

11TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL SCIENCES & HUMANITIES

March 04-06, 2023 Muş, TÜRKİYE



PROCEEDINGS BOOK



EDITORS



**Gamze Turun
Agit Ferhat Özel**

ISBN:978-625-7720-90-8

11th INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL
SCIENCES & HUMANITIES
March 4-6, 2023, Mus, Türkiye

ISPEC 11. ULUSLARARASI SOSYAL VE BEŞERİ
BİLİMLER KONGRESİ
4-6 Mart, 2023, Muş, Türkiye

PROCEEDINGS BOOK

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Agit Ferhat ÖZEL

By
ISPEC JOURNAL

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ISPEC Publications - 2023 ©
Issued: 19.03.2023

ISBN: 978-625-7720-90-8

CONFERENCE ID

CONFERENCE TITLE

ISPEC

**11th INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL
SCIENCES & HUMANITIES**

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MARTIN BERZEVICZY, THE DIPLOMATE OF THE POLISH KING STEPAN BATORY AND HIS ACTIVITY IN ISTANBUL IN THE 1570-IES

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ABSTRACT

The Polish King of Hungarian origin, Stephen Báthory (Hungarian: Báthory István; Polish: Stefan Batory; Lithuanian: Steponas Batoras) was elected for the Polish throne in 1576 and for the Grand Duke of Lithuania at the same time, then he soon began his defencing war against the expansion of the Russian Tsar, Ivan IV (the "Terrible"). Before he was elected to the Polish throne, he already ruled Transylvania since 1571. Therefore, he was to gain the support of the Turkish Sultan in several aspects, when preparing for the war. The diplomatic activity of Stephen Báthory was intensive while preparing for the war, and now this is the topic of our lecture, in particular. As for the war itself, we have already dealt with that in our previous lecture at the IKSAD Conference in Gaziantep, Türkiye (February 19-21) under the title "Comparing the Policies of Stefan Batory and Ivan The Terrible" and there we demonstrated that the structural differences of the two states resulted, to a significant extent, the victory of the Polish King over the Tsar: the very totalitarian state of Moscow was not able to achieve any fruit of European culture, while in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the parliament of the nobility, the Sejm was unique in contemporary Europe. However, any victory in great wars occurs as a result of a lot of factors. Diplomacy is of great importance among them. Therefore, the victory of Polish King Stephen Báthory (Hungarian: Báthory István; Polish: Stefan Batory) was due to his good diplomacy as well. Thus, now we continue to investigate the causes of victory with external factors. The social and political structure of the state were internal factors, and diplomacy was external.

The Turkish Sultanate played a special role among those European powers, who supported the Polish-Lithuanian Twin-State in its defencing war against the Tsar of Muscovy in 1579-81. On one hand, the first state of Stephen Báthory was Transylvania, a vassal state of the Turkish Empire. Since the Turkish Sultan Suleiman I (the "Great") conquered Buda, the capital of the Hungarian Kingdom, he owned the central part of Hungary, which was integrated into the Turkish Empire, but he donated Transylvania to the infant John Sigismund (Hungarian János Zsigmond), hence the son of Hungarian King John (János) Szapolyai was still a baby. Since his father, King Szapolyai was the Voivode of Transylvania already as the heir of his father, a negotiation was made btw. Szapolyai and the Habsburgs about the inheritance of the royal power, and Transylvania was to remain in the hands of the Szapolyai dynasty, however, if the Turkish Sultan had not taken upon himself the patronage over Transylvania, it would put into the hands of the Habsburgs. Therefore, Transylvania became in the reality a vassal state of the Turkish Sultan and paid yearly tax to the Osman Porta. Therefore, when Stephen Báthory was the Pince of Transylvania, who gained the Polish crown, too, he was obliged to ask permission from the Turkish Sultan for using the Transylvanian soldiers in his war of the Polish Kingdom against the Muscovian Tsar. If not the permission, then at least the goodwill of the Sultan.

On the other hand, the Turkish Sultan was a counter-interested power to the Muscovian Tsar, thus the Turkish Sultan was interested in stopping the Russian expansion in any way. Therefore, when the Polish King Stephen Báthory gathered financial and political support for his war, it was logical to ask the Turkish Sultan for support as well. His great diplomat of him was Márton Berzeviczy, a Hungarian noble, who served as Chancellor of Transylvania for Stephen Báthory in Poland. He married a German-Polish noblewoman, they had three children and he got into the Polish nobility, too, thus his family was included in the Polish Szlachta. King Batory used his service much more than for the chancellery of Transylvania. He was sent to Istanbul, on a secret mission to the Turkish Sultan for gaining material support for the war. Hence, Márton Berzeviczy was the key person whose diplomatic activity resulted that the Turkish Sultan providing the Polish king Bathory with material support, and with good will toward the role of Transylvania in the Polish war against the Russian state. This diplomat and his activity are described in this paper, as well.

