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THE SONS OF LUCIFER AND THE CHILDREN OF NEPTUNE
THE ANTI-OTTOMAN AND ANTI-ISLAMIC POLEMICAL WORKS OF
GERASIMOS VLACHOS



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Historiography in Ottoman Europe

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**The Sons of Lucifer and the Children of Neptune:
The Anti-Ottoman and Anti-Islamic Polemical Works of Gerasimos Vlachos***

1. *The New Constantine*

On January 21, 1657, a Russian embassy under the *stol'nik* Ivan Ivanovič Čemodanov arrived in Venice.¹ Ten years before, the Venetian ambassador in Warsaw, Giovanni Tiepolo, had asked unsuccessfully Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich to help Serenissima in its war with the Ottoman Empire over Crete.² Two years before, the Venetian agent Albero Vimina had also tried fruitlessly to bring Muscovy into the conflict.³ It seemed that the efforts were finally starting to pay off and that the Russian sovereign had at last grown interest in a diplomatic and commercial relationship with Venice.

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¹ For details, see Maria DI SALVO, “La missione di I. Čemodanov a Venezia (1656-1657): osservazioni e nuovi materiali”, in Daniela RIZZI / Andrej SHISHKIN (eds.), *Archivio Italo-Russo / Русско-Итальянский Архив* 1 (1997), pp. 57-83 [= EADEM, *Italia, Russia e mondo slavo. Studi filologici e letterari* (ed. Alberto ALBERTI / Maria Cristina BRAGONE / Giovanna BROGGI BERCOFF / Laura ROSSI), Florence: Firenze University Press 2011, pp. 97-116]; Chryssa A. MALTEZOU, “Οι αμπασαδόροι της Μεγάλης Μοσχοβίας στη Βενετία και ο Κρητικός Πόλεμος”, *Θησαυρίσματα* 30 (2000), pp. 9-20; Stefano VILLANI, “Ambasciatori russi a Livorno e rapporti tra Moscovia e Toscana nel XVII secolo”, *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* 14 (2008), pp. 37-95. For the context, see Anna Maria CRINÒ, “Rapporti culturali, diplomatici e commerciali degli zar di Russia con i granduchi di Toscana e Venezia nel Seicento”, *Annali della Facoltà di Economia e Commercio in Verona* [2nd series] 1 (1965-1966), pp. 236-278; Cesare CIANO, *Russia e Toscana nei secoli XVII e XVIII. Pagine di storia del commercio e della navigazione*, Pisa: ETS 1980; Tatiana LEKHOVICH / Roberta ORSI LANDINI, “Ambascerie russe in Italia nel XVII secolo e rapporti fra « teste coronate »”, in *Lo Stile dello Zar. Arte e Moda tra Italia e Russia dal XIV al XVIII secolo*, Geneva-Milan: Skira 2009, pp. 49-55.

² Philip LONGWORTH, “Russian-Venetian Relations in the Reign of Tsar Aleksey Mikhailovich”, *Slavonic and East European Review* 64/3 (1986), pp. 383-384. For Tiepolo, see Domenico CACCAMO (ed.), *Il carteggio di Giovanni Tiepolo ambasciatore veneto in Polonia (1645-1647)*, Milan: Giuffrè 1984.

³ LONGWORTH, “Russian-Venetian Relations”, pp. 384-386. For Vimina, see Domenico CACCAMO, “Alberto Vimina in Ucraina e nelle « parti settentrionali »”. Diplomazia e cultura nel Seicento veneto”, *Europa Orientalis* 5 (1986), pp. 233-283 [= IDEM, *Roma, Venezia e l'Europa Centro-Orientale. Ricerche sulla prima età moderna*, Milan: FrancoAngeli 2010].

Indeed, Ivan Ćemodanov had been instructed to advocate the trading opportunities of the Archangel harbour, to obtain the right to buy tax-free Venetian luxury cloths and to raise a loan. With respect to the demands for military cooperation, though, his orders were to stall, as the times were not propitious.⁴

According to the diplomatic representative of Mantua – the Athenian-born Leonardos Philaras⁵ –, maybe in order to appease his hosts, the Russian envoy claimed that his sovereign intended to emulate Alexander the Great. If we are to believe Philaras, Ćemodanov even went so far as to affirm that the Tsar intended to conquer Constantinople, to restore the Christian faith, and to extirpate the Mohammedan religion from Greece.⁶ Be it as it may, such a bold claim went unsubstantiated by future events, as Aleksei Mikhailovich never wanted to engage in the war for Crete. Still, on January 27, 1657, the Russian delegation discussed the topic during a visit at the San Giorgio church of the Greek community; on February 24, the same delegation was presented with a long letter to the Tsar written by the Cretan hieromonk and scholar Gerasimos Vlachos.⁷

Usually known as *Victory over the Turkish Empire* (*Θρίαμβος κατὰ τῆς τῶν Τουρκῶν βασιλείας / Одоление на Турское царство*), the text tried to sway Aleksei Mikhailovich to attack the Ottoman Empire and “free the Helleno-Romans” from the yoke of the Hagarenes.⁸ According to Vlachos, the fall of Constantinople and of the Roman Empire under the impure Turks broke the ancient link between the spiritual authority and the temporal power described in *Psalms* 104: 4: “The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek”. The Ottoman conquest, which brought along disharmony and corrupt practices, was actually decided by God, as punishment for the Christians’ sins. Yet God has also prescribed a remedy: the Russian Tsar was chosen to crush the reign of the evil pseudo-prophet Muhammad / Sardanapalus. Compared with the biblical King David and branded as the “new Constantine”, the Tsar had all the qualities and the logistics he needed. In addition, both the Eastern Christians and the Venetians were ready to help. Prophecies foretelling the

⁴ LONGWORTH, “Russian-Venetian Relations”, pp. 388-392.

⁵ Børje KNÖS, “Ο Λεονάρδος ὁ Φιλαράς”, *Ἑλληνικά* 4 (1953), pp. 345-357.

⁶ DI SALVO, “La missione di I. Ćemodanov”, p. 72: the Tsar Aleksei Michajlovič “*voleva fare come fece Alessandro Magno, cioè uscire da’ suoi regni paterni, e andare ad acquistarne altri, denotando l’Imperio di Costantinopoli, al quale dice d’aver gran pretensioni, e voler far trionfare la religione cristiana e l’estirpazione del maometismo in Grecia*” (Parma – *Archivio di Stato. Carteggio Farnesiano. Venezia – busta 518* – letter of February 3rd, 1657).

⁷ MALTEZOU, “Οἱ ἀμπασαδόροι”, pp. 12-13.

⁸ Mentioned by the 18th century Kesarios Dapontes, the Greek version is lost. A 17th century Russian translation can be found in a 18th century manuscript – *Библиотека Санкт-Петербургской Духовной Академии и Семинарии* (Library of the St Petersburg Theological Academy and Seminary) [now in the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg – РГБ фонд 573] 171, ff. 55-82. It was edited by Daniel Clarke WAUGH (Д.К. УО), “Одоление на Турское царство – памятникантиурецкой публицистики XVII в.”, *Труды Отдела Древнерусской Литературы* 33 (1979), pp. 88-107. A modern Greek translation and a facsimile of the Russian manuscript were provided by Hristos P. LASCARIDIS (*Η στάση της Ρωσίας στον πόλεμο της Κρήτης 1645-1669*, Salonica: University Studio Press 2002, pp. 303-324, 331-392). For details, see Wolfram VON SCHELICHA / Ovidiu OLAR, “Gerasimos Vlachos”, in David THOMAS / John CHESWORTH & alii (ed.), *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History 10. Ottoman and Safavid Empires (1600-1700)*, Leiden-Boston: Brill 2017, pp. 274-281 (presentation by VON SCHELICHA). See also Daniel Clarke WAUGH, “The Library of Aleksei Mikhailovich”, *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 38 (1986), pp. 299-324 (304, 313).

restoration of the Christian rule by means of a “fair-haired nation” – the Russians in the interpretation of Vlachos –, such as the *Apocalypse* of (Pseudo-)Methodios of Patara, the legend of the “red apple”, and the *Oracles* attributed to emperor Leo “the Wise” – completed the plea.⁹

Vlachos was not the first Greek to ask for the Tsar’s help. In February 1649, during a visit to Moscow, the patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem had tried to sway Aleksei Mikhailovich to embark with the princes of Moldavia and Walachia on yet another crusade pointing towards İstanbul. Arguing that “the strength of the Turk is exhausted,” and invoking along the way the name of prestigious rulers “old and new,” such as David, Ezekiel and especially Constantine the Great (“your forefather”), the patriarch had urged the sovereign to become the awaited “new Moses.” Drawing heavily upon Biblical models, he had supplicated Aleksei to intervene and free his oppressed Eastern Christian brothers – new sons of the Israelites – from the tyrannical dominion of the Sultan, the new Pharaoh.¹⁰

Three years later, in 1652, a mysterious Laonikos Zamitris had also drawn a close parallel between “the sovereign of Russia” and the great emperor Constantine. He compared the former’s strength to the strength manifested by Venice during the Cretan war, inviting him to oppose the Ottomans and to make out of Greece “a Queen of the world, as it was in the times of Alexander and Constantine, the great universal monarchs”. Greece was responsible for the Christianization of Rus’, had stated Zamitris; by consequence, Greece presented “the all-mighty nation of the Russians” with the opportunity to achieve Salvation and inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. The time for returning the favour had come.¹¹

⁹ For the “Greek” Pseudo-Methodios, see David THOMAS / Barbara ROGGEMA & alii (ed.), *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History I. (600-900)*, Leiden: Brill 2009, pp. 245-248 (Pablo UBIERNA); Benjamin GARSTAD (ed.), *Apocalypse Pseudo-Methodius. An Alexandrian World Chronicle*, Cambridge, Mass. – London: Harvard University Press 2012. For the “red apple”, see Frederick W. HASLUCK, “The Mosques of the Arabs in Constantinople”, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 22 (1918), pp. 171-174 [= IDEM, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (ed. Margaret M. HASLUCK) II, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1929, pp. 736-740]; Ettore ROSSI, “La legenda turco-bizantina del Pomo Rosso”, *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 5 (1939), pp. 542-553; Jean DENEY, “Les pseudo-prophéties concernant les Turcs au XVI^e siècle”, *Revue des Études islamiques* 10/2 (1936), pp. 201-220; Stéphane YERASIMOS, “De l’arbre à la pomme: la généalogie d’un thème apocalyptique”, in Benjamin LELLOUCH / Stéphane YERASIMOS, *Les traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople*, Paris-Montréal: L’Harmattan 1999, pp. 153-192. For the *Oracula Leonis*, see David THOMAS / Alex MALLET & alii (ed.), *Christian-Muslim Relations... IV. (1200-1350)*, Leiden-Boston: Brill 2012, pp. 124-127 (Wolfram BRANDES). For the prophetic currents of the time, see Andrei TIMOTIN, “Nicolas Arnou (1629-1692), lecteur du *Præsagium Mehemetanorum* de Batholomæus Georgievits”, *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 52 (2014), pp. 123-143; IDEM, “Prophéties anti-ottomanes à Venise à la fin du XVII^e siècle. Nicolas Arnou (1629-1692), lecteur des oracles byzantins”, *ibidem* 54 (2016), pp. 119-134.

