

## SWEDISH ENVOY PAUL STRASSBURG'S DIPLOMATIC MISSION TO ISTANBUL IN 1632-1633\*

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### Abstract

Sultan Murad IV's reign made a tumultuous start in 1623, following the dethronement of his predecessor, Sultan Mustafa. Most of his juniority was spent under the auspices of his mother, the *de facto* regent Kösem Sultan, until Murad IV asserted his self rule in 1632. Europe, in the meantime, was struck by one of the largest military clashes seen on the continent by then (known as the Thirty Years War, 1618-1648), and a new actor emerged to make his imprint on the continental politics: King Gustav II Adolph of Sweden. It was under these circumstances that a Swedish envoy was sent to Constantinople in order to solicit permission from the Ottoman Porte for Transylvanian help against the Sweden's enemies in Germany. Fortunately for us, the king's envoy Paul Strassburg has left behind a valuable embassy report, similar to a *relazione*, covering his adventures on the route to the Ottoman Empire, his dealings in Constantinople and his observations regarding the political situation of the Ottomans. Within the framework of this study, the embassy report will be contextualized with the help of contemporary accounts.

**Keywords:** The Ottoman Empire, Habsburgs, Sultan Murad IV, Early Modern Diplomacy, Gustav II Adolph, Sweden, Transylvania, George Rákóczi, Cyril Loukaris, Thirty Years War

It is commonly accepted that the first official contacts between the Swedish Kingdom and the Ottoman Empire took place in 1587 with a letter sent to Sultan Murad III by King John III of Sweden.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter, we haven't come across any documented data whether the relations continued at the official level, at least not until Sultan Murad IV's reign. It is true that the relations assumed a conspicuously rapid pace after Charles XII took refuge in the Ottoman Empire in 1709, and hence, academic literature related to the period after that date abounds. However, there lies a large lacuna of studies regarding the relations between these two polities for the time period in between. In this respect, the present study aims at highlighting one of the first official diplomatic missions sent by the Swedish Kingdom to the Ottoman Porte in 1632 and 1633 in order to fill that gap.

It was, understandably, out of expediency that the Swedish Kingdom had taken pains to send a mission from the far side of Europe to the Ottoman capital: Europe was at the time being ravaged by one of the most lethal military depressions in its recorded history, which was named as the Thirty Years War by the posterity. The starting point of the clashes was actually due to the suppression of the Protestant subjects of the Austri-

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<sup>1</sup> Walther Björkman, "Die schwedisch-türkischen Beziehungen bis 1800," in Theodor Menzel (ed.), *Festschrift Georg Jacob zum siebzigsten Geburtstag 26. Mai 1932*, Leipzig: Harrossowitz 1932, p. 10.

an Habsburgs by their Catholic overlords in 1618. However, the enmities soon assumed a different profile and Europe fell prey to a war propelled by dynastic interests, but fuelled by human lives regardless of their confessions. It was during such turbulences that the Swedish King asserted himself as the protector of the Protestant powers and entered the war against the Habsburgs. In this challenging undertaking, he wanted to elicit Ottoman and Transylvanian support against the Habsburgs and sent his diplomatic representative Paul Strassburg to the Ottoman capital in 1631.

The spring, when Strassburg arrived at Constantinople, was an uneasy one for the Ottoman Empire, too. Military coups and instability of the post of the grand vizierate were shaking the upper echelons of imperial administration continuously. However, as a culmination of the vicissitudes of this unstable political environment, 1632 marked a starting point for Sultan Murad IV's personalisation of the imperial power in many respects. On the one hand, he took measures to curb the influence of his mother Kösem Sultan; on the other he contrived moves to oust the competing nodes of power in and around the Ottoman court which had hitherto limited the imperial authority: Strassburg's visit coincided with the very time-frame in which Sultan Murad IV initiated his personal rule.

It is thanks to the centrality of Constantinople as a diplomatic hub in the early modern era that ample primary sources are available to put together a coherent study of Strassburg's embassy and the depiction of the domestic politics at play at the time. Venetian, Dutch, French, English and Austrian resident embassies and *ad hoc* missions from Persian, Polish-Lithuanian and Russian states were all gathered in the city to conduct their business *vis-a-vis* the Ottoman Porte. Under the highlight of a collection of the available contemporary diplomatic reports from among some of these diplomats, along with Strassburg's own embassy report (or *relatio*, as he names it), his diplomatic mission will be narrated.

### **I. A Short Biography of Strassburg**

When Sweden assumed the leadership of the Protestant cause in 1630, it was still a relatively small kingdom whose influence had hardly ever crossed over the Baltic. Not only was the kingdom deficient in population and capital, but also the available labour force bore rather the character of a peasant-dominated society in comparison to many contemporary western European states: Bourgeoisie was proportionally smaller and the university education offered in the Swedish Kingdom could compete hardly with the standards set by British, Italian or German universities at the time. As a result, qualified non-Swedes from Europe were most welcome, the diplomats being pre-eminent among

those. Droste notes that Sweden made use of around a hundred and twenty diplomats during the seventeenth century, two third of whom were non-Swedes: Moreover, two third of these were from the territories of the Holy Roman Empire, and almost half of Sweden's diplomats were of bourgeois background, who had fixed their eyes on upwards social mobility under the service of the Crown.<sup>2</sup> Strassburg was just one among those numerous diplomatic agents from foreign royal courts, who were in time enticed to serve for the Swedish Kingdom.<sup>3</sup>

Born in 1595 in the reformed city of Nürnberg to a jurist father, he attended university in Altdorf. Later on, he went to Italy in 1613, where he spent three years to study in Padua, Bologna and Siena.<sup>4</sup> He presumably received a humanist education and studied history and law. It was also there that he learnt Italian and Latin very well, both languages being crucial for the diplomacy of the time. Being a protestant, he joined the protestant army of the Bohemian Crown when the revolt which marked the beginning of the Thirty Years War broke out after 1618 in Prague: He even became a survivor of the Battle of White Mountain (1620), which crushed the Bohemian Crown's power for good. In 1624, we see him carrying out his first diplomatic mission in London to the Protestant Elector Palatinate Friedrich V. From Britain, he went back to the Continent and visited Transylvania's Protestant Prince Gabor Bethlen to represent Friedrich V in 1625.<sup>5</sup>

During Gabor Bethlen's 1626 campaign against the Habsburgs, Strassburg served as the General Commissioner of the Transylvanian troops. In 1627, he set out for Prussia, where the Swedish King, Gustav II Adolph, admitted him to his service. Strassburg received there the title Councillor of the Court (*Consiliarius aulicus*), which was common for the foreign diplomats in service of the Swedish Crown, and started his first mission in July 1628: He was going back to Transylvania to invite Gabor Bethlen for a joint action against Poland and reached the Prince's court in September, where he spent a whole year. Nothing tangible could be achieved though, and Strassburg left Transylvania two months before his friend Prince Gabor Bethlen passed away.

In January 1630, he was back in Sweden and was called for a new mission to the Ottoman Empire. Due to certain complications, his voyage could

<sup>2</sup> Heiko Droste, "Unternehmer in Sachen Kultur: Die Diplomaten Schwedens im 17. Jahrhundert", *Das eine Europa und die Vielfalt der Kulturen: Kulturtransfer in Europa 1500-1850*, (ed.) Thomas Fuchs and Sven Trakulhun, Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsvlg 2003, pp. 205-226

<sup>3</sup> Emil Hildebrand, "Den svenska diplomatiens organisation i Tyskland under 1600-talet," in *Historisk Tidskrift*; no. 4, 1884, pp. 155-174. 156.

<sup>4</sup> Magnus Mörner, "Paul Straßburg, ein Diplomat aus der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges", in *Südost Forschungen*; Jan 1, 1956, 15, 327-363. 329. Unless otherwise noted, the rest of the biography presented here is summarized from the same work.

<sup>5</sup> Gábor Kármán, "Gabor Bethlen's Diplomats at the Protestant Courts of Europe", in *Hungarian Historical Review* 2 (4), 2013, pp. 790-823, 813.

start only the next year. He left Germany in 1631 and he arrived in early 1632 at Transylvania where he stayed for two months. He went on to Constantinople in spring 1632, from whence he returned to Transylvania in the summer, and once more back to Constantinople in 1633. In 1634, he went to Switzerland through Venice and then to Frankfurt am Main. Until 1636, he spent his time attending the Swedish Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna (since the Swedish King was dead since late 1632), ministered his business in Germany and assumed many diplomatic errands, after which he also accompanied the chancellor to Sweden. There, he started to *de facto* function as a royal councillor next year, despite the objections that he was not a native of the country nor even a noble.

In 1642, at a relatively old age, he made his marriage to a fellow diplomat's (Ludwig Camerarius) daughter. And after long years, he was once more appointed to a diplomatic mission in 1646, this time, to Paris. There he attained the honour of sharing the same carriage with the child King Louis XIV of France (r. 1643-1715), "without doubt a great moment in the life of the non-noble Nürnberger".<sup>6</sup> In 1651, he retired from service to the Swedish Crown and returned to Germany, where he settled with his wife and four children in Worms.

Not long after, following an enduring illness, Strassburg died on 1 March, 1654. During his six-decade-long life, he had not achieved any "heroic" accomplishments as a diplomat,<sup>7</sup> and the most productive years of his career were those of his counselorship to the Swedish Crown. The foremost diplomatic activity of his lifetime was, however, his mission to the Ottoman Empire, with which he was most famous and which is also the subject of the present study.

## II. The mission to the Ottoman Empire and its historical setting

The Habsburg supremacy over the Holy Roman Empire was so solidly entrenched by 1629 as it had never been since the beginning of the previous century under Emperor Charles V: Protestant princes of Germany were defeated one after another by forces of the Catholic camp during the 1620's. The last champion of the Protestant bloc, Christian IV of Denmark, was forced to withdraw from the war after suffering crushing defeats at the hands of the united Austrian (Emperor Ferdinand II, r. 1619-1637) and Bavarian forces. There were no Protestant field armies left standing in Germany and the Catho-

<sup>6</sup> Mörner, *ibid*, p. 359.

<sup>7</sup> Michael Auwers and Nevra Biltekin. "La diplomatie en mémoires: Étude sur les mémoires de diplomates belges et suédois du XXe siècle", in Laurence Badet et alia (eds.), *Ecrivains et diplomates: L'invention d'une tradition. XIXe-XXIe siècles*, Paris: Armand Colin 2012, pp. 179-190. For the definition of the term, see, p. 184: "Pour Neumann, le héros est le « diplomate de terrain », capable d'« établir de nouvelles bases dans les conditions les plus défavorables, de s'engager dans une mission d'enquête particulièrement délicate, ou de préparer et réussir un *fait accompli* dans un cadre politique»".

lic powers had reached the Baltic Sea, turning Wismar into Emperor Ferdinand's naval base.<sup>8</sup>

This was too much of an alerting development for Gustav II Adolph of Sweden. He was a staunch Lutheran monarch and had reasons of his own to fear that if the spread of the Habsburg Emperor's power wasn't immediately stopped in Germany, it would prove a lot more challenging to fight a possible war on the Swedish territory, with a Catholic flotilla in the Baltic paving the way. Therefore, Gustav Adolph hastily concluded a truce with the Poles in 1629 after three years of fighting and undertook a pre-emptive assault against the Emperor under covert French encouragement,<sup>9</sup> landing on northern Germany in 1630. His military preparations were concomitant to his search for allies and he had diplomatic agents all over Europe, although he had no ally of high political consequence at all at the time of the landing.<sup>10</sup> Under such circumstances, even the political entities in the east (and perchance outside) of Europe, that is, the Russian Tsardom, Transylvanian Principality, the Tatar Khanate, Zaporozhian Cossacks and the Ottoman Empire, had to fall within the ambit of his diplomatic reach.

Just as the Danish Kingdom had been willing to enlist Transylvanian Prince Gabor Bethlen's support against Emperor Ferdinand II from behind the Habsburg frontier five years before the Swedish King, the latter pursued the same policy with regard to the Principality in 1630, now under new Prince George Rákóczi's (r. 1630-1648) sovereignty. For this purpose, the choice most naturally fell on Paul Strassburg, who had spent a good deal of time in the principality, serving the Protestant interests both on battlefield and at the court intermittently between 1625 and 1629. His personal relationship with some of the Transylvanian statesmen and the widow of the late prince Gabor Bethlen, Catherine of Brandenburg (who was also the Swedish King's sister-in-law and had been in a bitter struggle against new Prince Rákóczi over the issue of her dowry lands)<sup>11</sup> must have also played a primary role in his commissioning as an *internuntius* to Transylvania and the Ottoman Empire. In this respect, former Princess Catherine of Brandenburg's case would be a cover while the real intention would be to entice Rákóczi to take up arms against Emperor Ferdinand II.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Nils Ahnlund, *Gustavus Adolphus the Great*, New York: History Book Club 1999, p. 249.

<sup>9</sup> E. Ladewig Petersen, "Oversigter. Nyt om Trediveårskrigen: 1. Sveriges krigsdeltagelse", *Historisk Tidsskrift* (Dansk) 99:1, Copenhagen 1999. The Swedish demands in the peace congresses at the end of the war point out to the perceived threat (p. 105): these were the revocation of the 1629 Restitution Edict, the reduction of the Imperial power in northern Germany, and secure footholds for Sweden in Germany.

<sup>10</sup> Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Sweden in the Seventeenth Century*, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan 2004, p. 50.

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix I for the table of marriage affiliations.

<sup>12</sup> Johann Adzreiter, *Annalium Boicae Gentis, Partis III*, München: Johann Wilhelm Schell 1662,

The written instructions Strassburg received from King Gustav Adolph on 29 April 1631 illuminate the scope of his mission in detail: In Transylvania, he would firstly try to see if the rumours about Catherine's conversion to Catholicism were well-founded.<sup>13</sup> And then, he would demand at Rákóczi's court the restitution of Catherine's dowry property to the princess.<sup>14</sup> With a considerable tact, on the other hand, he was supposed not to offend the Transylvanian prince and the estates on Catherine's account, and would set out to Constantinople in good grace. In that respect, he was to scrutinize how much of an inclination Rákóczi had towards the common Protestant cause, and if he had enough authority or willingness to wage war against the Habsburg Emperor.<sup>15</sup> In the king's letter to Sultan Murad, the sole issue is King Gustav's wish to confide Catherine's case to the Sultan.<sup>16</sup> Yet, from Strassburg's own *relatio*, we can deduce that (leaving the official dimension of the mission at the Porte aside) he would attempt to provoke the Turks against the Emperor on the one hand, or at least to receive permission from the Porte for Rákóczi to attack the Habsburg Emperor on the other.

While Strassburg was on his way from Sweden to Germany to meet the king on campaign, Gustav Adolph was already breeding hopes, with or without the designated mission for Strassburg, that the Habsburgs would be diverted from the central European theatre by an assault from the Ottomans: the latter were reported to have scored great victories in Asia, and Gustav thought that they would open hostilities against the Habsburgs sooner or later at their own will.<sup>17</sup> However, even though the tidings reaching him (probably those regard-

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p. 286. "... *misit ad Ragozium Transsylvanum, ea specie, quasi legateretur ad componendas sororis Gabrielis Bethlemi viduæ, cum Ragozio, controversias, re autem vera, ut, si qua posset, Transylvanum ad capienda adversus Cæsarem arma, Gustavi verbis concitaret: atque exinde proficisceretur Constantinopolim, simile quid tentaturus apud Turcam, exploraturus saltem, quid de Suecico bello, rebusque a Gustavo gestis Turca sentiret.*"

<sup>13</sup> *Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Okirattar Strassburg Pal 1631- 1633 – İki Követsege Es I. Rákóczi György Elso Diplomaciai Össezeköttetesei Törtenetehez*, (ed.) Sandor Szilagyi, Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia 1882. Hereafter MHH. Doc #IV (Gustav Adolph's *libellus memorialis* to Strassburg), p. 17.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22: "Article XIII. *Deinde cavebit, ne propter abdicationem Seræ principis expostulando, modernum principem statusque et ordines Transylvaniae offendant, sed in actionibus et sermone ita se moderetur ut potiorum communis loci rationem semper habeat, et cum favore dimissus Constantinopolim versus destinatum iter rectius perficiat.*" P. 21: "Article XI. [*Strassburg*] *scrutari et penetrare possit, quomodo Ragozius princeps erga causam communem affectus sit, ... utrum ad arma contra caesarem spontaneo ardore er impetu feratur vel iisdem ex necessitate invitus saltem explicetur? Num apud Transylvanos ea auctoritate sit, ut arbitrium belli et pacis habeat?*"

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Doc #V: Frankfurt 1631, Apr. 29, p. 24.

