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## Monitoring migrations: the Habsburg-Ottoman border in the eighteenth century

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## CHAPTER 5: THE QUARANTINE STATION OF PANČEVO: THE STATION AND ITS MIGRANTS IN THE 1750s

Border controls were not just complicated to organize and enforce. They also had a real impact on migrations and mobility. The Habsburg-Ottoman border had an inbuilt conflict. The supposed purpose of the cordon was to ensure that commerce and migration continue even in pestilent times. It was also operated to support an open-door immigration policy. At the same time strict territorialization, systematic and comprehensive traffic checks made the Habsburg-Ottoman border a “hard-border,” much more closely controlled than other contemporary borders in Europe. This chapter examines the enduring effect of a “hard border,” on migrations: do “hard borders” with compulsory quarantines, even if they were designed and operated to facilitate migrations, nevertheless depress them, affecting the numbers and structure? In previous studies of the Habsburg sanitary cordon its impact on migration was either not addressed,<sup>502</sup> or was perceived as negative,<sup>503</sup> but without the actual analysis of cross-border migrations.

Every person entering the Habsburg Monarchy from the Ottoman Empire had to stop at the border and had to stay there for three to six weeks, undergoing quarantine. This was costly and time-consuming. The migrants had to pay for quarantine accommodation and necessary sustenance. Even a short trip from a village on the

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<sup>502</sup> Lesky, “Die österreichische Pestfront;” Rothenberg, “The Austrian Sanitary Cordon;” Ilić, “Der Sanitätskordon.”

<sup>503</sup> Brătescu, “Seuchenschutz.”

Ottoman side of the border to a nearby Habsburg village would be thus transformed into prolonged and expensive journey. Given that the travelers were crossing an imperial border, from one social context to another, even if the distances were short, and that border controls gave more definitiveness to movements, we can classify travelers arriving at border stations as migrants and their movements as migrations.<sup>504</sup> I examine the migrants coming from the Ottoman Empire: who were they and why were they traveling to the Habsburg Monarchy? What role did the border and border regime play in the migration between two empires?

To answer these questions, I take a closer look at migrant lists, analyzing the records from the Pančevo quarantine station in 1752-1756. I chose the Pančevo station because the quarantine records from this time are well preserved, including quarantine tables, quarantine diaries, the correspondence of quarantine officials with other military and sanitary authorities and with the sanitary commission in Vienna. I complement these data with the records of the Sanitary Court Commission/Deputation, textual and narrative sources from the War Council and Hofkammer in Vienna, as well as with preserved maps and quarantine plans. A detailed analysis of these records and their comparison with migration numbers from the 1760s help us determine how border controls affected migration numbers and migration structure.

The analysis of the Pančevo quarantine station is divided into two chapters. In chapter 5, I introduce the Pančevo quarantine station, its place and significance in the

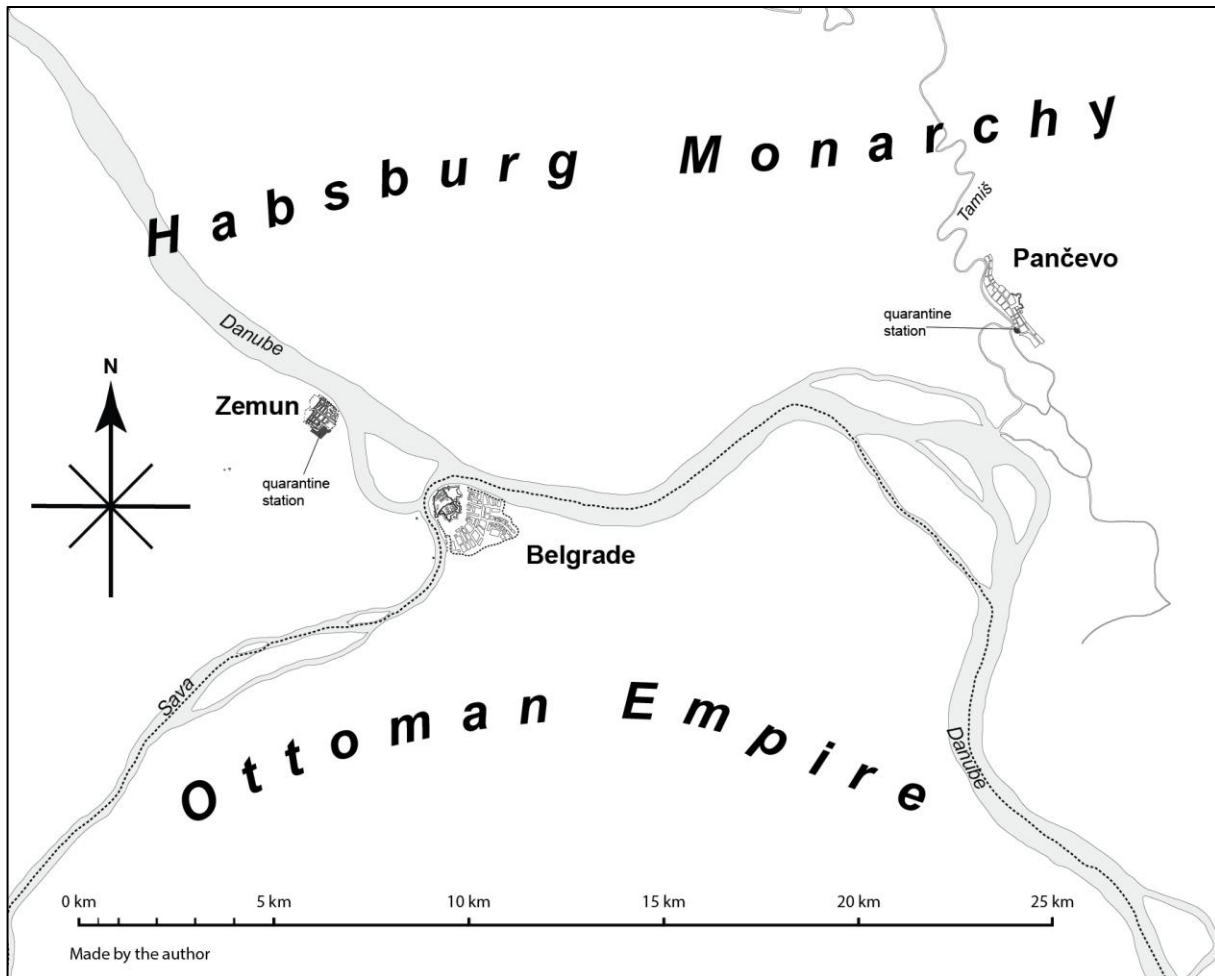
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<sup>504</sup> As defined by Tilly, as movements having some definitiveness and sufficient distance, crossing at least some administrative borders. Tilly, "Migration in Modern European History," 50-51; by Leslie Page Moch as permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. Lucassen and Lucassen, "Migration, Migration History," 32; in modern definition involving crossing external boundaries, while excluding tourists, visitors and transmigrants. Lucassen, "Towards a Comparative History of Migration:" 12-14; and in Manning definition of movements from one social context and habitat to another. Patrick Manning and Tiffany Trimmer, "Appendix: Migration Theory and Debates," in Patrick Manning, *Migration in World History* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2012), 191-93.

border controls. Then I discuss the sources, particularly the migrants' monthly records, which I combined into a database. I use basic descriptive statistics to introduce a social profile of migrants. In chapter 6 I study the impact of border controls on migration numbers and on migration structure. Thereafter, I analyze more closely ethnic and regional labels to trace where migrants came from; I compare the impact of longer quarantine regimes on migration numbers, as well as migration trends during the 1750s and 1760s.

The appendix, at the end of this book, complements chapters 5 and 6. The appendix contains the Pančevo quarantine migrant database (1752-1756); the explanation of how the data was processed and interpreted before being used in the main argument; as well as additional information about Pančevo town and its economy. This material is not necessary to follow the main argument of the study. It is necessary to better understand some of the categories, estimations and assumptions on which the argument in two last chapters is based: ethnicity and religion, seasonality, changes in quarantine regimes, and the estimation of the number of migrants crossing the Ottoman-Habsburg border annually.

*Figure 5.1. Pančevo, Belgrade and Zemun*<sup>505</sup>



### **Pančevo Quarantine Station**

The Pančevo quarantine station was located in the town of Pančevo. The town was a lesser castle during Ottoman rule.<sup>506</sup> It came under Habsburg control in 1717, located on the southwestern corner of the newly organized and centrally administered province of Temesvár Banat. When the Habsburgs lost the Kingdom of Serbia (now central Serbia) to the Ottomans under the Belgrade Peace Treaty of 1739, Pančevo

<sup>505</sup> Made by the author.

<sup>506</sup> Dávid, "The Eyalet of Temesvár:" 118-19, 121.