¹⁰ For the visit and the discourse, see Nikolai F. КАРТЕРЕВ, “Приезд в Москву Иерусалимского патриарха Паисия в 1649 году”, *Прибавления к Творениям св. Отцов* 47/1 (1891), pp. 178-237. For Paisios’ life and political projects, see Ioannis ΜΕΙΜΑΡΙΣ, “Ο Πατριάρχης Ιεροσολύμων Παΐσιος Λαμπάρδης και η εποχή του υπό το φως τεσσάρων επιγραφών”, *Θεολογία* 55/2 (1984), pp. 480-496; Ștefan ANDREESCU, “Matei Basarab, Vasile Lupu și proiectul de cruciadă din anii 1645-1647”, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie “A.D. Xenopol” Iași* 21 (1984), pp. 147-168 [= IDEM, *Restitutio Daciae II. Relațiile politice dintre Țara Românească, Moldova și Transilvania în răstimpul 1601-1659*, Bucharest: Albatros 1989, pp. 189-224]; Serhii PLOKHY, *The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001 (*sub voce*).

¹¹ Émile LEGRAND, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des grecs au dix-septième siècle* II, Paris: Alphonse Picard & Fils 1894, pp. 52-55 (n° 400). See also Chryssa A. MALTEZOU, “Les Grecs devant Moscou – ville Impériale”, in *Studia Slavico-Byzantina et mediaevalia Europensia. Studies on*

The recipient of Zamitris' plea had been a contemporary Cossack warlord, the hetman Bohdan Khmel'nitsky, which – as we shall see – is quite interesting. The former patriarch of Constantinople Athanasios Patelaros (1653), the Archimandrite of the Cretan monastery of the Mother of God τῆς Ἀκροτηριανῆς Neophytos (1653) and the Metropolitan of Gaza Paisios Ligaridis (1656) had instead targeted Aleksei Mikhailovich.¹²

Nevertheless, it seems to me that there are significant differences between the pleas by Gerasimos Vlachos and the other supplications listed above. Therefore, in order to verify this assumption, I shall take a closer look at his anti-Ottoman and anti-Islamic stance (and to a lesser degree at those of Zamitris, Patelaros, and Neophytos) by analysing and placing in its context a short encomium entitled *Trionfo del Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signor Alvise Mocenico Secondo Procurator di San Marco et Dignissimo Capitan General da Mar*.

Hastily recorded by Nestor Camariano and mentioned only in passing by the scholars dealing with Vlachos, this text is part of one of the Greek manuscripts of the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest – BAR *ms. gr.* 889.¹³ Including (mainly) homilies preached in Candia between October 1649 and May 1650, this codex is one of the oldest autographs of “*padre Don Girassimo Vlacho Greco di Creta predicatore*”.¹⁴ Delivered on November 25,

the Slavo-Byzantine and West-European Middle Ages I. In memoriam Ivan Dujčev, Sofia: “Dr. Peter Beron” Publishing House 1989, pp. 68-74 (72, 73).

¹² Olga ALEXANDROPULU, “Το ρωσικό ταξίδι του Αθανασίου Πατελλάρου και ο «Προτρεπτικός λόγος» του προς τον τσάρο Αλέξιο (1653)”, *Μνήμων* 21 (1999), pp. 9-35; Vera G. TCHENTSOVA, “Les documents grecs du XVII^e siècle: pièces authentiques et pièces fausses. 1. L'ex-patriarche œcuménique Athanase Patélare à Moscou en 1653”, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 68 (2002), pp. 335-374; Nikolaos M. ΠΑΝΑΥΙΟΤΑΚΗΣ, “«Повесть о Критском острове» Неофита, архимандрита монастыря Богородицы”, in *Россия и Христианский Восток II-III*, Moscow: Indrik 2004, pp. 377-386; Ovidiu OLAR, “Profeție și istorie. Note asupra câtorva manuscrise călătoare prin Țările Române (Matei al Mirelor și Paisie Ligaridi)” / “Prophesy and History. Notes on manuscripts in circulation in the Romanian Principalities (Matthew of Myra and Paisios Ligaridis)”, *Manuscrise bizantine în colecții bucureștene / Byzantine Manuscripts in Bucharest's Collections*, București: Institutul Cultural Român 2009, pp. 35-46, 85-95 [expanded version in Radu G. PĂUN (ed.), *Histoire, mémoire et dévotion. Regards croisés sur la construction des identités dans le monde orthodoxe aux époques byzantine et post-byzantine*, Seyssel: La Pomme d'or 2016, pp. 365-388]; Vera G. TCHENTSOVA, “Eschatologie byzantine et pensée historique à la cour d'Alexis Romanov: Païsius Ligaridès, Nicolas le Spathaire et Francesco Barozzi aux origines du messianisme russe (1656-1673)”, in Pierre GONNEAU / Ecaterina RAI (ed.), *Écrire et réécrire l'histoire russe d'Ivan le Terrible à Vasilij Ključevskij (1547-1917)*, Paris: Institut d'Études Slaves 2013, pp. 41-51 [Russian version: “Паисий Лигарид, Николай Спафарий и Франческо Бароцци: эсхатологические идеи при дворе царя Алексея Михайловича”, *Древняя Русь Вопросы медиевистики* 1(55) (2014), pp. 69-82]; Nadežda P. ČESNOKOVA, “Русская и греческая традиции Хрисмологиона в России XVII в.”, *Кантеревские чтения* 13 (2015), pp. 126-158; Mihail V. ВІВІКОВ / Oleg A. RODIONOV / N.P. ČESNOKOVA, *Византийские традиции и славянские тексты поствизантийского периода*, Moscow: ИВИ РАН 2015, pp. 97-138 (ČESNOKOVA). See also the fine study by Nikolas PISSIS, “Χρησιμολογία και ρωσική προσδοκία”, in *Σλάβοι και Ελληνικός Κόσμος. Πρακτικά Α' Επιστημονικής Ημερίδας Τμήματος Σλαβικών Σπουδών*, Athens: Pelekanos 2014, pp. 149-168.

¹³ BAR *ms. gr.* 889, ff. 35-42; Nestor CAMARIANO, *Catalogul manuscriselor grecești II*, Bucharest: Monitorul Oficial și Imprimeriile Statului – Imprimeria Națională 1940, pp. 18-20. See also Georgios K. SPYRIDAKIS, “Γεράσιμος Βλάχος (1607; - 1685)”, *Επετηρίς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 21 (1949), pp. 70-106 (104-105); Vasilios N. ΤΑΤΑΚΗΣ, *Γεράσιμος Βλάχος ὁ Κρής (1605/1607-1685), φιλόσοφος, θεολόγος, φιλόλογος*, Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini 1973, p. 46; Ariadna CAMARIANO-CIORAN, “Κώδικες περιέχοντες διδακτικά ἐγχειρίδια Γερασίου Βλάχου τοῦ Κρητός ἐν τῇ Βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς Ῥουμανικῆς Ἀκαδημίας”, in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Γ' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Ἐν Ρεθύμνῳ, 18-23 Σεπτεμβρίου 1971) II*, Athens 1974, pp. 16-28 (17 – note 2).

¹⁴ For other manuscripts, see SPYRIDAKIS, “Γεράσιμος Βλάχος”, pp. 90-105; ΤΑΤΑΚΗΣ, *Γεράσιμος Βλάχος*, pp. 36-54; CAMARIANO-CIORAN, “Κώδικες”, pp. 16-28; Vasiliki BOBU-STAMATI, “Παρατηρήσεις στὰ χειρόγραφα

1649, after the sermon concluding the liturgy of the day, in the monastery of Saint Catherine in Candia, a dependency of the famous monastery with the same name from Mount Sinai – “*composto e predicato... nella festività della gloriosa Vergine Santa Caterina nel monasterio delli Reverendi padri Sinaiti*” –, the encomium of Alvise Mocenigo celebrates the successful defence of the vital Martinengo bastion of Candia during the first stages of the Cretan War (July – August 1649). Therefore, one is provided with the possibility to look into the earliest depiction by Vlachos of the Ottoman Empire and of Islam in order to see how (if ever) the opinion of the scholar on the topic evolved over time.

