

# David Ungnad Wants his Money Back

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## Context

In August 1573, Emperor Maximilian II sent David Ungnad von Weißenwolf<sup>1</sup> as an envoy (*orator*) to the Porte in Istanbul. Ungnad, a Lutheran aristocrat from Sonnegg (Carinthia, southern Austria) was perfect for this mission: One year before, in 1572, he had spent several months in Istanbul,<sup>2</sup> when he was entrusted with the responsibility of leading the ambassadorial delegation that along with many presents delivered the tribute to the Ottomans.<sup>3</sup> This meant he already had some experience of the East, had an excellent international network, was highly educated, spoke Slavic languages and proved to be a reliable gatherer of information for the emperor during the five years that his mission was to last.

Ungnad also maintained business contacts, and the two documents presented below bear witness to a precarious situation in which he approached the Sultan: It concerns a loan that Ungnad had granted to a Dubrovnik merchant residing in Galata. However, the merchant had gone bankrupt and absconded. In spring 1578, as Ungnad's time to return to Austria approached,<sup>4</sup> he turned to the Sultan to request his money back by the highest order.

The two documents presented here were issued roughly three months before Ungnad's departure from Istanbul and are today in the archives of St Florian's Abbey in Upper Austria under the shelfmarks "Fragment 24a" and "Fragment 24b". As with many such Ottoman documents that ended up in monasteries and regional archives, it is not possible to determine who acquired them, when and from whom. It could be that the choirmaster Franz Kurz (1771-1843) bought them, along with "Fragment 23" written in Arabic, during one of his stays in Vienna. But that is pure speculation.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For biographical details on David Ungnad (1530-1600) see Wurzbach 1886, 180-181 (s.v. Weißenwolf), and Ferus 2007.

<sup>2</sup> He wrote a report on this journey, which was published by Ferus in 2007.

<sup>3</sup> Incidentally, he had brought the emperor horse chestnuts from that trip, which were further cultivated by the famous court botanist Carl Clusius. They represent the beginning of Vienna's beautiful chestnut avenues. Cf. Ferus 2007, 40.

<sup>4</sup> Ungnad left Istanbul on 4. June 1578.

<sup>5</sup> Thanks to Dr. Friedrich Buchmayr for this hint.

Fragment 24a was prepared in Istanbul at the end of March 1578 and is addressed to the Begs of Dubrovnik. According to its form (*tevķī`-i refī`-i hümāyūn vāşıl olıcaķ ma`lūm ola ki*), it is a copy of a sultan's decree.<sup>6</sup> The Begs of Dubronik are urgently requested to raise Ungnad's money somehow, as the ambassador was about to be relieved and return to Austria.

## Transcription

Fragment 24a

1. *Mefāhirü l-ümerā`i l-milleti l-mesihīye merāci`ü l-küberā`i t-ṭā`ifeti l-`ısevīye Dubrenik<sup>7</sup> begleri tevķī`-i refī`-i hümāyūn vāşıl olıcaķ ma`lūm ola ki ḫāliyā Peç kralı*
2. *imparaṭoruñ ilçisi ve Şonek nām maḫallüñ begi olub bi-l-fi`l südde-i se`ādetde olan David Unĝnad bāb-i sa`ādetüme `arz-i ḫāl gönderüb bundan*
3. *aķdem Dubreniküñ `ayānından [!] Marin Babali nām tācire Ğalaṭada sākın [!] iken ḫarz-i ḫasen ḫeyli [!] aķçe virüb mezbūr Marin Babali daḫı Dubrenikte Conyo Babali*
4. *nām `ammūsı ile dā`imā alış viriş idüb mā-beynlerinden külli mu`āmeleleri olub mezkūr Conyo mezbūr Marin Babalinüñ metā` ü esbābın ve aķçesin*
5. *göndermeyüb Dubrenikte alıķomaĝ-ıla mesfūr Marin Babali nām daḫı müflis olub geçinmege ḫudreti olmamaĝın ĝaybet idüb ilç-i mezkūr mezbūr*
6. *Marin Babali Dubreniküñ yarar kişizādelerinden olub āsitāne-i sa`ādetde Dubrenik ilçileri ḫāzır olmadükleri [!] zamānda vāķi` olan*
7. *ilçilik ḫidmetin itmekle i`timād u i`tiķād idüb daḫı<sup>8</sup> aķçe`i virüb şimdikiḫâlde ne cānibe gitdüĝi ma`lūm olmayub müşārün ileyh ilç daḫı*

<sup>6</sup> There is also an entry on this topic in a *Mühimme Defteri*, which was edited in an unpublished MA thesis (Eren 2011). However, the edition contains no translation and presents some difficulties with the names, which makes it impossible to find them: David Ungnad becomes David Onkidek (p.109).

