THE FOURTH LETTER

I WELCOME your congratulations on my safe return as another proof of your kindness of heart and the good-will which you have always shown towards me. As for your Excellency's request for an account of the rest of my mission and the events which have occurred since my last letter and any amusing incidents which I have observed, I have not forgotten my promise. I am fully aware of the obligations which I have undertaken, and have no intention of breaking my word or of defrauding so accommodating a creditor as yourself. Here, then, is an account of all that has happened since I last wrote, whether trifling or amusing or serious—in fact, as before, everything that I can remember. I am afraid, however, that I shall begin on anything but a cheerful note.

My spirits had scarcely recovered from the news of Bajazet's disasters and imprisonment, when we were disturbed by further news equally unfavourable. We were expecting to hear the result of a Turkish naval expedition which had sailed to the island of Meninx, or Jerba (n), as it is now called, owing to the reports of Spanish successes in that region. On hearing that this island had been captured by the Christians and that they had added new fortifications to the ancient citadel and had garrisoned the place, Soleiman felt that, as lord of so mighty and so flourishing an empire, he could not put up with the affront. He had therefore resolved to send his fleet to the help of a nation so closely bound to him by the ties of a common religion,
and had appointed Piali Pasha as admiral in command of the expedition. The ships were manned with a large number of picked men, who, however, were not free from anxiety and alarm at the distance of the journey and the reputation of their enemies. The minds of the Turks had been deeply impressed by their experience of Spanish bravery in the many wars, both in recent and in former times, in which success had brought glory to their arms. They remembered the Emperor Charles; they heard daily reports of King Philip, who had inherited his father's valour as well as his throne. So great was their apprehension that many of them, thinking that they were bound on a desperate adventure from which they might never return to Constantinople, made their last will and testament before setting out. The whole city was full of alarm, and every one, whether he embarked or stayed at home, was harassed by grave doubts as to how the expedition might end.

The fleet, however, enjoyed favouring winds and came upon our men unawares; and its unexpected arrival caused such a panic that they had neither the courage to fight nor the presence of mind to escape. A few galleys, it is true, which were cleared for action, sought safety in flight; the rest stuck fast, or broke up in the shallow water, or were surrounded by the enemy and sunk. The Duke of Medina, who was the military commander, took refuge in the citadel together with Giovanni Andrea Doria, the admiral of the fleet. Under cover of the darkness they embarked in the early watches of the night and succeeded in passing unobserved through the enemy's guard-ships in a rowing boat and reached Sicily.
tion of crossing over to Sicily. His object was that he might not sully the great prestige which he had won in warfare, by the disgrace of a surrender, however necessary, and that the loss of the place might be ascribed to any one but himself. The result of his action was that the citadel fell into the enemy’s hands; for the soldiers opened the gates, which it was useless any longer to close to the enemy, in the hope of thus gaining more lenient treatment. Don Juan de Castella refused to leave the rampart entrusted to his care, and fought, together with his brother, until he was wounded and finally taken prisoner.

The citadel had been defended by the Spaniards with great devotion for more than three months, though almost every kind of necessary supply and, what was still worse, all hope of relief had failed. In that hot climate nothing causes so much suffering as thirst. There was only one cistern, which, though it was large and well filled with water, could not suffice for so large a number. Consequently the water was rationed, just enough being distributed to each man to keep him alive. Most of the men increased their portion by adding sea-water, which had been purified of the great part of its salt by distillation—a timely device which a skilful chemist had shown them. Not all of them, however, possessed the necessary facilities, and therefore many of them were to be seen stretched on the ground on the point of death, with their mouths agape and continually repeating a single word, ‘water’. If any one took pity on them and poured a little water into their mouths, they revived and sat up and remained in that posture until the effect of the water wore off, when they fell back again and eventually expired from thirst. Many died in this manner every day in addition to those who perished fighting or from disease and the complete lack of medical stores in that desolate spot.

In September the victorious fleet returned to Constantinople with the prisoners, spoils, and captured vessels, a sight as joyful to the Turks as it was mournful and deplorable to us Christians. The first night it anchored at the rocks off Constantinople, so that it might enter the harbour by day with greater pomp and before a greater crowd of spectators. Soleiman had gone down to the colonnade adjoining the entrance to the harbour and forming a continuation of his garden, so that he might have a nearer view of the arrival of the fleet and of the Christian officers exhibited upon it. On the poop of the flag-ship were displayed Don Alvaro de Sande and the admirals of the Neapolitan and Sicilian fleets, Don Berenguer de Requesens and Don Sancho de Leyva. The captured galleys were towed along, stripped of their oars and bulwarks and reduced to mere hulks, so that in this condition they might seem small, shapeless, and contemptible in comparison with the Turkish vessels.

Those who saw Soleiman’s face on this occasion declare that they could not detect any traces of unusual elation. Certainly I myself, when I saw him two days later setting out to perform his religious duties, remarked that his expression of face was unaltered. His countenance was marked by the same sternness and sadness, so that you would almost have thought that the victory was no concern of his and that nothing new or unexpected had happened. So steed was the old man’s heart to accept whatever fortune might
decreed, so unflinching his mind, that he seemed to accept all the applause without emotion.

A few days later the prisoners were brought to the Palace. They were starving and half-dead; most of them could scarcely stand, many of them were collapsing through weakness and fainting, some were practically dying. They were made a laughing-stock, being forced to wear their armour back to front or at any rate put on in a ridiculous manner. The cries of the Turks were to be heard all round uttering insults and proclaiming themselves the masters of the whole world; for, now that the Spaniards had been vanquished, what enemy remained whom they need fear?

A Turkish officer of high rank, whom I knew well, had taken part in the expedition. Into this man's hand had fallen the chief, or royal, standard of the Neapolitan fleet, which displayed the arms of all the Spanish provinces supported by the imperial eagle. Learning that he intended to offer it as a present to Soleiman, I thought it my duty to take steps to prevent this and obtain it from him. I had no difficulty in getting possession of it by sending him a gift of two silk dresses. I thus prevented the glorious insignia of Charles V from remaining in the enemy's hands as a perpetual memorial of the defeat.

Amongst the prisoners, besides those whom I have mentioned, were two officers of high birth, Don Juan de Cardona, the son-in-law of Don Bellenguer, and Don Gaston, the son of the Duke of Medina. The latter, though still almost a boy, had held high rank in his father's army. Don Juan had cleverly contrived, by the promise of a large sum of money, to be left behind at Chios, which is still in the hands of its ancient inhabitants, the Genoese. Piali had been tempted by the hopes of obtaining a large ransom to secrete Gaston, a plot which nearly caused his own ruin. For Soleiman, having somehow or other got wind of this, was exceedingly annoyed and, at Rossten's instigation, made strenuous efforts to unearth Gaston from his hiding-place, in order that he might catch Piali red-handed and have a good pretext for punishing him. But his trouble was all in vain, for Gaston suddenly died, either from plague, as some believe, or else, more probably, through the agency of Piali, for fear that some evidence might come out against him. At any rate, though the most careful inquiries were made by his father's agents, the truth could not be discovered. It is only too likely that Piali made away with Gaston in the interests of his own safety. Anyhow, he lived for a long time in great fear and shunned the neighbourhood of Constantine, wandering about with a few vessels among the islands of the Aegean on various pretences; he avoided any approach to his angry master's presence, which he knew would be fatal to him; for he was convinced that he would be thrown into prison and obliged to defend himself. Finally, however, Soleiman, softened by the prayers of the chief eunuch of the bedchamber and of his son Selim, extended to him his pardon in words which it gives me pleasure to repeat: 'For myself, I grant him pardon and impunity for the terrible sin which he has committed; but, this life ended, may God, the just avenger of crime, inflict upon him the penalty which he deserves.' So convinced was Soleiman that no crime is destined to go unpunished.
Don Juan de Cardona met with better fortune. Thanks to the efforts of the illustrious Adam de Dietrichstein, an Austrian baron, who had married his charming sister, he was allowed to return in safety to Spain after I had undertaken to stand surety for him. When de Sandé was brought before the Divan, or assembly of Pashas, and was asked by Roostem, 'what had induced his master to attack the territory of another sovereign when he could not protect his own,' he replied that 'it was not for him to criticize; his duty was to carry out the orders of his master as faithfully as he could, but fate had been against him.' He then kneeled down and intreated the Pashas to recommend Soleiman to spare him, saying that he had a wife and several children, for whose sake he begged them to save him. Roostem answered that his master was merciful and that he hoped to obtain the preservation of his life. Orders were therefore given to convey de Sandé to the castle of Caradenis, that is to say of the Black Sea (n). But soon after his departure he was recalled, the sole reason being that the chief eunuch of the bedchamber, whom I have already mentioned, and who had great influence with the Sultan, had not seen him and wished to do so. Those who saw him returning state that, though a man of intrepid courage, he came back in a state of terrible emotion, being afraid that his sentence had been reversed and that he was brought back for execution. The other captives of note were incarcerated in the town of Pera, or Galata, as it is sometimes called. Among them were Don Sancho de Leyva and his two natural sons, and Don Berenguer. Hearing of this and of the terrible privations under which they were suffering, I thought it my duty to relieve their distress. I therefore sent persons to visit them and express my condolences and promise them any help that I could give them. From that time onwards my house was always open to a whole tribe of prisoners, and I never ceased to perform such services towards them as lay within my power.

The Turks think that they have amply provided for the needs of their captives if they supply them with bread and water. They take no thought of the age of the individual prisoners, their habits of life, their health, or the season of the year, and deal out the same treatment to the healthy and to those who are sick or recovering from illness, to the robust and to the delicate, to the young and to the old. Thus a wide field was open to me for giving various kinds of assistance to their different necessities. A large number of the sick lay in a mosque at Pera, as the town is called which lies immediately opposite Byzantium across the bay. These men were regarded by the Turks as hopeless cases, as good as dead and buried. Many of them, either while actually ill or in the course of recovery, died from want of a suitable diet—a little soup or some dainty morsel to tempt their failing appetite and enable them gradually to recover their lost strength. Hearing of this, I arranged with a friend of mine who lived in Pera to buy several sheep each day and boil them in his house and distribute the broth to some and the meat to others of the prisoners, as the state of each man's disease or convalescence demanded. This was of benefit to not a few of them.

Such was my work for the sick; those who were well demanded help of another kind. My house was
thronged from early morning till evening by those who sought my aid in their various troubles. Some, who had been accustomed to a luxurious table, could not stomach a daily diet of dry black bread, and required the means to purchase some kind of relish. There were others whose digestions could not put up with having nothing to drink but water, and needed a little wine. Others had to sleep on the bare ground and could not endure the cold at night; these had to be provided with blankets. Others needed cloaks or shoes. Most numerous were those who asked for the means to mitigate the cruelty of their masters or gaolers and render them more amenable. The only remedy for all these troubles was money, and for this I was continually asked; so that no day passed on which I did not spend several pieces of gold.

All this, though troublesome, was endurable and not likely to ruin me. A more serious problem threatened me in the demands of those who wanted to borrow larger sums or wished me to act as surety for their ransom. Every one of them had some special plea in support of his claims, and tried to make his own case appear the most pressing. One man would urge his high birth and connexions, or the distinctions and high office held by his relatives; another the commission which he had held and his long years of service; another the wealth which he possessed at home and his ability to pay back a loan with promptitude. Not a few proclaimed their personal valour and warlike exploits. In a word, all had some reason or other for claiming my aid. When any question was raised about their good faith and the likelihood of their remembering to pay, they told me that I need have no
offered me. On the top of these public misfortunes there had come a private trouble—a plague which had attacked my household and carried off one of my most faithful servants and caused great alarm among the rest, owing to their fear of contagion. I will tell you more of this later on, after I have mentioned another lesser, but still serious, cause of anxiety which befell us.

The Sultan is becoming day by day more scrupulous in his religious observance, in a word, more superstitious. He used to enjoy listening to a choir of boys who sang and played to him; but this has been brought to an end by the intervention of some sibyl (that is to say, some old woman famous for her profession of sanctity), who declared that penalties awaited him in a future life, if he did not give up this entertainment. He was thus induced to break up and commit to the flames all the musical instruments, even though they were ornamented with fine work in gold and studded with precious stones. He used to eat off a service of silver plate, but some one found such fault with him for this that now he only uses earthenware.

Next some one presented himself who could not tolerate the extensive drinking of wine in the city and stirred up the Sultan's scruples on this subject on the ground that he was scarcely observing the precepts of the Prophet. An edict was therefore passed forbidding the importation of wine into Constantinople in the future, even though it was intended for Christians and Jews. This edict closely concerned me and my people, since we were quite unaccustomed to drinking water only. For how could we obtain wine if its introduction within the walls were to be pro-

hibited? Our continual pinings for home and the prolonged uncertainty as to how our negotiations would turn out was reducing our strength without the further necessity of a change in our diet, which could not be carried out without harm to the health of many of us. I instructed my interpreters to plead our cause persistently with the Pashas in the Divan and to uphold our former rights. Opinions varied; some considered that we ought to be content with water. What, they urged, would our neighbours say if they saw wine being brought into our quarters? They themselves were strictly forbidden to touch it; yet it was proposed that Christians should be allowed to swill down as much of it as they liked and diffuse its odour far and wide and pollute the whole city; nay more, Mussulmans who visited me came away belching forth fumes of wine. These pleas very nearly ruined our case; finally, however, the opinion prevailed of those Pashas who used their authority on our behalf and urged that the change of diet would be unendurable and would inevitably cause disease and death to many of our number. We were, therefore, allowed to choose one night on which we might have as much wine as we wanted put ashore at the sea-gate, which we regarded as the most convenient spot. On the appointed night we were to have carts and horses ready to convey the wine with the least possible noise to the house. In this manner we retained our rights.