Keywords: Poland, Hungary, Batory, Berzeviczy, Turkish-diplomacy, Muscovy

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INTRODUCTION: THE ACTING STATES IN THE CONFLICT — THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH AND THE EMERGING RUSSIA

This paper deals with a war between the two most powerful states in East Europe in the last quarter of the 16th century, on one hand, the Grand Duchy of Muscovia (since that time 'Tsarist Russia', albeit in the beginnings of our story it yet was a Duchy, as it is to be explained during the further paragraphs) and on the other hand, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which was more powerful in that time than Muscovy. This war concerned all the contemporary powers of Europe, thus, the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Sultanate as well. Moreover, the first state of Stephen Bathory, Transylvania, was a vassal state of the Turkish Ottoman Empire, and for this reason, the moral and material support of the Turkish Sultan was necessary, and his permission for some military steps was inevitable. In these matters, the key diplomat of King Stephen Bathory was that person, Martin Berzeviczy, whom this paper has written about. As for the introduction, we describe those states were the belligerents and the circumstances. Then, in the first part, we give an overlook of the war and the participation of troops from Transylvania. In the main body text, the life and activity of Berzeviczy come, then a chapter about his diplomatic activity at the Ottoman Porta in particular. Finally, we give our evaluation of the war and the diplomats, from our point of view, concluding from the above-mentioned events and situations. What we cannot give in this paper, is the comparison of the social and political structure of the two states fighting against each other in the war, although it is of great significance for evaluating the victory of King Stephen Bathory and the causes of the defeat of Muscovy — albeit we have just published another paper focusing on the questions of peculiarities of these two states which led to such an end of the war. (Földvári, 2023)

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (furthermore: PLC) consisted of two main parts: the Polish Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. They shaped a personal union in 1386 and since that time it was the most powerful state in East Europe, even the largest and the determining powerful state in the whole of Europe. Generally, the learned elite may know what it means 'Polish', albeit the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (furthermore: GDL) is less known unless someone is a specialist in the field, therefore, we draw a brief overview of the GDL and then of the PLC in whole. In the late Middle Ages, by the 1300s, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was formed, stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. (Bumblauskas, 2005; item, 2010) Already in 1219, it was of such significance that the Slavic Principality of Galicia-Volhynia made a peace treaty with it, humble for the latter, and this date of 1219 is the more or less accepted beginning of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in historical sciences. (Baranauskas, 2019)

The beginning of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is counted by some authors from the coronation of Mindaugas (Mindog in Slavic sources) in 1253, which was not continued, the first king remained the only Lithuanian king (although his son also was permitted by the Roman Pope to be crowned, while the Pope appeared forgetting the fact that his influence was much weak there and nobody requested his permission for what to do and how to do in the GDL). Moreover, Mindaugas was murdered by his Lithuanian elite, therefore, his royal "reputation" was to some extent ambiguous, and the Lithuanians did not desire any western power of the Roman Pope over themselves. (Gudavičius, 1998; Antanavičius & Dubonis, 2005; Deveikė, 1953) However, the day of his coronation of him is the greatest national holiday of Lithuania since 1990, celebrating the "great" heroic past, because the cultivation of heroes and demonstration of the glorious past is an integrated component of the Lithuanian approach to their past, which, however, may sometimes cover the scientific research by a pink fog. (Šmidchens, 2007)

That is the fact, Lithuanian grand dukes had already been ruling before Mundaugas, even significantly (such as Gediminas), and the Lithuanian state remained a 'grand duke' after him, which was not subordinated under the spiritual and diplomatic rule of the Roman Pope, but at the same time, it was not a 'pagan' state at all. Consequently, we cannot agree with Rowell, who dates the beginning of the Lithuanian state to the very end of the 13th century (1295), which contradicts the mentioned above peace treaty in 1219, and we cannot accept that it would be some 'pagan' state, even if the Lithuanians cultivated pagan costumes as their identifying confession. (Rowell, 1994) The Lithuanian rulers often, even mainly, married Slavic princesses of Orthodox confession, and they converted themselves, too, to Orthodox Christianity, thus they were baptized according to the Byzantine-rite form of the Christian religion. Their chancellery was run in the Church Slavic language, their clerks were Slavic priests and scribes, and the Orthodox metropolitan in Kyiv (now Ukraine), the chief priest of the Slavic, Orthodox believers, was a subordinate to the Lithuanian Grand Dukes, for the Lithuanian

