

Ottoman sources

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Nihádi: Táríh-i Nihádi⁸⁴
(Translated from Turkish)

Afterwards, they went to the Fortress of Kanizsa. The Fortress of Győr was somewhat further away, on the opposite side. “Now, it would be the best if we could see the enemy for certain.” Thus, contrary to the peace with Zrínyioglu, they marched to the newly built Újvár to besiege it. In order to look at it closely, the following day they set out and camped at a place that was located an hour and a half’s distance from Újvár. His Most High Excellency the Grand Vizier and his valiant armed light cavalry soldiers rode out to inspect the site of the trenches, so they camped at that place for two days. Because the original destination was the Fortress of Győr, and the matter of Újvár came up later, the siege engines were not there. Therefore, Yentür Hassan Pasha (the Beylerbey of Kanizsa) was given an order and Mustafa Pasha (the Beylerbey of Rumelia) was dispatched as a messenger to bring five cannons from the above-mentioned fortress. He went there accordingly. On the 11th day of that month,⁸⁵ they settled in the mountains opposite the fortress, inaccessible to the cannons, as a river called the Mura flowed behind the fortress. On the other side, the water of the Drava swirled. The two rivers met there, and on the other side of the aforementioned river that flowed under the walls of the fortress, the cursed Zrínyioglu – in addition to establishing camps at two places by the river – had trenches dug. Here and there, he had outposts built on the trenches and placed cannons in them. This is how he got prepared. His Most High Excellency the Grand Vizier claimed and determined the following: “If one could easily cross the Mura River, it would also be easy to seize the fortress.” Consequently, he had no intention of taking the fortress. On the 12th night of that month,⁸⁶ ten battalions of the Janissaries of the Sublime Porte and the mercenaries of the Grand Vizier entrenched themselves on the left side of the fortress, along the water, from the confluence of the Mura and the Drava to the vicinity of the fortress, and prepared for battle against the infidels. The Grand Vizier had a bastion built on a hill – from which the trenches could be seen – and positioned there 120 *zarbuzans*⁸⁷ and Shahi *kolunburnas*⁸⁸ of the imperial camp. As stated above, the infidels were on the other side of the water, whereas the soldiers bearing the sign of victory entrenched themselves on the inner side ready to fight. With the aim of crossing the said river, they made rafts, and tied bags made of the skins of butchered sheep to the bottom of the rafts so that they would not sink. The Muslim soldiers went over these. They used three rafts like this to cross the said river. While one hundred of the Grand Vizier’s

⁸⁴ *Özkasap* 2004. 53–55.

⁸⁵ 11 Zilqad 1074 = 6 June 1664.

⁸⁶ 12 Zilqad 1074 = 7 June 1664.

⁸⁷ The *zarbuzan* – also known as *zarbzen* or *darbzen* – was the Ottomans’ most popular type of field gun. Within them, the ones with the largest capacity – which could fire balls of approximately 2.5 kg – were called Shahi (‘the Emperor’s’) *zarbuzan*. *Agoston* 2005. 83.

⁸⁸ The *kolunburna* was a type of Ottoman light field gun. *Agoston* 2005. 81.

deli cavalrymen, one hundred volunteers and one hundred Janissaries were trying to get to the other bank of the river [with the aforementioned rafts], and even more of them wanted to cross, one raft was carried away by the water and another one sank. Because of the condition of the rafts, it proved to be difficult to send help across the river. The despicable infidels immediately attacked the three hundred faithful Muslim warriors who got on the other side, and they started to battle. As the infidels gradually overcame, one hundred faithful Muslim warriors were martyred, and some of them became martyrs in the water. Therefore, it was not possible to occupy the said river. Subsequently, the Pasha of Kanizsa brought seven *balyemez* cannons. On the 15th day of that month,⁸⁹ they settled in the mountains near the above-mentioned fortress, and the valiant soldiers of the thirty-nine Janissary *odas*⁹⁰ of the High Porte entered the approach trenches, and the other victorious soldiers also entrenched themselves. They started shooting at the aforementioned fortress from two sides. On one wing, there was Ismail Pasha (the Governor of Bosnia) with [the armies of the Provinces] Sivas and Karaman and the Timar Sipahis with three siege cannons. On the other wing, there was Mustafa (the Beylerbey of Rumelia) along with the army of his province and four thundering cannons. They started the siege shooting [at the fortress]. When the accursed Zrínyioglu erected the fortress, behind that, he had a bridge built across the water, which led to the fortress. Before the occupation of the bridge, healthy soldiers and armament arrived in the fortress every day, so it did not weaken but held out strongly. On the night of the 16th day of the same month,⁹¹ the evil infidels came out of the fortress and launched an assault with the aim of attacking the trenches. A half-an-hour battle ensued, but by the grace of God, the counter-attack of the warriors of the Faith made them run. Over one hundred heads and ten captured infidels were taken before the Grand Vizier, who showed great grace for this.

The Birth of Sultan Mustafa Han

On the 19th day,⁹² [news came] from the Sultan's palace that on the 8th day of the month of Zilqad,⁹³ on Tuesday, the majestic child of the World-Defender Padishah, the prince named Sultan Mustafa Han was born. There was great rejoicing in the camp. Istanbul was floodlit for seven days and seven nights. Afterwards, a mine was dug under the walls of the aforementioned fortress, and when all the necessary things were prepared, the said mine was exploded, and a part of the bastion blew up together with the infidels in it. Every warrior who was on that side shouted *Tekbir*⁹⁴ and launched an attack: ignoring the cannons and muskets of the evil infidels, they stormed the fortress with naked swords like spiders. By the grace of God, on the 21st day,⁹⁵ their standards were planted on the bastions. Its seizure and occupation were carried out easily. Out of the 4,300 infidels, 1,300 were killed and 200 were captured. Thanks to Allah the Almighty, this new conquest was easy for the victorious army.

⁸⁹ 15 Zilqad 1074 = 10 June 1664.

⁹⁰ It was a military unit of the Janissaries, roughly equivalent to a squad.

⁹¹ 16 Zilqad 1074 = 11 June 1664.

⁹² It is uncertain which 19th day the author referred to here. It is perhaps the 19th day of the month of Zilqad (14 June). Evliya Çelebi also recorded a similar date (18 Zilqad).

⁹³ 3 June 1664. It was a Tuesday, indeed.

⁹⁴ Tekbir is the abbreviation of the phrase Allahu Akbar ('Allah is greater [than everything]').

⁹⁵ It is uncertain how the author calculated the days. In any case, these are not so much likely to be the days of the month as those of the siege. Since, according to him, the actual siege began on 15 Zilqad, the 21st day of the siege was 6 Zilhijje, which, based on the Christian calendar, was 30 June 1664.

Mustafa, the Pasha of Damascus, known as Kibleli, became a martyr during the siege. When the news of the conquest reached the Sultan's palace, the sea was lit for three nights. After this new fortress was taken, it was completely demolished. Nothing was left of the building. It took three hours to march from there to Kanizsa. They camped there, and the following day they set up their camp at the Fortress of Komárom.

Erzurumlu Osman Dede: The Gems of History⁹⁶
(Translated from Turkish)

