The Ottomans Across the Habsburg and Ottoman Borders (1772-1826): What Human Mobility Has to Say

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Habsburg ve Osmanlı Sınırları Boyunca Osmanlılar (1772-1826): Bir İnsan Hareketliliğinin Anlatabilecekleri

Öz ■ Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Avrupa ülkeleri arasındaki ilişkilere dair mevcut literatür, genellikle 1700 öncesi döneme odaklanmaktadır. Dahası, onsekizinci ve ondokuzuncu yüzyıllara yakından bakan kaynakların çoğu, Venedik, Livorno ve İzmir gibi birkaç şehri ve özellikle Ortodoks tüccarlar tarafından kurulduğu iddia edilen ilişkileri ele almaktadır. Bu diaspora odaklı çalışmalar, sadece bu topluluklar arasındaki ilişkilere odaklanarak farklı topluluklar arasındaki etkileşim ve karşılıklı bağımlılık meselelerini ihmal etmektedir. Bu durum, 'biz' kavramının 'ülke' veya 'dini birlik' kavramlarıyla temsil edildiği bir tarih perspektifinin sürdürülmesine katkıda bulunmaktadır. İnsan hareketliliğinin demografi, motivasyon, süreçler ve şekiller açısından incelenmesi, bu olası etkileşimleri ve karşılıklı bağımlılıkları daha derinlemesine izlememize olanak sağlayacaktır. Bu amaçla, bu çalışma, Viyana arşivlerinde yer alan ve Habsburg yetkilileri tarafından 1823-1825 yılları arasında Habsburg topraklarında bulunan Osmanlı vatandaşları hakkında oluşturulan üç adet hacimli arşiv defterine dikkat çekmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Habsburg İmparatorluğu, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Sınır, Hareketlilik, Ticaret.

1. Introduction

In recent years human mobility has drawn increased interest from historians who study the early modern age, when people, things, ideas, and news were

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subject to an unprecedented degree of motion.[1] For those of us pursuing mainstream historiographical approaches like global, world, or entangled history, the study of mobilities is perhaps especially crucial,[2] as it offers us a methodological perspective in which to integrate different people, groups, communities, or cultures,[3] as well as transcending geographical and political boundaries and socio-cultural differences.[4] The focus of this study, which covers the conclusion and immediate aftermath of the early modern era, is primarily the Ottoman subjects' mobility taking place mainly between the Ottoman-Habsburg territories, though the analysis ranges beyond the geographical boundaries of these two political entities.[5] First and foremost, it must be stated that this study opposes the idea of a border as a mechanism of isolation and exclusion, instead advocating for viewing it as a factor that regulates transborder relations.[6] Erdélyi examined the Habsburg-Ottoman border area through the concept of a 'contact zone' where 'historically separated peoples come into contact and establish ongoing relations, involving coercion, unequal power relations and conflict'.[7] Calic's assessments on frequent border changes, the fluidity of border regions, and massive population movements experienced in the southeastern Europe perfectly applies to the purposes of this

1 For assessments on the methodological challenges faced by early modern historians and how they were involved in mobility studies, see Luca Zenobi, "Mobility and Urban Space in Early Modern Europe: An Introduction", *Journal of Early Modern History*, 25 (2021), pp. 1–10; Marie Elizabeth Ducreux, "Early Modern Mobilities and People on the Move: An Epistemological Challenge", *Dějiny-teorie-kritika*, 17/1 (2020), pp. 9–35.

2 For more information on these historical approaches, see Michael Werner, Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity", *History and Theory*, 45/1 (2006), pp. 30–50.

3 Cemal Kafadar, "A Death in Venice (1575): Anatolian Muslim Merchants in the Serenissima", *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 10 (1986), pp. 191–218.

4 Natalie E. Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).

5 For a historical analysis of the concept of 'border', see Gideon Bigger, "Historical Geography and International Boundaries", *European Review*, 29/1 (2020), pp. 69–77.

6 For an example of studies dealing with the subject through this perspective, see Andrea Komlosy, "State, Regions, and Borders: Single Market Formation and Labor Migration in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1750–1918", *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, 27/2 (2004), pp. 135–177.

7 Gabriella Erdélyi, "Turning Turk as Rational Decision in the Hungarian-Ottoman Frontier Zone", *Hungarian Historical Review*, 4/2 (2015), p. 315. To gain better insight into the 'contact zone' approach, see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

study. She suggests that overemphasizing spatial demarcations might limit the understanding of the historical connections and interrelationships between countries, regions, and continents in southeastern Europe.[8]

The Ottoman-Habsburg borderland was indeed an area where people from different cultures, ethnicities and states interacted for political, social and economic reasons. Over time, it grew into an area populated by soldiers—active, retired or discharged—bureaucrats and rulers together with their families and subordinates, as well as refugees, exiles and even civilians in pursuit of a new life.[9] Even in this state, the region—which had already developed into a hub of human activity—evolved into a place where people of all nationalities and religious backgrounds could meet and stay together for short or long periods of time, with the addition of a new function in the eighteenth century: a cordon sanitaire.[10] The dates Ottoman subjects entered and exited the quarantine stations in the cordon sanitaire

8 Marie-Janine Calic, *The Great Cauldron: A History of Southeastern Europe* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2019), p. 4.

9 These living in the Habsburg-Ottoman borderland have been the subject of many academic studies. Among them, see Pál Fodor, "Making a Living on the Frontiers: Volunteers in the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Army", *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe*, eds. Pál Fodor, Geza David (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 229–263; Geza David, "An Ottoman Military Career on the Hungarian Borders Kasim Voyvoda, Bey, and Pasha", *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe*, eds. Pál Fodor, Geza David (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 265–297. A study of Maria Pia Pedani, which uses the Venetian and Ottoman border as the venue, provides a further example. See Maria Pia Pedani, *The Ottoman-Venetian Border (15th–18th Centuries)* (Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari – Digital Publishing, 2017).

10 For information about the emergence of the concept and its first areas of application, see James Taylor, *The Age We Live In: A History of the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1882); Irby Coghill Nichols, *The European Pentarchy and the Congress of Verona, 1822* (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1972). The concept of modern quarantine taking shape on the Habsburg and Ottoman borders and developing from there has always gone hand in hand with the debates and research on infectious and contagious diseases. For an excellent comprehensive analysis of scientific and other approaches to the issue of epidemic diseases throughout history, see Charles De Paolo, *Epidemic Disease and Human Understanding: A Historical Analysis of Scientific and Other Writings* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2006). A volume was also compiled of essays presented at a 2008 conference in Vienna held by a working group on the History of Race and Eugenics (HRE) at Oxford Brookes University. In particular, Section II deals with theoretical perceptions and practical methods of fighting plague in both the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires from the 1770s until the 1830s. See Teodora Daniela Sechel, *Medicine within and between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, 18th–19th Centuries* (Bochum: Verlag Dr. Dieter Winkler, 2011), pp. 55–109.

are provided for the period introduced in this study. This quarantine information is key in uncovering the dates, travel rationales and ultimate destinations of those who crossed the Habsburg border.

The field of Ottoman-European contacts during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries predominantly focuses on specific religious or national communities. However, the registers employed in this study provide a notable advantage by encompassing a wide geographical area and including all Ottoman subjects regardless of their religious or ethnic background. Recent research has also shed light on the greater Muslim presence in Central and Western Europe during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth centuries, surpassing previous recognition. Existing literature highlights the significant presence of Muslims in various regions of present-day France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and Portugal, with diverse motivations and durations of stay. This includes Muslim travelers for trade, exiles, apostates, distinguished visitors, soldiers, servants, individual explorers, and adventurers. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that the existing literature on the Muslim perspective primarily focuses on individuals who were enslaved or imprisoned.[11]

Eastern Europe and the Balkans under the rule of the Ottoman Empire are, of course, entirely different cases and should be discussed separately.[12] In the last few decades—namely, since the 1960s, following Traian Stoianovich's pioneering work, *The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant*[13]—various research and monographs have been published, and both large- and small-scale conferences and workshops have been organized.[14] Non-Muslim communities and their spreading presence in

11 For examples from the vast literature on Muslims in Europe in various languages, see Eloy Martín-Corrales, *Muslims in Spain, 1492–1814: Living and Negotiating in the Land of the Infidel* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), p. 34, footnotes 22–28.

12 See Andreas Helmedach, Markus Koller, Konrad Petrovszky, Stefan Rondewald (eds.): *Das osmanische Europa: Methoden und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung zu Südosteuropa* (Leipzig: Eudora-Verlag, 2014). In addition to many individual and group studies, this volume handles Ottoman rule over Eastern Europe and the Balkans that is of particular importance in highlighting the intertwined cultural, economic, religious and political relationships in this area, which the volume refers to as 'the Ottoman Europe' (in its original German, '*Das osmanische Europa*'). Bringing together twelve papers by the members of a DFG-financed working group based at the Giessen Center for Eastern Europe between 2009 and 2011, it covers a wide range of topics, from the practices of rule to economic life and religious cultures as well as methodological approaches and problems.