<sup>17</sup> *Rikskansleren Axel Oxenstiernas Skrifter och Brefvexling. Senare Afdelningen, Första Bandet (K. Gustaf II Adolfs Bref och Instruktioner)*. Utgifna af Kongl. Vitterhets- Historie och Antiquitets Akademien, Stockholm 1888. [RAOSB II:1] Document # 476 (From the King to the Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna) "Ribnitz den [8] Oktober 1630": "... så är doch gemeent, att store imperia, som hvar andre angrentza, ick gerna pläge hvar andre länge låta omolestet, och kan therföre lätteligen hända, att thett Romerske riket, i medler tijdh att vij thette krich någet kunne oppeholla, medh

ing the early victories of Grand Vizier Hüsrev Paşa's successful campaign to Iran in 1629 – early 1630) were true, the fortune of the Ottoman army was reversed after the siege of Baghdad in August 1630. Neither the Ottoman army, nor the troops promised by the Crimean Khan could be positioned in Europe in 1631: the Grand Vizier Hüsrev Paşa had retreated to South-eastern Anatolia; but he was determined to continue the siege next year and summoned Tatar troops to his aid. The Crimean Khan promised 20 000 Tatar soldiers, though he sent only 4 000 to Asia Minor in 1631. Nevertheless, the course of the operations had thus shifted eastwards, leaving both Gustav's hopes and diplomatic effort fruitless in the Khanate.<sup>18</sup>

Strassburg, reaching Northern Germany in August 1630, spent around eight months in Elbing due to an illness, where the Swedish Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna was arranging the affairs.<sup>19</sup> He was given his first instructions and the letters destined for officials in the Ottoman Empire and the Transylvanian Principality, all prepared by the Chancellor, who then sent him to Frankfurt on the Oder in March 1631, so that he could recommend himself to King Gustav in person.<sup>20</sup> On 29 April, he had received the above-mentioned instructions from the king along with a letter of safe conduct, and was sent back to the Chancellor for the last time before the voyage in order to be supplied with "consumption money" for the mission.<sup>21</sup> On the road, he fell sick once more, and this is the inception point of his *relatio*.<sup>22</sup>

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thett Turkiske imperio i kriggh råka motte, efter som alle aviser confirmera, att, endoch Turken i Asien hafver stoor lycka och framgång, så är han likvel på then sidjan mehra till fridh inclinerad; och således troende, så framt han ther finge någon rooligheet, thett han tâ, efter som han intet länge pläger vara stilla, Romerske riket medh krigh antasta motte, hvilket alltsammans en stoor förändring kunde förorsaka och oss till så myckin snarare och tilldrägeligere accord förmodeligen förhjelpa" (p. 656). This collection will be referred to as RAOSB hereafter.

<sup>18</sup> Halil İnalçık, *Devlet- i 'Aliyye: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Üzerine Araştırmalar- II. Tagayyür ve Fesad (1603 - 1656)*, İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları 2014, p. 203; A. A. Novoselyskiy, *XVII. Yüzyılın Birinci Yarısında Moskova Devleti'nin Tatarlarla Mücadelesi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu 2011, p. 187.

<sup>19</sup> Mörner, 337.

<sup>20</sup> RAOSB, *Förä Afdelningen, Sjätte Bandet (Bref 1631)*. Utgifna af Kongl. Vitterhets- Historie och Antiquitets Akademien, Stockholm [RAOSB I:7]. Document # 62 (From Oxenstierna to King Gustav Adolph) "Elbing d. 9 Mars 1631": "Hafver och till samme ende författat någre breeff i E.K. M:ts namn till Turkiske keysaren, veziren, sendebuden i Constantinopel, till Ragozi och gouverneur'n i Siebenburgen," p. 165.

<sup>21</sup> RAOSB, II: 1, Doc. # 24. (From the King to Oxenstierna): "Frankfurt an der Oder den 29 April 1631": "Gustaf Adolph etc. Vår etc. Alldenstund her Cantzlar vij haffve gifvidt Strassburg i commission till att begifva sigh våre värf till Siebenbürgen och Constantinopel, så begäre vij nådigest, att I så vele fournera honom tärepenningar som och försörja honom med visse vexler till sitt entretenement, så lenge han der bliffver. Eder etc.," p. 719. It is noted elsewhere that he was yearly paid 4000 Reichsthalers, and would have to borrow 2000 from Cornelis Haga during his first stay in Constantinople.

<sup>22</sup> "Relatio de Byzantino Itinere ac negotiis in Ottomanica Aula peractis, nec non de statu ac facie Orientalis Imperii, qualis erat circa Ann. MDCXXXIII," in Friedrich Sylburg, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum mss. olim in Bibliotheca Palatina, nunc Vaticana asservatorum*, Frankfurt 1702, 185-226. Also see Sandor Szilagyi, *Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Okirattar Strassburg Pal 1631-*



In Elbing, he was instructed for the last time by Chancellor Oxenstierna and joined by his retinue: a group of 25 companions<sup>23</sup> started the journey with him from Prussia in November 1631, though they were not carrying any gifts for the Ottoman administrators on the pretext of long distance and insecure roads. In any case, the voyage planned in early 1631 was postponed for almost half a year, and the chancellor was assuring the French embassy in Constantinople that the mission would arrive despite the delay without any loss of validity.<sup>24</sup> There was indeed a long way between Elbing and Constantinople, and Strassburg's voyage would last around four months before reaching the destination. Hence began one of the earliest official diplomatic missions sent by the Kingdom of Sweden to the Ottoman Empire.

### III. The Journey through Ottoman Vassal States

The first foreign soil lying before Strassburg was the territory of the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth, with which the Swedish Kingdom had ended hostilities only two years earlier, following the conclusion of the Truce of Altmärk (25 September 1629). However, the animosity between the two kingdoms was still ablaze, since not only the moribund Polish King, Sigismund Vasa (from the same dynastic family with the Swedish King),<sup>25</sup> had not renounced his claims on the Swedish throne, but also the predominantly Catholic Polish Kingdom was duly in opposition to the Lutheran Swedes in political arena on account of the Commonwealth's affiliation to fellow Catholic Emperor Ferdinand II. Moreover, the Commonwealth's ruler Sigismund III was on his deathbed and it was known that Gustav Adolph had earlier toyed with the idea to make his bid for getting himself elected as the next king of the Commonwealth. This being the case, it was quite natural for the Swedish mission to enter the Polish territory with certain apprehensions. Things didn't get any

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1633, p. 83-126. Szilagyi provides the transcription of a more detailed version of Paul Strassburg's final report (MS being in the Stockholm Archives) related to his diplomatic mission to the Ottoman Empire between 1631-1633 between pages 83 and 126. For a full translation of Paul Strassburg's final report, see M. Halef Cevrioğlu, "Ottoman Policy Toward Central Europe During the Thirty Years' War: Paul Strassburg's Embassy to Constantinople," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, History Department, Boğaziçi University, 2015). I should express my gratitude to Associate Professor Noémi Levy-Aksu for her unceasing support and encouragement in the translation of the Latin text into English.

<sup>23</sup> MHH, Doc # XXXVII (Strassburg's memorial to Axel Oxenstierna, 1635): "... *auch dess Polnischen Commissary halben, welcher mit funf dienern vndt soviel Pferden daselbst adjungirt worden 31 Personen vndt ross vnterhalten müssen,*" pp. 127, 128.

<sup>24</sup> RAOSB, I. 7. Doc # 217. (From Oxenstierna to Marcheville), 10 Nov 1631: "... *ut post tot menses elapsos nunc demum adpellat, causas indico fuisse morbum, in quem indicit, post impetratam a Sac:a Regia M:te dimissionem, deinde insecutas alias remoras, utpote itineris, qua transeundum fuit, insecuritatem ac similia. Id ergo hisce literis nunc ago, ut... velit sibi certo persuadere, nihil hac mora detractum auctoritati regiarum literarum vel comissioni d:ni Strassburgii...*" p. 516.

<sup>25</sup> See Appendix II.



better when the first town they entered was raided by some irregular troops (the so-called Lisowscians), whom Strassburg considered to be sent there on purpose in order to scare off the mission. Luckily, they made it to Warsaw without any accident, where they received the assurances for safe passage to Royal Hungary, and were now accompanied by a certain Polish court official Nastacki as far as the Polish-Hungarian frontier, who did his best to get a clue about the destination of the mission from Strassburg and his suit: Although Strassburg was most reticent about revealing their plans, Nastacki already made a well aimed prediction that they were headed to Constantinople to seek support.<sup>26</sup>

Passing the frontier in safety around the New Year's turn (1632 Jan.), the mission stepped on the Royal (Upper) Hungarian territory and they were now surrounded by the Habsburg enemy. In his report, Strassburg doesn't try to conceal that he was worried: the Hungarian stooges of the Emperor could show up any second and the Swedish victory against the Imperial (Austrian) forces at Breitenfeld in the previous September couldn't be expected to make anything easier for him.<sup>27</sup> His first station in Hungary was the Munkacs City, where he spent a dozen of days corresponding with Catherine of Brandenburg, who was in Tokaj, another major town in Upper Hungary. At this point, we must make a flashback to the developments in Upper Hungary and Transylvania following Gabor Bethlen's death in order to better highlight the situation Strassburg was facing.

Princess Catherine had been made the Prince(ss) of Transylvania after her husband's death in November 1629, but the debates around her succession were quite hot. The late prince Gabor Bethlen's brother, Istvan Bethlen, was appointed as "governor" and he collaborated with the Transylvanian diet and the royal council to curb Catherine's princely power.<sup>28</sup> Her gender and nationality (she was a German princess, after all) evoked concern among the Transylvanians, and her sympathy toward the Catholics (who were among her close confidants) terribly played against her. In July 1630, a firman from Sultan Murad IV to Istvan Bethlen (*Erdel Gubernatoru*) ordered him to decrease the tension in the principality, keep it safe against the Habsburgs, and asked him to keep the Porte informed about the developments.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> "Relatio de Byzantino Itinere ac negotiis...", pp. 186-191.

<sup>27</sup> The Battle of Breitenfeld, 17 September 1631: The Swedish army defeated the forces of the Catholic bloc at a large scale pitched battle and started to move inside German territory. From then on, Sweden was not just an enemy, but "the" enemy for Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand II.

<sup>28</sup> Eva Deak, "Princeps non Principissa" Catherine of Brandenburg, Elected Prince of Transylvania (1629 - 1630)", (ed.) Anne J. Cruz, Mihoko Suzuki, *The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009, pp. 86, 87.

<sup>29</sup> Tahsin Gemil, *Relatile Tarilor Romane cu Poarta Otomana in Documente Turcești: 1601-1712*, Bucharest: Directory General of the National Archives of the Romanian Socialist Republic 1984, Doc # 92 "1039 Evasit- i Zi'l- hicce".

It was not only in Transylvania that she was undergoing hard times: An active lobbying at Catherine's expense was carried out in Constantinople by her enemies. Therefore, Princess Catherine was doing all she could to persuade the Deputy Grand Vizier (*Kaymakam*) Topal Recep Paşa that the accusations that she was slowly leaving the Sultan's orbit and drifting elsewhere (i.e. towards the Emperor) were not founded and that the Porte should preserve its faith in her.<sup>30</sup> The Porte's attitude towards her, in any case, was not absolutely supportive. The *kaymakam*'s letters to Catherine in August were admonishing her to follow Dutch Ambassador Cornelis Haga's (*babalıđı*) advice in these affairs and she was confided to George Rákóczi. She was, nevertheless, promised by the *kaymakam* that she would be given back the cities Munkacs, Fogaras, Tokaj and adjacent villages which she had inherited from her late husband;<sup>31</sup> but this was a quite complicated issue.

The cities Munkacs and Tokaj were situated in the territory of the Seven Counties in Upper Hungary, and they were supposed to be delivered to Emperor Ferdinand II after Bethlen's death. The governor Istvan Bethlen's son (Istvan Bethlen, jr.) and son-in-law (David Zolyomi) were among the group which was irritated by the issue of the transfer of the Seven Counties and believed that they had to act. During summer 1630, they expressed their wish to see George Rákóczi, erstwhile general of the former prince and a popular figure, as their new prince. They even encouraged him to gather the support of the *Hajdús*,<sup>32</sup> who were the only remaining force which could be mobilized for a movement.<sup>33</sup> After Rákóczi was persuaded by the governor Istvan Bethlen with a letter, he didn't lose time for action.<sup>34</sup>

In September, Rákóczi's consolidation of power had made good progress, which was observed with apprehension by the Habsburg Governor General of Royal Hungary (Palatine Miklós Esterházy), who had found a good neighbour in the meek person of the Princess. His complaints that Istvan Bethlen, Jr. and

<sup>30</sup> Georgius Pray, *Gabrielis Bethlenii Principatus Transsilvaniae Coaevis Documentis Illustratu*, Pest: J.T. Trattner, 1816, Doc# LXVII. "Ad Vizirium Kaimakamum, 12 Aug 1630, Alba Juliae".

<sup>31</sup> Lajos Fekete, *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterházy 1606-1645*, Im Auftrage des Fürsten Paul Esterházy, Budapest: Königliche Universitätsdruckerei, 1932. Doc # 17; #18 "Autumn 1630". In Doc #17, Recep Paşa also suggests that the Sultan was quite happy about the well boding actions of her brother-in-law the Swedish King (*enişteniz İsveç Kralı'nın yararlıđı*) and that the Porte would welcome a Swedish ambassador if it would be requested. In Doc #18: *Kaymakam* suggests her to take lodging in Fogaras, where she was already forced to be interned by the opposition in Transylvania. Moreover, the admonition to her that she should get on well with Rákóczi (*Rakoçi ile iyi geçinmeniz layık- ı devlet ve levazım- ı maslahattır*) shows that she was no longer receiving the Sultan's favour.

<sup>32</sup> *Hajdús* were a social group in Royal Hungary who had gained a privileged status during Gábor Bethlen's rule. Now that the seven counties were transferred back from Transylvania to Royal Hungary, they stood the possibility of losing their status.

<sup>33</sup> Bela Köpeczi, *Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, Budapest: Akademiai kiado, 1989, p. 327.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

David Zolyomi were acting against their will (*hilaf-ı murzımız davranıştıdır*) were received by the *kaymakam*, who assured him that these acts wouldn't be tolerated.<sup>35</sup> However, there was no concrete Ottoman intervention and Rákóczi refused to obey Miklos Esterhazy's calls for cessation of his movement.<sup>36</sup> As Rákóczi was growing stronger, the Transylvanian Diet was gathered in Cluj in late September 1631, and a representative from the assembly came to visit Princess Catherine in order to persuade her to abdicate at her own will.<sup>37</sup> She was left without popular support and abdicated on 28 September. Interestingly, it was Istvan Bethlen (the elder) who was elected the new prince by the Diet, thanks to his well-established connections with the Ottomans.<sup>38</sup>

The father Bethlen was thus standing in a quite awkward position: his son and son-in-law had sworn loyalty to Rákóczi, yet he had elicited the support of the opposition to Rákóczi. He was not, however, insistent on keeping the power for himself and reached an agreement with Rákóczi at the end of October: the Diet would make another election between the two in the coming weeks.<sup>39</sup> The Ottoman stance was quite impartial: Two letters of confirmation (*ferman*) were sent from Constantinople, one in Rákóczi's and the other in Bethlen's (the elder) name,<sup>40</sup> which suggests that the victor of the election would be immediately invested with the princely authority. The final choice fell on Catherine though, and she supported Rákóczi due to her grudge against her brother-in-law Istvan Bethlen (the elder), and the Diet followed their former princess' decision on the first day of December; the news that he was from now on the elected Prince of Transylvania reached Rákóczi in Varad two days later.<sup>41</sup> The Ottoman frontier forces observed the election carefully, and Vizier Hasan Paşa's (of Buda) men had delivered the confirmation letters to Transylvania; accordingly, the paşa was congratulated by the Sultan for his role in the process.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Fekete (1932), Doc # 16. Kaymakam Recep Paşa to Esterhazy (August 1630).

<sup>36</sup> István Bársony, "Les types d'intrônisation en Transylvanie", Klára Papp, János Barta co-editors: Attila Bárány, Attila Györkös, *The First Millenium of Hungary in Europe*, Debrecen: Dup, 2002, pp. 159- 169. 166.

<sup>37</sup> MHH, Doc # I. Catherine's letter to her brother Elector of Brandenburg (Fogaras, 29 November 1630): "... es ist wahr, das, das landt mit E. Dlt. niht allerdings zufrieden ist, nicht allein als wan E. Dlt. ihnen zu wieder gethan hete, sondern es weil sie nuhr ein Weibs perschon ist, und dieses Landt stehdts mit schwären krigen beladen ist, kan E. Dlt. solches niht regieren, sondern man mues in diesem lande, einen mänlichen fürsten haben ..."

<sup>38</sup> Barsony, 164.

<sup>39</sup> Köpeczi, 327, 328.

<sup>40</sup> Barsony, 166.

<sup>41</sup> Köpeczi, 328; Barsony, 166.

