

**ROMA ÇASARIYLA ŞEVKETLÜ
PADİŞAHIMUZUN SULH [U] SALAHI OLUB
– THE TWO ALİ PASHAS OF TEMEŞVAR
ON THE HABSBURG, HUNGARIAN AND
OTTOMAN FRONTIER AT THE TIME OF
THE RÁKÓCZI WAR OF INDEPENDENCE***

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The war in the last third of the seventeenth century that resulted in the Ottoman Empire's loss of dominance in East Central Europe came to an end in January 1699 with the signing of the Treaty of Karlowitz between the members of the Holy League (the Habsburg Monarchy, Venice, Poland) and the Ottoman Empire. And a separate armistice was also declared between the Russians and the Ottomans.¹ The twenty articles of the Habsburg–Ottoman

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1 On the peace negotiations of the Treaty of Karlowitz, see Ignác Acsády, *A karloviczi béke története, 1699*. Budapest, 1899; László Szita and Gerhard Seewann, *A karlócai béke és Európa: Dokumentumok a karlócai béke történetéhez, 1698–1699*. Pécs, 1999, XXV–L; Mónika F. Molnár, 'Der Friede von Karlowitz und das Osmanische Reich', in Robert Spannenberg

peace treaty of Karlowitz specified what territories were to be assigned between the two empires. One of the biggest territorial changes was the transfer of Transylvania to the control of Austria. In addition to drawing new borders, the treaty provided rules governing castles, fortresses, towns and villages close to the frontiers, the prohibition of looting, the handling of rebellious or dissatisfied subjects, the exchange of prisoners of war and the protection of merchants. Following renewed military conflict between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, lasting from 1716 to 1718, another peace treaty was concluded in Passarowitz (Požarevac) in 1718.² These treaties, at least theoretically, assured settled living conditions and properly-organized administration for subjects on the two sides of the border for the next decade and a half.

Although there was peace between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, there was an insurrection in the Kingdom of Hungary, whose territories, except for the Banat region in the south, which remained

and Arno Strohmeyer (eds.), *Frieden und Konfliktmanagement in interkulturellen Räumen: Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgmonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Stuttgart, 2013, 197–220; Mónika F. Molnár, 'The Treaty of Karlowitz in the Venetian Sources: Diplomacy and Ceremony', in Hasan Celal Güzel, Cem C. Oğuz and Osman Karatay (eds.), *The Turks. Vol. 3: Ottomans*. Ankara, 2002, 405–414. For the Latin text of the Habsburg–Ottoman treaty, see István Katona, *Historia critica regum Hungariae stirpis Austriacae: 1526–1710*. Vol. 36. Budae, 1805, 106–125. For the Ottoman Turkish text of the treaty, see *Muahadat Mecmuası*. Vol. 3. İstanbul, 1297/1880, 92–102; Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât. Tahlil ve Metin*. 1066–1116 (1656–1704). Ed. by Abdülkadir Özcan. Ankara, 1995, 654–662; Silâhdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Nusretnâme*. Vol. 1. İstanbul, 1962, 357–364. For the Venetian–Ottoman treaty, see Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 667–672; Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme*, 365–370. For the Polish–Ottoman treaty, see Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 662–667; Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme*, 371–375. For the Russian and German versions of the Russian–Ottoman treaty, see Sándor Gebei, 'Az orosz–török béketárgyalások Karlócán és Konstantinápolyban, 1699–1700', *Aetas* 17:2 (2001) 134–154, especially 141: note 16. This treaty was signed in Constantinople on 3 June 1700. On the Russian–Ottoman treaty, see Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 692–698.

2 For the most recent Hungarian literature in the topic, see Sándor Papp, 'A pozsareváci békekötés és a magyarok', *Aetas* 33:4 (2018) 5–19; Ferenc Tóth, 'A franciakülpolitika és Magyarország a pozsareváci béke idején', *Aetas* 33:4 (2018) 20–34; Mónika F. Molnár, 'Karlócától Pozsarevácig: A Velencei Köztársaság és az Oszmán Birodalom kapcsolata olasz szemmel', *Aetas* 33:4 (2018) 35–51.

under Ottoman control, had been acquired by the Habsburg Monarchy. The Rákóczi War of Independence, which lasted from 1703 until 1711, was a reaction to the authority, laws and policies of the Habsburg government in Vienna. Hungarian historians have made extensive studies of the war, but for a long time, they paid little attention to the Ottoman issue: the diplomacy or the background, aims, opportunities and results of Rákóczi's attempts to establish relations with the Porte. Kálmán Benda was the scholar to produce the first significant work on this subject in 1962.³ Then, in 1982, Éva Bóka dealt with the issue in her study on the embassy of Charles de Ferriol at the Ottoman court.⁴ An article by Sándor Papp published in 2004, focusing on the diplomatic activities of Rákóczi during his War of Independence, was an essential starting point for subsequent research.⁵ Then Gábor Vatai conducted research into diplomatic relations at the time, considering the realities of an Ottoman alliance.⁶

As soon as the rebellion in Hungary started, Ferenc Rákóczi directed his diplomatic efforts towards obtaining Ottoman assistance. Until 1705 (according to Benda) or 1704 (Vatai), Rákóczi had been planning to ask for Ottoman support in freeing Transylvania and nominating Imre Thököly as prince of Transylvania.⁷ Although memories of the century and a half of Ottoman rule over his country must have been on Rákóczi's mind as he sought sources of support, he wanted to rule as prince of Transylvania and – after 1706 – he had no chance of attaining this ambition without gaining some kind of support from the Ottoman Empire. Kuruc⁸–Ottoman relations were affected by the foreign political environment, the position and the intentions of Western and Eastern European countries, and the Porte's assertion of its interests within the confines of the prevailing legal framework. So what was

3 Kálmán Benda, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc török politikájának első évei 1702–1705', *Történelmi Szemle* 5:2 (1962) 189–209.

4 Éva Bóka, 'Charles de Ferriol portai követsége', *Történelmi Szemle* 25:3 (1982) 519–536.

5 Sándor Papp, 'A Rákóczi-szabadságharc török diplomáciája', *Századok* 138:4 (2004) 793–821.

6 Gábor Vatai, 'Út az irrealitásba: Rákóczi török diplomáciája a szabadságharc idején', *Kelet-kutatás* 2011. ősz, 91–108.

7 Benda, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc', 191; Vatai, 'Út az irrealitásba', 91.

8 The term *kuruc* denotes anti-Habsburg rebels in Royal Hungary from the 1670's until 1711.

the Porte motivated by? What served the interests of the Ottoman decision-makers? And what change did this bring to the Habsburg–Kuruc–Ottoman frontier in the first years of Rákóczi's War of Independence? Here, I offer some information that throws light on these questions, gained from documents dated from 1705 to 1707 in the collection(s)⁹ *Kitab-i İnşa* of Osman Ağa of Temesvár (Temesvár/Timișoara).

