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

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MONITORING MIGRATIONS: THE HABSBURG-OTTOMAN BORDER IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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² Project number P 25656-G16, led by Josef Ehmer.

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ABBREVIATIONS

OeStA	<i>Österreichisches Staatsarchiv</i>
AVA	<i>Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv</i>
FHKA	<i>Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv</i>
HHStA	<i>Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv</i>
KA	<i>Kriegsarchiv</i>
IAB	<i>Istorijski arhiv Beograda</i>
GK	<i>Generalkommando (Slavonia)</i>
ZM	<i>Zemunski magistrat</i>
TLA	<i>Temesvarer Landesadministration</i>
SHK	<i>Sanitätshofkommission</i>
HKR	<i>Hofkriegsrat</i>
SHD	<i>Sanitätshof- Deputation</i>
Transylv. SK	<i>Transylvanian Sanitary Commission</i>
Slav. SK	<i>Slavonian Sanitary Commission</i>
s. d.	<i>sine dato (undated)</i>

INTRODUCTION

Early in the morning on Saturday, 15 September 1753 Ruscha, a young girl from the Ottoman border town of Grocka, on the right bank of the Danube River, started a journey. In the late afternoon, she reached the opposite side of the river, near the Habsburg border town of Pančevo, about thirty kilometers upstream. Although her boat crossed in an instant an imagined middle line on the Danube River, marking the border between two empires, entering the Habsburg Monarchy was not so simple. Habsburg border guards approached Ruscha and asked her to follow them. Even though she was just a common girl, not a dignitary nor a security threat, Ruscha received a military escort. While walking the next couple of kilometers through swamps between the Danube and the town of Pančevo, the soldiers remained silent, keeping their distance from Ruscha. After arriving at the Pančevo palisades, the soldiers directed Ruscha to a specific gate that led to the town's quarantine station. There, she met surgeon Johann Adam Richter, who asked her to identify herself. He wrote down that she was a Serb and an unmarried Ottoman Christian subject. Then, Richter examined Ruscha from a distance for signs of epidemic diseases. Finding none, he nevertheless sent her to a room where she was to spend the next four weeks in isolation. During her stay in the Pančevo quarantine station, Ruscha had to pay for her provision and firewood. After four weeks in quarantine, Ruscha received a certificate of good health from a surgeon and a passport from the town commander: finally she was able to continue her journey.³ A several-hours' trip thus turned into a

³ Contumaz-Tabella, Pančevo, 30 September 1753, FHKA NHK Banat A 123 (old reference FHKA NHK KaaleU BanaterA Akten 65). FHKA – Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Austrian State Archive (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv), Vienna, Austria, abbreviated here as FHKA (alternative abbreviation is

long and expensive one-month journey. Ruscha had to prepare her travel well in advance and needed a good reason for it, like marriage or multiyear servanthood.

Even though Ruscha traveled from an area that Habsburg officials knew was free of epidemic diseases she was subjected to compulsory quarantine and strict border controls. She was not a beggar nor a vagabond, neither did she belong to a non-tolerated religious group, nor was she politically suspicious. The Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire were at peace. Ruscha's experience was far from unique. Every migrant traveling from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Monarchy had to undergo the same procedure. Jovan Radojević, a twenty-six-year-old Habsburg subject residing in the border town of Zemun, learned that after undergoing a different and more extreme experience when he attempted to return from the Ottoman side of the border to the Habsburg side. In May 1773, the ship on which Jovan worked as a sailor remained docked for days near Ogradina village, on the Habsburg bank of the Danube River. Jovan decided to use this idle time to visit his brother, who lived on the Ottoman river island of Ada Kaleh, just a few hours away. The brothers, who had not seen each other for fourteen years, spent three days together. When Jovan tried to return to the Habsburg shore, he was arrested. After undergoing quarantine he was tried and sentenced to one month of public labor "in Eysen" for an attempt to avoid proper border procedures. A three-day visit turned into an enforced four-and-a-half-month sojourn.

AT-OeStA FHKA). The quarantine table contains basic data about Ruscha: that she was a young Serbian Christian girl from Grocka, entering the Pančevo quarantine station on 15 September 1753 and exiting it on 12 October 1753. I linked Ruscha's basic information to the extrapolated typical migrant experience from the time and the description of Pančevo quarantine stations, to provide a more comprehensive view of what Ruscha might have gone through. The lack of mention of Ruscha in the diaries of the Pančevo quarantine station, where extraordinary or specific events were recorded (like entering irregularly, outside official crossing points, evading regular procedure, escaping enslavement or carrying some strange goods) indicated that her experience must have been typical.

Between the 1720s and the 1850s, every migrant along the closely guarded 1,800-km Habsburg-Ottoman border was stopped and controlled. In eighteenth-century Europe these kinds of checks were quite uncommon. Elsewhere on the continent, travelers like Ruscha or Jovan could move freely in most circumstances. In fact, other states started introducing comprehensive migration checks in a modest and limited way only from the 1860s.⁴ In Western Europe, this process began even later. In the 1860s, most European states were focused on abolishing hurdles to free travel, including passports and border checks for certain groups, in the wake of globalization in the Western part of the world. France, the United Kingdom, Germany and Italy introduced universal migration controls on external borders only after 1914. These kinds of controls prevailed globally only from the 1920s onward.⁵ External borders were perceived as obvious places of controls only from the late nineteenth century onward. At the time when migration controls were introduced on the Habsburg-Ottoman border in the 1720s, the borders between other major European states were still defined in a non-territorial way.⁶

⁴ Adam M. McKeown, *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008); Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

⁵ John Torpey, "The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Passport System," in *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World*, ed. Jane Caplan and John Torpey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 256-70; Leo Lucassen, "'A Many-Headed Monster': The Evolution of the Passport System in the Netherlands and Germany in the Long Nineteenth Century," in *Documenting Individual Identity*, 235-55; Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "Mobilität," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, ed. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 2008) 8: 624-44; McKeown, *Melancholy Order*.

⁶ Lucien Febvre, "Frontière: le mot et la notion," "Frontière: limites et divisions territoriales de la France en 1789," in *Pour une Histoire à part entière* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N, 1962), 11-24; Peter Sahlin, *Boundaries. The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989); Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States AD 990-1990* (Boston: Blackwell, 1990); Daniel Nordman, *Frontières de France: de l'espace au territoire: XVIe-XIXe siècle* (Paris:

This raises a question central to this study: how can we explain the early establishment of strict border controls between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires? This is an important question because in the historiography of borders and migrations strict border controls are seen as an invention of modern nation states. Moreover, “hard” external border controls are usually considered as a drastic, yet most effective tool for restricting unwanted migrations. This study not only pushes the history of border controls backwards to the early eighteenth century, but also urges us to question how and why borders were created in the first place. Additionally, the close relationship between nation states and migration controls needs to be further examined. Why were border controls imposed so early in this case? Elsewhere, few borders were precisely demarcated and controls were most often temporary or selective. Finally, how did a dynastic empire like the Habsburg Monarchy put in place a bureaucracy to guarantee effective control?

Late nineteenth-century Europe, experiencing little immigration from other continents, appears as an era of free travel, with most states abolishing passport requirements after the 1860s,⁷ exempting from controls not only the well-off but also poorer migrants.⁸ In this period, migration controls were much more pronounced and more

Gallimard, 1998); Michael Biggs, “Putting the State on the Map: Cartography, Territory, and European State Formation,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, no. 2 (April 1999): 374-405.

⁷ Introduced as an extraordinary measure in the 1820s, in the aftermath of the French Revolution, to avoid the spread of dangerous political ideas.

⁸ John Torpey, “Coming and Going: On the State Monopolization of the Legitimate ‘Means of Movement’,” *Sociological Theory* 16, no. 3 (November 1998): 239-59; Hannelore Burger, “Passwesen und Staatsbürgerschaft,” in *Grenze und Staat. Paßwesen. Staatsbürgerschaft. Heimatrecht und Fremden gesetzgebung in der österreichischen Monarchie 1750-1867*, ed. Waltraud Heindl and Edith Sauer (Vienna: Böhlau, 2000), 1-172; Vincent Denis, “Administrer l’identité. Le premier âge des papiers d’identité en France (XVIIIe- milieu XIXe siècle),” *Labyrinthe* 5 (2000): 25-42; Andreas Fahrmeir, “Governments and Forgers: Passports in Nineteenth-Century Europe,” in *Documenting*

visible outside Europe, where the free-travel regime led to immigration outcomes perceived as undesirable. The pioneers in modern global migration controls in the pre-1914 world were white-settler nations, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United States, and South Africa, which focused on preventing Asians from entering. People from Asia and Africa were perceived as racially inferior, coming from supposedly intrinsically foreign and primitive civilizations, which would have little appreciation for liberal values and self-rule.⁹ These controls were still selective, targeting Asians while exempting Europeans.

France, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy introduced border controls during the First World War, in order to monitor dangerous aliens (spies, political radicals) and to coordinate military recruitment and industrial and agricultural labor. The laws, regulations and procedures to comprehensively supervise and control migrations continued after the war under different justifications, such as protecting

Individual Identity, 218-34; Andrea Komlosy, "State, Regions, and Borders: Single Market Formation and Labor Migration in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1750-1918," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* (2004) 27, no. 2: 135-77; Valentin Groebner, *Der Schein der Person. Ausweise. Steckbriefe und Kontrolle im Mittelalter* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2004). However, already at the beginning there were limits to free mobility. Countries like Belgium, Prussia and Italy continued to control certain groups such as low-skilled workers, while the Ottoman Empire, Russia, and Romania never completely abolished passports and migration controls. Lucassen, "'A Many-Headed Monster.'" Other countries began to roll back free-travel provisions already before the First World War. The Hungarian half of Austria-Hungary introduced emigration controls for ethnic Hungarians in 1909. The Austrian part introduced emigration curbs in 1913, and border controls at the beginning of 1914, just months before the beginning of World War One. Tara Zahra, "Travel Agents on Trial: Policing Mobility in East Central Europe, 1889-1989," *Past and Present* 223 (May 2014): 161-93. The United States used remote controls in European ports, directed at Southern and Eastern European migrants. McKeown, *Melancholy Order*.

⁹ John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); McKeown, *Melancholy Order*.

national labor markets.¹⁰ Border controls gradually became an irreversible international standard in the regulation of mobility, prevailing from the 1920s onward, and universally accepted by the mid-twentieth century, more than two centuries after they had been established on the Habsburg-Ottoman border.

Precisely delineated and demarcated borders were a necessary precondition for controls. The 1699-1701 demarcation of Ottoman and Habsburg territorial jurisdictions appears as another anomaly. At that time, the borders between major other states in Europe were still non-territorially defined. A state was a sum of persons, local and provincial feudal rights and jurisdictions, based on the overlapping network of vassalage and homage.¹¹ Overlapping jurisdictions and territorial fragmentation (the existence of numerous enclaves and exclaves) were usually not considered problematic.¹² Linear borders were present, but they rarely defined external borders.¹³ Delimitation protocols were exhaustive inventories of villages,

¹⁰ Peter Holquist, "'Information Is the Alpha and Omega of Our Work': Bolshevik Surveillance in Its Pan-European Context," *Journal of Modern History* 69 (September 1997): 415-50; Torpey, "Great War;" Lucassen, "A Many-Headed Monster;" Lucassen and Lucassen, "Mobilität."

¹¹ Tilly, *Coercion, Capital*.

¹² Febvre, "Frontière;" Sahlin, *Boundaries*; Nordman, *Frontières de France*; Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map."

¹³ Linear borders as opposed to zonal borders, Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map." Sahlin, *Boundaries*; R. J. W. Evans, "Essay and Reflection: Frontiers and National Identities in Central Europe," *The International History Review* 14, No. 3 (1992): 480-502; Reinhard Stauber and Wolfgang Schmale, "Einleitung: Mensch und Grenze in der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Menschen und Grenzen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Wolfgang Schmale and Reinhard Stauber (Berlin: Berlin Verlag Arno Spitz, 1998), 9-22; Walter Ziegler, "Die bayerisch-böhmische Grenze in der Frühen Neuzeit – ein Beitrag zur Grenzproblematik in Mitteleuropa," in *Menschen und Grenzen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, 116-30; Daniel Power, "Introduction;" "A. Frontiers: Terms, Concepts, and the Historians of Medieval and Early Modern Europe," in *Frontiers in Question. Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700*, ed. Daniel Power and Naomi Standen (London: Macmillan, 1999), 1-12, 28-31; Maria Pia Pedani Fabris, "The Ottoman Venetian Frontier (15th-18th Centuries)," in *The Great Ottoman – Turkish Civilization*, ed. Kemal Çiçek (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2000), vol. 1 (Politics): 171-77; Maria Pia Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine* (Venice: Herder editrice, 2002); Steven G. Ellis, "Defending English Ground: the Tudor Frontiers in

rights and jurisdictions, not geometrical divisions of physical space.¹⁴ Systematical delineations and demarcations of external borders in Western and Southern Europe started in the 1730s, and gained pace between the 1760s and the 1780s, before being temporarily interrupted by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. This process continued well into the nineteenth century, with protracted negotiations, terrain work, and territorial swaps to attain territorial cohesion and linear closed borders.¹⁵ Even when the process was completed, migrants were not controlled at external borders. The white-settler nations, the pioneers in the introduction of modern border controls in the late nineteenth century,¹⁶ did not use land borders for controls, but instead used major ports. Whereas, Australia did not have land borders, the United States and Canada did, but they did not establish border controls before the 1880s.

The permanent nature of border checks was another eye-catching feature of migration checks at the Habsburg-Ottoman border at the time. Following its decades-long ambitions to participate in the lucrative Levant trade, the Habsburg Monarchy managed to secure advantageous trade conditions with the Treaty of Passarowitz of 1718.¹⁷ To participate in the Levant trade, the Habsburg Monarchy needed to accept and implement international sanitary-protection procedures. Between the 1670s and the 1770s the plague, which had been regularly present in Europe in the previous

History and Historiography,” in *Frontiers and the Writing of History, 1500-1850*, ed. Steven G. Ellis and Raingard Eßer (Hannover-Laatzten: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2006), 73-93; Günther Lottes, “Frontiers between Geography and History,” in *Frontiers and the Writing of History*, 9-20; Günter Vogler, “Borders and Boundaries in Early Modern Europe: Problems and Possibilities,” in *Frontiers and the Writing of History*, 21-38.

¹⁴ Nordman, *Frontières de France*.

¹⁵ Febvre, “Frontière;” Nordman, *Frontières de France*.

¹⁶ McKeown, *Melancholy Order*.

¹⁷ Jovan Pešalj, “Making a Prosperous Peace: Habsburg Diplomacy and Economic Policy at Passarowitz,” in *The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718*, ed. Charles Ingrao, Nikola Samardžić and Jovan Pešalj (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2011), 141-57.

three centuries, began to retreat. The plague continued, however, to be present as an endemic disease in the Ottoman Empire. To fight epidemics arriving by sea, European Mediterranean ports, in the fourteenth century, began to introduce compulsory isolation of persons and goods coming from infected places. By the eighteenth century, every European power trading with the Ottomans was expected to have proper sanitary port facilities.¹⁸ The new Habsburg border regime introduced after 1718 deviated from its counterparts in two major ways. First, quarantine stations existed not only in the Habsburg Mediterranean ports of Trieste and Rijeka, but also along the long land border with the Ottomans, as a land *cordon sanitaire*. Second, border checks on the Habsburg-Ottoman border were permanent, lasting for a century and a half. Land sanitary cordons against the plague, which existed elsewhere, were always temporary, organized only in exceptional circumstances.¹⁹

Another reason why early modern dynastic states like the Habsburg Monarchy refrained from permanent land border controls was that they were expensive and

¹⁸ St. M. Dimitrijević, "Jedan naš trgovački dnevnik iz XVIII veka," *Zbornik za istoriju južne Srbije i susednih oblasti* 1 (1936): 355-88; Marc Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State: Social and Institutional Change through Law in Germanies and Russia, 1600-1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983); Daniel Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets: L'Europe et la peste d'Orient (XVII^e-XX^e siècles)* (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 1986); Daniel Panzac, "Politique sanitaire et fixation des frontières: l'exemple Ottoman (XVIII^e-XIX^e siècles)," *Turcica* 31 (1999): 87-108; Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999); Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*; Ronen Shamir, "Without Borders? Notes on Globalization as a Mobility Regime," *Sociological Theory* 23, no. 2 (2005): 197-217; Wolfgang Uwe Eckart, "Epidemie," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 3: 356-60; Jean Vitaux, *Histoire de la Peste* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2010); Birsan Bulmuş, *Plague, Quarantines, and Geopolitics in the Ottoman Empire* (Abingdon: Edinburgh University Press, 2012); Nükheth Varlık, "Conquest, Urbanization and Plague Networks in the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1600," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead, 251-63 (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2012).

¹⁹ Erna Lesky, "Die österreichische Pestfront an der k. k. Militärgrenze," *Saeculum* 8 (1957): 82-106; Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*; 1999; Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*; Vincent Denis, "The Invention of Mobility and the History of the State," *French Historical Studies* 29, no. 3 (Summer 2006): 359-77; Varlık, "Conquest, Urbanization and Plague Networks."

disruptive for trade. Scholars assume that before the rise of the nation state, countries lacked adequate administrative capabilities for comprehensive statewide controls, due to small central bureaucracies and insufficient funds.²⁰ Attempts to control the emigration from Spain to Spanish America in the early sixteenth century proved a bureaucratic illusion. *The casa de contratación*, established in Seville in 1503, charged with recording every migrant who set out for the Americas and preventing the emigration of Christianized Muslims, Jews, debtors, and ex-criminals, ultimately failed in its aim.²¹ Centuries later, non-industrialized or semi-industrialized states still lacked the necessary administrative capacity for effective border controls. At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, the attempts to control traffic between Ottoman Northern Albania and Montenegro, and between Ottoman and British Yemen failed, with locals successfully evading official border checks.²² In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Habsburg central administration employed only a few thousand people.²³ The modest Habsburg sanitary

²⁰ Torpey, "Coming and Going." The argument that early modern states supposedly did not have enough reasons to control immobile rural societies has been disproved. Pre-industrial societies were very mobile, both within and across state borders. Charles Tilly, "Migration in Modern European History," in *Human Migration: Patterns and Policies*, ed. William H. McNeill and Ruth S. Adams (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1978), 48-72; Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "The Mobility Transition Revisited, 1500-1900: What the Case of Europe Can Offer to Global History," *Journal of Global History* 4 (2009): 39-71; Josef Ehmer, "Quantifying mobility in early modern Europe: the challenge of concepts and data," *Journal of Global History* 6 (2011): 327-38; Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "Discussion – Global Migration. From mobility transition to comparative global migration history," *Journal of Global History* 6 (2011): 299-307.

²¹ Groebner, *Der Schein der Person*.

²² Isa Blumi, "Thwarting the Ottoman Empire: Smuggling through the Empire's New Frontiers in Yemen and Albania, 1878-1910," in *Ottoman Borderlands: Issues, Personalities and Political Changes*, ed. Kemal H. Karpat and Robert W. Zens (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 255-74.

²³ P. G. M. Dickson, "Monarchy and Bureaucracy in Late Eighteenth-Century Austria," *The English Historical Review* 110, no. 436 (April 1995): 323-67.

administration, with just a few hundred personnel in all border stations, should have had even less administrative capacity for comprehensive migration control along the long boundary. Nevertheless, these border checks remained in place until the 1850s.

An additional intriguing aspect of the controls on the Habsburg-Ottoman border, related to the problem of administrative capacity, is that they targeted all migrants, without exception. In place of large-scale controls many early modern states focused their resources on some smaller segments of society, on specific groups like the unemployed poor, Gypsies or Jews. Thus, in 1552, the Habsburg Monarchy introduced regulations, controlling vagrants and regulating poor relief, leaving enforcement to local communities.²⁴ This arrangement was still in force in the eighteenth century.²⁵ While these mobility-control policies were statewide and permanent, they were selective within the realm and focused on specific groups, unlike border checks between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire.

In exceptional circumstances, some countries introduced statewide mobility controls targeting larger sections of the population or the entire population. Thus, following the plague pandemic of 1346-1353, England and Portugal curbed the mobility of rural labor to fight labor shortage.²⁶ During plague epidemics, infected

²⁴ Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State*; Leo Lucassen, *Zigeuner: die Geschichte eines polizeilichen Ordnungsbegriffes in Deutschland 1700 – 1945* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1996); Torpey, “Coming and Going;” Harald Wendelin, “Schub und Heimatrecht,” in *Grenze und Staat*, 173-343.

²⁵ Josef Ehmer, “Worlds of Mobility: Migration Patterns of Viennese Artisans in the Eighteenth Century,” In *The Artisan and the European Town, 1500-1900*, ed. Geoffrey Crossick (Aldershot, UK: Scolar Press, 1997), 172-99; Wendelin, “Schub und Heimatrecht;” Groebner, *Der Schein der Person*. Starting with the time of the Regency (1715-1723), France intensified the regulation of mobility of soldiers on leave, beggars, itinerant workers, Jews, and foreigners (non-regnicoles) in major cities such as Paris, Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Lille. Vincent Denis, “Administrer l’identité;” Denis, “The Invention of Mobility.”

²⁶ Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, “Migration, Migration History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives,” in *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, ed. Jan

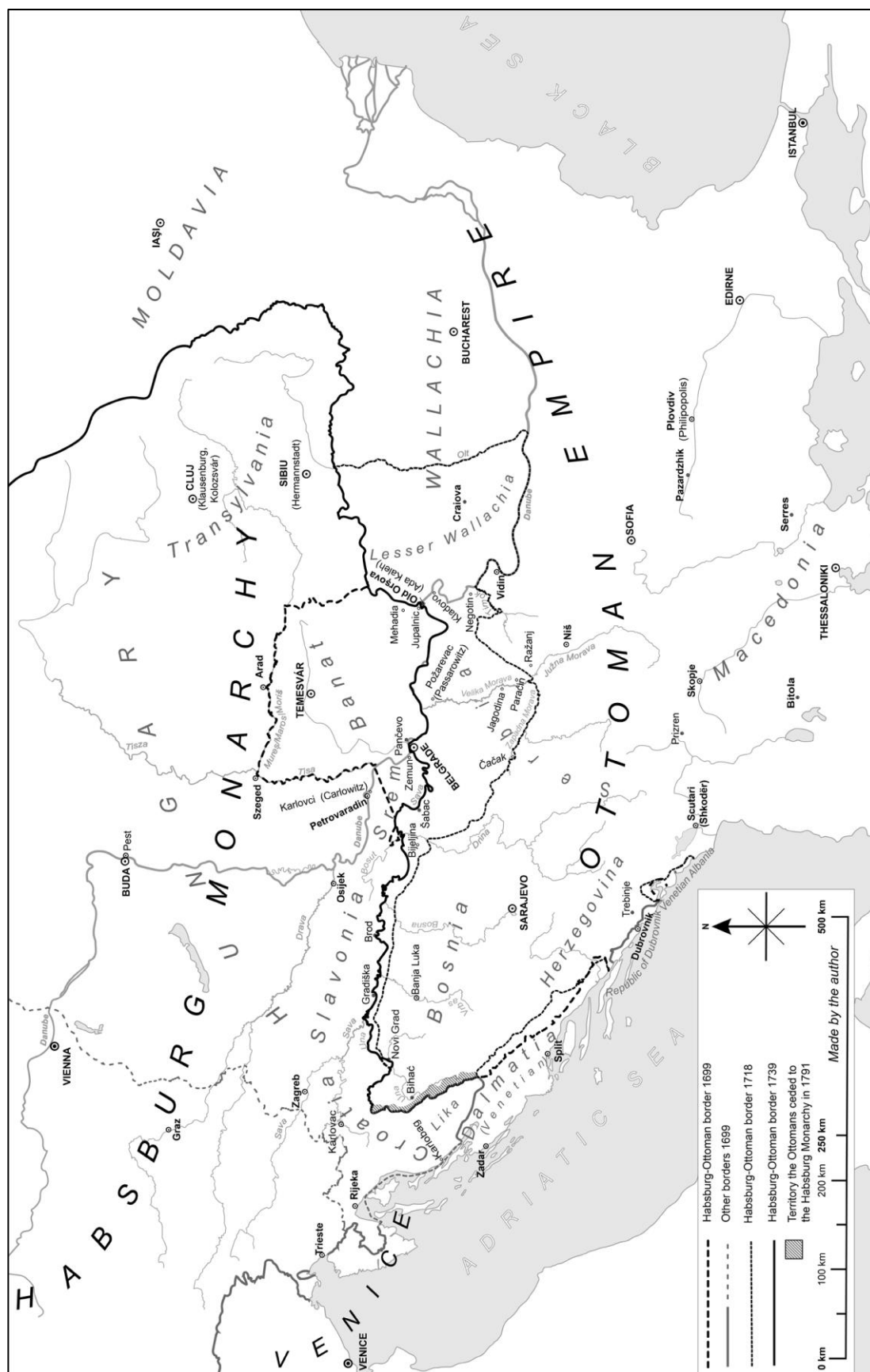
cities and provinces were closed, and all traffic was put under strict supervision.²⁷

Such large-scale universal mobility controls were restrictive and had a negative impact on traffic and trade. The restrictive mobility-control policies focused on exclusion of all but essential migrations, even to a greater degree than had the late-nineteenth-century and twentieth-century mobility-control regimes.

Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1997), 9-38; Leo Lucassen, "Eternal Vagrants? State Formation, Migration and Travelling Groups in Western-Europe, 1350-1914," in *Migration. Migration History. History*, 225-51; Catharina Lis and Hugo Soly, "Labor Laws in Western Europe, 13th-16th Centuries: Patterns of Political and Socio-Economic Rationality," in *Working on Labor. Essays in Honor of Jan Lucassen*, ed. Marcel van der Linden and Leo Lucassen (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 299-321.

²⁷ Denis, "The Invention of Mobility."

Figure I.1. Habsburg-Ottoman Border 1699-1791.



A closer look at the creation and operation of the Habsburg-Ottoman border allows us to re-examine the motives and working of border-control regimes more generally. I look into these “peculiarities” to expand the discussion from the perspective of nation states to that of earlier times. This brings us to the following two sub-questions: 1) What were the origins and the impact of controls on the Habsburg-Ottoman border in the early eighteenth century? 2) Were the controls used to selectively exclude or favor certain groups of migrants? If they were exclusionary and selective, that would be an early example of the controls that developed from the end of the nineteenth century in modern nation states. Universal and inclusive controls, however, would suggest that border controls could have a different rationale.

My study focuses on the western part of the Habsburg-Ottoman border, between the Adriatic Sea and Banat, dealing occasionally with the eastern section of the Habsburg Transylvania borders. While Transylvania bordered the two Ottoman vassal Christian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, on the western half of the border the Habsburgs and Ottomans were in immediate contact, with the Ottoman provincial administration being directly involved. This created different dynamics in the two border sections. I concentrated on the western section, where, many processes started earlier and developed faster, such as systematic delimitation. The migration controls were also more effective in the west, particularly in the first decades of their existence, with military troops being involved at the border at an earlier stage. Transylvanian border often adopted the models, which were previously developed and tried in the west.

This book follows border creation and migration controls from 1699, when the Habsburg-Ottoman border was first systematically demarcated, to the 1790s. It focuses on the creation and changes in the border regime and migration controls,

paying particular attention to the formative stage, from 1699 to the 1730s, and the transformational decades between the 1750s and the 1770s. During this second phase, the system went through major revisions and experiments, such as the expansion of the military border, changes in control procedures, travel documents, quarantine duration, and jurisdictions. After the sanitary-legislation overhaul in 1770, new naturalization laws from the 1760s and the 1770s, as well as the decrease of quarantine times for persons in the 1780s, there were only minor adjustments to the system. Therefore, this study does not deal in detail with developments after 1795.

The research is based mostly on the records from archives in Vienna, Belgrade and Zagreb. I analyzed documents from the War Archive (Kriegsarchiv) in Vienna, primarily from the Sanitary Court Commission (Deputation) records, in order to reconstruct the organization and operation of central and provincial sanitary administration. In the Finance and the Court Chamber Archive (Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv) I studied the documents dealing with Ottoman commerce in Austrian and Hungarian lands, as well as the documents from the provincial administration of Temesvár Banat, including the records from the Pančevo and Mehadia border stations. I also researched Habsburg regulations on Ottoman subjects, their residence and commercial rights, as well as naturalization; the laws and regulations concerning public health and sanitary cordon, quarantine stations and migration checks. The Family, Court and State Archive (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv) contains files on delimitation and the peacetime correspondence between Habsburg and Ottoman central and provincial administrations concerning border issues. The holdings of the three Viennese archives are incomplete. The documents produced by central bodies have been better preserved than the reports and letters from provincial and local administration to which they often refer. The number

of records increases progressively in the second half of the eighteenth century, where the 1760s and the 1770s, for example, are much better represented than earlier decades. I examined unpublished and published descriptions of the border, as well as the published legislation concerning the border and the status of Ottoman subjects from the years 1740-1790. In the Croatian State Archive (Hrvatski državni arhiv) in Zagreb, I examined documents of the Slavonian General Command, responsible for the Slavonian part of the Border. These records focus mainly on the operation of the Military Border. The Historical Archive of Belgrade (Istorijski arhiv Beograda), holding the records of the Zemun Military Township, provides a broader picture that deals with the everyday experience of border life, including stories about migrants and local inhabitants. Even in these local documents, the official institutions still play the major role. The voices of migrants and locals are represented occasionally, for example, in border transgression court proceedings.

These archival documents help us understand how border controls were organized, how the tasks and responsibilities were allocated; they also shed light on decision-making and enforcing processes. I follow the work of the administration on three levels – central, provincial, and local. On the central level, I examine the operations of the Sanitary Court Commission (Deputation), which headed the sanitary administration; of the War Council, responsible for border security and later for border quarantines; and of other bodies that were partially involved in the control of traffic, such as the Commercial Council, and the *Hofkammer*. On the provincial level, I focus on general commands and the Banat provincial administration from Croatia to Banat, their interaction with central bodies, local authorities, migrants, the local population and Ottoman border authorities. On the local level, the stations with the most cross-border traffic, Zemun, Pančevo and Mehadia, take center stage. I examine

their correspondence with provincial and other border authorities, their day-to-day operations, and their interactions with migrants. This helps us understand interactions of institutions and individuals on the central, provincial and local levels in the decision-making and enforcement processes.

In addition to a detailed descriptive statistical analysis of the migrants' lists from Pančevo between 1752 and 1756, I investigate the correlation between quarantine duration and the number of migrants entering Pančevo to investigate the impact of the "hard border" on migration numbers, whether migrants avoided crossing the border during longer quarantine regimes. A statistically significant negative correlation between quarantine duration and the number of migrants would suggest that "hard" border controls curbed migration numbers. I also examine cross-border migration trends, by comparing Pančevo to other border stations and migration numbers from the 1750s to those in the 1760s.

This study looks into the border regime between the Habsburg Monarchy and Ottoman Empire predominantly through Habsburg sources. To be sure, border control regimes are per definition bilateral in nature. The Habsburg-Ottoman border was no exception. It would have been much more difficult, if not impossible, to enforce effective checks without the cooperation of Ottoman border authorities. The involvement of these two sides was very unequal, however. Compulsory quarantines, generating extensive migrant records, existed only on the Habsburg side of the border. The Habsburg sources are therefore by far the most important. The Ottoman perspective is partly reflected in Habsburg archives, which preserved reports and letters of Ottoman central and border authorities followed by comments and responses of Habsburg military and civil officials, concerning the border regime and disputes associated with it. The Habsburg archives give a reasonably comprehensive picture of

the border regime. The inclusion of Ottoman sources could make the picture more complete and give more color, but it would not affect the main outlines presented here. The Ottomans also controlled migration, but they were largely passive partners, approving or denying new developments, and rarely taking the initiative. An exception can be found in the history of Habsburg-Ottoman border delimitations, in which the Ottomans were involved at the same level as the Habsburgs. Delimitation commissions, border disputes commissions and everyday provision of security on the border were tasks that were fulfilled by both sides. For these reasons, I also rely on the published translations of Ottoman border delimitation protocols and other published sources produced by Ottoman border commissioners during the eighteenth century.

Chapter 1 examines the origins of the Habsburg-Ottoman border regime after 1699, when the border between two empires was first systematically delineated and demarcated, and explores how the new border arrangements affected migrations. This process coincided with a profound transformation in power relations between Vienna and Istanbul after the Ottomans' defeat in the war against the Holy League (1683-1699). Europeanists and Ottomanists alike have been trying to locate a model for this new border in the West.²⁸ However, there was no clear-cut western model. It seems likely that the Ottoman Empire, using pragmatism, instead of a strict normative approach (the Islamic concept of an ever-expanding border), actively contributed to

²⁸ Rifaat A. Abou-el-Haj, "The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier in Europe: 1699-1703," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89, no. 3 (1969): 467-75; Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, "Ottoman Attitudes Toward Peace Making: The Karlowitz Case," *Islam* 51, no. 1 (1974): 131-37; Colin Heywood, "The Frontier in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths," in *Frontiers in Question*, 228-50; Resat Kasaba, "L'Empire ottoman, ses nomades et ses frontières aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles," *Critique internationale* 12, no. 3 (2001): 111-27.

the new border arrangement.²⁹ I take a closer look at the border arrangement of the Ottomans and their other Christian neighbors, before returning to Habsburg-Ottoman border delimitations. Territorial separation of jurisdictions was usually followed by a general pacification of the relations between adjacent states.³⁰ The second part of this chapter examines how the pacification changed the conditions for inter-imperial migrations.

Chapter 2 studies how migration controls were designed and introduced. Studies of Habsburg border control recognized the sanitary-protection function of the border, primarily against plague epidemics, but largely ignored the migration control function.³¹ Migration controls were in force both during years of pestilence and health. Why did the Habsburgs opt for permanent migration controls instead of temporary ones, which other European states used during epidemics? The chapter examines the administrative structure on three levels, central, provincial and local. It explores how decision-making processes functioned at these levels and how the urge to restrict mobility in order to protect public health during epidemics was reconciled with Habsburg-Ottoman treaties that obliged the Habsburgs to promote free trade.

Chapter 3 explores how the Habsburg Monarchy achieved the necessary administrative capacity for effective controls by examining the role of the military,

²⁹ Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th-18th Century): an Annotated Edition of 'Ahdnames and Other Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "Between the Splendour of Barocco and Political Pragmatism: the Form and Contents of the Polish-Ottoman Treaty Documents of 1699," in *The Ottoman Capitulations: Text and Context*, ed. Maurits van den Boogert and Kate Fleet, *Oriente Moderno* 22 n. s. (vol. 83), no. 3 (2003): 671-79; Alexander H. de Groot, "The Historical Development of the Capitulatory Regime in the Ottoman Middle East from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries," in *The Ottoman Capitulations: Text and Context*: 575-604.

³⁰ Nordman, *Frontières de France*.

³¹ Lesky, "Die österreichische Pestfront;" Gunther E. Rothenberg, "The Austrian Sanitary Cordon and the Control of Bubonic Plague: 1710-1871," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 28, no. 1 (January 1973): 15-23; Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*; Panzac, "Politique sanitaire."

local population and the Ottoman border authorities. Some early modern states were able to overcome the supposed disadvantages of small central governments by initiating change through legislation and regulation, while limiting their involvement to the supervision of enforcement. The enforcement was delegated to coopted local elites, old provincial-estate administrations, municipal bureaucracies and guilds.³² Even core state duties, such as defense, recruitment or taxation, were successfully delegated. The provincial estates, for example in Lower Austria, played an essential role in tax collection, financing and recruitment. They preserved their autonomy while acting as an extended hand of the central government.³³ From the sixteenth century onward, the estates of Carniola, Carinthia and Styria took over the defense of the section of the Habsburg border with the Ottoman Empire in Croatia and Slavonia, appointed military officers and managed the border administration.³⁴ During the eighteenth century, the Habsburg standing army was used for large-scale state endeavors, such as censuses and land surveys.³⁵ These undertakings were temporary, because the use of the military was expensive. The Habsburg Monarchy used the military to increase its administrative capacity while limiting the costs of border controls. Ottoman border administration also exerted an influence and played a role in

³² Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State*. Ehmer, “Worlds of Mobility.”

³³ Willam D. Godsey, *The Sinews of Habsburg Power: Lower Austria in a Fiscal-Military State 1650-1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

³⁴ Gunther E. Rothenberg, *The Austrian Military Border in Croatia, 1522-1747* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1960); Karl Kaser, *Freier Bauer und Soldat. Die Militarisierung der agrarischen Gesellschaft in der kroatisch-slawnischen Militärgrenze (1535-1881)* (Graz: Institut für Geschichte).

³⁵ James Vann, “Mapping under the Austrian Habsburgs,” in *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps: the Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Buisseret (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 153-67; Anton Tantner, *Ordnung der Häuser. Beschreibung der Seelen. Hausnummerierung und Seelenkonskription in der Habsburgermonarchie* (Vienna: Institut für Geschichte, 2007).

the operation of the border regime. Finally, I examine whether migrants themselves were involved in controls and to what degree, as well as the role of the local population, whose cooperation was essential to make even the most methodical population monitoring in totalitarian twentieth-century states effective.³⁶

Chapter 4 takes a closer look at various types of migrants, from diplomats to escaped or freed slaves, to see if controls were universal or selective. What were the limits of control, and how difficult was it to circumvent them? A breakdown of the groups of migrants enables us to see whether all migrants were allowed to cross the border or only a selection based on social status, religion or ethnicity.³⁷ Universal controls and the prioritization of free travel would indicate that border-control regimes could be used not only to limit, but also to facilitate migration. Border controls would then not necessarily have a negative impact on migrations.

Chapters 5 and 6 explore the impact of border controls on migration numbers and the structure of migration, using the migrants' records from the Pančevo quarantine station for the years 1752 to 1756. A number of studies dealt with wartime migrations between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy in previous centuries, often portraying them as zero-sum demographic games. A population gain for one side, through cross-border immigration or forced resettlement to improve defense and local economy would necessarily mean population loss, as well as an economic and military setback for the other side.³⁸ Information about the nature and scale of

³⁶ Groebner, *Der Schein der Person*.

³⁷ Gheorghe Brătescu, "Seuchenschutz und Staatsinteresse in Donauraum (1750-1850)," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 63, no. 1 (1979): 25-44.

³⁸ Aleksa Ivić, *Migracije Srba u Hrvatsku tokom 16., 17., i 18. stoleća* (Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1923); Karl Kaser, Hannes Grandits and Siegfried Gruber, *Popis Like i Krbave 1712. godine. Obitelj, zemljišni posjed i etničnost u jugozapadnoj Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Srpsko kulturno društvo Prosvjeta, 2003); Karl Kaser, "Siedler an der habsburgischen Militärgrenze seit der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa. Vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Klaus J.

peacetime migrations from Ottoman border provinces³⁹ or from the central and southern Balkans⁴⁰ is patchy and selective, especially compared to much better-known state-directed internal colonization of Germans in Hungary during the eighteenth century.⁴¹ The immigrations from the Balkans often went undetected and were difficult to quantify.⁴² It has been noted that there was an uptick in migrations from the south in the eighteenth century, particularly in its second half,⁴³ but accurate estimations remain difficult. The records from the Pančevo border station allow us to quantify numbers and structures and hence suggest a more accurate estimation for the other parts of the border and their role in the colonization of Hungary. This helps us understand whether border controls were used to discourage immigration from the

Bade, Pieter C. Emmer, Leo Lucassen and Jochen Oltmer (Munich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2010), 985-90.

³⁹ Slavko Gavrilović, *Prilog istoriji trgovine i migracije: Balkan-Podunavlje XVIII i XIX stoleća* (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1969).

⁴⁰ Traian Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant," *The Journal of Economic History* 20, no. 2 (1960): 234-313; Márta Bur, "Handelsgesellschaften. Organisationen der Kaufleute der Balkanländer in Ungarn im 17.-18. Jahrhundert," *Balkan Studies* 25, no. 2 (1984): 267-307; D. J. Popović, *O Cincarina. Prilozi pitanju postanka našeg građanskog društva* (Belgrade: Prometej, 1998); Olga Katsiardi-Hering, "Migrationen von Bevölkerungsgruppen in Südosteuropa vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Südost-Forschungen* 59-60 (2000/2001): 125-48.

⁴¹ Gerhard Seewann, "Migration in Südosteuropa als Voraussetzung für die neuzeitliche West-Ostwanderung," in *Migration nach Ost- und Südosteuropa vom 18. bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts. Ursachen – Formen – Verlauf – Ergebnis*, ed. Mathias Beer and Dittmar Dahlmann (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 1999), 89-108; Josef Wolf, "Ethnische Konflikte im Zuge der Besiedlung des Banats im 18. Jahrhundert. Zum Verhältnis von Einwanderung, staatlicher Raumorganisation und ethnostrukturellem Wandel," in *Migration nach Ost- und Südosteuropa vom 18. bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 337-66; Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "Siedlungsmigration, innereuropäische," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 11: 1182; Márta Fata, "Donauschwaben in Südosteuropa seit der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa*, 535-40.

⁴² Holm Sundhaussen, "Südosteuropa," in *Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa*, 288-313.

⁴³ Max Demeter Peyfuss, "Balkanorthodoxe Kaufleute in Wien. Soziale und nationale Differenzierung im Spiegel der Privilegien für die griechisch-orthodoxe Kirche zur heiligen Dreifaltigkeit," *Österreichische Osthefte* 17, no. 3 (1975): 258-68.

Balkans or to encourage it in line with contemporary prevalent policies that regarded the population as wealth and its increase as a gain.⁴⁴ If these border controls actually facilitated immigration, then the overall purpose of such controls has to be redefined.

The appendix at the end of this study provides additional information on two major subjects discussed here: the role of border military in migration control and migrants' records from the Pančevo quarantine station. The first part of the appendix provides details about the military guards. The second, longer part contains data aggregated from the Pančevo quarantine station, and explains the analysis of these data underpinning the estimations and assumptions presented in the main text.

Throughout the text I use original German terminology from the sources.

⁴⁴ Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State*; Frederick G. Whelan, "Population and Ideology in the Enlightenment," *History of Political Thought* 12, no. 1 (1991): 35-72; Josef Ehmer, "Bevölkerung," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 2: 94-119; Josef Ehmer, "Populationistik," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 10: 209-14; Thomas Simon, "Bevölkerungspolizei," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 2: 119-22.

CHAPTER 1: THE NEW BORDER ARRANGEMENT

On 26 January 1699, in the small village of Karlovci, on the right bank of the river Danube, about seventy-five kilometers upstream from the Ottoman fortress of Belgrade, a peace congress was brought to a close. It ended the war between the Ottoman Empire on the one side and four allies, the Habsburg Monarchy, the Republic of Venice, the Russian Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on the other. In the Habsburg-Ottoman Peace Agreement, the Ottoman Empire acknowledged recent Habsburg conquests and Vienna's control over most of Hungary. In addition to this, the bilateral agreement of 1699, usually known in the German spelling as the Peace of Carlowitz (or Karlowitz), completely reversed previous frontier arrangements.⁴⁵ The two sides agreed for the first time to separate their possessions by a clearly defined linear boundary in a systematical way.

The peace articles dealing with the new border stipulated that a special commission, led by a Habsburg and an Ottoman commissioner should demarcate the borderline within a two-month period in the spring of 1699. This was to be done as accurately as possible, "by placing poles, stones and trenches as border marks." The borders were defined as sacrosanct, inviolable and unchangeable. "Those who would dare to violate, change, move, pull or remove the border marks were [...] to be severely and exemplary punished."⁴⁶ The purpose of the border was to clearly

⁴⁵ I use the term "border" as a general term, the "frontier" to refer to a border zone, which could be more or less deep and could include border districts and defensive forts and the "boundary" to designate the actual line of separation.

⁴⁶ The Peace Treaty between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, Karlovci (Carlowitz), 26 January 1699 (hereafter "Carlowitz Peace Treaty 1699"), published in Ešraf Kovačević, *Granice bosanskog pašaluka prema Austriji i Mletačkoj Republici po odredbama Karlovačkog mira* (Sarajevo:

separate Habsburg and Ottoman jurisdictions. From that moment on, it was explicitly forbidden to “interfere in the dominion of the other side or to claim any jurisdiction there, [...] request any [...] taxes.”⁴⁷

Where did these new border provisions, which would have a major impact on border population and migrations between two empires, come from? Why were they introduced in the peace treaty? How were they enforced and with what consequences? Some scholars presumed that the new border concept and procedures were a Habsburg idea of international relations imposed on the vanquished Ottomans. The Habsburg-Ottoman Peace of 1699 was a turning point in Habsburg-Ottoman relations in other respects as well. After three centuries of expanding, the Ottoman Empire lost a significant chunk of its European possessions. The conflict began in 1683 as an Ottoman-Habsburg conflict with the unsuccessful Ottoman siege of Vienna, with Poland, Venice and Russia joining later. The Habsburg Monarchy was militarily the most successful member of the coalition. After a series of successes and few setbacks, the Monarchy secured the largest territorial gains among the allies, significantly changing the political division of the Hungarian plain and the northern Balkans. Central and southern Hungary came under the control of Vienna, as did Transylvania, Slavonia, and parts of Srem (Syrmia) and Ottoman Croatia. The Ottomans retained the rest of Croatia, the southeastern tip of Srem and the Banat of Temesvár, their biggest remaining Hungarian possession.

The year 1699 was identified as the moment when the concept of the “ever-expanding [Ottoman] frontier,” deeply influenced by the spirit of *ghaza*, holy war,

Svjetlost, 1973), 64-76 (Serbo-Croatian translation), 165-84 (copy of the Ottoman *ahdname*); the Latin (Habsburg) version in *Treaties et cetera between Turkey and Foreign Powers, 1535-1855* (London: Foreign Office, 1855), 47-59, articles 5, 6, 18.

⁴⁷ “Carlowitz Peace Treaty 1699,” article 6.

ended. The acceptance of linear borders was regarded as a break in the continuity of Ottoman history since 1300.⁴⁸ The acceptance of the territorial integrity of a neighboring Habsburg state after 1699 would signal a clear break with the Islamic view that Ottoman sultans could make truces with infidel states only to overcome temporary setbacks until the enemy could be defeated and its territory annexed to the land of Islam (dār al-Islām). Abou-el-Haj has named the change “the closure of the Ottoman frontier, when the concept of the ‘open frontier,’ which characterized the Ottoman Empire from its foundation, was abandoned.” The clear demarcation of the “permanent political-linear boundary” and “adherence to the concept of inviolability of the territory of a sovereign state” indicated that the Ottoman Empire accepted modern principles of international law in order to protect its remaining possessions. Ottoman society responded to these dramatic changes in principles with rebellion and the deposition of sultan Mustafa II (1695-1703), who concluded the peace that contained these humiliating provisions.⁴⁹

It is, however, difficult to find the origin of the new border regime on the Habsburg side. No similar arrangement existed on Habsburg borders with their other neighbors, where they maintained “historical” borders, based on historical rights. Actual divisions of domains were determined at the local or provincial level. Compared to these, the post-1699 “artificial” Habsburg-Ottoman border was anomalous, regulated by the central government and with little regard to local claims and historic rights.⁵⁰ The “historic” borders were demarcated decades later than the Habsburg-Ottoman boundary. For example, the outer borders of the Habsburg

⁴⁸ Heywood, “The Frontier in Ottoman History,” 240-44; similar conclusions in Panzac, “Politique sanitaire:” 88-89)

⁴⁹ Abou-el-Haj, “The Formal Closure:” 467-69; Abou-El-Haj, “Ottoman Attitudes toward Peace Making:” 135-37.

⁵⁰ Evans, “Essay and Reflection:” 490.

Kingdom of Bohemia were precisely demarcated only in the late eighteenth century.⁵¹

Where did this idea of systematical linear delimitations then come from?

Was this a one-off solution for a specific problem with very limited influence and ramifications? Or was it just the beginning of a larger process that would redefine the relationship between the state and its subjects? New linear borders implied greater involvement of central governments in local border life, as well as closer regulation of rights of use, access and cross-border mobility in general. Regulation brought greater certainty. It also meant less freedom for locals to regulate their own lives and activities in the border area. How did the new border arrangement affect everyday mobility in the border zone? Compared to the preceding period, mobility was restricted and more closely regulated. At the same time, greater state involvement could have meant a greater protection for individuals moving in the border zone.

In this chapter I examine the origin of the new Habsburg-Ottoman border arrangement: how did it compare not only to frontier arrangement elsewhere in Europe, but also the arrangements of the Ottomans with their other neighbors? why was it introduced and how was it enforced? I will also explore how the new territorial division affected mobility in the border area, use of resources and migrations.

The Habsburg-Ottoman Border and Contemporary Border Arrangements in Europe

On closer inspection, Western or Southern Europe did not seem to be a likely site for a new border order. In 1699, linear borders were quite exceptional in the rest of Europe. Most outer land borders on the continent were not formally demarcated

⁵¹ Ziegler, "Die bayerisch-böhmische Grenze," 117, 121, 128.

before the middle of the eighteenth century (and many much later). At the local level, a village was perceived as series of rights of use, enjoyed by its inhabitants, not as a physical space inside imagined lines.⁵² Early modern states were largely uninterested in areas where no subjects lived and where no rights and revenues could be claimed. State sovereignty was based on the ruler and did not derive independently from the territory or from the subjects. To some extent, a ruler could treat dominions like private property. They could be divided, swapped or carved out for a dowry. This is how in 1640, after the death of the Duke John III, the Duchy of Saxe-Weimar was divided between his three sons into the duchies of Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Eisenach and Saxe-Gotha.⁵³ Outward expansion was seen as the acquisition of new feudal rights. This traditional concept of government that emphasized rights and jurisdictions was named “jurisdictional sovereignty,” or “old dynastic realm.”⁵⁴

When two states had to agree on a new border, after changes in possession, they appointed border commissaries to create delimitation documents. Instead of describing a new borderline as precisely as possible, because of the priority of rights and jurisdiction over the physical space, traditional delimitation documents were instead exhaustive inventories of every new village, town, fortress, and estate, including acquired rights and jurisdictions. This is how the borders between the Kingdom of France and the Duchy of Lorraine were determined in 1661 and between France and the Spanish Netherlands after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668). The commissaries usually did not have to go onto the terrain. When they occasionally

⁵² Sahlins, *Boundaries*, 157.

⁵³ Reiner Prass, “Die Etablierung der Linie. Grenzbestimmungen und Definition eines Territoriums: Sachsen-Gotha 1640-1665,” *Historical Social Research* 38, no. 3 (2013): 131-32.

⁵⁴ Febvre, “Frontière,” 18-19; Biggs, “Putting the State on the Map,” 385-86; Andreas Osiander, “Sovereignty, International Relations and the Westphalian Myth,” *International Organization* 55, no 2 (Spring 2001): 281-82.

went to a border area, it was usually an area of great defensive significance, for example around a major border fortress. There, the lines were drawn because they were necessary for defense, not because they were important for sovereignty. Maps and cartographers did not play a crucial role in the process. When they existed, topographical representations were inaccurate, sometimes with conveniently invented mountain ranges.⁵⁵

No systematic central technical body of knowledge existed, such as precise demarcation protocols or detailed maps, that could be referred to independently. If two states wanted to resolve a border dispute, they could not do it without involving proprietors and older members of the local community. An impasse could arise when the testimonies of two communities were contradictory. From 1722 to 1800, Saxony and Prussia unsuccessfully attempted to resolve a border dispute and realize their respective claims on Koben Mill taxes and duties using local testimonies. There was no official border delimitation, let alone a mutually agreed border demarcation, to

⁵⁵ Peter Sahlin, "Natural Frontiers Revisited: France's Boundaries since the Seventeenth Century," *The American Historical Review* 95. no. 5 (1990): 1432; Nordman, *Frontières de France*, 125, 128-29, 143, 150, 167, 169, 205-207, 209, 214-15, 223-25, 227-28, 259, 265-71, 273. The fact that many seventeenth-century peace treaties explicitly mentioned fixing new frontiers, and instructed special border commission to carry out the job, did not necessary mean that these commissions were producing linear borders. Martin van Creveld, *The Rise and Decline of the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 143-44; Dirk Hoerder, "Transcultural States, Nations, and People," in *The Historical Practice of Diversity: Transcultural Interactions from the Early Modern Mediterranean to the Postcolonial World*, ed. Dirk Hoerder, Christiane Harzig and Adrian Shubert (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), 21. They were traditional exhaustive inventories instead, not the divisions of physical territory. The idea that exclusive territorial sovereignty was introduced in Europe in 1648 by two Westphalian treaties of 1648 (the treaties of Münster and Osnabrück) reflected principally the obsession of nineteenth- and twentieth-century states and its historians with the question. Osiander, "Sovereignty, International Relations and the Westphalian Myth," 252, 259-68.

which they could refer. This dispute was “resolved” only when Prussia annexed the wider surrounding area during the Napoleonic wars.⁵⁶

Overlapping jurisdiction, territorial fragmentation with numerous enclaves or exclaves were not seen as problematic, because sovereignty was not defined in territorial terms. The various state jurisdictions (military, legal, fiscal, commercial regulation, ecclesiastical) did not always match, crossing the outer borders of states.⁵⁷ Changes in political rule often had little effect on other jurisdictions, for example ecclesiastical.

This did not mean that linear boundaries did not exist as a concept before the eighteenth century. There was a long history of linear delimitations starting at least with Ancient Greeks and Romans. Border signs marked some points where the lands of Ancient Greek poleis touched each other. However, most outer borders were not marked.⁵⁸ Ancient Romans used linear boundaries, which enjoyed sacrosanct status, to separate private properties, not external frontiers.⁵⁹ The border demarcation and mapping in the duchy of Saxony-Gotha in the 1660s was limited to internal borders, separating the forest districts (Forstbezirke), an important princely resource, from the

⁵⁶ Bernard Heise, “From Tangible Sign to Deliberate Delineation: The Evolution of the Political Boundary in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries. The Example of Saxony,” in *Menschen und Grenzen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, 172-76.

⁵⁷ Sahlins, *Boundaries*, 28-29.

⁵⁸ Christel Müller, “Mobility and Belonging in Antiquity: Greeks and Barbarians on the Move in the Northern Black Sea Region,” In *Migration and Membership Regimes in Global and Historical Perspective: an Introduction*, ed. Ulbe Bosma, Gijs Kessler and Leo Lucassen (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 35-36.

⁵⁹ Sextus Pompeius Festus, *De verborum significatum quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome*, quoted in Dieter Werkmüller, *Recinzioni, confini e segni terminali*, in *Simboli e Simbologia nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto 1976, 641-59 in particular 641. I thank Maria Pia Pedani for this reference.

rest of the country.⁶⁰ In medieval and early modern times, if there was a river, a stream or a sea separating a community in a kingdom from a community in an adjacent realm, the border could be regarded as technically linear. Sometimes border stones, indented trees, and mounds of earth were used to divide arable land between two states. In most other cases, where pastures, woods, or deserts were involved, the rights of use could be overlapping or shared by two or more communities. In scarcely populated areas, linear borders were rare or non-existent. With non-territorial organization of rule, based on rights and jurisdictions, linear external borders were not necessary to define sovereignty.⁶¹

The examples that are sometimes cited to demonstrate the existence of linear boundaries before the eighteenth century fail to demonstrate that the fixing of a linear boundary and its demarcation actually took place. The Verdun division of the Carolingian Empire of 843 was made on jurisdictional, not territorial, principles. In the Middle Ages the line of separation between the French King and his English vassal was often more important than the outer borders of France. The Tweed-Solway line, which separated England from Scotland since the thirteenth century, and the border between Portugal and Spain, fixed from the fifteenth century, were both stable, but not technically linear, represented by a clearly and systematically demarcated line in the terrain.⁶² Stability did not imply linearity.

⁶⁰ Forests were an important source of income for Saxon dukes, whose government sought to delimitate and define them as precisely as possible. The boundaries of villages and towns, as well as outer borders, were, however, not demarcated precisely before 1728. Prass, "Die Etablierung der Linie:" 135-37.

⁶¹ Sahlins, *Boundaries*, 2, 52; Evans, "Essay and Reflection:" 481-85; Stauber and Schmale, "Einleitung: Mensch und Grenze," 13-14; Power, "Introduction," 4; Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, 10-12, 45-46; Reinhard Stauber, "Grenze," In *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 4: 1107, 1109.

⁶² The lines determined by treaties of Tordesillas (1494) and Saragossa (1529) that divided the non-European parts of the globe between Spain and Portugal were ideally linear. Vogler, "Borders and Boundaries," 36. It would be difficult to see them as real political borders. The perception that city-

Jurisdictional sovereignty was prevalent throughout Europe until the nineteenth century, when it was replaced by “territorial sovereignty” and “territorial state,” in which the sovereignty was primarily defined as the control of physical space, with most other aspects of state authority and power organized in territorial terms.⁶³ Systematic delimitations and border demarcations, similar to the Habsburg-Ottoman practices after 1699, started in Southern, Western and Central Europe around the middle of the eighteenth century. This “movement of delimitations” involved most European countries.⁶⁴ Both large and small states participated: France, Spain, the Habsburg Monarchy, Prussia, Bavaria, other German principalities, Swiss cantons, and Italian principalities (such as Sardinia and Venice). Early systematical delimitations were carried out in the late 1730s and were in full swing in the 1760s-1780s. The French Revolution and the ensuing wars interrupted the process, which was resumed in 1815 and continued deep into the nineteenth century. The process was slow and lasted for decades. It involved extensive work on the terrain by commissaries, long negotiations, exchange of territories to eliminate enclaves and

states, possessing relatively greater and more effective administrations than large monarchies, precisely and systematically fixed their borders earlier (Jordan Branch, *The Cartographic State: Maps, Territory, and the Origins of Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 25, 27) is also not confirmed by examples of actual demarcations. Nordman, *Frontières de France*, 75-77; Lottes, “Frontiers between Geography and History,” 16-17; Ziegler, “Die bayerisch-böhmische Grenze,” 117, 121, 128; Ellis, “Defending English Ground,” 76; Lottes, “Frontiers between Geography and History,” 50-51, 53; Vogler, “Borders and Boundaries,” 30-31. Other works dated transformation of zonal frontiers into clear boundaries in Europe to the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, as well as the borders in Eastern Asia between Russians, Manchus and Mongols to the seventeenth century. See Peter C. Perdue, “Boundaries, Maps and Movement: Chinese, Russian, and Mongolian Empires in Early Modern Central Eurasia,” *The International History Review* 20, no. 2 (1998): 264-65, 267; Kasaba, “L’Empire ottoman, ses nomades et ses frontières,” 114, 126; Michael Khodarkovsky, *Russia’s Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500-1800* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 2, 224.

⁶³ Febvre, “Frontière,” 18-19.

⁶⁴ As defined in Nordman, *Frontières de France*.

exclaves, oaths of allegiance from new subjects, detailed mapping, the production of border protocols, and planting border signs. Numerous teams of notaries, interpreters, engineers, secretaries, geometers and other government officials participated in these operations. Central bureaucrats and diplomats supervised their work. The goal of negotiations was a compromise that would produce territorial cohesion (fiscal, judicial, military), disregarding historical rights and claims. Unpopulated places and deserts where no subjects lived and where no rights and revenues could be claimed were precisely divided too. Systematical demarcations and mapping created an independent central technical body of knowledge, which, in ideal circumstances, did not need to rely on local expertise and involvement. These would make state territory more “legible.” By defining political power in spatial terms, the new rulership became less personal. It became much more difficult for rulers to alienate or to divide their realms, because they would undermine their legitimacy. In Europe, territorial sovereignty was universally accepted by 1815.⁶⁵

The explanations that trace back the western model of linear borders to Western European colonies or to the influence of the development of cartography on governing circles are not sufficiently persuasive. According to the “colonial reflection” hypothesis, linear borders emerged first in colonies of Western European states and

⁶⁵ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (Yale University Press, 1999); Febvre, “Frontière,” 16-17; Sahlins, *Boundaries*, 93-100, 238; Sahlins, “Natural Frontiers Revisited,” 1435-43; Nordman, *Frontières de France*, 53-60, 297-307, 317-21, 338-40, 348-49, 356-59, 363-65, 375, 381, 383, 415-22; Biggs, “Putting the State on the Map,” 374, 385-96, 398-99; Wolfgang Reinhard, “Zones of Fracture in Modern Europe: a Summary,” in *Zones of Fracture in Modern Europe: the Baltic Countries, the Balkans, and Northern Italy*, ed. Almut Bues (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 272; Steven G. Ellis and Raingard Eßer, “Introduction: Early Modern Frontiers in Comparative context,” in *Frontiers and the Writing of History*, 13-14; Stauber, “Grenze,” 1110; Jordan Branch, “Mapping the Sovereign State: Technology, Authority, and Systemic Change,” *International Organization* 65, no. 1 (January 2011): 1-7; Prass, “Die Etablierung der Linie,” 144-45

were later transferred to Europe. Due to the lack of ancient historical rights and jurisdictions in America, European powers used geographic references, including latitudes or longitudes to separate possessions much earlier than in Europe. The fact that fixing frontiers is explicitly mentioned in some treaties would suggest that there were indeed systematical delimitations that created linear borders on the terrain. For example, the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 prescribed special commissioners to determine borders between French and British colonial possessions in America.⁶⁶ There is no evidence, however, that the delimitations were actually carried out on the terrain. In addition, one would expect to see the major European colonial powers, as the logical first recipients of the supposed transfer of delimitation techniques, lead the way with linear delimitations in the Old World. However, this was not the case. The earliest delimitations in Southern, Western and Central Europe were carried out between the states with no colonies. For example, Savoy demarcated the border with Swiss Valais in 1737, with Geneva in 1754, as well with Habsburg Milan in 1751. The earliest known systematic introduction of linear boundaries in the New World is the border demarcation on the Caribbean island of Hispaniola from 1776/1778, between the French colony of Saint-Domingue (today Haiti) and the Spanish Santo Domingo (today Dominican Republic). The two states involved had already started to delimit their boundaries in Europe.⁶⁷

The supposed decisive influence of cartography is questionable under closer inspection. Medieval and many early modern maps, reflecting the understanding of a state as an inventory of possessions, were focused on quality, showing important fortresses, cities, and roads, not on quantity or accurately representing physical space

⁶⁶ Jordan Branch, "'Colonial reflection' and territoriality: The peripheral origins of sovereign statehood," *European Journal of International Relations* 18, no. 2 (June 2012): 288-89.

⁶⁷ Nordman, *Frontières de France*, 356, 363-65.

or distances. The translation of Ptolemy to Latin in 1415 enabled exact positioning of each point on Earth by using its longitude and latitude and astronomical observation. The technique of triangulation, introduced by Gemma Frisius in 1533, made accurate measurements of distances and heights possible. Combined with printing, the new maps did represent space and terrain with increased mathematical exactness. The promotion of the importance of physical space and in particular outer borders did have an influence on the ideas and concepts of rule in the West.⁶⁸ However, this change was gradual and not complete by the middle of the eighteenth century. For a long time, the production of maps was based on individual initiatives and sporadic measurements, with estates or rulers occasionally as clients, as was the case with the diet of Upper Austria in 1619, or Frederick III of Denmark in 1650.⁶⁹ It took years or decades and immense funds, even in smaller states, to carry the systematic land surveys necessary for precise mapping.⁷⁰ The mapping of France, based on systematic triangulation, was a multigenerational effort, lasting from 1679 to 1744. Other European states followed with similar projects in the eighteenth century and later. State participation provided the necessary resources, the institutionalization of

⁶⁸ The hypothesis that modern cartography played a major role in the emergence of linear borders was expressed in Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map," 387-92, 398-99 with reserves and limitations; and somewhat uncritically by Branch, "Mapping the Sovereign State," 1-9, 14-18; Branch, *The Cartographic State*. Political allegiance was depicted on some maps by placing a flag of the sovereign on an image of a city or a fortress, not by drawing linear boundaries. Textual descriptions and the length and width of a state defined in days of travel were often more important for state portrayal than cartographic representations. Heise, "From Tangible Sign to Deliberate Delineation," 180-85; Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map," 377-80, 385-86; Branch, "Mapping the Sovereign State," 9-10; Branch, *The Cartographic State*, 62, 145.

⁶⁹ Vann, "Mapping under the Austrian Habsburgs," 161; Jeppe Strandsbjerg, "The Cartographic Production of Territorial Space: Mapping and State Formation in Early Modern Denmark," *Geopolitics* 13 (2008): 351.

⁷⁰ About Jesuit mapping efforts in China in 1709 and the first mapping of border regions in Russia in 1699 see Perdue, "Boundaries, Maps and Movement," 274-284; Sunderland, *Taming the Wild Field*, 37.

knowledge and continuity, essential for such undertakings. New maps divided space into homogenous territorial units, much before actual delimitations.⁷¹

However, this transition was too incomplete in 1699 to serve as a model for the Habsburg-Ottoman case. Even when they began spreading on the terrain in the 1730s, linear inter-state borders were not represented consistently on contemporary maps. Up until the second half of the eighteenth century, it was not unusual to represent internal and external borders in the same manner, or to show non-territorial hierarchical political formations, such as the Holy Roman Empire, as equally important as the physical borders of Habsburg and Hohenzollern dominions in Europe. Maps representing actual political divisions decisively prevailed only after 1815, at the same time when linear borders did. The evolution of maps and the fusion of political authority with space seem to be concurrent rather than subsequent processes.⁷²

The history of mapping in Habsburg-Ottoman delimitations fails to show that the cartography was the factor that exerted decisive influence on the introduction of the new linear border arrangement. The Habsburg side and its border commissioner, Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, the Habsburg plenipotentiary for the demarcation of frontiers,⁷³ introduced mapping of the frontier in 1699-1701,⁷⁴ to learn more about

⁷¹ Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map," 381-85; Branch, "Mapping the Sovereign State;" Branch, *The Cartographic State*.

⁷² Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map," 387-96.

⁷³ The Habsburg border commissioner in 1699, Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, previously served in campaigns in Hungary and in the Balkans. He studied the history, geography, and nature of the region. In an effort to introduce the learned European public to the region and to impress his patrons in Vienna, Marsigli produced a series of maps and drawings with the help of an assistant, Johann Christian Müller. He was subsequently appointed to be first a technical councilor to the Habsburg delegation at the Congress of Carlowitz and then the Habsburg plenipotentiary for the demarcation of frontiers. He traveled with his Ottoman border commissioner counterpart, Ibrahim Effendi, along the border between Transylvania and Dalmatia for two years, 1699-1701, marking the boundary and mapping the border area. See Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe*, 133-40, 151-215.

newly conquered border regions.⁷⁵ The cartographic representation of the frontier followed the actual demarcation. During the eighteenth century the role of mapping was transformed from complementary to prescriptive. The process was slow. The Convention of Istanbul from 2 March 1741 that defined the division of Danube River islands had an attached map that was to serve as the guidance for the border demarcation. However, after the Ottoman border commission alerted their Habsburg counterparts that the map was not accurate, both sides decided to dismiss it and to rely on the work on the terrain instead.⁷⁶ Later maps seemed to be more authoritative. A border map served as a model to delimit the borders of the newly acquired Bukovina in 1775, for example. On the same occasion, the Ottomans also agreed to recognize the Habsburg unilateral demarcation of the border between Habsburg Transylvania and the Ottoman vassal principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. The basis was again a map. The Habsburg authorities placed the border marks, imperial eagles, on the outer borders of Transylvania.⁷⁷ A map was attached to the separate Habsburg-Ottoman Delimitation Convention from 4 August 1791. Red and yellow lines indicated how the Habsburg territory should be expanded in the valley of the river Una. The chief Habsburg border commissioner, Baron Mauritz Schlaun and his Ottoman counterpart Ismael Ismeti Effendi Rusnamehji, used this map as a guideline

⁷⁴ *Mappa geographico Limitanea in qua Imperiorum Caesarei et Ottomannici Confinia in almae pacis Carlovitensis congressu decreta et duobus utriusque imperii Commissaris instituta solenne expeditione*, [c. 1700] (Album), KA KPS KS B IX c 634.

⁷⁵ See Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 57-67; Kołodziejczyk, "Between Universalistic Claims," 207, 209.

⁷⁶ Prokosch, *Molla und Diplomat*, 121-24, 128-29, 132-42.

⁷⁷ Four articles about the territorial connection between the Habsburg provinces of Transylvania and Galicia and Lodomeria, Constantinople, 7 May 1775, HHStA StAbt Türkei III 7.

in the process of demarcation.⁷⁸ Maps played an increasingly important role in delimitations, particularly in the second half of the eighteenth century, but the development of cartography did not inspire or cause the post-1699 Habsburg-Ottoman border arrangement.

Pre-1699 Habsburg-Ottoman frontier arrangements had some common elements of jurisdictional sovereignty. The Habsburgs perceived their possessions as a collection of lordships, connected thorough the ruler and the dynasty.⁷⁹ The Ottomans also could define their rule as a collection of towns and villages listed in their provincial tax registers (*sancak-defters*).⁸⁰

At the same time, the pre-1699 Habsburg-Ottoman border shared some characteristics with open frontiers. The division of rule between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans in Hungary during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the result of the Sultan's uncompleted conquest of the kingdom. After the decisive victory at Mohács in 1526, Sultan Suleiman I first tried to keep the Kingdom of Hungary under indirect control through his Hungarian vassal, King John Szapolyai (1526-

⁷⁸ The article 3 of the Separate Peace Convention [about borders], 4 August 1791, Sistova, HHStA StAbt Türkei III 7.

⁷⁹ Vann, "Mapping under the Austrian Habsburgs," 153.

⁸⁰ Both Ottoman and Habsburg border authorities regarded the Ottoman survey of 1546, so called *Halil Bey's defters*, as authoritative documents to support or dispute tax claims over particular villages, for example between the Ottoman Hungary and the vassal principality of Transylvania in 1572. J. Káldy-Nagy, "The Administration of the *Şanjāq* Registrations in Hungary," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 21 (1968): 183-85; Gábor Ágoston, "Where Environmental and Frontier Studies Meet: Rivers, Forests, Marshes and Forts along the Ottoman-Hapsburg Frontier in Hungary," in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, ed. A. C. S. Peacock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 63-64, 66; Palmira Brummett, "The Fortress: Defining and Mapping the Ottoman Frontier in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, 31-32, 48; Gábor Ágoston, "Defending and Administering the Frontier: the Case of Ottoman Hungary," in *The Ottoman World*, 225; Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "Between Universalistic Claims and Reality: Ottoman Frontiers in the Early Modern Period," in *The Ottoman World*, 208-209, 211-12.

1540). He failed, however, to prevent the consolidation of the rule of the rival claimant to the throne, Ferdinand I Habsburg (1521-1564), in the western and northern part of the kingdom. In 1541, the Ottomans annexed southern and central Hungary to their empire, leaving the eastern parts to their vassal princes of Transylvania. Each side continued to formally insist on its exclusive right to all of Hungary, with the Ottomans progressing slowly westwards and northwards and extending their already larger portion in the next century and a half.

Thanks to these competing claims, the Habsburg-Ottoman frontier was a zone that stretched tens of kilometers into both empires. It was an area of political instability. The conflicts involving smaller units and smaller sieges, so-called *Kleinkrieg*, continued even during official peace times. For example, peacetime incursions involving up to 4,000 men were mutually tolerated in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁸¹ The line of division could change not only during war, but in peacetime too. The frontier was heavily fortified in depth, with a system of major and minor fortresses on both sides. The Habsburg side organized the Military Border, *Militärgrenze*, approximately 1,000 km long, stretching from the Adriatic Sea to Upper Hungary (now Slovakia), and dotted with fortresses (120-130 in the sixteenth and 80-90 in the seventeenth century). The Military Border was manned by paid garrisons and unpaid local militia, which enjoyed tax exemptions and other privileges

⁸¹ Gábor Ágoston, "The Ottoman-Habsburg Frontier in Hungary (1541-1699): A Comparison," in *The Great Ottoman – Turkish Civilization*, vol. 1: 287; Charles W. Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618-1815*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 34. Lesser incursions were not considered as a sufficient reason for the escalation into a full conflict even after the Ottoman-Hungarian treaty of 1483. Mark Stein, "Military Service and Material Gain on the Ottoman-Habsburg Frontier," in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, 458. Similar understandings also existed between the Ottomans and Russians. The Peace Treaty of Istanbul of 1711 stipulated that raids by nomads were beyond the control of the Sultan and the Czar and would not be considered as breaches of the treaty. Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier*, 139.

in exchange for their participation in defense against the Ottomans. The Ottoman frontier was also heavily fortified, with about 130 fortresses in the seventeenth century (most being conquered from the Habsburgs).⁸² The provinces in the interior subsidized both borders. Austrian duchies funded the Military Border between the Adriatic Sea and the Danube River, while the Bohemian lands financed the border between Danube and Transylvania.⁸³

The atmosphere of violence and insecurity was part of border life⁸⁴ particularly during wars and in their aftermaths. The people outside fortifications were particularly vulnerable. Sometimes the border zone was intentionally depopulated, as in parts of sixteenth-century Slavonia, to weaken the enemy. In other cases, both empires claimed the same inhabitants.⁸⁵ From their fortresses in the Habsburg part of the kingdom, Hungarian nobility and the Catholic Church forced the inhabitants of the Ottoman part to pay taxes and duties to them. Many were thus taxed twice, both by their Ottoman masters and by their titular Hungarian lords. This practice of dual rule or condominium (*munāṣafa*), with unclear and overlapping jurisdictions, stretched deep into Ottoman Hungary. In the sixteenth century, the Hungarian estates and the

⁸² Kaser, *Freier Bauer und Soldat*, 512-20; Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, 15-16; Ágoston, "Defending and Administering the Frontier," 227-28; Szabolcs Varga, "Croatia and Slavonia in the Early Modern Age," *Hungarian Studies* 27, no. 2 (2013): 269-70. Compared to the Russian-Tatar border the network of fortification was denser. Unlike Russians, the Habsburgs faced not nomads, but a sedentary empire. The border could move less. On the Russian-Tatar border see Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier*, 47-50, 131-32, 140-41; Willard Sunderland, *Taming the Wild Field: Colonization and Empire on the Russian Steppe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 24-25, 29.

⁸³ The Ottoman by Sultan's Balkan provinces, the Habsburg frontier by the Austrian and Bohemian crown lands. Michael Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence: War, State and Society in the Habsburg Monarchy 1683-1797* (London: Longman, 2003), 84, 86-91.

⁸⁴ Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, 59-60; Ágoston, "Defending and Administering the Frontier," 230-31.

⁸⁵ Ivić, *Migracije Srba u Hrvatsku*, 39, 148; The Russian-Ottoman treaty of 1739 specified that there would be a buffer zone between two Empires. Sunderland, *Taming the Wild Field*, 46.

Church collected taxes from two thirds of Ottoman Hungary, and from half of the Ottoman Hungarian territory in the seventeenth century.⁸⁶ The Ottoman governors couldn't even prevent Transylvanian nobles, their nominal vassals, from collecting taxes from the sultan's Hungarian subjects. Küçük Mehmed Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Temesvár in 1662-1663, thus complained to the Transylvanian Prince Mihály Apafi, apparently without much success: "We have written to you several times regarding the situation of [... our peasant subjects]. Let [the noblemen] withdraw their hand from them, for they are [sultan's] subjects [...] and cannot pay their taxes twice."⁸⁷

The Habsburg-Ottoman border arrangement was thus very unlike the border imposed in 1699. It seemed to oscillate, depending on the period in Habsburg-Ottoman relations, between a relatively stable traditional jurisdictional separation and a more changeable and less strictly defined open zonal frontier.⁸⁸ The Habsburg side of the zonal frontier was organized as a Military Border, settled with peasants who

⁸⁶ Condominium existed both between the Habsburgs and Ottomans, and between the Ottomans and their Transylvanian vassals. According to some estimates, it covered almost all Ottoman Hungary, with the exception of Serb-settled Syrmia (Srem) in the south. Orthodox Christian settlers from the Balkans refused to pay taxes to Hungarian lords. See Gábor Ágoston, "A Flexible Empire: Authority and its Limits on the Ottoman Frontiers," in *Ottoman Borderlands: Issues, Personalities and Political Changes*, 24; Géza Pálffy, *Povijest Mađarske: Ugarska na granici dvaju imperija (1526.-1711.)* (Zagreb: Meridijani, 2010), 44; Ágoston, "Defending and Administering the Frontier," 230-32; Varga, "Croatia and Slavonia:" 271-72.

⁸⁷ Irina Marin, *Contested Frontiers in the Balkans: Habsburg and Ottoman Rivalries in Eastern Europe* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 13.

⁸⁸ The border violence was not entirely uncontrolled. In the sixteenth century, both the Ottoman and the Habsburg sides avoided militarily justifiable scorched-earth tactics because they needed frontier resources, above all food and wood for their fortresses and garrisons. Second, clearly separated borders were not necessary for peace. Ottoman borders with Poland-Lithuania were not clearly separated for decades. Yet the two countries had, most of the time, friendly relationships and there was no condominium dispute. Pálffy, *Povijest Mađarske*, 144; Kołodziejczyk, "Between Universalistic Claims," 209.

provided military service in exchange for tax exemptions on their land plots. The border arrangement introduced by the Peace of Carlowitz 1699 replaced the zonal frontier with a demarcated sacrosanct, inviolable and unchangeable boundary.⁸⁹ The territorial jurisdictions were clearly separated. Cross-border claims from subjects of the other side were explicitly forbidden and condominium was outlawed.⁹⁰

The Origins of the New Border Regime

The Ottoman state, from its foundation in the fourteenth century, showed considerable pragmatism both in internal and foreign policies. Ottoman legal practice devised solutions that reconciled formal respect for Islamic law with factual peace and cooperation with Christian states. In Zsitvatorok in 1606, the Ottomans allowed the Habsburg side to use the negotiated final draft of the peace treaty (*temessük*), less formal in its form and apparently treating both parties as equals, as the final agreement. At the same time, a unilaterally issued '*ahdname*, where the ultimate source of authority was the mercy of the Ottoman ruler, was presented to the Ottoman public.⁹¹

More importantly, the Ottomans were familiar with systematic delimitations of outer borders well before 1699, as parallel histories of Venetian-Ottoman and Polish-Ottoman delimitations demonstrate. The first known Venetian-Ottoman delimitation was carried out in the fifteenth century, after the Ottoman-Venetian peace treaty of 1479. Following their conquest of the Serbian Despotate (1459), the Despotate of

⁸⁹ "Carlowitz Peace Treaty 1699," articles 5, 6, 18.

⁹⁰ "Carlowitz Peace Treaty 1699," article 6.

⁹¹ See Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 3-7, 47-56, 68-85; Kołodziejczyk, "Between the Splendour of Barocco and Political Pragmatism," 673-77, 679; de Groot, "The historical Development of the Capitulatory Regime," 575-604, 575-76, 579, 595.

Morea (1460) and the Kingdom of Bosnia (1463), the Ottomans came into direct contact with Venetian coastal territories on the Aegean, Ionian and Adriatic seas. A war between Venice and the Ottoman Empire ensued (1463-1479). The border provisions, based on the Ottoman-Venetian peace treaty of 1479, had many elements of the post-1699 Habsburg-Ottoman arrangement. The territorial division was based on the actual military control of territory (*uti possidetis*, ‘*alā ḥalihi*’), disregarding “historical” boundaries. Some forts were demolished and the building of new ones was prohibited. Moreover, new linear borders were drawn. The border commission, established by the Ottoman-Venetian treaty, delimited and demarcated new borders by 1481 and produced an official delimitation protocol. In the same manner, borders were drawn and demarcated after subsequent Ottoman-Venetian conflicts, sanctioning territorial changes, up until 1718, when two states ended their last war.⁹²

Similar border practices existed between the Ottoman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Ottomans were interested in protecting their relatively populous vassal Principality of Moldavia and surrounding areas. Already in 1542, they suggested to the Polish side to precisely draw the borders. The first delimitation was carried out much later, in 1633. The next one started in 1673, after the Ottoman conquest of the Polish province of Podolia. Interrupted by the resumption of hostilities, it was finally executed in 1680 and is well documented. The border was again revised and demarcated in 1703.⁹³ The practice of drawing linear

⁹² Pedani Fabris, “The Ottoman Venetian Frontier,” 174; Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, 39-42; de Groot, “The historical Development of the Capitulatory Regime:” 588-89.

⁹³ Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 57-67. There were references to other delimitations. The Ottomans may have demarcated their boundaries with Moldavia in the fifteenth century, while the principality was still independent from the sultan. In 1619, Sultan Osman II ordered the demarcation of borders with Safavid Persia, another major Muslim power. The Ottoman-Safavid border was determined by the Accord of Amasya of 1639, but it is not clear whether the demarcation on the terrain happened as well. Rudi Matthee, “The Safavid-Ottoman Frontier: Iraq-i Arab as Seen by

boundaries seemed to be, therefore, quite well established in the relations between the Ottoman Empire and foreign powers, at least in the regions where sedentary populations lived. Drawing a linear border was not always possible in areas populated by nomads.⁹⁴

Ottoman-Venetian and Ottoman-Polish delimitation procedures were also standardized and uniform. The commissaries consulted old documents, including maps, visited the terrain and interviewed local dignitaries and witnesses. They supervised the placement of border marks, as well as the demolition of some fortresses. At the end, delimitation protocols were produced and exchanged. The protocols were often made in two languages. A local judge, *kadı*, would sign in the name of the Ottoman state. For the Ottoman side, the official demarcation document was a *hududname*, produced afterwards in the sultan's court.⁹⁵ *Hududname* or *sinurname* were the documents that were used not just for demarcating outer, but also the Ottoman inner borders. They recorded the separation of the territories of pious foundation, *vakıfs*, from state-owned lands.⁹⁶ The outer borders were therefore to enjoy the same respect and sacrosanct status as *vakıfs*. The most probable source of

the Safavids,” in *Ottoman Borderlands: Issues, Personalities and Political Changes*, 168-70; Kołodziejczyk, “Between Universalistic Claims,” 208.

⁹⁴ See Kasaba, “L’Empire ottoman, ses nomades et ses frontières:” 112-18, 123, with a discussion of sedentarization efforts in the Ottoman Empire after 1689/1691, particularly during the nineteenth century.

⁹⁵ The Ottoman-Venetian border was marked with piles of stones, crosses incised in trees, or big rocks. In the demarcations of 1703 and 1720, the Ottomans use a crescent as their symbol for border poles. On the Ottoman-Polish frontier, the mounds of earth with poles in their centers marked the border in 1680. The Ottoman side of the pole was shaped like turbaned head, the Polish side as a cross. See Pedani Fabris, “The Ottoman Venetian Frontier,” 172, 175-76; Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, 43-49; Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 57-67.

⁹⁶ Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 57-67.

linear borders between the Ottoman Empire and its neighbors are thus Ottoman legal and administrative practice related to *vakıfs*.

The alternative explanation, that the Ottomans initially adopted these practices from the Venetians and then compartmentalized them as a specific model to deal with their other Christian neighbors is less probable. That a zonal frontier was unacceptable for Venetians, since it would introduce political instability in narrow strips of their possessions along coastlines,⁹⁷ is understandable. This argument works less well for Poland-Lithuania or the Habsburgs. More importantly, it fails to explain the use of the same procedure for the delimitations of Islamic pious foundations. Such administrative transfer is less plausible. Not only Ottoman central diplomats, but also their provincial administration was well acquainted with the practice, as suggested by the role of local *kadıs* in the procedure. This would suggest that it was used more often, not just for outer borders.

The linear border between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire was an Ottoman suggestion. The Habsburg plenipotentiaries at the Peace Congress in Carlowitz 1698-99, Count Wolfgang Öttingen and Count Leopold Schlick, initially suggested forming a frontier buffer zone. A demilitarized and inhabited ‘no man’s land’ would separate the two empires and would include the territory along the rivers Mureş (Maros, Moriš) and Tisza (Tisa). The Ottoman plenipotentiaries, Rami Mehmed Pasha and Alexander Mavrocordato, however, refused to accept this suggestion and proposed instead to clearly separate the territories by drawing the boundary on the surface of the two rivers. Mavrocordato referred to a well-established Ottoman procedure of delimitation. He suggested designating special border commissioners who would mark the new Habsburg-Ottoman border in a “clear and

⁹⁷ Pedani Fabris, “The Ottoman Venetian Frontier,” 171; Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, 39-40.

unmistakable” manner by placing border marks on the terrain. The Ottomans also suggested demolishing some frontier fortifications and prohibiting the building of new ones. The Habsburg delegation agreed.⁹⁸ The competing claims of the Habsburgs and the Ottomans to the whole of Hungary after 1526 produced a specific situation, not existing elsewhere along Ottoman frontiers, in which both sides exercised some jurisdictions over the same territory and the same subjects. The post-1699 arrangement would, therefore, be a kind of normalization, possible only after one side, in this case the defeated Ottomans, renounced its claim to all of Hungary.⁹⁹

The exchange and adoption of administrative practices between two empires was quite common and uncontroversial. The Ottoman and Habsburg frontiers in Hungary before 1699 were very similarly organized, with provinces from the interior of both empires subsidizing border *paşaliks* on the one side and border captaincies (generalcies, “borders”) on the other.¹⁰⁰ This would suggest that there were some influences in administrative and military organization. The non-territorial communal autonomy that the Emperor Leopold I granted to the Orthodox Peć Patriarch Arsenije III Čрноjević showed a striking similarity to the millet system in the Ottoman Empire, including the freedom of belief, lower tax rates and the right to elect a community

⁹⁸ Rifa’at A. Abou-El-Haj, “Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 87, no. 4 (1967): 503-506; John Stoye, *Marsigli’s Europe, 1680-1730: The Life and Times of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, Soldier and Virtuoso* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), 174-75.

⁹⁹ That would make the Habsburg-Ottoman frontier atypical before 1699, not after the Carlowitz Peace. See Suraiya Faruqi, “The Ottoman Empire Confronting the Christian World (1451-1774): a Discussion of the Secondary Literature Produced in Turkey,” in *The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, the Greek Lands: Toward a Social and Economic History, Studies in Honor of John C. Alexander*, ed. Elias Kolovos Phokion Kotzageorgis, Sophia Laiou and Marinos Sariyannis (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2007), 91-93.

¹⁰⁰ Hochedlinger, *Austria’s Wars of Emergence*, 84, 86-91; Ágoston, “Defending and Administering the Frontier,” 223-27.

leader.¹⁰¹ There were also more explicit administrative transfers. During their conquest of the Balkans and the Hungarian plain, the Ottomans adopted and integrated many local customs and taxes, for example the local taxation customs in Banat in 1567 for the collection of the poll tax on Christians and Jews (*cizye*).¹⁰² On their part, when they conquered Banat in the War of 1716-1718, the Habsburgs adopted the Ottoman administrative division of the province, replacing *kazas* with districts, but keeping the *kazas*' names and jurisdictions.¹⁰³ Sometimes the borrowings were temporary and very specific, suggesting a high level of mutual trust. During the 1739-1740 delimitation and demarcation of the Danube river islands, the Ottoman border commissioner relied not only on the Habsburg translator for official communication, but also on the work of Habsburg military engineers and geometers for triangulation measurements.¹⁰⁴

These examples suggest that linear delimitation and demarcation as an administrative transfer would be in line with previous practices. The use of the model seemed to be reserved for this specific border. Other Habsburg external and internal borders were territorialized decades later when “the movement of delimitation” was in full force in the rest of the Europe. The Habsburg Military border presents a good example. While its limits with the Ottoman territory were clearly demarcated after 1699, it was not separated in a clear territorial manner from the Habsburg areas under

¹⁰¹ Fikret Adanir, “Religious Communities and Ethnic Groups under Imperial Sway: Ottoman and Habsburg Lands in Comparison,” in *The Historical Practice of Diversity*, 54-86, 66-67.

¹⁰² Káldy-Nagy, “The Administration of the Şanjāq Registrations:” 193-94.