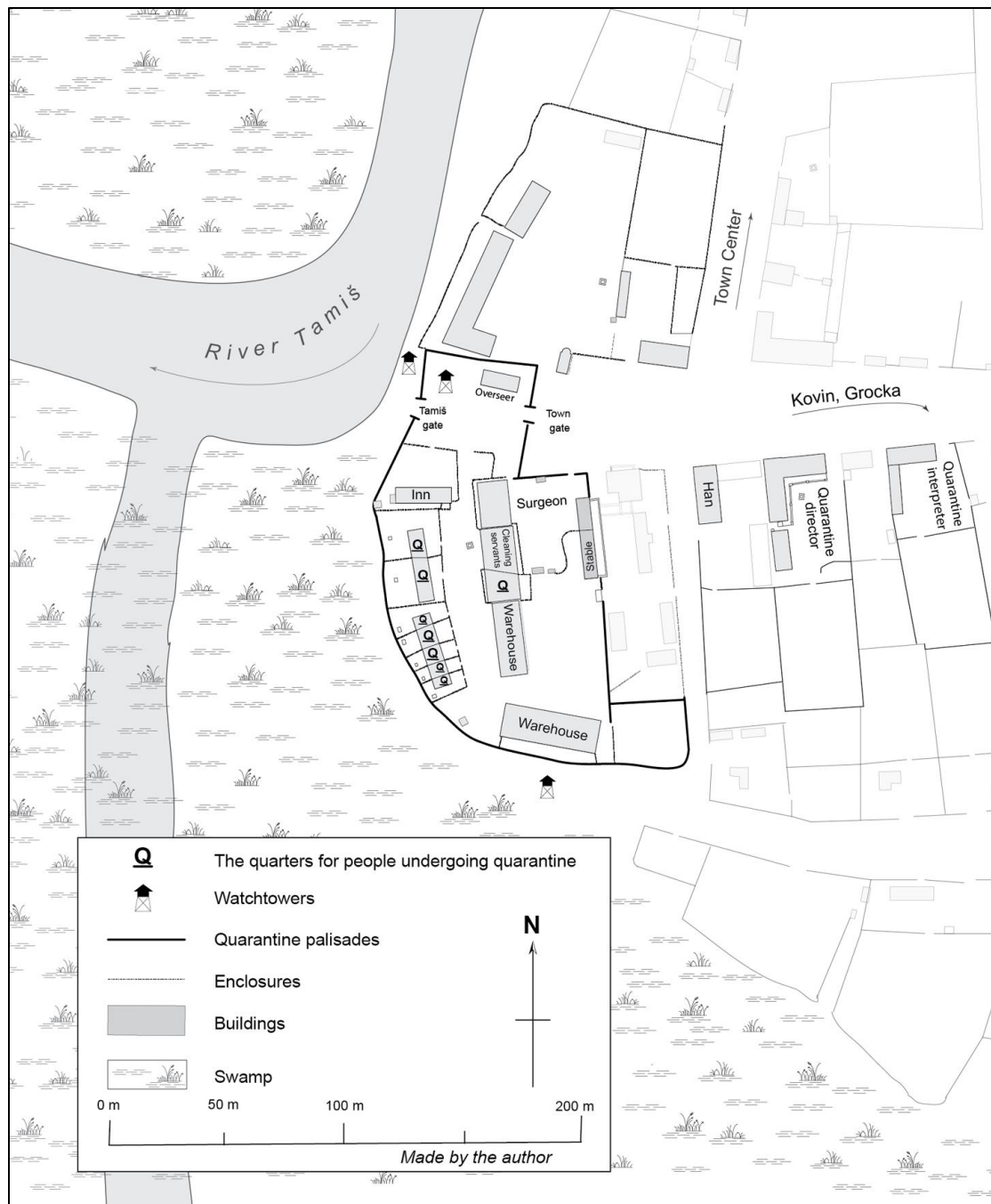
became a border town, one of two official border crossing points on the Banat section of the Border (the other was Mehadia/Orșova on the southwestern corner of the province). On the River Tamiš, just a couple of kilometers from its confluence with the River Danube, the town was well connected with central and eastern Banat by roads and waterways. The river Danube provided it with access to many regions along its shores and tributaries, including the nearby Ottoman city of Belgrade and the important Belgrade-Istanbul road. The town had a customs office.<sup>507</sup> From 1755, Pančevo town enjoyed some autonomy, as a military township (Militär Communität). Its inhabitants were exempted from active military service and the jurisdiction of border regiments, and directly subjected to the provincial administration of Banat. It had a self-chosen magistrate, headed by a mayor and two syndics, usually retired military officers. In 1817 Pančevo had 8,962 inhabitants (8,488 domestic subjects and 474 resident foreigners), making it more populous than Zemun. Grain, livestock and wood were the most important trade items.<sup>508</sup>

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<sup>507</sup> Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, 60-72.

<sup>508</sup> Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 1: 428; vol. 2, no. 2: 302-305; Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 47-48.

**Figure 5.2. Pančevo Quarantine Station**<sup>509</sup>



<sup>509</sup> Source: based on Lit. P. Situations Plan der Pancsovaer Contumaz-Sambtdessen vorContumaz, S 12 - Div. XII. - No. 28:2; Situations Plan von der Pancsowaer Contumaz an bis auf das Orth Toppola, alwo vormahls ein kleines Dorff gestanden, so erwehnten nahmen Toppola gefihrt, S 12 - Div. XII. - No. 28:1, Hungarian State Archives (Magyar Országos Levéltár), Budapest. I am grateful to Benjamin Landais for allowing me to inspect the copies of these two maps.



The Sanitary Court Commission had instructed the Commander of Belgrade already in 1738 to organize a quarantine in Pančevo, to protect the Belgrade fortress, then still in Habsburg hands, from plague.<sup>510</sup> In 1740, the Sanitary Court Commission ordered the commander of Temesvár, Count Escotti, to build a permanent station, as a part of the new border quarantine network.<sup>511</sup> The station was functioning in 1741, collecting about the same amount in cleaning taxes as the other Banat border station, Mehadia.<sup>512</sup> In February 1753, the station's director asked for approval to build an additional warehouse (Waaren-Stadl) to accommodate growing traffic.<sup>513</sup> The station's officials supervised two border markets (Rastelle), in Omoljica and Kovin,<sup>514</sup> and were responsible for the defense of the western section of the Habsburg-Ottoman border in Banat against epidemics.

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<sup>510</sup> SHK to the Commander of Belgrade, 19 July 1738, 1738 Julius 20; SHK to the Commander of Belgrade, 30 August 1738, 1738 Augustus 51, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

<sup>511</sup> The Count Escotti to the SHK, Pančevo, 27 April 1740, 1740 Aprilis 13; SHK, 12 July 1740, 1740 July 9, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

<sup>512</sup> Pančevo 427 guldens and 10.75 Kreutzer, Mehadia 450 guldens and 56.75 Kreuzers. The Toll Senior Inspector (Mauth- ober-Ambts- Inspector) for Banat, Leopold Philipp Lägler, charged in 1742 by the Sanitary Court Commission with proposing how to reform quarantine-cleaning taxes, made a summary of the goods passing through Mehadia and Pančevo during 1741, using excerpts from *Mercantill Tabellen*. The most common goods cleaned in Pančevo were textiles, pieces of clothing, footwear, leather and leather products. The products that did not require cleaning, such as metals, grain or wood, were not registered in the records, since no taxes were collected on them. *Reinigungs Tax-Aufsatz*, Leopold Phillip Lagler and Mehadia quarantine director Mathias Perner. Mehadia 17 November 1742; Connotation was nemblich von denen zu Pancsova in Anno 1741, aus dem Turcico in die Contumaz gekommenen Waaren, nach der hierunten projectirten Reinigungs Tax einzucassiren gewesen wäre. Leopold Philipp Lagler; Leopold Philipp Lägler to TLA, Temesvár 27 November 1742; TLA to the SHK, Temesvár, 28 November 1742, 1742 November 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1.

<sup>513</sup> SHD, s. d., 1753 Januarius 8; Pančevo quarantine director to SHD [or TLA?], Pančevo, 5 February 1753, 1753 Februarius 14, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2. In 1751 the Senior Surgeon Geymoser inspected the Pančevo station along with other stations on the border. 1751 December 4, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

<sup>514</sup> Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 1: 430.

The station was placed next to the River Tamiš (Timiș), and was able to accept river traffic, as in February 1753, when the goods from two ships were taken into quarantine.<sup>515</sup> The exposed part of the station, surrounded on all sides by palisades, was connected to the River Tamiš on the west and to a road leading through reed-covered swamps to a point designed as a *Contumaz Vor Post* near the river Danube. There were quarters for people undergoing quarantine (Abtheilungs-Wohnungen deren Contumazisten), separated into fenced sections, as well as two big warehouses and stables. The quarantine surgeon, the quarantine overseer (Aufseher) and cleaning servants lived in this exposed part. The people inside could buy necessities in the quarantine inn (Contumaz Wirtshaus), also inside the palisades. Unlike most other border stations,<sup>516</sup> the Pančevo quarantine had a central position in the town of Pančevo. Private houses and warehouses surrounded it on the south, east and north. The station's director and interpreter, together with other "unexposed"<sup>517</sup> quarantine officials lived in the town with general population. The warehouse for "cleaned" goods, which had passed quarantine, and "Haan", a designated inn for Ottoman merchants waiting for goods and their business partners to be released from the quarantine, as well as toll offices were also placed in the town. The position of the station inside the settlement was perceived as a disadvantage, not only because the cleaning servants and wool washers might expose, despite all precautions, the general population to potential contamination. Persons undergoing quarantine also had to exit

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<sup>515</sup> SHD to TLA, 10 February 1753, 1753 Februarius 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

<sup>516</sup> Other quarantine stations were either outside populated places (as in Mehadia, Jupalnic, Rudanovac and most Transylvanian stations) or on their outskirts (like the stations in Slavonia).

<sup>517</sup> With no direct contact with quarantined migrants and goods; the officials who dealt with quarantined persons and goods were considered as "exposed."

the quarantine station to take fresh water from the River Tamiš, as did other town inhabitants. Although guards escorted them there, the risk of mixing remained high.<sup>518</sup>

For all these reasons, during the 1750s and the 1760s the Sanitary Court Deputation and the Banat Provincial Administration considered moving the station outside the town.<sup>519</sup> These plans were not realized. During discussions on where to place a pre-quarantine facility near Belgrade, in 1761 the Sanitary Court Deputation considered a location near Pančevo, to serve both the Zemun and Pančevo stations, keeping this part of the border always open to Ottoman migrants and Ottoman commerce, but gave up the plan eventually when confronted with Ottoman protests, choosing a much more politically achievable Zemun-Banovci option.<sup>520</sup> Between 1762 and 1770, Pančevo was at a disadvantage compared to the two closest stations, Mehadia and Zemun. Unlike these two stations it did not possess a pre-quarantine facility, which would enable it to accept goods perceived to be miasma-prone even during pestilent times. Nevertheless, the station continued to see a growth in traffic.

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<sup>518</sup> Lit. P. Situations Plan der Pancsovaer Contumaz-Sambtdessen vorContumaz, S 12 - Div. XII. - No. 28:2; Situations Plan von der Pancsowaer Contumaz an bis auf das Orth Toppola, alwo vormahls ein kleines Dorff gestanden, so erwehnten nahmen Toppola gefihrt, S 12 - Div. XII. - No. 28:1, Hungarian State Archives (Magyar Országos Levéltár), Budapest. I am grateful to Benjamin Landais for allowing me to inspect the copies of these two maps. Johann Paitsch to TLA, 10 February 1756, Sanitäts-Diarii von der Contumaz-Station Panzova pro February 1756, FHKA NHK Banat A 123; Decree to TLA, Vienna, 27 June 1769, 1769 Junius 11; Insinuation an k. und k. k. Hof-Kammer in Bannaticis, Vienna, 27 June 1769, 1769 Junius 13; Insinuation of the k. und k. k. Hof Kammer of 5 July 1769, Vienna, 1769 Julius 23, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 5; Temesvar, 14 May 1770, Johann Theod. Kostka, Provincial Ingenieur, and Joh. J? Grohr, Cameral Provion und Contagion Medicus. Outside, to the north K. K. Mauth, and Schiffamts territorium, Pancsova Zweiter Plan / Vorstellend das Kay. König. Contumaz Hauss zu Pancsova in jenem Standt, in welchen es der Regulirten Sanitäts-präcaution gemäs herzustellen erforderlich wäre. fol. 69, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 3, Sanitätspläne no. 13

<sup>519</sup> SHD to TLA, Vienna, 2 August 1754, 1754 September 11, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

<sup>520</sup> See Chapter 3.

