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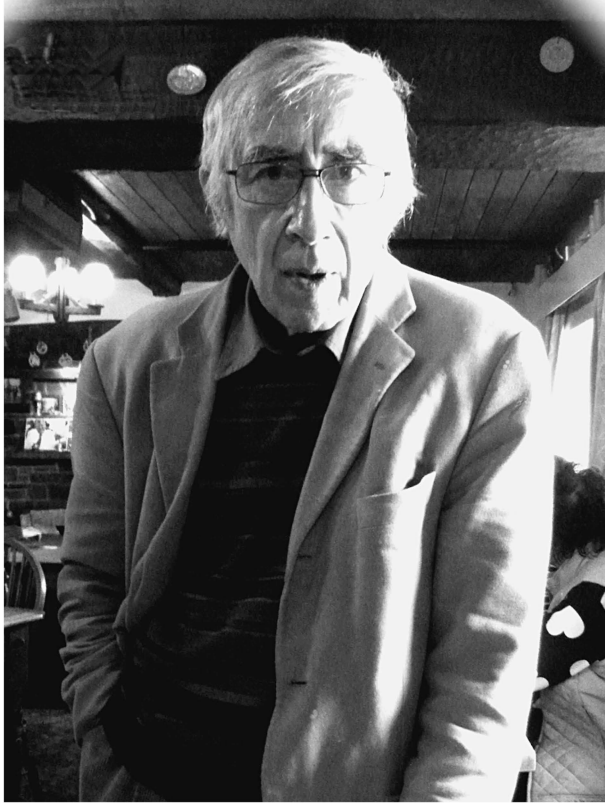
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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The articles in this volume, as in all others in the Variorum Collected Studies Series, have not been given a new, continuous pagination. In order to avoid confusion, and to facilitate their use where these same studies have been referred to elsewhere, the original pagination has been maintained wherever possible. Articles V and VII have necessarily been reset with a new pagination. The original pagination for these essays appears in braces within the text, and in this volume these numbers have been used in the index.

Each article has been given a Roman number in order of appearance, as listed in the Contents. This number is repeated on each page and is quoted in the index entries.

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PREFACE

This volume, the second of mine to appear in the Variorum ‘Collected Studies’ series, continues from where its predecessor¹ broke off at the end of the twentieth century, and brings together fourteen studies in Ottoman and Mediterranean history which were published between 2000 and 2009. These, when taken together with its predecessor in the Variorum series, and with a further volume of collected papers covering the years 1988–2008, which is currently in process of publication elsewhere,² round off and complete the reissue of those forty-odd of my articles published between 1972 and 2009 which appear, to me at least, to merit republication in a more accessible form. Most of them appeared in a range of scholarly journals, conference proceedings and *Festschriften*, published from Islamabad and Kazan to Malta and Los Angeles, and many, if not most, of the works in which they appeared, are also now either out of print or remain difficult to find outside of a small number of specialist libraries.

The fourteen studies collected here need little by way of introduction. Those in Part One (§§I–VI) reflect my ongoing commitment to what may be termed land-based Ottoman history, and in particular to the later seventeenth century and the intricacies of Anglo-Ottoman diplomacy in the era of the Köprülü ascendancy. In contrast, a number of the papers, and particularly most of those in Part Two (§§VII–XIV), reflect my more recent involvement in the historical and historiographical legacy of the great historian of the early modern Mediterranean, Fernand Braudel, as refracted through what may be termed – in more than one sense – the ‘post-Braudelian’ history of the Mediterranean in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although my interest in this subject goes back to my first reading of Braudel’s *Méditerranée* in my undergraduate years, it was only in my last years at SOAS that I returned to it and began to develop an interest in Mediterranean maritime history. This interest has become stronger as a result of my present fruitful association with the University of Hull and in particular with the Maritime Historical Studies Centre since 2002, under the

¹ Colin Heywood, *Writing Ottoman History: Documents and Interpretations* (CS725; Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2002).

² Colin Heywood, *Ottomanica and Meta-Ottomanica: Studies in and around Ottoman History* (Istanbul: Isis Press, to appear in 2013).

stimulus of which many of my publications during the past decade have been written.³

For the most part, the papers republished here have been reprinted in their original form, and with their original pagination. Two papers, however, have had to be reset for either procedural (§V) or typographical reasons (§VII). In these cases the original pagination has been supplied within braces, thus: {25}, and has been utilised for indexing purposes. In all the papers, a small number of typographical and other errors have been silently corrected.

COLIN HEYWOOD

Centre for Maritime Historical Studies
University of Hull
3 September 2012

³ See further my work in Maria Fusaro, Colin Heywood and Mohamed-Salah Omri (eds), *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010).

THE SHIFTING CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHYHYRYN (ÇEHRİN) CAMPAIGN (1089/1678) ACCORDING TO THE OTTOMAN LITERARY SOURCES, AND THE PROBLEM OF THE OTTOMAN CALENDAR

Introduction¹

It has been observed that it has been largely through the activity of historians that the passage of time has come to be reckoned in dates.² Ottoman chronology, as furnished by Ottoman literary sources, has long been recognised as a subject of study which contains pitfalls for the unwary or uncritical historian. It is now almost thirty years since Professor Ménage, in his study of the so-called 'Annals' of Murâd II, pointed out some of the chronological problems embedded in the early Ottoman chronicles and *takvîm* ('royal calendar') texts.³ More recently, Colin Imber's examination of what he has aptly termed the 'black hole' which lies at the heart of our knowledge of the reign of Osmân I, has dramatically illuminated the problems inherent in any attempt to establish a secure chronology for the earliest period of Ottoman history.⁴

In both these instances, however, we are dealing essentially with the faulty transmission of chronological data by our informants. At a deeper level of investigation there lies a more fundamental problem which is inherent in the Muslim calendar itself and in Ottoman usage with regard to it. This is a problem which in principle has been known to scholarship since the earliest days of the field, but which in practice historians have only recently begun seriously to address. My own interest in it was stimulated some years ago by a typically forensic and thoroughgoing article dealing with the subject by

¹ An earlier version of this paper was read at Zvenyhorodka (Ukraine), on 29 May 1997, on the occasion of the First Ahatanhel Krymsky Readings in Oriental Studies, held in Kyiv and Zvenyhorodka, 27 - 30 May 1997. My grateful thanks are due to the Institute of Oriental Studies, Kyiv, for their invitation to participate, and to several colleagues there present, in particular to Omeljan Pritsak, Victor Ostapchuk and Oleksandr Halenko, for their constructive comments on this earlier version of the present study. For the faults which still remain I accept full responsibility.

² Diana E. Greenway, "Dates in History: Chronology and Memory", *Historical Research*, LXXII/178 (June 1999), 128-139.

³ V. L. Ménage, "The 'Annals' of Murâd II", *BSOAS*, XXXIX/3 (1976), 570-584.

⁴ Colin Imber, "The Legend of Osman Gazi", in Elizabeth Zachariadou (ed.), *The Ottoman Empire (1300-1389)*, Rethymnon, 1993, 67-75.

Mme Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr and the late Nicoara Beldiceanu.¹ Their valuable study investigates certain inconsistencies in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ottoman chronology, with particular emphasis being placed on the problem of the one-day shift, from 15 to 16 July, 621 A.D., in the base date for the Muslim era. This shift, it appears, was rendered necessary on astronomical grounds *circa* 850/1446, and was applied fairly haphazardly during the following century down to the end of the reign of Süleymân I, the point at which the Beldiceanus' study ends. As a conclusion of their study of this and other inconsistencies in Ottoman chronological practice, the Beldiceanus have demonstrated that the mechanical conversion of *hicrî* to A.D. dates based on an uncritical use of the 16 July-base Muslim calendar, a process which has become institutionalised, as it were, through the use of, e.g., the well-known Wüstenfeld-Mahler conversion tables, can result in error.²

The Beldiceanus' study raises many interesting questions. Was this one-day shift -- which had been already noticed more than three quarters of a century ago by Joachim Mayr³ -- and its slow and intermittent application possibly indicative of a more extensive chronological problem? It was perhaps no more than coincidence that, shortly after reading the Beldiceanus' article for the first time as part of Colin Imber's and my own editorial labours on the *Ménage Festschrift*, I should have encountered a set of parallel problems of chronology in the context of Ottoman military involvement in the Ukraine in the later seventeenth century.

