

## HOW THE INFORMATION CARRIED FROM ISTANBUL BY HIS AMBASSADORS LED THE EMPEROR CHARLES V TO WAR OR PEACE

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“Il negoziato con li Turchi era simile a chi giocava con una palla di vetro, che quando il compagno la manda con forza, non bisogna violentemente ribatterla e nemmeno lasciarla cadere in terra, perchè nell’uno e nell’altro modo si viene a romperla”, **Marcantonio Barbaro**, 1573<sup>1</sup>

### INTRODUCTION: EMBASSIES AND NEGOTIATIONS OF THE HABSBURGS WITH THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The relations between the Habsburgs and the Ottoman Empire in the 16<sup>th</sup> century are often described as a succession of wary episodes. However a closer analysis shows that more years were spent in peace than in war, and that more exchanges of envoys and negotiations took place than expeditions. The success or the failure of these embassies conditioned however decisions on launching a war or not. Not less than fifteen embassies were sent to the Porte between 1528 and 1555, mainly by Ferdinand of Austria, but also two by Charles V – Corneille de Schepper in 1533-1534, and Gerard Veltwyck in 1545-1547; both of them accompanied envoys of Ferdinand, but led the main negotiation. During the same period the Porte sent eight envoys to Vienna.<sup>2</sup> Charles also promoted secret negotiations with Barbarossa through his vice-king of Sicily, errante Gonzaga.

Each of these missions unfolded in different political and military contexts. The conclusions drawn from Schepper and Gonzaga’s “practices” led to the Emperor’s expeditions to Tunis (1535) and Algiers (1541), while in 1545 peace was desired on both sides. Therefore each mission, well documented in the various archives of the Habsburg Empire, deserves to be studied separately.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Alberi, *Documenti di Storia Ottomana del Secolo XVI*, Florence, 1842.

<sup>2</sup> These negotiations have been well studied, less for the three missions I’ll deal with. **Török Pál**: I. Ferdinánd Konstantinápolyi béketárgyalásai 1527-1547. Bp. 1930. (*Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből XXIV/12.*); **Josip Žontar**: *Der Kundschafterdienst und die Diplomatie der österreichischen Habsburger im Kampf gegen die Türken im 16. Jahrhundert*. Ljubljana, 1973; A. C. Schaendlinger, “Die osmanisch-habsburgische Diplomatie in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts”, *The Journal of Ottoman studies*, 4 (1986), 181-196; R. Neck, *Diplomatische Beziehungen zum Vorderen Orient unter Karl V*, *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, Vienne, 5<sup>o</sup> vol (1952); G. Rill, *Humanismus und Diplomatie, Zur Geschichte des Gesandtenwesens unter Ferdinand I*, *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, Vienne, 25<sup>o</sup> vol (1972) TLE; Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, vol. III, The Sixteenth Century and the Reign of Julius III*, The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1984.

<sup>3</sup> *Staatspapier zur Geschichte des Kaisers Karl V. aus dem Königlichen Archiv und der Bibliothèque de Bourgogne zu Brüssel*, mitgeteilt von Dr Karl Lanz, Stuttgart, Gedruckt auf Kosten des literarischen Vereins, 1845; *Urkunden und Actenstücken, zur Geschichte der*

## 1. Missions of Corneille de Schepper, 1533-1534

After the disaster of Mohács (1526) and the first siege of Vienna (1529), while Ferdinand of Austria had sent envoys to Constantinople in order to negotiate a compromise on the crown of Hungary, his brother, the Emperor, also heir of the Catholic Kings of Spain was quite reluctant to negotiations with the “Unfaithful” archenemy of the Catholic Church. In 1532, in the Diet held in Ratisbon (Regensburg), Charles had to give concessions to the Protestants in order to get a rather limited military and financial support of the German princes and cities to help halting the Turkish progression in Hungary. No real encounter took place, as Süleyman’s army was stopped for a month besieging the castle of Kőszeg (Güns in Hungary), while the Imperial fleet of Andrea Doria took over the small fortress of Coron, South of the Peloponnesis. Ibrahim pasha released the defender of Kőszeg, Jurisic, suggesting that serious negotiations should take place in order to solve once for good the fate of Hungary. Ferdinand sent an envoy to Constantinople – Hyeronimo de Zara, a Dalmatian captain, who remained dumb in front of the Sultan while presenting his credentials<sup>4</sup>. Ibrahim sent a *çavuş* to Vienna to get a confirmation of Zara’s mission, with Vespasiano, son of Hyeronimo. Ferdinand sends on 11<sup>th</sup> March 1533 a memorandum to Charles V, arguing in favour of continuing the negotiation<sup>5</sup>: Ibrahim pasha hinted that provided that Transilvania is let to John Zapolya, Ferdinand could peacefully reign on the rest of Hungary. A peace treaty may be concluded, which would last for the life of the two sovereigns, provided Coron was restituted; no tribute was requested; Barbarossa’s attitude would be put under control. However, Ibrahim threatened that in the absence of

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**Verhältnisse zwischen Oesterreich, Ungern und der Pforte im XVI<sup>e</sup> und XVII<sup>e</sup> jahrunderte, par Ant. Van Gevay; Austro-Turcica 1541-1552, Diplomatiscbe Akten des habsburgischen Gesandtschaftsverkehrs mit der Hohen Pforte im Zeitalter Süleymans des Prächtigen**, Ed. Srećko M. Džaja et Günter Weiss, R. Oldenbourg, Munich, 1995; “Missions diplomatiques. Corneille Duplicius de Schepper dit Scepperus, ambassadeur de Christian II, de Charles V, de Ferdinand I<sup>er</sup>, et de Marie, reine de Hongrie, gouvernante des Pays-Bas, de 1523 à 1555”, in **Mémoires de l’Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux Arts de Belgique**, tome XXX, Bruxelles, 1856, 231 p.; **Recueil du voyage du sieur Cornille Duplex Schepperus au grand Turck, décrit par luy-mesme (1533-34)**, Bib. Alb. II 479 [Cat. 7425]; **Papiers d’Etat du cardinal de Granvelle, Charrière**, etc. **Collection des Voyages des Souverains des Pays-Bas**, publiée par MM. Gachard et Piot, t. III, Bruxelles, F. Hayez, Imprimeur de la Commission Royale d’Histoire, 1881. On the practical organisation of those embassies, see my article: *Ambassadeurs de Charles-Quint aupres de Soliman le Magnifique, Anatolia*

<sup>4</sup> “Cestuy-cy, [dict Ibrahim], monstrant le S<sup>r</sup> Hiérosme, estant lez le grand Empereur, fut saisy de telle crainte qu’il ne sceut prononcher une seule parole”, (**Journal of Schepper**). Dalmatian originary of Zadar, polyglott, captan of Buccar in 1531-1532, commissioner of the Danube army of Ferdinand in May 1532 (Sanuto, **Diarii**, LVI, 316). Ibrahim pasha mentions he is the cousin of a janissary of Bosniac origin who became sancak of Karaamid, maybe Rüstem pasha, see below. H. De Zara was appointed governor of Fiume (Rijeka) by Ferdinand in 1534, refusing to join Schepper’s second embassy; died from a wound in the siege of Buda in 1541. (J. Žontar, **op. cit.**, p. 202; Schepper, AGR SEA 774 f<sup>o</sup> 12-18).

<sup>5</sup> AGR SEA 766- F<sup>o</sup> 132-136, in Gachard, **Voyages**, III, 450-455.

peace, an army and a fleet bigger than ever (six hundred ships!) would attack the domains of the Emperor.

On the basis of this report, the Emperor sends two envoys to inform the Pope on the state of the affairs and obtain at least a tacit authorization to proceed with the negotiation, which he considers particularly opportune.<sup>6</sup> On 26<sup>th</sup> March 1533 he also enjoins Corneille de Schepper, one of his counselors who was at Ferdinand's court, to take part in Zara's embassy as an alternate ambassador of Ferdinand<sup>7</sup>. Schepper should in particular bargain the restitution of Coron against a peace on behalf of Ferdinand at the most favourable conditions, including the restitution of the kingdom of Hungary to Ferdinand and of her dowry to Mary of Hungary, Charles' sister (mainly in properties of mines in Transylvania), the restitution of Algiers from Barbarossa to the Emperor or at least the disarmament of the later,<sup>8</sup> non-intervention in the internal affairs of Germany.

Here appears a complex situation: power sharing in Germany keeps Ferdinand, elected "king of the Romans", i. e. designated successor of his elder brother, as his brother's personal lieutenant in Germany,<sup>9</sup> submitted to his orders and instructions, particularly as far as it concerns external relations and relations with the Church. Nominally Ferdinand is the King of Hungary and can negotiate as such, but should take into account the general interest of Christianity. Schepper thus gets instructions from Charles, and similar ones from Ferdinand; although his official status in front of the Turks is just a „Ferdinand's envoy" and he does not bring any present on behalf of the Emperor,<sup>10</sup> he is known through information provided

<sup>6</sup> Mission of count de Salm and Sancho Bravo, see AGR SEA 767, f° 136-139, in Gachard, **Voyages**, III, 559-561: "nostredict advis que, quant aux menasses dudit Ibrayn Bassa, ne nous y arrestons beaulcop, pour la légiereté dont il est accoustumé user ... si se pourroit perdre ceste conjuncture et occasion de l'appointement d'entre nostredict frère et ledict Turcq, lequel nostre frère."

<sup>7</sup> AGR SEA 766- f° 138-145, in Gachard, **Voyages**, t. III, pp. 455-460.

<sup>8</sup> "Aussi que ledit Turcq contraigne Barbarossa, puisqu'il est son serviteur et à ses gaiges et personnage de petite extraction, mal vivant, robeur et pyrate de mer, qu'il se désiste, et départe entièrement à nostre profit de Alger et la nous restitue, et en délaissant au surplus et habandonnant ledit Barbarossa, ou du moins promectant de ne luy bailler assistance quelconque à l'encontre de nous et de noz royaulmes et subjectz... Et au reffuz d'Argel, que ledit Turcq assheure les pays d'Espagne dudit Barberousse, et qui délivre les basteaulx, ou sinon luy face oster du tout sesdicts basteaulx de ce costel là, et qui ne luy puisse tenir." (AGR SEA 766) The terms used here resemble similar vocabulary used today vis-à-vis "terrorist groups".

<sup>9</sup> "Comme représentant nostre propre personne", see Horst Rabe et Peter Marzahl, "Comme représentant nostre propre-personne" - Regentschaften und Regentschaftsordnungen Kaiser Karls V, in **Karl V.: Politik und politisches System: Berichte und Studien aus der Arbeit an der politischen Korrespondenz des Kaisers**, éd. Horst Rabe, Constance, Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 1996, pp. 71-94.

<sup>10</sup> "Ayant bon advis de [...] vous dénommer et tenir pour serviteur de nostredict frère et par luy envoyé en ceste charge, tenant ceste instruction secrète, comme vous sçavez que mesmes pour ceste raison la chose requiert. " Again for the second embassy : "Si par adventure ledict Turcq ou Ybrayn Bassa faisoit mention de présens, de nostre part vous en excuserez, pour non estre là

by the Venitians or the Ragusans to be the Emperor's envoy and actually leads the negotiations- Ibrahim pasha plays on these nuances putting Schepper in an awkward situation. In 1545-47, a similar situation will happen with Charles' envoy, Gerard Veltwyck, this time bringing official credentials of the Emperor, and Ferdinand's envoy, Sicco, who gets reproaches to have negotiated before Veltwyck arrives.<sup>11</sup>

The choice of Schepper was probably due to the fact that on one side Charles did not want to send a Spanish subject which would look too close to him, on the other side in global negotiations where the Empire was involved, Charles V preferred advisors of the Low Countries, with some legal training, knowing both Latin and German.<sup>12</sup>

Corneille de Schepper (Cornelius Duplicius Scepperus in latin), son of a burgomaster of Dunkirk, born in Nieuwpoort around 1502, studied in Paris and in the **Collegium Trilingue** at the University of Leuven<sup>13</sup> There he joined a debate on Astrologists which led him to publish a book attacking the "dreams" of Johan Virdung, astrologist of Heidelberg, who had assigned the planet Mars to Turks and the Lion galaxy to Constantinople;<sup>14</sup> he remained always curious about the possible influence of asters on the fate of the world. In 1523 he started to serve the king of Denmark, Christian II, brother in law of Charles V, exiled in Mechelen, writing pamphlets against the King's opponents;<sup>15</sup> he moved to the service of the Emperor after the King decided to try a return to his home country. The carrier of Schepper will be in the shadow of the Emperor's chancellors, Gattinara, and after

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envoyé principalement de par nous, ains (comme dit est) pour ambassadeur dudict S<sup>r</sup> Roy et avec autres excuses que ledict S<sup>r</sup> Roy pourra de son coustel adviser en cas que fut besoing" (Monzon, 31 December 1533). The exclusion of gifts is discussed in the instructions: the Emperor did not want his presents be considered as a kind of tribute paid to the Sultan.

