

## RANSOMING OTTOMAN SLAVES FROM MUNICH (1688)

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On September 2, 1686, 78 days after the beginning of the siege of Buda, the efforts of the troops of Charles, Duke of Lorraine and of Maximilian Emmanuel, Elector of Bavaria, finally paid off. After the allied forces had broken through the Ottoman defences, the commander-in-chief Abdurrahman pasha, protected by his bodyguards, withdrew to one of the parallel streets of the burgher town, where he continued to fight manfully. Through his personal bravery he managed to rally some of his men, already in full retreat, around himself, but most of them soon ran away in fear of being surrounded. The old pasha, who refused to escape with his own soldiers, resisted to the last and died fighting, winning the respect even of his enemies.

It was between the two quarters of the castle, on the four-sided square of the Arsenal that the Christians advancing from the burgher town in the south and those coming from the Palace in the north surrounded the inhabitants of the castle who rushed there from all directions. Aside from the women and children some 2,000 soldiers and burghers were taken prisoner.<sup>1</sup> The Elector of Bavaria received 345,<sup>2</sup> among them İsmail pasha, commander of the Palace and of the Ottoman positions against the Bavarians,<sup>3</sup> Abdi ağa, Abdurrahman's majordomo, a certain Lami *efendi*, Hasan pasha, and "Budaimla" (probably Budimli) Mehmed.

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<sup>1</sup>*Lotharingiai Károly hadinaplója Buda visszafoglalásáról* [The War Diary of Maximilian Emanuel of the Siege of Buda]. Edited by József Kun. Budapest, 1986, 214.

<sup>2</sup>Ludwig Hüttl, *Max Emanuel der Blaue Kurfürst*. München, 1976, 594. Another source speaks of 350 prisoners. Johann Konstantin Feigius, *Wunderbahrer Adlers-Schwung*. Bd. 2. Wien, 1694, 247 (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Gv 942).

<sup>3</sup>İsmail pasha was set free on August 8, 1687, four days before the battle of Nagyharsány. According to Louis Hector, marquis de Villars, then staying in the camp of Maximilian, his ransom – 70,000 golden florins, a sable and some pearls – was put together by the Ottoman army. János J. Varga, *A fogyó félhold árnyékában. A török kiűzése Magyarországról* [In the Shadow of the Waning Crescent. The Expulsion of the Ottomans from Hungary]. Budapest, 1986, 152. Others think that he was redeemed by the Ottoman

The prisoners<sup>4</sup> of Maximilian Emmanuel were transported by three ships on the Danube<sup>5</sup> to Regensburg, whence they were escorted by soldiers to the villages and towns which had been designated for them around Munich. Some of them remained in the Elector's capital, where they were accommodated in the garrisons by the south-eastern Isar gate.<sup>6</sup> At first they were kept under a close watch: they could not leave their buildings and were not allowed to receive visitors without the permission of one of the members of the electoral War Committee.<sup>7</sup> These visits soon brought about profound changes in their lives, however. The citizens and nobles of Munich began to take Turkish pages and servants and paraded with retinues consisting of boys and girls dressed in Turkish national costume. Maximilian Emmanuel even set up a guild of Turkish sedan-bearers, who transported his family and the most distinguished members

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court. Ferenc Szakály, *Hungaria eliberata. Budavár visszavétele és Magyarország felszabadítása a török uralom alól 1683–1718* [Hungaria eliberata. The Siege of Buda and the Liberation of Hungary from Ottoman Rule]. Budapest, 1986, 70.

<sup>4</sup>The identification of the latter three is almost impossible, owing to the laconic reports of the contemporary sources and to the distortions caused by the adaptation of Turkish names to German. The names contained in our primary source, issued on October 15, 1687 at Pest (BHStA KA B. Türkenkriege 8. b. Kriegsgefangenen. Türken und deren Austausch gegen Bayern 1683–1703) have been compared with the list, drawn up on October 25, 1686, which contains the names of 205 Turkish prisoners (MOL E 284, Budai Kamarai Adminisztráció Regisztraturája, Miscellanea, 1. No. 96, fols. 91–93). None of our three captives can be found among them. More useful is the work of Giovanni Paolo Zenarolla, provost of Székesfehérvár (*War Diary or the Siege of Buda*. Published in Hungarian by Ferenc Szakály in *Buda visszafoglalásának emlékezete* [In Memoriam of the Recapture of Buda]. Budapest, 1986, 93–177), which gives the names of Turkish officers and other “distinguished persons” who were taken away as prisoners after the fall of Buda (pp. 176–177). Although Lami *efendi* cannot be found among them, there figures a “Mali Chiatibi Osman Effendi” who is “at His Majesty the Elector of Bavaria”. Hasan pasha seems to be identical with the “Hassan Ciorbagi Chiaia Bej” of Zenarolla who is also “at the Elector of Bavaria”. No information concerning Budaimla Mehmed can be found in the provost's list.

