



Osmanlı Mirası Arařtırmaları Dergisi

Journal of Ottoman Legacy Studies

ISSN 2148-5704

www.osmanlimirasi.net

osmanlimirasi@gmail.com

Cilt 9, Sayı 24, Temmuz 2022 / Volume 9, Issue 24, July 2022

MURTEZA PASHA'S CONDUCT OF DIPLOMACY ON THE BUDA FRONTIER (1626-1630)

Murteza Pařa'nın Budin Serhaddinde Uyguladığı Diplomasi (1626-1630)

Makale Türü/ Article Types : Arařtırma Makalesi/Research Article
Geliř Tarihi/Received Date : 21.09.2021
Kabul Tarihi/Accepted Date : 01.07.2022
Sayfa/Pages : 351-64
DOI Numarası/DOI Number : <http://dx.doi.org/10.17822/omad.2022.217>

Mahmut Halef CEVRİOĐLU

(Dr.), İzmir Kâtip Çelebi Üniversitesi, İzmir / Türkiye, e-mail: halefcevrioglu@gmail.com,
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0079-8134>

Atıf/Citation

Cevriođlu, Mahmut Halef, "Murteza Pasha's Conduct of Diplomacy on the Buda Frontier (1626-1630)", *Osmanlı Mirası Arařtırmaları Dergisi*, 9/24, 2022, s. 351-64.



Osmanlı Mirası Araştırmaları Dergisi (OMAD), Cilt 9, Sayı 24, Temmuz 2022.

Journal of Ottoman Legacy Studies (JOLS), Volume 9, Issue 24, July 2022.

ISSN: 2148-5704

MURTEZA PASHA'S CONDUCT OF DIPLOMACY ON THE BUDA FRONTIER (1626-1630)*

Murteza Paşa'nın Budin Serhaddinde Uyguladığı Diplomasi (1626-1630)

Mahmut Halef CEVRİOĞLU

Abstract: This study examines Ottoman diplomacy in the early modern period on the basis of provincial diplomacy conducted by the governor-general of Buda, Murteza Pasha, between 1626 and 1630. The letters sent and received by Murteza Pasha, as well as two provincial treasury registers, are employed in order to shed light on the sporadic exchanges between the Pasha and the Habsburg authorities. In this regard, the interstate undertakings of an Ottoman frontier governor and his correspondence with the authorities at the Viennese court are scrutinised to emphasise the role played by a frontier administrator within the larger scene of Ottoman diplomacy. The study thereby suggests that Murteza Pasha employed large sums in covering the costs of alimentation for and in presenting with robes of honour both the Ottoman officials and foreign diplomats in order to maintain his diplomatic mechanism, as was the case in Istanbul. Moreover, the study claims that the Ottomans did differentiate between different ranks and titles of their neighbours in the diplomatic conduct and exemplifies how they integrated the others into their cultural sphere.

Key Words: Early modern diplomacy, frontier diplomacy, Ottoman-Habsburg relations, Murteza Pasha, Viennese Court

Öz: Mevcut çalışma, erken modern dönem Osmanlı diplomasisini bir Osmanlı serhat eyaleti olan Budin'de 1626 ila 1630 yılları arasında valilik yapan Murteza Paşa'nın takip ettiği diplomasiyi temel alarak incelemektedir. Gerek Murteza Paşa'nın yabancı yetkililere gönderdiği ve bu yetkililerden aldığı mektuplar, gerekse o dönemde tutulmuş olan Budin vilayetine ait iki taşra muhasebe defteri Avusturya (Habsburglar) yetkilileri ile Paşa arasında cari olan canlı diplomatik temasları aydınlatmak için kaynak olarak kullanılmıştır. Çalışmada Murteza Paşa'nın devletlerarası diplomatik girişimleri ve Viyana Sarayı'ndaki yetkililer ile irtibatı incelenerek, genel olarak Osmanlı diplomasi sahnesindeki bir sınır paşasının diplomatik rolüne dikkat çekilmiştir. Böylece, tıpkı İstanbul'da olduğu şekilde, Murteza Paşa'nın diplomatik mekanizmayı yürütmek için taşrada da hem Osmanlı memurlarının hem de yabancı diplomatların iafesine ve diplomatlara verilen hilatlara yüklü meblağlar harcadığı önerilmiştir. Ayrıca, diplomatik yazışmalarda Osmanlıların komşularının unvan ve rütbeleri arasındaki farkları ayırt ettikleri gösterilmiş, bunları kendi hafsalalarına / kültürel dünyalarına nasıl yerleştirdikleri örneklendirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yeniçağ diplomasisi, serhat diplomasisi, Osmanlı-Habsburg ilişkileri, Murteza Paşa, Viyana Sarayı

Introduction

The once-powerful Hungarian Kingdom had been divided into three by the middle of the sixteenth century, which made the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires neighbours on the former Hungarian territory, with Transylvania as a quasi-buffer zone in between. The Hungarian capital, Buda, became the seat of the Ottoman province of *Budin*, which was a frontier

* Extended version of a paper presented at the meeting *Visible and Invisible Borders Between Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern World*, Budapest, 10-11 January 2020. The material herein is derived from the author's doctoral study "Ottoman Diplomacy in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century and the Ottoman-Habsburg Diplomatic Relations during Sultan Murad IV's Reign" at Izmir Katip Celebi University, Turkey (2021).

administrative unit until 1686. The governors of this province inevitably assumed diplomatic duties in addition to their administrative and military ones.¹

These diplomatic duties of the governors of Buda understandably involved the reception of Habsburg diplomats at the Buda court, negotiation of peace treaties, arranging the exchange of prisoners, conducting border delineations and sending or forwarding messengers. Given the lack of systematic Ottoman archival documentation related to the frontiers,² it is more challenging to portray the diplomatic life in the provinces in contrast to the one in Constantinople. Limited as it is, provincial diplomacy is nonetheless made known to us thanks to governors' numerous letters now housed in European archives and a handful provincial treasury registers surviving to our day.

The present study addresses one of the governor of Buda, Murteza Pasha, who filled the post between 1626 and 1630.³ Out of his correspondence covering this timespan, hundreds of letters have survived either in their original format or as copies/translations, in languages ranging from Turkish and Hungarian to German, Latin and Italian.⁴ These letters are a good example to show that the Habsburg officials and Ottoman Buda maintained correspondence on a regular basis. This documentation helps us, in a way, highlight the less-studied but freshly burgeoning aspect of Ottoman interactions with neighbouring polities, that is, the frontier diplomacy.⁵

1. The Correspondence

The letters sent and received by Murteza Pasha with regard to his dealings with the Habsburgs are preserved without exception outside of modern Turkish Republic. Dispersed portions of his correspondence are found in *Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv* in Vienna and the Hungarian National Archives, while the Czech Republic contains a smaller amount.⁶ Around twenty of the letters at hand are original papers in Ottoman, bearing Murteza Pasha's seal and vizierial signature (*pençe*). However, the significant part of the documentation, which is affiliated with the Habsburg court, is a plethora of copies and translations addressed to (and received from) the Pasha in Italian, Latin and German. The Italian translations constituted the

¹ Claudia Römer and Gisela Procházka-Eisl, "Raub, Mord und Übergriffe an der habsburgisch-osmanischen Grenze: Der diplomatische Alltag der Beglerbege von Buda abseits von Zeremonien." In: Ralph Kauz, Giorgio Rota and Jan Paul Niederkorn (eds.) *Diplomatisches Zeremoniell in Europa und im mittleren Osten in der frühen Neuzeit*, (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 251-264.