¹⁰³ Ten Ottoman *kazas* became eleven Habsburg districts, with Csanád-Becs *kaza* divided into two districts. Géza Dávid, “The *Eyalet* of Temesvár in the Eighteenth Century,” *Oriente Moderno* 18 n. s. (vol. 79), no. 1 (1999): 120-21.

¹⁰⁴ Erich Prokosch, trans., *Molla und Diplomat. Der Bericht des Ebû Sehil Nu'mân Efendi über die österreichisch-osmanische Grenzziehung nach dem Belgrader Frieden 1740/41* (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1972), 29-31, 41-50.

civil rule for several more decades. Border soldiers enjoyed non-territorial privileges. In the new Slavonian Border, organized after 1699 along the River Sava, the population under military authority lived in the same villages with the peasants subjected to civil rule. There were numerous civil and military enclaves and exclaves. They were separated only from 1743-1745, when the new Slavonian border was demarcated to separate it from the civil Slavonia and Srem. The territories were exchanged to remove enclaves and exclaves. The exchange of population, resulting in all the remaining Military Border population being subjected to military authorities, continued into the 1750s. The reaction of some nobles, who organized bands to demolish new border signs erected between the Military Borders of Varaždin and Karlovac and their estates between 1769 and 1784, suggests that the linear border remained an alien concept, even at the time when it started to be accepted in the rest of Europe.¹⁰⁵

The Carlowitz Habsburg-Ottoman border arrangement owed much to the preceding Ottoman-Venetian and Ottoman-Polish border regulations. They could be regarded, therefore, as starting points. In the following evolution, the demarcated boundary, used by the Ottomans and other states as one of various possible frontier arrangements, was transformed into the only possible border organization. The Habsburg Monarchy adopted and further developed it. A comparison with the

¹⁰⁵ In 1578, only forts in the Varaždin Generalcy (Military Border) were defined as being part of the military border. Even when the process of territorialization was finished, some exclaves, such as Žumberak, survived. Military officers and civilian cadaster keepers revisited these internal borders each spring, renewing damaged border signs. Franz Stefan Engel, "Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien und Herzogthums Syrmien," 1786, 2 vols., KA KPS LB K VII I, 47 E (hereafter Engel, "Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien"), vol. 2: 299-300, 306. KA – Kriegsarchiv, Austrian State Archive (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv), Vienna, Austria, abbreviated here as KA (alternative abbreviation is AT-OeStA KA). This was the process that continued well into the nineteenth century. The whole surface of the state was being mapped, too, and entered into cadasters. Evans, "Essay and Reflection:" 492-94; Nordman, *Frontières de France*, 327, 329, 519-21, 524.

Ottoman-Venetian and Ottoman-Polish delimitations indicates how the development of the Habsburg-Ottoman border diverged from the previous models.

Between the Venetians and their Ottoman neighbors the principle of border inviolability was not consistently respected. In the 1520s, local Ottoman authorities in Dalmatia unlawfully seized a part of Venetian territory, divided it into *timars* (state fiefs), and assigned its tax incomes to local *sipahis*, provincial cavalry. Only after long negotiations with the Ottoman court, did the Venetians receive their possessions back.¹⁰⁶ Territorial separation depended overwhelmingly on the adherence of the stronger partner, the Ottomans.

Venice was a city-state with an overseas empire. Its borders with the sultan were discontinuous, often separating small coastal possessions from the large Ottoman hinterland. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was in some respects more comparable to the Habsburg Monarchy. It was a large composite monarchy, with long land borders with the Ottoman Empire. Poles seemed to embrace demarcated linear boundaries with little enthusiasm, as a temporary solution. There is asymmetry between the Polish and Ottoman versions of demarcation documents. In the Ottoman delimitation protocol of 1680, the focus was on the borderline; in the Polish version on villages. The Polish commissioners were content to name the villages that belonged to each side, implying that village boundaries were state boundaries. This makes the Polish delimitation protocol an inventory of possessions and rights, closer to traditional practices in Western Europe.¹⁰⁷ For the Habsburg Monarchy the 1699

¹⁰⁶ Pedani Fabris, "The Ottoman Venetian Frontier," 172; Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, 42-44, 46, 64-67, 70.

¹⁰⁷ Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 545-54, 626-40; Kołodziejczyk, "Between Universalistic Claims," 211.

delimitation became the standard border arrangement with the Ottomans. Vienna adhered to it when it was victorious in 1699, 1718, 1791, and when it was not in 1739.

In the Habsburg case, the introduction of linear boundaries was a progressive and irreversible development. After defining “new” borders, the “old” ones were fixed as well. This was not the case with Poland-Lithuania, which successfully sabotaged the delimitation with the Cossacks in 1680. Poland-Lithuania wanted in that case to avoid unambiguously separating jurisdictions and explicitly recognizing the sultan’s sovereignty over the Cossacks in order to preserve its territorial pretensions.¹⁰⁸ The Habsburgs progressively expanded linear borders to the whole length of the Habsburg-Ottoman frontier. In 1699, the whole eastern section of the Habsburg-Ottoman border, which separated Habsburg Transylvania from the Ottoman vassal principalities Moldavia and Wallachia, remained un-demarcated. The Treaty of Carlowitz defines it as the old border, “before this war,”¹⁰⁹ even though the circumstances radically changed, with Transylvania exchanging Ottoman suzerainty for Habsburg rule in 1699.¹¹⁰ This situation was seen as anomalous by the Habsburg side, which took the initiative and demarcated it in the 1770s.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Kołodziejczyk, “Between Universalistic Claims,” 211.

¹⁰⁹ “Carlowitz Peace Treaty 1699,” article 1. The Treaty of Passarowitz (article 1) repeats this definition, with, of course, the exception of the part of the border between Transylvania and the Lesser Wallachia, which was under Habsburg rule from 1718 to 1739. The Peace Treaty between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, Požarevac (Passarowitz), 21 July 1718 (hereafter “Passarowitz Peace Treaty 1718”), published in *Istorijski izveštaj o Požarevačkom miru, od Vendramina Bjankija* (Požarevac: Narodni muzej, 2008), 224-49; also in *Treaties et cetera between Turkey and Foreign Powers*, 67-79.

¹¹⁰ Marsigli, initially planned to demarcate and map this part of the border as well, but in the wake of the War for the Spanish Succession he was ordered to leave it as it was. See Stoye, *Marsigli’s Europe*, 206-207.

¹¹¹ Madalina-Valeria Veres, “Putting Transylvania on the Map: Cartography and Enlightened Absolutism in the Habsburg Monarchy,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 43 (2012): 151-54.

Linear Demarcation and the Division of Border Resources

The new border arrangement redefined border life and cross-border mobility in territorial terms. This was obvious during delimitation and demarcation procedures. Border commissions working on the terrain had a duty to draw a borderline in a precise manner, to demarcate it clearly, separating land plots and defining the accessibility and use of border resources.

The work on border delimitation would begin immediately after a peace treaty was concluded. Both Ottoman and Habsburg central governments would name the commissioners for border delimitation and demarcation. In 1699-1701, the Habsburg commissioner Marsigli was tasked to demarcate the whole border between Transylvania and Venetian Dalmatia. In the later demarcations there were several groups of border commissioners, each for a separate section of the border. Thus in 1739 Major General Baron Engelshofen, the governor of Banat, was the Habsburg commissioner for the demarcation of the Danube section of the new border, between Belgrade and Orşova. One of the advantages of the division of delimitations duties was that local officials serving as commissioners were more familiar with circumstances, interests and military considerations in the section they were responsible for, in comparison with the members of the central governments. The work started with commissioners from both sides meeting and showing their accreditations. On both sides border troops and military provided guides and workforce necessary for demarcation. Local inhabitants were consulted as well. In 1740 the Ottoman commissioner for the Danube section summoned the oldest

villagers from the region to ask them about the names of thirty-two river islands near the village of Ostrovo.¹¹²

Both “wet” borders, following rivers and streams, and “dry” borders,¹¹³ where the boundary left major rivers and went into dry terrain, were demarcated with increasing precision. The text of the Habsburg-Ottoman demarcation protocol of 1700, which dealt with the westernmost “dry” section of the border, between Ottoman Bosnia and the Habsburg Croatian Military Border, was still imprecise. The position of border marks was defined referring to prominent local landmarks: hills, mountains, valleys, summits, planes, ridges, slopes, rivers, rocks, springs, streams, rivers, fords, roads, meadows, cultivated fields. These topographic features were duly named, but their use for orientation is vague: “near,” “between,” “with a view of,” “right opposite.” Often individual trees (oaks, poplar, hornbeams, birch, and rowan tree) were taken as points of orientation. The description of the disputed section around the Bosnian town of Novi, done one year after the official commission finished its work, was particularly poor, with individual houses named after their owners chosen as landmarks. This created a potential problem for future border commissions. Trees could fall down and population could change, making recorded points of orientation obsolete. Instead of using cardinal directions for orientation, the protocol orientates

¹¹² In 1739, the Ottoman commissioner for the same section of the border was el-Hacc Mehmed Efendi Mevkufatî, who previously served in Istanbul and in a number of provinces but not in the region that was being delimited. Ottoman delegation had a specialist for Islamic law. In 1739 Mullah Ebû Sehil Nu'mân Efendi, a member of the entourage of the Ottoman commissioner, appointed to closely follow the procedure and to issue a juridical certificate (hüccet) at the end that the demarcation protocol (border instrument) was in accordance with the Islamic law, left a description of the delimitation negotiations. Prokosch, *Molla und Diplomat*, 10-12, 19-22, 70-73.

¹¹³ Gunther E. Rothenberg, *The Military Border in Croatia, 1740–1881: a Study of an Imperial Institution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 46-49.

border marks “left of” or “right of.” The length between the 128 border marks was not indicated (except in one case).¹¹⁴

In the subsequent delimitations, land-surveying techniques improved accuracy and the language of demarcation protocols became more precise. In 1739-1741 the Habsburg commission engaged military engineers and geometers, who systematically used measurement instruments and triangulation to estimate distances in the Danube.¹¹⁵ The delimitation protocol of 1795, after the last Habsburg-Ottoman war, which ended with the Peace Treaty of Sistova (1791), was very detailed. Although victorious, the Habsburg side, confronted with domestic unrest and the French Revolution in Europe, decided to renounce its conquests and to establish pre-war borders, with two exceptions. The Ottoman side “voluntarily” agreed to transfer two relatively small territories to Habsburg control. The first was the town of Old Orșova (Orșava), on the left (Habsburg) bank of the river Danube.¹¹⁶ The second border transfer involved much more delimitation. The border between the Habsburg Military

¹¹⁴ Ešraf Kovačević, *Granice bosanskog pašaluka prema Austriji i Mletačkoj Republici po odredbama Karlovačkog mira* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1973), 255-74; When a new Habsburg-Ottoman border commission, appointed after the Peace of Passarowitz (1718) set out in 1719 to renew the border marks on the small section of the border where there were no territorial changes, between the Habsburg region of Lika in Croatia and neighboring Ottoman territory of Bosnia, they were still able to locate twenty-five of twenty-seven border marks. Grenzscheidung Instrument, Mutilić (Muttelicz), 11 October 1719, M. E. Freiherr Teuffenbach and Nicolaus Petrovich, HHStA StAbt Türkei III 7. HHStA – Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA), Austrian State Archive (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv), Vienna, Austria, abbreviated here as HHStA (alternative abbreviation is AT-OeStA HHStA).

¹¹⁵ Prokosch, *Molla und Diplomat*, 78-97, 103-104, 109-10.

¹¹⁶ The 1739 Peace Treaty and the 1741 Border Convention left an Ottoman enclave Old Orșova (Orșava) on the north bank of the river Danube surrounded by Habsburg territory, a source of frustration for Habsburg authorities for decades. In 1775, the Habsburg envoy at the Ottoman court, Baron Franz Maria Thugut, expressed the frustration of border authorities by calling this “mélange respectif de territoire” a major disturbance in the fight against smuggling and epidemic diseases. Vienna unsuccessfully attempted to acquire this territory through negotiations in 1775. Four articles about the territorial connection between the Habsburg provinces of Transylvania and Galicia and Lodomeria, Constantinople, 7 May 1775. HHStA StAbt Türkei III 7, article 4.

Border in Croatia and the Ottoman western Bosnia moved several kilometers to the east, and a narrow, but long strip of land along the river Una came under Habsburg control.¹¹⁷ The whole section of the border had to be redrawn and re-demarcated. Each border mark, “humka” (Hunke, Hügel), an earth mound with a round wooden pole in its midst, was described precisely.¹¹⁸ A pole had a border-mark number and also the Habsburg and Ottoman coats of arms, thus emphasizing the symbolic value of the boundary for the territorial sovereignty.¹¹⁹ In 1740 the Ottoman commissioner emphasized that the mounds should be erected in such a manner that a person standing on the top of one mound could see the top of the next one.¹²⁰ To make the demarcation line more recognizable in the uninhabited mountains of Plješevica, additional unnumbered border marks were introduced in 1791-1795. Where the new boundary left “natural” borders, streams and rivers, and turned into an “artificial line,” ditches were dug to show its direction. Its route was not described as “to the left” or

¹¹⁷ Four articles about the territorial connection between the Habsburg province of Transylvania and provinces Galicia and Lodomeria, Constantinople, 7 May 1775; the Peace Treaty of Sistova, 4 August 1791; Separate Peace Convention regarding the Borders, Sistova, 4 August 1791, HHStA StAbt Türkei III 7.

¹¹⁸ “Diese Gränzzeichen heißen Hunken (ein türkisches Wort) und bestehen in einem aufgeworfenen Erdhügel, aus dessen Gipfel ein runder Pfahl hervorragt.” Friedrich Wilhelm von Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung des Königreiches Slavonien und des Herzogthums Syrmien: sowol nach ihrer natürlichen Beschaffenheit, als auch nach ihrer itzigen Verfassung und neuen Einrichtung in kirchlichen, bürgerlichen und militarischen Dingen*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1777-1778), vol. 3: 87.

¹¹⁹ Demarcation Instrument, 23 December 1795, Novi, HHStA StAbt Türkei III 7; Carl Bernhard von Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze des österreichischen Kaisertums: Ein Versuch*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Carl Gerold, 1817-1823), vol. 1: 50.

¹²⁰ “Die Regel für die Errichtung der Hunkas auf gleicher Höhe verlangt, daß man über die Spitze der letzten Hunka hinweg jeweils die Spitze der vorigen Hunka sehen können muß.” Prokosch, *Molla und Diplomat*, 132.

“to the right” as in 1699-1700, but with reference to cardinal directions (going southward, southeastward or eastward), with the length indicated.¹²¹

Once erected, border marks were not to be crossed any more by the opposite side, border commissioners included.¹²² *Hunken* were important not only in the “dry” border, where prominent topographical marks were not always available,¹²³ but also on the “wet” border, where rivers divided Habsburg and Ottoman jurisdictions. The formal charge against Jovan Radojevics, the boatman from the Introduction who attempted to cross the border illegally in 1773, was that he, unauthorized, walked over the “Hügel” that marked the border on the river Danube.¹²⁴ An immediate consequence of a border demarcation was a mobility restriction and closely regulated access to border resources.

The preoccupation with separation of river islands reflected an increasingly strict and precise interpretation of linear territorial separations. The Carlowitz Peace of 1699 placed a large part of the borderline on rivers. While Vienna retained control over river islands in the rivers Mureș, Tisza and Una (from Novi downstream), the islands on the river Sava were shared with the Ottoman side (Račanska ada,

¹²¹ Demarcation Instrument, 23 December 1795, Novi, HHStA StAbt Türkei III 7. There is no comparable evolution in the Ottoman-Polish demarcation protocols. Instead, there is a regression in details and precision. The Ottoman-Polish protocol from 1703 was short and referred to general topographical features, usually without directions or length in hours of walking. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 555-80, 626-35.

¹²² Prokosch, *Molla und Diplomat*, 149.

¹²³ Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 1: 54-55.

¹²⁴ IAB, ZM, 1773-2-29 Historical Archives of Belgrade (Istorijski arhiv Beograda), Serbia, in Tanasije Ž. Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija u dokumentima arhive Zemenskog magistrata od 1739. do 1804. God.*, vol. 1 (1739-1788) (Beograd: Istorijski arhiv Beograda, 1973), 369-72. ZM –Zemunski magistate, IAB – Istorijski arhiv Beograda, Belgrade, Serbia, abbreviated here as IAB, ZM. Earth mounds with poles were also used to demarcate Habsburg internal border in the second half of the eighteenth century, such as the border between the Military Border and civil authorities.

Županjaska ada, Rastovačka ada, Brodska ada).¹²⁵ This produced a narrow zone of dual rule, condominium. In addition, it was not clear whether the subjects could use the whole river, for example for fishing, or only the half that was closer to their shore. The Peace of Passarowitz (Požarevac) in 1718 delayed the resolution of these uncertainties, by temporarily pushing the borderline away from major rivers. The ambiguities reappeared with the Peace of Belgrade in 1739, when the Habsburg-Ottoman border finally settled down on the Una, Sava and Danube rivers. This time, all islands were divided. A procedure for newly emerging ones was introduced (they should be attributed to the side whose shore they were closer to). Although the usage of rivers remained nominally shared, the surface of the water was divided in the middle between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire. Fishermen were not allowed to cross this imaginary line.¹²⁶ Detailed maps of divisions of the Danube river islands¹²⁷ present additional evidence of the importance of clear territorial divisions.

The work on delimitations could last from a couple of months to a couple of years. The work of border commissions could be extended for months, even years in case of disputes, particularly when they involved central governments. Everything needed to be settled before the commissioners from both sides would formally end the process by comparing border protocols (instruments) to remove eventual differences, and exchanging them. Following the Treaty of Belgrade of 1739, the Ottoman-

¹²⁵ “Carlowitz Peace Treaty 1699,” articles 2 and 5. Kovačević, *Granice bosanskog pašaluka*, 255-74.

¹²⁶ The Peace Treaty Between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, Belgrade, 18 September 1739 (hereafter “Belgrade Peace Treaty 1739”), in *Treaties et cetera between Turkey and Foreign Powers, 1535-1855* (London: Foreign Office, 1855), 93-106, articles 1, 2, 4, 7; The Convention about Limits between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, Constantinople, 2 March 1741 (hereafter “Border Convention 1741”), in *Treaties et cetera between Turkey and Foreign Powers, 1535-1855* (London: Foreign Office, 1855), 108-112, articles 1, 2, 4.

¹²⁷ HHStA StAbt Türkei IX, 1741 Donaugrenze Serbien-Banat.

Habsburg commissions for the border between Bosnia, on the one hand, and Croatia and Slavonia, on the other, working on long sections of “dry border,” where the commissioners could not use prominent natural features, such as rivers, as borders, finished its job several months before their colleagues working on the much shorter and apparently much simple Danube section, where the river was to be the border.¹²⁸ Even apparently clear treaty provisions could be open to interpretation. The Treaty of Belgrade of 1739 stipulated that when the border followed rivers, it should be drawn in the middle and that river islands should belong to the side to which they are closer. With its varying widths and water levels, changing river islands and marshes, the middle of the river Danube was complicated to find. One option was to follow the main current, *Talweg*, where the river was the deepest. The Habsburg commissioner for the delimitation of Danube in 1739-1741, General Engelshofen, suggested putting a boat in the middle of the river near Belgrade and letting the main river current carry it downstream, with no steering until it reached the end point, Orșova fortress. The river islands to the left would belong to the Habsburg Monarchy, and the ones on the right to the Ottoman Empire. According to Engelshofen, this would be the quickest and easiest way for delimitation since the whole operation should not have taken more than two days. The Ottoman side dismissed this idea and opted instead for a mathematical middle determined through triangulation measurement.¹²⁹ However, this was not simple either. The two commissions spent a hundred days disputing over the Ostrovo Island. At that moment, the island was closer to the Ottoman bank of the Danube, but the Habsburg delegation argued that they should wait for a lower water level when the parts of the island closer to Habsburg bank would appear too.¹³⁰ Even

¹²⁸ Prokosch, *Molla und Diplomat*, 153-69, 195-97.

¹²⁹ Prokosch, *Molla und Diplomat*, 27.

¹³⁰ Prokosch, *Molla und Diplomat*, 78-97, 103-104, 109-10, 232-37.

when they agreed on distances, commissions could have different views on relevance. According to the Ottoman commissioner, the only relevant measurement is the closeness of the “head” of an island, the part furthest upstream, to the nearest bank.¹³¹ All these disputes remained unresolved until the Habsburg-Ottoman Convention from 2 March 1741, negotiated between the Habsburg ambassador, Count Ulfeld, and the Grand Vizier, El-Hatschi Achmed, in Istanbul, divided the river islands by listing five on the Sava and Danube rivers that were to be Ottoman, while assigning all other to the Habsburgs.¹³²

In the delimitation agreement from 1795 jurisdictions and border resources were separated clearly. Thus, the part of the boundary between Habsburg Croatia and Ottoman Bosnia, near the settlements of Velika Kladuša and Cetingrad followed the left bank of a small stream named Đurin (Jurin) Potok. The stream itself was thus not shared, but attributed to the Habsburg Monarchy. Unless explicitly exempted, other border resources were also strictly divided. On the westernmost 150-170-km section of the Habsburg Ottoman borders, the following joint rights of use or of access were explicitly mentioned: the shared use of about twenty kilometers of the river Korana, for irrigation, cattle and the transport of logs, five individual mountain springs, the brook Tiškovac (Tiskovaz) and a road nearby, as well as the Archangels Church, which was on Ottoman territory, but remained open to use as a place for pilgrimage

¹³¹ Prokosch, *Molla und Diplomat*, 37-40.

¹³² Prokosch, *Molla und Diplomat*, 225-31. Although formally Habsburg territory, the half of Ratno Island closer to the Belgrade fortress was acknowledged to be also the barren space around city walls, the glacis, giving the guards a good view of the area immediately surrounding the Belgrade Fortress. The annual procedure of clearing the half of the island toward Belgrade of trees and bushes was described in 1772. In November, the Magistrate of the Habsburg town of Zemun assembled a group of fifty people. They were sent, accompanied by the military, to Ratno Island. With utmost discretion and silence they were ordered to cut trees and shrub. IABM, ZM, 1772-2-29, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 351-53.

by the Habsburg subjects.¹³³ All other resources were assigned exclusively to one or the other side.

As elsewhere in Europe, the central Habsburg governments showed little consideration for local proprietary rights and claims when fixing new borders. However, the transfer of sovereignty could lead to the loss of ownership rights. In peace treaties, the conquered Ottoman lands were transferred to the Habsburg state, to be sold to private persons or annexed to the Military Border and then distributed to local families. Eventually the Peace of Sistova of 1791 recognized previous ownership rights of those Ottoman subjects, whose lands were divided by the new Habsburg-Ottoman boundary. They were requested, however, to choose between Ottoman or Habsburg subjecthood and to sell their possessions on the other side of the border.¹³⁴ This was not a typical situation elsewhere in Europe. For example, after 1659 some landowners in French Cerdagne kept their Spanish subjecthood or chose to remain Spanish subjects. They were allowed to keep their possessions, to collect their incomes and feudal dues, and to enjoy exemption from French taxes.¹³⁵ On the Habsburg-Ottoman border cross-border possessions were not allowed.

The people most affected by new border arrangements often had very little say. Sometimes their voice was heard, particularly if they were state actors. In 1741, the Janissaries and volunteers from the Ottoman fortress of Ada Kaleh shadowed the Ottoman commissioner and his entourage while they were demarcating the nearby border. They succeeded through threats and pleas in moving the new boundary away from some, but not all, of the gardens and vineyards they claimed possession of. In the end, unsatisfied with their limited success, they became more aggressive, calling

¹³³ Unnaer Demarkations Instrument, Novi, 23 December 1795, HHStA StAbt Türkei III 7.

¹³⁴ The Article 8 of the Sistova Peace Treaty, Sistova, 4 August 1791, HHStA StAbt Türkei III 7.

¹³⁵ Sahlins, *Boundaries*, 144-55.

the Ottoman delegation traitors and shooting over their heads. The Ottoman commissioner was forced to return to Istanbul through Habsburg territory and Wallachia.¹³⁶ Other similar attempts were even less successful. On 21 March 1792, a group of 150 people from Ottoman Tržac crossed the river Korana and the border that was still not demarcated. They started to cultivate land on the Habsburg bank, trying to regain their former property rights. They were warned the next day by the Habsburg staff officer inspecting the border that this was prohibited since the boundaries were inviolable and sent back. Their repeated pleas to get permission to return were rejected. The Habsburg bank of the Korana River was subsequently made inaccessible and border posts were strengthened. The Habsburg border commissioner, General Schlaun, sent a formal complaint to the Ottoman governor of Bosnia, Hacı Saly Pasha, and to the Ottoman border commissioner, Ismael Ismeti Effendi.¹³⁷ We do not know what the Ottoman response was, but it seems that his protest was effective, since similar incidents were not mentioned in later documents.

The linear border seems to be used, however, to reconcile two disparate concepts of land ownership. In the Ottoman Empire most arable lands were possessed by the Treasury and were leased to the subjects who cultivated them and paid taxes. The lease could be inherited, but the land was not privately owned.¹³⁸ The members of the Ottoman administrative-military elite, such as *sipahis*, could enjoy the fiscal

¹³⁶ Prokosch, *Molla und Diplomat*, 134-49.

¹³⁷ General Schlaun to Hacı Saly Pasha, Ottoman governor in Travnik and to Ismael Ismeti Effendi, Ottoman border commissioner, Zagreb, 24 March 1792; Hofkriegsrat to the General Schlaun, Vienna, 2 April 1792; HKR to the General Schlaun, Vienna, 12 May 1792, HHStA StAbt Türkei III 7.

¹³⁸ Ottoman subjects owned personal property, village and town houses, shops and other buildings, gardens and vineyards and were free to sell them or to give them away. Real estate, *mülk* lands could be inherited, but also arbitrarily taken away, while the privileges of pious estates, *vakıfs*, should have been, at least nominally, extended every thirty years. Káldy-Nagy, "The Administration of the Şanjāq Registrations:" 181-83, 185, 210-11, 220, 222.

contribution from the state-owned arable lands, but could not claim ownership. When the Ottomans conquered land of their Christian neighbors or vice versa, there was no automatic acknowledgement of previous possession rights. The possessions of local nobles would be confiscated by the Ottoman state, while the Ottoman state land would be taken over by the Habsburg Treasury (Hofkammer). Fixing a border by compiling an inventory of rights and jurisdictions was not an option, because these rights and jurisdictions were not mutually recognized. Linear delimitations were a compromise to separate possessions, while avoiding adherence to either of the two concepts of land ownership.

Mobility and Safety

The strict separation of jurisdictions and of territories went hand in hand with the strict regulation of mobility. Both empires implicitly assumed the right to allow or to deny cross-border access and to control mobility in normal peaceful circumstances. Immediately after the Treaty of Carlowitz (Karlovci) of 1699 and the first systematical demarcation of the Habsburg-Ottoman border, the two states were preoccupied with clear territorial separation of jurisdictions, pacifying the frontier regions, and suppressing banditry. Apart from those who threatened state and personal security, the Habsburgs and the Ottomans were not much concerned about the travel of the majority of migrants.¹³⁹ The peace agreement generally guaranteed free trade for merchants from both sides and provided official Habsburg couriers with Ottoman travel documents.¹⁴⁰ The delimitation agreements from 1700 and 1701 did not discuss the restriction of mobility explicitly or implicitly. Subjects of both sides could cross

¹³⁹ “Carlowitz Peace Treaty 1699,” articles 6, 8, 9.

¹⁴⁰ “Carlowitz Peace Treaty 1699,” articles 14 and 17.

the border and enter the territory of both respective states without special formalities. The Ottoman side explicitly declared that it was neither possible to control the border, nor was it possible for the Ottoman authorities to introduce restrictions to the free travel of their subjects. When a large group of sixty Ottoman merchants crossed the border from the Ottoman Banat and entered the Habsburg territory in late 1706, they stopped to pay customs and taxes not at the boundary, but at their first major stop, the town of Szeged (Segedin).¹⁴¹

During the eighteenth century, the Habsburg authorities became increasingly sensitive to illegal border crossings and the Ottomans tolerated close border supervision from watchtowers placed close to the boundary. The Treaty of Belgrade (1739) and subsequent border agreements introduced strict control of cross-border mobility, putting the boundary in the middle of the Sava and Danube rivers. All unsupervised and unauthorized border crossings were considered illegal. The only activity that was allowed on the opposite bank and that did not require a special authorization was pulling barges upstream when it was easier to use that side, but only under military supervision.¹⁴² People fishing on border rivers regularly approached the imagined boundary that ran in the middle of the stream. This produced a number of situations perceived as provocative by Habsburg authorities. Around 1755 a group of Ottoman fishermen, together with two Ottoman Muslims (*würklichen Türken*),¹⁴³ crossed the half of the river Danube via the island of Boriza (now under Đerdap/Iron Gate Lake) to fish near the Habsburg village of Svinița (Sninza) on the other side. The

¹⁴¹ Jovan Pešalj, "Early Eighteenth Century Peacekeeping: How Habsburgs and Ottomans Resolved Several Border Disputes after Carlowitz," in *Empires and Peninsulas: Southeastern Europe between Carlowitz and the Peace of Adrianople, 1699-1829*, ed. Plamen Mitev, Ivan Parvev, Maria Baramova, and Vania Racheva (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2010), 32-36.

¹⁴² "Belgrade Peace Treaty 1739," article 7; "Border Convention 1741," articles 1, 2 and 4.

¹⁴³ The documents use the name "real Turks" to refer to Ottoman Muslims, often Janissaries.

Habsburg commander asked them to return, but they refused. The incident escalated all the way to the Habsburg envoy at the Ottoman court, Schwachheim, who lodged an official protest. After an investigation, the Grand Vizier underlined the prohibition of fishing across the middle of the river.¹⁴⁴ Fishermen from the Habsburg border town of Zemun, near Belgrade were often involved in border incidents. The Habsburg authorities increasingly regulated fishermen's mobility. In November 1763, the General Commando of the Slavonian Military Border ordered that fishing should start one hour before sunrise and that it should finish one hour after sunset.¹⁴⁵ In 1774, only the members of Zemun fishermen's guild were allowed to fish on the border, with a special pass and under the supervision of the Habsburg guard from the shore.¹⁴⁶ Exceptions had to be authorized by the authorities.

Linear delimitations made cross-border mobility and migration more regulated, but also safer. They pacified the border. Two empires mutually guaranteed peace and security, outlawed state violence and incursions during peace, and worked together against non-state actors, such as bandits and smugglers. A clear territorial separation of jurisdictions and the responsibility to ensure security, run investigations and to provide compensation to injured parties, all gradually created a safer environment for cross-border mobility and migrations. The precondition for the new territorial border arrangements was the pacification of international relations and border areas in particular. A similar process was visible elsewhere in Europe during the "movement of delimitations." The negotiating parties were treated as equal, irrespective of their

¹⁴⁴ The translation of the imperial order (firman) from the beginning of November 1755 to the Firari Mustafa Passa, governor of Belgrade, kadı of Belgrade, and to the Janissary Agha, HHSStA StAbt Türkei III 4.

¹⁴⁵ Slavonian General Command (Slav. GK) to the Magistrate of the Town Zemun (ZM), Osijek, 1 November 1763, IAB, ZM, 1764-1-3, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 184.

¹⁴⁶ IAB, ZM, 1775-1-51, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 428-32.

military strength. Border negotiations were instigated to precisely delimit space, not to make territorial claims.

The Habsburg-Ottoman treaty of 1699 put a great emphasis on peace and security on the border, as well as on the close supervision of violence. The first step was to partially demilitarize the border. At the Peace Congress in Carlowitz 1698-1699, the Ottoman delegation did not only suggest introducing the linear border between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire. The sultan's negotiators also suggested demolishing some frontier fortifications and prohibiting the building of new ones. The Habsburg delegation, which initially insisted on razing just the fortification from the part of the Banat of Temesvár they were to evacuate, accepted this stipulation to be applied to the whole border.¹⁴⁷ A number of border fortresses were torn down, and "the building of new fortifications under any pretext" was forbidden. Most border settlements were to be left unfortified ("open").¹⁴⁸ The supervision infrastructure was at this moment regarded with suspicion, as a threat to pacification. Following the Treaty of Carlowitz of 1699, the Habsburg side erected a number of watchtowers and dug some defensive trenches along the Sava and Danube river border. This was in line with the pre-existing models of defensive fortifications against raids, sudden attacks and abductions. After Ottoman complaints, in 1709 a joint Habsburg-Ottoman border commission found them to be contrary to the treaty of 1699 and the new border regime, they were razed to the ground.¹⁴⁹ The demilitarization was not absolute. During the first two decades of the eighteenth century, twenty-four fortresses were

¹⁴⁷ The Ottoman effort to keep a foothold in Syrmia (Srem) near Belgrade resulted in the division of Syrmia between two sides with a straight line, exemplifying the "artificial" demarcated border of 1699. Abou-El-Haj, "Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz," 503-506; Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe*, 174-75.

¹⁴⁸ "Carlowitz Peace Treaty 1699," articles 2, 4 and 7.

¹⁴⁹ Pešalj, "Early Eighteenth Century Peacekeeping," 40-41; Kovačević, *Granice bosanskog pašaluka*, 255-74.

built along the Una and Sava rivers, on the newly pacified Habsburg-Ottoman linear border, and a little later the Ottoman fortress of Vidin was rebuilt to sustain an artillery attack.¹⁵⁰ This was, however, only an adjustment to the fact that the border now ran through previously well-protected internal Ottoman provinces, which would be too exposed without at least some new defensive strongholds. The pre-1699 density of fortifications was never reached again. At the Peace Congress of Passarowitz in 1718, the Ottoman side made a similar suggestion, to prohibit building new fortifications and towns, allowing just repairs of the existing ones, and it was again accepted.¹⁵¹ The purpose of these measures was to discourage violence by leaving both sides more exposed and vulnerable to retribution, increasing the potential costs of violence. With no complete chain of border fortifications to guard the interiors of the two empires, both the Habsburgs and the Ottomans were forced to think twice before escalating disputes into hostilities.

The second step was, accordingly, to explicitly and completely forbid cross-border violence during peacetime by military and paramilitary. “It is strictly prohibited henceforward [...] to assemble and send armed units [across the border] to invade, raid, pillage and submit the subjects [of the other side] to violence.” Those who disobeyed were threatened with severe punishments, while victims were promised the full restoration of stolen property or compensations.¹⁵² This new regime was successfully implemented within a couple of years. Violence and other peacetime

¹⁵⁰ See Burcu Özgüven, “*Palanka* Forts and Construction Activity in the Late Ottoman Balkans,” In *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, 175; and Rossitsa Gradeva, “Between Hinterland and Frontier: Ottoman Vidin, Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries,” in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, 336.

¹⁵¹ Drag. M. Pavlović, “Požarevački mir (1718. g.),” *Letopis Matice srpske* 207, no. 4 (1901): 62-63.

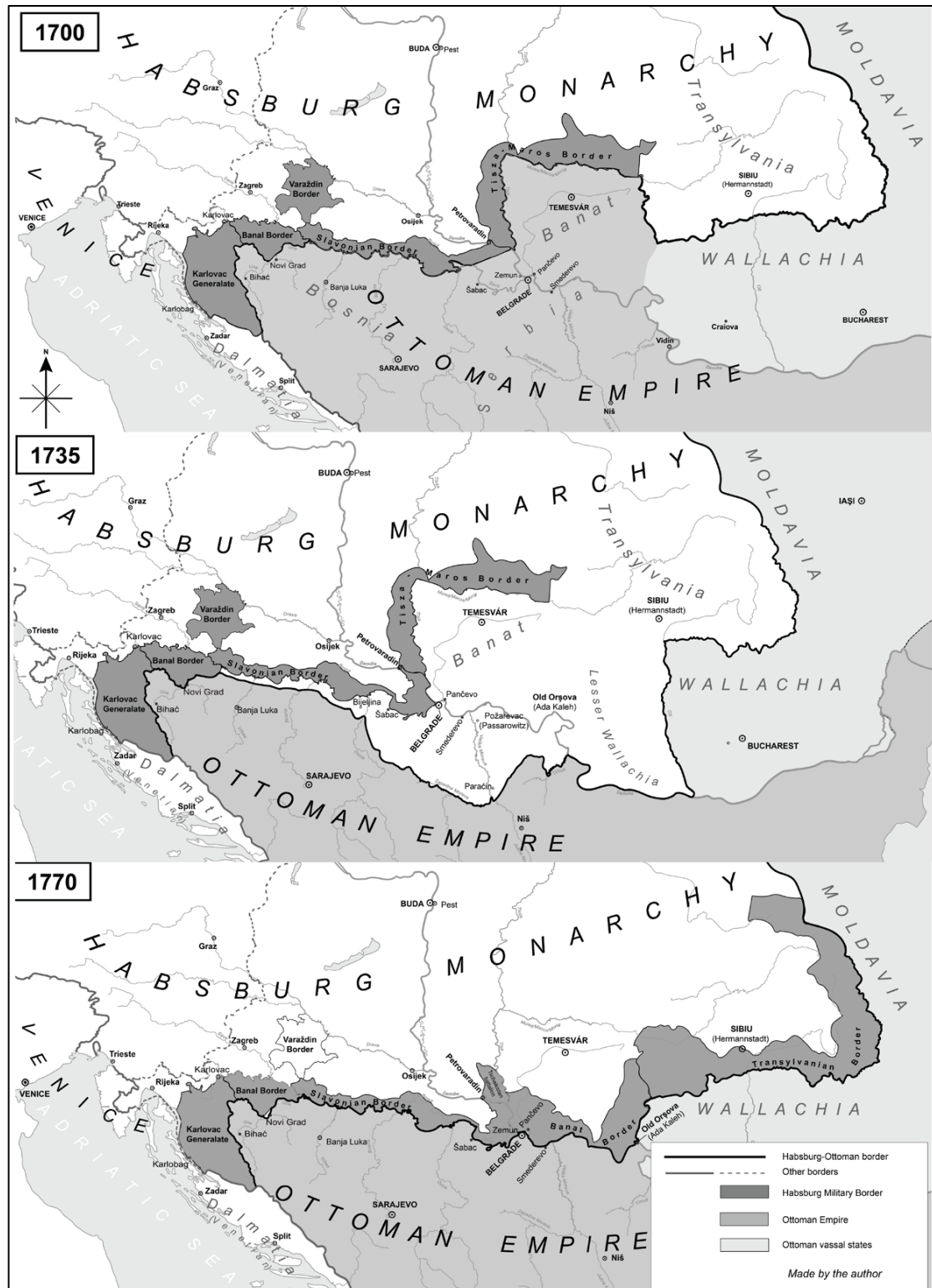
¹⁵² “Carlowitz Peace Treaty 1699,” article 8. Duels were also forbidden “Carlowitz Peace Treaty 1699,” article 11.

excesses, not unusual in the previous era, disappeared.¹⁵³ During the eighteenth century border incidents involving state actors were rare. They were the products of the state temporarily and partially losing control, and they did not come close to the serious incursions of previous centuries. From November 1755 until January 1756 there was a revolt in Belgrade, leading to insecurity and the rise of robbery aimed at the local population and or cross-border migrants, but not attacks on the Habsburg border guards.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ In some cases ensuring border security was critical. In 1716, just before the Habsburg-Ottoman War of 1716-1718, the Porte ordered border commanders to strictly avoid any actions that could be interpreted as contrary to the Peace Treaty of 1699, particularly border infringements. Drag. M. Pavlović, "Požarevački mir (1718. g.)," *Letopis Matice srpske* 207, no. 3 (1901): 40.

¹⁵⁴ Johann Paitsch to the Temesvarer Landesadministration (Provincial administration of the Banat of Temesvár – TLA), 30 November 1755, 2 December 1755, 23 December 1755, 10 January 1756; 31 January 1756; Sanitäts-Diarii von der Contumaz-Station Panzova pro January 1755, October 1755, November 1755, December 1755, January 1756, FHKA NHK Banat A 123. In 1777, badly paid Janissaries, ignoring the orders of Ottoman governors, were identified as one source of some border incidents. Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 2: 93-98.

Figure 1.1. The Habsburg-Ottoman Border and the Military Border 1700-1770



The Carlowitz Treaty enshrined the procedures and mechanisms to deal with eventual border incidents and disputes. To prevent escalation, a special border commission was to be formed “with equal numbers of righteous, impartial, clever, experienced and peace-loving members from both sides” to investigate all disputes, hear witness testimonies and give instructions on how to resolve them. More difficult cases were to be forwarded to central governments for decision.¹⁵⁵

The pacification process is reflected in the history of the Military Border. Military defense against the Ottomans ceased to be its primary role. The Habsburg side needed years to realize that the pacification was permanent. In the first two decades after the Karlowitz Peace, Vienna was worried that the Ottomans could use its involvement in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714), as well as the Rakoczi Rebellion (1703-1711) to attempt to re-conquer Hungary.¹⁵⁶ One of the stated reasons for the 1703 revolt in Edirne, in which the Sultan Mustafa II (1695-1703), who concluded the Karlowitz Peace, was deposed, was that he conceded too much territory to Christians.¹⁵⁷ After 1699, four Habsburg border captaincies (generalcies, “borders”) of the old Military Border in Hungary were dissolved, because the border moved hundreds of kilometers to the southeast. This was, however, followed after 1699 by an immediate organization of new Military Border sections along the new borderline. Two new “borders” were organized to completely cover the border between Croatia and Transylvania, where the Habsburgs and Ottomans were in direct contact: the Danube-Sava Border and, further to the east, the Tisza-Máros

¹⁵⁵ “Carlowitz Peace Treaty 1699,” article 11.

¹⁵⁶ Karl A. Roider, *Austria's Eastern Question, 1700-1709* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, 21-30, 44-48.

¹⁵⁷ Virginia H. Aksan, *Ottoman Wars 1700-1870: An Empire Besieged* (Harlow, UK: Pearson, 2007, 36-37.

Border.¹⁵⁸ The Military Border moved with the frontier, in accordance with the old defensive pre-1699 roles. However, in 1718, when Habsburg territory expanded further to the south, the Military Border did not move. By then it was already apparent that it had lost its major defensive function in the new border arrangement.¹⁵⁹ There had been no Ottoman raids in the peacetime after 1699. The rivalry for Hungary, which lasted for nearly two centuries, was resolved in 1718, with the Austrians conquering the last pieces of Hungarian lands, the Banat of Temesvár and the southeastern tip of Srem, as well as additional glacis in the Balkans. The Military Border struggled to find a new purpose, with some parts successfully surviving, like the Varaždin Border, while others not escaping the fate of being dissolved. The Tisza-Máros Border was thus dissolved in 1751-1752.¹⁶⁰ When the Military Border was eventually extended eastwards into Bačka, the Banat of Temesvár and into Transylvania in the 1760s, the main reason was not to provide a better defense against the Ottoman Empire. The Military Border became instead a source of inexpensive recruits for the other Habsburg theaters of war and a free workforce for cross-border mobility controls.

¹⁵⁸ The abolishment of Varaždin Generalcy in Slavonia was also expected after 1699. It was prevented by the Styrian estates, which controlled its military and funding and successfully pleaded in Vienna against the dissolution. The only “borders” whose future was not under question was the Karlovac Generalcy and the Petrinja (Banal) Border, both territorially expanded during the 1680s and the 1690s and both still bordering the Ottomans. Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence*, 84, 240-42.

¹⁵⁹ The realization was dated several decades later, in the middle of the eighteenth century, by Kaser, *Freier Bauer und Soldat*, 512-20. If the Ottomans were still perceived as a threat in the early eighteenth century, it would be difficult to explain why the Habsburgs failed to organize new military borders after 1718 in Banat, Serbia, Wallachia and Bosnia, all under full control by the central government at that time.

¹⁶⁰ Sonja Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat im 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg, 1967), 83-98.

The relative weakness of autonomous local and provincial powers and the existence of the centrally controlled Military Border gave the Habsburg central government more direct influence on frontier life. Unlike in other border regions of the Habsburg Monarchy, local and provincial authorities in the parts of Hungary that bordered the Ottomans stayed weak for decades. They struggled to organize noble assemblies. The Hungarian estates were not represented in the border delimitations following the 1699 treaty, although formally the borders of the Kingdom of Hungary were being determined. In addition, the Military Border was exempted from their jurisdiction and centrally controlled. In the regions on the border with the Ottomans, the central government in Vienna had more tools and fewer obstacles to introduce new policies than its counterparts elsewhere in Europe. It could use border military forces to suppress border violence, enforcing pacification.

While the violence by state actors was quickly put under control, the private violence was more difficult to control, banditry in particular. Robber bands could not be completely eradicated from the border region, despite substantial progress during the eighteenth century. The border regime was, namely, only one factor with an impact on banditry. The internal political and economic situation in both Empires was often more influential. Food crises, recruitments, tax increases or a Janissary rebellion could all lead to the decrease of security and protection and the increase of banditry. Thus between 1778 and 1788, between the War of Bavarian Succession and the last Habsburg-Ottoman war, there was a temporary uptick in the number of robber attacks, related to recruitment for and desertions from the Habsburg army.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ Slavko Gavrilović, *Hajdučija u Sremu u XVIII i početkom XIX veka* (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1986), 91, 108, 113-26.

In normal years, when there were no disorders and when the economic situation was not particularly bad, the fight against banditry was more successful. The commanders on both sides of the border were made explicitly responsible to eradicate banditry, not to give it a refuge, to work together with the other side, to extradite caught robbers or to resettle repentant and reformed criminals far away from the border.¹⁶² The border authorities had a number of tools available. On the one hand, there were harsh measures, like exemplary public torture and the execution of convicted robbers, collective responsibility of villages on whose territories robbers operated, pulling down isolated houses that robbers could use as a refuge and the compulsory concentration of villages for better supervision and defense. On the other hand, military authorities on the border promised rewards for information about robbers' whereabouts, as well as amnesties and resettlement for repentant former robbers, often under the condition that they kill or capture their former fellows.¹⁶³ Precisely separated and defined territorial jurisdictions assigned clear responsibilities to both sides, so that illegal activities would be quickly and efficiently put to an end. Habsburg and Ottoman border authorities were responsible for providing security to the subjects of the other side. If they failed to do so, they were obliged to compensate the victims for all the damages incurred. When in 1765 a robber band in Habsburg Srem took away about 20,000 guildens from an Ottoman merchant, the local authorities did not wait for Ottoman complaints. They immediately set out to find the robbers and to compensate the victims.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² "Carlowitz Peace Treaty 1699," article 9; "Passarowitz Peace Treaty 1718," article 14; "Belgrade Peace Treaty 1739," article 18.

¹⁶³ Gavrilović, *Hajdučija u Sremu*, 12-19.

¹⁶⁴ Gavrilović, *Hajdučija u Sremu*, 101-102.

Close and timely cooperation of the authorities on both sides of the border was often crucial for success against banditry. In 1745, the Band of Dijak, pursued by Habsburg authorities, was caught on Ottoman territory. Its members were executed in Belgrade.¹⁶⁵ In October 1786, a group of robbers, consisting of Habsburg subjects and operating in the Ottoman Empire, was pursued near Požarevac in a chase organized by local Muslim and non-Muslim inhabitants. One robber was killed, while two were caught alive. Jussuf Kussni, deputy (Kaimmekam) of the Belgrade governor, extradited the two to the commander of Habsburg Zemun for punishment.¹⁶⁶

The separation of jurisdictions in the border area could also complicate investigations and arrests. The bordering states had to correspond, cooperate and to work quickly, which was not always possible. The situation was even more difficult when there were three states and three jurisdictions, such as between Habsburg Croatia, Ottoman Bosnia and Venetian Dalmatia. When goodwill was lacking on one side, the whole system of robbery suppression could be brought to a halt. Well-connected and resourceful robber bands could use the strict separation of jurisdictions to their advantage. By the spring of 1758, the band of robbers known as “Satschwitsche,” composed of an extended family originally from Gacko (Ghatschka) in Herzegovina, became infamous in the wider region of Herzegovina, Dalmatia, west Bosnia and Habsburg Lika. Led by “Erz-Rauber” Istarscha (Staniša?), and consisting of male members of his extended family, the band first robbed the merchants on the road from Dubrovnik through Trebinje to Sarajevo in central Bosnia. From one Dubrovnik merchant they thus stole 3,600 Dubrovnik Thalers (Wishlin, vižlin) near Sarajevo. Pursued by Ottoman authorities, they moved with their families to Venetian territory near the fortress of Imotski (Eimutschka) from where they continued their

¹⁶⁵ Gavrilović, *Hajdučija u Sremu*, 87.

¹⁶⁶ IAB, ZM, 1786-1-161, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 663-64.

attacks. The Ottomans alerted the Venetian general in Dalmatia and Albania.¹⁶⁷ The robbers and their families, timely informed, escaped the approaching Venetian troops, which burned down the houses of the robber families and made local officials responsible for tolerating this group. The robbers then found refuge in the third country, in Habsburg Lika, near the triple border of Lika, Dalmatia and Bosnia. On the written request of the Ottoman governor of Bosnia *Elhadschi* Mohammed Pasha to arrest and extradite the whole group, the commander of this section of the Military Border, the General Petazzi, caught Istanscha and his brother Ilija, bringing them to his command in Karlovac for investigation, while the rest of the group was put under surveillance. As the testimonies of the Pasha's emissary Mihat from Sarajevo and his legal representative Mohamed proved the allegations, the deputy commander of the Karlovac Generalate ordered the seizure of the group's property as compensation to the robbed Ottoman merchants and the extradition of Ilija and Istanscha to the Ottoman authorities for trial, since they were Ottoman subjects. The gang of robbers, however, apparently successfully used the spoils from their crimes not only to sustain the network of informants on the territories of Venice, the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, but also to pay local officials to let them escape. The extradition failed. On the boundary between Habsburg Slunj and Ottoman Cetin, Mihat and Mohamed, witnessed what they perceived as a staged brawl between the robbers and their Habsburg military escort. They could only protest when the robbers were, instead of being extradited, supposedly returned to arrest in Gospić in Lika and were later allowed to escape again to Venetian territory. At that moment *Elhadschi* Mohamed Pasha appealed to the Habsburg court and Chancellor Kaunitz, warning that in the case of further inaction he would be forced to seek help from the Ottoman

¹⁶⁷ Here referring to Venetian Albania, a region of southeastern Herzegovina and coastal Montenegro, not to present day Albania.

Court.¹⁶⁸ The criminals used clearly separated jurisdictions to escape justice, aware of the fact that the respective authorities were not allowed to pursue them across demarcated boundaries. The official cross-border cooperation included the correspondence between border commanders in two languages, Ottoman Turkish and German, with translators, formal requests and separate investigations. The procedure could be long, giving criminals ample time to escape extradition by crossing to other territory. An added sabotage on the part of mid- and low-level officials could be decisively crippling in the fight against cross-border crime.

The persistence of border bandits should not be seen as a failure of the border regime. Robber bands operated also in the interior of both Empires. They were present also in the interior of Habsburg Srem and Banat.¹⁶⁹ More importantly, there was a clearly decreasing occurrence of banditry during the eighteenth century. Robbery was a greater problem in the early eighteenth century, particularly in sparsely inhabited areas with a dispersed population. During that time there were dozens of robber bands, counting from three to fifteen persons, just in the relatively small region of Srem. Some robber attacks were so vicious that the peasants from the three villages of Molovin, Gibarac and Kaletinac decided to collectively emigrate to the Ottoman Empire to find refuge from the terror of multiple robber bands. At that moment the Ottoman Empire apparently provided better security to its subjects. In 1722 the War Council in Vienna instructed General Petrasch, the Commander of Slavonia, not to give passports to Ottoman subjects if they planned to pass through

¹⁶⁸ The translation of a letter of Muhamed Pasha to the Commander of the Karlovac Generalate, Travnik, 19 May 1758; the translation of the letter of Elhadschi Muhamed Pasha, the governor of Bosnia, to the Prince Kaunitz, Travnik, 12 June 1758, HHStA StAbt Türkei III 4.

¹⁶⁹ TLA to Hofkammer, Temesvár 4 December 1773; zum Rath Protocolle, 27 December 1773, 1773 December 377; Hofkammer to TLA, Vienna, 2 April 1774, 1774 April 38, FHKA NHK Kaale Ö Akten 1537. See Gavrilović, *Hajdučija u Sremu*.

insecure areas because of potentially high subsequent compensation costs.¹⁷⁰ The rate of banditry steeply diminished after 1745, with the territorialization of the Petrovaradin regiments apparently playing the main role.¹⁷¹ In addition to the existing clear territorial separation of jurisdictions between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans, the new arrangement also separated the Military Border from civil Slavonia, removed civil enclaves and mixed settlements, putting all border inhabitants under military jurisdiction. Territorially defined jurisdiction that spread deeper into the interior was necessary to deal more successfully with banditry. It would suggest a strong positive correlation between territorialization and successful population supervision, particularly mobility control. These changes made life both for border residents and for travelers from both empires much safer.

Linear delimitations between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans predated similar processes in other parts of Europe. They owed a lot to the Ottomans. The Ottoman negotiators in Carlowitz 1699 suggested the linear demarcations as the best way to clearly separate jurisdictions. It was a well-established procedure in the Ottoman Empire already in the fifteenth century, a model with which its administration was very familiar and which it used both for inner (state lands/pious foundations) and outer boundaries. This was no surprise. The Ottoman central administration was capable of directing and carrying out systematic land surveys of newly acquired possessions decades and centuries before large monarchies in other parts of Europe could. It was also able to develop advanced, centrally directed border procedures. These practices and procedures were adopted by the Habsburgs and used in subsequent delimitations with the Ottomans. Compared to similar cases that predated

¹⁷⁰ Gavrilović, *Hajdučija u Sremu*, 10-17, 20, 32, 35-36, 47, 241-45.

¹⁷¹ Gavrilović, *Hajdučija u Sremu*, 91, 95.

the Habsburg-Ottoman delimitation (between the Ottoman Empire, on the one hand, and Venice and Poland-Lithuania, on the other), the Habsburg side had a more active role in the development of linear delimitations. It improved principles and techniques of linear separation.

The transfer of administrative practice of delimitation from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Monarchy seems to be in line with previous and later similar exchanges, where, for example, tax collection, provincial organization or non-territorial regulation of autonomy was taken over by the conquering side. As with these other cases, the use of delimitations seems to have been limited to the border with the Ottoman Empire, more specifically to the western section from the Banat of Temesvár to the Adriatic Sea. The border between Transylvania and the Ottoman vassal principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as other Habsburg external and internal borders were demarcated from the middle of the eighteenth century, as a part of pan-continental “movement of delimitations.”

The new territorially defined arrangement affected mobility and migrations in the border area. The transformation of jurisdictional to territorial sovereignty changes the relationship not only between the state and physical territory, but also between the state and individual subjects. The separation of territory and resources, implemented with greater precision over the century, implied increased involvement of the Habsburg central government. Individual and collective possessions and rights of use were clearly separated and defined, and their use was regulated. Compared to the situation elsewhere in the Monarchy, the local population had less influence on the regulation of border life. They had to follow the rules and regulations that were agreed in Habsburg-Ottoman treaties or promulgated by central bodies in Vienna, by the military administration and the War Council in particular.

The Habsburg Monarchy controlled entry to its jurisdiction more and more by using the border as the point where access to border resources and to the border area in general could be allowed or denied. This was a new function of the border, which grew increasingly important with the advance of the territorial state. In normal circumstances outer boundaries were not points of control at that time elsewhere. On the Habsburg-Ottoman border, however, cross-border mobility was limited, closely regulated and supervised. This changed migrants' experiences of the border crossing, restricting the freedom of movement and making mobility and migration more visible.

On the other hand, pacification and defortification of the frontier, the prohibition of violence by state actors, the clear obligation of border authorities to provide safety and security in the border zone to the subjects of both empires, including the fight against banditry, could have facilitated permitted mobility and migrations. A greater presence of border military and a closer control of the border population promised to make travel in the border region as safe as travel inside the respective empires. An unambiguous territorial separation of powers and a clear definition of responsibilities in the border region of Srem, for example, led to a significant drop in banditry. This facilitating function of linear and closely supervised borders is particularly significant. It suggests that precisely demarcated borders with restricted and closely regulated mobility could have a contradictory impact on migrations and mobility. They restricted the movements but also increased certainty and safety for migrants. A few decades after the Treaty of Carlowitz of 1699, the Habsburg Monarchy introduced new border policies with similar contradictory effects. The goal of compulsory quarantines, introduced at the Habsburg-Ottoman border in the 1720s, was to stop contagious diseases on the border. It tried to make cross-border migration even safer by further restricting mobility and by closely supervising cross-border migrations.

CHAPTER 2: BORDER CONTROLS TO PROTECT FREE TRAVEL

From the 1720s onward, a permanent sanitary cordon existed along the whole length of the Habsburg-Ottoman land border, on the Habsburg side. Every person and certain goods were subjected to compulsory quarantine before being allowed to enter Habsburg territory. For more than a century all migrants had to take into account extra time and additional costs for quarantine. It increased the burden on travel, justified by the fight against epidemic diseases, the plague in particular. However, when the sanitary cordon was introduced, its official goal was not to undercut, but to protect free travel and trade between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy from epidemic diseases.

This was an atypical goal for a sanitary cordon. They were usually introduced to curb traffic between infected and uninfected areas until the epidemic would disappear. Such a regime was created, for example, during the Plague of Marseille (1720-1723). All migrants were systematically controlled not only in Provence, where the plague was present, but also in the rest of France and in many neighboring countries. Only the migrants with official certificates proving they were healthy, and whose travel was indispensable, were permitted to cross the sanitary cordons on internal and external borders.¹⁷² The duration of the sanitary cordon was also atypical. Sanitary cordons were usually of a temporary nature, introduced to seal off a region where an epidemic was present. They were seen as a necessary evil, because they negatively affected economic activity and prices, depressing trade. They were therefore abolished once it

¹⁷² Denis, "The Invention of Mobility," 363-64.

was certain that the danger had passed. How could something, typically designed and used to temporarily stop or significantly decrease mobility and traffic, be used to facilitate free travel?

In this chapter, I will first examine the motives behind the introduction of the land sanitary cordon. The need to stop the plague by restricting traffic and the ambition to facilitate traffic and encourage commerce were seemingly two conflicting goals. The Pestkordon prehistory, the rise and fall of the first Pestkordon in the 1720s and the 1730s, and the establishment of the second, definite mobility-control regime after 1740 reveal how the Habsburg Monarchy struggled to resolve this inbuilt contradiction. A look at the organization of sanitary administration and the decision-making processes on central, provincial and local levels can help us determine whether the system was designed to be flexible and to adapt to local circumstances. I will also examine the collection and exchange of sanitary intelligence. Active and passive collection of news and rumors about epidemics and the speed of response in adjusting the quarantine regime reveal how the mandate to protect public health was reconciled with the mandate to facilitate traffic. My examination aims to show how the system adapted to local circumstance, in particular how Habsburg officials closely followed the health circumstances in the Ottoman Empire, and how the length of quarantine was adjusted to them. A strict reaction and a greater restriction of traffic when an epidemic was imminent would suggest that public health had priority. A more flexible approach, with active intelligence collection and examinations, different regimes on different sections of the border and a reluctance to close the border altogether in all but extreme circumstances, would suggest that the border regime tried to prioritize free travel.

Commerce, Plague and Free Travel

There were two powerful tightly interwoven motives behind the decision to establish mobility control on this border: the danger of plague epidemics and commercial ambitions. For a long time, the Habsburg Monarchy had been attempting to take part in what was seen as a very lucrative trade with the Ottoman Empire. Other European states, such as Venice, France, the United Provinces and England, had been profiting from this trade for decades, even centuries. The Habsburg Monarchy, the nearest Ottoman land neighbor, with direct approaches both to the Mediterranean and to Ottoman European provinces, was not a member of this group of beneficiaries. The Habsburg court attempted to change that situation from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, with little success. The position of Vienna improved after the victories in the War of 1683-1699. Concentrated on territorial acquisitions and on the redefinition of their bilateral relations, the Habsburg negotiators did not pay much attention to commerce. Article 14 of the Carlowitz Treaty of 1699 guaranteed free trade and safety of merchants and their goods. The Habsburgs were not granted, however, the exemption from all taxes except a single three-percent customs duty and other privileges the French, English and Dutch enjoyed.¹⁷³ In addition, treating the Adriatic as its internal sea, Venice stopped and inspected ships heading to the Habsburg ports, charging protection duties. This kept the Habsburg ports virtually closed for foreign merchants.

¹⁷³ Customs rates ranged from 2%, paid by Ragusians, 3%, paid by French, English and Dutch, to 5%, paid by Venetians. De Groot, "The historical Development of the Capitulatory Regime:" 581, 593, 599. Poles enjoyed the status of the "most favored nation" after 1580. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 185-87, 343. The Habsburg envoys at the Ottoman court unsuccessfully attempted to renegotiate this question on several occasions between 1704 and 1714. Pešalj, "Making a Prosperous Peace," 143-44.

These arrangements changed in 1717-1718. In 1717, the Habsburg court declared Trieste and Rijeka (Fiume) free ports, guaranteeing protection to visiting merchants. Venice, involved in an unsuccessful war with the Ottomans, and relying on Vienna as its only ally, had to accept this, abolishing inspections and protection charges. In 1718 in Passarowitz (Požarevac), after another successful war, the Habsburgs negotiated a separate commercial treaty with the Ottoman court, regulating trade, navigation and consular protection. Habsburg and Ottoman subjects were allowed to visit all markets in both empires.¹⁷⁴ The merchants from both sides were exempted from all taxes and duties except a single three-percent customs duty. Being under direct protection of the respective courts, the subject of both empires were mutually exempted from local jurisdictions.¹⁷⁵ The Habsburg subjects finally had the same rights and privileges in the Ottoman Empire as their European commercial competitors, while enjoying what they perceived as the benefit of geographic proximity. Vienna intended to use the new trade provisions to realize mercantilist ambitions. It expected to run huge trade surpluses, by importing Oriental goods and raw materials directly from the Ottoman Empire and by exporting finished goods to the Ottoman market. The economic exchange between two empires steadily grew throughout the eighteenth century, particularly in the second half with the development of textile industry and cotton trade. It reached a peak in 1775-1815.¹⁷⁶ The Habsburg Monarchy ran, however, a negative trade balance with the Ottomans throughout the eighteenth century.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ Habsburg boats could also dock all Ottoman ports, with the exception of Black Sea ports, where non-Ottoman boats were not allowed.

¹⁷⁵ Pešalj, "Making a Prosperous Peace," 141-47.

¹⁷⁶ Anna Ransmayr, "Greek Presence in Habsburg Vienna: Heyday and Decline," in *Across the Danube: Southeastern Europeans and Their Travelling Identities (17th–19th C.)*, ed. Olga Katsiardi-Hering and Maria A. Stassinopoulou (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 136-39; Vaso Seirinidou, "Greek Migration in Vienna (18th – First Half of the 19th Century): A Success Story?" in *Across the Danube*, 114, 120-21.

¹⁷⁷ Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, 60-72, 78, 146-201.

Before it could engage in commerce with the Ottomans, the Habsburg Monarchy had to introduce an essential element into its commercial plans: sanitary protection, particularly against plague epidemics. Since the Black Death pandemics in Europe (1347-1351) until the late seventeenth century, plague epidemics periodically devastated parts of the continent.¹⁷⁸ Plague epidemics spread quickly, decimated cities and the countryside, wiped out whole families and communities, and halted travel and economic activity. The affected regions needed years or even decades to recover. A generally shared belief was that the plague had a divine origin. In Christian Europe, it was interpreted as a sign of divine disfavor and a punishment for sins, views that persisted into the eighteenth century.¹⁷⁹ In September 1764, the Empress Maria Theresa ordered public prayers in the Kingdom of Hungary, the Banat of Temesvár, and in the Generalates of Karlovac and Varaždin as a measure of gratefulness to God for preserving Habsburg dominions from the plague that was raging in Ottoman Bosnia.¹⁸⁰

There was a medical explanation as well, or, to be more precise, two competing medical theories. The prevailing theory was that the plague, along with other contagious diseases, was caused by “miasma,” a poisonous vapor that could stick to

¹⁷⁸ The bacillus *Yersinia pestis*, identified only in 1894, causes the disease in rodents and humans. In its most common form, it attacked the lymphatic system, manifesting in swollen lymph nodes, buboes. This bubonic plague spread indirectly from rats or infected humans via infected rat fleas. The death rates much varied, with an average around fifty percent. The rarer but more virulent form, pneumonic plague, spread directly between humans and was almost always deadly.

¹⁷⁹ Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State*, 58; Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, 43. The appropriate response for the mitigation of the God’s anger was comunal prayer and days of repentance. This was the first thing, for example, that the subjects of Inner Austria were asked to do against the plague in 1710. Pest-Ordnung, Graz, 14 October 1710, FHKA SUS Patente 43.15.

¹⁸⁰ Resolution wegen Anordnung eines Allgemeinen Gebettes zu Abwendung der Pest, Maria Theresia to the TLA; to the Ban of Croatia, Count Nadasd, and Friedrich; to the interims Commando of the Carlstädter Generalat, Vienna, 18 September 1764. Also to the Hungarian Hof-Canzley, 1764 September 4, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

people, animals and goods. Miasma would disturb the humoral balance of a healthy body, causing sickness.¹⁸¹ It was suggested that the plague was created spontaneously, in places like Egypt, from putrefying animal and plant materials, and then transferred directly between persons through the air.¹⁸² Poisonous earth evaporations were cited as the source of plague in Hungary in 1712 by the Habsburg government.¹⁸³

Leaving infected communities was seen as a reasonable precaution against the plague for centuries.¹⁸⁴ Well-off Ottoman families left cities during epidemics for the safer countryside.¹⁸⁵ In 1792, in Ottoman Serbia, the rural population around Smederevo and in the Velika Morava Valley, around the towns of Hasan-pašina

¹⁸¹ This was in line with an ancient theory, starting with the ancient Greek physician Hippocrates (born around 460 BC), who emphasized the influence of the environment on human health. See Hipokrat, *O vrstama vazduha, vode i mesta* [Hippocrates, *Airs Waters Places*], trans. Divna Stevanović (Sremski Karlovci: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, 2007).

¹⁸² Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*, 31, 33-49; Panzac, "Politique sanitaire:" 90-91; Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, 44; Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, 114; Eckart, "Epidemie:" 358-59; Vitaux, *Histoire de la Peste*, 134, 145-46. In 1546, an Italian Physician Girolamo Fracastoro offered an alternative explanation. He formulated the germ theory, explaining that minuscule bodies, transferred from one person to the other by indirect or direct contact or through air, caused infectious diseases. Mainstream medical science, however, did not accept this rival theory until the very end of the nineteenth century, when the responsible microorganisms were identified. Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*, 102-112; Vitaux, *Histoire de la Peste*, 135; Heinz Flamm, "Carl Ludwig Sigmund Ritter von Ilanor, der Begründer der Venerologie, ein früher Krankenhaus-Hygieniker und österreichischer Epidemiologie im Dienste der europäischen Volksgesundheit. Zur 200. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages in August 1810," *Wiener klinische Wochenschrift/Middle European Journal of Medicine* 122 (2010): 502-504.

¹⁸³ Contagionspatent für Ungarn, 25 February 1712, FHKA SUS Patente 43.6. A Habsburg official in Slavonia, Friedrich Wilhelm von Taube claimed in 1777 that a pestilent tassel (Quast) of a sabre of an unidentified Habsburg officer returning from the Ottoman Empire had caused an epidemic, with everyone touching the tassel falling sick. Taube also considered that a cause of the Marseille plague of 1720-1723 was a small sample of cotton. Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 2: 93-98.

¹⁸⁴ Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, 44-45.

¹⁸⁵ Fleeing pestilent communities was a practice approved by the the sixteenth century Law Code of Süleyman the Magnificent. Bulmuş, *Plague, Quarantines, and Geopolitics*, 23-29.

Palanka, Čuprija, Jagodina, and Bagrdan (Bogardan) behaved similarly. They left villages and went deep into forests with their cattle, provisions and belongings, where they built straw cottages to stay until the epidemic passed. The Ottoman garrison of Smederevo closed itself in the fortress, after several Muslim women and children died from the plague in the Smederevo town.¹⁸⁶ The Habsburg Monarchy in the eighteenth century, however, did not approve flight as an acceptable reaction. By that time, the attitude toward the plague and particularly toward the role of the state had profoundly changed, emphasizing the importance of prophylactic measures.

Mediterranean urban communities introduced the first active anti-plague policies already in the fourteenth century. In 1377, the city of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) introduced thirty days of isolation for ships coming from plague-infested places. This was later extended to forty days, giving the name quarantine to the isolation practice, from the Italian *quarantina*, forty days. The first quarantines were provisional, established when an epidemic was approaching and abolished after it ceased. The first permanent quarantine institution, specifically for the plague, was founded in 1423 in Venice. In 1471, this city made quarantine compulsory for persons and goods, particularly for foreign merchants and for returning Venetian traders. Other Mediterranean ports soon followed this example. At the end of the seventeenth century, central governments of large states began to take over the sanitary jurisdiction from cities and local governments.¹⁸⁷ They organized central medical boards, which drafted the legislation,

¹⁸⁶ Captain Friedrich Baron Carlovitz to the commander of cordon, Lieutenant Colonel von Simonovitz, Kovin, 18 September 1792; Oberlieutenant Simonovich [to the Military Command in Temesvár], Pančevo, 19 September 1792; A report of Soro to Hofkriegsrat (the Court War Council – HKR), Temesvár, 23 September 1792, HHStA StAbt Türkei III 7.

¹⁸⁷ Previously, the initiative came from the local level. The City of London in 1603 regulated how to mark pestilent houses and how to restrict access to them. Bulmuş, *Plague, Quarantines, and Geopolitics*, 50-52, 113-14.

standardized the training and supervised the work of physicians, surgeons, barbers, midwives, and pharmacists. These boards issued ordinances during epidemics, restricting and regulating the movement of people and goods from infected areas. Practices of identifying and separating potentially contagious individuals became an important piece of the regime to protect the public health over all state territory, so much so that they were perceived as a system in which all civilized countries must participate.¹⁸⁸ Major sanitary boards in Europe were in constant correspondence, exchanging news and rumors about plague and other epidemic diseases. This international system also involved health certificates (*bolette di sanità*). Italian cities introduced them in the second half of the fifteenth century during plague epidemics as a proof that the person arriving had departed healthy from his/her last stop and could be allowed to pass the city gates.¹⁸⁹ By the eighteenth century, this became a compulsory identification document for the travelers coming from pestilent areas, particularly from the Ottoman Empire. Sanitary boards mutually recognized sanitary certificates for individuals and goods. A merchant could undergo quarantine in one country and then enter another without additional sanitary procedures. Emir Ismael, an Ottoman merchant with residence in Vienna in 1767, entered the Habsburg Monarchy through Venice with no additional quarantine.¹⁹⁰

The operation of quarantines was based more on experience than on contemporary medical knowledge. It was learned from practice that the separation and forty-days isolation of pestilent ships, houses, city quarters, places and regions

¹⁸⁸ Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State*, 120-21, 130-31; Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*, 31-33, 198; Shamir, "Without Borders:" 206-207.

¹⁸⁹ Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*, 90-93; Groebner, "Describing the Person," 20; Groebner, *Der Schein der Person*, 127; Jütte, "Entering a City:" 212-13.

¹⁹⁰ *Konskription der Türken und türkischen Untertanen in Wien, 1766*, HHStA StAbt Türkei V 27 Konv. 7.

from not infected parts of the city or the country, as well as a compulsory quarantine for newcomers, slowed the spread of plague epidemics.¹⁹¹ Newcomers were first interrogated and inspected, then sorted into three major groups, according to the place of origin and medical inspection: clean, suspicious and those coming from infected places. The duration of the quarantine depended on this classification. It lasted usually from two to three weeks for those coming from healthy places, to forty days for people coming from infected places. In the Habsburg Monarchy in the eighteenth century there were three standardized quarantine regimes of different lengths: twenty-one days for healthy times (*Gesunde Zeit*), twenty-eight for suspicious periods (*suspecte Zeit*) and forty-two days or complete closure for pestilent circumstances (*würkliche Pest/Tempore Pestis*).¹⁹² The people undergoing quarantine were isolated and separated from one another. Under the influence of physicians, who played an important role in writing sanitary regulations, and the prevalent *miasma* theory, there were cleaning procedures, designed to eradicate dangerous *miasmas* from clothes, animals and other goods. The goods were categorized according to their perceived ability to attract and carry pestilent *miasmas*, and were cleaned accordingly.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*, 31, 33-49, 90-93; Panzac, "Politique sanitaire:" 90-91; Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, 44; Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, 114; Eckart, "Epidemie:" 358-59; Vitaux, *Histoire de la Peste*, 134, 145-46.

¹⁹² The Sanitätshofdeputation to the Banat Provincial Administration, Vienna, 27 March 1761; a copy for the Slavonian Sanitary Commission and the Transylvanian Sanitary Commission, 1761 Martius 5, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1; Generalsanitätsnormativum, 2 January 1770, *Sammlung aller k. k. Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1740. bis 1780.*, vol. 6: 33-112.

¹⁹³ Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*, 33-49; Bulmuş, *Plague, Quarantines, and Geopolitics*, 41-43. The adherents of *miasma* theory were so self-assured, that they dismissed in 1739 quarantine as unnecessary, as a concession to popular superstition. As explained in one instruction for the Habsburg personnel in plague-infested Belgrade, good cleaning destroys completely the plague toxin. The author considered subsequent quarantine unnecessary, and kept only to satisfy popular superstition. "es zwar wahr sey, daß die von dem Gifft mundificirte Persohnen niemand ansteckhen können, nichts destoweniger, weillen das Volckh vor den jenigen Persohnen, welche kein Quarantaine ausgestanden,

By the time the Habsburg border sanitary protections were introduced, the plague, which had revisited Europe in intervals since the fourteenth century, began to disappear from the continent, first in Western Europe, Spain, Italy, and Portugal from the 1670s, after 1715 in Scandinavia and the Baltics, after 1772 in Moscow and central Russia.¹⁹⁴ The outbreaks of 1720-1723 in Provence, of 1743 in Messina, or of 1795-1796 in Habsburg Srem (Syrmia) were successfully contained and suppressed.

The plague came to be associated with the Ottoman Empire gradually. Before 1517, the plague usually arrived in the Ottoman Empire from the West, from the Christian Mediterranean states and possessions, every ten years. Things began to change with the Ottoman annexation of Syria and Egypt in 1517 from the Mamlūks, when major pilgrimage places, trade centers and caravan routes came under Ottoman control. Plague spread along the same routes, using pilgrims and merchants as its carriers. The conquest of the Island of Rhodes in 1522 and of Cyprus in 1571 put the Eastern Mediterranean firmly under Ottoman control. On ships, plague epidemics spread faster and reached further. Between 1517 and 1570, the frequency of plague epidemics in the sultan's lands increased from one in every ten years to one in every three years. After 1570, the plague was virtually always present in the Ottoman Empire, with an endemic status in Istanbul, "self-sustaining plague-producing engine."¹⁹⁵ The regime of free travel through the vast Ottoman possessions on three

ein Abscheü traget, und sich vor ihnen fürchtet; dahero um gemelten Abscheü und Forcht zu benennen, wird die Quarantaine nach der Mundification observiret. " Substances with sharp odors or with strong chemical properties such as boiling vinegar, lye (Lauge), the smoke from sulfur, saltpeter, coal and black resin would eradicate toxic miasmas. Weis und Manier Wie die inficirte Häuser, Mobilia, und suspecte Persohnen Vor der Quarantaine zu Reinigen seyn, [1739], KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1.

¹⁹⁴ Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*, 5; Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, 40.

¹⁹⁵ Varlık, "Conquest, Urbanization and Plague Networks," 252-61. The frequency of plague epidemics in Ottoman Europe in the eighteenth century (41-64 of 100 years) was approximately similar to that in

continents, with no quarantine protection, facilitated the spread of plague. By the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was perceived as a source of plague. The Habsburg central sanitary administration routinely noted in 1761: “in Turkey the plague [is] almost always present.”¹⁹⁶

It is not entirely clear why preventive measures such as isolation and compulsory quarantines were not introduced in the Ottoman Empire earlier. It does not seem that medicine and religion played an important role in the late emergence of proactive preventive measures. As in Europe, the *miasma* theory was prevalent in the Islamic world. Birsen Bulmuş identifies “the rise of mercantilism and overseas commercial development in north-western Europe... [of] a state-led program of economic development and radical social change...” between 1600 and 1800, as a key factor absent in the Ottoman Empire. With Ottoman maritime commerce under foreign control, the commercial incentive was missing.¹⁹⁷

Before Vienna could follow its commercial ambitions in the Ottoman Empire, it was necessary to introduce an effective system, which could guarantee that the Habsburg Monarchy would be free of any epidemics: sanitary regulation, sanitary administration and sanitary services in which all people and goods from the Ottoman Empire would be checked. As elsewhere, the first step was to organize port

Western and Eastern Europe from 1347 to 1650 (29-61 of 100). Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*, 11-12.

¹⁹⁶ “als fast immer in Turcico sich Pestseuchen spüren lassen.” Maria Theresia to TLA, Vienna, 27 March 1761, 1761 Martius 5, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1.

¹⁹⁷ Bulmuş, *Plague, Quarantines, and Geopolitics*, 8-12, 15-23, 30-33, 39-43, 47, 57, 63. This situation lasted until 1838, when the Ottomans introduced their own sanitary controls and quarantine. In the following years plague began to disappear, in 1840 from the Balkans, in 1842 from Syria, from 1843 from Anatolia, and then in 1844 from Egypt. Pockets of plague survived in Kurdistan, southwest Arabia and Cyrenaica until the 1890s. Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*, 19-21, 95, 101-102.

facilities.¹⁹⁸ The quarantines were first established in Habsburg Adriatic ports, Trieste and in Rijeka in the 1720s, using the Venetian regulations as a model.

The Habsburg Monarchy also shared a long land border with the Ottoman Empire, being separated not only by a sea, but also by a river or an artificial line. Vienna planned to develop not only maritime trade with the Ottomans, but also land commerce, making adequate sanitary protection more urgent and more complicated. Inside the continent, it was more difficult to control communications and to stop infections. While port quarantines were permanent facilities, land quarantines were organized only in exceptional cases, when the danger of epidemics was imminent. The cordons were disbanded after epidemics. A system of temporary sanitary cordons successfully defended Paris from the plague from the northeast in 1667-1668. Venice organized temporary land cordons in 1743 and in 1783-1784 in Istria, because of the plague in Bosnia and Dalmatia.¹⁹⁹

Like the Habsburg Monarchy, Venice had strong commercial connections with the Ottomans,²⁰⁰ and in its oversea dominions it shared land borders with the Ottomans. The Venetian solution was to combine permanent port quarantines with

¹⁹⁸ The countries that maintained active trade relations with the Ottomans had different sanitary arrangements. Some countries did not need permanent quarantines. In 1721, the British Quarantine Act delegated sanitary control to British consuls in the Mediterranean. They were responsible for issuing a clean or a foul bill of health to a ship coming from the eastern Mediterranean. If this control should fail, and a pestilent ship set out for England from Ottoman waters, the signs of the disease would emerge long before its arrival at the destination. Bulmuş, *Plague, Quarantines, and Geopolitics*, 50-52; Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*, 195. Other countries, like France, maintained an active quarantine system in their ports.

¹⁹⁹ Lesky, "Die österreichische Pestfront," 82-83; Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*, 57-63; Panzac, "Politique sanitaire," 90-92; Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, 114; Denis, "The Invention of Mobility," 363-64; Varlık, "Conquest, Urbanization and Plague Networks," 252-61.

²⁰⁰ I am not aware of comparative permanent mobility-control regimes organized by other Ottoman neighbors, Russia and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Quarantine stations there were usually provisional and set up when an immediate danger of epidemics existed.

provisional land cordons. Venetians established in 1592 a quarantine station in the port town of Split, in Venetian Dalmatia, to accept the caravans from Ottoman Bosnia.²⁰¹ When there was a plague in Herzegovina or Bosnia, Venetian authorities would draw a provisional cordon near the boundary. In healthy times, a less expensive system of escorted caravans was in use. Ottoman merchants from Herzegovina and Bosnia would reach the Venetian-Ottoman border in Dalmatia as a group. From there on, they traveled to seaports, such as Split, under Venetian military escort, preventing contact with the local population. After their business was completed, Venetian military would escort them back to Ottoman territory. Those wanting to remain longer in Dalmatia or to set sail elsewhere had to go to the Split quarantine station first. Venetians, eager to attract Ottoman commerce, considered this system convenient for Ottoman merchants.²⁰² The major flaw was that the system did not spare Dalmatia from plague, with periodic epidemics in 1731, 1733, 1763-1764, 1766, 1771 and 1783-84, which the provisional sanitary cordons did not always contain.²⁰³ The Venetians could afford regional outbreaks, because the infected provinces were separated by sea from the rest of the Venetian maritime empire and could be easily isolated if necessary.²⁰⁴

The Venetian system was inadequate for the Habsburg Monarchy. The Habsburg authorities would need to organize many caravans at different points, and they would need to escort them much longer to reach their commercial centers. In addition, with

²⁰¹ Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*, 190.

²⁰² [Sanitäts Hof Deputation] to Maria Theresia, Vienna, 28 October 1769, 1769-October-16, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

²⁰³ On one occasion, the epidemics ravaged Split, even reaching the island of Brač. Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*, 86-88.

²⁰⁴ As Dalmatia was in 1766. Sanitäts- Deputation to the Empress Maria Theresa, Vienna, 21 May 1766, 1766-Junius-1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

the Venetian system being not totally efficient in preventing epidemics, and with no sea or similar barrier to protect the Habsburg core provinces, the plague could easily spread from Transylvania or Southern Hungary to Lower Austria or Bohemia, as the years of experimentation with provisional land sanitary cordons had shown.

The First Permanent Sanitary Cordon and Its Collapse

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the Habsburg Monarchy attempted to protect its dominions from the plague with provisional sanitary cordons.²⁰⁵ They were, however, only partially successful, slowing down but failing to stop epidemics.

Between 1703 and 1716 there was a large epidemic of plague in central and eastern Europe, reaching Russia, Sweden, Hamburg, Bremen, and The Hague in Holland. It entered Hungary in 1709, at the close of Rákóczi's Rebellion (1703-1711). The Habsburg authorities ordered the formation of provisional internal cordons, to protect healthy provinces, such as Inner Austria, in 1710. Infected regions were isolated and closed; cavalry patrols were sent to their borders. The arriving passengers were redirected to quarantine stations. The plague nevertheless reached Inner and Upper Austria, Bohemia and even Vienna in 1712.²⁰⁶ Similar measures were more successful in 1719, protecting the Austrian and Bohemian provinces and Vienna, but not Hungary and newly conquered northern Serbia and Lesser Wallachia.²⁰⁷ During the

²⁰⁵ The Habsburg border commissioner Marsigli, proposed the establishment of a permanent sanitary cordon for the protection of the Habsburg lands from plague epidemics in the Ottoman Empire after 1699. This was not accepted. See Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 57-67; Kołodziejczyk, "Between Universalistic Claims," 207, 209.

²⁰⁶ Pest-Ordnung, 14 October 1710, FHKA SUS Patente 43.15.

²⁰⁷ The order of the Landeshauptmann of Upper Austria about the closure of the Ottoman border and other sanitary measures, 25 September 1719, 1719 September 1, Hofdecret to the Government

early 1720s, the Habsburg Monarchy continued to establish sanitary cordons and quarantine stations when a new epidemic approached and to abolish them in healthy times.²⁰⁸ Each epidemic would slow down or stop traffic of persons and goods between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires. It was difficult to reconcile this situation with Vienna's commercial ambitions in the east.

This changed in the late 1720s. During the 1726-1727 plague epidemic, the border quarantines and the land cordons were made effectively permanent.²⁰⁹ In September 1726, upon learning about an outbreak of plague epidemic in the Ottoman capital and in Morea (Peloponnesus), the Sanitary Court Commission instructed the Habsburg military to introduce a twenty-one-day quarantine for persons on land borders with the Ottomans. At that moment, some border crossings already had permanent quarantine facilities.²¹⁰ In July 1727, the Sanitary Court Commission advised that the quarantine for people could be reduced to fourteen days, but not abolished. From then on, the quarantine time was extended and reduced, according to

(Regierung) of the Lower Austria pro Anno 1719, 1719 November 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

²⁰⁸ Thus, on 8 July 1723 the Court Sanitary Commission decided to abolish quarantine for persons in Habsburg Serbia, while keeping quarantine for some goods. Sanitätshofkommission, 8 July 1723, 1723 Julius 1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

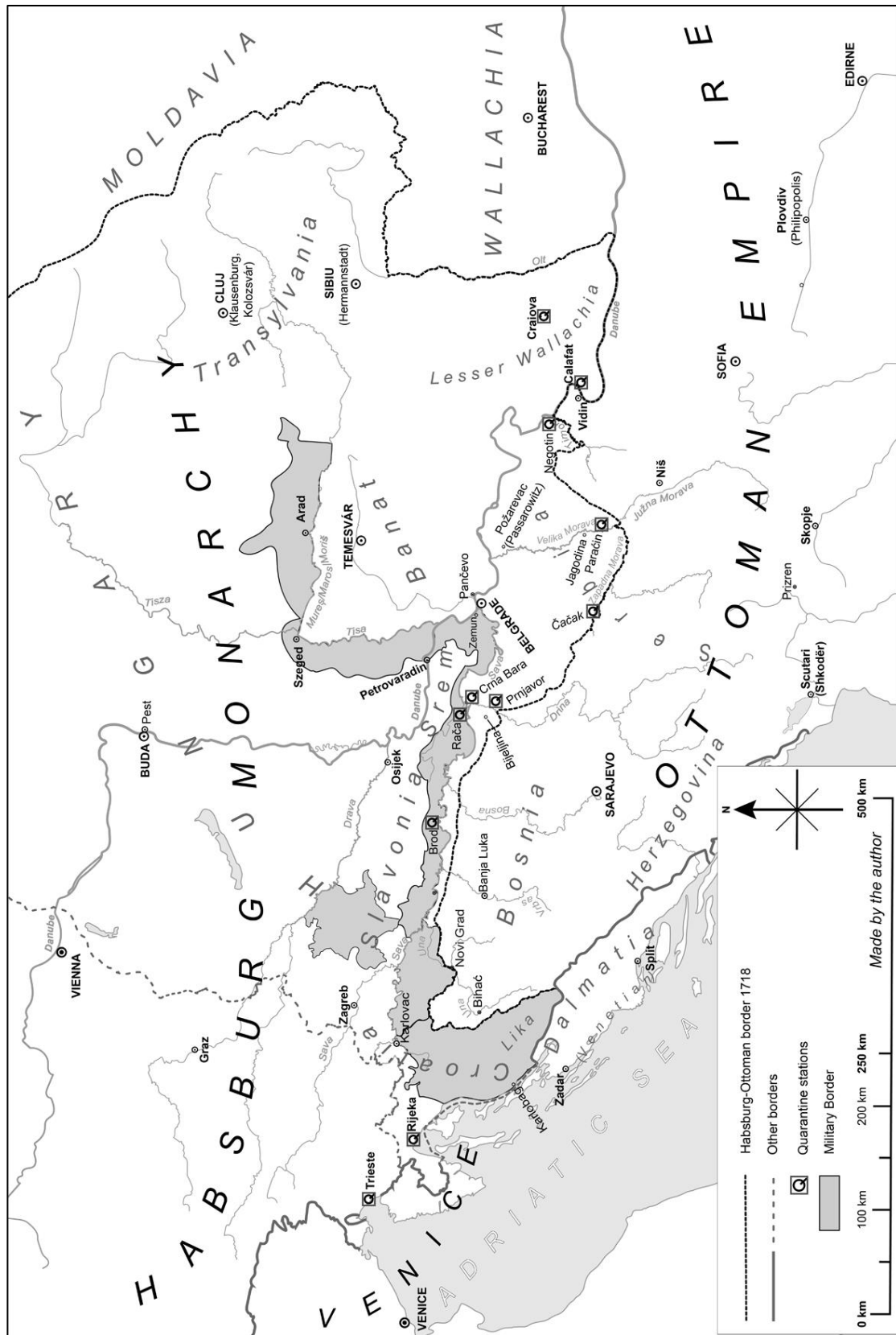
²⁰⁹ Permanence was a specific Habsburg innovation, noted by Panzac. Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*, 70-71. Erna Lesky dates the formal decision to make quarantine measures continuous to 22 October 1728. Some elements of the system were already in place before that date, and others were introduced only in the 1730s. The duty of border militia to provide cordon guards, for example, was defined already in 1710. Lesky, "Die österreichische Pestfront," 84, 86-87. The dating of the cordon start only in 1770 in Rothenberg, "The Austrian Sanitary Cordon," 17-18; and Tanasije Ž. Ilić, "Der Sanitätskordon an der österreichischen Militärgrenze und seine Funktionen zur Zeit Maria Theresias," in *Maria Theresia als Königin von Ungarn*, ed. Gerda Mraz (Eisenstadt: Institut für österreichische Kulturgeschichte, 1984), 344; is decades late, relying on the codification of sanitary laws, but completely disregarding the half a century of previous history.