<sup>11</sup> Miguel Ángel Ochoa Brun, **Historia de la Diplomacia Española. La Diplomacia de Carlos V**, MAE, Madrid, 1999; Heinrich Lutz, "Die europäische Politik des Hauses Österreich im Zeitalter Karls V. und Ferdinands I.", **Diplomatie und Außenpolitik Österreichs. Elf Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte**, Vienne, 1977, pp. 45-48.

<sup>12</sup> See Martin Lunitz, **Diplomatie und Diplomaten im 16. Jahrhundert. Studien zu den ständigen Gesandten Kaiser Karls V. in Frankreich**, 1987, p. 36-37.

<sup>13</sup> Saint-Genois, "Recherches sur le véritable nom, le lieu de naissance, la famille et les armoiries, la sépulture et les écrits de Cornille de Schepper, dit Scepperus", **Messenger des Sciences Historiques**, Bruxelles, 1856, I. Jonkh<sup>r</sup> Mr M. de Haan Hettema & A. Van Halmael, **Stamboek van den frieschen adel**, Leeuwarden, 1846.

<sup>14</sup> **Assertionis Fidei Adversus Astrologos. Sive de Significationibus Coniunctionum Superiorum Planetarum anni Millesimi Quingentesimi Vicesimi Quarti**, Ad Reverendissimum Cardinalem D. Erhardum a Marka, Archiepiscopum Valentinum, Episcopum Leodiensem Ducem Bulionum Comitemque Lossensem, Cornelio Sceppero Neoportuensi Philosopho autore. Libri Sex. Veneunt Antverpiae in Aedibus honesti viri Francisci Byrckmanni Bibliopolae, ac Civis Coloniensis. Ac Coloniae in aedibus ejusdem sub intersignio pinguis gallinae. 7 juin 1523.

<sup>15</sup> Jean-Jacques Altmeyer, **Histoire des relations commerciales et diplomatiques entre les Pays-Bas et le Nord de l'Europe**, 1840.

his death (1530), Granvelle, sent to prosecute “false new Christians” in the Low Countries and their relations with Turkey,<sup>16</sup> to many diplomatic missions across Europe, keeping a correspondence with Erasmus and some famous humanists like the Pole Dantiscus, or Nicolas Olah, secretary of the Queen Mary of Hungary. Favourable to a compromise with Protestants, he ironically notes that “if the Protestant doctors had had enough money, they could easily have bought from the Italians whatever religion they would like...<sup>17</sup> Ferdinand appreciated him for his knowledge of languages (French, Flemish, German, Latin, and of course during his stay in Spain, Spanish, Italian).

Schepper, according to his **Journal**, arrives in Istanbul end May 1533 and immediately meets Ibrahim pasha, who let understand that a full settlement of the Hungarian question is at reach, and even a comprehensive peace with the Habsburgs. Ibrahim presents himself in such a way that he seems to have all power in his hands and through his frankness about relations with the French in particular, his knowledge of the political situation in Western Europe, he shows himself as convincingly open to peace, attributing the main reason of the Emperor’s interventions in Hungary to French hatred.<sup>18</sup> The audience given by Süleyman on 23<sup>th</sup> June 1533 remains formal but Schepper is convinced that the negotiation has at least partly succeeded.<sup>19</sup> He immediately reports back in a crypted letter to the Emperor on 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1533.<sup>20</sup> “Thanks to God, I had a good conclusion of our

<sup>16</sup> See Alain Servantie, “ Enquêtes sur les nouveaux chrétiens d’Anvers et leurs relations avec la Turquie (1530-1548)”, in **A Bridge between Cultures**, Isis Press, Istanbul, 2006.

<sup>17</sup> Frà Paolo Sarpi, **Histoire du Concile de Trente**, 1686, p. 52.

<sup>18</sup> “Il le clame à Schepper [“il gouvernoit ce grand empire, que tout ce qu’il faict demeure faict, car il avoit toute puissance, tous offices et tous royaumes. “Ce que, dict-il, je donne est et demeure donné, ce que je ne donne n’est donné, combien que le mesme grand Empereur veuille donner et ayt donné, s’il ne me plaist, ne sortira aulcun effect. Car toutes choses sont en mes mains : guerre, paix, richesses.” (**Journal of Schepper**).

<sup>19</sup> “Le grand Empereur vous accorde tout ce que vous avez demandé; vous estes heureux d’avoir ceste bonne responce, laquelle six aultres qu’ont icy estez, n’ont pu impétrer; le grand Empereur vous accorde bonne et stable paix, non pas pour sept, vingt et cincq, ou cent ans, mais pour deux et trois cens ans, et aussy longtemps que vous mesmes le voudrez garder. Le grand Empereur se gouvernera au regard de son filz [Ferdinand] selon que appartient à ung bon père: ses terres et vassaulx sont au commandement de son filz [... ] le grand Empereur rend à la royne Marie son douaire et tout ce que luy at appartenu au royaume d’Hongrie.” **Journal of Schepper**.

<sup>20</sup> “Et graces à Dieu eut bonne fin de noz affaires, comme entenderez à nostre retour. J’ay bien pensé sur ce m’enchargeastes à trouver pardeçà [...] de reubarbre et boolus arménins. Mais nous ne trouvons chose que vaille. Quant aux marchandts que sçavez, ilz feroient leur prouffit, s’ilz trouvasent quelque moien de venir pardeçà, principalement avec joiaulx et pierres précieuses; les Vénétiens en ont bien [...] fait leur prouffit. Je vous en assure s’il vient à point tenez leur [...] quelque propos. Ilz pourront venir seurement. Car nous avons fait une bonne et ferme paix de part du Roy, nostre maistre, avec le grand Seigneur. De sorte que très bien dépeschez, partirais d’ici, et pourront porter avec eulx. Le Turcq n’a pas voulu comprendre l’Empereur ne faire tresve avec Coron, qu’est assiégé, si ce n’est que Vostre Magesté mande vers luy ses ambassadeurs propres.” AGR SEA 766- F° 159, in Gachard, **Voyages**, III ,

business as you will hear on my return. I thought very much about what you asked me to find here rhubarb and Armenian bole. But we don't find anything worthy. As far as the merchants you know, they would make profit if they could manage to come here, mainly with jewels and gems... We have a good and firm peace on behalf of the King [of the Romans], our Lord... The Turk did not want to include the Emperor, nor make a truce on Coron, which is besieged, if Her Majesty does not send her own ambassadors." In other words, ambassadors of the Emperor with full credentials should be sent. Rhubarb<sup>21</sup> and Armenian Bole<sup>22</sup> had a reputation of medicines, and were imported as such from Turkey; we can imagine that the meaning in the message is that they bring a relief (peace) to the Emperor, who precisely in Spring 1532 had been subject to haemorrhoids.

Schepper reaches Monzon, in Aragon, where the Cortes were meeting in presence of Charles V, on 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1533. Reports and new instructions drafted show that Schepper made an oral report, on which the instructions, issued on 24 December are based.<sup>23</sup> These instructions reflect the information and the state of mind of the Emperor at this stage: to negotiate with the Turk is "regularly prohibited" and may "induce disputes on the reputation of the Emperor, temporal leader of Christianity, unless this may benefit the whole Christianity".<sup>24</sup> If a peace with the Turk seems obtainable, he insists that it should be ratified by the Pope, as spiritual leader of the Christianity, in order to avoid "disreputation". Coron should be used as money of exchange against the recognition of Ferdinand's power in Hungary, as had already been suggested in March 1533. Instructions are given to the Spanish commander of Coron to wait till March 1534. Some doubts remained: the recent statement of Francis 1<sup>st</sup> in Marseille in October 1533 to the Pope Clement VII, that not only he would not prevent the invasion of Europe by Süleyman, but on the contrary would favour it, had been immediately reported to Charles V; for this reason, any peace with the Turks should also include the French.<sup>25</sup> The war against Persia might weaken the Ottoman Empire and give an opportunity to launch an expedition towards unwarded places. However dealing

<sup>21</sup> On rhubarb, see Belon, **Les observations de plusieurs singularitez...** chez Hierosme de Marnef, Paris 1588, pp. 167 et 352; Rembert Dodoens, **Histoire des Plantes**, 1557; Thevet : **La cosmographie universelle**, Livre V, chp. iiiii; Discours du rheubarbe, & du traffic d'iceluy, & abus qui s'y commet en ces païs-là, t. II, Lyon, 1575.

<sup>22</sup> The Armenian bole or sealed clay ("terre sigillée"), principally coming from the island of Lemnos, was recommended by Ambroise Paré as an astringent against stomach pains; it was part of the medicines of the seraglio under the name tin-i ermenî, (see: Michael Rogers, "The Palace, Poisons and the Public. Some lists of drugs in Mid-16<sup>th</sup> Century Ottoman Turkey", in **Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage**, The Isis Press, Istanbul, p. 285.

<sup>23</sup> "Puisque l'on a ouy le rapport du secrétaire..." **Articles pour traicter** AGR SEA 766- 220-233; Gachard, **Voyages**, III, pp. 496-498; latin translation in von Gevay, **Urkunden und Aktenstücke**.

<sup>24</sup> "Nous, estant le chief en toute la temporalité de ladicte Chrestienté, ne povons en chose de telle importance et considération disposer ny user de la libéralité", 26<sup>th</sup> March 1533.

<sup>25</sup> "tresve communicative".



with the Turks may help gaining time and solve issues pending in Christianity.<sup>26</sup> The report of Schepper had mentioned the “indignacion et malvaillance” of the Christians met on his way back from Istanbul to Bosnia, letting understand they would be ready to revolt and give support to the Emperor’s troops, if the later would send troops to the area. Charles V, in his instructions of December 1533, suggests his envoy to have secret contacts with them and give them hope that something may be prepared.<sup>27</sup> Schepper is also instructed to get the support of Alvise Gritti, “Beyoğlu”, bastard of the Venitian doge Andrea Gritti, and close collaborator of Ibrahim Pasha, who was playing a complicated double game. The instructions suggest that the envisaged peace treaty should last as long as possible. And in case a peace treaty would not be agreeable, at least to obtain a truce or “abstention of war”.<sup>28</sup>

Schepper had to leave immediately Monzon; he met Ferdinand in Vienne and then sailed from Fiume to Ragusa, riding to Constantinople where he arrived end April. But hosted by Ragusan merchants in Sofia, he had learnt from them that Coron had already been surrendered to the Turks on 1<sup>st</sup> April; he has therefore lost the only bargaining piece he had in hands. Ibrahim has already left, marching towards Iraq. Ayas pasha, in charge, does not intend to discuss really. The audiences given to Schepper by Süleyman turn to vinager, the Sultan harshly criticizes Ibrahim Pasha and Gritti, claiming he is the sole sovereign, and putting into question what had been negotiated the earlier year. When Schepper leaves the Sergalio, he is booed at by Janissaries barking like dogs: “Spanya! Spanya!”; no peace could be concluded.

Schepper then understands that Ibrahim pasha’s position is threatened, as well as the position of Alvise Gritti. He had extensive discussions with the later.<sup>29</sup> Gritti alleged that the Emperor had had an extraordinary chance to negotiate a stable peace with the Sultan, but did not grab it, because he did not want to put the price [the stake was high: dropping Hungary]. The appointment of Barbarossa as head of the Ottoman Fleet may create trouble in the Mediterranean, if his ascension

<sup>26</sup> “Et oyres qu’il n’y ayt trop grande assurance aux traictez et promesses dudict Turcq, toutesfois pour peu que ce que l’on traictera avec luy dure, sera tousjours austain d’avantaige pour respirer et faire cependant ce que l’on pourra, et en ce de la foy et au surplus des affaires de la Chrestienté, rompre les praticques des autres, et entendre ce qu’en est passé, pour en estre préadvisé pour l’advenir.”

<sup>27</sup> “Au regard des Chrestiens, qui sont au cousté de Constantinoble, et en la subjection dudict Turcq, désirons leur réduction en nostre obéissance et à la Chrestienté. Vous les tiendrez (secrètement) en espérance, et qu’ilz entendent que ce qui se traicte est pour le mieulx.”