CHAOS IN THE OTTOMAN GOVERNMENT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Porte was bound by the 1699 treaty with the Habsburg Monarchy. The Ottoman Empire had suffered severe military and economic losses, and this was the first agreement in its history that was considered as anything but a momentary break in war. Indeed, the treaty provided the Ottomans with their only chance to keep their territories in the Balkans – at least for a decade and a half.¹⁰ This did not mean that the Ottoman government lacked influential members who supported another war. However, until September 1702, Grand Vizier Köprülü Amcazade Hacı Hüseyin Pasha (17 September 1697–

9 This paper is based on documents from two collections (*münşeat*) kept in public collections in Vienna: ÖNB, Mxt. 175 and Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (henceforth ÖStA HHStA), Konsularakademie, Kt. 9. Orientalische Handschriften (henceforth OHSch), No. 125. Authors usually apply the term *Kitab-i İnşa* ("Book of Letters") to the collection in the archives, but here it is also applied to the collection in the library. On the relationship between the two manuscripts, see Hajnalka Tóth, 'Temesvári Oszmán Ağa levélggyűjteménye: Habsburg–oszmán–kuruc határvidéki konfliktusok a 18. század elején', in Emese Egyed and László Pakó (eds.), *Előadások a Magyar Tudomány napján az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület I. szaksztyályában*. (Certamen, 3.) Kolozsvár, 2016, 286–287; Hajnalka Tóth, 'Vár, sánc vagy őrház?: Miket építettek az erdélyi–temesközi határvidék Habsburg-oldalán a karlócai békekötés után?', *Keletkutatás* 2017. ősz, 34: note 6.

10 Cf. Rifa'at A. Abu-el-Haj, 'The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier in Europe: 1699–1703', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89:3 (1967) 467–475. The Porte had to employ force against the rebellious tribes and military forces in the Crimean Khanate who were dissatisfied with the treaty and its consequences. Hajnalka Tóth, 'A karlócai béke és a Krími Kánság', *Keletkutatás* 2012. tavasz, 19–31. Cf. the 3 September 1701 report of the French Charles de Ferriol, ambassador at the Ottoman court, cited by Bóka, 'Charles de Ferriol', 531.

4 September 1702)¹¹ definitely favoured peace. After his resignation, the ideology of war was briefly reasserted during the brief tenure as grand vizier of Daltaban Mustafa Pasha (4 September 1702–24 January 1703).¹² He intended to restore Ottoman prestige to compensate for the enormous losses suffered in the Treaty of Karlowitz.¹³ His political orientation could also have provided a more favourable background for the Hungarian War of Independence. However, Mustafa Pasha was relieved of his office before attaining his military goals. For the next seven months (25 January 1703–22 August 1703), Rami Mehmed Pasha, the statesman who represented the empire in the peace talks leading to the signing of the Treaty of Karlowitz,¹⁴ was appointed as grand vizier, and the Porte bound itself strictly to the terms of the agreement. The government of the empire was wrestling with difficulties, as clearly reflected by a military coup in summer 1703 that deposed Mustafa II (1695–1703) and put Ahmed III (1703–1730) on the throne.

The first exploratory talks between Rákóczi and the Ottoman government and frontier officials may have been held, with the mediation of French envoys, under the grand vizierate of Mehmed Pasha, who was an excellent diplomat and a pacifist. According to available sources, the first envoys of Rákóczi arrived in Constantinople on 6 September 1703. This is recorded in a dispatch sent to Charles Hedges (Secretary of State, northern department) by George Stepney, English envoy extraordinary to Vienna, based on a dispatch from Robert

11 On the pasha and his political orientation, see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*. Vol. 3. Part 1: II. Selim'in Tahta Çıkışından 1699 Karlofça Andlaşmasına Kadar. Ankara, 1988, 587; Joseph Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*. Pesth, 1835, III. 907; IV. 36–40; Münir Aktepe, 'Amcazâde Hüseyin Paşa', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (henceforth *TDVİA*). Vol. 3. İstanbul, 1991, 8–9.

12 On the pasha, see Abdülkadir Özcan, 'Daltaban Mustafa Paşa', in *TDVİA*. Vol. 8. İstanbul, 1993, 433–434.

13 On the military plans of the pasha (he was about to occupy Buda), see Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte*, IV. 41–48; Johann Wilhelm Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa*. Vol. 5. Gotha, 1857, 333–335; Tóth, 'A karlócai béke', 29.

14 Recep Ahışalı, 'Râmi Mehmed Paşa', in *TDVİA*. Vol. 34. İstanbul, 2007, 449–451; Rifa'at A. Abou-el-Haj, 'Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 87:4 (1967) 498–512.

Sutton, English ambassador to Constantinople.¹⁵ It was also mentioned by Michael Talman, secretary at the Habsburg embassy, who became a resident of Constantinople in April 1704, in a dispatch from Belgrade.¹⁶ Because of the events in Hungary, the Habsburg government was anxious to know what contacts were being established between the two countries (Rákóczi's state and the Sublime Porte), but the pasha of Belgrade calmed Talman's fears by assuring him that the Ottomans were inclined to comply with the treaty.¹⁷ Rákóczi's envoys arrived in Ottoman territory at the beginning of September, and may have been greeted by Grand Vizier Kavanoz Ahmed Pasha (22 August 1703–11 November 1703),¹⁸ but Sutton's dispatch of 18 October states that they were still staying in Constantinople at that time and were about to win the support of the new grand vizier with the help of the French envoy. We are

15 *Deputys from Rakotzi arriv'd at Constantinople on the 6th and found a very favorable reception from the Ministers of the Port.* Dispatch by George Stepney to Charles Hedges, Vienna, 26 September 1703; Ernő Simonyi (ed.), *Angol diplomáciai iratok II. Rákóczi Ferenc korára. Angol levéltárakból.* (Archivum Rákócziánium. II. Rákóczi Ferenc levéltára. Bel- és külföldi irattárakból bővítve, II/1.) Pest, 1871, 36; quoted by Benda, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc', 195: note 21; Bóka, 'Charles de Ferriol', 535.

16 *Gleich anjezo khombt mir von sicherer hand nachricht, das etliche Hungarn von dem Ragozy an die Ottomanische Porten geschikht gewesen, alß den 7 septembris abends in das türkischen landt angekhomen seyend...* Dispatch from Michael Talman to the Hofkriegsrat [Imperial War Council]. ÖStA Kriegsarchiv (KA), Hofkriegsrat (HKR) Acten No. 271. Expedit 1703, cited by Papp, 'A Rákóczi-szabadságharc', 796. According to Papp, Talman's dispatch confirmed that some (presently unknown) envoys had entered the territory of the Ottoman Empire. – On Talman's activities, see János Szabados, 'Michael Talman konstantinápolyi Habsburg rezidens két jelentése az Udvari Haditanács részére (1705. július 25. és augusztus 13.)', *Fons* 20:3 (2013) 385–386; János Szabados, 'Hírek Konstantinápolyból 1705 derekán: A nagypolitika történései egy Habsburg diplomata szemüvegén keresztül', *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 128:1 (2015) 76; Hajnalka Tóth, 'Török kereskedők nehézségei a kuruc korban – avagy hogyan ne kereskedjünk Magyarországon a Rákóczi-szabadságharc idején', *Acta Historica* 143 (2018) 87–106.

