

## ΑΓΓΛΙΚΟΝ ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΤΩΣΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΝΔΑΚΟΣ

Εἰς τὸν Ἐξοχ. Καθηγητὴν R. M. DAWKINS

Προσφάτως ἐπεστήθη ἡ προσοχή μου ἐπὶ δύο λίαν ἐνδιαφερόντων ἀνεκδότων χειρογράφων τοῦ ΙΖ' αἰῶνος, ἀναφερομένων εἰς τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ παράδοσιν τοῦ Χάνδακος. Τὸ ἓν ἀπόκειται εἰς τὴν Παλαιὰν Βοδλειανὴν Βιβλιοθήκην τῆς Ὁξφόρδης, τὸ ἕτερον, προφανῶς ἀντίγραφον τοῦ πρωτοτύπου τῆς Ὁξφόρδης, εὑρίσκεται εἰς τὴν Βιβλιοθήκην τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τοῦ Καϊμπριτζ.

Αἱ γενόμεναι ἔρευναι ἀπέτυχον νὰ φέρουν εἰς φῶς πληροφορίαν τινα σχετικῶς μὲ τὴν πατρότητα τοῦ ἔργου τούτου. Τὸ χειρόγραφον τῆς Ὁξφόρδης (Codex Rawlinsonianus 684) ἀνῆκεν εἰς τὴν μεγάλην συλλογὴν τοῦ Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755), ὅστις ἐκληροδότησε τὴν πλουσίαν αὐτοῦ βιβλιοθήκην ἐκ κειμένων καὶ χειρογράφων εἰς τὴν Βοδλειανὴν κατὰ τὸν θάνατόν του, ἐπισυμβάντα τὸ 1755. Ἄν γνωρίζομεν πῶς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο εἰδικῶς ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν κατοχὴν του. Τὸ αὐτὸ δύναται νὰ λεχθῆ καὶ διὰ τὸ χειρόγραφον τοῦ Καϊμπριτζ (Ee VI 8, καὶ Χειρ. Ἀρ. 953 τῆς Συλλογῆς J. Moore), τὸ ὁποῖον ἀπεκτήθη ὁμοῦ μὲ τὴν περίφημον βιβλιοθήκην τοῦ John Moore (1646-1714), Ἐπισκόπου τοῦ Ely, δι' ἐνεργειῶν τοῦ Βασιλέως Γεωργίου τοῦ Α', ὅστις ἠγόρασε τοὺς 29 χιλ. τόμους βιβλίων καὶ τὰ 1,790 χειρόγραφα τῆς Συλλογῆς Moore ἀντὶ τοῦ ποσοῦ τῶν ἑξ χιλιάδων γουίνεῶν μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἰδιοκτῆτου καὶ ἀκολούθως ἐδῶρθε ταῦτα εἰς τὸ Καϊμπριτζ.

Τὸ ὀρθογραφικὸν καὶ συντακτικὸν ἕφος τῆς συγγραφῆς εἶναι τὸ τυπικὸν τῆς ΙΖης ἑκατονταετηρίδος ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ. Τὸ ἕφος καὶ ἡ γραφὴ τοῦ χειρογράφου Ρώλινσον παραλλάσσει σημαντικῶς καθ' ὅσον προχωρεῖ ἡ διήγησις, καὶ πολὺ συχνὰ χρησιμοποιοῦνται συντομογραφίαι ὑπὸ τοῦ συγγραφέως. Ἐξ ἄλλου, τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ Καϊμπριτζ εἶναι πολὺ καθαρογραμμέρον καὶ εἶναι περισσότερον εὐανάγνωστον τοῦ πρωτοτύπου. Ἐπὶ πλέον ἀποφεύγονται αἱ συχναὶ βραχυγραφίαι, αἱ ὁποῖαι εἶναι τόσον συνήθεις εἰς τὸ πρωτότυπον τῆς Ὁξφόρδης. Ὑπάρχουν μικραὶ τινες διαφοραὶ εἰς τὸ ἀντίγραφον, ἀλλὰ πρόκειται καθαρῶς περὶ παραλλαγῶν, αἱ ὁποῖαι ἐγένοντο χάριν μεγαλυτέρας σαφηνείας. Τὸ στυλ τῆς γραφῆς εἰς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ Καϊμπριτζ εἶναι σταθερὸν καὶ δι' ὅλον τοῦ κειμένου παραμένει ἀμετάβλητον.

Ὁ ἄγνωστος συγγραφεὺς μᾶς παρουσιάζει ζωηρὴν περιγραφὴν τῶν τελευταίων ἡμερῶν ποὺ προηγήθησαν τῆς τελικῆς παραδόσεως τοῦ Χάνδακος ὑπὸ τοῦ Φραγκίσκου Μοροζίνη εἰς τοὺς Τούρκους τὴν 6ην Σεπτεμβρίου 1669, ὁπότε ὑπεγράφησαν τὰ ἄρθρα τῆς συνθήκης εἰρήνης. Ἐκάστη σκηνὴ περιγράφεται μὲ μεγάλην λεπτομέρειαν καὶ συναντῶμεν οἰκεῖα ὀνόματα, ὡς τὸ τοῦ ἀρχιεξωμότου καὶ προδότου Ἀνδρέου Μπαρότσι. Ἀπὸ τὸ κείμενον συνάγομεν ὅτι ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἦτο πικρὸν κατὰ τὴν ὑπογραφὴν τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ προφανῶς εἶχε δυνατότητας νὰ ἀρνεῖται εὐχερῶς πληροφορίας ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἀντιμαχομένων δυνάμεων τῶν Τούρκων καὶ Χριστιανῶν, ὡς δύναται τις εὐχερῶς νὰ διαπιστώσῃ ἀπὸ τὴν λεπτομερῆ ἐξιστόρησιν καὶ ἀπόδοσιν ἀκριβῶν ἡμερομηνιῶν καὶ παραμικρῶν γεγονόνων, τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τῶν κινήσεων τῶν Τούρκων, τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ συντόμων βιογραφιῶν τῶν περιφανεστέρων τούρκων ἀξιωματικῶν ποὺ ἔλαβον μέρος εἰς τὴν πολιορκίαν. Ὁ συγγραφεὺς χρησιμοποιεῖ συχνὰ τὸν ἐνεστώτα καὶ γράφει εἰς τὸ πρῶτον πρόσωπον. Δὲν δυνάμεθα νὰ καθορίσωμεν ἀσφαλῶς ἂν συνέθεσε τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο χάριν ὀρισμένου προσώπου ἢ πρὸς ὄφελος τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν καθολικῶς. Εἰς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ Καϊμπριτζ οἱ τίτλοι τῶν τριῶν τμημάτων τῆς ἐκθέσεως εἶναι ἔντυποι. Τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ κώδικος εἶναι χειρόγραφον. Φαίνεται ὅτι ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐσκόπευε νὰ ἐκτυπώσῃ τὸ ἔργον του, ἀλλὰ εἴτε λόγῳ ἐλλείψεως πόρων εἴτε λόγῳ τοῦ ὅτι δὲν ἐπεδείχθη γενικὸν ἐνδιαφέρον διὰ τὴν ἐκδοσιν ἐγκατέλειπε τὴν ἰδέαν. Ὁρισμένα δεδομένα τῆς διηγήσεως ἀποδεικνύουν μᾶλλον θετικῶς, ὅτι τὸ πρωτότυπον τῆς Ὁξφόρδης συνετέθη τὸ 1669 καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ Καϊμπριτζ ἐγένεν εὐθὺς κατόπιν.

Τὸ χειρόγραφον Ρώλινσον, σχήματος «φόλιο», καταλαμβάνει 33 σελίδας. Τὸ ἀντίγραφον Moore εἶναι χαρτῶν βιβλίον σχήματος μικροῦ τετάρτου περιλαμβάνον ὀγδοήκοντα μίαν σελίδα. Ἀμφότερα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑποδιαιροῦνται εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη, ὡς ἀκολούθως:

I. Βραχεῖα διήγησις περὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστέρων προσώπων μεταξὺ τῶν Τούρκων, ποὺ παρευρέθησαν εἰς τὴν τελευταίαν πολιορκίαν τοῦ Χάνδακος, ἢ ὅποια ἤρχισε τὴν 22αν Μαΐου 1667. (Φύλ. 1-4 εἰς τὸ Χειρ. Ὁξφόρδης' σσ. 1-10 εἰς τὸ Χειρ. Καϊμπριτζ).

II. Εἰδικὸς ἀπολογισμὸς τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἐκείνων τῶν Τούρκων καὶ τῶν γαλερῶν αὐτῶν ποὺ συνάδευσαν τὸν Μέγαν Βεζύρην εἰς τὸ ταξιδιὸν του εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα καὶ ἐκείνων ποὺ τὸν ἠκολούθησαν μετὰ τὴν ἀφίξιν του ἐκεῖ. (Φύλ. 5, 6 εἰς τὸ Χειρ. Ὁξφόρδης' 11, 12 εἰς τὸ Χειρ. Καϊμπριτζ).

III. Μετὰ τὴν διήγησιν (φύλ. 5-31 εἰς τὸ Χειρ. Ὁξφόρδης' σσ.



## I

A BRIEF NARRATIVE OF THE MOST EMINENT PERSONS  
AMONG THE TURKS THAT WERE IN THE LAST SIEGE OF  
CANDIA WHICH BEGAN THE 22 OF MAY 1667.

F a z i l A c h m e t P a s h a, called by the vulgar sort of people Chiopriloglu, was Prime Vizier, Generalissimo, and absolute Plenipotentiary in all dignity and authority throughout all the dominions of Turkey. He set out for Canea with 64 gallies and all the officers of the Ottoman court the 2nd of November, 1666, and arrived at Candia with the whole army the 22nd of May, 1667.

A n c h e t u d A c h m e t P a s h a, Vizier, named by the common people Freny Achmet Pasha because he was Neapolitan born and had his education in the Grand Signore Seraglio and underwent several other great offices. He was sent Generalissimo to Candia on the first of April in the year 1661 after the decease of Hussain Pasha, Vizier and General, being a native of Bosnia. For this cause, after the arrival of the Grand Vizier at Candia, he was highly esteemed by all persons, though

## I

ΒΡΑΧΕΙΑ ΔΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΣΤΕΡΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΞΥ ΤΩΝ  
ΤΟΥΡΚΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΩΝ, ΠΟΥ ΠΑΡΕΥΡΕΘΗΣΑΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΕΛΕΥ-  
ΤΑΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΝΔΑΚΟΣ, Η ΟΠΟΙΑ ΗΡΧΙΣΕ  
ΤΗΝ 22 ΜΑΪΟΥ 1667.

Φαζιλ Ἀχμέτ Πασᾶς, προσονομαζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ Κιοπριλόγλου ἦτο Μέγας Βεζύρης, Ἀρχιστρατηγός καὶ ἀπόλυτος Πληρεξούσιος μὲ πᾶν ἀξίωμα καὶ κύρος ἀπὸ πᾶσαν τὴν τουρκικὴν Ἐπικράτειαν. Ἐξεκίνησε διὰ τὰ Χανιά μὲ 64 γαλέρας καὶ μὲ ὅλους τοὺς ἀξιωματικούς τῆς Ὀθωμανικῆς Αἰλῆς τὴν 2αν Νοεμβρίου 1666 καὶ ἔφθασεν εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα μὲ ὀλόκληρον τὸ στράτευμα τὴν 22αν Μαΐου 1667.

Ἄνκεμπουντ Ἀχμέτ Πασᾶς, Βεζύρης, ἐπιλεγόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ Φρένκ Ἀχμέτ Πασᾶς διότι ἦτο τὴν γέννησιν Νεαπολιτανός, ἀλλ' ἀνετράφη εἰς τὸ Σεράγιον τοῦ Σουλτάνου καὶ ἀνέλαβε διάφορα ἄλλα μεγάλα ἀξιώματα. Ἐἶχεν ἀποσταλῆ ὡς Ἀρχιστρατηγός εἰς τὴν Κρήτην τὴν 1ην Ἀπριλίου τοῦ 1661 μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Χουσεΐν Πασᾶ, Βεζύρου καὶ Στρατηγοῦ, καταγομένου ἐκ Βοσνίας. Ἐκ τούτου, μετὰ τὴν ἀφίξιν τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα, ἀπελάμβανε μεγάλης ἐκτιμήσεως ἐκ μέρους ὅλων, ἂν καὶ

not in authority; now employed in weighty affairs, because absolutely deaf.

3 Defterdar Achmet Pasha, Vizier, a Constantinopolitan, was supreme procurator of all the revenues and expenses of the Ottoman Empire, commissary and superintendant of the ammunition and victuals of the Turks' camp, governor of the engineers, miners and gunners, and of any other art and profession practiced in the Grand Signor's camp; nay, further, he was the chief in authority next to the Grand Signor. He went to Candia with the said Grand Vizier. This Defterdar is a person of great courage, never tired with business; nor can he contain himself without action day or night, to which he is so much addicted, that he allows himself 3 hours of sleep.

4 Ibrahim Pasha, Vizier and Aga of the Janizaries, an Albanian by birth, a man of great repute and authority with the Grand Vizier and with those of his privy council. He went to Candia in the said 64 gallies the 19th of October, 1666, and was, on April 26th, 1669, commanded back to Constantinople to appease the mutinous and rebellious people of that city then up in arms occasioned by the false pieces of eight brought in by the French, but chiefly because the Grand

δὲν ἦτο πλέον εἰς ἐνεργὸν ὑπηρεσίαν ἐχρησιμοποιεῖτο πλέον μόνον εἰς σπουδαίας ὑποθέσεις, διότι ἦτο ἀπολύτως κωφός.

Λεφτερντάρ Ἀχμέτ Πασᾶς, Βεζύρης, ἐκ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἦτο ἀνώτατος φροντιστὴς ὅλων τῶν ἐσόδων καὶ ἐξόδων τῆς Ὄθωμανικῆς Αυτοκρατορίας, ἐντεταλμένος τὴν ἀνωτάτην ἐποπτεῖαν τῶν πολεμοφοδίων καὶ ζωοτροφῶν τοῦ Τουρκικοῦ Στρατοπέδου, διοικητὴς τῶν μηχανικῶν, ὑπονομοποιῶν καὶ κανονοποιῶν, ὡς καὶ πάσης ἄλλης τέχνης καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματος ἀσχουμένων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Σουλτάνου· ἐπὶ πλέον εἶχε τὸ ἀνώτατον κύρος ἐξουσίας μετὰ τὸν Σουλτάνον. Ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα μετὰ τοῦ ρηθέντος Μεγάλου Βεζύρου. Ὁ Ἀρχιλογοστὴς οὗτος εἶναι προσωπικότης μεγάλου θάρρους, ἀκαταπόνητος εἰς πᾶσαν ἐργασίαν· δὲν ἰκανοποιεῖται ἂν δὲν εὑρίσκειται εἰς δρασίμην ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα, καὶ τόσον ἀφοσιῶται εἰς αὐτὴν ὥστε ἐπιτρέπει εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὕπνον τριῶν μόνον ὥρων.

Ἰμπραὶμ Πασᾶς, Βεζύρης καὶ Ἀγᾶς τῶν Γενιτσάρων, Ἀλβανὸς τὴν καταγωγὴν, ἄνθρωπος μεγάλης φήμης καὶ κύρους μετὰ τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου καὶ τῶν μελῶν τοῦ ἰδιαιτέρου αὐτοῦ Συμβουλίου. Μετέβη εἰς Κρήτην μετὰ τῶν ὡς ἄνω 64 γαλερῶν τὴν 19ην Ὀκτωβρίου 1666 καὶ τὴν 26ην Ἀπριλίου 1669 ἀνεκλήθη εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν πρὸς κατευνασμὸν τοῦ στασιασάντος καὶ ἐν ἐξεγέρσει λαοῦ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, ὅστις προσέφυγεν εἰς τὰ ὄπλα ἐξ ἀφορμῆς τῶν κιβδήλων νομισμάτων τῶν ὀκτώ, τῶν εἰσαχθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν Γάλλων, ἀλλὰ κυρίως διότι ὁ Σουλτάνος εἶχε τὴν πρόθεσιν νὰ στραγγαλίσει

Signor intended to strangle all his brothers that his son Mustapha might of be the only supervising heir of the Ottoman Empire.

5 The said Ibrahim Pasha was succeeded by Abdigaga who was Culchiliasi, that is, Lieut. of the said Janizaries, and had the same authority as an Aga of the Janizaries, and in his place Zulfar Aga was made Lieut., who was Zagarly Pasha held high in the Grand Vizier's esteem for his advice and believed by the soldiers; he was one of the commissioners that agitated in the treaty of the late concluded peace.

6 Ibrahim Pasha, Vizier of Damascus, born in Natolia, was Defterdar or lord treasurer to the Grand Signor, who returning afterward from Bosnia came to Candia the 20th of August, 1668, but who did not signalize himself by any considerable action during that siege.

7 Hussain Pasha of Aleppo, Vizier, a Circassian born brother of the deceased Prime Vizier Chiaus Pasha; a valiant man who came from Aleppo to Candia in August, 1668. He was first placed at the Sabionera where he behaved himself well, but by the sinister misinformation of his action by some of his rivals he was put out of that office on the 9th of September, 1668. The 20th of March following, the said Hussain Pasha

όλους τοὺς ἀδελφούς του, ὥστε ὁ υἱὸς του Μουσταφᾶς νὰ δυνηθῆ νὰ καταστῆ μόνος κυβερνῶν κληρονόμος τῆς Ὀθωμανικῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας.

Τὸν ἐν λόγῳ Ἰμπραὶμ Πασᾶ διεδέχθη ὁ Ἀβδὶ Ἀγάς, ὅστις ἦτο Κυϊ Κᾶγιάσι, δηλ. ὑπαρχηγός, τῶν ὡς ἄνω Γενιτσάρων, καὶ εἶχε τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν μὲ τὸν Ἀγᾶν τῶν Γενιτσάρων, εἰς τὴν θέσιν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐποποθετήθη ὁ Ζουλφάρ Ἀγάς ὡς ὑπαρχηγός, ὅστις ἦτο Ζαγαρλὺ Πασᾶς, ἐξόχως ἐκτιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου διὰ τὰς συμβουλὰς του καὶ εἰς τὸν ὅποιον οἱ στρατιῶται ἔτρεφον ἐμπιστοσύνην ἦτο εἷς τῶν πληρεξουσίων οἱ ὅποιοι ἔδρασαν κατὰ τὰς διαπραγματεύσεις τῆς τελευταίως συναφθείσης εἰρήνης.

Ἰμπραὶμ Πασᾶς, Βεζύρης τῆς Δαμασκοῦ ἐγεννήθη εἰς τὴν Ἀνατολίαν καὶ ἦτο Δεφτερδάρης ἢ θησαυροφύλαξ τοῦ Σουλτάνου· οὗτος ἦλθεν ἀργότερον εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα, τὴν 20ὴν Αὐγούστου 1668, ἐπιστρέφων ἐκ Βοσνίας, ἀλλὰ δὲν διεκρίθη δι' ἀξιοσημείωτον δρᾶσιν κατὰ τὴν διάρκειαν τῆς πολιορκίας.

Χουσεῖν Πασᾶς τοῦ Χαλεπίου, Βεζύρης, Κυρκάσιος τὴν καταγωγήν καὶ ἀδελφός τοῦ ἀποθανόντος Μεγ. Βεζύρου Σιαούς Πασᾶ· ἦτο γενναῖος ἀγωνιστής, ὅστις ἦλθεν ἐκ Χαλεπίου εἰς Κρήτην τὸν Αὐγούστου τοῦ 1668. Ἐποποθετήθη κατ' ἀρχὰς εἰς τὴν Σαμπιονέραν, ὅπου ἔδειξε καλὴν δρᾶσιν, λόγῳ ὅμως διεστραμμένων περὶ τῆς δράσεώς του ταύτης πληροφοριῶν τινῶν τῶν ἀντιπάλων του ἐξεβλήθη ἀπὸ τὸ λειτούργημα τοῦτο τὴν 9ην Σεπτεμβρίου 1668· Τὴν 20ὴν τοῦ ἐπομένου Μαρτίου, ὁ ὡς ἄνω Χουσεῖν Πασᾶς ἐγένετο Πασᾶς τῆς

was created Pasha of Romelia, that is to say, of Macedonia, and after he had performed many noble exploits at the breach of St. Andrew, he was wounded in the knee, with great danger escaped with his life.

8 C a r a M u s t a p h a P a s h a, Beglerbeg in Anatolia, the creature Hussain Pasha, the first destroyer of Candia; he was made master of the camp at the first siege of Penigra for his valor and experience in the wars of that kingdom; he did not succeed according to expectation and whilst they thought to strangle him, he was seized upon with the plague and died of the distemper the last of January, 1668. (Beglerbeg is the same as a duke in some parts of Christendom).

9 P e h l i v a n P a s h a Beglerbeg of Romelia, i.e., Macedonia. An Epirot. He was one of the soldiers that went first with Hussain and was very knowing in the wars of this kingdom. At the first siege of Candia he departed himself valiantly, but was shot in the head with a pistol and died the last of July, 1668.

10 H a s s a n P a s h a succeeded him in that place. He was an opulent and warlike Albanian and chamberlain to the Grand Signor. He was killed with a bullet shot in his head the 19th

Ρωμυλίας, δηλαδὴ τῆς Μακεδονίας, καὶ ἀφοῦ ἐπέτελεσε πολλά λαμπρὰ κατορθώματα εἰς τὸ ρῆγμα τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἀνδρέου ἐπληρώθη εἰς τὸ γόνυ καὶ μὲ μέγαν κίνδυνον διέσωσε τὴν ζωὴν του.

Καρὰ Μουσταφὰ Πασᾶς, Βηλέρβεης ἐν Ἀνατολίᾳ, δημιουργημα τοῦ Χουσεὶν Πασᾶ καὶ πρῶτος καταστροφεὺς τοῦ Χάνδακος· ἀνηγορεύθη στρατοπεδάρχης κατὰ τὴν πρώτην περίοδον τῆς πολιορκίας τῆς περιοχῆς Παντοκράτορος διὰ τὴν γενναϊότητά του καὶ τὴν πειρὰν του εἰς τοὺς πολέμους τοῦ Βασιλείου τούτου· δὲν ἀντεπεκρίθη ὅμως εἰς τὰς προσδοκίας καὶ ἐνῶ ἐσχέπτοντο γὰ τὸν στραγαλίσουν προσεβλήθη ὑπὸ πανώλους καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἀπὸ τὸ κακὸν αὐτὸ τὴν τελευταίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου 1668. (Βηλέρβεης εἶναι ἰσοδύναμος τίτλος μὲ τὸν τοῦ δουκὸς εἰς τινὰ μέρη τῆς Χριστιανοσύνης).

Πεχλιβὰν Πασᾶς, Βηλέρβεης τῆς Ρωμυλίας, τ.ε. τῆς Μακεδονίας, Ἑπειρωτῆς. Ἦτο εἰς ἐκ τῶν πρώτων στρατιωτικῶν οἱ ὅποιοι ἠκολούθησαν τὸν Χουσεὶν καὶ ἦτο πολὺ ἔμπειρος εἰς τοὺς πολέμους τοῦ Βασιλείου τούτου. Κατὰ τὴν πρώτην πολιορκίαν τοῦ Χάνδακος ἐπέδειξε γενναϊότητα, ἀλλ' ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν διὰ πιστολίου καὶ ἀπέθανε τὴν τελευταίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ Ἰουλίου 1668.

Ὁ Χασάν Πασᾶς τὸν διεδέχθη εἰς τὴν θέσιν ταύτην. Ἦτο πλούσιος καὶ πολεμοχαρὴς Ἀλβανός, θαλαμηπόλος τοῦ Σουλτάνου. Ἐφρονεῦθη βληθεὶς τὴν κεφαλὴν μὲ σφαῖραν τὴν 19ην Σεπτεμβρίου 1667 καὶ ὁ ἀνωτέρω

of September, 1667, and the above mentioned Cara Mustapha Pasha supplied the office.

11 H a l i l P a s h a, Beglerbeg of Sivas, i.e., Sebastia in Asia; an Armenian born; he came to Candia after the Prime Vizier; who on the 9th of March, 1668, being sent superintendant of 12 gallies that was appointed to possess themselves of Candia, and having had the misfortune to lose that night five of the Beys' gallies with a great destruction of men in those that escaped, was in danger of being strangled, but the Grand Vizier, to show that he valued not the loss, saved his life, and in a few days after, made him Pasha of Romelia, which is the largest among the Beglerbegs; but being destitute both of courage and generosity, he was deposed the 15th day of March, 1669.

12 I b r a h i m C h i c h a i a of Bosnia, the Grand Vizier's Lieut. and of equal authority with the Prime Vizier; he demeaned himself like a valiant man at the first siege, and because those that had their post at Sabionera did not answer the Prime Vizier's expectation, had made the said Ibrahim Chichaiia Beglerbeg of Aleppo the 7th of November, 1668.

13 A n d O s m a n A g a, son of Demir Pasha of Janina, was put in his place but because he was not endowed with talent

μνημονευθεὶς Καρὰ Μουσταφᾶς τὸν ἀντεκατέστησεν εἰς τὸ λειτούργημά του.

Χαλίλ Πασᾶς, Βηλερβησ της Σίβας, δηλ. τῆς Σεβαστείας ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Ἀρμένιος τὴν καταγωγὴν, ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα μετὰ τὸν Μέγαν Βεζύρην. Οὗτος ἀπεστάλη τὴν 9ην Μαρτίου 1668 ὡς ἀνώτερος ἐπόπτης 12 γαλερῶν ποῦ εἶχον ἀποστολὴν νὰ καταλάβουν τὸν Χάνδακα, ἐπειδὴ ὁμως εἶχε τὴν ἀτυχίαν νὰ χάσῃ τὴν νύκτα αὐτὴν πέντε ἀπὸ τὰς γαλέρας τῶν Βέηδων μὲ μεγάλας ἀπωλείας εἰς ἀνθρώπους καὶ εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ποῦ διέφυγον, ἐκινδύνευσεν νὰ στραγγαλισθῆ, ἀλλ' ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης, διὰ νὰ δεῖξῃ ὅτι ἐλογάριαζε τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ ὄχι τὰς ἀπωλείας, ἔσωσε τὴν ζωὴν του καὶ ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν τὸν ἀνεκήρυξε Πασᾶν τῆς Ρωμυλίας, ποῦ εἶναι ὁ σημαντικώτερος τῶν Βηλερβέηδων ἑσπερημένους ὁμως θάρρους καὶ γενναιοφροσύνης, καθῆρέθη τὴν 15ην Μαρτίου 1669.

Ἰμπρατὶμ Κιαγιᾶς τῆς Βοσνίας, ὑπαρχηγὸς τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου καὶ μὲ ἴσον κῦρος ἐξουσίας μὲ τὸ τοῦ Πρώτου Βεζύρου ἀπεδείχθη γενναῖος ἀγωνιστὴς κατὰ τὴν πρώτην περίοδον τῆς πολιορκίας, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ὁποῖοι εἶχον τὰς θέσεις των εἰς τὴν Σαμπιονέραν δὲν ἀντεπεκρίθησαν εἰς τὰς προσδοκίας τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου, ἐποποθέτησε τὸν εἰρημένον Ἰμπρατὶμ Κιαγιᾶν ὡς Βηλερβην τοῦ Χαλεπίου τὴν 7ην Νοεμβρίου 1668.

Ὁ δὲ Ὄσμᾶν Ἀγᾶς, υἱὸς τοῦ Δεμιῶ Πασᾶ τῶν Ἰωαννίνων, ἐποποθετήθη εἰς τὴν θέσιν του, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ δὲν ἦτο πεπρωικωμένος μὲ ἱκανὴν ἰδιο-



sufficient for the management of the office of Lieut. to the Grand Vizier, he was turned out, and

- 14 Mahomet Aga, who was a doganese in Constantinople, was made Lieut. or Chichaia to the Grand Vizier the 15th of November, 1668, he being a very industrious and experienced person.
- 15 Osman Sanjac Beg of Avlona, an Albanian both valiant and famous in the wars, was killed at Panegra by a stone in August, 1667. There were so many Sanjack begs as well as Alibegs, i.e. Colonels, killed at this siege that it would be too tedious to particularize them all by name.
- 16 Mahomet Beg of Cairo, wealthy and stout Circassian, came to Candia in the year 1667 with 2000 footmen, well armed, who were all destroyed at the fort of St. Andrew, and the said Beg was himself killed by a bomb.
- 17 Resculi Sagiolli of Macedonia, i.e., general of the colonels (of the upper Messia), an experienced man in the wars of Candia, being almost superannuated in this service against the kingdom of Candia, he managed his affairs exceeding well, though he was often dangerously wounded.
- 18 Aivas Solcoli of Macedonia (that is) General or Com-

φυίαν διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ Ὑπαρχοῦ τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου ἀπεμακρύνθη τῆς θέσεως ταύτης καὶ

Ὁ Μεχμέτ Ἀγάς ὁ ὁποῖος ἦτο doganese εἰς τὴν Κων/πολιν ἐγένετο ὑπαρχηγός ἢ Κιαγιάς τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου τὴν 15ην Νοεμβρίου 1668 διὰ τὴν μεγάλην του φιλοπονίαν καὶ πείραν.

Ὁσμάν Σαντζάκ Βέης τῆς Αἰλῶνος, Ἀλβανός τόσον γενναῖος ὅσον καὶ ὀνομαστός εἰς τοὺς πολέμους· ἐφονεύθη εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν τῆς Πύλης Παντοκράτορος ὑπὸ λίθου τὸν Αὔγουστον 1667. Τόσοι πολλοὶ Σαντζάκ Βέηδες ὡς καὶ Ἀλί Βέηδες, δηλ. Συνταγματάρχαι, ἐφονεύθησαν κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν ταύτην, ὥστε θὰ ἦτο πάρα πολὺ ἀνιαρὸν νὰ ἀναφέρωμεν ἕνα ἕκαστον χωριστὰ ὀνομασί.

Μεχμέτ Βέης τοῦ Καίρου, πλούσιος καὶ ρωμαλέος Κιρκάσιος· ἤλθεν εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1667 μὲ 2000 πεζοὺς, καλῶς ὀπλισμένους, οἱ ὅποιοι ὅλοι ἐξωλοθρεύθησαν εἰς τὸ φρούριον τοῦ Ἀγ. Ἀνδρέου· καὶ ὁ ὡς ἄνω Βέης ἐφονεύθη ἐπίσης ἐκ βόμβας.

Ρεσκουλί Σατζ Κολί τῆς Μακεδονίας, δηλ. στρατηγός τῶν συνταγματάρχων (τῆς ἄνω Messia)· ὑπῆρξεν ἄνθρωπος πεπειραμένος εἰς τοὺς πολέμους τῆς Κρήτης, γενόμενος σχεδὸν ἀπόμαχος εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν αὐτὴν κατὰ τοῦ Βασιλείου τῆς Κρήτης· διηύθυνεν ἐξαιρετικῶς τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις του, ἂν καὶ πολλὰκις ἐπληγῶθη ἐπικινδύνως.

Ἀϊβάτζ Σὸλ Κολί τῆς Μακεδονίας. τ.ἔ. στρατηγός ἢ διοικητής τῶν

mander in Chief of the Colonels of the lower Messia, a man of singular boldness in war, therefore frequently wounded, and is now dead.

- 19 Zansbassi, i.e. Commander of the Zanssi, Z e s n e n O g l u by name, an experienced man in the Asiatic wars. He was killed when he commanded the cavalry called Spahi the 10th of September, 1667. Ibrahim Aga, a native of Armina, succeeded him and still continues in his place.
- 20 J u s s u f A g a of Zortzia, Zebarlibassi, i.e. Superintendent and General of the ammunition and mines, died for fear the 8th of July, 1669 because the Grand Vizier did threaten to kill him if he did not lead on his Zeberi to the breach of St. Andrew.
- 21 A c h m e t A g a of Gallatta, Zeberlibassi, who was put in his place. He was deposed from his first office and arrested at new Candia for not concealing his despair of taking Candia after the siege of Panigra.
- 22 And the Vizier constituted in his place H a z z i A l i, commander of the gunners, the 28th of September, 1668; a man skilfull in that employment.
- 23 M a c h m e t P a s h a, Beglerbeg of Adena, in Asia, an indigent man, but so bold that he seemed desperate. He died with

συνταγματάρχων τῆς κάτω Messia: ἦτο ἄνθρωπος μοναδικῆς τόλμης εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, διὰ τοῦτο ἐπληρώθη πολλάκις καὶ τώρα εἶναι νεκρός.

Τζανμπασί, δηλ. Διοικητῆς τῶν Τζαναί, ὀνόματι Τσεσνέν Ὁ γ λ ο ὺ, ἦτο ἔμπειρος εἰς τοὺς ἀσιατικούς πολέμους. Ἐφρονεῖθη διοικῶν τὸ ἵππικὸν τῶν λεγομένων Σπαίδων τὴν 10ην Σεπτεμβρίου 1667. Ὁ Ἰμπραὶμ Ἀγᾶς, ἐξ Αrmina, τὸν διεδέχθη καὶ ἐξακολουθεῖ ἀκόμη νὰ κατέχη τὴν αὐτὴν θέσιν.

Γιοουσούφ Ἀγᾶς τῆς Γεωργίας, Τσεμπερλίμπασί, δηλ. Ἐπιμελητῆς καὶ Στρατηγὸς τῶν πολεμοφοδίων καὶ τῶν ὑπονόμων ἀπέθανεν ἐκ φόβου τὴν 8ην Ἰουλίου 1669, διότι ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης τὸν ἠπειλήσεν ὅτι θὰ τὸν φρονεῖσθαι ἂν δὲν ὠδήγει τοὺς Τσεμπερλί του εἰς τὸ ρήγμα τοῦ Ἀγ. Ἀνδρέου.

Ἀχμέτ Ἀγᾶς τοῦ Γαλατᾶ, Τσεμπερλίμπασί, διαδεχθεὶς τὸν ἀνωτέρω. Ἀπελύθη ἀπὸ τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ ἀξίωμα καὶ συνελήφθη εἰς τὴν Νέαν Κάνδιαν, διότι δὲν ἀπέκρυψε τὴν ἀπελπισίαν του ὅτι θὰ ἦτο δυνατὸν νὰ κυριευθῆ ὁ Χάndaξ μετὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν τῆς Πύλης Παντοκράτορος.

Καὶ ὁ Βεζύρης ἐτοποθέτησεν εἰς τὴν θέσιν του τὸν Χατζῆ Ἀλῆ, διοικητὴν τῶν κανονοπιῶν, τὴν 28ην Σεπτεμβρίου 1668, ἄνθρωπον ἐπιτήδειον διὰ τὸ λειτούργημα τοῦτο.

Ὁ Μεχμέτ Πασᾶς, Βηλέρβεης τῶν Ἀδάνων τῆς Ἀσίας, τὸν διεδέχθη ἦτο ἐνδεής, ἀλλὰ τόσον τολμηρός, ὥστε ἐφαίνετο ὅτι μάχεται ἀπεγνω-

a bomb after he had made himself renowned by his valiant exploits.

- 24 Hussain Pasha, Beglerbeg of Adena succeeded him. He was wounded during the siege in the head and he proved useless.

All those aforementioned officers were placed in the western posts of the town of Candia at St. Andrews fort; but those that follow had their station ordered in the eastern part towards the Sabionera:

- 1 Ibrahim Pasha, Beglerbeg of Aleppo, was Lieut. to the Prime Visier, as is before mentioned, a man of sound judgment and well exercised. He was the chief commissioner in this treaty.

- 2 Catorzoglu Mahomet Pasha, Beglerbeg of Anatolia, he was also Beglerbeg of Romelia for some months; a man very notorious because he was so famous a robber in Asia, and took up a resolution to come to Calcedonia and fight the Prime Vizier Murat, and was able to overturn him and conquer him, which was the reason he was pardoned for his robberies and created Beglerbeg. He was sent into Candia but did nothing remarkable. He was slain at the sally made by the Christians upon the Turks at Sabionera, December the 16th, 1668.

- 3 Hussain Mahomet Pasha, Beglerbeg of Bosnia, a

σμένως. Ἐφρονεῖται ἀπὸ βόμβαν ἀφοῦ ἐφημίσθη διὰ τὰ ἡρωϊκά του κατορθώματα.

Ὁ Χουσεῖν Πασᾶς, Βηλέρβης τῶν Ἀδάνων, τὸν διεδέχθη. Ἐπληρωθῆ κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἀπεδείχθη ἀνωφελής.

Πάντες οἱ ἀνωτέρω ἀξιωματικοὶ εἶχον τοποθετηθῆ εἰς τὰς δυτικὰς θέσεις τῆς πόλεως Χάνδακος εἰς τὸ Φρούριον τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἀνδρέου· οἱ ἐπόμενοι ἐτάχθησαν εἰς τὸ ἀνατολικὸν τμήμα πρὸς τὴν Σαμπιονέραν:

Ἰμπραὶμ Πασᾶς, Βηλέρβης τοῦ Χαλεπίου ἦτο παραρχηγὸς τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου, ὡς ἐλέχθη ἤδη, ἀνθρῶπος ὑγιοῦς κρίσεως καὶ καλῶς ἡσημένιος. Ἦτο ὁ κύριος πληρεξούσιος κατὰ τὴν σύναψιν τῆς συνθήκης.

Κατιρτζόγλου Μεχμέτ Πασᾶς, Βηλέρβης τῆς Ἀνατολίας ἦτο ἐπί τινας μῆνας Βηλέρβης τῆς Ρωμυλίας· περιβόητος διότι ὑπῆρξε διάσημος ληστής εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἀπεφάσισε νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὴν Χαλκηδὸνα διὰ νὰ καταπολεμήῃ τὸν Μέγαν Βεζύρον Μουράτ· κατώρθωσε νὰ τὸν ἀνατρέψῃ καὶ νὰ γίνῃ κύριος αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἔτυχε συγγνώμης διὰ τὰς ληστείας του καὶ ἀνηγορεύθη εἰς Βηλέρβην. Ἀπεστάλη εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἀξιοσημειωτὸν ἔπραξεν. Ἐφρονεῖται κατὰ τὴν κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων ἐξόμνησιν τῶν Χριστιανῶν εἰς τὴν Σαμπιονέραν, τὴν 16ην Δεκεμβρίου 1668.

Χουσεῖν Μεχμέτ Πασᾶς, Βηλέρβης τῆς Βοσνίας, ρωμαλέος καὶ

stout and skillful soldier. He was placed at the Sabionera at first as Superintendent and was to order the cannons and batteries on the part of the arsenal, being a place easily attainable according to the information of the famous fugitive Andrew Barozzi, but within a few days after he was killed by a cannon shot the 19th of January, 1668.

- 4 Vareli Pasha, Beglerbeg of Caramania, born in Armina, was a warrior but died with a shot in July, 1669.
- 5 Mussur, the Grand Vizier Aga, succeeded him and was made after Sagarzibassi, and Mahomet Aga of Constantinople had his place. He was a man of great repute amongst the Janizaries, and an able soldier, and Achmet Aga Sagarzibassi was commander of the Janizaries that attacked the Sabionera, a person very famous for his valor, authority and wealth, but he was slain, in the sally made by the Christians the 20th of December, 1669. His next immediate successor was,
- 6 Velli Aga Serzesmid, i.e. Commander of the foot belonging to the Grand Visier; a stout man and in great authority, he was killed in the sally made by the Christians at Sabionera the 2th of December, 1669, and Jussef, the Aga of Macedonia, succeeded him but he died of a shot the 3rd of September, 1669.

ικανός στρατιώτης. Ἐτοποθετήθη κατ' ἀρχάς εἰς τὴν Σαμπιονέραν ὡς ἀνώτερος Ἐπιμελητὴς μὲ τὴν ἐντολὴν νὰ διοικῆ τὰ κανόνια καὶ τὰς πυροβολαρχίας πρὸς τὸ μέρος τοῦ ναυστάθμου, περιτοχῆς ἢ ὅποια, κατὰ τὰς πληροφορίες τοῦ ἐπιβοήτου φυγάδος Ἀνδρέου Μπαρότσι, ἦτο λίαν εὐπρόσβλητος· ἀλλὰ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐφονεύθη ὑπὸ βλήματος κανονίου τὴν 19ην Ἰανουαρίου 1668.

Βαρελί Πασᾶς, Βεηλέρβης τῆς Καραμανίας, ἐξ Armina ἦτο κυλὸς πολεμιστῆς, ἀλλ' ἐφονεύθη βληθεὶς τὸν Ἰούλιον τοῦ 1669.

Ὁ Μουσοῦφ, Ἀγᾶς τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου, τὴν διεδέχθη καὶ κατοπιν ἐγένετο Σαγαρζί μπασί καὶ ὁ Μεχμέτ Ἀγᾶς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἔλαβε τὴν θέσιν του. Ἐχαίρε μεγάλης ὑπολήψεως μεταξὺ τῶν Γενιτάρων καὶ ἦτο ἱκανός στρατιώτης· ὁ Ἀχμέτ Ἀγᾶς Σαγαρζίμπασί ἦτο διοικητὴς τῶν Γενιτάρων οἱ ὅποιοι προσέβηλον τὴν Σαμπιονέραν, ὀνομαστὸς διὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν του, τὸ κῦρὸς του καὶ τὸν πλοῦτόν του, ἀλλ' ἐφονεύθη κατὰ τὴν ἐξόρμησιν τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὴν 20ην Δεκεμβρίου 1669. Ἄμεσος διάδοχός του ὑπέβηεν ὁ

Βελλῆ Ἀγᾶς Σερζεσμίτ, τ.ἑ. Διοικητῆς τοῦ περσικοῦ τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου, ῥωμαλέος καὶ μὲ μέγα κῦρος· ἐφονεύθη κατὰ τὴν ἐξόρμησιν τῶν Χριστιανῶν εἰς τὴν Σαμπιονέραν τῆς 20ῆς Δεκεμβρίου 1669 καὶ ὁ Γιουσούφ Ἀγᾶς τῆς Μακεδονίας τὸν διεδέχθη, ἀλλ' ἐφονεύθη καὶ αὐτὸς πυροβοληθεὶς τὴν 3ην Σεπτεμβρίου 1669.

7 Belilul Begscam, Agasi, Commander of the militia of Damascus. He was turned out for not advancing towards the arsenal, and Chiliz Beg, a Persian appointed to be in his place the 10th of April, 1669.

8 Bebri Pasha, Beglerbeg of Temesvar, and titular lord of Janina, was ordered to guard the camp towards the grand fort.

9 Mustapha Pasha, the son of Seidi Achmet, afterward Pasha and General in Transylvania, was placed as a guard towards the street that leads into new Candia.

10 Caplar Pascar, Vizier Generalissimo and Captain at sea throughout the whole Ottoman dominions, a Circassian, and a man of great experience in war, in so much that for the space of three years which he spent in the convoying of the militia and ammunitions to Candia, he did not meet with any gross accident or unfortunated encounter; at last he begged leave of the Grand Vizier to be admitted to go to the si.ge of Candia which was granted, and he came hither the 29th of May, 1669 with 1,000 Galleotts and as many soldiers, and hath behaved himself handsomely there.

The four commanders of Agas of the Spahi were :

First, Tanlambas Aga of the Spahi of the Red Regiment

Βελιλουλ Μπέης, Σὴμ Ἄγασί, Διοικητὴς τῶν ἀτάκτων τῆς Δαμοσκού ἀπεμακρύνθη τῆς θέσεώς του διότι δὲν ἐπροχώρησεν πρὸς τὰ νεώρια καὶ ὁ Χιλιτζ Βέης, Πέρσης, ὑπεδείχθη ὡς ἀντικαταστάτης τὴν 10ην Ἀπριλίου 1669.

Μπεμπρι Πασᾶς, Βελέρβης τοῦ Τεμεσβάρ καὶ τιτουλὸς Ἄγας τῶν Ἰωαννίνων εἶχε λάβει τὴν διαταγὴν νὰ φυλάσῃ τὸ στρατόπεδον πρὸς τὸ μέρος τοῦ μεγάλου φρουρίου.

Μουσταφᾶ Πασᾶς, υἱὸς τοῦ Μπειντί Ἀχμέτ, μετὰ ταῦτα πασᾶς καὶ στρατηγὸς ἐν Τρανσυλβανίᾳ ἐποποθετήθη φρουρὸς πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἄγουσαν πρὸς τὴν Νέαν Κάνδιαν.

Καπλάρ Πασᾶς, Βεζύρης, Ἀρχιναύαρχος ἐφ' ὅλης τῆς ὀθωμανικῆς Ἐπικρατείας, Κιρκάσιος καὶ ἄνθρωπος κατ' ἐξοχὴν ἐμπειροπόλεμος εἰς τοιοῦτον βαθμὸν, ὥστε εἰς διάστημα τριῶν ἐτῶν κατὰ τὸ ὁποῖον ἐξετέλει τὴν μεταγωγὴν στρατοῦ καὶ ἐφοδισμού εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα δὲν τοῦ συνέβη σημαντικὸν ἀτύχημα ἢ ἀτυχῆς σύγκρουσις· τέλος ἐζήτησε τὴν ἄδειαν ἀπὸ τῶν Μέγαν Βεζύρηων νὰ γίνῃ δεκτὸν νὰ μειώσῃ εἰς τὴν πολιορκίαν τοῦ Χάνδακος, ἣ ὁποία τοῦ παρεχωρήθη καὶ οὕτω ἦλθεν ἐκεῖ τὴν 29ην Μαΐου 1669 μὲ 1000 ἄνδρας τῶν γαλερῶν καὶ ἄλλους τόσους στρατιώτας καὶ ἐπέδειξε λαμπρὰν δρᾶσιν.