One of the most valuable recent contributions to this subject has been the edition by Lubomir Hajda of two hitherto little-studied Ottoman *gazânâmes* (lit. 'Book[s] of Holy War', i.e., accounts of particular campaigns), devoted to the Ottoman expedition against the Ukrainian Cossack fortress-town and administrative centre of Chyhyryn (Ott.: Çehrin) in 1089/1678.⁴ The so-called (but anonymous and untitled) *Çehrin seferi* (Paris,

¹ Nicoara Beldiceanu and Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Considérations sur la chronologie des sources ottomanes et ses pièges", in Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (eds.), *Ottoman Historical Studies in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, Istanbul, 1994, 15-29.

² Beldiceanu and Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Pièges", 16.

³ Joachim Mayr, "Probleme der islamischen Zeitrechnung", *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalischen Sprachen* (Berlin), II (1923-6), 282; *idem*, "Osmanischen Zeitrechnungen", in F. Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927), 417-30, where Mayr reckons (p. 417, n. 1) that the final shift occurred between the Ottoman conquest of Egypt (923/1517) and the death of Selim I (926/1520), after having been applied fairly haphazardly down to the beginning of the 16th century. As the present study hopes to demonstrate, this would appear not to have been the case.

⁴ Lubomyr Andriy Hajda, "Two Ottoman *Gazânâmes* concerning the Chyhyryn Campaign of 1678", unpublished Harvard Ph.D. thesis, 1984. This edition is due to appear as vol. 4 of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute's series, 'Studies in Ottoman Documents Pertaining to Ukraine and the Black Sea Countries'. On the Ottoman literary genre of *gazâl/gazavât-nâme* see A. S. Levend, *Gazavât-nâmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Gazavât-nâmesi* (Ankara, 1956); *Ahvâl* and *Çehrin seferi* are mentioned briefly by Levend at pp. 130 and 129-30, respectively.

B.N., MS Blochet, *Suppl.*, 927, henceforth C), which has been attributed to the Bosnian mystic and sufi Şeyh, Şeyh Hasan Kâ'imî Baba (d. 1091/1680) and the equally anonymous but still not satisfactorily attributed *Ahvâl-i İcmâl-i Sefer-i Çehrin* (ibid., Blochet, *Suppl.*, 134, henceforth A), the two Ottoman works edited and translated by Hajda, provide valuable new insights into and information on the conduct of the campaign and the successful Ottoman siege of Çehrin.¹ Nonetheless, both A and Ç, when read in parallel, and even more so when read together with the official campaign diary embedded in the official history of the Ottoman court historian Mehmed Findıklılı, known as Silahdâr Ağa, reveal chronological inconsistencies between themselves and also with Silahdâr's account, which have not been fully recognised hitherto.

I dedicate this study of chronological errors and inconsistencies to my colleague and old friend Colin Imber, whose own spirited explorations of the errors and inconsistencies of Ottoman historians both ancient and modern have done much to rescue our field from the second-hand hypotheses and factographic inadequacies which from time to time have been visited upon it by interpreters either more credulous or less scrupulous than he.

I

Chyhyryn (Russ. Chigirin, Turkish Çehrin²) is today a minor provincial town in the central Ukraine, situated approximately 250 km. south-east of Kiev in the present-day *oblast'* of Cherkasy. It lies on the Tyasmin river, a small west bank tributary of the Dnieper, opposite a point c. 500 km. from the latter's mouth. In the mid-seventeenth century, during the brief period (1648-57) of Ukrainian semi-independence under Bohdan Khmelnytsky, and the subsequent period of Cossack ascendancy, Çehrin served as Khmelnytsky's residence and the *de facto* capital of the so-called Right-Bank Hetmanate of the Ukraine.³ The uneasy balance struck by Khmelnytsky and his successors between the conflicting ambitions of Poland, the Ottomans and Russia, as the past, potential and future overlords of the Cossack hetmanate could not be maintained. Subsequently, in the period known to Ukrainian historians as 'The Ruin', Çehrin was the focus of strenuous military efforts by the competing great powers of eastern Europe and the Pontic steppe. The

¹ On the authorship of the two works, see Hajda, 180-1 and 27-9, respectively.

² Since the argument and substance of this paper is drawn almost exclusively from contemporary Ottoman literary-historical sources, I have used the Ottoman toponyms for primary reference to place names within its *Aktionsradius*.

³ Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: a History* (Toronto, 1988), 123 ff.

Ottomans' objective, the establishment of their overlordship in the Ukraine, first accepted by Khmelnytsky at the time of the Great Revolt by the Cossacks against Poland in 1648,¹ and subsequently reasserted with decreasing success, together with their wider aims of securing, initially by warfare against Poland, an unmediated ascendancy in the lands between their newly-conquered province of Podolia (1672-3; creation of the *vilâyet* of Kamañice [Ukr. Kam'janec'; Russ. Kamenec Podolsk']) and the lower Dnepr.² Equally, the Ukraine was the scene of Russian attempts to establish their own rule over the lands of the Hetmanate. The resulting armed conflict between the Ottomans and Russia took the form of major campaigns by both powers into the central Ukraine, targeted on Çehrin, in 1088/1677 and 1089/1678.³

The campaign launched in 1089 / 1678 by the Ottomans against Çehrin is historically significant for a number of reasons. In the first place the conduct of the campaign under the Ottoman Grand Vizir Kara Mustafa Pasha prefigures, in its combination of impetuous force and impulsive violence, and in the size of the Ottoman armament, his better-known campaign five years later against Vienna. The inconclusive outcome of the Çehrin campaign, which led to no territorial gains for the Ottomans despite the fall of the bitterly defended fortress, which was razed to the ground, also suggests what might have been one outcome had the Ottomans succeeded in taking Vienna in 1683. Secondly, the Ottoman campaign of 1678 and its less successful predecessor in 1677 mark the furthest point reached by the Ottomans in their attempt to control what may be termed their 'Northern Quadrant', a tract of eastern Europe seen from the vantage-point of Istanbul as a vast arc of territory stretching from Slovakia to Podolia and across the Pontic Steppe as far as the lower Volga.⁴ Thirdly, the Ottoman campaigns of 1677-8, inconclusive as they turned out to be, occasioned the first direct hostilities

¹ Cf. Omeljan Pritsak, "Das erste türkisch-ukrainisch Bündnis", *Oriens*, VI (1953), 266-298.

² On the Ottoman conquest of Podolia and its reorganisation into the short-lived *eyâlet* of Kamañice see Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, "Die türkische Herrschaft in Podolien (1672 - 1699)", in Andreas Tietze (ed.), *Habsburgische-osmanisch Beziehungen*. Wien, 26.-30. September 1983. (*Colloque sous le patronage du Comité international des études pré-ottomanes et ottomanes*) (Wien, 1985; = *Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. 13), 187-192; Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, "Ottoman Podillja: the Eyalet of Kamjanec' 1672-1699", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 1992, 87-101; idem, *Ejalet Kamieniecki* (Warsaw 1994); idem, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca. 1681): Defter-i mufasssal-i eyalet-i Kamañice*, 2 vols., [Cambridge, MA], 2004.