<sup>7</sup> With one exception Dubrovnik is written in this document „Dubranik/Dubrenik“.

<sup>8</sup> Reading uncertain, paper damaged.

8. *bir nice def`ā [!] size mektūblar gönderüb zıkr olınan aqçe`i müteveccih olanlardan taḥşıl idüb gönderesiz diyü ricā itmişken aşlā*
9. *mektūblarına iltikā` itmeyüb aqçesi taḥşıl olunub gönderilmeyüb ve gendüsi daḥı`an qarīb vilāyetine gitmek üzre olmağın qadīmü z-zamāndan*
10. *dergāh-i sa`ādet-destgāhumuza olan şadākat u ihlāşuñuz [!] müsted`āsınca mezkūr Marin Babali nām zımmīye virdügi qarż aqçesi anda olan*
11. *aqçe ve esbāb ve metā` ve emlākından ve anuñ iflāsına sebep olan `ammūsı mezkūr Conyo Babalinüñ emvāl ü esbābından taḥşıl ü*
12. *tedārük olunub vilāyetine gitmezden muqaddem südde-i sa`ādetüme irsāl olunmaq içün ḥükm[!]-i hümāyūnum taleb itmegın āsitāne-i sa`ādetümüze*
13. *olan qadīm ihlāş [!] u istikāmetüñüz muqtezāsınca ilçi-i mūmā-ileyhüñ mezkūr Marin Babali nām zımmīye virdügi aqçesi*
14. *zāyi` ü telef olmayub her ne tarīk-ile mümkün olursa taḥşıl olunub dergāh-i mu`allāma gönderilmesini emr idüb*
15. *buyurdum ki ḥükm-i şerīfümle Covan V/Delfaro [?] ve Vidmar nām ādemleri vardüklerinde [!] bu bābda envā`-i iqdām u ihtimāmuñuz zuhūra*
16. *götürüb müşārün ileyh ilçinüñ mezkūr Marin Babaliya qarż virdügi aqçesini Dubrovnikde vāki` olan emlāk u emvāl*
17. *ü esbābından ve dā`imā mu`āmele üzre olub alış viriş idüb mezbūr Marinüñ iflāsına sebep ü bā`iş olan*
18. *`ammūsı Babalinüñ emvāl ü esbāb u emlākından āyın ü `ādetüñüz muqtezāsınca ihmāl ü müsāhele olunmayub ilçi-i*
19. *mezbūr henüz vilāyetine teveccüh itmezden muqaddem her ne tarīk-ile mümkün [!] ü mutaşavver olursa bī-kuşūr taḥşıl ü tedārük*
20. *eyleyüb ḥükm-i hümāyūnumla gönderdügi mezkūrān ādemlerine teslim idüb göndermek bābında dergāh-i mu`allāmuza olan qadīmī*
21. *şadākat u istikāmetüñüzi zuhūra götürüb ilçi-i mūmā-ileyhüñ ḥaqqını kimesneye bel` u ketm itdürmeyüb vücūda*
22. *götüresiz [!] bu def`a ilçi-i merķūmuñ aqçesin taḥşıl itmek ḥuşuşınd[a] [!] envā`-i iqdām u ihtimāmuñuz bezl eyleyüb tekrār*

23. *şikāyet itmege muhtāc eylemeyesiz şöyle bilesiz ‘alāmet-i şerīfe i ‘timād kılasız taḥ-rīren fī evāsiti min şehri Muḥarrem*
24. *sene tis ‘e mi ‘e semānīn sitte<sup>9</sup> (986 H., end of March 1578)*  
*bi-makāmi Koştan[t]inīye*

## Translation

Renowned rulers of the Christian confession, refuges of the greats of the Christian community, Begs of Dubrovnik! As soon as the sublime royal letter arrives, may it be known that David Ungnad, who is currently the envoy of the ruler of Vienna and the owner of the place called Sonnegg and an official at the threshold of fortune, has sent a petition to my porte of felicity.

Previously, he had lent a large sum of money without interest to the merchant Marin Babali, a nobleman from Dubrovnik, at the time he was resident in Galata. The aforementioned Marin Babali constantly conducted trade with his uncle Conyo Babali in Dubrovnik, and there was a lot of business between them. The mentioned Conyo failed to send his goods, products and money to the mentioned Marin Babali, and since he withheld them in Dubrovnik, the mentioned Marin Babali went bankrupt. As he no longer had the power to sustain himself, he disappeared.

The mentioned envoy (Ungnad) had confidence and believed that the aforementioned Marin Babali belonged to the honourables of Dubrovnik and, at the time when there were no envoys from Dubrovnik at the Sublime Porte, performed the necessary envoy services and lent him money. And now there is no idea where he is. The aforementioned envoy sent several letters asking: “You ought to collect the aforementioned money from the responsible persons and send it”, but there was no response to his letters. The money was not collected and sent.

