultan* who at first were to be distributed amongst the Turkifh Husbandmen in *Asia*, to learn and be instructed in the Turkifh Language and Religion-

Their num-
 ber.

Their number at first was not accounted above 6 or 7000, now with time they are increased to the number of twenty thousand effective men but were there a list taken of all those who assume this title of

Jani

Janizary, &c: enjoy their priviledges though not their pay, there would be found above a hundred thousand ; fix or seven go under the name of one *Janizarie*, for gaining by this means a priviledge of being free from all Duties and Taxes, they bestow a certain famine of money or annual presents on the Officers, in consideration of which they are owned and countenanced as *Janizaries*. Their Habit is as the Picture represents, wearing always the beard of their Chimney under lip shaven, which some say they learned from the *Italians* ; but certain it is, that this Custom is more ancient, than since the time of their Neighbourhood unto *Italy* : this manner of their (having being generally used as a token of their subjection, and foall the Pages and Officers in the *Seraglio* of great men, orders of Gardeners, *Baltageet* or Hatchet-men and others, are distinguished by this mark to be in service and obliged to the attendance of a Master: But when they are either licensed from the war, or promoted to Office, or freed to their own disposal, they immediately suffer their Beards to grow as a signe of their liberty and gravity.

Their Habit.

Informer times this Militia consisted onely of the Sons of Christians, educated in the Mahometan Rights; but of late that politick Custom hath been diffused, the reason of which some attribute to the abundance of people the *Turks* having of their own to supply all their occasions ; but I am rather induced to another opinion, having not observed the multitude which Histories and Travellers tell us , that the *Turks* swarm with; and rather assigne the neglect of this practice, so prejudicial to Christian Interest in these parts, to the corruption of the Officers, and carelesnes in their Discipline.

The *Janizaries* whom composed.

And though this election of *Janizaries* out of theeldest and lustiest Sons of Christians that inhabit *Europe* (for *Afia* was exempted) is now diffused ; yet such as enter into this order, whosoever they are (unless the necessity of the present state of the war be over-urgent) are obliged to perform their Novitiate like *Tyrones Romans*, before they can be enrolled in the Hegifter of '*Janizaries*', and are called *Agimoghlans*. The chief Officers of these is called *Stambol Agafi*, in whose care and charge it is to enure thefement to all labours, pains, and mortifications, as to cut wood, carry burdens, endure heats, colds , and other sufferings which may render them obedient, temperate, vigilant and patient of all the inconveniences and miseries of war.

The Novices

The quarters many of these have in the Garden-Lodges of the Grand Signiors *seraglio's* (whereof they are many in and about *Constantinople*) to manure and dig the ground, learn the Art of Plantations, and Husbandry, and practise (as occasion requires) meaner Offices of labour and fortitude : others of them are placed in the three *Seraglio's* (we have before mentioned in the Chapter of *Spahees*) viz. of *Pera*, *Ibrahim*, *Pashaw*, and *Adrianople*, where their principal art is the mystery of Plantation and delicious disposal of Gardens into the variety of Knots, Walks, Groves, and Fountains; and though there are many of this profession who have no other thoughts to employ their minas, few of them are acquainted with any part of polite husbandry, or know more than the season to plant their Hartich oaks or Colworts ; as to the rules and symmetry of setting trees, ordering the Labyrinths of Knots, making pleasing Walks, Fountains and Groves it is strange a people

Their Quarters.

a people that delight so much in Flowers, in Fields, and Armors, and have themselves ruined many of the delightful Paradises of Christians, should be so wholly ignorant and dull in the contrivance of what they love, as not to be able to borrow one example or model, which amongst all the Grand Signiors Gardens in Constantinople may deserve a better name than of a Wildernefs,

Others of these *Agiamoglans* are made *Baltagees* or Hachet-men to cut wood for the *Seraglio*; others are made Cooks and Officers in the *Citchin*, such, I mean, as can already speak the Turkish Language, for those that are ignorant in that speech are in the *Mahomitan* Religion, are disposed into remote parts of *Anatolia*, where the *Janizaries* have Possessions and Authority; as to *Ciotahia*, where the Lieutenant General of the *Janizaries* hath Revenue; to *Karahizar* and *Anura*, where the *stambol Agafi* hath principal power; to *Mentefche*, *Suit an Vghi*, and *Karofi* where the *lurnagibatch* and *Jakabatchi*, who are chief Officers of the *Janizaries*, have Rents and profits belonging to their Offices, and here they are employed in plowing and sowing the Ground, or other laborious exercises, until such time as supplies for the Wars give them occasion to draw out these men from their several Stations. • and then being called to the Chambers of *Janizaries*, they orderly march one after the other according to their seniority, one holding the end of his fellows Garment, appear before the *Mutter-Mafter*, who having enrolled their names in the Grand signiors Register, they run as fast as they can by their *Odabafche* or Master of their Chamber, who gives every one as he passes a blow under the Ear, to signify their subjection to him: and this is the Ceremony observed in creating *Janizaries*.

The manner
in making
Janizaries.

Then pay.

At their first Enrolment some have but one Asper a day, Others 4 and 5 unto 7 and a half; and so with time and favour of their Officers, encrease to 12 Aspers a day, which is the highest pay of any *Janizary*, and can have no other advance, unless good Fortune promote them to the decree of *Kiahia Begh*, which is as much as Lieutenant-General of the *Janizaries*, or any other eminent Office.

Their Diet
and Clothing.

Besides this pay, they have their daily provision and diet from the bounty of the Grand Signior, and their Table ordered at constant hours, where they find their Rice, fifty drams of flesh, and one hundred of Bread their ordinary Commons, and eat in their respective Refectories like Monks in Convents, or Scholars in their Colleges. They receive also one Souldiers Coat yearly, of Cloath made at *Salonica* of a coarse thread, but warm and convenient, which in every month of *Ramazan* is distributed to each Chamber; so that their Bellies are full and Backs are warm, and all points are better provided than the tattered Infantry which are to be seen in most parts of Christendome, And thus this people being pampered without cares of seeking their Bread, grow often querulous and apt to take the fire of Sedition with every spark of discontent in their Officers; the beginnings of which they commonly make known at their Assemblies of the publick *Divan*, whither 4 or 500 of them are obliged 4 times a week, that is Saturday Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, to accompany the *Janizar Agav* or their General; at that place they have their Commons from the Grand Signiors Kitchen: which when they have any subject of dis-

content

content they evidence by flighting, by kicking, dawning their plates of Rice, and shewing better stomachs to be revenged, than to their Entertainment; which mutinies the Grand Signior and principal Ministers having found oftentimes fatal, endeavour by fair promises and satisfactions to comply with their desires to pacify in their first motion. Mutinies



Agasi or General of the Janizaries

The General of this Militia is called Janizar *Agasi*, and is always elected from the* Royal Chamber of the Seraglio ; because it being an Office of great charge, it is thought necessary to be intruded to one whose Education and Preferment hath made a Creature of the Courts The Janizar which policy hath been the suppression of divers mutinies amongst the *Janizaries*, the discovery of their Combination, and an engagement to a stronger dependency on the favour of the Seraglio . When this General either dies by a natural death, or the sword of the Grand Signior's Justice or Authority, his Riches, like that of other *Pashaws*, is not confiscated to the Sultan's Exchequer ; but the Inheritance accrues to the publick Treasury of the *Janizaries*; which how dangerous it is to a State to have a Militia endowed with Revenues appropriated to their Officers (as already we have declared they possess in some parts of *Anatolia*) and a Bank of Wealth united to the maintenance of a licentious Sword, the *Ottoman* Princes have by sad effects rather felt, than able by virtue of their absolute Power to remedy. The publick Treasurer of the Janizars is

Offeors.

The fecond Chief Officer is the *Kiahia Begh*, Lieutenant-General. The third is *segkban bafchi*, the Ovrfeer of the Carriage of the Souldiers Baggage.

The fourth is the *twrnagi Bafbee*, or Guardian of the Grand Signiors Cranes.

The fifth is the *Samfongi Bafiee*, chief Matter of the Grand Signiors Maftives.

The fixth is the *Zagargi Bsfiee*, Matter of the Spanielf.

The feventh is the *Solack Bafhee*, Captain of the Archers, or of fuch *Janizaries* who go armed with Bow and Arrows.

The Eighth is *Subafhi* and *Affasbafhi*, who are chief of the Serjeant* and Bailiffs, and attend always at the Grand Signiors Stirrop when at any time on folemn occafions he (hews himfelf to the people.