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conquered soon the former territories of the Kyivan Ruś, except for the Nordic and Eastern lands. Therefore, it was a de facto Christian state with a huge number of Orthodox believers and a written chancellery language, the local redaction of the Church Slavonic, very similar to the Latin in West Europe. (Zhuravsky, 1983) This huge state soon conquered the former territories of the Kyivan Ruś up to the Black Sea, which meant the GDL successfully fought with the Mongol invasion, and the heir of Mongols, the Golden Horde, state of the Tatars. Therefore, the GDL itself was already the most powerful and the largest state in East Europe, and it was not necessary at all, to incorporate it into the less and weaker Polish Kingdom. The GDL integrated the Christian crowds of the Byzantine-rite confession, managed their matters by diplomas issued in Church Slavic, and the Lithuanian rulers themselves were baptized by the Byzantine-rite confession with the purpose to marry on Slavic, also Muscovian princesses. Considered heretical in the West and especially contrary to papal authority, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania began to be discredited as a “pagan” and to grind it into the papal policies of the West. The eyes of the West were very pierced by this mighty state in the East. The execution of this Western "grinding" was that the daughter of King Louis the Great of Hungary, Saint Hedwig of Poland, was married to Grand Duke Jogaila of Lithuania, and from that time, from 1386, we count the Polish-Lithuanian personal union. (Halecki, 1974) The jealousy of Jogaila (in Polish Jagiełło) was a determining factor, too. His nephew, Vytautas was a much more gifted ruler and warlord than the uncle. Vytautas even seemed to overcome the Teutonic Order by repeatedly evading, escaping from their captivity, and then beating them a few times, and, in alliance with his uncle Jagiełło, inflicted a fatal defeat on the Teutonic Order at the Battle of Grunwald in 1410. (Koncius, 1964; Mickūnaite, 2006) The then-declining Polish Kingdom became a powerful state incorporating the strong and large Lithuanian Duchy, then ruling above that, and subordinated the inhabitant, confession, human and economic resources to the Polish Crown. Although the Lithuanian Duchy remained existing formally within the frameworks of the twin state. At that time, the territorially more powerful Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which was the largest state in Europe at the time, entered into personal union with a kingdom of Poland, which was significantly smaller territorially and only of medium weight politically. This was advocated by the Western powers, headed by the political and ideological dominance of the Roman Pope since the powerful Grand Duchy of Lithuania was now threatening Moscow, so it was feared that if GDL conquered Moscow, or made it his vassal, or at least his ally, he might gain a power of such weight as to threaten the political hegemony of the Western Christian states. So they were set up as pagans, which was grossly false, for, as we said above, the Grand Dukes of Lithuania married, respectively, Eastern Christian Slavic princesses of Orthodox Christian confession, the Orthodox, the faith of their subjects was not only tolerated, but also supported (the Metropolitan of Kyiv, for example, was a subject of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; moreover, charters were also issued in Kyiv by some grand dukes of Lithuania), and it was with the political tailwind of that Dynasty of Anjou that the process took place, that Dynasty of Anjou, which had previously permanently eradicated the Byzantine Rite Christianity in Hungary, which existed before them in the Arpad era.

For those readers of this Proceedings-volume, who are not specialists in the field, we can make it clear, using an analogy of the confluence of rivers. The Volga and Kama rivers meet in the Republic of Tatarstan, in the urban-type settlement Kamskoye Ustyo (‘Kama Estuary’ then after the confluence the river is called the Volga – but according to the volume of water, the Kama carries more water before the confluence of these rivers, and the Kama is the longer, also the Arabic geographers recognized it: the river Itil was that which flows into the Kaspian Sea but from the confluence the Arabic geographers named for 'Itil' that river which comes from East, from the Mountain Ural, thus the Kama. Nevertheless, the Russian nomination accepted the result of the united rivers for the name of the smaller, the Volga. Such as in the case of the Mississippi-Missouri in the United States: Missouri is the larger and longer river, but for some cultural-social reasons, the white settlers, when invaded the lands of the indigenous Indians, named the united rivers the name of the smaller. — Therefore, after the marriage of Jogaila/Jagiełło and Hedwig, the Polish-Lithuanian personal union was named by a lot of historians as the 'Polish state' albeit the Polish Kingdom was the smaller and weaker partner, and during the history of the personal union, the former powerful Lithuanian state gradually lost its weight.

It much concerns our topic in the following aspect: while the great and strong Grand Duchy of Lithuania was able also likely to resist the imperial ambitions of the small Moscow, during the history of the Polish-Lithuanian union the latter could grow and conquer the surrounding lands, which is called in the historiography as “The Gathering of the Russian Lands,” referring to the period in 1328–1533. Moscow defeated all its nearby

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rivals, such as Tver and Novgorod; threw off the Mongol yoke forever; and seized much of the territory of the Lithuanian state, pushing it westward and into union with Poland. (Thompson, 1991) The Grand Duchy of Moscow or simply Muscovy was a small principality centered on Moscow, which was called for the Tsardom of Russia since Ivan IV, the Terrible, who actually, was not recognized by the hero of our paper, King Stephen Batory. The Moscow state originated in 1263 when the prince of Vladimir-Suzdal Alexander Nevsky created the Principality of Moscow as an appanage to his son Daniel I. Noteworthy, Muscovy was a vassal state of the Golden Horde, paying the khans homage, tribute, and troops to fight in their wars, until 1480. Moscow incorporated its parent duchy of Vladimir-Suzdal by the 1320s, and later annexed several neighbors including the Novgorod Republic in 1478 and the Principality of Tver in 1485. (Shaikhutdinov, 2021).

