MARSHALL

GREEK MANUSCRIPT
DESCRIBING THE SIEGE OF VIENNA BY THE TURKS IN 1683
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BY

F. H. MARSHALL

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A GREEK MANUSCRIPT DESCRIBING THE SIEGE OF VIENNA BY THE TURKS IN 1683

I think that those who take an interest in the history of the modern Greek language may possibly welcome a short note on a manuscript in the British Museum, which appears to me to be worth some attention, chiefly perhaps from the point of view of the part played by Greek culture in Roumania in the seventeenth century.

The manuscript in question is Add. MS. 38890 in the Department of Manuscripts,1 British Museum. It was acquired at Hodgson’s sale, June 25, 1914, Lot 413, and is from the collection of the Hon. Frederic North, but was later in the possession of Richard Taylor. It is well written and presents but few difficulties of decipherment, and the number of errors is comparatively small. At the end the date of completion is given, viz. December 1686, and the place of writing—Bucharest.

I think the general character of the MS. will be best explained by the reproduction of the short preface prefixed to it. I give it here, together with a translation. The pages and lines are those of the MS., and spelling, punctuation and abbreviations are reproduced as they stand, though I have not adhered to the very fluctuating use of the acute and grave accents.

Γαλωνώτατε, ευσέβεστατε, καὶ κράτιστε ἃγεμῶν, πάσης οὐγκροβλαχίας, κύριε, κύριε, ἱωάνη, σερβάνε βοηδόνδα, καυτακουξηρε, ἐντεινε καὶ κατ’ εὐδοῦ, ἐνεκεν τῆς τῶν χρυδ’ πίστεως.

Ἐκ προτροπῆς τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου σας ἀνεψιοῦ, καὶ πρωτοσπαθαρίου, κυρίου κωνσταντίνου μπρακαβάνου, τὸ παρὸν βιβλιάριον ἀπὸ τὴν ἱταλικὴν, εἰς τὴν ἠμετέραν τῶν γρακίων ἀπλήν διάλεκτον πιστὰ ἐμεταγλώττησα, τὸ ὅποιον ἄλλον δὲν περιέχει, παρὰ μίαν ἀν-καὶ σύντομον, ἀλλὰ ἀληθεστάτην καὶ καθαρὰν ἱστορίαν τοῦ ἀπό-κλεισμοῦ τῆς περιφήμου πόλεως βιένας, ἀπὸ τοὺς κατὰ πάντα ἀπίστους καὶ ἁθέους μουσουλμάνους, συλλογιζόμενος τὸ λοιπὸν, τίνος νὰ ἀφιε-ρώσω τοῦτον μου τὸν κόσμον, διὰ νὰ ἔχει περισσοτέραν τιμήν, σιμὰ εἰς τοὺς ἀναγνώσκοντας, ἀλλὰ δὲν ἐδιϊλεξα παρὰ τὸ σεβαστόν σας ὅνουμα, τὸ ὅποιον ἡ χριστιανική καὶ βασιλική σας διαγωγή, τόσον λαμπρὸν καὶ χαριτωμένον τὸ ἐκήρυξεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ὅποιο ὅλοι σχεδοῦ τὸ εὐ-φημίζουν, καὶ σέβονται.

1 I have to express my thanks to Mr. J. P. Gilson and Mr. H. I. Bell of the Depart-
'Most Serene, Pious and Mighty Ruler of all Ugro-Wallachia, Lord John, Voivode, Servan Cantacuzenos, be strong and prosper in thy way on behalf of the Christian faith.

At the instance of thy most illustrious nephew and protopatriarch, Lord Constantine Bracovanos, I have translated the present little book from the Italian faithfully into our simple Greek dialect. It contains nothing but a brief, though perfectly true and clear account of the siege of the famous city of Vienna by the utterly treacherous and godless Mussulmans. So on considering to whom I should dedicate this work of mine that it may have the more honour in the eyes of the readers, I chose none other than your revered name, which your Christian and Royal bearing has proclaimed as so brilliant and gracious to the world, that nearly all acclaim and revere it.

