

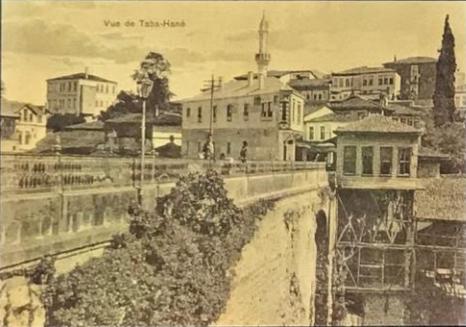
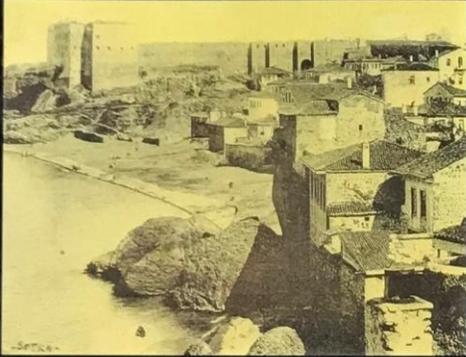
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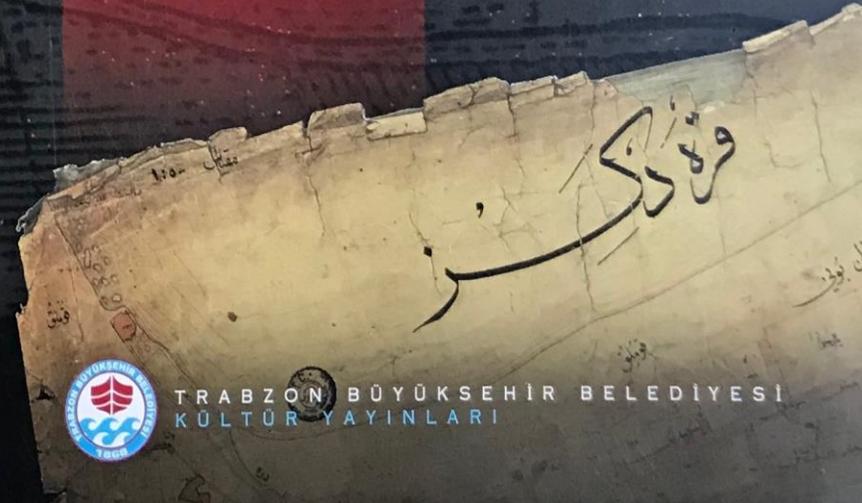
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II

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Kenan İNAN- Miraç TOSUN

Deniz ÇOLAK

Trabzon 2018

CIÉPO 22

Uluslararası Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Çalışmaları Komitesi

II

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JANOS HOBERDANECZ'S EMBASSY TO CONSTANTINOPLE*

*Mahmut Halef Cevrioğlu***

Abstract

Our focus is on the sixteenth century European diplomatic practice in the Ottoman capital during Süleyman I's reign. We wish to highlight the earliest diplomatic mission (by Janos Hoberdanez) sent by King Ferdinand of the Austrian Habsburgs in 1528. This was a particularly important era in order to show that the intra-European conflicts did have their reverberations on the diplomatic scene in the Ottoman capital. As primary sources, Marino Sanudo's diaries (*Il Diarii*) and the embassy reports in Antal Gevay's "*Urkunden und Actenstücke...*" are utilized. These bear importance not only for the content of the diplomatic mission, but also for the opportunity they offer with regards to the understanding of the Ottoman foreign policy in Europe as presented by the attitude and perceptions of the high level Ottoman bureaucrats.

Keywords: Ottoman-Habsburg Rivalry, Ibrahim Pasha, Hungary, Embassy Reports.