<sup>5</sup>Feigius, *op. cit.*, 247.

<sup>6</sup>BHStA KA Handschrift, Türkenkrieg 1683–1688. No. 327. 476: Friedrich Münich, *Materialen zu den Feldzügen gegen die Türken 1683–1688*, October 29, 1686, November 30, 1686.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, January 27, 1687. Problems of discipline are attested by the report of lieutenant Stumpf, head of the guard, from February 25, 1687, according to which the corporal on duty sent some of the Turks, escorted by a musketeer, to beg in the city, but they spent the money on drink and the alcohol made them “sick”.

of his court in the city.<sup>8</sup> Those fit for hard work were directed to Schleissheim, the Elector's favourite summer residence, some 12 kms from the centre of Munich, where the construction of the castle of Lustheim, surrounded by a huge park, had been going on since 1684 under the supervision of the Italian Enrico Zuccalli. Turks felled timber in the woods, assisted the masons, the stone-cutters and the carpenters, and it was also they who planted the 2,000 lime trees along the roads, squares and pools of the geometrically structured garden.<sup>9</sup> They received 8 *kreutzers* a day from the Chamber, paid on a regular two-week basis. Those who were fortunate enough to make soldier's cloaks in the "Fabrica" of Munich could earn even more.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, they often complained of poor supplies and sometimes appeased their hunger with stolen meat or with a salad made from leek and wild sorrel.<sup>11</sup>

The hundreds of kilometres which separated them from the Ottoman Empire made escape impossible. Only those officers and public servants could hope for delivery who were ready to pay the huge ransom or could be exchanged for Christian prisoners. 57 such persons left Munich in September 1687 and sailed down the Danube to Buda under the command of Johann Christoph Griennagl, Maximilian's bodyguard, and of Sebastian Keuffel, employee of the "Fabrica".<sup>12</sup> The contingent, consisting of 32 pashas,<sup>13</sup> 3 *ağas*,<sup>14</sup> 14 *sipahis*,<sup>15</sup> an *efendi*,<sup>16</sup> a *zabit*,<sup>17</sup> five unknown office-holders and a servant, was taken over by Johann

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<sup>8</sup>Hüttl, *op. cit.*, 156.

<sup>9</sup>Gerhard Hojer, *Schleissheim. Neues Schloss und Garten*. München, 1980, 9–10, 13, 27. Hüttl, *op. cit.*, 595. The Elector saw to it that sufficient manpower should always be at hand: in 1688 he sent more than 400 Turkish prisoners from Hungary. Hüttl, *op. cit.*, 594.

<sup>10</sup>BHStA KA B. Türkenkriege 8. b. July 11, 1692.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, BHStA KA Handschrift No. 327. December 24, 1696.

<sup>12</sup>BHStA KA B. Türkenkriege 8. b. July 1, 1688.

<sup>13</sup>The word *paşa* does not refer here to the chief officer in charge of a *vilayet*; rather, it should be understood as *başa* (another variant: *beşe*), a title given to ordinary soldiers or rather to lower-ranking officers (mainly among the Janissaries). Cf. J. Deny, *Paşa*. In: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. VIII. 279b.

<sup>14</sup>Here: head of a Janissary regiment.

<sup>15</sup>Cavalryman.

<sup>16</sup>Literate, officer.

<sup>17</sup>A military officer with limited authority. Gustav Bayerle, *Pashas, Beks and Effendis. A Historical Dictionary of Titles and Terms in the Ottoman Empire*. Istanbul, 1997, 162.

