

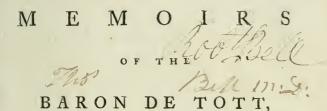


MEMOIRS

OF THE

BARON DE. TOTT.





ON THE

TURKS AND THE TARTARS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH, '

BY AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN AT PARIS,

UNDER THE IMMEDIATE INSPECTION OF

THE BARON.

IN THREE VOLUMES,

VOL. IL

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR L. WHITE, J. CASH, AND R. MARCHBANK.

M, DCC, LIMEV.

1.0

ped and the state

1 A I A I

.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

BARON DE TOTT.

La Martinetter

and share the state of the state of the

SECOND PART.

On the TURKS and the TARTARS.

Y Father died at Rodofto †, in the arms of Count Tezaky, and in the midft of his countrymen. The Miniftry which had intended to have

† A town fituated on the Propontis; fet apart by the Grand Signior for the refidence of Prince Ragotzi, and all the Hungarian refugees. My decealed father had followed that Prince thither, and left it in the year 1717, to enter into the fervice of France: the different commissions in which he was employed, gave him frequent opportunities of feeing his former companions; in the midft of whom he died in 1757. Count Tezaky furvived him only eight days, and never spoke after his death.

Vol. II.

employed

That I and I

employed me, had just been changed in France. A foreign name, no protection, and eight years absence at Constantinople, nothing, in fhort, feemed to give me much profpect of fuccefs at Verfailles. I obtained, however, a promife of employment at one of the German Courts, an employment illfuited to the fort of information I had acquired, and which the Duke of Choifeul was defirous of applying to more purpole, when on his refuming the foreign department, and after a trial of my abilities on a particular commillion, he made choice of me to refide with the Kam of the Tartars. My zeal made me overlook all the difagreeable circumstances of fuch a mission. I had neither folicited, nor defired, nor forefeen it; but I accepted it as a favour, and it was indeed a favour to ferve under that Minifter.

It was determined that I fhould go by land to the place of my defination, and every thing being prepared, I left Paris on the 10th of July, 1767, for Vienna, where, after a ftay of eight days, I continued my journey to Warfaw, at which place I remained

mained fix weeks, and from thence I proceeded to Kaminiek.

The difficulties I had undergone in Poland from the fcarcity of provifions, the want of horfes, and the ill will of the people, prepared me to bear, with patience, what I ftill had to undergo before I could arrive at the end of my journey.

There being no post-horses in Poland, after paffing Kaminiek, I was fortunate enough to procure Ruffian horfes to carry me to the first Turkish Custom-house, oppofite to Swanitz, on the other fide of the Niefter. The course of that river forms the boundary between the two empires; and fome Janiffaries who were come to walk on the Polifh fide of the river, attracted by curiofity near my carriage, taking a liking to me on my addreffing them in the Turkish language, accompanied me in the ferry boat, which conveyed us to the other fide. Every perfon in my retinue, except my fecretary, imagined we were going to Conftantinople. I undeceived them in passing the Niester t. We

t This river is also called the Nieper.

B 2

landed

14

landed fafely on the oppofite fide of the river, and my Janiffaries, eager to acquaint the Cuftom-houfe Officer with my arrival, prepared him to receive me with fo much respect, that, overcome at length by his entreaties, I agreed to pafs a bad night at about a league from Kotchim, where I might have met with better accommodations. The Cuftom-houfe Officer compelled the Ruffians, alfo, who had brought me, to ftay with their horfes all night, to conduct me the next day to Kotchim. My remonstrances on this head were ineffectual, when oppofed to his interest and convenience: He affected, indeed, to have no other motive than respect for me, and to have nothing but my convenience in view; when his only object was, in fact, to fave an expence which muft otherwise have fallen upon him.

In other refpects we could not perceive that we put him to any expence, except from the profusion with which we were ferved; and the Pacha, whom he had acquainted with my arrival, increased our abundance by a present of flowers and fruit he he fent me, with the affurance of being well received, and better treated the next day.

The habit of living with the Turks rendered my evening, however, more tolerable than it would have been for any other perfon. I paffed a part of it in the Cuftom-houfe officer's kiofk, which was his ufual refidence; and where, indolently ftretched out on the frontiers of despotifm, in the full plenitude of his authority, this Turk exhibiting its genuine picture to the inhabitants of the oppofite fhore, was intoxicated with the pleafure of feeing nothing fo important as himfelf. He informed me, that two young Frenchmen had arrived a few days before at Kotchim, where, after taking the turban, they had fet out for Constantinople. He fatisfied, alfo, my queftions refpecting the revenues of his Cuftom-houfe, which I found were as profitable to him, as they were burthenfome to those who had the misfortune to fall into his hands; and as that was all the information to be got from him, I left him and went to take fome reft. The people, however, fent by the Pacha to conduct

duct me to Kotchim, and to receive me there with diffinction, began to awaken me from a found fleep at day break. Each of them was eager to acquaint me with the importance of his employment, in order to have a better claim on my generofity. The people of the Cuftom-house watched, alfo, the moment of my waking, to come for their share. I rewarded the guards too, who had attended me, and who had been prevented from robbing me, only by the particular attention of my fervants. We then fet out with a pretty numerous retinue, and I was foon fettled in the houfe of a Jew, prepared for my reception in the fuburbs of Kotchim.

An officer and fome Janiffaries, who were to be my guard, occupied the gateway into which I was introduced by one of the Governor's people, who had orders to procure me, gratis, and at the expence of the inhabitants, every neceffary. His first care, therefore, was to inquire what I wished to be supplied with. I was shocked at this species of oppression, to which, however, I was no stranger; but I knew neither

BARON DE TOTT.

neither the right, nor the refources of the oppreffors; I modeftly answered that I wanted nothing, and gave fecret orders to my own people to purchase the neceffary provisions. I could not forefee that this was the very way to aggravate the oppref. fion. A miferable Jew I had employed to make my purchases, and who, in the hopes of cheating me, had overlooked the danger of his undertaking, was feized, bastinadoed, and forced to point out to my zealous purveyor, the people with whom he had been dealing, who efcaped, however, by returning the money, and with the lofs of their property. My broker difgorged alfo his profits, and the Turk gave back nothing; but he took fpecial care to order for the evening, and the next day, fuch a quantity of provisions, that he must afterwards have fold, for his own account, a great part of them, which I could not poffibly confume.

Such fcenes greatly increafed my defire of haftening my arrival in the Crimea; but it was neceffary to obtain both the Pacha's

MEMOIRS OF THE

Pacha's permiffion, and other affiftance which he alone was able to procure me. My firft care was to have an interview with him as early as poffible; for the Turks are fo flow, and fo lazy themfelves, that the firft civility they flow to a ftranger is to invite him to reft himfelf, and that was the compliment I received on alighting; but I affured them fo pofitively that nothing fatigued me fo much as repofe, that I obtained an audience for the next day. The Pacha, who lives in the fortrefs, fent me horfes accordingly, at the hour appointed, and feveral of his officers to conduct me to him.

The fortrefs of Kotchim, fituated on the rife of the mountain, on the right border of the Niefler, hangs towards the river, and lays the place entirely open to the oppofite bank. The country of Poland, indeed, prefents this citadel with fo delightful a profpect, that one would be tempted to imagine that the Turkifh engineers facrificed to that advantage, both the defence and fafety of fo important a port,

\$

port, in which, as it now is, they would not be able to hold out three days against a regular attack.

The Pacha who commanded there was a venerable old man, with whofe character I was in fome meafure already acquainted. I knew that being naturally of a timid difpofition, he feared that the Vifir had hoftile intentions towards him, and I had reafon to apprehend therefore, that he would not venture to let me pass without an express order from the Porte. He convinced me accordingly, after the first compliments were over, that I was not mistaken, affuring me, however, that he would endeavour to make my ftay agreeable; but it was impoffible to render any delay agreeable to me. I difcuffed the matter with him, therefore, and at length perfuaded him that he would run more rifk by detaining me at Kotchim, than by letting me pafs, fince he would offend the Tartars, who were expecting me, without paying his court to the Vifir, who did not look for me, and the protection of the B₅

Kam.

Kam, which I undertook to promife, overcame his difficulties. My departure was fixed for the nextday, and our parting was the more friendly, as I made him underftand that my good offices might be of fervice to him.

His principal Tchoadar, who was to be my Mikmandar+, came to wait on me at my return home. He concerted with me the proper means to be taken, and then left me to get his orders figned, and to prepare the post-horses for our journey. But notwithstanding the alacrity with which they feemed to fet to work to collect them, we could not fet out until very late the next day, and in fpite of the blows beftowed on the unfortunate postillions by my Mikmandar, they went no faster. We might have gone farther that day, however, had not Ali Aga, (that was the name of my Mikmandar) made us ftop a league fhort of the Pruth, to give himfelf time

+ An officer appointed to go before Ambaffadors, or other perfons, who travel by the order, and at the expence of the Porte.

to

to prepare for the croffing of that river, for which purpofe he brought us to a tolerable good village, the miferable inhabitants of which were obliged to bring us provifions. A family foon turned out of doors, made room for us, and two fheep killed, roafted, and eaten, and not paid for, added to a few unneceffary blows, began to put me a little out of humour with my guide, who fet off in the evening to prepare every thing for the conveyance of my carriage over the Pruth.

I took the opportunity of his abfence, to give an old Turk, who appeared to be entrufted with the concerns of the community, the value of the provifions; but fome of the inhabitants prefently came to complain, that as I had not diffributed the fhares, they fhould not receive any part of the recompence I intended making them; " and," added they, " the old Turk to whom you have given all, is fupported by four cut-throat fons, who bear no part of our burthens, and yet always take poffeffion of the profits."

Thefe

These poor wretches, whilst they were making thefe complaints to me, never fufpected, certainly, that they had the good fortune of living under an ariftocracy. To fatisfy them, however, and to fulfil my original intentions, I doubled the fum, and. every one retiring to his place of reft, I got into my carriage, where I fell into fo found a fleep, that we were far advanced on our way when I awoke. The Pruth was only at a league's diftance, and my conductor, whom we perceived on horfeback, flogging up a troop of peafants he was in the midft of, gave us to understand that we were not far from the river, on the borders of which we arrived, without being fenfible of its proximity, from the steepness of its banks.

The Pruth feparates the Pachalick of Kotchim from Moldavia. Ali-Aga had fwam over to the oppofite fhore the night before, and got together by dint of his whip, near three hundred of the neighbouring Moldavians, and had employed them the whole night in forming with the trunks of

of trees an ill-contrived raft, on which he had repaffed to our fide of the river; but all that did not fatisfy me of its folidity. I prepared myfelf, however, to facrifice, if neceffary, my carriage, and every thing upon it. I only fecured out of it my pocket-book, fully determined not to expofe myfelf to fo evident a perfonal danger; nor would I fuffer my own attendants to go over, but referved them for a fecond voyage, in cafe the first fucceeded. Meanwhile, my conductor, proudly exulting at having accomplifhed fo wonderful a work, preffed me to get into my carriage.-----"How" faid I, vexed at his flupidity, " will you ever contrive to get it down to the river ?---How will you afterwards keep it on your paltry raft, which is fcarce large enough for it, and must infallibly fink under its weight ?" " How ?" faid he, "why, with thefe two inftruments ;" fhewing me his whip, and upwards of a hundred flurdy peafants he had brought from the other fide : "Don't be uneafy; I would make them bear the universe on their

their fhoulders. And if the raft finks, thefe fellows can all fwim; they fhall keep it up; if you lofe the value of a pin, they fhall every one of them be hanged."

Somuch ignorance and barbarity flocked me, without giving me more confidence in the raft. But my refolution was formed, I told him I would not go over with my attendants till the fecond trip, and therefore he might do as he thought proper. I fat down on the edge of a cliff, to take a better view of this great manœuvre, and to enjoy at least a fcene for which I expected to pay very dearly.

The fignal for the workmen to begin was then given, by pronouncing the name of God, followed by feveral fmacks of his whip. They undid the traces of my carriage, and carried it in their arms to the brink of the precipice, where they had formed with their pickaxes a rough fort of fhelving, to facilitate its defcent; but it was not without fhuddering, that I faw them on the point of being crufhed by the weight of my coach, which they got down however,

BARON DE TOTT.

15

however, on the raft, where it could only be diagonally placed, and to keep it fleady in that polition, four of these wretches were clapped under the wheels, the leaft motion of which would have carried the whole equipage to the bottom of the river. After this operation, which had made that part of the raft next the land fink into the mud, and had plunged it feven or eight inches deep under water on the other fide, they ftill had to work to get it afloat, which the hundred men at length effected. They then accompanied it, part of them wading and others fwimming, and guided it with long poles to the other fide, where fome buffaloes were in readinefs to draw up my carriage, which I faw in the twinkling of an eye on the top of the opposite cliff. My fears were now at an end, and the raft returning, conveyed us over without a shadow of danger or difficulty.

It is eafy to imagine that Ali-Aga triumphed on the occasion, and on fetting out, I gave the value of a hundred and fifty livres, (fix or feven guineas) to the workmen; workmen; but what is not fo eafy to imagine, nor could I forefee it, that my conductor, attentive to all my actions, and to every gesture, staid behind, to get his portion of the triffing present I had made these poor creatures.

In an hour afterwards he made his appearance, and immediately went on before to prepare breakfaft, at three leagues from the Pruth, where we came up with him, whilft he was collecting provifions with the fame inftrument with which he had conftructed his rafts. Except the too frequent ufe he made of his whip, Ali-Aga appeared to me to be a good humoured fellow, and I undertook to make him in future lefs lavifh of his blows.

The Baron.

Your dexterity in the paffage of the Pruth, and the good cheer you provide for us, my dear Ali-Aga, would be fully fatisfactory, did you not beat those poor Moldavians fo frequently, or if you only beat them when they difobey you.

Ali-Aga.

What fignifies it to them, whether it be before or after, fince they must be beaten? Is it not better to do it at once than to lose time?

Baron.

What do you mean by lofing time? Do you call that making a good use of it to beat, without reason, a set of poor creatures, whose exertions, strength, and submission, perform wonders?

Ali-Aga.

What, Sir—you talk the Turkifh language—you have lived at Conftantinople —you know the Greeks; and you do not know that Moldavians will do nothing till you break their bones! You imagine then that your carriage would have croffed the Pruth if I had not beat them all night, and continued this difcipline until your arrival on the banks of the river ?

Baron.

Yes; I think that the fear alone of being beaten would have made them do all this; but, however that may be, we have no no more rivers to pafs; the poft fupplies us with horfes, we want nothing but provisions, and that is my affair; for I will own to you, my dear Ali, that fuch as you procure for me by blows, are hard of digeftion; let me pay for them, that is all I defire.

Ali-Aga.

You certainly take the fureft way not to have an indigeftion; for your money will not even get you bread.

Baron.

Never fear; I'll pay them fo well that I fhall have the best of every thing, and with more certainty than you could get it yourfelf.

Ali-Aga.

You will not have bread, I tell you; I know the Moldavians; they require beating; befides, I am ordered to defray your expences every where, and thefe rafcally infidels are rich enough to bear the heavieft charges; this is a trifling one, and provided we beat them, they will be contented.

Baron.

Do not refufe me, I beg of you, my dear Ali Aga; I do not wifh my expences to be defrayed, and I'll anfwer for it, they do not wifh to be beaten, provided we pay them; I take that upon myfelf—let me do as I think proper.

Ali-Aga.

But we shall die with hunger.

Baron.

At any rate, let us make a trial; it is my fancy.

Ali-Aga.

Since you are determined, I confent: Try your experiment, which appears neceffary to give you fome idea of the Moldavians; but when you are better acquainted with them, remember that it is not right I fhould go to bed without my fupper; and when your money and your rhetoric have both failed you, you will allow me, I hope, to make ufe of my method.

Baron.

Be it fo; and fince we are agreed, I fhall, when we arrive at the village where we fleep, fleep, addrefs myfelf to the Primate[‡], in order to treat with him, in a friendly way, for provifions, and a good fire, under fome cover, where we may pafs the night without having any thing to do with the inhabitants, and be free from the danger of the plague, which has juft broke out in Moldavia. " In this cafe, faid Ali-Aga, " I need not go any farther," and he immediately ordered one of his people to follow my directions, repeating, with a fmile, that " he would not go to bed fupperlefs."

We did not arrive till after fun-fet at the village where we intended to halt; and we difcovered our lodgings by a fire they had prepared for us.

My conductor, in order to keep to his engagement with me, went to warm himfelf on alighting, and fat down with his elbow leaning on his faddle, and his whip in his hand, to enjoy the diversion he ex-

[†] This title anfwers to that of Mayor; but his functions differ in the fame proportion that flavery differs from liberty.

pected

pected I fhould afford him. I was no lefs defirous of procuring my provifions from that fpirit which produces a mutual exchange of neceffaries. I inquired for the Primate, whom they pointed out to me: I went up to him, and prefenting him with twenty crowns, (about two guineas and a half,) which I laid upon the ground, fpoke to him first in Turkish, then in Greek, in these terms, faithfully translated :

The Baron. (In Turkish.)

There, my friend, is money to buy the provisions we shall want. I have always loved the Moldavians, and cannot bear they should be ill treated. I hope you'll lose no time in procuring me a sheep §, and fome bread; keep the rest of the money to drink my health.

> The Moldavian. (Feigning not to underftand Turkifh.)

He not understand.

Baron.

What, don't you understand Turkish?

§ A fheep alive, and of a good quality, is only worth half a crown Eng'ifh.

The

The Moldavian.

No Turk ; he not underftand. *The Baron.* (In Greek.)

Well, let us talk Greek then: Take this money, bring me a fheep and bread; that is all I afk of you.

The Moldavian. (Still feigning not to underftand, and making figns to express that there is nothing in his village, and that they are ftarving.) Not bread; poor; he not underftand. Baron.

What have you no bread? Moldavian.

No bread; no.

Baron.

Ah! wretches, how I pity you; but at leaft you fhall not be beaten; that is fome confolation. It is undoubtedly very hard to go to bed without any fupper; yet you are a proof that many honeft men are obliged to do fo. (*Tothe guide.*) You hear what they fay, my dear Ali; if money can get nothing here, you will own at leaft that blows would have been fuperfluous: thefe thefe poor creatures have nothing, and that grieves me more than having nothing ourfelves to eat for the prefent. We shall have a better appetite to-morrow.

Ali-Aga.

For my part, it is impoffible to have a better appetite than I have to-day.

Baron:

It is your fault; why did you make us ftop in a poor village, where there is not even bread? You shall fast for your punishment.

Ali-Aga.

A poor village, Sir ! A poor village ! If the darkness of the night did not prevent you from feeing, you would be delighted with it. It is a little burgh that abounds in every thing. One may find even cinnamon § here.

Baron.

So, I fee that your defire of beating is returning upon you.

§ The Turks are very fond of this fpice, which they put in all their diflies, and compare it to the moft exquisite delicacy.

Ali-Aga.

Ali-Aga.

No indeed, Sir; it is only my defire of fupping, which I certainly cannot get rid of; and to fatisfy it, and convince you that I am better acquainted with the Moldavians than you are, let me talk with him.

Baron.

Can you fatisfy your hunger by beating him ?

Ali-Aga.

Yes, I'll anfwer for it; and if in a quarter of an hour you have not a most excellent fupper, you may return me the blows I fhall give him.

Baron.

On this condition I confent, and take you at your word; but remember, that if you beat him without reafon, I fhall lay on you most heartily.

Ali-Aga.

As long as you pleafe; but be as quiet a fpectator as I have been during your negociation.

Baron.

Baron.

That is but fair; I will take your place.

Ali-Aga. (Rifes, puts his whip under his coat, and advancing carelefsly towards the Greek, pats him in a friendly way upon the fhoulder.)

Good day, friend ; how are you ? Well —fpeak—don't you know Ali-Aga, your friend? Come ;—why don't you fpeak ?

The Moldavian.

He not know.

Ali-Aga.

He not know !— Ah ! ah ! that is aftonifhing. What friend, ferioufly, you don't underftand Turkifh ?

Moldavian.

No; he not know.

Ali-Aga. (Knocks down the Primate with his fift, and kicks him as he is rifing.)

There, fcoundrel, that is to learn you Turkifh.

VOL. II. C

Moldavian.

Moldavian. (In good Turkifh.)

Why do you beat me? Don't you know that we are poor people, and that our Princes hardly leave us the air we breathe in?

Ali-Aga.

Well, Sir; you fee that I am a good language mafter; he already fpeaks Turkifh charmingly. We can now talk together at leaft, that is fomething. (To the Moldavian, leaning on his fhoulder.) Now that you know a little Turkifh, tell me how you and your wife and children all do?

Moldavian.

As well as people can do, who are often in want of the necessaries of life.

Ali-Aga.

You are facetious, my friend; you only want a little more beating; but all in good time; let us come to the point: I muft have immediately two fheep, twelve chickens, twelve pigeons, fifty pounds of bread, four oques * of butter, fome falt, pepper,

* A Turkish weight, equal to about 42 ounces. nutmegs,

nutmegs, cinnamon, lemons, wine, fallad, and good oil of olives, and plenty of each of them.

The Moldavian. (Crying.)

I have already told you we were poor people who had not even bread, where would you have us get cinnamon?

> Ali-Aga. (Pulling out his whip from under his coat, and beating the Moldavian till he runs away.)

Ah! rafcally infidel, you have nothing! I fhall take the fame method of enriching you, that I did to learn you Turkifh. (The Greek runs away; Ali-Aga returns and fits by the fire.) You fee, Sir, that my receipt is better than yours.

Baron.

To make the dumb fpeak, I confefs; but not to get a fupper; and I believe I fhall have fome blows to give you, in your turn, for your method does not procure provifions any-more than mine.

Ali-Aga.

Provisions! Oh! we fhall be in no want of them : and if in a quarter of an hour, C_2 all 28

all I have ordered be not here, take my whip and return me all the blows I have given him.

In fact, the quarter of an hour was not expired before the Primate, affifted by three of his countrymen, brought us all the provisions, without forgetting the cinnamon.

After this example, it was impoffible to deny the efficacy of Ali's receipt; and it was fufficient to cure me of my obftinate humanity. In fact, unaccountable as it appeared, I was evidently wrong, and I was compelled, though reluctantly, to leave to my guide the care of fupplying me with provisions in future, without difputing with him about the means.

The country through which we were paffing, engaged all my attention. New and picturefque fcenes, as interefting from the luxuriant cultivation, as from the great variety of objects, prefented themfelves at every ftep; and I fhould compare Moldavia with Burgundy, if the Greek principality could could enjoy the ineftimable advantages refulting from a moderate government.

These people, who by the faith of treaties have been long governed by their own Princes, fhould to this day be no otherwife acquainted with defpotifm, than by the change of their fovereigns at the will of the Ottoman Porte, Moldavia and Wallachia were only fubject originally to a very fmall tribute, and then enjoyed a shadow of liberty. They prefented in the perfons of their princes, if not men of merit, at least illustrious names, respected by the conqueror, and the Greeks were still flattered to behold in these princes, the image of their former masters; but every thing was foon confounded; the conquered Greeks found themfelves no better than flaves, and no longer admitted any diffinctions amongft them; their mutual contempt increafed their abafement, and in this state of things, the Grand Signior himfelf, no longer made any diffinction in this defpicable herd. The merchant was raifed to the principality-every adventurer

rer thought himfelf intitled to that rank; and thefe unhappy provinces, frequently offered to the beft bidder, foon groaned under the yoke of the most cruel oppression.

An annual tax, become immoderate, from the practice of felling the Principality to the highest bidder, enormous sums borrowed by the tributary, in order to purchafe the enfeoffment, interest at twentyfive per cent. fums of money daily employed by others, to frustrate the intrigues of the pretenders, the luxury of these upstart Princes, and the eager rapaciousness of thefe ephemeral beings, are the caufes which concur to lay wafte the two fineft provinces of the Ottoman empire. If it be confidered, that Moldavia and Walla-, chia are more burthened with taxes, and more cruelly oppreffed, than they were in their most flourishing state, it will be easy to form a just idea of the deplorable fate of those countries; as if the Despot, folely bent on destruction, thought himself entitled to increafe his exactions in proportion

tion to the diminution of his people, and the lofs of the fertility of their lands. I was myfelf witnefs, in paffing through Moldavia, to the levying of the eleventh poll-tax in that year, though we were then only in the month of October.

We now approached Yaffi, to which place my guide had difpatched a meffenger, to announce my arrival. I had taken the fame opportunity of fending compliments to the reigning Prince, who was fon to the old Drogman of the Porte, of whom I have already fpoken. I had reafon to think our former acquaintance might be of use to me in Moldavia; but I did not forefee that I should have a proof of his eagerness to receive me; even before my arrival in his capital. At a league's diftance, how-' ever, from that town, as we were ftruggling in the dark, against the difficulties of a narrow fleep road, on a clay foil, I was informed of the arrival of one of the Prince's carriages which was fent to meet me. In fact, it arrived just in time to block up the paffage; and to complete my impatience, a fecre-

a fecretary, who was fent to compliment me, feeks me out in the dark, and acquits himfelf fo tedioufly of his commission, that I fhould have been there till now; had I not confented to be removed into his illcontrived calash, of which he wanted me to admire the magnificence, in fpite of the darknefs of the night. " Ah! my dear Ali," cried I, " how excellent your receipt is !" For I faw, in fact, that Ali-Aga, ever convinced of its efficacy, was at that moment applying it with as much fuccefs as activity, to make them turn the carriage in which I had taken my feat. I tried to make the beft of my prefent fituation, by questioning the fecretary on fuch objects as had excited my curiofity, without endangering either hispolicy or his difcretion; but in vain :-- all I could get from him were fresh assurances of his forrow that the darkness hindered me from feeing the gilding of our car, and deprived me of the fplendor of the triumphal entry they had prepared for me.

We

We perceived, however, that we were entering the town, by means of a few fcattered lights, and the noife of planks, on which I found the carriage rolling, made me inquire of the fecretary the meaning of it. He informed me that these pieces of wood, laid near each other across the ftreets, ferved to bear up the carriage, on account of the miry foil on which Yafli was built. He added, that a fire had just reduced the greatest part of the town to afhes; that they were then bufily employed in re-building it, but that the houfes would be built in a more modern tafte.---He was going to enter into particulars of the plans, when our carriage turning too fhort, and running against the corner of the gateway, introduced us into the Convent of the Miffionaries, where I was to lodge, well pleafed at once to get rid of a very jumbling carriage, and most difagreeable mafter of the ceremonies.