<sup>28</sup> “Que ladicte paix soit à la vie de Sadicte Majesté Impériale et dudict Turcq, à condicion toutesfois et moyennant que ledict Saint Père la voudra approuver et estre comprins en icelle, sans lequel Sadicte Majesté, par devoir de Empeureur Romain et prince catholique, et pour ce qu’il doit à la loy et religion chrestienne, ne treuve que, sans screpule de conscience, il puisse traicter de telle et si longue paix.”

<sup>29</sup> **Report of Schepper**, 1534, in Von Gevay, **Akten**, etc.

and the formation of a big Turkish Fleet is not checked, and if he gets along with the French King.<sup>30</sup> After conquering Iraq –the Padishah left Istanbul on 11<sup>th</sup> June eastward, he intends to turn his efforts back West to the conquest of Italy. The expedition to Iraq gives a unique opportunity to Charles in the Mediterranean. Gritti tells Schepper: «There had never been a better opportunity to attack the Turks... Greece was left without defence... he knew what was scaring the Turks and where they should be attacked... He would explain King Ferdinand privately when meeting him... Corneille should tell Emperor Charles, on his behalf, that first of all he should increase his fleet and oppose Barbarossa.... Crushing Barbarossa in Africa would open the road of Constantinople, left without defence, to the Imperial Fleet... Charles should not wait the end of the Iraqi campaign”.

On the point of leaving Istanbul on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1534, Schepper writes a crypted letter to the emperor advising not to send tapestries anymore, “since Ibrahim pasha left, things are going otherwise than in the earlier year... one should find another means to dispose of these goods”. This quite certainly refers to the travel made in 1533 by the Flemish painter and tapestry designer, Pierre Coecke of Aalst, to Constantinople, at the request of tapestry merchants of Brussels and Antwerp, in collaboration with Augsburg and Venetian merchants; he brought samples of the famous Brussels tapestries on the battle of Pavia and on the hunting of Maximilian, hoping that Ibrahim pasha would be interested in ordering copies. It seems that Coecke could not approach the Grand Vizier, who had probably already left eastward and the Padishah, arguing that his faith did not allow human representations, sent the painter back with some gifts!<sup>31</sup> Schepper’s allusion might very well be a metaphor on the impossibility to sell the peace to Süleyman, after the Grand Vizier had left the Ottoman capital... He precises in cipher: “Sir, the Turk wants neither truce nor peace. The King of France is the reason. The Turk

<sup>30</sup> “Feu Loys Gritti, faisant profession publiquement de serviteur dudit roy de France, dit à Constantinoble à Messire Cornelio Sceppère, que vous connoissez homme digne de foy et tel extimé, que l’armée de mer que s’apprestoit lors et que ledit Barbarossa a amené deppuis en la dite chrestienté, comme admiral et serviteur dudit Turcq, estoit au pourchatz et en faveur dudit roy de France, adjoustant ledit Gritti que en ayant remonstré audit Turcq qui devoit au moins suspendre ceste emprinse pendant celle qui faisoit à l’encontre du Sophy, ledit Turc luy avoit respondu qu’il ne pouvoit faire aultre chose, pour l’avoir ainsi promis audit roy de France”. (**Papiers d’État du Cardinal de Granvelle**, I, 344.)

<sup>31</sup> Pieter Coecke: **Description de la cour du Grand Turc Soliman faisant son sejour en Constantinople, avec la manière des vestements de ceux de sa suite**, Anvers, 1553; **Le livre des peintres de Carel van Mander, Vie des Peintres flamands, hollandais et allemands** (Harlem, 1604), Paris, Librairie de l’art – J. Rouam, 1884, t. I, pp. 184-189. Kellenbenz, “Jakob Rehlinger, ein Augsburger Kaufmann in Venedig, **Beiträge zur Wirtschafts und Stadtgeschichte. Festschrift für Hector Ammann**, Wiesbaden, 1965, pp. 362-379. Georges Marlier, **La Renaissance flamande. Pierre Coecke d’Alost**. Bruxelles, 1966, pp. 55-75; J. B. Tavernier, **Nouvelle relation de l’intérieur du serrail du Grand Seigneur**, Paris, 1675, pp. 142-143, writes that a defterdar told him that a tapestry representing Charles V on his throne was kept in a deposit of the seraglio with European books and maps.



wants you to restitute to the King of France the country he claims. Barbarossa is coming to take Tunis, and has intelligence in Grenada, etc.”<sup>32</sup>

I share Gülru Necipoğlu’s analysis.<sup>33</sup> Ibrahim pasha had been accused of being “gâvur” because he erected some statues taken from Buda on the hippodrom; he was a man open to Western influence, receiving artists and adventurers, collaborating tightly with Venetians and a Christian like Alvise Gritti, and more opposed to Persians (in a speech to a Polish Ambassador, he describes the Kızılbaş as having unnatural practices, contrary to both the Christian and the Muslim faith). The internal rivalries within the closest ring around the Sultan led to his fall and to a reversal of the external policy. Schepper’s report end 1534 to Charles V leads him to prepare the expedition to Tunis of 1535.<sup>34</sup>

## 2. The secrete missions of Ferrante Gonzaga (1539-1540)

Following the success of the Tunis expedition and the campaign in Provence against Francis 1<sup>st</sup> (1536), Charles V dreamed that a full Crusade would be possible. He tried to ensure first the support of the Venetians through the conclusion of a League, then the neutrality of the French, discussed particularly in Nice and Ayguesmortes (1538). However, in its first engagement against the Turks, at Preveze, the Imperial Fleet retreated; like in 1532, Doria occupied a small fortress on the Montenegrin coast, Castelnuovo (Herceg Novi). Barbarossa took it back in a fierce battle on 7 August 1539.<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile the Venetians, seeing most of their Aegean possessions occupied, had started to negotiate secretly a separate peace with the Turks. Internal opposition to the Crusade in Spain and in the Low Countries, lack of money, the request of the Empress on her death bed to

<sup>32</sup> “Me sembla que pourrez dire à Pierre vande Walle touçant les tapisseries et aultres marchandises. Depuis ce temps les marchandts ont eut assez à souffrir, et de jour en jour se treuvent oppressez de plus en plus; de sorte que je ne conseille pas qu’ilz y vieignent plus, comme aussi je croy qu’ilz ne feront. Il fault trouver aultre mode pour hwyder lesdictes marchandises. Je vous advertiz bien que je voudroie estre en Flandres auprès de vous. Car, par l’absence d’Imbrahim Bassa, les choses vont autrement qu’elles ne souloient.” and in cipher : “Sire, le Turcq ne veult avec Vostre Majesté ne trefve ne paix. Le roy de France en est la cause. Le Turcq veult que restituez au roy de France le pays qu’il prétend estre sien, et l’argent que de lui avez eu, et l’artillerie de Coron avec les gens de là partis. Barberossa lui a promis faire Vostre Majesté tributaire. Barberossa est parti au xx<sup>e</sup> de may vers Callipoli. En juillet il sera en terre Aljer. Il aura en tout cent voilles en gallères et fustes. La voix est qu’il yrat à Tunes, en Barbarie... Barbarossa a intelligence en Granad, ...Le roy des Romains a bonne paix.” AGR SEA 767 f° 70-71, Gachard, **Voyages**, III, 539-541.

<sup>33</sup> Gülru Necipoğlu, “ Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg- Papal Rivalry”, **The Art Bulletin**, Septembre 1989, vol. LXXI, n° 3, pp. 401-427.

<sup>34</sup> After his return from Turkey, Schepper continued his diplomatic carrier as a counselor of the Emperor, member of the order of the Golden Fleece, taking part in numerous missions; he also published an apologetic volume on the Emperor’s policy, **Rerum a Carolo V Caesare augusto in Africa bello gestarum commentarii**, in Antwerp 1553. Married to a widow, Isabelle d’Onche, he died on 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1555, his tumb is still in the church of Eke, near Ghent.

<sup>35</sup> AGR, Audience, 1520-278-279.

continue the **Reconquista** in Africa, finally dissuaded the Emperor to launch the Crusade.

As early as 1537, a prisoner of Spanish origin, Alarcón, freed by Barbarossa, informs the vice king of Sicily, Ferrante de Gonzaga, that the kaptan-i derya, disappointed of his situation in Istanbul, is ready to defect to the service of the Emperor. The discussions resumed in the margin of the siege of Castelnuovo. According to Spanish sources, the kaptan-i derya himself suggested that if he was given the whole of North Africa from Algiers to Tripoli, he would defect from the Turkish service and join the Emperor including against the King of France, send his son as a hostage to Spain, let the trade flow freely. In September 1539, Ferrante de Gonzaga and Doria gave instructions to Juan Gallego for these contacts, asking that some prisoners be freed as a token of good will; Barbarossa confirmed his intention to defect. While Gonzaga was enthusiastic about the negotiation, Doria, mildly supported its continuation and accepted that an emissary be sent to Istanbul to pursue the discussion, but only on behalf of Gonzaga himself and officially to proceed to an exchange of prisoners.<sup>36</sup>

Gonzaga and Gallego came up to Ghent in order to meet the Emperor and get his instructions. On 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1540, Charles V agreed in general Barbarossa's requests, except he wanted to keep Spanish presidios in North Africa and Tripoli should remain in the hands of the Knights of St John; in exchange, the kaptan-i derya should burn the Turkish Fleet while leaving Istanbul and he should not give asylum to Moriscos fleeing from Spain; he entrusted jointly Gonzaga and Doria to negotiate with Barbarossa on his behalf<sup>37</sup>. A Spanish captan, Vergara,

<sup>36</sup> See letters of Ferrante Gonzaga, 24/4/1537 and 3/8/1537 Messina, R. Arch. di Parma, Reg. delle cose del governo di Sicilia, 1535-1539, f<sup>o</sup> 61-62, f<sup>o</sup> 105-106, Lafuente- Don Juan Valera, **Historia general de España**, Montaner y Simón, 1922, t. VIII, 358-361 Instructions of Andrea Doria to one of his agents, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, X 137, t. III de Miscelaneas, publié dans **Memorial histórico español**, VI, pp. 430-538; **Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España**, I, 1842, p. 214 . Sorgia, **La política nord-africana di Carlo V**, 1963, p. 90; Capasso, **Il Governo di don Ferrante Gonzaga 1531-1543**, in Arch. Storico Siciliano, 31 (1906), 19-106; Carlo Capasso, "Barbarossa e Carlo V", **Rivista Storica Italiana**, Année 49, II, 1932, pp. 169 sq.; Dr Monnereau & E. Watbled, "Négociations entre Charles Quint et Kheiredin (1538-1540)", **Revue africaine**, 15, 1871.

<sup>37</sup> Carta de creancia dada por Carlos V. al Principe Juan Andrea Doria y a D. Fernando Gonzaga para que pudiesen tratar con Barbaroja en nombre de S. M., Ghent, 3 March 1540,:

Que será amigo de amigo y enemigo de enemigo.

"Que se vendrá a servicio de S. M. con 55 ó 60 galeras."

"Que enviara su hijo á España para que este con S. M."

"Que desarmará las galeras todas, y hará loes arraeces alcaldes y limpiará la mar de corsarios."

"Que si S. M. hiciere la guerra al Turco, que le ayudará con todas sus fuerzas, y á donde quiera que fuesen nuestras galeras irán las tuyas, si Su Majestad quisiere."

"Que sera' la contratación libre entre los vassallos de S. M. y la Berbería, sin diferencia alguna, como si todos fuesen una ley..."

"Que si S. M., por algunos respectos hiciere la guerra á Venecianos, que le ayudará con todas sus

meanwhile, between 13 February and 7<sup>th</sup> March, came secretly to Istanbul, hiding below oranges and limons in a fuste sailing from Chios to Beşiktaş. Barbarossa complained that even the Padishah had heard about the ‘secrete practices’, but suggested he could sail and meet the Imperial fleet in Lepanto where under the cover of a battle, he would in fact join it. Vergara left in a group of redeemed captives.<sup>38</sup> The requests put by Barbarossa to Vergara exceeded what the Emperor had agreed in Ghent. Further contacts take place in Algiers.<sup>39</sup> The Grand Master of the Knights of St John, having been requested to deliver Tripoli advised instead for a direct negotiation between the Emperor and the Sultan. Several close advisers to the Emperor, including Dorya, esteemed that Barbarossa was playing a double game.<sup>40</sup> Rumors spread from Turkey that the Padishah would like to give Tunis to his second son, in a kingdom of Berberia which may receive all Moriscos.<sup>41</sup> The last missions of a Spanish agent, Juan de Aragón, proved useless, as anyway preparations were actively made for a campaign in collaboration with the French. Finally, the main actor, Gonzaga, in 1541 suggests to “break the practice”.<sup>42</sup>

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fuerzas a tomar á Venecia, y á todos lo demás que S. M. quisiere.”