The history of Polish-Lithuanian dualism, which formed a powerful, influential state, is divided into two epochs. The first era of the personal union was from 1386 to 1569. This even meant that the Grand Princes of Lithuania came to the throne as a result of an independent election, and the Polish king and the Grand Duke of Lithuania may have been different in principle, only the latter being a vassal of the former. At that time, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania extended to present-day Ukraine and was much larger than the Polish crown in personal union with it. (Halecki, 1919-1920). Then, in 1569, a closer union was formed, which was named the "Lublin Union" because the negotiations went to Lublin, East Poland. It was already related to our topic as well. The agreement has created the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a federal but single state. There were long discussions before signing the union treaty. Lithuanian magnates were afraid of losing much of their powers. (Borzecki, 1996) Albeit Lithuania had already been on the losing side of the Muscovite-Lithuanian Wars, moreover, by the second half of the 16th century, it faced the threat of total defeat in the Livonian War and incorporation into the Tsardom of Russia. Livonia was located around the Baltic sea and flourished with towns belonging to the Hansa alliance in the Middle ages, the defeated by Ivan IV (the Terrible), it was destroyed and ruined, and the former flourishing trade-center towns were inhabited by Muscovian immigrants, who built their Orthodox churches, destroying the culture of the former local inhabitants, who were murdered in a significant number as well. Therefore, the losses were great and the threat to the Lithuanian Grand Duchy from the side of Muscovy was dangerous. The earlier powerful GDL now hoped to be defended by the Polish Kingdom, which, however, was a small and weak country before the personal union in 1385, and strengthened during the two centuries of the personal union. When this union turned into reality, thus by the Lublin union in 1569, the Polish partner was already more powerful. Moreover, the former territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were moved to the Polish Kingdom, and the GDL remained in its earlier northern territories, losing half of its former lands. Formally, the GDL kept its independence in the framework of the twin state, the Commonwealth, with its administration and army, as a "smaller brother". (Rachuba, 2002; Butterwick-Pawlikowski, 2001)

Hence, when Stephen Bathory stepped on the throne of Poland, he was elected by the Polish noblemen, and the Lithuanian nobility did not want to accept him. The -already- great Poland was the state which wanted really to continue the war and chose such a king who was to fight against Muscovy, and he was to promise the continuing the wars before the Polish noblemen chose him for the king. (Bazyłow, 1948; Olejnik, 1988; Besala, 1992)

The Way to The War and King Stephen Bathory's Acting Struggles for Livonia and their causes.

The aggressive ruler Ivan the Terrible invaded the lands around the Baltic Sea with the purpose to gain back the trade contacts that worked still the heydays of Novgorod, albeit got frozen when Muscovy conquered Novgorod. The Hansa-league cooperated still with Novgorod albeit refused to keep contact with the dictatorial Muscovy. It was an alliance formed by those towns having privileges for free citizenship, which coordinated their activity in the trade, headed by the North German city Lübeck. The easternmost city of the Hanseatic League was Yamburg, at the shore of lake Luga. (Winckler, 1886)

In literature, under the influence of Russian and Russophile views, the idea expanded that the German Hanseatic League was hostile to Muscovy, that is, Hanseatic cities – including cities in Livonia such as Riga, Tartu (Dorpat), Tallinn (Revel), Klaipeda (Memel) and others, hindered ties with Muscovy, that is, they did not allow people to go there. This is an indisputable only one-sided view. It was normal that the West was afraid to allow people to go to Muscovy, that is, Western people were not allowed to do so because it was dangerous for them. At the same time, the commercial interests of the Hanseatic League were certainly

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necessary, and the reputation of the Moscow State was not as good as that of any Western, European state — or the reputation of Novgorod earlier. The view toward Russians changed in the West after the conquest of Novgorod, after the “collection of lands” by Muscovy, because Novgorod used to be a republic, a city-state, run by the Council of rich merchants (this council was named -“Veche”, cf. Birnbaum, 1981) This city-council took care of ensuring financial and trade ties, therefore had a good reputation among the cities of the Hanseatic League. (Angermann & Friedland, 2002; Mühle, 1991) Between 1136 and the first half of the 13th century, Novgorod became the largest Russian state, expanding from its central territory on lakes Ladoga, Ilmen, and Peipsi to Karelia and the White Sea in the north, to the Baltic Sea in the West, and the Ural Mountains. Albeit then when the Novgorodians were subordinate to Moscow, Western trade centers could already be afraid that this authoritative, despotic Moscow State would no longer be secure or could not guarantee the security of economic and financial connections, because the interests of the Moscow tsars were just political, just imperial, while the interests of the city-republic of Novgorod were economic. (Birnbaum, 1981. Halperin, 1999) It is very clear why the citizens of Livonian cities as the city of Hanseatic were mostly afraid of any connection with Muscovy, although they had previously contacted Novgorod. This should also be taken into account when looking for the reasons for the war with Livonia. Livonia did not want to fall under the Moscow authorities in any case, and this is logical.

The Russian invaders and their cruelty.