2. The Red Dragon

In late September 1644, six Maltese galleys attacked, captured and looted an Ottoman convoy heading to Egypt; among the casualties were the former Chief Black Eunuch and the new *kadi* of the Holy City of Mecca, as well as several merchants and pilgrims. As on the way back home one of the Maltese ships stopped for supplies in Crete – a Venetian territory – the war party in Istanbul immediately seized the long-awaited opportunity and declared war to the Serenissima. In June 1645, a huge Ottoman fleet under the command of Yusuf Paşa arrived at Crete. The island of San Thodoro fell quickly. The city of Chania surrendered after more than fifty days of bloody siege. By the end of 1646, Rethymnon was also in the hands of Deli Hüseyin Paşa (fallen in disgrace, Yusuf Paşa had been executed). Nevertheless, Candia – the capital city – held strong, allowing the Venetians to fight back by recovering the lost ground in Dalmatia, by blockading the strait of Dardanelles and by constantly hindering the Ottoman manoeuvres in the Archipelago.¹⁵

τῶν ἔργων τοῦ Γερασίμου Βλάχου”, *Ἑλληνικά* 28 (1975), pp. 375-393; Boris L. FONKIČ, “Τρία αὐτόγραφα τοῦ Γερασίμου Βλάχου”, in *Ροδωνιά. Τιμὴ στον Μ.Ι. Μανούσακα* II, Rethymno 1994, pp. 591-597 [Russian version: “Три автоγραфа Герасима Влаха”, in IDEM, *Греческие рукописи и документы в России в XIV – начале XVIII в.*, Moscow: Indrik 2003, pp. 349-355 (n° XXII)].

¹⁵ The literature on the topic has grown considerably in time. For 17th century accounts, see Girolamo BRUSONI, *Historia dell’ultima guerra tra’ Veneziani e Turchi, nella quale si contengono i successi delle passate guerre nei Regni di Candia e Dalmazia, dall’anno 1644 fino al 1671*, Venice: Stefano Curti 1673 (Bologna: Giovanni Recaldini 1676); Andrea VALIERO, *Historia della guerra di Candia*, Venice: Paolo Baglioni 1679; Ivan DUJČEV (ed.), *Anvisi di Ragusa. Documenti sull’Impero Turco nel sec. XVII e sulla guerra di Candia*, Rome: PIOS 1935; *Μαρίνος Τζάνες Μποννιαλής – Ο κρητικός πόλεμος (1645-1669)* (ed. Andreas N. NENEDAKIS), Athens 1979; Anastasia PAPADIA, “Ἐκθεση τοῦ Camillo Gonzaga γιὰ τὰ πρῶτα χρόνια (1645-1647) τοῦ Κρητικοῦ Πολέμου”, *Θησαυρίσματα* 19 (1982), pp. 152-194; *Μαρίνος Τζάνες Μποννιαλής – Ο κρητικός πόλεμος (1645-1669)* (ed. Stylianos ALEXIOU / Martha APOSKITI), Athens: Στιγμὴ 1995; *Ἄνθιμος (Ακάκιος) Διακρούσης – Ο Κρητικός Πόλεμος. Διήγησις δια στίχων του δεινοῦ πολέμου του εν τη νήσω Κρήτη γενομένου... Ενετίσιν 1667* (ed. Stefanos KAKLAMANIS), Athens: Μορφωτικό Ἴδρυμα Εθνικῆς Τραπέζης 2008; Stefanos KAKLAMANIS (ed.), *Ο Κρητικός Πόλεμος. Από την ιστορία στη λογοτεχνία*, Heraklion: Εταιρία Κρητικῶν Ἱστορικῶν Μελετῶν 2008; Özkan BARDAKÇI / François PUGNIÈRE (ed.), *La Dernière Croisade. Les Français et la guerre de Candie 1669*, Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes 2008; Tassos A. KAPLANIS (ed.), *Ioakeim Kyprios’s Struggle: A Narrative Poem on the “Cretan War” of 1645-1699*, Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre 2012. For “modern” accounts, see Apostolos E. VAKALOPOULOS, *Ἱστορία τοῦ νέου ἑλληνισμοῦ* III, Thessaloniki: Σταμούλης 1968, pp. 483-525; Ekkehard EICKHOFF, *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen. Umbruch in Südosteuropa 1645-1700*, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta 2009⁵ [1970]; Ioannis K. HASSIOTIS, “Ο Κρητικός Πόλεμος (1645-1669) καὶ ἡ ἐποποιία

In January 1648, the Venetian bailo Giovanni Soranzo – placed since 1646 in home arrest – and his secretary, Giovanni Battista Ballarino, were empowered to negotiate a peace treaty. As Serenissima, a trading Empire, feared the consequences of such a destructive war – “*del Turco tiene la Republica sì gran timore*”, stated a secret report addressed to the papal nuncio in Venice¹⁶ –, the two diplomats were instructed to offer a large sum of money and even to acknowledge the loss of several strongholds. Yet the negotiations failed: the Grand Vizier Tezkereci Ahmed Paşa received the emissaries, assured them of his friendly and peaceful disposition, and informed them that the Sultan was determined to conquer Crete.¹⁷

In May 1648, another siege of Candia began. It was lifted in early 1649, but only to be reinforced a couple of months later. In April 1649, the imprisoned Venetian Grand Dragoman Giovanni Antonio Grillo was strangled in his Constantinopolitan cell; in June 1649, in spite of a recent naval Venetian victory in the bay of Phocaea, the city was again under assault.¹⁸

And it almost fell. Mines placed under the walls by means of underground tunnels caused severe damage to the central Giesù and Martinengo cavaliers, which, together with the Zane cavalier, “raise above all the other fortifications”.¹⁹ Frightened, one of the Venetian field engineers even notified the Captain General Alvise Mocenigo that the Giesù cavalier had to be abandoned, only to be violently rebuked by the valiant commander.²⁰ When Hüseyin Paşa ordered the attack, Martinengo had suffered enough damage to allow a cavalry charge.

της πολιορκίας του Χάνδακος (1648-1669)”, *Ιστορία του Έλληνικού Έθνους X*, Athens: Εκδοτική Αθηνών 1974, pp. 334-351; Wilhelm KOHLHAAS, *Candia 1645-1669. Die Tragödie einer abendländischen Verteidigung mit dem Nachspiel Athen 1687*, Osnabrück: Biblio 1978; Kenneth M. SETTON, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century*, Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society 1991, pp. 104-243; Theocharis E. DETORAKIS, *History of Crete* (trans. John C. Davis), Heraklion 1994, pp. 226 sq.; Tassos A. KAPLANIS, “Recording the History of the «Cretan War» (1645-1669): An Overview”, *KΑΜΠΙΟΣ. Cambridge Papers in Modern Greek* 15 (2007), pp. 91-123; Chrysoula TZOMPANAKI, *Ο Κρητικός Πόλεμος 1645-1669. Η Μεγάλη Πολιορκία και η Εποποιία του Χάνδακα*, Heraklion 2008.

¹⁶ Dated 1647, the report was published by Stefano ANDRETTA (*La Repubblica inquieta. Venezia nel Seicento tra Italia ed Europa*, Roma: Carocci 2000, pp. 201-238; the quote is at p. 229).

¹⁷ ASV – Senato – Dispacci – Costantinopoli 132, ff. 30^r, 31^v: “*Alle 4 della notte lo fecece introdurre in stanza, più del solito ritirata, dove solo con esso, e Dragomano, passò placidissimo, cortese, e dirò anco, per quello intenderanno confidente, congresso; ma, temo, di molto artificio...*”; “*A questo rispose il Primo Visir, che desiderava la pace, et che sempre me lo haveva fatto dire, che odiava li autori della guerra, de quali già molti hanno fatto la penitenza, e gli altri la faranno; ma che il Rè stà nel solo punto di voler il Regno; che à questo è rissolutissimo, et senza questo non potersele parlare...*” (Giovanni Soranzo – March 20, 1648). For the complex relationship between the two powers, see Robert MANTRAN, “L’Impero otomano, Venezia e la guerra (1570-1670)”, in *Venezia e la difesa del Levante da Lepanto a Candia 1570-1670*, Venice: Arsenale 1986, pp. 227-232; IDEM, “Venezia e i Turchi (1650-1797)”, in *Venezia e i Turchi. Scontri e confronti di due civiltà*, Milan: Electa 1985, pp. 250-267.

¹⁸ *Relatione dell’armata sotto il comando degli Illustrissimi, et Eccell. Alvise Mocenigo II. General, e Procurator di San Marco. Et Alvise Mocenigo II. detto Lunardo Proveditor dell’armata. Zio, e nipote dagli anni 1647. sino 1650*, Venice [probably] 1651; BRUSONI, *Historia*, pp. 194-207. See also Vittorio SIRI, *Del Mercurio, ovvero Historia de’ correnti tempi XIII*, Paris: Sébastien Mabre-Cramoisy 1674, pp. 708-716.

¹⁹ Alfred VINCENT (ed.), *L’occio (Time of Leisure) by Zuanne Papadopoli – Memories of Seventeenth-Century Crete*, Venice: Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies 2007, p. 47.

²⁰ For Mocenigo, see Roberto ZAGO, “Alvise Mocenigo”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 75 (2011) [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alvise-mocenigo_res-f835a49a-d924-11e0-8aa7-d5ce3506d72e_%28Dizionario_Biografico%29/ - last consulted on May 15, 2017].

Still, Candia survived. After a fierce combat, the Ottomans were forced into retreat. The heavy rains had the last word: in November 1649, the siege was lifted. The successful defence boosted the morale of all Venetian armies. In July 1650, Mocenigo launched a strong counter-attack, his nephew recovering the islet of San Thodoro.²¹ One year later, in spite of the fact that his fleet was half the size of its adversary, the same *Capitan General da Mar* triumphed in the naval clashes of Naxos and Paros.²²

The victories were celebrated both in Candia, and in Venice: the Empire needed badly good omens. Newsletters depicting the battles were wide spread. Maps were printed (**fig. 1**). Medals were minted. Poems were composed. Encomia were published. Compared at the same time with Hannibal, the famous Punic military commander, and with Marcus Curtius, the young Roman who sacrificed himself for the Republic, the “great” Mocenigo was celebrated as “liberator” of the Realm of Crete, and as a “triumphant hero”, both “Christian” and “Venetian”.²³

In its turn, Serenissima the “Just” was hailed for standing alone, only with God on its side, against the “injust” armies of the most powerful monarch of the time (“*contro il più potente Monarca del Mondo*”).²⁴

“Ciascun godi felice
Questa Vittoria: e credi,
Che *IDDIO, MARIA, & il LEON audace*
Daranno al mondo una fiorita pace...”²⁵

²¹ For details, see *Venezia e la difesa del Levante...*, pp. 159-160.