After the pre-quarantine/main quarantine system was abolished in 1770, Pančevo slowly gained primacy in Banat over Jupalnic (where the main quarantine station was transferred from Mehadia).<sup>521</sup>

A quarantine director headed the sanitary administration in the station. Other sanitary employees were subordinate to him. He was responsible for the proper operation of the station and for migrants and goods that passed through it. Between 1752 and the late 1760s, the station had three directors.<sup>522</sup> Johann Paitsch was the station's director during the period for which migrants' records were analyzed in this and the following chapter (February 1752-July 1756). Paitsch kept sanitary diaries (Sanitäts-Diarii). There, he registered every week, or more frequently when the

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<sup>521</sup> SHD to TLA, Vienna, 25 May 1765, 1765 Majus 2; SHD to TLA Vienna, 14 September 1765, 1765 September 22, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 4; Decree to the TLA, Vienna, 12 July 1770, 1770 Julius 12, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 5; In 1772 the Deputation asked for a table of quarantine employees (Amtspersonalis), and a recent multi-year overview of personal and commercial traffic through the station (in obbesagte Contumaz station zur Reinigung eingenommenen Menschen und Waaren/Commercial Concurrenz von denen zur Reinigung eingenommenen Waaren und Menschen von mehreren verfloßenen Jahren). Decree to TLA, Vienna, 31 January 1772, 1772 Januarius 23; Decree to TLA, Vienna, 19 February 1772, 1772 Februarius 9, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 6; Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, Vol. 2, no. 1: 428; Vol. 2, no. 2: 302-305; Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 47-48. See the traffic of goods in Pančevo 1815-1818 in the Appendix 5.1.

<sup>522</sup> Johann Paitsch (1752 or before –1757), Mathias Perner, (1757-1762), Fr. Wisinger (1762- 1769 or later) SHD to TLA, Vienna, 8 May 1756, 1756 Majus 2; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 7 August 1756, 1756 Augustus 4; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 10 January 1757, 1757 Januarius 8, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2; The SHD protocol from 8 September 1762; Bartenstein to Maria Theresa, 8 September 1762; Bartenstein to Maria Theresia, Vienna, 10 September 1762, 1762 September 19; The protocol of the Sanitary Court Deputation, the sixteenth session, Vienna, 12 September 1762; Bartenstein to Maria Theresa, Vienna, 14 September 1762; Note to the Court and State Chancellery, Vienna, 14 September 1762, 1762-September-13, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1; SHD, Nota an die k. k. Geheime Hof- und Staats Kanzley, Vienna, 13 and 17 May 1766, 1766 Majus 8, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 4; Des seit Anno 1768 et 1769 ex Turcico bis Heut zu Ende gesetzten Dato Theils zu 42- Theils 21 tägiger-Contumaz-Erstreckung eingelangten Personalis, Fr. Wisinger, Pančevo, 17 July 1769, fol. 70-75, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 3.

situation required, the reception of recent orders and questions from the Banat Provincial Administration and explained how he addressed them; he recorded relevant local and regional events and information about the operation of the station, particularly the news about sanitary conditions in adjacent and farther Ottoman provinces. The diaries are preserved for twelve months (December 1754 – January 1755, October 1755 – July 1756). At the end of each month Paitsch forwarded his diary entries along with the table of persons and goods that entered and exited stations since the previous report to the provincial administration in Temesvár. The provincial administration forwarded the tables to the Sanitary Court Commission/Deputation. In July 1774, quarantine tables traveled eleven days to Vienna. At the end of the year, the director would compile the list of immigrants who entered the station or were quarantined on the section of the border for which he was responsible, tables of goods that passed through the station, and the incomes from cleaning taxes and from leasing the quarantine inn. (Weinschanckh Arenda).<sup>523</sup>

## **Migrants' Records**

The principal source for migration analysis in this chapter are the preserved Pančevo quarantine tables. The quarantine tables are a part of a collection of documents

*Sanitary reports of the Temesvár (Banat) Administration* (Sanitätsberichte der

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<sup>523</sup> Sanitäts-Diarii von der Contumaz-Station Panzova, 1754-1756; Johann Paitsch to TLA, 7 October 1755, 31 October 1755, 24 November 1755, 2 December 1755, 23 December 1755, 27 December 1755, 31 January 1756, 29 February 1756, 9 March 1756, 15 May 1756, 31 May 1756, 26 July 1756, 29 July 1756, Sanitäts-Diarii von der Contumaz-Station Panzova pro October, 1755, November 1755, pro December 1755, January 1756, February 1756, March 1756, May 1756, July 1756, FHKA NHK Banat A 123; SHD, s. d., 1753 Januarius 8; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 17 February 1753, 1753 Februarius 7; TLA to SHD, Temesvár, 9 March 1753, 1753 Martius 15, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2; BLA, Temesvár, 11 August 1774, 1774 September 15, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 6.

Temesvarer Administration) of 1752-1756, a part of a Banat series in the Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv.<sup>524</sup> Besides the quarantine tables, the collection contains the already mentioned monthly sanitary diaries (Sanitäts Diarii) for Pančevo from November 1754 to January 1755 and from October 1755 to July 1756, as well as other correspondence with local border authorities, the provincial Banat administration, and sanitary authorities from other provinces. The Banat Provincial Administration met several times a month to discuss the documents from quarantine stations, the orders from the Sanitary Court Commission/Deputation and the intelligence collected by quarantine stations and provincial sanitary bodies in Transylvania and Slavonia in a special session devoted to “Contumaz Sachen/Wesen,” presided over by the commanding general in Banat, Baron Engelshofen. Copies of protocols from these discussions (Banatische Administration Protocolla in Contumaz Sachen) were forwarded to the Hungarian Hofkammer/ Deputation in Bannaticis et Illyricis with attached tables, diaries and reports, thus ending up in the Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv.

The preserved monthly quarantine tables from Pančevo cover the period 26 February 1752 – 31 July 1756 (table 5.1.). The series is not complete, containing two breaks, with ten months missing (26 March 1752 – 25 May 1752;<sup>525</sup> 1 February 1755

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<sup>524</sup> FHKA NHK Banat A 123. The collection contains the tables, diaries and reports from the other Banat station, Mehadia, from more or less the same period (quarantine tables 26 April 1752-31 January 1755, October 1755- July 1756, 43 months altogether; sanitary diaries November 1754-January 1755, October 1755-May 1756, July 1756).

<sup>525</sup> Two missing 1752 tables were probably lost. The Banat Administration explicitly mentioned that it received the May 1752 table. From the 26 May-25 June table exit records, it is clear that sixty-seven people who left Pančevo quarantine at the end of May and June entered the station during April and before 26 May 1752, proving that the station was open.

– 30 September 1755<sup>526</sup>). It has forty-three preserved tables in total, the longest uninterrupted period having thirty-two months (26 May 1752–31 January 1755).<sup>527</sup>

The reason for the end of a series in July 1756 was the closure of the station.<sup>528</sup>

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<sup>526</sup> The second break (February–September 1755) occurred both in the Pančevo and in the Mehadia series. It is not probable that a quarantine closure explains the break. The closure would be preceded and followed by the highest quarantine regime of forty-two days. The gap begins and ends, however, with a healthy regime (and the minimal twenty-one-days' quarantine). In addition, during the break, on 17 May 1755 the Sanitary Court Deputation explicitly instructed the Banat Provincial Administration to decrease quarantine time in Mehadia to twenty-one days for goods. Sanitary Diaries for the period February–September 1755 are also missing. Administration-Protocoll zu Contumaz Sachen von 27 May 1752, Temesvár, 2 Juny 1752; Contumaz-Tabellae, Pančevo, 25 June 1752, 31 January 1755, 31 October 1755; Sanitäts-Diarii von der Contumaz-Station Panzova December 1754 – January 1755, October 1755 – July 1756, FHKA NHK Banat A 123; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 17 May 1755, 1755 Majus 2; SHD to Slav. SK; also to the Hof- und Staatskanzlei, Vienna, 13 September 1755, 1755 September 5, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

<sup>527</sup> Contumaz-Tabella, Pančevo, 25 March 1752; 25 June 1752; 25 July 1752; 25 August 1752; 25 September 1752; 25 October 1752; 25 November 1752; 25 December 1752; 25 January 1753; 25 February 1753; 31 March 1753; 30 April 1753; 31 May 1753; 30 June 1753; 31 July 1753; 31 August 1753; 30 September 1753; 31 October 1753; 30 November 1753; 31 December 1753; 31 January 1754; 28 February 1754; 31 March 1754; 30 April 1754; 31 May 1754; 30 June 1754; 31 July 1754; 31 August 1754; 30 September 1754; 31 October 1754; 30 November 1754; 31 December 1754; 31 January 1755; 31 October 1755; 30 November 1755; 31 December 1755; 31 January 1756; 29 February 1756; 31 March 1756; 30 April 1756; 31 May 1756; 30 June 1756; 31 July 1756, FHKA NHK Banat A 123.

<sup>528</sup> A plague epidemic, first reported in Moldavia and Wallachia in June 1756, spread to other parts of the Ottoman Empire. On 28 June 1756 Pančevo raised quarantine time to forty-two days. Following the decision of the Sanitary Court Deputation on 14 July to close Banat stations, on 21 July 1756 the Banat Provincial administration ordered complete closure of Pančevo. Pančevo remained closed for six months. On 10 January 1757 the Sanitary Court Deputation allowed the opening of Pančevo. Johann Paitsch to TLA, Pančevo, 28 and 29 June 1756; 13 July 1756 and 27 July 1756, Sanitäts-Diarium von der Contumaz-Station Panzova pro Junii 1756; pro July 1756, FHKA NHK Banat A 123; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 1 July 1756, 1756 Julius 2; SHD to Slav. SK; to TLA, Vienna, 14 July 1756, 1756 Julius 12; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 10 January 1757, 1757 Januarius 8 and 1757 Januarius 14; KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2. This still does not explain the absence of quarantine tables for August and September 1756, where the exits from the station after a full forty-two-days' quarantine should have been recorded.