The reasons for this fear were justified: Russian soldiers treated the local population very harshly and rudely, sold prisoners of war into slavery to the Tatars, and the local inhabitants were tortured, even toward women were cruel, which did not seem to be the case from either The Swedish or Polish troops. Nothing such behavior was apparent from either Swedish or Polish troops but Muscovians. This and the images were distributed throughout Europe. (Bresslein, 1561) On this ground, the Livonian War took place, and then the war of Stephen Bathory. The struggle between Poland and Russia was essentially a struggle between the West and the East, a struggle started by Muscovian Russia after its liberation from the Mongol yoke and the recruitment of its vast provinces, because before Moscow was a small village and even before the Mongol yoke almost did not exist. (Shaikhutdinov, 2021) In its attempts to seize the coastlines, the Muscovian Russian Empire sought to break the resistance of its neighbors up to the Baltic Sea, thus Ivan IV (the Terrible) invaded Livonia. After the capture of Novgorod, The Grand Duchy of Moscow extended its political aspects to the Baltic states. Already in the time of Ivan III, trade relations with the Hanseatic League, which held all trade in its hands, broke off. Therefore, all trade was concentrated in Riga and Narva - the Livonian cities – was broken. The Livonians and Swedes, wanting to isolate Muscovian Russia (although they still developed good contacts with Novgorod), forbade foreigners to maintain trade relations with the Russians. This was the reason for the Russo-Swedish war, in which the Russians remained on top, and the Swedish King Gustav Vasa was forced to make peace with them. In this treaty, 1557, it was declared that mutual trade would not be troubled. (Westergaard, 1933)

Military operations with the Order of the Sword continued. Dorpat (then-Tartu) refused to pay taxes to the Moscow Tsar. As a result, Ivan the Terrible destroyed Livonia took Narva, and many cities surrendered to the Tsar. At this time, the Russian population began to settle in the Southern Lands of the Baltic states, that is, present-day Estonia, which consists of the then-Estland in the North, and part of the then-Livonia in present-day southern Estonia. The Russian population began to settle there from then on. Livonia asked for help, and Sweden, Denmark, and Poland offered mediation with the Russian tsar, but Ivan demanded unconditional surrender. While the negotiations were going on, the Russian army occupied the city of Dorpat (now Tartu), planted a Russian Orthodox bishop there (in the Protestant, Lutheran city), and the Russian nobility also settled, and the Russian army brutally destroyed everything. Livonia collapsed and ceased to exist. (Esper, 1966)

The puppet ruler of Kurland

The final partition of Livonia took place in 1561. (Kirchner, 1944) Grand Master of the Order of the Sword, Ketler signed a contract with the Polish King Augustus Sigismund: Livonia was transferred to the poles and Ketler became the eternal Duke of Courland. Livonia was finally divided between Poland, Sweden, Russia, Denmark, and a Polish vassal: Courland. Polish King Augustus Sigismund entered with his army in Livonia, demanding that Moscow withdraw the Russian army. As a result, the war continued, and in 1563 the Russians captured the city of Polotsk (now in Belarus). There was a protracted war, and a truce in 1570, but this is not

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yet peace. Ivan offered to return to the city of Polotsk and its province in exchange for Livonia. But neither the poles nor the Swedes gave up the possession of Livonia. Prince Magnus, Duke of Denmark, a candidate for the throne of Livonia, went to Moscow, married Ivan's niece, Maria Vladimirovna, and took the oath of allegiance to the Russian Tsar. He received an army from Moscow, the Germans from Kurland joined him at home, and he fought for Ivan, and besieged Reval (Tallinn), but could not take it. In 1575, an armistice was signed, after which both sides prepared for a new war. (Kirchner, 1954) Poland and Sweden thought that Russia's expansion was dangerous, so both prevented Ivan the Terrible's country from expanding. Most authors attribute this to the political mistakes of Ivan the Terrible, but some also believe that the war was a historical necessity, like Forsten (1893).

And then Stephen Batory ascended the throne. The first times on the throne of Poland were not very simple, this Batory in the first year of his reign, preparing for war with Ivan, stalling for time: he sends ambassadors to Ivan.

The Personality, Life, And Activity of Martin Berzeviczy

The great results of Bathory and its historiography.

