



CARIGRADSKA PISMA ANTUNA VRANČIĆA

Hrvatski i engleski prijevod odabranih latinskih pisama

THE ISTANBUL LETTERS OF ANTUN VRANČIĆ

Croatian and English Translation of Selected Latin Letters



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COSTAN



Karta Istanbula. Autor: Giovanni Francesco Camocio. Tiskano u Veneciji 1566.
Antique map of Istanbul. By: Giovanni Francesco Camocio. Printed in Venice in 1566

TINOPOLI

Visita habilitada à Fazenda CCC - Parque das Cachoeiras

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Illustration on the cover page: portrait of Antun Vrančić by Martin Rota Kolunić (Martinus Rota)



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Zrinka Blažević / Andelko Vlašić
Urednici / Editors

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PREDGOVOR G. OĞUZA AYDEMIRA

U proljeće 2017. godine moja prijateljica gđa Romana Radojčić iz Šibenika odvela me u Memorijalni centar Faust Vrančić na otoku Prviću. Prije toga posjeta, tijekom izleta u Knin i Drniš s ciljem posjeta osmanskim ruševinama, ravatelj šibenskoga Gradskog muzeja, g. Željko Krnčević, poklonio mi je knjižicu o Memorijalnom centru Faust Vrančić, pomoću kojega sam po prvi put čuo za istanbulска писма Antuna Vrančića. Čitajući sadržaj na engleskom jeziku, trebalo mi je nešto vremena da shvatim gdje su ta pisma bila pohranjena.

Nadalje, mnogo sam zahvalan i gđi Radojčić i g. Krnčeviću jer su mi omogućili da postavim informativnu ploču o Rustem-paši, osmanskom velikom veziru i zetu sultana Sulejmana Veličanstvenog, na ulazu u grad Skradin, u kojem se Rustem-paša rodio.

Kad je g. Andelko Vlašić uspio pribaviti spomenuta pisma, čiji su latinski originali pohranjeni u Nacionalnoj knjižnici Széchényi u Budimpešti, i prenijeti ih na memoriju karticu, doznali smo da su pisma bila na latinskom jeziku.

Morao sam strpljivo čekati da zadovoljim svoju znatiželju u vezi sa sadržajem spomenutih pisama, sve dok nisu prvo bila prevedena na hrvatski, a zatim na engleski jezik.

Pisma su preveli dr. Zrinka Blažević, a zatim dr. Andelko Vlašić, i zajedno s tim vrlo zaslužnih osoba ugostio ih je Nj.E. Babür Hızlan, turski veleposlanik u Hrvatskoj, i akademik Zvonko Kusić, predsjednik HAZU-a, uz značajnu suradnju dr. Marijane Borić.

Sretan sam što su nakon skoro petsto godina spomenuta pisma sada dostupna i na hrvatskom i na engleskom jeziku.

Ovo djelo smatram dijelom našega zajedničkog nasljedja, i vjerujem da će mnogi znanstvenici, diplomati, povjesničari i druge zainteresirane osobe biti sretne da mogu doznati mnogo nepoznatih detalja o ovome vrlo važnom povijesnom razdoblju kroz ovaj izdavački projekt.

Nakon što sam iz osobnog interesa objavio knjigu *Veliki osječki most / The Great Osijek Bridge*, koja je važan dio istraživanja u sklopu HAZU-a, i knjigu *Tragovi osmanske kulture u Hrvatskoj / Traces of Ottoman Culture in Croatia*, čvrsto vjerujem da će ova knjiga ostaviti značajan trag moje filantropske aktivnosti.

Svoju prisutnost u Hrvatskoj i objavljivanje ove knjige dugujem svojoj supruzi Dragani Luciji Ratković Aydemir.

Oğuz Aydemir

FOREWORD BY MR. OĞUZ AYDEMİR

It was the spring of 2017 when my friend Mrs. Romana Radojčić from Šibenik took me to the Faust Vrančić Memorial Center on the Prvić Island. Before this visit, during an excursion to Knin and Drniš to visit Ottoman remains, Mr. Željko Krnčević, the Director of the Šibenik City Museum gave me a booklet about the Faust Vrančić Memorial Center, from which I, for the first time, learned about Antun Vrančić's Istanbul letters. Reading the summary in English, it took me a while to understand where the letters were kept.

Additionally, I am very thankful to both Mrs. Radojčić and Mr. Krnčević since they also made it possible for me to put an information board relating to Rüstem Pasha, the Ottoman Grand Vizier and son-in-law of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, at the entrance to the town of Skradin, where Rüstem Pasha was born.

When Mr. Andelko Vlašić managed to obtain these letters, latin originals of which are kept in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest, and place them on a memory stick, we learned that they were all in Latin.

I needed to wait eagerly to appease my curiosity about the content of these letters until they were first translated into Croatian, and then into English.

The translation was carried out by Dr. Zrinka Blažević, and then by Dr. Andelko Vlašić, together with a team of very significant people, which were welcomed by H.E. Babür Hızlan, the Turkish Ambassador to Croatia and Dr. Zvonko Kusić, the President of HAZU, in substantial cooperation with Dr. Marijana Borić.

I am happy that after almost five hundred years, these letters that are now available in Croatian and English are coming to light.

I consider this work part of our common heritage, and believe that many academicians, diplomats, historians and other interested parties will be excited to learn many unknown details of this very important period through the Vrančić project.

After publishing the book *The Great Osijek Bridge / Veliki osječki most*, which was an important part of a research by HAZU, and the book *Traces of Ottoman Culture in Croatia / Tragovi osmanske kulture u Hrvatskoj* as my personal interest, it is my strong belief that this book will definitely leave footprints of my philanthropic activities.

I owe my presence in Croatia and this book to my wife Dragana Lucija Ratković Aydemir.

Oğuz Aydemir

PREDGOVOR DR. SC. MARIJANE BORIĆ

Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti promiče kulturnu suradnju među zemljama i potiče zajedništvo u istraživanjima i afirmaciji kulturnog naslijedja. Vrijedan prilog međunarodnoj suradnji Hrvatske i Turske je potpisivanje protokola Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti s Institutom Yunus Emre iz Turske iz 2014. godine, koji je rezultirao digitalizacijom bogate Orijentalne zbirke Arhiva Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti osnovane 1927. godine. Pored velikog broja osmanskih isprava, ta zbirka sadrži i oko 2100 rukopisnih knjiga iz područja islamske religije, astronomije, medicine, astrologije, povijesti, geografije, te osmanske, arapske i perzijske književnosti. Tom je prigodom dogovorena suradnja na čuvanju i digitalizaciji zajedničke kulturne baštine. Slijedom toga, načinjeni su digitalni zapisi Orijentalne zbirke koji su sada pohranjeni i u knjižnici Süleymaniye u Istambulu kako bi postali dostupnima turskim istraživačima i javnosti.

Višestoljetna zajednička povijest zemalja koje se nalaze na nekadašnjem imperijalnom trograničju između Habsburške Monarhije, Mletačke Republike i Osmanskog carstva nepresušno je izvorište za osmišljavanje znanstvenih projekata usmjerenih ka novim istraživanjima i novim načinima prezentiranja te dragocjene baštine. Upravo to su neki od ciljeva ovog vrijednog izdanja prijevoda izabralih latinskih pisama Antuna Vrančića. Premda je Mađarska akademija znanosti već sredinom 19. stoljeća objavila cjelokupan Vrančićev opus unutar serije *Monumenta Hungariae Historica - Scriptores*, dosada je u Hrvatskoj objavljen samo dio bogatog Vrančićeva opusa koji se sastoji od historiografskih i teoloških djela te poezije i opsežne korespondencije.

Stoga je Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti kao vodeća domaća institucija nadležna za promicanje znanstvenih istraživanja i afirmaciju hrvatske kulturne baštine prepoznala iznimno kulturno i znanstveno značenje objavljivanja carigradskih pisama Antuna Vrančića. Začetnik ideje o izdavanju Vrančićevih carigradskih pisama je gosp. Oğuz Aydemir, turski filantrop koji je već ranije surađivao s Hrvatskom akademijom znanosti i umjetnosti na izdavanju knjige *The Great Osijek Bridge / Veliki osječki most*. Gosp. Aydemir obratio se Akademiji s ciljem da ona podrži ovaj hvalevrijedan projekt. Zahvaljujući ovom izdanju, Vrančićeva diplomatska izvješća bit će objavljena u prijevodu na hrvatski i engleski jezik. Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti u skladu sa svojom misijom i ciljevima te brigom o hrvatskoj kulturnoj baštini i njenoj afirmaciji u svijetu u potpunosti je podržala ovo izdanje i dodijelila mu svoje pokroviteljstvo. Ono istraživačima i širem krugu čitatelja donosi dragocjena svjedočanstva o povijesnim odnosima i političkim prilikama iz tog važnog perioda zajedničke

FOREWORD BY MARIJANA BORIĆ, PHD

The Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts promotes cultural cooperation between countries and fosters unity in research and the affirmation of cultural heritage. A valuable contribution to the international cooperation of Croatia and Turkey is the signing of the protocol by the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Yunus Emre Institute of Turkey in 2014, which resulted in the digitalization of the rich Oriental Collection of the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, founded in 1927. Apart from a large number of Ottoman documents, the Collection includes around 2100 manuscripts in the field of Islam, astronomy, medicine, astrology, history, geography, and Ottoman, Arabic and Persian literature. On this occasion, a cooperation concerning the preservation and digitalization of common cultural heritage was agreed upon. Subsequently, digital entries of the Oriental Collection were made, and they are now stored in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, in order to be accessible for Turkish researchers and the public.

Many centuries of common history of the countries located at the one-time imperial borderlands of the Habsburg Monarchy, the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire are an inexhaustible source for the devising of scientific projects directed toward new research and new modes of presentation of this invaluable heritage. Precisely this is one of the goals of this precious edition of translations of selected Latin letters by Antun Vrančić. Although the Hungarian Academy of Sciences had published Vrančić's entire literary work in the middle of the 19th century within the series entitled *Monumenta Hungariae Historica - Scriptores*, only a part of Vrančić's rich oeuvre, which consists of historiographical and theological works, as well as poetry and extensive correspondence, was published in Croatia.

Therefore the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, as the leading Croatian institution responsible for the promotion of scientific research and the affirmation of Croatian cultural heritage, recognized the exceptional cultural and scientific significance of the publication of Antun Vrančić's Istanbul letters. The originator of the idea of publishing Vrančić's Istanbul letters is Mr. Oğuz Aydemir, Turkish philanthropist who had already cooperated with the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts on the publication of the book *The Great Osijek Bridge / Veliki osječki most*. Mr. Aydemir contacted the Academy with the aim for it to support this praiseworthy project of his. Owing to this edition, Vrančić's diplomatic reports will be published in Croatian and English translation. The Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in accordance with its mission and its goals, and the care for Croatian cultural heritage and its affirmation in the world, completely supported this publication and granted it its sponsorship. It offers re-

osmansko-hrvatske povijesti, viđenih okom jednog od najutjecajnijih ljudi Hrvatsko-Ugarskog Kraljevstva u prvoj polovici 16. stoljeća. Antun Vrančić, koji se po mnogo čemu ističe među znamenitim hrvatskim humanistima, nakon dviju uspješnih mirovnih misija u Istanbulu imenovan je primasom Ugarske i kraljevim namjesnikom, čime je stekao najviše časti u dignitariju Hrvatsko-Ugarskog kraljevstva. Svojom važnošću djelovanje Antuna Vrančića prerasta nacionalne okvire i granice epoha, a zbog svoga značenja i u širem europskom kontekstu bio je predmetom istraživanja brojnih domaćih i stranih istraživača. O njegovom životu i djelovanju objavljeno je više radova i knjiga, a 2004. godine povodom 500. obljetnice njegova rođenja pod pokroviteljstvom Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u njegovom je rodnom Šibeniku organiziran znanstveni skup s međunarodnim sudjelovanjem. Akademija je također bila pokroviteljem i međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa *Faust Vrančić i njegovo doba* (Vodice-Šibenik, 22.-3. rujna 2015.), na kojem se tematizirao i utjecaj velikog strica Antuna Vrančića na odgoj, školovanje i stasanje njegova nećaka Fausta Vrančića, glasovitog izumitelja i oca hrvatske leksikografije. Antun Vrančić ostavio nam je bogato humanističko nasljeđe. Svojim je diplomatskim i intelektualnim djelovanjem povezivao različite svjetove i razdijeljene političke prostore. Univerzalnost njegovih poruka obavezuje nas da se povezujemo sa stručnjacima za osmansku povijest i zajednički nastavimo rad na istraživanju osmansko-hrvatske povijesti i tradicije, gradeći nove mostove za budućnost.

dr. sc. Marijana Borić
Odsjek za povijest prirodnih i matematičkih znanosti
Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti

searchers and the broader circle of readers valuable testimonies about the historical relations and historical conditions in this important period of the common Ottoman-Croatian history, seen through the eyes of one of the most influential persons in the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom in the first half of the 16th century. Antun Vrančić, who was in many ways notable among eminent Croatian humanists, after two successful peace missions to Istanbul was named the Primas of Hungary and the King's deputy, by which he achieved the highest honors in the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom. The activity of Antun Vrančić surpasses the national framework and the borders of the ages, and through his significance in the wider European context, he was the topic of research of numerous Croatian and international researchers. Numerous works have been published relating to his life and work. In 2004, on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of his birth, in his native Šibenik an international conference was organized under the auspices of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts. The Academy was also the patron of an international conference entitled *Faust Vrančić and his era* (Vodice-Šibenik, September 22-23, 2015), in which Faust's uncle Antun Vrančić's enormous influence on the education and development of Faust Vrančić, famous inventor and the father of Croatian lexicography, was thematized. Antun Vrančić left us a rich humanist heritage. Through his diplomatic and intellectual activity, he connected different worlds and divided political spaces. The universality of his messages obliges us to connect with experts for Ottoman history, and to jointly continue researching Ottoman-Croatian history and tradition, by building new bridges for the future.

Marijana Borić, PhD

Department for the History of Natural and Mathematical Sciences
Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts

PREDGOVOR NJ.E. MUSTAFE BABÜRA HIZLANA

Stupio sam na dužnost veleposlanika Republike Turske u Hrvatskoj u listopadu 2017. godine. Radostan sam što sam u ovom kratkom razdoblju koje je do-sad prošlo spoznao da Turska i Hrvatska imaju još više stvari koje ih povezuju nego što sam uopće mogao zamisliti. Osim brojnim zajedničkim riječima koje povezuju oba jezika, sličnim tradicijama, zajedničkim jelima nacionalnih kuhi-nja, posebno sam fasciniran obujmom našega bogatog zajedničkoga povijesnog i kulturnog nasljeđa.

U međuvremenu sam imao priliku upoznati g. Oğuzu Aydemira, predsjednika Turskog instituta za nautičku arheologiju i filantropa. On se posvetio otkrivanju tragova zajedničkog nasljeđa Turske i Hrvatske. Zahvalan sam mu na njegovom nesebičnom i neumornom trudu. Na primjer, knjiga pod naslovom *Veliki osječki most*, koja je objavljena pomoću njegova značajnog priloga, te knjiga pod naslovom *Tragovi osmanske kulture u Hrvatskoj*, čiji je suautor, tek su dva primjera njegovih vrijednih postignuća na polju prenošenja našega zajedničkoga kulturnog nasljeđa budućim generacijama.

Njegov najnoviji projekt, za koji sam siguran da neće biti i posljednji, pod nazivom *Carigradska pisma Antuna Vrančića. Hrvatski i engleski prijevod odabranih latinskih pisama*, osvjetjava važno razdoblje osmanske povijesti. Naime, Antun Vrančić, istaknuti habsburški poslanik hrvatskog podrijetla, svjedočio je dobu sultana Sulejmana Veličanstvenoga tijekom svoje poslaničke službe u Istanbulu. Uvjeren sam da će i Turcima i Hrvatima biti vrlo zanimljivo čitati o različitim aspektima osmanske diplomacije, stila života i državnih struktura tijekom toga razdoblja, viđenima iz Vrančićeva kuta gledanja.

Zajednička prošlost koju dijelimo, kao i naše veze na polju kulture i umjetnosti, pružaju nam velike prilike za daljnje jačanje izvrsnih odnosa između Turske i Hrvatske.

Ovom prilikom htio bih čestitati g. Oğuzu Aydemiru na tome što je posvetio svoje vrijeme i trud objavlјivanju ove knjige, te na njegovom osobnom prilogu turskoj kulturnoj diplomaciji.

Želio bih se posebno zahvaliti i Hrvatskoj Akademiji znanosti i umjetnosti (HAZU) na potpori ovome značajnom i vrijednom djelu.

M. Babür Hızlan
veleposlanik Republike Turske u Hrvatskoj

FOREWORD BY H.E. MUSTAFA BABÜR HIZLAN

I assumed the duty of the Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to Croatia as of October 2017. During this short period of time, I have happily realized that Turkey and Croatia have even more things in common than I have previously known. In addition to common words in our languages, similar traditions, common dishes in our cuisines, I am especially fascinated by the extent of our rich common historical and cultural heritage.

In the meantime, I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Oğuz Aydemir, President of the Turkish Institute of Nautical Archaeology and philanthropist. He is dedicated to uncovering the traces of common cultural heritage of Turkey and Croatia. I am grateful to him for his selfless and tireless efforts. For instance, the book entitled *The Great Osijek Bridge*, published through his significant contribution, and the book entitled *Traces of Ottoman Culture in Croatia*, of which he is a co-author, are only two examples of his valuable endeavors of transferring our common cultural heritage to future generations.

His recent project, which I am confident that will not be the last one, entitled *The Istanbul Letters of Antun Vrančić. Croatian and English Translation of Selected Latin Letters*, sheds light on an important era in Ottoman history. Mr. Antun Vrančić, a prominent Habsburg envoy of Croatian origin, witnessed the age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent while serving as an envoy in Istanbul. I am confident that it will be of great interest to Turks and Croats alike to read about various aspects of Ottoman diplomacy, lifestyle and state structure during that era, seen from Vrančić's point of view.

The common history we share, as well as our ties in culture and art, provide better opportunities for further enhancing excellent relations between Turkey and Croatia.

On this occasion, I would like to congratulate and thank Mr. Oğuz Aydemir for dedicating his time and effort in publishing this book and for his personal contribution to Turkish cultural diplomacy.

I would also like to extend my special thanks to the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU) for supporting this meaningful and precious work.

M. Babür Hızlan
Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey in Croatia

Predgovor urednika / Editors' foreword

ODABIR VRANČIĆEVIH ISTANBULSKIH PISAMA ZA OBJAVU I VAŽNOST NIJHOVOG IZDAVANJA / THE SELECTION OF VRANČIĆ'S ISTANBUL LETTERS FOR PUBLICATION AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THEIR PUBLICATION

Najveći dio rukopisne ostavštine Antuna Vrančića čuva se u Nacionalnoj knjižnici Széchényi u Budimpešti.¹ Ondje se nalaze i Vrančićeva pisma koja je slao za vrijeme svojih istanbulskih misija, i koja još uvijek nisu objavljena u Hrvatskoj i u hrvatskom (ili engleskom) prijevodu. Zato se svako dosadašnje istraživanje istanbulskog dijela Vrančićeva života i rada moralo zasnivati na čitanju jedine objavljenе verzije spomenutih pisama, a to je na izvornom latinskom jeziku i u mađarskom izdanju otprije 160 godina. Vrančićev cijeli spisateljski opus objavila je Mađarska akademija znanosti sredinom 19. stoljeća unutar serije naslovljene *Monumenta Hungariae Historica - Scriptores* (Mađarski povjesni spomenici - Pisci). Vrančićeva djela objavljena su pod njegovim mađariziranim imenom Verancsics Antal i pod zajedničkim naslovom *Összes munkái* (Sabrana djela). Ta su uzorna izdanja uredili László Szalay i Gusztáv Wenzel te su ih objavili u Budimpešti od 1857. do 1875. godine u dvanaest svezaka.² Vrančić je najveći dio svojeg opusa napisao na latinskom jeziku, ali ima i talijanskih i mađarskih primjera.³ Manji dio Vrančićeva sačuvanog opusa sastoji se od poezije, govora, te crkvenih i historiografskih djela. Najveći dio njegove ostavštine zauzima bogata korespondencija koju čini gotovo osamsto pisama, i za koju se smatra da je najkvalitetniji dio njegova opusa u književnom smislu.⁴

The major part of the manuscript legacy of Antun Vrančić is kept in the Széchényi National Library in Budapest.¹ There can also be found Vrančić's letters that he had sent during his Istanbul missions, and which still have not been published in Croatia, or in Croatian (or English) translation. Therefore any research of Vrančić's life and work in Istanbul was based on the only published version of the mentioned letters, this being in the original Latin language and in Hungarian edition, published 160 years ago. Vrančić's entire literary work was published by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in the middle of the nineteenth century within the series entitled *Monumenta Hungariae Historica - Scriptores* (The Historical Monuments of Hungary - Writers). Vrančić's works were published under his Magyarized name Verancsics Antal and under a common title of *Összes munkái* (Collected Works). These exemplary editions were edited by László Szalay and Gusztáv Wenzel and were published in Budapest between 1857 and 1875 in twelve volumes.² Vrančić wrote the largest part of his oeuvre in Latin, but there are also works in Italian and Hungarian.³ A smaller part of Vrančić's preserved oeuvre consists of poetry, orations, and ecclesiastical and historiographical works. The largest part of his written heritage consists of a substantial correspondence of nearly eight hundred letters, which is considered to be the most valuable part of his oeuvre.⁴

1 Za više podataka o tome vidjeti: DIANA SORIĆ i MILENKO LONČAR, "Rukopisi Antuna Vrančića (fol. lat. 1681.) iz Knjižnice Széchényi u Budimpešti", *Zbornik Odsjeka za povjesne znanosti Zavoda za povjesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 35 (2017), 85-143.

2 Urednici ovom prigodom žele iskazati veliku zahvalnost kolegici doc. dr. sc. Diani Sorić s Odjela za klasičnu filologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru koja im je u svrhu pripreme ove knjige ljubazno ustupila digitalizirani primjerak spomenutoga izdanja.

3 CASTILIA MANEA-GRGIN, "Uvod", u: ANTUN VRANČIĆ, Historiografski fragmenti (prev. Šime Demo, uvodna studiju i bilješke uz prijevod napisala Castilia Manea-Grgin) (Šibenik: Gradska knjižnica Juraj Šižgorić, 2014), 23.

4 DIANA SORIĆ, "Pitanje datuma rođenja hrvatskog humanista i ugarskog primasa Antuna Vrančića (1504.-1573.)", *Croatica Christiana periodica*, 39/75 (2015), 40-42. PETAR MATKOVIĆ, "Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI. veka VI. Putovanje Antuna Vrančića g. 1553.", *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti. Razredi filološko-historički i filozofičko-juridički*, knj. 8 (1884), 5-6. LAJOS TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire. 14th-16th Century Hungarian Diplomacy in the East* (Szeged: Studia uralo-altaica, 1978), 10-11. MANEA-GRGIN, "Uvod", 21-70. PÁL ÁCS, "The Good and

1 For more details, see: DIANA SORIĆ and MILENKO LONČAR, "Rukopisi Antuna Vrančića (fol. lat. 1681.) iz Knjižnice Széchényi u Budimpešti", *Zbornik Odsjeka za povjesne znanosti Zavoda za povjesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 35 (2017), pp. 85-143.

2 The editors wish to express their gratitude to their colleague Asst. Prof. Diana Sorić of the Department of Classical Philology of the University of Zadar who kindly provided a digitalized copy of the mentioned edition for the purpose of preparing this book.

3 CASTILIA MANEA-GRGIN, "Uvod", in: *Antun Vrančić, Historiografski fragmenti* (translated by Šime Demo, introductory study and notes in the translation written by Castilia Manea-Grgin) (Šibenik: Gradska knjižnica Juraj Šižgorić, 2014), p. 23.

4 DIANA SORIĆ, "Pitanje datuma rođenja hrvatskog humanista i ugarskog primasa Antuna Vrančića (1504.-1573.)", *Croatica Christiana periodica*, 39/75 (2015), pp. 40-42. PETAR MATKOVIĆ, "Putovanja po balkanskem poluotoku XVI. veka VI. Putovanje Antuna Vrančića g. 1553.", *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti. Razredi filološko-historički i filozofičko-juridički*, Vol. 8 (1884), pp. 5-6. LAJOS TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire. 14th-16th Century Hungarian Diplomacy in the East* (Szeged: Studia uralo-altaica, 1978), pp. 10-11. MANEA-GRGIN, "Uvod", pp. 21-70.

U okviru te korespondencije nalaze se i Vrančićeva istanbulска писма, која су објављена у трећем, четвртом и петом свеску споменутога мађарског изданја како сlijedi:

a) Verancsics Antal, *Összes munkái. 3. kötet. Első portai követség 1553-1554* [Sabrana djela. 3. svezak. Poslanstvo pri Visokoj porti 1553.-1554.] (ur. László Szalay), Eggenberger Ferdinand, Budimpešta, 1858.

b) Verancsics Antal, *Összes munkái. 4. kötet. Első portai követség 1555-1557* [Sabrana djela. 4. svezak. Poslanstvo pri Visokoj porti 1555.-1557.] (ur. László Szalay), Eggenberger Ferdinand, Budimpešta, 1859.

c) Verancsics Antal, *Összes munkái. 5. kötet. Második portai követség 1567-1568* [Sabrana djela. 5. svezak. Drugo poslanstvo pri Visokoj porti 1567.-1568.] (ur. László Szalay), Eggenberger Ferdinand, Budimpešta, 1860.

Relativno je malen broj znanstvenih radova koji su se oslanjali na Vrančićeva istanbulска писма za potrebe oslikavanja društveno-političke situacije u jugoistočnoj i srednjoj Europi tijekom 16. stoljeća. Time je učinjena nepravda toj epistolarnoj građi, koja je neiscrpan izvor za istraživanje onovremenih diplomatskih odnosa habsburške i osmanske države.⁵

Važno je istaknuti da ideja objavljivanja odabranih Vrančićevih istanbulskih pisama nije potekla od strane urednika ovog izdanja, nego da je glavni politički i motivacija za ovaj znanstveni i kulturni projekt došla od strane g. Oğuza Aydemira, turskoga poduzetnika, filantropa i zaljubljenika u povijest i kulturu Osmanskoga Carstva. U posljednjih nekoliko godina tijekom kojih živi u Hrvatskoj, zemlji koju naziva svojim „drugim domom“, g. Aydemir je entuzijastično i neumorno djelovao na organiziranju velikog broja zanimljivih i vrijednih kulturnih aktivnosti, koje uključuju organizaciju izložbi i objavljanje knjiga, a za cilj imaju obogaćivanje i jačanje kulturnih veza između hrvatskog i turskog naroda. G. Aydemir je, među ostalim, pomogao pri organiziranju izložbe o slavnom osmanskom kartografu Piri Reisu, koja je predstavljena u Poreču, Zagrebu, Dubrovniku, Zadru i Šibeniku, te u Piranu u Sloveniji.

Honest Turk'. A European Legend in the Context of Sixteenth-Century Oriental Studies", u: *The Habsburgs and their Courts in Europe, 1400-1700. Between Cosmopolitanism and Regionalism*, ur. Herbert Karner, Ingrid Ciulísová i Bernardo J. García García (zbornik u elektroničkom izdanju, pristupljeno 16. veljače 2018.), <http://www.courtresidences.eu/index.php/publications/e-Publications/#Volume 1, 2014., 269.>

5 MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku“, 8.

A portion of this correspondence refers to Vrančić's Istanbul letters, which were published in the third, fourth and fifth volume of the aforementioned Hungarian edition:

a) Verancsics Antal, *Összes munkái. 3. kötet. Első portai követség 1553-1554* [Collected Works. Vol. 3. Mission to the Sublime Porte 1553-1554] (ed. László Szalay), Eggenberger Ferdinand, Budimpešta, 1858

b) Verancsics Antal, *Összes munkái. 4. kötet. Első portai követség 1555-1557* [Collected Works. Volume 4. Mission to the Sublime Porte 1555-1557] (ed. László Szalay), Eggenberger Ferdinand, Budimpešta, 1859

c) Verancsics Antal, *Összes munkái. 5. kötet. Második portai követség 1567-1568* [Collected Works. Volume 5. Mission to the Sublime Porte 1567-1568] (ed. László Szalay), Eggenberger Ferdinand, Budimpešta, 1860

There is a relatively small amount of research that draws from Vrančić's Istanbul letters for the portrayal of sociopolitical situation in Southeast and Central Europe in the course of the sixteenth century. Thus an injustice was done to this epistolary material, which is an inexhaustible source for the research of contemporary diplomatic relations between the Habsburg and the Ottoman empires.⁵

It is important to notice that the idea of publishing a selection of Vrančić's Istanbul letters did not come from the editors of this edition: the initiative and motivation for this scientific and cultural project stemmed from Mr. Oğuz Aydemir, Turkish entrepreneur, philanthropist and enthusiast of Ottoman history and culture. In the last few years of life in Croatia, whom he calls his "second home", Mr. Aydemir has enthusiastically and tirelessly worked on organizing a great number of interesting and valuable cultural activities, which included the organization of exhibitions and publication of books with the primary goal of enriching and strengthening cultural ties between Croats and Turks. Mr. Aydemir, among other things, helped organize an exhibition on the famous Ottoman cartographer Piri Reis, which was presented in Poreč, Zagreb, Dubrovnik, Zadar, Šibenik, and Piran in Slovenia. His other projects include the publication of a book entitled *Veliki osječki*

PÁL ÁCS, „The Good and Honest Turk': A European Legend in the Context of Sixteenth-Century Oriental Studies", in: *The Habsburgs and their Courts in Europe, 1400-1700. Between Cosmopolitanism and Regionalism*, eds. Herbert Karner, Ingrid Ciulísová and Bernardo J. García García (e-proceedings book, accessed on February 16, 2018), <http://www.courtresidences.eu/index.php/publications/e-Publications/#Volume 1, 2014, p. 269.>

5 MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku“, p. 8.

Njegovi drugi projekti uključuju objavljivanje knjige *Veliki osječki most / The Great Osijek Bridge* u suradnji s Hrvatskom akademijom znanosti i umjetnosti i Institutom za povijest umjetnosti 2014. godine, te knjige *Tragovi osmanske kulture u Hrvatskoj / Traces of Ottoman Culture in Croatia* zajedno s Andželkom Vlašićem 2015. godine. Ponukan spoznajom da je prošlo 450 godina od nastanka istanbulskih pisama Antuna Vrančića i da ona dosad nisu bila prevedena na hrvatski ili engleski jezik, g. Aydemir predložio je urednicima ovog izdanja da ponude javnosti uvid u njihovu povijesnu vrijednost tako što će objaviti parallelni hrvatski i engleski prijevod izabralih pisama iz Vrančićeve istanbulske korespondencije.

Budući da diplomatska korespondencija Antuna Vrančića i njegovih suradnika nastala tijekom dva ju istanbulskih misija obuhvaća više stotina pisama upućenih raznim naslovjenicima, odabir onih naj-reprezentativnijih nije bilo nimalo lagan. Osim toga, velik broj pisama uvrštenih u spomenuta tri sveska Vrančićevih sabranih djela popraćeno je i odgovorima adresata, te bi za njihovo adekvatno razumijevanje bilo nužno donijeti cjelovit kronološki i tematski slijed korespondencije koja je - posebice kada je riječ o pismima upućivanim habsburškim carevima i njihovim odgovorima članovima istanbulskog poslanstva - gotovo svakodnevna. Stoga je kao temeljni kriterij selekcije pisama uvrštenih u ovo izdanje s jedne strane bila važnost statusa i funkcije adresata - i to ponajprije iz perspektive formalne strukture, ali i tematske dimenzije pisama - a s druge strane njihova sadržajna zaokruženost koja se reflekira i u preglednosti i sintetičnosti kao glavnim odlikama njihova jezičnog stila. Vodeći se navedenim kriterijima, urednici su naposljetku odabrali četiri diplomatska izvješća koja je Vrančić slao habsburškim carevima Ferdinandu I. i Maksimilijanu II. te jedno pismo upućeno zagrebačkom biskupu Pavlu Gregorijancu (?-1565.; zagrebački biskup 1550.-1554.).

U prvom izvješću napisanom neposredno po dolasku u osmansku prijestolnicu u kolovozu 1553. godine, koje obaseže 35 stranica latinskoga teksta, Vrančić i njegov suradnik Franjo Zay podrobno izvješćuju cara Ferdinanda I. o tijeku pregovora sa sultanom Sulejmanom Veličanstvenim i njegovim vezirom Rustem-pašom u vezi s uvjetima sklapanja mirovnog sporazuma između Habsburške Monarhije i Osmanskog Carstva.

most / The Great Osijek Bridge in cooperation with the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Institute of Art History in 2014, as well as the book *Traces of Ottoman Culture in Croatia / Tragovi osmanske kulture u Hrvatskoj* together with Andželko Vlašić in 2015. Prompted by the realization that 450 years had passed since Antun Vrančić's Istanbul letter came into being, and that these have not been translated into Croatian or English language, Mr. Aydemir proposed to the editors of this book to offer the public insight into their historical value by publishing a parallel Croatian and English translation of the selected letters from Vrančić's Istanbul correspondence.

Bearing in mind that Antun Vrančić's and his associates' diplomatic correspondence that came into existence during the two Istanbul missions encompasses several hundred letters sent to numerous addressees, the selection of the most representative ones was not an easy task. Furthermore, a large number of the letters contained in the aforementioned three volumes of Vrančić's collected works were accompanied by the addressees' replies, so it was necessary to present the integral chronological and thematic correspondence list for an adequate understanding of the letters. The Istanbul correspondence - especially regarding the letters sent to the Habsburg emperors and their responses to the members of the Istanbul mission - is almost quotidian. Therefore, on the one hand, the basic criterion for the selection of the letters included in this edition was the importance of the status and function of the addressees - this firstly from the perspective of the formal structure, as well as the thematic dimension of letters - and on the other hand, the completeness of their content, which is also reflected in the clarity and syntheticity as the main qualities of their linguistic style. Guided by the mentioned criteria, the editors finally chose four diplomatic reports which Vrančić had sent to the Habsburg emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II, as well as a letter sent to the to Pavao Gregorijanec, the Bishop of Zagreb (?-1565; Bishop of Zagreb 1550-1554).

In the first 35-page report, written in August 1553, Vrančić and his colleague, diplomat Ferenc Zay, thoroughly inform Emperor Ferdinand I on the progress of the negotiations with Sultan Süleyman I and his Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha, concerning the conditions of the peace treaty between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire.

Pismo s nadnevkom 31. listopada 1554. godine Vrančić upućuje zagrebačkom biskupu Pavlu Gregorijancu. Na temelju vlastita iskustva višegodišnjeg boravka u Istanbulu, Vrančić u tom neformalnom i privatnom pismu pitoreskno oslikava javne ulične proslave kojima Osmanlije obilježavaju pobjede svojih sultana.

U drugome izvješću iz mjeseca kolovoza 1557. godine habsburški diplomatski predstavnici Antun Vrančić, Franjo Zay i Ogier de Busbecq na koncu svojega prvog istanbulskog poslanstva na pedesetak stranica podrobno informiraju kralja Ferdinanda I. o teškoćama pri sklapanju mirovnog ugovora sa sultanom Sulejmanom Veličanstvenim jer je osmanski vladar novi mirovni sporazum uvjetovao, među ostalim, rušenjem habsburške utvrde Siget.

Treće i četvrto izvješće odnose se na aktivnosti habsburških poslanika tijekom drugog poslanstva u Istanbulu između 1567. i 1568. godine, a upućena su Ferdinandovu nasljedniku, caru Maksimilijanu II. Povod je i ovoga puta bio sklapanje mirovnog sporazuma i to sa Sulejmanovim nasljednikom Selimom II. Glavni pregovarač s osmanske strane bio je veliki vezir Mehmed-paša Sokolović, kojemu su, kako svjedoči priloženi popis troškova, habsburški poslanici donijeli vrlo vrijedne darove.

Urednici ovog izdanja odlučili su odabrati upravo navedena pisma zbog toga što ona predstavljaju dragocjena svjedočanstva o habsburško-osmanskim političkim odnosima u drugoj polovici 16. stoljeća i pružaju izvrstan uvid u složene modalitete djelovanja osmanske diplomacije, što će zasigurno biti od velike važnosti za daljnja povjesna istraživanja habsburško-osmanskih interkulturnih kontakata tijekom ranoga novog vijeka. Izabrana pisma jednog od najistaknutijih hrvatskih intelektualaca 16. stoljeća pomažu današnjem promatraču u razumijevanju kompleksnosti tadašnjih političkih događaja, vanjske politike habsburške i osmanske države i njihova utjecaja na stanje u Europi - pogotovo onoj srednjoj i jugoistočnoj.⁶

Urednici se nadaju da će ovim izdanjem istanbulski segment Vrančićeve korespondencije dobiti više pozornosti u hrvatskoj historiografiji i široj javnosti - onako kako i zaslужuje.

Zrinka Blažević / Andželko Vlašić

The letter dated October 31, 1554 was sent by Vrančić to the Bishop of Zagreb, Pavao Gregorjanec. Based on his experience in Istanbul, Vrančić gave a picturesque description of the public festivities which the Ottomans threw to celebrate the victories of their sultans.

In the second report, dated August 1557, Habsburg diplomatic representatives Antun Vrančić, Ferenc Zay and Ogier de Busbecq give King Ferdinand I a detailed, fifty-page account of the difficulties of negotiating a peace treaty with Sultan Süleyman, since the Ottoman ruler had made the destruction of the Habsburg fortress of Szigetvár a condition for the signing of the new peace agreement.

The third and fourth reports concern the activities of the Habsburg envoys during the second embassy in Istanbul, in 1567 and 1568, and the reports were sent to Ferdinand's heir, Emperor Maximilian II. The motive behind the mission was again a peace treaty, this time with Süleyman's successor, Selim II. The main negotiator on the Ottoman side was Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, to whom, according to the attached list of expenses, Habsburg emissaries brought very valuable gifts.

The above letters were selected by the editors of this publication because they are valuable testimonies of the Habsburg-Ottoman political relations in the second half of the sixteenth century, offering us a marvelous insight into the complicated modes of action of Ottoman diplomacy. They will surely be of utmost importance for further historical research of Habsburg-Ottoman intercultural contacts during the early modern period. The selected letters of one of the foremost Croatian intellectuals of the sixteenth century help the present-day observer understand the complexities of sixteenth century political events, of the Habsburg and Ottoman foreign policy, and their influence on the situation in Europe - especially Southeast and Central Europe.⁶

The editors hope that this edition of Vrančić's Istanbul correspondence will prompt attention in Croatian historiography and among the general public, attention which it undoubtedly deserves.

Zrinka Blažević / Andželko Vlašić

⁶ MARIANNA DAISY BIRNBAUM, *Humanists in a Shattered World. Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the Sixteenth Century* (Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1986), 231-232. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, 23.

⁶ MARIANNA DAISY BIRNBAUM, *Humanists in a Shattered World. Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the Sixteenth Century* (Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1986), 231-232. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, 23.

Dort und füngt zu schlagen vom Buinen
der Gud gegen Dan ist Deine andern füngt
Suliman hat zu seiner Mutter verbaletten
Gut zu seiner Riegen landet der Gud,

Colona ylometh

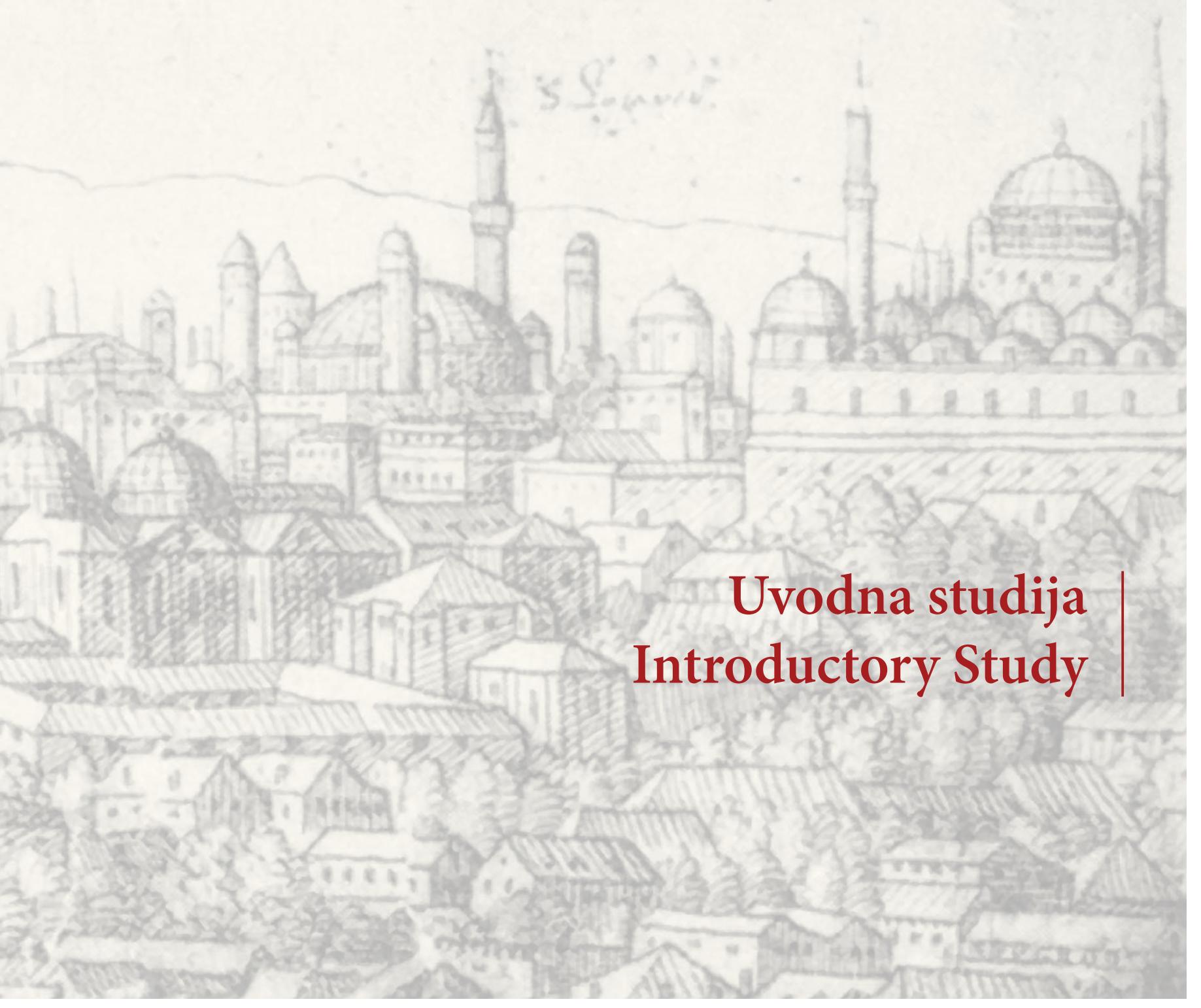
auf dem Landlaffen das ist wieder thundt
aber die selig Brillen der Antiquitäten

Eben hien.



Detalj s prikaza Istanbula. Autor: Melchior Lorck, oko 1559.
Detail from Melchior Lorck's engraving of Istanbul, c. 1559.

Siben, tijm, oder das neue St. Blasij
Imin der Stadt sind sie besetzt.
Castel Nuovo steht fast schon vor dem
grossen Turm, an dem Ort des
Kreuzes, nahe Gallipoli. Sie
dürfen nicht mehr Gallipoli.



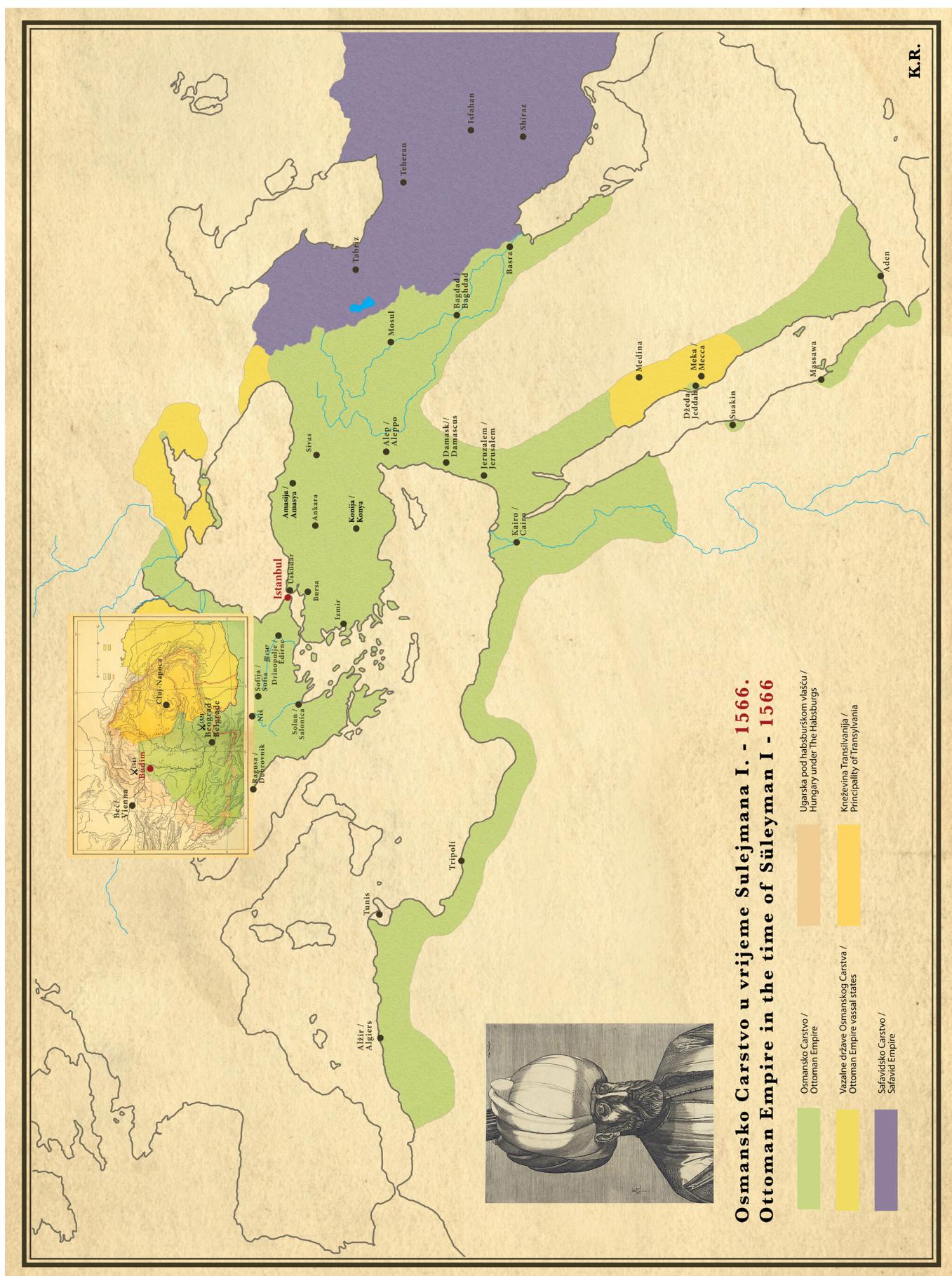
Uvodna studija Introductory Study

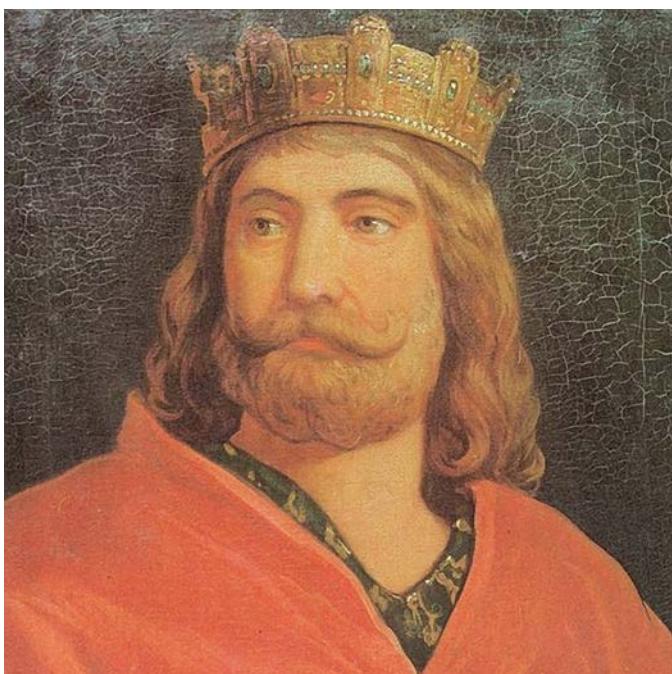
Uvodna studija / Introductory Study

**SREDNJA I JUGOISTOČNA EUROPA ZA ŽIVOTA ANTUNA VRANČIĆA /
CENTRAL AND SOUTHEAST EUROPE IN ANTUN VRANČIĆ'S LIFETIME**

Osmansko Carstvo proširilo se tijekom 15. stoljeća diljem Balkanskog poluotoka i na svojem je osvajačkom putu uništilo Bizantsko Carstvo i srednjovjekovne države Bugarsku, Srbiju i Bosnu. Iduće mete osmanskih osvajanja bili su Ugarsko-Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo i Republika Venecija, koji su pružili mnogo jači otpor nego dotad osvojene zemlje i uspjeli su sačuvati nezavisnost. Tako su rana desetljeća života Antuna Vrančića bila obilježena mukotrpnim otporom ugarskih i mletačkih vladara osmanskom prodoru u srednju Europu. Dolazak na vlast osmanskog sultana Sulejmana I. Veličanstvenog (vladao 1520.-1566.) označio je početak još agresivnijih osmanskih provala u ugarski teritorij, čemu se ugarsko državno vodstvo te mlad i neiskusan kralj Ludovik II. Jagelović (vladao 1516.-1526.) nikako nisu uspijevali oduprijeti. Štoviše, ugarsko vodstvo pogrešno je procijenilo sposobnosti novoga sultana Sulejmana i nije prihvatio ponudu za mir koju im je poslao kad je zasjeo na prijestolje 1520. godine. Sultan Sulejman odlučio je da će usmjeriti osmanska osvajanja prema srednjoj Europi i da će pobjeda nad Ugarskom biti njegov prvi uspjeh na tome putu. Osmanske snage osvojile su 1521. godine Beograd i time su otvorile put svojem nezaustavlјivom napredovanju u srce ugarske države. Sultan Sulejman predvodio je 1526. godine osmansku vojsku u prodoru u ugarski teritorij do grada Mohača u današnjoj južnoj Mađarskoj, gdje su u bitci Osmanlije porazili ugarsku vojsku na čelu s Ludovikom II., koji je poginuo u bijegu nakon bitke. Osmanska pobjeda i Ludovikova smrt bez nasljednika prouzročila je rasulo ugarske države, iako Sulejman Veličanstveni nije tada osvojio cijelu Ugarsku, nego je odlučio vladati njome preko novoga ugarsko-hrvatskoga kralja kao svojega vazala. U tim planovima Osmanlijama su zasmetali Habsburgovci, koji su također željeli uspostaviti svoju vlast u Ugarskoj na temelju rodbinskih veza s Jagelovićima. Tako je došlo do habsburško-osmanskoga sukoba, koji je potrajan narednih 350 godina i imao najveći utjecaj na razvoj događaja u jugoistočnoj Europi.⁷

In the course of the fifteenth century the Ottoman Empire spread throughout the Balkan Peninsula, and on its conquering path destroyed the Byzantine Empire and the medieval states of Bulgaria, Serbia and Bosnia. The ensuing targets of the Ottoman conquest were the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom and the Republic of Venice, which, however, provided a much stronger resistance than the countries hitherto conquered, thus managing to preserve their independence. This is why the early decades of Antun Vrančić's life were characterized by a painstaking resistance of Hungarian and Venetian rulers to Ottoman penetration into Central Europe. The coming to power of Ottoman Sultan Süleyman I the Magnificent (1494-1566; ruled 1520-1566) marked the beginning of an even more aggressive Ottoman incursion into Hungarian territory, which the Hungarian state leadership and its young and inexperienced King Louis II Jagiellon (1506-1526; ruled 1516-1526) were completely unable to resist. Additionally, the Hungarian leadership misjudged the strength of the new Sultan Süleyman and rejected his peace offer, sent to them on the occasion of his ascent to the throne in 1520. Sultan Süleyman decided to direct Ottoman conquests toward Central Europe, and to make the victory over Hungary his first success on this path. Ottoman forces took Belgrade in 1521, thus paving the way for their unstoppable advancement into the heart of the Hungarian state. Sultan Süleyman led the Ottoman army in 1526 as they penetrated into Hungarian territory to the town of Mohács, in present-day southern Hungary, where the Ottomans defeated the Hungarian army led by Louis II, who died fleeing the field after the battle. Even though Süleyman the Magnificent did not conquer the whole of Hungary on the occasion, his victory and King Louis's death without an heir caused the breakdown of the Hungarian state, while Süleyman decided to rule Hungary through a new Hungarian-Croatian king who became his vassal. These Ottoman plans were hindered by the Habsburgs, who also wished to set their rule in Hungary, based on their family ties with the Jagiellonian dynasty. This was the beginning of the Habsburg-Ottoman conflict, which was to last for the subsequent four centuries and was to have a profound effect on the developments in Southeast Europe.⁷





Ivan Zapolja / John Zápolya

(Autor: Károly Jakobey, 1866. / By: Károly Jakobey, 1866)



Ferdinand I. Habsburg / Ferdinand I Habsburg

(Autor: Hans Bocksberger Stariji, 1550.-1555. /
By: Hans Bocksberger the Elder, 1550-1555)

Velik dio ugarskog plemstva, uključujući i slavonske plemiće, izabrao je u studenome 1526. godine velikaša Ivana Zapolju (Zápolya ili Szapolyai János; vladao kao kralj Ugarske 1526.-1540.) za novoga ugarskoga kralja. Zapolja je dobio i podršku Osmanlija da pod njihovim nadzorom vlada Ugarskom. Zapoljinu izboru za kralja usprotivio se Ferdinand I. Habsburg (austrijski nadvojvoda 1521.-1564., kralj Ugarske 1526.-1564., kralj Hrvatske 1527.-1564. i car Svetog Rimskog Carstva 1558.-1564.), koji je zbog rodbinskih veza s Ludovikom II. polagao pravo na ugarsko prijestolje. Ferdinanda I. za ugarskog je vladara također u studenome 1526. godine izabrao dio ugarskih plemića, kao i hrvatsko plemstvo u siječnju naredne godine. Tako je došlo do dugotrajne borbe između dvojice vladara koji su se smatrali zakonitim kraljevima Ugarske i Hrvatske. Ferdinand I. imao je vojnu nadmoć u tom su-

In November 1526 magnate John Zápolya (Szapolyai János; ruled as King of Hungary 1516-1540) was chosen by the majority of Hungarian aristocrats, here including the Slavonian noblemen, as the new King of Hungary. Zápolya received Ottoman support ruling Hungary under their control. His election was opposed by Ferdinand I Habsburg (Austrian Archduke 1521-1564, King of Hungary 1526-1564, King of Croatia 1527-1564, and Holy Roman Emperor 1558-1564) who, owing to his family ties with Louis II, claimed the Hungarian throne. In November 1526 and January 1527 Ferdinand I was elected King of Hungary and King of Croatia by the remaining Hungarian and Croatian nobility, respectively. This marked the beginning of a long lasting conflict between the two rulers, both of whom considered themselves legitimate rulers of Hungary and Croatia.

7 Za više o spomenutoj temi vidjeti: PÁL FODOR, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire. The Ottomans in Central Europe - A Failed Attempt at Universal Monarchy (1390-1566)* (Budimpešta: Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2016), 71-77. LÁSZLÓ KONTLER, *Povijest Mađarske. Tisuću godina u Srednjoj Europi* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2007), 141-154. GÉZA PÁLFFY, *Povijest Mađarske. Ugarska na granici dvaju imperija (1526.-1711.)* (Samobor: Izdavačka kuća Meridijani, 2010), 27-38, 46-47, 62-64, 69. MILORAD PAVIĆ, *Jugoistočna Europa pod osmanskom vlašću. Od pada Carigrada do Svištovskega mira* (Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2014), passim. DARKO NOVAKOVIĆ i VLADIMIR VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve. Antun Vrančić* (Zagreb: Globus, 1979), 26-33, 46-51.

7 For more on this topic, see: PÁL FODOR, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire. The Ottomans in Central Europe - A Failed Attempt at Universal Monarchy (1390-1566)* (Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2016), pp. 71-77. LÁSZLÓ KONTLER, *Povijest Mađarske. Tisuću godina u Srednjoj Europi* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2007), pp. 141-154. GÉZA PÁLFFY, *Povijest Mađarske. Ugarska na granici dvaju imperija (1526.-1711.)* (Samobor: Izdavačka kuća Meridijani, 2010), pp. 27-38, 46-47, 62-64, 69. MILORAD PAVIĆ, *Jugoistočna Europa pod osmanskom vlašću. Od pada Carigrada do Svištovskega mira* (Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2014), passim. DARKO NOVAKOVIĆ and VLADIMIR VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve. Antun Vrančić* (Zagreb: Globus, 1979), pp. 26-33, 46-51.

kobu i Zapolja je jedini spas bio u tome da se poveže s Osmanlijama i sultanom Sulejmanom I, koji je u narednim godinama vojno podržavao Zapolju u borbi s Habsburgovcima. Ferdinandov i Zapoljin sukob završio je 22. srpnja 1540. godine smrću Ivana Zapolje. Tijekom naredne tri godine osmanske snage zauzele su Budim i proširile svoja osvajanja u središnjem dijelu Ugarske. Time je još više postalo očito da je došlo do trajne podjele bivšega Ugarsko-Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva na tri dijela: zapadni i sjeverni dio bili su pod habsburškom vlašću; istočni dio nekadašnje države s vremenom se preoblikovao u Kneževinu Transilvaniju (nazivanu i Kneževina Erdelj) i bio je u vazalnom odnosu spram Osmanskog Carstva; a središnji dio bivše ugarske države postao je sastavnim dijelom Osmanskog Carstva. Osmanlije su vlast u Transilvaniji predali sinu Ivana Zapolje, Ivanu Žigmundu (Szapolyai János Zsigmond), koji je kao Ivan II vladao Transilvanijom od 1540. do 1551. i od 1556. do 1571. godine. Na području triju dijelova Ugarske izmjenjivala su se razdoblja rata i mira. Čak i u vrijeme mira, međutim, na pograničnim je područjima dolazilo do sukoba između zaraćenih strana, što je pogubno djelovalo na život i gospodarstvo domaćega stanovništva.⁸

Ferdinand I had military superiority in the conflict, and Zápolya saw his only salvation in liaising himself with the Ottomans and with Sultan Süleyman I who provided Zápolya with military support in the ensuing years. The conflict between Ferdinand and Zápolya ended on July 22, 1540, with Zápolya's death. In the three ensuing years Ottoman forces captured Buda, and extended their conquests in central Hungary. Thus the former Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom was divided into three parts: western and northern part were under Habsburg rule, eastern part of the former state was reshaped into the Principality of Transylvania (also called the Principality of Erdély) and was in a vassal relationship with the Ottoman Empire, while the central part of the former Hungarian state became an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans handed over the power in Transylvania to the son of John Zápolya, John Sigismund (Szapolyai János Zsigmond), who ruled Transylvania as John II from 1540 to 1551 and from 1556 to 1571. Periods of war and peace alternated on the three Hungarian territories. Even in peace time, however, the frontier was ravaged by conflicts between the warring parties, which had a disastrous effect on the life and economy of the local population.⁸

⁸ KONTLER, *Povijest Mađarske*, 141-154. PÁLFFY, *Povijest Mađarske*, 27-38, 46-47, 62-64, 69. PAVIĆ, *Jugoistočna Europa*, passim. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 26-33, 46-51.

⁸ KONTLER, *Povijest Mađarske*, 141-154. PÁLFFY, *Povijest Mađarske*, pp. 27-38, 46-47, 62-64, 69. PAVIĆ, *Jugoistočna Europa*, passim. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 26-33, 46-51.



Antun Vrančić / Antun Vrančić

(Autor: Martin Rota Kolunić / By: Martinus Rota)

ŽIVOTOPIS ANTUNA VRANČIĆA / BIOGRAPHY OF ANTUN VRANČIĆ

Za vrijeme takve složene političke situacije živio je i djelovao Antun Vrančić. Sudjelovao je u brojnim važnim događajima u povijesti podijeljene Ugarske. Bio je u nazužem krugu visokih ugarskih i habsburških državnih dužnosnika kao član ugarskoga kraljevskog dvora Ivana Zapolje, a zatim i dvora habsburških vladara Ferdinanda I. i Maksimilijana II. (austrijskog nadvojvode i cara Svetoga Rimskog Carstva 1564.-1576. te kralja Ugarske i Hrvatske 1563.-1576.).

Antun Vrančić (Šibenik, 30. svibnja 1504. - Prešov, 15. lipnja 1573.), hrvatski klerik, humanistički pisac, državnik i diplomat, poznat je i pod latiniziranim imenima Antonius Vrancius, Wrancius, Verantius i Werantius, talijanskim imenom Antonio Veranzio te mađarskim Verancsics Antal. Vrančić se rodio u Šibeniku, koji je u to vrijeme bio dijelom Mletačke Republike, u uglednoj i bogatoj plemićkoj obitelji. Vrančićev rođak Petar Berislavić (o. 1450.-1520.), koji je bio biskup ugarskoga grada Veszpréma i hrvatski ban od 1513. do 1520. godine, brinuo se za Antunov odgoj do svoje smrti u osmanskoj zasjedi nakon bitke kod

Antun Vrančić lived and worked in such a complicated political context. He participated in numerous important events in the history of the divided Hungary. Initially as a member of the royal Hungarian court of John Zápolya, and later as a member of the courts of Habsburg rulers Ferdinand I and Maximilian II (Austrian Archduke and Holy Roman Emperor 1564-1576, and King of Hungary and Croatia 1563-1576) Antun Vrančić belonged to the inner circle of the Hungarian and Habsburg senior state officials.

Antun Vrančić (Šibenik, Croatia, May 30, 1504 - Prešov, Slovakia, June 15, 1573), Croatian cleric, humanist writer, statesman and diplomat is known under his Latinized names as Antonius Vrancius, Wrancius, Verantius and Werantius, in Italian as Antonio Veranzio, and in Hungarian as Verancsics Antal. Vrančić was born in Šibenik, which was part of the Republic of Venice at that time, in a rich and distinguished noble family. Vrančić's relative Petar Berislavić (cca. 1450-1520), who was a bishop of the Hungarian town of Veszprém and Ban of Croatia from 1513 to 1520, looked after

Korenice u svibnju 1520. godine. Poslije Berislavićeve smrti Vrančićev ujak, biskup Ivan Statilić, nastavio se brinuti za opsežno i kvalitetno humanističko obrazovanje mladog Antuna, koji se opredijelio za svećeničku službu. Vrančić se odužio svojem rođaku Petru Berislaviću napisavši njegov životopis na latinskom jeziku pod naslovom *Vita Petri Berislavi* (Život Petra Berislavića). To djelo nikada nije objavljeno i ostalo je u rukopisnom obliku.⁹

Vrančić je studirao u Padovi, Beču i Krakovu u godinama neposredno nakon osmanske pobjede na Mohačkom polju 1526. godine. Budući da mu je ujak Ivan Statilić pristao uz Ivana Zapolja u sukobu oko ugarskog prijestolja, i Vrančić je s njime prešao u službu Ivana Zapolje te postao njegovim kraljevskim tajnikom 1530. godine.¹⁰

Već u svojim ranim dvadesetim godinama Vrančić je bio postavljen na nekoliko visokih crkvenih položaja. Pored toga, Ivan Zapolja i njegovi visoki državni i vjerski dužnosnici slali su mladog Vrančića već od 1527. godine u različite diplomatske misije. Tako su Vrančića u dvadeset i petoj godini života poslali 1530. godine u diplomatsku misiju u Krakov k poljskom kralju. U daljnjoj je karijeri Vrančić i po nekoliko puta išao u misiju k nekim od najmoćnijih vladara tadašnje Europe: u Veneciju k mletačkom duždu, više puta u Sarajevo u Bosni pod osmanskom vlašću, 1531. godine u Rim u Papinskoj Državi, a osim toga i u Pariz, London, Beč, Prag i opet u Krakov. Na tim je misijama Vrančić pokazao veliku nadarenost za diplomaciju i politiku.¹¹

Antun's education until his death in an Ottoman ambush, in the aftermath of the battle of Korenica in May of 1520. After Berislavić's death, Vrančić's uncle, Bishop Ivan Statilić, continued to support young Antun's extensive and superior humanist studies as Antun decided to become a priest. Vrančić repaid his debt to his kinsman Petar Berislavić by writing his biography in Latin under the title *Vita Petri Berislavi* (The Life of Petar Berislavić). The work was never published and remained in manuscript.⁹

Vrančić studied in Padua, Vienna and Krakow in the years immediately following the Ottoman victory at the Battle of Mohács in 1526. Since his uncle Ivan Statilić had sided with John Zápolya in the conflict over the Hungarian throne, Vrančić entered the service of John Zápolya becoming his royal secretary in 1530.¹⁰

Already in his early twenties Vrančić was appointed to a number of high ecclesiastical positions. As early as 1527 young Vrančić was sent by John Zápolya and his high state and Church officials on different diplomatic missions. In 1530, when he was only twenty five, Vrančić was sent on a diplomatic mission to Krakow to meet with the King of Poland. In the ensuing decades Vrančić went on numerous missions to the courts of some of the most powerful rulers of contemporary Europe: to the court of the Doge of Venice, to Sarajevo in Bosnia under Ottoman rule, in 1531 to the Papal State in Rome, as well as to Paris, London, Vienna, Prague and again to Krakow. During these missions, Vrančić demonstrated great talent for diplomacy and politics.¹¹

9 PETAR MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI. veka VI. Putovanje Antuna Vrančića g. 1553.“, Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti. Razredi filološko-historički i filozofičko-juridički, knj. 8 (1884), 5-6. LAJOS TARDY, Beyond the Ottoman Empire. 14th-16th Century Hungarian Diplomacy in the East (Szeged: Studia uralo-altaica, 1978), 162. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 17-18, 20-21. CASTILIA MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, u: Antun Vrančić, Historiografski fragmenti (preveo Šime Demo, uvodnu studiju i bilješke uz prijevod napisala Castilia Manea-Grgin) (Šibenik: Gradska knjižnica Juraj Šižgorić, 2014), 8-9. DIANA SORIĆ, „Pitanje datuma rođenja hrvatskog humanista i ugarskog primasa Antuna Vrančića (1504.-1573.)“, *Croatica Christiana periodica*, 39/75 (2015), 38-39, 45-48.

10 MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku“, 5-6. TARDY, Beyond the Ottoman Empire, 162. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 36-37; MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, 8-9. SORIĆ, „Pitanje datuma rođenja“, 38-39, 45-48.

11 MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku“, 6-7. TARDY, Beyond the Ottoman Empire, 162. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 74, 82-84, 89-90. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, 9-10.

9 PETAR MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku XVI. veka VI. Putovanje Antuna Vrančića g. 1553.“, Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti. Razredi filološko-historički i filozofičko-juridički, Vol. 8 (1884), pp. 5-6. LAJOS TARDY, Beyond the Ottoman Empire. 14th-16th century Hungarian diplomacy in the East (Szeged: Studia uralo-altaica, 1978), p. 162. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 17-18, 20-21. CASTILIA MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, in: Antun Vrančić, Historiografski fragmenti (translated by Šime Demo, introductory study and notes in the translation written by Castilia Manea-Grgin) (Šibenik: Gradska knjižnica Juraj Šižgorić, 2014), pp. 8-9. DIANA SORIĆ, „Pitanje datuma rođenja hrvatskog humanista i ugarskog primasa Antuna Vrančića (1504.-1573.)“, *Croatica Christiana periodica*, 39/75 (2015), pp. 38-39, 45-48.

10 MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku“, pp. 5-6. TARDY, Beyond the Ottoman Empire, 162. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 36-37; MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, pp. 8-9. Sorić, „Pitanje datuma rođenja“, pp. 38-39, 45-48.

11 MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku“, pp. 6-7. TARDY, Beyond the Ottoman Empire, 162. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 74, 82-84, 89-90. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, pp. 9-10.

Kada je Ivan Zapolja umro 1540. godine, njegova udovica Izabela Jagelović (1519.-1559.) vladala je kao regentica Transilvanije umjesto svojega sina Ivana Žigmunda, koji se rodio tek dva tjedna prije očeve smrti. Izabelina vladavina bila je vrlo nesigurna te ispunjena spletkama i borbom za očuvanje prava njezina sina na ugarsko prijestolje, pa je zanimljivo što je Vrančić iskazao svoju vjernost i ostao u službi regentice Izabеле. I dalje je išao u diplomatske misije, od tada u ime regentice, u Francusku, Poljsku i Papinsku Državu.¹²

When John Zápolya died in 1540, his widow Isabella Jagiellon (1519-1559) ruled as Queen Regent of Transylvania in place of her son John Sigismund, who was born only two weeks before his father's death. Isabella's rule was characterized by great insecurity, intrigues and the battle for the preservation of the right of her son to the Hungarian throne. It is thus interesting that Vrančić demonstrated great loyalty and remained in her service. He continued to go on diplomatic missions, from then on in the name of the Queen Regent, to France, Poland and the Papal State.¹²



Izabela Jagelović / Isabella Jagiellon

(Iz radionice Lucasa Cranacha Mlađega, oko 1565. / From the workshop of Lucas Cranach the Younger, c. 1565)

12 TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 162. KENNETH M. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571). Volume III. The Sixteenth Century to the Reign of Julius III* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1984), sv. 3, 455. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 71-72. PÁLFFY, *Povijest Mađarske*, 65-66. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, 10.

12 TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 162. Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571). Volume III. The Sixteenth Century to the Reign of Julius III* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1984), Vol. 3, p. 455. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 71-72. PÁLFFY, *Povijest Mađarske*, pp. 65-66. Manea-Grgin, "Uvod", p. 10.

VRANČIĆEVO DIPLOMATSKO POSLANSTVO U FRANCUSKU I ENGLESKU / VRANČIĆ'S DIPLOMATIC MISSION TO FRANCE AND ENGLAND

Jedna od Vrančićevih najzahtjevnijih diplomatskih misija bila je posjet Francuskoj i Engleskoj 1546. godine, odnosno posjet Parizu i Londonu, gdje su u to vrijeme vladali francuski kralj Franjo I. (François; vladao 1515.-1547.) i engleski kralj Henrik VIII. (Henry VIII, vladao 1509.-1547.).¹³ Vrančić je putovao kao diplomat u službi regentice Izabele kako bi sklopio sporazum usmjeren protiv Habsburgovaca i Ferdinanda I. kao zajedničkih neprijatelja Francuske i Transilvanije. O samim posjetima ne postoji mnogo podataka, i o sadržaju misije jedino se zna zahvaljujući Vrančićevoj korespondenciji. Tako je Vrančić u pismu iz Francuske pisao o pregovorima s Franjom I. i iznio uvjerenje da će doći do sporazuma. Možemo samo nagađati o kakvom je točno sporazumu

One of Vrančić's most challenging diplomatic missions was the visit to France and England in 1546, namely, his visit to Paris and London, at that time ruled by the King of France Francis I (ruled 1515-1547) and the King of England Henry VIII (ruled 1509-1547), respectively.¹³ Vrančić traveled there as a diplomat in the service of Queen Regent Isabella in order to conclude an agreement which would have been directed against the Habsburgs and Ferdinand I as the common enemy of both, France and Transylvania. Visits are not well documented, Vrančić's correspondence being our only source of information. So in his letter from France Vrančić mentioned the negotiations with Francis I, and stated his belief that an agreement will be concluded. We can only guess what

**Portret engleskoga kralja Henrika VIII. /
Portrait of Henry VIII of England**
(Autor: Hans Holbein Mlađi, oko 1537. /
By: Hans Holbein the Younger, c. 1537)



13 MARIANNA DAISY BIRNBAUM, *Humanists in a Shattered World. Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the Sixteenth Century* (Columbs, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1986), 366. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, 10, 29.

13 MARIANNA DAISY BIRNBAUM, *Humanists in a Shattered World. Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the Sixteenth Century* (Columbs, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1986), p. 366. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, pp. 10, 29.



Portret francuskoga kralja Franje I. /
Portrait of Francis I of France

(Autor: Jean Clouet, oko 1530. / By: Jean Clouet, c. 1530)

riječ, jer Vrančić u pismu konspirativnog tona nije naveo o čemu se točno pregovaralo. Moguće je da je Vrančić išao u Pariz kako bi ishodio pristanak Franje I. na neki oblik sporazuma između Transilvanije i Habsburgovaca, a na koji su Franjo I. i stariji brat Ferdinanda I. i car Svetoga Rimskog Carstva Karlo V. (vladao 1519.-1556.) također trebali pristati, te potvrditi taj sporazum kao posrednici. Uostalom, njih su dvojica bili najmoćniji vladari tadašnje Europe. Nije poznato je li Vrančićeva misija u Parizu bila uspješna i što se nakon toga odvijalo na engleskom dvoru. Može se zaključiti da Vrančić nije uspio dogоворiti ništa jer daljnji razvoj političkih događaja u Europi nikako nije išao u korist Transilvanije: Karlo V. je na vojnom i diplomatskom polju sve više iskazivao nadmoć nad Franjom I. i nad svim zemljama koje su se uzdale u francusku pomoć, uključujući i Transilvaniju. Unatoč Vrančićevu zalaganju, položaj transilvanske regentice i njezine države bio je vrlo nepovoljan.¹⁴

was discussed, since the conspiratorial tone of Vrančić's correspondence does not reveal what was negotiated or agreed upon. It is possible that Vrančić traveled to Paris in order to obtain the consent of Francis I for some form of an agreement between Transylvania and the Habsburgs, to which both Francis I and Ferdinand's older brother and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519-1556) needed to agree as mediators. After all, the two rulers were the most powerful European rulers at the time. Whether or not Vrančić's Paris mission was successful, remains unknown. Equally unknown remain the ensuing events at the court of the King of England. It can only be assumed that Vrančić was unsuccessful in obtaining an agreement, because political developments in Europe did not go in favor of Transylvania: Charles V increasingly demonstrated diplomatic and military superiority over Francis I and the countries that relied on the assistance of France, including Transylvania. In spite of all of Vrančić's efforts, the position of the Transylvanian Queen Regent and her country was very disadvantageous.¹⁴

14 MILENKO LONČAR, „Pismom protiv nepoželjnih čitatelja II. Kodirana poruka Antuna Vrančića“, *Colloquia Maruliana*, 23 (2014), 126-131. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, sv. 3, 462.

14 MILENKO LONČAR, „Pismom protiv nepoželjnih čitatelja II. Kodirana poruka Antuna Vrančića“, *Colloquia Maruliana*, 23 (2014), pp. 126-131. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, Vol. 3, p. 462.