²¹⁰ Sanitätshofkommission, 6 September 1726, 1726 September 1; Sanitätshofkommission (Sanitary Court Commission – SHK), 11 October 1726, 1726 October 1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

circumstances, as in November 1727, when it was increased to forty-two days.²¹¹ It was, however, not abolished altogether. A provisional land sanitary cordon had been transformed into a permanent border-control system.

²¹¹ SHK, Vienna, 17 February 1727, 1727 Februar 1; SHK, 22 March 1727, 1727 Martius 1; SHK, 4 July 1727, 1727 Juli 1; SHK, Vienna, 28 November 1727, 1727 November 1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

Figure 2.1. The First Pestkordon, the mid-1720s -1737



The *Contumaz und respective Reinigungs Ordnung* from 3 October 1731 regulated the cordon operation and quarantine procedures. A physician, or at least an experienced surgeon, would examine the people arriving at the station. If healthy, they were then separated and isolated. Special quarantine personnel, who could not leave stations and mix with the general population, provided them with food and other necessities and cleaned the goods passing through quarantine. If someone showed symptoms of a disease during quarantine, she or he would be transferred to a hospital or a lazaretto, and the quarantine for all passengers would restart.²¹²

In the first network of quarantine stations, two principal quarantine stations were Craiova, in Habsburg Lesser Wallachia, and Paraćin, in Habsburg Serbia.²¹³ Paraćin, placed on the main road between the Ottoman and Habsburg capitals, served as an official border crossing point for diplomats and for official and private business

²¹² The goods that passed through quarantine were roughly classified into four groups, according to their perceived *miasma*-carrying propensity. Some did not need any cleaning, while others were cleaned and quarantined for from three to six weeks. *Contumaz und respective Reinigungs Ordnung*. Vienna 3 October 1731, reprinted in Hermannstadt [Sibiu] in 1740, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1; also *Kontumaz und Reinigungsordnung für die östliche Reichsgrenze* (Quarantäne), 3 October 1731, FHKA SUS Patente 63.7; *Kontumaz- und Reinigungsordnung für die südlichen und östlichen Gebiete*, 10 May 1738, FHKA SUS Patente 72.11. The quarantine ordinance from 1731 was periodically republished. In 1759, for example, local quarantine stations in Banat were warned to stick accurately to its provisions. Sanitätshof- Deputation (Sanitary Court Deputation – SHD) to TLA, Vienna, 21 March 1759, 1759 Martius 7; SHD to Siebenbürgische Sanitätskommission (Transylvanian Sanitary Commission – Transylv. SK), Vienna, 22 August 1759, 1759 Augustus 10; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 10 September 1759, to TLA, 1759 September 4, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3.

²¹³ In addition to border cordons, the commission supervised the establishment of internal reserve cordons, on the rivers Tisza, Sava, Drava, Una and Kupa. Both external and internal cordons had military posts, regular patrols, and quarantine stations. All passengers had to show *Sanitaet Foeden*. The Sanitary Court Commission sent the physician Anton Salzgeberand with two surgeons to Craiova, and the physicians Philipp Schwandimann and Karl Oberleütner to Paraćin. Sanitätshofkommission, 26 October 1726, 1726 October 2; SHK, 30 October 1726, 1726 October 3; SHK to Obristpostamt, 30 October 1726, 1726 October 4; SHK, 8 November 1726, 1726 November 1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

correspondence in the 1720s and the 1730s.²¹⁴ There was a lack of uniformity between individual stations in the 1730s. Because of strict rules in Paraćin, some migrants and merchants redirected their trade to other border-crossing points, like Negotin or Calafat, where the sanitary regime was more lax and where quarantine times were shorter. The capacity of quarantine stations at this time was modest. Even Paraćin could not deal with larger groups of migrants, like the 200 families of the Albanian Kelmend (Klimenti) clan who arrived there at the end of 1732.²¹⁵

Clearly defined boundary and permanent quarantine facilities protected the Habsburg lands well during peacetime. There were no major outbreaks between the *Pestkordon*'s foundation and the beginning of a new war (1737-1739). During the ensuing war, the Habsburgs were forced to repeatedly relocate quarantine stations and guard posts. The wartime network of provisional quarantines slowed the epidemic, but was unable to stop it. Only the end of the war and the stabilization of borders accomplished that.

The first news about an approaching epidemic in Ottoman Bosnia, in Banja Luka, reached Vienna in October 1737.²¹⁶ The Sanitary Court Commission drew an internal

²¹⁴ Relation from 31 October 1731, 1731 December 1; 17 October 1736, 1736 October 1; The Decree from 21 March 1738, 1738 Martius 2, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1; 1740-December 1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1. The other quarantine stations were Crna Bara in the northeastern part of Habsburg Serbia and one near Bijeljina (Belliner Schanz) in the northeastern corner of Bosnia. SHK, 8 October 1738, 1738 October 11; 9 June 1741, 1741 Julius 1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1. Other places mentioned in the secondary literature could be either permanent or provisional: Čačak and Negotin in Serbia, Calafat, Vadudil, Orahova, Izlaz, Slatina, and Rimnik in Wallachia. Stevan. Z. Ivanić, "Borba protiv kuge u Srbiji za vreme austrijske vladavine (1717-1740)," *Prilozi za istoriju zdravstvene kulture Jugoslavije i Balkanskog poluostrva*, vol. 5, Miscellanea 1 (Belgrade: Centralni higijenski zavod, 1937), 15, 18-19, 23-24, 26; Lesky, "Die österreichische Pestfront," 84, 86-87.

²¹⁵ Ivanić, "Borba protiv kuge u Srbiji," 19, 22-23, 25-30.

²¹⁶ SHK, 1737 October 1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

reserve cordon along the rivers Tisza, Mureş and Danube, to protect Hungary,²¹⁷ but failed to contain the epidemic in Banat and Transylvania. In March 1738, before advancing Ottoman forces, the Habsburgs moved their main border quarantine from Paraćin to Jagodina, and soon abolished it altogether.²¹⁸ In March 1739, despite new internal cordons, boat patrols, and double quarantine, the disease entered the capital of Hungary, Buda. The plague epidemic progressed further, being stopped on the borders of Lower Austria, just before Vienna, only after the war ended in September 1739.²¹⁹ The epidemic lasted many months more, in Transylvania until March 1740 and in Slavonia and Srem until August 1740.²²⁰ The collapse of the first Habsburg land sanitary cordon, *Pestkordon*, in 1737-1739 showed the importance of peace and stable borders for the successful operation of a mobility-control regime.

²¹⁷ SHK, 24 December 1737, 1737 December 2; SHK, 7 January 1738, 1738 Januarius 1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

²¹⁸ The Decree from 21 March 1738, 1738 Martius 2, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1; 1740-Decembris-1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1.

²¹⁹ SHK, 24 March 1738, 1738 Martius 1; SHK, 5 April 1738, 1738 April 1; SHK, 6 May 1738, 1738 Majus 1; SHK, 24 June 1738, 1738 Junius 1; SHK, 23 June 1738, 1738 Junius 2; SHK, 26 June 1738, 1738 Julius 4; SHK, 11 July 1738, 1738 Julius 9; SHK, 11 July 1738, 1738 Julius 10; SHK, 9 August 1738, 1738 Augustus 17; Voggt, Ober Director in Osijek to SHK, 18 August 1738, 1738 Augustus 38; SHK, 31 August 1738, 1738 Augustus 53; 1738 September 11; SHK, 7 September 1738, 1738 September 12; SHK, 10 September 1738, 1738 September 21; SHK, 10 December 1738, 1738 September 22; SHK, 18 September 1738, 1738 September 32; 1738 September 33; 1738 September 42; SHK, 1 October 1738, 1738 October 4; SHK, 7 October 1738, 1738 October 8; SHK, 8 October 1738, 1738 October 12; SHK, 18 October 1738, 1738 October 19; SHK, 9 November 1738, 1738 November 19; SHK, 12 January 1739, 1739 Januarius 11; SHK, 15 July 1739, 1739 Junius 3; SHK, 14 June 1739, 1739 Junius 13; SHK, 30 June 1739, 1739 Junius 16; SHK, 12 September 1739, 1739 September 3; SHK, 18 November 1739, 1739 November 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1; SHK, 11 July 1738, 1738 Julius 31; Resolution über das Protocoll von 10. Martii 1739; von 12. Martii 1739, 1739-8, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1.

²²⁰ SHK, 10 March 1740, 1740 Martius 1; SHK, 18 August 1740, 1740 Augustus 9, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

The Establishment of the Second Sanitary Cordon

After military and diplomatic defeats, the Treaty of Belgrade moved the boundary to the north. The Habsburgs had to leave most of the provinces conquered in 1718, Lesser Wallachia, northern Serbia, and the Bosnian bank of Sava. They preserved Banat. On 17 March 1740, the Sanitary Court Commission formally decided to create a new network of quarantine stations along the new land border with the Ottoman Empire.²²¹ It instructed sanitary commissions in Slavonia, Banat and Transylvania to suggest where to place these stations. It introduced forty-days' quarantine for persons and reinstated the Quarantine patent from 1731.²²² On 12 July 1740, the Court Sanitary Commission decided to establish the following twelve quarantine stations on the Ottoman border: Gradiška and Brod in Slavonia, Mitrovica and Zemun in Srem,

²²¹ New border quarantines, established to replace the network lost in 1737-1739, started appearing already during the Habsburg-Ottoman conflict. A provisional sanitary facility was organized in Pančevo in the summer of 1738, as an entry point to Banat. SHK, 19 July 1738, 1738 Julius 20; SHK, 30 August 1738, 1738 Augustus 51, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1. Brod quarantine served in November 1738, as a crossing point between Bosnia and Slavonia. SHK, 1 November 1738, 1738 November 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1. In February 1739, the Court Sanitary Commission ordered the commander of Belgrade to build a *lazaretto* across the Sava near Zemun. SHK, 28 January 1739, 1739 Januarius 23; SHK, 27 February 1739, 1739 Februarius 11, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1; Vorträge des SHK, [March 1739] KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1. Three border stations, Pančevo, Zemun and Brod, were thus already in place as provisional facilities, before the Treaty of Belgrade determined the new territorial division of possessions, placing all three on the new border on the rivers Sava and Danube. In November 1739, two months after the Habsburg-Ottoman peace treaty, the Sanitary Court Commission asked the Transylvanian Sanitary Commission to propose new places for quarantine stations against Lesser Wallachia, ceded to the Ottomans. SHK, 18 November 1739, 1739 November 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

²²² It approved the plans for new quarantine buildings in Zemun and Pančevo. SHK, 4 November 1739, 1739 November 1; SHK, 10 March 1740, 1740 Martius 1; SHK, 17 March 1740, 1740 Martius 13; SHK, 1 April 1740, 1740 Aprilis 1; SHK, 27 April 1740, 1740 Aprilis 13; SHK, 1 April 1740, 1740 Aprilis 4; SHK, 22 April 1740, 1740 Aprilis 10; SHK, 11 July 1740, 1740 Julius 4, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

Pančevo and Orșova (later Mehadia) in Banat, Turnu Roșu (Rothethurn), Bran/Terzburg, Buzău (Buszau), Ghimes – Faget, Peritzke (Berezke) and Borgo (Borgau) in Transylvania.²²³

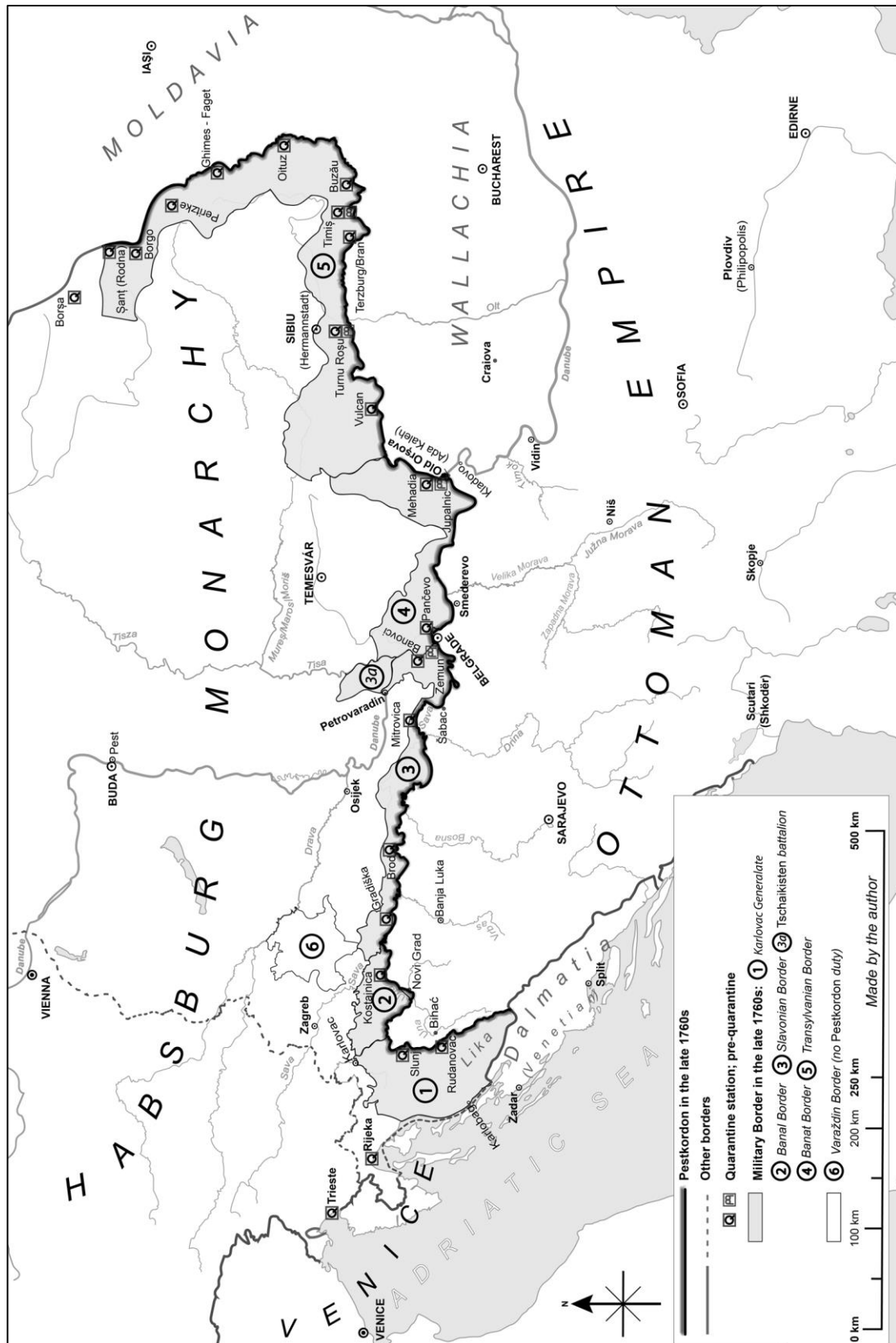
By October 1742 the network was fully operational, with the quarantine time extended to forty-two days because of a plague epidemic in Ottoman Serbia. At the beginning of 1743, a quarantine station Kostajnica, in the Banal Military Border turned up in the documents,²²⁴ while Transylvanian Vulcan, Timiș (Tömös) and Oituz (Ojtos) appeared in 1751. The last extension, which completed the coverage of the border in 1753, was the establishment of two quarantine stations, Slunj and Rudanovac, in the Generalate of Karlovac in Croatia. The whole length of the Habsburg-Ottoman border, between the Adriatic Sea and Poland, was thus covered with the new quarantine system by the mid-1750s, with eighteen stations in total (see figure 2.2).²²⁵

²²³ The Transylvanian Sanitary Commission at first met opposition from the local authorities, which perceived the establishment of quarantine stations toward Wallachia and Moldavia as an encroachment on local jurisdiction. At that moment, there was no Military Border in Transylvania. The responsibility for the protection of public health was shared between the provincial government, local counties and the Habsburg military commanders. SHK, 4 May 1740, 1740 Majus 1; SHK, 12 July 1740, 1740 Julius 9, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1. Project über das Personale deren Contumaz Beambten in Siebenbürgen, 16 March 1740, 1740-1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1.

²²⁴ Krieg, Zemun, 16 November 1742, 1742 Novembris 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1; SHK, 8 February 1742, 1742 Februarius 1; SHK, 29 December 1742, 1742 December 1; 20 February 1743, 1743 Februarius 1, SHK, 20 July 1743, 1743 Julius 2, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1; SHK, 24 September 1743, 1743 September 4; SHK, 3 November 1751, 1751 November 2, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

²²⁵ See Lesky, “Die österreichische Pestfront,” 92-94. Panzac dates Zemun in 1740, and other *Kontumazen* wrongly after 1770. Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*, 74.

Figure 2.2. The Second Pestkordon, after 1740.



Managing the Impact on Traffic: Organization and Operation

Until 1776, the administration of border controls was principally shared between sanitary and military administrations. The military provided the majority of the manpower, while the sanitary administration had the last word in regulations and regime changing. We can recognize three administrative levels: central, provincial and local. The decision-making process in the sanitary administration was organized hierarchically, with central bodies having the last word on a number of issues, from legislation to local appointments and costs. The local level, however, had much autonomy in the everyday operation of stations. Local input and suggestions were often decisive.

On the central level, several bodies participated in the decision-making process. The War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*), the highest military body, provided troops for the sanitary cordon. The *Hofkammer*, in its various iterations, directed the fiscal administration, collected customs, provided salaries and pensions to sanitary personnel, funded the erection and reconstruction of sanitary facilities, and subsidized those stations that did not collect enough duties to be self-sustaining.²²⁶ Occasionally, it was necessary to consult the *Hof- und Staatskanzlei*, responsible for diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Court after 1753, as well as the Commercial Council (*Kommerzienrat*), responsible for commercial policy. Between the 1720s and 1776, however, the most important institution for border controls was the Sanitary Court Commission, reorganized from 1753 into the Sanitary Court Deputation.

²²⁶ In general, the Hungarian *Hofkammer* should have been responsible for collecting customs on the border because these were the borders of Hungary. However, some border provinces, such as Banat, for example, were under the Viennese *Hofkammer*.

Initially an organ of the government of Lower Austria (die niederösterreichische Regierung), the commission organized defense of the archduchy against the plague epidemics of 1692 and 1709. It was subsequently called to help organize anti-plague measures in the regions that lacked the necessary medical expertise. It gradually acquired more influence and played a major role in the organization and operation of the sanitary cordon and border quarantines on the Ottoman borders from the 1720s to the 1750s. Empress Maria Theresa recognized its more prominent status on 3 January 1753²²⁷ by transforming it into an independent central body, directly reporting to her, the Sanitary Court Deputation (Sanitätshofdeputation). The deputation was the highest sanitary body for all Habsburg hereditary lands. Maria Theresa appointed Count Friedrich Wilhelm Haugwitz to be the deputation's first president. The deputation's biggest undertaking was the codification of sanitary law for the whole monarchy, General Sanitary Normative (Generalsanitätsnormativum), started in 1765, promulgated in January 1770. The Normative regulated the questions of public health and the operation of medical professionals in the Monarchy. Its second, much larger part was devoted to the regulation of the sanitary cordon and, in particular, of the border quarantine stations.²²⁸ After the deputation subsequently codified the animal sanitary law, the deputation's president Koller, considered that it had sufficiently

²²⁷ The reorganization of 1753 was concurrent with the transfer of the diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire from the War Council to the *Hof- und Staatskanzlei*, which normally directed Habsburg diplomatic service with other states. This formally reaffirmed the pacification of the Habsburg-Ottoman relations.

²²⁸ Generalsanitätsnormativum, 2 January 1770, *Sammlung aller k. k. Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1740. bis 1780., die unter der Regierung des Kaisers Joseph des II. theils noch ganz bestehen, theils zum Theile abgeändert sind, als ein Hilfs- und Ergänzungsbuch zu dem Handbuche aller unter der Regierung des Kaisers Joseph des II. für die k. k. Erbländer ergangenen Verordnungen und Gesetze in einer chronologischen Ordnung*, 8 vols. (Vienna: Johann Georg Mößle, 1786-1787), vol. 6, 33-112. According to Panzac, it was inspired by Venetian sanitary practices. Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*, 75.

regulated sanitary issues. Further sessions and debates were no longer necessary. On 2 January 1776 Maria Theresa abolished the deputation and transferred its responsibilities to the court bodies that were responsible for the respective provinces. The War Council took over the jurisdiction for the sanitary question on the land border with the Ottomans. All quarantine personnel came under military jurisdiction, subjected to the respective military border commands in Karlovac, Zagreb, Osijek, Temesvár, and Sibiu.²²⁹ The codification of sanitary law and the abolition of the Sanitary Court Deputation appear to be a part of broader rationalization efforts in the Habsburg administration after the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). The aim of the rationalization was to decrease costs by abolishing unnecessary administrative positions and to increase efficiency through standardization of administrative regulations and practices.²³⁰

During its existence, the deputation was responsible for the sanitary issues in the whole Monarchy.²³¹ On the border, it was in charge of the proper operation of the land sanitary cordon. It appointed quarantine officials, directors, surgeons, and physicians; it decided about pay raises, promotions, transfers and retirements of the personnel; it inspected the existing border sanitary facilities, approved their layout, ordered reconstructions and expansions; it decided about the establishment of new stations or the abolition of old ones. It received weekly or monthly lists of migrants,

²²⁹ Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 2: 447-48; Joseph Kallbrunner and Melitta Winkler, *Die Zeit des Directoriums in Publicis et Cameralibus. (Vorstadien 1743-1749; das Directorium 1749-1760). Aktenstücke* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1925), 375-76, 376-83, 384, 384-85, 385-86; Friedrich Walter, *Die Geschichte der österreichischen Zentralverwaltung in der Zeit Maria Theresias (1740-1780)* (Vienna: Adolf Holzhauses Nachfolger, 1938), 216-19.

²³⁰ Lars Behrisch, *Die Berechnung der Glückseligkeit. Statistik und Politik in Deutschland und Frankreich im späten Ancien Régime* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2016), 56-65; Godsey, *The Sinews of Habsburg Power*, 248-67.

²³¹ After 1776, a separate sanitary administration on the border was abolished on the central level, while the local officials on the border were integrated into the military administration.

animals and goods passing across the border. It collected and exchanged sanitary intelligence about contagious diseases affecting humans and animals in the Habsburg Monarchy and neighboring countries, particularly in the Ottoman Empire. It corresponded constantly with provincial sanitary bodies, and occasionally with foreign sanitary institutions, for example with Venice and the Papal State through Venetian ambassadors and Papal nuncios in Vienna. Based on the collected intelligence, the deputation ordered the extension or reduction of quarantine duration, or the temporary closure of individual quarantine stations.

The records created by the Sanitary Court Commission and the Sanitary Court Deputation are well preserved. The deputation's last president, Baron Franz Xavier Koller of Nagy-Manya, sorted out its archive, by assembling the correspondence regarding sanitary issues from other court bodies, with a label "Sanitätssachen." The holdings also contain the communication with the subordinated provincial bodies along the Ottoman border in Croatia, Slavonia, Banat and Transylvania.²³² The frequency of the deputation meetings varied from a couple of times per month, as in the healthy 1762, to several weekly meetings when there was an epidemic on the Habsburg border. About ten to twelve members attended a typical deputation's session, usually all nobles, with the exception of an appointed physician.²³³ The sessions usually started with a discussion of the sanitary situation in the Monarchy and in the Ottoman European provinces, followed by issues raised by other court

²³² It also had direct communication with the Intendancy of Trieste, while it corresponded with the sanitary commissions in Austrian and Bohemian provinces through the Bohemian-Austrian Chancellery, in Hungary, Slavonia and Croatia through the Hungarian Chancellery.

²³³ In October 1762 the following twelve members attended: Baron Bartenstein, presiding, Baron Schmidlin, Baron Koller, Baron Kempfen, the barons Neftzer, von Ziegler, von Traunpauer, von Mygind, and von Vest; the Royal Councilor (Consil. Regin.) von Pelser, the physician van Zwenhof, and the Court Secretary (Secret. Aul.) Krisch.

bodies and provincial sanitary commissions. The deputation president forwarded the session's protocols with a list of recommendations (*Votum*) to the ruler. The ruler made a formal decision usually by approving the recommendations or by choosing one of the several presented options. The deputation issued the ruler's orders regarding sanitary matters.²³⁴ The issues were often discussed in detail. For example, on 16 October 1769 the deputation discussed: the report of the Banat Provincial Administration about the health situation in the Ottoman territory; what to do with poor migrants in the Kostajnica quarantine station in the Banal border; who should be appointed to the vacant post of the *Canzelist* on the Slavonian Sanitary Commission; and a request for a pension increase (Jubilations-Gehalt) for Friedrich Uzinin, a former surgeon in the Banovci quarantine station.²³⁵

Although an independent body, the deputation was connected through its presidents to other court bodies, which increased its power. Through its first president (1753-1755, 1756), Count Haugwitz, one of the most powerful men in the Habsburg government at that moment, it was connected to the *Directorium in publicis et cameralibus*. Through Haugwitz's successor, Baron (Freiherr) Johann Christoph Bartenstein, the deputation's longest serving president (1756-1767) it was connected

²³⁴ Circular to all Austrian representations, Maria Theresa, Vienna, 3 January 1753; Vortrag Kollers vom 29. April 1775, Vienna; Handbillet, 2 January 1776, to the Field Marshall and the president of the HKR, Andreas Count Hadik; Handbillet to the Prince Kauniz, 2 January 1776; Circularhandbillet to the counts Blümegen, Esterhazy, Kornis, Wrba, 2 January 1776. A. u. gutächtlicher Vorschlag die Aufhebung der Sanitätshofdeputation betreffend, in Kallbrunner and Winkler, *Die Zeit des Directoriums in Publicis et Cameralibus*, 375-76, 376-83, 384, 384-85, 385-86; Walter, *Die Geschichte der österreichischen Zentralverwaltung*, 216-19.

²³⁵ Protocollum Deputationis-Aulicae Sanitatis from 16 May 1762, 1762 May 5; from 12 September 1762, 1762 September 13; from 8 September 1762, 1762 September 19; from 17 October 1762, 1762 December 17, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1; Protocollum Deputationis Aulica in Re Sanitatis from 28 October 1769, 1769 October 16; from 16 October 1769, 1769 November 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2

to the Austrian-Bohemian Chancellery. Bartenstein played a main role in Habsburg foreign policy in the 1730s and 1740s. Two other deputation presidents, Count Karl Ferdinand Königsegg-Erps (1755-1756) and Baron Koller (1767-1776), also held other court positions. Königsegg-Erps, Bartenstein and Koller presided over the Illyrian Court Deputation (Illyrische Hofdeputation),²³⁶ which was responsible for the non-territorial religious autonomy of Orthodox Serbian Metropolitanate in Karlovci. This further increased the influence of the deputation on the border, since a large section of the border population was composed of Orthodox Christians.

At a level lower, provincial bodies, subjected to the Court Sanitary Deputation, were in charge of the individual sections of the Habsburg-Ottoman border. In 1770, there were six such bodies. Each was in charge of a number of quarantine stations, from one to nine (see the table 2.1.).²³⁷ On this middle, provincial level, sanitary administration often blended into provincial administration. Provincial officials involved in sanitary commissions usually had other everyday tasks and duties. The compositions of provincial sanitary bodies reflected the influence of civil and military authorities in individual border regions.

²³⁶ Kallbrunner and Winkler, *Die Zeit des Directoriums in Publicis et Cameralibus*, 375-76, 376-83, 384, 384-85, 385-86; Walter, *Die Geschichte der österreichischen Zentralverwaltung*, 216-19; Rothenberg, *The Military Border in Croatia*, 40-45; Roider, *Austria's Eastern Question*, 19-20. Karl Ferdinand Königsegg-Erps, a Swabian noble and a son of a former Imperial Vice-Chancellor was the leader of the Lower Austrian Estates as the Landmarschall 1750-1753. Godsey, *The Sinews of Habsburg Power*, 211.

²³⁷ Generalsanitätsnormativum, 2 Januar 1770, in *Sammlung aller k. k. Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1740. bis 1780.*, vol. 6, 33-112.

Table 2.1. The Border Sanitary Administration Structure in January 1770.

<i>Court institution</i>	<i>Provincial sanitary commissions</i>	<i>Military Border Section</i>	<i>Quarantine stations</i>
	Sanitary Commission, Karlovac, Croatia	Karlovac Generalate	Rudanovac; Slunj
	Royal Council of Croatia, Zagreb	Banal Border	Kostajnica
	Slavonian Sanitary Commission, Osijek	Slavonian Border	Gradiška Brod Mitrovica Zemun & Banovci*
Court Sanitary Deputation (until 1753 Commission)	Temesvár Provincial Administration, Temesvár	Banat Border	Pančevo Mehadia & Jupalnic*
	Transylvanian Sanitary Commission, Sibiu	Transylvanian border	Vulcan Turnu Roşu* Bran Timiş* Buzău Oituz Ghimes-Faget Peritzke Rodna/Şanţ
	Hungarian Regent Council, Pozsony (Bratislava)	-	Borşa

*These stations had both pre-quarantine and quarantine facilities in the 1760s

Thus, the sanitary commission of the Karlovac Military Border was made up of military officers, with the commanding general serving as its president,²³⁸ reflecting

²³⁸ Ten people attended the session of the Sanitary Commission in Karlovac in July 1770: General Field Marshal Lieutenant Baron Preiss, as the president, General Feldwachtmeister Baron Mickassinovich, Colonel Baron Lezzeni, Lieutenant Colonel Marquis de Zamboi, General Auditor Lieutenant Hangel, Obristwachtmeister Rüsten, Feldt-Kriegs Commissarius Carpentier, Staabs Auditor Schmuzenhaus, Feldt-Kriegs Concipist Stietga, Feld-Kriegs Commissariats- Officier Reiber. Sanitäts

the province's fully militarized administration. Commanding generals also served as commissions' presidents in Slavonia and in Transylvania. The Slavonian Sanitary Commission initially included the representatives of the *Hofkammer* and supervised sanitary issues in both the Military Border and in civil Slavonia. The Slavonian Sanitary Commission included a physician, to provide medical expertise.

Provincial commissions supervised medical personnel, proposed new appointments for quarantine officials, and prepared plans for new buildings. More important decisions such as appointing new physicians, surgeons, directors, the plans for new buildings, pensions, and subsidies for widows and orphans had to be approved by the Court Sanitary Deputation. The provincial commissions corresponded with each other about contagious diseases (*ansteckenden Krankheiten*). Based on information about the sanitary situation in neighboring Ottoman provinces, they provisionally increased quarantine times, with the Court Sanitary Deputation having the final word. The commissions' presidents were usually border generals. They informed nearby Ottoman and Venetian border governors, with whom they were in constant communication, about the changes in Habsburg sanitary regimes. For example, in 1763, the commander of the Karlovac Generalate, on the westernmost section of the border, Baron Philip Levin Beck, kept up regular correspondence not only with the Ottomans in Bosnia, but also with Venetian authorities in Dalmatia.²³⁹

At the top of local sanitary administration were the directors of individual quarantine stations. The personnel there, including quarantine military guards from Military Border regiments, were under the director's authority. The director proposed

Commissions Protocoll, Karlovac, 25 July 1768, 1768 Augustus 13, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

²³⁹ SHD to General Baron (Freiherr) Beck, the commander of Karlovac Generalate, Vienna, 15 September 1763, 1763 Augustus 8, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

candidates for lower positions in the quarantine station, kept proper order in the station, and supervised the enforcement of sanitary regulations and procedures. According to the 1770 regulation, the director would interview arriving migrants. After medical examination, he would ask migrants for their names, whether they were Ottoman subjects, whether they had proper Ottoman travel permission (Erlaubnißkunden), and whether they were carrying any goods or correspondence. He also questioned the migrants about the point of departure and the roads used, about health conditions along the way, and about their final destination. Persons coming in contact with pestilent populations along the way would be turned back. After the migrants finished quarantine, the director would examine them and their belongings again before issuing a certificate of good health.²⁴⁰

Every week or every month, the director would prepare a list of migrants, goods and animals entering and leaving the station. For example, Johann Paitsch, the director of the Pančevo quarantine station from 1752 to 1757, sent the list of migrants passing through his station, along with monthly excerpts from sanitary diaries²⁴¹ each month to the Provincial Administration in Temesvár, which forwarded copies to the Sanitary Court Commission/Deputation.²⁴²

²⁴⁰ Generalsanitätsnormativum, 2 Januar 1770 *Sammlung aller k. k. Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1740. bis 1780.*, vol. 6, 33-112, about the document § 33, page 82.

²⁴¹ More on sanitary diaries (Sanitäts-Diarii) in Chapter 5.

²⁴² 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; TLA, Temesvár, 11 August 1774, 1774 September 15, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 6. Generalsanitätsnormativum, 2 Januar 1770, *Sammlung aller k. k.*

Quarantine directors were also responsible for finances. They recorded the incomes from customs and cleaning taxes, which were charged for unpacking, cleaning, packing and sealing goods that passed through the quarantine. They also registered the earnings from lease of the quarantine inn, which provided quarantine migrants with food. Every three months the director had to submit a financial report to the provincial sanitary administration. He supervised the *Hofkammer* officials in the quarantine station who were responsible for collecting customs for the Salt and Thirtieth Office (Salz- und Dreißigstamt) and he had a second key to the quarantine cashbox. The director was allowed to dispense a part of collected money for salaries of the quarantine personnel, pensions, for direct costs (such as transportation, buying vinegar for cleaning) and for smaller repairs, up to twenty guildens. For extraordinary expenses and bigger repairs, he had to request approval of the respective provincial sanitary commission.²⁴³ Because of cleaning taxes, quarantine stations were not only financially self-sustaining but also profitable. In 1821, they amassed an overall profit of 69%, earning 119,388 guildens to the Treasury. Only the two westernmost quarantine station in the Karlovac Generalate had to be subsidized. Transylvanian

Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1740. bis 1780., vol. 6, 33-112, about the document § 33, page 82.

²⁴³ Provincial commission could decide about expenses between 20 and 100 guildens; above that amount, the approval of the Sanitary Court Deputation was necessary. Hofkammer to SHD, Vienna, 20 April 1772; Instruction für den zu aufgestellten Contumaz-Directore N. N. und respective für die daselbstige 30igst- als controllirende Beamte N. N.; Reinigungs Verordnung nach welchem sich alle Contumaz-Stationen... zu achten haben; Formular nach welchem die N. N. Contumaz Berechnungen in Zukunft verfasset, und sowohl von dem daselbst angestellten Contumaz Director N. N. als denen dabey Controlirenden 30gst- und Salz Beamten zu einer k. Hungarischen Hofkammer Buchhalterey gelegt werden müssen, 1772 Majus 2, MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2. Generalsanitätsnormativum, 2 January 1770, *Sammlung aller k. k. Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1740. bis 1780.*, vol. 6, 33-112, about the document § 33, page 82.

stations earned enough to cover their own costs, while the Banal Border, Banat, and particularly Slavonia stations made substantial surpluses.²⁴⁴

With such numerous responsibilities and broad authority, directors had a lot of independence in their everyday management of the quarantine. They had detailed knowledge of the specific situation on the border sections they were responsible for. They usually kept their posts for years. Mathias Perner served first as quarantine director in Mehadia (1742-1757), then in Pančevo (1757-1762), and from 8 September 1762 in a newly opened main quarantine station of Banovci near Zemun, the biggest border station by traffic.²⁴⁵ Directors exercised substantial influence.

Provincial authorities usually supported their estimates, propositions, suggestions for

²⁴⁴ Half a century earlier there was less traffic, but the expenses were lower too, so they probably operated profitably. In 1770 Banovci, the station that in combination with Zemun had the most traffic spent only 3,288 for the salaries of twenty-three employees, its biggest expense item. In 1773, nine stations in Transylvania, half of the total number quarantine stations at that moment, spent 11,728 guldens for salaries. [From] Slavonian Sanitary Commission (Slawonische Sanitätskommission – Slav. SK), Connotation des in der Banovizer Contumaz befindlichen Status Personalis, samt... Jähr. Gehalt., Osijek, 20 February 1770, 1770 Martius 9; Specification über das in dem Großfürstentum Siebenbürgen befindliche Contumaz-Personale, wo und so, wie sie alle angestellt, deren Namen, Alter, Vatterland, Behalt, wann sie angestellt worden, und wie sie dienen, 1773 Aprilis 16, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

²⁴⁵ The new Pančevo director was Fr. Wisinger, promoted from the post of the director of small Slunj station in Croatia. 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.

changes and appointments, ultimately approved by the Sanitary Court Deputation. In 1762, the director of Zemun quarantine station, Datus, temporarily derailed the plans of the Court Sanitary Deputation to transform Zemun into a pre-quarantine station and to place the main quarantine station in Banovci, because he was afraid that he would lose his influence. His proposal got initial support from the Slavonian Sanitary Commission.²⁴⁶

Almost all full-time employees of the Habsburg sanitary administration were local officials. The second most important person in the quarantine station was a medical specialist. In the eighteenth century there was an insufficient number of university-educated physicians in the Monarchy. Surgeons, experienced in

²⁴⁶ Datus's intervention threatened to derail the Banovci-Zemun arrangement the Habsburg envoy at the Ottoman court and the Grand Vizier had negotiated for years. The member of the Sanitary Court Deputation, Count Koller, accused Datus of utter insolence, motivated by selfishness and personal interest. The deputation decided to punish him. He was transferred to the quarantine station of Slunj in the Karlovac Generalate. This was effectively a demotion because Slunj had negligent traffic and insufficient incomes. Still Datus was not fired, his skills and experience being too valuable to lose them completely. Count Mercy to HKR, Osijek, 31 January 1762; Report, 18 January 1762; Bartenstein to Maria Theresia, Vienna, 10 February 1762, 1762-Februar-1; The protocol of the SHD from 16 May 1762; Bartenstein to Maria Theresia, Vienna, 24 May 1762, 1762-May-5; Barteinstein to Maria Theresia, 14 August 1762; Nota to the Hof- und Staatskanzlei, Vienna, 14 September 1762, 1762 September 13; Protocoll of the SHD from 8 September 1762; Bartenstein to Maria Theresia, 8 September 1762 and on 10 September 1762, 1762 September 19; Bartenstein to Maria Theresia, Vienna, 16 November 1762, 1762 December 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1; Vienna, 12 March 1762, to the Slav. SK, 1762 Martius 4; Vienna, 30 March 1762, to the HKR, 1762 Martius 12; Vienna, 25 May 1762, to the Hof- und Staats Kanzlei, Nota to HKR, 1762 Majus 5; Vienna, 25 June 1762, to the Slav. SK, 1762 Junius 7; Vienna, 30 June 1762, to TLA, to the Count Mercy, to the Hofkammer, 1762 Junius 17; Vienna, 24 July 1762, to TLA, 1762 Julius 5; Vienna, 24 July 1762, to the count Mercy, 1762 Julius 6; Vienna, 28 July 1762, to the Hof- und Staats Kanzlei, 1762 Julius 9; Vienna, 10 September 1762, to Slav. SK, 1762 September 5; from Hof- und Staats Kanzlei, Nota from 24 August 1762, 1762 September 10; Vienna, 14 September 1762, Nota to Hof- und Staats Kanzlei, from Slav. SK, 1762 September 13; Vienna, 28 September 1762, to Slav. SK, 1762 September 19; From the Hofkammer, s. d., 1762 October 4; Vienna, 14 October 1762, Slav. SK, 1762 October 14; Vienna, 4 November 1762, to Slav. SK, 1762 November 7; Vienna, 22 December 1762, to Slav. SK, 1762 December 25; KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3.

recognizing contagious diseases, filled these posts instead. Surgeons inspected arriving migrants, examined them daily from a safe distance for signs of epidemic diseases, and submitted reports to quarantine directors. They co-signed the individual and group certificates of good health at the end of the quarantine. The third-ranking official in a quarantine station was the overseer (Kontumaz Aufseher), also appointed by the Sanitary Court Deputation. He supervised the handling and cleaning of goods. Lower-level officials were cleaning servants (Sanitätsreinigungsknechte). They supplied quarantined migrants with firewood, took care of the goods and animals. They cleaned goods by airing, washing or fumigating. They also served as human guinea pigs, putting their arms inside linen, cotton and wool bales, or sleeping on packages of leather or fur. The idea was that if some pestilent miasma were present there, it would stick to the quarantine servants and make them ill. In February 1768, three cleaning servants sleeping on sheep fleeces thus fell ill to the bubonic plague in the Zemun quarantine station. Cleaning servants were rotated on this “guinea pig” duty periodically.²⁴⁷ The quarantine officials, who were too old or too sick to perform their duties, could retire and receive a state pension, which was a half of the salary.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ Seventy years later the situation with surgeons significantly improved. In 1823, the Pančevo station could afford a university-educated doctor in place of a surgeon. Surgeons were artisans at that time. SHD to TLA, Vienna, 14 May 1753, 1753 Majus 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätskofkommission Bücher 2; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 29 December 1753, 1753 December 16; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 17 May 1755, 1755 Majus 2, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2; Johann Paitsch to TLA, 21 January 1755, Sanitäts-Diarium von der Contumaz-Station Panzova pro January 1755, FHKA NHK Banat A 123; Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 2: 442-42. *Sanitätsreinigungsknechte* were responsible for calculating cleaning tax. Generalsanitätsnormativum, 2 January 1770, *Sammlung aller k. k. Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1740. bis 1780.*, vol. 6, 33-112; SHD to the Slav. SK, to the TLA, to the Transylv. SK, to the Sanitary Commission of Karlovac, Inclyta to the Hungarian Chancellery: Vienna, 4 October 1768; Extract from the instruction given to the Slavonian Physician (Sanitäts Physico) Mosetti on 11 February 1765; The rescript of the SHD, Vienna, 5 March 1765; Copy of the rescript to the Slav. SK, 17 March 1765. 1768 October 2; The rescript of the SHD, Vienna, 25

Each quarantine station had an “exposed” part, where quarantined people and goods were located, and an “unexposed” part, where the goods, which had passed through quarantine, were stored. The quarters for people undergoing quarantine (Abtheilungs-Wohnungen deren Contumazisten) consisted of separate rooms, sometimes shared with other migrants who entered the station on the same day. Each room had a yard for daily exposure of migrants to the surgeon, and a fireplace.²⁴⁹

For central and provincial officials, the participation in sanitary administration was their secondary duty. For local sanitary officials this was their primary and usually their only job. Local officials had more time, more work force and more resources. Quarantine directors had considerable freedom and authority in running

January 1770; a protocol of the Slav. SK from 20 February 1770, 1770 Martius 9, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

²⁴⁸ Protocollum Deputationis Aulica in Re Sanitatis, for the empress Maria Theresa, 16 October 1769, 1769 November 3; Extractus Protocolli der k. k. Hof-Rechen-Cammer, 2 March 1772. Franz F. v. Paumann; the report of the BLA [to the Empress Maria Theresia], Temesvár, 22 January 1772; [SHDeputation] to the TLA, Vienna, 18 March 1772; also to Hofkammer, 1772 Martius 12, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2; Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 2: 93-98.

²⁴⁹ Lit. P. Situations Plan der Pancsovaer Contumaz-Sambtdessen vorContumaz, Hungarian State Archives (Magyar Országos Levéltár), Budapest, S 12 - Div. XII. - No. 28:2; Situations Plan von der Pancsovaer Contumaz an bis auf das Orth Toppola, alwo vormahls ein kleines Dorff gestanden, so erwehten nahmen Toppola gefihrt, S 12 - Div. XII. - No. 28:1. I am grateful to Benjamin Landais for allowing me to inspect 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. Hofkammer 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, Sanitätspläne no. 13; Project Plan nach welchem die neue Contumaze auf der Türkische Granitz und zwar zu Mitroviz am Sau Strom zu erbauen, no. 16, Sanitäts Contumatz Pläne no. 4, 1769 4, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 3.

their stations. This meant that the sanitary administration could easily adapt to local circumstances. In the 1740s and the 1750s, this flexible approach favored free travel, because it allowed the sections of the border to remain open for migrants and goods considered as prone to carry pestilent miasma, to maintain shorter quarantines, and to react quickly to changes in local circumstances by shortening or extending quarantine. In place of the one-size-fits-all approach elsewhere on the continent during plague epidemics, where pestilent provinces were isolated and traffic maintained at the necessary minimum, the Habsburg permanent cordon was geared to disrupt free travel as little as possible. The collection and use of intelligence give further evidence about the prioritizing of free travel.

Adjusting Quarantine Duration to Local Condition: Sanitary Intelligence

The official purpose of the Habsburg quarantine system was to keep the commerce on land and sea open while protecting the public from contagious diseases.²⁵⁰ Its existence was perceived as a rational precaution, a sanitary standard that “all civilized nations” (gesittete Nationen) applied by avoiding the mixing of migrants arriving from susceptible areas.²⁵¹ The supposed purpose of the cordon was to ensure that commerce and migration might continue even in pestilent times, with proper sanitary procedures. Based on news and inquiries about the health situation in the eastern Mediterranean and in the Balkans, the quarantine times could be increased or decreased. They could be adapted to local circumstances on different sections of the border. In order to quickly react to changes, it was necessary to have accurate and

²⁵⁰ Erneuerung der Kontumaz-Ordnung, 25 August 1766, FHKA SUS Patente 159.31.

²⁵¹ [Sanitäts Hof Deputation] to Maria Theresia, Vienna, 28 October 1769, 1769 October 16, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

reliable information about health circumstances in Ottoman border provinces, as well as in the whole European territory of the Ottoman Empire.

Unlike Venetians, the Ottomans did not have a sanitary system on which the Habsburg Monarchy could rely when deciding what health regimes were the most appropriate. Much information was received from the migrants arriving at the quarantine stations, yet these sources were not considered reliable enough. The migrants had an interest in concealing the presence of a disease in the places through which they passed, to avoid longer quarantines or being refused entry.²⁵² Neither was the information received from the Ottoman officials always reliable. The Beg of the border town Kladovo on Danube in 1759 tried to suppress the news about the plague in Pazardzhik (Passarczik), to keep the border crossing near Jupalnic open and Ottoman customs incomes intact.²⁵³

The Habsburg authorities therefore needed to engage more actively in the collection of sanitary news. They tried to use as many different sources as possible. The Sanitary Court Deputation in Vienna was occasionally, usually during major epidemics in the Ottoman Empire, in correspondence with sanitary boards in Italy.²⁵⁴

²⁵² Some merchants could invent stories about plague outbreaks to hurt their competitors, because an extension of the quarantine time or the closure of quarantine stations sent the prices of Ottoman goods up, as in October 1769, when it turned out that the news about the plague along the main road from Belgrade to Istanbul, in the cities of Plovdiv (Philippopolis, Filibe) and Pazardzhik (Passarezik) was false. *Protocullum Deputationis Aulica in Re Sanitatis*, for empress Maria Theresa, 16 October 1769, 1769 November 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

²⁵³ 1759 August 10, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1. According to some travelogues, the princes of Wallachia and Moldavia also spread false news about plague epidemics to prevent Habsburg border authorities from accepting their emigrating peasant subjects. Sabine Sutterlütü, “Die Kontumaz in Mehadia. Mobilitätskontrolle und Seuchenprävention im 18. Jahrhundert” (master’s thesis, University of Vienna, 2016), 45. It is not clear if this tactic was effective, since the immigrants usually enjoyed privileged treatment in the Habsburg Monarchy and only the sick were turned away. See chapter four.

²⁵⁴ Panzac, *Quarantaines et Lazarets*, 90-93.

The focus of other European sanitary authorities was on the health situation in Istanbul, on major Ottoman ports and maritime provinces, not on the northern Balkans and on Ottoman Danubian vassal principalities, which the Habsburg land cordon bordered. The second source of sanitary intelligence were Habsburg diplomatic envoys at the Ottoman court. They had the task of examining the news about the plague in Ottoman Balkan provinces and of informing Vienna and the Habsburg border commanders about their findings.²⁵⁵ Diplomatic couriers, who regularly traveled between Istanbul and Vienna, also collected the news about health conditions. In January 1756, the envoy Schwachheim instructed his courier to collect information about contagious diseases on his way from Istanbul to Zemun and to report them upon arrival in Habsburg territory.²⁵⁶ With the knowledge and approval of the Ottoman vassal princes of Wallachia and Moldavia, the Transylvanian Sanitary commission sent agents to Bucharest (București) and Iași (Jassy) to report about health circumstances there.²⁵⁷

Border commanders dispatched sanitary spies and collected reports from reliable Ottoman contacts. They were sent to visit the regions where plague was reported, to check if the news was true or false. In his ten-days' report, from 11 to 20 July 1768, Major Duquesnoy, the commander of Slunj, informed his superiors in the fortress of Karlovac in Croatia that his two informants (Kundschafter), Gergo Mestrouich and Halja, coming from Ottoman border forts of Bihać and Ostrožac, reported that there was no sign of plague or "some other nasty disease." Other border commanders

²⁵⁵ Lesky, "Die österreichische Pestfront," 91-92.

²⁵⁶ Johan Paitsch to TLA, Pančevo, 3 February 1756, Sanitäts-Diarium von der Contumaz-Station Panzova pro Februar 1756, FHKA NHK Banat A 123.

²⁵⁷ In 1750, the commission sent a *Hofkammer* surgeon, Stubler, to such a position in Bucharest, with a salary of 500 and a special surcharge of 300 guldens. SHK, 31 October 1750, 1750 October 1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

complemented Major Duquesnoy's report with news from other sections of the Karlovac Generalate.²⁵⁸

The directors of border quarantines had their own information networks. The Pančevo director Johann Paitsch, for example, exchanged information with other sanitary authorities either directly, or through the Banat Provincial Administration. He was in direct correspondence with the directors of other border stations, such as the Zemun quarantine director Datus, the director of the Transylvanian station Ghimes – Faget or the Mehadia's director Perner. Based on received information, directors decided whether to send informants to take a closer look at the situation in certain regions. In November 1755, upon hearing rumors about possible plague around the Ottoman cities of Niš and Sofia, Paitsch decided to send an informant (Kundschafter) to verify whether this was true. He chose Dimo (Dima) Sifkovith, from the nearby village of Omoljica (Homoliza). Dimo was to make a round trip through Niš, Sofia, Pazardzhik (Pasarzik), Plovdiv (Philipopolis), then to Macedonia through Serres and Thessaloniki (Thesalonica) before returning northwards via Bitola (Pitthul). Paitsch assigned sixty guldens for his travel costs. Hiding his true mission from Ottoman authorities, he was to present himself as a merchant, receiving 100 piasters from Paitsch and 200 piasters from a group of Greek merchants in Grocka to serve as his

²⁵⁸ A different informant visited nearby Cazin and Krupa, each for a few hours and reported the absence of plague and other contagious diseases there and in the whole of Bosnia. 10-täglich. Sanitäts Rapport, 11-20 July 1768, Slunj, 21 July 1768, Baron Duquesnoy to the Sanitary Commission in Karlovac; Eingeholene Nachrichten ex Turcico in Sanitäts Sachen, Korenica, 17 July 1768, Captain J. Cronstie and the Obristwacht meister C. Srinnetmann, Sanitäts Commissions Protocol, Karlovac, 25 July 1768, 1768 Augustus 13, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2. In 1751, the commanding General in Slavonia, Count Gaysruck, had a separate fund from which he paid two guldens a day to informants dispatched to the Ottoman territory. 1751 November 1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

merchant capital. These 300 piasters (288 guldens²⁵⁹) of capital served to make his claim to be a merchant more convincing in the eyes of Ottoman authorities. Dimo Siffkovith regularly sent reports from his mission. He returned in the beginning of January 1756, submitting his final report that there was no sign of epidemic in the central Balkans. While Siffkovith was on his way, Paitsch sent another scout, George Bullia from Grocka on 24 December 1755 to Ražanj (Razena oder Raschan), to investigate the news about plague around Niš. The scout returned on 3 January 1756 with the news that there was no plague.²⁶⁰ The Greek merchants from the Ottoman town of Grocka, who financed the Siffkovith mission thus formed a part of the Habsburg intelligence network. All arriving migrants were also the members of Paitsch's intelligence network, once they entered the station and started replying to regular questions about the health situation in the places they had previously passed through.

The information about public health in the Ottoman Empire was expected to be as specific as possible: which settlements were affected; if it was plague or some other kind of disease; what were the symptoms and prognosis; how many people were sick and how many died; which communities were most affected. For example, a Greek Duca Theodor Dimbar, returning to Temesvár from his trip to Macedonia, informed Paitsch in April 1756 about a new disease that was killing people in the town of

²⁵⁹ Based on conversion rates of Ottoman gurus/piaster and Habsburg gulden/forint on:

<http://www.pierre-marteau.com/currency/converter/tur-wie.html> (accessed 17 January 2016).

²⁶⁰ Johann Paitsch to TLA, 23 January 1755, 28 January 1755, 31 January 1755, 28 October 1755, 10 November 1755, 11 November 1755, 17 November 1755, 24 November 1755, 25 November 1755, 30 November 1755, 12 December 1755, 27 December 1755, 5 January 1756, 10 January 1756, 14 January 1756, 3 February 1756, 24 February 1756, 31 March 1756, 30 April 1756, 11 May 1756, 17 May 1756, 31 May 1756, 28 June 1756, Sanitäts-Diarii von der Contumaz-Station Panzova pro January 1755, pro October 1755, November 1755, pro December 1755, pro January 1756, pro February 1756, pro March 1756, pro April 1756, pro May 1756, pro June 1756, FHKA NHK Banat A 123. SHD to the TLA, Vienna, 24 October 1753, 1753 October 7, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

Drama (Tram). It began with high fever and strong throat pain and would kill some of its victims in twenty-four hours. Those who survived three days of fever recovered. Deaths from unknown causes, particularly if they happened in places close to the border were also reported, like two suspicious deaths in Grocka in April 1756. The most common information was that in a specific Ottoman contiguous or more distant province, there were no signs of epidemic diseases and that the population was healthy.²⁶¹

Accurate and reliable information enabled quarantine stations to introduce an appropriate sanitary regime for specific border sections: twenty-one days for healthy periods, twenty-eight for suspicious circumstances and forty-two days or complete closure in the times of plague epidemics in contiguous Ottoman border provinces.²⁶² Quarantine directors and provincial sanitary boards, upon learning about approaching plague epidemics, could extend quarantine temporally. The Court Sanitary Deputation, which had full insight into health circumstances along the whole land border with the Ottomans, made the final decision whether to extend or shorten quarantine. Due to

²⁶¹ The directors were expected also to follow cattle diseases. Imports from affected provinces were prohibited in order to protect the health of Habsburg animals. On 24 February 1756, rumors arrived in Pančevo about a cattle (Horn-Vieh) contagion around Niš. They were confirmed on 29 February. Paitsch followed this epidemic through May. Johann Paitsch to TLA, 23 January 1755, 28 January 1755, 10 November 1755, 17 November 1755, 12 December 1755, 27 December, 5 January 1756, 31 January 1756, 3 February 1756, 24 February 1756, 29 February 1756, 30 April 1756, 11 May 1756, 17 May 1756, Sanitäts-Diarii von der Contumaz-Station Panzova pro Januar 1755, pro November 1755, pro December 1755, pro Januar 1756, pro February 1756, pro April 1756, pro May 1756, FHKA NHK Banat A 123; Protocullum Deputationis Aulica in Re Sanitatis, 16 October 1769, 1769 November 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2; SHD to TLA; also to Slav. SK, Vienna, 21 January 1756, 1756 Januarius 9, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

²⁶² The Sanitätshofdeputation to the Banat Provincial Administration, Vienna, 27 March 1761; a copy for the Slavonian Sanitary Commission and the Transylvanian Sanitary Commission, 1761 Martius 5, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1; Generalsanitätsnormativum, 2 January 1770, *Sammlung aller k. k. Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1740. bis 1780.*, vol. 6: 33-112.

these adjustments nearby stations could have different quarantine regimes. For example, although only 25-30 km away from each other and both facing Belgrade, Zemun and Pančevo did not always have synchronized sanitary regimes. The two stations belonged to two different provinces, Banat and Slavonia. This lack of uniformity was a source of frequent complaints by Ottoman merchants and Ottoman authorities. In the summer of 1759, for example, the Pasha of Vidin protested because the quarantines in Pančevo and Mehadia were closed, while Zemun was open, diverting customs incomes to his colleague in Belgrade.²⁶³ Different regimes could last from weeks to months.²⁶⁴ Selective exclusions were also possible. In June 1756, the provincial administration in Temesvár ordered the Pančevo Director Paitsch not to accept persons and goods coming from Wallachia into quarantine, while keeping quarantine time for migrants from other Ottoman provinces at forty-two days.²⁶⁵

The alternative, applied elsewhere in Europe during plague epidemics, was to enforce a uniform regime, usually the longest one along the whole sanitary cordon. Mobility control on the land borders was essentially different from the control on

²⁶³ SHD to TLA, Vienna, 3 March 1759, 1759 Martius 1; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 10 March 1763, 1763 Martius 9, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3; TLA, 22 Novembris 1766, 1766 December 22; SHD, Decret an die Bannatische Landes-Administration, item an die Slav. SK, Vienna, 13 June 1767, 1767 Junius 2, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 4; Imperial Rescript, Vienna, 14 July 1759; Slavonian Sanitary Commission to the Sanitary Court Deputation, Osijek, 14 July 1759; Protocollum In Siebenbürgischen Gesundheits- Angelegenheiten, Hermannstadt (Sibiu), 30 July 1759, 1759 August 10, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1.

²⁶⁴ Unusually short was the one introduced in January 1755. Paitsch first received an order from 7 January to increase quarantine time to forty-two days, then the order from 8 January to keep quarantine time at twenty-one days. Johann Paitsch to TLA, 10 December 1754, 13 January 1755, 16 February 1756, 28 June 1756, 29 June 1756, 13 July 1756, 27 July 1756, 31 July 1756, Sanitäts-Diarii von der Contumaz-Station Panzova pro December 1754, January 1755, February 1756, June 1756, July 1756, FHKA NHK Banat A 123.

²⁶⁵ Johann Paitsch to TLA, 23 December 1755, 28 June 1756, Sanitäts-Diarii von der Contumaz-Station Panzova pro December 1755, June 1756, FHKA NHK Banat A 123.

maritime borders. Two ships coming from the Ottoman territory to a port with quarantine facilities at the same time could be subjected to different regimes. One, coming from a healthy port of origin would be isolated for twenty-one days, while the other, departing from or passing through a pestilent port would be quarantined for forty-two days. Each ship made a clear unit, separate from the people boarding other vessels. On land, comparable separation of travelers was not feasible. According to the logic of land cordons of the time, the danger of infection was too grave to take any risks, and therefore all migrants from any Ottoman European province were to be treated as being in the same big “ship.” As with real ships, only when forty days had passed since the last case of plague could a province or a whole region be considered as healthy. Instead of treating all Ottoman European provinces as a single unit, the Habsburg flexible approach allowed the concurrent existence of longer and shorter regimes, more adapted to local circumstances.

The Ottoman side, familiar with sanitary procedures elsewhere, for example in Venice, did not perceive the mere existence of quarantines and cleaning practices and costs as per se problematic. The Ottomans accepted the custom of banning entrance to persons with symptoms of the plague as reasonable. What was seen as problematic was the Habsburg practice of extending quarantine time beyond the standard of forty-two days or of stopping traffic altogether when an epidemic was reported in the bordering Ottoman provinces.

Complete closure was perceived as an extreme measure that should be avoided because it could severely harm not only the Ottoman, but also the Habsburg, subject, as in the case of Lika in the 1760s. During the summer of 1763, a plague epidemic spread through Bosnia. The Sanitary Court Deputation ordered a complete stop of traffic with the Ottoman province. For Lika, a poor district on the far west of the

Military Border, this meant halting the import of grain and other food. The deputation admitted that it would disrupt the life in the province,²⁶⁶ explaining to the War Council in Vienna that “it is better to have food shortages, which will be recompensed from the state treasury, than to allow the infection to enter the Habsburg lands.” Severe hunger spread through several districts.²⁶⁷ The situation became desperate in December 1763, when plague had broken out in Venetian Dalmatia. The commanding general in Karlovac, Baron Beck, immediately ordered the closure of the border between Lika and Dalmatia and the drawing of a strict cordon. In addition, the interim administrator of Senj (Interims Hauptmann-Amts Verwalter), Georg Homolich decided to treat Lika as suspicious and to prohibit all traffic with Adriatic coast. Under isolation getting food in became impossible. If the hunger continued, Beck and his staff feared that the whole population could emigrate to Ottoman Bosnia or Venetian Dalmatia.²⁶⁸

The Habsburg side attempted to devise arrangements that would enable free travel and at least a part of traffic between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy to be maintained. In July 1756, plague was reported in Ottoman Wallachia. By the end of the month, all quarantine stations between Transylvania and the Adriatic Sea were closed for several months, except for one. Jupalnic-Mehadia, which had pre-quarantine (Vor-Contumaz, Prob-Contumaz) facilities in addition to a quarantine station, continued to accept incoming migrants. The migrants would

²⁶⁶ Maria Theresia to Generalate of Karlovac, Vienna, 15 September 1763, 1763 Augustus 8, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

²⁶⁷ Maria Theresia to the Interims- Commando in dem Carlstädter Generalat, Vienna, 1 October 1763; Nota to HKR, Vienna, 2 October 1763; Nota [of HKR to San. Hof Deputation], Vienna, 17 November 1763, 1763-October-2, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

²⁶⁸ The Baron de Beck to Maria Theresa, Karlovac, 17 Decembar 1763, 1763-December 11, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

undergo trial quarantine in Jupalnic and, if proved healthy, they would be allowed to enter the main quarantine in Mehadia.²⁶⁹ From the 1740s to the 1760s pre-quarantine facilities were used to keep the border open during pestilent times.²⁷⁰ This, however, extended the time of quarantine beyond forty-two days during pestilent times to avoid complete quarantine closures. In August 1754, for example, the quarantine time in Banat increased temporarily to fifty-six days (of which first two weeks would count as trial-quarantine), even though the plague epidemic was still far away from the border, in Istanbul and in southern Macedonia.²⁷¹ The prescribed quarantine for these circumstances was twenty-eight days.²⁷² However, these measures were perceived by

²⁶⁹ In case a plague was detected in the neighboring Ottoman fortress of Orșova this station was to be closed as well. Vienna, 10 July 1756, to TLA, to Slav. SK, 1756 Julius 8; Vienna, 14 July 1756, to Slav. SK, to TLA, 1756 Julius 12; Vienna, 16 July 1756, to Slav. SK., Nota to the Hof- und Staatskanzlei, 1756 Julius 16; Osijek, 19 July 1756, from Slav. SK, 1756 Julius 32; Osijek, 28 July 1756, from Slav. SK, 1756 Augustus 3; Vienna, 20 July 1756, to TLA, 1756 Julius 23; Vienna, 31 July 1756, to Slav. SK; Rescription to the Count Petazzi, 1756 Julius 31; Vienna, 7 August 1756, to the Count Petazzi, also to HKR, 1756 Augustus 2; Osijek, 30 July 1756, from Slav. SK, 1756 September 10, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

²⁷⁰ For a short history of pre-quarantines, see chapter 3.

²⁷¹ SHD to TLA, Vienna, 10 July 1754, 1754 Julius 3; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 30 July 1754, 1754-Julius-10; SHD to TLA, to Slav. SK, and the Hof- und Staats Kanzlei, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

²⁷² Excessive quarantine times appear again in 1758 (fifty days) and in 1759 (fifty-six days). Vienna, 28 March 1758, to the Commercial Intendenza in Trieste, to Slav. SK, Transylv. SK, TLA, the General Command in Karlovac, 1758 Martius 6; the Count Perlas, TLA, to SHD, Temesvár, 17 March 1758, 1758 Aprilis 4; to TLA, Vienna, 29 April 1758 and 17 May 1758, 1758 Aprilis 16, 1758 Majus 3; to Transylv. SK, Vienna, 17 May 1758, 1758 Majus 4; Vienna, 17 June 1758, 1758 Junius 8; Slav. SK, Osijek, 3 September 1758, 1758 September 10; to Slav. SK, Vienna, 25 November 1758, 1758 November 5; to TLA, Vienna, 9 December 1758, 1758 December 2; Vienna, 3 March 1759, to TLA, 1759 Martius 1; Vienna, 28 June 1759, to Transylv. SK, 1759 Junius 5; Vienna, 28 June 1759, to Slav. SK, 1759 Junius 8; Vienna, 22 August 1759, to Transylv. SK, 1759 Augustus 10; Vienna, 27 August 1759, 1759 Augustus 11; Vienna, 27 August 1759, to Slav. SK, 1759 Augustus 12; Vienna, 10 September 1759, to TLA, 1759 September 4; Vienna, 19 September 1759, to Slav. SK, 1759 September 12; Vienna, 22 September 1759, to TLA, to Transylv. SK, to Slav. SK, to the Hof- und Staatskanzlei, 1759 Septembris 18; Vienna, 4 October 1759, to TLA, 1759 October 2; Vienna, 16

the Sanitary Court Deputation as a better alternative to the complete closure of the border.

Some voices inside the Habsburg administration did not agree with this approach. Already in 1764, the Transylvanian physician Adam Chenot complained that long quarantines times were medically indefensible, an unnecessary burden for Habsburg commerce.²⁷³ In 1769, the Sanitary Court Deputation, while discussing newly introduced sanitary measures against Poland, reexamined its own direction from November 1766, to subject cotton and wool to up to eighty-four days of quarantine, or even up to 168 days in pestilent times at border crossings with pre-quarantine facilities (eighty-four in pre-quarantine plus eighty-four in the main quarantine). The Deputation admitted that this escalation was absurd, deviating significantly from standard international practice, where quarantine never exceeded forty-two days. The consensus among Habsburg physicians, approved by the chief medical authority in Vienna, Gerard van Swieten, was that the symptoms of plague would appear at the latest twenty-one days after contact with pestilent miasma, making longer quarantines unnecessary, and those longer than forty-two days unreasonable.²⁷⁴ In the 1770, the general overhaul of sanitary regulations put an end to this inflation, by formally reinstating the maximum quarantine of forty-two days.

October 1759, to Slav. SK, 1759 October 8; Vienna, 24 October 1759, to Slav. SK, to the Count Mercy, to Hof- und Staatskanzlei, to HKR, 1759 October 15; Vienna, 29 October 1759, to TLA, 1759 October 19; Vienna, 17 November 1759, to the Karlovac Generalate Command, 1759 November 3; Vienna, 29 November 1759, to the Count Mercy, the president of the Slav. SK, 1759 November 16, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3.

²⁷³ Lesky, "Die österreichische Pestfront," 98-101.

²⁷⁴ The protocol of the SHD, Vienna, 28 October 1769; SHD to the Transylvanian SK, Vienna, 24 November 1769; Vortrag der ... Sanitäts Hof-Deputation ... den Unterschied der mehr oder minder giftfangenden Waaren betref[end]. 18 November 1769, 1769 October 16, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

Some Habsburg physicians and statesmen considered this internationally accepted solution as unnecessarily burdensome for free travel. Emperor Joseph II, after visiting Habsburg-Ottoman border quarantines in Transylvania in 1773, concluded that the forty-two days' quarantine was harming Habsburg commerce and production. He encouraged a Transylvanian physician, Luxembourgian Adam Chenot, to submit a proposal on how to further decrease quarantine time and to simplify border procedures.²⁷⁵ As a contagion physician carefully observing the progress of plague cases in border quarantines, Chenot became convinced that plague could be transmitted only through direct contact with a sick person or by using the clothes recently worn by a plague victim. In his proposal to the Sanitary Court Deputation, Chenot suggested abolishing altogether the quarantine for persons and goods in the healthy regime, when no plague was reported in the Ottoman European provinces. Migrants would pass after taking a bath and having their clothes washed. In suspicious times, the quarantine would be limited to ten days, and maximally to twenty days in pestilent times. Chenot's proposition went against the medical consensus of the time and internationally accepted standards. The Medical Faculty of Vienna University, which advised the Sanitary Court Deputation, dismissed Chenot's proposal six times (1775, 1779-1784), even after Emperor Joseph invited him to come to Vienna to defend his proposal in person. Kaunitz, the head of Habsburg diplomacy at the time, also opposed, for political reasons, arguing that other European states, and Italians in particular, would regard this decrease as too permissive, a deviation from the international standard. At the insistence of Emperor Joseph II, a compromise solution was reached in March 1785. The quarantine for goods remained at twenty-

²⁷⁵ The paragraph is primarily based on Erna Lesky, "Die josephinische Reform der Seuchengesetzgebung," *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften* 40, no. 1(1956): 78-88.

one, twenty-eight and forty-two days. The quarantine time for people was decreased in accordance with Chenot's proposal, with no quarantine in healthy times, and ten and twenty days in suspicious and pestilent times. To placate other European states, the reform was not formally codified and it was enforced only on land borders, not in Habsburg ports.²⁷⁶ Thus the dilemma over whether to prioritize public health or free traffic was addressed by facilitating free travel. Selective closures of border stations, extension of quarantine times, the introduction of pre-quarantine facilities and the reforms of 1770 and 1785, all attempted to devise arrangements that would be more flexible and more accommodating to free travel. These efforts are in line with wider contemporary efforts, not only in the Habsburg Monarchy, but elsewhere in Europe to increase economic efficiency by removing obstacles to prosperity, such as unnecessary commercial procedures and burdens.²⁷⁷ This provided new legitimization to the well-established Habsburg use of border controls to facilitate free travel, rather than to curb it.

The desires to develop commerce and to protect the well-being of the population, particularly their health, were the reasons for the introduction of the *Pestkordon*. This particular form of protection against epidemic diseases was, however, not the only option available. Other Ottoman neighbors, Poland-Lithuania and Russia chose to have no permanent protection. For Venice, maritime quarantine, in combination with escorted caravans and provisional cordons during epidemics sufficed. Unlike in

²⁷⁶ The people coming from places, such as Istanbul, where plague was endemic, were subjected to seven-days' quarantine even in healthy times. Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 2, 443-47; Lesky, "Die josephinische Reform der Seuchengesetzgebung," 78-88; Lesky, "Die österreichische Pestfront," 98-101; Sabine Jesner, "Habsburgische Grenzraumpolitik in der Siebenbürgischen Militärgrenze 1760-1830. Verteidigungs- und Präventionsstrategien" (PhD diss., University of Graz, 2013), 251-56.

²⁷⁷ Behrisch, *Die Berechnung der Glückseligkeit*, 56-65.

Venice, there was an ambition in Vienna to develop both maritime and land commerce, to access the markets in the Ottoman Danubian and Balkan provinces. For this commerce, some form of sanitary protection was necessary.

The Habsburg Monarchy was much more exposed to plague epidemics than Venice or Poland-Lithuania or Russia. There were no physical buffers to stop, contain or to slow down the epidemic, like the sea in the case of Venice, or the steppe, in the case of Russia and Poland-Lithuania. An epidemic could spread across the border all the way to the Bohemian and Austrian lands, which formed a contiguous territory with Hungary, which was the most exposed. As the plague outbreak of 1712-1713 showed, the disease could reach the Habsburg capital, Vienna, in several months. The outbreaks in the late 1710s and the early 1720s displayed the inadequacy of provisional cordons. This is why the permanent *Pestkordon* was introduced in the late 1720s. It provided adequate protection against epidemic diseases, while keeping free travel and trade between two empires flowing. There were no major outbreaks in Habsburg lands between the *Pestkordon*'s foundation and the Habsburg-Ottoman border in the War of 1737-1739. As Habsburg armies began retreating before the Ottomans in 1737, despite all protective measures, the plague epidemic reached Central Hungary and Buda. Only the new network of permanent border quarantines, established several months after the signing of the Peace of Belgrade in 1739, and before the border was formally demarcated, successfully stopped the epidemic. The war showed the inadequacy of wartime provisional cordons and the close relationship between effective statewide sanitary protection and peaceful and stable borders.

The sanitary administration was structured to protect public health while keeping necessary flexibility, adapted to local circumstances. The central body, the Sanitary Court Deputation (Commission), set out basic sanitary rules, supervised their

enforcement, and ensured uniformity. It followed the health situation in Ottoman European provinces and on the Eastern Mediterranean, approving changes and adjustments in sanitary regimes as necessary. The provincial-level sanitary commissions served as intermediaries. The greatest brunt of work was on local sanitary administration, on the officials in border quarantine stations. The directors of border quarantine stations had autonomy in the everyday operation of their stations, recognizing local health circumstances and quickly adapting to them. This in-built flexibility favored free travel, by sparing non-pestilent Ottoman provinces from long quarantine times. In addition, the Sanitary Court Deputation and provincial sanitary boards tried to devise arrangements that would preserve free travel even in pestilent times, like extending quarantine time instead of closing stations altogether. Finally, after decades of experimenting, a new regime, with no quarantine during healthy times and quarantine times below international standards during plague epidemics, was introduced in the 1780s. The growth of traffic between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy in the second half of the eighteenth century suggests that the attempts to prioritize free travel were successful.

Quarantine stations, which were generally financially self-sufficient, were just one element of migration controls. In order to ensure that migrants pass only through them, it was necessary to organize a substantial workforce to supervise the sections of the border between the stations, as well as to ensure the cooperation of Ottoman authorities and migrants that would make border controls effective. This all required substantial resources as it was expensive. The question how sufficient administrative capacity was reached, enabling the Habsburg Monarchy to turn migration control into reality, is discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3: ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY

The Habsburg-Ottoman border was about 1,800 km long. It passed through populated and unpopulated areas, through cultivated lands, meadows, pastures, tick forests, over mountaintops, and followed small and big rivers. The border sanitary administration, counting altogether several hundreds of officials, supervised only official border crossings, not the sections in between, which were tens of kilometers long. Hundreds of migrants could pass through the sections unnoticed by sanitary officials, avoiding cleaning procedures, quarantine and the associated costs. A single unsupervised plague-infested traveler, slipping through outside official crossings, could possibly cause a major plague epidemic in Habsburg lands. To prevent this, as well as smuggling and clandestine immigration and emigration, supervision of the whole Habsburg-Ottoman border was necessary, year round, day and night, with thousands of guards.

Organizing effective border controls remains a major challenge even in modern states with their large and well-organized bureaucracies. One of the explanations for a relatively late introduction of border controls in many states after the First World War was that pre-industrial states did not possess sufficient administrative capacities to implement them.²⁷⁸ In early modern times, creating and maintaining permanent border controls would be a very ambitious project for small and more organized city-states. It would be much more challenging for territorial monarchies, like the Habsburg Monarchy, with their complex structure and decision-making, modest central administration, and restricted finances. Yet, the Habsburg Monarchy

²⁷⁸ Torpey, "Coming and Going."

introduced a border-control system already in the 1720s and maintained it for the next 130 years. How did it manage to organize effective border controls? To answer that, I explore four main elements contributing to the efficient border controls: the roles of the military, of migrants, of the Ottoman border authorities and of the local Habsburg border population.

Early modern states were able to organize larger statewide systematic operations, requiring significant resources and labor. The Ottoman Empire compiled comprehensive provincial registers of incomes for centuries. The Habsburg Monarchy and France relied on local elites. Both the central government and provincial ones benefited from this relationship. In the Habsburg Monarchy, provincial estates and local nobles used local knowledge and patronage networks to project central power on the local level. They extracted in an efficient and politically viable way taxes for the central state, and provisions and recruits for the standing army. In exchange, they were also legitimized by the relationship, being recognized as the legitimate political representatives of the local population.²⁷⁹ The Habsburg Monarchy successfully engaged in expensive, complex multiyear undertakings that engaged substantial manpower, such as the population census of its Austrian and Bohemian provinces in 1770-1771 and detailed mapping of its possessions, from the Austrian Netherlands to Italy and Transylvania (1763-1787).²⁸⁰ In both undertakings the Habsburg military, the largest work force readily available to the central government, played a major role. There was, therefore, a capacity, available to use. However, it came at a high cost. Maintaining standing armies was the biggest expense item of early modern states.

²⁷⁹ Godsey, *The Sinews of Habsburg Power*, 17-18, 23-29, 154, 158-73, 184-87, 325-35.

²⁸⁰ Vann, "Mapping under the Austrian Habsburgs;" Tanttner, *Ordnung der Häuser*. Stephan Steiner, *Rückkehr unerwünscht. Deportationen in der Habsburgermonarchie der Frühen Neuzeit und ihr europäischer Kontext* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2014), 118-19.

Having them engaged in multiyear operations on terrain for surveys and censuses further increased costs. In the case of border controls, the expenses were particularly critical because, unlike censuses and surveys, one-off undertakings, border checks had to permanently engage and support thousands of troops year round.

Even sufficient administrative capacity and constant supervision of the whole border would not guarantee effective controls. The most affected individuals and groups had to at least partially accept the controls. Twentieth-century totalitarian regimes, with considerable bureaucratic resources and enforcement capabilities, were well aware that they, in addition to control measures, also needed to win a necessary level of public cooperation and support.²⁸¹ On the Habsburg-Ottoman border, there were three important stakeholders involved, whose concerns and interests had to be addressed to enforce the mobility-control regime successfully. First, the migrants, the group most directly affected, had to accept border-control regulations and procedures as indispensable, reasonable, and in line with contemporary international practices. Second, the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburg partner on the other side of the boundary, had to agree with additional restrictions on free movement of people and goods, directly affecting the Ottoman economy and state finances. Third, the limitations on free traffic in the border area that the control system necessitated, significantly influenced the life of local Habsburg populations, putting their social and economic relations with their Ottoman neighbors under close state supervision and control. The Habsburg Monarchy had to make the migration controls both administratively feasible and acceptable to all interested and affected parties.

In this chapter, I first examine the role of the Habsburg military and the Habsburg Military Border. The pacification of Habsburg-Ottoman relations and subsequent

²⁸¹ “‘Information Is the Alpha and Omega,’” Groebner, *Der Schein der Person*.

reorganization of the Military Border, particularly its eastward expansion, were closely connected to the development of effective border controls. Migration control, not military defense, became the most important peacetime duty of the Military Border. I further study how the Habsburg Monarchy ensured the support of the stakeholders involved: the migrants, the border population and the Ottoman border authorities. More detailed descriptions of the extent of the engagement of the border military, of military units specialized in guarding difficult border terrain and river boundaries, as well as of the organization of border no-contact markets, can be found in the appendix of this book.

Administrative Capacity: Military; “The most important duty of border troops in peacetime was guarding the cordon”²⁸²

Besides quarantine stations, the other essential element of the border mobility controls was the system of guard posts and supervision regulations and practices designed to prevent illegal border crossing outside official quarantine stations. Even before border sanitary administration was integrated into the Military Border in 1776,²⁸³ the army had been for decades responsible for staffing the sanitary cordon. Habsburg soldiers guarded the boundary, redirecting the traffic to official border crossings. They also served as guards in quarantine stations. The local commanders were responsible for issuing passports to migrants who passed quarantine. They maintained everyday

²⁸² “Der wichtigste Dienst der Gränztruppen, zur Zeit des Friedens besteht in der Bewachung des Cordons.“ Spiridion Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde der slawonischen Militärgränze oder ausführliche Darstellung der Lage, Beschaffenheit und politischen Verfassung des Landes, dann der Lebensart, Sitten, Gebräuche, der geistigen Bildung und des Charakters seiner Bewohner* (Vienna, 1835) 48.

²⁸³ Until 1776, the border sanitary administration was independent from the Habsburg army. After 1776, it was subjected to the War Council (Hofkriegsrat) and integrated into the military.

communication with the Ottoman side, filed reports from the boundary and organized their own sanitary-intelligence networks. At the beginning, several parallel security arrangements existed, some not involving military.

When the first permanent *Pestkordon* was created in the 1720s and the 1730s, it could rely only partially on the Military Border for support. The sanitary cordon was directly adjacent to two old Military Border westernmost districts in the area between the Adriatic Sea and the Sava River, the Karlovac (Karlstadt) Generalate (or Generalcy, also known as the Croatian Border), and the Banat (or Petrinja) Border.²⁸⁴ A larger part of the border was without direct military support.²⁸⁵ The situation changed after Habsburg territorial losses in 1739. The Slavonian Military Border became aligned with the new boundary. The province of Banat, directly ruled from Vienna, staffed the cordon with its provincial militia. Further to the east, Transylvania continued not to have the Military Border. All three arrangements, the first involving the Military Border, the second in Banat, and the third in Transylvania, kept the costs low. The efficiency, on the other hand, varied. A comparison between Transylvania

²⁸⁴The two borders were the last remains (together with the Old Slavonian Border or the Varaždin Generalate) of an old defensive military frontier against the Ottomans that spread between the Adriatic Sea and Upper Hungary (now Slovakia) from the sixteenth century. While a larger section in Hungary was dissolved after 1699, because the frontier moved hundreds of kilometers to the south, the Military Borders in Croatia, where the Habsburgs were less successful in territorial expansion, survived. The Croatian and Banat military borders increased their territory and population in the war of 1683-1699. Ivić, *Migracije Srba u Hrvatsku*, 5-6, 13-14; Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, 15-16; Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence*, 84, 86-92, 240-42; Kaser, "Siedler an der habsburgischen Militärgrenze," 985-87; Ágoston, "Defending and Administering the Frontier," 221; Varga, "Croatia and Slavonia," 269-70.

²⁸⁵ During the 1720s and the 1730s, there was a progressively increasing spatial divergence as we go eastwards, between the Military Border, which continued to follow the 1699-delimitation, from the post-1718 Habsburg-Ottoman boundary. A narrow strip of land, the *Uskokan* district in northern Bosnia, separated the Slavonian Military Border from the boundary. The distance progressively increased in Habsburg Serbia and Lesser Wallachia to hundreds of kilometers between the Tisza-Máros Military Border and the actual boundary.

and western border provinces showed that the military made a decisive difference between more and less efficient border controls.

On the sections with the Military Border, border militia guarded the cordon for free, as a part of their service. In Banat, provincial militia (Landmiliz) performed this task in a similar manner. Without such troops at hand, Transylvania relied on a mix of military and civilian guards. While the standing army provided guards on major roads and in border quarantine stations, armed peasants, *Plajase* (plăieși), paid by the *Dreissigstamt*, guarded large sections of the Carpathian ranges in between, particularly the byroads and paths leading over the Carpathian Mountains to Wallachia and Moldavia.²⁸⁶ The system, however, was not very efficient. Dr. Grosse, the principal Transylvanian contagion physician, who inspected the guards in 1752, criticized the ill-defined responsibilities of the military, provincial authorities and the *Hofkammer* (das Militare, das Provinciale und das Camerale). He observed that *Plăieși* were inferior to the military, poorly trained and lacking discipline. He concluded that the whole system of guards and quarantine stations in Transylvania was effective only in the case of the migrants unfamiliar with the area and the numerous minor mountain byroads. For locals from both sides of the border, according to Dr. Grosse, Transylvania was in practice an almost open and unprotected country.²⁸⁷ The attempts to introduce better training and control failed to improve the situation. In 1760, for example, the Court Sanitary Deputation was still trying unsuccessfully to improve *Plăieși* service by introducing military discipline and rules.

²⁸⁶ Project über das Personale deren Contumaz Beambten in Siebenbürgen, 16 March 1740, 1740-1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1. Jesner, "Habsburgische Grenzraumpolitik," 32.

²⁸⁷ Anmerkungen über den von H. Dr. Grosse als in dem Fürstentum Siebenbürgen angestellten ersten Contagions-Physico... eingeschickten Vorschlag wie die Siebenbürgische Gräntzen gegen der Moldau und Wallachey... känn besser zu verwahren wären, 1755 8, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1.

It ordered that accurate lists be made of civil guards and that they be trained in shooting. It organized elaborate regular unannounced inspections and controls. To address permissiveness toward locals and familiarization, guards were never to be assigned to their home district and they were to be changed every two weeks.²⁸⁸ These recommendations were not sufficiently enforced, and guarding service continued to be inadequate. A couple of years later the system was abolished altogether, *plăieși* were dissolved, and replaced by the newly organized Transylvanian Military Border.

While the Transylvanian border continued to be plagued by problems during the 1740s and the 1750s, the central and western sections of the border went through reforms. The existing military border districts were reorganized from 1737 through the 1740s and early 1750s (Croatian Border in 1746, Banal and Slavonian Borders by the 1750s). The troops were divided into territorial battalions and regiments, like the regular army, with draconian discipline and yearly drills. This enabled the Monarchy to use successfully border troops outside the Habsburg-Ottoman border, in other European theaters of war. A better organization was also reflected in border guarding service, improving border supervision and contributing to a decline in banditry.²⁸⁹ The reforms further increased, at the expense of Transylvania, the contrast in migration-

²⁸⁸ Instruction welche sowohl von den angestellten Granitz Wächern oder Plajaschen, und deren Vorgesetzten Inspectoren, als auch von denen Landes- Inwohnern, in Betreff deren hinkünftig zu versicherenden Playen, Reith- und Fuß-Weegen, über die Landes-Gräntzen, zu beobachten ist, 1760 Januar 18, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1.

²⁸⁹ A use of some border troops in the War of the Polish Succession (1733-1735) inspired reforms. Border troops proved essential in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) and valuable in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). At that moment, with about 40,000 soldiers, they made up about a quarter of the Habsburg army, although only a third could march out of the Military Border at a time. Rothenberg, *The Military Border in Croatia*, 21-38, 40-45; Kaser, *Freier Bauer und Soldat*, 131-39; Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence*, 83-92, 227-30, 240-43, 319-24; William O'Reilly, "Border, Buffer and Bulwark. The Historiography of the Military Frontier, 1521-1881," in *Frontiers and the Writing of History*, 231, 233, 238, 242. For drop in banditry, see Chapter 1.

control efficiency that already existed between it and the western portions of the *Pestkordon*. As a result, the Military border was expanded to the east, to cover the whole length of the Habsburg-Ottoman border, to Banat in 1764-1765, and to Transylvania in 1762-1766.²⁹⁰ One reason for the expansion was to increase further a relatively cheap source of troops to use elsewhere.²⁹¹ The other was to resolve deficiencies of the sanitary cordon in Transylvania.²⁹² In 1763-1764 a special battalion of military boatmen (*Tschaikistenbataillon*) was established to patrol the border rivers of Danube and Sava.²⁹³ This suggests that control of cross-border mobility was, as a factor in the extension of the Military Border, not less important than the increase in the number of recruits. Thus, by the late 1760s, along the whole length of the *Pestkordon* there was a uniformly organized Military border to support it. The Military Border continued to perform this duty until its abolition in 1851-1881.²⁹⁴ Through this institution, the Habsburg central government was able to directly regulate and control cross-border migrations.

²⁹⁰ Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, 83-98; Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence*, 318-24; O'Reilly, "Border, Buffer and Bulwark," 231, 233.