The tables record the entrances and exits of all individuals, their horses, and commercial goods subjected to compulsory quarantine. The horses, not subjected to quarantine, left the station with their owners. The goods that needed quarantine, such as wool, leather or furs, could be subjected to longer quarantine regimes than persons, and usually entered and exited separately, with the owner indicated. A new table began with the sum of people, goods and horses that were in the station at the end of the previous report, continued with the records of entrances during the period, grouped under entry dates, with the number of persons, goods and horses cited separately; it was followed by the list of exits, grouped around exit dates, counting people, goods and horses exiting; it finished with the new sum of people, horses and goods remaining in the station at the end of a monthly period, followed by the signatures of officials (table 5.2).<sup>529</sup>

The forty-three tables are aggregated into a database. The compiled database contains 1,127 entries, one for each migrant passage through the station. Each entry contains all data that could be assigned to individual migrants: name (or status, if the name is not mentioned, for example “servant” or “child”), gender, age (adults,

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<sup>529</sup> The tables do not differ from each other a lot, except in length (one to four pages), reflecting varying monthly traffic. There were only two minor changes in the tables’ composition. The first concerned signatures at the end of tables. The Pančevo director Johann Paitsch signed all the tables. The quarantine surgeon Johann Adam Richter co-signed all but two tables. His signature in August and October 1754 was absent due to his indisposition (Unbäßlichkeit = Unpäßlichkeit). On 27 April 1752, a court decree ordered that, beginning in June 1752, all quarantine tables from Pančevo and Mehadia were to be co-signed (contrasigniret) by a third “Civil-Person,” Districts-Verwalter in Mehadia or Pančevo, or Unterverwalter, or Gegenschreiber or by a Salz- oder Mauth Beambten, or by local Oberkneesen. Except on the first table from March 1752, all other tables were signed by a third person, representing the Hofkammer. The Controller (verwaltender Gegenschreiber) Franz Josef Knoll (June-November 1752, January-February 1753), Mathias Grienbach (December 1752), the Customs Collector (Mauth Einnehmer) J. Wolff. Pfautsch (March-November 1753), the customs official (Mautner) Pauman (December 1753- January 1755, October 1755), the Customs Collector (Mauth Einnehmer) Joseph Pachhaimer (November 1755-July 1756).



minors), whether they traveled in a group and in which kind of group (family, business), sometimes subjecthood and residence, religion (Christian, Jewish, Muslim), ethnic and regional identity (Greek, Serbian, Aromanian, Bulgarian, Romanian, Jewish), occupation (merchant, artisan, seasonal worker, servant, clergyman, soldier), status (immigrant, escaped slave, single woman, traveling families), whether a migrant was entering the station with some goods or animals, the date of entrance and date of exit from the quarantine station. The Pančevo migrants' analysis in this chapter is, unless referenced differently, based on the data from the database, available as the Appendix 5.3. To avoid flooding the following text with long footnotes referring to forty-three Pančevo tables, I avoid further references when analyzing and presenting data from the database.

**Table 5.1. Preserved Monthly Quarantine Tables in Pančevo 1752-1756**

| <b>Time range</b>                                      | <b>No. of preserved monthly quarantine tables</b> |
|--------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 26 February – 25 March 1752                            | 1                                                 |
| 26 March 1752 – 25 May 1752 ( <i>first break</i> )     | 0                                                 |
| 26 May 1752 – 25 February 1753                         | 9                                                 |
| 26 February - 31 March 1753 <sup>530</sup>             | 1                                                 |
| 1 April 1753 – 31 January 1755                         | 22                                                |
| 1 February – 30 September 1755 ( <i>second break</i> ) | 0                                                 |
| 1 October 1755 – 31 July 1756                          | 10                                                |
| <b>Total:</b>                                          | <b>43</b>                                         |

<sup>530</sup> Until February 1753, the tables ended and were submitted on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of the month. Following the order by the Sanitary Court Deputation from 17 February 1753 to follow the practice from Slavonia, they started to cover calendar months from March 1753 (the first such table, concluded on 31 March, covered the period 26 February 1753-31 March 1753). SHD to TLA, Vienna, 17 February 1753, 1753 Februarius 7, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

**Table 5.2. The Layout of the First Pančevo Quarantine Table in the Series, from 25 March 1753.**<sup>531</sup>

**Contumaz-Tabella über diejenige Persohnen und Waaren, welche lauth gehorst eingeschikter Contumaz-Tabella dd. 25.tn Febr. 1752 in der Contumaz verblieben waß seithero zugewachsen, oder abgegangen, und heunt zu Ende gesezten dato Effective Verbleibet, alß.**

| die Contumaz<br>angetreten | Nomina deren Contumazirenden Persohnen und Waaren                                                                                                                                                                                                            | hat in<br>allen  | seindt entlassen worden    |           |                  |        | Eff.ve Standt                                                                                |                  |        |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|-----------|------------------|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|--------|
|                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | Ballen<br>Waaren | unter<br>folgenden<br>Dato | Persohnen | Ballen<br>Waaren | Pferdt | Persohnen                                                                                    | Ballen<br>Waaren | Pferdt |
|                            | Vermög leztern Rapport dd. 25.tn Febr. 1752 verbleiben in der Contumaz<br><u>Seithero zu gewachsen</u>                                                                                                                                                       |                  |                            |           |                  |        | 53                                                                                           | 333              | 3      |
| den 25. Febr.              | 74 ballen Cordovan et Meschin, 40 ballen gelbes wachs, 64 ballen allerhand waar, Nicola George ein Griech mit einem Knecht, und 4 Pferden, Wojka eine Wallachin, und Transmigratin, Pable Stephan mit seinem Bruder ledige Pursch Raitzen und Transmigranten | 178              |                            |           |                  |        | 5                                                                                            | 178              | 4      |
| [entry date]               | [All persons, horses and goods that entered on that day ]                                                                                                                                                                                                    | [no.]            |                            |           |                  |        | [no.]                                                                                        | [no.]            | [no.]  |
| [...]                      | [...]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | [...]            |                            |           |                  |        | [...]                                                                                        | [...]            | [...]  |
|                            | Summa                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 338              |                            |           |                  |        | 80                                                                                           | 671              | 11     |
|                            | <u>Hingegen seindt entlassen worden:</u>                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                  |                            |           |                  |        |                                                                                              |                  |        |
|                            | dem Küriack Mihal 2 ballen gesponene weiße baumwollen, 1 ballen Astar, 1 ballen Riemwerck, und 1 ballen Meschin, dem Constantin Theodor 1 ballen Meschin, und Janco Samartich 1 Zinsar                                                                       |                  | 26.<br>Febr.               | 1         | 6                |        |                                                                                              |                  |        |
|                            | [All persons, horses and goods that exited on that day]                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                  | [date]                     | [no.]     | [no.]            | [no.]  |                                                                                              |                  |        |
|                            | [...]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                  | [...]                      | [...]     | [...]            | [...]  |                                                                                              |                  |        |
|                            | Summa                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                  |                            | 45        | 341              | 3      |                                                                                              |                  |        |
|                            | Nach Abzug deren Verbleiben unter heüetigen Dato in der Contumaz                                                                                                                                                                                             |                  |                            |           |                  |        | 35                                                                                           | 330              | 8      |
|                            | Obbenenth Entlassene Waaren, seindt behörig und Instructions-mässig gereiniget und Personen sowohl bey dem ein- alß außtritt, durch den Contumaz Chyrurg. visitiret worden.<br>Pancsova, d. 25tn Marty 1752.                                                 |                  |                            |           |                  |        |                                                                                              |                  |        |
|                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                  |                            |           |                  |        | [seal] Johann Paitsch<br>, Cont. Director<br>[seal] Johann Adam Richter,<br>Contum. Chyrurg. |                  |        |

<sup>531</sup> Contumaz-Tabella, Pančevo, 25 March 1752, FHKA NHK Banat A 123.

## Migrants' Data

The tables recorded the traffic from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Monarchy. The traffic in the opposite direction was not registered. We can assume that the numbers were not dissimilar, with most migrants having previously crossed the border to the Ottoman Empire if they were Habsburg residents, or returning eventually to the Sultan's lands, if they were Ottoman subjects. The obvious exceptions were Ottoman immigrants and Habsburg emigrants, whose border crossing was supposed to be definitive. During the forty-three months, the quarantine tables recorded 1,127 migrant passages (See table 5.3.).<sup>532</sup>

**Table 5.3. The migrant passages recorded in Pančevo quarantine tables 1752-1756, by years and months**

|           | 1752                      | 1753    | 1754    | 1755         | 1756         | Total |
|-----------|---------------------------|---------|---------|--------------|--------------|-------|
| January   |                           | 15      | 9       | 16 (11*)     | 23 (2*, 1†)  | 63    |
| February  | 6 (5*, 1†) <sup>533</sup> | 4       | 7       |              | 33 (1†)      | 50    |
| March     | 72 (22*, 50†)             | 8       | 32      |              | 12           | 124   |
| April     |                           | 5 (1†)  | 8       |              | 27 (1*)      | 40    |
| May       | 25 (10†)                  | 7       | 16      |              | 22 (2*)      | 70    |
| June      | 63 (55†)                  | 41      | 23      |              | 28 (3†)      | 155   |
| July      | 50 (3†)                   | 34      | 8 (1†)  |              | 18 (17*, 1†) | 110   |
| August    | 13                        | 23      | 5       |              |              | 41    |
| September | 37                        | 18      | 35      |              |              | 90    |
| October   | 32                        | 29      | 18      | 76 (2*, 13†) |              | 155   |
| November  | 15                        | 41 (1*) | 27 (1†) | 28           |              | 111   |
| December  | 11                        | 52 (2*) | 19 (1†) | 36 (1†)      |              | 118   |
| Sum       | 324                       | 277     | 207     | 156          | 163          | 1127  |

<sup>532</sup> In the analysis, I concentrate on the migrants. I deal with entries containing unaccompanied goods only to estimate the number of migrants. For 919 passages through the quarantine station, both entry and exit dates were recorded, for 65 only entry and for 143 only exit dates. Most, but not all missing entries and exits are due to breaks in the table series.