Özet

Çalışmamız, on dokuzuncu asırda Antal Gevay tarafından yayınlanan Habsburg elçi raporları ve Venedik Senato kâtipi Marino Sanudo'nun günlükleri üzerinden Kanuni Sultan Süleyman döneminde raporu tutulmuş ilk Habsburg elçilik heyetini (1528) incelemeye almaktadır. Bu heyetin geriye bıraktığı rapor yalnızca diplomatik faaliyetleriyle değil, aynı zamanda Osmanlı idari kadrosunun Avrupa siyasetine yaklaşımını değerlendirmek açısından da önem arz etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı-Habsburg Mücadelesi, Ibrahim Paşa, Macaristan, Elçi Raporları.

Ottoman Perceptions of Diplomacy and Foreign Policy in the Sixteenth Century

Ottoman foreign policy used to be regarded in a dichotomous fashion as if it was determined by strict Islamic rules in its earlier period.²⁹ In this view, the world

* The present study is prepared within the framework of an ongoing "TUBITAK 1001 Scientific and Technologic Research Support Fund" project numbered 113K655 (Ottoman Empire in the Mediterranean Intelligence Network during the First Half of the Sixteenth Century).

** İzmir Kâtip Çelebi Üniversitesi, Ph. D. Student, halefcevrioglu@gmail.com

²⁹ Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, "The Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz," *Ottoman Diplomacy Conventional or Unconventional?*, ed.: Ahmet Nuri Yurdusev, (Palgrave – Macmillan, 2004), pp. 89- 113. 89.

was divided into two opposing spheres: On the one side lay *darü'l- İslam*, the lands already under the rule of Islamic governments; on the other was *darü'l- harb*, the abode of non-believers, against whom Muslims were supposed to wage constant war. However, as any other early modern state did, the actual pattern of Ottoman policy-making had a broader scope and more flexibility.

The Ottoman granting of *ahdnames* (capitulations) to certain powers and conclusion of truces with enemies prompt us to raise questions about the obedience to religious obligations in Ottoman conception of international relations. That is to say, Veinstein suggests that there were certain European powers with which the Ottomans were in a relationship of *de facto darü's- sulh / darü'l- ahd*, namely, the abode of peace. This was a transitory status for the polities against which theoretically no war was waged.¹ Going one step ahead, Yurdusev claims that the Ottoman foreign policy was not orthodoxly Islamic, but rather, it was fulfilling the requirements of the Realpolitik.² Therefore, the perception of *darü'l- harb* and *darü'l- İslam* was not completely the case in their regulation of foreign relations. Similarly, Beydilli suggests that the Ottoman political view in the classical period was one which pursued *raison d'etat* in international relations.³

Drawing from Veinstein, Işıksel goes further by specifying that even though the territorial bifurcation of *darü'l- harb* versus *darü'l- İslam* was “instrumental for the organization of trade, the administration of foreign residents in the territory or for the regulation of relations with Christian vassal states”, it would be misleading to accept the implications of this dichotomy in foreign policy as peremptory: The Ottomans could ally themselves with Christian states, or target Muslim ones as enemies even in the 16th century,⁴ the golden age of the classical period.

In this respect, we need to take into account Emrah Safa Gürkan's comment that since the Ottoman and Habsburg imperial powers had risen “to unprecedented prominence in the early 16th century on both halves of the Mediterranean basin”, İstanbul duly became a centre for “diplomatic manoeuvring.”⁵ Principle powers of Europe sent diplomats to Constantinople every now and then, where they connected or competed with each other. However, what is more meaningful for us is the ways through which the Ottomans interacted with these diplomats. Equally important is how the political developments taking place in Europe were watched, and at times used as pretext for intervention, by the Ottomans. This is practically the case for the present study.

¹ Gilles Veinstein, “Osmanlılar ve Avrupa Kavramı,” *Harp ve Sulh: Avrupa ve Osmanlılar* (Kitap Yay., 2010), p. 50.

