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Greek from an Italian Work Published Anonymously in the Year of the Siege

Jeremias Caca Velas

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THE SIEGE OF VIENNA
BY THE TURKS IN 1683

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THE SIEGE OF VIENNA BY THE TURKS IN 1683

Translated into Greek from an Italian
work published anonymously in the year
of the siege

by

JEREMIAS CACAVELAS

Edited from an unpublished manuscript in the British
Museum dated Bucharest 1686 with Introduction,
Text, English Translation, Notes, and Glossary

by

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Corresponding Member of the Historical and Ethnological Society
of Greece*

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PREFACE

A WRITER has remarked in connection with the manuscript from which the present work is published “Warum ist der Text nicht kritisch bearbeitet?”¹ This edition is in some sense an answer to the criticism, but it may not be out of place to make one or two further remarks. It is well known that the publication of works of this kind, unless the editor is fortunate enough to obtain a grant from an outside source, must in view of prevailing conditions result in considerable financial loss to him. A scholar may reasonably be expected to spend his time in an endeavour to advance learning without hope of material reward; he is not always in a position to spend his money as well. These considerations may perhaps serve to explain why I have not collated the manuscript with the original Italian work at Venice. The task may, I think, fairly be left to another scholar, should any such feel sufficient interest.

The description of *The Siege of Vienna by the Turks in 1683*, now published for the first time in its Greek form, is an absolutely contemporary account, which, so far as I can ascertain, has never been used by those who have made a special study of this momentous event in the history of Europe. It is also instructive for the history of Greek culture in Roumania, and may be welcomed by those who consider that the living Greek language, no less than the dead, is worthy of some attention, and who take interest

¹ Ph. Meyer in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1924, No. 25, p. 544.

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in its modification through contact with neighbouring languages.

I have to express my gratitude to Birkbeck College for assistance towards the cost of publication, and to Prof. R. M. Dawkins and Mr N. B. Jopson, both of whom have given me most valuable help in elucidating difficulties, without of course being in any way responsible for errors into which I may have fallen.

F. H. MARSHALL.

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INTRODUCTION

JEREMIAS CACAVELAS¹, 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 'Ιερεμίας ὁ Ἑλληγν διδάσκαλος τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας. This letter was printed by Olearios in his notes to the Chronicle of Philip of Cyprus. The present MS. shows that Cacavelas was Abbot of the monastery of Plaviceni in 1687, and it bears the date: Bucharest, Dec. 1686. Later on he migrated to the court of Constantine Cantemir at Jassy, and taught Constantine's son Demetrios. He is mentioned as Professor in the *Αὐθεντικὴ Ἀκαδημία* in 1698.

Cacavelas' residence in Wallachia brought him into contact with its subject prince. The translation is dedicated to Servan Cantacuzenos, Voivode of Wallachia (1679–1688), who, together with the Voivode of Moldavia, 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

¹ Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία*, 1868, p. 383 f.; Xénopol, *Hist. des Roumains*, ii, pp. 162, 173. Further details about Cacavelas will be found in Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, ii, 3, pp. 278, 283, 313, 393. Cf. *Byz.-Neugriech. Jahrbücher*, iv, p. 170 f., and my article on this MS. in *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, xlii, pp. 16–23.

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cutting timber¹ and in bridging, work, it may be said, which appears to have been done very unwillingly and ineffectually². Indeed the inefficiency of the Turkish bridges over the Danube seems to have contributed materially to the success of the relieving forces. Servan Cantacuzenos left behind him a memorial of his devotion to Christianity in the form of an inscribed wooden cross³.

Constantine Brancovanos, at whose instance the present translation was undertaken, succeeded his uncle Servan Cantacuzenos, and is regarded as one of the most remarkable figures in Roumanian history. Something more will be said about him later on in this Introduction. Here it may be pointed out that one of his chief merits is to have reorganized and greatly enlarged the Greek School founded by his predecessor. I quote Xénopol on the subject of this School⁴.