VRANČIĆEV PRELAZAK U HABSBURŠKU SLUŽBU / VRANČIĆ IN THE SERVICE OF THE HABSBURGS

Vrančić je bio nezadovoljan u službi regentice Izabеле jer nije mogao napredovati zbog sukoba s Jurjem Utješenovićem (poznat i kao Utješinović ili Utišenić, odnosno György Martinuzzi; živio 1482.-1551.), ugarskim klerikom hrvatskog podrijetla koji se s regenticom Izabelom dugo borio za vlast u Transilvaniji. Zato je Vrančić 1549. godine odlučio prijeći iz transilvanske službe na habsburšku stranu, odnosno u službu drugoga pretendenta na ugarsko prijestolje, Ferdinanda I. U habsburškoj je službi ubrzo postao Ferdinandovim tajnikom i bio je imenovan na razne visoke crkvene dužnosti.¹⁵

S vremenom je Vrančić posve zadobio povjerenje Ferdinanda I., pa je počeo dobivati sve zahtjevniye diplomatske zadatke od svojega novoga gospodara. Tako je u travnju 1553. godine išao u diplomatsku misiju k osmanskem upravitelju središnje Ugarske, Ali-paši, kojem je sjedište bilo u Budimu. Vrančić je tom prilikom u Budimu dogovorio habsburško-osmansko primirje do studenoga 1553. godine. Naime, vjerojatno se radilo o tome da je habsburško vodstvo smatralo da će šest mjeseci biti dovoljno da habsburško poslanstvo ode u Istanbul i ondje dogovori stabilniji i dugotrajniji mirovni sporazum s Osmanskim Carstvom. Na kraju se ispostavilo da su za ispunjenje tako zahtjevnog zadatka habsburški poslanici morali provesti četiri godine u Istanbulu. Nedugo prije polaska na tu misiju, 6. lipnja iste godine Ferdinand je Vrančića imenovao biskupom ugarskoga grada Pečuha.¹⁶

Vrančić was dissatisfied in the service of Queen Regent Isabella because he could not advance in his career due to his conflict with Juraj Utješenović (also known as Utješinović or Utišenić, or György Martinuzzi; lived 1482-1551), Hungarian cleric of Croatian descent who fought for power in Transylvania against Queen Regent Isabella for a very long time. Thus in 1549 Vrančić decided to leave the Transylvanian court and enter in the service of the Habsburgs, namely, that of the other pretender to the Hungarian throne, Ferdinand I. In the service of the Habsburgs Vrančić advanced rapidly, quickly becoming Ferdinand's secretary, as well as being appointed to a number of senior ecclesiastical positions.¹⁵

Vrančić gradually gained the trust of Ferdinand I, and his new master began appointing him to numerous demanding diplomatic missions. For instance, in April 1553, Vrančić was sent on a mission to the Ottoman governor of central Hungary, Ali Pasha, who had his headquarters in Buda. In Buda Vrančić negotiated the Habsburg-Ottoman armistice which was to last until November 1553. There is a distinct possibility that the Habsburg state leadership believed that six months would be enough time for the Habsburg delegation to travel to Istanbul, and obtain a more stable and longer lasting peace agreement with the Ottoman Empire. As it turned out, the Habsburg emissaries will eventually need to spend four years in Istanbul to fulfill such a demanding task. Shortly before being sent on this mission, on June 6, 1553, Vrančić was appointed the bishop of the Hungarian town of Pécs by Ferdinand I.¹⁶

15 MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku”, 7. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 162. FODOR, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire*, 97-98, 101-102. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 83-86, 91-95. SORIĆ, „Pitanje datuma rođenja”, 38-39. PÁLFFY, *Povijest Mađarske*, 66-67. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, 10-11.

16 JOSEPH VON HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija turskog /osmanskog/ carstva* (Zagreb: Nerkez Smailagić, 1979), sv. 1, 464-465. MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku”, 4. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 162. ALBERTO FORTIS, *Put po Dalmaciji*, prir. Josip Bratulić (Zagreb: Globus, 1984), 119. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 114, 117-118. MILENKO LONČAR i DIANA SORIĆ, „Pismom protiv nepoželjnih čitatelja III. Vrančićeva pomagala za kodiranje”, *Colloquia Maruliana*, 25 (2016), 18. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, 11.

15 MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku”, p. 7. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, p. 162. FODOR, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire*, pp. 97-98, 101-102. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 83-86, 91-95. SORIĆ, „Pitanje datuma rođenja”, pp. 38-39. PÁLFFY, *Povijest Mađarske*, pp. 66-67. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, pp. 10-11.

16 JOSEPH VON HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija turskog /osmanskog/ carstva* (Zagreb: Nerkez Smailagić, 1979), Vol. 1, pp. 464-465. MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku”, p. 4. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, p. 162. ALBERTO FORTIS, *Put po Dalmaciji*, ed. Josip Bratulić (Zagreb: Globus, 1984), p. 119. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 114, 117-118. MILENKO LONČAR and DIANA SORIĆ, „Pismom protiv nepoželjnih čitatelja III. Vrančićeva pomagala za kodiranje”, *Colloquia Maruliana*, 25 (2016), p. 18. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, p. 11.

Vrančićeve diplomatske misije (1530.-1553.)

Vrančić's diplomatic missions (1530.-1553.)



VRANČIĆEVA PRVA ISTANBULSKA MISIJA (1553.–1557.) / VRANČIĆ'S FIRST MISSION TO ISTANBUL (1553–1557)

Cilj habsburške misije u Istanbul k sultanu Sulejmanu I. Veličanstvenom bio je ishoditi habsburško-osmanski mir i rješiti međusobni spor oko Transilvanije. Naime, habsburške su snage nakon smrti Ivana Zapolje postupno osvajale istočnu Ugarsku i prostor Transilvanije. Ti su sukobi bili u suprotnosti s habsburško-osmanskim mirovnim ugovorom koji je potpisana u listopadu 1547. godine u Drinopolju, odnosno današnjemu turskom gradu Edirneu. Tom su prigodom habsburški vladari Karlo V. i Ferdinand I. sklopili mir sa sultandom Sulejmanom Veličanstvenim na razdoblje od pet godina. Habsburška je strana priznala Osmanlijama vlast nad Ugarskom i Ferdinand I. pristao je plaćati Osmanskome Carstvu godišnji danak od 30 000 zlatnika u zamjenu za vlast nad zapadnim i sjevernim dijelovima Ugarske koji su bili pod njegovom izravnom kontrolom. Habsburški su vladari taj godišnji danak smatrali „počasnim poklonom“ (njemački: *Ehrengeschenk*) osmanskem sultanu i nikad ga nisu nazivali dankom.

Utješenović se za to vrijeme sukobljavao s regenticom Izabelom oko pitanja vanjske politike Transilvanije. Izabela se protivila Utješenovićevim nastojanjima od 1549. godine da se Transilvanija ujedini s ugarskim teritorijem koji je bio pod habsburškom kontrolom i time potpadne pod vlast Ferdinanda I. Naime, Utješenović se 1549. godine dogovorio s Ferdinandom da u zamjenu za određene titule i posjede preda habsburškom vladaru vlast u Transilvaniji, čime bi Zapoljin sin Ivan Žigmund i njegova majka ostali bez vlasti. Utješenovićev plan ostvario se 1551. godine, kada je u dogovoru s Ferdinandom I. oduzeo vlast Izabeli, čime je regentica bila prisiljena prepustiti Transilvaniju Habsburgovcima i zajedno sa sinom otići u izgnanstvo u svoju domovinu Poljsku. Utješenović, međutim, nije dugo uživao u plodovima svojega poduhvata, jer ga je Ferdinand I. u prosincu iste godine vrlo vjerojatno dao ubiti, jer je sumnjaо u Utješenovićevu vjernost i smatrao da potajno pregovara s Osmanlijama. Utješenović je doista pokušavao iskazati svoju naklonjenost Osmanskom Carstvu i time ublažiti bijes osmanskog sultana, koji je bio ljutit zbog protjerivanja Izabele i Ivana Žigmunda iz Transilvanije.¹⁷

The aim of the Habsburg mission to Istanbul was to secure Habsburg-Ottoman peace and to solve their dispute over Transylvania. In the period after the death of John Zápolya, Habsburg forces gradually captured eastern Hungary and Transylvania. That was a breach of the Habsburg-Ottoman peace accord signed in October 1547 in Adrianople, present-day Turkish town of Edirne by Habsburg rulers Charles V and Ferdinand I and Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent for a period of five years. In keeping with the Accord the Habsburgs recognized Ottoman rule over Hungary, while Ferdinand I agreed to pay to the Ottoman Empire an annual tribute of 30,000 gold coins in exchange for his rule over western and northern parts of Hungary that were under his direct control. Habsburg rulers referred to this annual tribute as an “honorable gift” (German: *Ehrengeschenk*) to the Ottoman Sultan, never calling it a tribute.

Meanwhile, Utješenović entered into conflicts with Queen Regent Isabella over Transylvanian foreign policy. To be exact, Isabella opposed Utješenović's efforts from 1549 onwards to unite Transylvania with the Hungarian territory under Habsburg control, namely, under the authority of Ferdinand I. However, in 1549 Utješenović came to an agreement with Ferdinand to hand over the power in Transylvania to the Habsburg ruler in exchange for certain titles and possessions. The plan was for Zápolya's son, John Sigismund, and his mother to lose the throne. Utješenović's plan came true in 1551, when he, in agreement with Ferdinand, took power away from Queen Regent Isabella who was forced to cede Transylvania to the Habsburgs, and go into exile with her son to her native land of Poland. However, Utješenović did not enjoy the fruits of his enterprise for long. Doubting Utješenović's loyalty, and fearing that he was secretly negotiating with the Ottomans, Ferdinand I, most likely had him killed. Truth is that Utješenović had been trying to express his affection for the Ottoman Empire and alleviate the Sultan's anger: Süleyman I was furious about Isabella and John Sigismund's banishment from Transylvania.¹⁷

Osmansko je Carstvo tijekom cijelog 16. stoljeća bilo vojno nadmoćnije od habsburških zemalja, pa zato nije trebalo dugo čekati na osmanski odgovor na taj habsburški izazov. Osmanske snage su naredne godine u velikom vojnom pohodu pod vodstvom vezira Kara Ahmed-paše osvojile brojne ugarske tvrđave pod habsburškom kontrolom. Osmanske snage postupno su osvajale ugarsku pokrajinu Banat, odnosno područje današnje zapadne Rumunjske i sjeveroistočne Srbije. U srpnju 1552. godine dogodila se najveća promjena u tom sukobu, jer je Kara Ahmed-paša 26. srpnja osvojio grad Temišvar i time učvrstio osmansku vlast nad Banatom. Zatim su Osmanlije zasnovali Temišvarske ejalet (zvan i *pašaluk*), odnosno osmansku pokrajinu pod izravnom osmanskom kontrolom.¹⁸

Osmansko osvajanje Temišvara i opasnost od novoga osmanskog pohoda u Transilvaniju ugrozili su habsburške interese i njihovu kontrolu nad Transilvanijom. Zbog svih tih događaja Ferdinand I. u proljeće 1553. godine odlučio je poslati habsburšku delegaciju na čelu s Vrančićem u sultanovu prijestolnicu i da ishodi mir s Osmanskim Carstvom, kako bi se na taj način, kao i plaćanjem godišnjeg „dara“, osiguralo da Transilvanija ostane pod habsburškom vlašću. Ferdinand je vjerojatno poslao svoje diplomatе u Istanbul i zbog toga što su mu doušnici javljali da je Sulejman I namjeravao ponovo poći u rat protiv Safavidskoga Carstva, koje je neprestano ugrožavalo istočne graniče Osmanskoga Carstva. Naime, bilo je za očekivati da će osmanski sultan htjeti mirovnim ugovorom s Habsburgovcima osigurati svoj položaj u jugoistočnoj Europi, da bi zatim mogao posvetiti sve raspoložive osmanske resurse ratu sa svojim istočnim susjedom. Pored toga, Ferdinand I. vjerojatno je imao u vidu i to da su mu doušnici javljali o razdoru koji je

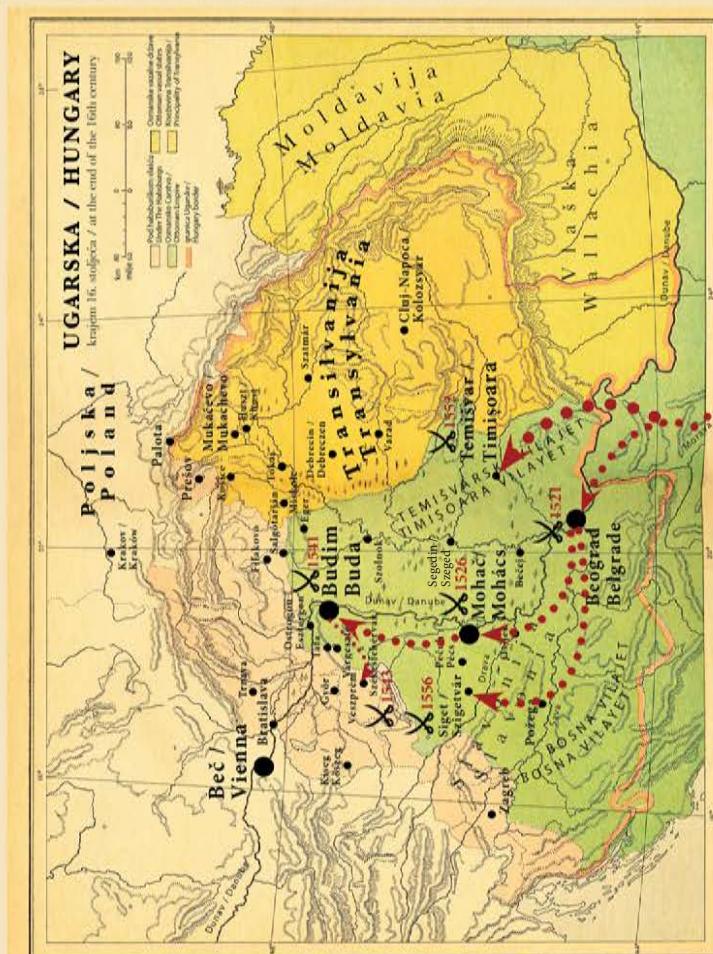
In the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was militarily superior to Habsburg lands, so it did not take long for the Ottomans to respond to this Habsburg challenge. In a great military campaign led by Vizier Kara Ahmed Pasha, Ottoman forces captured numerous Hungarian forts under Habsburg control as soon as the following year. The Ottoman army gradually conquered the Hungarian province of Banat, that is, the territory of present-day western Romania and northeastern Serbia. The biggest change in this conflict occurred in July 1552. Namely, on July 26, Kara Ahmed Pasha took the town of Timišoara, thereby strengthening the Ottoman rule over Banat. The Ottomans established the Eyalet of Timišoara or Temeşvar (Ottoman Turkish: *Eyālet-i Timișvār*), that is, an Ottoman province under direct Ottoman control.¹⁸

The Ottoman conquest of Timišoara and the danger of a new Ottoman campaign into Transylvania jeopardized Habsburg interests and Habsburg control over Transylvania. Consequently, in the spring of 1553, Ferdinand I decided to send a Habsburg delegation led by Vrančić to the Sultan's capital to obtain peace with the Ottoman Empire, and to secure through a new agreement and the payment of the annual "gift" that Transylvania remain under Habsburg rule. It is also likely that Ferdinand I sent his diplomats to Istanbul because his informers told him that Süleyman I intended to go to yet another war with the Safavid Empire, which incessantly threatened the eastern borders of the Ottoman Empire. It was to be expected that the Ottoman Sultan would want to conclude a peace agreement with the Habsburgs in order to secure his position in Southeast Europe, to be able to devote all available Ottoman resources to the war with their eastern neighbor. Furthermore, Ferdinand I was also informed about the discord at

17 KONTLER, *Povijest Mađarske*, 154; SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, sv. 3, 565-582. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, sv. 4, 565-586. FODOR, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire*, 100-103. PÁL ÁCS, „The Good and Honest Turk: A European Legend in the Context of Sixteenth-Century Oriental Studies“, u: *The Habsburgs and their Courts in Europe, 1400-1700. Between Cosmopolitanism and Regionalism*, ur. Herbert Karner, Ingrid Cíulísová i Bernardo J. García García (zbornik u elektroničkom izdanju, pristupljeno 16. veljače 2018.), [18 TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 162-163, 174. MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku“, 2-3. FODOR, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire*, 112-113. KONTLER, *Povijest Mađarske*, 154. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, 11.](http://www.courtresidences.eu/index.php/publications/e-Publications/#Volume_1, 2014., 268. PÁLFFY, Povijest Mađarske, 67. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, S visina sve, 107-109.</p>
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17 KONTLER, *Povijest Mađarske*, p. 154; SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, Vol. 3, pp. 565-582. FODOR, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire*, pp. 100-103. PÁL ÁCS, „The Good and Honest Turk: A European Legend in the Context of Sixteenth-Century Oriental Studies“, u: *The Habsburgs and their Courts in Europe, 1400-1700. Between Cosmopolitanism and Regionalism*, eds. Herbert Karner, Ingrid Cíulísová and Bernardo J. García García (e-proceedings book, accessed on February 16, 2018), [18 TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 162-163, 174. FODOR, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire*, pp. 112-113. KONTLER, *Povijest Mađarske*, p. 154. MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku“, pp. 2-3. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, p. 11.](http://www.courtresidences.eu/index.php/publications/e-Publications/#Volume_1, 2014, p. 268. PÁLFFY, Povijest Mađarske, p. 67. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRAUTOVIĆ, S visina sve, pp. 107-109.</p>
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Osmanske provale na ugarski teritorij u vrijeme Antuna Vrančića Ottoman incursions into Hungarian territory in Antun Vrančić's lifetime



vladao na sultanskome dvoru u Istanbulu, gdje su se sultanova supruga, sultanija Hurem (osmanski turski: *Hürrem*; na Zapadu je poznata i kao Rokselana; živjela 1502.-1558.), i sultanovi sinovi kroz dvorske intrige borili za Sulejmanovu naklonost i u konačnici za vlast u Carstvu. S druge strane, otegotne okolnosti koje su okruživale habsburšku misiju bile su te da je brat Ferdinanda I., Karlo V., u isto vrijeme na Sredozemnome moru vodio grčevitu borbu za prevlast nad osmanskim mornaricom. Osim toga, Francuska, koja je bila u savezu s Osmanskim Carstvom, preko svojih poslanika u Istanbulu ocrnjivala je Habsburgove i otežavala posao habsburškim diplomatima. Te otegotne okolnosti nisu pružale mnogo nade za uspjeh habsburške misije.¹⁹

Ferdinand I. vjerojatno je imao beskrajno povjerenje u Vrančića, s obzirom na to da ga je imenovao za vođu tako osjetljive i zahtjevne misije.²⁰ Prikladna je usporedba koja kaže da je habsburško poslanstvo u Istanbulu imalo nemjerljivu važnost za odnose tih dviju istinskih velesila 16. stoljeća i za onovremenu političku konstelaciju u Europi - mjerljivu, primjerice, s važnošću što ju je imalo američko veleposlanstvo u Moskvi u doba diplomatske borbe velesila Sjedinjenih Američkih Država i Sovjetskog Saveza u drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća.²¹

Vrančić je bio iznimski diplomat s više od dvadeset godina iskustva u misijama diljem Europe. U istanbulsku je misiju išao s ugarskim plemićem i časnikom u habsburškoj službi, zapovjednikom habsburške dunavske flote Ferencom Zayem (poznatim i kao *Franciscus Zay*; živio 1498.-1570.). Zay nije bio samo iskusni vojnik, nego i intelektualac širokog obrazovanja. Sudjelovao je u mnogo bitaka s Osmanlijama i održavao je dobre odnose s osmanskim zapovednicima u Ugarskoj. Zbog tih je sposobnosti i bio odabran za sudionika habsburške delegacije.²²

Vrančić je u svojoj korespondenciji u godinama prije prve istanbulске misije u mnogo navrata

the Sultan's court in Istanbul, where his wife, Hürrem Sultan (in the West also known as Roxelana; lived 1502-1558), and his sons fought for Süleyman's favor and ultimately for power in the Empire through various court intrigues. However, one of the aggravating circumstances that surrounded the Habsburg mission was the fact that the brother of Ferdinand I, Charles V, fought hard for supremacy over the Ottoman navy in the Mediterranean at the same time. Moreover, France, allied to the Ottoman Empire, denigrated the Habsburgs through its ambassadors in Istanbul, and hindered the work of Habsburg diplomats. These circumstances did not offer much hope for success of the Habsburg mission.¹⁹

Vrančić's appointment as the head of such a sensitive and demanding mission is an indication that Ferdinand I must have had utmost confidence in Vrančić.²⁰ It is indeed appropriate to say that the Habsburg mission to Istanbul was of immense importance for the relations between the two genuine superpowers of the sixteenth century, as well as for the contemporary political constellation in Europe - which can, for instance, be compared to the importance the American embassy in Moscow had at the period of diplomatic struggle between the superpowers of the United States of America and the Soviet Union in the second half of the twentieth century.²¹

Vrančić was an exceptional diplomat with more than twenty years of experience in missions across Europe. He embarked on the Istanbul mission together with Francis Zay, a Hungarian aristocrat and officer in Habsburg service, commander of the Habsburg Danube flotilla (also known as *Franciscus Zay* and *Zay Ferenc*; lived 1498-1570). Zay was not only an experienced soldier, but an intellectual with extensive education as well. He participated in numerous battles with the Ottomans, and maintained good relations with Ottoman commanders in Hungary. That is the reason why he was chosen for a member of the Habsburg delegation.²²

19 TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 162-163, 174. MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku“, 2-3. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 115-117. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, 11.

20 MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku“, 8.

21 LONČAR i SORIĆ, „Pismom protiv nepoželjnih čitatelja III“, 18.

22 TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 162-163. ÁCS, „The Good and Honest Turk“, 270. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 115-116. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, 11.

19 TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 162-163, 174. MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po balkanskem poluotoku“, pp. 2-3. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 115-117. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, p. 11.

20 MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po balkanskem poluotoku“, p. 8.

21 LONČAR and SORIĆ, „Pismom protiv nepoželjnih čitatelja III“, p. 18.

22 TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 162-163. ÁCS, „The Good and Honest Turk“, p. 270. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 115-116. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, p. 11.

iznosio svoje poglede na osmanska osvajanja u jugoistočnoj Europi. Kao i brojni drugi humanistički pisci onoga vremena, osmanske prodore u kršćansku Europu smatrao je vrlo dramatičnima i pogubnima za opstanak hrvatskoga i drugih naroda ugroženih od Osmanskoga Carstva. Sa zabrinutošću je opisivao razaranja u južnougarskim zemljama koje su se našle na putu osmanskoj sili. I u korespondenciji nastaloj nakon istanbulskih misija ukazivao je na osmansku prijetnju i tvrdio da se europske sile moraju jače angažirati u borbi protiv Osmanlija, a ne u međusobnim borbama, te koristiti svaku priliku za borbu protiv zajedničkog neprijatelja kršćanstva.²³

Habsburšku misiju u Istanbul treba promatrati u kontekstu uvriježenih diplomatskih metoda onoga vremena: habsburški poslanici na put su krenuli s brojnim darovima i novcem kojim su namjeravali udobrovoljiti, odnosno potplatiti visoke osmanske dužnosnike, velikog vezira i druge uglednike, s ciljem da posredno povoljno utječu na sultana i njegove odluke. Takve metode koristili su habsburški poslanici u ranijim i u kasnijim misijama, kao i diplomati raznih drugih država, i to je bila uhodana i korisna metoda ishođenja političkih ciljeva u Istanbulu. Ferdinand I. dao je u zadatku svojim diplomatima da pokušaju ishoditi da sultan Sulejman I. pristane vratiti one dijelove Ugarske koje je osvojio u dotadašnjim ratnim pohodima. U zamjenu za te ustupke habsburški bi vladar pristao plaćati veći godišnji danak od 150 000 zlatnika. Habsburška strana bila je prilično sigurna da sultan neće na to pristati. Zato su habsburški poslanici kao zamjenski cilj imali ishoditi da sultan prizna habsburško pravo na vlast nad Transilvanijom u zamjenu za godišnji danak od 40 000 zlatnika.²⁴

Nakon što je Vrančić u Budimu preko Ali-paše ishodio iz Istambula odgovor da se habsburško poslanstvo može sigurno zaputiti u osmansku prijestolnicu, Vrančić i Zay započeli su 26. srpnja 1553. godine svoje putovanje iz Budima niz Dunav na četiri velike lađe i uz pratnju šest riječnih brodica. U sastavu poslanstva bile su ukupno 62 osobe, među kojima brojni vojnici i časnici, zatim kuhari, krojači, konjušari i drugo pomoćno osoblje. Putovali su jedino danju zbog opasnosti noćnog putovanja rijekom. Dunav je tijekom

In the years preceding the first Istanbul mission, Vrančić's correspondence presented his view of Ottoman conquests in Southeast Europe in numerous instances. Just as many other humanist writers of the period, he considered Ottoman incursions into Christian Europe very dramatic and damaging for the survival of the Croatian nation, as well as of the other nations threatened by the Ottoman Empire. He anxiously described the destruction in southern Hungarian lands that stood in the way of Ottoman forces. In his correspondence produced after the Istanbul missions he continued to caution about the Ottoman threat, and stated that European nations need to become more engaged in the fight against the Ottomans, and not in mutual conflicts, needing to use every opportunity to fight against the common enemy of Christendom.²³

The Habsburg mission to Istanbul needs to be viewed in the context of conventional diplomatic methods of the period: the Habsburg emissaries started their journey carrying numerous gifts and money with which they were intended to appease, that is, to bribe high Ottoman officials, the grand vizier and other dignitaries, aiming to indirectly favorably affect the Sultan and his decisions. These methods were used by Habsburg diplomats in both, their earlier and later missions, as well as by diplomats of various other countries, and this was a useful and widely accepted method of achieving political goals in Istanbul. Ferdinand I entrusted his diplomats with the difficult task of making Sultan Süleyman I accept giving over parts of Hungary that he had won in his previous military campaigns. In exchange for these concessions, the Habsburg ruler would accept to pay a larger annual tribute of 150,000 gold coins. The Habsburgs were quite sure that the Sultan would not agree to such a deal. That is why the Habsburg envoys were sent to Istanbul with a substitute goal of obtaining Sultan's recognition of the Habsburg right to rule Transylvania in exchange for a yearly tribute of 40,000 gold coins.²⁴

Through Ali Pasha of Buda Vrančić had received a reply from Istanbul that the Habsburg mission could safely travel to the Ottoman capital. Thus on July 26, 1553, Vrančić and Zay started their journey from Buda along the Danube River in four large vessels, escorted by six

23 MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, 24-25.

24 HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, sv. 1, 465. MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku“, 3. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 174-175.

23 MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, pp. 24-25.

24 HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, Vol. 1, p. 465. MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po balkanskem poluotoku“, p. 3. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 174-175.

16. i 17. stoljeća bio uobičajena ruta na putu iz srednje Europe prema Istanbulu. Habsburško je poslanstvo iz osmanske prijestolnice primilo pismo kojim mu se jamčila sigurnost na putu, dakle radilo se o nečemu što bi se moglo usporediti s modernim vizama. Kod Beograda je delegacija nastavila putovanje kopnenim putem uz tok rijeke Morave, a od grada Niša dalje kroz osmansku Bugarsku i Trakiju prema Istanbulu. Vrančić je tijekom toga putovanja napisao svoj nedovršeni putopis naslovjen *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim* (Putovanje iz Budima u Drinopolje/Jedrene/Edirne).²⁵ Dje-lo opisuje rutu putovanja od Budima do Edirnea, ali Vrančić završava putopis bez opisa Edirnea, kao i bez preostale dionice puta do Istanbula. Taj dio putopisa izgubio se tijekom prošlih stoljeća. Sačuvani dio putopisa, pak, sadrži geografske i etnografske opise osmanskih pokrajina kroz koje je delegacija prošla. Poslanstvo je konačno stiglo u Istanbul nakon mjesec dana putovanja, 25. kolovoza 1553. godine.²⁶

Poslanici su od habsburškoga vladara dobili i jedan mnogo lakši zadatok: ishoditi puštanje iz zatvora prvega habsburškoga stalnog poslanika u Istanbulu, Giovannija Marije Malvezzija, što su i uspjeli. Malvezzi je prema Ferdinandovoj zamisli trebao biti Vrančićev i Zayev suradnik u zadaći ishodenja mirovnog ugovora. Habsburški stalni poslanik prethodne je dvije godine proveo u osmanskem zatvoru, kamo ga je sultan Sulejman smjestio nakon što je postao nezadovoljan njegovim odgovorima na sultanov upit o istinitosti glasina da je Ferdinand I. uspostavio vlast nad Transilvanijom. Malvezzi je nijekao te glasine, koje su se pokazale točnima, pa je sultan izgubio strpljenje i dao ga zatvoriti. Ferdinand je zahtjevao od sultana Sulejmana da pusti na slobodu njegova poslanika, jer mu je ionako trebala biti zajamčena diplomatska nepovrednost. Sultan dugo nije popuštao i izjavio je da je pritvorenog Malvezzija smatrao jamcem habsburške volje za mirnim rješavanjem međusobnih sukoba.²⁷

25 Vrančićev putopis prvi je objavio talijanski pisac i kartograf ALBERTO FORTIS u djelu *Viaggio in Dalmazia (Putovanje po Dalmaciji)* objavljenom u Veneciji 1774. godine. Usp. izd. FORTIS, *Put po Dalmaciji*. Za analizu Vrančićeva putopisa na engleskom jeziku usp. DIVNA MRDEŽA ANTONINA, „Similarities and Differences of Discourses in the Travel Books of Antun Vrančić and Marco Antonio Pigafetta”, u: *History as a Foreign Country. Historical Imagery in the South-Eastern Europe*, ur. Zrinka Blažević, Davor Dukić, Ivana Brković (Bonn: Bouvier, 2015), 197-216.

26 HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, sv. 1, 465. MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku”, 4, 8-9, 58. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 163, 182. FORTIS, *Put po Dalmaciji*, 119-120. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 117-119. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, 36-37.

smaller river boats. The delegation comprised of 62 persons, mostly soldiers and officers, yet also cooks, tailors, stablemen and other auxiliary staff. They traveled only by day because of the dangers of night travel on the river. During the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the Danube was the preferred passageway en route from Central Europe to Istanbul. The Habsburg envoys received a letter from the Ottoman capital guaranteeing their safety on the road to Istanbul, something comparable to modern visas. From Belgrade the delegation continued their journey by land along the river Morava, and from the town of Niš onwards through Ottoman Bulgaria and Thrace toward Istanbul. En route Vrančić wrote his unfinished travelogue entitled *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim* (Travel from Buda to Adrianople/Edirne).²⁵ The work describes the travel route from Buda to Edirne, but Vrančić ends his travelogue without describing Edirne. The remaining section of the travel to Istanbul was lost in the course of centuries past. The preserved part, however, contains geographical and ethnographical descriptions of Ottoman provinces through which the delegation passed. The envoys finally reached Istanbul after a month of travel, on August 25, 1553.²⁶

The Habsburg ruler gave the emissaries yet another, somewhat easier task: to obtain the release from prison of the first Habsburg residential envoy in Istanbul, Giovanni Maria Malvezzi, which they succeeded in doing. According to Ferdinand's idea, Malvezzi was supposed to assist Vrančić and Zay in the task of obtaining the peace agreement. Malvezzi spent the preceding two years in an Ottoman prison, where he was thrown by Sultan Süleyman after he became dissatisfied with envoy's replies to his questions about the veracity of the rumors of Ferdinand I having established his authority over Transylvania. Malvezzi denied the rumors, which, however, proved to be true, so the Sultan lost his patience and had him jailed. Ferdinand demanded of the Sultan the release of his envoy because, after all, his diplomatic immunity

25 Vrančić's travelogue was first published by Italian writer and cartographer ALBERTO FORTIS in his work *Viaggio in Dalmazia (Travel through Dalmatia)*, which was published in Venice in 1774. Cf. FORTIS, *Put po Dalmaciji*. For an analysis of Vrančić's travelogue in English language, cf. DIVNA MRDEŽA ANTONINA, „Similarities and Differences of Discourses in the Travel Books of Antun Vrančić and Marco Antonio Pigafetta”, in: *History as a Foreign Country. Historical Imagery in the South-Eastern Europe*, eds. Zrinka Blažević, Davor Dukić and Ivana Brković (Bonn: Bouvier, 2015), pp. 197-216.

26 HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, Vol. 1, p. 465. MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku”, p. 4, 8-9, 58. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 163, 182. FORTIS, *Put po Dalmaciji*, pp. 119-120. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 117-119. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, pp. 36-37.

Već drugoga dana nakon dolaska u Istanbul habsburški su poslanici posjetili velikog vezira Rustem-pašu (veliki vezir 1544.-1553. i 1555.-1561.), a idućeg dana i druge osmanske vezire: Ahmed-pašu, Ibrahim-pašu i Hajdar-pašu. Idućega dana primljeni su u divanu²⁸ i zatim ih je primio i sam sultan Sulejman. Sultanovu angažiranost oko pitanja odnosa s habsburškom stranom pokazuje činjenica da je osobno razgovarao s poslanicima, što inače nije bio slučaj, nego bi drugi osmanski dužnosnici govorili u sultanovo ime. Sulejman je pristao odmah primiti habsburško poslanstvo jer je već narednog dana oputovao na istok Male Azije, gdje je započinjao Osmansko-safavidski rat (1553.-1555.). Sultan se pokazao kao vrlo nezgodan pregovarač za habsburške poslanike, jer je odbio oba habsburška prijedloga da novcem „otkupe“ ugarske zemlje, odnosno Transilvaniju. Vrančić i Zay ostali su bez načina da nastave pregovore oko Transilvanije jer sultan nikako nije namjeravao prepustiti tu pokrajinu Ferdinandu. Zato su poslanici morali čekati u Istanbulu da Ferdinand pošalje nove upute za pregovaranje, a Malvezzi je bio određen da oputuje u Beč kako bi donio nove upute. Vrančić i Zay su toga istog dana, 29. kolovoza, s Rustem-pašom dogovorili petogodišnje produženje mirovnog ugovora i smanjenje godišnjega danka koji je habsburški vladar plaćao sultani na polovicu dotadašnjeg iznosa od 30.000 zlatnika. Taj je dogovor, međutim, još trebao biti potvrđen nakon povratka stalnog poslanika. Rustem-paša je tijekom tih razgovora bio obijestan prema habsburškim poslanicima i umanjivao je habsburška postignuća u ratu u Transilvaniji, ali habsburški diplomati nisu se dali smesti. Drugom prilikom su Vrančić i Zay uspjeli srdačnije razgovarati s Rustem-pašom jer su počeli govoriti na hrvatskom jeziku. Vrančiću je hrvatski bio materinski jezik, a Zay ga je naučio. Rustem-paši je, pak, hrvatski također bio materinski jezik, jer je vjerojatno bio rodom iz hrvatske obitelji iz okolice Skradina.²⁹

was to be guaranteed. The Sultan was relentless for a long time and commented that he considered the imprisoned ambassador the guarantor of the Habsburg will to peacefully resolve mutual conflicts.²⁷

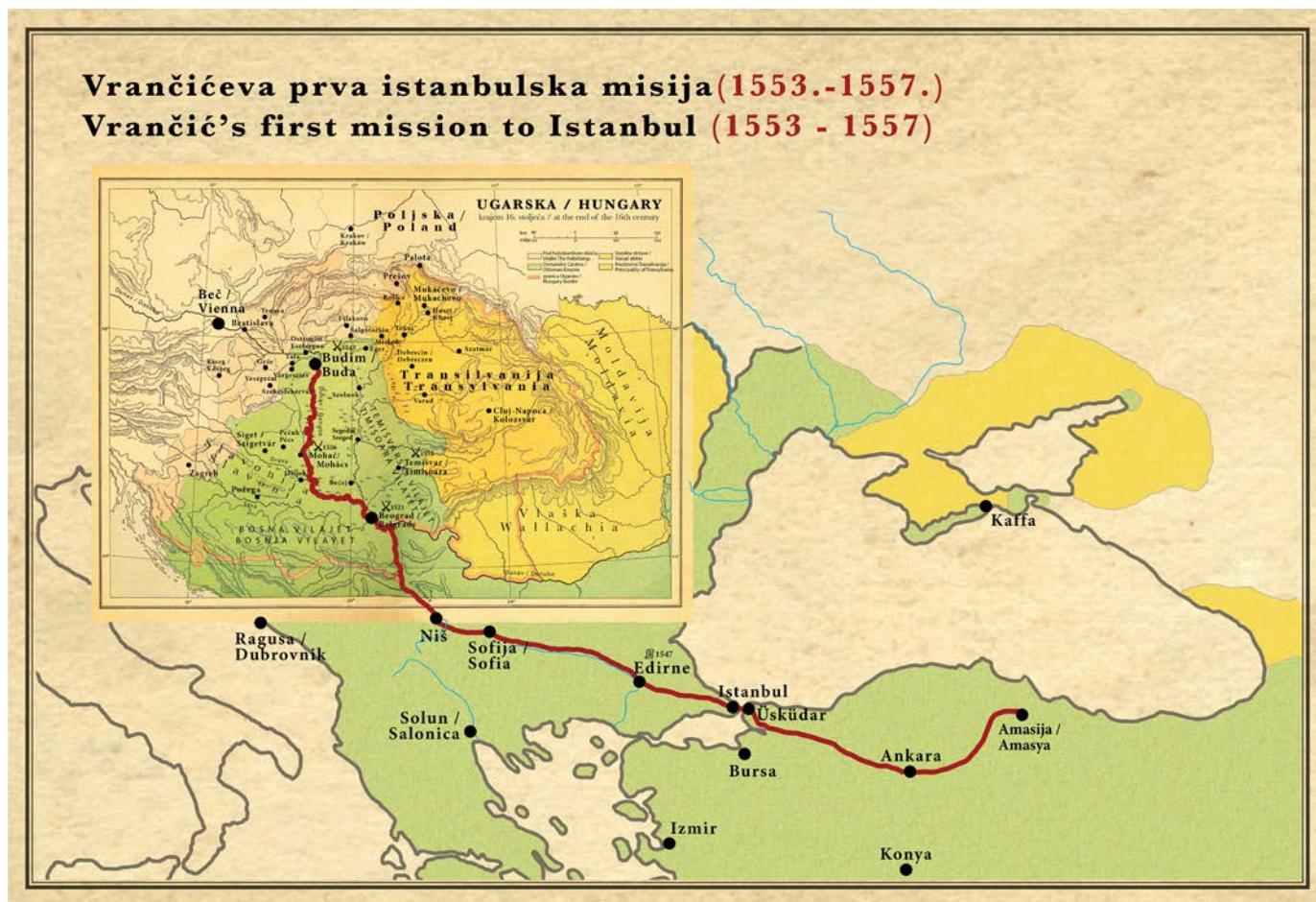
Already on the second day after their arrival to Istanbul, the Habsburg emissaries visited the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha (Grand Vizier 1544-1553 and 1555-1561), and the day after they visited other Ottoman viziers: Ahmed Pasha, Ibrahim Pasha and Haydar Pasha. The next day they were received in the Divan, and then Sultan Süleyman himself received them in audience. The Sultan's active involvement in the matter of Ottoman relations with the Habsburgs is highlighted by the fact that he spoke personally with the envoys, which was not usually the case, as other Ottoman high officials would speak in Sultan's name. Süleyman accepted to receive the Habsburg delegation immediately, because the very next day he went on a journey to the east of Asia Minor, where the Ottoman-Safavid War (1553-1555) was beginning. The Sultan turned out to be a very difficult negotiator for the Habsburg envoys, because he rejected both Habsburg proposals of "buying out" the Hungarian lands, especially Transylvania, with money. Vrančić and Zay had no way to continue negotiations about Transylvania, as the Sultan did in no way intend to leave the province to Ferdinand. For that reason the emissaries had to wait in Istanbul for the Habsburg ruler to send new instructions for negotiations, and Malvezzi was chosen to travel to Vienna with the aim of bringing new instructions. That same day, August 29, Vrančić and Zay arranged with Rüstem Pasha a five-year extension of the peace agreement and the decrease of the annual tribute which the Habsburg ruler paid to the Sultan to 15,000 gold coins, half of the amount paid hitherto. This agreement, however, still needed to be confirmed after the return of the residential envoy. During these talks, Rüstem Pasha was demonstrating arrogance toward the Habsburg envoys and belittled Habsburg accomplishments in the war in Transylvania,

27 HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, sv. 1, 464. MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku“, 3. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 174. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 115. ÁCS, „The Good and Honest Turk“, 268.

28 **Divan** (osmanski turski: *divan*) jest osmanski državni savjet, odnosno vezirska vijeće, u kojem je sjedio određen broj vezira, odnosno paša, te drugih visokih osmanskih dužnosnika. Broj vezira s vremenom se povećavao. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1966), 220.1966), p. 220.

27 HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, Vol. 1, p. 464. MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku“, p. 3. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, p. 174. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, p. 115. ÁCS, „The Good and Honest Turk“, p. 268.

28 **Divan** (Ottoman Turkish: *divan*) was the Ottoman state council, which was composed of a certain number of viziers, i.e., pashas, and other Ottoman high state officials. The number of viziers increased in time. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1966), p. 220.



Vrančić je svoja pisma, odnosno izvještaje koje je slao iz Istanbula habsburškom vladaru uglavnom pisao zajedno sa Zayem. U njima su navodili relevantne i provjerene informacije o društveno-političkim događajima u Osmanskom Carstvu, kao i razne glasine koje su dobivali iz sumnjivih izvora i koje nikako nisu mogli provjeriti. Svoje opširne izvještaje slali su preko glasonoša koji su putovali ili kopnenim putem preko Edirnea, ili morskim putem preko mletačkih teritorija. Iako je habsburška delegacija boravila u Istanbulu pod stalnim nadzorom osmanskih dužnosnika, kao informanti i doušnici služili su im razni državni službenici, ulični prodavači i druge osobe, koje su očito potplaćivali da rade nezakonite stvari, jer je iz nekih Vrančićevih pisama očito da je habsburško poslanstvo do dijela informacija dolazilo podmićivanjem i drugim špijunskim aktivnostima, bez obzira na opasnosti koje su im prijetile. Uspjeli su uspostaviti veze i s brojnim pripadnicima raznih

but the Habsburg diplomats were not to be deterred by such acts. On another occasion, Vrančić and Zay were able to talk with Rüstem Pasha more cordially because they started to talk in Croatian language. Croatian was Vrančić's mother tongue, while Zay had learned it. Croatian was Rüstem Pasha's mother tongue too, as it is believed that he was born in a Croatian family in the vicinity of the Croatian town of Skradin.²⁹

Vrančić wrote his letters, namely, the reports he sent from Istanbul to the Habsburg ruler, mostly in cooperation with Zay. In them the duo noted relevant and verified information on social and political events in the Ottoman Empire, as well as various rumors that they collected from doubtful sources which they did not have the possibility to corroborate. They sent their extensive reports through messengers who traveled either by land via Edirne, or by sea via the Venetian territories. Although the Habsburg delegation resided in Istanbul under constant surveillance by Ottoman officials, they

29 HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, sv. 1, 465. MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku”, 3. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 174-175.

29 HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, Vol. 1, p. 465. MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po balkanskem poluotoku”, p. 3. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 174-175.

etničkih skupina koje su živjele u Osmanskom Carstvu, i pomoću veza s tim pojedincima skupljali su informacije o pobunama protiv osmanske vlasti na Kavkazu, u Maloj Aziji i na Bliskom istoku. Te su informacije prosljedivali Ferdinandu I. i njegovim dužnosnicima. Iz njihovih izvještaja, u kojima tema Osmansko-safavidskoga rata zauzima najviše prostora, jasno je da su smatrali da je osmansko-safavidski sukob vrlo pogoduje habsburškim interesima jer odvlači pozornost Osmanlija od situacije u srednjoj Europi i troši njihove kapacitete za rat na europskom tlu. Osmansko Carstvo nije bilo spremno ratovati u isto vrijeme na dva vrlo udaljena bojišta, i to je ono što je za vrijeme Osmansko-safavidskog rata išlo na ruku habsburškoj strani. Vrančić je u svojim komentarima otvoreno „navijao“ za Safavidsko Carstvo i iznosio nade da će Osmansko-safavidski rat biti dugotrajan i iscrpljujući za njegove sudionike. Pored toga, Vrančić i Zay smatrali su da su neki osmanski susjedi, npr. Gruzijci, također mogli zaratiti protiv Osmanlija i time olakšati vojni položaj habsburških i ugarskih zemalja. Naime, Gruzija se jedanput već bila uključila u sukobe Osmanlija sa susjedima, kada je 1544. surađivala sa Safavidskim Carstvom protiv Osmanlija. Zahvaljujući izvještajima iz Istanbula, Ferdinand i njegovo državno vodstvo imali su detaljan uvid u situaciju na osmansko-safavidskom bojištu. Vrančić je smatrao da habsburška strana može ishoditi mir s Osmanlijama jedino dok traje njihov rat sa Safavidskim Carstvom, jer za to vrijeme sultan Sulejman neće imati slobodne ruke za djelovanje i na europskom bojištu.³⁰

managed to employ various state officials, street vendors and other persons in their service as informants and spies; apparently they were able to bribe them to do unlawful acts, because some of Vrančić's letters clearly attest that the Habsburg delegation attained a portion of their information through bribery and espionage, regardless of the dangers associated with such actions. They also managed to establish links with numerous representatives of various ethnic groups that lived throughout the Ottoman Empire. By using their connections with those individuals they gathered information on revolts against Ottoman rule in the Caucasus, in Asia Minor, and in the Middle East. They forwarded this information to Ferdinand I and his officials. Their reports, wherein the Ottoman-Safavid War occupies the most prominent place, clearly state that they believed that the mentioned conflict was very convenient for Habsburg interests, as it was drawing Ottoman attention away from the situation in Central Europe, and was draining their resources for a war on European soil. The Ottoman Empire was not prepared to wage a war simultaneously on two very remote battlefields, which the Habsburgs benefited from during the Ottoman-Safavid War. In his commentaries, Vrančić openly “rooted” for the Safavid Empire and expressed hope that the Ottoman-Safavid War would be long lasting and exhausting for its participants. Furthermore, Vrančić and Zay thought that some Ottoman neighbors, for instance the Georgians, could also go to war against the Ottomans and thereby ease the military position of the Habsburg and the Hungarian lands. In fact, Georgia had already been once before involved in the conflicts of the Ottomans with their neighbors, when in 1544 it cooperated with the Safavid Empire against the Ottomans. Thanks to the reports from Istanbul, Ferdinand and his state leadership had a detailed insight into the situation on the Ottoman-Safavid battleground. Vrančić believed that the Habsburgs could have signed a peace agreement with the Ottomans only for the duration of the war with the Safavids, because for the duration of the war Sultan Süleyman would not have had a free hand to act on the European battlefield, as well.³⁰

30 TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 160, 164-167, 175. FODOR, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire*, 100, 129. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, 18-19, 37.

30 TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 160, 164-167, 175. FODOR, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire*, p. 100. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, pp. 18-19, 37.

VRANČIĆEVO KODIRANJE DIPLOMATSKIH PORUKA I PRIVATNIH PISAMA / VRANČIĆ'S CODING OF DIPLOMATIC MESSAGES AND PRIVATE LETTERS

Vrančić se tijekom svojih diplomatskih zadataka u službi Transilvanije i Habsburgovaca služio kodiranjem kako bi onemogućio da njegove poruke budu čitljive stranim agentima koji bi presjekli njegovu pisani komunikaciju s nadređenima. Pored toga, Vrančić je kodirao i pisma koja je slao članovima obitelji.³¹ I prilikom poslanstva u Istanbul Vrančić je sa sobom ponio priručnike za kodiranje poruka. Koristio je nekoliko različitih kodnih sustava, ovisno o tome komu je slao pojedino pismo. Šifre su bile raznovrsne: od posebnih šifri za pojedino slovo abecede, pa do posebnih šifri za različite riječi, ovdje uključujući titule, osobna i geografska imena, diplomatske pojmove itd. Smisao posebnoga kodiranja pojedinih imena i pojnova ležao je u tome da se poruke moglo još teže dešifrirati ako su pojedine ključne i najčešće korištene riječi imale posebne kodne oznake; ako bi neželjeni čitatelj razotkrio šifru abecede, i dalje ne bi znao protumačiti značenje ključnih riječi. Za neke kodne sustave poznato je da ih je Vrančić koristio tijekom prvoga poslanstva u Istanbulu, jer su Vrančić i Zay u Istanbulu 1554. i 1555. godine primili barem trinest kodiranih pisma koja im je poslao Ferdinand I., a poslanici su također šifrirali barem neka od pisama koja su slali habsburškom vladaru u Beč. Priroda diplomatskoga posla zahtjevala je da se kodni sustavi mijenjaju s vremena na vrijeme i da se tako umanji mogućnost da neprijatelj dešifrira predugo korišteni sustav. Tako su i habsburški poslanici vjerojatno dobili iz Beča novi sustav šifriranja koji je njihov novi kolega Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq donio u Istanbul nakon svojeg imenovanja za stalnog poslanika 1554. godine. Sačuvana korespondencija habsburških poslanika ukazuje na to da se i taj novi kodni sustav koristilo za razmjenu pisama s habsburškim vodstvom u Beču. Izgleda da su Vrančić i Zay za cijelo vrijeme svojega boravka u Istanbulu pisali pisma bez šifriranja, da su ih zatim pomoćnici šifrirali i slali u Beč,

During his diplomatic missions in the service of both Transylvania and the Habsburgs, Vrančić used coding in order to prevent his messages from being read by foreign agents who would intercept his written communication with his superiors. Moreover, Vrančić used to encode the letters that he sent to members of his family.³¹ During the mission to Istanbul too, Vrančić brought with him his coding manuals. He used a number of different coding systems, depending on the recipient of individual letters. These codes were diverse: from specific codes for every single letter of the alphabet, to specific codes for different words, including titles, personal and geographic names, diplomatic concepts, etc. The reasoning behind the encoding of individual names and concepts laid in the fact that the messages were even harder to decipher if the individual keywords and most commonly used words had specific code tags; if an unintended reader were to break the alphabet code, he still would not have been able to interpret the meaning of the keywords. It is known that Vrančić had used certain coding systems in the course of his first mission to Istanbul, since in 1554 and 1555 Vrančić and Zay received at least thirteen encrypted letters that were sent by Ferdinand I., and the emissaries too encoded at least some of the letters that they sent to Vienna to the Habsburg ruler. The nature of the diplomatic profession demanded periodic changes of the coding systems, so that the possibility of an enemy deciphering an overused coding system was minimized. Thus the Habsburg envoys must have received a new coding system from Vienna, which their new colleague Busbecq brought to Istanbul after his appointment as the new residential envoy in 1554. The preserved correspondence of the Habsburg emissaries suggests that this new coding system was used for the exchange of letters with the Habsburg officials in Vienna, as well. It seems that for the entire duration of their stay in Istanbul Vrančić and Zay were writing letters without encoding them, instead having their assistants encode them and send them to Vienna

31 DARKO NOVAKOVIĆ, „Neobjavljena ostavština Antuna, Mihovila i Fausta Vrančića: R-5717 u rukopisnoj zbirci Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice u Zagrebu“, u: *Zbornik o Antunu Vrančiću. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenoga skupa o Antunu Vrančiću*, Šibenik, 11.-12. lipnja 2004., ur. Vilijam Lakić (Šibenik: Gradska knjižnica Juraj Šižgorić, 2005), 161-162. LONČAR, „Pismom protiv nepoželjnih čitatelja II“, 119-132. LONČAR i SORIĆ, „Pismom protiv nepoželjnih čitatelja III“, 18.

31 DARKO NOVAKOVIĆ, „Neobjavljena ostavština Antuna, Mihovila i Fausta Vrančića: R-5717 u rukopisnoj zbirci Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice u Zagrebu“, in: *Zbornik o Antunu Vrančiću. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenoga skupa o Antunu Vrančiću*, Šibenik, 11.-12. lipnja 2004., ed. Vilijam Lakić (Šibenik: Gradska knjižnica Juraj Šižgorić, 2005), pp. 161-162. LONČAR, „Pismom protiv nepoželjnih čitatelja II“, pp. 119-132. LONČAR and SORIĆ, „Pismom protiv nepoželjnih čitatelja III“, p. 18.

gdje su drugi pomoćnici dešifrirali pisma za Ferdinanda I. Verzije tih pisama koja su ostala sačuvana do danas jesu dešifrirane verzije Vrančićevih pisama koje je objavila Mađarska akademija znanosti i koje su korištene u ovom izdanju.³²

where another set of assistants were deciphering them for Ferdinand I. The versions of these letters that were preserved to this day are the deciphered versions of Vrančić's letters that were consequently published by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and are also used for this publication.³²

DOLAZAK OGIERA GHISELINA DE BUSBECQA U ISTANBUL / THE ARRIVAL OF OGIER GHISELIN DE BUSBECQ TO ISTANBUL

Malvezzi se u osmanskom zatvoru bio razbolio i zbog toga je dugo odgađan njegov povratak iz Beča u Istanbul. Može se ustvrditi i da je to bila samo izlika habsburškom vodstvu, koje je znalo da se nalazi u teškoj diplomatskoj situaciji i zato je otezalo sa slanjem novih uputa svojim poslanicima u osmanskoj prijestolnici. Krajem svibnja 1555. godine Malvezzi je dobio nove upute od habsburškog vladara, koje su uključivale jedino pravna opravdavanja habsburškog zauzeća Transilvanije. Vrančić i Zay su se za to vrijeme u Istanbulu diplomatskim sredstvima borili protiv utjecaja transilvanskih poslanika na osmanskoga sultana i pokušavali su izbjegći da Osmanlije povuku poteze koji bi išli u korist bivšoj regentici Izabeli i njezinu sinu. Transilvanski diplomati pokušali su ocrniti Vrančića tako što su osmanskim dužnosnicima izjavili da je Vrančić mijenjao političke strane, budući da je ranije bio u transilvanskoj službi. Vrančić je o tome izvijestio Ferdinanda, a habsburški vladar mu je u pismu poručio da nema ni najmanju namjeru povući ga kao poslanika i da se Vrančić iskazao na tome položaju. Doznalo se da Osmanlije pokušavaju ponovo postaviti Ivana Žigmunda na vlast u Transilvaniji. Pored toga, osmanske snage pobjeđivale su safavidsku vojsku u Osmansko-safavidskom ratu na istoku Male Azije. Te dvije vijesti potakle su habsburško vodstvo da ubrzaju slanje novoga stalnog poslanika s uputama za pregovore o Transilvaniji. Malvezzi je bio vrlo bolestan i ubrzo je umro, pa je na njegovo poslaničko mjesto, i to nakon više od godinu dana Malvezzijeva izbivanja, 20. siječnja 1555. godine u Istanbul poslan flamanski pisac, diplomat, zoolog i botaničar Ogier Ghiselin de

Since Malvezzi fell ill in the Ottoman prison, his return from Vienna to Istanbul was significantly delayed. One can argue that the situation was but an excuse for the Habsburg leadership, because they were aware of the severity of their diplomatic situation, and have thus delayed sending new instructions to their emissaries in the Ottoman capital. At the end of May 1555, Malvezzi received new instructions from the Habsburg ruler, which included only legal justifications of the Habsburg occupation of Transylvania. Meanwhile in Istanbul, Vrančić and Zay employed diplomacy against the influence of the Transylvanian envoys on the Ottoman Sultan trying to avert the Ottomans from making any moves that would benefit the former Queen Regent Isabella and her son. The Transylvanian diplomats tried to denigrate Vrančić by informing the Ottoman officials that Vrančić had been changing sides, as he had been in Transylvanian service previously. Vrančić informed Ferdinand about this, and the Habsburg ruler wrote back that he did not have the slightest intention to withdraw him as the emissary since Vrančić had proved himself well in the given position. The word came out that the Ottomans were trying to bring John Sigismund back to power in Transylvania. Furthermore, Ottoman forces were victorious against the Safavid army in the Ottoman-Safavid War in the east of Asia Minor. This news prompted the Habsburg leadership to speed up the sending of a new residential envoy with the instructions for negotiations on Transylvania. Malvezzi was very ill and soon died. After over a year of his absence, on January 20, 1555, the Habsburgs filled Malvezzi's position with a Flemish writer, diplomat,

32 LONČAR I SORIĆ, „Pismom protiv nepoželjnih čitatelja III”, 19-23, 28-29, 54-55.

31 LONČAR i SORIĆ, „Pismom protiv nepoželjnih čitatelja III”, pp. 19-23, 28-29, 54-55.

Busbecq (Augerius Gislenius Busbequius, 1522.-1592.), koji je otprije bio u habsburškoj službi i bio je na glasu kao stručnjak za diplomaciju. Prije misije u Istanbulu Busbecq je boravio u Engleskoj kao habsburški poslanik. U Istanbul je stigao s novim uputama habsburškoga vladara, koje su uključivale naredbu da se pošto-poto dogovori mir i ishodi očuvanje habsburške kontrole nad Transilvanijom. Ferdinand I. je radi uspjeha te misije bio voljan poslati jednoga od svojih najspasobnijih ljudi da pomogne Vrančiću i Zayu u pregovorima. Poslanici su trebali, ako ništa drugo, izmoliti da sultan pokloni Transilvaniju habsburškom vladaru u zamjenu za veliki danak. Zadaća habsburškoga poslanstva bila je vrlo teška i članovi misije smatrali su da su nove Ferdinandove upute neostvarive. Pored toga, sav novac koji je Busbecq donio sa sobom poslanici su potrošili na otplatu svojih dotadašnjih dugova. Nešto ranije, 6. listopada 1553. godine, Rustem-paša je smijenjen s položaja velikog vezira i na njegovo je mjesto postavljen dotadašnji drugi vezir, Kara Ahmed-paša (veliki vezir 1553.-1555.). Ahmed-paša je zatim poslao habsburške poslanike u grad Amasiju (današnji turski grad Amasya) na istoku Male Azije, gdje je sultan Sulejman bio na vojnom pohodu protiv Safavidskog Carstva. Sultan je u toj fazi rata postizao znatne vojne uspjehe protiv safavidskih snaga, pa je pod dojmom pobjede javio novom velikom vezиру da pošalje habsburške poslanike k njemu u Amasiju. Tako su habsburški diplomati bili prisiljeni napustiti Istanbul i zaputiti se na dugo i tegobno putovanje kroz Anatoliju, o kojoj nisu znali gotovo ništa, kako su i ustvrdili u svojim izvještajima Ferdinandu. Putovanje kroz Malu Aziju bilo je teško za svaku osobu, a vjerojatno je bilo naporno za Vrančića i Zaya, koji su tada bili u pedesetim godinama. Osmanskom su sultani nosili brojne darove, među ostalim 10 000 zlatnika danka za Transilvaniju i srebrne i pozlaćene vrčeve kao Ferdinandove osobne darove za sultana.³³

zoologist and botanist Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (also known as Augerius Gislenius Busbequius, 1522-1592), who had already been in the Habsburg service, and had the reputation of an expert in diplomacy. Prior to this mission in Istanbul, Busbecq was a Habsburg envoy to England. He arrived in Istanbul with new instructions from the Habsburg ruler, which included an order to conclude peace at all costs, and to preserve Transylvania under Habsburg control. In order to secure success of the mission, Ferdinand I decided to send one of his most competent men to assist Vrančić and Zay in the negotiations. If all else failed, the envoys were instructed to appeal to the Sultan to give away Transylvania to the Habsburg ruler in exchange for a considerable tribute. The task of the Habsburg delegation was very difficult and the members of the mission believed that the new instructions sent by Ferdinand were unachievable. Moreover, all the money that Busbecq had brought with him the envoys spent on the repayment of their previous debts. Earlier, on October 6, 1553, Rüstem Pasha was removed from the position of the Grand Vizier, and Kara Ahmed Pasha (Grand Vizier 1553-1555), the previous second vizier, filled his place. Ahmed Pasha sent the Habsburg emissaries to the town of Amasya, in the east of Asia Minor, where Sultan Süleyman resided during his military campaign against the Safavid Empire. In the current phase of the war, the Sultan was achieving significant successes against the Safavid forces, and under the impression of his victory, he informed the new Grand Vizier to send the Habsburg envoys to meet him in Amasya. Thus the Habsburg diplomats were forced to depart from Istanbul and head on a long and arduous journey through Anatolia, of which they knew almost nothing, as they confirmed in their reports to Ferdinand. Their route through Asia Minor would have been difficult for anyone, and must have been strenuous for Vrančić and Zay, then in their fifties. They carried numerous gifts to the Ottoman Sultan, among other things 10,000 gold coins of tribute for Transylvania, as well as silver and gilded cups which were Ferdinand's personal gifts to the Sultan.³³

³³ HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, sv. 1, 467. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 160, 167, 176. ÁCS, „The Good and Honest Turk”, 268-269. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 132-133, 158-160. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, 11-12. PAVIĆ, *Jugoistočna Europa*, 103.

³³ HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, Vol. 1, p. 467. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 160, 167, 176. ÁCS, „The Good and Honest Turk”, pp. 268-269. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 132-133, 158-160. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, pp. 11-12. PAVIĆ, *Jugoistočna Europa*, p. 103.

PRONALAZAK SPOMENIKA RIMSKOM CARU AUGUSTU U ANKARI / THE DISCOVERY OF THE ROMAN EMPEROR AUGUSTUS'S MONUMENT IN ANKARA

Habsburško poslanstvo zaputilo se 9. ožujka 1555. godine iz Istanbula u smjeru Male Azije za Amasiju kako bi se ondje susreli sa sultanom Sulejmanom. Njihovo putovanje pokazalo se vrlo važnim s obzirom na svoja postignuća na kulturnom polju više nego na diplomatskom, jer su se habsburški diplomati proslavili važnim arheološkim otkrićem u proljeće 1555. godine u Ankari (antička *Ancyra*), u središnjoj Anatoliji. Poslanici su 28. ožujka 1555. godine stigli u Ankaru i ondje su idućega dana u ruševinama, za koje se ispostavilo da su nekada bile hram rimskoga cara Oktavijana Augusta (vladao 27. pr. Kr. - 14. n. Kr.), pronašli natpis u mramoru. Kada su proučili natpis, shvatili su da se radilo o kopiji grobnoga natpisa koji se nalazio u sklopu Augustova mauzoleja u Rimu. Taj je natpis danas poznat pod nazivom *Res gestae divi Augusti* (Djela božanskog Augusta) ili *Monumentum*

On March 9, 1555, the Habsburg delegation went on a journey from Istanbul in the direction of Asia Minor and Amasya in order to meet with Sultan Süleyman. The importance of the voyage, however, does not lie in diplomatic success as much as it does in the archaeological discovery by the Habsburg diplomats in the spring of 1555 in Ankara, in central Anatolia. On March 28, 1555, the envoys arrived in Ankara, and the following day in the ruins, which turned out to be the temple of the Roman Emperor Octavian Augustus (ruled 27 BC -14 AD), found a marble inscription. After they analyzed it, they realized that it was a copy of the inscription on the Emperor's grave in the mausoleum of Augustus in Rome. This inscription is today known as *Res gestae divi Augusti* (The Deeds of the Divine Augustus) or *Monumentum Ancyranum* (The Ankara Monument). It is in fact a Greek and



Dio *Res gestae Divi Augusti* iz hrama *Monumentum Ancyranum* u Ankari /
Part of the *Res gestae Divi Augusti* from the *Monumentum Ancyranum* in Ankara

Ancyranum (Ankarski spomenik). Radi se o grčkom i latinskom tekstu u kamenu, u kojemu se opisuje Augustov život i u kojem su popisana njegova djela i pothvati tijekom vladavine. Svrha toga natpisa bila je propagandna, odnosno pomoću njega se rimske javnosti predstavljalo idealiziranu sliku Augustove vladavine. Original grobnoga natpisa iz Augustova mauzoleja u Rimu nije sačuvan, ali su s vremenom pronađene njegove kopije koje su bile postavljene diljem tadašnjega Rimskog Carstva. U rimske Ankari spomenik je bio postavljen u sklopu hrama posvećenog Rimu i caru Augustu, i koji se nalazi u današnjoj ankarskoj četvrti Ulus.³⁴

Još uvijek se ne može točno ustvrditi tko je točno pronašao taj artefakt. Po svemu sudeći, tomu su događaju prisustvovali Busbecq, Vrančić i drugi članovi delegacije, te su zajedno pročitali, preveli i identificirali rimski natpis kao popis Augustovih djela. Busbecq je, međutim, bio prva osoba koja je objavila dio natpisa u svojim djelima, pa su zasluge za otkriće gotovo potpuno pripale njemu samome, iako trebaju pripadati svim članovima delegacije.³⁵ Uostalom, Vrančić je imao mnogo šire klasično znanje i mnogo veće iskustvo iz arheologije nego Busbecq ili bilo koji drugi član delegacije. Dio rimskoga natpisa Busbecq je prvi put objavio 1581. godine u svojem djelu *Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum* (Putovanja u Konstantinopol i Amasiju), koje je 1589. godine ponovo objavljeno, ovaj put pod naslovom *Legationis Turcicae epistolae quatuor* (Četiri pisma iz turskog poslanstva), koje je poznatije pod proslavljenim skraćenim nazivom *Turcicae epistolae* (Turška pisma).³⁶ U svojim je zapisima Busbecq potvrdio pretpostavku da bi zasluga za pronalazak natpisa cara Augusta trebala pripadati svim članovima delegacije, jer je pronalazak natpisa opisao u množini: „Tu smo

Latin text carved in stone, in which the life of Octavian Augustus is described, and in which his deeds and endeavors are listed. The purpose of this monument was propaganda, that is, the intent to present an idealized image of Augustus' rule to the Roman public. The original of the grave inscription from the mausoleum of Augustus in Rome has not been preserved, however, in the course of time a number of its copies have been found, as they had been placed on various locations throughout the Roman Empire. In the Roman Ankara (Ancyra), the monument was located within the temple consecrated to Rome and to Emperor Augustus, the temple being located in the present-day Ulus district in Ankara.³⁴

It still has not been precisely determined who exactly found this artefact. In all likelihood, Busbecq, Vrančić and other members of the mission were present during the discovery, and together they read, translated and identified the Roman inscription as the list of deeds of Emperor Augustus. Busbecq, however, was the first person to publish a part of the inscription in his works, so the credit for the discovery almost exclusively went to him, although it should have gone to all members of the delegation.³⁵ Besides, Vrančić had a much wider classical education and much bigger experience in archaeology than Busbecq or any other member of the mission. Busbecq first published a part of the Roman inscription in 1581 in his work *Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum* (The Travels to Constantinople and Amasya), which was re-published in 1589, this time under the title *Legationis Turcicae epistolae quatuor* (Four Letters from the Turkish Legation), better known as *Turcicae epistolae* (The Turkish Letters).³⁶ In his later writings Busbecq confirmed the presumption that the credit for the discovery of the inscription of Em-

34 TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 160, 180. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 134-136. Za više podataka o natpisu cara Augusta vidjeti: ALISON COOLEY, *Res Gestae divi Augusti. Text, Translation and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

35 TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 160, 184-187. ÁCS, „The Good and Honest Turk“, 272. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 135. BIRNBAUM, *Humanists*, 227. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, 37-38.

36 TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 177. Za više o Busbecqu i o Turskim pismima vidjeti: OGIER GHISELIN DE BUSBECQ, *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, ur. Charles Thornton Forster i F. H. Blackburn Daniell (London: C. Kegan Paul, 1881), sv. 1 i 2. OGIER DE BUSBECQ, *The Turkish Letters of Ogier de Busbecq, Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople 1554-1562*, preveo Edward Seymour Forster, predgovor napisao Karl A. Roider (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005).

34 TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 160, 180. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 134-136. For more information on the inscription of Emperor Augustus, see: ALISON COOLEY, *Res Gestae divi Augusti. Text, Translation and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

35 TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 160, 184-187. ÁCS, „The Good and Honest Turk“, p. 272. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, p. 135. BIRNBAUM, *Humanists*, p. 227. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, pp. 37-38.

36 TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, p. 177. For more information on Busbecq and Turkish Letters, see: OGIER GHISELIN DE BUSBECQ, *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, eds. Charles Thornton Forster and F. H. Blackburn Daniell (London: C. Kegan Paul, 1881), Vol. 1 and 2. OGIER DE BUSBECQ, *The Turkish Letters of Ogier de Busbecq, Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople 1554-1562*, translated by Edward Seymour Forster, introduction written by Karl A. Roider (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005).

Fotografija hrama Rima i Augusta u Ankari, poznatoga kao
Monumentum Ancyranum /

Photography of the Temple of Roma and Augustus in Ankara, or *Monumentum Ancyranum*

vidjeli prekrasan natpis koji je sadržavao kopiju ploča na kojima je August dao sažetak svojih postignuća. Svojim ljudima dali smo da kopiraju koliko god je bilo čitljivo.³⁷ Otkriće natpisa cara Augusta predstavlja jedno od najvećih arheoloških otkrića ranoga novog vijeka.³⁸



peror Augustus should have gone to all members of the delegation, because he described the discovery of the inscription in plural form: "Here we saw a very beautiful inscription, containing a copy of the tablets in which Augustus gave a summary of his achievements. We made our people copy out as much as was legible."³⁷ The discovery of the inscription of Emperor Augustus represents one of the biggest archaeological discoveries of the early modern period.³⁸

³⁷ Prevedeno na temelju: BUSBECQ, *The Life and Letters*, sv. 1, 142-143. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 184-187. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 135-136. ACS, "The Good and Honest Turk", 272.

³⁸ TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 174.

³⁷ Translated on the basis of: BUSBECQ, *The Life and Letters*, Vol. 1, pp. 142-143. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 184-187. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRAUTOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 135-136. ACS, "The Good and Honest Turk", p. 272.

³⁸ TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, p. 174.

BORAVAK HABSBURŠKOGA POSLANSTVA U AMASIJI / THE SOJOURN OF THE HABSBURG DELEGATION IN AMASYA

Habsburški diplomati stigli su u Amasiju nakon mjesec dana putovanja, 7. travnja 1555. godine, i ondje su proboravili četiri tjedna. Sultan ih je vrlo brzo po dolasku primio i saslušao. Poslanici su mu prenijeli Ferdinande tvrdnje o zakonitosti habsburškog posjedovanja Transilvanije, te obećali osmanskom sultanu 80 000 zlatnika u zamjenu za osmansku potvrdu habsburške vlasti nad tom pokrajinom. Osim toga, obećali su velik novac visokim osmanskim dužnosnicima: sultanovu konjušaru 20 000 zlatnika, a vezirima po 14 000, 10 000 i 4000 zlatnika. Njihova poruka da Ferdinand traži da mu se prizna vlast nad Transilvanijom nije se svijedjela Sulejmanu, pa je njihov razgovor završio brzo i bez rezultata. Poslanici su pokušali utjecati na ugledne osmanske službenike obećavajući im novac u zamjenu za nagovor sultana da prihvati habsburški zahtjev, ali svi su im pokušaji bili uzaludni. Prijam habsburških poslanika pred sultanom bio je organiziran tako da su u isto vrijeme habsburški i safavidski poslanici predali svoje darove sultanu. Oba poslanstva bila su u vrlo podređenom položaju pred osmanskim sultanom jer su došla tražiti mir. Jedino je safavidsko poslanstvo u tome uspjelo: 10. svibnja safavidski diplomati postigli su sporazum o miru sa sultanom, zbog čega su habsburški diplomati bili razočarani. Naime, mir na istočnim granicama Osmanskoga Carstva značio je da se sultan Sulejman mogao posvetiti ratnim akcijama u Ugarskoj. Nakon sklapanja osmansko-safavidskog mira habsburški su poslanici uspjeli postići jedino to da je sultan prihvatio habsburški danak za Transilvaniju i pristao na primirje na rok od šest mjeseci. Sultan Sulejman inzistirao je na tome da Ferdinand pristane na to da se Ivan Žigmund vrati na vlast u Transilvaniji. Sultan je Busbecqu dao pismo za Ferdinanda, koje je Busbecq trebao odnijeti u Beč i zatim se vratiti s novim uputama za pregovore. Habsburško poslanstvo se 2. lipnja zaputilo natrag u Istanbul, odakle je Busbecq otpotovao u Beč kako bi Ferdinanda I. osobno izvijestio o osmanskim stavovima i odnio mu Sulejmanovo pismo. Dogovorenog primirje bilo je teško održati zbog neprestanih pograničnih sukoba manjeg intenziteta. Vrančić i Zay ostali su u Istanбуlu i ondje nisu imali važnih obaveza.³⁹

³⁹ TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 190-192. HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, sv. 1, 464, 467-468, 477. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *Svisina sve*, 137-139.

The Habsburg diplomats arrived in Amasya after a month-long journey, on April 7, 1555, and have stayed there for four weeks. The Sultan received them very soon after their arrival and listened to their message. The envoys conveyed Ferdinand's claims of the legality of the Habsburg possession of Transylvania to the Sultan, and promised to give the Sultan 80,000 gold coins in exchange for Ottoman confirmation of Habsburg authority over the province. Furthermore, they promised a large amount of money to high Ottoman officials: to the Sultan's stableman 20,000 gold coins and to the viziers 14,000, 10,000 and 4,000 gold coins. Süleyman did not appreciate that Ferdinand wished his rule over Transylvania to be recognized, so the exchange ended quickly and without results. The envoys tried to influence prominent Ottoman officials by promising them money in exchange for persuading the Sultan to accept the Habsburg demand, but all their efforts were in vain. The reception of the Habsburg diplomats before the Sultan was so organized that both Habsburg and Safavid envoys delivered their gifts to the Sultan simultaneously. Both delegations were in a very inferior position before the Ottoman Sultan because both came to plead for peace. However, only the mission of the Safavid delegation was successful: on May 10, the Safavid emissaries obtained a peace agreement with the Sultan, thereby disappointing the Habsburg diplomats. Peace on the eastern borders of the Ottoman Empire meant that Sultan Süleyman could now devote himself to war activities in Hungary. Once the Ottoman-Safavid peace agreement was signed, all the Habsburg envoys could achieve was that the Sultan accept the Habsburg tribute for Transylvania, and agree to a six-month truce. Sultan Süleyman insisted that Ferdinand accept John Sigismund's return to power in Transylvania. The Sultan gave Busbecq a letter for Ferdinand. Busbecq was supposed to deliver it to Vienna, and then return with new instructions for negotiations. On June 2, the Habsburg delegation headed back to Istanbul, from where Busbecq traveled to Vienna in order to personally inform Ferdinand I about the Ottoman attitude and deliver Süleyman's letter. The agreed truce was difficult to sustain due to incessant border conflicts of low intensity. Vrančić and Zay remained in Istanbul, without any important obligations for the moment.³⁹

³⁹ TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 190-192. HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, Vol. 1, pp. 464, 467-468, 477. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *Svisina sve*, pp. 137-139.

NEDIPLOMATSKE AKTIVNOSTI HABSBURŠKIH POSLANIKA U ISTANBULU / NON-DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITIES OF THE HABSBURG ENVOYS IN ISTANBUL

Dugotrajan boravak habsburškog mirovnog poslanstva u Istanbulu ukazuje na činjenicu da se u 16. stoljeću pregovaralo mnogo sporije nego u današnje vrijeme. Habsburški diplomati nisu sve raspoloživo vrijeme svojega boravka u Istanbulu trošili jedino na diplomatske razgovore, nego su u „praznom hodu“ između prijmova kod sultana i vezira uspijevali odvojiti velik dio svojega vremena za privatne interese. Za takve aktivnosti imali su vremena i zbog toga što je u ranome novom vijeku putovanje i slanje izvještaja trajalo osjetno duže nego u današnje vrijeme. Zato su poslanici, kako je ranije spomenuto, imali mnogo slobodnog vremena dok su čekali da novi habsburški stalni poslanik Busbecq doputuje u Istanbul. U tim dugačkim pauzama Zay je, s jedne strane, odvajao vrijeme za odlazak u lov i ribolov s osmanskim pašama s kojima se pokušavao na taj način sprijateljiti i steći njihovu naklonost. S druge strane, Vrančić je svoje slobodno vrijeme koristio za pisanje mnogobrojnih pisama svojim prijateljima i članovima obitelji u Mađarskoj, Hrvatskoj i Dalmaciji, te za razna etnološka, zoološka, botanička, arhitektonska i druga istraživanja Istanbula. Duga i bogata povijest osmanske prijestolnice pružala mu je široku i raznovrsnu podlogu za njegove znanstvene interese. Treba imati na umu da su onovremeni europski intelektualci znali vrlo malo o stvarnosti Osmanskoga Carstva, ali da su pokazivali veliku želju za umanjivanjem svojega neznanja - Vrančić je bio upravo takva osoba.⁴⁰

Vrančić je i ranije tijekom svojega života, kao pravi predstavnik humanizma, pokazivao interes za antičku povijest i arheološka istraživanja. Tako je tijekom putovanja u Istanbul i prilikom prolaska kroz pojedine balkanske gradove s antičkom poviješću u svojem putopisu citirao antičke autore. U gradu Nišu u osmanskoj Srbiji prepisao je nekoliko antičkih natpisa na latinskom jeziku, a u Istanbulu i okolicu tragao je za antičkim ruševinama i drugim arheološkim ostacima, prepisivao antičke natpise i skupljao grčki i rimski kovani novac. Osim toga, svojim je prijateljima slao vrijedne knjige koje je nalazio u Istanbulu i anatolskim gradovima.⁴¹

The long-term stay of the Habsburg peace delegation in Istanbul indicates that the negotiation process between countries was much slower in the sixteenth century than it is today. The Habsburg diplomats did not spend their entire stay in Istanbul on diplomatic activities exclusively. In their idle time, between receptions at the Sultan's palace and at the residences of the viziers, they spent a large amount of their time on their private interests. They could do that since travel and sending of reports in the early modern period lasted considerably longer than at present day. Thus the emissaries, as mentioned above, had a significant amount of free time while waiting for the new Habsburg residential envoy to arrive to Istanbul. During these long breaks, Zay, on the one hand, spent his time on hunting and fishing in the company of Ottoman pashas, with whom he tried to make friends and thus gain their favor. On the other hand, Vrančić spent his free time writing numerous letters to his friends and family members in Hungary, Croatia and Dalmatia, as well as on various ethnological, zoological, botanical, architectural and other research in Istanbul. The long and rich history of the Ottoman capital provided him with a wide and versatile foundation for his scientific interests. One has to bear in mind that contemporary European intellectuals knew very little about the realities of the Ottoman Empire; however, they demonstrated a great desire for reducing their ignorance - Vrančić being among them.⁴⁰

On many earlier occasions in his life, as a true representative of humanism, Vrančić demonstrated his interest for ancient history and archaeological explorations. On his journey to Istanbul, passing through the Balkan towns of rich ancient history, Vrančić quoted classical authors in his travelogue. In the town of Niš in Ottoman Serbia, he transcribed a number of ancient inscriptions in Latin, and in Istanbul and its environs he searched for ancient ruins and other archaeological remains, transcribed ancient inscriptions and collected Greek and Roman coins. Apart from that, he sent many valuable books that he had found in Istanbul and Anatolian cities to his friends.⁴¹

40 TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 175-176. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 133-134. ÁCS, „The Good and Honest Turk“, 268, 273.