² Ahmet Nuri Yurdusev, “The Ottoman Attitude Toward Diplomacy”, *Ottoman Diplomacy Conventional or Unconventional?*, ed.: Ahmet Nuri Yurdusev, (Palgrave – Macmillan, 2004), pp. 5 – 35. 16.

³ Kemal Beydilli, “Dış Politika ve Siyasi Ahlak”, in *İlmi Araştırmalar 7*, (İstanbul, 1991), p. 48.

⁴ Güneş Işıksel, “Ottoman-Habsburg Relations in the second half of the 16th century: The Ottoman standpoint,” *Frieden und Konfliktmanagement in interkulturellen Räumen: Das Osmanische Reich in Europa (16-18. Jh)*, ed.: Arno Strohmeier and Norbert Spannenberger (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013). P. 54, 55.

⁵ Emrah Safa Gürkan, “Early modern İstanbul as a center of diplomacy”, p. 4. (Forthcoming)

European Context on the Eve of the Embassy

Sultan Selim I's successful campaigns against the Safavids and Mamluks during the second decade of the sixteenth century had put a lid on the danger posed from the East, hence attention was once more directed to the western front during the early years of Sultan Süleyman I. The Rhodes and Belgrade were the first two territories to be captured by the victorious armies of the sultan, and the Ottomans were determined to go even further.

What lied ahead was a Europe enmeshed in its own struggles: Roughly around the same time Sultan Süleyman became the new ruler, Charles V of the Habsburg family was crowned as the Holy Roman Emperor, and his authority was recognized over a very large territory which covered Spain, Flanders, Austria, the Holy Roman Empire and even large portions of Italy. His brother Ferdinand was ruling Austria as the King, and their sister was married to Lajos II, the King of Hungary. This gigantic political entity dominated most of the European Continent and had two great enemies to their west and east: The French Kingdom ruled by François I, and the Ottoman Empire.

King François I of Valois and Emperor Charles V of Habsburg were already clashing against each other and the conflicts culminated into a final battle at Pavia (Italy) in 1525, after which François I was defeated and made a prisoner of the Emperor. It was in this context that his mother appealed to the Sultan for intervention in favour of his son. Matrakçı Nasuh notes that the French envoy (Jean Frangepani) was asking for the Sultan's help, with which they could beat Charles V together if the Sultan would attempt at defeating the Hungarian King first. ⁶ The chronicle points out that the campaign on the following year (1526) was launched after the sultan felt sympathy towards the misfortunate French King and accepted his request.⁷

We must, however, keep in mind that the Ottoman invasion of Hungary took place after François had reached an accord with Emperor Charles V. To be more precise, François I was delivered from captivity by the treaty of Madrid on 14th January 1526,⁸ but the Ottoman campaigns started around mid-spring as documented by Feridun Ahmed Bey: 23 April 1526 (or 11 Receb 932) is the inception point for the destination register (*cemi'- i menazil ve merahil*) for the 1526 Buda campaign of the Sultan.⁹ Therefore, Ursu's conclusion that the French envoy Frangepani's demands were congruent to Sultan Süleyman's policy, who had been developing policies of conquest both in the east and in the west, is a more plausible explanation for the campaign of that year.¹⁰ Whatever the real motivation behind the campaign on Hungary might have been, it is certain that the Ottoman ruling cadres were quick to respond favourably to the demands of the French King. This was, however, not out

⁶ Davut Erkan, "Matrakçı Nasuh'un Süleyman-namesi (1520-1537)" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis), , Institute for Turkic Studies Marmara Üniversitesi, 2005. p. 88.

⁷ Ibidem.

⁸ V.L. Bourilly, "Antonio Rincon et la politique orientale de François Ier (1522-1541)," *Revue Historique* 113 (1913), pp.64-83, p.75.

⁹ Feridun Ahmed Bey, *Mecmu'a- yı Münşeat- ı Feridun Bey*. (İstanbul: Takvimhane- i Amire, 1848-1858). On p. 554.