Balthasar Peck, the Elector's commissary for provisions and stores, who set up a list of them on October 15, 1687.<sup>18</sup>

Only a couple of weeks after they had been housed in the round bastion of Pest, a truly shocking event happened. While commissary Peck was busily engaged in organising the prisoners' journey to the Ottoman Empire, where they were to collect their ransom, two of them, Mustafa Ali and Emikati pasha secretly opened a hole in the bastion's wall and escaped.<sup>19</sup> Eight of their fellow-prisoners followed their example. One of the Elector's local officers surprised them in the midst of their preparations, however, and the Turks had no choice but to beat him to death in order to avoid arrest. Three of the fugitives were captured by the *haiducks*, who killed two on the spot while the third, the *sipahi* Hüseyin was taken back to Pest. All the others had managed to disappear.<sup>20</sup> After the incident Peck subjected some of the prisoners to a merciless flogging – the victims must have been among those later mentioned as dead –, relieved the guard<sup>21</sup> and turned all of his attention to those from whom his lord could surely expect a ransom and the exchange of prisoners: to Abdi *ağa* and his servant, Mehmed, to Lami *efendi*, Hasan pasha and Budaimla Mehmed.

The most distinguished among them was evidently Abdi *ağa*, who as “Chihaia”<sup>22</sup> or “Thyaia, Thiaja” (*kethüda*, deputy) pasha<sup>23</sup> was mentioned as seneschal or vice-commandant (“Vice-Commendant zu Ofen”) of the late Abdurrahman, *beylerbeyi*<sup>24</sup> of Buda. At the end of 1687 Abdi *ağa* was ordered from Munich to go to Eszék in the company of a provisions officer and four musketeers, in order to organise the payment of his ransom from Ottoman territory.<sup>25</sup> Hasan, Ali and six other prisoners soon

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<sup>18</sup>BHStA KA B. Türkenkriege 8. b. October 15, 1687.

<sup>19</sup>BHStA KA Handschrift No. 327. December 10, 1687, January 27, 1688.

<sup>20</sup>BHStA KA B. Türkenkriege 8. b. October 15, 1687. The list is undated; it seems to have been drawn up several months later, when Peck had to account for the prisoners. The date that figures in the introduction (October 15, 1687) refers to the time of the prisoners' arrival from Munich to Pest.

<sup>21</sup>BHStA KA Handschrift No. 327. January 27, 1688.

<sup>22</sup>Szakály, *op. cit.*, 176.

<sup>23</sup>BHStA KA B. Türkenkriege 8. b. October 15, 1687; BHStA KA Handschrift No. 327. January 27, 1688.

<sup>24</sup>Governor-general.

<sup>25</sup>BHStA KA Handschrift No. 327. December 10, 1687.

left for Constantinople, where they had to collect the 9,250 golden florins<sup>26</sup> and negotiate the exchange of 69 Christian prisoners. Their companions remaining at Pest acted as guarantors, taking upon themselves their ransom.<sup>27</sup> Hasan returned with a mere 100 ducats and was accordingly bound up in irons at Pest, while Ali and his companions disappeared. Abdi *ağa* soon left Eszék, already suffering from dysentery. The quest for ransom which had seemed so promising in the beginning thus ended with a complete failure.<sup>28</sup>

Peck was not a man to accept defeat patiently, however, and was determined to make good the damage caused to his reputation by the escape of his prisoners. As ransom was also urged for from the court of Munich, he turned to Ahmed, the pasha of Székesfehérvár, who had taken over the authority of the *beylerbeyi* of Buda, in order to settle the affair as quickly as possible. On two occasions, on May 15 and 20, 1688 he went to the pasha in person.<sup>29</sup> He could not have chosen a moment less propitious for his plans: on May 8 after a seven-month blockade, Ahmed came to terms with Ádám Batthyány, captain-general of the Transdanubian region and commander of the blockading forces, about the conditions of surrender. The official document was ratified on May 12 in Vienna and sent back to Székesfehérvár five days later. On May 19 the garrison, about 1,000 men, left the castle together with the civilian population and marched to the village of Adony on the Danube whence they were to float down on boats to Belgrade.<sup>30</sup> Under such circumstances Peck could hardly hope to achieve any success. Moreover, the conditions that he put forward on May 15 were far too harsh: in accordance with his orders from Munich he demanded 2,300 golden florins and the delivery of three Christian prisoners for the setting free of Abdi *ağa*. Ahmed responded that it was “impossible for them to ransom their brother Thiaja, for their villages had been destroyed four years earlier,<sup>31</sup> their peasants had dispersed and could not be taxed any more.”

