

## ΑΓΓΛΙΚΟΝ ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΤΩΣΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΝΔΑΚΟΣ

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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) ἀνήκεν 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. Δὲν 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 γουϊνεῶν μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἰδιοκτῆτου καὶ ἀκολούθως ἐδώρησε ταῦτα εἰς τὸ Καϊμπριτζ.

Τὸ ὀρθογραφικὸν καὶ συντακτικὸν ὕφος τῆς συγγραφῆς εἶναι τὸ τυπικὸν τῆς ΙΖης ἑκατονταετηρίδος ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ. Τὸ ὕφος 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 καθαρογραμμένον 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 στὺλ τῆς γραφῆς εἰς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ Καϊμπριτζ εἶναι σταθερὸν καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ κειμένου παραμένει ἀμετάβλητον.

Ὁ ἄγνωστος συγγραφεὺς μᾶς παρουσιάζει ζωηρὰν περιγραφὴν τῶν τελευταίων ἡμερῶν ποὺ προηγήθησαν τῆς τελικῆς παραδόσεως τοῦ Χάνδακος ὑπὸ τοῦ Φραγκίσκου Μοροζίνη εἰς τοὺς Τούρκους τὴν 6ην Σεπτεμβρίου 1669, ὅποτε ὑπεγράφησαν τὰ ἄρθρα τῆς συνθήκης εἰρήνης. Ἐκάστη σκηνὴ περιγράφεται μὲ μεγάλην λεπτομέρειαν καὶ συναντῶμεν οἰκεία ὀνόματα, ὡς τὸ τοῦ ἀρχιεξωμότου καὶ προδότου Ἀνδρέου Μπαρότσι. Ἀπὸ τὸ κείμενον συνάγομεν ὅτι ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἦτο παρὼν κατὰ τὴν ὑπογραφὴν τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ προφανῶς εἶχε δυνατότητα νὰ ἀρῶνται εὐχερῶς πληροφορίας ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἀντιμαχομένων δυνάμεων τῶν Τούρκων καὶ Χριστιανῶν, ὡς δύναται τις εὐχερῶς νὰ διαπιστώσῃ ἀπὸ τὴν λεπτομερῆ ἐξιστόρησιν καὶ ἀπόδοσιν ἀκριβοῶν 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 ὠρισμένου 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 ἐσκόπει νὰ ἐκτυπώσῃ τὸ ἔργον· του, ἀλλὰ εἴτε λόγῳ ἐλλείψεως πόρων εἴτε λόγῳ τοῦ ὅτι δὲν ἐπεδείχθη γενικὸν ἐνδιαφέρον διὰ τὴν ἐκδοσιν ἐγκατέλειψε 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 χαρτῶνον βιβλίον σχήματος μικροῦ τετάρτου περιλαμβάνον ὀγδοήκοντα μίαν σελίδας. Ἀμφότερα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑποδιαιροῦνται εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη, ὡς ἀκολουθῶς :

I. Βραχεῖα διήγησις περὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστέρων προσώπων μεταξὺ τῶν Τούρκων, ποὺ παρευρέθησαν εἰς τὴν τελευταίαν πολιορκίαν τοῦ Χάνδακος, ἡ ὁποία 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 συνώδευσαν τὸν Μέγαν Βεζύρην εἰς τὸ ταξίδιον 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.



13-73 εἰς τὸ Χειρ. Καϊμπριτζ) «τῶν συμβεβηκότων κατὰ τὴν 29μηνον ἄμυναν τοῦ Χάνδακος» ἀκολουθεῖ

IV. Ἀντίγραφον τῶν ἄρθρων συνθήκης τὰ ὅποια ὑπεγράφησαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου. (Φύλ. 32, 33 εἰς τὸ Χειρ. Ὁξφόρδης· σσ. 77-81 εἰς τὸ Χειρ. Καϊμπριτζ).

Τὸ κείμενον τοῦ Χειρογράφου τῆς Ὁξφόρδης (Codicis Rawlinsoniani 684) ἔχει ἐν μεταγραφῇ ὡς ἀκολουθῶς\*:

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\*) Ἡ μετάφρασις τοῦ χειρογράφου προσετέθη ὑποβοηθητικῶς ὑπὸ τῆς Συντάξεως τοῦ Περιοδικοῦ.

## 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 ΤΕΛΕΥΤΑΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΝΔΑΚΟΣ, Η ΟΠΟΙΑ ΗΡΧΙΣΕ ΤΗΝ 22 ΜΑΪΟΥ 1667.

Φ α ζ ί λ 'Α χ μ έ τ Π α σ ᾶ ς, προσονομαζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ Κιοπριλόγλου ἦτο Μέγας Βεζύρης, Ἀρχιστράτηγος καὶ ἀπόλυτος Πληρεξούσιος μὲ πᾶν ἀξίωμα καὶ κῆρος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν τουρκικὴν Ἐπικράτειαν. Ἐξεκίνησε διὰ τὰ Χανιά μὲ 64 γαλέρας καὶ μὲ ὅλους τοὺς ἀξιωματικούς τῆς Ὀθωμανικῆς Αὐλῆς τὴν 2αν Νοεμβρίου 1666 καὶ ἔφθασεν εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα μὲ ὀλόκληρον τὸ στράτευμα τὴν 22αν Μαΐου 1667.

Ἄ ν κ ε μ π ο υ ν τ 'Α χ μ έ τ Π α σ ᾶ ς, 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. Εἶχεν ἀποσταλῆ ὡς Ἀρχιστράτηγος εἰς τὴν Κρήτην τὴν 1ην Ἀπριλίου τοῦ 1661 μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Χουσεῖν Πασᾶ, Βεζύρου καὶ Στρατηγοῦ, καταγομένου ἐκ Βοσνίας. Ἐκ τούτου, μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξιν τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα, ἀπελάμβανε μεγάλης ἐκτιμήσεως ἐκ μέρους ὄλων, 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.

Δεφτερντάρ Ἀχμέτ Πασᾶς, Βεζύρης, ἐκ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως· ἦτο ἀνώτατος φροντιστὴς ὅλων τῶν ἐσόδων καὶ ἐξόδων τῆς Ὀθωμανικῆς 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 ἀσκουμένων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Σουλτάνου· ἐπὶ πλέον εἶχε τὸ ἀνώτατον κῦρος ἐξουσίας μετὰ τὸν Σουλτάνον. Ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα μετὰ τοῦ ρηθέντος Μεγάλου Βεζύρου. Ὁ Ἀρχιλογιστὴς οὗτος εἶναι προσωπικότης μεγάλου θάρρους, ἀκαταπόνητος εἰς πᾶσαν ἐργασίαν· δὲν ἰκανοποιεῖται ἂν δὲν εὐρίσκειται εἰς δρᾶσιν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα, καὶ τόσον ἀφοσιούται εἰς αὐτὴν ὥστε ἐπιτρέπει εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὕπνον τριῶν μόνον ὥρῶν.

Ἰμπραῖμ Πασᾶς, Βεζύρης καὶ Ἀγᾶς τῶν Γενιτσάρων, Ἀλβανὸς τὴν καταγωγὴν, ἄνθρωπος μεγάλης φήμης καὶ κύρους μετὰ τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου καὶ τῶν μελῶν τοῦ ἰδιαίτερου 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 στασιάσαντος 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 στραγγάλισθ



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 A b d i A g a 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 I b r a h i m P a s h a, 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 H u s s a i n P a s h a 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 τούς ἀδελφούς του, ὥστε ὁ υἱός του Μουσταφᾶς νὰ δυνηθῆ νὰ καταστῆ μόνιος κυβερνῶν κληρονόμος τῆς Ὀθωμανικῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας.

Τὸν ἐν λόγῳ Ἰμπραϊμ Πασᾶ διεδέχθη ὁ Ἀβδὶ Ἀγᾶς, ὅστις ἦτο Κυρ Κᾰyiasι, δηλ. ὑπαρχηγός, τῶν ὡς ἄνω Γενιτσάρων, καὶ εἶχε τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν μὲ τὸν Ἀγᾶν τῶν Γενιτσάρων, εἰς τὴν θέσιν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐτοποθετήθη ὁ Ζουλφάρ Ἀγᾶς 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 εἰς τῶν πληρεξουσίων οἱ ὅποιοι ἔδρασαν κατὰ τὰς διαπραγματεύσεις τῆς τελευταίως συναφθείσης εἰρήνης.

Ἰμπραϊμ 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, Κιρκάσιος τὴν καταγωγὴν καὶ ἀδελφός τοῦ ἀποθανόντος Μεγ. Βεζύρου Σιαοῦς Πασᾶ· ἦτο γενναῖος ἀγωνιστής, ὅστις ἦλθεν ἐκ Χαλεπίου εἰς Κρήτην τὸν Αὐγούστου τοῦ 1668. Ἐτοποθετήθη 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 deported 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 ἐπετέλεσε πολλὰ λαμπρὰ κατορθώματα εἰς τὸ ρῆγμα τοῦ Ἄγ. Ἀνδρέου ἐπληγώθη εἰς τὸ γόνυ καὶ μὲ μέγαν κίνδυνον διέσωσε τὴν ζωὴν του.

Καρά Μουσταφά Πασᾶς, Βεηλέρβης ἐν Ἀνατολίᾳ, δημιούργημα τοῦ Χουσεῖν Πασᾶ καὶ πρῶτος καταστροφεὺς τοῦ Χάνδακος· ἀνηγορεύθη στρατοπεδάρχης κατὰ τὴν πρώτην περίοδον τῆς πολιορκίας τῆς περιοχῆς Παντοκράτορος διὰ τὴν γενναιότητά του καὶ τὴν πειράν του εἰς τοὺς πολέμους τοῦ Βασιλείου τούτου· δὲν ἀντεπεκρίθη ὁμως εἰς τὰς προσδοκίας καὶ ἐνῶ ἐσκέπτοντο νὰ τὸν στραγγαλίσουν προσεβλήθη ὑπὸ πανώλους καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἀπὸ τὸ κακὸν αὐτὸ τὴν τελευταίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου 1668. (Βεηλέρβης εἶναι ἰσοδύναμος τίτλος μὲ τὸν τοῦ δουκὸς εἰς τινὰ μέρη τῆς Χριστιανοσύνης).

Πεχλιβὰν Πασᾶς, Βεηλέρβης τῆς Ρωμυλίας, τ.ἔ. τῆς Μακεδονίας. Ἐπειρώτης. Ἦτο εἰς ἕκ τῶν πρώτων στρατιωτικῶν οἱ ὅποιοι ἠκολούθησαν τὸν Χουσεῖν καὶ ἦτο πολὺ ἔμπειρος εἰς τοὺς πολέμους τοῦ Βασιλείου τούτου. Κατὰ τὴν πρώτην πολιορκίαν τοῦ Χάνδακος ἐπέδειξε γενναιότητα, ἀλλ' ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν διὰ πιστολίου καὶ ἀπέθανε τὴν τελευταίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ Ἰουλίου 1668.

Ὁ Χασὰν Πασᾶς τὸν διεδέχθη εἰς τὴν θέσιν ταύτην. Ἦτο πλούσιος καὶ πολεμοχαρὴς Ἀλβανός, θαλαμηπόλος τοῦ Σουλτάνου. Ἐφονεύθη 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 Halil Pasha, 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 Ibrahim Chichaiia 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 And Osman Aga, son of Demir Pasha of Janina, was put in his place but because he was not endowed with talent

μνημονευθείς Καρά Μουσταφᾶς τὸν ἀντεκατέστησεν εἰς τὸ λειτούργημα του.

Χαλίλ Πασᾶς, Βηλέρβης τῆς Σίβας, δηλ. τῆς Σεβαστείας ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Ἀρμένιος τὴν καταγωγὴν, ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα μετὰ τὸν Μέγαν Βεζύρη. Οὗτος ἀπεστάλη τὴν 9ην Μαρτίου 1668 ὡς ἀνώτερος ἐπόπτης 12 γαλερῶν πού 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 πού διέφυγον, ἐκινδύνευσε νὰ στραγγαλισθῆ, ἀλλ' ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης, διὰ νὰ δείξῃ ὅτι ἐλογάζαζε τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ ὄχι τὰς ἀπωλείας, ἔσωσε τὴν ζωὴν του καὶ ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν τὸν ἀνεκήρυξε Πασᾶν τῆς Ρωμυλίας, πού εἶναι ὁ σημαντικώτερος τῶν Βηλέρβηδων ἑστερημένος ὁμως θάρρους καὶ γενναιοφροσύνης, καθηρέθη τὴν 15ην Μαρτίου 1669.

Ἰμπραῖμ 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 ὅποιοι εἶχον τὰς θέσεις των εἰς τὴν Σαμπιονέραν δὲν ἀντεπεκρίθησαν εἰς τὰς προσδοκίας τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου, ἐτοποθέτησε τὸν εἰρημένον Ἰμπραῖμ Κιαγιᾶν ὡς Βηλέρβην τοῦ Χαλεπίου τὴν 7ην Νοεμβρίου 1668.

Ὁ δὲ Ὄσμᾶν Ἀγᾶς, υἱὸς τοῦ Δεμίρ Πασᾶ τῶν Ἰωαννίνων, ἐτοποθετήθη εἰς τὴν θέσιν του, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ δὲν ἦτο πεπροικισμένος μὲ ἰκανὴν 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-

φυῖαν διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ Ὑπαρχηγοῦ τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου ἀπεμακρύνθη τῆς θέσεως ταύτης καὶ

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

Ὁσμὰν Σαντζὰκ Βέης τῆς Αὐλῶνος, Ἄλβανός τόνον γενναῖος ὅσον καὶ ὀνομαστός εἰς τοὺς πολέμους· ἐφονεύθη εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν τῆς Πύλης Παντοκράτορος ὑπὸ λίθου τὸν Αὐγούστον 1667. Τόσοι πολλοὶ Σαντζὰκ Βέηδες ὡς καὶ Ἄλι Βέηδες, δηλ. Συνταγματάρχαι, ἐφονεύθησαν κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν ταύτην, ὥστε θὰ ἦτο πάρα πολὺ ἀνιαρόν νὰ ἀναφέρωμεν ἓνα ἕκαστον χωριστὰ ὀνομασί.

Μεχμέτ Βέης τοῦ Καίρου, πλούσιος καὶ ρωμαλέος Κιρκάσιος· ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1667 μὲ 2000 πεζούς, καλῶς ὀπλισμένους, οἱ ὁποῖοι 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, ἀν καὶ πολλάκις ἐπληγώθη ἐπικινδύνως.

Ἄϊβὰζ 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

συνταγματαρχῶν τῆς κάτω Messia· ἦτο ἄνθρωπος μοναδικῆς τόλμης εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, διὰ τοῦτο ἐπληγώθη πολλάκις καὶ τώρα εἶναι νεκρός.

Τζανμπασί, δηλ. Διοικητῆς τῶν Ἰζαναί, ὀνόματι Τ σ ε σ ν ἔ ν Ὀ γ λ ο ὕ. ἦτο ἔμπειρος εἰς τοὺς ἀσιατικούς πολέμους. Ἐφονεύθη διοικῶν τὸ ἵππικὸν τῶν λεγομένων Σπαίδων τὴν 10ην Σεπτεμβρίου 1667. Ὁ Ἰμπραΐμ Ἀγᾶς, ἐξ Αρμίνια, τὸν διεδέχθη καὶ ἐξακολουθεῖ ἀκόμη νὰ κατέχη τὴν αὐτὴν θέσιν.

Γιοσουφ Ἀγᾶς τῆς Γεωργίας, Τσεμπαρλίμπασί, δηλ. Ἐπιμελητῆς κοὶ Στρατηγὸς τῶν πολεμοφοδίων καὶ τῶν ὑπονόμων· ἀπέθανεν ἐκ φόβου τὴν 8ην Ἰουλίου 1669, διότι ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης τὸν ἠπειλήσεν ὅτι θὰ τὸν φονεύσῃ ἂν δὲν ᾠδήγει τοὺς Τσεμπερί του εἰς τὸ ρῆγμα τοῦ Ἀγ. Ἀνδρέου.

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

Καὶ ὁ Βεζύρης ἐτοποθέτησεν εἰς τὴν θέσιν του τὸν Χ α τ ζ ἦ Ἀ λ ἦ, διοικητὴν τῶν κανονοποιῶν, τὴν 28ην Σεπτεμβρίου 1668, ἄνθρωπον ἐπιτήδειον διὰ τὸ λειτούργημα τοῦτο.

Ὁ Μ ε χ μ ἔ τ Π α σ ᾶ ς, Βεηλέρβεης τῶν Ἀδάνων τῆς Ἀσίας, τὸν διεδέχθη· ἦτο ἐνδεής, ἀλλὰ τόσοσιν 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. Ἐφ' οὐνεύθη ἀπὸ βόμβαν ἀφοῦ ἐφημίσθη διὰ τὰ ἡρωϊκά του κατορθώματα.

Ὁ Χουσεῖν Πασᾶς, Βηλέρβης τῶν Ἀδάνων, τὸν διεδέχθη. Ἐπληγώθη 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:

Ἰμπραῖμ Πασᾶς, Βηλέρβης τοῦ Χαλεπίου· ἦτο ὑπαρχηγὸς τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου, ὡς ἐλέχθη ἤδη, ἄνθρωπος ὑγιοῦς κρίσεως καὶ καλῶς ἡσκημένος. Ἦτο ὁ κύριος πληρεξούσιος κατὰ τὴν σύναψιν τῆς συνθήκης.

Κατιρτζόγλου Μεχμέτ Πασᾶς, Βηλέρβης τῆς Ἀνατολίας· ἦτο ἐπὶ τινὰς μῆνας Βηλέρβης τῆς Ρωμυλίας· περιβόητος διότι ὑπῆρξε διάσημος ληστής εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἀπεφάσισε νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὴν Χαλκηδόνα διὰ νὰ καταπολεμήσῃ 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. Ἐφονεύθη κατὰ τὴν κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων ἐξόρμησιν 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 Superintendant 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.

ίκανός 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, περιοχῆς ἣ ὁποία, κατὰ τὰς πληροφορίας 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 καλὸς πολεμιστὴς, ἀλλ' ἐφονεύθη βληθεὶς τὸν Ἰούλιον τοῦ 1669.

Ὁ Μουσοῦρ, Ἀγᾶς τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου, τὴν διεδέχθη καὶ κατοπιν ἐγένετο Σαγαρζίμ πασι καὶ ὁ Μεχμέτ Ἀγᾶς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἔλαβε τὴν θέσιν του. Ἐχαιρε μεγάλης ὑπολήψεως μεταξὺ τῶν Γενιτσάρων καὶ ἦτο ἰκανός στρατιώτης· ὁ Ἀχμέτ Ἀγᾶς Σαγαρζίμ πασι ἦτο διοικητὴς τῶν Γενιτσάρων οἱ ὅποιοι προσέβαλον τὴν Σαμπιονέραν, ὀνομαστὸς διὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν του, τὸ κῦρος του καὶ τὸν πλοῦτόν του, ἀλλ' ἐφονεύθη κατὰ τὴν ἐξόρμησιν τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὴν 20ὴν Δεκεμβρίου 1669. Ἄμεσος διάδοχός του ὑπῆρξεν ὁ

Βελῆ Ἀγᾶς Σερζεσμίτ, τ.ἔ. Διοικητὴς τοῦ πεζικοῦ 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 siege 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

Βελιλοῦλ Μπέης, Σὰμ Ἀγασί, Διοικητὴς τῶν ἀτάκτων τῆς Δαμασκοῦ ἀπεμακρύνθη τῆς θέσεώς του διότι δὲν ἐπροχώρησεν πρὸς τὰ νεώρια καὶ ὁ Χιλίτζ Βέης, Πέρσης, ὑπεδείχθη ὡς ἀντικαταστάτης τὴν 10ην Ἀπριλίου 1669.

Μπεμπρι Πασᾶς, Βεηλέρβεης τοῦ Τεμεσβάρ καὶ τιτλοῦχος Ἀγᾶς τῶν Ἰωαννίνων εἶχε λάβει τὴν διαταγὴν νὰ φυλάσῃ τὸ στρατόπεδον πρὸς τὸ μέρος τοῦ μεγάλου φρουρίου.

Μουσταφᾶ Πασᾶς, υἱὸς τοῦ Μπεϊντι Ἀχμέτ, μετὰ ταῦτα πασᾶς καὶ στρατηγὸς ἐν Τρανσυλβανίᾳ ἐτοποθετήθη 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 ἐφοδιασμοῦ εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα δὲν τοῦ συνέβη σημαντικὸν ἀτύχημα ἢ ἀτυχῆς σύγκρουσις· τέλος ἐζήτησε τὴν ἄδειαν ἀπὸ τὸν Μέγαν Βεζύρη νὰ γίνῃ δεκτὸν νὰ μετάσῃ 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 Σπαίδων ἦσαν:

Πρῶτος ὁ Ταλαμπᾶς, Ἀγᾶς τῶν Σπαίδων 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 Candia 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 Σπαίδων τοῦ Κιτρίνου 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 Κιτρίνου. Ἐπειτα ὁ Ἀλῆ Ἀγάς τῶν Πρασίνων καὶ ὁ Ἀντούρ Ἀζίμ Ἀγάς τῆς Λευκῆς Ἰλῆς.

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

Πρῶτος ὁ Σφραγιδοφύλαξ τοῦ Σουλτάνου Χουσεῖν Ἐφέντης ἐκ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα ἀκολουθήσας τὸν Μέγαν Βεζύρη.

Δεύτερος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀπορρήτων τοῦ Σουλτάνου Χουσεῖν 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 ἀλληλογραφίας Λακκλί Σαδὶ Ἐφένδης τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπέθανεν ἀπλῶς καὶ μόνον ἐκ φόβου κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐπίθεσιν τῆς Πύλης Παντοκράτορος.

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



if they did only a few days before upon this affair  
 was confident they would alter their opinion. The  
 did show that y<sup>e</sup> Bassa was satisfied with the  
 cause had made mention to you into y<sup>e</sup> said  
 without interrupting any classes. From whence a little  
 after there came y<sup>e</sup> Dragoman Canagotti and said that  
 the said Bassa had writt a letter to y<sup>e</sup> Grand Visier in  
 favour of us, & that therefore he did hope they should  
 come all diffuultly, in treating (etc. Ananias in y<sup>e</sup>  
 kind, to lay aside all other pretences whatsoever  
 otherwise y<sup>e</sup> Negotiation would never be perfected,  
 where it was understood that no one ought to execute the  
 Commission that had been from his Excellency y<sup>e</sup> Cap.  
 whose sentiments were delivered to him in that way  
 found that his Excellency had done to him. These words  
 now there never was a better ~~man~~ y<sup>e</sup> last found  
 all things being thus, they waited in expectation of y<sup>e</sup> answer  
 when behold now was called by y<sup>e</sup> said Canagotti to  
 goe into y<sup>e</sup> Bassa's Pavilion & was presently introduced  
 & after he had seated y<sup>e</sup> Bassa said, that the y<sup>e</sup> Grand  
 Visier had made some demands were very unreasonable yet  
 because y<sup>e</sup> treating of y<sup>e</sup> treaty should not be imputed to him as his fault  
 did, therefore he desired y<sup>e</sup> resolution of y<sup>e</sup> Bassa his own  
 territory, & y<sup>e</sup> other places gains, in Salmatra, as also y<sup>e</sup> annual pension and  
 Venetians for his part shall lay claim to now offers but y<sup>e</sup> Bassa  
 antiently allowed, for y<sup>e</sup> sake of Laite, wherefore he desired, y<sup>e</sup> would be  
 gin to capitulate brought y<sup>e</sup> Piazza & furnish all at once as might be  
 It was answered y<sup>e</sup> Bassa was obliged to goe backe to his Excellency and  
 told him how what was agreed upon that for his might receive now  
 orders to instruct him as to his proposals. It was now late  
 and y<sup>e</sup> dining began to growe dark. Soe that y<sup>e</sup> Bassa told  
 Ananias he must withdrawe y<sup>e</sup> next day fully instructed, as to  
 all things that would be proposed that for they might come  
 to a resolution, thus having taken leave of him (etc. Ananias  
 directed his course to y<sup>e</sup> city & coming to y<sup>e</sup> Governours  
 gave him an account of all that they had done, & what  
 gave him an account of his words from the Signe. Canagotti who  
 contained y<sup>e</sup> grant or allowance of y<sup>e</sup> Bassa last offered  
 his Excellency being satisfied with this command he  
 to propose & send to him in y<sup>e</sup> morning to Cardinal  
 Commissioned to do soe for y<sup>e</sup> next morning y<sup>e</sup> next  
 day in obedience to his Excellency he had went to  
 him & was Commissioned to demand some other place  
 by the Turks in Europe for Candia, to which when they had  
 consented, it was to be left to them, to propose that which

Φωτοστατικόν αντίγραφον σελίδος τοῦ Χειρογράφου τῆς Ὁξφόρδης (Codex Rawlinsonianus 684).



after 40 days Reciprocally (which time is granted to give them Notice) shall forfeit their lives, and this time being expired the shall prosecute the Courts shall be taken as in-nomiss. by both parties. 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 Repub. shall send their Ambassadors to the port And that then not only our Country men and subjects, the Venetians of what quality so ever they be, but all other persons, of what nation so ever they be, that have been taken whilst they served actually in this warr shall be faithfully sett at liberty.

14 That in favour of this Peace Pardon shall be granted to y<sup>e</sup> 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 reciprocally confirmed, nor shall there be any title, pretext or cause whatsoever pretended in the contrary, but only the accustomed pention for the Isle of Zant contained in the first named last peace which must therefor commence from this day forward.