²⁹¹ Kaser, *Freier Bauer und Soldat*, 512-520.

²⁹² As suggested by Lesky. Rothenberg, *The Military Border in Croatia*, 46-49.

²⁹³ More about *Tschaikisten* in Chapter 3 and the Appendix 3.2.

²⁹⁴ Rothenberg, *The Military Border in Croatia*, 180-92; Kaser, *Freier Bauer und Soldat*, 490-501.

Table 3.1. The Military Border after its extension to Banat and Transylvania in the 1760s²⁹⁵

Central Court institution	Provincial commands	Border regiments
The Court War Council	Karlovac Generalate	Lika Otočac Ogulin Slunj
	Banal Border	Glina Petrinja
	Slavonian Border	Gradiška Brod Petrovaradin <i>Tschaikisten</i> battalion
	Banat Border	German Illyrian
	Transylvanian Border	1. Wallachian 2. Szekler 1. Szekler 2. Wallachian

The Military border provided a large and well-organized body of men. Its eastward extension increased the number of available soldiers in the late 1760s and in the 1770s to 65,000-70,000.²⁹⁶ Some of them were engaged in *Pestkordon* duties, either by

²⁹⁵ Based on Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence*. The Varaždin Generalate (Old Slavonian Border) was exempted from sanitary cordon duties. Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 2: 360.

²⁹⁶ Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence*, 324.

guarding the border or by waiting to relieve serving guards, who usually changed each week. According to an estimate from 1823, the Military Border had to provide at least 4,179 guards in healthy times, 6,798 when plague was present in distant Ottoman provinces (or when there was political disorder in Ottoman border provinces), and 10,066 when a plague epidemic reached the border.²⁹⁷ The actual number of people involved in guarding the border and unavailable for use elsewhere triples when we count in the military units returning from duty and those getting ready to relieve the present guards.²⁹⁸ The maintenance costs for such a sizeable work force, as well as control infrastructure, were substantial. Border officers' salaries and allowances had to be paid, while command centers, watch houses, patrol paths and barriers had to be built and maintained. The costs were lowered in several ways. The biggest savings resulted from the fact that border soldiers did not need to be paid for their service on the sanitary cordon. They had to provide their service for free in exchange for the right to cultivate land plots assigned to their families. In 1786, the border soldiers in Slavonia had to serve on the cordon at least two months during healthy years and more during suspicious and pestilent times. As with their other provincial services (guarding the provincial and regimental commands, escorting arrestees, guarding convicts who pulled barges upstream), they had to provide it without pay, covering all their costs by themselves. The border soldiers received remunerations only when used on campaigns outside the Military Border. In addition, the border soldiers also had to

²⁹⁷ There were different dynamics involved in the increase of guards on various sections of the border. On the Transylvanian Military Border, fewer guards were engaged during winter, because snow blocked some of passes and byways in the Carpathians. Jesner, "Habsburgische Grenzraumpolitik," 49. See the Appendix 3.1 for more information about border guards.

²⁹⁸ SHK, 8 October 1743, 1743 October 4, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1. In 1766, 3,534 soldiers were allocated to the Karlovac Generalate cordon in pestilent times. The advice of the Sanitäts- [Hof-] Deputation, 21 May 1766, 1766 Junius 1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2. This number could include the replacements, which would staff the cordon after a week.

pay taxes, which financed the operation of the border administration, including officers' salaries. They were also obliged to provide *Robaten* (corvée), for the erection of watch houses, officers' accommodation, border paths and other necessary border infrastructure. Due to these measures, the cost of maintenance of border troops, even when used in military campaigns elsewhere in Europe was just a quarter of the costs of the regular army.²⁹⁹ At the border, border troops not only provided necessary labor for the operation of border controls, but also managed to finance most of its costs.³⁰⁰ While classifying the border soldiers as state serfs would be an exaggeration, in the eighteenth century they were very far from free peasant soldiers.³⁰¹

The flipside of this was the militarization of society along the Military Border. For example, the commanding general in Osijek (later in Petrovaradin) was the head not only of the military, but also of all the administration of the border area, including judiciary, and military townships, whose inhabitants were engaged in trade and provided no military service. Retired officers usually led military townships. With no free cities and no noble manors, the Slavonian Military Border was not politically

²⁹⁹ Engel, "Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien," vol. 2: 317-18, 333-34, 711, 713-15, 732, 1013-14; Kaser, *Freier Bauer und Soldat*, 354-65.

³⁰⁰ There were some additional costs, particularly during pestilent regimes. In 1762, border soldiers had to be subsidized with a cordon allowance of two Kreuzer. Bartenstein to Maria Theresia, Vienna, 14 September 1762, 26 October 1762, 16 November 1762, 17 and 31 October 1762, 1762 September 13; 1762-October-23; 1762 December 3; 1762 December 17, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1. If all guards would receive this allowance for a full year during pestilent regime, the total costs would run up to over 120,000 guildens. When introduced in the thirteenth century, Kreutzer was silver coin. From 1760, it was made of copper. Its standard value was four pfennigs; 60 Kreutzer made one gulden, also known as florin (fl.) or as forint in Hungary. Thus 1 Gulden = 60 Kreutzer = 240 Pfennigs. Österreichische Geldgeschichte. Vom Mittelalter bis zum Euro (Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbank, s.d.), 24-25, 46-49,

https://www.oenb.at/docroot/flipbooks/oesterreichische_geldgeschichte/flipviewerxpress.html

(Accessed 11 January 2016). Similar situation existed on the Transylvanian Military Border. Jesner, "Habsburgische Grenzraumpolitik," 40, 43, 60-61.

³⁰¹ As described by Kaser, *Freier Bauer und Soldat*.

represented in Hungarian diets. Although formally subjected to the *locum tenens* of Hungary, the Slavonian commanding general, for example, received orders from the War Council in Vienna.³⁰² The central government was more present and influential than elsewhere in the monarchy.³⁰³ This militarization lowered costs and increased the efficiency of the Military border. It also lowered the freedom of the population, imposing hereditary military profession on male inhabitants. Although military border men were often designated as “free peasants,” their contemporaries were critical of this. As Engel noted in 1786, “if the freedom is taken in its natural meaning...the border men are very far from it,” since they are not allowed to decide the non-military career for themselves or for their children.³⁰⁴

“Uninterrupted System of Sentinels”³⁰⁵

Watch houses (Tschartaken, Cserdaken, Wachthütten, Wachthäuser, Thürme) existed along the borderline before the sanitary cordon was organized. They were built along the Slavonian border with Ottoman Bosnia soon after 1699. At that time, when it was still not clear whether the pacification of the Habsburg-Ottoman border would be permanent, they served as observation points, to alert the Habsburg defense of possible Ottoman attacks. At the time when the sanitary cordon was established in the

³⁰² Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 2: 75, 84-85; vol. 3: 86-87; Engel, “Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien,” vol. 2: 759-60, 762, 764-66; Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 42-46.

³⁰³ Military Border was surveyed earlier than other provinces in Hungary. Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence*, 324-26.

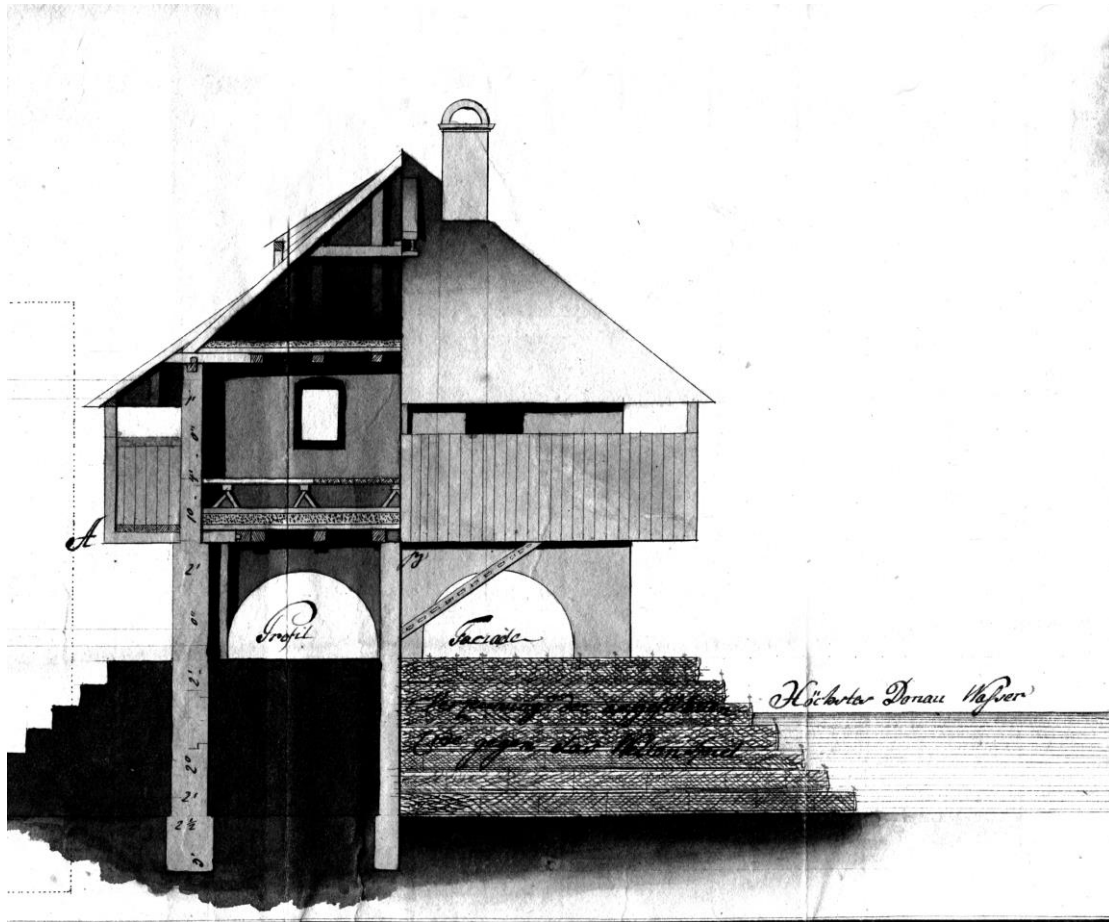
³⁰⁴ “Wenn übrigens die natürliche Freyheit nach ihrer eigentlichen Bedeutung genommen wird, so ist der Gränzer sowohl in Rücksicht seiner eigenen Person, als auch seiner Kinder die ihre Bestimmung zum Militär stand haben, mithin da er mit denenselben nicht nach Willkuhr disponiren darf, wert davon entfernet.” Engel, “Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien,” vol. 2: 542-43.

³⁰⁵ “ununterbrochene System von Wachen.” Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 48.

1720s, the Habsburg authorities realized that peacetime cross-border raids were a thing of the past. Watchtowers focused, therefore, not on Ottoman military, but on migrants. Partly built of stones, partly of wood, they were placed as to make the two neighboring watchtowers, left and right, visible, as well as the boundary sections in between. The distances varied, depending on the terrain. In the hilly and wooded terrain of Croatia (Karlovac Generalate and Banat Border) they could be placed much closer than in the flatlands of Slavonia, Srem or Banat, for example, where in 1765, it was ordered that they should be about fifteenth minutes' walk from one another. In Slavonia, the watchtowers along the Sava River were made of wood, placed on wooden poles, a couple of meters above ground, so that the observation area could be larger, and to keep guards dry during seasons, such as spring, when water levels were high. The size depended on the post's importance. A typical watchtower had a main room, surrounded by a roofed terrace with a chest-high fence, so the soldiers were protected during observations. Guards climbed into watchtowers using ladders, pulled up in the case of danger, with embrasures (Schießlöcher) in the floor for defense. In times of danger, additional middle posts (Zwischenposten) were added between regular posts. From watchtowers, border guards went on patrols, inspecting the eventual signs of illegal entrances. They reported to border officers, placed in smaller fortifications. In Slavonia, cavalry also performed patrol duties. A cordon road (Cordonstrasse) going along the borderline connected watchtowers. At night, gun shots (Signalschüsse) were used to alert surrounding stations in case of intrusion. The guards submitted regular reports to officers, usually to "most humbly report that there was nothing to report."³⁰⁶

³⁰⁶ "Gehorsamst melden, daß sie nichts zu melden haben." In the nineteenth century, there was an alarm system along the whole border. Main posts had alarm poles (Alarmstangen), a plate placed between two wooden poles and mallets to hit it, so that the sound could be heard at the next station. A

Figure 3.1. Watch Tower near Pančevo (late eighteenth/early nineteenth c.)³⁰⁷



bunch of straw soaked in tar on a high pole, fired when needed, served as a night alarm. Through the alarm system, a signal traveled from Dalmatia to Serbia in an hour or an hour and a half. There were many false alarms. Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 3: 115-16; Engel, "Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien," vol. 2: 711, 713-15; Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 1: 366, 369; vol. 2, no. 2: 354-56; Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 48-53; E. I. von Tkalac, *Jugenderinnerungen aus Kroatien (1749-1823. 1824-1843)* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1894), 134-36; Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence*, 240-42.

³⁰⁷ Source: Entwurf eines Cordons Wachthauses bequiem für 20 Mann bestehende ...auf unter Oficirs Posten Homolizer Dunavaez, IAB-1184-IG, 1/8. I would to thank to the Historical Archive of Belgrade for providing me with an electronic copy of this document.

In addition to watchtowers, in the Karlovac Generalate and on the Banal Border, where despite a denser network of watchtowers, the terrain was still difficult to observe, special mobile patrol units were organized to surveil hilly and mountainous areas, *Seressaner* or “cordon’s police” (Cordons-Polizei). They were specialized in fighting robbery, smuggling, and desertion. On the Sava and Danube rivers, from Jasenovac in Slavonia to Banatska Palanka in Banat, the river battalion of *Tschaikisten*, organized in 1763-1764, patrolled. They used small galleys, called *Tschaiken* or *Sayken*, with rowing banks and sails that could move quickly upstream and downstream. *Tschaiken* could carry from 100 to 1,000 people and two to four cannons. The *Tschaikisten* came from the *Tschaikisten* Battalion district of the Military Border, in Bačka, between the Tisza and the Danube. They patrolled from spring to autumn along border rivers.³⁰⁸

In addition to the fight against epidemics, the cordon and the Military Border were used as a tool for population management and economic policy.³⁰⁹ By controlling migrants, the cordon did not only check for epidemics. It performed other secondary duties, like the fight against banditry, regularly mentioned in the cordon’s descriptions written by contemporaries. The hierarchy of other tasks changed, reflecting population policy priorities. In the eighteenth century, when the Habsburg Monarchy was working on increasing its population, the focus was on preventing unauthorized travels to the Ottoman Empire, particularly emigration, flight of criminals and desertion. In the 1820s, preventing emigration and desertion were still mentioned among the cordon’s goals, but also the immigration of undesirables. In

³⁰⁸ See the Appendix 3.2. for more about *Seressaner* and *Tschaikisten*.

³⁰⁹ Military defense against Ottomans nominally remained one of the main duties of the sanitary cordon. There was no Ottoman military threat during peacetime in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the eighteenth century in nine out of ten years there was peace between Vienna in Istanbul. There were no military conflicts between two empires in the nineteenth century.

1835, emigration was not perceived as a major problem. Instead, the focus was on preventing the immigration of “good for nothings” and smuggling. Writing about the sanitary cordon as it existed in the 1830s and the 1840s, when he visited it as a boy, Imbro Tkalac cynically noted that its role “is certainly not the defense against Turkish raids of the Austrian territory, but principally the suppression of smuggling of tobacco, salt, coffee and sugar from the Ottoman to the Habsburg territory, because [Ottoman price of] these products was only half [of the Austrian price].”³¹⁰

Guarding the cordon became the principal peacetime duty of the Military Border. The number of service days, particularly in pestilent years, suggests that it was the predominant and heavy duty on many border sections. In 1823, border soldiers spent on average fifty-two days on sanitary-cordon duties in healthy years, a third of their 150 days of yearly service (forty-eight days were spent in exercises and maneuvers and forty-two days on duties within the regiment). The service on the cordon could double during pestilent and suspicious health regimes.³¹¹ In addition, there were

³¹⁰ “Die eigentliche Bestimmung dieser Gränzsoldaten ist, fowohl in Friedens- als Kriegszeiten die Gränzen zu decken und dieselben Tag und Nacht zu bewachen; folglich zu verhüten, daß die Osmanen keinen Unfug auf österreichischem Grund und Boden treiben, daß keine türkische Räuber hereinsbrechen, daß sich niemand ohne Haltung der Quarantaine durchschleiche, daß keiner ohne Paß in die Turkey gehe, daß die Ausreisser, Uebelthäter und andere, die über die Gränze ins türkische Gebieth flüchten wollen.” “...um zu verhüten, daß keine Soldaten von den deutschen und hungarischen Regimentern ausreissen; daß sich niemand aus der Turkey ohne Haltung der Quarantäne durchschleiche; daß die Türken nicht herüber kommen und Unheil anrichten mögen.” Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, Vol. 3: 81, 115-16; Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 2: 354-56. The purpose of the cordon, according to Jowitsch was to prevent Ottoman attacks, spread of plague epidemics, smuggling, desertion and the “Einwanderung von schlechten und unnützen Gesindel.” Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 48. “An der österreichisch-türkischen Grenze war stets ein Militärcordon aufgestellt, der allerdings nicht mehr zur Abwehr türkischer Einbrüche auf österreichisches Gebiet, sondern hauptsächlich zur Verhinderung des Schmuggels von Tabak, Salz, Kaffee und Zucker aus türkischem auf österreichisches Gebiet diente, weil diese Artikel dort nur halb so viel kosteten als hier.” Tkalac, *Jugenderinnerungen*, 134-35.

³¹¹ Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 2: 362-63.

significant local and regional differences that could increase the burden further. First, travel times varied. Soldiers changed each week, and each served in healthy years at least four times. Some soldiers needed days to reach designated cordon posts. The soldiers from distant villages on the Karlovac Generalate in Croatia, for example, needed four days to reach their designated cordon posts. Total service and travel time during pestilent years would double.³¹² Further, the burden was unevenly distributed between border sections and border regiments. The soldiers in the relatively populous Lika and Ogulin regiments, and two Banal regiments were responsible for smaller border sections, sending fewer than 200 people at once to the cordon, compared to the regiments in Slavonia or parts of Transylvania, that needed to provide more than 400 to staff their respective sections.³¹³ This imbalance would further increase in pestilent years. In 1817, a *Grenzer* from the Gradiška Regiment in Slavonia spent on average 262 days in service, 168 on the cordon, leaving him with little time to cultivate his plot, his main source of income and sustenance.³¹⁴ Tkalac, who in 1834 visited his older brother, who served on the cordon as an officer, called the cordon service “an extremely heavy burden” (eine überaus harte Fronde). Spending days isolated, often in harsh weather and in the wilderness (Einöde), was difficult both physically and mentally. Officers struggled with boredom and loneliness. Tkalac’s brother, quartered in a single room with one bed, one table, and one chair, with the next post at shooting distance and the actual boundary only fifty steps away, fought against boredom and loneliness by bringing several novels by Walter Scott to his duty station.³¹⁵ The

³¹² Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 2, 356-57; Tkalac, *Jugenderinnerungen*, 134-51. For Transylvania, see Jesner, “Habsburgische Grenzraumpolitik,” 99.

³¹³ Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 2, 357-58.

³¹⁴ Kaser, *Freier Bauer und Soldat*, 478-81, 490-501.

³¹⁵ Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 1: 214; vol. 2, no. 2, 356-57; Tkalac, *Jugenderinnerungen*, 134-51. See also Lesky, “Die österreichische Pestfront,” 88-90; Rothenberg,

cordon duty remained very unpopular among both officers and common soldiers until the Military Border was dissolved.

Stakeholders: Local population

The operation of the cordon was based on laws criminalizing the crossing of the border outside quarantine stations. A very strict regulation was complemented by a juridical system with martial courts and harsh punishments, all intended to serve as a deterrent. On its face, the system was very severe.³¹⁶ The patent published by Empress Maria Theresa on 25 August 1766, translated into all commonly spoken (in allen in dem Lande gewöhnlichen Sprachen) languages in the Austrian and Hungarian lands, including the border areas around the *Pestkordon*, emphasized that the quarantine stations were the only allowed entrance points both in healthy and in pestilent times. Only roads leading to quarantine stations were marked, while the other roads and paths in the border area were to be hidden and forbidden to use. If an attempted illegal crossing by these side roads was noticed, migrants would be warned to return to the main road or risk being shot, their corpses burned, and their animals and goods confiscated. The death sentence was prescribed for those who committed certain sanitary transgressions: transgressors coming from pestilent provinces and detected only after they had already entered; those traveling with false travel documents (*Attestata, Pässe Federn, Prattica*); migrants who reported a false place of origin to

“The Austrian Sanitary Cordon.” 18; Ilić, “Der Sanitätskordon,” 344-48; Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*, 68; Panzac, “Politique sanitaire,” 94-95; O’Reilly, “Border, Buffer and Bulwark,” 238-39.

³¹⁶ In 1739 and 1740 Emperor Charles VI issued a patent that threatened anyone illegally crossing the provisional *Pestkordon* between Lower Austria and Hungary with a death sentence. Festsetzung der Todesstrafe für diejenigen, die unerlaubt den um Niederösterreich gelegten Kordon gegen die Pest überschreiten, 16 January 1740, FHKA SUS Patente 74.2.

avoid a long quarantine; the local subjects who helped them. Local inhabitants as well as tavern and innkeepers who did not report illegal immigrants or strangers with improper travel documents to authorities were to be subjected to the punishment of two years of trench digging (Schanz Strafe).³¹⁷ In applying sanitary law targeting transgressions, however, the local and provincial authorities were careful not to alienate locals, trying to coopt them instead in border-control enforcement.

Local Habsburg subjects were the weakest link of border controls. The locals knew the terrain, were familiar with border guards and patrols, and had friends on the other side of the border. For them, it was not too difficult to cross the border unnoticed or help others avoid controls. Vuck Jankovics, an inhabitant of Zemun, in the summer of 1762 left his wife Milicza and their children and crossed secretly with his lover, Stoja Jovanova, to the Ottoman Empire. Vuck and Stoja met near the gates, sneaked together to the river shore where a prearranged Ottoman boat waited for them. They crossed the border unnoticed. At the repeated request of the abandoned wife Milicza, Marin Vojkovics, a friend from Zemun went on several occasions secretly to Belgrade to beg Vuck to return to his family. Marin crossed through fields and swamps, and Ottoman subjects, who transported firewood to Zemun, transported him

³¹⁷ Erneuerung der Kontumaz-Ordnung, 25 August 1766, FHKA SUS Patente 159.31. The severity of the legislation was amended formally in 1769, by clarifying that in healthy times sanitary offenders were not sent to martial courts, but subjected to the regular criminal procedure instead. In 1805 the death sentence was abolished for the locals who helped transgressors. To the Slav. SK; to the Transylv. SK, the SK in the Generalate of Karlovac; also to TLA; to Commercial- Intendenza in Triest; also to HKR; to Obriste Justitz Stelle; to the Ministerial Banco Deputation; to the Commerzien Rath; to the Hungarian and Transylvanian Chancelleries. Vienna, 9 February 1769, Freih[err] von Koller. The original in the Austrian and Bohemian Court Chancellery; Nota to the HKR; to the Obriste Justiz Stelle; to the Ministerial Banco- Deputation; to the Commerzien Rath; Inclyta to the Hungarian Chancellery; to the Transylvanian Chancellery, Vienna, 9 February 1769, 1769 Februarius 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2. Military defense against Ottomans nominally remained one of the main duties of the sanitary cordon. There was no Ottoman military threat during peacetime in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 2: 449.

to Belgrade and back secretly. Both Vuck and Marin moved across the border secretly with ease. The affair was discovered only in December 1763, when Vuck, after “spells that... [Stoja] threw on him were broken” decided to return to his family. His return to Zemun was immediately noticed. Marin received fifty lashes. Vuck was arrested.³¹⁸ The sources do not explain what happened to him later. Based on the outcomes of similar court cases, he was probably sentenced to several months or a couple of years of hard labor. Local inhabitants often played a crucial role in organizing illegal crossings for non-locals, even without Ottoman participation. In 1769, a Zemun fisherman Janko Stanojevics Kuriak was arrested for secretly transporting people over the border during the night while pretending to fish.³¹⁹ The local population was trying to avoid complicated procedures regulating travel to the Ottoman Empire and back.

It was essential for authorities to dissuade the border population from such actions. One manner was a closer regulation of border life. Concentrated villages, with houses in a line, progressively replaced dispersed houses to increase public security, but also so that neighbors could keep a watchful eye on each other and alert authorities if necessary.³²⁰ For example, they were obliged to report to authorities if their neighbors prepared to emigrate from the Military Border.³²¹ The active role of

³¹⁸ IAB, ZM, 1764-1-98, 1764-1-72, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 187-99.

³¹⁹ IAB, ZM, 1769-2-89, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 266-72. Six people from Otočac regiment in the Karlovac Generalate were arrested in 1764 for helping an immigrant Ive Marinich to illegally cross the cordon from Ottoman Bosnia. Vienna, 5 August 1764, to the Interim commander of the Karlovac Generalate, 1764 Augustus 5; 1764 Augustus 10; Vienna, 13 November 1764, to Interim commander of the Karlovac Generalate, 1764 November 4, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3.

³²⁰ “Die öffentliche Sicherheit... hergestellt worden ist, bloß in der Zusammenziehung der Dorfschaften an die Landstraße, in der Regulierung der Häuser nach immer guten Ordnung, damit jeder Einwohner auf das Betragen seines Nachbars Acht haben konnte.” Engel, “Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien,” vol. 1: 190.

³²¹ Engel, “Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien,” vol. 1: 274.

local population is further stressed in ordinances targeting strangers. In 1761, the commander of Zemun, Colonel Schulze, ordered town inhabitants to discreetly report to the town magistrate the arrival of all strangers (particularly Ottoman Muslims), their “Tauf- und Zunamen” and the reason for their arrival.³²² Non-natives who did not engage local help ran into many more difficulties and were often caught, as was the case with deserters. The crossing of the borderline was just the first step. The migrant needed some support after crossing and guides to take him away from the border. The border population was made up of small communities, where everyone knew each other and a stranger stood out.

For locals, short stays and quick returns decreased the possibility of detection. That is why Marin’s secret trip from Zemun to Belgrade went unnoticed. The return of his friend Vuck, absent for a year and a half, could not be kept secret. The local population could be very alert and supportive of public policies. In 1778, Zemun inhabitant Syma Lukics reported that one local boatman negotiated with “Turks.”³²³ Although the content of the boatman’s conversation remained unknown to him, he was aware that the authorities did not approve of unsupervised communication with the people living on the other side of the border.

Mutual control was the most efficient enforcement method. Denunciations were an essential tool in the control of the local population. People were encouraged to report not only strangers, but also suspicious behavior by their neighbors. The informants were protected and rewarded for their role, for example by receiving a

³²² Obrister Schulze to the Zemun Magistrate, Zemun, 9 September 1761, IAB, ZM, 1761-1-3, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 144. Thirteen years later, the Zemun military command reminded the Zemun Magistrate that the inhabitants were obliged to report all strangers accommodated in town inns and in private houses. Nobody was allowed to approach border rivers before noon and during the night. IAB, ZM, 1774-2-27, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 388-91.

³²³ IAB, ZM, 1778-1-112, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 462-64.

third of the value of smuggled goods.³²⁴ Local peasants were rewarded if they caught escaped convicts sentenced to hard labor in the border area.³²⁵ This loyalty of the local population to the system was probably the most important element in its functioning. The many instances when locals reported each other suggest that this internal social control gave the migration-control regime most of its strength.

A different approach existed in Lika in Croatia: attempting to win over the support of local population. The border regime there was more lax before the 1760s, as an additional support to the delicate local economy. One of the original parts of the Military Border, created in the sixteenth century, the Karlovac Generalate, of which Lika was the southernmost region, more than doubled its territory as well as its population during the war of 1683-1699. It received many waves of settlers from the Ottoman Empire before 1699. The number of its inhabitants swelled so much that this westernmost section of the Military Border could provide the Habsburg military with 18,000 soldiers, a quarter of all border troops, 4,000 more than the much bigger Transylvanian Border.³²⁶ The disadvantage was that local agriculture could not feed so many people. Transportation costs made importing food from the Hungarian Plain to compensate for shortages prohibitively expensive. The most convenient and least expensive way to import food was from nearby Ottoman western Bosnia. The Habsburg Monarchy allowed custom-free import of goods from Bosnia for personal use. In exchange for food, the Habsburg subjects supplied Bosnians with salt from the Adriatic salt works, which they could buy from military warehouses in Senj and

³²⁴ Auswanderungspatent, Vienna, 10 August 1784, in *Handbuch aller unter der Regierung des Kaisers Joseph des II für die K. K. Erbländer ergangener Verordnungen und Gesetze in einer Sistematischen Verbindung* 6, no. 2 (1786): 279-307, here 290.

³²⁵ Steiner, *Rückkehr unerwünscht*, 26.

³²⁶ Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence*, 321-24.

Karlobag at a discount.³²⁷ Why did not only Ottoman peasants, but also Venetian subjects from Dalmatia continue to arrive in this overcrowded and occasionally hunger-stricken province? If they were coming from even worse conditions in the Balkans, would not they be better off settling in western Bosnia, which produced at least some agricultural surpluses? While it is not possible to answer these questions with more certainty, it appears that Lika was an initial reception area for immigrants. From there, migrants were often re-settled into more prosperous provinces, such as Slavonia or Banat.³²⁸ The immigrants possibly chose to cross the boundary here because it was easier to leave the Ottoman Empire unnoticed. The border area here was scarcely populated, wild and forested. The borders on the Sava and Danube were better monitored, and Ottoman border authorities could prevent the emigration of their subjects more easily.

To further help the local population, the sanitary regime here was for a long time more relaxed. The Sanitary Court Deputation ordered the organization of two quarantine stations, Slunj and Rudanovac, in 1753, more than a decade later than elsewhere.³²⁹ This part of the border continued to operate differently until the 1760s. In April 1758, the quarantine time for migrants coming to this section of the border

³²⁷ In 1820, the ratio of exchange was one measure of salt for three measures of grain. Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 1: 312. Kaser, *Freier Bauer und Soldat*, 501-505.

³²⁸ See Chapter 4.

³²⁹ Previously there were only temporary cordons, drawn during suspicious and pestilent times. In October 1742, the Sanitary Court Commission ordered the drawing and staffing of the cordon against Bosnia because of a plague epidemic there. Rescript to the Innerösterreichische Krieg Stelle, 24. oktober 1742, 1742 October 6, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1. The work on the quarantine facilities continued into 1755. SHD to Slav. SK, 14 May 1753, 1753 Majus 1; Vienna, 4 August 1753, Nota to the HKR, 1753 Augustus 2; Vienna, 17 December 1753, Nota to Hofkammer, 1753 December 7; Vienna, 9 April 1754, to Scherzer; and Nota to Hofkammer, 1754 Aprilis 6; Vienna, 26 April 1755, to the Count Petazzi, 1755 Aprilis 8; Vienna, 2 June 1755, to the Count Petazzi. 1755 Junius 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

was decreased to fourteen days, below the official minimum (twenty-one days).³³⁰ In 1754 and in 1760, the quarantine was cancelled altogether for border soldiers who went to Bosnia to buy food for their families.³³¹ The local character of trade with no major trade routes passing through meant that the danger that merchants could bring some epidemic from faraway places was smaller. In addition, most of the imported merchandise here consisted of cereals, other kinds of food and live animals, all exempted from quarantine.

A lenient approach and a more flexible mobility regime worked well until the 1760s, when it was temporarily called into question. After the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), there was an intensification of efforts to standardize and rationalize Habsburg administration.³³² The Sanitary Court Deputation set out to codify sanitary administration and to make quarantine facilities and procedures more uniform. The special arrangement in the Karlovac Generalate was perceived as a potentially dangerous anomaly. The local lax approach appeared to leave the province, the greatest source of soldiers, too exposed to plague epidemics in Bosnia, at the very moment when the losses in the Seven Years' War created manpower shortages.³³³ When, during the summer of 1763, a plague epidemic spread through Bosnia, the Sanitary Court Deputation ordered a complete halt in the trade with the Ottomans. Severe hunger spread through Lika.³³⁴ The commanding general in Karlovac, Baron

³³⁰ SHD to the commanding general in the Karlovac Generalate, 1758 Aprilis 13, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3.

³³¹ SHD to the Command of the Karlovac Generalate, Vienna, 5 April 1760, 1760 Aprilis 2, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3.

³³² Behrisch, *Die Berechnung der Glückseligkeit*, 56-74.

³³³ Rothenberg, *The Military Border in Croatia*, 40-45.

³³⁴ Maria Theresia to Generalate of Karlovac, Vienna, 15 September 1763, 1763 Augustus 8; Maria Theresia to the Interims-Commando in dem Carlstädter Generalat, Vienna, 1 October 1763; Nota to

Beck, explained to the Sanitary Deputation that even in good years it was necessary to import grain to feed the two Lika regiments (Lika and Otočac districts). It was impossible to get food under isolation. Military grain reserves were not sufficient, and importing grain from Karlovac on packhorses was unfeasible because in the dead of winter the horses would consume the most if not all the grain they were carrying. The only way would be to open the Lika border with Bosnia and to allow the border inhabitants access to the salt warehouses on the coast, so that they could exchange salt for grain in a transaction that was economically feasible.³³⁵

After the closure of 1763 and the three consecutive bad harvests that followed,³³⁶ the Karlovac Generalate could count on only a third of its soldiers, with the others unfit for service. The Karlovac leadership requested a permanent border arrangement that would keep the border with Bosnia always open for the import of food. The Deputation suggested organizing weekly border markets (*Rastelle* oder *Wochen-Märckte*), where the sale and barter (*Stichhandel*) of grain, other foodstuffs, salt and live animals with the Ottomans (*Türcken*) would always be possible, under strict sanitary precautions.³³⁷ In 1768, the Sanitary Court Deputation approved the organization of *Rastelle* in the Karlovac Generalate.³³⁸ The exchange of goods was limited to foodstuffs (*gemeinen Lebensmitteln*) to which pestilent miasma did not stick. The exchange was organized in such a manner that there was no direct contact

HKR, Vienna, 2 October 1763; Nota [of HKR to SHD], Vienna, 17 November 1763, 1763-October-2, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2. More about the Lika hunger of 1763 in Chapter 2.

³³⁵ Baron de Beck to Maria Theresa, Karlovac, 17 Decembar 1763, 1763-December 11, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

³³⁶ Rothenberg, *The Military Border in Croatia*, 40-45.

³³⁷ Report of the Sanitäts- [Hof-] Deputation, 21 May 1766, 1766 Junius 1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2. It is not clear what this name *Rastel* means. Perhaps from Italian. *Rastello*, *Rastrello*? – rake, German *das Rastel* – wicker(work), wire net.

³³⁸ In Rudanovac, there was also one of the two quarantine stations of the Karlovac Generalate.

between the Habsburg and Ottoman sides.³³⁹ The *Rastelle* itself was an elongated triangle with an open base on the boundary and a five-foot-tall fence on the longer sides. Regular *Pestkordon* fencing connected on the left and right sides of the triangle, with military watches, to make sure that Ottoman merchants would enter only through the base into the enclosure. The tip of the triangle on the opposite side was cut out with a smaller fence, closer to the base. Under supervision of a military officer in a guardroom, goods were exchanged without contact (see figure 3.2.). Livestock³⁴⁰ was considered clean after swimming through a nearby river or through a specially dug ditch filled with water. Ottomans bought Habsburg goods through barter or by showing money and then dropping it in warm vinegar.³⁴¹

Through the organization of border markets, the border-control regime attempted to reconcile the economic interests of local Habsburg border inhabitants with proper sanitary precautions, discouraging smuggling. The other main source of clandestine border crossings, secret travels by the locals was subsequently addressed as well. They were attempting to avoid the significant burden that quarantine procedures placed on necessary business and family short-distance trips to the other side of the boundary. In the 1830s, the travelers from the Habsburg side of the border were allowed to travel to the Ottoman Empire without need to be subjected to quarantine if they returned on the same day and if they were accompanied throughout the whole trip by a customs official. The customs official would guarantee that there had been

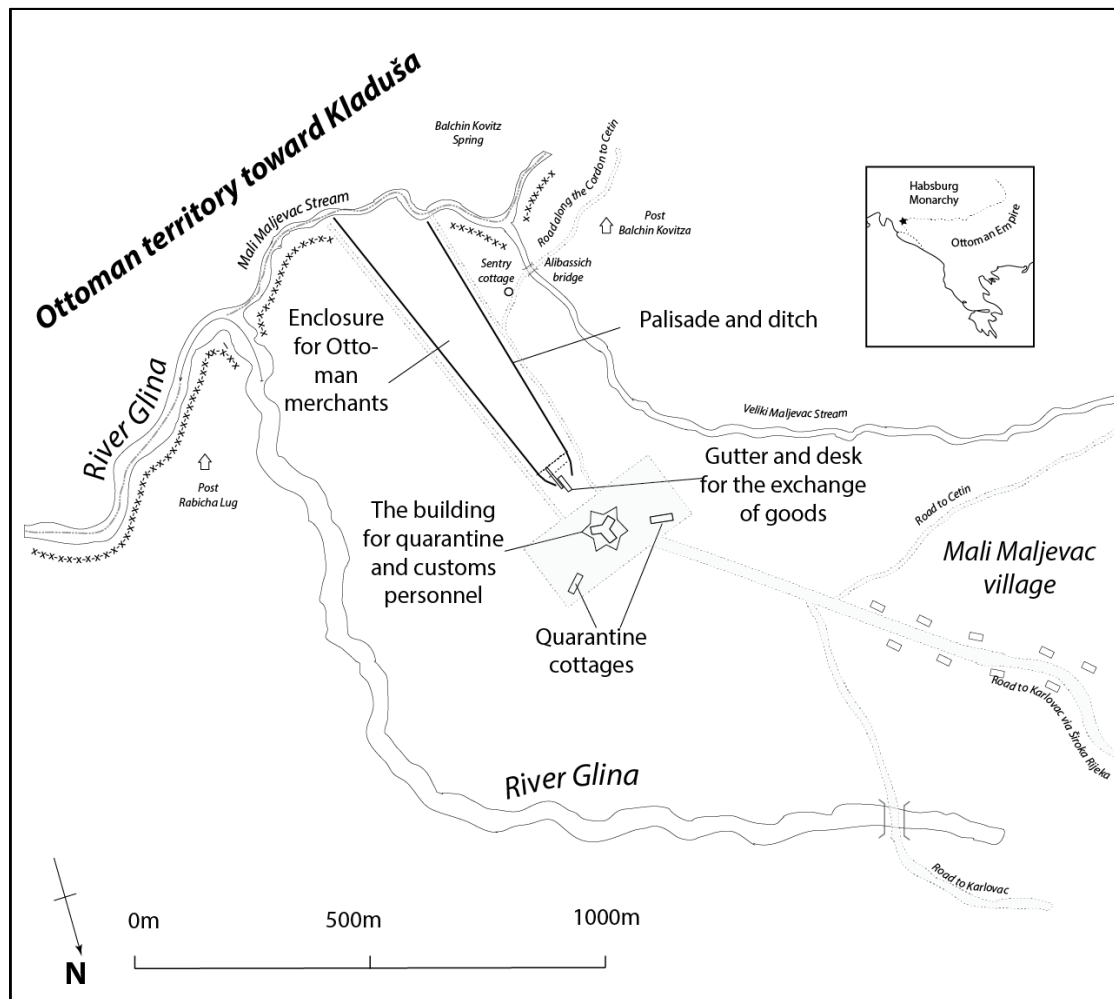
³³⁹ SHD to the Sanitary Commission in Karlovac, Vienna, 28 June 1768; the protocol of the SHD, Vienna, 28 October 1769; Vortrag der ... Sanitäts Hof-Deputation betreffend ... die Rastelle in Croatien 18 November 1769, 1769 October 16, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

³⁴⁰ “Zugviehe, als Pferd- Rind- dann dem zum Unterhalte ebenfalls höchst nöthigen Borstenviehe. ”

³⁴¹ Generalsanitätsnormativum, 2 January 1770, *Sammlung aller k. k. Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1740. bis 1780.*, Vol. 6: 33-112. More on Rastelle in the Appendix 3.3. See also the description of border markets in Slavonia from 1835, where they were called Skellatage (Skella – ferry), operating on the Habsburg side of border rivers, in Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 48-53.

no physical contact with the people on the Ottoman side.³⁴² These were additional measures to ensure the loyalty and cooperation of the Habsburg border population in enforcing the migration-control regime on the border.

Figure 3.2. Mali Maljevac Rastel (founded after 1791)³⁴³



³⁴² Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 48-55.

³⁴³ Adapted from Panzac, *Quarantaines en lazarets*, 71-72.

Stakeholders: Migrants

In addition to the local population, the border administration also addressed the concerns and complaints of the group most affected by border controls, the migrants travelling from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Monarchy. It reviewed and sometimes revised border regulations and procedures, so that the system would be as acceptable as possible to the majority of migrants. Through intelligence collection, migrants were also passively and occasionally actively involved in control (See Chapter 2). There was an effort to make border regulations and procedures more comprehensible, by translating them into the most common languages the migrants used. In 1753, at the request of the Sanitary Court Deputation, the interpreter Galinovich translated the *Reinigungs-Ordnung* into Greek, to make its provisions clear to the large portion of Ottoman merchants who used that language. The following year the Austrian Livestock Ordinance (*Vieh-Ordnung*) was translated into Serbian and Romanian (in die Raizisch- und Wallachische Sprach) to help the merchants from Bosnia, Serbia, Wallachia and Moldavia,³⁴⁴ heavily involved in livestock trade, to better understand Habsburg sanitary and cleaning procedures.

The Habsburg authorities also responded to migrants' specific complaints. In the winter of 1742/1743, the Habsburg Sanitary Court Commission, upon learning about a plague epidemic around Belgrade, closed the whole border west of Mehadia,

³⁴⁴ Sanitary authorities were responsible for fighting animal as well as human epidemics. They collected information about animal diseases in the Ottoman Empire and adjusted border measures and animal traffic accordingly. SHD to TLA, Vienna, 20 August 1753, 1753 Augustus 10; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 2 November 1754, 1754 November 1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2. In August and September 1758 a cattle epidemic was reported in first in Wallachia, then in Serbia and Moldavia. The cattle trade was stopped with Wallachia and Moldavia. Vienna, 12 August 1758, 1758 August 6; Vienna, 9 September 1758, to TLA, 1758 September 1; to Transylv. SK, Vienna, 30 September 1758, 1758 September 6, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3.

declaring all contiguous Ottoman provinces pestilent, irrespective of the individual places from where the migrants were coming. In January 1743, Ottoman merchants unsuccessfully protested.³⁴⁵ Other complaints were easier to respond to satisfactory. In July 1750, the Ottoman merchants in Mehadia complained to the Sanitary Court Commission in Vienna that their already washed wool was rewashed in Mehadia, for which they were charged, while this extra step did not exist in Zemun and in Pančevo. The Commission ordered a stop to the additional washing in Mehadia and demanded that all border quarantines adopt the uniform procedures.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁵ SHK, 29 January 1743, 1743 Januarius 2; SHK, 31 July 1743, 1743 Julius 1; SHK, 8 August 1743, 1743 Augustus 1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 10 July 1754, 1754 Julius 3; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 30 July 1754, 1754-Julius-10; SHD to TLA, to Slav. SK, and to the Hof- und Staatskanzlei, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2; Vienna, 28 March 1758, to the Commercial Intendenza in Trieste, to Slav. SK, Transylv. SK, to TLA, to the General Command in Karlovac, 1758 Martius 6; the Count Perlas, TLA, to SHD, Temesvár, 17 March 1758, 1758 Aprilis 4; to TLA, Vienna, 29 April 1758 and 17 May 1758, 1758 Aprilis 16, 1758 Majus 3; to Transylv. SK, Vienna, 17 May 1758, 1758 Majus 4; Vienna, 17 June 1758, 1758 Junius 8; Slav. SK, Osijek, 3 September 1758, 1758 September 10; to Slav. SK, Vienna, 25 November 1758, 1758 November 5; to TLA, Vienna, 9 December 1758, 1758 December 2; Vienna, 3 March 1759, to TLA, 1759 Martius 1; Vienna, 28 June 1759, to Transylv. SK, 1759 Junius 5; Vienna, 28 June 1759, to Slav. SK, 1759 Junius 8; Vienna, 22 August 1759, to Transylv. SK, 1759 Augustus 10; Vienna, 27 August 1759, 1759 Augustus 11; Vienna, 27 August 1759, to Slav. SK, 1759 Augustus 12; Vienna, 10 September 1759, to TLA, 1759 September 4; Vienna, 19 September 1759, to Slav. SK, 1759 September 12; Vienna, 22 September 1759, to TLA, to Transylv. SK, to Slav. SK, to the Hof- und Staatskanzlei, 1759 Septembris 18; Vienna, 4 October 1759, to TLA, 1759 October 2; Vienna, 16 October 1759, to Slav. SK, 1759 October 8; Vienna, 24 October 1759, to Slav. SK, to the Count Mercy, to the Hof- und Staatskanzlei, to HKR, 1759 October 15; Vienna, 29 October 1759, to TLA, 1759 October 19; Vienna, 17 November 1759, to the Karlovac Generalate Command, 1759 November 3; Vienna, 29 November 1759, to the Count Mercy, the president of the Slav. SK, 1759 November 16, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3.

³⁴⁶ A decree from 3 July 1750, to the Mehadia quarantine director Mathias Perner, 1750 Julius 3; A decree from 12 September 1750 to the Zemun quarantine director Stadler, 1750 September 1; A decree from 12 September 1750 to the Mehadia quarantine director Perner, 1750 September 2, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

The representatives of affected migrants were sometimes involved in the review process. In discussions over quarantine cleaning taxes in the 1740s, the Sanitary Court Commission prioritized migrants' complaints over the financial interests of quarantine stations. According to the eighteenth-century understanding of plague, pestilent miasma easily attached itself to some goods, such as raw cotton and wool, textiles, clothes, skins and furs. They were not only quarantined, but also subjected to additional cleaning. The merchants had to pay a "cleaning tax" (Reinigungs Tax) for airing, fumigation and washing. For quarantine stations, this was the principal source of income used to cover operational costs. Ottoman merchants, however, perceived these charges as too high to justify the costs of cleaning and as a kind of hidden taxation, forbidden by Habsburg-Ottoman treaties. In addition, there was a lack of uniformity. Many goods that passed through quarantine stations in the 1740s, 1750s or 1760s were not mentioned in the original and still valid Quarantine and Cleaning Ordinance from 1731.³⁴⁷ Quarantine directors had to estimate how to clean them and how much to charge for it. As a result, cleaning taxes for the same goods differed from station to station and from director to director, adding to the perception that they were arbitrary.

On 31 October 1742, the War Council forwarded a complaint by Ottoman merchants in Transylvania against high and arbitrary cleaning taxes, particularly on finished goods. The Sanitary Court Commission responded by asking provinces to conduct a comprehensive review of cleaning procedures and tariffs. In Banat, the provincial commander, Baron Engelshofen, entrusted this task to a senior tax inspector Leopold Philipp Lagler, already familiar with goods passing through the quarantine stations of Pančevo and Mehadia. Lagler worked with the Mehadia

³⁴⁷ Contumaz und respective Reiningungs Ordnung, 3 October 1731, FHKA SUS Patente 63.7.

quarantine director, Mathias Perner on a new proposal. Together they first extracted the list of goods passing through Mehadia and Pančevo in the year 1741, from the Senior Customs Office in Banat (Mauth Ober Ambt). Lagler admitted that the cleaning taxes appeared arbitrary. While some taxes were high because cleaning implied intensive labor, others were elevated because the goods in question were valuable and the merchants were prepared to pay more. Lagler and Perner consulted unnamed Ottoman merchants in Mehadia to produce a revised list of new cleaning taxes. Finally, after returning to Temesvár, Lagler convened a local “Greek judge” (der hiesige Griechische Richter) Marco Nico, and three Ottoman Greek merchants, Thoma Georgy, Attanasko Dimiter and Pavle Sivko. They went together through the new proposal. Three Ottoman merchants and the “Greek judge” composed and signed a note that they found the new proposal reasonable and acceptable. Based on the conversations with the merchants, in his conclusions Lagler emphasized that cleaning taxes should be uniform in all quarantine stations along the border with the Ottoman Empire.³⁴⁸ Ottoman migrants thus participated in the formulation of new cleaning tariffs, contributing to the making of mobility-control regulations.

The migrants participated in cross-border mobility control by, upon arriving at the station, extensively describing during the initial interview the health situation in the areas they had passed through. Sometimes they participated more directly, for example, the Greek merchants from the Ottoman town of Grocka, who co-financed

³⁴⁸ Lagler offered to travel to Pančevo to do additional investigation if it was necessary. From Lagler’s report, the commander of Banat, Baron Engelshofen concluded that cleaning tax incomes varied from year to year. *Reinigungs Tax- Aufsatz*, Leop. Phillip Lagler and Mathias Perner, Mehadia, 17 November 1742; Leopold Philipp Lagler and Mathias Perner to TLA, 26 November 1742; Notandum, Temesvár, 26 November 1742; Leopold Phillipp Lagler to TLA, Temesvár, 27 November 1742; Baron Engelshofen to SHK, Temesvár, 28 November 1742, 1742 November 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1.

the trip of the Habsburg sanitary spy Dimo (Dima) Sifkovith to Macedonia in 1755 (see Chapter 2). They attempted successfully to show to the Pančevo quarantine director that the rumors about the plague were false and that additional quarantine measures were unjustified.³⁴⁹ But they were also thus voluntary participants in the Habsburg intelligence network. The migrants were not just controlled, but a part of the control system.

Stakeholders: Ottoman Government Agents

The third stakeholder was the Ottoman Empire, particularly the Ottoman border authorities. The existence of border controls not only affected Ottoman migrants, it also could affect the Ottoman state more directly, for example Ottoman central finances. Occasional closures of some quarantine stations during plague epidemics diverted trade. The incomes from the border customs stations would dry up, affecting provincial and state finances. As explained by Abdi Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Belgrade, in his 1762 protest to the Habsburg authorities, the closure of the border meant that the incomes of the Belgrade customs station, allocated to the imperial library in Istanbul, could not be collected. Not only nearby Belgrade, but also the far away Ottoman capital could thus feel the changes in the border regime. In addition, Abdi Pasha emphasized, the Habsburg decision to close Pančevo and Zemun, while keeping Mehadia open, led to a redirection of trade and accompanying provincial fiscal incomes from Belgrade to the neighboring Ottoman governor in Vidin.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁹ Sanitäts-Diarium von der Contumaz Station Banzova, 11 November 1755, pro Mense November 1755; 27 Dezember 1755, pro Mense Dezember 1755; 5 January, 10 January 1756, pro Mense Januar 1756; 3 February 1756, pro Mense Febr. 1756, FHKA NHK Banat A 123.

³⁵⁰ The Letter of Abdi Pasha, the Ottoman Governor of Belgrade, 1762, HHStA StAbt Türkei III 4-2. Pashas of Belgrade and Bosnia expressed similar complaints a year before by the pashas of Belgrade

Ottoman dignitaries also sometimes found border procedures insulting. At the beginning of 1761, the governor of Vidin protested because Habsburg Banat authorities refused to admit his messenger to proceed to Temesvár directly without quarantine. The Ottoman side interpreted the treatment of the courier as humiliating, and as an insult to the Pasha of Vidin. The Sanitary Court Deputation approved the cautious reaction of the Habsburg border officials, the Cavalry Colonel (Obrist Wachtmeister) Sturm, the interpreter Janisch and the district controller (Districts-Gegenschreiber) Roderich, but warned the provincial administration not to engage in an extensive discussion that would further escalate the dispute. It disapproved the draft of a letter from the Banat General Command to the commander of Vidin and five Aghas, in which they tried to explain and justify the decision to refuse entry to the messenger. The Sanitary Court Deputation emphasized that “It would be very dangerous to become involved in extensive correspondence with the Ottomans, because [they] send such letters to the Porte and, as experience shows, they ruminate on every word, and they are used to interpret [it] as a confession [that their complaint was justified].” It advised both the Banat General Command and border officials to reduce tensions by sending short, formal and almost identical letters instead. The letters should contain the following text: “We want nothing more than to faithfully and with no harm [to either side] follow the peace treaties on the one hand and to encourage trade between two empires to the advantage of both sides on the other. The affliction called plague could be unfortunately very harmful for commerce. [Its

and Bosnia. SHK/D to TLA, Vienna, 27 March 1761; 1761 Martius 5, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1; Vienna, 17 November 1759, to TLA, 1759 November 2, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3.

eventual spread] would not only lead to the [international] isolation of [...] the Monarchy [...] Ottoman commerce would suffer terribly too.”³⁵¹

Through continuous communication, the Habsburg border authorities aimed to keep Ottoman border governors well informed. There was an everyday correspondence with local notables (Begis) in Serbia, Bosnia, and Ottoman Croatia, and with Pashas in Serbia, Bosnia, Croatia and Dalmatia, oral and written. Upon assuming his post, the commanding general of Slavonia, for example, sent formal letters to the Pashas of Bosnia and Belgrade announcing that he would protect peace, friendship and existing border agreements. The commanding generals had official sworn interpreters (ein ordentlicher in Eid und Pflicht stehender Orientalische Dolmetsch) for Turkish, while regiment scribes on the border had to learn to speak fluent Turkish and to write it in an understandable way. The commander of Zemun also had one “exposed” interpreter, quartered in the quarantine station, prepared to go several times per day to Ottoman Belgrade if necessary.³⁵² The two sides were also economically interdependent. For example, the Ottoman garrison in Belgrade was fed with Habsburg imported cereals (wheat). The inhabitants of Habsburg Zemun imported firewood from the Ottomans throughout the eighteenth century.³⁵³ Most of

³⁵¹ “Da wäre allerdings gefährlich, sich mit denen Türcken in weitläuffigen Schrifftwechsel einzulassen, weilen derley Briefe an die Pforte geschicket zu werden pflegen, und die Erfahrung giebet, daß sie jedem Wort nachzugrübeln, und sogleich etwas pro Confesso anzunehmen gewohnet seynd.” SHD to TLA, Vienna, 27 March 1761, 1761 Martius 5, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1.

³⁵² The SHD Rescript, Vienna, 25 January 1770; Erleuterung [by the Slav. SK] auf das [...] Rescript; A protocol of the Slav. SK, from 20 February 1770, 1770 Martius 9, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2; Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 3, 85; Engel, “Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien,” vol. 2: 759-60, 762, 764-66.

³⁵³ Protocoll, Zemun, 31 October 1755, IAB, ZM, 1755-1-38, 1755-1-39, 1755-1-40; Protocoll, Zemun, 31 October 1756, IAB, ZM, 1756-1-29, 1756-1-30, 1756-1, 31; Protocoll, Zemun, 31 October 1757, IAB, ZM, 1757-1-12; Protocoll, Zemun, 31 October 1758, IAB, ZM, 1758-1-12; IAB, ZM, 1759-1-17;

the communication concerned day-to-day business, resolving individual requests and problems, such as unpaid debts, minor and major offences. Communications also concerned the border regime. Habsburg border generals officially notified adjacent Ottoman border Pashas whenever the quarantine time was raised or decreased, or whenever quarantine stations were closed, so that they could inform Ottoman merchants. On 3 December 1762, for example, the Sanitary Court Deputation informed the Ottoman Pasha of Belgrade that the border would be closed. An apology followed for passing along this information on such a short notice.³⁵⁴ Sometimes, a correspondence could escalate into a dispute, with Habsburg central bodies intervening and advocating a friendlier approach, as in 1762, in a disagreement about pulling barges upstream on border rivers.

The border rivers, Una, Sava and Danube, served not only as natural frontiers but also as major traffic arteries, supplying Ottoman garrisons in Serbia and Bosnia with food and other provisions. Article 7 of the Belgrade Peace Treaty from 1739 partially exempted river traffic from exclusive territorial separation. Animals or people were entitled to use a more convenient side of the river for pulling barges upstream.³⁵⁵ On the Habsburg side, the military escorted Ottoman barges from a distance to prevent eventual contacts with domestic subjects. In the late summer of 1762, during a plague epidemic, a letter from the Ottoman Pasha of Belgrade was received by Count Mercy, the commander of Slavonia. In it, the Pasha not only formally asked to use the

Protocolmässige Berechnung, Zemun, 22 December 1769, IAB, ZM, 1770-1-7; Protocolmässige Berechnung, Zemun, 31 October 1770, IAB, ZM, 1770-1-1; Zemun, 21 November 1773, 24 November 1773, IAB, ZM, 1773-1-12, 1773-1-11; Journal über Einkauf und Verkauf des Bau und Brennholzes pro anno militari 1785, Zemun, 22 October 1785, IAB, ZM, 1785, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 45-47, 58-61, 80-81, 133-35, 138-39, 279, 287-91, 375-78, 603-13.

³⁵⁴ Bartenstein to Maria Theresa, Vienna, 16 November 1762, 3 December 1762, 1762 December 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1.

³⁵⁵ "Belgrade Peace Treaty 1739," article 7.

Habsburg side of border rivers to tow barges, but also to fill some of these barges with Habsburg wheat. Mercy drafted a negative response, forwarding it to Vienna for approval. The Sanitary Court Deputation commented that it “is... the greatest luck that this draft has not been sent” (ist ... das größte Glück, daß dieses Schreiben nicht aberlassen worden) because pulling barges upstream was always allowed. In addition, it was wise to allow the Ottomans to import cereals from the Monarchy in a safe manner (without contact), to strengthen good neighborly relations between the two empires.³⁵⁶

The most disputed issue between border authorities was how to reconcile quarantine times above the international standard of forty to forty-two days and quarantine closures in particular with the free commerce and free travel guaranteed to the subjects of both sides by Habsburg-Ottoman treaties. In 1761, Ottoman border pashas complained about the lack of uniformity, the concurrent existence of different sanitary regimes. With a plague in Moldavia, the quarantine stations between Moldavia and Transylvania were closed, those between Wallachia and Transylvania remained open with quarantine time of forty-two days, while the stations further west introduced the suspicious regime of twenty-eight days. The Court Sanitary Deputation and the Banat Provincial Administration responded that the system had to be flexible because the circumstances varied at the different sections of the border, and three different regimes could be introduced on different sections of the border. Vienna instructed the Banat Provincial Administration to stress that the sanitary regime was in the best interest of commerce because an eventual outbreak of plague in the

³⁵⁶ The protocol of the SHD, Vienna, 12 September 1762; Nota to the Secret Court and State Chancellery, 1762 September 13, Vienna, 14 September 1762, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitaetshofkommission Akten 1.

Habsburg Monarchy would bring trade to a complete halt, with losses to subjects and state incomes on both sides.³⁵⁷

The Ottoman side perceived in particular months-long closures of quarantines for all incoming individuals as being contrary to the principle of free travel, guaranteed by mutual treaties, involving occasionally the Ottoman court in the discussions.³⁵⁸

Habsburg attempts to address these complaints by devising new solutions demonstrated the bilateral nature of the border regime, with Ottomans sometimes decisively influencing new border control arrangements. The arrangement that was favored by the Court Sanitary Commission/Deputation from the 1740s to the 1760s, which kept quarantine stations open in pestilent times was the introduction of a pre-quarantine facility (Prob-Contumaz, Vorcontumaz, lazaretto sporco). When the plague spread in the Ottoman provinces across the border, the incoming migrants would first undergo quarantine in a pre-quarantine facility, and then, if they showed no signs of contagious diseases, were accepted into the main quarantine station to undergo regular quarantine. In the 1740s, this was a provisional arrangement, introduced temporarily during major plague epidemics. In 1743, such facilities were

³⁵⁷ SHD to TLA, Vienna, 27 March 1761; 1761 Martius 5, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1; Vienna, 17 November 1759, to TLA, 1759 November 2, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3.

³⁵⁸ SHK, 30 September 1740, 1740 September 5; SHK, 10 October 1740, 1740 October 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1. Vienna, 10 July 1756, to TLA, to Slav. SK, 1756 Julius 8; Vienna, 14 July 1756, to Slav. SK, to TLA, 1756 Julius 12; Vienna, 16 July 1756, to Slav. SK., Nota to the Hof- und Staats Kanzlei, 1756 Julius 16; Osijek, 19 July 1756, from Slav. SK, 1756 Julius 32; Osijek, 28 July 1756, from Slav. SK, 1756 Augustus 3; Vienna, 20 July 1756, to TLA, 1756 Julius 23; Vienna, 31 July 1756, to Slav. SK; Rescription to the Count Petazzi, 1756 Julius 31; Vienna, 7 August 1756, to the Count Petazzi, also to HKR, 1756 Augustus 2; Osijek, 30 July 1756, from Slav. SK, 1756 September 10, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

organized near the quarantine stations of Zemun and Brod, to allow commerce to continue in pestilent times.³⁵⁹

The Habsburgs opened a permanent pre-quarantine facility about a decade later in Banat, in Jupalnic, south of the Mehadia station. It was operating already in September 1753.³⁶⁰ In July 1754, arriving migrants had to spend fourteen days in *Vor-Contumaz* in Jupalnic followed by the full forty-two-day quarantine in Mehadia. More importantly, the arrangement allowed the continual imports of goods perceived to be miasma carrying, such as wool and cotton, important raw materials for the Habsburg textile industry, even during plague epidemics. In ordinary quarantines, the goods considered to be potential carriers of miasmas were not accepted in the pestilent regime. The system was formalized in April 1757 with Jupalnic as the pre-quarantine location and Mehadia as the main quarantine station. The Ottoman side, interested in keeping the border open for commerce, accepted the new arrangement. As the only station with a pre-quarantine facility, Jupalnic attracted trade from nearby provinces.³⁶¹

The protests from the Pasha of Belgrade, where the incomes from transit commerce diminished because of the diversion of trade through Jupalnic, ensued during each plague epidemic and the closures of the two quarantine stations nearest to

³⁵⁹ SHK, 31 July 1743, 1743 Julius 1; SHK, 8 August 1743, 1743 Augustus 1; SHK, 6 September 1743, 1743 September 2; SHK, 8 November 1743, 1743 November 1; SHK, 20 February 1744, 1744 Februarius 1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

³⁶⁰ The Mehadia quarantine director, Mathias Perner and the surgeon Niclas Schmalz, received that year an extra 100 guldens to cover their travel costs to and from Schuppanecker Contumaz Haan, which was then the name for this facility. 1753 September 10, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

³⁶¹ 1754 Julius 10; SHD to TLA, 1757 Aprilis 8; Vienna, 27 August 1757, to TLA; Nota to HKR; Decree to k. k. Geheime Directorial Haupt-Hof-Tax-Amt, 1757 Augustus 10; Vienna, 10 September 1757, to TLA; Nota to k. k. Commerzien Directorium, 1757 September 4, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2. 1759 August 10, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1.

Belgrade, Zemun and Pančevo. The Sanitary Court Deputation repeatedly discussed Ottoman objections, concluding that the only possible solution would be to open a permanent pre-quarantine facility near Belgrade, similar to the one in Jupalnic. Even though such a facility would be potentially useful for Ottoman commerce and fiscal incomes, the Ottoman provincial authorities, and the inhabitants of Belgrade in particular, remained staunchly opposed to the project during the 1750s, because it implied the erection of solid structures near the Belgrade fortress.³⁶² In 1756, to demonstrate flexibility and that there was no real threat for the Ottoman side, the Sanitary Court Deputation asked the Banat Provincial Administration to suggest an alternative location in Banat, further from the Belgrade fortress.³⁶³ The Court Sanitary Deputation and the Slavonian Sanitary Commission even proposed, to insure that there was no security threat to the Belgrade fortress, placing the pre-quarantine facility on Ottoman territory, for example on the Ada Ciganlija (Zigeuner Insul) on the River Sava. But instead of breaking the deadlock, the persistent attempts to open the pre-quarantine facility made the Ottoman side even more distrustful. The inhabitants of Belgrade complained to the sultan. The Ottoman Porte formally protested to the Habsburg envoy against the plan to introduce a pre-quarantine facility. At the advice of the Court- and State Chancellery, responsible for foreign relations, the Court Sanitary Deputation dropped the proposal and continued with the status quo.³⁶⁴

³⁶² 1754 Junius 5, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

³⁶³ SHD to k. k. Hofkammer, Vienna, 10 January 1756, 1756 Januarius 5; Vienna, 7 September 1756, to TLA, 1756 September 32, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

³⁶⁴ Vienna, 12 February 1757, to Slav. SK, 1757 Februarius 9; to TLA; to Slav. SK, 1757 Aprilis 8; Vienna, 8 July 1757, to Slav. SK, also Nota to the Hof- und Staats Kanzlei; also Note to Commercién Directorium, 1757 Julius 1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2. Ada Ciganlija (Gypsy island) was placed on Sava, several kilometers upstream from Belgrade.

The debate was re-ignited in 1761. A new epidemic resulted in a new closure and new Ottoman complaints. The Sanitary Court Deputation specified a possible location for a pre-quarantine facility, Doblaer/Toplaer Graben, between Belgrade and Pančevo, close to the River Danube.³⁶⁵ The new facility would serve both Belgrade and Pančevo quarantine stations, keeping them open for all types of goods during plague epidemics. The Court and State Chancellery supported the proposed location and ordered Schwachheim, the Habsburg internuncio at the Ottoman court, to lobby for the new pre-quarantine facility. Before he could raise the issue, the Porte summoned him to answer to the complaints of the inhabitants of Ottoman Belgrade. His argument that similar facilities in Jupalnic (Schuppanegg) had been established with the support of the Ottoman commanders of Vidin and Orșova and the Prince of Wallachia, and that the arrangement proved to be beneficial for all sides involved, had no effect. He stressed in vain that the Jupalnic pre-quarantine facility was also near an Ottoman fortress, Ada Kaleh, and that it was not perceived as a problem there. The works on the pre-quarantine facility had to be stopped until the Ottomans agreed to it.³⁶⁶

The Ottoman reluctance to compromise over Belgrade reflected the city's status as a key border fortress, more significant than Ada Kaleh near Jupalnic. The Ottoman side worried that the new facility would be too close to the borderline, with quarantine palisades and trenches that could easily be used as fortifications. The inhabitants of Belgrade pointed out that additional fortifications on the border would run against Habsburg-Ottoman treaties, deducing that the whole pre-quarantine project was

³⁶⁵ The probable place of Doblaer Graben:

<http://mapire.eu/en/map/collection/secondsurvey/?zoom=15&lat=44.84301&lon=20.64726>

³⁶⁶ Bartenstein to Maria Theresia, Vienna, 22 March 1761, 27 March 1761; Nota, Vienna, 22 March 1761; SHD to SK in Slavonia, to SK in Transylvania, 27 March 1761; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 27 March 1761, 1761 Martius 5, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1.

therefore illegal as well.³⁶⁷ In the border area the Ottoman side was not willing to be treated as a passive observer. They understood that any changes to the arrangement needed their approval.

With a plague epidemic in 1762 in Vidin and on the Lower Danube, then in Serbia, discussions about new pre-quarantine facility near Belgrade continued nevertheless. The State and Court Chancellery instructed the new Habsburg envoy at the Ottoman court, Baron Penckler, to talk with the commander of Belgrade on his way and then to the Reis Effendi and the Grand Vizier in the Ottoman capital about the need to open a pre-quarantine facility near Belgrade. He was to argue that it would be harmful for both sides to stop wool trade from Macedonia because of the plague. To neutralize Ottoman security objections, the Slavonian Sanitary Commission devised a new arrangement in March 1762. The existing Zemun quarantine station would be converted into a pre-quarantine facility. The main quarantine station would be moved to the village of Banovci, further inside the Monarchy, using military barracks already available there to keep the costs low. Because there would be no new constructions in the immediate border area, Ottoman consent was not necessary. In May 1762, the Court Sanitary Deputation instructed the Slavonian Sanitary Commission to make plans and calculations. In July, the Deputation decided to ignore the continuing Ottoman dissatisfaction in Belgrade. In December 1762, the Slavonian Sanitary Commission reported that the adaptation of the Zemun station was completed and that the Banovci station would be able to host 276 migrants.³⁶⁸ In April

³⁶⁷ Osijek, April 1761, Mercy, 1761 Majus 1; Vienna, 31 December 1761, to Slav. SK, to the Hof- und Staats Kanzlei, 1761 December 6; Vienna, 11 February 1762, to Slav. SK, to the Hof- und Staats Kanzlei, to HKR, 1762 Februarius 1; Vienna, 28 February 1762, to the Count Mercy, 1762 Februarius 10; KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3.

³⁶⁸ The Count Mercy to HKR, Osijek, 31 January 1762; Report, 18 January 1762; Bartenstein to Maria Theresia, Vienna, 10 February 1762, 1762-Februar-1; The protocoll of the SHD from 16 May 1762;

1763, the Ottoman side, represented by the commander of Belgrade, formally agreed to the new system. In August 1763, the first quarantine lists from Banovci were registered in Vienna.³⁶⁹

Bartenstein to Maria Theresia, Vienna, 24 May 1762, 1762-May-5; Barteinstein to Maria Theresia, 14 August 1762; Nota to the Hof- und Staats Kanzlei, Vienna, 14 September 1762, 1762 September 13; Protocoll of the SHD from 8 September 1762; Bartenstein to Maria Theresia, 8 September 1762 and on 10 September 1762, 1762 September 19; Bartenstein to Maria Theresia, Vienna, 16 November 1762, 1762 December 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1; Vienna, 12 March 1762, to the Slav. SK, 1762 Martius 4; Vienna, 30 March 1762, to the HKR, 1762 Martius 12; Vienna, 25 May 1762, to the Hof- und Staats Kanzlei, Nota to HKR, 1762 Majus 5; Vienna, 25 June 1762, to the Slav. SK, 1762 Junius 7; Vienna, 30 June 1762, to TLA, to the Count Mercy, to the Hofkammer, 1762 Junius 17; Vienna, 24 July 1762, to TLA, 1762 Julius 5; Vienna, 24 July 1762, to the count Mercy, 1762 Julius 6; Vienna, 28 July 1762, to the the Hof- und Staats Kanzlei, 1762 Julius 9; Vienna, 10 September 1762, to Slav. SK, 1762 September 5; from the Hof- und Staats Kanzlei, Nota from 24 August 1762, 1762 September 10; Vienna, 14 September 1762, Nota to the Hof- und Staats Kanzlei, from Slav. SK, 1762 September 13; Vienna, 28 September 1762, to Slav. SK, 1762 September 19; From the Hofkammer, s. d., 1762 October 4; Vienna, 14 October 1762, Slav. SK, 1762 October 14; Vienna, 4 November 1762, to Slav. SK, 1762 November 7; Vienna, 22 December 1762, to Slav. SK, 1762 December 25; KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3.

³⁶⁹ With this addition, there were four pairs of stations in the 1760s on the Ottoman-Habsburg border with a pre-quarantine facility and a major quarantine station: Turnu Roşu and Timiş toward Wallachia, Mehadia/Jupalnic toward Serbia and Vidin and Banovci/Zemun toward Serbia. The discussions to introduce the same system in the Croatian Military Border, between Ottoman Bihać and the Adriatic Habsburg port of Karlobag did not come to realization. Vienna, 14 March 1763, to the Count Mercy, 1763 Martius 12; Vienna, 19 April 1763, to the Hof- und Staats Kanzlei, 1763 Aprilis 12; Vienna, 3 January 1764, to the Count Mercy, 1764 Januar 1; Vienna, 3 March 1764, to the Count Mercy, 1764 Martius 11, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3; Bartenstein to Maria Theresia, Vienna, 16 November 1762, 1762 December 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1. To the Count Mercy, Vienna, 3 May 1763, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2. The new arrangement lasted only several years. Soon after the General Sanitary Normative became a law on 2 January 1770, the Court Sanitary Deputation ordered on 25 January the abolition of the unnecessary pre-quarantine/quarantine system. The concept of pre-quarantines/quarantines, where the length of stay could be as much as 84 days, was considered excessive. The General Sanitary Normative defined the maximum quarantine times at forty-two days for stations. As closer to the border, safer and more convenient to migrants, the Banovci station was abolished, and Zemun became again the main station. The SHDeputation Rescript, Vienna, 25 January 1770; Erleuterung [by the Slav. SK] auf das [...] Rescript; Nota of the Count Moritz Lacy, Vienna, 13 March 1770, 1770 Martius 9, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2. This was followed by a major review of sanitary facilities, and

Ottoman protests delayed for years the renewal of Zemun palisades, including the section that separated the quarantine station from the town. When in spring 1753 new logs began to arrive to Zemun to replace the old ones, the Ottoman governor of Belgrade, informed in advance, not only lodged a complaint, but also asked the Ottoman court to intervene. The inhabitants of Belgrade were so upset about the new Zemun palisades that they crossed into the Habsburg territory and approached the existing Zemun palisades, shouting insults aimed at the commander of the town. Reis Effendi summoned the Habsburg envoy Baron Penkler and promised that the transgressors would be punished, but insisted that the works on the renewal of the palisades had to be stopped.³⁷⁰ The buildings were in the border area and thus it was necessary to acquire Ottoman approval for any changes that could affect defenses. Ten years later, the central government in Vienna dismissed the suggestion to build a circular wall around Zemun as too provocative.³⁷¹ The palisades were renewed only in 1769, while the Ottomans were too occupied with the unsuccessful war against Russia

quarantine stations in particular. The emphasis was moved from inflating the quarantine period to improving sanitary procedures and separation. A protocol of the Slav. SK, from 20 February 1770, [Osijek]; The rescript of the SHD, Vienna, 25 January 1770, 1770 Martius 9, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

³⁷⁰ 27 January 1753, 1753-Januaris-6; Slav. SK to SHD, Osijek, 27 April 1753, 1753 Majus 8; SHD to Slav. SK, 14 May 1753, 1753 Majus 1; SHD to the Hof- und Staats- Kanzlei, Vienna, 23 December 1753, 1753 December 14; SHD to Slavonian SK, Vienna, 3 February 1754, 1754-Februarius-4, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2; The 1753/54 transgression incident was mentioned in an imperial firman issued in 1764. *Übersezung eines große Sultanischen Fermans so in den ersten Tügen des Monats Rebuil Ewwel A(nno) Hegira 1178, das ist um den 8 September 1764 an den Pascha zu Belgrad, wie auch an den daselbigen Richter und Janitscharen Aga ergangen ist*, fol. 190-91, FHKA NHK Kommerz U Akten 1523. Published also in Slavko Gavrilović, "Prevodi turskih fermana za regulisanje odnosa sa Austrijom u drugoj polovini XVIII i početkom XIX veka", *Mešovita grada* 19 (1989): 51-72.

³⁷¹ SHD to Slav. SK, Vienna, 8 July 1764, 1764-Julius-1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3.

to lodge a complaint, and too eager to maintain friendly relations with Vienna to re-ignite the dispute. The renewal of Zemun palisades progressed smoothly.³⁷²

The Ottomans were the other actor, invisible at first glance, but nevertheless indispensable. Their complaints that the closure of quarantine stations during plague epidemics violated the peace-treaty provisions were taken seriously. The Sanitary Court Deputation and local military commanders made an effort to find an accommodation that would at the same time keep the basic principles of the sanitary protection and border control intact, and keep the migrations and commerce flowing. The Ottomans effectively delayed the introduction of the Belgrade pre-quarantine facility for a decade or more by withdrawing their agreement to changes in the border regime. The introduction of the pre-quarantine/quarantine system in 1762-1763, on the other hand, showed the limitations of Ottoman influence. In the border area their agreement was necessary. The village of Banovci, located about twenty kilometers from the boundary line, was considered to be at a sufficient distance to give the Ottomans no say.

It was possible to organize complex and comprehensive border-mobility regimes long before the industrial bureaucratic states developed modern police apparatus, identification and record techniques. There were other ways to make up for the shortage of an adequate centrally controlled civil administration. In German lands, tasks were performed by the coopted provincial and local elites, while state projects were delegated to corporations. As demonstrated in the example of Lower Austria, there was sufficient administrative capacity on the local and provincial levels, on

³⁷² [Protocoll of SHD], Vienna, 2 August 1769; Vortrag of the Hofkammer, Vienna, 11 August 1769; Nota of the HKR to the Hofkammer, 19 December 1769, Vienna; Moritz Count Lacy [HKR] to the SHD, Vienna, 19 December 1769; [SHD] to the Slavonian SK, Vienna, 2 January 1770. Also to HKR, 1770 Januarius 2, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2

which the central government in Vienna could rely throughout the early modern period. Local nobles and estates successfully performed taxation and other administrative duties; they helped in conducting censuses and creating cadasters.³⁷³ On the Habsburg-Ottoman border, the Habsburg military took over a large portion of the control duties. Troops from the western sections of the Military Border played a major role in border controls in first decades of the existence of the sanitary cordon. They were more effective than provincial militias, and particularly than the civil guards in Transylvania. This effectiveness increased after the 1740s, when the Military Border was reformed and stricter discipline and uniform drill were introduced. Migration control was one of the reasons (if not the principal) for the extension of the Military Border to Banat and Transylvania in the early 1760s. Guarding the border became one of the border soldiers' main services performed in exchange for cultivation of the state-owned land plots. Border soldiers thus resolved the problem of administrative capacity, by providing a permanent and affordable source of labor.

To be sufficiently efficient, however, the border system had to be accepted by the parties most affected by its existence. I identify three major stakeholders: the Habsburg border population, migrants and Ottoman border authorities. The existence of border controls affected them in myriad ways. The Habsburg Monarchy had to address their concerns and to ensure their cooperation. The economic and social life of the local Habsburg population was seriously impacted by the existence of compulsory border controls. The Habsburg Monarchy attempted to ensure the cooperation of locals with a series of negative and positive incentives. It criminalized

³⁷³ Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State*, 165-66, 174; Godsey, *The Sinews of Habsburg Power*, 23-29, 116-21, 291-335.

clandestine border movements and encouraged internal social control. Neighbors were officially responsible for supervising each other, as well as strangers, and for alerting local authorities if necessary. The individuals who cooperated with authorities received rewards, such as a part of value of confiscated smuggled goods. As for positive incentives, single-day accompanied trips were introduced for individuals who wanted to visit Ottoman border settlements without having to submit to expensive quarantine on their return. Poor border areas, like the Karlovac Generalate, enjoyed economic privileges, shorter quarantine times and partial exemption from customs and salt taxes. In addition, the Sanitary Court Deputation approved the organization of many border markets along the border between quarantine stations. These markets, where the goods perceived as non-miasma-carrying could be exchanged without contact, improved the local economy.

Border military troops and local inhabitants provided an essential ingredient to centrally planned projects, serving as local agents with local knowledge. Their knowledge of local roads, capacities, practices and customs proved crucial given the lack of such information on the central level. Vienna was dependent on locals also in central Habsburg lands, even around the Habsburg capital. An attempt to organize the billeting and provision of the army in Lower Austria after 1748 through centrally appointed circle (Kreis) officials, without the involvement of local nobles and estates, failed. The estates needed to step in to assist. When the provincial administration of Lower Austria was reorganized in 1764, circle offices were filled with local nobles and partially subjected to the Lower Austrian estates, underlining the indispensable services that only locals could provide.³⁷⁴ In the border area, local inhabitants and border military troops played this essential role. There is significant overlap between

³⁷⁴ Godsey, *The Sinews of Habsburg Power*, 206-210, 248-67, 273-83.

these two groups. Unlike the regular Habsburg standing army, most border soldiers, with the exception of the Generalate of Varaždin, which was in the interior, were at the same time local inhabitants. They were familiar with the terrain and with the population where they served. The use of local knowledge and local forces made centrally designed policies of border pacification and migration control more efficient.

Migrants were also stakeholders in the migration control regime. By addressing their complaints, the Habsburg authorities aimed to demonstrate that sanitary regulations and procedures were clear and reasonable; that migrants' concerns were taken into account and dealt with in a fair manner; that procedural and financial burdens were kept at a necessary minimum. Migrants' representatives were sometimes consulted during revisions and reviews of the regulations.

In an apparently unilateral border mobility-control regime, where migration was systematically controlled in one direction, but not in the other, the other participant, the Ottoman side, was nevertheless always present. It made its importance felt, for example, during the negotiations over a possible Belgrade pre-quarantine facility. The Ottomans had seemingly a passive, but nevertheless an essential role. Without their cooperation, it was very difficult to enforce controls or to decrease smuggling, clandestine entrances and banditry. Without Ottoman approval, it was often not possible to introduce any changes in the immediate border areas. It suggests that border mobility-control regimes could efficiently function only through bilateral consent.

The Habsburg Monarchy was able to control the migrations between two empires systemically and reasonably efficiently. This was a powerful tool that could be used not only to subject migrants to obligatory quarantines, but also to encourage or to discourage the entrance of certain individuals and groups, in line with the Monarchy's

population policies. The Habsburg Monarchy, like other European states, exempted higher estates from controls, while attempting to curb the mobility of poor migrants or non-tolerated religious minorities. The following chapter will explore whether the controls on the Habsburg-Ottoman border were universal or selective, targeting all incoming migrants or exempting some individuals and groups from controls.

CHAPTER 4: COMPREHENSIVE BORDER CONTROLS

From the 1720s until the mid-nineteenth century, every person entering the Habsburg Monarchy from the Ottoman Empire should have been subjected to control at the land borders. A formal goal of the border-control regime was to temporarily exclude persons showing signs of epidemic diseases. Once when they got well, formerly pestilent travelers would be in principle welcome. That policy would distinguish the Habsburg-Ottoman border from other contemporary and later control policies in Europe at that time, which focused on closely supervising or systematically excluding certain individuals and groups. Border controls were potentially a powerful tool for demographic policies, which brings us to the following questions: was the Habsburg Monarchy subjecting everyone crossing the border to control, without exception? What population policies and ideas motivated the Habsburg administration? Were border controls used to exclude certain individuals and groups?

Other contemporary statewide mobility-control regimes, some much older, usually targeted specific types or groups of migrants.³⁷⁵ The purpose of mobility controls was often to regulate labor markets and poor relief, two closely connected areas.³⁷⁶ In the Habsburg Monarchy the *Polizeiordnung* of 1552 regulated the mobility of poor migrants according to domicile, tying responsibility for the poor and

³⁷⁵ For example, in 1462, the French King Louis XI regulated the mobility of soldiers on leave by requiring them to possess passports, to distinguish them from deserters. Other travelers were not affected. Groebner, *Der Schein der Person*, 124-26.

³⁷⁶ Statewide regulations of labor mobility were temporarily introduced in the fourteenth century, after the Black Death in England (1351), France (1353), and in Portugal, to address labor shortages. Lucassen and Lucassen, "Migration, Migration History," 20; Lucassen, "Eternal Vagrants," 225-28; Lis and Soly, "Labor Laws in Western Europe," 310.

beggars to the communities of origin.³⁷⁷ The poor relief was similarly controlled in many other parts of Europe, with the distinction between domestic and foreign beggars, as well as between those able to work and those who had to rely on the support of others. Some groups, like Jews and Gypsies, were specially monitored because they were not perceived as a part of local communities.³⁷⁸ In the eighteenth century, central governments became increasingly more involved, either by expanding the control to new groups or by creating central registers and prescribing identification documents. A general trend was to separate “genuine” travelers, such as working poor and soldiers on leave, from undesirable beggars, vagrants and deserters.³⁷⁹ From the 1720s, the Habsburg Monarchy centrally regulated the mobility of unemployed poor, vagrants and beggars, particularly their expulsion (*Schub*). Local communities escorted non-local poor to their borders, where they were taken over by the next community. They would be ultimately accompanied in this way to their community of origin, responsible for helping them, or to their home country, if they were foreign subjects.³⁸⁰ During their *Wanderjahre*, journeymen in the Holy Roman Empire traveled freely from one city to the other, looking for work. In the 1720s, the Habsburg government closely regulated their migrations too, including the obligation to leave after a set number of days if no permanent work was found. The goal was to prevent the concentrations of unemployed migrants. The supervision was delegated to local guilds.³⁸¹ During the eighteenth century, authorities in some places also

³⁷⁷ Wendelin, “Schub und Heimatrecht,” 181; Lucassen, *Zigeuner*.

³⁷⁸ Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State*, 68-69, 89-91; Lucassen, *Zigeuner*; Elisabeth Schepers, “Regieren durch Grenzsetzungen. Struktur und Grenzen des Bettelrechtes in Bayern im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Menschen und Grenzen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, 245-47, 249-50, 257.

³⁷⁹ Denis, “The Invention of Mobility,” 371.

³⁸⁰ Wendelin, “Schub und Heimatrecht,” 235-40.

³⁸¹ Ehmer, “Worlds of Mobility,” 177-79, 192-94. To differentiate them from beggars, itinerant workers in France in the eighteenth century needed to possess certificates that would refer to their

increasingly supervised foreigners. The control of foreigners in Paris, where a special police was established in the 1780s to supervise *non-regnicoles* and Jews, served as a model for other European cities, such as Vienna.³⁸² But even when statewide, these controls were selective, focused on some groups that were deemed potentially problematic. The majority of travelers were not controlled.³⁸³ Middle and upper classes were habitually exempted from controls up to the early twentieth century.³⁸⁴

Where comprehensive mobility controls existed, targeting all migrants, they were local or temporary. Gatekeepers controlled all travelers entering walled cities. In eighteenth-century Brussels, only the highest dignitaries and the holders of special letters of safe conduct were exempted from checks at the city gates. All others, including nobles, were subjected to control and registration.³⁸⁵ Mobility-control regimes that targeted all migrants across wider areas were not permanent. Such a regime was created during plague epidemics, as in Provence in France (1720-1723). All migrants were systematically controlled not only at the sanitary cordon separating

home community, and from the 1770s, a *livret d'ouvrier*, to separate them clearly from beggars. Supervision policies intensified in France during the Regency (1715-1723), with central registers and compulsory travel documents for itinerant workers or peasants to fight vagrancy and for soldiers on leave, to fight desertion. Vincent Denis, "Administrer l'identité," paragraphs 2-9; Denis, "The Invention of Mobility," 362-63, 369-70.

³⁸² Denis, "The Invention of Mobility," 367-69.

³⁸³ While the mobility of journeymen in the Habsburg Monarchy was regulated, they were not registered among migrants in Revolutionary France in 1807-1812 because they needed to do "their tour" to finish learning their trade and did not require closer attention by the state. Vincent Denis, "Surveiller et décrire: l'enquête des préfets sur les migrations périodiques, 1807-1812," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 47, no. 4 (October-December 2000): 711.

³⁸⁴ Their travel documents often did not contain physical descriptions because it was considered demeaning to refer them in such manner. Fahrmeir, "Governments and Forgers," 228-29.

³⁸⁵ Daniel Jütte, "Entering a City: on a Lost Early Modern Practice," *Urban History* 41, no 2 (May 2013): 204-210, 212-23.

pestilent areas from the rest of France, but also on the border of France and Spain, for example.³⁸⁶

During the nineteenth century, migration controls continued to be selective and focused on exclusion. A temporary surge in mobility control of broader sections of the population followed the French Revolution.³⁸⁷ Between 1815 and circa 1850, passports were in wider use in Europe, to monitor the mobility of lower classes and suspected revolutionaries. From the 1850s, passport and visa requirements were gradually abolished,³⁸⁸ but exclusionary migration controls did not vanish. They reappeared during the 1880s and 1910s in white-settler nation states (United States, Canada, Australia, South Africa) targeting undesirable immigration from Asia. After 1914, similar exclusionary migration policies were gradually introduced by other states, under various justifications (to protect the labor market, welfare state), with the right to exclude entrance becoming an important element of the international system of sovereign nations.³⁸⁹ While nation states established gradually a more direct relationship with their citizens, the emphasis remained, as before, on exclusion.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁶ Denis, "The Invention of Mobility," 363-64.