“The first systematic organization of public instruction in Greek was carried out in Wallachia by the Roumanian

¹ See a letter of Georg Chr. von Kunitz, dated 22 July 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 gebrauchen.” (Quoted by Camesina, *Wiens Bedrängniss*, p. 25, n. 6.) Kunitz, who was Imperial Agent at Constantinople, was at the time a prisoner in the Turkish camp. See also Hammer, *Gesch. d. osm. Reiches*, vi (1830), p. 403 n.

² Xénopol, p. 73: “Si les princes roumains, qui sympathisaient avec les chrétiens, ne leur fussent venus en aide en diverses 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.”

³ Klopp, *Das Jahr 1683*, p. 237 ff.; Camesina, p. 134 f.

⁴ Xénopol ii, p. 173 f. Further details as to the Greek culture in Roumania will be found in Xénopol, *Istoria Romînilor din Dacia Traiană*, iv, p. 640 ff.

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prince Scherban (Servan) Cantacuzenos. Though this prince scarcely had love for the Greeks and his policy towards them was even hostile, he nevertheless recognized 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 Brancovanos prompted him to make the present translation. The appropriateness of its dedication to Servan also becomes clear. The fact is that Greek culture had been transferred from Greece proper to a more congenial home in Wallachia and Moldavia. We know that Greek printing presses were set up both at Bucharest and Jassy.

Besides the letter to Olearios above mentioned, the only work of Cacavelas (bearing his name) previously printed seems to be a translation of Platina’s “De vita summorum pontificum” made by order of Brancovanos in 1689, and a few poems¹. Other work by him (besides the present MS.) is however known². Besides Greek, he

¹ Sathas, *op. cit.*, p. 384: εὐρηγται καὶ ἡρωλεγεῖα αὐτοῦ ἐπιγράμματα εἰς τόμον Ἀγάπης Δοσιθέου, ἐπιστοσίᾳ του ἐκδοθέντα.

² Cacavelas also translated the Greek Liturgy into Roumanian (M. Gaster *apud* Gröber, *op. cit.*) and was (according to Legrand) the author of an historical work on the wars between the Hungarians and the Turks. For this latter work see E. Legrand, *Épistolaire grecque (Bibliothèque grecque*

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knew Latin, Hebrew, Italian and Roumanian, and was a noted preacher of the Gospel. This accounts for his present translation from the Italian and also for his *vulgaire*, iv (1888), p. xiii (c). M. Legrand mentions the following ms. as included in the Catalogue of the mss. in the Bibliothèque du Métoque du Saint Sépulcre at Constantinople (No. 252).

Εἰδησις ἱστορικὴ ὑπὸ Ἱερεμίου Κακαβέλα ἱεροκέρυκος ἀφιερῶντος αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν ἡγεμόνα Οὐγγροβλαχίας Στέφανον Καντακουζηνόν, ἥτις διαλαμβάνει ἱστορίαν πολέμων μεταξὺ Οὐγγρων καὶ Τούρκων· ἀρχεται ἀπὸ τοῦ 1660 ἔτους.

M. Legrand says he was unable to obtain access to this and other mss.

Sathas, however, *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*, i. (Κατάλογος χειρογράφων τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Μετοχίου τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου), p. 300, has the following: Κακαβέλα Ἱερεμίου μετάφρασις ἐκ τοῦ Ἱταλικοῦ, Ἱστορία τοῦ ἀποκλεισμοῦ τῆς Βιέννης ὑπὸ τῶν Μουσουλμάνων, ἀφιερωθεῖσα τῷ Ἰωάννῃ Σερβάνῳ Καντακουζηνῷ ἡγεμόνι πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας (252).

From this it appears that Legrand's description is wrong. Either the Constantinople ms. is a second copy of the present work, or else it is identical with the B.M. ms. which was probably sold to North surreptitiously.