After Babócsa, they camped at Berzence and then at the Bridge of Pogány,⁹⁷ which is at two hours' distance from Kanizsa. The same day, when they arrived at that place, the infidels besieging Kanizsa heard about the arrival of the famous Serdar and ran away leaving the trenches behind. Moreover, as some men panicked, they left two cannons, a store of grenades (*kumbarahane*), and lots of ammunition behind them, and went to Újvár, three hours away from Kanizsa. They even crossed the water of the Mura and set up their camp on the other side. When the news of their encampment was heard by the Grand Vizier, he went to the Fortress of Kanizsa with a few soldiers, covered the shoulders of Yentür Hassan Pasha with two fur kaftans, and presented him with a jewelled *khanjar* and five bags of *akçe*. He gave ornate robes to the eminent [persons] in the fortress and rewarded them. Furthermore, he ordered that ten bags of *akçe* should be distributed among the wounded. Because it was certain that the cursed infidels would gather to some extent and make efforts, and if they [i.e. the Muslims] had not gone there within a few days, they would have caused damage to the fortress [of Kanizsa]. So, as it could be expected, he [i.e. the Grand Vizier] crossed the Pogány Bridge and encamped near Újvár in order to attack the military camp of the infidels. A bridge was needed over the Mura River, so 300 men of the Janissaries were selected to occupy the other side of the river. Additionally, 300 of the Grand Vizier's Sekbans were [selected as] raftsmen and some rafts were made. However, because they could not all cross at once, 50–60 Janissaries were sent over the river one night, who disembarked in a place farther from the camp of the infidels and entrenched themselves. Because the enemies of the True Faith were unaware of this, they could do nothing to prevent it. The Janissaries started shouting to one another from the two banks of the river: "What are you standing about there for? Come over quickly!" Their cries were heard by the enemy, who gathered together against the unfortunate ones, lit a fire, and in the sixth hour of the night, around sunrise, they drove sixty warriors of the Faith out of the trench. Nevertheless, along with Zrínyioglú, they feared that many men had crossed the river. Confused, they came to the site of the struggle, and gathered there in large numbers. Their group was shot at with cannons from the other side [by the Muslims] and many of the accursed ones died. This was later admitted by the captured soldiers. On the other bank of the river, every member of Muhammad's people who was in the camp witnessed what was happening to those who crossed the river, but the water did not allow them to cross, so there was no way to help. Only two men could swim back and were spared in this way. The others were martyred during the fights and struggles. Afterwards, the infidels made trenches along the other bank of the river, so there was no way to cross. Therefore, as the goal was to seize Újvár, they [i.e. the Muslims] entrenched themselves on the 15th day of the month of Zilqad.⁹⁸ Since there was water on both sides of the said stronghold and the walls were made of clay and [earth] fill, it was a very solid and strong fortress. At dawn, on the second day of the siege, the infidels launched an assault on the trenches. However, because the Muslim warriors were expecting them, they fought back and cut off many heads. They also wanted to attack the trenches on the third day, but they were put to flight. A valiant

⁹⁶ Boyraz 2002. 24a–25b.

⁹⁷ Possibly Pogányszentpéter.

⁹⁸ 15 Zilqad 1074 = 10 June 1664.

Janissary soldier even leapt inside the gate and was fighting in the fortress, when he became a martyr [there]. Every morning and evening, healthy soldiers were sent to the fortress from the [Christian] camp, so the warriors were indefatigable. As the trenches were violently attacked, the Sipahis, Silahdars and Pashas gathered behind the ditches in excessive numbers for defence. On the 18th day of the month of Zilqad,⁹⁹ the happy news of the birth of Prince Sultan Mustafa [came]. In addition, by order of the ruler, a fur kaftan and a jewelled khanjar were handed over by Musahib¹⁰⁰ Yusuf Agha. There was a joyful celebration in the trenches. The copy of the ruler's order is the following: [...].¹⁰¹ The aforementioned Agha was treated with due respect. Just as his permission letter for leave was being written, a cannonball hit and broke the pole of the Great Serdar's tent. He [i.e. the Agha] collected the said projectile and set out for the imperial palace.¹⁰²

Until they [i.e. the Muslims] reached the moat, the infidels launched assaults on the trenches many times, detonated mines on fifteen occasions, but by the grace of Allah, the Most High, they were unable to cause harm to the men. There was also a large bastion in the middle of the moat of the fortress, which could take in 2,000 enemies. A mine was drilled under it. When it was blown up, the Muslim army launched an attack. They took the detonated part and stopped there. However, Allah gave strength to the Muslim army, and although there was no order or command for it, and there was no breach on the wall of the fortress, the gunsmiths and volunteers, followed by the Janissary battalions, climbed to the top of the fortress. When the Great Serdar¹⁰³ received the news that the fortress had been assaulted, he said: "There is no breach. There is no suitable place for a siege. How are they attacking then?" He accused the man [bringing the news] of lying and scolded him in various ways. Then the captives and severed heads started to arrive continuously. When the Muslim warriors crawled and climbed on the bastions, standing on each other's shoulders, the Hungarian and Croatian soldiers crossed the bridge and cut off the other end of the bridge. The German soldiers lagging behind remained on the side of the fortress; five to ten of them clung to a board or a boat and threw themselves into the water in the hope of reaching the other bank of the river. The Muslim warriors attacked the accursed ones with muskets, arrows and spears, and slayed most of them. 1,100 heads were cut off in the fortress, and over 1,500 men perished in the water. Grand Vizier Kibleli Mustafa Pasha, the Governor of Damascus, was wounded during the siege and died four days later. The valiant Erzurumlu Kul Abbas, one of the Inner Aghas of the Great Serdar, was the very first to get into the fortress. When they returned to the Sultan's court, and Our Blessed Padishah heard this, he stuck a plume on his helmet and gave the left side of the Agha-Command of Erzurum under his control. Since it was better to demolish the said fortress than keep it, they levelled it to the ground. The guns and armament withdrawn [from the fortress] were ordered to be taken to Kanizsa along with the seven cannons brought from Kanizsa for the siege. During the siege, many Tartar soldiers were dispatched to destroy the country of Battyányioglu. They raided one to two hundred settlements, and returned with a large number of captives.

⁹⁹ 18 Zilqad 1074 = 13 June 1664.

¹⁰⁰ The Musahib was the Sultan's companion.

¹⁰¹ The author quotes the Sultan's letter at length here. As it bears no relevance to the events, we have omitted its translation.

¹⁰² That is, the Sultan's Saray.

¹⁰³ The Serdar was a person charged with leading a military campaign. Here, of course, the text refers to the Grand Vizier, Köprülüzaade Fazil Ahmed Pasha.

Evliya Çelebi: Book of Travels¹⁰⁴
(Translated from Turkish)

Kedzskivár, or the description of the siege of the strong and great Újvár

It is named Kedzskivár in the language of Croatian Magyars.¹⁰⁵ In Hungarian, *kale* is called *vár*. Kedzskivár means — —, ¹⁰⁶ but in the language of the Rums¹⁰⁷ it is called Yenikale, since it was built by Zerín-oglu in the year 1071,¹⁰⁸ and because it was not long ago, it is referred to as Yenikale [‘New Fortress’]. When Sihrab Mehmed Pasha was the Wali of Kanizsa, and Kanizsa was burnt down,¹⁰⁹ he [i.e. Zerín-oglu] built this fortress with the aim of taking Kanizsa, on the inner side of the Mura River, on the land of our Kanizsa, at a distance of three hours from Kanizsa, in spite of the peace treaty. Although Sihrab Mehmed Pasha repeatedly ordered him “Demolish this fortress!”, he never pulled it down, but made it an even more formidable fortress with strong fortifications and solid walls, and stationed twenty thousand selected soldiers in it, who looted and destroyed the Islamic Province. Eventually, with the aid of this fortress, they attacked the Fortress of Kanizsa in the year 1074,¹¹⁰ but forty days and forty nights later the Grand Vizier freed the Fortress of Kanizsa from the hands of the infidels. The heathens ran away and went to this Újvár [‘New Fortress’]. Chasing the infernal heathens, the Grand Vizier arrived at this fortress. The reason for its siege was the following: this fortress was erected despite the peace treaty, which is why it was besieged.

The shape of Újvár and its details

The new fortress was built of timber, similarly to Kanizsa [located] on a forested and wooded promontory, by the Mura River. As a matter of fact, it seemed [as if] the cursed infidels had built the walls of Iskender.¹¹¹ It was a fifty-foot wide and fifty-cubit high double palisade filled [with earth]. Some of the trees of the fortress – being trees planted there [locally] – were huge leafy, rooted trees growing out of the walls of the fortress, which would not rot for a long time. The place between the rooted oak and acorn trees was filled with earth and the wall of the fortress was made of them. On the side of the mainland, seven large bastions were erected – similarly to the walls of Iskender – and in each of them, forty to fifty balyemez cannons as well as several kolunburnas and Shahi cannons have been positioned. As the bank of the Mura River is theirs, the fortress has no wall on the waterfront.

¹⁰⁴ *Evliya* 2002. 319–322, 326–328.

¹⁰⁵ Evliya often uses such terms (e.g. Saxon Magyars, Szekler Magyars, Tót Magyars). In this case, the word “Magyar” does not refer to ethnicity, but belonging to the State of Hungary. In other words, the word “Magyar” was used in the sense “Hungarus” by him.

¹⁰⁶ Evliya left the place of some pieces of information blank in the text. We indicated these with the sign —.

¹⁰⁷ Rum refers to Rome and in the figurative sense of the word to the Eastern Roman Empire, Byzantium. As a result of a further change of the meaning, it also indicates the inhabitants of the former empire – including the Ottomans.

¹⁰⁸ 6 September 1660 – 26 August 1661.

¹⁰⁹ Kanizsa burnt down in the summer of 1660.

¹¹⁰ 5 August 1663 – 24 July 1664.

¹¹¹ Iskender is the name of Alexander the Great in the Muslim legends. His stronghold erected against Gog and Magog is used as an analogy in the Ottoman literary language to express the strength of a fortress.