A Solack, a one of the Grand Signiors Footmen

A Bafchi, or another one of Footmen

The ninth is the *Peikbafhi*, or Commander of that fort of Pages which are called *Peiks*, who wear caps of beaten gold, of which there are 60 in number, who march at Solemnities together with the *solacks* neer the perfon of the Grand Signior-

The tenth is *Meznrga*, or the head Baili of the *Janizaries*.

Thefe eight laft arife from the order of *Janizaries*, and have their feveral Commands in the Army, though the Grand Signior, to aug. ment their Power and Honour the more, beftows on them Titles and Wealth in other Offices.

The

The Janizaries Chambers (of which there are no others but in Constantinople) are in number 162, of which 80 are of ancient Foundation and are called *Eskai odalar* : and 82 called *Jem odalar* or the new Chambers ; over mod of which is a *Tchorbagi* or Captain: In these Chambers those that are not married enjoy their Lodgings and Habitation, and twice a day find their Repast, as we have before mentioned : And thus instead of Monasteries of Friars, the Turk maintains Convents and Societies of Souldiers, who are trained up with all modesty and Severity of Discipline.

The principal Officers of these Chambers are,

First, the *adabaz*, or Master of the Chamber, who in the Wars serves as Lieutenant of the Company. Officers of the Chambers.

Second is *Wekilharg*, or expeditor for maintenance of the Chamber.

Third is *Bairakiar*, or Ensign-bearer.

Fourth is *Afraz*, or the Cook of the Chamber.

Fifth is *Karafyllukgee*, or the undercook.

Sixth is the *Saka*, or the water-carrier.

The Cook is not only an Officer to dress the Diet and provision of the Janizaries, but is also a Monitor or observer of their good behaviour ; so that when any one of them commits a Crime, the Cook is the Officer that executes the punishment. The under-Cook also serves for an Apparitor, and is he who summons the married Janizaries at their several Dwellings in Constantinople, when their Officers command their attendance.

The greatest part of the Janizaries consists of Batchelours or single men ; for though Marriage cannot be denied to any of them, yet it is that which terminates their Preferments, and renders their Seniority incapable of claiming a right to Offices, or Military Advancement ; for being incumbered with a Wife, and other dependencies, they are judged in a condition not capable to attend the Discipline of the War, or Service of the Grand signior ; and therefore as to other duty in the times of Peace, besides their appearance every Friday in their Chambers, and presence of their Officers, they wholly are dispensed with. Janizaries married.

In the Wars this Militia is considered as the most valiant and best disciplined Souldiery of the Turkish Camp, and therefore are either kept as a Reserve, or march in the main Body of the Army. In times of Peace their Quarters are many times changed, to keep them in employment, from one Castle or Garrison to another, as to *Buda, Kani-fia, temeswar, to Rhodes, Csnea*, and other parts : some of them are appointed to keep Counts of Guard at all Gates and Avenues of Constantinople, to prevent the Insolencies and Injuries their Companions are apt to offer to Christians, Jews, and others in the Streets, who at sometimes, being heated with Wine, have in the open market forced Women whilst their Comrades have with their * Daggers drawn stood over them to defend them from the people ; to prevent which disorders, the Janizar *Agafi* accustoms to ride the Streets attended with about 40 *Mumigies*, or Bailiffs of the Janizaries, where meeting any guilty of such like Crimes, or other Enormities, he seizes them and carries them to his Court, where after examination of their fault,

*Called Hani-arries.

he orders them to be beaten, or if their Crime be great, to be frangled, or fowed in a Sack and thrown into the Sea; but always their punishment is inflicted privately, perhaps becaufe they are jealous of a mutiny.

Serdars.

In every Province the *Janizaries* have their *Serdars*, who are Colonels or chief of all the *Janizaries* within that Jurisdiction, ho greatly abufe their Office by taking into their protection any that prefent or pay them for this priviledge; by which means they have grows fo powerful and rich, that fome time paff the Command of the whole *Ottoman Empire* hath repofed in the hands of this Militia.

Their Arms are Musquets and Swords; they fight confufcdly in the Field, and with no more order than the *Spahees*; only fometimes they draw themfelves up into *Cunei*, obferved amongst the Romans.

And thus much fhall ferveto have fpoken of the Institution and Difcipline of the *Janizaries*: We (hall now proceed to declare how this Militia is decayed, and upon what grounds it is not maintained in its ancient honour and flourifhingefstate.

CHAP. VIII.

Whether the Maintenance of an Army of Janizaries according to the Original Infitution, be now agreeable to the Rules of Politie amongst the Turks.

Lpift. 7., de Le-gaint Turcica.

THIS Problem I find firft moved by *Busbequius*, once, the Germane Emperors Embaliador to *Conftantinople*, who pretends to fpeak the Grand Signiors fence in this particular, onoccafions of difference which the infolent rudenefsof the *Janzaries* hzd caus'd between themfelves and his Family: For *Rufan Pafhaw* then Prime Viaier, adionifhd him friendly to condefcend to any terms of Compofition, for that Law could not avail where Souldiers ruled; and the powerful Solman himfelf, who then reigned, trembled at nothing more than the apprehenllon of fome fecret Ulcer of perfidiousnefs, which might lye concealed within the retirement oftrje *Janizaries*.

But as there is noqueftion but a ftanding Army of veterane and well-difciplin'd Souldiers muft be always ufeful and advantageous to the Intereft of a Prince; fo, on the contrary, negligence in the Officers, and remifnefs of Government, producesthat licentiousnefs and wref-tines in the Souldiery, as betrays them to all the diforders which are dangerous, and of evill confequence to the welfare of a State.

And foit hath fared with the *Ottoman Empire*, which rifingonly by the power of Arms, and eftablifhd on the blood of many valiant and daring Captains, gave Priviledges, Honours, and Riches to the Militia, and at all times encouraged their Prowefs and forwardnefs by Rewards, and connivance at their Crimes; by which indulgence and impunity, thefe men ill-principled in rules of Virtue, and unequally bearing prpfperity, and the favour of the Prince, have for a long time been gathering a flock of ill humours ready to receive any contagion

tagion of feditious defign, and to maintain it With an impudence constant to the *Janizaries* for some ages, which may equal the levity of the Roman Souldiery, untill they shamefully fet their Empire to sale, and forgot both their old obedience to the Senate, and reverence to their new Emperors.

The death and mine of many Grandees, and of the Sultan himself, by such like Seditions, hath. At length by dear experience taught the Principal Ministers how unsafe it is to permit an Army lodged in the bowels of the capital City, of a disposition favourable to it self. envious, and impatient of any other, jealous, and always at enmity with the Court, rich and powerful with possessions and Rents appertaining to its Commanders in *Anatolia*, and a Treasury of unknown Aims which have defended to the Common Bank by the decease of their Generals or *Janizar Agas*, and therefore have by degrees, and as prudently as might be, begun to diminish the strength of this Militia by the destruction of the veterane Souldiers, and ruine of their reputation, by various arts, in the estimation of the World.

The particular means whereby the *Janizaries* have been shroudily destroyed, are by many ways evident; for first they are exposed upon every obscure Service, and drawn forth to encounter every Assault of the Empire; as the Wars of *Candy* have exhausted the flower of this Militia, the Battels at Sea buried vast numbers, who were formerly reserved for times of eminent exploits and glory.

Secondly, Which destruction of the veterane Souldiers hath created other mischief to this order, in point of discipline, as prejudicial as the former, for as the *Agiamoglans* were obliged to perform fix or seven years Novitiate. now, by reason of the constant necessities to supply the wars, they overskip the orderly formalities of the first Institution, and create them *Janizaries* after a year, or half a years service. And others I have known educated in Mechanick professions, and from framing Timber and carrying Burdens in the Articul, have at once for the service in *Candy* been created *Janizaries*, who neither know how to manage a Musket, nor are otherwise disciplined to any exercise of Arms.

Thirdly, that *Europe* may not be dispeopled by the triennial seizure of Christian children of the Grand Signiors service, which in Turkish is called *Deuschirme*, that politick Custom and principal conservation of the discipline of *Janizaries* is, as we have laid before, wholly forgotten, and instead thereof election is made of Vagabonds, that proffer themselves out of *Asia*, or other parts, who having passed five or six months like Novices, are afterwards made *Janizaries*, and being ignorant in the use of Arms, and unaccustomed to labours and sufferings, run from their Colours, and renounce their Order, which has been in times past one of the most honourable in the whole Empire.