“Que si el rey de Francia hiciera la guerra á S. M., que le aydara á tomar a Marsella, y a tomar todo el reino si S. M. quisiere.

“Que dejaria coralar (pescar coral) libremente en las islas de Tabarca y Macalharez; que ayudaria con todas sus fuerzas contra Venecianos si moviesen guerra.” (**Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España**, I, 1842, p. 214 1).

<sup>38</sup> “Relación de lo que el capitán Juan de Vergara pasó con Barbarroja en Constantinopla desde el 13 de febrero hasta 7 de marzo que salió de ella”, AGS, Estado, leg. 468.

<sup>39</sup> **See:** Gonzaga, Messina, 27/4/1540, R. Arch. di Parma, **Reg. delle cose di guerra, 1540-43**, f<sup>o</sup> 1-4, Report of Juan de Aguirre, 27<sup>th</sup> July AGS, Estado Leg. 1114- fol. 109. Aguirre writes that a renegade named Alexandro, son of a doctor from Valencia, publicly accused Barbarossa of treason. The Padishah had heard all parties and reconciled with Barbarossa, telling him: “Father, I don’t believe a word of those who slandered you; take whom accused you and punish him as you like.” Barbarossa thanked the Sultan, but suspected his son, because Vergara had stayed in his room, and wanted to kill him. Then he suspected doctor Romero and got him tortured to learn who was in the conjuration, and he imposed him 500 strokes of **falaka**, but they were innocent...” A comment on this letter adds that on the contrary, it seems that “the Turk had dissimulated with Barbarossa”. Vergara meets Murat ağa, Barbarossa’s deputy, in Monastir on 11 August 1540 AGS, Estado, 1114, f<sup>o</sup> 59.

<sup>40</sup> **See:** Lope de Hurtado to the Emperor, 16 /10/1540; AGS, Estado, 869/323. **don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza**, to Francisco de los Cobos, Venice, 24 /11/1540, in **Vázquez & R. Selden Rose, Algnas Cartas de don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza**, pp. 57.

<sup>41</sup> Lafuente, VIII, 363, n. 4.

<sup>42</sup> In December 1540- April 1541, and agains end 1541, in Istanbul, see Ludwig Cardauns, **Von Nizza bis Crépy, Europäische Politik in den Jahren 1534 bis 1544**, W. Regenber, Rome, 1923, 186-187; see also letters of Laski to Ferdinand, 13 and 17/3/1541, who mentions two Spaniards who had been sent to Barbarossa Barberousse **in causa defectionis ad Caesarem** still kept in jail in March 1541, V. Gevay, **Urkunden und Aktenstücke**, III, 3, n<sup>o</sup> XXXVII et XXXVIII; Gonzaga to the Emperor, 31 December 1541, R. Arch. di Parma, **Reg. delle cose di guerra, 1540-1543**, f<sup>o</sup> 41, Carte Gonzaga; 28 April 1542, **ibid.** f<sup>o</sup> 54; July 1542, **ibid.** f<sup>o</sup> 60; 30 October 1542, **ibid.** f<sup>o</sup> 72, in G. Capasso, **Il Governo di don Ferrante Gonzaga 1531-1543**, 405.

The secret practices were not that secret, as most of Spanish ambassadors had been informed, and finally the French, the Venetians, the Saint Siege<sup>43</sup> learnt it.

In fact, according to Turkish sources, it seems that Barbarossa had presented the case in the Divan, and the sadrazam Lûtfi pasha would have suggested to play with the Emperor and pay him with words.<sup>44</sup> Reading Spanish reports however, the information given to the Divan may well have been rather filtered, but why the old fox (he was nearly 70 years old and would die in 1546) would have gambled such a big change?

Dorya suspected it, as the cardinal Bembo wrote: “Never a crow will blind another crow”.

In conclusion, it appears that as long as these “secrete practices” were going on, the Emperor, already busy with the rebellion of Ghent, was prevented to engage in Crusading. The collapse of the talks, then the Turkish intervention in Hungary in 1541, finally pushed him to launch the disastrous expedition against Algiers in the fall 1541. The failure of this expedition and the uncertain result of Barbarossa’s campaign with the French in 1542-1543, let think that only a global peace negotiated at the highest level is possible.

### 3. Veltwyck and the Peace of 1547

After the disastrous expedition of Hadım Süleyman pasha against Diu in 1538,<sup>45</sup> Edoardo Cattagno (or Cattaneo),<sup>46</sup> of Genoese origin, passed from the Portuguese colonies in India to Constantinople in 1540, bringing back in February 1541 a letter of Süleyman to the Portuguese King John III suggesting a negotiation on spice trade sharing in the Indian Ocean. Discussions carry on in Spring 1542, in 1543 and till June 1544 lead by Cattagno, with the help of another Portuguese

<sup>43</sup> The French envoy Rincon writes to the French Ambassador in Venice, Pellicier, on 14 and 20 /2/1540, that a Spanish agent de “Jehan Galiego, ministre de l’empereur devers Barberousse ” is hiding in Barbarossa’s house. Charrière, *Négociations du Levant*, I, 426-427 and 482. In March 1540, the Venetian Senates calls the Spanish ambassador Mendoza to get information on the secrete practices between Charles V and the Turks, E. Spivakovsky, *Son of the Alhambra*; 95; Fouché-Delbosc, ed. *Archivo de investigaciones Historicas* (AIH) II, (1911), 162-172. On 24 /11/1537, the noncio Poggio, from Monzon, writes to Rome that there was hope to “ridurre Barbarossa a devotione de’ Cristiani” (*Carteg. Farn.*, Archivio di Stato Parm.)

<sup>44</sup> Amiral Afif Büyüktuğrul, “Preveze Muharebesine İlişkin Belgeler”, *TTK Belleten* XLII, oct. 1978, n° 168, pp. 629-665.

<sup>45</sup> João de Barros, *Quarta Decada Da Ásia, Dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares, e terras do Oriente*, Em Madrid na Impressão Real, 1615. *Particular relation of the expedition of Solyman Pasha from Suez to India against the Portuguese at Diu*, dans R. Kerr & F. A. Eden, *A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Edimbourg, 1872, VI, 258-287.

<sup>46</sup> In portuguese Duarte Catanho.

agent Mesquita.<sup>47</sup> In the course of the discussions, the Turks, knowing the relationship between Portugal and Spain raise the question of the attitude of the Emperor and of Ferdinand, hinting that a global peace is at reach and suggesting that ambassadors with appropriate credentials be sent.<sup>48</sup> The French diplomats, who had heard about the Turkish proposals, interfered into the process and Francis I suggested to Charles V a joint embassy to Constantinople.<sup>49</sup>

At the Peace of Crépy, concluded on 18 September 1544, Francis I and Charles V decided to stop their wars. The second son of the French King, the duke of Orleans, would marry a daughter of the Emperor or of Ferdinand who would get either the Low Countries or the much disputed duchy of Milan as dowry. The Treaty also includes a traditional provision on the assistance to be given by France in the fight against the Turks.<sup>50</sup> The Emperor seemed to have renounced to the

<sup>47</sup> See Dejanirah Couto, “L’espionnage portugais dans l’empire ottoman au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle”, dans **La Découverte, le Portugal et l’Europe, Actes du colloque, Paris, 26-28 mai 1988**, Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, Centre Culturel Portugais, Paris, 1990, pp. 243-267.. Dejanirah Couto, “L’itinéraire d’un marginal : la deuxième vie de Diogo de Mesquita”, **Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian**, volume XXXIX, *Biographies*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbonne-Paris, 2000, pp. 23-35. Salih Özbaran, **The Ottoman Response to European Expansion. Studies on Ottoman-Portuguese Relations in the Indian Ocean and Ottoman Administration in the Arab Lands During the Sixteenth Century**, The Isis Press, Istanbul, 1994; cf. Antonio da Silva Rego, “Duarte Catanho : Espião e Embaixador”, *Anais*, 2<sup>o</sup> série, 4 (Lisbonne, 1953), 123-140. Salih Özbaran, **The Ottoman Response to European Expansion. Studies on Ottoman-Portuguese Relations in the Indian Ocean and Ottoman Administration in the Arab Lands During the Sixteenth Century**, The Isis Press, Istanbul, 1994.

<sup>48</sup> “Memoriale pro domino Eduardo Cataneo”, draft Latin, June 1544, **HHStA**, Turcica I, 5 Konv. 6 f<sup>o</sup> 39-40 in **Austro-Turcica 1541-1552**, n<sup>o</sup> 6, pp. 36-37. Letter of Süleyman to John III, 18-27 October 1544. However more research should be done on actual documents on these proposals. .

<sup>49</sup> “Offre fait par le roy très-chrestien, monsieur nostre bon frère d’envoyer devers le Turcq, pour pratiquer une tresve, suyvant l’esperoir que son homme, qui en est dernierement retourné, dit avoir de la povoir obtenir.” Charles V to his Ambassador in France, Brussels, 1er April 1544, *Papiers du cardinal de Granvelle*, III, 106. Veltwyck writes : “**soubs umbre de la negociacion de Portugal, l’on escoutoit Eduardo Cataneo touchant la paix de Hongrie**” (**Letter of Veltwyck**, 10/11/1545). “Premièrement ilz avoient escouté Eduardo Cataneo et luy donné entrée et moyen de négocier la paix pour le roy des Romains/Ce que d’Aramont m’a confessé ung jour à moy tout seul que le commencement de ceste négociation fust que ayant led. Haramont veu la disposition des Turcz à la paix que se contentoient d’ung tel moyen que Eduardo Cataneo, ambassadeur de Portugal, il aye sollicité/pour divertir la tractation de leur coustel pour faire service au Roy son maistre/ (“**Les raisons et signes...**” (*Dec. 1545*)

<sup>50</sup> “Afin de parvenir à la générale pacification [de la Chrétienté] pour aussi pouvoir mieux entendre & s’employer unanimement à la répulsion des Turcs & autres infidèles ses ennemis [...] ledit seigneur roi a accordé & accorde d’assister en ladite entreprise, & pour la résistance contre ledit Turc (quand requis en sera de Sa Majesté Impériale, & du Saint Empire) six cents hommes d’armes de ses ordonnances, bien montez & équipez comme il les entretient; & qu’il les fera partir & aller à ladite résistance en dedans six semaines après la réquisition, & y servir & guerroyer pour le tems que durera la première expédition, que ledit seigneur Empereur & lesdits Etats du Saint empire feront contre ledit Turc : & fournira dix mille hommes de pied de ses sujets aussi à sa solde [...] Et au surplus ledit seigneur roi fera tout ce qui en lui sera pour assister & favoriser ladite résistance & répulsion du Turc, & pour le grever & endommager, & déprimer ses forces : & en ceci tiendra toute

ideas of a universal Empire, and dropped the idea of Crusades, hoping that the peace with Turkey may free his hands to crush the Protestants and force them to accept a general Council of the Church.<sup>51</sup>

In Istanbul, the Peace of Crépy was felt like showing a reversal in French policy, nearly a treason: already harshly criticized by Barbarossa unhappy about his useless expedition in Provence in 1542-1543. It made Turks fear that Charles will have free hands to turn his army against the Ottoman Empire,<sup>52</sup> wary preparatories were carried on during the winter 1544-1545.<sup>53</sup>

An armistice had been concluded by Ferdinand's envoy with the pasha of Buda in Hungary in June 1544,<sup>54</sup> which was going to be prolonged. At the same period, the Imperial Diet in Spire, while accusing Francis I to be a barbarian, enemy of the Church and Christianity, due to his alliance with the Turks, show reluctance

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entière & confidente intelligence avec Sadite Majesté Impériale, & ledit Saint Empire" Amelot de la Houssaye, **Recueil des Traitez de paix, de trêve, de neutralité, de suspension d'armes, de confédération, d'alliance, de commerce, de garantie et d'autres actes publics, &c.** Amsterdam, 1700, t. II, p. 228.

<sup>51</sup> "Que veut dire cela, que tu laisses le Turc pour t'attacher furieusement à nous, comme si nous estions beaucoup pires que le Turc" Jean Sleidan, **Histoire de l'estat de la Religion et République sous l'empereur Charles cinquième**, Strasbourg, 1558, Livre VI, p. 172.