¹⁰ J. Ursu, *La Politique Oriental de François Ier*, (Paris, 1908), p. 33.

of pure mercy for the French, but rather a result of the keen political perception of the ruling élite. Since the Habsburgs, the strongest enemy the Ottomans had ever come to grips with in their western frontier until then, were waging hostilities against the French King at the time, the latter was regarded as a useful collaborator in the fight against the Habsburgs. This benevolent acceptance of the French demand for help can be regarded as the reflection of the concept of *darü's- sulh* propagated by Veinstein.

The aftermath of the 1526 campaign rendered the confrontation between the Habsburg and Ottoman dynasties even more inevitable: Hungarian King Lajos II (Charles V and Ferdinand's brother-in-law) suffered a disastrous defeat at the Battle of Mohacs (29 August 1526) and perished without heir. This being the case, the Hungarian Kingdom, which was now briefly under Ottoman occupation, needed a successor which was to be chosen by a royal election. Majority of the nobles in the Hungarian Kingdom opted for Janos Szapolyai who was the Voyvode of Transylvania at the time and was receiving Ottoman support, whereas the remaining notables of the kingdom elected Ferdinand of Austria. This duality came to an end when Ferdinand invaded Hungary with his army, conquered Buda and put Janos Szapolyai to flight in November 1527. Szapolyai hastened to send an envoy (Hieronymus Laszky) to the Ottoman capital, who tried and cut a deal for protection and help for Szapolyai with the Ottomans early in 1528.¹¹

François I, in the meanwhile, refused to keep his peace with the Habsburgs and his defeat at Pavia had actually been to his favour: Every prince in Europe had thereby seen that the Habsburg were becoming the sole dominant force in the continent, and hence started to regard François as the unfortunate champion of the liberty of Europe.¹² Moreover, the sack of Rome in 1527 by Emperor Charles V's Lutheran landsknechts persuaded the now prisoner Pope Clemens VII that only a power equilibrium could guarantee the independence of the Papacy.¹³ Hereafter the Pope formally became a member of François I's allied party,¹⁴ which informally included the Ottomans.

It was under these circumstances that Ferdinand of Austria decided to send a diplomatic mission to Constantinople to settle his dispute with the Ottomans. A Hungarian nobleman called Janos Hoberdanecz and a German aristocrat, Sigismund Weichselberger, were sent to negotiate with the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha and they reached İstanbul in spring 1528.

Janos Hoberdanecz's Dealings in Constantinople

Thanks to the meticulous research and compilation conducted by Antal Gevay in the nineteenth century in the Austrian archives, we have the edited versions of many of the embassy reports or personal correspondences of the Habsburg diplomats who were commissioned for activity in the Ottoman Empire. For our concern, Hoberdanecz's final

¹¹ Johann Wilhelm Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa, Zweiter Theil* (Gotha, 1854), p. 659.

¹² Henri Pirenne, *Storia d' Europa dalle invasioni al XVI secolo* (Roma, 1991), p. 433.

¹³ Giovanni Ricci, *Appello al Turco: I confini infranti del Rinascimento* (Roma, 2011), p. 117.

¹⁴ Pirenne, *ibidem*.

ambassadorial report is edited and published by Antal in 1837 under the title *Legatio Ioannis Hoberdanacz et Sigismundi Weichselberger ad Suleimanum I. Imperatorem Turcarum Iussu Ferdinandi I. Regis Hung. Boh. Etc. Obita Anno MDXXVIII*.¹⁵ It is also possible to trace Hoberdanecz's activities in the voluminous diaries penned by the Italian scribe Marino Sanudo.¹⁶ Within the framework of this study, I've made a full translation of the aforementioned final report from Latin to Turkish with only a few sentences yet to be added in the first couple of pages, and it will state the backbone of the negotiations narrated hereafter.