³ There has been little study by British scholars of Ottoman warfare in the Pontic steppe. The recent revival of interest in the history of Ottoman-Ukrainian relations in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries has been principally the work of a number of historians based in France and North America. Cf. in particular, beyond the works already cited, Victor Ostapchuk, "The Human Landscape of the Ottoman Black Sea in the Face of the Cossack Naval Raids", *Oriente Moderno*, n.s., XX (2001), 23-95.

⁴ Cf., for the Ottomans' 'Northern Policy' in this period, İ. Metin Kunt, "17. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Kuzey Politikası Üzerine Bir Yorum", *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi, Beşeri Bilimler*, IV-V (1976-7), 111-116.

between Ottoman and Russian armies which, with hindsight, can be seen to have opened the way to two centuries of Russian advance and Ottoman withdrawal in the northern Black Sea region. Fourthly and lastly, although not least in its significance, the 1678 campaign marks a turning-point in the history of the Ukrainian hetmanate, signalling the end of several decades of marginally effective Ottoman involvement in the region during a period (1648-78) which may be seen as one of transition between the effective end of the old Polish&Lithuanian ascendancy in the Ukraine and the first stages in the violent, long drawn-out, and ultimately unsuccessful process of subjecting the Ukraine to Muscovite political control.¹

Hajda in his pioneering work in editing the two Çehrin *gazâ-nâme* texts from Paris, and supplying them with exemplary translations, has failed to solve certain basic problems of chronological discrepancy between the two texts. These problems thus remain for historians who wish to make use of them and also of the other Ottoman literary-historical sources for the Çehrin campaign of 1089/1678. Initially, on first reading Hajda's work some years ago, I was struck by certain chronological inconsistencies between the two Paris texts. These inconsistencies, when I subsequently attempted to correlate the Muslim chronology contained in these two accounts with the accepted *hicrî* (A.H.) calendar time base and with its A.D. equivalent as supplied in, e.g., the Wüstenfeld-Mahler tables, appear to provide further evidence for the existence in these Çehrin campaign accounts of significant and mutually incompatible variations from the theoretical norms of the Muslim calendar. It thus seemed worthwhile to investigate for this limited time-scale of some seven months in the later eleventh/seventeenth century, the chronological or calendar problems which had been studied by the Beldiceanus with reference to the early tenth/sixteenth century.

To give examples. A dates the opening of the siege of Çehrin by the Ottomans to 'Tuesday, the last day of Cum. I [1089]', which Hajda glosses as '20 July [1678]'², pointing out in an endnote (p. 252, n.17) that 3? [sic] Cum. I was in fact a Wednesday. The author of Ç, however, in his account of the siege (Hajda, 85), dates the opening of the trenches - which in Ottoman military practice indicated the commencement of a siege of a fortified place³ - to the 'first day of Cum. II, which was a Wednesday'. Hajda glosses this date as '21 July', adding the observation (p. 106, n.65, that '1 Cum. II was a

¹ Subtelny, *Ukraine: a History*, 139 ff. . Cf., for Ottoman involvement in the Ukraine prior to 1678, Pritsak, "Das erste türkische-ukrainische Bündnis (1648)"; Ostapchuk, "Human Landscape", passim.

² All dates referred to subsequently fall within A.H. 1089 and A.D. 1678, unless otherwise stated.

³ *EP*², s.v. "Hisâr" (V. J. Parry).

Thursday'. A few pages earlier, however, Ç refers (p. 79) to the preliminaries of the siege as taking place on 'Tuesday, 29 Cum. I.', a date which is glossed by Hajda as '19 July'. Hajda's glossed A.D. dates, be it noted, are in themselves consistent, but we are faced, unobserved by Hajda, with a Tuesday which falls one day earlier (29 Cum.I) in Ç than A (gâyet-i [=30] Cum.I). Hajda's critical mistake, therefore, has been to accept the month-date supplied by his texts as the given, mechanically converting it on the basis of the Wüstenfeld-Mahler tables, rather than taking the given day of the week as normative, and adjusting the month-date accordingly. I make no claim to originality for this observation. As Joachim Mayr pointed out long ago, a *hicri* date can only be precisely converted to its A.D. equivalent if the corresponding day of the week is also supplied by the source.¹ In other words -- as the Beldiceanu have also already noted -- literary day-of-the-week data are usually (and inherently) more reliable in establishing a secure chronology in a context where the beginning of a lunar month is dependent more on the visual sighting of the new moon -- 'Neulicht, nicht Neumond', as Mayr critically observes -- than are the corresponding month-date data.²

Nor are the chronological discrepancies between A and Ç the end of the confusion. There is, as mentioned above (and as Hajda has already pointed out³) a third major Ottoman historical account of the Çehrin campaign. This third version is in the form of a detailed campaign diary for the entire campaign, embedded in the text of the Ottoman chronicle written by the court official Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, commonly known as Silâhdar, which covers the years 1065 / beg. 1/11 Nov. 1654 to 1106 / ends 31 July / 11 Aug. 1695.⁴ This section of Silâhdar (i, 674-727 in Ahmed Refik's edition;

¹ Mayr, in Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, 417.

² Beldiceanu, "Pièges", 28-9; cf. Mayr, in Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, 417, for the ramifications of this fact.

³ Hajda, 257 ff.

⁴ Mehmed Fındıklılı known as Silâhdar Ağa, *Zeyl-i Fezleke* [i.e. of Hacci Halife's *Fezleke-i tevârih*], commonly known as *Târih-i Silâhdar* or *Silâhdar Târihi* (thus ed. by Ahmed Refik [Altınay], 2 vols., İstanbul, 1928), continued under the title of *Nusretnâme* (covers the years 1107/1695 to 1133/1721); inadequate simplified and romanized version by İsmet Parmaksızoglu, 2 vols. in 5 parts (İstanbul, 1962-66). The text of the 1678 Çehrin campaign diary is to be found in S, I, 674-729. On Silâhdâr (12 Rebî' I 1069 / 28 Nov./ 7 Dec. 1658 [not 11 Dec. as in Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, (Leipzig, 1927), 253] - 1136 / beg. 20 Sept./ 1 Oct. 1723), see Ahmed Refik, '*Âlimler ve San'atkârlar*, (İstanbul, 1924), 228 ff., and the introduction (vol. I, iii-xii) by Refik to his edition; Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, 253-4 (inaccurate); [J. von] Hammer-Purgstall, "De la grande histoire de Funduklu....", *Journal Asiatique*, 3^{ème} série, I (1836), 493 ff. (notice of the acquisition of a MS of S by the Hofbibliothek in Vienna); Ibrahim Artuk, "Silâhdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa", *Tarih Dergisi* (1973), 123-132.

Cf. also the important unpublished work of David Thomas, "The Ottoman Chronicle of Silâhdar", [Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute], 'Colloquium, 5-6 October 1989. Ottoman Sources on the Ukraine and Northern Black Sea Countries in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Uncorrected Minutes' [unpublished typescript], pp. 18-21, and 'Discussion [on Silâhdar]', 'Colloquium', 22-26. I am most grateful to Professor Victor Ostapchuk (University of Toronto; formerly of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute) for kindly furnishing me with this document, and to Professor David Thomas, of the University of Rhode Island, for permission to quote from his unpublished paper.

henceforth: S) is almost certainly an official *relazione* prepared for submission to the sultan,¹ and, like most of his lengthy and extremely valuable work, has never been subjected to published critical attention, although the importance of this part of his text has been noticed by scholars in the field.² On turning to S it is immediately evident that his account of the Çehrin campaign represents yet a third 'chronographic tradition', if one may utilise the term. According to S (i, 676), the opening of the siege of Çehrin indeed took place, as stated also in the two *gazânâme* texts, on a Tuesday, but the Muslim date given for the event by S is '1 Cum. II'.

We are thus faced with three apparently distinct 'chronographic traditions' relating to the siege of Çehrin. In Ç the Tuesday in question falls on 29 Cum. I; in A it falls on the 30th of that month; and in S it falls on 1 Cum. II.