17 Dispatch from Michael Talman to the Hofkriegsrat. Belgrade, 24 February 1703: ÖStA KA HKR Acten, No. 271. 1703. Expedit; ÖStA HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 177. Konv. 1, fols. 127–132; Papp, 'A Rákóczi-szabadságharc', 796. On the question of the identity of the pasha of Belgrade, see later.

18 On the pasha and his activities, see Abdülkadir Özcan, 'Ahmed Paşa, Kavanoz', in *TDVİA. Suppl. 1.* İstanbul, 2016, 49–50.

unable to confirm this.¹⁹ We do not know whether Ahmed Pasha showed any interest in the Hungarian events, but he had no real opportunities to do anything for the Hungarians or make them any promises. It seemed obvious to Sutton that the grand vizier would have been willing to help them, but he also mentioned the pasha's hesitation and the envoy also claimed to be certain that the pasha was not going to hold his position for a long time.²⁰

The first period that seemed propitious for Rákóczi to start developing relations with the Ottomans – which meant starting negotiations or asking for actual help – was the grand vizierate of Moralı Damad Hasan Pasha (18 November 1703–28 September 1704), brother-in-law of the sultan, who was of Morean origin.²¹ However, Michael Talman praised the grand vizier for not being willing to plunge into war.²² After the appointment of Hasan Pasha, a number of changes took place among the pashas serving in frontier *eyalets*, for example, in Belgrade,²³ Temeşvar²⁴

19 Robert Sutton to an English under-secretary of state, Constantinople, 18 October 1703: Simonyi (ed.), *Angol diplomáciai iratok*, 44–45.

20 *Ibid.*, 45.

21 On the pasha and his activities, see Münir Aktepe, 'Hasan Paşa, Damad', in *TDVİA. Vol. 16*. İstanbul, 1997, 336.

22 On the basis of Michael Talman's reports dated 3 December 1703 and 9 April 1704; see Benda, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc', 196.

23 According to Benda, on the basis of Michel Talman's dispatch of 3 December 1703, Ali Pasha in Belgrade was replaced by the pasha from Thessaloniki, who was fostering pro-Habsburg sentiment. Benda, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc', 196. Moreover, in a letter dated 18 October 1703, Robert Sutton wrote that the pasha of Temeşvar became governor-general of Belgrade, and the pasha of Sofia was sent to Temeşvar. Simonyi (ed.), *Angol diplomáciai iratok*, 45. These frequent changes makes the identification of some pashas extremely difficult, because the new pasha may not have had enough time to take up his position *in situ* before being removed again. Before being sent to Belgrade, (İzmirli?) Ali Pasha sent a letter to Vienna on 23 August 1703 to congratulate on his appointment, which confirms his own appointment in Belgrade: ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 176. Konv. 1, fols. 140–141. If he is the person who was mentioned by Sutton in his letter, we could conclude that Ali Pasha had previously been the Ottoman governor of Temeşvar. Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Pasha wrote in respect of the year 1114 (May 1702–May 1703) that it was Ali Pasha originating from Eğriboz (Negroponte) who was appointed to serve in Temeşvar: *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 753. Due to these frequent changes, the two pashas mentioned here are not definitely the same two people; what is more, there could even have been one more replacement in that period of a few months. Ali Pasha was

and Bosnia.²⁵ The identity of some of the new governors in the region is very difficult to trace, but it is certain that in March 1704, İzmirli alias Gümrükçü Ali Pasha was given the title of pasha of Temeşvar, which probably also meant that he was sent back to the Habsburg–Kuruc–Ottoman frontier.²⁶

dismissed in Belgrade after 18 November 1703 and was sent to Niş; and he was replaced by Hasan Pasha. Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 753, 838; cf. Lajos Fekete, 'A Rákóczi–Aspremont-levéltár török iratai', *Levéltári Közlemények* 13 (1935) 131. However, we have no information about whether or not Hasan was in Thessaloniki, but it is sure that he served there as a pasha in 1708.

24 The identity of the pasha sent to Temeşvar is also uncertain. Osman Aga's *Prisoner of the Infidels* made mention of a certain Koca Hüseyin Pasha, who had been the commander of the guards in the sultan's garden. Richard Franz Kreutel and Otto Spies, *Der Gefangene der Giauren: Die Abenteuerlichen Schicksale des Dolmetschers 'Osman Ağa aus Temeschwar, von ihm selbst erzählt*. Graz, Wien, Leiden, 1962, 205; Oszmán aga, *A gyaurok rabságában. Pasák és generálisok között*. Trans. by László József. Notes and preface by Imre Bánkúti. Budapest, 1996, 146. Concerning the year 1116 (May 1704–April 1705), Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Pasha wrote that the pasha of Temeşvar was called Vizier Yusuf Pasha, who had just been relocated: *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 842. As we can see, a number of changes took place here as well.

25 Benda concluded from Michael Talman's dispatch of 3 December 1703 that Elçi İbrahim Pasha, former ambassador to Vienna, became the governor of the *vilayet* of Bosnia: Benda, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc', 196. Elçi İbrahim Pasha – former *cebecibaşı* – had arrived in Vienna as the official ambassador of the Porte in January 1700: *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi (1099–1116/1688–1704)*. Ed. by Abdülkadir Özcan. Ankara, 2000, 138. Upon returning home from Vienna, Elçi İbrahim was appointed governor of the *vilayet* of Temeşvar: Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 681; Mónika F. Molnár, 'Tárgyalási technikák és hatalmi játszmák: A Habsburg és az Oszmán Birodalom közötti határ meghúzása a karlócai békét követően', *Századok* 140:6 (2006) 1486; Eadem, *Az Oszmán és a Habsburg Birodalom közötti határ kijelölése a karlócai békét követően (1699–1701)*. PhD Dissertation, Eötvös Loránd University, 2008, 168, 222, accessed 10 December 2018 (pages according to the pdf version of the work); Kreutel and Spies, *Der Gefangene der Giauren*, 205; Oszmán aga, *A gyaurok rabságában*, 145. After serving as the pasha of Temeşvar, Elçi İbrahim received the rank of governor-general in Rumelia (Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 753; Kreutel and Spies, *Der Gefangene der Giauren*, 205; Oszmán aga, *A gyaurok rabságában*, 146); and then he was sent to Bosnia to receive the title of Ottoman *vali* after Damad Hasan Pasha's appointment as the grand vizier: Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 838.

26 Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 841; Fekete, 'A Rákóczi–Aspremont-levéltár', 143: note 39.