Instead, they built a large bridge over it [using] fifty boats, and thousands of infidels arrive from the other side of the river – from their fortress [called] Légrádszik, from the Fortress of Csáktornya, and from the Province of Mekomorja.¹¹² Through that bridge, they go to the aid of the fortress. They also transport there supplies from everywhere.

Each bastion has been furnished with balyemez cannons like the quills of a hedgehog, and its covered passages (*kemíngáh*) are laid out. It is such a contiguous fortress that no breach with the size of a speck of dust can be seen anywhere: it is a new, iron-like fortress. Its moat is full of water from the Drava River [sic!], to such an extent, that even a galley (*kadírğa*) would fit on it.

When Köprülüzađe Fazıl Ahmed Paşa beheld the condition of this strong fortress, he immediately asked his seasoned men, who were experienced in sieges: “From which side of this fortress is it possible to get into the siege trench easily?” He looked at and observed the fortress from a distance, and examined its surroundings and sides at his wish and will, and inspected the location of the trenches. Subsequently, as the incontrovertible law “Consult with them about things!”¹¹³ demanded, he held a public council with all the people of the *odjaks* and the seasoned veterans. However, in the past years, during the siege of Újvár, the eyes of every soldier were full of fear, so they said: “Let’s not besiege Yenikale this year, but loot and destroy the province of the infidels!” The Grand Vizier replied to this: “What shall we do with this fortress then? When the infidels erected this stronghold on the land of our fortress in Kanizsa, their aim was to seize the Fortress of Kanizsa from us with the help of their fortress sooner or later. What is your answer to that? What kind of opinion and counsel can you give me?” The elders all replied: “Your Most High Excellency the Vizier! Since last year, our army has provided help at many places, three times during the winter, and has been weakened by the campaigns. In this blessed year, let us loot and raid here by the Mura River, and on the opposite side, in the Provinces of Mekomorja,¹¹⁴ Islovin,¹¹⁵ — and Duduska¹¹⁶ in Croatia and Hungary, razing their houses to the ground, and skewering up their animals! Let the Muslim warriors be packed with plunder, let us go as far as Németújvár, the Vienna Castle, the Prague Castle, destroying the towns, and punishing the ignoble infidels! Let us set out with confidence in Allah! If we burn and destroy the walls of houses, the market towns (*kasaba*), the villages, the settlements, the fortresses, the lands, the [...] in the realms of the infidels, then the evil infidels with no repute will be smitten with complete victory, strength and triumph, and the enemies of the [True] Faith, the infidel Germans and the Croats, will suffer ill fate.” With this opinion, the speech ended in the council, and they agreed on this solution. However, the Vizier, who had the right to make the decision, said: “Oh, aghas! You have given good advice, but while you are raiding the people and the realm of the infidels, this fortress here [will be like] a thorn in our side. While this base of the infernal heathens stands facing Kanizsa, wherever we go, the infidels will come out of this fortress. They will destroy and raid our people and our province, and it is quite certain that they will block the roads, as well. Apart from our towns and fortresses, will there be any place that they will not scorch, which they will cause no harm to, loot and destroy?” As he said this, all the warriors of the Faith in Kanizsa replied in Bosnian: “Have mercy on us, Your Most High Excellency [...] the Vizier! Either seize this fortress and raze it to the ground, or kill us all together with our children!” When they were complaining

¹¹² Muraköz.

¹¹³ Quran 3:159.

¹¹⁴ The Ottoman name for the Muraköz.

¹¹⁵ Slavonia.

¹¹⁶ The Ottoman name for Carinthia, which comes from the misspelling of the Slavic Koroska.

like this, Köprülüzade, who was as courageous as Asaph, said: “In the name of Allah! That [should] be the purpose of the war of the Faith! Rolling up the bottom of our garments, if that is the will of Allah, we will take this fortress blessed with the miracle of Muhammad Mustafa. We will demolish the fortress with mines according to the guidance of the warriors of Kanizsa. Afterwards, following the blessed advice of the elders, we will loot and destruct the region of the Rába, the surroundings of Németújvár – to the fortresses of Tata, Pápa, Veszprém, Szentmárton¹¹⁷ and Győr. We will make all the infidels wail, and then we will proceed to Buda! Let us see what image the mirror of fate shows!” When he recited this [latter] line of poetry, it was said all around: “This is clever speech, My Sultan!”¹¹⁸

Kazandjizade Suleiman Agha and Hadjizade Efendi said the Fatiha.¹¹⁹ After the prayer and praise, on the — day of the — month of 1074, the Janissary Agha of the Sublime Porte, Salih Pasha, the Kul Kethüda,¹²⁰ the artillery, the gunsmiths, as well as the *timar*-holders and *ziamet*-holders, were instructed to enter the siege trenches. The entire army of the Faith entered the siege trenches in broad daylight. At this time, however, the infidels from inside the fortress – whose eyes were bloodshot from drinking wine shamelessly – started to shoot cannonballs and musket bullets, and launch bombs at the Muslim army so heavily that every cannonball hit a tree, and every piece of wood hit a man on the head. In that moment, the three hundred warriors in the trench drank out the cup of martyrdom, and became drunk with the bliss of creation.¹²¹ Our balyemez cannons, on the other hand, were pounding on the infuriated chest of the fortress from seven directions. However, they could not breach a hole even of the size of a poppy seed. All our bullets fell among the trees of the fortress and disappeared there.

Finally, the Illustrious Grand Vizier summoned a few hundred warriors of the Faith from Kanizsa walking on the path of Allah, as well as the persons called Kurundji-oglu, Yunak Ali, Müfti-zade, and Vaizzade, and said: “This Újvár is in your border region, so you are aware of all the secrets of its situation. You have more knowledge and information than any of our soldiers from what direction to shoot at the fortress and attack the bastion, where to dig mines and siege trenches, and from where and to where the soil can be carried. Take part in all things [of the siege] of this fortress!” Twenty of the warriors of the Faith from Kanizsa were presented with robes, and each of them was given 100 gold coins.

He sent the warriors from Kanizsa to Janissary Agha Salih Pasha, where they were his guests. On that day, he commanded and confirmed to the seven viziers and to all the leading men: “Do nothing against the opinion and plan of these men from Kanizsa!” When he issued this order, all the viziers and their deputies said: “We hear it and will obey!” Afterwards, they joined their units to carry out their duties. It must be admitted that the said persons, named Kursundjizade, Yunak Ali, and Pirbe Fazlí, were cunning, deadly poison-like, impetuous, valiant, fearless men, who gained experience and name in battles. They were men born to men, as well as selected and eminent warriors. Based on their plan, the siege of Újvár was launched from seven directions. The fight began, which grew fiercer every day.

¹¹⁷ Today Pannonhalma.

¹¹⁸ The ‘Sultan’ is a title of honour in the Turkish language, which was not restricted to the sovereign ruler.

¹¹⁹ The Fatiha is the first chapter (Sura) of the Quran, which was also recited as a prayer.

¹²⁰ Kul Kethüda: the Janissary Agha’s deputy commander.

¹²¹ That is, he returned to Allah.

First of all, Kibleli [Mustafa] Pasha and [the army of] the Province of Anatolia fired at the fortress from the north. Salih Pasha, the Agha of the Janissaries, attacked with forty-six odas of Janissaries from the direction of the Grand Vizier's division. From the right wing, Kara Mustafa Pasha attacked with the Vilayet of Rumelia. Gürji Mehmed Pasha attacked with the Vilayet of Aleppo. Ismail Pasha attacked with the Vilayet of Buda. Briefly speaking, the fortress was fired from seven sides, from seventy siege trenches according to this order, and the infidels could not rest for a blink of an eye, either day or night. However, the wall of the fortress could be breached nowhere. On the eleventh day, when they reached the edge of the moat, Kibleli Pasha became a martyr and went to the Merciful [God]. His body — was buried. The Province of Damascus was donated to — Pasha. On that day, three hundred more valiant men were martyred.

When our bombs dropped inside the fortress, the enemy always perished like ants, but the south side of the fortress was adjacent to the bank of the Drava River, and through that river, over the bridge mentioned above, healthy troops kept coming to help by replacing those who fell. They all fought in the turmoil of battle, the supplies also arrived incessantly. Yet, by the mercy of Allah – may His name be praised! – Kursundjiogli of Kanizsa had a bright idea and plan. The barriers on the edge of the moat and the giant trees in the wall of the fortress were smashed in a line with the cannonballs on one side. As a result, the earth filling in the wall of the fortress became more and more visible. Previously, if a cannonball impacted the fortress frontally, it did no harm to it.