The question of the day/date (Tuesday or Wednesday -- Ç alone notes the opening of the trenches as taking place on the following day, Wednesday, being, according to Ç, 1 Cum. II), the day on which the siege of Çehrin was commenced, is secondary to the basic chronographic incompatibility between our three texts, and can in any case be established from non-Ottoman A.D.-based sources. A full study of the 1678 Çehrin campaign lies beyond the scope of the present paper, in which I attempt only to illuminate the primary chronographic problem by a comparison of the dates recorded in A, Ç and S for the more significant campaign events, and to point up some of the implications for further research which this short study raises.³

¹ The war diary covers the period from the departure of the sultan and the army from Dâud Paşa on Saturday 8 Rebî' I 1089 (20/30 April 1678) for the '*gazwa-i Moskov*', to the return of the sultan to the palace at Dâ'ûd Paşa on 19 Muharram 1090 (20 Feb./ 2 March 1679). The original manuscript of the war diary, if it survives, appears not to have been located.

² See the "Uncorrected Minutes", 18, 20, 23-4, where (p. 24) Professor İnalçık is quoted as remarking that "on the siege of Chyhyryn, every military detail is found which could only come from the commanders themselves". Is therefore the Çehrin campaign 'war diary' in S from the pen of Kara Mustafâ Paşa -- or his private secretary?

³ A full study of the Çehrin campaign and the defence and siege of Çehrin, based on the Ottoman literary and archival sources, and the detailed account of the siege from the Russian side in the original manuscript of General Patrick Gordon's diary (written, naturally, in English: presumably the original manuscript is still, as it was in the mid-nineteenth century, in the possession of the Russian Foreign Ministry) remains a desideratum (cf. *Fürst M. A. Obolenski* (vol. I only) and Dr. phil. M. C. Posselt (eds.), *Tagebuch des Generals Patrick Gordon ... 1655 bis 1661, und ... 1661 bis 1699* ..., 3 vols., (Moscow: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1849-52). For Gordon's account of the siege of Çehrin see *Tagebuch*, I, 464-558.

II

Selected Chronographic Bases of the Çehrin Campaign 1089/1678*[1] The departure of the Ottoman army from Dâ'ûd Pasha*

The base date for the chronology of the Çehrin campaign is the day of the departure of the Ottoman army from its assembly area at Dâ'ûd Pasha, outside the land walls of Istanbul. This took place on Saturday 8 Rebî' I 1089.¹ All three sources, S, Ç and A, agree on the date, and on the day of the week on which it fell. In addition S provides, as he so frequently and usefully does, the Rûmî (i.e. Julian, or Old Style) equivalent, in this case 20 Nisan (= April).²

The Julian calendar, in the seventeenth century, was ten days behind the Gregorian (or 'New Style') calendar. Thus, Saturday 8 Rebî' I 1089 equals, on the basis of S, 20/30 April 1678, and is common to all three sources. It also supplies a perfect concordance as to both date and day with a computation of the A.D. date on the basis of the Wüstenfeld-Mahler tables, which take 16 July 621 as the base date for the Muslim calendar. We have therefore adopted this day/date equivalence, and the 16 July-base Muslim calendar, which had become the Ottoman standard by the later seventeenth century, as the chronographic baseline for establishing the chronology of the 1089/1678 Çehrin campaign.

[2] The arrival of army at Hâcî-oğlu Bazarı³

Hâcî-oğlu Bazarı was situated on the so-called *sağ kol*, the main 'branch of the right [hand]' of the Ottoman courier (*ulak*) and staging-post (*menzilhâne*) network in Rumeli. The army had left Istanbul on 8 Rebî' I 1089 or 20/30 April 1678. By the time it had arrived at this major staging post in the Dobrudja, three weeks later, at the very end of Rebî' I, chronological divergences between the three accounts have become already apparent. A dates the arrival of the army to Friday 28 Rebî' I; Ç, possibly following a different source, dates the event to the following day, Saturday the 29th. The day/date concordances in both Ç and A are, however,

¹ S 674; Ç 37/71; A 185/219.

² According to Mayr, 418, the common use of the Rûmî / Julian calendar in Turkey, but with the names of the months derived from the Seleucid era (commenced 1. 10. 312 B.C.) and with 1 Muharram of the *hicrî* year corresponding to 1 March of the solar year in question, dates only from 1677, as the basis of what from 1789 became the official *mâlîye* (finance year) calendar.

³ S 674; Ç 37/72; A 185/219.

chronologically sound on the 16-base line. S also places the event¹ on the Saturday, but assigns the day in question to the 'first [day]' (*gurre*) of Rebî' II. This date he equates with '11 Mayıs', i.e. Sat. 11/21 May, which in fact corresponds in theory (and in reality in Ç and by implication in A) to 29 Rebî' I. Since Rebî' I is supposed to have 30 days, S thus begins Rebî' II two days ahead of the baseline - and of Ç and A. The question therefore presents itself: is S's source here (a) reckoning only 29 days to Rebî' I, and (b) still using a 15-base line - both usages attested (admittedly for an earlier period) by the Beldiceanus?²

The one notable event to take place during the army's eight-day³ stay at Hâcî-oğlu Bazarı was the investiture by Mehmed IV of his grand vizir Kara Mustafa Pasha as its commander-in-chief for the remainder of the campaign. A is silent regarding the date of this event. Ç, who devotes a great deal of attention to it, places it on Thursday 5 Rebî' II; S also ascribes the event to Thursday, but places this day on the 6th [of Rebî' II]. On a day basis, Ç is now one day, and S is still two days ahead of the baseline.⁴ Four days later, on the departure of the army from Hâcî-oğlu Bazarı, the same situation still obtains. Ç dates the event to Monday 9 Rebî' II; S to 'Monday the 10th': that Monday, in fact, was the 16-base 8th of Rebî' II, corresponding to 20/30 May 1678.

[3] *The march from Hâcî-oğlu Bazarı to Çehrin*

During this section of the campaign specific day and date references for the chronology and the events while the army was on the march are only rarely supplied by all three of our Ottoman literary sources. For example, the date on which the army encamped at Isakçı is not supplied by S. A offers Sunday, 15 Rebî' II; Ç 'Monday, for 16th', which Hajda glosses in the text as 5 and 7 June respectively, while pointing out in the relevant footnotes (p. 252, n. 12 and p. 105, n. 38) that 15 Rebî' II 'was a Monday' and that '16 Rebî' II was a Tuesday'. This is indeed the case if the dates are computed on a 16 July 621 epoch base, but in fact both A and Ç turn out to be operating here on a 15 July base.

A week later the army departed from Isakçı, crossing the Danube at that point, and encamping at the first stage north of the river, at Kartal. A

¹ Ç and A refer to the arrival of the army at Hâcî-oğlu Bazarı; S to the arrival there of the sultan.

² Beldiceanu, 'Pièges', 28-9.

³ Thus Ç (H. /72).

⁴ Rebî' II 1089 began on a Tuesday (= 13/23 May 1678).

does not date this event. C, however, does: 'Monday, 23 Rebî' II' -- i.e., Ç is still operating on a 15 July epoch base calendar. S also supplies a date for this event: 'Tuesday, 24 Rebî' II, which equals 4 Haziran [i.e., 4 June, O.S.]', which proves that A, Ç and S are *all* at this point operating on a 15 July epoch base (on a 16-epoch base, 24 Rebî' II 1089 would equal 5/15 June 1678). Hajda's redating of the *day* of the event to a Tuesday (cf. p. 105, n. 39) is irrelevant in this context.