Οἱ τέσσαρες Διοικηταὶ ἢ Ἀγᾶδες τῶν Σπαϊδῶν ἦσαν :

Πρῶτος ὁ Ταλαμπᾶς, Ἄγας τῶν Σπαϊδῶν τοῦ Ἐρυθροῦ Συντάγματος.

The Second, Assan Aga of the Spahi which belonged to the Yellow Regiment, both who were killed at the sally made before the grand fort, the 3rd of October, 1667; and those that succeeded was Mustapha Aga of the Red.

Receb Aga of the Yellowed — — — Ali Aga of the Greens  
Adur achim Aga of the white Company.

Besides those that are prementioned, there are some that are townmen, who, though they are not obliged to fight, because of their merit and desert as their religion persuades them, yet went themselves into the breaches and shot arrows and discharged mortarpieces.

1 First, the Lord Chancellor of the grand Turks, Hussain Effendi of Constantinople went to Caudia with the Prime Vizier.

2 The second was the Chief Auditor of the Grand Signor Hussain Effendi of Bosnia, a person of great courage and fame.

3 The Chief Accountant, Mahomet Effendi of Zerzia.

4 The Prime Vizier's Chief Secretary, Soliman Effendi of Bosnia.

5 The Sub-secretary for letters, Lalclisadi Effendi of Constantinople, died of mere fear at the first assault of Panigra.

6 And Achmet Effendi, Chancellor of the Chamber, died of a

Δεύτερος ὁ Ἀσάν Ἀγάς, τῶν Σπαΐδων τοῦ Κιτρινοῦ Συντάγματος.

Ἀμφότεροι ἐφονεύθησαν κατὰ τὴν ἐξόρμησιν τὴν πρὸ τοῦ μεγάλου φρουρίου τῆς 3ης Ὀκτωβρίου 1667· αὐτοὶ ποὺ τοὺς διεδέχθησαν ἦσαν ὁ Μουσταφᾶ Ἀγάς τοῦ Ἐρυθροῦ Συντάγματος καὶ ὁ Ρετζέπ Ἀγάς τοῦ Κιτρινοῦ. Ἐπειτα ὁ Ἀλῆ Ἀγάς τῶν Πρασιῶν καὶ ὁ Ἄντουρ Ἀκίμ Ἀγάς τῆς Λευκῆς Ἰλῆς.

Πλὴν τῶν ὡς ἄνω μνημονευθέντων ὑπάρχουν τινὲς πολῖται, οἱ ὅποιοι, καίτοι δὲν ἦσαν υποχρεωμένοι νὰ πολεμήσουν, λόγῳ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτῶν ἀξίας καὶ τῆς ἀμοιβῆς τὴν ὁποίαν ὑπόκειται ἡ θρησκεία αὐτῶν, εἰσεχώρησαν εἰς τὰ ρήγματα καὶ ἔβαλλον βέλη καὶ ἔρριψαν ὄλμους.

Πρῶτος ὁ Σφραγιδοφύλαξ τοῦ Σουλτάνου Χουσεΐν Ἐφέντης ἐκ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν Χανδαζα ἀκολουθήσας τὸν Μέγαν Βεζύρη.

Δεύτερος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀπορητῶν τοῦ Σουλτάνου Χουσεΐν Ἐφέντης τῆς Βοσνίας, προσωπικότης μεγάλου θάρρους καὶ φήμης.

Ὁ Ἀρχιλογιστὴς Μεχμέτ Ἐφέντης ἐκ Γεωργίας.

Ὁ Ἀρχιγραμματεὺς τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου Σολιμάν Ἐφένδης ἐκ Βοσνίας.

Ὁ Ὑπογραμματεὺς τῆς ἐπισήμου ἄλληλογραφίας Λαλκλι Σαδὶ Ἐφένδης τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπέθανεν ἀπλῶς καὶ μόνον ἐκ φόβου κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐπίθεσιν τῆς Πύλης Παντοκράτορος.

Καὶ ὁ Ἀχμέτ Ἐφένδης, Ἀρχιθαλαμηπόλος, ἀπεβίωσεν ἐκ πυρροῦ, ὁ δὲ



After 40 days respectively which have a wanted regard  
to the Honor of the Republic, and the King being  
separated shall preserve the Peace shall be taken as an  
assent by both parties. But this shall not be imposed in  
either party as a breach of the present peace.

13. That the Honor or just rights which are engaged in any re-  
public party they shall be especially kept, when the Republic  
shall send those Ambassadors to the point of what that their not  
only are Country men and subjects, the Opposition of what  
justice require they be but a better persons of what nature  
where they be that have long habit whither they arrived  
actually in the House shall be justlyly sent at liberty  
14. That in favour of the Peace of Peace shall be granted to  
Judge of the Justice that have in any Capacity withdrawn  
from the contrary party

15. That by reason of the present peace a Convention being at is  
intended that the Articles of the other last peace, however  
thoroughly considered, are shall have in any either post or man  
whichever is preferred in the contrary but in the actual  
and present for the sake of and contained in the two  
named last peace which are and thereby common of from  
this day forward.  
The present peace shall be the present peace  
ought to be understood, so far as to having the quality  
Paper, the one in the English tongue and given by the  
King, Queen and Senate with the quality and content  
shall examine with the Capitans of the British in Spain  
and

subscribed by the King and Council and  
with the Seal of the Republic which shall remain as  
the said Article in every one of these Articles shall  
have the traditions annexed to be signed by the pub-  
lic men. That of State that is the wish in Nation  
and the Nation to speak to the end that both parties  
may see, there is no words in these of this shall be  
concludedly kept and traverse by both, that the Queen  
Order in Consideration of it, as to the Republic, shall be  
Pakistan's State maintained with so much honor  
by the Kingd, his given them have to take away a  
piece of Council from among those that are in  
honors of the State.

Francisco Norononi of the Gulf  
Feronimo Banaña of the Gulf  
Ornzo Conero of the Gulf  
Orzi Bonzon of the Gulf



fever, and Egint Effendi of Constantinople supplied his place.

7 Behredi Effendi, Chancellor of the Grievances, died of a fever, and Mustapha, the son of Mohammed Pasha the Prime Vizier, succeeded him.

8 Mohmet Effendi, Chancellor of the Tribute, died for fear.

9 There were also diverse others (that are above named) who died at the first siege of Candia to the great loss of their families, for they all were descended of the best houses and were in the best offices at Constantinople, and in particular....

10 Hussain Beg, son of Hasuf Pasha, Prime Vizier, deceased. He came with the Grand Vizier to Candia and was Niscarzi, i.e., he that subscribes the Grand Signor's names to patents and orders, an office conferred upon none but such as are noble persons, and died the 7th of October, 1668.

11 And Mahmet Aga, an ancient Circassian, who died of old age the 6th of February, 1669.

12 And Turchian Bey of Ascheher was chosen niscarzi in his stead, a learned man and famous for his excellency in writing.

13 The Colonels of Romelia, i.e., Alibegs, are 17 in number, every one of them having the command of 100 Zaims and Timariots or more. These are like barons in some countries.

Ἐγὶντ Ἐφένδης ἐκ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τὸν ἀνεπλήρωσε.

Ὁ Μεχρεδὶ Ἐφένδης, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν Παραπόνων ὑπουργός, ἀπέθανεν ἐκ πυρετοῦ καὶ ὁ Μουσταφᾶ, υἱὸς τοῦ Μεχμέτ Πασᾶ, τοῦ Μεγ. Βεζύρου, τὸν διεδέχθη.

Ὁ Μεχμέτ Ἐφένδης, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν Φόρων Ὑπουργός, ἀπέθανεν ἐκ φόβου.

Ἵπῆρξαν καὶ διάφοροι ἄλλοι (ποῦ ἀναφέρονται ἀνωτέρω) οἱ ὅποιοι ἀπέθανον κατὰ τὴν πρώτην πολιορκίαν τοῦ Χάνδακος καὶ τοῦτο ἦτο μεγάλη ἀπώλεια διὰ τὰς οἰκογενεῖας τῶν, διότι ὅλοι κατήγοντο ἀπὸ τοὺς καλυτέρους οἴκους καὶ κατεῖχον τὰ ἐπιφανέστερα ἀξιώματα τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, συγκεκριμένως οἱ ἑξῆς:

Χουσεὶν Βέης, υἱὸς τοῦ Χασούφ Πασᾶ, ἀποβιώσας. Ἦλθεν εἰς Χάνδακα μετὰ τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου καὶ ἦτο Νισαντζί, δηλ. ὁ ὑπογράφων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Σουλτάνου εἰς τὰ ἔγγραφα προνομίων καὶ διαταγῶν, λειτούργημα ἀπονεμόμενον ἀποκλειστικῶς εἰς εὐγενεῖς ἀπέθανε τὴν 7ην Ὀκτωβρίου 1668.

Ὁ Μεχμέτ Ἀγᾶς, παλιῶς Κιρκάσιος, ὅστις ἀπέθανεν ἐκ γήρατος τὴν 6ην Φεβρουαρίου 1669,

Καὶ ὁ Τουρτζάν Βέης ἐξ Ἄκ Σεχίρ ἐξελέγη Νισαντζί εἰς τὴν θέσιν τοῦ πολυμαθῆς καὶ περιφημοῦ διὰ τὴν καλλιγραφικὴν του ἰκανότητα.

Οἱ Συνταγματάρχαι τῆς Ρωμυλίας, τ.ἔ. οἱ Ἀλιβέηδες, εἶναι 17 καὶ ἕκαστος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχει ὑπὸ τὴν διοίκησίν του 100 Ζαίμηδες καὶ Τιμαριώτας ἢ καὶ περισσοτέρους. Εἶναι ἀντίστοιχοι μὲ τοὺς βαρῶνους μερικῶν χωρῶν.

The Alibegs of Anatolia are	(14)
Those of Caramania	( 7)
Of Sebassia	( 7)

## II

A PARTICULAR ACCOMPT OF THE NUMBER OF THOSE TURKS AND GALLIES THAT ATTENDED THE GRAND VISIER IN HIS VOYAGE TO CANDIA AS ALSO OF THOSE THAT FOLLOWED HIM AFTER HIS ARRIVAL THERE.

Arrd. 1666. This 19th of October the Janizaries' Aga went with Turks . . . . .	6,400
Arrd. 1667. The 2nd of September the Prime Visier with Turks . . . . .	6,500
The last day of January there came to Canea with the Beys' gallies . . . . .	5,000
The last of February there came 12 gallies with Turks	1,000
The 24th of April arrived the armada of Constanti- nople with Turks . . . . .	6,000
The 13 of May the Grand Visier came to Candia where he found of able soldiers to the number of	10,000

Οἱ Ἀλιβέηδες τῆς Ἀνατολίας εἶναι	14
Οἱ τῆς Καρμανίας . . . . .	7
Οἱ τῆς Σεβαστίας . . . . .	7

## II

ΕΙΔΙΚΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΘΜΟΥ ΕΚΕΙΝΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥΡΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΓΑΛΕΡΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΠΟΥ ΣΥΝΩΛΕΥΣΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΜΕΓΑΝ ΒΕΖΥΡΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΤΑΞΙΔΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΧΑΝΔΑΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΕΙΝΩΝ ΠΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΗΚΟΛΟΥΘΗΣΑΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΦΙΞΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΚΕΙ.

*Αφίξ. 1666. Τὴν 19ην Ὀκτωβρίου τοῦ ἔτους τούτου ἐξεκίνησεν ὁ Ἀγὰς τῶν Γενιτσάρων μὲ Τούρκους . . . . .	6.400
*Αφίξ. 1667. Τὴν 2αν Σεπτεμβρίου ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης μὲ Τούρκους . . . . .	6.500
Τὴν τελευταίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου ἤλθον εἰς τὰ Χανιά μὲ τὰς γαλέρας τῶν Βέηδων . . . . .	5.000
Τὴν τελευταίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου ἤλθον 12 γαλέραι μὲ Τούρκους . . . . .	1.000
Τὴν 24ην Ἀπριλίου ἐφθάσεν ἡ ἀρμάδα τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως μὲ Τούρκους . . . . .	6.000
Τὴν 13ην Μαΐου ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης ἤλθεν εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα, ὅπου ἦν ἔχεν ἱκανοὺς ὀπλίτας τὸν ἀριθμὸν . . . . .	10.000

The 28th of May five French ships came from Constantinople to Hierapetra with Turks . . . . .	3,000
The 13th of June there arrived 22 galleys from Smyrna, with Spahi . . . . .	2,000
The 12th of July the armada returned again to Canea with Turks . . . . .	5,000
The Total . . . . .	45,900*

Arrd. 1668. The 15th of March there came six French vessels and one of Genoa with Janizaries from Constantinople . . . . .	6,500
The last day of March there came ships to Hierapetra from Syria with Turks . . . . .	2,000
The first of April there arrived at Canea 12 galleys, with Turks from Asia . . . . .	2,000
About the same time there was sent from Constantinople five French ships with Turks, in number about . . . . .	2,500
The last of April from Constantinople a new supply of Spahi in number . . . . .	2,000

Τὴν 28ην Μαΐου πέντε γαλλικὰ πλοῖα ἤλθον ἀπὸ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν εἰς τὴν Ἱεράπετραν μὲ Τούρκους . . . . .	3.000
Τὴν 13ην Ἰουνίου ἐφθάσαν 22 γαλέραι ἀπὸ τὴν Σμύρνην μὲ Σπαῖδας . . . . .	2.000
Τὴν 12ην Ἰουλίου ἡ ἀρμάδα ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Χανιά μὲ Τούρκους . . . . .	5.000
Σύνολον . . . . .	45.900*

*Αφίξ. 1668. Τὴν 15ην Μαρτίου ἤλθον ἕξ γαλλικὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἓν γενοιατικὸν μὲ Γενιτσαίρους ἐκ Κοινιπόλεως . . . . .	6.500
Τὴν τελευταίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ Μαρτίου ἤλθον πλοῖα εἰς τὴν Ἱεράπετραν ἐκ Συρίας μὲ Τούρκους . . . . .	2.000
Τὴν πρώτην Ἀπριλίου ἐφθάσαν εἰς Χανιά 12 γαλέραι μὲ Τούρκους ἐξ Ἀσίας . . . . .	2.000
Κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐστάλησαν ἐκ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως πέντε γαλλικὰ πλοῖα μὲ Τούρκους περίπου . . . . .	2.500
Τὴν τελευταίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ Ἀπριλίου νέα ἀποστολὴ Σπαῖδων, τὸν ἀριθμὸν . . . . .	2.000

\*) Ὑπάρχει λάθος εἰς τὴν πρόσθεσιν κατὰ 1.000, ἀλλὰ τὸ τελικὸν σύνολον εἶναι ὀρθόν.

The 7th of May the armada arrived at the Fodella with men . . . . .	4,000
The 6th of August came from Constantinople of the Spahi . . . . .	1,500
The 26th of August the armada came to Matalla with the Timariotes of Asia (and Imbrahim Pasha) in number . . . . .	4.000
The 2nd of October the Turkish navy arrived at Canea with Turks . . . . .	3,000
The Total . . . . .	27,500

Arrd. 1669. The 19th of February there came 22 gallies to Canea with Turks . . . . .	1,000
The 24th of April 12 gallies arrived with Turks . . . . .	2,000
The 21st of May the armada arrived with Turks . . . . .	3,000
The 21st of June the Captain Pasha of the Turks arrived with Turks . . . . .	2,000
The 30th of June were sent from Cairo and Damascus soldiers . . . . .	2,000
Then in Sitia they landed the ships that had Janizaries of Barbaria . . . . .	1,800
The 2nd of July a fresh recruit of Spahi were sent to	

Τὴν 7ην Μαΐου ἡ ἀρμάδα ἐφθασεν εἰς τὴν Φόδελε μὲ ἀνδρας . . . . .	4.000
Τὴν 6ην Αὐγούστου ἦλθον ἐκ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Σπαῖδες . . . . .	1.500
Τὴν 26ην Αὐγούστου ἡ ἀρμάδα ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ Μάταλλα μὲ τοὺς Τιμαριούχους τῆς Ἀσίας (καὶ τὸν Ἰμπραὶμ Πασᾶν), τὸν ἀριθμὸν . . . . .	4.000
Τὴν 2αν Ὀκτωβρίου ὁ τουρκικὸς στόλος ἐφθασεν εἰς τὰ Χανιά μὲ Τούρκους . . . . .	3.000
Σύνολον . . . . .	27.500

Ἀφίξ. 1669. Τὴν 19ην Φεβρουαρίου ἦλθον 22 γαλέραι εἰς τὰ Χανιά μὲ Τούρκους . . . . .	1.000
Τὴν 24ην Ἀπριλίου 12 γαλέραι ἐφθασαν μὲ Τούρκους . . . . .	2.000
Τὴν 21ην Μαΐου ἐφθασεν ἡ ἀρμάδα μὲ Τούρκους . . . . .	3.000
Τὴν 21ην Ἰουνίου ὁ Καπετᾶν Πασᾶς τῶν Τούρκων ἐφθασε μὲ Τούρκους . . . . .	2.000
Τὴν 30ὴν Ἰουνίου ἐστάλησαν ἀπὸ τὸ Κάϊρον καὶ τὴν Δαμασκὸν στρατιῶται . . . . .	2.000
Τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν προσωρμίσθησαν εἰς τὴν Σητεῖαν τὰ πλοῖα μὲ Γεντισάρους τῆς Μπαρμπαριάς . . . . .	1.800
Τὴν 2αν Ἰουλίου ἀπεστάλησαν νεωστὶ στρατολογηθέντες Σπαῖδες,	

the number of . . . . .	0,400
Besides all those here mentioned there arrived several caiques and other vessels which will in all amount at the least to . . . . .	10,000
The Final Total . . . . .	94,600
of which total number there died at this siege . . . . .	70,000
Remainder . . . . .	24,600

III

The occurrences which happened during the 29 months defence of Candia, and its fatal overthrow, is a subject more copious and fit for a voluminous history, than for a short relation. Therefore, I will confine myself to the last act of the tragedy, and acquaint you how, that when all possible endeavors were used to maintain it, and that there were now more than ordinary hopes too, in that they defended it with the loss of so much blood and sweat, they were constrained by an irreparable and most urgent necessity to yield, and the Captain General Morosini, as it were, with the exchange of a city already lost,

τὸν ἀριθμὸν . . . . .	0.400
Πλὴν τῶν ὡς ἄνω μνημονευθέντων ἔφθασαν διάφορα καΐκια καὶ ἄλλα πλοιάρια, τῶν ὁποίων οἱ ἄνδρες ἀνέρχονται τοῦλάχιστον στον εἰς . . . . .	10.000
Τελικὸν σύνολον . . . . .	94.600
ἐκ τοῦ οὐοίου συνολικοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἀπέθανον κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν ταύτην . . . . .	70.000
Ἐπόλοιπον . . . . .	24.600

III

Τὰ γεγονότα τὰ ὁποῖα συνέβησαν κατὰ τὴν 29μηνον ἄμυναν τοῦ Χάνδακος καὶ τὴν μοιραίαν του, πτώσειν ἀποτελοῦν θέμα μᾶλλον εὐρὺ καὶ κατάλληλον δι' ὀγκώδη ἱστορίαν παρὰ διὰ βραχείαν ἐκθεσίαν. Διὰ τοῦτο θὰ περιορισθῶ εἰς τὴν τελευταίαν πράξιν τῆς τραγωδίας καὶ θὰ σᾶς κάμω γνωστὸν πῶς, ἐνῶ πᾶσα δυνατὴ προσπάθεια κατεβλήθη διὰ νὰ κρατηθῆ ἡ πόλις καὶ ὑπῆρχον τότε περισσότεραι παρὰ συνήθως ἐλπίδες, μετὸ γὰρ τὴν ὑπερασπίζονται μετὴν ἀπώλειαν τόσο αἵματος καὶ ἰδρωτός, ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀπὸ ἀδήριτον καὶ ἐπείγουσαν ἀνάγκην νὰ ὑποχωρήσουν, ὃ δὲ Ἀρχιστρατήγος Μοροζίνης, ὡς εἶχον

did by his prudence permit, though not joyfully, yet undisputably, an honorable and advantageous peace to the most serene Republic.

After the improsperous success of those attacks made by the French on the side of the Sabionera, and by playing with the cannon upon the redoubts of St. Andrew, which was executed with more valor than fortune by the auxiliary Venetian Armada; and the more the hopes and strength of the besieged did languish and decay, the more vigorous and active did the Turks appear and did with new batteries and continued showers of bombs and grenades, nay, above all, with shot and mines endeavored to make the defendants retreat. And their design was to advance themselves all along the seacoast from the side of St. Andrew to the Tramata, and from that of the Sabionera to the arsenal, because the fort being wholly blocked up, the destruction thereof must necessarily have followed. And their expectation was more and more heightened among them because they found not in the defendants their accustomed and resolute opposition; whilst at the Sabionera, besides other advantages above and under ground, there blew a cannon very violently by the help of a mine, and on the side of St. Andrews, the ancient,

τά πράγματα, κατώρθωσε με τὴν σύνεσίν του νὰ ἐπιτύχη μὲ ἀντάλλαγμα μίαν πόλιν ἤδη χαμένην, ὄχι βεβαίως μὲ εὐχαρίστησίν του, μίαν ἐντιμον καὶ ἀδιαφιλονικήτως ἐπωφελῆ διὰ τὴν Γαληνοτάτην Δημοκρατίαν εἰρήνην.

Μετὰ τὴν ἀτυχή ἔκβασιν τῶν ἐπιθέσεων ἐκείνων τὰς ὁποίας ἐπεχείρησαν οἱ Γάλλοι πρὸς τὸ μέρος τῆς Σαμπιονέρας καὶ τὸν βομβαρδισμόν τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἀνδρέου, ποῦ ἐξετελέσθη μὲ περισσοτέραν ἀνδρείαν καὶ ἐπιτυχίαν ὑπὸ τῆς βοηθητικῆς ἐνετικῆς Ἀρμάδας, ὅσον αἱ ἐλπίδες καὶ ἡ ἀτοχή τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἐμαραίνοντο καὶ κατέπιπτον τόσον ὀρηκτικώτεροι καὶ ἐνεργητικώτεροι ἐφαίνοντο οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἐπετίθεντο μὲ νέας πυροβολαρχίας καὶ συνέχιζον νὰ ῥίπτουν βροχὴν βομβῶν καὶ χειροβομβίδων, πρὸ παντὸς δὲ μὲ πυροβολισμοὺς μάλιστα καὶ ἀνατινάξεις ὑπονόμων ἐσπευδον νὰ ἐπιτύχουν τὴν ὑποχώρησιν τῶν ἀμυνομένων. Καὶ τὸ σχέδιόν των ἦτο νὰ προχωρήσουν κατὰ μῆκος τῆς παραλίας ἀπὸ τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἀνδρέου πρὸς τὸν Δερματῆν καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν πλευρὰν τῆς Σαμπιονέρας πρὸς τὰ Νεώρια, διότι ἀποκλειόμενοι οὕτω τελείως τοῦ φρουρίου ἢ καταστροφή του ἀναγκαστικῶς θὰ ἐπικολούθει. Καὶ ἡ προσδοκία των αὐτῆ ὀλονὲν ἐνεδυναμοῦτο, διότι δὲν εἴρισκον εἰς τοὺς ἀμυνομένους τὴν συνήθη ἀποφασιστικὴν ἀντίστασιν ἐνῶ εἰς τὴν Σαμπιονέραν, πλὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτευγμάτων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐξερράγη μὲ μέγαν πάταγον δι' ὑπονόμον ἐν κανόνιον, εἰς τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἀνδρέου, ἐπειδὴ τὰ παλαιὰ τόσον τὰ ἐνετικά ὅσον καὶ τὰ ἐκ Μάλτας καὶ Φλωρεντίας

as well. Venetian and Maltese and Florentine troops, being before somewhat impaired, it was judged convenient to place some of the forces newly arrived from Germany in their room, but they were unacquainted with the enemy's way of waging war, besides, the first time that they were put on the guard, the chiefest officers were brought off either wounded or dead. Whereupon the breach of St. Andrews was divided into two parts; and that on the right hand forwards, towards the Scocese, was assigned to Count Waldech, General of the Brunswick forces; and the aforesaid Venetians and auxiliaries were absolutely committed to the charge of Signor Grinaldi, and both of them commanded by the Signor de Monbrun.

The Turks saw that they had not that accustomed resistance, though that nation be warlike for the generality but not as yet acquainted with the enemy; and although the Count of Waldech, a lord of prodigious spirit, and some of his officers did sufficiently the office of brave commanders, yet he himself was wounded at the first within few days after his arrival, and Colonel Molison also. And not long after, the said Count died, and almost all the best of them failing, the defence of Candia grew weaker and weaker.

The Captain General did endeavor to make up the business,

στρατεύματα εἶχον προηγουμένως κάπως ἐλαττωθῆ, ἐθεωρήθη ἀναγκαῖον νὰ τοποθετηθῆ εἰς τὴν θέσιν τῶν μέρους τῆς δυνάμεως, ἡ ὁποία εἶχε φθάσει προσφατῶς ἐκ Γερμανίας· ἀλλὰ οὗτοι ἦσαν ἀδασεῖς τῶν μεθόδων διεξαγωγῆς τοῦ πολέμου ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον εὐθὺς μόλις ἀνέλαβον τὴν φρουρῆσιν οἱ κυριώτεροι ἀξιωματικοὶ ἀπεκομίσθησαν πληγωμένοι ἢ νεκροί. Ὡς ἐκ τούτου τὸ σῆγμα τοῦ Ἄγ. Ἀνδρέου διηρέθη εἰς δύο, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρόσθιον δεξιόν, πρὸς τὸ μέρος τῶν Scocese, ἀνετέθη εἰς τὸν κόμητα Βαλντέκ, Στρατηγὸν τῶν δυνάμεων τοῦ Μπροῦσβικ, οἱ δὲ προειρημένοι Ἐνετοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐπίκουροὶ τὸν ἐτέθησαν ὑπὸ τὰς διαταγὰς τοῦ Σινιὸρ Grinaldi, ἐνῶ ἡ ἀνωτέρα διοίκησις ἀμφοτέρων ἀνετέθη εἰς τὸν κύριον de Monbrun.

Οἱ Τοῦρκοι εἶδον ὅτι δὲν συνήντων τὴν συνήθη ἀντίστασιν, ἂν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος αὐτὸ εἶναι γενικῶς πολεμικόν, ἀλλὰ δὲν εἶχεν ἀκόμη γνωρίσει τὸν ἐχθρὸν οὕτω, ἂν καὶ ὁ κόμης Βαλντέκ, εὐγενῆς καταπληκτικοῦ θάρρους, ὡς καὶ τινες τῶν ἀξιωματικῶν τοῦ ἐξεπλήρωσαν τὸ καθήκον τῶν ὡς γενναίων διοικητῶν, ἐπληρώθη καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἴδιος εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὀλίγας μόνον ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν ἀφιξίν του, καὶ ἐπίσης ὁ συναγματάρχης Molison. Καὶ ὄχι πολὺ κατόπιεν ὁ ὡς ἄνω κόμης ἀπέθανε καὶ ἀφοῦ καὶ οἱ καλύτεροι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπέτυχαν, ἡ ἄμυνα τοῦ Χάνδακος ἐγένετο ὅλον ἐν ἀσθενεστέρα.

Ὁ Ἀρχιστρατῆγος ἐπροθυμοποιήθη νὰ συμβιβάσῃ τὰ πράγματα καὶ νὰ

and to persuade the Duke de Navilles, with his forces, to fortify the part of that post; who, when they were surrounded, did behave themselves exceeding well. But the Turks being possessed of the right side of the first retiring place, they place their many pieces of cannon and made so many redoubts that it was a difficult matter to defend it, and all attempts of sallying forth were disadvantageous. This was the estate of things then, but when the Captain General had intelligence of the arrival of General Rospigliosi, he gave order that all those that sat in the council of war should set down their opinions in writing whether they should make any attempt, sally out, or engage in any other resource action to relieve the fort reduced to such extremity. Their opinions were various, but the major part concluded that although a stout sally by a considerable number was a dangerous remedy, and if it should not take effect, the ruin of the city must needs be accelerated. Thereby, in regard that the fort was so straitened so that it was necessary to try all ways and means with such a number of persons who qualified for that purpose, to attack the weakest of the two quarters; but because at present they could not expect to spare that number of persons so qualified, for their assistance, being they had so few men that they would scarce

πίση τον Δούκα του Ναβάιγ με τὰς δυνάμεις του νὰ ενισχύση τὰς θέσεις αὐτάς. Οὗτοι, ὅταν περιεκυκλώθησαν, συμπεριφέρθησαν ἐξαιρετικῶς καλῶς. Ἀλλὰ οἱ Τούρκοι, γενόμενοι κύριοι τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τῆς πρώτης ἐκκενωθείσης θέσεως, ἐπολοθέτησαν πολλὰ κανόνια καὶ κατεσκεύασαν τόσα πυργωτὰ ὀχυρώματα, ὥστε κατέστη δύσκολος ἡ ἄμυνα καὶ ὅλαι αἱ ἀπόπειραι ἐξορμήσεως ὑπῆρξαν ἀτυχεῖς. Αὐτὴ ἦτο τότε ἡ κατάστασις τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλλ' ὅταν ὁ Ἀρχιστρατήγος ἐπληροφορήθη τὴν ἀφίξιν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ροσπλιόσι, διέταξεν ὅλοι οἱ παρακαθήμενοι εἰς τὸ πολεμικὸν συμβούλιον νὰ καταθέσουν ἐγγράφως τὰς γνώμας των, ἂν θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ γίνῃ ἀπόπειρα ἐξορμήσεως ἢ ἀνάληψις κατ' ἄλλον τινὰ τρόπον δράσεως πρὸς ἀνακούφισιν τοῦ φρουρίου, τὸ ὅποιον εἶχε περιέλθει εἰς τοιαύτην ἀπελπιστικὴν κατάστασιν. Ποικίλαι ὑπῆρξαν αἱ γνώμαι των, ἡ πλειονότης ὅμως ἀπεφάνθη ὅτι μίᾳ κρατερᾷ ἐξορμῆσι με σημαντικὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνδρῶν ἦτο πάντοτε ἐπικίνδυνος θεραπεία τοῦ κακοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐάν ἵπετύγχανε τότε ἀναποφεύκτως θὰ ἐπέφερε τὴν ἐπίσπευσιν τῆς πτώσεως τῆς πόλεως. Ὡς ἐκ τούτου, λαμβανομένου ὑπ' ὄψιν ὅτι τὸ φρούριον εὐρίσκετο εἰς τόσον δυσχερῆ θέσιν, ἦτο ἀναγκαῖον νὰ δοκιμάσουν ὄλους τοὺς τρόπους καὶ τὰ μέσα, με τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ ὅποιοι ἦσαν κατάλληλοι δι' αὐτό, νὰ προσβάλλουν τὸν ἀσθενέστερον τῶν δύο τομῶν. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος δὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἐλπίς νὰ ἐξοικονομήσουν τοὺς ἀπαιτούμενους καταλλήλους ἀνδρας διὰ νὰ τοὺς βοηθήσουν δοθέντος, ὅτι εἶχον τόσον ὀλίγους ὥστε μόλις



as much activity as they did and former; they would put this Piazza in a posture of defence before the enemy could so much as attack the other.

The Duke replied that such was His Majesty's zeal for the preservation of Candia that he had not manifested with promises only, as some other princes, but effectually, for he had employed part of the strength of the nation, considerable both for their number and quality, and expended great sums of money in setting forth his fleet to sea. As for his own particular and the rest of his officers that had the honor to command, they have sufficiently discovered their intention by making so long a voyage with such speed as they had done, by assaulting the enemy so soon as they set eye on them, and relieving the Piazza in a manner before they had set foot into it; and if the event fell not out according to their desires, and the successful beginning of the action, they must be patient, and the rather because that disparagement was only the French blood which was spilt in abundance, and that of the most illustrious too; that it was a piece of ingratitude not to rest satisfied with such eminent proofs of friendship, and to pretend that the French King had commanded 2,000 men to assist Candia and they ought to remain there as long as any one person was alive;

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The Captain General was extremely surprised at it, whereupon he and the government of Candia, with the Providitor of the Armada, went together to the Duke's apartment, and there presented unto him as effectual as was possible, how that city which, next to God, owed its preservation till this very minute, to the magnanimity and piety of his King, was now in a more despicable condition than enow; and that they knew not where to have recourse, but to his eminency and those gentlemen who came from such remote parts, and underwent such and so many great dangers in pursuit of glory; that the assistance was most important and necessary for the Piazza (By the Piazza is meant the city of Candia) because their welfare depended hereupon. And in all probability, it would not cost much blood, only some labor, few, if they did manage this design with

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‘Ο Ἀρχιστράτηγος ἐξεπλάγη διὰ τοῦτο τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ἀκολούθως αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ κυβερνήσις τοῦ Χάνδακος μὲ τὸν προβλεπτὴν τοῦ Στόλου μετεβήσαν ἐν σώματι εἰς τὸ διαμέρισμα τοῦ Δουκὸς καὶ τοῦ παρέστησαν ὅσον τὸ δυνατόν ἀποτελεσματικώτερον, πὼς αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις, ποῦ ὤφειλε μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν τὴν σωτηρίαν της μὲχρι ἀκριβῶς τῆς στιγμῆς αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν μεγαλοφυμίαν καὶ εὐσεβῆ πρόνοιαν τοῦ Βασιλέως του, εὗρισκετο τὴν εἰς τὴν ἀθλιεστέρην κατάστασιν παρὰ ποτέ, καὶ ὅτι δὲν εἶχον παῦ νὰ προσφύγουν παρὰ εἰς τὴν Ἐξοχότητά του καὶ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς ἐκείνους, οἱ ὅποιοι ἦλθον ἀπὸ τὸσον μακρυνὰ μέρη καὶ ὑπέστησαν τοιοῦτους καὶ τοσοῦτους κινδύνους ἐπιζητοῦντες τὴν δόξαν· ὅτι ἡ ἐπικουρία ἦτο πολὺ σημαντικὴ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα διὰ τὴν Piazza (μὲ τὴν λ. Piazza ἐννοεῖται ἡ πόλις τοῦ Χάνδακος), ἀφοῦ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐξηρτάτο ἡ καλὴ τροπὴ τῶν πραγμάτων· καὶ ὅτι κατὰ πᾶσαν πιθανότητα δὲν θὰ ἐστοίχιζε πολὺ αἷμα, μόνον κάποιον κόπον, ὀλίγον, ἂν ἐξετέλουσιν τὸ σχέδιον αὐτὸ μὲ

till the Duke went away and were bound with a promise to keep them as a reserve within the retreat.

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The Captain General had sudden notice of this, and not being able to do otherwise, did give order that some men of his should be taken out, and armed as well as they could and because they had no others 130 men were made choice of from Santo Spirito who supplied the place of 400 more that were belonging to the guard. The Turks, being sensible of the small number of defenders, began to assault that night and the nights following and assaulted the posts of Santa Pelagia, but were always beaten back.

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είχε περιστή εις πολύ δύσκολον θέσιν, η τέλος δι' άλλον τινα λόγον πού η έξβασις των γεγονότων έφερεν ώρισμένους να πιστεύσουν, άπεράσισε να έπισπεύση την ένεργειάν του πρό του καθορισθέντος χρόνου και να άρχιση το ταξιδιόν του την 16ην ισταμένου. Την 16ην ο Monsdo, όστις μετά τον θάνατον του Diarpere ανέλαβε το άξίωμα του στρατοπεδάρχου, ειρησζόμενος εις τον Άγ. Άνδρέαν, ειπεν εις τον διοικητήν του ότι έλαβε διαταγήν από τον Δούκα του Ναβαύγ να αποβιβάση το υπόλοιπον των δυνάμεων αυτήν ταύτην την εσπέραν και διά τουτο ήτο άπαραίτητον να ληφθῃ μέριμνα διά την ανάληψιν των θέσεων τούτων υπό άλλων προσώπων.

Ο Άρχιστράτηγος έλαβεν αιφνηδίως γνώσιν τούτου και μη δυνάμενος να πράξη άλλως έδωκε διαταγήν να διαχωρισθοῦν μερικοι άνδρες εκ των ιδιων του και να όπλισθοῦν όσον το δυνατόν καλύτερον και επειδή δεν ειχον παρά 130 άνδρας έγένετο έπιλογή από τους φρουρούς του Άγ. Πνεύματος, διά των όποιων έφωδιάσθη το όχυρον με 400 άκόμη, άνήκοντιας εις την φρουράν. Οι Τουρκοι, άντιληφθέντες τον μικρον αριθμόν των υπερασπιστων, ηρχισαν την επίθεσιν αυτήν την νύκτα ως και τας επομένας και έπετέθησαν έπίσης κατά των θέσεων της Άγ. Πελαγίας, αλλά όλαι αι επίθεσεις άπεκρούσθησαν.

Την 21ην έτελείωσεν η έπιβίβασις των γαλλικων δυνάμεων και άπέμειναν όλίγοι άνδρες οι όποιοι έπρεπε να μείνουν εις τον Χάνδακα μέχρι του από-

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Τὴν 21ην ἐτελείωσεν ἡ ἐπιβίβασις τῶν γαλλικῶν δυνάμεων καὶ ἀπέμειναν ὀλίγοι ἄνδρες οἱ ὁποῖοι ἔπρεπε νὰ μείνουν εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα μέχρι τοῦ ἀπό-



sally, and then it was concluded that everyone should deliver his opinion again which was the same in substance with the former. They all concluding that there was now new ways to defer the destruction of the Piazza, but by contriving of new designs and to effect this, no other means but the continuant assistance of the French troops. Here some of the Venetian commanders in the heat of discourse did let slip these words, that the French forsaking the town in so great an extremity, the loss thereof must inevitably follow; wherefore they must either resolve to be cut to pieces or to surrender, which was a resolution more grievous than death itself, and that no loss could be done to the miserable remainder of the defendants upon which the preservation both of the fortress and Island did depend; and hereby, the Republic, who upon their arrival, thought to have seen Candia freed, will by their so unreasonable departure, lose all that they had remaining in the Levant. It is not to be expressed what indignation did appear in the Duke de Navailles and the intendant of the French troops. They did at first with a great deal of apprehension protest that they would not be of that conceit, if they would not promise not to report the

ἀκριβῶς εἰς τὴν πρότασιν γενικῆς ἐξορμῆσεως, καὶ ἀκολούθως ἀπεφασίσθη ἕκαστος νὰ ἐκφέρῃ τὴν γνώμην του, ἡ ὁποία ἦτο κατ' οὐσίαν ἡ ἰδία μὲ τὴν προηγουμένως ἐκφρασθεῖσαν. Ὅλοι δηλαδὴ κατέληγον εἰς τὸ συμπέρασμα, ὅτι ὑπῆρχον τῶρα καὶ ἄλλοι τρόποι νὰ ἀπομακρύνουν τὴν καταστροφὴν τοῦ φρουρίου ἀπὸ τὸ νὰ μηχανεύονται νέα σχέδια, καὶ διὰ τὰ ἐπιτύχουν δὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἄλλο μέσον παρὰ ἡ συνέχισις τῆς ἐπικουρίας τῶν γαλλικῶν στρατευμάτων. Ἐδῶ, μερικοὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐνετοὺς διοικητὰς εἰς τὴν ἔξαρσιν τῆς συζητήσεως ἀφῆσαν νὰ τοὺς διαφύγουν αὐτοὶ οἱ λόγοι, ὅτι μὲ τὸ νὰ ἐγκαταλείπουν οἱ Γάλλοι τὴν πόλιν, εὐρισκομένην εἰς τόσον ἐσχάτην ἀνάγκην, θὰ ἐπακολουθήσῃ ἀναποφεύκτως ἡ καταστροφὴ τῆς διὰ τοῦτο θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ ἀποφασίσουν, ἂν θὰ ἀφῆναν νὰ κατασφαγοῦν ἢ ἂν θὰ παρεδίδοιτο, πὺν ἦτο ἀλόφαισις πολὺ βαρυτέρα καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θανάτου, ἀφοῦ καμμία ἀπώλεια δὲν ἦτο πλέον ὑπολογισίμος διὰ τὰ ἄθλια ὑπολείμματα τῶν ὑπερσοπιστῶν, ἐκ τῶν ὁποίων ἐξηρτάτο ἡ διάσωσις καὶ τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ τῆς νήσου· καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἡ Δημοκρατία, ἡ ὁποία κατὰ τὸν ἐρχομὸν τῶν ἐθεώρησε τὸν Χάνδακα ἤδη ἀπελευθερωθέντα, θὰ χάσῃ μὲ τὴν τόσον παράλογον ἀναχώρησιν τῶν πᾶν ὅ,τι τῆς ἀπέμεινε εἰς τὴν Ἀνατολήν. Δὲν περιγραφεται ὁποία ἀγανάκτησις διεγράφη εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ δουκὸς τοῦ Ναβαίγ καὶ τοῦ ἐπιμελητοῦ τῶν γαλλικῶν στρατευμάτων. Κατὰ πρῶτον διεμαρτυρήθησαν μὲ μεγάλην δόσιν καχυποψίας καὶ ἐτόνισαν ὅτι δὲν θὰ εἶχον αὐτὴν τὴν ἰδέαν, ἂν δὲν εἶχον αὐτοὶ δώσει τὸν λόγον τῶν νὰ μὴ ἀνα-

writing of the Captain General which contained (after the more warily concluded) the same sense with little or no differences; but being more exasperated, they did seem to resolve to depart, if there was the least syllable mentioned concerning the surrender of the place.

The Duke replied further with a bitter jest that it was a piece of noble gratitude indeed to forget the King's forces had to that very day preserved the town as he could make appear by the Captain General's and the Marquess of St. Andrew's letters, and now to impune the loss of it to the French, because and that, they had done what they should in every particular, they did embark themselves in obedience to the King's order. And one of the generals of the army replied that the more the preservation of Candia to this day was known to be beholding to His Majesty's forces, the more clearly it would appear the destruction would be the consequence of their departure.

The Duke made answer with some alteration. Admit that the King's forces should be again put into the town, what could they expect would be the issue thereof, unless the enjoyment of some other companions in the extremity which he knew well and possibly borne with more moderation than was used

φέρουν τὸ ἔγγραφο τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου, τὸ ὁποῖον περιεῖχε (καίτοι μὲ μεγαλυτέραν περίσκεψιν συνιεταγμένον) τὴν αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν μὲ μικρὸν ἢ καὶ καμμίαν διαφορὰν· ἀλλὰ τώρα, πού τοὺς ἀπῆλπισαν περισσότερο, ἐφαίνοντο ἀποφασισμένοι νὰ ἀναχωρήσουν, ἂν ἐπροφέρετο ἔστω καὶ ἡ παραμικροτέρα συλλαβὴ σχετικῶς μὲ τὴν παράδοσιν τοῦ φρουρίου.

Ὁ Δουξ ἀπήντησε περαιτέρω μὲ πικρὸν εἰρωνίαν, ὅτι ἦτο δειγμα τῶ ὄντι εὐγενοῦς ἐγνώμοσύνης νὰ λησμονήσουν, ὅτι αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ Βασιλέως εἶχον μέχρις αὐτῆς ἀκριβῶς τῆς ἡμέρας προστατεύσει τὴν πόλιν, ὡς θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ καταφανῆ ἀπὸ τὰς ἐπιστολάς τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου καὶ τοῦ Μαρκησίου Σαιντ' Αντρέ, καὶ νὰ ἐπιρρίπτουν τώρα τὴν ἀπώλειαν ταύτης εἰς τοὺς Γάλλους, εἰπιδὴ — καὶ τοῦτο ὅταν εἶχον πράξει πᾶν ὅ,τι ὄφειλον εἰς ἐκάστην περίπτωσιν— ἐπεβιάσθησαν τῶν πλοίων ὑπακούοντες εἰς τὴν διαταγὴν τοῦ Βασιλέως. Τότε εἰς τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀπήνησεν, ὅτι ὅσον περισσότερο ἦτο καταφανὲς ὅτι ἡ διάσωσις τοῦ Χάνδακος μέχρις αὐτῆς τῆς ἡμέρας ὄφειλετο εἰς τὰς δυνάμεις τοῦ Βασιλέως τόσον σαφέστερον θὰ ἐφαίνετο ὅτι ἡ καταστροφή του θὰ ἦτο συνέπεια τῆς ἀναχωρήσεώς των.