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<sup>26</sup>Guilder, ducat, Rhenish or German florin.

<sup>27</sup>BHStA KA Handschrift No. 327. February 6, 1688.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, January 27, 1688, August 26, 1688.

<sup>29</sup>BHStA KA B. Türkenkriege 8. b. July 1, 1688.

<sup>30</sup>Klára Hegyi – János J. Varga, *Székesfehérvár a török korban – Bécstől Székesfehérvárig* [Székesfehérvár in the Ottoman Era – From Vienna to Székesfehérvár]. (História klub füzetek, 5.) Székesfehérvár, 1989, 40.

<sup>31</sup>The region had been ravaged by war since 1684.

Even if they collected all the goods from the destroyed localities they would be unable to pay more than 300 golden florins. They asked for a month's delay and promised "upon their faith that as soon as the town and castle of Székesfehérvár are handed over to the Christians – to which they are compelled by the lack of supplies<sup>32</sup> – and they get to Belgrade they will collect money in order to release Thiaja from his captivity."<sup>33</sup>

The Turks of Székesfehérvár acted with surprising swiftness to fulfil their promise – at least in their own way. They seem to have sent a messenger to Süleyman, pasha of Belgrade, with whom they decided that two Hungarian market towns, Kecskemét and Nagykőrös, both belonging to the province of Buda, would have to pay to Peck for Abdi's release at Belgrade.<sup>34</sup> The money, completed with the ransom of Budaimla Mehmed, which amounted to 200 golden florins, would constitute their tax for the year 1688.<sup>35</sup> At the same time Süleyman engaged himself in writing to give back the 2,500 golden florins as soon as the towns handed over the money to the Elector's representatives at Pest and the two Ottoman officers returned "from the Christian camp."<sup>36</sup> In order to facilitate the transaction the pasha of Belgrade did not hesitate to lock up Mihály Böde, brother of the judge of Kecskemét, together with his companion, a well-to-do burgher of Nagykőrös, who had come to Belgrade to do business there.<sup>37</sup> Then he forced 12 of their fellow merchants to hand over the 2,500 golden florins. Already on May 20 he could make out the receipt, testifying that "...for this year of 1688 they have brought their tax to be paid according to the *defter* and handed it over in full at the treasury of the imperial (i.e. the sultan's) camp. Since no part of the aforementioned

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<sup>32</sup>We know from a letter of Ádám Batthyány, commander of the blockading forces, sent to Ahmed pasha on May 7, that the Ottoman garrison had long been starving then. Hegyi – Varga, *op. cit.*, 40.

<sup>33</sup>BHStA KA B. Türkenkriege 8. b. July 1, 1688.

<sup>34</sup>After the fall of Buda the functions of the treasury of Buda were taken by Székesfehérvár, then, after the latter's capitulation, by Belgrade; for the *vilayet* of Buda extended southwards as far as the Serbian border.

<sup>35</sup>BHStA KA B. Türkenkriege 8. b. July 1, 1688. Áron Szilády – Sándor Szilágyi, *Okmánytár a hódoltság történetéhez Magyarországon* [Archive on the History of Ottoman Rule in Hungary]. II. Pest, 1863, 166.

<sup>36</sup>Szilády – Szilágyi, *op. cit.*, 166.

<sup>37</sup>BHStA KA B. Türkenkriege 8. b. July 1, 1688. János Hornyik, *Kecskemét város története oklevéltárral* [The History of the Town of Kecskemét with a Collection of Documents]. III. Kecskemét, 1862, 188.

tax was left unpaid, this receipt was given to them so as to protect them from all further trouble and from having to pay their tax again..."<sup>38</sup> Then he told the two towns that he would not set his hostages free until the burghers redeemed the two Turkish prisoners and took them to Belgrade. What could Kecskemét and Nagykőrös do? They paid, first to the Ottomans for the Ottomans, then to the Germans for the Ottomans.