² Andrii Zhyvachivskyi, "The Governors of Kefe and Azak in Ottoman-Muscovite Relations in the Fifteenth-Seventeenth Centuries and the Issue of Titulature." *Acta Poloniae Historica* 115 (2007), 224.

³ There is a growing literature on Murteza Pasha - especially with regard to his years in Buda - throughout the last decade: Fahri Oluk, "El-Vasfu'l-Kamil fi Ahvali Veziri'l-Adil Adli Yazma Eserin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Kayseri: Kayseri Üniversitesi, 2007); Nedim Zahirovic, *Murteza Pascha von Ofen zwischen Panegyrik und Historie: Eine literarisch-historische Analyse eines osmanischen Wesirspiegels von Nergisi (El-vasfü l-kâmil fi-ahvâli l-vezîri l-'âdil)*, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010); Sudar Balázs, "The Story of Mürteza Pasha" In: Pál Fodor, Nándor E. Kovács and Benedek Péri (eds.) *Şerefe: Studies in Honour of Prof. Géza Dávid on His Seventieth Birthday*, (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2019), 339-357.

⁴ Certain letters of Murteza Pasha have already been published in a variety of works, the most famous being Ludwig Fekete, *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des palatins Nikolaus Esterházy 1606-1645*, (Budapest: Königliche Universitätsdruckerei, 1932), whereas the bulk of the unedited documentation is being prepared for publication through an OTKA (Országos Tudományos Kutatási Alapprogramok) project, Nr. 124178 "Diplomáciai források a Magyar Királyság oszmán kapcsolatainak történetéhez (16–17. sz.) [Diplomatic sources for the history of the Hungarian Kingdom's relations with the Ottomans]" led by Gábor Kármán.

⁵ Maria Pia Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine* (Rome: Herder, 2002); Vesna Miović, "Beylerbeyi of Bosnia and Sancakbeyi of Hercegovina in the Diplomacy of the Dubrovnik Republic", *Dubrovnik Annals*, 9 (2005): 37-69; Güneş Işıksel, "La politique étrangère ottomane dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle: le cas du règne de Selim II (1566-1574)" (Ph.d Thesis, Paris: EHESS 2012); Gabor Kármán, "'Paşa'nın Eli Öpülür mü?': Budin'de Erdel Elçileri", *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 24 (2013): 69-99.

⁶ One must not overlook the fact that an exhausting study across all European archives would yield a more prolific result in this respect.

majority and seemed to have been carried out by Michel d'Asquier, the Habsburg court interpreter.⁷ The coverage of the letters, however, is far from being all-encompassing. There are certain gaps in the chronological order, and it is hard to claim that every letter has a response from its addressee. Nonetheless, the available letters help draw a relatively intelligible picture.

In terms of their physical appearance, all the Ottoman letters issued by the chancery of Murteza Pasha bear the vizierial signature (*pençe*), the confirmation (*sahh*) and the seal of the Pasha with black ink on their right margin. Solely in the letters addressing the Habsburg Emperor (Kaiser Ferdinand II), the vizierial signature and the confirmation are drawn with glittering (golden) ink. On the reverse side of the letters, the addressee of the letters are defined with a single Ottoman sentence at the top, in the middle of the upper edge. Even though it is not possible to portray the exact procedure of the preparation and dispatching of the letters, it can be surmised that the letters were rolled and placed into quite elegant cloth covers as a purchase entry in the Buda provincial register suggests.⁸

The seal of the Pasha also needs to be laid under scrutiny. It seems that Murteza Pasha decided to renew his seal a few months after he was transferred from the governorship of Bosnia to that of Buda. Pasha's plainer seal of "*Hâk-pâ-yı Âl-i 'Osman, Murteza* [Murteza, the dust under the feet of the Ottoman Dynasty]" during his Bosnian service, which was surrounded by a famous Persian couplet,⁹ became visually and poetically more elaborate after he moved to Buda: The new text "*Sedd-i İslam'in sipeh-sâlâri, Hakk'ın bendesi; Murteza Paşa'yım oldur Han Murad efgendesi, 1036* [The guardian of Islam, a slave to the God; Murteza Pasha I am, the servant of Han Murad; 1626/1627]" was surrounded not by any Persian lines, but with depictions of a predatory bird (probably a falcon)¹⁰, a double-pointed sword (*zülfi-kar*) and a bow. This seal, which presumably emphasised Pasha's awareness of his increased responsibility as a frontier commander who had a direct land contact with the Christian world, was utilised throughout the whole time he spent in Buda.¹¹

The documentation points to a dozen people with whom Murteza Pasha established contact, even though the actual number must have been higher. Most of the letters at hand are exchanged between the Pasha and the Viennese authorities, the most important of whom being

⁷ The earliest example of d'Asquier's translations I could detect was in OeStA [Österreichisches Staatsarchiv], HHStA [Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv], TUK [Türkische Urkunden] 7a, 1622.20-29 July (11-20 Ramazan 1031): "Tradusse in Vienna Michel d'Asquier il primo d'Ottobre 1622". I should express my gratitude to YÖK (Turkish Institution for Higher Education) for the doctoral research grant (YUDAB) I benefited from during my research in the Austrian archives and National Library (ÖNB) in 2018-2019, along with Özgür Kolçak, Claudia Römer and Cahit Telci for their help in the process.

⁸ ÖNB, *Cod. Mixt.* 636, f. 11r: "29 R 1039" [16 December 1629]: "Baha-yı kumaş ve kırtas ... bera-yı evamir ve mekâtib-i mîrî-lâzım-est, baha: 6,065 akçe [Expenditure for cloth and paperwork ... required for orders and official papers, cost: 6,065 aspers]". Other purchases registered between 1 January and 24 February 1630 under the rubric of "baha-yı kırtas" [cost of paperwork] are f. 11r (140 akçes), f. 16r (160 akçes) f. 17r (1,200 akçes). At the time, 90 akçes/aspers amounted to 1 Reichstaller (or 60 aspers for 1 Gulden).

⁹ "Ey Bâr Hüda be-hakk hesti, Şeş çiz mara meded-feresti; 'İlm ü 'amal ü ferah-desti, İman ü aman ü ten-dürüsti": It is possible to find the same Persian couplet in many other seals of the century, vide İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Devleti Zamanında Kullanılmış Olan Bazı Mühürler Hakkında Bir Tetkik." *Bellekten*, 4 (1940), 505. Years later, (in 1654) Mustafa Pasha of Agria would have the same Persian poem in his seal (Jozef Blaškovič, "Türkische historische Urkunden aus Gerner", *Asian and African Studies*, VIII (1972), 74. Uzunçarşılı's work (p. 506) also deciphers Murteza Pasha's seal of Buda.

¹⁰ I should thank Günhan Börekçi for attracting my attention to the fact that Murteza Pasha was raised in the palace as a *doğancı* (falconer) of the sultan, see Batuhan İsmail, "Osmanlı Saray Teşkilatında Doğancı Koğuşu" (M.A. Thesis, Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi, 2014), 62.

