CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH IN SLOVENIA

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Introduction

Captain John Smith is one of the most famous heroes of Colonial America. As a member of the India Company, he came to Chesapeake Bay in 1607 and became one of the founders and leaders of Jamestown, the earliest permanent English settlement in North America. With his daring expeditions and his wise decisions he greatly helped the new colony to survive. His most famous exploit was when he was captured by the Indians and condemned to die, yet at the last moment Pocahontas, the daughter of the Chief Powhatan, intervened and saved him. After his return to England in 1609 and a repeated visit to America in 1614, he greatly contributed with his writings—such as his Description of New England of 1616—to the spread of interest for the newly conquered lands; and with them he introduced the name New England into the political geography of America.

Though young, John Smith went to America as an already experienced adventurer; he had previously gone through a series of adventures which he later described in his book The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America of 1630. In 1600 he had gone from England to Continental Europe, traveling by way of France and Italy to reach Austria and join the armies fighting the Turks. After adventures in Hungary he was taken prisoner in Transylvania and lived as a slave in Istanbul; there he was saved by Tragabigzanda, the wife of a Turkish pasha; she sent him to her brother, who lived somewhere in the Caucasus, and from there he escaped back to Transylvania. In 1604 he returned to England.

These adventures of John Smith’s in Europe have been a source of puzzlement to modern researchers. Some scholars, like Charles Deane and especially Lewis Kropf, the specialist on Hungarian history, have either doubted the authenticity of Smith’s narrative or directly labeled it a “pseudo-historical romance.” Others, however, such as Ferencz Pulszky (who went to the U.S.A. with Lajos Kossuth after the revolution of 1848), and more recently Laura Polanyi Striker and J. Franz Pichler, have accepted them as essentially true and have tried to identify their historical backgrounds. The latter group of scholars seems to be right, in spite of the fact that the results of their research have been rather limited. With our study we will endeavor to make a contribution to the solution of these problems.

Smith’s Contacts with Slovenia

John Smith’s contacts with Slovenia represent an important part of his European experiences. They are described in the third and fourth chapters of his True Travels, as follows:

At the end of his visit to Italy, during which he had seen Rome, Naples and Florence, Smith came to Venice. Here he boarded a ship which took him first to Dubrovnik (“Ragouza”); after “spending some time to see that barren broken coast of Albania and Dalmatia,” he came to “Capo de Istria, travelling the maine of poore Slavonia by Lubbiano, till he came to Grates in Steria, the seat of Ferdinando Arch-Duke of Austria.” Here, he “met an English man, and an Irish Jesuit, who acquainted him with many brave Gentlemen of good qualitie, especially with the Lord Ebersbaught,” who “preferred him to Baron Kisell, Generall of the Artillery, and he to a worthy Collonell, the Earle of Meldritch.” With the last-named he first traveled to Vienna, and in his regiment he
The first military encounter of Smith’s with the Turks was when they besieged the town of 'Olumpagh': Smith arrived with the military unit commanded by 'Baron Kisell' to break the siege. “After the loss of Caniza, the Turks with twenty thousand besieged the strong Towne of Olumpagh so straitly, as they were cut off from all intelligence and hope of succour; till John Smith, this English Gentleman, acquainted Baron Kisell, General of the Arch-dukes Artillery, he had taught the Governour, his worthy friend, such a Rule, that he would undertake to make him know anything he intended, and have his answer.” He suggested sending the message by means of light signals produced by a group of torches, whereby the number of lights would represent different letters of the alphabet. ‘Kisell’ at once accepted the plan; he gave Smith guides and “in the darke night” and using torches Smith sent signals from a mountain at a distance of seven miles from the town, informing ‘Ebersbaught’ that “on Thursday at night I will charge on the East, at the Allarum, salley you; [and] Ebersbaught answered he would.” At the same time, the guides surveyed the enemy’s camp from the mountain top. “Returned to Kisell, who, doubting of his power being but ten thousand, was animated by the Guides, how the Turkes were so divided by the River in two parts, they could not easily second each other.” Smith now also suggested that “two or three thousand pieces of match fastened to divers small lines” could be “armed with powder, might all be fired and stretched at an instante before the Alarum, upon the plain of Hysnaburg, supported by two staves, at each lines end, in that manner would seem like so many Musketteers.” When the Turks saw this they prepared themselves for an attack from that side. ‘Kisell,’ however, with his soldiers attacked the Turks’ camp, and surprised them. At the same time ‘Ebersbaught’ sallied from the town, “in which distracted confusion, a third part of the Turkes, that besieged that side towards Knousbruck, were slaine: many of the rest drowned, but all fled. The other part of the Armie was so busied to resist the false fires, that Kisell before the morning put two thousand good soldiers in the Towne, and with small loss was retired; the Garrison was well releewed with that they found in the Turkes quarter, which caused the Turkes to raise their seige and return to Caniza: and Kisell with much honour was received at Kerment, and occasioned the Author” [i.e., Smith] “a good reward and preferment, to be Captaine of two hundred and fiftie Horsemen, under the conduct of Colonell Voldo, Earle of Meldritch.”

