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

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# 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.<sup>3</sup> A several-hours' trip thus turned into a

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<sup>3</sup> 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.

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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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> 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).

<sup>5</sup> 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*.

<sup>6</sup> 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,<sup>7</sup> exempting from controls not only the well-off but also poorer migrants.<sup>8</sup> In this period, migration controls were much more pronounced and more

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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.

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

<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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

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*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*.

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

national labor markets.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> Overlapping jurisdictions and territorial fragmentation (the existence of numerous enclaves and exclaves) were usually not considered problematic.<sup>12</sup> Linear borders were present, but they rarely defined external borders.<sup>13</sup> Delimitation protocols were exhaustive inventories of villages,

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<sup>10</sup> 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."

<sup>11</sup> Tilly, *Coercion, Capital*.

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

<sup>13</sup> 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 (15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> 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,<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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

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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.

<sup>14</sup> Nordman, *Frontières de France*.

<sup>15</sup> Febvre, “Frontière;” Nordman, *Frontières de France*.

<sup>16</sup> McKeown, *Melancholy Order*.

<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup>

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

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<sup>18</sup> 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<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 1986); Daniel Panzac, "Politique sanitaire et fixation des frontières: l'exemple Ottoman (XVIII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> 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).

<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Habsburg central administration employed only a few thousand people.<sup>23</sup> The modest Habsburg sanitary

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<sup>20</sup> 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.

<sup>21</sup> Groebner, *Der Schein der Person*.

<sup>22</sup> 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.

<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> This arrangement was still in force in the eighteenth century.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> During plague epidemics, infected

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<sup>24</sup> 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.

<sup>25</sup> 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.”

<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup>

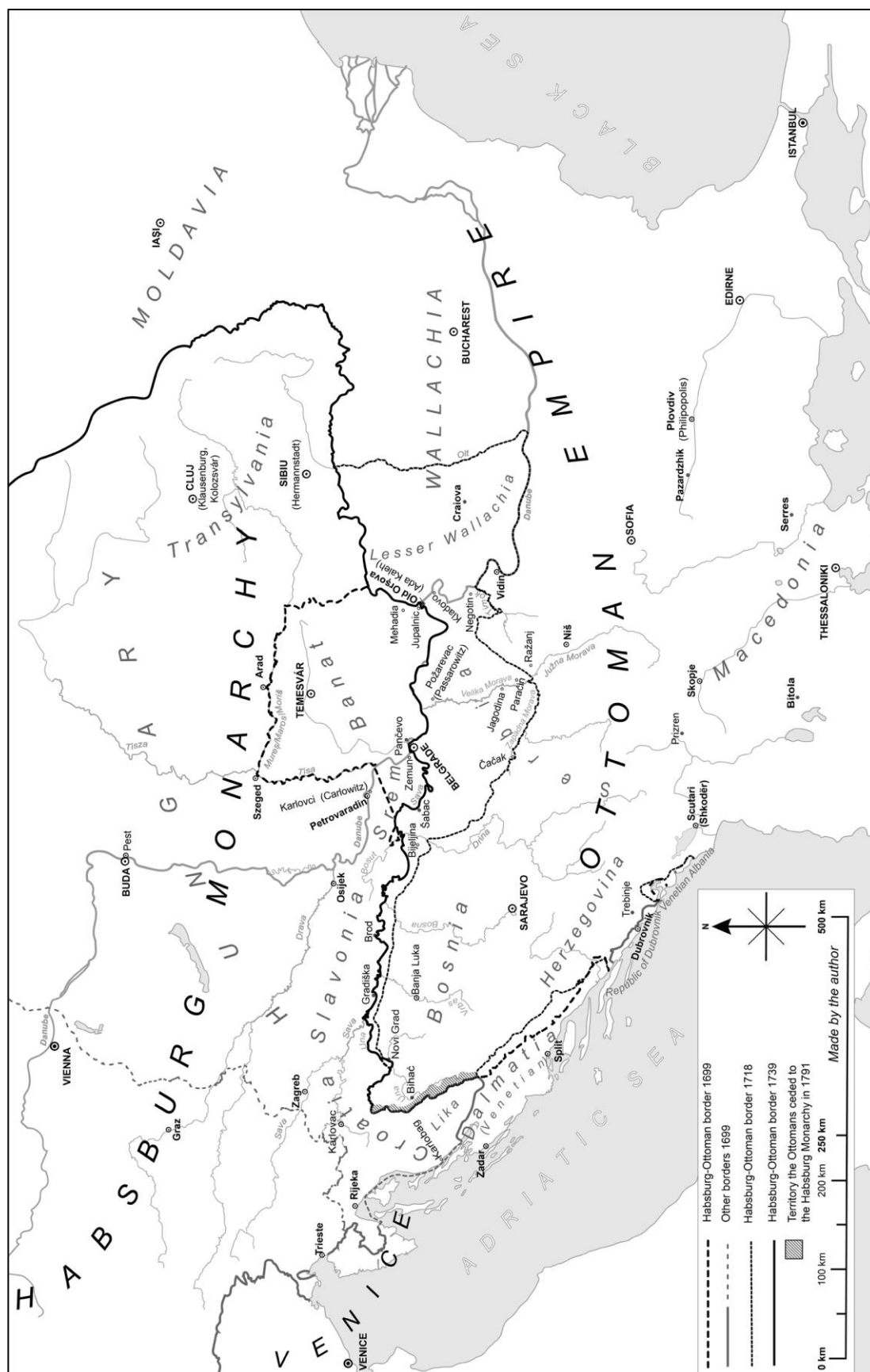
Such large-scale universal mobility controls were restrictive and had a negative impact on traffic and trade. The restrictive mobility-control policies focused on exclusion of all but essential migrations, even to a greater degree than had the late-nineteenth-century and twentieth-century mobility-control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

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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.

<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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

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<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup> 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,

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<sup>29</sup> Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> 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.

<sup>30</sup> Nordman, *Frontières de France*.

<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> During the eighteenth century, the Habsburg standing army was used for large-scale state endeavors, such as censuses and land surveys.<sup>35</sup> 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

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

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

<sup>34</sup> 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-slavonischen Militärgrenze (1535-1881)* (Graz: Institut für Geschichte).

<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup>

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.<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup> Information about the nature and scale of

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<sup>36</sup> Groebner, *Der Schein der Person*.

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

<sup>38</sup> 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 provinces<sup>39</sup> or from the central and southern Balkans<sup>40</sup> is patchy and selective, especially compared to much better-known state-directed internal colonization of Germans in Hungary during the eighteenth century.<sup>41</sup> The immigrations from the Balkans often went undetected and were difficult to quantify.<sup>42</sup> It has been noted that there was an uptick in migrations from the south in the eighteenth century, particularly in its second half,<sup>43</sup> 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

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

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

<sup>40</sup> 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 Cincarima. 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.

<sup>41</sup> 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.

<sup>42</sup> Holm Sundhaussen, "Südosteuropa," in *Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa*, 288-313.

<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup> 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.

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<sup>44</sup> 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.