Fourthly, The old veterane Officers, which has by degrees and steps proceeded to Honour methodically from inferior Souldiers, have either by their own feditious spirits, or jealousy of the Prince, been dispeised from this world, and in their places the Sons of *Constantinopolitan Janizaries* succeeded, who have been bred up with softness and effeminacy; and their *Tchorbages* or captains have not obtained

obtained their commands by time or valour, but by their places with money and presents to the prime Officers.

Fifthly, And to forward the decay of this Militia, and to take off their warlike and haughty courages, the confinement to their Chambers is not fevered, but liberty given upon colour of poverty and impossibility of livelihood on their mean pay, to attend other Trades and Services, whereby the exercise of Arms and thoughts of the War is converted to mechanick Arts, and an intention to ways of maintenance of themselves and Families.

Sixthly, Hope of reward and fear of punishment, which are the incentives to worthy actions and restrictions from the vilest crimes, are rarely held up to the *Janizaries* in these times for their encouragement or terror; for without money to the superior Officers none of them obtains preferment; nor can any worn out with age and wounds procure dismissal from the War with the enjoyment of the usual stipend, who are called by the Turks *Oturak*, and by the Latines *ExauBorati* and on the contrary the children of Officers born in *Constantinople* are often made *oturaks* in their Cradles, and silly youths are with favour and money exempted in the flower of their age from the labours of War, and yet enjoy the benefits due to a toiling Militia.

And yet, as if all the connivance at these various disorders and Subversion of the good institutions of this Country were not sufficient to impoverish their spirits, to mould them into a more effeminate temper, and cause them to lose their interest and reputation, it is the common opinion that the *Vizier Kuprinli* laid the designs for the late War with *Germany* before his death, and enjoined it to his Son to prosecute, with an intention, amongst other expectations of benefit to the Empire, to complete the final destruction of the ancient *Spahes* and *Janizaries*, so as to be able to lay a foundation of new Discipline, which may more easily for the future restrain the Turkish Militia within the compass of better modesty and obedience: which design hath taken so great effect in the war of *Hungary*, in the year 1664. that the bloodiest part of (laughter in the Battels fell on the *Janizaries* and *Spahes*, and by how much more any were more bold and forward in their attempts, by so much more fatal and haughty was their mine; so that it is reported that the valiantest Soldiers of the Confines, the veteran and best disciplined of the *Spahes* and *Janizaries*, and the best number of their skillful Commanders and expert Captains perished promiscuously together, to the great damage and weakening of the *Ottoman* power; so that now it is not probable that a new Militia succeeding, capable of receiving other Customs and Laws, and neither remembering nor concerned in former Mutinies will adventure to follow the seditious practices of their Predecessors; for men are commonly modest at their first entrance into any condition, and unless debauched by corruption and government, are easily contained within the bounds of reasonable moderation. And yet notwithstanding that the pride of the Turkish Militia is reduced to follow an abatement of their power, and to a condition easily for the future with good management to be ruled; yet this perfect *Sultan Miabomet* still retaining the memory and impression of the amazement
he

he suffered in his infancy on occasion of a dangerous combination and conspiracy of the *Jazizaries*, will never confide himself to their guard, nor be reconciled to *Confiamtinople*, in consideration of the many Chambers it contains or that loathed Militia, which have been so many Nurseries and Seminaries of Treasons plotted against himself, and his other Progenitors.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Chiaufci.



"The Chczoiurbaslice or Cheife the Pursuivants"

These having both offensive and defensive Arms assigned thereto, may be reckoned in the number of the Militia, though their Office being chiefly in relation to Civil Processes and Laws, they may rather deserve the name of Pursuivants or Serjeants. They are in number about 5 or 600, their pay is from 12 to 40 Aspers a day; and their chief Officer is called *Chiaus Bafchee*, to whose custody Prisoners

- foners of Quality are committed : their place of attendance in the Palace of the Prime Vifier, to be ready on all occafionsto carry Letters and Commands to any part of the Empire ; fuch Chrifian, Rene-gade** as become Turks, they moft commonly for their encourage-raent and fubfiftance lathe, Mabometane Superftition admit into this Rank; becaufe having commonly an endowment of other languages betides the Turkifh, are rnoft ferviceable on mefiages into Forreign Countreys} and fomtimes are fent with title of ambafladors, as one was once into *England, France, und Hollan dnd* Then Arms are a Scimitar, a Bow, and Arrows, and a Trunchi6n with a knob at the end, called in Turkifh *Topus*; thofe of thefe Officers that are fervants to the Vifier or *Beglerbegs*, carry this Trunchion covered with Silver, called in Turkifh *Tcheugbian*; *bui the Chiaufes* offimplye Prfhaws only of Wood; their Harveft they make upon the occaifions of Lawsuits and differences between one party and another, being Apparitors or Serjeants to call the guilty perfon to juftice, or if the bufinefs comes to compofition, they commonly are in the midft to perfwade both fides to reafo, in which action they want not their Fees or acknowledgment of labour from both parties.

C H A P . X .

Of the other Parts of the Turkifh Militia , the Toptchi.

THefe arc Gunners, called fo from the word *Tope*, which in Turkifh fignifies a Cannon; and are in number about one thoufand two hundred distributed into 52 Chambers, their quarters are at *Tophana* or the place of Guns in the Suburbs of *Conftantinople* ; few of thefe are expert in their art, and are ill practifed in the proportions and Mathematical part of the Gunners myftery ; for were they as skilful as many Engineers in the world, they might doubtlefs with that train of vaft Artillery they either march with in their camp or found in their Trenches, give much more annoyance to the Chrifians forces: And therefore knowing their own imperfections in this exercife ; when Chrifian Gunners are taken in the War, they entertain them with better ufage than other Captives, quartering them in the Chambers appropriated to that profeflion, allotting them with the others a pay of 8 to 12. Afpers a day ; but becaufe this is too confiderable a maintenance to allure men who arc otherwife principled, mod: of them as occafion offers, defer the fervice of the Turk, and fly to their own Country.

Their Officers are,

1. The *Toggibafchi* or General of the ordinance.
 2. The *Dukigifchi*, of the chief of them that found the great Guns.
 3. The *Odabafchi*, the chief of all the Chambers of the Gunners in the fuburbs of *Conftantinople*.
 4. Is the *Kiftib* or their Muifce/-Matter, who is always a *Spahee*.
- Their Guns are the biggeft and as well caft and moulded as any in
the

the world; for the last Expedition in Hungary there were 40 pieces of new Cannon cast and transported by way of the black Sea, and thence by the Danube unto Belgrade and Eske. Their Gunpowder is made but in small quantities about Constantinople; but comes from divers places of Europe, but that from Damascus is most esteemed. The biggest size of their Bullets are from 36 to 40 inches Diameter, but these are most commonly of Stone, which they make use of in the Castles or Block-houses situate on the Sea, as at the Castles upon the Hellespont, called anciently *Septer* and *Abidas*, and at the Forts at entrance of the black Sea. Once an Englishman Gunner of a ship, which lay at Constantinople, had the curiosity and confidence to measure the dimensions of these Bullets; but being apprehended in the very act was imprisoned for a spy; but by the intercession of our ambassador then Resident, with much labour and some expence was at length released.

Of the Gebegees.

These are Armourers; so called from the word *Gebes*, which signifies in Turkish as much as Arms of Back and Breast; they are in number 630 distributed into 60 Chambers, and have their quarters near the Church of *Santa Sophia* in Constantinople; their Office is to conserve the Arms of ancient times from rust by cleaning and oyling of them, so as to remain as trophies for ever of the Turkish Conquests: their pay is from 8 to 12 Aspers a day; their Officers are first the *Gebegibashi* who is their Commander in chief. 2. The *Odebasches*, who are so many Masters of their Chambers. On all expeditions these Armourers are necessary Officers, and oftentimes in days of Battel distribute forth the antique Arms, of which they have the care, into the hands of the *Janizaries*; but those of these men that are indifferently rich, and have favour and friends, enjoy their pay with ease at their own homes; and like other * *Ogiacks* are capable of being made *Oturaks*, or retaining their pension with a dispensation from the War.

* *Ogiack* signifies a Family, as also a military Family, so *Spahis*

Ogiack, the name of the *Spahis*; *Spahis* *Ogiack*, the Militia of *Janizaries*, &c.

Of the Turtyh Militia, and
Of the Delees.