The first times on the throne of Poland were not very simple, thus Bathory in the first year of his reign, preparing for war with Ivan, was stalling for time: he sends ambassadors to Ivan. Meanwhile, he opposed the city of Danzig (German: Danzig; Polish: Gdansk), so Gdansk did not recognize him as King. And then he led three campaigns in 1579, 1580, and 1581 against Ivan the Terrible, who occupied Livonia. (Pawński, 1877) On this topic mostly published works were written by Hungarian authors, therefore they are less known to the public. Back in the nineteenth century, Lajos Szádeczky wrote a general article about Stefan Batory's campaigns against Ivan, but he summed up the results of the first two campaigns, and the third remained completely intact. (Szádeczky-Kardoss, L. 1888) András Ihnát wrote his doctoral dissertation on Stephen Bathory's war against Ivan the Terrible in the mid-twentieth century, analyzing the first two campaigns bareback only, and the third in detail, as he continued Szádeczky. (Ihnát, 1942) Meanwhile, in 1933, a great anniversary was celebrated – the four hundredth anniversaries of Bathory's birth, on the occasion of which impressive and voluminous books were published in both Poland and Hungary in 1935. However, while the Polish volume is a large collection of research articles, the Hungarian volume is the work of only one author and is quite readable in a popular style. (Veress, 1937) Unlike strictly scholarly, correct scientific studies of the Polish volume. (Lukinich, 1935) However, the author of the first, Hungarian volume, Endre Veres was a prominent Hungarian historian of the early modern era. He traveled through the archives of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in the Tsarist empire and Prussia before the first World War, and explored sources that were partially destroyed by the Soviet Union, which expanded between the first and Second World Wars, and then by the Soviet Union again, which ruled the Baltic States after World War II, or the sources were already previously destroyed in two world wars, but he saw them before the First World War. Thus, the works of the Hungarian historian Endre Veres fill in a great gap, so at least their abstract publication would be useful, in languages that are better accessible than Hungarian. At the same time, the style of his monograph on Bathory is anecdotal and naively readable, it can no longer be perceived as a scientific work, as one would expect from such a historian. On the other hand, he made a significant contribution to the publication of sources: Bathory's correspondence was published by him in several volumes with original texts, that is, mainly in Latin, and texts in annotated critical elaboration. (Veress, 1944) Lately published Hungarian works are already numerous, even more in Poland, albeit we have here now room for giving a solid bibliography. The best and most completed work in this field was that of Professor Emil Niederhauser, a member of the Academy of Sciences of Hungary, and a worldwide recognized scholar in the field of Eastern Europe. He gave not only a complete overview of works published on Bathory but also analyzed the changes in approaches to the topic. (Niederhauser, 1964) As for the last half of a century, there is no such work, unless a simple bibliography. (Körmendy & Petneki, 2008)

The position of Transylvania

It is common, that any victory in wars can be resulted due to several factors but not only one, and diplomacy is of great importance among them. In this case, the Polish King Bathory had to prepare for the war not only by gathering the troops by mobilization (which was not that in our times, because the parliament, the Sejm voted for permission to the King to gather combats, respecting the rights of the noblemen, albeit it is not a

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subject of our work here) but also with the diplomacy, with purposes to gain military and financial support from other states. (Dopierała, 1986)

The Turkish Sultanate played a special role among those European powers, who supported the Polish-Lithuanian Twin-State in its defencing war against the Tsar of Muscovy in 1579-81. On one hand, the first state of Stephen Báthory was Transylvania, a vassal state of the Turkish Empire. Since the Turkish Sultan Suleiman I (the "Great") conquered Buda, the capital of the Hungarian Kingdom, he owned the central part of Hungary, which was integrated into the Turkish Empire, but Transylvania became a vassal-state of the Turkish Sultan and paid yearly tax to the Osman Porta for one and half of a century. (Szakály, 1990) Therefore, Stephen Báthory, as the Prince of Transylvania, was obliged to ask the permission of the Turkish Sultan for using the Transylvanian soldiers in the war of the Polish Kingdom against the Muscovian Tsar. (Dopierała, 1986)

On the other hand, the Turkish Sultan was interested in any war against the Muscovian Tsar, because the Sultan was interested in stopping the Russian expansion in any way. Therefore, when the Polish King Stephen Bathory requested financial and political support for his war from the European powers, it was certainly to ask the Turkish Sultan for support as well. The key person diplomat of Bathory was Márton Berzeviczy, a Hungarian noble, who served as Chancellor of Transylvania for Stephen Bathory in Poland. Márton Berzeviczy's diplomatic activity resulted that the Turkish Sultan providing the Polish king Bathory also with material support, also with troops in the Polish war against Muscovian Russia. (Veress, 1911)

The activity of Martin (Márton) Berzeviczy

He married a Polish noblewoman, and got into the Polish nobility, too, thus he was included in the Polish Szlachta. His family came from Tirol, Austria, already in the 13th century, thus to the 16th c. they were Hungarized. He studied in Padova, Italy, then served in official jobs at the Habsburg Cancellary in 1550-60-ies, and then he became an important clerk and diplomat of Bathory. One of his first jobs was to negotiate with Danzig (German: Danzig; Polish: Gdansk) because they did not recognize Bathory for the King. Then Berzeviczy served as the Chancellor of Transylvania but in Kraków, Poland, because the whole Transylvanian administration was moved to Poland, and Bathory administered his former country from his new country (however, a governor was appointed in Transylvania, too). Berzeviczy married a Polish girl of noble origin in 1578, and he got himself a Polish nobility, beyond his Hungarian nobility. Thus, he assimilated into the Polish "Szlachta" and his three children were already born as Polish noblemen. He gained significant lands in Livonia, too, thus he became a rich and real Polish magnate.