<sup>52</sup> "Sire, y avoit en Turquie si grant paour" writes Veltwyck on 10th November 1545 – "la grant paour qu'il avoit **de l'unyon cristienne que se feroit une fois à son dommaige**". [Les Français] "y ont, veu, Sire, que leur ancien crédit estoit perdu par l'armée de mer que leur en presta le Turcq, et au moyen des accuses de Barberousse, et les deffenses faictes par luy, esuelles entrefaictes se sont descouverts maintz beaux tours, et comme les Turcs disent, trahisons et laschetes, lesquelles ne cessoient de reproucher aux François après la paix faicte, de non avoir sceu employer une si bonne armée et se deffendre" (10/11/1545). "Et d'austant plus peult l'on veoir que désireront la paix vue l'inimytie et hayne que les Turcz portioient alors aux François pour la paix de France freschement faicte" "L'exhortement des François quant à la guerre n'a guaires de force puis que les François ont eu en leur main l'armée de mer et n'ont sceu employer ny deffendre honnorablement/ et puisque l'empereur est entré en France et contraint le roy à paix/comme les François ont confessé à Constantinople pour s'excuser d'avoir fait la paix ./les Turcz n'ont les François pour gueres vaillans/ains les appellent à chacun coup gellines moullées/et font grant compte de l'empereur maintenant plus que jamais pour estre entré en France et avoir eu des ostaiges du roy/" (**Les raisons et signes...** Dec. 1545)

<sup>53</sup> "Che li ultimi advisi d'Andrinopoli erano de 26 et 27. De 26 a quej sig<sup>ri</sup> et 27 all amb<sup>r</sup> del re X<sup>mo</sup>. Li qualj non son conformj perche quellj di esso ambre dicano grossa armata et grosso exercito et l'altri non molta armata et ne ancora exercito extraordinario et nõ se dubio che si puo prestar piy fede a questi di quej sigri per che la tengano uno ambre che il primo di quej senatori. Che detta armata nõ passera 60 galere, ni uscirà molto per tempo et che del exercito nõ si poteva fare fermo juditio nõ sapendo se il Sig[no]re vy andra in persona o no." (ASF, Carteggio Universale di Cosimo I, f. 372, 233) See Berindei M, et Veinstein G., **L'empire ottoman et les pays roumains, 1544-1545**, Paris-Cambridge, 1987.

<sup>54</sup> **Responsio Mehemetis** (pacha d'Ofen) **ad legationem Domini Locumtenentis** (évêque de Gran) **medio Joannis Deseuffi factam**, an. 1544. Rapport de Deseuffi, v. Hammer, V, 388-389. See also the reports of the mission of Hidayet to Vienna, in 1544, quoted by Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirler ve Sefaretnameleri*, Ed. Prof. Dr. Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 1987, 44. Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi n° E 3911 et n° E 8581.



to support further military expeditions.<sup>55</sup> Ferdinand appointed an Ambassador to negotiate with the Turks, Hyeronimo Adorno. Adorno arrived in Edirne, where the Sultan was, on 28<sup>th</sup> February 1545, but died on the eve of his meeting with the Sultan.<sup>56</sup> Rüstem pasha, while giving his farewell to Adorno's secretary, suggested that Ferdinand asks the King of France to write in favour of the peace to Süleyman. Ferdinand appointed a new ambassador, Nicola Sicco, doctor in law, to negotiate a peace agreeing to pay a yearly tribute of 10.000 ducats to the Sultan, and additional retributions of 3000 ducats to the sadrazam, 1000 for each of the other viziers.<sup>57</sup>

On his side, the Emperor decided to appoint as his own Ambassador Gerard Veltwyck. Born around 1505 in Utrecht or Veldwijk in a Jewish family, but baptised in Ravenstein, Gerard Veltwyck studied Hebrew<sup>58</sup> and Aramaic at the Collegium Trilingue of Leuven University, then in France and Rome. Beyond Dutch, his mother tongue, Veltwyck fluently spoke French, Italian, Latin, Greek, Hebrew and certainly German. Erasmian, like Schepper, he was a friend of humanists. He was particularly interested in botanic and gardening, bringing back plants from Turkey to the Jewish humanist Amatus Lusitanus and to Rembert Dodoens, author of a marvelous *De Fructum Historia*, dedicated to Veltwyck.<sup>59</sup> He started to serve as a secretary of Mary of Hungary around 1533, was appointed secretary of the private council of the Emperor in 1540;<sup>60</sup> and joined Granvelle in the German Diets. In November 1544, Charles V enjoins him to go to Constantinople as an Ambassador jointly with Jean de Monluc,<sup>61</sup> then French envoy in Venice, sent as

<sup>55</sup> *Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal de Granvelle*, III, 21-25 and 66-67.

<sup>56</sup> *Relatio Malvezzi post mortem nuntii Adurni e Turcia reversi*, in Hammer, V, 389.

<sup>57</sup> *Austro-Turcica 1541-1552*, n° 7, pp. 37-39; n° 8, pp. 39-42; n° 14-17, pp. 48-56, n° 21 pp. 59-69.

<sup>58</sup> He published in 1539 in Venice an Hebrew apology of the Christian faith and criticism of the Cabbala. Gerardus Veltuyckus Rauesteynensis, *Shebiley Tohu, itinera deserti, de judaicis disciplinis et earum vanitate; addita etiam nonnulla quæ ex illorum libris eruta cum fide christiana consentiunt*, Venice, David Blomberg, 1539. See F. Secret, "G. Postel et Gerhard Veltwyck", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, vol. XXXVII, 1975, pp. 101-105.; F. Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Arma Artis, 1985.

<sup>59</sup> **See:** George Hugo Tucker, "To Louvain and Antwerp, and Beyond: The contrasting itineraries of Diego Pires (Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus, 1517-99) and João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco (Amatus Lusitanus, 1511-68)", *The Expulsion of the Jews and their Emigration to the Southern Low Countries, (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> C.)* 1998 Leuven University Press, Mediævalia Lovaniensia - Series I - Volume XXVI. Rembert Dodoens, Cruydeboek, Antwerp, 1554.

<sup>60</sup> Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, I, 1739, p. 361; M. Rosenberg-Gerhard Veltwyck, *Orientalist, Theolog und Staatsman*, Göttingen, 1935, pp. 66-67.

<sup>61</sup> Jean de Monluc (1502 or 1506-1579), elder brother of the Blaise de Monluc, member of the French Embassy in Rome in 1535-36, he was sent in a secret mission to Barbarossa in August 1536, appointed to the French Embassy in Venice in 1539 where he was in 1545, when Francis I decides to join him to the Imperial Embassy. After his mission to Constantinople, he would continue a diplomatic carrier with various missions to Poland (again in 1573, pushing the election of Henry duke of Anjou to the Polish throne), Scotland, Italy, England; appointed bishop of Valence and Die in 1553, he works to the reconciliation between Protestants and Catholics at Poissy, hence accused

an Ambassador of Francis I, and Nicolo Secco, envoy of Ferdinand. He first meets Ferdinand in Vienna in December, attends a meeting of the Hungarian Diet in Timova on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1545, where he realizes the strong discontentment of the Hungarian nobility vis-à-vis the Habsburg, Protestants considering the Turks as better protectors of their religious freedom.<sup>62</sup>

As it's a joint embassy the instructions of each ambassador are due to be exchanged. Monluc's instructions are quite short.<sup>63</sup> Veltwyck gets "ostensible" instructions, he can show to Monluc, and secrete ones. The ostensible one stresses the good cooperation between both princes, which should lead to a 4-5 years truce or better a good peace on behalf of the whole Christianity ("communicante"), involving free access of pilgrims to the Holy Land. The secrete instruction asks Veltwyck to keep a close eye on the behaviour of the French envoy, as the Emperor fears that the French proposed the truce to deceive him and let him unarmed in front of a Turkish expedition; any suspicion of the Venetians should also be avoided. In Turkey, Veltwyck should try to gain the support of Hürrem Sultan or viziers favourable to peace, through presents<sup>64</sup>. Charles does not claim anymore Algiers, but pleads for a peace involving the whole Mediterranean, against piracy.

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of heresy. (Hector Reynaud, **Jean de Monluc, Evêque de Valence et de Die**, Thorin & Fils, Paris, 1893).

<sup>62</sup> " Les Hungarois parlent overtement du tribut, et de soy réduire soubz protection du Turc, veu que ledict Turc les traicte doucement cestes années; que les villageois à beaucoup près n'ont esté si travaillez des Turcz, comment ilz sont journellement des seigneurs hungarois, et en effect se louent merueilleusement les paysans de Hongarie du traitement, et trahyssent leurs seigneurs aux Turcs, et les font meurdrier ou prendre prisonniers. Ce que le Turc fait par astuce." (**Vienna, 11/12/1544**), Lanz, **Correspondenz des Kaisers**, II, pp. 419-464 . "Sire, à la diette des Hungarois, j'ay trouvé la plus terrible contention, et ay entendu les plus licencieuses paroles que oncques de ma vie, et outrages de toute sorte des S<sup>tes</sup> grans et petitz, tant contre Vostre Majesté que contre le roy des Romains... En plaine table de tous les seigneurs yl a esté ung que m'a tenu ung propos d'une demy heure, que l'on ne pourroit rien espérer de ceste paix ne amitié à cause de mauvaise politie des Almans et leur fazon de faire, et à cause de la diversité des coustumes que sont en la chrestienté.", Gérard Veltwyck to Charles V, 22 February 1545, AGR SEA 781, f° 56 sq. Lanz, **Correspondenz**, II, n° 533, et **Monumenta Hungariae Historica**, I, 2, n° 187, pp. 119-126 [réf : Volum. Suppl. Orient 534]

<sup>63</sup> "Le sieur de Monluc ira par devers le Grant Seigneur avecques l'ambassadeur que y depputtera l'empereur, et communicquera sa presante instruction ensemble toutes autres choses qu'il pourra entendre par delà audit ambassadeur, qui fera le semblable envers luy, affin que eulx deux ayant par ensemble ceste bonne intelligence puissent faire une bonne paix, sy faire se peult, sinon une longue tresve et abstinence de guerre, avec condicions redondans au bien et repos des subjectz desdits sieur empereur et roy, et semblablement du surplus de la chrestienté, durant laquelle tresve le roy mectra toute la paine qu'il luy sera possible de moyenner une bonne et avantageuse paix..." AGS, Estado, Leg. 1318, f° 68

<sup>64</sup> You'll try to deal the truce with means "soit de la sultane ou aultres ministres du Turcq que l'on entend estre enclins à ladicte tresve, quant ores vous debvriez faire quelque promesse de gratification de recongnissance." instructions secrètes, Lanz, II, 439. See Giovanmaria Malvezzi to Ferdinand about the gifts to be made, in **Austro-Turcica 1541-1552**, n° 18, pp. 56-57; also **ibid.** f° 17, n° 19, et n° 32, pp. 97-98.

A careful approach should be envisaged to avoid that the Turks encourage the spreading of Protestantism.<sup>65</sup>

Veltwyck leaves the Emperor in Worms on 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1545 and arrives in Venice on 6<sup>th</sup> June 1545, where he stays in the palatial residence of the Spanish ambassador, the humanist Diego Hurtado de Mendoza,<sup>66</sup> on the Gran Canal. He liaises with Monluc, and both visit the Venetian Senate to explain the objective of the Embassy. The French Ambassador informs him that a safe-conduct sent by Sultan Süleyman waits for him in Ragusa<sup>67</sup>. The Venetians, at the request of Monluc, provide a galley to both Ambassadors to carry them to Ragusa; they leave on 22<sup>nd</sup> June and reach Ragusa on 28<sup>th</sup> June.<sup>68</sup> Veltwyck was accompanied by Mathieu Laurin, stepson of Schepper and collector of antique coins,<sup>69</sup> later burgomaster of Bruges, and Hugo Favoli, a young Italian of Middleburg, who described the mission in elaborated Latin verses in a *Hodæporicon Byzantinon*.<sup>70</sup>

In Ragusa both envoys are solemnly received by the Senate of the small Republic. Veltwyck meets Marin Zamanja (Zamagna), a tradesman, former rector and informer of the Habsburg on Turkish issues.<sup>71</sup> During the sea travel Monluc had fallen sick. They finally leave on 12<sup>th</sup> July, Montuc being taken in a carriage,<sup>72</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Instruction 22 May 1545, AGR, SEA 781, f° 83-85, in Lanz, **Correspondenz**, II, 435 sq.

<sup>66</sup> Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503-1575), collected oriental manuscripts in Venice and the Ottoman Empire; ambassador in Venice 1539-1547, then in Rome till 1550. See Á. González Palencia y E. Mele, **Vida y obras de D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza**, 3 vols., Madrid, 1941-43; E. Spivakovsky, **Son of the Alhambra; Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504-1575**, Austin & Londres, University of Texas Press, 1970.