<sup>533</sup> The sign \* denotes that only entry dates exist for migrants, the sign † that only exits of migrants are available. In this case, of six migrants recorded in February 1752, for five only an entrance was registered, for one only the exit date.

Age was indicated for most of the migrants (88%), but only roughly.<sup>534</sup> The migrants were divided into two big categories, adults (78%) and minors (22%). Of the minors 121 were small children with no gender specified, ten were girls and 88 boys or youngsters. Of 1,127 recorded migrants 79 % were men or boys (Bub, Junge), 10% women or girls (Mädel) and 11% of child migrants of unspecified gender.<sup>535</sup>

Most migrants, 63% were named; 665 had two names, forty-six only one.<sup>536</sup> The second name was probably patronymic, a father's name, changing with each generation, not a more stable family name (surname).<sup>537</sup> Names between non-Muslim

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<sup>534</sup> For the servants whose age was not specified or for family members (brothers, sons) it is difficult to say whether they were adults or minors.

<sup>535</sup> There were more women and children in Pančevo than in Mehadia, where of 1,433 migrants 1,285 or 90% were male, 96 or 7% female and fifty-two or 4% unspecified. Sutterluti, "Die Kontumaz in Mehadia," 48.

<sup>536</sup> In Mehadia 968 or 68% of migrants were named, 465 or 32% were not. Sutterluti, "Die Kontumaz in Mehadia," 8-9.

<sup>537</sup> The situation was similar among Ottoman subjects and among the residents of the Habsburg Military Border. Family names in the Ottoman Empire were not fixed. The Ottoman administration recorded patronymic (veledi), which changed with each generation, not a nickname (galap), which sometimes lasted longer, as modern surname. For example, the son of a merchant from Peć, Petar Andrejević was Jovan Petrović, and his son Petar Jovanović. Dimitrijević, "Jedan naš trgovački dnevnik:" 359. On the Habsburg Military Border, family names (beständige Geschlechtsnamen) were also uncommon. Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, Vol. 1: 68. Only in 1785, were the Habsburg subjects on the Military Border required to keep their family names unchanged for regular population surveys. "Die Tauf, und Zunamen, under welchen die Bevölkerung im Jahr 1785 beschrieben worden ist, müssen die Individuen ohnveränderlich beibehalten, und so überkämet auch jeder Abstämmeling gegen die vormalige Gewohnheit seines leiblichen Vaters Zunamen." Engel, "Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien," Vol. 2: 996. Family names were used elsewhere in Europe, but they were not as stable as modern surnames. In the Middle Ages, the personal, baptismal, name was the most important. In fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Florence, family names were used to designate affiliation with a political party and were changed when necessary. Groebner, *Der Schein der Person*, 48-51. Government interference in name changes is also relatively recent. France made name changing difficult in 1794, assigning stable family names to Jews, and later to Arabs in Algeria. In Germany, the restrictions on changing names were first introduced during the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars. In England, name changing remained free, through a declaration in front of authorities. The 1916 and 1919 restrictions, targeting aliens, were lifted in 1971. Jane Caplan, "This or

and Muslims differed enough to be used as reliable confessional markers. The Muslim migrants had the following names: Ahmet, Ali, Emir, Hassan, Ibrahim, Iussuff, Mehmet, Mustafa. In all but two cases (Emir Agmet and Iussuff Babutschy) they had “Bassa/Basha” added to their name. The names of the Jews differed less (Moyses, Abraham, Issac, but also Josef/Joseph), but their Jewishness was always indicated. The rest of the migrants were Christians, with some having common Christian calendar names (Constantin, Demitro, George, Marco, Nicola, Peter), while others carrying Slavic names (Radosav, Stojan, Milosch, Stanko, Militza). The names and surnames were not very reliable in identifying particular Christian denominations or ethnicity. People identified as Greeks could have Slavic surnames (Manueli Stankovith), while Slavs could sign their documents in Greek. In Hungarian surveys of Orthodox merchants, many names were magyarized.<sup>538</sup>

A majority of migrants, (57%), traveled in one of the 201 groups, while 43% traveled alone, or a group affiliation was not clearly indicated. All unnamed migrants (416) were members of traveling groups. While group leaders were always named, dependent group members, such as family members or servants, were often not, as was the practice elsewhere in Europe at the time.<sup>539</sup> Servants belonged to the household of the group leader. Of 894 male migrants, about 76% were named (662 with two names and sixteen with one name). Of 216 unnamed male migrants, the biggest group was composed of male servants (166) and family members (thirty-eight) for whom only the family relationship with the group leader was indicated (son, brother). The same goes for all 121 children with unspecified gender and names. Most

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That Particular Person:’ Protocols of Identification in Nineteenth-Century Europe.” in *Documenting Individual Identity*, 56-65.

<sup>538</sup> Bur, “Handelsgesellschaften,” 269-290; Katsiardi-Hering, “Migrationen,” 133.

<sup>539</sup> In France, passports carried the name of the person in the group with the highest status, with family members and servants often not mentioned by name. Vincent Denis, “Administrer l’identité,” paragraph 11-14.

women (79, 71%) were unnamed in quarantine tables. They traveled as dependent members of bigger groups, seventy-five as unnamed family members. Only thirty-three women were named in the tables, only three had two names entered, while for thirty, one name was considered sufficient; nineteen traveled alone, while twelve were group leaders. Women led only the groups with no adult or adolescent men. In eleven cases, these were family groups, with other members being children (in one case also a mother-in-law). The twelfth group was made up of two women traveling together. While women set out on journeys between two empires without adult male fellow travelers, it appears that their more typical role was a supporting one, as often unnamed members of traveling families. When they took over the main role of group leaders or single travelers, it was usually because no adult male was available to fill it.

Surprisingly, the quarantine director Paitsch recorded the precise origin of migrants only occasionally. He and the quarantine surgeon and directors were obliged to ask the arriving people where they were coming from and through which places they had passed before reaching the border. That was important information to determine the length of quarantine in cases when some Ottoman provinces were designated as pestilent and traffic with them was forbidden. Instead of origins, quarantine tables indicated places of residence for about 10% of entries, and only seven destinations (five carpenters going to Slavonia and two immigrants to Temesvár). Most mentioned places of residence were from towns and villages around Pančevo, including those on Ottoman territory, with which quarantine director was quite familiar (See Figure 5.3.).<sup>540</sup> Most recorded places were on Habsburg territory.

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<sup>540</sup> Of places of residence, only fifteen or 14% were from the Ottoman Empire (all but one from Ottoman Serbia), the remaining 92 or 86% were from the Habsburg Monarchy, 80 or 75% from southwestern Banat, mostly from Pančevo itself (thirty-four or 32%; migrants from Pančevo, together with nearby Starčevo and Omoljica 63 or 59% of people with precise origins). The registration of places of residence or travel destinations was also relatively rare in Mehadia. Sutterlüti, "Die Kontumaz in Mehadia," 57-58.

This would indicate that the records might be made to be exchanged with local administrations, in order to control the mobility of locals.

*Figure 5.3. Map of Banat with Places Mentioned in Pančevo Quarantine*

*Records*<sup>541</sup>



It would be expected that subjecthood would be one of the defining markers in the quarantine tables. It was an important distinction, particularly for business travelers. The Ottoman-Habsburg Passarowitz Trade and Navigation Treaty of 1718, confirmed

<sup>541</sup> Made by the author.

by subsequent Habsburg-Ottoman agreements, guaranteed travel and commercial rights to all Ottoman subjects.<sup>542</sup> Only Ottoman subjects enjoyed an important privilege, the one-off Habsburg customs duty of only 3-5% and the exemption from all other duties and charges in Habsburg lands, while their Habsburg counterparts did not.<sup>543</sup> All arriving travelers were questioned about their subjecthood when entering quarantine stations, and duties were charged accordingly. Yet the quarantine tables only exceptionally mentioned it. When they did, the migrants in question were typically local Habsburg subjects. Habsburg subjecthood was indicated only for ninety-seven passages. Most of those people, fifty-seven, were not merchants, but traveling families. Ottoman subjecthood can be indirectly attributed to 203 entries. Most Muslims were probably Ottoman subjects, while nine escaped slaves and 155 Ottoman immigrants (Transmigranten) were considered the Sultan's subjects at least at the moment when they arrived at the station. Nevertheless, even if that is taken into account, no subjecthood could be attributed to 73% of entries, suggesting that this was not the most significant migrants' characteristic for border controls.

One of the most important identities of the time, determining migrants' residence rights, integration and naturalization prospects, religious denomination, was rarely mentioned explicitly. It is far easier, however, to attribute it indirectly than subjecthood, and to all migrants. First, non-Christian identity was always explicitly indicated. Muslims were designated as "Turks," Jews as "Spanish Jews," or "Ottoman Jews," or just "Jews." The rest of migrants were Christians. Of 1,127 registered entries to Pančevo, 1,081 were Christians, thirty-one were Muslims and just fifteen were Jews. For the great majority of Christian migrants the actual denomination could

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<sup>542</sup> See Pešalj, "Making a Prosperous Peace."

<sup>543</sup> Habsburg subjects enjoyed similar privileges and exemptions in the Ottoman Empire, but not in the Habsburg Monarchy. See Chapter 2.



be only guessed.<sup>544</sup> The Christian denomination was specified only for two Catholic travelers, both former slaves,<sup>545</sup> and a Lutheran deserter.<sup>546</sup> We can assume, with different levels of certainty, that 70% belonged to the largest group, Orthodox Christians. Altogether, I designated 481 of migrants as Orthodox Christians with complete or almost complete certainty.<sup>547</sup> In addition, I counted 153 as Orthodox with high certainty.<sup>548</sup> Finally, 152 migrants were also probably Orthodox Christians.<sup>549</sup> For the remaining 292 people or 26% no denomination could be specified even indirectly, except that they were Christians and that probably a large part of them were also Orthodox.<sup>550</sup>

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<sup>544</sup> As with other identities, I assumed that family members shared the same confession, and that servants shared the confession of their masters (this did not have to be true in all cases).

<sup>545</sup> Simon Peter, who entered on 20 July 1753, and an Armenian Hagvas, who entered on 10 June 1754.

<sup>546</sup> Daniel Müller, who entered on 15 May 1756.