Cf. the description of Servan Cantacuzenos in MS. No. 886 in the Hofbibliothek at Vienna (quoted by Hammer, Gesch. d. cazenov in Osm. Reiches, vi. (1830), p. 403, n.)
History treats of many examples worthy of reflection and imitation, and leaving aside the invincible courage of the generals John, king of Poland, and the wonderful and brilliant Duke of Lorraine, your Serenity should reflect upon and marvel at the glorious providence of God, which, no longer suffering that most harsh and diabolic tyranny which the Hagarenes in their inhumanity showed for so many years against the god-fearing, suddenly and unexpectedly aroused in the hearts of all the Christian kings the spirit of anger, that they should all with one accord arise in the power of the Cross to crush the poisonous head of the tyrant Hagarenes, and lo! with the help and at the beck of the same divine Providence, the proud lies low, a piteous sight, beneath the talons of the pious, and seemeth ready to perish altogether. But, I ask, is not Servan also a Voivode and a son of kings, yea, and a king to boot, even though he be lord over but a very small province? Yes, verily, by the mercy of God. Let him imitate, therefore, and take up the zeal of his forefathers, that when the time summons he may champion Christendom; let him not shrink, let him not fear, for the bidding is the Lord’s, and the exhortation, which calls with clear signs, even as once to Moses, Joshua the son of Nun, Gideon, David and the others: Rise up, for, lo! I have delivered our enemies into your hands, spare them not. Even so it is my hope, and the hope of all the hapless and enslaved race of the Romans, that God may strengthen your Serenity to the end and all Christendom, that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the holy and worshipful Trinity, may be adored in one Godhead. To which Trinity I pray on behalf of your Serenity for success, length of days and victory over your foes visible and invisible, and kiss the hem of your revered purple, and subscribe myself

‘Your humble servant and fervent well-wisher

‘Jeremias Cacavelas the Preacher.’

I think we may be confident that this translation made by Cacavelas was never printed. It is nowhere mentioned in the accounts of Jeremias Cacavelas and his work, to which I now pass.

Jeremias Cacavelas, the translator of this monograph, was born in Crete. He became a monk, and in his zeal for learning travelled widely. He visited Asia Minor, and afterwards went to Leipzig, where he became acquainted with the teachers, and in particular with John Olearios, Professor of Greek. From Leipzig he went to Vienna, and from there wrote in 1670 a letter to Olearios signed 'Ieremias o 'Ellinon diáskalos tis 'Aiatolikhs 'Ekklesias. This letter was printed by Olearios in his notes to the Chronicle of Philip of Cyprus. The present MS. shows that Cacavelas was at Bucharest in 1686.

Valachia il principe moderno Serbano e uomo di gran spirito, potente e ricco per se stesso, amato dai Bojari e Grandi, ha gran parentela, due fratelli ... ha molti nepoti esperti, fra l’altro il Conte Brancovano che fu spesso Generale di queste provincie, persona di gran talenti.’


4 I may mention that Prof. R. M. Dawkins, who has been kind enough to go through my copy of the MS. with me, noted certain forms and turns of expression as Cretan before he knew that the translator came from that island.
Later he moved to Jassy, where he is mentioned as Professor in the 
\textit{Αθενική Ακαδημία} in 1698.

His residence in Wallachia brought him into contact with its subject 
prince. The translation is dedicated to Servan Cantacuzenos, Voivode of 
Wallachia (1679–1688), who was compelled to serve with the Turks in the 
siege of Vienna in 1683. In that campaign the Wallachians and Moldavians 
were not trusted to fight, but were employed in cutting timber and in bridging-
work, it may be said, which appears to have been done very unwillingly and 
inffectually. Indeed the inefficiency of the Turkish bridges over the Danube 
seems to have contributed materially to the success of the relieving force. 
Servan Cantacuzenos left behind him a memorial of his devotion to Christianity 
in the form of an inscribed wooden cross.

Constantine Bracovanos, called in our MS. Bracovanos, who succeeded 
his uncle Servan Cantacuzenos, is regarded as one of the most remarkable 
figures in Roumanian history. Something more will be said about him later 
on. Here it should be pointed out that one of his chief merits is to have 
reorganised and greatly enlarged the Greek school founded by his predecessor. 
I quote Xenopol on the subject of this school.

‘The first systematic organisation of public instruction in Greek was 
carried out in Wallachia by the Roumanian prince Scherban (Servan) Cantacuze-
nos. Though this prince scarcely had love for the Greeks and his policy 
towards them was even hostile, he nevertheless recognised the superiority of 
their culture, a thing which is the less surprising since then, as to-day, there 
was the same confusion between the modern Greeks and their celebrated 
ancestors. Del Chiaro tells us “that Scherban Cantacuzenos greatly favoured 
the development of teaching by giving splendid salaries to the Professors of 
the Greek language who taught grammar, rhetoric and philosophy to the 
children of the nobles.” Scherban Cantacuzenos was the first to found a Greek 
school at Bucharest.’