In short, with the blows of the siege cannons, the fortress cracked here and there, the moat was taken, and now they also had access to the fortress itself. Nevertheless, the infidels showered hand grenades on the Muslim warriors as if curst rain had been falling. That day, the infidels rushed out because they wanted to occupy the trenches, but by the grace of Allah – may His name be praised! – 300 heads and 307 prisoners were taken from the heathens.

Afterwards, they made every effort to seize the fortress. Penetrating the tunnel (*kubur*) found in the ditches, the Muslim warriors and auxiliary peoples accessed the foundations of the fortress like ants. Some of them cut down the posts with axes, while the others pulled out what was cut [by the former]. There were also many warriors who removed the staves of the palisade or the bark of trees, and after spreading naphtha and tar over the trees, they set them on fire. The incomprehensibly speaking, filthy and ungodly Croats in the fortress exerted enormous power wholeheartedly. They aroused each other's souls a thousand times over, shed a thousand bloods for every tree of the fortress, and sacrificed a thousand souls.

The fortress was still new, and because all its parts were strongly built, they had strength in their hearts. Help came from the other side over the bridge day and night, so they seemed as if they had not been besieged. They fought and battled without fear and dread. Large guns and cannons firing grapeshot were positioned over the bastion of the gate. Various vile objects were placed on the bastions to restrain those who were approaching. Inside, ditches were dug around the bastions to the depth of three men, and inside them, there were beams lined with spears and iron hooks. With various deception and viciousness, they created barriers and fiery wheels, and made thousands of different magic weapons and flame-throwers, and prepared [fire] spitting mines.

One day, by the will of God, ten valiant men from the Muslim warriors gathered and said: "If Allah wills, the opportunity and victory is ours!" As they were waiting for the siege of the fortress, an accursed enemy fired a balyemez cannon over the gate of the fortress, and each of the ten heroes above was hit by the cannonball, which ripped off the left leg of each of them, either at the ankle or at the shank. Six of them became martyrs and five became warriors of the Faith and blessed.

It was destined that these ten men – having a common fate – would be wounded by a single cannon shot at the same time. What a curious and strange thing it is! It is certain that one cannonball can injure as many as one thousand or two thousand people, penetrating through them all. The miracle and [God's] commandment, however, was that it wounded each of these ten men on the left leg. "Allah does what He wills."¹²²

In addition to them, thousands were wounded or martyred. However, no one got scared. They did not give up the fight. No officer felt sympathy; they did not spare human bodies. The Muslim warriors were all like a stone or a piece of wood, equal to the ground like trodden sand. The wounded died in the nook of suffering, being hungry, thirsty and bitter.

[...]¹²³

In these days, Yusuf Agha, the treasurer of the emperor arrived from the blessed palace with the happy news that in the month of Zilqad of the year 1074,¹²⁴ the pure child, Prince Mustafa, the son of Sultan Mehmed III, was born.

In the Muslim camp, the cannons and muskets were fired for joy, and the celebration lasted for three days. But what can we do? Poor me, I lived under the fortress – because the fortress was not seized and conquered – and was as restless as if I had been in prison, and I was wondering where to go. By the will of God, the Grand Vizier presented a robe to the son of the Tartar Khan. He sent out 20,000 Tartar warriors and 500 musketeers of the border fortress region to destroy and scorch the land of the heathens. Poor me, I followed the said warriors to the Provinces of Dodoska, Mekomorya and Islovin. [...]¹²⁵

Poor me, a man full of defects, I stayed by the Grand Vizier, and I told him a few times what lands we had passed through in this war of Faith, what provinces we had destroyed and scorched, how many strong fortresses we had seen, how many captives we had taken and how much booty we had seized. I presented our adventures and story to the Grand Vizier in detail. The seizure of Újvár, however, was not easy.

Since the Muslim army under the fortress had not been heartened by us, Újvár remained untaken for such a long time. However, when we returned from the war of Faith [i.e. the raid in Croatia], we saw that every wound of every warrior of the Faith was being wailed over and commiserated upon, those who had lost a hand or a limb were being honourably retired, promotions, ziamet-holders and timar-holders were being donated, therefore the Muslim warriors heartened each other for battle.

On the same day that the hand of the Grand Vizier's inner *muezzin* called Ahmed Çelebi was hit by a cannonball and the Grand Vizier sent him to retirement donating him a ziamet, he entrusted poor me with accompanying Ahmed Çelebi to Kanizsa. We immediately set out and arrived in Kanizsa in three hours and stayed at the palace of Yentür Hassan Pasha, the Wali of Kanizsa, where the surgeons began applying remedies to Ahmed Çelebi's hand. Three days later, poor me, I returned under Újvár again. On the — day — of the month — he became a martyr, and his position of was donated to —.

In brief, there were more and more cracks on each side of the fortress day by day. Yet, the posts were dug into the ground in a row and the earth filling was strengthened in a Khorasan¹²⁶ [style?] with

¹²² Quran 14:27.

¹²³ In the following, Evliya tells some stories about martyrdom.

¹²⁴ 27 May – 24 June 1664.

¹²⁵ In the following Evliya gives a long description about a raid in Croatia. The story is not based on real facts. Our traveller used the description of the 1532 campaign for his story. Cf. *Sudár* 2012. 106–111.

¹²⁶ Khorasan: a region in Central Asia.

lime, which swallowed up thousands of human-head-sized balls fired from balyemez cannons night and day as if it had been honey,¹²⁷ so they did less harm to it than the scratch of a nail.

Eventually, Defterdar Ahmed Pasha stole the earth filling from some of the cracked walls, and thus demolished them. The accursed errant infidels, however, immediately filled those places with earth. They created various obstructions and pig traps inside the walls of the fortress. Mines were detonated on the Muslim troops at two places, but, thank God, they did no harm to the soldiers because they exploded backwards. Behind them, they immediately set up phalanxes, and the infidels walked about in a carefree manner without fear and trembling.

Eventually, spears with hooked ends were handed out to each warrior from the arsenal. They used the hooks for dragging the infidels off the bastions and other places into the moat, and there they cut off their heads with gleaming, fiery swords. They were engaged in various great combats from morning to night.

May endless praise and infinite laudation be given to the King of the Empire [i.e. Allah] for the enemy having no dexterity to blast mines, no skill to shoot bombs, as well as no idea and resourcefulness to destroy the siege trenches and launch attacks at night. It must be admitted though that the cursed infidels are outstanding in guarding the fortress, disciplining the soldiers, encouraging them in battle, and fighting flesh against flesh.

Finally, in this way — a royal struggle ensued at night, to which no fight at the Fortress of Azak,¹²⁸ in the Province of the Cossacks, in Hanja,¹²⁹ in Várád, or in the Fortress of Újvár was comparable. The manifold fights and struggles that took place at this fortress cannot be described and told.

In the end, with the help of Allah – may His name be praised! – on the — day of the — month of 1074, although there was no order of attack, a pious and skilful physician from the people [of Muhammad], Kazandjizadeh Suleiman Agha and the *suhta hajizadeh* of the Grand Vizier held a council with the Muslim warriors and the army of believers in one God. They were reminded of the efforts for Muhammad: “We are sitting and perishing under this fortress like useless old women!” Then the warriors of the Faith shouted: “Allah, Allah!” all around, and the mountains echoed with the sound of the words of Muhammad.

All the hiding saints, the souls of the prophets and saints, the pole of the poles,¹³⁰ the pillars of the empire, the nobles, the leaders of communities, the inspectors, the dervishes and the entire Muslim army helped, and the whole army launched a siege at the fortress.

It was destined that the walls of the fortress were breached at several places, which were suitable for an attack. However, in addition to the hundreds of thousands of Satans on the walls, there were also deep ditches. Additionally, there were traps and devilish things in the holes of the walls that were invisible to the eye and incomprehensible to the mind, so not even birds could fly over the walls of the fortress. Yet, the volunteers attacked the fortress like ants and wasps, shouting “Allah, Allah!” and pulling up themselves with hooks and clinging to one another, they climbed into the fortress. The infidels were not left even as much time as a blink of an eye, so by the grace of Allah – may His name be praised! – the standards of the Prophet were planted on the gates, walls and bastions of

¹²⁷ It is a pun with the name of the *balyemez* (‘not eating honey’) cannon and the word *bal* (‘honey’).

¹²⁸ Azov.

¹²⁹ Hania in Crete.