<sup>42</sup> 85 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2002. Decree #247: ( 22 Cemaziyelahir 1040/ 26 Jan 1631): "Südde-i Sa'âdet-medârum'a mektûb gönderüp mazmûnında; "Sâdır olan fermân-ı celîlü'l-unnân ve emr-i kadr-tüvânüm üzre Erdel Hâkimi ve Macar Kralı olan iftîhârü'l-ümerâ'i'l-izâmi'l-İsevîyye Rakorci Görgi hutimet avâkibuhû bi'l-hayr zikrolunan Erdel hükûmeti ile Macar Krallığı'nda karâr itdirmesinde vücûda gelen ârâ-i

The major problem during the time of Rákóczi's election was, as pointed above, the issue of the transfer of the seven counties, which had been given to Bethlen for life time. The Palatine Esterhazy, expecting a Turkish trick for the preservation of the counties, was cunning enough to act in person for the reunification of the territories with Royal Hungary and went to Kosice; a suspicious move which mobilized Ottoman frontier troops.<sup>43</sup> Two months after Rákóczi's election, Hasan Paşa of Buda sent a letter to the Palatine, and threatened him that the Porte had resolved for war against Hungary.<sup>44</sup> Even though there was no major war, it seems that some clashes between the Hungarian Palatine and Prince Rákóczi had taken place around Tokay<sup>45</sup>, in which Ottoman auxiliaries supported the Transylvanian Prince.<sup>46</sup>

The tension between the prince and the palatine seemed so high that the French King was predicting that the open hostilities between the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empires would break.<sup>47</sup> But in fact, Emperor Ferdinand II already had enough of troubles with the Swedes and the best option he could choose regarding Rákóczi was to recognize him as the Prince of Transylvania with the Treaty of Kosice on 3 April 1631. Rákóczi promised that he would no longer support the *Hajdús*, and bid an end to their progress in Hungary.<sup>48</sup>

Two months after the peace was signed, Catherine was writing that she had adopted Rákóczi's middle son as the inheritor of Munkacs *at her own will*.<sup>49</sup> Nonetheless, we can presume that she might have been exerted a certain amount of pressure from Emperor Ferdinand II, who would later concede her rights over her inherited domains to Rákóczi within the framework of a future peace treaty.<sup>50</sup> It seems that Fogaras, too, was claimed by Rákóczi, and the demand for recognition of these cities for Catherine was the main subject of the conflict between the Prince and Catherine, as well as that of the correspondence between her and Strassburg (who had entered Hungary around January, as noted above) in early 1632.<sup>51</sup>

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*sâkibe vü tedâbîr-i sâyibeni ve serhadd-i mansûremün cümle askeri mevcûd u hâzîr olmağla her birinün zuhûr iden hîdemât-ı mebrûresin" tafsîl üzre yazup i'lâm eylemişsin. Ber-hô[r]dâr olasın. Senün ve senünle serhadd-i mansûremde hîdmetde ve yoldaşlıkda bulunan cümle kullarumun yúzleri ak olup ni'am-ı celiyyem cümleñüze halâl olsun..."* p. 152, 153.

<sup>43</sup> Fekete, p. XLVIII.

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>45</sup> Istvan Katona, *Epitome Chronologica Rerum Hungaricarum, Transsilvanicarum et Illyricarum Concinnata, Pars III*, Buda: Typis Regiae Universitatis, 1798, p. 271

<sup>46</sup> Fekete, Doc # 22. From Hasan Paşa of Buda to Esterhazy (25 Marz – 2 April 1631).

<sup>47</sup> I. Hudita, *Histoire de Relations Diplomatiques entre La France et la Transylvanie au XVIIeme siecle (1635 - 1683)*, Paris: Gamber, 1927, p. 28.

<sup>48</sup> Köpeczi, 328.

<sup>49</sup> MHH, Doc # X. Fejervar [Alba Julia], 1631, jun. 28, p. 30.

<sup>50</sup> Johan Arckenholtz. *Memoires concernant Christine Reine de Suede. Tome III*, Amsterdam & Leipzig: Pierre Mortier 1759, p. 105.

<sup>51</sup> MHH, Doc # XIX (Catherine's instructions to Strassburg on the issues to focus at the Porte, 29 March 1632). In her own words, p. 45: "*Primo. ... ut potentissimus imperator Turcarum illum*

After Munkacs, Strassburg went over Hust (where he was received by Istvan Bethlen, the elder) to the Transylvanian capital Alba Julia, where he reached around 10 February 1632, and an audience with Prince Rákóczi was arranged. However, neither on Catherine's situation nor about the conditions for the alliance between the Swedish Kingdom and the Transylvanian Principality could they reach an accord.<sup>52</sup> He spent the month in Alba Julia,<sup>53</sup> negotiating over Rákóczi's conditions and, in the meantime, his correspondence with the Dutch Ambassador at the Ottoman capital (Cornelis Haga) yielded a positive result that *kaymakam* Recep Paşa had allowed Strassburg to make his official visit even though he was to come without gifts from the Swedish King.<sup>54</sup> Since the Sultan was usually paying the subsistence costs of any foreign embassy in the Ottoman Empire, he deemed it justified to demand gifts from the embassies in return.<sup>55</sup> In this respect, Strassburg could have undergone hard times for not bringing a gift to the Porte. However, the good offices of Cornelis Haga and the (pro-Protestant) Orthodox Patriarch of Cyril Loukaris compensated for this fault and Strassburg faced no diplomatic crisis with regard to the absence of royal gifts. Even though Haga and Loukaris must have played an important role in persuading Recep Paşa, who was favouring the Swedish cause, Strassburg also points out that the propelling factor in the sympathy towards himself was "the reputation of the Swedish armies thanks to their numerous wonderful successes."<sup>56</sup>

The next stop for Strassburg after Transylvania was another Ottoman vassal land, Wallachia, which was under Voyvode Leon Tomşa's rule. After admiring the fertile and picturesque Wallachian lands, Strassburg entered the Ottoman *vilayet* Özi, from where he continued to the Ottoman capital.<sup>57</sup> He reached the outer suburbs of the city on 6 April, and his day of entrance was appointed to 8 April. But as he was on his way, not only the diplomatic corps in the city was getting excited but also the Ottoman administration was violently shaken due to a ruthless power struggle at the top of the ruling cadres.

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*Transylvaniae principem hortetur, quo dotalia bona nostra Fogarasch et Munkatz, cum arcibus, oppidis, et pagis, nec non superioritatibus, jurisdictione, aliisque ad dicta bona pertinentibus, nobis plenarie restituat, et cedat.*"

<sup>52</sup> Onno Klopp, *Der Dreissigjährige Krieg bis zum Tode Gustav Adolfs 1632, Band III, Teil 2*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1896, p. 678.

<sup>53</sup> "Relatio de Byzantino Itinere ac negotiis...", p. 199.

<sup>54</sup> Klopp, 679. Also, Strassburg's aforementioned letter, Doc # XXXVII (Strassburg's memorial to Axel Oxentierna, 1635), in MHH, 127.

<sup>55</sup> Bertold Spuler, "Die Europäische Diplomatie in Konstantinopel bis zum Frieden von Belgrad (1739) 2.Teil", in *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, Neue Folge, Bd. 11, H. 2, 1935, pp. 171-222. 192, 193.

<sup>56</sup> Strassburg's same letter, dated 1635 in MHH, Doc # XXXVII, p. 127.

<sup>57</sup> "Relatio de Byzantino Itinere ac negotiis...", pp. 200-204.

#### IV. Constantinople: The City Strassburg Visited

To start with the diplomatic circles, the news of the rapid military progress of the Swedish King in Germany in 1631 was related to Constantinople thanks not only to the efforts of Haga<sup>58</sup> and Patriarch Cyril Loukaris: The Transylvanian representatives in the city were also promoting an active campaign in favour of the Swedes, often mixed with exaggerated facts uttered at the Porte, which were counter-balanced by the efforts of Imperial (Austrian) resident Rudolf Schmid, who “rushed from one Turkish authority to the other”, who assured him that nothing which would put the peace between the two empires at risk would be tolerated.<sup>59</sup> In March 1632, Schmid was writing back home that the tidings related to the Swedish victories were heard everywhere in the city, and since the French, Venetian, Dutch and Transylvanian representatives supported such an enterprise, the Swedish offers of friendship would be definitely accepted by the Turks, should a Swedish envoy reach the city.<sup>60</sup> And indeed, as the French ambassador wrote home, the news had reached the Ottoman capital that the Swedish *internuntius* Strassburg was to arrive soon.<sup>61</sup>

To the further detriment of the Imperial (Austrian) ambassador, the men of influence at the Ottoman Porte were under the influence of the protestant party at the time of Strassburg's arrival. Recep Paşa, the erstwhile *kaymakam* until February and the new Grand Vizier after then, was already known to be on bad terms with Emperor Ferdinand II.<sup>62</sup> The Grand Admiral of the Ottoman Navy Canpolatzade Mustafa Paşa had a similar attitude: He was even spotted once having a conversation with Cornelius Haga, who was suggesting him, over a Mediterranean map, to launch a campaign on Naples, the territory of the Spanish Habsburgs. At about the same time, Haga didn't stand short of enticing Recep Paşa for a campaign in Hungary, either.<sup>63</sup> These and the fact that his communication with home was restricted (his couriers weren't returning) resulted in such a harsh motivational break-down that Schmid asked

<sup>58</sup> Haga's Letter to the Staten Generaal, 20 December 1631: The letter testifies the sympathy in Istanbul among the Ottoman administrators towards the Swedish King: “... *De Conincklijcke Mat van Sweeden heeft hyer een groote renomee bij alle dese ministers becomen, die oock wel soude wenschen met deselve vruntschap te maecken.*” Among the “Brieven van Cornelis Haga aan de Staten Generaal,” in *Kronijk van het Historisch Genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht*, Serie 5, Deel 2, Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon 1867, p. 377. Henceforth, KHG.

<sup>59</sup> Klopp, 679, 680.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 681.

<sup>61</sup> *Ambassades à Constantinople de François de Noailles, Savary de Lancosmc, Savary de Brèves, Harlay de Césy et M. de Marcheville. (1572-1632)*. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Français 7161 [accessed on “gallica.fr”]. (De Constantinople, le 14e Mars 1632): “*On attend un Ambassadeur du Roy de Suede qui vienne a la porte ou il doit arriver dans quatre jours,*” f. 219v. This document will be named hereafter only AC.

<sup>62</sup> Meienberger, 195.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.

to be called back from his post in March 1632, which was not accepted.<sup>64</sup>

Yet it was the inner political turbulences that were hitting the capital hard at the roots: After his siege of Baghdad had failed during the 1630-31 campaign, Grand Vizier Hüsrev Paşa was removed from office and Hafız Ahmed Paşa, Queen Mother Kösem's champion and son-in-law, was invested with the royal seal. However, since *Kaymakam* Recep Paşa had not only had his eyes on the Grand Vizierate but also a covert personal grudge against Hafız Ahmed Paşa, he got into contact with the former Grand Vizier Hüsrev Paşa to seduce the central army (*kul taifesi*), which threw the city into abject confusion.<sup>65</sup>

An analytical look inside the political alignment of the political factions at the time might be useful at this point: Both former Grand Vizier Hüsrev Paşa and *Kaymakam* (Topal) Recep Paşa were of Bosnian origin and had risen to higher bureaucracy from the palace service.<sup>66</sup> The ringleaders of the *kul taifesi* supporting them "were all Bosniacs and Albanians" as well.<sup>67</sup> Thinking in terms of Metin Kunt's *ethnic solidarity*, we might be led to think that certain members of the "westerner" *cins* in the Ottoman royal service were forming a coalition against the favourites of the palace.<sup>68</sup>

On the opposing front, the court's faction was represented by the loyal supporters of the Sultan, who were mostly connected to the dynasty through ties of marriage or immediacy: Grand Vizier Hafız Ahmed Paşa was Queen mother Kösem's son-in-law. Grand Admiral Canpoladzade Mustafa Paşa had once been a *musahib* (favourite) of the Sultan, and was married to one of his sisters.<sup>69</sup> The present commander of the janissary corps, Hasan Halife had previously been a mentor of the palace and formerly Sultan Murad IV's *musahib*, whereas Musa Çelebi was the present *musahib*.<sup>70</sup> We can also assume that the other viziers who were married to Sultan Murad IV's two other sis-

<sup>64</sup> Klopp, 681.

<sup>65</sup> Solakzade Mehmed Hemdemi Efendi, *Solakzade Tarihi*, İstanbul: Mahmudbeğ Matba'ası 1297[1880], p. 750: "Çun Hafız Ahmed Paşa vezir- i a'zam olub Recep Paşa kaim- i makam idi, Hafız Ahmed Paşa bi hasbi's- sadr Recep Paşa üzerine evvel bahara dek tasadduru lazim gelecek ba- husus beynlerinde burudet- i hafiyesi dahi olmağın, bu ahval Recep Paşa'ya gayet giran gelüb, hazm idemeyüb, el altından Hüsrev Paşa'ya haber irsal idüb, ikaz- i fitne için mükatebe ile yek- dil ve tarafından kul taifesi tahrik ve Köse Kethüda nam zorba-başı Asitane'ye gelüb, yetişüb muhtefi Recep Paşa'ya buluşub, eşkiya ile yek-dil ve İstanbul'da 'azim cem'iyetler idüb..."

<sup>66</sup> Nev'izade Atai, *Şakaik- i Nu'maniye ve Zeyilleri: Hadaiku'l- Hakaik Fi Tekmileti'ş- Şakaik*, (ed.) Abdülkadir Özcan, İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989, pp. 768, 769.

<sup>67</sup> Zeynep Aycibin, "Kâtib Çelebi, Fezleke. Tahlil ve Metin," (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, Ortaçağ Tarihi Anabilim Dalı, İstanbul 2007), p. 824.

<sup>68</sup> Metin İbrahim Kunt, "Ethnic- Regional (*Cins*) Solidarity in the Seventeenth- Century Ottoman Establishment", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 5, 1974, pp. 233 – 239. 238.

<sup>69</sup> Abdullah Sağırılı, *Mehmed bin Mehmed Er- Rumi (Edirneli)'nin Nuhbetü't- Tevarih ve'l Ahbar'ı ve Tarih- i Al- i Osman'ı (Metinleri, Tahlilleri)*, (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Tarih Anabilim Dalı, İstanbul 2010), p. 96 in *Tarih- i Al- i Osmanı*.

<sup>70</sup> İnalçık, *Devlet- i 'Aliyye*, p. 200.



ters were also his favourites: Bayram Paşa, Kenan Paşa, and later on Murtaza Paşa.<sup>71</sup>

The Venetian *bailo* (resident ambassador) at the Porte (Giovanni Cappello) suggests that, around the time after Hüsrev Paşa retreated from the failing siege of Baghdad; Hafız Ahmed Paşa, the Grand Treasurer (Mehmed Paşa), two other viziers and musahib Hasan Halife were apprehensive of Hüsrev Paşa's pride and popularity in the army.<sup>72</sup> They had tried to convince the Sultan to destroy Hüsrev's fortune; and the latter's removal from office and his replacement by Hafız Ahmed Paşa must be regarded as the proof of their success. In short, Sultan's servants had turned against each other due to calculations of self-interest by February 1632.

As the former French resident Césy was writing home five days after the events, the uprisings of the *kul taifesi* (palace slaves) reached a climax when, on 10 February, an agitated group of janissaries and *kapıkulusipahis* (palace cavalry) broke into the palace and demanded the heads of eight to ten people in the government; Grand Vizier Hafız Ahmed Paşa, the Grand Treasurer and the former Janissary Aga being the foremost. The Sultan had no option but to sacrifice Grand Vizier Hafız Ahmed Paşa in the end, and *kaymakam* Recep Paşa became the new Grand Vizier. Grand Mufti (*Şeyhül-İslam*) Zekeriyazade Yahya Efendi was also replaced<sup>73</sup> while the Janissary Aga and the Grand Treasurer were later decapitated by the mutineers after they were found hiding in the city.

This tragedy had been undergone for just more than a month when Strassburg entered the city on 8 April,<sup>74</sup> but it was still a pretty stressful *Ramazan* month for the inhabitants due to the recalcitrant soldiers of the central army. The soldiers were roaming over the streets to extort money from people on the spot, and the atmosphere was especially tense and insecure at nights. At the Porte, the anti-Habsburg Recep Paşa was now wielding the helm of the state, while the Sultan, who was freshly shaking off his Queen mother's (Kösem Sultan) well established authority at the time, was plotting vengeance in his mind. Nevertheless, Recep Paşa's faction was occupying the government posts, and things seemed to be in Strassburg's favour. His entrance into the city was not celebrated as pompously as it was accustomed

<sup>71</sup> Nicolo Barozzi and Guiglelmo Berchet, "Relazione di Constantinopoli del Bailo Giovanni Cappello (1634)", *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori e Baili Veneti a Costantinopoli, Vol. 1, Part II, Venice: Naratovich 1873*, pp. 5-67.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>73</sup> See "Copie de la lettre de Monsieur de Césy de Pera, le 15 Fevrier 1632", in AC, f. 209r, 210v, 210r. (See Appendix VII). Comte de Césy had been French resident between 1620 and 1631, but wasn't called back during Marcheville's scandalous term 1631 – 1634. Césy resumed the mission in 1634 until 1639.

<sup>74</sup> "Relatio de Byzantino Itinere ac negotiis....," p. 205.

(the cortege of *çavuşes* leading him was shorter than usual) due to the fresh traces of the *kul* rebellions and to the fact that he was not bringing any gifts. The representatives of the Dutch Republic (Cornelis Haga) and Transylvania (Mihály Tholdalagi) were accompanying him all the way from the beginning. We can presume that both representatives provided him with many facilities during the mission and there are concrete evidences that Haga was a most useful ally during the months Strassburg would spend in Constantinople.