A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Texte grecești privitoare la istoria românească* (in Hurmuzaki *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor*, xiii, Bucharest, 1909), p. 1α', 1β', has given a summary of Cacavelas' activities. On pp. 201-206 he prints two short pieces previously unedited, composed by Cacavelas at Bucharest under Servan Cantacuzenos. The first is an address on the vanity of human things, delivered at the request of the Postelnic Gregorios on the occasion of the funeral of his wife Smaragda, daughter of the Voivode Servan. Though marked by exuberance of rhetoric, it displays real feeling for the untimely death of this sixteen-year-old bride. The second is a curious interpretation of the appearance in Wallachia of a two-headed hare in the year 1688. It is of some interest in relation to the preface to the Siege of Vienna, and in this connection the following passage may be quoted from it.

"The reason why the portent appeared to Your Eminence here in Wallachia is none other than that God should show you how that Kingdom [of Turkey], which aforesaid walked about like a roaring lion over all, so that all trembled at it and feared, has now become a hare, and is no longer even whole, but half and half, and is incapable even of moving. Therefore fear it no more, but set with the others to hunt and rend it in pieces."

[Ἡ ἀφορμὴ δὲ ὅπου ἐφάνη τῇ σῆ ἐκλαμπρότητι τὸ τέρας ἐδῶ εἰς τὴν Βλαχίαν, δὲν εἶναι ἄλλη, παρὰ διὰ τὴν δειξῆναι ὁ Θεός, πῶς ἐκείνη ἡ βασιλεία, ὅπου πρῶν ὡς λέων ὠρῶμενος ὄλους ἐκαπατάει καὶ ὄλοι τὴν ἔτρεμαν καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο,

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description of himself as *Ἱεροκλήρυξ*. His residence at Vienna will have made him specially interested in the siege, though I think it is clear that he was not actually present at it.

The situation of the subject princes of Wallachia and Moldavia was one of peculiar difficulty, since they formed as it were a buffer between the German and Turkish Empires¹. 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 sympathy 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 recognize 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 29th, 1688.

τώρα ἔγινεν ἕνας λαγῶς, καὶ οὔτε σωστός, ἀλλὰ μισὸς καὶ μισός, ἤγουν ἀδύνατος οὔτε κἂν νὰ σαλεύσῃ· ὅθεν νὰ μὴν τὴν φοβᾶται πλέον, ἀλλὰ νὰ βαλθῇ μὲ ὄλους τοὺς ἄλλους νὰ τὴν θηρεύσῃ καὶ νὰ τὴν καταξέσχίσῃ.]

¹ For what follows I am indebted to Xénopol ii, p. 73 ff.

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His successor, Constantine Brancovanos, reigned till 1714. He started as an anti-Imperialist, and joined in inflicting 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 Germans; 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 with his family.

A brief glance may be taken at the careers of the Moldavian princes Constantine Cantemir and his son Demetrios, the latter a pupil of Jeremias Cacavelas. Constantinereigned 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 Nicolaos Mavrocordato, a Phanariote Greek, reigned at Jassy, and was on terms of intimate friendship with Brancovanos. He was replaced in 1711 by Demetrios Cantemir, owing to the desire of the Turks to bring about the fall of Brancovanos. But though installed as a pro-Turk, Demetrios was finally convinced that the power of Turkey was on the wane, and went over to the Russians. He shared the Russian defeat on the Pruth in 1711, and it was with great difficulty that Peter the Great rescued him from the Turks and gave him an asylum in Russia, where he occupied his leisure in writing a *Description of Moldavia* in Latin¹.

¹ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Art. *Rumania*.