A tolerable good fupper was waiting for us, and fome Italian Cordeliers, fettled at Yaffi, under the King's protection, and the C 5 direction direction of the Society de propaganda fide, had prepared us convenient enough lodgings. Before I went to bed, I received a fresh compliment from the Prince on my fafe arrival, and on awakening had a vifit from the Governor. He was mounted on a horfe richly caparifoned ; a croud of fervants, dreffed like Tchoadars, accompanied this Greek, whom I had known at Conftantinopleinavery inferior fituation. He feemed to be particularly defirous of exciting my admiration of the Oriental fplendor with which he was now furrounded, and I was, for my part, no lefs entertained at feeing him puffed up with the most ridiculous pride. Ali-Aga, however, disconcerted every thing by his prefence. We have already feen that this Turk treated the Moldavians in the country with a great deal of levity, but I imagined he would lofe fomething of his importance and prerogative at Yaffi ; but in this I was again mistaken, for he foon made his appearance in a handfome drefs, with a grave carriage, and a tone of dignity. He played off.

off, in fhort, the courtier, who feeling that he might one day be Vifir, and give Princes to Moldavia, already looked upon himfelf as their fuperior; with this idea he began with treating the Governor very indifferently, for the neglect of the Grand Equerry, who had not yet fent him the retinue which was to conduct him to the Prince's audience. The Governor in vain exculpated himfelf:-"" You are all alike," replied Ali-Aga; " but I will put matters in order." Fortunately the fo much wifhed for retinue arrived, which confifted in a horfe neatly caparifoned, and four Tchoadars to accompany-Whom? The Tchoadar of the Pacha of Kotchim, who was himfelf only a Pacha of the fecond order. But there are no gradations between a Turk and a Greek ; the former is every thing, and the latter-nothing.

It was on this unqueftionable principle that Ali-Aga mounted his horfe with a fuperior majefty, and that every body he met ftopped to make him a profound reverence, which respectful homage he very gravely gravely returned by a flight nod of the head and by a gracious finile. His vifit to the Prince produced him fome prefents, and every flep he took in Yaffi contributed equally to his perfonal intereft and dignity. Whilft my conductor was thus mixing the *utile dulci*, I was contriving means to find a fubfitute for him, that I might continue my journey. The Prince could only undertake to fupply me to the Tartar frontiers; I wrote therefore to the Sultan Serafker of Bafs-Arabia, requefting him to fend to meet me on the confines of Moldavia.

My plan being thus laid, I got into one of the Prince's carriages, in which, furrounded by a great many more equerries and footmen than I wifhed for, I was conducted to the palace. I was anxious to get in, to avoid the tedioufnefs of the Turkifh ceremonies, which the Greek pride had prepared for my reception.

I found the Prince alone with his brother, in an apartment, more remarkable for two enormous arm chairs, covered with fcarlet, than for its richnefs. I foon gueffed all

all their importance, but I conftantly refused to take a feat on one of them. The Prince himfelf then took another feat and our former intimacy, which furnished matter for the beginning of our conversation. induced him to trust me with the history of his prefent embarraffing fituation. I eafily perceived that the intriguing fanaticifm of his brother, made it extremely cruel, and expofed him to very great rifques in future. We terminated this conference by concerting all the neceffary arrangements for my departure, after which I was obliged to fuffer all the Turkish ceremonies. The most important, and which conveys the strongest mark of regard, is prefenting the fherbet, which is always followed by fprinkling you with rofe water, and perfume of aloes. This sherbet, fo often spoken of in Europe, and fo little known there, is composed of cakes of preferved fruits, diffolved in water, and fo ftrongly tinctured with musk, that one can fcarcely taste the liquor; the fame jar, therefore, once filled, is

is fufficient for all the vifits of the week. I took it cautioufly, as I did the fweetmeats given with the coffee, and of which they never change the fpoon. All this ceremonial, however, which was repeated for my fervant in the anti-chamber, met with a different, and not quite fo œconomical a reception from him : his appetite refufed nothing ; he eat all forts of preferved ginger that were offered him ; he fwallowed, at one draught, the whole jar of fherbet ; and the courtiers were viewing him with amazement, when I came out of the Prince's apartment.

On my return to the Convent of the Cordeliers, I found feveral Greeks of my acquaintance waiting for me, fome of whom I kept to dinner, and they afterwards accompanied me in the vifits I had to return.

The town of Yaffi, fituated on a miry foil, is furrounded by hills, on the fides of which are the most rural spots, where delightful country houses might be built; but where nothing is at prefent to be seen but

but a few flocks; and excepting the houfes of the boyards, and those occupied by the Greeks, who came from Constantinople in the Prince's fuite, to partake with him of the plunder of Moldavia, all the other dwelling houses of the capital bespeak the greatest misery.

The boyards * reprefent, with a great deal of ftatelinefs, the grandees of the country, but they are, in fact, no more than tolerable rich landholders, and very cruel oppreffors. It is rarely that they live on good terms with their Prince, and their intrigues are generally pointed againft him; Conftantinople is the centre of their manœuvres. It is there that both parties carry their complaints, and their money, and the Sultan Serofkier, of Bafs-Arabia, affords a conftant refuge to fuch boyards as the Port is difpofed to facrifice to its tranquillity. The fafe-guard of the Tartar

* So the great landholders are called ; they are a fort of nobility without any other pretenfions than their wealth ; but every thing is in fubjection to riches, and the beft eftablished regulators with difficulty withstand them.

Prince

Prince enfures the impunity of the boyard; his protection, not frequently, procures even his re-establishment, but that protection must be paid for.

These different outgoings, for which the boyards reimburfe themfelves by partial perfecutions, joined to the taxes impofed by the Prince to compleat his annual tribute, and the other articles of expence I have already mentioned, oppress Moldavia to fuch a degree, that the richness of the foil is fcarcely adequate to the purpofe. It is alfo very certain that this, as well as the neighbouring province of Wallachia, in fubmitting to Mahomet II. with the claufe of being respectively governed by Greek Princes, and of being fubject only to a moderate impost, have not made fo good a bargain as the framers of the treaty imagined; undoubtedly, they did not forefee that the vanity of the Greeks would expose these provinces to be put up to the best bidder: they must have shut their eyes, too, against the claufe referved to the Grand Signior of removing them at pleafure.

fure. A terrible bargain this, between a greedy defpot, and thefe haughty flaves, whom he can exalt to a Principality when he thinks proper, and ftrip them of it by a nod! It is evident that this power of removal could not fail of carrying the annual tribute of thefe provinces, by a rapid progreffion to an exceffive height, and that a general fyftem of depredation muft be the neceffary confequence; and accordingly, the whole art of thefe fubordinate governments confift in embracing, and employing every poffible means of accelerating this horrid fcene of plunder.

Moldavia and Wallachia were an ancient Roman colony. A corrupted Latin is fpoken there to this day, and this language is called *Roumiê*, the Roman tongue. Thefe provinces, wretched enough under the lofty yoke of the Romans, groan at prefent under the weight of a more cruel, and more humiliating opprefilon—they are pillaged by a fet of fubalterns, vefted with a momentary and precarious authority.

Every

Every thing being ready for continuing my journey, I quitted Ali-Aga after rewarding him for his good offices, and left Yaffi, attended by two Janiffaries of the Prince's guard, and a Greek, who was to be my conductor. This triumvirate, wherever we came, purfued the great principles fo happily adapted to the Moldavian manners, and which Ali-Aga had taught me; but a striking instance of violence and robbery exhibited by the Turks, deferves to be recorded. We were passing through a pretty enough valley, with hills on each fide, where fome fheep were feeding under the care of feveral shepherds: happening to afk one of the Janifiaries fome queftions refpecting the quality of the wool in that country; "You fhall judge of that very foon," fays he; he then fpurs his horfe up towards the flock, difperfes it, wheels about in the midft of it, fixes on the largest sheep, rides after, and comes up with it in a gallop; ftoops down, feizes it by the fleece, lifts it with one hand, places it before him on the faddle, recovering

recovering his feat himfelf, and comes up to me full fpeed. I made feveral fruitlefs efforts to make him reftore the animal to the owner, or to pay him the value of it. They laughed at my delicacy; the Turk kept the prize, on which he and his comrades regaled themfelves in the evening.

This part of Moldavia appeared to me as beautiful as the country we had paffed through to arrive at Yaffi; but it became more mountainous as we approached Kichenow. We defcended, at length, through defiles, which becoming longer, and opening out more as we advanced, we difcovered from their bottom the country of Bafs Arabia. We had fcarce entered it before we faw the declivities to right and left covered with dromedaries †. The Greek I had

† This animal, which has two large lumps on his back, is much larger than the caniel, who has only one; but it feems that naturalifts are not generally agreed on the fubject of the names which ought to diftinguish these two species of animals. As the Arabs, however, who have only the camel with one lump, call him dévé, or l'aútréche duvé couchou, the bird, I had with me obferved, that thefe animals, which belong to the Tartars, by thus encroaching on a foreign territory, frequently give rife to difputes, which never terminate until the pafturage in litigation is eaten up. We foon faw a greater number of thefe herds, and I remarked amongft them fome white dromedaries.

We had fcarcely paffed the frontier before we perceived a troop of horfemen coming towards us. It was the interpreter of the Sultan Serafker, fent by that Prince to meet me, with ten feimens of his guard. My meffenger whom I had difpatched from Yaffi, was likewife with them. He delivered me the Sultan's anfwer, and the interpreter added the compliment he was ordered perfonally to make me; after which four horfemen arranging themfelves as a van guard, we continued our journey through a flat country,

bird, or offrich camel. It feems proper to diffinguish by the name dromedary, fuch animals of the fame genus, as have two lumps.

entirely

entirely open, and on a hard foil, where the print of the road was fcarcely visible.

My new conductor was a renegado Jew. born in Poland; he fpoke German, and was fo loquacious, that I had no occafion to ask him any questions, to get at the bottom of his whole hiftory. He informed me, alfo, that the Noguais were difcontented with the Kam, who had been fo weak as to transfer to the Grand Signior the duty of Ichetirach *, in the two provinces of Yedefan and Dgamboylouk, through which I must pass in my way to Orcapi; but our conversation was frequently interrupted by a circumstance not deferving of mention, had it not ferved to give the fuperstitious Tartars a favourable opinion of me.

On my arrival on the frontier, where I was met by my efcort, a ftork, a bird which feeds on ferpents, and builds on houfes, and is held in veneration by the eaftern nations, as a fort of houfhold God,

* I have already faid that this duty was paid in corn, at a very unfair price for the hufbandmen.

feemed

feemed alfo to come on purpofe to meet me; it flies paft fwiftly to the left, very near my carriage; flies round it, repaffes on the right, purfues its flight by the highway, and fits down at twelve hundred feet diftance before the horfemen, who preceded me; rifes when they come near, refumes its flight towards my carriage, again makes the circuit, goes and takes its advanced poft as before, and repeats this manœuvre until our arrival at Kichela †.

This town, the refidence of the Sultan who commands at Bafs Arabia, is confidered as the capital of that province. The Prince who filled this flation was the eldeft fon of the reigning Sultan, and had the title of Serafker[‡], (Generaliffimo). A Mirza § on my arrival came to compli-

+ Kichela means winter quarter.

[‡] Serafker, a Turkifh word composed of SER, which in Perfian means Head, and of ASKER, Soldiers; it is a military rank which admits of no superior; it can only be compared with Generalissimo, and that title is usually given to those who command on the frontier, or who are detached with a confiderable body of troops.

§ Mirza, the title of all the nobles. The reader will find in the courfe of thefe Memoirs, the different claffes of the Tartar nobility.

ment

ment me on his part, and to conduct me to the lodgings prepared for me. I went immediately with this gentleman to wait upon the Sultan ‡. He was a young Prince, of eighteen or twenty years old, of a good fize, well made, with a countenance more noble than agreeable, and whofe modeft demeanour occafioned a little embarraffment, which I took care to remove; and I difcovered that this Prince, as well as the Mirzas who compofed this pretended barbarous Court, were poffeffed of infinitely more foftnefs and amenity, than are found very frequently amongft thofe who are called polifhed nations.

Excepting the dreffes of the Sultan, and the Mirzas, which, without being rich, are diftinguifhed by a fort of luxury and elegance, the furniture amongst the Tartars is confined to what is strictly necessary. The luxury of window glass is no where to be seen but in the Prince's apartments; paper frames are the only windows made

[‡] We have already feen that Sultan means a Prince of the blood.

uſe

use of in other houses during the winter, which they remove in fummer to breathe more freely, and to enjoy, without obftruction, the distant prospect of the Black Sea. The Sultan entertained me at fupper; and notwithstanding I had a very great appetite, it did not escape me that the excellent fish of the Niester deferved better cooks than are to be found amongst the Tartars. Hawking, and grey-hound courfing, feemed to me to be their only amufement; and the Sultan made thefe parties very frequently with a numerous retinue of Mirzas. They fet out on thefe hunting parties, which laft feveral days, with arms and baggage; the camp is formed every evening; a body of troops always makes part of the Serafker's retinue, and fometimes these parties of pleafure are only a pretext for more ferious expeditions.

The night was paffed in repairing a little carriage I had bought at Yaffi, and which I had converted into a *dormeufe*, (or carriage for fleeping in;) a waggon carried the the baggage which had been fastened to my carriage all the way from Moldavia; and the Sultan's orders being forwarded, I fet off the next day from Kichela with a Mirza, who had orders to conduct me to Bactcheferay §, efcorted by forty horfemen armed with bows and arrows, and with. fabres. Accustomed to the want of order. discipline, and military knowledge which reigns amongst the Turkish troops, I had no reafon to fuppofe the Tartars were any better. After paffing the Niefter, however, which feparates Bafs Arabia from Yedefan, where there was fuppofed to be a fort of infurrection amongst the herds, the officer who commanded the detachment

§ Baccheferay is the refidence of the Kam of the Tartars. This town, at prefent confidered as the capital of the Crimea, was formerly nothing but a country houfe, called the Palace of the Gardens. The fovereigns by living there have drawn together a numher of inhabitants; and this town fill keeping the fame name, has fucceflively ufurped the pre-eminence over the ancient town of Crimea, which is now no more than a paltry village, where the tombs alone teffify its ancient importance.

VOL. II.

D

difpofed

MEMOIRS OF THE

50

difpofed the order of march like an enlightened foldier: a van guard of twelve horfemen preceded my carriage at two hundred paces diftance, which the officer took under his particular protection, with eight men, four of whom were placed on each fide; two waggons followed after, eight other horfemen clofed the march, and two little platoons, of fix men each, at more than fix hundred paces diftance, kept a look out to the right and left.

The plains we croffed were fo level and open, that the horizon appeared only a hundred paces from us on every fide. No rifing ground, not even the fmalleft fhrub to make a variety in this picture; and we perceived nothing during the whole journey, but a few Noguais on horfeback, whofe heads were difcovered by the piercing eyes of my Tartars, when the convexity of the earth ftill hid the remainder of their bodies. Each of thefe Noguais was riding alone on horfeback, and thofe who were queftioned by our patroles, made us cafy on the fubject of the pretended troubles bles we had been told of. I was curious to know, what could be the object of thefe men, and was informed, thefe people thought to be Nomades, becaufe they live in a fort of tents, were fettled in tribes, in vallies of fifty or fixty feet deep, which interfect the plain from north to fouth, and are more than thirty leagues in length, by half a quarter of a league in breadth, the middle of which are occupied by fome muddy rivulets, and terminate towards the fouth by fmall lakes that communicate with the Black Sea ‡. The tents of the Noguais are on the banks of thefe rivulets,

[‡] Notwithstanding the barren appearance of the whole Tartar country, and facility with which they may compare their foil with that of the Moldavians, and Poles, to enable them to form a judgment of the advantages poffeffed by the latter, habit has fuch an empire over us, and the wants of men are relatively fo connected with this habit, that it gets the better of every fenfation. The Noguais have an idea that it is impoffible to crofs their plains without envying them their poffeffion. "You have travelled a great deal," faid one of the Tartars to me, with whom I was pretty intimate, "Did you ever fee fo rich a country as ours?" It is evident that this epithet, once eftablifhed, admitted of no contradiction.

, as

5 I

as well as the hovels to fhelter the numerous flocks of this paftoral people during the winter. Every proprietor has his particular mark, which is made with a hot iron on the thigh of the horfes, oxen, and dromedaries; the fheep, marked with colour on the fleece, are kept in fight, and ftray very little from the habitations; but all the other kinds, collected in particular herds, are driven in the fpring to the plains, where the proprietor abandons them till winter. At the approach of that feafon he goes in fearch of them, to bring them back under his hovels. This was the employment of the Noguais we met with; but it is very remarkable, that a fingle Tartar thus employed in an extent of plain which is never lefs than from ten to twelve leagues wide, by more than thirty leagues in length, from one valley to the other, is ignorant even on what fide to bend his steps, nor does he reflect about it. He puts thirty days provisions, confisting of millet flour roasted, in a little bag; fix pounds of flour are enough for his

BARON DE TOTT.

his confumption. His provisions made, he mounts his horfe, never ftops till fun fet, puts shackles on his horfe, leaves him to graze, fups on his flour, goes to fleep, and awakening in the morning, continues his journey. In his way, however, he obferves the mark of the herds he meets with, retains them in his memory, communicates his difcoveries to the different Noguais employed in the fame bufinefs, tells them what he is looking after, and in return receives fuch ufeful informations as terminate his expedition. It is undoubtedly to be feared, that fo patient a people, endowed with fuch qualities, may one day furnish a very formidable military force.

Our first day's journey was to the nearest valley, which was only at ten leagues distance. The fun, however, was on the decline, and I faw nothing before me but a melancholy horizon, when on a fudden I felt my carriage on the descent, and I perceived the row of Obas +, which ex-

. + Obas; the tents of the Noguais.

tended

54 MEMOIRS OF THE

tended along the valley, to right and left, as far as the eye could reach. We croffed the rivulet on a little bridge, near which I found three of these Obas out of the line, and one of them, entirely new, defigned for me. My carriages were placed behind it; the detachment staid near me. My first care was to examine the whole of the picture, of which my retinue formed a detached Above all, I remarked that foligroupe. tude in which we were left, and which aftonished me the more, as I thought myself an object fufficiently curious to merit fome attention. The Mirza had guitted me on our arrival, to look after provisions, and I employed myfelf, in the mean time, in examining the structure of my Tartar houfe. It was like a large poultry basket, built in lattice work, and formed in a circular inclosure, over which was a dome, open at the top; a felt of camel's hair covered the whole on the outfide, and the hole at the top, intended occafionally as a vent-hole for the fmoke. I obferved, alfo, that the Obas inhabited by the Tartars, and in

in which they made fires, had each of them a fimilar piece of felt, tied in the fhape of a flag, in the opposite direction from the wind, and fupported by a long flick from the infide of the Obas. The fame flick was made use of to let down this fort of fan, when on extinguishing the fire, the aperture was become useles or inconvenient.

I particularly admired the folidity, united with the delicacy of the lattice work; pieces of raw leather are used for fastening them together; and I underflood that my Obas, defigned for a new married woman, made part of her dowry.

We had very great appetites, and with much fatisfaction faw the Mirza return with two fheep, and a kettle he had procured. The kettle was fufpended to three flicks, feparated at the bottom, and joined at the top. The kitchen thus arranged, the Mirza, the officer, and fome Tartars, proceeded to kill and cut up the fheep, with which they filled the pot, whilf others were preparing fpits to roaft what. what it could not contain. I had taken care to make a provision of bread at Kichela. This is a luxury with which the Noguais are unacquainted, and their avarice hinders them from making an habitual use of flefh meat, which however they are very fond of. I was curious to know what way they cooked, and to tafte their victuals, as well as the good cheer which was preparing for me. The Mirza, to whom I communicated my whim, fmiled at it, and difpatched a Tartar, with orders to collect every thing which could fatisfy my curiofity. He foon returned with a jar full of mare's milk, a little bag of flour of millet roasted, fome fmall white balls of the fize of an egg, and as hard as chalk, an iron pot, and a young Noguais, tolerably well clad, and the best cook of the hord. I paid all poffible attention to his manner of proceeding .- He fills his pot three quarters full of water, about four quarts, to which he adds about fix ounces of the roasted millet flour; he places his jar near the fire, pulls out a flat knife, wipes it

it on his fleeve, ftirs the contents about in a circular direction, always the fame way, until the first finimering of the liquor; he then asks for one of the white balls, which was cheefe, made of mare's milk, faturated with falt, and dried; breaks it in fmall pieces, throws it into his ragout, contriving to ftir it round in the fame direction; the contents begin to thicken, and he still keeps stirring, but with difficulty at last, until the whole was of the confiftence of bread without yeaft; the then draws out his flat knife, empties the kettle on his hand, and prefents me with a cylinder of puff-paste in a spiral form. I was anxious to tafte it, and was really better pleafed with the mefs than I expected. I tafted also the mare's milk, which perhaps I should likewife have found good, but for a fort of prepossession I could not overcome.

Whilft I was employed with fo much luxury about my fupper, a more interesting fcene was preparing for me.

bud L have already faid, that on my arrival, the Noguais retired each of them to his

D 5

hut,

hut, fhewing no curiolity to fee me, and I had already made a facrifice of my vanity on that head, when I perceived a confiderable troop of them advancing towards us; the tranquillity, the flownefs even with which they approached, could give us no uneafinefs. We could not, however, conceive the motives which brought thefe Noguais on our fide, until we faw them ftop at the diftance of four hundred paces, and one of them advancing alone till he came near the Mirza who conducted me, communicated to him the defire the chiefs of his nation had to fee us; adding, that unwilling, in the fmallest degree, to disturb our reft, he was deputed to inquire if their curiofity would not difpleafe me; and in cafe it should not, which would be the place where his companions would the leaft incommode me? I answered the ambassador myfelf, and affured him that they were all at liberty to mix with us; that amongft friends there was no distinction of place, much lefs any particular line of feparation. The Noguais infifted on the orders he had in

in that refpect, and the Mirza role up to point out to him the fpot to which the fpectators might advance, which was foon occupied by this curious troop. I approached alfo, to take a nearer view of them, and to have the pleafure of making acquaintance with these gentlemen. They all rofe upon my coming within reach, and the most remarkable amongst them, to whom I addreffed myfelf, faluted me, by taking off his cap, and making an inclination of his body. I obferved that the deputy had used the fame ceremonial to the Mirza, which furprized me the more as the Turks never uncover their heads, but to be more at their eafe, and that only when they are alone, or amongst very familiar friends. It is for this reafon alfo, that the European Ambaffadors, and their retinue, go to the Grand Signior's audience with their hats on, and it would be a breach of decorum to prefent onefelf otherwife before a Turk; but I shall have fome more important remarks to make on the refemblance between our cuftoms and those of the Tartars.

59

If

If I derived little information from my Noguais, it was undoubtedly becaufe I neglected to afk fuch queftions as might have enlightened me. The natural fondnefs we have for novelty, however, rendered the clofe of this day tolerably agreeable. I did very well too with my fupper; but the Tartar cookery owed its fuccefs amongft my attendants only to their good appetite, which gave a relifh to every thing. They had no idea that one could fometimes take a pleafure in indifferent entertainment. It was apparently on my account only that they complained; but I have fince been perfectly well convinced, that the fole interest they took in my personal comfort, was only to give them the right of lamenting freely their own privations; by partaking of their wants, I difcovered the method of rendering my fervants lefs troublefome; and I give this as the beft poffible receipt to all travellers.

However interesting these Noguais were, defirous of shortening my stay amongst them, and of going the next day to the second

cond valley, I fet out early in the morning, and we faw the fun appear on the horizon of these plains as mariners observe him on the ocean. We difcovered nothing this morning but fome little hillocks, like those one fees in many parts of Flanders *, and particularly in Brabant, where the common opinion is, that they have been formed by the hands of men, and by the combination of fhovels full of earth, brought by each foldier in antient times, to throw on his General's corpfe, by way of maufoleum. A great number of thefe hillocks, are likewife to be feen in Thrace, where, as well as in Tartary, in Brabant, and in every place where they are to be found, they are never fingle. But the quantity of thefe peculiar accumulations, difpofed, as they generally are, at almost equal diftances, and always with a conformity of polition which feems to befpeak defign, more than the fimple effect of hazard, led me to trace out, from the

* They are to be found in various parts of England; near Steveraze, in Hertfordshine, &c. and are known likewise by the name of Butts.

cuftoms now in ufe, the origin of thefe pretended maufoleums. It appears to me, that their origin may be difcovered in the cuftom prevailing at this day amongst the Turks, when they go to war, of marking by hillocks of earth, placed in fight of one another, the route to be followed by their army. Thefe elevations, it is true, are not fo high as those I have just been speaking of, and which have refifted the operation of ages on the furface of the earth .---But may it not be added to my obfervation, that even if the hillocks of the ancients had no other object than to mark out the march of their armies, in order to infure their communication, the fpirit of conquest, which made them penetrate into unknown countries, would naturally induce them to preferve these points of information from too easy a destruction .---With refpect to the bones which have been found under fome of thefe hillocks, they only prove, that they were also made use of as burial-places for their generals and foldiers, who died on the march. But the greatest part of the butts which have been under-

undermined in Flanders, prove that all thefe heaps were not places of fepulture; and if we recur to the idea of confidering them as marks, this hypothefis will give the further explanation of the works fpoken of by Xenophon, in his Retreat of the Ten Thoufand. An unknown foil muft every inftant have prefented obffacles to the Greeks, more difficult to furmount, and fnares more formidable, than the nations themfelves who were to be intimidated or repelled.

On my journey I faw no appearance of agriculture; becaufe if the Noguais fowed their corn in frequented places, near the high-roads, their corn would only ferve for pafturage for travellers horfes. But if thefe precautions preferve the Tartars from this fpecies of depredation, nothing can fave their fields from a more fatal calamity. Clouds of locufts, that frequently fhower down on the plains of the Noguais, choofe in preference the fields of millet, and deftroy them in an inftant. The horizon is darkened by their approach, and the

the cloud produced by the prodigious multitude of these animals, obscures the fun. If the Noguais hufbandmen happen to be fufficiently numerous, they fometimes fucceed by their geftures, and their cries, in averting the ftorm; if not, the locufts alight on their fields, and form a bed of fix or feven inches thickness. To the noife of their flight, fucceeds that of their de--vouring labour, which refembles the clattering of hail, and the confequences are more destructive. Fire itself is not more active; and not a trace of vegetation is to be difcovered when the cloud has refumed its flight, to produce fresh disafters in other here and the strend of places.

This calamity would extend itfelf, no doubt, to countries where the culture is more iabundant, and Greece, and Afia Minor, would be more frequently expofed to it, did not the Black Sea fwallow up the greatest part of these clouds of locuits when they attempt to pass that barrier.

I have often feen the fhores of the Pontus Euxine, towards the Thracian Bofphorus, rus, covered with their dried carcaffes, and in fuch numbers, that it was impoffible to walk on the fhore without finking half-leg deep into this bed of their fkinned fkeletons. Curious to know the real caufe of their deftruction, I have fought for opportunities to obferve the moment of it, and I have been witnel's to their total deftruction by a ftorm, which furprized them fo near the coaft, that their bodies were floated thither by the waves before they were dry; their carcaffes produced fuch an infectious fmell, that it was many days before one could come near them.