41 FORTIS, *Put po Dalmaciji*, 131-132. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 175-176. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 123. BIRNBAUM, *Humanists*, 224. ÁCS, „The Good and Honest Turk“, 269. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, 38.

40 TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 175-176. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 133-134. ÁCS, „The Good and Honest Turk“, pp. 268, 273.

41 FORTIS, *Put po Dalmaciji*, pp. 131-132. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 175-176. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, p. 123. BIRNBAUM, *Humanists*, p. 224. ÁCS, „The Good and Honest Turk“, p. 269. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, p. 38.

Još jedno obilježje diplomatskog djelovanja habsburških poslanika u Istanbulu bilo je to da su morali truditi zadržavati što veću objektivnost prilikom svojih procjena političkog stanja u Istanbulu i u cijelom Osmanskem Carstvu. Ferdinand I. je u misiju poslao svoje najbolje ljude, svestrane intelektualce koji su morali zatomiti svoje negativne osjećaje spram Osmanlija kao neprijatelja druge vjere i moralnih i civilizacijskih nazora. Vrančićevi i Zayevi izvještaji pokazuju koliko su bili u stanju hladnokrvno, pronicljivo i bez predrasuda procijeniti stvarno stanje u neprijateljskoj zemlji. Tek su na rijetkim mjestima u svojim izvještajima iskazali averziju prema svojim osmanskim sugovornicima i prema Istanbulu kao mjestu spletki i prijetvorne diplomacije.⁴²

Another characteristic of the diplomatic activity of the Habsburg envoys in Istanbul was the fact that they had to be as objective as it was possible during their estimations of the political situation in Istanbul and in the Ottoman Empire generally. Ferdinand I sent his best men to this mission, versatile intellectuals who had to suppress their negative feelings toward the Ottomans as their enemies of another faith and different moral and civilizational attitudes. Vrančić's and Zay's reports show just how able they were to cold-bloodily, clear-sightedly and open-mindedly discern the real state of affairs in an enemy land. Their letters only rarely reveal aversion towards their Ottoman interlocutors and towards Istanbul as the place of intrigues and deceitful diplomacy.⁴²

DALJNJI DOGAĐAJI U ISTANBULU I OKONČANJE PREGOVORA / FURTHER EVENTS IN ISTANBUL AND THE COMPLETION OF NEGOTIATIONS

Za vrijeme Busbecqova izbivanja došlo je značajne promjene u Istanbulu: veliki vezir Kara Ahmed-paša pogubljen je 28. rujna 1555. godine zbog spletki sultanije Hurem, koja je željela da se njezin zet Rustem-paša vrati na položaj velikog vezira, što je i uspjela ostvariti. Vrančić i Zay u svojim su pismima iskazali iznenađenost tim događajima, o kojima su izvijestili Ferdinanda. Habsburški vladar uputio ih je u pismu posланом у studenom 1555. godine da na osmanski upit o tome hoće li im Habsburgovci prepustiti Transilvaniju izjave da Ferdinand takvu odluku ne može donijeti bez privole drugih kršćanskih vladara - dakle, habsburški je vladar odlučio otezati. Poslanici su dotle pokušali ugoditi novopostavljenom velikom vezиру slanjem skupocjene odjeće u ime svojega vladara. Rustem-paša bio je zadovoljan darovima, ali je želio jasan habsburški odgovor u vezi s Transilvanijom. Ferdinandovi poslanici, međutim, nisu mu ga mogli dati.⁴³

During Busbecq's absence significant changes occurred in Istanbul: Grand Vizier Kara Ahmed Pasha was executed on September 28, 1555 as a result of intrigues by Hürrem Sultan, who wished for her son-in-law Rüstem Pasha to return to the position of grand vizier, which she ultimately made happen. In their letters Vrančić and Zay expressed surprise by these events and informed Ferdinand accordingly. In response to the Ottoman inquiry on the possibility of Habsburg surrender of Transylvania, the Habsburg ruler sent a letter in November 1555, instructing his envoys to declare that he could not make such a decision without the consent of other Christian rulers - so, the Habsburg ruler decided to stall. In the meantime, the envoys tried to appease the newly appointed grand vizier by sending him expensive clothing in the name of their ruler. Rüstem Pasha was pleased with the gifts, but still wanted a clear Habsburg response concerning Transylvania. Ferdinand's emissaries, however, could not provide such a reply.⁴³

42 PAULA SUTTER FICHTNER, *Terror and Toleration. The Habsburg Empire Confronts Islam, 1526-1850* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), 78.

42 PAULA SUTTER FICHTNER, *Terror and Toleration. The Habsburg Empire Confronts Islam, 1526-1850* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), p. 78.

43 NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 140-143. HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, sv. 1, 469-470.

43 NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 140-143. HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, Vol. 1, pp. 469-470.

Takvo teško stanje prelomili su događaji na terenu. Naredne, 1556. godine, došlo je do značajnih političkih promjena u Transilvaniji, oko čije su se sudbine i vodili pregovori u Istanbulu. Sultan Sulejman je zaprijetio da će vojnom silom uspostaviti svoju vlast u Transilvaniji, pa je pod njegovim utjecajem transilvansko plemstvo pozvalo bivšu regenticu Izabelu i Ivana Žigmunda da se vrate iz Poljske i da Izabela ponovo preuzme regentsku čast. Tako je Izabela nastavila vladati u ime svojega sina, a Ferdinand I. morao je odustati od dalnjih namjera da uspostavi svoju vlast nad Transilvanijom, gdje nikako nije uspijevao uspostaviti potpunu kontrolu. Ferdinandov pristanak da se povuče iz Transilvanije uvelike je olakšao položaj članova istanbulske misije. Još je, međutim, trebalo dogovoriti koje će pogranične utvrde pripasti habsburškoj strani, a koje osmanskoj, što nije bio lak posao. Za to je vrijeme u središnjoj Ugarskoj od 11. lipnja do 21. srpnja 1556. godine budimski zapo-

Such a difficult situation was resolved by events on the ground. In 1556, significant political changes occurred in Transylvania, whose fate was the subject of negotiations in Istanbul. Sultan Süleyman threatened to establish his power in Transylvania by force, so the Transylvanian nobility called for the former Queen Regent Isabella and John Sigismund to return from Poland, expressing their desire for Isabella to retake the throne. Thus Isabella continued to rule in place of her son, and Ferdinand I was forced to abandon further attempts to establish his authority over Transylvania, without ever being successful in establishing full control there. Ferdinand's consent to withdraw from Transylvania significantly improved the position of the members of the Istanbul mission. However, they still had to distribute the border forts between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans, which was not an easy task. Meanwhile in Central Hungary from June 11 to July 21, 1556, Ottoman commander

Osmanska minijatura s prikazom sultana Sulejmana I., Izabele Jagelović i Ivana Žigmunda, 1541. /
Ottoman miniature of Sultan Süleyman I.,
Isabella Jagiellon and John Sigismund Zápolya, 1541
(Nepoznati autor, sredina 16. stoljeća /
Unknown author, middle of the 16th century)



vjednik Ali-paša opsjedao ugarsku utvrdu Siget (mađarski: *Szigetvár*) u današnjoj južnoj Mađarskoj. Ali-paša je vjerojatno dobio upute iz Istanbula da na taj način pritišće Habsburgovce. Osmanski vojskovođa prekinuo je opsadu Sigeta kako bi se sukobio s habsburškim snagama koje su napadale okolne osmanske utvrde, i tako je Siget oslobođen osmanske opsade. Bilo je, međutim, jasno da će osmanske snage i nadrednih godina napadati Siget kao ključnu utvrdu južne Ugarske.⁴⁴

Habsburški poslanici u Istanbulu javili su Ferdinandu 8. siječnja 1557. godine da su njihovi pregovori uzaludni i da osmanska strana nikako ne želi pristati na mir. Habsburški diplomati imali su kontradiktorne informacije o stanju na osmansko-safavidskoj granici, gdje je navodno moglo doći do novog rata. Iz drugih su izvora, međutim, čuli da Osmanlije nisu imali nikakvih problema sa svojim susjedima. Vjerojatno se tu radilo o osmanskoj protuobavještajnoj djelatnosti, tako da Vrančić i njegovi kolege nisu znali što je istina, a što ne. I habsburški su se poslanici bavili protuobavještajnim aktivnostima, jer su saznavali da su se na Ferdinandovu dvoru nalazili osmanški doušnici. Doznali su i pojedine informacije o tim doušnicima: jedan je imao crnu bradu i bio je zlatar, a drugi se zvao Francisco, bavio se glazbom i imao je dugu crvenu bradu. Obavijestili su Ferdinanda i predložili mu da proveđe istragu, jer nisu bili sigurni u točnost tih tvrdnjki. Čuli su i brojne druge glasine za koje nisu znali jesu li istinite ili nisu.⁴⁵

U lipnju 1557. godine osmanski su veziri pozvali habsburške poslanike i izjavili da osmanska strana kao uvjet za potpisivanje mira želi ugarske utvrde Eger, Palotu i Siget, jer su to bila uporišta iz kojih je prijetila najveća opasnost za osmanski dio Ugarske. Habsburško poslanstvo nije moglo pristati na takve ustupke, pa su nakon dalnjih pregovora osmanski veziri izjavili da će pristati i ako im se preda jedino Siget, koji je bio najvažnija utvrda među ranije zatra-

Ali Pasha of Buda besieged the Hungarian fortress of Szigetvár in present-day southern Hungary. Ali Pasha must have received instructions from Istanbul put pressure on the Habsburgs in that way. The Ottoman commander broke the siege of Szigetvár in order to confront the Habsburg forces attacking the surrounding Ottoman forts, and Szigetvár was relieved of Ottoman siege. It was, however, clear that in the following years the Ottoman forces would attack Szigetvár as the key fortress in southern Hungary.⁴⁴

The Habsburg emissaries in Istanbul informed Ferdinand on January 8, 1557, that their negotiations were pointless and that the Ottomans did not wish to conclude a peace agreement under any circumstances. The Habsburg diplomats had contradictory information about the situation on the Ottoman-Safavid border, which allegedly threatened with the breakout of a new war. From other sources, however, they heard that the Ottomans did not have any problems with their neighbors. This was probably the result of Ottoman counterintelligence activities. In any case, Vrančić and his colleagues did not know which information was true, and which was not. The Habsburg envoys, too, were engaged in counterintelligence activities, as they found out that there were spies at Ferdinand's court. They also learned some information about those spies: one of them had a black beard and was a goldsmith, and the other was called Francisco, was a musician and had a long red beard. They informed Ferdinand about it and advised an investigation, as they were not confident in the veracity of these claims. There were many other rumors whose veracity they could not establish.⁴⁵

In June 1557, the Ottoman viziers communicated to the Habsburg envoys that the Ottoman side wished the fortresses of Eger, Palata and Szigetvár to be surrendered to them as a condition for signing the peace accord. Namely, those were the strongholds which presented the greatest danger for the part of Hungary under Ottoman rule. The Habsburg delegation could

44 HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, sv. 1, 478-479. GÁBOR BARTA, „The Emergence of the Principality and its First Crises (1526-1606)”, u: *History of Transylvania*, ur. Béla Köpeczi et al. (Budimpešta: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 289. SZABOLCS VARGA, *Studije o povijesti Sigeta i obitelji Zrinski u 16. stoljeću* (Szigetvár: Szigetvári Várbarát Kör; Pécsi Püspöki Hittudományi Főiskola; Pécsi Egyháztörténeti Intézet, 2015), 153-154. FODOR, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire*, 119, 130. KONTLER, *Povijest Mađarske*, 155. PÁLFFY, *Povijest Mađarske*, 67. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 146-147.

45 NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 148-149.

44 HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, Vol. 1, pp. 478-479. GÁBOR BARTA, “The Emergence of the Principality and its First Crises (1526-1606)”, in: *History of Transylvania*, eds. Béla Köpeczi et al. (Budimpešta: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), p. 289. SZABOLCS VARGA, *Studije o povijesti Sigeta i obitelji Zrinski u 16. stoljeću* (Szigetvár: Szigetvári Várbarát Kör; Pécsi Püspöki Hit-tudományi Főiskola; Pécsi Egyháztörténeti Intézet, 2015), pp. 153-154. FODOR, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire*, pp. 119, 130. KONTLER, *Povijest Mađarske*, p. 155. PÁLFFY, *Povijest Mađarske*, p. 67. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 146-147.

45 NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 148-149.

ženima. Odlučeno je da Vrančić i Zay u kolovozu iste godine otpisuju natrag u Beč i habsburškom vladaru izlože osmanske zahtjeve. Na kraju se ispostavilo da se Vrančić i Zay nisu morali vratiti u Istanbul. Habsburški stalni poslanik Busbecq ostao je u Istanbulu i on je bio osoba koja je nakon brojnih godina provedenih u Istanbulu imala tu čast da zaključi konačni sporazum, koji je potpisana tek 1. lipnja 1562. godine. Mir je tada potpisana na rok od osam godina i dogovoren je da će Ferdinand nastaviti plaćati godišnji danak od 30 000 zlatnika. Pored toga, Ferdinand je morao službeno odustati od cijele Transilvanije. Habsburgovci nisu željeli predati Siget, i on je ostao u habsburškim rukama sve do 1566. godine, kada su ga osmanske snage ipak uspjele osvojiti. Sve u svemu, Vrančićeva i Zayeva misija ostala je bez rezultata, iako su proveli pune četiri godine u Istanbulu. U Beču su nakon povratka detaljno izvjestili Ferdinanda o svojim pregovorima. Sveukupni dojam bio je da su poslanici odradili dobar posao i da su zaštitili habsburške interese, iako nisu uspjeli ishoditi potpisivanje mirovnog ugovora. Među Vrančićevim suverenicima u Europi onoga vremena smatralo se da je njegova zahtjevna istanbulска misija bila uspješna i hvalevrijedna. Ferdinand I. nagradio je Vrančića u studenome 1557. godine imenovanjem za biskupa Egera, grada u sjevernoj Ugarskoj. Tim je imenovanjem Vrančić postao druga najvažnija osoba u hijerarhiji Katoličke crkve u Ugarskoj toga vremena.⁴⁶

Narednih godina Vrančić je i dalje bio osoba od povjerenja Ferdinanda I. Kada je taj habsburški vladar umro 1564. godine i kada ga je naslijedio sin Maksimilijan II., Vrančić je ostao u krugu uglednika na koje se novi vladar mogao najviše osloniti. Pored toga, Vrančić je pratilo Maksimilijana na brojnim putovanjima diljem habsburških zemalja.⁴⁷

not agree to these concessions. Additional negotiations found the Ottoman viziers demanding the fortress of Szigetvár to be surrendered to them, as a condition for the acceptance of the peace accord. This revealed that Szigetvár was the most important fortress of the previously mentioned fortifications. It was decided that Vrančić and Zay would, in October of the same year, travel back to Vienna and convey the Ottoman demands to the Habsburg ruler. It ultimately turned out that Vrančić and Zay did not need to return to Istanbul. The Habsburg residential envoy Busbecq remained in Istanbul and he was the person who, after years of living in Istanbul, had the honor of concluding the final agreement, which was signed on June 1, 1562. The peace accord was signed for a period of eight years, and it was agreed that Ferdinand would continue to pay the yearly tribute of 30,000 gold coins. Furthermore, Ferdinand had to officially waive claim to the whole of Transylvania. The Habsburgs did not want to surrender Szigetvár, so it stayed under Habsburg control until 1566, when the Ottoman forces succeeded in capturing it after all. At the end of the day, Vrančić's and Zay's mission was one without results, although they had spent full four years in Istanbul. After their return to Vienna, they informed Ferdinand about their negotiations in detail. The overall impression was that the emissaries did a good work and managed to protect Habsburg interests, even though they did not manage to sign the peace agreement. Vrančić's contemporaries in Europe of the time considered his demanding Istanbul mission successful and praiseworthy. In November 1557, Ferdinand I rewarded Vrančić by appointing him the Bishop of Eger, a town in northern Hungary. Through this appointment Vrančić became the second most important person in the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Hungary of the time.⁴⁶

In the subsequent years, Vrančić remained Ferdinand's person of utmost confidence. When the Habsburg ruler died in 1564, and when his son Maximilian II succeeded him, Vrančić remained part of the circle of dignitaries the new ruler could rely on the most. Moreover, Vrančić accompanied Maximilian on his numerous travels throughout Habsburg lands.⁴⁷

46 HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, sv. 1, 480, 486. FODOR, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire*, 130. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 149-152, 176. BIRNBAUM, *Humanists*, 228-230. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, 12-13.

47 MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, 13.

46 HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, Vol. 1, pp. 480, 486. FODOR, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire*, p.130. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *Svisina sve*, pp. 149-152, 176. BIRNBAUM, *Humanists*, pp. 228-230. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, pp. 12-13.

47 MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, p. 13.



Portret cara Maksimilijana II. /
Portrait of Emperor Maximilian II

(Autor: Nicolas Neufchatel, oko 1566. /
By: Nicolas Neufchatel, c. 1566)

VRANČIĆEVA DRUGA ISTANBULSKA MISIJA (1567.-1568.) / VRANČIĆ'S SECOND ISTANBUL MISSION (1567-1568)

Sultan Sulejman I. Veličanstveni krenuo je 1566. godine, u već poodmakloj dobi od 71 godine i lošega zdravlja, na svoj posljednji vojni pohod u smjeru srednje Europe i vjerojatno Beča kao konačnog cilja, ali je pohod preuranjeno završio njegovom smrću tijekom opsade Sigeta u rujnu iste godine. Tijekom jednomjesečne opsade poginuo je zapovjednik Sige- ta, hrvatski i mađarski vojskovođa Nikola IV. Šubić Zrinski (mađarski: Zrínyi Miklós, 1620.-1664.), i gotovo svi sigetski branitelji: umjesto da prihvate osmanske ponude za predaju, provalili su iz zapaljene tvrđave u posljednjem jurišu. Sulejmana I naslijedio je njegov sin Selim II. (vladao 1566.-1574.). Habsburško državno vodstvo željelo je s novim sultanom ishoditi mir na svojim istočnim i južnim granicama. Tijekom prijašnjih godina habsburške pogranične snage neprestano su se sukobljavale ne

In 1566 Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, who was then 71 years old and of ill health, headed out on his final military campaign in the direction of Central Europe, and probably Vienna as the final goal, but his campaign ended prematurely with his death in the course of the siege of Szigetvár in September of the same year. During the one-month siege, the commander of Szigetvár, Croatian and Hungarian military leader and statesman Nikola IV Šubić Zrinski (Hungarian: Zrínyi Miklós, 1620-1664) and almost all of Szigetvár's defenders were killed: instead of accepting the Ottoman offer to surrender, in a final charge, they broke out of the fortress in flames. Süleyman I was succeeded by his son Selim II (ruled 1566-1574). The Habsburg leadership wished to conclude peace with the new sultan, and thus secure their eastern and southern borders. During the preceding years, Habsburg frontier forces incessantly engaged

samo s osmanskim snagama, nego i s transilvanskim vojnicima, zbog čega su Habsburgovci smatrali da je trebalo dogovoriti točnu granicu između sve tri države i prekinuti dugo razdoblje nesigurnosti u pograničnim krajevima. Iako je Maksimilijan II. 1565. godine sklopio mirovni sporazum s transilvanskim vladarom Ivanom Žigmundom, taj sporazum nikad nije proveden u djelo. Zato se Maksimilijan II. 1567. godine pismom obratio novom osmanskom sultanu izrazivši želju za potpisivanjem mira kojim bi se razriješila otvorena pitanja između sve tri države. Selim II. odgovorio je habsburškom vladaru pismom u svibnju 1567. godine i pristao je da habsburško poslanstvo s pratnjom dođe u Istanbul. Poslanstvo je trebalo sultanicu donijeti ustaljeni godišnji danak od 30 000 zlatnika, dvadeset pozlaćenih vrčeva i tri sata, zatim 4000 zlatnika, četiri srebrna vrča i sat kao poklon velikom veziru, 2000 zlatnika, dva pozlaćena vrča i sat drugom veziru, 2000 zlatnika i dva srebrna vrča trećem veziru, te 1000 zlatnika svakom od ostalih vezira. Satovi su bili jedan od najomiljenijih poklona među visokim osmanskim dužnosnicima. Pored toga, dva osmanska prevoditelja trebala su dobiti 500 i 300 zlatnika. Habsburški je vladar odabralo

in conflicts not only with the Ottoman forces, but with the Transylvanian soldiers as well. Therefore the Habsburgs deemed it necessary to define the exact border in an agreement between the three countries, and thus end the long period of constant insecurity in the border regions. Although Maximilian II in 1565 concluded a peace accord with the Transylvanian ruler John Sigismund, the treaty has never been implemented. Therefore, in 1567 Maximilian II sent a letter to the new Ottoman sultan, expressing his desire to sign a peace accord resolving all outstanding issues between the three countries. Selim II wrote back to the Habsburg ruler in June of 1567, consenting to the arrival of the Habsburg delegation to Istanbul, with an escort. The delegation was bringing to the sultan the usual yearly tribute of 30,000 gold coins, twenty gilded cups and three watches; 4,000 gold coins, four silver cups and a watch to the grand vizier; 2,000 gold coins, two gilded cups and a watch to the second vizier; 2,000 gold coins and two silver cups to the third vizier; and 1,000 gold coins to each of the other viziers. Watches were one of the favorite gifts among high Ottoman officials. Furthermore, two Ottoman interpreters should have received 500 and 300 gold coins. The Habsburgs chose Vrančić

Portret Nikole IV. Šubića Zrinskog /
Portrait of Nikola IV Šubić Zrinski
(Nepoznati autor, 1866. /
Unknown author, 1866)





Vrančića za vođu novoga poslanstva u Istanbul, što nimalo ne čudi jer je Vrančić imao golemo diplomatsko iskustvo i izvrsno je poznavao osmansku stranu. Jedina otegotna okolnost odabira Vrančića za vođu te misije bila je ta što je tada imao 63 godine, zbog čega se mnogo umarao tijekom dugog putovanja u osmansku prijestolnicu. S Vrančićem je u misiju išao Christoph Teuffenbach, štajerski plemić i savjetnik cara Maksimilijana II., te još nekoliko diplomatata. Poslanstvo je 1. srpnja 1567. godine s pratnjom od 86 osoba krenulo na put iz Požuna, odnosno današnje Bratislave.⁴⁸

Vrančić nije pisao putopis tijekom ovoga putovanja, ali jest jedan od članova misije: talijanski pisac

to lead the new mission to Istanbul, not surprising at all since Vrančić had enormous diplomatic experience, and was well acquainted with the Ottomans. The only aggravating circumstance for Vrančić was that he was 63 years old, and used to get very fatigued during the voyage to the Ottoman capital. Vrančić went on the mission together with Christoph Teuffenbach, a nobleman from Styria and counsellor to Emperor Maximilian II, as well as with a number of other diplomats. On July 1, 1567, the delegation with an escort consisting of 86 persons headed from Pressburg, present-day Bratislava.⁴⁸

Vrančić did not write a travelogue during this voyage, but one of the members of the mission did: Italian writer Marco Antonio Pigafetta, who wrote a travelogue enti-

48 PETAR MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI. veka. X. Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette, ili drugo putovanje Antuna Vrančića u Carigrad 1567. godine”, *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, knj. 100, (1890), 66-67, 69. KENNETH M. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571). Volume IV. The Sixteenth Century from Julius III to Pius V* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1984), 921. FODOR, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire*, 131. KONTLER, *Povijest Mađarske*, 155. HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, sv. 2, 11. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 190-191, 193-194, 197, 199-200. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, 13-14. SORIĆ, „Pitanje datuma rođenja”, 39.

48 PETAR MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI. veka. X. Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette, ili drugo putovanje Antuna Vrančića u Carigrad 1567. godine”, *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, Vol. 100, (1890), pp. 66-67, 69. KENNETH M. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571). Volume IV. The Sixteenth Century from Julius III to Pius V* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1984), p. 921. FODOR, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire*, p. 131. KONTLER, *Povijest Mađarske*, p. 155. HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, Vol. 2, p. 11. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRAUTOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 190-191, 193-194, 197, 199-200. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, pp. 13-14. SORIĆ, „Pitanje datuma rođenja”, p. 39.

Marco Antonio Pigafetta, koji je sastavio putopis pod naslovom *Itinerario di Marc'Antonio Pigafetta, gentil'huomo vicentino* (Putopis Marca Antonija Pigafette, gospodina iz Vicenze).⁴⁹ Kao i prilikom prvog putovanja, lađama su plovili niz Dunav i zastali su u Budimu da posjete budimskoga pašu. Ondje su dobili osmansku pratinju koja se trebala brinuti o njihovoj sigurnosti na putu. Iz Budima su 10. srpnja nastavili putovanje i doplovili Dunavom do Beograda. Zatim su nastavili kopnenim putem kroz osmansku Srbiju i Bugarsku prema Istanbulu. Sve troškove putovanja pokrio je osmanski sultan.⁵⁰

U Istanbul su stigli 22. kolovoza, dakle trebalo im je dvanaest dana više za put od Budima do Istanbula nego što im je trebalo tijekom prvoga poslanstva. Vjerljivo je Vrančićeva starost utjecala na brzinu putovanja, jer je Pigafetta zapisao da su na nekim postajama na putu morali ostati duže da bi se Vrančić mogao odmoriti. Pred Istanbulom ih je dočekao veliki osmanski odred i odveo ih do kuće u kojoj je živio flamanski diplomat Albert de Wijs (ili Wyss), stalni habsburški poslanik u Istanbulu. Wijs je doživio istu sudbinu kao i poslanik Malvezzi: budući da nije mogao u Maksimilianovo ime predati osmanskom sultanu ugarske utvrde Siget i Gyulu, te je čak morao zatražiti neke druge osmanske utvrde, sultan ga je dao zatvoriti. Pustili su ga iz zatvora tek kada je u grad stiglo habsburško poslanstvo. Habsburški diplomati dobili su upute da ishode mirovni sporazum prema kojem bi se zadržale granice i stanje na terenu kakvo je bilo na snazi prije ratnih sukoba u posljednje dvije godine. Habsburški vladar bio je uvjeren da će im izdašni pokloni koje su poslanici nosili sa sobom pomoći u ispunjavanju toga zadatka. Osim što su morali predati ranije spomenuti novac, dragocjene vrčeve i satove, poslanici su dobili uputu da obećaju velikom veziru Mehmed-paši Sokoloviću (živio 1506.-1579.; veliki vezir 1565.-1579.) da će dobivati po 2000 zlatnika svake godine ako uspije nagovoriti sultana da pristane na mirovni sporazum. Vrančić je za vrijeme misije, kao i tijekom ranijeg boravka u Istanbulu, slao habsburškom vladaru detaljne i lucidne izvještaje o

tled *Itinerario di Marc'Antonio Pigafetta, gentil'huomo vicentino* (The Travelogue of Marco Antonio Pigafetta, Gentleman from Vicenza).⁴⁹ The delegation travelled along the Danube, just as the first delegation did before them, and they stopped in Buda in order to visit the Ottoman pasha. In Buda, they were given an Ottoman escort, which was supposed to take care of their safety along the road. They continued their journey on July 10 and sailed until Belgrade. From Belgrade they continued by land through Ottoman Serbia and Bulgaria towards Istanbul. All costs of the travel were covered by the Ottoman sultan.⁵⁰

The delegation arrived to Istanbul on August 22, their voyage from Buda to Istanbul being twenty days longer than that of the first Istanbul mission. It is very likely that Vrančić's old age affected the speed of travel, because Pigafetta recorded that they had to stay longer at some places along the road in order for Vrančić to be able to rest. Outside Istanbul, they were greeted by an Ottoman squadron that escorted them to the house where Flemish diplomat Albert de Wijs (or Wyss), Habsburg residential envoy in Istanbul, lived. Wijs suffered the same fate as the earlier envoy Malvezzi: not being able to surrender Hungarian fortresses Szigetvár and Gyula in Maximilian's name, and even having to demand some other Ottoman fortresses instead, he was imprisoned by the Sultan. He was released only when the new Habsburg delegation arrived in the city. The Habsburg diplomats were instructed to obtain a peace agreement which would preserve the borders as they were before the armed conflicts of the two previous years (*status quo ante*). The Habsburg ruler believed that the generous gifts that the envoys had brought with them would help them to accomplish the task. In addition to delivering the previously mentioned money, precious cups and watches, the envoys were instructed to promise the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (lived 1506-1579; grand vizier 1565-1579) 2,000 gold coins each year if he were to be successful in persuading the Sultan to consent to the peace agreement. Just as he did during his earlier mission in the Ottoman capital, Vrančić sent detailed and lucid reports to the Habsburg ruler on the sociopolitical

49 Usp. MARCO ANTONIO PIGAFETTA, *Itinerario di Marc'Antonio Pigafetta gentil'huomo vicentino* (London: John Wolfe, 1585).

50 HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, sv. 2, 11. MATKOVIĆ, „Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette”, 67- 69, 71-73, 87-100. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 190-191, 193-194, 197, 199-202. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, 13-14.

49 Cf. MARCO ANTONIO PIGAFETTA, *Itinerario di Marc'Antonio Pigafetta gentil'huomo vicentino* (London: John Wolfe, 1585).

50 HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, Vol. 2, p. 11. MATKOVIĆ, „Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette”, pp.67- 69, 71-73, 87-100. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 190-191, 193-194, 197, 199-202. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, pp. 13-14.

društveno-političkom stanju u Osmanskom Carstvu i ponajviše o osmanskim odnosima sa Safavidskim Carstvom, vječnim osmanskim neprijateljem na istočnoj granici Carstva. Pisma su slali preko mletačkih putnika koji su brodovima iz Istanbula putovali u Veneciju. Slično kao što se dogodilo tijekom prvoga putovanja, poslanici nisu mogli biti primljeni u audienciju kod sultana jer se Selim II. tada nalazio u Edirneu, gdje se nalazio stari osmanski dvor u kojem je novi sultan volio boraviti više nego u Istanbulu. Selim II. vratio se iz lova u Edirneu 15. rujna, a dotle su poslanici vodili razgovore s velikim vezirom Mehmed-pašom, koji se više zanimalo za habsburške darove nego za odredbe novog mirovnog ugovora.⁵¹

Selim II. primio je habsburško poslanstvo 21. rujna 1567. godine i pristao je pregovarati o novome miru. Pregovori su potrajali pet mjeseci i u tom razdoblju su habsburški pregovarači četrnaest puta

situaciju in the Ottoman Empire, and especially on the Ottoman relations with the Safavid Empire, the perennial Ottoman enemy on its eastern border. The envoys sent their letters via the Venetian travellers who travelled by boat from Istanbul to Venice. As was the case during the first mission, the envoys could not appear in audience before the sultan this time either. This time the reason being that Selim II was not in Istanbul, but in Edirne, in the old Ottoman palace, where the new sultan enjoyed spending his time there more than in Istanbul. Selim II returned from a hunting trip to Edirne on September 15. In the meantime, the Habsburg diplomats had talked with Grand Vizier Mehmed Pasha, who was more interested in Maximilian's gifts than in the provisions of the new peace accord.⁵¹

Selim II received the Habsburg delegation on September 21, 1567, and agreed to negotiate a new peace deal. The negotiations lasted five months and in this period the Habsburg negotiators talked with the Grand



Portret velikog vezira Mehmed-paše Sokolovića /
Portrait of Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha
(Nepoznati autor, oko 1570. / Unknown author, c. 1570)

51 MATKOVIĆ, „Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette”, 75-78, 86. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 170. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 202-206, 208. BIRNBAUM, *Humanists*, 238. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, 14.

51 MATKOVIĆ, „Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette”, pp. 75-78, 86. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, p. 170. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 202-206, 208. BIRNBAUM, *Humanists*, p. 238. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, p. 14.

razgovarali s velikim vezirom. Jedna od najspornijih tema bila je osmanski zahtjev da habsburška vojska razruši utvrde u ugarskim gradovima Tati, Veszprému i Tokaju, za što je u zamjenu habsburški vladar zahtijevao da Osmanlije sruše utvrde u Babócsi i Berencseu. Druga sporna tema bila je korekcija granične linije između Transilvanije i habsburškog dijela Ugarske, te razdioba pograničnih sela koja su objema stranama plaćala poreze. Iako je i habsburškoj i osmanskoj strani odgovaralo da se dogovori mir, pregovori su tekli sporo, dijelom i zbog toga što je sultan Selim II. krajem listopada ponovo oputovao u Edirne i prepustio velikom vezиру da pregovara u njegovo ime. Zbog toga je Vrančić imao vremena da se ponovo posveti svojim interesima u osmanskoj prijestolnici, pa je među ostalim išao u obilazak cijelog Bosporskog tjesnaca. Pokazalo se da je Mehmed-paša bio izvrstan pregovarač, što je i sam Vrančić istaknuo u svojim pismima. Za razliku od Rustem-paše, Mehmed-paša nije želio razgovarati s Vrančićem na hrvatskom, odnosno srpsko-hrvatskom jeziku, iako je Sokolović mogao razumjeti njihov zajednički jezik jer je vjerojatno bio rodom iz okolice grada Ruda u današnjoj jugoistočnoj Bosni.⁵²

Habsburško poslanstvo moralo se zaputiti u Edirne 5. siječnja 1568. godine, jer se sultan nije namjeravao vratiti u prijestolnicu prije proljeća. Ondje se dogodila slična situacija kao za vrijeme habsburškog dolaska u Amasiju: osmanski je sultan čekao da ga posjeti safavidski poslanik, s kojim je sklopio mir 16. veljače, a habsburški poslanici za to su vrijeme morali čekati. Već idućeg dana pozvao ih je veliki vezir i mir je sklopljen istoga dana. Misija je u konačnici potrajala dvostruko kraće od prvoga poslanstva, i tako je 17. veljače 1568. godine u Edirneu dogovoren mirovni sporazum između cara Maksimilijana II. i sultana Selima II. Vrančiću je bilo suđeno da dogovara mir između dva oca i njihova dva sina. Dogovoren je mir na osam godina i njime su potvrđena prijašnja osmanska osvajanja u Ugarskoj, odnosno obje su strane pristale da ne dođe ni do kakvih teritorijalnih promjena. Pitanje korekcije granice s Transilvanijom ostalo je neriješeno, kao i pitanje pograničnih sela, i te je sporove trebala riješiti buduće zajedničko po-

Vizier on fourteen occasions. One of the most controversial topics was the Ottoman demand that the Habsburgs demolish the forts in the Hungarian towns of Tata, Veszprém and Tokay. In exchange for this concession the Habsburg ruler demanded that the Ottoman forces destroy their forts in the towns of Babócsa and Berencse. The other contentious topic was the drawing of the boundary line between Transylvania and the Habsburg part of Hungary, as was the division of border villages that had to pay taxes to both the Habsburgs and the Ottomans. Although both sides favored the signing of a new peace agreement, the negotiations proceeded slowly, partly because at the end of October Sultan Selim II traveled to Edirne again, and let the Grand Vizier negotiate in his name. Thus once again Vrančić had time to devote to his private interests in the Ottoman capital: among other things he went for a tour of the entire Bosphorus. It turned out that Mehmed Pasha was an excellent negotiator, as Vrančić emphasized in his letters. Unlike Rüstem Pasha, Mehmed Pasha did not want to talk to Vrančić in Croatian, that is, in Serbo-Croatian, although Mehmed Pasha must have known their common language, as he was most likely born in the vicinity of the town of Rudo in present-day southeast Bosnia.⁵²

The Habsburg delegation had to travel to Edirne on January 5, 1568, because the sultan did not intend to return to the capital before spring. In Edirne, chain of events comparable to the one during the Habsburg emissaries' stay in Amasya unfolded: the Ottoman sultan waited for the visit of the Safavid envoy and concluded a peace agreement with his country on February 16, while the Habsburg emissaries had to wait for their opportunity. The very next day, the Grand Vizier received them, and peace agreement was signed the same day. This mission was twice as short as the first one, and so on February 17, 1568, a peace treaty was concluded in Edirne between Emperor Maximilian II and Sultan Selim II. Vrančić was thus destined to arrange a peace agreement between two fathers, and subsequently between the two sons of those fathers. The treaty was signed for the period of eight years, and it recognized former Ottoman conquests in Hungary; in other words, both sides agreed not to make any territorial changes. The issue of the border with Transylvania remained unresolved, as was the issue of the border villages; those disputes

52 HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, sv. 2, 11-12. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 127-128, 205-210. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, sv. 4, 921. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, 11-12, 14.

52 HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, Vol. 2, pp. 11-12. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 127-128, 205-210. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, Vol. 4, p. 921. MANEA-GRGIN, “Uvod”, pp. 11-12, 14.

vjerenstvo. Habsburški je vladar nastavio plaćati godišnji „poklon“, odnosno danak od 30 000 zlatnika. Dogovor je službeno potpisан 9. ožujka. Spletom kasnijih vanjskopolitičkih okolnosti taj je mir ostao na snazi narednih četvrt stoljeća, iako su se u međuvremenu nastavili sukobi na habsburško-osmanskoj granici, osvajanja pograničnih utvrda i vojni prodrovi manjeg intenziteta. Tako je održavana ravnoteža snaga između dvaju carstava. Zanimljiv detalj vezan s drugim Vrančićevim boravkom u Istanbulu jest da su habsburški poslanici dobili naredbu da u ime cara Maksimilijana II. zatraže od Osmanlija da habsburškome vladaru poklone žirafu. Na tu molbu osmanški veliki vezir ipak nije pristao, opravdavajući se da su imali samo jednu žirafu i da im je služila za navikavanje vojnih konja na žirafe.⁵³

were to be resolved by a future joint commission. The Habsburg ruler continued to pay the annual “gift”, that is, the tribute of 30,000 gold coins. The accord was officially signed on March 9. As a result of a combination of circumstances in foreign policy management, the peace agreement remained in effect for the next quarter of a century, although the conflicts on the Habsburg-Ottoman border continued, including the capturing of border forts and different low intensity military action. Thus the balance of power between the two empires was kept. An interesting detail relating to Vrančić's second mission to Istanbul is that the Habsburg emissaries were instructed to request that the Ottomans donate a giraffe to Maximilian II. The Grand Vizier refused the request, justifying the refusal by declaring that the Ottomans had only one giraffe which was being used to accustom their military horses to giraffes.⁵²

VRANČIĆEVE POZNE GODINE / VRANČIĆ'S LATER YEARS

Vrančić se, zajedno s Teuffenbachom, još jedanput slavodobitno vratio iz Istanbula, otišavši iz Edirnea 20. ožujka 1568. godine. Poslanstvo se vratilo istim putem kojim je i došlo, odnosno kroz Bugarsku, Srbiju i Dunavom u habsburške zemlje. U Beč su stigli 9. svibnja, a Maksimiljan II. primio ih je 16. svibnja iste godine. Mnogi su suvremenici hvalili Vrančića zbog uspješno okončane misije, koja je bila posljednji diplomatski zadatak u njegovu životu. Car Maksimiljan II. u listopadu 1569. nagradio je Vrančića za njegovu vjernu službu imenovanjem za nadbiskupa Ostrogonja (mađarski: *Esztergom*), grada u sjevernoj Ugarskoj, te za primasa, odnosno poglavara Katoličke crkve u Ugarskoj.⁵⁴

Vrančić je iz Istanbula ponio vrijedne osmanske kronike i orientalne čilime koje je sakupljaо. U Ankari je pronašao osmansku kroniku koja je poznata pod imenom *Codex Verantius*, dakle taj se rukopis

Departing from Edirne with Teuffenbach on March 20, 1568, Vrančić returned triumphantly from Istanbul once again. The delegation returned along the same route, that is, through Bulgaria and Serbia and along the Danube to the Habsburg lands. They arrived in Vienna on May 9, and Maximilian II received them on May 16 of the same year. Many contemporaries praised Vrančić for the successful conclusion of the mission, which was the final diplomatic assignment in his life. In October 1569, Emperor Maximilian II rewarded Vrančić for his loyal service by appointing him the Archbishop of Esztergom, a town in northern Hungary, and naming him the Primas of Hungary, that is, the chief of the Catholic Church in Hungary.⁵³

Vrančić had brought from Istanbul valuable Ottoman chronicles and Oriental carpets that he collected. In Ankara he found an Ottoman chronicle which has subsequently been named after him, and is today

53 SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, sv. 4, 921-922. HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, sv. 2, 12. MATKOVIĆ, „Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette“, 100, 107. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, 170. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *Svisina sve*, 208-210. BIRNBAUM, *Humanists*, 238. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, 14.

54 NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, 211-215. BIRNBAUM, *Humanists*, 238, 370. JADRANKA NERALIĆ, „Kronologija uspona Antuna Vrančića na crvenoj hijerarhijskoj ljestvici: vatikanski izvori“, u: *Zbornik o Antunu Vrančiću*. *Zbornik radova sa znanstvenoga skupa o Antunu Vrančiću*, Šibenik, 11.-12. lipnja 2004., ur. Vilijam Lakić (Šibenik: Gradska knjižnica Juraj Šižgorić, 2005), 94-99. NOVAKOVIĆ i VRATOVIĆ, *Svisina sve*, 225. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, 14, 25.

53 SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, Vol. 4, pp. 921-922. HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija*, Vol. 2, p. 12. MATKOVIĆ, „Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette“, pp. 100, 107. TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire*, p. 170. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 208-210. BIRNBAUM, *Humanists*, p. 238. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, p. 14.

54 NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, pp. 211-215. BIRNBAUM, *Humanists*, pp. 238, 370. JADRANKA NERALIĆ, „Kronologija uspona Antuna Vrančića na crvenoj hijerarhijskoj ljestvici: vatikanski izvori“, in: *Zbornik o Antunu Vrančiću*. *Zbornik radova sa znanstvenoga skupa o Antunu Vrančiću*, Šibenik, 11.-12. lipnja 2004., ed. Vilijam Lakić (Šibenik: Gradska knjižnica Juraj Šižgorić, 2005), pp. 94-99. NOVAKOVIĆ and VRATOVIĆ, *S visina sve*, p. 225. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, pp. 14, 25.

nazvalo prema Vrančiću kao osobi koja ga je pronašla – što je bio uobičajen postupak prilikom imenovanja izvora kojima se ne zna pravi autor. Tu je kroniku Vrančić nakon povratka iz Istanbula dao prevesti s osmanskog turskog na talijanski jezik. Kronikom se u svojim istraživanjima koristio njemački humanistički povjesničar i orijentalist Johannes Löwenklau (poznat i kao Leunclavius i Johann Lewenkaw, živio 1541.-1594.), kao i drugi povjesničari nakon njega. Löwenklau se koristio kronikom *Codex Verantius* pišući svoja djela o povijesti Osmanskog Carstva.⁵⁵ Vrančićevu kroniku poklonio mu je nećak Antuna Vrančića, klerik, diplomat i polihistor Faust Vrančić (1551.-1617.). Spomenuta kronika zapravo je bila proširena verzija djela *Tarîh-i Âl-i Osmân* (Povijest dinastije Osman) osmanskoga povjesničara Muhyiddina Mehmeda, poznatog i pod imenom Molla Çelebi, koje je napisano 1550. godine. Molla Çelebi je napisao svoju kroniku tako što je kompilirao druge osmanske kronike.⁵⁶

U narednim godinama Vrančić se posvetio nadbiskupskom poslu, što je uključivalo borbu protiv širenja protestantizma u Ugarskoj. U lipnju 1572. godine postao je regentom Ugarske, čime je u svojoj osobi ujedinio crkvnu i svjetovnu vlast u Ugarskoj. Još jedan pokazatelj njegove moći bila je činjenica da je u rujnu 1572. godine okrunio Rudolfa II. (1552.-1612.), Maximilianova sina, za kralja Ugarske i Hrvatske (vladao 1572.-1608.). Rudolf II. kasnije je postao i car Svetoga Rimskog Carstva (1576.-1612.).⁷

Vrančić je umro 15. lipnja 1573. godine u gradu Prešovu na sjeveru Ugarske, u današnjoj Slovačkoj, i sahranjen je u crkvi sv. Nikole u Trnavi, također u današnjoj Slovačkoj, u kojoj su pokapani ugarski nadbiskupi. Vjerovalo se da je nedugo prije smrti bio proglašen kardinalom Katoličke crkve, ali to nije potvrđeno.⁵⁸

Andelko Vlašić

55 PÁL ÁCS, „Pro Turcis and contra Turcos. Curiosity, scholarship and spiritualism in Turkish Histories by Johannes Löwenklau (1541-1594)”, *Acta Comeniana. International review of Comenius studies and early modern intellectual history*, 25 (2011), 25-46.

56 DAVID THOMAS i JOHN CHESWORTH (ur.), *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 7. Central and Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and South America (1500-1600)* (Leiden; Boston: Brill Publishing, 2015), 482. ÁCS, „The Good and Honest Turk”, 269, 273-274. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, 38.

57 MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, 15-16. SORIĆ, „Pitanje datuma rođenja”, 39.

58 NERALIĆ, „Kronologija uspona”, 102-111. BIRNBAUM, *Humanists*, 239. SORIĆ, „Pitanje datuma rođenja”, 40. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, 16.

known under the title *Codex Verantius* – a common practice with sources by unknown authors. After his return from Istanbul, Vrančić had the chronicle translated from Ottoman Turkish into Italian language. German humanist historian and Orientalist Johannes Löwenklau (also known as Leunclavius and Johann Lewenkaw, lived 1541-1594) used Vrančić's chronicle in his research, and so did other historians after him. Löwenklau used *Codex Verantius* while writing his works on the history of the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁵ Antun Vrančić's nephew, cleric, diplomat and polymath Faust Vrančić (1551-1617) was the person who gave the *Codex Verantius* to Löwenklau. The chronicle is in fact an extended version of the work entitled *Tarîh-i Âl-i Osmân* (History of the House of Osman) by the Ottoman historian Muhyiddin Mehmed, also known as Molla Çelebi, and it was written in 1550. Molla Çelebi wrote his chronicle by compiling other Ottoman chronicles.⁵⁶

The following years Vrančić devoted to the business of being an archbishop, which included the fight against the spread of Protestantism in Hungary. In June 1572, he became the Regent of Hungary, thus in his person uniting the ecclesiastical and secular rule in Hungary. Another indicator of his power was the fact that in September of 1572 he crowned Rudolf II (1552-1612), Maximilian's son, as the King of Hungary and Croatia (ruled 1572-1608). Rudolf II later became Holy Roman Emperor (1576-1612).⁵⁷

Vrančić died on June 15, 1573, in the town of Prešov in northern Hungary, in present-day Slovakia, and was buried in the Church of Saint Nicholas in Trnava (today also in Slovakia) where Hungarian archbishops were then being buried. It was believed that shortly before his death Vrančić had been named a Cardinal of the Catholic Church, but this has not been confirmed.⁵⁸

Andelko Vlašić

55 PÁL ÁCS, „Pro Turcis and contra Turcos. Curiosity, scholarship and spiritualism in Turkish Histories by Johannes Löwenklau (1541-1594)”, *Acta Comeniana. International review of Comenius studies and early modern intellectual history*, 25 (2011), pp. 25-46.

56 DAVID THOMAS and JOHN CHESWORTH (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 7. Central and Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and South America (1500-1600)* (Leiden; Boston: Brill Publishing, 2015), p. 482. ÁCS, „The Good and Honest Turk”, pp. 269, 273-274. Manea-Grgin, „Uvod”, p. 38.

57 MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, pp. 15-16. SORIĆ, „Pitanje datuma rođenja”, p. 39.

58 NERALIĆ, „Kronologija uspona”, pp. 102-111. BIRNBAUM, *Humanists*, p. 239. SORIĆ, „Pitanje datuma rođenja”, p. 40. MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod”, p. 16.

Dort und füngt zu schicken vom Buinen
der Gott gegen; Dan ist Deine andern füding
Suliman hat zu seiner Mutter verbaletten
Gut zu seiner Riegen landet der Gudus

Colona ylomach

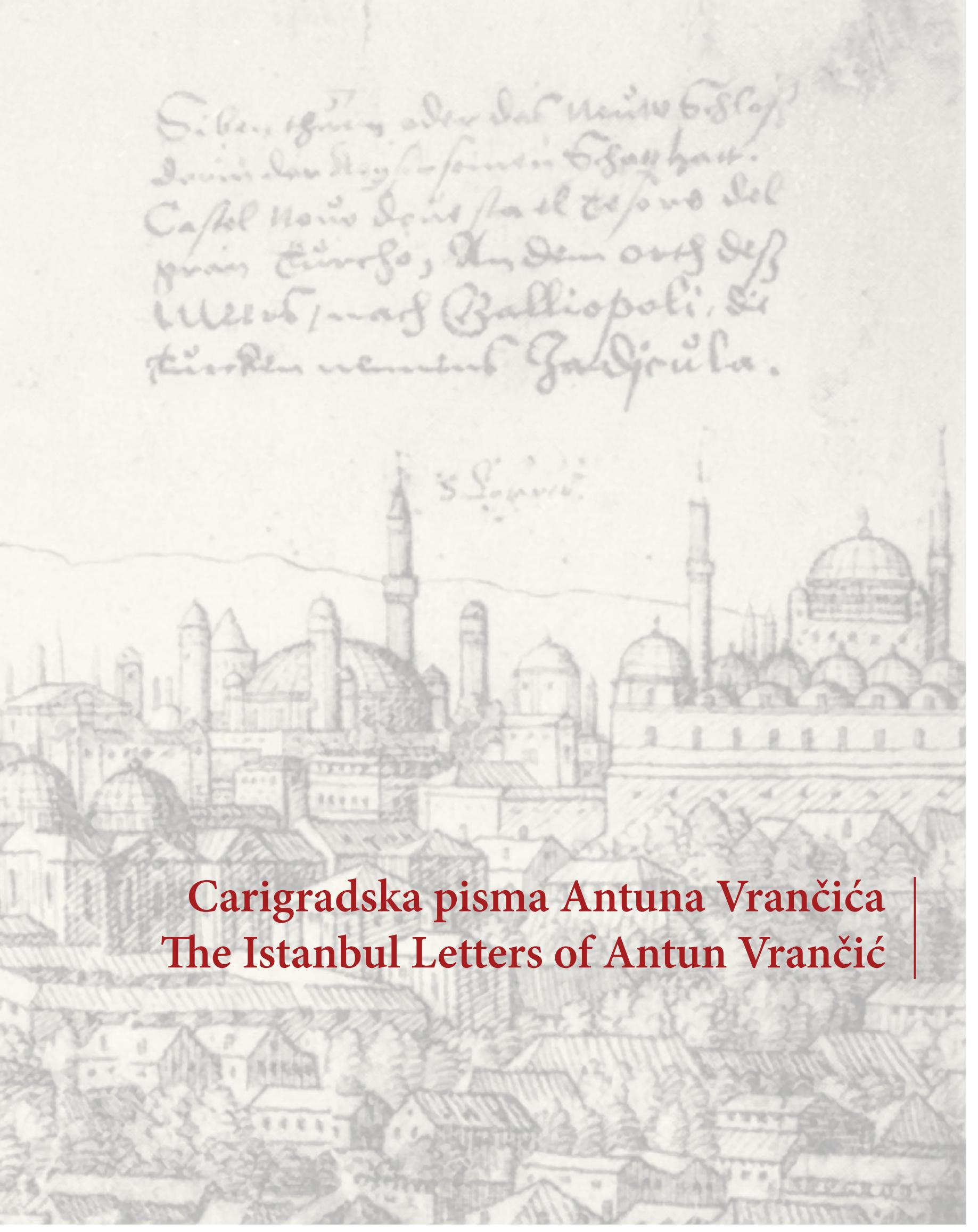
auf dem Landeslager das ist, nachtlande
aber die sich zu alle den dreyßigsten

Eben hien.



Detalj s prikaza Istanbula. Autor: Melchior Lorck, oko 1559.
Detail from Melchior Lorck's engraving of Istanbul, c. 1559.

Siben, tijm, oder das neue Blatt
Imin der degli-santin Blatt hat.
Castel Nuovo don't soll teß vor del
prins Cirolo, An dem ortz des
Marek, naß Galliopoli. Si
trotzdem nemmen Gadjula.



Carigradska pisma Antuna Vrančića

The Istanbul Letters of Antun Vrančić

XXX. Vrančić i Zay kralju Ferdinandu. 1. rujna 1553. /
XXX. Vrančić and Zay to King Ferdinand. September 1, 1553

PRVE AKTIVNOSTI U CARIGRADU / FIRST ACTIVITIES IN ISTANBUL

Prejasno i Presveto Kraljevsko Veličanstvo, Preblagi naš Gospodine!

Čim smo krenuli iz Budima, dali smo se na put hitro i s velikom revnošću, ne prepustajući se odmoru ni jednoga jedinog dana. Naposljetu smo, s pomoću Božjom i bez ikakve ugroze za svoju sigurnost te bez ikakve štete za stvari Vašeg Veličanstva i naše vlastite, 25. kolovoza 1553. stigli u Carigrad. Drugi su taj put običavali prevaljivati za 35 dana.⁵⁹ Tamo nas je primilo nekoliko čauša⁶⁰, aga⁶¹ i dvojica dragomana⁶², koji su nam bili poslani ususret.

Doznavši za naš dolazak, ondje nas je već očekivao sultan⁶³, koji, što je izvan svake sumnje, nije htio krenuti na Kazul-pašu⁶⁴ prije negoli dozna hoće li s

Your Most Serene and Holy Royal Majesty, Our Most Kind Lord!

As soon as we departed from Buda, we hastily and with great ardor set on our way, without repose or rest, not one single day. Finally, with God's help and without any threats to our safety and without any harm to Your Majesty's and our own belongings, we arrived to Constantinople on August 25. Others used to complete this journey in thirty five days.⁵⁹ There we were greeted by a number of chiauses⁶⁰, aghas⁶¹ and two dragomans⁶², who were sent to meet us.

The Sultan⁶³, who learned of our arrival, already expected us and, without any doubt, did not want to set out on a campaign against Kazul Pasha⁶⁴ before find-

59 Poslanici time žele reći da su doputovali iz Budima u Istanbul natprosječno brzo jer su putovali 30 dana, odnosno od 26. srpnja do 25. kolovoza. Doista je njihovo putovanje bilo mnogo kraće od prosječnog putovanja na toj ruti u prethodnim i idućim desetljećima. PETAR MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI. veka. XIII. Putopisi Stj. Gerlacha i Sal. Schweigera, ili opisi putovanja carskih poslanstava u Carigrad, naime Davida Ungnada od g. 1573.-78. i Joach. Sinzendorfa od g. 1577.“, *Rad Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti. Razredi filološko-historički i filosofičko-juridički* 39 (1893), sv. 116, 110-111 (112).

60 Čauš (osmanski turski: *çavuş*, glasnik) niži je vojni čin u osmanskoj vojsci s varijacijama u značenju u različitim razdobljima Osmanskog Carstva. Čauši su, među ostalim, služili kao prenositelji naredbi u službi sultana, vezira i drugih visokih državnih dužnosnika. U ovom slučaju riječ je o službenicima zaduženima za sigurnost stranih diplomatskih predstavnika, koje su pratili na putovanjima kroz Osmansko Carstvo. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1966), 166-167.

61 Aga (osmanski turski: *ağa*, veliki; gospodar, starješina, zapovjednik) vojni je čin u osmanskoj vojsci i počasni naslov za uglednike koji nisu bili članovi osmanske inteligencije ili plemstva. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1966), 72.

62 Dragoman (arapski: *tārjūmān*, osmanski turski: *tercümān*, novogrčki: *dragomános*, tumač) službeni je tumač, odnosno prevoditelj pri stranim diplomatskim i trgovackim predstavništvima i poslanstvima u Osmanskom Carstvu te u drugim zemljama Bliskog istoka, koji je poznavao osmanski turski, perzijski i arapski jezik, ili jedan od navedenih, te nekoliko europskih jezika. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1966), 225.

63 Osmanski sultan **Suleiman I. Veličanstveni** (vladao 1520. - 1566.).

64 Ovdje se misli na safavidskog vladara, šaha Tahmaspa I. (vladao 1524-1576.), dok je naziv „Kazul-paša“ vjerojatno nastao od pogrešno shvaćenog naziva za perzijskog, odnosno safavidskog neprijatelja Osmanskog Carstva. Kizilbaše (osmanski turski: *kızılbaş*, „crvena glava“) su bili pripadnici raznih šijitskih vojnih skupina koje su se na području Anatolije, Kurdistana i Azerbajdžana tijekom 15. i 16. stoljeća borile na strani Safavidskog Carstva. Crvene kape, po kojima su dobili ime, simbolizirale su njihovu lojalnost safavidskoj dinastiji. Riječ kazul znači „perzijski“ u ranonovovjekovnome mađarskom jeziku. Paša (osmanski turski: *paşa*) vojni je čin u osmanskoj vojsci u rangu europskoga generala i naziv za upravitelja pašaluka, odnosno osmanske

59 The ambassadors wished to say that they completed their journey from Buda to Istanbul faster than the average traveler, since they traveled for thirty days, that is, between July 26th and August 25th. Indeed, their journey was fast above average, in comparison to the average duration of a voyage on this route in the former and latter decades. PETAR MATKOVIĆ, “Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI. veka. XIII. Putopisi Stj. Gerlacha i Sal. Schweigera, ili opisi putovanja carskih poslanstava u Carigrad, naime Davida Ungnada od g. 1573.-78. i Joach. Sinzendorfa od g. 1577.“, *Rad Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti. Razredi filološko-historički i filosofičko-juridički* 39 (1893), Vol. 116, pp. 110-111.

60 Chiaus (Ottoman Turkish: *çavuş*, messenger) was a lower army rank in Ottoman army, with variations in meaning in different periods of the Ottoman Empire. Chiauses, among other things, served as messengers in the service of the Sultan, the viziers and other high state officials. In this case, chiauses were officials in charge of security of foreign diplomatic representatives, who they accompanied on their journeys through the Ottoman Empire. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1966), pp. 166-167.

61 Agha (Ottoman Turkish: *ağa*, great; lord, chief, commander) was an army rank in the Ottoman army and a honorific title for dignitaries who were not members of the Ottoman intelligentsia or aristocracy. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1966), p. 72.

62 Dragoman (Arabic: *tārjūmān*, Ottoman Turkish: *tercümān*, modern Greek: *dragomános*, interpreter) was an official interpreter in service of foreign diplomatic and trade representatives and embassies in the Ottoman Empire and in other Middle Eastern states, who knew Ottoman Turkish, Persian and Arabic languages or only one of the above, and a number of European languages. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1966), p. 225.

63 Ottoman Sultan **Suleiman I the Magnificent** (ruled 1520-1566).

64 This name refers to the Safavid ruler, Shah Tahmasp I (ruled 1524-1576), whereas the name “Kazul Pasha” probably derived from a misunderstood name for the Persian, that is, Safavid enemy of the Ottoman Empire. Qizilbash (Ottoman Turkish: *kızılbaş*, “red head”) were members of various Shiite military groups fighting on the side of the Safavid Empire in the area of Anatolia, Kurdistan and Azerbaijan during the 15th and 16th centuries. Their red heads symbolized their loyalty to the Safavid dynasty. The word kazul means “Persian” in Early Modern Hungarian language. Pasha (Ottoman Turkish: *paşa*) was



Antun Vrančić
(Autor: Martin Kolunić Rota, 1571. / By: Martin Kolunić Rota, 1571)

Vašim Veličanstvom sklopiti mir. Stoga nas je istoga dana kad smo doputovali želio saslušati Rustem-paša.⁶⁵ Tog smo dana ipak malo predahnuli, oprali pršinu s puta i pobrinuli se za prtljagu, pa je audijencija održana idućega dana.

Budući da je gospodin Giovanni Maria Malvezzi⁶⁶ u znak pokornosti boravio u kućnom pritvoru te nismo mogli doći do njega bez pašina dopuštenja, smjesta smo gospodinu paši poslali molbu da nam dopusti vidjeti ga jer je po nalogu Kraljevskog Veličanstva i on naš suradnik, o čemu svjedoče i naše vjerodajnice. To smo uspjeli isposlovati te je doskora pozvan k nama. Izvjestili smo ga o svojoj zadaći i željama Vašeg Veličanstva. Istovremeno smo se s njime posavjetovali te od njega prvoga zatražili savjet o tome kako da provedemo u djelu zadaću koja je dodijeljena našem poslanstvu.

Na tome se nismo dugo zadržavali jer je bilo malo vremena za savjetovanje zbog skorog sultanova odlaska, koji je bio predviđen za 28. dan mjeseca kolovoza. Rekao nam je kako se čini da će biti vrlo teško, štoviše i opasno, zatražiti natrag čitavo kraljevstvo ili njegove dijelove koji su oduzeti prošle godine, a posebice Transilvaniju.⁶⁷ Budući da je dobro poznavao njihove stavove, na što su nas na putu bili upozoravali i mnogi drugi, kazao je kako će se paša pobrinuti da, ako želimo očuvati mir, ne tražimo natrag

ing out if he were to conclude peace with Your Majesty. Therefore Rüstem Pasha⁶⁵ wished to hear us out the same day that we arrived. That day, however, we took some rest, washed away the dust of the road and took care of our luggage, so the audience was held the following day.

Since His Lordship Giovanni Maria Malvezzi⁶⁶ in a sign of submission resided under house arrest and we could not see him without Pasha's approval, we immediately sent a petition to His Lordship the Pasha to let us see him because, by order of His Royal Majesty, he was our associate, as evidenced by our diplomatic credentials. We managed to procure this, and soon he was called upon to come and see us. We informed him of our task and the wishes of Your Majesty. At the same time we consulted with him and he was the first person from whom we asked counsel on how to accomplish the task which was assigned to our mission.

We did not spend much time dealing with this because there was little time for consultation due to Sultan's imminent departure, which was planned for the 28th day of the month of August. He told us that it seemed it would be very difficult, and moreover dangerous, if we were to ask back either for the whole kingdom, or for its parts that were taken last year, and especially for Transylvania.⁶⁷ Since he knew well their attitudes, and this was something that many others warned us too during our journey, he said that the Pasha will see to it that, if we

pokrajine. ÁGNES DROSZTMÉR, „The Good Fowler as a World Conqueror: Images of Suleyman the Magnificent in Early Modern Hungarian Literary Practice”, u: MARIANNA D. BIRNBAUM I MARCELL SEBŐK, *Practices of Co-existence. Constructions of the Other in Early Modern Perceptions* (Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2017), 12-13 (1-33); ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svetlost, 1966), 511-512.

⁶⁵ **Rustem-paša** (osmanski turski: *Rüstem Paşa*; o. 1500. - 1561.), veliki vezir Osmanskog Carstva, odnosno sultanov zamjenik u državnim poslovima i druga osoba Carstva, od 1544. do 1553. i od 1555. do 1561. godine. Najvjerojatnije je bio hrvatskog podrijetla i iz okolice Skradina.

⁶⁶ **Giovanni Maria Malvezzi** prvi je habsburški stalni poslanik u Carigradu. Zbog nezadovoljstva Malvezzijevim odgovorima u vezi sa statusom Trasilvanije, sultan Sulejman dao ga je zatvoriti. Malvezzijeva je korespondencija objavljena u izdanju *Austro-Turcica. Diplomatische Akten des habsburgischen Gesandtschaftsverkehrs mit der Hohen Pforte im Zeitalter Süleymans des Prächtigen*, prir. Srećko M. Džaja i Günter Weiss, München, Oldenbourg Verlag, 1995.

⁶⁷ Nakon osvajanja Budima 1541. godine Osmanlije su držali dio Ugarskog Kraljevstva omeđen gradovima Pečuhom, Ostrogonom i Segedinom. Godine 1551. habsburški car i ugarsko-hrvatski kralj Ferdinand I. (1503. - 1564.) poslao je vojsku u Transilvaniju kako bi se suprotstavila dalnjem osmanskom nadiranju. Međutim, već iduće godine Osmanlije su osvojili Temišvar, Szolnok i Drégely. Detaljnije usp. Péter Hanák (ur.), *Povijest Mađarske*, Zagreb: Barbat, 1995., str. 66.

an army rank in the Ottoman army on a par with a European general, and a name for the commander of a pashalik, that is, an Ottoman province. ÁGNES DROSZTMÉR, “The good fowler as a world conqueror: images of Suleyman the Magnificent in early modern Hungarian literary practice”, in: MARIANNA D. BIRNBAUM AND MARCELL SEBŐK, *Practices of Coexistence. Constructions of the Other in Early Modern Perceptions* (Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2017), pp. 12-13; Abdulah Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svetlost, 1966), pp. 511-512.

⁶⁵ **Rüstem Pasha** (c. 1500-1561), Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, that is, Sultan's deputy in state affairs and the second official of the Empire, between 1544 and 1553 and again between 1555 and 1561. He was probably of Croatian origin and from the environs of the Croatian town of Skradin.

⁶⁶ **Giovanni Maria Malvezzi**, first Habsburg residential ambassador in Istanbul. Due to Sultan Suleiman's dissatisfaction with Malvezzi's answers concerning the status of Transilvania, the Sultan imprisoned the ambassador. Malvezzi's correspondence was published under the title *Austro-Turcica. Diplomatische Akten des habsburgischen Gesandtschaftsverkehrs mit dem Hohen Pforte im Zeitalter Süleyman des Prächtigen*, eds. Srećko M. Džaja and Günter Weiss, München, Oldenbourg Verlag, 1995.

⁶⁷ After the capture of Buda in 1541, the Ottomans held the part of the Kingdom of Hungary bordered by the towns of Pécs, Esztergom and Szeged. In 1551, the Habsburg Archduke and Hungarian and Croatian King Ferdinand I (1503-1564) sent an army to Transylvania in order for it to counter further Ottoman penetration. However, the next year the Ottomans conquered the Hungarian towns of Timišoara, Szolnok and Drégely. For further details, cf. Péter Hának (ed.), *Povijest Mađarske*, Zagreb: Barbat, 1995, p. 66.



Portret sultana Sulejmana I. / Portrait of Sultan Süleyman I
(Pripisuje se Tizianu Vecelliju, oko 1530. / Attributed to Tiziano Vecellio, c. 1530)



Vjerojatno portret sultanije Hurem, poznate pod imenom Rokselana / Portrait of presumably Hürrem Sultan, called Roxelana

(Autor: Tiziano Vecellio, prva pol. 16. stoljeća. / By: Tiziano Vecellio, the first half of the 16th century)

Transilvaniju. Kad smo stigli u Carograd, paša nam je po sultanovu tumaču Ibrahimu poručio i naložio da govorimo s dužnom ozbiljnošću jer, ako i jednom jedinom riječju budemo spomenuli potraživanja u vezi s Transilvanijom, ne samo što nećemo dobiti primirje nego će sultan na svaki mogući način nastojati sklopiti mir s Kazul-pašom i potom krenuti na Ugarsku. Taj razlog ne bismo smjeli uzeti olako jer je sultan i napravio stanku očekujući glasnogovornike Vašeg Veličanstva.

Da tu prijetnju treba uzeti ozbiljno, upozorio nas je najprije gospodin Giovanni Maria, a potom i ostali, jer je Rustem-paša i inače želio sklopiti savez s Kazul-pašom i povesti rat na Ugarsku, što je savjetovao i caru. To bi se od cara moglo lako isposlovati ako se na to navede savjetima supruge⁶⁸ i molbama kćeri⁶⁹ te ako ne drži da mu je Kazul-paša nanio tešku i sramotnu nepravdu koju je nepokolebljivo odlučio osvetiti vlastitim mačem. O tome smo nadugačko razgovarali s Giovannijem Marijom, za koga

wished to preserve peace, not to ask Transylvania back. When we arrived to Constantinople, the Pasha sent us a message through the Sultan's interpreter and ordered us to speak with utmost seriousness because if we even with a single word mention our demands concerning Transylvania, we would not only miss on the chance to obtain an armistice, but the Sultan would also in every possible way strive to conclude peace with Kazul Pasha, and then would set out on a campaign against Hungary. We should not take this reason for granted because the Sultan made a pause precisely for this reason, while expecting Your Majesty's emissaries.

His Lordship Giovanni Maria was the first person to warn us that this threat should have been taken seriously, and then the others warned us too, because Rüstem Pasha was the one who wanted to make an alliance with Kazul Pasha and wage war against Hungary, which was the advice he gave to the Emperor. This could have easily been procured from the Emperor if he were to be persuaded through his wife's⁶⁸ and daughter's⁶⁹ counsel,

⁶⁸ Sultanija **Hurem** (osmanski turski: *Hürrem*; na Zapadu poznata i kao Rokselana; živjela 1502. - 1558.), službena supruga sultana Sulejmana Veličanstvenog.

⁶⁹ **Mihrimah** (o. 1522. - 1578.), kćerka Sulejmana Veličanstvenog i sultanije Hurem, te supruga velikog vezira Rustem-paše.

⁶⁸ **Hürrem** (known in the West as Roxelana; lived 1502-1558), official wife of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent.

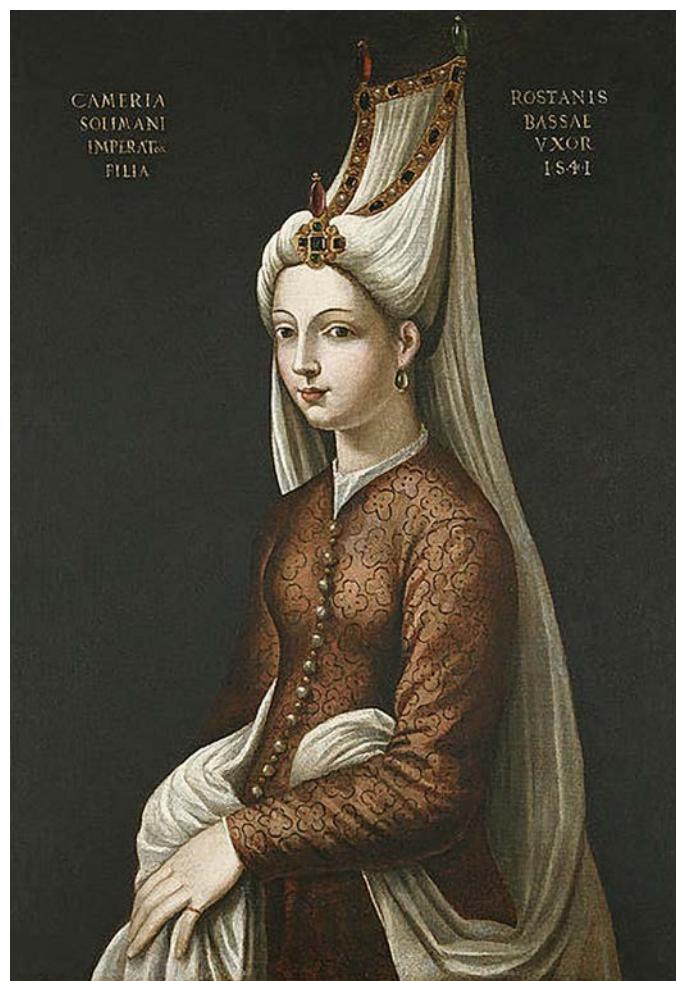
⁶⁹ **Mihrimah** (c.ca. 1522-1578), daughter of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent and Hürrem, and wife of Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha.

**Portret Mihrimah, kćeri sultana Sulejmana I. /
Portrait of Mihrimah, daughter of Sultan Süleyman I**

(Autor: Cristofano dell'Altissimo, 1541. /
By: Cristofano dell'Altissimo, 1541)

ne sumnjamo da je nadasve vjeran Vašem Veličanstvu. Naime, sve što nam je on bio prenio o Turcima, ispričali su nam i potvrdili i ostali.

Ondje smo se zadržali čitav dan i sljedeću noć ne bismo li nadošli na kakvu probitačnu zamisao o tome što da radimo i na koji način da zatražimo primirje kada nam nije dopušteno odstupiti ni od prvog, ni od drugog, ni od trećeg dijela naputaka koje smo dobili. Naposljetu, bojali smo se da u tako opasnoj situaciji, tražeći natrag čitavo kraljevstvo ili oduzete krajeve i neprestano se zalažući za Transilvaniju, sultanu ne damo povoda da, umjesto s Kazul-pašom, zarati s Ugarskom. Da bi se to vrlo lako moglo dogoditi, postalo nam je jasno već na početku pregovora jer smo vrlo lako zaključili da će nam, kad nam je već unaprijed onemogućeno da tražimo Transilvaniju, biti zabranjeno tražiti i ono za što smo se nadali da bismo najprije mogli postići. Oslanjajući se tako na pretposljednji članak svojih naputaka, pripremili smo se što smo bolje i uvjerljivije mogli kako se ne bismo vratili praznih



and if he were not to consider that Kazul Pasha caused him grave and shameful injustice which he adamantly decided to avenge with his own sword. We talked at length about this with Giovanni Maria, for whom we have no doubt that he is utmost faithful to Your Majesty. Because all the things that he had told us about the Turks, we have heard from others too and they have confirmed it.

There we stayed the whole day and the next night, in order to concoct an advantageous idea about what to do and how to plead for a truce, when we were not allowed to discard neither the first, nor the second, nor the third part of our instructions. Finally, we were afraid that in such a dangerous situation, while asking for the whole kingdom or for the seized territories and incessantly appealing for Transylvania, we would give the sultan the cause to go to war with Hungary, instead of going to war with Kazul Pasha. It became clear to us at the very beginning of the negotiations that this could very easily happen, because we very easily concluded that - bearing in mind that we were barred in advance from asking for

ruku i kako bismo otklonili opasnost koja nam je prijetila. Svoje smo brige prepustili Bogu, koji će se zasigurno, u to ne treba sumnjati, uskoro bolje pobrinuti za poslove Vašeg Veličanstva tijekom ovoga kratkog primirja nego da je nama odobren vječni mir. Kako smo se dosad uvjerili, nedvojbeno je da se taj mir, unatoč čvrstoj i iskrenoj zamolbi, neće podijeliti nikome od kršćanskih vladara koji ratuju s tim narodom, a ponajmanje Vašem Veličanstvu, čiji i najmannji pokret smatraju najvećom povredom. Sjećanje na davne omraze vrlo je, naime, snažno.

Odlučili smo i da, kada budemo tražili mir kako je navedeno na posljednjem mjestu u našim naputcima, iskušamo drugačije moliti kako bismo Vaše Veličanstvo uveli u milost ovog vladara i gospodina paše. Dok ih obojicu svim silama budemo uvjeravali u dobrohotnost Vašeg Veličanstva, uzgred bismo spomenuli i druge ciljeve našega poslanstva kako bismo izvidjeli što će odgovoriti.

Upućujući sultanu molbu na opisani način, uvjerili bismo ga da Vaše Veličanstvo, kako stoji na početku naših naputaka, od dana kada je počelo njegovati prijateljstvo prema sultanu pa sve do danas, gaji prema njemu postojanu i dobru volju. Usto iskazuje želju ne samo obnoviti prijateljstvo nego ga i učiniti još dubljim i snažnijim. Budući da se Vaše Veličanstvo uvjerilo u prijateljstvo premoćnog sultana i zaštitu paše, mi tražimo mir u ime Vašeg Veličanstva koji bi i sam sultan zasigurno htio odobriti jer je, i po njegovu mišljenju, u svim svojim stavama vrijedan njegove dozvole. To nam je savjetovao i sam paša, u čiju je dobrohotnost Vaše Veličanstvo do te mjere uvjereni da nema tako važne stvari koju mu se ne bi usudilo povjeriti. Stoga neka se paša udostoji i Vašem Veličanstvu u toj stvari pokloniti povjerenje i pomoći mu svojim savjetom. To su bile najvažnije stavke molbe za mir, koju smo potom u razgovoru razradili i dopunili različitim prijedlozima i argumentima, kako će Vas usmeno izvijestiti gospodin Giovanni Maria.