²² For details, see Stefanos Kaklamanis, “Ο Λέων της Βενετίας και η Ημισέληνος στο Αρχιπέλαγος. Η ναυμαχία της Παροναξίας (8-10 Ιουλίου 1651)”, in Giorgos Toliias (ed.), *ΤΟ ΑΙΓΑΙΟ ΠΕΛΑΓΟΣ. Χαρτογραφία και Ιστορία 15ος – 17ος αιώνας*, Athens: MIET 2010, pp. 63-91. For a contemporary account, found, for example, in the library of Don Luis Bartolomé de Salazar y Castro in *Real Academia de la Historia de España* and among the *Carte strozziane* in *Archivio di Stato di Firenze*, see *Verace Racconto della Felice Vittoria Venetiana ottenuta sotto i 9. di Luglio di quest’anno 1651. Sotto la condotta dell’Eccellentissimo Capitan Generale Mocenigo*, Napoli: Ettore Cicconio 1651 (Bologna: Giacomo Monti 1651) [reedited by Mikhail D. Buturlin – *Бумаги флорентинскаго центрального архива касающиеся до России*, Moscow: Типография Грачева 1871, pp. 140-142 (n° CXVIII)].

²³ See, for example, Giovanni Francesco MOROSINI, *Ordini d’orationi, et processioni con indulgenza. Per ringraziare la Divina Maesta nella Gloriosa Vittoria Navale della Sereniss Republica di Venetia contro Turchi*, Venice: Giovanni Pietro Pinelli 1649; Francesco Fabro DE’ BREMONDANI, *L’eroe trionfante. Historia delle gloriose attioni dell’Illustriss. et Excell. Sig. Alvise Mocenigo II. Procuratore, di San Marco, e Capitan Generale da Mare, dall’Anno 1648 fin al 1651*, Venice: Milochi 1651. See also Giovanni HERIZZO Cretense D.M.F., *L’Idea delle virtù estratta da molte generose attioni consummate dal già Gloriosissimo Luigi Mocenico II. Procurator, e Capitan General da Mar per la Serenissima Republica Veneta nella Guerra di Candia contro il Turco. Coll’aggiunta del registro semplice dei due attacchi della medema Piazza*, Venice: Giovanni Pietro Pinelli 1658.

²⁴ The quotes are from a newsletter entitled *Riacquisto di S. Teodoro dalle mani de’ Turchi seguito sotto il commando dell’Illustrissimo, & Eccellentissimo Signor Alvise Mocenigo II. Proveditor dell’Armata della Serenissima Republica di Venetia*, Venice: Giovanni Pietro Pinelli 1650, p. A1.

²⁵ *Per la gloriosa vittoria contra il Turco: Nuovamente ottenuta dalla Serenissima Republica di Venetia*, Venice: Miloco & Vieceri 1649, p. 4. For other examples, see Stefanos KAKLAMANIS, “Εμμετρεις ιστορικες αφηγησεις για τον Κρητικo Πόλεμο. Η συμβολή των Ιταλών”, in IDEM (ed.), *Ο Κρητικός Πόλεμος*, pp. 55-158.

Indeed, due to such embodiment of merits in a man as Mocenigo, the restoration of *Pax Veneta* – the peace celebrated by Veronese in a fresco for the Maggior Consiglio room in Palazzo Ducale (1579-1582)²⁶ – seemed possible. Most of Crete was conquered: although placed under the sign of the armed and winged Venetian Lion of St Mark, Marco Boschini’s magnificent atlas of the island published in 1651 depicted a war zone disputed by the Venetians and by the Ottomans, a Realm reduced to its besieged strongholds and cities.²⁷ Yet Serenissima was now in a favourable position either to negotiate a truce, or to convince other European powers to join in the fight and crush the wicked “Babylon”. Hope was in the air, and this hope was shared by all those fomenting anti-Ottoman plans, such as the party of Patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem, or the party of the ex-Patriarch of Constantinople Athanasios Patelaros.²⁸ In my opinion, there is a strong chance that someone connected with this last party was responsible for the fact that the “*Lettera di ragguaglio*” announcing Mocenigo’s victory against an Ottoman fleet in the Archipelago was first translated without delay into Greek, then published with a foreword dedicated by the mysterious Zamitris to the Cossack hetman Khmel’nitsky.²⁹

Be it as it may, it is in this highly tense and emotional context that Vlachos composed and delivered – in the presence of the recipient – his encomium. And he started by depicting the Venetian State as a confederation of a hundred cities, by placing it under the sign of Neptune, and by stating that the Realm of Crete was the Royal ship of this *Centopoli*. The ship, pursued unabated the orator, was under attack. The “infidel”, “impious”, “barbarous”,

²⁶ Ilse DEIKE / Annette REICHEL, “*Pax Veneta*”, *Forschungen und Berichte* 31 (1991), pp. 169-181.

²⁷ *Il regno tutto di Candia delineato à parte, à parte, et intagliato da Marco Boschini venetiano*, [Venice] 1651. For details, see Elizabeth CLUTTON, “Some Seventeenth Century Images of Crete: a Comparative Analysis of the Manuscript Maps by Francesco Basilicata and the Printed Maps by Marco Boschini”, *Imago Mundi* 34 (1982), pp. 48-65; Heleni PORFYRIOU, “The Cartography of Crete in the First Half of the 17th Century: a Collective Work of a Generation of Engineers”, in George TOLIAS / Dimitris LOUPIS (ed.), *Eastern Mediterranean Cartographies*, Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research – National Hellenic Research Foundation 2004, pp. 65-92. See also *To Βασίλειον της Κρήτης. Crete Regnum – Francesco Basilicata 1618* (ed. Vaso DANEZILAMBRINOU / Nikolaos M. PANAYIOTAKIS / Themis STRONGILOS / Pothoula KAPSAMBELIS), Heraklion: Εκδόσεις “Μικρός Ναυτίλος” – Βικελαία Βιβλιοθήκη – ΤΕΔΚ Κρήτης 1994.

²⁸ Hristos P. LASCARIDIS, “Τα πολιτικά σχέδια του Πατριάρχη Ιεροσολύμων Παΐσιου προς ανασύσταση της βυζαντινής αυτοκρατορίας και οι Ρώσοι (17ος αιώνας)”, *Δωδώνη* 16/1 (1987), pp. 301-351. See also the studies quoted in note 10.

²⁹ *Η ναυτική νίκη ὅπου ἐγίνε ἀπὸ τὸν στόλον τῆς γαληνοτάτης πολιτείας τῶν Ἑνετῶν, ΕΞΑΡΧΕΥΟΝΤΑΣ ΑΛΟΪΖΙΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ Ο ΜΟΤΖΕΝΙΚΟΣ, ἐναντίον εἰς τοὺς Τούρκους, εἰς τὸ Αἰγαῖον Πέλαγος ἀχνα΄*, Venice: Giovanni Antonio Giuliano 1652; Legrand has recorded only one copy, in the British Museum (*Bibliographie hellénique* II, p. 55). There are (at least) two versions of the Italian newsletter: Giovanni Carlo SERPENTINO, *Lettera di ragguaglio della vittoria navale conseguita dall’armata della Serenissima Republica di Venetia. Sotto il comando del Procurator Capitan General da Mar Mocenigo contro Turchi nell’Arcipelago*, Venice: Giovanni Pietro Pinelli 1651; Venice / Padua: Sebastiano Sardi 1651. My hypothesis is based on three facts. First, the Greek translation is not published by “Stampator Ducale” Pinelli, as one might have expected from an “official” Venetian initiative, and is not recorded in any Italian library. Second, there are some similarities between the ideas expressed in the foreword addressed to Khmel’nitsky and the ideas expressed by Paisios of Jerusalem during several disputes “for the faith” with Arsenij Sukhanov, in 1650 (Sergei A. BELOKUROV, *Арсениѹ Суханов II/1. Сочинения Арсения Суханова*, Moscow 1894, pp. 25-101), as well as with the ideas expressed by Patelaros in his *Discourse* to the Tsar, and with Archimandrite Neophytos’ *History of the Island of Crete* (see *supra*, note 12). However, as Vera G. Tchentsova has shown, Athanasios Patelaros – a Cretan by birth – played a very important role in the “unionist” negotiations between Hetman Khmel’nitsky and Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich (“Les documents grecs”).

and “cruel” Turks – “arrogant sons of Lucifer, the mystical Aeolus of the Ottomans” – had occupied most of the island, laying siege to Candia. Yet the plans of Muhammad’s disciples failed: the “Hagarenes” were defeated by the “invincible” Alvise Mocenigo.

Vlachos did his best to praise his pious and patriot Hero. He traced mythical parallels, comparing the Venetian Captain General with the Cretan-born-and-raised Zeus, and with his sons Rhadamanthus and Minos, both kings of Crete.³⁰ He crafted comparisons with famous biblical defenders of the Chosen people, such as Abraham, Gideon and David.