Ὁ Δουξ ἀπήντησε μὲ κάποιαν ὑπεκφυγὴν. Καὶ ὑποτιθεμένου ὅτι αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ Βασιλέως θὰ ἐπανήγοντο εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ποῖον ἄλλο ἀποτέλεσμα θὰ ἀνεμένετο πλὴν τῆς χαρᾶς τὴν ὁποῖαν θὰ ἠσθάνοντο μερικοὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς ἄλλους συμπολεμιστὰς πού εὕρισκοντο εἰς τόσον κρίσιμον θέσιν, εἰς τὴν ὁποῖαν πολὺ καλῶς ἐγνώριζεν, ὅτι πιθανῶς θὰ ἀντεπεξῆρχοντο περισσότερο ἀνεκτῶς παρὰ

by others; and further said that he hoped the defence thereof might be protracted till the expected succors did arrive, with which defending what was remaining the more vigorously and making new attempts, possibly the continuance of the siege till the next winter would not prove a matter of such difficulty, as that physician in all cases is most worthy of commendation who, not being able to cure his patient, prolonged his life as much as is possible, so the longer Candia holds out, the more honorable will be the city at last.

The 22nd day, the orders were renewed to all the officers and soldiers that they should not stir from their posts upon any occasion whatsoever, except in case of sickness or some dangerous wound. In an attack of so long continuance, there being so great a scarcity of people, it was often held convenient to keep their soldiers upon their duty at the batteries some months together without relieving them, and it was now more apparently necessary, for there was scarce a soldier to be seen in the city, and the breaches were everywhere weakly defended, and the other posts almost wholly unguarded; nor was there in Candia other people but those that were in hospitals, and a few women and children.

ἄλλοι καὶ εἶπε περαιτέρω ὅτι ἤλπιζεν ἀκόμη ὅτι θὰ ἰδύνατο ἐκ τούτου νὰ παραταθῆ ἡ ἀμυνα μέχρις ὅτου φθάσουν αἱ ἀναμενόμεναι ἐπικουραὶ, μετὰς ὁποίας, ἂν ὑπερησπίζοντο ὅ,τι ἀπέμενεν κατὰ τὸν μᾶλλον κρατερὸν τρόπον καὶ κατέβαλλον νέας προσπαθείας, ἢ συνέχισις τῆς πολιορκίας μέχρι τοῦ ἐρχομένου χειμῶνος δὲν θὰ ἦτο καὶ τόσον δύσκολον πρᾶγμα, καὶ ἀκριβῶς ὅπως ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἰατρός εἶναι περισσότερον ἀξιοσύστατος, ὅστις, μὴ ὦν ἱκανὸς νὰ θεραπεύσῃ τὸν πελάτην του, παρατείνει ὅσον τὸ δυνατόν τὴν ζωὴν του, οὕτω ὅσον περισσότερον κρατήσῃ ὁ Χάνδαξ τόσον ἢ πόλις θὰ ἀποβῆ εἰς τὸ τέλος ἐνδοξότερα.

Τὴν 22αν ἀνευώθησαν αἱ διαταγαὶ πρὸς ὅλους τοὺς ἀξιωματικοὺς καὶ στρατιώτας νὰ μὴ κινηθοῦν ἀπὸ τὰς θέσεις των ἐπὶ οὐδεμιᾷ προφάσει, ἐκτὸς περιπτώσεως ἀσθενείας ἢ σοβαροῦ τραυματισμοῦ. Εἰς ἐπίθεσιν τόσον μακρῶς διαρκείας, δοθέντος ὅτι ὑπῆρχε τόσον μεγάλη ἔλλειψις ἀνδρῶν, συχνὰ ἐθεωρήθη ἐπιβαλλόμενον νὰ κρατοῦν τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὸ καθῆκόν των εἰς τὰς πυροβολαρχίας μερικῶς μῆνας κατὰ συνέχειαν, χωρὶς νὰ τοὺς ἀντικαθιστοῦν, καὶ τώρα ἡ ἀνάγκη αὐτὴ ἦτο περισσότερον ἐμφανής, διότι μόλις ἔβλεπέ τις στρατιώτην ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τὰ ρήγματα πανταχοῦ ἀσθενῶς ὑπερησπίζοντο, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι θέσεις εἶχον σχεδὸν ἀφελθῆ τελείως ἀφροῦρητοι· οὔτε ὑπῆρχον ἐντὸς τοῦ Χάνδακος ἄλλα πρόσωπα, πλὴν ἐκείνων ποὺ ἦσαν εἰς τὰ νοσοκομεῖα, ὀλίγων γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων.

About midday, which was the most suspicious time, the Captain General made them stand to their arms, and so they continued in that posture from that time forwards; whereupon those of the city, according to the usual custom, ran up to the walls and towards the evening they discovered some ships eastwards where were imagined to be the succors of the Duke of Miranda.

In the night time the Captain General received intelligence that the Visier, understanding the French had set sail, and observing the French supplies that were coming, resolved to prevent them by making a resolute assault at the two posts that were attacked; and he knew after that 10,000 Turks of the choicest of all nations were commanded out to that intent: 6,000 for the fort of St. Andrew and 4,000 for the fort of Sabionera. This he made known to the officers, charging them to be vigilant, and to order all things with the most expert discipline imaginable.

Mombrun, the General of the army, and Porcare, Providitor of the Kingdom, assisted at the attack of St. Andrews with the Lieutenant General Frontenack and Sergeant General Grinaldi; the said gentlemen taking it into further consideration that the post of Santa Pelagia and some of those inconsiderable outlying

Κατά την μεσημβρίαν, ὅποτε ἦτο ἡ μᾶλλον παρέχουσα ὑποφίας κινδύνου ὄρα, ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος ἔδωκεν ἐντολὴν νὰ ἴστανται ἐν ἐπιφυλακῇ καὶ ἡ ἐπιφυλακὴ αὕτη ἐσυνεχίσθη ἕκτοτε ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἔτρεξαν κατὰ τὸ σύνθητες ἐπάνω εἰς τὰ τεῖχη καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν ἀνεκάλυψαν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μερικὰ πλοῖα, ἐπὶ τῶν ὁποίων ἐφαντάσθησαν ὅτι ἐπιβαίνουν αἱ ἐπικουρίαι τοῦ Λουκὸς τῆς Miranda.

Κατὰ τὴν νύκτα ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος ἔλαβεν εἰδησιν, ὅτι ὁ Βεζύρης, ἀντιληφθεὶς τὸν ἀπόπλου τῶν Γάλλων καὶ βλέπων ὅτι ἤρχοντο αἱ γαλλικοὶ ἐπικουρίαι, ἀπεφάσισεν νὰ προλάβῃ, ἐνεργῶν ἀποφασιστικῆν ἐπίθεσιν εἰς τὰς δύο ὄχυράς θέσεις τὰς ὁποίας προσέβαλλον καὶ ἔμαθε κατόπιν ὅτι 10 χιλ. Τούρκοι ἐκ τῶν μᾶλλον ἐπιλέκτων ἐξ ὅλων τῶν ἐθνῶν εἶχον λάβει διαταγὰς ἐξορμήσεως πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦτον: 6 χιλ. διὰ τὸ ὄχυρὸν τοῦ Ἀγ. Ἀνδρέου καὶ 4 χιλ. διὰ τὸ ὄχυρὸν τῆς Σαμπιονέρας. Ἐκοινοποίησε τοῦτο εἰς τοὺς ἀξιωματικούς, διατάσσωσιν αὐτοὺς νὰ παραμείνουν ἀγρυπνοὶ καὶ νὰ κανονίσουν τὰ πάντα μὲ τὴν μεγαλυτέραν ἐμπειρον πειθαρχίαν.

Ὁ Mombrun, στρατηγὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος, καὶ ὁ Porcare, Προβλεπτής τοῦ Βασιλείου, παρίσταντο εἰς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν τοῦ Ἀγ. Ἀνδρέου μὲ τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον Frontenack καὶ τὸν ὑποστράτηγον Grinaldi ὁὗς ἄνω εὐγενεῖς λαμβάνοντες σοβαρώτερον ὑπ' ὄψιν ὅτι τὸ ὄχυρὸν τῆς Ἀγ. Πελαγίας καὶ με-

places were too weak to risk a brisk assault, and that the enemy's cutting in pieces those that were there which they might do with ease, would terrify the rest, withdrew the greatest number of them, leaving a handful of men with orders to discharge their duty well near hand, and suddenly to retreat behind the palisade to the stronger body of the guard. With those that were afterwards miners, they reinforced other posts placing the greater number of musketers in such places that lay open by the Casamata at the widest part of the breaches, and gave orders to some of the officers and those of the cavalry, as well as those that were armed with partisanos and swords, that they should assist and make opposition where there was occasion.

And because there were many breaches and they had a mind to furnish all the posts with able commanders, some were taken from places least suspected, and brought from their houses though their wounds were not healed up, they knowing very well that in such cases, strength of mind is to be preferred before that of the body, and to know how to go resolutely through an undertaking.

The squadron of Malta was placed as a body of reserve (in which the defence of an assault chiefly consists) though they

ρικαὶ ἄλλαι ἐκ τῶν ἔξωτερικῶν ὄχι σημαντικῶν θέσεων ἦσαν πολὺ ἀσθενεῖς ὥστε νὰ διακινδυνεύουν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπίθεσιν, καὶ ὅτι, ἂν ὁ ἐχθρὸς κατέκοπιεν τοὺς ἐκεῖ εὐρισκομένους—πρῶγμα ποὺ θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ πράξῃ μὲ εὐκολίαν—θὰ ἐτρομοκρατεῖ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους, ἀπέσυραν τοὺς περισσοτέρους, ἀφήνοντες μίαν δράκα ἀνδρῶν μὲ ἐντολὴν νὰ ἐκπληρώσουν καλῶς τὸ καθήκον των κατὰ τὸ ἐνὸν καὶ αἰφνηδῶς νὰ ὑποχωρήσουν ὀπισθεν τοῦ φράγματος εἰς τὸ ἰσχυρότερον σῶμα τῆς φρουρᾶς. Μὲ ἐκείνους ποὺ ἔγιναν κατοπιν ὑπονομοποιοὶ ἐνίσχυσαν ἄλλας θέσεις, τοποθετοῦντες τὸν μεγαλύτερον ἀριθμὸν τυφεκιοφόρων εἰς τὰς θέσεις ἐκείνας, ποὺ ἔμενον ἀνοικταὶ παρὰ τὴν Κασαμάτα εἰς τὸ εὐρύτερον μέρος τῶν ρηγματίων, καὶ ἔδωσαν διαταγὴν εἰς τινὰς τῶν ἀξιωματικῶν καὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἰππικοῦ, ὡς καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὀπλισμένους μὲ λογχοφόρους πελέκεις καὶ ξίφη, νὰ βοηθήσουν καὶ νὰ ἀντιταχθοῦν ὅπουδήποτε παρίστατο ἀνάγκη.

Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὑπῆρχον πολλὰ ρήγματα καὶ ἀπέβλεπον εἰς τὸ νὰ ἐφοδιάσουν ὅλας τὰς θέσεις μὲ ἱκανοὺς διοικητάς, μερικοὶ ἐλήφθησαν ἀπὸ θέσεις ὀλιγώτερον κινδυνευούσας καὶ ἄλλοι ἀπὸ τὰς οἰκίας των, ἂν καὶ αἱ πληγαὶ των δὲν εἶχον ἀκόμη θεραπευθῆ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγνώριζον πολὺ καλὰ ὅτι εἰς τοιαύτας περιπτώσεις ἡ δύναμις τῆς ψυχῆς ἔπρεπε νὰ τεθῆ εἰς ἰψηλοτέραν μοῖραν τῆς τοῦ σώματος καὶ ὅτι τὸ κυριώτερον ἦτο νὰ γνωρίζουν πῶς νὰ προχωροῦν ἀποφασιστικῶς εἰς ἕκαστον ἐγχείρημα.

Ἡ ἰλη τῆς Μάλιας ἐτοποθετήθη ὡς ἐφεδρικὸν σῶμα (ἐκ τοῦ ὁποίου κυρίως ἔξαρκτάται ἡ ἄμυνα ἐν περιπτώσει ἐπιθέσεως), ἂν καὶ εἶχον μειωθῆ εἰς

were reduced to a very small number which consisted most of horsemen, and Monsieur La Fuer, a gentleman as wise as resolute, had the command of them since the last winter, who defended the most dangerous breaches of St. Andrews. Afterwards the care of the left wing towards the Curtaine was assigned to Docci the Sergeant of the Battalia. The rest of the night was spent in preparing cartridges for the cannon, stones for the mortarpieces, and fine balls (now the bomb and grenades were first placed, and failed, and they put five to a great mine).

Baron Chilimensech assisted at the Sabionera besides the government and providitor of the Kingdom. And after the forementioned loss of the cannon, the Sergeant of the Battalia, John Rades, who being a person of fervor and activity to his resolution and experience, was throughout the whole course of these assaults, to his infinite commendation, engaged in the most troublesome posts; therefore things on this side were managed with the greatest exactness imaginable.

About break of day, General Mombrun, having issued out such orders as were necessary for the fort of Sabionera, went to St. Andrew and visited according to his usual manner all the posts, and went to many other places exposing himself to great danger by observing in what posture the enemy was, and ta-

πολύ μικρὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνδρῶν, τῶν ὁποίων οἱ περισσότεροὶ ἰππεῖς, καὶ ὁ κύριος La Fuer, εὐγενῆς, συνετὸς καὶ ἀποφασιστικὸς, εἶχε τὴν διοίκησιν τούτων ἀπὸ τὸν τελευταῖον χειμῶνα· οὗτος ὑπερήσπιζε τὰ μᾶλλον ἐπικίνδυνα ρήγματα τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἀνδρέου. Κατόπιν ἀνετέθη ἡ φροντίς τῆς ἀριστερᾶς πτέρυγος πρὸς τὸ παραπέτασμα τῶν τειχῶν εἰς τὸν Docci, ταγματάρχην. Τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τῆς νυκτὸς κατηγαλῶθη εἰς προπαρασκευὴν βλημάτων διὰ κανόνια, λίθων διὰ τοὺς ὄλλιμους καὶ λεπτῶν σφαιρῶν (τόρα, ἢ βόμβαι καὶ βομβίδες ἐτοποθετοῦντο πρῶτον, ἀλλ' ἀπέτυχον καὶ ἐτίθεντο πάντε εἰς μεγάλην ὑπόνομον).

Ὁ βαρῶνος Chilimensech παρίστατο εἰς τὴν Σαμπιονέρα ὅπου καὶ ἡ Κυβέρνησις καὶ ὁ Προβλεπτής τοῦ Βασιλείου. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν προμνημονευθεῖσαν ἀπώλειαν τοῦ κανονίου ὁ ταγματάρχης John Rades, ἄνθρωπος μὲ μέγαλον ζῆλον καὶ δραστηριότητα εἰς τὴν ἐκτέλεσιν τῶν ἀποφασῶν του, ὡς καὶ μὲ πείραν, καθ' ὅλην τὴν διάρκειαν τῶν ἐπιθέσεων τούτων, πρὸς ἐξαιρετικὴν τιμὴν του, ἐμάχετο εἰς τὰς πλέον ταραχώδεις θέσεις· διὰ τοῦτο τὰ πράγματα κατὰ τὴν πλευρὰν ταύτην ἔβαινον μὲ τὴν μεγαλυτέραν φανταστικὴν ἀκρίβειαν.

Κατὰ τὰ ἐξημερώματα ὁ στρατηγὸς Mombrun, ἀφοῦ ἐξέδωκε τὰς ἀναγκαίας διαταγὰς διὰ τὸ ὄχυρόν τῆς Σαμπιονέρας, μετέβη εἰς τὸν Ἁγ. Ἀνδρέαν καὶ ἐπεσκέφθη κατὰ τὸ σῆμα ὅλας τὰς θέσεις· μετέβη ἐπίσης καὶ εἰς πολλὰς ἄλλας θέσεις, ἐκθέτων ἑαυτόν, ἵνα παρατηρήσῃ ποῖαν θέσιν κατειχεν ὁ

king a partisan and a head piece, he resolved to engage in the breach.

Broad now midday, when the cannons were playing briskly on the side of the Sabionera, at this report, the Captain General presently mounted and being followed by the chief of the army and other gentlemen, they rode a smart gallop, at that time ordering the Maltese squadron to follow them, but being moved to a more serious dispute at St. Andrew he was forced to turn to that side.

Now the assault began with the signal of 4 bombs after which the Turks played all their cannon and discharged showers of stones and grenades, then there followed a most furious volley of musket shot. They came on so resolutely to the assault with sword and pistol in hand.

There were as I informed you before, some few soldiers at the post of Santa Pelagia, about 30 in number, under a Captain of a regiment belonging to Colonel Racchi, that is, who is with T. C. Bicuchi and were of the guard in that place; these charging there did not retreat according to order given, but taking their swords in hand, would make head against them, and being overcharged with the number and fury of the Turks, a

ἔχθρός, εἰς μέγαν κίνδυνον ἀφοῦ ὀπλίσθη μὲ λογαπέλεκτον καὶ περικεφαλαίαν, εἰσέδυσεν εἰς τὸ ὄρημα.

Ἐν πλήρει πλέον μεσημβρία, ὅταν τὰ κανόνια ἔβαλλον ζωηρῶς κατὰ τὴν πλευρὰν τῆς Σαμπιονέρας, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναγγελίᾳ τούτου, ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος ἵππευσε, ἀκολουθούμενος ἀπὸ τὸ κύριον μέρος τοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ ὑπὸ ἄλλων εὐγενῶν, μὲ ταχὺν καλπασμόν, παραγγέλλον ταυτοχρόνως νὰ ἀκολουθήσῃ ἡ ἴλη τῆς Μάλτας· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὸν Ἄγ. Ἀνδρέαν ἦλθον εἰς περισσοτερον σοβαρὰν σύγκρουσιν, ἠναγκάσθη νὰ στραφῇ πρὸς τὴν πλευρὰν ταύτην.

Τώρα ἡ ἐπίθεσις ἤρχισε μὲ τὸ σύνθημα 4 κανονιοβολισμῶν, μετὰ τὸ ὅποτον οἱ Τούρκοι ἔθεσαν εἰς ἐνέργειαν ὅλα τὰ κανόνια των καὶ ἔρριψαν βροχὴν λίθων καὶ βομβίδων· εἰτα ἠκολούθησε μανιωδεστάτη ρίψις τυφεκιοβολισμῶν. Ἐν συνεχείᾳ ὤρμησαν ἀποφασιστικῶς εἰς ἐπίθειαν μὲ τὴν σπάθην καὶ τὸ πιστόλιον ἀνά χεῖρας.

Ἐπῆρχον, ὡς σὰς ἐπληροφόρησα προηγουμένως, μερικοὶ στρατιῶται εἰς τὸ ὄχυρον τῆς Ἄγ. Πελαγίας, περίπου 30 τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὑπὸ ἓνα λοχαγόν τοῦ συντάγματος τοῦ συνταγματάρχου Racchi, δηλαδὴ ἐκείνον ὁ ὁποῖος μετὰ τοῦ T. C. Bicuchi εἶχον τὴν φρουρῶσιν αὐτῆς τῆς θέσεως. Κατὰ τὴν ἐπίθεισιν ἐκεῖ δὲν ὀπισθοχώρησαν συμφώνως πρὸς τὰς δοθείσας διαταγὰς, ἀλλὰ μὲ τὰ ξίφη ἀνά χεῖρας ἠθέλησαν νὰ τοὺς ἀντιμετωπίσουν, ἀλλὰ καταβληθέντες ἀπὸ τὸν μέγαν ἀριθμόν καὶ τὴν μανίαν τῶν Τούρκων ἐν μέρει κατεκόπησαν, ο

great many of them were hacked in pieces and the most fled.

The disorder made the men of Brunswick what were near them somewhat to falter, which the Turks perceiviug, grew the more bold and advanced to the palisade of the next work, but the cannons thundering on all sides, and a shower of musket shot pouring in upon them, they enclose themselves and suspended the attempt, which, the Signor Andrew observing, came up with some men who bravely charged the Turks, and Colonel Gabriel who was upon the bulwark animating his men, and those of Brunswick did the same too, that they meet with bullets, grenades and stones from all parts; and the more confused the skirmish was, it proved the more horrid and bloody; the Turkish officers would have advanced their whole body, but finding they were so destroyed with the cannon and shot of the muskets, it was not possible to drive on their men by any means but blows; so they retreated into their own redoubt. Taking some of them with them, that wherever they endeavored to make a great fire on the side of the Sabionera, the Turks came to the assault with the same resolution, and with the like fortuna beat the defenders from the outermost Bounette; then were joined to them the reserve, and the two French regiments

πλειῖστοι ὁμως ἐτράπησαν εἰς φυγήν.

Ἡ προκληθεῖσα ἀταξία ἔκαμε τοὺς ἄνδρας τοῦ Brunswick, ποὺ εὐρίσκοντο πλησίον αὐτῶν, κάπως νὰ κλονισθοῦν, πρᾶγμα τὸ ὅποιον ἀντιληφθέντες οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἔγιναν τολμηρότεροι καὶ ἐπροχώρησαν εἰς τὸ φράγμα τοῦ ἐπομένου ὄχυροῦ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τὴν βροντὴν τῶν κανονίων βαλλόντων ἐξ ὅλων τῶν πλευρῶν καὶ τὴν βροχὴν τῶν τυφεκιοβολισμῶν ἐνεκλωβίσθησαν καὶ ἐσταμάτησαν τὴν ἀπόπειραν· παρατηρήσας τοῦτο ὁ Σινιὸρ André ἀντεπεξῆλθε μὲ ὀλίγους ἄνδρας καὶ ἐπετέθησαν κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων ὁ Συνταγματάρχης Gabriel, ὅστις εὐρίσκετο ἐπὶ τοῦ προμαχώνος καὶ ἐνεψύχωνε τοὺς ἄνδρας του, καὶ οἱ τοῦ Brunswick ἔκαμαν ὁμοίως, ὥστε οἱ Τοῦρκοι εὐρέθησαν βαλλόμενοι μὲ βόμβας, βομβίδας, καὶ λίθους ἐξ ὅλων τῶν πλευρῶν καὶ ὅσον περισσότερον συγκεχυμένη ἐγένετο ἡ ἀψιμαχία τόσοσ περισσότερον ἀπέβαινε φρικαλεὰ καὶ αἱματηρά. Οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἀξιωματικοὶ ἤθελον νὰ προχωρήσουν ὀλόκληρον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐγένετο ἀντιληπτὸν ὅτι ὑφίσταντο τοιαύτην ζημίαν ἀπὸ τὰ κανόνια καὶ τοὺς τυφεκιοβολισμούς, δὲν ἠδύναντο νὰ προωθήσουν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν εἰμῆ διὰ ραβδισμῶν· οὕτω ὀπισθοχώρησαν εἰς τὸ ὄχυρόμα των, λαμβάνοντες μετ' αὐτῶν μερικοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἔσπευδον νὰ ἀνοίξουν ὀπουδήποτε πρὸς τὸ μέρος τῆς Σαμπιονέρα μεγάλα πυρά, οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἀνέλαβον ἐπίθεσιν μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀποφασιστικότητος καὶ μὲ τὴν αὐτὴν τύχην ἐκτύπησαν τοὺς ὑπερασπιστὰς ἀπὸ τὴν ἐξωτερικὴν Bounette· τότε ἠνώθη μετὰ τῶν ἀμυνομένων ἡ ἐφεδρεία καὶ τὰ δύο γαλλικὰ συντάγματα τοῦ Banderilla



of Bandedilla and Giousach who did wonders, and that small remnant of the two regiments of the Duke of Savoy under the command of Signor Alberio did also signalize themselves, they understanding the business, though they were not of the guard, made hast to regain the outer Bounette, and Charles Ienbert, their Sergeant Major, being come forwards with some others, beat back the Turks and stood bravely upon his defence till the assault was over.

Besides those already mentioned, Minio, the Commissary of the Victuals, and Major of the Battalia, Broiavacca, Commander of the Bulwark and Jacobo Polani, a nobleman of Venice that commanded the artillery, did signalize themselves likewise. And those that fought at St. Andrew who did nobly were, Cornaro, the Providitor of the Kingdom, Gabrill Perugini, both Colonels, a Sergeant Major belonging to the Brunswicks troops known by the name of Buaz Zambuick, who after he had discharged both his pistols at the breast of two Turks, threw himself among the rest with his sword in his hand. The commander of the Malta regiment, though extraordinary ill, made them carry him upon the breach, and the Sergeant Major of Bellegarde whilst he with his accustomed courage opposed the enemy on that part which stood by the seaside, was dangerously wounded with

καὶ Giousach πὸν ἔθραυματούρησαν, καὶ τὸ μικρὸν ὑπόλειμμα τῶν δύο συνταγματῶν τοῦ Δουκὸς τῆς Σαβοΐας ὑπὸ τὴν ἡγεσίαν τοῦ Σινιὸρ Alberio διεκρίθη ἐπίσης βοηθοῦντες οὗτοι εἰς τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, ἂν καὶ δὲν ἀνήκον εἰς τὴν φρουράν, ἔσπευσαν νὰ ἀνακαταλάβουν τὴν ἐξωτερικὴν Bounette καὶ ὁ Charles Jenbert, ὁ ταγματάρχης των, προωθηθεὶς μετὰ τινων ἄλλων, ἔκαμε τοὺς Τούρκους νὰ ὀπισθοχωρήσουν καὶ ἐκράτησε γενναίαν ἄμυναν, μέχρις οὗτο παρήλθεν ἡ ἐπίθεσις.

Πλὴν τῶν ἤδη μνημονευθέντων ὁ Minio, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐφοδιασμοῦ ἐντεταλμένος καὶ ταγματάρχης, ὁ Broiavacca, διοικητὴς τοῦ προμαχώνος καὶ ὁ Jacobo Polani, εὐγενὴς ἐξ Ἑνετίας, διοικητὴς τοῦ πυροβολικοῦ, διεκρίθησαν ἐπίσης. Οἱ δὲ πολεμήσαντες εἰς τὸν Ἄγ. Ἀνδρέαν καὶ διακριθέντες δι' ἐξαιρετοὺς πράξεις ἦσαν ὁ Κορνάρος, ὁ Προβλεπτής τοῦ Βασιλείου, ὁ Gabrill, ὁ Perugini, ἀμφότεροι συνταγματάρχαι, εἰς ταγματάρχης ἀνήκων εἰς τὰ στρατεύματα τοῦ Brunswick, γνωστὸς μὲ τὸ ὄνομα Buaz Zambuick, ὅστις, ἀφοῦ ἐξεκένωσε τὰ δύο του πιστόλια εἰς τὸ στήθος δύο Τούρκων, ἐρρίφθη μὲ τὸ ξίφος ἀνά χεῖρας μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν. Ὁ διοικητὴς τοῦ συντάγματος τῆς Μάλτας, ἂν καὶ βαρύντατα ἀσθενής, διέταξε νὰ τὸν μεταφέρουν ἐπὶ τοῦ ρήγματος, καὶ ὁ ταγματάρχης τῆς Bellegarde, ἐνῶ ἀντετάσσετο μὲ τὸ σῆνδες εἰς αὐτὸν θάρος εἰς τὸν ἐχθρὸν πρὸς τὴν πλευράν τῆς παραλίας, ἐπληρώθη μὲ τυφεκιοβο-

a musket shot; for the generality, they all behaved themselves well, nor was there any other fault to be found among them but this, that some of the choicest of them did so far perform the duty of soldiers that they forgot they were commanders.

Thus ended the assault made by the Turks at such a time when they thought to have found the garrison weak and disordered, being quitted by the French; they began very vigorously, but the progress was not suitable to expectation, and they were sensible by the event that a warlike nation fights best when there is least hope of safety.

The Captain General commanded the officers in public and sent speedily to the place where the men were riding that came with the Duke of Mirandala to entreat them to come ashore, and those who were thought to be 1500, now reduced to a few and no more, all the rest were either dead or sick. That very night they began to land and though they were newly come and had a bad voyage, yet they were constrained through necessity to put them presently upon duty with the new work, to supply the place of 600 Frenchmen yet remaining that were to be shipped that night at that place. Then was also shipped the squadron of Malta, a party sufficiently impaired, but very considerable for

λισμόν γενικῶς, ὅλοι ἐπέδειξαν καλὴν συμπεριφορὰν καὶ τὸ μόνον σφάλμα, τὸ ὁποῖον θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ παρατηρηθῇ μεταξύ αὐτῶν, εἶναι ὅτι μερικοὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτοτέρων ἐπροχώρησαν τόσον εἰς τὴν ἐκτέλεσιν τοῦ καθήκοντός των ὡς στρατιωτῶν, ὥστε ἐλησμόνησαν ὅτι ἦσαν διοικηταί.

Οὕτω ἐτελείωσεν ἡ ἐπίθεσις, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐξετέλεσαν οἱ Τοῦρκοι, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐπίστευσαν ὅτι θὰ εὕρισκον τὴν φρουρὰν ἀσθενῆ καὶ ἐν ἀταξίᾳ λόγῳ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως τῶν Γάλλων· ἤρχισαν μὲ μεγάλην σφοδρότητα, ἀλλ' ἡ πρόοδος δὲν ἀπέβη κατὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν των καὶ ἀντελήφθησαν τὸ γεγονός, ὅτι ἐν πολεμικὸν ἔθνος μάχεται καλύτερον, ὅταν ὑπάρχη μικροτέρα ἐλπίς σωτηρίας.

Ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος ἔδωκε δημοσίᾳ ἐντολὰς εἰς τοὺς ἀξιωματικούς καὶ ἔστειλε κατεσπευσμένως εἰς τὸν τόπον, ὅπου εὕρισκοντο οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Δουκὸς τῆς Mirandula ἐλθόντες ἔφιπποι, νὰ τοὺς ἰκετεύσουν νὰ ἀποβιβασθοῦν, ἀλλ' ἐνῶ ἐπιστεύετο ὅτι ἦσαν 1500 τώρα εἶχον ἐλαττωθῆ εἰς ὀλιγίστους, τῶν λοιπῶν θανόντων ἢ ἀσθενησάντων. Τὴν αὐτὴν νύκτα ἤρχισαν νὰ ἀποβιβάζωνται καὶ ἂν καὶ μόλις εἶχον φθάσει καὶ εἶχον κακὸν ταξίδιον, ὑπεχρεώθησαν λόγῳ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἀνάγκης νὰ τοὺς ἀναθέσουν ἀμέσως τὸ καθήκον τῆς νέας ἀποστολῆς των, δηλ. νὰ ἱναπληρώσουν τοὺς 600 ἐναπομειναντας Γάλλους, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἐπρόκειτο νὰ ἐπιβιβασθοῦν τὴν ἰδίαν νύκτα εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν θέσιν. Τότε ἐπεβιβάσθη ἐπίσης ἡ ἰλη τῆς Μάλτας, σῶμα ὑποστάν ἰκανὴν ζημίαν, ἀλλὰ ση-

their valor, and so were all the volunteers; but that which did very much add to the straits of the garrison was the shipping away of 500 of the Republic's best soldiers by stealth with the French forces, notwithstanding the diligence of the Captain General and the absolute order of the Duke of Navailles; yet they could recover but a few of them, not above 40, who being Italian or German, had the less countenance for that, and could not without difficulty conceal themselves.

To such extremities was the fort reduced that there was not now about 4,000 soldiers fit for service in it, and those falling away every day by hundreds, they must of necessity in a short time be reduced to a very inconsiderable company.

Therefore the Captain General resolved to make this last experiment with the auxiliaries before they parted from the station where they then were; he calls a council to which all the captains of the galleys that attended the navy, were called, because the weightiness of the affair required their assistance, and Contarini the Duke of Candia also; so being brought to the headquarters of the Battaglia, those that did intervene were these persons following:

μαντικόν, ὡς ὅλοι οἱ ἐθέλονται, διὰ τὴν γενναιότητά του. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὁποῖον προσέθεσε πάρα πολὺ εἰς τὴν στενόχωρον θέσιν τῆς φρουρᾶς, ἦτο ἡ ἐπιβίβασις πρὸς ἀπόπλουν 500 τῶν κολυτέρων στρατιωτῶν τῆς Δημοκρατίας, λάθρα γενομένη μετὰ τῶν γαλλικῶν δυνάμεων, παρὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν ὅποιαν εἶχε λάβει ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος καὶ τὴν ἀπόλυτον διαταγὴν τοῦ Δουκὸς τοῦ Ναβαίγ' μόλις ἠδυνήθησαν νὰ συγκρατήσουν μερικὸς ἀπὸ αὐτοῦς, ὄχι ἄνω τῶν 40, οἵτινες ὄντες Ἴταλοι ἢ Γερμανοὶ εἶχον τὴν μικροτέραν πρὸς τοῦτο ὑποστήριξιν καὶ δὲν ἠδύναντο νὰ ἀποκρύψουν ἑαυτοὺς χωρὶς δυσκολίαν.

Εἰς τόσον δύσκολον θέσιν εἶχε τώρα περιέλθει τὸ φρούριον, ὥστε μόλις ὑπῆρχον περίπου 4000 στρατιῶται ἱκανοὶ δι' ὑπηρεσίαν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὗτοι λαμβανομένου ὑπ' ὄψιν ὅτι καθημερινῶς ἠλαττοῦντο κατὰ ἑκατοντάδας, κατ' ἀνάγκην εἰς σύντομον χρόνον θὰ κατήντων μία πολὺ ἀσήμαντος στρατιωτικὴ μονάς.

Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος ἀπεφάσισε νὰ κάμῃ αὐτὸ τὸ τελευταῖον πείραμα μὲ τοὺς ἐπικούρους, προτοῦ ἀναχωρήσουν ἀπὸ τὴν θέσιν ὅπου ἦσαν τότε· συγκαλεῖ τὸ συμβούλιον εἰς τὸ ὅποιον ἐκλήθησαν ὅλοι οἱ κυβερνήται τῶν γαλερῶν πού ἀνῆκον εἰς τὸν στόλον, διότι ἡ σοβαρότης τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀπῆτει τὴν παρουσίαν των· ἐπίσης ἐκλήθη καὶ ὁ Δούκας τοῦ Χάνδακος Contarini· οὕτω ἐγένετο ἡ σύγκλησις εἰς τὸ Ἐπιτελεῖον Μάχης, εἰς τὸ ὅποιον παρευρέθησαν οἱ ἀκόλουθοι:

Lorenzo Cornero, Proveditor of the Armada  
 Giuseppe Morosini, Captain in ordinary of the Galleys  
 Anzalo Morosini, Commissary Paymaster General  
 Moise Magno, Captain Extraordinary of the Galleys  
 Benzon, Captain of the Gulf  
 Gio Batta Calbo, Commissary of the Provisions

Besides these generals, Spaar was called hither from his station where he had continued many months.

The Captain General said that the straits to which the fort was reduced were well known and did oblige them first of all to consider what might be done as to the defence of the place, and then what course they were to take in hand. He further added that he knew by experience that those of the council were as able to advise as to act and execute, but that the present extremity to which things were brought did require them to lay aside all ostentation with an ingenious candor, and that everyone should with freedom declare his own sentiments. Afterwards there was read by way of preamble the very order that every individual person should deliver his own opinion in writing; this being performed by some of them, it was found that

Lorenzo Cornero, Προνοητής τῆς Ἀρμύδας.  
 Giuseppe Morosini, τακτικός Κυβερνήτης τῶν γαλερῶν.  
 Anzalo Morosini, Στρατηγός ἐντεταλμένος ἐπὶ τῶν Πληρωμῶν.  
 Moise Magno, ἑκτακτος Κυβερνήτης τῶν γαλερῶν.  
 Benzon, Κυβερνήτης τοῦ Κόλπου.  
 Gio Botta Calbo, Ἐντεταλμένος ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐφοδιασμοῦ.

Ἐκτὸς τῶν στρατηγῶν τούτων, ὁ Spaar ἐκλήθη ἐνταῦθα ἀπὸ τὴν θέσιν του, ὅπου εἶχε παραμείνει συνεχῶς ἐπὶ πολλοὺς μῆνας.

Ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος εἶπεν, ὅτι ἡ στενόχωρος κατάστασις εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν περιῆλθε τὸ φρούριον ἦτο πολὺ καλὰ γνωστὴ καὶ τοὺς ὑπεχρέωνε πρῶτον ἐξ ὄλων νὰ σκεφθοῦν, τί θὰ ἰδύνατο νὰ γίνῃ διὰ τὴν ἀμυνὰν τοῦ ὄχυροῦ καὶ κατόπιν κατὰ ποῖον τρόπον δράσεως ἔπρεπε νὰ τὸ ἐπιχειρήσουν. Πρὸς ἐθεσε περαιτέρω, ὅτι ἐκ πείρας ἐγνώριζεν, ὅτι οἱ τοῦ συμβουλίου ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ νὰ συμβουλευέσουν τί ἔπρεπε νὰ γίνῃ καὶ πῶς νὰ ἐκτελεσθῇ, ἀλλ' ἡ παρούσα ἐσχάτη ἀνάγκη, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν περιῆλθον τὰ πράγματα, ἀπῆτει νὰ ἀφήσουν κατὰ μέρος πάντα ἐπιδεικτικισμὸν μὲ ἀυθόρμητον εἰλικρίνειαν καὶ νὰ δηλώσῃ ἕκαστος μὲ ἐλευθερίαν τὰ αἰσθήματά του. Ἀκολούθως ἀνεγνώσθη ὡς προεισαγωγὴ αὐτῆ ἡ διαταγὴ κατὰ τὴν ὁποίαν ἕκαστος ὑπεχρεοῦτο νὰ ἐκφράσῃ τὴν γνώμην του ἐγγράφως· ἀφοῦ τοῦτο ἐξετελέσθη ὑπὸ τινῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἀπεδείχθη ὅτι

they did waste away a great deal of time and that all of them repeated one and the same thing.

Then it was ordered that everyone should declare his thoughts by word of mouth, as it was the general opinion of all at the first starting of the question, that the place could not hold out long, in regards to the number of defenders was very small, that the enemy by the fort of St. Andrew had made their approach almost up to the last work, which was so sore and weak and cast up with such bad materials that they could not make any great resistance. And if they advanced on that part where the fort of Sabionera was coming the lower broad way, they might soon cut their way through the retreat of the bulwark, and being near the other passages to the Arsenal, they would quickly shut up the fort. Therefore it was concluded, that prosecuting the assault according to their usual manner, the town could not stand long in a defensive posture, for if the enemy were resolved to venture the loss of 2 or 3,000 men by making a brisk and general assault, there was no probability of defending the place.

The Captain General asked the Marquess of St. Andrew how long in his judgment the Turks were in attacking the new retreat of St. Andrew. The Marquess made answer that in his

ἔχανον πολὺν χρόνον καὶ ὅτι ὅλοι ἐπανελάμβανον ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα.

Τότε ἐδόθη ἡ διαταγὴ ἕκαστος νὰ δηλώσῃ τὰς σκέψεις του προφορικῶς καὶ ἡ γενικὴ γνώμη ἦτο εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πού ἐξεκίνησε τὸ ζήτημα, ὅτι τὸ ὄχυρόν δὲν ἦτο δυνατόν νὰ ἀντιστῇ ἐπὶ πολὺ, δοθέντος ὅτι ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ὑπερασπιστῶν ἦτο πολὺ μικρὸς, ὅτι ὁ ἐχθρὸς παρὰ τὸ φρούριον τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἀνδρέου κατώρθωσε νὰ πλησιάσῃ μέχρι τοῦ τελευταίου ὄχυρώματος, τὸ ὅποιον ἦτο τὸσον εὐπαθὲς καὶ ἀσθενές, κατεσκευασμένον διὰ συσσωρεύσεως τόσον κακῆς ποιότητος ὑλικῶν, ὥστε δὲν θὰ ἦτο δυνατόν νὰ προβάλῃ μεγάλην ἀντίστασιν. Καὶ ἂν ἐπροχώρουν οἱ ἐχθροὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ μέρος, ὅπου τὸ προπύργιον τῆς Σαμπιονέρας ἐσημάτιζε τὴν κάτω πλατείαν ὁδόν, θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ διανοιξοῦν ὁδὸν διὰ μέσου τῆς γραμμῆς καταφυγῆς (ritirata) τοῦ προμαχώνος καὶ οὕτω, εὐρισκόμενοι πλησίον τῶν ἄλλων διαβάσεων πρὸς τὰ Νεώρια, θὰ ἀπέκλειον ταχέως τὸ Φρούριον. Συνεπὸς κατέληγον, ὅτι ἂν ἐσυνέχιζον τὴν ἐπίθεσιν κατὰ τὸν συνήθη τρόπον, ἡ πόλις θὰ ἦτο ἀδύνατον νὰ κρατηθῇ ἐπὶ μακρὸν εἰς κατὰστασιν ἀμύνης, διότι, ἂν ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἀπεφάσιζε νὰ ριψοκινδυνεύσῃ τὴν ἀπόλειαν 2 ἢ 3.000 ἀνδρῶν, ἐνεργῶν ζωηρὰν καὶ γενικὴν ἐφοδον, δὲν ὑπῆρχε πιθανότης νὰ σώσουν ἀμυνόμενοι τὸ ὄχυρόν.

Ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος ἠρώτησε τὸν μαρκήσιον Saint André πόσον καιρὸν κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν του θὰ διήρκει ἡ ἐφοδος τῶν Τούρκων κατὰ τῆς νέας γραμμῆς καταφυγῆς τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἀνδρέου. Ὁ μαρκήσιος ἀπήνησεν, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν

opinion they were 10 or 15 days. Then they proceeded to the other point, what course was to be taken, that they might thereby do their Prince the best service, they could, considering on the one hand of what importance that place was, which the most serene Republic had exhausted so much treasure and blood to preserve it; and on the other hand, that being taken by assault, or their passage by sea blocked up, the advantage that accrued to them by the militia and armada would be lost. Upon which those deplorable consequences will follow, which everyone comprehended.

In fine, they came to give their opinions beginning at the last, as is customary, and the result was this, that it was best to resolve upon a treaty to avoid the loss of the town and armada, and consequently the fortress and islands likewise. But Grinaldi, being to speak next, said that he knew very well the place could not hold out long, and did also confess that to die would be an honor to the defenders, but herein they should do their Prince no service. On the other side, it was his opinion to burn it and blow it up as soon as it was possible rather than to surrender, and this might be done, considering that they had one weak retreat embarking those that were unserviceable; and

γνώμην του θά ἦσαν 10 ἢ 15 ἡμέραι. Τότε ἐπροζώρησαν εἰς τὸ ἄλλο σημείον: ποίαν πορείαν θά ὀφείλον νά ἀκολουθήσουν διὰ νά προσφέρουν εἰς τὸν Ἡγεμόνα τὴν τὴν καλλίστην ὑπηρεσίαν πού θά ἠδύναντο, ἔχοντες ὑπ' ὄψιν ἀφ' ἐνὸς πόσον μεγάλην σημασίαν εἶχεν ἡ θέσις αὐτῆ, διὰ τὴν ὁποίαν ἡ Γαληνοτάτη Δημοκρατία ἐξήντηλε τόσους θησαυροὺς καὶ αἶμα διὰ νά τὴν διασώσῃ, ἀφ' ἑτέρου ὅτι, ἂν ἐκυριεύετο ἐξ ἐφόδου ἢ ἐφράσσετο ἢ ἐπικοινωνία μὲ τὴν θάλασσαν, θά ἐχάνοντο τὰ πλεονεκτήματα τὰ ἀπορρέοντα ἐκ τῆς στρατιωτικῆς ἐπικουρίας καὶ τῆς ἀρμάδας· καὶ εἰς τοῦτο θά ἐπηκολούθουν αἱ θλιβεραὶ συνέπειαι τὰς ὁποίας ἕκαστος κατενόει.

Τέλος κατέληξαν νά δώσουν τὰς γνώμας τῶν ἀρχίζοντες ἀπὸ τὸ τελευταῖον, ὡς εἶναι σύνηθες, καὶ τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα ἦτο, ὅτι τὸ καλύτερον ἦτο νά ἀποφασίσουν τὴν σύναψιν συνθήκης διὰ νά ἀποφύγουν τὴν καταστροφὴν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἀρμάδας, καὶ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν τῶν φρουρίων καὶ τῶν νήσων. Ἀλλ' ὁ Grinaldi, τοῦ ὁποίου ἦτο σειρά νά ὁμιλήσῃ, εἶπεν, ὅτι ἐγνώριζε πολὺ καλά ὅτι τὸ ὄχυρόν δὲν ἦτο δυνατόν νά κρατήσῃ ἐπὶ μακρὸν καὶ ὠμολόγει ἐπίσης ὅτι θά ἦτο τιμὴ διὰ τοὺς ὑπερασπιστὰς νά ἀποθάνουν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ δὲν θά ἐξυπηρετεῖ τὸν Ἡγεμόνα τῶν. Ἐξ ἄλλου ἡ γνώμη του ἦτο νά καύσουν μᾶλλον καὶ νά ἀνατινάξουν τὸ Φρούριον ὅσον τὸ δυνατόν ταχύτερον παρὰ νά τὸ παραδώσουν, καὶ τοῦτο ἦτο πραγματοποιήσιμον, ἂν ἐλαμβάνετο ὑπ' ὄψιν ὅτι εἶχον μόνον μίαν ἀσθενῆ γραμμὴν καταφυγῆς· ἐπιβιβάζοντες τοὺς ἀμάχους

taking the opportunity of a dark and quiet night, they might ship their infantry, and fire the mines; that he understood well that it was an attempt both of difficulty and danger, but there were two reasons moved him to it, because the enemy in a treaty about the surrender would not keep their word, nor would the Prime Visier, being a wary man, suffer the remainder of the armada to escape, that had for so many years taken away not only the commerce, but the dominion of his own seas. This second reason, not less effectual but less plausible to such generous souls was to put a correspondent period to a defence which if considered, is without parallel, which was to leave the enemy, not a stately palace, but a heap of rubbish and stones as a trophy of their slow and bloody victory.