Delee, or one of the Viziers Guard

Delee signifies as much as a mad fellow or a Hector; these are the Prime Viziers Lifeguard, and are in number from 100 to 400, more or less, according the Vizier is more or less rich and splended in his retinues their pay is from 12 to 15 Aspersa days they are by nation of *Bosna* or *Alhania*; their habit is very ridiculous according to this Pictures they are men chosen for their great stature and stomach; they speak big, talk of nothing but killing and adventurous exploits, but in reality their heart and courage is not esteemed proportionable to their bulk and bodies: in the City they march before the Vizier on foot, and make way for him to the *Divan*; on journies they are too heavy and lazy not to be well mounted 5 they have a Captain over them called the *Dtlibafchi*; their Arms are a Lance after the *Hungarian* fashion, a Sword, and Pole-Axe, and some of them carry a Pistol at their Girdle. This sort of people being naturally more faithful than the Turks and more inclinable to the Vizier *Kupriuli*, for being of the *Tane* Country, he maintained 2000 of them for his Guard; which was [b] great a curb to the *Janizaries* and the other Militia, that they were never able to execute any Conspiracy against him. The same course

courfehis Son thepreſent Vifier, follows, and is doubtleſs next the Grand Signiors favour, his principal ſecurity.

Of the Segbaos and ſarigias. .

It is not to be omitted that the *Beglerbegs* and *Paſhams* maintain always a Militia called *Segbans* to whoſe cuſtody the charge of the baggage belonging to the Horſe is committed; and a ſelect number called *ſarigias*, to whoſe care the baggage of the Infantry is entrusted; theſe ſerve on foot with Muſquetslike *Janizaries*, and the others on Horſe back like Dragoons in Chriſtendom ; their pay beſides their meat is 3 or 4 Dollars a month. The *hegkrbegt* have oftentimes on occaſions of their Rebellions enrolled many of the fort of Militia to encounter the *Janitizaries* ; the which was practiſed in theſe late times by *Ipchir Paſhaw*, *Hafan Paſhaw*, and *Murteza Paſhaw*, who having lifted great numbers to fight under this denomination, the Vifier *kaprini* for terror and more eaſie deſtruction of this people, proclaimed through all *Aſia* that ſtrict inquisition ſhould be made after the *Segbans* and *Sarigias*, and that it might be lawful for any one to kill and deſtroy them without mercy ; by which means many were butchered in ſeveral places, and 30900 of them revolted to the *Sofi of Perſia*.

The Muhlagi and Beſli,

Are the ſervants of *Beglerbegs* and *Paſhams*; the firſt make profeſſion of a principal art in good Horſemanſhip, and exerciſe themſelves in throwing the *Gild*, which is a Dart much uſed amongſt the Turks, in the true management of which there is a great dexterity; and becauſe there are conſiderable rewards beſtowed on thoſe who are expert herein , the Turks practice it on horſe-back as their only exerciſe and ſtudy : very much delight herein the Grand Signiors have always taken, and to be ſpectators of the Combats between the ſervants of ſeveral *Paſias* born in different Countries and Nations, who from a Principle of honour to their Nation, and hopes of preferment, contend with that heat and malice one againſt the other as ſurpaſs the cruelty of the ancient Gladiators; and not only limbs or eyes are loſt in this ſkirmiſh, but oftentimes ſacrifice their blood and life for the paſtime of their Prince. Such as are obſerved to be bold, active, and dexterous at this Game, are preferred to the degree and benefit of a *Zſimor Timtrht*. The *Befleei* are footmen, who for their great abilities in walking and running, attain oftentimes to be made *Janizaries*.

And thus we have now, with as much brevity as may be, run through the ſeveral Deſcribes, Numbers, Inſtitutions, Laws, and Diſcipline of the Turkiſh Militia by Land : whoſe farther progreſs into Chriſtendom, and damage to the Chriſtian Cauſe may the Almighty Providence ſo diſappoint, that his Church, corrected and grown more pious by this chaſtiſement, may at length be relieved from the Rod and yoke of this great oppreſſor.

Of the Twrkifh Militia, and

CHAP. XI.

Certain Obfequations on the Twrkifh Camp : and the Sncccefs of the laft Battel againft the Chriftians.

IN the year of our Lord 1665. the Earl of *Wine helfca*, our Lord Embaffador for certain Affairs of His Majefty and the Company of Merchants, having commanded me to meet the Great Vifier in his return from the Wars in *Hungry* ; through ill or rather uncertain information of the Vifier's motion, I was forced to proceed as far as *ffia* grade in *Servia* on the Confines of *Hungary*, 23 days Journey from *Conftantinople*, where finding a good part of the Turki Army encamped neerer that City, for better convenience and expedition of my bufinefs, I entred within the Quarters of the *spabees*, and pitched my Tent as neerer the Vifiers and the other principal officers as confited with due refpect; in which place remained feven days, untill the army removed towards *Adrianople*; and not having fully compleated my bufinefs there, I marched and remained other 13 days together with the Army : in which time I had leifure to make fome reflections on the Order of the Turkiih Camp.

In the front of the Camp are quarter'd the *Janizaries*, and all others deftin'd to Foot-fervice, whofe Tents encompass their *Aga* or General : In the ay of the Camp are erefted the ftately Pavilions of the Vifier, of his *kabija*, or chief Steward, or Coftinellor, the *Reit Effendi* or Lord Chancellor, the *Tefterdar Pafcha* or Lord Treafurer, and the *Kapifler Kahiafee* or Matter of the Ceremonies ; which five Pavilions take up a large extent of ground, leaving a fpacious Field in the midft, in the centre of which is raifed a lofty Canopy, under which Offendors are corrected or executed, and ferves to melter from the SUD or Rain fuch as attend *the Divan*, or other bufinefs with the Officers of State. Within the fame fpace of ground alfo is the *Hafus* or Treafury, in fmall Chefts one piled on the other, in form of a circle, for guard of which 15 *Spabeet* every night keep a watch with their Arms in their hands. Neerer thefe Quarters are the Tents of *Pafhaws*, *Beghs*, *Agaes*, and Perfons of Quality, who with their Retinue folety make up a confiderable part of the Turkiih Army. In the Rear are the Quarters of the *Spabees*, and others that attend the Foot-fervice, as *Seghans*, *Sarigias*, and others. On the right hand of the Vifier without the Camp, are placed the Artillery and Ammunition, which in the time I was there was inconfiderable, the great Canon remaining in *Buda* and in the City of Belgrade, only 40 or 45 fmall Field-pieces of Brafs (as I reckoned) thereraifed drawn by four Horfes, marched with the Vifier, more at that time for State and Oftentation than for real Service.

The Pavilions of the Great Vifier, and other Perfons of principal Office and Quality, may rather be called Palaces than Tents being of a large extent, richly wrought within, adorned beyond their Houfes, accommodated with Stately Furniture, with all the convenience of the City and Country, and in my opinion far exceed the
nvgifcence

Discipline in War.

magnificence of the best of their Buildings; For being but for few years continuance, the maintenance of them is beyond the expence of Marble and Porphyry, *et* the perpetual Edifices of Italy, durable to many Olympiads and Myriads of years. With these Houses and movable Habitation, which with the Posts that support them are of great weight and bulk, the Turkish Army marches daily four five, and sometimes six hours Journey 3 all which baggage is carried on Horses, Mules, and Camels; The great Persons are furnished with two sets of Tents, one of which as the Viceries, is advanced the Conack or days Journey beyond ; so that in the morning leaving one Tent, another is found at noon ready furnished and provided at arrival* which is therefore why the Turkish Camp abounds with such multitudes of Camels, Mules, and Horses of Buraen, with so many thousand Attendants on the Baggage, which are of a vast expence, and if duly considered, is a matter of the greatest state and magnificence in the Turkish Empire.