13 Traian Stoianovich, *Balkan Worlds: The First and Last Europe* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

14 One of the most outstanding results, pertaining to the subject of this study, of this growing

Central Europe, the Italian peninsula, southern Russia along the Black Sea coast and the western Mediterranean have been at the center of much academic interest. In particular, economic, administrative and social historiography regarding Central European Greek communities has flourished recently.[15] The relevant literature has also included many volumes of work with the community approach, at the fore in diaspora studies such as those focusing on Greeks, Jews and sometimes Armenians.[16] Putting Muslim-non-Muslim contacts to one side, existing historiography does not tell us much about the contacts between even these extensively investigated non-Muslim communities (Greek-Jew contacts, for example) that must have emerged while conducting business, because the networks based solely on community or family members were not sufficient to establish a truly international trade: ethnic and cultural diversity in the network were needed to develop a wide-ranging business.[17]

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interest is the remarkable work of Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century (1700–1820)* (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992). She deals with eighteenth-century Smyrna's (an Ottoman port city that gained particular importance in the eighteenth century) economy and society in the context of Mediterranean economic history and European commercial rivalries in the region, together with the Ottoman Empire's economic regulations within the world trade system. Still, it can safely be said that this work is another case of traditional Ottoman economic historiography considering, and thereby presenting, commercial affairs in Ottoman territories as a non-Muslim field of operation.

15 See, for example, Olga Katsiardi-Hering, "Greek Merchant Colonies in Central and South-Eastern Europe in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries", *Merchant Colonies in the Early Modern Period*, eds. Victor N. Zakharov, Gelina Harlaftis, Olga Katsiardi-Hering (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), pp. 127–140.

16 Community studies, or diaspora studies as it is more often called, has become a significant area of study regarding the socioeconomic history of early modern central and southeastern Europe over the past few decades; however, stressing the division of central European history into many impervious ethno-religious or national narratives, research on early modern trading groups still reflects political and identity objectives. Among many others, see, for example, Nathan Michael Gelber, "The Sephardic Community in Vienna", *Jewish Social Studies*, 10 (1948), pp. 359–396; Karl Teply, "Die erste armenische Kolonie in Wien", *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, 28 (1973), pp. 105–18; Vasiliki Seirinidou, "Griechen in Wien im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert. Soziale Identitäten im Alltag", *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert und Österreich. Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 12 (1997), pp. 7-28; Katsiardi-Hering, "Merchant Colonies in the Early Modern Period".

17 Manuel Herrero Sánchez, Klemens Kaps: "Connecters, Networks, and Commercial History", *Merchants and Trade Networks in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, 1550–1800*, eds.

To conduct more comprehensive and inclusive studies, it is necessary to shift focus away from the internal dynamics and activities of commercial communities in the Mediterranean. Historiography since the 1960s has extensively explored these groups and concluded that they formed a distinct world for conducting business. Instead, we should emphasize the interconnectedness between various commercial groups, facilitating both domestic trade within the Mediterranean and its connections to other regions. Precisely for this reason, this study's primary goal is to inform subject-interested researchers of three registers that contain detailed information about movement that occurred across and beyond the borderlands of the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, playing a crucial role in forging these connections.[18] As will be discussed in further detail, the registers under examination may enhance the relevant literature, influence a historiographical understanding that disregards inter-community interactions, and make visible certain communities, such as Muslims, that have rarely been discussed in the field.

While even the meaning of borders is a matter of debate, it is a quite challenging task to discuss mobility across borders.[19] Although an in-depth investigation of this question is beyond the scope of this article, it is worth briefly discussing the Ottoman-Habsburg border issue and the economic developments that occurred on the Habsburg side in the long eighteenth century[20] in order to first formulate a contextual historical background, which will guide us to the years in which the registers were created: 1823, 1824, and 1825. Second will be an examination

Manuel Herrero Sánchez, Klemens Kaps (New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 171–195.

18 Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (OeStA), Finanz und Hofkammer (FHKA), Neue Hofkammer (NHK), Kommerz Bücher, *Türkische Untertanen in den Erblanden, mit Listen* (1823, 1824, 1825), registers 316, 317, and 318.

19 Numerous studies have been conducted on the complexities and other aspects of the concept of 'border' in the early modern period. See, for example, Maria Baramova, Grigor Boykov, Ivan Parvev (eds.), *Bordering Early Modern Europe* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015); Drago Roksandić, Nataša Štefanec (eds.), *Constructing Border Societies on the Triplex Confinium* (Budapest: Central European University, 2020).

20 In contrast to the straightforward usage of the definition from the regular calendar, the term 'long eighteenth century' refers to a more natural historical periodization of time. Because it is an expression of English origin, events that occurred in England are what determine the beginning and conclusion of the period, which usually spans from the 1688 Revolution until the 1815 Battle of Waterloo. Emphasizing the continuity between events, such a periodization would provide a highly appropriate periodical approach for this study as well. For more information, see Frank O'Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History 1688-1832* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016).

of the effects of the French Revolution on the Habsburg administrative thinking and therefore on the empire's border policies. This will not only enable us to understand how the genesis of the archival registers that form the basis of this investigation, but will also broaden our perspective and help us better evaluate the information contained therein, some of which will ultimately be presented through several analyses.

2. The Regulatory Influence of the Habsburg-Ottoman Border

The formation and development of the Ottoman-Habsburg border is rooted in a series of overlapping military, political, sanitary and economic parameters.[21] The first direct confrontation between the Ottomans and Habsburgs occurred after the Battle of Mohács, and the first Ottoman-Habsburg frontier was created in Hungary in the aftermath of this war.[22] Palffy's work includes a useful summary of the importance for the Habsburgs of establishing a defensive frontier against the Ottomans on Hungarian territory.[23] Accordingly, some Habsburg military leaders believed that establishing a Hungarian border defense system was the only way to secure the Habsburg lands and to prevent the advance and strengthening of the enemy, the Ottomans.[24] This was undoubtedly of great importance to the

21 For a better understanding of the concepts of 'border' and 'frontier' in the Ottoman mentality, see Maria Pia Pedani, "The Border from the Ottoman Point of View", *Tolerance and Intolerance on the Triplex Confinium: Approaching the 'Other' on the Borderlands Eastern Adriatic and beyond 1500–1800*, eds. Egidio Ivetic, Drago Roksandić (Padova: Cooperativa Libraria Editrice Università di Padova (CLEUP), 2007); A. C. S. Peacock, *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World* (Oxford: OUP/British Academy, 2009); Mark L. Stein, *Guarding the Frontier: Ottoman Border Forts and Garrisons in Europe* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007).

22 The rulers of Hungary were likely fully aware of the Ottomans' ultimate objective as early as the fifteenth century. For Ottoman-Hungarian contact before Mohács, see Pál Fodor, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire* (Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities (HAS), 2016), p. 48–55.

23 Géza Palffy, "The Origins and Development of the Border Defence System Against the Ottoman Empire in Hungary (Up to the Early Eighteenth Century)", *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe*, eds. Pál Fodor, Geza David (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 3–69.

24 Palffy, "The Origins and Development of the Border Defence System", p. 3. For additional rewarding literature on the Hungarian-Ottoman border conflicts and the Habsburg involvement in the process, see Géza Palffy, "The Habsburg Defense System in Hungary Against the Ottomans in the Sixteenth Century: A Catalyst of Military Development in Central Europe", *Warfare in Eastern Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. Brian Davies (Leiden: Brill,

Ottomans as well, who were then constantly expanding their lands and advancing towards interior Europe to establish dominance in this confrontation area, or at least to defend it.[25] Therefore, the Hungarian frontier was inevitably established and became a chronic battlefield for the Ottomans and the Habsburgs. [26] In fact, the space and geographical location of the Ottoman-Habsburg borderland remained roughly the same, except for a few fortresses that occasionally changed hands; with the last modifications of the Treaty of Belgrade, a permanent and stable boundary cordon had been established.[27] By the eighteenth century, the Ottoman-Habsburg border zone was roughly 1,800 kilometers long and extended from the Adriatic Sea to the northeast Carpathian Mountains, with over 50,000 square kilometers and 4,000 to 11,000 border soldiers.[28] This region, encompassing countries or parts thereof from Eastern Europe and the Balkans, based on varying and occasionally controversial geographical definitions, serves as the primary geography for the examined mobility.[29]

2012), pp. 35–61; Gábor Ágoston, "Habsburgs and Ottomans: Defense, Military Change and Shifts in Power", *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, 22/1 (1998), pp. 126–141; Gábor Ágoston, "Defending and Administering the Frontier: The Case of Ottoman Hungary", Christine Woodhead (ed.), *The Ottoman World* (New York, Routledge, 2011), pp. 220–236; Davor Salihović, "The Process of Bordering at the Late Fifteenth-Century Hungarian-Ottoman Frontier", *History in Flux*, 1 (2020), pp. 93–120; Gunther Erich Rothenberg, *The Austrian Military Border in Croatia, 1522–1747* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1960).

25 The defensive efforts of the Ottomans on the Habsburg border have been the subject of several studies. See, for example, Géza Palffy, "Die Türkenabwehr in Ungarn im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert – ein Forschungsdesiderat", *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 137/1 (2002), p. 99–131.

26 This is the *permanenter Kleinkrieg* concept, which is occasionally criticized in the related literature. For a better understanding, see Georg Michels, *The Habsburg Empire Under Siege: Ottoman Expansion and Hungarian Revolt in the Age of Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü (1661-76)* (Montreal, Kingston, London, and Chicago: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2021).

27 To follow this border zone formation process, see also Maria Baramova, "Negotiating Borders: Habsburg-Ottoman Peace Treaties of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", *Bordering Early Modern Europe*, eds. Maria Baramova, Grigor Boykov, Ivan Parvev (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015), pp. 115-120.

28 Sabine Jesner, "Habsburg Border Quarantines until 1837: An Epidemiological 'Iron Curtain'?", *Medicalising Borders Selection, Containment and Quarantine since 1800*, eds. Sevasti Trubeta, Christian Promitzer, Paul Weindling (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), p. 35.