Gevay notes in the introduction to the report that even though the actual dealings had taken place between the spring and autumn of 1528, the final relation was penned down later on 19th February 1529, probably "only verbally related by Janos Hoberdanecz to a royal chancellor named Johann May, who conveyed to paper with the rubric: Habardanecz legatio." The report is recorded in the third person narrative style and starts promptly by the Imperial Legation's entry to Constantinople, which the Venetian *vicebailo* Piero Zen dates to 16th May 1528.¹⁷ They're received by Grand Vizier [Pargalı] Ibrahim Pasha on 29th and "present him two silver decorated cups, worth 300 ducats."¹⁸

On the third day, they are admitted to the Sultan's audience. But before getting into the Sultan's reception hall, they're interrogated by Ibrahim Pasha in the court while Sultan Süleyman was listening to them secretly behind a screened window. Ibrahim Pasha tries hard to understand what the real motivation of their mission is, but for the first couple of times they repeat that they were sent by Ferdinand to present their good will and friendship. However, Ibrahim Pasha questions them on the recent affairs that had taken place in Hungary and they relate why Ferdinand was the rightful king of Hungary and what sort of a ruse Janos Szapolyai had played to get himself elected King at the same time. Thereafter, Janos was defeated by Ferdinand, wherefore the latter was the rightful king of Hungary. Then, Ibrahim asks them about the personal qualities of their king Ferdinand and the envoys answer each of the questions in detail. However, they refuse to make it clear why they were sent to İstanbul before getting admitted into the Sultan's presence, and hence they all rise to get inside.

The envoys present the gatekeepers (*Ianitores/kapıcı*) the gifts (which Zen notes as 8 decorated silver goblets)¹⁹ sent by Ferdinand to the sultan, which were placed on a table for exhibition. Once they're admitted into the audience room, they salute the sultan and are made to kiss his hand before starting their oration. During the whole oration which is carried out by the intermediary of a dragoman in the court, the sultan doesn't give much of a

¹⁵ It must be immediately pointed out that a Hungarian translation of this very document was published in 1996. However, being unable to read Hungarian, I couldn't consult this translation. Vide, Barta et al., *Két tárgyalás Sztambulban: Hieronymus Laski tárgyalása a töröknél János király nevében – Habardanecz János jelentése 1528. nyári sztambuli tárgyalásairól*, (Budapest: Balassi, 1996).

¹⁶ Marino Sanudo, *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto, Tomo XLVIII, XLIX, L*, (Venice, 1897).

¹⁷ Sanuto, Vol 48, p. 131.

¹⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁹ Ibidem.

reaction and doesn't speak to the envoys in person, but rather relates his questions by whispering into Ibrahim Pasha's ear, who conveys the questions to the envoys.

When the envoys "unashamedly" claim that Ferdinand is the King of Hungary, the sultan gets utterly infuriated and whispers in Ibrahim's ear, who asks the envoys how dare they can speak so bold in the presence of the sultan under whose shade many Christian Kings (Janos Szapolyai and François I) have been taking shelter. However, the envoys add insult to injury by arguing in their reply that their king (Ferdinand) and emperor (Charles V) are potent rulers who don't require the assistance of the Turkish Sultan as the other Christian princes do. Ibrahim retorts that the sultan has now more important affairs to attend, and they can be called in for audience once more soon.