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THE MANUSCRIPT

The Manuscript¹ (Add. MS. 38890 in the British Museum) was purchased by the Museum at Hodgson's sale, 25th June, 1914, lot 413. It was once in the possession of the Honourable Frederic North (afterwards 5th Earl of Guilford, died 1827) and was subsequently owned by Richard Taylor, F.S.A., and Doctor William Francis, F.L.S. It is well written and presents but few difficulties of decipherment. In transcribing it I have not attempted to reproduce the very fluctuating use of the acute and grave accents. In a few instances I have restored accents and breathings where these have clearly been omitted by inadvertence. The contractions (except those which would require a special fount to reproduce) and variations of spelling are as they stand in the manuscript, and the peculiar punctuation is also retained.

HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE MONOGRAPH

The Italian original from which Cacavelas made his translation was printed and published, though I shall have something to say as to the strange omission of all allusion to it by specialist writers on the history of the Siege. I owe the identification of the Italian original 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 fol-

¹ I have to express my thanks to Mr J. P. Gilson and Mr H. I. Bell of the Dept. of Manuscripts, British Museum, for drawing my attention to the MS., and to Mr H. J. M. Milne of the same Department for answering various enquiries about it.

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lowing very rare book, a copy of which is in the library of San Marco at Venice (numbered 31503, 3d 288).

He gives the title as follows:—

“Ragguaglio storico della Guerra tra l’ Armi Cesaree e Ottomane dal principio della Ribellione degl’ Ungari fino l’ Anno corrente 1683, e principalmente dell’ Assedio di Vienna e sua Liberazione, con gl’ incominciati progressi delle dette Armi Cesaree e Confederate. All’ Illustriss. Excell. Sig. Giulio Giustiniano cavaliere. Venetia. MDCLXXXIII, Presso Gio. Giacomo Hertz” [in 12°, pp. (xii), 215 e due tavole]. These two plates are, as Sig. Zorzanello informs me, a portrait of Count Starhemberg and a picture of the Turkish flag captured by Sobieski. The British Museum MS. has a portrait of the Emperor Leopold I and a picture of the Turkish flag; thus the Emperor Leopold has been substituted for Starhemberg by the illustrator of the present MS. With regard to the author of the book, Sig. Zorzanello supplies me with the following information drawn from the Preface. “Due Amici, uno somministrando le migliori notizie, e l’ altro impiegandovi l’ ordine, l’ ornamento e qualche picciola riflessione, hanno condotta al suo fine quest’ opera.”

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

The fact that the MS. is a translation of a published work in a sense diminishes the interest of the document from the historical standpoint. Yet it seems to me a matter for surprise that this 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

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as I have been able to ascertain, have been entirely neglected by the specialist writers on the subject. The Italian work is an absolutely contemporary document, published in the same year as the siege. The first edition of the book at all events is not included in Kábdebo's Bibliography of the two sieges¹. Nor can I find any allusion to it in the exhaustive works of Camesina and Klopp cited below². There are, however, many indications that early writers on the subject, such as C. Contarini in his history quoted in note 2 below and the author of *Theatrum Europaeum*, vol. xii, and several others of

¹ Kábdebo (Heinrich). *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der beiden Türkenbelagerungen Wiens*. Vienna, 1876. It would seem, however, that the following work mentioned by Kábdebo in his Supplement (p. 130, No. 339) is a second edition of the book.

"Ragguaglio della guerra tra l' armi Cesaree et Ottomane da principio della ribellione degli Ungari sino l' anno corrente 1684, e principalmente dell' assedio di Vienna e sua liberatione con la vittoria di Barcan, aggiuntovi in quest' ultima impressione la presa di Strigonia, molt' altre curiosità. In Venetia, 1684. 4°."

² The following are the principal works I have used:

For Bibliography.

Kábdebo (H). *Op. cit.*

Cambridge Modern History. Vol. v. Bibliography to Ch. xii. (R. Lodge). Cambridge, 1908.

For the Siege and General History.

Contarini (Camillo). *Istoria della guerra di Leopoldo I contra il Turco*. 2 vols. Venice, 1710.

Abelin (J. P.) and others. *Theatrum Europaeum*. Vol. xii. Frankfurt am Main, 1691.