We can thus understand why Cacavelas migrated from Vienna to 
Bucharest, and why Bracovanos prompted him to make the present transla-
tion. The appropriateness of its dedication to Servan also becomes clear. 
The fact is that Greek culture had been transferred from Greece proper to 
Wallachia and Moldavia. We know that Greek printing presses were set up 
both at Bucharest and Jassy.

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\textsuperscript{4} See a letter of Georg Chr. von Kunitz 
dated July 22, 1683: ‘Der Fürst aus 
Walachei (Fürst Cantacuzene) ist mit seiner 
Mannschaft beschäftigt, Hals über Kopf 
Bauholz zuzuführen, welches er alles in 
dem Wäldlein bei Schönbrunn schlagen und 
nach Wien ins Lager führen lässt; dieses, 
glaube ich, will man zu den Minen gebrau-
chen.’ (Quoted by Camesina, \textit{Wiens 
Bedrängniss im Jahre} 1683, p. 25, n. 6). Kunitz, who was Imperial Agent at 
Constantinople, was at the time a prisoner in 
the Turkish camp. See also Hammer, 

\textsuperscript{5} Xénopol, p. 73 : ‘Si les princes rou-
mains, qui sympathisent avec les chér-
tiens, ne leur fussent venus en aide en di-
verses occasions, au péril de leurs têtes, il 
est très probable que la ville n’aurait pu 
attendre le secours que lui amenait le roi 
de Pologne.’

\textsuperscript{6} Klopp, \textit{Das Jahr} 1683, p. 237 ff.; 
Camesina, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 134 f.

\textsuperscript{7} Xénopol, ii. 173 ff.

\textsuperscript{8} More will be found on the subject of 
Greek culture in Roumania in Xénopol’s 
\textit{Istoria Rumenilor din Dacia Traian}, 
Besides the letter to Olearios mentioned above, the only work of Cacavelas previously printed is a translation of Platina’s *De vita summorum pontificum* made by order of Brancovanos in 1689 and a few poems.\(^\text{10}\) He knew Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Italian, and was a noted preacher of the Gospel. This accounts for his present translation from the Italian, and also for his description of himself as Ιεροκήρυξ. His residence at Vienna will have made him specially interested in the siege, though I think it is clear that he himself was not present at it.

Later on Cacavelas migrated to the court of Constantine Cantemir in Moldavia, and taught Constantine’s son Demetrios. In this connexion it is worth while to consider in somewhat greater detail the situation of these subject princes of Wallachia and Moldavia.

Their position was one of peculiar difficulty, since they formed as it were a buffer between the German and Turkish empires.\(^\text{11}\) Even after the defeat of the Turks before Vienna in 1683, Servan Cantacuzenos was not able to declare openly for the Emperor Leopold, in spite of the proofs of his leanings which he had given during the siege. After the great Imperial victory over the Turks at the battle of Harkány, near Mohács, in 1687, the Emperor sent a letter to Servan inviting him to join the Imperial side, and as a result the Voivode collected a considerable army with a view to adopting this policy. The Emperor held out various inducements, promising to recognise the right of the Cantacuzene family to the throne of Wallachia against an annual payment of 75,000 piastres, and even going so far as to offer to make Servan Emperor at Constantinople should the Turks be driven out of Europe. Despite the great skill which the Voivode showed in impressing the Austrians with a belief in his devotion to their cause, while at the same time lulling the suspicions of the Turks, the strong anti-German party at Bucharest (which included his nephew Constantine Brancovanos) brought his efforts to nought, and secured his removal by poison on October 29, 1688.

His successor, Constantine Brancovanos, reigned till 1714. He started as an anti-Imperialist, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Austrian General Haisler in 1690. But in the next year he reversed his policy. His long reign was a continual effort to placate both Turks and Austrians, and in doing this he showed extreme ability. But in the end he was unable to ward off the fate which constantly threatened him. He was deposed by the Turks, removed to Constantinople and there executed together with his family.