29 For an evaluation on the effectiveness of the various definitions that have been proposed thus far, see Anca Parvulescu, "Eastern Europe as Method", *The Slavic and East European Journal*, 63/4 (2019), pp. 470–481.

The strict border controls observed at the Habsburg-Ottoman border at the time, which was quite unusual for eighteenth-century Europe,[30] also indicate that it is worth considering the border issue between the two polities. Indeed, trade relations between the two polities continued with increasing momentum throughout the eighteenth century. The results of the War of the Spanish Succession as well as the Austro-Turkish War of 1716–18, successfully shifted Habsburg focus away from Germany into southeast Europe. According to Stefani, the victories of Mohács and Zenta marked the goals of the new history of the Habsburgs, and the 1718 Treaty of Passarowitz would expediently consolidate the results of Zenta victory and the peace of Karlowitz with the newly adopted economic growth targets.[31] Consequently, the Habsburgs gained authority over the Balkan political scene, while the Ottoman Empire abandoned expansion towards Central Europe and was definitively relegated to the role of a regional power (although still a hegemon in the Eastern Mediterranean region).[32] These developments naturally brought with them a Habsburg desire to control trade activities in the Mediterranean and throughout all its commercial hinterland. From then on, Emperor Charles VI would work to turn Austria into a commercial maritime state and adopt a policy of intensification and modernization of commercial relations with the rich and populous markets of the Levant.[33] In its widest historical sense, 'the Levant' refers to a large area that included all of the eastern Mediterranean and its islands—that is, all of the countries along the eastern Mediterranean shores that were under Ottoman control at the time. For this reason, the Treaty of Passarowitz contained trade and shipping clauses that would form the normative basis

30 Jovan Pešalj, "Monitoring Migrations: the Habsburg-Ottoman Border in the Eighteenth Century" (Doctoral Dissertation), Leiden, Universität Leiden 2019, p. 12.

31 Guiseppe Stefani, *I Greci a Trieste nel Settecento* (Trieste: Monciatti, 1960), p. 15.

32 For the effects on the region of the encounter between these two political entities, see Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Herrschaft und Politik in Südosteuropa von 1300 bis 1800* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2021).

33 The Habsburg desire for Levant was not for naught. See Stefan Hanß, Dorothea McEwan (eds.), *The Habsburg Mediterranean 1500–1800* (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2021). The Levant, Eastern Mediterranean countries that included economically integrated inner lands, was the most active area of goods and technology trade between the East and West in the 1500s, before the great discoveries. See Halil Inalcık, *Osmanlı ve Avrupa. Osmanlı Devleti'nin Avrupa Tarihindeki Yeri* (Istanbul: Kronik, 2018), p. 134. For a thorough analysis of Charles VI's trade policies, see Franz Martin Mayer, "Zur Geschichte der österreich. Handelspolitik unter Kaiser Karl VI", *Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Mitteilungen*, 18 (1897), pp. 129–145.

for economic relations between the Habsburg and Ottoman lands for the entire eighteenth century. Jesner asserts that there was a direct link between the intensified border controls and quarantine practices and the Commercial and Shipping Treaty that was settled between the two immediately after Passarowitz.[34]

In this vast Habsburg-Ottoman borderland, both sides attempted to increase populations in their own favor; Christians were invited by the Habsburgs and Muslims by the Ottomans to settle in the region, in addition to the soldiers or rulers who were the region's first inhabitants. Because this borderland had a military function as well as its many other functions, it was also called the *Militärgrenze* (or military frontier),[35] and the new settlers were known as *Grenzer* (or frontiersmen).[36] In the registers under examination, there are people who were described as *als Grenz Bewohner bekannt* (meaning, 'known as border residents').

34 See Jesner, "Habsburg Border Quarantines until 1837", p. 32–35.

35 In at least a dozen European languages, the literature on the Military Frontier is extensive and diverse. See, for example, Gerhard Ernst, *Die österreichische Militärgrenze: Geschichte und Auswirkungen* (Regensburg: Verlag Lassleben, 1982); Winfried Schulze, "Die österreichische Militärgrenze", *MGM*, 9/1 (1971), pp. 187–196; Johann Heinrich Schwicker, *Geschichte der österreichischen Militärgrenze* (Wien: Prochask, 1883). Karl Kaser looked at the area from a variety of angles, giving a clear picture of how the demographics have changed in the region over time. Examining Kaser's work is also advised for anyone curious about the Grenzers' lives. See Karl Kaser, *Freier Bauer und Soldat: Die Militarisierung der agrarischen Gesellschaft an der kroatisch-slawonischen Militärgrenze (1535-1881)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1997). For a thorough analysis of the relevant historiography, see William O'Reilly, "Border, Buffer and Bulwark: The Historiography of the Military Frontier, 1521–1881", *Frontiers and the Writing of History, 1500–1850*, eds. Steven G. Ellis, Raingard Eßer (Hanover: Wehrhahn, 2006), pp. 229–244.

36 Petra Kostalova, "Contested Landscape: Moravian Wallachia and Moravian Slovakia: An Imagology Study on the Ottoman Border Narrative", *Revue Des Études Slaves*, 93/1 (2022), footnote 32. For an illuminating summary of the military, administrative and demographic structuring in the Habsburg-Ottoman borderland presented by Christoph Pöll, see Christoph Pöll, "Die österreichische Militärgrenze", *historia.scribere*, 5 (2013), pp. 427–444. For detailed information on the population and communities in the region, see Richard Frucht, *Eastern Europe: An Introduction to the People, Lands, and Culture*, vol. II-III (California: ABC-CLIO, 2005); Stoianovich, *Balkan Worlds*, pp. 318–358. Ömer Gezer provides insights into the complex military structure of the Ottoman Empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, highlighting the roles and dynamics of various military units in fortresses and provinces. From a social and economic perspective, Gezer analyses the motivations, income sources, and social statuses of soldiers, portraying Janissaries as transitioning from mere soldiers to participants in diverse economic activities. See, in particular, Ömer Gezer, "Kale ve Nefer: Habsburg Sınırında Osmanlı Askerî Gücünün Yeniden

The registers also include myriad other people belonging to this border community, such as active or retired border soldiers and guards, wives of border customs officers, and people waiting for sociopolitical turmoil in their place of residence to pass, not to mention those quarantined at the quarantine stations placed along the entire border area.[37] One interesting case in particular is a boy looking for his father, a retired border guard, who wanted to live with his father if he could find him.[38] It should be noted that the registers also contain dozens of people who specifically stated their desire to settle in the borderlands.[39] There were other inhabitants of the area claiming to have resided there for ten years who were therefore considered natives of the area. One person stated that he immigrated to the region and was raised by a border guard in the community.[40] The people who resided in the border region must be the community being referred to here. Thus, these borderlands surrounded by countless fortresses, established precisely to prevent both sides from penetrating each other's territories,

Örgütlenmesi (1699-1715)" (Doctoral Dissertation), Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 2016, pp. 251–330.

37 The quarantine stations on the Habsburg-Ottoman border were shown on two maps by Jovan Pesalj, one for the years between the 1720s and 1737 and the other for after 1740. See Pešalj, "Monitoring Migrations", p. 102, 108. In the registers under examination, for 5,388 individuals out of 6,930, quarantine station information is available. A quarantine stations list composed according to the registers have been included in my recently submitted PhD thesis (see also footnote 67). In the thesis, the modern-day locations of these quarantine stations mentioned in the registers were given, though not only the ones on the Habsburg-Ottoman border. According to the registers, the station names given in the relevant list were mostly active between 1821 and 1825, but the earliest registered quarantine date is 1794. Therefore, the quarantine stations mentioned in these registers must have been active at least sometime between 1794 and 1826. See Zeynep Arslan Çalık, "Crossing Borders and Bridging Differences: An Ottoman Mobility Narrative of Late Eighteenth-Early Nineteenth Century Habsburg-Ottoman Contacts" (Doctoral Dissertation), Bochum: Ruhr-Universität Bochum, 2023.

38 "sucht seinen Vater revertirten Grenzer Preda auf um bei ihm zu verbleiben." See AT-OeStA/FHKA NHK Kommerz Bücher 316, Walachische illyrisches Grenz Infanterie Regiment.

39 A migration flow to the region was triggered by the privileges and incentives granted to the settlers by both the Ottoman and Habsburg sides. Christoph Pöll often refers to these privileges and discusses their pull effects for the region. See Pöll, "Die österreichische Militärgrenze", p. 429, 434–437, 441–442.