¹³⁰ The pole (*kutb*) in Muslim thinking is the person who most purely represents the True Faith in a given era. Here, it symbolises divine help to the Ottoman army.

the fortress. At that moment, poor me, – thank God! – with a sword in my hand, I sang the *ezan* of Muhammad, encouraging all the warriors of the Faith. They also cried out the words of Muhammad, and, slashing the infidels with their swords, they pushed into the fortress. They kept chasing and slaying the infidels, and were slashing them until they reached the bank of the Mura River.

When the infidels realised this serious situation, they became frightened and desperate and all of them rushed towards the bridge over the Mura River, trying to get to the other bank. The Muslim warriors of the Faith – turning into Muhammad's butcher knife – followed the infidels to the bridge with bloody hands and arms, naked swords and heated breasts, slaying the heathens. The enemy on the other side of the Mura River could see that in the footsteps of the beaten infidels, the Ottoman troops were approaching like a flooding sea, chasing the infidels. "Hey! Help! Our province is going to be lost!" – they said, and on the other bank, the heathens fell upon the bridgehead with axes, and cut off the bridge. Our warriors returned in the blink of an eye.

By the power of Allah, the infidels were trapped on the torn bridge, and the bridge was drifted on the great river back, towards the fortress. The infidels started jumping into the water, but some said: "Zanja Türk!"¹³¹ and came to the fortress, begged for mercy, and became prisoners of war. It was an extraordinary sight as if it had provided the heathens with an example of the Last Judgment. The heathens did so much harm to their own army that even if the people of the whole world had been their enemies, they would not have been able to do the same.

A description of the ill fate of the infidels in Újvár

When the bridge was cut off by the infidels on the other bank, all the heathens on it submerged in the water together with their weapons. Black caps were floating on the surface of the Mura River, as if a sea of men had been flowing there. The evil infidels who had escaped the killing all went to the fair of souls. They threw themselves into the water where some submerged and others fled swimming. On the inner side, our frontier warriors jumped into the Mura River with their swords in their mouths. They reached hundreds of infidels in the water, whom they killed. Thousands of others were dragged ashore by their hair and were enslaved. Some infidels managed to swim to the other bank, but our warriors fired thousands of bullets at the inner side with long-barrelled *Dálján*¹³² guns using one wick. They fired so many musket balls at the infidels who were fleeing in the water that the Mura River was showered with bullets as if water had been boiled in a cauldron, and the infidels hit by the bullets sank into the river. Their corpses were drifted along with their caps.

Briefly speaking, none of the infidels who fell into the water could escape. Their souls went to hell. Thousands of enemies were carried down by the water, but the wind-speed enemy-hunting Tartars galloped down along the riverbank, made their horses jump into the water and dragged roughly seven thousand infidels out of the water by their hair and took them captive. All the cannons of Újvár were turned towards the Mura River, and the infidels crammed on the bank of the river and standing about in amazement, were fired at with the 170 balyemez cannons of the fortress. They opened streets among the infidels and made an order. The gunshots made a *kellepache*¹³³ of thousands of them. Nothing but a butchery remained after them.

¹³¹ It is today an unintelligible word of Hungarian – or possibly South Slavic – origin.

¹³² *Dálján* is the misspelling of the word *Tálián* ('Italian').

¹³³ *Kellepache* is a popular dish in the Near East, which is made of the heads and shanks of sheep.

For some unknown reason, the leaders who remained in the fortress failed to praise the God and render proper thanks for occupying the fortress and drowning thousands of infidels in the river: “Hurrah, the infidels drowned! Hurrah, they got killed! Lo! They ran away, for they were standing about with their mouths open at the time of work.” That is how they laughed and yelled. They made arrogant statements to the enemy ignoring that this victory and conquest came from the Most High God, and believed that it was due to their good decisions and plans. Eventually – thank God! – the fortress was seized, but 3,700 of the warriors drank from the chalice of martyrdom, joined the bliss of the congregation existing from the beginning,¹³⁴ and earned the high eternity and infinite life. May the grace of Allah be upon them all!

Over two thousands of our warriors were wounded and left without attaining their goal. Seeing this, thousands of warriors fled. Yet, more than five thousand enemies who were captured in the water or at other places became chained prisoners. Only God, the Most High knows the number of those who were captured from the people living in the surroundings by the Tartars or the soldiers of the borderland. I heard some prisoners say that “since the day of — 17,000 Christians died in the siege of the fortress. 9,000 were taken captive, but it is unknown how many people met their deaths in the water” – they gave such a blissful answer. “Seven of our captains fell in this fortress, one of whom was a relative of Zerin-oglu, a man named Mizde, well-known for his bravery. The other was the son of Hersek Ban.¹³⁵ He died as well. If that valiant soldier had not died, you would not see the signs [of victory] on this fortress!” – claimed another captive count.

In short, the fortress has been seized. However, because it was a new construction, there was no market and bazaar or other communal building, only a useful little church, some rather long soldiers’ houses similar to camel barns, and a gate to Kanizsa. There is no trace of a wall by the Mura River. On the opposite side of the fortress – accessible by lead – is the land of the infidels, the fortresses of Légrád and Csáktornya and the Province of Mekemorya. The circumference of the earth-filled palisade of the occupied Újvár is 3,700 steps long around. Furthermore, to make the curst fortress even stronger, there is a water well in the middle of it. At the top of the shingled canopy over the well, there is an eye-catching finial made of gold. Previously, in wintertime, the infidels scorched the fortresses of Babócsa, Berzence and Pécs, and this finial was the ornament of the *Türbe* of Sultan Suleiman found in the vicinity of our stronghold in Szigetvár, at a distance of a cannon shot from it. However, it was taken off from the *Türbe* of Sultan Suleiman and put on this well. After the victory, the Grand Vizier had this sign removed from the well and sent it back to the *Türbe* of Sultan Suleiman, near Szigetvár. He seconded the Beylerbeys of Mohács, Pécs and Szigetvár for repairing and renewing the noble *Türbe* and the stronghold, and they went there accordingly.

Afterwards, they gathered to discuss the matter of Újvár in the presence of the Grand Vizier. The seasoned men who wanted the best for the empire said: “Fortunate Vizier! This fortress is the pride of the enemy. It causes lots of harm to the Ottomans and will be of no use. What enormous fortune of the Muslims and how much income of the Sultan was lost because of this fortress! In addition to causing so much distress, how much time was wasted on it, and how many Muslim warriors became pointlessly martyred on account of it! Besides the great affliction and [waste of] time, it does not belong to any establishment of the religion and does not bring benefit for it to be protected under all circumstances. If we posted a sufficient number of Muslim warriors in it, where would their pay and takings come from? It would require half of the garrison of an Iskender-like fortress, such as Kanizsa,

¹³⁴ That is, he passed away.

¹³⁵ Hersek Ban: *Evliya* normally refers to Christian nobles with the words ‘Prince’ and ‘Ban’.

to be drawn out and moved here. Let us suppose that we garrison them here and turn this fortress into a key element of the border defence system. Then the enemy would easily take Kanizsa – in the absence of guards –, and then they would occupy it as well. You would imprison so many servants of Allah in this fortress and leave. If you made this fortress the seat of the Pasha of Kanizsa, you would also make a mistake. Because if the heathens build another fortress on the other side of the Mura River, not only men, but even ducks or hens will be unable to move in it.” All the respectable leaders believed so, and the Grand Vizier replied: “Then what shall we do?” The Aghas of the Odjaks and all the veterans of Kanizsa said: “Long live the Padishah! Even though we had [sacrificed] so much wealth and such a great army came here, we took revenge on the infidels a hundred thousand times over. So be it! We have suffered hard for the Faith, but let it not remain so. Fortunate Vizier, let us take the armament of this fortress at once and send it to Kanizsa together with the other necessary things! Let us demolish the churches and barracks in it, and then blow up the fortress with mines in many places! Then let us march with all the warriors of the Faith for a campaign of your noble intention!” That is what they said, and they agreed on the same advice and opinion. The entire armament and 170 cannons were sent to Kanizsa, and Újvár – including all the bastions and walls – was exploded with seven large mines in seven places. Some of its points were left as they were, but because it burdened the hearts of those in Kanizsa, the remaining buildings of the fortress were also destroyed with bombs.

The essence of these words is that the pay and money spent on this fortress was in vain. This battle of the Faith did not produce honey and wax, so the honeybee returned to its hive. So many servants of Allah died, and although many eloquent historians of Rum wrote various chronograms¹³⁶ on the seizure of this fortress, they ate sugar. --- ---

Then the Grand Vizier went with all the Muslim soldiers to the Fortress of Kanizsa in two days.

¹³⁶ This is a kind of text, a poem or a snap. The sum of the numerical value of its letters gives the date of an event.