¹¹ Fekete offers the Arabic transcriptions of the seals and their German translations (Fekete 1932: Documents #10, 13). Nonetheless, by 1634, Murteza Pasha had formed a new combination in his seal, by which the central mark of "*Hâk-pâ-yı Âl-i 'Osman, Murteza Paşa*" was once again surrounded with the same Persian couplet "Ey Bâr Hüda..." (Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th-18th Century): An Annotated Edition of 'Ahdnames and Other Documents*, (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2000), 444). Pasha's seal in Bosnia Archivio Stato di Venezia, Documenti Turchi, 1342 (dated November 1626).

Prince Eggenberg, the director of the Secret Council (*Geheimrat*). Prince Eggenberg served almost in an analogous manner to the Ottoman grand vizier in Habsburg diplomatic relations with the Porte, a fact also reinforced by Murteza Pasha's choice of *inscriptio* regarding him: *Primo Vesir di S.M.Cesare*.¹² Murteza Pasha addressed the prince as his "friend and brother" (*buon amico et fratello*) and focused on the issues of cross-border raids, border delineation and exchange of prisoners.¹³

Another Viennese authority he addressed as friend and regarded as a Habsburg 'vizier' (*vesire di Sua Maestà Cesarea*) was the president of the Aulic War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*), Rambaldo Collalto. With Collalto, Colonel Löbl (member of the War Council), and Count Meggau (member of the Secret Council), the Pasha spoke over issues similar to those with Prince Eggenberg. Among these, evidence regarding the correspondence with Rambaldo Collalto exceeds the boundaries of the Austrian archives: the Collalto family fonds in the Czech archives (Brno, G 169 Rodinny Archiv Collaltu Brtnice) preserves six original Ottoman letters issued by Murteza Pasha's Buda chancery, along with three Italian translations.¹⁴

The Habsburg Court interpreter Michael d'Asquier was another frequent contact of Murteza Pasha.¹⁵ In contrast to the other (and superior) Habsburg officials, d'Asquier was actually a political figure known to Murteza Pasha in person, as he was sent to Buda at least once during the Pasha's term. Along with usual state affairs, d'Asquier and Murteza Pasha contacted each other in order to deliberate the treatment of the Habsburg ambassador, Baron Kuefstein.¹⁶

Doubtlessly, the Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand II had an important role in the correspondence of Murteza Pasha. Against eight letters (two in original Ottoman) from the Pasha to Emperor Ferdinand, solely one from Ferdinand to the Pasha has been preserved in the state archives of Vienna. In his letters, Murteza Pasha addressed the Habsburg Emperor as "Roma İmparatoru 'izzetli ve sa'adetli Ferdinand [Illustrious and Serene Ferdinand, the Roman Emperor]" and "Çasar Hazretleri [His Majesty the Kaiser]", without making use of any of the elaborate *inscriptio* the Ottoman chanceries were accustomed to. Emperor Ferdinand, in return, addressed the Pasha as "our illustrious and magnificent friend and devoted neighbour" (*Illustrissime et Magnifice amice et vicine syncere nobis dilecte*).¹⁷ Here, it must be taken into consideration that, even though there is no evidence if Habsburg frontier commanders did (or ever could) write directly to the Ottoman Sultan, it was almost commonplace for Ottoman

¹² OeStA, HHStA, *Türkei I, Turcica* 112, f. 16r: "Di Buda li 15 della Luna d' Aprile 1629".

¹³ OeStA, HHStA, *Türkei I, Turcica* 112, (1629), f. 1r; (1630), f. 3r.

¹⁴ Moravsky Zemsky Archiv v Brne, G 169 Rodinny Archiv Collaltu Brtnice, Karton 81, Nr. 1759. Among these, there is also a letter from Ismail by Murteza Pasha dated to July 1630, suggesting that the Pasha's correspondence with Collalto continued after he was appointed to Silistria. Moreover, the same fonds (G 169, RACB, Kt 81, Nr. 1759) also holds a letter addressed to Murteza Pasha's predecessor, Sofu Mehmed Pasha, sent by the grand vizier of the time, Gürcü Mehmed Pasha. I hereby express my gratitude to Gábor Kármán for sharing with me the digital images of the Ottoman documents in this fonds (MZAB, G 169 RACB, Kt 81, Nr. 1759).

¹⁵ For D'asquier, please see Alastair Hamilton, "Michel D'Asquier, Imperial Interpreter and Bibliophile" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 72 (2009): 237-241.

¹⁶ OeStA, HHStA, *Türkei I, Turcica* 111, (1628), f. 32r; f. 46r; f. 50r.

¹⁷ OeStA, HHStA, *Türkei I, Turcica* 111, f. 126r, "15 Augusti Anno 1627" : "Ferdinandus ad Bassam Budensem". Murteza Pasha's letters are similarly to be found in the *Türkei I* fonds of *Turcica* 111 and 112. The fact that Murteza Pasha shunned from using an *inscriptio* does not reflect a rule specific to Buda can be suggested by comparing his letters against that of his predecessor Sofu Mehmed Pasha, who stuck to the usual "İftiharü'l-ümera i'l-'izami'l-'İseviyye ... [The most laudable among the Christian monarchs etc.]" in starting his letter to the Habsburg Emperor. For comparison, see the two following envelops: OeStA, HHStA, TUK 7a, 1624. 27 März and 1627. 1 August.

frontier governors to address neighbouring sovereigns directly, as exemplified by letters from Bosnia to the Venetian doge or from Caffa to the Muscovite Tsar.¹⁸

The Courty authorities aside, another Habsburg figure Murteza Pasha established frequent communication was the Habsburg Ambassador (*Großbotschafter*) to the Ottoman Porte in late 1628 and 1629, Baron Hans Ludwig Kuefstein. Similar to interpreter d'Asquier, Kuefstein knew Murteza Pasha personally since he took audience with Murteza Pasha at Buda both on his way to and back from Istanbul.¹⁹ Apart from their several face-to-face conversations, many issues related to the embassy were discussed between the Pasha and Kuefstein through letters, which have been preserved thanks to the ambassador's meticulous efforts. Hence, we have copies of seven letters (unfortunately, none in Ottoman) from Murteza Pasha and eight from the ambassador, now preserved as a separate volume attached to Kuefstein's official report. The correspondence between the two majorly focused on the exchange of ambassadors between the Ottoman and Habsburg parties, with a significant concentration on the issue of diplomatic parity between the sides.²⁰

Not all of Murteza Pasha's Habsburg addressees were centred around Vienna. As a frontier governor, Murteza Pasha naturally established contact with the local Hungarian authorities, too. However, a caveat must be outright placed that the archival holdings of Vienna remain surprisingly silent in this respect. A single letter to the Hungarian Governor-General (Palatine) Miklos Esterházy (dated 3 August 1627)²¹ and another to the commander of the Callo Castle Istvan Nár (dated 3 December 1629) are the sole ones issued by Murteza Pasha under this category.²² However, the exchange of letters between Murteza Pasha and Miklos Esterházy was conspicuously more frequent, and a higher number of letters remained in Hungary, as opposed to reaching the Viennese Court.²³ Nonetheless, we can at least point out that the letters at hand attest to the negotiation process of the Szöny treaty between the Habsburg and Ottoman commissaries in 1627.