The next critical event of the march, and one for which all three sources supply day-dates, is the arrival of the army at Bender, the sixteenth-century fortress which was held to mark the frontier of the empire. A dates this event to 'Thursday, 13 Cum. I', which is glossed by Hajda as 3 July. A is manifestly incorrect in his chronology at this point, or else there has been an error introduced in the transmission of the text, since on a 16-epoch base Cum. I 1089 began on Tuesday, 11/21 June 1678. We must therefore read A here as 'Thursday, 3 Cum. I', which equals 13/23 June.

Ç and S both date the arrival of the army at Bender to 5 Cum. I -- according to Ç this was a Saturday (i.e., like A, Ç is now back on a 16-epoch base era); S supplies 'Friday', and is thus clearly still operating on a 15-epoch base. Ç is still on the same 16-base when he records the departure of the army from the Bender bridgehead as taking place on 'Saturday, 12 Cum. I', which equates to 22 June/2 July, as per Wüstenfeld-Mahler and Hajda.

Six days later, on Friday 18 Cum. I (28 June/8 July), the Ottoman army arrived at a halting-place known as Koyun Geçidi, where the line of march crossed the Boh / Aksu river.

A and Ç are in agreement here (Hayda's date for Ç, '18 July', needs to be corrected), and are still on a 16-base epoch, which they continue with for the next few days (transit of the Boh / Aksu completed on Monday, 21st; departure of the army from the Aksu bridgehead camp, Tuesday, 22nd; camp at Inhul on Friday, 25th; and arrival at Inhulets / Küçük Inhul on Monday, 28th of Cum. I). S, however, for his first precise date for two weeks, supplies 'Saturday, 20 Cum. I' as the date of departure from the Aksu bridgehead camp, i.e., he is still operating on a 15-base cycle, and he gives 'Saturday, 27 Cum. I equals 6 Temmuz [July]' for the army's arrival at Inhulets / Küçük Inhul, thus supplying a precise *rûmî* date with which to establish a clear 15-epoch basis.

[4] *The arrival of the Ottoman army before Çehrin and the opening of the siege*

To recapitulate, the last event before the arrival of the Ottoman army before Çehrin for which A, Ç and S all supply a day/date reference was the departure of the army from the Ak Su / Boh bridgehead camp. For this event S supplies Saturday (!) 20 Cum. I [= 30.6./10.7]; both Ç and A day-date the event to two days later, Tuesday 22nd [Cum. I], i.e. 2/12 July. Ç and A here are both correct on a day/date basis on the 16 July epoch base. S is correct in his day/date correlation (Sat. = 20 Cum. I) only if we calculate on a 15 July epoch base, otherwise he is one day ahead -- on the 16 July base Saturday falls on the 19th.

By the time, a week later, that the Ottoman army appeared before the walls of Çehrin, the chronographic bases of our three texts have once more shifted. All three -- A, Ç and S -- agree that the Ottoman army appeared before the walls of Çehrin on a Tuesday. Ç equates this with 29 Cum. I, which was indeed a Tuesday on the 16 July epoch (and Wüstenfeld-Mahler) base. A dates this event to 'Tuesday, the last day' -- scil. the 30th -- of Cum. I. S opts for Tuesday the first (*gurre*) of Cum. II. The 'Diary' of General Patrick Gordon, one of the leading generals of the Russian forces, which we can now begin to make use of as a control, appears to offer support, dating the event precisely to '9 July, towards ten o'clock [in the morning]', i.e., 9/19 July: Gordon's dates are all Old Style, as one would expect.¹ Thus, for the crucial date of the appearance of the Ottoman army before Çehrin, on a 16 July base, Ç is correct; A is one day ahead, and S two days ahead, on a date basis. There is, however, a further problem with S. If we accept S's 'Saturday, 27 Cum. I', then 1 Cum. II should fall on Wednesday by S's reckoning (Cum. I is a 30-day month). In fact it falls, according to S, on Tuesday, thus S's Cum. I 1089 has only 29 days instead of the canonical 30.

[5] *The Fall of Çehrin*

I pass over, for lack of space, the chronology of the siege itself. According to both A and Ç, Çehrin fell to the Ottomans on Sunday, 3 Receb 1089. This

¹ According to Gordon's diary (*Tagebuch*, I, 482), Turkish scouts first appeared within sight of the defenders on the 8th/[18th]; he learned from deserters that the main army would appear below the walls 'on the following day' (scil. the 9/19th). Gordon then records the planting of the tents of the grand vizir and other notables beneath the walls (ib., 483). After describing some small-scale skirmishes and sallies, and the developments within the walls of the fortress, down to the evening of the 8/18th, he then describes under the date 9 July the appearance of the main Ottoman army before the fortress (ib., 485).

equates, on a 16 July base, with 11/21 August, a Sunday (W-M), and with Gordon's diary date of 11 August (Old Style).¹ Ç calls the day of the fall the 34th day of the siege, reckoning therefore Tues. 29 Cum. I as the first day. A calls it the 33rd day, reckoning from Wed. 30 Cum. I. S dates the fall to 'Saturday the third [*scil.* of Receb, which is] 11 Ağustos' -- i.e., S, or his source, is still calculating on a 15-epoch base. But two days later, when S notes the arrival of the *serdâr* for the siege of the Muscovite camp outside Çehrin, he is back on a 16-epoch base: all three Ottoman sources now agree that the arrival of the *serdâr* took place on Tuesday 5 Receb (13/23 August).

A week later, on Tuesday, 12 Receb (A: '42 days since the beginning of the siege'), the blockade of the Muscovite camp was lifted and the Muslim forces returned to Çehrin. 'Three days after this' (A, Ç), 'on the night of Friday 15th [Receb] (A)' -- i.e., the night of Thursday to Friday, 22-23 August / 1-2 September 1678 -- Çehrin was razed and its walls levelled to the ground, and the Ottoman army departed from the site of Çehrin en route for Edirne and the end of the campaign.

III

Conclusions

The warnings against a too facile 'straight' conversion from *hicrî* to A.D. dates, issued by the Beldiceanus for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, still holds good for the later seventeenth century, on the basis of the shifting chronographic evidence for the Çehrin campaign of 1089/1678.

There is evidence, also, firm in the case of S, circumstantial with regard to A, for the use of non-standard month lengths -- in this case a 29-day Cumadâ I, instead of the standard thirty day sequence. Furthermore, an examination of the Ottoman literary sources for Kara Mustafa Pasha's Çehrin campaign demonstrate that even in the late 11th/17th century there was still no firm adherence to the 16 July base date for the Muslim era which had begun to come into use some two centuries previously. The account in S is incontrovertibly on a 15 July base for dates subsequent to the departure of the army from Istanbul, down to the fall of Çehrin on 11/21 August, which is the terminal point of the present survey. A and C occasionally shift from a 16 to a 15 July base, but mainly adhere to the reformed 16 July baseline.

¹ Gordon, *Tagebuch*, I, 530.

Thus some general precepts may be offered. Firstly, it is crucial, when computing date equivalents from A.H. to A.D., to take prime account of the *day* of the week, and not the *month date*, if the former is supplied by the Muslim source. If the *day* given there corresponds to that of the computed 16 July-base, but the date does not, the date, and not the day, must be revised -- i.e., the reverse of the procedure adopted by Hajda must be invoked. The *Rûmî* date, also, where it is supplied, must be taken into account, and due weight accorded to it. It goes without saying that if western sources are available as controls, they must (with due caution) be utilised. Only in this way can basic errors be avoided.



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II

ALL FOR LOVE?: LUCA DELLA ROCCA AND THE BETRAYAL OF GRABUSA (1691) (DOCUMENTS FROM THE BRITISH LIBRARY *NÂME-I HÛMÂYÛN DEFTERI*)

I.