³⁸⁷ From 1792, all citizens in France needed passports to leave their districts, while all foreigners needed to be registered. Vincent Denis, "Administrer l'identité:" paragraphs 16, 18; Denis, "The Invention of Mobility:" 372-75. Similar regulations were introduced soon in other parts of Europe, as in Veneto. Andrea Geselle, "Domenica Saba Takes to the Road: Origins and Development of a Modern Passport System in Lombardo-Veneto," in *Documenting Individual Identity*, 203-217.

³⁸⁸ Fahrmeir, "Governments and Forgers," 233; Komlosy, "State, Regions, and Borders," 163, 168; McKeown, *Melancholy Order*, 41.

³⁸⁹ McKeown, *Melancholy Order*, 2-10, 16, 149-51, 319-24.

³⁹⁰ Torpey, "Coming and Going," 248-49, 256-57; Caplan and Torpey, "Great War," 1-2;

A comparison of contemporary Habsburg economic and population theories with the treatment of immigrants and refugees³⁹¹ would not only indicate whether the borders were open to all incoming healthy migrants or whether the entry of certain migrants was discouraged or prevented to enter, but would also reveal the motives behind Habsburg migration control policies. I also take a closer look at the pull factors beyond the border, the laws and regulations that controlled residence and naturalization of Ottoman migrants in the Habsburg Monarchy to determine their relationship with border controls.

Everyone Was Controlled

How were different categories of migrants dealt with? I focus specifically on two societal poles: on the one side of the spectrum, privileged individuals (diplomats, high dignitaries), routinely exempted elsewhere from other nominally comprehensive controls, even at city gates; and on the other side, traveling poor and vagrants, usually targeted by mobility-control policies.

Highest state dignitaries, diplomats, diplomatic envoys and some nobles did receive privileged treatment on the Habsburg-Ottoman border. There was, however, no complete exemption from control procedures. In November 1738, the Sanitary Court Commission approved a shorter quarantine in the place of their choice to high noble military commanders, such as Count Königsegg and Prince Bevern, returning from a campaign against the Ottomans.³⁹² In 1759, at the moment when the Banat and

³⁹¹ In this period, many states saw population as wealth. Before Malthusian overpopulation fears became prevalent in the mid-nineteenth century, the states were more concerned about emigration, perceived as a loss of wealth and desertion. McKeown, *Melancholy Order*, 37.

³⁹² Excerpt from the protocol of the HKR from 12 and November 1738, the imperial decision from 14 November 1738, 1738 November 28, p. 241-243, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

Slavonian quarantine stations were closed, and a strict cordon drawn, the Banat administration made an exception for the son of the Pasha of Orşova and gave him access to the Mehadia spa (Bäder), very popular among the Ottomans.³⁹³ Diplomats and diplomatic couriers could expect to undergo a shortened quarantine outside the quarantine station, in a more comfortable accommodation. The Habsburg envoy Heinrich Christoph Baron (Freiherr) Penckler, returning in 1755 from his post at the Ottoman court, was allowed to undergo a shortened quarantine of only eight days in the town of Zemun, not in the quarantine station, but in the private home of the town's commander, the Major (Obrist Wachtmeister) Baron von Rittberg. The Ottoman envoy Halil Effendi and the Habsburg translator Seleskovitz, who was escorting him, were treated in the same manner later that year.³⁹⁴

Privileges were not, however, routine or absolute. The Sanitary Deputation in Vienna had to approve each privileged treatment. It could deny requests, as in 1763 to the returning Habsburg permanent diplomatic representative at the Ottoman court, Josef Schwachheim. Upon learning about a plague epidemic, which had spread before the returning envoy began his journey, in July 1763 the Sanitary Deputation reversed its initial decision to shorten quarantine time for him to twelve days. It instructed the commander of Slavonia, Count Mercy, to send the diplomat and his retinue to a full quarantine.³⁹⁵

³⁹³ Vienna, 29 January 1757, to TLA, 1757 Januarius 19; Vienna, 9 February 1757, to TLA, 1757 Februarius 4; 1759-September-18; 1759-October-8 KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3.

³⁹⁴ Slav. GK, Osijek, 15 February 1755, IAB, ZM, 1755-1-14, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 33.

³⁹⁵ Vienna, 18 March 1755, to Slav. SK, 1755 Martius 3; Vienna, 13 September 1755, to Slav. SK, also to the Hof- und Staats Kanzlei, 1755 September 5; Osijek, 28 August 1755, from Slav. SK, 1755 September 7; Osijek, 15 September 1755, from Slav. SK, 1755 October 2, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2; Vienna, 19 April 1763, to the Hof- und Staats Kanzlei, 1762 Majus 1; Vienna, 19 July 1763, to the Count Mercy, Nota to the Hof- und Staats Kanzlei, 1763 Julius 14, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3. The other major group enjoying privileges were

Elsewhere in Europe, from the late Middle Ages, mobility-control regimes concentrated usually on the other end of the social hierarchy, targeting beggars and vagrants.³⁹⁶ Both the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire distrusted poor and unemployed travelers or considered them dangerous. During the eighteenth century, the Habsburg Monarchy put a lot of effort into deporting domestic and foreign vagrants to their home communities or abroad if they were foreign subjects.³⁹⁷ The Ottomans were also very wary of vagrants. From the 1690, the Ottoman Empire

diplomatic couriers. The Janissaries assigned to serve the Habsburg envoy at the Ottoman court were sent as messengers to Zemun. The Janissaries of the envoy Penkler were given a special house in the town of Zemun, separate from other travelers. When other travelers were required to undergo forty-two days of quarantine, diplomatic messengers were subjected only to a half of that time, to three weeks. SHK, 13 October 1742, 1742 October 5; SHK, 8 November 1743, 1743 November 1; SHK, 22 September 1751, 1751 September 7, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1; 1743-Novembris-1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1; Slav. Generalkommando, Osijek, 18 December 1753, IAB, ZM, 1753-1-22, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 31. As with envoys, the exemptions were not unconditional. Because of a plague in Istanbul, the Janissaries coming from the internuntius Schwachheim in 1759 were ordered to undergo full quarantine, although again not in quarantine station but in a separate accommodation. This applied also to internuntius's assistants (the members of his household), like Mohrenheim, serving as messengers. Vienna, 27 August 1759, to Slav. SK, 1759 Augustus 12; Vienna, 19 September 1759, to Slav. SK, 1759 September 12; Vienna, 16 October 1759, to Slav. SK, 1759 October 8; Vienna, 17 November 1759, to the Karlovac Generalate Command, 1759 November 4; KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3. The Sanitary Deputation reprimanded the Slavonian Sanitary Commission in April 1754 for approving, without asking Vienna, only fourteen days of quarantine in Zemun for the English Cavalry Captain (Rittmeister) Riou, coming from Istanbul. Vienna, 9 April 1754, to k. k. Geheime Hof- und Staatskanzley, 1754 Aprilis 5, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

³⁹⁶ During the eighteenth century, it could be a serious offense to travel without identification documents. Valentin Groebner, "Describing the Person: Reading the Signs in Late Medieval and Renaissance Europe: Identity Papers. Vested Figures and the Limits of Identification. 1400-1600," in *Documenting Individual Identity*, 16, 20-21.

³⁹⁷ Wendelin, "Schub und Heimatrecht," After 1775, with a custom union being introduced in Czech and Austrian provinces, the mobility of general population was under increasing state supervision, with passports necessary for travels outside home districts. These measures targeted poor subjects. Komlosy, "State, Regions, and Borders," 138-39.

began to perceive nomadism as problematic.³⁹⁸ For example, it required Balkan Gypsies, when traveling, to carry receipts indicating that they paid taxes.³⁹⁹ More aggressive measures against vagrancy were apparently also present. While preparing for a clandestine trip to inspect plague rumors in the Ottoman Empire in 1755, a Habsburg sanitary informant Dimo Sifkovith was provided with bogus merchant capital. It had to be clandestine, because the Ottomans would not allow a Habsburg state agent to collect information freely in their domains. To travel with no restrictions, he also needed to present himself as merchant and a legitimate traveler. The Pančevo quarantine director Paitsch explained to the Temesvár provincial administration that otherwise, he could be perceived as a vagabond, with Ottoman provincial authorities curbing his mobility or expelling him back to the Habsburg territory, endangering the whole mission.⁴⁰⁰ In 1787, Jovan Mihailovics, a twenty-one-year-old Zemun native, secretly boarded an Ottoman ship and crossed to Belgrade on the way to Grocka, where he was invited to work as a tailor. When stopped by Ottoman guards in Belgrade, however, he could not show a Habsburg passport that would confirm him as legitimate traveler. He was then sent to the commander of guards, Delli-Amed, who accused Jovan of being a vagrant (Herumläufer) and threatened him with an impalement or decapitation (ich lass dich spissen oder köpfen), to scare Jovan away. It worked and three days later a frightened Jovan returned to Zemun.⁴⁰¹ Close

³⁹⁸ Kasaba, "L'Empire ottoman, ses nomades et ses frontières:" 112-18, 123.

³⁹⁹ Eyal Ginio, "Neither Muslims nor Zimmis: The Gypsies (Roma) in the Ottoman State" *Romani Studies*, series 5, vol. 14, no. 2 (2004): 132-33.

⁴⁰⁰ Sanitäts-Diarium von der Contumaz Station Banzova, 11 November 1755, pro Mense November 1755; 27 Dezember 1755, pro Mense Dezember 1755; 5 January, 10 January 1756, pro Mense Januar 1756; 3 February 1756, pro Mense Febr. 1756, FHKA NHK Banat A 123.

⁴⁰¹ IAB, ZM, 1787-5-804, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 697-98.

supervision of mobility of poor individuals and groups existed, therefore, in both empires.

In addition, both Habsburgs and the Ottomans introduced measures to supervise the mobility of the general population, particularly in border areas.⁴⁰² For centuries, the Ottoman central government and provincial governors issued passports to foreign diplomats and to merchants operating in frontier provinces, so as not to mix them with enemy spies.⁴⁰³ In the 1690s, the Ottomans transformed the poll tax non-Muslims had to pay (cizye) from a collective tax into a personal tax. From that moment on, each poll-tax payer would receive a personal receipt with his name and physical description, as a kind of identity document when traveling. This measure, targeting tax evasion, also brought the mobility of non-Muslim Ottoman subjects, who made up the majority of the population in Ottoman European provinces, under state supervision.⁴⁰⁴

There were also active measures from the Habsburg side to ensure a closer supervision of the migrants crossing the Habsburg-Ottoman border, particularly the obligation of migrants to possess travel documents, issued by relevant authorities and

⁴⁰² In principle, no travel documents were necessary to travel through the sultan's lands. In theory, foreigners could stay in the Ottoman Empire up to one year under the ruler's protection and then choose either to leave or to naturalize. In practice, foreigners were allowed to prolong their stay and to keep their protected status indefinitely. De Groot, "The historical Development of the Capitulatory Regime:" 576-79, 582, 588-91, 603; Aleksandar Fotić, "Institucija amana i primanje podaništva u Osmanskom carstvu: primer sremskih manastira 1693-1696," *Istorijski časopis* 52 (2005): 226, 248-51.

⁴⁰³ Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, 104-107, 110-11; Jan Schmidt, "Manuscripts documenting relations between the Ottoman empire and the West in the Leiden University Library: treaties, passports and letters," in *The Ottoman Capitulations: Text and Context*: 705, 707-14. The Ottomans could also temporarily freeze mobility in entire provinces during tax surveys, as in 1578 in the Banat of Temesvár to ensure that all individuals were recorded. Káldy-Nagy, "The Administration of the Şanjāq Registrations:" 190-92. In 1767, Ottoman authorities requested itinerant Orthodox clergymen to possess passports issued by their Church. Slavko Gavrilović, "Ka srpskoj revoluciji," in *Istorija srpskog naroda* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1994), vol. 4, no. 2: 351-53.

⁴⁰⁴ Özcan, Abdülkadir, ed. *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi (1099-1116 / 1688-1704)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2000, 19. I thank Sinan Dinçer for this reference.

containing personal descriptions.⁴⁰⁵ In the Habsburg-Ottoman convention of Constantinople of 1741, in subsequent Ottoman *fermans*, as well as in the Habsburg Court order from 16 June 1768, the Ottoman non-Muslim subjects were required to carry their personal tax receipt (proving that they had paid poll tax, mentioned above), called *Karatsch-Paß* or *Karatsch-Zettel*, with their “Namen, Beinamen und Eigentumes” specified.⁴⁰⁶ These requirements were not fulfilled in 1766, with the Sanitary Court Deputation complaining that the Ottoman subjects, both Muslims and non-Muslims, quarantined in border stations, did not possess such documents.⁴⁰⁷ After 1768, the regulation was implemented more successfully. In 1768, personal health certificate forms contained a place and province of origin of an “Ottoman merchant” (türkisches Hanndelsmanns), the description of “Statur,” hair, beard, face, date of arrival and signature of both the director and the surgeon of the border station where the migrant spent quarantine.⁴⁰⁸ When in 1773 Jovan Radojevics attempted to cross to the Habsburg Monarchy from the Ottoman Empire secretly and was caught by border

⁴⁰⁵ In December 1737, during the Habsburg-Ottoman war of 1737-1739, the Sanitary Court Commission required travelers to possess passports signed by both local sanitary commissions and local military commanders, with both “Personen und Effecten wohl beschrieben.” In July 1738, it emphasized that a “Beschreibung der Statur” was necessary in these documents; that the officers were to be described too; that soldiers on leave should strictly follow the routes prescribed in travel documents. A health certificate (Sanitäts Foede), “ein authenische Zeugnus der [...] der institutmäßig gemachten Contumaz,” was to contain not only personal description, but also a detailed description of goods. SHK, Vienna, 24 December 1737, 1737 December 2; SHK, Vienna, 30 July 1738, 1738 Julius 43; SHK, Vienna, 16 August 1738, 1738 Augustus 33; 1738 September 33; SHK, 12 October 1738, 1738 October 19; SHK, 16 September 1751, 1751 September 9, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1; Vortrag der SHK, [March 1739], KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1.

⁴⁰⁶ Engel, “Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien,” vol. 2, 971-78; Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, 146-201.

⁴⁰⁷ SHD, Vienna, 5 March 1766, 1766 Martius 4, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

⁴⁰⁸ Personal Sanitäts Foede, Sanitäts Commissions Protocoll, Karlovac, 25 August 1768, 1768 Augustus 13, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

guards, they requested that he showed either a proper Habsburg travel document or an Ottoman one.⁴⁰⁹ Similar requirements existed when traveling in the other direction. In 1778, people wishing to travel from the Habsburg Monarchy to Ottoman Belgrade had to apply first to the Belgrade governor for an Ottoman passport. Only with the passport would they be allowed to cross the border.⁴¹⁰

The Habsburg Monarchy thus closely supervised migrants. There were practical questions, which could encourage it to use this supervision to selectively deny entrance to certain individuals and groups. Poor and destitute migrants did arrive at the Habsburg border. They often could not finance the crossing of the border, including paying cleaning taxes for themselves and their belongings and buying food and other provisions while being quarantined, let alone their further stay in the Monarchy. How would poor migrants support themselves once inside the monarchy? However, poor migrants were not only allowed to enter. They were often welcome.

⁴⁰⁹ “Eine Teskera, das ist Haracs oder Kopfcontributionszettul.“ IAB, ZM, 1773-2-29, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 369-72. Personal descriptions, used to describe slaves, remained problematic when used for better-off passengers. It was difficult to standardize personal descriptions before the use of photography. Peter Becker, “The Standardization Gaze: The Standardization of the Search Warrant in Nineteenth-Century Germany.” In *Documenting Individual Identity*, 145-51; Yaron Ben-Nach, “Blond, tall, with honey-colored eyes: Jewish ownership of slaves in the Ottoman Empire,” *Jewish History* 20: 315-32.

⁴¹⁰ Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 3, 108-110. Passports were dispensed carefully on the Habsburg side. In 1786, local authorities were allowed to issue travel permits only to reliable and well-behaving locals, for short trips to Ottoman border settlements. For other kinds of trips and for the rest of the population passports were to be issued by provincial and central authorities. Engel, “Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien,” vol. 2, 978-81. From 1822, Habsburg subjects also needed Ottoman “Teskere” to travel to the Ottoman territory. Franz Raffelsperger, *Der Reise-Secretär: ein geographisches Posthandbuch für alle Reisende, Kaufleute, Post- und Geschäftsmänner* (Vienna: J. G. Heubner. 1831), vol. 3: 32. Imbro Tkalac, who traveled with a friend in 1841 from Habsburg Korenica in Lika to Ottoman Bihać, decided not to apply for a passport from the provincial command in Croatia, but for a travel permit (Passierschein), which he could get more quickly. He also received Ottoman “Teskere” from Bihać beforehand. Only then did he set out to visit the Ottoman border town for three days. Tkalac, *Jugenderinnerungen*, 318-19, 334-35, 348.

Various factors worked in favor of poor migrants. Basic human sympathy or pity was cited as a motive in the official correspondence. The director of the quarantine station in Mitrovica, Alteriet, paid from his own pocket the costs incurred by poor travelers.⁴¹¹ This approach enjoyed official support. In 1769, a Wallach Theodor Boilla, originally a Habsburg subject born in Banat, appeared at the quarantine station Kostajnica, having escaped enslavement by an Ottoman (bei einem Türken). The quarantine director accepted him out of pity and paid his quarantine costs. The director subsequently requested a refund from the Croatian Council (Consilio Croatico). The Croatian Council was in a dilemma over whether it was allowed at all to accept into quarantine poor migrants who could not pay for themselves, and asked the Sanitary Deputation for advice. The Deputation concluded that destitute Christian escapees should be accepted into quarantines, since it would be cruel to expose them to severe corporal and capital punishments by returning them to the Ottoman Empire. As a show of the ruler's mercy the *Hofkammer* should pay their subsistence, since all migrants were subjected to sanitary procedures with no exemptions.⁴¹²

⁴¹¹ Osijek, 28 July 1756, from Slav. SK to SHD, 1756 Julius 10, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2. In October 1755, Johann Paitsch, the Pančevo quarantine director, gave refuge and support to Stanko Petrovith, enslaved in the Ottoman Empire since the late 1730. Johann Paitsch to TLA, Pančevo, 7 October 1755, Sanitäts-Diarium von der Contumaz Station Banzova pro Oktober 1755, FHKA NHK Banat A 123.

⁴¹² Protocullum Deputationis Aulica in Re Sanitatis, for the empress Maria Theresa, 16 October 1769, 1769 November 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2. The Monarchy also supported more organized effort to help ransom Christian captives from the Ottoman Empire. In July 1756, about fifty ransomed Christians arrived with the members of the Trinitarian Order to Zemun. Slavonian SK to SHD, Osijek, 19 July 1756, 1756 Julius 32, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2. Giving refuge to slaves could also lead to disputes with the Ottomans. A complaint from an Ottoman Muslim Nonmero Hassan in 1755, who asked for a return of his escaped slave Georg Andrea, reached the Chancellor Haugwitz. The outcome of this complaint is not known. SHD, Vienna, 22 February 1755, to Slavonian SK; to k. k. Hofkammer; a private letter of the Chancellor Haugwitz to the Count Mercy, the commander in Slavonia, 1755 Februarius 4, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

While some migrants were privileged, nobody was exempted from the mobility controls. Merchants, usually not controlled elsewhere, had to pass through regular treatment. Even diplomats, nowadays still one of the most privileged categories of travelers, were not exempted. In this respect, the border regime on the Habsburg-Ottoman border differed not only from contemporary mobility-control regimes, but also from later ones.⁴¹³ The mobility control of migrants had a universal character.

Remigranten, Transmigranten, Emigranten, Trespassers

If we take a closer look at the controls on the Habsburg-Ottoman border, we will notice that a large segment of migrants enjoyed privileged treatment. The privileged group was composed of individuals and groups coming from the Ottoman Empire and expected to permanently settle in the Habsburg Monarchy and to become Habsburg subjects. The treatment cannot be explained by the high social status of the travelers, as was the case with diplomats and high state dignitaries, or by their prominent economic status, as with merchants. To understand their treatment, it is necessary to take a closer look at the prevailing ideas about state, economy, population and migration in the Habsburg monarchy at that time.

Prevailing economic theories in first decades of the existence of the border sanitary cordon were mercantilism and cameralism. They perceived the state as a taxable demographic and economic unit, emphasizing the relationship between population and production growth. Mercantilism supported population growth. More people made more products, which should be reflected in rising exports and increased

⁴¹³ Well-off train and ship travelers enjoyed free travel with no or only few formalities even at the beginning of the twentieth century. Torpey, "Coming and Going," 241-43; Lucassen, "'A Many-Headed Monster,'" 243-55.

inflow of gold and silver, taxes, and state power. Mercantilism, however, offered few clear and systematic instructions on how to transform this goal into administrative policies. In the Habsburg Monarchy, as in many states that made up the Holy Roman Empire, some mercantilistic ideas were taken over by cameralism. The underpinning idea of cameralism was the trust in an active state role and the belief that what is beneficial for the state is beneficial for its subjects. Cameralists believed that rational administration played a major role in improving prosperity through reforms. A prevailing tenet among Cameralists was that the strength of a state depends on the number of its inhabitants and that a growing population was a good indicator of good political and social institutions. A growing population would mean a growing economy, rising tax incomes, increasing armies and a bigger pool of talents. Population could be increased, according to cameralists, in two major ways. One way was to increase the existing population. Cameralistic ordinances supported the growth in production and the expansion of agriculture and promoted measures improving public health, including combatting epidemic diseases, to stimulate natural growth of domestic population. Vienna encouraged natural population growth and internal colonization in the centrally governed border province of Banat, a model province for state intervention and reforms. The fertility of indigenous Banat Romanians and Serbs was perceived as high, but not sufficient to increase the number of inhabitants in the province as quickly as necessary. The other way to increase the population was to encourage immigration from other states.⁴¹⁴ Beginning in 1721, several waves of

⁴¹⁴ The Habsburg Monarchy supported the immigration of not just qualified artisans, but also of peasants. It also promoted internal migration, such as the removal of Protestants from Austrian and Bohemian lands and their settlement in the eastern provinces, or the settlement of vagrants and criminals in Banat to transform them into useful tax-paying subjects. Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, 79-98; Charles Ingrao, "The Problem of 'Enlightened Absolutism' and the German States," *The Journal of Modern History* 58 (Supplement: Politics and Society in the Holy

German migrants, coming from the Holy Roman Empire, were settled in Banat. During the reigns of Charles VI (1711-1740) and Maria Theresa (1740-1780) Germans were favored as agriculturally more progressive than the domestic population. The costs of this centrally directed internal colonization, including recruitment, transport, help and support during the first years in Banat were, however, high. For example, between 1764 and 1774 the state spent 951,340 guildens on German settlers in the German Banat Border Regiment in the southeastern part of the province.⁴¹⁵

A much closer and cheaper source of new settlers was the Ottoman Empire. Johann Philipp Count Harrach, the president of the War Council, suggested in 1743 introducing incentives to increase immigration from the Ottoman Empire.⁴¹⁶ At that moment, the Ottoman Empire had been already for centuries a common source of new settlers. The Ottoman conquest of the Balkans produced waves of immigration to the Hungarian Kingdom from the first half of the fifteenth century. Before 1699, not only during the times of open warfare but also during alternating periods of low-intensity peacetime conflict (Kleinkrieg), both Habsburgs and Ottomans tried to attract migrants from the other side, to strengthen their economy and defense, while weakening the adversary. Sometimes migrations were forced, with population taken after raids of enemy areas. In other cases they were voluntary, with migrants

Roman Empire, 1500-1806) (December 1986): S171-S178; Whelan, "Population and Ideology:" 38-49, 63-69; Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State*, 70-71, 92-94; Ehmer, "Bevölkerung:" 94-97, 99-100; Simon, "Bevölkerungspolizei:" 119-20; Mattias Asche, "Peuplierung," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, vol. 9: 1042-45; Ehmer, "Populationistik;" Behrisch, *Die Berechnung der Glückseligkeit*, 17-23, 27-41, 56-65, 75-80.

⁴¹⁵ Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 1: 177-79; Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, 7-11, 21-28, 79-81, 83-98; Fata, "Donauschwaben," 536-37; Steiner, *Rückkehr unerwünscht*, 55, 119-20, 126-27.

⁴¹⁶ Gavrilović, *Prilog istoriji trgovine i migracije*, 111-14, 116-20

responding to invitations and guarantees, or crossing the border on their own initiative.⁴¹⁷ The movements of migrants continued to follow the Habsburg-Ottoman wars of 1683-1699, 1716-1718, 1737-1739 and 1788-1792. The majority of these migrants were refugees, involuntary migrants who were not receiving sufficient protection from the state that came to control their home area during military confrontations or at the end of the war.⁴¹⁸ Thousands of Balkan Christians retreated with Habsburg armies because the approaching Ottomans could perceive them as disloyal, as, for example, in 1690 and in 1739, during the “First” and “Second Serbian Migrations.”⁴¹⁹ Habsburg-Ottoman peace treaties legalized these wartime migrations, also allowing border populations in the immediate aftermath of the war to choose whether they wanted to stay with new rulers or to go to former ones.

A somewhat more complicated situation emerged during conflicts, where one side was not directly involved, but still had to deal on their borders with refugees. Between 1768 and 1774, the Ottomans were involved in a war with Russia, while the Habsburg Monarchy stayed neutral. In the summer of 1769, as the Russian-Ottoman conflict approached the Habsburg territory, thousands of migrants from Moldavia and Poland reached the Habsburg borders. The Sanitary Deputation in Vienna and the Court War Council discussed how to give them refuge without endangering public health. There were several categories of refugees. In June 1769, the Sanitary Court Deputation ordered the opening of the Rodna Pass in order to accept returning

⁴¹⁷ Ivić, *Migracije Srba u Hrvatsku*, 5-6, 16-19, 32-37, 39, 150-55.

⁴¹⁸ Thus, Muslims and Jews left Hungary after 1699 and 1718, and northern Serbia after 1718, while Germans left northern Serbia and Belgrade in 1739, after it returned to Ottoman rule.

⁴¹⁹ It is difficult to determine the number of people participating in the two “Serbian Migrations,” with estimations ranging from 40,000 to 200,000. Rajko L. Veselinović, “Srbi u Velikom ratu 1683-1699,” in *Istorija srpskog naroda* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1994), vol. 3, no. 1: 530-42 530-37; Sundhaussen, “Südosteuropa,” 294-98.

Habsburg subjects, Moldavian merchants, and “poor refugees.” Following the report of the Court War Council that the migrants coming from Poland and Moldavia were not accepted quickly enough because of the strict sanitary provisions, Maria Theresa ordered that assistance be provided and that officials explore whether it was possible to relax some rules. The Sanitary Deputation ordered the Transylvanian Sanitary Commission to shorten the quarantine time to ten days. While better-off refugees, Greek merchants and Moldavian nobles (Bojaren) needed to pay for quarantine costs and provisions, the Deputation ordered that wooden houses be built for poor refugees and that they be provided with firewood and other necessities for free, while their belongings were exempted from customs. Former Habsburg subjects, who had emigrated in previous years to Moldavia and Wallachia, considered whether to go back to Habsburg rule after the fiscal burden in the Ottoman Empire increased. To encourage the return of these “Remigranten” to Habsburg subjecthood, a general pardon was declared. The Habsburg Monarchy also accepted refugees, who were not previously Habsburg subjects, encouraging them to stay permanently in the Habsburg Monarchy. In the summer of 1769 Maria Theresa and Baron Koller advised border military and sanitary authorities to encourage newly arrived refugees to settle permanently in Habsburg territory.⁴²⁰

⁴²⁰ The return of former Habsburg subjects to the Monarchy continued in the following years, with, for example, another provisional quarantine facility established in a valley near Vršac, for fifty-three families of former Habsburg subjects from the Military Border in 1771. About 200 Wallachian families, former Habsburg subjects, returned “ex Turcico” in December 1772 to Banat. To the Transylv. SK, Vienna, 4 July 1769; [Billet] of the Empress/Queen Maria Theresia to the Baron Koller, 1 July 1769, 1769 Julius 2, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2; Decree to the Transylvanian SK, Vienna, 18 June 1769, 1769 Junius 14; SHD to Transylvanian SK, Vienna, 4 July 1769, 1769 Julius 2; Nota to HKR, Vienna, 14 July 1769, 1769 Julius 5; Insinuation to the k. k. Hofkammer, Vienna, 22 July 1769, 1769 Julius 15; Insinuation of the k. k. Hofkammer, Vienna, 28 October 1769, 1769 November 25; Decree to Transylvanian SK, Vienna, 6 November 1769, 1769 November 8; SHD to Slavonian SK, Vienna, 28 May 1770, 1770 Majus 12; HKR to SHD, Vienna, 18

The Habsburg Monarchy saw the Russian-Ottoman war of 1768 as an opportunity to pursue its demographic policies, aimed at increasing the number of domestic subjects. The arriving Ottoman subjects, called “Transmigranten⁴²¹ oder herüberrettenden türkischen Familien” or “Transmigranten oder aus denen türkischen Landen übersiedelnden Katholischen Christen und nicht unierten Griechen” were financially supported throughout the war. Adults received two *Kreuzer* per day and children one *Kreuzer*. Central bodies took measures to ensure that the refugees stay and naturalize. In 1769, the War Council requested that border authorities check whether newly arriving migrants left debts behind them in the Ottoman Empire, which could complicate their naturalization. In July 1770, the Sanitary Court Deputation ordered the Transylvanian Sanitary Commission to settle poor Ottoman refugees away from the boundary after they passed quarantine and to use force if necessary to prevent them from returning to the Ottoman Empire.⁴²² Border guards in Banat stopped and returned 100 families attempting to return to the Ottoman Empire after the Russian-Ottoman war ended in 1774.⁴²³

May 1771, 1771 Junius 12; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 4 September 1771, 1771 September 5, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 5; SHD to TLA, Vienna, Insinuation to k. k. Hofkammer, Vienna, 19 December 1772, 1772 December 8, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 6.

⁴²¹ The terms *Transmigranten* and *Transmigranten-Familien* were used during the eighteenth century to denote very diverse voluntary and involuntary population movements. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the meaning was narrowed to denote forced migration of Protestant migrants. During the eighteenth century, about 3,500 Protestants were exiled from Austria and Bohemia to parts of Hungary where Protestants were tolerated. Steiner, *Rückkehr unerwünscht*, 248-49, 496.

⁴²² *Protocollum Deputationis Aulica in Re Sanitatis*, to the Empress Maria Theresa, 16 October 1769, 1769 November 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2; 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; Gavrilović, *Prilog istoriji trgovine i migracije*, 111-14.

⁴²³ Gavrilović, *Prilog istoriji trgovine i migracije*, 116-20. Preventing migrants from returning to the Ottoman Empire was problematic, since the Ottoman-Habsburg treaties guaranteed Ottoman subjects safe return home. As a member of the Ottoman border commission in 1740 emphasized: “I am... a

Permanent migrations during wars in which only one side was involved could be justified to some degree. The refugees came at their own initiative, searching for a safe place after their original state could not provide sufficient security of life and property. They afterwards received financial help and privileges from the Habsburg authorities and made a formally free decision to stay. The Ottoman Empire, interested in keeping friendly relations with the Habsburgs during and after the war, did not insist on getting its former subjects back. The Habsburg Monarchy, however, also encouraged the immigration of Ottoman subjects when both empires were at peace.

In the Ottoman Empire, peasants were in principle free to move.⁴²⁴ Although some international arrangements allowed the emigration of Christians, such as the Russian-Ottoman peace treaties of 1774 and 1792,⁴²⁵ the peasants were expected to use free mobility to move around Ottoman dominions, not beyond. In 1764, Ottoman border guards killed two members of a group that was crossing the Ottoman-

subject of the Sublime Porte, and in the stipulations of the peace treaty it is explicitly stated that the Ottoman subjects, who are in your [Habsburg] lands... could have free passage [to the Ottoman Empire] whenever they want.” “Ich bin ja kein Niemand, sondern bin ein Untertan der Hohen Pforte, und in den Bestimmungen des Friedensvertrages heißt es ausdrücklich, daß Untertanen der Pforte, die sich in Euren Landen befinden, wie auch Untertanen Eures Staates, die sich in unseren Landen befinden, jeweils in ihr Land zurückzubegleiten sind.” Later, while discussing the request of the Ottoman commissioner for the Habsburgs in Transylvania to imprison Ottoman Tschusch Mustafa, Nu’ mân Efendi objected: “Zumal es doch in den Bestimmungen des Friedensvertrages heißt, daß ihre Leute, die sich auf unserem Gebiet aufhalten, und unsere Leute, die sich auf ihrem Gebiet aufhalten, jeweils freies Geleit in ihr eigenes Land haben.” Prokosch, *Molla und Diplomat*, 162, citation 164, citation 174. The measures preventing Ottoman peasants from returning to the Sultan’s lands were not always effective. Of 4,761 immigrants from the Ottoman Empire who arrived from Ottoman “Dalmatia” and Venetian Dalmatia between 1773 and 1775, and were settled in Srem, by 1777 302 managed to escape to the Ottoman Empire. An even bigger number died by 1777, 1,006 persons. Gavrilović, *Prilog istoriji trgovine i migracije*, 114.

⁴²⁴ Adanir, “Religious Communities and Ethnic Groups,” 64-66.

⁴²⁵ Iannis Carras, “Connecting Migration and Identities: Godparenthood, Surety and Greeks in the Russian Empire (18th – Early 19th Centuries),” in *Across the Danube*, 66.

Habsburg border to emigrate.⁴²⁶ Peacetime emigration from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Monarchy, particularly if the Habsburgs would be perceived as trying to induce Ottoman subjects to leave, would also not be in the spirit of good neighborliness. When in May 1762 a large group of Ottoman immigrants, 678 persons, crossed the border near the quarantine station Mitrovica in Srem, one of the concerns of the Sanitary Court Deputation was how the Ottomans were going to react. If the Ottomans were to request their subjects back, the Sanitary Court Deputation admitted, the Habsburg Monarchy would probably have to comply.⁴²⁷

The arrival of immigrants was covertly encouraged during peacetime, with Habsburg authorities introducing additional flexibility in the border regime to facilitate their crossing. The immigrants were allowed to cross the border outside official crossing points and to undergo quarantine outside stations. This was a special privilege, not enjoyed by other categories of travelers, including diplomats. They were, nevertheless, not exempted from quarantine. Provisional isolation and quarantines, under military watch and under supervision from the nearby quarantine station, were organized for them at the place of arrival. Summary tables of goods and immigrants (settlers) entering a particular station, compiled by the directors at the end of each year, reveal that the majority of Ottoman immigrants entered the Habsburg Monarchy

⁴²⁶ Gavrilović, *Prilog istoriji trgovine i migracije*, 111-14.

⁴²⁷ The quarantine funding and capacity problems for the group were resolved by organizing a provisional quarantine in a forest and by supporting the arrived families with food. All those investments of funds and resources would be lost, warned the Sanitary Court Deputation, if the Ottomans were to request their subjects back. Despite all these risks, the Sanitary Deputation approved the arrival of immigrants in this case. Military authorities in Slavonia urgently needed new settlers to replace the losses suffered by the border regiments of the Military Border in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). Vienna, 25 May 1762, to Slav. SK, 1762 Majus 2; Vienna, 25 June 1762, to Slav. SK, 1762 Junius 8; Vienna, 10 July, to the Count Merchy, commander in Slavonia, 1762 Julius 1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3; SHD protocol from 16 May 1762, 1762 May 5, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1.

outside official border crossings. For example, the list of immigrants that passed through the Pančevo quarantine station in 1754, numbered seventy-four persons. Most immigrants there, forty-seven, were not registered in the quarantine monthly tables, because they did not enter through the quarantine station. Even the immigrants that appeared in the Pančevo quarantine tables crossed the border elsewhere, for example downstream near the Habsburg village of Omoljica or further downstream near the Habsburg village of Kovin.⁴²⁸ Like the Habsburgs, Ottoman authorities tried to prevent tax-paying subjects from leaving. The Habsburg authorities therefore had an interest in encouraging prospective immigrants from the Ottoman Empire to cross the border outside of official border crossings, away from the gaze of Ottoman authorities. For Habsburg authorities it was easier to deny their involvement if the migrants did not enter through official crossings and regular procedures.

The immigrants arrived for different reasons. They could be escaping temporary anarchy or vicious attacks by robbers. In 1704, the inhabitants of three Habsburg villages in Srem collectively moved to the Ottoman Empire fleeing from robber bands' violence.⁴²⁹ Economic motives apparently played an important role too, particularly the wish to evade the tax burden. In the 1740s, Wallachia and Moldavia, two Ottoman vassal principalities, may have lost a half of their peasant population, who emigrated both to the Ottoman Balkan provinces and to the Habsburg territory to escape the heavy tax burden.⁴³⁰ As mentioned above, many refugees arriving at the Habsburg

⁴²⁸ For example, the following crossings in the Pančevo quarantine tables fit into this category: Rade Gregorovich, the Peter Mihai Group, Radoslav Ignat, Theodor Radovith group, Wassilia, in June-July 1752; Stan Markovith group in November 1753, Kontumaz-Tabellen, Pančevo; Consignation, was pro 1754 vor emigrirte Familien ex Turcico in hießiger Contumaz, die quarantine gehalten, Pančevo, 31 December 1754, Johann Paitsch, Cont. Director, FHKA NHK Banat A 123.

⁴²⁹ Gavrilović, *Hajdučija u Sremu*, 10-17, 20, 32, 35-36, 47, 241-45.

⁴³⁰ Aksan, *Ottoman Wars 1700-1870*, 141.

borders during the Russian-Ottoman War of 1768-1774 were former Habsburg subjects, emigrating previously to the Ottoman Empire because of high Habsburg taxes. When taxes in the Habsburg Monarchy were lower, migrations intensified in the opposite direction. In 1755, the Pančevo quarantine director Paitsch complained that, after the Ottomans lowered their taxes in the autumn of 1755, the inflow of immigrants to Pančevo all but stopped.⁴³¹ It is no wonder then that the Habsburg border authorities used tax exemptions and incentives as a main tool to attract new settlers from the Ottoman Empire. In 1749, the War Council decided to exempt new Ottoman settlers from taxes and duties during the first five years of their life on the Military border. During the 1760s and the 1770s, many immigrants were settled in Banat, the most thinly populated part of the Military Border.⁴³²

In the period when Habsburg Hungary was still sparsely inhabited it was expedient for the Habsburg Monarchy to populate it as quickly as possible. Ottoman migrants were coming from nearby areas. They often came at their own initiative, fleeing from high taxes and hunger, not only from the Ottoman Empire, but also from Venetian possessions on the Adriatic. Since they funded the trip themselves up to the border, the costs for their settlement were therefore lower than for German colonization from the Holy Roman Empire. By the 1780s, it was not as easy as before to find suitable settlement locations for newly arriving migrants.⁴³³ In 1786 Engel, describing the structure and history of the Military Border, noticed that, due to the arrival of “Transmigranten Familien” from the Ottoman Empire and Venetian

⁴³¹ When “in den Türkischen mit der Contribution etwas leidtlicher zu gehet, kommen wenig oder gar keine Transmigranten mehr herüber.” Johann Paitsch to TLA, 31 October 1755, Sanitäts-Diarium von der Contumaz-Station Panzova pro October 1755, FHKA NHK Banat A 123.

⁴³² Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 1: 176-77; Gavrilović, *Prilog istoriji trgovine i migracije*, 111-14, 116-20; Fata, “Donauschwaben,” 536-37.

⁴³³ Gavrilović, *Prilog istoriji trgovine i migracije*, 116-20.

Dalmatia in previous decades, the population of the Military border had increased significantly.⁴³⁴

The migrations were controlled in both directions. Even though the emigration-control duty was rarely emphasized, it was no less important than immigration checks. The borders needed to be crossed in a proper, controlled way in both directions. “The upcoming Turks or Greeks... can only enter through quarantine stations, following the regular cleaning procedure.” “If imperial subjects [...] would go to Belgrade or further into Turkey [Ottoman Empire], they should apply for a passport at a General Command [beforehand].”⁴³⁵ In fact, in healthy times, for Habsburg subjects, it was a

⁴³⁴ Engel, “Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien,” vol. 2: 379-80; Grete Klingenstein, “Modes of Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Eighteenth-Century Habsburg Politics,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 24 (1993): 1-7. The Habsburgs could afford to be more selective in the subsequent decades. When in 1785 a unit of *Freikorps*, made up previously from 100 Ottoman and Venetian subjects volunteering to fight against the Dutch in the Kettle War (1784), was disbanded, some of its members were settled in the Habsburg Monarchy, while others were deemed unsuitable and were expelled back to the Ottoman territory. “die zur Ansiedlung nicht qualifiziert waren, wurden ad Turcicum geschoben” Engel, “Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien,” vol. 2: 618-23. By 1813, the interest in Ottoman migration decreased further. That year, the Monarchy accepted about 100,000 refugees after the Ottomans suppressed the First Serbian Uprising (1804-1813). After the Ottomans offered general amnesty, the Habsburgs did not prevent the great majority of refugees from returning, with only a fraction remaining and naturalizing. Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 1: 178-79. Malthusian overpopulation claims did not become influential in demographic policies in Europe before the mid-nineteenth century. McKeown, *Melancholy Order*, 37. Since the colonization in Hungary continued in the nineteenth century, this would suggest that in 1813 Ottoman migrants were less favored as colonists than several decades before.

⁴³⁵ “Türken oder Griechen... müssen sie mit einen Pass von jenseitiger Obrigkeit versehen seyn und nirgends als bey der Contumaz eingelassen werden, und zwar mit Observirung der normalmässigen Reinigung”. “[wenn] kayserliche Unterthanen wichtige Verrichtung in Handlungsgeschäften haben und nach Belgrad oder weiter ad Turcicum zu gehen hätten, sich immediate bey einen hohen Generalcommando umb ein Pass zu melden haben. Komen sie zurück, so werden sie bey keinen anderen als dem Contumazthor eingelassen, wo sie die neu vorgeschriebene Reinigung passiren müssen”. Zemun, 7 August 1785, IAB, ZM, 1785-3-238, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 592-93. To send a commercial agent to the Ottoman Empire, a merchant from Zemun, Alexa Ratkovics asked for a

graver sin to exit the Monarchy without proper authorization, than to enter it illegally. Border controls helped preserve the existing pool of productive tax-paying subjects and serving soldiers.

From the beginning, prevention of desertion⁴³⁶ remained one of the official duties of the sanitary cordon and border guards. The Ottoman side did not return Habsburg deserters. Only their weapons would be sent back. The deserters received passports from border Pashas, such as the Pasha of Belgrade for further travel.⁴³⁷ Even when border controls failed to prevent desertion to the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburg border authorities worked to catch the returning deserters. Former soldiers from the imperial army arrived at the Habsburg-Ottoman border sometimes years after they had deserted, attempting to sneak back into Habsburg territory and to continue their return journey to Germany, Italy or France. Daniel Müller, a forty-five-year-old Lutheran born in Waldeck, a deserter from a Waldeck infantry regiment, was brought on 10 May 1756 to the Pančevo quarantine station. Destitute and with a cold, he had crossed the border on the Danube and wandered for four days before being stopped by a hussar. He explained that he had deserted and crossed the border into the Ottoman Empire three years earlier.⁴³⁸ Another deserter, Caspar Auman, from a Baden Baden regiment was caught two months later trying to cross the border through the Danube

passport from the commander of Zemun. IAB, ZM, Rathspatocoll 1784, p. 267, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 534.

⁴³⁶ According to the 1751 patent on desertion, all soldiers not with their units and without passport would be considered deserters. Imperial-royal patent on desertion, Innsbruck, 13 April 1751, IAB, ZM, 1784-2-130, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 12.

⁴³⁷ Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 3: 106-108.

⁴³⁸ Sanitäts-Diarium von der Contumaz-Station Panzova pro May 1756, Pančevo, 31 May 1756, to TLA, 15 May 1756, FHKA NHK Banat A 123.

island Čakljanac (Czaklaner Insull).⁴³⁹ After passing the quarantine, both deserters were extradited to the military to be prosecuted for desertion.

The fight against emigration was one of principal tasks of the guards on the sanitary cordon. In 1752, Dr. Grosse, while inspecting the Transylvanian border stations, noted that one of main responsibilities of the border mobility-control regime was to prevent Habsburg peasants and soldiers from escaping to Ottoman Wallachia and Moldavia.⁴⁴⁰ Imperial patents from 19 July 1762 and 16 November 1763 prohibited unauthorized illegal emigration, prescribing five years of hard labor (Schanzarbeit) as a punishment. Attempts to leave were prosecuted harshly too. In 1771, five naturalized Habsburg subjects travelled from Srem to Mehadia under false excuses. They planned to cross there into the Ottoman Empire and enlist into the Russian army to participate in the war against the Ottomans. High water levels prevented them from realizing their plan. Their arrival was suspicious to local authorities. After their true intentions were revealed, they were arrested and prosecuted. They were all found guilty, with suggested sentences of five years of hard labor.⁴⁴¹ The descriptions of the Military Border from the late eighteenth century emphasized the prevention of emigration as one of the cordon's important duties. In

⁴³⁹ Director Paitsch to TLA, Pančevo, 26 July 1756; 29 July 1759, Sanitäts-Diarium von der Contumaz Station Panzova pro Mense July 1756, FHKA NHK Banat A 123. From TLA, 31 July 1756, 1756 September 7; From TLA, 7 August 1756, 1756 September 8; Temesvár, 10 August 1756, from TLA, 1756 September 20; Vienna, 11 April 1757, to TLA; 1757 Aprilis 5, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

⁴⁴⁰ Anmerkungen über den von H. Dr. Grosse ... Vorschlag wie die Siebenbürgische Gräntzen gegen der Moldau und Wallachey könn besser zu verwahren wären, Vienna, 1752, 1755 8, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1.

⁴⁴¹ IAB, ZM, 1771-2-23, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 314-17.

1778, borders soldier guarded the border day and night so that nobody could travel to the Ottoman Empire without a passport, emigrate or escape justice.⁴⁴²

The patent of Joseph II from 10 August 1784 outlawed emigration. All migrants with no intention to return as well as those exiting their *Kreis* or *Bezirk* without a passport and the knowledge and consent of its authorities were defined as emigrants. Exempted from this regime were the nobles older than twenty-eight years, and partially merchants and journeymen. All other subjects above seven were subjected to emigration supervision. Neighbors were obliged to report someone's absence. If a reported person did not return, the property would be confiscated and inheritance rights lost.⁴⁴³ The duty of neighbors to closely supervise each other in the fight against emigration complemented the work of border guards.⁴⁴⁴ The measures were relatively effective, since in 1786 the emigration of whole families from the Military Border were rare.⁴⁴⁵ The measures prohibiting emigration, therefore, had the same goal as policies encouraging immigration, to increase the number of productive tax-paying inhabitants. This was also reflected in the policies against border trespassers. While trespassing was harshly prosecuted, death sentences were avoided. Prison sentences

⁴⁴² "Die eigentliche Bestimmung dieser Grenz-Soldaten ist, sowohl in Friedens- als in Kriegszeiten, die Gränzen zu decken und dieselben Tag und Nacht zu bewachen [...] daß keiner ohne Paß in die Turkey gehe, daß die Ausreiser, übel Thäter und andere die über die Gränze ins türkische Gebieth flüchten wollen angehalten werden." Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 3: 81.

⁴⁴³ Imperial Patent from 10 August 1784, IAB, ZM, 1833, P. 1343, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 435-59.

⁴⁴⁴ "Auf der türkischen Gränze liegt die Verhinderung des Auswanderung dem Cordon, und in den Dörfern jedem Unterthan selbst ob, weswegen immer im Nachbar für dem andern responsibel bleibt." Engel, "Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien," vol. 1: 190, 274.

⁴⁴⁵ Engel, "Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien," vol 2: 541. In the early nineteenth century the border regime seems to have been less preoccupied with emigration. In 1835, the emphasis of border controls was on fighting smuggling, desertion and the immigration of "worthless shady characters." Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 48. Negative views of emigration survived for much longer, having a revival in the Habsburg Monarchy and its successors in 1889-1989, with new curbs on emigration. See Zahra, "Travel Agents on Trial," 161-93.

were routinely shortened, with the goal of returning lawbreakers to the general tax-paying population more quickly.

Clandestine cordon crossing outside quarantine stations was criminalized in the Habsburg Monarchy already during provisional sanitary cordons at the beginning of the eighteenth century. On the face of it, the system was very severe.⁴⁴⁶ Harsh sentences reflected the high stakes involved. One pestilent migrant sneaking in without undergoing quarantine could cause an epidemic in the Habsburg Monarchy. This did not happen often, but when it did, it was difficult to contain. In November 1762, a local plague epidemic was reported in Banat, first in the village of Brestovac near Pančevo and the village of Uljma, between Pančevo and Vršac. Despite immediate closures of pestilent settlements, the disease spread to the nearby villages of Omoljica, Pločica and Leopoldova (Čenta). This whole area of southern Banat remained surrounded by a provisional cordon and separated from the rest of the Monarchy until May 1763.⁴⁴⁷ Such outbreaks were relatively rare, but expensive and disruptive.

A patent published by Empress Maria Theresa on 25 August 1766, in force until 1805, prescribed death sentences for many offences against the sanitary cordon both

⁴⁴⁶ A very strict regulation was complemented by a juridical system with martial courts. In 1739 and 1740, Emperor Charles VI issued a patent that threatened anyone illegally crossing the provisional *Pestkordon* between Lower Austria and Hungary with the death sentence. The helpers, and particularly dishonest officials, were to receive the same punishment. *Festsetzung der Todesstrafe für diejenigen, die unerlaubt den um Niederösterreich gelegten Kordon gegen die Pest überschreiten*, 16 January 1740, FHKA SUS Patente 74.2.

⁴⁴⁷ Vienna, 22 November 1762, to TLA, 1762 November 21; Vienna, 8 December 1762, to TLA, 1762 December 15; to Slav. SK, Vienna, 14 December 1762, 1762 December 18; Vienna, 10 March 1763, to TLA, 1763 Martius 9; Vienna, 28 March 1763, 1763 Martius 24; Vienna, 8 April 1763, to TLA, 1763 Aprilis 6; Vienna, 3 May 1763, to TLA, 1763 Majus 6, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3.

in healthy and in pestilent times: for persons detected crossing the border outside border quarantines who would defy official warnings to return; for transgressors coming from pestilent provinces, detected only after they already entered; for migrants who reported a false place of origin to avoid long quarantine; for the locals who helped the transgressors; for migrants travelling with false health certificates to avoid quarantine; for persons who made these documents, officials who let them pass or did not report them in twenty-four hours; for officials who let quarantined persons exit their isolation earlier than authorized. The patent allowed no appeals to mercy.⁴⁴⁸

The typical court case for border transgression proceeded in the following manner. After being discovered, persons illegally crossing the border would be put into quarantine with their belongings, as well as the individuals with whom they had

⁴⁴⁸ Erneuerung der Kontumaz-Ordnung, 25 August 1766, FHKA SUS Patente 159.31. The severity of the legislation was amended formally in 1769, by clarifying that the harshest sentences would apply only in pestilent times, while in healthy times sanitary offenders were to be subjected to the regular criminal procedure. To the Slav. SK; to the Transylv. SK, the SK in the Generalate of Karlovac; also to the Banatische LA; to Commercial- Intendenza in Triest; also to HKR; to Obriste Justitz Stelle; to Ministerial Banco Deputation; Commerciens Rath; to the Hungarian and Transylvanian Chancelleries. Vienna, 9 February 1769, Freih[err] von Koller. The original in the Austrian and Bohemian Court Chancellery; Nota to the HKR; to the Obriste Justiz Stelle; to the Ministerial Banco- Deputation; to the Commerciens Rath; Inclyta to the Hungarian Chancellery; to the Transylv. Chancellery, Vienna, 9 February 1769, 1769 Februarius 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2. A new law of 1805 further amended the harshness of sanitary law by reserving death sentences as possible punishments for trespassers, but not for Habsburg officials and other local helpers. Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 2, 449: Merchants engaged in smuggling received two punishments, one for avoiding customs and the other for sanitary transgression. In 1753, Nikola Stojadinovich, a fisherman from Zemun and his partner, a Greek merchant Emanuel Hagy-Chyuro were arrested for smuggling sixty-eight otter furs, avoiding quarantine. If merchants were Ottoman subjects, the punishment for smuggling was the payment of double customs. If they were Habsburg subjects, their goods would be confiscated, with a third of the value going to a person who alerted the authorities. The punishment for avoiding proper quarantine was one year of hard labor in irons (Schanz Arbeit in Eisen) for both in the fortress of Petrovaradin. SHD, Vienna, 24 December 1753, to Slav. SK and Nota to HKR. 1753 December 12; Vienna, 16 February 1754, to Slav. SK, 1754 Februarius 5, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2; Engel, "Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien," vol. 2: 1025.

established contact, as was the case with three Ottoman subjects, Jovan Savich, Andrea Jovanovich and Sava Alexich in April 1755.⁴⁴⁹ After the full quarantine, the offenders would be brought to a local court. In military townships, such as in Zemun, they would be interrogated in front of all town councilors, who met twice a week. The investigation report and the suggested sentence would be then sent to the appropriate provincial military command and ultimately to the Court War Council in Vienna, for approval. The Sanitary Court Deputation would also be informed, and in the case of appeal, the Deputation would give a recommendation to the ruler.⁴⁵⁰ The final decision would be then sent through the War Council to the appropriate provincial command for execution. Beside prescribed death sentences, the other recommended punishment was hard labor, usually “trench digging” (*Schanzarbeit*).⁴⁵¹

When applied, however, sanitary criminal law was usually more lenient than prescribed. All sentences were often reduced on appeal or later. The death sentences were exceptional, and usually enforced against serving border soldiers. In 1763, the Sanitary Court Deputation confirmed the death sentence against two soldiers from the Karlovac Generalate, Arsenie Pricza and Stojan Mandich, for clandestine border

⁴⁴⁹ Vienna, 5 April 1755, to Slav. SK, 1755 Aprilis 1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

⁴⁵⁰ The higher instance, a court body to which an appeal could be made by migrants convicted by a court in the first instance, was not always the Court Sanitary Deputation. In December 1753, for appeals of border transgressors convicted in Banat the appropriate place to appeal was the Banat Court Deputation. Vienna, 29 December 1753, to TLA, 1753 December 16, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2. Engel, “Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien,” vol. 2: 1045.

⁴⁵¹ Persons sentenced to *Schanzarbeit* could work on various places. Until 1776, many convicts, “Schanzgräber,” were engaged in earthworks on the Petrovaradin Fortress, the most important Habsburg fortification in this part of the frontier. Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 3: 94.

crossing and for helping others to avoid the cordon.⁴⁵² Other death sentences were often commuted on appeal. In 1770, three border soldiers from Brod in Slavonia were first sentenced to death for sanitary transgressions. On appeal, however, the Sanitary Court Deputation commuted them to corporal punishments. Petar Karamanovich was to receive 100 blows, Miro Kacsich, was to run the gauntlet⁴⁵³ twice, and his son Marian once.⁴⁵⁴ Even these commuted sentences were uncharacteristically harsh. It was much more usual to commute death sentences into multi-year hard-labor punishments. In 1757, a group of twenty immigrants and Transylvanian civilian border guards (*plăieși*) was sentenced to death, for crossing the border illegally or for allowing these illegal migrations to happen. The Court Sanitary Deputation in the second instance commuted punishments into hard-labor sentences. The illegal immigrants were sentenced to three months in prison or of trench digging. The Deputation was less merciful towards guards, sentencing them from two to four years of trench digging.⁴⁵⁵

The most common sentences seemed to be from three months to a year of trench digging, as in case of Nicola, a Wallach sentenced to one year in August 1757.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵² Maria Theresia to the Interims- Commando in dem Carlstädter Generalat, Vienna, 1 October 1763, 1763-October-2, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2; SHD to the Interimis- Commando in the Karlovac Generalate, Vienna, 2 October 1763, 1763 October, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3.

⁴⁵³ *Gassenlaufen* – to pass through a row of 300 soldiers beating a person with sticks. This was a less dishonorable but cruel and potentially deadly sentence.

⁴⁵⁴ The comment of the Slav. SK on The Rescript [from SHDeputation], Vienna, 3 February 1770; protocol of the Slavonian SK, from 20 February 1770, [Osijek], 1770 Martius 9, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

⁴⁵⁵ Vienna, 28 May 1757, to Transyl. SK, 1757 Majus 12a, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

⁴⁵⁶ Vienna, 27 August 1757, to Slav. SK, 1757 Augustus 8, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2. There did not seem to be any difference between cases that preceded the strict 1766 quarantine transgression patent and those occurring after its promulgation. In fact, those before were

Compulsory labor, particularly working on trenches and fortresses (Schanz- und Festungsarbeit), was a standard punishment since at least the early seventeenth century, when convicts were sent to the military borders of Varaždin and Karlovac. Another compulsory labor punishment was to pull ships upstream (Schiffziehen) on the Danube.⁴⁵⁷ Actual sentences longer than several months were unusual; those longer than one or two years were exceptional. The offenders serving longest sentences were usually released after few months or a year. In addition, the convicted who were Ottoman subjects were sent to the Ottoman Empire if such a request was made.⁴⁵⁸ In July 1754, the Sanitary Court Deputation initially sentenced Risto Janovich, a *Hirschen-Würth* who secretly crossed to the Habsburg Monarchy, as well as the Habsburg subjects who helped him, to three years of trench digging in Petrovaradin (Peterwardein) fortress. However, at the request of the Ottoman Pasha of Belgrade, the Sanitary Deputation ordered in December that Risto be released, after it was confirmed that he was an Ottoman subject. After his release, ten Habsburg subjects sentenced for helping him to cross the border illegally were released as well, effectively serving only six months of their three-year sentence.⁴⁵⁹ This would suggest

often stricter, as with Milos Hero, sentenced to five years of hard labor. Vienna, 12 May 1759, to Slav. SK, 1759 Majus 15, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3. There also did not seem to be major differences in punishing border transgressions in pestilent and non-pestilent years.

⁴⁵⁷ Steiner, *Rückkehr unerwünscht*, 37, 40-41.

⁴⁵⁸ Like Soliman Mechmet, arrested in 1763 for secretly crossing the border, and then sent across the border at the request of Ottoman authorities. Vienna, 27 December 1763, to HKR, 1763 December 14, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3.

⁴⁵⁹ Vienna, 13 July 1754, to Slav. SK, 1754 Julius 6; Ollmütz, 7 September 1754, to Slav. SK; also to k. Hofkammer, and to HKR, 1754 September 1; Vienna, 16 December 1754, to Slav. SK; also to HKR, 1754 December 4; Vienna, 11 January 1755, to Slav. SK; also to HKR, 1755 Januarius 1, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2. The procedures were even more forgiving if the persons involved had higher rank. Although not exempted from the border mobility-control regime, nobles were subjected to a different set of rules, more respectful of their social status. Countess Telecky exited pestilent Transylvania in the autumn 1738 without quarantine and permission. Instead of being

that the principal purpose of harsh nominal sentences was deterrence, not punishment. People, as productive members of society, were too valuable to be lost or to be excluded for a long time. Relatively lenient Habsburg sentencing policies formed part of Habsburg population policies, aimed at increasing the number of tax-paying inhabitants. In a similar manner, criminals from Austria were deported to Banat, where they were to start their new life as colonists.⁴⁶⁰

Border Controls and Tolerance

Examined separately, border controls at the Habsburg-Ottoman border appear to have been universal, subjecting all migrants to controls and compulsory quarantine, and inclusive, accepting all healthy migrants who wanted to enter the Habsburg Monarchy. Border controls alone were just one of the elements that influenced migrants' decisions over whether and what kind of journey to begin from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Monarchy. The treatment of migrants immediately beyond the border mattered as well: What professional and personal prospects did migrants have in the Habsburg Monarchy? How much travel freedom did they have? Where could they reside and for how long? In what kinds of professions were they allowed to engage? Would they be allowed to practice their religion freely? Would they be able to

arrested, she was asked to undergo quarantine and to pay a fine of 1,000 gulden. The sum was later decreased at the request of her husband. SHK, 16 October 1738, 1738 October 16, pp. 210; SHK, 19 February 1739, 1739 Februarius 10, p. 298, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

⁴⁶⁰ Steiner, *Rückkehr unerwünscht*. Lenient penal policy complemented measures that encouraged immigration and curbed emigration. Lenient policy toward transgressors continued in the nineteenth century. Tkalac, who crossed the border in the mid-1830s for a one-day visit to the Bosnian town of Velika Kladuša, with the secret approval of guards from both sides, noted that the provisions against trespassing were not harshly enforced during peaceful and healthy times. Tkalac, *Jugenderinnerungen*, 134-51.

integrate into local communities? Would they be allowed to naturalize?⁴⁶¹ All these elements could encourage or discourage migration.

In early modern times, important factors influencing migrations were religion, gender, class and wealth. The religion of migrants was particularly salient. The *Ius soli* principle, by which a person born in a country inevitably acquired subjecthood rights, was prevalent in large monarchies. The second generation of immigrants thus became the subjects of the host country at the moment of their birth. If they belonged to the same religious denomination as the host population, their integration and assimilation would be further speeded. Religion could also be an obstacle to successful integration. Legal and career limitations of non-Muslims in Islamic countries or of Jews in Christian Europe, for example, prevented integration, creating segregation and parallel societies.⁴⁶² For this reason, I examine how the principal confessional groups were treated after crossing the border and entering the officially Catholic Habsburg Monarchy. A spectrum of different and nuanced arrangements existed for non-Catholic Christians, Muslims and Jews.

Orthodox Christians made up the largest group of migrants who crossed the Habsburg-Ottoman border. Compared to other non-Catholic Christians, they had a better-regulated legal status in the Habsburg Monarchy, being formally acknowledged

⁴⁶¹ These questions remained relevant also in the post-Cold War world in public discussion about immigration: which migrants were acceptable and what rights and obligation would they be allowed to acquire in comparison with “autochthonous population.” Ulbe Bosma, Gijs Kessler and Leo Lucassen, “Migration and Membership Regimes in Global and Historical Perspective: an Introduction,” in *Migration and Membership Regimes in Global and Historical Perspective*, 1.

⁴⁶² Lucassen and Lucassen, “Mobilität,” 629; Leo Lucassen, “Towards a Comparative History of Migration and Membership in Southeast Europe (1500-1900),” *Ethnologia Balkanica* 13 (2009): 30-31, 33; Dirk Hoerder, Jann Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, “Terminologies and Concepts of Migration Research,” in *The Encyclopedia of Migration and Minorities in Europe: from the 17th Century to the Present*, ed. Klaus J. Bade, Pieter C. Emmer, Leo Lucassen and Jochen Oltmer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), xxxvi.

as a separate tolerated community in Hungary before the Edict of Toleration (1781).⁴⁶³ Many lived on the Habsburg Military Border, where Orthodox subjects and, more importantly, priests had been tolerated since the sixteenth century.⁴⁶⁴ The position of Orthodox Christians in the Habsburg Monarchy improved substantially in 1690. At the height of the successes in the War of the Holy League (1683-1699), Emperor Leopold I first issued an “Invitation” to Balkan Christians to rise against their Ottoman rulers, guaranteeing their existing religious and other rights. In August and December 1690 and in August 1691 Leopold I granted privileges that formally acknowledged the Orthodox Church in Hungary (at that moment led by the exiled Serbian Peć Patriarch Arsenius III), exempting it from taxes and from the jurisdiction of Hungarian Catholic hierarchy. The center of the metropolitanate was Krušedol in Srem, later Karlovci. The privileges transplanted to the Habsburg Monarchy the non-territorial communal autonomy, which Orthodox enjoyed in the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁶⁵ They were confirmed by Leopold I’s successors, including Maria Theresa. The Orthodox Metropolitan of Karlovci represented the Orthodox community in the Habsburg Monarchy. During most of the rule of Maria Theresa the relationship was maintained through the *Illyrische Hof Kommission*, founded in 1745, renamed the

⁴⁶³ They enjoyed much better status than segregated Protestant communities, where periods of quiet toleration were followed by not very effective forceful collective conversions. Klingenstein, “Modes of Religious Tolerance:” 1-7, 12-13.

⁴⁶⁴ During the seventeenth century, the Habsburg administration and Catholic Church tolerated even occasional visitations by Orthodox bishops from the Ottoman Empire, from the Patriarchate in Peć. The attempts to introduce a Union with the Catholic Church met the resistance of Orthodox subjects and had little support from the Habsburg military authorities, who were careful not to estrange the population needed for military defense. Rajko L. Veselinović, “Srbi u Hrvatskoj u XVI i XVII veku,” in *Istorija srpskog naroda*, vol. 3, no. 1: 471-87.

⁴⁶⁵ Adanir, “Religious Communities and Ethnic Groups,” 66-67.

Illyrische Hofdeputation in 1747. Unlike with Protestants, Vienna did not perceive the lack of religious conformity as a potential lack of political loyalty.⁴⁶⁶

Orthodox migrants could thus not only enjoy the same commercial privileges and free-travel provision as the other Ottoman subjects. They could join local Orthodox communities in Hungary; they could participate in public religious services; finally, they could integrate and naturalize and become Habsburg subjects, assimilating completely into the local Orthodox population, which composed a majority in most of Banat, as well as in many parts of southern Hungary, Slavonia and Croatia.⁴⁶⁷ In the eighteenth century, Orthodox religious rights became in fact better protected in the Habsburg Monarchy than they were in the Ottoman Empire. The career opportunities were better, too. Orthodox subjects could enter the military where they could be promoted to officers' ranks. The Edict of Toleration further increased their rights and freedoms. This regime encouraged residence and immigration, and the creation and maintenance of extensive trade networks, crucial for commerce. Many of these networks were composed of "Greeks," naturalized Habsburg subjects.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁶ Both the Catholic Church and the Hungarian estates continued to contest these privileges, without much success. These contentions and pressures subdued after the 1750s and 1760s, at the very time when pressures on Habsburg Protestants increased. Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, Vol. 1: 71-73; Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 141-42; Klingenstein, "Modes of Religious Tolerance:" 1-7; Rajko L. Veselinović, "Srbi u Velikom ratu 1683-1699:" in 524-28, 552-54, 558, 560-63; Marija Petrović, "Josephinist Reforms and the Serbian Church Hierarchy in the Habsburg Lands" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2009), 39-47, 49, 55-75.

⁴⁶⁷ Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, Vol. 1: 59-60; Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 55-56, 59-62.

⁴⁶⁸ Some "Greeks" were ethnic Greeks. Greek language was at this time the lingua franca of trade and was used not only by Greeks, but also by Slavs, Aromanians and Albanians. "Greek" was also a synonym for Orthodox Christians, short for Greek Orthodox Christians (similar to Roman Catholic Christians). Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant:" 245-47, 277-79, 290-91, 304; Bur, "Handelsgesellschaften," 269-90; Katsiardi-Hering, "Migrationen:" 133; Faroqi, "The Ottoman Empire Confronting the Christian World," 95, 106; Ioannis Zelepos, "Griechische Händler und Fanarioten in Süd- und Südosteuropa von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zum 19. Jahrhundert," in

In the first half of the eighteenth century, as a religious minority, Orthodox Christians were occasionally singled out and perceived negatively. In 1710, during a plague epidemic, the Court Sanitary Commission excluded Orthodox Serbs (Raitzen) and Jews from Inner Austria, even if they possessed proper and valid travel documents. It was perceived that they were more likely to transfer plague than the general population.⁴⁶⁹ During the next plague epidemic, this prohibition was repeated on several occasions in 1738 and 1739. In addition to Jews, a general prohibition of internal mobility for various groups of Orthodox Christians (Serbs, Greeks, Romanians) and for Armenians was temporarily enforced. As stated in a report from October 1738, “Serbs, Greeks, Jews and other vagabonds should not [be allowed to] pass.”⁴⁷⁰ This kind of negative profiling of Orthodox Christians disappeared in the second sanitary cordon after 1740.⁴⁷¹

In the late 1760s and the early 1770s, distrust and a negative image was limited to Ottoman Orthodox Christian clergy. During the Russian-Ottoman War of 1768-1774, the Sanitary Court Deputation warned border authorities to keep a watchful eye in

Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa, 615-16; Sundhaussen, “Südosteuropa,” 292, 298-300; Olga Katsiardi-Hering, “Grenz-, Staats- und Gemeindekonstruktionen in der Habsburgermonarchie: Identitätendiskurs bei den Menschen aus dem Süden,” in *Griechische Dimensionen südosteuropäischer Kultur seit dem 18. Jahrhundert. Verortung, Bewegung, Grenzüberschreitung*, ed. Maria Oikonomou, Maria A. Stassinopoulou and Ioannis Zelepos (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011), 236, 238-44.

⁴⁶⁹ The Court Jews with Court passports were exempted. Pest-Ordnung, 14 October 1710, FHKA SUS Patente 43.15.

⁴⁷⁰ 1738 Julius 8; 1738-Julius-36; SHK, 30 July 1738, 1738-Julius-43; “Raitzen, Griechen, Juden, und andere Vagabunden sollen nicht passieren” SHK, 8 October 1738, 1738-October-12; 1739-Junius-16; 1739-Julius-3; 1739-September-3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1.

⁴⁷¹ The order of the Sanitary Court Deputation from 1762, to expel Macedonian petty traders from the Karlovac Generalate in order to improve health conditions was untypical for the second half of the eighteenth century. Bartenstein to Maria Theresa, Vienna, 26 October 1762, 1762 October 23; Bartenstein to Maria Theresa, Vienna, 31 October 1762, 1762 December 17, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1.

particular on Orthodox clergy, on “Geistlichkeit, Mönchen, verwittibten Poppen, und Studenti Graeci non uniti Ritus” coming from the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁷² Emperor Joseph II proposed refusing entry altogether to Ottoman Orthodox clergy without proper travel documents. If they were allowed to permanently settle in the Habsburg Monarchy, they would take away positions from domestic priests, since there was little use for them in other professions, argued the emperor. The Illyrian Court Deputation, the court body that had jurisdiction over Habsburg Orthodox subjects, concluded in 1770 that refusing entry would expose them to terrible retributions and death from the Ottomans. The deputation successfully argued that they should be let in, in accordance with the decision of Maria Theresa to give refuge and bread to all Christian refugees from the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman Orthodox clergy were expected, however, to return to the Ottoman Empire once the war between the Sultan and Russia was over.⁴⁷³

It appears in the treatment of Ottoman Orthodox clergy that the principal reason for their undesirableness was not their confession, but their profession and their Ottoman subjecthood. At the same time central institutions debated how to keep as many as possible other Ottoman Orthodox Christians in the Habsburg Monarchy. Future Habsburg subjects who would engage in agriculture, trade and commerce, and contribute to public prosperity and the state’s purse were welcome. Foreign clergy, on the other hand, were regarded as a public burden, draining the funds and resources that

⁴⁷² Insinuation to the Transylvanian Hof-Kanzley, Vienna, 21 April 1770, 1770 Aprilis 15; *Schreiben* of the SHD president the Baron Koller to the president of the Transylvanian SK, the Count O’Donel, Vienna, 7 May 1770, 1770 Majus 3; Decree to the SK in Karlovac; to TLA; to the Hungarian Hof Kanzley, Vienna, 16 November 1770, 1770 November 7, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 5.

⁴⁷³ Gavrilović, *Prilog istoriji trgovine i migracije*, 120-25.

could otherwise be used productively.⁴⁷⁴ In the Ottoman Empire, the Orthodox clergy often acted as representatives of Orthodox Christian communities, collecting taxes for the Ottoman state. For this reason, the Habsburg authorities could perceive Ottoman Orthodox clergy as politically suspicious agents of the Ottoman state. The Habsburg Monarchy had its own, domestically educated Orthodox Christian clergy, represented by the politically loyal Karlovci Orthodox Metropolitanate. Even the Habsburg Orthodox Metropolitan of Karlovci, Jovan Đorđević (1769-1773), complained that he had no control over Ottoman Orthodox Christian clergy refugees once they entered the territory of the Monarchy, while he had to take responsibility for them. He suggested not letting them in. In the end, central government showed more compassion for their fate than did their Orthodox brethren under Habsburg rule. The Ottoman Orthodox clergy were accepted and sent to Orthodox monasteries, to remain under the supervision of the metropolitan of Karlovci. They were expected to return to the Ottoman Empire once the war between the Sultan and Russia was over.⁴⁷⁵

Ottoman Orthodox clergy refugees remained under close supervision during the war, refusing any attempts to integrate them into Habsburg society. In November 1770, the Illyrian Court Deputation reversed the naturalization of four Ottoman monks. The same year it called for stricter punishment of the Orthodox monk, Jeronim Nikolić, recognized as a former Habsburg subject, who had emigrated without permission years before. Born originally in the Habsburg Monarchy, Nikolić was initially a monk in a monastery on Fruška gora, in Habsburg territory. In 1760, he secretly emigrated to the Ottoman Empire, justifying this by his wish to go on

⁴⁷⁴ The Habsburg Monarchy, which radically decreased the number of Catholic clergy and abolished many Catholic monasteries about a decade later, was not interested in adding more Ottoman Orthodox Christian priests and monks.

⁴⁷⁵ Gavrilović, *Prilog istoriji trgovine i migracije*, 120-25.

pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Instead of returning to his homeland, he became an Ottoman subject, visiting Habsburg lands with Ottoman passports on several occasions to collect charity. In 1770, he crossed into the Habsburg Monarchy again, this time without permission and travel documents. For illegal entry and for unlawful emigration, Nikolić was arrested and sentenced to the loss of his clerical status and two years of prison. At that moment, the Illyrian Court Deputation intervened, arguing that such a person should be shown no mercy and should be sentenced to death for sanitary transgression. Finally, he was sentenced to six years of prison, which he himself had to finance.⁴⁷⁶

The experience of Muslims after crossing the border and undergoing quarantine was different. Muslims were not tolerated in the Habsburg Monarchy. They could not become Habsburg subjects and keep their religion. After the Habsburg conquest of Hungary, Slavonia and parts of Croatia in the War of the Holy League (1683-1699), thousands of Muslims left the provinces.⁴⁷⁷ There was also intolerance toward converts. After the Habsburg conquests of Ottoman Lika in Croatia, for example, a minority of Muslims that stayed was baptized, but 882 of them fled eventually, nevertheless, since they continued to be distrusted and persecuted.⁴⁷⁸ A request for conversion remained a necessary prerequisite for naturalization throughout the

⁴⁷⁶ Gavrilović, *Prilog istoriji trgovine i migracije*, 120-25.

⁴⁷⁷ About a half of the population of Ottoman Slavonia settled subsequently in Bosnia. Sundhaussen, "Südosteuropa," 985-87. There was a belief, not shared by all Islamic legal scholars, that pious Muslims should leave the territories controlled by non-Islamic countries and settle with their families in an Islamic state. Some muftis allowed Muslims to stay with their families in infidel countries for pragmatic reasons. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to Be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2011), 13.

⁴⁷⁸ Enes Pelidija, "O migracionim kretanjima stanovništva Bosanskog ejaleta u prvim decenijama XVIII stoljeća," in *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina* (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 1990), 119-31; Kaser, Grandits and Gruber, *Popis Like i Krbave 1712*, 10, 18, 20-22; Kaser, "Siedler an der habsburgischen Militärgrenze," 985-87; Sundhaussen, "Südosteuropa," 294-98.

eighteenth century. The conversion was to be followed by the pledge of allegiance (Huldigungseid) to the Habsburg ruler.⁴⁷⁹ In 1768, during the Russian-Ottoman War of 1768-1774, the Viennese War Council decided to allow entry and to give assistance and support only to Christian refugee families, while the Muslim families would be let in only if they converted to Christianity.⁴⁸⁰

Other countries at the time excluded Muslims as possible subjects. In France, while naturalizations of Protestants and some Jews continued to happen occasionally even after the Edict of Nantes was revoked in 1685, Muslims were allowed to become French subjects only if they converted to Catholicism.⁴⁸¹ This was not the only possible arrangement. The Ottoman Empire itself, like other Islamic states, tolerated “the people of the Book,” Jews and Christians, with appropriate legal accommodations.⁴⁸² Finally, some non-Islamic states accepted Muslims as subjects. Unlike the Habsburgs, Russian sovereigns not only kept Muslim subjects in conquered areas. They also encouraged Muslim immigration. For example, Muslim merchants from Bukhara and Tashkent were invited to settle in Russian towns, such as Tobolsk.⁴⁸³

⁴⁷⁹ Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 1, 59-60, vol. 2, 27-28; Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 3, 59-60; Faroghi, “The Ottoman Empire Confronting the Christian World,” 95.

⁴⁸⁰ Gavrilović, *Prilog istoriji trgovine i migracije*, 111-14.

⁴⁸¹ Peter Sahlins, “Fictions of a Catholic France: The Naturalization of Foreigners. 1685-1787,” *Representations* 47 (1994): 89-99, 101-102. Exclusion of Muslims continued in the next centuries. The United States excluded Muslim immigrants in the late nineteenth century based on discretion with an explanation that they were ineligible as polygamists. McKeown, *Melancholy Order*, 209.

⁴⁸² Non-Muslims enjoyed inferior legal status and fewer career opportunities compared to Muslims. The Ottoman Empire abolished the legal differences between Muslims and non-Muslims in 1839 and in 1856. Adanir, “Religious Communities and Ethnic Groups,” 56, 72-73.

⁴⁸³ Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier*, 188-89, 217.

Muslims were not only unacceptable as permanent residents in Habsburg lands. They were also closely supervised while traveling or temporarily residing in the Monarchy. Border authorities insisted on the separation of Muslims from the rest of the population, particularly in border towns. Muslim travelers were to be accommodated in separate lodgings, a building called *han* (Haan). In Pančevo the *han* was placed right next to the quarantine station. There, Muslim merchants waited for their goods to be released from quarantine. The separation was not always respected, and the orders to accommodate Muslims separately were periodically repeated. In 1753, the Zemun military command and the Slavonian General Command investigated the unsupervised exit of four “Turks” from the town “Haan.”⁴⁸⁴ The Slavonian General Command ordered in 1771 the Zemun magistrate to convert one house into a *han*, for the accommodation of “Türken.” They were to be lodged there exclusively and put under night watch so that nobody could sneak out. The official reason for this measure was to prevent eventual incidents.⁴⁸⁵ In 1767, to prevent Ottoman subjects from spending nights in inns and coffeehouses, the Slavonian military command forbade serving wine after ten o’clock.⁴⁸⁶

Muslims were perceived as a group with a different set of norms and values, hard to reconcile with those prevailing in the Habsburg Monarchy. Muslim merchants often had the status of soldiers, Janissaries, enjoying tax exemptions in the Ottoman Empire. They seem to travel armed through the Habsburg Monarchy. In 1770 it was specified that they, like all migrants, needed to leave their arms before entering

⁴⁸⁴ Vienna, 27 September 1753, to Slav. SK, 1753 September 8, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

⁴⁸⁵ Slav GK, Verordnung, 5 February 1771, IAB, ZM, 1771-2-24, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 303.

⁴⁸⁶ Slav GK, to ZM, Osijek, 22 December 1767, IAB, ZM, 1767-2-28, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 259-60.

quarantine.⁴⁸⁷ They were used to a privileged status in Ottoman society. In January 1755, the president of the Hungarian *Hofkammer* complained to the State and Court Chancellor Count Haugwitz that a “Turk” Janissary Hussein Bassa, quarantined in Zemun, had attacked two quarantine servants and killed one of them, Sabatian Wander. Count Haugwitz subsequently sent a protest to the Pasha of Belgrade through the commander of Slavonia.⁴⁸⁸ The Habsburg authorities, fearful that eventual disputes could escalate into serious incidents may have believed that the separation of Muslims would decrease the danger. The incidents that occurred were often explained by citing irreconcilable differences between Muslims and non-Muslims. Also in 1755, a “Turk,” lodging in a private house, attempted to sexually assault the hostess Maria Stephanoviz, and then beat her husband who tried to confront him. In reaction, the Slavonian General Command instructed the Zemun municipality to separate the accommodation of Ottoman Muslims, suggesting that the mixing of Ottoman Muslims (Türken) with domestic subjects led to incidents.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁷ No. 1152. Generalsanitätsnormativum, 2 Januar 1770, 3-112, *Sammlung aller k. k. Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1740. bis 1780.*, vol. 6: 82.

⁴⁸⁸ SHD to the Hof- und Staatskanzlei and to Slavonian SK, Vienna, 28 January 1755, 1755 Januarius 6; SHD to Slavonian SK; to k. k. Hofkammer; the Chancellor Haugwitz to the Count Mercy, the commander of Slavonia, Vienna, 2 February 1755, 1755 Februarius 4, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

⁴⁸⁹ Species facti, Zemun, 13 November 1755, IAB, ZM, 1755-1-5, in in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 50-51. A similar house existed in Pančevo in 1756. Johann Paitsch to TLA, 10 February 1756 Sanitäts-Diarium von der Contumaz Station Banzova, pro Mense Febr. 1756, FHKA NHK Banat A 123. Following the publication of the very rigorous law addressing trespassing the cordon in 1766, the Sanitary Court Deputation sent explanatory instructions to quarantine and border authorities. The border officials and soldiers were advised to show respect and utmost moderation when dealing with “Turkish subjects and to born Turks in particular” (die Türkische Unterthanen, und bevorab die gebohrne Türcken). If they were caught trespassing, they were first to be asked in friendly manner and with nice words to return to Ottoman territory, thus avoiding arrest. It was better to send an Ottoman ship to the other side of Danube than to put a crew under arrest for attempted smuggling. Maria Theresia, Vienna, 5 March 1766, 1766 Martius 4, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

Although some Muslim merchants, surveyed in Vienna in 1766-1767, had resided in the Monarchy for fifteen years or more,⁴⁹⁰ most came to buy or sell goods, returning thereafter to the Ottoman Empire. Muslim men who resided temporarily in the Habsburg Monarchy were not allowed to bring their wives.⁴⁹¹ No Muslim women and only one child were registered in the preserved Pančevo quarantine monthly tables of migrants between February 1752 and July 1756.⁴⁹² The restrictions on permanent residence in the Monarchy, as well as nominally free, but closely regulated and monitored, mobility disadvantaged Muslim merchants from the Ottoman Empire in comparison to Ottoman Christian subjects. It inhibited the creation of Muslim merchant networks, which could successfully compete on the Habsburg market. Muslims made up a tiny minority of travelers who crossed the Habsburg-Ottoman border. Only 2.8% of persons in the Pančevo quarantine tables that registered entries in 1752-1756 were Muslims.⁴⁹³ This would suggest that the regulation of residence and naturalization played a major role in shaping migrations between two empires.

⁴⁹⁰ HHStA StAbt Türkei V 27, Konv. 7, Konskription der Türken und türkischen Untertanen in Wien, 1766. See David Do Paço, *L'Orient à Vienne aux dix-huitième siècle* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2015), 95-98 for individual examples.

⁴⁹¹ Similar prohibitions of settlement of Muslim families existed in Venice from the fifteenth century. Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, 104-107, 110-11.

⁴⁹² Kontumaz-Tabellen, Pančevo, FHKA NHK Banat A 123. The Ottoman Empire also did not encourage permanent emigration and naturalization of its subjects. In the 1790s the Ottoman central government, though its chief dragoman Constantin Ypsilanti disputed the tax requests by the City of Amsterdam from Greeks, who lived there for years and bought houses. Ypsilanti argued that they remained, nevertheless, Ottoman subjects, with their families still living in the Ottoman Empire. Hakkı İsmail Kadı, "On the Edges on an Ottoman World: Non-Muslim Ottoman Merchants in Amsterdam," in *The Ottoman World*, 284-86.

⁴⁹³ Kontumaz-Tabellen, Pančevo, FHKA NHK Banat A 123.

Like Muslims, Ottoman Jews⁴⁹⁴ did not profit from the 1718 free travel and commercial privileges as much as Ottoman Orthodox subjects did. According to the survey from 1755, there were twenty-one male Jews in Zemun, seventeen of them Habsburg subjects (fourteen owned their houses), and four Ottoman subjects.⁴⁹⁵ Using the privilege granted to all Ottoman subjects to travel freely through Habsburg dominions, Sephardic Jews formed a community in Vienna only in 1778,⁴⁹⁶ decades after Ottoman Orthodox merchants did. This was very different from the situation about a century before, when Ottoman Jews had a big merchant network in Ottoman Hungary and other Ottoman European provinces.⁴⁹⁷ The Habsburg Monarchy offered much less freedom than the Ottomans to Jewish merchants. By the 1750s, the Jews

⁴⁹⁴ Jews were not tolerated in most communities in the Habsburg Monarchy. During plague epidemics in the first half of the eighteenth century, they were singled out as the likely carriers of pestilence along with other mobile groups and religious minorities: Greeks, Armenians, Serbs, Romanians. Their freedom of mobility was temporarily limited in 1710. In 1738, they were qualified, together with Greeks and Serbs as “vagabonds.” Pest-Ordnung, 14 October 1710, FHKA SUS Patente 43.15; 1738 Julius 8; 1738-Julius-36; 1738-Julius-43; “Raitzen, Griechen, Juden, und andere Vagabunden sollen nicht passiren” SHK, 8 October 1738, 1738-October-12; 1739-Junius-16; 1739-Julius-3; 1739-September-3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1. Jews continued to be discriminated against in the second half of the eighteenth century. They were, for example, formally forbidden to reside in Slavonia and in the Slavonian Military border, except in Zemun, where they had a synagogue. Individual Jewish petty merchants were present, but rare, in the other parts of the border. From the sole reign of Joseph II (1780-1790) Jewish economic activity and the number of Jews increased, but insufficiently to create a strong independent merchant network in border areas.

⁴⁹⁵ Conscription deren zu Semlin befindlichen... Juden, Zemun, 31 October 1755, IAB, ZM, 1755-1-45, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 49.

⁴⁹⁶ Klingenstein, “Modes of Religious Tolerance:” 9-12.

⁴⁹⁷ Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 1: 59-60; vol. 2: 27-28; vol. 3: 59-60; Engel, “Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien,” vol. 1: 72-73; vol. 2: 574-81, 759-60, 762, 764-66; Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 1: 204; Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 55-56, 59-62; Tkalac, *Jugenderinnerungen*, 303-04; Stoianovich, “The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant:” 245-47, 298-300; Slavko Gavrilović, *Jevreji u Sremu u XVIII i prvoj polovini XIX veka* (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1989), particularly 47-99. Zelepos, “Griechische Händler und Fanarioten,” 615-16; Jessica V. Roitman, “Sephardische Juden im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit,” in *Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa*, 976.

had even a more modest role in the traffic between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy than Muslims did. In the Pančevo quarantine tables of 1752-1756 only 1.3 % of persons passing through quarantine were Jews⁴⁹⁸.

The differing treatment of Orthodox Christians, Muslims and Jews in the Habsburg Monarchy after they crossed the border suggests that residence and naturalization regulation and practices played an important role in migration control, decisively shaping its outcomes. When regarded as a whole, these “membership regimes,” defined as “the complex of rules, regulations, customs and values surrounding the entry and long-term settlement of migrants in a new polity,”⁴⁹⁹ reveal a more nuanced and complex picture of migration controls, with religion playing a major role. While the border controls were universal and inclusive, residence and naturalization possibilities facilitated Christian migration, while curbing non-Christian traffic to temporary stays. Traveling families recorded in the Pančevo quarantine

⁴⁹⁸ Kontumaz-Tabellen, Pančevo, FHKA NHK Banat A 123.