There was nothing new in the aquatic symbolism: the Serenissima ruled over the seas, being an “*Impero delle acque*”. Already in Jacopo de’ Barbari’s bird’s-eye view map (1500) Neptune was watching over the city, while in Tintoretto’s fresco for the Sala del Senato in Palazzo Ducale (1588-1590) Venice was “the Queen of the Adriatic sea”.³¹ The claim that the Turks descended from Hagar, the handmaid with whom Abraham had a son called Ishmael, was also an ancient one, an inheritance from the “Saracens”. To quote just one example, in Marino Sanudo Torsello’s *Book of Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross* dated 1307-1321, “the wicked Agarenes” were actually the Turks.³² As for the mythological and biblical analogies, they complied with two convergent traditions. On the one hand, it was the official rhetoric of Venice as an ideal city, and the renewed self-celebration of the all-mighty Capitano da Mar as an embodiment of all virtues, as well as a role model.³³ On the other hand, it was the habit for the Cretan subjects to praise the Metropole and the Venetian officials for their “love” and “protection” towards the Greek nation and the Orthodox Church, and this all the more so as the realm of Crete was also under the sign of Neptune (see on the cover of the present study a suggestive detail from Zorzi Corner’s 1625 map of Candia).³⁴

³⁰ For the topos of Crete – mythological birthplace of Zeus – as realm of gods, see, for example, Stefanos KAKLAMANIS (ed.), *Francesco Barozzi – Descrizione dell’Isola di Creta (Περιγραφή της Κρήτης) 1577/8. Μια γεωγραφική και αρχαιολογική περιγραφή της Κρήτης στα χρόνια της Αναγέννησης*, Heraklion: Βικελαία Δημοτική Βιβλιοθήκη 2004, pp. 349-351.

³¹ Juergen SCHULZ, “Jacopo de’ Barbari’s View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500”, *Art Bulletin* 60/3 (1978), pp. 425-474 [Italian version: IDEM, *La cartografia tra scienza e arte. Carte e cartografi nel Rinascimento italiano*, Modena: F.C. Panini 1990, pp. 13-42]; Wolfgang WOLTERS, *Der Bilderschmuck des Dogenpalastes. Untersuchungen zur Selbstdarstellung der Republik Venedig im 16. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden: F. Steiner 1983 [Italian version: *Storia e politica nei dipinti di Palazzo Ducale. Aspetti dell’autocelebrazione della Repubblica di Venezia nel Cinquecento*, Venice: Arsenale 1987]; Ugo PETRONIO, “*Civitas Venetiarum est edificata in mari*”, in *Studi veneti offerti a Gaetano Cozzi*, Vicenza: Il Cardo 1992, pp. 171-185; Deborah HOWARD, “Venice as a Dolphin: Further Investigations into Jacopo de’ Barbari’s View”, *Artibus et Historiae* 18 (35) (1997), pp. 101-111; David ROSAND, *Myths of Venice. The Figuration of a State*, Chapel Hill – London: The University of North Carolina Press 2001, pp. 11-12, 14-15 (fig. 4-6); Stefania MASON, “Doni dal cielo e timori dalla terra. Mito e realtà della Serenissima narrati per immagini”, in Nelli-Elena VANZAN MARCHINI (ed.), *Rotte mediterranee e baluardi di sanità. Venezia e i lazzeretti mediterranei*, Geneva-Milan: Skira 2004, pp. 83-93.

³² Marino SANUDO TORSELLO, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross. Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* (trans. Peter Lock), London-New York: Routledge 2011, p. 59.

³³ Stefania MASON RINALDI, “Le virtù della Repubblica e le gesta dei capitani. Dipinti votivi, ritratti e pietà”, in *Venezia e la difesa del Levante*, pp. 13-31; Matteo CASINI, “Immagini dei capitani generali « da Mar » a Venezia in età barocca”, in Marcello FANTONI (ed.), *Il « Perfetto Capitano ». Immagini e realtà (secoli XV-XVII)*, Roma: Bulzoni 2001, pp. 219-270.

³⁴ Zorzi Corner, “Città di Candia”, in *Il Regno di Candia* (dis. n. 2, 6^v-7^r) – *Marc. Ital.* VI.75 (8303). See Stefanos KAKLAMANIS, “Η χαρτογράφηση του χώρου και των συνειδήσεων στην Κρήτη κατά την περίοδο της

In 1585, Maximos Margounios had praised the Venetian Senate in Greek and Latin verses.³⁵ In about 1592, Konstantinos Loukaris – the future patriarch of Alexandria and of Constantinople – had compared the “*capitano di Candia*” Filippo Pasqualigo with Achilles for his outstanding achievements in fighting a violent outburst of plague.

“[...] *Ma la felice impresa*
D’un signor PASQUALICO
Che del gran Mino il regno
Salvò con valor degno
Chi s’arrischia lodare, di Tullio Amico.
Che con somma prudenza
Unita con fortezza,
D’altra guerra Troiana le forze ha vinto
Puoiche di Candia la cruda pest’ hà stinto.”

The young Loukaris was no poet and he crafted his verses “*nella lingua volgare ò Tosca*”, yet the effort shows that he felt compelled to write such a composition.³⁶ (Probably in 1625), the day of St Demetrius, Meletios Vlastos had also given an “improvized” encomium in front of the Venetian representatives in Crete, thanking them for “the great love” (“*il grande amor*”) shown to the Greek nation and to the rites of the Greek church (“*verso la nacion greca et converso il rito della nostra Chiesa*”).³⁷

Vlachos was familiar with both rhetorical currents. His Bucharest manuscript (BAR *ms. gr.* 988) includes the homage the hieromonk had addressed in Greek to the Proveditor General Barbaro – a rival of Alvise Mocenigo –, and the copy of a 1649 encomium dedicated in Latin to Mocenigo by a certain Stellianus Spada S.P.D.³⁸ In addition, the Cretan scholar had experience on his side – he was an eye witness to the events. As a consequence, the recollection of the Martinengo defence inserted in the encomium is moving. The theatrical effects are there, but the orator does not invent stories. He remembers.

Βενετοκρατία”, in Dionysis KAPSALIS (ed.), *CANDIA / CRETA / KPHTH. Ο χώρος και ο χρόνος. 16ος – 18ος αιώνας*, Athens: MIET 2005, pp. 11-69 (30-31).

³⁵ Giorgos E. KARAMANOLIS, “Ανέκδοτα επιγράμματα του Μαξίμου Μαργουνίου σε χειρόγραφα και έντυπα της Μαρκετιανής Βιβλιοθήκης, *Θησαυρίσματα* 28 (1998), 197-207.

³⁶ Leiden – BPG 122, f. 451. For the plague and for the role of Pasqualigo in containing it, see the 1592 *Historia della Peste nella Città di Candia* by Giovanni VERGICI – *Marc. Ital.* VII.657 (7481), ff. 118-132. See also Stergios G. SPANAKIS (ed.), *Filippo Pasqualigo – Relazione 1594: Letta nell’eccellentissimo senato*, Heraklion 1953; Molly GREENE, *A Shared World. Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 2000, pp. 50-51.

³⁷ Panayiotis D. MASTRODIMITRIS / Alfred L. VINCENT, “Ανέκδοτο ἐγκώμιο τοῦ Μελετίου Βλαστοῦ (1625;)”, *Θησαυρίσματα* 9 (1972), pp. 97-103 [= Panayiotis D. MASTRODIMITRIS, *Ἑλληνες λόγιοι (IΕ’-ΙΘ’ αἰῶνες). Μελέτες καὶ κείμενα* I, Athènes: Kastaniotis 1979, pp. 94-101]. The encomium was given in Greek, but only a the Italian translation is known.

³⁸ BAR *ms. gr.* 889, ff. 128-131, 428-440.

Vlachos also reminded the victorious addressee that Candia stood unfailingly by him. If the Venetian dictator was a perfect governor, the citizens were perfect subjects. As a matter of fact, many of the Greek inhabitants of the island preferred the Ottoman rule – this was one of the reasons for the quick loss of the “country side” in favour of the invaders.³⁹ (In 1651, for example, the conquerors would appoint an Orthodox Metropolitan of Crete – Neophytos Patelaros⁴⁰ –, something that Venice had never been disposed to do, and letters of the new primate would constantly be catapulted inside the city.⁴¹) Those who stayed against all odds, like the monks of St Catherine monastery – who would retain a privileged status long after the fall of Candia⁴² –, were loyal to the Republic and had to be treated as such. Because loyalty was priceless in times of war, especially when considering the kind of war that was being fought. For not only was the Sultan the most powerful sovereign in the world, a worthy (albeit deceitful) opponent: his tyrannical Empire was the Dragon of the Book of Revelation:

“And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars: And she being with child cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered. And there appeared another wonder in heaven; and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads. And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth: And the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born...” (*Revelation* 12: 1-4)⁴³

The *Apocalypse* of (Pseudo-) Methodios had long predicted the rise of the “Hagarian” tyrants as a sign of the end of the world. In the Tuscany of the Medici, Jacopo Ligozzi had painted Sultan Selim, “the 13th emperor of the Turks”, with a winged dragon at his feet.⁴⁴ Vlachos also turns to the prophetic genre – the choice making perfect sense as a war raged on⁴⁵ –, and offers the role of the Dragon to the Ottomans.

³⁹ Nükhet ADIYEKE / Nuri ADIYEKE / Evangelia BALTA, “The Poll Tax in the Years of the Cretan War: Symbol of Submission and Mechanisms of Avoidance”, *Θησαυρίσματα* 31 (2001), pp. 323-359.

⁴⁰ For Neophytos, a relative of the former (and future) ecumenical Patriarch Athanasios, see Alexandros E. Lavriotis, “Νεοφύτου μητροπολίτου Κρήτης τοῦ Πατελάρου πρὸς Κωνσταντῖνον Καντακουζηνὸν ἐγκώμιον”, *Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* 27 (1900), pp. 287-294; Timotheos VENERIS, “Νεόφυτος ὁ Πατελάρος, ὁ πρῶτος μητροπολίτης Κρήτης μετὰ τὴν κατάκτησιν αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων”, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Κρητικῶν Σπουδῶν* 1 (1938), pp. 2-14; Nikolaos V. TOMADAKIS, “Ἐλεγχος τῶν ἐν Κρήτῃ ἀρχιερατευσάντων ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας (1645-1898)”, *ibidem* 3 (1940), pp. 114-155 (118-119); IDEM, «Ὁ Νεόφυτος Πατελλάρος καὶ τὰ μοναστήρια τῆς Κρήτης», *Μνημοσύνη* 1 (1967), pp. 32-40; Elif BAYRAKTAR TELLAN, “The Orthodox Church of Crete, 1645-1735: A Case Study of the Relation between Sultanic Power and Patriarchal Will”, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 36/2 (2012), pp. 198-214.