CONTACTS BETWEEN THE KURUC ARMY AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE FIRST YEARS OF THE RÁKÓCZI WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

We have seen that Rákóczi's envoys arrived in the Ottoman Empire, under unknown circumstances, in the autumn of 1703. At the beginning of 1704, Rákóczi also sent András Bay,²⁷ who was stopped and sent back by the pasha of Temesvár.²⁸ Through the good offices of Marquis Charles de Ferriol, French ambassador to Constantinople, János Szent-Andrási finally managed to get to Istanbul in May 1704.²⁹ Public sentiment had changed in the Ottoman government by that time, due above all to the French and Hungarian successes against the Habsburg Monarchy, and the army was demanding military intervention. Real war preparations were made in Constantinople in the first half of the year, and although it was not clear where the war was to be waged, the Habsburg government had good reason to be afraid of the consequences.³⁰

Grand Vizier Hasan Pasha granted permission for over 2,000 Hungarians to return to their homeland under the leadership of Miklós Orlay.³¹ Moreover, due to the huge number of malcontents in the Ottoman army, especially among

27 On András Bay, see Gusztáv Heckenast, *Ki kicsoda a Rákóczi-szabadságharcban?* Budapest, 2005, 50–51.

28 Kálmán Thaly (ed.), *II. Rákóczi Ferencz leveleskönyvei, levéltárának egykorú lajstromaival. 1703–1712. Vol. 1: (1703–1706)* (Archivum Rákócziánium, II. Rákóczi Ferencz levéltára, bel- és külföldi irattárakból bővítve. Első osztály: had- és belügy, 1.) Pest, 1873, 156, 218, 284; Benda, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc', 198. It is difficult to tell from the available sources whether it was İzmirli Ali Pasha who sent the envoy back to Hungary; this may have happened due to the replacement of pashas. Michael Talman, in a letter to the Hofkriegsrat sent on 6 March 1704 (ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 176. Konv. 2, fol. 37), wrote that the sultan had granted a hearing to the two envoys of Rákóczi on 3 February, which Benda related to the above mentioned embassy and considered to be false information.

29 Benda, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc', 198.

30 Dispatch from Michael Talman to the Hofkriegsrat, Constantinople, 6 March 1704: ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 176. Konv. 2, fols. 37–42; Robert Sutton to an English under-secretary of state. Constantinople, 18 January [1704]: Simonyi (ed.), *Angol diplomáciai iratok*, 112–113; Benda, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc', 198–200; Vatai, 'Út az irrealitásba', 96.

31 Várkonyi Ágnes, 'A Rákóczi-szabadságharc kibontakozása Erdélyben', *Századok* 88:1 (1954) 44; Benda, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc', 196; Heckenast, *Ki kicsoda*, 317.

soldiers on the frontier, he also commanded that the pashas had no right to prevent soldiers from joining the Hungarians if they refrained from displaying the Ottoman flag and avoided wearing their turbans.³² This could have meant 8,000–10,000 new soldiers, but the Porte did not intend to intervene openly. A messenger sent by the sultan arrived at Rákóczi's camp in Ordas at the beginning of May to inform Rákóczi that the Porte was willing to let him and his army cross the border and would also provide military support.³³ Louis Michel, the secretary of Charles Ferriol, who arrived in the region on 25 May, brought the false or misleading information that there were 10,000 Ottoman soldiers waiting in readiness on the frontier.³⁴ Rákóczi was also doubtful about the help offered by the Ottomans, and he wanted Louis XIV to guarantee that the Ottoman troops were not going to take control of Hungarian territories. Furthermore, Rákóczi was also planning to ask for 4,000 janissary troops and 2,000 *sipahi* soldiers to be sent to Hungary and Transylvania each and placed solely under Kuruc command.³⁵ Through Michel, he asked the Porte to recruit 6,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry troops for him and to supply provisions and ammunition.³⁶ In the end, the only Ottoman help Rákóczi was offered was a unit of approximately one hundred volunteer soldiers, and no recruitment took place whatsoever.³⁷ Grand Vizier Hasan Pasha was unwilling to break the peace and oppose the Habsburgs directly, but under pressure from the military,

32 Dispatch from Michael Talman to the Hofkriegsrat, Constantinople, 21 April 1704: ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 176. Konv. 2, fols. 49–80; Michael Talman's report sent to the Hofkriegsrat from Constantinople on 3 June 1704: *Ibid.*, fols. 107–114; Benda, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc', 199–200, 203; Vatai, 'Út az irrealitásba', 97.

33 Benda, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc', 202.

34 Benda, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc', 202–203; cf. Papp, 'A Rákóczi-szabadságharc', 801; Vatai, 'Út az irrealitásba', 97.

35 Ferenc Rákóczi to Pál Ráday, 21 May 1704: Kálmán Benda et al. (eds.), *Ráday Pál iratai*. Vol. 1. Budapest, 1955, 155; Benda, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc', 202–203.

36 Benda, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc', 203.

37 Benda, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc', 203; cf. Lőrinc Pekry to Ferenc Rákóczi, Küküllővár, 14 January 1705: Géza Lampérth, 'Gróf Pekry Lőrinc leveleiből: II. Rákóczi Ferencz 1704–5-iki erdélyi hadjáratának történetéhez', *Magyar Történelmi Tár* (1899) 462–463; Géza Dávid, 'Török és tatár katonák Rákóczi seregében', in Béla Köpeczi, Lajos Hopp and Ágnes R. Várkonyi (eds.), *Rákóczi-tanulmányok*, Budapest, 1980, 159–167; István Seres, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc török katonái 1708-ban', *Keletkutatás* 1996. tavasz, 91–98.

he kept the option open for a certain time, and he did not want to lose the possibility of turning the consequences of the events taking place in Hungary to his own country's advantage. Finally, on 28 September 1704, he was relieved of office, and Kalaylıkoz Hacı Ahmed Pasha took over his duties, but only for three months (October 1704–25 December 1704). The latter treated the French envoy in a very hostile manner and did not want to hear about the matter of Hungary.³⁸ Despite the seemingly favourable diplomatic environment, Rákóczi did not manage to start official negotiations because of the Ottoman government's limited opportunities and safety-first policy. Although the Porte saw the advantageous consequences of events in Hungary, they were not ready to violate the peace treaty they had signed with the Habsburgs.

At the end of 1704, Baltacı Mehmed Pasha, who supported the French and was in favour of war, was appointed as grand vizier of the empire (25 December 1704–3 May 1706).³⁹ His nomination seemed to be an important turn for Rákóczi and the War of Independence, and under his reign, Rákóczi assembled the first official group of envoys for a mission to Constantinople under the leadership of András Török.⁴⁰ Only one, unofficial envoy was actually sent, however: Ferenc Horváth travelled to the Ottoman Empire in August 1705. He was followed by János Pápai, who bore broader authority and was given the task of concluding an alliance with the Ottomans.⁴¹ The Habsburg diplomat Michael Talman was of course active at the same time, and following the death of Leopold I on 5 May 1705 and the crowning of Joseph I, Christoph Ignatius

38 George Stepney to Robert Harley, Vienna, 13 December 1704: Simonyi (ed.), *Angol diplomáciai iratok*, 592–593; İsmail Hami Danişmend, *Osmanlı Devlet Erkânî*. İstanbul, 1971, 51; Papp, 'A Rákóczi-szabadságharc', 801; Vatai, 'Út az irrealitásba', 99.