There were some Greeks who attempted to shake the Sultan's resolve by the following stratagem. Learning that he was to pass through some districts which were thickly planted with vineyards, they
assembled in large numbers and rooted up the vines, and either heaped them in the road or loaded them on carts. When the Sultan reached the spot, wondering what was happening, he stopped and, calling the nearest of the men to him, asked them what they were doing. They replied that, since his proclamation forbade them to drink wine, they were pulling up the vines, for which they had no further use, in order to use them for firewood. To this Soleiman replied: 'You are doing wrong and have misunderstood my intention. I enjoined abstinence from wine, but I do not therefore prohibit the eating of grapes, which should be regarded as among the noblest fruits which God has bestowed upon the human race. There is no reason why you should not enjoy their fresh juice, so long as you do not store it in casks and pervert its proper use by your pernicious inventions. Do you consider that apple trees ought to be rooted up because they do not produce wine? Cease, fools, and spare the vines which will yield you excellent fruit.' Thus the contrivance of the Greeks brought no result.

I now return to the plague which I have mentioned as having broken out under my roof. Wishing to escape it, I sent and asked Roostem if I might have his permission to remove to other quarters, where I might not be exposed to the risk of infection. Knowing his character I had some hesitation about taking this step, and only did so lest I should be thought neglectful of my own health and that of my people. Roostem answered that he would refer the matter to the Sultan, and the next day brought the following reply from his master: 'What did I mean and whither did I think of flying? Did I not know that pestilence is God's arrow, which does not miss its appointed mark? Where could I hide so as to be outside its range? If He wished me to be smitten, no flight or hiding-place could avail me; it was useless to avoid inevitable fate. His own house at the moment was not free from plague; yet he remained there. I likewise should do better to remain where I was.' Thus I was obliged to remain in that plague-stricken house of death.

It so happened that not long afterwards Roostem was attacked by dropsy and died. His successor was Ali, the second of the Vizieral Pashas, a kind and intelligent Turk if ever there was one. When I sent him my congratulations on his new dignity and the gift of a fine silken robe, I received a courteous reply, in which he bade me regard him as a friend on every occasion and not be afraid to address myself to him when I needed anything. His acts fully accorded with his promises. My first experience of this occurred when, after an interval, the plague again disturbed my household and, after attacking several others, carried off the man on whose help and support, under God, we most depended for the preservation of our health. I thereupon sent to Ali and made the same request as I had formerly addressed to Roostem. He replied that I had his permission to go where I pleased, but that I should be wise to apply to the Sultan as well, for fear lest he might come upon my men wandering about too freely and be angry at their leaving my lodgings without his knowledge. Much depended, he said, upon the way in which any proposal was put before the Sultan, and he would take care to present the matter to him in such a manner that I had no need
to doubt about his consent. Shortly afterwards he informed me that I might go wherever I liked.

The most convenient retreat seemed to be the Island of Prinkipo (n), four hours’ sail from the city and the pleasantest of the numerous little islands which lie near Constantinople, and containing two villages, whereas the others have only one or none at all.

I have said that death robbed us of the man on whom we used most to rely. This man was our doctor, William [Quacquelben], the worthy and faithful companion of my long exile. I had ransomed a man, who, without my knowing it, was, as it turned out, suffering from the plague. While William was trying to cure him, he failed to take proper precautions, and became himself infected with the fatal poison. He held the heretical opinion that, when the plague was abroad, there was more panic than actual danger, and that at such times the usual diseases of various kind occurred, but that, through panic, most of them were ascribed to the plague, and so any ulcer or boil was treated as a plague-spot. Thus, although he was sickening for plague, he was far from suspecting the truth, until the disease, which had been increased by his concealment, burst forth with such violence that he almost died in the arms of those who rushed to his help. Even then he could not be brought to believe that he was suffering from plague. When, on the very day before his death, I had sent to inquire how he felt, he replied that he was better, and asked me, if it was convenient, to come and see him. I sat with him for a long time while he told me how seriously ill he had been; his senses, he said, and especially his eyesight, had been so weakened that he could not

recognize any one; this affection, however, had passed away and he had recovered the use of all his senses; all that remained was a catarrh, which interfered with his respiration; if this could be relieved, he would be quite well again immediately. As I left him, I remarked that I had been told that he had some kind of abscess on his chest. This he admitted, and throwing back the coverlet of the bed he showed it to me, declaring that it caused him no discomfort and was due to the knots on a doublet which he had put on for the first time and which was too tight. That evening, when, according to the regulations of my household, two of my servants had gone to attend him for the night and were preparing to put on him a clean shirt, he himself noticed on his body, when it was stripped, a purple spot, which they declared was a flea-bite. However, seeing more and larger spots, he exclaimed, ‘These are no flea-bites, but a warning that death is at hand; let us therefore act upon this warning.’ He, therefore, spent all the night in prayer to God, in pious conversation, and in listening to the reading of the Bible; then at dawn he passed away in the full assurance of divine mercy.

Thus I have lost a beloved friend and valuable supporter. The loss to the learned world is equally great. He had seen, learned, and noted many things which he intended some day to publish for the benefit of the public; but death has prevented his well-laid schemes. So highly did I value his loyalty and experience that, if the crisis had passed and I had obtained permission to return, I should not have hesitated to leave him behind in Constantinople in my place. After his death my labours seemed to be doubled, and,
now that I have returned without him, I feel that I have left part of my very self behind. Peace be upon the good man's spirit! I have set up a monument to him, on which I have borne well-deserved testimony to his virtues.

But to return to my island, where I spent three months with great satisfaction to myself. It was wonderfully quiet, quite free from crowds and noise. There were a few Greeks, with whom I found quarters; but there was not a single Turk to spy upon my amusements by his continual presence, for the Turkish servants, to whom I had become quite accustomed, did not interfere with me. I was free to wander where I liked and to sail about among the numerous islands just as I pleased. There are abundant plants of various kinds, lavender, prickly myrtle, and burnet, and many others. The sea is full of numerous fish of every sort on which I used to try my wiles, sometimes with a hook, at other times with a net. Boats were obtainable with Greek fishermen, whom I employed to aid me.

I used to cross to some spot which gave hopes of pleasant surroundings and good sport. Sometimes it was my pleasure to indulge in open warfare and transfix with a three-pronged spear a crab or lobster as it scuttled along in the transparent shallows, and pull it into the boat; but the pleasantest, as well as the most profitable, method was to fish with a seine or drag-net. A place having been chosen where the fishermen thought that there were plenty of fish, I had it surrounded by the drag-net in such a way that a large space was enclosed by the net itself and also by the long ropes by which the two ends of the net were dragged ashore. Round these ropes the sailors twisted numerous green boughs to frighten the fish and prevent them from trying to escape and take refuge in the deep water. Thus, when the two extremities of the net were dragged ashore, the fish were driven into a narrow space; but, though alarmed, they did not abandon themselves to their fate. Each of them resorted to the devices which their instinct had taught them. Some tried to escape from danger by a bold leap over the net; others buried themselves in the sand, so as to avoid becoming entangled; others attempted to gnaw through the meshes, although they were made of quite thick cord. These were chiefly sea bream, a species which is armed with powerful teeth. Their object is to bite through enough line to make a passage through which one of them can escape, whereupon the whole shoal follows the leader, so that not a single fish of all their number remains for the fisherman. I was afraid of this (for I had been warned) and stood in the bows with a pole in my hand, with which I struck their jaws as they bit, much to the amusement of my companions. I succeeded, however, in preventing only a few of the many that were in the net from making good their escape. Even a fish does not lack cunning in the hour of danger. Plenty of fish, however, of other kinds were caught—black-tails, scorpion-fishes, weevers, wrasses, rock-fish, and sea-perch. Their variety made them a pleasing sight, and I enjoyed discovering their names and habits. At nightfall I returned to camp with the bows of my boat wreathed with laurels and loaded with spoil and prisoners. Next day I shared the booty with Ali Pasha and the master of his household, who declared that the gift was most acceptable. . . .

When the weather prevented me from going on the
sea, I had to amuse myself by looking for plants which were rare or unfamiliar. Sometimes, for the sake of exercise, I would walk all round the island, taking with me a worthy monk of the Franciscan order, who, though quite young, was stout and unaccustomed to exert himself. He had come from a monastery at Pera to keep me company. Once when I was stepping out in order to warm myself, he had difficulty in keeping up with me, as he panted and snorted: ‘What need,’ he exclaimed, ‘was there for such hurry? Were we trying to escape or pursuing somebody? Had we undertaken to carry letters of great importance, and had we hired ourselves out as couriers or dispatch-bearers?’ Finally the sweat broke out through his garments and made a patch as large as a shield on his back. When we returned to our quarters, he filled the whole place with his groans and laments and hurled himself down on his bed, declaring that he was done for. ‘Why,’ he asked, ‘should you be in a hurry to make away with one who had never done you any harm?’ It was only with difficulty that, after frequent requests, he could be induced to come to the dinner-table.

From time to time friends from Constantinople and Pera visited me, and some Germans who belonged to Ali’s household. When I asked them whether the plague was not abating, ‘Most decidedly,’ one of them replied. ‘What, then, is the daily death-rate?’ I asked. ‘About five hundred.’ ‘Great Heavens!’ I cried, ‘and yet you say that the plague is abating! How many deaths were there each day when it was at its worst?’ ‘As many as a thousand or twelve hundred,’ he replied.

The Turks hold an opinion which makes them indifferent to, though not safe from, the plague. They are persuaded that the time and manner of each man’s death is inscribed by God upon his forehead; if, therefore, he is destined to die, it is useless for him to try to avert fate; if he is not so destined, he is foolish to be afraid. And so they handle the garments and linen in which plague-stricken persons have died, even though they are still wet with the contagion of their sweat; nay, they even wipe their faces with them. ‘If,’ they say, ‘it is God’s will that I should die, then die I must; if not, it can do me no harm.’ Thus contagion is spread far and wide, and sometimes whole families are exterminated.

While I was living in the islands I made the acquaintance of the Metropolitan Metrophanes, who was head of the monastery in Chalcis, one of the islands, a well-bred and learned man. He was anxious for the union of the Latin and Greek churches, and thus disagreed with the attitude adopted by most men of his race, who shun members of our Church as unclean and profane; so convinced is each man that his own way of thought is the best.

When I had spent nearly two months in the island some of the Pashas began to be uneasy about my long absence, and spoke of the matter to Ali, saying that they thought it would be more convenient if I were recalled to the city. For what if I should try to escape? They pointed out that I had ships ready at hand to secure my flight, and facilities of every kind, if I cared to use them. Ali told them not to be anxious, for he had no doubts of my good faith. However, he sent a cavas to tell me of this. This man carried
out an inspection without making it obvious that he was doing so, and finding nothing which indicated any intention to escape on my part, he returned, after receiving a present from me, with a message to Ali that he need have no fear that I would do anything to prejudice the confidence which he reposed in me. So my stay in the country was prolonged into a third month, and then I returned to the town at my own good time, without being sent for.

From this period dates my close friendship with Ali Pasha and our constant conversations about peace. By origin a Dalmatian, he is the only really civilized man whom I ever met among those Turkish barbarians. He is of a mild and calm disposition, polite, highly intelligent; he has a mind which can deal with the most difficult problems, and a wide experience of military and civil affairs. He is now well advanced in years and has continually held high office. He is tall of stature, and his face has a serious expression which is full of charm. He is devoted to his master, and nothing would please him better than to obtain for him the peace and quiet which would enable him to support in greater comfort his age and infirmities. He is anxious to obtain by courtesy and fairness—in fact, by treating me as a friend—the objects which Roostem sought to gain by bullying and intimidation and threats.

Roostem was always gloomy and brutal, and wished his words to be looked upon as orders. He knew perfectly well what the political conditions and the advanced years of the Sultan required, but he was afraid that, if he showed any leniency in deed or word, he might seem to have acted from motives of avarice, for the Sultan strongly suspected him of taking bribes.

He, therefore, never deviated from his customary rudeness, in spite of his anxiety to patch up a peace. And so when any answer was given which did not please him he would not listen and brought the interview to an end, and I always left him apparently in a bad temper. I remember once I had been negotiating with him about terms of peace and he had rejected my proposals as unworthy of consideration, and had broken me leave his presence if I had nothing better to offer: so I immediately got up and returned home, after just saying that I was not at liberty to make any suggestions for which I had not my master’s sanction. As he imagined that I had spoken with more feeling than usual, he called back my interpreter and asked him whether I had been angry. When he denied this, Roostem went on: ‘What is your opinion? If I obtained from the Sultan the terms which Busbecq has several times suggested, do you think he would keep his word and give me the present which he has promised me?’ The interpreter replied that he had no doubt about my scrupulously carrying out any promise I had made. ‘Go home,’ said Roostem, ‘and ask him.’ Now I had by me, ready for any emergency that might arise, the sum of 5,000 ducats in cash, which are the equivalent of 6,000 crowns. With this money I loaded my interpreter and bade him tell Roostem that here was a proof of my good faith and a first instalment; the rest would follow when the business was completed (for I had promised a still larger sum). It was not, I said, my custom to break my word. Roostem was delighted to see the money, and handled it, and then returned it to the interpreter, saying, ‘I do not doubt his good faith, but this busi-
ness is full of difficulties and I cannot make any definite promise, nor do I yet know what my master’s attitude will be. Take the money back to the ambassador and ask him to keep it for me until I know how matters are going to turn out. Meanwhile, let him act as my banker. This money, which I had counted as spent, remained in my hands after all, for a few months later death carried Roostem off.