Pošto smo, dakle, sve to dogovorili na opisani način, dana 26. kolovoza poslije podne odvedeni smo k Rustem-paši. On nas je primio privatno, bez javnog sjaja svojeg dvora, ali uz počasti. Naložio nam je da sjednemo i govorimo bez posrednika. Pošto smo ga službeno pozdravili, pružili smo mu

Transylvania - we would have been forbidden to ask for that which we were hoping we would be able to accomplish first. By relying on the penultimate article of our instructions, we prepared ourselves as best and credible as we could, in order not to return empty-handed and to eliminate the impending danger. We entrusted our worries to the Lord, who will surely - there should be no doubt - soon take care of Your Majesty's work during this short armistice better than if we were granted everlasting peace. As we have seen so far, it is undeniable that this peace, despite firm and sincere pleas, will not be granted to anyone among the Christian rulers who are at war with this nation, and least of all to Your Majesty, whose even the slightest move is considered the gravest offence. The memories of bygone hatred are, you see, very strong.

We made a decision to try out a different way of pleading while requesting for a peace accord as stated in the last article of your instructions, in order to prompt this ruler and His Lordship the Pasha to show mercy toward Your Majesty. While persuading both of them with all our might of the benevolence of Your Majesty, we would in passing mention the other goals of our mission, in order to learn what would be their answer.

If we were to send our request to the Sultan in the manner described, we would convince him that Your Majesty - as is stated at the beginning of our instructions - was showing constant goodwill, from the day you started to cherish your friendship with the sultan to the present day. Moreover, Your Majesty expresses the wish not only to renew the friendship, but to make it even deeper and stronger. Bearing in mind that Your Majesty was convinced of the friendship of the almighty Sultan and the protection of the Pasha, we ask for peace in the name of Your Majesty, which the Sultan himself would surely wish to approve because, in his opinion too, it is worthy of his approval by all its items.

This was advised to us by the Pasha himself, in whose benevolence Your Majesty is convinced to the extent that there is nothing so important that you would not dare to confide to him. Thus let the Pasha agree to show his trust towards Your Majesty in this matter too, and help him with his advice. These were the most important items of the plea for peace, which we then elaborated during our conversation and supplemented with different suggestions and arguments, as His Lordship Giovani Maria will inform you verbally.

vjerodajnicu i darove, zajedno s Hasan-begom.⁷⁰ Potom smo iznijeli pripremljeni uvod. On ga je dobrohotno saslušao i prihvatio te zahvalio Vašem Veličanstvu na pozdravima, darovima i Hasan-begu.

Poslije toga, jedva pažljivo saslušavši početak govora, ispruženom nam je rukom odmah dao znak da zašutimo i rekao da, ako želimo mir, ne spominjemo Transilvaniju. Ako nam je, pak, naloženo da je zatražimo, bolje je da svoje poslanstvo više i ne spominjemo. U tom smo slučaju, naime, uzalud došli. Nismo ni trebali doći jer je sultan odlučio i potvrdio zakletvom da se Transilvanija prepusti Ivanovu sinu.⁷¹ Ako kralj u tom pogledu ne udovolji sultanu, nikada neće osigurati njegovo priateljstvo, kao ni mir. Osim toga, nedostojno je dječaka, kojega je sultanu povjedio njegov otac i kojega već dugo ima u skrbništvu, tako nepravedno tjerati iz njegove domovine, štoviše i prisvajati tu pokrajinu koja će ionako biti sultanova.

Tako teška upadica nadvila se nad nas poput sjenе. Izrazom lica i načinom govora pokazujući skromnost, rekli smo mu da ne želimo učiniti ništa što bi moglo uvrijediti premoćnog sultana ili Njegovo Uzvišeno Gospodstvo. Međutim, nikako ne možemo prešutjeti ono što nam je naloženo kazati jer su govornici sredstva pomoću kojih odsutni vladari međusobno razgovaraju o svojim poslovima. Uostalom, ako Njegovo Uzvišeno Gospodstvo ne želi da tražimo Transilvaniju, neka nam barem (to ga molimo) ne zabrani govoriti o onome o čemu bismo ga željeli detaljnije izvijestiti. Kada bi bio obaviješten o tome kako doista stoe stvari, shvatio bi da se oni koji svojim lažima i izmišljotinama optužuju našeg kralja zapravo nastoje iskupiti od kazne za vlastiti zločin nanoseći štetu drugome.

Nije nam to dopustio, premda smo se često na to nastojali vratiti kako bismo ga potaknuli da govor. Jedva nam je dopustio otvoriti usta, stalno odgova-

After we agreed on all of this in the manner described, we were taken to see Rüstem Pasha on the afternoon of August 26. He received us privately, without the public splendor of his court, but with honors. He instructed us to sit down and to speak without mediators. After we had saluted him officially, we granted him our credentials and gifts, together with Hasan Bey.⁷⁰ Afterwards, we delivered our prepared speech. He benevolently listened to it and accepted it, and then thanked Your Majesty for the salutations, gifts and Hasan Bey.

Afterwards, being barely able to listen to the beginning of the speech, he immediately gestured with his outstretched hand, signaling to us to stop speaking and said that, if we wanted peace, we should not say anything about Transylvania. If, on the other hand, we were instructed to ask for Transylvania, it would be better not to even mention our mission. In that case, he said, we had come in vain. We should have not come at all, because the sultan had already decided and confirmed by oath that Transylvania would be bequeathed to John's son.⁷¹ If the King does not satisfy the Sultan in this regard, he will never secure neither his friendship, nor peace. Furthermore, it is dishonorable to expel the boy – who was entrusted by his father to the Sultan and who was for a long time in Sultan's custody - so unfairly from his country, moreover, to appropriate this territory that will anyway become property of the Sultan.

Such a grave interruption loomed over us like a shadow. Demonstrating modesty with the expression of our faces and with the manner of our speech, we declared to him that we do not wish to do anything that could offend the almighty Sultan or His Exalted Lordship. However, we cannot keep silent and not mention what we had been instructed to say, because the orators are the means by which absent rulers talk to each other about their affairs of state. Besides, if His Exalted Lordship does not want for us to claim Transylvania, at least let him not (we be-

70 Osoba koju naziva Hasan-begom nije identificirana. Vjerojatno je riječ o ratnom zarobljeniku kojega je habsburško poslanstvo povelo sa sobom kako bi ga predalo osmanskim dužnosnicima kao znak dobre volje i zalog za buduće pregovore.

71 Riječ je o **Ivanu Žigmundu** (1540. - 1571.), maloljetnom sinu Ivana Zapolje (1487. - 1540.) i Izabele Jagelović (1519. - 1559.). Nakon smrti Ivana Zapolje habsburški nadvojvoda i ugarski kralj Ferdinand I. opseuo je Budim kako bi učvrstio svoj položaj u sporu oko ugarske krune. Tome se usprotivio biskup Juraj Utješenović (Utješinović ili Utisenić, mađarski György Martinuzzi, 1482. - 1551.) i pozvao je u pomoć osmanskog sultana Sulejmana I. Veličanstvenog (1494. - 1566.). Sultan je 1541. godine protjerao habsburšku vojsku i zauzeo Budim za sebe te posvojio Ivana Žigmunda i poslao ga u Transilvaniju zajedno s majkom.

70 This person was not identified. He was probably a prisoner of war who the Habsburg delegation had brought with them in order to deliver him to the Ottoman officials as a gesture of goodwill and a pledge for future negotiations.

71 The person in question is **John Sigismund** (1540-1571), underage son of John Zápolya (1487-1540) and Isabella Jagiellon (1519-1559). After the death of John Sigismund's father, Habsburg Archduke and King of Hungary Ferdinand I besieged Buda in order to consolidate his position in the fight for the Crown of Hungary. Bishop György Martinuzzi (Croatian: Juraj Utješinović, Utješenović, or Utisenić, 1482-1551) opposed Ferdinand's ambitions and called Ottoman Sultan Süleyman I the Magnificent (1494-1566) to help him and the Transylvanian cause. The Sultan expelled the Habsburg army in 1541 and took Buda for himself. Afterwards Süleyman adopted John Sigismund and sent him to Transylvania together with his mother.



Portret Ivana Žigmunda Zapolje / Portrait of John Sigismund Zápolya

(Autor: Dominicus Custos, oko 1600. / By: Dominicus Custos, circa 1600)

rajući kako nam je više puta rekao da ne govorimo o Transilvaniji. Tada smo se međusobno malo posavjetovali što da činimo. Pitali smo jedan drugoga čemu se možemo nadati u vezi s čitavom Ugarskom kad nam je zabranjeno govoriti čak i o Transilvaniji. Budući da smo imali malo vremena da promijenimo sadržaj izlaganja i tražimo povoljniji trenutak, bili smo prisiljeni iznova se vratiti na tu temu jer je idućeg dana sultan u pravnji paše odlazio na put. Osim toga, Rustem nije podnosio odugovlačenje i činilo se da je postao vrlo zlovoljan. Rekao je da je sultan već pripravio svoju vojsku i poslao izaslanike paši Kasulu da zatraže mir. Sultan je, naime, čvrsto odlučio napasti Ugarsku, što će zasigurno i učiniti ako ga on ne odgovori od te odluke. Kazao je potom da je odluka o ratu i miru u rukama našeg kralja: ako Transilvaniju ne vrati dječaku, doći će do rata, a ako je vrati, dobit će mir koji će vrijediti samo za one dijelove kraljevstva koje ima u svojem posjedu. O ostalome nismo ništa govorili jer po turskom zakonu⁷² nije dopušteno opozvati ništa od onoga za što vjeruju da je u skladu s Božjom voljom i na što su se zavjetovali svome Proroku.

Potom smo donijeli odluku da krenemo od uvodnog dijela svojih naputaka. Stoga smo rekli da Vaše

seech him) forbid us to talk about the matter of which we wished to inform him in more detail. If he were to be informed of the real state of affairs, he would realize that those who are accusing our King with their lies and fabrications are, in fact, striving to exculpate themselves from the punishment for their own crime by causing damage to others.

He did not allow us to do that, although we on many occasions attempted to return to that topic, in order to impel him to talk about it. He barely allowed us to open our mouths, constantly replying that he had told us many times not to talk about Transylvania. Thereafter we consulted a bit among ourselves about what to do. We asked each other what to hope for concerning the entire Hungary if we are forbidden to speak even about Transylvania. Since we had little time to change the content of our speech and ask for a more opportune moment, we were forced to return again to that topic, because the next day the Sultan, accompanied by the Pasha, was departing from Istanbul. Besides, Rüstem Pasha did not tolerate delays and it seemed as if he had already become very ill-tempered. He declared that the Sultan had already prepared his army and had sent its emissaries to Kazul Pasha to plea for peace. The Sultan, in fact, firmly decided to at-

Veličanstvo već vrlo dugo neprekidno razmišlja o tome da sklopi priateljstvo s velikim turskim vladarom te da bi zato s njime željelo sklopiti petogodišnji mir. Kao uvod u taj mir, koji bi poslije trebao postati još obuhvatnijim i dugotrajnjim, sada bismo, dodali smo, iznijeli malo opsežnije obrazloženje kako bi Njegovoj Visosti⁷³ sve bilo jasnije. Premda su mir prije dogovorenog roka raskinule neke osobe koje s najvećom revnošću redovito nastoje pomutiti jedinstvo i slogu između premoćnog sultana i Vašeg Veličanstva⁷⁴, Vaše Veličanstvo i dalje je ostalo skljono Njegovoj Visosti⁷⁵, kao što je i sada. Ono, naime, ne želi ništa drugo nego da se raskinuti mir ne samo iznova sklopi već i učini još obuhvatnijim i čvršćim. Ako su u tome suglasni i Vaše Veličanstvo i Njegova Visost, podložnici i kmetovi na objema stranama po čitavoj Ugarskoj napokon bi mogli malo počinuti i odahnuti od tolikih nevolja.

Dodali smo da je zato Vaše Veličanstvo bilo ponukano Njegovoj Visosti poslati izaslanike koji bi pregovarali o obnovi mira i zaključili mirovni sporazum. Budući da je zbog tih pregovora trebalo dogovoriti primirje radi prekida neprijateljstava na zajedničkim granicama i sigurnosti poslanika koje je trebalo odaslati u Visoku portu Njegove Visosti, Vaše Veličanstvo zatražilo je mir posredstvom Ali-paše.⁷⁶ Potom smo kazali da Vaše Veličanstvo zahvaljuje što je Njegova Visost pristala na primirje koje je ispolovao gospodin paša, te je poslalo izaslanike koje je bilo dužno poslati. Mi smo, naime, ti poslanici kojima je Vaše Veličanstvo dalo potpune i trajne ovlasti

tack Hungary, which he will definitely do if the Pasha does not dissuade him from this decision. Rüstem Pasha then said that the decision on peace and war was in the hands of our king: if he does not return Transylvania to the boy, there will be war, and if he does, he will acquire peace which would apply only to those parts of the kingdom that he has in his possession. We did not say anything about the rest, because according to Turkish law,⁷² it is not permissible to recall anything that they believe to be in accordance with God's will and for which they had vowed to their Prophet.

Afterwards, we decided to begin from the introductory part of our instructions. Hence we declared that Your Majesty had for a very long time and incessantly contemplated about concluding a friendship with the great Turkish ruler, and therefore wished to conclude a five-year peace. As an introduction to this peace, which should later become more comprehensive and lasting, we would now like to put forward an extensive explanation in order to clarify all these matters to His Highness.⁷³ Although the peace had been terminated before the agreed deadline by some persons who with utmost devotion regularly strive to obfuscate the unity and concord between the almighty Sultan and Your Majesty,⁷⁴ Your Majesty has still remained inclined to His Highness,⁷⁵ and is of the same opinion at the present. Your Majesty, in fact, does not want anything else than to renew the broken peace and render it even more comprehensive and stronger. If both Your Majesty and His Highness agree, the subjects and peasants on both sides throughout entire Hungary could finally rest a bit and respire after so many troubles.

We added that for these reasons Your Majesty was prompted to send emissaries to His Highness who

72 Evropski narodi u bezbroj su navrata Osmansko Carstvo nazivali Turskim i njegove podanke Osmanlije Turcima, iako je pridjev „osmanski“ mnogo prikladniji za državu u kojoj je turska etnička skupina uvjerljivo činila manjinu naspram brojnih drugih etničkih skupina u Carstvu. Pripadnici vladajućeg sloja Osmanskog Carstva nazivali su se Osmanlijama i nikad se nisu nazivali Turcima, što je bio naziv za ruralno stanovništvo Anatolijske. Usp. MILORAD PAVIĆ, *Jugoistočna Europa pod osmanskom vlašću. Od pada Carigrada do Svištovskega mira* (Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2014), 13.

73 To jest sultanu Sulejmanu.

74 Vjerojatno misle na osmanske paše u pokrajinskim sandžacima, koji su neprestano kršili mir provala u habsburško područje.

75 To jest sultanu.

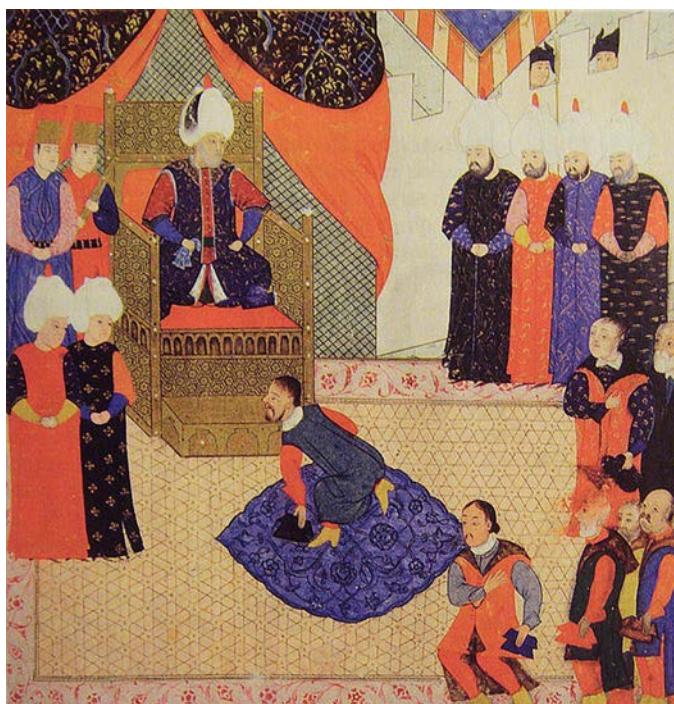
76 **Ali-paša**, osmanski upravitelj središnje Ugarske, koji je imao sjedište u Budim. Vrančić je u travnju 1553. godine isao u diplomatsku misiju k Ali-paši u Budim i tom je prilikom dogovorio habsburško-osmansko primirje do studenoga 1553. godine, koliko su habsburški dužnosnici smatrali da će biti dovoljno da habsburško poslanstvo ode u Istanbul i ondje dogovori stabilniji i dugotrajanji mirovni sporazum. JOSEPH VON HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija turskog/osmansko/ carstva* (Zagreb: Nerkez Smailagić, 1979), sv. 1, 464-465; PETAR MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI. veka VI. Putovanje Antuna Vrančića g. 1553.“, *Rad Ju-*

72 European nations have on numerous occasions used the adjective “Turkish” when naming the Ottoman Empire, and its Ottoman subjects “Turks”, although the adjective “Turkish” is much more suitable for a state in which the Turkish ethnic group formed a minority when compared to numerous other ethnic groups within the Empire. Members of the ruling class of the Ottoman Empire called themselves the Ottomans and never called themselves Turks, which was the term that they used for the rural population of Anatolia. Cf. MILORAD PAVIĆ, *Jugoistočna Europa pod osmanskom vlašću. Od pada Carigrada do Svištovskega mira* (Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2014), p. 13.

73 That is, to Sultan Süleyman.

74 They are probably inferring to the Ottoman Pashas as governors of the provincial sanjaks, who have incessantly broken the peace treaty through raids into Habsburg territory.

75 That is, to the Sultan.



Osmanska minijatura s prikazom sultana Sulejmana I. i Ivana Žigmunda Zapolje 1566. godine /
Ottoman miniature of Sultan Süleyman I receiving John Sigismund Zápolya in 1566

(Nepoznati autor / Unknown author)

da vode pregovore s Njegovom Visosti o uvjetima mirovnog sporazuma, koji ne bi oduzeli ništa od ugleda Vašeg Veličanstva, a usto bi bili pravični i prihvatljivi za Njegovu Visost, u što se Njegova Visost može uvjeriti iz vjerodajnice.

Namjeravali smo izložiti još mnogo više slijedeći dane nam naputke jer nas je paša počeo pažljivije slušati čim smo mu rekli da Vaše Veličanstvo od premoćnog sultana traži mir i prijateljstvo. Ne očekujući daljnje izlaganje i, štoviše, odajući nestrpljenje i nevoljnost da nastavi slušati, paša nas je prekinuo i rekao da će njegov vladar u potpunosti pristati na sklapanje mira s Vašim Veličanstvom i zaboraviti sve davne razloge za mržnju sve dok ono⁷⁷ ne traži Transilvaniju i područja koja je dosad prisvojilo. Što se tiče ostaloga, udijelit će nam mir kakav god tražili.

Na to smo odgovorili da je nemoguće zabranjivati poslanicima da nešto traže i uopće da govore jer je riječ o njihovoј časti i glavi ako za vladare ne izvrše ono zbog

would negotiate on the renewal of the peace treaty and conclude a peace agreement. Since, due to these negotiations, an armistice had to be arranged for the purpose of cessation of hostilities on mutual borders and for the safety of the ambassadors, who had to be sent to the Sublime Porte of His Highness, Your Majesty had requested a peace treaty through Ali Pasha.⁷⁶ Then we declared that Your Majesty is thankful to His Highness for accepting a truce that was arranged by His Lordship the Pasha, thereby he sent the ambassadors whom he was due to dispatch. We are, in fact, those ambassadors to whom Your Majesty granted full and permanent authority to lead negotiations with His Highness on the conditions of a peace agreement, providing that those conditions do not diminish the reputation of Your Maj-

76 **Ali Pasha**, Ottoman governor of central Hungary, who had his seat in Buda. Vrančić in April of 1553 departed for a diplomatic mission to Ali Pasha of Buda and on this occasion arranged a Habsburg-Ottoman truce that was supposed to last until November 1553, as the Habsburg officials believed this period would be enough time for the Habsburg delegation to reach Istanbul and there conclude a more stable and lasting peace agreement. JOSEPH VON HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Historija turskog /osmanskog / carstva* (Zagreb: Nerkez Smilagić, 1979), sv. 1, 464-465; PETAR MATKOVIĆ, „Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku XVI. veka VI. Putovanje Antuna Vrančića g. 1553.“, *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti. Razredi filologičko-historički i filozofičko-juridički*, knj. 8 (1884), 4; LAJOS TARDY, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire. 14th-16th century hungarian diplomacy in the East*, Studia uralo-altaica, Szeged, 1978., 162; ALBERTO FORTIS, *Put po Dalmaciji*, priredio Josip Bratulić, Globus, Zagreb, 1984., 119; MILENKO LONČAR i DIANA SORIĆ, „Pismom protiv nepoželjnih čitatelja III. Vrančićeva pomagala za kodiranje“, *Colloquia Maruliana*, 25 (2016), 18 (17-70); CASTILIA MANEA-GRGIN, „Uvod“, u: Antun Vrančić, *Historiografski fragmenti* (preveo Šime Demo, uvodnu studiju i bilješke uz prijevod napisala Castilia Manea-Grgin), Gradska knjižnica „Juraj Šižgorić“, Šibenik, 2014., 11.

77 To jest Ferdinand I.

čega su poslani, odnosno ono što su dobili zadaću izvršiti. Zamolili smo, dakle, pašu da govorimo o svemu i da nakon toga Njegovo Presvjetlo Gospodstvo i Njegova Visost sultan naprave ono što im se čini najprimjerenijim.

Nije nam to dopustio, nego je rekao ono što stalno ponavlja, a to je da uzalud govorimo jer i on i njegov vladar znaju što ćemo reći. Uostalom, car⁷⁸ se zakleo da Transilvanija neće biti ničija doli dječakova.⁷⁹ Čak i da nema dječaka, njegov vladar drži velikom nepravdom da mu se na taj način otima pokrajina koju je vlastitim mačem zadobio prije trideset godina,⁸⁰ te ne može mirovati dok je ona u tuđoj vlasti.

Na to smo rekli da Vaše Veličanstvo nije ni silom, ni na prijevaru, ni na štetu njegova sultana prisvojilo tu pokrajinu, nego ju je iznova preuzealo nakon predaje⁸¹ (pritom smo u nekoliko riječi izložili tijek čitave stvari i svim silama nastojali da ono što nismo smjeli izreći u svojoj molbi kažemo usput i posredno, kao da je riječ o nečemu drugome). Preuzimajući Transilvaniju, Vaše Veličanstvo ni na koji se način nije ogriješilo o njegova vladara niti je povrijedilo Ivanova sina, nego je krivnja ponajprije na dječakovu ocu, zatim na njegovoj majci te naposljetku na onima kojima je bila povjerena briga o dječaku. Kad smo vidjeli da je paša malo zašutio, iznijeli smo čitavu priču o tome kako je sklopljen mir između Vašeg Veličanstva i Ivana,⁸² kako su u tom sporazumu dogovorene odredbe kojima je on⁸³ sina lišio nasljedstva, kako je kraljica odlučila predati Budim Vašem Veličanstvu, a što je očito bilo usmjereno protiv nepobjedivoga sultana, kako Vam je poslala krunu iz Transilvanije i sa sinom se predala u Vašu vjernost i zaštitu te se za-

esty, and are at the same time just and acceptable for His Highness, of which His Highness can ascertain through our credentials.

We intended to elaborate much more by following the instructions given to us, because the Pasha had started to listen more attentively the moment we had told him that Your Majesty asked for peace and friendship from the almighty Sultan. Since the Pasha did not expect us to talk any further and, moreover, exhibiting impatience and reluctance to continue to listen to our speech, he interrupted us and declared that his ruler would totally accept to conclude peace with Your Majesty and forget all the old reasons for hatred as long as he⁷⁷ does not request Transylvania and the territories that he had hitherto appropriated. As far as the rest is concerned, he would grant us peace no matter what we asked for.

We replied to this by declaring that it is impossible to forbid emissaries to ask something and overall to speak, because their honor and their heads are at stake if they do not achieve what they were sent to do - that is, what they were instructed to accomplish. Hence we asked the Pasha for his consent for us to speak about everything, and afterwards His Serene Lordship and His Highness the Sultan can do what they seem most appropriate.

He did not let us do that; instead, he declared what he had been repeating constantly, and that is that we talk in vain because he and his ruler know what we would say. Besides, the Emperor⁷⁸ swore that Transylvania would not belong to anyone but the boy.⁷⁹ Even if the boy did not exist, his ruler considered it a grave injustice that this territory was taken from him in such a manner, as he had captured it with his own sword thirty years ago,⁸⁰ thus he cannot rest while it is under foreign rule.

We replied to this by declaring that Your Majesty had seized this territory neither by force, nor by deception, nor to the detriment of his sultan, but retook it after it was handed over⁸¹ (thereby we stated in a few words

77 That is, Ferdinand I.

78 That is, Sultan Süleyman.

79 That is, John Sigismund.

80 The events in question concern the period after the Battle of Mohács in 1526.

81 This regards the Treaty of Weissenburg (or Gyulafehérvár; present-day Alba Iulia in Romania), which was an agreement between the Transylvanian estates and Habsburg Archduke Ferdinand, concluded on July 19, 1551, according to which Isabella Jagiellon delivered to Ferdinand all her estates and the Hungarian Crown of St. Stephen, whereas John Sigismund was supposed to marry Ferdinand's daughter Joanna. For more details, cf. ALEKSANDRA KOLARIĆ, "Juraj Utješenović i njegovo doba", *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, 16 (1999), 131.

78 Odnosno sultan.

79 Odnosi se na Ivana Žigmunda.

80 Riječ je o događajima nakon Bitke na Mohačkom polju 1526. godine.

81 Odnosi se na sporazum transilvanskih staleža s habsburškim nadvojvodom Ferdinandom, sklopljen u Albi Iuliji (u današnjoj Rumunjskoj) 19. srpnja 1551. godine, prema kojem je Izabela Ferdinandu predala sve svoje posjede i krunu sv. Stjepana, a Ivan Žigmund trebao se oženiti Ferdinandovom kćeri Joannom. Detaljnije usp. ALEKSANDRA KOLARIĆ, „Juraj Utješenović i njegovo doba”, *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, 16 (1999), 131.

82 Odnosi se na Velikovaradinski ugovor sklopljen u Velikom Varadinu (današnji grad Oradea u Rumunjskoj) 24. veljače 1538. godine između Ivana Zapolje i Ferdinanda I., prema kojem je čitava Ugarska s Transilvanijom nakon Zapoljine smrti trebala pripasti Ferdinandu, dok se sin Ivana Zapolje trebao oženiti Ferdinandovom kćeri i naslijediti djedovska imanja. Detaljnije usp. KOLARIĆ, „Juraj Utješenović”, 128.

83 Odnosno Ivan Zapolja.

klela da ubuduće neće ništa poduzimati da bi vratila Transilvaniju i da će nastojati smekšati sina dokle se god njoj i sinu bude davalo ono što je dogovorenog s njegovim ocem.⁸⁴ Paša ne treba sumnjati da je Vaše Veličanstvo sve to napravilo uz goleme novčane troškove, zadovoljivši čak i Petra Petrovića, kako je on sam želio.⁸⁵

Ovome smo pridodali ponešto i o lažnim optužbama Petra Petrovića i nekih drugih ljudi upućenima na račun Vašeg Veličanstva, za koje smo netom doznali iz pisama. U njima se izražava bojazan da Vaše Veličanstvo, osim Transilvanije, ne preuzme i ne zloupotrijebi i njihove posjede. Kako paša ne bi povjerovao tim objedama, rekli smo da su lažne i izmišljene te da premoćnom sultanu ponajprije oslikavaju one koji su ga izdali i koji mu nisu bili zahvalni. Oni, naime, nemaju drugog načina da isprave svoje pogreške i isperu sa sebe zločin nego da svu krivnju prebace na Vaše Veličanstvo.

Ovo je bila zgodna prigoda da se to još opširnije razloži pred pašom kako bismo navukli omrazu na taj soj koji je težak i Vašem Veličanstvu i čitavu kršćanstvu.⁸⁶ Paša je, pak, to i sve ostalo smatrao nevažnim, kao da su bili odlučili u vezi s dječakovim slučajem ne uzimati u obzir nikakve razloge niti voditi računa o pravičnosti. Rekao je da sultan sve to zna, no pošto mu je dao tu pokrajinu te ga je, napisljeku, primio natrag u svoju milost, ni zbog kojih ga razloga više ne može napustiti.

Potom je rekao: „Ako vaš kralj zna da su Transilvanija i Ugarska u vlasti sultana, koji je najprije porazio kralja Ludovika⁸⁷, a potom zauzeo Budim⁸⁸, zašto se - s obzirom na to da je mudar i razborit te sultana, nastojeći zadobiti njegovo prijateljstvo, na-

the course of those events and by all means tried to casually and indirectly say that which we were not supposed to say in our plea, as if it was about something completely different). By taking Transylvania, Your Majesty did in no way do injustice to his ruler nor inflict harm to John's son, whereas the boy's father, then his mother, and finally all those who were entrusted with the care for the boy, were the ones culpable. When we had seen that the Pasha became silent for a bit, we put forward the whole story about the conclusion of peace between Your Majesty and John,⁸² how with this agreement they had agreed on the provisions by which he⁸³ had deprived his son of the inheritance, how the Queen⁸⁴ had decided to deliver Buda to Your Majesty - and this had evidently been directed against the invincible Sultan - how she had sent the crown from Transylvania to him and together with her son submitted herself to his loyalty and protection, and had sworn not to do anything directed at reclaiming Transylvania in the future, and to strive to soften her son, as long as she and her son are given what had been agreed with his father.⁸⁵ The Pasha does not have to doubt in the fact that Your Majesty had done all of this with considerable financial expenses, pleasing even Peter Petrović, as he himself wanted.⁸⁶

To this we added some comments about the false accusations of Peter Petrović and other people directed against Your Majesty, of which we had newly become aware through the letters. In the letters, a concern is expressed that Your Majesty could take over and mis-

84 Odnosi se na sporazum u Albi Iuliji iz 1551. godine.

85 **Petar Petrović** (o. 1486. - 1557.), temišvarski župan i pristaša kraljice Izabele. Prepostavlja se da je bio Zapoljin rođak, koji se nakon njegove smrti sa svojim osmanskim saveznicima borio protiv kralja Ferdinanda. Prema sporazumu u Albi Iuliji, Petrović je s Izabelom i Ivanom Žigmundom trebao napustiti Cluj (današnji rumunjski grad Cluj-Napoca) i otići u Košice (u današnjoj Slovačkoj). Taj su grad, naime, Izabela i Ivan Žigmund dobili na uživanje dok se ne iskupi šlesko vojvodstvo Opolje (u današnjoj Poljskoj), koje im je Ferdinand osigurao kao naknadu za ustupanje krune sv. Stjepana. ADRIAN MAGINA, „Peter Petrović and Protestantism. Aspects Concerning the Patronage of the Reformation During its Early Period“, *Иницијал. Часопис за средњовековне стручње / Initial. A Review of Medieval Studies* 3 (2015), 139-159.

86 Ovo bi mogla biti aluzija na Petrovićevu naklonjenost kalvinizmu.

87 Odnosi se na ugarskog kralja Ludovika II. i Bitku na Mohačkom polju 29. kolovoza 1526.

88 Sultan Sulejman I. zauzeo je Budim 21. kolovoza 1541. godine.

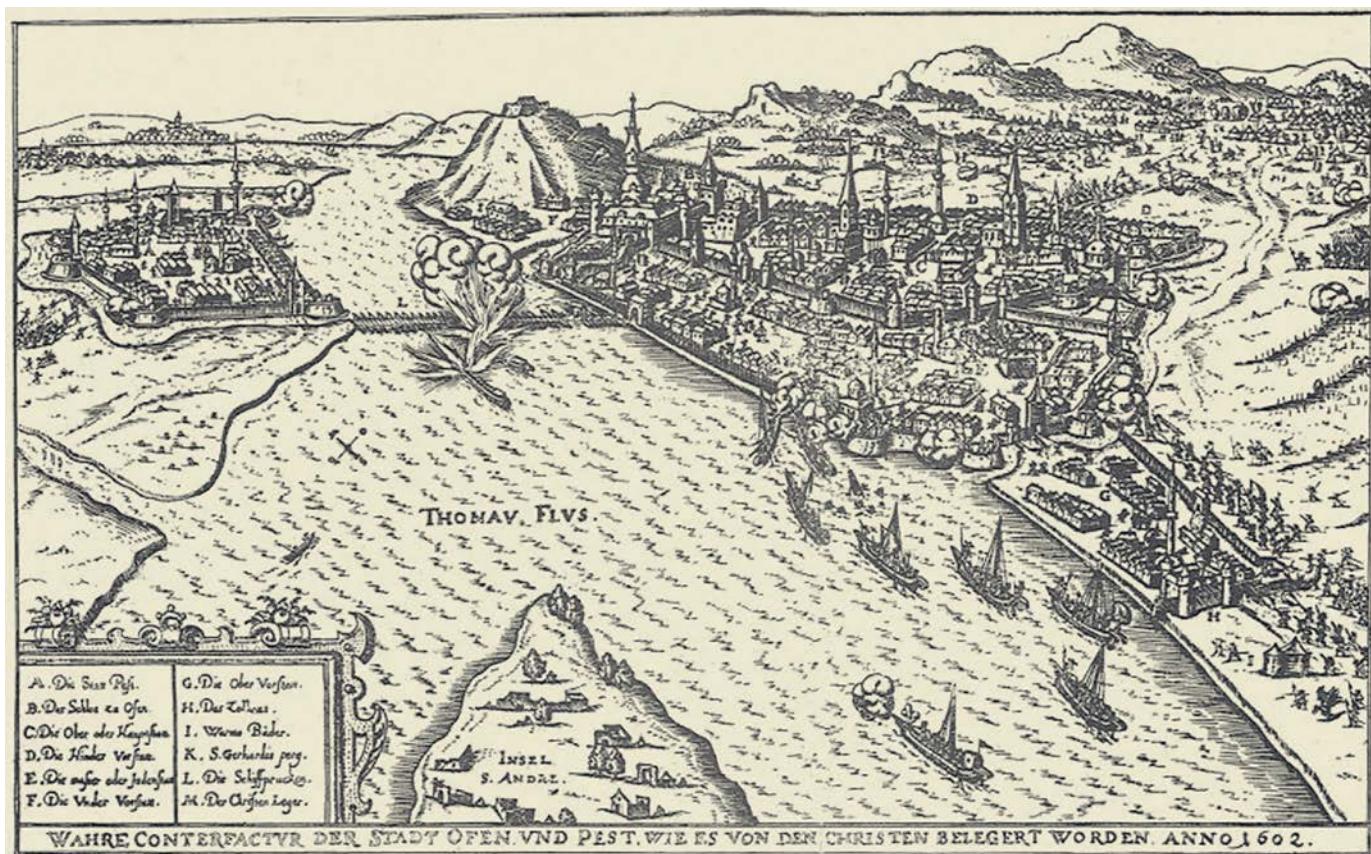
82 This concerns the Treaty of Nagyvárad (or Treaty of Grosswardein; present-day Oradea in Romania) concluded on February 24, 1538, between John Zápolya and Ferdinand I, according to which entire Hungary with Transylvania was supposed to come under Ferdinand's rule, whereas the son of John Zápolya was supposed to marry Ferdinand's daughter and inherit his grandfather's estates. For more details, cf. KOLARIĆ, „Juraj Utješenović“, p. 128

83 That is, John Zápolya.

84 That is, Queen Regent Isabella.

85 This refers to the mentioned Treaty of Alba Iulia of 1551.

86 **Petar Petrović** (c. 1486-1557), ruler of Timišoara and supporter of Queen Regent Isabella. It is believed that Petrović was Zápolya's cousin, who after Zápolya's death together with his Ottoman allies fought against King Ferdinand. According to the Treaty of Alba Iulia, Petrović was supposed to leave the (present-day Romanian) town of Cluj and leave for the (present-day Slovakian) town of Košice, together with Isabella and John Sigismund. Košice were granted to them as usufruct until their passage to the Opole Voivodeship in Silesia (present-day Poland), which was granted to them by Ferdinand I as compensation for their cession of the Crown of St. Stephen. ADRIAN MAGINA, "Peter Petrović and protestantism. Aspects concerning the patronage of the reformation during its early period", *Иницијал. Часопис за средњовековне стручње / Initial. A Review of Medieval Studies* 3 (2015), pp. 139-159.



Prikaz bitke kod Pešte i opsade Budima 1602. godine /
Panorama of the battle of Pest and the siege of Buda in 1602

(Nepoznati autor / Unknown author)

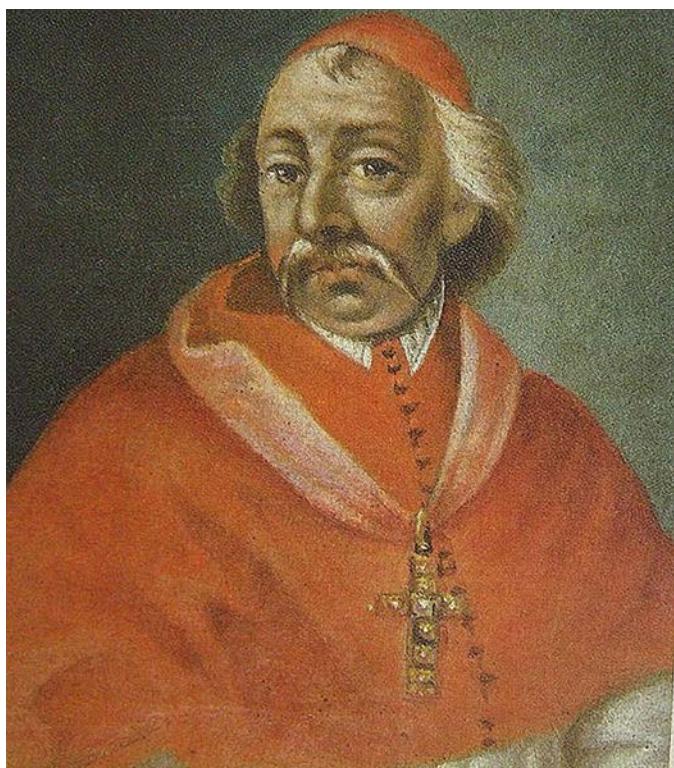
ziva premoćnim i nepobjedivim - nije uplašio sultanova snaga kada je varkom ili nepoštenjem pokušao prisvojiti Transilvaniju? I zašto, prije nego što je prihvatio da mu predaju Transilvaniju, nije najprije javio našem sultanu da mu žele dati Transilvaniju i pitao ga za savjet treba li je preuzeti ili ne? Zašto, nakon što ju je primio, nije odmah premoćnom sultanu poslao uobičajeni danak i za Ugarsku i za Transilvaniju te upitao sultana bi li potvrdio njegovu vlast u Transilvaniji i sklopio s njime prijateljstvo? Naime, prikladno vrijeme za traženje Transilvanije bilo je tada kada je sultan bio u neprijateljskim odnosima s kraljicom, Eremitom⁸⁹, Petrovićem i Transilvancima, a ne sada kada je sultana za dječaka vezala njegova nezrela dob i nevinost, spoznaja i priznanje grijeha

use not only Transylvania, but their estates too. In order that the Pasha would not give credence to these denigrations, we told him that these were false and fictitious, and that these primarily speak to the Sultan of those who had betrayed him and had been ungrateful. They do not have any other way of correcting their mistakes and washing away from themselves their crimes, but to transfer the guilt to Your Majesty.

This was a good opportunity to even more extensively present this topic before the Pasha, in order to augment the hatred of this kind, who are burdensome to Your Majesty and the entire Christianity.⁸⁷ The Pasha, however, considered this and everything else insignificant, as if they had decided not to take into account any reasoning or pay any attention to justice in the case of the boy. He declared that the Sultan had known about all of this, but since he gave this territory to him and, finally, received him in his mercy, he could not have deserted him anymore, for whatever reason.

⁸⁹ Frater Georgius Eremita bio je nadimak **Jurja Utješenovića** (Utišenić, Utjišinović, Utješinović; mađarski: György Martinuzzi), ugarskog i transilvanskog državnika hrvatskog podrijetla (Kamičac pokraj Skradina, 1482. - Alvinc, danas Vinču de Jos, Rumunjska, 17. prosinca 1551). U borbama za ugarsko prijestolje između Ferdinanda I. Habsburškoga i Ivana Zapolskog priklonio se strani potonjega. Zapolski ga je 1528. postavio za savjet-

⁸⁷ This is probably an allusion to Petrović's inclination to Calvinism.



Portret Jurja Utješenovića /
Portrait of George Martinuzzi

(Nepoznati autor / Unknown author)

svih ostalih koji ga okružuju te silno povjerenje koje čitava ta pokrajina polaže u njega? Nema sumnje da bi vaš kralj u tom slučaju naišao na veće sultanovo milosrđe, koje mu on sada ni na koji način ne može pružiti. Štoviše, ne bio ja taj koji jesam ako se i sam ne bih usudio o tome porazgovarati sa sultonom, tako mi predragog života!"

Da se Vaše Veličanstvo podložilo Turcima, što neka Bog otkloni, taj pašin prijedlog ne bi se činio posve nerazboritim. No budući da im nije priznalo podložnost, što mu ni nebesa ne bi dopustila, prilično smo se pomučili na to odgovoriti. Napokon smo sve sveli na povjerenje koje Vaše Veličanstvo gaji prema sultanu i pašinoj dobrostivosti te odgovorili da sluge i otpadnici sve čine iz straha, dok slobodnjaci i prijatelji to rade iz ljubavi i povjerenja. Kada je naš

nika, 1534. za upravitelja riznice te biskupa u Velikom Varadinu (danас Oradea), a Transilvanski sabor izabrao ga je za gubernatora i vrhovnog suca u Erdelju. Posredovao je pri sklapanju mirovnog ugovora između Ferdinanda I. i Zapolje u Velikom Varadinu 1538. godine. Nakon Zapoljine smrti bio je skrbnik njegova sina Ivana Žigmunda te je kao gubernator upravljao istočnim dijelom Ugarske i Transilvanijom. Za vrijeme sukoba s Ferdinandom uspješno je obranio Budim uz pomoć osmanske vojske. Došavši u sukob sa Zapoljinom udovicom Izabelom, potkraj 1541. započeo je pregovore s Ferdinandom te je u srpnju 1551. sklopio nagodbu u Albi Iuliji. Na temelju tog sporazuma Utješenović je ostao velikovaradinski biskup i transilvanski upravitelj, a na Ferdinandovu molbu papa ga je imenovao i kardinalom. Ferdinand ga je na koncu dao pogubiti iste godine zbog navodne suradnje s Osmanlijama.

Afterwards he declared: "If your King knows that Transylvania and Hungary are under the rule of the Sultan, who had first defeated King Louis,⁸⁸ and then captured Buda,⁸⁹ why - inasmuch as he is wise and rational and, while striving to win the Sultan's friendship, calls him almighty and invincible - was he not frightened of the Sultan's forces when he attempted to take Transylvania through deceit or dishonesty? And why, before accepting the handover of Transylvania, did he not first notify our Sultan that they had wished to hand Transylvania over to him, and ask for an advice if he should receive it or not? Why, after he had taken it, did he not immediately send to the almighty Sultan the usual tribute for both Hungary and Transylvania and ask the Sultan if he would have confirmed his rule in Transylvania and conclude a friendship with him? You see, the appropriate moment for pleading for Transylvania was at the time when the Sultan was in hostile relations with the Queen, the hermit,⁹⁰ Petrović and the Transylvanians,

88 This regards King Louis II of Hungary and the Battle of Mohács on August 29, 1526.

89 Sultan Süleyman I took Buda on August 21, 1541.

90 Frater Georgius Eremita was the nickname of **Juraj (George) Utješenović** (Utješenić, Utješinović, Utješinović; Hungarian: György Martinuzzi), Hungarian and Transylvanian statesman of Croatian descent (Kamičac near Skradin, present-day Croatia, 1482 - Alvinc, present-day Vințu de Jos, Romania, December 17, 1551). In the conflict for the Hungarian throne between Fer-

kralj vidio da mu namjeravaju predati Transilvaniju i kada su ga neprestano putem glasnika i pisama nagovarali i poticali da je neodgodivo prihvati jer okljevanje često naštetи već pripravljenim stvarima, to je i učinio kako se ne bi činilo da je prezreo ponudu. Osim toga, premoćni je sultan bio daleko, a onima koji su mu htjeli predali Transilvaniju činilo se da će za tu pokrajinu biti jako loše ako je naš kralj smjesta ne pristane preuzeti. Usto, on je uvijek čvrsto vjerovao da to neće ozlojediti sultana, koji je bio ljutit zbog nezahvalnosti Ivanova potomstva, u čije je ruke predao tu pokrajinu kako bi za nju svake godine plaćali uobičajeni danak. Stoga nije propustio brojnim pismima smjesta obavijestiti sultana kako je i zašto preuzeo vlast nad Transilvanijom. Kako bi sultanovo prijateljstvo učinio dugotrajnjim, bio je pripravan svake godine plaćati čitav iznos danka koji je za posjedovanje plaćala i kraljica. Na njegova pisma nije bilo nikakva odgovora, a u međuvremenu je na granice Njegova Veličanstva s jedne strane s vojskom krenuo budimski paša, a s druge strane Kasim-beg⁹⁰ i ostali vojskovođe sa sultanovim četama, čime je Njegovu Veličanstvu oduzeta svaka mogućnost i nada u pregovore putem poslanika te mu je nametnuta briga za zaštitu vlastitih granica. Njegovo Veličanstvo posebice je ražalostila činjenica da su premoćni sultan, pa i sam gospodin paša, tako brzo dali prostora narušiteljima mira i spremno saslušali njihove objede. Da je u kojem slučaju naš prejasni kralj i jednim jedinim migom bio upozoren na to što o njemu misli Njegova Visost, i Njegova Visost i sam gospodin paša mogu biti uvjereni da se naš kralj na to ne bi oglušio niti bi na bilo koji način prezreo presvjetlu volju premoćnog sultana, u što se Njegova Visost može bjelodano osvjedočiti i na primjeru sadašnjeg izaslanstva.

90 **Kasim-beg** (poslije paša) visoki je osmanski vojni dužnosnik u osmanskoj Ugarskoj; u više navrata bio je sandžakbeg pokrajina diljem osmanske Ugarske, a u dva navrata i beglerbeg Budimskog beglerbegluka (1548. - 1551. i 1557. - 1558.). Gradnjom svojih zadužbinskih građevina u Osijeku i Pećuhu snažno je utjecao na urbanistički razvoj spomenutih gradova. NEDIM ZAHIROVIĆ, „O značaju uporednog korištenja osmanskih i neosmanskih (kršćanskih) izvora u proučavanju područja Vojne krajine“, u: Robert Skenderović i Stanko Andrić (ur.), *Franz Vaniček i vojnokrajiška historiografija. Zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa s međunarodnim sudjelovanjem održanog u Slavonskom Brodu 23. i 24. listopada 2014.* (Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest - Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2017), 98 (95-102). Za više podataka o njemu vidjeti: GÉZA DÁVID, „An Ottoman Military Career on the Hungarian Borders: Kasim Voivoda, Bey, and Pasha“, u: GÉZA DÁVID i PÁL FODOR, *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe. The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest* (Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill Publishing, 2000), 265-297.

and not now when the Sultan is inclined to the boy due to his early age and innocence, the awareness of and avowal of sin of all others who surround him, and the enormous trust that this entire province invests in him? There is no doubt that your King would have in this case encountered Sultan's greater mercy, which he now cannot show in any way. Moreover, I solemnly swear that I myself would not dare to talk about this to the Sultan, so I swear on my life!"

This Pasha's advice did not seem unreasonable at all, as far as Your Majesty would subject himself to the Turks, God forbid. But since you have not acknowledged your submission to them - which the heavens too would not have allowed - we agonized a lot to answer it. Finally we reduced everything to the trust Your Majesty had in the Sultan and the Pasha's benevolence, and replied that servants and renegades do everything out of fear, whereas free men and friends do it out of love and trust. When our King had seen that they had the intention to hand Transylvania over to him and when they incessantly, through messengers and letters, exhorted and impelled him to accept it forthwith because hesitation often does harm to pre-prepared matters, he had done it, in order for it not to seem as if he had scorned their offer. Furthermore, the almighty Sultan was far away, and it seemed to those who wanted to deliver him Transylvania that it would be terrible if our King would not agree to take it over immediately. Besides, he always firmly believed that this would not embitter the Sultan, who was angry because of the ingratitude of John's offspring, to whose hands he delivered this province in order for them to pay the usual tribute for it every year. Due to this reason he did not fail to immediately inform the Sultan through numerous

dinand I Habsburg and John Zápolya, Utješenović sided with the latter. Zápolya appointed Utješenović his advisor in 1528, manager of his treasury in 1534, and Bishop of Nagyvárad (present-day Oradea), and the Transylvanian Diet chose him as Governor and Supreme Judge of Transylvania. He mediated in the conclusion of the peace treaty between Ferdinand I and Zápolya concluded in Nagyvárad in 1538. After Zápolya's death, Utješenović was the guardian of his son John Sigismund and as the governor ruled over the eastern part of Hungary and Transylvania. During the conflict with Ferdinand, Utješenović successfully defended Buda with the help of Ottoman army. Coming in conflict with Zápolya's widow Isabella, at the end of 1541 Utješenović started negotiating with Ferdinand and in July of 1551 they concluded an agreement in Alba Iulia. According to this treaty, Utješenović remained the bishop of Nagyvárad and the governor of Transylvania, and following Ferdinand's request, the Pope appointed him cardinal. Ferdinand finally had him killed the same year because of his alleged cooperation with the Ottomans.

Unatoč našem traženju, na to nam je paša kratko odgovorio kao i prije, neprestano ponavljajući da to premudri kralj nije smio učiniti protiv volje premoćnog sultana, i pitao je zar Vaše Veličanstvo nije uza se imalo vjerne i razborite savjetnike koji bi ga od toga odgovorili. Nапослјетку је рекао: „Uostalom, zaključujem како је ваš краљ пропустио све прилике да затражи и добије Трансильванију, а ви се узалуд тrudите jer чак ни ја више без погибљи не могу о томе разговарати са султаном.“

Kako je u tom razgovoru proteklo već gotovo sat vremena, činilo se da paša želi da se povučemo. Tada smo se međusobno pogledali, kimanjem glave i šapatom jedan drugome požalili na pašinu tvrdoglavost te krenuli na stvar. Najprije smo zatražili dopuštenje да га још мало оптеретимо razgovором, а потом у име Vašeg Veličanstva zahvalili што је tako dobrohotno с nama razgovarao. Nапослјетку smo kazali:

„Pošto, presvjetli gospodine paša, nismo postigli ništa od onoga što bi omogućilo da zaživi bilo pri-vremeni, bilo trajni mir između premoćnog sultana i našeg kralja, naš prejasni kralj od Visosti sultana traži bilo kakav mir koji bi Njegova Visost одобрila, а да је уједно častan i prihvatljiv. Njegovo Veličanstvo ima toliko povjerenja u Njegovu Visost i toliko žudi за pri-jateljstvom i potpunim suglasjem s Njegovom Visosti да склapanje mirovnog sporazuma u cijelosti prepusta njegovoј odluci kako би zbulio one koji i dalje nastoje dovesti u sumnju njegove dobre namjere prema Nje-govoј Visosti.

Na sličan se način naš prejasni kralj, nakon premoćnog sultana, utječe i dobrohotnosti Vašega Presvi-jetlog Gospodstva, tim više što Kraljevsko Veličanstvo dobro pamti sve ono što су mnogobrojni izaslanici i glasnici које је приje držalo при Visokoj porti Njegove Visosti говорили Njegovu Veličanstvu о izvrsnoj i uvi-jek vrlo očevidnoj volji i spremnosti gospodina paše да се залоži и побrine да се uspostavi čvrst i pouzdan mir, спокој и пријателство између Njegova Veličanstva и premoćnog sultana, као и njihovih kraljevstava, по-sjeda, народа и поданика. Pritom ne zaboravljamo да је и овај последњи petogodišnji mir одобрila Njegova Visost на nagovor и потicaj Njegova Presvjetlog Gos-podstva. Zbog Vašega truda и naklonosti наš prejasni kralj obećava да ће Vašemu Presvjetlome Gospodstvu iskazivati svu moguću zahvalnost и да ће pritom sva-kako voditi računa о Vašoj časti и koristi.

letters in which manner and out of which reasons did he take over the rule of Transylvania. In order to render the Sultan's friendship more lasting, he was prepared to pay every year the total amount of the tribute that the Queen was paying to be able to rule over it. There was no answer to his letters, and in the meantime the borders of His Majesty were attacked by the Pasha of Buda from one side, and by Kasim Bey⁹¹ and other commanders with the Sultan's troops from the other, thereby His Majesty lost every opportunity and hope to negotiate through emissaries, and the care for the protection of his own borders was enforced upon him. His Majesty was especially saddened by the fact that the almighty Sultan, and even His Lordship the Pasha himself, had so quickly given space to the disturbers of peace and readily listened to their slander. If in some case our serene King had been with even one wink warned of what His Highness had thought about him, both His Highness and His Lordship the Pasha himself can rest assured that our King would have not ignored, nor in any other way scorned the serene will of the almighty Sultan, of which His Highness can manifestly ascertain on the example of the present delegation too.

In spite of our petition, the Pasha replied shortly, as he did earlier, incessantly repeating that the wise King should not have done it against the will of the almighty Sultan, and asked how come Your Majesty did not have loyal and prudent advisors by his side, who would have dissuaded him from it. Finally he declared: “Besides, I posit that your King had missed all the chances to ask and receive Transylvania, and you are striving in vain because not even I can talk to the Sultan without danger anymore.”

⁹¹ **Kasim Bey** (and later Pasha), Ottoman high military official in Ottoman Hungary; he was on many occasions Sanjakbey of provinces throughout Ottoman Hungary, and on two occasions Beylerbeyi of the Eyalet of Buda (1548-1551 and 1557-1558). By building his waqif buildings in the towns of Osijek (present-day Croatia) and Pécs (present-day Hungary), Kasim Bey strongly affected the urban development of those towns. NEDIM ZAHIROVIĆ, "O značaju uporednog korištenja osmanskih i neosmanskih (kršćanskih) izvora u proučavanju područja Vojne krajine", in: Robert Skenderović and Stanko Andrić (eds.), Franz Vaníček i vojnokrajiška historiografija. *Zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa s međunarodnim sudjelovanjem održanog u Slavonskom Brodu 23. i 24. listopada 2014.* (Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2017), p. 98 (95-102). For more information on Kasim Bey, see: GÉZA DÁVID, "An Ottoman Military Career on the Hungarian Borders: Kasim Voivoda, Bey, and Pasha", in: GÉZA DÁVID and PÁL FODOR, *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe. The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest* (Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill Publishing, 2000), pp. 265-297.

Kada je Njegovo Veličanstvo nakanilo zatražiti mir od premoćnog sultana, naložilo nam je da to učinimo prema savjetu i uz pomoć Vašega Presvjetlog Gospodstva. Pritom nam je, štoviše, izričito naredilo da se, ako se premoći sultan i ostala gospoda paše usprotive Njegovu Veličanstvu u vezi s odobravanjem ovoga mira ili nekih drugih stvari, utekne mo Vašem Presvjetlom Gospodstvu kao njegovu jedinom i najvjernijem zagovorniku i prijatelju koji mu je nadasve sklon, a nesumnjivo će mu jednaku sklonost iskazivati i ubuduće. Stoga ponizno molimo da nas Njegovo Presvjetlo Gospodstvo pomno uputi na koji bismo to način trebali učiniti.“

Paša se na to vidno razveselio jer smo mu pokazali koliko ga Vaše Veličanstvo cjeni želeći se osloniti na njegov savjet prilikom traženja mira. Osim toga, pritom nije spomenut nijedan dio kraljevstva, kao ni Transilvanija, za koju nas je u potpunosti uvjerio da je ne smijemo tražiti. Nato nam je u nekoliko rečenica odgovorio da je Vaše Veličanstvo dobro odlučilo kada je prepustilo odluku premoćnom sultanu i zatražilo njegov savjet. Budući da je paša uvijek bio prijateljem i zaštitnikom Njegova Veličanstva, a to želi biti i sada, u pogledu ovoga mirovnog sporazuma ne može mu dati bolji savjet od onoga koji bi dao i samome sebi. Sultan će ostaviti po strani i zaboraviti svu davnu mržnju, neprijateljstva i omraze te odobriti Vašem Veličanstvu novi mir i obnoviti stari ako se u sporazumu ne spominju Transilvanija i dijelovi koji pripadaju Ugarskoj. U pogledu ostalog učinit će i odobriti sve što Vaše Veličanstvo želi kako bi sigurno i mirno moglo i nadalje ostati u onom dijelu kraljevstva koje drži u svojoj vlasti. Vaše Veličanstvo, osim toga, u budućnosti će uživati još obilnije plodove sultanova prijateljstva ako se pobrine da njegovi podanici čvrsto održavaju mir i ako ugodi Njegovoj Visosti prepuštajući joj Transilvaniju.

Ni nakon ovoga nismo u potpunosti digli ruke, nego smo tijekom sastanka i dalje iskušavali ono što smo mogli jer nismo imali dovoljno vremena i jer su se svi prisutni vrijeđali i na sam spomen Transilvanije. Stoga smo odustali od svega ostalog i nastojali na svaki mogući način ishoditi Transilvaniju. Počeli smo nuditi darove Vašeg Veličanstva i sultanu i samome paši. Na to se nije odveć obazirao, već je zapovjedio da nam se odgovori kako njegov

Since almost an hour had passed in this conversation, it seemed the Pasha wished for us to withdraw. Then we looked at each other, by nodding our heads and whispering complained to each other about the Pasha's stubbornness and got to the point. First we asked for permission to burden him with conversation a bit more, and then thanked on behalf of Your Majesty for talking to us so benevolently. Finally we declared:

"Your Most Serene Lordship the Pasha, since we had not accomplished anything of the matters that would have ensured either a temporary or a lasting peace between the almighty Sultan and our King, our serene King asks of His Highness the Sultan such a peace which His Highness would approve, if it were to be both honorable and acceptable. His Majesty invests so much trust in His Highness and longs for friendship and total consensus with His Highness, that he completely leaves the conclusion of a peace agreement to His decision, in order to confuse those who still strive to cast doubt on His good intentions toward His Highness.

In a similar manner our serene King, aside from the benevolence of the almighty Sultan, wishes to inspire the benevolence of Your Serene Lordship, besides the fact that His Royal Highness remembers well all the things that his numerous ambassadors and messengers, whom he had sent earlier to the Sublime Porte of His Highness, had conveyed to His Highness about the excellent and always very evident will and readiness of His Lordship the Pasha to intercede for and take care of the establishment of a firm and reliable peace, serenity and friendship between His Majesty and the almighty Sultan, as well as their kingdoms, estates, peoples and subjects. At the same time, we do not ignore the fact that this last five-year peace too was approved by His Highness at the persuasion and encouragement of His Serene Lordship. Due to his effort and sympathy, our serene King promises to demonstrate all possible gratitude to Your Serene Lordship, and in so doing, by all means taking into account both his honor and his benefit.

When His Majesty had the intention to plead for peace from the almighty Sultan, he instructed us to do so in accordance with the advice and with the help of Your Serene Lordship. At the same time, he expressly ordered us - in the event the almighty Sultan

vladar ništa ne radi zbog novca, nego samo poradi ugleda i slave te da smatra velikom sramotom to što je izbačen iz Transilvanije. Ako bi naš kralj za najmanji komadić transilvanske zemlje htio dati sve zlato i srebro koje ima u svojim kraljevstvima, ni tada ne bi uspio odvratiti sultana od njegove odluke. Njemu⁹¹ je samome, pak, toliko važno mišljenje njegova gospodara kao da svaki dan pod uzglavljem pronalazi stotinu tisuća dukata.

S tim nas je riječima otpustio te smo od Rustem-paše krenuli k Ahmed-paši,⁹² koji je idućeg dana trebao krenuti u Ugarsku. I njemu smo ponudili dar i predali onoliko koliko je od nas zatraženo. Toga dana više nismo mogli posjetiti ostale jer nas je zatekla noć.

Idućeg dana, 27. kolovoza, odvedeni smo u Divan⁹³ da nas ondje saslušaju sve paše i da nas primi sultan jer je u našu čast sazvan izvanredni Divan. Ondje nas je Rustem-paša vrlo pažljivo i redom ispitivao o svemu o čemu smo s njime privatno razgovarali a tiče se same stvari. Odgovorili smo mu isto što i prije, jedino što nas ovoga puta nije navodio na to da ne spominjemo Transilvaniju kao što nam je inače bio predlagao, uz obrazloženje da imamo pune ovlasti za pregovaranje i sklapanje mirovnog sporazuma te da će biti neobično ako nam ne bude dana prilika da to i učinimo, posebice stoga što nas je Njegovo Veličanstvo u svome pismu imenovalo svojim savjetnicima.

Kako nismo mogli drugačije izbjegći ovu poteškoću jer su svi naši odgovori i prijedlozi išli k tome da dragovoljno spomenemo Transilvaniju, naposljetku smo rekli kako je istina da smo savjetnici Vašeg Veličanstva, ali da znamo samo ono što nam se ono udstojilo priopćiti i da nemamo dopuštenje potpisati sve što se od nas ovdje traži, nego samo ono što neće biti na štetu Vašem Veličanstvu. Uostalom, Vaše Veličanstvo imalo je toliko silno povjerenje u premoćnog sultana i u dobrohotnost samoga gospodina paše da, kada nas je ovamo poslalo, nije uopće vjerovalo u to

and pashas should oppose His Majesty concerning the approval of this peace or in some other matters – to address Your Serene Lordship as his only and most loyal advocate and friend who is utmost inclined to him, and will undoubtedly express the same inclination in the future. Thus we humbly plead for His Serene Lordship's instruction on how we should that."

The Pasha visibly gladdened upon hearing this, because we demonstrated how much Your Majesty appreciated him by wishing to rely on his advice when pleading for peace. Furthermore, not one part of the kingdom was thereby mentioned, nor Transylvania, of which he completely persuaded us should not be asked for. Thereupon he replied in a couple of sentences, stating that Your Majesty decided well when you left this decision to the almighty Sultan and asked for his advice. Since the Pasha was always a friend and protector of His Majesty, and he wishes to be that now too, he cannot give a better advice regarding this peace agreement than the one he would have given himself. The Sultan will leave aside and forget all the bygone hate, hostilities and hatred, and approve a new peace to Your Majesty and renew the old one if it would not include the mention of Transylvania and of territories that belong to Hungary. As regards the rest, he would do and approve of everything that Your Majesty wishes, in order that the part of the kingdom which he holds under his rule would remain secure and peaceful. Your Majesty, furthermore, will enjoy even more abundant fruits of the Sultan's friendship in the future if he would ensure that his subjects firmly uphold peace and if he pleases His Highness by relinquishing Transylvania.

Even after this we did not give up completely, but have still tried to do what we could during the meeting because we did not have enough time and because everyone would become insulted at the mere mention of Transylvania. Thus we gave up from everything else and strived to acquire Transylvania in any possible way. We began to offer presents of Your Majesty to both the Sultan and the Pasha himself. He did not care too much for it, but he ordered for an answer to be conveyed to us that his ruler does nothing for money, but only for reputation and glory, and that he considers great shame that he was expelled from Transylvania. If our King would want to give all of the gold and silver that he holds in his kingdoms for the

91 To jest Rustem-paši.

92 Kara Ahmed-paša, tadašnji drugi vezir Osmanskog Carstva i poslije veliki vezir od 6. listopada 1553. do 29. rujna 1555. godine.

93 **Divan** (osmanski turski: *divan*) osmanski je državni savjet, u kojem je sjedio određen broj vezira, odnosno paša, te drugih visokih dužnosnika. Broj vezira s vremenom se povećavao. Za vrijeme Vrančićeva i Zayeva poslanstva to su bili veliki vezir Rustem-paša i veziri Kara Ahmed-paša, Ibrahim-paša i Hajdar-paša. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svetlost, 1966), 220.

Vjerojatno portret Rustem-paše /
 Portrait of presumably Rüstem Pasha
 (Nepoznat autor / Unknown author)



da će mu biti uskraćena Transilvanija. Ne samo da nije vjerovalo nego nije čak ni pomislilo da će najmoćniji sultan toliko inzistirati na Transilvaniji. Stoga se toliko ustrajno, iskreno i postojano pouzdavalo u prijateljstvo i dobrohotnost Njegove Visosti te nam nije dopustilo donositi bilo kakve odluke o Transilvaniji, osim onoga što smo već više puta kazali. Čak i da smo imali neku tajnu zadaću u tom smislu, poslije tolikih zabrana i otvorenih zapovijedi da ne govorimo o toj pokrajini, kao i odluke da se Veličanstvu Našega Kralja uskrati sve ono što smo prethodno bili tražili, u potpunosti bismo prestali spominjati Transilvaniju. Budući da nam to nije naloženo, čak i da nam se radi o glavi, to ne bismo smjeli potpisati po želji premoćnog sultana. Stoga iskazujemo silnu zahvalnost Njegovoj Visosti i gospodinu paši što su pristali na mir koji će po našem mišljenju biti još draži Vašem Veličanstvu jer je sklopljen na savjet gospodina paše.

(Nećemo prešutjeti ni ono što se usput govorilo u Divanu jer to može pružiti jasniji uvid u prijateljske ili neprijateljske namjere ljudi. Usta, naime, mnogo puta govore o onome što se nakupilo u srcu. Dok je,

smallest peace of Transylvanian land, even then he would not succeed in dissuading the Sultan from his decision. To himself,⁹² on the other hand, his master's opinion is immensely important, as if every day he finds hundred thousand ducats under his pillow.

He dismissed us with those words and from Rüstem Pasha we departed to see Ahmed Pasha,⁹³ who was supposed to leave for Hungary the next day. We offered a gift to him too and delivered as much as was asked from us. That day we could not visit the others anymore because the night had fallen.

The next day, August 27, we were taken to the Divan⁹⁴ in order for all the Pashas to hear us out and for the Sultan to receive us because an extraordinary Di-

⁹² That is, to Rüstem Pasha.

⁹³ Kara Ahmed Pasha, then Second Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, and later Grand Vizier from October 6, 1553, to September 29, 1555.

⁹⁴ Divan (Ottoman Turkish: *divan*) was the Ottoman council of state, which consisted of a certain number of viziers, i.e. pashas, and other high officials. The number of viziers augmented with time. During Vrančić's and Zay's mission, these were Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha and Viziers Kara Ahmed Pasha, Ibrahim Pasha and Haydar Pasha. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1966), 220.



Ferenc Zay / Francis Zay

(Autor: Melchior Lorck, 1557. / By: Melchior Lorck, 1557)

dakle, Vrančić tijekom razgovora upućivao tumača što treba odgovoriti paši, paša se okrenuo Zayu⁹⁴: „Znaš li“, pitao je, „hrvatski?“ „Znam“, odgovorio je Zay. „A tvoj kolega?“ Odgovorio je: „On također.“ Potom je pitao odakle su on i Vrančić. Zay je odgovorio da je on Mađar, dok je Vrančić Dalmatinac. Paša se začudio kako Zay tako dobro govori hrvatski jezik. Potom je dodao, dvaput ponovivši: „Vašemu se kralju ne može vjerovati, vašemu se kralju ne može vjerovati“, i zašutio. Zay je nato rekao: „Našem se kralju, gospodine paša, može vjerovati i čudim se što Vaše Presvjetlo Gospodstvo ima takvo mišljenje o našem kralju kada kralj nikada ne može izreći laž. Utoliko više to ne može učiniti naš kralj koji je najveći od svih kršćanskih kraljeva.“ Potom je upitao pašu što to ne vjeruje Vašem Veličanstvu. Tada će paša: „Zašto onda nije poštovao primirje?“ Zay je odgovorio: „Kralj je poštovao primirje. Ono nije narušeno i pre-

van was to be assembled in our honor. There, Rüstem Pasha questioned us carefully and one after the other about what we discussed in private with him and with respect to the matter at hand. We responded by repeating what we said earlier, only this time he did not warn us not to mention Transylvania as he had usually been suggesting, with the explanation that we had full authority to negotiate and to conclude a peace treaty, and that it would be uncommon if we were not to be given a chance to do it, especially because His Majesty designated us as his advisors in his letter.

Since we could not evade this difficulty in no other way because our answers and suggestions were focused on the intention to voluntarily mention Transylvania, finally we declared that it was true that we were advisors of Your Majesty, but that we know only that what was deemed appropriate to be conveyed to us, and that we do not have permission to sign everything that would be asked of us here, but only that which would not be to the detriment of Your Majesty. Besides, Your Majesty had invested such an enormous trust in the almighty Sultan and in the benevolence of His Lordship the Pasha himself that, when had he sent us here, he did not believe at all in the possibility that Transylvania would have been

94 Ferenc Zay (latinski: Franciscus Zay; pretpostavlja se da se rodio u Vukovaru između 1498. i 1505. godine, a umro je 1570.) visoki je vojni službenik i diplomat u službi cara Ferdinanda I. Habsburškoga. Istaknuo se i kao autor memoara i povjesničar. Akademsko je obrazovanje stekao na padovanskom sveučilištu. Posjedovao je veliku knjižnicu s više od devedeset knjiga, uglavnom filozofske i povjesne tematike. Između 1552. i 1560./1567. bio je zapovjednik habsburških šajkaša na Dunavu. Zbog svojih diplomatskih zasluga 1560. godine dobio je naslov baruna i postao vrhovni kapetan Gornje Ugarske. Detaljnije usp. ATTILA BARANY, „Ferenc Zay“, u: *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, sv. VII, ur. David Thomas i John Chesworth (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 207-208.

kršeno njegovom voljom, već iz zlobe onih koji nika-ko nisu željeli da najmoćniji sultan i moj kralj žive u slozi.“ Paša će potom: „Ti u to vjeruješ?“ „Ne samo da vjerujem“, rekao je Zay, „nego i pouzdano znam.“ Potom je objesio lice u znak žalosti i nezadovoljstva što je prisiljen strpljivo slušati takve stvari o svome vladaru, pa je paša prešao na drugu temu. No tada je Vrančić rekao da ne zna hrvatski jer je htio izbjegći to da paša na hrvatskome govori o ozbilnjim stvarima. Tek usput spominjemo što smo morali pretrpjeti zbog danih okolnosti.)

Za to smo vrijeme vrlo opširno obrazlagali različita druga pitanja. Budući da su nas stalno podbadali u vezi s Transilvanijom, a o njezinu prepustanju nismo ništa određeno odgovarali, četvorica paša odvela su nas do sultana. To kako nas je sultan dobrostivo primio, prenijet će Vam usmeno gospodin Giovanni Maria. Kako su nam rekli sami Turci, sultan je s nama postupao mnogo ljubaznije negoli s poslanicima bilo kojeg vladara u proteklih mnogo godina, dopustivši da naši odgovori i izlaganje budu tri ili četiri puta duži nego što je uobičajeno. Mi to sami nismo mogli prosuditi, premda se činilo kako nije uobičajeno da sultan tako opširno razgovara s kršćanskim vladarima. Kako su nas uputili pojedini Turci i gospodin Giovanni Maria, sultan još sažetije govori kada obznanjuje svoju milost. Stoga je već na početku upitao pašu može li se na bilo koji način dopustiti sklapanje mira. O tome i o ostalome Vaše Presvjetlo Veličanstvo primjereneće će izvijestiti gospodin Giovanni Maria.

Pošto smo odvedeni od sultana, drugi nam je put naloženo da sjednemo u Divan. Ondje su nas iznova višekratno ispitivali o gotovo svemu onome o čemu je bilo riječi i prije, uključujući i ono što nismo imali u svojim naputcima. Bili smo prilično nepovjerljivi jer su nas, dok smo odgovarali, hvatali za riječ kako bismo im dali određeniji odgovor o blaženoj Transilvaniji,⁹⁵ tim više što je paša, kad smo odlazili od sultana, nekome rekao da će učiniti čudo⁹⁶ kako bismo se vratili. To znači da će učiniti nešto čudno i neobično, kako nam je prenio tumač. Pošto je paša video da odgovaramo na sva pitanja i da se zbog toga nismo

denied to him. He did not only disbelieve, but he did not even think of the possibility that the Sultan would so much insist on Transylvania. Hence he diligently, sincerely and adamantly relied on the friendship and benevolence of His Highness. Therefore His Majesty did not allow us to make any decisions regarding Transylvania, apart from that which we had declared many times before. If we had even had some secret assignment to this effect, after so many interdictions and open commands not to discuss this province, as well as the decision to deprive His Majesty Our King of all those things which we previously requested, we would have completely stopped mentioning Transylvania. Since this we were not ordered to do this, even if our heads were at stake, we would not be allowed to sign it according to the wishes of the almighty Sultan. Therefore we express tremendous gratitude to His Highness and His Lordship the Pasha for accepting a peace which in our opinion will be even more agreeable to Your Highness because it was concluded according to the advice of His Lordship the Pasha.

(We will also not keep silent on the things said in passing in the Divan because this can offer a clearer insight in the friendly or unfriendly intentions of people. Mouths many times speak about the things that had accumulated in the heart. So, while Vrančić during the conversation instructed the interpreter on what to respond to the Pasha, the Pasha turned around to Zay⁹⁵: “Do you speak Croatian?” he asked. “I do”, he replied. “And your colleague?” He responded: “He does too.” Then he asked where he and Vrančić are from. Zay replied that he was Hungarian, while Vrančić was Dalmatian. The Pasha was astonished by the fact that Zay speaks Croatian so well. Then he added, repeating twice: “Your King cannot be trusted, your King cannot be trusted” and fell si-

⁹⁵ Ferenc Zay (Latin: Franciscus Zay; it is presumed he was born in the present-day Croatian town of Vukovar between 1498 and 1505, and he died in 1570), high-ranked military officer and diplomat in the service of Ferdinand I Habsburg. Zay distinguished himself as an author of memoirs and as a historian. It is believed Zay was born in present-day Croatian town of Vukovar, whereas he gained academic education at the University of Padua. He owned a great library consisting of more than ninety books, mostly about topics related to philosophy and history. Between 1552 and 1560/1567, Zay was commander of the Habsburg river boatmen on the Danube. For his diplomatic merit, in 1560 Zay was given the title of Baron and became the Supreme Captain of Upper Hungary, i.e., the northern part of the Kingdom of Hungary, now mostly present-day Slovakia. For more details, cf. ATTILA BARANY, “Ferenc Zay”, in: *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, Vol. VII, eds. David Thomas and John Chesworth (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 207-208.

⁹⁶ Očito u ironičnom značenju.

⁹⁶ U latinskom izvorniku стоји грчка ријеч *thauma*, *tis.*, *n* - чудо. Аутори извјеšća vjerojatno су htjeli naglasiti činjenicu da je paša to izrekao na stranome, osmanskom turskom jeziku, što im je tumač poslje preveo na latinski.

uvrijedili i odustali od svoga nauma, reče: „Trebate znati da je na današnji dan premoćni sultan s vašim prejasnim kraljem obnovio mir, zanemarivši i zaboravivši svaku omrazu i sve razloge za neprijateljstvo, o čemu smo prethodno govorili. Mir se obnavlja na jednak način i pod jednakim uvjetima pod kojima je sklopljen prethodni mirovni sporazum koji je upravo istekao. To znači da se Njegovu Veličanstvu obećava da će mirno držati i posjedovati čitav dio ugarskog kraljevstva koji sada posjeduje ako uime premoćnog sultana prepusti Transilvaniju Ivanovu sinu. Kako vi nemate ovlasti pregovarati i donositi odluke u vezi s Transilvanijom, premoćni sultan želi da mu jedan od vas što prije doneše odluku Njegova Kraljevskog Veličanstva. Htjeli bismo da onaj koji će otpotovati s tom zadaćom bude Giovanni Maria, koji je dosad mnogo toga podnio za Njegovo Veličanstvo i kojemu je dobro i vjerno služio, kao što i sami možete posvjedočiti. Vas čete ga dvojica u međuvremenu ovdje čekati. Pišite, dakle, i posavjetujte svojeg kralja da u toj stvari udovolji želji premoćnog sultana ako se i ubuduće namjerava utjecati njegovu prijateljstvu radije negoli neprijateljstvu. Ponukajte ga, povrh toga, da Giovannija Mariju pošalje ovamo sa svojom odlukom o dotičnom pitanju i neka mu naloži da i dalje kod nas obnaša poslaniku dužnost jer ne želimo ni jednoga drugog izaslanika. Vas, pak, otpušta u miru i uza sve počasti.“

Također je bilo riječi o vječnome miru na koji bi se obvezali sinovi i potomci obaju vladara, i to na sljedeći način. Naime, sukladno s naputcima imali smo zadaću tražiti šestogodišnje primirje ako bi Vašem Veličanstvu predali Lippu⁹⁷, Solymos⁹⁸ i Szolnok⁹⁹. Ako ne bi bili voljni predati ništa, onda bismo primirje tražili samo na nekoliko godina, kako stoji u sljedećem članku naputaka. Kada smo vidjeli i shvatili da nemaju namjeru predati Vašem Veličanstvu nijedno od zauzetih mjesta, a i paša se, povrh toga, protivio obnovi istekloga mirovnog sporazuma ili sklapanju primirja, u svojoj revnosti nismo prelazili rok od pet godina. Stoga smo odmah rekli da će Vaše Veličan-

gent. Then Zay replied: "Our King, Your Lordship the Pasha, can be trusted and I am amazed that Your Serene Lordship has such an opinion on our King, when a king can never utter a lie. Even more so it cannot be done by our King, who is the greatest of all Christian kings." Afterwards he asked the Pasha what was the thing he did not believe Our Majesty. Then the Pasha said: "Why did he not respect the armistice?" Zay responded: "The King respected the armistice and it was not disturbed nor infringed by his will, but out of malice of those who did not want in any way for the most powerful Sultan and my King to live in harmony." The Pasha then said: "You believe this?" "Not only do I believe this", replied Zay, "but I know it for a fact." Then he hung his face in sign of grief and disappointment for being forced to patiently listen such things about his ruler, so the Pasha passed to another topic. But then Vrančić declared that he does not know Croatian because he wanted to evade the situation in which the Pasha would speak in Croatian about serious matters. We mention only in passing what we had to endure due to given circumstances.)