The Turkish Wars

Before we can begin with an analysis of John Smith’s text, a few basic facts concerning the Turkish Wars must be mentioned.

In 1534 the Turks crossed the Dardanelles and within one hundred years they took possession of almost the whole Balkan Peninsula. In 1393 Bulgaria was subjugated; in 1439, with the fall of its capital Smederevo, Serbia was occupied; and in 1463 Bosnia followed. The Turkish expansion was primarily directed towards the northwest, in the area between the River Sava and the Adriatic. Bosnia became the center for further expansion; from here, the Turks made raids into Croatia and the provinces of Carniola, Carinthia and Southern Styria. The worst period of Turkish raids lasted from 1469 through the end of the fifteenth century; during these three decades the Turks, virtually every year, devastated the whole of present-day Croatia, Slovenia and south-eastern Austria. Peace agreements were concluded between the Austrian and Turkish governments, but they were never really kept. This was also a period of war between Turkey and Venice; consequently the Turks, by way of Slovenia, repeatedly invaded the Venetian possessions in Istria and northern Italy: in 1477 they penetrated to Treviso, and in 1498 they reached Tagliamento and
Vicenza. For the defence against these raids, military border zones were established: the Croatian border zone between the Sava and the Adriatic, and the Slavic (‘Windisch’) border zone between the Sava and the Drava rivers.3

In 1526 the Turks defeated the Hungarian army at the Battle of Mohacs and began their expansion into the Pannonian Plain; already in 1529 Sultan Suleyman the Great led his army across this Plain and unsuccessfully laid siege to Vienna. In 1532 he again tried with another military expedition against Vienna; this time he was stopped by the fortress of Kőszeg/Güns. In 1541 the Turks conquered Buda, and here established the Buda eyalet, which extended from the Danube to Lake Balaton. At the same time the Turks also took possession of all the fortifications between the Danube and the Tisza rivers. In southern Hungary they seized the fortress of Sziget, and opened up for themselves the possibility of expanding westwards along the Drava. For the protection of its lands, and in all haste, the Austrians started to build the fortress of Kanizsa.

In 1593 Hasan Pasha, the beylerbey of Bosnia, tried to take the fortified town of Sisak. The Turkish troops were however defeated, and Hasan pasha found his death in the waves of the Kupa/Kolpa river. In Istanbul the infuriated Turks declared war on Austria, on August 13, 1593; and in this way began the so-called ‘Long War’ which continued till 1616, and ended with the Peace of Zsitva-Torok.4 The early phase of this war was waged mainly in Croatia, for the possession of the fortified towns of Sisak, Petrinja and Klis.5 In September 1600, however, the grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha gathered a large army at Sziget and led it to the siege of Kanizsa. The fortress fell on October 20, 1600. At the same time a detachment of the Turkish army penetrated as far west as Radgona/Radkersburg and Cmurek/Mureck, plundering the neighborhoods of these towns.6 The Turks made Kanizsa the capital of the new eyalet, which extended along both sides of the Drava. From here they planned their expansion into the Mura and Raba river valleys. In 1601 they already claimed supremacy in Orség, the region along the Kerka river.7 Locations in the Mura river valley such as Dolnja Lendava were now threatened almost yearly by Turkish attacks.

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Smith in Graz

It was during the Long War and at about the time of the fall of Kanizsa that Smith came to Graz. Traveling from Venice by way of Dubrovnik, he landed at “Capo de Istria,” i.e., the present-day harbor of Koper/Capodistria, the main port of Slovenia, just south of Trieste/Trst. In Smith’s time Koper, as well as all the harbors of western Istria as far as Milje/Muggia in the southern part of the Bay of Trieste, belonged to Venice; only Trieste was Austrian. This is the reason why Smith, who presumably traveled on a Venetian ship, came to Koper and not to Trieste. From Koper he crossed the mainland of “poor Slavonia,” that is, the Karst limestone plateau, to “Lubbiano,” the modern Ljubljana. It is interesting that here he uses, rather than the German Laibach, the Slovene name in its Italian spelling. The ending -o instead of -a may indicate that on the road he spoke with Slovenes, because this ending appears in such common phrases as “the road to Ljubljana,” pot v Ljubljano. Finally, he came to “Grates,” Graz.