I must now tell you of an act of kindness on the part of the Emperor. Since it seemed no longer necessary to retain this money, after first informing him I used it for a year’s expenses; for our annual expenditure amounted to this sum. I afterwards regretted having done this, when I began to consider how many years I had spent on my mission and in what great toils and dangers I had been involved; I felt, inasmuch as I knew the value of my services and the generosity of my excellent master and his just appreciation of the merits of his servants, that I had missed an opportunity and omitted to ask for a sum of money which had been unexpectedly saved, like a lamb snatched from the jaws of a wolf. There were many men at court who had received larger rewards for far less valuable services. I resolved, therefore, to remind the Emperor of these facts and to confess my mistake and ask him to hand me back the whole sum, and beg him, with his usual generosity, to remedy a mistake which my carelessness had made me commit. It was easy to make good my case before so fair a judge; he ordered the payment of 6,000 crowns from his treasury. If I ever allow myself to forget so generous an act of kindness, I shall regard myself as no longer worthy to live upon this earth.

But I must return from this digression to my subject—the different character and mentality of the two Pashas, Ali and Roostem. Ali, throughout his life, had been free from any suspicion of meanness, and was therefore never afraid that his courtesy or easiness of approach would incur the Sultan’s blame. Roostem, on the other hand, was always avaricious and mean, and his first thoughts were always of his own interests and enrichment. My interviews with Roostem were always very brief; whereas Ali purposely extended them over several hours, and his kindliness made the time pass pleasantly. Meanwhile the Turks who had come to pay their respects or to consult him would fret and fume because my presence prevented the Pasha from giving them an audience. I myself used to suffer the pangs of hunger, for I was generally summoned to him after midday, and I almost always went without having taken a meal, in order that I might have as clear a brain as possible for conversation with a man of such keen intellect. At these conferences he always insisted that we should give our respective masters such advice as we each judged to accord most with their interests. ‘He was well aware,’ he said, ‘that his own master, whose life was drawing to a close and who had had his fill of victories and glory, needed nothing so much as rest; at the same time (as I myself doubtless knew) peace and quiet were very much to my master’s interest also. If he wished to promote the safety and tranquillity of his own people, he ought not to provoke the sleeping lion again to enter the arena. Just as looking-glasses are naturally empty but give back the reflection of any objects which may be placed before them, in like
manner the minds of princes present as it were a clean surface to receive the impress of the ideas which are presented to them. We ought, therefore, to put before the minds of our masters those things which most conduce to their interests. We ought also to imitate good cooks, who do not season their dishes to suit the palate of this or that person, but consult the taste of all the guests; so we, in determining the conditions of peace, ought so to arrange them that they may suit the wishes and susceptibilities of both parties.

He showed great skill in impressing these and similar doctrines upon me. Whenever circumstances allowed, he gave evidence of his kindly feeling towards me; and if I, in my turn, showed myself ready to serve him, he received my advances with obvious gratitude.

It so happened about this time that, as he was returning home from the Divan and had come to a bend in the road where he usually bade farewell to his colleagues, he made his horse swerve too sharply and, being intent on his salutation, leaned forward with all his weight upon the horse's neck. The horse, which had not recovered its balance, could not support his weight and fell to the ground carrying its rider with it. When I heard of this I instructed my attendants to wait upon him and inquire whether the accident had had any ill effects. He was much pleased at this attention and, thanking me, replied that he was quite unhurt, adding that it was no wonder if a worn-out old soldier were liable to fall. Then, turning to those who were standing by, he said, 'It is impossible to do justice to the kindness which that Christian always displays towards me.'

He used sometimes to say that wealth and honour...
was no hint in his countenance or words that any change had taken place in the situation, until I was preparing to depart and had risen to bid him farewell. Then, as if the subject of Moldavia had only just occurred to him, he asked me to resume my seat, and said, just as one does when one remembers some trifle, 'Of a truth, I almost forgot something which I wished to say to you. Have you heard that your Germans have marched into Moldavia?' 'Into Moldavia?' I said, 'no, indeed; and it seems to me most improbable. What should the Germans be doing in so distant a country as Moldavia?' 'But it is quite true,' he replied, 'as you will find out for yourself.' And he began further to confirm his statement and to assure me that reliable information had arrived. 'In fact,' he said, 'to put an end to your doubts, we will arrange for the capture of a German whom we can send to you, so that you may learn the truth from him.' On this I took refuge in the statement that, in any case, I was certain of one thing, that nothing had been done by the Emperor's orders or on his instructions. I pointed out that the Germans were a free nation and were accustomed to serve in foreign armies, and that it was possible that some of them, after fighting under the imperial generals, had enlisted under some leader who needed mercenaries; my own opinion was that he would not be far wrong if he attributed this disturbance to the Hungarian magnates of that region, who, wearied by the wrongs which the Turks heaped daily upon them, had determined to pay them out. 'And, indeed,' I added, 'if I may say what I think, I do not see that they can be blamed, if, after having been so frequently provoked and hounded on, they have remembered that they are men and have made up their mind to exact vengeance. Is there anything which your soldiers have not, for many years past, regarded themselves as free to do in Hungary? What kind of outrage or hostile act against our citizens have they failed to perpetrate? Here hopes of peace are held out, but there none of the ugliest aspects of war are lacking. I myself have now been detained for many years as a prisoner, and no one in my own land knows with certainty whether I am alive or have ceased to exist. Those who have borne your insults so long deserve, in my opinion, not blame but praise, if they seize the opportunity for revenge when it offers itself.' 'So be it,' replied Ali, 'let them make the best use of it they can, provided they keep within the bounds of Hungary and the neighbourhood; but that they should actually invade Moldavia, which is only a few days' journey from Adrianople, is quite intolerable.' To this I replied: 'You cannot expect men who are more accustomed to handling arms than the law to make nice and delicate distinctions. They seized the first chance which presented itself and did not think that they need consider in what direction or how far they might proceed.' So I left him, and he did not seem, as far as I could judge, at all angry; indeed, he did not show himself a whit less amenable during the peace negotiations which we held on the following days.

While we were engaged in these negotiations, I was much touched by an act of kindness (for so I interpret it), which I received from the ambassador of the Most Christian King [of France]. There were in the Sultan's prison at Constantinople thirteen persons,
most of them young men, including some German and some Dutch nobles who had come there by a remarkable accident. They had embarked at Venice on a ship which every year conveys to Syria, under the protection of the Venetian republic, those who wish to visit the Holy City of Jerusalem. Some of them had started from motives of piety, others from love of travel and visiting distant lands. Unfortunately for them, just at the time when they reached land, the forces of the Knights of Malta had made a descent upon that part of the coast of Phoenicia and laid it waste and had carried off numerous prisoners. The Syrians, whose parents, children, and relatives had been seized, since no other means was open to them of vengeance or of recovering the captives, laid hands upon these protégés of the Venetians and accused them of belonging to the pirates, and gave them the alternative of either securing the return of their relatives or else submitting to the same condition of servitude. It was in vain that they displayed the passports which they had received from the Venetian government or appealed to the law of nations and terms of treaties; might prevailed over right, and they were carried off in chains to Constantinople. Their youth was greatly to their disadvantage; for the Pashas refused to believe in the probability that motives of piety had made them journey to Jerusalem, because usually among the Turks none but men of advanced years undertake religious pilgrimages. When I heard of this, I left no stone unturned in my attempts to save them from their wretched condition; but I achieved nothing. An appeal was made to the Venetian Baily (n), because the misfortune had occurred while they were under the protection of that republic. He could not deny that he ought to come to their aid, but he protested that he could obtain no concessions from such heartless savages as the Turks. Meanwhile, I relieved their distress with every means of comfort that lay in my power. Suddenly, one day quite unexpectedly, they all came to me and informed me that they had been released, thanks to the ambassador of the Most Christian King, whose efforts had secured their release. I was greatly delighted at this unlooked-for event, and took care that the ambassador should receive my heartiest thanks. The ambassador, whose name was Lavigne, as he was bidding farewell to Soleiman on his departure and was kissing his hand in accordance with the usual custom, had managed to slip into it a petition, in which he requested that, as a favour to his sovereign, these men, whose piety had been the cause of their misfortune, should be granted their liberty. Soleiman gave his consent and ordered them to be released immediately. So I provided them with journey money and put them on board ship and sent them to Venice and thence to their own country.

This Lavigne had at first made himself unpleasant to me in various ways. Whenever he could, he used to thwart me in my negotiations, and did his best to bring me into unmerited unpopularity with the Pashas. He used to declare that, having been born in Belgium, I was a subject of the King of Spain, and was as much in the service of that king as in that of the Emperor. He said that I gave the king information about everything that went on in Constantinople, and that I had paid agents who told me all the closest secrets,
among whom Ibrahim, the First Dragoman of the Sultan, played the most important part. I will tell you more of this man later. All this occurred before peace had been concluded between the Kings of Spain and France; when peace had been made, he seemed to seek an opportunity to make amends for his behaviour.

Lavigne used to express himself with a freedom of speech which was savage and brutal; he was incapable of suppressing or hiding anything that came into his mind, however distasteful to his audience. The result was that even Roostem avoided intercourse with him, although other people shrank from conversation with Roostem on account of his bitter tongue. Lavigne used to send his interpreters to demand an interview; Roostem resorted to evasion, and requested him to make known his wishes through the interpreters and so spare himself trouble, saying that the business could be transacted just as well without his presence. But all in vain, for he would immediately arrive and express such sentiments that Roostem could rarely listen to them without taking offence. On one occasion, for example, he was complaining that due consideration was not paid to his master. 'Perhaps you imagine,' he said, 'that Buda, Gran, Stuhlweissenburg, and the other Hungarian towns were captured by your valour. You are quite wrong; it is all owing to us that you possess them; for had there not been continual wars between our kings and those of Spain, so far from capturing them you would have hardly been safe from Charles V in Constantinople itself.' At this Roostem could restrain himself no longer, and bursting into a violent temper,

exclaimed, 'Do you talk about your kings and those of Spain? Why, my master is so mighty that, if all your Christian princes joined arms together and made war on him at once, he would not care a jot, but could easily defeat them all.' So saying he retired angrily into his chamber, after ordering the ambassador to go.

At this point I must not forget to tell you what I learned about a tribe which still inhabits the Crimea (a), and which, I had often been told, showed traces of German origin in speech and habits, and even in facial and bodily appearance. I had, therefore, long been anxious to see a member of this tribe and to procure, if possible, something written in that language. Hitherto, however, I had been unsuccessful. Chance at last to some extent satisfied my desires. Two delegates had been sent from that district to Constantinople to submit some kind of complaint to the Sultan in the name of the tribe. My interpreters happened to meet them, and, remembering what I had told them to do if such a chance occurred, brought them to dine at my house.

One of them was rather tall and had a certain ingenuous simplicity of expression, and might have passed for a Fleming or Batavian. The other was shorter and more thickly set and had a dark complexion; he was a Greek by birth and language, but in the long course of trade had acquired a good knowledge of their language, whereas the first named, by residence among Greeks and long association with them, had acquired their language to the extent of forgetting his own.

When I asked him about the nature and habits of these people, he gave the sort of replies that I expected.
He said that the tribe was warlike and at the present
day occupied numerous villages from which the Prince
of the Tartars, when he required them, enrolled eight
hundred musketeers, which formed the mainstay of
his forces. Their chief towns were Mancup and
Scivarin. He had much to say of the Tartars and their
barbarous condition, though not a few men of remark-
able intelligence were to be found among them, who
could give brief and apposite answers to questions
about serious matters. He quoted an apt saying of
the Turks that other nations have their wisdom written
down in books, but the Tartars have swallowed their
books and keep their wisdom stored in their breasts
and produce it as required, and talk as if they were
divinely inspired. He said that they are very unclean
in their habits; if soup is placed upon the table, they
do not ask for spoons but drink the liquid from the
hollow of their hand. They slaughter horses and
devour the flesh without cooking it, merely folding
slices under the saddles of their horses and eating the
meat when it is warm from the horse's heat with as
much relish as if it had been daintily prepared. The
chief of the tribe eats off a silver table. A horse's
head is brought in for the first and last courses, just
as with us butter has a place of honour at the beginning
and end of a meal.