In the meantime, we very extensively presented different other questions. Since they had been constantly inciting us concerning Transylvania, whereas we had not responded by saying anything specific regarding its concession, all for pashas took us to see the Sultan. The details of how kindly the Sultan received us will be transmitted to you orally by His Lordship Giovanni Maria. As the Turks themselves had told us, the Sultan treated us far more graciously than he did the ambassadors of any ruler in the past many years, by granting us permission for our responses and discourses to be three or four times longer than usual. We ourselves could not estimate this, although it seemed it was not common that the Sultan would speak so lengthily with Christian rulers. As some of the Turks and His Lordship Giovanni Maria had informed us, the Sultan speaks more concisely when he announces his favor. Thus at the very beginning he asked the Pasha if a conclusion of peace could be allowed in any way. Your Serene Highness will be more appropriately notified on this and other matters by His Lordship Giovanni Maria.

After we were taken to see the Sultan, we were for the second time instructed to sit at the Divan.

97 Lippa je današnji grad Lipova u zapadnoj Rumunjskoj.

98 Solymos, utvrda u blizini Lippe. Bila je u vlasti Ivana Zapolje, potom njegove supruge Izabele, a 1551. godine predana je rumelijskom beglerbegu Mehmed-paši.

99 Szolnok, grad u istočnoj Madžarskoj. Budući da leži na ušću rijeke Zagye u Tisu, bio je važna strateška točka oko koje su se tijekom 16. stoljeća sukobjavali Habsburgovci i Osmanlije.

stvo biti zadovoljno mirom u trajanju od pet godina, tim više što će se nakon povratka Giovannija Marije rok moći ili skratiti ili produžiti, ovisno o željama Vašeg Veličanstva. Tako je, naime, obećao i paša. Glede spomenutog roka paša je upitao zašto spomenuti mir ne bismo radije tražili do smrti jednog od vladara. Izgledao je sumnjičavo jer je s podsmijehom rekao kako mu se čini da tražimo malo predaha dok se ne pripremi novi rat. Odgovorili smo drukčije nego što se možda nadao. Rekli smo da je Vaše Veličanstvo zatražilo mir koji je sultan odobrio, a budući da je obećao obnoviti stari mirovni sporazum, mi se nismo ni trudili tražiti duži jer se ovaj uvijek može produžiti ako bi tako odgovaralo objema stranama. „Uostalom, gospodine paša, neka Vaše Presvjetlo Gospodstvo znade da bismo došli tražiti ili dati vječni mir koji bi trajao za života Vašeg ili našeg vladara, pa čak i njihove djece i čitavoga potomstva, da nam je dopušteno od vas zatražiti nešto od onoga što ste pokorili svojim oružjem. Tako se, naime, ražaruju i učvršćuju velika pomirenja i velika prijateljstva koja bi Vašem caru i ubuduće bila na veliku čast i na još veću korist jer bi tada počasni darovi koje bi naš kralj svake godine obilato davao premoćnome sultanu, osim velikoga prijateljstva, Njegovoj Visosti zacijelo donosila još i mnogo toga ostalog.“

Nasmijao se i samo odgovorio da je izlišno sklapati mir koji bi vrijedio za vladavine sinova i potomaka. „Tko, naime, sa sigurnošću može nešto uglaviti u ime budućih vladara, posebice u našem carstvu? Mi nemamo običaj vraćati ono što smo osvojili mačem i mjestima gdje smo podigli svoje bogomolje, gdje molimo i zazivamo Boga i našega Proroka, jer nam to zabranjuju naši zakoni i naše svete knjige. Ako našem sultani odgovara mir, a vi ga želite postojano održavati, odobrit ćemo ga do njegove smrti.“

Mi na to nismo dalje odgovarali jer smo govorili uzalud. Činilo se da treba prihvati ponuđeni rok za primirje jer je ponuđen tako lako i brzo, kao da Božje Veličanstvo želi pomoći kršćanskoj stvari više negoli to sami ljudi vjeruju, pa čak i na bolji način nego da Vaše Veličanstvo sklopi dugotrajan savez s narodom koji za kršćane ne gaji nikakve iskrene osjećaje i ne zna vladati ili živjeti ako nema nekoga koga bi pljačkao i od koga bi uzimao zarobljenike.

Od daljnog razgovora o toj temi, preblagi kralju, nismo se ispričali time što ne umijemo dobro voditi

There they questioned us repeatedly about almost everything that was discussed earlier, including the matters which were not in our instructions. We were quite distrustful because, while we were answering, they were catching our every word in order to force us to give them a more specific answer about the blessed⁹⁶ Transylvania, especially because the Pasha, while we were leaving from the Sultan, said to someone that he will perform a miracle⁹⁷ for us to return. This means that he would do something strange and unusual, as the interpreter had told us. When the Pasha had seen that we were replying to all questions and that we had not been offended because of it, nor had given up from our intention, he declared: “You should know that on this day the almighty Sultan had renewed the peace with your serene king, thus ignoring and forgetting any hatred and all reasons for enmity, of which we had discussed before. The peace will be renewed in the same manner and under the same conditions under which the former peace treaty, which had recently expired, had been concluded. This means His Majesty is promised peaceful hold and possession of the entire part of the Hungarian Kingdom which he possesses now, as far as your King on behalf of the almighty Sultan relinquishes Transylvania to John’s son. Since you do not have the jurisdiction to negotiate and make decisions concerning Transylvania, the almighty Sultan wishes that one of you brings as soon as possible the decision of His Royal Highness. We would like for John Maria to be the one who would travel with this task, as he had so far endured a lot for His Majesty and had served him well and faithfully, as you can attest yourselves. In the meantime, the two of you will wait for him here. So, write to your King and consult him so that he would satisfy the wish of the almighty Sultan in this matter, if he intends to rely on his friendship, rather than his enmity, in the future. Urge him, moreover, to send Giovanni Maria back here with his decision on the mentioned question and to order him to continue to perform the ambassadorial duty here, because we do not wish any other ambassador. As for you, he dismisses you in peace and with all honors.”

96 Evidently an ironic remark.

97 In the Latin original here appears the Greek word *thauma, tis, n* – miracle. The authors of the report probably wished to accentuate the fact that the Pasha had uttered it in a foreign, Ottoman Turkish language, and then the interpreter translated it to them into Latin.

poslove Vašeg Veličanstva, time što nismo znali nešto povoljnije isposlovati (premda smo itekako svjesni svojih slabosti) ili time što smo propustili iskušati primjerene načine da postignemo svoj cilj, nego smo skromno rekli da smo revno, marljivo, pomno i vjerno učinili sve što nam je bilo dopušteno učiniti i da se ništa više od toga ne bi moglo ni poželjeti, kako Vam je nedvojbeno ispričao i potvrdio naš kolega, gospodin Giovanni Maria. Njemu prepustamo da Vas usmeno izvijesti i o tome i o svim ostalim pitanjima jer bi bilo predugo pisati o svim pojedinostima. Paša je rekao kako se sultan jako brine da se dječaku ne oduzme Transilvanija i kako, ako budemo govorili ljudskim, a ne božjim riječima i ljudskim, a ne božanskim ustima, nećemo postići ništa osim pukog produženja primirja. Tako smo otpušteni iz Divana.

Potom smo otišli u posjet ostaloj dvojici paša, Ibrahimu i Hajdaru, svakome k njegovoj kući. I njima smo, kao i svima ostalima, ponudili poklon i uručili im pisma u kojima smo im brižljivo preporučili poslove Vašeg Veličanstva. S nama su sva trojica¹⁰⁰ vrlo ljubazno porazgovarala i preporučila se naklonosti Vašeg Veličanstva. No kao što ćete doznati od gospodina Giovannija Marije, oni nisu mogli biti gotovo ni od kakve koristi. Jedan je od njih sve uzeo k sebi i držao se kao da je sultan; stoga se doista bojimo da nije pristao uz nekoga drugoga, a uz Vaše Veličanstvo tek prividno. O tome će Vam više reći gospodin Maria. Mi smo, pak, onoliko koliko su nam to prilike dopuštale, došli do nedvojbenog zaključka da se od ovog vladara uzalud traži i najmanje mjesto koje je podložio svojoj vlasti dokle mu je god vlast stabilna i dokle mu se god smiješi sreća. Od njega bi se nešto moglo dobiti jedino snagom oružja, i to onda kada bi mu iz nekog razloga oslabila vlast ili bi se, po Božjoj volji, pružila neka neočekivana prilika da se udostoji uslišiti ono što ga ponizno molimo i govorimo mu s poštovanjem. Držimo, naime, da se nikada nismo nedolično ponašali, što može posvjedočiti gospodin Giovanni Maria.

Nakon toga, 28. kolovoza, sultan je prešao u azijski Chalcedon ili Üsküdar, mjesto koje se nalazi nasuprot Carigradu. Idućeg dana, 29. kolovoza, pozvani smo pred pašu kako bismo dovršili preostale poslove. Njemu smo prethodno bili obećali da ćemo mu

We also talked about the eternal peace to which the sons and descendants of both rulers would commit themselves in the following manner. According to the instructions, we had the task to plead for a six-year truce if they would deliver Lippa⁹⁸, Solymos⁹⁹ and Szolnok¹⁰⁰ to Your Majesty. If they would not be willing to give over anything, then we would ask for a truce for only a few years, as it is stated in the next article of the instructions. When we had seen and realized that they did not intend to deliver to Your Majesty any of the captured locations, and the Pasha, moreover, opposed the renewal of the expired peace agreement and the conclusion of the armistice, in our diligence we have not exceeded the limit of five years. Thus we immediately declared that Your Majesty would be pleased with a peace lasting five years, especially because after the return of Giovanni Maria the limit could have been either shortened or extended, depending on the wishes of Your Majesty. This is what the Pasha had promised too. As regards the mentioned limit, the Pasha wondered why we would not ask for the mentioned peace to last until the death of one of the rulers. He seemed suspicious because he declared with ridicule that it seemed to him that we were pleading for some respite until a new war is being prepared. We replied differently than he might have hoped. We declared that Your Majesty asked for a peace which the Sultan had approved, and since he promised to renew the old peace agreement, we did not even bother asking for a longer one because this one can always be extended if it would meet the needs of both sides. "Besides, Your Lordship the Pasha, let Your Serene Lordship know that we would have come asking or giving an eternal peace that would have lasted for the life of your or our ruler, and even their children and their entire progeny, if we were allowed to ask for some of the territories that you had conquered with arms. Thus, you see, great reconciliations and great friendships are kindled and strengthened, which would greatly

98 Lippa is present-day town of Lipova in western Romania.

99 Solymos, a fortress in the vicinity of Lippa. It was under the rule of John Zápolya, afterwards his wife Isabella, and in 1551 it surrendered to Mehmed Pasha, Beylerbeyi of Rumelia.

100 Szolnok is a town in eastern Hungary. Since it is situated at the mouth of the river Zagva as it pours into the river Tisza, it was an important strategic point for which the Habsburgs and the Ottomans fought during the 16th century.

100 Odnosi se na Ibrahima i Hajdara te prethodno spomenutog Ahmed-pašu.



Prikaz opsade Egera 1596. / Panorama of the siege of Eger in 1596

(Nepoznati autor / Unknown author)

napismeno dati uvjete u skladu s kojima bi trebalo obnoviti spomenuti mir. Premda smo paši još pret-hodnog dana po tumaču poslali dopis¹⁰¹, sa sobom smo donijeli i drugi primjerak kako bismo o svemu lakše raspravljali. Što smo brže i primjerenije mogli, iz svojih smo naputaka, ništa ne ispuštajući, izdvojili uvjete koje šaljemo i Vašem Veličanstvu, ne propuštajući mu položiti račun o svim svojim aktivnostima.

Nismo mogli isposlovati ništa od izgubljenih mjesta, a nismo smjeli ni nesmetano pregovarati o Szol-

honor and benefit your Emperor in the future, because then the honorary gifts that our King would bountifully give to the almighty Sultan, apart from great friendship, would certainly afford His Highness many more other things.”

He laughed and only replied that it was needless to conclude a peace that would last for the rule of sons and descendants. “Who can arrange with certainty something on behalf of future rulers, especially in our empire? We do not have a habit of returning something that we had conquered with sword and the places where we had built our temples and where we pray to and invoke God and our Prophet, because it is forbidden by our laws and our holy books. If the peace suits our Sultan, and you wish to keep it persistently, we will approve it until his death.”

We did not reply to this anymore because we have been speaking in vain. It seemed we needed to accept the offered time limit for the armistice because it had been offered so easily and fast, as if God’s Majesty had wished to help the Christian cause more than

101 Sadržaj je dopisa sljedeći: „Antun Vrančić i Ferenc Zay pozdravljuju velikog vezira Rustem-pašu. Budući da postoji još nekoliko stvari koje valja posebno razmotriti, a tiču se sklapanja mirovnog sporazuma koji smo dogovorili, htjeli smo ih, velmožni paša, za tebe prepisati kako bismo o njima porazgovarali i donijeli odluku prije nego što naš kolega Giovanni Maria krene na put. To ponajviše činimo zato da bi se po istom gospodinu Giovanniju Mariji moglo dojaviti Njegovom Veličanstvu ako među navedenim točkama postoji nešto što se našem kralju ne bi moglo odobriti. Budući da mu mnogo toga prethodno nije bilo odobreno, svim te silama ištemo i molimo da mu se u ovom mirovnom sporazumu ne uskrati barem ono što mu je bilo dopušteno u prethodnome a da se pritom, dakako, ne ošteti tvoj sultan. Naš kralj, pak, od tebe očekuje poseban zagovor jer smatra da si mu najveći prijatelj. Zbogom. Dano u Carigradu, 28. kolovoza 1553. godine.“

noku jer je paša rekao da je Szolnok nekoć predan Turcima koji su očekivali mnoge dobitke i u Ugarskoj i u Transilvaniji. Čak i kad smo zatražili samo da se sruši Zechen¹⁰² radi sigurnosti ceste koja vodi do Egra¹⁰³, na sličan je način nerado saslušao naše riječi. Ipak nam nije oduzeo svaku nadu ako mu Vaše Veličanstvo povoljno odgovori u vezi s Transilvanijom.

Paša nas je primio u nekom vrtu u Chalcedonu, gdje smo neprestance uvlačeni u nove rasprave. S nama je vodio teške pregovore o rješavanju položaja kmetova i ostalih podložnika, rušenju Zechena, smanjivanju počasnog danka i događajima u Transilvaniji, tako da smo nakon gotovo sat i pol stalno iznova o tome morali govoriti. Napokon je dogovoren sljedeće: kad mu se dojavи željeni odgovor Vašeg Veličanstva u vezi s Transilvanijom te se potom potpiše i potvrdi petogodišnji mir, kmetovi koji su dosad plaćali porez objema stranama dužni su ga plaćati objema stranama i nadalje. Pošto se sklopi mirovni sporazum, odredit će se povjerenici koji će pregledati i provesti u djelo odredbe mirovnog sporazuma što se tiču ovoga, ali i ostalih dijelova. Kad se nakon toga vratio gospodin Giovanni Maria, sve smo mu ovo prepričali i rekli mu da se vrati s povoljnijim odgovorom u vezi s Transilvanijom. Paša je, naime, do njegova povratka odgodio donošenje odluke i o počasnom danku i o Zechenu, pa onda i o svemu drugome, govoreći da sve odredbe mirovnog sporazuma ovise o prepuštanju Transilvanije.

Na sastanku je paša dodao kako sultan obećava da neće - ako Ivanov sin ne umre ili ako ga poljski kralj, njegov ujak, odnosno neki drugi slučaj ne spriječe da uđe u Transilvaniju - onamo poslati turskog upravitelja i turske posade, nego kršćanske. To nam je napomenuo kako bismo mu više vjerovali. No ipak nismo mogli u potpunosti shvatiti što je time mislio. Stoga neka se Vaše Veličanstvo udostoji pažljivo razmisliti o odluci s time u vezi. Mi držimo da je riječ o poljskim ili francuskim interesima ili o težnjama nekog Transilvana. Možda je, pak, paša, pobuđujući u njemu neku daleku i ničim opravdanu nadu, Vaše Veličanstvo htio navesti na prepuštanje Transilva-

people themselves believed, and even in a better way than for Your Majesty to conclude a long lasting alliance with the people who have no sincere feelings for the Christians and do not know to rule or live differently than to always have someone around to rob and to take prisoners from.

We did not excuse ourselves from further conversation on this topic, Our Kind King, by declaring that we were not able to conduct well the affairs of Your Majesty, or by not knowing how to arrange the deal more favorably (although we are certainly aware of our weaknesses), or by the fact that we had missed the chance to test more appropriate ways to accomplish our goal, but by humbly declaring that we had diligently, laboriously, carefully and faithfully done all that we have been allowed to do, and that nothing more could have been wished for, as our colleague, His Lordship Giovanni Maria, had undoubtedly recounted and confirmed to you. We leave it to him to inform you orally about this matter and about all other questions, because it would take too much time to write about all the details. The Pasha declared that the Sultan was very much worried that Transylvania was not to be taken from the boy and, if we were to talk using human and not divine words, and human and not divine mouths, we would not have accomplished anything but a mere prolongation of the armistice. Thus we were dismissed from the Divan.

Afterwards we went to visit the other two pashas, İbrahim and Haydar, each of them in his own house. We offered a gift to them too, as we did to others, and delivered letters in which we carefully recommended the affairs of Your Majesty. All three of them¹⁰¹ conversed with us very kindly and pleaded for the benevolence of Your Majesty. But as you will learn from His Lordship Giovanni Maria, they could not have been of almost any benefit. One of them took everything with him and acted as if he were the sultan; thus we are really afraid that he had gone over to the side of someone else, and that he had sided with Your Majesty only seemingly. His Lordship Maria will tell you more about it. We, on the other hand, as far as the circumstances allowed, have come to an unambiguous conclusion that we are asking in vain from this ruler even the smallest location that he had brought under his rule, as long as his rule is stable and as long as luck is on his side.

¹⁰² Zechen, danas selo Tápiószecső. Pod nazivom Zechen prvi se put spominje 1264. godine. U srednjem vijeku Zechen je bio važno kulturno i gospodarsko središte u središnjoj Ugarskoj.

¹⁰³ Eger (latinski: Agria; osmanski turski: Eğri), grad u sjeveroistočnoj Mađarskoj, jugozapadno od Miskolca.

¹⁰¹ This includes İbrahim and Haydar, and the aforementioned Ahmed Pasha.

nije. Doista je teško procijeniti što стоји у pozadini takva prijedloga. Ipak ћemo se pobrinuti да у međuvremenu nešto iščeprikamo, premda se dosad nismo usuđivali mnogo o tome govoriti da ne bismo rekli nešto što bi Turci mogli upotrijebiti u svoju korist. Mi, dakle, sva svoja očekivanja polažemo u Vaše Veličanstvo.

Bilo je mnogo govora i o počasnome danku. Paša, naime, nikako nije htio pristati na to da se njegov iznos smanji na 50 000 forinti, premda smo mu rekli da je bogatstvo Vašeg Veličanstva uvelike umanjeno zbog proteklog rata, a preuveličavali smo i ostale razloge koje smo navodili. Pošto smo naposljetku došli do iznosa od 70 000 forinti, obećali smo i Visosti sultanu, ali i samome paši još i više ako isposluje to da se sultan prestane ljutiti na Vaše Veličanstvo zbog Transilvanije. „Zaboravimo“, rekao je, „sve u vezi s Transilvanijom. O počasnom danku i o ostalom što predlažete razgovarat ћemo kad se vrati Giovanni Maria. Zašto Kraljevsko Veličanstvo meni ne dodijeli dar za dogovoren mir jer, ako ga ja ne isposlujem, tko bi ga drugi mogao isposlovati? Ako već i želite umanjiti dar sultanu, meni ga ne smijete umanjiti.“ Iako se činilo da se šali jer se pritom nasmijao, ništa nije slagao. Mi smo mu odgovorili da Njegovo Veličanstvo ne običava biti nezahvalno i da će, nakon sultana, Njegovo Kraljevsko Veličanstvo itekako voditi računa o tome dokle god bude osjećalo da je pod iskrenom zaštitom Njegova Presvjetlog Gospodstva. Stoga neka dade nalog pisarima da napišu pismo Vašem Veličanstvu o odobrenju mira i prepustanju Transilvanije te neka pošalje pismenu naredbu budimskom paši o šestomjesečnom produženju primirja do kraja mandata ovog izaslanstva. Mi ћemo za to vrijeme ostati ovdje, i to ne dobrovoljno ili u očekivanju pomilovanja koje se čak i ljudima koji su u najstrožem zatvoru ponekad može odobriti, već zato da se ne čini da smo uskratili potporu interesima Njegova Veličanstva i njegovih kraljevstava, makar zbog toga morali platiti i glavom. O svemu tome valja voditi računa kako bi Vaše Presvjetlo Veličanstvo bilo što bolje obaviješteno o svim okolnostima, i to ne samo sadašnjima nego i prošlima, pošto primi gospodina Giovannija Mariju, koji je ovdje toliko dobro naučio sve što se tiče njihovih običaja, pa čak i načina i postupaka obavljanja različitih stvari i poslova, da se treba nadati da će ga paša i ubuduće slati

Something could be acquired from him only with the power of weapons, and only when his authority would be diminished for some reason or, by God's will, an unexpected opportunity would occur, in order for him to deign to grant us what we humbly pray for and convey to him with respect. We believe that we had never acted unbecomingly, and this can be attested by His Lordship Giovanni Maria.

Afterwards, on August 28, the Sultan passed over to the Asian Chalcedon or Üsküdar, place that is located across from Istanbul. The next day, August 29, we were called before the Pasha in order to finish the remaining affairs. Beforehand we had promised to him that we would resent in writing the conditions according to which the mentioned peace should have been renewed. Although we had sent a letter¹⁰² to the Pasha through the interpreter the previous day, we brought with us another copy in order to be able to discuss everything more easily. As fast and appropriate as we could, we extracted from our instructions, without omitting anything, the conditions which we send to Your Majesty too, without failing to report everything to you about all our activities.

We could not acquire any of the lost locations, and we could also not negotiate freely about Szolnok because the Pasha had declared that Szolnok had been given to the Turks who expected many gains in Hungary, as well as in Transylvania. Even when we had merely asked for the destruction of Zechen¹⁰³ for the purpose of greater security of the road that leads to Eger¹⁰⁴, he unwillingly listened to our words in a similar manner. However, he

102 The content of the letter is as follows: "Antun Vrančić and Ferenc Zay salute the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha. Since there are some other matters that need to be considered in particular, and these concern the conclusion of the peace treaty which was agreed upon, we would like, oh great Pasha, to transcribe them for you in order to be able to discuss them and make a decision before our colleague Giovanni Maria sets on his journey. We do this mostly so that we could be able to inform His Majesty through His Lordship Giovanni Maria if there were to be something among the mentioned articles that could not have been allowed to our King. Since there were many matters that were not allowed for him to do, we urge you and beg of you with all our heart that our King is not deprived in this agreement of at least those matters that were allowed to him in the former, and of course, that it is not to the detriment of your Sultan. Our King, on the other hand, expects of you a special intercession because he considers you his greatest friend. Farewell. Given in Istanbul on August 28, 1553."

103 Zechen, present-day village Tápiószecső, was first mentioned under the name Zechen in 1264. During the Middle Ages Zechen was an important cultural and agrarian center in central Hungary.

104 Eger (Latin: Agria; Ottoman Turkish: Eğri), town in northeast Hungary, southwest of Miskolc.

s tim ciljem. Dakako, riječ je i o tome da bismo se i mirado vratili iz ove smrdljive baruštine.¹⁰⁴ Ali neka bude volja Božja i volja Vašega Presvjetlog Veličanstva.

Na sastanku je paša spomenuo i to da Vaše Veličanstvo često od turskog sultana traži mir, dok ga naši nikada u potpunosti ne održavaju. I budući da je naša krivnja, kako je rekao, što se mir krši, zbog toga uvijek mi od njih primamo veće štete nego što im nanosimo. Uvjeravao nas je kako je nesumnjivo riječ o Božjoj kazni da bismo se, kako je rekao, dugo sjećali takvih događaja. „Zar se nije dogodilo da ste se, prije nego što smo odlučili s vama sklopiti mir i prijateljstvo, potrudili jednom od naših poslanika odrezati nos i uši i tako ga unakaženog poslati natrag kako biste iskazali prijezir prema našem sultanu i svima nama? Kad smo vam se htjeli osvetiti zbog te nepravde, zar niste zbog nesreće jednog čovjeka izgubili i Stolni Biograd¹⁰⁵, i kralja, i kraljevstvo? Kad ste, prekršivši petogodišnje primirje, zauzeli Transilvaniju i Temišvar, zar niste mnogo više izgubili negoli dobili? Nama je, s pomoću Božjom, vraćena i utvrda Bečej¹⁰⁶, u kojoj smo već prije uspostavili svoje vjerske običaje i tako smo se dugo mučili da je vratimo. Stoga, ako i sada vaš kralj ne uzme u obzir moć našeg sultana i prezre njegove zahtjeve, neka pazi da ne izgubi mnogo više od onoga što je dosad izgubio jer ćemo zauzeti i Beč.“

Na to smo skromno i sa svega nekoliko riječi odgovorili da naš kralj nema običaj sakatiti udove poslanika, nego s njima časno pregovara i časno ih otpušta, neovisno o tome koji ih vladar šalje. Uostalom, premda smo čuli o udesu nekoga vašeg poslanika, to se nije dogodilo u doba našeg kralja Ferdinanda, nego za vladavine kralja Ludovika¹⁰⁷. Osim toga, naš kralj ne zna ništa ni o Ludoviku ni o njegovoj odluci na koju su ga vjerojatno

did not take away all hope from us, if Your Majesty replies favorably in the matter of Transylvania.

The Pasha received us in some Chalcedon garden where we have incessantly been dragged into new arguments. He led difficult negotiations with us on the topic of settling the position of serfs and other subjects, the destruction of Zechen, the reduction of the honorary tribute and the events in Transylvania, so that we were forced to, after almost one hour and a half, constantly talk anew about these topics. Finally the following was agreed: when he were informed on the desirable reply of Your Majesty regarding Transylvania, and then a five-year peace is signed and confirmed, the serfs who until now had paid the taxes to both sides will furthermore be obliged to pay it to both sides. After the peace agreement is concluded, commissioners will be appointed and they will review and implement the provisions of the peace treaty which concern this and other articles. When His Lordship Giovanni Maria had returned after this, we retold to him all of this and instructed him to return with a favorable answer regarding Transylvania. The Pasha had in fact postponed the decision on both the honorary tribute and Zechen, and then on everything else, until his¹⁰⁵ return, declaring that all provisions of the peace agreement depend on the ceding of Transylvania.

During the meeting the Pasha added that the Sultan had promised that he would not, if John's son dies or if the Polish King, his uncle, or some other situation averts him from entering Transylvania, send there a Turkish administrator nor Turkish garrisons, but Christian ones. This he mentioned so that we would believe him more. But we still could not completely decipher what he had meant by that. Thus we implore Your Majesty to carefully reflect on the decision in this respect. We believe it concerns Polish or French interests, or the aspirations of some Transylvanian notable. Perhaps the Pasha, by rousing some distant and totally unjustified hope of yours, wanted to persuade you to surrender Transylvania. It is really difficult to assess what stands behind this proposition. We will nevertheless ensure that we discover something in the meantime, although until now we did not venture to talk about it a great deal, in order

¹⁰⁴ U latinskom izvorniku stoji „Lerna“, što je inače naziv jezera u Argolidi (na Peloponezu u Grčkoj), boravišta lernejske hidre, legendarne devetoglave zmije koju je ubio Heraklo. U prenesenom smislu rabi se kao pejorativna oznaka za prljavo mjesto puno opačina.

¹⁰⁵ Aluzija na osvajanje Stolnog Biograda (latinski: Alba Regia; mađarski: Székesfehérvár; osmanski turski: İstolni Belgrad), grada u središnjoj Mađarskoj koji je, nakon duge opsade, pao pod osmansku vlast 1543. godine.

¹⁰⁶ Nakon što je na temelju ugovora potpisano 19. srpnja 1551. godine u Albi Iuliji Transilvanija priznala vrhovništvo Ferdinanda I. Habsburškog, osmanska je vojska osvojila Bečej (mađarski: Óbecse; osmanski turski: Beçel), grad u današnjoj sjevernoj Srbiji, već u studenome 1551. godine. Detaljnije usp. KOLARIĆ, „Juraj Utješenović“, 131.

¹⁰⁷ **Ludovik II. Jagelović** (Budim, 1. srpnja 1506. - Mohač, 29. kolovoza 1526.), hrvatsko-ugarski kralj od 1516. do 1526. godine; sin Vladislava II. Jagelovića. Osmanlije su teško porazili Ludovikovu vojsku na Mohačkom polju 1526. godine, a on se pri bijegu utopio u nabujalome potoku.

¹⁰⁵ That is, Giovanni Maria Malvezzi's.

**Portret cara Karla V. /
Portrait of Emperor Charles V**
(Tiziano Vecellio, 1548. / Tiziano Vecellio, 1548)

naveli neki sirovi i bezobzirni ljudi jer takvo što naš kralj nikada ne bi odobrio. Što se, pak, tiče zahtjeva u kojem se od našeg kralja traži utvrda Bečej, može se reći samo to da ju je dobio netom prije nego što ju je izgubio. Za to treba okriviti kraljicu Izabelu s Petrom Petrovićem, koja nikada nije htjela sultani vratiti tu utvrdu te je tražila tisuću izgovora i lažnih opravdanja da mu u toj stvari ne udovolji, a sultan ne samo što joj to nije nimalo zamjerio već je povrh toga obasipa i darovima i milostima. Da se našem kralju netko tako drsko suprotstavi, to bi se držalo krajnje neprijateljskim ponašanjem.

Na Vama je da procijenite, preblagi kralju, koliku težinu imaju ove njihove zamjerke i kamo smjeraju. Mi smo samo opazili i pokazali Vam njihovu zlonamjernost koja je uperena protiv Vašeg Veličanstva.

Paša nas je u Divanu čak pitao tražimo li mir i u ime cara Karla¹⁰⁸ (oni ga zovu Španjolcem) te želi li i on biti uključen u mirovni sporazum. Odgovorili smo mu



not to declare something that the Turks could have used in their advantage. Therefore, we entrust all our hopes to Your Majesty.

There was much discussion about the honorary tribute too. The Pasha, did in no way want to concede to the decreasing of his share to fifty thousand forints, although we had told him that the fortune of Your Majesty had been greatly reduced due to the last war, and we have also exaggerated the other reasons which we had stated. After we had finally agreed to the amount of seventy thousand forints, we promised both to His Highness the Sultan and to the Pasha himself even more money if he were to arrange that the Sultan stops being angry at Your Majesty because of Transylvania. "Let us forget", he declared, "everything concerning Transylvania. We will discuss the honorary tribute and everything else that you propose when Giovanni Maria returns. Why does the Royal Majesty not allocate the gift for the agreed peace to me, because if I will not arrange it, who else could arrange it? If you wish to reduce the gift to the Sultan, you must not reduce the gift to me." Although it seemed he was kidding because he laughed while saying it, he did not lie at all. We replied that Your Majesty does not tend to be ungrateful and that His Royal Highness will, after the Sultan, especially take

108 **Karlo V. Habsburški**, car Svetoga Rimskog Carstva (Gent, 24. veljače 1500. - San Gerónimo de Yuste, Estremadura, 21. rujna 1558.). Sin kastiljskog kralja Filipa I. Lijepog i Ivane Lude, stariji brat Ferdinanda I. Habsburškog. Kao španjolski kralj, Karlo I. vladao je od 1516. do 1556., a kao car Svetoga Rimskog Carstva od 1519. do 1556. godine. Pod njegovom su vlašću bile: Kastilja s Navarrom i Granadom, uključujući i španjolske posjede u Americi; Aragonija s Valencijom i Katalonijom te s Napuljem, Sicilijom i Sardinijom; Nizozemska, Burgundija i Württemberg; te naslijedni posjed dinastije Habsburgovaca u Austriji, koji je 1521. dao na upravljanje, u feudalnoj nominalnoj zavisnosti, mlađem bratu Ferdinandu.

da mir tražimo samo u ime našega presvjetloga kralja jer od Njegova Carskog Veličanstva nismo dobili takvo ovlaštenje. No ako se najmoćniji sultan želi pokazati dobrohotnim i širokogrudnim i prema njegovu najdražem bratu, i Njegovo Carsko Veličanstvo nesumnjivo će na to prijateljski gledati i pokazati naklonost prema premoćnom sultanu. Pošto smo tim riječima ukratko odgovorili na pitanje, paša je prešao na drugu temu, pa smo i mi zašutjeli.

Kad smo nakon toga napokon ostali s pašom nasamo u vrtu, upitao nas je zašto prošle godine car Karlo nije zaratio s francuskim kraljem.¹⁰⁹ Odgovorili smo mu da Njegovo Carsko Veličanstvo, dakako, nije iscrpljeno ratovanjem, nego su ga od toga odvratila dva razloga. Prvi je taj što se grozi proljevanja kršćanske krvi, a drugi to što ima obzira prema dobi francuskog kralja¹¹⁰, koji je još mlad i kojega je prihvatio kao sina u vrijeme kada mu se ovaj bio podložio kao ocu.¹¹¹ Prvih je nekoliko godina među njima vladalo uzajamno prijateljstvo, premda ga je francuski kralj hinio jer je, čim je sakupio dovoljno novca, vratio ono što mu je otac izgubio. Pripremivši napokon sve potrebno za ratovanje i potpirivši neku pobunu u Italiji¹¹², krenuo je protiv njega u rat a da naš car nije ništa slutio.¹¹³ To nije učinio zbog sebe, već da bi se osvetio zato što je naš car zarobio njegova oca i nanio mu brojne poraze.¹¹⁴ No sve je bilo uzalud. Kako su se Francuzi iz toga izvukli, pitajte same Francuze. Paša

care of it as long as he would feel he was under the sincere protection of His Serene Lordship. Thus let he¹⁰⁶ order the order the scribes to write a letter to Your Majesty regarding the approval of peace and the cession of Transylvania, and let he send a written order to the Pasha of Buda concerning a six-month extension of the truce until the end of the mandate of this embassy. We will in the meantime stay here, not voluntarily or in anticipation of an amnesty which can be approved even for the people who are in the most rigorous prison, but so that it would not seem as if we had denied support to the interests of His Majesty and His kingdoms, even if we had to pay with our heads. All of this should be taken into consideration in order for Your Serene Majesty to be informed as good as possible on all circumstances, and not only the present ones, but the former too, after you have received His Lordship Giovanni Maria, who had learned so well everything concerning their customs, and even their modes and procedures of doing different things and affairs, so we should hope that the Pasha will send him in the future with this purpose. Of course, it also concerns our wish to return from this stinking swamp.¹⁰⁷ But God's will and Your Serene Majesty's will be done.

During the meeting the Pasha also mentioned that Your Majesty had often asked the Turkish sultan for peace, whereas our people never completely uphold it. And since this is our fault, as he declared, that the peace is being broken, thus it is always us who endures more damage from them than inflicting it upon them. He was persuading us that is was undoubtedly God's punishment in order for us to, as he declared, long remember such occasions. "Did it not happen that you have, before we had decided to conclude peace and friendship with you, managed to cut the nose and ears to one of our envoys and to send him back so disfigured in order to demonstrate contempt toward our Sultan and all of us? When we had intended to take revenge for this injustice, did you not due to the misfortune of one man lose Székesfehérvár¹⁰⁸ and the king and king-

109 Odnosi se na francuskog kralja **Henrika II.** (1519. - 1559.; vladao 1547. - 1559.), koji je stupio na francusko prijestolje nakon smrti svog oca Franje I. 1547. godine.

110 Odnosi se na francuskog kralja.

111 Ovo se odnosi na četverogodišnje razdoblje koje je Henrik II. proveo u španjolskom zarobljeništvu nakon poraza svojeg oca u Bitci kod Pavije 1525. godine.

112 Moguće da je u pitanju talijanska komuna Mirandola koja je 1551. godine prešla na stranu Francuza tijekom posljednjega Talijanskog rata (1551. - 1559.). Detaljnije usp. ANTONIO SALTINI, *L'assedio della Mirandola* (Reggio Emilia: Diabasis, 2003).

113 Henrik II. objavio je rat Karlu V. u jesen 1551. godine. Dana 15. siječnja 1552. godine potpisao je u Chambordu sporazum sa saskim knezom izbornikom i njegovim protestantskim saveznicima kako bi dao legitimnost francuskim osvajanjima. Tijekom proljeća 1552. godine francuske su trupe osvojile Toul, Metz i Verdun, tri biskupije koje su se nalazile u sklopu Svetoga Rimskog Carstva. Usp. JEAN CARPENTIER i FRANÇOIS LEBRUN, *Povijest Francuske* (Zagreb: Barbat, 1999), 125-126.

114 Sukob između francuskog kralja Franje I. i španjolskog kralja Karla V. Habsburškog počeo je 1519. godine, kada je Karlo, umjesto drugog aspiranta Franje, izabran za cara Svetoga Rimskog Carstva Njemačke Narodnosti glasovima sedam izbornih knezova, koje je španjolski kralj potkupio zlatom moćne njemačke bankarske obitelji Fugger. U prvoj fazi sukoba, koji je trajao četrdeset godina, bio je uspješniji Karlo, koji je 24. veljače 1525. u Bitci kod Pavije porazio i zarobio Franju I.

106 That is, Rüstem Pasha.

107 In the Latin original it stands "Lerna", which is the name for a lake in the historic Argolis region on the Peloponnese peninsula in Greece. It was home to the Lernaean Hydra, the legendary nine-headed serpent that was killed by Heracles. In the transmitted sense it was used as a pejorative, meaning a filthy place full of perversities.¹²⁵⁻¹²⁶

108 This is Pasha's allusion to the capture of Székesfehérvár (Latin: Alba Regia; Croatian: Stolni Biograd; Ottoman Turkish: İstolni Belgrad), town in central Hungary which, after a long siege, fell under Ottoman rule in 1543.

je sve to saslušao, no nije ništa određeno rekao. Jedino je u vezi s nekim afričkim gradom pitao da li da ga Turci radije uniše ili da vrate ono što su tražili. Onoliko koliko smo mogli shvatiti iz toga što je ovlaš natuknuo, to bi moglo biti od velike koristi Vašem Veličanstvu. No nećemo dalje o Africi jer će o tome bolje moći govoriti gospodin Giovanni Maria.

I ovom je prilikom paša neprestano inzistirao na obvezi prema dječaku i govorio da ga Vaše Veličanstvo nije smjelo izbaciti iz Transilvanije. Na to smo mu rekli da za to nipošto ne smije optužiti našeg kralja jer, ako je dopušteno govoriti po pravu i po pravdi, ovdje nije riječ o sultanovim poslovima. Kako premoćni sultan dobro znade, nikada i nisu bili u pitanju ni dječak, ni Ugarska, ni Transilvanija, već dječakov otac, koji je, osim što je sina svojevoljno lišio nasljedstva, i sam bio *homo novus*¹¹⁵ koji se domogao kraljevske vlasti pomoću opačina i spletki. Budući da nije imao nikakvih legitimnih prava na krunu, morao je biti zahvalan vojnoj pomoći premoćnog sultana jer da nije bilo nje, smrt bi ga nesumnjivo snašla u poljskom izgnanstvu. Kako je junacima sve zajedničko, i naš prejasni kralj zna kolike snage već sada sultan ima u Ugarskoj i svjestan je utjecaja i prijateljske naklonosti Njegove Visosti. „Stoga molimo Tvoje Presvjetlo Gospodstvo da nas se udostoji uslišiti.“ U trenutku kada je bilo riječi o kmetovima, ustali smo sa stolicu i zamolili ga da sasluša naše molbe, pri čemu smo, osim govorničkog umijeća, pokazali i svoje osjećaje. I to nije bilo uzalud. Stoga smo ga onda kada smo završili razgovor i kada nam je napokon naloženo da sjednemo, zamolili da dopusti da se kmetovi – kako smo bili zatražili – na objema strana oslobode danka kako je prethodno bilo rečeno.

Nema više ničega što bismo dodali ovom opisu naših aktivnosti, koji će po potrebi u Vašoj prisutnosti dopuniti gospodin Giovanni Maria. Vaše Veličanstvo neka samo, stavivši po strani sve drugo za što još nije došao povoljan trenutak, donese odluku o Transilvaniji kakva se njemu čini najboljom. Naposljetku, što god Njegovo Veličanstvo nakon povratka

Da bi se izbavio iz Karlova zarobljeništva u Madridu, Franjo je morao potpisati mirovni ugovor kojim je Karlu ustupio Burgundiju i odrekao se Milanskog vojvodstva. Detaljnije usp. CARPENTIER i LEBRUN, *Povijest Francuske*, 126.

115 *Homo novus* (latinski), onaj koji je prvi u svojoj obitelji dosegnuo visoke časti; onaj koji je iznenada postao poznat; skorojević. VLADIMIR ANIĆ, *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1998), 206.

dom? When you had, by breaking a five-year truce, captured Transylvania and Timișoara, did you not lose more than you had gained? We had retaken, by God's will, the fortress of Beče¹⁰⁹, in which earlier we had established our religious customs and agonized for so long in order to return it. Therefore, if again you King does not take into consideration the power of our Sultan and scorns his demands, let him take heed not to lose much more than what he had lost so far because we will take Vienna too.”

We replied to this humbly and with only a few words, stating that our King does not tend to mutilate the limbs of envoys, but to honorably negotiate with them and honorably release them, regardless of the fact which ruler sends them. Besides, although we have heard about the misfortune of some envoy of yours, this did not happen in the time of our King Ferdinand, but during the rule of King Louis.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, our King knows nothing about Louis or his decision to which he was probably persuaded by some ruthless and unscrupulous men, because our King would never allow such a thing. As for the demand according to which the fortress of Bečeј is requested from our King, one can only declare that he had gotten it only a short period of time before he had lost it. The one to blame for this is Queen Isabella, as well as Peter Petrović, as she never wanted to return this fortress to the Sultan, and instead sought a thousand excuses and false justifications in order not to comply with the wish of the Sultan, who not only did not resent her act at all, but moreover, showered her with gifts and graces. If someone were to oppose our King so brazenly, this would have been considered as an utterly hostile behavior.

It is to you to assess, Most Kind King, the severity of these reproaches of theirs, and what was their intention. We only noticed and demonstrated to you their maliciousness that is directed against Your Majesty.

109 After, based on the agreement that was signed on July 19, 1551, in Alba Iulia, Transylvania recognized the authority of Ferdinand I Habsburg, Ottoman forces conquered Bečeј (Hungarian: Óbecse; Ottoman Turkish: Beçe), a town in present-day northern Serbia, in November of 1551. For more details, cf. KOLARIĆ, "Juraj Utješenović", p. 131.

110 **Louis II Jagiellon** (Buda, July 1, 1506 – Mohács, August 29, 1526), King of Hungary and Croatia 1516–1526; son of Vladislav II Jagiellon. The Ottomans heavily defeated Louis's army at Mohács in 1526, and Louis II drowned in an overflowing stream during escape.

gospodina Giovannija Marije bude htjelo i naložilo da kažemo ili učinimo, sve to možemo velikodušno obećati, kao što se i očekuje od najvjernijih slugu.

Preblagi kralju, zaboravili smo u opisu svojih aktivnosti spomenuti ono što smo napisljetu predali Ahmed-paši. Kao što stoji u uvodu naših naputaka, učinili smo to onda kada nam je on svojevoljno pružio priliku da to pokušamo, često nam govoreći kako, kada i što trebamo učiniti da bi nam bili ustupljeni pojedini dijelovi teritorija. „Jučer nam je, presvjetli gospodine paša, Vaše Gospodstvo spomenulo da, ako naš kralj vrati Transilvaniju sinu kralja Ivana u skladu s voljom premoćnog sultana, mi od Njegove Visosti možemo zatražiti i nešto od ostalog, govoreći da se sloga i mir, oko kojih se toliko trudimo, lako mogu ostvariti pod uvjetom da svaka strana nešto dade i ustupi drugoj strani. Ako, dakle, pretpostavimo da će naš kralj sukladno s voljom Njegove Visosti sultana vratiti Transilvaniju Ivanovu sinu, ovo su stvari koje smo smatrali da Njegova Visost može ustupiti našem kralju, osim onoga što će Njegovo Veličanstvo možda još zatražiti, a o čemu za sada ne znamo njegovo stajalište.“ Stoga o tome nismo ništa određeno govorili i pregovarali, već samo pod pretpostavkom, kako je već prije rečeno, da tako odluči Njegovo Veličanstvo. Tražili smo, dakle, sljedeće:

Da se Ivanovu sinu dade samo Transilvanija u svojim uobičajenim i drevnim granicama;

Ako se dogodi da Ivanov sin umre bez muške djece, a naš kralj i njegovi sinovi ostanu na životu, da se Visost premoćnog sultana udostoji zadovoljiti time da ga u posjedu Transilvanije naslijedi naš kralj, a našega kralja njegovi prejasni sinovi, koji će s Njegovom Visostu ipak očuvati konfederalni savez i plaćati mu počasni danak;

Da se Varadin i Gyula¹¹⁶ s ostalim utvrdoma i mjestima u Ugarskoj koja se nalaze s one strane Tamiša¹¹⁷, a koja su na početku njegove vladavine pripadala Transilvaniji, daju našem kralju kako bi lakše mogao plaćati danak za Ugarsku, s obzirom na to da Njegovom Veličanstvu nisu vraćeni dijelovi kraljevstva koji su bili zauzeti tijekom prošlog rata;

Da se zbog navedenog smanjenja vladarskog područja našemu kralju smanji i danak te da njegov iznos na kraju bude 70 000 dukata;

¹¹⁶ Gyula, pogranični grad na jugoistoku Madžarske.

¹¹⁷ Tamiš (rumunjski: Timiș), rijeka u današnjoj zapadnoj Rumunjskoj i Srbiji.

The Pasha had even asked us in the Divan if we ask for peace on behalf of Emperor Charles¹¹¹ too (they call him the Spaniard) and if he wished to be included in the peace agreement. We responded by saying that we ask for peace only on behalf of our serene king, because we did not receive any authorization from His Imperial Majesty. But if the almighty Sultan wishes to demonstrate himself as a benevolent and generous ruler toward his dearest brother too, His Imperial Majesty will too undoubtedly consider it amicably and demonstrate affection toward the almighty Sultan. Since we had responded to the question with this short answer, the Pasha passed to another topic, so we stopped speaking too.

When we had afterwards finally remained alone with the Pasha in the garden, he asked us why Emperor Charles did not go to war with the French king last year.¹¹² We replied that His Imperial Majesty, of course, is not exhausted with war, but he had been dissuaded from it by two reasons. The first is that he is terrified of spilling Christian blood, and the second that he was considerate to the King's age,¹¹³ as the King is still young and he had accepted him as a son at the time when he had subordinated himself as to a father.¹¹⁴ The first few years there was a mutual friendship between them, although it was pretense by the French king because, as soon as he had collected enough money, he returned the amount his father had lost. After finally preparing everything needed for war and by instigating some rebellion in Italy,¹¹⁵

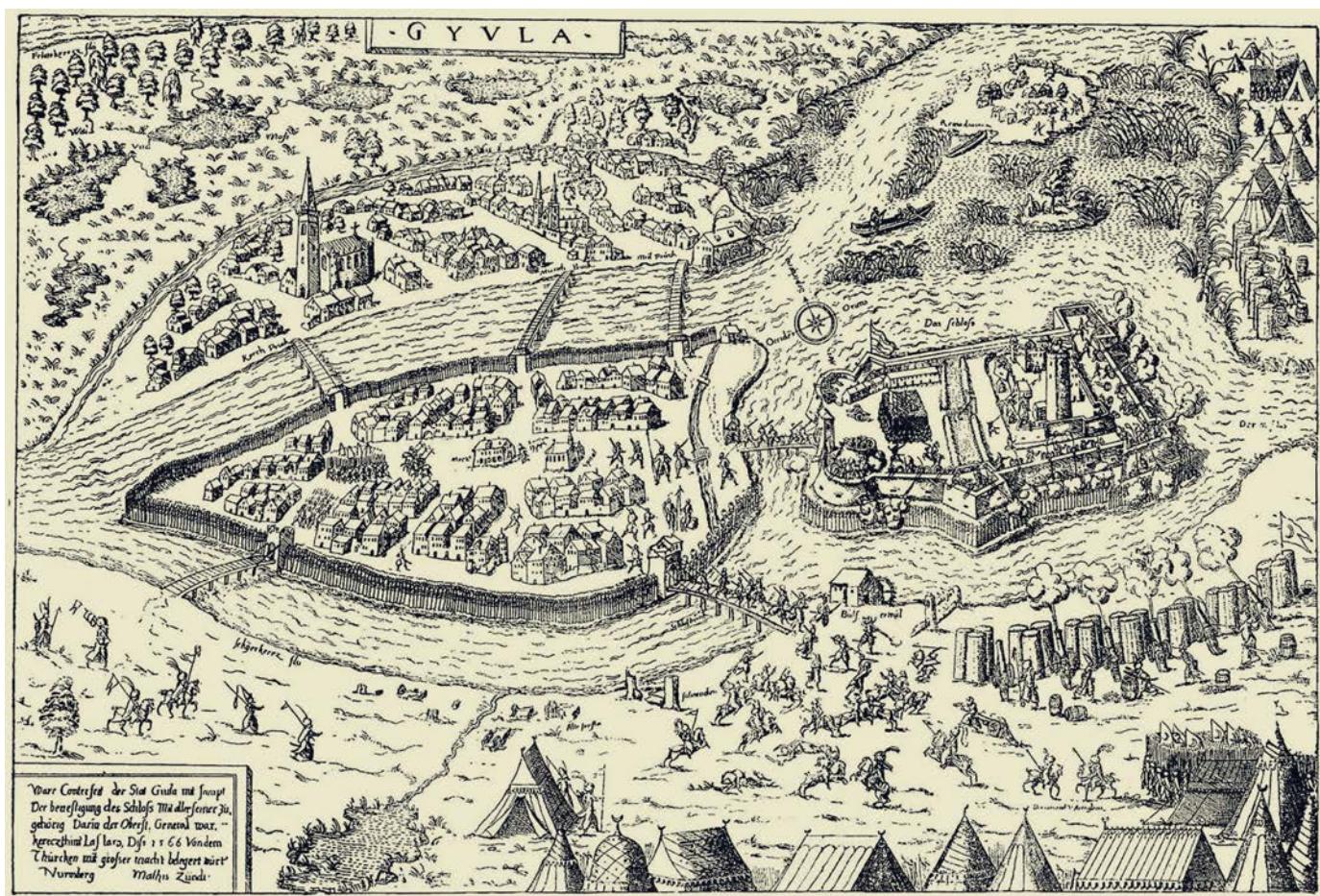
¹¹¹ **Charles V Habsburg**, Holy Roman Emperor (Gent, February 24, 1500 - San Gerónimo de Yuste, Estremadura, September 21, 1558). He was son of the King of Castile, Philip I the Fair and Joanna the Mad and older brother of Ferdinand I Habsburg. As King of Spain, Charles V ruled from 1516 to 1556, and as Holy Roman Emperor from 1519 to 1556. He ruled over Castile with Navarre and Granada, including the Spanish possessions in the Americas; Aragon with Valencia and Catalonia, as well as Naples, Sicily and Sardinia; Holland, Burgundy and Württemberg; and the hereditary estate of the Habsburg dynasty in Austria, which in 1521 he gave to his younger brother Ferdinand in the form of a nominally feudal dependency.

¹¹² This regards Henri II, King of France (1519-1559; ruled 1547-1559), who ascended the French throne after the death of his father Francis I in 1547.

¹¹³ This refers to the French king.

¹¹⁴ This regards the four-year period during which Henri II was in Spanish captivity after the defeat of his father at the Battle of Pavia in 1525.

¹¹⁵ This probably refers to the Italian commune of Mirandola, which in 1551 transferred to the side of the French during the last Italian War (1551-1559). For more details, cf. ANTONIO SALTINI, *L'assedio della Mirandola* (Reggio Emilia: Diabasis, 2003).



Prikaz grada Gyule / Panorama of the town of Gyula

Autor: Mathias Zündt, 1566. / By: Mathias Zündt, 1566

Da se našem kralju dopusti produženje primirja na pet godina za Ugarsku. Nakon toga se objema stranama dopušta njegovo produženje;

Da svi podložnici i kmetovi, i oni premoćnog sultana i oni našeg kralja, koji su dosad objema strana plaćali danak i desetinu te vršili službe, i ubuduće na isti način plaćaju rečeni danak i desetine te vrše svoje službe;

Da se premoćni sultan udostoji našem kralju vratiti utvrde Fülek¹¹⁸ i Salgó¹¹⁹ sa svim pripadajućima i drugim dobrima i posjedima, topovima i streljivom, koje su zauzete tijekom sadašnjeg razdoblja primirja;

Da se Njegova Visost udostoji Njegovom Veličanstvu vratiti zarobljenike iz Egra i Érsekújvára¹²⁰, kao i

he went to war against him, and our emperor did not suspect anything.¹¹⁶ He did not do this for himself, but to take revenge because our emperor had captured his father and inflicted him numerous defeats.¹¹⁷ But everything was in vain. How the French were able to save themselves from this situation, ask the French

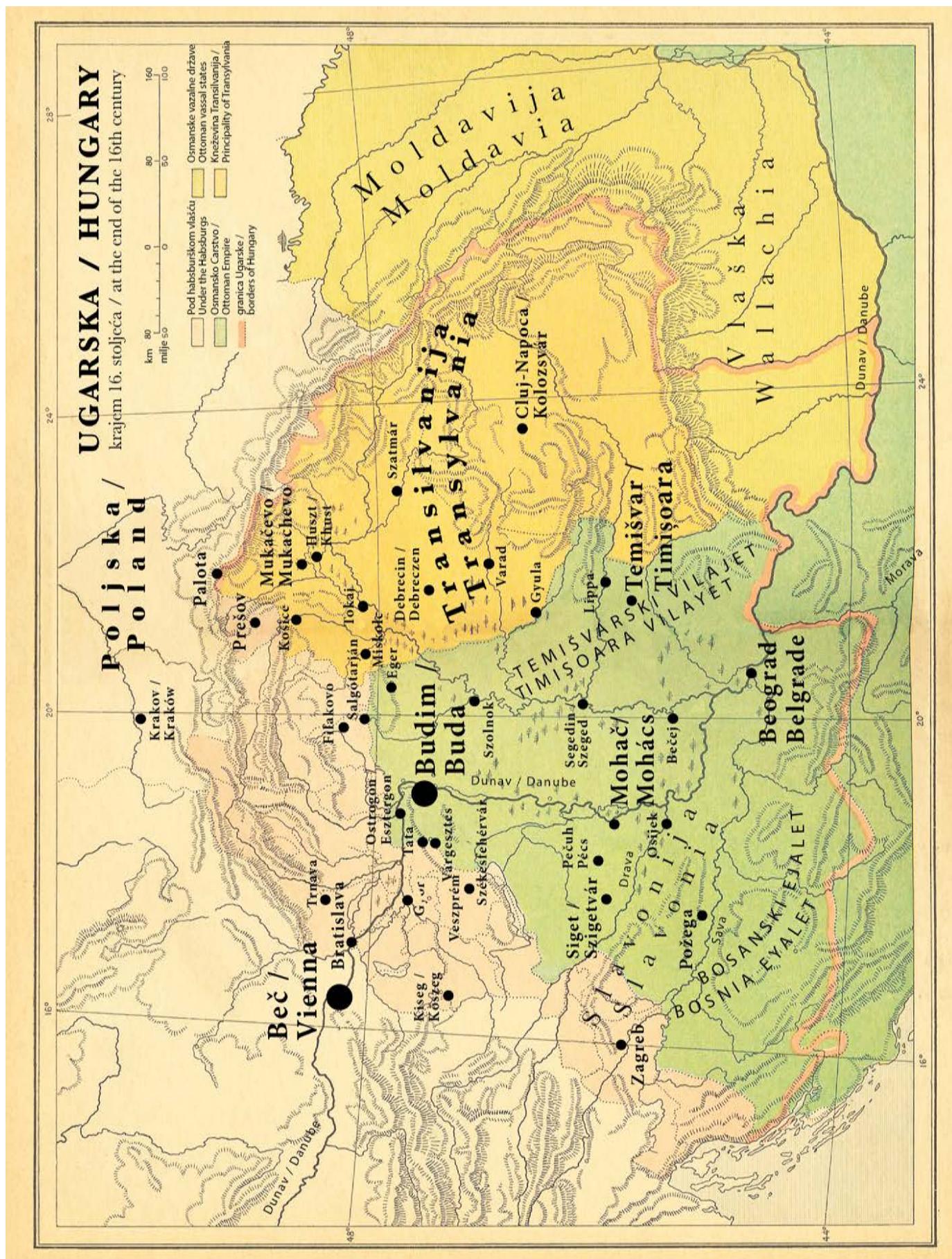
116 Henri II declared war to Charles V in fall of 1551. On January 15, 1552, Henri II in Chambord in France signed a treaty with the Elector of Saxony and his Protestant allies, in order to give legitimacy to French conquests. During the spring of 1552, French forces captured Toul, Metz and Verdun, three bishoprics which part of the Holy Roman Empire. Cf. JEAN CARPENTIER and FRANÇOIS LEBRUN, *Povijest Francuske* (Zagreb: Barbat, 1999), pp. 125-126.

117 The conflict between King of France, Francis I and King of Spain, Charles V Habsburg began in 1519 when Charles was chosen in place of Francis as Holy Roman Emperor with the votes of seven prince-electors, who the Spanish king had bribed with the gold of the powerful German banking family Fugger. In the first phase of the conflict which lasted for years, Charles was more successful, and on February 24, 1525, at the Battle of Pavia defeated and imprisoned Francis I. In order to be released from imprisonment in Charles's capital Madrid, Francis had to sign a peace treaty by which he ceded Burgundy to Charles and renounced the Duchy of Milan. For more details, cf. CARPENTIER and LEBRUN, *Povijest Francuske*, p. 126.

118 Fülek (slovački: Filákovo; osmanski turski: Filek), grad u blizini Banske Bystrice u današnjoj središnjoj Slovačkoj.

119 Salgó, utvrda blizu mjesta Salgótarján u današnjoj sjevernoj Mađarskoj.

120 Érsekújvár, danas Nové Zámky u južnoj Slovačkoj, u blizini mađarske granice.



sve ostale koji su tijekom spomenutog primirja uhićeni u drugim krajevima Ugarske, Slavoniji, Hrvatskoj, na senjskome primorju i drugdje, a kojih je više od pet stotina;

Da se u vezi s vraćanjem zarobljenika Njegova Visost udostoji dati nalog gospodi budimskom, temišvarskom i bosanskom paši te kliškom i požeškom sandžakbegu i naredi im da ne čine drugačije od onoga što je naređeno;

Da Njegova Visost naredi da se u znak širokogrudnosti i dobrostivosti prema našem kralju i radi što boljeg učvršćenja ovog mira te spokoja jadnih podanika unište i sruše sljedeće utvrde: u Ugarskoj Szolnok, Zechen, Drégely¹²¹, Vesprim¹²², Wytam¹²³, Geztes¹²⁴ i Hollókő¹²⁵, a u Slavoniji Čazma i Ivanić, ako se ne mogu vratiti Njegovom Veličanstvu. Njegovo Veličanstvo sa zahvalnošću će se pobrinuti da se Njegovoj Visosti to nadoknadi;

Da se, naposljetku, svi oni posjedi i županije koji prije ovog primirja nisu plaćali porez niti su podanički služili Njegovoj Visosti, ali su tijekom spomenutog primirja iznova natjerani da plaćaju navedeno, oslobode takvog tereta plaćanja i služenja kako se jadni kmetovi ne bi uništili te da se slobodno vrate u vlast svojih posjednika.

Ako bi se stvari u vezi s Transilvanijom mogle riješiti onako kako smo gore rekli, molimo ga da nas sada o tome izvijesti kako bismo preko našeg gospodina kolege o tome mogli obavijestiti Kraljevstvo Veličanstvo. Ako to Njegovo Kraljevsko Veličanstvo dozna, možda bi u budućnosti moglo promijeniti mišljenje, premda sa strane Njegova Veličanstva ništa ne možemo obećavati.

Na to nam je dan ponešto zbrkan odgovor: da je sve ovo previše, da je posve nečuveno i da zato od toga neće biti ništa i slično, kao što će Vas izvijestiti naš gospodin kolega.

Iz svega će ovoga, dakle, Vaše Veličanstvo moći razumjeti da smo doista sve pokušavali, ali u Turaka nismo pronašli ništa osim tvrdoglave ustrajnosti.

themselves. The Pasha listened to all of this, but did not reply anything specific. He only asked a question regarding some African town, if the Turks should destroy it or return what they had asked for. As much as we could understand from what he had mentioned in passing, this could be of great benefit to Your Majesty. But we will not go further about Africa because His Lordship Giovanni Maria will be able to talk better about it.

On this occasion too, the Pasha incessantly insisted on the obligation toward the boy and declared that Your Majesty should not have thrown him out of Transylvania. We replied that our King should by no means be blamed for that because, if it is allowed to speak by right of law and by right of justice, this is not about the Sultan's jurisdiction since, as the almighty Sultan knows very well, neither the boy, nor Hungary, nor Transylvania, were never in question, but his father, besides the fact that he had disinherited his son by his own free will, was himself a *homo novus*¹¹⁸ who had seized the royal power through wickedness and intrigues. Since he did not have any legitimate rights to the crown, he had to be grateful to the military assistance of the almighty Sultan because if it were not for this help, death would have undoubtedly struck him in exile in Poland. Since heroes have all the same traits, our serene King is also aware of the strength of the forces which the Sultan already has in Hungary and is aware of the influence and friendly affection of His Highness. "Thereby we plead of Your Serene Lordship to deign to grant our wish." In the moment when we were discussing the condition of serfs, we rose up from our chairs and asked him to listen to our pleas, whereat we, apart from our oratory skills, demonstrated our emotions too. And this was not in vain. Therefore, after we had finished our conversation and when we were finally instructed to sit down, we requested him to allow for the serfs - as we had asked for - to be liberated from taxes on both sides, as it had previously been discussed.

There is nothing more that we would like to add to this description of our activities, which will be supplemented where necessary by His Lordship Giovanni Maria. Your Majesty should - by putting aside

121 Drégely, utvrda na planini Börzsöny u sjeverozapadnoj Mađarskoj.

122 Vesprim (mađ. Veszprém), smješten petnaestak kilometara sjeverno od Blatnog jezera.

123 Toponim nije identificiran.

124 Danas Várgesztes, gradić smješten u današnjoj mađarskoj županiji Komárom-Esztergom.

125 Hollókő, selo u današnjoj sjevernoj Mađarskoj.

118 *Homo novus* (Latin), a person who was the first member of his family to attain high offices; a person who had suddenly become known. VLADIMIR ANIĆ, *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1998), p. 206.



everything else for which the appropriate time had still not come – make a decision on your own about Transylvania, a decision which to you seems the best. In the end, whatever His Majesty wishes and orders us to say or do after the return of His Lordship Giovanni Maria, we can generously promise all of that, as is expected from the most loyal servants.

Our kindest King, we forgot to mention in the description of our activities what we had finally given to Ahmed Pasha. As is stated in the introduction of our instructions, we did it when he had of his own will given us the chance to try to do it, and he often repeated when, how and what we had to do in order to have some of the territories ceded to us. “Yesterday, Most Serene Lordship the Pasha, you had mentioned that, if our King returns Transylvania to the son of King John according to the will of the almighty Sultan, we could have asked from His Highness something from the rest, by declaring that unity and peace, for which we labor so much, could have easily been realized under the condition that each side gives something and cedes to the other side. Therefore, if we presume that our King will return Transylvania to John’s son according to the will of His Highness the Sultan, these are the things which we consider His Highness can cede to our King, with the exception of the things His Majesty would maybe ask for, and we do not know his opinion about that for now.” Thus we did not declare anything specific about that or negotiated, and only assuming that, as had been stated earlier, Your Majesty decides so. Thus we asked for the following:

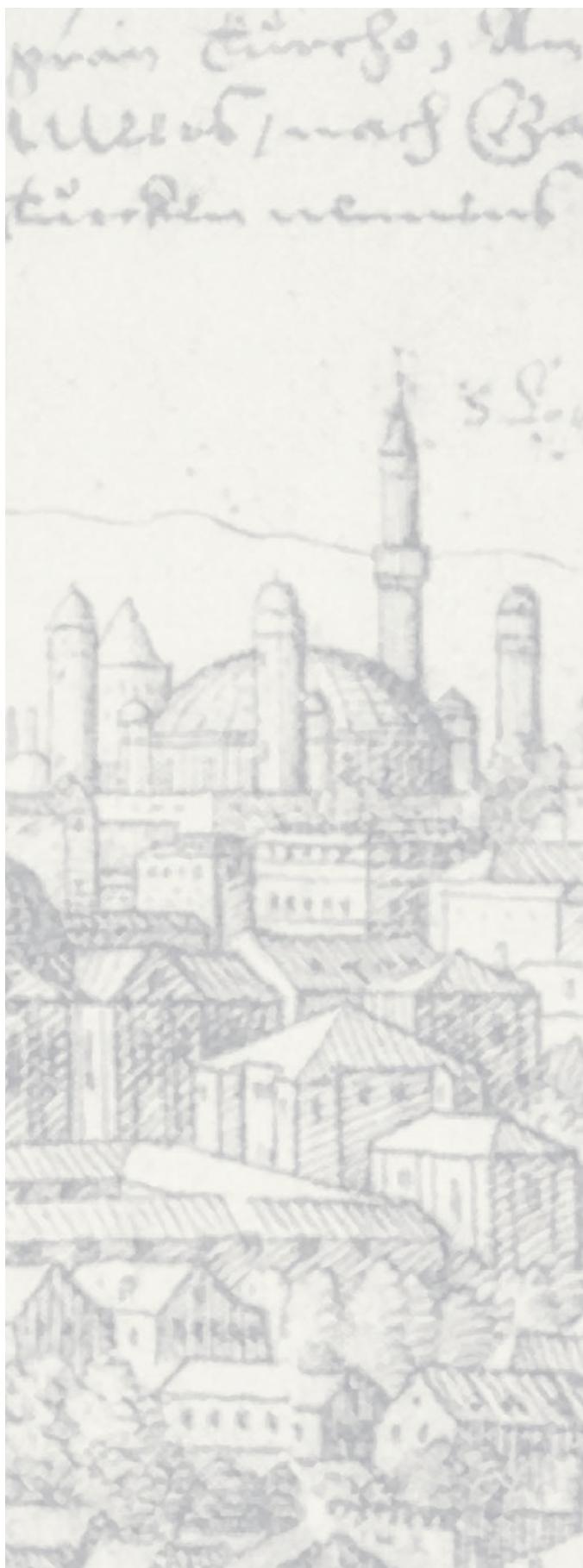
That John’s son is given only Transylvania in its common and ancient borders;

If it happens that John’s son would die without male issue, and our King and his sons remain alive, let His Highness the almighty Sultan deign to be satisfied with our King becoming the heir and possessor of Transylvania, and after our King his most serene sons, who would nevertheless maintain the confederal alliance with His Highness and pay the honorary tribute;

For Nagyvárad and Gyula¹¹⁹ with all other fortresses and places in Hungary which are located on the other bank of Timiș,¹²⁰ and which at the begin-

119 Gyula, border town in the southeast of present-day Hungary.

120 Timiș, river in present-day western Romania



ning of his rule had belonged to Transylvania, to be ceded to our King in order for him to be able to more easily pay the tribute for Hungary, since the parts of the kingdom that were captured during the last war have not been returned to His Majesty;

Due to the mentioned reduction of his royal area, for the tribute to be reduced for our King, and finally for its amount to be seventy thousand ducats;

For our King to be granted an extension of the truce for another five years for Hungary. After that period, both sides would be allowed to extend it;

For all subjects and serfs, those of the almighty Sultan and of our King, who had until now paid the tribute and the tithe and had done services to both sides, to pay the mentioned tribute and the tithe and do their services likewise in the future;

For the almighty Sultan to deign to return to our King the fortresses of Fülek¹²¹ and Salgó¹²² with all their associated inhabitants and other properties and possessions, canons and ammunition, which were captured during the present period of armistice;

For His Highness to deign to return to His Majesty the prisoners from Eger and Érsekújvár,¹²³ as well as all others who were captured during the mentioned armistice both in other parts of Hungary and in Slavonia, Croatia, in the Senj Littoral¹²⁴ and in other places, and these comprise more than five hundred people;

Regarding the return of the prisoners, for High Highness to deign to order Their Lordships the Pashas of Buda, Timișoara and Bosnia and the Sanjakbeys of Klis¹²⁵ and Požega¹²⁶ not to do differently from what was ordered;

For His Highness to order, as a sign of generosity and benevolence toward our King and for the better strengthening of this peace and for the tranquility of the miserable subjects, the destruction and demolition of the following fortresses: in Hungary Szolnok, Zech-

121 Fülek (Slovakian: Fiľakovo; Ottoman Turkish: Filek), town in the vicinity of Banská Bystrica in present-day central Slovakia.

122 Salgó, fortress in the vicinity of the town of Salgótarján, in present-day northern Hungary.

123 Érsekújvár, present-day Nové Zámky in southern Slovakia, in the vicinity of the Hungarian border.

124 Senj Littoral, part of Croatia's coastline in the vicinity of the town of Senj.

125 Klis, town in present-day southern Croatia.

126 Požega, town in present-day eastern Croatia.



en, Drégely,¹²⁷ Veszprém,¹²⁸ Wytam,¹²⁹ Geztes¹³⁰ and Hollókő,¹³¹ and in Slavonia Čazma¹³² and Ivanić,¹³³ if these cannot be returned to His Majesty. His Majesty will gratefully ensure that His Highness is compensated for this;

Finally, for all those estates and counties which before this armistice have not paid the tribute, nor have done services for His Highness, but have during the mentioned armistice been forced again to pay the mentioned taxes, to be freed of this burden of paying and service, in order for the miserable serfs not to be destroyed, and for them to return freely under the rule of their possessors.

If the matters concerning Transylvania could be resolved as we stated above, we plead for him to inform us about this, so that we could through our colleague inform His Royal Highness. If His Royal Highness were to become informed of this, maybe in the future he could change his opinion, although we cannot promise anything as regards the attitude of His Majesty.

To this we received a somewhat confusing answer: that this is too much, that it is highly egregious and therefore this will not happen and so on, as our colleague will inform you.

Therefore, from all of this Your Majesty will be able to understand that we had tried really everything, but we did not find anything other among the Turks than stubborn assiduity.

127 Drégely, fortress on the mountain of Börzsöny in present-day northwest Hungary.

128 Veszprém, town in western Hungary, located some fifteen kilometers north of the Lake Balaton.

129 This toponym was not identified.

130 Geztes, present-day Várgesztes, town located in northern Hungary.

131 Hollókő, village in present-day northern Hungary.

132 Čazma (Ottoman Turkish: Zaçesne), town in present-day central Croatia.

133 Ivanić, present-day Ivanić Grad, town in central Croatia.

CXX. Vrančić Pavlu Gregorijancu, sv. 3, str. 360–364. /
 CXX. Vrančić to Pavao Gregorijanec, Vol. 3, pp. 360–364.

PISMO ANTUNA VRANČIĆA PAVLU GREGORIJANCU¹²⁶ OD 31. LISTOPADA 1554. GODINE / ANTUN VRANČIĆ'S LETTER TO PAVAO GREGORIJANEC¹³⁴, OCTOBER 31, 1554

Ne započinjem pismo time da ti nikada ne pišem; no ti već dugo znaš što moraš okriviti za to što ti ne pišem onoliko često koliko bi ti želio i koliko bih ja morao zbog silne dobrohotnosti koju mi iskazuješ. Dakle, važne stvari, kao i one koje se tiču položaja naše države i koje se ne mogu sigurno slati u nešifriranim pismima, doznat ćeš iz izvješća koje moj kolega i ja pišemo kralju. S tobom ču razgovarati o privatnim temama koje su oblikovane tako da mogu u javnost te su sigurne i bez tajnog zapisa. Ovaj, pak, strani svijet pruža prilično veliku nasladu, no ako se usporedi s našim, u većoj mjeri navodi na smijeh negoli na divljenje i razmišljanje. Čitava protekla tri dana i tri noći ovdje se odvijala javna zabava nalik na pobedničku proslavu zbog uspješnog rata koji su Turci, kako to sami vole vjerovati, vodili protiv Perzijanaca i u čast sretnog povratka kući. Podrobno ču ti je opisati kako bi doznao nešto o načinu na koji ovaj narod slavi pobjedu. Izgledala je ovako. Spomenutu su zabavu dan prije početka objavljavali glasnici na svim važnijim mjestima u gradu. Osim toga, za svakoga tko bi je propustio ili odbio javno slaviti, određena je najteža kazna. To je uobičajena vrsta proslave kod Turaka. Nekoć su je preuzeli od predaka koji su prešli u Europu, a održava se kad god neki od njihovih prvaka doživi pobjedu ili pretrpi gubitak, pa čak i kada se samo naoko sretno vrati s ratnog pohoda protiv neprijatelja. Nisu nimalo zazirali od ubijanja ljudi, pa čak i vlastitih sinova. To je uobičajeno kod gotovo svih Turaka, a u to su se mogli uvjeriti mnogi roditelji. Osim toga, uopće ne smatraju sramotnim i štetnim ako se vladar vrati živ i zdrav. Ako me, pak,

I am not beginning this letter by saying that I never write to you; however, you have for a long time been aware of the reasons which are to be blamed for me not writing you as often as you would wish and as I should, because of the enormous benevolence which you have extended to me. Therefore, you will be informed about the important matters, as well as the ones concerning the position of our small state, which cannot be securely transmitted through unencoded letters, from the reports which my colleague and I are sending to the King. I will discuss private topics with you formulating them so that they can be released to the public, be safe, and without the secret entry. This foreign world, however, offers a rather great delight, but if compared to our own, it is more laughable than to be admired or reflected upon. A public party went on here for the past three days and three nights, celebrating their victory in the war the Turks, as they like to believe it themselves, successfully fought against the Persians, and in honor of their felicitous return home. I will describe it to you in detail, in order for you to learn something about the manner in which this nation celebrates victory. It looked like this. The mentioned party, the day before its beginning, was announced by the messengers on all most important locations in the city. Moreover, for anyone who would miss it or would refuse to publicly celebrate it, the most severe punishment was determined. This is a common type of celebration among the Turks. They have appropriated it a long

¹²⁶ **Pavao Gregorijanec** (latinski: Paulus de Gregoryancz; ? - 1565.), zagrebački biskup 1550. - 1554. Godine 1540. prvi se put spominje kao kanonik lektor zagrebački. Godine 1544. vikar je zagrebačkog biskupa Nikole Olaha, koji mu je povjerio upravu te biskupije dok je boravio u Beču. Zagrebačkim biskupom imenovao ga je kralj Ferdinand 4. srpnja 1550., a papa Julije III. potvrđio ga je u Rimu, gdje je 20. srpnja iste godine bio posvećen za biskupa. Nakon povratka iz Rima kao kraljev savjetnik bio je članom izaslanstava u Italiju i Njemačku. Godine 1554. premješten je na biskupsku stolicu u Győr. Detaljnije usp. ANDRIJA LUKINOVIC, „Pavao Gregorijanec 1550. - 1557.“, u: *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*, ur. Juraj Batelja et al. (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995), 247-248.