We arrived at the fecond valley before noon; and whilft the Mirza who conducted me, was fearching for the perfons who were to order the neceffary relays of horfes, I went up to a groupe of Noguais collected round a dead horfe, which they had juft been fkinning. A young man naked, of about eighteen years old, received on his fhoulders the fkin of the animal. A woman, who performed the office of taylor, began by cutting the back of this new coat, coat, following with her fciffars the shape of the neck, the fall of the fhoulders, the femi-circle which joins the fleeve, and the fide of the habit, which came down below the knee. It was unneceffary to fupport a ftuff, which, from its humidity, already adhered to the skin of the young man. The woman taylor proceeded very fmartly to form the crofs lapels and the fleeves, after which the mannikin, who ferved as a mold, fitting down fquat, gave her the opportunity of flitching the pieces together; fo that cloathed in lefs than two hours in an excellent brown bay coat, nothing remained for him but to tan this leather by conftant exercife, which was accordingly the first thing he did, and I faw him prefently mount a horfe bare-backed, to join his comrades, who were employed in collecting the horfes I wanted, the number of which was not nearly compleated.

We already know that the Tartar horfes are difperfed over the plains, in particular droves, and diffinguished by the mark of the proprietor; but as there are occasions when

when each individual must contribute to the public fervice, there is alfo a particular drove of horfes for that purpofe, belonging to the whole community. This drove is kept near, and within fight of their dwellings; but thefe animals at liberty, in an open country, are not eafily gothold of; it is evident, likewife, that the choice which must necessarily be made of different horfes, for draught and for the faddle, increafes the difficulty. The Noguais fucceed in this by a method which furnishes the young men deftined for that fort of hunting, with the opportunity of becoming the most intrepid, and most skilful horfemen in the world. For this purpofe they provide themfelves with a long pole, at the end of which is fastened a cord, the extremity of which terminated in an eye-let, paffed through the pole, forms a running knot, open enough eafily to admit a horfe's head. Furnished with this implement, thefe young Noguais, mounted on horfes bare-backed, the longe of the halter paffed through the horfe's mouth, ride up to the drove

drove full gallop, obferve the animal which fuits them, follow him with extreme agility, come up with him, notwithftanding his fhifts, to which they accommodate themfelves with wonderful addrefs, gain on him by fwiftnefs, and feizing the moment that the end of the pole reaches beyond the horfe's ears, they flip the running knot over his head, flacken their fpeed, and thus retain their prifoner, whom they conduct to their depofitory.

As I was in want of near eighty horfes, and there were only half a dozen horfemen in purfuit of them, their exercife lafted long enough to give me all the pleafure of it; but the relays were fo well chofen, that we were able to arrive in pretty good time in the fuburbs of Oczakow where we lodged.

This fortrefs, fituated on the right bank of the Boriftenes, and near its mouth, is built on a finall declivity which goes down to the river. A ditch, and a covered way, are the only works for the defence of the place; it is in the fhape of a parallellogram, logram, bending on its length; and one obferves there, as well as at Bender, and at Kotchim, a numerous artillery, every piece of which, badly mounted, is bound together by two enormous gabions, which ferving by way of parapet, form the embrafures of the fortification.

Some Jews fettled there, keep inns in the fuburbs of Oczakow. They were of great fervice to us in renewing our provifions, and enabling us to crofs the plains of Dgamboylouk, inhabited alfo by the Noguais. The morning of the next day was taken up in paffing the Boriftenes. This river, ftrengthened towardsits mouth by a tongue of land belonging to the oppofite bank, and which is called Kilbourns t, or Kilburn, forms within it a fort of lake, which stretches northward, from whence the river flows. It is more than two leagues broad between Oczakow and the fort oppofite, which is fituated at the end of the point of land. It was in this direction that we paffed the Boriftenes. Sailing veffels

1 The nofe, or promontory of the hair.

are

are built for the purpofe, which take the opportunity of a favourable wind, and may alfo be pufhed with poles from its fhallownefs, every where but in the middle, where it is deep only for a few yards.

After three hours of this tedious navigation, during which we had nothing to entertain us but the leaping of a few dolphins, we landed at Kilbourns, opposite to the caftle which is built there. The landing of my carriages, and the collecting of the horfes we had occafion for, took up the conductors the reft of the day, which I employed in vifiting the caftle, where I found nothing remarkable but its inutility. Its artillery, in fact, defigned to co-operate with that of Oczakow, in the defence of the river, unable to form a crofs fire at fo great a diftance, leaves the paffage up the middle unmolested. But I could not help remarking, that batteries placed on the point of Kilbourns, and upon a ledge of rock, fituated on the oppofite bank, would always prevent the entrance of every fort of veffel; this the Turks have never yet been been able to calculate, and I fhall have other more important occafions of fixing the limits of their military knowledge.

We agreed to fet out an hour before daylight, and I made choice of a waggon prepared for me to fleep in, that I might take fome reft, of which I began to be very much in want.

The commander of my efcort knew nothing of this arrangement, and after diftributing his troops in the order I have already explained, he very affiduoufly follows my coach till he difcovered, by the day-light, that I was not in it; he then complained very heavily of their negligence in not pointing out to him the carriage I was in, and immediately furrounded it with the little band he had referved for that purpofe. The reader will doubtlefs perceive, that I only relate this circumftance from its developing the character of the Tartars, which invariably exhibits the feeds of the moft correct ideas.

The road we took brought us near the Black Sea, and in following the beach from time time to time, the very noife of the waves afforded us a more interesting object, than we could find in the naked plains over which we had been paffing. Those we still had to pass, were likewife entirely bare, although I have been affured, that they were formerly covered with forefts, and that the Noguais had torn up even the finallest stumps, to avoid all possibility of a furprize. But if this precaution effectually fecures a nation fo transportable as to move off with every thing in lefs than two hours, it deprives the Tartars of the fuel which is fo neceffary in that climate. To provide against this want, each family carefully collects the dung of the cattle, which they knead with a fort of fandy earth, and producea turf which unfortunately fmokes the Tartars more than it warms them.

No people live more foberly. Millet and mares milk are their ufual diet. The Tartars, however, are very carniverous. A Noguais might lay a wager that he eat a whole fheep, and win his wager, without having an indigeftion. But their tafte in this

this refpect is reftrained by their avarice ; and that avarice is carried to fuch a length, that, in general, they retrench every article of confumption of which they can difpofe. It is only, therefore, when one of their animals is accidentally killed, that they regale themfelves with its flefh; but never unlefs they arrive in time to bleed the dead animal. They observe the precepts of Mahomet, alfo, with refpect to fick animals. The Noguais watch all the periods of the diforder, in order to feize the moment, when, finding their avarice condemned to lofe the value of the animal, they may at leaft gratify their appetite, by flaying it a moment before its natural death.

The fairs of Balta, and fome others on the frontiers of the Noguais country, procure them a fale for the immenfe droves they are poffeffed of. The grain, which they collect in abundance, finds a vent likewife by the Black Sea, as well as wool in general, and that kind called *pelades* §:

VOL. II. E to § That wool is called pelades, which is feparated from the fkin by means of lime. This operation can-

not take place on living animals. It procures the greateft quantity of wool, but injures the quality.

to these articles of commerce must be added fome bad leather, and a great quantity of hare skins.

These different articles combined, procure the Tartars very confiderable annual returns, which they will only receive in Dutch or Venetian ducats ; but the use they make of them destroys every idea we might be led to form of their wealth from this prodigious quantity of specie.

Perpetually accumulating, and no part of it returning into circulation by any kind of barter, avarice takes poffeffion of, and buries all the riches, and the plains they are concealed in, offer not a trace to aid those refearches which they otherwife might tempt. Several Noguais dying without communicating their fecret, have already deprived the world of confiderable fums. It is alfo to be prefumed, that these people are perfuaded, that if they were forced to abandon their country, they might fafely leave their money without forfeiting their property; and, in fact, it would be of the fame use to them five hundred leagues distance.

diftance. They derive no other enjoyment from it than the mere pleafure of poffef. fion; but this has fo many attractions for them, that a Tartar frequently takes a thing for the fole pleafure of poffeffing it a moment : compelled foon after to reftore it, he must pay likewife a confiderable penalty; but he has enjoyed it in his way, and he is contented. The avidity of the Tartars never calculates eventual loffes. They are fatisfied with the enjoyment of momentary advantages.

We now approached Orcapi, and had only one bad night's accommodations to fuffer, when I received a meffenger who was fent to meet me. He was commiffioned by the Kam of the Tartars to enfure me those conveniencies which I had already been fortunate enough to procure myself.

We paffed the night in a wretched hovel, covered with reeds, the only produce of the marfh in which it was fituated, near the fea. We travelled next morning along the beach, and foon came in fight of the E 2 weftern

western fide of the peninfula, which stretched into the fea on our right-hand. This land, which was likewife flat, but more elevated than the plain we were on, was joined to it by fo gentle a flope, as if it had been formed by the line, and the upper part of it prefented us with the profile of the lines of Orcapi. We travelled by the fide of them pretty early in the morning, and paffed the ditch on a bad wooden bridge, which joins the counterfcarp to a vaulted gate, which croffes the platform, the porter of which keeps the peninfula every evening under lock and key. One of the redoubts, fituated in the middle of the lines, within cannon-fhot each way, lined with mafonry, and provided with artillery,and fome Turkish foldiers, together with the commerce between the Ruffians and the Tartars, has given rife to a miferable little village near this gate, where I alighted at the lodgings prepared for me. The Governor of the Citadel loft no time in complimenting me on my arrival, by fending me a trencher full of mutton, roafted in

in the Turkish fashion, which they call Orman Kébab*. I foon after received a deputation alfo from the Janiffaries of the fortrefs, inviting me to become a member of their body, and I accepted their offer with as much apparent readinefs, as they manifested to receive the prefent of my welcome. The corps of Janiffaries, originally composed of flaves carried off from the Christians by the Turks, in time of war, has been long recruited by their children, who are given as a tribute. But the. privileges granted to this new militia, determined the Turks to enroll their own children amongst them. The abuses of thefe privileges, and the number of candidates, naturally going hand in hand, there. was no longer any fafety out of the pale of their protection. The great men of the empire enrolled themfelves; the Grand Signior himfelf wished to belong them, and

* Orman Kébab,—the roaft of the woods.—This is the favourite roaft meat of the Turks, and confifts in pieces of mutton, cut and fpitted alternately with flices of onions, roafted at a great fire. and nobody difcovered that this was the very method to increafe their infolence.— The eftablished regulations for a long time fupported this corps, in spite of its irregularities, but they at length ceased to maintain their independence. Each Janissary became possesses and connected at this day with the general order, by the particular interest of its members, this corps is no longer formidable to its masters.

Whilft I was taken up with thefe different affairs, I faw a troop of Europeans appear, efcorted by the Tartars of the plain. They were Germans, fugitives from Ruffia, taken by the Noguais. The fituation of these unfortunate people, induced me to claim them; and they were immediately delivered to me. I refigned to them the pyramid of roafted mutton, which they certainly flood more in need of than myfelf. I then examined my new colony, which was composed of feven men, five women, and four children. They were dejected by misfortune, but began to fmile at the profpect of better days. Thefe unhappy

happy people, born in the Palatinate, had been drawn into Ruffia by the hopes of bettering their fortune, (the motive of all emigrations) but the disappointment of which makes them foon regret the lofs of their former habitations. Imprifoned in a foreign country, their only project was to make their efcape, and they knew no other road but the wrong one. Arrived in the defart plains, they had fcarcely time to draw the breath of liberty, before the Noguais feized them, to fell them to the first purchafer. It afforded me great pleafure to have faved thefe poor people, and I took the neceffary measures to infure their fafe arrival at Bactcheferay.

I employed the reft of the day in examining the lines of Orcapi. No picture of this kind can be more refpectable. Excepting that the works are rather gigantic, I know of none where nature is better feconded by art. The folidity of the entrenchment is likewife to be depended on. It extends acrofs the ifthmus for threequarters of a league, and is flanked by two feas. It overtops the plain below by about forty feet; and it will long continue to refift that ignorance which neglects every thing. Nothing points out the æra of its conftruction, but every thing confpires to prove it of a date anterior to the Tartars; or if not, that thefe people were better informed in antient times, at leaft, than they are at prefent.

It is very evident alfo, that if these lines were pallifadoed en fausse braye, as well as the redoubts on them, and provided with artillery, and above all, with howitzers, they would fecure the free poffession of the Crimea against an army of an hundred thoufand men. Such an army, in fact, unable to carry thefe lines by affault, would be foon reduced to the neceffity of retreating, from want of water. It was only by paffing a finall marfhy arm of the fea, to gain the head of a very narrow tongue of land which opens parallel with the eastern fide of the Crimca, that the Ruffians were able to penetrate into it in the last war. This route had been already fuccefsfully attempted in the campaigns of

of 1736 and 1737, by General Munick ; but this has neither fuggested to the Tartars the defire nor the means of fecuring themfelves in future from a fimilar misfortune, by defending the end of that tongue of land, where the smallest resistance would be fufficient to check the progress of their enemies.

On quitting Orcapi, I observed that the road was covered with a whitifh cruft, occafioned by the carriage of the falt which the Tartars fell to the Ruffians. The faltworks of Orcapi, part of the fovereign's domain, are farmed out to fome Armenians and Jews; and equally commercial, and perpetual rivals, they augment the revenue, by bidding against each other .---They are fo unskilful in the management of their farms, and their avidity is fuch, that they are always the dupes of their ignorance. They have no depository to receive, to dry, and to preferve the natural falt which is formed in these falt-lakes; fo that the abundance of a plentiful feafon cannot compenfate for the deficiency of a bad one; and the rains very frequently de-E 5 ftroy

ftroy this valuable production, which is fo eafily preferved in ftore-houfes. The feller and the buyer feem alfo to have combined their ignorance in forming the conditions by which they are reciprocally bound. The buyer is allowed to come himfelf to gather the falt in the lakes, and to load his carriages, which are to be drawn by a certain number of horfes, and at a ftipulated price; but with this claufe, that if the carriage breaks down from its weight, before it arrives at a given point, a penalty and confifcation follow. The buyer and feller, in this contract, have overlooked the certain lofs of what is fcattered on the road, and the difadvantages refulting from any commerce founded on a perpetual state of warfare.

After paffing the falt-works, we found ourfelves in a country more remarkable for its fertility than its cultivation; and a number of villages, fcattered over the plain, afforded us a profpect more interefting, as it was long fince we had enjoyed fo agreeable a fcene. We arrived towards the evening at a habitation, fituated in the bottom

bottom of a valley, where fome rocks announced to us a change of foil, and the next day we got into a hilly country, through which we travelled during the whole morning. At noon we were obliged to lock the four wheels of my carriage to get it down a very narrow road, cut out of the rock, which brought me to Bactchéferay. I arrived in this town early enough to perceive all the inconveniencies to which I fhould, thenceforward, be obliged to fubmit. Mr. Fornetty, Conful of France in Tartary, received me in a houfe occupied by him ten years, and which was defigned for me. This houfe was not well calculated for the increase of inhabitants I brought with me; an inconvenience, above all, very fenfibly felt by my attendants. Fatigued as they were with a long journey, the fight of this ftrange land of promife completely difcouraged them; and I must confess, that my new dwelling could not very well confole us for the nine hundred and thirty leagues we had travelled to arrive there. An open wooden ftair cafe, the

the fteps of which, rotted by the rain, giving way under the weight of every perfon who mounted them, enabled the lighteft amongft us to reach the only floor there was; which confifted of a hall, and two fide rooms which ferved for falloon and bed-chamber. The walls, formerly covered with lime and hair, as well as the floor, difcovered to us the original conftruction of this building. It was doubtful whether my trunks would not prove too heavy for it; we tried the experiment, however, with fuccefs, and as it is neceffary to make the beft of every thing, each of us made choice of the fpot where we were to reft from our fatigues.

If the fucceflive variety of objects on the road prevents one from attending to any thing but the difficulties to be furmounted before the journey is at an end, that period naturally leads one to examine the nature of a fituation which is to be more permanent. This was our first employment on awaking. The time I had already passed with Mr. Constillier, who accompanied me

⁸⁴

me as Secretary, made me very certain that the fweetnefs of his difpofition, and his patience, would get the better of every inconvenience. I was as fortunate, likewife, in the choice M. de Vergennes had made of Mr. Rufin to refide with me in quality of Secretary Interpreter; and the intimacy which very foon took place between thefe two young men, by giving animation to their gaiety, rendered their fociety more agreeable to me: It was, indeed, the only remaining fociety I had, for I could not flatter myfelf with the profpect of deriving much advantage from a Monk I had taken at Yaffi, and two Polifh Armenian Missionaries, any more than from the company of Mr. Fornetty, who was to leave me and return to Conftantinople as foon as his local and official information became unneceffary to me.

My arrival was immediately announced to the Vifir of the Kam, and this Prime Minister, affuring me of the fatisfaction his master would have in seeing me as foon as I was disposed to have my first audience, fent

fent me the establishment of Tayn, affigned me by the Prince. This cuftom confifts in the fupplying with neceffary provisions, the perfon whom it is meant to gratify. Throughout the East, gifts are always the mark of honour; obliged, therefore, to fubmit to this kind of diffinction, I tranfferred my Tayn to the fubfiltence of my little German colony; but although this fuccour was fufficient to furnish it abundantly, my attendants faw no means of providing for my perfonal wants. Reduced to bad bread, rice, and mutton, and fome lean poultry, we were threatened, in fact, with very indifferent living. I could not conceive that I fhould want either butter, vegetables, or fish, on the finest foil in the world, and in the neighbourhood of the fea; but I foon underftood that celery was cultivated as a rare plant in the Kam's garden; that the Tartars did not know how to make butter; and that the inhabitants of the fea coaft were no better mariners than those on the plains, therefore I was obliged to fubmit. My fervants, however,

at

at length difcovered fome fpontaneous vegetables, which confoled us a little, and I took meafures to get fome feeds from Conftantinople, aud hired a country houfe, where I eftablifhed my Germans, to whom I gave fome cows; and my new farm very foon fupplied me with abundance of every thing. I determined, alfo, to make my own bread: one of my fervants became an excellent baker; and the pleafure of having found out the means of obtaining it, gave an additional relifh to our good cheer.

I was waiting for fome prefents for the Kam, which never arrived, before I had my firft audience; but the impatience of Makfoud-Gueray, then on the throne of the Tartars, removed every difficulty. On the day appointed for the delivery of my credential letters, the Mafter of the Ceremonies waited on me with a detachment of the guard, and fome officers appointed to efcort me to the Palace. Our cavalcade, half European, half Tartar, drew together a great concourfe of people. We alighted in

in the laft court, and the Vifir, who was waiting for me in the veftibule of the Palace, conducted meinto the audience chamber, where we found the Kam feated on the corner of a fopha. A chair was placed opposite to him, where I feated myfelf, after paying my compliments to the Prince and delivering my credentials. This first ceremony, which installed me in my public capacity in Tartary, was followed by the civilities practifed amongst the Turks, and by an invitation from the Kam to vifit him frequently. I was then conducted back to my own houfe in the fame order. The following days were taken up in paying the neceffary ministerial visits. I endeavoured alfo to form fuch connections as might gratify my defire of becoming acquainted with the government, the manners, and the cuftoms of the Tartars; and the Mufti, a man of abilities, of ftrict honour, and capable of a ftrong attachment, was one of those with whom I formed the greateft intimacy, and from whom I derived the most useful information.

After

BARON DE TOTT.

89

After attending principally to these objects, I thought it neceffary to endeavour, - before the winter attacked me in my hut, to fecure myfelf against the inclemency of the weather, and to enlarge and repair it, which was pretty nearly the fame thing as to rebuild it. We were now in the month of November, and no time was to be loft. I drew the plan, I collected the materials, and fuperintended the work, without departing from the method of building purfued by the Tartars; and I got tolerably well lodged before the end of December, at the expence of fix thousand livres, (about 250l. fterling.) I shall take this opportunity of defcribing the structure of the houfes in Crimea; but thefe details, or the architecture of the Tartars, will be of more fervice to the lovers of aconomy, than to difciples of Vitruvius.

Pillars placed on the points which terminate the angles, and the openings fixed perpendicularly by an architrave which fupports the joifts, prepares the way for the execution of the upper part of the building, ing, which is formed in the fame manner to receive the roof. The building thus difpofed, other pillars which are fmaller, at a foot's diftance from each other, but perpendicular alfo, occupy the folds, and are defigned to hold together the hazle rods, which give the houfe the appearance of a bafket; pounded earth, and cut ftraw, are then applied to this fort of hurdle, after which a layer of lime and hair, laid on internally and externally, added to the painting of the pillars, the doors, the plinths, and the windows, give the whole of the building a very pleafing appearance.

I muft add, that this manner of building has infinitely more folidity than might be imagined from the defcription, and is certainly more falutary than that of our peafants houfes. I am farther convinced, that gentlemen of eftates, who, either from motives of intereft or benevolence, are defirous of building houfes with the view of increafing and favouring the population of their dependants, would gain in every way by adopting this new plan of building,

building, in which they would find great acconomy, and enable the inhabitants to make their own repairs, which will certainly appear the most important advantage.

Having now got a tolerable dwelling, and in a very fhort time, it became neceffary for me to look out for furniture. My fteward was the upholfterer, and I took upon myfelf the joiner's work, and the turnery; thefe occupations, together with my private affairs, and my vifits to the Kam, gave me a continual and varied employment, which filled up all my time.

Makfoud-Gueray had admitted me into his private parties, which were composed of Sultan Nouradin, his nephew, a Mirza of the Chirins †, called Kaia-Mirza ‡, who was the huſband of a Sultana, couſin-german to the Kam; of the Kadi-Leſker, and of

[†] Chirin is the name of the moft diftin guifhed family amongft them, which composes the principal Nobility of Tartary. We shall see, in the course of these Memoirs, that the established order excludes from this class all the ennobled families.

1 Kaia, in Tartar language, means Rock.

of fome other Mirzas. This Prince ufed to receive us after the prayer of fun-fet, and keep us 'till midnight. More diffident from fystem than from disposition, Makfoud-Gueray, eafily prepoffeffed, recurred with the fame readinefs to whatever could reftore the tranquillity of his mind, and render every thing agreeable about him. With more knowledge than ufually falls to the fhare of the Orientals, he was fond of literature, and discoursed on it with fatisfaction. Sultan Nouradin, brought up in Circaffia, fpoke but little, and only talked of the Circaffians. The Kadi-Lefker, on the contrary, was very loquacious, and talked of every thing ; ill informed, but of a lively difposition, he very frequently departed from the gravity of his fituation, to enliven our conversations.-Kaia-Mirza furnished all the news of the day; whilft I entertained them with those of Europe, and answered all their troublefome questions. The etiquette of this Court allows very few perfons to be feated in the prefence of the Sovereign; the Sultans

tans have this privilege by birth, except the children of the Prince, who, from refpect, never fit down before their father. This privilege is granted alfo to the heads of the law, to the Ministers of the Divan, and those of foreign Courts; but excepting Kaia-Mirza, who was feated in quality of husband of a Sultana, the other courtiers stood at the foot of the fopha, and withdrew at fupper time. This repaft was ferved on two round tables, one of which fpread before the Kam, was fet apart for his Tartar Majesty, who usually eats alone, and never departs from that etiquette but in favour of fome Sultan diftinguished by his age, or who is himfelf a Sovereign. The fecond table, prepared in the fame room, is for the perfons whom the Kam admits to fupper. I eat at this table with the Kadi-Lefker, and Kaia-Mirza. Makfoud Gueray always amufed himfelf with encouraging the little differences of opinion which arofe daily between the Judge and me, and in which this Magistrate appeared lefs anxions about the accuracy of his

his reafoning, than the amufement of his master. Our fituations were fo different, that it was impoffible to difpute his favour by the fame means; but I did not neglect those which I thought might please the Prince. I had remarked that he was fond of fire-works, and the ignorance of his artificers was ill calculated to gratify his tafte. I got ready the implements, prepared the materials, and inftructed my attendants; and when I thought myfelf capable of fulfilling my object, I asked permission of the Kam to exhibit a fire-work on his birthday. Accuftomed as he had been to fee nothing but finoaky gerbs, bad crackers, and fmall rockets, badly filled, and ill directed, the fuccess of my exhibition was complete.

I had forefeen that the Kam, after politely thanking me for the faltpetre I had been burning, would politely complain of the fhortnefs of the entertainment; and I had prepared, by way of anfwer, fome electrical experiments, which I offered to exhibit as a little chamber fire-work, to fill

fill up the remainder of the evening. The firft effects of this phenomenon excited fuch aftonifhment, that I had fome difficulty in deftroying the opinion of magic I faw arifing in their minds, and which was gradually increafed by every frefh experiment. The Kam, however, had the air of comprehending me, and was himfelf defirous of being electrified. I gave him the ftroke very moderately, but I handled the courtiers in fuch a manner as to obtain the Prince's approbation.

The whole town refounded the next day with the prodigies I had performed; and I was obliged, on the following days, to fatisfy the curiofity of thofe who had not been prefent with the Kam at the first experiments. Several perfons fucceffively applied to me to repeat them upon them and their friends, and I fent every body away equally full of amazement. Nothing was talked of but electricity, and the number of the curious continually increased.— I began, however, to be tired of the inconveniencies of this celebrity, and was comcomplaining of it one evening to Mr. Ruffin, who was as tired of it as myfelf, when we faw upwards of twenty lanthorns appearing in a row. I immediately fent Mr. Ruffin to inquire of this troop the motive of their vifit; to whom their fpokefmen addreffed the following difcourfe :--- "We are, Sir, Circaffian Mirzas, hoftages with the Kam; we have heard of the miracles performed by your Bey S, at his pleafure ; miracles, of which no perfon before has ever had an idea, fince the birth of the Prophet, and which will never be known to man after his death; befeech him to permit us to be witneffes to them, that we may one day teftify them in our country; and that Circaffia, deprived of this phœnomenon, may, at least, be able to record the memory of it in her annals."

The gravity with which Mr. Ruffin delivered this harangue, preferved all its ridicule.

§ Bey ;— the title given to perfons of diffinction, and is equivalent to that of Signeur, or Lord, and is ufed alfo for a Prince; as Bey of Wallachia, Bey of Moldavia.

dicule. I made my new guefts mount into the faloon, where ranging them in a femicircle, with all the refpect, and all the affectation of myftic devotion, the Circaffian orator addreffed the fame compliment to me which he had done to my interpreter. I liftened to his harangue with all the folemnity I was mafter of, and in my turn, complimented all Circaffia; after which, I difpofed myfelf to imprefs ftrongly on their minds the remembrance of electricity, whilft Mr. Ruffin, offering them the ufual civilities, amufed himfelf with heightening thofe ideas of the marvellous exploits which had procured me their company.