I will next write down a few of the many Germanic
words which he repeated to me; for there were just
as many words which were quite different from ours,
either from the nature of the language or else because
his memory failed him and he gave foreign instead of
native words. He prefixed the article *tho* or *the* before
all the substantives. The following are the words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Turkish</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Broe, bread</td>
<td>Tag, day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plut, blood</td>
<td>Oeghene, eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stul, stool</td>
<td>Bars, beard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hus, house</td>
<td>Handa, hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wingart, vine</td>
<td>Boga, bow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reghen, rain</td>
<td>Miera, ant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruder, brother</td>
<td>Rinck or Ringo, ring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schwester, sister</td>
<td>Bruna, fountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alt, old man</td>
<td>Waghen, wagon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wintch, wind</td>
<td>Apel, apple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silvér, silver</td>
<td>Schieten, to shoot (an arrow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golts, gold</td>
<td>Schilpen, to sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kor, corn</td>
<td>Kommen, to come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt, salt</td>
<td>Singhen, to sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisc, fish</td>
<td>Lachen, to laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoef, head</td>
<td>Critten, to cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thurn, door</td>
<td>Geren, to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stern, star</td>
<td>Breen, to roast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sune, sun</td>
<td>Schevach, death</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Knauen tag was 'good day', *knauen* meaning
'good'. He also used numerous other words which
were not at all like our language, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Turkish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iel, life, or health</td>
<td>Rintch, mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ieltech, alive, or well</td>
<td>Fers, man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iel uburt, may it be well</td>
<td>Statz, earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marzus, wedding</td>
<td>Ada, egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schuos, bride</td>
<td>Avo, hen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baar, boy</td>
<td>Telich, foolish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ael, stone</td>
<td>Stap, she-goat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When I asked him to count, he did so as follows:

\textit{Ita, tua, tria, fyder, fyuf, seis, sevne}, just as we Flemings do. For you men of Brabant, who make out that you talk German, always pride yourselves very much upon so doing and laugh at us for what you call our disgusting pronunciation of the word which you call \textit{seven}. He then went on: \textit{Athe, nyne, thiine, thiinita, thiinetua, thiintrya, }&c. Twenty he called \textit{stega}, thirty \textit{treithyen}, forty \textit{furdeithen}, a hundred \textit{soda}, a thousand \textit{hazer}. He also repeated a song in this language which began like this:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Warra warra inginolou: Seu te gira Galizu.}
\textit{Hemisclep dobriza ea. (n)}
\end{quote}

I cannot decide whether these men are Goths or Saxons. If they are Saxons, I think they must have been brought there in the time of Charles the Great, who scattered that race over various regions of the earth; there are, for example, cities in Transylvania still inhabited by Saxons. Possibly it was thought best that the most savage amongst them should be removed to a still greater distance and settled in the Crimea, where, though surrounded by enemies, they still retain their Christianity. If they are Goths, I am of opinion that they inhabited this district adjoining the Getae from an early period. One would not perhaps be far wrong in holding that the greater part of the stretch of territory between the island of Gothland and what is now called Perscop was once populated by Goths. It was from here that the different Gothic clans, the Visigoths and Ostrogoths, came, and from here that they carried their victorious arms all over the world; this was the breeding-ground of their barbarian hordes.

So much for what I have learned about the Crimea from these men of Perskop. Next listen to the information which I obtained from a wandering Turk about the city and country of Cathay (China). He was a member of the sect which regards it as an act of piety to wander over distant lands and worship God on the highest mountains and in deserted and desolate places. He had traversed almost the whole of the East, where he said he had made acquaintance with Portuguese travellers; then, kindled with a desire to visit the city and kingdom of Cathay, he had joined some merchants who were starting thither. These merchants assemble in large numbers and travel in a body to the confines of that realm. The journey is not possible, (n) or at any rate is very dangerous, for small bodies of men; there are many tribes on the route who are treacherous towards travellers, and their attacks are to be feared every moment.

When they had journeyed a considerable distance beyond the territory of the Persians, they reached the cities of Samarkand, Bokhara, and Tashkend, and the other places which are inhabited by the successors of Tamerlane. Then followed great deserts and regions,
inhabited some by fierce and inhospitable people, others by more civilized tribes; but everywhere the lack of provisions and corn causes difficulties. Each traveller, therefore, provides himself with a stock of food and the necessities of life, which are loaded on a great number of camels. A large body of men travelling thus together is called a caravan. After many months of toil they reached the straits or barrier leading into the kingdom of Cathay; for a great part of the dominion of the King of Cathay is inland and surrounded by rugged mountains and steep rocks, and can only be entered through a certain pass which is occupied by the King’s garrisons. At this place they were asked what they brought with them, whence they came, and how many they were. Their answers were transmitted by the King’s troops by means of smoke during the day and by fire during the night to the nearest beacon, which in its turn passed them on to the next beacon and so on, until, within a few hours, a message, which otherwise would take many days, reaches the King of Cathay and announces the arrival of the merchants. By the same method and with the same rapidity he transmits his reply, announcing what his pleasure is, whether all are to be admitted, or some excluded, or their departure delayed. Those who are admitted proceed under the charge of special guides, stopping at halting-places at suitable distances, where the necessary food and clothing are supplied at a reasonable price, until they reach Cathay itself. Here each has first to declare what he has brought with him, and then bestow upon the King, as a token of respect, whatever gift he deems suitable. It is also the custom that the King should be allowed to pur- chase at a fair valuation any goods which he likes. The rest they sell or barter by arrangement, a date for their return being fixed beforehand, until which time they are allowed to transact business and make bargains; for the Cathayans do not sanction continued intercourse with foreigners, lest the national customs should be contaminated by any foreign taint. They are then conducted back, being entertained at the same places as on their outward journey.

The same pilgrim stated that the people of Cathay are very clever and are highly civilized and well governed; they have a religion of their own which differs from Christianity, Judaism, and Mahomedanism, but is most closely akin to Judaism, apart from its ceremonies. The art of printing has been in use among them for many centuries past, as is proved by the printed books existing in the country. They use paper prepared from the cocoons of silkworms, and so thin that it can be printed on one side only, the other side being left blank. There are numerous shops in the city for the sale of a perfume which they call musk, and which is the blood of an animal of the size of a kid. No saleable article is so highly prized among them as the lion, an animal which is rare in those regions and much admired, and commands a high price.

These statements about the kingdom of Cathay I heard from the lips of this wanderer, and he must be responsible for them. Indeed, it is quite possible that, when I was questioning him about Cathay, he was really answering about some other neighbouring region, and that, in the words of the proverb, I was asking about a sickle and he was replying about a hoe. When he had finished his story, it occurred to me to
ask him whether he had brought back any rare root or fruit or stone? 'Nothing,' he replied, 'except this little root, which I carry about for my own use; if I chew or swallow a very small piece of it when I am faint or cold, I revive and become warm.' As he said this, he gave it me to taste, warning me as he did so that I ought to use it very sparingly. My doctor, William [Quacquelben] (for it was before he died), tasted it, and expressed his opinion, from the heat with which it burnt his mouth, that it was true aconite.

It naturally follows at this point that I should tell you of the miracle worked by another Turkish wanderer and monk. He used to go about in a tunic and white cloak reaching to his feet and with long hair, much as our painters depict the Apostles. But under this respectable exterior was hidden the heart of an imposter; the Turks, however, respected him as a famous worker of miracles. They also urged my interpreters to take him to visit me; so he dined with me in a sober and modest manner. He then went down into the court of the house and shortly afterwards returned carrying a stone of huge weight, with which he struck his bare chest several blows which would almost have felled an ox. Next he placed his hand on a piece of iron which had been made white-hot in a furnace lighted for the purpose; he then put it into his mouth and turned it round in every direction, making his saliva hiss. The piece of iron which he put in his mouth was oblong, thicker and square at one end, and so heated that it looked like a glowing coal. Having done this, he replaced the iron in the fire, and after saluting me and receiving a gift he

departed. My servants, who stood round, were lost in amazement, except one who thought himself cleverer than the others. 'You stupid people,' he said, 'why are you astonished at this? Do you believe that these feats are real? They are sleight-of-hand and optical illusions.' At the same time he seized the iron by the end which projected a long way from the furnace, intending to prove that it could be handled with impunity; but no sooner had he seized it than he let go again, his palm and finger being so burnt that he took several days to recover. This incident was greeted with loud laughter from his companions, who kept asking him whether he believed now that it was hot or was still incredulous, and invited him to touch it again.

This same Turk related at dinner that the head of his monastery, a man famous for his sanctity and miracles, used to spread his cloak on the waters of a lake which was near the monastery and, sitting upon it, was gently borne along whithersoever he would. Another feat which he used to perform was that he was stripped and tied to a sheep, which had been skinned and prepared, in such a way that his arms were bound to its forefeet and his feet to its hind-quarters, and was then thrown into a heated oven until the sheep was thoroughly roasted and fit to eat, and he himself gave orders that he should be taken out; he then reappeared quite unhurt.

'I do not believe it,' you will say. No more do I; I only tell you what I have heard; but I can bear witness to the feat with the white-hot iron, which I saw with my own eyes. This, however, is not so extraordinary; no doubt, while he was pretending to look for the stone in the courtyard, he had fortified
his mouth with a medicine of some kind against the violence of the fire. That such medicaments have been discovered you are well aware. I remember once seeing a quack in the market-place at Venice handle molten lead and apparently wash his hands in it without suffering any hurt.

I have already related that a few days before Roos- tem's death the conditions of my captivity were relaxed. This was very welcome to me, because it enabled me to receive men of foreign and distant nationalities, from whom I learned much that amused me. Against this advantage, however, had to be set the inconvenience that my servants abused the facilities for freer exit, and would often wander about the city unescorted by Janissaries. Hence arose quarrels with the Turks and disturbances which greatly annoyed me. One example out of many will give you an idea of the sort of thing that happened continually.

Two of my servants had crossed over to Pera without the Janissaries, either because the latter were away from home or else because they thought that their company was unnecessary. One of them was my apothecary, the other my cellarer. Having finished the business for which they had gone to Pera, they had hired a boat in which to return to Constantinople. Scarcely had they taken their seats when a boy appeared from the judge, or Kadi, of the place, who bade them get out and give up the boat to his master. My men refused and pointed out that there were enough boats available in which the Kadi could cross, and that the boat in which they were had been hired by them. He insisted, however, and tried to turn them out by force. My men struggled and exerted all their efforts, and

fisticuffs were exchanged. As all this took place within sight of the judge, who was now approaching, he could not restrain himself from rushing to the assistance of the boy, who was a favourite of his. But as he was hurrying heedlessly down the steps leading to the sea, which were slippery with ice (for it was winter), he missed his footing and would have pitched headlong into the sea—in fact his feet were actually wetted—if his companions had not come to his rescue. A cry was raised, and the Turks rushed together from the whole of Pera with shouts that Christians had laid violent hands upon the judge and had almost drowned him. They seized hold of my servants and with a great tumult haled them before the president, or judge who tries capital charges. Cudgels were being produced, and their feet were being fixed in the stocks, in which they might be held while they were bastinadoed in the usual manner. Meanwhile, one of my two servants, who was an Italian, in a state of furious anger, did not cease to cry out, 'Vot chopoeklar vou : strike, you dogs, strike. It is we who are the victims of injustice and have deserved no punishment. We are servants of the Imperial Ambassador; you will be punished by the Sultan, when he learns of your behaviour.' All this, though not expressed in perfect Turkish, was, nevertheless, quite intelligible. One of the Turks in the crowd, who was amazed at his boldness, exclaimed: 'Do you think that this cock-eyed fellow' (for he had lost one eye) 'is a human being? Believe me, he is nothing of the kind; he is one of those one-eyed evil spirits.' One of the voivodes, as they call their magistrates, who was struck with the man's presence of mind and anxious to do no more
nor less than justice, came to the conclusion that it was best to send the men unharmed to Roostem. So off they went, accompanied by a huge crowd of false witnesses ready to overwhelm the innocent by their testimony. For the Turks regard it as an act of great piety to bear false witness against a Christian. They do not wait to be questioned but come of their own accord, as on this occasion. All with one voice, therefore, cried out that these brigands had dared to commit the atrocious crime of striking a judge with their fists; indeed, if they had not been prevented, they would have drowned him. My men denied the charge and said that they were being undeservedly accused, and then disclosed the fact that they were my servants. Roostem quickly scented out that it was a case of malicious accusation; in order, however, to conciliate the wrath of the excited populace, he put on a stern expression and announced that he would punish the prisoners himself, and quickly ordered them to be conducted to prison. Their imprisonment saved them from the violence of the angry crowd. Roostem heard the evidence of those witnesses whom he regarded as worthy of credit, and found that my men were innocent and that it was the judge who was to blame.

Through the interpreters I asked that my servants should be given back to me. Roostem regarded the matter as sufficiently important to be referred to the council; for he was afraid, he said, that if the Sultan heard of it he would suspect that the injury done to the judge had been overlooked through the influence of money. I was at this time already on terms of some intimacy with Ali Pasha; to him, therefore, I complained, again through my interpreters, and demanded that an end should be put to the wrongs done to my servants. Ali took up the case and bade me have no fears, for the annoyance should quickly cease. Roostem, however, did not hurry himself, being still afraid lest he should seem to have favoured me in return for a bribe; and so he would rather have had the matter settled in such a way that the judge should be left with no ground of complaint. He announced that he thought that the best course would be that I should conciliate the judge with a sop of several pieces of gold, suggesting that twenty-five ducats would suffice. I thanked him for his advice and told him that, if he bade me throw forty ducats into the sea as a personal favour to himself, I should not hesitate to do so; but in this affair it was a question not of money but of principle. For if once the principle were established that any one who had wronged my servants should actually receive money for doing so, my resources would never suffice. Any one whose garment was beginning to become thin or torn would make up his mind to attack my servants, knowing that he would be paid for so doing and that he would receive money from me to buy a new one. I protested that nothing could be more undignified or more contrary to my interests. The result was that my servants were sent back to me, chiefly through the good offices of Ali Pasha. The Venetian Baily, when he heard about it, sent for one of my interpreters and begged him to tell him how much I had spent over settling this quarrel, and was informed that I had not spent a penny: to this the Baily replied, 'If it had been we who were involved, I can swear that we should have scarcely
got off with a payment of 200 ducats. The man who came off worst was the worthy judge, who was removed from his post, because the Turks are accustomed to regard it as disgraceful and shameful for a Turk to be beaten by a Christian, as he had admitted having been beaten.