All the promentioned Articles of this present peace ought to be subscribed, sealed and to take up two sheets of paper, the one in the Turkish tongue subscribed by the Grand Visier and Sealed with the Publiq. seal which shall remaine with the Captaine Genall. the other in Italian

subscribed by the Cap<sup>t</sup> Genall and Council and Sealed with the Seals of the Repub. which shall remaine with the y<sup>e</sup> and Visier. And every one of these Pages shall have the translation annexed & be signed by the pub<sup>l</sup>iq. m<sup>o</sup>stors of State, that is the Turkish in Italian and the Italian in Turkish, to the end that both parties may see, there is no deceit intended. And all this shall be inviolably kept and sworn to by both, That the Grand Visier in Consideration of so long so Resolute, And so valiant defence, maintained with so much honour by the besieged has given them leave to take away 4 pieces of Cannon from among these that stood mounted towards the Piazza.

Francisco Morosini cap<sup>t</sup> Genall  
 Hieronimo Battaglia prov. lit. Genall.  
 Lorenzo Cornero prov. ditor of the Armata.  
 Luzzi Benzoni cap<sup>t</sup> of the Galle

Φωτοστατικόν αντίγραφον τῶν σελίδων 80 καὶ 81 τοῦ Χειρογράφου τοῦ Καϊμπριτζ.



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 Mohammiet 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.

Ἐγίντ' 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.

Ἐπῆρξαν καὶ διάφοροι ἄλλοι (πὺ 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:

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

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

Καὶ ὁ Τουρτζιάν Βέης ἐξ Ἄκ Σεχίρ· ἐξελέγη Νισαντζὶ εἰς τὴν θέσιν τοῦ πολυμαθῆ 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 βαρόνους 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 Καραμανίας . . . . .	7
Οἱ τῆς Σεβαστίας . . . . .	7

## II

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

*Αφιξ. 1666. Τὴν 19ην Ὀκτωβρίου τοῦ ἔτους τούτου ἐξεκίνησεν ὁ Ἀ- γᾶς τῶν Γενιτσάρων μὲ Τούρκους . . . . .	6.400
*Αφιξ. 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 ἔφθασεν 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 gallies 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 gallies, 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 ἔφθασαν 22 γαλέραι ἀπὸ τὴν Σμύρνην μὲ Σπαῖδας . . . . .	2.000
Τὴν 12ην Ἰουλίου ἡ ἀρμάδα ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Χανιά μὲ Τούρκους	5.000
Σύνολον . . . . .	45.900*

\*Αφίξ. 1668. Τὴν 15ην Μαρτίου ἤλθον ἕξ γαλλικὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἓν γενοσητικὸν μὲ Γενιτσαροὺς ἐκ Κοινῆπόλεως . . . . . 6.500

Τὴν τελευταίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ Μαρτίου ἤλθον πλοῖα εἰς τὴν Ἱεράπετραν ἐκ Συρίας μὲ Τούρκους . . . . . 2.000

Τὴν πρώτην Ἀπριλίου ἔφθασαν 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 . . . . .	<u>27,500</u>

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 ἔφθασεν 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 Ἰμπραῖμ Πασᾶν), τὸν ἀριθμὸν . . . . .	4.000
Τὴν 2αν Ὀκτωβρίου ὁ τουρκικὸς στόλος ἔφθασεν εἰς τὰ Χανιά μὲ Τούρκους . . . . .	3.000
Σύνολον . . . . .	<u>27.500</u>

Ἀφίξ. 1669. Τὴν 19ην Φεβρουαρίου ἦλθον 22 γαλέραι εἰς τὰ Χανιά μὲ Τούρκους . . . . .	1.000
Τὴν 24ην Ἀπριλίου 12 γαλέραι ἔφθασαν μὲ Τούρκους . . . . .	2.000
Τὴν 21ην Μαΐου ἔφθασεν ἡ ἀρμάδα μὲ Τούρκους . . . . .	3.000
Τὴν 21ην Ἰουνίου ὁ Καπετὰν Πασᾶς τῶν Τούρκων ἔφθασε 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 Γενιτσαροὺς τῆς Μπαρμπαριᾶς . . . . .	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 εἰς . . . . .	10.000
Τελικὸν σύνολον . . . . .	94.600
ἐκ τοῦ ὁποίου συνολικοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἀπέθανον κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν ταύτην . . . . .	70.000
Ἐπόλοιπον . . . . .	24.600

### III

Τὰ γεγονότα τὰ ὁποῖα συνέβησαν κατὰ τὴν 29μηνον ἄμυνον τοῦ Χάνδακος καὶ τὴν μοιραίαν του πτώσιν ἀποτελοῦν θέμα μᾶλλον εὐρὺ καὶ κατάλληλον δι' ὀγκώδη ἱστορίαν παρὰ διὰ βραχεῖαν ἔκθεσιν. Διὰ τοῦτο θὰ περιορισθῶ εἰς τὴν τελευταίαν πρᾶξιν τῆς τραγωδίας καὶ θὰ σᾶς κάμω γνωστὸν πῶς, ἐνῶ πᾶσα δυνατὴ προσπάθεια κατεβλήθη διὰ νὰ κρατηθῇ ἡ πόλις καὶ ὑπῆρχον τώρα περισσότεραι παρὰ συνήθως ἐλπίδες, μὲ τὸ νὰ τὴν ὑπερασπίζωνται μὲ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τόσο αἵματος καὶ ἰδρωτός, ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀπὸ ἀδήριτον καὶ ἐπείγουσαν ἀνάγκην νὰ ὑποχωρήσουν, ὃ δὲ Ἀρχιστράτηγος 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,

τὰ πράγματα, κατώρθωσε μὲ τὴν σύνεσίν του νὰ ἐπιτύχη μὲ ἀντάλλαγμα μίαν πόλιν ἤδη χαμένην, ὄχι βεβαίως μὲ εὐχαρίστησίν του, μίαν ἔντιμον καὶ ἀδιαφιλονικήτως ἐπωφελεῖ διὰ τὴν Γαληνοτάτην Δημοκρατίαν εἰρήνην.

Μετὰ τὴν ἀτυχῆ ἔκβασιν τῶν ἐπιθέσεων ἐκείνων τὰς ὁποίας ἐπεχείρησαν οἱ Γάλλοι πρὸς τὸ μέρος τῆς Σαμπιονέρας καὶ τὸν βομβαρδισμόν τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἀνδρέου, ποὺ ἐξετελέσθη μὲ περισσοτέραν ἀνδρείαν καὶ ἐπιτυχίαν ὑπὸ τῆς βοηθητικῆς ἐνετικῆς Ἀρμάδας, ὅσον αἱ ἐλπίδες καὶ ἡ ἀντοχὴ τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἐμαραίνοντο καὶ κατέπιπτον τόσον ὀρμητικώτεροι καὶ ἐνεργητικώτεροι ἐφαίνοντο οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἐπετίθεντο μὲ νέας πυροβολαρχίας καὶ συνέχιζον νὰ ρίπτουν βροχὴν βομβῶν καὶ χειροβομβίδων, πρὸ παντὸς δὲ μὲ πυροβολισμοὺς μάλιστα καὶ ἀνατινάξεις ὑπονόμων ἔσπευδον 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 Δερματᾶν καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν πλευρὰν τῆς Σαμπιονέρας πρὸς τὰ Νεώρια, διότι ἀποκλειομένου οὕτω τελείως τοῦ φρουρίου ἢ καταστροφῆ του ἀναγκαστικῶς θὰ ἐπηκολούθει. Καὶ ἡ προσδοκία των αὐτῆ ὅλονέν ἐνεδυναμοῦτο, διότι δὲν εὑρισκόν εἰς τοὺς ἀμυνομένους τὴν συνήθη ἀποφασιστικὴν ἀντίστασιν ἐνῶ εἰς τὴν Σαμπιονέραν, πλὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτευγμάτων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους καὶ ὑπ' αὐτό, ἐξερράγη μὲ μέγαν πάταγον δι' ὑπονόμου ἐν κανόνιον, εἰς τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἀνδρέου, ἐπειδὴ τὰ παλαιὰ τόσον τὰ ἐνετικά ὅσον καὶ τὰ ἐκ Μάλτας καὶ Φλώρεντίας



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 των μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως, ἣ ὁποία εἶχε φθάσει προσφάτως ἐκ Γερμανίας· ἀλλὰ οὗτοι ἦσαν ἀδαεῖς τῶν μεθόδων διεξαγωγῆς τοῦ πολέμου ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον εὐθύς μόλις ἀνέλαβον τὴν φρουρῆσιν οἱ κυριώτεροι ἀξιωματικοὶ ἀπεκομίσθησαν πληγωμένοι ἢ νεκροί. Ὡς ἐκ τούτου τὸ ρῆγμα 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 Ἑνετοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐπίκουροὶ των 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 ἐχθρόν· οὕτω, ἂν καὶ ὁ κόμης Βαλντέκ, εὐγενῆς καταπληκτικοῦ θάρρους, ὡς καὶ τινες τῶν ἀξιωματικῶν του ἐξεπλήρωσαν τὸ καθήκόν των ὡς γενναίων διοικητῶν, ἐπληρώθη καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἴδιος εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὀλίγας μόνον ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξίν του, καὶ ἐπίσης ὁ συνταγματάρχης Molison. Καὶ ὄχι πολὺ κατόπιν ὁ ὡς ἄνω κόμης ἀπέθανε καὶ ἀφοῦ καὶ οἱ καλύτεροι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπέτυχαν, ἡ ἄμυνα τοῦ Χάνδακος ἐγένετο ὅλον ἐν ἀσθενεστέρῳ.

Ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος 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 τὸν Δουκά τοῦ Ναβαίγ μὲ τὰς δυνάμεις του νὰ ἐνισχύση τὰς θέσεις αὐτάς. Οὗτοι, ὅταν περιεκυκλώθησαν, συμπεριφέρθησαν ἐξαιρετικῶς καλὰ. Ἀλλὰ οἱ Τοῦρκοι, γενόμενοι κύριοι τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τῆς πρώτης ἐκκενωθείσης θέσεως, ἐτοποθέτησαν 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 Ἀρχιστράτηγος ἐπληροφορήθη τὴν ἄφιξιν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ροσπιλιόζι, 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 ὁποῖον εἶχε περιέλθει εἰς τοιαύτην ἀπελπιστικὴν κατάστασιν. Ποικίλαι ὑπῆρξαν αἱ γνώμαί των, ἡ πλειονότης ὅμως ἀπεφάνθη ὅτι μία κρατερὰ ἐξορμησις μὲ σημαντικὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνδρῶν ἦτο πάντοτε ἐπικίνδυνος θεραπεία τοῦ κακοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἀπέτυχανε τότε ἀναποφεύκτως θὰ ἐπέφερε τὴν ἐπίσπευσιν τῆς πτώσεως τῆς πόλεως. Ὡς ἐκ τούτου, λαμβανομένου ὑπ' ὄψιν ὅτι τὸ φρούριον εὕρισκετο εἰς τόσον δυσχερῆ θέσιν, ἦτο ἀναγκαῖον νὰ δοκιμάσθουν ὅλους τοὺς τρόπους καὶ τὰ μέσα, μὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ ὅποιοι ἦσαν κατάλληλοι δι' αὐτό, νὰ προσβάλουν τὸν ἀσθενέστερον τῶν δύο τομέων. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος δὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἐλπίς νὰ ἐξοικονομήσουν τοὺς ἀπαιτούμενους καταλλήλους ἀνδρας διὰ νὰ τοὺς βοηθήσουν δοθέντος, ὅτι εἶχον τόσων ὀλίγους ὥστε μόλις



serve to guard the breach, it was refused till the arrival of more success, to make another retreat, and by dayly disputing the ground, prolong the defence till the next winter; and thus by abating in some measure the attacks, the most serene Republic and other Christian princes would have time to raise forces suitable for such a design, or to steer that course which time and necessity would necessarily require. The Captain General replied that if a sally were conceived to be advantageous, he in his own person would head 3,000 men to that purpose. But the French commander would by no means be persuaded to it, alleging that if the Captain General should sally forth, there would be every day some of their nation wanting to supply the guards upon the breach, and admittedly they had such a number to spare, they would be only townsmen and servants, and not persons of such quality as would venture upon an action of that difficulty and importancy.

The discourse concerning a sally being out of doors for want of men, they knew some other way must be thought upon as the sole and last remedy, which was an opinion and design of Signor Vernada who decided for the defence there of 450 men and 40 days time.

ἠδύναντο νὰ φυλάξουν τὸ ρῆγμα, ἀνεβλήθη ἡ λύσις αὐτὴ μέχρις οὗτου ἔλθουν εὐνοϊκώτεραι συνθήκαι καὶ ἀπεφασίσθη νὰ γίνῃ καὶ νέα ὑποχώρησις καὶ μὲ καθημερινὴν διαμφισβήτησιν τοῦ ἐδάφους νὰ παρατείνουσι τὴν ἄμυναν μέχρι τοῦ ἐρχομένου χειμῶνος· καὶ οὕτω, μετριαζομένων ἔν τινι μέτρῳ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων τῶν ἐπιθέσεων, θὰ εἶχεν ἡ Γαληνοτάτη Δημοκρατία καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Χριστιανοὶ Ἠγεμόνες τὸν καιρὸν νὰ στρατολογήσουσι νέας δυνάμεις, ἐπαρκεῖς διὰ τὴν πραγματοποίησιν τοιοῦτου σχεδίου, ἢ νὰ κατευθύνουσι τὴν πορείαν ὡς θὰ ἐπέβαλλεν ὁ χρόνος καὶ ἡ ἀνάγκη. Ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος ἀπήντησεν ὅτι ἂν ἐκρίνετο ἐπωφελὲς νὰ γίνῃ ἐξόρμησις, θὰ ἐτίθετο διὰ τὸν σκοπὸν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς 3000 ἀνδρῶν. Ἄλλ' ὁ γάλλος Διοικητὴς δὲν ἠθέλε νὰ πεισθῇ κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον, διατεινόμενος ὅτι ἂν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος ἐξετέλει τὴν ἔφοδον, θὰ ἐχρειαζόντο καθ' ἡμέραν μερικοὶ ἰδικοὶ των διὰ νὰ ἀσκήσουσι τὴν φρούρησιν τοῦ ρήγματος, καὶ ἂν θὰ ἠδύνατο ἀκόμη νὰ ἐξοικονομηθῇ ὁ ἀπαιτούμενος ἀριθμὸς, θὰ ἦσαν μόνον ἄστοι καὶ ὑπηρέται καὶ ὄχι πρόσωπα ἱκανὰ νὰ ριψοκινδυνεύσουσι δρᾶσιν τόσον δύσκολον καὶ σημαντικὴν.

Ἀφοῦ ἀπεκλείσθη πλέον συζήτησις σχετικὴ μὲ ἐξόρμησιν δι' ἔλλειψιν ἀνδρῶν, ἐσκέφθησαν ὅτι θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ ἐξευρεθῇ ἄλλη λύσις, ὡς ἡ μόνη καὶ τελευταία θεραπεία, καὶ ὡς τοιαύτη ἐθεωρήθη ἡ γνώμη καὶ τὸ σχέδιον τοῦ Σινιὸς Vernada, ὅστις ἀπεφάσισε νὰ ἀναλάβῃ τὴν ἄμυναν μὲ 450 ἀνδρας τιθεμένους εἰς τὴν διάθεσιν του ἐπὶ 40 ἡμέρας.



The Captain General, not being able to supply him with men, gives orders that the Duke of Navailles be entreated to put his Frenchmen upon this second design, as they were upon the first. He returns answer that the time which His Majesty had allotted his troops in Candia was almost expired, so that he could not engage in making this next retreat, but he must absolutely think of their embarking.

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

Ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος, ἐπειδὴ δὲν ἦτο εἰς θέσιν νὰ τὸν ἐφοδιάσῃ μὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐτοὺς, δίδει ἐντολὴν νὰ παρακληθῆ ὁ Δουξ τοῦ Ναβάιγ νὰ διαθέσῃ τοὺς Γάλλους τοῦ διὰ τὸ δεύτερον τοῦτο σχέδιον, ὡς διετέθησαν διὰ τὸ πρῶτον. Ἀπαντᾷ οὗτος ὅτι ὁ χρόνος ποῦ ἡ Μεγαλειότης Αὐτοῦ εἶχε καθορίσει νὰ παραμείνουν τὰ στρατεύματά του εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα εἶχε σχεδὸν ἐκπνεύσει, ὥστε δὲν θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ κάμῃ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ὑποχώρησιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι θὰ εἶχεν ὡς ἀποκλειστικὸν μέλημά του τὴν ἐπιβίβασιν τοῦ στρατεύματός του εἰς τὰ πλοῖα.

Ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος ἐξεπλάγη διὰ τοῦτο τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ἀκολούθως αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ κυβέρνησις τοῦ Χάνδακος μὲ τὸν προβλεπτὴν τοῦ Στόλου μετέβησαν ἐν σώματι εἰς τὸ διαμέρισμα τοῦ Δουκὸς καὶ τοῦ παρέστησαν ὅσον τὸ δυνατόν ἀποτελεσματικώτερον, πῶς αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις, ποῦ ὄφειλε μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν τὴν σωτηρίαν της μέχρι ἀκριβῶς τῆς στιγμῆς αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ εὐσεβῆ πρόνοιαν τοῦ Βασιλέως του, εὕρισκετο τώρα εἰς τὴν ἀθλιεστέρην κατάστασιν παρὰ ποτέ, καὶ ὅτι δὲν εἶχον ποῦ νὰ προσφύγουν παρὰ εἰς τὴν Ἐξοχότητά του καὶ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς ἐκείνους, οἱ ὅποιοι ἦλθον ἀπὸ τόσον μακρυνὰ μέρη καὶ ὑπέστησαν τοιούτους 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 ἐξηρτᾶτο ἡ καλὴ τροπὴ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ὅτι κατὰ πᾶσαν πιθανότητα δὲν θὰ ἐστοίχιζε πολὺ αἷμα, μόνον κάποιον κόπον, ὀλίγον, ἂν ἐξετέλουν τὸ σχέδιον αὐτὸ μὲ



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;

τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνεργητικότητα μὲ τὴν ὁποίαν προηγουμένως ἔδρασαν· θὰ ἔθειαν τὸ φρούριον εἰς κατάστασιν τελεσιφόρου ἀμύνης προτοῦ ὁ ἐχθρὸς δυνηθῆ νὰ κάμῃ ἄλλην ἐπίθεσιν.

Ὁ Δούξ ἀπήντησεν ὅτι τοιοῦτος ἦτο ὁ ζήλος τῆς Μεγυλειότητός Του διὰ τὴν διάσωσιν τοῦ Χάνδακος, ὥστε δὲν ἐξεδήλωσε τοῦτον μόνον μὲ ὑποσχέσεις, ὡς μερικοὶ ἄλλοι πρίγκηπες, ἀλλὰ ἐμπράκτως, διότι ἐχρησιμοποίησε μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ ἔθνους, σημαντικὸν εἰς ἀριθμὸν καὶ ποσότητα, καὶ ἀπέστειλε μεγάλα ποσὰ χρημάτων διὰ τὸν ἔκπλοον τοῦ στόλου του. Ὡς πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ διάθεσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀξιωματικῶν του ποῦ εἶχε τὴν τιμὴν νὰ διοικῆ, ἐπαρκῶς τὴν ἀπέδειξαν ἐπιχειροῦντες τόσον μακρὸν ταξίδιον μὲ τοιαύτην σπουδῆν, ἐπιπίπτοντες κατὰ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ εὐθύς ὡς τὸν ἀντίκρουσαν καὶ διασώζοντες τὸ Φρούριον προτοῦ τρόπον τινα θέσουν πόδα ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἂν τὰ γεγονότα δὲν ἀπέβησαν κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιτυχῆ ἀρχὴν τῆς δράσεως, θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ εἶναι ὑπομονητικοί, ἀφοῦ μάλιστα εἰς τὴν ἀτυχίαν αὐτὴν μόνον τὸ γαλλικὸν αἷμα ἐχύθη ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ καὶ ἰδίως τῶν ἐπιφανεστέρων· ὅτι ἦτο δεῖγμα ἀγνωμοσύνης νὰ μὴ εἶναι ἱκανοποιημένοι μὲ τόσον ἔξοχα δείγματα φιλίας καὶ νὰ ἰσχυρίζωνται ὅτι ὁ γάλλος Βασιλεὺς διέταξε 2 χιλιάδας ἄνδρας νὰ βοηθήσουν τὸν Χάνδακα καὶ ὅτι ἔπρεπε νὰ μείνουν ἐκεῖ μέχρις ὅτου ζῆ ἔστω καὶ εἷς· καὶ ἂν καὶ ἦτο διοικητὴς ὄλων αὐτῶν



and although he did command all those forces, and it was his employment, yet, besides the service of his King, he had a motive from religion to incline him this engagement here, yet, however, he ought not nor could he transgress the strict command of his master in order; to the performance whereof he should have begun to set sail about the 20th of this current month of August; and further, that it was a wonder that they should want 4,000 laborers when as there were 3,000 choice men at first offered to be set out, and 2,000 stayed at Zant (if at least they did tarry, and were not made to accede sooner at Zant); and so by this means did glance at the suspicion conserved by them, that the Captain General had stayed those troops to oblige them not to depart by reason of their urgent necessity of staying; and although the Captain General and some others that were with him did endeavor to undeceive him and backed their most earnest entreaties; so with reason did do what in them lay, to induce him to defer his departure, at least till the arrival of some succors; yet all was in vain, nor could there be anything else obtained, but that he would leave some men in Candia so long as he should stay in that place.

This unexpected resolution which would without doubt have

τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ αὐτὸ ἦτο τὸ λειτούργημα του, πλὴν δὲ τῆς ἐξυπηρετήσεως τοῦ Βασιλέως του εἶχε λόγον καὶ ἐκ τῆς θρησκείας νὰ κλ νη πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀνάληψιν ὑποχρεώσεως ἐδῶ, ὁμοίως οὐτε ὄφειλε οὐτε ἠδύνατο νὰ παραβῆ τὴν αὐστηρὰν ἐντολὴν τοῦ ἐπιτάσσοντος κυρίου του· εἰς ἐκτέλεσιν ταύτης θὰ ἔκαμνε ἐναρξιν τοῦ ἀπόπλου του κατὰ τὰς 20 τρέχοντος μηνὸς Αὐγούστου· καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἦτο περίεργον ὅτι ἐχρειάζοντο 4000 ἐργάτας, ἐνῶ ὑπῆρχον 3000 ἐπίλεκτοι προσφερόμενοι νὰ ἐκκινήσουν καὶ ἐστάθμευσον ἀκόμη 2000 εἰς Ζάκυνθον (ἂν ἔστω ἐχρονοτριβήσαν καὶ δὲν ἐλήφθη φροντίς νὰ συγκεντρωθοῦν ταχύτερον εἰς τὴν Ζάκυνθον)· καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τρόπου ἀφῆκε νὰ διίδουν τὴν ὑποψίαν τὴν ὁποίαν οὗτοι συνέλαβον, ὅτι ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος ἐσταμάτησε αὐτὰ τὰ στρατεύματα διὰ νὰ τοὺς ὑποχρεώσῃ νὰ μὴ φύγουν λόγῳ τῆς ἐπειγούσης αὐτῶν ἀνάγκης νὰ παραμείνουν· καίτοι ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος καὶ μερικοὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν συνοδευόντων αὐτὸν ἔσπευσαν νὰ τὸν ἐξαγάγουν τῆς πλάνης ταύτης καὶ ὑπεστήριξαν τοὺς λόγους των μὲ τὰς μᾶλλον θερμὰς ἰκεσίας καὶ εὐλόγως ἔπραξαν πᾶν ὅ,τι ἐξηρτᾶτο ἀπὸ αὐτοὺς διὰ νὰ τὸν πείσουν νὰ ἀναβάλῃ τὴν ἀναχώρησίν του, τοῦλάχιστον μέχρι τῆς ἀφίξεως κάποιας ἐπικουρίας, ὅλα ἀπέβησαν εἰς μάτην καὶ δὲν ἠδυνήθησαν νὰ ἐπιτύχουν τίποτε ἄλλο, ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὅτι θὰ ἄφηνε μερικοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον θὰ ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ.

Ἡ ἀπροσδόκητος αὐτὴ ἀπόφασις, ποὺ ἀναμφιβόλως θὰ ἐσήμαινε τὴν ἀπώ-



proved the loss of the Piazza, and in all probability, the ruin of the garrison and of the whole fleet, did appear void of reason to the Venetian commissioner there present, that notwithstanding so positive an answer was given, they were hardly induced to believe it, and did continually flatter themselves that they by the good offices of Rospagliosi might persuade them to stay, who that he might have the greater authority, might go in the name of the Pope. To him therefore, they speedily address themselves, who, thinking the absence of his person might be prejudicial, said that he would betake himself to Candia, a resolution which for some time was retarded by reason of the weather.

The Duke of Navailles, as was said before, was resolved to put out to sea with his forces the 20th day of August, but whether it was to avoid the offices of Rospagliosi, which he foresaw would prove very subtle, or that he would first refresh his men for some time, of which there were reckoned dead and wounded 2,000, and among them too, the Marshals of the camp, Ebbret and Colbret, Castellano and Diarpere, Brigadiers, with a number of other officers and other particular persons of note; and because he, to prevent the vexation that would serve upon him if his men should lose the post of St. Pelagia, already

λειαν τοῦ Φρουρίου καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν πιθανότητα τὸν ὄλεθρον τῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ ὀλοκλήρου τοῦ στόλου, ἐφάνη εἰς τὸν ἐκεῖ παρόντα ἐνετὶν ἐντεταλμένον ἐστερημένη λογικῆς, ὥστε παρὰ τὴν κατηγορηματικὴν δοθεῖσαν ἀπάντησιν μετὰ δυσκολίας ἠδύναντο νὰ τὸ πιστεύσουν καὶ ἐβραυκαλίζοντο συνεχῶς μὲ τὴν ἐλπίδα ὅτι θὰ ἠδύναντο τέλος νὰ τὸν πείσουν νὰ παραμείνῃ διὰ τῆς εὐνοϊκῆς μεσολαβήσεως τοῦ Ροσπιλιόζι, ὅστις θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἔχῃ τὸ μεγαλύτερον κῦρος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Πάπα. Λιὰ τοῦτο ἀπηυθύνθησαν κατεσπενσμένως πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ οὗτος, κρίνων ὅτι ἡ ἀπουσία του θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἀποβῆ ἐπιζήμιος εἶπεν ὅτι θὰ μετέβαινεν ὁ ἴδιος εἰς τὸν Χάνδακα τῆς ἀποφάσεως ταύτης ἢ ἐκτέλεσις ἐπεβραδύνθη ἐπὶ τινα χρόνον ἐξ αἰτίας τοῦ καιροῦ.