A point of importance is the Pasha's attitude towards the Hungarian officials, as reflected in the letters to the Habsburg Court. Both during the 1627 Szöny peace talks and later in the 1628/1629 border delineation negotiations, Murteza Pasha made it clear that he wanted to deal not with the Hungarian commissaries already appointed, but with any possible *German* officials from the court. Especially during the 1627 negotiations, he specifically asked for Count Althan,²⁴ who had played a major role in the former peace treaties between the two sides since 1606.

Murteza Pasha's demand was resonating his belief that Hungarian nobles appointed to conduct negotiations were in one way or the other affiliated to the geography and hence to the villages under dispute within the area of the targeted delineation. That was why meetings lasted

¹⁸ Zhyvachivskyyi, p. 222; Maria Pia Pedani-Fabris and A. Bombacci, 1994. *I "Documenti Turchi" dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, (Venice: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali-Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici, 1994), 394, 399.

¹⁹ Karl Teply, *Die kaiserliche Großbotschaft an Sultan Murad IV. im Jahre 1628 des Freiherrn Hans Ludwig von Kuefsteins Fahrt zur Hohen Pforte*, (Vienna: A. Schendl, 1976).

²⁰ All letters (copies) are retrieved from OeStA, HHStA, *Türkei I, Turcica* 111, "Beilage".

²¹ OeStA, HHStA, *Türkei I, Turcica* 111, f. 154r (Budensis Visirius ad Dominum Palatinum) for the Latin translation and f. 158r for a short Latin summary. The German translation and the Ottoman transcription of this letter were made by Fekete (1932, p. 49-51), suggesting that the original Ottoman document is presently in Hungary.

²² OeStA, HHStA, *Türkei I, Turcica* 112, f. 45r.

²³ Indeed, a handful of Ottoman letters (four) from Murteza Pasha to Palatine Esterházy were edited by Fekete (1932: 28-51) while they were deposited in the Esterházy family archives, and now seem to have been transferred to Hungarian National Archives (P 123). Furthermore, the more considerable part of the correspondence between the Pasha and the palatine seems to have been the one in Hungarian, as the letters published by Salamon (1867) and the ongoing OTKA project by Gábor Kármán (*Diplomáciai források a Magyar Királyság oszmán kapcsolatainak történetéhez: 16-17. sz.*) suggest.

²⁴ OeStA, HHStA, *Türkei I, Turcica* 111, (1627), f. 131r and its Italian translation: *ibid.* 133r.

longer than expected, and therefore, a Habsburg re-appointment of German (i.e., Austrian) commissaries would strike an impartial balance and hence avert prolongations.²⁵ In modern historiography, however, such an attitude has been considered in different tenors. Fekete, for instance, claimed that this approach reflected the long-lasting hatred of the Ottoman side against the Hungarian population, though without making a further explanation than Murteza's as to why this should have been the case in the first place.²⁶ Radway, on the other hand, comes up with a more telling idea by looking at the border in the sixteenth century and claims that projecting a third party, i.e., the local Hungarian population, as the scapegoat of the limping peace was a means to cover the faults of the regional governors. In this way, Ottoman governors of Buda could "deflect any tensions arising from the frequent peace treaty violations that occurred" while it was their subordinate soldiers who actually breached the peace.²⁷

In a geography where ransom slavery and cross-border excursions compensated for the arrears of the border garrisons and where *Kleinkrieg* was a matter of fact,²⁸ Radway's explanation inarguably makes sense. However, as Hiller ably portrays it, Hungarian Palatine Miklos Esterházy, whose term in office (1625-1645) corresponded to that of Murteza Pasha, dedicated himself to leaving no stone unturned in order to bring the Ottoman presence in Hungary to an end.²⁹ This should -whatever the actual reason lying beneath might be- endorse Murteza Pasha's reservations in his letters regarding the appointment of local notables as commissaries and should counter-suggest that 'blaming a third party' could very well be reflecting a fact instead of a simple excuse.

One further issue related to the Pasha's demand is the Ottoman perception of the 'other' across the border. It has been recently noted that the early modern Ottomans did draw a line between the Austrians and other German speaking people when they made use of the term 'Nemçe'.³⁰ In the Pasha's letters, one can observe further stratification: the fact that Murteza Pasha distinguished between Austrian and non-Austrian negotiators in 1627 and 1629 shows that the Ottomans were aware of the distinction between the German-speaking Habsburg authorities at the Viennese court and other local nobilities constituting Ferdinand II's empire.³¹ The Ottoman term 'Nemçe', in this case, refers only to the German speakers of the Habsburg Empire in Murteza Pasha's letters whereas Hungarian (or Croatian) nobility seemed to be left out of that category even though they were recognised as the Habsburg Emperor's subjects.

2. Murteza Pasha's Diplomatic Contacts

The diplomatic activity carried out by the pashas of Buda was naturally not restricted to written correspondence. While Buda stood on the Vienna-Istanbul route, the city was an inevitable station for the incoming or returning Habsburg embassies. In addition, the governors of Buda were also supposed to meet Habsburg representatives in person in their capacity as the fully authorised Ottoman commissary to delineate borders or negotiate peace treaties.

²⁵ OeStA, HHStA, *Türkei I, Turcica* 111, (1627), f. 131r; *Turcica* 112, (1629), f. 17v, 20r.

²⁶ Ludwig Fekete, *Türkische Schriften*, LVI-LVII.

²⁷ Robyn Dora Radway, "Vernacular Diplomacy in Central Europe: Statesmen and Soldiers between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, 1543-1593" (Ph.d Thesis, Princeton University, 2017), 185-188.

²⁸ Gábor Ágoston, "Macaristan'da Osmanlı - Habsburg Serhaddi (1541-1699): Bir Mukayese" In: Kahraman Şakul (ed. and trans.) *Osmanlı'da Savaş ve Serhad*, (İstanbul: Timaş, 2013), 204; Pál Fodor and Géza Dávid, *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders (Early Fifteenth-Early Eighteenth Centuries)*, (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2007).

²⁹ István Hiller, "Ungarn als Grenzland des christlichen Europa im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert", in R.G. Asch et alia (eds.) *Der Frieden: Frieden und Krieg in der Frühen Neuzeit* (München, 2001), 573-574.

³⁰ Yasir Yılmaz, "From Nemçe to Avusturya. Ottoman Appellations for Austria" In: Sieglinde Klettenhammer and Kurt Scharf (eds.) *Was heisst Österreich? Überlegungen zum Feld der Austrian Studies im 21. Jahrhundert*, (Klagenfurt/Celovec: Wieser, 2021) 83, 87.

³¹ OeStA, HHStA, *Türkische Urkunden 7a*. Murteza Pasha's letter to Collalto (1 August 1627). The Italian translation of this Ottoman original (OeStA, HHStA, *Turcica* 111, f. 131r-v) refers to *Nemçe* people as "signori Alemanni". The negotiators that were not German (Alemanni) were referred to as Ungari (Hungarians) in a later dated letter, see OeStA, HHStA, *Turcica* 112, f. 16 r (15 April 1629).