And since he is soon to return to his homeland, in accordance with the long, close relationship and sincerity with our Porte, he has demanded my sublime

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<sup>9</sup> The word order of this number is somehow mixed up; and *tis ‘a* looks more like *sitta*.

decree/*hüküm* that the borrowed money he had given to the subject called Marin Babali be collected and made available from his property, goods, chattels and real estate, as well as from the goods and possessions of his aforementioned uncle Conyo Babali, who was the cause of his bankruptcy, and sent to my threshold of felicity before he (Ungnad) returns to his homeland.

Given the long trust and appreciation that exists for our threshold of felicity, I have ordered that the money given by the aforementioned envoy to the subject called Marin Babali not be lost, be collected by whatsoever means, and be sent to my Sublime Threshold.

I have ordered with my sublime decree that you, as soon as his (i.e. Babali's) men named Covan, V/Delfaro and Vidmar have arrived, make an effort and endeavour in this matter, and as is your custom and practice, do not be negligent in taking the money which the said envoy has lent to Marin Babali from his goods, wares and properties located in Dubrovnik, and also from the goods, wares and properties of his uncle, with whom he has constantly been trading and who was the cause of Marin's bankruptcy, in whatever way this may be possible, before the aforesaid envoy returns to his homeland, collect it and make it available, and, as for handing it over and sending it with the aforesaid men whom I have sent with my exalted command, let the ancient fidelity and sincerity which you have shown to my exalted threshold and the right of the aforesaid envoy not be violated by anyone.

You shall endeavour and work hard this time in the matter of collecting the money of the aforementioned envoy, and give him no further cause for complaining.

So you should know. Believe in the Sublime Sign (i.e. the Tugra). Written in the middle decade of the month of Muḥarrem in the year 986 (20-30 March 1578) in Constantinople.

## **Transcription**

Fragment 24b

*Türkische Copey des sultanischen Bevelches* (German)

1. *Şāhib-devlet paşa hazretlerinüñ mektüb-i şerîfinüñ içinde olan ma‘delerüñ [!] ‘ayn ile şüretidür*
2. *müşārün ileyh ilçi imparator cānibine teveccüh ü ‘avdet<sup>10</sup> eylemedin mu‘accelen irsāl ü işāline sa‘y vü ikdām ve cehd*
3. *ü ihtimām eylesesiz eger mezbūrlardan taḥşilinden zamān mürür idüb eglenmek lāzım gelür-ise müşārün ileyh*
4. *ilçi ‘avk olunmaḳ<sup>11</sup> için gendü ~~cānibünüzden~~ cāniblerünüzden gönderüb soñra siz mezkūrlardan alub*
5. *ḳabz eylesesiz müşārün ileyh daḫı gönderdügünüz māl ile bize olan deynimüzi edā eyleye şöyle ki bu def‘a*
6. *daḫı sāyir zamāna ḳıyāsen te‘allül ü ihmāl veyāḫūd taḥşilinde ‘usret vardur diyü ihmāl yāḫūd*
7. *‘arz olunmaḳ lāzım gelse küllī sū‘-i zann bā‘is ve ‘itāb u gāzab-i pādişāhinüñ izrārına<sup>12</sup> [!]*
8. *sebeb olunmaḳ muḳarrer ü muḫaḳḳaḳdur aña göre tedbīr ü tedārük aşasız [?] bir yirde fermān-i*
9. *‘ālīşān-i vācibü l-iz‘ānuñ tenfīzinde müsāhele taḳşir revā görilmeyüb taḥşilinde*
10. *isti‘cāl olına zīrā imparator-ile bizüm mā-beynümüzde olan dostlık muḳtezāsı budur ki*
11. *anlaruñ müte‘allikātı ve birden bizüm cānibimüze müte‘allik olan dostlarımızdan ašlā rencide*
12. *vü remīde olmya taḫrīren fī evāsiti şehri Muḫarremi l-ḫarām sene sitte ve semānīn ve tis‘a-mi‘a*

*bi-medīneti*

*Ḳoştanīniye*

*El-maḫrüse*

<sup>10</sup> Probably a misspelling: ‘azimet [?]

<sup>11</sup> Should be *olunmamaḳ*.

<sup>12</sup> Or *isdārına*?

## **Translation:**

Turkish Copy [?] of the Sultan's Order

This is the exact copy of the issues contained in the exalted letter of His Majesty the Pasha, the Lord of Happiness.