39 On the change of grand viziers, see the dispatch of Michael Talman to the Hofkriegsrat, Constantinople, 24 October 1704: ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 176. Konv. 2, fols. 176–181. On the pasha, see Münir Aktepe, 'Baltacı Mehmed Paşa', in *TDVİA. Vol. 5*. İstanbul, 1992, 35–36.

40 Benda, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc', 205; Papp, 'A Rákóczi-szabadságharc', 801–802; Vatai, 'Út az irrealitásba', 99–100. On the instructions for the envoy András Török, see Benda et al. (eds.), *Ráday Pál iratai*, 135–140.

41 Ferenc Rákóczi to Pál Ráday, 29 July 1705: Benda et al. (eds.), *Ráday Pál iratai*, 283–284; Papp, 'A Rákóczi-szabadságharc', 801–805; cf. Ferenc Rákóczi to the pasha of Temeşvar, Rákóczi's camp in Vác, 11 July 1705: Benda et al. (eds.), *Ráday Pál iratai*, 444/3.

von Quarient und Raal (1706) was sent as envoy extraordinary, in accordance with diplomatic protocol, in an attempt to renew the peace between the two empires. This development was indirectly encouraged by the defeat of Rákóczi and his army at the Battle of Zsibó on 11 November 1705.

THE TWO ALI PASHAS, DEFENDERS OF TEMEŞVAR, AND RÁKÓCZI'S WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

In the meantime, it was both essential and unavoidable for Rákóczi to establish contact with the local representatives of the Porte on the Habsburg–Kuruc–Ottoman frontier. When Rákóczi set out to occupy Szeged in the summer of 1704, he made a direct contact with the then pasha of Temeşvar.⁴² İzmirli Ali Pasha was the head of the *vilayet* between March 1704 and July 1706.⁴³ Several documents and letters are known from the time when he held the title of *beylerbeyi*: a text by his interpreter, Osman Ağa of Temeşvar starts with a letter from Ferenc Rákóczi to İzmirli Ali.⁴⁴ The addressee was in fact Ali Pasha, although the date written on the letter – 13 Cemaziülahir 1115/24 October 1703 – is wrong. It states that Rákóczi and his army left the Bácska region and arrived in Szeged, where he started the siege in July 1704, after Ali Pasha's

42 Robert Sutton's dispatches also confirm that Rákóczi had negotiated with the representatives of the pashas of Belgrade and Temeşvar: Simonyi, *Angol diplomáciai iratok*, 369, 371, 407. The governor-general of Belgrade at that time was probably Çakırcı Hasan Pasha. For the excerpts of his letters, see Fekete, 'A Rákóczi–Aspremont-levéltár', 131–135.

43 Fekete, 'A Rákóczi–Aspremont-levéltár', 143: note 39; see also notes 23 and 24 above. On the sultan's ordinance addressed to İzmirli Ali, pasha of Temeşvar, see Imre Karácson (ed.), *Török–magyar oklevéltár 1533–1789*. Budapest, 1914, 318–325.

44 Friedrich Kornuth and Richard Franz Kreutel (eds.), *Zwischen Paschas und Generalen. Bericht des 'Osman Ağa aus Temeschwar über die Höhepunkte seines Wirkens als Diwansdolmetscher und Diplomat*. Graz, Wien, Köln, 1966, 17–19; Oszmán aga, *A gyaurok rabságában*, 153–154. The original manuscript of Osman Ağa, bearing no title or author's name, is available here: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), Mxt. 657. Cf. Gustav Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*. Vol. 2. Wien, 1865, 276: No. 1078.

transfer to Temeşvar.⁴⁵ Before the letter was written, the Serbian (Hung. *rác*) population living close to Szeged had fled to Muslim territories. Rákóczi asked the pasha to allow only those who were willing to settle in the Ottoman Empire to take refuge there. He wished the rest – mainly Serbian *hussars* and *hajdús* (*heyducks*) – to be banished from the country. Rákóczi expressed his hope of Ottoman support and military assistance against the Habsburgs (a pasha with an army of some thousand men and requisite ammunition). The letter and Rákóczi's message were taken to the pasha of Temeşvar by Count András Csáki and András Török.⁴⁶ Two previous letters of Grand Vizier Damad Hasan Pasha, dated 8 Zilhicce 1115/13 April 1704, also confirm that the pasha had already forwarded Rákóczi's letters to the Porte. Moreover, the pasha had been ordered to inform the Porte about the events taking place in Hungary and not to provide the messengers sent by Rákóczi to the Ottoman Empire with the escort customarily due to envoys.⁴⁷

Ali Pasha's letters of between June 1704 and 3 April 1706, held in the archives of the Rákóczi–Aspremont family, also prove that the pasha was very eager to gather valuable information and send it to Constantinople, as instructed by the grand viziers.⁴⁸ He was being supportive and reserved at the

45 Rákóczi began his campaign in the Bácska region on 29 June 1704. He occupied the city of Szeged on 20 July and started the siege of the fortress of Szeged, which he finally abandoned on 13 August. Kálmán Benda (ed.), *Magyarország történeti kronológiája*. Vol. 2: 1526–1848. Budapest, 1982, 533; cf. Kornuth and Kreutel (eds.), *Zwischen Paschas*, 132. (The siege of Szeged in the Hungarian translation is wrongly dated 2–13 August. Oszmán aga, *A gyaurok rabságában*, 229.) Kreutel explains this mistake by claiming that there had been twenty years between the writing and the translation of the letters, and Osman Ağa must have been neglectful when explaining the Ottoman Turkish abbreviations.

46 Kornuth and Kreutel (eds.), *Zwischen Paschas*, 23; Oszmán aga, *A gyaurok rabságában*, 157; Bánkúti Imre, *A kuruc függetlenségi háború gazdasági problémái (1703–1711)*. Budapest, 1991, 244. Following the compilation of the letter, Osman Ağa wrote that the pasha let Count Csáki and one of his servants cross the border in order to reach the Porte. On András Csáki and András Török, see Heckenast, *Ki kicsoda*, 92, 438–439.

47 ÖNB Kodex A.F. 159, Nos. 643, 644; Kornuth and Kreutel (eds.), *Zwischen Paschas*, 133; Oszmán aga, *A gyaurok rabságában*, 229–230.