<sup>67</sup> **See:** Mendoza and Veltwyck to the Emperor, 7 June 1545 AGR, SEA, 781, f° 109-113, in Lanz II, 445. and 20<sup>th</sup> June 1545, AGR, Audience 73 f° 158-160 (unpublished).

<sup>68</sup> ASF, Carteggio Universale di Cosimo I, 372, 245 (246). See. Sen. Secreta, Reg. 64, f° 24, 29 du 18 avril 1545, 36-37, 46, in Setton, III, 480.

<sup>69</sup> **Biographie des hommes remarquables de la Flandre Occidentale**, Bruges, Vandecasteele-Weerbrouck; L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, **Coutume de la ville et seigneurie de Watervliet, in Coutumes des pays et comté de Flandre, Coutumes des Petites Villes et seigneuries enclavées**, vol. 5, Bruxelles, 1892.

<sup>70</sup> **Hodæporicon Byzantini libri tres**, ad illustrissimum D. D. Antonium Perrenotum Cardinalem Grandvellanum, Lovanii, Servat. Sassenus, 1563; also **De Classica ad Naupactum contra Turcas Victoria per Joannem Austriacum**, Plantin, Antwerp, 1572. See André Deisser, "Entre Constantinople et Venise. *L'Hodæporicum* de Favoli et son escale au Ténare (début 1546)", in **Thesaurismata**, vol. 15 (1978). The late André Deisser had prepared an edition and translation into French of this **Hodæporicon**, still to be published.

<sup>71</sup> "Le chevalier Zamanus est ung tressaige gentilhomme et bon serviteur de Vostre Magesté, bien necessaire pour ceste frontiere et pour les affaires de Levant", Veltwyck to the Emperor, Ragusa, 30<sup>th</sup> June 1545, in Lanz **Correspondenz**, II, 453-455. **See:** J. Žontar, **Der Kundschafterdienst...**, p. 210. Forbidden to transmit further information to the Habsburg, he deceased in August 1548.

<sup>72</sup> In his report, Monluc says he had been in Ragusa "à l'extrémité de la mort, trois jours après que l'on me jugea nest de fiebvre, me mis en chemin, me faisant porter à bras d'homme pour faire un voyage si loin et si pénible".

along the road to Trebinje, Foča, Sofia; and Istanbul on 20<sup>th</sup> August 1545.<sup>73</sup>

In the meanwhile, Ferdinand's envoy, Sicco, had renewed the truce with the pasha of Buda,<sup>74</sup> and riding ten horses to death, reached Constantinople on 9<sup>th</sup> July, where he wanted to hurry up into the negotiation. The French resident in place, d'Aramon, irritated by such a hurry, obtains from the Turks that Sicco be sequestered till the arrival of Monluc and Veltwyck.<sup>75</sup>

The Sultan had gone to Edirne, where the group of Ambassadors followed him. Süleyman received the credentials of Monluc on 25<sup>th</sup> September, and those of Veltwyck a few days later.<sup>76</sup>

The negotiation mainly took place with Rüstem pasha, son-in-law of Suleyman, but with less autonomy and self-confidence than Ibrahim pasha.<sup>77</sup> Monluc and the French residing ambassador showed their lack of coordination and quarreled between them, showing their lack of enthusiasm for a real negotiation, adding

<sup>73</sup> Sumario della ltra di Guglielmo da Somaia Baylo de 9 di 7bre 1545, data in Constantinopoli, ASF, Carteggio Universale di Cosimo I, 372, 263 unpublished. See also "Comptes du secrétaire maistre Gérard Veltwyck des despens faitz par luy en sa charge de Turquye depuys sont département de Worms qui fut le 22 de may jusques à son retourt en court", AGR, Secrétairerie allemande 781, f° 99-106 (unpublished).

<sup>74</sup> Österreichisches Staatsarchiv – Haus, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Türkei I 6, Konv 2 – 1545 V-XII, f° 74. A. C. Schaendlinger, "Die osmanisch-habsburgische Diplomatie in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts." *The Journal of Ottoman studies*, [Osmanlı araştırmaları 4 (1986)], 190.

<sup>75</sup> Sicco to Ferdinand, 25 August 1545 in *Austro-Turcica 1541-1552*, n° 26 pp. 73-74. "j'ay fait en sorte qu'il y a bien viii ou dix jours qu'il a esté pendu au crocq attendant la venue de voz aultres messieurs." Letter d'Aramon to Monluc, AGR, SEA, 781 f°119, in *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*, I, 2, n° 188, pp. 133-134. "Car, estant desjà ledict ambassadeur arrivé à Constantinople, a esté lougé en une hostellerie publique, avec les gardes à la porte, peu honorablement, et le lendemain a demandé audience à ceulx qui l'ont visité, et aux bassas fait offres gaillardes, ce que a engendré grande suspeçon aux François, veu que en négociation commencée l'on n'a fait nul compte d'eulx, ne a esté visité l'amb<sup>r</sup> du roy, Mons<sup>r</sup> de Haramont, ne fait demander nouvelles de vous, ne fait parler en compte du monde, dont Mons<sup>r</sup> de Monluc se treuve merueilleusement en collère..." (Veltwyck to the Emperor, Plovdiv, 6/8/1545, Lanz, *Correspondenz*, II, 462-466.

<sup>76</sup> Giovanni della Casa to cardinal Farnese: *Lettere d'uomini illustri conservate in Parma nel R. Archivio dello Stato*, vol. I, Parme, 1848 [1853], pp. 121-122. See a description of the audience in the *Hædoporicon* of Favoli, vv. 365-513. „Gerardo Veltwyck ad Solymannum Turcarum Imperatorem Oratio” BR Bxl : Mss. 17361 (Van Hulthem 792 *Historia Belgica et varia*).

<sup>77</sup> Rüstem pasha, "di nazione serviana", from a place close to Sarajevo, recruited as a Janissary, head of the Imperial stables in 1533 ("imrahor"), sent as beylerbey of Diyarbakır (is he the rich cousin of Hyeronimo of Zara Ibrahim pasha refers to?). Third vizir in 1539, married to Mihrimah, daughter of Süleyman and Hürrem the same year; sadrazam on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1544, revoked in 1553, and again appointed sadrazam in 1555 till his death in 1561. "è naturalmente nemico di Christiani quanto altro, che mai sia stato, et dice che non bisogna fidarsi di canni, ma però mostra far più conto di quelli Christiani chi più li danno... inclinato alla pace... (Bernard Navagero, *Relationi di Constantinopoli*, 1549, 34 ff, Houghton Library, MS Riant 56). "Un gran cane perfido maligno, et tien suffucuta tutta la corte del Signor, et non lassa pervenire alle orecchie de Sua Altezza cosa alchuna se non tanto quanto a lui piace" (Malvezzi, to Ferdinand, Edirne, 24 January 1551, *Austro-Turcica 1541-1552*, n° 206, p. 549). See: *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, article Rüstem Pasha.

to the mistrust of the Turks towards French policy. Veltwyck astutely succeeds in getting a general armistice of 18 months, securing enough time for another Embassy to come with full instructions to negotiate a lasting peace, and provided that an agreement be reached on frontiers and that Ferdinand gives a yearly tribute of 10.000 ducats. The death of the duke of Orleans, whose wedding had been a central piece in the Treaty of Crépy, announced by the Venetian baglio to Rustem pasha on 8<sup>th</sup> October does not bother the negotiation. The negotiation apparently went quite smoothly. While Secco, writes Veltwyck, was asking for a truce of seven years, the Turks answered: “Why not a peace for ten, twenty, fifty or hundred years, that we will renew everytime one of the princes deceases?”<sup>78</sup> Veltwyck reports several statements by Süleyman, Rüstem Pasha, the other vizirs – Ahmed pasha and Mehmed pasha<sup>79</sup>–, Yunus bey – the chief interpreter – in favor of peace. Ahmed Pasha, alleging his Christian origin, recommends that some compromise be reached, without necessarily giving everything.<sup>80</sup> Many questions remained however open: Ferdinand should agree that territories and castles which were not under his control were not subject to his suzerainty, but the exact delimitation of Ferdinand’s sovereignty in Hungary is left for an later moment of the negotiation.<sup>81</sup> Transilvania is kept outside of the scope of the treaty, while some provisions should still be drafted on the issue of piracy in the Mediterranean Sea. The conditions have to be confirmed by the Emperor and Ferdinand within a year, the negotiation can continue without interference of the French. While giving farewell to Veltwyck, Rüstem pasha, in a long discussion of three hours, wishes that new Ambassadors with fresh instructions be sent quickly; the French, who, the pasha said, “wanted to make the peace very expensive”, will not be needed in this context, and he concluded: “Come quickly back, and bring me some clocks, so that everything will be fine”.<sup>82</sup> Once the negotiation are

<sup>78</sup> “Et quant l’ambassadeur du roy des Romains demandoit tresve de 7 ans/tousjours respondoient pourquoy non de dix, ou 20/50/cent et que la renouvellons quanteffois ung des princes meure/. A semblable fin me demandoient tousjours que je deusse rescrire à mon M<sup>e</sup> de la paix et non de tresve.” (**Les raisons et signes...** Dec. 1545)

<sup>79</sup> J’espère que nous serons amys et que nous pourrons visiter l’ung l’autre (**Les raisons et signes...** Dec. 1545)

<sup>80</sup> “Achmad Bassa me dist que [ . . ] quant nous retournerons trouvrions la grace et le crédit tant comme les François et que nous deussions prendre le chemin de milieu/ne donner pas tout ce que l’on demande/ne refuser le tout mais que debvriens avoir regard aux princes chrestiens et exhorter mon maistre que luy de son coustel disoit estre filz de chrestien, et qu’il avoit pitié du dommaige des povres chrestiens” (**Les raisons et signes...** Dec. 1545)

<sup>81</sup> “que le bassa dit en ma presence, que l’on acceptoit l’argent du roy des Romains par respect de leur maistre,” “moyennant que le roy des Romains vouldist donner dix mille ducats par an, et renuncer aux chastaux du Turc Valent et à tout ce que le Turcq avoit conquesté après la prise de Bude, et aussi à ce que le roy Jehan avoit possédé deça le Danube, - il seroit content de donner la paix, ou perpétuelle ou temporelle; comme nous voudrions” (10/11/45)

<sup>82</sup> “ L’ambassadeur du roy des Romains et moy, en prenant congié avons trouvé bonne volunté au bassa, et nous a dict les choses que les François nous vouloyent vendre bien chier, comme

concluded, writes Veltwyck, the French went screaming like drunkards through Pera telling everybody “it’s a triumph”.<sup>83</sup>

Veltwyck indicates some of the reasons why the Turks want peace are the following: internal strifes between the sons of Süleyman, fueled by the ambition of Hürrem Sultan in favor of her son Selim against Mustafa, rather popular; furthermore, Hürrem encourages Süleyman, who is ageing, to stay at home.<sup>84</sup> Recent information on the Emperor’s military successes in Germany and France, show he is a man always in the move, in Africa or in Germany.<sup>85</sup> The cost and labour to conduct wars becomes heavier and heavier on a huge territory; Rüstem pasha says that the wars of the Christians are just a pastime, as they happen at home with all commodities, while the Sultan has to ride all the way from Istanbul

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racomptera plus amplement à V<sup>re</sup> M<sup>le</sup> de bouche.” “ Les Turcz quoy qu’ilz ont couché les 1<sup>res</sup> autrement entendent touteffois que la tresve soit faicte avec l’empereur 4 ou 5 ans et avec le roy des Romains – ou 8 ans/mais que pour ces différens du roy des Romains retourne dedans ung an ung ambassadeur pour le vuyder/et que leur emporte le tout pour porter présent, et honorer à la Porte”. (“Les raisons et signes par lesquels l’on peult comprendre que les Turcs sont enclins plustost à faire paix que guerre”, French, HHStA, December 1545, published in **Austro-Turcica** n° . see also a note of Sicco: “multe sunt rationes quibus ad credendum adducor Turcas impensu pacem desyderare...” **HHStA, , Türkei I 6**, Konv 2 – 1545 V-XII, f°113.) See Veltwyck to the Emperor, 23 October 1545, AGR, SEA, 781, f° 179-180, unpublished; Veltwyck to don Diego de Mendocça November 1545 AGR SEA 781, f° 213-218 (unpublished); Lanz, **Correspondenz**, II, 467-472. Nicolaus Siccus - Andrinople, 10 November 1545 (latin, **HHStA, Türkei I 6**, Konv 2 – 1545 V-XII, f°97-100 .) See Monluc’s reports, in Charrière, **Négociations du Levant**, I, pp. 596-620.) Monluc complains that the French drogmans were informing both the Imperial envoy and the Turks, and explains French maneuvers to Turks to avoid concluding a peace. The request of clock and clockmakers showed the good state of relations between the two Empires. Following a new request coming in November 1547, Veltwyck suggests Ferdinand that the clockmaker may be sent on behalf of the Emperor, but the later refuses and he is sent on behalf of Ferdinand. Justo de Argento to Ferdinand, November 1547, **Austro-Turcica** n° 56, pp. 184-19, and n° 63, p. 209.