On the following day, the envoys are called for audience with the grand vizier, who asks them once more the reason why they have come there. The reply is that they are trying to make it clear to the sultan and the grand vizier why Hungary belongs to their King Ferdinand. And then they declare that two empires could build amicable relations if the sultan could restitution the castles he has conquered in Hungary before. When Ibrahim Pasha asks them which castles these are, they list a full bunch of fortified settlements, including both Belgrade which has been under Ottoman suzerainty for the last seven years and Jajce which is recently conquered in early 1528. To this, Ibrahim Pasha promptly retorts: *Mirum cur et Constantinopolim non petierit?* (That's such a wonder that he didn't demand Istanbul alongside!) Then, as pure rhetoric, Ibrahim Pasha asks them if their king doesn't know that the Sultan has made many expenses during the conquest of these places. The envoys naively respond that their king Ferdinand is quite wealthy and can pay the indemnities. Ibrahim Paşa answers by opening the windows of the room, and showing them seven towers which are, as he says, all filled with the Sultan's treasure and asks them if their king took the sultan to be so base or poor enough to renounce the territories he conquered with his triumphant sword in return of money. In the end, he openly suggests that King Ferdinand should rather leave Hungary and evacuate Buda as his only way out if he really wishes to reach peace. Lastly, he criticizes their Emperor (Charles V) for being an unreliable man since he failed to keep his promises to the Pope and François I of France. It must be admitted that the envoys can defend their emperor's attitude with clever argumentation. At the end of the audience, Ibrahim Pasha promises to send them official answers in three to four days and dismisses them.

At this point, it is necessary to come up with certain interpretative remarks. Firstly, that's a noteworthy point that the Ottoman grand vizier reveals that how well informed he is about the developments taking place in Europe. In that respect, it is also remarkable that he presents the French cause as a trump card against the Habsburgs. The Emperor Charles V's animosity against other Christian states and his maltreatment of the French King and the Pope becomes a recurrent subject in the following embassies, too. Here, it needs attention that Ibrahim Pasha always accuses the Habsburgs for being unjust rulers and disrespectful neighbours. This is done to contrast them to the Ottomans who, as Ibrahim Pasha says, never imprison any enemy monarch and start an unjust war. This point also reminds us Gilles

Veinstein's remarks that the Ottomans were most of the time "worthy dialecticians, adept at persuading the other and the self about the justice of their cause" no matter what.²⁰

Hoberdanecz and Weichselberger are once more called to the Imperial Council on 29th June and Ibrahim Paşa interrogates them about their king and emperor once more, asking why they were fighting against the French and the Pope, which they answer as best as they can. Thereafter, the envoys are accepted once more into the sultan's audience and made to kiss his hand again. Sultan Süleyman summons Ibrahim Pasha, whispers in his ear and orders him to relate these in his own name: "I'll personally come [to your king] with all my power and force; and will myself restore him the castles he demands of me!" The envoys answer that if the sultan comes as a friend, their masters will be very much pleased; but if he comes as an enemy their masters will also know how to prepare an appropriate reception. Sultan Süleyman responds that they will soon have the letters to set out for their home.

Hoberdanecz's report now relates that they have been waiting for their returning letters for three days, when the Venetian resident ambassadors visit, with many gifts, the sultan and the grand vizier in order to plead to the latter: They have heard that the Habsburgs' envoys are received at the Porte and they are intending to cut a deal to conclude an armistice or peace. However, the Venetian ambassadors argue, these Habsburg envoys are actually spies and they shouldn't be sent back to their masters. Ibrahim Paşa conforms to their demands and decides to delay the Habsburg envoys' departure, presenting the excuse that their master Ferdinand is sending another diplomatic mission to Constantinople and they should wait for them to leave İstanbul together at the very end.

As if the setback they suffer from the Venetians isn't enough, another problem now comes to stand in Hoberdanecz and Weichselberger's way: Jan Tranczin, the envoy of the Polish King, arrives in mid-September 1528,²¹ and takes audience from the sultan after almost a full month of sickness. Hoberdanecz relates us that the mission Tranczin is confided with is to build up an alliance between the Polish king and the Ottomans in order to keep the Habsburgs away from the Hungarian kingdom. Moreover, the envoy claims to have known Hoberdanecz and Weichselberger for a while, and points out that Hoberdanecz is one of the most ardent enemies of Janos Szapolyai, that is the Hungarian King supported by the Ottomans.