48 Excerpts of the eleven letters written by İzmirli Ali Pasha, see Fekete, 'A Rákóczi–Aspremont-levéltár', 143–146. The letters were mainly addressed to Ferenc Rákóczi himself, with two exceptions: one from the pasha to General János Bottyán and another to a French envoy

same time. During this time, as we have seen, the Ottoman government was led for a couple of months by the peace-minded Kalaylıkoz Hacı Ahmed Pasha, who was replaced by Baltacı Mehmed Pasha in December 1704. İzmirli Ali Pasha sent short letters of similar content, including forwarded letters and information, to Sándor Károlyi in the summer of 1705.⁴⁹

The collection of Ottoman Turkish letters compiled by Osman Ağa of Temeşvar includes some correspondence of Ali Pasha of Temeşvar. Because the manuscripts in the two archives differ in content, I will refer the version in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB) as MS A and the version in the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (ÖStA HHStA) as MS B. The collection comprises six letters dated 1705, two of which – existing only in MS B – are copies of correspondence between Ali Pasha of Temeşvar and General Johann Friedrich von Globitz⁵⁰ in Szeged, dated 5 and 14 January 1705.⁵¹ Another letter in MS B was written by General “B[i]lzon” in Arad to Ali Pasha of Temeşvar, dated 2 December 1705.⁵² The pasha’s reply, dated 4 December 1705, exists in both MS A and B.⁵³ Both manuscripts also include copies of correspondence between Sándor Károlyi and Ali Pasha of Temeşvar, dated by the *ağa* to 24 and 27 December 1705.⁵⁴

The knowledge that has accrued concerning the letters between Ali Pasha and General Globitz and the undated report related to them seems to bear out the dating, but they contain no further information about the time of the

staying with Rákóczi. Lőrinc Pekry wrote about the benevolence of Ali Pasha to Prince Rákóczi. Küküllővár, 14 January 1705: Lampérth, ‘Gróf Pekry Lőrinc’, 462–463.

49 The Hungarian National Archives of the National Archives of Hungary (MNL OL) P 398. The Archives of the Károlyi family, Missiles, Nos. 76 282, 76 283, 76 284. The German versions of the letters translated by Osman Ağa of Temeşvar were sent to the Archives together with the Ottoman Turkish originals. Today, the letters are also available with Hungarian excerpts prepared by Ignác Kúnos. Lőrinc Pekry wrote about the letters sent by the pasha of Temeşvar in his letter of 14 January 1705: Lampérth, ‘Gróf Pekry Lőrinc’, 462.

50 On Johann Friedrich von Globitz, see Heckenast, *Ki kicsoda*, 160.

51 ÖStA HHStA Konsularakademie, Kt. 9. OHSch, No. 125, fols. 28r–29r, 29r–30v.

52 *Ibid.*, fols. 32r–34v.

53 *Ibid.*, fols. 34v–37r; ÖNB Mxt. 175, fols. 12r–14r.

54 ÖStA HHStA Konsularakademie, Kt. 9. OHSch, No. 125, fols. 37r–38v, 39r–41v; ÖNB Mxt. 175, fols. 14v–15v, 15v–17v. In MS B, the day of the week is not indicated in the date of Károlyi’s letter.

conflict they describe. The dates in January 1705 fit with the terms of service of both İzmirli Ali Pasha and General Globitz. The Pasha complained that Serbian *hajdús* in the regions of Csanád and Kanizsa had harassed some merchants who were subjects of the sultan. The pasha sent Osman Ağa to Szeged to investigate the case, search for the culprits, carry out their punishment and effect the return of the stolen goods; Globitz sent Popoviš⁵⁵ to Temeşvar.⁵⁶

However, there must have been some mistakes in identifying the persons, dates and content of the correspondence between the “general of Arad” and “Ali Pasha”. If the person referred to as Ali Pasha was İzmirli Ali Pasha, then the identification of the general of Arad – *Arad ceneralı B[i]lzon* – as Eduard (Johann) Wilson is problematic, because he is known to have arrived in Arad only in June 1707.⁵⁷ The writers of both letters mentioned that Arad was being besieged by the Hungarian (Kuruc) troops at the time of writing, and if we suppose that the letters did not refer merely to some minor clashes around Arad, then they must originally have been dated July 1707,⁵⁸ suggesting that the identity of Wilson might be correct and the dates incorrect. If the letters were indeed written during the summer of 1707, the pasha of Temeşvar they mention should be identified not as İzmirli Ali but as Karayılanoglu/Kara-Aylanoğlu Ali Pasha, who was the Ottoman governor-general of Temeşvar between 15 July 1706 and October 1708,⁵⁹ during a different period of Kuruc–Ottoman relations.

55 Probably János Tököli-Popovics, the Serbian captain-general of Arad. Heckenast, *Ki kicsoda*, 437.

56 Report by Osman Ağa: ÖStA HHStA Konsularakademie, Kt. 9. OHSch, No. 125, fols. 31r–32v; cf. Lampérth, ‘Gróf Pekry Lőrinc’, 462: at the beginning of January 1705, the pasha of Temeşvar complained about the damage caused by the Kuruc soldiers.

57 Kálmán Mészáros and István Seres were of great help to me in identifying Eduard (Johann) Wilson, for which I would like to thank them. On Wilson, see Heckenast, *Ki kicsoda*, 457–458.

58 Sándor Károlyi began the siege of Arad on 5 July 1707 and abandoned it on 25 July. Benda, *Magyarország történeti kronológiája*, 542.

59 Fekete, ‘A Rákóczi–Aspremont-levéltár’, 146–147: note 44. Kreutel and Spies, *Der Gefangene der Giauren*, 207; Oszmán aga, *A gyaurok rabságában*, 147. Ali Pasha later replaced Elçi İbrahim Pasha, the governor of Belgrade, who died in October 1708. Fekete, ‘A Rákóczi–Aspremont-levéltár’, 146: note 44; Dispatch by Dietrich Nehem to the Hofkriegsrat, St Petersburg, 5

Before the second Ali Pasha replaced the first, the time when János Pápai's submission was finally to have been discussed in the imperial council of the Ottoman Empire,⁶⁰ yet another new grand vizier was appointed: Baltacı Mehmed Pasha was replaced by Damad Çorlulu Ali Pasha (3 May 1706–15 June 1710).⁶¹ This deprived Rákóczi's representatives of any chance to be welcomed as his official envoys at the Porte. Letters by Karayılanoğlu Ali Pasha of Temeşvar dated between 19 September 1706 and June 1708, kept in the archives of the Rákóczi–Aspremont family, mention the importance of keeping good relations with the neighbouring countries and complain about the Kuruc soldiers who harassed and robbed the sultan's subjects and merchants, stole their animals or did not pay for goods.⁶² The same issues recur in the letters he sent to Sándor Károlyi between February and November 1708.⁶³ As Rákóczi's diplomatic position with respect to the Ottoman Empire worsened, Ottoman complaints became more frequent. This was due to the military events on the Habsburg–Kuruc side of the frontier and abuses by both parties. Although the Treaty of Karlowitz signed in 1699 allowed merchants of the Ottoman Empire to trade in territories of the Habsburg Monarchy,⁶⁴ and the Ottomans believed that Rákóczi would honour his promise to prevent his soldiers from

October 1708: ÖStA HHStA Türkei I. Kt. 178. Konv. 3, fol. 59; Dispatch by Dietrich Nehem to the Hofkriegsrat, St Petersburg, 11 January 1709: *Ibid.*, Konv. 4, fol. 23.