¹³⁴ **Pavao Gregorijanec**, (Latin: Paulus de Gregoryancz; ? – 1565), Bishop of Zagreb 1550-1554. In 1540, he was mentioned for the first time as the canon lector (a Catholic cleric) of Zagreb. In 1544, he was the vicar to the Bishop of Zagreb, Nicholas Olah, who entrusted him with the administration of the Zagreb Diocese during Olah's stay in Vienna. He was appointed the Bishop of Zagreb by King Ferdinand on July 4, 1550, and Pope Julius III confirmed the appointment in Rome, where he was consecrated as bishop on July 20 of the same year. Upon his return from Rome, he participated in the missions to Italy and Germany as the King's advisor. In 1554, he was transferred to the Diocese of Győr, in present-day northwest Hungary. For more details, cf. ANDRIJA LUKINOVIC, "Pavao Gregorijanec 1550-1557", in: *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*, eds. Juraj Batelja et al. (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995), pp. 247-248.

pitaš čemu služi takva zabava, reći će ti da je, razmotrivši sve razloge, smatram proslavom pobjede. Što je ona za Turke? Mislim da je i oni smatraju proslavom pobjede, no uopće ne znaju s kakvim je sjajem i raskoši, uz koje troškove, kojim redom i na koji način treba organizirati. Upravo tada kada misle da veličanstveno slave pobjedu, to slavlje, po mome mišljenju, izgleda kao slika i prilika vašara. Svi građani koji posjeduju kuću i pokretnine, bez obzira na stalež i položaj, ispred zgrada od nekakvih greda zbrda-zdola podižu podije. Potom iznose svu svoju vunenu, lanenu ili svilenu opremu koju smatraju vrijednom, kao i druge stvari koje su lijepo, privlačne i ugodne oku, te njima sa svih strana oblažu podije. Potom ih pokriva oslikanim prekrivačima i sagovima, a oko njih postavljaju čak i jastuke, ali ne onakve kakve su nekoć imali besmrtni bogovi, premda su tu i тамо krasno urešeni zlatovezom. Ako ništa drugo, omotani su barem u zlatom ili svilom protkanu tkaninu, ovisno o tome koliko je tko imućan. Naposljetku svi odijevaju svečanu odjeću i sjedaju svatko na svoj podij, gdje danju i noću objeduju na otvorenome. Samo se, kao po pravilu, svakovrsne namirnice nose u kuhinju kako ni u jednom trenutku kuhari ne bi morali prekidati službu. Budući da svi idu amo-tamo, i oni koji su svojevoljno bili otišli i oni koji su ljubazno pozvani i dovedeni, više se puta mogu poslužiti jelom. Veselje i žar ovakvih gozbi raspaljuje i vrućina svjetiljaka koje hrpmice vješaju po stropovima, i to svatko što više može. U međuvremenu je gotovo čitav narod budan i luta gradom, koji izgleda kao da gori dok po svim četvrtima svijetli toliko mnoštvo svjetiljaka. Ta se raskoš ne bi mogla nazvati potpuno neorganiziranom jer svaki od zanatlija daje proizvode svoga umijeća: trgovac robu, slikar slike, vojnik oružje, a i svi ostali na sličan način ostalo. Oni koji posjeduju manje stvari i raskošne opreme – s obzirom na to da mnogo građana nema nikakva zanimanja – prikladno se uređuju poklonjenim stvarima i, ako nemaju ništa vrednije, jelima dodaju samo rižu kako bi bila neobičnija. No vrhunac takve zabave može se vidjeti u dva bezistana, gdje se izlaže sve ono izvrsnije, što se posebice odnosi na tkanine urešene svilom i protkane zlatom. Svaki ih trgovac postavlja na zid iznad svoje trgovine najelegantnije što može, tako da, kamo god pogledaš, vidiš takve tkanine, kao i uglednije mnoštvo koje na ondje podignutim platformama objeduje,

time ago from their ancestors who had crossed over to Europe, and it takes place whenever one of their leaders either emerges victorious or suffers a defeat, and even when he returns from a war campaign against the enemies seemingly felicitous. They do not shrink at all from murdering people, even their own sons. This is common among almost all Turks, and many parents have attested to this. Furthermore, they do not find anything to be disgraceful or detrimental if the ruler returns safe and sound. And if you were to ask me what the purpose of such a party is, I would tell you, after considering all the reasons, that I find it to be a celebration of victory. What does it represent for the Turks? I believe them to consider it a celebration of victory too, but they do not know at all with what glamour and opulence, with what expenses, in which order and in which manner it should be organized. Precisely at the moment when they believe they are magnificently celebrating a victory, this festivity, in my opinion, begins to resemble a flea market. All townsmen who own a house or property, regardless of their class or rank, hastily elevate podiums consisting of some beams in front of buildings. Afterwards they bring out all woolen, silk and flax accessories that they have and find valuable, as well as other things that are pretty, attractive and pleasing to the eye, and cover the podiums on all sides. Then they cover them with painted blankets and carpets, and put even pillows around them, but not the ones which the immortal gods once had, although here and there these are beautifully adorned with gold thread embroidery. If nothing else, these are at least wrapped with fabrics embroidered with gold or silk, depending on how wealthy one is. Finally everyone dresses in festive clothes and sits on their podiums, where day and night they dine out in the open. As if according to a rule, they bring various victuals to the kitchens, so that the cooks would not be forced to discontinue their service at any moment. Considering that everyone walks back and forth, both the ones who had departed of their own free will, and the ones who were kindly invited and brought forth, they can help themselves with food repeatedly. The joy and fervor of these feasts is incited by the heat of the lanterns that are hanging in clusters from the ceilings as high as they could be mounted. In the meantime, almost the entire population is

no bez pratnje žena, kojima nije dopušteno ići čak ni u bogomolje. Vrlo se rijetko odobrava svirka na instrumentima, a na trubama, talambasima i frulama gotovo nikad, tako da se sve zabave ili pobjede slave samo razgovarajući i objedujući. Ta, pak, dva bezistana imaju četvrtaste trijemove, ali se u mnogima nalaze nadsvodene arkade koje podržavaju debeli stupovi od isklesanog kamena koji su vrlo lijepo ukrašeni. Ondje je gradsko trgovište, gdje se čuvaju i odlažu vrednije i dragocjenije stvari. To čine čak i pojedinci, zbog straha od požara i pobuna janjičara, a ponajprije zbog nereda nakon promjena vladara. Posjećuju ih i stranci te su, prema mišljenju Turaka, rijedak i izvanredan prizor koji se nigdje drugdje ne može vidjeti. Paše i ostali gradski dužnosnici imali su sloboden dan. Slavili su unutra, i to samo gosteći se. Prilično su se ulagivali nama poslanicima, nudeći nam nagrade za neke igre i natjecanja koja su se javno odvijala. Budući da još uvijek nije bio siguran ishod naših mirovnih pregovora s Turcima, mi smo se držali odmjereno, bojeći se da ne privučemo pozornost ako bismo pokazivali previše ili premalo oduševljenja. Na vrata svojeg gostinjca navukli smo neke loše, no ne odveć tamne zastore i pobrinuli se da se na našem podiju poslužuje više obilan nego li raskošan objed, tako da svi koji krenu objedovati sve što jedu mogu pojesti brzo i u dovoljnim količinama. Nakon ovakve proslave pobjede, Turci su nastavili slaviti sretan povratak turskog sultana. Najviše me iznenadilo što tijekom gošćenja tolikog mnoštva ljudi iz ovoga divljeg i barbarskog naroda, gdje se usto i odviše pilo, pijanci nisu hrkali i svadali se buncajući, poput naših, nego su prekomjerno ludovali bez ijedne prepirke ili kavge. U tako velikom i šarolikom mnoštvu nije se čulo čak ni nešto glasnije vikanje. Stoga bi rekao da se događa u jednoj kući ono što se događa u čitavom gradu, koji je vrlo prostran i usto ima mnogo osama potpuno zatvorenih brežuljcima, koje su nadasve prikladne za raspušteno ponašanje i razbojništvo. To što toga nema, ne može se ipak prisati blagosti turskih običaja, već batinama janjičara, čije su stražarske postaje raspoređene po gotovo svim gradskim prolazima i sprečavaju svaku opačinu. To je bio kraj ove proslave i zabave. I ubuduće ču ti pisati o sličnim temama i o svemu što se bude događalo na ovome mjestu, nikada ti ne uskraćujući ono što je moja dužnost. Jednako kao ja tebe, tako

awake and roaming the city which looks like it is burning, as such a multitude of lanterns are shining throughout all the quarters. This splendor could not be described as being completely disorganized because every craftsman gives the products of his workmanship: the trader his goods, the painter his paintings, the soldier his weaponry, and all the rest give in a similar manner. Those who have less riches and luxurious accessories - since many townsmen do not have any professions - are appropriately adorned with gifted accessories and, if they do not have anything valuable, they add only rice to their meals in order to make them more unusual. But the culmination is a celebration which can be seen in two bedestans, where the most exquisite products are being displayed, especially concerning silk and gold embroidered fabrics. Every trader puts them on the wall above his shop as elegantly as he can, so that wherever you look, you see such fabrics, as well as the more notable masses who dine there on the elevated podiums, but without the company of women, who are not allowed to go even to the temples. Musical instruments are rarely allowed; trumpets, kettle drums and flutes practically never, so that all parties and victories are celebrated only by conversing and dining. Those two bedestans, however, have square porticos, but in many of these there are vaulted arcades that are supported by massive columns built out of carved stone which are very beautifully ornamented. There is the city marketplace, where the most valuable and precious objects are being kept and stored. This is done by individuals, out of fear of fires, as well as rebellions of janissaries; however first and foremost, it is due to disorders after transitions of rulers. They are visited by foreigners too, and in the opinion of the Turks, they are a rare and exceptional sight which cannot be seen anywhere else. Pashas and other city officials had a day off. They celebrated indoors and only by feasting. They flattered us emissaries a lot, offering us prizes for some games and contests which took place in public. Since the outcome of our peace negotiations with the Turks was still not certain, we comported ourselves with dignity, being afraid to attract attention if we were to demonstrate too much or too little excitement. We drew some shoddy curtains, but not too dark, on the door of our lodging, and took care that more abundant than lux-

ćeš i ti mene razveseliti ako mi budeš pisao o onome što se događa kad god budeš pronašao nekoga po kome mi prikladno možeš poslati pismo. Prijateljske dužnosti, naime, donose obilne i slatke plodove samo onda kada su uzajamne.

Zbogom i u mojoj me odsutnosti ne samo ljubi nego i pazi na moj ugled, ako bi ga zavist i spletke mojih takmaca pokušali narušiti. U Carigradu, posljednjeg dana mjeseca listopada 1554. godine.

urious meals were served at our podium, so that everyone who starts to dine could have eaten everything fast and in sufficient quantities. After such a celebration of victory, the Turks continued to celebrate the felicitous return of the Turkish sultan. What surprised me the most was that during the dining of such a multitude of people of this wild and barbarous nation who, moreover, drank too much, the drunkards did not snore and argue ramblingly, like ours, but romped excessively; however, no altercations or fights happened. In such a huge and colorful crowd not even a somewhat louder yelling could be heard. Thus you could say that what was happening in the whole city, was actually happening in one house only; and the city was very spacious and there were also numerous solitary places completely enclosed by hills, which are especially appropriate for unrestrained behavior and banditry. The fact that these do not occur, cannot be attributed to the mildness of Turkish customs, but to the beatings by the janissaries, whose guard stations are distributed throughout almost all city passages, thus stopping every wickedness. That was the end of this celebration and party. I will write to you in the future, too, about similar topics and about everything that will happen in this place, never denying you that which is my duty. Equally as I will write to you, you will cheer me up if you would write me about future events, whenever you find someone through whom you can appropriately send a letter to me. Amicable duties, you see, bring abundant and sweet fruits only when they are mutual.

Goodbye to you and in my absence not only love me, but take care of my reputation too, if envy and intrigues of my rivals would strive to undermine it. In Istanbul, on the last day of the month of October, in the year 1554.

LXXXVI. Vrančić i Zay kralju Ferdinandu, sv. 4, str. 300–344. /
 LXXXVI. Vrančić and Zay to King Ferdinand, Vol. 4, pp. 300–344.

SAŽETI PREGLED POSLJEDNJIH AKTIVNOSTI PRVOGA CARIGRADSKOG POSLANSTVA IZ KOLOVOZA 1557. GODINE / SUMMARY OF THE FIRST ISTANBUL MISSION'S FINAL ACTIVITIES, AUGUST 1557

Sažetak uspjeha posljednjih aktivnosti poslanika Antuna Vrančića, Feranca Zaya i Ogiera de Busbecqa¹²⁷ kod turskog sultana Sulejmana. Kolovoz 1557. godine.

Presvetomu Kraljevskom Veličanstvu i svomu Pre-milostivom Gospodaru!

Nas dvojica, presveti i prejasni kralju, Antun Vrančić i Ferenc Zay, na povratku želimo izložiti Vašem Veličanstvu ono što smo, zajedno sa svojim kollegom, magistrom Ogierom de Busbecqom, postigli za vrijeme našega posljednjeg diplomatskog poslanstva kod turskog sultana Sulejmana i njegovih paša. U ovom ćemo dopisu iznijeti sve pojedinosti, i to redom, kako bi Vaše Veličanstvo to potpunije i lakše

Summary of the accomplishments and the final activities of emissaries Antun Vrančić, Ferenc Zay and Ogier de Busbecq¹³⁵ to the Turkish Sultan Süleyman. In the month of August, 1557.

To His Most Holy Royal Majesty and our merciful Lord!

Oh most holy and serene King, the two of us, Antun Vrančić and Ferenc Zay, on our return wish to reveal to Your Majesty what we had accomplished, together with our colleague, magister Ogier de Busbecq, during our last diplomatic mission to the Turkish Sultan Süleyman and his pashas. In this letter we will in succession give all the details, in order for Your Majesty to understand it more completely and easily,



Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq

(Autor: Melchior Lorck, 1557. / By: Melchior Lorck, 1557)

¹²⁷ **Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq** (latinski: Augerius Gislenius Busbequius, 1522. - 1592.), flamanski pisac, botaničar i diplomat u službi triju generacija habsburških vladara. Djelovao je kao poslanik u Carigradu, a svoje je doživljaje opisao u knjizi *Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum* (Putovanja u Carigrad i Amasiju), koja je prvi put objavljena 1581. godine. Drugo izdanje izašlo je 1595. godine pod naslovom *Turcicae epistolae* (Turska pisma). 247-248.

¹³⁵ **Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq** (Latin: Augerius Gislenius Busbequius, 1522–1592), Flemish writer, botanist and diplomat in the service of three generations of Habsburg rulers. Busbecq acted as an envoy in Istanbul, and he described his experiences in a book entitled *Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum* (Travels to Constantinople and Amasya), which was first published in 1581. The second edition was published in 1595 under the title *Turcicae epistolae* (Turkish Letters).

shvatilo nego da mu se priopćuje usmeno. Naše su aktivnosti nailazile na mnoge poteškoće i neslaganja. Stoga valja pomno izložiti njihov tijek.

Budući da je turski vladar prošlog lipnja iz Edirne bio došao u Carigrad, neprestano smo vodili brigu o tome da bez ikakva otezanja izvršimo ono što nam je Vaše Veličanstvo naložilo po svome pismonoši Mihaelu Molnaru. Prošla su, naime, već četiri mjeseca od dolaska pismonoše, a još ništa nismo učinili. Plašili smo se da se našoj nemarnosti ne pripše to što su paše stalno odugovlačili na svoju korist, a na štetu Vašeg Veličanstva. Kako bismo to što prije dovršili, a i ne mogavši više zatvarati oči pred izvršenjem zahtjeva koji su pred nas postavljeni, najprije smo za tražili primanje kod Rustem-paše da bismo, kao što i priliči dužnosti poslanika, njemu i njegovu vladaru čestitali na sretnom povratku. U međuvremenu smo odlučili podsjetiti ga na poslove koje smo uspješno započeli i koje bismo, sukladno s dobivenim naputcima, svim silama željeli zaključiti. Kada su napokon 9. lipnja stigla tridesetdvjica uglednijih javnih tumača, poslao je k nama Poljaka Ibrahima i Mađara Ferhada. Nastojeći na početku doznati (što je bilo posve očevidno) nešto o našoj zadaći, na koncu su kazali kako je paša poručio da se ne moramo truditi doći do njega jer nas on uvijek čeka otvorenih vrata. Ako želimo razgovarati o nečemu novome, neka mu to javimo; ako ne, uzalud mu dolazimo sa starim pitanjima koje su oni već odavno temeljito raspravili.

Nije nam bilo teško dokučiti kamo sve to smjera i kako bi stvar mogla završiti kada bismo ono što s Rustem-pašom moramo privatno riješiti, riješili javno pred svima ostalima a da on to ne dozna od nas i od naših ljudi, već od posrednika i njihovih ljudi. Stoga smo paši odgovorili da na temelju posljednjih pisama koje je poslalo Vaše Veličanstvo može zaključiti kako smo mi isti poslanici koji smo pregovarali otpočetka te kako tijekom pregovora o ovome miru radimo jednako kao i dosad. Zato smo poslani k Njegovoj Visosti sultanu i njihovim gospodstvima pašama i vezirima koje predvodi sam Rustem-paša. Stoga molimo da nas odvedu k pašama da nas saslušaju oni, a ne posrednici.

Činilo se kako mu tako trebamo odgovoriti jer nam je prije dolaska Mihaela Molnara često govorio da smo mi stari poslanici i da više nemamo nikakvih važnih ovlaštenja. Stoga bi Vaše Veličanstvo trebalo

instead of being informed orally. Our activities had encountered numerous difficulties and discrepancies. Thus we have to present their course accurately.

Bearing in mind that the Turkish ruler departed from Edirne to Istanbul last June, we immediately did what Your Majesty had instructed us to do via his messenger Michael Molnar. Four months had already passed since the arrival of the messenger and since we had done anything. We were afraid that the pashas' delay - instigated for their own benefit, and to the detriment of Your Majesty – would be viewed as our negligence. In order to finish this as soon as possible, and not being able to close our eyes anymore before the execution of the tasks that had been laid before us, we first of all asked for the reception before Rüstem Pasha so that we could, as it becomes the duty of an envoy, congratulate him and his ruler on a felicitous return. In the meantime, we decided to remind him of the affairs which we had successfully initiated and which, according to the received instructions, we would like to conclude with all our hearts. When finally, on June 9, thirty two prominent public interpreters had arrived, he sent to us a Pole named Ibrahim and a Hungarian named Ferhad. Initially striving to find out (which was completely obvious) something about the tasks we were assigned, they ultimately declared that the Pasha had said that we need not invest an effort to secure a visitation with him because his doors were open to us as all times. And if we wished to converse about something new, we should have informed him about it; if not, visiting him to discuss old questions that we had discussed in detail a long time ago, will be in vain.

It was not difficult to discern where this was heading and how this matter could have ended if we were to resolve publicly in front of everybody else what we had to resolve in private with Rüstem Pasha, and without his finding out about it from us or from his people, but through mediators and their people. Thus we replied to the Pasha that, based on the last letters which Your Majesty had sent, he can deduce that we were the same emissaries who had negotiated from the very beginning, and that during the negotiations on this peace we were behaving in the same manner as are now. For that reason we were sent to His Highness the Sultan and to Their Lordships the Pašas and Viziers who are led by Rüstem Pasha him-

odaslati nekog drugog poslanika i po njemu poslati ovlaštenja koja bi bila prikladnija za sklapanje mirovnog sporazuma.

Idućeg dana, koji je bio 10. lipnja, paša nas je uslišio i privatno pozvao k sebi. Pošto smo mu službeno zahvalili, ukratko smo mu rekli sljedeće: „Budući da je Vaše Gospodstvo pročitalo ono što nam je bilo napisalo Njegovo Veličanstvo, držimo da to ne treba ponavljati. Njegovo Veličanstvo u svojim pismima želi dati do znanja samo dvije stvari: prvo, da želi sklopiti mir i prijateljstvo s Vašim vladarom sada jednako kao i prije četiri godine, i drugo, da je Njegovo Veličanstvo odobrilo, pohvalilo i potvrđilo sve ono što smo tada bili isposlovali kod turskog vladara te da to činimo i dalje sve dok se čitava stvar uspješno ne okonča.“ Glede sklapanja mirovnog sporazuma, rekli smo mu kako smo im na koncu prilično opširno obrazložili da, onoliko koliko se to tiče Vašeg Veličanstva, mir treba biti častan i prihvatljiv za obje strane, no dosad od njih nismo dobili nikakva odgovora. Sada nam je napokon naloženo da se pobrinemo za to da nam se odgovori. Usto smo dodali i nešto o povjerenju koje Vaše Veličanstvo ima u pašu te mu još podrobnije objasnili da čitava stvar ovisi o njemu i da se od njega očekuje ono što bi se očekivalo od čovjeka koji je pristao uz našu stvar. Ukratko, nismo propustili kazati ništa od onoga što je korisno za našu stvar i nepokolebljivo promicanje naših interesa.

Paša je na to, s blagim izrazom lica i ni najmanje uznemireno, odgovorio da je ovo doista rečeno kratko i na brzinu. Naime, već na početku sastanka bio nas je upozorio na to da budemo što kraći jer, nakon što nas sasluša, mora obaviti neki težak posao i stoga se s nama ne može dugo zadržati. Što se, pak, tiče onoga zbog čega smo došli, dao je znakovitu napomenu o tome kako stoje stvari. Rekao je da nam je već davno, ako se sjećamo, odgovorio kako njihov vladar u Ugarskoj neće ustupiti Vašem Veličanstvu ništa od onoga što je pripadalo Budimu u vrijeme kada je kraljevstvo još bilo čitavo. Stoga neka se dosad nadalje prestanemo brinuti o Ugarskoj i neka razgovaramo samo o stvarima koje se tiču Austrije, Moravske i drugih pokrajina Vašeg Veličanstva koje su u ugarskom susjedstvu ako želimo uživati u miru i njihovu prijateljstvu. Ako mu u sklopu ove diplomatske misije na to damo odgovor koji je dostojan njihova povjerenja i naše dužnosti te ako to naši prijedlozi

self. Thereby we ask to be received by the pashas and to be listened to by them, and not by the mediators.

It seemed as if we needed to reply to him in this manner because, prior to the arrival of Michael Molnar, he often declared that we were the old emissaries, and that we did not have any authorization of importance. Therefore Your Majesty should have sent another envoy and with him the authorization which would have been more suitable for concluding a peace treaty.

On the next day, which was June 10, the Pasha fulfilled our request and called us privately to his place. We had officially thanked him and presently declared the following: "Since Your Lordship had read what Your Majesty had written to us beforehand, we suppose that it does not have to be repeated. Your Majesty in his letters wishes to make clear the following matters: firstly, that Your Majesty wants to conclude peace and friendship with his ruler now as strongly as he had wanted four years ago; and secondly, that Your Majesty had approved, commended and confirmed everything that we had arranged with the Turkish ruler, and that we should continue doing this until this entire matter is successfully finished. As regards the conclusion of the peace agreement, we declared to him that we had finally explained in significant detail that, as far as it concerns Your Majesty, the peace should be honorable and acceptable for both sides, but until now we did not receive any answer from them. Now we were finally instructed to take care that we receive an answer. Furthermore, we added something about the trust which Your Majesty confided in the Pasha and pointed out to him in more detail how the entire matter depended on him and that we expected of him that which one expects of a man who had agreed with our cause. In short, we did not omit saying anything of the matters that were useful for our cause and the relentless promotion of our interests.

The Pasha, with a mild expression on his face and not at least anxiously, responded that this was indeed expressed briefly and in haste. Already at the beginning of our meeting he had warned us to be as brief as we could because, after giving us audience, he had to embark on a difficult work and thus could not stay long. With regard to the matter for which we came to see him, we were told an important comment

zavrijede, on neće štedjeti snage da učini sve što je u njegovojo moći, i to bez ikakve skrivene zle namjere. On se, osim toga, ne čudi što je Nijemac Ogier učinio vrlo velike i hrabre stvari na korist Vašeg Veličanstva, dok su ostala dvojica njegovih kolega, Vrančić i Zay, učinili mnogo toga što nije samo nedostojno nego je i vrlo loše. Oni su, naime, Mađari koji su zajedno sa svim ostalim Mađarima podložni njegovu vladaru. Usprkos tomu, njih dvojica nastavljuju raditi isti posao kao Ogier, ne priznajući činjenicu da vrhovnu vlast nad njima ima turski vladar.

Na to smo mu htjeli odgovoriti najbolje što možemo, no nismo bili u prilici to učiniti kako ne bismo nanijeli neku štetu javnoj dužnosti, posebice u vrije- me kada je čitava stvar još uvijek visjela o koncu. Stoga smo se suspregnuli i odgovorili mu da vrlo dobro znamo tko smo, no da samo radimo ono što nam je naložio naš kralj i ono za što znamo da je naša dužnost. On to nije odveć pažljivo saslušao ili je samo hinio nezainteresiranost. Dometnuo je da od svih naših izgovorenih riječi nije shvatio ništa drugo nego da molimo dozvolu da se vratimo. O tome s nama namjerava opširnije razgovarati kasnije. Rekavši to, rukom nam je pokazao izlaz. Mi smo se, pak, vratili kući prepuni sumnje kako će se čitava stvar okončati. Nekoliko dana poslije, besposleno sjedeći, klonuli smo duhom jer nismo znali što nam je činiti. Usto, bili smo uvjereni da će nas i dalje zapostavljati i stalno iznova odgađati pregovore, tjerajući nas da ušutimo. U međuvremenu ipak nismo prestajali gotovo svakodnevno uporno zahtijevati od spomenutih tumača da iznesu naše pritužbe. No kako smo time postizali slab uspjeh, odlučili smo se 20. lipnja pismeno obratiti pašama u Divanu: budući da su prošla već dva mjeseca od dolaska pismonoše Vašeg Veličanstva kojega su sami tražili, a dosad nas nisu pozvali da pregovaramo o tome što sada od nas zahtijeva naša služba, silno se bojimo da nam, ako i dalje budemo beskorisno šutjeli, ne bi zamjerili kako nismo vodili brigu o svojim zadaćama i o cilju poslanstva, i to jednako sami paše, kao i Vaše Veličanstvo. Stoga ih zdušno molimo da nam napokon dadu prigodu da dođemo na razgovor kako bismo pravovremeno dogovorili ono što s njima trebamo dogоворити te da sklopimo sporazum – kako se zbog ovoliko odugovlačenja i čekanja ne bi na granicama dogodilo nešto nepredviđeno za što bismo najprije bili okrivljeni mi službenici, a zatim i Njego-

about the situation. He declared that, if we remember, a long time ago, he had stated that their ruler in Hungary could not cede to Your Majesty any of the territories that belonged to Bud, since at the time the kingdom was still intact. Therefore from now on we should stop worrying about Hungary and discuss only the matters concerning Austria, Moravia and other regions belonging to Your Majesty, which are in the vicinity of Hungary, if we wish to relish peace and his friendship. If during this diplomatic mission we were to give an answer which is worthy of his trust and our duty, and if our suggestions were to be deemed worthy of it, he would not spare his efforts to do everything that is in his power, and this without any hidden evil intent. Apart from that, he is not surprised that the German Ogier had done many big and brave things for the benefit of Your Majesty, whereas the two of his colleagues, Vrančić and Zay, had done many things that were not only indecent, but very bad, as well. They are, you see, Hungarians who are together with other Hungarians subject to his rule. In spite of that, the two of them continue to do the same work as Ogier, not admitting the fact that the supreme rule over them is in the hands of the Turkish ruler.

We wanted to respond to this as best as we could, but we were not able to do it, without inflicting harm to our public duty, especially at the time when the entire matter was still hanging by a thread. Hence we suppressed our urge and replied that we knew very well who we were, but that we were doing only the things which our king had ordered us to do and what we had known was our duty. He did not listen too carefully to this, unless he had feigned it. He added that he did not understand anything else from our words than that we were pleading for a permission to return. He declared that he intended to discuss this with us in detail later. After saying this, he showed us the exit with his hand. We returned to our home full of doubt in the outcome of this entire matter. A few days later, while idly sitting, we succumbed to despair because we did not know what to do. Moreover, we were convinced that he would undoubtedly continue to disregard us and postpone the negotiations over and over again, by making us stay silent. In the meantime, we still did not stop almost daily and consistently demanding of our aforementioned interpreters to deliver our complaints. But since we accomplished little with this action, on June 20, we decided to address the pašas in the Divan in written form: bearing in mind that

vo Veličanstvo, naš kralj i gospodar. Učinilo nam se da ovaj poticaj nije bio uzaludan jer nam je 28. dana mjeseca lipnja, kad više ništa takva nismo očekivali, paša naposljetku naredio da dođemo na dvor s darom o kojem smo mu prethodno pisali, najavivši usto da će nas odvesti k sultanu.

Stigavši tako na dvor i prinijevši dar kako već priliči časti i ugledu Vašeg Veličanstva, najprije smo se, prema međunarodnopravnom običaju, sastali s pašama, kojima smo uputili sljedeće riječi. Kazali smo da je već čitavom svijetu, a posebice pašama i njihovu vladaru, dobro poznato koliko dugo te koliko uporno i iskreno Vaše Veličanstvo ustraje u želji i zahtjevu da sklopi mirovni sporazum s njihovim sultandom. Kako je Vaše Veličanstvo sve do današnjeg dana uvijek bilo razočarano u svojoj nadi i potraživanjima, ma kako oni bili iskreni i dobromanjerni te kako više ne može trpjeti kolebanje između nade i očajanja kada je o spomenutome miru riječ - odlučilo je napokon uz naše posredovanje doznati hoće li mu spomenuti mir biti odobren ili ne. Vaše Veličanstvo poglavito nam je iz tog razloga poslalo svoga glasnika s pismom u kojem nam najstrože nalaže da, ako mu se na rečeni način, o kojemu smo Vas već više puta izvjestili, ne odobri mir, zatražimo da budemo otpušteni čak i ako ne isposlujemo mir te da se svi vratimo. Nastojeći uslišiti takav nalog Vašeg Veličanstva, izložili smo im ga uz počast i poštovanje. Stoga molimo paše da, ako nikako ne žele dopustiti sklapanje mira s njihovim vladarom, barem dojave našu molbu Njegovoj Visosti te se u naše ime kod sultana založe za to da nam, osim slobodnog prolaza kao našeg jamstva za Vaše Veličanstvo, udostoji udjeliti oslobođenje od daljnijih dužnosti te da nas dobrostivo otpusti, kako ne bismo ovdje u nepotrebnom čekanju i dalje trošili vrijeme i snage jer ćemo time kod kuće silno ozlojediti Vaše Veličanstvo.

Rustem-paša nato reče da se čudi što, iako od njih stalno slušamo kako njihov vladar ne želi ustupiti Vašem Veličanstvu ništa što je u Ugarskom Kraljevstvu prije pripadalo Budimu, o tome još uvijek ne prestajemo govoriti. Upitao nas je sljedeće: „Jeste li ikad pročitali ili vidjeli da su vladari kraljevstva i pokrajine koje su osvojili nakon nekog vremena dali u posjed neprijateljima? Na koji to način tražite prijateljstvo našeg sultana, koji je kraljevstvo koje vi nastojite zadržati u svojoj vlasti i pod svojom jurisdikcijom osvojio vlastitim mačem i pregazio kopitima svoga konja?“ Rekao

two months had passed since the arrival of the messenger of Your Majesty, whom they asked for themselves, and that they did not call for us to negotiate on what was now expected of us, we are overwhelmingly afraid, if we were to continue to stay idly silent, that everyone were to resent us for not taking care of our tasks and of the goal of the mission, and this equally be the pashas, as well as Your Majesty. Thus we wholeheartedly beg of them to finally give us a chance to come for a talk in order to agree in due time that which has to be agreed upon, and to conclude an agreement so that, after so much procrastination and waiting, something unforeseen would not to happen at the borders, for which one would blame first of all us officials, and then His Majesty, our king and lord. It seemed to us that this incentive was not in vain because on the 28th of the month of June, against all our expectations, the Pasha finally ordered us to come to the court with the gift which we had previously written to him about, announcing, moreover, that he would take us to the sultan.

Thus arriving at the court and giving a present as it befits the honor and reputation of Your Majesty, according to the international legal custom, we first met with the pashas, to whom we addressed the following. We declared that the whole world, and especially the pashas and their ruler, know very well for how long and how persistently and honestly had Your Majesty persevered in his wish and request to conclude a peace treaty with their sultan. As Your Majesty from a long time ago and until the present day had always been disappointed in his hopes and demands, howsoever sincere and benevolent these were, he finally decided to find out, through our mediation, if the mentioned peace were to be approved or not. This was the main reason why he had sent us his messenger with a letter in which he most stringently orders us – if in the aforesaid manner, of which we had informed you many times before, Your Majesty is not granted a peace – to demand of you to release us even if we do not obtain peace at all, and to return home, all of us. Endeavoring to fulfil this order from His Majesty, we presented it to them with honor and respect. Therefore we plead of the pashas, if they nowise wish to allow the conclusion of a peace with their ruler, to at least transmit our request to His Highness and to plead on our behalf before His Highness for us to receive, apart from safe passage as our guarantee for Your Majesty, release from further duties and to dis-

nam je još mnogo sličnoga tomu. Na samom nam je kraju uputio savjet da dobro razmotrimo ono što nam se govori i da na to bez ikakva oklijevanja pristanemo i s time se usuglasimo ako tražimo i želimo dobiti mir koji je u skladu s njegovom voljom i s voljom njegova vladara.

Kako bismo izbjegli pitanja koja bi mogla izazvati nove i dalekosežnije prijepore, a i stoga što nam nije preostalo drugo nego da s njima prestanemo pretresati problem Ugarske, kratko smo odgovorili da je, otkako su snage njihova vladara ušle u Ugarsku uz pristanak njezina vladara, Vaše Veličanstvo sporazumno i mirno držalo Ugarsku, i to najprije samo u znak prijateljstva radi dobrosusjedskih odnosa, potom kao vid savezništva i na kraju uz počasni danak. Nakon toga je Vaše Veličanstvo njihova vladara često preko glasnika, ali i pismeno molilo da mu dade dopuštenje da zadrži u posjedu Ugarsku onako kako je sve do danas posjeduje i kako bi je posjedovalo čak i onda kada bi se po volji Njegove Visosti Transilvanija prepustila Ivanovu sinu. Ako bi se sada Transilvanija prepustila Ivanovu sinu¹²⁸ samo zato da se udovolji Njegovoj Visosti, zar to znači da Njegovo Veličanstvo ubuduće ne bi moglo zadržati nikakva prava u Ugarskoj? Kako bi Njegovo Veličanstvo moglo biti časno ili pravedno istisnuto iz Ugarske, posebice stoga što ne želi da se to pravo prenese na nekoga drugoga, nego da o tome mi s njima pregovaramo kod Njegove Visosti i sklopimo toliko puta spominjani mirovni sporazum? Naposljetku, što se ugarskog pitanja tiče, Njegovo Veličanstvo nije neprijatelj Njegove Visosti. Zahvaljujući četverogodišnjim naporima na sklapanju mira, to je već jasno čitavom svijetu, jednako kao što je dobro poznato i njima i njihovu vladaru. Uostalom, na taj način Njegovo Veličanstvo želi otvoreno posvjedočiti da nema namjeru odustati od prijateljstva s Njegovom Visosti. Budući da Njegovo Veličanstvo toliko teži i trudi se biti darežljivo prema Njegovoj Visosti, od toga nikada neće odstupiti svojевoljno, nego samo ako na to bude prisiljeno.

Zbrkano i na brzinu dometnuvši da će onda, viđevši nas koji tako ustrajemo u svojoj namjeri, svi početi navaljivati na sultana, najzad je rekao da je

charge us gracefully, in order not to spend more time and power by waiting here needlessly, because thus we would utterly embitter His Highness at home.

Rüstem Pasha responded to this by saying that he was astonished that, although we had been incessantly hearing from them that their ruler did not wish to cede anything that had previously belonged to Buda in the Kingdom of Hungary to Your Majesty, we still did not stop talking about this. He asked us the following: "Did you ever read or see that the rulers had after some time given to their enemies the kingdoms and regions that they had conquered? In which manner do you ask for the friendship of our Sultan who had conquered with his own sword and stomped with the hooves of his own horse the kingdom which you strive to keep in your power and under your jurisdiction?" He declared many similar things. At the very end, he advised us to carefully reconsider what had been said to us and to accept it without hesitation and to agree on it if we ask for and wish for a peace which was in conformity with his will and the will of his ruler.

In order to evade questions that could have incited new and even more far-reaching confrontations, and because there was nothing else left for us to do than to stop focusing on the problem of Hungary, we shortly replied that, since the forces of their ruler had entered Hungary with the consent of its ruler, Your Majesty had been holding Hungary peacefully and by mutual agreement, and at first only as a sign of friendship for the sake of good-neighborly relations, then in the form of an alliance, and finally accompanied by an honorary tribute. Afterwards, Your Majesty had often pleaded their ruler through messengers, but also via letters, to grant him permission to keep Hungary in his possession the way he has been keeping it until the present day, and to be able to possess it even when Transylvania was to be ceded to John's son in accordance with the will of His Highness.¹³⁶ If Transylvania was to be ceded to John's son just to please His Highness, does it mean that in the future Your Majesty would not have any rights in Hungary? How could Your Majesty be honorably or justly driven out of Hungary, especially bearing in mind that you

128 U travnju 1554. godine sultan Sulejman Veličanstveni donio je odluku da se Ugarska zajedno s Transilvanijom vrati Ivanu Žigmundu. Iduće godine poslao je poruku transilvanskim velikašima da mu obećaju bezuvjetnu podložnost. Detaljnije usp. GÁBOR BARTA, „The Emergence of the Principality and its First Crises (1526–1606)”, u: *History of Transylvania*, ur. Béla Köpeczi et al. (Budimpešta: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 258.

136 In April of 1554, Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent made a decision to deliver Hungary together with Transylvania back to John Sigismund. The next year, he sent a message to the Transylvanian nobles demanding of them to promise him unconditional obedience. For more details, cf. GÁBOR BARTA, „The Emergence of the Principality and its First Crises (1526–1606)”, in: *History of Transylvania*, eds. Béla Köpeczi et al. (Budimpešta: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), p. 258.

Vaše Veličanstvo već pružilo sve razloge, a svakodnevno ih pruža i dalje, zbog kojih mu Njegova Visost ne može biti prijateljem kao što bi ono htjelo - jer Vaše Veličanstvo ne želi pristati uz njegovu volju.

Dodali smo da im Vaše Veličanstvo dosad nije pružilo nikakve povode za rat i da je bilo posezalo za oružjem samo da obrani sebe i svoje posjede, bez ikakve namjere da povrijedi tuđe. Koliko se, pak, Vaše Veličanstvo brinulo o tome da udovolji volji Njegove Visosti vidi se ponajprije po tome što mu je prepušтало Transilvaniju, a potom iz bjelodane činjenice da još uvijek nije oduštalo od želje da zatraži mir i prijateljstvo od Njegove Visosti, unatoč tomu što ga neprijateljsko ponašanje njegovih susjeda i danas neprestano ugrožava i izaziva na oružje. Stoga Njegova Visost može lako dati Vašem Veličanstvu ono što traži, odnosno dati mu da zadrži onaj dio kraljevstva do transilvanskih granica koji je držalo i dosad. Uz slavu zbog ostalih pobjeda koje je dosad izvojevalo oružjem, Njegovoj Visosti tako bi još veću pohvalu donijela darežljivost. Ona će mu biti na još veću čast i korist ako odluči da s jedne strane zemlje¹²⁹ smjesti Ivanova sina, a drugu stranu prepusti Vašem Veličanstvu te da obojicu proglaši svojim prijateljima.

Na to nisu rekli ništa određeno, nego su ustali i odveli nas k sultunu. Čim smo dobili dopuštenje da govorimo – odnosno čim nam se pružila iznimno povoljna prilika, koju smo tako željno očekivali, da se usmeno obratimo samom sultanu i ozbiljno s njime porazgovaramo o biti čitave stvari - Ogier (kojega smo ovlastili govoriti u vezi s našim zahtjevima) uputio mu je sljedeće riječi: „Naš prejasni kralj, najveći i najmoćniji vladar, Vašoj Visosti upućuje srdačan pozdrav i želi mu svu sreću! Šalje mu i darove kako bi Vaša Visost uvidjela da Njegovu Veličanstvu ne nedostaje niti će mu ikada nedostajati volje da Vašoj Visosti iskaže počast. Njegovo Veličanstvo, pak, traži od Vaše Visosti postojan mir i prijateljstvo. Kao što je Njegovo Veličanstvo na želu Vaše Visosti rado bilo ustupilo Transilvaniju sinu kralja Ivana, tako se i Vaša Visost nije ustručavala da Njegovu Veličanstvu zauzvrat ustupi ostatak Transilvanije uz obvezu plaćanja počasnoga godišnjeg danka. Nema ničega toliko velikoga za što Njegovo Veličanstvo smatra da ne bi moglo isposlovati od tako velikog i tako velikodušnog vladara. Ako

do not wish for this right to be transferred to anybody else, as you want us to negotiate about it with the Pasha before His Highness and conclude the peace treaty that has been mentioned so many times before? And finally, as regards the Hungarian question, Your Majesty is not an enemy of His Highness. Owing to the four-year efforts for the conclusion of peace, this is already clear to the whole world, and well known to them and to their ruler. Besides, in this was Your Majesty wishes to openly confirm that he has no intention of giving up the friendship with His Highness. Since His Majesty aspires so much and strives to be generous toward His Highness, he will never digress from this aim on his own free will, but only if he was forced to.

Adding quickly and in confusedly that in that case, after seeing us who are so diligent in our intention, everyone would begin to bother the Sultan, he finally declared that Your Majesty had already offered all the reasons, and is offering them daily, due to which His Highness cannot be his friend as he would want to, because Your Majesty does not wish to conform to his will.

We added that Your Majesty had not hitherto offered any reasons for war, and that you have earlier resorted to arms only to defend yourself and your possessions, without any intention to cause damage to others. How much had Your Majesty taken care to comply with the will of His Highness, is primarily reflected in him ceding Transylvania, and not giving up on his wish to ask for peace and friendship from His Highness, in spite of the fact that the hostile behavior of his neighbors is endangering him even today and forcing him to take up arms. Therefore His Highness can easily grant Your Majesty what he asks for, that is, let him keep the part of the kingdom that extends to the Transylvanian borders and which he had kept until the present day. Apart from the glory of the victories which he had won through arms, His Highness would thus acquire greater acclaim through generosity. It will augment his honor and benefit even more if he were to decide to install on the one side of the country¹³⁷ John's son, and the other side to concede to Your Majesty and to proclaim both as his friends.

They did not reply to this specifically, but stood up and took us to the Sultan. As soon as we were granted permission to speak, which we expected before so ea-

129 Odnosi se na Transilvaniju.

137 This refers to Transylvania.

to ne može dobiti, a mi ne tražimo ništa više od toga, usrdno molimo da Vaša Visost dopusti da se barem mi poslanici sretno i zdravo vratimo svojem gospodaru kralju i u svoju domovinu za kojom već dugo žudimo, prema međunarodnom pravu i pravu slobodnog prolaza koji će nam dati Vaša Visost, u skladu sa svojim nadasve pohvalnim običajem.“

Premda je to sultan saslušao vrlo pažljivo te s blagim i dobrohotnim izrazom lica koji nam je stalno pokazivao – a činilo se da bi nam dopustio da govorimo i više ako bismo to htjeli – ipak smo se pobojali da bi audijencija mogla i drukčije završiti, sjećajući se mučnih i neugodnih pregovora u Amasiji.¹³⁰ Kako ne bismo i sada bili navedeni na to da udovoljimo njihovim željama i pristanemo uz njihovu volju, odlučili smo da u svega nekoliko riječi izložimo puko stanje stvari. Premda bismo tomu rado bili dodali još nešto, to ne bi vrijedilo više od običnog ukrasa jer kod njih obično ne prolazi ništa što nije u skladu s njihovim željama. Stoga nismo htjeli baciti nikakvu sjenu na samu stvar kako bi se ono što smo namjeravali reći svojom jednostavnošću lakše ukorijenilo u njegovoј duši. Dobrostivo saslušavši naš govor i sačekavši prijevod tumača, kratko je odgovorio da će nas iznova vidjeti i dati nam odgovor.

Nakon pet dana, odnosno 3. srpnja, pozvani smo k Rustem-paši, koji je s nama staloženo i ljubazno razgovarao gotovo čitav sat. Napokon smo se dotaknuli uvjeta za sklapanje mirovnog sporazuma koje smo bili spomenuli u našem prethodnom pismu o Egeru, Paloti¹³¹ i Sigetu¹³². Najprije je skakao s teme na temu, a potom je, s nekom lukavom namjerom, započeo s riječima iz navedenog pisma i iznio sljedeći prijedlog: ako je, dakle, istina da se Vaše Veličanstvo toliko pouzdaje u njegovo zalaganje i prijateljstvo – kako smo mu već mnogo puta posvjedočili, a svjedočimo i sada – bilo bi doista ispravno da prihvati njegov savjet te da i mi, ako se dobro brinemo za

gerly – and now we were offered an extremely favorable opportunity to orally address the Sultan himself and converse with him seriously about the essence of the entire matter – Ogier (whom we had authorized to speak concerning our demands) declared the following: “Our most serene king, the greatest and mightiest ruler, extends to Your Highness a cordial greeting and wishes him all the luck! He sends him also presents in order for Your Highness to realize that His Majesty does not lack nor will he ever lack the will to honor Your Highness. His Majesty asks of His Highness lasting peace and friendship. As His Majesty had previously at the behest of His Highness ceded Transylvania to the son of King John, His Highness did not hesitate to cede to His Majesty the rest of Transylvania under the obligation to pay the honorary annual tribute. There is nothing so difficult which His Majesty would consider impossible to arrange with such a great and magnanimous ruler. If he cannot acquire it, and we do not ask for other than that, we kindly beseech His Highness to allow us, the emissaries, to return happily and soundly to our lord the King and to our homeland which we have been coveting for so long, according to international law and the right of free passage which would be granted by Your Highness, in conformity with his extremely praiseworthy custom.”

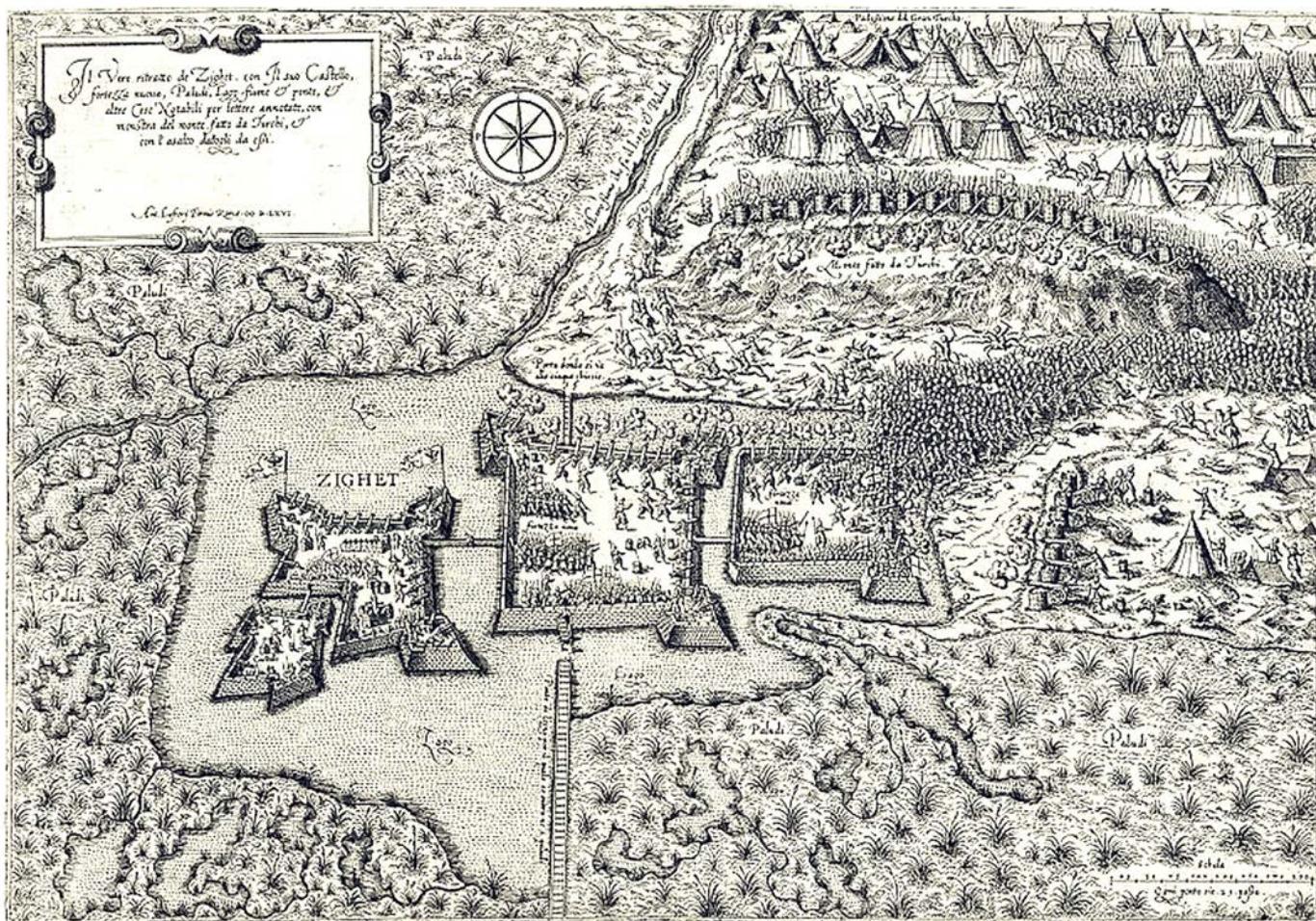
Although the Sultan had listened to this very carefully and with a kind and benevolent expression on his face, the expression he constantly demonstrated to us – and it seemed as if he would have allowed us to speak even longer if we had wanted it – we were nevertheless afraid that the audience could have ended differently, bearing in mind the excruciating and unpleasant negotiations in Amasya.¹³⁸ In order not to be dragged into complying with their wishes and satisfying their will again, we decided to expose the mere state of affairs in only a few words. Although we would have been glad to have had the opportunity to add more comments, it would have been a mere distraction, because they usually do not accept

¹³⁰ Aluzija na pregovore habsburških poslanika sa sultandom Sulejmanom Veličanstvenim o sklapanju mirovnog sporazuma s kraljem Ferdinandom I. koji su se odvijali u Amasiji, gradu u sjeveroistočnoj Turskoj, tijekom jeseni 1554. godine. Detaljnije usp. KAYA ŞAHİN, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Suleyman. Narrating the Sixteenth Century Ottoman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 132-135.

¹³¹ Palota, utvrda u današnjoj sjeveroistočnoj Slovačkoj.

¹³² Siget (mađarski: Szigetvár), grad i nekadašnja utvrda u jugozapadnoj Mađarskoj. Tijekom srednjeg vijeka Siget je bio važna utvrda u sklopu ugarske županije Somogy, uz koju se, zahvaljujući povoljnemu prometnom položaju, razvilo i manje gradske naselje.

¹³⁸ This is an allusion to the negotiations between the Habsburg emissaries and Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent on the conclusion of a peace treaty with King Ferdinand I, which took place in Amasya, a town in northeast Turkey, in the fall of 1554. For more details, cf. KAYA ŞAHİN, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Suleyman. Narrating the Sixteenth Century Ottoman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 132-135.



Prikaz opsade Sigeta, 1566. / Panorama of the siege of Szigetvár in 1566

(Nepoznati autor / Unknown author)

korist Vašeg Veličanstva, imamo u njega povjerenja. To i slične teme o kojima smo mu opširno pisali u prošlom pismu sada ne trebamo ponavljati jer je sve dobro shvatio, nego bi nas podrobniјe želio ispitati o onome što u tom pismu nismo napisali. Osim toga, to što dosad nije sklopljen mir trebalo bi pripisati našoj tvrdoglavosti jer ga, premda smo uvijek primjereno upozoravani, nismo htjeli slušati. Napokon nam je zaprijetio da njegova sultana iduće godine možemo očekivati u Ugarskoj s čitavom njegovom vojskom ako ne prihvativmo njihove uvjete u vezi s onim trima višekratno spomenutim mjestima. Ako smo mudri, trebali bismo učiniti ono što nam savjetuje. Na taj bismo se način najbolje pobrinuli i za dobrobit Vašeg Veličanstva i za mir i sigurnost njegovih podanika.

Zdušno smo mu i bez oklijevanja dali odgovor u vezi s ratnim prijetnjama, no izbjegavajući daljnje rasprave koje smo s njima često uzalud vodili te prebacujući odluku o ishodu rata na Boga, čija providnost

anything that is not in conformity with their wishes. Hence we did not wish to cast any shadow on the matter itself, and we thus let the things which we had intended to say easily take root in his soul through their simplicity. After benevolently hearing out our speech and waiting for the interpreter's translation, he shortly responded that he would receive us anew and give us our answer.

Five days later, that is, on July 3, we were called upon to visit Rüstem Pasha, who then conversed with us calmly and kindly for almost an hour. Finally we touched upon the terms of the peace agreement which we had mentioned in our former letter on Eger, Palota¹³⁹ and Szigetvár¹⁴⁰. First he was jumping

139 Palota, fortress in present-day northeastern Slovakia.

140 Szigetvár, town and former fortress in southwestern Hungary. During the Middle Ages, Szigetvár was an important fortress within the Hungarian county of Somogy and its vicinity, owing to its advantageous location, a smaller urban settlement evolved.



Prikaz Mohačke bitke, 1588. /
Panorama of the Battle of Mohács, 1588

(Autor: Lokman, Hünernâme / By: Lokman, Hünernâme)

upravlja kršćanskom stvari i podržava je. Pritom smo dometnuli da nitko ne poznaje bolje ono što je dobro za Vaše Veličanstvo te mir i sigurnost njegovih podanika od Vašeg Veličanstva i njegovih podanika samih. Mi, pak, pokoravajući se nalozima svojeg gospodara i kralja, ne pokušavamo biti mudriji od njega, nego samo nastojimo shvatiti, spoznati i prepostaviti ono što mislimo da kralj želi. Kao što su se podanići Vašeg Veličanstva koji su ga izabrali za svoga kralja slijedom javne prisege podložili njegovoj vjeri i upravi, tako je zauzvrat Vaše Veličanstvo njima obećalo pružiti svu svoju zaštitu i slobodu koja im pripada na temelju drevnog prava naroda. Jednako tako podanići Vašeg Veličanstva smatraju da svoj mir i postojanje sigurnost koje im ono priznaje i podjeljuje mogu uživati jedino pod vlašću svoga kršćanskog vladara. Iz toga proizlazi da Vaše Veličanstvo ni iz kojeg ra-

from one topic to another, and then, with some cunning plan on his mind, he began quoting the word from the aforementioned letter and stated the following suggestion: if it is true that Your Majesty confides so much in his intercession and friendship, as we had attested on numerous occasions, and are attesting as we speak, it would be really appropriate if Your Majesty would accept his advice, and for us too, if we wish to act for the benefit of Your Majesty, to confide in him. We do not need to repeat this and similar topics about which we had written to him in detail in the last letter because he had understood everything well, but he wanted to question us more carefully about the matters which we had not mentioned in that letter. Furthermore, the fact that the agreement had not been concluded until the present moment should be attributed to our stubbornness because we did not

zloga ne smije napustiti svoje vjerne podanike, niti podanici smiju napustiti Vaše Veličanstvo, spominjući se da su mu se zakletvom obvezali na vjernost. Pošto su od Vašeg Veličanstva dobili Eger, Palotu i Sighet te mjesta koja se nalaze unutar te granične linije, zar ne bi bilo kao da je napustilo čitavu Ugarsku kad bi Vaše Veličanstvo napustilo te ljudе, s obzirom na to da iz grada Bečа i s granica posjeda koji su mu preostali svakog dana može vidjeti samo ono što se proteže unutar dometa jedne strelice? I sami dobro znaju kako je nemoguće da Vaše Veličanstvo tako nešto učini jer ono vrlo ljubomorno čuva i štiti svoj posjed. Stoga mi, koji vrlo dobro pamtimо želje Vašeg Veličanstva, o tome niti možemo niti se usudimo razmišljati i govoriti.

Prešavši preko svega ostalog što smo rekli, on nas tada upita je li naš kralj izabran i nije li njihov car postao gospodarom čitavoga Ugarskog Kraljevstva nakon što je porazio kralja Ludovika?¹³³ (Na Vaše Veličanstvo vrlo se često nabacuju kamenjem jer ne mogu podnijeti činjenicu da je ono zakoniti kralj Ugarske i da se tako naziva.) Stoga smo i tada bili prisiljeni dotaknuti se običaja i prava određenih kršćanskih kraljevstava pri izboru kraljeva. Dodali smo usput i nešto o načinu nasljeđivanja i temeljito ga podučili, makar i u nekoliko riječi, da Vaše Veličanstvo drži Ugarsko Kraljevskо i po građanskome i po kanonskome pravu te da se ne može svrgnuti s ugarskog prijestolja bez velike štete i za njega i za njegove prejasne sinove. Ako, pak, Vaše Veličanstvo na temelju svog prava i zahvaljujući velikodušnosti njihova vladara može u spomenutom Ugarskom Kraljevstvu ostati mirno, slobodno i s obvezom plaćanja godišnjega počasnog danka, kao što je bilo i dosad, pristupit ћemo određivanju dostatnih i prikladnih uvjeta za sklanjanje mirovnog sporazu-

want to listen to him, although we had always been appropriately warned. Finally he threatened us that we could expect his Sultan the following year in Hungary with his entire army if we do not accept their conditions concerning the three locations that had been mentioned on numerous occasions. If we are wise, we should have done what was advised. In this manner we would have taken best care for the welfare of Your Majesty, as well for peace and security of his subjects.

Wholeheartedly and without hesitation, we replied on the matter of his threats of war, but tried to evade further disputes which we had often had with them, and left the decision on the outcome of the war to God, whose omniscience controls and upholds the Christian cause. At the same time, we added that nobody knows better what is good for Your Majesty, for peace and security of his subjects, better than Your Majesty and his subjects themselves. However, by submitting us to the instructions of our Lord and King, we do not strive to be wiser than him, but endeavor to understand, realize and presume that which we believe the King wants. We are the subjects of Your Majesty who chose him for their king through a public oath, had subjected themselves to his faith and his administration, and in return Your Majesty had promised to offer them all of his protection and freedom that belongs to them on the basis of an ancient right of nations. Equally so, the subjects of Your Majesty consider that they can enjoy their peace and lasting security, acknowledged and distributed by him, only under the rule of their Christian ruler. From this emanates the fact that Your Majesty cannot desert his loyal subjects for no reason, nor can the subjects leave His Majesty, bearing in mind that they swore an oath of fidelity to him. Since they were granted Eger, Palota and Szigetvár by Your Majesty, as well as places located within this borderline, would Your Majesty deserting them be the same if he had deserted entire Hungary, bearing in mind that from the city of Vienna and from the borders of the estates still under his rule he can only see what which is within the range of an arrow? They themselves know very well that it is impossible for Your Majesty to commit such an act because he very enviously guards and protects his possessions. Thus we, who remember very well the wishes of Your Majesty, cannot and do not dare to think or talk about it.

133 Aluzija na Mohačku bitku, vojni sukob kod Mohača u Ugarskoj koji se odigrao 29. kolovoza 1526. godine i u kojem je brojčano nadmoćnija osmanska vojska, predvođena sultanom Sulejmanom I. Veličanstvenim, porazila hrvatsko-ugarsku vojsku na čelu s kraljem Ludovikom II. Jagelovićem. Osmanska je vojska pod zapovjedništvom sultana i njegova velikog vezira Ibrahim-paše potkraj lipnja 1526. prešla Savu kraj Zemuna te se sastala s postrojbama predvođenima bosanskim i smederevskim sandžakbegovima, Husrev-begom i Bali-begom Jahjapahićem. Nakon osmanskog osvajanja Petrovaradina (15. srpnja) ususret im je krenuo Ludovik II., koji se sredinom kolovoza utaborio na Mohačkom polju. U međuvremenu je osmanska vojska osvojila Illok i Osijek (14. kolovoza), sagradila velik most na Dravi i prešla u Ugarsku. Glavni zapovjednik hrvatsko-ugarske vojske bio je kaločki nadbiskup Pavao Tomory. U bitki je poginuo velik broj hrvatskih i ugarskih velikaša, a kralj Ludovik utopio se prilikom bijega u potoku Čelej (mađarski: Csele) ne ostavivši nasljednika.

ma Vašeg Veličanstva s Njegovom Visosti koji već dugo s iskrenim namjerama tražimo. Sporazum bi s pravom morao biti sklopljen na četiri godine, osobito ako se Transilvanija, prema želji Njegove Visosti, prepusti Ivanovu sinu. Osim toga, kao što smo već rekli, Njegovoj se Visosti više neće uskraćivati počasni go-dišnji danak čije je plaćanje bilo prekinuto na dvije godine zbog rata koji su pokrenuli susjedi.¹³⁴ Dakako, do toga će doći samo ako se na prijateljsku molbu odgovori na jednak način.

Učinilo nam se da je na ovo htio žustro odgovoriti. Stoga je odmah vrlo gnjevno počeo govoriti o dvogodišnjem prekidu plaćanja počasnoga danka. Rekao je da je Vaše Veličanstvo s pravom obvezno na njegovo plaćanje sukladno svojoj dužnosti. Stoga je njegova vlastita krivnja to što je spriječeno u njegovoj isplati. No doskora je prešao na drugu temu. Ne znamo je li tome možda pridonio grčki beglerbeg ili je to možda učinio zbog zaboravnosti ili pak namjerno. Vratio se na temu koja uopće nije bila važna, a ticala se našega položaja, želeći saznati razlog zašto tako uporno tražimo otpust. Upitao nas je da li da poveća opskrbu kako nam ništa ne bi nedostajalo, izrijekom nas uvjeravajući da će nas njihov vladar opskrbiti svim vrstama žita i krmiva koje je nužno za našu upotrebu i za prehranu naše stoke. Rekao nam je još mnogo sličnoga tome, što jedva da je dolikovalo njegovom položaju, posebice pred beglerbegom kao svjedokom.

Kako bismo mu primjерено odgovorili, osobito u prisutnosti tako uglednog svjedoka, kazali smo da tako revno tražimo otpust jer smo to obećali Vašem Veličanstvu pošto smo ovdje uzalud utrošili već toliko vremena, a čini se da nismo postigli ništa gledo sklapanja mira. Iako Njegovoj Visosti i samome gospodinu paši želimo iskazati najdublju zahvalnost na dobrome prijemu, naša je obveza jesti i piti kod kuće. Ovamo nismo došli da bismo jeli i pili, već da bismo pregovarali o miru. Bez obzira da li ćemo ga zaključiti ili ne, na koncu ćemo se vratiti Vašemu Veličanstvu.

On je na to vidno pocrvenio, no ipak se počeo osmjehivati, okrenuvši čitavu stvar na šalu. Pogleda-

Passing over everything else that we had said, he then inquired if our king was elected and if their emperor did not become the master of the entire Kingdom of Hungary after he had defeated King Louis¹⁴¹ (they are often denigrating Your Majesty because they cannot stand neither the fact that you are the lawful King of Hungary, nor the fact that this is your title). Thus we were again forced to touch upon the customs and rights of certain Christian kings during their election process. We also added something concerning the mode of inheritance and informed him thoroughly, although in only a few words, on the fact that Your Majesty has in his possession the Kingdom of Hungary according to both the civil and the canon law, and that you cannot be dethroned from the Hungarian throne without causing great damage to both, you and to his serene sons. And if Your Majesty, on the basis of your right and owing to the magnanimity of his ruler, can remain in the mentioned Kingdom of Hungary at peace, free and with the obligation of paying the annual honorary tribute as he had done until now, we will begin determining the sufficient and appropriate conditions for the conclusion of a peace agreement between Your Majesty and His Highness, which we had been demanding for a long time with sincere intentions. The treaty would rightfully have to be concluded for a period of four years, especially if Transylvania, according to the wishes of His Highness, is to be given to John's son. Furthermore, as we had declared before, His Highness will no longer be denied the honorary annual tribute, whose paying was interrupted for two years due to the war which was initiated by the neighbors.¹⁴² Of course, this would be

141 This is an allusion to the Battle of Mohács, a military engagement near the town of Mohács in Hungary on August 29, 1526, during which a numerically superior Ottoman army led by Sultan Süleyman II the Magnificent defeated the Hungarian-Croatian army led by King Louis II Jagiellion. The Ottoman army under the command of the Sultan and his Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha in late June 1526 crossed the river Sava near the present-day Serbian town of Zemun and met with the forces led by the Bosnian and Semendire (Smederevo) Sanjakbeys, Husref Bey and Bali Bey Yahyapaşaoglu. After the Ottoman capture of the present-day Serbian town of Petrovaradin (July 15), Louis II led an army to meet them and encamped mid-August at the Mohács Field. In the meantime, the Ottoman army captured present-day Croatian towns of Illok and Osijek (August 14), built a great bridge across the river Drava and passed into Hungary. The main commander of the Hungarian-Croatian army was Pál Tomori, Bishop of Kalocsa. During the battle a great number of Hungarian and Croatian nobles were killed, and King Louis II drowned in a creek called Čelej (Hungarian: Csele) during escape, leaving the country without an heir.

142 This probably refers to the rebellion of Peter Petrović against Ferdinand I and the uprising of the Székelys or the Szeklers, an estate "nation" living mainly in eastern Transylvania, who swore the oath of loyalty to the Sultan's protégé John Sigismund Zápolya. For more details, cf. BARTA, *History of Transylvania*, p. 257.

134 Vjerojatno se odnosi na pobunu Petra Petrovića protiv Ferdinanda I. i ustanak Sekelja ili Sikula, staleške „nacije“ u istočnoj Transilvaniji, koja se 1553. godine zaklela na lojalnost sultanovu štićeniku Ivanu Žigmundu. Detaljnije usp. BARTA, *History of Transylvania*, 257.

vajući sad nas, sad beglerbega, odgovorio je da to nije rekao kako bi nam nešto predbacio ili zato što ne zna da kod kuće imamo dovoljno za život, već stoga što je među svim narodima uobičajeno poslanicima davati do znanja kako gospodari države u koju su poslani gledaju na njihove vladare. To se dogodilo i u našem slučaju jer se ne radi o našem interesu, već o interesu našega kralja. Stoga je dobro da sve shvatimo i da budemo s time zadovoljni te da se ni najmanje ne opterećujemo time što se odgada naš otpust. Naime, još je uvijek živo sjećanje na jednog ugarskog poslanika koji je kod njih proveo čitavih sedam godina i to samo zato da bi tijekom toga vremena što primjerenije mogli okončati ono što je objema stranama bilo po volji. Danas se slično postupa i s nama.

Budući da smo to već više puta bili čuli od tumača, nismo htjeli preko toga prijeći šutke, kako se ne bi činilo da mislimo da je s pravom spomenuo taj slučaj. Stoga smo dodali da to, kao što i sam kaže, doista dobro znamo te da Ugri i dan danas pamte zadržavanje njihova poslanika po imenu Barnaba Bellay¹³⁵, koje ih je nemalo povrijedilo i ražalostilo. Stoga se boje da se taj stari slučaj, koji nije nimalo pohvalan, ne ponovi i s nama. Iz tog se razloga toliko pouzdajemo i u slobodu prolaza i u riječ i dobrostivost tako uglednog vladara. Osim toga, držimo da se to ne bi smjelo dogoditi ni zbog pravičnosti, ni zbog međunarodnoga prava.

Tada je redom ponovio sve što se tiče petogodišnjeg primirja, transilvanskog pitanja i slučaja Malvezzi koji se zbio u naše vrijeme te sličnih vanjskopolitičkih događaja. Potom je započeo raspravu, nastojeći dokazati da povod svim ovim intervencijama nije bilo neprijateljstvo njegovog vladara prema Vašem Veličanstvu. Rekao je da njegov vladar ovo primirje s Vašim Veličanstvom i Njegovim Carskim Veličanstvom¹³⁶ nije sklopio iz vlastite nužde ili ko-

realized only if this friendly request is to be answered in the same way.

It seemed to us that he wanted to respond to this quickly. Hence he immediately very angrily began to talk about a two-year cessation of the paying of the honorary tribute. He declared that Your Majesty is rightfully obliged to pay it according to his duty. Therefore it was his own fault that he was prevented from paying it. But soon he passed onto another topic. We do not know if this happened owing to the Beylerbeyi of Greece, or if he did it out of forgetfulness, or on purpose. He returned to the topic which was not important at all, and it concerned our position, as he wished to know the reason for our persistent requests to be discharged. He inquired of us if he had to increase our provisions in order for us not to lack anything, expressly assuring us that their ruler would furnish us with all sorts of grain and fodder necessary for our needs and the nourishment of our livestock. He told us many similar things, and it was barely suitable for his rank, especially before the Beylerbeyi as a witness.

In order to respond appropriately, especially in the presence of such a distinguished witness, we replied that we have been so diligently asking for a discharge because we had promised it to Your Majesty, since we had spent so much time here in vain, and it seems that we did not accomplish anything regarding the conclusion of the peace. Although we wish to express our deepest gratitude to His Highness and to His Lordship the Pasha himself for a kind reception, our duty is to eat and drink at home. We did not come here to eat and drink, but to negotiate peace. Regardless of whether we would conclude it or not, in the end we will return to Your Majesty.

He visibly blushed but still began to smile, turning the whole affair into a joke. Glancing both at us and at the Beylerbeyi, he responded that he did not say those words in order to reprove us or because he did not know that we had enough provisions at home, but because it is accustomed among all nations to make clear to the envoys how the masters of the country to which they were sent view their rulers. This happened in our case too, because it is not our interest that is at stake, but the interest of our king. Therefore it is needed that we understand all and to be pleased with it, and not to be bothered with the

135 **Barnaba Bellay** spominje se u pismu ugarskog kralja Vladislava II. Jagelovića od 24. studenoga 1515. godine. U njemu kralj moli ostrogonskog nadbiskupa za savjet što da učini jer je Bellay već dvije godine u Carigradu, a sultani još uvijek nije pristao na sklapanje trogodišnjega mirovnog sporazuma, tražeći da ugarski kralj iznova odredi njegovo trajanje. Usp. J. S. (JOHN SHERREN) BREWER, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, Preserved in the Public Record Office, The British Museum, and Elsewhere in England*, sv. II, dio 1.2. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 313.

136 **Filip II.** (Valladolid, 21. svibnja 1527. – El Escorial, 13. rujna 1598.), španjolski kralj i sin Karla V. Habsburškog. Napuljskim kraljem postao je 1554. godine, gospodarom Nizozemske 1555., a nakon abdikacije Karla V. kraljem Španjolske, Sicilije, Sardinije i španjolskoga kolonijalnog carstva.

risti, odnosno iz nužde ili koristi vlastitih podanika, već nastojeći osigurati sigurnost i mir Mlečana, Dubrovčana, Đenovljana i ostalih koji nastanjuju otoke i morske obale, a koji su dijelom sultanovi saveznici, a dijelom prijatelji. Mi vjerojatno malo znamo o onome što se tiče triju spomenutih naroda jer oružje Njihovih Veličanstava obično ne napada kršćane, no on je to ipak želio spomenuti. Tome je pridodao da taj mir nije prekršio njegov vladar nego Vaše Veličanstvo, što je potom uzrokovalo spor u vezi Transilvanije, Malvezzijeve nevolje, pa napisljetku i naše predugo zadržavanje, kao i mnoge druge nemire na našim granicama. Svalivši konačno svu krivnju na Vaše Veličanstvo, rekao je da mu se ubuduće više uopće ne treba vjerovati i da mu se ne treba ustupiti ništa u Transilvaniji. Osim toga, niti mi niti Vaše Veličanstvo više nemamo nikakvih prava glede naše slobode, života i smrti nego su ona u rukama njegovog vladara te ukoliko se ne potrudimo od njega dobiti slobodu prolaza, ništa nam više ne može pomoći. To nam je pravo bilo dano na šest mjeseci, a pošto je taj rok prošao, o tome odlučuju i nadalje će odlučivati oni, dokle god to bude odgovaralo njihovom vladaru.

Tako oštros najavivši kraj razgovora, zahvalio je beglerbegu, no nismo znali da li je to učinio ozbiljno ili pretvarajući se. Drugi glavni tumač nas je uvjerao da je to sigurno učinio prijetvorno, u što smo sumnjali. Kako ne bi pomislio da nam je ponestalo hrabrosti zbog tako lošeg stanja u kojem se našla naša zadaća i da još uvijek držimo u tajnosti ono na što smijemo pristati u slučaju nužde, malo smo mu energičnije odgovorili, poput ljudi koji su oholi zbog vlastite moći i koji ni zbog kakve nade ili računice ne smiju odustati do samoga kraja. Da je, dakle, njihov vladar, kad nas je doveo k sebi, Vašemu Veličanstvu jasno napisao takve riječi, paša mora znati da bi nas Vaše Veličanstvo ovamo poslalo s posve drugom namjerom, ukoliko bi nas uopće i poslalo. Što se, pak, tiče kršitelja petogodišnjeg primirja koji su pružili povod sukobima između Vašeg Veličanstva i Njegove Visosti sultana, već smo dokazali da ih treba tražiti među njihovim susjedima. Stoga ne smatramo nužnim toliko puta iznova rasvjetljavati istinu o tome sporu o kojem nam nikada dosad nisu dali prilike govoriti, pa ga ovoga puta namjerno prešućujemo. Ako nas, pak, Njegova Visost optuži da smo izazvali

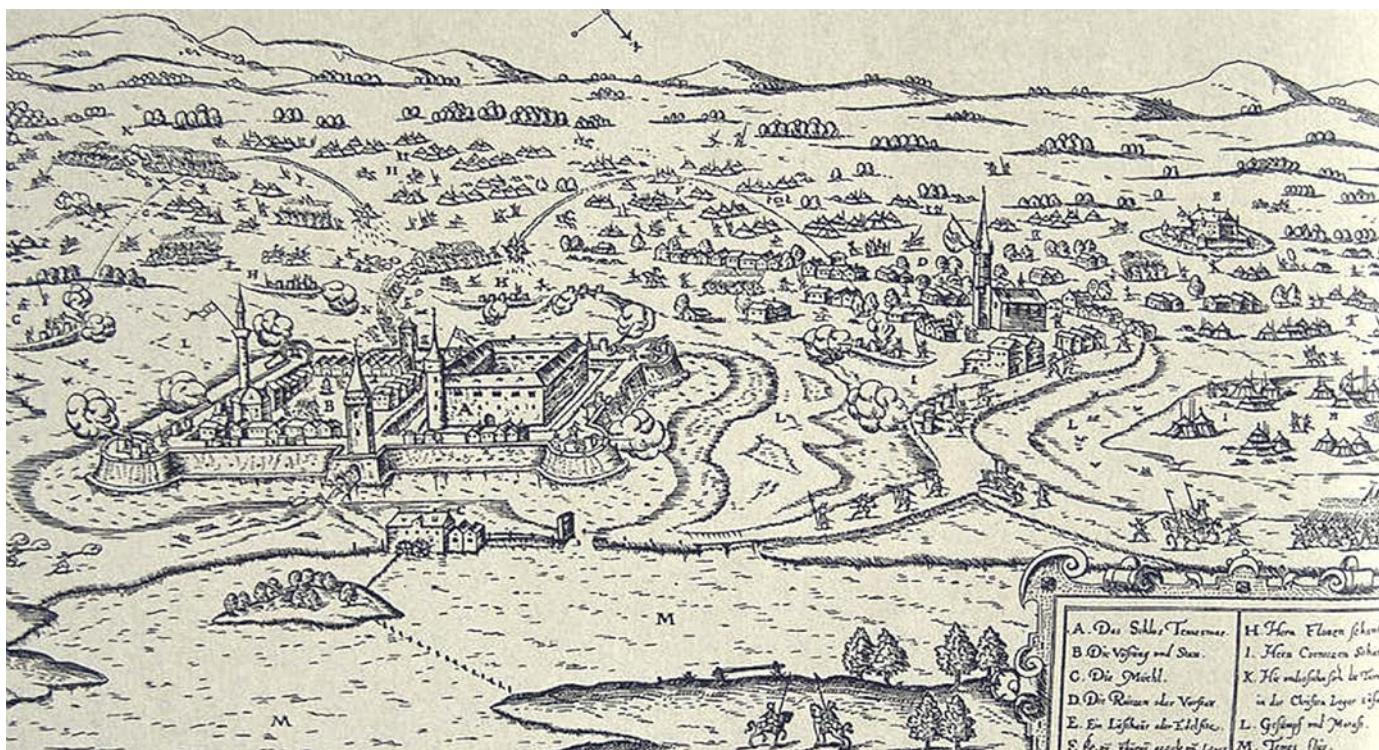
postponement of our discharge at all. Many still retain the memory of a certain Hungarian envoy who had spent full seven years here, in order for them to come to the agreement agreeable to both sides. Today the same is being done with us.