You ask for information about the Spanish commanders, who, you say, according to a rumour which has reached you, are stated to have been liberated from prison through me. They were de Sandé, who commanded the land forces, and the admirals of the Neapolitan and Sicilian fleets, Leyva and Requesens. I will tell you briefly how I managed the affair.

The conclusion of peace between the Kings of Spain and France (n) caused the Turks considerable annoyance, as far from suiting their interests, particularly when they discovered that the terms were quite other than they had believed at first. They had been quite sure that their name would appear at the head of the list of those who were to enjoy the advantages of this peace; and so, when they were passed over, considering that they had been ungratefully treated, they hid their disappointment but sought an opportunity to show that their feelings were less cordial. Soleiman had written to the King of France to the effect that he approved of the peace, but reminding him that old friends do not easily become enemies, or old enemies friends. The displeasure caused to the Turks by this peace was of no little assistance to my negotiations, and I was further aided by Ali Pasha's goodwill to me and by Ibrahim’s strong desire to show his gratitude towards me.

You remember that I mentioned above that, when
circumstance caused him to be closely attached to me, and his strongest desire was to prove himself mindful of and grateful for my services. Most devotedly did he everywhere plead my cause and never omitted any opportunity of winning for me any goodwill which he could command. The annoyance of the Turks at this newly concluded peace made his task all the easier. Owing to this feeling of irritation against the French, when a nobleman, Salviati, arrived in Constantinople to ask in the name of the Most Christian King that de Sandé should be liberated, he failed to obtain his request and his mission was fruitless. De Sandé had lived in great expectation that this embassy would be successful; for he felt that, if it failed, all hope was over, and he had gone to great expense in buying presents with which to honour the Pashas and the Sultan himself in accordance with the custom. The departure of Salviati, to make a long story short, was the end of everything for him.

Alarmed at this, the servants whom de Sandé had employed as his intermediaries came to me and confessed that they had not the courage to inform him of a result which he so little expected; all his hopes, they said, had centred on this embassy, and the disappointment would, they feared, be more than he could bear, and his despair would lead to illness, which in its turn would cause his death. They therefore begged me to come to their aid and myself write to him. I was for refusing, for I had neither the necessary arguments nor the eloquence to console a man so grievously afflicted. De Sandé was a man of great spirit and of a sanguine disposition and one who knew not fear. But men who are of such a temperament as to hope for whatever they desire, if they find everything going wrong or turning out contrary to their expectation, generally become so despondent that it is difficult to raise their spirits again to a state of equanimity.

While the negotiations were thus at a deadlock, the interpreter Ibrahim presented himself at an opportune moment, and when, in the course of our talk, mention had been made of the Spanish prisoners, he went so far as to state clearly that, if I demanded their release, my request would not be refused; he knew what he was saying and had good authority for his statement. He had previously thrown out rather vague hints with the object of making me believe that I could obtain their freedom if I exerted my influence, but he made little impression on my mind; for how could I venture to attempt such a thing while I was still uncertain of obtaining peace? I was further prevented by the fear that, if I asked at an inopportune time, I should not only myself effect nothing, but perhaps also hamper Salviati’s negotiations. But when, after Salviati’s departure, I saw that Ibrahim, a man who was closely attached to me, encouraged me to act, I thought that there must be something in what he said, and I began to listen to him, warning him, however, at the same time to be careful to what course he urged me and not to expose a friend to ridicule. This certainly would be the result if I unsuccessfully undertook a negotiation which was generally regarded as impracticable and had already met with a rebuff. Nevertheless, Ibrahim persisted and bade me have no misgivings; he would be responsible, and was convinced that I should be successful.
On the strength of Ibrahim's assurances I wrote to de Sandé, and while informing him of the ill success of Salviati's mission, bade him not despair, for, unless the Turks were absolutely unreliable, there was every ground for hope; and I told him what I had learned from Ibrahim. After these preliminaries, I consulted some of my friends who had a wide experience of Turkish life. They wished me every success, but confessed that they could not see how I could hope to be successful in a request which had been recently refused to the ambassador of a king who was an old friend of the Sultan, especially as the question of peace with the Empire was still unsettled; they also pointed out that past history showed how difficult it was to obtain from the Turks the release of prisoners of note. Nevertheless, I wrote to the Emperor telling him of the hopes which I had formed, and begged him earnestly to ask Soleiman to grant the prisoners their liberty. To make a long story short, after generous presents had been promised to the Pashas if they would show themselves favourable and propitious to their liberation, the prisoners were released from prison and conducted to my quarters on the eve of the feast of St. Lawrence.

De Sandé and Leyva could not have hated one another more if they had been brothers! It was, therefore, necessary for a separate table to be provided for Leyva, with whom Requesens dined, while de Sandé sat at the table with me. While we were dining, the steward of the chargé d'affaires of the French embassy arrived with some notes or other which had come into his hands. De Sandé asked him if he recognized him. 'I believe,' he replied, 'that you are Don Alvaro.' 'Indeed I am,' said he, 'and will you please give your master my best compliments and tell him that you have seen me here a free man, thanks to the Ambassador here.' 'I can certainly see you,' he answered, 'but I can hardly believe my eyes.' De Sandé acted in this way because the locum tenens of the French ambassador, though in other respects a worthy man, was among those who could not be convinced that Soleiman would release the prisoners as a favour to the Emperor Ferdinand.

Before the prisoners were released, the Mufti, who is at the head of the Turkish religion, was first consulted as to whether it was lawful to exchange a few Christians for a larger number of Turks; for I had promised that no fewer than forty Turkish captives—ordinary soldiers, it is true, and men of no position—should be given in exchange. The Mufti replied that two different authorities expressed different opinions, one approving and the other disapproving of the exchange. However, the more expedient alternative was adopted.

I have still to tell you of Bajazet's final disaster, for no doubt you expect me to tell you the story. I think you remember how he was thrown into prison by Sagthaama [King of Persia]. From that time many messengers went to and fro from the Persian king to the Sultan, some even bearing the title of ambassador, with gifts of the usual kinds, such as tents of elaborate workmanship, Assyrian and Persian carpets, and a Koran, the book which contains their sacred mysteries. Animals of unusual kinds were also sent, among which I remember hearing that there was an Indian ant-eater, as large as a good-sized dog and very snappish
and savage. The alleged reason of their coming was to effect a reconciliation between Bajazet and his father. Great honour was paid to them, and they were welcomed by the Pashas with sumptuous banquets.

In one of these feasts Ali desired that I should participate, and therefore sent me eight large china dishes full of sweetmeats. It was usual among the Romans to send food from their tables to their friends, and the custom has been retained to this day by the Spaniards. The Turks, however, are accustomed rather to carry off for themselves some dainty from a richly furnished feast; but this is hardly ever done except by intimate friends and those who have wives and children at home. My guests used often to carry home from my table napkins full of dainty tit-bits, and were not afraid of soiling their silk robes with drops of gravy, although cleanliness is a matter of the greatest importance in their eyes. The mention of this recalls to my mind an amusing occurrence which I shall enjoy relating to you; you will laugh at it, as I myself laughed at the time, and you must not despise laughter, which is man's particular privilege and the best cure for human misery. After all we are no Catos (n).

The Pashas are in the habit of giving a dinner to all who wish to come, no one being excluded, a few days before their fast, which corresponds to our Lent. Those who attend it are, however, almost all neighbours, clients, acquaintances, and friends. An oblong leather coverlet closely crowded with dishes is spread on the ground over a rug, and provides room for a large number of guests. The Pasha himself sits at the top of the table, with the men of higher rank round him; then come the guests of lower station

in a long line, until no more room remains. More stand behind (for the table will not hold them all at once), and when those who have obtained seats have satisfied their hunger, which does not take long (for they eat with great moderation and without talking), and have concluded their meal with a draught of water sweetened with honey or sugar, they salute their host and depart. Their places are then taken by some of those who stand waiting, who are succeeded by others, until soon a large number of guests have been fed at the same table, the servants meanwhile busily removing and washing the plates and dishes and supplying clean ones.

On one occasion a Pasha who was giving a feast of this kind in his house had invited a Sanjak-bey, who had chanced to come in, to sit next to him. In the next place to him but one was seated an old man of the class which they call Hodjas, that is, men of learning. The Hodja (n), seeing before him a large collection of different kinds of food, and having eaten his fill, wished to take something back for his wife, and began to look for his handkerchief but found that he had left it at home. He was not at a loss, however, and devised a plan of campaign on the spot. He laid hold of the head-dress which was hanging behind him (and belonged not to himself, as he thought, but to the Sanjak-bey) and packed it as full as he could, putting on the top a piece of bread to act as a cork and prevent anything from falling out; for he had to put it back in its place for a moment, in order to bid his host farewell in the Turkish fashion, saluting his superiors by placing his hands on his breast or at his sides. Having performed his salutation he gathered up the head-dress, taking this time his own, and, as
he left the room, he carefully felt it and, to his astonishment, found that it was empty. However, he could do nothing but wend his way sadly home.

Not long afterwards the Sanjak-bey also rose from the table and, after doing obeisance to the Pasha, prepared to depart, in complete ignorance of the load which was hanging behind him. However, at every step the head-dress began to deliver itself of its contents, and the Sanjak-bey left a long trail of morsels behind him. When every one laughed, he looked behind him and saw to his shame that the head-dress was disgorging fragments of food. The Pasha, who guessed what had happened, called him back, and bade him sit down again, and sent for the Hodja. Then turning towards him he said, 'As you are a neighbour and an old friend of mine, and have a wife and children at home, and there was plenty for you to take for them from my table, I am surprised that you did not do so.' To this the Hodja replied, 'It is not my fault, master, that I did not do so, but my protecting genius must have been angry. Having foolishly left my handkerchief at home, I had hidden the remains of my meal in my head-dress, but when I left the room I found that it had mysteriously become empty.' Thus the Sanjak-bey's blushes were quenched, and the disappointment of the learned old gentleman and the oddness of the incident gave the bystanders more food for laughter.

But I must return to the subject of Bajazet. His position was now desperate, since his hard-hearted father was demanding that he should be delivered up alive for punishment. The Persian king meanwhile evaded the request and pretended to protect him, but

could not be relied upon. Soleiman at one moment used blandishments, reminding him of their treaty, under which he had agreed to have the same enemies and friends, while at another time he tried to frighten him by threats and menaces of war if Bajazet were not handed over. He had strengthened the garrisons of all the towns in his empire which were near the Persian frontier, and had poured troops into Mesopotamia and all along the Euphrates, chiefly from the imperial guard and the army which he has employed against Bajazet. Mehemet, the third Vizierial Pasha and Beyler-bey of Greece, was in command; for Selim had already returned home. He also sent frequent messengers to the tribes known as the Georgians, who live between the Caspian and Black Seas and are neighbours of the Medes, urging them to take up arms against the Persians. They replied with considerable sagacity that they were not confident enough of their own strength to venture to attack Sagthama unaided, but that, if Soleiman arrived with an army and they saw him in person, they would know what action they ought to take and would lack neither counsel nor courage. The Hyrcanians, who lived still farther away and who are the surviving descendants of Tamerlane, were also invited to join in attacking the common enemy.

Soleiman wished it to be believed that he himself was about to go to Aleppo, a Syrian city on the banks of the Euphrates (n), as a base of operations against the Persian king. Indeed, the latter was considerably alarmed, having often experienced what war with Soleiman meant. But furious as the Sultan was, he was restrained by the opposition of his soldiers and their aversion from such a campaign; they shrank
from so unnatural a war and began to desert from the ranks. A good many of them, especially from among the cavalry, returned to Constantinople without arms, and were promptly bidden to go back; they obeyed, but in such a spirit as to make it clear how they would behave if any accident or change in the situation occurred.

Thus when it had become pretty obvious to Soleiman that he could not make the Persian king hand over Bajazet alive—and he excused himself by saying that he feared the vengeance of his captive, if he should escape after such treatment—the Sultan came to the conclusion that the next best thing was that Bajazet should be executed in Persia. He hoped that he could effect this, because in his last letter the Persian king expressed his astonishment at the negligence which he had shown in so important a matter; he had, he said, sent ambassadors to Constantinople on many occasions, but the Sultan had only sent letters and messengers—conduct which made him doubt whether he was really in earnest. ‘Let him,’ he wrote, ‘depute noblemen of authority and reputation with whom he could negotiate and come to terms about this important business. The Sultan was under great obligations to him; for the arrival of Bajazet had given him much trouble and he had incurred great expense before he had been able to seize him. All this ought to be taken into account.’ Soleiman perceived from this that what he wanted was money, and so rather than involve himself in an unnecessary campaign, for which his age unfitted him, he resolved to follow the advice of the Pashas and employ money rather than arms against the King of Persia.