Interestingly, even though the embassy report makes no mention of the issue, there seems to have been also a French representative at the Porte at about the same time with the Polish one. The collection of documents regarding the French involvement in the Levant prepared by Charriere presents us the copy of a letter in which the sultan confirms the commercial treaty which the French and Catalans had been enjoying in the Egyptian cities

²⁰ Gilles Veinstein, "La politique hongroise du Sultan Süleymân et d'Ibrahim pacha a travers deux lettres de 1534 au roi Sigismond de Pologne," *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 33 (2-4), (1987), pp. 177-191. On p. 191.

²¹ Sanuto, Vol 49, p. 72.

under the Mamluk rule.²² The lot of the Habsburg envoy is becoming ever more desperate every elapsing second.

The Polish and Venetian diplomats having been audited, Ibrahim Pasha sends one of his secretaries to fetch Hoberdanecz and his colleague in order to investigate them about the rumours that they are actually spies. Hoberdanecz simply answers that since they have come into the Ottoman Empire by carrying letters of safe conduct from Turkish authorities, how could they be spies? Puzzled by the question, Ibrahim Pasha's secretary answers them they surely will leave İstanbul with positive answers, soon. However, the sultan and Ibrahim Pasha cross the Bosphorus for Beykoz,²³ where the sultan spends 32 days hunting, thus delaying the Habsburg envoys' departure even further.

The day after the sultan's return to the palace, Ibrahim Pasha tells Hoberdanecz that they will return home now in about three days after receiving the letters of response and safe conduct. The last sentence Hoberdanecz exchanges with Ibrahim Pasha is that the Turks are asking the impossible by demanding the secession of Hungary which belongs to his master by right.²⁴ Here ends the final ambassadorial relation; and this time for certain, Hoberdanecz and Weichselberger leave İstanbul around mid- November 1528 after around six months of total sojourn.

The Aftermath of the Embassy

It must have caught our attention that Sultan Süleyman's temper rose swiftly at Hoberdanecz's first praise of his king Ferdinand in his presence. Hoberdanecz's demand for the restitution of the Hungarian castles could only make things worse in this respect and the Venetian ambassador reported home as early as October 1528 (that is, while Hoberdanecz was still in İstanbul) that this request had angered the sultan so much that he had ordered the army to be prepared in order to invade Hungary on the following year.²⁵ The report of the Venetian ambassador could very well have been a prediction, but King Ferdinand himself received word from Hoberdanecz earliest on 1st February 1529 that the war on the Hungarian frontier was drawing nigh.²⁶ Sultan's verbal message hence reached Ferdinand, who wrote to his sister Maria in the following words: "What [Hoberdanecz's messenger] could learn, see and realize in Turkey about this whole dealing is that the Turk is soon to descend upon Hungary in person with all his power and ample and marvellous trappings and provisions, which he's already each and every day preparing for."²⁷

²² Ernst Charriere, *Négociations de La France dans le Levant*. (Paris: Imprimeri National, 1848), p. 121: Confirmation par Soliman II du traité fait antérieurement sous la domination des sultans mamelucks d'Égypte avec les consuls de France a Alexandrie. The copy is dated 6 Muharrem 935 [20 September 1528]

²³ Ibidem, p. 249.

²⁴ Hoberdanecz's relation, p. 28.

²⁵ Sanuto, Vol 49, p. 82: *Da Constantinopoli, ...*, di 4 Octubrio.

²⁶ Gevay, 1528. P. 63; XXIX. Ferdinands Schreiben an die Ungrische Kammer, Innsbruck, 1 Februar 1529.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 65. XXXI. Schreiben König Ferdinands I. an seine Schwester Maria. Innsbruck, 5. Februar 1529.