He took lodgings at the Bogdan Saray<sup>75</sup> and the Dragoman of the Porte, Zülfikar Ağa,<sup>76</sup> came to greet him. He was bringing an initial payment for his expenses, which was sent by Grand Vizier Recep Paşa. This *'adet* payment of 4000 *akçes*<sup>77</sup> (which was the equivalent of 36 Spanish *thalers* as Strassburg claimed in his account) was repeated throughout his accommodation even though he made no mention if the payment continued.<sup>78</sup> Indeed, between April and June 1632, Strassburg received at least a hundred thousand *akçes* in several instalments as his alimentation costs during a period of slightly over three months.<sup>79</sup> Most of the grants were delivered by dragoman Zülfikar Ağa along with the Transylvanian representatives,<sup>80</sup> suggesting that the intermediacy of the Transylvanian representation at the Porte between the Swedes and the Ottomans was reflected by the Ottoman bureaucracy, too.

Strassburg seems to have enjoyed the accommodation and company offered him by the Ottomans.<sup>81</sup> Once in the city, the European resident ambassadors visited him during the following days and he was accepted by Recep Paşa precisely a week after his arrival<sup>82</sup>. Since he had reached the city during the

<sup>75</sup> See Appendix III for a map of the embassy buildings at the time in the city.

<sup>76</sup> See for an independent study on dragoman Zülfikar Ağa: Gábor Kármán, "Zülfikár aga portai főtölmács", *Aetas*, 2016, pp. 54-76.

<sup>77</sup> For a more detail analysis of the consumption costs in general, see Işıkkel, "La politique étrangère ottomane dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle. Le cas du règne de Selim II (1566-1574)," Ph. D. Thesis, EHESS 2012, p. 95.

<sup>78</sup> A fact in need of attention herein is that while Strassburg specifies this sum as 4000, the first payment made for his sake in the Ottoman treasury is recorded as 10000 *akçes*, see Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Kamil Kepeci Defterleri (KK.d) 1823, p. 75: "*Tahvil- i harçlık- ı elçi- i İşveçiyeye der vakt be-Asitane-i Sa'adet amed ve bera- yı harçlık- ı mezbur 'an hizane- i 'amire dade-fermude fi 19 [Ramazan] sene 1041, ba tezkire- i Salih Teşrifati: 10000.*" As this record registered on 9 April 1632 makes it clear, the payment is meant both for the arrival grant Strassburg talks about, and a further regular grant.

<sup>79</sup> BOA, KK.d 1823, pp. 69, 75, 83, 97, 109, 117, 141.

<sup>80</sup> See for example the payment registered on 2 May 1632 in KK.d 1823, p. 83: "*Baha- yı nafaka- yı mekulat ve meşrubat- ı elçi- i Erdel ve elçi- i İşveçiyeye 'an hizane- i 'amire fi'l- vaki' fi 12 [Şevva]L sene 1041 ber- mucab- i tezkire- i Salih Teşrifati: 20 000, Elçi- i Erdel 10 000, Elçi- i İşveçiyeye 10 000, Be-dest- i Zülfikar Ağa 'an hizane- i 'amire.*"

<sup>81</sup> Strassburg notes that the Moldovan Palace was well protected; and he also asked for a rise in the salary of the official accompanying him in the city: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), A.RSK 1502. [Image 8]. (16 Z 1041/ 4 July 1632): "*Dergah- ı Ali Çavuşlarından 9 akçeyi olan Osman \_\_\_ ve 17 akçeyi olan Mustafa Abdullah, İşveçiyeye Kralı'nın elçisi terakki rica eylemeğın, 3'er akçe terakki verile diyü buyruldu.*"

<sup>82</sup> Grand Vizier's palace, at the time, was also functioning as the de facto government center,

Ramadan, he celebrated the feast at the end of the month with the Ottoman statesmen and had his first experience with coffee in *Şeyhül- İslam* Ahizade Hüseyin Efendi's presence.<sup>83</sup> His second visit was to the Admiral of the Royal Fleet, Canpolatzade Mustafa Paşa, whose interest in astrology became a topic of conversation.

While Strassburg was supported by the Transylvanian and Dutch representatives at the Porte, the Imperial resident Rudolf Schmid was alerted by his intimacy with the Dutch, and was doing his best to prevent the same happening with the French ambassador, too.<sup>84</sup> He started misinforming French resident Marcheville that Strassburg was praising his King's fame over that of the French King to the Turks, which might help us explain Marcheville's reserved attitude towards the Swedish ambassador as we come across in his narration.<sup>85</sup> Schmid was also trying to bar the latter's way to audience with the Sultan. Schmid had spoken to the *Şeyhül- İslam* and to Recep Paşa in order to effect a refusal in this regard, but the answers were the same: "*The illustrious Porte stands open for everyone*".<sup>86</sup> Strassburg's audience with the Sultan was hence arranged for 2 May.

He was received by Sultan Murad IV, who didn't speak to him any word at all, which was the normal state of affairs during the imperial audiences to foreign embassies.<sup>87</sup> His speech during the oration and the King's letters were translated to Turkish for the Sultan, after which the Grand Vizier explained him that the Swedish King's friendship was pleasing and welcome. In his *relatio*, Strassburg makes a thorough description of the taciturn Sultan<sup>88</sup>, who was only recently taking charge of state affairs at the time. After the audience with Sultan Murad IV, he starts visiting the other European representatives in Istanbul, as was the tradition.

Strassburg's opinion of the Protestant diplomats at Murad's court was naturally positive: Dutch resident Haga was always helpful and acted as his

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see the Italian *bailo's* remark: "*Tutti li gravi negozi dell'Imperio sono maneggiati dal primo Visir, la maggior parte in propria casa, ove ammette gli Ambasciatori e seco tratta e seco risolve quanto occorre senza conferir col Re . . .*", in "*Relazione di Constantinopoli del Bailo Giovanni Cappello, 1634*", Barozzi & Berchet (1872).

<sup>83</sup> "Relatio de Byzantino Itinere ac negotiis....," p. 208.

<sup>84</sup> Peter Meienberger, *Johann Rudolf Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn als kaiserlicher Resident in Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1629-1643*, Frankfurt am Main: Herbert Lang, 1973, p. 225: "*Zue des Marcheville zietten (Anno 1632) ist zue Constantinopel angelangt der Paulo Straßburger, Schwedischer Internuntius und am allerersten den Holländischen gesandten haimblich besuecht . . .*"

<sup>85</sup> "Relatio de Byzantino Itinere ac negotiis....," p. 213.

<sup>86</sup> Klopp, *ibid.*, p. 683.

<sup>87</sup> Koçi Bey points out that the Sultan only addressed the grand vizier during the audience and specifies that the Sultan "shouldn't speak about the state affairs with the foreign representatives," see: *Koçi Bey Risaleleri*, (ed.) Zuhuri Danişman, İstanbul: Kabaalci Yayınevi, 2008, p. 307.

<sup>88</sup> "Relatio de Byzantino Itinere ac negotiis....," pp. 211-213.

tutor with regards to Ottoman diplomatic practices. Haga's secretary, Carl Marin, (although his name was not even once recounted in the *relatio*) seems to have developed a similarly sincere relationship with Strassburg<sup>89</sup>: Marin would soon join the Swedish diplomatic service in Germany under Strassburg's influence.<sup>90</sup> Strassburg spoke also well of the English resident Peter Wyche, who intended to do his best to help Strassburg in Constantinople.<sup>91</sup> On this side, however, Venetian *bailo* Giovanni Cappello seemed to be cool toward Strassburg, as he was neutral to Swedish advances in Europe in general.

The French resident (Comte de) Marcheville, however, was not on particularly good terms with Strassburg as implied above. This was actually weird, considering the fact that the French had assumed a new turn in her foreign policy since Cardinal Richelieu took start in office in 1624: It was the French Kingdom which had intermediated the Truce of Altmark in 1629 so that Gustav could declare war against Ferdinand II. It was again the French who concluded the Treaty of Baerwalde in January 1631 in order to fund the Swedish troops in Germany. And it would be the French themselves who would start fielding troops against Emperor Ferdinand after 1635. Even though the French had thus been an ally of the Swedish Kingdom in the common fight against the growing power of Emperor Ferdinand, Marcheville didn't share the pro-Swedish sympathy his King and Cardinal bred.

This discrepancy, Strassburg suspected, was due to the fact that Marcheville was under the influence of the Jesuit Order, and Haga was confirming his apprehensions about Marcheville's "blind enthusiasm" for Catholicism.<sup>92</sup> Marcheville was indeed cool towards Strassburg's mission to the Porte: In a letter from Marcheville to his King Louis XIII, we understand that he was reproaching the Ottoman administrators for the compliments they were paying the Swedish envoy. In his own conversation with the Swedish envoy, Marcheville must have expressed his concerns about the rapprochement between the Swedish Kingdom and the Ottoman Empire, since he received Strassburg's answer that "there was little likelihood that His Majesty the [Swedish] King would send [to the Ottoman Empire] a resident ambassador; or at least that

<sup>89</sup> Leonhard Haas, "Der schwedische Ministerresident Carl Marin: ein Parteifreund von Antistes Breitinger", in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte = Revue suisse d'histoire = Rivista storica svizzera*, Band 3, Heft 1, 1953, 60-86. 69.

<sup>90</sup> Riksarkivet, Oxenstiernska samlingen Axel Oxenstierna av Södermöre [RA/OSAOS], E 657 / 4120, From Carl Marinus to Axel Oxenstierna (14.03.1633, Zürich): ". . . *Nobilis Vir D. Paulus Strasburg ad Portam Ottomanicam Ablegatus dignissimus admirationem Celsitudinis Vestrae in me excitavit; et desiderium causae communi serviendi, cui ego minimus omnium optime cupio, ut pauca haec scriberem, occasionem suggessit: qua par est animi submissione orans, ut hanc interpellandi audaciam, mitiorem in partem, pro ea qua praeditus est clementia, interpretari dignetur. Redux enim ex Turcia unice exoptavi Maiestati suae Regiae, rerum statum in Turcia coram humillime exponere, composito eum in finem de rebus Turcarum tractatu. . .*".

<sup>91</sup> Mörner, 339.

<sup>92</sup> Haga's letter to the Staten Generaal, 3 January 1632, in KHG, 387.

it would be soon". After this response, Marcheville must have felt relieved, and Strassburg justified that he had had solid reasons to approach the French resident with caution.<sup>93</sup>

The Orthodox Patriarch Cyril Loukaris, with whom Strassburg would develop "a particularly profound familiarity and friendship,"<sup>94</sup> was also in line. Cyril accepted the letters sent him by the Swedish King, offering his services with regard to the Russians and Cossacks. Strassburg's remark that the Patriarch was sincerely jubilated by Gustav Adolph's victories against the Catholic camp<sup>95</sup> requires some deeper explanation: Cyril Loukaris was an enigmatic figure, hated by the Catholic representatives at the Porte (especially the French) due to his Protestant inclinations. He had indeed been in good terms with the Protestant diplomats at the Ottoman capital and sought the help of the English and the Dutch in order to curb the ever-increasing power of the Jesuits.<sup>96</sup> To be specific, Loukaris was very well acquainted with Calvinist figures of Constantinople such as Antoine Léger (chaplain of the Dutch embassy) and Cornelis Haga (Dutch ambassador), and he saw them as natural allies against the Catholics. Similarly, Haga was counting on Loukaris to provide him support in his attempt to open a gymnasium in Constantinople to fend off the Jesuit influence spreading in the capital.<sup>97</sup>

On this line of intermingled confessional struggle, it is also to be pointed out that Loukaris had formerly taken the trouble to open the first Greek script printing press in 1627 (with the machinery brought from Britain and installed at the British embassy). His endeavour was to counterbalance the diffusion of the Catholic books and the missionary activities of the Jesuits: the first publication was hence an anti-papist treatise.<sup>98</sup> The activities of the press had caused another line of tension between the diplomats of opposing confessions in Istanbul: The Catholic French resident Césy duly complained to the authorities about the press, whereas the Protestant Dutch resident

<sup>93</sup> Lettre de Monsieur le Comte de Marcheville Au Roy, De Pera le 13 May 1632, f. 148r, in *Recueil d'instructions et mémoires diplomatiques. XXII Lettres, instructions, etc. pour l'ambassade de Constantinople (1574-1640)*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Français 7093; Lettre de Monsieur le Comte de Marcheville écrite Au Roy, Du 18 May, 1632, *ibid*, f. 158r. See Appendix VII.

<sup>94</sup> Samuel Gmünd, *Christliche Leich-Predigt/ Bey Begräbnis Deß Wohl- Edlen und Gestrengen Herren Pauli Straßburgs/* . . . , Frankfurt: Antonio Hummen 1654, p. 31.

<sup>95</sup> "Relatio de Byzantino Itinere ac negotiis...", p. 215. "Cyrillus Patriarcha... præcipue vero super victoriis Sac. Reg. Majest. ex animo lætatus, Deoque gratias corde sincero agens."

<sup>96</sup> I. Veloudis, *Χρυσόβουλλα και Γράμματα Των Οικουμενικων Πατριαρχων*, Venice: St. George 1873, p. 27.

<sup>97</sup> Keetje Rozemond, "De Eerste Uitgave van de Belijden van Cyrillus Lucaris," in *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis, Nieuwe Serie*, Vol. 51, No: 2, 1971, pp. 199-208, 200.

<sup>98</sup> Enrico Morini, "La Canonizzazione di Cirillo Loukaris da Parte del Patriarcato di Alessandria," in Viviana Nosilla and Marco Prandoni (eds.), *Trame controluce: Il patriarca 'protestante' Cirillo Loukaris*, Firenze: Firenze UP 2015, p. 188.

Cornelis Haga offered protection over Loukaris' printing machine in his own domains.<sup>99</sup> It's therefore no surprise that this ardent defender of Orthodox confession had also written to Gustav Adolph, encouraging the protestant king to send a representative to the Porte, wherefore Strassburg was bringing him a letter from the King.<sup>100</sup>

Loukaris replied the King with a letter in July 1632, in which he explained the present state of the Orthodox Church and complained about the evils of the Jesuits "who regarded them as sheep for slaughter." He also sent a letter to Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna and presented his manuscript related to the Book of Job as a gift, requesting the chancellor to get the manuscript printed.<sup>101</sup> In September 1633, Loukaris would write again to the chancellor about his efforts to save the pilgrimage places in Palestine.<sup>102</sup> It is possible to find Loukaris' letter dated 1632 July to Gustav and his second letter to the Chancellor together in the collection containing Strassburg's *relatio*.<sup>103</sup> However, the implications of this correspondence shouldn't be overestimated since there was no continued support to the Orthodox cause by the Swedish authorities whatsoever.

Lastly, following Grand Vizier Recep Paşa's advice, Strassburg paid visits to Bayram and Mehmed Paşas. The latter, Vizier (Tabanı Yassı) Mehmed Paşa, the former Governor of Egypt,<sup>104</sup> was interested in the details of the dynastic contest between the ruling Polish and Swedish Vasa families,<sup>105</sup> whereas Bayram Paşa was eager to demand a confirmation if the Swedish King was indeed using easily portable leather cannons on battlefield,<sup>106</sup> to which a great role is attributed for the Swedish victory against the Habsburgs at the Battle of Breitenfeld (7/17 September 1631). Both cases suggest that the central Ottoman administration had either a genuine interest in European affairs, or at least wary ears for the intelligence gathered and emanated in Istanbul at the time. The second argument may also consolidate the assumption that "the masters

<sup>99</sup> V. Tsakiris, "Ο Ρολος του Τυπογραφείου του Λουκαρη στην Ίδρυση του Ελληνικού Τυπογραφείου της Propaganda Fide," in *Ο ΕΠΑΝΙΣΤΗΣ*, 27 (2009), 53-67, 58.

<sup>100</sup> Markos Renieri, *Ο Οικουμενικός Πατριάρχης*, Athens: D. Ath. Maurommatis 1859, p. 58.

<sup>101</sup> Hrisostomos A. Papadopoulos, *Κυρίλλος Λουκαρίς*, Trieste: Austroungrikou Loud 1907, p. 56.

<sup>102</sup> Hrisostomos A. Papadopoulos, "Σχέσεις Κυρίλλου τοῦ Λουκάρεως πρὸς Γουσταῖον Ἀδόλφον Β' τῆς Σουηδίας," in *Θεολογία*, 12, 1934, 289-292. p. 291.

<sup>103</sup> Friedrich Sylburg, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum mss. olin in Bibliotheca Palatina, nunc Vaticana asservatorum.*, Frankfurt 1702, pp. 238-244, "Epistola Cyrili".

<sup>104</sup> BOA, 85 Numaralı Mühimme, Decree #265: (2 Cemaziyelahir 1040/ 6 Jan 1631): "*Sâbıkâ Mısır muhâfazasında olan Vezîr Mehmed Pasa'ya hüküm ki: . . . Emrüm üzre gelüp Südde-i Sa'âdetüm'de Vezâret hizmetinde olasin.*", pp. 163, 164.