60 János Pápai arrived in Constantinople in November 1705 but was able to hand in his propositions to the Porte only on 23 January 1706; they remained unanswered for a long time. Benda et al., *Ráday Pál iratai*, 503; Kálmán Benda (ed.), *Pápai János törökországi naplói*. Budapest, 1963, 73, 110–113, 130; Dispatch by Michael Talman to the Hofkriegsrat, Constantinople, 23 March 1706: ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 177. Konv. 2, fols. 2–3; Dispatch by Michael Talman to the Hofkriegsrat, Constantinople, 23 April 1706: *Ibid.*, fols. 4–6; Papp, 'A Rákóczi-szabadságharc', 808; Vatai, 'Út az irrealitásba', 103.

61 On the pasha, see Münir Aktepe, 'Çorlulu Ali Paşa', in *TDVİA. Vol. 8. İstanbul*, 1993, 370–371.

62 Fekete, 'A Rákóczi–Aspremont-levéltár', 146–148.

63 MNL OL P 398. The Archives of the Károlyi family, Missiles, Nos. 76 289, 76 290, 76 291, 76 292, 76 293 and 76 296. The latter document, written in German, is undated but has the same content as a letter from the pasha to Rákóczi that Fekete, in his summarized version, dated to before 15 November 1708: Fekete, 'A Rákóczi–Aspremont-levéltár', 147.

64 On article 14 of the Treaty of Karlowitz, see *Muahedat Mecmuası*, 99.

harming Muslim merchants,⁶⁵ circumstances had changed, and merchants faced considerable risks in continuing their activities in the war-stricken areas. In most cases, they accepted these risks in the hope of making huge profits, but the situation led to a number of conflicts between the Ottomans and both the Kuruc⁶⁶ and Habsburg armies concerning merchants on every side. The pashas of the frontier lands were reluctant to violate the terms of the treaty, but did so in certain cases. For example, after two years of diplomatic procrastination following the raid on the town of Kecskemét on 3 April 1707, Elçi İbrahim Pasha marched his troops to the border in an attempt, with the support of the Kuruc army, to threaten the Habsburgs.⁶⁷ Furthermore, good relations with the Kuruc forces also served the interests of their merchants and soldiers, so that to a certain extent, local policies were likely to deviate from the official position of the Porte.

The correspondence between Ali Pasha and General Wilson dated July 1707 can be considered as one of the aforementioned letters sent by Karayılanoğlu Ali Pasha.⁶⁸ After describing the state of siege in Arad, the general, citing the treaty between the two emperors, asked the pasha to protect the Habsburg subjects who had fled the region of Arad and taken their animals and all their personal goods and chattels to the Ottoman Empire. He also complained that there were Ottoman soldiers fighting in the Kuruc army on the frontier and that runaway Kuruc soldiers were given help by the Ottomans. In his reply, Ali Pasha assured Wilson that no harm would come to any Habsburg subject seeking refuge in the Ottoman Empire and that he had

65 Kornuth and Kreutel (eds.), *Zwischen Paschas*, 50–51; Oszmán aga, *A gyaurok rabságában*, 174–175. Rákóczi restricted the movement of merchants, enabling them to travel only as far as Kecskemét and Debrecen. Rákóczi to Hasan Pasha of Belgrade, Kistapolcsány, 10 May 1706: Benda et al. (eds.), *Ráday Pál iratai*, 573–574; cf. Fekete, 'A Rákóczi–Aspremont-levéltár', 134; Rákóczi's instructions for Gáspár Pápai, envoy, who was sent to İzmirli Ali, the pasha of Temeşvar: Benda et al. (eds.), *Ráday Pál iratai*, 624, 626.

66 István Seres, *A sarkadi hajdúk* (unpublished manuscript).

67 Serbian *hajdús* and *hussars* in service to the Habsburgs attacked the town and robbed and killed fifty-five Muslim and Greek merchants. On the diplomatic settlement of the conflict, see Tóth, 'Török kereskedők', 87–106.

68 ÖStA HHStA Konsularakademie, Kt. 9. OHSch, No. 125, fols. 32r–34v, 34v–37r, and ÖNB Mxt. 175, fols. 12r–14r.

ordered the officers on the frontier to respect this rule. He also claimed to be unaware that anyone had helped the Hungarians on the Ottoman side, but he was willing to look into the matter and was ready to arrest and punish anyone violating the peace treaty. He also explained that each and every person crossing the border was questioned, a maximum of three or four people were able to cross the frontier at once, and no soldiers or merchants were allowed to join the Kuruc campaign. The reply thus gave the Habsburg general ample and reassuring information.⁶⁹

In the both of Osman Ağa's compilations, these letters are followed by correspondence between Sándor Károlyi and Ali Pasha of Temeşvar.⁷⁰ He dated this correspondence to 1705, but its content is closely related to the topics discussed by General Wilson and Karayılanoğlu Ali Pasha. The originals were written during the siege of Arad. One of Károlyi's letters reveals that the siege had begun the day before (*...tarih-i mektubdan bir gün evvel Arad kalesi altına gelüb kaleyi muhasara edüb...*). The Kuruc general mentioned soldiers in service to the Habsburgs – Serbian *hajdús* and those of other nationalities – fleeing the advancing Kuruc army and taking their animals and personal goods and chattels into Ottoman territories. He asked Ali Pasha to order such people to be turned back from the border and wanted him to refuse them any help. This is the same issue – this time from the Kuruc perspective – discussed in the correspondence between General Wilson and the pasha, suggesting that these letters were written in the summer of 1707 and Osman Ağa was mistaken about the dates. In his reply to Károlyi, the pasha gave a lengthy explanation of the terms of peace between the two emperors, and wrote that the Serbians (*Sırf reayaları*) in the Arad region were allowed to graze their animals on land on the Ottoman side of the border. The pasha did not know about any armed *hajdús* who were crossing the Ottoman border and attacking Kuruc soldiers, and he claimed that no armed people were allowed to cross the frontier, but he was willing to look into the matter. Additionally, he stated that as long as peace

69 Although the Habsburg generals on the frontier were on good terms with Karayılanoğlu Ali Pasha, they had difficulties with Ali Pasha of Belgrade during the final settlement of the conflict because of the attack on Kecskemét in 1707. Tóth, 'Török kereskedők', 103–105.

70 ÖStA HHStA Konsularakademie, Kt. 9. OHSch, No. 125, fols. 37r–38v, 39r–41v; ÖNB Mxt. 175, fols. 14v–17v.

prevailed between the two empires, merchants holding a permit issued by the Habsburg emperor were going to cross the border whenever they wished, but if the Kuruc forces occupied Arad, they would need to make a treaty with their Ottoman neighbours as well.