Ὁ Δουξ τοῦ Ναβαίγ, ὡς ἐλέχθη ἤδη, εἶχεν ἀποφασίσει νὰ ἀποπλεύσῃ μὲ τὰς δυνάμεις του τὴν 20ὴν Αὐγούστου, ἀλλ' εἶτε διὰ νὰ ἀποφύγῃ τὴν μεσολάβησιν τοῦ Ροσπιλιόζι, πὺ προεῖδεν ὅτι θὰ ἦτο πολὺ λεπτεπίλεπτος, εἶτε διότι ἤθελεν νὰ παράσχῃ πρῶτον κάποιαν ἀναψυχὴν ἐπὶ τινα χρόνον εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας του, ἀφοῦ ὑπελογίζοντο νεκροὶ καὶ τραυματῖαι 2000 καὶ μεταξύ αὐτῶν οἱ στρατοπεδάρχαι Ebbret καὶ Colbert, οἱ Castellano καὶ Diarpere, ταξί-αρχοι, ὡς καὶ ἀριθμὸς τις ἄλλων ἀξιωματικῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἀξιοσημειώτων προσώπων, ἢ διὰ νὰ προλάβῃ τὴν ἀγανάκτησιν ἢ ὁποία θὰ ἐξέσπα ἐναντίον του, ἂν οἱ ἄνδρες του ἔχαναν τὸ ὄχυρόν τῆς ἙΑγ. Πελαγίας, τὸ ὁποῖον ἤδη



reduced to extremity, or for some other cause which succeeding transactions did persuade men to believe, resolved to anticipate the time and to begin his voyage the 16th of this instant. On the 16th day, Monsdo, who after the death of Diarpere did enter into the office of Marshal of the Camp being at St. Andrew, said to his commander that he had order from the Duke of Navailles to embark the remainder of the forces that very evening and therefore it was requisite to think of assigning those posts to other persons.

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.

On the 21st day, the French forces were shipped, and there remained a few men that ought to be in Candia no longer than

είχε περιστή εις πολὺ δύσκολον θέσιν, ἢ τέλος δι' ἄλλον τινα λόγον ποὺ ἢ ἔκβασις τῶν γεγονότων ἔφερον ὠρισμένους νὰ πιστεύσουν, ἀπεφάσισε νὰ ἐπισπέυση τὴν ἐνέργειάν του πρὸ τοῦ καθορισθέντος χρόνου καὶ νὰ ἀρχίσῃ τὸ ταξίδιον του τὴν 16ην ἰσταμένου. Τὴν 16ην ὁ Monsdo, ὅστις μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Diarpere ἀνέλαβε τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ στρατοπεδάρχου, εὐρισκόμενος εἰς τὸν Ἅγ. Ἀνδρέαν, εἶπεν εἰς τὸν διοικητὴν του ὅτι ἔλαβε διαταγὴν ἀπὸ τὸν Δοῦκα τοῦ Ναβάϊγ νὰ ἀποβιβάσῃ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτὴν ταύτην τὴν ἑσπέραν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἦτο ἀπαραίτητον νὰ ληφθῇ μέριμνα διὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τῶν θέσεων τούτων ὑπὸ ἄλλων προσιώπων.

Ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος ἔλαβεν αἰφνηδίως γνῶσιν τούτου καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος νὰ πράξῃ ἄλλως ἔδωκε διαταγὴν νὰ διαχωρισθοῦν μερικοὶ ἄνδρες ἐκ τῶν ἰδικῶν του καὶ νὰ ὀπλισθοῦν ὅσον τὸ δυνατόν καλύτερον καὶ ἐπειδὴ δὲν εἶχον παρὰ 130 ἄνδρας ἐγένετο ἐπιλογὴ ἀπὸ τοὺς φρουροὺς τοῦ Ἅγ. Πνεύματος, διὰ τῶν ὁποίων ἐφωδιάσθη τὸ ὄχυρόν μὲ 400 ἀκόμη, ἀνήκοντας εἰς τὴν φρουράν. Οἱ Τοῦρκοι, ἀντιληφθέντες τὸν μικρὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὑπερασπιστῶν, ἤρχισαν τὴν ἐπίθεσιν αὐτὴν τὴν νύκτα ὡς καὶ τὰς ἐπομένας καὶ ἐπειτέθησαν ἐπίσης κατὰ τῶν θέσεων τῆς Ἅγ. Πελαγίας, ἀλλὰ ὅλαί αἱ ἐπιθέσεις ἀπεκρούσθησαν.

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



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

The Duke of Navailles had taken his leave and was to set sail that night, when about 2 of the clock in the morning, Rospigliosi by chance met with Balli Juariggi, General of Malta, who being encountered by the Captain General and other commissioned officers, they went to the Duke's house, and there being reduced to a council, the General Rospigliosi, after he had passed some compliments, said that the defence of Candia was not only the interest of the Republic of Venice, but of all Christendom; that His Holiness, besides the assistance which he was able to raise of his own forces, had most earnestly endeavored to persuade other princes too; that only the most Christian King with unparalleled magnanimity had ordered a considerable strength of his nation under the command of persons of such high quality, who if not successfully, yet certainly have valiantly and sufficiently answered the common expectation of them and even to this very day; that the Venetian command and discourse was superfluous, whilst so stupendous a defence did render their constancy insuperable, that their knowledge of so much valor and such rare virtues which did persuade him that so illustri-

πλου τοῦ Δουκὸς καὶ εἶχον δώσει ὑπόσχεσιν, νὰ παραμείνουν ὡς ἐφεδρεία ἐντὸς τοῦ ὄχυροῦ.

Ὁ δούξ τοῦ Ναβάιγ εἶχεν ἤδη ἀποχαιρετίσει καὶ ἠτοιμάζετο, νὰ ἀποπλεύσῃ αὐτὴν τὴν νύκτα, ὅταν περὶ τὴν δευτέραν προσηνὴν ὥραν ὁ Ροσπιλιόζι κατὰ τύχην συνηντήθη μὲ τὸν Balli Juariggi, Στρατηγὸν τῆς Μάλτας, καὶ οὗτοι ἀφοῦ συνήντησαν τὸν Ἀρχιστρατήγον καὶ ἄλλους ἐντεταλμένους ἀξιωματικούς, μετέβησαν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Δουκὸς καὶ ἐκεῖ, συγκροτηθέντος Συμβουλίου, ὁ Στρατηγὸς Ροσπιλιόζι, ἀφοῦ ἔκαμε μερικὰς φιλοφρονήσεις, εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ ὑπεράσπισις τῆς πόλεως δὲν ἦτο μόνον πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τῆς Δημοκρατίας τῆς Ἑνετίας, ἀλλ' ὅλης τῆς Χριστιανοσύνης· ὅτι ἡ Ἀύτου Ἀγιότης, πλήν τῆς ἐπικουρίας τὴν ὁποίαν ἠδυνήθη νὰ στρατολογήσῃ μὲ τὰς ἰδίας αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις, ἐπέδειξεν ὅλως ἐξαιρετικὸν ζῆλον νὰ πείσῃ καὶ ἄλλους πρίγκηπας· ὅτι μόνον ὁ χριστιανικώτατος Βασιλεὺς μὲ ἀπαράμιλλον μεγαλοψυχίαν ἔταξε σημαντικὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἔθνους του ὑπὸ τὴν ἡγεσίαν προσώπων τόσον ὑψηλῆς περιωπῆς, οἱ ὅποιοι, ἂν καὶ ὄχι πάντοτε ἐπιτυχῶς, ἀσφαλῶς ὅμως γενναίως καὶ ἐπαρκῶς ἀνταπεκρίθησαν εἰς τὴν κοινὴν προσδοκίαν ἀκόμη καὶ μέχρις αὐτῆς τῆς ἡμέρας· ὅτι ἡ ἐνετικὴ ἐπιταγὴ καὶ συζήτησις ἦτο περιττὴ, ὅταν τόσον καταπληκτικὴ ἄμυνα εἶχεν ἀποδείξει ἀκατάβλητον τὴν ἐμμονὴν των· ὅτι ἐπειδὴ ἀκριβῶς ἐγνώρισαν τὴν τόσῃ ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὰς τόσον σπανίας ἀρετὰς των, ἐπείσθη καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι μία τόσον ἐπιφανὴς δρᾶσις τοσοῦτον θαυματοζομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ κό-



ous an action so much admired by the world, ought to expire, as there was difficulty in the circumstances that brought it to an end; that he knew the Pope's ardent zeal was such that he would spend his own blood if he could effect anything with those few forces that his galleys were able to furnish, that he did promise himself that very thing from the General of Malta; but that his greatest hopes was grounded upon the generosity of the Duke of Navailles.

He added further that to come to particulars, he had made up a writing in which he did not pretend that his opinion should be approved any other ways than for the reality of his intention, he being very sensible that matters of so great importance did require more privilege than he was master of, and that generals of so great experience as were in that assembly could far better understand and consult what was requisit than he himself was capable to do. Then he caused this Abbot Scarlati, his secretary, to read the writing, which did contain almost the same things, proposing in kind, a general sally; he and the General of Malta preferred to contribute 500 men to that purpose. There was also read an abstract of opinion already delivered in writing concerning that very proposition of a general

σμου ἦτο πεπωμένον νὰ ἐκπνεύσῃ, ἀφοῦ αἱ δύσκολοι περιστάσεις ἔφερον ταύτην πρὸς τὸ τέλος· ὅτι ἤξευρεν, ὅτι τόσον φλογερὸς ἦτο ὁ ζῆλος τοῦ Πάπα, ὥστε θὰ ἔχυνεν αὐτὸς τὸ ἰδιόν του αἷμα, ἂν θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἔχῃ κάποιον ἀποτελεσμα μὲ αὐτὰς τὰς ὀλίγας δυνάμεις ποὺ αἱ γαλέραι του θὰ ἠδύναντο νὰ παράσχουν· ὅτι ἠδύνατο νὰ παράσχῃ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἐξ ὀνόματος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς Μάλτας· ἀλλ' ὅτι αἱ μεγαλύτεραι τῶν ἐλπίδες ἐβασίζοντο εἰς τὴν γενναιοφροσύνην τοῦ Δουκὸς τοῦ Ναβούϊγ.

Προσέθεσε περαιτέρω ὅτι διὰ νὰ προχωρήσῃ εἰς τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα συνέταξεν ἓν ἔγγραφο, ὡς πρὸς τὸ ὅποιον δὲν εἶχε τὴν ἀξίωσιν νὰ ἐπιδοκιμασθῇ ἢ γνώμη τοῦ ἄλλως παρὰ διὰ τὴν πραγματικὴν αὐτοῦ πρόθεσιν, ἐπειδὴ εἶχε πλήρη ἐπίγνωσιν ὅτι ὑποθέσεις τόσον μεγάλης σημασίας ἐχρειαζόντο περισσοτέρας προνομιακῆς ἰκανότητος ἀπὸ ὅσας αὐτὸς κατεῖχε καὶ ὅτι στρατηγοὶ τόσον μεγάλης πείρας, ὡς οἱ παρευρισκόμενοι εἰς τὴν συνεδρίασιν αὐτὴν, θὰ ἠδύναντο καλύτερον νὰ ἀντιληφθοῦν καὶ νὰ συμβουλευσοῦν τί ἀπῆται ἢ περιστάσις παρὰ ὅσον ἠδύνατο αὐτὸς. Τότε παρεκίνησε τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ Ἀββᾶν Scarlati νὰ ἀναγνώσῃ τὸ ἔγγραφο, τὸ ὅποιον περιεῖχε σχεδὸν τὰ ἴδια πράγματα, ἐπρότεινε δηλαδὴ γενικὴν ἐξόρμησιν· αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῆς Μάλτας προσεφέροντο νὰ συμβάλουν μὲ 500 ἄνδρας εἰς τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦτον. Ἐπίσης ἀνεγνώσθη περίληψις γνώμων, ἥδη διατυπωθειῶν ἐγγράφως, ἀφορωσῶν



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 ἐξορμήσεως, καὶ ἀκολούθως ἀπεφασίσθη ἕκαστος νὰ ἐκφέρῃ τὴν γνώμην του, ἡ ὁποία ἦτο κατ' οὐσίαν ἢ ἰδίᾳ μὲ τὴν προηγουμένως ἐκφρασθεῖσαν. Ὅλοι δηλαδὴ κατέληγον εἰς τὸ συμπέρασμα, ὅτι ὑπῆρχον τώρα καὶ ἄλλοι τρόποι νὰ ἀπομακρύνουν τὴν καταστροφὴν τοῦ φρουρίου ἀπὸ τὸ νὰ μηχανεύωνται νέα σχέδια, καὶ διὰ νὰ τὸ ἐπιτύχουν δὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἄλλο μέσον παρὰ ἢ συνέχισις τῆς ἐπικουρίας τῶν γαλλικῶν στρατευμάτων. Ἐδῶ, μερικοὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐνετοὺς διοικητὰς εἰς τὴν ἔξαψιν τῆς συζητήσεως ἄφησαν νὰ τοὺς διαφύγουν αὐτοὶ οἱ λόγοι, ὅτι μὲ τὸ νὰ ἐγκαταλείπουν οἱ Γάλλοι τὴν πόλιν, εὐρισκομένην εἰς τόσον ἐσχάτην ἀνάγκην, θὰ ἐπακολουθήσῃ ἀναποφεύκτως ἢ καταστροφή τῆς· διὰ τοῦτο θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ ἀποφασίσουν, ἂν θὰ ἄφηναν νὰ κατασφαγοῦν ἢ ἂν θὰ παρεδίδοντο, ποῦ ἦτο ἀπόφασις πολὺ βαρυτέρα καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θανάτου, ἀφοῦ καμμία ἀπώλεια δὲν ἦτο πλέον ὑπολογίσιμος διὰ τὰ ἄθλια ὑπολείμματα τῶν ὑπερασπιστῶν, ἐκ τῶν ὁποίων ἐξηρτᾶτο ἢ διάσωσις καὶ τοῦ Φρουρίου καὶ τῆς νήσου· καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ Δημοκρατία, ἡ ὁποία κατὰ τὸν ἐρχομὸν των ἐθέωρησε τὸν Χάνδακα ἤδη ἀπελευθερωθέντα, θὰ χάσῃ μὲ τὴν τόσον παράλογον ἀναχώρησιν των πᾶν ὅ,τι τῆς ἀπέμεινεν εἰς τὴν Ἄνατολὴν. Δὲν περιγράφεται ὁποία ἀγανάκτησις διεγράφη εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ δουκὸς τοῦ Ναβάϊγ καὶ τοῦ ἐπιμελητοῦ τῶν γαλλικῶν στρατευμάτων. Κατὰ πρῶτον διεμαρτυρήθησαν μὲ μεγάλην δόσιν καχυποψίας καὶ ἐτόνισαν ὅτι δὲν θὰ εἶχον αὐτὴν τὴν ιδέαν, ἂν δὲν εἶχον αὐτοὶ δώσει τὸν λόγον των 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 συντεταγμένον) τὴν αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν μὲ μικρὰν ἢ καὶ καμμίαν διαφορὰν· ἀλλὰ τὴν ὥρα, 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 πικρὰν εἰρωνίαν, ὅτι ἦτο δείγμα τῶ ὄντι εὐγενοῦς εὐγνωμοσύνης 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 Ἀντρέ, καὶ νὰ ἐπιρρίπτουν τὴν ἀπώλειαν ταύτης εἰς τοὺς Γάλλους, ἐπειδὴ — καὶ τοῦτο ὅταν εἶχον πράξει πᾶν ὅ,τι ὄφειλον εἰς ἐκάστην περίπτωσιν — ἐπεβιβάσθησαν τῶν πλοίων ὑπακούοντες εἰς τὴν διαταγὴν τοῦ Βασιλέως. Τότε εἰς τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ὅσον περισσότερο ἦτο καταφανὲς ὅτι ἡ διάσωσις τοῦ Χάνδακος μέχρις αὐτῆς τῆς ἡμέρας ὀφείλετο εἰς τὰς δυνάμεις τοῦ Βασιλέως τόσον σαφέστερον θὰ ἐφαίνετο ὅτι ἡ καταστροφὴ 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 ἀνεκτικῶς 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 ἠδύνατο ἐκ τούτου νὰ παραταθῇ ἡ ἄμυνα μέχρις ὅτου φθάσουν αἱ ἀναμενόμεναι ἐπικουρίαι, μετὰς ὁποίας, ἂν ὑπερησπίζοντο ὅ,τι ἀπέμενεν κατὰ τὸν μᾶλλον κρατερόν 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 περισσότερο ἀξιοσύστατος, ὅστις, μὴ ὢν ἱκανὸς νὰ θεραπεύσῃ τὸν πελάτην του, παρατείνει ὅσον τὸ δυνατόν τὴν ζωὴν του, οὕτω ὅσον περισσότερο κρατήσῃ ὁ Χάνδαξ τόσον ἡ πόλις θὰ ἀποβῇ εἰς τὸ τέλος ἐνδοξότερα.

Τὴν 22αν ἀνενεώθησαν αἱ διαταγαὶ πρὸς ὅλους τοὺς ἀξιωματικούς καὶ στρατιώτας νὰ μὴ κινηθοῦν ἀπὸ τὰς θέσεις των ἐπὶ οὐδεμιᾷ προφάσει, ἐκτὸς περιπτώσεως ἀσθενείας ἢ σοβαροῦ τραυματισμοῦ. Εἰς ἐπίθεσιν τόσον μακρᾶς διαρκείας, δοθέντος ὅτι ὑπῆρχε τόσον μεγάλη ἔλλειψις ἀνδρῶν, συχνὰ ἐθεωρήθη ἐπιβαλλόμενον νὰ κρατοῦν τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὸ καθῆκόν των εἰς τὰς πυροβολαρχίας μερικὸς μῆνας κατὰ συνέχειαν, χωρὶς νὰ τοὺς ἀντικαθιστοῦν, καὶ τώρα ἡ ἀνάγκη αὐτὴ ἦτο περισσότερο ἐμφανής, διότι μόλις ἔβλεπέ τις στρατιώτην ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τὰ ρήγματα πανταχοῦ ἀσθενῶς ὑπερησπίζοντο, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι θέσεις εἶχον σχεδὸν ἀφεθῆ τελείως ἀφρούρητοι· 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 Mirandula.

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 Poicare, 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

Κατὰ τὴν μεσημβρίαν, ὁπότε ἦτο ἡ μᾶλλον παρέχουσα ὑποψίας κινδύνου ὥρα, ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος ἔδωκεν ἐντολὴν νὰ ἴστανται ἐν ἐπιφυλακῇ καὶ ἡ ἐπιφυλακὴ αὕτη ἐσυνεχίσθη ἕκτοτε· ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἔτρεξαν κατὰ τὸ σὺνηθες ἐπάνω εἰς τὰ τεῖχη καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέραν ἀνεκάλυψαν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μερικὰ πλοῖα, ἐπὶ τῶν ὁποίων ἐφαντάσθησαν ὅτι ἐπιβαίνουν αἱ ἐπικουρίαι τοῦ Δουκὸς τῆς Mirandula.

Κατὰ τὴν νύκτα ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος ἔλαβεν εἶδησιν, ὅτι ὁ Βεζύρης, ἀντιληφθεὶς τὸν ἀπόπλουν τῶν Γάλλων καὶ βλέπων· ὅτι ἤρχοντο αἱ γαλλικαὶ ἐπικουρίαι, ἀπεφάσισε νὰ προλάβῃ, ἐνεργῶν ἀποφασιστικὴν ἐπίθεσιν εἰς τὰς δύο ὄχυράς θέσεις τὰς ὁποίας προσέβαλλον· καὶ ἔμαθε κατόπιν ὅτι 10 χιλ. Τοῦρκοι 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, διατάσων αὐτοὺς νὰ παραμείνουν ἄγρυπνοι καὶ νὰ κανονίσουν τὰ πάντα μὲ τὴν μεγαλυτέραν ἔμπειρον πειθαρχίαν.

Ὁ Mombrun, στρατηγὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος, καὶ ὁ Poicare, Προβλεπτής τοῦ Βασιλείου, παρίσταντο εἰς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν τοῦ Ἀγ. Ἀνδρέου μὲ τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον Frontenack καὶ τὸν ὑποστράτηγον Grinaldi· οἱ ὡς 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 partisianos 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 ἐξωτερικῶν ὄχι σημαντικῶν θέσεων ἦσαν πολὺ ἀσθενεῖς ὥστε νὰ διακινδυνεύσουν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπίθεσιν, καὶ ὅτι, ἂν ὁ ἐχθρὸς κατέκοπεν τοὺς ἐκεῖ εὐρισκομένους—πρᾶγμα πού θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ πράξῃ μὲ εὐκολίαν—θὰ ἐτρομοκράτει τοὺς ὑπολοίπους, ἀπέσυραν τοὺς περισσοτέρους, ἀφήνοντες μίαν δράκα ἀνδρῶν μὲ ἐντολὴν νὰ ἐκπληρώσουν καλῶς τὸ καθήκον των κατὰ τὸ ἐνὸν καὶ αἰφνηδίως νὰ ὑποχωρήσουν ὀπισθεν τοῦ φράγματος εἰς τὸ ἰσχυρότερον σῶμα τῆς φρουρᾶς. Μὲ ἐκείνους πού ἔγιναν κατόπιν ὑπονομοποιοὶ ἐνίσχυσαν ἄλλας θέσεις, τοποθετοῦντες τὸν μεγαλύτερον ἀριθμὸν τυφεκιοφόρων εἰς τὰς θέσεις ἐκεῖνας, πού ἔμενον ἀνοικταὶ παρὰ τὴν Κασαμάτα εἰς τὸ εὐρύτερον μέρος τῶν ρηγμάτων, 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 ὅπουδῆποτε 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 ὑψηλοτέραν μοῖρον τῆς τοῦ σώματος καὶ ὅτι τὸ κυριώτερον ἦτο νὰ γνωρίζουν πῶς νὰ προχωροῦν ἀποφασιστικῶς εἰς ἕκαστον ἐγγεῖρημα.

Ἡ ἴλη τῆς Μάλτας ἐτοποθετήθη ὡς ἐφεδρικὸν σῶμα (ἐκ τοῦ ὁποίου κυρίως ἐξαρτᾶται 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 περισσότεροι ἵππεις, καὶ ὁ κύριος La Fuer, εὐγενής, 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 κατηναλώθη εἰς προπαρασκευὴν βλημάτων διὰ κανόνια, λίθων διὰ τοὺς ὄλμους καὶ λεπτῶν σφαιρῶν (τόρρα, ἡ βόμβα καὶ βομβίδες ἐτοποθετοῦντο πρῶτον, ἀλλ' ἀπέτυχον καὶ ἐτίθεντο πέντε εἰς μεγάλην ὑπόνομον).

Ὁ βαρῶνος Chilimensech παρίστατο εἰς τὴν Σαμπιονέρα ὅπου καὶ ἡ Κυβέρνησις καὶ ὁ Προβλεπτὴς τοῦ Βασιλείου. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν προμνημονευθεῖσαν ἀπώλειαν τοῦ κανονίου ὁ ταγματάρχης John Rades, ἄνθρωπος μὲ μέγαν ζῆλον καὶ δραστηριότητα εἰς τὴν ἐκτέλεσιν τῶν ἀποφάσεών 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 φανταστὴν ἀκρίβειαν.

Κατὰ τὰ ἑξημερῶματα 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 ἑαυτὸν, ἵνα παρατηρήσῃ ποίαν θέσιν κατεῖχεν 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 ὠπλίσθη μὲ λογχοπέλεκυν καὶ περικεφαλαίαν, εἰσέδυσεν εἰς τὸ ρῆγμα.

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, παραγγέλλων ταυτοχρόνως νὰ ἀκολουθήσῃ ἡ ἰλη τῆς Μάλτας· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὸν Ἄγ. Ἀνδρέαν ἦλθον εἰς περισσότερον σοβαρὰν σύγκρουσιν, ἠναγκάσθη νὰ στραφῇ πρὸς τὴν πλευρὰν ταύτην.

Τώρα ἡ ἐπίθεσις ἤρχισε μὲ τὸ σύνθημα 4 κανονιοβολισμῶν, μετὰ τὸ ὅποιον οἱ Τούρκοι ἔθεσαν εἰς ἐνέργειαν ὅλα τὰ κανόνια τῶν καὶ ἔρριψαν βροχὴν λίθων καὶ βομβίδων· εἶτα ἠκολούθησε μανιωδестаτὴ ρίψις τυφεκιοβολισμῶν. Ἐν συνεχείᾳ ὤρμησαν ἀποφασιστικῶς εἰς ἐπίθειν μὲ τὴν σπάθην καὶ τὸ πιστόλιον ἀνὰ χεῖρας.

Ἐπὶ τὸν ὄχρον, ὡς σὰς ἐπληροφόρησα προηγουμένως, μερικοὶ στρατιῶται εἰς τὸ ὄχυρον τῆς Ἄγ. Πελαγίας, περίπου 30 τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὑπὸ ἓνα λοχαγὸν τοῦ συντάγματος τοῦ συνταγματάρχου Racchi, δηλαδὴ ἐκείνον ὁ ὅποιος μετὰ τοῦ T. C. Bicuchi εἶχον τὴν φρούρησιν αὐτῆς τῆς θέσεως. Κατὰ τὴν ἐπίθειν ἐκεῖ δὲν ὀπισθοχώρησαν συμφώνως πρὸς τὰς δοθείσας διαταγὰς, ἀλλὰ μὲ τὰ ξίφη ἀνὰ 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

πλείστοι ὁμως ἐτράπησαν εἰς φυγήν.