Graz was at the time the seat of government of Archduke Ferdinand, whose realm covered the provinces of Carniola, Carinthia and Styria. Ferdinand, who was born in Graz in 1578, was educated by the Jesuits at Ingolstadt, and took over the government in Graz in 1595. He was a zealous Catholic and a determined leader of the Counter-Reformation in Austria. Under his government many Protestants who refused to embrace the Catholic faith were expelled from the country. In 1617 he became King of Bohemia; in the following
year his decisions induced the Czechs to start a revolt, and Ferdinand lost the throne; this was the beginning of the Thirty Years’ War. In 1619 he was elected Emperor of Germany; he died in 1637 in Vienna.

In Graz Smith first met an Englishman and an Irish Jesuit. In an attempt to identify these two persons, mention has been made of three Jesuits who were working at the time as instructors at the Graz Jesuit High School: William Wright, from York, professor of philosophy and theology, and from 1599 to 1600 Dean of the Jesuit University; William Johnston, from Nevis in Scotland, who in 1599 was professor of philosophy, logic, physics and metaphysics; and Master Johann Ogilbeus, also from Scotland, who taught at the Gymnasium. The question is whether these three names really solve the problem of the identity of the Englishman whom Smith met.

The Identity of “Ebersbaught”

Much more important for the understanding of subsequent events is the question of the identity of the officer whom Smith calls “Ebersbaught,” who later acted as commander of the defence of the town “Olumpagh.” No suggestion has so far been made which even remotely resembles the name “Ebersbaught.” It seems that this could be a member of the Ebersbach family: two members of this family are known as commanders of the castle and town of Radkersburg/Radgona at the end of the fourteenth century. It may be of interest to mention that this was an almost completely Protestant town until 1600, when the Counter-Reformation could be initiated there only with the help of military force. If the Ebersbachs continued to be associated with this town, we may at least suspect that an Ebersbach could have at least been in contact with Protestantism.

“Ebersbaught” introduced Smith to “Baron Kisell, Generall of the Arch-Dukes Artillery.” Originally this name is known in a wide variety of spellings; now the generally used form is Khissl. In the sixteenth century the Khissls were one of the most distinguished families in Ljubljana. In the short span of one hundred years they rose from the status of burghers to the highest titles of aristocratic society in the Province of Carniola. The family, which originally came from Bavaria, emerged in Ljubljana at the beginning of that century; three generations are known. Veit/Vid Khissl, the founder of the family in Ljubljana, was a typical representative of early capitalism who quickly became rich as a merchant and manufacturer. In 1528 he began to build a manorial castle on the banks of the Ljublanica east of Ljubljana, in the village of Studenec. This building, known in Slovene as Fužine and in German as Kaltenbrunn (a translation of Studenec) is still preserved. Between 1533 and 1546 Veit Khissl was mayor of Ljubljana. In 1544 he was conferred the title of nobleman by letters-patent; in 1569 he was knighted and took the predicate ‘von Kaltenbrunn.’

His son Hanns/Janz (d. 1591) was a high dignitary who in 1566 was the Regent of Carniola; in 1590 he was dubbed baron by the emperor, Rudolf II. Three of Hans’s sons had very distinguished careers.

Georg/Jurij (d. 1605) was in 1593 Regent of Carniola, and in May 1594 was a member of the Imperial Diet at Regensburg.

Veit/Vid (d. ca 1609) was an officer, who in his youth served in the Spanish army in the Netherlands, and later became supreme commander of the Croatian military zone and of the fortress of Karlovac/Karlstadt.

The most distinguished member of this family, however, was Hans Jakob Khissl (1569-1638). He is believed to be the Khissl mentioned by John Smith. Like his brother Veit he served in his youth in the Spanish army in the Netherlands, where he rose to the
rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Later he became one of the most trusted counsellors of Archduke Ferdinand in Graz. He was the administrator of the Inner Austrian War Council at Court, and in 1601 he became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Arsenal. In 1618 the Archduke gave him, by way of purchase, the domain of Gottschee/Kocevje. Soon after Ferdinand was elected Emperor of Germany, Hans Jakob Khissl was raised to the title of Count of Gottschee. He died in Vienna; since like him both of his brothers had been childless, the Khissl family died out with him.12