Though it is reported by those who are Soldiers, and have experienced the Valour of the Turks in Fight, that their Victories are obtained by multitudes of Men. rather than by art, or military Discipline 3 however the Conquests they have made on the parts of *Christendom*, is a demonstration undeniable of some supereminent Order in their Army, which recompenses the defect of knowledge in the true Mystery of War ; and this Regulation (in my opinion) proceeds from nothing more than the strict prohibition of Wine upon pain of death (two men being executed during the time of my Residence there for bringing a small quantity of it in the Field) for hereby men become sober, diligent, watchful and obedient. In the Turkish Camp no brawls, quarrels, nor clamours are heard; no abuses are committed on the people in the march of their Army 3 all is bought and paid with money, as by Travellers that are Guests at an Inn ; there are no complaints by Mothers of the Rape of their Virgins, daughters, no violences or Robberies offered on the Inhabitants fall which good order tends to the success of their Armies, and enlargement of their Empire. As on the contrary, the sloth of the Germans and other Nations in their Councils against the Turk, the liberty given to the Christian Souldiers, or rather the difficulty to correct it, proceeds from nothing more than intemperance of Wine, which moves in the Souldiery a lust and promptitude to all evils, and is occasion of the horrid outrages they commit, quarrels among themselves, and disobedience to their Officers, and betrays oftentimes a whole Army to ruin by surprisal : for how can those men be watchful, whose heads are charged with the fumes of Wine, and not yield opportunity of sad advantages to so awakened an Enemy as the Turk? *Butbauius* who had been Embassador from the Emperour to the Grand Signior in two several Embassies, and had known and seen the vigilance of the Turkish Camp, attributes much of their success against the Germans to the ancient vice of Intemperance of his Country : *Neque vero, fides he gravion imperie Turce Grecos premant, quavi nobis deminatur vitia, luxus, crapula.* And so sensible are the Turks of the abuses and disorders which arise in their Camp by the use of Wine, that they endeavour all that is possible to debar their people

front

from it, and therefore 1 or 2 days before the Army arrives at any place, Officers are difpatched before to feal all Taverns and make a Proclamation againft the fail of Wine :for though it be againft their Law to drink Wine, yet drunkennefs is now become fo common a vice amongft them (as we have already declared in the fecond Book) that fcarce one in ten but is addicted to a brutifh intemperance therein.

The Camp is always clean and free from ordure and filths there being holes digged nere every Tent, which are encompaffed about with Canvas for the more privacy and accommodation in mens neceffary occafions; and whensoever thefe places become noifome and full, they are covered with earth, and the Canvas removed; fo that the whole Camp is clear of all excrements of men, as alfo kept more free from other ftench (which may caufe putrefaction,) than the moft orderly Cities of the world. If the march be in the lummer-time and the weather hot, the bcafts of burden and baggage begin to travel about feven a clock in the evening, and the *Paffams* and great Vifier prefently after midnight; who are accompanied with fo many lights as equal almoft the brightnefs of the day. Thofe that carry thefe lights are *Ardbians* from the parts of *Aleppo* and *Damafcus*, men ufed to travel on foot, who in *Turkimare* called *Maffaln* over whom is a fuperintendant or chief called *Maffalagibafhee* whole Office it is to govern and to punifh thefe people, and is liable to anfwer for their disorders: the lights they carry are not Torches, but a bituminous oily fort of wood, which they burn in an Iron grate carried on a ftaff made in the forme of our Beakons; and of the fame fafhion with thofe lights we fee drawn in ancient Hangings, and Pictures which represent night pieces of Roman Stories.

And fince I have difcourfed fomethng of the Turkifh Camp in this their return homewards, it will not be much from my promife to acquaint the Reader with what cheerfulnefs and alacrity the Army matched this way after their ill fuccefs; and alfo to declare the occafion that put a hook into the ooftrib of this great oppreffor, and diverted him for the prefent from the farther fpoil of Chriftendome. After the taking of the Cattle called *Scrimfaar* by the great Vifier, built by Count *Strini* (the which was the firft Original and occafion of the war) and the defeat of the *Paffham of Bude* neer *Lewa* by Count *fufa* Governor of *Gomorra*; the Vifier made many and various attempts to pafs the River *Roab*, to make fome conqufts in the parts of *Croati* and *Styria*, but by reafon of the forts the Chriftians had made along the banks of the River, in every adventure loft confiderable numbers of men; at which lofs of men and time, and the ill fuccefs neer *Lewa*, the Vifier being greatly moved; made another adventure on the twenty feventh of *July* 1664. advancing with the grofs of his Army as far as *Kerment*, a place between the Rivers *Raab* and *Terne*, endeavouring there to make his paffage with better fuccefs; but by the valour of the *Hungarians* and the affiftance of the General *Montecu* were repulfed with extraordinary laughter.

On the firft of *Augut* following the Turk made another confiderable attempt, and paffed over in one place 6000 *Janizaries* and *Albanians*, and another where the River was foordable, and not above

ten paces broad, the whole body of the Turkifh Horfe crouded over In vaft numbers, Which caufed the Chriftians to joyo their Forces into one Army, and retreat fart her into the Country, add put themselves intoapoftureofgivine Battel to the Enemy.

As foon as the Turitim Army had thus waded over the water, the night following fell fo much rain, andfucha Deluge came powring down from the mountains, that the River which was foordable the day before,did now overfwel its own banks andnot paffable without Floats and Bridges. As foon as the Army was thus paffed the River, the great Vifier difpatched immediately Meficngers to the Graiid Signior to acquaint him of his progress and paffage ; Which news he knew would come very gratefull; becaufe in all Letters from the Grand Signior he was urged by threats and pofitive commands to proceed forward in hismarch,ananot tofuffier the impediment of a narrow ditch to be an interruption to the whole *Ottoman* force, which was never before retrained by the Ocean.The Grand Signior having received this intelligence, as if the whole Victory and Triumph over the World confided in the paffage over the *Raab*, was transported with fuchan extraordinary joy and affurance of Victory, that all Hungary and *Germany* were already fwallowed in his thoughts ; and when by a fecond Mcfiuzc he received intelligence, that a forlorn hopeoftheEnemy;confiftingofathoufandmen,was cutoff, the *Ottoman* Court was to tranfported with the joy and affurance of victory, that to anticipate the good news, the Grand Signior commanded that 2folemnFeftivalfliouTdbecelebratedforthespace of; days and? nights, called by the Turks *Dunalma* ; in which time the whole nights were fpent in fire-works, (hooting great Guns, Vollies of Muskets* found of Drums and Trumpets,revelling, and what other folcmnities might teftifie their joy and triumph. But icarce three nights of this vain dream had pa fled, before the Grand Signior awakened by intelligence contrary to what was pcefaged and expected, of the defeat of the beft part of his Army, flamerully commanded the lights to be extinguifhed ; and the remaining four nights apointed for joy, to be turned to melancholy anddarknefa. Ana indeed this rafh joy was the more fhamefull and ridiculous, by how much more fatal and destructive the lofs was to the Turks. For they being now got over the River, and the Chriftians drawn upin Battalia,a moft furious right began, which from nine a clock in the morning, untill four in the afternoon continued with variable Fortune;at length the Turks aflailed by the extraordinary valour of the Chriftians, which were now of equal number to them, began to give back and put themselves into a fhameful flight, leaving dead upon the place about 5000 men, and the glory of the day to the Chriftians: the Turks who always ftyediforderly, knowingnot the art of a handfome retreat,crouded in heaps to pafs the River, the Horfe tramlingover the Foot, and the Foot throwing themselves headlong into the water, without confideration of the dcpth,or choice of places foordable after the great rains ; thofe finking, catching Sold of others that could fwim, Tunis down and perilled together ; others both of men and horfe through the rapidnels of the fream were carried down the River and fwallowed up in the deeper.places; the water was dyed with blood,and the

wholf

whole face of the Rivet wai covered with Men, Horfe, Garments, all fwimming promifcuoufly together ; no difference was here between the valiant and the cowardly, the foolilh and the wife, council and chance, all being involved in the fame violence of calamity :Non vex
hb, 1. & muini bortatus juvabant, adverfante undi, nihil frenuus ab ignava, fapiens a Prndenti, confilia acafa differre, cu cta a pari viotentaia involve blntur ; fo that the waters devoured a far greater number than did the Sword ; whileft the great Vifier landing on the other fide of the River was able to afford no kind of help or relief, but as one void of all counfel and reafon,knew not where to apply a remedy .This defeat though in Chriftendooi not greatly boafed,by reafon that the deftrution of the Turks, which waamoft by water, was partly concealed to them; yet the Turks acknowledge theruine and (laughter to have been of a far great number than what the Chriftian Diaries relate, confeffing thatfince the time that the *otumtn* Empire arrived at this creatnefs, no ftoricsmake mention of any fllaughter or difgrace it fath fuffered to be equalled to the calamity and dilhonour of this. On the Turks fide were flain *Ifbmael Pthaw* lately of Bade, and *Chimac urn of Conftantinople* by a (hot from the enemy in his paffage over the River, the *Spabee lar-Agafee* or general of the *Spahes*, and feveral other *pafhaws* and perlons of quality fell that day, 15 pieces of Cannon were taken, with fome Tents and other rich fpoils; Of the Chriftians were flainneer a thoufand ;thofe of note were Count of *Naffan*, Count *charles* of Braconftorf Captain of the Guards at *Aiontt-cuculi*, Count *Fucher* General of the Artillery, with many other Gentlemen of the French Nation, who deferve ever to be chronicled for their vertueand valour.