Ἡ προκληθεῖσα ἀταξία ἔκαμε τοὺς ἄνδρας τοῦ Brunswick, πού εὐρίσκοντο πλησίον αὐτῶν, κάπως νὰ κλονισθοῦν, πρᾶγμα τὸ ὁποῖον 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 Andrè ἀντεπεξῆλθε μὲ ὀλίγους ἄνδρας καὶ ἐπετέθησαν κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων· ὁ Συνταγματάρχης Gabriel, ὅστις εὐρίσκετο ἐπὶ τοῦ προμαχῶνος 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 περισσότερο συγκεχυμένη ἐγίνετο ἡ ἀψιμαχία τόσον περισσότερο ἀπέβαινε φρικαλέα καὶ αἱματηρά. Οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἀξιωματικοὶ ἤθελον νὰ προχωρήσουν ὀλόκληρον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνετο ἀντιληπτὸν ὅτι ὑφίσταντο τοιαύτην ζημίαν ἀπὸ τὰ κανόνια καὶ τοὺς τυφεκιοβολισμούς, δὲν ἠδύναντο νὰ προωθήσουν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους των εἰμὴ διὰ ραβδισμῶν· οὕτω ὀπισθοχώρησαν εἰς τὸ ὄχυρωμᾶ των. Λαμβάνοντες μετ' αὐτῶν μερικοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἔσπευδον νὰ ἀνοίξουν ὅπουδῆποτε 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 Bandedilla



of Bandevilla 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 Sargeant 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 Sargeant 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 Sargeant 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 πρὸς ἐθαυματούργησαν, καὶ τὸ μικρὸν ὑπόλειμμα τῶν δύο συνταγμάτων 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 Bonnette 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 προμαχῶνος καὶ ὁ Jacobo Polani, εὐγενὴς ἐξ Ἑνετίας, διοικητὴς τοῦ πυροβολικοῦ, διεκρίθησαν ἐπίσης. Οἱ δὲ πολεμήσαντες εἰς τὸν Ἁγ. Ἀνδρέαν καὶ διακριθέντες δι' ἐξαιρετικὰς πράξεις ἦσαν ὁ Κορνάρου, ὁ Προβλεπτὴς τοῦ Βασιλείου, ὁ Gabrill, ὁ Perugini, ἀμφότεροι συνταγματάρχαι, εἰς ταγματάρχης ἀνήκων εἰς τὰ στρατεύματα τοῦ Brunswick, γνωστὸς μὲ τὸ ὄνομα Buaz Zambuick, ὅστις, ἀφοῦ ἐξέκένωσε τὰ δύο τοῦ πιστόλια εἰς τὸ στήθος δύο Τούρκων, ἐρρίφθη μὲ τὸ ξίφος ἀνὰ 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 σῆμα εἰς αὐτὸν θάρος εἰς τὸν ἐχθρὸν πρὸς τὴν πλευρὰν 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 παρατηρηθῆ μεταξὺ 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 εὗρισκον 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 εὗρισκοντο 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 ἀποβιβάζονται 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 ἀναπληρώσουν τοὺς 600 ἐναπομείναντας Γάλλους, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἐπρόκειτο νὰ ἐπιβιβασθοῦν τὴν ἰδίαν νύκτα εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν θέσιν. Τότε ἐπεβιβάσθη ἐπίσης ἡ ἰλη τῆς Μάλτας, σῶμα ὑποστάν ἱκανὴν 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 ὅποιον προσέθεσε πάρα πολὺ εἰς τὴν στενόχωρον θέσιν τῆς φρουρᾶς, ἦτο ἡ ἐπιβίβασις πρὸς ἀπόπλουν 500 τῶν καλυτέρων στρατιωτῶν τῆς Δημοκρατίας, λάθρα γενομένη μετὰ τῶν γαλλικῶν δυνάμεων, παρὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν ὁποίαν εἶχε λάβει ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος καὶ τὴν ἀπόλυτον διαταγὴν τοῦ Δουκὸς τοῦ Ναβάιγ' μόλις ἠδυνήθησαν νὰ συγκρατήσουν μερικὸς ἀπὸ αὐτούς, ὅχι 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 πρὸς ἀνήκον εἰς τὸν στόλον, διότι ἡ σοβαρότης τῆς υποθέσεως ἀπῆται 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  
 Gioseppe 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 Ἀρμάδας.  
 Giuseppe Morosini, τακτικός Κυβερνήτης τῶν γαλερῶν.  
 Anzalo Morosini, Στρατηγὸς ἐντεταλμένος ἐπὶ τῶν Πληρωμῶν.  
 Moise Magno, ἔκτακτος 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 ὅποιαν περιῆλθε τὸ φρούριον ἦτο πολὺ καλὰ γνωστὴ καὶ τοὺς ὑπεχρέωνε πρῶτον ἐξ ὅλων νὰ σκεφθοῦν, τί θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ γίνῃ διὰ τὴν ἄμυναν τοῦ ὄχυροῦ καὶ κατόπιν κατὰ ποῖον τρόπον δράσεως ἔπρεπε νὰ τὸ ἐπιχειρήσουν. Προσέθεσε περαιτέρω, ὅτι ἐκ πείρας ἐγνώριζεν, ὅτι οἱ τοῦ συμβουλίου ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ νὰ συμβουλευσοῦν τί ἔπρεπε νὰ γίνῃ καὶ πῶς νὰ ἐκτελεσθῇ, ἀλλ' ἡ παροῦσα ἐσχάτη ἀνάγκη, εἰς τὴν ὅποιαν περιῆλθον τὰ πράγματα, ἀπῆτει νὰ ἀφήσουν κατὰ μέρος πάντα ἐπιδεικτικισμόν μὲ ἀυθόρμητον εἰλικρίνειαν καὶ νὰ δηλώσῃ ἕκαστος μὲ ἐλευθερίαν τὰ αἰσθήματά του. Ἀκολούθως ἀνεγνώσθη ὡς προεισαγωγὴ αὐτῆ ἡ διαταγὴ κατὰ τὴν ὅποιαν 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 ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα.

Τότε ἐδόθη ἡ διαταγὴ ἕκαστος νὰ δηλώσῃ τὰς σκέψεις του προφορικῶς καὶ ἡ γενικὴ γνώμη ἦτο εὐθύς 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 Ἀγ. Ἀνδρέου κατώρθωσε νὰ πλησιάσῃ μέχρι τοῦ τελευταίου ὄχυρώματος, τὸ ὁποῖον ἦτο τόσον εὐπαθὲς καὶ ἄσθενές, κατεσκευασμένον διὰ συσσωρεύσεως τόσον κακῆς ποιότητος ὑλικῶν, ὥστε δὲν θὰ ἦτο δυνατόν νὰ προβάλλῃ μεγάλην ἀντίστασιν. Καὶ ἂν ἐπροχώρουν οἱ ἐχθροὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ μέρος, ὅπου τὸ προπύργιον τῆς Σαμπιονέρας ἐσχημάτιζε τὴν κάτω πλατεῖαν ὁδόν, θὰ ἠδύναντο νὰ διανοίξουν ὁδὸν διὰ μέσου τῆς γραμμῆς καταφυγῆς (ritirata) τοῦ προμαχῶνος καὶ οὕτω, εὐρισκόμενοι πλησίον τῶν ἄλλων διαβάσεων πρὸς τὰ Νεώρια, θὰ ἀπέκλειον ταχέως τὸ Φρούριον. Συνεπῶς κατέληγον, ὅτι ἂν ἐσυνέχιζον τὴν ἐπίθεσιν κατὰ τὸν συνήθη τρόπον, ἡ πόλις θὰ ἦτο ἀδύνατον νὰ κρατηθῇ ἐπὶ μακρὸν εἰς κατάστασιν ἀμύνης, διότι, ἂν ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἀπεφάσιζε νὰ ριψοκινδυνεύσῃ τὴν ἀπώλειαν 2 ἢ 3.000 ἀνδρῶν, ἐνεργῶν ζωηρῶν καὶ γενικὴν ἔφοδον, δὲν ὑπῆρχε πιθανότης νὰ σώσουν ἀμυνόμενοι τὸ ὄχυρόν.

Ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος ἠρώτησε τὸν μαρκήσιον Saint André πόσον καιρὸν κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν του θὰ διήρκει ἡ ἔφοδος τῶν Τούρκων κατὰ τῆς νέας γραμμῆς καταφυγῆς τοῦ Ἀγ. Ἀνδρέου. Ὁ μαρκήσιος ἀπήντησεν, 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 θὰ ἦσαν 10 ἢ 15 ἡμέραι. Τότε ἐπροχώρησαν εἰς τὸ ἄλλο σημείον: ποίαν πορείαν θὰ ὄφειλον νὰ ἀκολουθήσουν διὰ νὰ προσφέρουν εἰς τὸν Ἡγεμόνα των τὴν καλλίστην ὑπηρεσίαν πού θὰ ἠδύναντο, ἔχοντες ὑπ' ὄψιν ἀφ' ἑνὸς πόσον μεγάλην σημασίαν εἶχεν ἡ θέσις αὐτή, διὰ τὴν ὁποίαν ἡ Γαληνοτάτη Δημοκρατία ἐξήντησε τόσους θησαυρούς καὶ αἷμα διὰ νὰ τὴν διασώσῃ, ἀφ' ἑτέρου ὅτι, ἂν ἐκυριεύετο ἐξ ἐφόδου ἢ ἐφράσσετο ἡ ἐπικοινωνία μὲ τὴν θάλασσαν, θὰ ἐχάνοντο τὰ πλεονεκτήματα τὰ ἀπορρέοντα ἐκ τῆς στρατιωτικῆς ἐπικουρίας καὶ τῆς ἀρμάδας· καὶ εἰς τοῦτο θὰ ἐπηκολούθουν αἱ θλιβεραὶ συνέπειαι τὰς ὁποίας ἕκαστος κατενόει.

Τέλος κατέληξαν νὰ δώσουν τὰς γνώμας των ἀρχίζοντες ἀπὸ τὸ τελευταῖον, ὡς εἶναι σύνηθες, καὶ τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα ἦτο, ὅτι τὸ καλύτερον ἦτο νὰ ἀποφασίσουν τὴν σύναψιν συνθήκης διὰ νὰ ἀποφύγουν τὴν καταστροφὴν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἀρμάδας, καὶ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν τῶν φρουρίων καὶ τῶν νήσων. Ἀλλ' ὁ Grinaldi, τοῦ ὁποίου ἦτο σειρά νὰ ὁμιλήσῃ, εἶπεν, ὅτι ἐγνώριζε πολὺ καλὰ ὅτι τὸ ὄχυρόν δὲν ἦτο δυνατόν νὰ κρατήσῃ ἐπὶ μακρόν καὶ ὠμολόγῃ ἐπίσης ὅτι θὰ ἦτο τιμὴ διὰ τοὺς ὑπερασπιστὰς νὰ ἀποθάνουν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ δὲν θὰ ἐξυπηρέτει τὸν Ἡγεμόνα των. Ἐξ ἄλλου ἡ γνώμη του ἦτο νὰ καύσουν μᾶλλον καὶ νὰ ἀνατινάξουν τὸ Φρούριον ὅσον τὸ δυνατόν ταχύτερον παρὰ νὰ 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 ἠδύναντο νὰ ἐπιβιβάσουν τὸ πεζικόν των καὶ νὰ ἀνατινάξουν τὰς ὑπονόμους· κατενόει καλῶς, ὅτι τοῦτο ἦτο ἐπιχείρημα καὶ δύσκολον καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον, ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχον δύο λόγοι κινουῦντες τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν λύσιν ταύτην, ὅτι ὁ ἐχθρὸς εἰς μίαν συνθήκην παραδόσεως δὲν θὰ ἐκράτει τὸν λόγον του, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης, ἄνθρωπος πανοῦργος, δὲν θὰ ἠνείχετο νὰ διαφύγῃ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τῆς ἀρμάδας, πού ἐπὶ τόσα ἔτη ἐκράτησε ὄχι μόνον τὸ ἐμπόριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κυριαρχίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδικῶν του θαλασσῶν. Ὁ δεύτερος οὗτος λόγος καθίστα, ἂν ὄχι ὀλιγώτερον ἀποτελεσματικόν, ὅμως ὀλιγώτερον ἄξιον ἐπιδοκιμασίας διὰ τόσον γενναίας ψυχᾶς τὸ νὰ θέσουν ἀνάλογον περίοδον χρόνου διὰ μίαν ἄμυναν, πού ἐξεταζομένη δὲν εἶχε τὸ παράλληλόν της, ἀπὸ τὸ νὰ ἀφήσουν εἰς τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὄχι μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἀνάκτορον, ἀλλὰ σωρὸν ἐρειπίων καὶ πειρῶν ὡς τρόπαιον τῆς βραδείας του καὶ αἱματηρᾶς νίκης.

Ἡ γνώμη αὕτη ἀπεδοκιμάσθη ὑπὸ ὅλων πλὴν τοῦ Minio, τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐφοδιασμοῦ ἐντεταλμένου. Ὁ μαρκήσιος Saint André ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ἡ ἀπόφασίς του ἦτο μᾶλλον γενναίφρων παρὰ ἐφαρμόσιμος, διότι ἡ ἐπιβίβασις τόσων ἀνθρώπων δὲν ἦτο δυνατὸν νὰ κρυβῆ ἀπὸ τὸν ἐχθρὸν, ὅστις ὄχι μόνον ἦτο εἰς μεγάλην ἐγγύτητα, ἀλλ' ἀκόμη εἶχεν ἐγκατασταθῆ ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως.

Τότε ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος προσέθεσεν ὅτι, ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὅτι ἡ γνώμη του δὲν ἦτο ἐφαρμόσιμος 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, ποὺ ἦτο εὐκόλον νὰ κατανοήσῃ εἰς πεπειραμένος διοικητής, καὶ ἐβεβαίωσεν ὅτι ἡ πρότασις αὐτή, 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 ἀπήντησεν, 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 ποὺ πιθανῶς θὰ κατελάμβανε τὸν ἐχθρὸν διὰ τῆς ἀνατινάξεως τῶν ὑπονόμων των, ἀλλὰ τέλος, ἅς ἄφηνον τὰ γεγονότα νὰ ὁμιλήσουν. Ἡ ζημία 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 ἀπηλπισμένων ἐχθρῶν, οἱ ὅποιοι, ὄντες ἱκανοὶ νὰ τελειώσουν τὸν πόλεμον μὲ ἓν κτύπημα, δὲν θὰ τοὺς μετεχειρίζοντο καλύτερον, ἂν παρέδιδον τὸ ὄχυρόν, ἀπὸ ὅτι μετεχειρίοιθην 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 ὑποχρεωμέ-



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 galleots 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 μᾶλλον ἀρμόζον νὰ γίνῃ πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦτον. Ἐν τῷ μεταξύ ἡ ἀπόφασις εἶχεν ἀναβληθῆ μέχρι τώρα· καὶ ἦτο αὕτη ὅτι, ἀφοῦ τὸ φρούριον δὲν ἦτο εἰς κατάστασιν νὰ ἀνθῆξῃ περισσότερο, τὸ νὰ συνθηκολογήσουν ὑπὸ τοὺς μᾶλλον ἐπωφελεῖς ὅρους 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 ἀνενέωνον τὴν ἐπίμονον παράκλησίν 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 νύκτια ἀπεστάλη εἰς ὑπολοχαγὸς εἰς τὸν Rospigliosi, διὰ νὰ ἀνακοινώσῃ εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν ἀπόφασιν, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ἐξ ἀνάγκης κατέληξαν, ἰκετεύοντες αὐτὸν προσέτι νὰ κάμῃ διάβημα εἰς τὸν Δοῦκα τοῦ Ναβάϊγ, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο δὲν ἔσχεν ἄλλο ἀποτέλεσμα παρ' ὅτι τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίας φύσεως διαβήματα.

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

σμόν τοῦ ζητήματος· οὗτος συνωδεύετο μόνον ὑπὸ ἑνὸς νέου ὡς γραμματέως διὰ τὰ καταγράφη ὅ,τιδήποτε συνεζητεῖτο ἐπ' εὐκαιρία μὲ πρόγραμμα τὰ μὴν ἀρθρώσῃ λέξιν. 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 φελούκας πρὸς τὸν Γιόφυρον, ὅπου ἔρριψαν τυφεκιοβολισμόν καὶ ὕψωσαν λευκὴν σημαίαν· ἀφοῦ ἐπερίμεναν περίπου ἡμίσειαν ὥραν, ἐνεφανίσθη τέλος μία ὄμας Τούρκων, εἰς τῶν ὁποίων, προχωρήσας πρὸς τὴν παραλίαν, ἀνταπέδωσε τὸ σῆμα τῆς σημαίας ὑψῶν λευκὸν ὕφασμα προσηλωμένον εἰς μίαν ράβδον· ἀφοῦ οὗτοι ἐπλησίασαν πρὸς τὴν φελούκαν ὅσον ἐπέτρεπεν εἰς τούτους τὸ ὕδωρ, οἱ ἐπιβάται τῆς φελούκας ἐδήλωσαν ὅτι ἐπεθύμουν τὰ ὁμιλήσουν μὲ πρόσωπον ἀνήκον εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ Βεζύρου μέσῳ δραγουμάνου, δηλ. διερμηνέως. Εἰς τὸ αἶτημα τοῦτο οἱ Τούρκοι ἀπήντησαν ἰταλιστί, ὅτι ἔπρεπε τὰ περιμένουν χρόνον τινά, ἐμπήξαντες δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν λευκὴν σημαίαν, ἐβάδισαν μὲ μεγάλην σπουδὴν πρὸς τὸ μέρος ὅπου ἐστρατοπέδευον πρὸ τοῦ φρουρίου τοῦ Ἀγ. Ἀνδρέου· οὕτω ὁ συνταγματάρχης Ἀνάντης καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τοῦ ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὸ πλοῖόν των. Μετὰ μίαν ὥραν περίπου ἐνεφανίσθη ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ εἰς Ἀγᾶς τῆς αὐλῆς 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

στήματος, περίπου 40 ἐτῶν, μελαψός, μὲ μέλαν λεπτόν γένειον, ἀλλ' ὄχι πολὺ μακρόν, πρόσωπον τὸ ὁποῖον, καθ' ὅσον ἤμποροῦσε τις νὰ βασισθῆ εἰς τὴν φυσιογνωμίαν, ἐφαίνετο ὅτι εἶχε μεγαλυτέραν τάσιν πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην παρὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. Περιεβάλλετο ἀπὸ μεγάλην ἀκολουθίαν, μεταξὺ τῶν ὁποίων ἦτο εἷς ἐξωμότης, φυγὰς πρὸς αὐτούς, ὀνόματι Μπαρότσι, ὅστις ἐπίσης ἦτο ἔφιππος· οὗτος, ἀφοῦ ἐφώνησε τὴν φελουκίαν 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 ἠδύναντο μὲ τοιαύτην προϋπόθεσιν νὰ ἀποβιβασθοῦν καὶ εἶτα νὰ ἐπιστρέψουν κατὰ βούλησιν εἰς τὸ πλοῖόν των. Ἐδόθη ἡ ἀπάντησις ὅτι ἠδύναντο, ὄχι μόνον ἀπὸ τὸν Μπαρότσι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀγᾶν, ὅστις διὰ νεύματος καὶ θέτων τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοὺς ἐβεβαίωσε διὰ τὴν ὀλοκληρωτικὴν φιλίαν μεταξὺ των. Τότε ὁ συνταγματάρχης Ἀνάντης ἀπεβίβασθη καὶ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἡ ἐξοχότης του ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος, ἔχων σφοδρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν νὰ θέσῃ τέλος εἰς ἓνα τόσον ὄγληρον καὶ σκληρὸν πόλεμον, εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον τόσον αἷμα καὶ θησαυροὶ ἐσπαταλήθησαν μὲ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τόσοων 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 ἑκατέρωθεν καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον πρὸς τόσον μεγάλην βλάβην τῶν ὑπηκόων των, πρᾶγμα μὲ σοβαρὰ ἐπακόλουθα, προσκαλεῖ τὸν Μέγαν Βεζύρην νὰ θέσῃ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τὴν συνετήν του κρίσιν, νὰ τὰ ζυγίσῃ καλῶς καὶ νὰ συγκατατεθῇ εἰς μίαν νέαν διαπραγματεύσιν εἰρήνης, ἡ ὁποία εἶχεν ἀρχίσει προηγουμένως ἀπὸ τὴν ἐξοχότητά του τὸν Σινιὸρ Molin, μὲ μόνην βλέψιν νὰ δυνηθῶμεν νὰ φέρωμεν εἰς πέρας τέλος ταύτην καὶ νὰ ἀποκατασταθῇ οὕτω ἀμοιβαιότης στοργῆς, τὴν ὁποίαν ἀρκετὰ ἡ Γαληνοτάτη Δημοκρατία ἐμόχθησε νὰ ἐξασφαλίσῃ μετὰ τῆς Ὑψηλῆς Πύλης. Ὁ Ἅγᾶς ἀπήντησεν εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν διατύπωσιν, ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἐπρόκειτο νὰ γίνῃ ἀποκατάστασις εἰρήνης ἄνευ παραδόσεως τῆς ὀχυρᾶς θέσεως, χωρὶς τὴν ὁποίαν μάταιοι θὰ ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι του. Κατόπιν τούτου ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ἡ πόλις δὲν εἶχε περιέλθει εἰς τόσον κακὴν κατάστασιν ὥστε νὰ ἀπελπίζεται ὅτι θὰ κατορθώσῃ νὰ ἀμυνθῇ ἐπὶ μακρὸν εἰσέτι χρόνον, καὶ ὅτι τὸ νὰ σκέπτονται τόσον ἀναρμόστους ὄρθους δὲν θὰ εἶχεν ἄλλο ἀποτέλεσμα παρὰ τοῦτο, νὰ κτίσουν τὰς ἐλπίδας των ἐπὶ θεμελίῳ ἀέρος, ἀφοῦ τὸ Φρούριον ἦτο καλῶς ἐφωδιασμένον μὲ στρατιώτας καὶ ἐργάτας, ὅπως καὶ μὲ πυρομαχικά καὶ ζωοτροφίας· ἐκ τούτου θὰ ἠδύνατο πολὺ καλὰ νὰ συναχθῇ μὲ ποίαν ρώμην θὰ τὸ ὑπερήσπιζον καὶ θὰ τὸ ἐκράτουν· ἀλλ' ἅπαξ ἐπεζητεῖτο ἡ σύναψις συνθήκης, ἂν καὶ τοῦτο προῆλθεν ὄχι χωρὶς διαφωνίας προσωπικοτήτων τοῦ Βασιλείου τούτου, ἂν εἶχον τὴν πρόθεσιν νὰ διαπραγματευθοῦν μὲ βάσιν αὐτὸ ἀκριβῶς τὸ σημεῖον, τότε δὲν θὰ ἔλειπον ἀσφαλῶς δυνατὰ λύσεις καὶ ἐπινοήματα διὰ νὰ συναφθῇ. Ὁ Ἅγᾶς ἀν-



treat, they could not want ways nor devises 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,