Camesina (Albert). *Wiens Bedrängniss im Jahre 1683*. (In *Berichte und Mittheilungen des Alterthumsvereines zu Wien*, viii, 1864.)

Klopp (Onno). *Das Jahr 1683...* Graz, 1882.

[The above works are cited respectively as Contarini, *Theatr. Eur.*, Camesina, and Klopp.]

Other works consulted are cited as occasion arises.

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approximately the same period, used the same sources as the authors of this Italian account of the siege and its attendant circumstances.

In view of this it may not be out of place to give my impressions briefly 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 Sept. 12th. The account in the manuscript deals with a period starting with 1660 and ending October 9th, 1683. I shall endeavour to point out some of its salient characteristics. The sources from which the Italian authors drew their information and the relation of the document to other contemporary records might, I think, provide interesting problems for the specialist student to solve. All I can do here is to record the general impression the account has made upon me.

(1) *Political tendencies.* The writers are ardent admirers of the Emperor Leopold I, Pope Innocent XI, the Duke of Lorraine and John Sobieski. No bitterness is shown except as regards the Turks and the Hungarian rebels. The absence of ill-feeling towards Louis XIV in such references as are indirectly made to him is somewhat remarkable¹. Of the two policies open to the Emperor after the defeat of the Turks before Vienna—war with Louis XIV or the following up of the success over the Turks—it is clearly the business of the writers to recommend the latter. All that could ruffle the susceptibilities of the Imperial allies is carefully smoothed away. The

¹ *E.g.* MS. F. 9b, l. 15 ff.; F. 31b, l. 13 ff.; F. 33b, l. 1 ff.

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excuses of the Elector of Brandenburg for recalling his troops are accepted without demur¹. The difficulties which the Emperor had in securing the assistance of the Elector John George of Saxony are dismissed in a line or two², and full recognition is given to his prowess in the field, as indeed to that of all the other prominent leaders in the Imperialist army³. There is no hint of dissatisfaction with the conduct of the Polish troops; their appropriation of the lion's share of the spoils is merely stated, and that in a way which could cause no offence⁴. The meeting of the Emperor and Sobieski is described as being of a most cordial character, and no trace of the unpleasantness mentioned by the King in his correspondence and by his son Jacob in his diary (an unpleasantness magnified by subsequent writers) is to be found⁵. The defeat of Sobieski at Párkány is glossed over⁶, and in general it may be said that the King is accorded ungrudging recognition of his great services⁷. This anxiety to avoid wounding the susceptibilities of any save the Turks and their Hungarian allies points to the authors' having been inspired by those who were anxious to keep Western Europe and the Poles united with a view to the prosecution of the campaign against their common enemy the Turk, and it is significant that Pope Innocent XI and the Republic of Venice both strongly urged this policy⁸.

(2) *Historical value.* The authors appear to me to be well-informed, in the sense that they evidently had access to various authentic sources of information, but to be

¹ F. 31*b*, l. 13 ff.² F. 23*a*, l. 18 ff.³ F. 43*a*, l. 16 ff.⁴ F. 41*a*, l. 11 ff.⁵ F. 46*b*, l. 25 ff.⁶ F. 53*a*, l. 3 ff.⁷ Cf. especially F. 42*a*, l. 21 ff.; F. 44*b*, l. 1 ff.⁸ See Klopp, p. 339 ff.

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inaccurate in detail. The impression left is that the work was done in a hurry with little revision, and I should be inclined to think that the hurry was due to the fact that the monograph was intended to serve as a political pamphlet. Its aim goes a good deal beyond that of giving a mere diary of the siege, as is the case with most of the documents written immediately after the Siege of Vienna. In a sense it is comprehensive, since it gives a summary sketch of all the main circumstances of interest (from the Imperial standpoint) before, during, and immediately after the siege. It is necessarily, in view of its small compass, marked by a good deal of superficiality. Such attention as is paid to detail is curiously unequal, a striking instance being the singling out of the army of the Elector of Saxony for rather full description¹. Contrast this with the complete absence of detail in the case of the Bavarians. As regards the Poles, such omission is to some extent compensated for by a general account of the composition of their army².