Negotiations in Istanbul were to complete secrete, for the military aid from the Sultan against Russia was important, and it was not necessary for the contemporary world could be informed about it, before the war. A significant number of Hungarian troops took part in the war and especially in the siège of Polock in 1579, where, according to the sources, 23 leaders of Hungarian origin fought and their soldiers were certainly in a larger number, thus almost a thousand combats, if only regarding the battles at Polock, which was an important city and fortress, and Ivan the Terrible took it in the Livonian war, thus Bathory took it back. (Szádeczky-Kardoss, L. 1888; Ihnát, 1942)

When Berzeviczy went to the city Alba Iulia in Transylvania, in 1577, for some administrative reasons, he there got the letter of Bathory that he was sent to Istanbul, albeit in secrete. For the wide public, he proclaimed that he traveled for a peregrination, a trip for fun, relaxation, and to see the world. In Istanbul, he already had some knowledge of the place and costumes, because he prepared by reading a bestseller of a French author, Antoine Geoffroy who was a French knight of the Order of St. John (Knights of Rhodes) and published his book about the administration, religion, history, and manners and customs of the Ottoman state in French in 1542 and Latin in 1577. (Geuffroy, 1542 and 1577) It was a very significant source of Turkish life and administration at that time. Stein, H. (2013) Geuffroy, Antoine, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol.3. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_27414 Berzeviczy had a copy of the Latin edition: still, the Hungarian historian E. Veress saw it in the Library of Transylvanian National Museum Transylvania yet in the 1910-ies years: there was a "B.M." monogram on the bookbinding board of the book. (Veress, 1911:113). His mission did not remain in secret, for the Habsburg Ambassador, Christopher Ungnád, a Hungarian person, and friend to Berzeviczy reported on 19 Sept. 1577. that Berzeviczy gained permission from the Sultan for troops from Transylvania, and also from Moldova, and Valachia, which was the former Țara Românească and a vassal of the Turkish Sultan such as Transylvania. (Veress, 1911:115, footnote 36)

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It was of great significance, that the Turkish Sultan gave not only his permission to "use" troops from Transylvania but also, he gave troops from Moldavia and Walachia, too, the two Roman principalities. The Prince of Transylvania, Stephen Bathory did not have any relation to the Romanian principalities and they did not have any reason for some alliance with Transylvania. The Muscovian, Russian expansion however, was of such significance in the eyes of the Sultan, that the Ottoman Porta also ordered Moldavia and Valachia as its vassals to help the Polish King Bathory with military support.

Berzeviczy did so great service to his King Stephen Bathory, as the latter appointed him as the Chancellor at that time, after the mission in Istanbul. Before this time, he was only a diplomat but not the chancellor. His reputation, rank, and fortune grew much since that time.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The Polish-Russian war in 1579-81 was a great step in gaining back the lands that had earlier been conquered by Russia. The Muscovian state was born and grew up from nothing when the former Russian principalities had already been flourishing and recognized states. Moscow was under the Tatar rule and paid to the Golden Horde. Much influence was made on the Muscovian culture by the Tatars, as a Hungarian scholar mentioned, writing about the history of the Russian culture: the "Asian character" of the Russians was due to the Mongol impact on their culture. (Hajnády, 1995) Noteworthy, the East Slavic people in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, of Orthodox Christianity, inhabited the recent Ukrainian and Belarusian lands, did not undergo such a significant Tatar impact. (Földvári, 2023) This Muscovian state soon put in sharp conflict with Europe, while its predecessors did not. There existed an especially democratic state, Novgorod, which was a republic of the city, thus a town-state, ruled by the council of the rich merchants but not by any authoritarian power. The Northern German towns which kept in their hand the trade were likely to keep trade relations with Novgorod. These towns which allied formed the Hansa League, which had several member towns in Livonia, too. However, when Novgorod stopped to exist and the authoritarian state, Muscovy arose, the Hansa League and especially the Livonian towns stopped all trade also administrative relations with Muscovy. Their citizens were not allowed to put to Moscow, unless private voyagers were, albeit sometimes even in those cases they did not. Because the healthy logic of the tradesmen felt the danger of the authoritarian Muscovy, with good reason. The Muscovian answer was simply cruel: if you do not put in good trade relations with me, then I conquer and destroy you, and Muscovy did it. Livonia ceased new Russian inhabitants settled in former flourishing Hansa towns, with Russian Orthodox priests, and the local cultural heritage was destroyed such as the people. Two powers could help Livonia: The Swedish Kingdom and the Polish Kingdom, as the dominating already part of the Polish-Lithuanian twin-state.