This opinion was disapproved by all, but only Minio, Commissary of the Provisions. The Marquess of St. Andrew replied that his resolution was more generous than feasible because the embarking of so many men could not be concealed from the enemy, who was not only neighboring near at hand, but also lodged within the city.

Then the Captain General rejoined that besides the impracticableness of this opinion by reason of the difficulty of ship-

καὶ ἐπωφελοῦμενοι σκοτεινῆς καὶ ἡρέμου νυκτός, θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἐπιβιβάσουν τὸ περικλόν των καὶ νὰ ἀνατινάξουν τὰς ὑπονόμους· κατενόει καλῶς, ὅτι τοῦτο ἦτο ἐπιχείρημα καὶ δύσκολον καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον, ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχον δύο λόγοι κινουν-  
τες τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν λύσιν ταύτην, ὅτι ὁ ἐχθρὸς εἰς μίαν συνθήκην παραδό-  
σεως δὲν θὰ ἐκράτει τὸν λόγον του, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης, ἄνθρωπος παν-  
οὔργος, δὲν θὰ ἠνείχετο νὰ διαφύγη τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τῆς ἀρμάδας, πού ἐπὶ τόσα  
ἔτη ἐκράτησε ὄχι μόνον τὸ ἐμπόριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κυριαρχίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδι-  
κῶν του θαλασσῶν. Ὁ δεῦτερος οὗτος λόγος καθίστα, ἂν ὄχι ὀλιγώτερον  
ἀποτελεσματικόν, ὅμως ὀλιγώτερον ἀξιον ἐπιδοκιμασίας διὰ τὸσον γενναίας  
ψυχᾶς τὸ νὰ θέσουν ἀνάλογον περίοδον χρόνου διὰ μίαν ἄμυναν, πού ἐξετα-  
ζομένη δὲν εἶχε τὸ παράλληλόν της, ἀπὸ τὸ νὰ ἀφήσουν εἰς τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὄχι  
μεγαλοπρεπῆς ἀνάκτορον, ἀλλὰ σωρὸν ἐρειπίων καὶ πειρῶν ὡς τρόπαιον τῆς  
βραδείας του καὶ αἱματηρᾶς νίκης.

Ἡ γνώμη αὕτη ἀπεδοκιμάσθη ὑπὸ ὅλων πλην τοῦ Minio, τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ  
Ἐφοδιασμοῦ ἐντεταλμένου. Ὁ μαρκήσιος Saint André ἀπάντησεν, ὅτι ἡ ἀπό-  
φασίς του ἦτο μᾶλλον γενναίωφρων παρά ἐφαρμώσιμος, διότι ἡ ἐπιβίβασίς  
τόσων ἀνθρώπων δὲν ἦτο δυνατόν νὰ κρυβῆ ἀπὸ τὸν ἐχθρὸν, ὅστις ὄχι μόνον  
ἦτο εἰς μεγάλην ἐγγύτητα, ἀλλ' ἀκόμη εἶχεν ἐγκατασταθῆ ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως.

Τότε ὁ Ἀρχιστρατήγος προσέθεσεν ὅτι, ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὅτι ἡ γνώμη του δὲν ἦτο  
ἐφαρμώσιμος διὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς δυσκολίας ἐπιβιβάσεως αὐτῶν, ὑπῆρχεν ἀκόμη

ping them, and the uncertainty of the wind and weather or of other respects which might be easily understood by an experienced commander, and did affirm that this proposition of burning the town and shipping the men was made out of a bravado, and that it would prove an intricate business to effect, if the person that proposed it was put upon the execution thereof.

Then answered Grinaldi that he did not at all speak out of ostentation, and besides he knew that there was difficulty in the proposal, but he himself would embrace it and undertake the business, and offered himself nevertheless to make good the retreat with 600 men, and that he hoped to secure them by this apprehension of fear which probably the enemy had of their mines, but let the event prove what it will. The loss could not be great and that it was even held a more secure way to commit their safety to fortune and the sword than to rely upon the fidelity and moderation of barbarous and exasperated enemies, who being able to end the war at one blow, would not, if they did yield up the place, treat them better than he did the men at Clissa and Rimisio. However he was willing to decline his own conception, not for the reason or inconveniency of the thing, but because he was obliged to believe that the Captain

καὶ ἡ ἀβεβαιότης τοῦ ἀνέμου, τοῦ καιροῦ ἢ καὶ ἄλλων παραγόντων, πού ἦτο εὐκολοὺς νὰ κατανοήσῃ εἰς πεπειραμένους διοικητῆς, καὶ ἐβεβαίωσεν ὅτι ἡ πρότασις αὐτῆ, νὰ καύσουν τὴν πόλιν καὶ νὰ ἐπιβιβάσουν τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐξεπήγαζεν ἀπὸ μεγαληγορίαν καὶ θὰ ἀπεδεικνύετο εἰς τὴν ἐφαρμογὴν τῆς περιπέλοκος ὑπόθεσις, ἂν ὁ προτείνων ἐτίθετο εἰς ἐκτέλεσίν τῆς.

Τότε ὁ Grinaldi ἀπήνησεν, ὅτι δὲν ὠμίλησε καθόλου ἀπὸ λόγους ἐπιδεικτικισμοῦ καὶ ἐκτὸς τούτου ἐγνώριζεν ὅτι ὑπῆρχον δυσκολίαι εἰς τὴν ἐφαρμογὴν τῆς προτάσεώς του, ἀλλ' ὁ ἴδιος θὰ ἐνεστερνίζετο καὶ θὰ ἀνελάμβανε τὴν ὑπόθεσιν προσεφέρετο δ' ἐπὶ πλέον νὰ ἐξασφαλίσῃ τὴν ὑποχώρησιν μὲ 600 ἄνδρας καὶ ὅτι ἤλπιζε νὰ τὸ ἐπιτύχῃ διὰ τοῦ κράτους τοῦ φόβου πού πιθανῶς θὰ κατελάμβανε τὸν ἐχθρὸν διὰ τῆς ἀνατινάξεως τῶν ὑπονόμων των, ἀλλὰ τέλος, ἄς ἄφηνον τὰ γεγονότα νὰ ὁμιλήσουν. Ἡ ζήτησις δὲν θὰ ἦτο μεγάλη καὶ θὰ ἔδει νὰ θεωρηθῇ ἀσφαλέστερον νὰ ἐμπιστευθοῦν τὴν σωτηρίαν των εἰς τὴν τύχην καὶ τὸ ξίφος παρὰ νὰ ἐπαναπαυθοῦν εἰς τὴν τήρησιν τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὴν μετριοπάθειαν βαρβάρων καὶ ἀηλιπισμένων ἐχθρῶν, οἱ ὅποιοι, ὄντες ἱκανοὶ νὰ τελειώσουν τὸν πόλεμον μὲ ἓν κτύπημα, δὲν θὰ τοὺς μετεχειρίζοντο καλύτερον, ἂν παρέδιδον τὸ ὄχυρόν, ἀπὸ ὅτι μετεχειρίσθησαν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῆς Clissa καὶ τοῦ Rimisio. Ὅμως ἦτο διατεθειμένος νὰ ἀποκλίνῃ τῆς ἰδικῆς του ἐκδοχῆς ὄχι λόγῳ τοῦ ἀτόπου τοῦ πράγματος, ἀλλὰ διότι ἦτο ὑποχρεώμε-



General and the Marquess of St. Andrew understood better than he did, how to promote the service of the most serene Republic and what was most convenient to be done in order thereunto. In the interim the determination was deferred till now, which was that seeing the place was not in a condition to hold out any longer, that to treat upon the most advantageous terms that could possibly be obtained, would tend to the good of the Republic.

And to this end first this decree must be notified to the auxiliaries that were still in their station, and renew their importunity for 3,000 men by whose aid and the help of 2,000 gallects that remained, other designs might be undertaken, and the place still defended.

That very night a lieutenant was sent to Balli; Rospigliosi signifying unto him the deliberation which they are driven to by compulsion, entreating him withal, to intercede with the Duke of Navailles but this had no other effect than other intercessions of this nature.

Now the Captain General and the council, being willing to feel the 'Turks' pulse, made choice of Colonel Annand for the

νος νὰ πιστεύσῃ ὅτι ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος καὶ ὁ μαρκήσιος Saint André ἐγνώριζον καλύτερον αὐτοῦ πῶς νὰ προαγάγουν τὴν ἐξυπηρέτησιν τῆς Γαλινοτάτης Δημοκρατίας καὶ τί ἦτο μάλλον ἀρμόζον νὰ γίνῃ πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦτον. Ἐν τῷ μεταξῷ ἡ ἀπόφασις εἶχεν ἀναβληθῆ μέχρι τώρα καὶ ἦτο αὐτὴ ὅτι, ἀφοῦ τὸ φρούριον δὲν ἦτο εἰς κατάστασιν νὰ ἀνθέξῃ περισσότερο, τὸ νὰ συνθηκολογήσουν ὑπὸ τοὺς μάλλον ἐπωφελεῖς ὄρους πού θὰ ἠδύναντο νὰ ἐπιτύχουν θὰ ἀπέβαινε πρὸς τὸ καλὸν τῆς Δημοκρατίας.

Καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν σκοπὸν θὰ ἔπρεπε πρῶτον νὰ κοινοποιηθῇ αὐτὸ τὸ ψήφισμα πρὸς τὰς ἐπικουρικὰς δυνάμεις, αἱ ὁποῖαι ἔμενον ἀκόμη ἡσυχοὶ εἰς τὴν θέσιν των καὶ ἀνεπέμνον τὴν ἐπίμονον παράκλησιν των διὰ 3 χιλ. ἀνδρας, μὲ τὴν βοήθειαν τῶν ὁποίων, ὡς καὶ μὲ τὴν ἐπικουρίαν 2 χιλ. κωπηλατῶν γαλερῶν πού ἀπέμενον, θὰ ἠδύναντο νὰ ἀναλάβουν ἄλλα σχέδια καὶ νὰ ὑπερασπίσουν ἀκόμη τὸ φρούριον.

Αὐτὴν ἀκριβῶς τὴν νύκτα ἀπεστάλη εἰς ὑπολογαγὸς εἰς τὸν Rospigliosi, διὰ νὰ ἀνακοινώσῃ εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν ἀπόφασιν, εἰς τὴν ὁποῖαν ἐξ ἀνάγκης κατέληξαν, ἰκετεύοντες αὐτὸν προοίει νὰ κάμῃ διάβημα εἰς τὸν Δοῦκα τοῦ Ναβαύι, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο δὲν ἔσχεν ἄλλο ἀποτέλεσμα παρ' ὅτι τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίως φύσεως διαβήματα.

Τώρα ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος καὶ τὸ Συμβούλιον, θέλοντες νὰ ἀντιληφθοῦν τὸν σφυγμὸν τῶν Τούρκων, ἐξέλεξαν τὸν συνταγματάρχην Ἀνάτην διὰ τὸν χειρι-

management of this affair, who was only accompanied with a young man as his secretary, to write down what might happen in discourse upon occasion with an intention not to speak a word. Therefore, receiving his commission from the Captain General in the name of the most Honorable Council, they went aboard the Admiral which lay as a guard to the trench and as a convoy to some vessels; from whence the next morning about break of day, they set sail in a fellucca towards the Giofiro where they fired a musket and put out a white flag, and having waited about half an hour, at last there appeared a company of Turks, one of which coming forwards towards the seaside, answered the signal of the flag with a white cloth fastened to a stick, where coming to the fellucca as long as the water would give them leave, they in the fellucca declared that they had a desire to speak with some person belonging to the Visier's court with a dragoman, id est, interpreter. To which demand the Turks replied in Italian that they must wait the time, and fixing the white flag in the earth, the Turks marched at a great rate to the place where they were encamped before the fort St. Andrew; and so Col. Annand and the secretary betook themselves again to their ship. There appeared from thence about an hour afterwards an Aga of the Visier's court on horse-

σμὸν τοῦ ζητήματος· οὗτος συνοδεύετο μόνον ὑπὸ ἐνὸς νέου ὡς γραμματέως διὰ τὴν καταγράφην ὁτιδήποτε συνεζητεῖτο ἐπ' εὐκαιρίᾳ μὲ πρόγραμμα νὰ μὴν ἀφθώσῃ λέξις. Πρὸς τοῦτο, λαβόντες ἐντολὰς παρὰ τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἐντιμοτάτου Συμβουλίου, μετέβησαν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον τοῦ Ναυάρχου, ὅστις ἐξετέλει τὴν φρούρησιν τῆς τάφρου καὶ συνοδείαν ὠρισμένων πλοίων· ἐκεῖθεν τὴν ἐπομένην πρωΐαν, κατὰ τὴν χαραυγὴν, ἔπλευσαν ἐντὸς φελοῦκας πρὸς τὸν Γιόφυρον, ὅπου ἔρριψαν τυφεκιοβολισμὸν καὶ ἤψωσαν λευκὴν σημαίαν· ἀφοῦ ἐπερίμεναν περίπου ἡμίσειαν ὥραν, ἐνεφανίσθη τέλος μία ὀμάς Τούρκων, εἰς τῶν ὁποίων, προχωρήσας πρὸς τὴν παραλίαν, ἀνταπέδωσε τὸ σῆμα τῆς σημαίας ἑξῆς λευκὸν ὄφασμα προσηλωμένον εἰς μίαν εἰς ῥάβδον ἀφοῦ οὗτοι ἐπλησίασαν πρὸς τὴν φελοῦκαν ὅσον ἐπέτρεπεν εἰς τούτους τὸ ὕδωρ, οἱ ἐπιβάται τῆς φελοῦκας ἐδήλωσαν ὅτι ἐπεθύμουν νὰ ὁμιλήσουν μὲ πρόσωπον ἀνήκον εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ Βεζύρου μέσῳ δραγουμάνου, δηλ. διερμηνέως. Εἰς τὸ αἶτημα τοῦτο οἱ Τούρκοι ἀπήντησαν Ἰταλιστί, ὅτι ἔπρεπε νὰ περιμένουν χρόνον τινά, ἐμπήξαντες δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν λευκὴν σημαίαν, ἐβάδισαν μὲ μεγάλην σπουδὴν πρὸς τὸ μέρος ὅπου ἐστρατοπέδευον πρὸ τοῦ φρουρίου τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἀνδρέου· οὕτω ὁ συνταγματάρχης Ἀνάτης καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τοῦ ἐπανήλθον εἰς τὸ πλοῖόν των. Μετὰ μίαν ὥραν περίπου ἐνεφανίσθη ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ εἰς Ἀγᾶς τῆς αὐτῆς τοῦ Βεζύρου, ἔφιππος, ὀνόματι Ἀχμέτ Ἀμάν, συνήθους ἀνα-

back called Achmet Aman, of an ordinary stature, about 40 years of age, of a brown complexion, with a black thick beard, but not very long, a person as far as we may credit physiognomy, it appeared to be more inclinable to peace than war. He was attended by a great number of people, and among the rest, by a renegade that was fled to them, called Barossi, who was also mounted, who calling to the felucca, they complimented one another again very lowly, and he demanded what they desired. To whom it was answered that they came with an embassy from his excellency the Captain General. The Turks replied that then they must come ashore, but because in such a resolution it was held requisite for their safety to be secured by the faith of the Grand Visier, they demanded further whether they might upon that account have liberty to land and return to their ship at pleasure. It was answered they might not only by Barossi, but by the Aga, who by a nod and laying his hand upon his breast and head, did assure them of an entire friendship between them. Being then come ashore Col. Annand told him of his excellency the Capt. General having an earnest desire to put a period to so tedious and cruel a war, in which so much blood and treasure had been spent with the loss of so many considerable potentates on both sides; that besides great

αἰήματος, περίπου 40 ἐτῶν, μελαφός, μὲ μέλαν λεπτόν γένειον, ἀλλ' ὄχι πολὺ μακρὸν, πρόσωπον τὸ ὁποῖον, καθ' ὅσον ἤμποροῦσε τις νὰ βασισθῇ εἰς τὴν φυσιογνωμίαν, ἐφαίνετο ὅτι εἶχε μεγαλυτέραν τάσιν πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην παρά πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. Περιεβάλλετο ἀπὸ μεγάλην ἀκολουθίαν, μεταξὺ τῶν ὁποίων ἦτο εἰς ἐξωμότης, φυγὰς πρὸς αὐτούς, ὀνόματι Μπαρότσι, ὅστις ἐπίσης ἦτο ἔφιππος οὗτος, ἀφοῦ ἐφώνασε τὴν φελοῦκιαν καὶ ἀντηλλάγησαν φιλοφρονήσεις εἰς πολὺ χαμηλὴν φωνήν, ἠρώτησε τί ἐπεθύμουν. Ἐδόθη εἰς αὐτὸν ἡ ἀπάντησις, ὅτι ἤρχοντο μὲ πρεσβείαν ἀπὸ τὴν ἐξοχότητά του τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον. Οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἀπήντησαν, ὅτι τότε ἔπρεπε νὰ ἀποβιβασθοῦν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ διὰ μίαν τοιαύτην ἀπόφασιν ἐκρίθη ἐπάναγκες δι' ἀσφάλειάν των νὰ ἐξασφαλισθοῦν μὲ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου, ἠρώτησαν περαιτέρω, ἂν θὰ ἰδύναντο μὲ τοιαύτην προϋπόθεσιν νὰ ἀποβιβασθοῦν καὶ εἶτα νὰ ἐπιστρέφουν κατὰ βούλησιν εἰς τὸ πλοῖόν των. Ἐδόθη ἡ ἀπάντησις ὅτι ἠδύναντο, ὄχι μόνον ἀπὸ τὸν Μπαρότσι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν Ἄγαν, ὅστις διὰ νεύματος καὶ θέτον τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοὺς ἐβεβαίωσε διὰ τὴν ὀλοκληρωτικὴν φιλίαν μεταξὺ των. Τότε ὁ συνταγματάρχης Ἀνάντης ἀπεβιβάσθη καὶ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἡ ἐξοχότης του ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος, ἔχων σφοδρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν νὰ θέσῃ τέρμα εἰς ἓνα τὸσον ὀκληρὸν καὶ σκληρὸν πόλεμον, εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον τὸσον αἷμα καὶ θησαυροὶ ἐσταταλήθησαν μὲ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τὸσον σημαντικῶν ἀξιωματού-

grievances of their subjects, a thing of no mean consequence, he did invite the Grand Visier to take those things into his prudent consideration, to weigh them well, and to assent to a new treaty of peace, which was formerly begun by his excellency Signor Molin, to the one we might finish this negotiation at last, and establish the correspondency of affection which the most serene Republic hath enow labored to confirm with the Ottoman Porte. The Aga made answer to that particular that there could never be an establishment of the peace without a rendition of the place, without which his discourse would be in vain; so with it was replied by Col. Annand that the town was not as yet reduced to so low a condition as to despair of defending irself a long time, and that to think of such improper terms would bring no other advantage but this, that it was only to build up their hopes upon an airy foundation since the Piazza is well furnished with soldiers and laborers, as also with ammunition and provisions, and from hence it may very well be gathered with what vigor it will be defended and maintained; but whilst that a treaty is sought after, though it was promoted not without the dissenting opinion of persons of that Kingdom, upon that very point if they should have a mind to

χων ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον πρὸς τόσον μεγάλην βλάβην τῶν ὑπηκόων του, πρᾶγμα μὲ σοβαρὰ ἐπακόλουθα, προσκαλεῖ τὸν Μέγαν Βεζύρη γὰ θέσῃ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τὴν συνετήν του κρίσιν, γὰ τὰ ζυγίσῃ καλῶς καὶ γὰ συγκατατεθῆ εἰς μίαν νέαν διαπραγματεύσιν εἰρήνης, ἣ ὁποία εἶχεν ἀρχίζει προηγουμένως ἀπὸ τὴν ἐξοχότητά του τὸν Σινιὸρ Μολίν, μὲ μόνην βλέψιν γὰ δυναθῶμεν γὰ φέρωμεν εἰς πέρας τέλος ταύτην καὶ γὰ ἀποκατασταθῆ οὕτω ἀμοιβαίότης στοργῆς, τὴν ὁποίαν ἀρκετὰ ἡ Γαληνοτάτη Δημοκρατία ἐμόχθησε γὰ ἐξασφάλισῃ μετὰ τῆς Ὑψηλῆς Πύλης. Ὁ Ἄγᾶς ἀπήνησεν εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν διατύπωσιν, ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἐπρόκειτο γὰ γίνῃ ἀποκατάστασις εἰρήνης ἄνευ παραδόσεως τῆς ὀχυρᾶς θέσεως, χωρὶς τὴν ὁποίαν μάταιοι θὰ ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι του. Κατόπιν τούτου ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης ἀπήνησεν, ὅτι ἡ πόλις δὲν εἶχε περιέλθει εἰς τόσον κακὴν κατάστασιν ὥστε γὰ ἀπελπίζεται ὅτι θὰ κατορθώσῃ γὰ ἀμυνθῆ ἐπὶ μακρὸν εἰσέτι χρόνον, καὶ ὅτι τὸ γὰ σκέπτονται τόσον ἀναρμόστους ὄρους δὲν θὰ εἶχεν ἄλλο ἀποτέλεσμα παρὰ τοῦτο, γὰ κτίσουν τὰς ἐλπίδας τῶν ἐπὶ θεμελίῶν ἀέρος, ἀφοῦ τὸ Φρούριον ἦτο καλῶς ἐφωδιασμένον μὲ στρατιώτας καὶ ἐργάτας, ὅπως καὶ μὲ πυρομαχικὰ καὶ ζωοτροφίας· ἐκ τούτου θὰ ἡδύνατο πολὺ καλὰ γὰ συναχθῆ μὲ ποίαν ρώμην θὰ τὸ ὑπερήσπιζον καὶ θὰ τὸ ἐκράτουον· ἄλλ' ἄπαξ ἐπεζητεῖτο ἡ σύναψις συνθήκης, ἂν καὶ τοῦτο προήλθεν ὄχι χωρὶς διαφωνίας προσωπικοτήτων τοῦ Βασιλείου τούτου, ἂν εἶχον τὴν πρόθεσιν γὰ διαπραγματευθῶν μὲ βάσιν αὐτὸ ἀκριβῶς τὸ σημεῖον, τότε δὲν θὰ ἔλειπον ἀσφαλῶς δυνατὰ λύσεις καὶ ἐπινοήματα διὰ γὰ συναφθῆ. Ὁ Ἄγᾶς ἀν-

treat, they could not want ways nor devise to conclude it. The Aga rejoined that the Piazza, id est the city, was now in a decaying condition, and that they had got footing in the very bowels of it, so that if it should not be freely surrendered, they would make themselves masters of it by the sword. To which Col. Annand replied that this acquist which they fancied so easy, and the continuation of the assault, would make them hereafter report (*repent?*) that they did not embrace this profer, who, as such a town as that yet neither wanted men, courage, nor groaned to defend itself, might hold out a great while longer, that the Grand Visier might of necessity (if he intends to continue the siege) get away a fresh army to manage the assaults the next campaign, the weakness of his forces being sufficiently known, and the consternation of his people that have been beaten by the constant resolution of the defendants in so many actions and attempts. The Aga seemed to make some reflections upon these considerations, but afterwards resuming the discourse said that he knew very well the intentions of the Visier was to stick close to his first proposition, nevertheless, he would go back and acquaint him with these sentiments and withal promised to return in the afternoon to give him the Visier's answer. The meeting being conducted to the ship again,

ταπήνησεν ὅτι ἡ Piazza, δηλ. ἡ πόλις, ἦτο τώρα εἰς κατάστασιν μαρασμοῦ καὶ ὅτι εἶχον θέσει πόδα εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ σπλάγχνα της, ὥστε ἂν δὲν παρεδίδοτο οἰκειοθελῶς, θὰ ἐγίνοντο κύριοι αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦ ξίφους. Εἰς τοῦτο ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης ἀπήνησεν, ὅτι τὸ νὰ φαντάζωνται τὴν κατάκτησιν αὐτὴν τόσον εὐκολον καὶ νὰ συνεχίσουν τὴν ἐπιθέσιν θὰ τοὺς ἔκανε κατόπιν νὰ μετανοήσουν, διότι δὲν ἀπεδέχθησαν τὴν προσφορὰν αὐτὴν, ἀφοῦ μία πόλις ὡς αὐτὴ, ποὺ οὔτε οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὸ θάρος της ἔλειπον, οὔτε ἐγόγγυζεν διὰ τὴν ἄμυνάν της, θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἀντιστῆ πολὺ μακρότερον χρόνον· ὅτι ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης θὰ ἔπρεπε κατ' ἀνάγκην (ἂν εἶχε πρόθεσιν νὰ συνεχίσῃ τὴν πολιορκίαν) νὰ λάβῃ νέον στράτευμα διὰ νὰ διενεργήσῃ τὰς ἐπιθέσεις του τὴν ἐρχομένην περίοδον ἐκστρατείας, ἀφοῦ εἶναι ἀρκετὰ γνωστὴ ἡ ἀδυναμία τῶν δυνάμεων του καὶ ἡ ἀπόγνωσις τοῦ λαοῦ του, ποὺ ἐπλήγη ἀπὸ τὴν σταθερὰν ἀποφασιστικότητα τῶν ὑπερασπιστῶν εἰς τόσας πράξεις καὶ ἀποπειράς. Ὁ Ἄγῆς ἐφαίνετο ὅτι ἔκαμνεν ὠρισμένας σκέψεις ἐπὶ τῶν παρατηρήσεων αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἀκολούθως, ἀναλαμβάνων τὸν λόγον, εἶπεν ὅτι ἐγνώριζε πολὺ καλά, ὅτι αἱ προθέσεις τοῦ Βεζύρου ἦσαν πολὺ ἐγγὺς μὲ τὴν πρώτην του πρότασιν, παρὰ ταῦτα θὰ ἐπέστρεφε καὶ θὰ ἀνεκοίνωνεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰς ἀντιλήψεις αὐτάς, ὑπέσχετο δὲ ἀμέσως νὰ ἐπανέλθῃ αὐτὸ τὸ ἀπόγευμα, φέρων τὴν ἀπάντησιν τοῦ Βεζύρου. Ἡ ἀποστολὴ ὠδηγήθη πάλιν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον καὶ ἀνεκοίνωσαν τί εἶχε διαμειφθῆ καὶ

they declared what was discoursed and established by them to their excellencies Magno, and Morossini, the one, Captain Extraordinary of the galleys, and the other, Captain in Ordinary of the same. Whereupon they obliged Col. Annand to return about the two and twentieth hour, who did punctually execute his commission after the same manner was done before in the morning. And so when they approached near the same place of Giofiro, the Aga appeared with Barossi, but he had then with him one Panagiotti, the Grand Visier's secretary and dragoman, a man of a moderate stature, somewhat well set, and about 80 years old, with a thin beard of a chestnut color, intermixed with a few grey hairs, fair faced, and a literate person, discreet and well versed in state affairs, who giving them a sign to come to land, which they did not without difficulty, because it was stormy weather, they were conducted ashore by two Turks which the Aga sent purposely to the felucca; and being come face to face, the Aga said by his interpreter Panagiotti that the Grand Visier had express orders from the Ottoman B (that is, Ottoman Court) Porte not to conclude a peace, no, nor so much as to entertain any discourse about it without the surrender of the Piazza, and that therefore, he could not consent to any treaty unless that were first delivered up. Col. Annand answered

καθορισθῆ ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς ἐξοχότητας των Magno καὶ Morosini, τὸν ἑκτακτον Κυβερνήτην τῶν Γαλερῶν καὶ τον τακτικὸν Κυβερνήτην τούτων. Μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπεφόρισαν τὸν συντ. Ἀνάτην νὰ ἐπιστρέψῃ τὴν 22αν ὥραν περίπου, οὗτος δὲ ἐξετέλεσεν ἐπακριβῶς τὴν ἐντολὴν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅπως καὶ τὴν προίαν. Οὕτω, ὅταν ἐπλησίασαν παρὰ τὴν αὐτὴν θέσιν τοῦ Γιόφουρου, ἐνεφανίσθη ὁ Ἀγᾶς μετὰ τοῦ Μπαρότσι, ἀλλ' εἶχε μετ' αὐτοῦ κάποιον Παναγιώτην, γραμματέα καὶ δραγουμᾶνον τοῦ Μεγ. Βεζύρου, ἄνθρωπον μετροῦ ἀναστήματος, κάπως καλοκαμωμένον καὶ περίπου 80 ἐτῶν, μὲ ἓνα λεπτὸν γένειον καστανοῦ χρώματος μὲ ὀλίγας πολιὰς τρίχας, μὲ ὥραϊον πρόσωπον, μορφωμένον, ἐχέμυθον καὶ ἔμπειρον εἰς τὰς κρατικὰς ὑποθέσεις· οὗτος ἔνευσε νὰ ἀποβιβασθοῦν, πρῶγμα τὸ ὅποιον ἐξετέλεσαν ὄχι ἄνευ δυσκολίας ἐξ αἰτίας τοῦ θυελλώδους καιροῦ, καὶ ὠδηγήθησαν εἰς τὴν ἀκτὴν ὑπὸ δύο Τούρκων, τοὺς ὁποίους ὁ Ἀγᾶς ἔστειλε πρὸς τοῦτο εἰς τὴν φελοῦκαν. Ὅταν εὐρέθησαν ἀντιμέτωποι, ὁ Ἀγᾶς εἶπε διὰ τοῦ διερμηνέως του Παναγιώτη ὅτι ὁ Μέγ. Βεζύρης ἔχει εἰδικὰς ἐντολὰς ἀπὸ τὴν Ὀθωμανικὴν Β (δηλ. τῆς Ὀθωμανικῆς Αὐλῆς) Πύλην, νὰ μὴ συνάψῃ εἰρήνην, οὐδὲ νὰ ἔλθῃ ἔσω εἰς διαπραγματεύσεις πρὸς τοῦτο ἄνευ τῆς παραδόσεως τοῦ Φρουρίου, καὶ ὡς ἐκ τούτου δὲν ἦτο δυνατὸν νὰ συγκατατεθῆ εἰς σύναψιν συνθήκης, ἐκτὸς ἂν προηγουμένως παρεδίδοντο. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης ἀπεκρίθη, ὅτι κατενόουν πολὺ καλῶς τὰς ἐντολὰς

that they understood very well the orders that he had from the Porte, and that from the first address made by his excellency Signor Molin concerning that matter, the Porte had manifested their desire for the making up of a peace which was earnestly sought after by all the people of the Empire; wherefore if the Visier would consent to the inclination of the Porte, it would be the only way to satisfy all the people and make himself applauded. Then Panagiotti replied that when the treaty with Signor Molin began, the town was in a different condition from that wherein it was at present, since the bulwark and retreat of St. Andrews is wholly gained, and in a few days they would attack the other retreats after which they could meet with no other obstacles, so that the acquist of that port would be infallible. Then at the Sabionera they had already gained the Curtaine, and were making their approach near the Arsenal where they hoped in a short time to arrive, so that ruin must inevitably follow; therefore it were a superfluous thing to insist upon a treaty of peace before the delivery of the Piazza. The Aga pronounced those very words with an audible voice that the Turks might understand it, who flocked together in great numbers to dive into the occasion of the meeting, protesting with all to depart immediately, and not to return anymore

τὰς ὁποίας εἶχε λάβει παρὰ τῆς Πύλης, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀπὸ τὸ πρῶτον διάβημα ποῦ εἶχε κάμει ἡ ἐξοχότης τοῦ ὁ Σινιὸρ Molin ὡς πρὸς τὸ θέμα τοῦτο ἡ Ὑψηλὴ Πύλη ἐξεδήλωσε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν πρὸς σύναψιν εἰρήνης, ἡ ὁποία ἐνθέρμως ἐπεζητεῖτο ὑφ' ὀλοκλήρου τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας. Διὰ τοῦτο, ἂν ὁ Βεζύρης ἦτο σύμφωνος μὲ τὴν διάθεσιν τῆς Πύλης, θὰ ἦτο ὁ μόνος τρόπος νὰ ἰκανοποιήσῃ ὅλον τὸν λαὸν καὶ νὰ ἐπιδοκιμασθῇ. Τότε ὁ Παναγιώτης ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ὅταν ἤρχισεν ἡ διαπραγματεύσις μὲ τὸν Σινιὸρ Molin, ἡ πόλις ἦτο εἰς διάφορον κατάστασιν ἐκείνης εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν εὗρισκετο ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, ἀφοῦ ἤδη ὁ προμαχὼν καὶ ἡ γραμμὴ καταφυγῆς (ritirata) τοῦ Ἄγ. Ἀνδρέου εἶχον ἐξ ὀλοκλήρου κερδηθῆ καὶ εἰς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας θὰ προσέβαλλον τὰς ἄλλας γραμμάς, ὅποτε δὲν θὰ συνήντων ἄλλα ἐμπόδια, οὕτως ὥστε ἡ κατάκτησις τοῦ λιμένος τοῦτου θὰ ἐπικολούθει ἀφεύκτως. Εἶχον ἤδη τότε κερδίσει εἰς τὴν Σαμπιονέραν τὸ προπέτασμα τοῦ τείχους καὶ ἐπλησίαζον πλέον εἰς τὰ Νεώρια, ὅπου ἤλπιζον νὰ φθάσουν εἰς σύντομον χρόνον, ὥστε ἡ πτώσις θὰ ἐπικολούθει ὀπωδῆποτε διὰ τοῦτο θὰ ἦτο περιττὸν νὰ ἐπιμείνουν ἐπὶ συνάψεως εἰρήνης πρὸ τῆς παραδόσεως τοῦ Φρουρίου. Ὁ Ἄγας ἐπρόφερον αὐτοῖς ἀκριβῶς τοὺς λόγους μὲ ἀκουστὴν φωνήν, ὥστε νὰ ἠμπορέσουν νὰ παρακολουθήσουν οἱ Τοῦρκοι, ποῦ εἶχον συρρέουσι εἰς μέγαν ἀριθμὸν διὰ τὰ ἀναμιχθοῦν ἐπ' εὐκαιρίᾳ τῆς συναντήσεως, διαμαρτυρόμενοι εἰς ὅλα καὶ παρακινουῦντες νὰ

without a positive affirmative answer that the place should be yielded up, for such were the Grand Visier's orders. Col. Anand was obliged to return an answer to the proposition concerning their approaches, that if they had gained one work, there was another to be disputed, and during that time they might have an opportunity to make more, both at St. Andrews and the Sabionera, and if we lost ground, they lost their army, and did diminish so fast that 'tis probable they would consider how to be more wary for their own security rather than to attempt any more approaches; and as to the pretext of a speedy departure, it should be executed, because he saw their pretences were enjoined them, so that they could not condescend to them, and that they did rather oblige them to desire the continuance of the war and assaults than a peace that is so disadvantageous. But because he had received orders not to abandon the treaty absolutely, he made an apology for what was past in discourse and said to the Aga that he would communicate the whole matter to his excellency the Captain General, and that he would return the next day with an answer to the business in hand. The Aga made answer that when he should return he saw the difficulty of landing in that flat strand of the sea, occasioned by

ἀποχωρήσουν ἀμέσως καὶ νὰ μὴ ἐπανέλθουν πλέον ἄνευ τῆς θετικῆς καὶ κατηγορηματικῆς ἀπαντήσεως ὅτι τὸ φρούριον θὰ παρεδίδετο, διότι αὐταὶ ἦσαν αἱ διαταγαὶ τοῦ Μεγ. Βεζύρου. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης ὑπεχρεώθη νὰ ἀπαντήσει εἰς τὴν παρατήρησιν σχετικῶς μὲ τὰς προσεγγίσεις των, ὅτι ἂν εἶχον κερδίσει ἓν ὄχυρον, ὑπῆρχεν ὁμως ἄλλο νὰ διαμφισβητήσουν, καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον θὰ ἠδύναντο αὐτοὶ νὰ ἔχουν εὐκαιρίαν νὰ ἐπιτύχουν περισσότερα τόσον εἰς τὸν Ἄγ. Ἀνδρέαν ὅσον καὶ εἰς τὴν Σαμπιονέραν ἂν δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐχάσαμεν ἔδαφος, αὐτοὶ ἔχασαν τὸ στράτευμά των καὶ τοῦτο ἔφθινε τόσον ταχέως, ὥστε ἦτο πιθανὸν νὰ σκεφθοῦν νὰ φροντίσουν μᾶλλον διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν παρὰ νὰ ἀποπειραθοῦν περαιτέρω προχωρήσεις ὅσον δὲ διὰ τὸ προβληθὲν ταχείας ἀποχωρήσεώς των, θὰ ἐξετελεῖτο βεβαίως, διότι εἶδεν, ὅτι αἱ ἀξιώσεις προήρχοντο ἐξ ἐπιτυχῆς δοθείσης εἰς αὐτούς, ὥστε δὲν ἠδύναντο νὰ κάμουν καμμίαν συγκατάβασιν πρὸς αὐτούς· οὕτω τοὺς ὑπεχρέωνον μᾶλλον νὰ ἐπιθυμοῦν τὴν συνέχισιν τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐπιθέσεων παρὰ μίαν εἰρήνην τόσον ἐπιζήμιον. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ εἶχε λάβει διαταγὰς νὰ μὴ ἐγκαταλείψῃ ἀπολύτως τὴν διαπραγμάτευσιν, ἔκαμεν ἀπολογισμὸν διὰ τὰ ἤδη διαμειφθέντα κατὰ τὴν συνομιλίαν καὶ εἶπεν εἰς τὸν Ἄγαν, ὅτι θὰ ἀνεκοίνωνε τὴν ὅλην ὑπόθεσιν εἰς τὴν ἐξοχότητά του τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον, καὶ ὅτι θὰ ἐπέστρεφε τὴν ἐπομένῃ μὲ ἀπάντησιν ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου. Ὁ Ἄγις ἀπήνησεν, ὅτι ὅταν θὰ ἐπέστρεφεν, ἔβλεπε τὴν δυσκολίαν τῆς ἀποβιβάσεως εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐξ αἰτίας



the fluctuation there of the waves; that therefore it were better that he went to Pagliocastro, where he might not only land, but discourse more commodiously, being freed from a confused multitude of people that come from the camp; and replied further that without a positive answer of the surrender of the Piazza, he would not any way secure to Col. Annand his return. Being thus departed with such kind of answers, they went again on ship board and lay in expectation of the night by the benefit whereof they came about 3 of the clock to the Piazza, and having conferred with the Capt. General about the fore-mentioned discourse both of the former and latter meeting, he presently called a council where they discussed this matter above an hour together. Then Col. Annand was called by his said excellency and ordered immediately to go out to the ship and stay till it was day, that he might be transported to Pagliocastro, the place appointed to return the Aga this answer, that since they were to come to so great a resolution as the yielding of the Piazza, they desired first to know upon what terms it should be rendered to the Grand Visier, because it would require consideration afterwards. It was now 5 in the morning when moving from the port they passed to the trench, which

τῆς θαλασσοταραχῆς· ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο θὰ ἦτο καλύτερον νὰ μεταβῇ εἰς τὸ Παλαιόκαστρον, ὅπου ὄχι μόνον ἦτο δυνατὴ ἡ ἀποβίβασις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ διαπραγματεύσις θὰ ἦτο περισσότερον ἄνετος, ἀφοῦ θὰ ἔλειπε ὁ χόδην ὄχλος ποῦ ἤρχετο ἀπὸ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ προσέθεσεν, ὅτι χωρὶς θετικῆν ἀπάντησιν παραδόσεως τοῦ Φρουρίου κατὰ κανένα τρόπον θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἐξασφαλίσῃ εἰς τὸν συντ. Ἀνάτην ὅτι θὰ ἐπανεῖληθ. Ἀναχωρήσαντες λοιπὸν μὲ τοιοῦτου εἶδους ἀπαντήσεις, ἐπανεῖλθον εἰς τὸ πλοῖον καὶ παρέμειναν ἀναμένοντες τὴν νύκτα, ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῆς ὁποίας ἦλθον περὶ τὴν 3ην ὥραν εἰς τὸ Φρούριον· ἐκεῖ, ἀφοῦ συνομίλησε μὲ τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον ἐπὶ τῆς προμνημονευθείσης συνδιαλέξεως τῆς πρώτης καὶ τῆς δευτέρας συναντήσεως, ὁ τελευταῖος συνεκάλεσεν ἀμέσως συμβούλιον, ὅπου συνεζητήθη ἡ ὡς ἄνω ὑπόθεσις μίαν ὥραν. Τότε ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης ἐκλήθη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσιότητός του καὶ ἔλαβεν ἐντολὴν νὰ μεταβῇ εὐθὺς ἀμέσως εἰς τὸ πλοῖον καὶ νὰ μείνῃ ἐκεῖ μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας, ὅποτε θὰ ἦτο δυνατὸν νὰ μεταφερθῇ εἰς τὸ Παλαιόκαστρον, τὴν καθορισθεῖσαν θέσιν, διὰ τὴν δώσῃ εἰς τὸν Ἀγᾶν τὴν ἀπάντησιν, ὅτι, ἀφοῦ ἐπρόκειτο νὰ λάβουν μίαν τῶσον μεγάλην ἀπόφασιν, τὴν παραδόσιν δηλ. τοῦ Φρουρίου, ἐπεθύμουν πρῶτον νὰ γνωρίσουν μὲ ποίους ὄρους ἐζητεῖτο νὰ γίνῃ αὕτη εἰς τὸν Μεγ. Βεζύρη, διότι θὰ ἐχρειάζ το ἀκολούθως νὰ τὸ σκεφθοῦν. Ἦτο πλέον ἢ 5η πρωινή, ὅταν πλέοντες ἀπὸ τὸν λιμένα ἐπέρυσαν εἰς τὴν τάφρον, ἀπὸ τὴν ὁποίαν

when then reached, they stayed aboard the aforesaid ships till the next day, which being come, although the northwest wind blew very fresh, they came however to the appointed place; and they were no sooner arrived at Pagliocastro, but there came again the Aga with Panagiotti; whereupon they landed; the carpets and cushions were provided to get upon according to their mode, so Col. Annand began to give him the promised answer, which the Aga no sooner understood but with some kind of alteration in his speech he said that that was not according to appointment, and that to propose ambiguous questions was to abuse the Visier, which they had already clearly manifested by their endeavors. Col. Annand made answer to this, that he had no cause to seem strange, for if he took it seriously into his consideration, he would find it did not much disagree with his request, and that if his demands should be granted as to that point, it was but reasonable that he should satisfy their desires also, because they ought to be mutual and alternative turns between them. Then the Aga replied that he desired the Piazza might be rendered up to them before they did discourse of peace or any other thing; whereupon Col. Annand interrupted him with an answer to this particular without making any other request, and replied that the surrender of the Piazza could now

ἐπεβιβάσθησαν ἐπὶ τοῦ προμηνημευθέντος πλοίου καὶ ἀνέμειναν μέχρι τῆς ἐπομένης ἡμέρας, ὅποτε, παρὰ τὸν σφοδρὸν ΒΔ ἄνεμον, ἐφθασαν εἰς τὴν ὑποδειχθεῖσαν θέσιν. Μόλις ἔφθασαν εἰς τὸ Παλαιόκαστρον, ἦλθον πάλιν ὁ Ἄγας μὲ τὸν Παναγιώτην· τότε ἀπεβιβάσθησαν· εἶχε ληφθῆ μέριμνα διὰ τοὺς τάπητας καὶ τὰ προσκεφάλαια διὰ νὰ καθήσουν κατὰ τὴν ἰδικήν των συνήθειαν· οὕτω ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης ἤρχισε νὰ δίδῃ τὴν ἀπάντησιν πρὸς ὑπεσχέθη, τὴν ὁποίαν μόλις ἤκουσεν ὁ Ἄγας, μὲ κάποιαν ἀλλοίωσιν εἰς τὴν ὁμιλίαν του εἶπεν, ὅτι αὕτη δὲν ἦτο σύμφωνος μὲ τὰ ὑποδειχθέντα καὶ ὅτι τὸ νὰ προβάλλουν ἀμφισήμους προτάσεις ἦτο ὡς νὰ κατεχρῶντο τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Βεζύρου· πράγμα πρὸς ἣδη καθαρὰ εἶχον ἐκδηλώσει μὲ τὰς προσαθείας των. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης ἀπήντησεν εἰς τοῦτο, ὅτι δὲν ὑπῆρχε λόγος νὰ παραξενεῦεται, διότι ἂν ἔθετε τοῦτο ὑπὸ σοβαρὰν ἐξέτασιν, θὰ εὗρισκεν, ὅτι δὲν διαφωνεῖ πολὺ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσίν του, καὶ ὅτι ἂν αὐτὰ πρὸς ἐξήγησε παρεχωροῦντο ὡς πρὸς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο, ἦτο εὐλογον νὰ ἱκανοποιήσῃ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὰς ἐπιθυμίας των, διότι ἔπρεπε νὰ γίνωνται ἀμοιβαῖαι καὶ ἐναλλασσόμεναι παραχωρήσεις μεταξὺ των. Τότε ὁ Ἄγας ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ἐπεθύμει νὰ παραδοθῆ τὸ Φρούριον προτοῦ νὰ διαπραγματευθοῦν περὶ εἰρήνης ἢ ἄλλου πράγματος· εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο τὸν διέκοψεν ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης, ἀπαυτῶν εἰς τοῦτο εἰδικῶς, χωρὶς νὰ προσθεσῇ ἄλλου αἵτημα, καὶ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἡ παράδοσις τῆς πόλεως δὲν ἦτο δυνατὸν νὰ κυ-

be confirmed if at the same time, they did not on their part promise them such conditions that might be a just recompense for it, and equivalent to the exchange. And here Panagiotti did enlarge himself in his discourse, that if Col. Annand's demand had tended to the taking off of the annual pension already offered by Signor Molin, or of the donation, tis possible they might have been granted, but if he requested anything also, it was impossible to obtain his desires. From hence they took an occasion to discourse of the articles in the last treaty. Col. Annand said that the terms which were promised in that treaty had an eye upon the division of the Kingdom, which he proposed, but at present, the Piazza being rendered up with the said division, all other conditions did fall to the ground, nor were they points that were at all in question. Finally the Aga returned Col. Annand's answer that he had order to dismiss him as often as he did not first treat concerning the delivery of the Piazza; therefore as his last answer, he did advise him to put an end to these instances and not to delay the conclusion of the negotiation. It was answered by Col. Annand that his commission did extend no further but to such things as were already discoursed, and that he also had orders to quit the convention as soon as he found that the demands