ταπίντησεν 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 ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι τὸ νὰ φαντάζωνται τὴν κατάκτησιν αὐτὴν τόσον εὐκόλον καὶ νὰ συνεχίσουν τὴν ἐπίθεσιν θὰ τοὺς ἔκανε κατόπιν νὰ μετανοήσουν, διότι δὲν ἀπεδέχθησαν τὴν προσφορὰν αὐτὴν, ἀφοῦ μία πόλις ὡς αὐτή, ποὺ οὔτε οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὸ θάρρος τῆς 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 δυνάμεών του καὶ ἡ ἀπόγνωσις τοῦ λαοῦ του, ποὺ ἐπλήγη ἀπὸ τὴν σταθερὰν ἀποφασιστικότητά των ὑπερασπιστῶν εἰς τόσας πράξεις καὶ ἀποπείρας. Ὁ Ἀγᾶς 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 τῶν Magno καὶ Morosini, τὸν ἑκτακτον Κυβερνήτην τῶν Γαλερῶν καὶ τὸν τακτικὸν Κυβερνήτην τούτων. Μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπεφόρτισαν τὸν συντ. Ἀνάτην νὰ ἐπιστρέψῃ τὴν 22αν ὥραν περίπου, οὗτος δὲ ἐξετέλεσεν ἐπακριβῶς τὴν ἐντολὴν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅπως καὶ τὴν πρωίαν. Οὕτω, ὅταν ἐπλησίασαν παρὰ τὴν αὐτὴν θέσιν τοῦ Γιόφυρου, ἐνεφανίσθη ὁ Ἀγᾶς μετὰ τοῦ Μπαρότσι, ἀλλ' εἶχε μετ' αὐτοῦ κάποιον Παναγιώτην, γραμματέα καὶ δραγουμᾶνον τοῦ Μεγ. Βεζύρου, ἄνθρωπον μετρίου ἀναστήματος, κάπως καλοκαμωμένον καὶ περίπου 80 ἐτῶν, μὲ ἓνα λεπτὸν γένειον καστανοῦ χρώματος μὲ ὀλίγας πολιὰς τρίχας, μὲ ὡραῖον πρόσωπον, μορφωμένον, ἐχέμυθον καὶ ἔμπειρον εἰς τὰς κρατικὰς ὑποθέσεις· οὗτος ἔνευσε νὰ ἀποβιβασθοῦν, πρᾶγμα τὸ ὁποῖον ἐξετέλεσαν ὄχι ἄνευ δυσκολίας ἐξ αἰτίας τοῦ θυελλώδους καιροῦ, καὶ ὠδηγήθησαν εἰς τὴν ἀκτὴν ὑπὸ δύο Τούρκων, τοὺς ὁποῖους ὁ Ἀγᾶς ἔστειλε πρὸς τοῦτο εἰς τὴν φελοῦκαν. Ὅταν εὐρέθησαν ἀντιμέτωποι, ὁ Ἀγᾶς εἶπε διὰ τοῦ διερμηνέως τοῦ Παναγιώτη ὅτι ὁ Μεγ. Βεζύρης ἔχει εἰδικὰς ἐντολὰς ἀπὸ τὴν Ὀθωμανικὴν Β (δηλ. τῆς Ὀθωμανικῆς Αὐλῆς) Πύλην, νὰ μὴ συνάψῃ εἰρήνην, οὐδὲ νὰ ἔλθῃ ἔστω εἰς διαπραγματεύσεις πρὸς τοῦτο ἄνευ τῆς παραδόσεως τοῦ Φρουρίου, καὶ ὡς ἐκ τούτου δὲν ἦτο δυνατόν 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 ἢ ἐξοχότης τοῦ ὁ Σινιὸρ Molin ὡς πρὸς τὸ θέμα τοῦτο ἢ Ὑψηλὴ Πύλη ἐξεδήλωσε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν πρὸς σύναψιν εἰρήνης, ἢ 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 ἱκανοποιήσῃ ὅλον τὸν λαὸν καὶ νὰ ἐπιδοκιμασθῇ. Τότε ὁ Παναγιώτης ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ὅταν ἤρχισεν ἡ διαπραγματεύσεις μὲ τὸν Σινιὸρ Molin, ἡ πόλις ἦτο εἰς διάφορον κατάστασιν ἐκείνης εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν εὕρισκετο ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, ἀφοῦ ἤδη ὁ προμαχὼν καὶ ἡ γραμμὴ καταφυγῆς (ritirata) τοῦ Ἀγ. 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 τούτου θὰ ἐπηκολούθει 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 ἐπηκολούθει ὀπωσδήποτε· διὰ τοῦτο θὰ ἦτο περιττὸν νὰ ἐπιμείνουν ἐπὶ συνάψεως εἰρήνης πρὸ τῆς παραδόσεως τοῦ Φρουρίου. Ὁ Ἀγᾶς ἐπρόφερον αὐτοὺς ἀκριβῶς τοὺς λόγους μὲ ἀκουστὴν φωνήν, ὥστε νὰ ἠμπορέσουν νὰ παρακολουθήσουν οἱ Τοῦρκοι, ποῦ εἶχον συρρεύσει εἰς μέγαν ἀριθμὸν διὰ νὰ ἀναμιχθῶν 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. An-nand 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 παρεδίδοτο, διότι αὐταὶ ἦσαν αἱ διαταγαὶ τοῦ Μεγ. Βεζύρου. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης ὑπεχρεώθη νὰ ἀπαντήσῃ εἰς τὴν παρατήρησιν σχετικῶς μὲ τὰς προσεγγίσεις των, ὅτι ἂν εἶχον κερδίσει ἐν ὀχύρωμα, 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 ὡτὼ τοὺς ὑπεχρέωνον μᾶλλον νὰ ἐπιθυμοῦν τὴν συνέχισιν τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐπιθέσεων παρὰ μίαν εἰρήνην τόσον ἐπιζήμιον. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ εἶχε λάβει διαταγὰς νὰ μὴν ἐγκαταλείψῃ ἀπολύτως τὴν διαπραγμάτευσιν, ἔκαμεν ἀπολογισμὸν διὰ τὰ ἤδη διαμειφθέντα κατὰ τὴν συνομιλίαν καὶ εἶπεν εἰς τὸν Ἀγᾶν, ὅτι θὰ ἀνεκοίνωνε τὴν ὅλην ὑπόθεσιν εἰς τὴν ἐξοχότητά του τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον, καὶ ὅτι θὰ ἐπέστρεφε τὴν ἐπομένην μὲ ἀπάντησιν ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου. Ὁ Ἀγᾶς ἀπήντησεν, 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 μεταβῆ εἰς τὸ Παλαιόκαστρον, ὅπου ὄχι μόνον ἦτο δυνατὴ ἡ ἀποβίβασις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ διαπραγματεύσις θὰ ἦτο περισσότερον ἄνετος, ἀφοῦ θὰ ἔλειπε ὁ χύδην ὄχλος ποὺ ἤρχετο ἀπὸ τὸ στρατόπεδον· καὶ προσέθεσεν, ὅτι χωρὶς θετικὴν ἀπάντησιν παραδόσεως τοῦ Φρουρίου κατὰ κανένα τρόπον θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἐξασφαλίσῃ εἰς τὸν συντ. Ἀνάτην ὅτι θὰ ἐπανέλθῃ. Ἀναχωρήσαντες λοιπὸν μὲ τοιοῦτου εἶδους ἀπαντήσεις, ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὸ πλοῖον καὶ παρέμειναν ἀναμένοντες τὴν νύκτα, ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῆς ὁποίας ἦλθον περὶ τὴν 3ην ὥραν εἰς τὸ Φρούριον· ἐκεῖ, ἀφοῦ συνωμίλησε 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. Ἀναντῆς ἐκλήθη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξοχότητός του καὶ ἔλαβεν ἐντολὴν νὰ μεταβῆ εὐθύς ἀμέσως εἰς τὸ πλοῖον καὶ νὰ μείνῃ ἐκεῖ μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας, ὅποτε θὰ ἦτο δυνατόν νὰ μεταφερθῆ εἰς τὸ Παλαιόκαστρον, τὴν καθορισθεῖσαν θέσιν, διὰ νὰ δώσῃ εἰς τὸν Ἀγᾶν τὴν ἀπάντησιν, ὅτι, ἀφοῦ ἐπρόκειτο νὰ λάβουν μίαν τόσο μεγάλην ἀπόφασιν, τὴν παράδοσιν δηλ. τοῦ Φρουρίου, ἐπεθύμουν πρῶτον νὰ γνωρίσουν μὲ ποίους ὅρους ἐζητεῖτο νὰ γίνῃ αὕτη εἰς τὸν Μεγ. Βεζύρη, διότι θὰ ἐχρειάζετο ἀκολούθως νὰ τὸ σκεφθοῦν. Ἦτο πλέον ἢ ὅδη πρωινή, ὅταν πλέοντες ἀπὸ τὸν λιμένα ἐπέρσαν 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 προμνημονευθέντος πλοίου καὶ ἀνέμειναν μέχρι τῆς ἐπομένης ἡμέρας, ὅποτε, παρὰ τὸν σφοδρὸν ΒΔ ἄνεμον, ἔφθασαν 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 ἰδικὴν τῶν συνήθειαν· οὕτω ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης ἤρχισε νὰ δίδῃ τὴν ἀπάντησιν πρὸς ὑπεσχέθη, τὴν ὁποῖαν μόλις ἤκουσεν ὁ Ἄγας, μὲ κάποιαν ἀλλοίωσιν εἰς τὴν ὁμιλίαν τοῦ εἶπεν, ὅτι αὕτη δὲν ἦτο σύμφωνος μὲ τὰ ὑποδειχθέντα καὶ ὅτι τὸ νὰ προβάλλουν ἀμφισήμους προτάσεις ἦτο ὡς νὰ κατεχρῶντο τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Βεζύρου· πρᾶγμα πρὸς ἣν ἤδη καθαρὰ εἶχον ἐκδηλώσει μὲ τὰς προσπαθείας τῶν. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης ἀπήντησεν εἰς τοῦτο, ὅτι δὲν ὑπῆρχε λόγος νὰ παραξενεύεται, διότι ἂν ἔθετε τοῦτο ὑπὸ σοβαρὰν ἐξέτασιν, θὰ εὕρισκεν, ὅτι δὲν διαφωνεῖ πολὺ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσίν του, καὶ ὅτι ἂν αὐτὰ πρὸς ἣν ἐζήτησε παρεχωροῦντο ὡς πρὸς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο, ἦτο εὐλογον νὰ ἱκανοποιήσῃ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν, διότι ἔπρεπε νὰ γίνωνται ἀμοιβαῖαι καὶ ἐναλλασσόμεναι παραχωρήσεις μεταξὺ τῶν. 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. Ἀνάντης, ἀπαίτων εἰς τοῦτο εἰδικῶς, χωρὶς νὰ προσθέσῃ ἄλλο αἶτημα, 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 ὅρους, πὸν θὰ ἦσαν δίκαιον ἀντιστάθμισμα τούτου καὶ ἰσοδύναμοι εἰς τὴν ἀνταλλαγὴν. Καὶ ἐδῶ ὁ Παναγιώτης ἐξετάθη εἰς τὸν λόγον του, λέγων ὅτι ἂν ἡ αἴτησις τοῦ συντ. Ἀνάντου ἔτεινεν εἰς τὴν κατάργησιν τῆς ἐτησίας χορηγίας, τὴν ὁποίαν ἤδη προσέφευρεν ὁ Σινιὸρ Molin, ἢ τῆς δωρεᾶς, εἶναι πιθανὸν ὅτι θὰ ἐγίνετο δεκτὴ, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐζήτει τίποτε ἄλλο, ἦτο ἀδύνατον νὰ ἰκανοποιηθῆ ἡ ἐπιθυμία του. Ἐκ τούτου ἔλαβον εὐκαιρίαν νὰ συζητήσουν τὰ ἄρθρα τῆς τελευταίας συνθήκης. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης εἶπεν, ὅτι οἱ ὅροι τῶν ὁποίων ὑπισχοῦντο τὴν τήρησιν εἰς τὴν συνθήκην ταύτην ἀπέβλεπον εἰς τὴν διαίρεσιν τοῦ Βασιλείου, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐπρότεινεν οὗτος, ἀλλὰ τώρα, ὅποτε παρεδίδοτο τὸ Φρούριον, μὲ τὴν ρηθεῖσαν διαίρεσιν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅροι ἐξέπιπτον καὶ δὲν ἀπέμενον ὅλως διόλου σημεῖα πὸν θὰ ἠμποροῦσαν νὰ συζητηθοῦν. Τέλος ὁ Ἀγᾶς ἀνταπήντησεν εἰς τὸν συντ. Ἀνάντην, 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 διαπραγμάτευσιν. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης 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 there by 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 commisioned 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 ποῦ ἔκαμεν. Μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ Ἄγᾶς, φοβούμενος ὅτι ἡ διαπραγμάτευσις εἰς οὐδὲν θὰ κατέληγεν, εἶπε νὰ τὸν συναντήσῃ τὴν ἐπαύριον ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης ὀπισθεν τοῦ Μεγάλου Φρουρίου τοῦ Ἀγ. Δημητρίου καὶ νὰ ἀνυψώσῃ λευκὴν σημαίαν, διότι ἐκεῖ θὰ ἐλάμβανεν ἀπαντήσιν καὶ ἐκεῖ θὰ ἠδύναντο μὲ μεγαλυτέραν ἄνεσιν νὰ διεξαγάγουν τὴν διαπραγμάτευσιν, ἐπειδὴ 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 ποῦ ἐπεθύμουν, ὅπως καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐξ ἄλλου θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ φέρουν ἐγγράφους τὰς προτάσεις των, ὥστε νὰ τελειώσουν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ταχέως. Ἀφοῦ ἀπεχωρίσθησαν μὲ τὰς ἀμοιβαίας αὐτὰς ἀπαντήσεις, ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης ἐνημέρωσε τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξοχότητα τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον εἰς τὰ καθέκαστα καὶ οὗτος τοῦ ἀνέθεσε νὰ μεταβῇ τὴν ἐπομένην εἰς τὴν συμφωνηθεῖσαν θέσιν καὶ νὰ ἐπιμείνῃ ἀκόμη εἰς τὴν πρότσιν, ποίους ὅρους θὰ ἐδέχοντο διὰ τὴν σύναψιν τῆς εἰρήνης. Τὴν 1ην Σεπτεμβρίου, ἀφοῦ ἀνυψώθη ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡ σημαία κατὰ τὰ ἐνταλθέντα καὶ ἀπήντησαν οἱ Τοῦρκοι εἰς τὸ σῆμα, ἦλθε ταυτοχρόνως ὁ Ἄγᾶς, συνοδευόμενος ὑπὸ τριῶν ἀξιωματικῶν διακεκριμένων καὶ τοῦ Παναγιώτη ἀνεκοίνωσεν εἰς τὸν συντ. Ἀνάντην ὅτι ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης ἐξουσιοδότησε πλήρως τὸν Ἰμπραῖμ 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 διαχειρισθῆ 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, ἂν ἡ ἐξοχότης τοῦ Ὁ Ἀρχιστρατήγος συγκατένευεν εἰς τοῦτο. Πάντα ταῦτα ἀνεκοινώθησαν ἀμέσως εἰς τὴν ἐξοχότητά του, ὅστις παρήγγειλε νὰ δοθῆ αὐτῇ ἡ ἀπάντησις, ὅτι ἡ ὑπόθεσις ἔπρεπε νὰ συζητηθῆ *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 παράσχῃ ἀπόλυτον πληρεξουσιότητα, ἀφοῦ τοῦτο ἦτο ρητῶς ἀντίθετον πρὸς τοὺς νόμους τῆς Δημοκρατίας πὺ λέγουν «*quod delegatus non potest delegare*», καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡ διαπραγμάτευσις θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἐξακολουθήσῃ διὰ τοῦ συντ. Ἀνάντου, εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον εἶχε τόσην ἐμπιστοσύνην ὅσην εἰς οἵανδήποτε ξένην κυβέρνησιν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ὁ Ἀρχιστρατήγος θὰ παρέμενε εἰς τὸ Μέγα Φρούριον, ὥστε νὰ δυναθῆ καλύτερον νὰ διευκολύνη τὰς ἀπαντήσεις καὶ ἀποφάσεις, ἀφοῦ τοῦτο λόγῳ τῆς γειννιάσεώς του παρουσιάζετο τόσον πρόσφορον διὰ τὸν σκοπὸν. Τοῦτο κατενοήθη ἀπὸ τὸν Ἰμπραῖμ Πασᾶν, ὅστις ἐκάμφθη καὶ ἐδέχθη διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον νὰ προχωρήσῃ εἰς τὴν διαπραγμάτευσιν μὲ τὸν συντ. Ἀνάντην. 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 περιβάλουν μὲ ἓνα φανταστικὸν τοῖχον ἐκ λεπτοῦ λινοῦ ὑφάσματος, ὥστε νὰ μὴ γίνωνται δεκτὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιπτέρου παρὰ πρόσωπα ἀνήκοντα εἰς τὴν αὐλήν του. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης ὠδηγήθη ἐνώπιον τοῦ ρηθέντος Πασᾶ, ὅστις ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους (κατὰ τὴν τουρκικὴν συνήθειαν), κεκαλυμμένου διὰ ταπήτων καὶ προσκεφαλαίων καὶ ἐστρωμένου διὰ πορφυρῶν ὑφασμάτων. Ὁπισθέν του ἴστατο ὁ Chiagaia Βέης τῶν Γενιτσάρων καὶ εἶτα, μᾶλλον πρὸς τὰ ἔξω, ὁ Ἀγᾶς τῶν Σπαίδων, 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 συμπτωματικῶς ἐμφανίζεται εἰς τὰς λοιπὰς συνεδριάσεις), ὅπισθεν δὲ τούτου ὁ Παναγιώτης, ὁ διερμηνεύς. Ἀφοῦ ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης 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 ἐξοχότητός του τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου νὰ ἀνανεώσῃ ἐκ νέου τὴν στοργὴν καὶ φιλίαν τῆς Γαληνοτάτης Δημοκρατίας καὶ τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορός του διὰ τῆς παραδόσεως τῆς πόλεως, ἀνέθεσε τὸν χειρισμὸν τῆς ὑποθέσεως διὰ τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ἐνώσεως εἰς αὐτόν. Διὰ τοῦτο, ἀποσκοπῶν νὰ προχωρήσῃ ἢ διαπραγματεύσῃ, ἐπεθύμει νὰ δηλώσῃ ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης, ποῖα ἦσαν τὰ κύρια σημεῖα τὰ ὁποῖα θὰ ἤθελον νὰ γίνουν 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 ἀκολουθῶς ἀπόφασις. Ἐπὶ τούτου ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης ἠναγκάσθη νὰ ἀνακεφαλαιώσῃ ὅλην τὴν ἤδη μεταξύ των γενομένην διαμφισβήτησιν κατὰ τὰς δύο προηγουμένας συναντήσεις καὶ τέλος νὰ τοῦ ἀνακοινώσῃ τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα, ὅτι ὁμοφώνως συγκατετέθησαν νὰ ἀναμείνουν, μέχρις οὗ λάβῃ αὐτὸς τοὺς ὄρους τοὺς ὁποίους θὰ ἐπρόβαλλον· καὶ τοῦτο ἐδημιούργησεν κάποιαν ζήτησιν, διότι αὐτοὶ ἐφαίνοντο 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' ὅψιν 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 ὅποια οὐδὲν 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 Σουλτᾶνον, δὲν ἐτίθετο ὡς θέμα συζητήσεως, ἀλλὰ τὰ παρακείμενα φρούρια θὰ ἔπρεπε καὶ ταῦτα νὰ παραδοθοῦν καὶ ἀνεφέρετο (κατὰ τὰ λοιπὰ) εἰς τὰ διατυπωθέντα κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν διαπραγμάτευσιν συνθήκης ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐτησίαν ἐπιχορηγίαν πού προσέφερεν ἡ ἐξοχότης του ὁ Σι'



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. Annand 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.

νιὸρ 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 ἠναγκάσθη ὁ συντ-Ἄναντης νὰ ἀπαντήσῃ, ὅτι ἐπίστευεν ὅτι θὰ ἔκαμνον προσφορὰν κάποιας ἄλλης θέσεως εἰς ἀνταλλαγὴν τοῦ Χάνδακος ποὺ ὑπεσχέθησαν ἐπισήμως, ἀλλ' ἀφοῦ οἱ σκοποὶ τῶν ἔτεινον εἰς τὸ νὰ διαπράξουν αὐτοὶ πράγματα ποὺ θὰ τοὺς καθίστων ὑπόπτους ἐνοχῆς ἢ ἱεροσυλίας, τοὺς ἀπήντα καθαρά, ὅτι ἂν δὲν ἄφηνον κατὰ μέρος τὰς ἀτόπους αὐτὰς προτάσεις, θὰ ἐτίθετο τέρμα εἰς τὴν πορείαν τῶν διαπραγματεύσεων, διότι ἡ ἐντολὴ τὴν ὁποίαν εἶχε λάβει ἀπὸ τὴν ἐξοχότητά του τὸν Ἀρχιστρατήγον ἦτο ἐντελῶς ἀντίθετος. Τότε ὁ Chiagaia Βεης προσέθεσε περαιτέρω, ὅτι τὸ Φρούριον ἦτο ἤδη εἰς τὰς χεῖράς των καὶ ἂν δὲν τὸ παρέδιδον οἰκειοθελῶς, θὰ τὸ κατελάμβανον διὰ τῆς βίας εἰς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, ὥστε τώρα ὁ Σουλτᾶνος θὰ ἠδύνατο δικαίως νὰ ἀρνηθῇ ἅπαξ διὰ παντὸς τὴν σύναψιν εἰρήνης μετὰ τῆς Γαληνοτάτης Δημοκρατίας, ἀφοῦ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἐκμηδενίσῃ τοῦτο· διότι, ὡς ἔχουσι νῦν τὰ πράγματα, ποὺ τὸ Φρούριον οὐσιαστικὰ ἀφηρέθη ἀπὸ σᾶς, ἀφοῦ τοῦτο πλέον ἀπόκειται εἰς ἡμᾶς, εἶναι πρᾶξις δικαιοσύνης νὰ παραδώσετε εἰς αὐτὸν τὸ ὄχυρόν καὶ νὰ ἱκανοποιήσετε τὰς ἄλλας του ἀπαιτήσεις, διὰ νὰ ἐπιτευχθῇ 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 ἀπειλάς, ὅτι δὲν ἦτο δυνατόν νὰ παραβῆ τὸ καθήκον του, ἀφοῦ τὸν ἐξέλεξαν καὶ ἐβασίσθησαν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀφοσίωσίν του πού ὀφείλει ἐκ καθήκοντος νὰ τρέφῃ πρὸς τὸν ἀνώτατον Ἄρχοντά του (ἐν ὀνόματι ὅλων τῶν γενομένων ἐκλογῶν), ἀπεκρίθη οὕτως, ὅτι τὸ Φρούριον δὲν εὐρίσκειτο εἰς τόσην κατάπτωσιν, ὅτι ἴσως θὰ ἐπέιθοντο ὅτι ἀπλῶς ἐκόλακευον ἑαυτοὺς, ἀφοῦ ἡ ἰδική των ἀνδρεία δὲν ἠλαττώθη, αὐτῶν πού ὑπερασπίσθησαν μὲ τόσην σταθερότητα τὴν αὐτὴν θέσιν ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη, ὅτι ἐπὶ πλέον καλῶς ἐγνώριζεν, ὅτι ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐπικουριῶν των ἠῤῥξανε σχεδὸν ἕκαστον μῆνα, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὴν ἀπροσδόκητον ἄφιξιν τῆς τελευταίας νηοπομπῆς, ὥστε νὰ εἶναι βέβαιοι ὅτι, ἐφ' ὅσον ἀπομένει ἔδαφος, αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν θὰ ἔχουν στρατόπεδον νὰ ὑπερασπίσουν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ νὰ διεκδικήσουν ὑποχωροῦντες σπιθαμὴν πρὸς σπιθαμὴν. Ὅσον διὰ τὰς ἀπειλάς των, ὅτι θὰ ἐξολοθρεύσουν τὴν Δημοκρατίαν, ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ἔπρεπε πρῶτον νὰ λογαριάσουν τὰς νίκας τὰς ὁποίας τὸ ὀθωμανικὸν στράτευμα ἐκέρδισε καθ' ὅλην τὴν διάρκειαν τοῦ πολέμου τούτου, καὶ τότε μόνον θὰ ἦσαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἱκανοὶ νὰ κρίνουν, ἂν θὰ ἦσαν εἰς θέσιν νὰ κάμουν παρόμοια κατορθώματα· ὅτι ἐπίσης ἡ ἀπώλεια τῶν ἀρμάδων, πού ἐκερδήθησαν καὶ κατετροπώθησαν εἰς ἀνοικτὴν μάχην, καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα πού κατεστράφησαν εἰς αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ Βασίλειον, διὰ νὰ μὴ γίνῃ λόγος καὶ διὰ τὴν μάχην τῶν Δαρδανελλίων, θὰ τοὺς καθίστα περισσότερον προσεκτικούς· ὅτι περαιτέρω, 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 προβάλουν ἀξιώσεις ἐπὶ τῶν φρουρίων ἦτο ὡς νὰ ἐζήτησαν νὰ ὑπονομευθῇ τὸ θάρρος καὶ ἡ ἀποφασιστικότης τῶν πολιορκουμένων μὲ δειλίαν, ἐκείνων ποὺ θὰ ὑπεστήριζον μᾶλλον τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ὑποθέσεως τῶν μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας πνοῆς παρὰ νὰ χάσουν τὴν τιμὴν αὐτήν, ἢ ὅποια μέχρις ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας κατέστη ἔνδοξος μὲ τὸ αἷμα τῶν.