First of all he chose Hassan Aga, one of his chief chamberlains, to go as ambassador to Persia, and ordered that he should be accompanied by the Pasha of Marash, a venerable and distinguished personage. They were given full powers to act, and started in great haste in the middle of the winter. The journey proved very difficult, and they lost several members of their party, but they eventually reached the Persian court at Casbin.

They first asked permission to visit Bajazet, whom they found so disfigured with the filth and squalor of his prison and with his hair and beard so long that they did not know him until he had been shaved. It was only then that Hassan, who had been brought up with him from his earliest boyhood—and this was the chief reason why Soleiman had sent him on this mission—was able to recognize his features.

An agreement was made that the King of Persia should be compensated for the losses which he professed to have sustained, and should receive also a present which accorded with the importance of the occasion, and that then Soleiman should be allowed to put Bajazet to death. Hassan hastened back and reported to the Sultan the result of his mission. The present and the sum of money demanded were prepared and conveyed to the Persian frontier in charge of a Turkish escort. Hassan also returned, having been appointed executioner of the unhappy Bajazet, with orders from the Sultan to put him to death with his own hands. The bowstring was, therefore, put round Bajazet’s neck, and he was strangled. He is said to have made a single request before he died, that he should be allowed to see his children and embrace
them for the last time, but all in vain. He was told that "he had better attend to the business in hand". Such was the outcome of Bajazet's ill-starred projects, his end being hastened by the efforts which he made to escape it. The same fate overtook his four sons.

One of Bajazet's sons, who was still an infant, had been left behind at Amasia when he escaped, and had been sent by his grandfather to Broussa and was being brought up there. Soleiman, when he knew that Bajazet was dead, sent a eunuch whom he could trust to Broussa to put the child to death. The eunuch, having a tender heart, had taken with him one of the janitors, a man callous enough to commit any crime, that he might carry out the execution. When the janitor entered the room and was fitting the noose round the child's neck, the child smiled at him and lifted himself up as far as he could and tried to throw his arms round his neck and kiss him. Brutal though the man was, he was so touched that he could not bear to do the deed, and fell fainting to the ground. The eunuch, who was waiting outside the door, wondering why he was so long, pushed his way in and found the janitor stretched senseless on the floor. As he could not leave his task unaccomplished, with his own hand he crushed out the feeble life of the innocent boy.

When the news of Bajazet's death reached Constantinople, misgivings seized me about the success of our negotiations. Our position indeed was excellent and the desired result seemed to be in sight; but Bajazet's misfortune reawakened our anxiety lest the Turks should again become overbearing and undo what had been accomplished and return to less favour-

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able terms. We had successfully steered past numerous rocks, including the defeat at Jerba, the imprisonment of Bajazet, and the unfortunate incident of the Voivode's expulsion from Moldavia; two difficulties, however, still remained: Bajazet's death, as I have already said, and another to which I will refer presently.

Ali had been the first to inform me about the news through a slave of his household and in the following terms: 'I would have you know that Bajazet is no longer alive. You can no longer trifle with us relying on any help that he can give you. Remember that it is easier to renew an ancient friendship between two sovereigns who have the same religion than to establish a new alliance between princes of different faiths. Be sure of this, that it is not safe for you to try any further evasions and to raise difficulties where none exist.'

This message disturbed me very much, and as I had reasons to suspect its authenticity, I sent round to my friends and inquired whether really reliable information of Bajazet's death had arrived. They all replied that there was no longer any room for doubt. I understood, therefore, that I must draw in my sails; I could no longer hope for better terms, and must be satisfied if I could hold the ground that I had won and maintain the terms already granted. The Sultan had had them before him for some time and had shown himself favourable to them, subject to a few additions and omissions, some of which, however, I regretted. A few points were still obscure and might give rise to controversy if they were interpreted in a malignant spirit. I used every effort that they might either be expunged, or else emended in a manner advantageous to our cause. The terms had already been submitted
more than once to the Emperor, and he had expressed his gracious approval; but I was not myself entirely satisfied, and was always anxious to add little points which would further our interests.

It was while I was engaged on these negotiations that, as I have already said, the news of Bajazet's death arrived. But before this a serious hitch had been caused by the defection of certain Hungarian nobles from the Voivode of Transylvania to the Emperor, or, to describe their action more accurately, their return from error to the path of duty. They brought over with them to the Emperor the fortresses and cities which they held.

This new turn of events was likely to disturb and upset all the negotiations for peace which were on foot. Indeed, it supplied the Turks with a plausible argument. They could urge that no change ought to have been made while the negotiations were in progress; if we really wished for peace we ought to make full reparation for this wanton act; we might do as we liked with the deserters, but the territory which they held ought to remain in the hands of the Voivode, who was a Turkish dependent and a privileged official. But not only did Ali make no proposal to this effect, but he readily approved the condition, which I had expressly included in the terms of peace, that the status quo should be maintained. The ambassadors, however, who had recently arrived from the Voivode did their best to keep the wound open and filled the court with their clamour, protesting that their unhappy young master was being betrayed, that the rights of friendship were being trampled under foot, and that enemies were being preferred to old friends. This outcry made an impression on all the other Pashas, but not on Ali. Eventually the terms of peace, which had already been settled, were adhered to.

Although I could have no doubts about my master's wishes, yet, mindful that in the entourage of a prince there are never lacking persons ready to blacken the services of others, however distinguished, especially if they be foreigners, I resolved that, as far as was practicable, everything should be reserved as free as possible for his decision. And so in my negotiations with Ali I managed to point out that, although the proposed conditions did not entirely conform with the Emperor's expectations, yet I was sure that he would accept them, provided that some one were sent with me who could explain anything in them which was obscure or could in any other way give rise to discussion. I suggested that for this purpose Ibrahim would be the most suitable person, since it was through him that the Pashas themselves knew how anxious the Emperor was for peace. He was easily induced to accept this proposal, and so the finishing touch was put to our long negotiations.

It is customary for the Pashas to invite an ambassador, who leaves Constantinople in good odour, to dinner in the Divan. But since I wished that everything should seem to be in suspense and undecided until a reply was brought from my master, this honour was not paid me, a loss which I bore with equanimity.

It was my wish to take back with me some fine horses, and so I instructed my servants to attend the market frequently in hopes of finding what I required. Hearing of this, Ali himself had a splendid thoroughbred of his own exposed in the market as though for sale.
My men hurried to the spot and bid for it, and, when 120 ducats was asked, offered eighty, not knowing who the owner was; but the men in charge of the horse would not sell it at that price. A day or two afterwards, the same horse, with two others equally well bred, was sent me by Ali Pasha as a gift. One of them was a beautiful Arab riding horse. When I thanked him for his gift, the Pasha asked whether I did not think that the horse, which my men had wished to buy in the market for 80 ducats, was worth a good deal more. "Much more," I replied, "but they had been instructed by me not to exceed that price, for fear lest I might lose heavily (as sometimes happens) by their purchasing, without knowing it, a horse which had hidden defects." He then advised me about the feeding of Turkish horses at the beginning of a journey, namely, that they ought to be kept on small rations at first, and that I ought to travel by short stages until they had become accustomed to the work; and he recommended me to spread the journey to Adrianople over nine or ten days instead of the usual five. He also gave me a really beautiful robe interwoven with gold and a box full of antidote to poison of the finest quality from Alexandria, and lastly a glass vessel full of balm, which he praised very highly. "The other gifts which he had given me he did not," he said, "value very greatly, because they could be bought with money, but this was a rare present, than which his master could give nothing more precious to a friendly or allied prince. He had been Governor of Egypt for some years, and so had had the opportunity of acquiring it." Two kinds of juice are produced from this plant: one is extracted from the oil of the leaves, which are boiled down, and is black and cheap; the other, which is yellow, is distilled from an incision in the bark, and is the genuine article, some of which he presented to me.

He expressed a wish for certain gifts from me in return: a coat of mail of a size to fit his small and stout frame, a sturdy charger to which he could trust himself without fear of a fall (for he has difficulty in finding a horse which is equal to his great weight), and, lastly, some bird's-eye maple, or similar wood, such as we use for inlaying tables.

From Soleiman I received nothing beyond the customary gifts which are presented to departing ambassadors, such as I had generally received on bidding him farewell on previous occasions. He briefly inveighed against the insolence of the Heydons (n) and the garrison at Szeged. "What," he said, "has been the good of having made peace here, if they are going to disturb it and continue to fight?" I told him that I would report his complaint to the Emperor, and that I hoped that the matter would be arranged.

Thus under favourable auspices I started on my long-desired journey towards the end of August [1562], taking back as the result of my eight years' mission a truce for eight years, which, unless any important change occurred, was easily capable of extension for as long a period as we wished.

On our arrival at Sofia, from which town, besides the road to Belgrade, another route leads to Ragusa, whence it is only a few days' passage to Venice, Leyva and Requesens asked permission to take the road for Ragusa in order that they might shorten their journey to Italy and carry out as quickly as possible the pro-
mise which they had made to send gifts to the Pashas and to discharge the debts which they had incurred for various expenses at Constantinople. They offered to give me letters for the Emperor expressing their gratitude to him for their liberation, and saying that they would gladly have thanked him in person, if they had not been prevented by the obligations to which I have referred. I made no difficulty about complying with their request. The death of Requesens, at an advanced age, before he could reach Ragusa, made me all the more glad that I had consented; I was glad that I had done him a favour, since a refusal might have been alleged as partly responsible for his illness.

De Sandé and I accomplished the remainder of our journey cheerfully enough without encountering any serious hindrances. De Sandé is a cheery fellow, of infinite jest, and quite ready, if need be, to forget his anxieties and make merry. Every day provided food for gaiety and joke. Sometimes it amused us to leave our carriages and try which of us could keep up walking the longest. In this I easily proved superior, being thin and unburdened by a load of corpulence, while my opponent was stout and impeded by his weight, beside being sluggish from the effects of his long imprisonment. When we came to a village it amused us to see Ibrahim, who was following us with great dignity on horseback with his Turkish escort, dash up to us and entertain us by all we held dearest to mount again into our carriages, and not to disgrace the party by allowing men of our rank to be seen journeying on foot, which the Turks regard as highly undignified. His eloquence sometimes induced us to re-enter our carriages; but very often we laughed and took no notice.

I will now give you an example of de Sandé's many witticisms. When we left Constantinople, not only was the heat still oppressive, but I was in so low a condition from the recent hot weather that I could hardly eat at all, or at any rate was content with very little. De Sandé, on the other hand, being a lusty fellow and accustomed to eat enormous meals, which he always took with me (i), devoured his food rather than ate it, and encouraged me to follow his example and show myself a man and eat lustily. His exhortations produced no result until at the beginning of October we were approaching the Austrian frontier. Here, owing partly to the climate and partly to the season, refreshed by the cooler atmosphere, I began to feel better in health and so ate more liberally than I had done during the earlier part of the journey. De Sandé, noticing this, exclaimed that he was amply rewarded for his trouble and that the toil and training which he had lavished upon me had not been thrown away, since under his tuition and guidance I had learnt how to eat, after having reached my present age without acquiring the science or practice of that very necessary art. He might, he said, owe me as great a sum as I cared to name for having delivered him from a Turkish prison, but my debt to him for having taught me to eat was equally great! Thus with many a jest we reached Tolna.

[At Tolna a quarrel occurred between de Sandé's Spanish doctor and a Janissary, which was eventually settled by the intervention of Ibrahim.]

On the next day we continued our journey towards Buda, the doctor being as active as ever in spite of his serious bruises. When we were already within sight
of Buda, some members of the Pasha's household came out by his orders to meet us, accompanied by several cavasses. The most remarkable members of the party were some young men on horseback who were adorned in the following extraordinary manner. On their heads, which were shaved almost bare, they had made a long incision in the flesh and had inserted feathers of some kind or other in the wound: they were dripping with blood, but they concealed their pain as though they did not feel it, and behaved gaily and cheerfully. Just in front of me there were several of them on foot, one of whom was walking with his bare arms crossed over one another, both of them pierced above the elbow with the kind of knife which we call a 'Prague Knife'. Another, who was naked to the middle, had cut two slits in the flesh of his loins, one above the other, and had inserted a cudgel in the slits, so that it hung as from a girdle. Another man had fixed a horseshoe on the top of his head by several nails; this must have been done some time before, as the nails had so fastened on the flesh as to be immovable.

With this escort we entered Buda, and were ushered into the presence of the Pasha, with whom I had a lengthy conversation about the observance of the truce, while de Sandé stood by. The extraordinary band of young men who showed such contempt for pain had taken their stand inside the threshold of the court. Noticing that I glanced towards them the Pasha asked me what I thought of them. 'I like them very much,' I replied, 'but they treat their skin in a manner in which I should not like to treat my clothes, which I prefer to have whole.' The Pasha laughed and then dismissed us.