Forty years ago, when I found myself somewhat unwillingly occupied with the collection of material for a study of Anglo-Ottoman diplomatic relations in the reign of William III, I was fortunate in having few supervisory constraints imposed on my selection of sources deemed relevant to the task. The transformation of an interminable series of diplomatic despatches into sheaves of methodologically approved note-slips proceeded rapidly, and an initial enthusiasm for the task ensured that many transcripts were made which, on the face of it, had little to do with the officially approved research topic.¹ One such apparently irrelevant note, transcribed at that now distant time, consisted of the following cryptic observation:

Before Obderman Pasha, now at Scio, left Candia, he had the fortune to have the fortress of Carabusa betrayed to him. It is in a rock in the sea, and commands a good post.

The writer of the despatch from which this extract was taken was Thomas Coke, a significant figure in English affairs at the Porte in this period.² Coke was an old servant of the Levant Company: officially he held the post of *cancellarius*, or permanent secretary and archivist to the English embassy in Istanbul; unofficially he had close contacts with the diplomatic underworld and was deeply involved in what would now be termed intelligence gathering.³ In particular, he was active during the Nine Years' war in furtherance of what may be termed William III's *Ostpolitik*. This was a policy, carried on at the Porte by English

¹ C. J. Heywood, 'English diplomacy between Austria and the Ottoman Empire in the War of the Sacra Liga, 1684-1699, with special reference to the period 1689-1699' (unpublished University of London Ph.D. dissertation, 1970). A revised and updated version of the work will be published in due course by I. B. Tauris.

² Thomas Coke to Sir William Trumbull, Constantinople, 18/28 February 1691/2. *Downshire MSS.*, i, 393-4.

³ Coke had served the factory and embassy as *cancellarius* since the 1660s. Between the death of Sir William Hussey (August 1691) and the arrival of Paget in February 1693 he acted as *chargé d'affaires*. He died in 1694. A detailed inventory of his estate and the accounts of its settlement (16 March 1698) exist in the Constantinople chancery register SP 105/77, ff. 167-85. On the structure of the Constantinople embassy at this time see A. C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, Oxford 1935, rp. London, 1964, 205, ff., passim; Heywood, 'English diplomacy', 21-31.

and Dutch diplomats, which was aimed at shifting the Ottomans away from their pronounced pro-French stance and, by extricating them from their war with Austria and the other Sacra Liga powers, to bring them via Anglo-Dutch mediation to conclude a separate peace with Austria.⁴

The recipient of Coke's despatch was Sir William Trumbull, English ambassador at the Porte under James II and William III, until his recall in the summer of 1691. Eighteen months after Trumbull's departure from the Porte, and after a series of replacements had died either in post or en route, Coke was finally relieved of his duties as chargé d'affaires by the arrival at the Porte in the spring of 1693 of William III's new ambassador, William, Lord Paget. Paget had earlier (1689-92) served the king at Vienna, and had corresponded with Coke at Istanbul during the English 'ambassadorless' period there.⁵

The transcript of Coke's notice of the fall of Grabusa was duly filed away, but was not forgotten. A year or so later, thanks to the kindness of the late Marquess of Anglesey, I was enabled to work through Paget's papers,⁶ and it came as a pleasant surprise to encounter amongst a number of lengthy despatches from Coke, a further letter, written on the same day as Coke's despatch to Trumbull mentioned above, which supplied a further intriguing snippet of information on the mysterious 'affair of Carabusa':

the 13th February [scil. 1691/2, Old Style] the Captain and his brother who betrayed the fortress of Carabuse in Candia to the Turks were come to Adrianople and vested by the Visir and an allowance given them for their entertainment. The occasion of it [scil. the betrayal of Grabusa] was, [that] the Venetian gentleman, Governor of the place, took away the Captain's wench, in revenge of which he, corrupting some of the garrison and agreeing with the Turks who came on a sudden, he let them in, and made slaves of the Governor and all that were not in the conspiracy.⁷

Grabusa, Coke's 'Carabusa' or 'Carabuse', which is the setting for this little story from the Sacra Liga War of passion, revenge, and their consequences, is one of three small islands - mere islets, in fact - which cluster together off the northwest corner of Crete. The three islets, Grabusa, Agria Grabusa and Pontikonisi, stretch in a shallow arc from the southwest to the north of Cape Busas, the 'Land's End' of the Great Island. They look out across what that irritable Scottish traveller, William Lithgow, who visited Grabusa in 1609, described as the 'sevenscore and twelve miles of dangerous and combustious seas' to the island of Cerigotto and to Cape Matapan, the most southerly point of the continent of Europe.⁸ Already in the early sixteenth century the islet of Grabusa had attracted the attention of the matchless Ottoman navigator and maritime geographer, Piri Re'is. In his 'Nautical Handbook' (*Kitāb-i Bahriyye*), he observes:⁹

⁴ Cf. Colin Heywood, 'An undiplomatic Anglo-Dutch dispute at the Porte: the quarrel at Edirne between Coenraad van Heemskerck and Lord Paget (1693)', *Friends and Rivals in the East: Studies in Anglo-Dutch relations in the Levant from the Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*, ed. Alastair Hamilton, Alexander H. de Groot and Maurits H. van den Boogert, Leiden, 2000, 59-94.

⁵ Details in Heywood, 'English diplomacy', 160, ff.

⁶ Diplomatic papers of the sixth Lord Paget, formerly part of the Anglesey family papers, Plâs Newydd, Anglesey, subsequently (1963) deposited in the Library at SOAS.

⁷ Coke to Paget, Constantinople, 18 February 1691/2. Paget Papers (SOAS) [=PP] 33.

⁸ William Lithgow, *The totall discourse of the rare adventures and painefull peregrinations ...* [1632] (Glasgow, 1906), 69, 72.

⁹ Piri Re'is, *Kitāb-i Bahriyye* [1526], facsimile edition of MS. Aya Sofya 2612 (Istanbul, 1935), 804.

There are two [sic] islands thirty miles from the aforementioned Cape Spada; of those islands they call one *Qara Puşas*.¹⁰ From the island of Crete the aforementioned islet is one mile to the southwest [sic]. Coming from the sea on the far side of those islands there is visible a high place - a mountain. It is known as *Kaylapisi* and is a high mountain. But should one wish to approach *Qara Puşas* from the west, let him make directly for the peak of *Kaylapisi*.¹¹

The precipitous nature of Grabusa's sea-girt cliffs, alluded to by the ever-observant Piri Re'is, together with the safety and seclusion of its anchorage, which made it a natural pirate's lair,¹² may be accounted the principal reason for the Venetian erection there in 1583 of a strong fortress.¹³ At that time, hard-pressed by the loss of Cyprus to the Ottomans little more than a decade earlier, and with Coron and Modon, her more famous 'eyes' of the Morea, long since in Ottoman hands, the Republic was forced ever more on the defensive in regard to its remaining significant possession in the Levant seas, the 'great island' of Crete itself. The natural defences of Grabusa, thus improved by military science, kept the rock under Venetian control during the Republic's long struggle for Crete in the middle of the seventeenth century. After the conclusion of hostilities in 1669, Grabusa, together with the main island fortresses of Suda and Spina Longa, were left to Venice as a last token remnant of her eastern empire.¹⁴ After the conclusion of peace, the Ottoman traveller Evliyâ Çelebi had visited Grabusa while on an official tour of Crete, and had written approvingly concerning it:

¹⁰ Piri's text gives the forms *Qarā Pūşas* (adası) (804|4, 8052) and *Qarā Pūşas* (8053,4). The legend of Piri's map of Crete on p. 816, however, renders the name as (liman-i) *Qar b ū s a* (all entries are fully vowelled).

¹¹ *Mezkûr Kavo İspada'nın yegirmi mil yerde iki adalar vardır: ol adaların birine Qara Puşas dirler. Adacuk-i mezbûr Girit adasından bir mil Lodos tarafındadır. Denizden varırken ol adaların üstünde Girit adasının bir yüksek yeri -- bir dağı -- var: adına Kaylapisi derler. Üstüdü, yüce dağdır. Eger gün batısı tarafından Karapuşas adasına varmak murad olursa, doğru Kaylapisi dağının üstüne varırlar....* (*Kitâb-i Bahriyye* [1526], facsimile edition).