ρωθῆ, ἂν ταυτοχρόνως δὲν ἀνελάμβανον ἀπὸ τὸ μέρος των ὄρους, ποῦ θὰ ἦσαν δίκαιοι ἀντιστάθμισμα τοῦτου καὶ ἰσοδύναμοι εἰς τὴν ἀνταλλαγὴν. Καὶ ἐδῶ ὁ Παναγιώτης ἐξετάθη εἰς τὸν λόγον του, λέγων ὅτι ἂν ἡ αἰτήσις τοῦ συντ. Ἀνάτου ἔτεινεν εἰς τὴν κατάργησιν τῆς ἐτησίας χορηγίας, τὴν ὁποίαν ἤδη προσέφερον ὁ Σινιὸρ Μολίν, ἢ τῆς δωρεᾶς, εἶναι πιθανὸν ὅτι θὰ ἐγίνετο δεκτὴ, ἀλλ' εἰάν ἐζήτει τίποτε ἄλλο, ἦτο ἀδύνατον νὰ ἰκανοποιηθῆ ἡ ἐπιθυμία του. Ἐκ τούτου ἔλαβον εὐκαιρίαν νὰ συζητήσουν τὰ ἄρθρα τῆς τελευταίας συνθήκης. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης εἶπεν, ὅτι οἱ ὄροι τῶν ὁπίων ἐπισχοῦντο τὴν τήρησιν εἰς τὴν συνθήκην ταύτην ἀπέβλεπον εἰς τὴν διαίρεσιν τοῦ Βασιλείου, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐπρότεινεν οὗτος, ἀλλὰ τώρα, ὅποτε παρεδίδοτο τὸ Φρούριον, μὲ τὴν ρηθείσαν διαίρεσιν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὄροι ἐξέπιπτον καὶ δὲν ἀπέμενον ἄλλως διόλου σημαία ποῦ θὰ ἠμποροῦσαν νὰ συζητηθοῦν. Τέλος ὁ Ἄγας ἀνταπῆντησεν εἰς τὸν συντ. Ἀνάτην, ὅτι εἶχε διαταγὴν νὰ τὸν ἀποπέμψῃ εὐθὺς ὡς δὲν διεπραγματεύετο κατ' ἀρχὴν τὴν παράδοσιν τοῦ Φρουρίου· ὡς ἐκ τούτου, ὡς τελευταίαν του ἀπάντησιν, τὸν συνεβούλευε νὰ θέσῃ τέρμα εἰς αὐτὰς τὰς ἀπαιτήσεις καὶ νὰ μὴ βραδύνη νὰ περάνῃ τὴν διαπραγματεύσιν. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης τοῦ ἀπεκρίθη, ὅτι ἡ ἐντολή του δὲν ἐξετείνεται πέραν τῶν ἤδη συζητηθέντων καὶ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς εἶχε διαταγὰς νὰ ἐγκαταλείψῃ τὴν σύσκεψιν, εὐθὺς ὡς διεπί-

which he made were rejected; wherefore, the Aga, fearing that this treaty would come to nothing, said that tomorrow Col. Annand should meet him behind the Grand Fort of St. Demetrius and set up the white colors, for there he should have an answer, and there they might with greater conveniency manage the treaty because that Pagliocastro was a place very remote from the city, and that they could not thereby so soon furnished with official answers, promising to bring along with him the particulars which were desired, and that on the other side, he should bring their demands in writing, and they might end the business as soon as possible. Having taken leave with these mutual answers, Col. Annand acquainted his excellency the Capt. General with every particular, and he commissioned him to go, the next day, to the place agreed upon and to insist still upon the demand of what terms they would give for the establishment of the peace. The first day of September being come, the city putting out their colors according to the orders, the Turks answered to that signal, and the Aga came at the same time accompanied with 3 other officers of note and Panagiotti, who acquainted Col. Annand that the Grand Visier had given full authority to Ibrahim Pasha, who at that present com-

στωνεν, ὅτι ἀπερρίπτοντο αἱ προτάσεις τοῦ ἔκαμεν. Μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ Ἄγας, φοβούμενος ὅτι ἡ διαπραγματεύσις εἰς οὐδὲν θὰ κατέληγεν, εἶπε νὰ τὸν συναντήσῃ τὴν ἐπαύριον ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης ὀπισθεν τοῦ Μεγάλου Φρουρίου τοῦ Ἄγ. Δημητρίου καὶ νὰ ἀνυψώσῃ λευκὴν σημαίαν, διότι ἐκεῖ θὰ ἐλάμβανεν ἀπαντήσιν καὶ ἐκεῖ θὰ ἠδύναντο μὲ μεγαλυτέραν ἄνεσιν νὰ διεξαγάγουν τὴν διαπραγματεύσιν, ἔπειδὴ τὸ Παλαιόκαστρο ἦτο θέσις πολὺ ἀπομακρυσμένη ἀπὸ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐπομένως δὲν ἠδύναντο ταχέως νὰ λαμβάνουν ἐπισήμους ἀπαντήσεις, ὑπέσχετο δὲ νὰ φέρῃ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰς ἀπαντήσεις διὰ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα τοῦ ἐπεθύμουν, ὅπως καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐξ ἄλλου θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ φέρουν ἐγγράφους τὰς προτάσεις των, ὥστε νὰ τελειώσουν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ταχέως. Ἀφοῦ ἀπεχωρίσθησαν μὲ τὰς ἀμοιβαίας αὐτὰς ἀπαντήσεις, ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης ἐνημέρωσε τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξαχόνητα τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον εἰς τὰ καθέκαστα καὶ οὗτος τοῦ ἀνέθεσε νὰ μεταβῇ τὴν ἐπομένην εἰς τὴν συμφωνηθεῖσαν ἴσιν καὶ νὰ ἐπιμενῇ ἀκόμη εἰς τὴν πρότεσιν, ποίους ὄρους θὰ ἐδέχοντο διὰ τὴν σύναξιν τῆς εἰρήνης. Τὴν 1ην Σεπτεμβρίου, ἀφοῦ ἀνυψώθη ἐπὶ τῆς πολέως ἡ σημαία κατὰ τὰ ἐνταλθέντα καὶ ἀπήνησαν οἱ Τοῦρκοι εἰς τὸ σῆμα, ἦλθε ταυτοχρόνως ὁ Ἄγας, συνοδευόμενος ὑπὸ τριῶν ἀξιωματικῶν διακεκριμένων καὶ τοῦ Παγαγιώτη ἀνεκοίνωσεν εἰς τὸν συντ. Ἀνάτην ὅτι ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης ἐξουσιοδότησε πλήρως τὸν Ἱμπραῖμ Πασᾶν, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος εἶχε τὴν

manded the post of Sabionera, to manage that treaty, and that therefore he must find out some other persons of the same degree and of equal authority that they may put a short end to all things; that to that purpose he would erect a pavilion within cannon shot, when his excellency the Capt. General should assent thereunto. All this was immediately carried to his excellency who commanded that this answer should be returned, that this business must be discoursed gradation (*gradatim* ?), by degrees, as well by his excellency as the Prime Visier, that therefore it were a superfluous thing to send a general into the camp upon whom he could not confer plenary power, it being expressly contrary to the laws of the Republic, which say, *quod delagatus non potest delagare*, and therefore the negotiation might be carried on by Col. Annand in whom he did as much confide as in any foreign government whatsoever; and therefore the General would remain at the Great Fort, that he might the better facilitate the answers and resolutions, it standing so convenient for that purpose by reason of its propinquity. This being understood by Ibrahim Pasha, he was swayed by that reason to proceed in the treaty with Col. Annand. Hereupon, two large pavillions were presently set up and caused to be

διοίκησιν τῆς θέσεως Σαμπιονέρας, νὰ διαχειρισθῇ τὴν διαπραγμάτευσιν συνθήκης καὶ ὅτι ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἔπρεπε νὰ ἐξεύρη ἄλλα πρόσωπα τοῦ αὐτοῦ βαθμοῦ καὶ ἴσου κύρους, διὰ νὰ θέσουν σύντομον τέρμα εἰς ὅλα ὅτι πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦτον θὰ ἀνήγειρε περίπτερον ἐντὸς βολῆς τηλεβόλου, ἢ ἢ ἐξοχότης του ὁ Ἀρχιστρατήγος συγκατένευεν εἰς τοῦτο. Πάντα ταῦτα ἀνεκοινώθησαν ἀμέσως εἰς τὴν ἐξοχότητά του, ὅστις παρήγγειλε νὰ δοθῇ αὐτῇ ἡ ἀπάντησις, ὅτι ἡ ὑπόθεσις ἔπρεπε νὰ συζητηθῇ *gradatim*, βαθμηδόν, τόσον ἀπὸ τὴν ἐξοχότητά του ὅσον καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν Μέγ. Βεζύρην ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἦτο περιττὸν νὰ στείλῃ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον στρατηγόν, εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον τοῦ ἦτο ἀδύνατον νὰ παράσχη ἀπόλυτον πληροφουσιότητα, ἀφοῦ τοῦτο ἦτο ρητῶς ἀντιθετὸν πρὸς τοὺς νόμους τῆς Δημοκρατίας πὸν λέγουσιν «*quod delegatus non potest delegare*», καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡ διαπραγμάτευσις θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἐξακολουθήσῃ διὰ τοῦ συντ. Ἀνάττην, εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον εἶχε τόσην ἐμπιστοσύνην ὅσην εἰς οἰανδήποτε ξένην κυβέρνησιν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Ἀρχιστρατήγος θὰ παρέμενε εἰς τὸ Μέγα Φρούριον, ὥστε νὰ δυναθῇ καλύτερον νὰ διευκολύνῃ τὰς ἀπαντήσεις καὶ ἀποφάσεις, ἀφοῦ τοῦτο λόγῳ τῆς γεινιασείας του παρουσιάζετο τόσον πρόσφορον διὰ τὸν σκοπόν. Τοῦτο κατενοήθη ἀπὸ τὸν Ἰμπραὶμ Πασᾶν, ὅστις ἐκάμφθη καὶ ἐδέχθη διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον νὰ προχωρήσῃ εἰς τὴν διαπραγμάτευσιν μὲ τὸν συντ. Ἀνάττην. Κατὰ ταῦτα, δύο μεγάλα περίπτερα ἐγκατεστάθησαν τώρα καὶ ἐφρόντισαν

surrounded with an imaginary wall of fine linen cloth that no other persons but those that belonged to his court might be admitted into the pavillion. Col. Annand was conducted into the presence of the said Pasha who sat upon the ground (after the Turkish fashion) covered with carpets and cushions, and spread with scarlet; behind him, Chiagaia Bey of the Janizaries, and then the Spahier Aga more outward, as also successively one of the Visier's secretaries, there being nobody on his right hand but Achmet Aga (with whom are held the first meetings, though but rarely, and so he comes accidentally to the other sessions), and behind him, Panagiotti the dragoman. Col. Annand being seated over against the said Pasha upon a stool covered with red velvet, the said Pasha began his discourse as followeth:

That the Grand Visier seeing the inclination of his excellency the Captain General to reunite the affection and amity of the most serene Republic with his Emperor by the delivery of the town, he had left the affair to his management as to the settling of the peace and union. Therefore, he designing to proceed to the negotiation wished Col. Annand to declare what were the particulars that were desired upon the rendition of the

νά τὰ περιβάλλον μὲ ἓνα φανταστικὸν τοῖχον ἐκ λεπτοῦ λινοῦ ὑφάσματος, ὥστε νὰ μὴ γίνονται δεκτὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιπτέρου παρὰ πρόσωπα ἀνήκοντα εἰς τὴν αἰλὴν του. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης ὠδηγήθη ἐνώπιον τοῦ ῥηθέντος Πασᾶ, ὅστις ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους (κατὰ τὴν τουρκικὴν συνήθειαν), κεκαλυμμένου διὰ ταπήτων καὶ προσκεφαλαίων καὶ ἐστρωμένου διὰ πορφυρῶν ὑφασμάτων. Ὁπισθὴν του ἴστατο ὁ Chiagaia Βέης τῶν Γενιτάρων καὶ εἰτα, μᾶλλον πρὸς τὰ ἔξω, ὁ Ἀγᾶς τῶν Σπαῖδων, ὅπως ἐπίσης διαδοχικῶς εἰς ἀπὸ τοὺς γραμματεῖς τοῦ Βεζύρου, ἐνῶ δεξιὰ του οὐδεὶς εὐρίσκετο πλὴν τοῦ Ἀχμέτ Ἀγᾶ (μὲ τὸν ὁποῖον ἔγιναν αἱ πρῶται συναντήσεις, ἂν καὶ σπανίως τώρα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συμπρωματικῶς ἐμφανίζεται εἰς τὰς λοιπὰς συνεδριάσεις), ὅπισθεν δὲ τούτου ὁ Παναγιώτης, ὁ διερμηνεύς. Ἀφοῦ ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης ἐκάθησεν ἀπέναντι τοῦ Πασᾶ ἐπὶ σκαμνίου κεκαλυμμένου δι' ἐρυθροῦ βελούδου, ὁ Πασᾶς ἤρχισεν ὡς ἀκολούθως τὸν λόγον του:

Ὅτι ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης, βλέπων τὴν διάθεσιν τῆς ἐξοχότητος του τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου νὰ ἀναεώση ἐκ νέου τὴν στοργὴν καὶ φιλίαν τῆς Γαληνοτάτης Δημοκρατίας καὶ τοῦ Ἀυτοκράτορός του διὰ τῆς παραδόσεως τῆς πόλεως, ἀνέθεσε τὸν χειρισμὸν τῆς ὑποθέσεως διὰ τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ἐνώσεως εἰς αὐτόν. Διὰ τοῦτο, ἀποσκοπὼν νὰ προχωρήσῃ ἢ διαπραγματεύσῃ, ἐπεθύμει νὰ δηλώσῃ ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης, ποῖα ἦσαν τὰ κύρια σημεῖα τὰ ὁποῖα θὰ ἤθελον νὰ γίνονιν δεκτὰ διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῆς πόλεως: ὡς πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα

Piazza; for the other points and demands should be afterwards decided. Hereupon Col. Annand was constrained to reassume the whole dispute that passed between them at the two former conventions, and finally to acquaint him with the conclusion that they unanimously consented to attend till he received the terms, which they might pretend to; and this created some debate, because they did seem pertinaciously to deny their consent hereunto; but after they had heard several reasons for it, by which the injury offered was discovered, it was at last taken into consideration, that having given a satisfactory answer to the first particular of their request, they were obliged by mere reason to condescend also to his demands, which was no ways inconvenient, to which if they would not agree, it was to no purpose to debate the matter, for so ran his commission. The Pasha taking notice of his resolution said that the order of proceeding should not be the cause of contention at the beginning of the treaty, therefore, he said, that the Kingdom of Candia belonging by right to the Grand Signor, he did not at all question, but that the adjacent forts should be surrendered also, referring himself (as the rest) to the proceedings in the last treaty concerning the annual pension offered by his excel-

σημεῖα καὶ αἰτήματα θὰ ἐλαμβάνετο ἀκολούθως ἀπόφασιν. Ἐπὶ τούτου ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης ἠναγκάσθη νὰ ἀναγεφαιλωσῇ ὄλην τὴν ἤδη μεταξὺ των γενομένην διαμφισβήτησιν κατὰ τὴς δύο προηγουμένης συναντήσεις καὶ τέλος νὰ τοῦ ἀνακοινώσῃ τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα, ὅτι ὁμοφώνως συγκατετέθησαν νὰ ἀναμεινουν, μέχρις ὅτου λάβῃ αὐτὸς τοὺς ὄρους τοὺς ὁποίους θὰ ἐπρόβαλλον καὶ τοῦτο ἐδημιούργησεν κάποιαν ζωηράν συζήτησιν, διότι αὐτοὶ ἐγαίνοντο ἐπιμόνως ἀρνούμενοι νὰ δώσουν τὴν συγκατάθεσιν των εἰς τοῦτο· ἀλλ' ἀφοῦ ἤκουσαν ἱκανοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτου λόγους, διὰ τῶν ὁποίων ἀπεκαλύφθη ἡ προσγινομένη ζημία, ἐλήφθη τέλος ὑπ' ὄψιν ὅτι, ἀφοῦ ἔδωσαν ἱκανοποιητικὴν ἀπάντησιν εἰς τὸ πρῶτον εἰδικὸν σημεῖον τῆς ἀξιώσεως αὐτῶν, ἦσαν ὑποχρεωμένοι καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ συνέπειαν νὰ συγκατατεθοῦν εἰς τὰ αἰτήματά του, τὰ ὁποῖα οὐδῶλος ἦσαν ἄτοπα· εἰς τὸ ὅποιον σημεῖον ἂν δὲν ἔμενον σύμφωνοι, δὲν ὑπῆρχε σκοπιμότης νὰ συζητοῦν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, διότι αὐτὴ ἦτο ἡ ἐντολὴ πού εἶχε λάβει. Ὁ Πασᾶς, λαβὼν γνῶσιν τῆς ἀποφάσεώς του, εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ τάξις τῆς διαδικασίας δὲν θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ εἶναι αἰτία φιλονικίας· εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς διαπραγματεύσεως ὡς ἐκ τούτου, ἐσυνέχισεν, τὸ Βασίλειον τῆς Κρήτης, ἀφοῦ νομίμως ἀνήκεν εἰς τὸν Σουλτάνον, δὲν ἐτίθετο ὡς θέμα συζητήσεως, ἀλλὰ τὰ παρακείμενα φρούρια θὰ ἔπρεπε καὶ ταῦτα νὰ παραδοθοῦν καὶ ἀνεφέρετο (κατὰ τὰ λοιπὰ) εἰς τὰ διατιπωθέντα κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν διαπραγματεύσιν συνθήκης ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐτήσιαν ἐπιχορηγίαν πού προσέφερον ἡ ἐξοχότης του ὁ Στ'

lency Signor Molin, the donaterie of the Grand Signor, and the restitution of those places that were gained in Dalmatia and Clissa. As to the concerns of the Piazza, they did claim a right to all the cannon that are there with all the warlike ammunition. To these important demands, Col. Annuand was provoked to reply that he thought they would make an offer of some other place in exchange for Candia solemnly promised, but, since that their ends tended to the doing of things that may make them suspected of guilt of sacrilege, he told them plainly in answer that if he would not lay aside these improper proposals, the proceedings in this treaty were at an end because the commission that he received from his excellency the Captain General was quite contrary. Then the Chiagaia Bey did further add that the fort was alleady in their own hands, and if they would not voluntarily yield it they should take it by force in a few days, so that now the Grand Signor might justly forever deny the making a peace with the most serene Republic since he could bring it to nothing, for as the present state of affairs stands, the Piazza being taken from you which is now our right, it is an act of justice to give him the fortress and satisfy his other demand in order for the concluding of a peace desired by you.

νίου Μολίν, τὴν προσφορὰν δωρεᾶς εἰς τὸν Σουλτᾶνον καὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν θέσεων ἐκείνων ποὺ ἐκερδήθησαν εἰς τὴν Δαλματίαν καὶ τὴν Clissa. Ὡς πρὸς δὲ τὸ Φρούριον, ἤγειρον ἀξίωσιν ἐπὶ ὅλων τῶν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ πυροβόλων μὲ ὅλα τὰ πολεμικὰ ἐφόδια. Εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ σημαντικὰ αἰτήματα ἠντιγκάσθη ὁ συντ- Ἄνάντης νὰ ἀπαντήσῃ, ὅτι ἐπίστευεν ὅτι θὰ ἔκαμνον προσφορὰν κάποιας ἄλλης θέσεως εἰς ἀνταλλαγὴν τοῦ Χάνδακος ποὺ ὑπεσχέθησαν ἐπίσημως, ἀλλ' ἀφοῦ οἱ σκοποὶ τῶν ἔτεινον εἰς τὸ νὰ διαπράξουν αὐτοὶ πράγματα ποὺ θὰ τοὺς καθίσταν ὑπόπτους ἐνοχῆς ἢ ἱεροσυλίας, τοὺς ἀπήντα καθαρά, ὅτι ἂν δὲν ἄφηνον κατὰ μέρος τὰς ἀπότους αὐτὸς προτάσεις, θα ἐτίθετο τέρμα εἰς τὴν πορείαν τῶν διαπραγματεύσεων, διότι ἡ ἐντολὴ τὴν ὁποίαν εἶχε λάβει ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν του τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον ἦτο ἐντελῶς ἀντίθετος. Τότε ὁ Chiagaia Bey προσέθεσε περαιτέρω, ὅτι τὸ Φρούριον ἦτο ἤδη εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν καὶ ἂν δὲν τὸ παρέδιδον οἰκειοθελῶς, θὰ τὸ κατελάμβανον διὰ τῆς βίας εἰς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, ὥστε τώρα ὁ Σουλτᾶνος θὰ ἠδύνατο δικαίως νὰ ἀρνηθῆ ἅπαξ διὰ παντὸς τὴν σύναψιν εἰρήνης μετὰ τῆς Γαληνοτατῆς Δημοκρατίας, ἀφοῦ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἐκμηδενίσῃ τοῦτο· διότι, ὡς ἔχουσι νῦν τὰ πράγματα, ποὺ τὸ Φρούριον οὐσιαστικὰ ἀφηρέθη ἀπὸ σας, ἀφοῦ τοῦτο πλέον ἀπόκειται εἰς ἡμᾶς, εἶναι πᾶσις δικαιοσύνης νὰ παραδώσετε εἰς αὐτὸν τὸ ὄχυρον καὶ νὰ ἴκανοποιήσετε τὰς ἄλλας του ἀπαιτήσεις, διὰ νὰ ἐπιτευχθῆ ἡ σύναψις συνθήκης εἰρήνης, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐπιθυμεῖτε.



To those proud menaces, that he might not fail in his duty, being made choice of, and relied upon for his fidelity which he owes in duty to his supreme Prince (on the behalf of all the choice ones), he made answer that the Piazza was not in such a declining condition, that perhaps they would find they did but flatter themselves, since their valor was not diminished, who with so great constancy had defended the same space of 3 years, besides, he well knew that the number of their supplies did increase almost every month besides the unexpected coming in of the convoy lately arrived, so that they might consider as so there is ground left, they in the city will have a camp to defend themselves and to fight their retreat hand to hand. As to their threatenings to extirminate the Republic, he replied that they should first reckon up the victories that the Ottoman army had gained during the whole course of this war, and then they would thereby be capable of judging whether they were in a condition to do the like exploits; as also the loss of so many armadas gained and beaten, by open arms, and the armies destroyed in this Kingdom only, nay, even in the fight of Dardanelli, which should make them more cautious; that further, if this would satisfy the interest of the Porte, yet they must still

Εἰς τὰς ἀγερώχους αὐτὰς ἀπειλὰς, ὅτι δὲν ἦτο δυνατόν νὰ παραβῆ τὸ καθήκον του, ἀφοῦ τὸν ἐξέλεξαν καὶ ἐβασίσθησαν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀφοσίωσίν του ποῦ ὀφείλει ἐκ καθήκοντος νὰ τρέφῃ πρὸς τὸν ἀνώτατον Ἀρχοντὰ του (ἐν ὀνόματι ὅλων τῶν γενομένων ἐκλογῶν), ἀπεκρίθη οὕτως, ὅτι τὸ Φρούριον δὲν εὐρίσκετο εἰς τὴν κατάπτωσιν, ὅτι ἴσως θὰ ἐπέιθοντο ὅτι ἀπλῶς ἐκολάκευον ἑαυτοὺς, ἀφοῦ ἡ ἰδική των ἀνδρεία δὲν ἠλαττώθη, αὐτῶν ποῦ ὑπερασπίσθησαν μὲ τὴν σταθερότητα τὴν αὐτὴν θέσιν ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη, ὅτι ἐπὶ πλέον καλῶς ἐγνώριζεν, ὅτι ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐπικουριῶν τῶν ἠῤῥαζε σχεδὸν ἑκαστον μῆνα, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὴν ἀπροσδόκητον ἀφίξιν τῆς τελευταίας νηοπομπῆς, ὥστε νὰ εἶναι βεβαίαι ὅτι, ἐφ' ὅσον ἀπομένει ἕδαφος, αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν θὰ ἔχουν στρατόπεδον νὰ ὑπερασπίσων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ νὰ διεκδικήσων ὑποχωροῦντες σπιθαμὴν πρὸς σπιθαμὴν. Ὅσον διὰ τὰς ἀπειλὰς των, ὅτι θὰ ἐξολοθρεύσων τὴν Δημοκρατίαν, ἀπήνησεν, ὅτι ἔπρεπε πρῶτον νὰ λογαριάσων τὰς νίκας τὰς ὁποίας τὸ ὀθωμανικὸν στρατεῦμα ἐκέρδισε καθ' ὅλην τὴν διάρκειαν τοῦ πολέμου τούτου, καὶ τότε μόνον θὰ ἦσαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἱκανοὶ νὰ κρίνουν, ἂν θὰ ἦσαν εἰς θέσιν νὰ χάμουν παρόμοια κατορθώματα· ὅτι ἐπίσης ἡ ἀπόλεια τῶν ἀρμάδων, ποῦ ἐκερδήθησαν καὶ κατετροπώθησαν εἰς ἀνοικτὴν μάχην, καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ποῦ κατεστράφησαν εἰς αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ Βασίλειον, διὰ νὰ μὴ γίνῃ λόγος καὶ διὰ τὴν μάχην τῶν Λαρδανελλίων, θὰ τοὺς καθίστα περισσώτερον προσετικῶς· ὅτι περὶτέρω, ἂν τοῦτο ἱκανοποιεῖ τὸ συμφέρον τῆς Πύλης, θὰ ἔπρε

continue the war. In sum, to conclude, he did not omit telling to them that to make a pretence to the forts was to sap the courage and resolution of the besieged with cowardice, who would rather maintain the justice of their cause to the last gasp, than to lose that honor which to this day is rendered illustrious by their own blood.

Then the Pasha replied that if those forts were to continue in the power of the Republic, it were impossible the peace should last, because there would be some cause of disgust given by one side or the other, and consequently a grievance to the Porte. Besides, the keeping of them would create a jealousy in the Grand Signor, who must be forced during the peace, to maintain a constant army in this Kingdom. To this Col. Annand replied that the most serene Republic never broke their faith, nor gave the Porte any cause of jealousy, but hath ever taken care to govern their states peaceable without any unjust pretences, and they cannot produce any example to show that she was ever the promotrix of war; therefore they might still rest satisfied of her integrity which was never altered. The Pasha said again that their intention to surrender the Piazza was a manifest sign of great weakness, and therefore that which

πε νὰ συνεχίσουν ἀκόμη τὸν πόλεμον. Ἐν συνόψει, διὰ νὰ καταλήξῃ, δὲν παρέλειψε νὰ τοὺς εἶπῃ ὅτι τὸ νὰ προβάλλουν ἀξιώσεις ἐπὶ τῶν φρουρίων ἦτο ὡς νὰ ἐξήτουν νὰ ὑπονομευθῇ τὸ θάρρος καὶ ἡ ἀποασιστικότης τῶν πολιουκουμένων μὲ δειλίαν, ἐκεῖνων ποὺ θὰ ὑπεστήριζον μᾶλλον τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ὑποθέσεώς των μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας πνοῆς παρὰ νὰ χάσουν τὴν τιμὴν αὐτὴν, ἢ ὅποια μέχρις ἐκεῖνης τῆς ἡμέρας κατέστη ἔνδοξος μὲ τὸ αἷμά των.

Τότε ὁ Πασᾶς ἀπεκρίθη, ὅτι ἂν τὰ φρούρια ἐκεῖνα ἐξηκολούθουν νὰ εὐρισκάνται ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς Δημοκρατίας, ἦτο ἀδύνατον νὰ διαρκέσῃ ἡ εἰρήνη, διότι θὰ παρείχετο κάποια ἀφορμὴ δυσαρμοκείας ἐκ τῆς μιᾶς πλευρᾶς ἢ τῆς ἄλλης καὶ ἀκολουθίαν πικρία διὰ τὴν Πύλν. Πλὴν τούτου, ἡ διατήρησις τούτων θὰ ἐδημιούργει ζηλοτυπίαν εἰς τὸν Σουλτάνον, ὅστις θὰ ἦτο ὑποχρεωμένος διαρκούσης τῆς εἰρήνης νὰ συντηρῇ στρατὸν μόνιμον εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ Βασίλειον. Εἰς τοῦτο ἀπήντησεν ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντις, ὅτι ἡ Γαληνοτάτη οὐδέποτε ἐθράυσεν τὴν πίστιν των πρὸς αὐτήν, οὔτε παρέσχε ἀφορμὴν ζηλοτυπίας, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε ἐφρόντισε νὰ κυβερνῶνται τὰ κράτη των εἰρηνικά χωρὶς ἀδίκους ἀξιώσεις, καὶ δὲν θὰ ἠδύναντο νὰ φέρουν ἐν ἔστω παραδείγμα διὰ νὰ δείξουν, ὅτι ὑπῆρξε ποτὲ ὑποκινητρία πολέμου θὰ ἠδύναντο ὡς ἐκ τούτου νὰ μενοῦν ἀκόμη ἱκανοποιημένοι διὰ τὴν ἀκεραιότητά της, ποὺ ποτὲ δὲν μετεβλήθη. Ὁ Πασᾶς εἶπε πάλιν, ὅτι ἡ πρόθεσις των νὰ παραδώσουν τὸ Φρούριον ἦτο καταφανὲς σημεῖον μεγάλης ἀδυναμίας καὶ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν αὐτὸ τὸ ὅποιον δὲν

could not be held out any longer was only given, but they make attempt that they do not receive it as a gift, but merely through necessity; wherefore since the peace must be established, it ought to be taken into consideration; yet the Porte will have satisfaction for all their treasure spent, otherwise there could not consent to it; Col. Annand answered that they might very well understand by the last attempt upon the 2 posts that were assaulted, whether the forces could make any longer opposition to their progress, and by new works, still maintained their defence even to the last, to which, if by misfortune they should be reduced and lose so much land, it would cost them a torrent of blood to gain it; and then they ought to consider that nothing but valor and resolution did lodge in our breasts, so that having the free and open passage of the port, it was in our power to embark all warlike ammunition and provisions with cannons, and all our ræen. After that we could blow up all the bulwarks and leave them a town burnt to ashes, that they might believe the most serene Republic in such a case would continue a war when freed from the charge of maintaining so numerous a company of soldiers, nay, that she could with her armada scour all their seas and return victorious and maintain

ἦτο δυνατόν νὰ κρατήσουν πλέον εἶχεν ἤδη δοθῆ, ἀλλὰ κατεβάλλον προσπάθειαν νὰ μὴ τὸ δεχθοῦν αὐτοὶ ὡς δῶρον, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς ὡς προσερχόμενον ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὡς ἐκ τούτου, ἀφοῦ ἔπρεπε νὰ συναφθῆ ἡ εἰρήνη, θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ ληφθῆ τούτο ὑπ' ὄψιν· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλέον ἡ Πύλη ἤθελε νὰ λάβῃ ἐκανοποιησιν δι' ὅλους τοὺς θησαυροὺς ποὺ κατεδαπάνησε, ἄλλως δὲν θὰ συγκατετίθετο. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης ἀπεκρίθη, ὅτι θὰ ἠδύναντο πολὺ καλὰ νὰ ἀντιληφθοῦν ἀπὸ τὴν τελευταίαν ἀπόπειραν ἐναντίον τῶν δύο ὀχυρῶν θέσεων, ἐναντίον τῶν ὁποίων ἐπετέθησαν, ἂν αἱ δυνάμεις ἠδύναντο νὰ ἀνυπαχθοῦν ἐπὶ μακρότερον χρόνον εἰς τὴν πρόοδόν των· μὲ τὰ νέα ἔργα συνεκρατεῖτο ἀκόμη ἡ ἄμυνά των μέχρις ἐσχάτων, καὶ ἂν τέλος κατ' ἀτυχίαν ἠναγκάζοντο νὰ ὑποχωρήσουν καὶ νὰ χάσουν τόσον πολὺ ἔδαφος, θὰ ἐστοίχιζεν εἰς αὐτοὺς χειμαρρῶν αἵματος νὰ τὸ κερδίσουν καὶ ἔπειτα θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ ἀναγνωρίσουν, ὅτι μόνον ἀνδρεία καὶ ἀποφασιστικότης ἐφώλευεν εἰς τὰ στήθη μας, ὥστε, ἀφοῦ παρέμενε πάντοτε ἐλευθέρω καὶ ἀνοικτῆ ἡ δίοδος τοῦ λιμένος, ἦτο εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν μας νὰ ἐπιβιάσομεν ὅλα τὰ πολεμικὰ ἐφόδια καὶ τὰς προμηθειὰς μὲ τὰ κανόνια καὶ ὅλους τοὺς ἄνδρας μας. Μετὰ ταῦτα θὰ ἠδυνάμεθα νὰ ἀνατινάξωμεν ὅλα τὰ ὀχυρώματα καὶ νὰ τοὺς ἀφήσωμεν μίαν πόλιν πυρκαυστον· ὅτι εἰς μίαν τοιαύτην περιπτώσειν θὰ ἠδύναντο νὰ εἶναι βέβαιοι, ὅτι ἡ Γαληνοτάτη Δημοκρατία θὰ συνέχιζε τὸν πόλεμον, ἐλευθέρω πλέον ἀπὸ τὸ βῆρος συντηρήσεως τόσον μεγάλου σώματος στρατοῦ, καὶ ἀκόμη θὰ ἠμποροῦσε νὰ σαρώσῃ μὲ τὴν ἀρμάδα της ὅλας τὰς θαλάσσας των καὶ νὰ ἐπιστρέψῃ νικητρία, διὰ νὰ κρατήσῃ τὴν

it too at her own charge through the very heart of the dominions of the Empire, and go to the fray with galleys manned with their own subjects, since that the possession of the Isles in the Archipelago belongs indisputably to her, witness the annual contribution sent to us during all the time of this war. They remained a while in suspense without giving any answer, and then the Pasha taking up the discourse again said he should retire into the other pavilion that they might consult one with another and little above half an hour afterward, they called him in again, and the said Pasha began to express himself as followeth.

That seeing they did persist in their resolution not to deliver up the forts, they had concluded to promote the demolishing of them with this promise, that either party might in some time build again upon the said wrecks. To this proposal he returned, that there was no difference between either of these terms because the most serene Republic would be still deprived of her forts, and that therefore they might with less trouble seriously consider of some equal terms, for this was but a trifling away time without a right understanding. The Chiagaia Bey made answer that he should carry these propositions to his excellency the Captain General because they could not by debate come to

νήσον, ἀναλαμβάνουσα μόνη της τὴν φροντίδα, εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν καρδίαν τῶν κτήσεις τῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας, καὶ νὰ ἐξακολουθήσῃ τὰς καταδρομὰς μὲ γαλέρας ἐπιηδρωμένας μὲ ὑπηκόους των, ἀφοῦ ἡ κατοχὴ τῶν νήσον τοῦ Ἀρχιπελάγους ἀνήκει ἀδιαφιλονικίως εἰς αὐτήν, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ ἡ ἑτησίᾳ εἰσφορὰ ποὺ ἐπέλλετο εἰς ἡμᾶς καθ' ὅλην τὴν διάρκειαν τοῦ πολέμου τούτου. Παρέμειναν ἐπὶ τινα χρόνον μετέωροι, χωρὶς νὰ δίδουν ἀπάντησιν, καὶ τότε ὁ Πασᾶς, ἀναλαμβάνων τὸν λόγον εἶπεν, ὅτι θὰ ἀπεσύρετο εἰς τὸ ἄλλο περισσότερο διὰ νὰ δυνηθοῦν νὰ συσχεφθοῦν καὶ μετὰ πάροδον χρόνου κατὰ τι περισσοτέρου τῆς ἡμισείας ὥρας τὸν ἐκάλεσαν πάλιν καὶ ὁ Πασᾶς ἤρχισε τὴν ὁμιλίαν του διὰ τῶν ἀκολούθων:

Ὅτι βλέπων τὴν ἐπιμονὴν των εἰς τὴν ἀπόφασίν των νὰ μὴ παραδώσουν τὰ φρούρια, ἀπεφάσισαν νὰ προτείνουσαν τὴν κατεδάφιον αὐτῶν μὲ τὴν ὑποχρέωσιν νὰ μὴ οἰκοδομήσῃ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν ῥηθέντων ἐρείπων οὔτε τὸ ἓν μέρος οὔτε τὸ ἄλλο. Εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν πρότασιν ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι δὲν ὑπῆρχε διαφορά μετὰ τῶν δύο προταθέντων ὄρων, διότι ἡ Γαλινοτάτη Δημοκρατία θὰ ἐστερεῖτο τὰ φρούρια τῆς ὡς ἐκ τούτου θὰ ἠδύναντο μᾶλλον ψυχραίμως νὰ σκεφθοῦν σοβαρῶς ἴσους ὄρους, ἀφοῦ ἄλλως, ἄνευ τῆς ὀρθῆς κατανοήσεως, κατηνάλισκον τὸν χρόνον τῶν ἀδίκως. Ὁ Chiagaia Βέης ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ φέρῃ τὰς προτάσεις αὐτὰς εἰς τὴν ἐξοχότητά του τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον, διότι

any agreement. Col. Annand answered that it was not convenient his excellency should be acquainted with these discourses, which was to his knowledge contrary not only to his will, but also to his orders, that therefore they must think of some other expedient, and shake off this pretence. They all replied confusedly; but he being unwilling to carry that answer did manifest a great deal of obstinacy thereby and a desire to perpetuate the war rather than to settle the peace; that therefore if he would not condescend to their just demands, it was impossible to continue the assembly. He replied that out of mere complaisance to him he would communicate the whole to his excellency the Captain General, though on the other side he was confident he should receive a repulse.

Col. Annand made no stay but went to the city to acquaint his excellency with the aforesaid discourse and also the terms wherewith the Turks had clothed their demands, to the end that he might have a positive answer which was this, that the Piazza was yielded up by a treaty of peace so that they ought not to frame any other request in as much as the Ottoman forces have pained their reputation for the sole acquist of the Piazza, which being surrendered, all other pretences must fall

δὲν θὰ κατέληγον εἰς συμφωνίαν μὲ τὴν συζήτησιν. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι δὲν ἦτο ἀριόζων ἢ ἐξοχότης του νὰ λάβῃ γνώσιν τῶν συζητήσεων τούτων, ποῦ καλῶς ἐγνώριζεν ὅτι ἦσαν ἐναντίαι ὄχι μόνον πρὸς τὴν θέλησίν του, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς διαταγὰς του, καὶ ἐπομένως θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ εἴρουν ἄλλην λύσιν καὶ νὰ ἀρήσουν κατὰ μέρος τὴν ἀξίωσιν αὐτὴν. Ἀπήντησαν συγκεχυμένως· ἀλλ' οὗτος ἦτο ἀπόφθεμος νὰ φέρῃ τὴν ἀπάντησιν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐξεδήλωσε μεγάλην ἐπὶ τούτου ἐπιμονὴν καὶ τὴν προθεσὶν νὰ συνεχισθῇ μᾶλλον ὁ πόλεμος παρὰ νὰ ἀποκατασταθῇ ἡ εἰρήνη ὥστε ἐκ τούτου καθίστατο ἀδύνατον νὰ συνεχισθῇ ἡ διάσχεσις, ἂν δὲν συγκατετίθετο εἰς τὸ δίκαιον αὐτῶν αἰτήματα. Προσέθηκε, ὅτι ἀπλῶς διὰ νὰ τοῦ φανῇ εὐχάριστος θὰ ἀνεκίτωνε ὅλην τὴν συζήτησιν εἰς τὴν ἐξοχότητά του τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον, ἂν καὶ ἦτο ἐξ ἄλλου βέβαιος, ὅτι θὰ συνήντα κατηγορηματικὴν ἄρνησιν.

Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης ἄνευ χρονοτριβῆς μετέβη εἰς τὴν πόλιν διὰ νὰ ἀνακοινώσῃ εἰς τὴν ἐξοχότητά του τὴν προμνημονευθεῖσαν συζήτησιν καὶ ἐπίσης τοὺς ἄρους μὲ τοὺς ὁποίους οἱ Τούρκοι περιέβαλλον τὰς προτάσεις των, μὲ ἀποτέλεσμα ὅτι ἠδύνατο νὰ ἔχῃ τὴν ἐξῆς θετικὴν ἀπάντησιν: ὅτι τὸ Φρούριον παρεδίδοτο διὰ συνθήκης εἰρήνης, ἐπομένως δὲν ὄφειλον νὰ προβάλλουν ἄλλας ἀξιώσεις, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μάλιστα καθ' ὅσον αἱ ὀθωμανικοὶ δυνάμεις ἐξέθεσαν τὴν φήμην των διὰ μόνον τὴν ἀπόκτισιν τοῦ Φρουρίου, μὲ τὴν παράδοσιν τοῦ ὁποίου ἔπρεπε νὰ καταπέσουν ὅλαι αἱ ἄλλαι ἀξιώσεις (διὰ πᾶν ὅτι

to the ground (as to what is past) which the Porte had when they heated about the division of the Kingdom; for this would be to grant them fewer piazzas and not one only, terms that are so pernicious and injurious to the interest of the most serene Republic, that before he would assent to it, he would rather be content to continue the war to the end of the world with a firm hope that the Almighty God sufficiently understanding the justice of the cause, it would be a motive to him to inspire the besieged with the more spirit and resolution to entertain their assaults; enjoining him if they continued such pretences wholly to quit the treaty and to declare the nullity of surrendering the place, as if it had never been mentioned, and that if for the future they should require anything, they should set up their white flag that they might receive a courteous answer. These things were laid open before them in such a manner that it was enough to enrage them, but after a long and reciprocal contest going, that they did obstinately insist upon this, that they should renew the discourse they had; at first they were put in mind of the liberty he had granted by his excellency to depart from the sessions, and to withdraw himself into the Piazza in good time; so that perceiving there were two or 3 hours of the

ἀνίχει εἰς τὸ παρελθόν, ὅσας ἡ Πύλη ἤγειρεν ὅταν ἐθερμαίνοντο μὲ τὴν βλέψιν τῆς διαιρέσεως τοῦ Βασιλείου· διότι τοῦτο εἰσῆμαινα νὰ τοὺς παραχωρήσουν μερικὰ φρούρια καὶ ὅχι ἓν μόνον. ὄροι δηλ. τόσον ὀλέθριοι καὶ ἐπιζήμιοι τοῦ συμφέροντος τῆς Γαληνοτάτης Δημοκρατίας, ὥστε, παρὰ νὰ συγκρατεθῆ εἰς τοῦτο, θὰ προσέτιμα νὰ συνεχίσῃ τὸν πόλεμον μέχρι τοῦ τέλους τοῦ κόσμου, μὲ τὴν σταθερὰν ἐλπίδα, ὅτι ὁ Παντοδύναμος Θεός, κατανοῶν ἐπαρκῶς τὸ δίκαιον τῆς υποθέσεώς των, θὰ ἔθετεν ὡς πρόγραμμά του νὰ ἐμβάλῃ εἰς τοὺς πολιορκουμένους περισσοτέραν ἐμφύγους καὶ ὀποφασιστικότητα διὰ νὰ συνεχίσουν τὸς ἐφόδους των καὶ τοῦ παρήγγειλεν ἀκόμη, ὅτι ἂν συνέχιζον νὰ προβάλλουν τοιαύτας ἀξιώσεις, νὰ ἐγκαταλείψῃ τὴν διαπραγματεύσειν τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ νὰ δηλώσῃ ὡς ἀνύπαρκτον περίπτωσιν παραδόσεως τοῦ φρουρίου, ὡς νὰ μὴ εἶχε γίνει ποτὲ λόγος, καὶ ἂν εἰς τὸ μέλλον εἶχον νὰ ζητήσουν ὅ,τιδήποτε, θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ ἀνυψώσουν λευκὴν σημαίαν διὰ νὰ λάβουν ἀβρόφωνα ἀπάντησιν. Ταῦτα ἐξετέθησαν ἐνώπιόν των κατὰ τοιοῦτον τρόπον, ὥστε τοῦτο ἦτο ἀρκετὸν νὰ τοὺς ἐξαγριώσῃ· ἀλλὰ κατόπιν μακρᾶς μεταξὺ των διαμμισηθήσεως, ἐκ τῆς ὁποίας προέκυπτεν, ὅτι πεισιμόνως ἐπέμενον ἐπὶ τούτου καὶ ὅτι θὰ ἀνενοῦτο ἡ συζήτησις, τὴν ὁποίαν ἤδη εἶχον, κατ' ἀρχὰς τοὺς ὑπεμνήσθη ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξοχότητος του δοθεῖσα εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξουσιοδότησις νὰ ἀποχωρήσῃ ἀπὸ τὴν σύσκεψιν καὶ νὰ ἀποσυρθῆ ἐγκαίρως εἰς τὸ Φρούριον· οὕτω, βλέπων ὅτι εἶχον ἤδη διαρρεύσει δύο ἢ τρεῖς ὥραι τῆς νυκτός, δὲν ἦτο δυ-

night already elapsed, he could not stay any longer without going against his excellency's order; therefore he protested against the taking of the delivery of the Piazza into consideration, for it was resolved that the treaty should be absolutely broken if they did, his excellency the Captain General having taken a firm resolution to defend the said Piazza to his last breath; after which he made a motion to rise up from his seat in order to depart, but was entertained with a discourse entered into by the Pasha, who said, that the decisive answer to this point must be had from the Grand Visier to whom he sent his secretary and the Chiagaia Bey forthwith to inform him of his proposition, and desiring him to go in the meantime into another pavilion, where a little while after, the dragoman Panagiotti came and told Col. Annand that the profer to surrender the Piazza did greatly persuade the Pasha that it must needs be in a dangerous condition, and therefore they stood upon such high terms. Then Col. Annand rejoined that if they desired to understand the reason that incited the Capt. General to seek a peace by the yielding up of the place, the sole motive was this, that he discovered how the auxiliary forces had an earnest desire to continue a perpetual war in the dominions of the Re-

νατὸν νὰ παραμείνῃ ἐπὶ μακρότερον, χωρὶς νὰ παραβῇ τὴν διαταγὴν τῆς ἔσοχότητος του· διὰ τοῦτο διεμαρτυρήθη διότι ἐλίμβανον ὑπ' ὄφιν τὴν παράδοσιν τοῦ Φρουρίου, ἐνῶ εἶχεν ἀποφασισθῆ νὰ διακοπῇ ἀπολύτως πᾶσα διαπραγματεύσεις συνθήκης ἂν ἐγένετο τοῦτο, δοθέντος ὅτι ἡ ἔσοχότης τοῦ Ὁ Ἀρχιστρατήγου εἶχε λαβεῖ σταθερὰν ἀπόφασιν νὰ ὑπερασπισθῇ μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας του ἀνοῆς τὸ Φρούριον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔκαμε κίνησιν νὰ ἐγερεθῇ ἀπὸ τὴν θέσιν του διὰ νὰ ἀναχωρήσῃ, ἀλλὰ συνεκρατήθη ἀπὸ τὸν λόγον ποῦ ἤρχισε τώρα ὁ Πασᾶς, δηλῶν, ὅτι ἡ ἀποφασιστικὴ ἀπάντησις εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ δοθῇ ἀπὸ τὸν Μέγαν Βεζύρη, πρὸς τὸν ὅποιον ἔστειλε τὸν γραμματεῖα του καὶ τὸν Chiagaia Βέην παρευθῆς, διὰ νὰ τὸν πληροφορήσουν περὶ τῆς προτάσεώς του· ἐξέφρασε δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν του, ὅπως ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ μεταβῇ εἰς τὸ ἄλλο περίπτερον, ὅπου ὀλίγον κατόπιν ἦλθεν ὁ διερμηνεὺς Παναγιώτης καὶ εἶπεν εἰς τὸν συντ. Ἀνάτην, ὅτι ἡ προσφορὰ νὰ παραδώσουν τὸ Φρούριον πολὺ συνετέλεσε νὰ πείσῃ τὸν Πασᾶν, ὅτι θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ ἦτο εἰς κατάστασιν μεγάλου κινδύνου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπέμενον ἐπὶ τῶσων ἀσστηρῶν ὄρων. Τότε ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης ἀπήνησεν, ὅτι ἂν ἐπεθύμουν νὰ κατανοήσουν τὸν λόγον ποῦ παρεκίνησε τὸν Ἀρχιστρατήγον νὰ ζητήσῃ εἰρήνην παραδίδων τὸ ὄχυρόν, ὁ μόνος λόγος ἦτο, ὅτι ἀνεκάλυπεν ὅτι αἱ ἐπικουρικαὶ δυνάμεις εἶχον τὴν ἐνθερμον ἐπιθυμίαν νὰ συνεχίσουν ἕνα διαιωνιζόμενον πόλεμον ἐντὸς τῶν κτήσεων τῆς Δημοκρατίας, διὰ νὰ ἀποκομίζουσαν σταθερῶς αὐτὰ

public, that they may constantly gain those profits and commodities which they have in some measure reaped to this very minute. As to the rest, if they did still doubt of the strength and fancy themselves the weakness of the party, he would engage if they would send any officer, to let him see as well the soldiery and peasants as the works, both above and under ground, also their ammunition and provisions, to take off those impressions that were made in their minds, and afterwards eat of the great confidence he had in him (as he told him); he did communicate unto him what succors was expected suddenly of 4,000 men or more, with an order to the Duke of Navailles to entertain himself until the next campaign; from Portugal 3,000 men, and from Venice a convoy of 4,000 foot soldiers commanded by his excellency, the Procurator, Antonio Grinaldi, chosen Providitor General at sea, whose appearance might break off the treaty, because possibly he might prove of a contrary opinion. Then Panagiotti answered that when the physician understands the disease, it is thought a good step towards the care of the patient; and here he undertook to say that the Porte knew very well how the King of France during this war, had oftentimes furnished the Republic with men: but on the other-hand, his ambassador at Constantinople did use his ut-

τά κέρδη και όφελήματα, τὰ όποια είχαν μέχρι τινός καρπωθή μέχρις άκριβώς της στιγμής ταύτης. Ως προς τὰ άλλα, αν άκοινη άμφέβυλλον διά την δύναμιν των και έφαντάζοντο τó μέρος των άσθενές, ανέλάμβανεν, αν έστελλον ένα αξιωματικόν, να του επιτρέψουν να ιδή τόσον τους στρατιώτας και τους χωρικούς όσον και τὰ έργα τὰ επί του έδάφους και ύπ' αυτό, και επίσης τὰ πολεμοφόδια και τās ζωοτροφίαις, διά να αποβάλουν τās ιδέαις που έσχημάτισαν και έπειτα να φάγη (όπως του ειπε) από την μεγάλην εμπιστοσύνην που θα του ειχε' του άνεκοίνωσε ποιαις επιζουρίας άνέμενον αιφνηδίως, 4,000 άνδρων ή και περισσοτέρων, με διαταγήν προς τον Δουκα του Ναβάιτς να παραμείνη μέχρι της επομένης έκστρατευτικής περιόδου 3,000 από την Πορτογαλίαν και από την Ένετίαν μιαν άποστολήν 4,000 πεζών υπό την διοίκησιν της έξοχότητος του του Προκουράτορος Antonio Grinaldi, εκλεγέντος Γενικού Προβλεπτού κατά θάλασσαν, του όποιου ή εμφάνισις θα ήδύνατο να διακόψη την διαπραγματέυσιν, επειδή πιθανόν να άπεδεικνύετο αντίθετου γνώμης. Τότε ό Παναγιώτης άπήντησεν, ότι όταν ό Ιατρος έχει κάμει διάγνωσιν της άσθνεύαις, τούτο θεωρείται σημαντικόν βήμα προς την θεραπειάν του πάσχοντος και έδω ανέλάμβανε να παρατηρήση, ότι ή Πόλη έγνώριζε πολύ καλώς, ότι ό Βασιλεύς της Γαλλίας, διαρκούντος του πολέμου τούτου, συχνά έρωδίασε την Δημοκρατίαν με άνδρας' άλλ' έξ άλλου ό πρεσβευτής του εις την Κων-



most endeavor that the peace might not be concluded by the Signor Ballarino, and did so much concern himself therewith, that he showed himself to be a bitter enemy of the Christian faith and Republic rather than a Christian prince. Afterwards he being gone there came in a Turk that could speak Italian, who declared how all this was related to Ibrahim Pasha who wrote a letter to the Grand Visier, and sent it by the said Panagiotti, which contained as far as he could understand, some motives to persuade him to a condescension of laying aside his pretences to the forts. Being thus entertained whilst they waited for an answer till 5 of the clock at night, at length the said Chiagaia Bey, a secretary, and Panagiotti appeared. And Col. Annand being brought in to the Pasha he caused the result of the Divan's council that night to be read, the contents whereof were that the Piazza should be rendered up with all its cannons and ammunition; that the forts of Suda, Carabusa, and Spinalonga should remain in the hands of the most serene Republic; that Clissa should be restored, and the pension and donation promised should be confirmed. Col. Annand replied that in this day's assembly, there had been not other discourse but about the forts only, and that that point solely was decided, though

σιαντινούπολιν κατέβαλε πάσαν προσπάθειαν διὰ νὰ μὴ συναφθῇ ἡ εἰρήνη ὑπὸ τοῦ Σινιὸρ Ballarino, καὶ τόσον ἐνδιεφέρθη μὲ τὸ ζήτημα τοῦτο, ὅστε ἀπέδειξεν ἑαυτὸν μᾶλλον δορυμὸν ἐχθρὸν τῆς χριστιανικῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς Δημοκρατίας παρὰ χριστιανὸν ἡγεμόνα. Μετὰ τὴν μετάβασιν τοῦ ἐκεῖ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Τοῦρκος, ὁμιλῶν τὴν ἰταλικήν, ὅστις ἐδήλωσεν, ὅτι ὅλα αὐτὰ ἀνεκοινώθησαν εἰς τὸν Ἱμπραὶμ Πασᾶν καὶ ὅτι οὗτος ἐγραφεν ἐπιστολήν πρὸς τὸν Μεγαν ζῦρην, ἀποστείλας αὐτὴν μὲ τὸν Παναγιώτην, ἡ ὁποία περιεῖχε, ἀπὸ οὗ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἀντιληφθῇ, μερικὰ ἐπιχειρήματα, διὰ νὰ τὸν πείσῃ εἰς συγκατάβασιν νὰ ἀφήσῃ κατὰ μέρος τὰς ἀξιώσεις του ὡς πρὸς τὰ φρούρια. Μὲ αὐτὰ παρήρχετο ἡ ὥρα ἐν ἀναμονῇ τῆς ἀπαντήσεως μέχρι τῆς ἑξῆς νυκτερινῆς, τέλος δὲ ἐνεφανίσθησαν ὁ Chiagaia Βέης, εἰς γραμμιστεὺς καὶ ὁ Παναγιώτης. Εἰσῆχθη τότε ὁ συντ. Ἀνάγνης ἐνώπιον τοῦ Πασᾶ, ὅστις ἔδωκεν ἐντολήν νὰ ἀναγνοσθῇ τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα τοῦ νυκτερινοῦ συμβουλίου τοῦ Διβανίου, τὸ περιεχομενον τοῦ ὁποίου ἦτο, ὅτι τὸ Φρούριον ἔπρεπε νὰ παραδοθῇ μὲ ὅλα τὰ κανόνια του καὶ τὰ πυρομαχικά του· ὅτι τὰ φρούρια τῆς Σούδας, Γραμβούσας καὶ Σπιναλόγκας θὰ παρέμενον εἰς χεῖρας τῆς Γαληνοτάτης Δημοκρατίας· ὅτι ἡ Clissa θὰ ἀπεδίδετο καὶ ὅτι ἡ ἐπιχορήγησις καὶ ἡ ὑπεσχημένη δωρεὰ θὰ ἐπεκυροῦντο. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάγνης ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι εἰς τὴν σύσκεψιν τῆς ἡμέρας αὐτῆς δὲν ἐγένετο ἄλλη συζήτησις πλὴν περὶ τῶν φρουρίων καὶ ὅτι μόνον ἐπὶ τοῦ σημείου αὐτοῦ εἶχε ληφθῆ ἀπόφασις, ἂν καὶ ὄχι, ὡς προεβάλλετο, ἀναφορικῶς μὲ τὰς

not as was pretended concerning their territories, which if they would not condescend unto, it was impossible to entertain any discourse about the other pretexts. Here they would have shown their subtlety by saying that the forts had no territory belonging to them; therefore to explain this difficulty it was answered that the adjacent works that lay under the command of the cannons of the forts were their territories which ours had hitherto enjoyed; at which the Pasha was somewhat satisfied; he promised that it should be expressed in the articles; and to engage him to perform this promise, it was desired he would set down that determination in writing concerning the forts with their territories, which the Said Panagiotti did accordingly do in the Italian language. Thus they agreed upon a return the next day at 2 of the clock to discourse upon the other points that had been moved already; and he went back to his excellency, who was still standing on foot in expectation, and told him all that happened, that he was to return according to appointment to treat about the fort of Clissa, and that they did not lay claim to their territories, but also to other places taken in Dalmatia in this war, which being done they were to employ their time about the pretence of the donation and annual pen-

εδραφικὰς περιοχὰς των, εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον σημεῖον ἂν δὲν συγκατετίθεντο, ἦτο ἀδύνατον νὰ συνεχίσουν συζήτησιν ὡς πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ προβαλλόμενα. Ἐδῶ ἠθέλησαν νὰ δείξουν τὴν πανουργίαν των μὲ τὸν ἰσχυρισμὸν, ὅτι τὰ φρούρια δὲν εἶχον ἐδαφικὴν περιοχὴν ἀνήκουσαν εἰς αὐτὰ· διὰ τὸ νὰ ἐξομαλύνουν λοιπὸν τὸ δύσκολον τοῦτο σημεῖον ἐδόθη ἡ ἀπάντησις, ὅτι τὰ παρακείμενα ἔργα, τὰ εὐρισκόμενα ὑπὸ τὸν ἔλεγχον τῶν κανονίων τῶν φρουρίων, ἦσαν αἱ ἐδαφικαὶ περιοχαὶ των, τὰς ὁποίας οἱ ἡμέτεροὶ ἐνέμιοντο μέχρι τοῦδε· ὁ Πασᾶς ἐφάνη κάπως ἰκανοποιημένος μὲ τοῦτο· ὑπεσχέθη ὅτι θὰ περιελαμβάνετο εἰς τὴν διατύπωσιν τῶν ἄρθρων· καὶ διὰ τὸν ὑποχρεώσουν νὰ τηρήσῃ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ταύτην, ἐξεφράσθη ἡ ἐπιθυμία νὰ διατυπωθῇ ἐγγράφως ἡ ἀπόφασις σχετικῶς μὲ τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὰς ἐδαφικὰς των περιοχὰς, πράγμα τὸ ὁποῖον συμφώνως πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Παναγιώτης ἐξετέλεσεν εἰς ἰταλικὴν γλῶσσαν. Οὕτω συνεφώνησαν νὰ ἐπανεέλθουν τὴν ἐπομένην εἰς τὰς 2 διὰ τὸ νὰ συζητήσουν τὰ ἄλλα σημεῖα, τὰ ὁποῖα ἤδη εἶχον θιγῆ· καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν οὗτος εἰς τὴν ἐξοχώτητά του, ὅστις τὸν ἀνέμενον ἐπὶ ποδός, καὶ τοῦ ἀνεκοίωσε τὰ συμβάντα, ὅτι συμφώνως πρὸς τὰ καθορισθέντα θὰ ἐπέστρεφε διὰ τὸ νὰ διαπραγματευθῇ περὶ τοῦ φρουρίου Clissa καὶ ὅτι δὲν ἤγειρον ἀξιώσεις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐδαφικῶν των περιοχῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπίσης περὶ ἄλλων ἕσεων καταληφθεισῶν εἰς τὴν Δαλματίαν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ρύθμισιν τούτων θὰ ἀπησχολοῦντο μὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῆς δωρεᾶς καὶ ἐτησίας ἐπιχορηγήσεως, τὰς ὁποίας προσέφερεν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἡ ἐξοχό·

sion offered them by his excellency Signor Molin. Now by this time the Pasha was returned, to whom it was declared that as to the restitution of Clissa, that was promoted when the division of the Kingdom with the Piazza was granted, for which the most serene Republic was content to yield up their acquists in Dalmatia, but now they were not in such a condition to give away their own with so much loss. And if they should do it, this fort will be of no other use to them but to cause expense and trouble. Nevertheless, it was not suitable to the dignity of public majesty, to make so disadvantageous a peace; therefore by consequence, the establishment could no ways be made of that which already belonged to the Ottoman Empire, so that it was again promoted in the last treaty with Signor Molin, that having left Clissa and all its territories and the other places that were gained (as in Dalmatia) to the Republic, all those places and lands contained certainly more in circuit than the bonds of the Kingdom, so that after this rate, this treaty would prove more injurious and disadvantageous to them than the last, to which it was answered that though they should know there was disadvantage in this, they ought to take hold of the articles of the other treaty, because then they would not be so great a difficulty in it. Then the Pasha returned that now the

της τοῦ ὁ Σινιό Molin. Ἐν τῷ μεταξύ εἶχεν ἐπονέλθει ὁ Πασᾶς, εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον ἐδηλώθη, ὅτι ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῆς Clissa, αὕτη ἐπροτάθη ὅταν ἐγένετο δεκτὸς ὁ χωρισμὸς τοῦ Βασιλείου ἀπὸ τὸ Φρούριον, χάριν τοῦ ὁποῖου ἡ Γαληνοτάτη Δημοκρατία παρεδέχτο νὰ παραχωρήσῃ τὰ ὀποζήματα τῶν εἰς τὴν Δαλματίαν· ἀλλὰ τώρα δὲν ἦσαν πλέον εἰς θέσιν νὰ ἀποχωρισθῶν αὐτὸ πού τοὺς ἀνῆξε πρὸς τόσην μεγάλην ζημίαν τῶν. Καὶ ἂν θὰ τὸ ἔπραττον, τὸ φρούριον αὐτὸ εἰς οὐδὲν θὰ τοὺς ὀφέλει καὶ θὰ προεξάλει δαπάνας καὶ ὀχλήσεις. Ἐκτὸς τούτου, δὲν ἦτο ἀρμόζον πρὸς τὴν ἀξιοπρέπειαν τοῦ Δημοσίου νὰ συνάψουν συνθήκην τόσον μειονεκτικὴν κατὰ συνέπειαν κατ' οὐδὲνα τρόπον ἠδύνατο νὰ συναφθῇ αὕτη μὲ παραχώρησιν αὐτοῦ πού ἤδη ἀνῆκεν εἰς τὸ Ὄθωμ. Κράτος, ὡς πάλιν ἐπροτάθη κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν συνθήκην μὲ τὸν Σινιό Molin· ὅτι ἂν ἄφηνον τὴν Clissa καὶ ὅλα τὰ ἐδάφη της καὶ τὰς ἄλλας κτηθείσας θέσεις (ὡς εἰς τὴν Δαλματίαν) εἰς τὴν Δημοκρατίαν, αἱ θέσεις καὶ αἱ γαῖαι αὐταὶ περιελάμβανον εἰς ἀκτίνα ἀσφαλῶς περισσότερον ἀπὸ τὰ ὅρια τοῦ Βασιλείου τούτου, ὥστε κατὰ ταῦτα ἡ συνθήκη θὰ ἀπεδεικνύετο μᾶλλον ἐπιζήμιος καὶ μειονεκτικὴ δι' αὐτοὺς παρὰ ἡ τελευταία. Εἰς τοῦτο ἐδόθη ἡ ἀπάντησις, ὅτι ἂν καὶ ἐγνώριζον ὅτι ὑπῆρχον μειονεκτήματα εἰς τοῦτο, ὤφειλον νὰ βασισταθῶν εἰς τὰ ἄρθρα τῆς προηγουμένης συνθήκης, διότι τότε δὲν θὰ προέκυπτον μεγάλαι δυσκολίαι εἰς τὴν σύναψιν τῆς νέας. Τότε ὁ Πασᾶς ἀπε-

Piazza was in a worse condition than it was then since they have lodged themselves 200 paces and more within it and they wanted but little of possession. Col. Annand answered that if they would seriously consider their own condition and that of the Piazza, they would find the defendants at present in a better condition than they, because that, the more ground they gained by us the more of them perish in greater numbers by the firing of the mines which we have in abundance ready at all times for that purpose and are always making more; and besides all this, the winter is high at hand, the sufferings and rigor whereof will give a final check to their army. Nor will it advantage them to make their men believe there will be new success sent, because it is very well known what the royal orders are on that particular; and then when the supplies arrive, we shall so hamper them that we shall make them repent, though you deny such propositions. This discourse being ended, the Pasha had a mind to be with his company in private, so Col. Annand went into another pavilion from whence he was called in less than a quarter of an hour. The Pasha said that they were resolved to write a letter to the Visier about this point, and to expect his answer. But before that was come, they de-

κρίθη, ὅτι τώρα τὸ Φρούριον ἦτο εἰς χειροτέραν κατάστασιν παρὰ ὅτι ἦτο τότε, ἀφοῦ εἶχον ἐγκατασταθῆ 200 βήματα καὶ πλέον ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀλίγον ἔλειπε νὰ λάβουν ὑπὸ τὴν κατοχὴν τῶν τουτο. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ἂν σοβαρῶς ἐξήταζον τὴν ἰδικήν των κατάστασιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Φρουρίου, θὰ εὕρισκον ὅτι οἱ θηρεασπιστὰὶ εὕρισκοντο τώρα εἰς καλύτεραν κατάστασιν παρὰ αὐτοί, διότι ὅσον περισσότερον ἔδαφος ἐκέρδιζον ἀπὸ ἡμῶν τόσοον αἱ ἀπώλειαι των εἰς ἄνδρας ἦσαν μεγαλύτεραι ἐκ τῆς ἀνατινάξεως τῶν ὑπνόμων, τὰς ὁποίας ἔχομεν ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ πάντοτε εἰσὶν πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τούτων καὶ ἐξακολουθοῦμεν νὰ κατασκευάζωμεν περισσότερας· πλὴν τούτου, ὁ χειμὼν ἐπι- κείται καὶ αἱ κακουχίαι καὶ ἡ δριμύτης τούτου θὰ ἐπιφέρῃ τὴν τελικὴν ἐπί- σκεσιν τοῦ στρατεύματός των. Οὔτε θὰ ἦτο ἐποικελὲς δι' αὐτοὺς νὰ κάμουν τοὺς ἄνδρας των νὰ πιστεύσουν, ὅτι ἐπέκειντο νεαὶ ἐπιτυχίαι, διότι εἶναι πολὺ καλὰ γνωστὸν ποῖαι εἶναι αἱ βασιλικάὶ διαταγαὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ σημεῖου καὶ ὅταν αἱ ἐπιουρίαι φθάσουν, τόσοον θὰ τοὺς περιπλέξωμεν, ὥστε θὰ τοὺς κά- νωμεν νὰ μετανοήσουν, ἐνῶ σεῖς ἀπορρίπτετε τοιαύτας προτάσεις. Μετὰ τὸ πέ- ρας τῆς συζητήσεως, ὁ Πασᾶς ἔδειξε τὴν διάθεσιν νὰ συσκεφθῆ ἰδιωτικῶς με- τὴν ἀκολουθίαν του· ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης μετέβη εἰς ἄλλο περίπτερον, ὁπόθεν ἐκλήθη μετὰ παρέλευσιν χρόνου μικροτέρου τοῦ τετάρτου τῆς ὥρας. Ὁ Πασᾶς εἶπεν, ὅτι ἀπεφάσισαν νὰ γραφουν ἐπιστολὴν εἰς τὸν Βεζύρην ὡς πρὸς τὸ ση- μείον τουτο καὶ νὰ ἀναμεινουν τὴν ἀπάντησίν του. Ἀλλὰ προτοῦ φθάσῃ αὕτη

sired to hear our pretensions that they might in the meantime treat of all things also, and so consume the less time in their meetings. It was replied that if first of all, not only this point, but also the pretended pension and donation were not quashed wholly, he had no commission to proceed to any other particular, but when they had laid aside those points, he would propose the rest of his demands. Here the Pasha labored extremely to persuade him that the pension and donation were due in reason and justice and that he ought not to mention any such request any more. Col. Annand expressed himself to this as followeth, that if truth were to be discovered by reason, it is certainly true that the pension and donation was given because the Porte was content to leave the Republic in possession of the Piazza and the bounds of the Kingdom, for that whilst the said Piazza and territories remained in their power, he was obliged to a pension; but now that the best part of the Kingdom remains in the power of the Ottoman Empire, he could not understand any reason they had to pretend to the pension; that therefore if they did duly and sincerely reflect upon this affair, he was confident they would alter their opinions. The event did show that the Pasha was satisfied with this reason because he made a motion to go

ἐπεθύμουν νὰ ἀκούσουν τὰς ἀξιώσεις μας, διὰ νὰ δυνηθοῦν ἐν τῷ μεταξύ νὰ διαπραγματευθοῦν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σημεῖα, καὶ νὰ καταλάβωσιν οὕτω ὅσον τὸ δυνατὸν ὀλιγώτερον χρόνον εἰς τὰς συνεδριάσεις των. Ἐδόθη ὁπάντησις, ὅτι ἂν προηγουμένως ὄχι μόνον αὐτὸ τὸ σημεῖον, ἀλλ' ἐπίσης καὶ ἡ προβαλλομένη ἀξίωσις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιχορηγήσεως καὶ δωρεᾶς δὲν παρεμερίζοντο ἔξ ὀλοκλήρου, δὲν ἦτο ἐξουσιοδοτημένος νὰ προχωρήσῃ εἰς ἄλλα σημεῖα, ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὰ ἀφηνον αὐτὰ κατὰ μέρος, θὰ ἐξέθετε τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τῶν αἰτημάτων του. Ἐδῶ ὁ Πασᾶς ἐκοπίασεν ἐξαιρετικὰ νὰ τὸν πείσῃ, ὅτι ἡ ἐπιχορηγήσις καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ ὀφείλοντο κατὰ τὴν λογικὴν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ ὅτι δὲν ἔπρεπε νὰ ἀναφέρῃ περαιτέρω τοιοῦτον αἶτημα. Ὡς πρὸς τοῦτο ὁ συντ. Ἀνάγνης ἐξεφράσθη διὰ τῶν ἀκολούθων: ὅτι ἂν ἡ ἀλήθεια ἔπρεπε νὰ ἐξευρεθῆ διὰ τῆς λογικῆς, εἶναι βεβαίως ἀληθές ὅτι ἡ ἐπιχορηγήσις καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ ἐδόθησαν, διότι ἡ Πύλη συγκατατίθετο νὰ ἀφήσῃ εἰς τὴν κατοχὴν τῆς Δημοκρατίας τὸ Φρούριον καὶ τὰ ὄρια τοῦ Βασιλείου ἀφ' οὗ τὸ Φρούριον καὶ τὰ ἐδάφη ἔμενον ὑπὸ τὴν κυριαρχίαν των, ὑπῆρχεν ἡ ὑποχρέωσις διὰ τὴν καταβολὴν ἐπιχορηγήσεως· ἀλλὰ τῶρα ποῦ τὸ καλύτερον μέρος τοῦ Βασιλείου ἔμενον ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ὀθωμανικοῦ Κράτους, δὲν ἦδύνατο νὰ ἐννοήσῃ διὰ ποῖον λόγον θὰ ἐπρόβυλλον ἀξίωσιν διὰ τὴν καταβολὴν ταύτης· ἐκ τούτου ἦτο βέβαιος, ὅτι ἂν δεόντως καὶ εὐλαβικῶς ἐσκέπτοντο τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, θὰ μετέβαλλον γνώμην. Τὰ πράγματα ἐδείκνυν, ὅτι ὁ Πασᾶς ἐκανοποιήθη μὲ τὸν συλλογισμὸν αὐτὸν, διότι ἐκινήθη

into the other pavilion without returning any answer. From whence a little while after there came the dragoman Panagiotti and said that the said Pasha had written a letter to the Grand Visier in favor of us, and that therefore he did hope they should overcome all difficulties, entreating Col. Annand in the meantime to lay aside all other pretences whatsoever because otherwise the negotiation would never be perfected. To which it was answered that he ought to execute the commission that he had from his excellency the Capt. General, whose sentiments were delivered to them in that very form that his excellency had done to him. There were now three hours past and better since the last convention, all which time they waited in expectation of the answer, when behold, he was called by the same Panagiotti to go into the Pasha's pavilion and was presently introduced, and after he was seated, the Pasha said that though the Grand Visier knew their demands were very inconvenient, yet because the breaking of the treaty should not be imputed to him as his fault, he did condescend to vacate the pretences of the restitution of Clissa, his own territory, and other places gained in Dalmatia, as also the annual pension and donation, so that the Porte shall lay claim to no other but the pension anciently allowed for the Island of Zant; wherefore he desired that we

να μεταβῆ εἰς τὸ ἄλλο περίπτερον χωρὶς νὰ δώσῃ ἀπάντησιν. Ὀλίγον χρόνον κατόπιν ἦλθεν ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ ὁ διερμηνεὺς Παναγιώτης καὶ εἶπεν, ὅτι ὁ Πασᾶς ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὴν εἰς τὸν Μέγαν Βεζύρην εὐνοϊκὴν δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ ὅτι ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἤλπιζε ὅτι θὰ ὑπερβαλλόν ὄλας τὰς δυσκολίας, παρεκάλει δὲ τὸν συντ. Ἄνάντην νὰ παραμερίσῃ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ οἰασθήποτε ἄλλας ἀξιώσεις, διότι ἄλλως ἢ διαπραγματεύσεις οὐδέποτε θὰ ἀπέληγεν εἰς ἀποτελεσμα. Εἰς τοῦτο ἐδόθη ἡ ἀπάντησις, ὅτι ὄφειλε νὰ ἐκτελέσῃ τὴν ἐντολὴν ποῦ εἶχε λάβῃ παρὰ τῆς ἐξοχότητός του τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου, τοῦ ὁποίου αἱ ἀντιλήψεις μετεδόθησαν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀκριβῶς εἰς τὴν μορφήν ποῦ τὰς ἐξέθεσαν εἰς αὐτόν. Ἐλθόν ἤδη παρελθεῖ τρεῖς ὧραι καὶ πλέον ἀπὸ τὴν τελευταίαν συνάντησιν, καθ' ὃν χρόνον παρέμειναν ἐν ἀναμονῇ τῆς ἀπαντήσεως, ὅταν, ἰδοῦ, ἐκλήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου Παναγιώτη νὰ μεταβῆ εἰς τὸ περίπτερον τοῦ Πασᾶ καὶ ἀμέσως εἰσῆλθῃ, ἀφοῦ δὲ ἐκάθισε, ὁ Πασᾶς εἶπεν, ὅτι ἂν καὶ ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης ἐγκώριζεν, ὅτι τὰ αἰτήματά των ἦσαν πολὺ ἄτοπα, διὰ νὰ μὴ ἀποδοθῇ εἰς αὐτόν ὡς ἰδικόν του σφάλμα ἢ διακοπὴ τῶν διαπραγματεύσεων τῆς συνθήκης, συγκατένευε νὰ ὑποχωρήσῃ εἰς τὰς ἀξιώσεις τῆς ἀποδόσεως τῆς Clissa, ποῦ ἦτο ἰδικόν του ἔδαφος, καὶ ἄλλων θέσεων κτηθεισῶν εἰς τὴν Δαλματίαν, ὡς ἐπίσης καὶ εἰς τὸ ζήτημα τῆς ἔτησιος ἐπιχορηγήσεως καὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς, οὕτως ὥστε ἡ Πύλη θὰ διετήρει ἀπαιτήσιν μόνον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιχορηγήσεως, ἡ ὁποία πάλαι εἶχε γίνεαι δεκτὴ διὰ τὴν νῆσον Ζάκυνθον κατόπιν τούτου ἐπεθύμει ν' ἀρχίσωμεν τὴν

would begin to capitulate about the Piazza, and finish as soon as might be. It was answered that he was obliged to go back to his excellency and let him know what was agreed upon that so he might receive new orders to instruct him as to the proposals. It was now late and the evening began to grow dark, so that the Pasha told Col. Annand he must return the next day fully instructed as to all things that were to be propounded, that so they might come to a conclusion. Thus having taken leave of them, Col Annand directed his course to the city, and coming to the General he gave him a note he received from Signor Panagiotti which contained the grant or allowance of the two last particulars. His excellency being satisfied with this commanded him to repose and come to him in the morning to receive convenient orders for the next meeting. The next day in obedience to the Capt. General, he went to him and was commissioned to demand some other place possessed by the Turks in exchange for Candia, to which when they had condescended, it was to be left to them to propose that which they should desire. Being departed with these instructions and come to the usual apartment of the Pasha, he was brought into him, to whom he said that his excellency the Capt. General knowing of what great renownment and reputation the acquist of this

συνθηκολόγησιν διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τοῦ Φρουρίου καὶ νὰ τελειώσωμεν ὅσον τὸ δυνατὸν ταχύτερον. Ἐδόθη ἡ ἀπάντησις, ὅτι ἦτο ὑποχρεωμένος νὰ ἐπιστρέψῃ εἰς τὴν ἐξοχότητά του καὶ νὰ τοῦ ἀνακοινώσῃ τί συνεφωνήθη ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, ὥστε νὰ λάβῃ νέας διαταγὰς, καθοδηγούσας αὐτὸν ὡς πρὸς τὰς προτάσεις. Ἦτο τὰρα ἀργὰ καὶ ἤρχιζε τὸ σκότος τῆς ἑσπέρας νὰ γίνεται πυκνὸν καὶ ὁ Πασᾶς εἶπεν εἰς τὸν συντ. Ἀνάτην, ὅτι ἔπρεπε νὰ ἐπιστρέψῃ τὴν ἐπομένην πλήρως ἐνημερωμένος ἐφ' ὅλων τῶν πραγμάτων ποὺ θὰ προστείνοντο, ὥστε νὰ φθάσουν εἰς ἀποτέλεσμα. Οὕτω, ἀποχαιρέτησας αὐτοῦς ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης, κατηνύθη εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ παρουσιάσθη εἰς τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον τοῦ ἐνεχείρισε σημεῖωμα, τὸ ὁποῖον τοῦ εἶχε δώσει ὁ κύριος Παναγιώτης, περιέχον τὴν παραχώρησιν ἢ συγκατάβασιν ἐπὶ τῶν δύο τελευταίων σημείων. Ἡ ἐξοχότης του ἰκανοποιήθη ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παρήγγειλε νὰ ἀναπαυθῇ καὶ νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν πρωΐαν, διὰ νὰ λάβῃ καταλλήλους ἐντολὰς διὰ τὴν ἐπομένην συνάντησιν. Τὴν ἐπομένην, εἰπειθὴς εἰς τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον, μετέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἔλαβε τὴν ἐντολήν νὰ ζητήσῃ ἄλλην ὄχυράν θέσιν κατεχομένην ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων εἰς ἀντάλλαγμα τοῦ Χάνδακος, μετὰ τὴν παραχώρησιν τῆς ὁποίας θὰ ἤδυναντο καὶ αὐτοὶ νὰ προτείνουον αὐτὸ ποῦ ἐπεθύμουν. Μὲ αὐτὰς τὰς ὁδηγίας ἀνεχώρησε καὶ ἔφθασε εἰς τὸ σῦνηθε; διαμερισμα τοῦ Πασᾶ καὶ ὠδηγήθη ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀνεκοίνωσεν, ὅτι ἡ ἐξοχότης του ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος, γνωρίζων τί μέγα κλέος καὶ ἀρίμη θὰ προσεπόριζεν εἰς τὴν Πύλην ἢ ἀπόκτησις τῆς ὄχυρᾶς αὐ-

place would prove to the Porte, and what an engagement the Grand Visier hath found it to be for the space of three years to attack it; and that he might be sensible that his excellency did aim at nothing but the quiet of the dominions of both potentates, and that they might return to their ancient amity, he was willing, though he could maintain it a great while longer, to do an act of generosity and offer it to the said Porte to the end the peace might be established; and that they might find an equal correspondency on their part, provided, they will assign over some other place in the possession of the Ottoman Empire, to the most serene Republic, which though it were not of equal value, since this city is boasted to be the most inexruggnable in the world, yet that it might in some measure approach so to be, to the end that by this colorable process, this settlement of peace might pass current among those Christian princes our confederates, being concluded without their consent. This demand said the Pasha is repugnant to our laws, nor can we voluntarily consent to the delivery of any piazza, fortress or other walled town where mosques have been erected; therefore it was in vain to attempt impossibilities. And yet in the last capitulation answered Col. Annand wherein the division of the Kingdom was allowed of, Candia Nova was delivered up in

της θέσεως καὶ ποῖον μέγαν ἀγῶνα ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης ἀντιμετώπισε προσβάλλον ἐπὶ τρία συνεχῆ ἔτη ταύτην, ἀκόμη ὅτι θὰ συνηοθάνειο αὐτῶς, ὅτι ἡ ἐξοχότης του εἰς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔτεινε παρὰ εἰς τὴν ἡσυχίαν τῶν ἐπικρατειῶν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἡγεμονιῶν καὶ ὅτι θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἐπανέλθουν οὕτω εἰς τὴν παλαιὰν αὐτῶν φιλίαν, ἦτο πρόθυμος, ἂν καὶ θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ κρατήσῃ τὸ Φρούριον πολὺ περισσότερον χρόνον, νὰ κάμῃ μίαν πράξιν γενναιοφροσύνης καὶ νὰ τὸ προσφέρῃ εἰς τὴν Πύλιν πρὸς ἀποκατάστασιν τῆς εἰρήνης· θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ εἴρουν ἴσην ἀντιπρόκρισιν ἐκ μέρους των, ἀρκεῖ νὰ προσδιώρισον εἰς τὴν Γαλινοτάτην Δημοκρατίαν ἄλλην τινα ὄχυράν φεσιν, εὐρισκομένην εἰς τὴν κατοχὴν τῆς Ὀθωμανικῆς Αυτοκρατορίας, ἡ ὁποία, καὶ ἂν δὲν ἦτο ἴσης ἀξίας, ἀφοῦ ἡ πόλις αὐτὴ ἐκαυχάτο ὅτι ἦτο ἡ πλέον ἀπόρθητος εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ὅμως νὰ τὴν προσῆγγιζε κάπως, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ εὐλόγου τούτου τρόπου ἡ ἀποκατάστασις αὐτῆς τῆς εἰρήνης κριθῇ ἰσχυρὰ μεταξὺ τῶν Χριστιανῶν δημοσπόνδων περιγκήπων μας, ἀφοῦ ἔγινεν ἄνευ τῆς συγκαταθέσεώς των. Αὐτὸ τὸ αἴτημα, εἶπεν ὁ Πασᾶς, ἀντίκειται εἰς τοὺς νόμους μας, καὶ δὲν δυνάμεθα οἰκειοφελῶς νὰ συναινέσωμεν εἰς τὴν παράδοσιν ὄχυράς θέσεως, φρουρίου ἢ ἄλλης τειχιωμένης πόλεως, ὅπου ἀνηγέρθησαν τεμένη· ὡς ἐκ τούτου θὰ ἦτο μάταιον νὰ ἐπιχειρῆτε τὰ ἀδύνατα. Ὅμως, ἀπήνησεν ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης, εἰς τὴν τελευταίαν συνθηκολόγησιν, μὲ τὴν ὁποίαν ἐγένετο δεκτὴ ἡ διαίρεσις τοῦ Βασιλείου, παρεδίδετο ἡ Νέα Κάνδια, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ὑπάρχει ἓν τέμενος· Ὁ Chiagaia Βέης



which there is one mosque. The Chiagaia Bey replied that that fortress ought to have been demolished, and was never left to the Christians in lieu of any other place. Col. Ammand made answer that there was never any such proposition made, so that the argument brought concerning the laws must needs be imitated, and the rather because there is a fresh example (for those that will take notice of it) that lately there was several such exchanges made in Hungary after the same manner that we propose. Here the Pasha said that no such thing could ever be found in deed; it might be a fort that was to be demolished, but not one that was surrendered. In same, after many contests and discourses, seeing they were resolved upon the negative, he did express himself that it was necessary to find out some way that might satisfy them for such exchange, for otherwise the meeting would be dismissed; that therefore they must acquaint the Grand Visier with these sentiments, because he in his great prudence might find out some reasonable reply. The Chiagaia Bey being highly incensed, said that they should carry these demands to the Grand Visier, he would not endure it so patiently as hitherto he found he did, because those requests that are direct as (*ut?*) their laws are not to be answered. Col. Ammand seeing himself obli-

ἀπήνησεν, ὅτι τὸ Φρούριον αὐτὸ ὄφειλε νὰ καταδαφισθῆ καὶ ὄχι νὰ παραδοθῆ εἰς Χριστιανούς ἀντὶ οἰασθήποτε ἄλλης θέσεως. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάγνης ἀπεκρίθη, ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἐγένετο τοιαύτη πρότασις, ὥστε τὸ ἀφορῶν εἰς τοὺς νόμους ἐπιχείρημα εἶναι πολὺ δυνατόν νὰ τύχῃ μιμήσεως, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μᾶλλον καθ' ὅσον ὑπάρχει πρόσφατον παράδειγμα (δι' ὅσους θέλουν νὰ λάβουν τοῖτο ὑπ' ὄψιν). ὅτι τελευταίως ἐγένετο εἰς τὴν Οὐγγαρίαν ἐπανειλημμένως ἀνταλλαγὴ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν μὲ τον προτεινόμενον τρόπον. Εἰς αὐτὸ ἀπήνησεν ὁ Πασᾶς, ὅτι οὐδέποτε συνέβη εἰς τὴν πραγματικότητά τοιοῦτον πρᾶγμα: θὰ ἐπρόκειτο περὶ φρουρίου πού ἔπρεπε νὰ καταδαφισθῆ καὶ ὄχι νὰ παραδοθῆ. Μετὰ πολλὰς διαμφισβητήσεις καὶ συζητήσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέματος, βλέπων ὅτι κατέληγον εἰς ἀγνοίαν, ἐδήλωσεν ὅτι ἦτο ἀναγκαῖον νὰ ἐξευρεθῆ λύσις, δυναμένη νὰ ἰκανοποιήσῃ αὐτοὺς ἔναντι τοιαύτης ἀνταλλαγῆς, διότι ἄλλως ἢ σύσκεψις θὰ διελύετο: ὅτι ἐκ τούτου θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ ἀνακοινώσουν εἰς τὸν Μεγάλου Βεζύρη τὰς ἀντιλήψεις αὐτάς, διότι οὗτος μὲ τὴν μεγάλην του σύνεσιν θὰ ἦτο εἰς θέσιν νὰ εὕρῃ κάποιαν λογικὴν λύσιν. Ὁ Chiagaia Βῆς, ἰσχυρῶς ἐξευρεθισμένος, εἶπεν, ὅτι ἂν ἔφρον τοιαῦτα ζητήματα ἐνώπιον τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου, δὲν θὰ τὰ ἠνείχετο τόσον ὑπομονητικῶς ὅσον μέχρι τοῦδε τοῦ ἐφαίνετο ὅτι τὰ ἠνείχθη, διότι αἱ ἀξιώσεις πού σχετίζονται μὲ νόμους δὲν τυγχάνουν ἀπαντήσεως. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάγνης, βλέπων ὅτι ἦτο ὑποχρεωμένος νὰ δώσῃ

ged to return an answer to such reproofs and threatenings, said that in treaties especially of this nature there was liberty promised to him that was to explain the reason of his prince, this that was promised at first by the head of the Grand Visier, upon whose faith I rely, but now I find where you want rational arguments to convince, you will make use of violence and threats to induce us to consent to your desires. That therefore, once affairs were set on foot with this method, and was not allowed, he might well depart from the assembly. They knew that the Pasha was displeased at the Chiagaia Bey's discourse, and he used some words to make him sensible of it. Afterwards he turned to Col. Annand and said that for all this he might express himself with freedom because in such treaties there ought to be no other designs but to maintain a man's own reason, wherewith everyone ought to rest satisfied; therefore upon this consideration he did believe that he might rest satisfied also with the reason they alleged; yet it was contrary to their law to yield up any place or fortress to the Christians, and if he would not credit that which was sincerely represented, he did engage to show it him, so that if this were showed to be so, do but consider yourself whether the Ottoman Empire would ever