On the next day we reached Gran, whence we proceeded to Komorn on the river Waag, the first fortress in the possession of the Emperor. On both banks of the river the garrison of the place with the naval auxiliaries, whom they call Nassadistas, were waiting for us. Before I crossed, de Sandé came up to me and disclosed the anxiety which he had long kept hidden and, embracing me, again thanked me for the recovery of his liberty; he confessed that he had hitherto felt sure that the Turks could not possibly be acting with good faith in the matter, and that he had, therefore, been in perpetual fear that he might have to go back to Constantinople and spend his old age in prison. Now at last he recognized that the liberty which he owed to my kindness was sure and certain, and on this account he would be under great obligation to me as long as his life lasted.

A few days later we reached Vienna. The Emperor Ferdinand was at the moment attending the Imperial Diet with his son Maximilian, whose inauguration as King of the Romans was being celebrated. I sent information to the Emperor of my return and of the arrival of Ibrahim, and asked his pleasure about him; for he was urgently requesting to be taken to Frankfort. At first the Emperor replied that he thought it better that the Turks should await his return in Vienna, since it would be hardly advisable that such bitter enemies should be conducted through the heart of the Empire all the way from Vienna to Frankfort. But this meant a long delay and might give the Turks a handle for suspicion of various kinds; there was really no cause for alarm in the journey of Ibrahim and his suite through the most flourishing part of the Empire, nay,
it was actually desirable, in order that he might thus estimate its strength and size, and above all, that he should be witness at Frankfort of the unanimity with which the greatest princes of the Empire designated Maximilian as the successor of his imperial father. When I wrote to the Emperor setting forth these considerations, he consented that Ibrahim and his followers should be conducted to Frankfort. So we set out thither by Prague, Bamberg, and Wurzburg. Ibrahim was anxious not to pass through Bohemia without paying his respects to the Archduke Ferdinand. The Archduke, however, did not think fit to have an official meeting with him.

When I was within a few days’ journey of Frankfort, I resolved to warn the Emperor about several matters connected with my embassy, and to arrive for this purpose a day or two ahead of the Turks. I therefore took post-horses and reached Frankfort on the eve of the date upon which several years before I had begun my second journey to Constantinople. My gracious Sovereign received me with a courtesy and indulgence which I was far from merit, but which was in keeping with his usual custom and natural kindness of heart. You can picture my pleasure, after so many years of absence, at seeing my master not only in good health but also enjoying every kind of prosperity. He showed his satisfaction at the successful termination of my mission, which had fulfilled all his expectations, and expressed his gratitude and appreciation for my devoted services and the negotiations which I had carried out, and left nothing unsaid which could betoken his cordial goodwill.

On the eve of the inauguration Ibrahim reached

Frankfort quite late in the evening after the gates had been shut, which, by ancient custom, are not allowed to be opened during the whole of the following day. But by a special order of his Imperial Majesty permission was given for them to be opened for the Turks the next morning. A place was assigned to them whence they could see the newly elected Emperor pass by with all pomp and ceremony. They fully appreciated what was truly a grand and splendid spectacle. Amongst the rest who accompanied the Emperor in a place of honour, the three Dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, and Juliers (n) were pointed out to them, each of whom, of his own resources, could have put a regular army into the field; and many other proofs of the strength, dignity, and greatness of the Empire were presented to their gaze.

A few days later Ibrahim was received in audience by the Emperor and explained the reasons of his arrival and presented such gifts as are held most honourable by the Turks. After the peace had been ratified, the Emperor bestowed splendid presents upon him and sent him back to Soleiman.

I am anxious to escape from the court and return to my own home, but private business still detains me here. . . . In my eyes a life of retirement and peaceful study is far preferable to the throng and clamour of a court. But eager as I am to depart, I am afraid that my gracious master may keep me here, or else send for me when I have gone to the retirement of my home. He has, it is true, assented to my departure, but only on condition that I return if he sends for me. If remain I must (and who can refuse the courteous request of one who has power to command what he
will and to whom one owes so much?) I shall be able to find pleasure in the consolation that I can contemplate continually and gaze upon the countenance of my revered Emperor, nay, upon the living image of true virtue. For I assure you that the sun has never shone upon a nobler prince or one more worthy to be entrusted with the rule of an empire. Supreme power must always win men’s homage; but for a monarch to deserve such power and to prove himself worthy of it seems to me something far more noble.

There may, perhaps, be some who regret that the Emperor has not shown more zeal for warlike achievements and has not sought laurels in that field. The Turks, it may be urged, have raged over Hungary for many years, laying it waste far and wide, and we have never come to the rescue, as our reputation demands; we ought long ago to have marched against them and, massing all our forces together, decided in a pitched battle which nation fortune desired should rule. Such advice is bold, but I doubt whether it is wise. Let us consider the matter rather more closely. In my opinion we ought to judge of the capacity of generals and emperors rather by their plans than by their fortune and the results which they achieve. In their plans they ought to take reckoning of their opportunities, their own strength, and the nature and resources of their enemy. If an ordinary enemy, well known to us, and lacking the prestige of victory, were to attack our territory, and our forces were equal to his, it would, I fear, be imputed to cowardice if we did not face him and check his advance in a pitched battle. But if our enemy were a scourge sent against us by the anger of Heaven (such as was Attila in the olden time, Tamerlane within the recollection of our grandparents, and such as the Ottoman Sultans are in our own days), to whom nothing is an obstacle, and before whose advance everything falls—to hurl oneself precipitately against such a foe with a small and hastily levied army would deserve, I am afraid, the imputation not merely of rashness but even of madness.

Soleiman stands before us with all the terror inspired by his own successes and those of his ancestors; he overruns the plain of Hungary with 200,000 horsemen; he threatens Austria; he menaces the rest of Germany; he brings in his train all the nations that dwell between here and the Persian frontier. He is at the head of an army equipped with the resources of many kingdoms; of the three continents into which our hemisphere is divided, each contributes its share to achieve our destruction. Like a thunderbolt he smites, shatters, and destroys whatever stands in his way; he is at the head of veteran troops and a highly trained army, which is accustomed to his leadership; he spreads far and wide the terror of his name. He roars like a lion along our frontier, seeking to break through, now here, now there. Before now nations threatened by much less serious peril have often left their native land before the pressure of a powerful foe and sought homes elsewhere. There is little credit in remaining calm in the face of trifling dangers; but not to be alarmed by the approach of such an enemy as ours, while kingdoms crash in ruin around us, seems to me (π) to betoken Herculean courage. Yet the heroic Ferdinand stands his ground with invincible spirit, never deserts his post, and refuses to retreat from the position which he holds. He would fain possess such resources that
he could stake his all on the hazard of a battle at his
own risk and without incurring the charge of madness;
but prudence tempers these generous impulses. He
sees what ruin any failure in so mighty an enterprise
would entail upon his own faithful subjects, nay, upon
Christianity in general, and deems it wrong for an
individual to harbour designs for his private gratifica-
tion which can only be carried out by calamitous sacri-
fices on the part of the State. He reflects how unequal
the struggle will be if 25,000 or 30,000 infantry,
together with a small force of cavalry, join battle with
200,000 cavalry supported by veteran infantry. What
he must expect from such a contest is clear to him
from the precedents of the past—the disasters of
Nicopolis and Varna, and the plains of Mohacs still
white with the bones of slaughtered Christians (n) . . .
The Emperor Ferdinand’s plan was the same as that
of Fabius Maximus (n); after estimating his own and
Soleiman’s resources, he judged that the last thing
which a good general ought to do was to tempt fortune
and encounter the attack of so formidable an enemy
in a pitched battle. He, therefore, resolved to throw
all his energies into the other alternative, namely, to
delay and check the tide of invasion by the construc-
tion of dykes and ramparts and every kind of fortifica-
tion.

It is now about forty years since Soleiman captured
Belgrade, slew King Louis, and reduced Hungary,
and so secured the prospect of possessing himself not
only of this province but also of territory farther
north. In this hope he besieged Vienna; then,
renewing the war, he captured Gins and again
threatened Vienna, but this time only at a distance.

But what has he achieved by his mighty array, his
unlimited resources, his countless hosts? He has
with difficulty clung to the portion of Hungary which
he had already captured. He who used to make an
end of mighty kingdoms in a single campaign, has
won, as the reward of his expeditions, some scarcely
fortified citadels and unimportant towns and has paid
dearly for the fragment which he has gradually torn
away from the vast mass of Hungary. He has once
looked upon Vienna, it is true, but it was for the first
and last time.

It is said that Soleiman has set before himself the
achievement of three ambitions: namely, to see the
completion of his mosque (n), which is indeed a sum-
puous and splendid structure; to restore the ancient
aqueducts and give Constantinople a proper water
supply; and to capture Vienna. His first two objects
have been achieved; in his third ambition he has been
baulked—I hope, for ever.

[Busbecq then continues his panegyric of Ferdinand,
and describes his public and private virtues.]

You ask about my Greek books, and say that you
have heard that I have brought back a number of
curiosities, including some rare animals. As to the
latter there is nothing of great interest. I have brought
back a very tame ichneumon, an animal notable for
its hatred of and internecine warfare with the croco-
dile and asp. I had a remarkably handsome weasel of
the species called sable, but I lost it on the journey.
I also brought with me several very fine thoroughbred
horses—it is the first time any one has done so—and
six female camels. I have brought back hardly any
plants or herbs, but I have some botanical drawings
which I am keeping for Mattioli; I also sent him a good many specimens many years ago. Carpets and linen embroidered with Babylonian work, swords, bows, horse-trappings, articles of leather, chiefly horse-leather, finely worked, and other trilling examples of Turkish workmanship and ingenuity—of these I have, or to speak more accurately, I had an abundance. For I have but little left; in this vast assembly of princes and princesses at Frankfort, I make many presents of my own freewill to do them honour, while I am ashamed to refuse the many requests which are made to me by others. The rest of my gifts have, I think, been well bestowed; but there is one thing of which I regret that I have been so lavish, namely, the balm, on the genuineness of which the doctors have thrown doubts, on the ground that it does not seem to possess all the qualities which Pliny’s description demands. It may be that it has been extracted from very old plants, which have lost something of their strength, or there may be some other cause; of this, however, I am certain, that it was produced from the shrubs which grow in the gardens of Matarich, near Cairo...I also brought back a large miscellaneous collection of coins, the best of which I intend to present to my master. I have also whole wagon-loads, whole ship-loads, of Greek manuscripts. There are, I believe, no fewer than 240 volumes, which I have sent by sea to Venice, whence they are to be conveyed to Vienna. They are destined for the imperial library. Many of them are quite ordinary, but some of them are not to be despised. I hunted them out from all sorts of corners, so as to make, as it were, a final gleaning of all merchandise of this kind. One treasure I left behind in Constantinople, a manuscript of Dioscurides, extremely ancient and written in majuscules, with drawings of the plants and containing also, if I am not mistaken, some fragments of Cratevas and a small treatise on birds. It belongs to a Jew, the son of Hamon, who, while he was still alive, was physician to Soleiman. I should like to have bought it, but the price frightened me; for a hundred ducats was named, a sum which would suit the Emperor’s purse better than mine. I shall not cease to urge the Emperor to ransom so noble an author from such slavery. The manuscript, owing to its age, is in a bad state, being externally so worm-eaten that scarcely any one, if he saw it lying in the road, would bother to pick it up.

But enough of this letter; you may expect me in person before long. Anything else I have to say shall be kept for our meeting. But take care to provide men of worth and learning to meet me, the pleasantness of whose conversation and company may enable me to rid myself of any traces of boredom and depression that still cling to me as the result of my long sojourn among the Turks. Farewell.
NOTES

PAGE 1. 1 Sept. 1555. The date given in the Elsevir edition is 1554, which is impossible, since Busbecq only left Vienna for Constantinople in November 1554 after attending the marriage of Philip of Spain and Queen Mary in July 1554. It was on his return from his first mission to Turkey in the autumn of the following year that this letter was written.

The marriage of King Philip and Queen Mary: see Introduction, p. xi.

PAGE 3. Gerard Velduzic. He went as ambassador to Turkey in 1545.

PAGE 13. Valpouat: probably Vukovar, a small town dominated by a castle, on the right bank of the Danube about twenty miles south of the point where the Drava joins it.


PAGE 15. The place where there still remained traces of the piles of Trajan’s Bridge. As Busbecq followed the Morava from Semandria to Jagodina, he was at least eighty miles away from the site of Trajan’s Bridge near Severin, not far from the point where the Danube issues from the Iron Gates.

PAGE 23. Cantacuzenus and Palaeologi. John Cantacuzenus, emperor and historian, ruled from 1341 to 1354; the name still survives in Roumania. The first member of the dynasty of the Palaeologi was Michael, who recovered Constantinople from the Latins in 1261. The last emperor of this family was Constantine XII, who was killed at the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453.

Dionysius at Corinth. Dionysius II, tyrant of Syracuse, was deposed and banished, and became a schoolmaster at Corinth.

Baldwin the Elder, Count of Flanders. Baldwin I was elected emperor in 1204 during the occupation of Constantinople by the Latins after the Fourth Crusade. He died a prisoner in the following year.

Page 25. Selim. Selim I, who ruled from 1512 to 1520, was son of Bajazet II and father of Soleiman.


Page 28. Bajazet I reigned from 1389 to 1402.

Page 29. Tamerlane (a corruption of Timour lenk, Timour the lame), the Mogul conqueror, after subduing Persia, Turkestan, Russia, and Hindostan, in 1400 declared war on Bajazet I. Invading Syria he sacked Aleppo and captured Damascus and Bagdad, and finally met and defeated Bajazet at the battle of Angora, 28 July 1402.