It is eafy to imagine, that in this difpofition, I had no difficulty in felecting my victims; each fpectator would be electrified in his turn; and thefe poor creatures, whom I fometimes pitied, gave a laugh of fatisfaction, in fuffering martyrdom, and I was obliged to give my Circaffians fome of the rudeft fhocks, before I had the good fortune to difmifs them fully fatisfied; but they were the laft whom I electrified, and Vol. II. F I endeaI endeavoured to procure myfelf fome lefs brilliant, but more ufeful amufement. My uniform, which I always wore, threatened to fall in pieces, and I tried to be my own taylor. I had alfo the fancy to equip a handfome Arabian horfe in the French manner. I could not break him with a Tartar faddle, the shape of it raising the rider too far from the horfe. This was no fmall undertaking, for I had to begin with making the implements. I prepared the faddle-bow, difpofed all the parts, and at length completed a faddle of crimfon velvet, with houfing, and trapping well forted. I made use of it the first time I rode out with the Kam. This Prince had the condescension to admit me to be of all his parties, and I was happy to give him fome idea of our manner of riding.-----The Tartars know no other principle of equitation than firmnels in the feat, and that firmnefs is carried even to roughnefs, fo that the fuppleness of the motions of my Arabian horfe aftonished the whole court. The Prince's first Equerry was defirous firous of trying him, but fcarce had he got aftride a bare faddle, before he was obliged to recover his equilibrium, by thrufting in his heels. My horfe, not accuftomed to the manœuvres of fuch a cavalier, would foon have got rid of him, had not his fervants run to his affiftance, and prevented the cataftrophe.

The Kam invited me alfo to his parties of hawking and greyhound courfing, which were very frequent. He was attended by five or fix hundred horfemen, and in this manner weranged the neighbouring plains, where the abundance of game, joined to the vanity of the fportfmen, rendered thefe parties very lively. Makfoud-Gueray was particularly fond of hawking; his birds were perfectly well trained, and he wanted nothing but good dogs to ftart the game. I had brought one with me from France, of remarkable beauty, but he was fo careffed, fo fpoiled, fo wilful, that I never took him out with me, the very circumstance that made them think him of great value. The courtiers spoke of him to the F 2 Prince.

Prince, who expressed to me his defire of having him, and even reproached me with a fort of affectation for having concealed him. In vain did Iaffure him that my dog was ill trained, that he would certainly throw himfelf upon the birds, and that fome difagreeable circumstances would happen; he took all this for an excufe, and I was obliged to give way to his fancy, which he very foon had reafon to repent of. I immediately fent for my dog; he arrived, and began to pay his court very familiarly. There was a bafon of water in the middle of the apartment; Diamond washes himfelf in it, jumps on the fopha to carefs me, and taking the laugh of the Kam for a friendly invitation, leaps brifkly upon him, overthrowing, as he paffes, every thing in his way. In the first moments of favour, it is permitted to err with impunity ; Diamond, therefore, given into the care of a page, from that evening he had free quarters, and a grand hawking party was ordered for the next day. Nothing was talked of the whole evening but the talents

talents of the new favourite; as for my part, I fpoke of nothing but his vivacity and frowardness; every thing about him, however, was found charming, and the Kam was fo impatient to fee Diamond in action, that he gave us the rendezvous for an earlier hour than ufual next morning. On arrival, I perceived the hero of the entertainment, led by his page, furrounded by fpectators, and not knowing what theywere going to do with him ; they were waiting for me, to give him his liberty. I had hardly loofed him before the cavalry put themfelves in motion, to open to the right. and left of the Kam, near whole perfon L was. Diamond, terrified at first, was only afraid of being crushed. A quail, however, rifes before him ; one of the Kam's faulcons is flown at the game ; he comes up with and strikes his prey, and continues his flight to fome diftance, where a faulconer, full fpeed, rides up to take him. Diamond alfo fets off,-a double prey animated his ambition ; and had not they thrown a hammer at him, to make him quit

quit his hold, my prediction would have been accomplifhed ; but the dog and the faulcon being both frightened, took different ways home, and the Kam was let off for the apprehention of lofing his bird.

My polition with refpect to Makfoud-Gueray, and his Minifters, with the manner in which I had fucceeded in arranging my new establishment, rendered my stay at Bactcheferay, fupportable. I was particularly intimate with Kaia Mirza, of the family of the Chirins, accounted the first nobility of the Tartars : he had married a Princefs of the blood, who filled the place of Olou-Kane, Governels of the Crimea; and this Sultana, willing to give me a mark of her favour, sent me, by the intendant of her houfhold, a prefent of a night-fhirt, richly embroidered, and every thing belonging to the moft complete and magnificent deshabille. The mystery with which this miffion was accompanied, might have given me fome uneafinefs; in fact, the Princefs was feventy years old ; but I was foon made eafy on that head. I was informed BARON DE TOTT: 103

formed that prefents of this kind are never made by a Sultana, but to one of her relations, and I gave way, without fear, to all my gratitude. The Princefs had fome intereft with Makfoud-Gueray, but her credit would probably have proved infufficient to preferve one of her favourites from the avarice of that Prince.

Yacoub Aga, Governor and Grand Mafter of the cuftom-houfe of Balta, was on the point of falling a victim to it. Dispoffeffed of his employment; defpoiled of his fortune, and chained in prifon, he was in . danger of lofing his head, notwithstanding the zeal of his protectrefs. It appeared to mevery important to endeavour to fave, and re-eftablish this man, with whom France had always great reafon to be contented. The Ministers seconded me; the Mufti affifted us with ardour, as well as the Sultana; Yacoub Aga quitted his chains to refume his ancient dignity, and the means of again laying the foundation of his fortune, which the Kam would not reflore him. But if this Prince may juftly be reproached

proached with this inftance of avidity, it must be owned that he vigorously supported good order, without adopting the fanatical and fuperstitious principles which lead the Turks to deviate fo often from it. The flave of a Jew has murdered his master in his vineyard ; the complaint is made by the nearest relations. The murderer is apprehended, and, previous to his trial, fome zealous Mahometans prevail on him to become a Turk, in hopes of obtaining for him a pardon. The conversion of the criminal was oppofed to the fentence of death pronounced by the Kam: it is proper to obferve, that by the Tartar law the criminal must perish by the hand of the injured perfon, or by his heirs. It was objected then, but in vain, that a Turk could not be delivered up to the Jews. "I would deliver up my brother to them," replied the Kam, " if he was guilty ; I leave Providence to reward his conversion, if it be fincere; it is my duty to do justice." The intrigues of the devoted Muffulmen fucceeded, however, in deferring the execution

tion until Friday afternoon, in order to render that law favourable to the profelyte, which obliges the injured party to execute the fentence in four and twenty hours, and the law compelling the Jews to fhut themfelves up for their fabbath at funfet. The murderer, however, loaded with chains, was conducted to the butt appropriated to this fort of execution; but a new obstacle prefented itself. The Jews must not fhed blood; a public: crier is fent through the town to offer a confiderable fum to any Jew who will lend his hand, and it was amongst the most wretched of all people that this refearch was fruitlefs. This new incident was reported to the tribunal of the Kam, and the bigots expected to derive great advantage from it, but they were. deceived in their expectations. Makfoud-Gueray permitted the Jews to execute the criminal according to the law of the old Testament, and the fcene terminated by ftoning him to death.

The Turkish law, of which I have formerly fpoken, that which delivers over the criminal criminal into the hands of the injured party, is founded on the Coran, which grants to the nearest relation of the deceafed, the right of disposing of the murderer's blood. We have feen that in Turkey, the party complaining affifts at the puniflument; the Tartar law, more literal, obliges them to carry it into execution. I shall further obferve, that amongst the Turks, where the executioner does not give the blow until the fum offered by the criminal be refufed, there are inftances where the wife has fold the blood of her hufband. In Tartary, on the contrary, the wife, who is to plunge the knife with her own hand into the criminal, never fuffersherfelf to be tempted by any offer; and the law which commits her vengeance to herfelf, renders her inacceffible to every other fentiment. One of the Prince's officers, with his arm uplifted, carrying a filver axe, precedes the criminal, conducts him to the place of punifiment, and affifts at the execution.

There

106

BARON DE TOTT.

107

There is no country where crimes are lefs frequent than in Tartary. The plains, where malefactors might eafily efcape, afford very few objects of cupidity; and the peninfula of the Crimea, where there are more temptations, being daily fhut, leaves no hope of elcaping from punishment. For this reafon no precautions are taken for the fecurity of the capital, in which there are no guards but those of the fovereign. The Palace he inhabits, formerly built entirely in the Chinefe, but repaired in the Turkifh fashion, still retains fome of the beauties of its former stile of construction. It is placed at one of the extremities of the town, and is furrounded by very high rocks, from whence flows an abundance of streams, which are conveyed into the kiofks and gardens in a most delightful manner. This fituation, however, which looks on nothing but barren rocks, obliges the Kam very frequently to walk upon the heights, to enjoy the beauties of the most variegated profpect.

I have

I have faid that the plains of the Noguais, which extend along the continent of the Crimea, are nearly on a level with the fea, and that the ifthmus forms another level plain, thirty or forty feet higher. This upper plain occupies the northern half of the peninfula, and afterwards the face of the country thick-fet with rocks, and full of mountains running from weft to east, terminate in the pyramid of Tchadir-Dagué, the hill of the tent. This mountain, which is too near the fea for its bafe to add much to its elevation in the atmofphere, can only be claffed amongst the mountains of the fecond order; but if we caft an eye on the map of our hemisphere, it is impossible not to perceive that Tchadir-Dagui forms a part of that chain which connects the Alps with Mount Caucafus. In fact, we fee that the branch of the Appenines which croffes Europe from weft to caft, feparating Germany from Italy, Poland from Hungary, and Wallachia from ancient Thrace, after plunging into the Black Sea, re-appears in the fame direction, on

108

on the fouthern part of the Crimea, fcarcely leaving a paffage for the communication of the feas of Sabache, and the Pont-Euxine, and continues as far as the Cafpian Sea, under the name of Caucafus, once more to re-appear under that of Thibet, and to ftretch to the very eaftern extremities of Afia.

The continued feries of thefe mountains too, is as evident, and as clearly demonfrated by all the details we have refpecting their appearance, their ftructure, their foffil productions, and the minerals they contain.

The first observation which prefents itfelf in the Crimea, is the uniformity of a bed of rocks which crowns the top of all the mountains on the fame level. These rocks, very sharp pointed, and of more or less thickness, offer the most indisputable traces of the operation of the waters; one diffinguishes throughout them an exact refemblance to those which are at prefent exposed to the efforts of the sea, and are also strewed with apparently fossil oysters, but fo faftened, that they cannot be procured without loofening them with a chifel. It is obfervable, likewife, that the living oyfter of thefe foffils, which are of the largeft kind, is not known in the feas of the Levant. I fhall add, that there are at prefent no oyfters on the northern coaft of the Black Sea, and that on the fouthern part there is only the fmall kind.

Amongst the fossils adhering to the rocks is found alfo the fea urchin, the living animal of which is peculiar to the Red Sea. The vallies which furrow that part of the Crimea, contain very great beds of univalve foffils, almost all of the genus of the Chinese bonnet. These fossils differ, however, from those we find in the Mediterranean, by a thicker shell, less hollowed, and covered with circular ftripes; in fome valleys they are in fuch quantities, as to choke all vegetation; thefe shells are there mixed with fragments of a foft fandy ftone, imprinted with leaves, and branches, the principal bed of which lies in the bottom of the ravines.

The

IIO

BARON DE TOTT. III

The level of the beds of rocks which I have afcertained from one mountain to the other, with the level of the fea, proves that they are all equally horizontal. I have always given the moft fcrupulous attention to my refearches into a fubject as new, as it is interefting; and I have difcovered no exception to this uniformity *.

The map of the upper parts of the Crimea, taken from the level of thefe beds of rock, would exhibit nothing but an archipelago, a heap of iflands, more or lefs elevated, at a fmall diftance from each other, and always to the weft of Caucafus, but very diftant from the lands, which at that epocha might form the continent towards the

* When human knowledge shall have penetrated into the principles of the revolutions of the globe, the observations I now report of the immutability of the foil of the Crimea, will become more important: it will prove that the causes of the great convultion have had no effect on that peninfula. Earthquakes, which are fearcely known there, can never have been central, the fummit of the rocks is still covered with a vegetable earth, and the highest mountains shew no marks of craters, nor the least vessiges of lava.

112 MEMOIRS OF THE

the north; and it is only towards the Little Don, that the earth begins to rife to the fame level.

Such refearches into primitive geography, by affifting the progrefs of human knowledge, might throw a new light on a fubject which has long been occupied by the fpirit of fystem. The philosophers who are curious to know the original afpect of the globe, may difcover it by following the level of those features which are every where the most distinctly marked. The loftieft mountains will prefent to them levels which had been first abandoned by the waters; but, limited in these Memoirs to the fimple narrative of the prefent appearance of the countries I have passed through, and of the character of their inhabitants, I shall only add to what I have faid on this fubject, the answer of a Tartar. I was walking with this man in one of the defiles, adjoining that in which Bactchéferay is fituated. I obferved there an iron ring, placed on the top of an inacceffible rock, which crowned and terminated the hottom

bottom of this defile. I asked my Tartar the use of this ring: "I imagine," replied he coolly, " that it ferved formerly to fasten vessels to, when the fea, bathing these rocks, formed a harbour in this valley." I was confounded with this anfwer, and could not help admiring the genius which, with no other guide than the daily comparison of the banks of the fea, in their prefent flate, with the antient traces of its waters remaining on the mountains, could elevate itfelf to the folution of the problem. The ancient Greeks, and ancient Romans too, had opportunities of admiring the most fublime moral philosophy of the Scythians; but the vaft idea of the revolutions of our globe is more aftonishing, undoubtedly, in a Tartar, and his unaffected fimplicity ftill further increafed my admiration. We may judge from him that his countrymen intereft themfelves very little in the monuments which atteft the different ages of nature. They neglect alfo to avail themfelves of her labours, by working the mines of Tchadir-Dagué. The Genoefe, better

better informed, and certainly more covetous, had begun to extract the gold, which is found in abundance in that mountain. It may also be prefumed that the Kam would not have remained infenfible to the acquifition of these riches, had not the fear of exciting the avidity of the Porte led him to prefer inactivity to a labour, of which that government would have reaped. the benefit. Nor was the danger of feeing thefe riches carried to Conftantinople, the only one to which the Kam of the Tartars would have been exposed, in working this gold mine; by neceffarily introducing perfons employed in the mint to direct the works, he must have introduced the fcourge of prohibition into the Crimea, and the Tartar fovereigns humanely facrifice their interest in this particular, to the public tranquillity. There is certainly fome glory in being poor at this price.

Accustomed to an existence, the pleasures of which arife more from the richness of the foil, than from that pride which imprisons itself under gilded roofs, the Tartars BARON DE TOTT. 115

tars make an article of luxury of the very air they breathe; and this first want of all beings is fully gratified by the beauty of the climate.

The meteors which one obferves in the fky of the Crimea, at all feafons, and the whitenefs of the Aurora Borealis, which are pretty frequent there, furnifh certain proofs of the purity of the atmosphere. We may attribute this ethereal quality, if I may be allowed the expression, to the immense dry plains to the northward of this country, and to the neighbourhood of Mount Caucafus, whose fummits attract, and abforb all the vapours arising to the westward.

Regular feafons, gradually fucceeding each other, unite with the excellence of the foil, to favour the moft luxuriant vegetation. It confifts of a black virgin mould, mixed with fand, the bed of which extends from Leopold in the Red Ruffia, to this peninfula. The heat of the fun brings to perfection all forts of grain with very little labour on the part of the cultivator. vator. This labour confifts, in fact, in furrowing the land intended to be fown. Melon feeds and aubergine ‡, peas and beans, mixed together in a bag, are fcattered by a man following the plough; they do not take the pains to cover the feeds, but leave that to be done by the rains, and the field is quitted until the time of the different crops, when they have nothing left to do but to clear them from the confusion occafioned by this manner of fowing.

Amongft the number of fpontaneous productions which cover the furface of the Crimea, afparagus, walnuts, and filberts, are remarkable from their fize. There is likewife an aftonifhing quantity of flowers, whole fields, covered with tulips of the fmall fpecies, form, from the variety of their colours, the moft pleafing picture.

The manner in which the vine is cultivated in the Crimea, is not calculated to improve the quality of the grape. One fees, with regret, that the most beautiful

‡ Very common in France ; refembling, if not the fame as cur egg plant, produced in hot houses, &c.

expolures

exposures in the world cannot prevail on the inhabitants to prefer those fituations to the valleys; the vines are planted there in holes of eight or ten feet diameter, by four or five feet deep. The branches of the vine are fupported on the edges of thefe holes, covering the whole orifice with the leaves, under which hang the grapes ; deprived by this means of the fun, but abundantly nourifhed by a foil always moift, and fometimes drowned with the rain waters which collect there. They ftrip off the leaves a month before the vintage, after which they cut the vines close to the ground; and the vineyard, under water during the winter by the overflowing of the rivulets, is covered with all forts of aquatic birds.

The most remarkable of the different fpecies of these birds which abound in the Crimea, is a fort of wild goose, longer legged than ours, with seathers of a lively brick colour. The Tartars pretend that the seather of this animal is very dangerous; I was I was defirous, however, of tafting it, and found no bad effects from the experiment.

There is no country where there are more quails than in the Crimea; and thefe birds fpread over the whole country during the fummer, flock together at the approach of autumn, to crofs over to the fouthern shore of the Black Sea, from whence they pass into a warmer climate. The order of their emigration is invariable. Towards the end of August, the quails which are collected together in the Crimea, make choice of one of those ferene days, when the northerly wind blowing at funfet, promifes a fine night; they collect on the beach, begin their flight together, at fix or feven in the evening, and complete their paffage of fifty leagues by day-break, where the nets fpread on the oppofite fhore, and the fportfmen lying in wait, enfnare the emigrants.

The vaft plenty of waters in the Crimea, do not form there any remarkable river, and the proximity of the fhore attracts every rivulet to the fea. The greatest heats never never dry up the fprings, and the inhabitants find in every hollow the moft delicious water, which by running alternately through agreeable meadows, and falling amongft rocks, is beautifully limpid. The Italian poplar is fond of growing near it; and the quantity of thofe trees might make them to be looked upon as natives of the Crimea, did not the eftablifhments of the Genoefe point out from whence they have been tranfplanted.

That nation, which long governed by its induftry, had extended its commerce and its conquefts even into the Tauric Cherfonefus, where the defcendants of the famous Gengis-Kan were compelled to fubmit to the opprefilion of thefe merchants, until the reign of Mahomet the Second, who only freed the Tartars from the tyranny of the Genoefe, to fubfitute as heavy, perhaps, but certainly not fo humiliating a yoke.

The traveller still fees in the Crimea, the remains of those chains which bound the Tartars, and kept them in subjection

to

to the Genoefe. These monuments of their tyranny, atteft at once the fear and uneafinefs of the tyrants. It is only on the fteepeft rocks that we find the traces of their ancient habitations. The rock itfelf, which ferves as a foundation for thefe ftrong caftles, is hollowed all round, and still exhibits the plan of their dwellings. Their stables are still to be feen, and the mangers cut out of the rock. The greateft part of these hollow ways communicate with each other, and fome of them with the upper town, by fubterraneous paffages, the avenues to which are still open. I found in the middle of a pretty large hall, a square bason of ten feet diameter, by seven feet deep, filled at this day with human bones. I fhall hazard no conjecture on this circumstance, but content myself with relating what may still be feen, fince thefe ruins are only at two leagues distance from Bactchéferay. Several of these retreats, cut out of the rock, are to be feen in the Crimea, and always on mountains difficult of accefs; it may be prefumed, that they ferved

120

ferved as an afylum for the flocks of the Genoefe, which fed on the plains in the day time, and were flut up by them during the night.

The fteepeft places have been at all times the afylum of liberty, or the haunt of tyrants; rocks are, in fact, the fituations the most capable of diffipating the fears which affail alike the oppreffor and oppreffed.

It is probable that the town of Caffa, which is still the centre of the commerce of the Crimea, had the fame pre-eminence in the time of the Genoele; but on confidering the beauty of the Port of Baluklava, and fome ruins of ancient buildings, one is led to imagine that they had not neglected to make use of it. This harbour is fituated on the most foutherly part of the Crimea; the two promontories which form the entrance, are the first land which appears to the north-east of the Thracian Bofphorus. This port, befides its proximity, extent, and fecurity, is in the neighbourhood of forefts, which might furnish VOL. II. fhip G

fhip timber. At prefent totally abandoned, the port of *Baluk-lava* preferves nothing but the traces of its ancient importance, as we have already feen, that the tombs ftill vifible at Krim, the ancient capital of the peninfula, are the only marks of a town which was formerly of fome confideration.

There are few towns in the Crimea worthy of being mentioned. Guez-levé merits however to be fpoken of, on account of its harbour, on the weftern fide of the peninfula, and Acmedchid, the refidence of the Calga Sultan ⁺.

After running over the principal objects connected with the natural hiftory of the Crimea, let us caft a more attentive eye on the political fituation of the Tartars, and on the principles of their government.

The countries comprized under the name of Little Tartary, are the peninfula of Crimea, the Cuban, a part of Circaffia, and all that territory which feparates the Ruffian empire from the Black Sea. This

+ We fhall fee further what this dignity is.

zone,

zone, from Moldavia to near Taganrog, fituated between the 46th and 44th degrees of latitude, is 300r 40 leagues broad, by near 200 long. It contains from Eaft to weft, the Yetitche Koulé, the Dgamboylouk, the Yedeffan, and Bafs-Arabia. The latter province, called at prefent the Boudjak, is inhabited by Tartars fettled in villages, as well as thofe of the peninfula, but the inhabitants of the three other provinces have only tents made of felt, which they remove at pleafure.

Thefe people called Noguais, and who are fuppofed to be wandering tribes, are fettled however in the vallies which interfect the plains they inhabit from North to South; and their tents ranged along them in one line, form a kind of villages from 30 to 35 leagues in length, which diftinguifh the different hords.

It is natural to imagine that the rural and frugal way of life of this paftoral people, is more favourable to population than amongft polifhed nations, where multiplied wants, and excefs of luxury, radi- G_2 cally

124 MEMOIRS OF THE

cally deftroy it. It is obferved, in fact, that the population is already lefs confiderable, even under the roofs of the Crimea, and the Boudjak, than under the tents of the Noguais; but there is no other method of computing the number of the people than by the appearance of the military force the Kam is able to bring into the field. We shall fee this Prince very foon levy three armies at the fame time; that which he commands in perfon of 100,000 men, that of his Calga of 60,000, and that of his Nouradin of 40,000. He might have raifed double the number, without prejudice to the neceffary labour ; and if we confider the number of foldiers, and the furface of the Tartarian states, we may form some comparison between their population and ours.

The most certain method of estimating the power of these nations, is by seeing them act in armies. But it is well to begin by attending to the nature of their forces, and the means of collecting them.— These means are connected with the government,

BARON DE TOTT. 125

vernment, and the origin of all government, forms an effential part of hiftory.

That of the Tartars, in particular, prefents the image of a vaft ocean, with the extent of which we never can become acquainted, but by following the courfe of the furrounding coafts. The annals of this people are to be found no where but amongst such nations as have had the misfortune to be near them, and which they have fucceffively over-run. Thefe very nations, however, who have written very little, or not at all, on the fubject, leave fcarcely any materials for hiftory beyond conjecture; but fuch as they are, on comparing them with the annals of all people, we are compelled to admit, that the Tartars, above other nations, have the best afcertained claims to antiquity.

Without pretending to a profound inquiry into the great queftion which occupies the men of letters at this day, that of the true fituation of the island of the Atlantes, I shall only observe, on the platform of Tartary, which prolongs to the

the north the chain of mountains of Caucaíus and Thibet. As for the Isle of Corea, judging from the course of the waters, which from the centre of Afia empty themfelves to the fouthward and northward of that part of the globe, it forms the most elevated portion of those lands which feparate the feas of India from Kamftchatka. This obfervation alone feems to render it certain, that this country, pofieffed at prefent by the Tartars, must have been the first difcovered land in Afia, and the earlieft inhabited ; the fource of that population which first fent forth those fwarms which, constantly driven back by the wall of China, and the defiles of Thibet and of Caucafus, fell upon the northern parts of Afia, and overflowed our Europe, under the name of Goths, Oftrogoths, and Vifigoths.

Befides thefe geographical obfervations, this hypothefis is ftill further fupported by the Tartar tradition, communicated to me by Krim-Gueray. We fhall foon fee this Prince on the throne, and have reafon fon to admire his courage, his information, his philofophy, and death.

It would be difficult to extract any thing fure and well afcertained, from the annals of the Tartars, prior to Jengis-Kam; but we know that this Prince, elected Grand Kam, by the Kams of the different tribes, was only chofen to be the King of Kings, becaufe he was the most powerful amongsl. them. We know, likewife, that at this period Jengis-Kam conceived and carried into execution the projects of invation on which he founded the greatest empire recorded in history. The emigrations fublequent to this conqueror, and which have covered the conquered countries, prove alfo the degree of population necessary to supply these overflowings; and all these circumftances combined, carry back the origin of this family to the remotest periods of time.

An uninterrupted fucceffion has continued to our days; this dynafty of Princes of the Jengis-Kam race, as well as the feudal government, which ftill prevails in Tartary, amongst them, are still to be found the first laws by which we were governedverned—the fame prejudices which prevailed amongft us; and if we combine thefe refemblances with the emigrators of this ancient people towards the north, and thofe of the north towards us, we fhall have no difficulty, perhaps, in acknowledging the fource of our most ancient cuftoms.

After the Sovereign family, the next in rank are the families of Chirin, of Manfour, of Sedjoud, of Argifin, and of Baroun. The family of Jengis-Kam furnish the Lords Paramount, and the five others the five great vaffals of the empire. Those who are called Beys, are always reprefented by the eldeft of each family; and this is invariable. These ancient Mirzas, whofe flock is placed by the Tartar annals amongst the companions of Jengis-Kam, form, in the above gradation, the great nobility of the country: they can never be confounded with the ennobled families. The latter, united under the denomination of a Mirza Capikouly, that is to fay, Mirza, flave of the Prince, have nevertheless, a Bey who represents them.

BARON DE TOTT. 129

them, and the rights of the great vaffalage, that of fitting in the affembly of the ftates. Amongst the Mirzas Capikouly, the family of Koudalak, diftinguished by the ancient date of its creation, enjoys the exclusive right of furnishing from the eldest of its members, the representatives of all the ennobled families; and these fix Beys, joined to the Lord Paramount, form the Senate, the Select Court, the Supreme power of the Tartars.