<sup>547</sup> Orthodox monks of different ranks (Kallogiers, Archimandrites) and priests (Pob, Pop, Bob) belonged to this group. “Greek” was often a synonym for Greek-Orthodox; so I included all migrants designated as Greeks in this group; also all *Zinzars*, who were also Orthodox; the migrants who declared different identities, but one of them as Greek. The immigrants from provinces or places where the Christian population was exclusively Orthodox are in this group, too, like, *Raitzen* from Serbia, and from places like Grocka and Begaljica.

<sup>548</sup> These were mostly *Raitzen* from nearby Ottoman and Habsburg border villages and towns, where the Christian population was almost exclusively Orthodox. I included two Christians from Ottoman Belgrade in this category.

<sup>549</sup> I counted Bulgarians, Wallachians, and *Raitzen* who passed through Pančevo in this group. While some Bulgarians in Banat were Catholics and could have been among the migrants, this is less probable for *Raitzen*/Serbs and *Wallachs*/Romanians, since the Catholic members of these two groups lived as peasants far away from the border and did not have many reasons to go to the Ottoman Empire. I also counted the migrants for whom no ethnicity was indicated but who resided in Habsburg border villages as Orthodox, because these villages were inhabited either by an Orthodox Serb or Orthodox Romanian population.

<sup>550</sup> An *Albaneuser* Matho Dellith Albaneuser, an Arnaut, three Bosniaks, a person from Sarajevo and a Gypsy all had Christian names, but it is not clear whether they were Catholic or Orthodox. The tables do not indicate if two German deserters and one Hungarian were Catholics, Lutherans or Calvinists.

**Table 5.4. Ethnic and Regional Identity of Migrants' Passages in Pančevo 1752-1756**

|                                                 |            |
|-------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>No ethnic or regional identity indicated</b> | <b>410</b> |
| <b>Indicated ethnic and regional identities</b> | <b>717</b> |
| Greek (Grieche)                                 | 327        |
| Serb (Raitz)                                    | 163        |
| Aromanian (Zinzar, Zinsar)                      | 79         |
| Bulgarian (Bulgar)                              | 40         |
| Vlach/Wallachian (Wallach)                      | 33         |
| Muslim/Turk (Türk, Türkh, Türke)                | 31         |
| Jew                                             | 15         |
| Armenian (Armenier)                             | 6          |
| Other <sup>551</sup>                            | 12         |
| Multiple identities <sup>552</sup>              | 11         |

Unlike subjecthood or religion, ethnic or regional identities were explicitly indicated for the majority of migrants in the Pančevo quarantine tables: for 717 migrants.<sup>553</sup> For migrants traveling in groups, it was often defined at the group level.<sup>554</sup> The five most common mentioned ethnic or regional identities were Greeks, Serbs (Raitz), Aromanians (Zinzar),<sup>555</sup> Bulgarians and Romanians (Vlach/Wallachian) (See table

<sup>551</sup> Three *Albaneuser/Albanesse* entries; thee *Bosniak*; three German; one *Arnaut*; one Gypsy (Zigeuner); one Hungarian (Hungar).

<sup>552</sup> Five reported as Serb (Raitz) at entrance, Greek (Griech) at exit; four as Serb (Raitz) at entrance, Bulgarian (Bulgar) at exit; two as Bulgarian (Bulgar) at entrance, Greek (Griech) at exit.

<sup>553</sup> The percentage in Mehadia was very similar, 934 or 65%. Sutterlüti, "Die Kontumaz in Mehadia," 52-54.

<sup>554</sup> For this analysis, the attribution of ethnicity/regional identity on a group level is applied to all group members. This reflected probably more accurately actual identities for traveling families than for traveling merchants, artisans and servants. Namely, Balkan merchant companies were often, but not always mono-confessional, let alone mono-ethnic. The servants of one Serb merchant in Mehadia were labeled as Romanians (Wallachen). Sutterlüti, "Die Kontumaz in Mehadia," 60. The shareholders of the merchant Petar Andrejević (or Andrejić) from Peć, active in the 1740s and the 1750s, were both his Christian and Muslim friends and acquaintances. One of his principal partners was a Muslim Hadži Ahmed. Dimitrijević, "Jedan naš trgovački dnevnik."

<sup>555</sup> Romance-speaking minority group from the central Balkans, in what is now Albania, Macedonia and Greece.

5.4.).<sup>556</sup> While religion was most often the decisive identity factor determining migrants' prospects and rights, ethnicity was clearly worth mentioning. Religious identity did not prevail over ethnicity and regional identities as it did in the Ottoman Empire. The societies in the Habsburg Empire remained divided along ethnic lines, living in separate ethnic villages, or in different quarters of towns.<sup>557</sup>

### **The Migrants Defined through their Work**

The tables also reveal occupation or status for a number of quarantined people in Pančevo. Based on this characterization, the migrants could be classified in two larger groups: migrants defined by their work (occupation, service): merchants, artisans, clergymen, servants, and soldiers; and migrants not defined by their work, but by their social or family status or gender (leaders and members of traveling families, immigrants, women, arrestees, and slaves) or not defined at all (traveling individuals). The second group, however, contained a significant number of migrants travelling for their work.

There were 305 migrants defined through their work: Orthodox Christian clergymen, artisans, merchants, soldiers, and servants (see table 5.5.). Most of the clergymen, twenty-seven, were Orthodox Christian monks, including two archimandrites (high abbot rank, just below bishops). These monks came from the Ottoman Empire throughout the eighteenth century to collect charity for their monasteries. Some joined the communities of Orthodox monasteries in the Habsburg

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<sup>556</sup> The situation in Mehadia was different, with local ethnicity, Romanians, dominating with 535 or 57% of people with ethnical markers, while the next three biggest groups were Greeks (192), Serbs (97) and Muslims (79). All three deserters in Mehadia in 1752-1756 were Italians. Sutterlüt, "Die Kontumaz in Mehadia," 52-54, 73-74.

<sup>557</sup> Bosma, Kessler and Lucassen, "Migration and Membership Regimes," 11-12.

Monarchy. Pančevo quarantine tables also registered fifteen entries by Orthodox secular (parish) priests (pop), one traveling with his family.<sup>558</sup>

During forty-three months thirty-three migrants who were designated as artisans entered Pančevo with twelve different professions.<sup>559</sup> Four furriers carried lamb furs (Lamb-Fell) with them for sale.<sup>560</sup> Other registered artisans could carry their goods also with them, but they were not necessarily registered in quarantine tables. For example, soaps that two soap-makers might carry and possible products of coppersmiths were not subjected to quarantine and were not recorded. The Pančevo quarantine was next to the rivers Tamiš (Timiș, Temes), Danube and Sava. A number of occupations were associated with rivers (four millers, one drafter and seven sailors).<sup>561</sup> The contemporary sources and modern literature mention seasonal arrivals of numerous builders (Maurer) from Macedonia at border provinces in Hungary.<sup>562</sup>

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<sup>558</sup> The priest (Pop) Theodosy Radovith entered the station with his mother, wife and two children on 10 July 1752.

<sup>559</sup> The number of registered artisans in Mehadia was even more modest, with only twenty people. Sutterluti, "Die Kontumaz in Mehadia," 64. Ottoman dyers, who brought with them from the middle of the eighteenth century the very popular "Turkish red" technique, using alizarin from madder, were not registered in the Pančevo quarantine tables. Reinhold Reith and Konrad Vanja. "Färber," in *Das Alte Handwerk. Von Bader bis Zinngießer*, ed. Reinhold Reith (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2008), 68-71.

<sup>560</sup> Furriers prepared furs, and tailored and sold them. They were often among the better-off artisans, because their trade needed larger capital. Mechthild Wiswe, "Kürschner," in *Das Alte Handwerk*, 130-32.

<sup>561</sup> Schiffsleute, called hajós by Tkalac about a century later. Although river trade did not fulfill Habsburg commercial ambitions, it grew steadily during the eighteenth century. During 1820 about 250 boats docked in Zemun and Pančevo (150 downstream and 100 upstream). Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 1: 392, 396-97, 399; Tkalac, *Jugenderinnerungen*, 305-307. Fishermen, sailors (Schiffer) and drafters (Flösser) were organized in separate or in joint guilds in German lands. Fishermen enjoyed exclusive rights of fishing in certain areas. Peter Lengele, "Fischer," in *Das Alte Handwerk*, 78-79. The millers in Pančevo operated river mills, anchored near the bank of rivers and using river current to power milling. Günter Bayerl, "Müller," in *Das Alte Handwerk*, 162-67.

<sup>562</sup> Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 2: 22-24; Popović, *O Cincarima*, 82-87. Builders' work was seasonal, with scarce opportunities in the period October-April. Macedonian builders constructed stone and brick structures, but also very popular and cheaper wattle-and-daub

The Pančevo quarantine tables did not register them, except five carpenters (Zimmerleute) going to Slavonia, who might belong to this category. This could suggest that in the 1750s their number was not significant yet or that they avoided Pančevo as an entrance point. At the time of the Habsburg conquest, there were 714 artisans in the province of Banat, with 95% of them masons, carpenters or quarrymen, and only 107 engaged in other professions.<sup>563</sup> By 1756, the year when the quarantine table series in Pančevo ends, the number of artisans grew. In 1753 there were, for example, about 200 coppersmiths in Banat. The shortage of artisans nevertheless persisted and was filled with Ottoman tailors, boot-makers and tanners.<sup>564</sup> A modest number of migrants designated explicitly as artisans in the Pančevo quarantine tables of 1752-1756 would suggest that either that they did not enter through this station or that they were hidden among the other migrants with unspecified professions.

Only fifty-five migrants in Pančevo could be designated as merchants with certainty, because they either entered or exited the station with their merchandise. This was a low number for a group that should have been one of the principal categories of migrants.<sup>565</sup> Ottoman Orthodox Christian merchants, called “Greek

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buildings. Similar construction was done by *Kleiber* in German lands Andreas Griebinger, “Maurer, Dachdecker und Zimmerleute,” in *Das Alte Handwerk*, 146-52.

<sup>563</sup> In 1718, the following 714 artisans were registered in Banat: 286 masons and carpenters (Maurer, Zimmerleute), eight locksmiths (Schlosser), seven cartwrights (Wagner), four coopers (Binder), twelve blacksmiths (Schmiede), twenty-seven millers (Müller), one dike-maker (Teichgraber), ten lime-makers (Kalkbrenner), eleven stonemasons (Steinmetzen), 321 quarrymen (Steinbrecher), fourteen brick-makers (Ziegler), nine joiners (Tischler) and four potters (Hafner). Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, 45-46.