¹² In 1609 Lithgow's ship (*Rare Adventures*, 69) was 'fiercely persued' into the safety of the anchorage at Grabusa by three Turkish galleots.

¹³ Giuseppe Gerola, *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta Ricerche e descrizione fatte dal ... Giuseppe Gerola* ..., 4 vols. in 5, Venezia, 1905-32, i, 612, ff. A Venetian proposal in 1579 to fortify Grabusa failed to gain acceptance, but the admiral Giovanni Mocenigo's project was adopted by the Senate on 27 September 1583 (Gerola, i, 614). For details of the construction of the fortress see Gerola, i, 614-8. A bird's eye view of Grabusa, entitled 'Die Venetianische Stein Klippe und Vestung GARABVSE', showing Grabusa as it apparently appeared in the later seventeenth century, is given in *Das langebestrittene Königreich Candia* (Frankfurt, 1670), opposite p. 10 (see p. 360, Pl. I), above.

¹⁴ In the long drawn-out struggle between Venice and the Ottomans which ended with the capitulation of Candia in 1669, Grabusa was perhaps protected as much by its remoteness as by its defences. The English traveller Bernard Randolph, who visited the island *circa* 1680, remarked that 'in the late Warr it withstood several assaults, but it[s] lying so far from any considerable City, the Turks did not so much mind it as they did Suda' (Bernard Randolph, *Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago (or Arches), Sea of Contantinople, and Gulph of Smyrna, with the Islands of Candia, and Rhodes*, London, 1687, 94).

The version in Silâhdâr of the Turkish text of the Veneto-Ottoman agreement of I. Rebi' I 1080 (19-28 July 1669), concluded after the capitulation of Candia (Fındıklılı Mehmed, Silâhdâr Âgâ, *Târîh*, İstanbul, 1928, i, 519-20), provides (art. 2) for the Venetian retention of Suda and 'Asperlonka' (i.e., Spina Longa), but appears to make no reference to Grabusa; the Latin version, however (J. Du Mont, baron de Carlsroon, *Corps universel diplomatique du droit de gens*, Amsterdam-La Haye, 8 vols., 1726-31, vii/1, 119), does so: 'Omnia Munimenta, Portus, Insulae adjacentes & alia loca quæ sub Ditione Reipublicæ in Regno Candia sunt, eodem modo quo ante Bellum, sub Dominatione Ejusdem fuerunt, porrò manebunt. In quorum numero sunt, Suda, Spina longa, Carabuse, & Tini: omnesque dependentiæ Spinæ Longæ à Regno Candia separentur'. Cf., however, Martin Köppel, *Untersuchungen über zwei türkische Urkundenhandschriften in Göttingen*, Bremen, 1920, 32 (translation of art. II of the treaty, where Grabusa is mentioned, taken from f. 194b of Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS. Turc. 29, one (with MS. Turc. 30) of a pair of *Nâme-i Hümayûn defterleri* (NHD); cf. section II, below), and in Râşid, *Târîh*, İstanbul, 1284, i, 240, where the name of Grabusa is deformed into 'Garabiye'.

[The fortress of Grabusa] is a strong building; a little fort (*bir küçük kal'ecik*), which has a garrison of 200 men. Within [the fortifications] are seven [sic] small chapels (*küçük kenisecik*) and seventy quarters (*ocağ*), the walls and roofs of which are rendered in limewash. All the rain which by grace descends for use as drinking water is stored in forty [sic] underground cisterns.¹⁵

Nonetheless, by the time of Evliyâ's visit, Grabusa's days as a Venetian outpost were numbered. Little more than ten years later, in 1680, the then *provveditore* of the place, Domenico Diedo, could describe the walls as being 'in molte parte precipitate et in qualche diroccate'.¹⁶ A few months later (and certainly prior to March 1681), an earthquake brought down six yards of the Cavaliere Contarini bastion, and Diedo was then forced to warn the Signoria 'che se la pubblica providenza non remediera l'anno venturo stimo precipitera ogni cose'.¹⁷ In 1683, with war against the Ottomans now looming, Diedo's successor, Giovanni Battaia, warned that the fortress possessed but two cannon; that the gateway was crumbling, and the remainder of the walls fallen, and that rain could penetrate every building inside the fortress. Finally, he told the Venetian authorities that in the event of hostilities there was ammunition sufficient for only two days' defence.¹⁸ In the following year, 1684, Venice entered Innocent IX's Holy Alliance, the 'Sacra Liga' against the Ottomans which had been forged in the aftermath of the Siege of Vienna in the previous year.

In such unpropitious circumstances, as Gerola, the best student of Venetian architecture in Crete has pointed out, the end of Grabusa as a Venetian outpost could not be long postponed. The acts of passion and treachery, late in 1691, which brought Venetian control to an inglorious end were recorded, as we have noted, by the observant Thomas Coke. Concerning the actual surrender, which took place in November of that year, we possess a rather uninformative notice by the Ottoman chronicler Mehmed Râşid, who attributes the leading role on the Ottoman side not to Coke's 'Obderman Pasha' (i.e. the Ottoman naval commander 'Abdurrahman Paşa)¹⁹, but to the fortress commandant (*muhâfız*) of Canea, the vezîr 'Alî Paşa.²⁰

¹⁵ Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhat-nâme*, 10 vols., Istanbul, 1314 [1896-7]-1938, viii, 536: Cezire-i **Ğ. r a m b u s a**.

¹⁶ Gerola, *Monumenti veneti*, i, 619. Randolph, however, at about the same time, described the fortress of Grabusa as 'very strong, having about 80 guns' (Randolph, *Present state*, 94). He also observed that in peacetime the garrison 'have a continual trade and very good correspondence with [the Turks], having all sorts of provision[s from them] at very reasonable rates'. This evidence of good relations is borne out by Evliyâ, who remarks that 'although Grabusa first and last and again at the present time by terms of the peace treaty (*evvel ve âhır ve yine şulh içinde*) remained in Venetian hands, since it has a pleasant anchorage (*bir laţif limân*), we went over in a small boat, and met the fortress commandant, and wandered about and explored (*seyr ve temâşâ*) his fortress'

¹⁷ Gerola, *Monumenti veneti*, i, 619.

¹⁸ Gerola, *Monumenti veneti*, i, 620.

¹⁹ Râşid, *Târîh*, 5 vols., Istanbul, 1282, ii, 182. The Ottoman *coup de main* took place (according to Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 10 vols, Pest, 1830, rp. Graz, 1963, vi, 573) on 5 December 1691 (New Style). The exact date is not supplied by the Venetian senator and historian of the Sacra Liga war, Pietro Garzoni, *Istoria della Repubblica di Venezia in tempo della Sacra Liga*, i (Venice, 1705), 435. 'Abdurrahman Paşa can be identified as one of the *umerâ'-i bahriyye* who were operating with the Ottoman navy in the Aegean in the following summer of 1692, under the authority of the kapudan paşa Yûsuf Paşa (Silâhdâr, *Târîh*, Istanbul, 1928, ii, 672).