⁴⁹⁹ (Bosma, Kessler and Lucassen, “Migration and Membership Regimes,” 10-11) The subjecthood in the Habsburg Monarchy was a relationship between a person and a specific “crown.” In Hungary, to which border areas with the Ottomans formally belonged, full citizenship was reserved only for nobles and for the citizens of royal cities. Pálffy, *Povijest Mađarske*, 77, 82-83. The regulation of residence and naturalization in early modern Europe was heterogeneous. In the United Provinces, citizenship was defined locally, with the Dutch citizenship being the sum of local citizenships. Citizenship was not universal. In addition to citizens, there were many people defined as inhabitants, not enjoying the political, economic and legal advantages of citizenship. For example, only citizens could be members of guilds. Maarten Prak, “Burghers into Citizens: Urban and National Citizenship in the Netherlands during the Revolutionary Era (c. 1800),” *Theory and Society* 26, no. 4 (special issue on recasting citizenship, 1997): 403-407. In France, membership was statewide. It was defined negatively, by making a difference between domestic subjects, *regnicoles*, who could leave inheritance to other domestic subjects, and foreigners, *non-regnicoles*, whose inheritance belonged to the French king. Sahlins, “Fictions of a Catholic France:” 85-92. In Spain, the subjecthood was not a personal relationship between the Spanish king and a person, but between the person and a specific “crown” (for example of Castile, Aragon, Navarra). Sahlins, *Boundaries*, 113-14.

records of 1752-1756 were virtually all Christians (333 of 335 recorded persons).⁵⁰⁰

The Habsburg immigration policy could be regarded as formally inclusive when it comes to the act of crossing the border. But at the same time this characterization needs to be qualified by pointing out that it hides a spectre of exclusion and selectiveness when it comes to residence and naturalization possibilities. In addition to migrants' perceived economic usefulness, religion continued to play a decisive role, opening up long-term prospects for Christian migrants, while closing them for non-Christians.⁵⁰¹

Border controls on the Habsburg-Ottoman border in the eighteenth century can be designated as universal. They targeted all travelers wanting to enter the Habsburg Monarchy from the Ottoman Empire, each individual and every category, unlike other contemporary mobility controls in Europe at the time. Nobody, not even diplomats and other high dignitaries, could receive complete exemption from compulsory quarantine. In this respect these controls were more systematic than some of the most comprehensive mobility controls at that moment, the controls at the city gates, where rare immunities did exist. The basic rationale for the comprehensive character of the controls on the Habsburg-Ottoman border was obvious. All migrants, regardless of their status, could be infected and bring plague and other contagious diseases into the Habsburg Monarchy. The diseases could be stopped at the borders only if everyone was controlled.

⁵⁰⁰ Kontumaz-Tabellen, Pančevo, FHKA NHK Banat A 123.

⁵⁰¹ Confession kept playing an important role even for Christians. Immigrants kept their separate confessional identities after naturalization. Such an approach preserved diversity and segmented parallel societies. The Habsburg Monarchy also preserved ethnic diversity on the village levels. Lucassen and Lucassen, "Mobilität," 632-33; Bosma, Kessler and Lucassen, "Migration and Membership Regimes," 10-12;

Privileges did exist, such as a shortened quarantine time, below the minimum of twenty-one days, or being quarantined outside quarantine stations. They were not reserved, however, only to the persons of higher status. The most exceptional privilege, permission to cross the border outside official border crossings and to undergo quarantine at a provisional location, was granted to common peasant immigrants, reflecting the strongly pro-immigration nature of Habsburg demographic policies. Mercantilistic, cameralistic and physiocratic theories that were influential in the Habsburg Monarchy in the eighteenth century, all favored population growth. A growing population was expected to lead to greater production and exports, greater trade surpluses, higher fiscal incomes and bigger armies. Immigration was a relatively fast manner to increase the population, particularly in sparsely populated regions on the border with the Ottomans. German immigrants from the Holy Roman Empire were preferred, but their settlement was slow and expensive. To settle border areas quickly, the Habsburg Monarchy promoted the cheaper settlement of Ottoman peasants.

Border controls were used as a tool for the facilitation of peacetime immigration from the Ottoman Empire. Military authorities organized provisional quarantines for large groups of immigrants, distributed food, permitted crossings outside official border crossings, decreased quarantine time below necessary minimums, for example for refugees escaping to the monarchy during the Russian-Ottoman war of 1768-1774. This was done with the expectation that the refugees would settle permanently in Habsburg territory. Border authorities received instructions to settle refugees away from the border and to prevent them, also by force if necessary, from returning to Ottoman territory. Similar policies were enforced in peacetime. The Habsburg side refrained from open involvement to avoid disputes with the Ottomans, opting instead

for entrusting recruitment of prospective immigrants to private persons. New settlers were attracted by promises of multi-year tax exemptions.

Other border procedures encouraged population growth as well. One of the major tasks of the border, at least from the 1750s, was to prevent the emigration of Habsburg subjects. The border population was required to cooperate. Border inhabitants were encouraged, through shared responsibility, a threat of harsh sentences and more positive incentives, such as rewards, to supervise and report each other. Border control was an emigration-preventing tool. Even the discrepancy between nominal harsh sentences and actual more lenient punishments for border transgressions could be explained as a manifestation of pro-population growth policies. People were too valuable to lose to capital punishment or to long prison sentences.

While border controls were not selective or exclusionary, the selective and exclusionary nature of Habsburg residence and naturalization regulations had a serious impact on the confessional composition of migrants. Christians made up twenty-four of every twenty-five migrants entering the Habsburg Monarchy from the Ottoman Empire. The number of Muslims and Jews was modest. Residence prospects and the toleration of religious autonomy mattered. These factors have to be given serious consideration when examining the effects of border controls. When it comes to the long-term prospects of migrants, they appear to carry much more weight.

Despite being universal and facilitating entrance into the Habsburg Monarchy, the border controls were still very expensive and time-consuming. Every migrant had to prolong the journey by from twenty-one to forty-two days. Everyone except destitute immigrants also had to fund their accommodation and provision during quarantine. Did border controls, despite their open-door character and inclusionary

nature, still curtail migrations by their mere existence? The next two chapters deal with this issue.

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,⁵⁰² or was perceived as negative,⁵⁰³ 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

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

⁵⁰³ 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.⁵⁰⁴ 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.

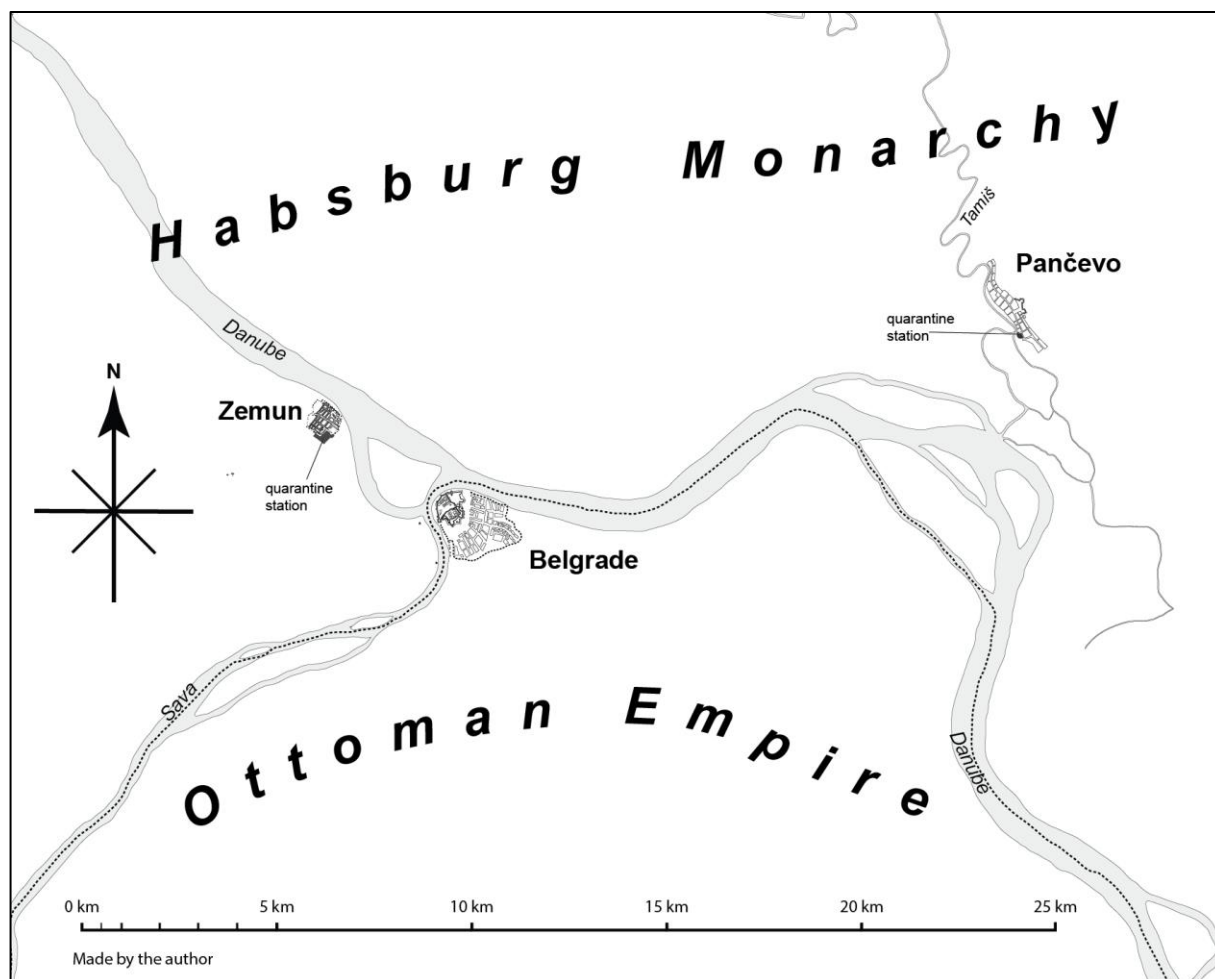
The analysis of the Pančevo quarantine station is divided into two chapters. In chapter 5, I introduce the Pančevo quarantine station, its place and significance in the

⁵⁰⁴ 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*⁵⁰⁵



Pančevo Quarantine Station

The Pančevo quarantine station was located in the town of Pančevo. The town was a lesser castle during Ottoman rule.⁵⁰⁶ 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

⁵⁰⁵ Made by the author.

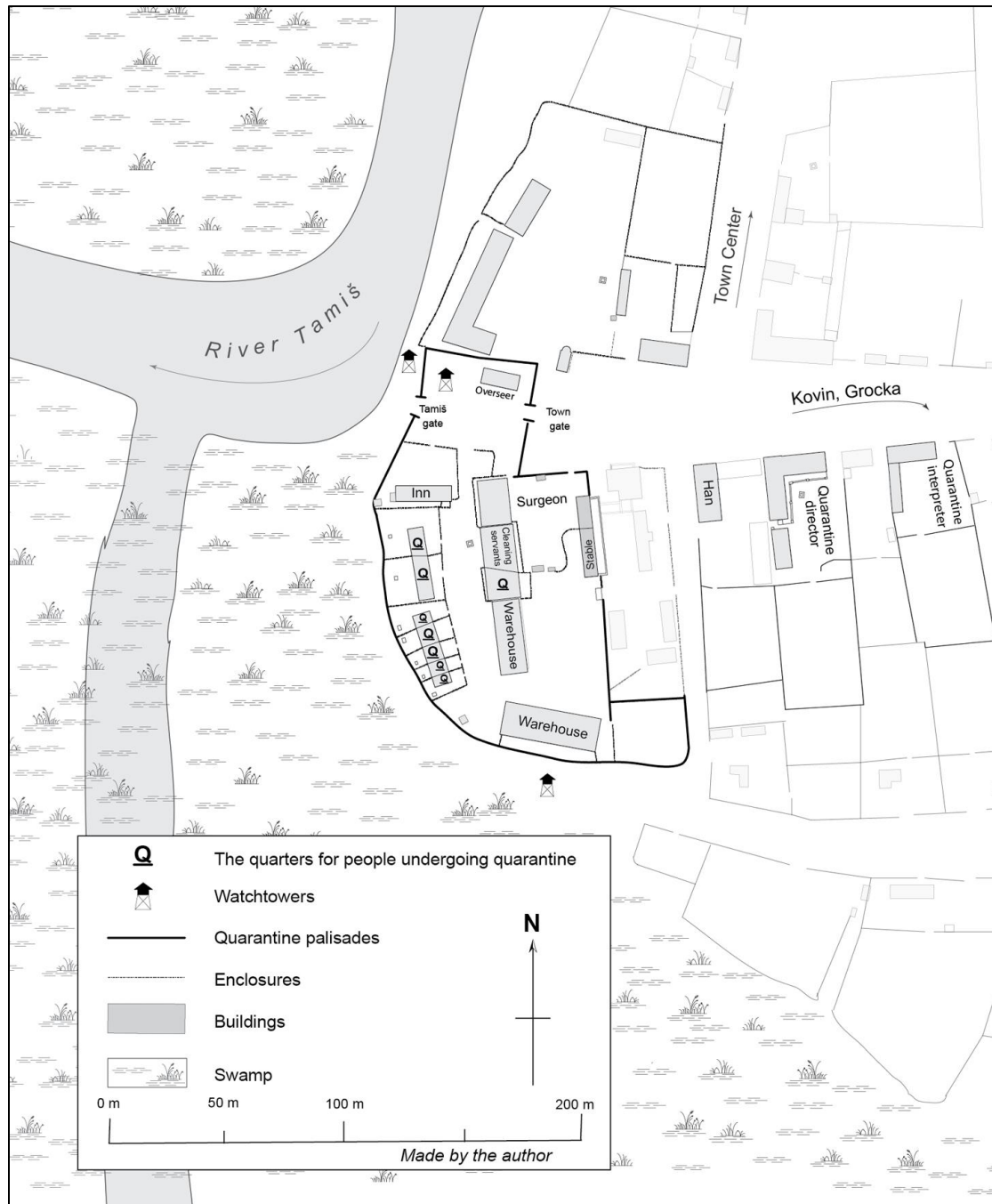
⁵⁰⁶ Dávid, "The Eyalet of Temesvár:" 118-19, 121.

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.⁵⁰⁷ 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.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁷ Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, 60-72.

⁵⁰⁸ 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 Station⁵⁰⁹



⁵⁰⁹ 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.⁵¹⁰ 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.⁵¹¹ The station was functioning in 1741, collecting about the same amount in cleaning taxes as the other Banat border station, Mehadia.⁵¹² In February 1753, the station's director asked for approval to build an additional warehouse (Waaren-Stadl) to accommodate growing traffic.⁵¹³ The station's officials supervised two border markets (Rastelle), in Omoljica and Kovin,⁵¹⁴ and were responsible for the defense of the western section of the Habsburg-Ottoman border in Banat against epidemics.

⁵¹⁰ 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.

⁵¹¹ 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.

⁵¹² 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.

⁵¹³ 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.

⁵¹⁴ 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.⁵¹⁵ 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,⁵¹⁶ 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"⁵¹⁷ 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

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

⁵¹⁶ 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).

⁵¹⁷ 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.⁵¹⁸

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.⁵¹⁹ 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.⁵²⁰ 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.

⁵¹⁸ 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-Diarrii 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

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

⁵²⁰ 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).⁵²¹

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.⁵²² 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

⁵²¹ 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.

⁵²² 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).⁵²³

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

⁵²³ 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.⁵²⁴ 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;⁵²⁵ 1 February 1755

⁵²⁴ 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).

⁵²⁵ 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 1755⁵²⁶). It has forty-three preserved tables in total, the longest uninterrupted period having thirty-two months (26 May 1752–31 January 1755).⁵²⁷

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

⁵²⁶ 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.

⁵²⁷ 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.

⁵²⁸ 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).⁵²⁹

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,

⁵²⁹ 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

Time range	No. of preserved monthly quarantine tables
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 ⁵³⁰	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
Total:	43

⁵³⁰ Until February 1753, the tables ended and were submitted on the 25th 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 1753.⁵³¹

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 angetreten	Nomina deren Contumazirenden Persohnen und Waaren	hat in allen	seindt entlassen worden				Eff.ve Standt		
		Ballen Waaren	unter folgenden Dato	Persohnen	Ballen Waaren	Pferdt	Persohnen	Ballen Waaren	Pferdt
	Vermög leztern Rapport dd. 25.tn Febr. 1752 verbleiben in der Contumaz <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. 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. Pancsova, d. 25tn Marty 1752.								
							[seal] Johann Paitsch , Cont. Director [seal] Johann Adam Richter, Contum. Chyrurg.		

⁵³¹ 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.).⁵³²

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†) ⁵³³	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

⁵³² 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.

⁵³³ 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.⁵³⁴ 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.⁵³⁵

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

⁵³⁴ 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.

⁵³⁵ 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.

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

⁵³⁷ 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 Abstämmling 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.⁵³⁸

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.⁵³⁹ 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

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

⁵³⁸ Bur, “Handelsgesellschaften,” 269-290; Katsiardi-Hering, “Migrationen,” 133.

⁵³⁹ 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.).⁵⁴⁰ Most recorded places were on Habsburg territory.

⁵⁴⁰ 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*⁵⁴¹



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

⁵⁴¹ Made by the author.

by subsequent Habsburg-Ottoman agreements, guaranteed travel and commercial rights to all Ottoman subjects.⁵⁴² 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.⁵⁴³ 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

⁵⁴² See Pešalj, "Making a Prosperous Peace."

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

be only guessed.⁵⁴⁴ The Christian denomination was specified only for two Catholic travelers, both former slaves,⁵⁴⁵ and a Lutheran deserter.⁵⁴⁶ 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.⁵⁴⁷ In addition, I counted 153 as Orthodox with high certainty.⁵⁴⁸ Finally, 152 migrants were also probably Orthodox Christians.⁵⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁴ 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).

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

⁵⁴⁶ Daniel Müller, who entered on 15 May 1756.

⁵⁴⁷ 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.

⁵⁴⁸ 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.

⁵⁴⁹ 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.

⁵⁵⁰ 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

No ethnic or regional identity indicated	410
Indicated ethnic and regional identities	717
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 ⁵⁵¹	12
Multiple identities ⁵⁵²	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.⁵⁵³ For migrants traveling in groups, it was often defined at the group level.⁵⁵⁴ The five most common mentioned ethnic or regional identities were Greeks, Serbs (Raitz), Aromanians (Zinzar),⁵⁵⁵ Bulgarians and Romanians (Vlach/Wallachian) (See table

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

⁵⁵² 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.

⁵⁵³ The percentage in Mehadia was very similar, 934 or 65%. Sutterluti, "Die Kontumaz in Mehadia," 52-54.

⁵⁵⁴ 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). Sutterluti, "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."

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

5.4.).⁵⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁵⁷

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

⁵⁵⁶ 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.

⁵⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁵⁸

During forty-three months thirty-three migrants who were designated as artisans entered Pančevo with twelve different professions.⁵⁵⁹ Four furriers carried lamb furs (Lamb-Fell) with them for sale.⁵⁶⁰ 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).⁵⁶¹ The contemporary sources and modern literature mention seasonal arrivals of numerous builders (Maurer) from Macedonia at border provinces in Hungary.⁵⁶²

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

⁵⁵⁹ The number of registered artisans in Mehadia was even more modest, with only twenty people. Sutterlüt, "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.

⁵⁶⁰ 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.

⁵⁶¹ 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.

⁵⁶² 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.⁵⁶³ 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.⁵⁶⁴ 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.⁵⁶⁵ Ottoman Orthodox Christian merchants, called “Greek

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

⁵⁶³ 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.

⁵⁶⁴ 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.

⁵⁶⁵ 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,”⁵⁶⁶ 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.⁵⁶⁷ Ottoman Orthodox merchants retained a strong presence in Habsburg Hungary after 1699 and in Habsburg Banat after 1718.⁵⁶⁸ 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.⁵⁶⁹ 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

⁵⁶⁶ 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.

⁵⁶⁷ 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 17th to the Early 19th Centuries),” in *Across the Danube*, 26-28.

⁵⁶⁸ Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, 60-72.

⁵⁶⁹ Pešalj, “Making a Prosperous Peace,” 148-49.

Habsburg state confiscated all contraband of their Habsburg counterparts.⁵⁷⁰ 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.⁵⁷¹ 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.⁵⁷² The number of migrants who were

⁵⁷⁰ 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 *gümruk* 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.

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

⁵⁷² 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 1752-1756.⁵⁷³ 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.⁵⁷⁴

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.

⁵⁷³ 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.

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

Table 5.5. Through-Work-Defined Migrants

Profession or service	
<i>monk (Kalloger, Calluger, Callugier)</i>	25
<i>priest (Pop, Bob, Pob, Popp)⁵⁷⁵</i>	15
<i>archimandrite</i>	2
<i>student (Diak)</i>	1
Total clergy	43
<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
Total artisans⁵⁷⁶	33
Merchants	55
<i>Bub</i>	48
<i>Junge</i>	13
<i>Knecht</i>	110
Total servants	171
Soldiers (military deserters)	3
Migrants not defined through work, but with horses and/or servants	256
Grand Total	561

⁵⁷⁵ A five members strong clergy family included.

⁵⁷⁶ 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,⁵⁷⁷ 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.⁵⁷⁸ 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.⁵⁷⁹ 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 1752-1756.⁵⁸⁰ A slight majority of these migrants traveled in groups, usually composed of masters and servants.

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

⁵⁷⁸ 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.

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

⁵⁸⁰ 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,⁵⁸¹ slaves,⁵⁸² immigrants, widows and widowers,⁵⁸³ unmarried,⁵⁸⁴ child, boy, youngster, girl, or old woman.⁵⁸⁵ 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.⁵⁸⁶ 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

⁵⁸¹ Arrestanten

⁵⁸² 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.

⁵⁸³ Wittib, Witwe.

⁵⁸⁴ Ledig, lediger Bursch.

⁵⁸⁵ Kind, Bub, Junge, Bursch, Mädel, Mädchen, altes Weib.

⁵⁸⁶ 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)⁵⁸⁷ women's participation was high (28%), slightly above a third (35%) were adult or adolescent men, while children made up the biggest subgroup (37%).⁵⁸⁸ 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

Status or definition	No.
<i>Immigrants traveling as families</i>	143
<i>Immigrants traveling as individuals</i> ⁵⁸⁹	14
Total immigrants	157
Habsburg residents traveling as families	55
Other families ⁵⁹⁰	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
Total migrants defined through family or social status, age or gender	374
Other migrants, not defined	192
Grand total	566

⁵⁸⁷ All families, included the families of migrants defined through work.

⁵⁸⁸ 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).

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

⁵⁹⁰ 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*.⁵⁹¹ The immigrants who arrived at the Ottoman-Habsburg border were coming from the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁹² 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.⁵⁹³

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,

⁵⁹¹ 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.

⁵⁹² 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.

⁵⁹³ 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.⁵⁹⁴ 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.⁵⁹⁵ 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

⁵⁹⁴ Rade Gregorovich, the Peter Mihat 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.

⁵⁹⁵ 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.

CHAPTER 6: THE QUARANTINE STATION OF PANČEVO: THE IMPACT OF BORDER CONTROLS ON MOBILITY AND MIGRATIONS

Extra time and expenses had to be included in migrants' calculations as one of the elements considered before deciding to travel. It is not possible to measure the exact effect because we do not know what the numbers would be had no quarantine been in place. An estimation, however, could be given indirectly in two ways. It is possible to follow migrations during specific periods, comparing year-by-year numbers. In addition, we could also measure the impact of border controls by comparing different quarantine lengths. The full quarantine of forty-two days during pestilent regimes was exactly twice as long and twice as expensive as the quarantine of twenty-one days during healthy regimes. If long border procedures had a significant negative impact on migrations, migration numbers during pestilent regimes would be depressed.

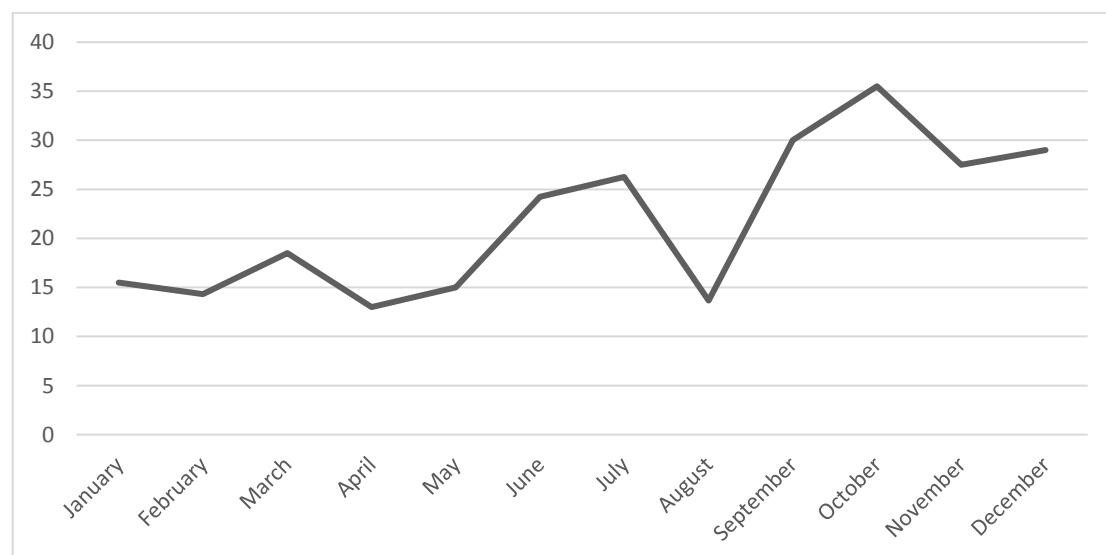
Border controls also may have influenced the structure of migration. Did the "hard border" facilitate certain kinds of migrations, while curbing others? I take a closer look at the social profile of migrants crossing the Ottoman-Habsburg border. The relative impact on local cross-border mobility would be more severe than the influence on travel and migrations between the interiors of the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy. While the controls could increase travel time and costs for local border inhabitants tenfold or more, the cost of travel for travelers coming from Ottoman Macedonia or from the Ottoman capital would increase twofold or less. It could affect the incomes of seasonal workers more seriously than the earnings of well-off merchants. In addition, the impact of Habsburg residence and naturalization

regulations would be visible in migrant records from border stations as well. If the non-tolerance of non-Christians in the Habsburg Monarchy had serious impact on migrations, it would be reflected in numbers of non-Christians arriving at border crossings.

The Station's Capacity, Seasonality, Nature of Migrations

The capacity of the Pančevo station during the 1750s appears to have been relatively modest. In the two longest uninterrupted series (25 May 1752-31 January 1755, 1 October 1755-31 July 1756) the station accommodated up to fifty-six migrants at most, while usually housing about seventeen people.⁵⁹⁶ About 264 people entered the station yearly, or about three migrants every four days (See figure 6.1 and appendix 6.1.).

Figure 6.1. Average Number of Migrants Entering Pančevo per Month, 1752-1756



⁵⁹⁶ Median number; the average was nineteen, the mode thirteen.

The average monthly number of migrants' entries at Pančevo in 1752-1756⁵⁹⁷ varied between thirteen for April and thirty-six for October. On average, the preferred months for travel were June and July and from September through December, when there would be on average twice as many migrants entering the station than from January through May and in August. Longer or shorter quarantine regimes did not significantly influence the averages.⁵⁹⁸ They were similar for all categories of migrant, with non-business travelers favoring July, while business travelers preferred the last part of the year.⁵⁹⁹ The averages only very roughly reflect the seasonal migration of artisans and workers from Macedonia mentioned elsewhere,⁶⁰⁰ starting each year around St. George's Day (4 May in the 1750s according to the Julian calendar, followed by Orthodox Church), with the returns from St. Demetrius's Day (6 November in the 1750s) to Christmas (5 January). It does not explain the low May

⁵⁹⁷ Of 984 known entry dates, entries in February and May 1752 were not used to calculate the averages, because the sample is too small (only four of twenty-nine days in February, and only six of thirty-one days in May are covered by quarantine tables). The number for March 1752 is estimated based on known data that covers twenty-five days (estimate = $22 \text{ entries} / 25 * 31$).

⁵⁹⁸ The numbers for individual months varied from year to year considerably. This cannot be attributed only to quarantine regimes. It is possible that the highest quarantine regime of forty-two days depressed the numbers in the period January-April 1753. The number remained depressed in May 1753 despite the fact that the shortest regime was in force (twenty-one days). The numbers for January, February and April 1754 were also low, during a moderate quarantine regime (twenty-eight days).

⁵⁹⁹ The seasonality of migrants who travelled for business reasons did not differ significantly from the general trend, with the same peaks and troughs (the following group combinations were analyzed: artisans, merchants, people with horses and/or servants, merchants; artisans, merchants, people with horses and/or servants, and servants; artisans, merchants, people with horses and/or servants, servants, and clergy; artisans, merchants, people with horses and/or servants, and clergy). Regarding non-business groups (with arrestees, slaves and deserters excluded because they did not make independent travel decisions; unspecified also excluded, because no distinction could be made there between business and non-business travelers), they follow trends similar to those of business travelers, with stronger activity in July. There was no peak in March with immigrants. If all non-business immigrants were analyzed without immigrants, then there was drop in April-June and September and a stronger peak in July. This does not change the general picture much. See the Appendix 6.2 for the distribution of entries through weekdays.

⁶⁰⁰ Popović, *O Cincarima*, 82-89.

numbers and the exceptional drop in August, persisting in all years. Moreover, this would not reflect the expected averages for the seasonal labor from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Monarchy. Most seasonal workers came in late spring, early summer, and the numbers should be the highest then. They are, however, highest in the last four months of the year, when these laborers should have been returning to their homes, and would not be registered in the Pančevo quarantine, since the tables did not record the traffic in that direction. If seasonal labor migrations existed, in Pačevo in the 1750s, they occurred in both directions, with more people possibly traveling to the Ottoman Empire for seasonal work, than in the opposite direction.⁶⁰¹ Low migration numbers from January to May could be also explained by local circumstances. Flowing ice on the Danube River during winter and early spring could make the border crossing very difficult or stop traffic completely.⁶⁰²

Migrations in Pančevo could be classified as voluntary. It is difficult to make a clear distinction between free and forced migrations.⁶⁰³ However, even the migrants who were unfree when they arrived to the Pančevo station, such as the deserters trying to sneak across the border and return to Germany, or arrestees, caught crossing the border illegally to avoid quarantine, originally started out their journey under their own free will. For slaves, crossing the border was an opportunity to gain their freedom or to continue their free life in a Christian country, if they were released by their Ottoman masters. While immigration from the Ottoman Empire could be classified as permanent, many through-work-defined migrations were probably yearly

⁶⁰¹ As, for example, *Wolleintretern*, Habsburg subjects who traveled seasonally to the Ottoman Empire to wash wool, were recorded in Mehadia. Monthly averages in Mehadia were similar to those in Pančevo, with weaker numbers in spring and the end of the year. Sutterlüti, “Die Kontumaz in Mehadia,” 49.

⁶⁰² Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 2: 24-28.

⁶⁰³ Lucassen and Lucassen, “Migration, Migration History,” 11-17.

or multiyear.⁶⁰⁴ Merchants' trips could last from a few months to a couple of years, as in the case of the merchant Matho Dellith, who entered the Pančevo quarantine in November 1752, June 1753 and February 1756.⁶⁰⁵ While such individual cases would suggest that many business migrations were circular, it is difficult to make generalizations. There is a contemporaneous survey of Ottoman merchants residing in parts of civil Hungary, which Hungarian authorities made in 1754.⁶⁰⁶ It would be reasonable to expect to find there many names from the Pančevo quarantine registers of 1752-1756, since some of the merchants certainly traveled to the Ottoman Empire and back through Pančevo. That, however, proved to be difficult, because the surnames did not seem to be stable and their writing is not sufficiently standardized to convincingly connect the names in the survey with the Pančevo registers. While, for example, Apostol Rosan from the 1754 survey was probably the same person as Apostol Ruschan from the Pančevo tables, it is difficult to claim a match for people carrying more common names and surnames, for instance the several Demetrius Popoviths (alternatively spelled as Demetrius/Dima/Demitro Popovics). The Magyarisation of the names in the Hungarian survey (Pál, János or György for Paule, Jovan/Jani for George from the Pančevo tables) makes the connection more tentative, while alternative use of nicknames (as the nicknames designating origin: Görög, Graek, Bugar, Bosznyák) and unstable family names makes positive identifications practically impossible.⁶⁰⁷ The circular nature of these migrations could be deduced indirectly. While some merchants mentioned in the tables, like the Ottoman consul

⁶⁰⁴ Lucassen and Lucassen, "Mobilität," 627-28.

⁶⁰⁵ The trips of Balkan merchants to other countries had similar dynamics, for example, four journeys of the Ottoman merchant Petar Andrejević (or Andrejić) from Peć (1746-1747, 1747-1748, 1749-1751, 1755). Dimitrijević, "Jedan naš trgovački dnevnik," 364, 366-67.

⁶⁰⁶ Bur, "Handelsgesellschaften," 291-307.

⁶⁰⁷ Hacsí Duca from the Hungarian survey could be Hadgy Duca from the Pančevo tables, but he also could be somebody else.

Dimo Schokantar, brought their families from the Ottoman Empire, the overwhelming majority of other migrants defined through work was composed of adolescent and adult males. This would agree with the often sex-selective nature of circular migrations.⁶⁰⁸ Circular migrants would travel to the Habsburg Monarchy and would periodically return to their families in the Ottoman Empire with their earnings.

Impact of the Duration of Quarantine on Migrations

The border controls were introduced to facilitate migrations and in principle every healthy person was allowed to cross from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Monarchy. However, in addition to quarantine time that needed to be counted in their travel, quarantined migrants, were sitting inactive in the quarantine station, spending their funds to buy food, firewood, and fodder for their horses. The question remains how big a hindrance compulsory quarantine was, and how it affected migration numbers. While it is not possible to know what the numbers would be without quarantine, it is possible to compare the impact of different quarantine durations on migrations.

The migrants arriving in Pančevo in the years 1752-1756 were subjected to different quarantine regimes (forty-two days during pestilent regime, twenty-eight during suspicious regime, and twenty-one days during healthy regime). The changes in quarantine regimes can be traced in Pančevo from 4 February 1752 to 27 July 1756.⁶⁰⁹ There were ten changes during this time. (See the Appendix 6.3.) Of 1,635 days, the healthy regime was in force more than half of the time (825 days), the

⁶⁰⁸ Tilly, "Migration in Modern European History," 51-57.

⁶⁰⁹ Sanitary diaries from Pančevo and the records of the Sanitary Court Commission/Deputation in Vienna complement the data from quarantine tables for the periods that quarantine tables did not cover (4 to 25 February 1752, 26 March – 25 May 1752, 1 February – 30 September 1755).

suspicious regime for about the sixth of a time (260 days), while a third of all days belonged to the pestilent regime (550 days).⁶¹⁰ Actual quarantine times were usually forty to forty-one days, twenty-seven days and twenty days instead of forty-two, twenty-eight and twenty-one days, perhaps because both the date of arrival and the date of departure were counted in.⁶¹¹

During the pestilent regime, the migrants had to pass exactly twice as long in the quarantine compared to healthy times (forty-two versus twenty-one days), doubling both the costs and the time lost. If the quarantine length played a major role in decisions whether or not to cross the border, it can be expected that a statistically

⁶¹⁰ SHK, Decree to the quarantine directors in Pančevo and Transylvania, Vienna, 4 February 1752, 1752 Februarius 2, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 1; SHD to TLA, 10 February 1753, 1753 Februarius 3; SHD to TLA, 10 April 1753, 1753 Aprilis 5; SHD to the Transylvanian SK; to TLA; to the General Scherzer, Vienna, 20 August 1753, 1753 Augustus 11; SHD to TLA, 8 September 1753, 1753 September 1; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 17 December 1753, 1753 December 5; SHD to Slav. SK, Vienna, 10 July 1754, 1754 Julius 3; SHD to TLA, 30 July 1754, 1754 Julius 10; SHD to TLA; to Slav. SK, to the Court and State Chancellery, Meuhof in Bohemia, 17 August 1754, 1754 Augustus 5; SHD to Slav. SK, Vienna, 13 November 1754, 1754 November 35; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 17 May 1755, 1755 Majus 2; SHD to TLA; also to Slav. SK, Vienna, 15 December 1755, 1755 December 9; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 3 April 1756, 1756 Aprilis 3; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 8 May 1756, 1756 Majus 2; SHD to TLA, Vienna, 22 June 1756, 1756 Junius 12; SHD to Slav. SK; to TLA, Vienna, 14 July 1756, 1756 Julius 12, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2; Johann Paitsch to TLA, 10 December 1754, Sanitäts-Diarium von der Contumaz-Station Panzova pro Dezembris 1754; Johann Paitsch to TLA, 13 January 1755, Sanitäts-Diarium pro Januar 1755; Johann Paitsch to TLA, Pančevo, 10 November 1755, Sanitäts-Diarium pro November 1755; Johan Paitsch to TLA, 16 February 1756, Sanitäts-Diarium pro Februar 1756; Johann Paitsch to TLA, Pančevo, 17 November 1755, 25 November 1755, Sanitäts-Diarium pro November 1755; Johan Paitsch to TLA, 16 February 1756, Sanitäts-Diarium pro Februar 1756; Johann Paitsch to TLA, Pančevo, 28 June 1756, Sanitäts-Diarium pro Junii 1756; Johann Paitsch to TLA, Pančevo, 27 July 1756, Sanitäts-Diarium pro July 1756, FHKA NHK Banat A 123.

⁶¹¹ Some people spent a day, or very rarely, two days longer or less in the quarantine. When a shorter regime would be introduced, the people already in the quarantine would profit, since their quarantine would be immediately reduced too (on 26 June 1752, 23 April and 23 December 1753, 8 December 1754 and 26 December 1755). When quarantine would be extended, people who had started their quarantine before the extension were exempted from longer quarantine time. A decrease would apply to everybody, to persons already in the quarantine and to new arrivals, while increases only to new arrivals.

significant negative correlation between the length of quarantine and number of entrances could be detected. The longer the regime, more migrants would be expected to abandon or postpone their travel plans. I compared average daily entries⁶¹² for thirty-five months⁶¹³ with the regime that was in force that month (pestilent, suspicious and healthy regimes), calculated in weeks (three, four and six weeks). The sample size is made of 797 migrant entries.⁶¹⁴

Linear correlation analysis (Pearson) reveals that there is indeed a negative linear correlation between the number of daily entries of migrants and the quarantine length. The correlation is, however, a weak one, and statistically insignificant.⁶¹⁵ A separate analysis of professional groups: merchants with people with horses/servants,⁶¹⁶ decisions for merchants together with the people with servants/horses, clergy;⁶¹⁷ all

⁶¹² The migrants where only exits are known were not counted.

⁶¹³ I excluded from the calculation the months for which there are no data (April 1752, February-October 1755); where data are incomplete (February, March, May 1752); and the months with mixed regimes, when the change in the regime happened during the month (June 1752, April and August 1753, May and December 1754, November and December 1755). There are two exceptions to the last exclusion: the increase from three to six weeks at the end of December 1752 or at the beginning of January 1753 is assumed to have happened on the 1 January 1753 for the sake of this analysis. There were no entrances between 1 and 6 January 1753. The second similar change, the quarantine increase from three to six weeks happened on 28 June 1756, without new entries until the end of the month. I calculated the whole June 1753 as a three-weeks'-quarantine month.

⁶¹⁴ I excluded from analysis arrestees and deserters, because they did not make voluntary decisions to enter the quarantine. Authorities brought them there. I also excluded slaves. Some of them escaped from their Ottoman masters and could not delay or abandon their travel to avoid long quarantines. Without these three groups, 797 migrants were registered in Pančevo during the 35 analyzed months. After analyzing all 797 crossings, I analyzed specific professional and non-professional categories and the combination of categories.

⁶¹⁵ $R = -0.32$; $R = -0.332$ for decisions; $p\text{-value} = 0.06$; 0.051 for decisions. "Decisions" denote a comparison between the number of groups and the length of quarantine regimes, each group counted as only one entry and the length of quarantine regimes. This is based on an assumption that the decision whether to cross the border, to abandon or delay the trip was made on the group level.

⁶¹⁶ $R = -0.306$; $p\text{-value} = 0.073$; $R = -0.29$; $p\text{-value} = 0.09$ for decision makers.

⁶¹⁷ $R = -0.29$, $p\text{-value} = 0.09$.

business migrants with servants;⁶¹⁸ all business migrants with servants and clergy⁶¹⁹ reveals similar results, weak negative linear correlation, statistically insignificant.⁶²⁰ The only combination where the results are statistically significant is the combination of merchants, people with servants/horses and clergy – professional groups without artisans and servants.⁶²¹ Longer quarantines might have impacted the number of entrances of business travelers, but it was a minor factor of questionable significance.⁶²²

The results for non-business travelers suggests that quarantine length had little influence on their travel decisions.⁶²³ The results are particularly persuasive for immigrants, where there is no linear correlation between the average number of border crossings and the length of quarantine.⁶²⁴ This is not surprising. When immigrants decided to cross the border, their decision was permanent. Three additional weeks did not play an important role, particularly with Habsburg state aid covering their sustenance until the first harvest, including quarantine costs.

Compulsory quarantine must have been, nevertheless, an enormous burden on short-distance non-definitive trips. The available documents suggest that inhabitants on both sides of the border maintained close social and economic relations. People

⁶¹⁸ $R = -0.28$; $p\text{-value} = 0.099$.

⁶¹⁹ $R = -0.31$; $p\text{-value} = 0.07$; decisions $R = -0.30$; $p\text{-value} = 0.08$.

⁶²⁰ $P\text{-value}$ between 0.05 and 0.1. Statistical insignificance of the results further increases with merchants (including decisions makers), people with horses/servants (including decision makers); the combination of merchants, artisans, people with horses/servants (with decision makers); all business migrants and servants (only for decision makers) and clergy (with decision makers), with $p\text{-values}$ above 0.1 and weaker negative linear correlation (varying between $R=-0.20$ and $R=-0.28$).

⁶²¹ $R = -0.43$; $p\text{-value} = 0.045$.

⁶²² For some migrants this could be an information problem. Particularly at the beginning of new quarantine regimes, the migrants might not be informed in advance that quarantine was shortened or extended. Business migrants were, on the other hand, in general well informed and could guess, based on news and rumors about epidemic diseases, the length of the regime on the Habsburg border.

⁶²³ $R=-0.14$; -0.12 for decisions; $p\text{-value} = 0.39$; 0.51 for decisions.

⁶²⁴ $R = -0.008$; $R=0.03$ for decisions; $p\text{-values: } 0.96$; 0.85 .

across the border usually shared language and ethnicity.⁶²⁵ They married each other. Some families had members who were Ottoman subjects and members who were Habsburg subjects. Business people had their partners across the boundary. These were all incentives to travel. Before the journey started, the border controls had to be factored in. Short trips lasting for hours or days from an Ottoman border province to the Habsburg territory just across the river would turn into expensive multi-weeks' journeys, discouraging all non-essential travels.⁶²⁶ While merchants' profits from commerce made their border crossings economically feasible, increased travel time and costs might have raised the threshold too high for other types of travel. Short-distance circular migrations, for example, visits to relatives and friends, and pilgrimages, would suffer. Seasonal labor, where substantial time and money investments in the quarantine could not be economically justified by earned wages, would also take a hit. The mere existence of quarantine could have led to a greater social and economic separation between Ottoman and Habsburg provinces.⁶²⁷ We do not know, however, how big the impact was. Ethnic (regional) labels, with their limited reliability, could provide an indirect indicator, while keeping in mind that they were not stable and could denote different things.

⁶²⁵ Klaus Roth, "Rivers as Bridges – Rivers as Boundaries: Some Reflections on Intercultural Exchange on the Danube," *Ethnologia Balkanica* 1 (1997): 20-23.

⁶²⁶ There was a weak and statistically insignificant correlation ($R = -0.21$, p-value 0,22) between daily entries of migrants from Serbia, Banat and Zemun (short-distance migrations) and the length of quarantine regimes. The results for long distance travelers (Greeks, Aromanians, Albanians) is similar ($R = -0.22$, p-value 0,19).

⁶²⁷ It seems that short-distance circular migrations were less affected in Mehadia, where home-community local migrations continued to prevail. Romanians and Serbs made up about 68% of migrants with ethnic markers in Mehadia. Sutterlüti, "Die Kontumaz in Mehadia," 52-54.

Ethnicities and Distances

Early modern ethnicities were less pronounced and more flexible, sometimes difficult to pinpoint, particularly in illiterate rural communities. In that regard, the southern provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy did not differ much from other parts of Europe. Ethnicities should be approached with care for two reasons. First, ethnic markers were unstable. In eleven cases in the Pančevo tables, one identity was recorded at the entrance (Serb/Raitz; Bulgarian), and another at the exit (Bulgarian; Greek).⁶²⁸ Even if we interpret “Greek” as a religious designation, a short form for Greek Orthodox Christian, the change from Serbs to Bulgarians still remains difficult to explain. Both were broad ethnic designations, not synonyms with religion or occupation. We should keep in mind that, even though the cases with multiple ethnic markers make up only 1.5% of all migrants with ethnic or regional labels,⁶²⁹ ethnic markers were changeable. There were some limits and rules that applied to shifting ethnic markers. The shifts of ethnic labels occurred inside the religious denomination of Orthodox Christians. Shifts between different religions, or different Christian denominations were rare and much more difficult. None were recorded in Pančevo.

Second, apparent ethnic names were sometimes used to denote religion, membership in a particular congregation, province of origin, residence or occupation. The seemingly ethnic label “Turks” (Türckhen, Türken) is a good example,

⁶²⁸ Stan Dreftovith, Stan George, and Stamo Stojanovith, were designed as Serbs (Raitzen) at their entrance on 3 December 1755, as Bulgarians at their exit, on 26 December 1755; George Jovan was Serb (Raitz) when he entered on 7 April 1756, and a Bulgarian (Bulgar), when he exited on 27 April 1756; George Banko was marked as Serb when he entered on 12 February 1756, and as Greek (Griech), when he exited on 4 March 1756; the same change from Serb to Greek occurred in the cases of Matha Bergith, Illie Jankovith, Netelko Stojanovith, and George Stamato, who entered Pančevo on 15 June 1756, and left it on 5 July 1756; Mihal Adanassj, and Stama Mafratj entered as Bulgarians on 23 February 1756 and exited as Greeks on 14 March 1756.

⁶²⁹ Making eleven of the 717 migrants with ethnicity or regional identity indicated.

designating a religious identity, not an ethnic identity. Muslims were equated with Turks. The name “Turks” could cover the ethnic identities of Muslim Turks, Slavs, Greeks or Albanians. A similar use of ethnic names to denote religious identities existed in the Russian Empire, where accepting Christianity meant “becoming Russian,” while accepting Islam meant “becoming Tatar.”⁶³⁰ “Turks” in the Pančevo quarantine tables of 1752-1756 could be thus ethnic Turks originally from Istanbul or Anatolia, but also Slavic-speaking Muslims from the towns just across the boundary. Some of them may have been even originally from Banat, refugees or the descendants of refugees from the province that was under Ottoman rule until 1718.⁶³¹ Many of them were merchants. Some could be at the same time state servants. Janissaries, using their tax exemptions, were actively engaged in cross-border travel. Although some Muslims were engaged in commerce with Vienna, and resided there,⁶³² Muslim

⁶³⁰ Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier*, 185-86; Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, 93-94.

⁶³¹ They left for two reasons. First, Muslims were not tolerated in the Habsburg Monarchy. After the conquest of Lika in the 1680s, for example, the Muslim population was left with the choice of converting to Catholic Christianity or leaving. This requirement of conversion remained a prerequisite in peacetime too, throughout the eighteenth century. Conversion was to be followed by the pledge of allegiance (*Huldigungseid*) to the Habsburg ruler. Most Muslims left Lika in the 1680s. Most of those who stayed and converted left ultimately too, because Christian immigrants continued to harass them. Second, the emigration was in line with Islamic recommendations that pious Muslims should not live permanently under non-Islamic rulers, but should move to Islamic territory. The arrival of numerous refugees in Ottoman territory and the emigration of Orthodox and Catholic Christians to Venetian and Habsburg territories increased the number of Muslims and their relative significance in the remaining Ottoman European provinces, including Bosnia. After the Habsburg conquest of Ottoman Croatia, Slavonia, Hungary and Banat, Muslim refugees went to Ottoman territory, mostly to Bosnia (130,000 refugees). Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 1: 59-60; vol. 2: 27-28; vol. 3: 59-60; Kaser, Grandits and Gruber, *Popis Like i Krbave 1712*, 10-11, 18-20; Faroghi, “The Ottoman Empire Confronting the Christian World,” 95; Sundhaussen, “Südosteuropa,” 292, 296-300; Pelidija, “O migracionim kretanjima,” 119-31. Pelidija's estimate, that this increased the Muslim population to 70% and that subsequent religious-selective demographic explosion of Orthodox Christians “changed the ethnic picture” of the province, seems both anachronistic and implausible.

⁶³² HHStA StAbt Türkei V 27, Konv. 7, Konskription der Türken und türkischen Untertanen in Wien, 1766.

participation overall, compared to Christian merchants, was modest.⁶³³ The label “Turk” gives little indication about migrants’ possible region of origin.

The labels “Jew” and “Armenian” also give little clue about migrants’ origin. Fifteen entries in Pančevo were registered as Jews, suggesting that Jewish merchants either avoided Pančevo, or they had an even more modest role in commerce than Muslims in the 1750s, a result of a long decline. Most Ottoman Jews were former Sephardic refugees who had fled Spain after 1492. They built a big merchant network that continued to develop until around 1660. The Ottoman retreat from Hungary in 1683-1718 and parts of the northern Balkans made a lasting impact, wiping out Jewish merchant communities. Around 1680 about a thousand Jews lived in Zemun, but by around 1750 only fifty remained. The Habsburg Monarchy offered much less freedom than the Ottomans to domestic Jews. On the border, Jews were tolerated in Zemun, where they had a synagogue, and they were present in Pančevo, but they were rare elsewhere. Five Jews in the Pančevo quarantine tables were merchants. For eight no occupation was specified or implied.⁶³⁴ It is also difficult to determine a region or origin for six Armenians who entered Pančevo during forty-three months in 1752-1756. They could be Persian subjects, or Ottoman subjects from Asia Minor, or from Balkan towns, where they resided as merchants and artisans.⁶³⁵

⁶³³ See the Appendix 6.4. for a breakdown of Muslim migrants in Pančevo.

⁶³⁴ From the reign of Joseph II, Jewish economic activity and the number of Jews increased, but not significantly on the Military Border. Many Jews worked as petty traders in the first half of the nineteenth century. Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 1: 59-60, vol. 2: 27-28; vol. 3: 59-60; Engel, “Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien,” vol. 1: 72-73; vol. 2: 574-81, 759-60, 762, 764-66; Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 1: 204; Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 55-56, 59-62; Tkalac, *Jugenderinnerungen*, 303-304; Stoianovich, “The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant,” 245-47, 298-300; Gavrilović, *Jevreji u Sremu*, particularly 47-99; Zelepos, “Griechische Händler und Fanarioten,” 615-16; Roitman, “Sephardische Juden,” 976. See Appendix 6.4.

⁶³⁵ Armenians were present in Zemun, but were rare elsewhere on the Military Border, where they occasionally were peddlers. Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 2: 27-28; vol. 3:

Other ethnic or regional markers were less strictly aligned with religion or particular Christian denominations. They could be used as proxies for a region or regions of origin, making it possible to differentiate between long-distance, medium-distance and short-distance migrations. The self-identification⁶³⁶ of Pančevo migrants played a role, as is visible in the identities with which quarantine officials were less familiar. Thus, a merchant Matho Dellith, who entered Pančevo in March 1752, June 1753 and February 1756, identified himself as an “Albaneuser/Albanesser,” and this identity was written down. Sometimes ethnicity mattered for migrants. In business networks, family and ethnic ties were often formative.⁶³⁷ Ethnicity could speed up or slow down integration in some urban communities, increasing in importance as the eighteenth century went on. In Zemun, Vienna, Pest and Trieste, Greek merchants insisted on preserving their separate church service and schools in Greek, refusing integration with their Serb co-religionists.⁶³⁸

59-60; Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 55-56, 59-62; Ivanova, “The Empire’s ‘own’ Foreigners,” 682-702; Rossitsa Gradeva, “The Ottoman Balkans: a Zone of Fracture or a Zone of Contacts?” in *Zones of Fracture in Modern Europe: the Baltic Countries, the Balkans, and Northern Italy*, 72; Sundhaussen, “Südosteuropa,” 298-300; Zelepos, “Griechische Händler und Fanarioten,” 615-16; Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to Be Alien*, 17-18.

⁶³⁶ See Lucassen, “Towards a Comparative History of Migration,” 29, for the importance of self-identification and the identification by the host population.

⁶³⁷ Mantouvalos, “Greek Immigrants in Central Europe,” 32-33. The companies of Orthodox Christian merchants in the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire were often composed of family members and countrymen. Bur, “Handelsgesellschaften,” Popović, *O Cincarima*, 83-84.

⁶³⁸ In the 1720s, Ottoman Orthodox subjects in Vienna came into jurisdictional conflict with the Serbian Metropolitan of Karlovci, the highest Orthodox Church authority in the Habsburg Monarchy. They insisted on remaining under the authority of the Greek Patriarch in Constantinople. Ransmayr, “Greek Presence in Habsburg Vienna,” 136; Mantouvalos, “Greek Immigrants in Central Europe,” 40-43. In the late eighteenth century the Greek Orthodox community in Trieste, insisting on language and church service differences separated from the joint Serbian-Greek Orthodox community. Bur, “Handelsgesellschaften,” Popović, *O Cincarima*, 159-93, 199-243; Katsiardi-Hering, “Migrationen,” 128-30, 135-36, 141-45.

The Habsburg administration cared about ethnicities, too. Quarantine officials made a distinction between different ethnic and regional identities. While early modern states did not define ethnicity as we understand it today,⁶³⁹ it was not irrelevant. The societies in the Habsburg Monarchy were divided along ethnic lines.⁶⁴⁰ In dynastic states immigrants had to stay loyal to the ruler, but they did not need to integrate into the domestic culture or the language.⁶⁴¹ In the perception of the Habsburg authorities, there was a hierarchy of domestic ethnicities, each possessing different qualities. Catholic Germans were considered to be, for example, hard working and loyal subjects. They were ideal inhabitants of Hungarian fortresses in Banat, while Serbs lived in Serbian suburbs (Raitzenstädte). Serbs and Romanians were perceived to have higher fertility, thanks to early marriages, leading to faster population growth.⁶⁴² Habsburg authorities encouraged village segregation, mono-ethnic settlements as better for communal peace. In Banat, Serbs and Romanians, called “Nationalisten,” to denote that they lived in the province before the Habsburg conquest, were resettled to create separate German settlements.⁶⁴³

⁶³⁹ An a priori focus on ethnicities, particularly an essentialist understanding of ethnic designations, seeing them as stable centuries-old groups, is for this reason problematic. The ethnicity was not as decisive for integration and assimilation as religion. Lucassen and Lucassen, “Migration, Migration History,” 23; Lucassen, “Towards a Comparative History of Migration,” 27-28.

⁶⁴⁰ Bosma, Kessler and Lucassen, “Migration and Membership Regimes,” 11-12.

⁶⁴¹ Lucassen and Lucassen, “Mobilität,” 632-33.

⁶⁴² Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 1: 178-79.

⁶⁴³ Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, 21-28, 79-81; Seewann, “Migration in Südosteuropa,” 89-90, 99-101, 103-106; Wolf, “Ethnische Konflikte,” 337-46, 348-53, 359-66; Steiner, *Rückkehr unerwünscht*, 122-24, 130-34. Ethnic closeness, a shared language and dialect could also trump religious differences, for example the settlement of Catholic and Orthodox South Slavs in Croatia and Slavonia that originally proceeded spontaneously. Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 3, Foreword to the volume 3; Engel, “Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien,” vol. 1: 13-16, 21, 45, 83; Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 1: 198-200, 207; Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 55-56, 59-62; Kaser, Grandits and Gruber, *Popis Like i Krbave 1712*, 11-13, 18-23. The state became more involved as the eighteenth century went on. Gavrilović, *Prilog istoriji trgovine i migracije*, 116-20.

Early modern ethnicities, the shared language, dialect, material culture, oral traditions and customs, therefore mattered to some degree to both Habsburg bureaucrats and to migrants. The Pančevo records made some distinction between different ethnic and regional identities. The distinction between the most numerous group with ethnic label, “Greeks,” and other groups is the most difficult to pinpoint. The name “Greek” was ambiguous. It could designate ethnic identity, a person whose native language was Greek. It was also a synonym for Orthodox Christians, short for Greek Orthodox Christians.⁶⁴⁴ It could more narrowly refer to the believers under the jurisdiction of the Greek-led Patriarchate of Constantinople (and not to the Serb-led Habsburg Orthodox Metropolitanate of Karlovci). It could also refer to a social-professional group, being a synonym for Orthodox merchants or for merchants in general. In some parts of Hungary “Greek” was a synonym for merchants, so much so that a Jewish merchant could be called “Jewish Greek.” These meanings could overlap. Orthodox merchants from Macedonia, Epirus and Thessaly were principally engaged in land trade with Hungary and Central Europe. Greek merchants were present in Transylvania in the seventeenth century. After the Habsburgs gained control of Transylvania and Ottoman Hungary in 1699, “Greek” merchants, who acquired commercial privileges in 1718, became very active in international trade, visiting fairs in Lemberg, Nežin (Nizhyn), Wrocław (Breslau), Leipzig, Pest and Debrecen. After around 1750, “Greeks” became more important as merchants than Serbs in Hungary. The Greek language was at this time the *lingua franca* of trade and was used not only by Greeks. Some “Greeks” were ethnic Greeks, while others might

⁶⁴⁴ In Russian Empire in 1701-1710, the name “Greek” was used to designate Orthodox Christians from southeastern Europe: “Moldavian Greek,” “Wallachian Greek,” “Bulgarian Greek,” “Greek-Bulgarian,” “Greek-Serb.” Bulgarian, Wallachian and Greek members of the community in Nezhin, a city on the left bank of the River Dnieper, used “Greek” as a common name. Carras, “Connecting Migration and Identities,” 71-72, 76, 80, 82, 84, 86-92.

be Aromanians, Albanians or Slavs. The majority of “Greeks” in Zemun in 1770 were, for example, Aromanians.⁶⁴⁵

The name “Greek” in the Pančevo tables was probably used to mean a social-professional and confessional group, called by Stoianovich “Balkan Orthodox merchants.”⁶⁴⁶ It designated, however, just a part of that group. It probably did not include local ethnicities (Serbs, Romanians), which Pančevo officials were familiar with and could recognize easily. The designation could be more specific, since the quarantine records mention other ethnic groups from the central Balkans separately. One of these groups is the ethnic group of Aromanians, called *Zinsars* in the quarantine tables.⁶⁴⁷ This is a Romance-speaking group that still exists in what is now Albania, Macedonia and northern Greece. The majority was Slavicized or Grecized in the past. Its language is the closest to Romanian. Their main profession was livestock breeding, but they engaged also early in caravan transports and then in commerce, with many being artisans, builders, carpenters, silversmiths, and woodcarvers in search for seasonal work. While Aromanian merchants gradually assimilated into Greek or Serbian Orthodox majorities, Aromanian artisans and peddlers kept their Aromanian language and identity for a longer time.⁶⁴⁸ *Zinzars* in Pančevo were

⁶⁴⁵ Stoianovich, “The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant,” 245-47, 277-79, 290-91, 304; Bur, “Handelsgesellschaften,” 269-90; Katsiardi-Hering, “Migrationen,” 133; Faroghi, “The Ottoman Empire Confronting the Christian World,” 95, 106; Zelepos, “Griechische Händler und Fanarioten,” 615-16; Sundhaussen, “Südosteuropa,” 292, 298-300; Katsiardi-Hering, “Grenz-, Staats- und Gemeindegrenskriptionen,” 236, 238-44; Mantouvalos, “Greek Immigrants in Central Europe,” 35. See also the Appendix 6.4.

⁶⁴⁶ Stoianovich, “The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant.”

⁶⁴⁷ The exonym Zinzar is considered derisive today.

⁶⁴⁸ Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, Vol. 2: 22-24; Max Demeter Peyfuss, *Die Aromunische Frage. Ihre Entwicklung von den Ursprüngen bis zum Frieden von Bukarest (1913) und die Haltung Österreich-Ungarns* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1974), 11-20; Sundhaussen, “Südosteuropa,” 298-300; Stoianovich, “The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant,” 252-53, 260-62, 276-79, 290-91; Popović, *O Cincarima*, 9, 17-22, 24-39, 42-46, 54-56, 71, 82-89, 91-98, 102-105, 110-11, 149-58, 169-70, 282; Zelepos, “Griechische Händler und Fanarioten,” 615-16; Katsiardi-

perhaps these peddlers and artisans. Using their ethnic names as proxies, I designated both Greeks and Aromanians as relatively long-distance migrants, coming from the southern and central Balkans. I have also classified three “Albanian” (Albaneuser/ Albanesse)⁶⁴⁹ and one “Arnaut”⁶⁵⁰ (an alternative name for Albanians⁶⁵¹) entries as long-distance migrants.

During the period covered by quarantine tables, forty persons identified as Bulgarians crossed the border at Pančevo. Twelve of them were members of traveling families. Eleven Bulgarians were artisans, servants or people with horses and servants. Bulgarian involvement in commerce increased at about this time, around 1750, when Bulgarians from Rhodope and the Balkan Mountains (Stara Planina) became more active.⁶⁵² Their regions of origins were closer than those of Greek or Aromanians. They did not live, however, in adjacent Ottoman and Habsburg provinces. For this

Hering, “Grenz-, Staats- und Gemeindekonstruktionen,” 238-44, 248-50; Olga Katsiardi-Hering and Maria Stassinopoulou, “The Long 18th Century of Greek Commerce in the Habsburg Empire: Social Careers,” in *Social Change in the Habsburg Monarchy*, ed. Harald Heppner, Peter Urbanitsch and Renate Zedlinger (Bochum: Verlag Dr. Dieter Winkler, 2011), 198-202. For a breakdown of Aromanian migrants in Pančevo, see Appendix 6.4.

⁶⁴⁹ There is a possibility that the “Albanian” was from Venetian Albania, in which case it is a regional, not an ethnic designation. The migrant would nevertheless travel approximately the same distance as ethnic Albanians.

⁶⁵⁰ Risto Andrea.

⁶⁵¹ Orthodox Albanians were present among “Greek” merchants who crossed the border. They used Greek as a business language. Albanians could also be Catholics. In the eighteenth century a group of Catholic Albanians crossed into the Habsburg Monarchy and settled in Srem, where they preserved their distinctiveness throughout the century and were known as “Clementiner,” “Arnauten” and Albanians (Albanier). In 1835 their number was estimated at 2,000. Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 3, 59; Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemälde*, 55-56, 59-62; Stoianovich, “The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant,” 277-79, 290-91; Bur, “Handelsgesellschaften,” 269-90; Sima Ćirković, “Albanci u ogledalu južnoslovenskih izvora,” in *Iliri i Albanci*, ed. Milutin Garašanin (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1988), 323-39; Katsiardi-Hering, “Migrationen,” 128-30, 135-36, 141-45; Zelepos, “Griechische Händler und Fanarioten,” 615-16.

⁶⁵² Stoianovich, “The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant,” 279-82; Wolf, “Ethnische Konflikte,” 337-46.

reason, I classify them as medium-range migrants. Some Bulgarians could have been Habsburg subjects. Catholic Bulgarians settled in Banat at the end of the 1730s. At this time, Bulgarian settlements were still exclusively in the far northern Banat,⁶⁵³ making their classification as medium-range migrants plausible as well. I also classified entries of three Bosnians as medium-range migrants.⁶⁵⁴

The migrants designated as *Wallachen* in the Pančevo quarantine tables were Romanians.⁶⁵⁵ Romanians formed, together with the Serbs, the indigenous population of the Banat at the time of Habsburg conquest.⁶⁵⁶ Half of the Romanian migrants in Pančevo (twenty persons) were males and traveled alone. They might be seasonal laborers. One Romanian was designated as artisan, another as an escaped slave. The remaining eleven migrants were labeled as traveling families, four migrants as returning Habsburg subjects, while five were designated as immigrants. Modest number of Romanians in Pančevo could be explained by the fact that most Banat Romanian settlements were far away from Pančevo, in the eastern Banat, approximately east of the line Arad-Temesvár-Bela Crkva. Ottoman Romanians could come from what is now eastern Serbia, or the Ottoman vassal Principality of Wallachia, both gravitating to the other Banat border crossing, Mehadia. Roman

⁶⁵³ Two Bulgarian Banat settlements were Vinga and Beshenov (today Dudeștii Vechi). Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, 21-28, 83-98; Lyubomir Klimentov Georgiev, "In Search of the Promised Land: Bulgarian Settlers in the Banat (18th-19th Centuries)," in *Across the Danube*, 196-199, 202-209.

⁶⁵⁴ The name *Bosniak*, used presently to denote the Muslim constituent nation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, appeared in the Pančevo tables to denote three persons, Costa Kassanzi, George Maxim/Janos, Peter Thomeskovith. While it is difficult to deduce much from the names, it can be safely concluded that all three were Christians, Orthodox or Catholic. The name Bosniak would therefore be a regional name, with similar meaning to modern Bosnian. One "Bosniak" was recorded in Mehadia too. Sutterlüt, "Die Kontumaz in Mehadia," 56.

⁶⁵⁵ The same name was used in Croatia and Slavonia to designate Serbs. See also Marin, *Contested Frontiers*, 48-49.

⁶⁵⁶ Together with Gypsies and few remaining Jews. Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*. Wolf, "Ethnische Konflikte," 337-46, 348-53, 359-66.

settlements were closer than Bulgarian, placing them somewhere between short-distance and medium-distance migrations. Since the migrants from there would need to travel eighty kilometers or in most cases much more to reach Pančevo, I grouped them with other medium-distance migrations.

The second most frequent ethnic label in the Pančevo tables was “Raitz,” “Raitzen,” (also Raiz) from the Hungarian exonym for Serbs, Rác.⁶⁵⁷ This was one of the four names the Habsburg administration used in contemporary sources to designate the Serb population in Pančevo and on the Military Border. The others were the endonym, Serbs (Serben)⁶⁵⁸, an exonym Vlachs/Wallachians (Wallachen)⁶⁵⁹ and

⁶⁵⁷ The term Raitzen was used interchangeably with the terms “Serbs,” and “Illyrians.” In Novi Sad (Neusatz) lived “die Rascier oder Rätzen,” or “die Serbier von der griechischen Religion.”⁶⁵⁷ Orthodox Illyrier are called Raizen or Raazen, Rascier. Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 1: 3-4. *Raizen* or *Raazen* were “bey den Illyriern nur die jenigen von ihnen, welche Glaubensverwandte der morgenländischen Kirche sind.” Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 2: 49-51; almost identical formulation by Engel, “Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien,” vol. 1: 16: “Raitzen, welcher Name derzeit bei den Illyriern nur diejenige von ihnen, welche Glaubens verwandte der morgenländischen Kirchen sind, auszeichnet.”

⁶⁵⁸ Domestic population, Orthodox prelates and the eighteen-century Serbian authors used the name “Serbs” as the preferable ethnic name (see for example the memoirs of Simeon Pishchevic, *Izvestie o pokhozhdenii Simeona Stepanovicha Pishchevicha, 1731-1785* (Moscow: Moscow University, 1884); Veselinović, “Srbi u Hrvatskoj u XVI i XVII veku:” 471-87. The name was used by Habsburg bureaucrats in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Veselinović, “Srbi u Hrvatskoj u XVI i XVII veku:” 433, 448) and in the eighteenth-century description of the Military Border in German, but much less frequently than other names. For example “Der größer Theil der Einwohner [Slavoniens] bestehet aus Serben,” Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 3: 96; Engel, “Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien,” vol. 1: 16, 21; Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, 17.

⁶⁵⁹ Some sources used the name “Wallach” to refer to Orthodox Serbs in Pančevo, such as an eighteenth-century map of Pančevo, where the Orthodox Preobraženska Church, used by Orthodox Serbs in the town is labeled “Wallach Kirche”. Lit. P. Situations Plan der Pancsovaer Contumaz-Sambtdessen vor Contumaz, Hungarian State Archives (Magyar Országos Levéltár), Budapest, S 12 - Div. XII. - No. 28:2). I am grateful to Benjamin Landais for allowing me to inspect the map. In the Pančevo quarantine tables, however, the term “Valachs/Wallachians” was used to denote Romanians. See Appendix 6.4. for more details.

the archaized name Illyrians (Illyrier).⁶⁶⁰ In Pančevo, the term *Raitzen/Raizen* was used as an ethnic name and regional term, to refer to Serbs as an ethnic group.⁶⁶¹ Most settlements around Pančevo, on both sides of the border, were settled by Serbs, who settled most of the Banat even before the Ottomans conquered it in 1541.⁶⁶² The Serbian population in Banat increased with the settlement of soldiers from the Tisza-Maros Military Border, dissolved in 1751-1752,⁶⁶³ and with immigration from the Ottoman Empire. Serb migrants in general crossed shorter distances than other migrants, mostly traveling between contiguous Ottoman and Habsburg Banat. For that reason I classified them as short-distance migrants.

The following ethnic labels were excluded from the classification into long-distance, medium-distance and short-distance migrations. One Gypsy boy (Zigeuner Bub) Stann Nicola passed through Pančevo in August 1753.⁶⁶⁴ As with Jews and Muslims, it is difficult to determine approximately from where he was coming. All three Germans in the Pančevo tables were military deserters, not German settlers who were present in the province since 1720s.⁶⁶⁵ A single Hungarian, Thomas Midiz,

⁶⁶⁰ See Appendix 6.4. for the discussion of the term.

⁶⁶¹ Pest-Ordnung, Graz, 14 October 1710, FHKA SUS Patente 43.15; Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant:" 234-38; Seewann, "Migration in Südosteuropa," 89-101, 103-106; Faroqi, "The Ottoman Empire Confronting the Christian World," 106; Ibolya Gerelyes, "Garrisons and the Local Population in Ottoman Hungary: The Testimony of the Archeological Finds," in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, 385-401. See also the Appendix 6.4.

⁶⁶² Dávid, "The Eyalet of Temesvár:" 124-27. Serbs made up a significant part of the population of Ottoman Hungary in the seventeenth century. The medieval counties of Požega, Baranya and Srem were alternatively called Rácország, Rascia (Serbia). Varga, "Croatia and Slavonia:" 264.

⁶⁶³ Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, 83-98.

⁶⁶⁴ Vagabond Gypsies (herumschweifenden Zigeuner) were present, despite being formally forbidden in border provinces. "New peasants" (Neubauern), Gypsies who accepted sedentary life and settled permanently in villages, were, however, allowed. Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 1: 59-60; Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, 1: 204; Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 55-56, 59-62.

⁶⁶⁵ Germans were newcomers to the Banat, settling there from the 1720s. In the 1750s they were present mainly in northern Banat. Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 1: 59-60;

passed through the Pančevo quarantine station during forty-three months. The number of Hungarians in Banat was modest at this time. They were perceived as newcomers, since they had disappeared from the province before 1699.⁶⁶⁶ Since I couldn't determine to which of the three distance categories Midiz could belong based on his province of origin, I excluded him from the classification.

Table 6.1. The Classification of Migrants into Short-, Medium- and Long-Distance groups, Based on Recorded Ethnic Labels in Pančevo (1752-1756)

	number	%
Short distance	163	25%
<i>Serbs</i>	163	
Medium distance	76	12%
<i>Romanians</i>	33	
<i>Bulgarians</i>	40	
<i>Bosnians</i>	3	
Long distance	410	63%
<i>Greeks</i>	327	
<i>Aromanians</i>	79	
<i>Albanians</i>	4	
Sum	649	100%

According to the classification, among the migrants with ethnic labels, the short-distance and medium distance migrants comprised somewhat more than a third of migrants in Pančevo. Among the migrants with ethnic identities, the migrants who made longer trips (400 km or more) accounted for almost two thirds of all entries in

Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 55-56, 59-62; Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, 21-28, 79-81, 83-98; Seewann, "Migration in Südosteuropa," 89-90, 92-101, 103-106; Wolf, "Ethnische Konflikte," 337-46, 348-53, 359-66.

⁶⁶⁶ Their number decreased significantly even before the Ottoman conquest of Banat in 1541. A Hungarian community survived only in Temesvár, but disappeared before 1699. When the Habsburgs conquered the province in 1718, no Hungarian communities remained in the province. By 1734, only two Hungarian villages had been established. Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 1: 59-60; Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*, 17, 21-28; Dávid, "The Eyalet of Temesvár," 122-28; Seewann, "Migration in Südosteuropa," 92-98; Wolf, "Ethnische Konflikte," 337-46.

Pančevo in 1752-1756.⁶⁶⁷ This would suggest that the “hard border” or compulsory quarantine had the biggest impact on short- and medium-distance migrations, depressing potential numbers. This is based on the assumption that without border controls, most migrants would come from Banat or the Ottoman and Habsburg provinces adjacent to Pančevo, followed by the migrants traveling medium and longer distances. The existence of border controls, however, only marginally affected long-distance migration. Migrants needed stronger motives and more funds to begin long-distance travels. Compulsory quarantine had less influence on their decision to migrate. Compulsory border controls, despite their inclusive nature, appeared to have a negative effect on cross-border mobility and migrations. It made the strongest impact on the shortest travels, with its influence gradually decreasing with distance.

Migrations in Pančevo in the 1750s and 1760s and the Overall Number of Migrants on the Habsburg-Ottoman Land Border in 1768

In the early 1770s, the Sanitary Court Deputation undertook a general review of border quarantine facilities preparing to transfer the sanitary border administration to the jurisdiction of the War Council. The records from this review allow us a brief look at migration trends in Pančevo in the 1750s-1760s. They also help us to reconstruct the picture of overall migration on the Habsburg-Ottoman border in 1768. For the early 1770s review of border quarantine facilities, the Pančevo quarantine director Wisinger sent an extract from its records, listing entries between 1 January 1768 and 17 July 1769. This record shows that during 1768, 917 migrants entered the Habsburg

⁶⁶⁷ See the Appendix 6.4. for a breakdown of ethnic groups along status and occupation categories.

Monarchy through Pančevo⁶⁶⁸ Compared to average numbers of migrants per year in 1752-1756, the number of migrants entering Pančevo tripled by 1768. The migration grew 8.3% on average in the period 1754-1768.⁶⁶⁹ A similar upward trend is visible also in nine Transylvanian quarantine stations, where migration numbers grew about 16% on average for the years 1763-1767.⁶⁷⁰ This increase happened before a major revision of sanitary procedures in January 1770, which limited quarantine time to forty-two days during the times of plague. During the 1750s and the 1760s, quarantine stations occasionally introduced longer quarantines as an additional precaution. Migration numbers grew despite compulsory quarantines and their occasional extension over the prescribed forty-two days. This is an additional indication that quarantine lengths had very limited influence on overall migration numbers.

Thanks to available data, it is possible to estimate the number of migrants crossing the Habsburg-Ottoman land border during 1768, showing the relative importance of Pančevo and of other quarantine stations along the border. Summary records with exact numbers were preserved for ten out of eighteen quarantine stations. For the remaining eight stations, it is possible to make approximate estimations using indirect information. Upon request from Vienna, the Transylvanian Sanitary Commission sent a table of persons, animals and goods that entered the Habsburg Monarchy between the 1 January 1763 and 1770 through nine Transylvanian

⁶⁶⁸ Extract des seit Anno. 1768 bis 17 July 1769 ex Turcico in die Panczovaer Contumaz eingelangten Personalis, Fr. Wisinger, Contumaz director, Pančevo, 17 July 1769, 1770 13, Sanität Contumatz Plane no. 13, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 3.

⁶⁶⁹ I used Microsoft Excel XIRR function to calculate average yearly growth rates in the years 1754-1768 in Pančevo. An average yearly growth would be 8.29%. The comparison with the records from Transylvanian stations from the 1760s would suggest that growth was possibly slower in the 1750s and stronger in the 1760s.

⁶⁷⁰ Tabella deren in nachbenannten Contumaz Stationen des Großfürstentums Siebenbürgen vom Ersten Januar 1763 bis Ende December 1770 angekommenen- und nach institutmäßiger Behandlung entlaßen wordenen Personen, Waaren und Vieh. 1773 Aprilis 16, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

stations.⁶⁷¹ Together with the records from Pančevo, that provides exact migration numbers for ten stations. I estimated the numbers for the Mehadia station to be 2,804 persons for the year 1768. I based the estimation on the ratio between Pančevo and Mehadia in 1752-1756, as well as on the assumption that Mehadia grew at double the rate of Pančevo. Unlike Pančevo, it had a pre-quarantine facility, enabling it to remain open during pestilent times and to accept a wider range of goods.⁶⁷² The migration for Zemun is estimated at 4,954 entries, based on the number of passport forms for the year 1768 and the fact that the station was the major land border-crossing point between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy, both for the traffic of persons and the traffic of goods.⁶⁷³ I used the expenditures for passports, and the information about the relative significance of the other Slavonian and Banal stations to estimate the numbers for Mitrovica, Brod, Gradiška and Kostajnica, as well as for the remaining two stations in the Karlovac Generalate, Slunj and Rudanovac.⁶⁷⁴

The comparison of the migrants' numbers for 1768 with other years suggests that the year was not untypical. In Transylvania, the numbers were slightly depressed compared to the year before, but generally in line with trends of the 1760s. The year 1768 was the first year of the Russian-Ottoman war of 1768-1774 that took place in the provinces that bordered Transylvania. The war did not appear to have affected migration numbers yet, since the migration continued to follow the trends from the previous five years. A spike in migrations that could be attributed to war and the

⁶⁷¹ Tabella deren in nachbenannten Contumaz Stationen des Großfürstentums Siebenbürgen vom Ersten Januar 1763 bis Ende December 1770 angekommenen- und nach institutmäßiger Behandlung entlaßen wordenen Personen, Waaren und Vieh. 1773 Aprilis 16, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2. See Appendix 6.5. for details.

⁶⁷² See Appendix 6.5. for a detailed estimation.

⁶⁷³ See Appendix 6.5. for the explanation of the estimation.

⁶⁷⁴ See Appendix 6.5. for the estimation.

arrival of refugees was registered only in the year 1769 (51% increase compared to 1768), when the military confrontation started in earnest.⁶⁷⁵

Table 6.2. The number of migrants entering the Habsburg Monarchy in 1768 from the Ottoman Empire by land

Quarantine station	The number of migrants who went through quarantine stations	With the immigrants entering outside quarantine stations (estimation) ⁶⁷⁶
Rudanovac (estimation)	85	106
Slunj (estimation)	85	106
Kostajnica (estimation)	610	758
Gradiška (estimation)	610	758
Brod (estimation)	1,220	1,516
Mitrovica (estimation)	610	758
Zemun (estimation)	4,954	6,154
Pančevo	917	1,139
Mehadia (estimation)	2,804	3,483
Vulcan	1,037	1,288
Turnu Roșu	447	555
Bran	915	1,137
Timiș	403	501
Buzau	218	271
Oituz	955	1,186
Ghimes-Faget	644	800
Peritzke	214	266
Borgo & Șant (Rodna)	401	498
Total:	17,129	21,278

⁶⁷⁵ Fiscal pressures by Janissaries on clergy and disorder caused by soldiers passing on their way to the campaign against Russia were registered already in 1768 in Serbia. Gavrilović, "Ka srpskoj revoluciji." This might have encouraged emigration to the Habsburg Monarchy, but it did not apparently have a major impact on migration numbers. To see if the disorder led to significant increase or drop in the number of cross-border migrants in 1768, making the year atypical, I compared the numbers from 1768 with the averages for the previous five years (1763-1767). There were about 13% more migrants in 1768 compared to the average for previous five years (10% in the stations that faced the more exposed Ottoman Vassal Principality of Moldavia, and about 15% in the stations bordering Wallachia). This was generally in line with average yearly growths in the number of migrants, 16% on average for the years 1763-1767. Tabella deren in nachbenannten Contumaz Stationen des Großfürstentums Siebenbürgen vom Ersten Januar 1763 bis Ende December 1770 angekommenen- und nach institutmäßiger Behandlung entlassen wordenen Personen, Waaren und Vieh. 1773 Aprilis 16, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2

⁶⁷⁶ Based on the ratio from the 1754 Pančevo immigrant list.

According to the estimation, somewhat more than 17,100 migrants in total entered the Habsburg Monarchy by land through quarantine stations. In the last column I adjusted the number of immigrants. As discussed in this and in previous chapter, about 64% of immigrants, the settlers from the Ottoman Empire, entered the Habsburg Monarchy in the section for which the Pančevo quarantine station was responsible but not through the official Pančevo border crossing, to decrease the chances of Ottoman border authorities detecting and preventing emigration.⁶⁷⁷ If the ratio from 1754 Pančevo list reflected the average ratios elsewhere, the number of migrants entering the Habsburg Monarchy from the Ottoman Empire by land needs to be revised upwards by about 24.22%. This would increase the total estimation to about 21,300, with the immigrants making about 6,500 or 30.71% of total entries.

Table 6.3. The Number of Migrants Entering Individual Habsburg Border

Provinces in 1768.

Military Border	Migrants per province	Percentage
Croatia (Karlovac and Banat Borders)	969	4.6%
Slavonia and Srem (Slavonian Border)	9,185	43.2%
<i>Zemun</i>	<i>6,154</i>	<i>28.9%</i>
<i>Other stations</i>	<i>3,031</i>	<i>14.2%</i>
Banat (Banat Border)	4,622	21.7%
Transylvania (Transylvanian Border)	6,502	30.6%
Total	21,278	100.0%

The border traffic can be broken down from two geographical perspectives. From the Habsburg perspective, about a half of migrants (51%) entered the Monarchy through

⁶⁷⁷ Eager to avoid reprisals by Ottoman border authorities if caught, many Ottoman emigrants chose to cross the boundary on the sections that were less supervised by the Ottoman border authorities. Was pro 1754 vor Emigrirte Familien ex Turcico in Hießiger Contumaz, die quarantie gehalten, und in welcher zeit, selbe entlassen worden, alß Pancsova, den 31 Dezember 1754, Johann Paitsch, Cont. Director, FHKA NHK Banat A 123.

two Banat stations and through Zemun.⁶⁷⁸ About 30% of traffic went through Transylvanian stations and about 19% through Slavonia (without Zemun) and Croatia. The Ottoman perspective offers a similar breakdown.⁶⁷⁹ The majority of migrants, 44%, were coming from or through Serbia, following the major route Istanbul-Belgrade or arriving from the central Balkans, from Macedonia, Epirus, and Thessaly. The traffic through two Danubian vassal principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia would rank second, with about 39%. Finally, about 17% of traffic would go through Bosnia.⁶⁸⁰ Such a breakdown of traffic would reflect the relative importance of individual transit routes between the Balkans and Central Europe.

Table 6.4. The Number of Migrants Entering from Individual Ottoman Provinces in 1768.

Ottoman territories	Migrants per province	Percentage
Bosnia	3,621	17.0%
Serbia	9,414	44.2%
Wallachia & Moldavia	8,243	38.7%
<i>Wallachia</i>	5,493	25.8%
<i>Moldavia</i>	2,750	12.9%
Total	21,278	100.0%

⁶⁷⁸ The major trade route through Zemun passed through Slavonia and Srem on its eastern margin, entering at Zemun and exiting at Petrovaradin. It makes more sense, therefore, to regard the travel through Zemun, together with Pančevo and Mehadia, as a part of central routes, leading to central Hungary, Vienna and Germany.

⁶⁷⁹ The station of Mitrovica was close both to Ottoman Bosnia and to Ottoman Serbia, while Mehadia was a point of entry for both migrants coming from Ottoman Serbia and from the Ottoman vassal principality of Wallachia. I assigned half of the migrants in these two stations to Serbia, and the other half to Bosnia and Wallachia respectively. Serbia is understood here as the present geographical territory, south of the Sava and Danube rivers, and between the river Drina on the west and the River Timok on the east.

⁶⁸⁰ Macedonian merchants, for example, used three major roads to Hungary: through Sofia and Vidin to Orșova, through Niš and Belgrade to Zemun, and through Bosnia to Slavonia. Mantouvalos, "Greek Immigrants in Central Europe," 36.

Habsburg-Ottoman migrations were not uni-directional. A great majority of migrants traveled in both directions, thus also from the Habsburg Monarchy to the Ottoman Empire. Unfortunately, no similar border control infrastructure existed on the Ottoman side of the border. The question of the number of migrants going to Ottoman territory is still open. It is possible only to speculate the structure and major trends of migration in that direction. It is reasonable to guess that the numbers were similar to the migration from the Ottoman Empire. With the exception of immigration/emigration, which were one-way and definite, all other migrations were circular. About 14,750 non-immigrants would pass the border in each direction in 1768. It is more difficult to estimate the (permanent) emigration to the Ottoman Empire. Both the Habsburgs and the Ottomans looked unfavorably on emigration. Preventing emigration was an important role of the Habsburg sanitary cordon. Permanent border guards were more effective than Ottoman policies, even though they could not completely prevent emigration. If the Habsburgs lost one leaving emigrant for every three immigrants arriving (or 2,178 out of 6,534) about 17,000 persons would travel in 1768 from the Habsburg Monarchy to the Ottoman Empire. If the sanitary cordon was more effective, reducing the loss through emigration to one emigrant for every ten immigrants (or 653 out of 6,534), about 15,400 migrants crossed the land border in the direction of the Ottoman Empire, with emigrants making up only about 3% of this number.⁶⁸¹ According to these estimations, between 36,700 and 38,200 migrants would cross the land border between two empires in 1768.

⁶⁸¹ If the loss for the Habsburg Monarchy through emigration was just 10% of the gain through immigration, the traffic from the Habsburg Monarchy to the Ottoman Empire would be around 90% of the traffic in the other direction, or about 72% if the immigrants entering the Habsburg Monarchy not through quarantine stations were counted.

Table 6.5. Migrations on the Habsburg-Ottoman Border 1768 (both directions).

Migrants crossing the Habsburg-Ottoman border in 1768	Ratio of emigration to and the immigration from the Ottoman Empire 1:3	Ratio of emigration to and the immigration from the Ottoman Empire 1:10
From the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Monarchy ⁶⁸²	21,278	21,278
<i>Non-immigrants</i>	<i>14,744</i>	<i>14,744</i>
<i>Immigrants</i>	<i>6,534</i>	<i>6,534</i>
From the Habsburg Monarchy to the Ottoman Empire	16,922	15,397
<i>Non-immigrants</i>	<i>14,744</i>	<i>14,744</i>
<i>Immigrants</i>	<i>2,178</i>	<i>653</i>
Total	38,200	36,675

The preserved forty-three monthly quarantine tables from Pančevo of 1752-1756 allow us to take a closer look at the trends and structure of migrations from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Monarchy. Migrants' records from Pančevo represented major migration groups well, attracting local, regional and long-distance migrations. The Pančevo quarantine station was placed centrally on the Habsburg-Ottoman border, on the southwestern edge of the Province of Banat, drawing various groups of migrants. Close to Belgrade and to the major trade route connecting Vienna and Istanbul, it attracted merchants and other business travelers from distant Ottoman commercial centers. As Banat was a province of settlement, with vast unpopulated areas, it also attracted peasant settlers from the Ottoman Empire. Finally, it received local migrants from nearby Ottoman border provinces.

⁶⁸² With immigrants entering outside quarantine stations included.

During the forty-three months (1752-1756) covered by the quarantine tables, 1,127 migrants passed through the quarantine station in Pančevo.⁶⁸³ The migrants traveling for their work (merchants, clergymen, artisans, servants) were the biggest group, making up about half of recorded migrations. Almost all of them were male. Although the analysis of yearly seasonality remains inconclusive, the sex-exclusive nature of business migrations suggests that they were circular, with the migrants returning periodically to their families to the Ottoman Empire. Non-business migrants made up the second biggest group, with a strong presence of immigrant and non-immigrant traveling families. Gender distribution among this group was more even. For almost two thirds of migrants in the Pančevo quarantine tables, ethnic labels were indicated, with non-regional ethnical names, like Greeks, prevailing among business migrants, while local ethnicities, Serbs and Romanians, accounted for most of non-business migrants. A great majority of migrants in both groups were Christians (96%), most of them Orthodox Christians. The presence of Muslims (3%) and Jews (1%) was very modest.