It was now Peck's turn again. He summoned the envoys of the two towns and asked them if they were willing to pay 2,300 ducats and exchange three Christian prisoners for Abdi ağa, as the Ottomans of Belgrade had demanded, and thereby liberate their two fellow-burghers. The envoys bluntly refused, however, for the Emperor Leopold I (1658–1705)<sup>39</sup> had ordered them not to pay more than "a few *grossi* of tax or vassalic aid to the Ottoman emperor by way of their arrears and their future tax". If, therefore, "His Imperial Majesty is not able to pay a mere trifle in connection with such a large-scale transaction", they argued with a diplomatic skill that had been refined by 150 years of Ottoman rule, "not the smallest reparation is possible on their part". Peck now deployed the whole arsenal of his persuasion. At first he tried to appeal to the burghers' Christian solidarity, hoping that they would prove their concern "for two of their fellow-peasants whom they allowed to be locked up and battered by the cruel Ottomans" and would redeem them "from this torture". Then he alluded to the changing fortunes of war, saying that if "the Ottoman army somehow happened to get the upper hand this year or in the next one", and re-conquer the two towns, they would surely "not want to get into prison and be deprived of their fortunes as it had happened to their fellow-burghers." He rounded off his arguments with a menace: they'd better pay the ransom, "lest His Majesty the Prince Elector be compelled to take certain measures against them during the transaction".<sup>40</sup>

Peck's arguments did have the desired effect. He managed to persuade the envoys of the towns to liberate three Christian prisoners and to sign a bond on June 22, 1688 in which they were "willing to prove, swearing upon their life, that everything had been forged by the Ottomans and that

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<sup>38</sup>Szilády – Szilágyi, *op. cit.*, 166–167. Hornyik, *op. cit.*, 187.

<sup>39</sup>Leopold I (of Habsburg), Holy Roman Emperor (1658–1705), King of Hungary (1657–1705).

<sup>40</sup>BHStA KA B. Türkenkriege 8. b. July 1, 1688.

their tax to the latter never amounted to more than 1,000 imperial *thalers*...<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, in order to redeem their fellows from the terrible sufferings to which they are exposed at Belgrade, and to preserve their properties if (which God avert) the Ottomans got the upper hand again, and also to avoid imprisonment and expulsion from their homeland, they engage themselves to pay the ransom of Thiaja pasha and of his servant,<sup>42</sup> with all the costs incurred so far,<sup>43</sup> that is, 2,000 ducats, which they would collect at Kecskemét and Nagykőrös by going from house to house” and then pay “to His Majesty the Prince Elector” in four instalments of 500 ducats, the first instalment being due in June. The bond also stipulated that if its signatories – István Király,<sup>44</sup> István Szőnyi, and the notary István Gyomali from Kecskemét, judge Ferenc Karai, Márton Soros, the juror József Pap, and the notary György Pázmány from Nagykőrös – refused to keep their promise, Maximilian Emmanuel would be allowed to recoup himself from their properties. For the sake of even greater authenticity they all swore a solemn oath in the presence of major-general Melchior Leopold Beck, captain of Buda,<sup>45</sup> and of Franz Heinrich von Rentzing,<sup>46</sup> imperial quartermaster-general.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>Since one imperial *thaler* was worth about 2 Rhenish florins at the end of the seventeenth century, their tax amounted to some 2,000 Rhenish florins. Szilády – Szilágyi, *op. cit.*, 161; Péter Bán, *Magyar történeti fogalomgyűjtemény* [Hungarian Historical Dictionary]. II. Eger, 1980, 734.

<sup>42</sup>Some of the documents speak about three servants, others mentioning only one. We based our narrative upon Peck’s list which refers to October 15, 1687. BHStA KA B. Türkenkriege 8. b. June 22, 1688, July 1, 1688.

<sup>43</sup>The pasha received 2 florins a week and one portion (that is, 1 kg) of bread a day. BHStA KA Handschrift No. 327. December 10, 1687.

<sup>44</sup>In 1691, he is referred to as judge of Kecskemét. Tibor Iványosi-Szabó, *A kecskeméti magisztrátus jegyzőkönyveinek töredékei (1591–1711)* [Fragments of the Records of the Magistracy of Kecskemét]. I. Kecskemét, 1996, 222.

<sup>45</sup>He was appointed by Charles of Lorraine after the fall of Buda and confirmed in his office by the Council of War of Vienna on September 15, 1686. György Bánrévi, “Az első hivatalos intézkedések visszafoglalt Budán [The First Official Measures in the Recaptured City of Buda],” in *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* [Studies on the History of Budapest]. V. Budapest, 1936, 244.

<sup>46</sup>Knight of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. He held the office of imperial quartermaster-general from December 14, 1686 to March 3, 1689. Hornyik, *op. cit.*, 181.