<sup>105</sup> Swedish King Johan III Vasa's son, Sigismund, was elected the king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1587, and he ruled both countries together between 1592 and 1599, until his uncle Carl IX (Vasa) dethroned him from the Swedish Kingdom. Gustav II Adolph (Vasa) was Carl IX's son; and both cousins raised claims on each other's kingdoms. See Appendix II.

<sup>106</sup> Michael Roberts, "Gustav Adolf and the Art of War", in *Essays in Swedish History*, London 1967, pp. 56-82, 69.

of the Imperial Council possessed sufficient information upon which to base their policies" through a variety of means and contacts within the framework of their grand strategy.<sup>107</sup>

Around two weeks after his audience with the Sultan, Strassburg and his retinue would experience another political crisis in the capital, this time, in person. The young but assertive Sultan had been designing a counter-coup against the rule of the *kul* soldiers and Recep- Hüsrev Paşa coalition for a while. He had started the strike from the top: One of his loyal governors, Mur-taza Paşa, had been sent with 3000 men to Anatolia long ago, and he had executed Hüsrev Paşa by imperial command in February.<sup>108</sup> Next in the list was Grand Vizier Recep Paşa himself: On 18 May, he was summoned to the palace by the Sultan, who avenged Hafız Ahmed Paşa's violent death after giving Recep Paşa one last moment for prayer.<sup>109</sup> His corpse was thrown before the *Divan* square<sup>110</sup> to make it clear to Recep's followers that the Sultan's day for pay back arrived. Vizier (Tabaniyassı) Mehmed Paşa replaced him in the post of the grand vizierate.

The Sultan's last target was the *kul* ringleaders of the rebellion: Even before Recep Paşa's execution, Sultan Murad had started recruiting a few thousand new *kapıkuluspahis* (palace cavalry) from among the *İçoğlans* (palace pages), and got them swear an oath of allegiance to himself, which was regarded by Haga as "an unaccustomed practice."<sup>111</sup> Having secured their support, Murad then drew janissaries to his side and isolated the *spahis* totally. Following *Şeyhül- İslam* Hüseyin Efendi's advice, Murad gathered all the viziers, the *Şeyhül- İslam* himself, *kadiaskers*, the *ulema*, janissary and spahi commanders around Sinan Paşa Köşkü on 12 June for a spontaneous meeting (*ayak divanı*). There, as Haga narrates, the Sultan called everyone to obedience, which was unanimously answered: "Yes!" Thereafter, Sultan Murad declared that he had been extremely offended by the *spahis* and he got

*"the Mufti, Kadiaskers and the other ulema declare a sen-  
tence, that thereafter all those disobedient to the Sultan's orders*

<sup>107</sup> Gábor Ágoston, "Information, ideology, and limits of imperial policy: Ottoman grand strategy in the context of Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry," in Daniel Goffman and Virginia Aksan (eds.), *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

<sup>108</sup> "De Constantinople, le 14 Mars 1632", in AC, f. 218r.

<sup>109</sup> "De Constantinople, le 26 May 1632", in AC, f. 216r. The French resident's depiction of the execution scene is quite vivid: "... on luy demanda le Seau Bul, et luy montrant un petit tapis a faire sa priere il sagenouilla dessus un peu de temps, et tout soudain il se sentit chatouiller le Gosier avec un corde..."

<sup>110</sup> Haga's Letter to the Staten Generaal, 25 May 1632, in KHG, p. 395.

<sup>111</sup> Haga's Letter to the Staten Generaal, 24 July 1632, in KHG, p. 408, 409: "... heeft den Keyser, . . . , eerst eenige duysenden nieuwe Sepahyen uyt de Itzoglansen (dat sijn sijne slaven, die jn sijn eygen ende verscheyde andere Saraglies opgevoet en geïnstrueert werden) gemaect ende deselve met solemnele eeden getrouwicht en gehoorsaemht tot sijne geboden doen sweeren, 'twelck te vooren onder de Turcken niet gebruyct geweest."



*must be regarded as infidels, and considered as ignorant of the Prophet, . . . , and those people, ipso jure, without any other judicial explanation, deserved death and could be justly executed under the absolute authority of the Sultan [met recht door des Keyzers absoluyte autoriteyt], since they were his slaves in rebellion.*<sup>112</sup>

In the presence of all the gathered witnesses, a public document of assurances (*hüccet*) was signed and each pledged allegiance to the Sultan.<sup>113</sup> This was the turning point in heretofore politically insignificant Sultan Murad's life, since he had thus proven that his years of administrative minority were left behind. From then on, he was the unquestionable master of the empire. What followed was a witch hunt for the recalcitrant *kapıkuluspahis* both in Istanbul and in Anatolia.

These developments are only superficially touched upon by Strassburg in his final relation (It. *relazione*; Lat. *relatio*),<sup>114</sup> although the European resident diplomats went into great lengths in their dispatches to illuminate the details to their home governments. Strassburg's hasty summarisation of the political change was probably due to the fact that it didn't make much difference either in the treatment he received in person or in the Porte's foreign policy. After all, be it in order to draw a triumphant Swedish King to his common circle of Habsburg enemies, or be it to show their admiration for the king at least, the honours paid to Strassburg were continued despite the bloody revolts in the capital.<sup>115</sup> However, with or without Recep Paşa's sympathies towards the Swedes, uprisings in Anatolia and the Middle East were aggravating the situation<sup>116</sup> which was already delicate with a war at hand against the Safavids in the eastern front. Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa stated to Haga and Strassburg that no further answers would be given than that of Recep Paşa's.<sup>117</sup> It is true, as Mehmed Paşa was writing to the Russian Patriarch Philaret, that the

<sup>112</sup> Ibidem, p. 412.

<sup>113</sup> Kâtip Çelebi presents the text of the *hüccet* in his account, see Aycibin, p. 829-830.

<sup>114</sup> "Relatio de Byzantino Itinere ac negotiis...", pp. 219-222.

<sup>115</sup> *Gazette, 1632*, p. 338: Relation des nouvelles du monde receues tout le mois d'Aoust 1632. Etat general des affaires de la Chrestienté: "Les sanglantes tragedies que la rebellion & la vengeance excitent a tour de role dans la Turquie, n'empeschant pas le Grand Seigneur de rendre de grands honneurs a l'Ambassadeur du Roy de Suede, soit a desseins de le pratiquer, soit par le seule admiration de sa valeur, l'vn des charmes plus puissans a la conquete des coeurs." See Appendix VI.

<sup>116</sup> A former Ottoman official İlyas Paşa was building his own power base in Western Anatolia whereas Fahreddin Ma'anoglu was acting semi-independently around Palestine. For Maanoglu, see Feridun Emecen, "Fahreddin, Ma'noğlu", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, v. 12. For İlyas Paşa, see Zübeyde Güneş Yağcı, "Bir İsyân ve Etkileri: Balıkesir'de İlyas Paşa İsyânı", *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Eşkiyalık ve Terör*, Samsun: Etüt Yay. 2009, pp. 65-82.

<sup>117</sup> Klopp, 686.

friendship of the Swedish King had been accepted.<sup>118</sup> But, that was all. Recep Paşa had formerly made it clear to the Venetian *bailo* that they were keen to preserve the peace with the Habsburgs and wouldn't break it without a tangible reason. Moreover, even after Mehmed Paşa had pleasantly listened to the Swedish progresses from Strassburg, his stance was that "if the [Ottoman] Empire had their hands free from other wars, they would have considered one against the Emperor; but the Turks didn't resolve at the moment for such an enterprise without provocation".<sup>119</sup>

This approach was also visible in the Ottoman Empire's dealings with Muscovy (the Russian Tsardom). Related to a different line of struggle, the Russian Tsar and the Russian Patriarch had sent their representatives to Constantinople around 1631 in their efforts to ask for military help. In a letter to Tsar Mikhail Fyodorovich, Grand Vizier Recep Paşa relates that "even though the Sultan was intent on sending help and support against the Tsar's enemies, the ongoing campaigns in Persia for the control of Baghdad had rendered it impossible."<sup>120</sup> That is to say, the central army's location was made an excuse to prevent the Ottoman Empire from making any more engagements.

The Ottoman resolution to eschew a war against the Habsburgs was also the tenor of the final letters to the Swedish King, which Strassburg would receive from the Sultan and the Grand Vizier before his departure.<sup>121</sup> The Sultan declared that the request of friendship by the Swedish King was welcome at the Porte and it was accepted after deliberations with the viziers, though there was no hint at the development of any deeper relationship in the future. Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa's letter spoke in more concrete terms: For Princess Catherine the Porte had done all it could have done, and no official recognition had been made by the Porte for the transfer of the Transylvanian

<sup>118</sup> BOA, YB (1) 1-8: Sadrazam Mehmed Paşa'nın Rusya Başvekili Flaret Nikitiç'e gönderdiği mektup, Evail-i Zilhicce 1041[18 – 28 June 1632]. ". . . Ve İsveçiyeye Kralı olan Gustavuş Adolhuş konşunuz ve kavi dostunuz dahi baş sırrı ve müşavereci İstraçburg Pal nam âdemi dostluk üzere bu canibe gelüb, dostlukları kabul olundu. Ve anlar dahi tarafınız ile ziyade dost oldukları huzur-ı ferman i'lan eylemişlerdir. Onlarla dost olduğunuzdan dahi külli hazz eyledik. Ve kendisine olan ri'ayet ne vech olduğu mezbur Urum Toma'dan istima' idersiz." See Appendix X.

<sup>119</sup> "Relazione di Constantinopoli del Bailo Giovanni Cappello, 1634", in Barozzi & Berchet, p. 60.

<sup>120</sup> BOA, YB (1) 1-6: [28 February 1632]: "...size düşmenlik iden konşunuza \_\_\_\_ taraf-ı padişahiden asker gönderilüb imdad ve i'net olunmak hususuna dahi rıza- yı hümayunları erzani kılınub, lakin irade ve meşiyet- i Hüda- yı bi-çün ile geçen sene Bağdad Kal'ası kabz ve tasarruf- ı hüsrevaniye geçmek müyesser ve Kızılbaş- ı bedma'aş seferi ber-taraf olmamağla 'umumen 'asker- i İslam bu sene dahi serdar- ı zafer-şi'ar yanına gönderilub ... murad üzere bu sene siz dostumuza imdad ve i'net imkân olmamıştır."

<sup>121</sup> The translation of these letters were published without date in a late eighteenth century German history book. The Sultan's letter is in Latin, the main text starting with the translation of the Sultan's *tuğra* (*Sultanus Amurathes Chan, Filius Sultanis Achmetis Chani, semper fortunatus*); whereas the Grand Vizier's response is in Italian, ending with his name (*Su sotto scritto, Il pouero Mehemet Passa*). See Anlage VI (p. 744) in Senkenberg, *Versuch einer Geschichte des Teutschen Reichs im siebenzehnten Jahrhundert, Band XXVI, 1629-1634*, Halle: J. J. Gebauer 1795.

Principality to Rákóczi before Catherine sent Constantinople a letter signed with her own hand that she had renounced the realm at her own will.<sup>122</sup> Moreover, they had not forgotten to commend her to the Prince, so that all her dowry (castles, incomes and possessions) would be under her command: the Porte was also sending a certain Hacı Yusuf Ağa to Transylvania in order to take care of that business now.<sup>123</sup> But also here, there was no mention of any possible alliance between the Ottoman Empire and the Swedish Kingdom against the common enemies.

Strassburg's conclusions in the last couple of pages of his *relatio* illuminate that he was aware of his mission's deadlock on account of the following reasons: The Ottoman ruling cadres had concerns that if the Europeans achieved peace, the prospect of a common Christian front against the Ottomans would be an issue, wherefore it would be the best not to kick the hornet's nest by dashing into Europe now. Moreover, there were also apprehensions that the western front had been silent for over quarter of a century, and the European military technology must have been considerably improved *vis-a-vis* the Ottomans during this lull.<sup>124</sup> The Ottoman viziers were reputed to be extremely cautious about starting hostilities in the western front as it was observed by Strassburg.<sup>125</sup> Last but not least, the most peremptory resolution of the Porte was not to conclude any peace in the eastern front before Baghdad would be re-captured from the Safavids. This being the case, there was no hope for dragging the Ottomans into a war in the western front in any close future.

The reticent attitude of the Porte regarding the European frontier might also be interpreted as the political self-consciousness of the ruling cadres: The literature of "mirror for princes" had been flourishing since late sixteenth century, and 1630s were especially rich in this sense. At least three authors

<sup>122</sup> Ibid. (Anlage VI, p. 749): ". . . quando lei ha rinonciata il Principato di Transilvania, non hauemo noi mandato la Banderia, ni la confirmati al Prencipe Raccozzi, fin che lei mandana una lettera con il suo sigillo, et sotto scritta di propria Mano, che renonciaua il principato al Signore Raccozzi. . ."

<sup>123</sup> Ibidem: ". . . non habbiamo mai mancato di recommandare continuamente al Principe Raccozzi, che stia sempre in bona corrispondenza con la Principessa, et che tutti li suoi boni dotalij, tanto le fortresse, come tutte altre intrade, et possessioni siano al commando di lei, . . ., et altra di quello hauemo commandato et dato ordine di boca al Hadgi Giussuff Aga, nostro gentil huomo, che debbe hauer cura di tutto questo negotio, . . ."

<sup>124</sup> "Relatio de Byzantino Itinere ac negotiis. . ." p. 223: "Cumque sciant Europæos milites fuis longo usu & exercitatione armisque & pugnandi genere superiores esse, lites suas cum Austriacis quouis modo trahere, quam apertum Martem & hostilitatem declarare malunt. . . Principes Visirii Europæas expeditiones vehementer abhorrent, ac belli Persici magnitudine exaggerata Sultani conatus quavis ratione & modo infringunt."

<sup>125</sup> This interpretation of Strassburg's must refer to the recurrent truces signed between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans after 1606 (in 1615, 1618, 1625, 1627). We must also keep in mind that a new exchange of ambassadors between the two Empires was arranged for 1634, and both missions had been prepared in 1633, i.e. while Strassburg was in Constantinople for the second time.

pointed out to the corruption of the military – administrative system of the time, and offered ways to fix it. Aziz Efendi prepared his treatise on the swollen numbers of central army and vizierate cadres some time between summer 1632 and summer 1633 [Lunar 1042].<sup>126</sup> Similarly, Koçi Bey, an aged but familiar figure to the Sultan, presented his treatise to the Sultan within the same lunar year Strassburg first visited the city [1041].<sup>127</sup> He similarly pointed out to the danger in the increasing numbers of the central army corps and suggested a reformation of the land fief system (*timar*) as an urgent must both in his treatise and in his subsequent *telhises*.<sup>128</sup> Somewhere between 1632 and 1633, a representative from among the numbers of the clergy raised his voice for a similar objection: Preacher Derviş Hasan also gave voice to his anger against the “inflated numbers of the Janissaries and the cost of that for the treasury”, following a similar line.<sup>129</sup> We can conclude that the Viziers in Strassburg’s accounts might also have been affected by this “crisis atmosphere”, breathing in the same “climate of self-criticism” present in many early seventeenth century minds.<sup>130</sup>

Strassburg appreciated the impossibility of realizing his Ottoman scenario for military operations in central Europe and turned his attention elsewhere. Since he was well received among the Ottoman high officials, he defended the cause of Princess Catherine and received the aforementioned promise that Yusuf Ağa would be sent to Rákóczi to convince him for the restoration of her dowry lands to the princess. After this was assured, he tried to benefit from the innate Ottoman animosity towards the Habsburgs by at least making his case that, in case of open hostilities, Prince Rákóczi’s actions should be tolerated against the Emperor. Strassburg could, in the end, manage to effectuate a royal order for the mobilization of the Roumelian troops in the Hungarian border,<sup>131</sup> who were to serve under the command of the Transylvanian prince if there arose any need.<sup>132</sup> And this was the end of his diplomatic mission in the

<sup>126</sup> Rhoads Murphey, *Kanun-name- i Sultan Li Aziz Efendi*, Harvard: Harvard University Press 1985, p. VIII.

<sup>127</sup> 1631 – 1632.

<sup>128</sup> *Koçi Bey Risaleleri*, (ed.) Zuhuri Danişman, İstanbul: Kabcacı Yayınevi, 2008, p. 15. *Telhis* was usually an abstract written to inform the Sultan himself, see Pál Fodor, “The Grand Vizieral *Telhis*. A Study in the Ottoman Central Administration 1566-1656”, *Archivum Ottomanicum* 15, 1997, pp. 137-188.

<sup>129</sup> Derin Terzioğlu, “Sunna-minded sufi preachers in service of the Ottoman state: the nasihatname of Hasan addressed to Murad IV”, *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 27, 2010, pp. 241-312, 272.

<sup>130</sup> Rhoads Murphey, “The Veliyyuddin Telhis: Notes on the Sources and Interrelations between Koçi Bey and Contemporary Writers of Advice to Kings”, in *Belleten* 43, 1979, pp. 547 – 571. 555.

<sup>131</sup> MHH, p. 124: “... tamen in Austricae domus perniciem vehementer conspirabant, occasiones rerum, momenta temporum observantes, ita quidem ut non obstantibus intestinis discordiis visirio Budensi severe mandarent omnem Europaeam militam in procinctu habere, Transylvaniaeque Principi Temeszvariensem et Agriensem bassas, nec non Moldaviae et Valachiae quitatem subsidio mittere...”