<sup>564</sup> Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, 128-31. See in the Appendix 5.2 the number of merchants and artisans on the Military Border in 1816-1817.

<sup>565</sup> The occupation “merchant” (Handelsmann) was printed on passport forms as a habitual occupation of migrants coming from the Ottoman Empire into the Habsburg Monarchy.

merchants,<sup>566</sup> played an important role in the wool, textiles and leather trade in the Balkans, in Ottoman Hungary and in Transylvania in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.<sup>567</sup> Ottoman Orthodox merchants retained a strong presence in Habsburg Hungary after 1699 and in Habsburg Banat after 1718.<sup>568</sup> In 1725 the Habsburg diplomat Michael Talman, who negotiated in 1718 the Trade and Navigational Treaty of Passarowitz with the Ottomans, claimed that the Hungarian market was almost completely under control of Ottoman merchants, who were supplying both lower estates with cheap woolen cloth known as *aba* and higher estates with Ottoman silken products.<sup>569</sup> In 1749, the Habsburg authorities registered seventy Ottoman merchants residing in Banat and eighty-nine in 1755. They were particularly influential in border districts, where they competed with domestic merchants, who were often also Orthodox Christians. Ottoman merchants enjoyed competitive advantages on the Hungarian market compared to their Habsburg colleagues. They were freed of all other duties except a one-time 3% customs duty and 2% additional duty called “*mastaria*,” while until 1772 their Habsburg counterparts had to pay 7.5% in taxes plus other transit duties and charges. When caught smuggling, Ottoman merchants were charged double customs rates, while the

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<sup>566</sup> The term “Greek” designated primarily the confession, Greek Orthodox Christianity, and included merchants of various ethnicities: Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, Aromanians, Albanians, Romanians. Peyfuss, “Balkanorthodoxe Kaufleute in Wien:” 258-67.

<sup>567</sup> Snezka Panova, “Zum Handel der Länder Südeuropas mit dem übrigen Europa im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa 1683 bis 1789: Konflikt, Entspannung und Austausch*, ed. Gernot Heiss und Grete Klingenstein (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik Wien, 1983), 197-206; Ikaros Mantouvalos, “Greek Immigrants in Central Europe: A Concise Study of Migration Routes from the Balkans to the Territories of the Hungarian Kingdom (From the Late 17<sup>th</sup> to the Early 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries),” in *Across the Danube*, 26-28.

<sup>568</sup> Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, 60-72.

<sup>569</sup> Pešalj, “Making a Prosperous Peace,” 148-49.

Habsburg state confiscated all contraband of their Habsburg counterparts.<sup>570</sup> In the 1770s, Ottoman products were still favored at the Habsburg Military Border. The majority of the people living there had “half Turkish, half Hungarian dress, women more Turkish.” Native women produced most of their clothes from domestic or Ottoman wool, imported from Macedonia or Wallachia.<sup>571</sup> Wool, used for domestic production, was imported through Pančevo in the 1750s in larger quantities than cotton, used by manufactures. For example, in the first half of 1756, before the quarantine was closed due to a plague outbreak, 114 bales of wool and twenty-four bales of cotton entered the Pančevo station.<sup>572</sup> The number of migrants who were

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<sup>570</sup> Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, 60-72, 146-201. Habsburg merchants enjoyed similar privileges in the Ottoman Empire, a single 3% custom duty, exemption from all other charges, from 1718, but not on their domestic market. This single custom duty was very similar to the Ottoman *gümrük* of 3% for Muslims and 4% for non-Muslims that domestic merchants had to pay in the Ottoman Empire. Foreign merchants, like Armenians, had to pay 4% if they were Muslims or 5% if they were non-Muslims. Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 1: 437-38. Svetlana Ivanova, “The Empire’s ‘own’ Foreigners: Armenians and Acem Tüccar in Rumeli in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in *The Ottoman Capitulations: Text and Context*: 685-702. Ottoman merchants in the Habsburg Monarchy were officially required to engage only in wholesale with Ottoman goods, except in “öffentlichen Jahrmärkten,” and in Zemun, where they could trade all year round. Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 2: 24-28.

<sup>571</sup> Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 1: 68; vol. 2: 21, 31-33.

<sup>572</sup> Extract auß dem Contumaz Amts Protocoll, gegenwärtiges Jahr, an Baum- und Schaaffwolle in hiesige Cotumaz eingebracht worden, Pančevo, 26 August 1756, FHKA NHK Banat A 123. The import of cotton increased significantly during the following decades. In 1786, about 30,000 bales of cotton were imported through Zemun alone. Engel, “Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien,” vol. 2: 844-46. At the turn of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, Vienna became the principal distribution center for Ottoman cotton. Seirinidou, “Greek Migration in Vienna,” 114. Other typical goods that were registered in the tables, because they were considered as possible carriers of plague and subjected to quarantine, were Morocco and cordovan leather (Saffianleder, Corduan), different furs and hides, and many pieces of Ottoman cloth. Live animals were also imported in great numbers from the Ottoman border provinces. Animals were not subjected to quarantine and were not registered in the Pančevo tables. They had to swim across a river or a channel and were considered to be clean afterwards. Stoianovich, “The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant,” 282-83; Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 1: 36-38. When there were outbreaks of animal diseases in the Ottoman Empire, the import of animals from infected provinces would stop. Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 2: 447. Another important import product in Banat was firewood. The

explicitly designated as merchants in the Pančevo quarantine tables of 1752-1756, or were not named as merchants but entered or left the station with their merchandise, fifty-five in total, is much lower than in the other Banat station, Mehadia, where 425 of 1,433 registered migrants were explicitly designated as merchants in 1752-1756.<sup>573</sup> Since it is clear from the goods registered in the quarantine records that merchants did not avoid Pančevo, it would suggest that many other merchants were hidden among the migrants not explicitly defined through work.

The tables registered 171 servants (Knechte, with the following subcategories: Bub, Jung, Kaufmanns Bediener, Kind). Based on these designations, many servants seem to have been minors, following artisans and merchants as assistants or apprentices on their trips. Some, but not all, amassed slowly their own capital to become independent merchants or partners. Half of the Greek merchants in Vienna registered in the 1766 survey, for example, had arrived in the city originally as children or adolescents following older merchants. The rate was even higher among Greek merchants in Miskolc.<sup>574</sup>

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province did not have much forest. Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 2: 31-33; Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 3: 57-58; Engel, "Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien," vol. 1: 112-25; vol. 2: 842-43, 1019; Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 1: 320-21. Firewood was not considered to be a carrier of infections, so it was not cleaned or registered in quarantine tables. In Mehadia about 30% of the goods imported were wool, 44% leather (Corduan, Saffian, Meschin) and 8% cotton. Sutterlüti, "Die Kontumaz in Mehadia," 81.

<sup>573</sup> This is a low number compared to the other Banat station, Mehadia, where 266 migrants were registered explicitly as merchants, in addition to 159 who had merchandise. Sutterlüti, "Die Kontumaz in Mehadia," 59-63, 87-88.

<sup>574</sup> Mantouvalos, "Greek Immigrants in Central Europe," 37-38; Seirinidou, "Greek Migration in Vienna," 117-19.



**Table 5.5. Through-Work-Defined Migrants**

| <b>Profession or service</b>                                              |            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <i>monk (Kalloger, Calluger, Callugier)</i>                               | 25         |
| <i>priest (Pop, Bob, Pob, Popp)</i> <sup>575</sup>                        | 15         |
| <i>archimandrite</i>                                                      | 2          |
| <i>student (Diak)</i>                                                     | 1          |
| <b>Total clergy</b>                                                       | <b>43</b>  |
| <i>barber (Balbierer, Balbier)</i>                                        | 1          |
| <i>boot maker (Zischmenmacher)</i>                                        | 1          |
| <i>carpenter (Zimmermann)</i>                                             | 5          |
| <i>charcoal burner (Kohlenbrener)</i>                                     | 3          |
| <i>coppersmith (Kupferschmied, Kupferschmidt)</i>                         | 1          |
| <i>drafter (Flösser)</i>                                                  | 1          |
| <i>furrier (Kirschner/Kürschner)</i>                                      | 4          |
| <i>miller (Müller)</i>                                                    | 4          |
| <i>sailor (Schiffsmann)</i>                                               | 7          |
| <i>soaper (Seifensieder, Seifen Sieder)</i>                               | 2          |
| <i>tailor (Schneider)</i>                                                 | 3          |
| <i>tanner (Lederer)</i>                                                   | 1          |
| <b>Total artisans</b> <sup>576</sup>                                      | <b>33</b>  |
| <b>Merchants</b>                                                          | <b>55</b>  |
| <i>Bub</i>                                                                | 48         |
| <i>Junge</i>                                                              | 13         |
| <i>Knecht</i>                                                             | 110        |
| <b>Total servants</b>                                                     | <b>171</b> |
| <b>Soldiers (military deserters)</b>                                      | <b>3</b>   |
| <b>Migrants not defined through work, but with horses and/or servants</b> | <b>256</b> |
| <b>Grand Total</b>                                                        | <b>561</b> |

<sup>575</sup> A five members strong clergy family included.

<sup>576</sup> More about barbers, who, in addition to shaving and hairdressing, performed occasionally simpler surgical, orthopedic and dental interventions, in Sabine Sander, “Bader und Barbieri,” in *Das Alte Handwerk*, 17-20. Boot-makers were related to shoemakers. More about shoemakers in Andreas Griebinger, “Schuhmacher,” in *Das Alte Handwerk*, 217. Coppersmiths produced large vessels for other artisans (soap-makers, dyers, brewers) and medium and smaller vessels, as well as other washing and kitchen utensils for the general population. Frank Göttmann, “Kupferschmied und Kupferhammerschmied,” in *Das Alte Handwerk*, 135-37. More about soap-makers in Franz Lerner, “Seifensiedler,” in *Das Alte Handwerk*, 186-87. Tailors in guilds did not have the right to trade in cloth. That was job of cloth merchants. Tailors were often poor. Friedrich Lenger and Paula Lutum-Lenger, “Schneider und Schneiderinnen,” in *Das Alte Handwerk*, 201-204. Tanners, processing raw leather, were also better off, because the tanning procedures were expensive. Ottoman cordovan leather was popular at the time. Reinhold Reith, “Gerber,” in *Das Alte Handwerk*, 82-88.