<sup>47</sup>The agreement was reconstructed on the basis of the bond itself and of the report that was sent to Munich by Peck on July 1, 1688. BHStA KA B. Türkenkriege 8. b. June 22, 1688, July 1, 1688. A copy of the bond in German was sent to the town of Nagykőrös.

At that time Kecskemét and Nagykőrös were considered as the two wealthiest market towns in Pest county, which had recently been liberated from the Ottoman rule. Both the imperial army and the Ottoman troops, in constant retreat towards Belgrade and the southern frontiers of the country, regarded them as part of their provisioning area. Whereas the Christians, already preparing themselves for the siege of Belgrade after the victorious battle of Nagyharsány (August 12, 1687), demanded military service from them, the Turkish and Tatar marauders were still able to set them to ransom. The burghers, living under temporary military and administrative conditions, tried therefore to “muddle through” while serving two lords at one and the same time. On October 7, 1686 they sent a tax of 501 *thalers* to Sultan Mehmed IV (1648–1687).<sup>48</sup> At the end of the year they received a letter from Ahmed from Székesfehérvár who as “vizier of Buda” demanded the gift that was due to him. The two towns sent István Király<sup>49</sup> and János Bali with an excuse to the pasha who, when seeing the envoys arrive empty-handed, refused to talk to them, locked them up in chains and kept them in stocks out in the frost, deprived of both food and drink. He told the people of Nagykőrös and Kecskemét that if his demands were not met within a week he would impale their envoys. The two towns of course did everything in order to redeem their burghers and complied with the pasha’s demand. By way of a gift originally to be discharged in kind the town of Kecskemét paid 384 *thalers*, 41 golden pieces and half a Hungarian florin.<sup>50</sup> It was also at that time that major-general Beck sent an open letter to the localities around

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Szilády – Szilágyi, *op. cit.*, 168. The agreement was preceded by an awkward intermezzo. We know from a letter of Griennagl, written on June 25 at Esztergom, that the envoys of the towns, unwilling to carry the financial burden involved in the redemption of the pasha, tried to bribe the imperial officers. The affair was unveiled, however, which was all grist to Peck’s mill during the preparation of the agreement. Moreover, he ordered that the two hostages at Belgrade should present themselves before lieutenant general Peck and the newly appointed judge of Pest, Johann Valentin Knipper, immediately after their liberation. BHStA KA Handschrift No. 327. On Knipper’s appointment, see *Források Buda, Pest és Óbuda történetéhez 1686–1873* [Historical Sources Relating to the History of Buda, Pest, and Óbuda]. (Források Budapest Múltjából, 1.) Ed. by Vera Bácskai. Budapest, 1971, 125.

<sup>48</sup>Hornyik, *op. cit.*, 171.

<sup>49</sup>He was elected as judge of Kecskemét in 1691 and 1697. Iványosi-Szabó, *op. cit.*, 222.

<sup>50</sup>Hornyik, *op. cit.*, 171–172.

Buda, ordering that “all the taxes and services that had so far been rendered to the Ottomans should henceforth be made to Buda” and that all relations with the Ottomans should be suspended immediately on pain of death.<sup>51</sup> Yet it was extremely difficult (if not strictly impossible) to act in accordance with the general’s order when the pasha of Belgrade regularly summoned the towns’ leaders “for a discussion”, for tax-paying or for an “examen”, like István Király, whom we had seen suffering in stocks at Székesfehérvár, and who was fated to go to Belgrade in March 1688: “When lately I was before the commander-in-chief, brought to a terrible inquiry, that if Turkish, Serb or Tatar goods and cattle are found with any one of the townspeople, the commander promised upon his Muslim faith that manslaughter, plunder, arson and complete ruin would be our fate.”<sup>52</sup> In view of these conditions it is no matter for surprise that the Ottoman military and civil administration, shaken in its very foundations, should have tried to have access to the tax that had previously been collected legally, be it on the pretext of exchanging prisoners.