Behdjeti: The History of the Köprülü Family¹³⁷
(Translated from Turkish)

The enemies of the Faith prevent the building of a bridge over the Mura

On hearing the sound of the drums of the Muslim army, the contemptible camp of the enemies of the True Faith gave up the siege of Kanizsa, and fled to Újvár that was two hours away from the aforementioned fortress. Having crossed the waters of the Mura, they settled down erecting their wretched tents on the other side of the said river. When the Grand Vizier was informed of this, he held a council, and decided to assail them. However, there was no place on that river suitable for fording, so it was essential to build a bridge for the victorious Muslim army to cross over. Therefore, three hundred Janissaries and three hundred of the men of the Grand Vizier's Sekbans¹³⁸ were chosen to cross to the other side. At first, from the Janissaries, about 50–60 warriors of the Faith crossed the river with the rafts constructed, and they began to dig communication trenches with great forces. The rest of the seconded soldiers were crossing the river with rafts in groups when the vile enemy learnt about this situation, and at five o'clock in the morning they fell on the 50–60 warriors of the Faith engaged in digging trenches, to defeat them. The curst enemy attacked the unfortunate ones like bees, and knowing that no help would come from beyond the river, they got to work. Since they [i.e. the Muslims] had no hope of getting away, they fought heroically until dawn, and then they all became martyrs. Yet, two of the miserable ones could get back to the side by swimming across the water. Before the Grand Vizier, they reported in detail what had happened, and told the good news that a considerable number of infidels were killed in this fight. Subsequently, the accursed ones dug trenches on the other bank of the said river so that the victorious army in the imperial camp could not cross the river. This rendered it impossible for the Muslim army to cross the river. As they were prevented in their plan, they [i.e. the Muslims] decided to besiege Újvár with great effort and violence. On the 15th day of Zilqad¹³⁹ [month], they started to entrench themselves. At the time of the morning prayer, on the second or third day, the infidels launched an assault with the aim of destroying [the trenches], but the Janissary warriors fought back. In addition to the slashes of swords, the despicable infidels had to face such a heavy and devastating gunfire that they were not able to resist and turned back with great losses and misfortune. They ran away having been defeated and helpless.

The mission of Musahib Yusuf Agha to the Grand Vizier

From the imperial court, a marten pelt and a jewelled khanjar [was brought] to the Grand Vizier by the Musahib Agha. Additionally, a noble and dignified letter arrived, announcing the good news that His Highness, the revered Prince Mustafa Khan was born from the blessed tribe, and the fact that, in terms of the fight for the Faith and war, considerable efforts and striving were expected of the warriors of the

¹³⁷ Gökçek 2006. 164–167. *Rasid* 1865. 71–75.

¹³⁸ The Sekbans were the private mercenaries of Muslim leaders.

¹³⁹ 15 Zilqad 1074 = 10 June 1664.

Faith. In the tent of the [Grand Vizier similar to the] Asaph¹⁴⁰ wearing a fortunate girdle, a Divan was convened according to the customs, and all present were informed about the illustrious and eloquent words of the blessed letter. The agha above stayed and rested in the imperial camp for one day. After he became ascertained about the efforts of the Muslim warriors of the Faith in the approach trenches of the besieged Újvár, he received twenty bags of akçe from [the Vizier similar to] the Asaph. Just as a certificate and a writing was made for him saying that he was currently with the Muslim army besieging Újvár, the pole of the Grand Vizier's tent was hit by cannonballs fired from the fortress. These [balls] were then sent to the ruler with the agha mentioned above.

The seizure and occupation of Újvár from the approach trenches,
and the destruction of the said fortress

When it became clear and evident that the infernal heathens fighting in the besieged Újvár had no strength to withstand the storms of the Muslim army, new soldiers were sent to the fortress from the defeated camp on the other bank of the Mura and were thus strengthened. That is the reason why the approach trenches reached the edge of the moat in only twenty-three days,¹⁴¹ at the cost of great difficulty. During this time, the accursed ones made two attempts to demolish the trenches and tried to dig mines in the direction of the trenches on fifteen occasions.

Nevertheless, as the Muslim warriors [showed] perseverance and strength in the field of resistance, they returned without success and with great losses. After the approach trenches reached the edge of the moat, the mine dug and prepared by the Muslim warriors under the bastion found between the moat and the fortress was ignited. The moment it exploded – as His Most High Excellency the Grand Vizier was informed – the Muslim warriors could no longer restrain themselves and launched an assault. The criers among the soldiers gave the order for the attack, and the Muslim soldiers stormed the fortress like lions sacrificing themselves for the Faith on the soul-taking battlefield. Arriving at the moment [of unification with Allah],¹⁴² they climbed up to the bastion of the fortress wall, and with the helping hand of God they set foot there and won victory. When the infidels heard the noise of the Muslim siege, they began to flee towards their defeated camp on the other side of the Mura. The accursed ones in the camp – fearing that they [i.e. the running soldiers] would be followed by the Muslim warriors – demolished the bridge. The miserable infidels trapped on the inner side of the river entered the House of Hell over the bridge of swords descending on them. As they [i.e. the Muslims] realised that the said fortress could not be protected in any way from the guile and opposition of the enemies of the Faith, it was found reasonable to demolish it, so they destroyed and razed it to the ground with mines.

The Governor of Silistra is commissioned to take the cannons from Eszék

When they left Eszék and the sense of urgency to help the Fortress of Kanizsa became apparent, the siege cannons found in the imperial camp were left behind in the Fortress of Eszék. When it became necessary to march against Újvár and start a siege, they brought seven Shahi cannons from Kanizsa.

¹⁴⁰ In the Muslim mythology, Asaph is the name of the biblical Solomon (Suleiman) the Wise. In Ottoman literary texts, it is a constant attribute of wise leaders.

¹⁴¹ Rasid gives account of twenty days.

¹⁴² In other words, the hour of death has come.

After the fortress was taken, it was decided to take those cannons back to the Fortress of Kanizsa, and then to the Fortress of Janova.¹⁴³ In order to quickly transport the twenty huge siege cannons left in Eszék to the imperial camp, commands were given to Vizier Hüseyin Pasha (the Governor of Silistra) and Vizier Mustafa (the Governor of Maras) that they had to carry out urgently.

The imperial camp heads for the Fortress of Komárom.¹⁴⁴

The seizure and occupation of the fortress

After this, the Grand Vizier and all the leaders of the army discussed in which direction it would be best to proceed within the country of the enemy. It was determined that they had the time and means to seize and occupy the Fortress of Komárom found near the Fortress of Kanizsa. Accordingly, they set out from Újvár on the 18th day of the blessed month of Zilhijje.¹⁴⁵ On the following day, they put up the tents of the army outside the said Komárom Fortress.

¹⁴³ Janova is the Turkish equivalent of the name Jenő. Here it is an erratum used instead of Janik, that is, Győr. (Rasid mentions Janik.)

¹⁴⁴ Kiskomárom.

¹⁴⁵ 18 Zilhijje 1074 = 12 July 1664.

Silahdar Mehmed: Silahdar Tarihi¹⁴⁶
(Translated from Turkish)

The siege of Újvár

When the Grand Vizier returned to his tent, he summoned the leaders of the army, and the matter was discussed.¹⁴⁷ They opposed the [siege of the] fortresses of Győr and Óvár, and said: “First of all, the proximity of the enemy must be considered!” They agreed to lay siege to the aforementioned fortress – which was newly built by the accursed Zrínyiogli despite the bond of peace and was called Zrínyivár among the Christians, but became generally known as Újvár – and with the help of Allah (may His name be praised!), they would seize and occupy it, and then they would all proceed to demolish the camp of the infidels. That is how they considered it to be appropriate. Afterwards, they said the Fatiha. On the 10th day of the said month, on Thursday,¹⁴⁸ they marched with all the Muslim soldiers under Kanizsa crossing the Bridge of Bogan.¹⁴⁹ On the following day, which was Friday, an hour and a half walk away from Újvár, an order was given to set up a camp at a suitable location. The Grand Vizier left with the unladen light cavalry division of Silahdars and inspected the communication trenches around the fortress. After he arrived, they camped there for two more days. As the main targets were originally the fortresses of Győr and Óvár, the siege armament, the ammunition and the heavy balyemez cannons were all left behind at the Bridge of Eszék. [Now] for the siege of the fortress, Yansur Hassan Pasha, the Beylerbey of Kanizsa, was given an order. In accordance with the high order sent to him, he gave out seven cannons from the fortress. Kara Mustafa Pasha, the Beylerbey of Rumelia, was appointed and dispatched to collect them. On the 12th of that month, on Thursday,¹⁵⁰ [the Muslim army] left the place above, and encamped opposite Újvár, in a wooded area that could [not] be accessed by cannonballs. Their aim was to cross to the [Christian] camp found on the opposite side.