Since we had been hearing this many times from the interpreter, we did not want to pass over it without commenting, in order not to seem as if we believed he was right to mention this case. Thus we added that this, as he said it himself, we know very well, and that the Hungarians still remember the detention of their envoy named Barnabas Bellay¹⁴³, which gravely offended and saddened them. Hence they are afraid that the same as in this old case, which is not laudable at all, might happen to us too. For that reason we confide so much both in the right of passage and in the word and benevolence of such a notable ruler. Furthermore, we believe this should not happen due to both justice and international law.

Thereupon he reiterated everything relating to the five-year truce, the Transylvanian question and the Malvezzi case, which happened during our stay, and similar foreign policy events. Then he started a discussion, striving to prove that the cause for all these interventions was not the hostility of his ruler toward Your Majesty. He declared that his ruler did not conclude this armistice with Your Majesty and His Imperial Majesty¹⁴⁴ out of his own necessity or benefit, i.e., out of the necessity or benefit of his subjects, but aiming to secure the safety and peace for the Venetians, the Ragusans, the Genoese and others who inhabit islands and coasts, and who are partly Sultan's allies, partly his friends. We probably know little about the aforementioned nations because the weapons of Their Majesties usually do not attack Christians, but he wished to mention it anyway. He

¹⁴³ **Barnabas Bellay** is mentioned in the letter of King of Hungary Vladislaus II Jagiellon dated November 24, 1515. In the letter, the king is asking the Bishop of Esztergom for advice regarding Bellay, who had been in Istanbul for two years, without the Sultan accepting the conclusion of a three-year peace agreement, demanding that the King of Hungary make a new decision about its duration. Cf. J. S. (JOHN SHERREN) BREWER, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, Preserved in the Public Record Office, The British Museum, and elsewhere in England*, Vol. II, Part 1.2. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 313.

¹⁴⁴ **Philip II** (Valladolid, May 21, 1527 – El Escorial, September 13, 1598), the King of Spain and son of Charles V Habsburg. He became the King of Naples in 1554, master of Holland in 1555, and after the abdication of Charles V the King of Spain, Sicily, Sardinia and the Spanish colonial empire.



Prikaz opsade Temišvara, 1596. / Panorama of the siege of Timișoara, 1596

(Autor: Abraham Ortelius / By: Abraham Ortelius)

prošle nemire, koji nas se uopće ne tiču, i liši nas – kojima je dala svoju riječ da će ih otpustiti slobodne i sigurne bez obzira na to je li mir sklopljen ili nije - prava na slobodan prolaz te nam uskrati vjerodajnice zahvaljujući kojima smo slobodni i sigurni došli k njoj, neka Njegova Visost (u čijim smo, naime, rukama) pripazi na temelju kojih će ovlasti to učiniti i provjeri može li to učiniti pravedno, časno i bez ikakve povrede svog imena i ugleda.

Dok se paša spremao na to odgovoriti, beglerbeg je otisao, zbog čega se i on udaljio od teme. Napokon nas je započeo istovremeno opominjati i ohrabrvati govoreći da, ako želimo ispravno savjetovati Vaše Veličanstvo, poslušamo njegov savjet. I dok smo tako mi ustrajali u svojoj namjeri, a on nije odustajao od svoje – otpustio nas je dodajući da će o svemu tome izvijestiti svojeg vladara.

Pažljivo razmotrivši dosadašnje držanje Rustom-paše tijekom naših razgovora, a i zahvaljujući nadi koju su nam ulili savjeti nekih uglednih ljudi iz javnih i privatnih krugova da u svakom slučaju sve moramo iznijeti pred Divonom, i nama se samima učinilo da bi se još moglo dogoditi nešto dobro. No ono što se zabilo dosad i što će se još dogoditi u buduć-

added to this that this peace had not been broken by his ruler, but by Your Majesty, and this subsequently caused the conflict relating to Transylvania, Malvezzi's troubles, and finally our prolonged stay, as well as numerous other unrests at our borders. Finally, laying the entire blame on Your Majesty, he declared that in the future you should not be trusted at all, and that you should not be given anything in Transylvania. Furthermore, neither we nor Your Majesty have any rights regarding our freedom, life and death, since those are in the hands of his ruler, and if we do not make an effort to obtain the right of passage from him, nothing will help us anymore. He gave us this right for six months, and since this period had expired, they decide - and will decide hereafter - about it, as far as it will suit their ruler.

After ending the discussion in such a harsh manner, he thanked the Beylerbeyi, but we did not know if he was serious or was only pretending. The other head interpreter assured us that he certainly did this with a pretense, in which we doubted. In order for him not to think that we had lost courage due to such an awful status of our task, and that we were still keeping secret what we were allowed to accept in case

nosti, iznevjerilo je sva naša nadanja. Dok se to događalo, dojavljeno je da stiže perzijski poslanik. Glas o tome posve je utihnuo nakon sultanova povratka. Potom su stigli izaslanici Ivanova sina i zatražili Temišvar¹³⁷ i Lippu¹³⁸, koji su se nalazili u granicama transilvanskog posjeda koji mu je prethodno bio predan. Napokon smo počeli očajavati u vezi sa svojim otpustom, držeći da će nam to svakako stvoriti nove zapreke. Stoga smo svim silama nastojali istražiti što se tako iznenada ispriječilo našoj misiji. Slučajno smo se sastali s tumačem Ibrahimom, kojega smo s najvećom pomnjom upitali zna li što je bilo uzrokom takо neočekivanih događaja. Odgovorio nam je da ne zna i da se ničemu ne nadamo ako prije nego što budemo pozvani u Divan pašama ne otkrijemo odgovor na njihov upit o trima mjestima.¹³⁹ Vjerovao je da bi nam mogli izaći u susret ako ih pismeno obavijestimo o svojim zadaćama. Naime, Rustem-paša iznio je uvjete u vezi s Egerom, Palotom i Sighetom kako bi Vašem Veličanstvu izložio svoja očekivanja u vezi s odgovorom. Na koncu nam je savjetovao da dva ili tri dana u gostinjcu porazmislimo o tome što nam je činiti. Mi smo, pak, namjeravali pokazati da su, osim naše molbe koju smo višekratno iznijeli pred njih, pogaženi i svi uvjeti Vašeg Veličanstva, te da se o svemu razgovaralo slijedom naputaka koje nam je Vaše Veličanstvo dalo i na početku i nedavno. Također im nismo htjeli ostaviti nikakve nade da bismo se zasad mogli otkloniti od zadanoг cilja. Obećaju li, pak, Vašem Veličanstvu i najmanju mrvicu kraljevstva i pristanu li usto na mir, rekli smo da nećemo razmišljati ni jednog jedinog trenutka, nego čemo na licu mjesta biti spremni na odgovor jer odgovaramo sukladno svojim naputcima.

Poslušavši, dakle, savjet tumača, marljivo smo i bez okljevanja počeli pripremati svoj odlazak te smo 12. srpnja pašama poslali pismo sljedećeg sadržaja: budući da smo im već prije opširno i definitivno odgovorili na prijedloge koje su nam nedavno iznijeli, od nas ne trebaju očekivati nikakve daljnje odgovore

of emergency, we replied to him more energetically, as people who are arrogant due to their power, and who must not give up until the very end, out of any hope or shrewdness. So if their ruler, when he had invited us, were to have clearly written those words to Your Majesty, the Pasha must know that Your Majesty would have sent us here with a completely different intent, if at all. As for those who had broken the five-year truce, who caused the conflicts between Your Majesty and His Highness the Sultan, we have already proved that they should be looked for among their neighbors. Therefore, we do not deem necessary to shed light on the truth in this conflict so many times anew, the conflict of which we were never given the opportunity to speak until now, so this time we have intentionally kept silent about it. If, however, Your Highness were to accuse us of causing the past unrests, which are of no interest to us, and deprive us – us to whom you have given your word that you will discharge us free and safe irrespective of whether the peace agreement is concluded or not – of the right to free passage and deny us the credentials which brought us to You free, safe and sound, let Your Highness (who is, in fact, the master of our destiny) be mindful of the grounds for such a decision, and ascertain whether you could do it justly, honorably and without any harm to your name and reputation.

As the Pasha was preparing to reply to this, the Beylerbeyi had left, due to which he abandoned this topic. Finally he started to simultaneously warn us and encourage us declaring that, if we wished to validly advise Your Majesty, we were to listen to his advice. And as we have persevered in our intent, and he did not give up on his, he discharged us, adding that he would inform his ruler about all of this.

After carefully considering the attitude of Rüstem Pasha during our talks, and having been given hope in form of advice of some notable persons in public and private circles, who stated that, in any case, we had to express all our opinions before the Divan, it seemed to us too that something positive could still come out of this. But what had happened so far and what would happen in the future betrayed all our hopes. While this was happening, news broke about the arrival of a Persian envoy. The news about it completely disappeared after the Sultan's return. After-

¹³⁷ Temišvar (rumunjski Timišoara), grad u današnjoj zapadnoj Rumunjskoj. Godine 1552. osvojili su ga Osmanlije te je za njihove vladavine bio sjedište istoimenog ejaleta.

¹³⁸ Lippa (rum. Lipova), grad u današnjoj zapadnoj Rumunjskoj. Nekad se nalazio u zapadnoj Transilvaniji, a između 1552. i 1559. godine bio je pod osmanskom vlašću.

¹³⁹ Riječ je o Egeru, Paloti i Sigetu.

i mišljenja u vezi s time. Kako su nam uskratili ono što smo ih toliko puta od samog početka tražili, i to na temelju njihovih vlastitih obećanja, usrdno molimo njihova presvjetla gospodstva da nam se napokon udostope od Visosti svojeg vladara isposlovati dobrostivi odgovor s dopuštenjem onoga što (kako smo rekli) dugo molimo ili barem pravičan otpust sukladno s dobrostivim obećanjem Njegove Visosti. Ne samo to što smo predugo uzalud ovdje držani nego i božanska i ljudska pravednost neprijeporno zahtijevaju da se takvo odgađanje napokon okonča.

Nismo doznali što su paše odlučili s nama učiniti pošto je u Divanu bilo pročitano naše pismo jer se nitko nije pobrinuo ni jednom jedinom riječju dojaviti nam njihov odgovor. Jedino nas je čauš-paša – koji je sukladno s međunarodnim pravom u vrijeme Divana običavao izvršavati naloge toga vrhovnog tijela koje čine paše, i koji je bio odnio naše pismo – u vlastito ime obavijestio da su paše poručili kako će se uskoro pozabaviti našim poslovima. Budući da nismo bili zadovoljni tim odgovorom, dodijavali smo tumačima tražeći da nam kažu što su paše odgovorili na naše pismo i zašto nam nisu po njima poslali odgovor. Kako ni oni nisu znali što nam, prema nalogu paša, mogu otkriti, a u međuvremenu se glas o tome počeo širiti po čitavome gradu, odlučeno je da nam dojave da ćemo uskoro biti pušteni da odemo. Paše su, naime, čekali dvije stvari: prvo, proslavu Bajrama¹⁴⁰, koja se već približavala, i drugo, dolazak perzijskog poslanika, koji je također bio blizu. Što se potonjem tiče, vjerovali su da će se dogoditi ono što se dogodilo u Amasiji, odnosno da ćemo, mi u strahu od snage Perzijanaca i oni u strahu od nas, jedni druge nastojati pridobiti za svoja očekivanja. Drugi je razlog bio gozba koju su javno, na dvoru, običavali priređivati poslanicima s kojima bi sklopili mir prije njihova odlaska. To im je sada, zbog posta, onemogućavala vjera jer prije Bajrama imaju običaj jesti samo tijekom noći. Premda možda i nisu bili u pitanju ti razlozi, jer bi ipak morala biti riječ o nečemu važnijem od ovoga što držimo posve beznačajnim, prokljinjali smo to što zbog gozbe koja traje jedan ili najviše dva sata mo-

wards the envoys of John's son arrived, and demanded Timișoara¹⁴⁵ and Lippa,¹⁴⁶ which were within the borders of the Transylvanian territory ceded to John earlier. Finally we started despairing concerning our discharge, believing that this would surely produce new obstacles. Therefore we wholeheartedly strived to find out what had gotten in the way of our mission. We accidentally met with interpreter Ibrahim, who we asked with utmost caution if he knew what had been the cause of such unexpected events. He replied that he did not know, and that we should not hope to achieve anything if we do not give the pashas the answer relating to their inquiry about the three fortresses¹⁴⁷ before we are called to the Divan. He believed that they could meet us half way if we were to inform them in writing about our tasks. Rüstem Pasha stated the conditions regarding Eger, Palota and Szigetvár in order to expose his expectations relating to Your Majesty's response. Finally he advised us to think about what we were supposed to do, in our lodgings, for two or three days. However, we intended to demonstrate that all the conditions of Your Majesty had been trampled, as well as our request which we had put forward before them numerous times, and that, both in the beginning as well as recently, we had discussed everything on the basis of the instructions given to us by Your Majesty. Also, we did not want to give them any hope that at present moment we could abandon our given goal. If they were to promise Your Majesty even the slightest peace in the kingdom and also accept a peace agreement, we declared that we would not wait a single moment, but would immediately be ready to reply because we are responding according to our instructions.

So, by adhering to the advice of the interpreter, we started preparing our departure diligently and without hesitation, and on July 12 we sent a letter to the Pashas: bearing in mind that we had responded to their recently stated suggestions in detail and definitively, they should not expect any further responses from us and opinions relating to this. Since they had

¹⁴⁰ Prema naznakama u tekstu, može se ustvrditi da je riječ o islamskom blagdanu Ramazanskom **bajramu** (osmanski turški: *bayram*, praznik, slavlje), odnosno trodnevnom slavlju nakon završetka jednomjesečnog posta ramazana. Datumi koje navode autori izvještaja ne pomažu pri identifikaciji blagdana jer termini islamskih blagdana variraju tijekom godine, s obzirom na to da se temelje na lunarnom kalendaru.

¹⁴⁵ Timișoara, town in present-day western Romania. In 1552, it was captured by the Ottomans, and during their rule it was the center of an eponymous eyalet.

¹⁴⁶ Lippa (Romanian: Lipova), town in present-day western Romania. In the sixteenth century it was located in western Transylvania, and between 1552 and 1559 it was under Ottoman rule.

¹⁴⁷ This refers to Eger, Palota and Szigetvár.

ramo čekati tako važnu stvar. Budući da ni na koji način nismo mogli dobiti ono što smo željeli te da nije postojao nikakav put i sredstvo da to ishodimo, bili smo prisiljeni cijelo vrijeme čekati, pa smo vjerovali da nas, kad već tako žele, zadržavaju ponajprije iz navedenih razloga. Čekali smo dvanaest dana da bismo se naposljetku neposredno prije Bajrama pismeno obratili pašama, govoreći da ih ne želimo više zamarati mnogim riječima, već samo kratko molimo da se sjete našeg odlaska i da nam odgovore u skladu s obećanjem koje nam je dao sam sultan jer ovdje više nemamo što čekati.

Budući da na našu molbu nisu odgovorili tri dana, vjerovali smo da je u pitanju proslava Bajrama, što je kod njih najvažniji i gotovo jedini blagdan tijekom čitave godine. Prvog dana kolovoza iznova smo se počeli brinuti, pa smo tumaču Ibrahimu napisali nekoliko riječi. Zamolili smo ga da pročita naše pismo i privatno ode k velikom veziru te ga, inzistirajući, u naše ime upita bi li se napokon htio založiti za naše otpuštanje. On zna da je toliko dugo zadržavanje nedostojno i bez ikakve koristi za zajedničke poslove, što su u međuvremenu vjerljivo dobro razmotrili i shvatili i on sam i njegov vladar. Potom smo tumaču rekli da se ne usteže smjesta nam javiti sve što mu bude naloženo da nam odgovori.

Tumač je kasno izvršio svoju dužnost jer je u međuvremenu perzijski poslanik došao u Üsküdar. Pošto se vratio kući iz Divana, paša je toga istog dana naložio da nas pozovu k njemu. Obratio nam se ovim riječima: „Kad ste god Visost moga vladara usrdno molili za mir i za svoje otpuštanje, ja sam za vas ispolovao i jedno i drugo, i to uz najveći mogući trud i napor. Činio sam to bez znanja svojih kolega, ostalih paša, te uz neprestani angažman i naklonost žena¹⁴¹, i to tijekom čitavoga ovog dugog vremena koje ste proveli kod nas. Čekao sam i tražio prilike da omekšam srce svoga vladara, koji je protiv vašeg otpusta. Nema sumnje da bih to i ovog puta učinio da poslušate moj savjet, a mogao bih ga skloniti i na to da prihvati sklapanje mirovnog sporazuma. No ako se sa svoga mjesta ne ukloni Siget, spomenuti se mir ne može sklopiti ni pod kojim uvjetom. Ta je, naime, utvrda od početka štitila i još uvjek štití hajduke i pljačkaše koji nadaleko pustoše granice mog vladara

¹⁴¹ Ovo se očito odnosi na utjecajne dvorske žene, koje su u to vrijeme bile sultana Hurem i njezina kćeri Mihrimah, supruga Rustom-paše.

denied us what we had asked of them so many times from the very beginning, and on the basis of their own promises, we kindly ask of Their Serene Lordships to finally deign to ask of His Highness, their ruler, a response with the consent for what (as we had declared) we had pleaded for all this time, or at least an honorable discharge according to the kind promise by His Highness. Not only the lengthy stay during which we were kept here in vain, but both divine and human righteousness incontestably ask for such procrastination to finally come to an end.

We did not find out what the pashas had decided to do with us after our letter was read at the Divan, because no one bothered to inform us about their response. Only the çavuşbaşı – who had carried away our letter, and who according to international law used to carry out tasks of the Divan during the sessions of this supreme institution which consisted of pashas – informed us on his own behalf that the pashas declared that they would address our issues soon. Since we were not pleased with this response, we annoyed the interpreters by asking them to tell us what the pashas had said of our letter, and why they did not send us a reply. Since they did not know what they could reveal to us, according to the orders of the pashas, and in the meantime the news about our departure began to spread throughout the city, it was decided that the pasha will inform us that we would soon be free to depart. The pashas, in fact, had waited for two things: firstly, the celebration of the Bayram¹⁴⁸ which was nearing, and second, the arrival of the Persian envoy who was also approaching. As regards the latter, they believed that the same would happen as in Amasya, that is, that we would, being afraid of Persian power, and them being afraid of us, strive to force each other to accept our own expectations. The second reason was the feast which used to be prepared publicly, at the court, for the envoys with which they would conclude a peace treaty before their departure. This was now precluded by religion, because before the Bayram they had the custom of eating only by night. Although it was maybe not

¹⁴⁸ According to indications in the text, it can be posited that the holiday in question is Eid al-Fitr (Turkish: *Ramazan Bayramı*), a three-day celebration after the end of one-month period of fasting, i.e., Ramadan. The dates mentioned by the authors of the report are not of help in the identification of the holiday because the dates of Islamic holidays vary throughout the year since they are based on the lunar calendar.

i stoga je on više ne može tolerirati. Zato je odlučio da se Siget potpuno uništi, bilo vojno ili po odredbama mirovnog sporazuma.

Stoga neka vaš kolega Ogier ostane kod nas dok se čitava stvar ne okonča i vodi brigu o onome što će se u međuvremenu događati. Vama dvojici, Vrančiću i Zayu, naložio je, pak, da odete k svome kralju i kažete mu sljedeće: Njegova Visost želi da, što je prije moguće, iz utvrde Siget uklonite posadu i streljivo te utvrdnu uništite i razrušite do temelja. Nakon toga iznova pošaljite poslanike i po njima počasni danak za dvije godine tijekom kojih je prekinuto njegovo plaćanje. Tek će se tada steći uvjeti za sklapanje vječnog mira koji su postojali u prethodnome mirovnom sporazumu. Povrh toga, sultan će u svojoj vlasti zadržati dio Ugarske koji sada drži, u granicama koje će se potom odrediti između njegova područja i područja vašeg kralja. O iznosu godišnjeg danka koji će se ubuduće plaćati, a koji sultan želi povećati, kao i o ostalim pitanjima koja se tiču mirovnog sporazuma, pregovarat će s poslanicima koje pošalje kralj i s ovime koji ostane ovdje¹⁴², dakako, pod uvjetom da vaš kralj pristane na ove uvjete.“

Nezadovoljni ovim uvjetima, koji su bili u potpunoj suprotnosti s nalozima Vašeg Veličanstva, izrazom lica pokazali smo nemalu uznemirenost, iskazujući time svoj stav da su potpuno nedolični i nepravedni. Prije nego što išta odgovorimo na njihov prijedlog, htjeli smo se bolje obavijestiti o smještaju granica koje je spomenuo. Stoga smo tražili priliku da im preciznije objasnimo ono što je već više puta bilo ustanovljeno: koje je granice njihov vladar, prepustajući Transilvaniju Ivanovu sinu, obećao Vašem Veličanstvu, pod kojim je uvjetima trebalo pravično sklopiti spomenuti mirovni sporazum između Njegove Visosti i Vašeg Veličanstva te što Vaše Veličanstvo misli o uništenju Sigeta. Nakon toga upitali smo ih na kojem bi mjestu trebalo postaviti spomenute granice. Odgovorio nam je kako njegov vladar želi da Vaše Veličanstvo u Ugarskom Kraljevstvu i nadalje slobodno i mirno zadrži u svojoj vlasti ono što i danas drži, jednako kao što će on sam i njegovi podanici, koji imaju ista prava, u svoje ime držati svoje posjede. Inače će za razgraničenje i zacrtavanje granica biti zaduženi povjerenici koji će na obje strane

because of these reasons, because there must have been something more important at stake than this matter which we considered completely meaningless, we cursed the fact that, due to the feast which lasted one or at least two hours, we had to wait for such an important matter. Since not attaining what we came for was not an option, and there was no way or instrument by which to attain it, which compelled us to a lengthy stay, we believed that they were keeping us here primarily because of the aforementioned reasons. We waited for twelve days until finally, just before the Bayram, we addressed the pashas in writing, stating that we did not want to bother them with many words, but just shortly plead them to remember our departure and to respond according to the promise given to us by the Sultan, because we did not have anything left to wait for here.

Since they did not reply to our plea for three days, we believed it was due to the celebration of the Bayram, which was their most important and practically only holiday during the entire year. On the first day of August we began to worry again, so we wrote a few words to interpreter Ibrahim. We asked him to read our letter and go see the Grand Vizier privately, and ask on our behalf whether he could intercede for our discharge. He knows that such a lengthy detention of ours is undeserving and without any use for our common affairs, which both himself and his ruler must have taken into consideration and understood by now. Afterwards we told the interpreter not to hesitate and to immediately inform us about everything he might be ordered to convey to us.

The interpreter was late in performing his duty, because in the meantime the Persian envoy had arrived in Üsküdar. After he had returned home from the Divan, on that same day, the Pasha called for us. He addressed us with these words: “Whenever you had pleaded of His Highness, my ruler, for peace and for your release, I have accomplished both for you with the biggest possible effort and strain. I did it without the knowledge of my colleagues, other pashas, and with the incessant contribution and sympathy of the women,¹⁴⁹ throughout this lengthy period that you have spent here. I waited and searched for

142 Misli se na Ogiera de Busbecqa.

149 This most likely refers to the influential women at the Ottoman court, this being Sultan Süleyman's wife Hürrem and their daughter Mihrimah, Rüstem Pasha's wife.

biti odabrani među poštenim i uglednim ljudima koji dobro poznaju problem i pravni položaj kraljevstva.

Slijedeći naputke Vašeg Veličanstva, drugog smodana razgovarali o dvjema stvarima: o svojem otpustu, uz sklapanje časnog mira koji smo tražili ili bez toga ako nam se ponudi nešto što nije pravedno i časno. S tim u vezi rekli smo da smo od Njegove Visosti očekivali mnogo pravednije uvjete za sklapanje mira od onih koje nam je predložio. Osim toga, sultanovo nastojanje da s jedne strane silom i uz pomoć pobunjenika smanji granice Vašeg Veličanstva te s druge strane uvjetima mirovnog sporazuma zadobije još više teritorija, nije ništa drugo nego postavljanje očite zapreke sklapanju mirovnog sporazuma. Takvo sužavanje granica Vašeg Veličanstva i proglašavanje sultanove vojne sile čimbenikom u preuzimanju i vraćanju njegovih posjeda u cijelosti je suprotno obećanju koje je na početku pregovora o sklapanju spomenutoga mirovnog sporazuma Njegova Visost dala Vašem Veličanstvu. U vrijeme kada smo došli ovamo radi sklapanja mirovnog sporazuma, sultan je Vašem Veličanstvu obećao dati onaj dio Ugarske koji je ono posjedovalo ako Ivanovu sinu prepusti Transilvaniju. Potaknuto dobrohotnošću i prijateljstvom Njegove Visosti te potpuno se pouzdajući u njegovu riječ, Njegovo Veličanstvo, dakle, odmah je poslalo k njemu svoje poslanike radi sklapanja mira. Pritom se nadalo da će, pošto se Transilvanija prepusti Ivanovu sinu, Njegova Visost održati riječ koju mu je dala u vezi s Ugarskom. Takav način prepuštanja Transilvanije javno smo u Divanu predložili Njegovoj Visosti. Ako se gospodin paša prisjeti na koji smo način i kojim riječima iznijeli taj prijedlog, sjetit će se da je to bilo jedino pod uvjetom da njegov vladar Vašemu Prejasnom Veličanstvu dopusti slobodno i nesmetano posjedovanje Ugarske sve do granica Transilvanije, s time da se unutar njih nalaze i Gyula, i Varadin, i neka druga mjesta. Osim toga, jasno mu je da se u područje Transilvanije ne ubrajaju, niti su u njezin opseg ikada bila uključena, mjesta koja je prije bio držao brat Juraj¹⁴³ ili netko drugi. Budući da je Transilvanija tražena u dječakovo ime, Vaše Veličanstvo od početka je smatralo da se tražbina odnosi samo na Transilvaniju koju je vratilo pod svoju vlast zahvaljujući prosvjedu koji smo uložili mi, njegovi poslanici. Kad Njegova Visost ne bi zauzvrat Vašem

opportunities to soften the heart of my ruler who is against your release. There is no doubt that I would have accomplished it this time as well, if you had listened to my advice, and I could also have persuaded him to accept the conclusion of the peace agreement. But if the Szigetvár fortress were not to be razed, the mentioned peace agreement cannot be concluded under any condition. The fortress has always been protected and still is protecting hajduks and brigands who are pillaging far and wide the borders of my ruler, who cannot tolerate it anymore. Therefore he had decided that Szigetvár must be destroyed completely, either by force of arms or according to the stipulations of the peace treaty.

Therefore let your colleague Ogier stay here until the entire matter is finished, and take care about the matters that would happen in the meantime. As for the two of you, Vrančić and Zay, he had ordered you to go to your king and tell him the following: His Highness wishes for the garrison and ammunition to be removed from the Szigetvár fortress as soon as possible, and for it to be destroyed and razed to the ground. After that, send the emissaries again and with them the honorary tribute for the two years during which its payment had been discontinued. Only then will the conditions for the conclusion of the eternal peace, which had existed in the former peace treaty, be fulfilled. Therewithal, the Sultan will keep under his rule parts of Hungary he holds today, within the borders that will subsequently be defined between his territory and Your King's territory. The Sultan will negotiate the amount of the future annual tribute, which he wishes to increase, as well as other issues relating to the peace treaty, with the envoys sent by the King and with the one who will remain here,¹⁵⁰ of course, under the condition that Your King accepts these stipulations.

Dissatisfied with these conditions, which were completely contrary to Your Majesty's instructions, our facial expression revealed significant anxiety, thus expressing our attitude toward the completely inappropriate and unjust conditions. Before replying, we wanted to inform ourselves better about the outline of the borders he had mentioned. Therefore we had asked for an opportunity to explain in greater de-

142 To jest Juraj Utješenović.

150 This refers to Ogier de Busbecq.

Veličanstvu na isti način dodijelila posjed nad Ugarskom, izjavili smo i tada kao i mnogo puta prije, tako bi prepustanje Transilvanije za nas bilo uzaludno, bezvrijedno i izlišno. Mi, naime, ni sada od Njegove Visosti ne tražimo drugo nego da dopusti Njegovu Veličanstvu da posjeduje Ugarsku u granicama koje mu je već bila obećala. Jedino će tako Njegovo Veličanstvo znati da će spomenuti mir za nj biti pošten, a za Njegovu Visost najpošteniji mogući. Ako nam Njegova Visost to odobri na rečeni način, mi ćemo, kao poslanici i službenici Njegova Veličanstva, na to staviti svoj potpis. Ako ne, otvoreno objavljujemo da nismo suglasni s predloženim uvjetima, koje se i ne usudimo iznijeti pred Vaše Veličanstvo jer nam je ono izričito naložilo da se vratimo neobavljeni posla ako nam ne bude odobren mir u neokrnjenim granicama kraljevstva u skladu sa sultanovim obećanjem. Stoga smjesta zahtijevamo dvije stvari: ako Njegova Visost želi sklopiti mir, da ga napokon bez odgađanja sklopi jer je već isteklo vrijeme. Ako, pak, ne želi, neka se i to bez odgađanja udostoji učiniti. Po nalogu Vašeg Veličanstva, mi smo spremni na oboje, no nikome od nas nije dopušteno ostati ovdje ako se ne sklopi mir. Ako, pak, mir bude sklopljen, naloženo nam je da ostane jedan od nas, koji će do kraja obaviti taj posao. Na tom smo mjestu spomenuli i dvogodišnji prekid plaćanja počasnog danka, rekavši da se Njegova Visost ne treba opterećivati zbog njegova plaćanja jer joj obećavamo da će nesumnjivo odmah biti isplaćen ako se mirovni sporazum zaključi sukladno s obećanjem Njegove Visosti i po želji Vašeg Veličanstva. Ako, pak, bude drugačije, ne možemo obećati da će biti isplaćen.

Tada se umiješao paša, rekavši da je njegov vladar Ugarsku doista obećao Vašem Veličanstvu te da bi se toga i bio držao da je ono prepustilo Transilvaniju Ivanovu sinu onda kada je bilo zamoljeno da to učini. Budući da ju je stvarno predalo tek kada su to već bili učinili njezini stanovnici, njegov je vladar u tom trenutku u cijelosti bio oslobođen svog obećanja. On i inače uvijek ima slobodu raditi što god želi, odnosno jednima davati, drugima oduzimati, pa čak i mijenjati uživatelje svojih posjeda. Rekao je još mnogo stvari sličnih ovima, i to, po svome uvriježenom običaju, prilično drsko.

Dometnuli smo tek nekoliko riječi, želeći se što prije vratiti na temu. Kazali smo da Njegova Visost doista može raditi sa svojim podanicima što god želi,

tail what was ascertained many times before: which borders their ruler had promised to Your Majesty by ceding Transylvania to John's son, under which conditions the mentioned peace treaty between His Highness and Your Majesty needed to be concluded, and what Your Majesty thought about the destruction of Szigetvár. Afterwards we inquired about the pace at which the mentioned borders had to be set. He responded by saying that his ruler wished for Your Majesty to freely and peacefully keep under your rule what you hold today in the Kingdom of Hungary, as he himself and his subjects, who have the same rights, will keep their possessions. Commissioners chosen on both sides among the fair and notable people who know very well the problem and the legal status of the kingdom will be in charge of the process of demarcation.

By following the instructions given by Your Majesty, the next day we discussed two topics: our discharge, following the conclusion of an honorable peace agreement which we asked for, or without it, in the event we are offered something that is not just and honorable. In this respect we declared that we had expected of His Highness more fairer conditions for the conclusion of the peace treaty than the ones which he had proposed. Besides, his insistence on, on the one hand, decreasing Your Majesty's borders by force and with the help of rebels, and on the other, on gaining even more territory through the peace treaty, is nothing more than setting an obvious obstacle to the conclusion of the peace agreement. Such narrowing of Your Majesty's borders and the proclamation that the takeover and return of his possessions is subject to his military force, is totally contrary to his given word, which His Highness had given to Your Majesty at the beginning of the negotiations on the conclusion of the mentioned peace agreement. At the time when we had arrived here in order to conclude the peace treaty, the Sultan promised Your Majesty to give him the part of Hungary which he had owned hitherto, if he were to cede Transylvania to John's son. Encouraged by the benevolence and friendship of His Highness, and relying on his word completely, Your Majesty immediately sent your envoys to him for the conclusion of a peace treaty. In so doing, you hoped that, after Transylvania had been ceded to John's son, His Highness would keep his word which he had giv-

no prema prijateljima bi se trebala odnositi na drugačiji način. Naš je kralj, naime, prijatelj Njegove Visosti i stoga je od nje tražio pravedan i pošten mir, sukladno s obećanjima koja je dobio od nje, kao od prijatelja i savezničkog vladara. Vaše Veličanstvo nije mu obećalo prepustiti Transilvaniju ni zlonamjerno ni s neprijateljskim nakanama. No pouzdajući se u prijateljstvo za koje je vjerovalo da Njegova Visost gaji prema njemu, dugo je pokušavalo zadržati Transilvaniju u vlasti, i to radije pružajući joj slobodu negoli pokoravajući je svojim oružjem. Da se htjelo služiti oružnom silom, zar ne bi tu pokrajину branilo od svojih neprijatelja, kojima je preostala samo jedna ili najviše dvije utvrde, dok i njima nije naređeno da se predaju u milost Vašeg Veličanstva? Ne spominjući ostale uvjete, došli smo do samog kraja, vrativši se na pitanje Sigeta i druge probleme koje smo trebali riješiti. Rekli smo kako će zahtjev da se uništi Siget biti posve neprihvatljiv Vašem Veličanstvu.

Paša je na to odgovorio: „Ako to Njegovo Veličanstvo ne prihvati, doći će do rata. Ako bi moj vladar po-veo rat na Ugarsku, kako bi mu se mogao oduprijeti Siget i čitav preostali dio Ugarske, kad od njegove moći drhti čak i zemaljska kugla? Stoga se Njegovo Veličanstvo mora bojati da zbog jedne utvrde ne izgubi čitavo kraljevstvo. A vi, koji ste mudri ljudi, to dobro odvagnite i o tome razmislite te savjetujte Vašemu kralju da zbog gubitka jedne neznatne utvrde ne počini najveću moguću štetu. Budući da Vam je dana ovlast da sklopite mir, pazite da Vašemu kralju ne stvorite povod za rat i da mu prije vremena ne podmećete noge.“ Rekao je i još mnogo sličnoga ovome.

Odgovorili smo mu da je njegov vladar doista vrlo moćan i da uvijek ima mogućnost povesti rat protiv koga god hoće. Premda naši vladari običavaju voditi ratove zbog vlastite zaštite i koristi, mi smo ipak uvijek iskreno nastojali zadobiti njihovo prijateljstvo radije nego li izazvati neprijateljstvo. To želimo i sada i stoga nastojimo saznati što njegov vladar o tome misli. Inače nemamo ovlasti učiniti ništa osim onoga što nam je povjeroeno i za što znamo da će biti korisno i časno za Vaše Veličanstvo. Ako nam stoga paša ne može reći ništa prihvatljivije o Sigetu i o spomenutim ugarskim granicama, molimo ga za dopuštenje da se vratimo Vašemu Veličanstvu kojemu nećemo dojaviti ništa o uvjetima mira, nego ćemo mu samo reći da smo se vratili, a da nismo sklopili mirovni sporazum. Iz tog razloga neka nam svoj trojici bude dopušteno istodobno otići.

en regarding Hungary. We have proposed such mode of cession of Transylvania to His Highness publicly at the Divan. If His Lordship the Pasha were to recall the manner and words which we used to express this proposal, he would remember that it was only under the condition that his ruler allows Your Serene Majesty free and undisturbed possession of Hungary up to the borders of Transylvania, provided that within those borders are Gyula and Nagyvárad and some other places. Furthermore, it is clear that the territory of Transylvania does not include, or has ever included locations formerly held by Brother George¹⁵¹ or anyone else. Since Transylvania was asked for on behalf of the boy, from the start Your Majesty considered this request to refer to Transylvania only, which you had returned to the Sultan owing to the protest made by us, his emissaries. If His Highness were not to cede Hungary to Your Majesty in return, we declared then, just as we have declared many times before, that for us such cession of Transylvania would be in vain, worthless and redundant. Even now we do not ask of His Highness anything else than to let His Majesty possess Hungary in the same borders in which it was promised to him. Only in this way will His Majesty consider the mentioned peace agreement to be fair for him, and for His Highness the fairest possible. If His Highness were to prove this in the mentioned manner, we will, as emissaries and officials of His Majesty, put our signature on it. If not, we openly declare that we are not compliant with the proposed conditions, which we do not even dare to bring before Your Majesty, because you had explicitly instructed us to return with unfinished work if we could not obtain a peace agreement which would include unimpaired borders of the kingdom, according to the Sultan's promise. Therefore we immediately demand two things: if His Highness wished to conclude a peace agreement, let him conclude it without delay, because the time had run out. And if he does not wish it, let him deign to do that too without delay. By order of Your Majesty, we are ready for both possibilities, but none of us is allowed to stay here if the peace agreement is not to be concluded. And if it is, we were instructed to leave behind the one of us who would finish the work. On this occasion we

151 That is, György Martinuzzi.

Odgovorio je da nam ne može dati povoljnije uvjete mira. Ako, dakle, na ovome mjestu ne možemo potpisati mirovni sporazum i usuglasiti se s ponuđenim uvjetima mira, neka ih onda barem nas dvojica, Vrančić i Zay, iznesemo pred Vaše Veličanstvo i njihovu vladaru doneсemo odgovor što Vaše Veličanstvo o tome misli.

Ako nas dvojica to jednostavno ne želimo prihvati, paša ima posebne ljude koji su zaduženi za takve poslove kod njegova vladara i koji to mogu dojaviti Vašem Veličanstvu. Mi bismo se, pak, pobrinuli da ono što želimo bude provedeno točno, pouzdano i bez odgađanja te da ne izgleda kao da je riječ o budućem mirovnom sporazumu.

Dodao je kako on nije samo jednom već više puta tražio od nas da spomenute uvjete za sklapanje mira dojavimo Vašem Veličanstvu. To će biti prikladnije za Vaše Veličanstvo, a tako želi i njegov vladar, koji želi znati što će Vaše Veličanstvo odgovoriti na spomenute uvjete prije nego što se s njime išta dogovori.

Vidjevši pašinu upornost, malo smo oklijevali s odgovorom, kao da razmišljamo što da učinimo u vezi s toliko važnom i neočekivanom stvari. Ono što je paša predložio bilo je, naime, vrlo teško i činilo se da nema pouzdanog načina za donošenje odluke, posebice stoga što smo trebali postići uspjeh u raspravi s tako divljim i drskim čovjekom. Htjeli smo da paša stekne dojam kako želimo zaobići daljnju raspravu u vezi sa Sigetom i prijeći na razgovor o ostalim pojedinostima (kao da o tome nismo prethodno pisali Vašem Veličanstvu). No on je prekinuo razgovor i otpustio nas, govoreći da će s nama više razgovarati poslije, jer smo na ovome sastanku ionako dovoljno razgovarali, ali samo o Sigetu, kojega se sada nismo željeli doticati, kao i općenito o granicama. Nama je ta odgoda došla kao naručena jer se činilo da odgovara volji njegova vladara, a i da će nas sukus riječi s kojima nas je otpustio bolje pripraviti na ono što na koncu moramo napraviti i zaključiti.

Osmog dana mjeseca kolovoza paša je naredio da nas pozovu na razgovor. Tada nas je upitao što smo odlučili u vezi s onim što nam je bio predložio. Odgovorili smo mu da na pitanje o Sigetu i o granicama koje

mentioned the two-year discontinuation in payment of the honorary tribute, declaring that His Highness does not need to burden himself with the payment because we promise that it will without any doubt be immediately paid if the peace treaty is to be concluded according to the promise of His Highness and the wishes of Your Majesty. And if it were to happen otherwise, we cannot promise that it would be paid.

Thereupon the Pasha intervened, saying that his ruler did indeed promise Hungary to Your Majesty, and that he surely would have abided by this promise if Your Majesty were to have ceded Transylvania to John's son when he was asked to do it. Since he actually ceded it only when its inhabitants had already done it, at that moment his ruler was completely exempted of his promise. Nevertheless, he is always free to do as he pleases – namely, to give to ones, take from others, and even to change the benefactors of his possessions. He said many more things similar to this, and he said it quite brazenly, in accordance with his inveterate habit.

We added only a few words, wanting to return to the topic. We declared that His Highness can indeed do with his subjects whatever he pleases, but he should treat his friends in a different manner. Our King is a friend of His Highness, and thus our King asked of His Highness a just and honest peace treaty, according to the promises which he had received from His Highness, as from a friend and an ally ruler. Your Majesty did not promise to cede Transylvania maliciously, or with hostile intentions. But by confiding in the friendship for which he believed that His Highness had nourished toward him, he strived for a long time to keep Transylvania under his rule and this by providing it with its freedom more than by subjugating it with his weapons. If he were to have wanted to use his armed force, would he not defend this region from his enemies who were left with only one, or at most with two fortresses, until they too were ordered to surrender to the mercy of Your Majesty? By not mentioning the remaining conditions, we arrived to the very end, returning to the question of Szigetvár and other issues that we needed to resolve. We declared that the demand for the destruction of Szigetvár will be totally unacceptable to Your Majesty.

The Pasha replied to this by saying: "If His Majesty will not accept this, there will be war. If my ruler

144 Odnosi se na Velikovaradinski ugovor iz 1538. godine.

145 Huszt (mađarski: Huszt, ukrajinski i ruski: Хуст), utvrda smještena na rijeci Hustec u zapadnoj Ukrajini. Godine 1526. ušla je u sastav Transilvanije, a Ferdinand I. osvojio ju je 1546. godine.

je Njegova Visost obećala Vašem Veličanstvu možemo odgovoriti jedino isto što i prije jer ne možemo iznijeti drugaćiji stav ako želimo postupati u skladu s naputcima Vašeg Veličanstva. Ako je njegov vladar odlučio da se nas dvojica, Vrančić i Zay, vratimo k Vašem Veličanstvu kako bismo doznali njegovo mišljenje o uvjetima sklapanja mirovnog sporazuma koji su nam na koncu predloženi, mi ćemo to i učiniti, no preostaje još mnogo toga što oni sami moraju učiniti i o tome nas izvijestiti kako bismo o čitavoj stvari što potpunije mogli informirati Vaše Veličanstvo. Stoga smo upitali pašu što nam može odgovoriti o Gyuli, Varadinu i ostalim mjestima u Ugarskom Kraljevstvu koja se nalaze unutar granica koje su obećane Vašem Veličanstvu. Mi smo se i prije s velikom revnošću borili za ta mjesta, a to činimo i sada jer ih se Vaše Veličanstvo ne želi odreći. To je i ispravno jer ih je trebalo mirno prepustiti Vašem Veličanstvu sukladno s obećanjem koje mu je dao njegov vladar, a to je da će mu osigurati posjed Ugarske ako Transilvaniju prepusti Ivanovu sinu. Sada se, pak, govori da, prekršivši odredbe Varadinskog primirja¹⁴⁴ suprotno svakome pravu i pravednosti, neprijatelji Vašeg Veličanstva uz pomoć sultanovih četa žele opstjeti Gyulu jednako kao što su preoteli i utvrdu Huszt.¹⁴⁵ Pritom ne vode računa ni o primirju ni o sultanovu obećanju da će zaštititi granice svih kraljevstava i pokrajina Vašeg Veličanstva u vrijeme kad se bude pregovaralo o spomenutom miru.

Odgovorio je da su sva ta preotimanja i razaranja, koja su se dogodila nakon našeg dolaska u Visoku portu, izazvali susjedi Vašeg Veličanstva. Sve su to napravili u pravednom ratu koji su, poput Vas, u međuvremenu vodili i susjedi Vašeg Veličanstva, ne propuštajući prilike gdje su god i kad su god mogli. Stoga neka Vaše Veličanstvo ono što je tada izgubljeno smatra izgubljenim. Njegov vladar to i inače ne bi prepustio Vašem Veličanstvu jer sve što je u Ugarskoj ili Transilvaniji prethodno dobio u posjed uime Ivana sина, on smatra da jest te da će i ubuduće biti pod njegovom jurisdikcijom i u njegovoj vlasti.

Na to smo ga upitali kad će stupiti na snagu obećanja koja je njegov vladar dao Vašem Veličanstvu – u to je vrijeme Vaše Veličanstvo držalo Transilvaniju, a sada mu se otima i Ugarska, koja je, u skladu sa sultanovim obećanjem, čitava bila u njegovu posjedu i koju je Vaše Veličanstvo imalo u svojoj vlasti i onda kada je nas poslalo u ovu misiju u Tursku.

would wage war against Hungary, how could Szigetvár and the rest of Hungary withstand him, when the entire world trembles at his power? Therefore His Majesty must fear of losing the entire kingdom because of one fortress. And you, who are wise men, ponder this well, and think about it, and advise your King not to cause greatest possible damage due to the loss of one inconsiderable fortress. Since you were given the authority to conclude a peace treaty, beware not to create cause for war, and not to hamper his actions before time." He added many similar things.

We replied that his ruler is very powerful indeed, and that he always has the possibility to wage war against whomever he wishes. Although our rulers tend to wage wars for their own protection and benefit, we still have always tried sincerely to gain their friendship rather than to cause enmity. This we wish to do now too, thus we are striving to find out what your ruler thinks about this. But we do not have the authorization to do anything except what was trusted to us, and what we know would be useful and honorable for Your Majesty. If the Pasha thus cannot say anything more acceptable concerning Szigetvár and the mentioned Hungarian borders, we ask him for the permission to return to Your Majesty, to whom we will not convey anything about the peace conditions, but will only say to him that we have returned without concluding the peace treaty. For this reason let the three of us be allowed to depart simultaneously.

He replied that he cannot give us more agreeable peace conditions. Thus, if we cannot conclude a new peace treaty and agree on the offered peace conditions, let at least the two of us, Vrančić and Zay, relay them to Your Majesty and bring a response to their ruler on Your Majesty's opinion.

If the two of us simply do not wish to accept this, the Pasha has special people who are in charge of such affairs at his ruler's court, and who can deliver this message to Your Majesty. We will take care that our demands are carried out precisely, reliably and without delay, and not to seem as if those were a matter of some future peace agreement.

He added that it was not only once, but numerous times that he asked us to convey the mentioned conditions for the conclusion of a peace treaty to Your Majesty. That would have been more appropriate for Your Majesty, his ruler desiring that as well. Moreo-

Kratko je odgovorio da se o tome već raspravljalo i da se uzalud trudimo i trošimo riječi. Vaše Veličanstvo mora biti zadovoljno onim dijelom teritorija koji mu je prepustio njegov vladar. Sultan bi mu i njega bio uskratio da se paša osobno, zajedno sa ženama, nije založio za Vaše Veličanstvo.

Tada smo ga upitali što nam je činiti s utvrdom Huszt i s dobrima pobunjenika. Naime, i Huszt je otet na veliku štetu primirja i na sramotu obećanja koje je dao njegov vladar. Posjedi i dobra pobunjenika nisu se smjeli otkinuti i otuđiti Vašem Veličanstvu, premda su pobunjenici htjeli raskinuti prisegu vjernosti Vašem Veličanstvu. To je kraljevstvo Vašeg Veličanstva i stoga ono uvijek može nepoštene i nevjerne zamijeniti poštenima i vjernima.

Paša je odgovorio kako njegov vladar želi da se s dobrima pobunjenika postupi jednako kao s ostalim dobrima koja pripadaju Ivanovu sinu. Njegov vladar, osim toga, ne smije odbiti i ostaviti nezaštićenim nikoga tko se utekne njemu i njegovoj zaštiti. Stoga ni o tome ne bismo trebali razgovarati; njegov vladar nikada neće vratiti Vašem Veličanstvu ono što mi tako uporno zahtijevamo jer bi time povrijedio običaje svojih predaka.

Nakon toga došli smo na pitanje Mukačeva.¹⁴⁶ Pitali smo ga sjeća li se da ta utvrda nije bila osvojena u ratu, nego je prema sporazumu¹⁴⁷ bila predana Petru Petroviću u zamjenu za Transilvaniju i Temišvar. Budući da se o njoj pregovaralo s kraljicom i s njezinim sinom, božanska i ljudska pravednost zahtijevali su da se i ona vrati Vašem Veličanstvu jer je njegovu vladaru svojevoljno iskazalo zahvalnost za Transilvaniju.

Dometnuo je da nije dovoljno upoznat s problemom Mukačeva te da smo o njemu trebali raspravljati s Ahmed-pašom. Kad Vaše Veličanstvo pošalje druge poslanike radi sklapanja mira, neka ga oni o tome obavijeste i tada će se donijeti ispravna i pravedna oduka u vezi s tom utvrdom. On, doduše, ne zna na koji bi se način ta utvrda mogla vratiti Vašem Veličanstvu kad je dana Petru Petroviću za Temišvar, a Temišvar od Vašeg Veličanstva nije uzeo Petrović,

ver, he wishes to know what Your Majesty's response to the mentioned conditions is, before he is to arrange anything with the Sultan.

Seeing the Pasha's persistence, we hesitated a bit with our reply, as if we were thinking what to do regarding such an important and unexpected matter. What the Pasha had proposed was, in fact, very difficult and it seemed there was no reliable way of making a decision, especially because we had won an argument with such a wild and arrogant man. We wished for the Pasha to get the impression that we wished to avoid further discussion regarding Szigetvár and pass to a discussion about other details (as if we had not written about it beforehand to Your Majesty). But he interrupted the conversation and released us, saying that he would talk with us more later, because we had conversed enough during this meeting anyway, but only about Szigetvár, which we did not want to discuss now, as well as the borders in general. We were very pleased with this respite because it seemed it was done according to the will of his ruler, and that the essence of the words with which he had released us would prepare us better for what we had to do and conclude in the end.

On the eighth day of the month of August, the Pasha called for us. Thereupon he asked us about our decision relating to what he had proposed earlier. We responded that, with regard to the question of Szigetvár and the borders which His Highness had promised to Your Majesty, we could only reply as we had replied earlier, because we cannot express any other position if we wish to act in accordance with the instructions of Your Majesty. If his ruler had decided for the two of us, Vrančić and Zay, to return to Your Majesty in order to learn his opinion concerning the conditions for the conclusion of the peace treaty proposed in the final stages of the negotiations, we would do it, but there is a lot of matters that they have to resolve between themselves and inform us thereof, in order for us to be able to inform Your Majesty more fully about the entire matter. Hence we asked the Pasha what he could tell us regarding Gyula, Nagyvárad and other places in the Kingdom of Hungary located within the borders promised to Your Majesty. Even before we had fought with great diligence for these places, and we are now doing the same, because Your Majesty does

¹⁴⁶ Mukačovo (mađarski: Munkács, ukrajinski i ruski: Мукачево), utvrda smještena u dolini rijeke Latorice u zapadnoj Ukrajini. U 16. stoljeću pripadala je Transilvaniji.

¹⁴⁷ Odnosi se na sporazum između Ferdinanda I. i transilvanskih staleža koji je potpisana 19. srpnja 1551. godine u Albi Iuliji.



Prikaz utvrde Mukačevo / Panorama of the Mukachevo fortress

Nepoznati autor. Tiskano u Frankfurtu i Leipzigu 1688. godine. / Unknown author. Printed in Frankfurt and Leipzig in 1688.

nego njegov vladar. Stoga je Mukačevo, kao sultanova utvrda, nepravedno predano Vašem Veličanstvu, a krivnja se ne može prebaciti na Petrovića. U skladu s tim, ni utvrda Mukačevo ne može se tražiti od njega. No poslije će doći čas da se o tome donese odluka, a mi samo trebamo s ovim uvjetima žurno otici k našem kralju i pobrinuti se da on razumije volju njegova vladara u pogledu sklapanja mira. Stoga neka mu Vaše Veličanstvo odgovori što žurnije može što ima na umu u vezi sa spomenutim miron.

Iako smo ondje izložili sve što je s Petrovićem bilo dogovoreno u vezi s njegovim imovinskim pravima nad utvrdom Mukačevo, pa čak i pokazali njegovom rukom pisani ispravu kojom se obvezao na vječitu vjernost Vašem Veličanstvu kako bismo obranili pravo Vašeg Veličanstva nad tom utvrdom, nismo ništa postigli jer je to pitanje paša odgodio za neko drugo vrijeme. Kako bismo ipak dobili pašin odgovor na ostala pitanja, rekli smo da više ne možemo odgađati odlazak k Vašem Veličanstvu, premda sada već jasno vidimo, a u što ćemo se uvjeriti i kad dodemo pred njega, kakav će biti stav Vašeg Veličanstva o uvjetima mira. Naime, ne prepoznajemo ništa takva na što bi Vaše Veličanstvo moglo pristati s obzirom na to da je stiješnjeno na tako malen dio kraljevstva koji se

not want to relinquish them. This is justified because those had to be given over peacefully to Your Majesty in accordance with the promise given to him by his ruler,¹⁵² this being that he would ensure to him the possession of Hungary if he cedes Transylvania to John's son. Now the word is that, by breaking the stipulations of the Nagyvárad armistice¹⁵³ contrary to every right and righteousness, the enemies of Your Majesty with the help of the Sultan's forces wish to besiege Gyula in the same manner as they had taken the fortress of Huszt.¹⁵⁴ In so doing they took into account neither the armistice nor the Sultan's promise to defend the borders of all kingdoms and regions of Your Majesty at the time of the negotiations about the mentioned peace agreement.

He replied that all those usurpations and destruction, which happened after our arrival at the Sublime Porte, were caused by the neighbors of Your Majesty. They had done all of this in a just war, which in the meantime had also been led - as it had been by You

152 That is, the Pasha's ruler.

153 The agreement in question is the Treaty of Nagyvárad of 1538.

154 Khuszt (Hungarian: Huszt, Ukrainian and Russian: Хуст), fortress situated on the river Khustets in western Ukraine. In 1526 it became part of Transylvania, and Ferdinand I captured it in 1546.

nalazi u dometu jedne strijele, a njegov vladar usto traži povećanje počasnoga godišnjeg danka i nadoknadu za dvije godine tijekom kojih nije plaćan. Usto želi da mu Vaše Veličanstvo pošalje taj danak u Portu prije nego što započne mirovne pregovore. Ne znamo kako će ijedno od toga biti moguće jer je Vaše Veličanstvo prisiljeno prije smanjiti negoli povećati godišnji danak s obzirom na to da je smanjeno područje njegove jurisdikcije u Ugarskoj. Osim toga, ono neće htjeti poslati dvogodišnju nadoknadu danka prije negoli se zaključi i objavi mir. Kazali smo i da je propušteni danak Vaše Veličanstvo njegovu vladaru obećalo ne iz nužde, nego zbog svoje dobrostivosti, a njegovo je plaćanje omelo ratno pravo jer je Ali-paša na nj krenuo s vojskom. Vaše Veličanstvo tim je dankom htjelo pokazati koliko se trudi zadobiti sultanova priateljstvo. No o tome paša nije htio čuti ni rijeći, nego je samo ustrajao na tome da se danak uveća. Odgovorio je da će ionako biti teško isposlovati mir koji je obećan Vašem Veličanstvu i stoga je nužno na vrijeme poslati propušteni danak kako bi paša imao čvrst argument da kod svog vladara što slobodnije i uspješnije pregovara te isposluje mir. U protivnom se boji da će, ako Vaše Veličanstvo propusti ovu priliku, sve biti uzalud.

Kad smo vidjeli da više ništa ne koristi, nismo odgovorili ništa drugo nego ono što će Vaše Veličanstvo sigurno o tome misliti.

Kad je, pak, paša spomenuo vječni mir, upitali smo ga kako bi trebalo shvatiti njegovo vječno trajanje. Na to je odgovorio da to znači da će mir trajati do kraja života Vašeg Veličanstva ili njegova vladara, odnosno dokle god Vaše Veličanstvo ne pruži neki povod za rat. Jednako tako, ako bi tako odgovaralo Vašem Veličanstvu, može se odrediti i neki kraći rok, što njegov vladar prepušta odluci Vašeg Veličanstva, dodajući da će se mir poštovati kao da je sklopljen s Francuzima ili Mlečanima.

Tada smo pohvalili stav njegova vladara i započeli razgovor o Gyuli i Košicama¹⁴⁸, koje dosad još nismo spomenuli. No mađarski tumač po imenu Ferhad spriječio nas je da govorimo o tome jer su navedena mjesta dosad bila u rukama Vašeg Veličanstva, a u ponuđenim uvjetima mira stoji da Vaše Veličanstvo može zadržati ono što trenutačno posjeduje. Tako

- by the neighbors of Your Majesty, without missing any chance to fight wherever and whenever possible. Therefore let Your Majesty deem lost that which was lost at that time. His ruler did not have the intention to cede it to Your Majesty, because everything that he had gotten possession of in Hungary or Transylvania on behalf of John's son, he¹⁵⁵ considers being under his jurisdiction and his rule, now and in the future.

Thereupon we asked him when his ruler's promises given to Your Majesty will enter into force, and if at that time Your Majesty had held Transylvania, and now even Hungary is being taken from him, although it was, in accordance with the Sultan's promise, in his hands entirely, and Your Majesty had had it under his rule at the time when he had sent us on this mission to Turkey.

He briefly replied that this had been discussed before, and that our effort and words are in vain. Your Majesty has to be content with the territory ceded to him by his ruler. The Sultan would have denied him this territory too if the Pasha had not, together with the women, personally vouched for Your Majesty.

Thereupon we asked him what we should do regarding the fortress of Huszt and the assets of the rebels. The usurpation of Huszt was extremely detrimental for the establishment of armistice, and the broken promise was shameful for his ruler. The possessions and the goods of the rebels should not have been taken from Your Majesty, even though the rebels had wanted to break the oath of loyalty to Your Majesty. This is the kingdom of Your Majesty and therefore he can always replace the dishonest and disloyal ones with honest and loyal ones.

The Pasha responded that his ruler wished for the assets of the rebels to be treated in the same way as other goods that belong to John's son. Furthermore, his ruler must not refuse and leave unprotected anyone who would reach for his help. Therefore we should not discuss this either, because his ruler will never return to Your Majesty that which we so persistently demand, because by doing so he would violate the customs of his ancestors.

148 Košice (mađarski: Kassa), grad na rijeci Hornád, danas u sastavu Slovačke. Tijekom 16. stoljeća Košice su bile važno vojno uporište sjeverne Ugarske.

155 That is, the Sultan.

smo, slijedeći njegov savjet, propustili spomenuti Košice, jer su otprije bile uključene u granice Transilvanije koje su bile sporne. No pitanje Gyule nismo prešutjeli, nastojeći isposlovati da je neprijatelji ne ugrožavaju, nego da se ona mirna i slobodna (kakva je bila u rukama Vašeg Veličanstva) ostavi u njegovoj vlasti s mogućnošću da ono s jednakim pravom zadrži i ostalo, što otprije nije bilo vraćeno. Na to je paša odgovorio ono što je rekao i prije, a to je da никако ne može biti to što tražimo. Tako smo se sporili oko svake pojedinosti, naizmjence mu jedno predlažući, drugo odgovarajući - no s jednakim učinkom. Naposljetku nismo mogli postići ništa osim onoga što nam je na početku bio najavio. Jednako nam tako nije ostavio nikakvu nadu, jasno naznačujući da se njegova vladara ne može navesti ni na što drugo, barem tijekom ovog razgovora. No na kraju nam je natuknuo nešto o Sighetu, o čemu ćemo govoriti na drugome mjestu, čime je pokazao da njegov vladar neće biti u potpunosti neumoljiv.

Kad smo vidjeli ustrajnost njegova vladara, koja se očitovala u lošim i nepravednim uvjetima mira koje nam je paša predložio, premda je bio uobičajeno postojan u stavovima, odgovlačili smo sastanak ispitujući ga i suprotstavljujući mu se kao što smo, u skladu sa svojim nalogom, i dosad bili činili u drugim pitanjima, dok ih ne učinimo povoljnijima. Budući da nas je Rustem-paša opetovano upozoravao na to da ćemo ondje morati ostati dokle god odbijamo s njegovim prijedlozima otpovljati k Vašem Veličanstvu, bojali smo se da ne učinimo kakvu pogrešku koja će zadati nove poteškoće Vašem Veličanstvu, koje nam je najstrože naredilo da se vratimo, makar i neobavljen posla. Stoga smo svim silama ustrajali na molbi da nas svu trojicu otpuste jer nisu predloženi uvjeti primjereni za sklapanje mirovnog sporazuma niti se možemo nadati čemu boljemu. Kad je paša, dakle, rekao da se ne možemo vratiti sva trojica i da je sultan naredio da se nas dvojica vratimo, a treći ostane, predložili smo da mi, Vrančić i Zay, najprije budemo otpušteni. Tako smo se, naime, bili dogovorili da ćemo učiniti ako stvar na koncu tako završi. Stoga smo se obratili paši govoreći da ćemo se nas dvojica vratiti Vašem Veličanstvu. Vraćamo se po njegovu nalogu, no plašeći se da im ne ostavimo ispraznu nadu da će Vaše Veličanstvo prihvati uvjete mira, posebice kad je riječ o Sighetu i sužava-

Thereafter we passed onto the issue of Mukachevo.¹⁵⁶ We inquired whether he recalled that this fortress was never captured in war, but was ceded to Peter Petrović according to an agreement¹⁵⁷ in exchange for Transylvania and Timișoara. Since the agreement was negotiated with the Queen and her son, divine and human righteousness necessitates that the fort be returned to Your Majesty, since Your Majesty expressed his gratitude to his ruler for Transylvania of his own free will.

He added that he was not adequately informed about the issue of Mukachevo, and that we should have discussed it with Ahmed Pasha. When Your Majesty sends new envoys for the conclusion of a peace agreement, let them inform him about it, and then will the right and just decision be made regarding this fortress. He, in fact, does not know how this fortress could be returned to Your Majesty since it was given to Peter Petrović in exchange for Timișoara, and it was not Petrović who had taken Timișoara from Your Majesty, but the Pasha's ruler. Thus Mukachevo, as the Sultan's fortress, was unjustly given to Your Majesty. Therefore Petrović cannot be the one to blame. In accordance with this, the fortress of Mukachevo cannot be asked of him. However, there will come a time to make a decision about it, and we should hurry with these conditions to our King and should take care that he understand the will of his ruler regarding the peace agreement. Therefore let Your Majesty convey the Sultan his reply relating to the mentioned peace treaty as fast as he can.

Although we had exposed everything that was agreed upon with Petrović concerning his ownership rights over the fortress of Mukachevo, and even showed a statement written by his own hand, in which he had committed to eternal loyalty toward Your Majesty, for the sake of defending the right of Your Majesty to this fortress, we did not achieve anything because the Pasha postponed this question for some other time. In order to receive the Pasha's answer on other questions, we declared that we could not postpone our departure to Your Majesty any-

¹⁵⁶ Mukachevo (Ukrainian and Russian: Мукачево, Hungarian: Munkács), a fortress situated in the valley of the river Latorica in western Ukraine. In the sixteenth century it belonged to Transylvania.

¹⁵⁷ This refers to the Treaty of Weissenburg, an agreement between Ferdinand I and the Transylvanian estates signed on July 19, 1551 in Alba Iulia.

nju granica. Kako da odemo k Njegovu Veličanstvu laki poput vjetra znajući da će to biti na štetu našeg ugleda i na štetu milosti Njegova Veličanstva? Zato prosvjedujemo pred pašom jer nesumnjivo znamo da Vaše Veličanstvo neće prihvati te uvjete, koji su protivni njegovoj časti i ugledu. Osim toga, ni mi se nismo s njima složili, a moramo ih dojaviti Vašem Veličanstvu, i to ne po vlastitoj volji, nego po nalogu njegova vladara.

Na sličan je način prosvjedovao i naš kolega, velmožni gospodin Ogier, rekavši da mu nije po volji što ga tako razdvajaju od nas dok mir još nije sklopljen, a nije sigurno ni da će biti. To je, osim toga, u cijelosti i nedvojbeno u suprotnosti s naputkom Vašeg Veličanstva. Da je dogovoren mir, on ne bi odbijao tu dužnost kao prisilnu i nametnutu. Stoga, ako nam njegov vladar ne želi predložiti povoljnije uvjete mira, i on sa svojim kolegama traži potpun otpust. Ako mu se to uskrati, stalno će iznova prosvjedovati i ovdje će ostati samo prisilno i protiv volje Vašeg Veličanstva. Dotad ga ništa neće odvojiti od kolega, ma što da se dogodi.

Pošto je saslušao njegov prosvjedni govor, koji smo mu, nakon savjetovanja, uputili s dvije strane, paša se malo uznemirio, ali je ipak ljubazno i uljudno ohrabrio najprije našeg kolegu, velmožnog gospodina Ogiera, rekavši mu da se ne opterećuje time što mora ostati dok se ne dojavi odgovor Vašeg Veličanstva. Zatim se obratio nama dvojici rekavši da ne pokušavamo ništa isposlovati, nego da požurimo izvijestiti Vaše Veličanstvo o željama njegova vladara u vezi s mirovnim sporazumom. Kao što smo već bili pisali Vašem Veličanstvu i prethodno mu spomenuli, paša je u međuvremenu obećao gospodinu Ogieru svu slobodu te ne samo časno i prijateljsko nego i bratsko ophođenje. Dodao je da s tim što prije treba upoznati Vaše Veličanstvo te što žurnije dojaviti njegovo mišljenje i sultana i njemu osobno. Pokorili smo mu se navedeni nuždom i, učinivši sve po redu kojim smo to ovdje izložili, otišli od njega. Jedva smo stigli do gostinjca kad su nas sustigli sultanovi darovi, haljine i nešto novca, uz pašinu obavijest da sutradan moramo krenuti na put. I tako smo idućeg dana, kako je paša i najavio, odvedeni u Divan. Ono o čemu smo privatno razgovarali kod Rustem-paše, ondje smo objavili pred svim pašama. To je pružilo povod Rustem-paši i ostalim pašama da iznova započnu prepirku, i to ne samoo

more, although even now we see clearly – and we will become sure of it when we arrive before him – what would be the position of Your Majesty regarding the conditions of the peace agreement. We do not see anything that Your Majesty could consent to, since his kingdom is so truncated that it now can be overarched by an arrowshot. Additionally, his ruler asks for an increase in the amount of the honorary annual tribute and a reimbursement for the two years during which it was not being paid. Furthermore, he wishes for Your Majesty to send him this tribute to his Porte before the beginning of the peace negotiations. Due to these reasons we do not know how both these matters would be possible because Your Majesty is forced rather to decrease than to increase the yearly tribute, since the area of his jurisdiction in Hungary has decreased. Besides, he will not want to send the two-year reimbursement of the tribute before a peace treaty is concluded and made public. We also declared that Your Majesty had promised the unpaid tribute to his ruler not out of necessity, but out of his kindness, and its payment was interrupted by law of war, because Ali Pasha had attacked him with his forces. With this tribute, Your Majesty wanted to demonstrate how much he strived to win the Sultan's friendship. But the Pasha did not want to hear a word about it, and insisted on the increase of the tribute. He replied that the peace that was promised to Your Majesty will be difficult to realize anyway, and therefore is was necessary to send the unpaid tribute in order for the Pasha to have a strong argument and to be able to negotiate more freely and successfully and obtain a peace treaty from his ruler. Otherwise, he is afraid, if Your Majesty were to miss this chance, everything would be in vain.

When we had seen that nothing is of use, we responded by saying nothing else than what Your Majesty will surely think of the matter.

When the Pasha had mentioned an eternal peace agreement, we asked how we should understand its eternal duration. He replied that it meant that the peace would last until the end of life of Your Majesty or his ruler, namely, until Your Majesty provides some cause for war. Equally, if it was to suit Your Majesty, a shorter period can be defined, which his ruler leaves to the decision of Your Majesty, adding that the peace agreement will be respected as if it was arranged with the French or the Venetians.

Sigetu, kao prije, već i o ostalim pojedinostima. I ondje smo se uzalud trudili jer su se svi paše složili s Rustem-pašom da se Siget uništi. Ni ondje nam nije bilo javno odgovoreno ni na jedan od naših zahtjeva, jednako kao što nam Rustem-paša nije odgovorio u svojoj kući. Budući da su se stvari odvijale na takav način, i ondje smo prosvjedovali jednako kao kod Rustem-paše, no ipak malo ugleđenije, vodeći računa o mjestu i osobama koje su ondje bile prisutne. Naposljetku smo ih upitali bismo li Vašem Veličanstvu mogli dojaviti nešto povoljnije o Sigetu i ostalim pojedinostima, kako se Vašem Veličanstvu i njihovu vladaru ne bi učinilo da ova naša diplomatska misija, koja je trajala četiri godine, nije urodila nikakvim plodom.

Tada će Rustem-paša: „Ako je“, rekao je, „Vašemu kralju teško uništiti i do temelja srušiti Siget, koji je mala utvrda i koji donosi mnogo veće troškove negoli korist, upozorite svojeg kralja da pokuša pronaći neki način i sredstvo kojima bi mogao navesti našeg vladara da dopusti da Siget ostane netaknut.“ Kad smo to čuli od tumača, obuzela nas je silna radost, tim veća što je bila nenađana. No sumnjujući da je paša baš to rekao, prije nego što smo odgovorili paši, upitali smo tumača kako bi trebalo shvatiti tu pašinu izjavu. „Podmičivanjem“, odgovorio je, što nam se jako svidjelo. Budući da smo od tumača nastojali doznati nešto preciznije, nismo odmah odgovorili Rustem-paši. Nato je Ali-paša dometnuo: „Nipošto, neka se Siget potpuno uništi. Takva je sultanova volja i naredba. Mir se nikako ne može sklopiti dok je ta utvrda čitava.“

Tada smo se našli u velikoj nedoumici ne znajući je li Rustem-paša stvarno izrekao te riječi ili nam je tumač rekao ono što smo željeli čuti, a čemu se Ali-paša tako snažno, brzo i očevidno usprotivio. Osim toga, kad smo bili kod Rustem-paše, on ništa slično nije ni ovlaš spomenuo. Gajili smo slabašnu nadu, ali smo u to barem malo povjerivali jer nije bilo sumnje da se Rustem-paša, zajedno sa svojim ženama, ustrajno protivio svakoj vrsti rata. Koliko smo dosad mogli primijetiti, on se također zdušno zalagao za mir s Vašim Veličanstvom, u nadi da će dobiti obećanu nagradu od 20 000 zlatnika. Kad smo god privatno s njime razgovarali, nije propuštao, kao usput, najprije nas upitati sjećamo li se obećanja. Potom je čak i povjerljivo tražio da ne raspravljamo s ostalim pašama o onome o čemu bi on s nama mnogo slobodnije razgovarao.

Afterwards we have commended his ruler's attitude and started anew the conversation about Gyula and Košice,¹⁵⁸ which we had not mentioned hitherto. But the Hungarian interpreter named Ferhad stopped us from talking about it because the mentioned places were in the hands of Your Majesty so far, and in the offered peace conditions it had been stated that Your Majesty could keep what you had in your possession at the time. So, following his advice, we decided not to mention Košice because it was hitherto part of the contested Transylvanian borders. But we did not keep silent on the question of Gyula, trying to arrange for it not to be endangered by enemies, but to be peaceful and free (as it was in the hands of Your Majesty) and under his rule, with the possibility for him to gain everything else, with equal rights, that has not been hitherto returned. The Pasha responded to this by saying what he had said before, that he cannot do what we ask of him in any way. So we disputed about every detail, alternately proposing one thing and dissuading him from the other, but with equal effect. Finally we could not achieve anything except what he had announced to us at the beginning. Equally, he did not leave us any hope, clearly indicating that his ruler could not have been persuaded to accept anything else, at least during this conversation. But in the end he hinted at something relating to Szigetvár, which we will mention at another place, with which he demonstrated that his ruler will not be completely immittigable.

Seeing his ruler's perseverance, manifested through bad and unjust peace conditions that the Pasha had proposed to us, although he was usually adamant in his stances, we protracted the meeting, questioning him and opposing him as we had, in accordance with our instructions, done in other matters so far, until making them more favorable. Since Rüstem Pasha had repeatedly warned us that we would have to stay there as long as we refuse to depart with his suggestions to Your Majesty, we were afraid not to make a mistake that would cause new difficulties for Your Majesty, who had most stringently ordered us to return, even with work unfin-

¹⁵⁸ Košice (Hungarian: Kassa), town on the river Hornád, in present-day Slovakia. In the sixteenth century Košice was a significant military stronghold of northern Hungary.

Zato je iz posljednjih pregovora uklonio tumača Ibrahima, čijim smo se uslugama u to vrijeme uvijek koristili zbog latinskog jezika, zamijenivši ga Mađarom Ferhadom, u kojega je imao više povjerenja u vezi sa svojim privatnim poslovima. Osim toga, Ferhad nas je mnogo puta, i tada i prije, bio uvjeravao da bi Rustem-paša više volio izgubiti dvadeset zubi iz glave negoli ne primiti 20 000 obećanih zlatnika. Budući da smo povjerovali kako je paša doista to rekao, prestali smo ih poticati da se očituju o tome, kao i o ostalom što su nam bili uskratili, i to ponajprije stoga što bismo se uzalud trudili, a potom zato da nam ne predbace neku zluradost ako opaze da smo se čvrsto uhvatili za Rustem-pašinu riječ. Naposljetu, na odrještu Ali-pašinu izjavu Rustem-paša nije odgovorio ni riječi. Nakon što smo i mi i oni neko vrijeme šutjeli kao zaliveni, ustali su i odveli nas k sultanu. Poljubivši mu po običaju ruke, Rustem-paša pokazao mu je tko će od nas ostati kod Njegove Visosti, a tko će se vratiti Vašem Veličanstvu. Kako nam ondje nije bilo dopušteno govoriti, izašli smo.

Izloživši dakle tijek ove naše misije od početka do kraja, dotaknuli smo neka pitanja o kojima bi, po našem skromnom mišljenju, trebalo razmisliti. Što se tiče onoga što nam je Rustem-paša predložio u Divanu, da se zasad Siget poštedi, ne usuđujemo se ništa pouzdano tvrditi jer između Rustem-paše i Ali-paše postoji vrlo snažno neprijateljsko nadmetanje. Prvi je vrlo omiljen kod sultana jer i sam teži miru, dok drugi, čini se, želi rat, pa se zato nastoji na smiješan način dodvoriti sultanu bojeći se javno iskazati potporu našim mirovnim zahtjevima. Stoga držimo da nas je paša namjerno, usput i na brzinu želio obavijestiti da Siget zasad može ostati čitav kako ne bismo posve izgubili nadu u vezi s tim, premda bi čitava stvar očito mogla dovesti do rata. Možda su nam to lukavo podmetnuli djelomično vodeći računa o ugledu i časti svoga vladara, a djelomično zato da nam otežaju postizanje povoljnog odgovora u vezi s utvrde. Možda su pak to učinili kako bi nas naveli na povećanje plaćanja bilo privremenog, bilo redovitog danka. Tako je pitanje ove utvrde bilo odgođeno kako bi ne bi dovelo do novih molbi da se ne ruši i još širokogrudnijih obećanja s time u vezi. O tome će se Vaše Veličanstvo podrobnije moći obavijestiti kasnije.

Naši su prosyjedi tako imali dvojaku svrhu. Prvo, kako se ne bi učinilo da je velmožni gospodin Ogier,

ished. Therefore we insisted with all our might on the request for the release of all three of us because the conditions appropriate for the conclusion of a peace treaty had not been proposed, nor could we hope for something better. So, when the Pasha had declared that all three of us could not return, and that the Sultan had ordered for the two of us to return, and the third one to stay, we suggested that the two of us, Vrančić and Zay, be released first. We had agreed to act in this manner beforehand, in case the matter was to evolve in such way. Therefore we addressed the Pasha, saying that the two of us would return to Your Majesty. We are departing according to his order, but fearing not to leave any futile hope that Your Majesty would accept the peace conditions, especially as regards Szigetvár and the constriction of borders. How are we supposed to go to Your Majesty as easy as the wind, knowing that this would be both to the detriment of our reputation, and to the detriment of Your Majesty's grace? Therefore we object before the Pasha because we definitely know that Your Majesty will not accept those conditions because they are against his honor and reputation. Besides, we did not accept them, and we have to inform Your Majesty about them, and this not in accordance with our will, but in accordance with his ruler's order.