ἀπάντησιν εἰς τοιαύτας ἐπιτιμήσεις καὶ ἀπότομον μειαχείρισιν, εἶπεν, ὅτι εἰς τὰς συνθήκας, εἰδικῶς τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς, εἶχεν ἕξ ὑποσχέσεως τὴν ἐλευθερίαν νὰ διερμηνεύη τὰ ἐπιχειρήματα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος του, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτου ἐδόθη καὶ ἄρχας ὑπόσχεσις ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Μεγ. Βεζύρου, εἰς τὴν πίστιν τοῦ ὁποῖου βασιζομαι, ἀλλὰ τώρα διαπιστώνω ὅτι, ὅπου οἷς ἐλλείπουν τὰ λογικὰ ἐπιχειρήματα διὰ νὰ πείσετε, ἔχετε τὴν διάθεσιν νὰ χρησιμοποιήτε βίαν καὶ ἀπειλὰς διὰ νὰ μᾶς ἀναγκάσετε νὰ συγκατατεθῶμεν εἰς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας σας. Ὅτι ὡς ἐκ τούτου, ἀπαξ τὰ πράγματα ἐτέθησαν μὲ βίαν τὴν μέθοδον αὐτὴν καὶ δὲν εἶχε τὴν δυνατότητα νὰ ὁμιλήσῃ ἐλευθέρως, θὰ ἠδύνατο βεβαίως νὰ ἀποχωρήσῃ τῆς διασκέψεως. Ἀντελήφθησαν, ὅτι ὁ Πασάς εἶχε δυσαρσηθῆ μὲ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Chiagaia Βέη καὶ ἐζήτησε νὰ τὸ κάμῃ αἰσθητὸν μὲ ὀλίγας λέξεις. Κατόπιν ἐστράφη πρὸς τὸν συντ. Ἀνάτην καὶ τοῦ εἶπεν, ὅτι περὶ τούτων θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἐκφρασθῆ μὲ ἐλευθερίαν, διότι εἰς τοιαύτας συνθήκας ἔπρεπε νὰ μὴ ὀπβλέπουν εἰς τίποτε ἄλλο παρὰ εἰς τὸ νὰ ὑποστηριχθῆ ἑκάστου ἢ ἐπόθεσις διὰ τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων του, ὥστε ἕκαστος νὰ μείνῃ ἱκανοποιημένος μὲ αὐτὴν τὴν προϋπόθεσιν ἐπίστευεν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς θὰ ἔμενεν ἱκανοποιημένος μὲ τὸ ἐπιχειρημα πῶν προέβαλλον πράγματι ἦτο ἀντίθετον εἰς τὸν νόμον τῶν νὰ παραδώσουν οἰανδήποτε ὄχυράν θεῖον ἢ γρούριον εἰς τοὺς Χριστιανούς καὶ ἂν δὲν ἐπίστευεν, ὅτι τοῦτο εἰλικρινῶς προσβάλλετο, ἀνελάμβανε νὰ τοῦ τὸ ἀποδείξῃ, ὥστε ὅταν ἀπεδεικνύετο ὅτι εἶχεν οὕτω, θὰ ἠδύνασθε σεῖς αὐτοὶ νὰ ἀντιληφθῆτε

have consented to do such a thing as this is contrary to the decree of those laws which they are bound to support even with their lives. Col. Annand answered he did believe that law which was recited might be so, when a town is freely delivered up, but not when a change and permission is made with such advantages, and those so well enow; therefore he hoped they would consent to so just a demand in respect of the conveniency. The Pasha replied that truly it would not be proper to discourse any longer of this point because it is as insuperable as it is impossible to reach the heavens with a hand, therefore they must take by some other project or else leave the assembly. Then he made answer that he had no orders to treat at the present upon any other point, therefore it was necessary that he should acquaint his excellency with the whole matter, and expect a new commission from him, to which they condescended, and he went immediately to his excellency, and having communicated unto him the opposition and contests that he encountered with; after he had advised with the council, he ordered him to demand some place without a piazza or fort in exchange, leaving them at liberty as to the situation; then he was again introduced to the Pasha and told him, that his excellency being satisfied with the laws that were mentioned concerning a piazza or

ἀν τὸ Ὄθωμανικὸν Κράτος θὰ συγκατετίθετό ποτε εἰς πρᾶγμα ἀντίθετον πρὸς τὸ γράμμα τῶν νόμων, ποὺ ἔχουν τὴν υποχρέωσιν νὰ τοὺς υποστηρίξουν καὶ μὲ τὴν ζωὴν των ἀκόμη. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης ἀπεκρίθη, ὅτι ἐπίστευεν, ὅτι ὁ ἀναφερόμενος νόμος θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἀφορᾷ εἰς πόλιν ἀπλῶς παραδιδομένην καὶ ὄχι περιπτώσιν ἀνταλλαγῆς καὶ συγκαταβάσεως, ἢ ὅποια γίνεται μὲ τόσα ὠφέλι καὶ μάλιστα τόσον σημαντικὰ ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἤλπιζεν ὅτι θὰ συγκατετίθεντο εἰς τόσον δικαίαν αἴτησιν ἐντὸς τοῦ πλαισίου τοῦ σεβασμοῦ τῶν καθιερωμένων. Ὁ Πασᾶς ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι δὲν θὰ ἔπρεπεν ἀληθῶς νὰ συζητοῦν περαιτέρω ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ σημείου, διότι εἶναι τόσον ἀνυπερβλήτος ἢ δυσκολία ὅσον τὸ νὰ φθάσῃ τις μὲ τὴν χεῖρά του τὸν οὐρανόν, διὰ τοῦτο ἔπρεπε νὰ ἀσχοληθοῦν μὲ ἄλλην πρότασιν, ἢ ἄλλως νὰ ἐγκαταλείψουν τὴν σύσκεψιν. Τότε ἀπεκρίθη ὅτι δὲν εἶχε διαταγὴν νὰ διαπραγματευθῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἄλλο σημεῖον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἦτο ἀνάγκη νὰ ἀνακοινώσῃ εἰς τὴν ἐξοχότητά του τὴν ὄλην ὑπόθεσιν καὶ νὰ ἀναμεῖνῃ νέαν ἐντολὴν αὐτοῦ. Συγκατετέθησαν εἰς τοῦτο καὶ μετέβη ἄμεσως εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξοχότητα καὶ τοῦ ἀνεκοίνωσε τὴν ἀντίθεσιν καὶ τὰς διαμφορητικῆσεις ποὺ συνήνησεν ὁῦτος συνεσεζέφθη μὲ τὸ συμβούλιον καὶ τοῦ παρήγγειλε νὰ ζητήσῃ εἰς ἀντάλλαγμα κάποιαν θέσιν ἀνευ ὀχυρώσεως ἢ φρουρίου, ἀφήνων εἰς τοὺτους ἐλευθέρην τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῆς τοποθεσίας. Τότε εἰσήχθη πάλιν εἰς τὸν Πασᾶν καὶ τοῦ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἡ ἐξοχότης του ἐπέισθη ὡς πρὸς τοὺς νόμους, τοὺς ὁποίους ἀνέφεραν ὡς ἀφορῶντας εἰς ὀχυρῶν ἢ φρού-

fortress, he would not persist to demand what was inconvenient, and therefore in lieu of that said request, he did propose this, that some piece of land might be assigned the Republic, that might seemingly countervail that exchange, merely for the credit of the peace. He has scarce done speaking but the Pasha began to say that now he understood the Capt. General had no other end, but only to protract the time with hopes of a peace, that so their endeavor might cool till the arrival of the expected supplies and so raise a confusion in their army, who living in expectation of the fruits of this treaty may attempt something against their commanders when it comes to nothing; that they had been so liberal in granting so much land and territories in Dalmatia and Albania with the fortress of Clissa, far exceeding what we have left as in the Kingdom; therefore we must not think to abuse their civility; and then turning himself to the Chiagaia Bey, he gave order that his pavilions should immediately be taken away, who soon executed his commands; afterwards he again took up his discourse and told Annand he must return to the Piazza, and that for the future they should have no use for the white flag, because they should take no other answer but musket shot. To their execoriations Annand brought arguments to keep him even tempered, and to mitigate his pas-

ριον, καὶ δὲν θὰ ἐπίμενε ζητῶν ὅ,τι ἦτο ἀποπὼν ὡς ἐκ τούτου, ἀντὶ τῆς ρηθείσεως ἀξιώσεως, ἐπρότεινε νὰ παραχωρηθῆ εἰς τὴν Δημοκρατίαν τμημα γῆς ποὺ θὰ ἐφαίνετο ἰσοδύναμον ἀντάλλαγμα ἀπλῶς χάριν τῆς εἰρήνης. Μόλις εἶχε τελειώσει νὰ ὁμιλῆ, ἤρχισεν ὁ Πασᾶς νὰ λέγῃ, ὅτι τώρα κατενόει, ὅτι ὁ Ἄρχιστράτιγος δὲν εἶχεν ἄλλον σκοπὸν παρὰ νὰ παρατείνῃ τὸν χρόνον μὲ ἐλπιδας συνάψεως εἰρήνης, ὥστε ἡ σπουδὴ τῶν νὰ ψυχρανθῆ μέχρι τῆς ἀφίξεως τῶν ἀναμενόμενων ἐπικουριῶν καὶ οὕτω νὰ ἐπιφέρῃ σύγχυσιν εἰς τὸ στρατεύμα των, τὸ ὁποῖον, διατελοῦν ἐν ἀναμονῇ τοῦ ἀποτελέσματος τῆς συνθήκης αὐτῆς, θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἀποπειραθῆ τίποτε κατὰ τῶν διοικητῶν του, ἂν αὕτη ἀπέληγεν εἰς μηδέν· οἱ αὐτοὶ ὑπῆρξαν τόσον γενναιόδωροι, παραχωροῦντες τόσην γῆν καὶ ἔδαφικὰς περιοχὰς εἰς τὴν Δαλματίαν καὶ Ἀλβανίαν μὲ τὸ φρούριον τῆς Clissa, τὰ ἐποῖα κατὰ πολὺν ὑπερέβαλλον ὅ,τι ἀφήσαμεν εἰς τὸ Βασίλειον διὰ τούτου δὲν ἔπρεπε νὰ καταχωρῶμεθα τὴν εὐγένειάν των· καὶ στρεφόμενος πρὸς τὸν Chiagaia Bēh ἐδωκεν ἐντολὴν νὰ ἀφαιρεθῆ ἀμέσως τὸ περίτερον του, οὗτος δὲ ἐξετέλεσε πάντα τὰς διαταγὰς του· μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνέλαβε τὸν λόγον καὶ εἶπεν εἰς τὸν Ἀνάτην ὅτι ὄφειλε νὰ ἐπιστρέψῃ εἰς τὸ Φρούριον καὶ ὅτι εἰς τὸ μέλλον δὲν θὰ τοὺς ὀφέλει ἡ λευκὴ σημαία, διότι οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην θὰ ἐλάμβανον ἀπάντησιν πλὴν τυφεκιοβολισμῶν. Εἰς τὰς ἐπιθέσεις των ὁ Ἀνάτης ἔφερεν ἐπιχειρήματα διὰ νὰ συγκρατήσῃ τὸν θυμὸν του καὶ νὰ κατευνάσῃ

sion, saying that the propositions were made with candor upon our account and not to that purpose which he proposed to himself; that always the demands of a party made a greater than at first fight, but after upon consideration they wanted not means or shifts to adjust the difference; therefore he entreated him to weigh things by the maturity of his judgment; but their insinuations were wholly ineffectual, therefore he insisted upon the resolution he had already made about the treaty, repeating what he had said before, and then rising up, so gave order they should make ready his horse that he might depart, giving Anmand notice with the motion of his hand that he must return to the Piazza. But Anmand having an express commission not to break off the treaty said to him, may it please you to dispense with the departure till I have carried this answer to his excellency that I may understand his intention in this affair, and then there may possibly be found some other way to satisfy both parties. Then the Chiagaia Bey said that if he should go and bring back new matter of debate about this point, he thought it not expedient to consent to it by any means by reason of the inconveniency therefore. But the Pasha who behaved himself with greater prudence and solidity told him, that he would stay till he returned to satisfy and to show him how he

τὸ πάθος του, λέγων ὅτι αἱ προτάσεις ἐγένοντο μὲ εὐλιχρίνειαν δι' ἴδιον αὐτῶν λογαριασμὸν καὶ ὄχι διὰ τὸν λόγον τὸν ὁποῖον ἐφρατιάσθη· ὅτι πάντοτε αἱ προτάσεις ἐκάστου μέρους προσεάλουν μεγαλύτερον ἢ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀγῶνα, ἀλλὰ κατοπιν μετὰ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν δὲν ἔλειπον τὰ μέσα καὶ εὐστροφοὶ μεταλλαγὰὶ διὰ νὰ τακτοποιηθῇ ἡ διαφορά· διὰ τοῦτο τὸν παρεκάλει θερμῶς νὰ ζυγίσῃ τὰ πράγματα μὲ τὴν ἰσχυρίαν του κρίσιν. Ἄλλ' αἱ ὑποδείξεις του παρέμειναν ὅλως διόλου ἄνευ ἀποτελέσματος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπέμεινε εἰς τὴν ἀπόφασίν του, τὴν ὁποίαν εἶχεν ἤδη λάβει ὡς πρὸς τὴν συνθήκην, ἐπαναλαμβάνων ὅτι καὶ προηγουμένως εἶπεν· ἠγέρθη τότε καὶ ἔδωκε διαταγὴν νὰ ἐτοιμάσῃ τὸν ἵππον του, ὥστε νὰ δυνήθῃ νὰ ἀναχωρήσῃ, εἰδοποιῶν μὲ τὴν κίνησιν τῆς χειρὸς του τὸν Ἀνάντην, ὅτι ἔπρεπε νὰ ἐπιστρέψῃ εἰς τὸ Φρούριον. Ἄλλ' ὁ Ἀνάντης, ἔχων ρητὴν ἐντολὴν νὰ μὴ διακόψῃ τὴν διαπραγματεύσειν, εἶπεν εἰς αὐτόν, ἐάν εὐαρεστήσῃ νὰ μὴν πραγματοποιήσῃτε τὴν ἀναχώρησίν σας μέχρις οὗ φέρω τὴν ἀπάντησιν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν ἐξοχότητά του, ὥστε νὰ ἀντιληφθῶ τὰς διαθέσεις του εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τότε εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ ἐξευρεθῇ ἄλλη λύσις, ἱκανοποιούσα ἀμφοτέρω τὰ μέρη. Τότε ὁ Chiagaia Βέης εἶπεν, ὅτι ἂν δὲν ἐπέστρεφε φέρων νέον θέμα συζητήσεως ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ σημεῖον, δὲν ἔκρινε σκόπιμον νὰ συγκατατεθῇ εἰς τοῦτο κατὰ κανένα τρόπον, λόγῳ τοῦ ἀτόπου τοῦ πραγματος. Ἄλλ' ὁ Πασάς, ὁ ὁποῖος συμπεριφέρετο μὲ μεγαλυτέραν σύνεσιν καὶ σταθερότητα, τοῦ εἶπεν ὅτι θὰ πορέμενον, μέχρις οὗ ἐπιστρέψῃ, διὰ νὰ τὸν ἱκανοποιήσῃ καὶ τοῦ

at all times was ready to subscribe to conveniency. Then he departed to tell the Captain General what happened in the debate of this particular and the expression of the said Pasha. His excellency went to council with all this, understanding the impossibility of obtaining anything in that exposition, resolved to lay aside that point, and come to the discussion of the other concerning the cannons they laid claim unto before. Therefore being called by the General, he told him he must move them with the question made by the Turks concerning the cannon in this manner: That in the Piazza there are two forts (*sorts*?) of cannons, the one belonging to the city, and they shall be delivered up together with it; the other, to the armada, which must be again restored to their right place. He appeared before the Pasha and being seated as usually, he acquainted him that his excellency, being moved more with a desire to restore the peace, believes both potentates then persuaded by the reasons or conveniency alleged, hath in the end, though not without much inward reluctancy, resolved to gratify your humor and prefer rather amity before the justice of his demands concerning the lands and place required in exchange; therefore as to the present, there is nothing else to ventilate, but the points

ἀποδείξει ὅτι ἦτο πάντοτε ἔτοιμος νά συμμορφωθῆ πρὸς τὸ πρέπον. Ἄνεχόρησε τότε οὗτος διὰ νά ἀναγγεῖλῃ εἰς τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον τί συνέβη εἰς τὴν συζήτησιν τοῦ θέματος τούτου καὶ τὰ λεχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πασᾶ. Ἡ ἐξοχότης του συνεσκέφθη μὲ τὸ συμβούλιον ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ, κατανοῶν ὅτι ἦτο ἀδύνατον νά ἐπιτύχον ὁτιδήποτε ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θέματος, ἀπεφάσισε νά ἀφήσῃ κατὰ μέρος τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο καὶ νά ἔλθῃ εἰς τὴν συζήτησιν τοῦ ἄλλου, τοῦ ἀφορῶντος εἰς τὰ κανόνια, διὰ τὸ ὅποιον προέβαλλον προηγουμένως ἀξίωσιν. Πρὸς τοῦτο τὸν ἐκάλεσε καὶ τοῦ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἔπρεπε νά διαχειρισθῆ τὸ ζήτημα, πού ἔδεσαν οἱ Τούρκοι σχετικῶς μὲ τὰ κανόνια κατὰ τὸν ἐξῆς τρόπον: "Ὅτι εἰς τὸ Φρούριον ὑπῆρχον δύο εἶδη πυροβόλων, τὸ ἕν ἀνῆκον εἰς τὴν πόλιν — καὶ ταῦτα ἠδύνατο νά παραδοθῶν μὲ αὐτὴν — τὸ ἄλλο εἰς τὴν ἀρμάδα — ταῦτα δὲ ὄφειλον νά ἐπανέλθουν εἰς τὴν πρέπουσαν αὐτῶν θέσιν. Ἐνεφανίσθη οὗτος εἰς τὸν Πασᾶν καὶ ἀφοῦ ἐκάθισεν ὡς συνήθως, τοῦ ἀνεκοίνωσεν, ὅτι ἡ ἐξοχότης του, κινουμένη μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν νά ἀποκατασταθῆ ἡ εἰρήνη, θεωρεῖ ἀμφοτέρω τὰ κυρίαρχα μέρη ὡς πεισθέντα ἀπὸ τὰ προβαλλόμενα ἐπιχειρήματα καὶ τοὺς καθιερωμένους κανόνας καὶ πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦτον ἀπεφάσισεν, ἂν καὶ ἄξι ἀνευ μεγάλης ἐσωτερικῆς ἀπροθυμίας, νά ἰκανοποιήσῃ τὴν ψυχικὴν σας διάθεσιν καὶ νά προτιμήσῃ τὴν φιλίαν ἀπὸ τὸ δίκαιον, τὸ ὅποιον διέπει τὰ αἰτήματα ὡς πρὸς τὰ ἐδάφη καὶ τὸ ἄζυρον πού ἐζητήθησαν ὡς ἀντάλλαγμα ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος δὲν ὑπάρχει τίποτε ἄλλο νά συζητηθῆ πέραν τῶν σημείων πού ἀφορῶν εἰς τὰ ζητούμενα κανόνια. Τότε ὁ

as to the cannon demanded. Then the Chiagaia Bey said, what will the artillery of the Piazza be a matter still in dispute? And where did you ever see any example, that the defendants that surrender a town carried away their great guns? Annand answered that there are two reasons for this demand. The first, in regard the Piazza is not yielded up because it can hold out no longer, but to establish a peace, therefore in this case there must be made equal compacts and agreements, and not such as are disadvantageous; the other, and that the choicest is, because the artillery that is in the Piazza is of two sorts, one of the armada, and the other of the city. Therefore of necessity that which belongs to the armada must be restored again. The Pasha replied that then the city was not sufficiently stored with cannons. Annand answered it is not only sufficiently, but to spare, but who is ignorant of this? That in the first year only of the war, there were sent to Venice above 80 pieces of great cannon because they were stopped, broken or spoiled. Therefore we were constrained to unship as many out of the armada in lieu of them; and so, successively, the second and third year. Then said the Pasha, I would fain know who forced you to take those guns out of the navy? Annand answered necessity obliged us to do it, that we might be able to de-

Chiagaia Βέης εἶπε, διατί τὸ πυροβολικὸν τοῦ Φρουρίου θὰ ἀποτελῆ θέμα περαιτέρω διαμφοσιβητήσεως; Καὶ ποῦ εἶδατε ποτὲ παράδειγμα, οἱ παραδίδοντες πόλιν ὑπερασπισταὶ νὰ ἀποκομίζουσι τὰ μεγάλα των πυροβόλα; Ὁ Ἀνάντης ἀπεκρίθη, ὅτι ὑπῆρχον δύο λόγοι διὰ τὸ αἶτημα τοῦτο. Ὁ πρῶτος εἶναι ὡς πρὸς τὸ ὅτι ἡ πόλις δὲν παραδίδεται, ἐπειδὴ δὲν εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ ἀντιστῇ περισσότερον, ἀλλὰ διὰ νὰ ἀποκατασταθῇ ἡ εἰρήνη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, εἰς τὴν περίπτωσιν ταύτην, πρέπει νὰ γίνουσι ἴσαι συμβάσεις καὶ συμφωνίαι, καὶ ἰδίως ὄχι ἐπιζήμιοι. Ὁ δεῦτερος λόγος — καὶ οὗτος εἶναι ὁ σπουδαιότερος — εἶναι ὅτι τὸ πυροβολικὸν τοῦ Φρουρίου εἶναι δύο εἰδῶν, τὸ ἐν τῆς ἀρμάδας καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῆς πόλεως. Ὡς ἐκ τούτου κατ' ἀνάγκην τὸ ἀνήκον εἰς τὴν ἀρμάδα πρέπει νὰ ἐπανέλθῃ εἰς αὐτήν. Ὁ Πασᾶς ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι τότε ἡ πόλις δὲν ἦτο ἐπαρκῶς ἐφοδιασμένη μὲ κανόνια. Ὁ Ἀνάντης ἀπεκρίθη, ὅτι ὄχι μόνον ἦτο ἐπαρκῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπερίσσευον ποῖος ἠγγόει τοῦτο; Ὅτι εἰς τὸ πρῶτον μόνον ἔτος τοῦ πολέμου ἀπεστάλησαν εἰς τὴν Ἑνετίαν πλέον τῶν 80 μεγάλων κανονίων διότι ἐσταμάτησαν, ἐθραύσθησαν ἢ ἐφθάρησαν. Διὰ τοῦτο ἠναγκάσθημεν νὰ ἀποβιβάζωμεν ἰσάριθμα ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρμάδα εἰς τὴν θέσιν ταύτην καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέβη τὸ δεῦτερον καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος διαδοχικῶς. Τότε εἶπεν ὁ Πασᾶς, εὐχαρίστως θὰ ἐμάνθανον, ποῖος σᾶς ὑπεχρέωσε νὰ ἀφαιρέσετε τὰ πυροβόλα ἀπὸ τὸν στόλον. Ὁ Ἀνάντης ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ἡ ἀνάγκη τοὺς ὑπεχρέωσε νὰ τὸ πράξουν, διὰ νὰ εἴμεθα ἱκανοὶ νὰ ὑπερασπίσωμεν τὴν πό-

fend the town. The Pasha replied then that self same necessity binds you to leave them. Again the Chiagaia Bey said as to the ammunition, there must it seems be another contest. Twas answered that when they would agree what was convenient to be done, there would be no need of further dispute; for tis very plain that there were many guns taken out of the armada, so that there would be no need of repetition. The Pasha said as is these 2 particulars, there would be nothing ratified without a distinct note of the whole. Therefore these things must be communicated to the Capt. General. It was answered that things might be established in general for better, and their desires should be declared to his excellency afterwards; but they insisted the more upon the having of this note, and said all unanimously that they might assure themselves they would treat no longer, unless they first saw that note. Annand replied that this demand was only for their own personal satisfaction, but not at all necessary as to the conclusion of the point, because it was not to be exposed to the censure of disputation. Then they went into the other pavilion to argue it among themselves; and in the meantime the General had notice of what had been discoursed, who sent Annand immediately a distinct note

λιν. Ὁ Πασᾶς τότε ἀπεκρίθη, ὅτι αὐτὴ αὕτη ἡ ἀνάγκη σᾶς ὑποχρεώνει νὰ τὰ ἀφίσετε. Ὁ Chiagaia Βῆςς πάλιν εἶπεν, ὅτι θὰ ἐγνετο, φαίνεται, καὶ ἄλλη διαμφοσιβήτης ὡς πρὸς τὰ πυρομαχικά. Τοῦ ἐδόθη ἡ ἀπάντησις, ὅτι ἂν συμφωνοῦν τί ἦτο πρέπον νὰ γίνῃ, δὲν θὰ ὑπῆρχεν ἀνάγκη περαιτέρω συζητήσεως· διότι ἦτο πασιφανές, ὅτι ὑπῆρχον πολλὰ πυροβόλα, τὰ ὅποια εἶχον ἀφαιρεθῆ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρμάδα, ὥστε νὰ μὴ χρειάζεται νὰ ἐπανεέλθουν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ. Ὁ Πασᾶς εἶπεν, ὅτι ἀφοῦ ἐπρόκειτο περὶ δύο χωριστῶν θεμάτων, δὲν θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἐγκριθῆ τίποτε, προτοῦ ὑποβληθῆ σαφές σημεῖωμα ἐπὶ τοῦ συνόλου. Λιὰ τοῦτο θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ ἀνακοινωθοῦν ταῦτα εἰς τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον. Ἐδόθη ἡ ἀπάντησις, ὅτι θὰ ἠδύναντο τὰ πράγματα νὰ καθορισθοῦν εἰς γενικὰς γραμμὰς κατὰ τὸν καλύτερον τρόπον καὶ κατοπιν νὰ ἀνακοινωθοῦν αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι των ὡς πρὸς αὐτὰ εἰς τὴν ἐξουχότητά του. Ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἐπέμενον ἐπὶ μᾶλλον καὶ μᾶλλον νὰ λάβουν τὸ σημεῖωμα αὐτό, καὶ ὅλοι ὁμοῦ ἐδήλωσαν, ὅτι ἠμποροῦσαν νὰ εἶναι βέβαιοι ὅτι δὲν θὰ συνέχιζον τὰς διαπραγματεύσεις, ἂν δὲν εἶχον προηγουμένως πρὸ αὐτῶν τὸ σημεῖωμα τοῦτο. Ὁ Ἀνάτης ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι τὸ αἰτούμενον ἦτο μόνον διὰ τὴν προσωπικὴν των ἰκανοποίησιν, ἀλλ' οὐδόλως ἦτο ἀναγκαῖον διὰ τὴν λύσιν τοῦ ζητήματος, διότι δὲν ἐπρόκειτο νὰ ὑποβληθῆ εἰς τὴν κρίσιν διὰ συζητήσεως. Τότε μετέβησαν εἰς τὸ ἄλλο περίπτερον νὰ τὸ συζητήσουν μεταξὺ των· ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος ἔλαβε γνῶσιν τῶν διαμειφθέντων καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ἀμέσως εἰς τὸν Ἀνάτην σαφές σημεῖωμα ὅλων



of all the great guns and of what sort, with a particular of those of the armada, enjoining him to signify unto them, that as to a note of the ammunition belonging to war it was impossible to make one, because it would require a long time to draw it up, but they might be assured that all that belonged to the city should be faithfully left behind them. The said note being carried to the Pasha, to which there was also expressed therein what was commanded to be retaken upon the accompt of the ammunition; so that he was contented therewith, and caused Panagiotti to read it; who, coming to the particular of the great guns of the fleet which amounted to 249 pieces, he said that if all the cannon in fleet were put together, they could not rise to so great a number. It was replied that their cannons were not only taken out of the galleys and galleases, but also other vessels in some of which there were 70 to one. In fine, to prevent debates in the conclusion, it was told them, that by this note they might see the extraordinary sincerety of the Capt. General, who although he could have privately shipped away all these cannon undiscovered, yet he would proceed with reality and candor since he knows he treats with subjects of the same temperament. They knew not what to say further, being convinced with such an act of generosity; for that they went into

τῶν μεγάλων πυροβόλων οἰουμένηποτε εἶδους καὶ ἰδιαιτέρως τῶν τῆς ἀριμάδας, παραγγέλλον συνάμα εἰς αὐτὸν νὰ τοὺς ἐξηγήσῃ, ὅτι ὡς πρὸς τὸ σημεῖωμα τῶν ἐφοδίων πολέμου ἦτο ἀδύνατον νὰ τὸ ἐτοιμάσουν, διότι θὰ ἀπῆται πολὺν χρόνον νὰ καταστρωθῆ, ἀλλ' ἠδύνατο νὰ παράσχουν τὴν διαβεβαίωσιν, ὅτι πάν ὅ,τι ἀνήκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν θὰ τὸ ἐγκατέλειπον, τηροῦντες τὸν λόγον των. Τὸ σημεῖωμα, εἰς τὸ ὅπολον ἀνεγράφοντο αἱ ἐντολαὶ σχετικῶς μὲ τὴν διαπραγματεύσιν τῶν πυρομαχικῶν, ἐδόθη εἰς τὸν Πασᾶν καὶ οὗτος ἱκανοποιήθη ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἀνέθεσεν εἰς τὸν Παναγιώτην νὰ τὸ ἀναγνώσῃ· ὅταν ἔφθασεν εἰς τὸ σημεῖον περὶ τῶν μεγάλων πυροβόλων τοῦ στόλου, τοῦ ἀνεβιβάζοντο εἰς 249 τεμάχια, ἐδήλωσεν οὗτος, ὅτι ὅλα ὁμοῦ τὰ πυροβόλα τοῦ στόλου δὲν ἦτο δυνατόν νὰ ἀνέρχονται εἰς τόσον μέγαν ἀριθμὸν. Ἐδόθη ἡ ἀπάντησις, ὅτι τὰ κανόνια των ἐλήφθησαν ὅχι μόνον ἐκ τῶν γαλερῶν καὶ γαλεασῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων πλοίων, εἰς μερικὰ τῶν ὁποίων ὑπῆρχον 70 εἰς ἕκαστον. Τέλος, διὰ τὰ προλάβουν συζητήσεις κατὰ τὴν λήψιν ἀποφάσεως, τοὺς εἶπον, ὅτι ἀπὸ τὸ σημεῖωμα τοῦτο θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἀντιληφθοῦν τὴν ἐξαιρετικὴν εὐλικρίνειαν τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου, ὅστις, ἐνῶ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἐπιβιάσῃ καὶ ἀπομακρύνῃ μυστικῶς αὐτὰ τὰ κανόνια χωρὶς νὰ ἀνακαλυφθῆ, ἠθέλησε νὰ ἐνεργήσῃ φανερὰ καὶ μὲ εὐθύτητα, ἀφοῦ γνωρίζει ὅτι διαπραγματεύεται μὲ πρόσωπα τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἤθους. Δὲν ἐγγυρίζον τί νὰ εἶπουν περαιτέρω, ἀφοῦ ἐπέσιθον μὲ τὴν τόσον γενναίω·

the other pavilion, and after they had argued together, they wrote a letter to the Grand Visier, and Annand being afterwards called in to know if there were any other things to be debated. Annand told them that it was customary in point of conduct to allow those towns that defended themselves valiently, liberty to carry away with them a competent number of cannons; that therefore (having already received instructions from the General), we did on our part desire that civility of them, because it would redound more to the honor of the Visier. The Pasha made answer that there were so many great guns carried away already, and if the Visier did condescend to what we pretended to upon the accompt of the navy, he might very well be contented. Annand said that they ought to respect the honor of the Visier and the army more than the value of a small number of guns; for this condescension would give the world to understand that the 3 years siege of this town was occasioned by your meeting with such stout opposition from the besieged. Then the Pasha replied that when the most material things were concluded, he himself would entreat the Visier again to allow some proportion; if they would be content to make this an article, to leave a blank for the number, that they should be afterwards incerted. In the meantime they received the Grand Visier's answer con-

φρονα αὐτὴν πράξιν· διὰ τοῦτο μετέβησαν εἰς τὸ ἄλλο περιπέτερον καὶ συσχεφθέντες ἔγραψαν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸν Μέγαν Βεζύρη· κατόπιν ἐκάλεσαν τὸν Ἀνανήν νά εἰσέλθῃ, διὰ νά μάθουν, ἂν ὑπῆρχον ἄλλα θέματα πρὸς συζήτησιν. Ὁ Ἀνάνης τοὺς εἶπεν, ὅτι ἦτο συνήθης συμπεριφορὰ πρὸς πόλεις, αἱ ὁποῖαι ὑπερήσπισαν ἑαυτὰς γενναίως, νά τοὺς παρέχεται ἡ ἄδεια νά ἀποκομίζουν ἀριόμετρα ἀριθμὸν πυροβόλων· διὰ τοῦτο, (ὄφου ἐλάβομεν ἤδη σχετικὰς ὁδηγίας παρὰ τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου) ἐκφράζομεν ἀπὸ μέρους μας τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν νά ἐπιδείξουν τὴν εὐγένειαν αὐτὴν, ἄφου μάλιστα, τοῦτο θὰ ἀπέβαινε μᾶλλον πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ Βεζύρου. Ὁ Πασᾶς ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ἀπεχομίσθησαν ἤδη τόσον πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κανόνια, ὥστε, ἂν ὁ Βεζύρης ἐνέδιδεν εἰς ὅ,τι ἐπρόβαλον ὡς πρὸς τὸν στόλον, θὰ ἔπρεπε νά εἶναι πάρα πολὺ ἱκανοποιημένος. Ὁ Ἀνάνης ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι θὰ ὄφειλον νά σεβασθοῦν μᾶλλον τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ Βεζύρου καὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν μικροῦ ἀριθμοῦ πυροβόλων διὰ τῆς συγκαταβάσεως αὐτῆς θὰ ἔδιδον εἰς τὸν κόσμον νά ἐννοήσῃ, ὅτι ἡ τριετής πολιορκία τῆς πόλεως προέκυψεν ἐκ τοῦ ὅτι συνητήσατε τόσον ἰσχυρὰν ἀντίστασιν ἐκ μέρους τῶν πολιορκουμένων. Τότε ὁ Πασᾶς ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ὅταν τὰ οὐσιωδέστερα ἦγοντο εἰς πέρας, αὐτὸς ὁ ἴδιος θὰ παρεκάλει θερμῶς τὸν Βεζύρη νά παραχωρήσῃ ἕν μέρος, ἂν εὐηρεστοῦντο νά τὸ διαιωπάσσουν εἰς ἄρθρον, ἀφήνοντες κενὸν διὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὥστε νά τὸν παρεμβάλουν ἐκ τῶν ὑστέρων. Ἐν τῷ μεταξύ ἔλαβον τὴν ἀπάντησιν τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου ἀναφορικῶς μὲ τὰ κανό-

cerning the cannon and ammunition of the armada, which was declared thus, that he was content they should take the cannon and the ammunition of the armada along with them without deceit. Thus all the essential points were ratified as is before mentioned, and there remained nothing but what concerned the formality of the suspension of their arms, having already received orders as to that affair; that they should withdraw their soldiers in both ports to their first batteries; because those that belonged to the Republic did retire behind the palisade of the falsa Braga athwart, and cross, and the Cortina, to avoid the confusion that may happen by intermixing themselves one with another; to this was answered that it were better to appoint them the outward fortifications because they had wholly withdrawn their men from the posts that were assaulted, and placed them as a guard to the same fortifications of the Janizaries to keep the other Turks that would pass this. Annand replied it was not to be done because that to deliver up the fortifications were immediately to admit them into the town, and so they should expose their liberty to the arbitrariness of an insolvent army. The Pasha replied that as to their security, he did promise it them upon the faith of the Grand Visier. He answered that they were assured of it, nor did at all question any-

ναι καὶ τὰ πυρομαχικά τῆς ἀρμάδας, διὰ τῆς ὁποίας ἐδηλοῦτο, ὅτι συγκατετίθετο νὰ λάβουν μεθ' αὐτῶν τὰ κανόνια καὶ τὰ πυρομαχικά ταύτης ἄνευ δόλου. Οὕτω ἐνεκρίθησαν ὅλα τὰ οὐσιαστικά σημεῖα ὡς προεμνημονεύθη, καὶ δὲν ἀπέμενε παρὰ ὅ,τι ἀρεώρα τὰς διατυπώσεις τῆς ἀνακομῆς τῶν ὅπλων, διὰ ταύτην εἶχεν ἤδη λάβει διαταγὰς: ὅτι θὰ ἀπέσυρον τοὺς στρατιώτας τῶν εἰς ἀμφοτέρως τὰς πόλεις εἰς τὰ πρῶτὰ τῶν πυροβολοστάσια. Ὡστε οἱ ἀνήκοντες εἰς τὴν Δημοκρατίαν νὰ ἀποσυρθοῦν ὀπισθεν τοῦ φράγματος τῆς προτειχίου κρηπίδος (Falsa Braga), λοξῶς καὶ σταυρωτά, καὶ τοῦ Προπετάσματος, ὥστε νὰ ἀποφευχθῇ σύγχυσις, ἢ ἡποία θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ προέλθῃ ἐκ τῆς συναμιξέως τῶν. Εἰς τοῦτο ἐδόθη ἡ ἀπάντησις, ὅτι καλύτερον νὰ τοὺς ἀφήσουν τὰς ἐξωτερικὰς ὀχυρώσεις, ἀποσυροντες ὀλοκληρωτικῶς τοὺς ἀνδρας τῶν ἀπὸ τὰς θέσεις πρὸ προσεβάλλοντο καὶ τοποθετοῦντες αὐτοὺς ὡς φρουρὰν εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς ὀχυρώσεις ὅπου οἱ Γενιτσαροὶ, διὰ νὰ συγκατήσουν τοὺς ἄλλους Τούρκους, πρὸ θὰ ἤθελον νὰ τὰς ὑπερβοῦν. Ὁ Ἀνάκτης ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι τοῦτο δὲν ἦτο δυνατόν νὰ γίνῃ, διότι τὸ νὰ παραδώσουν τὰς ὀχυρώσεις ἦτο ὡς νὰ τοὺς ἐδέχοντο ἀμέσως εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ οὕτω θὰ ἐξέθετον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῶν εἰς τὴν αὐθαιρεσίαν στρατεύματος, εἰς τὸ ὅποιον δὲν ἠδύνατο νὰ ἐμπιστευθοῦν. Ὁ Πισῶς ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειάν τῶν, τοὺς τὴν ὑπόσχεται ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου. Ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ἦσαν βεβαίαι δι' αὐτό, οὔτε προέκυπτε ζήτημα ὡς πρὸς

thing that depended upon the will of the Grand Visier, but as to that which depended upon the arbitrary will of the militia, no person could secure them that, therefore they must alter their mind for they would be rather content to continue upon their defence than expose their lives to the discretion of their soldiers. Seeing then that they could not overcome this, they made a new proposition; that they should admit to join to their forces in the Grand Fort 500 Janizaries and 200 at the Rabelin of Santo Spivento (*Spirito?*); but he gave them to understand that this demand was the same as the first, and withal added that they must lay aside the proposition, otherwise they should not agree. Finally they concluded after many various debates that the soldiers of both parties should keep to their own posts that they at present are masters of, till after the men were embarked in order, to a transportation. After this the white flag was agreed to be left up in token of a cessation of arms; and when according to the order of his excellency, Annand desired that terms of 20 days license for the shipping of their goods; but they seemed very averse to it and would allow but 5 at first, but at length after a long dispute, we had twelve days allowed us. Now they were to appoint how things should be managed

ὅτι ἐξηγητᾶτο ἀπὸ τὴν θέλησιν τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸ ποῦ ἐξηγητᾶτο ἀπὸ τὴν ἀθθαιρεσίαν τῆς «μιλίτσια» κανεὶς δὲν θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ τοὺς ἐξασφαλίσῃ διὰ τοῦτο θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ μεταβάλουν γνώμην, διότι αὐτοὶ θὰ προετίμων νὰ συνεχίσουν τὴν ἄμυνάν των παρὰ νὰ ἐκθέσουν τὴν ζωὴν των εἰς τὴν διάθεσιν τῶν στρατιωτῶν των. Βλέποντες τότε ὅτι δὲν ἠδύνατο νὰ ὑπερνεκῆσουν τὴν δυσκολίαν αὐτήν, ἔζαμαν νέαν πρότασιν: ὅτι ἔπρεπε νὰ δεχθῶν νὰ ἔλθουν εἰς ἔπαρσιν μὲ τὰς δυνάμεις των εἰς τὸ Μέγα Φρούριον 500 Γενιτσαροὶ καὶ 200 εἰς τὸ Προμαστοεῖχισμα (Ravelin) τοῦ Ἁγ. Πνεύματος. Ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔδωκε νὰ ἐννοήσουν, ὅτι αὐτὸ ποῦ ἐζήτουν δὲν διέφερε τοῦ προηγουμένου καὶ προσέθηκε παρεμφῆς, ὅτι ἔπρεπε νὰ θέσουν κατὰ μέρος τὴν πρότασιν, διότι ἄλλως δὲν θὰ συνεφέρουν. Τέλος κατέληξαν ἔπειτα ἀπὸ ποικίλας συζητήσεις, ὅτι οἱ στρατιῶται ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν θὰ παρέμενον εἰς τὰς θέσεις τὰς ὁποίας ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος κατεῖχον, μέχρις ὅτου οἱ ἄνδρες ἐπιβιασθῶν ἐν τάξει πρὸς μεταφορὰν των. Κατόπιν τούτου συμφωνήθη, ὅτι ἡ λευκὴ σημαία θὰ ἀφῆγτο ἀνυψωμένη ὡς τεκμήριον ἀναχωρῆς· ὅταν, συμφώνως πρὸς τὰς διαταγὰς τῆς ἐξοχότητός του, ὁ Ἀνάγης ἐξέφρασε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν νὰ παρασχεθῇ προστασία 20 ἡμερῶν διὰ τὴν ἐπιβίβασιν τῶν πραγμάτων των, αὐτοὶ ἐφάνησαν πολὺ ἐνάντιοι εἰς τοῦτο καὶ ἠθελον νὰ ἐπιτρέψουν κατ' ἄρχας μόνον 5, ἀλλὰ τέλος, κατόπιν μακρῆς διαμρισθητέσεως, μᾶς παρεχωρήθη προστασία 12 ἡμερῶν. Τώρα ἐπρόκειτο νὰ ὁρίσουν πῶς θὰ ἐγίνετο ὁ χειρισμὸς τῶν πρα-

and were next day to frame the articles so that there was nothing wanting but only the exchange of hostages for the suspension of arms which was performed according to agreement; and they immediately set up the white colors and all hostility punctually ceased; the next day the articles were drawn and so drawn that they might be published according to the appointment of Ibrahim Pasha. They were absolutely reflected and subscribed by his excellency the Captain General and the council, and sealed with the impression of St. Mark; and they unanimously attended the conveniency of the Grand Visier to go and receive according to their desire those that he had made to the same purpose in the Turkish tongue translated by Panagiotti. It was at this time afternoon when as the forenamed Achmet Pasha gave them notice that the Grand Visier expected their appearance; whereupon he and the said young man that d'd accompany him as his excellency's secretary that attended at all the meetings and was employed in the embassy from Annand to his excellency the Captain General; these two, I say, speedily took horse together and went on their way; the Pasha went about 15 paces before us with a retinue of 20 servants about his horse, and 6 paces behind him followed a Sub-Pasha also of the Janizaries on horseback with the same number of servants in his

γμάτων τὴν ἐπομένην θὰ κατέστρωον τὰ ἄρθρα, ὥστε νὰ μὴ ἀπομένῃ παρὰ μόνον ἡ ἀνταλλαγὴ ὀμήρων διὰ τὴν κήρυξιν τῆς ἀνακοχῆς, ἡ ὁποία συνετελέσθη κατὰ τὰ συμφωνηθέντα. Καὶ ἀμέσως ἀνεπέτασαν τὴν λευκὴν σημαίαν καὶ τότε ἀκριβῶς πᾶσαι αἱ ἐχθροπραξίαι ἐσταμάτησαν. Τὴν ἐπομένην τὰ ἄρθρα διευτυπώθησαν καὶ τόσον πλήρως, ὥστε κατὰ τὴν ὑπόδειξιν τοῦ Ἰμπραὴμ Πασᾶ, ἠδύναν· οὐ νὰ δημοσιευθοῦν. Ὁ Ἀρχιστρατήγος καὶ τὸ Συμβούλιον τὰ ἐμελέτησαν τελείως καὶ τὰ ὑπέγραψαν καὶ ἐτέθη ἡ σφραγὶς τοῦ Ἁγ. Μαρκίου καὶ ὁμοθύμως ἀνταπεκρίθησαν εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου παρασχεθεῖσαν εὐχέρειαν νὰ μεταβοῦν καὶ δεχθοῦν, συμφώνως πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν των, ἐκεῖνα τὰ ὁποῖα πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν σκοπὸν διετύπωσε, μεταφρασθέντα εἰς τὴν τουρκικὴν γλῶσσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Παναγιώτη. Ἦτο τότε ἀπόγευμα, ὅταν ὁ προμνημονευθεὶς Ἀχμέτ Πασᾶς τοῦς εἰδοποίησεν, ὅτι ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης ἀνέμενε νὰ ἐμφανισθοῦν πρὸ αὐτοῦ. Τότε αὐτοῦ (ὁ Ἀνάντης) καὶ ὁ μνημονευθεὶς νέος, ὁ ὁποῖος τὸν συνάδευεν ὡς γραμματεὺς τῆς ἐξοχότητος του καὶ ὁ ὁποῖος παρενεβῆ εἰς ὅλας τὰς συναντήσεις καὶ ἐχρησιμοποίηθ' ὡς σύνδεσμος μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἀνάντου καὶ τῆς ἐξοχότητος του τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου, οἱ δύο αὐτοὶ, λέγω, ἵππευσαν κατεσκευασμένως ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐσυνέχισαν τὸν δρόμον των· ὁ Πασᾶς ἐβάδιζεν εἰς ἀπόστασιν 15 βημάτων πρὸ ἡμῶν, με συνοδείαν 20 ὑπηρετῶν περιβαλλόντων τὸν ἵππον του, καὶ ἐξ βήματα ὀπίσθεν αὐτοῦ ἠκολούθει εἰς Ὑποπασᾶς τῶν Γενιτσαρῶν ἔφιππος, με τὸν αὐτὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑπηρετῶν ὀπισθὲν του. Ἐ-

train. Then about 4 or 5 paces behind us were on horseback the said Aga, the Chiagaia Bey of Ibrahim Pasha and a Chiorbaggi of the Janizaries with their servants. All this company marched along behind 2 ranks of 500 Janizaries who were placed in such good order that they seemed on each side like a wall hung with tapestry. Being thus on the way to the Pasha's lodgings they went about 2 miles where being arrived in the valley of Giofiro, there stood a pavilion indifferently high and spacious with 3 rooms, and a round ball of wood gilded on the top of only one of them. The pavilion was encompassed with green cloth in imitation of a wall which was higher than a horseman mounted. Within this circuit there were several other pavilions but somewhat lower. Being come to the wall gate first, the Aga and his company dismounted with a gentle courteous motion. This done, they were brought into the court that led to the pavilion; without doors were placed three standards of wood gilded as high as a troop sword, on the top of each a brazen ball gilded, and about a hand's breadth under that a horse tail hanging downwards. Then we came to an ascent of 6 steps framed above ground, covered with carpets, which brought us to the first room of the pavilion and represented the hall or parlor, which was only painted with cloth of gold in the very middle; and