The primary group of people from the Viennese court with whom Murteza Pasha met in person were the Habsburg emissaries. It must be reminded here that the governors of Buda were obliged to cover the alimentionation and accommodation costs of the Habsburg ambassador making their transit over Buda, as Ottoman provincial registers show.³² In addition to financing their voyage, the governors also negotiated with diplomatic representatives about border issues or diplomatic protocol, as Murteza Pasha is known to have had several of those with ambassador Baron Kuefstein. Among these Habsburg diplomatic representatives, we should first count *internuntius* István Balogh,³³ ambassador Baron Kuefstein and Austrian resident minister Rudolf Schmid. In the second row, interpreters such as Michael d'Asquier or Marino Tudisi were also acquainted with Murteza Pasha in person.

To begin with, the Habsburg *internuntius* (or *küçükkelçi*) István Balogh was commissioned in late 1627 to carry the treaty text signed by the commissaries at Szöny to Istanbul. On his route to and from the Ottoman capital, he was accommodated by Murteza Pasha in both Buda and Esztergom. Since, Balogh had to spend more than half a year on his way back to Vienna, the alimentionation costs spent for Balogh reached half a million *akçes* (aspers), with funds reinforced from the treasury of Temesvar.³⁴ Furthermore, Balogh received two robes of honour (*hil'at*) worth seven thousand aspers in total.³⁵

The entries regarding Habsburg Ambassador Hans Ludwig Kuefstein suggest that he and his retinue received at least nineteen robes of honour worth a hundred thousand *akçes* on their way to Istanbul. This was in addition to the seventy-six thousand *akçes* spent to cover their voyage to the Ottoman capital.³⁶ On their way back from Istanbul to Vienna, Kuefstein's voyage costs during the journey from Belgrade to Buda were calculated at thirty thousand *akçes*, which was financed from the tax farm of the pier of Belgrade (*Belgrad-ı Engürüs iskelesi*). While at Buda Kuefstein and his retinue were paid around a total of two hundred and thirty thousand *akçes* for daily alimentionation. Lastly, the ambassador and his retinue were given robes of honour of about a hundred and eighty thousand *akçes* during their audiences with Murteza Pasha.³⁷ To sum up, between 1628 and 1629, the Buda provincial treasury registered around 1,1 million *akçes* of transfer for two Habsburg extraordinary envoys, which excludes the expenditure made for their affiliates and the Ottoman officials in their company.

We have ample information on Rudolf Schmid, too.³⁸ Both Habsburg and Ottoman archival documentation offers evidence that Schmid was at Buda in February 1628 to meet with

³² During my research in the Ottoman archives, I have come to realise that the Buda provincial register *MAD.d 7339* is the chronological predecessor (1628 February-1629 Feb.) to the register ÖNB, *Cod. Mxt. 636* (1629 Feb.-1630 Feb.). Despite not being so common as the land surveys of the provinces (*tapu tahrir*) or the central treasury registers (*hazine-i amire ruznamçeleri*), certain of these provincial treasury registers have been examined in the literature, G. Káldy-Nagy, "The Cash Book of the Ottoman Treasury in Buda in the Years 1558-1560", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 15(1/3) (1962): 173-182; Caroline Finkel, *The administration of warfare: the Ottoman military campaigns in Hungary, 1593-1606*, (Vienna: Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1988).

³³ OeStA, HHStA, *Venedig, Dispacci di Germania*, 69, p. 45 (Di Vienna li 2 Ottobre 1627): "... é partito di qua per Buda per dia lá a Constantinopoli il governatore di Papa con regali..."

³⁴ BOA [Ottoman Archives of the Turkish Presidency], *MAD.d* [Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler] 7339, p. 15: For a total of 251 days (225 days in Buda and 26 days in Esztergom), 508.000 *akçes* were transferred (one thaler being equal to 90 *akçes* at the time).

³⁵ BOA, *MAD.d 7339*, p. 4.

³⁶ BOA, *MAD.d 7339*, p. 16 and 19.

³⁷ ÖNB, *Cod. Mxt. 636*, f. 6v-7r; 9r-10r; f. 12v; f. 17r.

³⁸ Peter Meinenberger, *Johann Rudolf Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn als kaiserlicher Resident in Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1629-1643: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen Österreich und der Türkei in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, (Bern: Peter Lang GmbH, Internationaler Verlag Der Wissenschaften, 1973); Arno Strohmeyer, "Kategorisierungsleistungen und Denkschemata in diplomatischer Kommunikation: Johann Rudolf Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn als kaiserlicher Resident an der Hohen Pforte (1629-1643)", In: Gunda Barth-Scalmani, Harriet Rudolph and Christian Stephan (eds.) *Politische Kommunikation*

Murteza Pasha.³⁹ Similarly, in May 1629, Schmid is known to have passed through (and stayed for negotiations at) Buda before starting his new mission as the Habsburg resident minister at the Porte,⁴⁰ which would last until 1643. As the Buda provincial treasury register suggests, Schmid received three instalments of travel payment under the entry of “*Harc-ı rah-ı Rudolfus, kethüda-yı bâb-ı Çasar, der-vakt ki be-Asitâne-i Sa’adet-firistade* [Travel money for Rudolf, resident minister of Kaiser, during his trip to the Threshold of Felicity]” and another payment for carriage rental, all amounting to 45800 *akçes* (aspers)⁴¹ in total. In addition to these, the register also shows that on 5 May 1629, Rudolf Schmid received a robe of honour, probably along with his companions, since the amount of 12000 aspers under this entry is too high for a single person.⁴²

The Habsburg Court Interpreter Michael d’Asquier was also personally at Buda to meet Murteza Pasha, as formerly shown. The Viennese Court sent him to canvass the form of the Ottoman ratification of the Szöny treaty with Murteza Pasha during spring 1628. Even though at least one of d’Asquier’s trips to Buda in the company of the Pasha’s steward Şahin Ağa [Shahin Agha] is documented in the Viennese archives, there is no direct expression of d’Asquier’s name in the Ottoman registers.⁴³

Another Habsburg figure at Murteza Pasha’s court was the Ragusan interpreter Marino Tudisi, labeled as a “go-between” due to his frequent shuttling between Vienna and Buda in a recent work.⁴⁴ Tudisi, who had been reportedly sent to Buda at least as early as June 1627 for the negotiations of the Szöny treaty as d’Asquier drew attention, found himself at Buda quite frequently also during later times.⁴⁵ It is possible to come across Tudisi’s name in a letter from Murteza Pasha to Kaiser Ferdinand II dated 1 August 1627, which defined Marino Tudisi as a commissioner of Graf Althan.⁴⁶ It is also common knowledge that Marino Tudisi later accompanied Habsburg Ambassador Baron Kuefstein to Istanbul during his mission.⁴⁷ But apart from this well-documented mission, it needs to be pointed out that the Buda treasury also hints at Tudisi’s presence at the provincial capital: in an entry dated 25 June 1627 (during the above-mentioned peace negotiations), Marino Tudisi received alimentionation pays worth 11580 aspers,

zwischen Imperien. Der Diplomatische Aktionsraum Südost- und Osteuropa. [Innsbrucker Historische Studien, Bd. 29.], (Innsbruck-Vienna-Bozen: Studien Verlag, 2013), 21-30.

³⁹ OeStA, KA [Kriegsarchiv], HKR P [Hofkriegsrat: Protokoll], 260, f. 222r; BOA, *MAD.d* 7339, p. 5: “Recep 1037 [March 1628]: ... Bera-yı Rudolfus, merdüm-i Çasar, Hil’at 1, baha 5000 [For Rudolphus, Kaiser’s commissioner, Robe of honour 1, worth 5000 aspers]”.