<sup>83</sup> “Quant Rostan Bassa avoit prononcer que par respect du roy de France se feroit ceste tresve tant générale que particulière les François alloient par Péra comme yvres disans à tout le monde c’est triumphe/” (**Les raisons et signes...** Dec. 1545)

<sup>84</sup> “La nécessité en laquelle les Turcqs se trouvoient, et comme la Sultane met et dépose les officiers, la hayne du sultan Moustapha et les affaires du Sophy, lesquelles concurrences causoyent aux Turcs grand désir de paix” (10/11/1545) “ Les raisons pour lesquelles s’eslongent de la guerre sont l’inimytie grande entre Sultan Mustapha et Sultan Sélim/frères de deux mères dont la Sultana que est maintenant pratique les chefs des Janitzars et les principaulx ministres par faveur et disent les Turcz qu’elle aye empoisonnée son mary/en effect la plus grande partie des turcz parlent mal d’elle et du bassa son gendre ... le S<sup>er</sup> est plus en phantasie de maintenir sa vie/et penser de sa viellesse que de faire des emprinses d’avantaige la soltane tousjours l’enhorte à demeurer à la maison/.” (**Les raisons et signes...** )

<sup>85</sup> “Les Vénitiens avoient escript que l’on pouvoit veoir que quant l’empereur veult, il est patron d’Almaingne... Le principal point est qu’ilz ont paour de la fortune de l’empereur comme ilz souloient dire/et de la diligence et recomptent à table que ne fust oncque homme du monde qui savoit moins donner au repoz, que ains est ou en Aphricque ou en Allemaigne et que luy mesmes en personne va au camp et ont dit en barbe aux ambassadeurs françois/Carlo ne se laisse vaincre par force ne tromper” (**Les raisons et signes...** )



to the center of Europe or to Persia, where he cannot stay during the winter, and loses at least the third of his troops and horses; in particular, the last campaign against Persia had costed a huge amount of Janissaries and solaks.<sup>86</sup>

Monluc and Veltwyck left Istanbul on 27<sup>th</sup> October, reaching Edirne on 10<sup>th</sup> November, proceeding through Sofia, Belgrade and Buda, arriving at Vienna on 13<sup>th</sup> December. Monluc justifies his return by Hungary and Vienna as spying the intentions of Ferdinand. Veltwyck leaves Vienna on 30<sup>th</sup> December, rides directly to Utrecht where he reaches the Emperor on 16<sup>th</sup> January 1546, reporting orally and asking for further instructions.<sup>87</sup>

In March 1546, Ferdinand sends a messenger to Istanbul, Vito Ugrinović, to inform that Veltwyck will come back but also to complain that the truce was not respected in some areas.<sup>88</sup> In the meanwhile, Turks are concerned that the French and the Imperials are plotting something behind their back, and that military preparatories against the Protestants let assume that other targets might have been envisaged.<sup>89</sup> New instructions were finally given to Veltwyck to finalize the negotiation, dated from Augsburg on 13<sup>th</sup> July 1546; the diplomat was sent as an envoy of both the Emperor and of Ferdinand.<sup>90</sup> The instructions deal in particular with the sums to be given to the pashas, the yearly tribute to be offered, provided an agreement is reached on the territories to be kept under Habsbourg authority. Veltwyck immediately rides to Vienna, then Buda where stays for a while negotiating the implementations of the truce with the pasha, reaches Constantinople on 16<sup>th</sup> September but falls sick, to a point he cannot present his credentials to the Sultan when invited to do so, and the Sultan sends doctors to help curing him before leaving to hunt in Edirne.<sup>91</sup> Veltwyck stays sick in bed, in a caravanseray without windows, for nearly two months, and leaves Istanbul only on 27 November, to Edirne where he is received to the Sultan's audience on 14<sup>th</sup> December. He remained kept incommunicado cannot send letters to his

<sup>86</sup> “ Rostan bassa m'a dist que les guerres des chrestiens ne sont que passe temps puis que se font à la maison avec toutes commodités, mais que le Turc fait si grant chemin devant que peust trouver l'ennemy d'ung coustel et de l'autre/que tousjours quant il est de retour à Constantinople laisse la tierce part de son camp tant de gens que des cheualx ou malades ou mort/et reprent gens fresches pour tirer en aultre part” (**Les raisons et signes...** )

<sup>87</sup> Jean de Vandenesse : at Bois-le-Duc, “ Et le 15<sup>e</sup> dudict décembre, Sa Majesté eut nouvelles que la trefve estoit accordée entre luy et le Turcq pour ung an; et, au cas que Sadicte Majesté la voulsist accepter en la sorte qu'elle estoit articulée, elle estoit pour sept ans.”

<sup>88</sup> **Instructio pro nuntio Ugrinovich**, 19 March 1546, Vienna, **HHStA, Turcica I 6**, Konv. 3 f° 63r-v, 70r; in **Austro-Turcica 1541-1552**, n° 33 pp. 98-100.

<sup>89</sup> **See:** Fernando de Montasa to Ferdinand, Venice 3rd May 1546, in A. von Druffel, **Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts**, München, t. I (1873) , 10; and letter of Veltwyck of 3<sup>rd</sup> September.

<sup>90</sup> **Austro-Turcica 1541-1552**, , pp. 100-106.

<sup>91</sup> Veltwyck to Ferdinand, **Austro-Turcica 1541-1552**, n° 36 pp. 112-113; and 9 October/5<sup>th</sup> November.

Masters nor officially receive any, but gets bread and some partridges sent by the Sultan.<sup>92</sup>

The negotiation lasted for nearly 10 months. From the beginning Rüstem pasha delays the discussions. as the Turks were waiting for the return of the French Ambassador d'Aramon, who had gone to look for fresh instructions, and dealt mainly with the places in Hungary which would be accepted as vassals to Ferdinand; Rüstem does not seem in a hurry to negotiate, discussing their respective emperors' taste for hunting, complaining about a possible alliance between Charles V and the Shah of Iran. Veltwyck to show that the negotiation may start, agrees to increase the amount offered as a tribute.<sup>93</sup>

D'Aramon arrived on 6<sup>th</sup> April and was received in an audience by the Sultan on 12<sup>th</sup> April; he tried to scare the Turks about the real intentions of Charles V, telling them that Vienna's defences would be more formidable than ever and asking, beyond his instructions, for a military expedition which is rejected; he wrote to the King Francis I that thanks to him, the negotiation had failed<sup>94</sup>. However the news of the death of the King had already reached Edirne on 22<sup>nd</sup> April,<sup>95</sup> while the news of the victory of Charles V against the Protestants at Muehlberg, on 24<sup>th</sup> April, arrives on 19<sup>th</sup> May; relations also worsen with Persia, which may induce the Turks to avoid war on two fronts.

Upon this news, the negotiation resumes in Istanbul on 7<sup>th</sup> June<sup>96</sup> and is concluded on 19<sup>th</sup> June, in spite of a dispute on some wording used by the *nişancı*, Ragıb Çelebi.<sup>97</sup> The impossibility to reach a final compromise delimitating the

<sup>92</sup> Veltwyck to Ferdinand, 18 December 1546, in **Austro-Turcica 1541-1552**, n° 38 pp. 119-123.

<sup>93</sup> Veltwyck to Ferdinand, 20 February - 10 March 1547, in Chesneau, **Voyage de M. d'Aramon**, pp. See: AGR SEA, 786, f° 107.

<sup>94</sup> Veltwyck to Ferdinand 13 April 1547, in **Austro-Turcica**, pp. 150-152. See also d'Aramon to Francis I, Edirne, 4<sup>th</sup> May 1547, **Lettres et Mémoires d'Etat des rois, Princes, Ambassadeurs & autres Ministres, sous les règnes de François Premier, Henry II & François II**, &c, Ribier, 1677, II, 12-14; aussi dans Testa, **Traités &c**, I, pp. 37-39. See Süleyman answers to Francis I on 6<sup>th</sup> May 1547, that the time is too advanced to prepare an expedition this year; in Baron I. de Testa, **Recueil des Traités de la Porte Ottomane avec les Puissances Etrangères, I, 40-41**; and **Documenti di storia italiana copiati su gli originali autentici e per lo più autografi esistenti in Parigi**, da Giuseppe Molini, t. II, n° CCCCXXX.

<sup>95</sup> Francis I died in Rambouillet on 31<sup>st</sup> March 1547. See: Veltwyck to Ferdinand, **Austro-Turcica 1541-1552**, n° 44 pp. 154-157.

<sup>96</sup> Veltwyck to Ferdinand 7 June 1547, **Austro-Turcica 1541-1552**, n° 46 pp. 159-160.

<sup>97</sup> Veltwyck to Ferdinand 22 June 1547, **Austro-Turcica 1541-1552**, n° 47 pp. 160-163. On the text, see : **AGS, Catalogo V. Patronato real**, Capitulaciones con Moros y Caballeros: 1177, 1547 : Traslado de la confirmación de la tregua por cinco años hecha con le Turco por el serinísimo rey de Romanos, Artículos de la tregua hecha entre la cesarea Magd. y el Principe de los Turcos; AGS, Patronato Real, 11. Anton C. Schaendlinger & Claudia Römer, **Die Schreiben Süleymans des prächtigen an Karl V., Ferdinand I. und Maximilian II**, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienne, 1983. D'Aramon, to Henry II, Constantinople , 25<sup>th</sup> June 1547 Ribier, II, pp. 28-33. Ernst Dieter **Petritsch**: Der habsburgisch-osmanische Friedensvertrag des Jahres

territories under the suzerainty of Ferdinand and those which fall under the Sultan lead to a limitation of the duration of the peace to a 5-year truce. Ferdinand commits himself to pay a tribute of 30.000 ducats each 1<sup>st</sup> April (Turkish *haraç*, translated into Latin: *munus honorarium*). Süleyman promises to prevent and punish piracy in the Mediterranean. Freedom of trade is guaranteed between all parties to the treaty. Transfuges should be repatriated to the country of origin. Veltwyck comments that the text concluded does not go beyond the instructions he had; the French ambassador convulsed in pains when he learnt that the truce was concluded. He argues that he has enough arguments to convince the Emperor to ratify, but that the text of confirmation does not necessarily to be word by word a repetition of what the Turkish chancellor wrote; in fact, a further drafting on issues not yet concluded is needed.<sup>98</sup> The “articles” have to be confirmed as agreed within three months. Veltwyck fears that Ferdinand would not ratify.<sup>99</sup>

He leaves Istanbul on 20<sup>th</sup> June, on 1<sup>st</sup> August 1547 reaches the Emperor at Augsburg who ratifies the agreement, in a letter confirming the status quo in the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>100</sup> Ferdinand ratifies in Prag on 25<sup>th</sup> August. Immediately, Justo de Argento, secretary to Veltwyck in his last embassy, brought back the ratified text to Constantinople, as well as the tribute and four clocks as presents, and Süleyman ratified it on 9<sup>th</sup> October; Argento had to swear the the oath of Charles and Ferdinand had the same value than the oath of Süleyman.<sup>101</sup> Rüstem

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1547. **Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchiv**: vol.: 1985. 49-80.

<sup>98</sup> Gérard Veltwyck to Ferdinand on the ratification of the truce, August 1547, Vienne, **HHStA, Turcica 1 7**, Konv. 1 f<sup>o</sup> 83r-85v; in **Austro-Turcica 1541-1552**, pp. 163-165. The lack of clearness soon appears, as Turks want to get more into details, after ratification; see Gérard Veltwyck to Ferdinand about the truce, end 1547, **HHStA, Turcica 1 7**, Konv. 2 f<sup>o</sup> 188-191, original; in **Austro-Turcica 1541-1552**, pp. 192-196.

<sup>99</sup> “Quant à l’Empereur la trefve est comme d’égal à égal.”, Veltwyck to Mary of Hungary, Augsburg, 2 September 1547, **Austro-Turcica 1541-1552**. Veltwyck was appointed in 1547 private counsellor to the Emperor, member of the Golden Fleece. He mainly took part in short missions on religious issues mainly in the Low Countries and Rhineland. He had married the daughter of the humanist Maximilian Transylvan who was himself married to a woman of sepharad origin. Veltwijck deceased on 5<sup>th</sup> January 1555 (Alphonse Roersch, **L’humanisme belge à l’époque de la Renaissance**, Louvain, 1933).