Τότε ὁ Πασᾶς ἀπεκρίθη, ὅτι ἂν τὰ φρούρια ἐκεῖνα ἐξηκολούθουν νὰ εὐρίσκωνται ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς Δημοκρατίας, ἦτο ἀδύνατον νὰ διαρκέσῃ ἡ εἰρήνη, διότι θὰ παρείχετο κάποια ἀφορμὴ δυσαρρεσκείας ἐκ τῆς μιᾶς πλευρᾶς ἢ τῆς ἄλλης καὶ ἀκολουθίαν πικρία διὰ τὴν Πύλην. Πλὴν τούτου, ἡ διατήρησις τούτων θὰ ἐδημιούργει ζηλοτυπίαν εἰς τὸν Σουλτᾶνον, ὅστις θὰ ἦτο ὑποχρεωμένος διαρκούσης τῆς εἰρήνης νὰ συντηρῇ στρατὸν μόνιμον εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ Βασίλειον. Εἰς τοῦτο ἀπήντησεν ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης, ὅτι ἡ Γαληνοτάτη οὐδέποτε ἔθραυσε τὴν πίστιν τῶν πρὸς αὐτήν, οὔτε παρέσχε ἀφορμὴν ζηλοτυπίας, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε ἐφρόντισε νὰ κυβερνῶνται τὰ κράτη τῶν εἰρηνικῶν χωρὶς ἀδίκους ἀξιώσεις, καὶ δὲν θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ φέρουν ἓν ἔστω παράδειγμα διὰ νὰ δείξουν, ὅτι ὑπῆρξε ποτὲ ὑποκινήτρια πολέμου θὰ ἠδύνατο ὡς ἐκ τούτου νὰ μενοῦν ἀκόμη ἱκανοποιημένοι διὰ τὴν ἀκεραιότητά της, ποὺ ποτὲ δὲν μετεβλήθη. Ὁ Πασᾶς εἶπε πάλιν, ὅτι ἡ πρόθεσις τῶν 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 men. 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 δυνατὸν νὰ κρατήσουν πλέον εἶχεν ἤδη δοθῆ, ἀλλὰ κατέβαλλον προσπάθειαν νὰ μὴ τὸ δεχθοῦν αὐτοὶ ὡς δῶρον, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς ὡς προερχόμενον ἐξ ἀνάγκης· ὡς ἐκ τούτου, ἀφοῦ ἔπρεπε νὰ συναφθῆ ἡ εἰρήνη, θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ ληφθῆ τοῦτο ὑπ' ὄψιν· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ Πύλη ἤθελε νὰ λάβῃ ἱκανοποίησιν δι' ὅλους τοὺς θησαυροὺς ποὺ κατεδαπάνησε, ἄλλως δὲν θὰ συγκατετίθετο. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης 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 ἀντιταχθοῦν ἐπὶ μακρότερον χρόνον εἰς τὴν πρόοδόν των· μὲ τὰ νέα ἔργα συνεκρατεῖτο ἀκόμη ἡ ἄμυνά των μέχρι ἐσχάτων, καὶ ἂν τέλος κατ' ἀτυχίαν ἠναγκάζοντο νὰ ὑποχωρήσουν καὶ νὰ χάσουν τόσον πολὺ ἔδαφος, θὰ ἐστοίχιζεν εἰς αὐτοὺς χεῖμαρον 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 ἀνοικτῇ ἡ δίοδος τοῦ λιμένος, ἦτο εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν μας νὰ ἐπιβιβάσωμεν ὅλα τὰ πολεμικὰ ἐφόδια καὶ τὰς προμηθείας μὲ τὰ κανόνια καὶ ὅλους τοὺς ἄνδρας μας. Μετὰ ταῦτα θὰ ἠδυνάμεθα νὰ ἀνατινάξωμεν ὅλα τὰ ὀχυρώματα καὶ νὰ τοὺς ἀφήσωμεν μίαν πόλιν πυρὶκαυστον· ὅτι εἰς μίαν τοιαύτην περίπτωσιν θὰ ἠδύναντο νὰ εἶναι βέβαιοι, ὅτι ἡ Γαληνοτάτη Δημοκρατία θὰ συνέχιζε τὸν πόλεμον, ἐλευθέρω πλέον ἀπὸ τὸ βάρος συντηρήσεως τόσον μεγάλου σώματος στρατοῦ, καὶ ἀκόμη θὰ ἠμποροῦσε νὰ σαρώσῃ μὲ τὴν ἀρμάδα τῆς 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, αναλαμβάνουσα μόνη της τὴν φροντίδα, εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν καρδίαν τῶν κτήσεων τῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας, καὶ νὰ ἐξακολουθήσῃ τὰς καταδρομὰς μὲ γαλέρας ἐπληρωμένας μὲ ὑπηκόους των, ἀφοῦ ἡ κατοχὴ τῶν νήσων τοῦ Ἀρχιπελάγους ἀνήκει ἀδιαφιλονικήτως εἰς αὐτήν, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ ἡ ἐτησίᾳ εἰσφορὰ πού ἐστέλλετο εἰς ἡμᾶς καθ' ὅλην τὴν διάρκειαν τοῦ πολέμου τούτου. Παρέμειναν ἐπὶ τινὰ χρόνον μετέωροι, χωρὶς νὰ δίδουν ἀπάντησιν, καὶ τότε ὁ Πασᾶς, ἀναλαμβάνων τὸν λόγον εἶπεν, ὅτι θὰ ἀπεσύρετο εἰς τὸ ἄλλο περίπτερον διὰ νὰ δυνηθοῦν νὰ συσκεφθοῦν 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 προτείνουν τὴν καταδάφισιν αὐτῶν μὲ τὴν ὑποχρέωσιν νὰ μὴ οἰκοδομήσῃ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν ρηθέντων ἐρειπίων οὔτε τὸ ἐν μέρος οὔτε τὸ ἄλλο. Εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν πρότασιν ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι δὲν ὑπῆρχε διαφορὰ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο προταθέντων ὄρων, διότι ἡ Γυληνοτάτη Δημοκρατία θὰ ἐστερεῖτο τὰ φρούριά της ὡς ἐκ τούτου θὰ ἠδύναντο μᾶλλον ψυχραίμως νὰ σκεφθοῦν σοβαρῶς ἴσους ὄρους, ἀφοῦ ἄλλως, ἄνευ τῆς ὀρθῆς κατανοήσεως, κατηνάλισκον τὸν χρόνον των 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 imposible 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 ἀριόζον ἢ ἐξοχότης τοῦ νὰ λάβῃ γνῶσιν τῶν συζητήσεων τούτων, πὸν καλῶς ἐγνώριζεν ὅτι ἦσαν ἐνάντιαι ὄχι μόνον πρὸς τὴν θέλησίν του, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς διαταγὰς του, καὶ ἐπομένως θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ εὔρουν ἄλλην λύσιν καὶ νὰ ἀφήσουν κατὰ μέρος τὴν ἀξίωσιν αὐτήν. Ἀπήντησαν συγκεχυμένως· ἀλλ' οὗτος ἦτο ἀπρόθυμος νὰ φέρῃ τὴν ἀπάντησιν αὐτήν καὶ ἐξεδήλωνε μεγάλην ἐπὶ τούτου ἐπιμονὴν καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν νὰ συνεχισθῇ μᾶλλον ὁ πόλεμος παρὰ νὰ ἀποκατασταθῇ ἢ εἰρήνη ὥστε ἐκ τούτου καθίστατο ἀδύνατον νὰ συνεχισθῇ ἢ διάσκεψις, ἂν δὲν συγκατετίθετο εἰς τὸ δίκαιον αὐτῶν αἴτημα. Προσέθηκε, ὅτι ἀπλῶς διὰ νὰ τοῦ φανῇ εὐχάριστος θὰ ἀνεκοίτωνε 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 ὅρους μὲ τοὺς ὁποίους οἱ Τοῦρκοι 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 ὀθωμανικαὶ δυνάμεις ἐξέθεσαν τὴν φήμην των διὰ μόνον τὴν ἀπόκτησιν 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

άνήκει εἰς τὸ παρελθόν), ὅσας ἡ Πύλη ἤγειρεν ὅταν ἐθερμαίνοντο μὲ τὴν βλέψιν τῆς διαιρέσεως τοῦ Βασιλείου· διότι τοῦτο ἐσήμαινε νὰ τοὺς παραχωρήσουν μερικὰ φρούρια καὶ ὄχι ἓν μόνον. ὅροι δηλ. τόσον ὀλέθριοι καὶ ἐπιζημιοὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος τῆς Γαληνοτάτης Δημοκρατίας, ὥστε, παρὰ νὰ συγκατατεθῆ εἰς τοῦτο, θὰ προετίμα νὰ συνεχίσῃ τὸν πόλεμον μέχρι τοῦ τέλους τοῦ κόσμου, μὲ τὴν σταθερὰν ἐλπίδα, ὅτι ὁ Παντοδύναμος Θεός, κατανοῶν ἐπαρκῶς τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ὑποθέσεώς των, θὰ ἔθετεν ὡς πρόγραμμά του νὰ ἐμβάλῃ εἰς τοὺς πολιορκουμένους περισσοτέραν ἐμπύχωσιν καὶ ἀποφασιστικότητα διὰ νὰ συνεχίσουν τὰς ἐφόδους των· καὶ τοῦ παρήγγειλεν ἀκόμη, ὅτι ἂν συνέχιζον νὰ προβάλλουν τοιαύτας ἀξιώσεις, νὰ ἐγκαταλείψῃ τὴν διαπραγμάτευσιν 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 ἀβρόφρονα ἀπάντησιν. Ταῦτα ἐξετέθησαν ἐνώπιόν των κατὰ τοιοῦτον τρόπον, ὥστε τοῦτο ἦτο ἀρκετὸν νὰ τοὺς ἐξαγριώσῃ· ἀλλὰ κατόπιν μακρᾶς μεταξύ των διαμφισβητήσεως, ἐκ τῆς ὁποίας προέκυπτεν, ὅτι πεισμόνως ἐπέμενον ἐπὶ τούτου καὶ ὅτι θὰ ἀνενεοῦτο ἡ συζήτησις, τὴν ὁποίαν ἤδη εἶχον, κατ' ἀρχὰς τοὺς ὑπεμνήσθη ἡ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξοχότητός 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 παραμείνη ἐπὶ μακρότερον, χωρὶς νὰ παραβῆ τὴν διαταγὴν τῆς ἐξουχότητός του· διὰ τοῦτο διεμαρτυρήθη διότι ἐλάμβανον ὑπ' ὄψιν τὴν παράδοσιν τοῦ Φρουρίου, ἐνῶ εἶχεν ἀποφασισθῆ νὰ διακοπῆ ἀπολύτως πᾶσα διαπραγματεύσις συνθήκης ἂν ἐγίνετο τοῦτο, δοθέντος ὅτι ἡ ἐξουχότης του ὁ Ἄρχιστράτηγος εἶχε λαβεὶ σταθερὰν ἀπόφασιν νὰ ὑπερασπισθῆ μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας του πνοῆς τὸ Φρούριον· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔκαμε κίνησιν νὰ ἐγερθῆ 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 δοθῆ ἀπὸ τὸν Μέγαν Βεζύρην, πρὸς τὸν ὁποῖον ἔστειλε τὸν γραμματέα του καὶ τὸν Chiagaia Βέην παρευθῦς, διὰ νὰ τὸν πληροφορήσουν περὶ τῆς προτάσεώς του· ἐξέφρασε δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν του, ὅπως ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ μεταβῆ 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 τόσων ἀυστηρῶν ὄρων. Τότε ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ἂν ἐπεθύμουν νὰ κατανοήσουν τὸν λόγον ποῦ παρεκίνησε τὸν Ἄρχιστράτηγον νὰ ζητήσῃ εἰρήνην παραδίδων τὸ ὄχυρόν, ὁ μόνος λόγος ἦτο, ὅτι ἀνεκάλυψεν ὅτι αἱ ἐπικουρικαὶ δυνάμεις εἶχον τὴν ἐνθερμον ἐπιθυμίαν νὰ συνεχίσουν ἓνα διαιωνιζόμενον πόλεμον ἐντὸς τῶν κτήσεων τῆς Δημοκρατίας, διὰ νὰ ἀποχομίζουν 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 Proveditor 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 ὠφελήματα, τὰ ὅποια εἶχον μέχρι τινὸς καρπωθῆ μέχρις ἀκριβῶς τῆς στιγμῆς ταύτης. Ὡς πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα, ἂν ἀκόμη ἀμφέβαλλον διὰ τὴν δύναμιν των καὶ ἐφαντάζοντο τὸ μέρος των ἀσθενές, ἀνελάμβανεν, ἂν ἔστελλον ἓνα ἀξιωματικόν, νὰ τοῦ ἐπιτρέψουν νὰ ἰδῆ τόσον τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς χωρικοὺς ὅσον καὶ τὰ ἔργα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους καὶ ὑπ' αὐτό, καὶ ἐπίσης τὰ πολεμοφόδια καὶ τὰς ζωοτροφίαις, διὰ νὰ ἀποβάλουν τὰς ἰδέας πού ἐσημάτισαν καὶ ἔπειτα νὰ φάγη (ὅπως τοῦ εἶπε) ἀπὸ τὴν μεγάλην ἐμπιστοσύνην πού θὰ τοῦ εἶχε· τοῦ ἀνεκοίνωσε ποίας ἐπικουρίας ἀνέμενον αἰφνηδίως, 4,000 ἀνδρῶν ἢ καὶ περισσοτέρων, μὲ διαταγὴν πρὸς τὸν Δουκά τοῦ Ναβάιγ νὰ παραμείνῃ μέχρι τῆς ἐπομένης ἐκστρατευτικῆς περιόδου· 3,000 ἀπὸ τὴν Πορτογαλίαν καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν Ἑνετίαν μίαν ἀποστολὴν 4,000 πεζῶν ὑπὸ τὴν διοίκησιν τῆς ἐξοχότητος τοῦ Προκουράτορος Antonio Grinaldi, ἐκλεγέντος Γενικοῦ Προβλεπτοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν, τοῦ ὁποίου ἡ ἐμφάνισις θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ διακόψῃ τὴν διαπραγμάτευσιν, ἐπειδὴ πιθανὸν νὰ ἀπεδεικνύετο ἀντιθέτου γνώμης. Τότε ὁ Παναγιώτης ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ὅταν ὁ ἰατρὸς ἔχει κάμφῃ διάγνωσιν τῆς ἀσθενείας, τοῦτο θεωρεῖται σημαντικὸν βῆμα πρὸς τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ πάσχοντος· καὶ ἐδῶ ἀνελάμβανε νὰ παρατηρήσῃ, ὅτι ἡ Πύλη ἐγνώριζε πολὺ καλῶς, ὅτι ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῆς Γαλλίας, διαρκούντος τοῦ πολέμου τούτου, συχνὰ ἐφωδίασε τὴν Δημοκρατίαν μὲ ἄνδρας· ἀλλ' ἐξ ἄλλου ὁ πρεσβευτῆς του εἰς τὴν 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

σταντινούπολιν κατέβαλε πᾶσαν προσπάθειαν διὰ νὰ μὴ συναφθῆ ἡ εἰρήνῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σινιὸρ Ballarino, καὶ τόσον ἐνδιεφέρθη μὲ τὸ ζήτημα τοῦτο, ὥστε ἀπέδειξεν ἑαυτὸν μᾶλλον δριμὺν ἐχθρὸν τῆς χριστιανικῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς Δημοκρατίας παρὰ χριστιανὸν ἡγεμόνα. Μετὰ τὴν μετάβασίν του ἐκεῖ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Τοῦρκος, ὁμιλῶν τὴν ἰταλικήν, ὅστις ἐδήλωσεν, ὅτι ὅλα αὐτὰ ἀνεκοινώθησαν εἰς τὸν Ἰμπραῖμ Πασᾶν καὶ ὅτι οὗτος ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸν Μέγαν ζύρην, ἀποστείλας αὐτὴν μὲ τὸν Παναγιώτην, ἡ ὁποία περιεῖχε, ἀπὸ ὅτι ἠδύνατο νὰ ἀντιληφθῆ, μερικὰ ἐπιχειρήματα, διὰ νὰ τὸν πείσῃ εἰς συγκατάβασιν νὰ ἀφήσῃ κατὰ μέρος τὰς ἀξιώσεις του ὡς πρὸς τὰ φρούρια. Μὲ αὐτὰ παρήρηχοτο ἡ ὥρα ἐν ἀναμονῇ τῆς ἀπαντήσεως μέχρι τῆς 5ης νυκτερινῆς, τέλος δὲ ἐνεφανίσθησαν ὁ Chiagaia Βέης, εἰς γραμματεὺς καὶ ὁ Παναγιώτης. Εἰσήχθη τότε ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης ἐνώπιον τοῦ Πασᾶ, ὅστις ἔδωκεν ἐντολὴν νὰ ἀναγνωσθῆ τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα τοῦ νυκτερινοῦ συμβουλίου τοῦ Διβανίου, τὸ περιεχόμενον τοῦ ὁποίου ἦτο, ὅτι τὸ Φρούριον ἔπρεπε νὰ παραδοθῆ 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 ἀπεδίδοτο καὶ ὅτι ἡ ἐπιχορήγησις καὶ ἡ ὑπεσχημένη δωρεὰ θὰ ἐπεκυροῦντο. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάτης 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-

έδαφικάς περιοχάς των, εἰς τὸ ὅποιον σημεῖον ἂν δὲν συγκατετίθεντο, ἦτο ἀδύνατον νὰ συνεχίσουν συζήτησιν ὡς πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ προβαλλόμενα. Ἐδῶ ἠθέλησαν νὰ δείξουν τὴν πανουργίαν των μὲ τὸν ἰσχυρισμόν, ὅτι τὰ φρούρια δὲν εἶχον έδαφικὴν περιοχὴν ἀνή οὐσαν εἰς αὐτά· διὰ νὰ ἐξομαλύνουν λοιπὸν τὸ δύσκολον τοῦτο σημεῖον ἐδόθη ἡ ἀπάντησις, ὅτι τὰ παρακείμενα ἔργα, τὰ εύρισκόμενα ὑπὸ τὸν ἔλεγχον τῶν κανονίων τῶν φρουρίων, ἦσαν αἱ έδαφικαὶ περιοχαὶ των, τὰς ὁποίας οἱ ἡμέτεροι ἐνέμοντο μέχρι τοῦδε· ὁ Πασᾶς ἐφάνη κάπως ἱκανοποιημένος μὲ τοῦτο· ὑπεσχέθη ὅτι θὰ περιλαμβάνετο εἰς τὴν διατύπωσιν τῶν ἄρθρων· καὶ διὰ νὰ τὸν ὑποχρεώσουν νὰ τηρήσῃ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ταύτην, ἐξεφράσθη ἡ ἐπιθυμία νὰ διατυπωθῇ ἐγγράφως ἡ ἀπόφασις σχετικῶς μὲ τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὰς έδαφικάς των περιοχάς, πρᾶγμα τὸ ὅποιον συμφώνως πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Παναγιώτης ἐξετέλεσεν εἰς ἰταλικὴν γλῶσσαν. Οὕτω συνεφώνησαν νὰ ἐπανέλθουν τὴν ἐπομένην εἰς τὰς 2 διὰ νὰ συζητήσουν τὰ ἄλλα σημεῖα, τὰ ὅποια ἤδη εἶχον θιγῆ· καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν οὗτος εἰς τὴν ἐξοχότητά του, ὅστις τὸν ἀνέμενεν ἐπὶ ποδός, καὶ τοῦ ἀνεκοίνωσε τὰ συμβάντα, ὅτι συμφώνως πρὸς τὰ καθορισθέντα θὰ ἐπέστρεφε διὰ νὰ διαπραγματευθῇ περὶ τοῦ φρουρίου Clissa καὶ ὅτι δὲν ἤγαιρον ἀξιώσεις ἐπὶ τῶν έδαφικῶν των περιοχῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπίσης περὶ ἄλλων ἰέσεων 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 προσέφερον 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 του ὁ Σινιὸρ Molin. Ἐν τῷ μεταξύ εἶχεν ἐπανέλθει 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 παρεδέχετο νὰ παραχωρήσῃ τὰ ἀποκτήματα τῶν εἰς τὴν Δαλματίαν ἀλλὰ τώρα δὲν ἦσαν πλέον εἰς θέσιν νὰ ἀποχωρισθοῦν αὐτὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνήκε πρὸς τόσην μεγάλην ζημίαν τῶν. Καὶ ἂν θὰ τὸ ἔπραττον, τὸ φρούριον αὐτὸ εἰς οὐδὲν θὰ τοὺς ὠφέλει καὶ θὰ προεκάλει δαπάνας καὶ ὀχλήσεις. Ἐκτὸς τούτου, δὲν ἦτο ἀρμόζον πρὸς τὴν ἀξιοπρέπειαν τοῦ Δημοσίου νὰ συνάψουν συνθήκην τόσον μειονεκτικὴν κατὰ συνέπειαν κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον ἠδύνατο νὰ συναφθῇ αὕτη μὲ παραχώρησιν αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἣδη ἀνήκεν εἰς τὸ Ὄθωμ. Κράτος, ὡς πάλιν ἐπροτάθη κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν συνθήκην μὲ τὸν Σινιὸρ 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 αὗται 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, ὄφειλον νὰ βασισθοῦν 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 των τοῦτο. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ἂν σοβαρῶς ἐξήταζον τὴν ἰδικὴν των κατάστασιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Φρουρίου, θὰ εὕρισκον ὅτι οἱ ὑπερασπισταὶ εὕρισκοντο τώρα εἰς καλυτέραν κατάστασιν παρὰ αὐτοί, διότι ὅσον περισσότερον ἔδαφος ἐκέρδιζον ἀπὸ ἡμᾶς τόσον αἱ ἀπώλειαί των εἰς ἄνδρας ἦσαν μεγαλύτεραι ἐκ τῆς ἀνατινάξεως τῶν ὑπονόμων, τὰς ὁποίας ἔχομεν ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ πάντοτε ἐτοιμοὺς πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦτον καὶ ἐξακολουθοῦμεν νὰ κατασκευάζωμεν περισσοτέρας· πλὴν τούτου, ὁ χειμῶν ἐπικεῖται καὶ αἱ κακουχίαι καὶ ἡ δριμύτης τούτου θὰ ἐπιφέρῃ τὴν τελικὴν ἐπίσχεσιν τοῦ στρατεύματός των. Οὔτε θὰ ἦτο ἐπωφελὲς δι' αὐτοὺς νὰ κάμουν τοὺς ἄνδρας των νὰ πιστεύσουν, ὅτι ἐπέκειντο νέαι ἐπιτυχίαι, διότι εἶναι πολὺ καλὰ γνωστὸν ποῖαι εἶναι αἱ βασιλικαὶ διαταγαὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ σημείου· καὶ ὅταν αἱ ἐπικουρίαι φθάσουν, τόσον θὰ τοὺς περιπλέξωμεν, ὥστε θὰ τοὺς κάνωμεν νὰ μετανοήσουν, ἐνῶ σεῖς ἀπορρίπτετε τοιαύτας προτάσεις. Μετὰ τὸ πέρας τῆς συζητήσεως, ὁ Πασᾶς ἔδειξε τὴν διάθεσιν νὰ συσχεφθῆ ἰδιωτικῶς μετὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν του· ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης μετέβη εἰς ἄλλο περίπτερον, ὁπόθεν ἐκλήθη μετὰ παρέλευσιν χρόνου μικροτέρου τοῦ τετάρτου τῆς ὥρας. Ὁ Πασᾶς εἶπεν, ὅτι ἀπεφάσισαν νὰ γράψουν ἐπιστολὴν εἰς τὸν Βεζύρην ὡς πρὸς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο καὶ νὰ ἀναμείνουν 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 bonds 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 καταναλώσουν οὕτω ὅσον τὸ δυνατόν ὀλιγότερον χρόνον εἰς τὰς συνεδριάσεις των. Ἐδόθη ἀπάντησις, ὅτι ἂν προηγουμένως ὄχι μόνον αὐτὸ τὸ σημεῖον, ἀλλ' ἐπίσης καὶ ἡ προβαλλομένη ἀξιῶσις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιχορηγήσεως καὶ δωρεᾶς δὲν παρεμερίζοντο ἐξ ὀλοκλήρου, δὲν ἦτο ἐξουσιοδοτημένος νὰ προχωρήσῃ εἰς ἄλλα σημεῖα, ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὰ ἄφηνον αὐτὰ κατὰ μέρος, θὰ ἐξέθετε τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τῶν αἰτημάτων του. Ἐδῶ ὁ Πασᾶς ἐκοπίασεν ἐξαιρετικὰ νὰ τὸν πείσῃ, ὅτι ἡ ἐπιχορήγησις καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ ὠφείλοντο κατὰ τὴν λογικὴν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ ὅτι δὲν ἔπρεπε νὰ ἀναφέρῃ περαιτέρω τοιοῦτον αἶτημα. Ὡς πρὸς τοῦτο ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης ἐξεφράσθη διὰ τῶν ἀκολούθων: ὅτι ἂν ἡ ἀλήθεια ἔπρεπε νὰ ἐξευρεθῇ διὰ τῆς λογικῆς, εἶναι βεβαίως ἀληθὲς ὅτι ἡ ἐπιχορήγησις καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ ἐδόθησαν, διότι ἡ Πύλη συγκατετίθετο νὰ ἀφήσῃ εἰς τὴν κατοχὴν τῆς Δημοκρατίας τὸ Φρούριον καὶ τὰ ὄρια τοῦ Βασιλείου· ἀφοῦ τὸ Φρούριον καὶ τὰ ἐδάφη ἔμενον ὑπὸ τὴν κυριαρχίαν των, ὑπῆρχεν ἡ ὑποχρέωσις διὰ τὴν καταβολὴν ἐπιχορηγήσεως· ἀλλὰ τῶρα πού τὸ καλύτερον μέρος τοῦ Βασιλείου ἔμενον ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ὀθωμανικοῦ Κράτους, δὲν ἠδύνατο νὰ ἐννοήσῃ διὰ ποῖον λόγον θὰ ἐπρόβαλλον ἀξιῶσιν διὰ τὴν καταβολὴν ταύτης· ἐκ τούτου ἦτο βέβαιος, ὅτι ἂν δεόντως καὶ εἰλικρινῶς ἐσκέπτοντο τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, θὰ μετέβαλλον γνώμην. Τὰ πράγματα ἐδείκνυον, ὅτι ὁ Πασᾶς ἱκανοποιήθη μὲ τὸν συλλογισμόν αὐτόν, 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 Port. shall lay claim to no other but the pension anciently allowed for the Island of Zant; wherefore he desired that we

νά 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 ὑπερβαλλὼν ὅλας τὰς δυσκολίας, παρεκάλει δὲ τὸν συντ. Ἄνόντην νὰ παραμερίσῃ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ οἰασομένης ἄλλας ἀξιώσεις, διότι ἄλλως ἢ διαπραγματεύσεις οὐδέποτε θὰ ἀπέληγεν εἰς ἀποτέλεσμα. Εἰς τοῦτο ἐδόθη ἢ ἀπάντησις, ὅτι ὄφειλε νὰ ἐκτελέσῃ τὴν ἐντολὴν ποὺ εἶχε λάβει παρὰ τῆς ἐξοχότητός του τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου, τοῦ ὁποῦ αἱ ἀντιλήψεις μετεδόθησαν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀκριβῶς εἰς τὴν μορφήν ποὺ τὰς ἐξέθεσεν εἰς αὐτόν. Εἶχον ἤδη παρελθεῖ τρεῖς ὥραι καὶ πλεον 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 εἰσῆχθη, ἀφοῦ δὲ ἐκάθησε, ὁ Πασᾶς εἶπεν, ὅτι ἂν καὶ ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης ἐγνώριζεν, 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, ποὺ ἦτο ἰδικόν του ἔδαφος, καὶ ἄλλων θέσεων κτηθεισῶν εἰς τὴν Δαλματίαν, ὡς ἐπίσης καὶ εἰς τὸ ζήτημα τῆς ἐτησίας ἐπιχορηγήσεως καὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς, οὕτως ὥστε ἢ Πύλη θὰ διετήρει ἀπαίτησιν μόνον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιχορηγήσεως, ἢ ὁποῖα 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 δυνατόν 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 τὴν ἄρᾳ 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 ποῦ θὰ προτεινόντο, ὥστε νὰ φθάσουν εἰς ἀποτέλεσμα. Οὕτω, ἀποχαιρετήσας 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 πρωίαν, διὰ νὰ λάβῃ καταλλήλους ἐντολὰς διὰ τὴν ἐπομένην συνάντησιν. Τὴν ἐπομένην, εὐπειθῆς εἰς τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον, μετέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἔλαβε τὴν ἐντολὴν νὰ ζητήσῃ ἄλλην ὀχυρὰν θέσιν κατεχομένην ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων εἰς ἀντάλλαγμα τοῦ Χάνδακος, μετὰ τὴν παραχώρησιν τῆς ὁποίας θὰ ἠδύναντο καὶ αὐτοὶ νὰ προτείνουν αὐτὸ ποῦ ἐπεθύμουν. Μὲ αὐτὰς τὰς ὁδηγίας ἀνεχώρησε καὶ ἔφθασε εἰς τὸ σῆμα διαμερισμα τοῦ Πασᾶ καὶ ὠδηγήθη ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀνεκοίνωσεν, ὅτι ἡ ἐξοχότης του ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος, γνωρίζων τί μέγα κλέος καὶ φήμη θὰ προσεπόριζεν εἰς τὴν Πύλιν ἢ ἀπόκτησις τῆς ὀχυρᾶς ἀ-