These affemblies are never convoked but on extraordinary occafions, to prevent the Kam, who has the privilege of calling together the grand vaffals, from taking advantage of their absence, to extend his authority beyond the bounds of the feudal fystem : the Bey of the Chirins constantly reprefents the other Beys; and this Chief of the Tartar nobility, as well as the Sovereign, has his Calga, his Nouradin, his Ministers, and the right of calling together the affembly of the Beys, should this convocation, neglected by the Kam, become neceffary to counteract even his defigns. G 5 The

The poft of Calga of the Chirins, is always held by the eldeft of the family, after the Bey; this chief, therefore, has always his fucceffor near him, and this counterpoife of the Sovereign's power is always in action.

The fame conflitution which combines all its forces against the attempts of defpotifin, is equally jealous of the fecurity and ftability of the lawful power of the Sovereign. The great Tartar vaffals appear, in fact, to have no other connection with the government, than as columns to the edifice which they fupport, without being able to fhake it. There is no example amongst this people of fuch trouble as agitated France, during the whole period of the existence of the feudal system. The Tartar government, still in its purity, leaves no opening for ambition. In France men were born great vaffals, in Tartary they have hardly time to be fo.

It is probable that the fame order was formerly established in the Sovereign's family, and that the Kam of the Tartars was always

130

always the eldeft member of that family; but whatever was the order of fucceffion before the arrival of the Genoefe in the Crimea, at that æra, we plainly difcover tyranny countenancing intrigues; three Kains elected at a time, and Mingli-Gueray, who had the beft founded pretenfions, was kept a prifoner at Mancoup.

Mahomet the Second had just completed the conquest of Constantinople, and expelled the Genoefe : he then flew to drive them likewife from the Crimea, and to refcue Mingli-Gueray from their hands; but he did not re-establish him on the throne, before he concluded a treaty with that Prince, which gave to the Porte his nomination, and that of his fucceffors. A great part of Romelia was given as a dependency to the Jengis-Kam Princes, rich fucceffions were accepted as a price for the liberty of the Tartar Sultans, and the guaranty of their fubmiffion; and each Prince of the reigning family, from that inftant, formed hopes of attaining the throne by his intrigues at Conftantinople.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding the precaution of Mahomet the Second, conqueror of the Genoefe in Tartary, to infure the execution of his treaty with Mingli-Gueray, it is certain that the contracted parties could not really flipulate any thing, but in virtue of their respective rights; that those of the Tartar Republic could not be compromifed, and that the deposing of the Lord Paramount of the Tartars, ascribed to the Grand Signior, could convey no legal prejudice to the independence of the nation. The jus publicum, therefore, the public right of the Tartars, has been overlooked, or miftaken by other powers, when they have taken upon them to pronounce the independence of this nation. To declare a nation free, which has never ceafed to be fo, is the first act of its fubjection.

The political methods adopted in the Crimea to maintain a perfect equilibrium between the great vaffals and the Paramount, rendered it neceffary that the diftribution of lands fhould be fuch as to enfure

132

fure its duration. But this partition itfelf must partake of the different modes of living of the inhabitants.

The lands of the Crimea, and of Bafs-Arabia, are divided into noble fields, royal domains, and lands held by foccage. The first, which are all hereditary, do not hold even of the crown, and pay no quit rent. Those of the domain are partly annexed to certain offices by way of falary; the furplus is diffributed by the Sovereign to whom he thinks proper. The droit d'aubaine, or escheat, established in the Crimea in default of heirs in the feventh degree, gives the Kam that privilege over every thing which refpects the property of the nobles; and each Minga poffeffes the fame right over the property of the inferior claffes, in the whole extent of his fief. It is on this principle, alfo, that the annual poll tax is collected from all the Christian and Jew vaffals, and this latter object gives the utmost extent of the most absolute property to the effates of the nobility of Tartary.

It

It is only on the affembling of the ftates, likewife, that the Mirzas, poffeffors of fiefs, are bound to military fervice; but I fhall treat of this article when I come to the circumftances which bring all thefe details into action.

Thefe diffinctions of territorial property are not known amongft the Noguais; and this paftoral people, occupied entirely with their flocks, are left in the full enjoyment of their plains, knowing no other boundaries than those traced out between the neighbouring hords.

But if the Noguais Mirzas partake with their vaffals of the community of the foil, if they even affix a fort of difgrace to agriculture, they are not on that account lefs powerful. Retired during the winter in the vallies, occupied by the hords, each of them collects in his aoul +, the tribute which is due to him, in cattle and provifion; and when the fowing feafon comes, he goes into the plain with his hufbandmen,

† Aoul; part of a hord, which comprehends the vaffals holding under the fame noble.

BARON DE TOTT. 135

men, fixes on the fpot for cultivation, and divides it amongst the vaffals.

By thus changing their tillage, the Noguais unite excellent pafturage with the most plentiful crops, from lands which are never exhausted.

The right of *Corveé*, or binddags, which having lefs connection, doubtlefs, with the feudal fyftem, than with the luxury of the great vaffals and Lords of fiefs, prevails likewife in the Crimea, is unknown to the Noguais; but they pay a tenth to the Governor of the province.

The Sultans, who are generally invefted with thefe governments, refide there under the title of *Sera/kers*, and command as Viceroys. But the first dignity of the empire is *Calga*, always conferred by the Kam on one of the Princes of his house, in whom he places the most confidence. His refidence is at Ackméchid, a town fituated at four leagues from Bactchéferay, where he enjoys all the decorum of the fovereignty. His Ministers carry his orders into execution, and his jurisdiction extends very near to Cafa.

The

The dignity of Calga, formerly defined for the prefumptive heir, ftill preferves the privilege of holding the reigns of government in cafe of the Sultan's death, and until the arrival of his fucceflor. He commands in chief the Tartar armies, when the Kam does not himfelf take the field; and he inherits, as Lord Paramount, the property of all the Mirzas who die within his dependencies, without heirs of the feventh degree of affinity.

The poft of *Novradin*, the fecond dignity of the kingdom, is held alfo by a Sultan, who has likewife the right of having Minifters; but thefe, as well as their mafter, are without any active functions. This little Court, which has no other refidence than Bactchéferay, is confounded with that of the Kam; fhould fome event, however, occafion troops to be fent into the field, the command of which is entrufted to the Novradin, his authority, as well as that of his Minifters, acquires from that moment all the activity of the fovereign power.

BARON DE TOTT. 137

The third dignity of the kingdom, held by a Sultan under the title of Or-Bev, Prince of Orcapi, has fometimes been conferred on Chirin-Mirzas, who had efpoufed Princeffes of the blood royal. These nobles, who difdain the first places in the Ministry, and will only accept of those deftined for the Sultans, have been allowed alfo to hold exterior governments; but these governments of the frontiers are generally poffeffed by the fons or nephews of the reigning Prince. They are Generals of the troops of their particular provinces; and when those of Boud-jak, Yedefan, and the Cuban, are called out, they are always commanded by the Sultan Serafkers, even after a junction with the forces under the Kam, the Calga, or the Nouradin.

The hord of the Dgamboylouk is governed only by a *Cuiamakan*, or Lieutenant of the King; he performs, therefore, the functions of Serasker, and conducts the troops to the army, and then refigns his command to the commander in chief, to return to his government, and to have an eye to to the fecurity of the plains, which are fituated before the ifthmus of the Crimea.

Befides thefe principal employments, the revenues of which arife from certain duties collected in the provinces, there are two *female* dignities. That of *Ala-Bey*, which the Sultan commonly beftows on his mother or one of his wives; and that of *Ouloukany*, conferred on the eldeft of his fifters or daughters. Several villages are under the dependencies of thefe Princeffes, who take cognizance of the differences between their fubjects, and diffribute juftice through their intendants, who fit for that purpofe at the gate of the Seraglio, the neareft to the harem.

I fhall enter into no details concerning the Mufti, the Vifir, and the other Minifters, whofe offices are analagous to their corresponding fituations in Turkey, with this difference, that the principles and customs of the feudal government moderate their exercise in this country.

The revenues of the Kam fcarcely amount to 600,000 livres, (about 31,000l. fterling)

fterling) for the fupport of his houfhold; but if this moderate income reftricts the liberality of the Prince, it does not prevent him from being generous. A number of Mirzas live entirely at his expence, until the *droit d'aubaine*, or efcheat I have fpoken of, furnishes him the means of getting rid of them, by granting them fome part of his domain.

Befides, the raifing of his troops puts him to no expence. All the lands are held by military fervice, nor does the Sovereign fupport any expences of juilice, which is gratuitoufly diffributed throughout the whole of his extent of government, as well as by the particular jurifdictions in their refpective diffricts; appeals lie from thefe fubordinate judicatures to the tribunal of the Paramount.

The moft complete education in Tartary, extends no farther than to the knowledge of reading and writing; but if the inftruction of the Mingas be neglected, they are diffinguifhed by an eafy politenefs refulting from the habit of familiarity, in which

MEMOIRS OF THE

which they accuftomed to live with their Princes, which never deviate into difrefpect.

Bactchéferay, neverthelefs, contains a very valuable historical journal, undertaken by the anceftors of a family who have always preferved, and carefully continued it : This manufcript, begun by its author, by collecting the most ancient traditions, contains all the fucceffive facts down to the prefent day. The event of my miffion into Tartary, occafioned the perfon who was continuing the journal, to apply to me for fome information by which means I discovered it. I made a fruitless attempt to obtain fuch an acquifition; ten thoufand crowns (£ 1250 fterling) could not tempt him, and circumstances did not allow me time to procure extracts from it.

The gazettes have faid enough of the troubles which in our time have diffracted Poland, and of the difcuffions between the Porte and Ruffia. Makfoud-Gueray found himfelf in the very centre of this conflagration, and compelled to play a confiderable

rable part in it; he trembled for the confequences to himfelf, faw his fucceffor in Krim-Gueray, and was not deceived in any of his conjectures.

The affair of Balta, however, determined the Grand Signior to difplay the standard of Mahomet. The Russian Minister was fent to the Seven Towers; and Krim-Gueray, replaced on the throne of the Tartars, was called to Constantinople, to concert with his Highness the first military operations. This news reached Bactchéferay with the intelligence of the depofing of Makloud. The fame meffenger brought orders for the new Kam to instal a Caimakon +, and for fixing the general rendezvous at Kaouchan, in Bafs-Arabia. I haftened to go there, and was preparing to meet Krim-Gueray at the Danube, when I received a meffenger from him, difpenfing with that formality. limiting the ceremonial to my accompanying him on his entry, affuring me of his favour,

+ This title, which fignifies " holding place," anfwers to that of Regent.

and

and defiring me to prepare a fupper for him on the day of his arrival.

This opening appeared to me very flattering; but the fupper would have embarraffed me, had not the courier who conveyed the meffage given me the neceffary hints. He was his confidential man.— "Our mafter loves fifh," fays he, "he knows that your cook dreffes it very well; his own puts nothing but water in the fauces." This was enough for me to difcover the Prince's tafte, and I gave orders for the beft fifh of the Neifter to be drowned in excellent wine.

The Kam was to make his entry the next day. I mounted my horfe, and met him at two leagues diftance from the town. He was attended by a numerous cavalcade, and the reception he gave me, correfponded with the teftimonial of his favour which preceded him.

Krim-Gueray, about fixty years of age, joined to an advantageous fize, a noble carriage, eafy manners, a majestic countenance, a lively look, and the happy talent of

of affuming at pleafure the appearance of gentle affability, or of a commanding feverity. The circumstance of the war brought in his train a great number of Sultans, feveral of whom were his children. His fecond fon was particularly pointed out to me as a young man whofe youthful courage was burning to diffinguish itself, and who, from the habitual exercife of his strength, was easily able to bend two bows at a time. He had purfued this exercife from his infancy; and when this Prince was hardly nine years old, his father, withing to pique his vanity, faid to him, with a contemptuous air, that "a distaff fuited better a poltroon like him." " Poltroon !" replied the child, turning pale, "I fear nobody,-not even you !" letting fly an arrow, which fortunately ftruck only a bafket of wooden ware, into which the iron tip of the arrow went two fingers deep. As the greatest mildness, as well as the general conduct of the child, previous to this fit of paffion, gave proofs of the ftrongeft filial refpect, fuch violence can can only be attributed, in this inftance, to an exceffive fenfibility on the point of honour.

Every thing neceffary was prepared at the gate of the town for the public entry and inftallation of the Kam, where he difmounted for a moment, to put himfelf in order, under a tent made ready for the purpofe. Dreffed in a cap loaded with two aigrets, enriched with diamonds, his bow and quiver flung acrofs his body, preceded by his guard, and feveral led horfes, whofe head-stalls were ornamented with tufts of feathers, followed by the standard of the Prophet, and accompanied by all his court, this Prince repaired to his palace, where he received in the hall of the Divan, feated on his throne, the homage of all the grandees.

This ceremony employed us till the hour of the fupper I had prepared for him, and which my cook was permitted to ferve up. The Prince's cooks, apprized of this rivality, endeavoured alfo to diftinguifh themfelves, but they could not contend againft against the wine fauces. They fucceeded no better in their made diffies; and the fuperiority of the French kitchen procured me the advantage of daily furnishing a dozen of articles at all the Prince's entertainments.

Krim-Gueray did not confine his tafte to good cheer, every pleafure had its charms for him. A numerous orcheftra, a troop of comedians and buffoons, whom • he had alfo in his pay, by varying his amufements, filled up all his evenings, and relieved him from the fatigues of political affairs, and preparations for war, with which the day was taken up.

The activity of this Prince, for whom nothing was too arduous, made him require alfo a great fhare of it from others, and I may venture to fay that I had the good fortune to fatisfy him. I had the honour of his confidence, was admitted to his parties of pleafure, and I amufed myfelf greatly with the curious and varied picture of his court.

H

VOL. II.

Kaoucha

146 MEMOIRS OF THE

Kaouchan was become the centre of Tartary; all orders were iffued from thence; people flocked there from all parts; and the croud of his courtiers augmented every day. The new Ministers, whom I had known in the Crimea, and who perceived the particular favour with which I was honoured by the Kam, made choice of me to obtain from their master a favour they would not themfelves have prefumed to folicit. The experience of his former reign, had made them feel that it was of the last importance to keep him from a first act of feverity, which once committed, however repugnant at first to his disposition, no perfon could tell where his cruelty would ftop. An unhappy Tartar having acted contrary to too fevere an ordinance, was condemned by the Kam to fuffer death; preparations were making for conducting the wretch to the place of punishment, at the moment of my arrival at the palace; feveral Sultans immediately got round me, explained the circumstance, and defired me to preferve the Tartars from

BARON DE TOTT. 147

from the confequences of this execution. I entered into the apartment of Krim-Gueray, whom I found still agitated with the efforts it had coft him to order the execution. I approached him, and inclining myfelf to kifs his hand, which I had never before done, I held it, notwithstanding the attempt he made to withdraw it. "What would you have ?" faid he, with a look of feverity .-- " The pardon of the criminal," anfwered I. "What concern can you have," replied he, "in this wretch's fate?"--"None," added I; "a man who has difobeyed you can infpire me with none; it is only for you, Sire, that I am concerned; you would foon become cruel, were you, but for a moment, too fevere; and you have no reafon to ceafe being good, to be constantly feared and respected." He fmiled, and abandoning me his hand, I kiffed it; and flew, by his defire, to announce the pardon he had granted. The joy produced by this circumstance was continued by a new Turkish Comedy, of a tolerably burlefque kind. Krim-Gueray, during the reprefentation, asked me many H₂ questions

questions about Moliere's plays, which he had heard fpoken of. What I told him of the dramatic laws, and of the decency obferved on our theatres, gave him a difgust for the farces with which the Turks are ftill obliged to be fatisfied. He perceived of himfelf, that the Tartuffe was preferable to Pourceaugnac; but he could not perceive how fuch a character as the Bourgeois Gentilbomme could exift in a fociety where the difference of rank is fo perfectly understood, and fo invariably established; and I rather chofe to let him remain in ignorance, and imagine the poet was in the wrong, than to undertake his justification, by exposing the history of our irregularities. "But," added he, " if it be impoffible to carry on the deception refpecting birth, a man may eafily impofe upon the world by his character. Every country has its Tartuffes; (hypocrites) Tartary has hers;--and you will oblige me by getting this piece translated *.

Whilft

* Mr. Rufin, Scoretary Interpreter of the King at Verfailles, undertook this work. His underftanding would

Whilft our imagination was occupied by these peaceful projects, an Envoy from the Confederates of Poland arrived at Kaouchan, to concert with the Kam the opening of the campaign. This Prince had promifed the Grand Signior to begin by an incursion into New Servia: the Polish Ukraine might fuffer by this, and it required, therefore, fome preliminary negociations, to which the powers of the Polifh Envoy appeared infufficient. Time preffed, however; and Krim-Gueray was defirous that I fhould go to the neighbourhood of Kotchim, to treat, in his name, with the principal Confederates, who had taken refuge there. But, flattered as I. was with this mark of the Prince's confidence, I did not choofe to accept the commission without a Tartar colleague, who was named on the fpot, and, as well as myfelf, was invefted with full powers. Our Embaffy required more difpatch than luxury, and we flept the very next day within

would have laid the foundation of good tafte amonght the Tartars, had circumfances permitted him to dedicate his time to it. within the confines of Moldavia. The picture of the most horrid devastation preceded even the war in that country; and the terror of the inhabitants from the incurfions alone of fome troops had already occafioned this calamity. The defertion of the villages, and the ceffation of all hufbandry, did not promife that abundance of provisions for the subfistence of the Ottoman army, which they had reafon to expect on the borders of the Danube; but thefe reflections, which I made to my colleague, feemed to interest him infinitely lefs than the fcarcity we were then fuffering, until our arrival at Dankowtga +. The Counts Crazinski and Potocki, received us there with all the refpect due to the Prince we reprefented ; but the excellent Tokay wine with which they regaled us, gave much more pleafure to the Tartar Ambaffador. I had brought him in my carriage; but the inconvenience of an elevated feat, made him defire a Turkish waggon

+ A village near Kotchim, whither the Confederates retired after the declaration of war.

waggon for his return, in which he might lie at his eafe. I made a point of procuring this fatisfaction for a man whole great age, and amiable character, were equally interefting. A waggon followed with our baggage and fome fervants. We travelled in this manner by a different road, which we were affured was better, although fomewhat longer. Very heavy falls of fnow, were just fucceeded by a pretty fevere frost; it was necessary to avail ourfelves of this circumftance to pafs at Gue-le Pruth, before the fwell of the river, which would be occafioned by the flighteft thaw. - Conducted by a guide, we reached the borders of that river, where the ice was drifting rapidly with the current. I was unacquainted with the depth of it, and, was afraid of the experiment ; but my conductor encouraged me, by going before my carriage, which led the way. It was drawn by fix good horfes, and was heavy enough to refift the current, and confequently arrived fafe on the oppofite fide. I haftened to get on fhore to look after the two

two waggons, for which I was uneafy on account of their lightnefs. They were fcarcely a third of the paffage before the water began to lift them up. I called to them to ftop; but inftead of liftening to me, the postillions bear up their horfes, the two carriages are overfet, and in an inftant the river hurries them along pell mell, with the flakes of floating ice. I fly to the postillion of my carriage, to order him to unharnefs his horfes, and go to the affiftance of the Tartar Envoy and my people; I find him on the bank expiring with cold; I drag him near an adjoining ditch, where I precipitate him, and cover him with fnow. My coachman had already followed the courfe of the river as far as a mill, where, by his cries, he had drawn the attention of the millers. I arrive there foon after, and find them employed in fifting up, with crooks, those who had been under water. But I fearch in vain for my ancient colleague, and I was agitated with the utmost violence of defpair for his fate, when I heard his voice, defiring defiring me to calm myfelf, whilft he was in the midft of the flakes of ice, and his head barely out of water, peeping through the door of his carriage. He was only ftopped by a fhallow place, from whence the fmalleft force would have detached him. I was at length fortunate enough to relieve him, and to collect together all my fhipwrecked companions, whom it was still neceffary to preferve from the danger of perifhing with cold; and, in fact, the froft had fo hardened their cloaths, that they could not be ftripped until the heat of a good fire had foftened the ftuff. As foon as I was fure that the care of the millers would be fufficient for them, I ran with my coachman to bring back my postillion. who was recovered by the fnow. We faw him, on our arrival, employed in getting out of the hole, into which I had thrown him: the good fire at the mill completely reftored him; and I was agreeably furprized, on my return, to find all my baggage fished up. I provided in the best manner I could for the fresh fuccours H 5 which which the circumftances required, and I foon had time to fympathize with my colleague, who having himfelf run the greateft rifque, would fpeak of nothing but my anxiety on his account. The time neceffary for drying their cloaths, putting our waggons in order, and victualling our troop, delayed our departure until the next day. Hitherto I had no reafon to praife the route we had taken ; and the bad roads we met with would have compleatly difgusted me, had it not been for the hope of very foon arriving at Botouchan. This was defcribed to me as one of the moft confiderable towns in Moldavia-as a promifed land, where I might lay in provisions for the remainder of my journey : it was ftill day light when we entered the town, but we found it totally deferted, and we had nothing to do but to enter the bestlooking houfe among them, for they were all open, which belonged to a Boyard ‡, as my conductor told me. This fituation afforded us few refources; I prevailed on my guide,

1 Boyard,-a Moldavian gentleman.

guide, however, to go, from me, to afk affistance from the superior of a neighbouring convent. I was waiting with impatience for his return, when a coach with fix horfes appeared in the court-yard; it was the master of the house. He told me on entering, that informed by my emiffary of the honour I had done him in taking up my abode at his house, and hearing of my wants, he was come that no other perfon might have the fatisfaction of providing for them. So polite an opening gave us fresh hopes; and the arrival of provisions proved they were not ill-founded. However confequential my hoft might appear, I foon perceived that he was not the eagle of the diffrict, and that giving way, from feebleness of character, to every impulse, the laft fpeaker, with him, was always the most perfuasive orator; I confequently found no difficulty in demonstrating to him the danger to which the Boyards expofed themfelves, by not preventing the inhabitants from quitting their houses, and even by fetting them the example. He informed

informed me that all the inhabitants of the town, to the number of feven or eight thousand, terrified at the bad treatment and ravages of fome Sipahis, had taken refuge in the convent which I had fent to; that feveral Boyards, as timid as the multitude, fomented this confusion, without forefeeing the bad confequences. " I was one of the number," added he, " but you have made me change my opinion; come with me and do the fame fervice to my companions." The pleafure of bringing back all thefe unfortunate people to their habitations, who were threatened by no immediate danger, made me infenfible to the rifque of attempting this good work. I kept my hoft all night, and, as my road lay directly before the gate of the monaftery, the next morning the cries of the women and children, the tumult of the multitude crouded together, and the picture of the furrounding mifery, determined me to follow my Boyard. He affifted me in paffing through the croud to a flight of Reps, on the top of which his companions received

received me, and introduced me into the hall, where they held their meetings. I. had produced fuch an effect on my hoft, that still full of my arguments, he was willing to attempt the conversion of his companions; but he was inftantly interrupted by the reproaches they flowered upon him, which confirmed me in my opinion, that he at least was not the leader of a party. I then thought it time to difplay my eloquence, but I foon perceived that it would have no great fuccefs; my audience was tumultuous, and the tumult left very little interval to the calm I had endeavoured to establish. I next had recourfe to more efficacious measures. A panic had occafioned this diforder; a more fubftantial terror appeared to me the only remaining remedy. I changed my tone, and threatened to complain to the Kam, and to prevail on him to do fpeedy juffice. I apologized for the people who always fuffer themfelves to be carried away by their leaders; I accufed the perfons who liftened to me, with rebellion, and from that moment

158 MEMOIRS OF THE

ment they appeared before me trembling and fubmiffive. " Speak yourfelf, then, to this frightened croud," fays the most turbulent of the Boyards ; " you will prevail on them more readily than we can ; they will blefs you, and fo far from accufing us, you will be able to bear witnefs to our good difpofition." This I evaded a long time, and fhould never have accepted the dangerous part he propofed to me, had I not perceived, on returning to the fteps to go away, that it was impossible to get through the croud, who were in violent agitations of anxiety ever fince my arrival. " Speak to thefe unhappy people," repeats the fame Boyard to me, advancing to the front of the steps, to ferve me, no doubt, as a colleague on this new tribune of harangues. Three Janiffaries, armed to the very teeth, were fitting there with all the furliness of Islanism. Their confequential air convinced me they had protectors, and feeing it neceffary to put an end to this unpleafant adventure, I thought it best to begin by ftriking an awe into thefe bravoes,

in

BARON DE TOTT. 159

in order to make an impreffion on the multitude. "What are you doing here?" faid I, in a firm tone of voice; "We are defending these infidels," answered one of them. " You are defending them," replied I, " against whom ? Who are their enemies? Is it the Grand Signior, or the Kam of the Tartars? In that cafe you are rebels, and the fole promoters of the fedition. Depend on it I will fee you punifhed." Before I had finished this short apostrophe, the infolence of my Turks had given place to fear; they had got up to listen to me, and went down the steps exculpating themfelves. This first advantage over the auxiliary troops had attract. ed the attention of the croud, whofe filence appeared to me a good omen. I then advanced and raifing my voice in Greek, I was upon the point of obtaining all the fuccefs of Demosthenes, when a drunken fellow, pushing through the croud, and ftanding forth as the champion of the adverfe party, infolently broke out into the following difcourfe :-- " What do you talk

talk of fubmiffion, of tranquillity, of cultivation, whilft we are dying with hunger? Bring us fome bread," cried out this madman, " that is what we want."-" Aye, bread," cried out the people in a fury. Perceiving then my whole edifice overturned, and no means of extricating myfelf from the fituation in which I had fo imprudently engaged, I took out of my pocket two handfuls of money, that I had of different kinds ; " There" cried I, throwing it amongst the croud, " there is bread for you, my good people ; return to your habitations, where you will find abundance." The fcene quickly changed; one overturned another, to pick up the money ; the drunken fellow difappeared amongst the combatants; benedictions fucceeded to abufe, and my defire to make my escape was at least equal to the inconfiderate zeal which had brought me amongst them. I received, however, all the honours of war on my retreat, and regained my carriage amidst the applauses of the people, who had opened a paffage for me,

me, and next day returned to their habitations. My colleague, who was waiting for me at the gate of the convent, where I had been making my orations, was not without uneafinefs for the confequences of my imprudence. We were mutually very happy to meet together, and continued our journey daily, making the most of the provisions with which the Boyard had fupplied us. The villages we paffed through, comprehended in the general devastation of Moldavia, fcarcely afforded us a fhelter during the night. Wallachia, alfo, had been ravaged by fome Turks who were on their way to join the Kam; and who did nothing elfe, in fact, but lay waste their own country. There is no horror which thefe Turks did not perpetrate; and, like a licentious foldiery, at the facking of a town, not content with difpofing of every thing at their fancy, still aimed at fucceffes the least to be defired. Some Sipahis t carried their atrocity fo far, as to infult the perfon of the Old Rabbi of

‡ Turkish Cavalry.

the

the Synagogue, and the Greek Archbifhop.