⁴⁰ OeStA, HHStA, Venedig, Dispacci di Germania, 72, p. 154 (Di Vienna li 19 Maggio 1629).

⁴¹ Or 508 Reichsthaler, as it would make in the Austrian calculation.

⁴² ÖNB, *Cod. Mixt.* 636, f. 5r, 6r, 6v, 10v. Since the first entry (f. 5r) is dated 21 Za 1038/17 July 1629, it must be concluded that the entries must have been made several months after the actual expenditure. For the eight carriages rented, the amount paid was 20800 aspers (f. 10v).

⁴³ OeStA, HHStA, *Türkei I, Turcica* 111, f. 37r (1 October 1628): “... und E: Excel. ihren Dollmetsch mit dem Sciaïn Aga zu uns geschickht, alß dann unsers Großmächtigsten Khäysers Confirmation welches mit seinem Khaÿs: Insigel verpetshierter, eröffnet, dieselben von Wort zu Wort, ...” Nonetheless, the Buda treasury register makes reference to an anonymous person who had come by Şahin Ağa’s side: BOA, *MAD.d* 7339, p. 18: “Bera-yı elçi ki ba Şahin Ağa amed, fi 22 Şaban [1037] [27 April 1628], baha 475 [For the emissary, who came with Şahin Ağa, ...cost 475 aspers]”.

⁴⁴ János Szabados, “*Ih awer befleise mih, daß ih sie beidte zue nahbarn mahen khan*” - *Die Karriere des deutschen Renegaten (Hans Caspar) in Ofen (1627-1660) im politischen und kulturellen Kontext – Teil I.* [Doctoral Dissertation.] Szeged: University of Szeged, 2018. The pioneering modern study to introduce the term to early modern Ottoman world is Emrah Safa Gürkan, ‘Mediating Boundaries: Mediterranean Go-Betweens and Cross-Confessional Diplomacy in Constantinople, 1560–1600.’ *Journal of Early Modern History*, 19 (2015), 107–128.

⁴⁵ OeStA, HHStA, *Türkei I, Turcica* 111, f. 90r (20 June 1627): “... la quale mandai al Marino, accio se occorresse la dasse come da se al Bassà...”

⁴⁶ OeStA, HHStA, TUK 7a, 1627. 1 August /: 19 Sil-kide 1036/ (Turc: 70): “*Altan Grof’un adamlarından Marin nâm kimesne[ler]i huzur-ı ‘izzetlerine göndermişizdür*” [We have sent a certain Marin, who is of Graf Althan’s men, to Your Majesty’s presence].

⁴⁷ János Szabados, “*Ih awer befleise*”, p. 49.

while during the following winter (February 1628), he was awarded robes of honour along with Bekir Çavuş, who travelled from Vienna with him.⁴⁸

The hierarchically least consequential person who found himself on the list was Wolff Leuthkauff, the personal courier of Ambassador Kuefstein during his mission to the Ottoman capital. With his bilateral voyages on the Vienna-Buda-Istanbul route, courier Wolff established the ambassador's communication with the Viennese court.⁴⁹ After the mission was concluded, Wolff maintained Murteza Pasha's communication with the Habsburgs.⁵⁰ Obviously, the entry "Ücret-i araba-yı Kurd, merdüm-i elçi-i kebir [Cost for the carriage of Kurd, ambassador's man]" in the Buda register (dated 12 Ca 1038/ 7 January 1629) refers to Kurd, which was the Turkish translation of Wolff who is known to have extended letters to Murteza Pasha for translation on the very same day.⁵¹

The second pillar of the Ottoman-Habsburg diplomacy was constituted by the Pasha's contacts with Royal Hungary. The diplomatic activities and network of the Governor-General (Palatine) of Royal Hungary, Miklos Esterházy, between 1625 and 1645 have been masterfully depicted by István Hiller, who expounded each member of the Esterházy diplomatic network by name.⁵² Hence, the documentation at hand only hopes to fill the niches left by him: firstly, Esterházy's secretary Gaspar Tassi frequently visited Buda in 1627, during the Szöny negotiations.⁵³ Tassi's activities at the time can also be traced within a Latin report he left behind related to his dealings with Murteza Pasha.⁵⁴ It is similarly possible to detect that Tassi came back to Buda in the spring 1629 to conduct the border delineation negotiations, mentioned not only in the provincial registers⁵⁵ but also in the Pasha's letters, where he manifestly criticised the self-willed attitude Tassi assumed.⁵⁶

Gaspar Tassi, naturally, was not the only person Palatine Esterházy sent for his errands. There were also other people (such as Mihál Tar) who found their place in the Ottoman records mostly without their names, but with denominations such as "bazı kesân [certain people]" or "ba'zı elçiyân ki 'an canib-i Palatinos-amed [certain emissaries arriving from the Palatine's side]".⁵⁷ In addition, Palatine Esterházy's men seem to have got into contact with the governors of Kanizsa, too, a fact evidenced by the provincial treasury register of that province.⁵⁸ Apart from this, it was also recorded in the Buda register that commissaries sent during the winter of 1628-1629 by Péter Koháry (the head of the mission)⁵⁹ for border delineation got their expenses

⁴⁸ BOA, MAD.d 7339, p. 24 and p. 4.

⁴⁹ OeStA, HHStA, *Türkei I, Turcica* 112, f. 33v, (29 September 1629): "...habbiamo havuto nuova ch'il Signor Ambasciatore Cesareo sia partito dalla Porta, il Wolff suo servitore et uno delli nostri n'hanno portato la nuova, noi mandiamo il predetto Wolff alle vostre parti..."

⁵⁰ OeStA, HHStA, *Türkei I, Turcica* 112, f. 3r (16 January 1630), Murteza Pasha's letter to Prince Eggenberg.

⁵¹ ÖNB, *Cod. Mixt.* 636, f. 7v; OeStA, HHStA, *Türkei I, Turcica* 112, f. 1r (25 January 1629), Murteza Pasha's letter to Prince Eggenberg: "... et perche nella nostra assenza giunse a Buda il Wolff con l'amichevole lettera de Vostra Eccellenza ch'il nostro luogotenente trattenne sin'al nostro ritorno ch'e stato il 7:o di questa luna per le rive del Balaton. Al nostro arrivo facessimo subito tradurre la predetta lettera..."

⁵² István Hiller, *Palatin Nikolaus Esterházy: Die ungarische Rolle in der Habsburgerdiplomatie 1625 bis 1645*, (Vienna-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1992), 77.

⁵³ OeStA, HHStA, *Türkei I, Turcica* 111, f. 158r (5 August 1627), Murteza Pasha's letter to Palatin Esterházy.

⁵⁴ OeStA, HHStA, *Türkei I, Turcica* 111, f. 209r (1627).

⁵⁵ BOA, MAD.d 7339, p. 24 (Fi 17 C 1038/12 February 1629), p. 26.

⁵⁶ OeStA, HHStA, *Türkei I, Turcica* 112, f. 21v (15 April 1629), Murteza Pasha's letter to Count Collalto: "...Esso Gasparo non si vuole governare conforme le Trattationi fatte per il passato, ne credere alle persone sperimentate delle cose; ma vuol fare ogni cosa di suo capo..."

⁵⁷ BOA, MAD.d 7339, p. 5, p. 23 (26 January 1629), p. 24.