<sup>100</sup> “Quod res in Africa in ijs quae a nobis et serenissimo Imperatore [v] Turcarum aut a turcis possedentur maneat in p<sup>nti</sup> statu tam ex parte n<sup>ra</sup> quam prefati serenissimi Turcharum imperatoris”.

<sup>101</sup> Ludwig Bittner, **Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Österreichischen Staatsverträge, I, Die Österreichischen Staatsverträge von 1526 bis 1763**, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs, Adolf Holzhausen, Vienne, 1903, p. 16; cf. Testa, IX 8 n. 3 (Noradounghian I 30.). Memoriale ad Dominos de Camera pro expeditione Justo de Argento in Turciam, Hofkammerarchiv, Vienne, Reichsakten 190, f<sup>o</sup> 26. Latin, **HHStA, Turcica 1 7**, Konv. 2 f<sup>o</sup> 101 r-105v; copie : 107r-110 v; in **Austro-Turcica 1541-1552**, n<sup>o</sup> 52 pp. 172-178. **Lettere d’uomini illustri conservate in Parma nel R. Archivio dello Stato** [pubblicate da Amadio Ronchini], vol. I, Parme, 1848 [1853], pp. 234-236. On French intricacies to prevent the ratification, see the letter of Giovanmaria Malvezzi to Ferdinand, 6<sup>th</sup> July 1547, in **Austro-Turcica 1541-1552**, n<sup>o</sup> 49 pp. 167-169. **Relatio Justo de Argento a Cæsare Turcharum reversi**.

pasha confirmed Argento that instructions had been given to all corsairs to keep quiet, otherwise they would be impaled, and their ships burnt.<sup>102</sup> Justo de Argento will come back in March 1548, bringing the first payment, confirming thus the peace.<sup>103</sup>

Charles has a peace, he wants to keep it with the Turks, as noted the Venetian Ambassadors.<sup>104</sup> In his instructions to the young Philip, dated from Augsburg, 18 January 1548, he recommends that the truce with the Turks be observed, just because a commitment taken by a king should be fulfilled even if concluded with unfaithful, although defence should be ensured as one should not trust too much corsairs.<sup>105</sup> On his side, Süleyman launches a new expedition against Persia, and will come back only on 21 Décembre 1549.<sup>106</sup>

#### 4. Breaking Truces (1549-1552)

At the Turkish request, Giovanmaria Malvezzi, former secretary of Adorno and Veltwyck, stayed as a resident in Istanbul and hostage guaranteeing the good application of the truce. Soon in 1550, piracy on the African coasts, particularly in Tunisia by Turgut reis (Dragut) who took over Mehdiya and Monastir in Tunisia leads to various demarches by Malvezzi on behalf of the Emperor and a quite voluminous exchange of letters between Charles and Süleyman where Charles complains that the “pirate” has broken the truce, while Süleyman answers that the conquest of Mehdiya just meant to return this city to its former governor, an ottoman

<sup>102</sup> Malvezzi to Ferdinand, 6 novembre 1547, in *Austro-Turcica 1541-1552*, n° 55 pp. 181-183; report of Justo de Argento, novembre 1547, *ibid.* f° 172r-177v; *Austro-Turcica* n° 56, pp. 184-190.

<sup>103</sup> Malvezzi to Ferdinand, 29 mars 1548, *HHStA, Turcica I* 7, Konv. 3 f° 79 r-v, 84 r-91 v; in *Austro-Turcica 1541-1552*, n° 77 pp. 230-236; rapport de Justo de Argento, *ibid.* f° 63 r- 70 r, *Austro-Turcica*, n° 83, pp. 243-250.

<sup>104</sup> “ Per commune opinione dico haver Cesare, succede et credesi succederà, che non vorrà guerra con altro Principe se prima non harrà tentato et espedito quella di Franza. Con il Turco non la vuole, come si vede per le tregue già fatte, perche conosce molte bene oltra che quel Signore è potentissimo, che non potria far cose buona contra di lui, restandoli dietro le spalle, et in mezzo delli sui stati un cosi potente Principe, come è il Re di Franza...” “ Relatione di M<sup>e</sup> Aluise Mocenigo K. ritornato oratore de la Ces<sup>a</sup> M<sup>a</sup>. di Carlo V.”; and Lorenzo Contarini: “forse non con tutta quella dignità che conveniva ad un’ imperatore di cristianità di tanto nome [...] ed ultimamente ha fermato la tregua per cinque anni, e vuole osservarla, e ha grandissimo piacere che il Turco voglia fare il medesimo; onde io non so che si possa sperare in questa matiera” dans Vicente de Cadenas y Vicent, *Dos años en la vida del Emperador Carlos V (1546-1547) vistos por los Embajadores Venetos, por sus atribuidas “Memorias”, y la batalla de Muhlberg por sus propios escritos*, Madrid, Hidalguia, 1988, 201, 206, 210

<sup>105</sup> “Y quanto a la dicha tregua que e de mi parte ratificado, mirareys que alle se observe enteramente de la vuestra, porque es razon de lo que e tratado, y tratareys, se guarde de buena fè con todos, sean infieles, o otros, y es lo que conviene a los que reynan, y a todos los buenos...” *Papiers d’Etat du cardinal de Granvelle*, III, 276 - 292

<sup>106</sup> See: *Le Voyage de Monsieur d’Aramon, ambassadeur pour le Roy en Levant*, escript par noble homme Jean Chesneau, ed. M. Ch. Schefer, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1887.

subject, who was appointed sandjak of the disputed city of Mehdiā<sup>107</sup>. Even before the result of Malvezzi's demarche had reached the Emperor, order had been given to Doria's fleet to reconquer Mehdiā<sup>108</sup>, which was besieged on 29<sup>th</sup> June 1550 and taken on 10<sup>th</sup> September; its reconquest was presented by the Imperial propaganda as a success comparable to the conquest of Tunis<sup>109</sup>. The emperor also sent a letter to Süleyman to justify his action against the pirate Dragut<sup>110</sup>. But Malvezzi is told that if Mehdiā is not returned to the Sultan, then the Sultan would consider that the truce is broken.<sup>111</sup> The Emperor insists that Dragut is an *archipirat* in a letter to Süleyman of 8<sup>th</sup> March 1551.<sup>112</sup> Rüstem tells Malvezzi that in case Mehdiā would not be restituted, it would be impossible to start negotiating the pursuit of the truce, insists it's a precondition still in May<sup>113</sup>. But Sinan pasha, a relative of Rüstem pasha, prepares a fleet which sails from Istanbul on 17<sup>th</sup> May,<sup>114</sup> and on the 14<sup>th</sup> August, in presence of the French Ambassador d'Aramon, conquers the city of Tripoli, then in the hands of the Knights of Saint John,<sup>115</sup> who were not included

<sup>107</sup> **Austro-Turcica 1541-1552**, ° 99 et 100, pp. 284-285; n° 113-114, pp. 327-329; n° 157, pp. 419-420; n° 179, pp. 464-465; n° 182, pp. 469-473; n° 185, pp. 481-483.

<sup>108</sup> Ioannis Christophori Calveti Stellae **De Aphrodisio expugnato, quod vulgo Aphricam vocant, Commentarius**, Anvers, Apud Martinum Nutium, 1551; Francisco López de Gómara, **Guerras de mar del Emperador Carlos V**, Ed. Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra et Nora Edith Jiménez, Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, Madrid, 2000, pp. 240-248. "Avvisi: Il vero et ultimo aviso della presa d'Affrica, s. l. s. d. 2 f°; La lettera de la presa d'Affrica venuta all'illustr. et reverendissimo cardinal de la Cueva con il nome e il numero de' morti e feriti de l'una et l'altra parte, Bologna, 1550, 4 f°; La felicissima victoria autta dal s. principe d'Oria e la presa de la città d'Affrica e della città de Monasterio e delle Gerbi con la rota de Draguto reis donde che nara tutti li huomini famosi che si e ritrovati ad essa impresa: tu intenderai tutti li huomini che sono morti e feriti e pregiati a di 13 settembre 1550 fino a ora presente, Rome, 4 f°; La gloriosa vittoria et presa d'Affrica fatta del illustrissimo et eccellentissimo principe Doria e del signor don Garcia". Con il lamento d'Affrica. Composto per Archangelo da Lonigo, Bologna, 4 f°.

<sup>109</sup> **Nouvelles de la cité d'Afrique, en Barbarie, prinse par les capitaines de l'armée de l'empereur au X jour de septembre 1550**, Anvers (vers 1550). **Nieuwe tijdinghe van de Stadt van Africa....** (1551?); CALVETTE DE ESTRELLA J. C., **De Aphrodisio expugnato, quod vulgo Aphricam vocant, Commentarius**, Anvers, Martin Nutius, 1551. documents used by d'Aramon to excite the Turks against Charles V: "Et pour toujours acheminer mieux les affaires, je leur ai donné des nouvelles de la prise d'Afrique, en la même sorte que les Impériaux l'ont publiée en stampe, et leur ai fait voir ladite stampe pour les provoquer à entreprendre quelque vengeance" Ribier, **Lettres et Mémoires d'Etat...** 1677, II; 293.

<sup>110</sup> 31 octobre 1550 AGR SEA 793 f° 210, Lanz, **Correspondenz III**, 9-11.

<sup>111</sup> **Austro-Turcica 1541-1552**, n° 202, pp. 536-537; and n° 201, pp. 531-535.

<sup>112</sup> Lanz, **Correspondenz III**, 55-57.

<sup>113</sup> **Austro-Turcica 1541-1552**, n° 221, pp. 578 and n° 227, pp. 586.

<sup>114</sup> **Austro-Turcica 1541-1552**, n° 218, 222, pp. 572, 578-579; n° 225, pp. 582-584 n° 229, pp. 589.

<sup>115</sup> Papiers d'Etat du cardinal de Granvelle, III, 455-456. Nicolas de Nicolay, **Les Navigations et Pérégrinations en la Turquie; rééd. Dans l'Empire de Soliman le Magnifique**, Présenté et annoté par Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud et Stéphane Yerasimos, Presses du CNRS, Paris, 1989, pp. 83-92. Villegagnon, **Traité de la Guerre de Malte**, Paris, 1553, 5 éditions. Stéphane Yerasimos, **Les relations franco-ottomanes et la prise de Tripoli en 1551, dans Soliman le Magnifique et son temps**, La documentation française, 1992, pp. 529-547

in the truce. Malvezzi is put in jail on 30<sup>th</sup> July, on the pretext that Ferdinand did not pay the annual tribute.

In 1552, the Emperor and Ferdinand will look for further help of the Empire,<sup>116</sup> however the Ottoman Empire will not carry big expeditions, and the main skirmishes will take place with the French. The peace of 1547 will served as a starter for later peaces to be concluded by Busbecq.

## CONCLUSIONS

From of study of the diplomatic missions, both public and secrete, it seems that direct oral information was essential for an Emperor, who read little (and not the letters sent in cifers). The administrative system of Charles V was in the hands of lawyers and churchmen: the chancellor is never a military.<sup>117</sup> Opposed to negotiations with the Sultan, on ideological grounds in 1533, Charles progressively comes to a real politik leading to accept a low key agreement, which freezes the statu quo.

In Turkey the factors of opening to the West, which existed at the time of Ibrahim pasha, had disappeared. Süleyman mainly tries to preserve the acquired positions for his successors; the viziers are rather opposed to innovations<sup>118</sup>. Charles V forgets the idea of a Crusade and tries to protect his domains against the risks of division brought by Protestantism. The diplomatic exchanges about Dragut show an interesting evolution: no general fight is envisaged; on the contrary diplomatic channels are used, to a certain extent, to try to solve thorny issues at the margin.

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<sup>116</sup> See: **Extrait et Recueil des ordonnances, Conclusions et Reces du Saint Empire touchant la contribution et collecte du commun denier pour la defence de la foy et resistance contre les Turqz.** Liege, en la maison de Jacques Bathen 1552 au mois de decembre.

<sup>117</sup> Andreas Walther, **Die burgundischen Zentralbehörden unter Maximilian I und Karl V**, Leipzig, Duncker & Humblot, 1909; Headley, John M. **The Emperor and his Chancellor : A Study of the Imperial Chancellery under Gattinara**, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983.

<sup>118</sup> N. Itzkowitz, **The Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition**, Chicago & Londres, 1972, pp. 95-97.