πειτα, 4 ἢ 5 βήματα ὀπισθεν ἡμῶν ἤρχοντο ἑφιπποὶ ὁ γνωστὸς Ἀγάς, ὁ Chiagaia Bēis τοῦ Ἰμπραῖμ Πασᾶ καὶ εἰς Τζοριπατζῆς τῶν Γενιτσαρῶν μὲ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας των. Ὅλη συνοδεία αὐτὴ ἐβάδιζε μεταξὺ δύο στοιχῶν ἐκ 500 Γενιτσαρῶν, τόσον καλῶς τεταγμένων, ὥστε γὰ φείνεται ἐκάστη πλευρὰ ὡς εἰς τοίχος ἐπεστρωμένος μὲ τάπητας. Βαίνοντες οὕτω πρὸς τὰ οἰκήματα τοῦ Πασᾶ, ἐπροχώρησαν 2 μίλια περίπου καὶ ἔφθασαν εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα τοῦ Γιόφουρου, ὅπου ἴσταιτο ἐν περιπτέρῳ μετρίως ὑψηλὸν καὶ εὐρύχωρον, ἔχον τρεῖς δωμάτια, μὲ στρογγύλην σφαῖραν ἐξ ἐπιχρύσου ξύλου εἰς τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς μόνον ἐξ αὐτῶν. Τὸ περιπτέρον περιεζώννυτο μὲ πράσινον ὕφασμα μιμούμενον τοίχον, ὁ ὅποιος ἦτο ὑψηλότερος ἀπὸ ἑφιππον. Ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τούτου ὑπῆρχον μερικὰ ἄλλα περιπτέρα, ἀλλὰ χαμηλότερα κάπως. Ὅταν ἔφθασαν εἰς τὴν πύλην τοῦ περιβόλου, ὁ Ἀγάς καὶ ἡ συνοδεία του ἀφιππευσαν μὲ ἐλαφρὰν ἀβρὰν κίνησιν. Ἀφοῦ ἔγινε τοῦτο, ὠδηγήθησαν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν τὴν ἀγούσαν εἰς τὸ περιπτέρον ἔξω τῶν θυρῶν ἦσαν τοποθετημένα τρεῖς λάβαρα ἐξ ἐπιχρύσου ξύλου, ὑψηλὰ ὅσον ξίφος ἱππικοῦ, μὲ ὀρειγαλκίνην ἐπιχρυσὸν σφαῖραν εἰς τὴν κορυφὴν καὶ, περίπου μίαν παλάμην κάτω ταύτης, οὐρὰν ἵππου κρεμασμένην. Ἐφθάσαμεν τότε εἰς μίαν ἀνοδὸν ἐξ βαθμίδων, κατεσκευασμένην ἄνω τοῦ ἐδάφους καὶ ἐπεστρωμένην μὲ τάπητας, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἀνήλθομεν εἰς τὸ πρῶτον δωμάτιον τοῦ περιπτέρου, τὸν προθάλαμον ἢ ἐντευκτήριον, τὸ ὅποιον ἀκριβῶς εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐκαλύπτετο μὲ χρυσοῦν ὕφασμα· παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τούτου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ

at the foot of it upon the ground, a long row of cushions covered with scarlet and fringed with silk and gold. The pavement was boarded with thin planks and finely covered. And Annand was seated over against the canopy or cloth of state upon a stool without a back, covered with crimson velvet, where he had not stayed above a quarter of an hour, but Achmet Aga came and made a sign to him to go into the other room which was the second in the pavilion, hung and covered as the first, but the furniture newer and finer. The Grand Visier sat at the upper end upon soft pillows which seemed to be two large mattresses covered with the finest scarlet, having 4 great cushions placed in a row to lean upon which were covered with cloth of gold, being Indian work of a red color; besides them there was a frontispiece of cloth of gold embroidered higher than a pike and as large as the pavilion. All the choice of the army stood round him very thick and close together and all in rich attire. As soon as they approached the said Visier within 3 paces or thereabouts, the dragoman Panagiotti did bid them stop there. Then they uncovered themselves and made a bow, returning back to cover themselves; at which salutation, the Grand Visier bowing his head did bid them welcome. And then Annand be-

ἐδάφους ὑπῆρχε μακρὰ σειρὰ προσκεφαλαίων μὲ ἐρυθρὸν περίβλημα, πλαισιούμενον μὲ μεταξωτὰ καὶ χρυσὰ κρόσια. Τὸ ἔδαφος ἦτο ἐπενδεδυμένον μὲ λεπτὰς σανίδας καὶ καλλιτεχνικῶς ἐπεστρωμένον. Ὁ Ἀνάγης ἐκάθισεν ἔναντι τοῦ «οὐρανοῦ» ἢ ὑφάσματος τοῦ Κράτους, ἐπὶ θρανίου ἄνευ ἐρεισινώτου, κεκαλυμμένου μὲ βελούδον πυρροῦ χρώματος, ὅπου μόλις εἶχε παραμείνειν περὶ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς ὥρας, ὅτε ὁ Ἀχμέτ Ἀγάς εἰσήλθε καὶ τοῦ ἔνευσε νὰ μεταβῆ εἰς τὸ ἄλλο δωμάτιον, τὸ δεύτερον τοῦ περιπτέρου, τὸ ὅποιον εἶχεν ἀνάλογα παραπετάσματα καὶ τάπητας τοῦ πρώτου, ἀλλὰ σευρὴν νεωτέραν καὶ ὠραιότεραν. Ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης ἐκάθιστο εἰς τὸ ἕτερον ἄκρον ἐπὶ μαλακῶν προσκεφαλαίων, ποὺ ἐφαίνοντο ὡς δύο μεγάλα στρώματα ἐπενδεδυμένα μὲ τὴν πλέον ἔξοχον πορφύραν, καὶ ἔχον 4 μεγάλα προσκεφάλαια τοποθετημένα εἰς σειρὰν διὰ νὰ στηρίζεται, ἐνδεδυμένα μὲ χρυσοῦν ὕφασμα, ἰνδικὸν ἔργον ἐρυθρᾶς ἀποχρώσεως πλησίον τοῦ ὑπῆρχε προμετωπὶς ὑφάσματος χρυσοῦ κεντητοῦ ὑψηλότερα λόγχης καὶ πλατεῖα ὅσον τὸ περιπτέρον. Ὅλοι οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἴσταντο κύκλῳ του εἰς πυκνὴν ταξιν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ὅλοι μὲ πλουσίαν περιβολήν. Μόλις ἐπλησίασαν τὸν Βεζύρη εἰς ἀστάσεις τριῶν μέτρων ἢ περιῖπου τόσον, ὁ διερμηνεὺς Παναγιώτης τοὺς ἐσταμάτησεν ἐκεῖ. Τότε ἀπεκαλύφθησαν καὶ ὑπεκλίθησαν, κάμνοντες μεταβολὴν διὰ νὰ καλυφθοῦν ἐκ νέου εἰς τὸν χωριτισμὸν τοῦτον ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης νεύων τὴν κεφαλὴν τοὺς ἠύχθη τὸ καλῶς ὄρισαν. Καὶ τότε ὁ Ἀνάγης ἤρχισε τὴν ἀγόρευσίν του :

gan his harangue; Now that God hath after so tedious a war settled a peace between two potentates who were always proud of the distinct and stricter friendship between them, in token whereof his excellency the Captain General had sent him to declare unto him his amity and to assure him of the good correspondence between the most serene Republic and the Ottoman Porte, in the same manner as at all other times they have done; and it may be gathered by the subsequent affairs that his excellency hath had no other design but that the hatred and enmity between them may be laid aside and annihilated. The Grand Visier answered this complimentary very ceremoniously, saying that he did accept very kindly of the expressions of his excellency the Captain General who hath bestirred himself in the settling of this peace, not without reason, for he knows very well how great advantages will redound to the most serene Republic by the affection and favor of the Grand Signor. Anand replied that the most serene Republic hath endeavored with great fervency to cultivate the friendship of the Ottoman Porte, nor did ever take up arms but in their own defence when necessitated to it, which the law of nature allows of; therefore he might be certain they would be much more diligent for the future to preserve it. The Grand Visier made answer that the

Τώρα πού ὁ Θεός μετὰ τόσον ὄχληρόν πόλεμον ἀπεκατέστησε τὴν εἰρήνην μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ἀθθενιῶν, αἱ ὁποῖα πάντοτε ὑπῆρξαν ὑπερήφανοι διὰ τὴν διακεκριμένην καὶ λίαν στενὴν φιλίαν μεταξὺ τῶν, ἡ αὐτοῦ ἐξοχότης ὁ Ἀρχιστρατήγος εἰς μαρτύριον τοῦτου τὸν ἀπέστειλεν, ἵνα δηλώσῃ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ τὴν φιλίαν του καὶ νὰ τὸν βεβαιώσῃ διὰ τὰς καλὰς σχέσεις μεταξὺ τῆς Γαληνοτάτης Δημοκρατίας καὶ τῆς Ὀθωμανικῆς Πύλης, ὅπως εἶχον ἄλλοτε ὑπάρξει εἰς τὸ παρελθόν, καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ ἐπακόλουθα δύναται νὰ συναχθῆ, ὅτι ἡ ἐξοχότης του ἔχει ὡς μόνον σχέδιον νὰ παραμερίσῃ καὶ νὰ ἐκμηδενίσῃ πᾶν μῖσος καὶ ἐχθρότητα μεταξὺ αὐτῶν. Ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης ἀπήντησεν εἰς τὰς φιλοφρονήσεις αὐτὰς μὲ λίαν ἐπίσημον ἕφος, λέγων ὅτι ἐδέχετο λίαν εὐμενῶς τοὺς λόγους τῆς ἐξοχότητός του τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου, ὅστις κατηύθυνεν ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τῆς εἰρήνης ταύτης, ὅχι ἄνευ λόγου, διότι γνωρίζει πολὺ καλῶς πόσον μεγάλη ὄφελῃ θὰ ἐκπηγάσουν διὰ τὴν Γαληνοτάτην Δημοκρατίαν ἀπὸ τὴν στοργὴν καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν τοῦ Σουλτάνου. Ὁ Ἀνάντης ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ἡ Γαληνοτάτη Δημοκρατία κατέβαλε πᾶσαν προσπάθειαν μὲ φερμὸν ζῆλον νὰ καλλιεργήσῃ τὴν φιλίαν μὲ τὴν Ὀθωμανικὴν Πύλην καὶ δὲν ἔλαβε τὰ ὄπλα παρὰ μόνον πρὸς ὑπεράσπισιν ἑαυτῆς, ὅταν προέκυψεν ἡ ἀνάγκη, πρᾶγμα τὸ ὁποῖον ἐπιτρέπει ὁ νόμος τῆς φύσεως· διὰ τοῦτο δύναται νὰ εἶναι βέβαιος, ὅτι θὰ δειχθοῦν εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἐπιμελέστεροι διὰ τὴν διατήρησιν αὐτῆς. Ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης ἀπεκρίθη, ὅτι ἡ Γαληνοτάτη Δημοκρατία θὰ εὖρῃ τὴν αὐτὴν



most serene Republic should find the same correspondence at all times from the Grand Signor. After this, the articles were produced, signed and sealed, and delivered into the hands of the Visier by Annand saying that, they being explained and digested by his commissioners and by us on behalf of the Captain General, we are now come before their presence to receive the same in the Turkish idiom, signed and sealed with your seal according to the form agreed upon, and sworn to be observed. Which articles, being in the hands of the Grand Signor's lord chancellor who stood by them together with the Chian Pasha, the Visier's chief secretary and his groom of the chamber, they were by the said chancellor delivered to the Visier, who after he had looked upon the seal and subscription, gave them to Panagiotti and bid him read them name by name that had subscribed; which being done, he took the writing that was in the Turkish language, and delivered it to the high chancellor who gave it to Annand; and he diligently observed them and particularly the seal; which charge being over, the Grand Visier said all was well and now we are good friends. Then Annand made a short speech in commendation of the Visier which was well taken by him, and he told him that he desired him to salute the Captain General in his name. After this the Visier

ἀναπαύοισιν ἀνὰ πάντα χρόνον ἐκ μέρους τοῦ Σουλτάνου. Μετὰ ταῦτα παρουσίασαν τὰ ἄρθρα τῆς συνθήκης, ὑπογεγραμμένα καὶ ἐσφραγισμένα, καὶ ὁ Ἄνάντης τὰ παρῆδωκεν εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ Βεζύρου, λέγων ὅτι, ἀφοῦ ταῦτα ἡρμηνεύθησαν καὶ ἀφομοιώθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντεταλμένων καὶ ἡμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου, ἤλθομεν τώρα ἐνώπιον των, ἵνα λάβωμεν τὸ ἀντίστοιχον εἰς τουρκικὴν γλῶσσαν, ὑπογεγραμμένον καὶ ἐσφραγισμένον μὲ τὴν σφραγίδα σας, κατὰ τὸν συμφωνηθέντα τύπον καὶ μὲ τὸν ὄρκον νὰ τηρηθῆ. Ἐὰ ἄρθρα ταῦτα, ἐγχειρισθέντα εἰς τὸν μέγαν σφραγιδοφύλακα τοῦ Σουλτάνου, ὁ ὁποῖος ἴστατο πλησίον τοῦ Βεζύρου μετὰ τοῦ Chian Πασᾶ, τοῦ ἀρχιγραμματέως καὶ θαλαμηπόλου αὐτοῦ, παρεδόθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν Μέγαν Βεζύρον, ὅστις ἐθεώρησε τὴν σφραγίδα καὶ τὴν ὑπογραφήν καὶ τὰ ἔδωκεν εἰς τὸν Παναγιώτην, παραγγέλλον νὰ ἀναγνώσῃ ὄνομα πρὸς ὄνομα τοὺς ὑπογεγραφομένους· ἀφοῦ ἔγινε τοῦτο, ἔλαβε τουρκιστὶ συντεταγμένον τὸ ἔγγραφον καὶ τὸ παρῆδωκεν εἰς τὸν ἀρχισφραγιδοφύλακα, ὅστις τὸ ἐνεχείρισεν εἰς τὸν Ἄνάντην· καὶ οὗτος μετ' ἐπιμελείας τὸ ἐξήτασε καὶ ἰδίως τὴν σφραγίδα· ἀφοῦ ἐτελείωσε καὶ αὐτὴ ἢ διατύπωσις, ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης εἶπεν, ὅτι ὅλα ἦσαν ἐν τάξει καὶ ὅτι τώρα ἦσαν καλοὶ φίλοι. Τότε ὁ Ἄνάντης ἐξεφώνησε βραχὺν λόγον, ἐπαινετικὸν τοῦ Βεζύρου, ὅστις τὸν ἤκουσεν εὐχαρίστως καὶ τοῦ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἐπεθύμει νὰ χαιρετίσῃ ἐξ ὀνόματός του τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον. Ἀκολούθως ὁ Βεζύρης ἀντήλλαξε

exchanged a word or two with the grooms of his chamber, and they presented him with 2 Persian vests of cloth of gold and put them on. After this present was given, they departed and returned in the same manner and with the same retinue to the Pasha's apartment. There the translation here underwritten was delivered to Annand by Panagiotti in his own handwriting, which he perused and found that they had omitted in the second article the territories of the fortresses of Suda, Carabusa and Spina Longa, and protested against the articles as null and void because they were altered contrary to agreement. Panagiotti replied that it was the Visier's pleasure to omit that, because the fortresses can have no territories, but Annand insisted upon it and said that this omission was a breach of faith, it being so to be established by contract. He was infinitely troubled at the cheat and afterwards gave notice of it to his excellency who commanded him to return immediately to the Pasha's lodgings and tell him that he intended to declare the treaty void unless he would rectify the mistake that was committed. He was astonished at these resolute propositions, yet he endeavored to excuse it by saying that the fortresses had no territories. But Annand fully convinced him by Panagiotti's own note which he

μίαν ἢ δύο λέξεις μὲ τοὺς θαλαμηπόλους του καὶ τοῦ παρουσίασαν δύο περιστακτικὰς στολάς χρυσοκεντήτου ὑφάσματος καὶ τὰς προσέφερον εἰς αὐτούς. Ἀφοῦ ἐδόθη τὸ δῶρον τοῦτο, ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ ἐπέστρεψαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ μὲ τὴν αὐτὴν συνοδείαν εἰς τὸ διαμέρισμα τοῦ Πασᾶ. Ἐνταῦθα ἡ μετάφρασις, παρατιθεμένη κάτω τοῦ κειμένου, παρεδόθη εἰς τὸν Ἀνάτην ὑπὸ τοῦ Παναγιώτη, γεγραμμένη διὰ χειρὸς του· διεξήλθε αὐτὴν καὶ εἶρεν ὅτι εἶχον παραλείπει εἰς τὸ δεῦτερον ἄρθρον τὰς ἑδαφικὰς περιοχὰς τῆς Σούδας, Γρομβούσας καὶ Σπιναλόγγας· διεμαρτυρήθη τότε κατὰ τῆς διατυπώσεως τῶν ἄρθρων, χαρακτηρίσας ταῦτα ὡς ἀνίσχυρα καὶ ἄκυρα, διότι ἠλλοιωθήσαν παρὰ τὴν γενωμένην συμφωνίαν. Ὁ Παναγιώτης ἀπήνησεν, ὅτι ἦτο ἡ θέλησις τοῦ Βεξύρου νὰ παραλείψουν ταῦτα, διότι τὰ φρούρια δὲν δύνανται νὰ ἔχουν ἑδαφικὰς περιοχὰς· ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀνάτης ἐπέμενεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐδήλωσεν, ὅτι ἡ παραλείψις αὐτῆ ἰσοδυναμεῖ πρὸς παραβίασιν τοῦ λόγου των, ἀφοῦ κατὰ τὴν γενωμένην σύμβασιν ἔπρεπε νὰ διατυπωθῇ τοῦτο οὕτω. Εἶχε τὰ μέγιστα ταραχθῆ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην καὶ κατόπιν εἰδοποίησε περὶ τούτου τὴν ἐξοχότητά του, ὅστις τοῦ παρήγγειλε νὰ ἐπιστρέψῃ ἀμέσως εἰς τὰ διαμερίσματα τοῦ Πασᾶ καὶ νὰ τοῦ εἴπῃ, ὅτι ἐσκόπευε νὰ κηρύξῃ τὴν συνθήκην ἄκυρον, ἂν δὲν διαφθοῦτο τὸ διαπραχθὲν σφάλμα. Ἐξεπλάγη οὗτος διὰ τὰς ἀποφασιστικὰς αὐτὰς προτάσεις καὶ ἔσπευσε νὰ τὸ δικαιολογήσῃ λέγων, ὅτι τὰ φρούρια δὲν εἶχον ἑδαφικὰς περιοχὰς. Ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀνάτης τὸν ἔπεισε τελείως μὲ τὸ σημεῖωμα αὐτοῦ τοῦ Παναγιώτου, τὸ ὁποῖον τότε εἶχεν ἀνά χειρὸς, εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον περιεῖ-

then had in his hand, in which he had expressed it before. He told Annand that he must come again the next day because it was late, and did pawn his faith that he would adjust that passage. This answer was brought to his excellency who engaged him to go to the said Pasha the next day with a commission to require a declaration thereof, apart by itself which he did; but the Pasha who had no intention to make any other declaration said, that they would make new articles in the Turkish tongue, with this additional specification, that by the territories of the fortresses was understood the adjacent rocks which were under the command of the cannons of those forts respectively, so that there was no need of making other new ones, because the old one should be amended. His excellency was absolutely against this new amendment, alleging that he would not let those articles go any more out of his hands. The Pasha replied that there could not be two leaves left out. Annand made answer that yesterday upon the engagement of his word and faith, he caused the white flag to be set up, and if he would not do things to our satisfaction, all that was done must be undone; so that he seeing in what perplexity things were, thought it convenient to assent to the proposed declaration which was faithfully done and received according to desire.

χετο τί εἶχε προηγουμένως ἀποδεχθῆ. Εἶπεν εἰς τὸν Ἀνάτην, ὅτι ἔπρεπε νὰ ἐπανέλθῃ τὴν ἐπομένην, διότι ἦτο ἀργά, καὶ τοῦ ἔδιδε τὸν λόγον του, ὅτι θὰ ἐτακτοποιεῖ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο τοῦ ἀρθρου. Ἡ ἀπάντησις αὕτη μετεδόθη εἰς τὴν ἐξοχότητά του, ὅστις τοῦ ἀνέθεσε νὰ μεταβῇ τὴν ἐπομένην εἰς τὸν Πασᾶν μὲ ἐντολὴν νὰ ζητήσῃ δήλωσιν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀνεξαρτήτως ἐκείνου ποῦ αὐτὸς εἶχε κάμει. Ἄλλ' ὁ Πασᾶς, ὁ ὁποῖος δὲν εἶχε διάθεσιν νὰ κάμῃ ἄλλην δήλωσιν, εἶπεν, ὅτι θὰ διετύπωνον ἐκ νέου τὰ ἀρθρα εἰς τὴν τουρκικὴν γλῶσσαν μὲ τὴν πρόσθετον αὐτὴν ἐιδικὴν ἐπεξήγησιν, ὅτι ὡς ἔδαφισταί περιοχαὶ τῶν φρουρῶν ἐννοοῦντο οἱ παρακείμενοι βράχοι, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἦσαν ἐντὸς τῆς ἀκτίως δρασσεως τῶν πυροβόλων ἐκείνου τῶν φρουρῶν τούτων, ὥστε δὲν ἐχρηαίεζτο νὰ κάμουν νέα ἄλλα ἀρθρα, ἀφοῦ τὰ παλαιὰ θὰ διορθοῦντο. Ἡ ἐξοχότης του ἦτο ἀπολύτως κατὰ τῆς νέας αὐτῆς διορθώσεως, ὑποστηρίζων, ὅτι δὲν θὰ ἄφηνε πλέον τὰ ἀρθρα αὐτὰ νὰ ἐξέλθουν τῶν χειρῶν του. Ὁ Πασᾶς ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι δὲν ἠδύναντο νὰ μείνουν ἔξω δύο φύλλα. Ὁ Ἀνάτης ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι χθές, μὲ βάσιν τὸν λόγον του καὶ τὴν πίστιν του, ἔκαμε νὰ ἀναπεισθῇ ἡ λευκὴ σημαία, καὶ ὅτι, ἂν δὲν ἤθελε νὰ τακτοποιηθοῦν τὰ πράγματα ἱκανοποιητικῶς δι' ἡμᾶς, ὅτι ἔγινε θὰ ἐθεωρεῖτο ὡς μὴ γενόμενον οὕτω βλέπων εἰς ποῖον περίπλοκον σημεῖον ἔφθασαν τὰ πράγματα, ἐθεώρησεν ὁ Πασᾶς πρέπον νὰ συγκατανεύσῃ εἰς τὴν προτεινομένην δήλωσιν, ὅπερ ἐξετελέσθη ἐντίμως καὶ ἐγένετο δεκτικὸν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν των.

## IV

A COPY OF THOSE ARTICLES WHICH WERE ASSIGNED  
AND ARE IN THE HANDS OF THE PRIME VISIER.

THE ARTICLES OF PEACE AGREED UPON  
THE 6 OF SEPTEMBER 1669

1) To the end that the Republic may enjoy a firm peace with the Porte, as she hath constantly endeavored, the city of Candia, with the cannon and ammunition thereunto properly belonging, are remitted into their hands that shall be appointed thereunto by the Grand Visier upon the terms hereafter mentioned.

2) That the fortress of Suda, Carabusa and Spina Longa with their territories, the fortress of Clissa with its territory, and the other acquisitions made in Bossina during the time of this late war, shall be peaceably enjoyed by the Republic, without any disturbance, or any other terms whatsoever to be imposed.

3) That all the great and small guns of the Armada that have been disembarked in Candia, shall be freely re-embarked.

4) That 12 days of privileges as was agreed shall be allowed

## IV

ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΘΡΩΝ ΤΑ ΟΠΟΙΑ ΔΙΕΒΙΒΑΣΘΗΣΑΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΕΥΡΙΣΚΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΧΕΙΡΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΒΕΖΥΡΟΥ

ΤΑ ΑΡΘΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΝΘΗΚΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ, ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ ΟΠΟΙΩΝ ΕΠΗΛΘΕ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙΑ  
ΤΗΝ 6ην ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 1669

1) Πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν νὰ ἀπολαύσῃ ἡ Δημοκρατία σταθερὰν εἰρήνην μετὰ τὴν Πύλην, ὡς αὕτη πάντοτε ἐπεδίωξε, ἡ πόλις τοῦ Χάνδακος μετὰ τὰ κανόνια καὶ τὰ πολεμοφόδια τὰ ἀνήκοντα εἰς αὐτὴν θὰ παραδοθῇ εἰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ποῦ θὰ ὑποδειχθοῦν ἐκ μέρους τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου, ὑπὸ τοὺς ἀμέσως κατωτέρω ἀναγραφόμενους ὄρους.

2) Ὅτι τὰ φρούρια τῆς Σούδας, Γραμβούσας καὶ Σπιναλόγγας μετὰ τὰς ἐδαφικὰς αὐτῶν περιοχάς, τὸ Φρούριον τῆς Clissa μετὰ τὴν ἐδαφικὴν του περιοχὴν, καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι γινόμεναι κατὰ τὴν διάρκειαν τοῦ τελευταίου πολέμου κτήσεις εἰς τὴν Bossina, θὰ εὐρίσκωνται εἰρηνικῶς εἰς τὴν κατοχὴν τῆς Δημοκρατίας ἄνευ παρενοχλήσεως ἢ ἄλλου οἰουδήποτε ἐπιβαλλομένου ὄρου.

3) Ὅτι ὅλα τὰ μεγάλα καὶ μικρὰ πυροβόλα τῆς Ἀρμάδας, τὰ ὅποια ἀπεβίβασθησαν εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα, θὰ δύνανται νὰ ἐπανεπιβιβασθοῦν ἐλευθέρως.

4) Ὅτι 12 ἡμέραι ἀδείας κατὰ τὰ συμφωνηθέντα παρέχονται διὰ τὴν ἐπι-

for the embarking and shipping of sacred and profane utensils, cannons and ammunitions belonging to the said Armada, provisions and all other goods and carriages whatsoever, as also wounded and sick men, all the remaining forces, galley-men, and all those peasants and strangers that have a mind to go aboard, that they may transport themselves in galleys and barks, and before this time be expired, there shall be no pretext for the surrender of the town, or of any part thereof.

5) That in case the said term of 12 days be not sufficient for them to ship all their forces and goods above mentioned, the Grand Visier doth engage, that after he hath the town delivered up to him, he will employ his own barks to carry whatever is left behind aboard of those Venetian vessels that lie in the trench for that purpose.

6) That during the said time allotted for the embarking, both parties might keep to the posts they now possess, which shall be observed with all the exactness and civility imaginable, prohibiting the soldiers to advance forwards or to speak together, that we may avoid the disorder that may ensue thereupon; and this shall be the officers' duty, promising to treat

βίβασιν καὶ διαβίβασιν τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων, τῶν κανονίων καὶ πυρομαχιῶν, ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ὡς ἄνω Ἀρμάδα, τῶν ζωοτροφῶν ἢ ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἀποσκευῶν οἰωνοῦ ἴσως, ὡς ἐπίσης τῶν τραυματιῶν καὶ ἀσθενῶν, ὅλων τῶν ἀπομενουσῶν στρατιωτικῶν δυνάμεων, τῶν γαλεσιῶν καὶ ὅλων ἐκείνων τῶν ἐντοπίων καὶ ξένων, οἱ ὅποιοι προτίθενται νὰ ἐπιβιβασθοῦν, ὥστε νὰ δύναται νὰ γίνῃ ἢ μεταφορὰ αὐτῶν διὰ γαλερῶν καὶ λέμβων πρὸς τὴν ἐκπνοῆς τῆς προθεσμίας ταύτης δὲν θὰ προβληθῇ κατ' οὐδένα λόγον ἀξίως περὶ παραδόσεως τῆς πόλεως ἢ μέρους ταύτης.

5) Ὅτι εἰς περίπτωσιν καθ' ἣν ἢ ὡς ἄνω προθεσμία τῶν 12 ἡμερῶν δὲν θὰ εἶναι ἀρκετὴ διὰ τὴν ἐπιβίβασιν ὅλων τῶν δυνάμεων τῶν καὶ τῶν προμηνημονευθέντων πραγμάτων τῶν, ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης ἀναλαμβάνει, ἀφοῦ παραδοθῇ ἢ πόλις εἰς αὐτόν νὰ χρησιμοποιήσῃ ἰδικὰς τοῦ λέμβους πρὸς μεταφορὰν ἐκείνων πού παρήμεναν εἰς τὰ ἐνετικά πλοῖα, τὰ ὅποια εὐρίσκονται διὰ τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦτον πρὸς τὸ μέρος τῆς τάφρου.

6) Ὅτι διαρκούσης τῆς προσδιορισθείσης προθεσμίας διὰ τὴν ἐπιβίβασιν, ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρη δεόν νὰ κρατήσουν τὰς θέσεις, τὰς ὁποίας τώρα κατέχουν, ὅρος ὁ ὅποιος θὰ τηρηθῇ μὲ πᾶσαν δυνατὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ εὐπρέπειαν, ἀπαγορευομένου εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας νὰ προχωροῦν ἢ νὰ διαλέγονται πρὸς ἄλλήλους, ἵνα ἀποφευχθῇ ἢ ἀταξία, πού θὰ ἦτο δυνατόν νὰ προέλθῃ ἐκ τούτου καὶ θὰ εἶναι καθήκον τῶν ἀξιωματικῶν, νὰ ἀναλάβουν νὰ μεταχειρισθοῦν ὡς

either party as enemies that shall any ways transgress; yet so that this shall not be looked upon as a breach of peace of either side.

7) That as soon as these articles are subscribed at the appointed signal of the white flag, all hostility and labor, as well under as above ground, shall cease, and hostages be appointed with four other persons on each side deputed to take care that the said cessation of the aforementioned labor be punctually observed.

8) That for the surety and performance of these articles, there shall be three hostages of each party of great quality and equal degree, we proposing on our part, the three noble Venetians, which are Faustin de Riva, the Lieut. General of the Armada, Gio Bacca Calbo, Commissary General of the ammunition and provisions, and Zaccharia Mocenigo, a duke and now a person entertained in Candia; and we in exchange do demand Dabri Pasha, the Begler Bey of Semesvar, Achmet Pasha Aga of the Janizaries, and Gassit Bey, the Defterdar of Romelia; and these hostages shall not be delivered up till all been embarked.

9) That for security of our part, all the care imaginable shall be taken for the embarking; and that there shall be taken in

ἐχθρούς τοὺς ὁποσδήποτε παραβάτας τοῦ ἐνὸς ἢ τοῦ ἄλλου μέρους, χωρὶς τοῦτο ἐκ τούτου νὰ θεωρηθῇ ὡς παραβίασις τῆς συνθήκης εἰρήνης ἐκ μέρους ἐκατέρωτα μερίδος.

7) Ὅτι εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ὑπογραφὴν τῶν ἀρθρῶν τούτων, μὲ τὸ συμφωνηθὲν σῆμα τῆς λευκῆς σημαίας, πᾶσα ἐχθροπραξία καὶ πολεμικὴ ἐργασία ἐπὶ καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν πρέπει νὰ σταματήσουν· νὰ ὑποδειχθοῦν ὄμηροι καὶ νὰ ἀποσταλοῦν ἐκατέρωθεν τέσσαρα ἄλλα πρόσωπα διὰ τὴν ἐπακριβῆ παρακολούθησιν τῆς ὡς ἄνω καταπαύσεως τῶν προμνημονευθέντων ἔργων.

8) Ὅτι πρὸς ἐξασφάλισιν τῆς ἐκπληρώσεως τῶν ἀρθρῶν τούτων, θὰ δοθοῦν τρεῖς ὄμηροι ἐκατέρωθεν περιωπῆς καὶ ἀντιστοίχου κοινωνικῆς θέσεως· προτινομεν ἀπὸ τὴν ἰδικὴν μας πλευρὰν τοὺς τρεῖς εὐγενεῖς Ἐνετούς, τὸν Faustin de Riva, Ἀντιναύαρχον τῆς Ἀρμάδας, τὸν Gio Bacca Calbo, Στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῶν Πολεμοφοδίων καὶ Ζωοτροφιῶν, καὶ τὸν Zaccharia Mocenigo, δούκα καὶ τῶρα ἰδιωτέοντα ἐν Χάνδακι· καὶ εἰς ἀνταλλαγὴν ζητοῦμεν τοὺς Dabri Πασᾶ, Βεηλέρβεην τοῦ Semesvar, Ἀχμέτ Πασᾶν, Ἀγᾶν τῶν Γενιτσάρων, καὶ Gassit Βέην, Ἀρχιλογιστὴν τῆς Ρομιλίας· καὶ οἱ ὄμηροι οὗτοι δὲν θὰ ἐπιστραφῶσι, μέχρις οἷου τελειώσῃ ἡ ἐπιβίβασις.

9) Ὅτι πρὸς ἐξασφάλισιν, ἐκ μέρους μας πᾶσα δυνατὴ φροντίς θὰ ληφθῇ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιβίβασιν καὶ θὰ γίνουν δεκτοὶ δύο ἀντιπρόσωποι διὰ νὰ παρακο-

two deputies to see it done. They must be seamen because they being joined with two of the admirals are to take notice of the time of licence which is allowed for shipping.

10) That the ships that ought to be employed for to embark us, to the end that it may be done with the greater expedition, shall be brought as near the port as they can, and to that purpose, the galleys and other vessels shall pass backwards and forwards by night as well as by day without any molestation.

11) That the Venetian Armada shall be permitted to keep their station till they are ready to set sail, and both parties shall use their diligence as good friends.

12) That all the ships of the Venetian Armada which shall be taken after the subscription of the said peace, shall be punctually restored, and this is meant of those ships which the vessels of the Turkish navy have made prize, and because there are many single vessels beside those above named, that course about with the Venetian colors, these men shall not only have those colors and patents of theirs called in by public proclamation, but they that transpired after forty days reciprocally (which time is granted to give them notice) shall forfeit their

λουθήσουν τὴν ἐκτέλεσιν. Πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ναυτικοί, ἵνα ὁμοῦ μὲ δύο ἐκ τῶν ναυάρχων μας, ἐπαγορευθῶσιν ἐπὶ τῆς προθεσμίας τῆς παραγορευθείσης διὰ τὴν ἐπιβίβασιν.

10) Ὅτι τὰ πλοῖα ποὺ θὰ χρησιμοποιηθοῦν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιβίβασίν μας, ἵνα γίνῃ αὕτη μὲ τὴν μεγαλύτεραν δυνατὴν ταχύτητα, θὰ προσεγγίσουν ὅσον τὸ δυνατόν πλησιέστερον πρὸς τὸν λιμένα· καὶ πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦτον αἱ γαλέραι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πλοῖα νὰ δύνανται νὰ μετακινῶνται πρὸς τὰ ἔμπροσθ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὀπίσω λόγια καὶ ἡμέραν ἄνευ παρενοχλήσεως.

11) Ὅτι θὰ ἐπιτραπῇ εἰς τὴν ἐνετικὴν Ἀρμάδα νὰ παραμείνῃ σταθμεύουσα, μέχρις ὅτου ἐτοιμασθῇ νὰ ἀποπλεύσῃ, καὶ ἀμφοτέρω τὰ μέρη θὰ λάβουν ἐπὶ τούτου ἐπιμέλειαν ὡς καλοὶ φίλοι.

12) Ὅτι πᾶσα λεία πλοίων, γενομένη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνετικῆς Ἀρμάδας μετὰ τὴν ὑπογραφὴν τῆς παρούσης εἰρήνης, πρέπει μετ' ἀκριβείας νὰ ἐπιστραφῇ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἰσχύει δι' ὅσα πλοῖα ἔγιναν λεία τοῦ τουρκικοῦ Στόλου· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὑπάρχουν μεμονωμένα πλοῖα, πλὴν τῶν προσημειωθέντων, τὰ ὅποια ἐκτελοῦν καταδρομὰς ὑπὸ τὴν ἐνετικὴν σημαίαν, ὅχι μόνον θὰ ἐπιβληθῇ δι' ἐπισήμου διατάγματος εἰς τὸ πληρωμὰ των ἡ ὑποστολὴ τῆς σημαίας καὶ θὰ ἀφαιρεθοῦν τὰ σχετικὰ προνομιακά ἔγγραφα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ παραβάται ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν θὰ τιμωρῶνται διὰ θανάτου μετὰ τὴν παρέλευσιν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν (προθεσμίαν παρεχομένην μέχρι τῆς εἰδοποιήσεώς των), μετὰ τὴν πάροδον τῶν

lives, and this term being expired they that prosecute the course shall be taken as enemies by both parts; but this shall not be imputed to either party as a breach of the present peace.

13) That the slaves on both sides which are dispersed in any remote parts, they shall be reciprocally freed when the Republic shall send their ambassador to the Porte, and that then not only our countrymen and subjects, the Venetians of which quality soever they be, but all other persons of what nation soever they be that have been taken whilst they served actually in this war, shall be faithfully set at liberty.

14) That in favor of this peace, pardon shall be granted to the subjects of both parties, that have in any capacity whatsoever served the contrary party.

15) And by virtue of this present peace, above mentioned, it is intended that the articles of the other last peace be respectively confirmed. Nor shall there be any pretext or cause whatsoever pretended in the contrary, but only the accustomed pension for the Island of Zant continued in the forenamed last peace, which must therefore commence from this day forward.

16) All the prementioned articles of this present peace ought

ὁποῖων οἱ συνεχίζοντες τὰς καταδρομὰς θὰ θεωρῶνται ὡς ἐχθροὶ ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν καὶ ἡ τιμωρία τῶν δὲν θὰ εἶναι δυνατόν νὰ ἐπιρριφθῆ εἰς ἐκάτερον μέρος ὡς παραβίασις τῆς παρούσης συνθήκης.

13) Ὅτι οἱ σκλάβοι ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πλευρῶν, οἱ κατεσπαρμένοι εἰς οἰονδήποτε ἀπόμερον μέρος, θὰ καθίστανται ἀμοιβαίως ἐλεύθεροι, ὅταν ἡ Δημοκρατία ἀποστείλῃ τὸν πρεσβευτὴν αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν Πύλην· τότε ὄχι μόνον οἱ συμπατριῶται καὶ οἱ ὑπήκοοι Ἐνετοὶ οἰασθήποτε τάξεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσωπα οἰασθήποτε ἐθνικότητος, τὰ ὁποῖα συνελήφθησαν καθ' ὄν χρόνον ὑπερέτουν εἰς τὸν παρόντα πόλεμον, θὰ καθίστανται καλῇ τῇ πίστει ἐλεύθερα.

14) Ὅτι χάριν τῆς συνθήκης ταύτης θὰ παραχωρηθῆ συγγνώμη εἰς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν, οἵτινες ὑπὸ οἰανδήποτε αὐτῶν ιδιότητα ὑπερέτησαν τὸ ἀντίθετον μέρος.

15) Καὶ δυνάμει τῆς παρούσης ὡς ἄνω συνθήκης εἰρήνης θεωροῦνται τὰ ἄρθρα τῆς ἄλλης τελευταίας εἰρήνης ὡς ἀντιστοίχως ἐπικυρωθέντα. Οὔτε θὰ παρασχεθῆ οἰαδήποτε ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀφορμῆ ἢ αἰτία δι' οἰανδήποτε ἀντίθετον ἀξίωσιν, πλὴν τοῦ νὰ συνεχισθῆ ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς προκηνημονευθείσης τελευταίας συνθήκης ἢ καταβολὴ ἐπιχορηγήσεως διὰ τὴν νῆσον Ζάκυνθον, ἢ ὁποῖα ἐκ τούτου θὰ ἀρχίσῃ καταβαλλομένη ἀπὸ τώρα καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς.

16) Πάντα τὰ ὡς ἄνω ἄρθρα τῆς παρούσης συνθήκης εἰρήνης ὑφείλουν



to be subscribed, sealed, and are to take up two sides of paper, the one in the Turkish tongue subscribed by the Grand Visier and sealed with the public seal which shall remain with the Captain General, the other in Italian, subscribed by the Captain General and Council and sealed with the seal of the Republic, which shall remain with the Grand Visier; and every one of these pages shall have the translation annexed, and be signed by the public ministers of state; that is, the Turkish in Italian and the Italian in Turkish, to the end that both parties may see there is no intended deceit, and all this shall be inviolably kept and sworn to by them both; that the Grand Visier, in consideration of so long, so resolute and so valiant a defence maintained, with so much honor by the besieged, hath given them leave to take away four pieces of cannon from among those that stood mounted towards the Piazza. Francesco Morosini, Captain General; Gieronimo Battaglia, Proveditor General; Lorenzo Cornero, Proveditor of the Armada; Zorzi Benzon, Captain of the Gulf\*.

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νὰ ὑπογραφοῦν καὶ σφραγισθοῦν, γραφόμενα ἐπὶ δύο φύλλων χάρτου, τοῦ ἑνὸς εἰς τουρκικὴν γλῶσσαν, ὑπογραφομένου ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου καὶ σφραγιζομένου μετὰ τὴν ἐπίσημον σφραγίδα καὶ μέλλοντος νὰ παραμείνῃ εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου, τοῦ ἄλλου εἰς ἰταλικὴν γλῶσσαν, ὑπογραφομένου ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου καὶ τοῦ Συμβουλίου του καὶ σφραγιζομένου μετὰ τὴν σφραγίδα τῆς Δημοκρατίας, μέλλοντος νὰ παραμείνῃ εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου· ἕκαστον τῶν φύλλων τούτων θὰ ἔχῃ προσηρημένην τὴν μετάφρασιν, ὑπογραφομένην ὑπὸ τῶν δημοσίων τοῦ Κράτους λειτουργῶν, δηλ. τὸ Τουρκικὸν κείμενον εἰς ἰταλικὴν καὶ τὸ ἰταλικὸν εἰς τουρκικὴν γλῶσσαν, ἵνα ἀμφοτέρω τὰ μέρη δύνανται νὰ ἴδουν, ὅτι δὲν ὑπάρχει πρόθεσις δόλου καὶ ὅτι ὅλα θὰ τηρηθοῦν ἀπαραβίαστα μετὰ τὸν ὄρκον ἀμφοτέρων.

Ἐπισημαίνεται ὅτι ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης, λαβὼν ὑπ' ὄψιν τὴν τόσον μακρὰν, ἀποφασιστικὴν καὶ γενναίαν ἀμυναν, τὴν ὁποίαν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι ἐκράτησαν μετὰ τόσην τιμὴν, ἐπέτρεψεν εἰς αὐτοὺς νὰ ἀποκομίσουν τέσσαρα κανόνια ἐκ τῶν πυροβλαρχιῶν τοῦ Φρουρίου.

Francesco Morosini, Ἀρχιστράτηγος.  
Gieronimo Battaglia, Γενικὸς Προβλεπτῆς.  
Lorenzo Cornero, Προβλεπτῆς τῆς Ἀρμίδας.  
Zorzi Benzon, Ναύαρχος τοῦ Κόλπου.

\*) Εἰς τὸν φιλόλογον κ. Βασίλ. Λαούρδαν (Harvard University, Dunbarton Oaks) ὁ ὁποῖος, κατὰ τὴν διάρκειαν τῆς παραμονῆς του εἰς τὴν Ὁξφόρδην, ἐπέστειρε τὴν προσηχὴν μου εἰς τὸ ἐνταῦθα δημοσιευόμενον κείμενον ἐκφράζω καὶ ἀπὸ ἐδῶ τὰς εὐχαριστίας μου.