40 "ist anher emigriert und von einer Grenzer in die Communion aufgewachsenen worden." See AT-OeStA/FHKA NHK Kommerz Bücher 318, Militär Grenzen, Zavalje.

had the side effect of creating a socioeconomic habitat. By the sixteenth century, the inefficacy of border fortresses in this respect had become increasingly apparent, leading to a noticeable decline in their strategic importance in the seventeenth century.[41]

3. The Habsburgs' Economic Rise and Relations with the Ottoman Empire

The Treaty of Passarowitz was yet another indicator of the newly adopted Habsburg entrepreneurial mentality that was also clearly manifested by the declaration of Rijeka and Trieste as free ports in 1719, as well as the initiation of the Imperial Privileged Oriental Company in the same year.[42] During subsequent decades, security inspections and sanitary controls in the borderlands would be more important than ever to encouraging and nourishing trade through the state promise of all kinds of security. In addition to the intensified quarantine practices, the Habsburg administration enacted an order in 1766 to impose severe penalties on illegal border crossings.[43] In the following years, commercial relations with the Ottoman Empire expanded significantly, prompting the Habsburg administration, particularly during the reign of Joseph II, to pursue various initiatives aimed at facilitating cross-border travel and easing procedural barriers to trade. These attempts in favor of free travel and trade could also be interpreted in the lens of wider European efforts to increase economic efficiency. Still, the Josephine attempts remained so marginal that the Habsburg authorities could not codify the new regulations and could only imply them in the territorial frontiers (not along the coastal borders), flinching at other European states' reactions.[44]

In the last decades of the fifteenth century, Europe increased its mercantile activities throughout the world and became much more economically active. This was followed by the expansion of Southern European trade with Africa, Asia and America during the sixteenth century. Throughout the succeeding centuries,

41 Klara Hegyi, *The Ottoman Military Organization in Hungary: Fortresses, Fortress Garrisons and Finances* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2020), p. 86.

42 For an in-depth grasp of this Habsburg mindset, see Helga Tschugguel, "Österreichische Handelskompagnien im 18. Jahrhundert und die Gründung der Orientalischen Akademie als ein Beitrag zur Belebung des Handels mit dem Orient" (Master's Thesis), Vienna: University of Vienna, 1996.

43 See Jesner, "Habsburg Border Quarantines until 1837", pp. 32–35.

44 Pešalj, "Monitoring Migrations", pp. 134–135.

Northern European global commerce would flourish,[45] with trade at the center of the mercantilist European policies towards the outside world, which would prevail between 1500 and 1700.[46] Both transcontinental and seaborne trade saw rapid expansion beginning in the mid-eighteenth century. A new era of economic development began not only in Europe but also abroad as a result of the strategic expansion of Europe's transportation and commerce infrastructure and the gradual adoption of liberal economic theory, which set Europe free from the restraints of mercantilism's protectionist policies.[47] In the early seventeenth century, the Dutch and British trade companies dominated the Indian Ocean markets, expanding trade connections globally. The Ottoman lands, situated between Europe and the Indian Ocean, played a crucial role as a mediator and actively promoted both maritime and land trade. On the terrestrial roads of southeast Europe in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, caravans carrying enormous numbers of animals and people traveled for days.

The eighteenth century is widely recognized as a transformative era in the study of Ottoman trade history, encompassing shifts in commercial partnerships, heightened involvement of Central European states in trade, the emergence of new nations in Black Sea commerce, a focus on Ottoman agricultural exports,

45 Mehmet Bulut, "The Ottomans and Long Distance Trade in the Early Modern World", *Resilkroad*, ed. Mehmet Bulut (Istanbul: Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University, 2018), p. 105. For further reading on the European rise to Mediterranean trade supremacy, see Nabil Matar, "The Maghariba and the Sea: Maritime Decline in North Africa in the Early Modern Period", *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy*, eds. Maria Fusaro, Colin Heywood, Mohamed-Salah Omri (London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2010), pp. 117–137; Wolfgang Reinhard, *Die Unterwerfung der Welt: Globalgeschichte der europäischen Expansion 1415-2015* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2018).

46 These European mercantilist policies are reflected in a wide range of significant literature. See, for example, Moritz Isenmann (ed.), *Merkantilismus: Wiederaufnahme einer Debatte* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014).

47 On the historical process of Europe's achieving a central position in the world economy, see Rolf Walter, "Wirtschaftsbeziehungen zwischen Europa und der außereuropäischen Welt: Dependenz und Interdependenz", 2012, accessed July 30, 2022, http://ieg-ego.eu/de/threads/europa-und-die-welt/wirtschaftsbeziehungen/rolf-walter-wirtschaftsbeziehungen-zwischen-europa-und-der-aussereuropaeischen-welt?set_language=de&-C=#. This book reinterprets also the evolution of southeastern Europe from the perspective of transcultural relations and global history. It explores the interrelationship between southeastern Europe and distant continents and cultures, as well as how border-transcending processes and interactions were perceived, shaped, and socially constructed.

alterations in traded commodities, geographical shifts in trade, continued significance of capitulations, increasing European activities in transportation, the rise of minorities in Ottoman trade, establishment of new embassies in Ottoman territories, Ottoman engagement in industrial modernization, the inaugural dispatch of envoys to Europe, a surge in raw material exports, and an expansion of trade volume.[48] Active trading between the Ottoman Empire and Europe had long taken place through Rumelia, a region under Ottoman control. Land routes and river transport across the Balkans, Eastern Europe, and beyond, characterized by robust connections, played a crucial role in facilitating commerce between the Ottoman Empire and European territories.[49]

Given this, foremost among the crucial developments of the era for this study is that trade routes began to change in the last decades of the eighteenth century, and as river trade grew stronger, the Danube would become Central Europe's primary communication route, and ports in the Lower Danube would develop into the major entryways to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.[50] The increasing adoption of mercantilism by the Habsburg government beginning in the early eighteenth century is also thought to be the reason for Habsburg surveillance on the Ottoman frontier by presupposing a state initiative regulating the nation's economy through protectionist interventions.[51] The signing of the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718 between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg monarchy led to an increase in north-south long-distance trade in the central and northern

48 A. Mesut Küçükkalay, Numan Elibol, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na Avrupa'dan Karayolu İle Yapılan İhracatın Değerlendirilmesi", *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 2 (2003), p. 152. See also Calic, *The Great Cauldron*, p. 137–195. In this section of her captivating work, the author discusses the interconnected nature of economic, diplomatic, social, and cultural developments in the Ottoman Empire and Eastern Europe during the period. The impact of global trade, diplomatic challenges, societal changes, and the influence of Enlightenment ideas is presented as central themes that connect these developments in the historical narrative, thereby offering a comprehensive perspective on the subject.

49 For an assessment that outlines the main characteristics of Ottoman foreign trade and the routes through which trade was conducted during the period under examination, see Calic, *The Great Cauldron*, pp. 158–164.

50 To have a comprehensive understanding of the subject, see Michael R. Palairet, *The Balkan Economies c.1800–1914: Evolution without Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

51 On European mercantilist policies and how they affected the global economy, see Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600–1750* (London: University of California Press, 2011).

Balkans, connecting Central and Eastern Europe. Ottoman subjects traded agricultural and handmade products to the Habsburg territories, while the Habsburg monarchy sought commercial relationships with the Ottoman Empire to access markets for industrial goods and raw materials. This expansion of interregional trade resulted in greater trade volume and distance, with both empires benefiting from the treaty's low tax rates on trade. Long before Trieste and Rijeka, Vienna and Transylvania had already been active trade hubs for Ottoman subjects since the seventeenth century.[52] Between 1775 and 1825 in particular, there was more intense Habsburg-Ottoman economic exchange than ever before.[53]

The Napoleonic Wars would not only change the balance of power between states but would also produce important changes in the roles of merchant communities and individuals. For example, the Greeks, who entered the maritime trade as local carriers in the Mediterranean, gradually became the owners of one of the largest and most financially efficient fleets of their time.[54] As a result, many communities created by Ottoman merchants of different religious or ethnic origins (such as in the Balkans and Central and Southeast Europe) were dominated by the Greeks but also included many others, like Serbs, Jews, Bulgarians, Armenians and Muslims. The Habsburg-Ottoman border zone simultaneously served as an inevitable stop for cross-border merchants, commercial brokers, dragomans, diplomatic interpreters and even travelers with personal mobility motives, for it also acted as cordon sanitaire for the Habsburgs.

4. Ottomans in the French Revolution's Shadow

In addition to their other useful information, the three archival registers that constitute the main sources of this study include the quarantine information of these cross-border individuals—namely, Ottoman subjects in the Habsburg lands. Exactly one hundred years after the establishment of the aforementioned

52 For more details about the information in this paragraph, see Katerina Papakonstantinou, "Trading by Land and Sea: Changing Trade Routes and the Shift of Commercial Centres from Central to Eastern Europe in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", *Greeks in Romania in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Gelina Harlaftis, Radu Paun (Athens: Alpha Bank, 2013), pp. 206–208.

53 Pešalj, "Monitoring Migrations", p. 89.

54 Katerina Galani, "The Napoleonic Wars and the Disruption of Mediterranean Shipping and Trade: British, Greek and American Merchants in Livorno", *Historical Review*, 7 (2011), p. 182.

Habsburg cordon sanitaire, these registers were created in 1823, 1824, and 1825, at a time in which interactions between the two sides were at their peak. Despite the extensive literature review and efforts to develop expertise, the exact motives for the Habsburg authorities to create such registers have not yet been revealed. However, the historical developments provide an adequate background for the production of such registers, even in the absence of a particular rationale. Still, one issue may have particularly contributed to the decision to create such registers: the French Revolution.

As a result of the 1789 French Revolution and its aftermath, European states fought hard to prevent ideologies they found dangerous from entering their spheres of hegemony, and the Habsburg administration (which, by the time of policy implementation in the 1820s, had become the Austrian Empire[55]) did not lag behind such 'security' policies.[56] The Habsburg family ruled over the Holy Roman Empire, composed of tens of administrative subdivisions such as duchies, principalities, margravates, counties, and free cities. This multinational polity controlled a number of fiefdoms as dynastic possessions, ranging from present-day Belgium to Austria and Hungary to Italy and Croatia. As a political structure of this nature, the Habsburg Empire exemplified everything the French Revolution opposed.[57]

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55 In this context, it is necessary to mention the seminal article composed by Grete Klingenstein. The author delves into the changing connotations of the terms 'Austria' and 'Austrian' throughout the eighteenth century, challenging the idea that their contemporary meanings can be traced back solely to this historical period. Klingenstein emphasizes the dynamic and multifaceted nature of these terms, tracing their changes through political, cultural, and intellectual influences, urging consideration of historical context. She underscores the complexity of the Austrian Monarchy's identity, shaped by historical, geopolitical, and internal factors, cautioning against simplistic interpretations of these terms. For the related details, see Grete Klingenstein, "The Meanings of 'Austria' and 'Austrian' in the Eighteenth Century", *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of Ragnhild Hatton*, eds. Robert Oresko, G.C. Gibbs, H.M. Scott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 423–478.