The pashas must have had good reason to state the importance of complying with the Treaty of Karlowitz and to continually emphasize the neutrality of the Ottoman Empire. İzmirli Ali Pasha did so in April 1706, when he denied Rákóczi's request to stop the Habsburgs sending money across the border, on the grounds that both parties were providing asylum in the Ottoman territories.⁷¹ We find the same in *Zwischen Paschas und Generalen*.⁷² The idea appears again – although possibly as dissemblance – in the ağa's report, written at the time of the Kuruc army's siege of Arad, on the issues mentioned in the correspondence given in the Appendix.⁷³ During the siege of Arad, General Wilson and Sándor Károlyi both had envoys in Temeşvar. These two captains were separated from each other, but the Kuruc envoy, who was called Kristóf Steöszel (*İsteç[e]l*),⁷⁴ dropped in unexpectedly just as the Habsburg captain was in the middle of railing against the Hungarians. The two envoys got into an altercation in German, and were almost at each other's throats. When, in the heat of the debate, the German envoy said that the Hungarians were soon going to learn to show obedience to the emperor, Steöszel replied that they would rather submit to the sultan than to the Habsburgs. Meanwhile, the Ottomans, to avoid a major diplomatic conflict, emphasized their neutrality, or at least this was narrated by the ağa: *İşbu mahall ve bu kale sizün için muaf bir şehirdür bunda dostyane*⁷⁵ *olmak lazımdur mücadele ve muharebe ve mukatele bundan olmaz heman birbirinüz ile ekl şürb edüb ayş [u] işret eylemelüsiz* ("this city and palace are free for you, therefore you have to be on good terms here,

71 Fekete, 'A Rákóczi–Aspremont-levéltár', 145.

72 Kornuth and Kreutel (eds.), *Zwischen Paschas*, 48–49; Oszmán aga, *A gyaurok rabságában*, 173.

73 ÖNB Mxt. 175, fols. 17v–19v; ÖStA HHStA Konsularakademie, Kt. 9. OHSch, No. 125, fols. 42r–43v.

74 István Seres and Kálmán Mészáros were of great help to me in identifying Kristóf Steöszel, for which I would like to thank them. On Kristóf Steöszel, see Heckenast, *Ki kicsoda*, 393.

75 Correctly: *dostane*.

there is no quarrel, war or fight in this place, you have to eat, drink and entertain here in the company of one another”).⁷⁶

Whatever sympathies the pashas may have held for the Kuruc cause, they were not willing to go beyond their bounds. The activities of the two Ali Pashas of Temeşvar reflect that of the government in Constantinople, appearing to support the aims of the Kuruc army when it was in their own interests, but ruling out any violation of the Treaty of Karlowitz.

APPENDIX

THE REPORT OF OSMAN AĞA OF TEMEŞVAR [JULY 1707]

KİTAB-İ İNŞA. ÖNB WIEN, MXT. 175, FOLS. 17V–19V.

[17v] Vakt-i mezburda Arad kalesi Macar tarafından muhasara oldukda | gerek ceneral B[i]lzon⁷⁷ ve Karoli⁷⁸ ceneralun taraflarından gelen

[18r] ademlerinin takrirlerin beyan eder | zikr olunan vakitte Macar tarafından balada tahrir olunan İsteç[e]⁷⁹ | nam argutan⁸⁰ Karoli Şandor ceneralun tarafından mektubla | ve lisanen baz-i müsaadeler taleb edüb kalemüzde müsaferetde | iken Arad ceneralı B[i]lzon tarafından dahi mektubla ve lisanen | baz-i kelimatlar ile bir bayrak kethüdası Nemçe zabıtı gelüb anı-dahi | bir yere kondurub her birini başka başka paşa hazretlerine | buluşdurub mektubların tercüme edüb mefhum bildükde | matlubları birbirinin aksi olub Macar ceneralı taleb etdüğü | Nemçeye müsaade olunmayub hudud-i islamiyye geçemeyüb | kabul olunmaya Nemçenin istediği budur-ki kurus taifesi çasarımızun | reayalarından asi olub sahib-i fesad yaramazlarından olmağla ba-kaid bu defa | fürce bulub bu tarafa gelmişlerdür-ki iki padişah-i azimü’ş-şan beyninde

[18v] vaki olan sulh[a] mugayır bir işde bulunub bir takrib ile devlet-i | aliyeyi tahrik edebileceklerdi amma Nemçenin cevabında Macar taifesi | bu vechle nice defa fetret edüb ba-husus Erdel voyvodası | Ferenc Rakoçi gibi ve sairleri nice defa fetret

76 ÖNB Mxt. 175, fol. 18v.

77 Eduard (Johann) Wilson.

78 Sándor Károlyi.

79 ‘İsteç[e]l’: Kristóf Steöszel.

80 *Argutan*: the distorted form of the German word ‘Adjutant’.

edüb | bir kaç eyyam tuğyan üzere olduklarından sonra kendüleri peşiman | ve krallarından eman taleb edüb verildükde maiyetleri her kim ise | sonra yalnız açıkda kalub başlarına iş düşmüşdür bu dahi | bir sel suyu gibi gelüb geçer Macar sözine itimad eyleyen daim aldanub | peşiman olmuşdur zira mesfurlar kendi ecnas vekilleri | birbirlerinden bi-ayn[?] olmayub her biri aharın zevalın taleb ederler | olmaya ki mesfurların laf [u] güzafına ina[n]mayasız deyü bu musahib ile | hatta Nemçe kapudanı öyle taamında soframuzda iken İsteç[e]l | kapudan na-gehanı kapudan içeri girüb bi-tekellüf aşinalık

[19r] ederek yanumuzda oturdukda amma Nemçe kapudanı mezburi görünce | öte gayrı gune olub ol dahi Nemçeyi görünce adavet tamarları | hareket edüb birbirlerine nice na-yazan bakışları ile nazar | edüb sofrada oturub yedükleri belki ikisinün | dahi halkumlarından geçmez idi işte İsteç[e]l kapudan an | asıl Nemçelü olub gereği gibi Nemçe lisanın söylerdi durmayub | birbirlerine kinayetler söylemeğe başlayub adavetlerin izhar | edince biz dahi tefekkür edüb bunlar giderek ziyade mücadeleye | ve gavgaya bais olurlar deyü kendülere istimalet verüb | demiş idiki işbu mahall ve bu kale sizün için muaf | bir şehirdir bunda dostyane⁸¹ olmak lazımdur mücadele | ve muharebe ve mukatele bundan olmaz heman birbirinüz ile ekl | şürb edüb ayş [u] işret eylemelüsiz bundan çıkub

[19v] hududunuza vardukda beyninüzde her ne gune uzlaşırsınız | siz bilürsiz diyerek amma mezburlar ikisi dahi birbiri | üzerine şol mertebe adavet izhar eylemişler idi-ki | Nemçe kapudanı dedükde bizüm çasarımız sizün kurben bir gune | itaat götürür-ki siz kendünüz kıyas etmeyesiz ne zuhur eder | dedükde Macar kapudanı cevabında bizüm ahvalimiz bir perdeye | gelmişdür ki fi-ma-bad Nemçeye itaat üzere olmakdan ise | devlet-i aliye tarafından cüz-i padişahı kabul eylemek | irtikab etmişizdür Nemçe hükümetinde zabıt olmakdan osmanluya reaya olmak efzal deyüb bu gune musahebetden sonra | her biri konaklarına ve paşa tarafından lazım olan mektub | cevabları ile sair mühimmatlar tedarik olunub geldükleri mahalle | irsal olunmuşdur.

81 Correctly: *dostane*.