²⁰ There are conflicting accounts of the state of Grabusa in Ottoman hands. After the fall of Grabusa, the islets off Cape Busas formed part of the sancağ of Canea (Hanya) (Râşid, *Târîh*, ii, 204). The former chapel of the Annunciation was expanded and converted into a mosque (Gerola, *Monumenti veneti*, ii, 165-6), but in general the fortifications and living quarters are said to have fallen into disrepair (*ibid.*, iii, 97). An Ottoman report, however (Râşid, loc. cit), which is datable to the end of 1692 or early 1693, speaks of the fortress being brought up to

More significant for our purposes, if hitherto equally obscure, is the subsequent fate of 'the Captain and his brother' and their companions in treachery. The eighteenth-century Venetian historian Garzoni, who devotes several pages to the episode, names the two chief conspirators as the *capitano* Luca della Rocca and his lieutenant (*alfiere*) Francesco Peroni, an identification which was already known more than a century and a half ago to von Hammer.²¹ Garzoni, perhaps from a sense of patriotic embarrassment, states in reference to the conspirators' ultimate fate only that a number of the garrison who accompanied the chief conspirators 'gave themselves over to desperation' and apostatised to Islam; others are said to have returned surreptitiously to the West on board French ships, while della Rocca and his brother-officer Perone, 'per allagare il merito', offered their services to the Ottomans as mercenaries, fighting against their co-religionists in the Morea.²²

A more circumstantial, if on the face of it a less credible, account, is given by a contemporary Ottoman figure who was himself no stranger to defection: Demetrius Cantemir.²³ Characteristically, Cantemir manages to confuse the names of the protagonists, identifying della Rocca as a Spanish officer by the name of Aloysius (he was in fact a native of Naples and therefore, presumably, a subject of the king of Spain). His deputy is described simply as a certain Joseph.²⁴ According to Cantemir, the recompense for his treachery given to della Rocca by the Ottomans was 'a licence of selling what he would at *Constantinople*'. Della Rocca and Perone were granted a daily salary - Cantemir's testimony is supported here both by Râşid and by known Ottoman practice²⁵ - while to the twenty-five members of the garrison who allegedly had supported the plot there was promised a daily allowance of two 'Leonines'. Such preferential treatment, according to Cantemir, was to encourage other garrisons to follow Grabusa's example, but, adds Cantemir, 'when [the Ottomans] saw that the bait did not take, they reduced the salary of della Rocca and Perone first to ten crowns and then to two, and at last quite took it away; so that they were forced to keep an eating-house for their livelihood'.²⁶

standard as a matter of vital state policy (*ehemm umûr-i devlet-ü-din olmağla*) through the stationing there of a garrison of 125 paid fortress troops and locally-recruited armourers and gunners ('*ulüfelü müstahtız ve yerli cebeci ve topcı*'), together with mosque officials (*hüdemâ-i câmi*) and forty-five timariot cavalry (*kırkbeş nefer timârlî fârisân*).

²¹ Hammer, *GOR*, vi, 573 and note *d*; 574 and note *a*; cf. Garzoni, *Istoria della Repubblica di Venezia in tempo della Sacra Liga*, i, 431, f.

²² Garzoni, *Istoria della Repubblica di Venezia in tempo della Sacra Liga*; i, 435.

²³ Demetrius Cantemir [Kantemir] (1673-1723), Moldavian hospodar, scholar and polymath, who defected to Russia after the battle of the Pruth (1710), and was the author of, inter alia, *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire* (tr. Rev. Nicholas Tindall; London, 1734). Cf. Fr. Babinger, 'Die türkischen Quellen Dimitrie Kantemir's', *Zeki Velidi Toğan'a armağan* (Istanbul, 1951), 50 - 60 (= Fr. Babinger, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, ii (München, 1966), 142-50).

²⁴ Cantemir, *Growth and Decay*, 383-4.

²⁵ Cantemir, *Growth and Decay*, 383, n. 10; cf. Râşid, *Târîh*, ii, 182: the daily allowances (*ta'yinât*) 'for the *kapudan*' -- i.e. for della Rocca.

²⁶ The 'Leonine' was *Leeuwendaalder*, the Dutch trade dollar bearing the heraldic lion rampant of the United Provinces, and known therefore to the Ottomans as the *esedi* or *a[r]slâni ğuruş*. The Dutch original, and numerous imitations of it, circulated in vast quantities in the eastern Mediterranean in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it was used by the Ottomans both in trade and as a money of account within the state financial bureaucracy. Around the time of the Grabusa affair it traded at approximately four shillings and four pence sterling. Against the *akçe* the (non-specific) *ğuruş* appreciated from a ratio of 50:1 in 1558 (L. Fekete, *Die Siyâqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung* (Budapest, 1955), i, 236) to 110:1 in 1630-1 (*ibid.*, 635-6) and -- specifically in respect of the 'Leonine' / *esedi ğuruş* -- to approximately 120:1 in 1683 (*ibid.*, 775).

The further social decline and eventual fall of della Rocca is described by Cantemir. An unsubstantiated claim by della Rocca to possess a secret weapon, which 'would burn the whole Venetian fleet with artificial fire' was received sceptically by the Ottomans. A few years later, most probably in 1697, the French ambassador Châteauneuf used his influence at the Porte to have della Rocca sent to Edirne to demonstrate his 'artificial fire', a demonstration which proved to be equally unsuccessful. The defectors' end was either sordid or tragicomic, depending on one's point of view. Della Rocca is said to have been denounced to the Grand Vizir by members of the Jewish community at Ortaköy, because of 'many murders' committed in his house there. Convicted, he was banished to Trebizond, where he died. Perone, having become dangerously ill and 'covered with horrible running sores, extremely painful', received *in extremis* a visit from the abbot of the famous Orthodox monastery of the Mavromolos.²⁷ A cure, which was promised by the abbot on condition that Perone should declare himself a member of the Orthodox church, was speedily achieved. After twenty-four hours within the walls of the monastery, Perone was restored to health, 'whereupon, publicly abjuring, in the Great Church at Constantinople, the errors of Popery, he became a member of the Greek Church'.²⁸

Thus, on the admittedly unsupported testimony of Cantemir, della Rocca and Perone vanish from the light. Cantemir's account, while circumstantially colourful and not in itself implausible, stands in need of support. British Library MS. Add. 7857, which was catalogued long ago by Rieu²⁹ and was regarded by him, not surprisingly, as a volume of *inşâ*, is -- in part at least -- a fugitive volume from the series of 'Registers of Imperial Letters' (*Nâme-i Hümayûn Defterleri*).³⁰ A series of documents which it contains, when studied together with a further unpublished Ottoman document, also in the possession of the British Library, provides some official, as opposed to speculative, information on the inglorious careers in the Ottoman service of Captain della Rocca and Lieutenant Perone. They also casts light on the Chief Dragomanate, one of the several branches of the Ottoman bureaucracy in which Jewish and Christian *zimmis* were prominent, and, finally, provides evidence for the discussion of an old problem, posed many years ago by the late Uriel Heyd, concerning the relationship between individual defter entries and the issued documents of which the entries form an epitome.³¹ The present discussion, necessarily incomplete as it is, is dedicated with respect and affection to Professor Barbara Flemming, on the occasion of her seventieth birthday.

²⁷ The monastery of the Mavromolos was situated on the European shore of the Bosphorus, about four miles from its mouth. The English merchant and travel writer Edmund Chishull, who visited it in April 1701, described the monastery as 'seated in the cliff of an hill, and enjoying a beautiful church, adorned with many rich pieces of religious furniture'. The monks were exempt from payment of *harâc*, the reason for which, according to Chishull, was 'on account of a present of excellent fair cherries, once presented to the Grand Signior' (Chishull, *Travels in Turkey and back to England*, London, 1747, 42). On the Mavromolos monastery see the exhaustive study by Markus Köhbach, 'Das Kloster von Mavromolos am Bosphorus. Materialien zur Geschichte eines griechischen Klosters in osmanischer Zeit', *Belleten* xlviii (1984), 105-38. I am grateful to Dr Caroline Finkel, who first drew my attention to this article.

²⁸ Cantemir, *Growth and Decay*, 383-4.

²⁹ Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1888), 87-90.

³⁰ Henceforth *NHD*. See below, III, and in particular the observations at pp. 369, n.45, and 372, n. 60.

³¹ Uriel Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine, 1552 - 1615. A Study of the Firmân according to the Mühimme Defteri* (Oxford, 1960), 11, ff.