56 These developments following the French Revolution have been described in great detail by Adam Zamoyski. See Adam Zamoyski, *Phantom Terror: The Threat of Revolution and the Repression of Liberty 1789–1848* (London: William Collins, 2014). See also Michael Hochedlinger, *Who's Afraid of the French Revolution? Austrian Foreign Policy and the European Crisis 1787–1797* (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2007).

57 For a comprehensive understanding of the effects of the French Revolution on the Habsburgs and the relations between Austria and France during and after the revolution, see Karl Härter, *Reichstag und Revolution 1789-1806: Die Auseinandersetzung des immerwährenden*

Quarantine stations were spread across Christian ports bordering the Mediterranean; however, comprehensive border control of the kind implemented in the Habsburg-Ottoman borderland in the 1720s would only be introduced in the rest of Europe beginning in the 1860s, and even then, in a rather limited manner.[58] Central control structures were scarce until the late eighteenth century. Police forces emerged in Paris, followed by St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna, primarily to combat the plague. However, as states sought to control the spread of dissent after the French Revolution, they expanded their role to regulate trade, education, and public health.

The Habsburgs had already established their own secret police system in 1713, but this was primarily used to uncover plots against the monarch by leagues of nobility rather than as a method of policing the general populace.[59] After suffering a defeat at the hands of Prussia in 1763, Empress Maria Theresa recognized the urgent necessity of modernizing the administration of her lands, which required an increase in state authority.[60] Emperor Joseph II, inspired by her efforts, introduced an unparalleled police force in Europe, led by Count Johann Anton. Habsburg subjects were required to register based on residence, and homeowners held responsibility for occupants and visitors. The surveillance apparatus employed spies from diverse backgrounds, positioned in meeting spots like coffeehouses and gardens. Everyday people were encouraged to conduct state-sanctioned espionage within their social circles.

Reichstags zu Regensburg mit den Auswirkungen der Französischen Revolution auf das alte Reich (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992).

58 Pešalj, "Monitoring Migrations," p. 12.

59 For a better understanding of historical development process of the Austrian police institution and the changing role of police officers in the Austrian state system beginning in the first decades of the nineteenth century, see Anna Hedwig Benna, "Organisierung und Personalstand der Polizeihofstelle (1793–1848)", *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, 6 (1953), pp. 197–239; Helmut Gebhardt, "Die Rolle der Polizisten und Gendarmen im Wandel der österreichischen Staatssysteme des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts", *Polizei, Gewalt und Staat im 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Alf Lüdtke, Herbert Reinke, Michael Sturm (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2011), pp. 45–60.

60 Regarding the Habsburg reform movements at the time, see Hamish M. Scott, "Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1740–90", *Enlightened Absolutism: Reform and Reformers in Later Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Hamish M. Scott (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), pp. 145–187; Josef Kallbrunner, "Die Wiener Polizei im Zeitalter Maria Theresias", *Monatsblatt des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien (1919-1938)*, (Wien: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien 1916), pp. 237-240.

Leopold II succeeded Joseph II, prioritizing the preservation of the existing order. He deported individuals considered suspicious, but his reign was brief. Francis II inherited the throne and viewed education and enlightened thought as threats to public order. He ordered constant surveillance by the police to prevent the spread of revolutionary ideas, with the *Fremdenpolizei* monitoring foreigners. By the end of 1794, most European powers had accepted that the Revolution could not be crushed by military means and no longer posed an immediate threat. The French Republic was recognized and made peace with by some nations, while the Habsburg government and Britain continued to fight. The Battle of Trafalgar in 1805 protected Britain but also accelerated Napoleon's advance into Central Europe, leading to the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire. Emperor Francis II became Francis I of Austria. Klemens von Metternich played a crucial role in saving the Austrian monarchy and preserving Francis's reign after the Trafalgar defeat.

Metternich, born into a noble family, served Austria as foreign minister from 1795 to 1848. He played a key role in Europe's power balance, leading the Congress of Vienna in 1814–1815. Metternich aimed to preserve the autocratic monarchy and expanded the state chancellery to monitor revolutionary sentiments across Europe. He regarded the postal system as a crucial component in the surveillance of Europe, to the extent that Vienna would deliver the most effective postal service throughout the territories of the Holy Roman Empire, some of which were no longer even under its control, accessing the correspondence traveling through Central Europe.[61] Despite proactive measures, the ideals of the French Revolution spread in Europe during the 1820s, giving rise to nationalist and separatist sentiments, especially in the Balkans and Eastern and Southern Europe. Passports became mandatory for travel outside French communes after 1792, with detailed descriptions of physical attributes, deformities, diseases, and

61 A dense and functioning communication system was recognized by the Habsburg ruling authorities as a necessity to establish absolute control over internal and external issues of all kinds. For a seminal work on the subject, see Eduard Effenberger, *Die österreichische Post und ihre Reform unter Kaiserin Maria Theresia und Kaiser Josef II* (Vienna: Spies ,1916). The modernization of the transport routes and means, the network of highways, canals and carriage services, was also associated with this recognition. A thorough and detailed account of the resulting transport revolutions as part of a whole transformation of power, economy, culture and social structure in the Habsburg world has been put forward by Andreas Helmedach. See Andreas Helmedach, *Das Verkehrssystem als Modernisierungsfaktor. Straßen, Post, Fuhrwesen und Reisen nach Triest und Fiume vom Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum Eisenbahnzeitalter* (München: Oldenbourg, 2002).

scars. This meticulous registration of personal information reflects a prevailing mentality across European states, including Austria, that sought absolute control over their own subjects and foreigners. Considering the registered individuals, primarily merchants, and the information recorded, such as occupations and reasons for being in Habsburg lands, sheds light on potential motivations behind the creation of these registers.

The *Hofkammer*, the institution responsible for creating the registers, was founded in 1527 and would become the central financial authority of the Habsburg monarchy by the second half of the eighteenth century. Therefore, this institution must also be taken into consideration when evaluating the possible motives behind the Habsburg authorities creating such registers. Examining the duties and practices of this institution is important precisely because the *Hofkammer*'s customary procedures allow us to frame the documents in terms of Habsburg administrative practices and policies toward the Ottoman Empire and its Ottoman subjects. In this sense, it will also be stimulating for us to incorporate Do Paço's assessments of the Habsburg logic behind the 1766 Vienna Conscription,[62] which was also carried out by the *Hofkammer*. Do Paço focuses our attention on relevant events that occurred during the late seventeenth century, which will be summarized here very briefly.

The first was Emperor Leopold I's offer to Christian Ottoman merchants in the 1680s to continue their trade within the Habsburg borders. The 1699 Treaty of Karlowitz placed them formally under Leopold's protection and made the Ottoman Christians the sole commercial community permitted in the Habsburg territories. This trading freedom was expanded to include all Ottoman merchants by the Treaties of Passarowitz in 1718 and Belgrade in 1739. The 'Catholicizing' policies of Maria Theresa, however, necessitated a legal division between Catholic and non-Catholic[63] Ottoman merchants by the second half of the nineteenth

62 The conscription was carried out by the Austrian Hofkammer's Board of Trade in 1766 to collect the legal declarations of Ottoman traders who were residing in Vienna, of which there are two versions in the Austrian State Archives. See AT-OeStA/HHStA StAbt Türkei V 27-6, Konskription der »türkischen« Untertanen in Wien; AT-OeStA/FHKA NHK Kommerz Ober- und Niederösterreich (OÖ+NÖ) Akten 130.

63 At the time, Protestants, Eastern Orthodox Christians, Calvinists, and Lutherans who resided in the Habsburg lands were referred to as *Akatoliken* in German, meaning non-Catholics. In order to avoid negative connotations (as in the word "foreigner"), Habsburg state rhetoric eventually began using this term in its laws and decisions affecting these groups of people.

century. The former were allowed to trade both wholesale and retail throughout the year, while the latter—like other non-Catholic Ottoman subjects—were only allowed to trade during fairs. As a result, the *Kommerz Präsidium*[64] (Board of Trade) received a deluge of petitions every year from Ottoman traders denouncing these regulations and pleading for exemptions and the privilege to trade whenever and however they pleased. The Habsburg authorities in Vienna also supported and assisted Ottoman traders in resolving disputes with local authorities. Maria Theresa found that encouraging trade among the sultan's subjects was an effective way to challenge the commercial monopolies held by corporations and cities like Vienna. The ability to operate wholesale and retail business with the food and raw materials they imported from the Ottoman empire was thus granted to Ottoman merchants (including Muslims) in 1776. In an internal circular letter sent on April 16, 1789, the Board of Trade urged all Habsburg officials to recognize, uphold, and confirm the rights of all 'Turkish subjects' trading in the Hereditary Lands.[65]

Do Paço thus argues that a larger strategy to gauge the significance of Ottoman trade and restructure it administratively underlies the *Hofkammer*'s decision to conduct a conscription of the Turkish subjects in Vienna in 1766. Given that the information the conscription contains is qualitatively similar and the organizing institution is the same, it can safely be said that this conclusion of Do Paço's regarding the 1766 Vienna conscription is also largely valid for the registers examined in this study. This is true despite significant differences from the aforementioned registers in terms of geographical size, number of people, time, and content, as well as the methods and organization. In fact, just as every piece of information in the conscription seems to have been designed to assist the administration, the categories of personal information in the registers seem to serve the same purpose.[66] After all, the *Kommerz* (trade) section of the Habsburg *Hofkammer* was designed by nature to keep accounts of the problems relating to trade and customs. Information gathering does not always have complicated motives; occasionally, it is simply conducted for administrative purposes.