⁴¹ VALIERO, *Historia*, p. 217.

⁴² BAYRAKTAR TELLAN, “The Orthodox Church of Crete”, p. 201 sq.

⁴³ For the post-1453 Greek commentaries of the Book of Revelation, see Astérios ARGYRIOU, *Les exégèses grecques de l'Apocalypse à l'époque turque (1453-1821). Esquisse d'une histoire des courants idéologiques au sein du peuple grec asservi*, Thessaloniki: Εταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν 1982. See also Antonio CARILE, “La crudele tirannide: archetipi politici e religiosi dell'immaginario turchesco da Bisanzio a Venezia”, in *Venezia e i Turchi*, pp. 70-85.

⁴⁴ Stijn ALSTEENS / Carmen C. BAMBACH / George GOLDNER / Colta IVES / Perrin STEIN / Nathalie STRASSER (ed.), *Raphael to Renoir. Drawings from the Collection of Jean Bonna*, New York – New Haven – London: The Metropolitan Museum of Art – Yale University Press 2009, p. 48 (n° 22).

⁴⁵ For the strong connection between war with the Ottomans and prophetic activity in the 15th and 16th centuries, see Paolo PRETO, *Venezia e i Turchi*, Rome 2013 [Florence 1975]; Giampaolo TOGNETTI, “Venezia e le profezie sulla conversione dei Turchi”, in *Venezia e i Turchi*, pp. 86-90; TIMOTIN, “Nicolas Arnou”, p. 124.

This assignment was not new: while many commentators of the Apocalypse equated the Dragon with the Devil, others thought the Turks were a better casting option.⁴⁶ However, the depiction of Crete as the Woman clothed in the Sun attacked by the Red Dragon was an interesting hermeneutical solution.⁴⁷

Rhetorically, Mocenigo plays in this scenario the part of the wings – red as the rose on his family’s coat-of-arms and as his official outfit – given to Realm of Candia in order to escape the menace. Had the danger really passed? According to Vlachos, it had. Now it was the time for the complete liberation of the “Holy Land” of Crete.

Did the orator believe in what he preached, or was it wishful thinking? Probably both; nevertheless, he was convinced that the liberation of his fatherland was something worth fighting for, and that freedom from the tyrannical, demonic, and apocalyptic Ottoman invader implied complete trust in the Serenissima. For Vlachos, the liberty of Crete depended by the restoration of the Venetian rule and of the *Pax Veneta*.

3. *Centopoli liberata*

This conviction is one of the red threads of his rich biography. Born in 1605/1607 in Crete, probably in Candia, Vlachos emerges in 1640 as hieromonk and seasoned commentator of Aristotle’s *Physics*.⁴⁸ We do not know where he studied; nevertheless, we might assume a connection with the monastery of St Catherine: the encomium of Mocenigo, in which he speaks proudly of “my Stagirite”, proves Vlachos’ respect towards the residents of this important monastic and educational centre.

Since 1648, the learned hieromonk is also attested as preacher.⁴⁹ Our BAR *ms. gr.* 889 contains several homilies pronounced in Candia, starting with October 18, 1649; it also shows that Vlachos was fluent in Greek, Italian, and Latin. If we add the fact that in several notary acts dating from 1648 and 1652 he is mentioned as “ἀφέντις” / “ἀφένδις” – gentleman, we have the proof of a respected and well-to-do citizen.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ See for example, ARGYRIOU, *Les exégèses grecques de l’Apocalypse*, pp. 155 (bishop Dionysios of Trikkala), 246-247 (Christopher Angelos); Zdenko ZLATAR, *The Slavic epic: Gundulić’s Osman*, New York etc.: Peter Lang 1995, p. 250.

⁴⁷ For other, non-apocalyptic personifications of Candia, see Tasoula MARKOMIHELAKI, “« Kastro Says... »: The Personifications of Chandakas in Cretan Literature of the Venetian Period”, in Efrosini CAMATSOS / Tassos A. KAPLANIS / Jocelyn PYE (eds.), “*His Words Were Nourishment and His Counsel Food*”. *A Festschrift for David W. Holton*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2014, pp. 101-121.

⁴⁸ TATAKIS, *Γεράσιμος Βλάχος*, pp. 3-7, 43, 48. For Vlachos, see VON SCHELICHA / OLAR, “Gerasimos Vlachos”, pp. 271-274.

⁴⁹ TATAKIS, *Γεράσιμος Βλάχος*, pp. 7-8.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 8; Manousos I. MANOUSAKAS, “Δύο άγνωστα έργα του Γερασίμου Βλάχου εις Άγιορειτικον κώδικα”, *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 8 (1954), pp. 55-60 (59).

Actually, his fame as a preacher was sufficiently spread for his co-religionaries of Santorini to ask him to intervene in a dispute with the Jesuit missionaries about St Palamas' doctrine on Transfiguration.⁵¹ The Jesuits had not been impressed at all; according to their standards, the “*fameux Predicateur en la ville de Candie*” was nothing but a fraud. However, Vlachos' oratorical skills were shaped in war.

When the Ottomans attacked Crete, the “*lettore pubblico delle scienze e predicatore di Candia*” tried his best to boost the morale of the locals, preaching relentlessly. Sent by the Venetian authorities in the Pediada and Mirabello areas, he was soon recognized as a menace by the Ottomans, who placed a price on his head. When Pediada and Mirabello fell, Vlachos returned to Candia. He quartered soldiers in his houses, took care of two parishes afflicted by the plague, worked side by side with those who tried to repair the fortifications, and loaned money to the State in order to support the costs of war. In the summer of 1649, when Hüseyin Paşa “the Warrior” launched the assault, the hieromonk defended “*con la spada alla mano*” the Giesù cavalier.⁵²

The Ottoman retreat gave him hope. Nevertheless, as the war continued, his situation grew increasingly precarious. Desperate, Vlachos decided to move to Venice.⁵³ In November 1656, the Senate granted him a life pension. In February 1657, as we have seen, he wrote to the Tsar: Ivan Čemodanov's embassy had reignited his hopes. (The same year, Sarpi and Le Court started the construction of Alvise Mocenigo's funerary monument in the church of San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti, praising the Hero's Martinengo and Paros triumphs.⁵⁴)

Vlachos spent seven years in Venice, as teacher and as “*abbate di S. Zorzi Scaloto*”. During this time, he corresponded with the French Dominican scholar François Combefis, and published two books, a large four-language “Thesaurus”, dedicated to the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinando II de' Medici, and a treatise on the “Complete harmony of beings according to the Greek scholars”, dedicated to the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I.⁵⁵ In 1662, at his request, the Senate granted him a monastery in Corfu.⁵⁶

⁵¹ P. François RICHARD SJ, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable a Sant-Erini isle de l'Archipel, depuis l'établissement des Peres de la Compagnie de Jesus en icelle...*, Paris: Sébastien & Gabriel Cramoisy 1657, pp. 364-365.

⁵² Konstantinos D. MERTZIOS, “Νέαι εἰδήσεις περὶ Κρητῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων τῆς Βενετίας Δ' Γεράσιμος Βλάχος”, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά* 2 (1948), pp. 281-297.

⁵³ FΟΝΚΙČ, “Тρία αὐτογραφα”, pp. 591-594 [= “Три автографа”, pp. 349-351].

⁵⁴ Antonio NIERO, “Il monumento Mocenigo a S. Lazzaro dei Mendicanti”, in *Venezia e la difesa del Levante*, pp. 177-181; Roberta PELLEGRITI, “Il programma iconografico”, in *San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti. Il restauro del monumento di Alvise Mocenigo*, Venice: Marsilio 2004, pp. 29-35.

⁵⁵ For details, see LEGRAND, *Bibliographie hellénique* II, pp. 115-119 (n° 434), 136-139 (n° 443); TATAKIS, *Γεράσιμος Βλάχος*, pp. 13-19, 49-52; Dzamilya N. RAMAZANOVA, “« Четырехязычный лексикон » Герасима Влаха 1659 г. Новые материалы”, *Книга. Исследования и материалы / Book. Researches and Materials* 88/2 (2008), pp. 175-185; Tat'jana K. KHOVRINA, “Четырехязычный Тезаурус Герасима Влаха в переводе справщиков Московского Печатного двора”, in *Россия и Христианский Восток IV-V*, Moscow: Языки славянской культуры 2015, pp. 363-375.

⁵⁶ For Vlachos' stay in Corfu, see TATAKIS, *Γεράσιμος Βλάχος*, pp. 20-22, 52-54.

In August 1675, the French traveller Jacques Spon payed him a visit. Introduced by Vlachos' nephew, the Padua-educated hieromonk Arsenio Caludi, Spon was impressed by the erudition of the respectable old man, and by the richness of his library.