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 inexpugnable 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

τῆς θέσεως καὶ ποῖον μέγαν ἀγῶνα ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης ἀντεμετώπισε προσβάλλων ἐπὶ τρία συνεχῆ ἔτη ταύτην, ἀκόμη ὅτι θὰ συνησθάνετο αὐτὸς, 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 Πύλην πρὸς ἀποκατάστασιν τῆς εἰρήνης· θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ εὔρουν ἴσην ἀνταπόκρισιν ἐκ μέρους των, ἀρκεῖ νὰ προσδιώριζον εἰς τὴν Γαληνοτάτην Δημοκρατίαν ἄλλην τινα ὀχυρὰν θέσιν, εὐρισκομένην εἰς τὴν κατοχὴν τῆς Ὀθωμανικῆς Ἀυτοκρατορίας, ἡ ὁποία, καὶ ἂν δὲν ἦτο ἴσης ἀξίας, ἀφοῦ ἡ πόλις αὐτὴ ἐκαυχᾶτο ὅτι ἦτο ἡ πλέον ἀπόρθητος εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ὅμως νὰ τὴν προσῆγγιζε κάπως, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ εὐλόγου τούτου τρόπου ἡ ἀποκατάστασις αὐτῆ τῆς εἰρήνης κριθῆ ἰσχυρὰ μεταξὺ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ὁμοσπόνδων πριγκήπων μας, ἀφοῦ ἔγινεν ἄνευ τῆς συγκαταθέσεώς των. Αὐτὸ τὸ αἶτημα, εἶπεν ὁ Πασᾶς, ἀντίκειται εἰς τοὺς νόμους μας, καὶ δὲν δυνάμεθα οἰκειοθελῶς νὰ συναινέσωμεν εἰς τὴν παράδοσιν ὀχυρᾶς θέσεως, φρουρίου ἢ ἄλλης τειχισμένης πόλεως, ὅπου ἀνηγέρθησαν τεμένη· ὡς ἐκ τούτου θὰ ἦτο μάταιον νὰ ἐπιχειρῆτε τὰ ἀδύνατα. Ὅμως, ἀπήντησεν ὁ συντ. Ἀνάντης, 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. Annand 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. Annand seeing himself obli-

ἀπήνησεν, ὅτι τὸ Φρούριον αὐτὸ ὄφειλε νὰ κατεδαφισθῆ καὶ ὄχι νὰ παραδοθῆ εἰς Χριστιανοὺς ἀντὶ οἰασοδήποτε ἄλλης θέσεως. Ὁ συντ. Ἀνάγνης ἀπεκρίθη, ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἐγένετο τοιαύτη πρότασις, ὥστε τὸ ἀφορῶν εἰς τοὺς νόμους ἐπιχείρημα εἶναι πολὺ δυνατὸν 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 τὸν προτεινόμενον τρόπον. Εἰς αὐτὸ ἀπήνησεν ὁ Πασᾶς, ὅτι οὐδέποτε συνέβη εἰς τὴν πραγματικότητά τοιοῦτον πρᾶγμα: θὰ ἐπρόκειτο περὶ φρουρίου ποῦ ἔπρεπε νὰ κατεδαφισθῆ καὶ ὄχι νὰ παραδοθῆ. Μετὰ πολλὰς διαμφοισθητικὰς καὶ συζητήσεως ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέματος, βλέπων ὅτι κατέληγον εἰς ἄρνησιν, ἐδήλωσεν ὅτι ἦτο ἀναγκαῖον νὰ ἐξευρεθῆ λύσις, δυναμένη νὰ ἰκανοποιήσῃ αὐτοὺς ἐναντὶ τοιαύτης ἀνταλλαγῆς, διότι ἄλλως ἢ σύσκεψις θὰ διελύετο· ὅτι ἐκ τούτου θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ ἀνακοινώσουν εἰς τὸν Μέγαν Βεζύρη τὰς ἀντιλήψεις αὐτάς, διότι οὗτος μὲ τὴν μεγάλην του σύνεσιν θὰ ἦτο εἰς θέσιν νὰ εὔρη κάποιαν λογικὴν λύσιν. Ὁ Chiagaia Βέης, ἰσχυρῶς ἐξευρεθισμένος, εἶπεν, ὅτι ἂν ἔφθρον τοιαῦτα ζητήματα ἐνώπιον τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου, δὲν θὰ τὰ ἠνείχετο τόσο ὑπομονητικῶς ὅσον μέχρι τοῦδε τοῦ ἐφαίνετο ὅτι τὰ ἠνέχθη, διότι αἱ ἀξιώσεις ποῦ 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 displeas'd 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 μεταχείρισιν, εἶπεν, ὅτι εἰς τὰς συνθήκας, εἰδικῶς τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς, εἶχεν ἐξ ὑποσχέσεως τὴν ἐλευθερίαν νὰ διερμηνεύη τὰ ἐπιχειρήματα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος του, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτου ἐδόθη κατ' ἀρχὰς ὑπόσχεσις ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Μεγ. Βεζύρου, εἰς τὴν πίστιν τοῦ ὁποίου βασιζομαι, ἀλλὰ τῶρα διαπιστώνω ὅτι, ὅπου σὰς ἐλλείπουν τὰ λογικὰ ἐπιχειρήματα διὰ νὰ πείσετε, ἔχετε τὴν διάθεσιν νὰ χρησιμοποιητε βίαν καὶ ἀπειλὰς διὰ νὰ μᾶς ἀναγκάσετε νὰ συγκατατεθῶμεν εἰς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας σας. Ὅτι ὡς ἐκ τούτου, ἀπαξ τὰ πράγματα ἐτέθησαν μὲ βᾶσιν τὴν μέθοδον αὐτὴν καὶ δὲν εἶχε τὴν δυνατότητα νὰ ὁμιλήσῃ ἐλευθέρως, θὰ ἠδύνατο βεβαίως νὰ ἀποχωρήσῃ τῆς διασκέψεως. Ἀντελήφθησαν, ὅτι ὁ Πασᾶς εἶχε δυσαρεστηθῆ 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 ἀποβλέπουν εἰς τίποτε ἄλλο παρὰ εἰς τὸ νὰ ὑποστηριχθῆ ἑκάστου ἢ ὑπόθεσις διὰ τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων του, ὥστε ἕκαστος νὰ μείνῃ ἰκανοποιημένος μὲ αὐτὴν τὴν προϋπόθεσιν ἐπίστευεν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς θὰ ἔμενεν ἰκανοποιημένος μὲ τὸ ἐπιχειρημα πὸν προέβαλλον πράγματι ἦτο ἀντίθετον εἰς τὸν νόμον των νὰ παραδώσουν οἵανδήποτε ὄχυρὰν θέσιν ἢ φρούριον εἰς τοὺς Χριστιανούς καὶ ἂν δὲν ἐπίστευεν, ὅτι τοῦτο εἰλικρινῶς προεβάλλετο, ἀνελάμβανε νὰ τοῦ τὸ ἀποδείξῃ, ὥστε ὅταν ἀπεδερμυνέιο 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. Ammand 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

ἂν τὸ Ὀθωμανικὸν Κράτος θὰ συγκατετίθει ποτε εἰς πρᾶγμα ἀντίθετον πρὸς τὸ γράμμα τῶν νόμων, ποὺ ἔχουν τὴν ὑποχρέωσιν νὰ τοὺς ὑποστηρίξουν 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 περίπτωσιν ἀνταλλαγῆς καὶ συγκαταβάσεως, ἢ ὅποια γίνεται μὲ τόσα ὠφέλη καὶ μάλιστα τόσον σημαντικά· ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἠλπίζεν 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 χειρὰ 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 ὅλην ὑπόθεσιν καὶ νὰ ἀναμείνῃ νέαν ἐντολὴν αὐτοῦ. Συγκατετέθησαν εἰς τοῦτο καὶ μετέβη ἀμέσως εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξοχότητα καὶ τοῦ ἀνεκοίνωσε τὴν ἀντίθεσιν καὶ τὰς διαμμισητήσεις ποὺ συνήντησεν· οὗτος συνεσκέφθη μὲ τὸ συμβούλιον καὶ τοῦ παρήγγειλε νὰ ζητήσῃ εἰς ἀντάλλαγμα κάποιαν θέσιν ἄνευ ὀχυρώσεως ἢ φρουρίου, ἀφῆνων εἰς τούτους ἐλευθέραν 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 ὄχυρόν 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 excoriations Annand brought arguments to keep him even tempered, and to mitigate his pas-

ριον, καὶ δὲν θὰ ἐπέμενε ζητῶν ὅτι ἦτο ἄτοπον ὡς ἐκ τούτου, ἀντὶ τῆς ρηθείσης ἀξιώσεως, ἐπρότεινε νὰ παραχωρηθῆ εἰς τὴν Δημοκρατίαν τμημα γῆς ποῦ θὰ ἐφαίνετο ἰσοδύναμον ἀντάλλαγμα ἀπλῶς χάριν τῆς εἰρήνης. Μόλις εἶχε τελειώσει νὰ ὁμιλῆ, ἤρχισεν ὁ Πασᾶς νὰ λέγῃ, ὅτι τὴν ὥρα κατενόει, ὅτι ὁ Ἄρχιστράτηγος δὲν εἶχεν ἄλλον σκοπὸν παρὰ νὰ παρατείνῃ τὸν χρόνον μὲ ἐλπίδας συνάψεως εἰρήνης, ὥστε ἡ σπουδὴ τῶν νὰ ψυχρανθῆ μέχρι τῆς ἀφίξεως τῶν ἀναμενομένων ἐπικουριῶν καὶ οὕτω νὰ ἐπιφέρῃ σύγχυσιν εἰς τὸ στράτευμά 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 ὅτι αὐτοὶ ὑπῆρξαν τόσον γενναιοδωροὶ, παραχωροῦντες τόσην γῆν καὶ ἔδαφικὰς περιοχὰς εἰς τὴν Δαλματίαν καὶ Ἄλβανίαν μὲ τὸ φρούριον τῆς Clissa, τὰ ὁποῖα κατὰ πολὺ ὑπερέβαλλον ὅτι ἀφήσαμεν εἰς τὸ Βασίλειον διὰ τοῦτο δὲν ἔπρεπε νὰ καταχρώμεθα τὴν εὐγένειάν των καὶ στρεφόμενος πρὸς τὸν Chiagaia Βέην ἔδωκεν ἐντολὴν νὰ ἀφαιρεθῆ ἀμέσως τὸ περίπετρόν του, οὗτος δὲ ἐξετέλεσε πάραυτα 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 τοῦς ὠφέλει 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 εἰλικρίνειαν δι' ἴδιον αὐτῶν λογαριασμὸν καὶ ὄχι διὰ τὸν λόγον τὸν ὁποῖον ἐφαντάσθη· ὅτι πάντοτε αἱ προτάσεις ἐκάστου μέρους προεκάλουν μεγαλύτερον ἢ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀγῶνα, ἀλλὰ κατόπιν μετὰ τὴν ἐξέτασίν των δὲν ἔλειπον τὰ μέσα καὶ εὐστροφοὶ μεταλλαγαὶ διὰ νὰ τακτοποιηθῇ ἡ διαφορὰ· διὰ τοῦτο τὸν παρεκάλει θερμῶς νὰ ζυγίσῃ τὰ πράγματα μὲ τὴν ὥριμόν του κρίσιν. Ἄλλ' αἱ ὑποδείξεις του παρέμειναν ὅλως διόλου ἄνευ ἀποτελέσματος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπέμεινε εἰς τὴν ἀπόφασίν του, τὴν ὁποῖαν εἶχεν ἤδη λάβει ὡς πρὸς τὴν συνθήκην, ἐπαναλαμβάνων ὅτι καὶ προηγουμένως εἶπεν· ἠγέρθη τότε καὶ ἔδωκε διαταγὴν νὰ ἐτοιμάσουν τὸν ἵππον του, ὥστε νὰ δυνηθῇ 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 διαπραγματεύσιν, εἶπεν εἰς αὐτόν, ἐὰν εὐαρεστήσῃτε νὰ μὴν πραγματοποιήσετε τὴν ἀναχώρησίν σας μέχρις ὅτου φέρω τὴν ἀπάντησιν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν ἐξοχότητά του, ὥστε νὰ ἀντιληφθῶ τὰς διαθέσεις του εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τότε εἶναι δυνατόν 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 πράγματος. Ἄλλ' ὁ Πασᾶς, ὁ ὁποῖος συμπεριφερόμετο μὲ μεγαλύτεραν σύνεσιν καὶ σταθερότητα, τοῦ εἶπεν ὅτι θὰ πορέμενε, μέχρις ὅτου 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 νὰ συμμορφωθῆ πρὸς τὸ πρέπον. Ἄνεχόρησε τότε οὗτος διὰ νὰ ἀναγγείλῃ εἰς τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον τί συνέβη εἰς τὴν συζήτησιν τοῦ θέματος τούτου καὶ τὰ λεγθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πασᾶ. Ἡ ἐξοχότης του συνεσκέφθη μὲ τὸ συμβούλιον ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ, κατανοῶν ὅτι ἦτο ἀδύνατον νὰ ἐπιτύχουν ὅ,τιδήποτε ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θέματος, ἀπεφάσισε νὰ ἀφήσῃ κατὰ μέρος τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο καὶ νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὴν συζήτησιν τοῦ ἄλλου, τοῦ ἀφορῶντος εἰς τὰ κανόνια, διὰ τὸ ὅποιον προσέβαλλον προηγουμένως ἀξίωσιν. Πρὸς τοῦτο τὸν ἐκάλεσε καὶ τοῦ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἔπρεπε νὰ διαχειρισθῆ τὸ ζήτημα, πὺ ἐθεσαν οἱ Τοῦρκοι σχετικῶς μὲ τὰ κανόνια κατὰ τὸν ἐξῆς τρόπον: "Ὅτι εἰς τὸ φρούριον ὑπῆρχον δύο εἶδη πυροβόλων, τὸ ἓν ἀνήκον εἰς τὴν πόλιν — καὶ ταῦτα ἠδύνατο νὰ παραδοθῶν μὲ αὐτήν — τὸ ἄλλο εἰς τὴν ἀρμάδα — ταῦτα δὲ ὄφειλον νὰ 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 νὰ ἀποκατασταθῆ ἡ εἰρήνη, θεωρεῖ ἀμφοτέρωτα τὰ κυρίαρχα μέρη ὡς πεισθέντα ἀπὸ τὰ προβαλλόμενα ἐπιχειρήματα καὶ τοὺς καθιερωμένους κανόνας καὶ πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦτον ἀπεφάσισεν, ἂν καὶ ὄχι ἄνευ μεγάλης ἐσωτερικῆς ἀπροθυμίας, νὰ ἱκανοποιήσῃ τὴν ψυχικὴν σας διάθεσιν καὶ νὰ προτιμήσῃ τὴν φιλίαν ἀπὸ τὸ δίκαιον, τὸ ὅποιον διέπει τὰ αἰτήματα ὡς πρὸς τὰ ἐδάφη καὶ τὸ ὄχυρόν πὺ ἐζητήθησαν ὡς ἀντάλλαγμα ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος δὲν ὑπάρχει τίποτε ἄλλο νὰ συζητηθῆ πέραν τῶν σημείων πὺ ἀφοροῦν 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, διατι τὸ πυροβολικὸν τοῦ Φρουρίου θὰ ἀποτελῆ θέμα περαιτέρω διαμφισβητήσεως; Καὶ ποῦ εἶδατε ποτὲ παράδειγμα, οἱ παραδίδοντες πόλιν ὑπερασπισταὶ νὰ ἀποκομίζουσιν τὰ μεγάλα των πυροβόλα; Ὁ Ἀνάντης ἀπεκρίθη, ὅτι ὑπῆρχον δύο λόγοι διὰ τὸ αἴτημα τοῦτο. Ὁ πρῶτος εἶναι ὡς πρὸς τὸ ὅτι ἡ πόλις δὲν παραδίδεται, ἐπειδὴ δὲν εἶναι δυνατόν νὰ ἀντιστῆ περισσότερον, ἀλλὰ διὰ νὰ ἀποκατασταθῆ ἡ εἰρήνη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, εἰς τὴν περίπτωσιν ταύτην, πρέπει νὰ γίνουσιν ἴσαι συμβάσεις καὶ συμφωνίαι, καὶ ἰδίως ὄχι ἐπιζήμιοι. Ὁ δεύτερος λόγος — καὶ ὁῦτος 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 ἐπερίσσειον ποῖος ἠγνόει 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 ἀποβιβάσωμεν ἰσάριθμα ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρμάδα εἰς τὴν θέσιν τούτων καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέβη τὸ δεύτερον 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 ἀφήσετε. Ὁ Chiagaia Βέης πάλιν εἶπεν, ὅτι θὰ ἐγένετο, φαίνεται, καὶ ἄλλη διαμρισιβήτησις ὡς πρὸς τὰ πυρομαχικά. Τοῦ ἐδόθη ἡ ἀπάντησις, ὅτι ἂν συνεφώνουν 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 ἐπανέλθουν 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. Διὰ τοῦτο θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ ἀνακοινωθῶν ταῦτα εἰς τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον. Ἐδόθη ἡ ἀπάντησις, ὅτι θὰ ἠδύναντο τὰ πράγματα νὰ καθορισθῶν εἰς γενικὰς γραμμάς κατὰ τὸν καλύτερον τρόπον καὶ κατόπιν νὰ ἀνακοινωθῶν 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 Ἀνάντης ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι τὸ αἰτούμενον ἦτο μόνον διὰ τὴν προσωπικὴν των ἰκανοποίησιν, ἀλλ' οὐδόλιος 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 Ἀναντην 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 οἰουδήποτε εἶδους καὶ ἰδιαιτέρως τῶν τῆς ἀρμάδας, παραγγέλλον σανάμα εἰς αὐτὸν νὰ τοὺς ἐξηγήσῃ, ὅτι ὡς πρὸς τὸ σημεῖωμα τῶν ἐφοδίων πολέμου ἦτο ἀδύνατον νὰ τὸ ἐτοιμάσουν, διότι θὰ ἀπῆται πολὺν χρόνον νὰ καταστρωθῇ, ἀλλ' ἠδύναντο νὰ παρᾶσχουν τὴν διαβεβαίωσιν, ὅτι πᾶν ὅτι ἀνῆκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν θὰ τὸ ἐγκατέλειπον, τηροῦντες τὸν λόγον των. Τὸ σημεῖωμα, εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον ἀνεγράφησαν αἱ ἐντολαὶ σχετικῶς μὲ τὴν διαπραγματεύσιν τῶν πυρομαχικῶν, ἐδόθη εἰς τὸν Πασᾶν καὶ οὗτος ἰκανοποιήθη ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἀνέθεσεν εἰς τὸν Παναγιώτην νὰ τὸ ἀναγνώσῃ· ὅταν ἔφθασεν εἰς τὸ σημεῖον περὶ τῶν μεγάλων πυροβόλων τοῦ στόλου, ποὺ ἀνεβιβάζοντο εἰς 249 τεμάχια, ἐδήλωσεν οὗτος, ὅτι ὅλα ὁμοῦ τὰ πυροβόλα τοῦ στόλου δὲν ἦτο δυνατόν νὰ ἀνέρχωνται εἰς τόσον μέγαν ἀριθμόν. Ἐδόθη ἡ ἀπάντησις, ὅτι τὰ κανόνια των ἐλήφθησαν ὄχι μόνον ἐκ τῶν γαλερῶν καὶ γαλεασῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων πλοίων, εἰς μερικὰ τῶν ὁποίων ὑπῆρχον 70 εἰς ἕκαστον. Τέλος, διὰ νὰ προλάβουν συζητήσεις κατὰ τὴν λήψιν ἀποφάσεως, τοὺς εἶπον, ὅτι ἀπὸ τὸ σημεῖωμα τοῦτο θὰ ἠδύναντο νὰ ἀντιληφθοῦν τὴν ἐξαιρετικὴν εἰλικρίνειαν τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου, ὅστις, ἐνῶ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἐπιβιβάσῃ καὶ ἀπομακρύνῃ μυστικῶς αὐτὰ τὰ κανόνια χωρὶς νὰ ἀνακαλυφθῇ, ἠθέλησε νὰ ἐνεργήσῃ φανερὰ καὶ μὲ εὐθύτητα, ἀφοῦ γνωρίζει ὅτι διαπραγματεύεται μὲ πρόσωπα τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἤθους. Δὲν ἐγνώριζον τί νὰ εἶπουν περαιτέρω, ἀφοῦ ἐπείσθησαν 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 προᾶξιν· διὰ τοῦτο μετέβησαν εἰς τὸ ἄλλο περίπτερον καὶ συσχεφθέντες ἔγραψαν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸν Μέγαν Βεζύρη· κατόπιν ἐκάλεσαν τὸν Ἄναντην νὰ εἰσέλθῃ, διὰ νὰ μάθουν, ἂν ὑπῆρχον ἄλλα θέματα πρὸς συζήτησιν. Ὁ Ἄναντης τοὺς εἶπεν, ὅτι ἦτο συνήθης συμπεριφορὰ πρὸς πόλεις, αἱ ὁποῖαι ὑπερήσπισαν ἑαυτὰς γενναίως, νὰ τοὺς παρέχεται ἡ ἄδεια νὰ ἀποκομίζουσι ἀρμόζοντα ἀριθμὸν πυροβόλων· διὰ τοῦτο, (ἀφοῦ ἐλάβομεν ἤδη σχετικὰς ὁδηγίας παρὰ τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου) ἐκφράζομεν ἀπὸ μέρους μας τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν νὰ ἐπιδείξουν τὴν εὐγένειαν αὐτὴν, ἀφοῦ μάλιστα, τοῦτο θὰ ἀπέβαινε μᾶλλον πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ Βεζύρου. Ὁ Πασᾶς ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἤδη τόσον πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κανόνια, ὥστε, ἂν ὁ Βεζύρης ἐνέδιδεν εἰς ὅ,τι ἐπρόβαλον ὡς πρὸς τὸν στόλον, θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ εἶναι πάρα πολὺ ἱκανοποιημένος. Ὁ Ἄναντης ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι θὰ ὄφειλον νὰ σεβασθοῦν μᾶλλον τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ Βεζύρου καὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν μικροῦ ἀριθμοῦ πυροβόλων· διὰ τῆς συγκαταβάσεως αὐτῆς θὰ ἔδιδον εἰς τὸν κόσμον νὰ ἐννοήσῃ, ὅτι ἡ τριετὴς πολιορκία τῆς πόλεως προέκυψεν ἐκ τοῦ ὅτι συνηστήσατε τόσον ἰσχυρὰν ἀντίστασιν ἐκ μέρους τῶν πολιορκουμένων. Τότε ὁ Πασᾶς ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ὅταν τὰ οὐσιωδέστερα ἦγοντο εἰς πέρας, αὐτὸς ὁ ἴδιος θὰ παρεκάλει θερμοῶς τὸν Βεζύρη νὰ παραχωρήσῃ ἐν μέρος, ἂν εὐηρεστοῦντο νὰ τὸ διατυπώσουν εἰς ἄρθρον, ἀφήνοντες κενὸν διὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὥστε νὰ τὸν παρεμβάλουν ἐκ τῶν ὑστέρων. Ἐν τῷ μεταξύ ἔλαβον τὴν ἀπάντησιν τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου ἀναφορικῶς μετὰ 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 πυρομαχικὰ τῆς ἀρμάδας, διὰ τῆς ὁποίας ἐδηλοῦτο, ὅτι συγκατετίθετο νὰ λάβουν μεθ' ἑαυτῶν τὰ κανόνια καὶ τὰ πυρομαχικὰ ταύτης ἄνευ δόλου. Οὕτω ἐνεκρίθησαν ὅλα τὰ οὐσιαστικά σημεῖα ὡς προεμνημονεύθη, καὶ δὲν ἀπέμενε παρὰ ὅ,τι ἀφεώρα τὰς διατυπώσεις τῆς ἀνακοχῆς τῶν ὅπλων, διὰ ταύτην εἶχεν ἤδη λάβει διαταγὰς: ὅτι θὰ ἀπέσυρον τοὺς στρατιώτας των εἰς ἀμφοτέρας τὰς πόλεις εἰς τὰ πρῶτὰ των πυροβολοστάσια, ὥστε οἱ ἀνήκοντες εἰς τὴν Δημοκρατίαν νὰ ἀποσυρθοῦν ὀπισθεν τοῦ φράγματος τῆς προτειχίου κρηπίδος (Falsa Braga), λοξῶς καὶ σταυρωτά, καὶ τοῦ Προπετάσματος, ὥστε νὰ ἀποφευχθῇ σύγκυσις, ἢ ὁποία θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ προέλθῃ ἐκ τῆς συναμιξέως των. Εἰς τοῦτο ἐδόθη ἡ ἀπάντησις, ὅτι καλύτερον νὰ τοὺς ἀφήσουν τὰς ἐξωτερικὰς ὀχυρώσεις, ἀποσύροντες ὀλοκληρωτικῶς τοὺς ἄνδρας των ἀπὸ τὰς θέσεις πρὸ προσεβάλλοντο καὶ τοποθετοῦντες αὐτοὺς ὡς φρουρὰν εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς ὀχυρώσεις ὅπου οἱ Γενιτσαροὶ, διὰ νὰ συγκρατήσουν τοὺς ἄλλους Τούρκους, πρὸ θὰ ἠθέλον νὰ τὰς ὑπερβοῦν. Ὁ Ἀνάντης 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 των εἰς τὴν αὐθαιρεσίαν στρατεύματος, εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον δὲν ἠδύναντο νὰ ἐμπιστευθοῦν. Ὁ Πασᾶς ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειάν των, τοὺς τὴν ὑπόσχεται ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου. Ἀπήντησεν, ὅτι ἦσαν βεβαιοὶ δι' αὐτό, οὔτε προέκοπιε 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