The migrations recorded in Pančevo offer a snapshot of the late development of a much larger regional migration system⁶⁸⁴ that had existed between the areas south of the rivers Sava and Danube and the Hungarian plain since the late Middle Ages. It began slowly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with the migrations from the south to the southern provinces of the Kingdom of Hungary,⁶⁸⁵ stimulated by

⁶⁸³ I estimate that with immigrants allowed to enter elsewhere, to escape Ottoman anti-emigration measures, the number would rise to 1,400 persons passing the border section for which the Pančevo station was responsible, or about thirty-three migrants a month.

⁶⁸⁴ Defined as “empirically verifiable migration by many individuals from a particular geographic and economic region over a sizable period of time toward a common region of destination connected by the information flows.” Hoerder, Lucassen and Lucassen, “Terminologies and Concepts of Migration Research,” xxxiii.

⁶⁸⁵ Ivić, *Migracije Srba u Hrvatsku*; Veselinović, “Srbi u Hrvatskoj u XVI i XVII veku;” “Srbi u Velikom ratu 1683-1699.”

demographic losses during the plague pandemic of 1347-1351. The Ottoman conquest of the Balkans and Hungarian plain produced a stream of refugees to the west and to the north, many settling in the Kingdom of Hungary in the areas depopulated by earlier Ottoman raids. By 1437, Srem became predominantly Serbian (raizisch). By the middle of the sixteenth century, the same happened with the most of Banat, and by 1600 to most of Slavonia and the border regions of Transylvania. During Ottoman rule in Hungary, migrations from the south continued, partly spontaneously, partly directed by the Ottomans, focusing on Ottoman possessions in central Hungary, around Buda, and on Transdanubia (the area on the right bank of Danube, today southwestern Hungary).⁶⁸⁶ After the Habsburg re-conquest of Hungary (1683-1699), Muslim and Jewish inhabitants left the region, leaving Serbs as about a half of the total population of former Ottoman Hungary. Serbian migrations underwent a major setback during the Rákóczi' Rebellion, with Serbian settlements beginning to disappear from western and central Hungary (replaced by German, Hungarian and Slovak colonists). The inflow of new settlers from the Balkans nevertheless continued.⁶⁸⁷

The south-north migration system continued to exist in the eighteenth century, despite the major political changes and the emergence of comprehensive border controls. The migrations recorded in Pančevo in 1752-1756 give an insight into the later history of the south-north migration system. Muslims and Jews, not tolerated as settlers in the Habsburg Monarchy, played much more modest roles than in previous

⁶⁸⁶ Many border Ottoman fortresses had a "Serbian town" (Raitzenviertel, rácváros), assisting garrisons. The migrations of Serbs reached a peak at the end of the seventeenth century, with the arrival of refugees led by the Patriarch Arsenije III Čarnojević in 1690, and a parallel migration from Bosnia.

⁶⁸⁷ Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant:" 234-38; Seewann, "Migration in Südosteuropa," 89-101, 103-106; Faroqi, "The Ottoman Empire Confronting the Christian World," 106; Gerelyes, "Garrisons and the Local Population in Ottoman Hungary," Kaser, "Siedler an der habsburgischen Militärgrenze," 985-87; Sundhaussen, "Südosteuropa," 294-98; Hoerder, Lucassen and Lucassen, "Terminologies and Concepts of Migration Research," xxxiii.

centuries, despite enjoying the same commercial privileges and free travel provisions as all other Ottoman subjects. The structure of Christian migrants coming from the Balkans to the Hungarian plain also changed. Serbian, Romanian, Bulgarian settlers continued to arrive, remaining mainly in border provinces. Emigration toward the plains continued to be important. The decline of Pax Ottomanica played a role too,⁶⁸⁸ as did the economic interests of peasants in decreasing their overall tax burden by moving to areas with lower taxes.⁶⁸⁹ Settlement areas, however, changed. Serbian migrations to central Hungary ceased, partly because the colonists from other Habsburg dominions and from the Holy Empire were settling these areas, and partly because settlement in border provinces became more attractive. Migrants concentrated more on the border provinces, Slavonia, Srem, Bačka, Banat, and the Military Border in particular. Thanks to the pacification in the post-1699 Habsburg-Ottoman border regime, it was safe to live on the border. The expansion of the Military Border with its lower tax burden, as well as fiscal incentives for settlers shifted the focus of settlement to the border provinces. After the 1718 Passarowitz commercial treaty, granting rights and tax exemptions to Habsburg and Ottoman merchants, business migrations became increasingly important. Serbian merchants continued to play a prominent role, without Muslim and Jewish competition, but were gradually being replaced by their co-religionists from the central and southern Balkans, mainly by Greeks and Aromanians. The development of a Habsburg textile industry and cotton trade encouraged closer connection between the southern and central Balkans and Vienna.⁶⁹⁰

⁶⁸⁸ Sundhaussen, "Südosteuropa," 300-301.

⁶⁸⁹ Gavrilović, *Prilog istoriji trgovine i migracije*, 111-14.

⁶⁹⁰ Ransmayr, "Greek Presence in Habsburg Vienna," 136-39; Seirinidou, "Greek Migration in Vienna," 114-21.

If ethnic labels were used as proxies for migrants' origin, the data from Pančevo table would suggest that almost two thirds of migrants, labelled as Greeks and Aromanians, were coming from the central and southern Balkans, while little more than a third was arriving from Ottoman provinces closer to Pančevo. The "hard border," with comprehensive border controls and compulsory quarantine, had the greatest impact on short-distance, non-business, home-community temporary migrations, increasing travel time and costs. This is how a relative decrease of Serb participation in overall numbers can be explained. A number of temporary migrations that might gradually turn into a permanent settlement were not started because of the border regime.

Migration control on the border changed the structure of migrations, but it had a more limited effect on the general picture than would have been expected. The number of migrants grew steadily and strongly during the 1750s and the 1760s. Business migrations, and merchant migrations in particular, did not seem to be impacted much, with changes in quarantine regimes having no significant influence. Also, the immigration numbers did not seem to be affected at all by the existence of a hard border. What apparently had a far more decisive influence was the Habsburg membership regime, with its religious-selective toleration of non-Catholics and non-toleration of non-Christians. There had been a tolerance for Orthodox Christians already since 1690, many decades before the Toleration Edict and the suppression of the Jesuits. Orthodox Christians in the Habsburg monarchy were allowed to create local religious communities, to practice freely their religion, to settle and to naturalize. Orthodox merchant networks were based on local communities that existed in many Habsburg provinces. Merchant companies were made up of both Habsburg and Ottoman subjects, with connections in the Ottoman Empire and Central Europe. Jews and Muslims, despite enjoying formally the same commercial and travel rights as

other Ottoman subjects, did not have a place in the Habsburg membership regime. They could be only temporary residents, and hence could not gain the benefits of long-term residence and religious toleration. This might explain their comparatively modest role in the Habsburg-Ottoman trade in Pančevo.

Crossing a “hard border,” an important moment in migrations, did not seem to have much influence on general migration trends. Only this conclusion can explain why the paradoxical tripling of migration numbers in Pančevo in 1754-1768 happened when quarantine times were further raised. In the late 1750s and during the 1760s migrants were subjected to a more severe border regime, with more frequent closures and the increase of quarantine time to eighty-four days for people and to 168 days for some of their goods in the stations that remained open. Quarantine times and quarantine procedures did not seem to matter enough to have a serious depressing effect on migration numbers.

CONCLUSION

White-settler nations (Australia, Canada, United States) introduced modern migration controls in the late nineteenth century prohibiting the entry of Asian immigrants and other supposedly undesirable ethnic groups. Other countries adopted these exclusionary practices after World War I.⁶⁹¹ However, another border-control regime predated these developments in white-settler nations by a century and a half. What is more, it did not aim to reduce, but to facilitate migrations. In this study, I examine this early example of border controls. In addition, I show how the motivation of these border controls differed from modern examples.

Systematic migration controls on the Habsburg-Ottoman border were introduced in the 1720s to protect and facilitate free travel between the two empires, rather than to restrict it. Free travel was advanced, first, by making the border area safe; second, by dealing with the plague, the major peacetime threat to free movement; third, by coopting the parties affected by the new border arrangement into supporting controls; and, fourth, by making procedures universal, uniform and inclusive. Consequently, the regulation of cross-border travel contributed to the threefold increase in the number of migrants from the early 1750s to the late 1760s, despite strict controls and compulsory quarantine.

It was the Habsburg-Ottoman 1699 peace treaty that established a new arrangement, making the border area safe for migrants. The new arrangement was not the beginning of the Ottoman adherence to supposed international norms of territorial

⁶⁹¹ Holquist, ““Information Is the Alpha and Omega;”” Torpey, “Great War;” Lucassen, ““A Many-Headed Monster;”” Lucassen and Lucassen, “Mobilität;” McKeown, *Melancholy Order*.

sovereignty and the acceptance of fixed borders.⁶⁹² In fact, the Ottomans were the initiators of the new border regime.⁶⁹³ Precisely demarcated borders had previously been used to separate charitable endowments (*vakıfs*) from Ottoman state-owned lands, as well as to delimit external borders with Venice and Poland.⁶⁹⁴ This suggests that there could be wider areas of cooperation and administrative influences between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire than usually admitted. The two empires were close neighbors and maintained a rich, deep relationship for centuries. Future research could profit from a closer examination of this relationship, moving away from the traditional focus on military rivalry, which ceased to be the defining characteristic of Ottoman-Habsburg relationship in 1699. The two empires were peaceful neighbors much longer than they were military rivals. This peaceful coexistence deserves more attention.

In 1699, the new border arrangement replaced a fortified zone along the Habsburg-Ottoman frontier. Competing claims, overlapping jurisdictions and endemic violence would give way to a pacified border. A jointly demarcated boundary separated precisely defined and mutually acknowledged exclusive territorial jurisdictions. The 1699 treaty banned cross-border violence and the building of new fortifications, leading to a significant decrease in border conflicts and infringements. The delimitation of the Habsburg-Ottoman boundary was a necessary preparatory step for the introduction of migration controls. Migrants entering Habsburg territory could be controlled only when territorial limits were precisely known. As early as 1699, the systematic border demarcation, described in official bilateral protocols, defined the space by fixing its limits. In most other parts of Europe, state authority continued to

⁶⁹² Abou-el-Haj, "The Formal Closure." Abou-El-Haj, "Ottoman Attitudes Toward Peace Making;" Heywood, "The Frontier in Ottoman History;" Kasaba, "L'Empire ottoman, ses nomades et ses frontières."

⁶⁹³ Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe*.

⁶⁹⁴ Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*; Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*.

be defined in a traditional non-spatial way, as a collection of overlapping rights and jurisdictions.⁶⁹⁵ This remarkably early border demarcation, overlooked in many works about borders, enabled the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire to introduce migration controls decades before other major European powers.

Second, the Habsburg Monarchy used border migration controls to protect free travel from the gravest peacetime threat, the plague. The controls were introduced in the form of a land sanitary cordon, an extraordinary measure used elsewhere to stop all but essential travel, and to close off and isolate infested places and provinces.⁶⁹⁶ On the Habsburg-Ottoman border the same instrument was used in a different way and with the opposite goal. The Habsburg sanitary cordon was a permanent institution rather than an extraordinary mechanism enforced only during epidemics. It kept the border open at all times, while at the same time controlling and facilitating free travel.

Border controls were initially introduced to ensure that subjects of the Habsburg Monarchy could have access to the big Ottoman market. After securing free trade privileges and low custom payments in the 1718 Treaty of Passarowitz, Vienna first had to put in place sanitary protection against the plague before it could engage in commerce.⁶⁹⁷ While the disease began to disappear from Western, Central and Southern Europe during the second half of the seventeenth century, it remained endemic in the Ottoman Empire. Like other European states trading with the Ottoman Empire, such as Venice or France, the Habsburgs introduced compulsory quarantine for incoming ships in the ports of Trieste and Rijeka (Fiume). In addition to maritime

⁶⁹⁵ Febvre, "Frontière;" Sahlins, *Boundaries*; Nordman, *Frontières de France*; Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map."

⁶⁹⁶ Denis, "The Invention of Mobility."

⁶⁹⁷ Franz Martin, Mayer, *Die Anfänge des Handels und der Industrie in Österreich und die orientalische Compagnie* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1882); Herbert Hassinger, "Die Erste Wiener orientalische Handelskompagnie 1667-1683," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 53 (1942): 1-53.

trade, the Habsburg Monarchy wanted to develop overland trade. Overland trade, however, suffered immensely during plague epidemics. In the first three decades of the eighteenth century, the deadly disease, coming from the Ottoman Empire, reached the Austrian duchies and Central Hungary on a couple of occasions, consequently stopping all travel and trade for prolonged periods of time. After experimenting with provisional quarantines and sanitary cordons, Vienna opted for a permanent solution – the land sanitary cordon, as an effective arrangement that could keep the border open while, at the same time, protecting public health.

Third, the border controls were made effective by enlisting the support of the majority of stakeholders. One such stakeholder, whose support was essential, was the Habsburg military. Enlisting the Habsburg military's assistance helped to alleviate a major challenge – insufficient administrative capacity of the central government. The Habsburg central government was modestly staffed. It did not have the administrative capacity of the industrial states' central bureaucracies of the late nineteenth century. It compensated for this lack of direct reach by coopting intermediate powers, like the estates, reinforcing the power of traditional elites in the provinces.⁶⁹⁸ Traditional noble intermediate powers, with local knowledge and networks, however, did not exist on the Habsburg-Ottoman border. A few hundred border sanitary officials, who manned quarantine stations at official border crossings, could not monitor the entire 1,800-kilometer border for illegal entries. A new partnership needed to be forged. Instead of old elites, a different traditional institution, the Military Border, was reorganized and reinforced to offer local expertise and workforce for the central government. While the importance of the partnership with provincial nobility began to decline after 1763, the Military Border's new role preserved its significance for

⁶⁹⁸ Dickson, "Monarchy and Bureaucracy;" Torpey, "Coming and Going;" Aksan, *Ottoman Wars 1700-1870*, 146, 171; Godsey, *The Sinews of Habsburg Power*, 13-18, 23-29, 128-50, 248-67.

another century. Guarding the boundary with the Ottomans became the most important peacetime duty of Military Border troops, for which common soldiers were not paid extra. This decreased fiscal pressure on the Habsburg state at the expense of border soldiers' service burden. In addition to regular military exercises and participation in foreign campaigns, the soldiers of the Military Border had to pay taxes, to provide *corvée* for erecting and maintaining border roads and watchtowers as well as spend many weeks annually guarding the border against epidemic diseases, illegal migration and smuggling. While they were still better off socially and economically than Hungarian and Slavonian serfs, their position in the eighteenth century was a far cry from that of free peasant-soldiers.

The local population provided additional partners. Their cooperation was essential. Familiar with the system and its weak spots, the locals could cross the border undetected, and assist others in secret border crossings. Compulsory reporting of strangers and absent neighbors, as well as rewards for denunciation were the tools used by the Habsburg state to control its border population. Population control thus amounted to the control of neighbors by neighbors. This became a crucial element in the much more comprehensive control systems of twentieth-century totalitarian states, such as the Soviet Union, because mere administrative control was not effective. In the eighteenth as well as the twentieth century it was crucial to use local tensions and clashing interests to secure the willing support of locals.⁶⁹⁹ The control by neighbors was the most powerful tool in addressing one of the most serious concerns of Habsburg population policy, emigration, and the ensuing loss of wealth that leaving subjects would have created if they had stayed. The statement by Engel, from 1786, that emigration from the border area occurred rarely,⁷⁰⁰ suggests that this local control

⁶⁹⁹ Holquist, "Information Is the Alpha and Omega;" Groebner, *Der Schein der Person*.

⁷⁰⁰ Engel, "Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien," vol 2: 541.

was relatively successful. However, it was not perfect, as sporadic cases of illegal crossings and banditry occurred.

Ottoman border authorities were the third party involved. They had to agree to any changes in the border area, as is visible from the long negotiations during the 1750s about establishing a pre-quarantine station near Belgrade. Ottoman cooperation was also important for the everyday functioning of the border. Disorder on the Ottoman side, such as the Janissary unrest in Belgrade in 1755, made the control of illegal entrances and smuggling more difficult and the resolution of conflicts between the subjects of the two empires all but impossible.

The most directly affected party, the migrants themselves, participated in controls as well. In the case of uneven cleaning taxes in different quarantine stations from 1742, for example, the official investigation involving four different stations, interviewed Ottoman subjects residing in Banat, talked to Ottoman merchants undergoing quarantine, and to Habsburg merchants traveling to the Ottoman Empire. The officials attempted to find a solution that would keep the Monarchy safe, while making the system fairer to migrants, prioritizing free travel over taxes and tariffs. The migrants also had an active role in the regime, collecting sanitary intelligence and sharing it with border officials. The consideration for migrants' interests was greater than that shown by late-nineteenth-century and later migration control regimes.⁷⁰¹

Fourth, the border migration regime was inclusive, favoring immigration. Unlike other medieval and early modern mobility-control regimes, which singled out specific groups like rural laborers, vagrant poor, Gypsies, unemployed workers, traveling journeymen, soldiers on leave, and foreigners,⁷⁰² the Habsburg-Ottoman border-

⁷⁰¹ McKeown, *Melancholy Order*.

⁷⁰² Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State*; Ehmer, "Worlds of Mobility;" Lucassen and Lucassen, "Migration, Migration History;" Lucassen, "Eternal Vagrants;" Wendelin, "Schub und Heimatrecht;" Denis, "The Invention of Mobility;" Lis and Soly, "Labor Laws in Western Europe."

control regime applied a uniform approach to everyone. Well-off migrants, even high dignitaries and diplomats, usually excluded from border controls in other European regions until the twentieth century,⁷⁰³ were not exempted at the Habsburg-Ottoman border. In early modern times, universal migration controls typically took place at city gates, protecting urban communities,⁷⁰⁴ but were rarely used at external borders. The quarantine costs of poor individuals and families, escaped or freed slaves, were funded from the public purse if they accepted Habsburg subjecthood.

The border regime was set up with the aim to have the least possible adverse impact on migrations. It kept the border open and minimized the necessary quarantine time. Central, provincial and local sanitary bodies adjusted quarantine duration to closely monitored health circumstances in Ottoman European provinces. In the later border-control regimes (late-nineteenth-century Australia, United States, South Africa), the focus was on selectivity and exclusion, hindering some movements, while facilitating others.⁷⁰⁵

As the detailed analysis of the migrants' list from the Pančevo border station in 1752-1756 showed, the border regime depressed non-essential and temporary short-distance movements while semi-permanent or permanent migrations were much less affected. The mere existence of compulsory quarantine forced migrants to extend their journey by at least twenty-one to forty-two days. It increased travel costs, as the migrants had to pay for food, firewood and maintenance of their horses, while they were unable to work. In this respect it was a "hard border" with longer and more expensive procedures than those imposed by later border-control regimes. Migrations, however, continued to increase during the 1750s and the 1760s despite occasional border closures and the inflation of quarantine times. The average number of migrants

⁷⁰³ Torpey, "Coming and Going."

⁷⁰⁴ Jütte, "Entering a City."

⁷⁰⁵ McKeown, *Melancholy Order*.

who passed through the station tripled between the early 1750s and 1768. The increase happened despite competition with the two nearest stations, Zemun and Mehadia, which both had pre-quarantine facilities and could afford to stay open even when plague epidemics were present in the nearest Ottoman settlements.

In the 1750s, two major groups of migrants passed through the Pančevo border station. One group were immigrants, who hoped to settle permanently in the Habsburg realm. The other group, more numerous than the immigrants, were business people, consisting mostly of merchants. They included Ottoman subjects and Habsburg subjects (often naturalized) returning from their trips in the Ottoman Empire. The Habsburg state perceived merchants as typical migrants. Passport forms for Ottoman subjects contained the pre-printed occupation “Handelsmann” because most migrants who traveled on their own after crossing the border were business people (the travel of immigrants after exiting quarantine to their places of settlement was organized and directed by the state). The majority of business travelers came from the central and southern Balkans, particularly from the 1750s onward, when “Greek” merchants took the leading role in the trade between the two empires. While their economic role in Hungary has been acknowledged,⁷⁰⁶ their mobility has not been closely researched. The analysis of border records from the 1750s and from 1768 gives a clearer picture of the mobility of business people from the Ottoman Empire entering the Habsburg lands. Most of them were temporary migrants, returning periodically to their provinces of origin in the Ottoman Balkans, which were up to 700 km away from the Habsburg-Ottoman Border. Distances along with lengthy quarantine procedures, discouraged frequent visits to their original places of residence. They would return every couple of years, if not every year, to marry, to conceive a child, to share their

⁷⁰⁶ Stoianovich, “The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant;” Popović, *O Cincarina*; Katsiardi-Hering, “Migrationen.” Mantouvalos, “Greek Immigrants in Central Europe.”

earnings with their families and to buy new merchandise, such as wool from their mountainous home areas or cotton from the valleys. While many among them were merchants, the fact that for many years they kept their formal residence and family in the Ottoman Empire and periodically returned there makes them also similar in behavior to migratory laborers. They were Ottoman subjects, and there was no serfdom in the sultan's lands, which would have prevented them from participating in migratory labor, as was the case in some parts of Central and Eastern Europe.⁷⁰⁷ The data from Pančevo and the other border stations suggest that in a typical 1760s year up to 10,000 business people entered the Habsburg Monarchy from the Ottoman Empire. The economic incentives were strong enough to justify increased costs at the border. The number of business migrants is two to ten times lower than flow of migratory labor to principal "pull" areas in Western Europe about sixty years later.⁷⁰⁸ With these numbers the labor migrations between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy would have difficulties to qualify as one of major contemporary European labor migratory systems. However, if we take into account the longer distances, expensive border procedures and the relative underdevelopment of the major "pull" area, the Kingdom of Hungary, the number of migrants travelling for work-related reasons is surprisingly high. The major economic activity in their mountainous "push" areas of origin in the Balkans was often animal husbandry, which provided a lot of idle time to be used by engaging in economic activity elsewhere. It would be useful to research why these business migrants could not find sufficient work much closer to their home areas in the Ottoman Empire, including the major cities, such as Thessaloniki.

⁷⁰⁷ Lucassen, *Migrant Labor*, 125-126.

⁷⁰⁸ Jan Lucassen, *Migrant Labor in Europe 1600-1900: The Drift to the North Sea* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 108-112, 119

Most immigrants, the second most numerous group in Pančevo, were coming from nearby Ottoman provinces. For them additional quarantine costs were of little significance, because of the definitive nature of the migration and because Habsburg authorities paid for their expenses. Ottoman immigrants were the cheapest source of colonists for the thinly populated Habsburg southern provinces, particularly for the Military Border.

Looking at the total size and structure of migrations, and comparing Pančevo with the other seventeen stations in 1768, would suggest that it can be used as a representative border-crossing point. The size of migrations at Pančevo station was close to the average for a border-crossing point in 1768. Furthermore, the migration structure was also comparable to the structure at a number of other stations, with major migration groups well represented. The prevalence of business people and immigrants was in line with Habsburg economic and demographic policies.

The cumulative effect of inter-imperial peacetime immigrations, registered in quarantine stations between the 1720s and the end of the century, is measured in tens of thousands of immigrants. Wartime migrations, like the retreat of Muslim refugees from Hungary and Slavonia in the 1680s and the 1690s, or the Great Serbian migration of 1690, also involved tens of thousands of people moving in a short time span. However, war was not typical for Habsburg-Ottoman relations during the eighteenth century, and it was completely absent in the nineteenth century. Population movements appear to be usually less dramatic. Even after wars, the transition of authority between the two empires was more peaceful than in previous centuries. For example, the first Habsburg assessment of the Banat population after 1718 produced a four- to eight-fold underestimation.⁷⁰⁹ Many more inhabitants remained following a

⁷⁰⁹ After the conquest of Banat from the Ottomans, the Habsburg administration estimated that it was inhabited by 25,000-50,000 people, while the actual number was probably much higher, 180,000-200,000 persons. Dávid, "The Eyalet of Temesvár."

conquest than previously acknowledged. Peacetime migrations were even less spectacular, but their cumulative effect could be enormous. From the 1750s to the 1770s, the number of Ottoman immigrants redirected to Banat from Croatia and Slavonia⁷¹⁰ or entering through the Pančevo and Mehadia stations reached about 12,000 persons.⁷¹¹ In other provinces such as Slavonia, where state-directed colonization efforts were less intensive, the share of Ottoman immigrants between the 1760s and the 1770s seemed even greater. While the internal colonization of Hungary was very important to the Habsburg Monarchy,⁷¹² the share of Ottoman immigrants in the eighteenth century should be revised upwards. They reached between one fifth to one third of at least 150,000-200,000 internal colonists in Hungary.

The increase in migration during the eighteenth century suggests that the goals of the border regime, that is, to protect and facilitate migrations, were successfully pursued. The Habsburg Monarchy used the border to support its demographic policies. Border migration controls appear to have been a tool for population management, which could be used to support, as well as to curb migration. Following cameralistic and physiocratic ideas, which regarded the increase of population as beneficial for the economy and the power of state,⁷¹³ the Habsburg border controls facilitated immigration and free travel. The border regime depressed short-term and temporary mobility, while settler migration and the mobility of merchants were much less affected. In total, the effects of border controls could be designated as migration-neutral.

State intervention was not without setbacks. After 1763, there was a general effort to rationalize Habsburg administration, to decrease the costs and to increase

⁷¹⁰ Gavrilović, *Prilog istoriji trgovine i migracije*.

⁷¹¹ Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat*.

⁷¹² Lucassen and Lucassen, "Siedlungsmigration, innereuropäische."

⁷¹³ Behrisch, *Die Berechnung der Glückseligkeit*, 32-41

productivity.⁷¹⁴ This effort included reform of the sanitary-border administration. It was expected that the introduction of uniform and standardized quarantine regulations and sanitary procedures would lead to optimization and increased efficiency. It may have improved the operation of the quarantines with more commercial traffic because the merchants preferred uniform procedures. The rationalization and standardization were less suited for the region of Lika, on the western end of the border. The changes produced economic hardships and hunger in this area that was not on major trade routes. Its economy struggled with new longer quarantine times. In the end, the Habsburg Monarchy had to abandon inflexible uniformity and accept the introduction of diversified regional solutions, in this case no-contact border markets, preserving the local economy.

The history of the border controls suggests that there were two major periods of change and transformation. New policies were initiated in the 1720s and the 1730s, during the reign of Charles VI (1711-1740): the establishment of border controls, border quarantines and sanitary-cordon legislation, and the beginning of the reorganization of the Military Border. The second period of change lasted from the 1760s through the 1780s, elaborating and further developing Caroline policies: the extension of the Military Border, the codification of sanitary laws, the reorganization of border quarantines, the reform of quarantine duration, and the rationalization of the sanitary administration. From the perspective of border controls, the rule of Charles VI was more innovative and significant than the first half of the rule of his daughter Maria Theresa in the 1740s and the 1750s.

⁷¹⁴ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*; Behrisch, *Die Berechnung der Glückseligkeit*, 56-65; Godsey, *The Sinews of Habsburg Power*, 248-67.

Membership regimes⁷¹⁵ had a much deeper impact on migration rates and migration structure than border controls. Crossing the border was an eventful moment in a migration process. Yet the question remains whether in the long run it was as significant as rights to residence, professional rights, and the possibilities of integration or assimilation. Many decades before the Edict of Toleration of 1781, there was an explicit tolerance of non-Catholics in the Habsburg Monarchy. While Leopold I in 1691 guaranteed the toleration of Lutherans and Calvinists in Transylvania, Orthodox Christians were granted religious rights in a wider area of the monarchy. Vienna continued to endorse Catholic Reformation values, as in 1762, when the *Staatsrat* discussed how to “improve” the religious composition of Banat by settling more Catholic women, but pragmatism prevailed.⁷¹⁶ The non-territorial autonomy for Orthodox Christians in the Habsburg Monarchy, realized through the Metropolitanate of Karlovci (Krušedol) after 1690,⁷¹⁷ enabled Ottoman Orthodox Christian subjects to create their own communities or to integrate into existing ones, as well as to build business networks. Their religious autonomy was well protected also in the Ottoman Empire, which enabled them to build and maintain inter-imperial networks of co-religionists. Those options were not available to the Sultan’s Muslim and Jewish subjects. Unlike in Russia,⁷¹⁸ Muslims were not tolerated in the Habsburg Monarchy. Muslims could not form permanent communities on which their business networks could rely. That would suggest that even in early modern open-door migration control regimes, which allowed entrance to all healthy individuals, residence and naturalization rights might exert a very strong and formative influence

⁷¹⁵ Defined as “the complex of rules, regulations, customs and values surrounding the entry and long-term settlement of migrants in a new polity.” Bosma, Kessler and Lucassen, “Migration and Membership Regimes,” 10-11.

⁷¹⁶ Steiner, *Rückkehr unerwünscht*, 250, 349.

⁷¹⁷ Petrović, “Josephinist Reforms and the Serbian Church Hierarchy.”

⁷¹⁸ Khodarkovsky, *Russia’s Steppe Frontier*.

on the composition of the migrants. The impact of residence and naturalization rights on migration between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire was probably more significant than the border-control regime. Future research, focusing on this area and its relationship with border controls, is necessary before offering more definite answers.

APPENDIX

The appendix contains twelve texts of different lengths, relating to the argument in chapters 3, 5 and 6. They help create a more complete picture of border controls, without saddling the main study with technical discussions and long digressions. The first three deal with the border soldiers. They provide additional information on the engagement of border troops in preventing illegal immigration and smuggling and in the organization border markets. The next two texts help us to better understand the relative significance of the Pančevo quarantine station, as well as the artisans and merchants on the Military Border. The last seven include a list of migrants registered in the preserved Pancevo quarantine tables 1752-1756. They also explain in detail some of the categories from the Pančevo migrant records, such as religion, ethnicity, as well as how the migrants' data were analyzed before being used in the main argument of the book.

3.1. Border Military Troops Engaged in the Sanitary Cordon during Different Regimes

Table A.1. Minimal Number of Guards on the Habsburg-Ottoman Border in 1823.⁷¹⁹

<i>Military Border section</i>	<i>Healthy regime</i>	<i>Suspicious regime</i>	<i>Pestilent regime</i>
Karlovac	766	1,262	1,898
Banal	338	1,009	1,266
Slavonian	1,317	2,003	2,360
Banat	634	746	1,150
Transylvanian	1,124	1,778	3,392
Total:	4,179	6,798	10,066

While on river sections of the border, in Slavonia and Banat, there was about an 80% increase in troops during pestilent (as opposed to healthy) regimes, on the sections where natural obstacles but only border signs separated Habsburg and Ottoman territories, the increase was much sharper. The Karlovac Generalate engaged two and a half times more troops during pestilent regimes than during healthy times; in Transylvania the number tripled, while on the Banal border it almost quadrupled. It was apparently much more difficult to supervise the forested hills of Croatia and of the Carpathian Mountains than the river sections of the frontier. While on the Croatian section, the number of border guards significantly increased during pestilent regimes, in Transylvania the sharpest increase was when a suspicious regime transitioned into a pestilent regime, reflecting the relatively protected position of the two Ottoman vassal Christian principalities, separated from Ottoman Balkan sanjaks by the River Danube.⁷²⁰

⁷¹⁹ Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 2: 354-56.

⁷²⁰ Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 2: 354-56.

3.2. *Seressaner and Tschaikisten*

Seressaner were organized in units of 100-200 people. In 1823, there were altogether 920 of them in six regiments. They did not wear uniforms, but traditional costume, similar to those worn in the Ottoman Empire, which enabled them to serve occasionally as spies in Ottoman territory, often examining health circumstances. In 1823, there was a unit of *Seressaner* also in the eastern Banat, apparently where the border left the River Danube and went into mountains.⁷²¹ *Tschaikisten* also escorted Treasury ships on the Tisza and Danube inside the monarchy. The most important point of control was Zemun, where the Danube, upstream an internal Habsburg waterway, became a border river. In July 1756, the Sanitary Court Deputation in Vienna instructed the Slavonian Sanitary Commission in Slavonia to supervise carefully upstream sailing ships in Zemun.⁷²²

3.3. *Border Markets*

Rastelle in the Karlovac Generalate in 1768 were primarily to serve the families of the Habsburg border militia, who could buy there necessary provisions and food. Four such facilities were established on major roads to Ottoman Bosnia: *Kuk*, Rudanovac (Radonovacz), Rakovica (Rakovicza) and Gnojnice (Gnoinicza),⁷²³ one for each of the Generalate's districts (regiments). The Karlovac Generalate asked the Sanitary Court Deputation to precisely define the uniform layout, the procedures and the operation of *Rastelle*, arguing that similar facilities could be organized on the other

⁷²¹ Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 2: 359-60; Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 48-53.

⁷²² SHD to TLA; to Slavonian SK, Vienna, 10 July 1756, 1756 Julius 8, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2; Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 2: 102-104; Engel, "Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien," vol. 2: 711, 713-15.

⁷²³ In Rudanovac, there was also one of the two quarantine stations of the Karlovac Generalate.

section of the border, so that quarantine station could focus on migrants and infection-prone goods. At the end of 1769, the Sanitary Court Deputation discussed uniform regulations for all border markets while finalizing systematic sanitary legislation that was to be published in January 1770: the types of goods that could pass through; the exact procedure of their exchange; operating hours; if they were to be open during epidemics or closed with all traffic redirected to quarantine station.⁷²⁴

The organization and operation of *Rastelle* was formally regulated in the General Sanitary Norm (Generalsanitätsnormativum) from 2 January 1770. The Norm prescribed that four *Rastelle* in the Karlovac Generalate were to be open once a week only if plague was absent in the Ottoman border area,⁷²⁵ and only for non-miasma-carrying goods. *Rastelle* in the Karlovac Generalate were to be open on Thursdays, from 5 AM to 5 PM in summer and between 8 AM and 4 PM in the winter. Every fourth Thursday a livestock market would take place in one of four *Rastelle*.⁷²⁶

Many *Rastelle* were organized subsequently along the border, placed between quarantine stations. Each quarantine station, from the Karlovac Generalate to Banat, had from two to four border markets for which it was responsible. For example, the Brod quarantine in Slavonia maintained daily border market in Brod and four weekly markets in Županja, Kobaš, Rajevo selo, and Šamac, along the River Sava.⁷²⁷ The

⁷²⁴ SHD to Karlovac SK, Vienna, 28 June 1768; the protocol of the SHD, Vienna, 28 October 1769; Vortrag der ... Sanitäts Hof-Deputation betreffend ... die Rastelle in Croatien 18 November 1769, 1769 October 16, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

⁷²⁵ In the General Sanitary Norm, the border markets were allowed in healthy times (bei überall herrschenden guten Gesundheitsumständen). Hietzinger explained that they were actually kept open until plague entered the immediate border area, defined as one-day's travel from the border, or 3 Meilen, 23 km. Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 2: 443-45.

⁷²⁶ Waizen, Kukuruz, Hirsen, Haber, Gerste, Fisollen, und Bohnen.

⁷²⁷ Zemun also had a daily market and an additional border market in Jakovo. In 1777, due to low traffic, the quarantine station of Mitrovica was transformed into a *Rastell*, with border markets three times a week, along with *Rastell* Rača. Stara Gradiška quarantine station underwent a similar fate and

border markets encouraged not only barter trade and commerce, but also wholesale trade in goods that were perceived as non-miasma carrying, such as livestock, particularly pigs.

5.1 Traffic through the Pancevo Quarantine Station in 1815-1818.

Table A.2. The traffic through Pančevo 1815-1818:⁷²⁸

Pančevo	1815	1816	1817	1818
rohe und ausgearbeitete Schaf-und Ziegenfelle;	963	4,560	3,950	7,300
Stück Corduan- Saffian - und anderes Leder	4,460	1,490	67	837
St. Huf-, Horn- und (vorzüglich) Borstenvieh	3,869	236	98	25,237

was transformed into a *Rastell*, with additional border markets in Stara Gradiška, Dolina, Swiniar (today Davor) and Jasenovac. Two *Rastelle* subjected to the Pančevo quarantine station, Kovin and Omoljica existed in 1772 in Banat for the import of livestock. Three *Rastelle* were controlled by the Kostajnica quarantine station on the Banal Border in 1820: Oblay (until 1806 in Radosnicza), Korlath (near Dvor) and Dubicza. A *Rastel* Mali Maljevac was organized in the Karlovac Generalate when the border moved somewhat eastwards after the Peace of Sistova. Report of the TLA [to the Empress Maria Theresia], Temesvár, 22 January 1772, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2. IAB, ZM, 1785-3-312, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 616-17. Engel, "Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien," vol. 2, 390-91. Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 1, 413-15, 419, 427. Panzac, "Politique sanitaire:" 105. Rastels also referred to general way of sanitary separation that could allow free communication without direct contact. In January 1770 the Sanitary Court Deputation ordered Colonel Sturm to organize a visiting room in the quarantine as a *Rastell*. Placed in the house of the director, it had two entrances, one from the outside and the other from inside the quarantine station, with a buffer space in between. Communication was under strict supervision. Similar visiting rooms, *Rastelle*, were organized also in Mitrovica, Brod, and Gradiška stations. *Rastelle* was also the name for the facility where the surgeon could examine newly arrived migrants from a distance (per visum), without direct contact. The rescript of the SHD, Vienna, 25 January 1770; a protocol of the Slavonian SK, 20 February 1770, [Osijek], 1770 Martius 9, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

⁷²⁸ Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 1: 332.

5.2. Merchants and Artisans on the Military Border 1816-1817

Table A.3. Merchants and Artisans at the Military Border 1816-1817⁷²⁹

	Merchants	journeymen and apprentices	Servants	Total
Karlovac Border	144	86		230
Banal Border	167	141		308
Varaždin Border	87	369		456
Slavonian Border (with Tschaikisten Battalion, 1815)	741	352 (2)		1,093
Banat Border	552	556		1,108
Transylvanian Border	18	23		41
Grand Total	1,709	1,527	691	3,927

If we look at the number of domestic subjects engaged in commerce only on the Banat Military Border about sixty years later (1816-1817), we see that altogether 1,108 or about 1,300 persons engaged in trade and commerce. There were 552 merchants, 329 in the countryside (auf dem platten Lande), and 233 in military townships (Militär-Communitäten), 556 (commercial?) journeymen and apprentices (Gesellen und Lehrjungen) plus an unknown number of merchants' servants (Handlungsdienner). If the ratio was similar to the number of merchants, journeymen and apprentices on the Military Border overall, there were about 200 commercial servants in Banat. Merchants, peddlers, commercial journeymen and apprentices on the Military Border (Handesleute und Krämer) in 1816-1817. Pančevo and Old Orșova had a permanent presence of Greek merchants into the nineteenth century.⁷³⁰ The yearly number of business people in Pančevo from 1752 to 1756 might seem small. But if the other Banat quarantine station, Mehadia/Jupalnic is taken into account, and we remember that the colonization effort in the border areas was still in its early phase in the 1750s, it is clear that so many Ottoman merchants could not be involved only in international trade, but be engaged in local trade too.

⁷²⁹ Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 1: 348-50.

⁷³⁰ Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 1: 348-50.

5.3. *List of Migrants Registered in the Pančevo Quarantine Tables 1752-1756*

The following table contains the names and other information of 1,127 migrants, who were registered in the forty-three preserved Pančevo quarantine tables.⁷³¹ Most, but not all migrants were registered twice, the first time when they entered and the second time when they left the quarantine station. I first digitalized the tables by entering their content into an MS Excel spreadsheet with the original layout preserved. I then retrieved the data from the tables and compiled them into a single MS Excel database, matching entry and exit data with migrants.

The second column of the table contains migrants' names. I visually presented the migrants traveling in groups were differently from the persons travelling alone. The first migrant in the group is presented in the same manner as traveling individuals. The names (or family, service or business relationship in place of the name) of other members of the group are indented and written in italics. The third column contains the gender of migrants, M for male, F for female and N for the children whose gender was not specified. The fourth column contains mentioned ethnic, religious or regional identities, as well as the general religious affiliation that can be deducted. The fifth column has other available information, which refer to some of the migrants, such as their social or marital status, occupation, age, residence, destination, whether they entered or exited the station with horses and merchandize. As a rule, the reader can find the original entries in the sources by looking at the dates in the last two columns

⁷³¹ 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.

and then inspecting monthly quarantine tables that cover that period. Until February 1753, the tables ended and were submitted on the 25th day of the month, containing in principle entries and exits from the 26th of the previous month until the day when they were submitted. Following the order by the Sanitary Court Deputation from 17 February 1753 to follow the practice from Slavonia, from March 1753 the Pančevo tables started to cover calendar months. The first such table, concluded on 31 March, covered the period 26 February 1753-31 March 1753.⁷³²

Table A.4. Migrants Registered in the Pančevo Quarantine Tables 1752-1756

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
1	Nicola Gorge	M	Griech	mit 4 Pferden	1752-02-25	[no data]
2	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1752-02-25	[no data]
3	Wojka	F	Wallach	Transmigrant	1752-02-25	[no data]
4	Pable Stephan	M	Raitz	Transmigrant, ledige Pursch	1752-02-25	[no data]
5	<i>Bruder</i>	M	Raitz	Transmigrant, ledige Pursch	1752-02-25	[no data]
6	Radisav Jovanovith	M	Raitz	Zimmerleüth, gehen... in Sclavnonienn	1752-03-02	[no data]
7	<i>Camarad</i>	M	Raitz	Zimmerleüth, gehen... in Sclavnonienn	1752-03-02	[no data]
8	<i>Camarad</i>	M	Raitz	Zimmerleüth, gehen... in Sclavnonienn	1752-03-02	[no data]
9	Lazar Jacomovith	M	Raitz	Zimmerleüth, gehen... in Sclavnonienn	1752-03-02	[no data]
10	<i>Camarad</i>	M	Raitz	Zimmerleüth, gehen... in Sclavnonienn	1752-03-02	[no data]
11	Toma Radiv	M	[Christian]		1752-03-09	[no data]
12	<i>Verheyratheter Sohn</i>	M	[Christian]		1752-03-09	[no data]
13	<i>Verheyratheter Sohn</i>	M	[Christian]		1752-03-09	[no data]
14	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]		1752-03-09	[no data]
15	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]		1752-03-09	[no data]
16	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]		1752-03-09	[no data]
17	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		1752-03-09	[no data]
18	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		1752-03-09	[no data]
19	Jacom Ignati	M	[Christian]		1752-03-09	[no data]
20	<i>Bruder</i>	M	[Christian]		1752-03-09	[no data]
21	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]		1752-03-09	[no data]
22	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]		1752-03-09	[no data]
23	Riga Jany	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1752-03-14	[no data]
24	Nico Mihál	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1752-03-14	[no data]
25	Nico Popovith	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1752-03-14	[no data]
26	Peter Jany	M	Griech	32 bales of Cordovan and Meschin	1752-03-16	[no data]
27	Marco Dule	M	Griech	[partner of Peter Jany]	1752-03-16	[no data]
28	Janco Samartich	M	Zinsar		[no data]	1752-02-26
29	Stephan Votha	M	Zinsar		[no data]	1752-03-19

⁷³² SHD to TLA, Vienna, 17 February 1753, 1753 Februarius 7, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
30	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		[no data]	1752-03-19
31	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		[no data]	1752-03-19
32	Janaty Theodor	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-01
33	Dimo Hatschij	M	[Christian]	mit 3 Pferden	[no data]	1752-03-01
34	<i>Adanazko Jany</i>	M	[Christian]	[partner of Dimo Hatschij]	[no data]	1752-03-01
35	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-01
36	Stojan Millosch	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-09
37	<i>Sohn</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-09
38	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-09
39	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-09
40	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-09
41	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-09
42	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-09
43	Gabriel Radivoj	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
44	<i>Bruder</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
45	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
46	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
47	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
48	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
49	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
50	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
51	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
52	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
53	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
54	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
55	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
56	Elia Schijvan	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
57	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
58	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
59	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
60	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
61	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
62	Sabitsch Mihal	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
63	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
64	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
65	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
66	<i>Mütter</i>	F	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
67	<i>Bruder</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
68	Manuly Nicolovith	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
69	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
70	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
71	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
72	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
73	<i>Bruder</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-13
74	Pob Demitro	M	[Christian]	Calluger	[no data]	1752-03-17
75	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-17
76	Nasto Güno	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-03-19
77	George Demitro	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	[no data]	1752-03-20
78	<i>Weib</i>	F	Raitz	Transmigrant	[no data]	1752-03-20
79	Marco Jano/Janco	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-05-25	1752-06-26
80	Peter Durbko/Tripko	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-05-25	1752-06-26
81	Bogtan/Pogtan Nicola	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-05-25	1752-06-26
82	Jany Theodor	M	Wallach	Transmigrant	1752-05-25	1752-06-26
83	Misco Peter	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-05-25	1752-06-26
84	<i>Sohn</i>	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-05-25	1752-06-26
85	<i>Sohn</i>	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-05-25	1752-06-26

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
86	Jacan Imlatonovith/ Jovan Mallenovith	M	[Christian]	Calluger	1752-05-25	1752-06-26
87	Jerasim Mihailovich	M	[Christian]	Calluger	1752-05-25	1752-06-26
88	Mihal Costa	M	Griech		1752-05-25	1752-06-26
89	Constantin Georgith	M	[Christian]	Callugier	1752-05-25	1752-06-26
90	Theodossy Novakovith	M	[Christian]	Calluger	1752-05-27	1752-06-26
91	<i>Arseni Nicolavith</i>	M	[Christian]	Calluger	1752-05-27	1752-06-26
92	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1752-05-27	1752-06-26
93	Molat Dimo	M	Griech		1752-05-27	1752-06-26
94	Catarina Peterin	F	Raitz	Transmigrantin, Witwe	1752-06-19	1752-07-05
95	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-06-19	1752-07-05
96	Antonj Lazar	M	Griech		1752-06-22	1752-07-12
97	Georgi Lazko	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	[no data]	1752-05-30
98	Mihal Thimo	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	[no data]	1752-05-30
99	Stanko Attanasy	M	Griech		[no data]	1752-05-30
100	Espasso Allimir	M	[Christian]	mit 2 Pferd	[no data]	1752-05-31
101	<i>Sohn</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-05-31
102	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-05-31
103	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-05-31
104	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-05-31
105	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-05-31
106	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-05-31
107	Millotin Stanomirovith	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-06-06
108	<i>Bruder</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-06-06
109	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-06-06
110	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-06-06
111	<i>Verheiratheter Sohn</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-06-06
112	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-06-06
113	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-06-06
114	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-06-06
115	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-06-06
116	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-06-06
117	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-06-06
118	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-06-06
119	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-06-06
120	Mihail Illiz	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	[no data]	1752-06-16
121	Millovan Illiz	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	[no data]	1752-06-16
122	<i>Bruder</i>	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	[no data]	1752-06-16
123	Christoph Demitre	M	Griech	Mit 6 Pferden	[no data]	1752-06-19
124	Manuel Georgi	M	Griech		[no data]	1752-06-19
125	Dimo Mihailo	M	Griech		[no data]	1752-06-19
126	Georgi Paba	M	Griech		[no data]	1752-06-19
127	Demitre Georgi	M	Griech		[no data]	1752-06-19
128	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		[no data]	1752-06-19
129	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		[no data]	1752-06-19
130	Nicola Philopp	M	Griech		[no data]	1752-06-19
131	Stanko Anram	M	Bulgar	Kohlenbrener, mit 4 Pferd	[no data]	1752-06-19
132	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Bulgar		[no data]	1752-06-19
133	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Bulgar		[no data]	1752-06-19
134	Stanko Maslar	M	Bulgar	Kohlenbrener, mit 4 Pferd	[no data]	1752-06-19
135	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Bulgar		[no data]	1752-06-19
136	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Bulgar		[no data]	1752-06-19
137	Thoma Poppoviz	M	Raitz		[no data]	1752-06-19
138	Theodor Mihail	M	[Christian]	mit 2 Pferd	[no data]	1752-06-21
139	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-06-21
140	Nicola Mirzin	M	[Christian]	Kohlenbrener	[no data]	1752-06-21

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
141	Janco Radosovovith	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant	[no data]	1752-06-22
142	Passy Millotin	M	[Christian]	Callugier	[no data]	1752-06-23
143	<i>Millotin Stephanovich</i>	M	[Christian]	Callugier	[no data]	1752-06-23
144	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-06-23
145	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1752-06-23
146	Diamandi Thoma	M	Griech		[no data]	1752-06-23
147	<i>Schwester</i>	M	Griech		[no data]	1752-06-23
148	Polgar Georgi	M	Griech	mit 2 Pferdt	[no data]	1752-06-23
149	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		[no data]	1752-06-23
150	Stephan Frevenz	M	Griech	mit 1. Pferdt	[no data]	1752-06-23
151	Georgi Matjar Janos	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	[no data]	1752-06-23
152	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		[no data]	1752-06-23
153	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		[no data]	1752-06-23
154	Manuli Hatschi	M	Griech	mit 1. Pferdt	[no data]	1752-06-06
155	Mehemet Bassa	M	Türk	Türk	[no data]	1752-06-06
156	Manases	M	Jude	Türkischer Juden	[no data]	1752-06-06
157	Georgi Dugali	M	Griech	mit 1. Pferdt	[no data]	1752-06-24
158	Georgi Jancovich	M	Griech	mit 1. Pferdt	[no data]	1752-06-24
159	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		[no data]	1752-06-24
160	Manueli Stankovith	M	Griech	mit 1. Pferdt	[no data]	1752-06-24
161	Pannajoth Jancovich	M	Griech	mit 1. Pferdt	[no data]	1752-06-24
162	Lazko Dellger	M	Griech	mit 1. Pferdt	[no data]	1752-06-24
163	Pannajot Diganit	M	Griech		[no data]	1752-06-24
164	<i>Schwester</i>	F	Griech		[no data]	1752-06-24
165	Rade Gregorovich	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-06-26	1752-06-30
166	<i>Peter Mihai</i>	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-06-26	1752-07-10
167	<i>Weib von Peter Mihai</i>	F	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-06-26	1752-07-10
168	<i>Kind von Peter Mihai</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-06-26	1752-07-10
169	Constantin Nicola	M	Griech	80. Balle Cordovan 33. Balle Meschin 8. Balle gespon. weiße Baumwoll, und 2 Balle Pferdt- Deken	1752-06-30	1752-07-20
170	Radoslav Ignat	M	Raitz	Transmigrant, 6 Täg in Dorf Homoljiza contumazieret	1752-07-02	1752-07-15
171	Theodor Steoivith	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1752-07-03	1752-07-23
172	Ellia Mihailovich/ Mihailovith	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1752-07-03	1752-07-23
173	Constantin Demitre	M	Griech		1752-07-05	1752-07-25
174	Demitre Gregorovich	M	Griech	mit 1. Pferdt, 42 Balle Cordovan 10 Balle Meschin 28. Balle rohe Baum woll 2 Balle Ahba und 36 Balle gelbes Wachß	1752-07-05	1752-07-25
175	Stephan Swetkovith	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-07-07	1752-07-27
176	Haczy Jany	M	Griech	mit 1. Pferdt	1752-07-08	1752-07-28
177	Lanzo Juhaz	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1752-07-08	1752-07-28
178	Georgi Jancovith	M	Griech		1752-07-10	1752-07-30
179	Theodosy Radovith	M	[Christian]	Popp	1752-07-10	1752-07-28
180	<i>Weib von Th. Radovith</i>	F	[Christian]	[clergy family]	1752-07-10	1752-07-28
181	<i>Kind von Radovith</i>	N	[Christian]	[clergy family]	1752-07-10	1752-07-28
182	<i>Kind von Radovith</i>	N	[Christian]	[clergy family]	1752-07-10	1752-07-28
183	<i>Mutter von Th. Radovith</i>	F	[Christian]	[clergy family]	1752-07-10	1752-07-28
184	Wassilia	F	[Christian]	Sclavin	1752-07-10	1752-07-28
185	Janco Mihail	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-07-14	1752-08-03
186	Georgi Wasso	M	Raitz	mit 1 Pferdt	1752-07-15	1752-08-04
187	Theodor Gumann	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1752-07-15	1752-08-04
188	Popp Getian	M	[Christian]	Gallugier/Kalloger	1752-07-15	1752-08-04

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
189	Paruch Manases	M	Jude	Spanische Jude	1752-07-17	1752-08-06
190	Samuel Moyses	M	Jude	Spanische Jude	1752-07-17	1752-08-06
191	Recha/Reicha	F	Jude	Judin	1752-07-17	1752-08-06
192	<i>Kind von Recha</i>	N	Jude		1752-07-17	1752-08-06
193	Radolle Allbul/Radule Albul	M	Wallach		1752-07-17	1752-08-06
194	Savata Theodor	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-07-21	1752-08-09
195	<i>Weib von Savata Theodor</i>	F	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-07-21	1752-08-09
196	<i>Sohn von Savata Theodor</i>	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-07-21	1752-08-09
197	<i>Weib vom Sohn</i>	F	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-07-21	1752-08-09
198	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-07-21	1752-08-09
199	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-07-21	1752-08-09
200	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-07-21	1752-08-09
201	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-07-21	1752-08-09
202	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-07-21	1752-08-09
203	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-07-21	1752-08-09
204	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-07-21	1752-08-09
205	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-07-21	1752-08-09
206	Comiana	F	Raitz	Transmigrant, Witwe	1752-07-25	1752-08-13
207	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-07-25	1752-08-13
208	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-07-25	1752-08-13
209	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-07-25	1752-08-13
210	Nicola Antoni	M	[Christian]	mit 3 Pferd	1752-07-28	1752-08-17
211	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1752-07-28	1752-08-17
212	<i>Jany Canisa</i>	M	[Christian]		1752-07-28	1752-08-17
213	<i>Apostol Ruschan</i>	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd, 4 Balle allerhandt Waar, 20 Balle Cordovan, 20 Ballle Meschin, 12 Balle Rothiza, 6 Balle gesponnene rotte Baumwollen, 4. Körb mit Zismen, und 4. Säckh mit Allaun	1752-07-28	1752-08-17
214	Dimo Costa	M	Griech	mit 2 Pferd	1752-07-30	1752-08-19
215	<i>Costa Georgi</i>	M	Griech		1752-07-30	1752-08-19
216	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1752-07-30	1752-08-19
217	Ellia Radul	M	Wallach		1752-08-01	1752-08-21
218	Costa Güno	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd & 12 Balle Cordoban	1752-08-01	1752-08-21
219	Ally Bassa	M	Türk	Türckh	1752-08-13	1752-09-02
220	Maxim Jancovith	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-08-18	1752-09-07
221	<i>Weib</i>	F	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-08-18	1752-09-07
222	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-08-18	1752-09-07
223	Nicola Schiffkovich	M	Raitz	Kirschner, mit 3 Ballen Lambt- Fehl	1752-08-25	1752-09-11
224	Gotscha Mihail	M	Griech		1752-08-25	1752-09-11
225	<i>Junge/Bub</i>	M	Griech		1752-08-25	1752-09-11
226	<i>Junge/Bub</i>	M	Griech		1752-08-25	1752-09-11
227	Wekielharz Mehemet Aga	M	Türk	Türckh	1752-08-25	1752-09-11
228	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Türk	Türckh	1752-08-25	1752-09-11
229	Mehemet Bassa	M	Türk	Türckh, mit 3. Balle Tobackh und 1. Balle Flachs	1752-08-31	1752-09-20
230	Georgi Nicola	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1752-09-02	1752-09-22
231	Georgi Loga	M	Griech	mit 3 Ballen Allaun	1752-09-02	1752-09-22
232	Staist Stoga	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-09-02	1752-09-22
233	<i>Weib</i>	F	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-09-02	1752-09-22
234	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-09-02	1752-09-22
235	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-09-02	1752-09-22
236	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-09-02	1752-09-22
237	<i>Bruder</i>	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-09-02	1752-09-22

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
238	<i>Weib des Bruders</i>	F	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-09-02	1752-09-22
239	Constantin Theodor	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1752-09-07	1752-09-27
240	Thoma Jancovith	M	[Christian]		1752-09-07	1752-09-27
241	Stephan Rado	M	Raitz		1752-09-08	1752-09-28
242	Jovan/Ivan Jancovith	M	Raitz		1752-09-12	1752-10-02
243	Joseph Manuelovich /Manulievith	M	[Christian]	Kalloger	1752-09-12	1752-10-02
244	<i>ein junger Pop</i>	M	[Christian]	Pop	1752-09-12	1752-10-02
245	<i>ein junger Pop</i>	M	[Christian]	Pop	1752-09-12	1752-10-02
246	<i>ein junger Pop</i>	M	[Christian]	Pop	1752-09-12	1752-10-02
247	Arhimandrit Jerasim	M	[Christian]	Arhimandrit	1752-09-18	1752-08-10
248	<i>Kalloger</i>	M	[Christian]	Kalloger	1752-09-18	1752-08-10
249	<i>Kalloger</i>	M	[Christian]	Kalloger	1752-09-18	1752-08-10
250	Daniel Thuaffing/ Damie Tauaffing	M	[Christian]	Kalloger/Bob, mit 2 Pferd	1752-09-18	1752-08-10
251	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1752-09-18	1752-08-10
252	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1752-09-18	1752-08-10
253	Dasto Manuli/ Tahto Manuly	M	Griech	mit 4 Balle gesponnene Weiße Baumwollen	1752-09-21	1752-10-11
254	Manuli Demitre/Demitro	M	Griech	mit 2 Pferd	1752-09-22	1752-10-12
255	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1752-09-22	1752-10-12
256	Annastasy Nicola	M	Griech		1752-09-22	1752-10-12
257	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1752-09-22	1752-10-12
258	Milosch Bantur	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-09-25	1752-10-15
259	<i>Weib</i>	F	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-09-25	1752-10-15
260	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-09-25	1752-10-15
261	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1752-09-25	1752-10-15
262	Dobriza Bogtanovith	M	Raitz	Kirschner, mit 4 Ballen Lamb-fell	1752-09-26	1752-10-16
263	Demitro Haffir/Saffor	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1752-09-30	1752-10-20
264	Annestassy Lazko	M	Griech	mit 2 Pferd, 8 Ballen allerhandt Waren 6 Ballen gespon. rothe Baumwollen, 6 Ballen Lamb-Fell und 11 Ballen Baumohl in 22 Dullam	1752-09-30	1752-10-20
265	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1752-09-30	1752-10-20
266	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1752-09-30	1752-10-20
267	Dinio Jancovith	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1752-10-01	1752-10-21
268	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1752-10-01	1752-10-21
269	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1752-10-01	1752-10-21
270	Deorge Baungovith	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1752-10-01	1752-10-21
271	Costa Cossany	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1752-10-01	1752-10-21
272	Thoma Bobovith/Pobovith	M	[Christian]	Bob/Pob	1752-10-06	1752-10-25
273	Jacum Staphanovith/ Jacun Stephanovith	M	Raitz	Kirschner mit 1 Ballen Lamb-fell	1752-10-17	1752-11-06
274	Milize	F	[Christian]	Weib von hier	1752-10-18	1752-11-07
275	Ivan/Jovan Siffkovith	M	Zinsar	Transmigrant	1752-10-20	1752-11-09
276	<i>Weib</i>	F	Zinsar	Transmigrant	1752-10-20	1752-11-09
277	<i>Sohn</i>	M	Zinsar	Transmigrant	1752-10-20	1752-11-09
278	<i>Weib des Sohnes</i>	F	Zinsar	Transmigrant	1752-10-20	1752-11-09
279	<i>Kind</i>	N	Zinsar	Transmigrant	1752-10-20	1752-11-09
280	<i>Kind</i>	N	Zinsar	Transmigrant	1752-10-20	1752-11-09
281	Theodor Stankovith	M	Zinsar	mit 3 Pferd	1752-10-20	1752-11-09
282	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Zinsar		1752-10-20	1752-11-09
283	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Zinsar		1752-10-20	1752-11-09
284	Janco Kartiz	M	Zinsar	mit 4 Pferd	1752-10-20	1752-11-09
285	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Zinsar		1752-10-20	1752-11-09

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
286	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Zinsar		1752-10-20	1752-11-09
287	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Zinsar		1752-10-20	1752-11-09
288	Janco Belleckt	M	Zinsar	mit 4 Pferdt	1752-10-20	1752-11-09
289	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Zinsar		1752-10-20	1752-11-09
290	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Zinsar		1752-10-20	1752-11-09
291	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Zinsar		1752-10-20	1752-11-09
292	Costa Danassy	M	Zinsar	mit 4 Pferdt	1752-10-20	1752-11-09
293	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Zinsar		1752-10-20	1752-11-09
294	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Zinsar		1752-10-20	1752-11-09
295	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Zinsar		1752-10-20	1752-11-09
296	Adam George	M	Zinsar	mit 16 Ballen rohe Baumwoll 12 Ballen Schajack und 14 Ballen allerhandt Wahr	1752-10-25	1752-11-15
297	Peter Jany	M	Griech		1752-10-25	1752-11-15
298	Jovan Weschko	M	[Christian]	Sklave	1752-10-31	1752-11-20
299	Matho Dellditz	M	Albaneuser	mit 2 Pferdt und 8 Ballen Meschin	1752-11-04	1752-11-24
300	Manuly George	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1752-11-07	1752-11-27
301	Theodor Kiro	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1752-11-10	1752-11-30
302	Masslin	M	Bulgar		1752-11-16	1752-12-06
303	<i>Kind</i>	N	Bulgar		1752-11-16	1752-12-06
304	Michael Demitro	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1752-11-25	1752-12-15
305	Demitro Manuly	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1752-11-25	1752-12-15
306	Wachy George	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1752-11-25	1752-12-15
307	Hatzi Dimo	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1752-11-26	1752-12-16
308	Constatnin Theodor	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1752-11-26	1752-12-16
309	Anestasy Kiriack	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1752-11-26	1752-12-16
310	Baun Bolga	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1752-11-26	1752-12-16
311	Jany Canisa	M	Griech		1752-11-26	1752-12-16
312	Nicola George	M	Griech		1752-11-26	1752-12-16
313	Thoma Demitro	M	Griech	Kaufmanns Beddiener [Knecht]	1752-11-26	1752-12-16
314	Janatj Theodor	M	Griech		1752-12-04	1752-12-24
315	Theodor Mihal	M	Griech	mit 2 Pferdt	1752-12-04	1752-12-24
316	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech	Knecht	1752-12-04	1752-12-24
317	Manuly Thomas	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1752-12-04	1752-12-24
318	Memeth Bascha	M	Türk		1752-12-05	1752-12-25
319	Ibrahim Bascha	M	Türk		1752-12-05	1752-12-25
320	Janco Risto	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1752-12-30	1753-01-19
321	Goerg Jany	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1752-12-30	1753-01-19
322	Constanin George	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1752-12-30	1753-01-19
323	Dumitro Buchar	M	[Christian]	mit 2 Pferdt nebst 4 Korb Lemoni	1752-12-30	1753-01-19
324	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]	Knecht	1752-12-30	1753-01-19
325	Ignaty Risto	M	Bulgar		1753-01-06	1753-02-17
326	Demitro Thatko	M	Bulgar		1753-01-06	1753-02-17
327	George Constantin	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-01-07	1753-02-17
328	Dimo Schokantar	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-01-07	1753-02-17
329	Alexi Georgovith	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-01-07	1753-01-31
330	Demitor Niko	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-01-07	1753-02-17
331	George Jankovith	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt nebst 5 Ballen Rothiza 5 Ballen gesp. weiße Baumwollen, 1 Ballen gemachte Hoßes 2 Ballen Riemwerk 1 Ballen Meschin und 4 Körb mit Zischmen	1753-01-08	1753-02-18
332	Jancko Kurkovith/ Jankovith	M	[Christian]	nebst 2 Ballen Schajack 1 Ballen ahaba 1 Ballen gesp. weiße baumwollen, und 1 Ballen vermischte Waar	1753-01-08	1753-02-18

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
333	Joseph Cahan/Cartan	M	Jude	Judt, nebst 3 Ballen Meschin	1753-01-08	1753-02-18
334	Bablla Niego/ Bable Rigo	M	Griech		1753-01-14	1753-02-28
335	Anestas Philip	M	[Christian]	Kupferschmidt, mit 2 Pferdten	1753-01-25	1753-03-04
336	Jerosimo	F	Raitz	von Starzova	1753-01-25	1753-03-06
337	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	von Starzova	1753-01-25	1753-03-06
338	Ansche	F	[Christian]	von Homoliza	1753-01-25	1753-03-06
339	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	von Homoliza	1753-01-25	1753-03-06
340	Aberham Subotisch	M	Raitz		1753-02-06	1753-03-19
341	Memeth Bascha	M	Türk		1753-02-15	1753-03-28
342	<i>Kind</i>	N	Türk		1753-02-15	1753-03-28
343	Jany George	M	Griech		1753-02-25	1753-04-08
344	Hatzj Dimo	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1753-03-07	1753-04-17
345	Jovan Adany/Javan Adamy	M	[Christian]	Seifen Sieder	1753-03-13	1753-04-23
346	Constantin Agora/Allexj	M	Griech		1753-03-23	1753-04-23
347	Poba Thoma	M	[Christian]	Pob mit 1 Pferd	1753-03-24	1753-04-23
348	Janco Bullia	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1753-03-24	1753-04-23
349	Costa Mallat	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1753-03-25	1753-04-23
350	Nicola Theodorowitz	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1753-03-25	1753-04-23
351	Costa Theodorovitz	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1753-03-30	1753-04-23
352	Mihail Schokatory	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1753-04-10	1753-04-30
353	George Mischka/Mischko	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd		1753-04-30
354	Dimantj Thoma	M	Griech		1753-04-21	1753-05-11
355	Andreas George	M	Raitz	von Kubin	1753-04-25	1753-05-16
356	Costa Fredo	M	Griech		1753-04-26	1753-05-16
357	Stama	F	Zinsar	Witwe	1753-05-01	1753-05-21
358	Nicola Stan	M	Bulgar		1753-05-11	1753-05-31
359	Simon Plahor	M	Raitz		1753-05-14	1753-06-03
360	Theodor Savith	M	[Christian]	Flösser	1753-05-16	1753-06-05
361	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-05-16	1753-06-05
362	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-05-16	1753-06-05
363	Lubisov/Lubisav Stanovith	M	[Christian]	ein Unterthan von Jabuka	1753-05-19	1753-06-07
364	Janka Loasovith	M	Raitz	Transmigrant aus Servien	1753-06-01	1753-06-21
365	<i>Weib</i>	F	Raitz	Transmigrant aus Servien	1753-06-01	1753-06-21
366	<i>Sohn</i>	M	Raitz	Transmigrant aus Servien	1753-06-01	1753-06-21
367	<i>Sohn</i>	M	Raitz	Transmigrant aus Servien	1753-06-01	1753-06-21
368	<i>Schwiegertochter</i>	F	Raitz	Transmigrant aus Servien	1753-06-01	1753-06-21
369	<i>Schwiegertochter</i>	F	Raitz	Transmigrant aus Servien	1753-06-01	1753-06-21
370	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant aus Servien	1753-06-01	1753-06-21
371	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant aus Servien	1753-06-01	1753-06-21
372	Andre(a) Jany	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1753-06-01	1753-06-21
373	Jany Glegory	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1753-06-01	1753-06-21
374	Demitro Nico	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1753-06-01	1753-06-21
375	Demitro Andre	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1753-06-01	1753-06-21
376	George Mino	M	[Christian]	mit 2 Pferd	1753-06-01	1753-06-21
377	Matho Dellitz	M	Albaneuser	nebst 4 Ballen Meschin	1753-06-13	1753-07-03
378	Arseny	M	[Christian]	Pob	1753-06-18	1753-07-08
379	Philotai	M	[Christian]	Pob	1753-06-18	1753-07-08
380	Thoma Demitrovith	M	Wallach	Unterthan aus dem Caransebesser District	1753-06-18	1753-07-08
381	<i>Sohn</i>	M	Wallach	Unterthan aus dem Caransebesser District	1753-06-18	1753-07-08
382	<i>Sohn</i>	M	Wallach	Unterthan aus dem Caransebesser District	1753-06-18	1753-07-08
383	<i>Sohn</i>	M	Wallach	Unterthan aus dem Caransebesser District	1753-06-18	1753-07-08
384	Rosy Mihal	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1753-06-21	1753-07-11

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
385	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-06-21	1753-07-11
386	Milan Adam	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-06-21	1753-07-11
387	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-06-21	1753-07-11
388	Danasy Kolodita	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-06-21	1753-07-11
389	Constantin Stanko	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-06-21	1753-07-11
390	Demitro Hatzy	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-06-21	1753-07-11
391	George Theodor	M	[Christian]		1753-06-21	1753-07-11
392	Janko Pano/Bano	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-06-21	1753-07-11
393	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-06-21	1753-07-11
394	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-06-21	1753-07-11
395	Theodor Pibata/Pipada	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt, nebst 2 Ballen Astar 1 Ballen gesp. rohte Baumwollen 1 Ballen deto blaue 1 Ballen vermischte War und 3 Ballen Bogasias	1753-06-21	1753-07-11
396	<i>Bub</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-06-21	1753-07-11
397	<i>Bub</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-06-21	1753-07-11
398	Bab/Bobt George	M	[Christian]	Bab, mit 1 Pferdt	1753-06-21	1753-07-11
399	Costa Stanko	M	[Christian]		1753-06-21	1753-07-11
400	Ally Bascha	M	Türk	54 Sack mit Schaffwollen	1753-06-23	1753-07-13
401	<i>Cameradt/Knecht</i>	M	Türk		1753-06-23	1753-07-13
402	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Türk		1753-06-23	1753-07-13
403	Jany Canisa	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-06-25	1753-07-15
404	Kuro Peter	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-06-25	1753-07-15
405	Uckdra Demitro	M	Wallach		1753-07-02	1753-07-22
406	Hatzy Manuly	M	[Christian]		1753-07-03	1753-07-23
407	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-07-03	1753-07-23
408	Demitro Jova	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-07-06	1753-07-26
409	Constantin Nicola	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-07-06	1753-07-26
410	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-07-06	1753-07-26
411	Jovan Ilia	M	[Christian]		1753-07-13	1753-08-02
412	Peter Mano	M	Griech	Junge	1753-07-15	1753-08-04
413	Stephan Schyvan	M	Griech	Junge	1753-07-15	1753-08-04
414	Nasto Guno	M	Griech		1753-07-18	1753-08-07
415	Simon Peter	M	Catholic Christian	ein Catholischer Sclaw	1753-07-20	1753-08-09
416	Manule Achiry	M	Griech	Junge	1753-07-21	1753-08-11
417	Nicola Mihal	M	Griech	Junge	1753-07-21	1753-08-11
418	Thycka	M	[Christian]?	ein Bob und Sclaw	1753-07-26	1753-08-16
419	Allexj Jany	M	[Christian]	mit 2 Pferdt	1753-07-27	1753-08-17
420	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-07-27	1753-08-17
421	Dimo George	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-07-27	1753-08-17
422	Peter Nicola	M	Raitz	Raytz von Pegalacz	1753-07-27	1753-07-31
423	Bable Nicola	M	[Christian]	von Starzova	1753-07-28	1753-08-18
424	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]	von Starzova	1753-07-28	1753-08-18
425	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	von Starzova	1753-07-28	1753-08-18
426	Milotin Jovanovith	M	[Christian]	von Starzova	1753-07-28	1753-08-18
427	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]	von Starzova	1753-07-28	1753-08-18
428	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	von Starzova	1753-07-28	1753-08-18
429	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	von Starzova	1753-07-28	1753-08-18
430	Thjuko/Thynka Marcowith	M	[Christian]	von Banczova	1753-07-28	1753-08-18
431	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]	von Banczova	1753-07-28	1753-08-18
432	<i>Schwiegermutter</i>	F	[Christian]	von Banczova	1753-07-28	1753-08-18
433	<i>Tochter</i>	F	[Christian]	von Banczova	1753-07-28	1753-08-18
434	<i>Tochter</i>	F	[Christian]	von Banczova	1753-07-28	1753-08-18
435	<i>Tochter</i>	F	[Christian]	von Banczova	1753-07-28	1753-08-18

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
436	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	von Banczova	1753-07-28	1753-08-18
437	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	von Banczova	1753-07-28	1753-08-18
438	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	von Banczova	1753-07-28	1753-08-18
439	Dimo Schyska	M	Griech	von Homoliza	1753-08-01	1753-08-19
440	<i>Madel</i>	F	Raitz		1753-08-01	1753-08-19
441	Stann Nicola	M	Zigeuner	Bub	1753-08-05	1753-08-25
442	Stojka Illitz	M	Raitz	mit 2 Ballen Lamp. Fell	1753-08-07	1753-08-27
443	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Raitz		1753-08-07	1753-08-27
444	Manuli Thoma	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-08-07	1753-08-27
445	Janos	M	Raitz	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-08-08	1753-08-28
446	Nico Armeny	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-08-08	1753-08-28
447	Demitro Axentj	M	Griech	mit 2 Pferden	1753-08-08	1753-08-28
448	<i>Sohn</i>	M	Griech		1753-08-08	1753-08-28
449	George Hallon	M	Griech		1753-08-12	1753-09-01
450	Slatko Theodor	M	Griech		1753-08-12	1753-09-01
451	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1753-08-12	1753-09-01
452	Jacob/Issac	M	Jude		1753-08-15	1753-09-04
453	Samuel	M	Jude		1753-08-15	1753-09-04
454	Conto Anestas	M	Griech		1753-08-20	1753-09-16
455	Mihal Demitro	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-08-20	1753-09-16
456	Theodor Margaretha	M	Griech		1753-08-20	1753-09-16
457	Manulj Nicola	M	Griech		1753-08-20	1753-09-16
458	<i>Mutter</i>	F	Griech		1753-08-20	1753-09-16
459	Jovan Gihaga	M	Wallach		1753-08-20	1753-09-16
460	Wassilie	M	Wallach		1753-08-20	1753-09-16
461	Alexander	M	Wallach		1753-08-20	1753-09-16
462	Costo Mino	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-09-01	1753-09-28
463	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1753-09-01	1753-09-28
464	Stojko Logo	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-09-01	1753-09-28
465	Nicola George	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-09-01	1753-09-28
466	Issac Bevinestt/Bevineht	M	Jude	ein Spanischer Judt, mit 1 Väß. Kaliz.-stein 3 Verschläg Toback Pfeiffen Kopff 1 Ballen Haußen Blatter 1 Ballen Teppich gesp. weiße Baumwolen et Pergament	1753-09-06	1753-10-03
467	Radisow Abrim	M	Raitz	Sklave, Junge, von Krozka	1753-09-07	1753-10-04
468	Juro Klavasovith	M	[Christian]	hiessige Donau Müller	1753-09-13	1753-10-10
469	Antonj Wuckovith	M	[Christian]	hiessige Donau Müller	1753-09-13	1753-10-10
470	Antonj Leelia/Ledia	M	[Christian]	hiessige Donau Müller	1753-09-13	1753-10-10
471	Ruscha	F	Raitz	Mädel von Krozka	1753-09-15	1753-10-12
472	Thynka Wuja	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-09-17	1753-10-14
473	Loga Baunga	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-09-17	1753-10-14
474	Pob Thoma	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-09-17	1753-10-14
475	Theodor Risto/Risso	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-09-23	1753-10-20
476	Manulj Atojanovith/ Stojanovith	M	[Christian]	ein Unterthan von Oppowa	1753-09-25	1753-10-22
477	Ruimb/Ruffims	M	[Christian]	Kalloger	1753-09-26	1753-10-23
478	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-09-26	1753-10-23
479	Allexj Georgovith	M	Griech	von hier, nebst 1 Ballen Schejack und 1 Ballen vermischte Waar	1753-09-27	1753-10-24
480	Vota Saffur/Hafsur	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-10-02	1753-10-29
481	Demitro George	M	Griech	mit 2 Pferdt	1753-10-02	1753-10-29
482	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1753-10-02	1753-10-29
483	Peter Zwetkovith	M	Bulgar		1753-10-02	1753-10-29
484	Tascho Imladem	M	Griech	11 Körb Lemonien	1753-10-09	1755-11-04
485	Martin Ballia	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-10-12	1753-11-08

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
486	<i>Bub</i>	M	Griech		1753-10-12	1753-11-08
487	<i>Bub</i>	M	Griech		1753-10-12	1753-11-08
488	<i>Bub</i>	M	Griech		1753-10-12	1753-11-08
489	<i>Bub</i>	M	Griech		1753-10-12	1753-11-08
490	Janos Thoma	M	[Christian]		1753-10-12	1753-11-08
491	<i>Bub</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-10-12	1753-11-08
492	<i>Bub</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-10-12	1753-11-08
493	<i>Bub</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-10-12	1753-11-08
494	Constantin Stephen	M	[Christian]	mit 2 Pferden	1753-10-12	1753-11-08
495	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-10-12	1753-11-08
496	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-10-12	1753-11-08
497	Stamolo Adanassy	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-10-15	1753-11-11
498	Nicola Nedelkovith	M	Bulgar	mit 3 Pferdt	1753-10-18	1753-11-14
499	<i>Weib</i>	F	Bulgar		1753-10-18	1753-11-14
500	<i>Kind</i>	N	Bulgar		1753-10-18	1753-11-14
501	<i>Kind</i>	N	Bulgar		1753-10-18	1753-11-14
502	<i>Kind</i>	N	Bulgar		1753-10-18	1753-11-14
503	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Bulgar		1753-10-18	1753-11-14
504	Jansche Dimo	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-10-21	1753-11-17
505	Dimo Nassly	M	Griech	mit 2 Pferden	1753-11-01	1753-11-28
506	<i>Weib</i>	F	Griech		1753-11-01	1753-11-28
507	Demitro Popovich	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-11-01	1753-11-28
508	Constantin George	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-11-01	1753-11-28
509	Lambro Dimo/Illmo	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-11-01	1753-11-28
510	Palla/Pulla George	M	Griech		1753-11-01	1753-11-28
511	<i>Jung/Knecht</i>	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-11-01	1753-11-28
512	Beyka/Peika Kyriack	M	Griech		1753-11-01	1753-11-28
513	Hazi Toma	M	Griech		1753-11-01	1753-11-28
514	Peter Thuda	M	Bulgar		1753-11-01	1753-11-28
515	Adam Vasivitsch/Vasilovitz	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-11-01	1753-11-28
516	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-11-01	1753-11-28
517	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-11-01	1753-11-28
518	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-11-01	1753-11-28
519	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-11-01	1753-11-28
520	Constantin Jani	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-11-01	1753-11-28
521	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1753-11-01	1753-11-28
522	Küriak Rista	M	Griech		1753-11-01	1753-11-28
523	Toma Marco	M	Bulgar		1753-11-01	1753-11-28
524	Achmet Bassa	M	Türk	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-11-08	1753-12-05
525	Janco Dimitro	M	Zinsar	mit 3 Pferdt	1753-11-08	1753-12-05
526	<i>Bruder</i>	M	Zinsar		1753-11-08	1753-12-05
527	<i>Bruder</i>	M	Zinsar		1753-11-08	1753-12-05
528	Georgio Demitro	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1753-11-13	1753-12-10
529	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-11-13	1753-12-10
530	Rista Costa	M	[Christian]	mit 2 Pferdt, 4 Körb mit Lemoni	1753-11-13	1753-12-10
531	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-11-13	1753-12-10
532	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-11-13	1753-12-10
533	Stann Marcovitz	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant, seynd schon d. 6tn Oktober zu Cubin angelant	1753-10-06	1753-11-17
534	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]	Transmigrant, seynd schon d. 6tn Oktober zu Cubin angelant	1753-10-06	1753-11-17
535	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant, seynd schon d. 6tn Oktober zu Cubin angelant	1753-10-06	1753-11-17
536	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant, seynd schon d. 6tn Oktober zu Cubin angelant	1753-10-06	1753-11-17
537	Stephan Marco	M	[Christian]	Lediger Transmigrant	1753-11-19	1753-12-18

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
538	Popp Axenti	M	[Christian]	Kolloger	1753-11-21	1753-12-18
539	<i>Jung</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-11-21	1753-12-18
540	Nicola Rasovitsch	M	[Christian]	von Uipalanca	1753-11-21	[no data]
541	Illitsch Nedelcovitsch	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-11-21	1753-12-18
542	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-11-21	1753-12-18
543	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-11-21	1753-12-18
544	Mihail Pekitsch/Pevith	M	[Christian]	von hier	1753-11-26	1753-12-23
545	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]	von hier	1753-11-26	1753-12-23
546	<i>Mutter</i>	F	[Christian]	von hier	1753-11-26	1753-12-23
547	<i>Bruder</i>	M	[Christian]	von hier	1753-11-26	1753-12-23
548	<i>Weib des Bruders</i>	F	[Christian]	von hier	1753-11-26	1753-12-23
549	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	von hier	1753-11-26	1753-12-23
550	Nicola Wasilovith	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
551	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
552	<i>Sohn, verh.</i>	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
553	<i>Schwiegertochter</i>	F	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
554	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
555	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
556	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
557	Duca Dimo	M	[Christian]	mit 2 Pferd	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
558	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-12-01	1753-12-23
559	Demitro Mano	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
560	Nicola Philipp	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
561	Andre Bobovith	M	[Christian]		1753-12-01	1753-12-23
562	<i>Bruder</i>	M	[Christian]		1753-12-01	1753-12-23
563	Jyona	F	[Christian]	von Homoliza	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
564	<i>Mädel</i>	F	[Christian]	von Homoliza	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
565	George Demo	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
566	Nicla Demitro	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
567	Arseni Petrovitsch	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
568	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
569	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
570	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
571	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
572	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
573	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-01	1753-12-23
574	Mihail Radasovith	M	[Christian]		1753-12-01	1753-12-23
575	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]		1753-12-01	1753-12-23
576	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		1753-12-01	1753-12-23
577	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		1753-12-01	1753-12-23
578	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		1753-12-01	1753-12-23
579	Popp Jacob	M	[Christian]	Kaluger/Popp	1753-12-06	1753-12-26
580	Demitro Kyrani	M	Griech		1753-12-06	1753-12-26
581	<i>Bruder</i>	M	Griech		1753-12-06	1753-12-26
582	Lazar Giorgitz	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-06	1753-12-26
583	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-06	1753-12-26
584	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-06	1753-12-26
585	Peter Jovanovith/Janovith	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-11	1754-01-01
586	Jovan Stoyanovith	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-13	[no data]
587	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-13	[no data]
588	Antoni Mumerovith	M	[Christian]	ein Schneider, und Unterthann v. Kubin	1753-12-16	1753-11-25
589	Janco Glegori	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1753-12-17	1754-01-13
590	<i>Jung</i>	M	Griech		1753-12-17	1754-01-13
591	Duca Theodor	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1753-12-17	1754-01-13
592	<i>Sohn</i>	M	Griech		1753-12-17	1754-01-13

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
593	Menachim/Marachim Manasses	M	Griech	mit 18 Baallen süßen Früchte	1753-12-19	1754-01-15
594	Nicola Radovanovith	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-20	1754-01-16
595	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-20	1754-01-16
596	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-20	1754-01-16
597	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1753-12-20	1754-01-16
598	Lota Mino/Mina	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd, 8 Baallen Meschin, und 2 Baallen Oliven	1753-12-23	1754-01-19
599	Costa Mino/Mina	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1753-12-25	1754-01-21
600	Alexi Lamra	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1753-12-25	1754-01-21
601	Niza Yon/Gonn	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1753-12-25	1754-01-21
602	Constantin Theodor	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1754-01-01	1754-01-28
603	Dimo Rali	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1754-01-01	1754-01-28
604	Theodor Cavo	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1754-01-01	1754-01-28
605	Anielat George	M	Griech		1754-01-03	1754-01-30
606	<i>Kind/Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1754-01-03	1754-01-30
607	Miha Lundur	M	Griech		1754-01-08	1754-02-04
608	Kaun Prokovitch/ Kruja Petkoviz	M	Bulgar	Transmigrant/ein Unterthan von Temesvár	1754-01-20	1754-02-16
609	<i>Kind/Junge</i>	N	Bulgar	Transmigrant/ein Unterthan von Temesvár	1754-01-20	1754-02-16
610	Theodor Radovanovitch	M	Raitz		1754-01-20	1754-02-16
611	Dimo/Dimos Pable	M	Griech	zwey Pferdten	1754-02-02	1754-03-01
612	<i>Jungen</i>	M	Griech		1754-02-02	1754-03-01
613	Nasto George	M	Zinsar		1754-02-07	1754-03-08
614	Marco Radosavovich	M	Raitz	Transmigrant lediger Standts	1754-02-08	1754-03-09
615	Josef Galtivia/Galturan	M	Jude	ein Judt, mit 5,5 Ballen Meschin 1 Ballen Caffé 0,5 Ballen gesponene Rothe baumwollen 0,5 Ballen Toback Pfeiffen Köpf 4,5 Ballen Tobackh	1754-02-15	1754-03-14
616	Stojan Balleviz	M	Bulgar	mit 1 Pferd	1754-02-18	1754-03-06
617	Anna	F	Raitz	Mäd[el]	1754-02-18	1754-03-19
618	Georg Andrae	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-03-01	1754-03-28
619	Peo Stephanovith	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1754-03-01	1754-03-28
620	George Rako	M	Griech	mit 2 Pferd	1754-03-01	1754-03-28
621	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1754-03-01	1754-03-28
622	Michäel Nico	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-03-01	1754-03-28
623	Nico Stanckovitz	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-03-01	1754-03-28
624	Anestas	M	Griech	mit 2 Pferd	1754-03-01	1754-03-28
625	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1754-03-01	1754-03-28
626	Krina/Kruia Bable	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-03-01	1754-03-28
627	Allexy Jovann	M	Griech	mit 2 Pferd	1754-03-01	1754-03-28
628	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1754-03-01	1754-03-28
629	Gewario Netelkovitz	M	Raitz		1754-03-01	1754-03-28
630	Tascho Imladenovitz	M	Griech	20,5 Ballen und 10 was gelbes wachs 22 Ballen Cordovann en Meschin 4 Ballen gespo. Baumwollen 14 Ballen vermischte Waaren, und 8,5 Ballen Baumöhl	1754-03-01	1754-03-28
631	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1754-03-01	1754-03-28
632	Jancko Millith	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1754-03-02	1754-03-29
633	<i>Weib</i>	F	Raitz	Transmigrant	1754-03-02	1754-03-29
634	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1754-03-02	1754-03-29
635	Petri Melbanovith/ Peter Millonovitz	M	[Christian]	Seralier	1754-03-02	1754-03-29