The reports were indeed justified when Ibrahim Pasha was appointed the commander in chief of the Sultan's army in mid- April ²⁸ and the sultan started the campaign in order to enthrone Janos Szapolyai once more in Hungary on the first day of May. ²⁹ The campaign reached the target and, as collateral damage, the first siege of Vienna was conducted among this year's military operations.³⁰ Hoberdanecz's demand for restitution thus resulted in a more serious disaster, which could have proven even more catastrophic for the emperor if Vienna couldn't resist long enough. After all, as Sultan Süleyman was writing to the governor of Gazze late in the year, after this campaign Janos Szapolyai was given Hungary again and made a tributary of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, " the geographies, which had never been paced by Muslim armies during any earlier victorious sultan's reign were this time trodden under the horses of the warriors." ³¹ Moreover, in the longer run, Hammer notes that Ibrahim Pasha would keep chiding the incoming Habsburg diplomats both in 1530 and also as late as 1533 for those insolent restitution demands verbally put forth by Hoberdanecz.³²

All these show us that the Ottoman ruling cadre was following closely the developments taking place between the European states. Moreover, the Ottoman policy makers proved to be willing to play one actor against the other, reflecting the classical realist method of supporting the weaker contender against the more powerful dominating force, that is, the French or Janos Szapolyai against the Habsburgs. Even if the Ottomans may not have been sincere in their support for the French in this case, we can at least conclude that they could integrate the suffering of the Habsburg enemies as pretext into their invasion programme.

Conclusion

Hoberdanecz's final ambassadorial report makes it obvious that owing to the grandiosity of the Ottoman Empire at the time, it had become inevitable for any European state in the sixteenth century to reckon the Ottoman repercussions in calculating their foreign policy actions. Even though the Habsburg power was the dominant force of the continent, the dynasty was limited in its long term dealings in Europe due to the check applied by the Ottomans who were expanding relentlessly towards Central Europe. In this respect, the mere fact that the Ottomans played the weaker European parties against the more potent Habsburgs reveals that the Ottoman foreign policy decisions, which bore a strong imprint of realism, were not limited to a strict dichotomy of *darü'l- İslam* against *darü'l- harb*, but a third option such as the *darü's- sulh* was also a matter in play as the developments in mid 1520s suggest.

²⁸ Feridun Bey, pp. 544-6.

²⁹ Sanuto, Tomo L, p. 470.

³⁰ Feridun Bey provides us with the detailed destination chart of this campaign: (p. 566: [10th May 1529]).

³¹ Leiden University Libraries, Special Collections, UBL Or. 1090 [1] p. 7a- 11a. On p. 11a.

³² Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, Zweiter Band* (Pesth: Hartleben's Verlag, 1840), p. 83.

Second, the emphasis on the Ottoman rightfulness catches our attention in Ibrahim Pasha's conversations. That is to say, Ibrahim Pasha repeatedly tends to sugar-coat Ottoman advance into Hungary by emphasising that Emperor Charles V is an unjust ruler persecuting his co-religionists. Here, the Ottomans assume the role to defend the defeated French King's cause as if their own. In that respect, the embassy report shows us that whole conversation between the Habsburg ambassadors and Ibrahim Pasha is actually the embodiment of the Ottoman apologetic discourse.

Another point which needs emphasis is the centrality of the Ottoman capital as a diplomatic hub in these early years of the early modern period. Even though the sole resident diplomatic representatives were those of the Venetians as yet, the hectic traffic of diplomats (in our case, the Polish, Transylvanian, French, Venetian, Habsburg) travelling back and forth between their respective kings and the Ottomans, along with their dissemination of information into and from İstanbul make it imperative to study the European diplomatic history with the Ottoman element in it, and vice versa.

Lastly, Hoberdanecz's embassy report bears importance on at least two respects: This is the first ambassadorial report from any Habsburg embassy to the Ottoman Porte in the sixteenth century (and among the first few ever), that is, when the great rivalry between Emperor Charles V and Kanuni Sultan Süleyman took start. Hence, it marks a beginning point for a whole series of other embassies and ambassadorial reports which will continue for centuries. The second important aspect of Hoberdanecz's report is that it procures a thorough depiction of his conversation with Ibrahim Pasha, enabling us to hear the grand vizier's own voice and hence serves to complement the chronicles of the time.

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