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64 Indeed, today, the online information system of the Austrian State Archives labels this institution as the one from which the registers are transferred to us in the archive.

65 David Do Paço, "Islam and Muslims", *The Cambridge History of the Habsburg Monarchy: Volume 1*, eds. Howard Louthan, Graeme Murdock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (forthcoming)).

66 See Part 5.

5. Exploring Ottoman Mobility (1772–1826) Through the Veil of Viennese Archives

Habsburg officials registered the Ottoman subjects who were in the Habsburg hereditary lands in 1823, 1824, and 1825. These three years, however, represent only the creation of the registers. It is also possible to find information about people throughout the fifty-three year period of 1772 to 1826. Detailed registration includes name, age, religion and/or nationality, any accompanying family members, place of registration, physical and clothing description, occupation, date and place of birth and all passport information—including the reason, date and place of issue, as well as the issuing authority. Likewise, people were asked about their intention to remain in the location they were headed to or registered in. A wealth of data can be gleaned from the registers; these characteristics were included for the majority of those registered, but there are yet additional categories. For example, impressions or remarks by the registrar about the person or the group being registered might be noted. The registers, kept in German, Italian, and Latin in the Austrian State Archives, consist of three large, voluminous *Bücher* (or books). As part of a PhD project, the registers have been deciphered and digitized in an Excel sheet.[67] Employing the completed data reveals various demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the Ottoman subjects traveling to, from or though Habsburg territories between 1772 and 1826. By drawing scholars' attention to the data these sources can provide us on this mobility and its actors, future research on these sources will hopefully be encouraged. However, only the raw data will be shared here rather than educated interpretations, as such interpretations are beyond the purposes of this study.[68]

It is helpful to begin by providing information on the mobility itself and consider the geography in this regard. As expected, most of the mobility revealed through the registers occurred in or close to the Habsburg cordon sanitaire or in

67 My PhD thesis analyzes the findings from this deciphered and digitalized data in the context of Ottoman-European contacts framed by cross-border and overseas relations in the Mediterranean area, as well as examining the links established through these contacts with other regions through various graphs and maps. See Arslan Çalık, "Crossing Borders and Bridging Differences". In addition, the existing Excel sheet mentioned in the text and containing all of the raw data is planned to be made publicly available soon for scholars to access online.

68 I extend my deepest thanks to Andreas Helmedach for teaching me how to decipher Habsburg archival documents.

the region we consider its hinterland, although the general mobility reached a much wider area that included St. Petersburg, London, southwestern Morocco, Tunisia, southern Egypt, southwestern Iraq, and the eastern provinces of present-day Turkey. It should be noted that because considering place of birth as the departure point for one's mobility would raise methodological problems, the general mobility map has been created with the assumption that place of residence indicates the departure point, unless otherwise stated. The target destination is provided in the category of *Where is he going?* for most individuals. Thus, the map showing the general mobility was drawn by bringing together individuals' place of residence and target destination (Figure. 1).

A total of 6,930 individuals are listed in these registers.[69] For a better understanding of the ways these archival sources can contribute to the literature, it is important to examine the demographic information obtained from the registers. First, we have religion/nationality information for the vast majority of the population. Due to conceptual debates in the literature, it was challenging to label this category, an issue that must be addressed. The information provided under a category titled *Religion* in German in the registers was ultimately distributed in the following way: Statements on religion were mostly given in direct terms such as *Orthodox*, *Armenian*, *Jewish*, *Mohammedan*, *grnu* (abbreviation for *griechisch nicht uniert* in German, meaning 'non-united Greek' in English) or *altgläubig* (or Old Believer). However, the situation was not always so clear, which requires us to assign meaning. For example, while the words *Greek*, *Serbian* and *Wallachian* have been considered to be Orthodox, terms meaning *Ottoman*, *Turk* and *Turkish* have been accepted as Muslim. Among individuals whose religion is known, it has been decided not to include those referred to by terminology like *Albanian* or *Bulgarian*, which today denote nationality or citizenship but at the time had quite ambiguous meanings. The resulting statistical data regarding religious affiliation once again reveal the intense mobility of the Ottoman Orthodox population, particularly Greek Orthodox subjects, throughout the Habsburg lands. However, what is notable here is that the proportion of Muslims is higher than that of Armenians and nearly equal to that of Jewish and Catholic Ottoman subjects. (Fig. 2)

69 It should be noted that during the registrations, some people were re-registered at different places or times, and it was sometimes difficult to determine whether or not some people had been repeated. For this reason, this number, which is given as the total number of registered people, may be less or more with a slight difference (maximum of fifty).

Figure 1: General Mobility

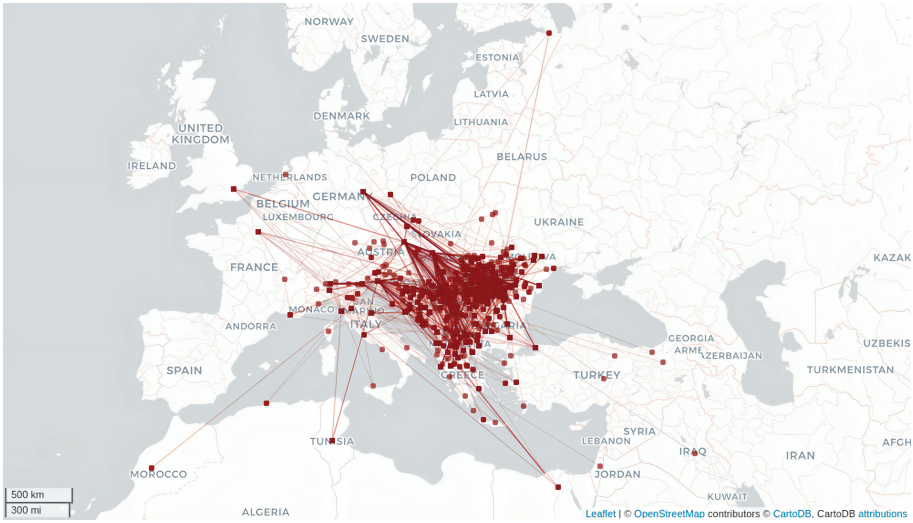
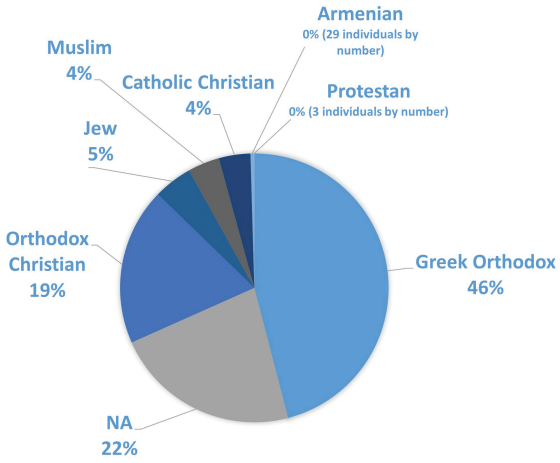


Figure 2: Religious/National Distribution



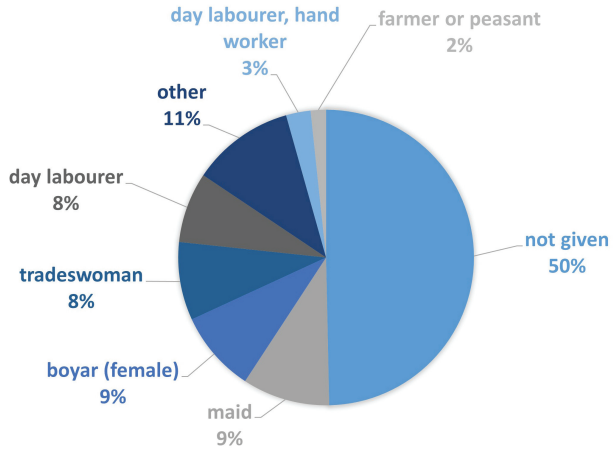
While the young man has symbolized human mobility for a long time, recent studies have highlighted women's relevance. Women's side of the story is now being involved in the discussion.[70] Numerous unexplored gendered aspects persist

70 The workshop "Gender and Migration: Relationships, Economic Resources, and Institutions in Historical Perspective (15th–20th centuries)", held at the University of Cambridge

in the history of mobility, neglecting crucial insights into gender history within the study of mobile individuals. This deficiency is particularly evident in the limited examination of Ottoman (or Muslim) women's mobility. Hence, a concise discussion on the gendered dimension of mobility is warranted to highlight the extensive information these sources offer for diverse gender studies.