We arrived at length at Kicherow, after a great deal of fatigue, and very wretched living ; but the Governor made us forget every thing, by giving us an excellent fupper, and good beds. We had now only twelve leagues farther to go, and I had given orders to be ready early in the morning ; when, on awakening, I was informed it was impoffible. After an exceffive froft in the evening, there had fallen fo great a quantity of fnow, that the road acrofs the mountains was become impaffable for carriages. I was, however, by no means difpofed to fubmit to the obftacles which feemed to combine in retarding our return to the Kam; but my old Tartar, lefs active, and more fatigued than I was, agreed to ftay behind to take care of the baggage. I fet out on a fledge, and the rapidity of this conveyance foon brought me into the plains of Kaouchan, where I was still to encounter fresh difficulties. The want of fnow, added to the most complete thaw.

thaw, was again very near ftopping me, had I not met with a cart, which fuited me very well; but it was neceffary to make use of fome violence with the owner, to force him to conduct me. I was perched up with my Secretary on this carriage, and we were congratulating ourfelves on not arriving on foot, when, one of the wheels breaking, we were at last obliged to adopt this measure, which certainly did not add much to the dignity of the return of the Ambaffador of the Tartars. I did not wait for my colleague, whofe return was delayed for fome days, to pay my compliments to the Kam. He was already informed of my curious entry into Kaouchan; and this Prince no fooner faw me, than he began with bantering me on the modefty of his Plenipotentiary. Every thing I told him refpecting Moldavia, feemed to him of fo much importance, that he gave orders to remedy this difaster, at the fame time that he fent intelligence of it to the Porte. The inquiry into the caufes, gave Krim-Gueray an opportunity

opportunity of difclofing to me his opininion of the Grand Vifir, Emin Pacha. This Turk had begun his career as a fhopkeeper's man, and in time attaining the place of writer of the Treafury, he rofe rapidly, by his intrigues, to the first offices of the state. His prefumption made him afpire at the Visirate, on the declaration of war; but his ignorance foon gave his mafter reafon to repent of fo bad a choice. The Vifir's faults could not efcape the penetration of the Kam. He explained himfelf fully on the fubject, and was contriving means to preferve the Ottoman empire from the confequences of the folly and mifconduct of its Prime Minifter.

The incursion into New Servia, concerted at Constantinople, was confented to in the affembly of the grand vassa of Tartary, and orders were expedited into all the provinces, to claim the tribute of military fervice. *Three* horsemen were demanded from *eight* families, and this was deemed fufficient to compleat the three armies, which were to begin their operations at the fame time. That of the Nouradin, of 40,000 men, had orders to march to the leffer Don ; that of the Calga, of 60,000, was to file along the left bank of the Borifthenes, as far as Orela ; and the main army, commanded by the Kam in perfon, confifting of 100,000 men, was deftined to penetrate into New Servia. The troops of Yedeffan and Boudjak, were peculiarly appropriated to this army, the rendezvous general of which was fixed to the neighbourhood of Tombachar.

On communicating to me all thefe particulars, Krim-Gueray afked me if I intended accompanying him on this expedition? I anfwered him, that the honour of refiding with him, on the part of the Emperor of France, rendering it my duty not to be diftant from his perfon, took from me the merit of making a choice.— "That title by which you are placed near me," replied he, " is enough to make me keep you. We are going to fuffer veryfevere colds; your drefs is not calculated for them: drefs yourfelf in the Tartar fafhion; —there —there is no time to be loft; —we fhall fet out in about a week."—I rofe immediately, to go and give orders for my campaign equipage, and was leaving the Prince's apartment, when the Mafter of the Ceremonies, followed by two Pages of the Chamber, cloathed me in a fuperb pelice, made of the neck of the white Lapland wolf, lined with light grey fur. I turned round to thank the Kam for the honour he did me. " It is a Tartar houfe I give you," faid he, laughing; "I have fuch a one myfelf, and I wifh us to wear the fame uniform."

The Grand Equerry fent me the fame day ten Circaffian horfes; advifing me, from his mafter, not to take my Arabian horfes into the field, which were neither able to withftand the cold, nor want of forage. But the fcantinefs of this fupply did not infpire me with much confidence; nor did I think proper to follow the advice which accompanied the prefent.

Whilft my Tartar dreffes were making, I provided myfelf with three dromedaries, and

and ordered the neceffary tents to be got ready. Their mechanism, as simple, as it is easy, merits description. Continually encamped, it is natural to fuppofe that the Tartars have carried that art to perfection. All their ideas are concentered in an object indifpenfably become their principal want. A nation at all times unacquainted with the luxury of indolence, must necessarily bend all its attention, and all its refearches towards that which is connected with bodily exercise, field fports, and warlike apparatus. The Tartars never take repole but in their hours of leifure; they are fedentary, without effeminacy; and their camps are an exact counterpart of their ordinary habitations.

A lattice work, which eafly folds and unfolds, forms a fmall circular wall, four feet and a half high, the two extremities of which, two feet diftant from each other, form the entrance of the tent; after which, eighteen or twenty rods, joined at one end, and having a ring of leather at the other, to hook on to the crofs-bars of the lattice

MEMOIRS OF THE

168

lattice work, form the pent of the dome, and fupport the covering of felt in the form of a cone, the circumference of whofe bafe covers the walls, which are lined alfo with the fame ftuff. This covering is bound with a girth, and a few fhovels full of fnow, thrown up against the walls, prevents the external air from penetrating, and perfectly confolidates thefe tents, without either posts or cordage .--Some of them, formed on a more refined plan, by applying a circular hoop at the top of the cone, to which all the rods are fastened, by leaving a paffage to the fmoke, admits of a fire in the tent, without rendering it more acceffible to the intemperance of the fevereft climate.

The tent of the Kam was of this kind, but fo large, that more than fixty perfons might conveniently fit round the wood fire. Decorated on the infide with a crimfon fluff, it was furnifhed with a circular carpet, and fome cufhions. Twelve fmall tents, placed around that of the Prince, for the use of his officers and pages, were contained

169 BARON DE TOTT.

contained within an inclosure of felt, five feet high.

Every thing was prepared for taking the field; the troops of Bais-Arabia, collected at Kichela, under the Sultan Serafker, waited only the fignal of departure. It was fixed for the 7th of January, 1769, when Krim-Gueray began his march from Kaouchan, with the troops of his body-guard, the Sultans who had permiffion to follow him, his Ministers, his great officers, and all the volunteer Mirzas. The first day was taken up in passing the Neifter; eight rafts were prepared for this purpofe, on which the baggage had been paffed over the preceding evening. We found all the tents pitched also on the other fide. The first care of the Kam was to enquire where mine were placed; and finding them too diftant from him, he gave orders that in future, they thould be nearer his own. This Prince had defired me likewife to make no provision, taking upon hindelf to furnifh me during the campaign. The 8th 14. 3

VOL. II.

170 MEMOIRS OF THE

was employed in paffing the Bafs-Arabian ' troops.

I was that evening in the Kam's tent, with fome Sultans of his fociety, when his Vifir came to announce to him the arrival of a Lefgian Prince, brother to the Sovereign of thefe Afiatic Tartars. He was invefted with the character of Ambaffador, to do homage to Krim-Gueray, and to make him an offer of 30,000 men for the prefent war. I had the honour of affifting at his prefentation. A fhort harangue, majeftically delivered, explained the object of his miffion; and the answer of the Kam, accepting the homage, but declining the proffered fuccours, reconciled at once the dignity of the Lord Paramount, and the confequence of the General. The Ambaffador then folicited, and obtained permiffion, to make the cam-This ceremonial finished, Krimpaign. Gueray invited his diffinguished guest to fupper.

If we may judge of a nation from an Ambaffador of his high rank, and from the the perfons who accompanied him, we must form the most advantageous opinion of the Lefgian Tartars; all of them of a great fize, and well proportioned, joined to very noble countenances, an eafy carriage, and a military air. I must observe, too, that their arms, fuch as are in use in Europe, were perfectly well finished; and I shall add, on the testimony of Krim-Gueray himfelf, that his fpecimen by no means exaggerates the appearance of the whole body of the Lefgian troops. I have reafon to believe alfo, that being in the vicinity of that nation, he would not have refused their offer, if the coast of the Cafpian Sea, inhabited by this people, could have been left defenceles, without endangering the Cabarta.

The colds, which notwithftanding the great falls of fnow, had not yet frozen the Borifthenes, very foon became fo piercing, as to allow the Tartars collected on the other fide to pafs over on the ice. We were encamped, and waiting for them near Tombachar. I paffed my evenings with I 2 Krim-

Krim-Gueray, whofe ideas, often original, were always noble, and always expressed in the most striking manner. This Prince had effential need of giving a free fcope to a philofophical turn of mind, which his courtiers were not calculated to gratify.-On this account our conversations became the only remedy capable of diffipating those hypochondriac affections to which he was fubject. He took particular delight in inveftigating the prejudices which govern different nations; he amufed himfelf by tracing up to their fources thefe prejudices, to which he attributed every error, and even almost every crime; and in bewailing humanity, to vindicate its infirmities, conftituted his philosophical amusement. It is my duty to bear my teftimony to the talents and understanding of this Prince : I have feveral times heard him deliver his opinions on the influence of the climate, on the abufes and advantages of liberty, on the principles of honour, on the laws and maxims of a government, in a manner which

BARON DE TOTT. 173

which would have done honour to Montefquieu himfelf.

A great part of his troops were already affembled, and the effect of the measures taken to victual the army during its flay at Balta, determined the Kam to proceed thither. This town, fituated on the confines of Poland, and the fuburb of which is in Tartary, became celebrated by the commencement of hostilities; but at that time, totally deflitute of inhabitants, prefented nothing but the most frightful picture of devastation. The 10,000 Sipahis fent by the Turks to join the Tartars, had reached this place before us; and had not only laid wafte Balta, but had burned alfo all the neighbouring villages. Krim-Gueray led on, with regret, fuch wretched and ill-difciplined troops; he augured ill of their courage, and acted only in deference to the good opinion the Grand Signior had formed of them. This body of cavalry, accuftomed to the comforts and inactivity of a long peace, no way formed to fatigue, uninured to the cold, and fo illcloathed

174 MEMOIRS OF THE

cloathed withal, as not to be able to withftand it, could be of no effectual fervice whatever. Their bravery was not lefs fufpected by the Kam of the Tartars, than are in general their principles of religion. It is hard to know, in fact, whether the Arnaouts † Timoriots ‡ give the preference to the Coran or the Gofpel. I was returning one night from the Kam's, in a Tartar drefs, and was croffing the fquare of Balta, to return to my lodgings; two Sipahis, who were likewife returning home, walked before me, converfing in Greek, curfing their fituation, and fwearing by the Holy Crucifix to revolt on the first opportunity. This excited my curiofity, to make them explain the contradiction; and mending my pace, I came up with them, giving them the Mahometan falute, which they very

+ Under this name of Arnaouts, are comprehended all the people of Turkey in Europe, which borders on Sclavonia.

[‡] Timoriots are the poffeffors of fiefs, held under the Sovereign by military fervice; and the Timors are particularly appropriated to the Sipahis, who compose the Turkish cavalry. BARON DE TOTT. 175

very folemnly returned in the Turkifh language; I then addreffed them in Greek; —" Adieu! Brethren, we are no more Turks, one than the other of us." This adieu was not of a nature to feparate us fo foon. Enchanted with me, they were only aftonifhed that a Tartar could be a Chriftian; but not wifhing to be known, I framed a ftory. They confeffed to me that they were only Mahometans for the *Timar*; and this was all I wanted to know.

The main army was collected, and the colds became fo violent, that they left the field open for the Tartars to make their incurfions into New Servia. We had juft been informed that the army under the Calga was afcending towards the Samara; that the Nouradin's army was alfo on its march; and Krim-Gueray, after adapting his plans to this new information, quitted Balta to encamp near Olmar. This town, dependent on Tartary, had been partly burnt by the Sipahis, who completed its deftruction even under the eyes of the Sovereign. To this outrage, they added 176 MEMOIRS OF THE

added the infolence of coming in a body to him, to demand barley for their horfes, whilft his own, as well as those of the whole army, were reduced to browze under the fnow. The indignation of the Kam was very near breaking forth into cruelty; but he confined himself to menaces, forefeeing that this infolent banditti would foon be reduced by the cold to the most complete fubmiffion.

Hitherto I had been fupplied by the Prince ; we ftill had fresh provisions, and I had not been in the way of judging of what was left for the remainder of the campaign; but the fcarcity at the camp at Olmar, prepared us the first truly military. fupper. I was waiting for it without anxietv, but not without appetite, when the officers of the kitchen came to lay out the field table. It confifted of a round trencher of Russia leather, of about two feet diameter : with this trencher were two bags, from whence they drew out fome excellent bifcuit, and imoaked horfes ribs, the deliciousness of which was an inexhauftible

hauftible topic; poutargue, cavear †, and raifins, for the deffert, completed the banquet. "How do you like the Tartar kitchen ?" fays the Kam, laughing; "Dreadful for your enemies," replied I. A page, to whom he whifpered a moment after, prefented me with the fame gold cup made ufe of by his mafter. "Tafte my drink, alfo," fays Krim-Gueray. It was excellent Hungarian wine, which he continued to favour me with the reft of the campaign.

On the following days the army marched towards the *Bog*, which we croffed on the ice, and eftablifhed our firft camp in the Zaporovian Deferts. Notwithftanding the advice that had been given me, I had amongft my horfes an Arabian, which was very foon exhaufted, and, finking under the rigour of the climate, fell down to die after the paffage of the river. The animal had fcarcely any breath remaining, when fome Noguais came to beg him of

me

† Poutargue and Cavear, are the fpawn of fifth falted, but varioufly prepared.

me as a prefent. "What would you do," faid I, "with the dead horfe?"—"Nothing," fays one of them; "but he is not dead; we fhall be in time to kill him, and to regale ourfelves on him, particularly as he is a white horfe, whofe flefh is always the more delicate." I readily granted them this morfel, to fatisfy their appetite; but I will not undertake to fay that they arrived in time to fatisfy the Muffulman law, in all its fcrupulous exactnefs.

The cold, however, became fo exceffive, and the plains we paffed over, which had been lately burnt, afforded fo little pafturage, that after crofling L'Eau Morte *, (the Dead Water) a refolution was taken to follow the courfe of that river, and to encamp amongft the reeds, which were difcovered by our patroles. We had need of them to warm ourfelves, and to feed our horfes; but the Turkifh cavalry, who had flattered themfelves, no doubt, with the hopes of making war only with Polifh villages, being provided neither with tents

* A River in New Servia.

nor

nor provisions, experienced at once all the feverity of cold and hunger: befides their original want of forefight, they had the imprudence, on their arrival at the camp, to come near the fires; the greatest number of them, in confequence, were maimed, and pity very foon fucceeded the general indignation infpired by their robberies and devastation. The Kam, informed that these wretches were begging their fubfistence from tent to tent, ordered a certain portion of bifcuit to be collected from each Mirza, and distributed amongst them.

A fmall eminence we fell in with the next day, whilft the army was marching in line of battle, over an extensive plain, gave Krim-Gueray the defire of feeing all his troops from it in one point of view.— He ordered a halt: I followed him upon this rifing ground; and the dark colour of the Tartarian drefs, contrasted with the whitenefs of the fnow, which ferved as a back-ground to the picture, fuffered nothing to efcape the eye. We diffinguished by

MEMOIRS OF THE

180

by the ftandards, the troops of the refpective provinces; and I could not help. remarking, that without any fixed order, the army had thrown itfelf naturally into twenty files deep, and in lines tolerably. well formed. Each Sultan Serafker, with his little court, formed an advanced groupe before his division. The centre of the line, occupied by the Sovereign, formed of itfelf a pretty confiderable advanced corps, the arrangement of which formed a picture no lefs military than agreeable. Forty companies, each composed of forty horfemen, four abreaft, led the van, in two columns, and formed an avenue, lined on each fide with twenty pair of colours .---The Grand Equerry, followed by twelve led horfes, and a covered fledge, marched immediately after, and preceded the body of horfe which furrounded the Kam. The ftandard of the Prophet, borne by an Emir, as well as the two pair of green colours which accompany it, came next, and were feen blended with the ftandard of the Crofs, belonging to the troop of Inat Coffacks, BARON DE TOTT. 181

facks, attached to the Prince's body-guard, which clofed the march.

This nation of the Inat Coffacks, which is indebted for its poffeffions to the circumstances of its emigration from Russia, is established in the Cuban. One Ignatius, more tenacious of his beard than of his liberty, to escape from the razor of Peter the Great, attended by a numerous fet of followers, took refuge with the Kam. The Tartars found fo much analogy between the word Inat, (opinionated) and the word Ignatius, that they continue to bear the former appellation, to mark the motive of their emigration. They do not appear to have preferved with the fame attention the purity of Christianity, but they faithfully retain the fign of it on their banners, and are still fcrupulously attached to the privilege of eating pork. Each of our Inats had a quarter of fwine's flefh, by way of portmanteau. The Turks, on thefe occafions, must find the Prophet's ftandard in very bad company; and I have often heard them murmuring against that

as

as a facrilegious profanation, which the Tartars had the good fenfe to regard as a matter of perfect indifference.

The reft of the army had not fo ftriking an appearance of forefight. Eight or ten pounds of millet, roafted, pounded, and preffed together, in a little bag of leather, fufpended to the faddle of every Noguais, furnifhed the army with a certain provifion for fifty days. The horfes alone were left to their own induftry to find fubfiftence; but their prefent fituation differed very little from that to which they had always been accuftomed. The little attention their horfes require, induces the Tartars alfo to bring two or three, and often more into the field, fo that we had more than three hundred thoufand in the army.

The Kam, who was much pleafed with what he had feen, afked the Sultans and his Minifters, if in the view they had juft taken, they diftinguifhed the braveft man in the army? The filence of the courtiers marked fufficiently their anfwer. "It is neither you, nor I," refumed Krim-Gueray, jocularly;

BARON DE TOTT. 183

jocularly; "we are all armed:—Tott is the only man who dares go to war unarmed; he has not even a knife." This pleafantry terminated the review; and the army refumed its march to the head of the *Eau Morte*, where we did not arrive till very late, and encamped in an immenfe open fpace, lined with reeds.

For feveral days paft, Krim-Gueray had been complaining of a pain in his thumb, where an abfcefs was formed, and produced a fever; we had no furgeon with us: I offered him my fervices, and the infpection of a fet of lances I carried about me, in cafe of need, determined him to truft me with the operation. I immediately applied my inftrument; the incifion calmed his pain, the fever difappeared, and the wound, which was healed in a few days, did me much honour, and afforded me particular fatisfaction.

From the time of our entering the Zaporovian plains, I never quitted the Kam's tent, where we converfed together till midnight. Wrapped up in his pelice, he repofed repofed himfelf on a cufhion, and ordering me to do the fame, two pages kept up a good fire, which was very neceffary. But if I wanted reft, he was not difpofed to let me long enjoy it. This Prince was accuftomed to fleep only three hours, and I with difficulty obtained five minutes refpite, whilft the coffee was preparing. Thus awakened, without changing my place, I refumed the attitude of the preceding evening.

It was foon perceived that the tent of the Kam was fituated on the ice; but nobody difcovered until day-break, and at the moment of departure, that all the army had encamped upon a lake, the furface of which, weakened by an infinite number of holes made in it to procure water, threatened to fwallow up every thing. No tent was left ftanding but the Kam's. I was alone with him, when a Polifh foldier in my retinue, rufhing in like a madman, places himfelf near the fire, and begins pulling off his cloaths; I ran to him, to turn him out, thinking him either drunk

or

EARON DE TOTT.

or mad, and threatened him with the difpleafure of the Kam. Nothing moves him; and I could only get a fign from him to let him alone. He had already got off his boots, when Krim-Gueray perceived, by the cracking of his cloaths, that he had fallen into the water, "What are you going to do with the poor fellow?" fays he to me, with goodnefs, " the man who is dying, is he not independent? He knows nobody but the perfon who can affift him.—Kings are no longer any thing for him !—Let us leave him the tent to himfelf."—We went out; and I ordered my people to take care of him.

The army, bending its courfe always to the northward, endeavoured to approach the Great Ingul, of the position of which we had very vague ideas; but by a forced march of twelve leagues, we at length encamped on the banks of that river: a few deferted dwellings, and fome hay-ftacks around them, were of effential fervice to us.

We were now on the confines of New Servia, and had reached the point from whence our incursions were to strike terror into the wretched inhabitants; and the council of war was fummoned to felect the troops necessary for that expedition. Whilft it was affembled, a meffenger, and fome prifoners made by the patroles, depofed that the Zaporovian Coffacks on our right, menaced by the Calga Sultan, having demanded and obtained a neutrality of this Prince, had refufed to give any affiftance to the Ruffian Governor-General of St. Elizabeth. Thefe particulars made the Kam and his Generals acquainted with their true politions. It was refolved in confequence, that a third part of the army, composed of volunteers, under the orders of a Sultan, and feveral Mirzas, fhould pafs the river at midnight, divide itfelf into feveral columns, and fucceffively fub-dividing, fhould overrun New Servia, burn all the villages and crops which were gathered in, carry off all the inhabitants, and drive off their cattle. It was befides determined, that each foldier

BARON DE TOTT.

foldier fhould have two affociates in that part of the army which remained. By this arrangement, every body was to partake of the booty; thus, avoiding all difcuffions about fhares : and the general interest concurred with that of individuals, to make a good choice of the foldiers deftined for this expedition. The detachment was likewife apprized, that the remainder of the army, paffing the Ingul the next day, would direct its courfe by flow marches towards the frontiers of Poland, ftreightning St. Elizabeth, to protect the foragers, and wait for their return. The destructive talents displayed fo eminently by the Sipahis on former occafions, feemed to difcover fo much zeal for devastation, that they were invited to take a fhare in this expedition ; but the cold had reduced them fo low, that none of them were inclined to march. There were only the Serdenguetchety §, and

§ A fort of Turkish troops, whose name fignifies Forlorn Hope, volunteers determined to conquer or to die; but neither the one nor the other ever happens to them.

fome

fome other Turks who followed the Sultan.

The detachment under his orders had marched; and the cold, already lefs fevere than on the preceding evening, was fo diminished during the night, that a thaw was to be appreliended. The water even began to cover the ice on the river, and left us no hopes of being able to crofs it but by haftening our departure. The army was foon ready ; and extending itfelf along the Ingul, was put in motion at the fame moment. The Tartars, accuftomed to fuch expeditions, feparating themfelves at a certain diffance from each other, croffed it lightly, in a little trot ; but a number of the Sipahis, who trod heavily, from fear, and who were fo terrified by the noife of the broken ice, as to ftop fhort, and were fwallowed up before our eyes. We halted on the other fide of the river, to give time for the troops to form. Some Sipahis, who had efcaped from the danger, were deploring the fate of their comrades; particularly one

one of these poor wretches, whose father had just perished in the river, with a fum confiderable enough to have made his fortune. One of the Inat Coffacks immediately proposed to fish up the purse for two fequins; his offer is accepted, and he undreffes himfelf, whilft they point out to him the hole amongst the flakes of ice; he plunges in, and remains long enough under water to make the fpectators uneafy; but after a few minutes, he appears with the treasure in his hand. This fuccess encourages one of the comrades of the deceased, who regrets his pistols mounted with filver; the intrepid Coffack undertakes a fecond trip, fatisfies his defire, without difputing about an increase of reward, receives his two fequins, puts on his cloaths, and runs to rejoin his colours.

In execution of the plan refolved on, the army remounted the hill, until it fell in with the track beaten in the fnow by the troops of the incurfion. We croffed this road near the place, where dividing itfelf into into feven branches, it formed a goofe's foot, to the left of which we conftantly directed our courfe, taking care never to touch upon any of the fubdivifions we fucceffively fell in with, the fmalleft of which were at length no more than paths traced out by one or two horfemen.

The weather becoming rainy, obliged the army to halt on the banks of the Adjemka, where it passed the night. But this thaw, which at first had made us uneafy, was rapidly fucceeded by fo fevere a froft, that it was with difficulty the tents could be folded up. Small hail, violently drifted by the wind, cut our faces, and made the blood come out of the pores of the nofe, and the breath freezing to the whifkers, formed ificles fo heavy, as to be very painful. A great part of the Sipahis, maimed in the preceding marches, perified on that day; the Tartars themfelves fuffered very feverely, but nobody dared to complain. Krim-Gueray, who fince his indifpolition, went part of the way in a covered fledge, amufed himfelf, during this

this time, by afking me queftions concerning the Pope, comparing his fituation to that of the Holy Father, and regretting that he was not in his place. I took this opportunity of reprefenting to him the havock the cold was making in his army, and the danger of too long a march. " I cannot make the weather better," faid he, " but I can infpire them with courage to fupport its feverity."-He calls immediately for a horfe, and conforming himfelf to the cuftom which prohibits the Oriental Sovereigns from wearing shawls, fuch as private perfons cover their heads with, he braves the hoary frofts, and by his example obliges the Sultans, the Ministers, and every perfon about him, to go uncovered. This act of vigour put a ftop to the murmurs, and gave the Prince an opportunity of viewing the picture of those difafters which occafioned them. In fact, we were lofing both men and horfes every moment. We met with nothing in the plains but frozen flocks ; and twenty columns of fmoke rifing in the horizon, completed completed the horror of the picture, by proclaiming to us the fires which were already ravaging New Servia +.

Falling in at length with fome briars, and a little forage, the Kam determined to make a halt. His tent was pitched near a hay-flack, which he ordered to be diffributed, and which, in fpite of its enormous fize, disappeared in an instant. We amused ourselves with this spectacle, which prefented at once the eagerness of pillage, and the feverity of good difcipline. A meffenger from the Sultan who commanded the incursion, brought us news in the evening from that Prince. He informed us that the inhabitants of a large village, having to the number of 1200, taken refuge in a Monastery, had compelled him, by their refiftance, to fhoot off fome arrows with brimftone matches, in hopes of feeing their obflinacy give way to the fear of fire; but that the conflagration, too rapidly furrounding thefe unfortunate peo-

† This day's march coll the army more than 3000 men, and 30,000 horfes, who perifhed by the cold. ple, ple, hadconfumed them all. The Sultan added to the deep regret he expressed for this dreadful misfortune, fome complaints of the cruelty of the Turks who had accompanied him, whose only courage, he faid, consisted in bathing themselves in the blood of the prisoners.