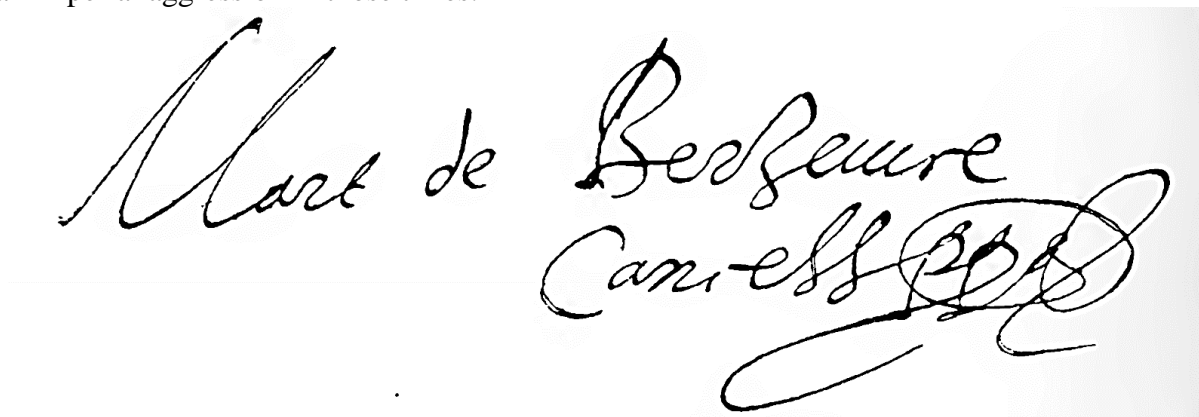
The Muscovian military threat caused a decrease in the formerly strong Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This strong, huge, and powerful state deliberated the former principalities of the Kyivan Rus from the Mongol yoke. The Kyivan Metropolitan, the head of the Orthodox Church of the Eastern Slavic peoples, was subject to the Lithuanian Grand Dukes. Albeit after the personal union in 1385 the former powerful GDL lost its power. Then, just before the reign of Stephen Bathory, the personal union was formed into the real union, and by the treaty in Lublin, 1569, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was born, while the entire southern half of the GDL was attached to the Polish Crown, and the new small GDL was already the northern half of its previous huge territory.

When the imperial aggression of Ivan IV the Terrible threatened the Polish-Lithuanian state, the Polish throne became empty for some reasons and the Polish noblemen chose the Prince of Transylvania, Stephen Bathory for the Polish throne. The main aspect of the choice was his promising power the continuing the war and gain back those territories conquered by Russia. Bathory met the expectations. He conquered back the whole of Livonia, up to the Estonia Tartu in the North, where he established a high school, such as in Polock, the significant Belarusian town and fortress, which he gained back by a strong siege and there he established a high school, too. Stephen Bathory's first state, the Principality of Transilvania, was a vassal state to the Ottoman Turkish Empire, albeit even for this reason it was a great card in the hand of the Polish King. When he sent his diplomate, Martin Berzeviczy to a secrete mission to the Turkish Sultan, the result was more than expected: The Sultan gave not only permission for moving combats from Transylvania to Poland, but still much more: The Sultan still gave combats from Moldavia and Valachia, the Romanian Principalities, which also were vassal states to the Turkish Sultan. Therefore, the Vassal status of the Principality of Transylvania

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was not a disadvantage but a very advantageous thing: this was the bridge to the Turkish Sultan requesting his help in the war against Russia, and the Ottoman Empire did give much help because it wanted to stop the Russian imperial aggression in those times.



1. Picture: Martin Berzevicius's signature.

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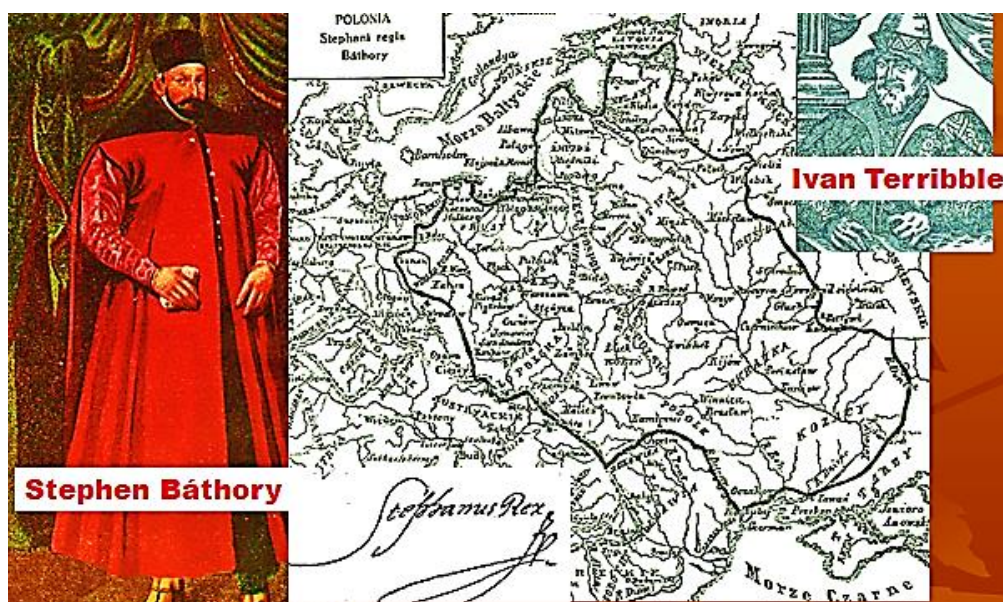
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2. Picture: King Stephen Bathory and his enemy Tsar Ivan the Terrible, in contemporary depiction with a contemporary map of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.