First, the data revealed a ten percent female population, but determining gender based on names alone posed challenges. To address this, additional factors such as occupation, marital status, family connections, and linguistic gender distinctions were considered to improve the accuracy of gender determination. When looking at the socioeconomic statuses of women, a profession is not given for the vast majority of the female population. Perhaps this can be explained by noting that a sizable number of women were required to be registered as accompanying individuals traveling with the principal individual being registered, therefore sometimes being listed as a wife, mother, daughter or maid. We frequently have name-only information for people referenced this way in the registers and occasionally no information at all. In other words, the lack of occupational information for so many women does not necessarily imply that they were not economically active, at least not at such a high rate. (Fig. 3)

Figure 3: Women by Socioeconomic Status



in November 2018, served as the inspiration for a volume that examines migration from a historical and gender viewpoint. See Beatrice Zucca Micheletto, *Gender and Migration in Historical Perspective* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022).

With regard to religion, forty percent of individuals' religious information is not available, which may be for the same reason. The Greek Orthodox predominance (thirty-six percent of all registrations) is also visible in the female population. They are followed almost equally by Catholic and Orthodox women. Jews made up two percent of all women, placing them just ahead of the last group which was Muslim women. However, the issue of Muslim women being in the minority might again be related to the fact that the demographic characteristics of the female population are generally not as detailed as the men's. Thus, there could be more Muslim women whose religious information was not specified and are, for this reason, not included in the statistics (Fig. 4).

Figure 4: Women by Religion

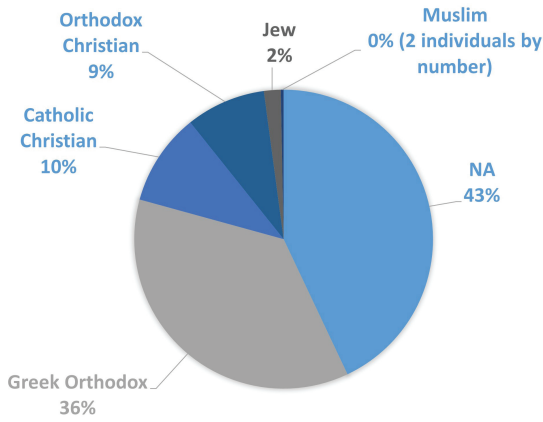
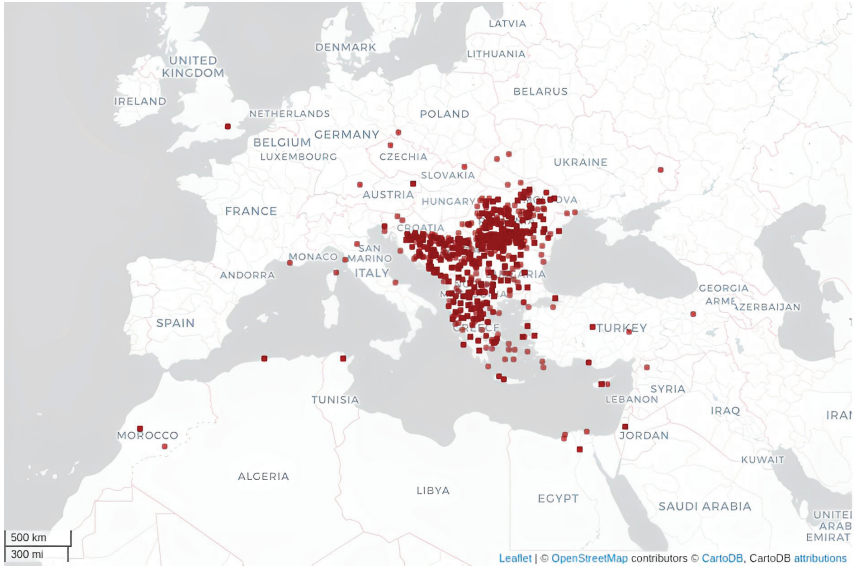


Figure 5: Birthplace Distribution and Density Map



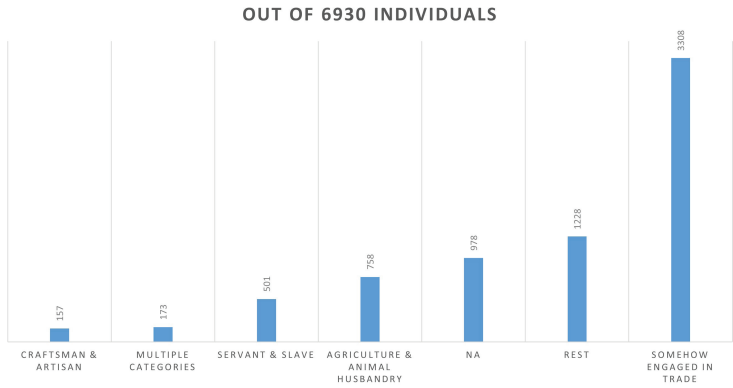
For the vast majority of individuals, we have birthplace information, and the general geographical distribution of people's origins is showed on the map above (Fig. 5). The most frequent birthplaces listed are Bucharest, Belgrade,[71] Mostar, Craiova, Râmnicu Sărat, and Istanbul. Some people's birthplaces are relatively far from both the Ottoman and Habsburg lands, like London, but we generally see that people were mostly born in southeastern Europe, the Balkans, Greece, Cyprus and the western shores of Anatolia. The registers provide information on places of residence as well (Fig. 6). The region with high intensity on the birthplace map also appears to be intense with regard to places of residence. However, it seems that while Ottoman subjects were born in a relatively limited area, they could live all across Europe, in places such as Italy, France, and even St. Petersburg in Russia. To denote the breadth of the scale of research the registers can provide to the field, it is worth noting that these registers may also aid research on mobility between birth and death by providing information on individuals' places of birth and residence.

Figure 6: Residence Distribution and Density Map

71 The role of Belgrade in this mobility has been explored in a separate article, which examines its significance in relation to the demographic, socio-economic, and geographical dynamics of mobility, as well as its function in linking the Ottoman Empire with Europe and the Mediterranean—see: Zeynep Arslan Çalık, "Revisiting Zemun and Belgrade through the Lens of Ottoman Mobility (1772–1826)", *Études balkaniques*, LX/1 (2024), pp. 127–142.

The registers also offer a great deal of information regarding socioeconomic status, although it will be only briefly discussed here. While it is possible to identify the most frequently performed occupations one at a time, it is also possible to determine which sectors were most concentrated in economic activities by using simple classifications.[72] First, it should be taken into account that at least 173 individuals either had more than one occupation or had occupations listed under more than one category. For this reason, each occupational category referred to now includes people from this category. After addressing this issue, one can observe that people seemed to be primarily engaged in trade. Because certain occupations (such as teacher, doctor, lawyer or garbage collector) are individually few in number and cannot be included in the three main categories, they are not included in the statistics. A separate category, titled *rest*, has been created for those who perform such professions. The variety of such professions is so numerous that this group appears as the group with the highest number of people, after the category of those engaged in commercial activities. A *not available* category was created for people whose occupation was either not specified or indecipherable. It can safely be stated that people whose occupations are unspecified are either children, students or people traveling with a primary registering individual. If *not available* and *rest* categories are put aside, the second-ranking category is those dealing with agriculture and animal husbandry (Fig. 7).

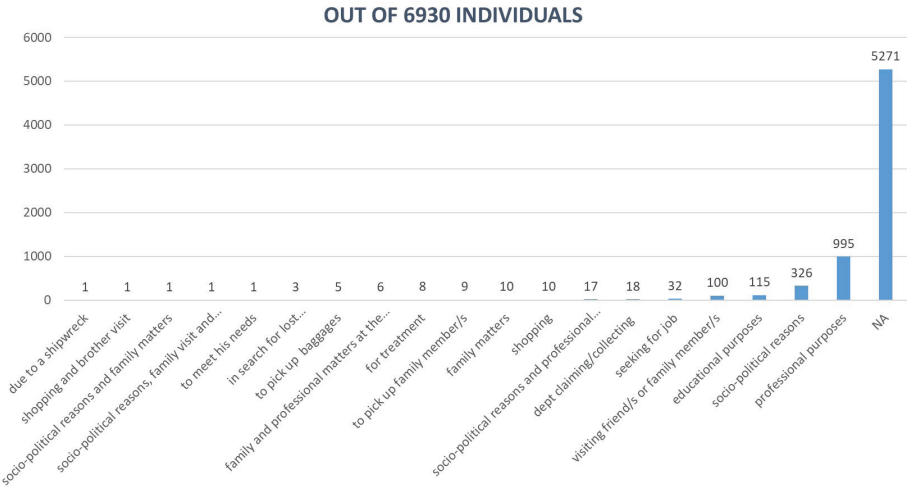
Figure 7: General Socioeconomic Outlook



72 It should be stated here that neither an exact sectoral distribution nor a proper occupational classification system such as PST (Primary, Secondary, Tertiary) was employed while categorising the occupations. Because it has been considered adequate to acquire a general idea, this categorization has been developed simply by grouping related professions together rather than developing an overly complex structured classification system.

A number of individuals' reasons for mobility are specified. Because occupation information is largely unavailable for these people, one could infer that some people's mobility was either not related to their profession or was related but would be too long to write; therefore, the mobility reasons for these people were specifically stated or sometimes summarized as *to pick up baggage*, *family matters*, *shopping*, *dept claiming*, *visiting friends*, or *professional matters*. This does not imply that people with unspecified reasons had no purpose for their mobility or that their motive was not professional. Indeed, most of the people whose mobility reasons are specified were traveling for professional purposes. Those listed as migrating due to the well-known Wallachian uprising and political uncertainties of 1821[73] are grouped under the category of people who were displaced due to sociopolitical reasons. In quantity, people in this group come second among those with cited reasons for mobility. Those whose reason for mobility was given primarily moved for educational and family reasons (Fig. 8).