I have said that the monograph is inaccurate in detail. A few examples may be given. The date of the Emperor's flight from Vienna is stated to have been July 11th,³ July 7th is the real date. The treaty between the Emperor and the King of Poland is said to have been concluded on April 18th⁴. March 31st is the date usually given, but probably the authors of the monograph refer to the taking of the oaths before the Pope and the ratification by the Polish Diet, which took place on April 16th—17th⁵. A more serious error is the confusion between the engage-

¹ F. 23*a*, l. 24 ff.² F. 52*a*, l. 1 ff.³ F. 16*b*, l. 14.⁴ F. 8*b*, l. 11.⁵ Klopp, p. 171.

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ment on the Raab, in which Count Bathiany played the traitor, and the battle of Petronell, in which the Prince of Aremberg and Prince Julius Ludwig of Savoy met their death¹. A similar confusion seems to have been made between the victory of the Duke of Lorraine near Pressburg and a later action near the Bisamberg². General Strassoldo is erroneously stated to have been in command of Kaschau at the time of its surrender, whereas the actual commander was Colonel Lamb³. I have no doubt that a critical examination of the account would reveal several other inaccuracies of this kind⁴.

These errors would be of no great moment provided that the main aim of the writers, was, as I suggest, a political one, and supposing that they felt it important that the account should be finished as quickly as possible. They do of course diminish the value of the work as a historical document, though I think it possible that its broad outlook may be held to compensate to some extent for its lack of care in detail. It is possible, of course, that the translator is responsible for certain minor errors, but I cannot say whether this is the case as I have not been able to consult a copy of the original Italian work.

I am not competent to discuss fully the sources from which the authors may have drawn their information. It may, however, be useful to point out certain close resem-

¹ F. 15*b*, l. 21 ff.² F. 24*b*, l. 16 ff.³ F. 7*a*, l. 25.

⁴ Attention may be drawn to the discrepancy of the statements regarding the number of boats supporting the bridge at Pressburg. Our MS. (F. 12*a*, l. 13) says 37; *Theatr. Eur.*, xii, p. 528, says 73.

A convenient summary of dates of explosions, assaults and sorties is given by Hammer, *Gesch. d. osm. Reiches*, vi (1830), p. 404 n. A good many of the dates given in our MS. correspond to these, but there are several discrepancies.

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blances to descriptions in other works published within a few years of the work under discussion.

The description of the attempted poisoning of the Emperor by Nadasy by means of a cake¹ has much in common with the account given by Contarini in his history², where the scene of the attempt is placed at Pottendorf. I should infer that our authors and Contarini used the same source of information. This attempt, and the other two attempts (viz. arson at the Imperial Palace and the poisoning of the wells) named in the manuscript are mentioned under the year 1668 by the anonymous author of a history of Tekeli first published in 1693³. Contarini's account⁴ of the share of Count Tattenbach in the conspiracy of the Hungarian nobles also corresponds closely to that of our authors. The description of the review at Kittsee given in this monograph bears a striking resemblance to that in *Theatrum Europaeum*⁵, and it can hardly be doubted that they are drawn from the same source. The story of the find made by the engineer Rümpler is very much the same as that which occurs in the *Hungar.-Türk. Chronik* published at Nürnberg in 1685⁶. The letter from Tekeli to the Grand Vezir⁷ is given in Han's *Alt und Neu Pannonia*, Nürnberg, 1686⁸, in a form

¹ F. 5a, l. 9 ff.² Contarini, i, p. 24.³ *Histoire d'Éméric comte de Tekeli*, 2nd edn., 1694, p. 52.⁴ Contarini, i, p. 26 f. and ms. F. 5a, l. 27 ff. Light might be thrown on this point by the *Perfetta e veridica relatione della processi...contro... Nadasdi*, etc., Vienna, 1671, to which I have not access.⁵ F. 12a, l. 2 ff. and *Theatr. Eur.* xii, p. 528 ff.⁶ F. 28b, l. 11 ff. The passage from the *Hungar.-Türk. Chronik* is quoted by Camesina, p. 34, n. 2.⁷ F. 25b, l. 12 ff.⁸ Han (P. C. B.), *Alt u. Neu Pannonia* (p. 553).