The Turks were with this news greatly affbamed, and deje&edjha-ving but two days before demonftrated exceffes of joy, congratulated the happy newsonetotheother, fending Prefents abroad after their manner, derided the Chriftians living amongft: them with the news, expropriated them with a thoufand injuries, applauded their own vertue and valour, and the righteoufnefs of their caufe and Religion. But on a fudden, intel gace coming contrary to their expectations, fuch adampnefsfell upon their fpirits,that for fome days there was adeepfilence of all news at *Conftantinople* ; they that the day before fought for Chriftians to communicate to them the miracles of their Victory,now avoided their company, affbamed of their too forward joy,and the liberty they had taken to contemn and deride the low condition of the Chriftian Camp, And now the ill news not being able to be longer concealed, Prayers,and Humiliation were appointed publickly to be made at all the Royal Mafques both at *CON FTaminople* and at *Adrianople*, where all the *Emaums* or Parifh Prieffts with their young Scholars were commanded to refort, fingng some doleful Chapter of the *Akhoren*.

The minds of the Souldiery afterthis, defeat were very much difcompofed,tending more to (edition than to obedience,very one took Heeefe to fpeak loudly and openly his opinion, that the War was commenced upon uojuft and unfawfull grounds;that Comets lately fcen to fall were prodigies foretelling the ill fuceefs of the War; that the totaiclcliffe of the Moon,which protends always misfortunes to the

Turks

Turks, should have caused more caution In the Commanders of engaging the Army, until the malignancy of that influence had been over-passed ; and calling to mind the solemn Oath with which the Sultan *Sely dn* confirmed said Capitulations with the Emperour, particularly vowing never to pad the katab *OF* places where the Turks received their defeat, without a solid or rtasonable ground of War* alt concluded that this Invaslon was a violation of the VoW, and an injury to the sacred memory of that fortunate sultan, and that all enterprises and attempts of this War Would be fatal and destrutive to the *Muffmen* or Believers, and the end dishonourable to the Empire. This opinion was rooted with much firmness and superstitlon in the mind of the vulgar* and the rumours in the Camp (that the Visier had been cause of the Souldiers flight, by commanding them to retreat after they were engaged , upon a false alarm that the enemy in great numbers were coming to fall on the Quarters where the Visiers person remained; and that this error Waithefirst original of the slaughter that ensued) augmented their discontent and animosities against the Government. The Souldicry befildet was greatly terrified and possessed with a fear of the Chrifians, and amazed upon every alarm \$ the Asian *spabeet* and other Souldiers having Wives and Children and Possessions to look after , were grown poor, and desired nothing more than in peace and quietness to return to their homes ; so that nothing could come mote grateful to this Camp, no largesses nor hopes could pacific the minds of the Souldiery more than the promise and expeditions of Peace And this was the true cause that brought on the treaty of Peace between the Emperor and the Turk, in (uch an instant contrary to the opinion of most in the world ; and gave occasion to the Visier to embrace the Propositions offered by the *Beet Rbeninghen*, then Resident for the Emperor (who was carried about according to the motions of the Turkhn Camp, to be ready to improve any overtures of Peace that might be offered): the y illic to (hew his real intentions, flattered and caressed this Hesident with the Present of a Horse richly furnished, a vest of Sables and a commodious Tent, whilst the Propositions and Cbndescensions on the Turkish part were dispatched to Vienna; which were returned again with an entire assent to most of the Articles; and those wherein there might be any difference, were to be referred until the arrival of the Extraordinary Embassador, who was supposed might reach the *otto-BMB* Court by the end of April. The Anan *Spdhees* were over-joyed at the news hereof, and immediately obtained licence to depart, and most of the *MiHti* was disposed every one with joy betaking himself to his own home. But this Embassador missing of his time allotted for his arrival, above a month later than he was expected, put all things into a strange combustion. I was then in the Camp when it was whispered, that the Treaty was at an end, that the Ghristians had deluded them, and caused them to disband their Army, that so they might fall upon them with the greater advantage ; this misfortune of which (according to the custom of the Commonalty) was charged on the heads of the Governors , and the too much credulity of the Visier. But at length on the 28. of May. 1665. news coming that the Embassador from the Emperor Was arrived at Bade; the Vi-

fier the next day departed from *Belgrade* with his whole Array, which I accompanied as far as *Niffa*, about nine days march towards *Adrianople* and there having put an end to my buifness, and wearied with the slow pace, and heats, and other inconveniences of an Army, I took my leave of the great Vifier, and proceeded forward by longer journeys to attend the Gourt at *Adrianoph*: and that I may give my Reader an account of these Countries and the nature of the people that inhabit them, I hope it will not be judged much besides my purpose, if I entertain him a little with a relation of some part of my journey to *Belgrade*.

On the 29th. of April 1665. I departed from *Adrianople* towards *Belgrade*, and on the first of May I lodged at a Village called *semefge*, the first Town I came to, inhabited by *Bulgarians* who are *Chrishtians*, that day being a Festival: the women upon the arrival of Guests came, running from their houses with Cakes of dough-baked bread which they called *Togatck*, only laid upon the Coals between two Tiles, which they soon kneaded and prepared for the stomachs of Travelers; others brought Milk, Eggs and Wine to sell, and what else their homely Cottages afforded, which they pressed on us with much importunity, the younger and handsomer challenging a priority in the sale of their provisions before those who were ancient and more homely: These Country Ladies had that day put on their holy Garments, which put me in mind of those dresses I have seen in pictures of the ancient Shepherdess in *Arcadia*, being a loose Gown of various colours with hanging sleeves; their arms had no sleeve but that of their Smock, which though it were of Canvas or some very coarse Linnen, was yet wrought with many various works of diverse colours; their hair was braided, hanging down at length behind, which some had adorned with little bells found upon the sea shore, tied at the end with fringes of Silk, bobs, and tassels of Silver; their heads were covered with pieces of Silver Coin of different sorts strung upon thread, and their breads were in the same manner decked; those being most honoured, and esteemed most rich, who were best adorned with these fringes of Coin, and bracelets on their wrists, with which every one, according to her ability, had dressed and made herself fine. Amongst these we passed with plenty of Provision and a hearty welcome; for these people called *Bulgarians* inhabit all that Country to the Confines of *Hungary* they till all that ground, pasture vast numbers of Cattle, and are industrious and able Husbandmen, by which means and the liberty they enjoy by the small number of Turks which live amongst them, they pass their time with some reasonable comfort, and are more commodious in wealth than they seem to appear outwardly to the envious eye of the Turks. Their Language is the old *Illyrian* or *Slavonian* tongue, which hath much similitude with the *Russians*; because this people is said to come originally from beyond the River *Volga*, and by corruption are called *Bulgarians* or *Volgarians*. On the third of May we arrived at *Philippopolis*, where we were civilly entertained at the House or Monastery of the Metropolitan, or Greek Bishop of that place. By this City runs the River *Hebrus*, having its original from the Mountains *Rhodope*, in sight of which we travelled towards *sophia*, of which *Ovid* thus speaks,

*Quapat et nmbrofum Rhodope glacialis ad Hæmum,
Et facer dmiffas exigit Hebrus aquas.*

The City of *philippopolis* is situate in a large and open Plain, and Level, whereon are great numbers of little round Hills, which the Inhabitants will have to be the Graves of the *Roman* Legions slain in those Fields. A certain *Greek*, had once the melancholy dream of much Treasure buried in one of these Hills; and this dhaney so often troubled him in his sleep, that it took a strong impression in his mind whilst he was waking, and so far troubled him, that he could take no rest nor contentment until he had deafened his mind to the *Nsfir-Aga*, who is he who oversees the water-works and places of pleasure belonging to the Grand Signior in that Country. The Turk, though he had a great mind to the treasure, durst not yet open the ground, until he had first acquainted the Grand Signior with the mind of the *Greek*, who upon the first intimation dispatched away Officers (so apt the Turks are in matters of profit to catch even at a shadow) to open this Hill; to which work the Country Villages were summoned; and whilst they digged very deep, not well understanding the manner and art of Mining, the Earth broke from the top, and buried seventy persons in the ruins: And so the work ended, and the *Greek* awaked from his dream. This Town hath one part of it built on the side of a little Hill; two others are also near it, which appear like Bulwarks or Fortifications on that side the City; all the rest of the Country thereabouts being a dead Plain or Level. At this place remains no other Antiquity besides the ruins of two ancient Chappels, built of Brick, in the form of a Cross; one of which the *Greeks* hold in great devotion, and report to be the place wherein *St. paul* preached often to the *philippians*; and with that opinion they often resort thither, especially on the days of Devotion, to say their Prayers: The Walls of the City are likewise very ancient, over the Gates of which is writ something in the *Greek* Character; but Time hath so defaced it, that to me it seemed not longer legible: And so ignorant are the *Greeks* also even such as were born in that City, and are Priests and Clergy (which are the strictest sort of Religious Men amongst them) who have nothing more to do than to attend to their Office and Studies, that they cannot give any reasonable account of the original of that City, who it was built by, or any thing else of the History of it, and with much admiration they hearken to us, when we tell them any thing what our Books relate concerning it.