However, behind the aforementioned fortress a large river called the Mura flowed, and on the other side the waters of the Drava swirled. The two rivers met and flowed under the walls of the fortress. On the other side, on the bank of the aforementioned river, the accursed Zrínyiogli set up the camp of the defeated in two places. Here and there, at some places suitable for crossing, he had trenches and outposts established, and positioned many guns and stand-by musketeers everywhere. This is how he got prepared and moved into position. His Most High Excellency the Great Serdar – may God uplift him and make him great! – immediately said the following: “If one could easily cross the Mura River, it would be easy to seize the fortress mentioned above.” He disregarded the fortress. He did not even care about it. Instead, he was engaged in crossing to the other side. The following day, at Sunday night, he gave orders, and ten battalions [of soldiers] were selected from the Janissaries of the Sublime Porte and his own mercenaries (*levend*) armed with muskets.

¹⁴⁶ *Silahdâr* 1928. 338–345.

¹⁴⁷ It is a reference to the siege of Kanizsa mentioned in the previous chapter.

¹⁴⁸ 10 Zilqad 1074 = 5 June 1664. It was a Thursday, indeed.

¹⁴⁹ The Bridge of Bogan was perhaps at Pogányszentpéter.

¹⁵⁰ 12 Zilqad 1074 = 7 June 1664. In reality, it was a Monday. (It was apparently a clerical error, since the following day is said to be a Sunday by the author.)

They entrenched themselves next to the water, on the left side of the fortress, from the confluence of the Mura and the Drava to the place near the fortress, to fight against the infidels. On the hill, from where the trenches could be overseen, he had bastions erected. On these, he placed and arranged 120 kolunburnas and Shahi zarbuzans of the imperial camp. The [two enemy] parties began to fight each other with guns and muskets. There was an opinion that they should cross the said river. However, there was no ford anywhere. Therefore, patience was needed. In order to occupy the other side – after the payment of service and promotions – 300 Janissaries and 300 of the Grand Vizier's Sekbans were enlisted as rafter volunteers with the promise of admitting them in the unit of the Sipahis. In order to take them over, rafts were started to be built. Three rafts were made shortly. In order to prevent them from sinking, inflated bags made of the skins of butchered sheep were tied to the bottom of the rafts. Nevertheless, not all the volunteers mentioned above could cross the river at the same time. On Monday¹⁵¹ night, the 14th of that month, the rafts were put on the water. At first, twenty-five men boarded two rafts, and pulling the oars, they crossed to the side of the enemy. Having landed on the other side, they were digging a communication trench for one hour. The communication trenches of the infidels were an hour away from them, so they did not even know about these events. Then the rest of the Janissaries and Sekbans also started to cross, but one of the rafts sank and another one was carried away by the water. When the [third] raft became uncontrollable and its state became precarious, someone shouted on the other side: "What are you standing there for? Come over to the other side!" The infernal heathens heard these voices and realised what was happening. They attacked the unfortunate ones and opened fire on them. The Muslims faced the attack and charge of the infidels, and they started to fight one another. The warriors of the Faith were just a drop in the ocean, and with [no] help from the other side, they stood with their backs at each other. The infidels, on the other hand, kept receiving help from behind, and so they grew stronger. The sound of battle cries [was heard] all around, and the rumble of muskets and cannons filled the air. It was impossible to cross the water, and there was no help. Those fifty valiant warriors fought from the sixth hour of the night until sunrise. There were only two men who could swim back to the other side and escaped. The others were martyred while fighting bravely. Those who were in the imperial camp watched them, amazed and shaking their heads. Because Zrínyiöglu believed that the whole Muslim army had crossed the water, he himself led his army against the warriors of the Faith mentioned above. The cannonballs fired at them from the other side mercilessly killed many of the accursed ones. On the following day, the multitude of their hideous filth seemed to be greater than the amount of gravel. Subsequently, the infidels started to dig communication trenches along the other bank, so crossing the water and occupying the said river would have been too difficult an order to obey. Therefore, they [i.e. the Muslims] gave up this idea and strove to take the fortress. Yansur Hassan Pasha, the Beylerbey of Kanizsa, was commissioned to take seven balyemez cannons to the imperial camp. On the 15th of that month, on Tuesday,¹⁵² the camp was translocated, and they encamped on the wooded hills opposite Újvár. By the Serdar's order, a sea of Muslim soldiers mounted their horses running as fast as the wind, and at midday, they distributed shovels from the arsenal among the infantry soldiers for digging. Opposite the army of infidels, on one wing, the Great Serdar positioned four balyemez cannons along with four battalions of his Sekban infantry. Furthermore, Kara Mustafa Pasha, the Beylerbey of Rumelia, set up his own mercenaries and the provincial army, an army of Anatolian Zaims and timar-holders, while the Janissary agha together with the *kul kethüda* brought 20 odas of Janissaries.

¹⁵¹ 14 Zilqad 1074 = 9 June 1664. It was a Monday, indeed.

¹⁵² 15 Zilqad 1074 = 10 June 1664. It was a Tuesday, indeed.

On the other wing, with three balyemez cannons, there was Vizier Bosnian Ishmail Pasha, the Beylerbey of Bosnia, with his own excellent mercenaries and his provincial army, the Zaims and Timariots of the province of Sivas. Additionally, twenty odas of Janissaries led by the Zagharjibashi and Samsondjibashi entrenched themselves. Therefore, they besieged the fortress from two sides. They opened fire with the cannons and muskets at once, and started to shoot at the fortress heavily. Its gates and walls were demolished, and the fortress was levelled to the ground. During the first attack, only about ten warriors of the Faith were wounded. At the Serdar's command, the division of the Silahdars joined the ranks with its units, like the wings and feathers of the Simurgh or Anka bird,¹⁵³ – their flags and spearheads were gleaming like lightning – and along with the Rumelian Ghazis, the warriors of the Faith bearing the sign of victory and serving in the approach trenches, they stood at the front line for defence against the sea of assault. The aforementioned fortress was strong and solid. On its two sides, the water of the Mura [flowed], and on one side, there was dry land. Its moat was deep and wide, and its walls were made of wattle and daub. Inside, it was full of infidels, and besides a large bastion suitable for 2,000 warriors, it also had a bridge that joined the fortress with the other bank of the Mura River flowing behind. Because the said bridge could not be taken, it was easy to send rested soldiers, weapons, ammunitions and other necessary things from the camp of the accursed ones found on the other side of the river every day, so they fought fiercely. The next night, at half past seven on Wednesday,¹⁵⁴ a group of cursed infidels dashed out of the fortress and struck the trenches of the Muslims. It was their rebellious intent and futile desire to cause harm. The Muslim soldiers, however, were prepared. They jumped on their horses and launched an attack along with the infantry. They assailed and fell upon the enemies of the Faith, and hardly had one hour and a half passed, when the accursed ones turned their faces back, and started to run beaten and scattered, and were slashed until they reached the gates of the fortress. At dawn, more than one hundred heads and ten prisoners were brought in front of the Vizier by the Rumelian Ghazis, and generous rewards were distributed [among them]. At sunrise on the following day, which was Thursday,¹⁵⁵ some infidels came out again to attack the trenches. However, when they attacked, the Muslim Ghazis were also alert, and when they confronted them, [the attackers] turned back, and took their [next] breath in the fortress. Moreover, a valiant Janissary made his way to the gates of the fortress slaying many infidels with his sword, and then he became a martyr. On the 19th day of that month, on Saturday,¹⁵⁶ which was the 5th day of the siege, Musahib Yusuf Agha arrived with a letter from the Sultan, and announced the joyful news that Prince Sultan Mustafa, the blessed child of His Majesty the Ghazi Padishah, similar to a royal pearl, was born in the blissful palace. They lined up to welcome him, and he stayed in the Asaph's¹⁵⁷ tent. [The soldiers] fired cannons and muskets making loud noise, which was followed by merrymaking and celebration. The leaders of the army were summoned to the tent, and the letter was opened and read out in their presence. [...]¹⁵⁸

The aforementioned agha was presented with 10,000 *kuruş* worth of pelts and an equipped horse, and was treated with due respect. He prepared to return and the *telhis*¹⁵⁹ was just being written, when

¹⁵³ The Simurgh, also known as Anka, is a wonderful bird in the Persian mythology whose shadow or feather brings good luck.

¹⁵⁴ That is, on 11 June.