Yet Kecskemét and Nagykőrös, “liberated” from the Ottoman rule, also paid taxes to their liberator, the Habsburg king, as it had been customary within the highly specific Hungarian conditions.<sup>53</sup> By far the heaviest burden was the military contribution, paid to the Court Chamber of Vienna in cash or in the form of services (billeting and provisioning, transport). The contribution of Kecskemét amounted to 36,499 florins in 1687 and to 25,000 in 1688.<sup>54</sup> It was completed at the turn of 1687–88 by a “long transport” which was ordered by Charles of Lorraine: the two market towns had to furnish 60 waggons and 240 oxen (4 for each wagon) in order to carry the Ottoman garrison of the castle of Eger (delivered on December 17, 1687) to Debrecen. Kecskemét lost 30 waggons and 100 oxen, Nagykőrös 20 waggons due to the terrible condition of the

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<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, 171 and 186. The inhabitants of Kecskemét and Nagykőrös did not comply with the order and continued to trade on Ottoman territory, which led to Mihály Böde’s (and his companion’s) being captured by the pasha of Belgrade.

<sup>52</sup>Hornyik, *op. cit.*, 170, 187. Iványosi-Szabó, *op. cit.*, 133.

<sup>53</sup>On the problem of double taxing, see Ferenc Szakály, *Magyar adóztatás a török hódoltságban* [Hungarian Taxation in the Ottoman-Ruled Territories]. Budapest, 1981.

<sup>54</sup>Hornyik, *op. cit.*, 182.

roads.<sup>55</sup> Due to their “economic ruin” both of the market towns saw the number of their taxable holdings diminished by the Supervisory Board of the Chamber of Buda which was subordinated to the Chamber of Vienna.<sup>56</sup> Yet it did not prevent the Chamber from extorting 28,752 florins from their inhabitants in the next year.<sup>57</sup>

We may admire the endurance and vitality demonstrated by the two towns; after all, they were paying double taxes and being threatened by both sides. Besides their manifold obligations they also carried out their engagement of June 22, 1688. On June 30, they paid the first instalment of 500 golden florins and handed over the three Christian prisoners delivered from Ottoman captivity: Jakob Schweindl, a hunter who had previously served in the regiment of count János Károly Serényi, Jakob Peischl, a cavalryman from the regiment of General Johann Heinrich Dünnewald and Hans Prichta, a musketeer from the Lorraine regiment.<sup>58</sup> From July 2 on they paid a further 1,000 ducats in two instalments to commissary Peck.<sup>59</sup> Now it was decided in Munich that Abdi *ağa* could leave the round bastion of Pest and collect the missing 500 golden florins personally at Kecskemét and Nagykőrös.<sup>60</sup> Abdi, assisted by the local judges themselves, seems to have obtained what he came for, for on September 19 he made out two vouchers: in one of them he acknowledged that the two market towns had redeemed him from the Bavarians and thereby discharged their tax for the year 1688. In the other he promised upon his faith that as soon as he got to Belgrade he would intercede for the delivery of Mihály Böde who had been imprisoned on his behalf.<sup>61</sup> When the *kethüda* finally arrived Süleyman pasha paid back 2,300 ducats accompanied by a written statement. But he refused to

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<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, 183–184. András Borosy, *Pest–Pilis–Solt vármegye közgyűlési jegyzőkönyveinek regesztái 1638–1711* [Abstracts from the Protocols of the Congregations of Pest–Pilis–Solt County]. III: 1681–1697. Budapest, 1985, 61–62.

<sup>56</sup>Borosy, *op. cit.*, 62, 71.

<sup>57</sup>Hornyik, *op. cit.*, 182. We do not even mention the so-called house tax which was collected on a multitude of pretexts from those liable to taxes: for the travelling expenses of envoys, for the solemn reception of Palatine Pál Esterházy, or simply “for the necessities of the county”. Borosy, *op. cit.*, 61, 66–67, 74.

<sup>58</sup>BHStA KA B. Türkenkriege 8. b. July 1, 1688.

<sup>59</sup>Hornyik, *op. cit.*, 188–189. Szilády – Szilágyi, *op. cit.*, 163, 172.

<sup>60</sup>BHStA KA Handschrift No. 327. February 4, 1689.