Krim-Gueray was not lefs fenfible than the Sultan to the melancholy confequences of the conflagration; the cruelty of the Turks filled him with indignation; the fight of the heads cut off, ftill further fhocked him ‡. " I would hang up a Tartar," added he, " who fhould dare to prefent himfelf before me in the attitude of an executioner.—How can there exift fo ferocious a people as to encourage barbarity by rewarding it, and can take a pleafure in fuch difgufting objects ?"

The fucceflive arrival of the Tartars, who were already returning, laden with

[‡] The Turks are accuftomed to carry the heads of their flain enemies to the General who commands them; the Tartarson the contrary, hold this cuftom in abhorrence.

VOL. II.

booty,

booty, and bringing us fresh particulars, had kept us awake till three in the morning. The entrance of the Kam's tent could not be fhut, under the prefent circumftances, and I obtained permiffion to go and take fome hours reft in my own.---It was occupied by Meffrs. Rufin and Constillier, who were half frozen, flept little, and were dying with hunger. A hard fnow formed the bed I came to fhare with them, and on which, wrapped up in my pelice, I took my place, and fell afleep. Soon after, one of the Kam's pages half opens the door, announces a prefent from his mafter, places it at the feet of Mr. Rufin, and withdraws. Mr. Conftillier, who was kept more awake by hunger, made no doubt but that it was fomething eatable; he knew alfo that I kept nothing concealed from him of that fort; but too far off to examine the packet, he defires his companion to fee what it is ; who, on account of the fevere cold, refufes a long time: obliged, at length, to fubmit, he puts out his arm, keeping his head still covered BARON DE TOTT. 195

covered with his pelice, gets hold of fomething hairy, which he lifts up by the glimmering of a lamp hanging from the top of the tent, and prefented to the greedy eye of Mr. Conftillier a human face. Struck with this horrible object, he cries out,—" My friend, it is a head !" and Mr. Rufin fent it as quick as lightning out of the tent, both of them curfing the cold, their hunger, and the Tartar pleafantries.

The cold increafed fo much next day, that at our fetting out, notwithstanding my gloves lined with hare fkin, my hands were benumbed with it at the moment of getting on my faddle, and I had much difficulty to recover the circulation. The columns of fmoke which covered the horizon on the right, and Fort St. Elizabeth, which we perceived on our left, left no longer any doubt about the route we were to purfue ; we directed it towards fome edifices in our front, which we foon difcovered to be a preparation for fignals of fire. These triangular wooden frames, eight ftories high, filled with ftraw and K a faggots,

faggots, were, doubtlefs, intended to fpread the alarm, on the first appearance of the Tartars; but they eventually ferved only as guides for their army as far as Adjemka. This town, preferved from the ravages of the incursion by its vicinity to St. Elizabeth, contained only a few inhabitants, and we fuspected that the greatest part of them had taken refuge under the cannon of that fortrefs.

The main army was in fo bad a ftate, that it had every thing to fear itfelf from a fally; in fact, two or three thoufand men attacking it in the night, would only have had the trouble of cutting us to pieces. This danger was not more clearly proved, than the impoffibility of avoiding it by continuing a march, the fatigues of which the troops were no longer able to fupport. In this extremity, Krim-Gueray ordered the Sultans, and the Mirzas to form a detachment of 300 horfemen, to go at funfet to infult St. Elizabeth, in order to keep the garrifon on the defensive. This chosen band, the only part of the army whole energy of mind was still able to furmount the

BARON DE TOTT. 197

the natural faintness arising from a complication of fufferings, puffing into the fuburb to make prifoners, made the fuccefs of this military stratagem fo complete, that the army was enabled to ftay and recover its fatigues in the midft of the greateft plenty. The town of Adjemka, confifting of eight or nine hundred families, fituated on a fmall river of that name, proved the fertility of its foil, by the abundance of the crops of every kind. The troops, however, were not allowed to occupy the houfes, from fear of a premature confiagration. They were only permitted to carry off the wood and provisions for confumption ; the Kam himfelf fet the example, by continuing under his tent. The next day's reft, by recruiting their ftrength, and giving time for a part of the incursion troops to join us with a vast number of flaves and cattle, diffused a general gaiety throughout the army.

I observed that the Tartars of each hord, and of each troop, had a watch-word to which their comrades answered, to direct them.

them. That of Ak-Seraï, the White Palace, was peculiar to the Kam's houfhold; but if it be eafy to conceive the utility of this expedient, a circumstance one would fcarcely believe on feeing it, is the care, the attention, the patience, the extreme agility of the Tartars in keeping what they have taken. Five or fix flaves, of different ages, fixty fheep, and twenty oxen, the prize of a fingle man, do not embarrafs him. The children, with their heads peeping out of a fack, hanging by the pummel of the faddle; a young girl fitting before, leaning on her left hand; the mother behind on the crupper, the father on a led horfe, the fon upon another, fheep and oxen before them, every thing in a march, and nothing goes aftray from under the vigilant eye of the shepherd of this flock. To collect, to conduct them, to provide for their fubfiftence, to go on foot to ease his flaves, no trouble is too great for him; and this fcene would be truly interefting, did not avarice, and the most cruel injuffice, furnish the subject of the picture.

picture. I had gone out with the Kam to view this fpectacle, when an officer of the guard, which formed a line of circumvallation around the tent, came to acquaint him, that a Noguais asked permission to make a complaint to him. Krim-Gueray confented; and the Noguais, followed by the fame officer, advanced towards us; but uncertain, from the fimilitude of our pelices, to which of the two he fhould addrefs himfelf, he appears disposed to give the preference to me. I was going, however, to retreat, to put an end to his embarraffment, but the Kam, who had obferved it, making a fign to the officer to let him remain in his error, drew back himfelf, and ordered me to hear what he had to fay. The cafe was a horfe which had been loft, and of another which he had stolen in return, without being able to justify his pretended right of reprifal. "What must I answer?" fays I, to the Kam; " Decide as you think proper," replied he, laughing. I pronounced, accordingly, the reftitution of the horfe ftolen ;

200 MEMOIRS OF THE

ftolen; and was about to difmifs the parties, when Krim-Gueray, who was amufing himfelf with this pleafantry, whifpers me in the ear, not to forget the baftinado. I immediately added, "I pardon thee the baftinado thou haft merited." A fign from the Kam, to carry my fentence into execution, proved to me that he was not difpleafed at my mitigating his.

Every refearch that could be made after the inhabitants of Adjemka, had hitherto proved ineffectual; and it was not until two days after, at the moment of our departure, on fetting fire to fome ftacks of corn and forage, which concealed thefe unfortunate people, that they came and threw themfelves into the arms of their enemies, to escape the flames which were deftroying their crops, and their habitations. The order to burn Adjemka, was executed with fuch precipitation, and the fire caught all the thatched houfes with fuch violence and rapidity, that we could barely escape ourfelves through the flames. The atmosphere, loaded with ashes, and vapour

vapour of the melted fnow, after fome time darkening the fun, formed, from the combination of these different materials, a greyish shower of snow, which crashed between the teeth. One hundred and fifty villages, which were alfo confumed, producing the fame effect; extended this cloud of cinders full twenty leagues into Poland, where our arrival would alone furnish the folution of this phænomenon. The army marched for fo long a time in a this obfcurity, that feveral hours elapfed before we discovered the defertion of a large part of the Noguais of Yedefan, who, being already joined by their foragers, were returning, at every hazard, by the Defert, to avoid the ten per cent, on their prizes, payable to their Sovereign.

The route of the army lying towards the frontiers of the Polifh Ukraine, brought the army to Crafnikow. This village, fituated behind a marfhy ravine, contained a fort of redoubt, in which the inhabitants, affifted by about a hundred foldiers, at first made fome refistance; but their K_5 dread 202

dread of the flames foon obliged them to fly into a neighbouring wood, from whence they might annoy our troops with mufquetry, even in the village. To diflodge them, Krim-Gueray, who went to the head of the wood in perfon, ordered the Sipahis, who were still remaining, to begin the attack. But those brave fellows, whom the ftay at Adjemka, and the intermiffion of the cold had again rendered infolent, were difperfed on the first fire. The Inat Coffacks, drawn up behind us, animated by the prefence of the Sovereign, demanded, and obtained permission to attack. Difmounting in an inftant, they penetrate into the wood, hem in the party who defend themfelves, kill about forty of them, and make prifoners of all those who were unable to efcape. During this expedition, which only coft the Coffacks eight or ten men, and a few flight wounds received by the Tartars, who were near the Kam, that Prince, fired with indignation at the cowardice of the Turks, was converfing with me on the fubject, and predicting predicting the humiliation which it muft neceffarily bring upon the Ottoman empire.

Occupied with this idea, he was still on horfeback at the entrance of the village, when he perceived a Turk, of the race of Emirs, who was coming on foot from the wood, carrying a head in his hand. "Look at that rafcal," faid he; "he is coming to fpoil my fupper; but obferve him well; he dares fcarcely touch the head, now that he has cut it off." The Emir arrives; throws his trophy at the feet of the Prince's horfe, and pronounces, with emphafis, his wifhes, " That all the enemies of the Emperor of the Tartars, may fuffer the fame fate as the one he has just been destroying." Krim-Gueray, however, had; by this time, difcovered in this head, the features of one of his own Coffacks .--"Wretch!" fays he, to the Emir, " how did'st thou kill him? Dead as he is, thou art afraid of him; living, he would have eat thee! It is one of my Inats, killed at the attack of the wood: Who helped thee to cut off his head-to affift thee in deceiving me? Thou wouldest not thyfelf, have had the courage!" The Turk, difconcerted, ftrives to defend himfelf; he infifts, and has the hardinefs to affert, that he killed the man himfelf, and that he was an enemy. " Examine his arms, then," fays the Prince ;- knife, fabre, piftols, every thing was examined on the fpot, but nothing indicated that he had killed him. " Knock down this pretended man of courage," cries Krim-Gueray. An officer of the guard, giving him a flight ftroke with his whip, was defirous of fparing the wretch, at the fame time that he fatisfied. his master's anger. But the Turk, proudof his rank of Emir, the fole privilege of which, in Turkey, is never more than refpectfully to take off the head drefs of the perfon to be beaten, exclaims with infolence against this affault upon his perfon. The fury of the Kam could no longer be restrained: " Cut the green turban, with your whips, upon the rafcal's head!" This order, pronounced in a firm tone of voice, which allowed of no further palliation, was executed

executed with a feverity more cruel than death itfelf. This execution had a great effect on the Sipahis, who, after refufing to fhare with the Tartars in the fatigues of the incurfion, ufed to watch their return, and frequently rob them, with piftols at their heads, of the flaves they were bringing back; and, after dragging thefe wretched people about with them for fome time, tired of the trouble, cut them in pieces, to get rid of them.

The Kam propofed attacking the little town of Sibiloff, fituated behind the wood, at about a league and a half diftant from us, the next morning; but from the report of prifoners, the garrifon appearing too ftrong for him to carry it, without cannon, he only permitted fome volunteers to go there, whilft he, at the head of his army, bent his courfe towards Bourky, in Poland.—The cannon of Sibiloff, which we heard on our march, could not hinder the Tartar detachment from burning the fuburbs, and making a great number of flaves. All the villages in our line of march

206 MEMOIRS OF THE

march underwent the fame fate; and the Tartars, more difpofed to get poffeffion of the perfons of the inhabitants, than to fludy diffinctions refpecting the boundaries of Poland, continued their ravages far beyond the prefcribed limits. But although the orders of the Kam could not, at firft, check the avidity of the Tartars, which purpofely confounded the inhabitants of New Servia with those of the Polish Ukraine, the measures adopted by the Prince at length produced the defired effect; befides that, punishment always very nearly followed the offence.

To infure the refpect due to the Republic of Poland, the main body of the army always encamped in the environs of the villages, living on their own provifions; and the Turks, for whom it was abfolutely neceffary to procure lodgings, having dared to fet fire to fome houfes, were feverely punifhed. A rough calculation of the flaves carried off by the army, amounted to 20,000: the cattle were innumerable. We could only proceed by flow marches; marches; and the neceffity of watching the conduct of the Tartars, determined Krim-Gueray to march in feven columns. In every village where we halted, our lodgings, marked with chalk, left the Sipahis the choice of fuch houfes as were not occupied by the Kam, and his attendants. The Prince had given orders that mine fhould be always near his. I enjoyed this advantage very quietly for feveral days, until an Alay-Bey *, who, doubtlefs, had not been able to find apartments in the town worthy to receive him, very gravely enters my lodgings, followed by two Sipahis, carrying his baggage. I ask him what he wants ?-- " Don't difturb yourfelf," fays he, coolly, and feats himfelf on a fort of estrade, between two cushions, which he never quitted, and afks for his pipe .--In vain did I obferve to him that thefe lodgings were defigned for me; that we could not both occupy them; that I could not be far from the Sovereign, nor he from his troop. No argument has any weight with

* Colonel of the Arnaout Sipahis.

with him; he has taken up his quarters, and is immoveable. I had no other refource than to apply to the Selictar to free me from this difagreeable intruder. The Selictar comes immediately, under pretence of paying me a vifit, and afks the Colonel, on entering, how long he has been acquainted with me? The other, not at all difconcerted, replies, that he is come to make acquaintance with me, by lodging there. " It was at the attack of the. wood," fays the Captain of the Guards, ironically, " that you fhould have made acquaintance with us; we fhould then have received you very cordially; but to-day, you must withdraw :--- and, take my ad-vice, not to wait until the Kam, informed of your conduct, makes you feel his displeasure."-" I know," replies the officer, " all his power ;---to take off my head ;-he has only to fay the word ;-he may do that, if he pleafes; but I will never go out of this house alive, before the army marches."-This was his definitive refolution, and nothing could fhake him. Enraged

BARON DE TOTT.

200 Enraged at this madman, the Selictar quitted me, to inform Krim-Gueray of what had paffed .- I immediately received an invitation to wait upon him; and I found him giving fuch orders as made me tremble. Long irritated against the cowardice and bad discipline of the Turks, the infolence of my Alay-Bey exhaulted his patience. I was only fent for, in fact, to give him an opportunity of ftriking the intended blow. The Kam was inclined to extend his rigour to the whole body of Sipahis, and could only be reftrained by the fear of lying under the imputation of prejudice. Whilft he was hefitating in this refpect, I was determined to do every thing in my power to leave the Colonel quiet, whofe motto certainly was not-' To conquer, or to die ;'-but, ' To fleep, or die.' I urged, that my complaint might have been improperly explained ;- that I was the perfon to be heard ;---and having, at length, fucceeded in amufing the Kam with remarks on the ridiculous obftinacy of the Arnaouts, I made my particular inftance difappear under the general obfervation.

obfervation. The order was revoked, with the obliging condition that I fhould no more quit his tent.

The army laden with the plunder of New Servia, regulating its march by that of the cattle, was flowly approaching the frontiers; and the Tartars, always infatiable, were taken up with various attempts to elude the vigilance of the Kam, in order to increase their booty, by marauding, when it was ftrictly prohibited, under pain of the feverest punishment. The dark colour, however, of the Tartar drefs was too eafily diftinguishable at a diftance on the fnow, to favour the ftratagems of the plunderers. Some Noguais were detached to turn a Polifh village, behind which they were about to conceal themfelves, when the Kam, paffing along the edge of a wood, on a flat piece of ground, which overlooked the plain, difcovered fome of thefe marauders. He gave immediate orders to his Selictar to go in perfon, with four Seimens, to fcour the village, and bring him fuch of the Noguais as he fhould find

find in the fact of plundering. The gloomy air with which Krim-Gueray gave this order announced an intended example.---Already did the Selictar, who went full fpeed to the fpot, to execute his orders, make his appearance, bringing back with him a Noguais, and a piece of linen, and a couple of handfuls of wool, which he had taken. Interrogated by his Sovereign, the marauder confesses his faults, admits that he was acquainted with the rigour of the orders against this rapine, offers nothing in his defence, afks no favour, tries to interest nobody in his behalf, and coolly awaits his fentence, without difplaying either infolence or weaknefs. " Let him difmount, and tie him to a horfe's tail, to be dragged until he dies ; and let a crier, following him, inform the army of the crime which has incurred this punishment." To this dreadful fentence pronounced by the Kam, the Noguais makes no other reply than by difmounting from his horfe, and approaching the Seimens who were to bind him; but there were neither

neither cords nor ftraps. Whilft they were looking for them, I attempt a word in hisfavour; Krim-Gueray's only anfwer was by fharply commanding them to put an end to the bufinefs, by making use of a bowftring. They tell him it is too fhort. "Well, let him pafs his head, then, through the bow when it is bent." The Noguais obeys; follows the horfeman, who drags him rapidly along, until, unable to keep. pace with the trot of the horfe, he falls, and thus escapes from the yoke by which he is held. A fresh order from the Prince remedies this deficiency .--- " Let him hold the bow with his hands," added he. The criminal immediately croffes his arms, and takes hold of it; and the complete execution of this fentence, which condemned the prisoner to be his own executioner, affords, undoubtedly, an example of the most extraordinary submission; it surpasses all the strange stories which have been related of the blind obedience to the orders of the Old man of the Mountain §. The

§ Mr. Rufin, who accompanied me, and who is at

The attention of Krim-Gueray to the maintenance of good order in Poland, extended even to the religious worfhip of the inhabitants; and fome Noguais, convicted of having mutilated a picture reprefenting Chrift, received a hundred ftrokes of the baftinado, at the gate of the church. "We must teach the Tartars," faid he, " to refpect the fine arts and the Prophets."

Savran || was now the defired point, in which town the diffribution of the booty was to take place; the different hords were to be difmiffed, referving only the troops of Bafs-Arabia, and where we were to be freed from the rabble which furrounded us. It was determined to remain there, and the divition of the fpoils was proceeded on the day after our arrival; but the ftricteft attention could not prevent fome rogues from getting their booty out of the way of the ten *per cent*. duty, payable to the Sovereign. But, notwithftanding the frauds, the

at prefent Professor in the Royal Academy at Paris, was, as well as myself, a witness to this incredible fact.

|| A town in Poland, in the Palatinate of Bruklaw.

the Prince ftill received for his fhare near two thousand flaves, which he made prefents of to the first comer. I was neceffarily prefent at these transactions, and perceiving the liberality of the Kam in this particular, I represented to him, that if he continued, he would foon dry up the fource of it.

Krim-Gucray.

There will always be enough left for me, my friend; the age of defire is paft; but I have not forgot you: far from your *barem*, marching over deferts, and braving the rigour of the climate with us, it is but just that you should have your share. I defign for you fix *beautiful young boys*; fuch, in short, as I should make choice of for myself.

Baron.

I am overcome with your bounty; but can one be worthy of a fayour, without feeling all its value? I fhould be afraid of not holding this prefent in fo much effimation as you feem to do.

Krim-

Krim-Gueray.

It is by no means my wifh to bargain for your gratitude: I make you a prefent of thefe flaves; they will give you pleafure, and that is all I defire.

Baron.

But, your ferenity overlooks my fituation, which forms an infurmountable obftacle to my accepting them. Your flaves are all Ruffians: How can I accept, as flaves, the fubjects of a power in friendfhip with the Emperor my mafter?

Krim-Gueray.

That reafon most certainly escaped me; nor can I even conceive the principle on which it is founded. Hostility makes flaves; friendship gives, and receives them: What have you to do with any thing elfe? I do not wish, however, to discuss your duty: it is your business to fulfil it; and, to accommodate this matter between us, I will substitute fix young Georgians, in place of the fix Russ; that affair is fettled.

Baron.

Not fo eafily as you imagine, Sir; I have still another intrenchment, difficult to force.

Krim-Gueray.

What is that?

Baron.

My religion.

Krim-Gueray.

As for that fubject, I fhall take fpecial care not to touch on it. You do very well, doubtlefs, to conform to it; but admit, at leaft, that it is very hard.

Baron.

I will do more; I will confefs that human weaknefs very frequently goes aftray; for example, it is very poffible that I only fhow myfelf fo fcrupulous, and fo attached to my duty, to-day, becaufe you offer me nothing which tempts me to deviate from it; fix *pretty girls*, perhaps, might have made me forget all my principles; and, if we examine, with attention, we fhall often find, that the moft fublime efforts

BARON DE TOTT. 217

forts of virtue depend folely on the nature of the temptation. 152

bonis-flor of Krim-Gueray. "

- That I perfectly comprehend ; and that method of feduction would not have efcaped me, had it been in my power to employ it; but I, too, have my religion, my friend, which allows me to give male flaves to Christians, and enjoins me to keep the females, to make profelytes of them.

You think it of lefs confequence, then, to make male than female converts?

Sugli Krim-Gueray.

Not at all; our great Prophet has forefeen every thing : this very diffinction proves it."

stis i susquest Baron.

I must confess that I do not perceive the difference'; you will permit me, therefore, fimply to believe, that you are better pleafed with pretty girls.

Krim-Gueray.

No, I affure you ; but I act in obedience to a law, founded on reason. Man. in VOL. II. T. fact,

MEMOIRS OF TITS

fact, being from his nature independent, even in the flate of flavery, retains a fecret elafticity, which can hardly be reftrained by fear; he feels his powers, and is governed by his moral fenfe: God alone can influence his mind; in your country, in mine, he may be equally enlighted; the converfion of man is at all times a miracle; that of a woman, on the contrary, is the moft natural, and the moft fimple affair in the world: women are always of the religion of their lovers. Yes, my friend, love is the great miffionary; when he appears, there is an end to every difpute.

Nor did I difpute any longer this ftrange pofition, which is only applicable, doubtlefs, to women in a ftate of flavery.

After diftributing the greatest part of the flaves which had fallen to his fhare, and fent off the Noguais, the Kam directed his march towards Bender ; but if the diminution of the army difencumbered us on our march, the Prince's generofity threw a fresh impediment in the way of so speedy a return as he defired. In fact, the Sultans, BARON DE TOTT. 219

Sultans, and the Ministers, reduced, heretofore, to their camp equipage, now poffeffed, from their master's liberality, a fuperfluity, which prevented them from marching with fo much celerity. The Kadi-Lesker, the most infatiable, as well as the most artful in pushing his pretenfions, was confequently possessed of the greatest share of the plunder. Curious to examine his proceedings in the midst of his abundance, I went one evening to see him.

This great Judge, venerable from his age, and the whitenefs of his beard, carelefsly ftretched on the carpet, defined for the five prayers, was very differently employed; he was at that moment contemplating with a greedy eye, and a malicious fmile, forty or fifty flaves, of different ages; who, collected round a flove, formed a groupe of figures of both fexes, all with their eyes fixed on him. "I wifh you joy," faid I, on entering, " of the fuccefs of a war by which, it feems, you have been a confiderable gainer."

The Kadi-Lesker.

You fee, indeed, that the Kam has treated me handfomely; but you know, likewife, that one must be possessed of his riches, to enjoy what he has given me.

Baron.

On the Kam's principles, however, refpecting the conversion of the women, he has reckoned upon you, I imagine, to make fome profelytes.

The Kadi-Lefker.

I was examining, when you came in, which of these faces is the handfomest. Do you take a look, and see if we shall agree in our choice.

Baron.

I have already made mine. That pretty girl, standing on that bench, with her slender shape, her modest air, and her soft looks, has my vote.

The Kadi-Lefker.

For my part, I prefer that round face, full of colour; and I will answer for it, that the little rogue will be charming in a page's drefs. I own to you, that the stender make

220

BARON DE TOTT. 227

make with which you are captivated, frikes me only as a want of em bon point.

Baron.

In that cafe, I am no longer forry for you, for fhe is the only one who can be reproached with that fault; but I fee there fome very young ones; can you tell me at what age one begins to *convert* them; and if the Noguais, whofe activity in carryingoff girls I have been witnefs to, are not in too great hafte to marry them ?

The Kadi-Lefker.

No; the Tartars, on the contrary, are very forupulous in that refpect.

Baron.

But fcrupulous as they are, Sir, they cannot interrogate their flaves about their age, and even that knowledge would be infufficient.

The Kadi-Lefker.

They have a better method of quieting their confciences. I'll tell you what it is: if they are in doubt about the ftrength of a young girl, they pretend to be out of humour, terrify her, and oblige her to fave herfelf herfelf by flight; and when fhe begins to run, they throw one of their caps at her, the fhock of which, without hurting her, is fufficient to make her fall, if fhe be weak; in this cafe they refpect her extreme youth, comfort her for the fall, and wait patiently till fhe is ftrong enough to withftand this proof.

Baron.

I doubt much, whether that be fufficient; but even in that cafe, can you always anfwer for the good faith of thofe who make ufe of it? "You may always rely upon it," replied the Kadi-Lefker, " that their cuftoms are more faithfully obferved by a people whofe manners are fimple, than the most rigorous laws are amongft polifhed nations."

A fort of indifpolition, which I felt at that moment, and which I attributed to the fuffocating heat in the chamber of the Kadi-Lefker, determined me to return home; but the fudden transition from fuch an atmosphere, to a very piercing cold, affected me fo violently, that I fell down fenfelefs BARON DE TOTT. 223

fenfelefs on the fnow. I lay there fonte time before one of the Judge's attendants perceiving me, acquainted his mafter with it. The affiftance, however, I received from them would have done but little, had not Krim-Gueray, informed of my accident, fent fome eau de luce by one of his pages, which made me refpire. Notwithftanding this aid, I was too feeble to walk home; four Tartars carried me, and the concern with which it affected Meffrs. Rufin and Constillier, by awakening my fenfibility, affifted in recruiting my fpirits.

We arrived next day at Bender, and the Governor came to meet us at fome diffance from the town. At the Kam's approach, this Vifir, followed by a great retinue, gets from his horfe, with his whole troop, advances towards the Prince, falutes him profoundly, and turns round to march on foot before; but this mark of refpect paid, he received permiffion, from Krim-Gueray, to mount and accompany him to the Niefter, which feparated us from the fortrefs. There we perceived a bridge of boats, which 224- MEMOIRS QE THE

which the Pachahad built with great difficulty, being obliged to break the ice which covered the river ; but all thefe attempts to pay his court to the Tartar Sovereign were unfuccessful; nor could all the arguments of the Visir, prevail on the Prince to pass the bridge. "I cross rivers," fays he, " in a more œconomical manner." This was no fooner faid, than putting his horfe into a trot, he forces the Pacha, who trembled at this pleafantry, ito follow his example. The cracking of the ice, which broke under us, was indeed enough to make him regret his pontoons ; and the Kam's arguments of their inutility, had no weight with him till he was fafely landed on the opposite shore. During this paffage, the cannon of the place had begun the falute, and Krim-Gueray entered Bender under a general discharge of artillery. He was lodged at the Governor's, and he here difmiffed the remainder of his troops, whilst his houshold went on to Kaouchan, to prepare for his reception ; and where we all arrived, well fatisfied with 1 5 . 50

with the profpect of repofing ourfelves after the fatigues of the campaign.