We may now take a brief glance at the careers of the Moldavian princes Constantine Cantemir and his son Demetrios, the latter a pupil of Jeremias Cacavelas. Constantine reigned as Voivode of Moldavia from 1685 to 1693. He showed Turkish leanings, and as a result came after 1691 into collision with Brancovanos. From 1693 to 1711, Nicholas Mavrocordato, a Phanariote Greek, reigned at Jassy and was on terms of intimate friendship with Branco-

\(^\text{10}\) Sathas, p. 384: ειρήνηι και ἱππελεγεία αυτοῦ ἕπταματα εἰς τόμον Ἀγάπης Δοσιθέου, ἐπιστοιαί του ἑκδοθὲν(α).

\(^\text{11}\) For what follows I am indebted to Xénopol, ii. p. 73 ff.
vanos. He was replaced in 1711 by Demetrios Cantemir,\textsuperscript{12} owing to the desire of the Turks to bring about the fall of Brancovanos. But though installed as a pro-Turk, Demetrios was firmly convinced that the power of Turkey was on the wane and went over to the Russians, whose defeat on the Pruth he shared in 1711. It was with great difficulty that Peter the Great secured the personal safety of Demetrios and gave him an asylum in Russia.

Though the historical value of the MS. is not a question which strictly concerns the Hellenic Journal, I may perhaps be allowed to say a few words on this subject, especially since I have devoted a good deal of time to reading the contemporary and later literature dealing with the siege.

The Italian original from which Cacavelas made his translation was printed and published, though I shall have something to say on the strange omission of all allusion to it by specialist writers on the history of the siege. I owe my information to the courtesy of Sig. P. Zorzanello of the Biblioteca Nazionale di San Marco, to whom I sent extracts from the MS. His reply leaves no doubt that the original was the following book, a copy of which is in the library of San Marco at Venice.\textsuperscript{13} His description of it is as follows:—

'Raggualio historico della Guerra tra l'Armi Cesaree e Ottomane dal principio della Ribellione deg'l Ungari fino l'Anno corrente 1683, e principalmente dell' Assedio di Vienna e sua Liberazione, con gli incominciati progressi delle dette Armi Cesaree e Confederate. All' Illustriss. & Eccell. Sig. Giulio Giustiniano cavaliere. Venetia, MDCLXXXIII, Presso Gio. Giacomo Hertz' (in 12°, pp. (xii), 215 e due tavole). These two plates are no doubt the illustrations from which Cacavelas made his two illuminations in the MS., viz. a portrait of the Emperor Leopold I. and a picture of the Turkish flag captured by John Sobieski and sent by him as a present to the Pope, Innocent XI. With regard to the author of the book Sig. Zorzanello supplies me with the following information from the Preface.

'Due Amici, uno somministrando le migliori notitie, e l'altro impiegandovi l'ordine, l'ornamento e qualche picciola reflexione, hanno condotta al suo fine quest' opera.'

Sig. Zorzanello then goes on to quote passages from the beginning and end of the book which correspond exactly to those in the MS.

The fact that the MS. is a translation of a published work certainly diminishes the interest of the document from the historical standpoint. Yet it seems to me a matter for surprise that an account, not merely of the details of the actual siege, but also of the general political circumstances from 1660 to October 1683, should, as far as I have been able to ascertain, have been entirely neglected by the specialist writers on the subject. The first edition of the book at all events is not included in Kâbdebo's Bibliography of the two sieges.\textsuperscript{14} Nor can I find any allusion to it in the exhaustive works of

\textsuperscript{12} See also A. J. Evans in Encyclopaedia Britannica\textsuperscript{a}, Art. 'Romania.' Demetrios in exile wrote a Descriptio Moldaviae in Latin.

\textsuperscript{13} The book does not appear in the British Museum Catalogue.

\textsuperscript{14} Kâbdebo (Heinrich), Bibliographie zur Geschichte der beiden Türkenbelagerungen Wiens. Vienna, 1876. It would seem, however, that the following work mentioned by Kâbdebo in his Supplement (p. 130, No. 339) is a second edition of the book.

'Raggualio della guerra tra l'armi
Camesina\textsuperscript{15} and Klopp.\textsuperscript{16} There are, however, many indications that early writers on the subject, such as C. Contarini in his \textit{Istoria della guerra di Leopoldo I. contra il Turco} (Venice, 1710), and the author of \textit{Theatrum Europaeum}, Vol. XII. (Frankfurt am Main, 1691), and several others of approximately the same period, used the same sources as the authors of this Italian account of the siege and the circumstances attending it.