Before the aforementioned envoy sets out for the Kaiser, you should urgently endeavour, exert yourselves and pass it on. If collecting [the money] from the aforementioned (i.e. the merchants) takes time and it is necessary to wait, then in order not to delay the aforementioned envoy, forward it from your own side and only afterwards collect it from the aforementioned (merchants).

Let the aforementioned (merchant) pay the debt he owes us with the money you send him. If you neglect [the matter], claiming that there is delay and procrastination or difficulty in collection as compared to otherwise, or if it becomes necessary [to submit the matter again], then that is the cause of utter suspicion, anger and wrath of the Padishah.

Accordingly, you must take precautions. No negligence should be shown in the execution of the high command to be obeyed and (the money) should be collected with all speed. Because the friendship that prevails between the Kaiser and us requires that none of our friends, be they his people or ours, be harassed or molested.

Written in the middle decade of the month of Muḥarrem, in the year 986.

In the city of Constantinople, the well-protected.





Fragment 24b

مفاجر الكلاوية الملبية من راجع كلكلوك الطانف المسلوب في بنة بكارى تويع دقيع هاوية واصب كويغ معلوم كهصبة حالبا في قوله  
لا يدر كطوة اليلجى و صوم نام جملتي دولت بالفعت ستم و سعالتم كهصبة و دورا و بغاوار باب سعالتم عنى ما كودر رويا بونه  
دقيم في بنة عاتبة مارين بابا نام تاجين غلطن سالكين و في صوح حياي كوي و ويون في بومارين بابا في و في بونينيك جويا بابا  
نام عوسا كيدو لاما البنى و بونين ايرون ما بيناونه على معاملة لوى دولت فوكر جويا في بومارين بابا لينا ستاك و اسابيت و كوي  
كوتر مويون في بنة اليعو بغير مفر مارين بابا نام و في مغلتن دولت في بنة كوي ما بين غيب كيدون في بنة فوكر جويا  
مارين بابا في بنة يركديس زكوة اولون استانه و معاونت في بنة اليلجوين حافر كويلد و كلون زماندا و واقع اصفه  
اليلجى حواسين كينهم لاعتقار كوترون و في بنة كوي و كوي كالك بجانن كيو و معلوم او ايون كداليل اليلجى و في  
في بنة وقاسيق ملكو بلو كودرون فوكر اولناة في بنة متوجه اولناوة تحسبت ايدون كودر، سز كور راسطيق ايتكلم اصيللا  
مكوياونه الفتاح ايون في بنة تحسبت ايدون كودر مكوياون و كندوسى و في عن قوت و لا بينت كين كوزن كوي ما بين قديم الزماندا  
و كا ح سعالتم و سقا سمع كهصبة صدراقت و احلا هكلا متهد عانج فوكر مارين بابا نام في بنة و في بنة و في بنة انر اصفه  
في بنة و اسباب و متاع و املا كذبة و كذا اقلان سب كهصبة عوسا فوكر جويا بابا نام او اموال و اسابنده تحسبت و  
ندرك اولون و لانت كتمرة مقدم ستم سعالتم ارسله كوي حق ليو حكم هاويون طلب انگلين استانه و معاون  
كهصبة قديم احلاص و استقامسا مقتصحين اليلجى موي اليسك فوكر مارين بابا نام في بنة و في بنة في بنة  
ضايح و تلف اولمويون هون طريفيل مكلت اولور ش تحسبت اولون حكا معلوم كودر لمترس او ايون  
بيوروم كرم كير نفعل حواء و لفارو و ويدار نام او مارك و اردا ملون، بو بايد انواع اقتراح و احكاما مظهر  
كودون مساه اليه ايلجند فوكر مارين بابا نام في بنة و في بنة في بنة حكا معلوم اصفه املا و اموال  
و اسابنده و و ابا معامل اولون اللقى و يركديس ايرون فوكر مارين بابا نام سب و باعث اصفه  
عوسا بابا البنى كموال و اسباب و املا كذبة ايون و عادلون مقتصحين اهل و مسابله اولمويون اليلجى  
في بنة هونر و صفة بنة توبه كتمرة مقدم هون طريفيل مكلين و متصور اولور كين تصور تحسبت و ندرك  
اطلوب حكم هاويون كودر كوي فوكر اه او مارك بيلع ايرون كودر مكلطبا بايند حكا معلوم اصفه قديم  
صدراقت و استقامسا كراي ظهور كترين اليلجى موي اليسك حقيقي كسين بيلع و كتم اندريون وجود  
كويش بون و في اليلجى حوا و فوكر في بنة تحسبت انر صوصن انواع اقتراح و احكاما بيلع ايلويون كوار  
لكايت انك حواف اليلجى سويل بيلش علامت كريف احتمال قلوس كوكوز اوليك و كلال فم  
سهمها ما بين ست

عالم  
مصطفى

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