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
636	Costa Nico	M	Griech	mit Pferd	1754-03-02	1754-03-29
637	Memet Bascha	M	Türk	nebst 10 Fässer und 7 Ballen gelbes Washs besteht in 55 Centner	1754-03-03	1754-03-30
638	Pob Thoma	M	[Christian]	Kalogier	1754-03-09	1754-04-04
639	Thoma George	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-03-13	1754-04-09
640	Fredo Temitro	M	Zinsar	24 Ballen Baumohl in 48 dulma	1754-03-13	1754-04-09
641	Georg Dimo Soskoviz	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-03-17	1754-04-13
642	Bannayot Kyro/ Panajot Riro	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-03-17	1754-04-13
643	Donske Dobak/Danschu Tabak	M	Raitz	Lederer von Stroza/Hroza (Grocka?)	1754-03-17	1754-04-13
644	Hatzi Duka	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-03-21	1754-04-17
645	Simo Siffkovitz/ Soskovitz	M	Griech		1754-03-21	1754-04-17
646	Jovann Wann	M	Wallach	Lediger Standes	1754-03-27	1754-04-23
647	<i>Bruder</i>	M	Wallach	Lediger Standes	1754-03-27	1754-04-23
648	Niesta Staku	M	Wallach	Lediger Standes	1754-03-27	1754-04-23
649	Zweka Stankovitz	M	Wallach	Lediger Standes	1754-03-27	1754-04-23
650	Aberham Jacob	M	Jude		1754-04-01	1754-04-28
651	Peter Jovanovith	M	Bulgar	Lediger Bursch	1754-04-13	1754-05-12
652	Illiza	F	[Christian]	von hier	1754-04-16	1754-05-15
653	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	von hier	1754-04-16	1754-05-15
654	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	von hier	1754-04-16	1754-05-15
655	Stanko Flastor/Hasto	M	Raitz	Handellsmann	1754-04-20	1754-05-17
656	Joseph Dentasag	M	Jude	ein Jud von Temesvar	1754-04-21	1754-05-21
657	Michaela/Michaelza Mass	M	[German?]	Mussquetier und Deserdeur, Vasquetzischen Infanterie Regement	1754-04-26	1754-05-23
658	Arsenj Demitro	M	Raitz	Schneider, lediger Bursch	1754-05-01	1754-05-28
659	Passgal Panajot	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-05-08	1754-06-18
660	<i>Knecht/Sohn</i>	M	Griech		1754-05-08	1754-06-18
661	Stojan Pablovith	M	Bulgar	mit 1 Pferd	1754-05-09	1754-06-19
662	Peter Marcovith	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1754-05-15	1754-06-25
663	Nicola Stojanovith	M	Bulgar	Kürschner, lediger Bursch	1754-05-15	1754-06-25
664	Radul Gallada	M	Wallach		1754-05-21	1754-07-01
665	Pob Joseph	M	[Christian]	Kalloger, met 2 Pferd	1754-05-22	1754-07-02
666	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1754-05-22	1754-07-02
667	Mustava Pascha/Knecht	M	Türk		1754-05-22	1754-07-02
668	Saica/Soria/Aria Radmann	M	[Christian]	Colloger, mit 3 Pferd	1754-05-23	1754-07-03
669	<i>Isaie Stojkovith</i>	M	[Christian]	Colloger	1754-05-23	1754-07-03
670	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1754-05-23	1754-07-03
671	Resmann/Cossmann Demitro	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-05-23	1754-07-03
672	Hucze/Waze Mischko	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-05-23	1754-07-03
673	Janco Costa	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-05-23	1754-07-03
674	Lazar Sterio	M	[Christian]	Junge	[no data]	1754-07-03
675	Nicola Karkkovith/ Ruthovith	M	Griech		1754-06-01	1754-07-12
676	<i>Jung</i>	M	Griech		1754-06-01	1754-07-12
677	Stephan George	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1754-06-01	1754-07-12
678	<i>Weib</i>	F	Raitz	Transmigrant	1754-06-01	1754-07-12
679	Nicola Mafradi /Nico Masrati	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-06-01	1754-07-12
680	Janco George	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-06-01	1754-07-12
681	Dimo Georgo	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-06-01	1754-07-12
682	Pogtan Pollgar	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-06-01	1754-07-12
683	<i>Jungen</i>	M	Griech		1754-06-01	1754-07-12
684	Constantin Mihal	M	Griech		1754-06-01	1754-07-12
685	Constantin Rado	M	[Christian]	Unterhaner von Semlin , und Schüffleüth	1754-06-04	1754-07-15

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
686	Jovan Racko/Slatka	M	[Christian]	Unterhaner von Semlin , und Schüffleüth	1754-06-04	1754-07-15
687	Nicola Georgevith	M	[Christian]	Unterhaner von Semlin , und Schüffleüth	1754-06-04	1754-07-15
688	Simon/Aman Stojkovith	M	Raitz	Junge	1754-06-04	1754-07-15
689	Hagvas/Haljvas	M	Armenier	Sklave	1754-06-10	1754-07-21
690	Stan Ganco/Janco	M	Griech		1754-06-10	1754-07-21
691	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1754-06-10	1754-07-21
692	Nicolo/Nicola Costa	M	[Christian]	ist den 15 Juli zuruck nacher Bellgrad	1754-06-10	1754-07-15
693	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]	ist den 15 Juli zuruck nacher Bellgrad	1754-06-10	1754-07-21
694	Stojkologa / Stojko Coga	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1754-06-10	1754-07-21
695	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]	Junge	1754-06-10	1754-07-21
696	Pegto/Peyka Jany	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1754-06-10	1754-07-21
697	Stojan Juriz/Juriza	M	Raitz	Schneider, Pursch	1754-06-14	1754-07-24
698	Nicola Stojanovith	M	[Christian]	Unterthan von Kubin	1754-07-01	1754-08-11
699	Ranko Peith	M	[Christian]	Unterthan von Kubin	1754-07-01	1754-08-11
700	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]	Unterthan von Kubin	1754-07-01	1754-08-11
701	Josim Stojanovith	M	[Christian]	Unterthan von hier	1754-07-19	1754-09-07
702	Nicloa Jeremie	M	[Christian]	Unterthan von hier	1754-07-19	1754-09-07
703	Schijvan Netelkovith	M	[Christian]	Unterthan von Kubin	1754-07-26	1754-09-19
704	Millia Pogith	M	[Christian]	Unterthan von Kubin	1754-07-26	1754-09-19
705	Nicola Thosith	M	[Christian]	Unterthan von hier	1754-08-04	1754-09-19
706	<i>Sohn</i>	M	[Christian]	Unterthan von hier	1754-08-04	1754-09-19
707	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]	Unterthan von hier	1754-08-04	1754-09-19
708	<i>Schwiegertochter</i>	F	[Christian]	Unterthan von hier	1754-08-04	1754-09-19
709	Marco Dimovith	M	Griech	1 Ballen vermischte Waar nebst 2 Ballen Baumöhl, in 4 Dullama so baydes in Contraband gezogen worden	1754-08-04	1754-09-19
710	Peter Thoma	M	Wallach		1754-09-01	1754-10-06
711	Theodor Milanovith	M	Bulgar		1754-09-01	1754-10-06
712	Smilana/Smileza	F	Raitz	Transmigrant	1754-09-01	1754-10-06
713	<i>Schwiegermutter</i>	F	Raitz	Transmigrant	1754-09-01	1754-10-06
714	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1754-09-01	1754-10-06
715	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1754-09-01	1754-10-06
716	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1754-09-01	1754-10-06
717	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1754-09-01	1754-10-06
718	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1754-09-01	1754-10-06
719	Ilia Suboth/Sabuth	M	[Christian]	ein Jung von Starzova	1754-09-01	1754-10-06
720	Risto Nico	M	Griech		1754-09-01	1754-10-11
721	Nicola Constantin	M	Griech		1754-09-01	1754-10-11
722	Lota Para/Latta Bara	M	Griech		1754-09-12	1754-10-23
723	Dima Mafradi/Masradi	M	Griech		1754-09-12	1754-10-23
724	George Schiffko /Schischko	M	Griech		1754-09-12	1754-10-23
725	Peter Janj	M	Griech	mit 38 Ballen Cordovan et Meschin, 4 Ballen Rothiza, und 2 Ballen schwarze oder vermischte Waare	1754-09-13	1754-10-24
726	Dima George	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-09-18	1754-10-29
727	Nicola Mino	M	[Christian]	mit 2 Pferd	1754-09-18	1754-10-29
728	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1754-09-18	1754-10-29
729	George Manscha	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd und 0,5 Ballen Waar	1754-09-18	1754-10-29
730	Pob Mihal	M	[Christian]	Pob	1754-09-18	1754-10-29
731	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1754-09-18	1754-10-29

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
732	George Pable/Paule	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1754-09-18	1754-10-29
733	<i>Jung</i>	M	[Christian]	Knecht/Junge	1754-09-18	1754-10-29
734	Mihal Peo/Teo	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-09-19	1754-10-30
735	Janj Ponto/Panda	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-09-19	1754-10-30
736	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech	Knecht	1754-09-19	1754-10-30
737	Demitro Jovan	M	[Christian]	mit 2 Pferd	1754-09-19	1754-10-04
738	Constantin Theodor	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	1754-09-19	1754-10-04
739	Radovan Kirsman	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant, mit 1 Pferd	1754-09-26	1754-11-06
740	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1754-09-26	1754-11-06
741	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1754-09-26	1754-11-06
742	<i>Bruder Alexxa</i>	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1754-09-26	1754-11-06
743	<i>Bruder Milovan</i>	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1754-09-26	1754-11-06
744	Johann/Jany Conti	M	Griech		1754-09-29	1754-11-09
745	Dimo	M	Griech		1754-10-03	1754-11-13
746	Stephanivith/Stephanovith					
746	Manuli Jankovith	M	Griech		1754-10-03	1754-11-13
747	Janche Georgovith	M	Griech		1754-10-03	1754-11-13
748	Stoiko Stratanovith	M	Raitz	von Semblin	1754-10-04	1754-11-14
749	Janche Stankovith	M	Raitz	von Semblin	1754-10-04	1754-11-14
750	Peter Triankovith	M	Raitz	von Semblin	1754-10-04	1754-11-14
751	Costa Kassanzi	M	Bosniak	mit 1 Pferd	1754-10-12	1754-11-22
752	Guman Stann	M	Wallach		1754-10-14	1754-11-24
753	Jovan Stann	M	Wallach		1754-10-14	1754-11-24
754	Nasto Reschan/ Nasta Ruschan	M	Zinsar	mit 2 Pferd	1754-10-16	1754-11-26
755	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1754-10-16	1754-11-26
756	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1754-10-16	1754-11-26
757	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1754-10-16	1754-11-26
758	Adanasko George	M	Zinsar		1754-10-16	1754-11-26
759	Jovan Petrovith	M	Wallach		[no data]	1754-11-29
760	Elisabetha	F	Raitz	Mäd[el]	1754-10-21	1754-12-01
761	Widak Opradovith/ Obratovith	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1754-10-23	1754-12-02
762	<i>Weib</i>	F	Raitz	Transmigrant	1754-10-23	1754-12-02
763	Paule Stanul/Stanie	M	Raitz	Lediger Bursch	1754-10-23	1754-12-02
764	Peter Jovan	M	Raitz	Bursch	1754-11-01	1754-12-08
765	Pable Horvat	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1754-11-06	1754-12-08
766	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1754-11-06	1754-12-08
767	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1754-11-06	1754-12-08
768	Alexxa Georgevith	M	Griech	mit 0,5 Ballen Waar, und 1 Pferd	1754-11-08	1754-12-08
769	Miliza	F	Raitz		1754-11-08	1754-12-08
770	George Lullia	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd, nebst 2 Ballen gesp. weiße Baumwollen, und 7 Ballen deto gefärbte	1754-11-10	1754-12-08
771	<i>Junge</i>	M	Griech		1754-11-10	1754-12-08
772	Martin Pogdan	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-11-19	1754-12-09
773	Dino Jankovith	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-11-19	1754-12-09
774	Kerek Istvan	M	Griech	mit 2 Pferd	1754-11-19	1754-12-09
775	<i>Jung</i>	M	Griech	Junge/Knecht	1754-11-19	1754-12-09
776	Angelat Saffir	M	Griech	mit 2 Pferd	1754-11-19	1754-12-09
777	<i>Jung</i>	M	Griech	Junge/Knecht	1754-11-19	1754-12-09
778	Nicola Theodor	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-11-19	1754-12-09
779	Jany Müna	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-11-19	1754-12-09
780	Jacob Radula	M	Wallach		1754-11-19	1754-12-09
781	Janko Staraina	M	Wallach	Transmigrant	1754-11-19	1754-12-09
782	<i>Weib</i>	F	Wallach	Transmigrant	1754-11-19	1754-12-09

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
783	<i>Kind</i>	N	Wallach	Transmigrant	[no data]	1754-12-09
784	Risto Andrea	M	Arnaut	mit 12 Ballen Aba 1 Ballen gesp. rothe Baumwollen, 1 Ballen Seiden, und 10 Körb mit Lemoni	1754-11-21	1754-12-10
785	Nasto George	M	Zinsar	mit 1 Pferd	1754-11-21	1754-12-10
786	Pable Nicolith	M	Griech		1754-11-26	1754-12-16
787	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech	SchüfKnecht/Schüf-mann	1754-11-26	1754-12-16
788	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech	SchüfKnecht/Schüf-mann	1754-11-26	1754-12-16
789	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech	SchüfKnecht/Schüf-mann	1754-11-26	1754-12-16
790	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech	SchüfKnecht/Schüf-mann	1754-11-26	1754-12-16
791	Schifko Stankovith	M	Raitz		1754-12-01	1754-12-21
792	Mihal Radovanovith	M	Raitz		1754-12-01	1754-12-21
793	Pob Nicodem	M	[Christian]	Kalloger	1754-12-01	1754-12-21
794	Spiro Panajot Hatzi	M	Griech		1754-12-01	1754-12-21
795	Dimo Mihal	M	Griech	Junge	1754-12-01	1754-12-21
796	George Jancko	M	Griech	Junge	1754-12-01	1754-12-21
797	Dimo Schokter	M	Griech	Junge	1754-12-01	1754-12-21
798	Jany Nicola	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-12-01	1754-12-21
799	Küriak Adanazko	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-12-01	1754-12-21
800	Anna	F	Raitz	Mäd[el]	1754-12-09	1754-12-29
801	Oynian/Ognian George	M	Raitz		1754-12-15	1755-01-04
802	Schifko Kanatschak /Kunatschack	M	[Christian]	ein Unterthan von Kubin	1754-12-15	1755-01-04
803	Mihal Dimo	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-12-18	1754-12-24
804	Panajot Dimo	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-12-18	1755-01-07
805	Risto Dimo	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-12-18	1755-01-07
806	Panajot Pullio	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-12-18	1755-01-07
807	Pable Panajot	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1754-12-18	1755-01-07
808	George Stojan	M	Griech	mit 2 Ballen Waar	1754-12-26	1755-01-14
809	Dimo Theodor	M	Griech	mit 2 Pferd	1755-01-03	1755-01-23
810	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1755-01-03	1755-01-23
811	Janco Dimo	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1755-01-03	1755-01-23
812	Achier Vasierj/ Rassir Waresy	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1755-01-03	1755-01-23
813	Damian Schiffkovith	M	[Christian]	ein Unterthan von Starzova	1755-01-06	1755-01-27
814	Anna	F	Raitz	Mäd[el]	1755-01-13	[no data]
815	Thaso Malinovith	M	Griech		1755-01-14	[no data]
816	Mihal Jany	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	1755-01-14	[no data]
817	Thoiko Nedelkovith	M	Griech	nebst 2 Ballen vermischte Waar	1755-01-14	[no data]
818	Lia Alpnei	M	Jude	10 Ballen Reiß, 16 Ballen Wachß und 2 Verschlag Auri Pigmentum	1755-01-24	[no data]
819	Paul Stojanovith	M	[Christian]	ein Unterthan von Starzova	1755-01-28	[no data]
820	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]	ein Unterthan von Starzova	1755-01-28	[no data]
821	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	ein Unterthan von Starzova	1755-01-28	[no data]
822	<i>Bruder Milith</i>	M	[Christian]	ein Unterthan von Starzova	1755-01-28	[no data]
823	Peter	M	Raitz	alß Slaven herüber echapirt	1755-01-28	[no data]
824	Illia	M	Raitz	alß Slaven herüber echapirt	1755-01-28	[no data]
825	Maria	F	[Christian]	von hier	[no data]	1755-10-05
826	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	von hier	[no data]	1755-10-05
827	Demitro Bable	M	Griech		[no data]	1755-10-12
828	<i>Bub</i>	M	Griech		[no data]	1755-10-12
829	Galiza	F	[Christian]	altes Weib	[no data]	1755-10-12
830	Janko Risto	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferd	[no data]	1755-10-12
831	Nicola Stojan	M	Griech	mit 2 Pferd	[no data]	1755-10-12
832	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		[no data]	1755-10-12
833	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		[no data]	1755-10-12
834	Janko Dimo	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferd	[no data]	1755-10-12

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
835	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1755-10-12
836	Dimo Warsy	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	[no data]	1755-10-12
837	Demittro Jany	M	Griech		1755-10-01	1755-10-21
838	Jella Jefrasina	F	Raitz		1755-10-01	1755-10-21
839	Marok/Maruk Menasses	M	Jude		1755-10-02	1755-10-21
840	George Mantrovith	M	Griech	mit 2 Pfert	1755-10-03	1755-10-23
841	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1755-10-03	1755-10-23
842	Stojan Jovanovith	M	Zinsar	mit 4 Pferdt	1755-10-03	1755-10-23
843	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-03	1755-10-23
844	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-03	1755-10-23
845	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-03	1755-10-23
846	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-03	1755-10-23
847	Mihal Risto	M	Zinsar	mit 3 Pferdt	1755-10-03	1755-10-23
848	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-03	1755-10-23
849	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-03	1755-10-23
850	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-03	1755-10-23
851	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-03	1755-10-23
852	Rusche Nicolith	M	Zinsar	mit 3 Pferdt	1755-10-03	1755-10-23
853	Weib	F	Zinsar		1755-10-03	1755-10-23
854	George Miho	M	Zinsar	mit 3 Pferdt	1755-10-03	1755-10-23
855	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-03	1755-10-23
856	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-03	1755-10-23
857	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-03	1755-10-23
858	Demittro Costa	M	Zinsar	mit 2 Pferdt	1755-10-03	1755-10-23
859	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-03	1755-10-23
860	Janko Wojo/Woja	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-10-04	1755-10-24
861	George Pankkovith	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-10-04	1755-10-24
862	Stanko Petrovith	M	[Christian]	Sklave	1755-10-04	1755-10-24
863	George Theodor	M	Griech		1755-10-04	[no data]
864	George Petrovith	M	Bulgar		1755-10-05	[no data]
865	Hatzi Panajot George	M	[Christian]	Kalloger	[no data]	1755-10-27
866	Constantin George	M	Griech		1755-10-07	1755-10-27
867	Mustaffa Bascha	M	Türk		1755-10-07	1755-10-27
868	Mustaffa Bascha	M	Türk		1755-10-07	1755-10-27
869	Nicola Sifkovith	M	Raitz		1755-10-14	1755-11-03
870	Banajot	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-10-14	1755-11-03
871	Janko Schische	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-10-14	1755-11-03
872	Bable Anjelko	M	Griech		1755-10-14	1755-11-03
873	Theodor Risso	M	Griech	und 20 Ballen Baumöhl in 40 Dullama	1755-10-15	1755-11-04
874	Constantin Stophan/Stephan	M	Griech	mit 3/4 Pferdt	1755-10-18	1755-11-07
875	<i>Bub</i>	M	Griech		1755-10-18	1755-11-07
876	<i>Bub</i>	M	Griech		1755-10-18	1755-11-07
877	<i>Bub</i>	M	Griech		1755-10-18	1755-11-07
878	Ivan Delith / Jovan Bellith	M	Zinsar	mit 3 Pferdt	1755-10-24	1755-11-13
879	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-24	1755-11-13
880	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-24	1755-11-13
881	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-24	1755-11-13
882	Juro Jankovith	M	Zinsar	mit 3 Pferdt	1755-10-24	1755-11-13
883	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-24	1755-11-13
884	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-24	1755-11-13
885	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-24	1755-11-13
886	Janko Costith	M	Zinsar	mit 2 Pferdt	1755-10-24	1755-11-13
887	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-24	1755-11-13
888	Theodor Arges/Argos	M	Zinsar	mit 2 Pferdt	1755-10-24	1755-11-13
889	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-24	1755-11-13

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
890	Simo Kallavary	M	Zinsar	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-10-24	1755-11-13
891	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-24	1755-11-13
892	Mihal Fredo	M	Zinsar	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-10-24	1755-11-13
893	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-24	1755-11-13
894	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-10-24	1755-11-13
895	Soga	F	Zinsar		1755-10-25	1755-11-14
896	Soga	F	Zinsar		1755-10-25	1755-11-14
897	Gela/Jella	F	Raitz	Transmigrant	1755-10-28	1755-11-17
898	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1755-10-28	1755-11-17
899	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1755-10-28	1755-11-17
900	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1755-10-28	1755-11-17
901	Mando Dimo	M	Griech	mit 30 Ballen Peltzwerckh,	1755-11-01	1755-11-21
902	Pob Mihal	M	[Christian]	Kalloger	1755-11-04	1755-11-24
903	Demittro Jovan	M	Zinsar	mit 3 Pferdt	1755-11-04	1755-11-24
904	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-11-04	1755-11-24
905	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-11-04	1755-11-24
906	<i>Bub</i>	M	Zinsar		1755-11-04	1755-11-24
907	Nicola George	M	[Christian]	mit 2 Pferdt	1755-11-14	1755-12-24
908	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1755-11-14	1755-12-24
909	Jovan Fatie/Fetic	M	[Christian]	mit 2 Pferdt	1755-11-14	1755-12-24
910	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1755-11-14	1755-12-24
911	Georgo Kotschan	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-11-14	1755-12-24
912	Nicola Dimo	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-11-14	1755-12-24
913	Savko Bellin	M	Raitz	Arestant von Gaya	1755-11-16	1755-12-26
914	Emir Agmet	M	Türk		1755-11-22	1755-12-26
915	Peter Thomasovith/ Thomeskovith	M	Bosniak	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-11-24	1755-12-26
916	Georgo Janos/ Maxim George	M	Bosniak	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-11-24	1755-12-26
917	Vesir/Visir Bascha	M	Türk		1755-11-24	1755-12-26
918	Constantin Theodor	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-11-28	1755-12-26
919	<i>Bub</i>	M	[Christian]	Bub	1755-11-28	1755-12-26
920	Nicola Philipovith	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-11-28	1755-12-26
921	Nicola Lazar	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-11-28	1755-12-26
922	Peter Nicola	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-11-28	1755-12-26
923	George Dimo	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-11-28	1755-12-26
924	Georgo Zervinko/Zervenka	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-11-28	1755-12-26
925	Adanasko Czonda/Czontar	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-11-28	1755-12-26
926	Adanassi Opolinda/Popolunda	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-11-28	1755-12-26
927	Theodor Nico	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-11-28	1755-12-26
928	<i>Sohn</i>	M	[Christian]		1755-11-28	1755-12-26
929	Apker Thercesy/ Aper Theresy	M	Armenier		1755-12-01	1755-12-26
930	Arokil Malazan	M	Armenier		1755-12-01	1755-12-26
931	Sarav Isael	M	Armenier		1755-12-01	1755-12-26
932	Sarav Minas	M	Armenier		1755-12-01	1755-12-26
933	Johanes Serkis	M	Armenier		1755-12-01	1755-12-26
934	Adanesko Jankovith	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-12-01	1755-12-26
935	Banajot Wujo	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-12-01	1755-12-26
936	Hatzj Dimo	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-12-01	1755-12-26
937	Stephan Nicolith	M	Raitz		1755-12-01	1755-12-26
938	Glegorj Jankovith	M	Raitz		1755-12-01	1755-12-26
939	Stan Daftrovith/Dreftovith	M	Raitz-Bulgar		1755-12-03	1755-12-26
940	Stan George	M	Raitz-Bulgar		1755-12-03	1755-12-26
941	Stamo Stojanovith/Stanovith	M	Raitz-Bulgar		1755-12-03	1755-12-26
942	Lazar Nicolith	M	Griech	mit 2 Pferdt	1755-12-03	1755-12-26
943	<i>Bub</i>	M	Griech		1755-12-03	1755-12-26
944	Risto Adam	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-12-03	1755-12-26

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
945	Roco Theodor/ Theodorovith	M	[Christian]	Wittib	1755-12-09	1755-12-29
946	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		1755-12-09	1755-12-29
947	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		[no data]	1755-12-29
948	Josim Netelko	M	[Christian]	Arestant	1755-12-09	1755-12-29
949	Jovan Radozablovith	M	[Christian]	Arestant von Deliblato	1755-12-16	1756-01-05
950	Constantin George	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-12-17	1756-01-06
951	Theodor Mihal	M	[Christian]	mit 2 Pferdt	1755-12-17	1756-01-06
952	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1755-12-17	1756-01-06
953	Jany/Jovan Constantin	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	[no data]	1756-01-06
954	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1755-12-17	1756-01-06
955	Costo Lazar	M	[Christian]	mit 2 Pferdt	1755-12-17	1756-01-06
956	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1755-12-17	1756-01-06
957	Theodor George	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-12-17	1756-01-06
958	Janko Demitto	M	Bulgar		1755-12-20	1756-01-09
959	Bable Jovan	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1755-12-20	1756-01-09
960	<i>Sohn</i>	M	Griech		1755-12-20	1756-01-09
961	George Dimo	M	Griech		1755-12-20	1756-01-09
962	Mustava Bascha	M	Türk	mit 3 Säckh Cave und 1 Ballen Iegber/Ingber	1755-12-23	1756-01-12
963	<i>Mustava Bascha</i>	M	Türk	[partner of Mustava Bascha]	1755-12-23	1756-01-12
964	Isuff Babutschy/ Pabutschia	M	Türk		1755-12-25	1756-01-14
965	Budinka	F	Raitz	Mädel	1755-12-29	1756-01-18
966	Allj Bascha	M	Türk	mit 6 Ballen Ziweben oder 12 Schachteln	1756-01-01	1756-01-21
967	Janke Nico	M	Bulgar		1756-01-01	1756-01-21
968	Nicola Dima	M	Bulgar		1756-01-01	1756-01-21
969	Costa George	M	Bulgar		1756-01-01	1756-01-21
970	Ruschiza	F	Raitz	altes Weib	1756-01-08	1756-01-29
971	Dima Tiffkovith	M	Griech		1756-01-13	[no data]
972	Beisin Bascha	M	Türk		1756-01-13	[no data]
973	Jelisea Archemandrit	M	[Christian]	Archemandrit, mit 2 Pferdt	1756-01-16	1756-02-05
974	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1756-01-16	1756-02-05
975	Thimiothea	M	[Christian]	Kalloger, mit 2 Pferdt	1756-01-16	1756-02-05
976	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1756-01-16	1756-02-05
977	Ralj/Rollj Trantavi	M	Griech	mit 2 Pfert	1756-01-16	1756-02-05
978	<i>Kuro Raly/Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1756-01-16	1756-02-05
979	Hatzi Stanko /Stavro	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-01-16	1756-02-05
980	Janko Stanko	M	Bulgar	lediger Bursch	1756-01-16	1756-02-05
981	Millatin Damian	M	[Christian]	Pob/Diak	1756-01-23	1756-02-11
982	George Mihatovith	M	[Christian]	Zischmenmacher	1756-01-24	1756-02-13
983	Jany Malinj	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-01-26	1756-02-15
984	Jany Mino	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-01-26	1756-02-15
985	Meschko Mano	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-01-26	1756-02-15
986	Nico Georg	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-01-27	1756-02-16
987	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1756-01-27	1756-02-16
988	Janco Gregory	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-02-01	1756-02-21
989	<i>Bub</i>	M	Griech		[no data]	1756-02-21
990	Maria	F	[Christian]	von hier	1756-02-07	1756-02-27
991	<i>Mädel</i>	F	[Christian]	von hier	1756-02-07	1756-02-27
992	Perko Bellin	M	[Christian]	Unterthan von Starzova	1756-02-07	1756-02-27
993	Schifko Rakitschiz /Rakjith	M	[Christian]	Unterthan von Starzova	1756-02-07	1756-02-27
994	Memet-Basccha	M	Türk	mit 1 Ballen Meschin	1756-02-10	1756-03-01
995	Venia	F	Raitz		1756-02-11	1756-03-03
996	George Banko	M	Raitz-Griech		1756-02-12	1756-03-04

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
997	Jany Mathy	M	Raitz		1756-02-12	1756-03-04
998	George Bullia	M	Griech		1756-02-13	1756-03-05
999	Netelko Jovanovith	M	Raitz		1756-02-13	1756-03-05
1000	Lanza Juhaz	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-02-16	1756-03-07
1001	Matho Dellith	M	Albaneuser	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-02-16	1756-03-07
1002	Marco Mirkovith	M	[Christian]	von Prestovaz	1756-02-19	1756-03-09
1003	<i>Mutter</i>	F	[Christian]	von Prestovaz	1756-02-19	1756-03-09
1004	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	von Prestovaz	1756-02-19	1756-03-09
1005	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	von Prestovaz	1756-02-19	1756-03-09
1006	Tascko/Tascho Imlatinovith	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-02-19	1756-03-09
1007	Schifko Stamatovith	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-02-19	1756-03-09
1008	Ibrahim Bascha	M	Türk		1756-02-19	1756-03-09
1009	Hassam Bascha	M	Türk		1756-02-19	1756-03-09
1010	Ahmet Bascha	M	Türk		1756-02-19	1756-03-09
1011	George Radasol/Radasan	M	Bulgar		1756-02-20	1756-03-11
1012	Nicola Betko/Petka	M	Bulgar		1756-02-20	1756-03-11
1013	Mihal Adanassj	M	Bulgar-Griech		1756-02-23	1756-03-14
1014	Stama Mafratj	M	Bulgar-Griech		1756-02-23	1756-03-14
1015	Jovan Varasch/Warosch	M	Raitz	von Homoliza	1756-02-23	1756-03-14
1016	<i>Weib</i>	F	Raitz	von Homoliza	1756-02-23	1756-03-14
1017	<i>Weib</i>	F	Raitz	von Homoliza	1756-02-23	1756-03-14
1018	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	von Homoliza	1756-02-23	1756-03-14
1019	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	von Homoliza	1756-02-23	1756-03-14
1020	Illie Anjeli	M	Wallach		1756-02-26	1756-03-17
1021	Hatzi Hassam Bascha	M	Türk	mit 1 Ballen Haußen blattern	1756-03-04	1756-03-24
1022	Risto Jovanovith	M	[Christian]	ein Unterthan von Delliplath	1756-03-04	1756-03-24
1023	Nico/Nicola Mihal	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-03-05	1756-03-25
1024	Dimo George	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-03-05	1756-03-25
1025	Schivan Ukrinovith	M	[Christian]	ein Unterthan von Starzova	1756-03-06	1756-03-26
1026	<i>Weib Milinka</i>	F	[Christian]	ein Unterthan von Starzova	1756-03-06	1756-03-26
1027	Dimo Schokotar/ Schokantar	M	Griech	mit 2 Pferdt [Consul]	1756-03-09	1756-03-29
1028	<i>Sohn</i>	M	Griech		1756-03-09	1756-03-29
1029	George Tascho	M	Bulgar		1756-03-09	1756-03-29
1030	Marco George	M	Raitz		1756-03-11	1756-03-31
1031	Jovan	M	Raitz		1756-03-11	1756-03-31
	Doberasavovith/Dabrasavotith					
1032	Peter Stojko	M	Bulgar	Seyfen Sieder	1756-03-24	1756-04-13
1033	Simon Radolovith	M	Wallach	Balbierer	1756-04-01	[no data]
1034	Dimitro Manno	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-04-01	1756-04-20
1035	Dimo/Dinka Küriassy	M	Griech	17 Säckh mit Allaun	1756-04-01	1756-04-20
1036	George Mino	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-04-03	1756-04-26
1037	Theodor Dimantj	M	[Christian]	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-04-03	1756-04-26
1038	<i>Knecht</i>	M	[Christian]		1756-04-03	1756-04-26
1039	George Marin	M	Griech		1756-04-04	1756-04-24
1040	Constantin George	M	Griech		1756-04-04	1756-04-24
1041	Jovan Mitrovith/Mitro	M	Raitz		1756-04-06	1756-04-26
1042	Jany Naotcha/Nasko	M	Wallach	Türkischer Sklave	1756-04-07	1756-04-27
1043	George Jovan	M	Raitz-Bulgar	lediger Bursch	1756-04-07	1756-04-27
1044	Hadgy Duca	M	Griech	20 Ballen Meschin	1756-04-14	1756-05-04
1045	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1756-04-14	1756-05-04
1046	George Küro	M	Griech		1756-04-14	1756-05-04
1047	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1756-04-14	1756-05-04
1048	George Lago	M	Griech	7 Ballen d.o und mit 1 Pferdt	1756-04-14	1756-05-04
1049	Allia Bascha	M	Türk		1756-04-17	1756-05-07
1050	Mahemet Bascha	M	Türk		1756-04-17	1756-05-07
1051	Georgia	F	Raitz	Mädel	1756-04-23	1756-05-13

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
1052	Panigot Dimittre/ Banajot Demittro	M	Griech	78 Ballen gelbes Wachs	1756-04-27	1756-05-18
1053	<i>Damiany Risiz/Risniz</i>	M	Griech	127 Säckh gelbes Wachs	1756-04-27	1756-05-18
1054	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1756-04-27	1756-05-18
1055	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Griech		1756-04-27	1756-05-18
1056	Joseph Abraham	M	Jude	mit 15 Säckh Allaun 1 Ballen Asstar 2 Körb mit Tabackh- Pfeiffen 3 Säckh mit Dürezwespen und 1 Werschlaag mit Sayffen	1756-04-27	1756-05-18
1057	Duca Theodor	M	Griech		1756-04-29	1756-05-19
1058	Jovan Dopith	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-04-29	1756-05-19
1059	Illie Petr	M	Griech		1756-04-29	1756-05-19
1060	Constantin Vuth/Naith	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-05-01	1756-05-21
1061	Innocenty Petrovith	M	[Christian]	Pop/Calluger, mit 1 Pferdt	1756-05-05	1756-05-22
1062	George Jovan	M	Raitz		1756-05-06	[no data]
1063	Spaso Nicola	M	Raitz		1756-05-06	[no data]
1064	Jovan Wuith/Wurth	M	Raitz		1756-05-13	1756-06-02
1065	Daniel Müller	M	[German?]	Deserteur vom Waldekischen Regiment Müller	1756-05-15	1756-06-04
1066	Damian Schiffkovith	M	Raitz		1756-05-17	1756-06-06
1067	Radul Jovanovith	M	Wallach		1756-05-18	1756-06-07
1068	Stanko Radolovith	M	Wallach		1756-05-18	1756-06-07
1069	Stojan Crojan/Kroja	M	Raitz		1756-05-19	1756-06-08
1070	George Radosavovith	M	Raitz	Transmigrant	1756-05-20	1756-06-09
1071	<i>Weib</i>	F	Raitz	Transmigrant	1756-05-20	1756-06-09
1072	<i>Kind</i>	N	Raitz	Transmigrant	1756-05-20	1756-06-09
1073	Nicola Jovanovith	M	[Christian]		1756-05-20	1756-06-09
1074	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]		1756-05-20	1756-06-09
1075	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		1756-05-20	1756-06-09
1076	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		1756-05-20	1756-06-09
1077	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		1756-05-20	1756-06-09
1078	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]		1756-05-20	1756-06-09
1079	Jovan Opre	M	Wallach		1756-05-20	1756-06-09
1080	George Dimo	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-05-24	1756-06-14
1081	<i>Bub</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1756-06-14
1082	<i>Bub</i>	M	[Christian]		[no data]	1756-06-14
1083	Mihal Radoj	M	Raitz		1756-05-25	1756-06-15
1084	Jovan Stojan	M	Raitz		1756-06-01	1756-06-21
1085	Jany Gany	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-06-01	1756-06-21
1086	<i>Bub</i>	M	Griech		[no data]	1756-06-21
1087	George Dimo	M	Griech	mit 3 Pferdt	1756-06-01	1756-06-21
1088	<i>Bub</i>	M	Griech		1756-06-01	1756-06-21
1089	<i>Bub</i>	M	Griech		1756-06-01	1756-06-21
1090	Miliza/Meliza	F	Raitz		1756-06-02	1756-06-22
1091	Lepova	F	Raitz		1756-06-02	1756-06-22
1092	Mihal Kosta	M	Griech	Bub	1756-06-03	1756-06-23
1093	Loth Dimanty	M	Griech	Bub	1756-06-03	1756-06-23
1094	Joseph Jankovith	M	[Christian]	Diak	1756-06-03	1756-06-23
1095	Margarith/Margeritha	F	Raitz	alt	1756-06-07	1756-06-26
1096	Jansche Jankovith	M	Bulgar	Transmigrant	1756-06-14	1756-07-04
1097	<i>Weib</i>	F	Bulgar	Transmigrant	1756-06-14	1756-07-04
1098	<i>Knecht</i>	M	Bulgar	Transmigrant	1756-06-14	1756-07-04
1099	Jansche Kürkovith	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt nebst 1 Ballen gefärbte Schaaffwooll und 1 Ballen ohngeschlagene Baumwol	1756-06-14	1756-07-04
1100	Johanes Theodossj	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-06-14	1756-07-04

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic/ religious /regional identity	Additional info	Entered on (yyyy-mm-dd)	Exited on (yyyy-mm-dd)
1101	Matha Bergith/ Matho Bargith	M	Raitz-Griech		1756-06-15	1756-07-05
1102	Illie Jankovith	M	Raitz-Griech		1756-06-15	1756-07-05
1103	Netelko Stojanovith	M	Raitz-Griech		1756-06-15	1756-07-05
1104	George Stamato	M	Raitz-Griech		1756-06-15	1756-07-05
1105	Jovan Alexander	M	Griech		1756-06-21	1756-07-11
1106	Constantin Peter	M	Wallach		1756-06-21	1756-07-11
1107	Demitto Stanko	M	Wallach		1756-06-21	1756-07-11
1108	Costa Manuly	M	Raitz		[no data]	1756-07-14
1109	Adanassj Küriak	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-06-27	1756-07-17
1110	Banajot Bable	M	Griech	mit 1 Pferdt	1756-06-27	1756-07-17
1111	Juro Demitro	M	Raitz		1756-07-02	[no data]
1112	Illie Jovan	M	Raitz		1756-07-02	[no data]
1113	Thomas Midiz	M	Hungar		1756-07-02	[no data]
1114	Nicola Philip	M	Raitz	Transmigrant, mit 1 Pferdt	1756-07-15	[no data]
1115	<i>Weib</i>	F	Raitz	Transmigrant	1756-07-15	[no data]
1116	Jovan Prada	M	Raitz		1756-07-15	[no data]
1117	Radosav Thomasovith	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1756-07-18	[no data]
1118	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1756-07-18	[no data]
1119	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1756-07-18	[no data]
1120	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1756-07-18	[no data]
1121	<i>Kind</i>	N	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1756-07-18	[no data]
1122	<i>Bruder</i>	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1756-07-18	[no data]
1123	<i>Bruder</i>	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1756-07-18	[no data]
1124	Peter Wojovith	M	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1756-07-18	[no data]
1125	<i>Weib</i>	F	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1756-07-18	[no data]
1126	<i>Mutter</i>	F	[Christian]	Transmigrant	1756-07-18	[no data]
1127	Daspar Auman	M	[German?]	Desserteur von Baaden Baadischen Infanterie Regiment	1756-07-24	[no data]

5.4. Migrants with Horses and/or Servants.

Table A.5. Gender and Occupation of Pančevo Migrants 1752-1756

Profession or status of migrants	Female		Male		No gender ⁷³³		Total
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	
Migrants defined through work (occupation, service) ⁷³⁴	2	1%	298	99%	2	1%	302
Migrants not defined through work, with horses and/or servants ⁷³⁵	0	0%	256	100%	0	0%	256
Migrants not defined through work, without horses and/or servants ⁷³⁶	111	20%	336	59%	119	21%	566
Grand Total⁷³⁷	113	10%	890	79%	121	11%	1,124

In addition to people defined by their work (merchants, artisans, clergy, servants, deserters) 305, a difference could be made between people who entered the quarantine station with horses and servants (256) and all other migrants (566). Merchants and artisans had servants and horses, while non-through-work defined migrants did not. The analysis of gender and ethnic or regional names suggests that the migrants not defined through work, but with servants or/and horses were business migrants. Migrants with horses and/or servants were sex-exclusive, similar to the migrants defined through work and different from other migrants not defined by work. Military deserters are excluded from the calculation, because their (former) occupation was gender-specific. All other migrants were divided into three groups: through-work-defined migrants (302); people with servants and horses (256); and all other migrants (566). While people defined through work were almost all male (298 of 302, with two

⁷³³ Children.

⁷³⁴ The migrants defined through profession or service: artisans, clergy, family-clergy, merchants, servants (one migrant defined alternatively as merchant and servant is counted as servant).

⁷³⁵ The migrants not defined through work, but with horses and servants. One migrants, Espasso Allimir entered with his son and five servants on 31 May 1752.

⁷³⁶ The migrants not defined through their work, with no horses or servants: family members of migrants not defined through occupation or service and their families, immigrants, slaves, arrestees, women with unspecified occupation or service.

⁷³⁷ Military deserters are not counted because their profession was gender and family exclusive.

women and two children of unspecified gender), among all other migrants, with military deserters and people with servants and horses excluded, the distribution of gender was different, 336 or 59% males, 111 or 20% females and 119 or 21% of children of unspecified gender. People with horses and servants were all males, traveling without women or children. This similarity with through-work-defined migrants would suggest that they were also business migrants.

I compared the ethnic/regional labels for migrants with horses and servants with non-business and business migrants, to determine the participation of local ethnic labels (Serbs, Romanians) and local Habsburg and Ottoman subjects, on the one hand, and the participation of non-local ethnic labels (Armenians, Aromanians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Albaneuse, Arnaut). The remaining ethnic/regional religious labels counted as others because they could be both locals and non-locals. (Turks, Jews, Hungarians, Gypsies, "Bosniak," Germans, Hungarians, Christians with no ethnic/regional identity). Eleven migrants with multiple ethnic identities were excluded, to simplify ethnic labels. One clerical family is counted as clergy. One migrant defined at the entrance as a merchant and at the exit as a servant is counted as a servant. I wanted to see whether the ethnic or regional labels of people not defined through work, but with horses and/or servants more nearly matched those of the migrants defined through work, or the migrants not defined through work without horses and/or servants. The similarity with the former would further support their classification as business migrants.

**Table A.6. Ethnic and Regional Names and Occupations of Pančevo Migrants
1752-1756**

Profession or status of migrants	Ethnic or regional names ⁷³⁸						Total
	Local ⁷³⁹		Non-local ⁷⁴⁰		Other ⁷⁴¹		
	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	
Migrants defined through work (occupation, service) ⁷⁴²	26	9%	149	49%	130	43%	305
Migrants not defined through work, with horses and/or servants ⁷⁴³	4	2%	174	68%	78	30%	256
Migrants not defined through work, without horses and/or servants ⁷⁴⁴	242	44%	134	24%	179	32%	555
Grand Total	272	24%	457	41%	387	35%	1,116

The results are the following: among the migrants defined through work, non-local ethnicities made up the biggest group, 149 or 49%, while locals made up only twenty-six or 9% of these migrants. Among the migrants not defined through work, without horses and servants, however, locals made up the biggest group, 242 or 44%, while the non-locals numbered 134 or 24%. People not defined through work explicitly but with horses and servants, appeared to be much more similar to migrants defined through work, with 174 or 68% belonging to non-locals, while only four or 2% to locals. Long-distance migrants seem to prevail in this group, as with business

⁷³⁸ Eleven multiple identities are excluded: two Bulgarian/Greeks, four Serbs/Bulgarians, and five Serbs/Greeks.

⁷³⁹ Local ethnicities: Serbian, Wallachian, local Habsburg subjects, "from Belgrade."

⁷⁴⁰ Non-local ethnicities (Greeks, Aromanians (Zinzars), Armenians, Bulgarians, "Albaneuse," "Arnaut," "from Sarajevo.")

⁷⁴¹ Other: "Bosniak," Gypsies, Germans, Hungarians, Jews, "Turks," Christians with no ethnic identity.

⁷⁴² The migrants defined through profession or service: artisans, clergy, family-clergy, military deserters, merchants, servants (one migrant defined alternatively as merchant and servant is counted in servant).

⁷⁴³ The migrants not defined through work, but with horses and servants. One migrants, Espasso Allimir entered with his son and five servants on 31 May 1752.

⁷⁴⁴ The migrants not defined through their work, with no horses or servants: family members of migrants not defined through occupation or service, immigrants, slaves, arrestees, women with unspecified occupation or service.

migrants. This further increases the plausibility of their classification as business migrants.

6.1. Seasonality in the Pančevo Station, 1752-1756.

Table A.7. Number of migrants in Pančevo 1752-1756 (only entries) and estimated monthly averages

Month	1752	1753	1754	1755	1756	Average per month
January	no data	15	9	16	22	16
February	small sample	4	7	no data	32	14
March	27	8	32	no data	12	20
April	no data	4	8	no data	27	13
May	small sample	7	16	no data	22	15
June	8	41	23	no data	25	24
July	47	34	7	no data	17	26
August	13	23	5	no data	no data	14
September	37	18	35	no data	no data	30
October	32	29	18	63	no data	36
November	15	41	26	28	no data	28
December	11	52	18	35	no data	29
	205	276	204	142	157	264

6.2. Weekdays Entries

Of 984 known entries, most migrants entered on Thursday and Friday (19% and 21%), and the fewest on Wednesday and Sunday (9% and 10%). Other weekdays were close to average (around 14%). Of the different groups, people with horses/servants and servants favored entry on Friday. Most Muslims entered on Tuesday (eight) and Thursday (ten) out of a pool of thirty-one. In the small pool of fifteen Jews, most entered on Monday (six), while no Jews entered on Saturday. Other than concluding that the station was open all weekdays, including on Sunday, I cannot draw further conclusions.

6.3. Changes in Quarantine Duration in Pančevo, 1752-1756

Table A.8. Changes in Quarantine Duration in Pančevo 1752-1756

The first day of the new regime	Quarantine length	Regime duration in days
4 February 1752	42	143
26 June 1752	21	190
30 December 1752/6 January 1753* ⁷⁴⁵	42	111
23 April 1753	21	117
16/20 August 1753*	28	260
2/8 May 1754*	42	217
8 December 1754	21	333
6 November 1755	42	50
26 December 1755	21	185
28 June 1756	42	29
27 July 1756	closed	

6.4. Ethnic and Religious Identities in Pančevo Quarantine Tables, 1752-1756;

Ethnicities and Occupations.

No Muslim women were registered in Pančevo. All Muslim travelers were men, except one child who traveled with an adult man. Of thirty adult males, three were labeled as servants, nine were merchants, and two were probably also business people (people with horses/servants). For most of the Muslim migrants (seventeen) the

⁷⁴⁵ For three changes, marked with the sign “*,” in December 1752/January 1753, August 1753 and May 1754, all increases in quarantine length, the exact dates of introduction are not known. It is, however, possible to narrow down the dates of changes to five to eight days. The new longer regime applied only to people entering the quarantine after the increase, while those already in were allowed to exit according to their original shorter quarantine duration. I used a date in the middle of these ranges for calculating duration of individual quarantine regimes (2 January 1753, 18 August 1753, 5 May 1754). I ignored the change that applied only to persons who entered between 1 and 11 December 1753. They were allowed to exit after three weeks. Since Microsoft Excel does not recognize the dates before 1 January 1900, for all analyses involving dates, I used the years 1944-1948, with the days of the week distributed identically as in 1752-1756. The regime in Mehadia was generally similar, with three exceptions, introduced with the order of the Sanitary Court Deputation from 30 July 1754 that migrants should first pass fourteen days in a *Vor-Contumaz* before entering Mehadia (SHD to TLA, Vienna, 30 July 1754, 1754 Julius 10, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2). In July-November 1754, and in July 1756 the migrants in Mehadia were subjected to longer quarantines of fifty-five days in Mehadia. The pestilent regime in Mehadia was in force January-March 1756, with fifty-five days of quarantine. In Pančevo the regime was healthy. (Sutterlütü 2016, 41)

occupation was not specified or could not be deduced from other data. Fifteen of them traveled alone. They were probably also business travelers, separated from their goods because people and goods were subjected often to different quarantine regimes. A complete replacement of ethnic identities with religious identity reflected the predominant importance of religion in the membership regime of the Ottoman Empire, and the Muslim identity in particular. Ottoman Jews did not profit from the 1718 free travel and commercial privileges so much as did the Ottoman Orthodox subjects. One Jewish woman in the Pančevo tables traveled with a child. Other Jewish migrants were males traveling alone.

The survey of Greek merchants in provincial Hungary in 1754-1755 (without the Banat, Military Border, Croatia, Slavonia, and Transylvania) registered 1,318 individuals, with 1049 or 79.5% living on the left side of Danube to which commercial routes from Banat led. Most were from Macedonia, Epirus and Thessaly (the Greeks in Vienna registered in 1766 had similar origins). A large part, sometimes third or half, were Aromanians.⁷⁴⁶

The most important Aromanian settlements in the eighteenth century were Kleisoura (Arom. Clisura), Siatista (Arom. Şatista), and particularly Voskopojë (Arom. Muscopole, Voskopol'a) in what is now Albania.⁷⁴⁷ Substantial numbers of

⁷⁴⁶ Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant:" 245-47, 277-79, 290-91, 304; Bur, "Handelsgesellschaften," 269-90; Katsiardi-Hering, "Migrationen:" 133; Faroqi, "The Ottoman Empire Confronting the Christian World," 95, 106; Zelepos, "Griechische Händler und Fanarioten," 615-16; Sundhaussen, "Südosteuropa," 292, 298-300; Katsiardi-Hering, "Grenz-, Staats- und Gemeindegrenskriptionen," 236, 238-44. In early nineteenth century, Greeks from Macedonia, called Neugriecher (Macedonier), were wholesalers and petty traders. They did not live permanently on the Military Border. Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 1: 204; Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 55-56, 59-62.

⁷⁴⁷ In its heyday in the 1750s and the 1760s, it had a school, an academy, a printing shop and supposedly 12,000 houses, before being destroyed by Muslim Albanians in 1769 and in 1788 for alleged conspiracy with Russians during Russian-Ottoman wars. Other settlements were destroyed at the same time, setting off a wave of tens of thousands of refugees, partly to central and north

Habsburg “Greeks” (in some communities a third or a half) were Aromanians. Some “Arnauts” and “Albanesen” were Aromanians too. Aromanian merchants sometimes adjusted their names to local practices in the Habsburg Monarchy (Magyarized in central and northern Hungary, Serbianized in southern Hungary), gradually assimilating into local Greek or Serbian Orthodox majorities. Aromanian artisans were known in Habsburg border provinces as good bricklayers, stonemasons, stone layers, tinsmiths and silversmiths, coming in spring and returning home at the end of autumn. Aromanian peddlers supplied villages with necessary merchandise. They were never agricultural workers.⁷⁴⁸ Of the seventy-nine Aromanians in Pančevo, sixty-two traveled for work, forty-two of them as servants. Most traveled in groups. Only seven traveled as individuals.

The term “Valachs/Wallachians” was in wider use by local administration in military and civil Croatia and Slavonia, as well as in Ottoman Bosnia, to denote Orthodox Serbs. In 1763, for example, the Ottoman Pasha of Bosnia requested that the Habsburg prison release two Ottoman “Wallachen,” Sava Revich and Luca Radakovich, who were there for border transgression.⁷⁴⁹ The term was originally used in the early Middle Ages for pre-Slavic inhabitants of the Balkans who spoke Romance dialects. In High and Late Middle Ages the term was used primarily for social status, denoting the inhabitants of the interior engaged primarily in animal

Macedonia, and to the Danube principalities under Ottoman control, partly to the Habsburg Monarchy, joining Orthodox townspeople in the Hungarian Kingdom.

⁷⁴⁸ Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 2: 22-24; Peyfuss, *Die Aromunische Frage*, 11-20; Sundhaussen, “Südosteuropa,” 298-300; Stoianovich, “The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant,” 252-53, 260-62, 276-79, 290-91; Popović, *O Cincarima*, 9, 17-22, 24-39, 42-46, 54-56, 71, 82-89, 91-98, 102-105, 110-11, 149-58, 169-70, 282; Zelepos, “Griechische Händler und Fanarioten,” 615-16; Katsiardi-Hering, “Grenz-, Staats- und Gemeindegrenzskektionen,” 238-44, 248-50; Katsiardi-Hering and Stassinopoulou, “The Long 18th Century of Greek Commerce,” 198-202.

⁷⁴⁹ SHD to the Interims-Commando of the Karlovac Generalate, Vienna, 1 October 1763, 1763 October 2, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2; Vienna, 2 October 1763, 1763 October 2, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 3.

husbandry. At the time of the Ottoman conquests the term *Vlach* was used to denote a beneficial social and fiscal status, and Ottoman Vlachs probably had as much link with pre-Slavic Romance population as any other ethnic group in the western Balkans. The term was taken over by the Habsburg administration to designate Ottoman settlers on the Habsburg Military Border in Croatia and Slavonia, to separate them from other groups, such as from Croats in 1712 in Lika. During the eighteenth century the term referred increasingly to Orthodox Christians (originally also smaller groups of Catholic Bunjevci from Bosnia were designated as Vlachs, Walachen).⁷⁵⁰ In 1835 in Slavonia, the terms “Wlá” along with “Rác” were considered as derisive synonyms for Orthodox, as “Shokacz” was for Catholics.⁷⁵¹ Pančevo tables use the name *Raitzen*, a more common name for Serbs in Hungary and the Banat, with approximately the same meaning as Vlachs/Wallachians in Croatia and Slavonia.

The Habsburg central government and authors wanting to show their learning preferred the term “Illyrians” (Illyrier) to designate Orthodox Serbs. The reference to the ancient inhabitants of the western Balkans in the time of the Roman conquest attributed some historical fame to Habsburg possessions in the southern Hungarian plain and the western Balkans. The users were aware that the eighteenth-century

⁷⁵⁰ Kaser, Grandits and Gruber, *Popis Like i Krbave 1712*, 21; Kaser, “Siedler an der habsburgischen Militärgrenze,” 985-87. Beside Orthodox Raitzen, there were also “Catholic Raitzen,” later named as Bunjevci or Šokci. They did not live in the region of Pančevo. For example of 400 villages with Raitzen in Baranya, thirty were Catholic. Stoianovich, “The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant,” 234-38; Seewann, “Migration in Südosteuropa,” 89-101, 103-106; Faroqi, “The Ottoman Empire Confronting the Christian World,” 106; Gerelyes, “Garrisons and the Local Population in Ottoman Hungary.”

⁷⁵¹ Jowitsch, *Ethnographisches Gemählde*, 55-56, 59-62; see also Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 1: 202. See also Wendy Bracewell, “The Historiography of the Triplex Confinium: Conflict and Community on a Triple Frontier,” in *Frontiers and the Writing of History*, 214-18, 220-24, 227; Carolin Leutloff-Grandits, “Serben in der Krajina seit dem späten 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa*, 982; Kaser, “Siedler an der habsburgischen Militärgrenze,” 988-89. Orthodox Christians in the Varaždin Generalate in 1755 were also called *Raitzen*. Steiner, *Rückkehr unerwünscht*, 418.

“Illyrians” had nothing in common with ancient Illyrians, and that they were instead Slavs (die Slaven oder heutigen Illyrier), related to Czechs, Poles and Russians.⁷⁵² The Habsburg central government used the term to refer to the Orthodox congregation of the Serb-led Habsburg Orthodox Metropolitanate of Karlovci, and to name the two court bodies that dealt with the congregation (die Illyrische Kommission and die Illyrische Hofdeputation).

If people with ethnic labels are categorized as traveling families (people traveling in family groups, including immigrants) or business travelers (artisans, merchants, servants and people with horses/servants), business travelers made up a majority of migrants in Pančevo. Of 649 entries, 345 or 53% were in the business group, 150 or 23% were families, and for 154 or 24% were classified as others. The distribution of traveling families and business travelers is very different among different ethnic groups. Most Serbs in Pančevo, 59% (97 of 165), were family migrants, followed by Romanians (eleven of thirty-two or 34%) and Bulgarians (twelve of forty or 30%). Most Serbian business migrants were artisans. All Albanians (four entries), and most Greeks (247 of 327 or 76%) and Aromanians (62 of 79 or 78%) were business travelers, followed by Bulgarians (eleven of forty or 28%). Greeks and Aromanians prevail among people with horses/servants and no profession indicated, with 171 of 178 or 96%. This is in line with the assumption that migrants with horses/servants were actually migrating professionals. A relatively large number of migrants who could not be designated as business or family migrants among Romanians (twenty of thirty-three, or 61%) and Bulgarians (seventeen of forty or 43%) somewhat obscures the division between families and business travelers. Most of them were probably

⁷⁵² Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 1: 60-62; vol. 2: 49-51, 67-68; vol. 3: Foreword to the volume 3; Engel, “Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien,” vol. 1: 13-16, 21, 45, 83.

business travelers. They were maybe merchants traveling separately from their goods, or artisans or workers looking for a seasonal job.

6.5. Migrants Entering the Habsburg Monarchy from the Ottoman Empire in 1768

Table A.9. Migrants passing through Transylvanian quarantine stations, 1763-1770.⁷⁵³

Year	Vulcan	Turnu Roşu	Bran	Timiș	Buzău	Oituz	Ghimes – Faget	Peritzke	Rodna /Borgo	Sum
1763	423	331	515	381	83	1608	78	18	27	3464
1764	200	773	802	539	60	1134	298	29	50	3885
1765	411	328	1529	407	95	1394	291	293	129	4877
1766	765	484	1296	511	64	1211	261	118	44	4754
1767	747	724	979	704	29	2537	362	135	41	6258
1768	1037	447	915	403	218	955	644	214	401	5234
1769	762	767	476	1430	305	681	1648	1329	556	7954
1770	989	2270	707	904	3125	603	330	165	223	9316

In addition to the data from ten stations, it is possible to estimate the numbers for Mehadia/Jupalnic, Zemun, Brod, Gradiška, Slunj and Rudanovac. If the ratio between Pančevo and Mehadia from the years 1752-1756 did not change much, in 1768 there would be about 1,235 migrants in Mehadia. It is probable that the growth in Mehadia in the years 1756-1768 was stronger than in Pančevo. Between 1756 and 1762 Mehadia was the only station between the Carpathians and the Adriatic Sea that was open for people and goods even during epidemics, possessing a pre-quarantine facility in Jupalnic. This redirected much commerce and migration from other stations toward it. I estimated that Mehadia migrant numbers grew at double the rate of Pančevo in 1754-1762, at a 16.6% yearly rate, because it enjoyed a unique position. With the

⁷⁵³ Tabella deren in nachbenannten Contumaz Stationen des Großfürstentums Siebenbürgen vom Ersten Januar 1763 bis Ende December 1770 angekommenen- und nach institutmäßiger Behandlung entlaßen wordenen Personen, Waaren und Vieh, 1773 Aprilis 16, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

establishment of a pre-quarantine facility in Zemun in 1762, Mehadia ceased to be exceptional. In all likelihood, its growth rates 1763-1768 did not drop below the average growth of nearby Transylvanian stations (the stations that were on the border between Transylvania and Wallachia saw an annual growth of 12% between 1763 and 1767). These growth trends would increase Mehadia's numbers to 2,804 in 1768.⁷⁵⁴

I do not have 1768 data for the stations of Zemun, Brod, Gradiška, Slunj and Rudanovac or the 1750s records to compare them with Mehadia and Pančevo. There is some indirect information. Border military commanders issued passports to migrants who passed quarantine for further travel. Listing the costs of his chancellery in 1768, the commander of Zemun, Colonel Sturm indicated that he needed 4,000 printed passport forms for Ottoman subjects per year. According to the Court order from 16 June 1768, Ottoman subjects were entitled to free passports (Passbriefe), possibly because paying for obligatory passports would be seen as an additional burden, from which the subjects of the two empires were freed by mutual treaties. Colonel Sturm also mentioned that he collected 600 guldens for issuing passports to the parties that had to pay for them, 20 Kreutzer apiece (60 Kreutzer made a gulden). That indicated that the chancellery of the Zemun commander issued each year 4,000 gratis and 1,800 paid passports, altogether 5,800.⁷⁵⁵ It is, however, questionable whether all 5,800 passports were used by people who had previously crossed the border from the Ottoman Empire. First, a large part of 1,800 paid passports could be used by local inhabitants for travel not to Ottoman Empire, but from Zemun to other parts of the Habsburg Monarchy, and further to the Holy Roman Empire and to the

⁷⁵⁴ On average 297 yearly entries were recorded in Pančevo in 1752-1756, and 400 in Mehadia, about 35% more. For Mehadia 1752-1756 see Sutterlüti, "Die Kontumaz in Mehadia," 31.

⁷⁵⁵ Nota of the Colonel von Sturm; the report of the Slav. SK to the Maria Theresa, Osijek, 13 November 1768, 1769 Januarius 12, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2; Hofentschließung from 16 June 1768, *Sammlung aller k. k. Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1740. bis 1780.*, vol. 5 (1766-1770): 328-36.

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In 1786, the town Zemun had 4,407 permanent inhabitants, including 307 resident merchants and artisans and 588 day laborers (Tagelöhner).⁷⁵⁶ In addition, many non-resident foreign merchants, seasonal laborers and servants stayed in Zemun. I estimate that up to 1,200 of the 1,800 paid passports could be used for trips that did not cross the Ottoman-Habsburg border. Second, it is not clear whether persons crossing the border just before applying for passports actually used all 4,000 free-of-charge passports for Ottoman subjects or only for Ottoman goods. In addition to the 1,127 persons entering during the forty-three months in 1752-1756, the Pančevo tables recorded 1,240 exits of unaccompanied goods.⁷⁵⁷ About three quarters of these unaccompanied goods could not be connected with the migrants who passed the border at about the same time. Ottoman merchants could send goods from Belgrade to their business partners or agents, who collected them from the quarantine and sent them elsewhere, without anybody crossing the border. I estimate that there were about 930 of 1,240 such exits in Pančevo during forty-three months in the 1750s.⁷⁵⁸ Most of these business partners and agents were

⁷⁵⁶ Most of them were artisans. The population of Zemun was estimated at 6,800 inhabitants in 1778, 4,470 people in 1786 (only permanent residents counted), and 8,313 in 1816. In 1816, the town had 461 artisans, 79 merchants and 77 petty traders, as well as 96 journeymen, apprentices and commercial servants (Handlungsdienner), 71 innkeepers (Einkehr-, Gast- und Schankwirth). Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 3: 106-108; Engel, "Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien," vol. 2: 574-81; Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 1: 422-23.

⁷⁵⁷ Some of these goods were just temporarily separated from persons who were in quarantine, being subjected to shorter or longer quarantine. After undergoing quarantine, a person would collect the goods from a warehouse or wait for those that were subjected to longer quarantines, like furs, to be released, before continuing with their trip. These goods would be entered into their passports. At the entrance the goods were usually recorded without indicating their owners, or it was noted that Ottoman consuls in Belgrade sent them. The real owners were always mentioned at the exit.

⁷⁵⁸ Some names of goods owners appear often, like Jani Theologith, Dimo Szlavoi, Jani Pontika, apparently wholesale merchants. To estimate how many unaccompanied goods could not be connected with the migrants crossing the border, I extrapolated 106 goods' exits and owners' names for three and a half months February 1756-15 May 1756. I compared the indicated owners of goods to the persons exiting quarantine at approximately the same time (up or down four weeks). I tracked down seventeen

also Ottoman subjects and were entitled to free passports from the commander of Zemun. A large part of 4,000 passports allocated to Ottoman merchants could be issued to them, and not to migrants crossing the border. To estimate how many, it is necessary to take a closer look at the relationship between migrants and passports first.

During this time, passports were issued both to individuals and to groups. Traveling families would be entered in a single passport, where usually the family head was named, while the indicated family relation identified the others. Servants were seen as members of merchants' or artisans' households and were covered by the passport issued to their masters. Family members and servants were usually not named in the Pančevo tables. Based on the Pančevo quarantine tables, I estimate that for 1,127 entries the Pančevo authorities issued between 661 (if only group leaders received passports) and 703 passports (if all named persons traveling in groups were issued separate passports). That meant that the ratio between the migrants and passports was 58.7-62.4%. During forty-three months covered by quarantine tables of 1752-1756, the Pančevo commander's office might have issued between 661 and 703 passports that crossed the border and up to 930 passports for Ottoman subjects collecting unaccompanied goods from the quarantine. If this ratio is applied to Zemun 4,000 passport forms, it would suggest that between 1,665 and 1,722 passports were issued to Ottoman subjects crossing the border. I add to this number the 600 paid passports I estimated were used for travel to the Ottoman Empire. These 600 passports would be given back to Zemun authorities upon return. Altogether,

owners in this way. I counted nine exits of goods belonging to same person, but exiting shortly one after other. I assumed that the same commercial agent or partner collected them. In the end, 80 of 106 exits of unaccompanied goods, or about 75%, could not be grouped as passing at approximately the same time and belonging to the same owner or they could not be assigned to the migrants passing through quarantine at that time. It is possible that the same commercial agents or partners collected the goods belonging to several owners and that the number could be brought down further.

according to this estimation, between 2,262 and 2,322 passports in 1768 would cover between 3,722 and 3,856 persons who crossed the border that year, including both returning Habsburg and arriving Ottoman subjects. This is the lowest estimation.⁷⁵⁹ The prominent role of Zemun in international commerce would suggest that the travel between Zemun and the Ottoman Empire,⁷⁶⁰ on the one hand, and the Zemun and the interior of the Habsburg Monarchy, on the other, was more balanced than a low estimate would suggest. It is reasonable to assume that commercial agents in Zemun did not travel separately for each shipment of unaccompanied goods exiting the station, but collected at least several shipments before applying for passports. I consider it most probable that at least half of the 4,000 free passports were used by arriving Ottoman migrants, and that half of the 1,800 paid passports were used by Habsburg subjects for travel to the Ottoman Empire and back. Based on 2,900 passports, I estimate the numbers for Zemun as between 4,649 and 4,954. I use the higher estimation in my final calculation.

According to a 20 June 1770 rescript, while the Hungarian *Hofkammer* assigned 550 guildens for passports for Ottoman subjects in Zemun for an unspecified period, the sums for Brod and Gradiška were 174 and 175 guildens respectively.⁷⁶¹ The source does not mention the fourth quarantine station controlled from Osijek, Mitrovica. I

⁷⁵⁹ The highest estimation would assume that all free 4,000 passport forms were given to arriving Ottoman subjects, with two thirds of 1,800 paid passports used for travel to the Ottoman Empire. The 5,200 issued passport forms would cover 8,336-8,866 persons. From its opening, Zemun had high traffic compared to other stations. While the Pančevo station compiled and sent monthly quarantine tables in 1753, Zemun forwarded weekly tables to Osijek. 1753 Februarius 18, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Bücher 2.

⁷⁶⁰ Already in the first years of its existence, in November 1742, Zemun had seven times as many migrants as Mitrovica or Mehadia. Contumaz-Tabella über die jenige Persohnen, und Waaren, so seit lezt-ingereichter Tabella dd. Semblin den 9. Novembris 1742 in hiesige Contumaz eingetretten..., Johann Joseph Stadler, Contumaz Director, Zemun, 16 November 1742, 1742 November 3, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 1.

⁷⁶¹ Engel, "Beschreibung des Königreichs Slawonien," vol. 2: 971-78.

assume that 175 guldens for Gradiška might also include Mitrovica.⁷⁶² I take the assigned funds as an indication of a ratio between Zemun and other Slavonian/Srem stations, estimating the number of migrants in the year 1768 as 1,178-1,220 (based on low estimate for Zemun) for Brod, and as 592-614 for Gradiška and 592-614 for Mitrovica. I estimate that Kostajnica station had numbers that were similar to those of Gradiška, 592-614.⁷⁶³

In July 1768, replying to the survey of the Sanitary Court Deputation in Vienna, the Karlovac Sanitary Commission noted that forty to fifty sanitary certificates (Sanitäts Foeden) forms would suffice “for a longer time” for each of two westernmost stations, Slunj and Rudanovac, explaining that “since their establishment [...] only a small number of people, and only few merchants with goods” were

⁷⁶² The information about passports for Gradiška is somewhat confusing. Already in 1772 the Slavonian Sanitary Commission discussed abolishing the Gradiška quarantine station altogether and replacing it with a border market. Commissions Prothocoll wegen Aufhebung der seithero bey der Vöstung Alt Gradisca bestandenen Contumaz, und statt derselben angetragenen Errichtung eines Rastells, Stara Gradiška, 25 October 1772, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 3. In 1777 the War Council, then in charge of quarantine stations, decided to abolish both the Mitrovica and Gradiška quarantine stations, due to low traffic, replacing them with border markets. IAB, ZM, 1785-3-312, in Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 616-17). It is more probable that the traffic in both Mitrovica and Gradiška was much lower than in Brod, which was not abolished. Taube, who finished his manuscript in 1777, was not aware of this change. He mentions the quarantine as still existing in the third volume of his book, published the next year See Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, vol. 3, 112, 121. In the *Josephinische Aufnahme* from 1780 (<http://mapire.eu/en/map/firstsurvey/>) there is no quarantine station, just a customs office (Dreissigstamt). The possible explanation is that after the 1785 sanitary reform, quarantine was abolished during healthy times for people, who used to cross the border near Gradiška. Lesky, “Die josephinische Reform der Seuchengesetzgebung:” 87-88.

⁷⁶³ I used the lower estimate of Zemun as a basis because the conversion of both stations into border markets suggested that the shipping of unaccompanied goods already prevailed there. The two stations were also not on the principal international trade routes. Unlike Gradiška, Kostajnica was not abolished in the 1770s probably because it was the only station on the Banal Military Border. By 1823, Kostajnica doubled its capacity. It could accommodate up to 150 persons at a time, or about 1,100 during pestilent regimes, or 2,200 during healthy times. Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 2: 442-42.

passing through these two stations anyhow.⁷⁶⁴ Sanitary certificates were a better indication of cross-border migration than passports, since they were issued to all persons who successfully underwent quarantine, irrespective of their subjecthood and their destination.⁷⁶⁵ While most were issued individually, it is probable that a single certificate could cover families or merchants with servants. I assumed that “for a longer period” could be translated into a year. If single certificates covered family and business groups, then 64-85 migrants would pass through each of these two stations annually. These were the stations with the least traffic,⁷⁶⁶ with numbers similar to those of Buzau and Şant (Rodna) in Transylvania.

⁷⁶⁴ Sanitäts Commissions Protocoll to SHD, Karlovac, 25 July 1768, 1768 Augustus 13, KA ZSt MilKom Sanitätshofkommission Akten 2.

⁷⁶⁵ The passports were issued to Ottoman subjects and to other travelers who traveled farther.

⁷⁶⁶ Zavalje and Maljevac, two stations replacing Rudanovac and Slunj after the border moved slightly to the east in 1791, were also designated as the least important. Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgränze*, vol. 2, no. 2: 442-42.

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⁷⁶⁷ The reference code (Signatur) has changed between 2015 and 2017. There is no indication of the reference code, valid before the change (FHKA NHK KaaleU BanaterA Akten 65), in the archive information system.

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⁷⁷⁰ The reference written down at the moment of the archival research was: FHKA NHK Kaale U Bücher 214.

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HHStA StAbt Türkei IX (1741 Donaugrenze Serbien-Banat)

Kriegsarchiv (KA)

Karten- und Plansammlung (KPS):

KA KPS GPA Inland C V Pancsova im Banat (Historischer Theil Pančova, 31 October 1716, Plan du fort Panczova)

KA KPS KS B IX b 113 (Atlas du Cours du Danube, F. N. de Sparr 1751).

⁷⁷² New archival reference HHStA StAbt Türkei V 27-6.

KA KPS KS B IX c 634 (Mappa geographico Limitanea in qua Imperiorum Caesarei et Ottomannici Confinia in almae pacis Carlovitzensis congressu decreta et duobus utrius que imperi Commissaris instituta solennie expeditione. (Album) [c. 1700])

KA KPS KS G I b, 39 (Karte de Gegend um Belgrad auf 15 bis 20 Meilen in Umkreis, 1788).

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SAMENVATTING

Toezicht op migratie: de Habsburgs-Osmaanse grens in de achttiende eeuw

Deze dissertatie onderzoekt een vroeg migratiecontrolesysteem aan de Habsburgs-Osmaanse grens in de achttiende eeuw. De migranten die tussen 1720 en 1850 vanuit het Osmaanse Rijk de Habsburgse Monarchie wilden binnengaan, konden dat slechts doen via officiële grensovergangen waar ze gecontroleerd en geregistreerd werden. Een dergelijk migratiecontrolesysteem bestond gedurende deze periode niet elders in Europa. Pas vanaf de jaren 1860 werden soortgelijke stelsels ingevoerd, eerst in de ‘white settler’ naties (Australië, Canada, de Verenigde Staten en Zuid-Afrika) daarna, tijdens en na de eerste wereldoorlog, in de rest van Europa. Het proefschrift zoekt een verklaring voor de uitzonderlijk vroege introductie van migratiecontrole aan de Habsburgse buitengrenzen. De studie geeft niet alleen de oorsprong van de grenscontroles, maar onderzoekt of de motivatie van het stelsel lag in een streven om de migratie te beperken of juist te vergemakkelijken. Door het onderzoek van archieven in Oostenrijk, Servië en Kroatië en in talrijke narratieve bronnen uit de achttiende eeuw, werpt de dissertatie licht op een reeks deelvragen. Wat was de oorsprong van de precies op het terrein afgebakende ‘lineaire’ grens, die in 1699 werd ingesteld tussen het Habsburgse en Osmaanse rijk, en wat waren de consequenties daarvan voor de verhoudingen tussen de rijken en het leven rond de grens? Wat was de rol van het pestcordon, dat de monarchie moest afschermen van pestuitbraken veroorzaakt door migranten uit besmette gebieden? Hoe konden de grootschalige controles daadwerkelijk worden uitgevoerd en welke rol speelden grenssoldaten in de uitvoering? Op welke wijze werden deze soldaten en andere belanghebbenden, zoals de streekbewoners, de Osmaanse grensautoriteiten en de migranten zelf in het stelsel

opgenomen? Tenslotte is er aandacht voor de vraag of het nu de bedoeling was om migratie in te perken of te vergemakkelijken, een kwestie die mede wordt verhelderd door een kwantitatief onderzoek naar de effecten van controles op de migratiestromen en een nadere bepaling van de structuur daarvan.

De lineaire demarcatie van buitengrenzen, gebaseerd op een strikte scheiding van exclusieve territoriale rechtsgebieden was een uitzondering in Europa aan het begin van de achttiende eeuw. Dergelijke grensarrangementen werden in andere delen van het continent vanaf de jaren 1730 geïntroduceerd, terwijl ze pas in de negentiende eeuw, na het Congres van Wenen (1815), gebruikelijk werden. Het Osmaanse rijk lijkt een bepalende rol te hebben gespeeld in de invoering van lineaire grenzen in Zuidoost-Europa. De Osmaanse overheid gebruikte lineaire demarcatie voor de scheiding van het land van islamitische religieuze stichtingen (vakıfs) en het land van de overheid, en had hiermee ook reeds ervaring opgedaan in de grensscheiding met andere Christelijke staten, zoals Venetië en Polen-Litouwen. De Habsburgse monarchie nam deze bestaande praktijk over tijdens de grensdemarcaties met de Osmanen in de achttiende eeuw. De heldere scheiding van jurisdicties leidde tot pacificatie van het grensgebied. Dat verbeterde de dagelijkse levenssituatie aan de grens, maakte het gebied aantrekkelijker voor kolonisatie, en creëerde een veiligere migratiestroom tussen de twee rijken.

De wens om enerzijds de handel uit te breiden, en anderzijds Habsburgse onderdanen te beschermen tegen pestuitbraak stond aan de oorsprong van de invoering van migratiecontrole in de vorm van een permanent pestkordon. Tijdens de achttiende eeuw verdwenen de pestepidemieën gaandeweg uit Europa, terwijl zij voortduurden in het Osmaanse rijk. De Habsburgse monarchie experimenteerde met verschillende oplossingen, zoals tijdelijke of interne pestkordons tijdens epidemieën, maar de Habsburgse landen, en Hongarije in bijzonder, bleven onder dergelijke

oplossingen te kwetsbaar: de pest werd niet tegengehouden en de handel lag door de ziekte geruime tijd stil. Vanaf 1726 bestond aan de grens een permanent pestcordon, waarin alle reizigers, zonder aanzien des persoons, langs officiële grensovergangen met verplichte quarantaines werden geleid. Het systeem werd na de oorlog van 1737-1739 opnieuw ingesteld en bleef vervolgens bestaan tot de jaren 1850. Het doel van het stelsel van de controles was het vergemakkelijken van verkeer tussen de twee rijken, zodat controle kon samengaan met een minimale hinder voor reizigers en handelsverkeer. Het stelsel kon flexibel inspelen op lokale omstandigheden, zoals de gezondheidssituatie (de quarantaine wisselde van 21 dagen tijdens ‘gezonde tijden’ als er geen pest heerste op de Balkan, naar 28 dagen tijdens ‘verdachte tijden’ met een pestepidemie relatief ver van de grens, tot 42 dagen tijdens ‘pestilente tijden’ als de pest was uitgebroken in een direct aangrenzend gebied) Migratie werd zoveel mogelijk gesteund, in de jaren 1780 ook door verlaging en afschaffing van de quarantaine voor personen in ‘gezonde tijden’.

Hoe kon het beperkte overheidsapparaat van de Habsburgse dynastieke staat dit veeleisende stelsel draaiende houden? De Habsburgse monarchie experimenteerde met lokale boerenwachten (Plajase, plăieși) in Transsylvanië en met grenssoldaten in Kroatië en Slavonië. Het gebruik van grenssoldaten, die voor hun rol als grenswacht niet apart werden betaald, bleek een efficiënte en financieel voordelige oplossing. Dit leidde tot een uitbreiding van de oude Habsburgse Militaire Grens (Militärgrenze) naar het oosten, zodat deze zich uiteindelijk in de jaren 1760 over de hele lengte van de Habsburgs-Osmaanse grens uitstreckte. De grenssoldaten bewaakten de grens middels wachttorens en met land- en rivierpatrouilles; ter compensatie van hun dienstverlening, kregen zij met hun families een overerfbaar recht op het vruchtgebruik van grond om te bebouwen.

De controle werd verbeterd door samenwerking met tal van betrokkenen en belanghebbenden. De actieve steun van grensbewoners was cruciaal, omdat alleen dankzij lokale kennis en met netwerken aan beide zijden van de grens ontduiking van de controle door illegale migranten kon worden voorkomen. Grensbewoners werden niet alleen enerzijds aangemoedigd mee te werken door bijzondere voorrechten zoals grensmarkten waarin voedsel en vee konden worden verhandeld zonder risico op besmetting. Zij werden anderzijds bedreigd met hoge straffen voor illegale grensoverschrijding en het geven van hulp daarbij – al vielen de straffen en boetes in de praktijk meestal veel lager uit. Ook was de samenwerking met de Osmaanse grensautoriteiten onontbeerlijk voor het succes van de grenscontroles; overleg was voortdurend nodig om veranderingen in de grenszone te kunnen doorvoeren. Last but not least: ook de migranten zelf waren ‘stakeholder’: zij konden bijdragen aan de kennis over de gezondheidssituatie in hun gebied van herkomst en langs de route. Met hun wensen werd rekening gehouden in de procedures aan de grens. Door het gebruik van grenssoldaten en de andere stakeholders, kon de Habsburgse monarchie met beperkte middelen een verrassend effectief migratiecontrolesysteem organiseren. Dankzij deze vormen van samenwerking en organisatie op verschillende niveaus was deze vroegmoderne monarchie in staat een vorm van grenscontrole in te voeren die wij meestal met latere perioden verbinden.

De migratiecontrole aan de Osmaanse-Habsburgse grens was universeel. Iedereen werd gecontroleerd, van hoge edelen tot vagebonden. Gezondheid was het bepalende criterium voor toelating. Pestcontrole en quarantaine waren in deze zin een sociale gelijkmaker. Het controlesysteem was niet bedoeld om te uitsluiten, maar om op te nemen: het was inclusief, niet exclusief. In lijn met de toentertijd invloedrijke ideeën van mercantilisme en kameralisme -- en later van fysiocratie -- werd de groei van het inwonertal gewaardeerd als een positieve ontwikkeling, die de staatsmacht

versterkte door de groei van het aantal belastingbetalers. Het pestkordon speelde hierin een dubbelrol: het beschermde de ingezetenen tegen besmettelijke ziekten uit het Osmaanse rijk, en trok gezonde nieuwe bewoners aan. Dit laatste was in het bijzonder gericht op de immigranten uit het Osmaanse rijk. Ze werden gezien als een goedkopere vervanging voor de kolonisatie uit het Heilige Roomse Rijk, waar hogere kosten gemoeid waren met het aantrekken van kolonisten en het vergoeden van hun reizen. Om de kolonisatie van dunbevolkte gebieden zoals Zuid Hongarije te bevorderen, bevoorrechtten de Habsburgse grensautoriteiten de kolonisten in vergelijking met andere reizigers. De immigranten mochten de grens buiten officiële overgangspunten oversteken en zij ontvingen financiële steun. Tegelijkertijd werd de migratiecontrole gebruikt om emigratie te voorkomen.

Overigens was de grenscontrole bepaald niet de enige factor die invloed had op migratie. De mogelijkheden en regels die er bestonden voor vestiging en naturalisatie waren belangrijk en soms zelfs beslissend. In de Habsburgse monarchie waren vestigings- en naturalisatiemogelijkheden beschikbaar voor Christelijke migranten, maar niet voor Moslims en Joden. Dit gegeven bevorderde de ontwikkeling van zakelijke en familiale netwerken van Griekse orthodoxe christenen van de Balkan, terwijl het de mogelijkheden voor Osmaanse Moslims en Joden en dus hun aantallen juist beperkte.

De dissertatie onderzoekt ook de invloed van grenscontroles op de structuur van migratie en de aantallen migranten. Drukten de drie of zes weken die de migranten op eigen kosten in quarantaine moesten verblijven de aantallen? Was deze barrière juist voor een bepaalde groep migranten bezwaarlijk? In de dissertatie is het quarantainestation van Pančevo als uitgangspunt gebruikt voor een uitgebreide steekproef. Voor dit station in het zuidwesten van de grensprovincie Banat zijn talrijke bestanden beschikbaar uit de jaren 1752-1756, en de jaren 1760. Pančevo was

een belangrijk oversteekpunt tussen de twee rijken, waar alle migrantengroepen goed waren vertegenwoordigd. De belangrijke handelswegen van Osmaans Macedonia en Rumelië enerzijds, en Habsburgs Hongarije anderzijds liepen door Pančevo. Voor kolonisten die zich in Banat wilden vestigen en voor handelaars was Pančevo een vast punt op de route. De analyse van de gegevens uit Pančevo toont aan dat de invloed van de grenscontrole op het aantal migranten bescheiden bleef; het aantal migranten verdrievoudigde vanaf halverwege de jaren 1750 tot 1768. Niettemin hadden de controles wel degelijk een effect op de structuur: er was een neerdrukkende werking op korte- en middellangeafstandsreizen, niet-zakelijke, tijdelijke en circulaire migraties. Langeafstandsreizen, zakelijke reizen en reizen ten behoeve van vestiging lijken echter niet of nauwelijks negatief te zijn beïnvloed. Christelijke Osmaanse onderdanen profiteerden van de mogelijkheid zich, soms met hun families, langdurig te vestigen in het Habsburgse rijk; zij waren daardoor in staat zakelijke netwerken aan de beide zijden van de grens te onderhouden. Dit lag veel moeilijker voor Joden en Moslims uit het Osmaanse rijk, die tijdens hun verblijf in de Habsburgse Monarchie wel mochten handelen, maar zich niet met hun families blijvend konden vestigen. Derhalve kan de stelling worden verdedigd dat vestigings- en naturalisatiemogelijkheden meer invloed uitoefenden op migratiestromen dan de tijdrovende en dure grenscontrole.

De studie biedt diverse belangrijke inzichten. De opvatting van staatssoevereiniteit als geldend voor een geografisch afgebakend territorium was een relatieve laatkomer in Europa. De hedendaagse cartografische representaties van het Europa van voor de negentiende eeuw reflecteren moderne noties van territoriale soevereiniteit. Zij vereenvoudigen en verdraaien de complexe hiërarchische en overlappende organisatie van de staatsmacht, die op de eerste plaats betrekking had op mensen, groepen en rechten – veel minder op de fysieke ruimte. Uit deze dissertatie

blijkt dat de modellen voor het territoriale soevereiniteitsconcept in Europa heterogeen waren. Tussen de vijftiende en achttiende eeuw speelden Osmaanse bestuurlijke praktijken een voorbeeldrol in grensscheidingen en de oprichting van territoriale soevereiniteit. Dit gebeurde voordat politieke en wetenschappelijke doorbraken bestuurlijke concepten verschoven naar het fysiek meetbare, zoals het geografische territorium.

In de studie komt continuïteit als belangrijk fenomeen naar voren. De regering van Maria-Theresia (1740-1780), vaak gezien als een nieuw vertrekpunt, was in veel opzichten een voortzetting van hervormingen die reeds begonnen waren tijdens de regering van haar vader. De Habsburgse Monarchie toonde reeds gedurende de regering van Karel VI (1711-1740) het vermogen tot bestuurlijke aanpassingen. Karel VI initieerde een reeks belangrijke hervormingen, zoals de bevordering van handel, de aanleg van nieuwe wegen, de hervorming van postdiensten, het toezicht op gilden, en de centraal geleide strijd tegen besmettelijke ziekten.

De Habsburgse *roll-back* van de Osmaanse macht in Hongarije en de Balkan bracht bovendien slechts een geleidelijke verandering: economische en sociale praktijken verschoven niet plotsklaps met de regeringswisseling. Tot de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw was een belangrijk deel van de Hongaarse markt in de handen van Osmaanse onderdanen, die een nauwe band met de Osmaanse economie behielden. De migratiestromen van de Balkan naar Hongarije, die begonnen met de Osmaanse verovering van de Balkan en het Hongaarse koninkrijk, duurden voort tijdens de Osmaanse regering in Hongarije, en bleven ook na het einde van het Osmaanse bestuur belangrijk. De Balkan bleef een essentiële bron van Christelijke migranten die zich vestigden in Zuid-Hongarije. De interne kolonisatie en de kolonisatie uit het Heilige Roomse rijk complementeerde de blijvende migratiestroom uit de Balkan.

Het migratiecontrolesysteem aan de Habsburgs-Osmaanse grens bewijst dat grenscontroles niet alleen gebruikt werden om migratie te beperken. Staten met een inclusieve migratiepolitiek, zoals de Habsburgse monarchie, konden dit systeem inzetten om migratie te bevorderen. Dat betekent dat zelfs strenge grenscontroles niet per se een negatieve invloed op migraties hoefden te hebben.

De studie bewijst ook dat vroegmoderne monarchieën voldoende bestuurlijke capaciteit konden opbouwen om een dekkende migratiecontrole langdurig te dragen. Dit kon echter niet zonder de mobilisatie van regionale ‘stakeholders’, in het bijzonder streekbewoners (uit wier gelederen grenssoldaten werden gerekruteerd). Dit roept associaties op met de controle door omwonenden en bekenden in totalitaire staten van de twintigste eeuw. Zou dit element van actieve deelname door betrokkenen ooit vervangen kunnen worden door een bureaucratisch- technologisch alternatief?

CURRICULUM VITAE

Jovan Pešalj was born in Belgrade, Serbia, on 28 January 1976. He received both his bachelor degree in History (in 2002) and his master degree in Modern History (2008) from the University of Belgrade. After brief spell as a secondary school teacher and two years as a research scholarship holder of the Serbian Ministry of Science and Technology, Jovan worked at the History Department of the University of Belgrade for seven years, until 2012. Between 2013 and 2017, he was a principal researcher on the Austrian Science Foundation (FWF) funded project “Mobility Control of Ottoman Migrants in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1739-1791. The Rise of the Modern State?” at the Department of Economic and Social History of the University of Vienna, Austria. Jovan published several articles and book chapters on the early modern Habsburg history and the Habsburg-Ottoman relations. He co-edited a book *The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718* for the Purdue University Press and is presently co-editing the volume *Borders and Mobility Control in and between Empires and Nation-States* for Brill.