<sup>132</sup> *Theatrum Europeum*, Band 2, Frankfurt am Main 1670, p. 601: (Anno 1632) “... dass sie alle

Ottoman capital.

His valediction ceremony was arranged for 24 June, and the Sultan received him with extraordinary pomp and panache in the Sinan Paşa Köşkü: Cornelis Haga was writing home that he

had never seen or heard such a ceremony arranged for any ambassador before, as was now staged; [it was] partly to make a showcase of the grandiosity of the Ottoman Emperor, and partly because of the high esteem placed on his Royal Majesty of Sweden, whose audacious deeds and victories against the powerful House of Austria were received with greatest amazement.<sup>133</sup>

Both Strassburg and Haga expressed in their accounts that the Swedish envoy was thus venerated by the Ottomans. However, even when we leave aside the common European diplomatic proclivity to exaggerate the quality of their reception *vis-à-vis* the former representatives' ceremonies,<sup>134</sup> this might still be regarded as a mere Protestant bragging for the envoy's well reception. However, the pride Haga and Strassburg took in the prestigious valediction ceremony had nothing significant to suggest. That is to say, it seems to be a common practice of the Ottoman authorities to entertain the incoming foreign embassies, while their political demands were mostly left unsatisfied. For example, Polish ambassador Mikolaj Bieganowski in 1654 and Habsburg ambassador Walter Leslie in 1665 would face a similar fate in the upcoming years.<sup>135</sup> Therefore, it can also be regarded as an Ottoman attempt to comply with the practice of diplomatic equality, as they expected no less homage to be paid to their *ad hoc* embassies in European capitals.

Strassburg received the Sultan's and the Grand Vizier's above-mentioned letters, paid his last visits to the high officials at the Porte in the following days, and parted for Transylvania on 12 July, 1632. His *relatio* ends here, and the remaining time he spent in the Ottoman Empire is not well documented. However, we can still draw a rough itinerary of Strassburg's voyages and missions in the Ottoman Empire.

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*dem Fürsten in Siebenbürgen/ mit solcher hülff/ wie unnd wann Ers begehren würde/ schleunigst erscheinen solten.*" App. V.

<sup>133</sup> Haga's Letter to the Staten Generaal, 10 July 1632, in KHG, 405.

<sup>134</sup> For an analytic study upon the issue, see Kühnel's "No Ambassadour Ever Having the Like'. Die Übertretung der diplomatischen Rituale und die Stellung der Gesandten am Osmanischen Hof," in *Interkulturelle Ritualpraxis in der Vormoderne: Diplomatische Interaktion an den östlichen Grenzen der Fürstengesellschaft*, (ed.) Claudia Garnier and Christine Vogel, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 2016, pp. 95-122, p. 96.

<sup>135</sup> For Leslie, see Özgür Kolçak "Habsburg Elçisi Walter Leslie'nin Osmanlı Devlet Yapısına Dair Gözlemleri (1665)," *Tarih Dergisi*, (54) 2011, pp. 55-89, 64; for Bieganowski, see Zaborovskiy *Россия, Речь Посполитая и Швеция в середине XVII В.*, Moscow: Izdatelstvo Nauka, 1981, p. 47.

## V. The Aftermath of the Mission

Strassburg travelled back to Transylvania and continued defending Catherine's interests, for which his request of full authority was granted from Catherine who was now in Kosice, which was under Emperor Ferdinand II's authority.<sup>136</sup> At his visit in Transylvania, Strassburg was on rather bad terms with Prince Rákóczi and he would leave royal seat Alba Julia rather discontented in May 1633.<sup>137</sup> The tension might be attributed to the impasse of Catherine's situation, whose conversion to Catholicism in spring 1633 made things irreversible for her. Strassburg noted that Yusuf Ağa, the Ottoman official in charge of dealing with Catherine's case, had left without having accomplished anything, either.<sup>138</sup>

The main obstruction to a formal alliance between Rákóczi and the Swedish agent was, however, the lack of finances, if not Rákóczi's cunning and opportunism: The prince was asking for cash payment for his contribution to the common cause; and with thousands of mercenary soldiers waiting for payment in Germany, cash was the very thing the Swedish treasury itself was in desperate need of. In this predicament, Strassburg came up with a seemingly great idea: Wouldn't it be a logical way out to grant Rákóczi the mobile goods left behind by Princess Catherine, which was estimated around 700.000 gulden?<sup>139</sup> Swedish Chancellor Oxenstierna's answer was far from positive: No such thing could be done without informing Catherine's sister (the Swedish queen mother) and brother (Prince Elector of Brandenburg) and this would require a great deal of time. Instead, Oxenstierna introduced an alternative line of argument by proposing Rákóczi that he should shoulder the burden of the fight at his own expense and his reward would be portions of (Royal) Hungarian territory. Perhaps, he could even acquire himself the Hungarian crown itself.<sup>140</sup> Oxenstierna's more detailed plan of action was as follows: If Rákóczi needed money, 100.000 could be readily offered in return for a Transylvanian attack on Austria, Styria and Moravia; 15.000 per month would also be paid if he would join forces with the Swedes in Silesia. However, Rákóczi retorted

<sup>136</sup> Catherine's Letter to Paul Strassburg, 1632 Sept 6, Kosice, in MHH, Doc # XXVIII.

<sup>137</sup> Mörner, *ibid.*, p. 340.

<sup>138</sup> Strassburg's letter to Haga, 12 Oct. 1632, Varad. Doc # 3, in Alexander Szilagyi, *Actes et Documents pour servir a l'histoire de l'alliance de George Rákóczi, Prince de Transylvanie avec les Français et les Suédois dans la Guerre de Trente Ans*, Budapest: Ráth, 1874.

<sup>139</sup> Bogislaus Philipp von Chemnitz, *Königlichen Schwedischen in Teutschland geführten Krieges ... Theil Aus Glaubwürdigen, und mehrentheils Original-Acten, Documenten, und Relationen Zusammengetragen, und in Vier Bücher abgefasst*. Bd.: 2. Alten Stettin: Rheten 1653, p. 90: "Ob nicht ein weg were/ der Princessin Catharinen/ des Bethlem Gabors Wittwen/ so eben dieser zeit zur Römisch Catholischen Religion gefallen/ und aus Siebenbürgen entwichen war/ hinterlassene/ aus siebenhundert tausend Gulden wert geschätzte/ mobilien, als die in ihre gewalt zubringen/ und wieder die Evangelische zugebrauchen/ die Kaiserliche ohne das schon vorgehabt hatten/ zu contentirung des Fürsten anzuwenden."

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

once more with heavy terms and astonished everyone by starting negotiations for a treaty with Emperor Ferdinand II in spring 1633.<sup>141</sup>

So much as the situation must have been exasperating for Strassburg, just as much the terms offered by the Emperor must have seemed secure and easily available to Rákóczi: Catherine would receive her mobile goods and money back, whereas the city Munkacs was now transferred to Rákóczi hereditarily with all its affiliated hinterland.<sup>142</sup> Emperor Ferdinand II had undertaken this reconciliatory step “in order not to be struck from behind when he would move his forces against the Swedes.” Nevertheless, Prince Rákóczi postponed his response as much as possible since he still felt that his “fate depended on the Swedes.” In the end, both the Swedish King’s death and his diminishing popularity among the Transylvanian magnates prompted him to sign the peace treaty on 28 September 1633.<sup>143</sup> The situation was thus brought to a solution by Imperial (Austrian) intervention and Catherine reached a compromise with Rákóczi in this manner.<sup>144</sup> However, she had to lose Munkacs to the Prince as the price paid by the Habsburg Emperor to keep Rákóczi away from the Swedish Crown’s orbit.

As the negotiations between Ferdinand’s representatives and the Transylvanians were going on, Strassburg continued his efforts. Although Strassburg’s original intention was to directly head for Venice, he changed his course to visit the Ottoman Hungary in June 1633 and got into contact with the Ottoman frontier Paşas. He was invited by the governor of Temesvar, since “at the time, the news of the victory of the Swedes against the enemy army was spread in the [Ottoman] frontier cities, just like in Buda.”<sup>145</sup> The paşa was quite curious if the Prince would sign any alliance with the Protestants, and became rather disappointed when he learned that Rákóczi and Emperor Ferdinand II had freshly sat at the table instead.<sup>146</sup> Strassburg then got into contact with the governor of Buda, too, and left for Venice with a Turkish companion appointed by the governor to accompany them to the Republic early in July.<sup>147</sup> However,

<sup>141</sup> Samuel von Pufendorf. *Commentariorum de Rebus Suecicis Libri XXVI*. Ultrajecti [Utrecht]: J. Ribbium, 1686, p. 114.

<sup>142</sup> Ibidem. “*interea Cesarei tractatus cum ipso orsi erant, quibus convenerat, ut Ragozius ipsius Catharine Betleni vidue pecunias ac supellectilem traderet, Mungacium vicissim jure hæreditario recepturus, Strasburgio frustra renitente.*”

<sup>143</sup> Katona, *ibid.*, p. 273. For the text of the Eperjesi Treaty, see *Magyar Történelmi Tár* 8, Pest: Magyar Tud. Akadémia, 1861, pp. 252-259.

<sup>144</sup> Mörner, *ibid.*, p. 340.

<sup>145</sup> Beke Antal & Barabas Samu. *I. Rákóczi György es a Porta. levelek es okiratok.*, Budapest: Kiadja a Magyar Tud. Akadémia, 1888. p. 52. Letter from Strassburg to Rákóczi, 1633, Junius 13, Temeszvar.

<sup>146</sup> Hudita, *ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>147</sup> I “Documenti Turchi” dell’archivio stato di Venezia, # 1436: Fi 27 Şehr- i Zi’l- hicce, sene 1042 [5 July 1633]: “. . . *inha ve i’lam olunan budur ki: Bi’l- fi’l İsvetçiye Kralı dostunuz tarafından sa’adetlü ve ‘azimetlü ve şevketlü Padişahımız e’azzai’l- Mevla ensarahu ve za’ade iktidarehu hazretlerine*



with an unexpected change of route, Strassburg and his retinue made it for Constantinople once more in the late summer 1633, going over Belgrade.<sup>148</sup>

His main focus at the Porte during August 1633 was on undermining the rapprochement between Emperor Ferdinand II and Rákóczi.<sup>149</sup> To what extent his attempts bore any fruit is open to discussion; but the respect he received seems to be as shocking to the Austrians as before: The complaints raised by Puchhaimb, the Imperial (Austrian) extraordinary ambassador who would reach Istanbul in 1634, was going to be on the one hand expressing the resentment for the respect Strassburg had received at the Porte, and aiming at the removal of the governor of Buda on account of his contact with the Swedes on the other.<sup>150</sup> In the end, however, nothing had materialized regarding Rákóczi; and neither Emperor Ferdinand II nor the Protestant party could acquire any alliance from the Prince in this occasion.

Regarding his sojourn in the city, Strassburg underwent the grave and massively destructive fire in Constantinople in late August 1633,<sup>151</sup> and this would be the last of the numerous catastrophes he underwent in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>152</sup> As for his diplomatic mission, he failed to seduce the Ottomans for military action against the Habsburgs at his second visit, too. Nor was he able to effectuate any action against the treaty between Prince Rákóczi and the Habsburgs. Hence, it must have been not a particularly joyful departure from the Stavros Palace in Üsküdar,<sup>153</sup> when he left the Imperial capital for good

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*izhar- ı 'ubudiyyet ve 'arz- ı hulusiyet için Asitane- i Sa'adet- Aşiyane'ye irsal iyledüğü ilçisinin birkaç nefer adamları ol canibden krallarına revane ray u tedbir ve ma'kul ve münasib görülmekle ağalarımızdan olan resanende- i varaka- yı muhabbet Mehemmed Ağa zide- kadrehu ile ma'en koşub, siz devletlü dostumuza irsal iylemiştür. İnşa- el- Mevla- te'ala huzuruna varub vasıl olmak müyesser oldukda sa'adetlü ve 'azimetlü Padişahımız hazretlerine olan dostluğunuza binaen mezburları her ne tarikle olur ise İsvetçiyeye Kralı dostunuza ulaştırmağa bezl- i ikdam ve sa'y ve ihtimam eylesüz ki mezburları mahalline isal eylemek ile hem bu canib- i dostunuza ziyade minnet olub, sa'adetlü Padişahımız hazretlerine dahi bu babda hizmet etmiş olursuz."*

<sup>148</sup> Mörner, *ibid.*, p. 340.

<sup>149</sup> Pufendorf, 114: "*Inde Constantinopolim profectus, apud Aulam Ottomannicam agebat, ut istud negotium penitus disturberatur.*"

<sup>150</sup> Johann Wilhem Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa, Teil IV*, Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1856, p. 474.

<sup>151</sup> Kâtip Çelebi estimates that almost one fifth of the city was damaged by the fire which was started accidentally by a caulker (Aycibin, p.839), whereas *Gazette* notes that six janissaries smoking (with eight girls) in a cabaret at nine o'clock in the morning caused the calamity which transformed into desert one fourth of the dwellings in the city with the fire which was "*le plus grand, non que Constantinople seul, mais que l'Asie ait jamais veu*" (*Gazette* for 1633, p. 465).

<sup>152</sup> Gmündt's funerary speech, a collection of Strassburg's own memories narrated first hand, summarizes that he had to endure many upheavals, earthquakes and the fire during his mission: "*Zeit seines verbleibens in Orient/ haben sich schwere Auffständ und Seditiönen, viel grausame terræ motus, Kranckheiten und andere denckwürdige Fälle zugetragen/ wie dann auch die Statt Constantinopel damalen drey Tag nach einander gebrennet/*", p. 31.

<sup>153</sup> It seems that Murad IV enjoyed his summer lodgings in Scutari as he was there both in 1632 and 1633 consecutively. It's documented in a münşeât that Strassburg made his hand kissing in Scutari at his 1633 departure ceremony: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod.Turc. 374, 11r:

before late September 1633 in the company of a certain Osman Çavuş.<sup>154</sup> He reached Venice in October, from whence he would later set out for Switzerland.<sup>155</sup> Against the expectations of a fellow diplomat of the Swedish court, he had left without being able to get Rákóczi into the war, and without being of much use to the Swedes.<sup>156</sup>

In the meantime, the Ottomans had been keeping a watchful eye on the western front as Strassburg was conducting his negotiations in Transylvania. Hacı Yusuf Ağa was shuttling back and forth between the Ottoman Porte and Transylvanian Prince Rákóczi to negotiate the Transylvanian demand of help for the intended anti-Habsburg campaign. Haga informs us that by August 1632, the Ottoman ministers were trying to gather information from the Prince and the governor of Buda on the developments taking place in Germany regarding the Swedish advance; they needed to know if the Swedes really had the upper hand in the struggle,<sup>157</sup> and had to consider their options thoroughly before sending the messenger back to Transylvania.<sup>158</sup> Keeping the resolutions pending and delaying the answer as much as possible seemed the best option.<sup>159</sup>

The relations with the Tsardom continued apace. The Tsar and Patriarch Philaret's representatives (Bormosov and Pronchishev) arrived at Constantinople in late 1632 with a retinue of no less than twenty-five people,<sup>160</sup> again in an effort to find leverage in their aggression against the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania. The envoys announced the Sultan that the Tsar had already

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"Arz- ı bende- i bimikdar budur ki, bundan akdem İzveçe Kralından asitaneye gelen elçi yine vilayetine gitmek üzere olmağla yarın mı olur, ol bir gün mü olur, bağçede bir mahalde rikab- ı hümayunlerine yüz sürmek ve izn- i hümayunları ile vilayetine gitmek babında ihsan- ı şerifleri rica ve temenna ider, ol babda emr ü ferman padişahıdır. - Yarın el öpmez; Üsküdar'da öper." Also see Appendix XI.

<sup>154</sup> Haga's Letter to Axel Oxenstierna (22 September 1633), in Arckenholtz, Vol. I, p. 486.

<sup>155</sup> RA/OSAOS, E 657 / 4133, From Marinus to Axel Oxenstierna (February 1634, Zürich): "D. Strasburg iam Venetiis est, per Tigurum in Germaniam rediturus".

<sup>156</sup> RA/OSAOS, E 708 A / 4681, From Salvius to Oxenstierna (23.11.1633, Hamburg): "4. att alla medell i verlden sökes thet Ragotzijk opväckes på den ungerische sidhan. Till hvilcken ända iagh inthet tviflar Strasburgl ad portam och i Cascow godha officia göra kann."

<sup>157</sup> Haga's Letter to Axel Oxenstierna (Late 1632), Doc # XXXIII in Szilagyi (1882, MHH), p. 67: "Per le incertezze delli affari di Germania, e diversi rumori sparsi qui tuta questa estate, non s'ha potuto cavar da questi ministri ferma resolutione alle domande fatte da parte del sermo principe Raccocy, non volendo qui metter a risico la pace col Imperatore, sin che non lo vederanno in stato disperato per poter risorgere."

<sup>158</sup> Haga's Letter to the Staten Generaal, 20 August 1632, in KHG, 416.