Page 36. The people of Chalcedon... were called blind.

Page 37. Two serpents of bronze. The serpent column, which consists of three, not two, serpents intertwined, still stands where Busbecq saw it in front of the mosque of the Sultan Achmed. Though Busbecq was unaware of the fact, it came originally from Delphi, where it supported the golden tripod set up by the victorious Greek states who defeated the Persians at the battle of Plataea, and whose names are inscribed upon it.

A fine obelisk. This was erected by the Emperor Theodosius and still stands on the site of the Hippodrome where Busbecq saw it.

This column is covered with reliefs. This monument, now destroyed, was also erected by Theodosius (not by Arcadius, as Busbecq states), and stood on the hill now occupied by the Turkish War Office. It was modelled upon the column of Marcus Aurelius at Rome.

The column which stands opposite the apartments, &c. This is the well-known 'Burnt Column', which still stands in much the same condition as Busbecq describes. There is a tradition that when it falls the Turkish power in Europe will come to an end.

Page 39. Corinth. There was a proverb both in Greek and in Latin (quoted by Horace, Epistles, i. 17, 36) that 'not every one can go to Corinth'. This is interpreted by Busbecq as referring to the difficulty of entering the harbour of Corinth, but it was originally used, in all probability, of the expensiveness of the pleasures of that city.

The famous battle, &c. The battle of Tscaldiran (A.D. 1514).

Page 40. Greece: see note on Page 24, Greece.

Page 42. A prison for distinguished captives. In the Castle of Roumeli Hissar are still to be seen inscribed on the walls the names of unhappy prisoners, some of whom were ambassadors of European states.

The 'Clashing Rocks'. These rocks, which legend places at the entrance of the Black Sea, figure in the story of the Argonauts, who escaped destruction by sending a dove in front of them and then sailing through as the rocks opened again.

Page 43. The burial-place of Hannibal. Hannibal, after his defeat by the Romans at the battle of Zama (202 B.C.), fled first to Syria and then to the court of Prusias, King of Bithynia, where he took poison in 182 B.C.

Page 44. The Ascian Lake: now the Lake of Isnik.

Page 45. The Nicene Council: the Oecumenical Council held at Nicea in A.D. 325, at which the Nicean Creed was drawn up.

Page 46. Chiosada: perhaps Chakur Hissar.

Page 49. the Sultana: Rozalan, see p. 28.

Galatia, the province of Angora (now the capital of the Turkish Republic) occupies practically the same area as the ancient Galatia. The name of Galatia was derived from the survivors of the hordes of Gaulish invaders who were settled in that district after their defeat by Attalus, King of Pergamon, in 241 B.C. The 'Dying Gaul' is a copy of one of the many monuments erected to commemorate their defeat.

Page 50. A very fine inscription. This is the Monumentum Anencyorum, the most famous of all Latin historical inscriptions. Its discovery and the recognition of its importance is one of the chief of Busbecq's claims to the gratitude of students of antiquity. The best English account of this
monument is that of E. G. Hardy, The Monumentum Ancyranum (Oxford, 1922).

Page 51. Babygazar, Zarekucht, and Zermec Zii. None of these places can be identified.


Page 54. a famous establishment of Turkish monks. This is, no doubt, the Tekke or monastery of the Bektashı Dervishes which is mentioned by the traveller Evliya (Travels, trans. von Hammer, ii. 233) as situated near Tchoroum.

Page 59. the Sultan Amurath. Amurath, or Murad I, who reigned from 1366 to 1389, conquered the greater part of the European territory of the Eastern Empire and established his capital at Adrianople. He first instituted the Corps of Janissaries.

Page 67. his seat for the Persians. The followers of Mahomet have from quite early times been divided into two main sects, the Sunnites and Shiites. The Sunnites accept the Sunna, or traditional part of the Law, and acknowledge the three immediate successors of the Prophets, the Caliphs Abu Bakr, Omar, and Othman. These tenets are held by the Ottoman Turks. The Shiites repudiate the Sunna and refuse to acknowledge the three successors of the Prophet. This doctrine had a zealous champion in Ismael, the founder of the Saffide Dynasty in Persia, and prevailed in that country, whence it spread to parts of the Ottoman Empire. It was rigorously suppressed by Selim, the father of Soleiman, who carried out a wholesale massacre of Shiites in 1513.

Page 69. Lemnian earth. This was highly prized for its medicinal qualities, being used, amongst other purposes, as a cure for dysentery, a salve for wounds, and an antidote for snake-bites. It was dug up with great solemnity on one day only in the year, the Feast of the Transfiguration (6 August) (see p. 136), and was made up into cakes on which characters were imprinted; hence it is sometimes called terra sigillata. The name 'goat's seal' often applied to it is derived from the fact that goat's blood was used in the mixture. All the evidence, both ancient and modern, about Lemnian earth has been collected by F. W. Hasluck (Annual of the British School of Athens, xvi (1909–10), pp. 71 ff.).

Page 71. the defeat of Katsianer. In 1537, in order to check the inroads of the Pasha of Bosnia into Hungary, a large force was sent under Katsianer, who was defeated near Essek. Katsianer afterwards entered into reasonable negotiations with the Turks and was murdered by one of his own countrymen. Laszen is apparently to be identified with Lapanaca, which lies between Essek and Mohacs.


Page 74. some sort of mushroom. Agrippina is said to have poisoned the Emperor Claudius with a dish of mushrooms.

Page 75. The line of Plautus. The quotation is from Plautus, Curculio, i. i. 55.

Page 76. 14 July 1556. The Elzevir edition gives the year as 1555, at which time Busbecq was on the journey in Asia Minor which he describes in the first letter.

Thrace. Busbecq uses the ancient name of Turkey in Europe.

Page 81. Mahomet, the eldest son of Soleiman and Rosolana; see p. 79.

Page 83. the inevitableness of fate. The Elzevir text reads facti, which is a misprint for fatti.

Page 84. Feciis descensus Averni. Vergil, Aeneid, vi. 126, where the received text reads Averno.

Page 86. the Temple of Janus at Rome was only closed in time of peace.

Page 98. preparing to skirmish with a pygmy. The legend of the battle between the cranes and the pygmies is as old as Homer (Ilid, iii. 2–6).

Page 115. the Venetian Bailly. The Venetians and other Italian states, who controlled most of the trade in Turkey, enjoyed special privileges under Turkish rule as also they had done under the Byzantine emperors. In particular, they had a right of protection both of their persons and of their possessions under the jurisdiction of their ambassador, who bore the title of Bailly. This system eventually developed into the so-called Capitulations, only abolished in 1914, which gave certain foreign powers the right to appoint their own magistrates to try their subjects in the Ottoman Empire.
NOTES

Page 116. *Thus the man was saved.* This story is quoted by Bacon in his thirteenth essay.


Page 136. *plenty of Medeas.* Medea, who fell in love with Jason when he came to her land with the Argonauts, was daughter of the King of Colchis, and therefore came from the district inhabited by the Mingrelians.

*Godfrey de Bouillon.* It is difficult to see how Godfrey de Bouillon, who took part in the First Crusade and became King of Jerusalem, could have introduced the story of Roland to a tribe living in the Caucasus.

Page 134. *the Turks, like us, have an Easter.* The Feast of Bairam resembles the Christian Easter in coming at the end of Ramazan, the month of fast; for which see pp. 151 ff. For Bairam see pp. 161 ff.

Page 136. 'Goat's Seal': see note on p. 69, *Lemnian earth.*

Page 155. 'Give me another one!' This is an allusion to Tacitus, *Annals,* i. 25, where the words are applied to a Roman centurion who was fond of floging his men.

Page 163. *on the pretence of religion.* The Safid dynasty had been founded by Shah Ismael, the father of Saghamsa, who had established Shiism as the religion of Persia. See note on p. 67, *his zeal for the Persians.*


Page 169. *Jerba.* This island lies off the coast of Tunis in the Bay of Cabea. Towards the end of the year 1559 the Duke of Medina, Viceroy of Sicily, set out with a fleet which included contingents from several Italian states, in order to make war on the corsairs who infested the Mediterranean. He occupied Jerba as a base of operations. Busbecq's account of the sudden arrival of the Turkish fleet, which attacked the island and inflicted what was the most serious defeat ever sustained by a Christian fleet at the hands of the Turks, is a valuable authority on these events, since he no doubt derived his information at first hand from the captives who were brought to Constantinople.

Page 176. *Black Sea.* The Latin text reads *maris rubri,* 'Red Sea,' an error on the part of the author or his printer.

Page 184. *Prinkipo.* This is the largest of the Prince's Islands in the Sea of Marmora some fourteen miles south-east of Constantinople. It is a favourite summer resort at the present day.


Page 201. *a tribe which still inhabits the Crimea.* The data which Busbecq has collected about the Crim-Gothic language is invaluable from a philological point of view as the latest evidence we possess about the language. The continued existence of members of this branch of the Gothic people must have been due to their isolated position in the Crimean peninsula, into which the Huns failed to penetrate when they swept across southern Russia. Those who are interested in the subject may be referred to the following writers: Henry Bradley, *The Goths* (London, 1889), pp. 363 f.; R. Loewe, *Die Reste der Germanen am Schwarzen Meere* (Halle, 1896); Tomasek, *Die Goten in Tauren* (Vienna, 1881); F. Kluge, *Altgermanische Dialekte* (Strassburg, 1906), pp. 515 f. For the Gothic language in general reference may be made to Wright's *Gothic Grammar* (Oxford, 1910).

Page 204. *Wara wara ingdelou, &c.* While the eighty-six words contained in Busbecq's vocabulary are direct descendants of words found in Wulfila's Gothic Bible, these lines of verse are in a Turkish dialect (see Kum, *Codex Cumanicus,* p. 243).

Page 205. *The journey is not possible.* The sense here requires the insertion of a negative which is lacking in the Latin text.

Page 214. *peace between the Kings of Spain and France.* The reference is to the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis (April 1559).

Page 220. *we are no Catos.* An allusion to Marcus Porcius Cato, the famous Roman censor.

Page 221. *The Hodja.* Busbecq does not seem to have been aware that the story which he tells here is one of a large number of traditional Turkish tales attributed to Nasreddin Hodja, the *Turkish Joe Miller,* an actual person who lived at Akshehir in the heart of Asia Minor in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries. Some of the best of these stories are given by Sir William Whittall in an appendix to his book
entitled *Frederick the Great on Kingcraft* (pp. 203–36); see also Sir Charles Eliot, *The Turks in Europe*, pp. 107 ff.

The following are two typical Hodja stories. On one occasion the Hodja killed a very fine hare and went about boasting of its great size. So the next day, when he was dining off broth made from the hare, four of his friends arrived, and with characteristic hospitality the Hodja asked them to partake of the broth; but so large was the hare that the broth was not finished. So next day these friends sent four of their friends, who were likewise entertained, though on rather weaker broth. On the third day these sent four of their friends; but by now the hare was finished, and all that could be set before the guests was some hot water in which the bones had been boiled. When the guests found fault with the Hodja for his lack of hospitality he said, ‘Are you not the friends of the friends of the friends who dined off my hare?’ And they replied, ‘We are.’ ‘Even so,’ said the Hodja, ‘and what you are eating is the broth of the broth of the broth of that hare.’

On another occasion the Hodja woke up in the night and saw a thief dressed in white in his courtyard. So he put a shot through him and went back to bed. Next morning he went out early to bury the corpse and found that he had only shot a hole through his own shirt which was hanging out to dry. So he hurried to the nearest mosque and climbed the minaret and in a loud voice intoned a song of thanksgiving. The neighbours, annoyed at being roused so early, rushed out and remonstrated with him. ‘My friends,’ exclaimed the Hodja, ‘would not you thank Allah for having saved your lives? If I had been in that shirt, the shot would have passed through my heart and killed me.’

**Page 223. The Euphrates.** Aleppo is actually sixty miles from the nearest point on the Euphrates.

**Page 231. Heydons.** These were Hungarian irregulars: see p. 12.

**Page 233. which he always took with me.** *Secum* must be read in the Latin text for *secum*.

**Page 237. the three Dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, and Juliers.** They were Augustus, Elector of Saxony, and Ferdinand’s two sons-in-law, Albert III, Duke of Bavaria, and William, Duke of Juliers, brother of Henry VIII’s wife Anne of Cleves.

**Page 239. seems to me.** We must read *mihi* for *nil* in the Latin text.

**Page 240. The disasters of Nicopolis, &c.** At the battle of Nicopolis (A.D. 1396) the Emperor Sigismond was defeated by the Sultan Bajazet I; at Varna (A.D. 1444) Ladislaus, King of Hungary, was defeated by Murad II; for Mohacs see Introduction, p. xiii.

**Fabius Maximus.** The Roman general who wore out Hannibal by marches and counter-marches without coming to a regular engagement.

**Page 241. the completion of his mosque.** The mosque of the Sultan Soleiman is the most striking object on the skyline as one looks across the Golden Horn from Pera to Stamboul. It was finished in 1555.

**Page 243. I shall not cease to urge the Emperor, &c.** It is gratifying to find that the Emperor purchased this manuscript, which is illustrated with remarkable miniatures and was the basis of Mattioli’s great *Editio Princeps* of Dioscorides.
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