⁵⁸ BOA, KK.d 1924, p. 12 (H. 1039/ Modern Calendar equivalent: 1629-1630): "Be-cihet-i harc-ı nafaka-yı elçi 'an canib-i Kal'a-yı Komar amed, merdüm-i Palatinoş... [To cover the alimentionation cost of the emissary coming from Komorn, commissioned by the Palatine]"

⁵⁹ For Koháry and his role in the negotiations, see Gellert Ernő Marton, "On the Question of the Negotiations between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans at Szécsény and Buda (1628) through Palatine Miklós Esterházy's Letter to the Head of the Hungarian Negotiators" *Rocznik Przemyski* t. 55 (22) (2021): 79-92.

covered.⁶⁰ Lastly, it should duly be noted that the register covering the period between February 1628 and February 1629 (MAD.d 7339) mentions Palatine Esterházy more than Kaiser Ferdinand II, who was recorded as the “çasar”. This frequency analysis may suggest that local diplomacy was as important as the central diplomacy.

With respect to such a local feature of the Buda diplomacy and to the framework of the Ottoman-Habsburg relations, the significance of the Transylvanian principality is hard to underplay. In the first provincial register (dated Feb. 1628-Feb 1628),⁶¹ the emissaries of the principality were referred to as the commissioners of Gábor Bethlen (r. 1613-1629) despite the fact that there is no direct pronunciation of the principality's name, “Erdel”. In the second register (dated Feb.1629-Feb. 1630),⁶² which also included the period where Gábor Bethlen fell irrecoverably ill and eventually passed away, the representatives from Transylvania were recorded as “*elçi-i Hâkim-i Erdel* [emissary of the ruler of Transylvania]”. The two manifestly registered Transylvanian emissaries at Buda were Pal Keresztes⁶³ and Tamás Borsos',⁶⁴ the latter being probably the same Tamás who had partaken during the peace negotiations of Gyarmat three years earlier in 1625. Lastly, it needs to be pointed out that there are quite a good number of unspecified Transylvanian emissaries in the register covering the period 1629-1630 (Cod. Mixt. 636), who frequently received robes of honour, payments for carriage rentals, and alimention allowances.

The last item to study within the Ottoman-Habsburg bilateral dealings of Murteza Pasha was a third-party member and seemingly a most unexpected agent: the Ottoman provincial register reveal that on 8 May 1629, a certain Swedish emissary at Buda was granted a robe of honour worth 8000 aspers. Even though the emissary's name was entered quite care- and meaning-free, it has to be Wollmar Farensbach, who had been sent by Swedish King Gustav II Adolph (r. 1611-1632) to Transylvania in order to search the ground for a joint anti-Catholic alliance at the time. He is known to have been at Buda on that very day before making it to Transylvania.⁶⁵ Considering that the Swedish King Gustav Adolf II (of whom Farensbach was the representative) and the Habsburg Kaiser Ferdinand II (whose newly appointed resident minister in Istanbul Rudolf Schmid received robes of honour just three days prior to Farensbach at Buda) would become the arch enemies just in the following year (1630), the diplomatic significance of Buda as a frontier city becomes all the more important.

Conclusion

The archival heritage of Murteza Pasha in Europe is a lucky preservation for the study of an Ottoman frontier province. The steady basis formed by the letters Murteza Pasha sent to, and received from, the Habsburg Court and its affiliated officials helps us get a glimpse of Murteza Pasha's diplomatic undertakings at Buda, which was among the most important provinces of the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century. Even though there is every reason to believe that Polish, Russian, Venetian and Dubrovnik central and provincial archives (and libraries) would

⁶⁰ BOA, MAD.d 7339, p. 23 (Fi 16 R 1038 / On 2 January 1629).

⁶¹ BOA, MAD.d 7339.

⁶² ÖNB, Cod. Mixt. 636.

⁶³ ÖNB, Cod. Mixt. 636, f. 4r, (11 Zilka'de 1038/ 2 July 1629): “*Ücret-i mekulat ve meşrubat-ı Kristos Pal, merdüim-i hâkim-i Erdel...* [Cost for covering the food and the beverage of Keresztes Pal, man of the ruler of Transylvania]”

⁶⁴ BOA, MAD.d 7339, p. 18: “*Bera-yı Tamaş ki be canib-i Gabor refien, fi 23 Ra 1038, baha 600* [For Tamas, who travels to Gábor's side, 20 November 1628, 600 aspers]”; ÖNB, Cod. Mixt. 636, f. 12r (16 C 1039/31 January 1630), f. 15r.

⁶⁵ ÖNB, Cod. Mixt. 636, f. 6v (25 Zilhicce 1038): “*In'am-ı MÖSK, elçi-i Kral-ı İsveçkiye, dade-lazım-est, 15 Ramazan, Hil'at 1: 8, 000* [Bestowal upon MÖSK, emissary of the King of Sweden, required to be given, 8 May 1629, Robe of Honour, amount 1: 8000 aspers]”. Farensbach, (in his published letter) suggested that he was admitted into Murteza Pasha's audience on this very day (8 May 1629): “...dan als ich daselbsten den 7 May angelanget hat er mich alsbadt, dess anderen tags zu sich forderen lassen ...”: “Datum Mulbach den 8 Junij Anno 1629” in Sándor Szilágyi, *Bethlen Gábor és a Svéd Diplomácia*, (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvkiado-Hivatala. 1882) 55.

yield similarly rich documentation related to the Ottoman frontier provinces they surrounded, no monographic study of a single chosen Ottoman governor seems to have been produced until now.

The present study, in a way, aimed at contributing to the progressively flourishing trend to study the Ottoman diplomacy outside of its centre-based perspective, which focused on the daily diplomatics in Istanbul. In this manner, the treatment of the Habsburg representatives by the Ottoman governor of Buda has been given in some detail. Accordingly, Murteza Pashas as the governor-general was following a type of diplomatic practice similar to the one in Istanbul: alimention and voyage costs of the incoming diplomats were covered by the provincial treasury. The Pasha also incurred expenses to don the diplomats with robes of honour. It has also been manifested that Murteza Pasha's Christian contacts had a wide range from Habsburg castle commanders to Swedish emissaries.

While studying the Pasha's diplomatic contacts, this study strove to go beyond the usual employment of letters in studying provincial diplomacy. As portrayed, the provincial treasury registers generate information regarding the diplomatic life on the frontier. Even though these registers might lack any narration of political or diplomatic events, the dry set of numbers and names they offer still manage to help researches with identification of actors and the building up of the chronology in the provinces.

Moreover, the study underlined that the Ottoman administration differentiated between the local Hungarian aristocrats and the Habsburg authorities in Vienna in their letters, suggesting that not all Habsburg officials were regarded as a monolithic "Nemçe" by the Ottomans. The letters (or their translations) issued by Murteza Pasha also revealed how the Ottoman chancery conceptualised and appropriated the Habsburg authorities with whom it got into contact.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

OeStA - *Österreichisches Staatsarchiv*

HHStA: *Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv*

Türkei I: Turcica, Kt. 111; 112.

Venedig: Dispacci di Germania, Vol. 69; 72.

Türkische Urkunden: Kt. 7a.

KA: *Kriegsarchiv*

Hofkriegsrat Protochollum: HKR P 260.

T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA)

MAD.d: 7339.