<sup>61</sup>Hornyik, *op. cit.*, 189. Nagykőrös must have received similar vouchers but they seem to have fallen victim to the destruction suffered by the municipal archives in 1945.

transfer the remaining 200 since Budaimla Mehmed, whose redemption had also been promised by the two towns, was still in Peck's captivity.<sup>62</sup>

Two of Abdi *ağa*'s fellow-prisoners were set free a couple of weeks later. It was sometime around June 22, that the envoys of Kecskemét and Nagykőrös had informally promised to Peck to redeem them as well: they had engaged themselves to pay the 100-ducats ransom of Lami *efendi* and deliver a Christian prisoner, while for Hasan pasha they had immediately put down 100 golden florins and promised to redeem another Christian prisoner. As for Budaimla Mehmed, they had promised to give 100 golden florins and a prisoner for him as soon as he arrived home.<sup>63</sup> We do not know how these prisoners were finally set free but it is at least clear that the *efendi* was redeemed neither by Kecskemét nor by Nagykőrös: the 100 ducats and the Christian prisoner were sent by another market town, Halas, sometime during October and November. The Christian prisoner and a further 100 ducats that had been stipulated for the delivery of Hasan were likewise handed over by the inhabitants of Halas.<sup>64</sup> What happened to Budaimla Mehmed is not known and we also lose sight of Abdi *ağa* on the way to Constantinople.

The fate of the 38 Turkish prisoners remaining at Pest was different. When it became evident that they were making schemes for their escape instead of making preparations for the collection of their ransom, they were all ordered back to Munich. It was again Griennagl, the Elector's bodyguard, who appeared in Peck's office and embarked the prisoners, all in chains, on a six-oar barge.<sup>65</sup> On June 24 they left Pest. A violent windstorm compelled them to stop for three days between Esztergom and Pozsony, during which they took care of those among them who had been "terribly flogged" by Peck after the aborted attempt to escape. One of them died from his wounds at Győr,<sup>66</sup> thereby increasing the number of dead to six.

Manpower was much needed at Schleissheim, where the construction of the park was underway under the direction of master Zuccali who had just returned from his trip to Paris. In the next year the prisoners were put

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<sup>62</sup>Szilády – Szilágyi, *op. cit.*, 167–168.

<sup>63</sup>BHStA KA B. Türkenkriege 8. b. July 1, 1688.

<sup>64</sup>BHStA KA Handschrift No. 327. November 26, 1688.

<sup>65</sup>BHStA KA B. Türkenkriege 8. b. October 15, 1687, July 1, 1688.

<sup>66</sup>BHStA KA Handschrift No. 327. June 25, 1688, July 2, 1688.

to work on the canals upon which the members of the court were to amuse themselves in their Venetian gondolas. The first ditch took the water of a small stream called Schwabinger to the castle of Lustheim some 13 kilometres further away. Somewhat later another stream, the Würm, which runs parallel to the Isar, was also connected to the system at Lustheim. The third ditch led from Lustheim to Dachau across the Würm.<sup>67</sup>

Having completed the system of canals Zuccali prepared the plans of the Versailles-like Neues Schloss in 1693. The construction of the castle began in 1701 under the direction of Philipp Zwerger and went on until 1704 when the unmortared building was completed.<sup>68</sup> In the meantime the envoys of Emperor Leopold I and of Sultan Mustafa II (1695–1703) had signed the Peace of Karlowitz (January 26, 1699) which finally made possible the exchange of the Christian and Ottoman prisoners. Maximilian Emmanuel also consented to his prisoners' liberation. The 36 "Turkish slaves" who are known to have remained in Munich by 1700<sup>69</sup> may also have heard about the Elector's plan to decorate the Victoria-hall of the Neues Schloss with monumental paintings that would commemorate the events of the Hungarian campaign.

Above the paintings Latin verses were to proclaim the Elector's victories over the Ottomans. The inscription accompanying the siege of Buda is as follows (with a clear allusion to the attack against the great round bastion and the Palace): "The lightning of war is called Emmanuel. Even Mars himself turns pale before him when he crushes rocks and mountains with his heavy canons." The crossing of the river Sava at Belgrade which had been carried out before the eyes of the Ottoman army itself was so commented on: "To jump over the river after the Goddess of Victory – you proceed with steps like this, Maximilian."<sup>70</sup>

It is probable that by the time the precious paintings were completed all the prisoners who had worked on the castle, the canals and in the manufactures had left Munich, following "Thiaja" pasha, Lami *efendi* and the others to the Ottoman Empire.

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<sup>67</sup>Hojer, *Schleissheim*, 14, 16, 27. Hüttl, *Max Emanuel*, 156.

<sup>68</sup>Hojer, *op. cit.*, 16–17.

<sup>69</sup>Hüttl, *op. cit.*, 157

<sup>70</sup>Varga, *op. cit.*, 175–176.