The news, however, we received from Constantinople, from whence the Ottoman army was preparing to begin its march towards the Danube, did not promife the Tartars any long inaction. In the midst of the pleafures by which Krim-Gueray delighted to unbend his mind, his forefight would not allow him to overlook the neceffary orders for collecting fresh troops, and he thought it neceffary to move himfelf towards Kotchim, that the Grand Vifir might be obliged to keep at a diftance; and, in fact, the ignorance which uniformly guided this Prime Minister, stood in need of being counteracted by a man fo powerful, and fo enlightened as the Kam, who was not, as we have already feen, too favourably disposed towards Emin Pacha. The latter, more circumspect in his difcontent, and forced to hide the means of manifesting it, was, on that account only, a more dangerous enemy. 1. . . . · · · · · · · · · In

MEMOIRS OF THE

226

In the midft of these occupations, Krim Gueray had more frequent returns of those hypochondriac complaints to which he was fubject. Being alone with him during one of these attacks, which he supported with impatience, I was ftriving to diffuade him from the use of empyric remedies, when one Siropolo, who had already propofed one to him, entered his apartment. This man, born at Corfu, by religion a Greek, a great chymift, phyfician to the Prince of Wallachia, and his agent in Tartary, had, in right of these titles, a free admission to the Kam; he did not let flip this opportunity of offering the fuccour of his art, affuring him, that one draught, by no means difagreeable to the palate, would be fufficient to effect a radical cure. " On those terms I confent," replied the Prince, and the doctor went out to comply with them. I shewed my uneafiness fo plainly, that Krim-Gueray, taking notice of it, fays to me, fmiling, " What, my friend, you are afraid ?"-" Undoubtedly," replied I fharply; " reflect on that man's fituation, and and your own, and judge whether I am wrong." " What nonfenfe !" faid he ; " what good can I derive from fuch anexamination ? A fingle glance is fufficient : look at him-look at me, and fee whethertheinfidel would dare !" In vain, did I make use of the strongest representations; until the phyfic arrived ; and the quickness with which it removed the Kam's indifposition, only added to my fears. His fituation the next day increafed my fufpicions : fcarcely had he ftrength enough to appear in public; but the art of the phyfician; by pronouncing it al falutary crifis, made the fymptom pafs for the fore-runner of the cure: Krim-Gueray, however, went out of his harem no more ; and juftly alarmed for his fituation, and the fafety of his M?nifters, by making them partake of my fears, I prevailed on them to make Siropolo appear, to fignify to him, that his life depended on that of their mafter ; but this chymift knew the character of his judges well enough to be convinced, that their ambition would foon be lefs occupied with their -

their dead master, than with the perfon who was to be his fucceffor. No menaces gave him the leaft concern; we were without hopes, and I had no expectation of again feeing the Kam, when he fent to me to come and fpeak to him. Introduced into his harem, I found there feveral of his women, whole grief; and the general confternation, had made them neglect to withdraw. I entered the apartment where Krim-Gueray was lying : He had juft finished different dispatches with the Divan Effendit. Shewing me the papers which were lying round him, if See there," faid he, " my last work ; and my last moments I have referved for you ?" But foon perceiving that my greateft efforts could not conceal the poignancy of my forrow, "Let us feparate;" added he ; " your fenfibility would melt me, and I will try to go to fleep more gaily !" He then made a fign to fix muficians, at the bottom of his chamber to begin their concert, and I learnt, an hour after, that this unfortu-

I Secretary of the Council.

nate Prince breathed his laft to the found of mufic. It is unneceffary for me to fay, what regret was occafioned by the lofs of him, nor how much I was myfelf afflicted. The affliction was general, and terror even took fuch poffeffion of men's minds, that they who flept the preceding evening, in the most perfect fecurity, thought the enemy was already at their gates.

. Whilft the Divan, immediately affembled, was difpatching different meffengers, delivering over the authority of the interregnum to a Sultan, and making preparations for the funeral of Krim-Gueray, Siropolo obtained, without difficulty, a paffport, and the necessary order for posthorfes, to return quietly to Wallachia. The fymptoms of poilon appeared very manifest, however, on embalming the body; but the present interest of that Court, stifled every idea of vengeance, and of the punishment of the offender. The Prince's body was carried into the Crimea, in a coach hung with mourning, drawn by fix horfes, caparifoned with black cloth; fifty

fifty horfemen, a number of Mirzas, and a Sultan, who commanded the effort, were alfo in mourning; and it is remarkable, that the cuftomis no where in ufe throughout the Eaft, but amongft the Tartars.

The great fatigue I had fo long undergone, together with the uncertainty of my fituation after this event, made me very readily adopt the idea of going to Constantinople, to wait fuch further orders as might be given me: a part of my houshold was still at Bactcheferay, the other part I had left at Kaouchan with Mr. Rufin, charge d'affaires ; and I fet out with my fecretary, a furgeon, a fervant, and the Bachetchoader of the Kam, who had directions to conduct me, and was provided with the neceffary orders. We were in the Tartar drefs, and our baggage was in character; we had fcarcely enough to load one horfe, which the postillion led in hand, and which we followed, riding post ; but, notwithstanding the quick trot of the Tartar post-horses, the distance of the different relays prevented me from travelling more

more than fifteen leagues the first day. It was still day-light when we arrived in the village of Bafs-Arabia, which my conductor made choice of for our abode ; he made me stop in the middle of a place, furrounded by houfes, and I remarked, that each inhabitant, standing at his door, kept his eyes fixed on us, whilft the Tchoadar, staring about him, examined one after another. "Well," faid I, to him, "where are we to lodge? Nobody feems to be paying any attention to that."-" I beg your pardon," replied he; " every body is expecting, and wifhing to have the preference : by choofing the houfe you like beft, you will be fure to make fomebody happy." During this conversation, I obferved an old man, ftanding alone at his door; his venerable air interested me; I decided in his favour, and had no fooner made this choice, than all the inhabitants returned into their houses. The earnestnefs of my new landlord testified his fatisfaction : fcarcely had he introduced me into a low room, neatly fitted up, before he he produced his wife and his daughter, both of them with their faces uncovered §. The first carried a bason and ewer, the fecond a towel, which she threw over my hands, when I had washed them. Instructed by my guide, I submitted, without difficulty,

§ We have feen that the law of Namekrem, of which I have spoke in the Preliminary Discourse, is not fcrupuloufly observed amongst the Tartars. The reader must have remarked also, amongst that people, a great number of cuftoms which feem to point out the origin of those customs which are analogous to them amongst ourselves. Cannot we trace out the origin of the nuptial crown, and the fugar-plumbs, which are common at the marriages of the European nations, from the manner in which the Tartars beitow the marriage portion on the daughters ? They cover them with millet : in the origin of all focieties, grain muft have been the received emblem of riches ; in this light they placed a flat difly, of about a foot in diameter, on the head of the new married woman ; they ftretched a veil over her head, which descended to her shoulders; after this they poured millet on the trencher, which, fpreading all around her, formed a cone, whole bale became proportioned to the fize of the bride : her dowry was not complete until the pyramid of millet reached up to the trencher, the veil (till allowing her to breath. This cuftom was not favourable to little perfons ; they content themfelves, therefore.

232

BARON DEOTOTT. 1233

culty, to levery thing which hofpitality dictated to these good people. After ordering the fupper, and leaving the women to get it ready, the old man, who until then had taken me for a Mirza, undeceived by the Tchoadar, came to make an apology for his inability to give me proper accommodations. My answer relieved him; and being defirous of afking him queftions refpecting the objects around me, I made him fit down, and imoke, and take coffee with me, which was brought me by my fervant. This little civility, which he certainly would not have experienced from a Mirza, difposed him to enter into converfation. I defired him to tell me why, for the fole purpofe of hofpitality, they fubjected themfelves to a cuftom, of which he

therefore, at prefent, with effimating the number of measures of millet that a girl is worth. But the Turks and the Armenians, who calculate in gold and filver, flill preferving, however, the custom of the trencher and the veil, throw pieces of money on the bride, which they call "Spreading millet."—Why may not the nuptial crown, and the fugar plumbs, have the fame origin ? he experienced the inconvenience, and which was capable of ruining the richeft individual, if the choice of travellers hapened to fall frequently upon him.

The Old Man...

The preference you have given me, has only made me feel the pleafure of obtaining it. We confider hospitality in the light only of our advantage. The perfon amongst us who should constantly enjoy that preference, would make others jealous of him; but we admit of no measures to fix the doubtful choice of the traveller. Our anxiety to appear at our doors, is only to show that the houses are inhabited.— This uniformity maintains the balance; and my favourable stars alone have procured me the happiness of your company.

Baron.

Pray tell me, do you treat the first comer with the fame humanity?

Old Man.

The only difference we make, is by going to meet the unfortunate, who are always timid, from diftrefs. In this cafe, the pleafure

234

pleafure of affifting them is the privilege of the perfon who can first get hold of them.

Baron.

It is impossible more rigorously to fulfil the Law of Mahomet : but the Turks are not always fuch forupulous observers of the Coran.

Old Man.

Nor do we think we are obeying that holy book by exercifing holpitality. We are men, before we become Muffulmen; humanity has dictated our cuftoms; they are far more ancient than the Law.

Baron.

I obferve, however, that you have fome modern cuftoms : for example, that bed with four pofts, the tefter +, the bedding, this

† The form of the Tartar beds I have just been mentioning, as well as that of the Grand Signior's throne, which confists likewife of a bed with four posts, prefents circumstances of analogy which may appear interesting When we confider that the fe governments must have been Patriarchal, and that the Tartars are in possible of the most ancient annals of this

235

this table, those chairs, are they Tartar furniture? or are they only to be found at your house?

Old Man.

We know no other.

236

0 11 11 1

Baron.

I am the more aftonished, fince neither the Moldavians, nor the Turks, have any thing like them. I cannot conceive in what way these European customs can have reached you. How happens it, that you have not adopted the Turkish furniture, as well as your brethren of the Crimea ?

Old Man.

You' fee accordingly fome cufhions, which our forefathers knew nothing of.—

this kind, as well as of many others, we fhall not be aftonifhed that the form of the bed from which their old men mult naturally have pronounced their judgments, fhould have been adopted, by way of model, for the Oriental thrones; and if we add to this remark, the invafion of all Europe by people of Tartar origin, we fhall add the explanation of the term Bed of Juftice; always employed in France, when the Sovereign Majefty difplays itfelf.

But

But corruption must necessarily make less progress amongst us than in Crimea, where our Sultans shew the example of the Turkiss effeminacy, in which they are brought up in Romelia.

Baron.

I feel perfectly this diffinction; but still it throws no light on the origin of the pieces of European furniture I find here. Old Man.

Nothing, however, can be more ftrongly marked than the origin you are fearching after; these family moveables cannot be European; we are the elder branch; it is your furniture that is Tartarian.

This anfwer further excited my curiofity; I multiplied my queftions, and had the pleafure to hear my landlord confirm every conjecture I had myfelf already made on the fubject. He informed me, likewife, that the Tartars on the Cafpian fea, and those beyond it, preferved the fame cuftoms.

The defire of fleeping on the borders of the Danube, obliged us to fet out very early.

238 MEMOIRS OF THE

early. At my departure, my hoft proved himfelf true to the principles he had profeffed; it was impoffible for me to prevail on him to receive the prefent I intended to make him, for his kind reception.

We arrived at Ifmahel *, from whence I could not caft my eyes on the oppofite fide of the Danube, without thinking of the furly infolence of the Turks, amongst whom I was to be next day. The neighbourhood already partook of the infolence of their manners; and this depofitory of the commerce between the Turks and the Tartars, no longer exhibited that goodfellowship, and that frank fimplicity, which characterize the latter. Far from there finding obliging hofts, ready to affift you, one is delivered into the hands of industrious, and greedy Jews, who are to be found in every fpot of the earth where there is a profpect of gain, and they are fuffered to live.

* A town of Bafs-Arabia, on the left bank, near the mouth of the Danube. Befides

-1....

Befides the favourable fituation of Ifmahel, as a depository for the transportion of corn by the Danube, that town enjoys a peculiar advantage, arifing from its induftry in the fabrication of the fkins of fhagreens, which we call Turkey fhagreen. Around this town are to be feen large fpaces fet apart for the preparation of these fkins. Firft, they are worked like parchment; after which, they are fufpended in the air by four flicks, which ftretch them horizontally, and prepare them to receive the impression of a small seed, of a very aftringent quality, with which they are covered; and after a certain time, the fhagreens are found in a perfect state of preparation.

We had two branches of the river to pass before we could reach the other fide, and it was fcarcely day-break, when the ferry-boat landed us on the island, through the middle of which we crossed diagonally for four leagues, to arrive at the second branch, over against Tultcha, a Turkish fortress, fituated a little below the junction. After After providing ourfelves with horfes at this place, we continued our journey through a foreft, in which the postilion, warned us to be upon our guard, [] But it. ftruck me, that five Tartars could never, be an object to excite the avidity of the Governor's fon, and a few gentlemen of his age, who, according to our guide's account, amused themselves with stripping the paffengers. We thought ourfelves out of danger of these tricks, when, on coming out of the wood, we met a horfeman, well dreffed, well mounted, and followed by a ruffian, both of them covered, with arms, in a manner truly ridiculous. Two carbines, three pair of piftols, two fabres, and three or four great knives, made thefe fellows imagine they had formidable appearance; added to this strange warlike apparatus, they affumed a tone of infolence, defigned, doubtless, to frighten timid people, and to enable them to judge whether it would be prudent for them to begin the attack. We faluted them civilly, when they were within hail, and their firft

240

first act of hostility was by not answering, concluding, from our tamenefs in receiving this fort of infult, that a few bravadoes would render us tractable, the rafcal who appeared to be the chief, takes a piftol out of his armory, pushes on his horfe, and kept wheeling round us; but tired, at length, of feeing that the fellow wanted to frighten us, and reflecting likewife, that the opinion of our timidity might lead him to take fome steps which would oblige us to kill him, I thought it better to get rid of him by correcting his ideas. I quitted, in confequence, our little troop, and, pistol in hand, I enter the lifts with this prancing gentleman. Struck with this manœuvre, he flackens his evolutions :--- "Your horfe appears to me to be well broke," fays I to him, laughing, " but if he is of a good kind, he will ftand fire ;-let us try :"-On which, I fired clofe to his ears; the animal begins to rear, the cavalier throws away his arms, to hold by the mane, his cap falls off, and I left him in this fmatt confusion, which operated as a fufficient Vot. II. M correction

242 MEMOIRS OF THE

correction to them, and we quietly purfued our journey.

After paffing the plains of Dobrodgan +, I obferved that the ground, which rifes gradually towards the foot of the mountains which feparated us from Thrace, prefented, every where, great beds of marble, which feemed to ferve as a bafis to the Balkan 1. We penetrated into these mountains by a defile, where the Kamtchikfouy, (the River of the Whip) has its rife. This torrent, constantly fed by the springs of fresh water, falling in its course from one rock to another, has fo many windings, that it must be croffed feventeen times before one arrives at the bottom of the defile, where we began to afcend the mountains by very difficult roads. We flopped to pafs the night in a village fituated about

† A province of Turkey in Europe, between the Danube and the Thracian mountains, celebrated for a fmall breed of hortes, much effeemed by the Turks, from their being all pacers.

[‡] The name given by the Turks to the mountains of Thrace ; and, in general, to the higheft chains of mountains.

the

the middle region, and had begun to take fome repofe, when it was interrupted by the noife of a numerous cavalcade. This was the new Calga Sultan, brother to Dewlet-Gueray, just named by the Porte to fucceed Krim-Gueray on the throne of the Tartars. That Prince, who thought I was still at Kaouchan, no fooner heard that I was in the fame village, than he fent for me, to wait upon him. He told me that the Ottoman army was in march; and after expreffing fome regret at the difference of our routes, concluded by prevailing on me to go a little out of my way, to Seraî §, to fee his brother, the new Kam. "He is preparing to fet out," added he, " and I hope, that by determining you to return with us, he will make you forget a lofs which you have thought irreparable." In fact, I did not believe that the lofs of Krim-Gueray was eafily to be repaired. But I refolved, without difficulty, to vifit the dependencies of the Tar-

§ A town in Romelia, dependent on the Tartar Sultans.

243

tar Sultans, that by feeing the manner of living in Romelia, I might complete my inquiry into every thing which concerns that nation.

We had ftill to crofs the higheft chain of the mountains of the Balkan. The fight of their different ftrata, and the variety of the rocks, which it feems to have coft Nature an effort to rend afunder, to difcover the marks of the treasures they contain, prefent at every ftep, those great characters, which enlarging our ideas of the origin of Nature, call upon us to contemplate her works with additional intereft and ardour. I faw in that part of the mountains, the ruins of ancient caftles.-I there observed, too, numerous excavations, fimilar to those I have remarked in the Crimea, and which, no doubt, are in the Balkan, likewife, fo many monuments of tyranny.

Having reached the upper regions of these mountains, we found there abundance of violets, whose stems and leaves, hid under the snow, formed a carpetting, as

as ftriking, as it was agreeable. Continuing our route, we fell in with that newly traced out by the Ottoman army. Its direction was towards Yffakché. This route, marked out only by fome felled trees, whofe trunks were left ftanding two feet from the ground, to fave trouble to the workmen, promifed fome difficulty for the paffage of the artillery. Two little mounds of earth, raifed to the right and left of the road, repeated at stated distances, and always in fight of one another, were the only marks in thefe plains to indicate the route. I left this road at Kirk-Kiliffié, (the Forty Churches). Whilft they were providing horfes for me, there being none left at the post-house, the Turk who occupied the place of post-master, endea. voured to confole me for the delay.----He politely invited me to go up ftairs with him, and after ordering a difh of beau; coffee t, he gave me, in the interim, a pipe ;

‡ An expression of the Turks, to show that they do not spare coffee. It is a very false prejudice to imagine that the Turks are fond of weak coffee; and if 246

pipe; and, to complete the regale, he gallantly placed on the table a finall piece of wood of aloes. This done, my hoft, blaming the government for the inconveniencies I fuffered, began to talk politics ; but tired with his prattling, I invited him to finoke with me, in hopes that this employment would flacken his discourse; on this, he looks at his watch, reckons on his fingers, and fays to me, " I will be with you immediately."

A head, bending over his long neck, the whole appearance of his perfon, which was rather eccentric, had already made me fuspect that he was a lover of opium; and, in fact, he pulled out of his pocket a little box, with a great air of mystery; he then claps his hands, to call one of his people, fhows him his box, and this fignal immediately produced both our coffee, and his master's pipe, which was preceded by a large glass of cold water. The amateur

if they have given it weak to fome Europeans, it only proves, that they were not inclined to treat them well.

fmiled

BARON DE TOTT. 247

fmiled at this fight, opens his box, takes three pills, of the fize of three large olives, rolls them, one after another, in his hand, offers me as many, and on my refufal, fwallows, with wonderful gravity, his dofe of happinefs, which would certainly have been fufficient to kill twenty perfons amongft us. The time I was obliged to wait for the horfes, gave me the opportunity of examining the play of mufcles, and the fallies of imagination, which were the prelude to that ftate of drunkennefs in which I left this happy *Theriaki*+.

We had now reached Romelia, and had no fooner entered the patrimony of the Jengis-Kan Princes, than I was flruck with an appearance as rich, as it was different from the reft of the Ottoman empire. Variegated productions in great plenty, and well taken care of, countryhoufes, gardens beautifully fituated, a number of villages, in each of which were to be diftinguifhed the manfion of the Lord, and his plantations, rifing up to the very

† Opium eater.

fummit

fummit of the hills, diversified the face of the earth, and formed a general landscape, in the European style, the particular beauties of which redoubled my astonishment.

The town of Seraî now prefented itfelf to our view, as well as the palace of the Kam, where we arrived by a long avenue in front of the buildings, and which conducted us to the efplanade that feparates the town from the caftle. Several ftreets, terminating like the radii of a circle, were prolonged into the plain by plantations, and formed a ftar, of which the first court of the palace occupied the centre. We paffed this court, to arrive at the fecond, where we alighted. I was first introduced into the Selictar's apartments, in one of the wings. That officer, leaving me to a few moments repose, to take fome coffee, - which is the invariable cuftom, went to acquaint his mafter with my arrival, and prefently returned, to conduct me to his audience. We paffed through a large courtyard, before we arrived at the wing occupied

²⁴⁸

pied by Dewlet-Gueray. Surrounded by a great number of courtiers, he appeared to be more taken up with the growth of hisbeard, which he was obliged to let grow from the moment of his elevation to the throne, than with the arduous fituation he was about to fill. I have had an opportunity of knowing, from a long converfation with this Prince, that ftill too young, and perhaps of too feeble a character to tread in the footfleps of his uncle, Krim-Gueray, he has no other ambition than to devote himfelf entirely to the views of the Grand Vifir.

It was too late for me, when I quitted the new Kam, to think of proceeding on my journey; I accepted the offer which was made me, therefore, to pass the night in the Palace, the more readily, because the Selictar who had charge of me, appeared to be of an amiable disposition, and fufficiently informed to resolve the questions I wished to ask him on every thing that had excited my attention. He informed

MEMOIRS OF THE

formed me, that this province, given as a patrimony to the family of Jengis-Kan, and divided into feparate territories, fecured to each member of that family hereditary possessions, independent of the Porte, and in which the right of afylum is inviolable. What was originally an acceffary to this grant, has eventually become the principal object. There is not a rafcal in the Ottoman empire, who does not here find impunity, provided he has wherewithal to pay the Sultan who protects him. To these windfalls, which are frequent, and the profits of which are collected in ready money, may be added, the tenths, the poll-tax, and the other domanial rights. The fortune of these Princes is further augmented by the produce of the employments fucceffively poffefied by them in Crimea; but this emolument, limited by the Porte to the fole descendants of Selim-Gueray, gives them a pre-eminence, from their opulence, over the Sultans of the other branches of that family, who, reduced

250

reduced to live on their patrimony, have vegetated, until this day, in the greateft mediocrity*.

I left

· Selim-Gueray, who reigned at the end of the laft, and at the beginning of the prefent century, after faving by his valour, the Turkith army, on the point of finking under the combined force of the Germans, the Poles and the Muscovites, refused the Ottoman throne, on which the foldiery wished to elevate him ; and the Grand Signior, to recompense the bravery and difinterestedness of the deliverer, fettled the throne of the Tartars on his defcendants, to the prejudices of the other Princes of the Jengis-Kan family. Selim Gueray obtained, alfo, the privilege of making the pilgrimage of Mecca, which no Prince of that House had hitherto obtained. The Porte, in fact, might have reason to fear, that, at fuch a diftance, they would excite the people to revolt in their favour ; but Selim-Gueray's conduct could infpire no diffidence. He made this pious journey, and his defcendants have substituted the surname of Hadgi. (Pilgrim) for that of Tchoban, (Shepherd) common to all the family; and which is ftill preferved by the other branches.

We shall be curious, also, to investigate the origin of the furname of Gueray—always borne by the reigning Prince in Tartary. The tradition is, that one of the great vassals, whose name, and the æra of his crime, are neither of them preferved, after forming the project of usurping the throne of his masters, and I left Serai; and the circuit I had been forced to make to get there, having given time for the Turkifh army to pafs Pazandgik, I met with nobody but ftragglers, when I got once more on the direct road to Conftantinople; but the dead bodies with which it was ftrewed, the plundered ftate

and taking the neceffary measures, gave orders for the maffacre of all the Jengis-Kan Princes; but that a faithful fubject, availing himfelf of the tumult, had the addrefs to withdraw, without the knowledge of the affaffirs, one of those Princes, then in his cradle, and that he entrusted this treasure, and the fecret, to a Shepherd of the name of Gueray, whofe probity was univerfally acknowledged. The young Jengis, brought up under the name of Gueray, faw, without knowing, it, his inheritance a prey to tyranny, whilft his fuppofed father, occupied only with a country life, was waiting the moment when the public hatred fhould be fo matured, as to revolt the Tartars against the ufurper. The Prince had attained the age of twenty when that event took place. The old Shepherd always refpected, faw the confpiracy ripen, animated the confpirators, prefented his Sovereign to the people ; and, after the death of the tyrant, re established him on the throne of his anceftors.

Hitherto the new Kam had no other claim to govern them, in the eyes of the people, than the teftiniony of a respectable old man indeed, but who might fill

252

ftate of the villages, and the general defolation of the whole country, loudly proclaimed the horrible diforders which accompanied its progrefs. Bodies of cavalry, and infantry were joining the army in each other's footfteps, without officers, or the fmalleft appearance of difcipline. The little bands we met with, appeared only to Vol. II. N be

still be suspected of acting from motives of ambition. His difinterestedness soon diffipated every injurious fufpicion. Called to the foot of the throne, to receive the reward of the most fignal fervice, he refuses all the honours which are offered him, and wifhes for no other favour, than to immortalize his zeal, by rendering his name immortal. From that moment he returned to keep his flocks : the Kam governed under the name of Tchoban Gueray, (Shepherd Gueray); and the furname of Gueray is preferved, to this day, through all the fucceffion of Tartar Sovereigns, as well as that of Shepherd, (Tchoban). The Turkish hiltorians differ on this point, and their compilations would throw a doubt on the Tartar tradition, did not the palpable falsehoods in the Ottoman histories, respecting the most recent facts, oblige us to reject the opinion of the Turkish annalists : They pretend that the name of Gueray was borne by one of the younger branches of Jengis-Kan; but the origin of the proper name is not fo much the queftion, as that of the epithet Shepherd. Now, we cannot trace the origin of that name, but from the above tradition.

be got together to fquabble amongst themfelves; to fire away, right or wrong; to amufe themfelves with the various accidents arifing from their wantonnefs; to murder fomeunhappy Christians; to imagine their enemies already exterminated ; and in their road, if I may be allowed the expression, to gather the gleanings after the crop; but this was fo completely done already by the main body of the army, that the remains of this horrible harvest were. to be traced up to the walls even of Conftantinople; every thing was deftroyed. by fire; we changed our horfes on the fmoaking afhes of the very post-houses ;nor could we difcover a fingle habitable fpot on this whole route, until we reached the Seven Towers, where I alighted, to go by fea to the fuburb of Pera.

Whilft they were looking out for a boat for me, and were embarking our little baggage, a Turk, the news-monger of the quarter, obferves me, and afks my conductor, who I am? "It is a Mirza," replied he. The inquifitive fellow comes up to

BARON DE TOTT. 255

to me, and invites me to take fome refreshment : I accept the invitation, and we enter into a neighbouring coffee-houfe, of which he was the orator. On a fign from him, the place of honour is refigned to me; the company rife; I ftride gravely over twenty funnels of long pipes; I feat. myfelf; and inceffantly regaled, and queftioned until my departure, I pay my fhare, muttering a few monofyllables, from which the politicians made very ingenious deductions, and which gave great fatisfaction to the whole company; nor was Ilefs fatisfied to leave them, to get to Pera, where I loft no time in laying afide my Tartar accoutrements.

END OF VOL. II.