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which is substantially the same as that of our text, though it presents a few variations. On the other hand, the descriptions of the flag captured by the King of Poland and of its presentation to the Pope given by Jac. Franci, *Hist. Beschr. der denkwürdigsten Geschichten* (1684)¹, and by Feigius, *Wunderbahrer Adlers-Schwung* (1694)², differ materially from that of our text³.

These examples are, I think, sufficient to show that the problem of the sources from which our authors drew their information might prove of interest to the student of the period.

¹ Camesina, p. 78, n. 4.

² P. 94 ff. Quoted by Camesina, p. 80.

³ F. 49a, l. 23 ff.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

In dealing with personal and place names I have adopted this principle:

(1) When the identification appears certain I have given the ordinarily accepted form without query.

(2) When the identification is not certain, but has some probability, I have given such form with the addition of a query.

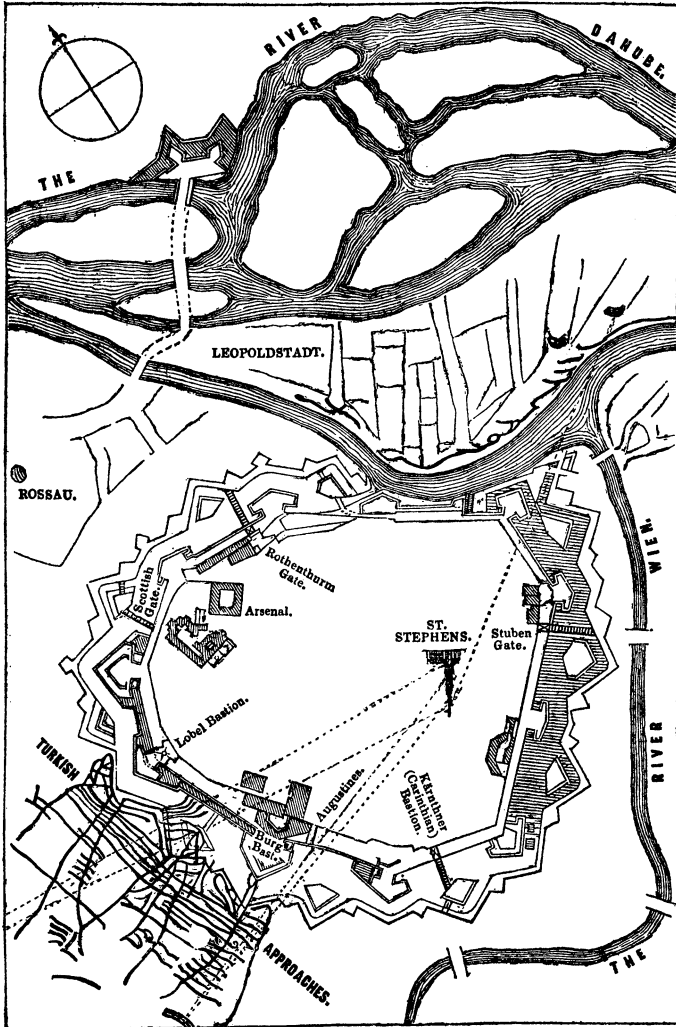
(3) When I have been unable to identify the name, I have transliterated the form into English and put it in italics.

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SKETCH-PLAN OF VIENNA.

(After *The Two Sieges of Vienna by the Turks*. J. Murray, 1847.)