KK.d: 1924.

ÖNB - Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

HS Cod. Mixt.: 636.

Edited Sources and Literature

Ágoston, Gábor. 'Macaristan'da Osmanlı - Habsburg Serhaddi (1541 - 1699): Bir Mukayese'. In: Kahraman Şakul (ed. and trans.) *Osmanlı'da Savaş ve Serhad*, İstanbul: Timaş, 2013, 203-224.

- Blaškovič, Jozef. "Türkische historische Urkunden aus Gemer" *Asian and African Studies*, VIII (1972): 71-90.
- Fekete, Ludwig. *Türkische schriften aus dem archive des palatins Nikolaus Esterházy 1606-1645*. Budapest: Königliche Universitätsdruckerei, 1932.
- Finkel, Caroline. *The administration of warfare: the Ottoman military campaigns in Hungary, 1593-1606*. Vienna: Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1988.
- Fodor, Pál and Géza Dávid. *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders (Early Fifteenth-Early Eighteenth Centuries)*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2007.
- Gürkan, Emrah Safa. "Mediating Boundaries: Mediterranean Go-Betweens and Cross-Confessional Diplomacy in Constantinople, 1560-1600" *Journal of Early Modern History* 19 (2015): 107-128.
- Hamilton, Alastair. "Michel D'Asquier, Imperial Interpreter and Bibliophile" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 72 (2009): 237-241.
- Hiller, István. "Ungarn als Grenzland des christlichen Europa im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert" In R.G. Asch, K. Garber, J. Held and W. Fink (eds.) *Der Frieden: Frieden und Krieg in der Frühen Neuzeit*, München, 2001, 561-576.
- Hiller, István. *Palatin Nikolaus Esterházy: Die ungarische Rolle in der Habsburgerdiplomatie 1625 bis 1645*. Vienna-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1992.
- Işksel, Güneş. "La politique étrangère ottomane dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle: le cas du règne de Selîm II (1566-1574)" Ph.d Thesis, Paris: EHESS, 2012.
- İsmail, Batuhan. "Osmanlı Saray Teşkilatında Doğanca Koğuşu" M.A. Thesis, Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi, 2014.
- Káldi-Nagy, Gyula. "The Cash Book of the Ottoman Treasury in Buda in the Years 1558-1560" *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 15(1/3) (1962): 173-182.
- Kármán, Gabor. "Paşa'nın Eli Öpülür mü?": Budin'de Erdel Elçileri" *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 24 (2017): 69-99.
- Kołodziejczyk, Dariusz. *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th-18th Century): An Annotated Edition of 'Ahdnames and Other Documents*. Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2000.
- Marton, Gellert Ernő. "On the Question of the Negotiations between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans at Szécsény and Buda (1628) through Palatine Miklós Esterházy's Letter to the Head of the Hungarian Negotiators" *Rocznik Przemyski* t. 55 (22) (2021): 79-92.
- Meienberger, Peter. *Johann Rudolf Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn als kaiserlicher Resident in Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1629-1643: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen Österreich und der Türkei in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Bern: Peter Lang GmbH, Internationaler Verlag Der Wissenschaften, 1973.
- Miović, Vesna. "Beylerbeyi of Bosnia and Sancakbeyi of Hercegovina in the Diplomacy of the Dubrovnik Republic" *Dubrovnik Annals* 9 (2005): 37-69.
- Oluk, Fahri. "El-Vasfu'l-Kamil fi Ahvali Veziri'l-Adil Adlı Yazma Eserin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi" Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Kayseri: Kayseri Üniversitesi, 2007.
- Pedani, Maria Pia. *Dalla frontiera al confine*. Rome: Herder, 2002.
- Pedani-Fabris, Maria Pia and Alessio Bombaci. *I "Documenti Turchi" dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia*. Venice: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali-Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici, 1994.

- Radway, Robyn Dora. "Vernacular Diplomacy in Central Europe: Statesmen and Soldiers between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, 1543-1593" Unpublished Ph.d Thesis, Princeton University, 2017.
- Römer, Claudia and Gisela Procházka-Eisl. "Raub, Mord und Übergriffe an der habsburgisch-osmanischen Grenze: Der diplomatische Alltag der Beglerbege von Buda abseits von Zeremonien" In: Ralph Kauz, Giorgio Rota and Jan Paul Niederkorn (eds.) *Diplomatisches Zeremoniell in Europa und im mittleren Osten in der frühen Neuzeit*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009, 251-264.
- Salamon, Ferencz. *Ket Magyar Diplomata Tizenhetedik Századból*. Pest: Kiadja Ráth Mor, 1867.
- Strohmeier, Arno. "Kategorisierungsleistungen und Denkschemata in diplomatischer Kommunikation: Johann Rudolf Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn als kaiserlicher Resident an der Hohen Pforte (1629-1643)" In: Gunda Barth-Scalmani, Harriet Rudolph and Christian Stephan (eds.) *Politische Kommunikation zwischen Imperien. Der Diplomatische Aktionsraum Südost- und Osteuropa*. [Innsbrucker Historische Studien, Bd. 29.] Innsbruck-Vienna-Bozen: Studien Verlag, 2013, 21-30.
- Sudár, Balázs. "The Story of Mürteza Pasha" In: Pál FODOR, Nándor E. Kovács and Benedek Péri(eds.) *Şerefe: Studies in Honour of Prof. Géza Dávid on His Seventieth Birthday*. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2019, 339-357.
- Szabados, János. "'*Ih awer befleise mih, daß ih sie beidte zue nahbarn mahen khan*' - Die Karriere des deutschen Renegaten (Hans Caspar) in Ofen (1627-1660) im politischen und kulturellen Kontext – Teil I" Ph.d Thesis, Szeged: University of Szeged, 2018.
- Szilágyi, Sándor. *Bethlen Gábor és a Svéd Diplomácia*. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvkiado-Hivatala, 1882.
- Teply, Karl. *Die kaiserliche Großbotschaft an Sultan Murad IV. im Jahre 1628 des Freiherrn Hans Ludwig von Kuefsteins Fahrt zur Hohen Pforte*. Vienna: A. Schendl, 1976.
- Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı. "Osmanlı Devleti Zamanında Kullanılmış Olan Bazı Mühürler Hakkında Bir Tetkik" *Belleter* 4 (1940): 495-544.
- Yılmaz, Yasir. "From Nemçe to Avusturya. Ottoman Appellations for Austria" In: Sieglinde Klettenhammer and Kurt Scharr (eds.) *Was heisst Österreich? Überlegungen zum Feld der Austrian Studies im 21. Jahrhundert*. Klagenfurt/Celovec: Wieser, 2021, 80-97.
- Zahirović, Nedim. *Murteza Pascha von Ofen zwischen Panegyrik und Historie: Eine literarisch- historische Analyse eines osmanischen Wesirspiegels von Nergisi (El-vasfî l-kâmil fî-ahvâli l-vezîri l- 'âdil)*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010.
- Zhyvachivskyi, Andrii. "The Governors of Kefe and Azak in Ottoman-Muscovite Relations in the Fifteenth-Seventeenth Centuries and the Issue of Titulature" *Acta Poloniae Historica* 115 (2017): 211-234.

Appendix I: Murteza Pasha's Seals Before 1627 (Left) and After 1627 (Right)



Appendix II: Central Europe around 1620s