A closer look at the migrants not defined through work suggests that many of them were also merchants and artisans. While traveling families and immigrants rarely traveled with horses and almost never with servants,<sup>577</sup> clergy, merchants and artisans often had horses or servants or both. There were 256 migrants not defined through work, but with horses or/and servants. The distribution of ethnic labels within this group and its exclusively male gender structure set it apart from other migrants not defined through work, while making them very similar to migrants defined through work.<sup>578</sup> Ottoman merchant communities in the Habsburg Monarchy were often predominantly male. For example, of eighty-three “Greek” merchants residing in Vienna in 1766, only seven lived there with their wives.<sup>579</sup> All this suggests that the migrants not defined through work but with horses and/or servants should be counted as through-work-defined migrants. This brings the total number of migrants defined through work to 561 or 50% of migrants’ entries in Pančevo in 1752-1756.<sup>580</sup> A slight majority of these migrants traveled in groups, usually composed of masters and servants.

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<sup>577</sup> An exception is Jansche Jankovith, “a Bulgarian immigrant,” who entered the station on 14 June 1756 with his wife and a servant.

<sup>578</sup> The predominance of non-local ethnic labels, 174 or 68% (“Albaneuse,” Armenians, “Arnaut,” Aromanian, Bulgarian, Greek), closely associated with trade in comparison to local-ethnic labels, four or 2% (Serbs, Romanians), makes them very similar to the migrants defined through work. Among the migrants defined through work non-local ethnic labels dominated, with 149 or 49%, while only twenty-six or 9% carried local ethnic labels. Among other migrants not defined through work or who had no servants or/and horses, local ethnic labels made up the biggest group with the participation of 44%, while non-local ethnic labels made up 24%. The gender composition of the migrants not defined through work but with servants or/and horses was also similar to the migrants defined through work, with negligible presence or complete absence of women and small children. See Appendix 5.4. for more details.

<sup>579</sup> Five wives were Orthodox Christians, and two were Catholics. Ransmayr, “Greek Presence in Habsburg Vienna,” 136-39.

<sup>580</sup> There were probably some merchants and artisans among the migrants with unspecified status with no servants or horses, where 28% were defined as Greeks.

## The Migrants not Defined through their Work

In addition to 561 migrants defined through work, there were remaining 566 migrants recorded in Pančevo, not defined through work. The majority, 374, were defined in other ways, through their social status, family or marital status, gender or age as: arrestees,<sup>581</sup> slaves,<sup>582</sup> immigrants, widows and widowers,<sup>583</sup> unmarried,<sup>584</sup> child, boy, youngster, girl, or old woman.<sup>585</sup> Finally, 192 migrants or 17% remained undefined through work or through their social status, family or marital status, gender or age (see table 5.6.).

The default status of migrants not defined by their work was married male adult. The deviation from this norm was noted with young unmarried males (lediger Bursche) and with boys (Bub, Junge, Bursche). Women were additionally defined, either as members of traveling families, with the family relation clearly given (mothers, mothers-in-law, wives, daughters, daughters-in-law), or by their age or marital status when they travelled alone or were group leaders.<sup>586</sup> There were four widows (one traveling alone and three among traveling families) and eight girls (Mädel, Mädchen). While young age could define both men and women, old age defined only women. Eight women were labeled as old (altes Weib), for example Ruschiza, who entered on 8 January 1756 or Margeritha, who entered on 7 June 1756. Old age was not considered an important trait for male migrants, where nobody was described as old. Small children were defined by their age and belonging to a family

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<sup>581</sup> Arrestanten

<sup>582</sup> Sklave, Sclavin, als Sclaven herüber eschapirt, Türkischer Sclave. Mehadia had somewhat more slaves, fifteen, generally in line with the higher number of migrants. Sutterlüti, "Die Kontumaz in Mehadia," 72-73.

<sup>583</sup> Wittib, Witwe.

<sup>584</sup> Ledig, lediger Bursch.

<sup>585</sup> Kind, Bub, Junge, Bursch, Mädel, Mädchen, altes Weib.

<sup>586</sup> Women led only groups with no adult or adolescent men.

only, without name or gender specified. Most women traveled with their families. Among traveling families (330 migrants)<sup>587</sup> women's participation was high (28%), slightly above a third (35%) were adult or adolescent men, while children made up the biggest subgroup (37%).<sup>588</sup> Nineteen women traveled without adult or adolescent men, most alone, suggesting that such travels were not uncommon in the Ottoman Empire or in the Habsburg Monarchy.

**Table 5.6. Not through Work Defined Migrants in Pančevo 1752-1756**

| <b>Status or definition</b>                                                  | <b>No.</b> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <i>Immigrants traveling as families</i>                                      | 143        |
| <i>Immigrants traveling as individuals</i> <sup>589</sup>                    | 14         |
| Total immigrants                                                             | 157        |
| Habsburg residents traveling as families                                     | 55         |
| Other families <sup>590</sup>                                                | 115        |
| <i>widows</i>                                                                | 1          |
| <i>Boy, youngster</i>                                                        | 20         |
| <i>Girls</i>                                                                 | 8          |
| <i>Old women</i>                                                             | 5          |
| Women, boys and young men traveling alone or in non-family groups            | 34         |
| Slaves                                                                       | 10         |
| Arrestees                                                                    | 3          |
| <b>Total migrants defined through family or social status, age or gender</b> | <b>374</b> |
| <b>Other migrants, not defined</b>                                           | <b>192</b> |
| <b>Grand total</b>                                                           | <b>566</b> |

<sup>587</sup> All families, included the families of migrants defined through work.

<sup>588</sup> The non-counted migrants traveled as individuals, in ad hoc or professional groups or were escaped slaves. Since the gender of older children was often specified (Mädel, Bub, Junge), I assumed that the groups traveling with small children (Kinder) were families. In these groups only one member, an assumed group leader was usually mentioned by name. Other migrants were most often defined by their relationship to him/her (wife, mother, mother-in-law brother, son, daughter, daughter-in-law).

<sup>589</sup> Defined as unmarried immigrants (lediger Transmigranten, ledigers Stands, ledige Pursch) and two widowed immigrants (Witwe).

<sup>590</sup> Including the widower (Wittib) Roco Theorodovith, who entered with two children on 9 December 1755 and Dimo Schokantar, Consul, who entered the station with his son and two horses on 9 March 1756.

A separate subgroup of non-business migrants were immigrants. Among the entries in Pančevo, 157 were marked as immigrants. The term used was *Transmigranten*, *Transmigranten-Familien*.<sup>591</sup> The immigrants who arrived at the Ottoman-Habsburg border were coming from the Ottoman Empire.<sup>592</sup> The immigrants received a privileged treatment. Quarantine costs for poor migrants were paid by the state. They were freed from all duties for three to six years, and they sometimes received a loan to help them build a house and acquire domestic animals and necessary agricultural utensils. In the Habsburg version of mercantilism, population increase played an important role. On the border, it not only strengthened the border defense, but also improved the economy.<sup>593</sup>

The Pančevo tables did not reflect correctly the number of immigrants, as discussed in the previous chapter. The list of immigrants in Pančevo in 1754, made by the quarantine director Paitsch, listed seventy-four persons. Most of them, forty-seven, however, were not registered in the quarantine monthly tables, because their crossing often occurred outside the official crossing point in Pančevo, for example downstream near the Habsburg village of Omoljica, or across from the Ottoman town of Grocka,

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<sup>591</sup> Other contemporary documents used the term “Transmigranten” to designate the immigrants arriving from the Ottoman Empire to settle in the Habsburg Monarchy: “Transmigranten oder herüberrettenden türkischen Familien;” “Transmigranten oder aus denen türkischen Landen übersiedelnden Katholischen Christen und nicht unierten Griechen.” SHD to TLA, Vienna, 7 March 1770, 1770 Majus 2; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 28 June 1770, 1770 Junius 15; SHD to Transylvanian SK, Vienna, 26 July 1770, 1770 Julius 21, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 5. The same term was used elsewhere to denote Protestant migrants who were exiled from Austria and Bohemia to parts of Hungary where Protestants were tolerated. Klingenstein, “Modes of Religious Tolerance:” 1-7.

<sup>592</sup> In the westernmost quarantine stations, particularly in the Karlovac Military Border, there were also immigrants from Venetian territories on the Adriatic coast, traveling through the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>593</sup> Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 1: 176-77; Gavrilović, *Prilog istoriji trgovine i migracije*, 111-14, 116-20. See Chapter 4 for a discussion of privileges granted to immigrants and of Habsburg demographic policies.

or further downstream near the Habsburg village of Kovin.<sup>594</sup> If 1754 was typical, the number of immigrants should be tripled, and the yearly number of migrants in Pančevo revised upwards by seventy-six persons, adding immigrants who crossed the border outside quarantine stations to the migrants registered by quarantine tables.<sup>595</sup> For the whole period covered by the Pančevo tables, the number of migrants who entered the section of the border for which the Pančevo station was responsible would rise by 273 to 430 immigrants, with the number of all migrations in Pančevo during the forty-three months covered by the numbers in the tables rising to 1,400. This would also increase the share of immigrants in the total number of migrants from 14% to 31%, making them the second biggest category, after business migrants.

I realize that there were other migrants who were not registered in the quarantine records. The persons who crossed the border illegally and were not caught by the authorities are not counted. As discussed in chapter 3, this was often the case with local inhabitants. They knew how to avoid controls, they had help on the both sides of the border and their short absences could go undetected. Even for the immigrant-settlers from the Ottoman Empire, who entered outside the official border crossings, analysis possibilities are much more limited than for the persons who passed through quarantine. Much information about immigrant-settlers is incomplete or missing, such as age, name, religion, ethnic identity, occupation, accompanying goods or animals. While it is possible to include them in summary breakdowns of the migrants crossing

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<sup>594</sup> Rade Gregorovich, the Peter Mihai Group, Radoslav Ignat, Theodor Radovith group, Wassilia, in June-July 1752; Stan Markovith group in November 1753. The time that passed between their arrival in the Habsburg Monarchy and their entering quarantine in Pančevo was counted in quarantine time. They did not need to start the quarantine from the beginning, like the persons caught illegally entering the Habsburg Monarchy.

<sup>595</sup> Consignation, Was pro 1754 vor Emigrirte Familien ex Turcico in Hießiger Contumaz, die quarantie gehalten, Pančevo, 31 December 1754, Johann Paitsch, Cont. Director, FHKA NHK Banat A 123.

the border, they were not counted when examining more closely the migrants' social profiles.