ὅ,τι ἐξηγοῦντο ἀπὸ τὴν θέλησιν τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸ ποῦ ἐξηγοῦντο ἀπὸ τὴν αὐθαιρεσίαν τῆς «μιλίτσια» κανεῖς δὲν θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ τοὺς ἐξασφαλίσῃ· διὰ τοῦτο θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ μεταβάλουν γνώμην, διότι αὐτοὶ θὰ προετίμων νὰ συνεχίσουν τὴν ἀμυνάν των παρὰ νὰ ἐκθέσουν τὴν ζωὴν των εἰς τὴν διάθεσιν τῶν στρατιωτῶν των. Βλέποντες τότε ὅτι δὲν ἠδύναντο νὰ ὑπερικήσουν τὴν δυσκολίαν αὐτήν, ἔκαμαν νέαν πρότασιν: ὅτι ἔπρεπε νὰ δεχθοῦν νὰ ἔλθουν εἰς ἐπαφὴν μὲ τὰς δυνάμεις των εἰς τὸ Μέγα Φρούριον 500 Γενιτάρτοι καὶ 200 εἰς τὸ Προμεσοτείχιμα (Ravelin) τοῦ Ἁγ. Πνεύματος. Ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔδωκε νὰ ἐννοήσουν, ὅτι αὐτὸ ποῦ ἐζήτουν δὲν διέφερε τοῦ προηγουμένου καὶ προσέθηκε παρευθὺς, ὅτι ἔπρεπε νὰ θέσουν κατὰ μέρος τὴν πρότασιν, διότι ἄλλως δὲν θὰ συνεφόνουν. 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 ἐπιβιβασθοῦν ἐν τάξει πρὸς μεταφορὰν των. Κατόπιν τούτου συνεφωνήθη, ὅτι ἡ λευκὴ σημαία θὰ ἀφήνετο ἀνυψωμένη ὡς τεκμήριον ἀναχωχῆς· ὅταν, συμφώνως πρὸς τὰς διαταγὰς τῆς ἐξοχότητός του, ὁ Ἄνάντης ἐξέφρασε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν νὰ παρασχεθῇ προθεσμία 20 ἡμερῶν διὰ τὴν ἐπιβίβασιν τῶν πραγμάτων των, αὐτοὶ ἐφάνησαν πολὺ ἐνάντιοι εἰς τοῦτο καὶ ἠθέλον νὰ ἐπιτρέψουν κατ' ἀρχὰς μόνον 5, ἀλλὰ τέλος, κατόπιν μακρᾶς διαμνησθητικῆς, μᾶς παρεχωρήθη προθεσμία 12 ἡμερῶν. Τώρα ἐπρόκειτο νὰ ὀρίσουν 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

γμαίων τὴν ἐπομένην θὰ κατέστρωον τὰ ἄρθρα, ὥστε νὰ μὴ ἀπομένη παρὰ μόνον ἢ ἀνταλλαγὴ ὁμήρων διὰ τὴν κήρυξιν τῆς ἀνακωχῆς, ἢ ὅποια συνετελέσθη κατὰ τὰ συμφωνηθέντα. Καὶ ἀμέσως ἀνεπέτασαν τὴν λευκὴν σημαίαν καὶ τότε ἀκριβῶς πᾶσαι αἱ ἐχθροπραξίαι ἐσταμάτησαν. Τὴν ἐπομένην τὰ ἄρθρα διετυπώθησαν καὶ τόσον πλήρως, ὥστε κατὰ τὴν ὑπόδειξιν τοῦ Ἰμπραὶμ Πασᾶ, ἠδύνατο νὰ δημοσιευθοῦν. Ὁ Ἀρχιστρατήγος καὶ τὸ Συμβούλιον τὰ ἐμελέτησαν τελείως καὶ τὰ ὑπέγραψαν καὶ ἐτέθη ἡ σφραγὶς τοῦ Ἁγ. Μαρκοῦ καὶ ὁμοθύμως ἀνταπεκρίθησαν εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεγάλου Βεζύρου παρασχεθεῖσαν εὐχέρειαν νὰ μεταβοῦν καὶ δεχθοῦν, συμφώνως πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν των, ἐκεῖνα τὰ ὅποια πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν σκοπὸν διετύπωσε, μεταφρασθέντα εἰς τὴν τουρκικὴν γλῶσσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Παναγιώτη. Ἦτο τότε ἀπόγευμα, ὅταν ὁ προμνημονευθεὶς Ἀχμέτ Πασᾶς τοὺς εἰδοποίησεν, ὅτι ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης ἀνέμενε νὰ ἐμφανισθοῦν πρὸ αὐτοῦ. Τότε αὐτὸς (ὁ Ἀνάντης) καὶ ὁ μνημονευθεὶς νέος, ὁ ὅποιος τὸν συνώδευεν ὡς γραμματεὺς τῆς ἐξοχότητός του καὶ ὁ ὅποιος παρευρέθη εἰς ὄλας τὰς συναντήσεις καὶ ἐχρησιμοποιήθη ὡς σύνδεσμος μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἀνάντου καὶ τῆς ἐξοχότητός του τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου, οἱ δύο αὐτοί, λέγω, ἵππευσαν κατεσπευσμένως ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐσυνέχισαν τὸν δρόμον των· ὁ Πασᾶς ἐβάδιζεν εἰς ἀπόστασιν 15 βημάτων πρὸ ἡμῶν, μὲ συνοδείαν 20 ὑπηρετῶν περιβαλλόντων τὸν ἵππον του, καὶ ἕξ βήματα ὀπισθεν αὐτοῦ ἠκολούθει εἰς Ὑποπασᾶς τῶν Γενιτσάρων ἔφιππος, μὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑπηρετῶν ὀπισθεν 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 ἔφιπποι ὁ γνωστός Ἀγάς, ὁ Chiagaia Βέης τοῦ Ἰμπραήμ Πασᾶ καὶ εἰς Ἰζορηπατιζῆς τῶν Γενιτσάρων μὲ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας τῶν. Ὁλη συνοδεία αὐτὴ ἐβάδιζε μεταξὺ δύο στοιχῶν ἐκ 500 Γενιτσάρων, τόσον καλῶς τεταγμένων, ὅστε νὰ φείνεται ἐκάστη πλευρὰ ὡς εἰς τοῖχος ἐπεστρωμένους μὲ τάπητας. Βαίνοντες οὕτω πρὸς τὰ οἰκήματα τοῦ Πασᾶ, ἐπροχώρησαν 2 μίλια περίπου καὶ ἔφθασαν εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα τοῦ Γιόφυρου, ὅπου ἴστατο ἐν περιπτερον μετρίως ὑψηλὸν καὶ εὐρύχωρον, ἔχον τρία δωμάτια, μὲ στρογγύλην σφαιρᾶν ἐξ ἐπιχρύσου ξύλου εἰς τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς μόνον ἐξ αὐτῶν. Τὸ περίπτερον περιεζώννυτο μὲ πράσινον ὑφασμα μιμούμενον τοῖχον, ὁ ὅποιος ἦτο ὑψηλότερος ἀπὸ ἔφιππον. Ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τούτου ὑπῆρχον μερικὰ ἄλλα περίπτερα, ἀλλὰ χαμηλότερα κάπως. Ὅταν ἔφθασαν εἰς τὴν πύλην τοῦ περιβόλου, ὁ Ἀγάς καὶ ἡ συνοδεία του ἀφίππευσαν μὲ ἐλαφρὰν ἀβρὰν κίνησιν. Ἀφοῦ ἔγινε τοῦτο, ὠδηγήθησαν εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν ἄγουσαν εἰς τὸ περίπτερον ἔξω τῶν θυρῶν ἦσαν τοποθετημένα τρία λάβαρα ἐξ ἐπιχρύσου ξύλου, ὑψηλὰ ὅσον ξίφος ἱπικου, μὲ ὀρειχαλκίνην ἐπίχρυσον σφαιρᾶν 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 ὑφασμα 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 σειρά προσκεφαλαίων μὲ ἐρυθρὸν περίβλημα, πλαισιούμενον μὲ μεταξοτά καὶ χρυσοῦ χρόσια. Τὸ ἔδαφος ἦτο ἐπενδεδυμένον μὲ λεπτὰς σανίδας καὶ καλλιτεχνικῶς ἐπεστρωμένον. Ὁ Ἄνάντης ἐκάθησεν ἔναντι τοῦ «οὐρανοῦ» ἢ ὑφάσματος τοῦ Κράτους, ἐπὶ θρανίου ἄνευ ἐρεισινότητος, κεκαλυμμένον μὲ βελούδον πυρροῦ χρώματος, ὅπου μόλις εἶχε παραμείνει περὶ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς ὥρας, ὅτε ὁ Ἀχμέτ Ἀγάς εἰσηλθε καὶ τοῦ ἔνευσε νὰ μεταβῇ εἰς τὸ ἄλλο δωμάτιον, τὸ δεύτερον τοῦ περιπτέρου, τὸ ὅποιον εἶχεν ἀνάλογα παραπετάσματα καὶ τάπητας τοῦ πρώτου, ἀλλὰ σκευὴν νεωτέραν καὶ ὠραιότεραν. Ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης ἐκάθητο 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 σειράν διὰ νὰ στηρίζεται, ἐνδεδυμένα μὲ χρυσοῦν ὑφασμα, Ἰνδικὸν ἔργον ἐρυθρᾶς ἀποχρώσεως· πλησίον τοῦ ὑπῆρχε προμετωπὶς ὑφάσματος χρυσοῦ κεντητοῦ ὑψηλοτέρα λόγχης καὶ πλατεῖα ὅσον τὸ περίπτερον. Ὅλοι οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἴσταντο κύκλῳ τοῦ εἰς πυκνὴν ταξιν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ὅλοι μὲ πλουσίαν περιβολήν. Μόλις ἐπλησίασαν τὸν Βεζύρην εἰς ἀπόστασιν τριῶν μέτρων ἢ περίπου τόσον, ὁ διεσημηνεὺς Παναγιώτης τοὺς ἐσταμάτησεν ἐκεῖ. Τότε ἀπεκαλύφθησαν καὶ ὑπεκλίθησαν, κάμνοντες μεταβολὴν διὰ νὰ καλυφθοῦν ἐκ νέου· εἰς τὸν χειρισμὸν τοῦτον ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης νεύων τὴν κεφαλὴν τοὺς ἠνχίθη τὸ καλῶς ὄρισαν. Καὶ τότε ὁ Ἄνάντης 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 Θεὸς μετὰ τόσον ὄγληρὸν πόλεμον ἀπεκατέστησε τὴν εἰρήνην μεταξὺ τῶν δύο αὐθεντιῶν, αἱ ὁποῖα πάντοτε ὑπῆρξαν ὑπερήφανοι διὰ τὴν διακεκριμένην καὶ λίαν στενὴν φιλίαν μεταξὺ των, ἡ αὐτοῦ ἐξοχότης ὁ Ἄρχιστρατήγος εἰς μαρτύριον τούτου 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 ὕφος, λέγων ὅτι ἐδέχετο λίαν εὐμενῶς τοὺς λόγους τῆς ἐξοχότητός του τοῦ Ἄρχιστρατήγου, ὅστις κατηύθυνεν ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τῆς εἰρήνης ταύτης, ὅχι ἄνευ λόγου, διότι γνωρίζει πολὺ καλῶς πόσον μεγάλα ὠφέλη 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 θερμὸν ζῆλον νὰ καλλιεργήσῃ τὴν φιλίαν μὲ τὴν Ὀθωμανικὴν Πύλην καὶ δὲν ἔλαβε τὰ ὄπλα παρὰ μόνον πρὸς ὑπεράσπισιν ἑαυτῆς, ὅταν προέκυψεν ἡ ἀνάγκη, πράγμα 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 εὕρῃ 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

ἀνταπόκρισιν ἀνὰ πάντα χρόνον ἐκ μέρους τοῦ Σουλτάνου. Μετὰ ταῦτα παρουσίασαν τὰ ἄρθρα τῆς συνθήκης, ὑπογεγραμμένα καὶ ἐσφραγισμένα, καὶ ὁ Ἄνάντης τὰ παρέδωκεν εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ Βεζύρου, λέγων ὅτι, ἀφοῦ ταῦτα ἡρμηνεύθησαν καὶ ἀφωμοιώθησαν 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 σφραγίδας, κατὰ τὸν συμφωνηθέντα τύπον καὶ μὲ τὸν ὄρκον νὰ τηρηθῇ. 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 Βεζύρη, ὅστις ἐθεώρησε τὴν σφραγίδα καὶ τὴν ὑπογραφήν καὶ τὰ ἔδωκεν εἰς τὸν Παναγιώτην, παραγγέλλων νὰ ἀναγνώσῃ ὄνομα πρὸς ὄνομα τοὺς ὑπογεγραφομένους· ἀφοῦ ἔγινε τοῦτο, ἔλαβε τουρκιστὶ συντεταγμένον τὸ ἔγγραφο καὶ τὸ παρέδωκεν 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 ἐπειθόμεν 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 περσικὰς στολὰς χρυσοζεντήτου ὑφάσματος καὶ τὰς προσέφερον εἰς αὐτούς. Ἐφοῦ ἐδόθη τὸ δῶρον τοῦτο, ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ ἐπέστρεψαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ μὲ τὴν αὐτὴν συνοδείαν εἰς τὸ διαμέρισμα τοῦ Πασᾶ. Ἐνταῦθα ἡ μετάφρασις, παραιτημένη κάτω τοῦ ζειμένου, παρεδόθη εἰς τὸν Ἀνάτην ὑπὸ τοῦ Παναγιώτη, γεγραμμένη διὰ χειρὸς του· διεξήλθε ταύτην καὶ εὔρον ὅτι εἶχον παραλείπει εἰς τὸ δεύτερον ἄρθρον τὰς ἐδαφικὰς περιοχὰς τῆς Σούδας, Γραμβούσας καὶ Σπιναλόγγας· διεμαρτυρήθη τότε κατὰ τῆς διατυπώσεως τῶν ἄρθρων, χαρακτηρίσας ταῦτα ὡς ἀνίσχυρα καὶ ἄκυρα, διότι ἠλλοιώθησαν παρὰ τὴν γενόμενὴν συμφωνίαν. Ὁ Παναγιώτης ἀπήνησεν, ὅτι ἦτο ἡ θέλησις τοῦ Βεζύρου νὰ παραλείψουν ταῦτα, διότι τὰ φρούρια δὲν δύνανται νὰ ἔχουν ἐδαφικὰς περιοχὰς· ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀνάτης ἐπέμενε ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐδήλωσεν, ὅτι ἡ παράλειψις αὐτὴ ἰσοδυνάμει πρὸς παραβίασιν τοῦ λόγου των, ἀφοῦ κατὰ τὴν γενομένην 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 διορθοῦτο τὸ διαπραχθὲν σφάλμα. Ἐξεπλάγη οὗτος διὰ τὰς ἀποφασιστικὰς αὐτὰς προτάσεις καὶ ἔσπευσε νὰ τὸ δικαιολογήσῃ λέγων, ὅτι τὰ φρούρια δὲν εἶχον ἐδαφικὰς περιοχὰς. Ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀνάτης τὸν ἔπεισε τελείως μὲ τὸ σημείωμα αὐτοῦ τοῦ Παναγιώτου, τὸ ὁποῖον τότε εἶχεν ἀνά χειρὸς, εἰς τὸ ὅποιον περιεί-



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 ἄρθρου. Ἡ ἀπάντησις αὕτη μετεδόθη εἰς τὴν ἐξοχότητά του, ὅστις τοῦ ἀνέθεσε νὰ μεταβῆ τὴν ἐπομένην εἰς τὸν Πασᾶν μὲ ἐντολήν 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 διευκρινίσῃ ἐκ νέου τὰ ἄρθρα εἰς τὴν τουρκικὴν γλῶσσαν μὲ τὴν πρόσθετον αὐτὴν ἐπεξηγήσιν, ὅτι ὡς ἐδαφιαῖαι περιοχαὶ τῶν φρουρίων ἐννοοῦντο οἱ παρακείμενοι βράχοι, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἦσαν ἐντὸς τῆς ἀκτίνος δράσεως τῶν πυροβόλων ἐκάστου τῶν φρουρίων τούτων, ὥστε δὲν ἐχρειάζετο νὰ κάμουν νέα ἄλλα ἄρθρα, ἀφοῦ τὰ παλαιὰ θὰ διορθοῦντο. Ἡ ἐξοχότης του ἦτο ἀπολύτως κατὰ τῆς νέας αὐτῆς διορθώσεως, ὑποστηρίζων, ὅτι δὲν θὰ ἄφηνε πλέον τὰ ἄρθρα 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 ἀναπετασθῇ 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 δεκτὸν 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 ΒΕΖΥΡΟΥΤΑ ΑΡΘΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΝΘΗΚΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ, ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ ΟΠΟΙΩΝ ΕΠΗΛΘΕ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙΑ  
ΤΗΝ 6ην ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 1669

1) Πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν νὰ ἀπολαύσῃ ἡ Δημοκρατία σταθερὰν εἰρήνην μὲ τὴν Πύλην, ὡς αὕτη πάντοτε ἐπεδίωξε, ἡ πόλις τοῦ Χάνδακος μὲ 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 ὅρους.

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

3) Ὅτι ὅλα τὰ μεγάλα καὶ μικρὰ πυροβόλα τῆς Ἀρμάδας, τὰ ὅποια ἀπεβιβάσθησαν 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 πυρομαχικῶν, ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ὡς ἄνω Ἀρμάδα, τῶν ζωοτροφιῶν ἢ ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἀποσκευῶν οἷωνδήποτε, ὡς ἐπίσης τῶν τραυματιῶν καὶ ἀσθενῶν, ὅλων τῶν ἀπομενουσῶν στρατιωτικῶν δυνάμεων, τῶν γαλεωτῶν καὶ ὅλων ἐκείνων τῶν ἐντοπίων καὶ ξένων, οἱ ὅποιοι προτίθενται νὰ ἐπιβιβασθοῦν, ὥστε νὰ δύναται νὰ γίνῃ ἡ μεταφορὰ αὐτῶν διὰ γαλερῶν καὶ λέμβων πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐκπνοῆς τῆς προθεσμίας ταύτης δὲν θὰ προβληθῇ κατ' οὐδένα λόγον ἀξίωσις 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 προμηθιονευθέντων πραγμάτων τῶν, ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης ἀναλαμβάνει, ἀφοῦ παραδοθῇ ἡ πόλις εἰς αὐτόν νὰ χρησιμοποιήσῃ ἰδικὰς του λέμβους πρὸς μεταφορὰν ἐκείνων πὺν παρέμειναν 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 τῶρα κατέχουν, ὅρος ὁ ὅποιος θὰ τηρηθῇ μὲ πᾶσαν δυνατὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ εὐπρέπειαν, ἀπαγορευομένου εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας νὰ προχωροῦν ἢ νὰ διαλέγωνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἵνα ἀποφευχθῇ ἡ ἀταξία, πὺν 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 ὅπωςδήποτε παραβάτας τοῦ ἑνὸς ἢ τοῦ ἄλλου μέρους, χωρὶς τοῦτο ἐκ τούτου νὰ θεωρηθῆ ὡς παραβίασις τῆς συνθήκης εἰρήνης ἐκ μέρους ἑκατέρωθεν μερίδος.

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

8) Ὅτι πρὸς ἐξασφάλισιν τῆς ἐκπληρώσεως τῶν ἄρθρων τούτων, θὰ δοθῶν τρεῖς ὄμηροι ἑκατέρωθεν περιωπῆς καὶ ἀντιστοιχοῦ κοινωνικῆς θέσεως· προτείνομεν ἀπὸ τὴν ἰδικὴν μας πλευρὰν τοὺς τρεῖς εὐγενεῖς Ἑνετοὺς, τὸν Faustin de Riva, Ἀντιναύαρχον τῆς Ἀρμάδας, τὸν Gio Bacca Calbo, Στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῶν Πολεμοφοδίων καὶ Ζωοτροφῶν, καὶ τὸν Zaccharia Mocenigo, δούκα καὶ τώρα ἰδιωτεύοντα ἐν Χάνδακι· καὶ εἰς ἀνταλλαγὴν ζητοῦμεν τοὺς Dabri Πασᾶ, Βεηλέρβην τοῦ Semesvar, Ἀχμέτ Πασᾶν, Ἀγᾶν τῶν Γενιτσᾶρων, καὶ Gassit Βέην, Ἀρχιλογιστὴν τῆς Ρωμυλίας· καὶ οἱ ὄμηροι οὗτοι δὲν θὰ ἐπιστραφῶσι, μέχρις ὅτου τελειώσῃ ἡ ἐπιβίβασις.

9) Ὅτι πρὸς ἐξασφάλισιν, ἐκ μέρους μας πᾶσα δυνατὴ φροντίς θὰ ληφθῆ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιβίβασιν καὶ θὰ γίνωνν 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 Turkich 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

λοιπήσουν τὴν ἐκτέλεσιν. Πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ναυτικοί, ἵνα ὁμοῦ μὲ δύο ἐκ τῶν ναυάρχων μας, ἐπαγρυπνήσουν ἐπὶ τῆς προθεσμίας τῆς παραχωρηθείσης διὰ τὴν ἐπιβίβασιν.

10) Ὅτι τὰ πλοῖα ποὺ θὰ χρησιμοποιηθοῦν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιβίβασίν μας, ἵνα γίνῃ αὕτη μὲ τὴν μεγαλυτέραν 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 ἔμπρὸς καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὀπίσω νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ἄνευ παρενοχλήσεως.

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

12) Ὅτι πᾶσα λεία πλοίων, γενομένη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνετικῆς Ἀρμάδας μετὰ τὴν ὑπογραφὴν τῆς παρουσίας 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 προμηνημονευθέντων, τὰ ὅποια ἐκτελοῦν καταδρομὰς ὑπὸ τὴν ἐνετικὴν σημαίαν, ὅχι μόνον θὰ ἐπιβληθῇ δι' ἐπισήμου διατάγματος εἰς τὸ πλήρωμά των ἡ ὑποστολὴ τῆς σημαίας καὶ θὰ ἀφαιρεθοῦν τὰ σχετικὰ προνομιακὰ 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

ὁποίων οἱ συνεχίζοντες τὰς καταδρομὰς θὰ θεωρῶνται ὡς ἐχθροὶ ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν καὶ ἡ τιμωρία των δὲν θὰ εἶναι δυνατόν νὰ ἐπιρριφθῇ εἰς ἑκάτερον 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 Ἑνετοὶ οἰασδήποτε τάξεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσωπα οἰασδήποτε ἐθνικότητος, τὰ ὅποια συνελήφθησαν καθ' ὄν χρόνον ὑπηρέτουν εἰς τὸν παρόντα πόλεμον, θὰ καθίστανται καλῇ τῇ πίστει ἐλεύθερα.

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

15) Καὶ δυνάμει τῆς παρούσης ὡς ἄνω συνθήκης εἰρήνης θεωροῦνται τὰ ἄρθρα τῆς ἄλλης τελευταίας εἰρήνης ὡς ἀντιστοίχως ἐπικυρωθέντα. Οὔτε θὰ παρασχεθῇ οἰαδήποτε ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀφορμὴ ἢ αἰτία δι' οἰανδήποτε ἀντίθετον ἀξίωσιν, πλὴν τοῦ νὰ συνεχισθῇ ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς προσημνημονευθείσης τελευταίας συνθήκης ἡ καταβολὴ ἐπιχορηγήσεως διὰ τὴν νῆσον Ζάκυνθον, ἡ ὅποια ἐκ τούτου θὰ ἀρχίσῃ καταβαλλομένη ἀπὸ τῶρα καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς.

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



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\*.

Oxford

HARRY HIONIDES

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

Ὅτι ὁ Μέγας Βεζύρης, λαβὼν ὑπ' ὄψιν τὴν τόσον μακρὰν, ἀποφασιστικὴν καὶ γενναίαν ἄμυναν, τὴν ὁποίαν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι ἐκράτησαν μὲ τόσην τιμὴν, ἐπέτρεψεν εἰς αὐτοὺς νὰ ἀποκομίσουν τέσσαρα κανόνια ἐκ τῶν πυροβολαρχιῶν τοῦ Φρουρίου.

Francesco Morosini, Ἀρχιστράτηγος.

Gieronimo Battaglia, Γενικὸς Προβλεπτὴς.

Lorenzo Cornero, Προβλεπτὴς τῆς Ἀρμάδας.

Zorzi Benzon, Ναύαρχος τοῦ Κόλπου.

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