From hence I departed towards *Sophia*, passing in this Journey the *Montts* *Hæmi*, call'd by the Turks *Capi Dertvent*, which is as much as the Gate of the narrow way; the ascent hereunto is rugged and sharp, commodious for Robbers, who there have such Caves and places of refuge, that they defy very considerable Forces that are sent against them. On the top of this Hill is a Village of *Bulgarians*, where the Women used to the diversity of Travellers, are become free in their discourse, and only entertain strangers, whilst their Husbands are in the Field, or with their Cattel, or By away for fear of some injury from the Turks. Defending hence is a very narrow inclosure, on both sides being en-

vironed with high Mountains and woods, which is a Qiady and melan choly Journey for the space of two hours; ea this place the *Heidouts*, or *Heyducks* (as that people call them,) frequently resort in great numbers out of *Transilvania*, *Moldavia*, *Hungary*, and other parts which taking advantage of these close Woods, discharge Volleys or Shot on the strongest Caravans, and rolling stones from the Mountains in the narrow steep passages, do as much execution as with Canon; for, as I have understood, in one of those *Dements* (for there are many of this nature in the Journey to *Belgrade*) 18 Thieves only killed above 300 Merchants, who for fecerity united together, and their whole Baggage and Goods became a prey to the jobbers. In these places, thus fortified by Nature, the Inhabitants refitted the force of the Grecian Emperours, and killed *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* after he had subjected the City of *Constantinople*. Amongst these *Bulgarians* is a sort of people which they call *Paulines*, who had in former times a strangely confused notion of Christianity, pretending to follow the Doctrine of St. Paul, used Fire in the Sacrament of Baptism, and preferred this Apostile before his Master Christ. But there being some Roman priests in those parts, that observing the ignorance of these poor people, and their willingness to be instructed, took the advantage, and reduced them all to the Roman Faith; to which now they are swift and superstitious adherers.

Through those narrow *Dements* before spoken of, we arrived after three days of weary Journey at *Saphia*, a place so wholly Turkish, that there is nothing in it that appears more antique than the Turks themselves, it is situated in a pleasant Plain or broad Valley, between two high Mountains, the highest of them wearing a snowy head in the heat of the summer Solstice, which is the reason that that City is cool and wholesome, but of a subtle penetrating air, being supplied with admirable waters of easy digestion, which come pouring down in great abundance from the Mountains, and supply the Town with plentiful fountains in all parts of it, and are said to be waters of those Fountains which *Orpheus* delighted in. There are besides these cool Waters, certain Baths naturally hot, to which the Turks resort very frequently, being of the same nature and virtue with ours in *England*. From this place we made nine long days Journey to *Belgrade*, in which passage there is nothing more memorable than the denotation of the Country) and being there arrived, we pitched our Tent in the Camp, where after six days we marched back with the Army, to whom nothing could come more joyful than their return home, and the conclusion of the War; by which may be observed in some manner, how far the nature of the Turks is degenerated from the ancient warlike disposition of the Saracens.

CH A P XII.

Of the Turks Armata, or Naval Forces.

HAvtag particularly run over the Force of this formidable Enemy addfeourge of Chriftianky by Land, we are now to take a view according to the true method of this Difcourfe, of the strength of their Fleets and Maritime Forces; which though to a Nation fcimated on the Continent, are not fo neceffary or prevalent to defend themfelves from their Neighbours, or tranfport their Power and Conqueit into other Dominions, at they are to a people whofe Habitation is encompassed by the Sea; yet certainly a Prince can never be faid to be truly puiffant, who is not Matter in both Elements; For not to expatiate on the common Theme of the Riches and Power which arife from Navigation, it is fufficient, confidering how often the mighty force of the Ottoman Empire hath been foiled and baffled by the whole all Republique of Venetie, for want of true knowledge or fuccefs, or application of their minds to Maritime Exercife, to demonftrate of what efficacy in mod defigos is a well provided and regulated Fleet.

The Turks are now very much weakened in their Naval Forces fince the war againft *Camdic*, and are fo difcouraged in their hopes of fuccefs at Sea, that (hips and Galeaffes, called by them *Mabumes*, are wholly in difufe amongft them; whether it be that they wane able Seamen to govern them, or that they defpair of being able to meet the *Venttiatu* in open Sea (for which thofe Veffels of Battery are only in ufe) they are fallen into a fancy of light Gallies, a fign that they intend to truft more of their fafety to their Oars than their Arms; of which in the year 1661. (after the loft of 38 well-provided Gallies wreck'd with their men in the Slack Sea) the Vifier *Kuperlee* built thirty others for reparation of that lofs, but of that green and unfeafoned Timber, that the firft Voyage many of them became unferviceable for "the Leaks; and the reft, at the return of the Fleet in the Month of October following, were laid up amongft the old and wortt Veffels.

It may feem a difficult matter to affign the true reafon why and by what means the Turks come to be fo decayed in their Naval Forces, who abound with fo many conveniences for it, and with all forts of materials fit for Navigation, as Cordage, Pitch, Tar, and Timber, which arife and grow in their own dominions, and are eafily brought to the imperial City with little or no danger of their Enemies. For Timber, the vaft woods along the Coaft of the Black Sea, and part* of *Afia*, at the bottom of the Gulph of *Niconedia*, fupply them Pitch, Tar, and Tallow are brought to them from *Albania* and *Walachia*; Canvas and Hemp from *Grand Cairfit*, and Bifquet is in plenty in all parts of the Turks Dominions. Their Ports are feveral of them convenient for building both of Ships and Gallies; the Arfenal at *Conftantineple* hath no lefs than ahundred thirty feven Voltas, or chambers for Buildings, and fo many Veffels may be upon the Stocks at the fame

fame time. At *Sinopolis* neer *Trafefond* is another Arfenal.-at *Midiz* and *Auchiak*, Cities on the black Sea, are the like; and in many partts of the *Propontis*, the *Hellepont*, and the *Bosphours*, are fuch Ports and conveniences for flipping, as if allthings had confpired to render *Conftantinople* happy, and not only capable of being Miftrefs of the Earth but formidable in all parts or the Ocean: and yet the Turk for feveral years efpecially fince the war with *Candia*, and their defeats at Sea have not been able at moft to Equippe a Fleet of above a 100 Sail of Gallies, of which 14 are maintained and provided at the charge of the *Bejes* of the *Archipelago*, for which they have certain Ifles in that Sea affigned them.

The Turks do neither want Slaves for to bogue at the Oars of the Gallies; for *Tartari* fupplies them with great numbers; befides, divers perfons in *Conftantinople* make it a trade to hire out their Slaves for the Summers Voyage for 6-op Afpers, running the hazard of the Slaves life, who returning home safe is configned to the poffeffion of his Patron: and if want frill be of *chiurma*, as the Turks call it, or Slaves for the Oar, a collection is made in feveral Provinces of the luftieft and ftouteft Clowns, called by the Turks *Azabs*, but by the other Slaves *Chakal* thefe are chofen out of certain Villages, one being elected out of every twenty houfes, the hire of which is 6000 Afpers, for payment whereof the other 19 Families make a proportionable Contribution, Upon receipt of their pay they give 10 fecurity not to fly, but to ferve faithfully for that years Expedition: But thefe men unfed to the Service of the Sea, unskilful at the Oar, and Sea-fick are of little validity; and the fuccefs of their Voyage may be compared to that in the Fable of the Shepherd, who fold his Poffeffions on the Land, to buy Merchandife for Sea-negotiations.