<sup>159</sup> Haga's Letter to the Staten Generaal, 15 January 1633, in KHG, p. 424: "Ick bemerk wel, dat men de saecken veel liever in suspens soude willen houden, als tot het een off ander te resolveren...". See, App. VIII.

<sup>160</sup> See the record for the vests of honour presented to the embassy retinue penned down on 10 January 1633 during the hand-kissing ceremony in the Sultan's audience, BOA, KK.d 1823, p. 308 [image # 154]: "Hil'atha bera- yı elçi- i Masku der defter- i mezbur der- vakt- i dest-bus- ı Padişah- ı 'Alem-penah (haladallah celalihu) der Divan- ı Hümayun pişkeş- averde, el- vaki' fi 28 C sene 1042, ba- tezkire- i Salih Teşrifati .... Yekun- ı hil'at: Sevb 27."

launched an offensive against the Polish King and what they asked for was the Ottoman support for a new candidate to the Polish crown since the former king had died in April 1632. Their candidate was no other than the Swedish King Gustav Adolph himself,<sup>161</sup> and the Tsar was putting pressure also on Tatar Khan Canbek Giray and his supporters inside the Commonwealth towards that effect.<sup>162</sup> Grand Vizier Tabanyassi Mehmed Paşa answered them that the Swedish King had no such interests at all. Referring to Strassburg, he explained that the envoy of the Swedish King had been in the city during the summer, and when he had asked the envoy if Gustav Adolph would run for the Polish Crown, the envoy had thought for long and said “Maybe formerly Gustav would like to reach for the Polish Crown, but that was until the war against Emperor [Ferdinand started]- for now, I don't think so...”<sup>163</sup>

In the written instructions Strassburg had received before he started his mission, we don't come across any mention of the Polish candidacy issue, indeed. Therefore, it must have been merely one of Gustav's many plans, of the sort early modern monarchs too much fancied to conceive. It looks like Strassburg was speaking the truth when the Grand Vizier questioned him, after all. In either case, the following Polish King (Wladislav Vasa, r. 1632-1648) was already chosen and the Porte was informed about the election of this new “neighbour and friend to the Sultan” around the time the Russian representatives conducted their dealings at the Porte in early 1633.<sup>164</sup>

Returning to our subject, even though the Ottomans were doing their best to avoid opening any new fronts in the West, playing the intimidation card didn't go unconsidered, either. The order for mobilization of the Buda, Temesvar, Eger and Kanizsa troops was issued late in 1632 as referred above;<sup>165</sup> and this is probably the decree referred to by Strassburg at the end of his rela-

<sup>161</sup> B. N. Floria, “Османская Империя, Крым и страны Восточной Европы 20-х — начале 30-х гг. XVII в.” in *Османская Империя Страны Центральной, Восточной и Юго-Восточной Европы в XVII в. - Часть I*, Moscow: Izdatelstvo Nauka, 1998, p. 107.

<sup>162</sup> V.F. Porshnev, Тридцатилетняя Война и Вступление в нее Швеции и Московского Государства, Moscow: Izdatelstvo Nauka, 1976, p. 373.

<sup>163</sup> Sergey M. Solov'ev, История России с древнейших времен, Книга 2, St. Petersburg: Obshchestvennaia Pol'za 1896: “Может быть, в прежнее время король и стал бы искать Польского королевства, до войны с цесарем, а теперь — не думаю ...” p. 1247.

<sup>164</sup> Archiwum Głównie Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (AGAD), Metryka Koronna, Liber Legationum 32. Polish King's Letter to the Grand Vizier dated 2 January 1633, Warsaw (f. 17r-18v): “*Scribimus ad Serenissimum Turcarum Imperatorem, significantes eidem Nos in Regem Poloniae faustis auspiciisque electos esse [.] Serenissimoque olim Parenti Nostro desideratissimo Sigismundo Regi Poloniae nuper defuncto in Regnum successisse idipsum Maiestati Vestrae perscribendum putavimus, ut etiam eidem constet quem vicinam et amicum Serenissimum Turcarum Imperator nactus sit*”

<sup>165</sup> Haga's Letter to the Staten Generaal, 15 November 1632, in KHG p. 423. See also *Gazette of 1633*, p. 80: “*Le Grand Seigneur pour éviter le contrecoup de la guerre qu'il a fait en Perse a commandé a tous ses Bachats & Gouverneurs des frontieres, mesmement vers la Hongrie, de les munir & se tenir prêts.*”

tion. However, the decision to remain aloof from further involvement must have emanated from a disappointing tidings coming from inside Germany: The news of Gustav Adolph's death on the battlefield of Lützen in November 1632 reached Constantinople on 27 December, and was confirmed by the Venetians on 11 February 1633 as Haga illuminates us.<sup>166</sup>

The Austrian ambassador Schmid rejoiced over this news, whereas the remaining Christian ambassadors at the Porte partook in the incredible sorrow (*een ongelooftlijcke droeffheyt*) felt by the "Viziers and some other Turks".<sup>167</sup> Patriarch Loukaris was also among those, expressing his grief in a letter to the Russian authorities, claiming that "the death of the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus in the fight against the Kaiser caused us great sadness."<sup>168</sup> With Adolph's death, the slightest possibility to trespass the Austrian border to start a direct war against the Habsburgs was erased from the minds of the Ottoman ministers.<sup>169</sup> Furthermore, even though the Porte was discontented with the peace negotiations between Emperor Ferdinand II and George Rákóczi during spring 1633,<sup>170</sup> the Ottoman administrators were equally apprehensive of the recent development: Considering Gustav Adolph's death, a peace between the Protestant German princes and the Emperor at that moment could prove rather destructive for the Ottoman Empire which was still bogged down in the eastern front.<sup>171</sup> Comprehensibly, by summer 1633, reciprocal extraordinary ambassadors had been chosen both by the Habsburgs and the Ottomans to initiate official visits.<sup>172</sup> Once more, the Ottoman enthusiasm for hitting the Habsburgs hard at home remained a nip in the bud for practical purposes, just as the general attitude assumed by the Porte during the whole Thirty Years War was marked by a similar shade of ambivalence.

As for Strassburg, after undertaking certain diplomatic missions in Switzerland as implied above,<sup>173</sup> he went to Frankfurt am Main in April 1634, and wrote down his final relation on his 1632 mission to Constantinople, which he sent with a letter to the reigning Swedish Queen Christina, late Gustav II Adolph's daughter, on 26 August 1634. The manuscript was thereafter archived and preserved among other official papers of the kingdom.<sup>174</sup> Mörner

<sup>166</sup> Haga's Letter to the Staten Generaal, 21 February 1633, in KHG, 428.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>168</sup> Hrisostomos Papadopoulos, "Σχέσεις Κυρίλλου τοῦ Λουκάρεως πρὸς Γουσταῖον Ἀδόλφον Β' τῆς Σουηδίας," in *Θεολογία*, 12, 1934, 289-292, p. 291: "...ὅτι ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Σουηδὸν Βασιλέως Γουσταίου Ἀδόλφου, ἀφειλόμενος εἰς τὸν Καίσαρα (τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῆς Γερμανίας) μάς Προξέξυσε μεγάλην θλίψιν..."

<sup>169</sup> Paul Ricaut, *Histoire des trois derniers Empereurs des Turcs, Depuis 1623 jusqu'a 1677. Traduite de l'Anglois du Sr. Ricaut*. Tome Premier, Paris: Louis Billaine 1683, p.70.

<sup>170</sup> Haga's Letter to the Staten Generaal, 12 July 1633, in KHG, 434.

<sup>171</sup> Haga's Letter to the Staten Generaal, 1 August 1633, in KHG, 442.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>173</sup> *Theatrum Europeum*, Band 3, Anno 1634, Frankfurt a/M 1670, p. 300.

<sup>174</sup> An annual archive report informs us that Strassburg's correspondence and relatio are to be found

points out that a copy of the relation was demanded in 1656 from a Council member (Strassburg's brother-in-law) for a new official Swedish embassy to the Ottoman Porte, this time under a Swede named Claes Rålamb,<sup>175</sup> who starts narrating his observations on Turkey by referring to Strassburg's *relatio* in his own report.<sup>176</sup>

## VI. Conclusion

A biographer of the Swedish King Gustav II Adolph has aptly remarked that not all of the king's plans were "equally intended for success": His diplomatic initiatives at the Ottoman Porte were obviously among these.<sup>177</sup> After all, Paul Strassburg's mission in the Ottoman Empire had been a failure: Rákóczi's support against the Habsburg Emperor couldn't be enlisted, and the Ottomans were not willing to make any effort in the same direction, either. With regard to the official aspect of the mission, Gustav Adolf's efforts to restore Catherine of Brandenburg's heritage was only partially successful. Moreover, by 1634 when Strassburg wrote down his *relatio*, the Swedish position in Germany was in a far worse case than it had been in spring 1632 when Strassburg first reached Constantinople.

This bleak scenario, nevertheless, can not be attributed to any lack in Strassburg's capabilities as a diplomat: He had accumulated eight years of diplomatic experience by the time he had reached the Ottoman capital; he knew the political affairs of the geography and had the necessary connections. He did his best with his limited finances and was highly venerated at the Ottoman Porte. It was probably due to bad-timing that he couldn't get any positive results. The odds are high that had the Safavid war not been exhausting Ottoman resources in the East, both bellicose Sultan Murad IV and the ruling Ottoman élite would have more seriously flirted with the idea of opening large scale hostilities in the western front. In that case, Strassburg's diplomatic mission in the Ottoman Empire could have been a success story.

His dealings and the context in which they were evaluated are, on the other hand, meaningful to highlight the vivid diplomatic life of the Ottoman capital at the time. The support and understanding offered to Strassburg by

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in the Swedish Royal Archives, under catalog TURCICA I: "Ablegaten Paul Strasburgk's bref till Kongl. Maj:t 1632; Densammes berättelse om sin beskickning (afskrift) 1634," in C. G. Malmström and C.T. Odhner (ed.), *Meddelanden Från Svenska Riksarkivet: Tredje Bandet, 1885-1890*, Stockholm, 1891, p. 411.

<sup>175</sup> Mörner, *ibid.*, p. 344.

<sup>176</sup> Claes Rålamb, *Kort Beskrifning om thet som wid then Constantinoplitaniske Resan år föreluppit*, Stockholm: Henrich Keyser 1679, p. 44: "... Herr Strasburger war wid Portam Ottomannicam, hwilken effter han widh the troubler som uthi Sult. Amuratis förste anträdande til Regementer föreluppe/ och defectione Babylonæ sin Relation lychtat..."

<sup>177</sup> Nils Ahnlund, *ibid.*, p. 150.

the English, Dutch and Transylvanian resident diplomats at the Porte are best assessed in their solidarity as representatives of a Protestant bloc, which welcomed a new temporary member among their numbers. Similarly, the animosity of the Habsburg resident towards Strassburg needs to be interpreted within the context of the Thirty Years War. The tension between these diplomats (as was projected by Strassburg's mission) is a clear sign that the European politics found a reflection in the Ottoman capital through their emissaries at the Porte.

Another point in need of attention is that Strassburg's observations regarding the *present state of the Ottoman Empire* were pretty much parallel to those of the so-called "Ottoman observers of the Ottoman Empire" of the 1630's.<sup>178</sup> It is a whole different area of debate if the Ottomans declined or just transformed in this period. But, as far as Strassburg could inform himself about the Ottomans (probably from Haga, Tholdalagi and Loukaris), the empire was in utter decay and the war with Persia was depleting its resources. His claim that the viziers were strictly apprehensive of any military engagement in the West may also prospectively explain why the Ottoman Empire chose to strike Venice instead of the Habsburgs after the Persian front was closed in 1639.

Strassburg's mission thus marked the beginning point for the relations between the Ottomans and the Swedish states on a shaky ground. On the one hand, this official diplomatic agent of the Swedish Kingdom was highly respected at the Porte as he was the representative of a newly rising strong monarch, the rumours of whose victories were spread in the Ottoman Empire over the western border. On the other, however, he wasn't given a positive answer in the way the Swedish Kingdom wanted and needed at the moment. But putting his diplomatic dealings and the political context of his mission aside, his observations regarding the Ottoman Empire require further study.

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<sup>178</sup> Bernard Lewis, "Ottoman observers of Ottoman decline," *Islamic Studies* 1, 1962, pp. 71-87.

## Öz

### İsveç Elçisi Paul Strassburg'un İstanbul Sefareti (1632-1633)

Sultan IV. Murad'ın 1623 yılında çalkantılarla başlayan hükümdarlığına, 1632 yılında dizginleri eline aldığı sürece kadar annesi Kösem Sultan'ın fiili niyabeti damgasını vurmuştu. Bu sırada Avrupa'da ise kıtanın o döneme değin gördüğü en kanlı savaşlardan biri (Otuz Yıl Savaşları, 1618-1648) tüm dehşetiyle devam etmekteydi. İşte bu uzun soluklu savaş esnasında Protestan bloğunun hamisi olarak yıldızı parlayan İsveç Kralı II. Gustaf Adolf (Vasa), Osmanlıların vasalı olan Erdel Beyi'nin yardımını talep etmek için İstanbul'a resmi bir diplomatik temsilci yollamıştır. Kralın elçisi Paul Strassburg'un geriye bırakmış olduğu (Venedik 'relazione'lerini andıran) sefaretnamesi, bizlere elçinin yolda başından geçeneri, İstanbul'daki görüşmelerini ve dönemin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na dair gözlemlerini aktarmaktadır. Bu çalışma çerçevesinde, elçinin sefaretnamesi sair çağdaş diplomatik raporlardan da istifade edilerek bir bağlama oturtulacaktır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Habsburglar, Sultan IV. Murad, Yeniçağ Diplomasisi, Gustaf Adolf, İsveç, Erdel, György Rákóczi, Kiril Lukaris, Otuz Yıl Savaşları

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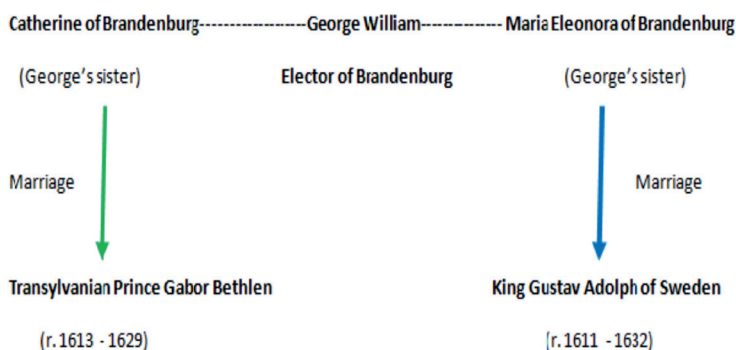
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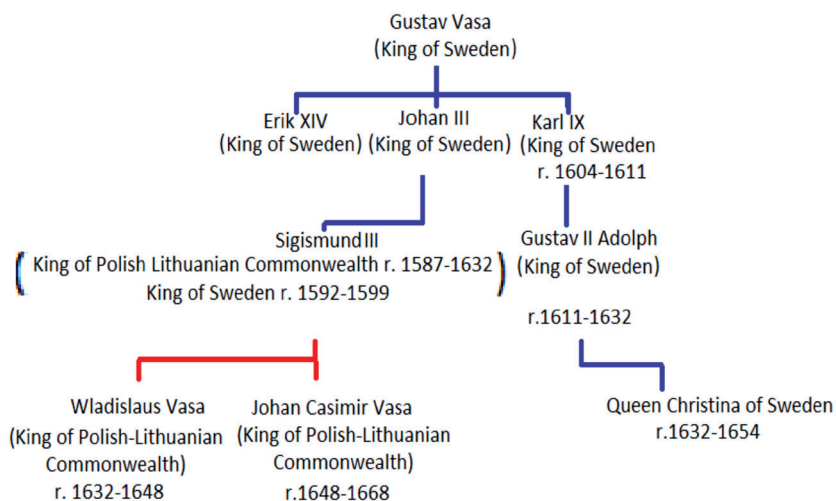
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### Appendix I. Protestant Marriages



### Appendix II. Vasa Dynasty at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century



### Appendix III. Embassy buildings and lodgings circa mid- Seventeenth Century



[Gabor Karman, "Sovereignty and representation: Tributary states in the seventeenth-century diplomatic system of the Ottoman Empire," in G. Karman & L. Kuncevic (eds.), *The European tributary states of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries* (pp. 155–186). Leiden: Brill, p. 170.]



Appendix IV. First Page of Paul Strassburg's Relatio



Appendix V. An Illustration from Theatrum Europaeum depicting Sultan Murad IV and informing the Ottoman mobilisation of forces




Appendix VI. Gazette for the Year 1632

**R E C V E I L**  
DES  
**GAZETTES**  
NOUVELLES.

Relations & autres choses Memora-  
bles de toute l'Annee 1632.

DEDIE' AV ROY.

Par **THEOPHRASTE RENAUDOT**,  
Conseiller & Medecin de sa Majesté, Intendant  
General des Bureaux d'Adresse de France.



A P A R I S,  
Au Bureau d'Adresse, rue de la Calende, au Grand Coq.