The Khissl family was closely connected with the Protestant movement in Slovenia. When Primus Trubar came to Ljubljana in 1535 he met, among others, Veit Khissl the family founder, who was an ardent adherent of the new faith. Through three generations the family gave support to the development and spread of Slovene Protestant literature. Several Slovene Protestant books were dedicated by their authors to members of the Khissl family, and particularly to Georg Khissl. Joannes Mandeltz, the first printer in Ljubljana and a Protestant, addressed his edition of the Jesus Sirah (whose translator, unnamed in the book, was Jurij Dalmatin) to Hanns Khissl. Two Protestant hymnbooks, those by Trubar of 1567 and Dalmatin of 1584, were dedicated to Georg Khissl. Also, the philologist Megiser dedicated his Graz edition of Paroemiologia to Georg Khissl. We may therefore conjecture that, although Hans Jakob Khissl as a counsellor to the Archduke would certainly have professed Catholicism, he must have been at least open-minded with respect to Protestantism, since his father and at least one of his brothers were Protestants. It was therefore probably not by mere chance that John Smith, a Protestant, met Ebersbach and Khissl in Graz.13

The Search for “Olumpagh”

The most intriguing and exasperating question in connection with Smith’s contacts with Slovenia is the problem of the siege of “Olumpagh.” The search for the site of this siege looks like the search for the location of one of the battles of King Arthur; so far, no satisfactory answer has been found.

Striker has called attention to the similarity of the name “Olumpagh” with Oberlimbach.14 This is the German for Gornja Lendava, a village and castle situated in northeastern Slovenia close to the boundaries of Austria and Hungary; its present official name is Grad. The castle is first mentioned in 1214, and since 1365 was in the possession of the Széchy family, which had originally come from Slovakia. The castle is situated on the top of a hill, and the village consists of a few houses, scattered mainly at the foot of the hill. Through the valley flows an insignificant brook. The topography of Gornja Lendava does not, therefore, answer Smith’s description of “Olumpagh.”15

Pichler, taking into consideration both the place-name and the topography, has made an essentially more interesting suggestion.16 He considers that “Olumpagh” could be Unterlimbach, in Slovene Dolnja Lendava. Its Hungarian name is Also Lindva. This is now a small town which stretches along the left bank of the Ledava, not far from where it enters the Mura. The houses run along the foot of the hill, which extends toward the north. On the top of the hill is a castle which, in its present form, dates to the end of the seventeenth century. Since the end of the twelfth century the place was owned by the Hoholt family, who later changed their name to Bánffy, and died out in 1644. The town was not fortified and in 1603 it was attacked by the Turks. The Ledava river was not wide, yet it frequently inundated the plain on its right bank, making this plain swampy.17 Pichler suggests that the name “Olumpagh” derives from a combination of the Hungarian and German versions of the place names, i.e., from Also Limbach. He also suggests that the name “Hysnaburg”
in Smith's writings represents Eisenburg, (Hungarian Vasvar), near Körmend; and "Knousbruck" he believes to be Hohenbruck, to the north-west of Radkersburg.

As a summation of his interpretation, Pichler states: "... we prefer to identify Olumpagh with Unterlimbach to an identification with Oberlimbach." Yet this interpretation, too, is not really fully convincing. Smith speaks about the "Plaine of Hysnaburg," which implies a plain situated between "Olumpagh" and "Hysnaburg," rather than a plain lying in the direction of a remote location such as Eisenburg. According to Smith, also, "Knousbruck" was situated to the east of "Olumpagh," while in reality Hohenbruck is situated far to the west of Dolnja Lendava. Moreover, the name Hohenbruck does not correspond at all well with the place-name "Knousbruck."

I can not find any definite solution to the problem posed by the place-name "Olumpagh." We have seen that in those cases where the place-names and personal names given by Smith can be identified, his English spelling is surprisingly close to their pronunciation at the time. Nevertheless, I would like to call attention to the fact that a number of elements in Smith’s text point to the Mureck/Cmurek area. Mureck/Cmurek was, in the Middle Ages, already a fortified town. It is situated on the left bank of the Mura, west of Radkersburg/Radgona. The Mura is at this place sufficiently wide that it would represent a serious obstacle to an army wishing to cross it. On the plain just to the north of Mureck is the village Hainsdorf, with its castle Brunnsee. Given the presence of the castle, the use of a name such as Hainsburg is therefore far from impossible. Hainsburg could well correspond to Smith’s “Hysnaburg,” especially if we recall that in the orthography of English the letter y frequently represents the diphthong /ai/ (German “ai”). East of Mureck/Cmurek, half-way to Radkersburg/Radgona, and also on the left bank of the Mura, at the location where the river Gnas enters the Mura from the north, there was formerly a village—now no longer in existence—called Gnasbruck. This name is very similar indeed to Smith’s “Knousbruck.” Moreover, as we have seen, the family name Ebersbach points to the region of Mureck and Radkersburg. In the years in question, including 1600, Mureck was frequently threatened by Turkish raids.