Our colleague, magnificent Lord Ogier, protested in the same manner, declaring that he was not pleased by being thus separated from us while the peace agreement was still not concluded, and when there are not guarantees that it will be concluded. Besides, that was completely and undoubtedly contrary to the instructions of Your Majesty. If a peace treaty were to be concluded, he would not refuse his duty as imposed by force. Therefore, if his ruler does not wish to propose more favorable peace conditions, he too, along with his colleagues, requests a complete discharge. If this were to be denied him, he would constantly protest anew, and will stay here only forcibly and against the will of Your Majesty. Until then, nothing will separate him from his colleagues, irrespective of what was to happen.

After listening to our protest, which, after consultations, we conveyed to him from two sides, the Pasha was disturbed a bit, but nevertheless kindly and courteously encouraged first our colleague, magnificent Lord Ogier, by saying to him not to worry about the fact that

koji ostaje, i mi koji se vraćamo, to učinio nepromišljeno jer nas je na to prisilio njihov sultan. Nadalje, da gospodin Ogier ubuduće ne bi bio lažno optužen za neprijateljstvo jer je uzet za taoca bilo zbog nas dvojice, Vrančića i Zaya, bilo zbog Giovannija Marije Malvezzija jer su nas često i prije znali na taj način besramno mučiti. Napokon, da Vašem Veličanstvu uvijek bude slobodno, ako se pruži prilika, legitimno iznova preuzeti Transilvaniju ako sultan, dobivši od Vašeg Veličanstva za Ivanova sina Transilvaniju, ne održi svoju riječ u vezi s tim područjem, koje bi trebalo ostati u spomenutim granicama. Slijedom našeg prosvjeda u vezi sa sporazumom koji je bio predložio sam sultan, svoj bismo ustupak učinili ništavnim ako on sam ne održi svoja obećanja.

Što se, pak, tiče prijedloga da Vaše Veličanstvo slobodno i dalje posjeduje sve ono što i sada drži u Ugarskom Kraljevstvu, ozbiljno sumnjamo da ga treba shvatiti iskreno, onako kako je rečeno. Oni bi, naime, htjeli postaviti granice između sebe i Vašeg Veličanstva tako da kmetovi koji su se povukli s obiju strana granice plaćaju cijeli iznos poreza i davanja gospodarima posjeda unutar tih granica, što je Vaše Veličanstvo izričito zabranilo. Tijekom naše misije to pitanje nisu spomenuli ni jednom jedinom riječju, iako su se prethodno s nama često bili oko toga prepirali. Govorili su nam da nećemo sklopiti čvrst i dugotrajan mir s obzirom na to da susjedi javno zahtijevaju i traže da mirovni sporazum bude takav i nikakav drugčiji jer se u protivnom ne mogu obnoviti napuštena područja. Vodeći računa o kratkoći izlaganja, preskočit ćemo ono što smo im na to odgovorili. Kad smo, pak, pročitali prijevod sultanova pisma Vašem Veličanstvu i u njemu nismo našli ništa osim zahtjeva da se uništi Siget, upitali smo pašu zašto se nije pobrinuo da se u pismu navede sve što nam je dotad rekao, posebice dopuštenje da će Vaše Veličanstvo i nadalje u Ugarskoj posjedovati ono što i sada posjeduje te pitanje dvogodišnjeg prekida plaćanja počasnog danka. Odgovorio nam je da je njegov vladar napismeno htio objaviti samo ono što se u najvećoj mjeri tiče sklapanja mirovnog sporazuma, dok ostalo običava priopćiti po poslanicima koji su obdarjeni vjerodajnicom. Stoga će biti dovoljno da Vaše Veličanstvo to dozna od nas. Mi smo, unatoč tomu, ustrajali da se i to napiše, no on nije htio. Jednako tako nismo mogli isposlovati ni njegovo vlastito pi-

he had to stay here until Your Majesty's answer is conveyed. Then he addressed the two of us, stating that we should not strive to arrange anything in our favor, but that we should hurry and inform Your Majesty about his ruler's wishes regarding the peace agreement. As we had written to Your Majesty and mentioned before, in the meantime the Pasha had promised to Lord Ogier complete freedom and not only honorable and friendly, but also brotherly treatment. He added that Your Majesty should have been informed about this as soon as possible, and Your Majesty's opinion conveyed as fast as possible both to the Sultan and to him personally. We complied, compelled with necessity and, after doing everything in the order which we had exposed here, we departed from his place. We had barely arrived at our lodgings when the Sultan's gifts had caught up with us, dresses and some money, with the Pasha's note stating that we must go on our way tomorrow.

And so the next day, as the Pasha had announced, we were taken to the Divan. What we had privately discussed at Rüstem Pasha's we declared there before all the pashas. This provided a reason for Rüstem Pasha, and the other pashas too, to start the argument anew, and not just, like earlier, about Szigetvár, but about other details too. There too, we strived in vain because all the other pashas agreed with Rüstem Pasha for Szigetvár to be destroyed. There too, we were not given an official response on none of our requests, just as Rüstem Pasha did not respond to us at his home. Since matters were evolving in such a way, there too we protested just as we did at Rüstem Pasha's, but a bit more gracefully, taking into account the place and persons present there. Finally we asked them whether we could communicate to Your Majesty something more favorable relating to Szigetvár and other details, for Your Majesty and their ruler not to consider this diplomatic mission of ours, which had lasted for four years, as being one without any results.

Thereupon Rüstem Pasha declared: "If your King," he said, "will have difficult time destroying and completely razing Szigetvár, which is a small fortress which produces much bigger expenses than is its use, warn your King to try and find a way and means by which to persuade our ruler to allow for Szigetvár to remain intact." After hearing this from the interpreter, we were seized by great joy, the more because it was unexpected. But because we doubted the Pasha had uttered pre-

smo za Vaše Veličanstvo. Rekao je, naime, da nije njihov običaj da pismo robova prati pismo gospodara. Tako smo od toga odustali.

Međusobno smo raspravljali o tomu što odgovoriti ako nama, s obzirom na to da smo mnogo toga bili čuli i vidjeli boraveći dugo kod neprijatelja tijekom ovih pregovora, Vaše Veličanstvo naloži da kažemo što mislimo ili osjećamo u vezi s mirom koji mu se nudi, odnosno da mu odgovorimo želi li neprijatelj doista sklopiti mirovni sporazum ili ne. U međuvremenu je stigao pouzdan glas o pobjedi presvjetlog kralja Filipa¹⁴⁹, koju je izvojevaо u Francuskoj¹⁵⁰ i u Italiji¹⁵¹, te vijest da papa¹⁵² i francuski kralj s njime namjeravaju pregovarati o sklapanju mirovnog sporazuma. Francuski je poslanik¹⁵³ hitno odaslan k svojem kralju, a stigao je i perzijski poslanik. Kako smo doznali od mađarskog tumača i nekih drugih vjerdostojnih ljudi, perzijski je poslanik najprije zatražio da se sklopi trgovački sporazum između turorskog i perzijskog naroda. Potom je tražio neka utvrđena mjesta u Velikoj Armeniji¹⁵⁴, zacrtavanje granica na obje strane te, naposljetku, da se njegovu sinu dade babilonski sandžak.¹⁵⁵ Ako mu se to odobri, ponudio je čvrst i postojan mir. U suprotnom je zaprijetio da

cisely these words, before we had answered the Pasha, we asked the interpreter how we should understand this Pasha's statement. "As a bribe," he replied, which we liked very much. Since we were striving to find out something more precise from the interpreter, we did not answer Rüstem Pasha immediately. Ali Pasha added to this: "Absolutely not. Let Szigetvár be destroyed completely. This is the Sultan's will and order. A peace agreement cannot be concluded at all as long as this fortress is intact."

Forthwith we found ourselves in a great dilemma, because we did not know whether Rüstem Pasha had really said those words, or the interpreter had said what we had wished to hear, and Ali Pasha objected it so powerfully, quickly and obviously. Besides, when we were at Rüstem Pasha's home, he did not mention anything like it, not even in passing. We had a slim hope, but believed in it at least a bit; because there was no doubt that Rüstem Pasha, together with his women, strongly opposed war. As we could notice so far, he also diligently advocated peace with Your Majesty, in hope he would receive the reward that was promised to him, 20,000 gold coins. Whenever we conversed with him in private, he never missed the chance, as if incidentally, to firstly ask us if we remember the promise. Afterwards he confidentially even asked of us not to discuss with other pashas about the things he used to discuss with us freely. Due to this reason he removed interpreter Ibrahim from the last negotiations, whose services we used constantly at that time because of his knowledge of Latin, and he replaced him with Ferhad the Hungarian, in whom he placed more trust regarding his private businesses, than in Ibrahim. Furthermore, Ferhad had assured us many times before that Rüstem Pasha would have favored losing twenty teeth from his mouth to not receiving 20,000 gold coins he was promised. Since we believed that the Pasha really had said that, we stopped encouraging them to explain what they meant, as well as other matters that they withheld from us, and this first of all because we would strive in vain, and second because we did not want them to reprove us for some malevolence if they were to notice that we had firmly held on to Rüstem Pasha's words. Rüstem Pasha did not utter a word after Ali Pasha's brusque statement. All of us kept silent for some time, and then they stood up and took us to the Sultan. After customarily kissing his hands, Rüstem

149 Odnosi se na španjolskog kralja Filipa II.

150 U pitanju je Bitka kod Saint-Quentina u sjevernoj Francuskoj, koja se odigrala 10. kolovoza 1557. godine. U toj je bitci španjolska vojska uz potporu engleskih trupa Filipove supruge Marije I. (1516. - 1558.) potpuno porazila francuske snage kralja Henrika II. (1519. - 1559.). Detaljnije usp. JEAN CHARPENTIER i FRANÇOIS LEBRUN, *Povijest Francuske* (Zagreb: Barbat, 1999), 127.

151 Moguće je da je to aluzija na napad koji je između 26. i 27. kolovoza 1557. godine španjolski vojskovoda Fernand Álvarez de Toledo, vojvoda od Albe (1507. - 1582.), izvršio na Rim kako bi uplašio francuskog saveznika papu Pavla IV. Detaljnije usp. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, sv. III, 686.

152 Odnosi se na **papu Pavla IV.** (pravo ime Giovanni Pietro Carafa), čiji je pontifikat trajao od 1555. do 1559. godine (okolica Beneventa, 28. lipnja 1476. – Rim, 18. kolovoza 1559.). Od 1536. godine bio je napuljski nadbiskup i kardinal. Papi Pavlu III. pomagao je u reformi papinskog dvora. Odbijao je prihvatići abdikaciju cara Karla V. i izbor Ferdinanda I. za cara Svetoga Rimskog Carstva, a tijekom posljednje faze Talijanskih ratova podupirao je francuskog kralja Henrika II. (1519. - 1559.).

153 Riječ je o **Jeannu Cavenacu de la Vigneu**, koji je bio francuski poslanik u Porti između 1556. i 1566. godine. Kralj Henrik II. poslao ga je u Carigrad sa zadaćom da osigura intervenciju osmanskom brodovlju i Italiji kao potporu Francuzima u borbi sa španjolskim trupama pod vodstvom vojvode od Albe. Detaljnije usp. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, sv. III, 691–693.

154 Velika Armenija (latinski: Armenia Maior, grčki: Αρμενία Μεγάλη) obuhvaćala je područje koje se prostiralo od Eufrata na zapadu, dijela iračkog Azerbajdžana na istoku te današnje Gruzije na sjeveru, dok su joj južne granice sezale do sjevernog dijela Mezopotamije.

će o spomenutom miru drugačije razmišljati.

Budući da je stiglo pismo Vašeg Veličanstva u kojem se traži naš otpust, nije bilo ništa od sklapanja mirovnog sporazuma, a usto su sa svih strana neprestano dolazile vijesti o ratnim pripremama za tu godinu; sve je to neprijatelju, kako se priča, bio najveći poticaj da otpusti nas ili bilo koga drugoga s bilo kojom zadaćom, dokle god od toga može imati koristi. Kad je neprijatelj sve to zbrojio, a usto je bio vrlo zabrinut što bi mu se moglo dogoditi ako Francuzi istupe iz savezništva s njime, smjesta je poslao francuskog poslanika k njegovu kralju, a nas k Vašem Veličanstvu, i to sa skrivenom namjerom. Francuskom je kralju, dakako, obećao brda i doline te dva strašna rata, kopneni i morski, kao pomoć protiv zajedničkih neprijatelja kako se francuski kralj ne bi s njima iznova pomirio. Vašem Veličanstvu, pak, ponudio je neiskren i nečastan mir uz korisne uvjete, kako smo doznali s različitih mjesta, jedino stoga da bi zbog sklapanja spomenutog mira preostalo vrijeme do kraja ove godine mogao provesti bez rata, za koji nije bio spreman. U međuvremenu bi tijekom zime ispitivao i procjenjivao stav Francuza kako bi napisljetu odlučio mora li sklopiti mir s Vašim Veličanstvom ili ne. Naime, ako sultan pomisli da bi se Francuzi mogli otkloniti od savezništva s njime i donijeti zdraviju odluku s time u vezi, nesumnjivo bismo se mogli nadati miru pod povoljnijim uvjetima. Ako se, pak, dogodi drukčije i Francuz nasjedne na turska obećanja, treba pomišljati i na to da bi sultan mogao povući i ovo što je sada ponudio, uzdajući se u postojanost prijateljstva s Francuzima. Takva smo mišljenja ne samo nas dvojica nego i naš kolega, velmožni gospodin Ogier, kao i svi oni kojima je stalo do sreće i uzvišenosti obaju Vaših Veličanstava.¹⁵⁶ Kao što smo već više puta napisali, ove se godine dogodilo mnogo toga što je zabrinulo spomenutog sultana, našeg neprijatelja, i prisililo ga da sjedi kod kuće s prividom vlastite moći te plaši neprijatelje svojim vojnim snagama, kao što je činio tijekom proteklih četiri godine. Njegova bi drskosti zasigurno najveću štetu nanio gubitak povjerenja Francuza. To je jedino sredstvo

Pasha showed him who was to stay at His Highness', and who was to return to Your Majesty. As we were not allowed to speak there, we exited.

So, by exposing the course of this mission of ours from the beginning to the end, we touched upon some questions which, by our humble opinion, should be reconsidered. As regards what Rüstem Pasha had proposed to us at the Divan, for Szigetvár to be spared for now, we do not dare to claim anything for sure, because there is a very strong and hostile rivalry between Rüstem Pasha and Ali Pasha. The former is very favored by the Sultan because he himself aspires to peace, while the latter, it seems, wishes war, and that is why he is striving to bring himself to the favor of the Sultan in a comic manner, fearing to publicly show support for our demands for peace. Therefore we posit that the Pasha had wished to inform us intentionally, incidentally and quickly that Szigetvár might stay intact, in order for us not to completely lose hope regarding this, although the entire matter could obviously lead to war. Perhaps they insinuated this cunningly, partially taking into account the reputation and honor of their ruler, and partially to make it more difficult for us to ensure a positive response regarding this fortress. Maybe they had done it in order to induce us to increase the payment of either the temporary or the regular tribute. Consequently the question of this fortress was postponed, so it would not lead to new pleas for its protection and more ungrudging promises in this regard. Your Majesty will be informed in more detail about it later.

Thus our protests had a twofold purpose. Firstly, for it not to seem that the magnificent Lord Ogier, who is staying while we are returning, had decided to stay hastily because we were forced by their sultan. Secondly, for Lord Ogier not to be falsely accused of enmity in the future, because he was taken hostage either because of the two of us, Vrančić and Zay, or because of Giovanni Maria Malvezzi, because they often shamelessly tortured us in this manner before. Ultimately, for Your Majesty to always be free, if the chance occurs, to legitimately retake Transylvania if the Sultan, after receiving Transylvania from Your Majesty for John's son, were not to keep his word regarding Transylvania, which should stay in the aforementioned borders. Following our protest concerning the agreement proposed by the Sultan him-

¹⁵⁵ Vjerojatno se misli na onovremeni Bagdadski ejalet, odnosno današnje područje Iraka.

¹⁵⁶ Vjerojatno se odnosi na adresata, habsburškog kralja Ferdinanda I. i njegova nećaka, španjolskog kralja Filipa II.

koje mu stoji na raspolaganju za uništenje kršćanskih vladara i jedinstva država, kojim će se bez ikakvih zapreka i poteškoća služiti što dulje bude mogao. O tome na drugom mjestu jer treba voditi brigu o Vašim Veličanstvima po božanskoj providnosti. Stoga sada prestajemo govoriti.

Dok smo pregovarali s pašama, dogodilo se mnogo različitih stvari koje ćemo na kraju ove naše misije zajedno sažeti, kako bismo Vašem Veličanstvu izložili sve na jednomy mjestu. Vaše Veličanstvo molimo za oprost ako smo kazali nešto što ono ne bi odobrilo. Ne sumnjamo da je tako bilo i da smo bili nevrijedni sluge jer smo samo ljudi. Usto smo nedovoljno prikladni za obavljanje takve državničke službe jer jednom oduzetu pokrajinu nismo mogli vratiti ni svojom vjernošću, ni budnošću, ni svim naporima koje smo uložili. Sve ostalo što smo postigli mjerimo milošću Vašeg Veličanstva, ako ga je to uspjelo zadovoljiti. Za Vaše Veličanstvo i ubuduće ćemo izvršavati svaku vrstu službe, čak i po cijenu još veće opasnosti za vlastiti život nego što je bila ova koju je, po svojoj dobrostivoj odluci, smatralo da nam treba dodijeliti.

Ovome ćemo dodati još dvije stvari. Naime, pošto smo sve bili obavili, Rustem-paša tri nas je puta privatno pozvao k sebi. Premda smo se ponadali da više nećemo imati nikakva posla, više nam je puta ponovio ove dvije stvari. Prvo, da uložimo najveći mogući trud i u njegovo ime s Vašim Veličanstvom dogovorimo da četvoricu zarobljenika, koji su dijelom uhićeni kod Sigeta, dijelom kod ostalih mjesta, uime njihova prijateljstva oslobodi i pošalje mu ih natrag. Njegov će mu vladar zbog toga iskazati nemalu zahvalnost jer su spomenuti zarobljenici robovi nekih uglednika na njegovu dvoru. Drugo, ako to izmolimo što revnije znamo i umijemo, on će odlučiti o tome što treba učiniti u vezi s prihvaćanjem sadašnjih uvjeta mirovnog sporazuma i dati takav odgovor svome vladaru zbog kojega se neće postidjeti ni pred njime ni pred svojim kolegama, ostalim pašama i vezirima, te će i ubuduće, kad god bude vodio brigu o ostalim interesima Vašeg Veličanstva, njegov zagovor kod sultana uvijek biti uvažavan. Pošto smo izložili ovu Rustem-pašinu molbu Vašem Veličanstvu, dodajmo kako smatramo da je izlišno revnije ispunjavati i njegove ostale zahtjeve. Što u vezi s time treba učiniti Vaše Veličanstvo, to će najmudrije znati odlučiti ono samo. Kao što smatramo da je netom izloženo pašino razmišlja-

self, our concession would have been made void if he himself would not keep his promises.

With regard to the proposal for Your Majesty to hereafter freely possess everything that he already has in his possession in the Kingdom of Hungary, we seriously doubt that it should be considered as being sincere, as it was declared; instead it should be considered in another manner. They want to set borders between themselves and Your Majesty in order for the serfs who had retired from both sides of the border to pay the whole amount of the taxes and their duties to the owners of the estates within these borders, which Your Majesty had specifically forbidden. During our mission, not even a word about this issue was uttered, although they had fought with us over it very often. They used to say that we will not conclude a strong and long lasting peace agreement because the neighbors constantly demand for the peace treaty to be formulated thus, and no differently, because otherwise the abandoned areas cannot be revitalized. Taking into account the shortness of this exposition, we will skip our response to them relating to this. After we had read the translation of the Sultan's letter to Your Majesty and did not find anything in it except the demand for the destruction of Szigetvár, we asked the Pasha why he did not take care for all that he had said to us to be included in the letter, especially the permission for Your Majesty to possess in Hungary what he had in his possession now, and the matter of the two-year cessation of the payment of the honorary tribute. He replied that his ruler wanted to have in writing only that relating to the conclusion of the peace treaty to the greatest extent, while he prefers to communicate the rest via the envoys possessing credentials. Therefore it will be enough for Your Majesty to find this out through us. Nevertheless, we insisted on it to be written too, but he did not want it. Equally so, we were not able to arrange for the sending of his own letter to Your Majesty. He declared that it was not their custom for the letter of slaves to follow the master's letter. So we gave up on this request.

We discussed among ourselves what to reply if we were to be instructed by Your Majesty, since we had heard and seen many things during our stay with the enemies during these negotiations, to say what we think or feel regarding the peace agreement that is being offered to him, or to answer whether the ene-

nje vrlo teško prihvatljivo, jednako tako u pogledu njegova prvog zahtjeva smatramo da ne treba uzalud izlaziti ususret nezahvalnim i obijesnim neprijateljima čineći im usluge. Koliko to može biti opasno i nekorisno, svjedoči i Kara Hamza-begov¹⁵⁷ primjer, zbog kojega nam nikada nisu bile iskazane i udijeljene bilo kakve milosti. Što je još nedostojnije, Turci su ga doskora, još moćnijega i izvrsno upoznatog s našom situacijom, do zuba naoružanog poslali na naše granice kako bi nam se osvetio za štetu koju je pretrpio u našem zarobljeništvu. To se pokazalo utočištu ozbiljnijim jer nikada dotad nismo imali posla s okrutnijim, pokvarenijim i ratobornijim neprijateljskim zapovjednikom odnosno sandžakbegom. Poslije, kad nam to Vaše Veličanstvo naloži, podnijet ćemo i izvještaj o imenima ostalih zarobljenika, kao i o ljudima čijim su robovima postali.

my really wishes to concluded a peace treaty or not. In the meantime, reliable news arrived of the victory of the serene King Philip¹⁵⁹ in France,¹⁶⁰ as well as in Italy,¹⁶¹ and the news that the Pope¹⁶² and the French King intended to negotiate with him about the conclusion of a peace agreement. The French envoy¹⁶³ was urgently sent to his King, and the Persian envoy had arrived. As we had found out from the Hungarian interpreter and from some other trustworthy persons, the Persian envoy first asked for the conclusion of a trade agreement between Turkish and Persian nation. Afterwards he asked for some fortified places in Greater Armenia,¹⁶⁴ the demarcation of borders on both sides, and finally, for his son to be given the Sanjak of Babylon.¹⁶⁵ If this were to be approved, he offered strong and lasting peace agreement. In the event of the contrary, he threatened to consider the mentioned peace agreement in different terms.

Since a letter came from Your Majesty demanding our release, the conclusion of a peace agreement was not possible, and moreover, news were arriving from many sides of war preparations for this year; all of this was, rumor has it, the greatest incentive for the enemy to release us or anyone else with any task, as far as there

159 This refers to Philip II, the King of Spain.

160 The battle in question is the Battle of Saint-Quentin in northern France, which took place on August 10, 1557. In this battle the Spanish army with the support of English troops of Philip's wife Mary I (1516-1558) totally defeated the French forces of King Henri II (1519-1559). For more details, cf. JEAN CHARPENTIER and FRANÇOIS LEBRUN, *Povijest Francuske* (Zagreb: Barbat, 1999), p. 127.

161 This could be an allusion to the attack on Rome, carried out by the Spanish military commander Fernand Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba (1507-1582), in the night between August 26 and 27, 1557, with the intent to scare the French ally, Pope Paul IV. For more details, cf. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, Vol. III, p. 686.

162 This refers to **Pope Paul IV** (real name Giovanni Pietro Carafa; vicinity of Benevento, June 28, 1476 - Rome, August 18, 1559), who pontificate lasted between 1555 and 1559. From 1536, he was the Archbishop of Naples and a cardinal. He helped Pope Paul III with the reform of the papal court. He refused to accept the abdication of Emperor Charles V and the election of Ferdinand I as the Holy Roman Emperor, and during the last phase of the Italian Wars he supported Henri II, King of France (1519-1559).

163 The envoy in question is **Jean Cavenac de la Vigne**, who was French envoy at the Porte between 1556 and 1566. King Henri II sent him to Istanbul to secure the intervention of the Ottoman fleet in Italy as a support to the French in the fight against the Spanish troops led by the Duke of Alba. For more details, cf. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, Vol. III, pp. 691-693.

164 Greater Armenia (Latin: Armenia Maior, Greek: Ἀρμενία Μεγάλη) encompassed the area from the Euphrates in the west, part of the Iraqi Azerbaijan in the east and modern-day Georgia in the north, whereas its southern borders reached the northern part of Mesopotamia.

165 The area in question is probably the contemporary Baghdad Eyalet, that is, the area of present-day Iraq.

157 Kara Hamza-beg, osmanski vojskovođa koji je sredinom 16. stoljeća bio sandžakbeg Sečenjskog (mađarski: Szécsény) i Hatvanskog (mađarski: Hatvan) sandžaka u današnjoj sjevernoj Mađarskoj.



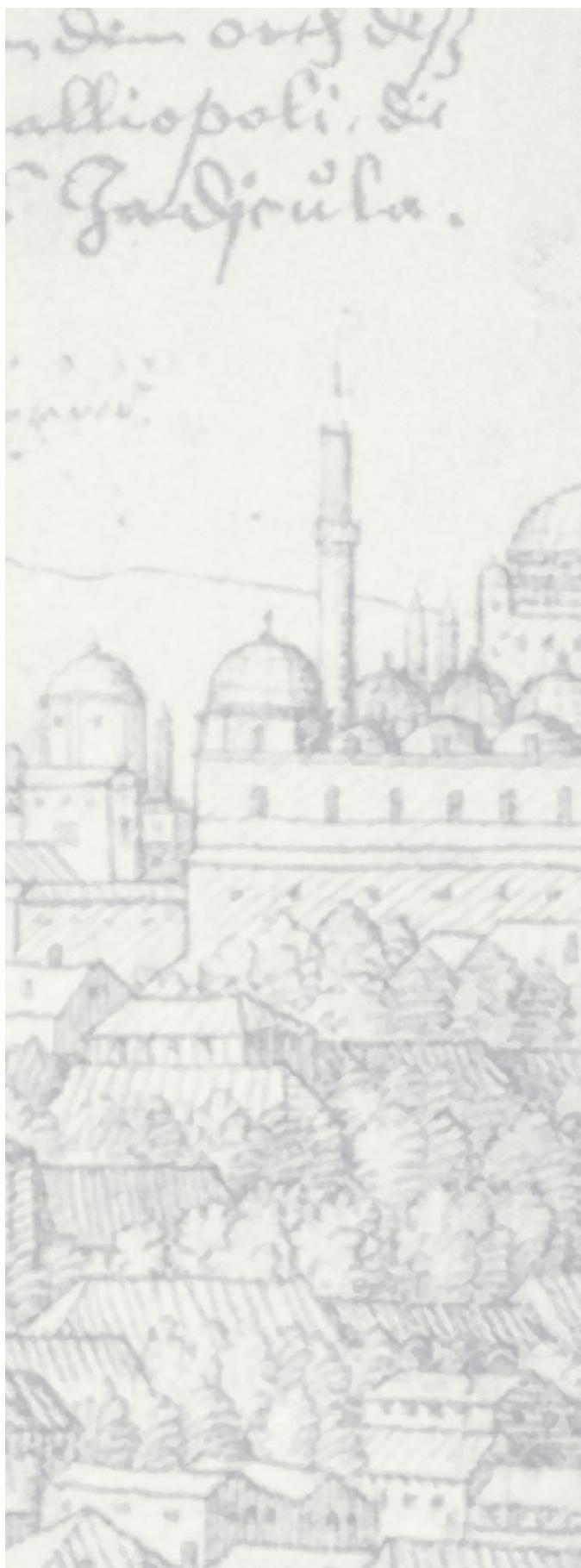
was any use from it. When the enemy had added up all of this, and was also very worried regarding what might happen if the French were to exit the alliance with him, he immediately sent the French envoy to his King, and us to Your Majesty, and this with a hidden intent. He promised to the French King, of course, the sun and the moon and two terrific wars, on land and sea, as his help against common enemies, in order for the French King not to make peace with them anew. To Your Majesty, however, he offered a disingenuous and dishonorable peace with useful conditions, as we had found out from different sources, so that he could, following the conclusion of the mentioned peace treaty, spend the rest of the time until the end of this year without war for which he was not prepared. In the meantime, during winter he would question and assess the attitude of the French, so that he could finally decide whether to conclude a peace agreement with Your Majesty or not. If the Sultan were to think that the French could decline the alliance with him and bring a more healthy decision concerning this matter, we could undoubtedly hope for peace under more favorable conditions. And if the opposite were to happen, and the French were to fall for Turkish promises, one has to take into account that the Sultan could withdraw even that which he had now offered, relying on the stability of the friendship with the French. Not only the two of us, but our colleague too, magnificent Lord Ogier, is of the same opinion, as well as all who care for the happiness and serenity of both of Your Majesties.¹⁶⁶ As we had written many times before, this year many things that had worried the Sultan, our enemy, happened, and had forced him to sit at his home with the illusion of his own power, and frighten his enemies with his army forces, as he had done during the last four years. The biggest damage to his brazenness would surely be done through the loss of trust by the French. This was the only instrument available to him for the destruction of Christian rulers and the unity of countries, and he will continue to use it without any obstacle and difficulty as long as he will be able to do it. We will discuss this elsewhere because we need to take care of Your Majesties through divine providence. Therefore we will finish talking.

¹⁶⁶ This probably refers to the addressee, the Habsburg King Ferdinand I and his nephew, Spanish King Philip II.



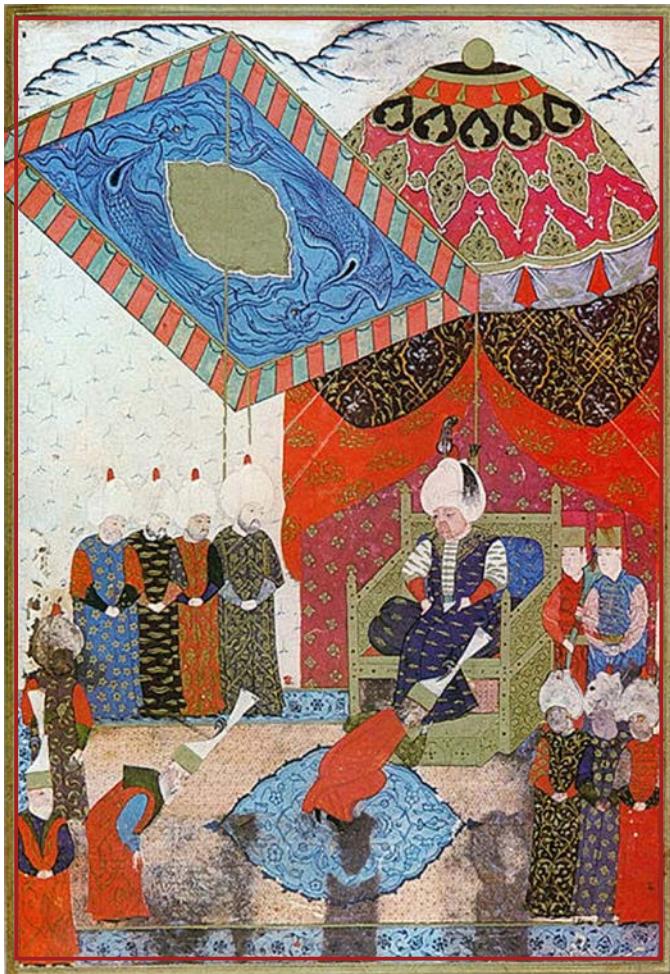
As we were negotiating with the pashas, many different things happened, which we will summarize at the end of this mission of ours, in order to expose everything at one place for Your Majesty. We beg Your Majesty for forgiveness if we had said something that he would not approve. We do not doubt that we had declared such things, and that we were unworthy servants, because we are only human beings. Furthermore, we are not completely adequate for fulfilling such state service, because we could return a once taken region neither by our loyalty, nor by our watchfulness, nor by all the efforts we invested. Everything else we accomplished, we measure by the grace of Your Majesty, if this had managed to please him. We will execute any kind of service for Your Majesty in the future, even at the price of even greater danger for our own lives than was this service which, through your benevolent decision, you considered it needed to be assigned to us.

We will add to this two more things. After we had done everything, Rüstem Pasha called us to his home privately on three occasions. Although we were hoping that we would not have any other work to do, he repeated these two things many times. Firstly, that we should invest the greatest possible effort to arrange with Your Majesty in his name for the release and return of four prisoners, who were either arrested at Szigetvár, or at other locations, as a token of their friendship. His ruler would demonstrate significant gratitude for this deed, because the mentioned prisoners were slaves of some dignitaries at his court. Secondly, if we were to arrange this as diligently as we can, he will decide what needs to be done regarding the acceptance of the present conditions of the peace agreement, and give such an answer to his ruler due to which he would not be ashamed neither before him, nor before his colleagues, other pashas and viziers, and in the future, whenever he will take care of other interests of Your Majesty, his intercession before the Sultan will always be accepted. After we had presented this request by Rüstem Pasha before Your Majesty, we consider it redundant to diligently fulfill his other requests. Your Majesty will most wisely decide what needs to be done regarding those. As we consider that it is very difficult to accept the aforementioned idea by the Pasha, equally in view of his first request we consider we should not in vain



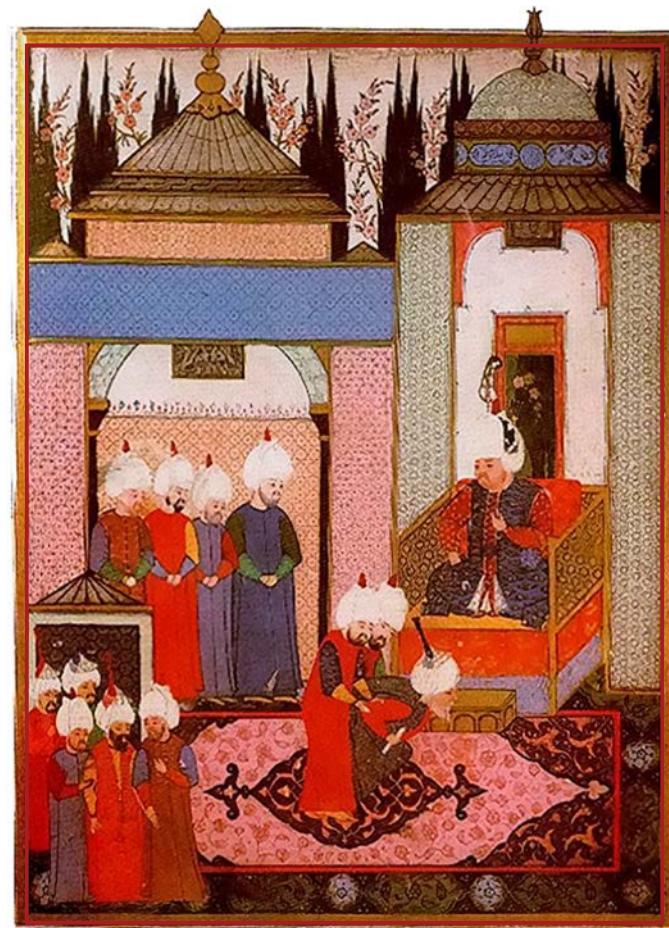
fulfill the wishes of ungrateful and arrogant enemies by doing them favors. Kara Hamza Bey's¹⁶⁷ example is witness to the extent of how dangerous and useless this can be, as no grace had been shown, nor given to us resulting from this case. What is more undeserving, the Turks sent him, more powerful than before and excellently acquainted with our situation, armed to the teeth, to our borders, in order to take revenge upon us for the damage he had suffered in our captivity. This proved to be even more serious because we have never before had to deal with a more cruel, vicious and bellicose enemy commander, i.e., sanjakbey. Later, when Your Majesty orders us, we will also submit a report on the names of other prisoners, as well as of people whose slaves they have become.

167 **Kara Hamza Bey**, Ottoman military commander who was the Sanjakbey of the Szécsény and Hatvan Sanjaks in present-day northern Hungary during the sixteenth century.



Osmanska minijatura s prikazom
Selima II. prilikom ustoličenja 1566. /
Ottoman miniature of Sultan Selim II ascending to
the throne, in 1566

(Nepoznati autor, sredina 16. stoljeća. /
Unknown author, middle of the 16th century)



Osmanska minijatura s prikazom sultana Selima II.
prilikom primanja safavidskog poslanika u palači u
Edirneu 1567. /

Ottoman miniature of Sultan Selim II receiving the
Safavid envoy in the palace at Edirne in 1567

(Autor: Nakkaş Osman 1568. / By: Nakkaş Osman 1568)

LIV. Poslanički dnevnik, sv. 5, str. 235–238. / LIV. Ambassadorial diary, Vol. 5, pp. 235–238.

POSLANIČKI DNEVNIK DRUGOGA CARIGRADSKOG POSLANSTVA / SECOND ISTANBUL MISSION'S AMBASSADORIAL DIARY

| 1567.

Kolovoz

- 22.** Stigli smo u Carigrad.
- 27.** Sultan je otišao u lov na ptice.¹⁵⁸
- 28.** Bili smo u prvoj audijenciji kod Mehmed-paše i paša Perteva i Ferhada.
- 28.** Posjetili smo preostalu trojicu paša.

Rujan

- 4.** Drugi smo put bili u audijenciji kod velikog vezira¹⁵⁹, gdje smo, vjerujemo, primjereno iznijeli sadržaj prvog dijela naših naputaka. Tada smo, na njegov upit, izvijestili velikog vezira o tome što smo donijeli caru.
- 10.** Francuski je poslanik¹⁶⁰ bio u audijenciji kod Mehmed-paše.
- 11.** Posjetio nas je dom Joseph Nasi, vojvoda od Naxosa.¹⁶¹

| 1567

August

- 22nd.** We arrived in Istanbul.
- 27th.** The Sultan departed for a bird hunt.¹⁶⁸
- 28th.** We were received in the first audience by Mehmed Pasha and the Pashas Pertev and Ferhad.
- 28th.** We visited the other three Pashas.

September

- 4th.** We were received in audience for the second time by the Grand Vizier¹⁶⁹, where we have, we believe, appropriately presented the content of the first part of our instructions. Afterwards we have, on the Grand Vizier's request, informed him of what we had brought for the Emperor.¹⁷⁰
- 10th.** The French ambassador¹⁷¹ was received in audience by Mehmed Pasha.
- 11th.** We were visited by Dom Joseph Nasi, the Duke of Naxos.¹⁷²

158 Odnosi se na sultana **Selima II.** (vladao od 1566. do 1574.).

159 Riječ je o **Mehmed-paši Sokoloviću** (Sokolovići pokraj Višegrada, Bosna i Hercegovina, oko 1505. - Istanbul, 11. listopada 1579.). Kao kršćansko dijete odveden je u Edirne (Jedrene ili Drinopolje), gdje je bio uvežban za janjičara. Istaknuo se već 1526. u Bitki na Mohačkom polju i 1529. tijekom osmanske opsade Beča. Otad je brzo napredovao u vojnoj karijeri. Bio je na dužnostima kapidžibaše, kapudan-paše (od 1546.), beglerbega Rumelije (od 1549.), trećeg vezira (od 1555.), drugog vezira (od 1561.) te naposljetku velikog vezira (od 1565.). Za vladavine Selima II. samostalno je vodio osmansku politiku.

160 Moguće je da je riječ o **Guillaume de Grandchamp de Grantrieu**, koji je bio francuski ambasador u Carigradu između 1566. i 1571. godine. Od početka svoje službe nastojao je sultana pridobiti za plan francuskog kralja Karla IX. i njegove majke Katarine Medici prema kojemu je u Moldaviji trebalo naseliti francuske hugenote i njemačke luterane, koji bi činili obrambeni pojaz prema Habsburgovcima. Na taj bi se način riješio i problem francuskih protestanata, što je u doba vjerskih ratova bilo goruće pitanje u Francuskoj. On sam ponudio se preuzeti funkciju moldavskog vojvode koji bi Osmanskom Carstvu plaćao danak u iznosu od 20 000 dukata.

161 **Dom Joseph Nasi** (ili Naxi; osmanski turski: Yasef Nassi; 1524. - 1579.) bio je portugalski Židov, diplomat i vrlo utjecajna osoba u Osmanskom Carstvu tijekom vladavine Sulejmana I. i njegova sina Selima II., kojemu je Nasi pomogao u borbi protiv njegova rivala, princa Bajazida. Detaljnije usp. NAOMI E. PASACHOFF i ROBERT J. LITTMAN, *A Concise History of the Jewish People* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 163-164.

168 This refers to Ottoman Sultan **Selim II** (ruled 1566-1574).

169 This refers to the Grand Vizier **Sokollu Mehmed Pasha** (Sokolovići near Višegrad, Bosnia and Herzegovina, c. 1505 – Istanbul, October 11, 1579). As a Christian child he was taken to Edirne, where he was trained to be a janissary. He distinguished himself already in 1526 in the Battle of Mohács and in 1529 during the Ottoman siege of Vienna. From then on, he progressed rapidly through the military ranks. He served as kapicibaşı, kapudan pasha (since 1546), beylerbeyi of Rumelia (since 1549), third vizier (since 1555), second vizier (since 1561) and finally as the grand vizier (since 1565). During the rule of Selim II, he conducted Ottoman politics independently.

170 I.e., the Sultan.

171 Probably the envoy in question was **Guillaume de Grandchamp de Grantrie**, who was the French envoy in Istanbul between 1566 and 1571. From the beginning of his service, he endeavored to persuade the sultan to accept the plan of the French King Charles IX and his mother Catherine de' Medici according to which the French Huguenots and German Lutherans were to be settled in Moldavia, in order for them to form a defensive belt toward the Habsburgs. Thus the problem of the French Protestants would have been solved, and this was a burning issue at the period of religious wars in France. Grantrie offered to take over the function of the Moldavian Voivode, who would pay a tribute to the Ottoman Empire in the amount of 20,000 ducats.

172 **Dom Joseph Nasi** (or Naxi; Ottoman Turkish: Yasef Nasi; 1524-1579) was a Portuguese Jew, diplomat and a very influential person in the Ottoman

13. Kod nas je bio tajnik gospodina francuskog poslanika kojega je on osobno poslao.

15. Vladar se iz lova vratio u grad zajedno s čitavom svojom gardom od otprilike pet tisuća vojnika, od kojih su dvije tisuće bili janjičari.

19. Bili smo u audijenciji kod velikog vezira.

21. Bili smo u prvoj audijenciji kod sultana, kojemu smo vrlo svečano predali počasni danak. Primili su nas svi članovi garde, a gozba je održana kod vezira u Divanu.

24. Bili smo u audijenciji kod velikog vezira kako bismo konačno doznali što možemo očekivati u vezi s predajom podanika i očuvanjem Tate¹⁶² i Veszpréma.¹⁶³ Tek tada je spomenut i kralj Filip.¹⁶⁴

25. Bili smo u audijenciji kod četvorice paša: Ferhada, Ahmeda, Pijalea i Mahmuda te

26. kod Pertev-paše u vezi s podjelom kmetova i uništenjem Tate i Veszpréma.

Posljednji dan mjeseca rujna bili smo kod velikog vezira i konačno doznali što su odlučili u vezi s podjelom kmetova i uništenjem utvrda u Tati i Veszprému.

Listopad

1. Mahmud nas je po tumaču izvijestio kako se založio za to da se sruše Berencse i Babócsa.

11. Francuskog poslanika saslušao je sultan kojemu je predan dar njegova kralja.

17. Carskom Veličanstvu poslali smo Eduarda¹⁶⁵ s pismima.

19. Bili smo kod velikog vezira s pritužbama protiv susjeda.

¹⁶² Tata, grad u sjeverozapadnoj Ugarskoj koji su Osmanlije zauzeli 1543. godine.

¹⁶³ Habsburški su poslanici od cara Maksimilijana II. (vladao od 1564. do 1576.) dobili naputak da ne pristanu na rušenje utvrda u Tati, Veszprému i Tokaju te da pokušaju nagovoriti Osmanlije da sruše svoje utvrde u Berencseu i Babócsi. Detaljnije o pregovorima habsburških poslanika sa sultanom Selimom II. tijekom 1567. i 1568. godine usp. KENNETH M. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571). Volume IV. The Sixteenth Century from Julius III to Pius V* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1984), 922–923.

¹⁶⁴ Odnosi se na španjolskog kralja **Filipa II.** (Valladolid, 21. svibnja 1527. – El Escorial, 13. rujna 1598.), sina Karla V. Nakon Karlove abdikacije 1556. godine Filip II. postaje kraljem Španjolske, Sicilije, Sardinije i golemoga kolonijalnog carstva.

¹⁶⁵ Osoba nije identificirana.

13th. We were visited by the secretary of His Lordship the French Ambassador, who had been personally sent by the Ambassador.

15th. The ruler returned from the hunt with his entire guard consisting of approximately five thousand soldiers, of which two thousands were janissaries.

19th. We were received in audience by the Grand Vizier.

21st. We were received for the first time by the Sultan, to whom we ceremoniously presented the honorary tribute. We were received by all members of the guard, and the feast was held at the viziers' in the Divan.

24th. We were received in audience by the Grand Vizier, who finally informed us what we could expect concerning the surrender of the subjects and the preservation of Tata¹⁷³ and Veszprém.¹⁷⁴ Only then had King Philip been mentioned.¹⁷⁵

25th. We were received in audience by four pašas: Ferhad, Ahmed, Piyale and Mahmud, and

26th. At Pertev Pasha's we were received in audience in connection to the division of serfs and the demolition of Tata and Veszprém.

On the last day of the month of September we visited the Grand Vizier and were finally informed on the decision concerning the division of serfs and the demolition of the fortresses in Tata and Veszprém.

Empire during the rule of Süleyman I and his son Selim II. Nasi had helped Selim II in the fight against his rival, Ottoman prince Bayezid. For details, cf. NAOMI E. PASACHOFF and ROBERT J. LITTMAN, *A Concise History of the Jewish People* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), pp. 163–164.

¹⁷³ Tata, town in northwestern Hungary, which was captured by the Ottomans in 1543.

¹⁷⁴ The Habsburg emissaries were instructed by Emperor Maximilian II (ruled 1564–1576) not to accept the demolition of the fortresses in Tata, Veszprém and Tokay and to strive to persuade the Ottomans to demolish their own forts in Berencse and Babócsa instead. For more details on the negotiations between the Habsburg emissaries and Sultan Selim II in 1567 and 1568, cf. KENNETH M. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571). Volume IV. The Sixteenth Century from Julius III to Pius V* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1984), pp. 922–923.

¹⁷⁵ This refers to the Spanish King **Philip II** (Valladolid, May 21 1527 – El Escorial, September 13, 1598), son of Charles V. After Charles' abdication in 1556, Philip II became the King of Spain, Sicily, Sardinia, and of the vast colonial empire.

23. Turski je vladar otišao u Edirne.

30. Obišli smo tjesnac Bospor u Trakiji sve do Crnog mora. Bili smo vani tri dana.

Studeni

13. Gospodin bailo Giacomo Soranzo¹⁶⁶ otišao je iz Galate¹⁶⁷ u Edirne.

16. Bili smo kod Pijale-paše, sultanova namjesnika, radi Fabricijeva¹⁶⁸ posla za našeg kolegu, velmožnog gospodina Alberta.¹⁶⁹

Prosinac

16. Eduard je krenuo od Carskog Veličanstva prema Edirneu.

| 1568.

5. Otišli smo iz Carigrada.

13. Došli smo u Edirne.

15. Ondje smo bili u audijenciji kod velikog vezira Mehmeda.

20. Oko 20. dana ovog mjeseca objavljene su u Edirneu ratne pripreme.

25. Primili smo pašin dopis o zajedničkim selima.

27. Bili smo u audijenciji kod velikog vezira, koji nam je odgovorio na naš zahtjev u vezi sa zajedničkim kmetovima te iznova započeo raspravu o već obećanim utvrdama.

Posljednjeg dana ovog mjeseca mezopotamski Abdi-beg Kurd¹⁷⁰ s nekoliko je svojih ljudi u

166 **Giacomo Soranzo** bio je mletački poslanik (bailo) u Francuskoj 1556. i u Rimu 1565. godine. Od 1566. godine djelovao je kao mletački poslanik u Carigradu.

167 Galata, carigradska četvrt i bivša đenovska kolonija koja se nalazi na lijevoj obali zaljeva poznatog kao Zlatni rog, dok se stari, antički dio grada nalazi na desnoj obali Zlatnog roga.

168 Osoba nije identificirana.

169 **Albert de Wijs** (ili Wyss), stalni habsburški poslanik u Carigradu od 1559. godine do svoje smrti. Detaljnije usp. ZWEDER VON MARTELS, „The Colouring Effect of Attic Style and Stoicism in Busbequius's Turkish Letters“, u: *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction*, ur. Zweder von Martels (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 152–153.

170 Osoba nije identificirana. Pridjev „mezopotamski“ upućuje na to da je ta osoba po dužnosti ili podrijetlu iz tadašnjega osmanskog Bagdadskog ejaleta, odnosno s područja današnjeg Iraka.

October

1st. Mahmud informed us through an interpreter that he interceded for the demolition of Berencse and Babócsa.

11th. The Sultan received the French Ambassador and was given a gift by his King.

17th. We have dispatched Eduard¹⁷⁶ bearing letters to Your Imperial Majesty.

19th. We were received by the Grand Vizier and have presented our complaints against our neighbors.

23rd. The Turkish ruler departed for Edirne.

30th. We perambulated the Bosphorus in Thrace all the way up to the Black Sea. We were outside for three days.

November

13th. His Lordship Bailo Giacomo Soranzo¹⁷⁷ departed from Galata to Edirne.¹⁷⁸

16th. We visited Piyale Pasha, Sultan's deputy, regarding Fabrizio's¹⁷⁹ work for our colleague, noble Lord Albert.¹⁸⁰

December

16th. Eduard departed from Your Imperial Majesty toward Edirne.

| 1568

5th. We departed from Istanbul.

13th. We arrived in Edirne.

15th. There we were received in audience by the Grand Vizier Mehmed.

176 This person was not identified.

177 **Giacomo Soranzo** was the Venetian envoy (bailo) in France in 1556 and in Rome in 1565. From 1566 onwards, he was the Venetian envoy in Istanbul.

178 Galata, Istanbul district and a former Genovese colony situated on the left bank of the bay known as the Golden Horn, whereas the old, ancient part of the city is located on the right bank of the Golden Horn.

179 This person was not identified.

180 **Albert de Wijs** (or Wyss), Habsburg residential envoy in Istanbul from 1559 until his death. For more details, cf. ZWEDER VON MARTELS, „The Colouring Effect of Attic Style and Stoicism in Busbequius's Turkish Letters“, in: *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction*, ed. Zweder von Martels (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 152–153.

hramu cara Murata u Edirne¹⁷¹ ubio čauš-pašu, zapovjednika čauša, te još dvojicu čauša, a nekoliko ih je ranio. Idućeg dana žurno je osuđen u carskom Divanu i odrubljena mu je glava, zajedno s dvadesetčetvoricom njegovih ljudi.

Veljača

16. U Edirne je stigao perzijski poslanik po imenu Šah Kuli s četiristotinjak ljudi.

17. Bili smo u audijenciji kod velikog vezira, koji nas je pozvao k sebi. Tijekom audijencije objavio je da je naša misija uspješno okončana.

19. Perzijski je poslanik bio u audijenciji kod velikog vezira.

Neki ga je čovjek iz naroda u nerazumnom vjerskom zanosu napao puškom u jednoj uličici i promašio, ranivši jednog od njegovih pratitelja. Paša je smjesta zapovjedio da tog čovjeka uhvate i da ga zavezanog za rep konja vuku gradom. Poslanik se uplašio te se iz pašina doma odmah htio vratiti u svoj gostinjac, ali ga je paša pozvao natrag i smekšao.

20. Pozvani smo k paši. Predložio nam je sklapanje saveza s Francuzima, Mlečanima i Poljacima, zbog čega smo se upustili u nove prepirke.¹⁷²

21. Od paše smo primili članke mirovnog sporazuma.

22. Perzijski je poslanik bio u audijenciji kod turskog sultana Selima.

24. Bili smo u posljednjoj audijenciji i otišli smo iz Edirnea od turskog sultana.

29. Iznova smo bili u audijenciji kod paše u vezi s njegovim odgovorom na našu osobnu molbu u vezi sa zarobljenicima i Turcima koji kod nas služe.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Vjerojatno je riječ o džamiji Muradiye u Edirneu, koju je 1435. ili 1436. dao sagraditi osmanski sultan Murat II. (1421. - 1444; 1446. - 1451.). N. ÇIÇEK AKÇİL i CEBE ÖZER, „Murâdiye Külliyesi, Edirne'de XV. yüzyılın ilk yarısında inşa edilen külliye“, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, sv. 31 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 2006), 199-201.

¹⁷² Veliki vezir Mehmed-paša Sokolović tražio je od habsburškog poslanstva da se u mirovni ugovor uključe Francuska, Venecija i Poljska te da se car Maksimilijan Habsburški u ugovoru navede kao „priatelj sultanovih prijatelja i neprijatelj njegovih neprijatelja“, što su habsburški poslanici odbili. Usp. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 921.

¹⁷³ Mirovnim je sporazumom određeno da svi zarobljenici i odbjegli robovi budu vraćeni svojim gospodarima. Usp. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 921.

20th. Around the 20th of this month, war preparations were announced in Edirne.

25th. We received the Pasha's letter on the common villages.

27th. We were received in audience by the Grand Vizier, who responded to our request regarding the common serfs and reopened the discussion concerning the already promised fortresses.

On the last day of this month, Mesopotamian Abdi Bey Kurd¹⁸¹ with a number of his own men in the temple of Emperor Murat in Edirne¹⁸² killed a *çavuşbaşı*, the commander of chiauses, together with two chiauses, and wounded a couple of them. The next day, he was expeditiously sentenced at the Imperial Divan and his head was cut off, together with the heads of twenty four of his men.

February

16th. The Persian ambassador named Shah Kuli arrived in Edirne with approximately four hundred men.

17th. We were received in audience by the Grand Vizier, who invited us to visit him. During the audience, he declared that our mission had been successfully completed.

19th. The Persian envoy was received in audience by the Grand Vizier.

Some man from the mob attacked him¹⁸³ with a gun in a senseless religious fervor in some alley and missed him, wounding one of his companions. The Pasha immediately ordered for the man to be arrested and dragged through the city while being tied to a horse's tail. The envoy was frightened and wanted to return from the Pasha's home to his lodging immediately, but the Pasha called him back and softened him.

¹⁸¹ This person was not identified. The adjective "Mesopotamian" refers to his originating (either by duty or by descent) from the contemporary Ottoman Baghdad Eyalet, that is, from the area of present-day Iraq.

¹⁸² The location in question is most likely the Muradiye Mosque in Edirne, built in 1435 or 1436 by Ottoman Sultan Murat II (1421-1444; 1446-1451). N. ÇIÇEK AKÇİL and CEBE ÖZER, „Murâdiye Külliyesi, Edirne'de XV. yüzyılın ilk yarısında inşa edilen külliye“, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 31 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 2006), pp. 199-201.

¹⁸³ I.e., Sokollu Mehmed Pasha.

Ondje nas je posjetio mletački bailo i zahvalio nam na sklopljenom miru.¹⁷⁴

Ožujak

3. U noći nakon poklada izbio je požar unutar edirnskih zidina i uništio pedeset kuća.

8. Jedan za drugim stigli su tajnik i tumač francuskog poslanika.

9. Bili smo u audijenciji kod velikog vezira i donijeli zaključke o svim preostalim pitanjima: o dopunama mirovnih članaka, zajedničkim kmetovima, vremenskom roku za plaćanje počasnog danka, zajedničkoj izjavi koju treba izuzeti iz ratifikacije, slobodi građenja i utvrđivanja koju obje strane imaju na svome teritoriju te o onome što će Carsko Veličanstvo djelomično zadržati, a djelomično srušiti.

10. U Edirne su stigli Miklós Orbay i Ferenc Balogh, glasnici iz Transilvanije, s dankom.

17. Mi smo, u ime Božje, posjetivši i pozdravivši svu gospodu paše, pripravili svoja kola za put. Tada smo posjetili i prejasnog gospodina mletačkog baila Giacoma Soranza.

174 Mir je sklopljen na osam godina na osnovi statusa quo. Habsburgovci su ostali u posjedu teritorija u Dalmaciji, Hrvatskoj, Slavoniji i Ugarskoj, dok su Osmanlije zadržali područja u Transilvaniji, Moldaviji i Vlaškoj. Osim toga, habsburški je vladar bio dužan sultanu plaćati godišnji danak u iznosu od 30 000 dukata. Detaljnije usp. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 921.

184 Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha demanded of the Habsburg delegation to include France, Venice and Poland in the peace agreement, and Emperor Maximilian to be referred to in the treaty as "a friend of Sultan's friends and an enemy of his enemies", which the Habsburg emissaries refused to accept. Cf. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p. 921.

185 According to the peace agreement, it was determined that all prisoners and runaway slaves be returned to their masters. Cf. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p. 921.

186 The peace was signed for the duration of eight years and was based on the status quo. The Habsburgs retained their territories in Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, and Hungary, whereas the Ottomans retained their territories in Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia. Furthermore, the Habsburg ruler was obliged to pay the yearly tribute of 30,000 ducats to the Sultan. For details, cf. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p. 921.

20th. We were summoned to the Pasha's. He proposed to us the conclusion of an alliance with the French, the Venetians and the Poles, hence we engaged in new arguments.¹⁸⁴

21st. We received the articles of the peace treaty from the Pasha.

22nd. The Persian envoy was received in audience by the Turkish Sultan Selim.

24th. We were received in audience for the last time and departed from Edirne from the Turkish Sultan.

29th. We were again received in audience by the Pasha concerning his answer to our personal plea regarding the prisoners and the Turks who were servants in our country.¹⁸⁵ There the Venetian Bailo visited us and thanked us for signing the peace agreement.¹⁸⁶

March

3rd. During the night after Lent, there was a fire inside the Edirne walls, which destroyed fifty houses.

8th. The secretary and the interpreter of the French envoy arrived one after the other.

9th. We were received in audience by the Grand Vizier and we drew a final draft outlining all other outstanding issues: the supplements of the treaty articles, the common serfs, the deadline for the payment of the honorary tribute, the mutual declaration which was to be excluded from the ratification, the freedom of building and reinforcing which both sides have on their own territory, and the sites which the Imperial Majesty will partially keep and partially demolish.

10th. Miklós Orbay and Ferenc Balogh, messengers from Transylvania, arrived in Edirne bringing a tribute.

17th. In the name of the Lord, by visiting and greeting all of the Lord's pashas, we prepared our wagons for the travel. Afterwards we visited His Serene Lordship Venetian Bailo Giacomo Soranzo.

(LV. Obračun izdataka poslanstva, sv. 5, str. 239–245. /
 LV. Calculation of mission's expenditures, Vol. 5, pp. 239–245.)

OBRAČUN IZDATAKA DRUGOGA CARIGRADSKOG POSLANSTVA / CALCULATION OF THE SECOND ISTANBUL MISSION'S EXPENDITURES

28. kolovoza 1567.

Velikom veziru Mehmed-paši dano je	
Zlatnih dukata	4000
Dvostruka vrča	4
Sat	1
Vrataru toga paše dano je talira	40
Isto tako: dano je Pertev-paši talira	2000
Dvostruka vrča	2
Sat	1
Njegovom vrataru talira	30
Isto tako: dano je Ferhad-paši talira	1500
Dvostruka vrča	2
Njegovom vrataru talira	30
Isto tako: dano je Ahmed-paši talira	1000
Dvostruka vrča	2
Njegovom vrataru talira	25

August 28, 1567

The following was given to the Grand Vizier:	
Golden ducats	4,000
Double cups	4
Watch	1
His gatekeeper was given thalers	25
Also: Pertev Pasha was given thalers	2,000
Double cups	2
Watch	1
His gatekeeper was given thalers	30
Also: Ferhad Pasha was given thalers	1500
Double cups	2
His gatekeeper was given thalers	30
Also: Ahmed Pasha was given thalers	1,000
Double cups	2
His gatekeeper was given thalers	25

29. kolovoza

Dano je Pijale-paši talira	2000
Dvostruka vrča	2
Njegovom vrataru talira	25
Isto tako: dano je Mahmud-paši talira	1000
Dvostruka vrča	2
Njegovom vrataru talira	25
Isto tako: dano je velmožnom gospodinu Albertu, našem kolegi, prema odredbi Carskog Veličanstva talira	5000

August 29

Piyale Pasha was given thalers	2,000
Double cups	2
His gatekeeper was given, in thalers	25
Also: Mahmud Pasha was given thalers	1,000
Double cups	2
His gatekeeper was given thalers	25
Also: His Noble Lordship Albert, our colleague, was, by the order of His Imperial Majesty, given thalers	5000

30. kolovoza

Dano je čehaji ¹⁷⁵ velmožnog gospodina Mehmed-paše na dar talira	150
Dvostruki vrč	1

August 30

The *kethüda*¹⁸⁷ of His Noble Lordship Mehmed Pasha was given a gift, in thalers 150

175 Čehaja (osmanski turski: *kethüda*), pomoćnik, zamjenik, zastupnik visokih osmanskih dužnosnika. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svetlost, 1966), 186. VLADIMIR ANIĆ, *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1998), 190.

187 Thaler was a silver coin used throughout Europe from the sixteenth to the twentieth century.

188 *Kethüda* (Ottoman Turkish: steward, deputy) was a steward, a deputy, or a lieutenant to high Ottoman officials. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svetlost, 1966), p. 186. VLADIMIR ANIĆ, *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1998), p. 190.

Isto tako: dano je gospodinu tumaču Ibrahimu na dar talira	750
Isto tako: dano je gospodinu tumaču Mahmudu na dar talira	450
Isto tako: nekim od nižih vratara velikog vezira koji su nam u njegovo ime donijeli voće i ribe dano je talira	12
Isto tako: sultanovu čauš-paši dano je za haljinu načinjenu od dvanaest lakata baršunaste tkanine talira	75
Isto tako: dvadesetpetorici sultanovih čauša koji su nam došli ususret izvan grada dano je talira	25
Isto tako: zapovjedniku tufegdžija ¹⁷⁶ koji su nam došli ususret izvan grada talira	50
Njegovim vojnicima talira	25
Isto tako: šestorici budimskih čauša i jednakom broju janjičara koji su nas dopratili u Carigrad talira	100

Također 28. kolovoza

Egerski je biskup ¹⁷⁷ , uz odobrenje gospode kolega, iz svoje riznice uzeo novac koji je podijeljen vratarima paša Perteva i Ferhada u iznosu od talira	60
Isti je egerski biskup iz istih sredstava, jednakotako uz odobrenje gospode svojih kolega, uzeo novac za vratare paša Mahmuda, Ahmeda i Pijalea u iznosu od talira	75

1. rujna

Službenicima sultanova dvora u vrijeme naše prve audijencije kod vladara podijeljeno je talira	280
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2. rujna

Tajniku Mehmed-paše dano je talira	100
I dvostruki vrč u vrijednosti od talira	74
I aspri ¹⁷⁸	23

176 **Tufegdžija** ili tufekčija (osmanski turski: *tüfekçi*), pripadnik sultanove garde; vojnik naoružan puškama; puškar. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svetlost, 1966), 621. VLADIMIR ANIĆ, *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1998), 705.

177 Odnosi se na Antuna Vrančića, kojega je u znak zahvalnosti za uspješno obavljenu prvu misiju u Carigradu kralj Ferdinand imenovao egerskim biskupom. Taj je naslov Vrančić nosio od 17. srpnja 1560. do 25. listopada 1570. godine.

178 **Aspra**, srebrni novac u Osmanskom Carstvu (novogrčki: *asprós*, bijel), isto što i akča.

Double cup	1
Also: His Lordship interpreter Ibrahim was given a gift in thalers	750
Also: His Lordship interpreter Mahmud was given a gift in thalers	450
Also: some of the lower gatekeepers of the Grand Vizier, who had brought us fruit and fish on his behalf, were given thalers	12
Also: The Sultan's <i>çavuşbaşı</i> , for a dress made out of twelve yards of velvet fabric, was given thalers	75
Also: To the twenty five Sultan's <i>çavuşbaşı</i> , who came outside of the city to meet us, we gave thalers	25
Also: the commander of the <i>tüfekçis</i> ¹⁸⁹ who came outside of the city to meet us, received thalers	50
His soldiers were given thalers	25
Also: six Buda chiauses and to the same number of janissaries who escorted us to Istanbul were given thalers	100

Also on August 28

The Bishop of Eger ¹⁹⁰ , with the permission of his colleagues, took the money from his treasury and it was distributed to the gatekeepers of the Pashas Pertev and Ferhad in the amount of thalers	60
The same Bishop of Eger from the same resources, also with the permission of his colleagues, took the money for the gatekeepers of Mahmud, Ahmed and Piyale in the amount of thalers	75

September 1

The officials of the sultan's court at the time of our first audience before the ruler were given thalers	280
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September 2

The secretary of Mehmed Pasha was given thalers	100
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189 **Tüfekçi** (Ottoman Turkish: gunman), Ottoman army rifleman; member of the sultan's guard; firearm manufacturer. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svetlost, 1966), p. 621. VLADIMIR ANIĆ, *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1998), p. 705.

190 This refers to Antun Vrančić, who was appointed the Bishop of Eger by King Ferdinand as a token of gratitude for having successfully completed his first Istanbul mission. Vrančić bore this title from July 17, 1560, to October 25, 1570.

S tih 74 talira i 23 aspre plaćen je vrč koji nije bio pripremljen, pa ga je trebalo kupiti.

Isto tako: Abrahamu¹⁷⁹ talira 60

6. rujna

U jednoj od vreća s novcem otkriven je manjak od 120 talira uz priloženu cedulju, koju smo sačuvali, dok smo manjak nadoknadili novcem iz ostalih vreća u iznosu od talira 120

Isto tako: za kožne vreće u kojima je novac otpremljen turskom sultani i drugim vezirima dali smo talira 16

Isto tako: čaušu koji je bio zadužen da nas čuva darovali smo talira 32

Isto tako: čehaji budimskog paše koji nas je dopratio u Carigrad talira 50

9. rujna

U jednoj smo vreći pronašli manjak koji smo nadoknadili od ostatka novca u iznosu od talira 112

14. rujna

Prebrojen je novac u dvanaest drugih vreća. U jednoj je otkriven manjak u iznosu od talira 114

U drugoj, pak, u iznosu od talira 102^{3/4}

Isto tako: prebrojen je novac u jednoj vreći gdje je otkriven manjak od talira 99^{1/2}

16. rujna

Ja, biskup egerski, uzeo sam pet zlatnika koji su bili u mojoj riznici i zamijenio ih za talira 7

7. listopada

Eduard je oputovao k Carskom Veličanstvu s pismima. Od novca Njegova Veličanstva, koji je bio u biskupovoj riznici, uz suglasnost gospode kolega dano mu je za troškove talira 50

Čaušu, pak, koji je s njime poslan talira 10

20. listopada

Iz vreća koje su u riznici egerskog biskupa dano je domaćim dragomanima Antoniju i Matiji talira 150

And a double cup worth, in thalers 74

And akçes 23

Those 74 thalers and 23 akçes were paid for the cup which was not prepared, so it had to be bought.

Also: to Abraham,¹⁹¹ in thalers 60

September 6

In one of the money bags a shortage of 120 thalers was discovered alongside an accompanying note which we kept, whereas the shortage was reimbursed from the money from other bags in the amount of thalers 120

Also: for the leather bags in which the money was delivered to the Turkish sultan and to other viziers we gave thalers 16

Also: to the chiaus who was in charge of guarding us we gifted, in thalers 32

Also: to the *kethüda* of the Pasha of Buda, who escorted us to Istanbul, in thalers 50

September 9

In one of the bags we discovered a shortage, which was reimbursed from the rest of the money in the amount of thalers 112

September 14

The money in other twelve bags was counted. In one of those there was a shortage in the amount of thalers 114

And in another one, in the amount of thalers 102^{3/4}

Also: the money in one of the bags was counted and a shortage of thalers was discovered 99^{1/2}

September 16

I, Bishop of Eger, had taken five gold coins that were in my treasury and exchanged it for thalers 7

October 7

Eduard departed for the court of His Imperial Majesty with letters. From the money of His Majesty, which was in Bishop's treasury, and with the common accord of lordships, his colleagues, he was given for his expenses thalers 50

¹⁷⁹ Osoba nije identificirana.

¹⁹¹ This person has not been identified.

Isto tako: iznos od 42 zlatnika, koji je ostao u vrećama kod egerskog biskupa, isti je biskup uzeo uz suglasnost gospode kolega da zamijeni spomenuta zlatnika 42

29. prosinca

Čovjeka koji je pisma za Carsko Veličanstvo odnio u Šibenik unajmili smo za trideset i šest zlatnih dukata, što čini talira 54

Oni su uzeti od novca Njegova Veličanstva koji se čuva u košari.

| 1568.

16. siječnja

Od istog smo novca dali čaušima koji su nam došli ususret iz Edirnea talira 25

Jednako smo tako jednome buljuk-paši¹⁸⁰ koji nas je na nalog Mehmed-paše iz Carigrada doveo u Edirne dali talira 15

I našem čaušu za odjeću povodom Nove godine talira 35

Od istog smo novca Carskog Veličanstva platili tri svilene haljine koje smo povodom Nove godine darovali našem čaušu Musi u iznosu od talira 75

3. ožujka

Od istog smo novca Carskog Veličanstva, koji je bio u biskupovoj riznici, dali čauš-paši čauša, bubenjarama i trubačima age tufegdžije, solacima¹⁸¹, sejmenima¹⁸², turnadžijama¹⁸³, ćurčijama¹⁸⁴ i saksondžijama¹⁸⁵, koji su nam se prilikom oproštaja s turskim

180 **Buljuk-paša, buljugbaša** (osmanski turski: *bölükbaşı*), zapovjednik osmanskoj odreda na razini satnije. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1966), 153. VLADIMIR ANIĆ, *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1998), 162.

181 **Solak** (osmanski turski: *solak*), pripadnik posebne janjičarske gardijske jedinice. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1966), 569. VLADIMIR ANIĆ, *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1998), 588.

182 **Sejmen** (osmanski turski: *seymen*), pripadnik posebne janjičarske jedinice. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1966), 556. VLADIMIR ANIĆ, *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1998), 578.

183 **Turnadžija** (osmanski turski: *turnacı*), pripadnik posebne janjičarske jedinice koji je, među ostalim, sudjelovao u odabiru mladića tijekom devširme („danka u krvi“). ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1966), 625. VLADIMIR ANIĆ, *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1998), 641.

And the chiaus who was sent with him received thalers 10

October 20

From the bags which are in the treasury of the Bishop of Eger, domestic dragomans Antonio and Matthias were given thalers 150

Also: the amount of 42 gold coins, which remained in the bags of the Bishop of Eger, the same Bishop took with the accord of the lordships, his colleagues, in order to exchange the mentioned gold coins 42

December 29

The man who delivered the letters for his Imperial Majesty to Šibenik, we hired for thirty six gold ducats, which makes thalers 54

These were taken from the money of His Majesty that is being kept in the basket.

| 1568

January 16

From the same money we gave to the chiauses who came outside of Edirne to meet us, in thalers 25

Also, we gave one *böyükbaşı*¹⁹² who, on the order of Mehmed Pasha, had escorted us from Istanbul to Edirne thalers 15

And to our chiaus for the clothes for the occasion of the New Year, thalers 35

With the same money of His Imperial Majesty we paid for three silk dresses that we gave as a gift on the occasion of the New Year to our chiaus Musa in the amount of thalers 75

March 3

From the same money of His Imperial Majesty, which was in the Bishop's treasury, we gave to the *çavuşbaşı* of the chiauses, to the drummers and trumpeters of the agha of the *tüfekçi*, to

192 **Bölükbaşı**, Ottoman military rank, officer equivalent to captain; commander of a *bölük*, a subdivision of a regiment. Cf. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1966), p. 153. VLADIMIR ANIĆ, *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1998), p. 162.

sultanom pridružili na putu i na povratku iz njegova dvora u iznosu od talira koji čine iznos od zlatnih dukata	108 72
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9. ožujka

Od istog smo novca Carskog Veličanstva dali petorici biskupovih janjičara i gospodinu Teuffenbachu ¹⁸⁵ za običnu odjeću talira Aspri	38 30
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10. ožujka

Od istog smo novca Carskog Veličanstva tajniku koji je pisao ratifikacijski sporazum za turskog sultana u znak svoje zahvalnosti dali za dvije haljine talira	55
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17. ožujka

Za četrdeset zlatnih dukata koje je egerski biskup dao od svojeg novca dodijelili smo nekim službenicima, kako bi prenijeli pozdrave svim pašama, iznos koji čini talira	60
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Egerski biskup ih je, uz suglasnost sve gospode kolega, uzeo od novca Njegova Veličanstva iz svoje riznice.

the *solaks*,¹⁹³ *seymens*,¹⁹⁴ *turnacis*,¹⁹⁵ *kürkçüs*¹⁹⁶ and *saksoncus*¹⁹⁷ who joined us on our way during our farewell with the Turkish sultan and on our way back from his court, in the amount of thalers which in golden ducats amounts to

108
72**March 9**

From the same money of His Imperial Majesty we gave to the five of the Bishop's janissaries and to His Lordship Teuffenbach for common clothes thalers

38

Akçes

30

March 10

From the same money of His Imperial Majesty we gave as a symbol of our gratitude to the secretary, who had written the ratification agreement for the Turkish sultan, for two dresses thalers

55

March 17

For the forty gold ducats which the Bishop of Eger gave from his own money, we gave to some officials, in order for them to extend our greetings to all the Pashas thalers

60

The Bishop of Eger, with the approval of all the lordships, his colleagues, took this amount from the money of His Majesty from his treasury.

193 **Solak**, member of a separate Ottoman janissary guard unit. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svetlost, 1966), p. 569. VLADIMIR ANIĆ, *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1998), p. 588.

194 **Seymen**, member of a separate Ottoman janissary unit. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svetlost, 1966), p. 556. VLADIMIR ANIĆ, *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1998), p. 578.

195 **Turnaci**, member of a separate Ottoman janissary unit who, among other things, participated in the selection of boys in the process of devşirme. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svetlost, 1966), p. 625. VLADIMIR ANIĆ, *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1998), p. 641.

196 **Kürkçü**, furrier, Skinner; manufacturer of fur items. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svetlost, 1966), p. 200. VLADIMIR ANIĆ, *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1998), p. 213. It is possible that the persons in question are members of some other (and to the editors unknown) Ottoman military unit. In the original Latin text, the word is: *curci*.

197 **Saksoncu**, member of a separate Ottoman court military unit, which during the sultan's hunting expeditions was in charge of the hunting dogs called saksons. MEHMET ZEKI PAKALIN, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1971), Vol. III, pp. 112-113, 150-151. It is possible that the unit in question is some other (to the editors unknown) Ottoman military unit, since the original Latin word is: *sasoggi*. We would like to thank Okan Büyüktapuu for his help in deciphering this word.

184 **Čurčija** (osmanski turski: *kürkçü*), krvnar, izrađivač krznenih predmeta. ABDULAH ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svetlost, 1966), 200. VLADIMIR ANIĆ, *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1998), 213. Moguće je da je riječ o nekoj drugoj, priređivačima nepoznatoj osmanskoj vojnoj jedinici. U izvornom tekstu stoji: *curcii*.

185 **Saksondžija** (osmanski turski: *saksoncu*), pripadnik posebne osmanske dvorske vojne jedinice, koja je prilikom sultanova odlaska u lov bila zadužena za brigu o lovačkim psima „saksoncima“. MEHMET ZEKI PAKALIN, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1971), sv. III, 112-113, 150-151. Moguće je da je riječ o nekoj drugoj, priređivačima nepoznatoj osmanskoj vojnoj jedinici, jer u izvornom tekstu stoji književno: *sasogii*. Za pomoć pri odgonetavanju ovog pojma zahvaljujemo Okanu Büyüktapuu.

186 **Christoph Teuffenbach**, štajerski plemić i savjetnik cara Maksimilijana II., koji je s Vrančićem posлан u drugu carigradsku misiju.

**Popis prevedenih pisama i njihova lokacija u mađarskom izdanju Vrančićeve ostavštine /
List of translated letters and their location in the Hungarian edition of Vrančić's oeuvre**

• Izvještaj o prvim aktivnostima prvoga carigradskog poslanstva od 1. rujna 1553. godine, str. 66–104

XXX. Ferdinánd királynak Verancsics és Zay. 1553. september elején (XXX. Vrančić i Zay kralju Ferdinandu. 1. rujna 1553. godine), sv. 3, str. 49–82.

• Pismo Antuna Vrančića Pavlu Gregorijancu od 31. listopada 1554. godine, str. 105–108

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