In view of this, it may not be out of place briefly to give my impression of the value of the book from the historical standpoint. In the first place it appears rather a remarkable achievement that the work, in spite of its obvious shortcomings presently to be alluded to, should have been printed and published in the same year as the siege, which ended as late as September 12. It is much more than a mere diary of the siege, which is the form taken by most of the works relating to the siege published in 1683. It has the appearance of a political pamphlet put together somewhat hastily by writers who had access to good sources of information, but were so anxious to get the work out quickly that they were betrayed into a good many inaccuracies of detail. The general aim seems to be to foster harmony between the various elements of the Holy Roman Empire and the Poles with a view to the further prosecution of the war against the common enemy, the Turk and his Hungarian allies. Of the two policies open to the Emperor after the defeat of the Turks before Vienna—war with Louis XIV. or the crushing of the Turk—it is clearly the writers' business to recommend the latter. To this end the intrigues of Louis XIV. are almost ignored, as is the friction which existed between the various elements of the relieving force.

It is not surprising, in view of the shortness of the work, that its comprehensiveness is paid for by a good deal of superficiality. The attention given to detail is curiously unequal. One instance may be cited. The forces of the Elector of Saxony are described with considerable minuteness. Those of the Elector of Bavaria are practically ignored. In the case of the Poles the absence of such detail is compensated for by a general description of the elements of which the Polish army is composed.

The inaccuracies alluded to are chiefly those of dates. There is also a tendency to confuse minor military actions. In general, however, the work seems to me to give a clear picture of all the main features of interest (viewed, it is true, from the Imperial standpoint) belonging to the period with which the writers deal. I think that the specialist student would find the identification of the sources used for the work an interesting problem.

The Greek text, which includes many Turkish and other foreign words, should throw fresh light on the history of the Greek language in Roumania.

\textbf{F. H. MARSHALL.}

\textsuperscript{15} Camesina (Albert), \textit{Wiens Bedrängniss im Jahre 1683} (in Berichte und Mitteilungen des Altertumsvereines zu Wein, Vol. VIII., 1865).

\textsuperscript{16} Klopp (Onno), \textit{Das Jahr 1683.} Graz, 1882.
Additional Note.

Bound up with the MS. are two inscriptions. They are in Roumanian. The first, on p. i at the beginning of the volume, is in Cyrillic character. The following transcriptions have been kindly supplied me by the Museum authorities on the understanding that they are to be regarded as provisional, since there is no expert there in this branch.

‘Alu Kostandin Brankověnu V(oda) Spa(tar), skoasa de Jeremija Kakavela dasculu(l) și egume(nul) Plavicěnilo(r) dupe limba francéscă pe limba grecéseca și scrisa de popa nekula : l(una) noe(mvrie) a(nu)l ἀξιπτζ.’

The second inscription, on p. v at the end of the volume, is in both Roman and Cyrillic scripts and reads:

‘Die(emvrie) 15, 7195 arzintul de la steaescă (? dramar(i) 1217.’

Though there is some uncertainty as to forms, there does not seem any doubt that the following are approximately correct translations:

1. ‘To Constantine Brancovano Voivode and Spatar. Translated by Jeremias Cacavelas, Teacher and Abbot at the monastery of Plavícenii, from Italian into Greek. Written by the Priest Nicholas, November 1687.’

2. ‘December 15, 1687. Payment for the copying (?), Drachmae 1217.’

Mr. L. C. Wharton of the Department of Printed Books, British Museum, has very kindly helped me in the interpretation of these inscriptions.17

F. H. M.

17 I may add that Cacavelas must have been still living in 1714, for he was the author of a historical work on the wars between the Hungarians and the Turks, dedicated to Stephanos Cantacuzenos, who was Voivode of Wallachia, 1714-1716. É. Legrand in his Épistolaire grecque (Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire, iv., p. xiii. (c)), mentions the following as included in the Catalogue of the MSS. in the Bibliothèque du Métoque du Saint-Sépulchre at Constantinople:

Ἐθνική ἱστορική ὑπὸ Ἰερεμίου Κακάβελα ἱεροκήρυκος ἀριστοτότων αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν ἡγεμόνα Οὐγγροβλαχίας Στέφανου Καντακουζένου, ἐπὶ διαλαμβάνει ἱστορίαν πολέμων μεταξύ Οὐγγρων καὶ Τούρκων ἐπέκειται ἀπὸ τοῦ 1660 ἐτος. M. Legrand was unable to obtain access to this and other MSS.
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