The Souldiers which are deftin'd to Sea-fervice are called *Levnts*, who come voluntarily and enter themfelves in the Registers of the Arfenal obliging themfelves to ferve that fummers Expedition for 6000 Afpers, and Bifquet for the Voyage; the ftouteft and moft re-folute of thefe fellows are thofe called *Cazdaglii*, who are a certain fort of mountainers in the Country of *Anatolia*; neer *Troy*, whose Country I once paffed through, with fome apprehenfion, and more than ordinary vigilance and caution to preferve my life; for befag all Robbers and Free-booters, we admitted no Treaties or Difcourses with them but with our Arms in our hands. Others there are alfo obliged to Sea-fervice, who are *Zaims* and *Timariots*, and hold their rauds in Sea-Tenour; but being not bound to go in perfon themfelves, they bring or fend their Servants ("called in *Turkiln Bedel*) to fupply their place, every one providing one, two, or more, according to the value of his Lands, as we have before declared in the Chapter of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*. Some *Janizaries* are alfo drawn out for Sea-fervice, and fome *Spabees* of the four inferior Banners 5 and not to make too bold with the veterane Souldiers, command only fuch to Sea as are new and green Souldiers, lately regiftred in the Rolls of the *Spabees*.

The Auxiliaries of the Turks forces by Sea, are the Pirates of *Barbari*, from thofe three Towns of *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, and *algia*; but thafe of late years have difufed the Cuftom of coming in to the Turks affiftance;

affittance v yet often times they ply towards the *Archipole* and ta the Levans but it is to supply themfelvcs With Souldiers,, and recruits of people for encrease of their Cotbnies
L.

The other part of auxiliary Forces is from the *Beyes* of the *Archtptlagt*, being four. teetrin number, every one of which commands a Gatty and for their maintenance have the contribution of certain Wands in that Sea allotted to them the which are better ma»ned and armed than thefe of *Conftantinople*, but thefe neither, are not willing too much to expofe their Veffels to fight or danger in regard that being built and maintained at their own charges, and their whole fubfiitance, they are the more cautious how they venture all then Fortune in the fuccefs of a Battel: Theft *Beyes* allowgivc themfelves much up to theie delights and pleafare, and employ more thoughts how to pleafe their appetites, than to acquire glory and tame by the war what they gain in the Summer, when joynd with the groft of the *Turkifh Fleet* is the prize of the *Grand Signior*, but what chance throws upon them in the winter, is their own proper and peculiar Fortune.

The Gunncts of the *Turkifh Fleet* are wholly ignorant of that art, for any perfon who is either Englifh, French, Dutch; or" any other Chriftian Nation, they defign to his Office, whether he be skilful or unskilful in the management of Artillery, having an opinion that thofe people are naturally addicted to a certain proneuefs and aptitude in Gunnery, in which they find their error as often as they come to skirmifh with their Enemy.

The chief Admiral or Generaliffimo of the *Turkifh Amats* is called the Captain • *fajktw* i his Lieutenant General is called *Terjhana Kiabiaki** the next Officer is *Terfane Emini*, or Steward of the *Arftnal*, who hath the care of providing all neceffaries for the Navy; but this place being bought, as almoft all other Offices, occasions anectffity in thefe perfons to rob Nails, Anchors, Cables, and other provifions of the Fleet to fatisfie the debts they contracted for the purchafe of their places; in the like manner doth every Reis or Captain of a Gaily keep his hand in exercife as often as convenience offers', thefe are all for the mod part Italian, Renegadoes, or the race of them born and educated neer the *Arftnal*. The Officers command their *Cbmm* or flaves in corrupted Italian, which they call *Franke* and afford them a better allowance of Bifket than is given to the flaves in the *Venetian Armata*.

The Turks now defpairing of being equal to the Chriftian Forces by Sea, and to be able to ftand with them the (hock of a Battel, build fight Veffels for robbing, burning, and destroying the Chriftian Coaft, and afterwards to fecure themfelves by Highland alfo to tranfporc Souldiers, Ammunition, and Provifions, for fuccor of *Cattdia*, and other places of their new Conquefts neer the Sea fhore.

The *Arfenal* at *Venia* is fo greatly eftemed by the Turks, that they feem not to defire the conqueft of that place for any other reafon more than the benefit of the *Arjettal*; as a Perfon of great quality amongft them faid once, that they had made a Conqueft of *venice*, they would not inhabit there, but leave it to the *Venctians*, in regard that the City affords not frefh water, which is neceffary for the ufe of their Mofques, and their waffing before Prayer, but that the *Arftul*; and a Tribute would fatisfie the defires of the *Grand Signior*.

But the Turks are not likely to be Matters of this Seat of Neptune, whilft they Co unwillingly apply their minds to Maritime affairs, who being confcious of their former ill fuccefs at Sea, and how little ufe they make of thofe advantages they have for (hipping, acknowledge their inabilities in Sea affairs, and fay *That God hath given the Sea, to the Chriftians, but the land to them*. And no doubt but the large poffeffions and riches they enjoy on the ftabte Element of the Earth, is that which takes of their minds a deep attention to matters of the Sea, which is almoft fonly managed by Renegadoes amongft them, who have abandoned their Faith and their Country. And it is happy for Chriftendom that this faintnefs remains on the Spirits of the Turks, and aver tion from all Naval employment, whofe numbers and power the *Great God of Hefts* hath retrained by the bounds of the Ocean, as he hath limited the Ocean by the Sands of the Sea fhore.

THE

The CONCLUSION.

BY the Discourse made in the three foregoing Books it will evidently appear what sort of Government is exercised amongst the Turks what their Religion is, and how formidable their Force; which ought to make the Christian world tremble, to see so great a Part of it subjected to the Mahometan Power; yet no means thought of to unite our interests, and compose our Differences, which lay us open to the inundation of this flowing Empire: To which I shall add this one thing very observable, That the Grand Signior wages his Wars by Land without any charge to himself; an advantage not to be parallel'd by the policy of any Government I ever heard or read of before; for his *Spahets and Janizaries* are always in pay, both in War and Peace; his *Zaims and Timariou* have their Lands to maintain them; and other Militia's enjoy the fixed Revenue from their respective Countries. and yet notwithstanding through the expence of the Naval Forces, the building Gallies, and the like, matters not provided for by those who laid the first foundation of this Government, the Revenue of the Empire hath been bankrupted, and By the corruption of the Officers, or ill management, been sold for three years to come, untill all was redeemed and restored again by the wisdom of that famous Viceroy *Kuthli*, whom we have had occasion so often to mention in the foregoing Treatise,

We cannot now but pity those Poor Borderers in *Hungary, Syria, Croatia, and* other parts subject to the Incurfions of this cruel Enemy, since we know that in the last war not three English miles from *Vienna* many poor people have been surpris'd, and fallen into the hands of the Tartar and Turk, and sold afterwards into perpetual Slavery, This Consideration ought to move us, who are surrounded and fortified by the Seas from the violence of our Enemies, to bless God we are born in so happy and so secure a Country, subject to no dangers but from our selves, nor other miseries but what arise from our own freedom and too much felicity; we ought to consider it is a blessing, that we have never felt any (part of the rod of this great oppressor of Christianity, and yet have taill'd of the good and benefit which hath proceeded from a free and open Trade, and an amicable Correspondence and Friendship with this People; which having been maintained for the space of above eighty years, begun in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* of blessed Memory, preserved by the Prudence and admirable Discretion of a series of worthy Embassadors, and daily improved both in Business and Reputation by the excellent Conduct and Direction of that Right Worshipfull Company of the *Levant* Merchants, hath brought a most considerable benefit to this Kingdom, and gives employment and lively hood to many thousands of people in *England*; by which also His Majesty without any expence, gains a very considerable increase of His Customs.

The fence of this benefit and advantage to my own Country, without any private considerations I have as a Servant to that Embassy, or the obligations I have to that worthy Company, cause me to move with the greatest fidelity and devotion possible to promote and advance the Interest of that Trade: And as some study several ways, and prescribe Rules by which a war may be most advantageously managed against the Turk; I on the contrary, am more inclinable to give my judgement in what manner our Peace and Trade may best be secured and maintained; knowing that so considerable a welfare of our Nation depends upon it, that a few years of Trades interruption in *Turkey* will make all sorts of people sensible of the want of so great a vent of the Commodities of our Country. And therefore as I am oblig'd to pray for the Glory and Prosperity of His Majesty our gracious Sovereign, so like wife, as that which conduces to it for the continuance of the Honour of this Embassy in *Turkey*, and the profitable returns of the *Levant* Company.

FINIS