**M. DC. XXXIII**

**R E L A T I O N**  
DES NOUVELLES DU MONDE  
recitèe tout le mois d'Avril 1632.

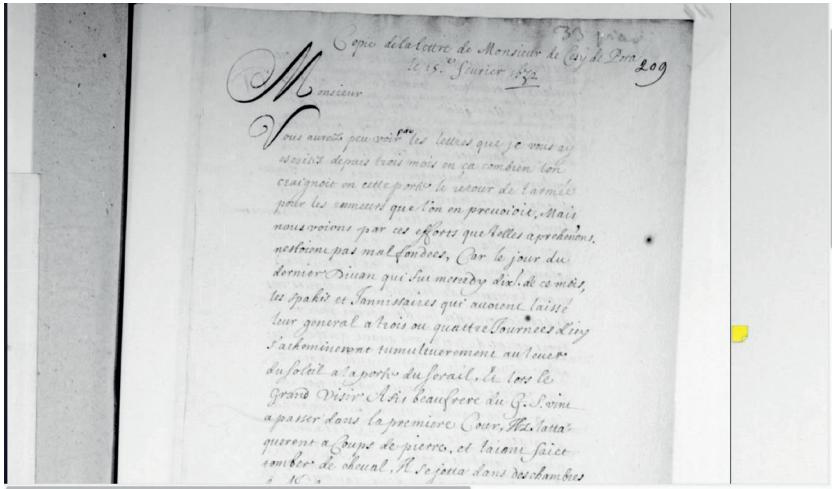
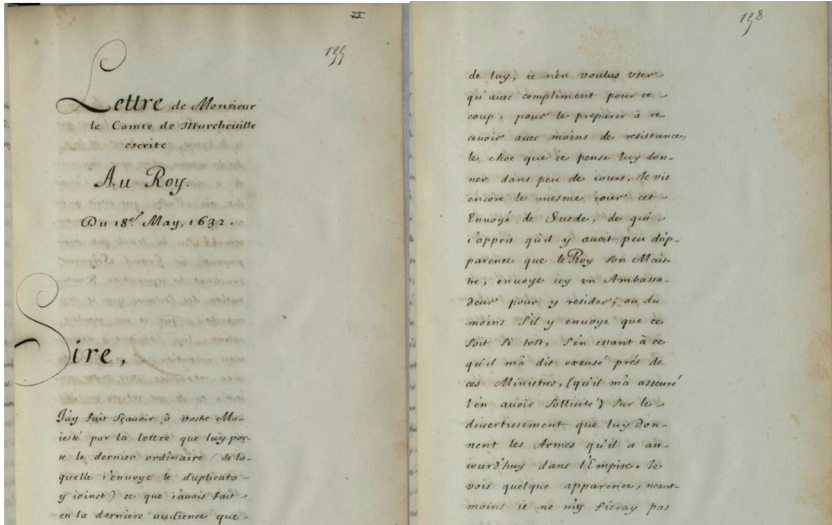
**T** O U s les mois recommançans, découvrez  
aux nouveaux articles de ceux qui pre-  
nent à l'ordre de découvrir nos Heures jeu-  
nissiers. Mais n'y a'y d'ailleurs à me défendre  
que le bon plaisir d'un feuillet, ou le plus  
concoque discours en figurant loger assez de rap-  
ports pour les faire taire j'amey plutôt fait de  
la mesure de ce grand monde volent, à qui  
Virgile donne autant d'yeux, d'oreilles, de bouches & de langues  
que de plantes, qu'on appelle la renommée. Comme les princes  
luy donnent une trompette en son sein, il luy met en son Ca-  
sque en l'autre, où par son panache exemplaire, les noms de ses  
contours ne font point crier, mais que l'écume de leur feu ré-  
pondit en leur vent à l'indignité. Le temps, dit-on que se  
signale par des actions vertueuses. Ils n'ont qu'à l'imitation d'un  
Dieu à Athènes, qui gesticule entre de son d'un des bras dans la  
Laurière d'un Marquis des Triens dans la Pluie, où de Le-  
monneur à Trèves, & par tout à l'exemple de plusieurs autres bra-  
vans Français, donner des preuves de leur courage & fidélité envers  
leur Prince & de l'y servir pas ordinaire. Leur me temps pour  
Car les actions vertueuses & honorables, & de bien vouloir  
et autres courages (comme moy) leur service de courtoisie font  
indispensables. Or, se promet de la louange aux hommes  
vertueux, & possible une louange étendue, si le pouvant faire  
qu'entre tant de feuilles que j'envoye journallement par tout le  
monde, il s'en trouve quelque chose qui l'examine espérance aussi  
tournée à ceux qui peuvent luy servir.

Envisagez bien la courtoisie de quelques uns, qui versent le pres-  
que qui se fit de ses recès en la Garantie & de la Nouvelle amitié, bien  
que la signification des mots luy parcellent, ont de l'air, la raison,  
de nos sentiments sur la charité de la justice, ou d'autres faulx  
à d'autres personnes, d'iceux on deux autres dont le fruit est surprenant,  
si nos vns doivent obligés d'attendre ou d'attendre les autres: de  
Monsieur de la Cour d'Allemagne comme en Chapitres, entre l'Alle-  
mand & le sergent. Mais aussi fait la diversité de matières & de lieux  
de l'obéissance les lettres & costumes. Les nouvelles compo-  
sées en

**Estat general des affaires de la Chrestienté.**

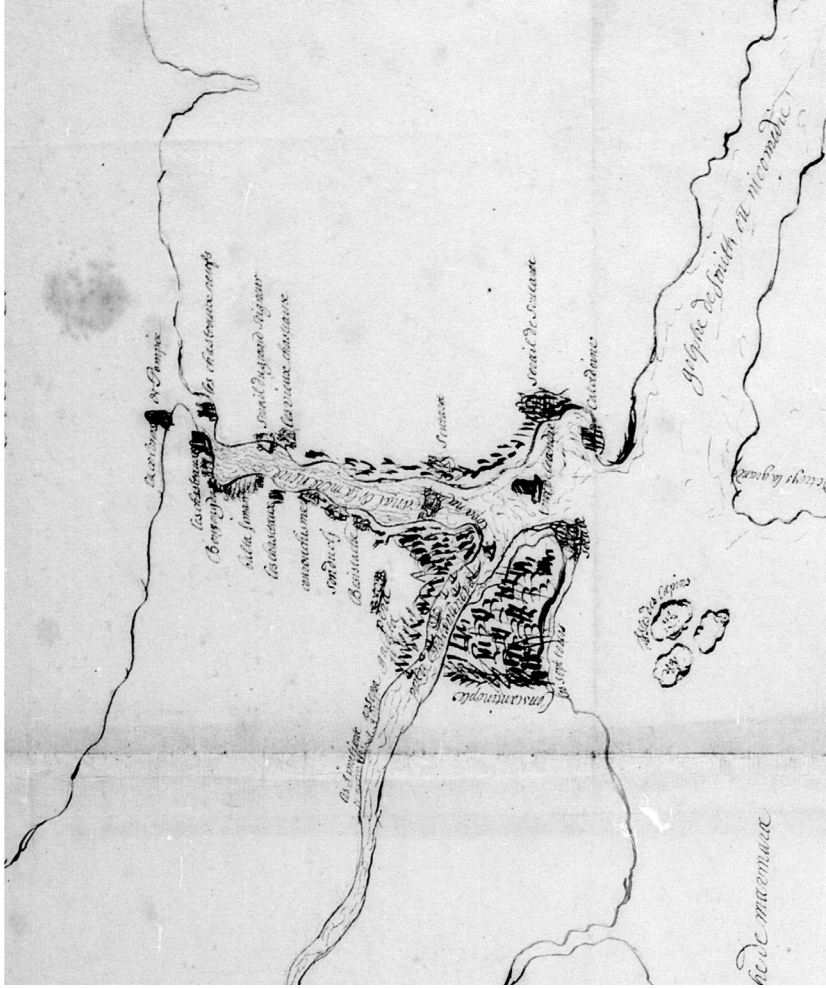
Les langües tragédies que la rebellion & la vengeance exci-  
tée à tout de réle dans la Turquie, s'accomplissent par le Grand  
Seigneur de tant de grands honneurs à l'Archiduc de la Roy de  
Saxe, font à dessein de le pratiquer, font par la seule administration  
de la vieillesse, j'vois des charmes plus puissants à la conquête des coeurs.  
Le Royaume de Valoque est en mesme point qu'un belie malheur,  
saussi incertaine du mal qu'elle doit contenir, comme elle est  
affaiblie de tant de plusieurs levriers mécontents. Le Danuis se  
preparant fiandement on se s'agit à pour y voir renvoyer l'accord  
avec ceux de Hambourg, s'il venoit à leur bouche l'un ob-  
stant la même liberté de l'Elbe qu'ils avoient en l'année 1624, en  
luy point une somme d'or, & cinquante mille richelins à les en-  
fant. L'Electeur de Saxe s'est contenté de l'aveux d'Archiduc en  
la Louane: où l'un de nous regimens il a mal traité les Impériaux  
à Buzac comme s'il luy estoit mal de faire tout en arrive l'année,  
laide pecciter en suite de belles occasions d'acquies de la gloire. Le  
Weist se repose depuis l'absence du Pape, & il s'agit à l'Empire  
avec les germains de s'y maintenir sans rien entreprendre. Mais  
le Duc de Bavière de Vienne, fait renvoyer les uns des autres Sirois  
des montagnes de Sailliz au Tirol, jusques dans les plaines de Tri-  
ent de peur qu'il ne demourât quelque chose à repou dans l'Empire,  
dont l'Electeur Carlois mourut le dernier Juillet, & de son entrée  
dans l'Electoral. Nuremberg est le champ clos où le Roy de Saxe  
de de la Vallée joint à Bavière, vont dilater l'Empire de la haute  
Allemagne, mais à perdre son foyage & de se perdre de l'Empire, &  
de se fonder de la nécessité leur plus possible ensemble. Qui n'a  
suffisamment empêché que le Roy de Saxe de s'ait trouvé le moyen de  
monter deux mille de ses volontaires, & de faire mettre le feu  
aux portes de Vellein. Auil le Duc de Bavière de la Bavière de  
autres villes, fait-il d'avant propé au relie de ses affaires. Des  
trois Electeurs Ecclesiastiques celui de Cologne il bien toll il ne  
a'ville, pour voir d'abord de l'Allemand & de l'Empire, au  
perjudice de la neutralité, court à la même fortune que Mayence.  
Celuy de Trèves mieux conseillé void le naufrage de le perit des

## Appendix VII. Royal Copies of the French Resident Ambassadors' Dispatches sent from Constantinople





A Handmade Sketch of Constantinople, deposited among the Dispatches



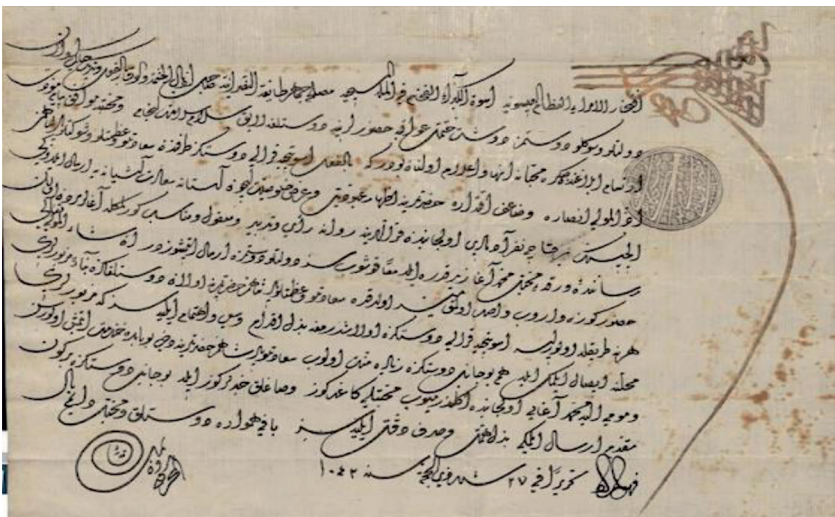
Appendix VIII. A Page from Dutch Resident Haga's (Edited) Brieve

Hooge Mogende ende genadichste Heeren.

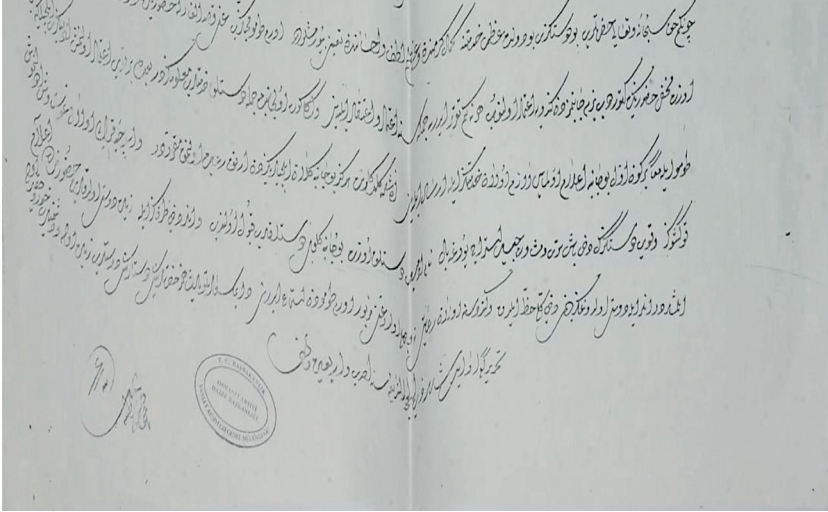
Mijne Heeren. De Ambassad<sup>re</sup> van Moscovie hebben opden ix<sup>de</sup> deses publicque audientie bijden Keyser gehadt ende aen sijne Ma<sup>te</sup> een present gegeven van achtien timmers costelijcke zabelvallen ende vijf en veertich vischtanden ende elf schoone valeken. Het sal hem nu haest openbaren, wat dese Ministers (die staende d'oorlogen met Persia seer scrupuleus sijn, om haer met de saecken van anderen te bemoeijen) sullen resolveren te doen, naedemaal sijlydens den Grootvorst van Moscovie gestadich tot aenneminghe van d'oorlogen jegens Poolen geinstegeert ende groote beloften van assistentie gedaen hebben. Men delibereert oock, wat men den Prince van Transilvanie op sijn versoek sal antwoorden. Ick bemerek wel, dat men de saecken veel liever in suspens soude willen houden, als tot het een off ander te resolveren, dat hoewel het aenden wille niet en manqueert, om soowel den Keyser als de Coning van Poolen werck te doen geven; maer d'instantie en gelegentheynt vanden Prince van Transilvanie sijn soodanich, dat men sijne Hoocheyt niet langer inde voorige hoope en onseckerheynt sal connen houden.

Dese winter jesser opde Croatische grensen een groote treffe tusaschen den Grave van Swartsenburch, des Keyzers Oersten, ende etlige Turcsische Saniacken geschiet, met den nederlach van ontrent 400 ende over de hondert gevangens van dese sijde. Waardoor de Turcken niet weinich geirriteert sijnde, nae geen ding meer schijnen te verlangen als de revange. Hier gnet men met loode voeten, ondertusschen een beeter uytcomste vanden crijch met Persia verwachtende, overmits d'jnlantsche commotien, verweckt door den geenen, die hem voor een zoon des verleden Coninx uytgeeft, vanden welken in mijne voorgaende brieven mentie heb gemaect.

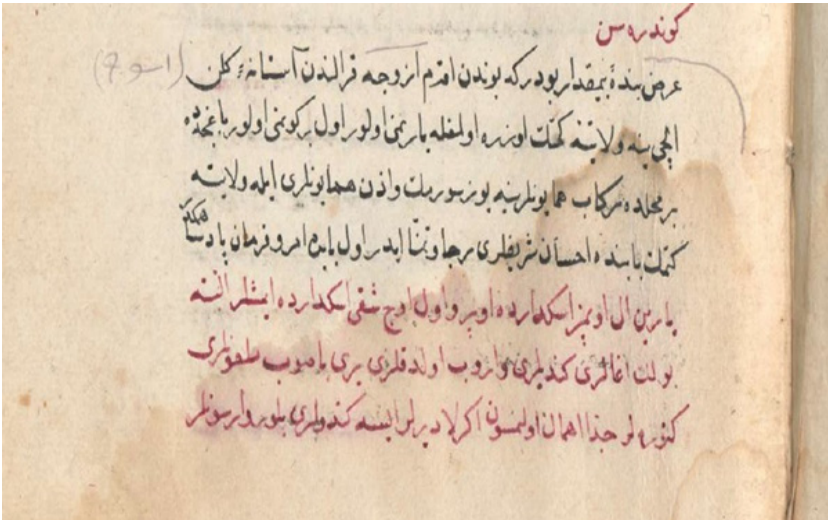
Appendix IX. Tezkere issued for Strassburg's Passage, Documenti Turchi # 1436



**Appendix X.** Related Portion of the BOA YB (1) 1 - 8, referring to Paul Strassburg



**Appendix XI.** Telhis (recorded in a münşeât) related to Strassburg's hand-kissing, BSB Cod.Turc. 374, 11a





**Appendix XII.** Strassburg's Itinerary to and from the Ottoman Empire, 1631-1634