The operations described in these pages of Smith’s book can therefore be well explained from a topographic point of view, as follows: the Turks had their camp to the east of Mureck, and on the left bank of the Mura; part of their force was also on the right bank of the river. Khissl feigned his attack from the north, while he actually struck from the east. The Turks, surprised in their camp, fled eastward, and at Gnasbruck many were drowned.

I find no name in the Mureck area, however, which would correspond to Smith’s “Olumpagh.” Moreover, the history of Mureck is rather well documented for the years under discussion. For the year 1600 we even know the names of the commanding officers in the town—Sigmunt Jurschitz, Simon Gornig, Mathes Tschemernek and Michael Baldein, elected to these positions by the townspeople. There is in the detailed records available, however, no report of any siege of the town.

In conclusion we may state that John Smith’s narrative may be considered an authentic report of his exploits in this region. His narrative may sometimes be a little exaggerated, but this is not an unusual occurrence in contemporary reports of this kind. Smith’s story represents an interesting case of an early contact—as a matter of fact, the earliest possible contact—of an “American” with a Slovene.
NOTES


3. The best survey of the Turkish incursions into Carniola and Styria is still the one by Franz Ilwof, “Die Einfälle der Osmanen in die Steiermark,” published in four issues of Mittheilungen des historischen Vereins für Steiermark, between 1860 and 1867. For the present study I use separately-printed editions, in four parts, each of which has its own pagination. Cf. also Rudolf Kropf and Wolfgang Meyer, eds., Kleinlandschaft und Türkenkriege. Das südliche Burgenland zur Zeit der Bedrohung durch die Türken im 16. und 17. Jahrhunderten. [= Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland Heft 68] (Eisenstadt: Burgenlandisches Landesmuseum, 1983).

4. The Peace of Zsitva-Torok was first concluded on November 11, 1606. After hostilities were renewed, a second peace agreement was reached, this time in 1616; cf. A.H. Lobl, Zur Geschichte des Türkenniegens von 1593-1606 [= Prager Studien, Heft VI] (Prague, 1899).

5. A good survey of this early phase in the ‘Long War’ can be found in Ivan Steklasa, “Jurij Lenković,” Letopis Matice slovenske 1895: 53-145.


9. Striker 316, suggests that “Ebersbaught” was perhaps Carl von Herbertsdorf, commander is the sector of Radkersburg, or else Hans Sigmund, Baron von Herrenstein, colonel in charge of the army on the Slavonian frontier.


11. Janisch, 616 ff. The main town of Radkersburg is situated on the left (Austrian) bank of the Mura, while the old town and castle are situated on the right (Yugoslav) bank; hence the use of both names, Radkersburg/Radgona. The situation of Murech/Cmurek is similar.

12. The Khissl family was related to the Valvasor family. On the former, information can be found throughout Johann Weichard Valvasor, Die Ehre des Herzogthums Krain (Nürnberg: Verlegung Wolfgang Moritz Endters, 1688; repr., Laibach: J. Krajec, 1882): see IX: 11, 76, 85; X: 345, 349, 352, 381, 384; XI: 34, 198, 296, 450, 468, 701; XII: 17, 56, 129; XV: 494, 500, 529, 561, 563, 568. The best modern study of the family is in Branko Reisp, Kronijski politihistor Janez Vajkard Valvasor (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1983), see 41 ff; see also Allgemeine deutsche Biographie XV: 108, sub ‘Khiesel.’ We should not completely disregard the possibility that Smith’s acquaintance in Graz was Weit Khissl. The earliest documented evidence of the latter’s stay in the Croatian military zone is for the period from 1603. On Weit Khissl, see Ivan Steklasa, “Vid Kisel, Karlovski general,” Zbornik Slovenske Matice 6 (1904) 23-57.


15. For the history of Gornja Lendava, see Ivan Zelko, “Gradivo za zgodovino reformacije v Prekmurju, Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje NS 9 (1973) 100-126. Cf. Ivan Zelko,
JANEZ STANONIK

Prekmurje do leta 1500 [= Historična topografija Slovenije I] (Murska Sobota: Pomurska založba, 1982). Photographs of castles mentioned here can be found in Ivan Stopar, Gradovi na Slovenskem (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1986).
18. Janisch I: 71-72, sub ‘Brunnsee.’
19. Von Zahn 216, sub ‘Gnaesprukk.’
20. Janisch II: 328-330, sub ‘Mureck (Ort).’

POVZETEK

STOTNIK JOHN SMITH V SLOVENIJI