“Il [Caludi] nous mena ensuite faire la révérence à un autre caloyer plus vieux que lui, qui est son oncle. C'est un vénérable vieillard très savant, qui a fait imprimer un dictionnaire en quatre langues, grec ancien et grec moderne, latin et italien. Il s'appelle Jérôme Vlach, Candiot de nation. Sa bibliothèque est nombreuse en manuscrits anciens de théologie. Il y en a plus de vingt qui n'ont jamais été mis sous la presse, entre autres un commentaire grec d'Origène sur l'Évangile de saint Jean et les sermons d'Ephrem. Son église appelée Panagia de Palaeopoli dont il est abbé est très ancienne, et l'inscription grecque que nous y lûmes sur le grand portail nous apprend que c'est l'empereur Jovien qui la fit bâtir...”⁵⁷

Yet there was more to Vlachos than met Spon's eye: while in Corfu, the scholar composed a treatise *Against the Jews* and a treatise *On the Faith of Mohammed and against the Turks* (Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Μωάμεθ θρησκείας καὶ κατὰ Τούρκων), which drew heavily on West-european texts like those printed by Bibliander in Basel, in 1543 and 1550.⁵⁸

The sole manuscript containing the two works, now on Mount Athos (*Xenophontos* 213), was copied by the hieromonk Kalliopios Kalliergios in 1671. Therefore, we might presume that it was the fall of Candia, in September 1669, that pushed Vlachos to reaffirm his Christian identity by contrast both with the teachings of the Jews, and the “vain faith of the Hagarenes”. He writes in order to refute the teachings of the false prophet Mohammed and to confess “our orthodox faith” (τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως ἡμῶν).⁵⁹

For the times were again very difficult for the Greek Orthodox subjects of the ailing Serenissima. Willing to help, in spite of his old age and of his illness – he suffered of podagra – Vlachos accepted the nomination as Metropolitan of Philadelphia, that is, as leader of the Venetian Orthodox Community. From 1680 to his death, in March 1685, he resided again in his beloved Venice, to which he had pledged “*una devotione che durerà con noi anche dopo la nostra morte nelle ceneri stesse*”.⁶⁰

In 1681, Marinos Tzane Bounialis published (in Venice, where else) a *Narrative in Verses of the Terrible War that Took Place in the Island of Crete*.⁶¹ Vlachos – the “new Aristotle” – was mentioned. Candia was lost, but its memory persisted. Many Cretans had remained in the occupied island, trying to accommodate, yet many more had fled from their homeland. Zuanne Papadopoli chose Padua as his adopted city, and laid down his memoirs.

⁵⁷ Jacob SPON, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant 1678* (ed. Roland ÉTIENNE / Hervé DUCHÊNE / Jean-Claude MOSSIÈRE / François ÉTIENNE / Emmanuelle KARAGIANNIS-MOSER / Frank-Laurent LUCARELLI / A. RABOT), Geneva: Slatkine 2004, pp. 121-122.

⁵⁸ Astérios ARGYRIOU, “Εισαγωγή στην ελληνική πολεμική και απολογητική γραμματεία έναντι του Ισλάμ κατά τους χρόνους της Τουρκοκρατίας”, *Θεολογία* 84/1 (2013), pp. 133-165 (146-150).

⁵⁹ MANOUSAKAS, “Δύο άγνωστα έργα”, pp. 55-60; TATAKIS, *Γεράσιμος Βλάχος*, p. 54. For the treatise, see Eleni CHATZOGLOU-BALTA, “Γερασίμου Βλάχου, πραγματεία περί της θρησκείας του Μωάμεθ”, *Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 54 (2010-2013), pp. 19-106; *Γεράσιμον Βλάχου του Κρητός (1607-1685) Μητροπολίτου Φιλαδέλφειας – Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Μωάμεθ θρησκείας καὶ κατὰ Τούρκων* (ed. Astérios ARGYRIOU), Heraklion: Ἐταιρεία Κρητικῶν Ἱστορικῶν Μελετῶν 2017.

⁶⁰ For this stay, see TATAKIS, *Γεράσιμος Βλάχος*, pp. 22-27, 54.

⁶¹ See *supra*, note 15.

The Archimandrite Neophytos of the monastery of the Mother of God τῆς Ἀκροτηριανῆς reached Moscow, wrote a history of Crete, praised the resistance opposed to the Ottomans by his fellow monks, and asked the Tsar for financial and military help. As for our Vlachos, his options had always been clear. He had also written to Aleksei Mikhailovich: not for his own interest, as ecclesiastics as Athanasios Patelaros often did, but as representative of a group of Greek Orthodox Cretans for whom Venice was a way of life.⁶²

Vlachos' stance on the Ottoman Empire and of Islam, treated as one and the same reality, did not change over time. It only became more elaborate: the Christian's hostility towards a "vain faith" was fuelled and shaped by the war for Candia.

For Vlachos believed Crete's menaced freedom to be linked with the fate of Venice. In spite of its name, the Republic was a colonial empire, and Candia was a colony, albeit the most important of all. Yet it was *his* empire. As the Cretan-born Patriarch of Constantinople Kyrillos Loukaris (1570-1638) had once said, it was "*Imperio nostro veneziano*".

⁶² For a 18th century example, see Panajota TZIVARA, "Il corfiota Spiridione Palazzol Scordillis: l'ossimoro del caso di un suddito veneto", in Chryssa MALTEZOU / Angeliki TZAVARA / Despina VLASSI (eds.), *I Greci durante la venetocrazia. Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII-XVIII sec.). Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Venezia, 3-7 dicembre 2007*, Venezia: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia 2009, pp. 515-524.

The following transcription respects Vlachos' orthography, topics, and punctuation. Still, the abbreviations were tacitly given in full, and the use of Capital Letters has been normalized.

[f. 35^r] *Trionfo del Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signor Alvisè Mocenigo Secondo Procurator di San Marco, et Dignissimo Capitan General da Mar.*

Composto et predicato dal padre Don Girassimo Vlachò Greco di Creta predicatore nella festività della gloriosa Vergine Santa Caterina nel monasterio delli Reverendi padri Sinaiti. Li 25 Novebre 1649.

[f. 36^r] Sorgono tal hora dall'arida terra, et dal liquido blemento le fumose essalationi essendone nella prima dell'aria regione, e subito gli orgogliosi figli del Eolo sollevati, furiosi s'abbattono, et sparsi per l'amplissimo senno di Nettuno à caso ad una real nave impetuosamente assalita incontrano, et con agarra correndo troncano l'albero, spezzano le velle, spazziano le corde, levano l'anchora, et tutti assieme assieme ristreti tentano quella loro preda mostrare. Må solo il sagace nochiero con artificiosa industria la diffende dalle onde, la salva dalli scogli, et la libera dalle impetuose delli venti procelle.

Fumose essalationi (Illustrissimi et Eccellentissimi Signori) fumose (dico) essalationi sono li vasti delli infideli pensieri, nati dall'arida terra della di loro impietà, et prodoti dalle aque delli suoi disordinatissimi appetiti, i quali pervenuti verso la prima regione dell'aria serena della christiana pietà, subito li superbi figli di Lucifero mistico Eolo di Ottomani, sparsi per l'amplissimo di Nettuno senno delle terre possedute da Principi Christiani non à caso, mà à consiglio, non senza concerto / [f. 36^v] mà con apparati d'ogni machina bellicosa alla regia nave di questa gloriosa Centopoli li confederati con la Serenissima Veneta Signoria come nimici approdano, et agaregiando li barbari capitani troncano il di lei albero la fortissima Città di Canea, spezzano le velle della fortezza di Retimo, spazzano le corde tutti li Casteli di questo amplissimo Regno, levano occupando l'anchora tutta la Campagna, e finalmente tutti li esserciti amassati et assieme assieme ristreti girano, et rigrano, circondano d'ogni intorno, et assediano questa Metropoli, e con duplicati attachi, e molteplici assalti tentano quella preda del Maometo effettuare, mà non la fecero li Agareni benche avidamente bramosi loro vassala merce dalla suprema di Dio misericordia per sola prudenza, magnanimità, et ottimo governo del Sagace Nochiero, di voi Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signor Alvisè Mocenigo Secondo Procurator Martio, et invincibile General da mar Capitano. Il quale hai Candia diffesso dalle onde della turcha superbia, salvata dalli scogli artificiosi delle lor machinate mine, et brechie, et liberata dalle impetuose procelle della di loro crudeltà.

Consolati dunque ò Candia protetta da questo Giove / [f. 37^r] nato à giovarvi, retta da questo Radamante che vi giustifica, et governata da questo Minos, che con armata mano vi diffende non dalli Atheniesi, ò spartani già nostri sudditti, et soggetti, mà contra le armi del più potente del mondo Signore.

È solito Eccellentissimo Dittatore alla eterna di Dio Magestà per solo amore delli suoi Principi dalli pericoli soprastanti li popoli, et la vitta liberare. Così Gierusalemme con tutti li popoli suoi per solo amore del Regio Davide dalle forze potenti del Persiano Monarcha fù liberata. Così per solo amore del Principe Abramo dalle incursioni gravi di popoli innumerabili di Pentapoli si sollevarono. E per solo amore del Principe Gionacha all'essercito poderoso di Mediani fù dato scompiglio, et diffusa suprema al popolo di Israele.

Vostra Eccellenza predestinata dalla santa di Dio Magesta in tempo calamitoso protettore di questo Regno, et Principe nostro benigno. La cui mira è la di Dio gloria, fondamento la religione, fine l'honore della christianità, mezzo le sacre virtù, scopo li buoni costumi, essercitio le devote orationi, et pensiero totale l'effettuatione / [f. 37^v] del divino vollere, causa sola della nostra salvatione si sembra. Poiche la di Dio grande misericordia per solo amore della divota pietà di vostra Eccellenza ricupero questa Città dalla fame, peste, e guerra, i popoli della morte, le chiese dalla profanatione, et tutta Candia da una disperata schiavitù.

Ergesi assioma indubitabile di saggi guerrieri, che chi è patron delle fosse d'una piazza sia signore della muraglia, e chi è signore della muraglia resti possessore della Città. Il perfido Agareno non solo si fece patron delle fosse, e delle muraglie, mà anco possessore del più importante posto di questa piazza. Hà effettuato nelli doi baloardi Giesus, et Martinengo brechie smisurate, large, commode, et atte à poter passare esserciti intieri et con carroze, e pur fuor della opinione universale quel coraggioso, ingenuoso, et valeroso adversario non hà potuto ottenere l'intento, ne un palmo di terra avanzare più dentro. E da che prodigio ò Signori fù rintuzata l'orgogliosa posanza d'un tanto nemico impedito l'incaniato cuore del Gran Visir Cussaelo et annientato il furioso ardore della furia Turcha.