¹⁵⁵ On 12 June.

¹⁵⁶ 19 Zilqad 1074 = 14 June 1664. (It was really Saturday.)

¹⁵⁷ Worthy of Asaph, that is, belonging to the Grand Vizier.

¹⁵⁸ Silahdar Mehmed quotes the letter – we omit it here.

¹⁵⁹ The Grand Vizier's document submitted to the Sultan.

the post of the Grand Vizier's tent was hit and smashed by one of the cannonballs fired from the besieged fortress. In order to show the said missile to the Padishah as well, he [i.e. the envoy] collected it and set off for the imperial court. In the imperial camp, the Muslim army was short of victuals for a while, but somewhat later, travel supplies arrived on wagons from the neighbourhood, which were heavily loaded. Mahmud Pasha (the Sanjakbey of Nicopolis), Ibrahim Pasha (the Sanjakbey of Avlona), Buhurli Begogli Mehmed Pasha (the Sanjakbey of Ohrid), as well as the Albanian Sekban musketeers and infantry enlisted at the expense of the treasury arrived and entered the imperial camp. In the meantime, an order was issued, and under the guidance of a master, rafts were built, like before. For example, they were raised on six wheels. They were tied together from three pieces (?), and appropriate rings were made of steel for the places where they were tied together. To the bows of the galleys, similar ornaments (?) and two items called ... on top of which two Shahi zarbuzan cannons were placed, and five or six pieces of walls (two *zira*¹⁶⁰ long each) were nailed with iron nails. When it was hit from the inside, it moved forward and slammed to the other side. Then they were properly connected through their rings, and next to them, they prepared a ramp similar to a table, made of two fathom long boards.¹⁶¹ In this way, at a blessed time, it was put on the said river: it was like a crocodile. At dawn on the 3rd day of the month of Zilhijje, on Friday,¹⁶² the master that made the raft, a warrior of the Faith called Zahid, opened fire on a bastion found in front of the said fortress using all of the naphtha oil. When some of the warriors of the Faith bearing the sign of victory launched an attack on that bastion, many infidels confronted them with the desire of fight and repulse. However, the swords of the Muslim warriors showed the fire of the bastions in their eyes only as smoke. Several infidels fell victim to their swords. Forty-five severed heads and three prisoners of war were taken to the tent of the Grand Vizier. The other enemies of the Faith who were killed in the bastions were beheaded. From behind the infidels, one thousand firearms showed their craft, and it was impossible to resist them. Therefore, the Muslim warriors returned to their trenches and gathered strength for the battle again. They changed their place, and until their approach trenches reached the edge of the moat, they [i.e. the infidels] attacked the trenches quite a few times and dug mines against the trenches on fifteen occasions. However, by the grace of Allah – may His name be praised! – no one was harmed.

The capture of Újvár

A mine was dug under the wall of the said bastion with the help of a shelter (?), and after gunpowder was put in it, it was blown up on the 21st day of the siege, four hours before sunrise on Monday,¹⁶³ on the 6th of the said month. One part [of the bastion] seemed to rise into the air, and a large hole was breached in it. As the Grand Vizier was on the alert in one of the approach trenches, he commanded the volunteers of the Janissaries serving in the trenches and other Muslim warriors bearing the sign of victory to shout the Muhammadan cry of war, and ignoring the cannons and muskets of the infidels, they launched an attack with naked swords. When they reached the bastion, they assaulted the communication trenches¹⁶⁴ of the enemies of the Faith and occupied the exploded

¹⁶⁰ An Ottoman measure of length, ca. 76 cm.

¹⁶¹ The description of the strange siege engine is not clear. The story also does not reveal what it was actually used for.

¹⁶² 3 Zilhijje 1074 = 27 June 1664. It was a Friday, indeed.

¹⁶³ 6 Zilhijje 1074 = 30 June 1664. It was a Monday, indeed.

¹⁶⁴ Here, he certainly refers to the defensive work (*fausse braye*) of the Christian army outside the walls of the fortress. Pál Esterházy also mentions them.

place. As God strengthened the army of Islam, from there, they went on to attack the fortress without the order of the Grand Vizier, thinking that “the occasion is the manifestation of the command”. However, because there was no suitable breach to storm the fortress, they stood on each other’s shoulders and crawled up the fortress like spiders. From the top of the fortress, the musketeers and volunteers, followed by the battalions of the Janissaries, attacked inward and broke in. With the help and mercy of Allah, it took a little more than one hour to cut off 2,600 heads and to take 80 captives from the despicable defenders (a total of 4,300 infidels) of the curst Zrínyiogli. The despised army was defeated in this way, and it became possible to seize and occupy the aforementioned fortress. Having taken it in the name of the ruler, they planted horse-tail standards on some of the walls, and sang the *ezan*. When the warriors of the Faith, crawling and climbing, got onto the bastions, the Hungarian and Croatian soldiers crossed the bridge connected to the fortress and cut the other end of the bridge. The German soldiers remained on the side of the fortress, and in order to save their unclean souls, they climbed on a board or a boat in groups of five or ten, and tried to cross the river. The Muslim warriors captured the accursed ones with arrows, spears and lead, and killed most of them. Some of them left the multitude. Each and every one of the more than two thousand accursed ones who were on the bridge fell in the said river. Some of them were drifted ashore. On the other side, opposite their camp, they were put to death by the swords [of the Muslims] before the eyes [of their comrades], disregarding the cannons and muskets fired by the enemy. During the siege, as the illustrious Serdar was watching and inspecting the bastion, some Ghazis [came up to him] with [severed] heads in their hands and said: “Good news! We attacked the fortress and took it!” He [i.e. the Grand Vizier], however, did not believe them and said: “There is no breach suitable for a siege. How would they attack? It is impossible!” However, as he was standing there, the warriors of the Faith arrived one after the other with captives and severed heads, and the trenches were filled with the heads of the enemy. The Grand Vizier said a prayer and gave thanks to God, the Creator at that place: In his joy and happy mood, he commanded that anyone who had a head or a captive should go to the [Grand Vizier’s] tent, and the Muslim army should be properly accommodated in the fortress, and then the soldiers should receive their reward. At the time of these events, the enemies of the Faith believing in other gods were thinking in their defeated camp on the other side of the water as follows: “It is possible that now the Muslim army is crossing the Mura River somewhere and falls upon us. We must get prepared!” In their wild fear, they all jumped on their horses, and in their great shock they started to run around like foolish hens. They were shooting their cannons and muskets from their communication trenches by the river, making some warriors martyrs.

Now that, with the help of Allah – may His name be praised! – the siege clearly ended with this decisive defeat, a Divan was convened in the Asaph’s tent. The leaders of the army were given robes, and [the soldiers] who brought the prisoners and heads received rewards and promotions. The heads of the prisoners were cut off. Expensive drugs were placed on the wounds of the warriors, and those who were no longer capable of fighting went into retirement. The number of the wounded soldiers and martyrs was exactly 500. A detailed list of mercenaries made by the scribe of the treasury comprised that 10,000 *kuruş bahsis* had been distributed.

After discussing [the issue], the leaders of the army agreed that the fortress above was not useful to the Sublime Porte in any way, and its defence would be difficult to organise. Therefore, at the command of the illustrious Serdar, one eleven-*okka*¹⁶⁵ kolunburna and six Shahi zarbuzan cannons,

¹⁶⁵ *Okka* was an Ottoman measure of mass, 1.281 kg. In case of cannons, it referred to the weight of the fired balls.

as well as three bombers were towed out of the fortress together with ammunitions belonging to them. Along with the seven balyemez cannons previously brought from the Fortress of Kanizsa, they were sent to Kanizsa. Afterwards, some parts [of the fortress] were set on fire, and other parts were blown up with mines and levelled to the ground. Nothing was left of the building. The report of the victory telling the great news was written and sent to the imperial court.

During the siege, Vizier Kibleli Mustafa Pasha, the Beylerbey of Damascus, was injured and died four days later. His post along with the rank of the vizier was donated to Janissary Agha Bosnavi Salih. The post of the Janissary agha was given to Mustafa Agha, the *kul kethüda* [deputy of the Janissary agha], whereas the post of the *kul kethüda* was given to Arnavud Uzun Ibrahim Agha, who was the *zagarjibashi*. The first to get into the fortress – even before the permit was given – was an *iczoglan* [i.e. page] of the Great Serdar, whose name was Erzurumlu Kul Abbas. Later, when they arrived in Istanbul, his glorious deed was also reported to the Padishah, and his head was adorned with a plume at the imperial court, and to strengthen him, he was given the left side of the Agha-Command of Erzurum.