Figure 8: Specified Mobility Reasons



73 The historical region of Wallachia, today's Southern Romania, was then a tributary principality ruled initially by its own princes or vaivodes; however, from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century, it was ruled by Greek Phanariotes from Istanbul. With support from the traditional boyars, the Wallachian uprising of 1821 began as a social and political protest against the Phanariote government but quickly turned into an attempt to eliminate the boyar class. Although not intended to overthrow Ottoman rule, the uprising is regarded by historians as the first significant event of a national awakening, as it promoted an early form of Romanian nationalism. To learn more about the subject, see Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Keith Hitchins, *The Romanians, 1774–1866* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

6. In Lieu of a Conclusion

The data provided above is only a sample of the vast data available in the registers under examination. The main purpose here is to encourage researchers interested in this subject to reconsider the political and socioeconomic phenomena that brought together people from different societies without keeping them stuck in their own communities, instead considering and emphasizing inter-community relations and even interdependencies between people from different communities. As demonstrated, people from different communities and religious or ethnic origins passed through the same places at the same time; far from the exception, it was quite common for people from diverse backgrounds to coexist and connect. Classifying individuals exclusively based on their religious or ethnic backgrounds is therefore not a substantive or analytically rigorous approach. Indeed, as exemplified in the case of Trieste, one of the most important commercial hubs of the period, it was possible in the second half of the eighteenth century to encounter many Jews, Lutherans, Calvinists, Greeks, 'qualche' Turks, Serbs, Illyrians (a term used to designate Serbs from Bosnia, Dalmatia and Serbia who were not yet distinguished from the Greeks by their own assertion) and some Armenians and Christian Arabs from Syria and Egypt.[74] This fact instantiated through the registers arouses further curiosity when considered alongside the abundant literature detailing non-Muslim communities', especially Greeks', activities.[75] For

74 Pierpaolo Dorsi, "Trieste e La Conquista dei Commerci del Levante", *Trieste e la Turchia: storie di commerci e di cultura*, ed. Gino Pavan (Trieste: Samer & Co. Shipping, 1996), p. 33.
In one of my articles, I explore the largely overlooked Ottoman-Trieste relations in historical scholarship, particularly from the Muslim perspective. Through my discovery of a few Ottoman Turkish documents in the State Archives of Trieste, I provide valuable insights into the interconnected nature of Mediterranean trade and the Ottoman Empire. See Zeynep Arslan Çalık, "The Seas of Neglected History: An Ottoman Merchant's Ordeal in Trieste", *Keshif: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions*, 2/1 (2024), pp. 6–16.
In another article, I examine inter-religious collaboration within the Mediterranean commercial network in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, highlighting the overlooked presence of Muslim Ottoman merchants in Trieste. Drawing on the Ottoman mobility analyzed in this study, I advocate for a more interconnected perspective on Ottoman-European relations. See Zeynep Arslan Çalık, "Forging Cosmopolitan Networks: Muslim-Ottoman Merchants in Trieste's Mediterranean Trade Networks in Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries", *Mediterranean Studies*, 33/1 (2025), pp. 70-97.

75 Among those communities, the most influential in the number and function were the Greeks, Jews, Armenians and Protestants. For a detailed account of the characteristics and peculiarities of these leading communities in Trieste in the eighteenth century, see Liana

example, because Muslim Ottoman merchants' involvement in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman-European contact and in the economic relations between the two worlds is still considered sporadic by existing historiography, one of the most remarkable findings of this study is that, while it has been confirmed that the number of Ottoman Muslims is incomparable to that of Greek Orthodox Ottomans, they were nearly as active as certain non-Muslim Ottoman communities in the Habsburg hereditary lands. When compared, for instance, to Armenian-Ottomans, they even surpassed them. If Muslim Ottoman subjects had a greater presence in the examined context compared to well-studied communities like the Armenians, it follows that Ottoman Muslims should have played a more significant role than the literature suggests in the multidimensional, multi-ethnic, and multidirectional aspects of Ottoman-European relations and trade. In cases where Greeks, Jews, or occasionally Armenians have been attributed the lead by the literature, extended exploration in this direction is needed. The three registers examined in the present study, for example, can be employed in this context to conduct microstudies on specific people, groups or communities, as well as on cities and regions across broad geographic areas.[76]

Even the information from the registers discussed above encourages us to ponder questions like the following: How were these individuals or groups with different backgrounds were related to each other? What were the relationship dynamics between them? To what degree and in which senses were they interconnected? Would it be possible to speak of a friendship relationship between people belonging to different communities?[77] If so, how do they meet the requirements of friendship?

De Antonellis Martini, *Portofranco e Comunità Etnico-Religiose nella Trieste Settecentesca* (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1968), pp. 93–161.

76 A few case studies have already employed the data obtained thus far and presented the findings at workshops and conferences organized within the scope of the Research-Training Program (IHMC-Paris 1/ ZMS-RUB/ CIERA) "Trieste, City of Empire(s)." A volume comprised of essays presented at these conferences held under the program is planned to be published soon.

77 Marili Cammarata, for example, notifies us about the possibility of that kind of relationship with the following statement: "*Graziadio Minerbi usava recarsi tutti I giorni alle radunate [in piazza del Teatro] col suo carrozzino tirato dagli asinelli, in cui prendeva solitamente posto il negoziante turco Haggi Mohamed Serag*", meaning that Graziadio Minerbi used to go every day with his carriage pulled by donkeys to the gatherings [in the Theatre Square] in which the Turkish shopkeeper Haggi Mohamed Serag usually took his place. See Marili Cammarata, "Turchi, Strana Gente", *Trieste e la Turchia: storie di commerci e di cultura*, ed. Gino Pavan (Trieste: Samer & Co. Shipping, 1996), p. 93.

Where and under what conditions did they come together? What was the main driving force in the establishment of these inter-community relations? Did inter-community relations occupy as much significance as intra-community relations in the formation and development of these communities' extensive commercial activities? Were these relationships competitive or cooperative? What impact did these intra-community relationships have on the Mediterranean Ottoman-European connections of the time? Only a few of these questions have so far received adequate responses in the relevant literature.[78] Various related questions may be asked about the people in the registers. Thus, greater inquiry into these sources could uncover a wealth of additional information on a wide range of research topics.

Finally, it must be emphasized that only technology makes it possible to bring together and operate the vast amounts of data present in these registers for such historical research. Without the aid of technological instruments, systematically mapping vast amounts of data, cataloging statistics, or quantitatively representing well-known historical phenomena would be highly challenging.[79] Therefore, this study brings attention to the need for historiography to employ technology to its full extent and become digital wherever possible and applicable.

78 David Do Paço has recently asked similar questions and successfully attempted to answer some of them in his various works. See, for example, David Do Paço, "The Political Agents of Muslim Rulers in Central Europe in the 18th Century", *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History: Volume 14, Central and Eastern Europe, 1700–1800*, eds. David Thomas, John Chesworth (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 39–55; David Do Paço, "Tempo, Scales and Circulations: The Lazarets in Eighteenth-Century Trieste", *Ler História*, 78 (2021), pp. 61–84; David do Paço, "In the Blind Spot of the State: Trieste in the 18th-Century Trans-Imperial Adriatic Society", *The Power of the Dispersed: Early Modern Global Travelers beyond Integration*, ed. Cornel Zwierlein (Leiden: Brill, 2022), pp. 365-388.

79 All maps presented in this study have been prepared using a method that could be titled Software-Enabled Mapping or Data-Driven Mapping. Accordingly, using Python programming language and a geopy library within Python, one can define the geo-location (coordinates) of a certain address by searching for it (sample request: Berlin, Germany; output: 52.5170365, 13.3888599). This software library and other libraries have been used to extract city and country names from a spreadsheet and to generate geo-location information for all cities located in the excel data. Folium libraries within Python, on the other hand, are used to create maps and mark city names on these maps, which are listed in the spreadsheet and whose geo-location is identified in the previous step. Folium library uses OpenStreetMap mapping layers by default. However, in this project, the cartodb-positron layer has been used in order to improve the maps' visual quality. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my husband, Emre Calik, who has put all his knowledge and time into the subject for me and without whose help the mapping process would not only be quite costly but also challenging.

The Ottomans Across the Habsburg and Ottoman Borders (1772-1826): What Human Mobility Has to Say

Abstract ■ The available literature dealing with contacts between the Ottoman Empire and its European counterparts concentrates primarily on the period before 1700. Moreover, of those sources that do look closely at the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, focus is almost exclusively on a small number of cities, including Venice, Livorno, and Smyrna, and on the relationships that were allegedly established by non-Muslim communities, particularly Orthodox merchants. By focusing on relationships *within* these communities and neglecting any form of interaction and interdependency between different communities, these diaspora-focused studies help to perpetuate a historical perspective in which notions of 'us' are represented exclusively by the units of 'country' or 'religious fellowship.' Examining the demography, motives, processes, and structures underlying people's mobility would allow the tracing of these potential interactions and interdependencies in more depth. To this end, this study aims to draw researchers' attention to the three voluminous archival registers preserved in the Viennese archives and produced by the Habsburg authorities on the Ottoman subjects who were within the Habsburg domains during the years 1823-1825; these sources provide a plethora of data for these purposes.

Keywords: Habsburg Empire, Ottoman Empire, Border, Mobility, Trade.

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