[f. 38^r] Diatte attentione. S'impadroni l'incrudelito Visir Cussaelo con tutto l'essercito Turcho della prima, et seconda ritirata del Martinengo, tutta la nostra gente si trovava tremante, li capitani impaliditi, li maggiori capi di guerra, benche coraggiosi sospesi. Fù annunciato à Sua Eccellenza il ritirarsi in luogo sicuro, mà non per questo l'insuperabil cuore di questo magnanimo Heroe s'intimori. (Ò mi ricordo haverlo visto, et mi vengono le lacrime alli ochi, e dalla memoria del all'ora soprastante periglio, e dall'allegrezza del esito.) Non s'intimori dico questo servideo, mà inteso l'anuntio da un delli principali del essercito capi senza rispetto di grave età, riguardo della imperatoria dignità stima della propria vitta, et risparmiò del soprastante morire, tuttoche stanco dalle tante vigilie inviata prima la propria guardia delle alabarde ditattorie, sfodrata la spada non da debole Senatore ma da giovane coraggioso assendeva il Martinengo, propalando come novo Nestore l'antico vigore del cuore, tutti invitando alla del belicoso Tracia / [f. 38^v] Marte. Mà posso dire con il grande poeta, ò *magna res*, àpena ò Signori assendeva la medieta del tramite del Martinengo, e li Turchi abbagliati dalli raggi lucidissimi del aspetto di tanta maestà da gran timore aviliti, tremanti, et instupiditi rimasero, et l'illustrissima Colonia di questo Regno con le poche reliquie restate da Characha di questi fidelissimi cittadini à forza d'arme bianche ributarono il nemico, et rintuzarono l'orgoglio Maumetano ricuperaro il baluardo, non soportando in presenza del di loro Principe ne ricever coraggio, ne mostrar codardia, onde m'imagino la verità dell'elogio del mio gran Stagirita, mentre dice: *eoquo plus corpus senescit, anima virescit*.

Ne mi passerà già mai dalla memoria l'affetto salutifero della nostra salvatione in questa passata campagna da Vostra Eccellenza effettuato quando li Turchi impadroniti del forte grande di Biteleme, impossessati del rivelino, correvano pur à tutta furia ad occupare la fossa, e delle piazze basse insignorirsi / [f. 39^r] mentre il tutto si trovava somerso nel chaos immenso della confusione, quandoche nulla resistenza sorgeva solo questo gran Mocenico non punto si perse d'animo, nè s'intimori, mà non scorgendo ardore di oppositione pigliata la spada, et abbracciato lo scudo da uno della sua guardia, imitando Fabio Massimo console Romano mosse il passo ad intrare primo nel

martiale conflitto. Dal che incitati, et invigoriti li animi invincibili delli altri Eccellentissimi purpurati con preghiere, et protesti impedirono tal andata, et coraggiosamente con li di loro proprij petti intrati nella bataglia con immortal loro gloria riaquistarono il perduto in tempo pur che tutta la piazza periclitava merce alla magnanimità, vigore, et coraggio del nobil cor Mocenigo.

Queste sono le glorie del gran Mocenico, li trofei, li trionfi. Gloria d'immensità, trofei d'eternità, trionfi d'imortalità. Glorie immense di somma, ed'eterna obligatione, trofei con indelibili carateri, caraterizzati in questi cuori, trionfi che non saranno già mai / [f. 39^v] scancelati dalla memoria delli secoli. Tralascio il resto delle virtù, gratie, dignità, alteze, et prerogative di Vostra Eccellenza impedito e dalla brevità del tempo e dalla mia lingua rozza, et balbutente. Finisco senza fine l'uno per non contrastare coll'Immenso, l'altro perche con obbligo, et desio acclamo.

Il Trionfo d'un Principe Eccellentissimo Signore consiste nel haver vasali fedeli, pazienti, e quieti, e pur Vostra Eccellenza sperimenta in questi suoi sudditi fedeltà incomparabile, pazienza superiore à quella di Giob, et quieteza, che di eccesso avanza quella della socratica musa, mentre si scorge in tutti questi sudditi nelle streteze di questo longo assedio, disagio, et necessità tal soferenza, che ne pur minimo mormorio nelle piazze si sente. Merce della benigna providenza dell'Eccellentissimo Senato, e della ottima administratione di Vostra Eccellenza la qual non permete ad'alcuno dalla sua presenza partire senza contento.

Li Padri Reverendi di questo Sacrosanto Monastero di Santa Caterina come sudditi fidelissimi Vassali de/[f. 40^r]votissimi et servitori humilissimi à Vostra Eccellenza s'offeriscono à spender, e spender la propria vitta per mostrare l'ottimo vassalagio, la fidel loro fedeltà à Sua Serenità come pur hanno già speso tutto l'havere. Annuntio à Vostra Eccellenza la protetione della Sacrosanta Vergine, e Martire Caterina loro confaloniera. Le augurano la ricuperatione di questo famosissimo Regno, e perciò sotto il rosso baldachino da Rè l'hanno accompagnata, salutata, e riverita.

Io Eccellentissimo Dittatore finisco di orare mà non finisco di prognosticare li suoi trionfi. Termino il parlare con raguaglio di gioire dalli arcani della sacra pagina esaurito.

Scorgo nella Sacra Apocalise al capitolo 12^o esser stato apparso à San Gioanne uno Dragone di smisurata grandezza, di color rosso, di sete teste, di dieci corni, la di cui coda tirava à proprio potere la terza parte delle stele del Cielo. Una Regal Donna à morte perseguitare, alla / [f. 40^v] qualle per liberarsi si concessero doi ale. Mà quel astuto Dragone inviato un gran Diluvio d'aqua contro quella Regina ad abbisarla tentava, mà la terra havuta compasione à quella matrona diede agiuto con l'ingiotire di quelle molteplici aque, et cosi fù quella Donna Maestosa dal periglio salvata.

Dragone grande Eccellentissimo Procuratore mi pare sia il perfido Ottomano. Dragone per l'ingani dolosi contra li fedeli continuamente machinati. Di smisurata grandezza per esser Grande del Mondo Signore. Di color rosso per la dignità imperiale tiranicamente occupata. Di sette teste per li sete Regni opulentissimi da quello possessi. Da dieci corni per le gran provincie da altritanti suoi Bassa governati. La di cui coda l'arte militare industriosa, ed'artificiosa hà soggiogato il terzo delle stelle del Cielo, la terza parte delli Regni Christiani. Il quale non contento di tante provincie, e tanti Imperij / [f. 41^r] non solo perseguita la Regal Donna questa Reale Isola di Creta dall'Eccelso Veneto Senato difesa, e protetta, e dall'Eccellenza Vostra incomparabilmente governata, mà anco la combate, la guasta, la incursiona. Quindi furono si dalla di Dio somma bontà, si dalla incomparabil prudenza dell'Eccellentissimo Senato doi ale concesse à questo afflito Regno per liberarsi. Mà che sorte d'ale, non di piuma, mà di porpora, non di volubilitate, mà della rosea perfetione, imutabile e ferma, le due ale Moceniche insegna fastosa di Vostra Eccellenza. Accio per di lei mezzo resti la Centopoli liberata dalla peste, fame e longo assedio, mà l'astuto Ottomano presentito il gran soccorso, et pensato il potente patrocino di Eccelso Alvise, hà inviato gran diluvio d'aque, grande, et immenso soccorso di

machine d'armi, e di soldati contra questo setro in duo campagne à netta furia operando tentativi di gran momento, et impulsì di eccelso vigore, mà / [f. 41^v] la terra hà havuto compasione di Creta: et quale terra.

Quella terra, che il mio Padre Gran Basilio chiama *terram sanctam*, quella terra, che il Padre Origene invoca *terram viventium*, quella terra che il glorioso Damasceno nuncupa *sanctam terram* la Vergine Gloriosa la Sacrosanta Deipara madre di Dio, protettrice di Vostra Eccellenza et giovatrice di questa Centopoli. Questa gloriosa mistica terra havuta compasione si delle vigilie, fatiche, sudori, et divotioni di Vostra Eccellenza come delli patimenti, afflitioni, e disastri di questi divoti popoli, per il merito della pietà di Vostra Eccellenza per la misericordia di questa miserabil gente. Hà imperato l'anichilation delle aque, l'ingiotimento delli diluvij, la consumatione di tanto essercito, e pur con patenti segni vien porpalato al mondo l'infame retiratione del Cussaelo già coraggioso, mà in questi tempi avilito, et abbasato.

Rallegrati Eccellentissimo Dittatore di tal favorevol com/[f. 41^v]pazione, perche auguro à Vostra Eccellenza con la intercessione della Vergine Gloriosa, la vittoria ottenuta, la ricuperatione del Regno, la liberta nostra effetuatta. Vostra Eccellenza ne comincia, ne finisce gia mai opera senza la invocatione della Vergine Gloriosa, e perciò asseconda la Regina del Cielo li magnanimi pensieri di Vostra Eccellenza. Rallegratevi voi altri Eccellentissimi porporati, perche approssima il tempo della heroica quieteza delli loro trofei. Rallegratevi o popoli dell'anuncio della propria liberatione.

Auguro all'Eccellenza Vostra Eccellentissimo Mocenico il trionfo totale della vittoria contra l'Ottomano, il pretioso diadema della serenita, et li longi anni di Matusala. Auguro all'Eccellenze Vostre Eccellentissimi purpurati l'essaltatione al merito delle fatiche gloriose con vostra gloria inumerabile effetuate. Auguro à voi alti ascolti la vittoria, la pacce, la quiete, la liberta: la Magestà Imperiale d'Iddio conceda, *qui regnat in secula seculorum*. Amen.

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